

CHINOOK JARGON

The Language of Northwest Coast History

Lessons, Dictionary, &
Historical Introduction

Jensen Powell funds, file 22-3
FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.
NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.
U.B.C. MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

by

J. V. Powell



BOURCHIER & HIGGINS,

REAL ESTATE BROKERS.

CHINOOK

AS SPOKEN BY THE INDIANS

—OF—

Washington Territory, British Columbia
and Alaska.

For the use of TRADERS, TOURISTS and others
who have business intercourse with
the Indians.

Chinook—English. English—Chinook.

BY
REV. C. M. TATE,

PUBLISHED BY M. W. WATT & CO.,

VICTORIA, B. C.

INSURANCE AGENTS.

FINANCIAL AGENTS.

HR

PM 8 48

T 3

cop. 2

GILL'S DICTIONARY

OF THE

Chinook Jargon



English-Chinook and Chinook-English

FOURTEENTH EDITION

REVISED, ENLARGED AND CORRECTED

PORTLAND, OREGON:

THE J. K. GILL CO., PUBLISHERS

1902

JAMES P. GILL CO., PORTLAND

INTRODUCTION

(followed by map of the Northwest Coast from Northern California to interior B.C. showing the area in which Chinook Jargon was spoken and the Indian Tribes in the area --- to be supplied)

For Harvey James, son of Lighthouse Jimmy James,
a Makah nobleman, who taught me
Chinook Jargon and much else.

P R E F A C E

FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.
NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.
U.B.C. MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

"An episode in the history of the West"

"A historical esperanto"

"A picturesque artificiality"

"A grotesque jargon"

Chinook Jargon has often been characterized as more or less than it really was. It was a linguistic happenstance, an accident of the history of northwestern North America. It temporarily served the practical but mundane task of enabling Indians, traders, and settlers to communicate, and then died so quietly that few even noticed its passing. Yet, a century ago there was justifiable cause to believe that Chinook Jargon might become a regional language, possibly even a national language of the United States or Canada. Often incorrectly known simply as Chinook, it came to be spoken over an area from northern California to the interior of British Columbia. This was still Indian country, inhabited by over 50 Indian tribes, each with its own language (not simply dialects of the same basic tongue, but distinct, often unrelated, languages).

During the last quarter of the 19th century, at least 100,000 people spoke Jargon. It grew here and became a necessity of daily life for many, and then passed out of use. Probably, only a few readers of this book will ever have heard it spoken. But, it has enriched our lives in numerous ways. Jargon words and idiomatic expressions flavor our usage, and place names which derive from Jargon dot the landscape of the Pacific Northwest.

One does not set out to write a book about a language for which more than fifty books and dictionaries already exist without carefully considering the purpose and value of yet another. It is hoped that this book will do a number of things that previous treatments of Chinook Jargon have not. This is the first publication of a set of lessons for learning to speak Chinook Jargon. The lessons have been prepared in a manner which allows individual study or classroom use at the Junior High level and beyond. Recent research on Indian linguistics in the Northwest, Pidgin and Creole languages and Chinook Jargon itself have resulted in new facts and understandings which the informed "Chinooker" should be aware of. The

derivation of Chinook Jargon words and the origin of Jargon itself is carefully documented, both in terms of what we do and don't know.

The lessons and appendices include a number of Jargon songs, stories, speeches and letters never previously published or difficult to find. This book, then, serves to bring together many older examples of Jargon and bring it up to date. The section on place names of Jargon origin provides the results of a systematic search of the Northwest for Jargon names, and the English-Chinook dictionary is by far the most complete ever compiled. Finally, the book is written in a compact and popular style which it is hoped will prove helpful to both layman and scholar. Thus, this book is intended both to create a need (by interesting readers in this often overlooked aspect of their history) and to fill one (the need for a complete, up-to-date, and readable discussion of Jargon).

The lessons which make up the body of the book were "action-tested" in Jargon language classes under the auspices of Vancouver Community College - Langara and University of British Columbia Department of Continuing Education.

Origin of the Chinook Jargon

FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.
NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.
U.B.C. MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

"The Chinook Jargon grew out of the contacts of maritime traders and the natives."

"There can be no doubt that the jargon existed as an inter-tribal medium of communication long before the advent of the whites."

Over the years there have been several theories as to the origin of Chinook Jargon and a great deal of debate. We have been told that Jargon was devised by a priest, Father Le Jeune, for missionary use among the Indians of central British Columbia. Others argued that it existed as an intertribal trade medium long before the arrival of the Whites. That theory is denied by those who feel that jargon evolved as a common tongue for use between Indians and the early fur traders on the Coast. And finally, no less an authority than the jargon lexicographer L.N. St. Onge reports convincingly that the "Chinook Jargon was invented by the Hudson Bay Company traders who were mostly French-Canadian." What then are the arguments in favor of each of the views above, and can we conclusively decide which view is consistent with the facts?

The first of the theories, that jargon was concocted by Father Le Jeune for his evangelization of the Indians, is easily disposed of. The French missionary, Father Jean-Marie Le Jeune, found the language waiting for him when he arrived at his mission station in southeastern British Columbia in 1879. His use of jargon in spreading the gospel was so imaginative and effective that many thought he had actually contrived it specifically for his work. However, Jargon had already been documented in use for more than half a century by the time his ministry began.

The intriguing question of whether Jargon existed prior to the arrival of the Whites is the crux of the debate over the origin of Chinook Jargon. The riddle may never be resolved to the satisfaction of all, but the facts leave open the possibility that both notions may have some truth.

We can review the bases for both points of view by taking a brief survey of the descriptions and diaries of the early explorers and by considering the nature of pidgin languages in general.

Those who support the prehistoric origin of Jargon make much of the fact that such pidgin trade languages existed among pre-contact Indian tribes in other parts of North America. The best known of these is Mobilian, a trade language like Chinook Jargon, which was used by the Gulf tribes of the southeastern U.S. before the advent of the Whites. The sign language of the plains Indians is a non-verbal counterpart of Jargon. It developed and was used before the Europeans arrived on the scene. Proponents of the pre-existence hypothesis point to prehistoric Indian trade in goods and slaves, and the use of dentalium shell "money" to argue that some form of pidgin language could easily have developed to facilitate bartering between Indians of different tribes.

These, then, are indications that a lingua franca could have spread on the Northwest Coast before the intrusion of non-Indian civilization. As actual evidence that a trade language did exist before the Whites, various writers have pointed to notations in the logs of the earliest explorers documenting Indian use of Jargon words. In 1778, Captain Cook visited Nootka Sound and, while his men were cutting bedstraw, a group of enterprising natives asked if they wanted to makuk for tschikimli (to "trade" for "iron"). The first maritime trader to visit the Nootka, James Hanna, arrived in 1785 and recorded that Indians met his boat, offering to makook (again, to "trade"). September, 1788, found Captain John Meares, well known from the China trade, sailing the Felice into Nootka Sound. In his log we find a description of the great Chief Maquinna sucking blood from a wound which he accidentally received climbing aboard the ship and exclaiming cloosh, cloosh ("good, good!"). The following year, a Spaniard named Martinez recorded in his diary that Callicum, a Nootka chieftain, insulted him by shouting from a canoe, Martinez pisce; Martinez capsil ("Martinez is bad; Martinez is a thief"). One of the truly remarkable adventures of Northwest Coast history was the two-year enslavement of John R. Jewitt among the Nootka (1793-5). In his writings, he states that when his companion in bondage made a robe for Maquinna, that chief exclaimed in pleasure klue-shish kotsuk; wick kum-atack nootka ("good garment; Nootka don't know," i.e. don't know

how to make them).

Thus, early records show numerous instances of Nootkan Indians using words which are common Jargon terms, spelled as they were heard: kloshe "good", kumtuks "to know", wake "not", mahkook "to buy, trade", peshak "bad", kapswalla "thief", and chikamin "iron". However, these are all Jargon words of Nootkan origin and prove only that the Nootka Indians spoke Nootka, not that they spoke Chinook Jargon at the time of the arrival of the first Europeans.

This was not the case when Lewis and Clark reached the Lower Columbia in 1805 and recorded the Chinook Chief Concommolly uttering his amazement upon seeing a duck shot with a magical flintlock rifle, clouch musket; wake com-ma-tax musket ("good rifle; I don't understand a rifle"). Here, only three decades after the arrival of the first Europeans on the Coast, is evidence that some Indians spoke words from the language of a distant tribe. The Chinooks live more than 250 miles away from the Nootkas, words of whose language Concommolly had used. Whether this indicates that a pidgin trade language was in use from Nootka Sound to the Columbia River and widely known before the arrival of the Whites, or simply the result of three decades of sporadic trade along the coast, is still a question.

Samuel Johnson, who recently interviewed aging Jargon speakers on the Coast and researched its development, argues persuasively that Jargon arose after the Whites appeared. Looking at Lewis and Clark's report of Concommolly's use of Nootka (i.e. Jargon), which is a basic issue in the "pre-existence argument" Johnson denies that this concludes proof that a trade language existed before contact. He notes that Lewis and Clark report a number of facts which seem to suggest that there was no trade language in use along the Columbia in 1805. Indians living only a few miles from one another had no common idiom and could not communicate with one another, and the interpreters used by the expedition could understand some Indians along the river but not others. Lewis and Clark's journal also documents that a trading system between European traders and the Indians seems already to have been well established when they arrived. Indians had European trade goods, knew English, and had diseases such as smallpox and V.D. The traders were even reported to have told the Indians that they would return to trade at a particular date and place. An

explanation for Concommolly's use of Nootka words could be that the traders who visited the Chinooks tried to use the Indian word lists that had been collected at Nootka Sound and published widely. As other words became better known, the Europeans thought they were speaking in the Indians' language and the Indians thought they were talking in Whiteman's tongue. This served as a basis for a usage which grew and became conventionalized as what we know as Chinook Jargon.

It is also possible that both the "pre-existence" and the "post-contact" arguments can lay claim to part of the truth. We know that long before the Europeans arrived, Indians on the Northwest Coast took wives and slaves from other villages and invited guests of many tribes to the give-away feasts called potlatches. This fostered a great deal of multi-lingualism among Indians. They were in the habit of learning expressions from the languages of groups with which they associated. Long before the Europeans arrived, the great traders of the coast, the Nootka and Chinook; and the tribes with whom they traded may all have known a basic vocabulary of each others' tongues.

However, rudimentary general bi-lingualism is not at all the same as a pidgin trade language. Pidgin languages are complete, but abbreviated language systems. They have a skeletal grammar and meager vocabulary (usually around 500 words), and their sound system seeks to avoid sounds which do not exist in all of the native languages of all speakers. Dozens of these pidgin tongues have arisen in various parts of the world showing a predictable course of development in their vocabularies. The basic vocabulary of pidgin languages is drawn from the tongue of the prestige or dominant group. In the case of trade languages, the dominant group is the traders. Note that in the English and American trade with China, the South Pacific, and West Africa it was always Pidgin English which developed. In Indonesia a pidgin form of Malay grew up because the merchants, not the buyers, spoke Malay. In Africa, numerous eastern Congolese groups speak a trade pidgin called Ngwana, based on the language of the traders in that region (the word bwana, "sir", now used for Whites, is a rendition of this name, which was originally a form of address for the prestigious traders).

Thus, if Chinook Jargon is a pidgin which developed to allow trade between French and English traders and Indians of various groups,

we would expect French and English to provide the basic vocabulary of the language. Such is not the case. Sixty percent of the vocabulary of Jargon derives from Chinook and Nootka. What we know about the nature of pidgin languages would, thus, seem to argue in favor of an aboriginal trade language based on the languages of the important traders of the area, the Chinooks and the Nootkas. On the other hand, Chinook Jargon could simply be an exception to the linguistic rule, like the plantation pidgin of Kenya, "Kitchen Swahili", whose vocabulary is drawn from the subordinate language (Swahili, used by the laborers) rather than the dominant language (English, spoken by the overseers). In fact, we know that there is a second Northwest Coast pidgin language which goes counter to the linguistic generalization in just this way. J.S. Green, writing in 1829, describes a "ship dialect" which arose for trade on the northern coast during the early contact period, and it was based on Haida Indian words. A.C. Anderson wrote in his diary (1834) that the trade language at Bella Bella was a jargon "as bad as the Chinook" and was used all over the coast north of Nawity, the most northerly place where Chinook Jargon was understood. Thus, a jargon had arisen north of the Chinook-Nootka trading area in which the language of the dominant trading group, the Haidas, provided the basis.

These, then, are the facts available to those who would attempt to answer the question of the pre- or post-contact origin of jargon. It would appear that if an Indian lingua franca did exist on the coast prior to the arrival of Europeans, the early fur traders adapted it and expanded it to serve their needs. Whatever the case, we know that Chinook Jargon started coming into broad use soon after the establishment of major trading inroads in the area. ¹

THE SPREAD OF JARGON

"(In Victoria) the jargon, even in 1858, was only spoken by the younger generation, the older people never acquiring it."

The Memoirs of James R. Anderson

Although a rudimentary lingua franca may have been used by Indians on the Coast before the coming of the Whites, Chinook Jargon as we know it took some time to develop and spread. Its growth through assimilation

Temp. 18

of words from French, English, and various Indian tongues seems to have commenced in the early 19th Century, simultaneous with the rapid establishment of trade contacts throughout the area. The history of the expansion of the fur trade and settlement of the Northwest provides an insight into the diffusion of Jargon. It is a fascinating story, made even more interesting by a knowledge of the role Jargon played in the saga.

The Russians had established a fur buying station at Kodiak Island in 1783 and set up trade relations with the Tlingits of the Alaskan pan-handle. Records show that "plunder and enslavement" might be better terms than "trade relations" for the Russian approach to commerce with the Indians. However, aside from expeditions to the south in search of sea otter, the Russians left the tribes of the central Coast in peace. Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the North West Fur Company, had crossed the Rockies and reached the coast by land as early as July, 1793 --- the first overland trader in the area. However, it was not until April 12, 1811 (six years after both Jewitt's release from Nootkan captivity and the arrival of Lewis and Clark at the mouth of the Columbia) that John Jacob Astor founded at Astoria, Oregon, the first trading post settlement in the Northwest. Astor then bought out the Mackinaw Company, which left his own American Fur Company controlling the trade on the entire coast. At that time the only competitors for this profitable territory of operation were the North West Company, and they had established posts only as far west as Fort Okanagon. However, within two years Astoria and a near monopoly on trade in the Northwest were in the hands of these North West Company rivals. Astor's traders at the mouth of the Columbia had yielded to forceful persuasion by an armed expedition of competitors and gone back to Boston.

Heretofore, the powerful Hudson Bay Company had not been involved in the Pacific Coast trade. But in 1821 they bought out the North West Company and planted their beaver flag on a trading empire that they would dominate until loss of the Oregon Territory in 1846 caused them to consolidate northward. At that time, they moved to a new base of operations in Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island, which was made a colony under a company government in 1849. By then the fur trade was becoming much less of a pioneering pursuit, the sea otter was nearing extinction and other fur-bearing animals were less plentiful, and the heyday of the fur trade was drawing to a close.

It was undoubtedly not until the period of settled, land-based trading that the Chinook Jargon began to grow in expressive capacity and flourish in general use. Previously the maritime traders had simply moored off shore and, chancing a minimum of interaction with the unpredictable Indians, handled the necessities of trading and resupply. After Astor's time, however, trade was carried on from settled trading posts by men who lived among the Indians, took Indian klootchman (women) as wives, bore sitkum siwash (half-blood) children, and variously affected and were affected by Indian life and customs. A rudimentary pidgin supplemented by signs would be sufficient for haggling over furs and prices, but it was insufficient for everyday conversation. Hence, Jargon grew. It drew vocabulary for the new Whiteman's tools and customs from the languages of the English and French speaking traders. A basic vocabulary deriving from Indian languages (the pronouns and most verbs, numbers, colors, body parts, and natural phenomena like 'fire,' 'earth,' and 'water') was further expanded by words from various Indian languages with which the traders had contact.

A standardized Jargon usage became common. It could be found throughout the Northwest with localisms giving the vernacular of each region its own flavor and pronunciation. Already in 1835, when Samuel Parker copied down the first word list, Jargon had taken form. Other early travelers such as Daniel Lee (1834-44), the Canadian artist Paul Kane (1846-7), and Horatio Hale, linguist for the Wilkes Scientific Expedition (1841), also compiled early vocabularies.

(Illustration #1 - Caption: The Chinook Jargon vocabulary collected by Horatio Hale in 1841, while serving as philologist for the Wilkes Scientific Expedition, contained 473 Jargon words. The language was already fully developed by that time.)

(Illustration #2 - Caption: One of the early travelers to the Northwest who copied down Jargon word lists was Joel Palmer. Many of the others appeared in print, as well, and became essential manuals for anyone intending to settle on the Northwest Coast.)

The spread of Jargon to northern California, Idaho, and the interior of British Columbia is dramatic evidence of its utility. Settlers found it invaluable for dealing with the Indians. The commencement of official relations between tribes and governments, for the conclusion of treaties and administration, relied heavily upon Jargon as a medium of communication. And, by far the most rigorous use of Jargon was on the part of missionaries throughout the Northwest. Christianity had preceded the maritime traders on the Coast by nearly a decade, arriving in the zealous ministries of Fathers Crespi and Pena, who accompanied the first Spanish exploratory expedition along the Coast in 1774. However, it was more than 50 years before serious missionary work among the Indians would be undertaken. Yet, once begun, these pioneering ministers to the native and settler populations would rely heavily on Jargon in preaching and exposition of the Scriptures. Marcus Whitman arrived in the Oregon territory in 1836. He founded two missions and taught the Indians farming and animal husbandry along with the Good News, all through the medium of Chinook Jargon. When Bishop Hills arrived in Victoria in 1860, the first thing a man had to do was to "learn to talk Chinook." Myron Eells, missionary among the Twanas, Lushootseed, and Chimakums at Skokomish, Washington, may have been the most energetic chronicler of Jargon as it was actually used in Christian service. However, by far the greatest exponent of the language was Father Jean-Marie Raphael Le Jeune, a French missionary priest who came to British Columbia in October, 1879. His first parish was St. Mary's Mission in East Kootenay during the period of railroad construction. He was later transferred to Kamloops, where he set about translating and publishing Jargon texts. He was acquainted with a shorthand system developed by the Duploye brothers and popular in France. Experimenting with this orthography as a means of writing Jargon, he found that it was easily taught to the Indians of his parish. In 1891, he inaugurated Jargon's literary period by commencing publication of the Wawa ("The Word") in Kamloops. Set up with pages divided into three columns, it carried news of this world and the next in English, Jargon written in alphabet, and Jargon transliterated into Duployan characters. The Wawa circulated widely among Indians and boasted subscriptions from readers

throughout the Northwest. Originally issued monthly, it became a weekly and, finally, was appearing only quarterly at the time of its last issue in September, 1904. For further discussion, see Lesson VII.

(Illustration #3 - Caption: The Rev. Myron Eells, missionary to the Indians at Skokomish, Washington, translated sermons, stories, Biblical passages, and hymns into Jargon. He also compiled a 5-volume dictionary of the language which has never been published. A passage from one of his sermons is provided in Lesson VII.)

(Illustration #4 - Caption: Among the writings of Fr. Le Jeune, missionary to southeastern B.C., were several volumes bearing the imprimature of Fr. Paul Durieu (note that the title pages incorrectly refer to him as Durien). Fr. Durieu, himself disclaims ever writing anything in Jargon. This is the work of Fr. Le Jeune.)

(Illustration #5 - Caption: The title page of the Kamloops Wawa (or simply Wawa) published by Fr. Le Jeune. A bargain at a dollar a year! Publication of the Wawa marked the "literary period" of Chinook Jargon.)

(Illustration #6 - Caption: A reproduction of the first issue of the Wawa. Note that besides English, Chinook Jargon in alphabet, and Jargon in Duployan shorthand characters, this issue also contains a version in French shorthand at the bottom of the page. The Wawa continued until 1904.)

It was not only the French and English speaking missionaries who used Jargon in evangelizing the Indian population. During the 1890's the Indian Shaker religion spread among Indian tribes of the Northwest through the medium of Chinook Jargon. A revivalist movement, Shakerism traces its origin to John Slocum, an Indian of the Mud Bay area (near Olympia) who returned from the dead charged by God with a holy mission. God had entrusted him with propagation of His message on how Indians should adapt to the civilized ways of Whites (see Lesson VII). Quickly Shaker congregations burgeoned among Indians as far east as Idaho, into Northern

California, and as far northward as central British Columbia --- almost the exact diffusion that Jargon itself had enjoyed. Indian healers and preachers traveled throughout the area holding "shakes" for the ill and wayward. Shaker hymns were often based on native rhythms and melodies with words in Jargon.

Although a great corpus of Jargon hymns existed, more common by far were profane ballads, drinking songs, and love ditties. They fit naturally into the Indian custom of individual and communal song. As Indians commenced to travel more widely, following the opportunity to work in the lumbering industry and seasonal harvests, camps would resound in the evening with Jargon lyrics. Indians intermarrying with Whites or with Indians of other tribes often found Jargon the only common idiom and it became the language of many homes. Around the turn of the century, a generation of children grew up speaking Chinook Jargon as mother tongue. Asian immigrants, originally brought to the New World as laborers for the railroads and canneries, learned Jargon as well. By 1900, Jargon was entrenched on the Northwest Coast: a literary language, the first language of an increasing number of young people, and a necessity for daily life in many walks of life.

CHINOOK WAWA MIMÉLOSE ("Chinook Jargon Dies")

"A grotesque jargon called Chinook is the lingua-franca of the Whites and Indians of the Northwest. It is a jargon of English, French, Spanish, Chinook, Kallapooga, Haida, and other tongues, civilized and savage. It is an attempt on a small scale to nullify Babel by combining a confusion of tongues into a confounding of tongues --- a witches' caldron ... There is some danger that the beauties of this dialect will be lost to literature."

The Canoe and the Saddle by Theodore Winthrop

(Illustration #7 (placement note: place on the page facing the above title and quote);

Caption: While a graduate student at Yale, Theodore Winthrop

spent the summer of 1853 traveling in the Pacific Northwest. Upon returning to the East, he capitalized upon his experiences in Jargon country by seasoning his writing with anecdotes about the Northwest. His best known work, The Canoe and the Saddle, was published after his death in the American Civil War, 1861.

Chinook Jargon is dead, or at least moribund. Indeed, it still exists half-remembered in the minds of a number of oldtimers, like an artifact in the corner of an attic. But, it is no longer necessary for daily life on the Coast, and this, in a word, is what we can enter on the death certificate as "cause of death." How could a language so entrenched in daily life disappear within a few years? The mother tongue of a growing number of people at the beginning of the 20th Century, by 1920 Chinook Jargon was hardly ever heard anymore. To understand its disappearance, we must again look at the nature of pidgin languages in general. Pidgin tongues are called "contact languages." The term reflects a basic trait of this type of language. They arise in situations where circumstances throw together groups which have no common idiom. In Hawaii, a pidgin arose in the 1870's to allow conversation between English speaking plantation overseers and consecutive waves of Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino laborers. In the copper mines of southeastern Congo, Black workers speaking tongues from all over Africa have developed a pidgin based on the local Bantu language. A clear example of this origin of pidgins in situations of languages-in-contact is Police Motu, a jargon which arose in New Guinea among members of the Port Moresby police, a corps composed of speakers of many tribal languages with no common tongue. Thus, these practical pidgins are caused by a social situation --- society's need for a common medium of speech to allow necessary communication. But, because they are caused by a social emergency, they are very unstable. If the social factor which made them necessary were to change, the jargon might no longer be necessary. Sometimes pidgin languages continue in use for centuries and, occasionally, they last only a few years before one of two things

happens to them: they either die out or grow up into mature, stable languages which we call creoles. As we know, pidgin languages have very abbreviated grammar and vocabulary, and serve rudimentary social functions such as chat, the passage of commands or facilitation of commerce. They are not precise enough linguistic systems to accommodate the necessities of use as a "first language" or mother tongue. When a pidgin starts to appear as the home language of a population, it needs to change in order to develop the expressive capacity necessary to allow discussion of all topics at any level of subtlety. It accomplishes this by adopting or creating new vocabulary and developing grammatical conventions, an expansion that we call the creolization process. Creole languages such as the French of Haiti and Mauritius, and the English of Liberia and New Guinea are examples of this process of growth from unstable pidgins to durable creoles.

At the end of the 19th Century, Chinook Jargon, the mother tongue of a growing number of children, was obviously entering the period during which we could have expected it to commence its transformation into an abiding creole. What happened to cause it to wither away? The social situation which had created the need for Jargon was the lack of a common idiom for interaction between the Indians and the traders and settlers. The need was compounded by the arrival of Asian laborers who could speak the language of neither group. Then, the social situation changed. Commencing in the 1880's, white clapboard schoolhouses in the United States and the red brick Indian schools of Canada commenced to appear on Indian reserves and reservations and the residential school came into being for education of Indians. Within a few years schoolmasters, who punished the Indian children for using their own languages or "Chinook", had taught English to a generation of children. English could now serve as the common language. Thus, suddenly, there was no longer any need for Jargon and its extinction became simply a matter of time.

It soon became evident that Jargon was inexorably destined to die out. But, a number of linguists and laymen have assured that it will not pass away unrecorded. Early word lists had been set down by various explorers and travelers and the dictionaries were not far behind.

In all, more than 50 Jargon dictionaries have been produced. One of the first, and still a standard reference for the language, was that of George Gibbs, who spent twelve years in the Northwest collecting information on various Indian groups. His dictionary (1863) contains 490 Chinook words. An earlier word list was provided by James G. Swan, physician and teacher among the Indians at Shoalwater Bay and, later, Neah Bay. His compilation of Jargon terms contains many localisms of the Shoalwater Bay area borrowed from Chehalis. They are published with his journal, The Northwest Coast; or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory (1857). Two early missionaries to Oregon, Father Modeste Demers and Francis N. Blanchet, were among the first to commit Jargon to writing. They separately published dictionaries: Blanchet in 1853 and Demers in 1871 (published posthumously with corrections by Blanchet). The dictionaries of John Gill (1882), Samuel Coombs (which follows Gill's to the extent of plagiarism, 1891), and Charles Tate (1889) appeared within a decade, along with that of Horatio Hale, which had been collected almost a half century earlier.

Probably the most respected and complete dictionary of Jargon to have appeared is that of George Coombs Shaw, The Chinook Jargon and How to Use it (1909). Edward H. Thomas later bought the copyright to Shaw's work and published it along with various discussions of Jargon and the historical period in which it arose and flourished (1935).

Chinook Jargon stories were collected and published by Melville Jacobs (1936, not to be confused with the Chinook Proper tales collected by Franz Boas during 1890-1). Grammatical sketches of Jargon appear in several of the dictionaries above, but others have been published by Rena Grant (1945) and Professor Jacobs (1932). A heated debate as to the origin of Jargon was carried on in print between Robie Reid, Chester Fee, and F.W. Howay, among others. It makes interesting reading (see the bibliography for references). In the 1960's and '70's, a number of anthropologists and linguists, recognizing that Chinook Jargon would soon be gone completely, set out to study what could still be discovered. Among those are Michael Siverstein, Terrence Kaufman, Ian Hancock, Samuel Johnson,, Barbara Harris, Sarah Thomason, Henry Zenk, and others.

However, despite rigorous collection of Chinook Jargon materials

and encouraging signs of public awareness of the important part that Jargon played in the history of the Northwest, nothing will now reverse Jargon's momentum toward extinction. But, then, why should we want to rekindle it? We realize that it arose to fill the need for a common tongue during the period of exploration and settlement, and that when that need was later filled more satisfactorily by English, Chinook Jargon was no longer necessary. It is much like an heirloom - a piece of our past to be understood and cherished.

(Illustration #8 - Caption: The dictionary of George Gibbs, who researched among the Indians of the Northwest for twelve years during the first half of the 19th Century, is one of the most authoritative sources for early knowledge of Jargon. It is still regarded as a standard reference on the language.)

(Illustration #9 - Caption: John Gill's dictionary went through almost a score of reprintings. The first eight editions were simply the version of Blanchet, rights to which were bought by Gill and company, who expanded the word lists and continued publishing it as Gill's dictionary.)

(Illustration #10 - Caption: The dictionary of W.S. Phillips, who wrote under a pen name. Note that this edition has an inscription and drawing by the author and comes from the collection of F.W. Howay, who heatedly argued the post-contact origin of Jargon. It is a true relic from the history of Chinook Jargon to be found in the Special Collections of the U.B.C. Library.)

(Illustration #11 - Caption: The dictionary of C.M. Tate. Obviously, it was produced during the period when Jargon was still necessary "for use of traders, tourists and others who have business intercourse with the Indians." Chinook was still in its heyday.)

(Illustrations #12 and 13 (Placement instructions - inset the signature of Shaw, #13, between the picture of the cover (#12) and the caption or place on a facing page.)

Caption: The most skookum dictionary of them all. George Coombs Shaw rigorously studied all previous work on the subject of Chinook Jargon and then prepared the most authoritative statement on the subject until the analytical treatments began to appear in the 1930's. Unfortunately, Shaw's work was published almost as a memorial to Jargon, for the language began to decline in use immediately thereafter. Note that the author's signature is also shown.)

(Illustration #14 - Caption: Shaw also prepared a shorter word list, which he published under the pen name of Nika Tikegh Chikamin, Jargon for "I want money.")

CHINOOK JARGON: OUR LOSS - OUR GAIN

Cultus kopa nika	"I don't care
Spouse mika mahsh nika.	If you leave me.
Hiyu puti gulls coolie kopa town.	Lots of pretty girls go to town.
Alki weght nika iskum.	Soon I'll pick another one.
Wake kull kopa nika.	It won't be hard for me."

(Chinook Jargon ballad)

Chinook Jargon is gone, yet it surrounds us. People continue to use words from Jargon without realizing that they are doing so. By the idiomatic expressions that we use and the place names which surround us, we keep the Jargon heritage alive everywhere but in our appreciation. This legacy of our historical past can enrich the present by fostering greater recognition of the ways in which Jargon lives on unnoticed in our daily lives.

As I write, I notice Wayne Short's book, The Cheechakoes, on my shelf, I think of good meals at the Muckamuck House Restaurant in Vancouver, I jog past the Tillikum School in the east end of that city, and I drink the whiteman's lumchuck brewed in Tumwater. Driving down to work with the Quileutes at La Push, I pass Tukwilla, Mounts Kaleetan and Pilchuck, the Sitkum River, Skookum Chuck Creek, two Tyee Motels, and La Poel and Klahowya Campgrounds on the way. Once, I counted 25 places, landmarks,

and businesses with names of Chinook Jargon origin on a trip from Vancouver, B.C., to the Grand Coulee Dam (of course, it would be more consistent to call it Hvas Coulee 'Big Valley'). The lists which follow this section include place names from the Northwest which derive from Chinook Jargon. In B.C. alone there are seven names using the word tenas and eleven with skookum. There are names deriving from camas or lacamas in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and British Columbia. In B.C., there are nine Siwash Creeks, two Siwash Mountains, three Siwash Lakes, a Siwash Bay, and three Siwash Locks.

On the Washington State ferries, which have such names as The Ilahee, the Klahowya, and the Tillikum, signs welcome passengers as follows: Klahowya, Tillikum!! Nesika hyak klatawa kopa chuck alta ("Greetings, friend!! We swiftly go over the water now.") Typically surrounded by Jargon, the residents of Snohomish, Washington, celebrate Klahowya Days in Klahowya Park located on the Pilchuck (redwater) River.

Although I make a conscious effort to use words and phrases from Jargon in daily discourse, I note that many associates employ them continually without realizing that they are doing so. Jargon-origin words such as tillikum, cheechako, the salt chuck, potlatch and high muckamucks are quite commonly understood. The word skookum is often used as a nickname for children and much else (Skookum Apple Co., Skookum Chuck). A growing sport in our area is sasquatch watching. Other regionalisms from Jargon include chinook winds and chinook salmon, tyee salmon, the greeting klahowya, the large goeyduck clams, camas and salal berries. The words tamanawis (spirit power) and kumtuks (to know) are commonly used in naming educational or artistic enterprises. Siskiyou and cayuse are occasionally heard terms for horses. In some vicinities the queen in playing cards is referred to as the klotch. The word siwash, a perfectly good Jargon word for "Indian," has taken on a pejorative sense. But, on the Olympic Peninsula you are "siwashed" if you are banished from a tavern. H.L. Mencken, in The American Language, suggested that the word hike may derive from Jargon hyak 'to go fast,' but it is more likely to relate to the word hitch. He also mentioned the use of nanitch (to see), tumtum (heart, opinion) and kokshut (broken) in colloquial Oregonian usage.

Many Chinook Jargon words have been borrowed by Indian languages in the Northwest. More research needs to be done on this topic but, as an example, in Quileute more than 30 Jargon words have become standard usage including: moosmoos 'cow', keyotad 'horse', kushu 'pig', libto 'sheep', pishpish 'kitten', lakabid 'dumpling', tatoosh 'milk', tsiktsik 'wagon', balakh 'tin or pan', tala 'money', bit 'dime', lab 'whiskey', kapo 'coat', seahpus 'hat', takidis 'stockings', pot 'boat', sadti 'Sunday', kisbis 'Christmas', and hetlokub 'gambling'. Such lists could be compiled for every Indian language in the Northwest. Most of these languages have adopted one or more of the Jargon terms for Whiteman: Boston, suyapi (in the U.S. east of the Cascades), kwanitum (along the B.C. coast), and sama (in the Okanagon area of southeast B.C. and adjacent U.S.). Often two of these terms are used with boston taking on a pejorative sense. The words for Indian bone gambling, lahal, and many animals are virtually universal. Opoots, the Chinook Jargon word for buttocks has become generally used among groups around Puget Sound. Jargon words have been current in these languages for so long that the original words they displaced have been forgotten in many cases. It is not uncommon for an Indian to be upset at being told a Jargon loanword is not a "real" word of his own language. A Clallam woman once became miffed at the author for suggesting that her name, Laloos, (which came from French via Chinook Jargon. These words have been in use in Indian languages for as long as the Indian words moccasin and toboggan have been used in English. They are not less respectable terms for having arrived in the language as loanwords.

I was surprised to note that both a novel, which I recently browsed, Soul Catcher by Frank Herbert; and a Western movie that probably won't be nominated for any academy awards) portrayed Indians as speaking Chinook Jargon. Jargon will probably always be with us Northwest Coast folk in one way or another. It is true, there are no longer nightly news broadcasts in Vancouver which come on the air with an announcer greeting listeners, "Klahowya, tillikums" and (we are grateful) U.B.C. cheerleaders no longer exhort their teams with the yell:

Kitsilano, Capilano, siwash squaw!

Klahowya tillikum, skookum wah!

Hiyu muckamuck, muckamuck uh zip!

B.C. Varsity, rip, rip, rip!

Still, throughout the area where Chinook Jargon grew up and thrived, it is very much with us.

amp. 5

¹Complex linguistic arguments are not included in this general introduction, but they are relevant to the issue of whether Jargon existed before the Whites arrived. Sarah Thomason (1981) has presented data on which she bases an argument that some phonological features of Indian Jargon usage are so consistent among Indian speakers, and so rare in English and French speakers' Chinook Jargon, that Jargon must have been learned by Indians from other Indians, rather than from Whites. This may be relevant to the issue of whether Jargon arose and spread before the arrival of the Whites (but it needn't be!). If readers are interested, the authors feel evidence points persuasively towards post contact origin of Jargon.

LESSONS

Jensen / Powell fonds, file 2-C-4 (22-3)
 FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.
 NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.
 U.B.C. MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

LESSON I

Dialogue

You will find a brief conversation or "dialogue" at the beginning of each lesson. Learn this dialogue so well that you and a classmate can recite it easily from memory or, if necessary, by referring to the English on the right to remind yourself of the sequence of utterances. The purpose of the dialogues is to present new vocabulary and to give you practice in using these new words in longer phrases and idiomatic expressions. Part of each class or study period should be spent in reciting the dialogue. The pronunciation and meaning of new words appearing in the dialogues is provided in the vocabulary sections.

Hints: Learn the dialogues with a partner.
 Be sure to learn both parts.
 Take care to learn the correct pronunciation of words so as not to implant improper habits that may be difficult to break later.

Boston:	Klahowya, nika tillikum.	"Hello, my friend."
Siwash:	Klahowya. Kahta mika?	"Hello. How (are) you?"
Boston:	Nika hyas kloshe. Kahta mika?	"I (am) very good. How (are) you?"
Siwash:	Nika wake kloshe.	"I (am) not well.
	Nika hyas sick okoke sun.	"I'm very sick today."
Boston:	Nika sick tumtum.	"I'm sorry (to hear it)."
Siwash:	Alta nika klatawa kopa takta.	"Now I'm going to (the) doctor."
Boston:	Kloshe. Klahowya.	"Good. Goodbye."
Siwash:	Klahowya, tillikum.	"Goodbye, friend."

Vocabulary

A key to the phonetic transcriptions and exercises in reading them will be introduced on page below.

alta /ál.tǔ/ now
 Boston /baú.stǔn/ White man
 (also American)
 takta /ták.tǔ/ doctor
 hyas /hǐ.yǔs/ very, exceedingly
 kahta /ká.tǔ/ how
 klahowya /klǔ.háw.yǔ/ how are you
 klatawa /klǔ.táw.wǔ/ go, travel
 kloshe /klosh/ good, well, handsome
 kopa /kó.pǔ/ to, in, on
 mika /mǐ.kǔ/ you, your, yours
 nika /ní.kǔ/ I, me, my, mine

okoke /o.kók/ this, this one
 sick /sik/ sick, sickness, wound
 siwash /sí.wáush/ Indian
 sun /sun/ day, sun
 okoke sun, today
 tillikum /tí.li.kǔm/ friend, ^{people}
 tumtum /tǔm.tǔm/ heart, soul spirit
 sick tumtum, sorry
 wake /wāk/ no, not

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

As we know by now, the words of Chinook Jargon are drawn from numerous languages. The vocabulary introduced in Lesson I is representative of this diverse origin. There are four words of English derivation, one from French, seven from Chinook, four from Nootka, and one sound-symbolism type word which sounds like what it implies. Can you pick out the English loan-words? They are not difficult to recognize: sun, sick, takta and boston. The derivation of Jargon words, where known, is given in the vocabularies and repeated in the dictionary section at the end of the volume.

It is important at the outset that you know about the Indian languages which contributed vocabulary to the developing Jargon. The map on page shows these Indian languages and the areas in which they were spoken. Some people refer to these distinct and different languages as "dialects" and suggest thereby that all Indian tongues are simply varying forms of a single language used by all Indians everywhere. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is also distressing to note that many of these languages are already extinct or nearly so. Attempts are in progress to teach many of these moribund languages to younger tribal members in both the U.S. and Canada. We should

all hope for the success of these endeavors in order that these irreplaceable aspects of our respective national heritages should not be lost. It is also important to stress that although languages such as Lower Chinook are extinct, the peoples that spoke the languages continue as identifiable ethnic groups.

We have noted the origin of Jargon words as follows: (C) Lower Chinook provides approximately 50% of the words in Jargon. Now extinct, Lower Chinook was spoken in two dialects, Clatsop (spoken along the southern bank of the Columbia River from Astoria downward) and Chinook Proper spoken on the north side of the Columbia below Gray's Harbor and along the shores of Shoalwater Bay. Upper Chinook (C-upper) is still spoken in several forms by a few older people. Dialects of Upper Chinook were spoken by the Wasco and Wishram in the area of The Dalles, and by the Kathlamet and Clackamas in the Willamette Valley and along the lower courses of the Columbia. Nootka (N) is still spoken by numerous old people on the west coast of Vancouver Island. It is closely related to the Nitinat and Makah languages. Approximately ten percent of the Jargon vocabulary comes from Nootka. Kwakiutl (K) is still spoken by several hundred people, although almost no one below age 30 can still converse in this language of northern Vancouver Island and the adjacent B.C. mainland. Bella Bella (BB) or Heiltsuk is spoken in remote Bella Bella, B.C., by a few elders. Upper Chehalis (UCh), Lower Chehalis (LCh), and Twana (T) are all but extinct with a speaker or two of advanced age. The Chehalis lived around and eastward from Grays Harbor and included the Oyhut and Lower Chehalis Proper (both LCh) and the Humptulip, Wynooche, Satsop, and Upper Chehalis Proper (all UCh). Twana was the language of the Skokomish, near Shelton, Wash. The Puget Salish language (Puget S.) has recently come to be called Lushootseed. It is spoken by a few old people in northern dialects (Snohomish, Skagit, and Skykomish) and southern dialects (Duwamish, Nisqually, Puyallup, Muckleshoot, and Suquamish). The Kalapuya (Kal) language was an Oregon neighbor to Clackamas Chinook and Klickitat was spoken along the Columbia above Upper Chinook.

Loanwords from English (E) and French (F) comprise about 15% of Jargon each. There are no Russian terms in Jargon. Kanaka, a Hawaiian word for 'man,' was regularly used to refer to the Pacific islanders who came to the mainland in some numbers during the 19th century. A single jargon

word of Spanish origin is thought to exist. Kiyutan, 'horse,' appears to derive from the Spanish word for horse, caballo. Other long range borrowing occurred when the French trappers or voyageurs brought Cree and Ojibwa words from Ontario to the Pacific coast and they came into use in Jargon: mitass (Ojibwa) 'leggings,' lapishmo (Ojibwa) 'saddleblanket,' tatoosh (Cree or Ojibwa) 'milk,' wappato (Cree) 'potato,' kinnickinick (Cree) 'Indian tobacco,' siskiyu (Cree) 'bob-tailed horse,' and possibly moosmoos 'cow,' (see the dictionary regarding derivation of this term).

Figures for the number of words deriving from each source language can be tabulated as follows, showing the figures compiled by George Gibbs in 1863 and the count compiled in preparing the dictionary included herein.

<u>Language</u>	<u>G. Gibbs (1863)</u>	<u>J.V. Powell (1979)</u>
English	67	
French	94	
Lower Chinook	200	
Upper Chinook	4	
Nootka	24	
Upper Chehalis (and Twana)	}	
Lower Chehalis		
Puget Salish (Lushootseed)	7	
Kwakiutl and Bella Bella	0	
Kalapuya	4	
Klickitat	2	
Cree and Ojibwa	3	
Direct onomatopoeia and questions	24	
Interjections common to various languages	8	

A number of generalizations regarding Chinook Jargon can be drawn from the vocabulary of this lesson.

A) The Meaning of Chinook Jargon Words. 'Sun' is an example of a loanword which has come into use in Jargon with an expanded meaning. It continues to mean sun, as it does in English, but is primarily used with extended

¹ The origin of many Jargon words is still a matter of debate, but there have been several recent publications on etymology (word origins); see especially Harris (1983-4) and Thomason (1981). Earlier work includes Chamberlain (1891) and Hancock (ms dictionary).

reference to day, daylight, daytime, or a 24-hour period. 'Sick,' an English adjective, is used in Jargon as both an adjective (e.g. sick tillikum) or a noun (e.g. waum sick, 'fever'). To understand these changes in meaning we must look at the nature of Jargon as a language.

Chinook Jargon is not simply the Chinook language with a heavy admixture of borrowed words. It is an entirely independent pidgin language based on Chinook only to the extent that approximately 50% of the Jargon vocabulary is Chinookan. Thus, all Jargon vocabulary, even words of Chinook origin, can be thought of as borrowed vocabulary or loanwords into an independent trade language, composed of pieces of many languages but distinct from all of them. Words often take on slightly different meanings when they pass from one language to another -- for instance, Tahitian tatau, 'to draw,' became English tattoo; Jargon hiyu muckamuck, 'much food,' became English high muckamucks meaning important personages (who have a lot of food!). Furthermore, because of the brevity of the vocabulary (about 500 words) of pidgin languages individual words often designate a wide variety of things and may function as a noun, verb, and adjective. For example:

nika means I, me, my, mine;

kloshe means good, well, handsome, pretty, tasty, delicious;

klatawa means go, walk, travel, ride, make a trip, scam;

kopa, the all-purpose preposition, means in, on, at, by,

alongside, towards, to, in any spatial relation to.

Phrases also function importantly:

snas, 'rain'; col snas, 'snow (literally, cold rain)'. .

pepah, 'paper, book'; mamook pepah, 'to write (lit. to make a paper)'. .

muckamuck kopa tenas sun, 'breakfast (lit. meal in the young sun)'. .

Do not be confused by variant meanings of Jargon words. Context will usually make it clear which meaning is implied.

In order to speak properly, one must be aware of nuances. For instance, boston originally meant American as distinct from kinchochman (King-George-man or British, later Canadian) or pasiyooks (French). The first Americans seen on the Northwest Coast were fur traders, many of whom sailed from Boston. Later however, boston came to mean Whitemen in general and things typical of them such as boston muckamuck, 'Whitemen's food.'

A Canadian would refer to himself as a bostonman if discussing his race, but would call himself kinchochman if emphasizing his Canadian nationality. There are two Jargon words for friend: tillikum and sikhs. Tillikum was originally the word for people, tribe, and folks, and came to mean friend with no reference to degree of acquaintance. Sikhs remains the term for a close personal friend or buddy (usually used between men).

Finally, a few Jargon words have come into use in English with derogatory connotations. Siwash (from French sauvage, 'Indian') is a perfectly acceptable, indispensable Jargon word meaning Indian. It should be used without self-consciousness when speaking Jargon, even though it can no longer be used without discretion in English conversation.

B) Tumtum is an example of onomatopoeia or sound symbolism. It suggests the beating of the heart and, by implication, the heart itself and the center of one's emotions. The sound-imitating syllable tum- also occurs in tumwata, the Jargon word meaning waterfall or cataract. Such words, which imitate the sound of their referent, are found in all languages (note English bang, crunch, sizzle) and are especially common in the Indian languages of the Northwest Coast. These words should not be thought of as baby talk or less respectable vocabulary. Jargon can be fun to speak -- but it is not a toy language. In the first few lessons we shall learn a number of these words:

tsiktsik, 'wagon'

tintin, 'bell'

tiktik, 'clock'

poo, 'sound of a gun'

THE SOUNDS OF CHINOOK JARGON

We have noted that Chinook Jargon is composed of elements of both Indian and European languages. The Indian languages of the Pacific Northwest are remarkably different from the tongues spoken by the early traders and settlers. In particular, the "inventory of sounds" which are used in speaking the native Indian languages is distinctive to this area and so extraordinarily complex that linguists come from all over the world to study these languages. The sound systems of the tongues spoken by the Indians were so different from those of the Whitemen's languages that real problems of communication arose because neither group could pronounce or even hear correctly the sounds that

composed the words of the other. Further, there was and remains no simple or totally accepted system for writing down the Indian sounds.

For example, the Indian languages of the Northwest have the following sounds and clusters of sounds which are not common to European tongues:

- A) guttural back versions of k and h (which are sometimes written q, x and x̄),
- B) consonants spoken with the lips rounded (k^w , q^w , x^w , and $x̄^w$),
- C) a "whispered l" which is pronounced like 'thl' slurred into a single sound with the tongue held in the l position (we write it $l̄$, but Whites often pronounce it kl),
- D) combinations of consonants which function as a single distinctive sound, like the sounds which begin the English words 'church' and 'judge.' Among these clusters are ts, dz, tsh, $t̄$, dl,
- E) consonants pronounced with an explosive release of air heard as a "click" (we write these glottalized consonants $p̣$, $ṭ$, $ḳ$, $q̣$, $ḳ^w$, etc.),

However, Whites tended to hear, or mishear, the Indian words as if they were composed of only those sounds which exist in their own native tongues. This caused non-Indians to overlook a number of distinctions important to the Indian languages. The sounds k, $ḳ$, q, $q̣$, k^w , $ḳ^w$, q^w , and $q̣^w$ were all heard by the Whites as k or kw. Mishearing led naturally to mispronouncing. Vowels tended to be inserted between consonants when they fell in long strings or some of these consonants might simply be left out.

The reverse of this problem caused trouble for the Indians when attempting to fit their tongues around the strange words of the trappers and settlers. Indian languages of the Northwest Coast have no r, so the Indians pronounced both r and l as l. Thus rum becomes Jargon lum and rice is lice. Some people have mistakenly thought this to be evidence of influence on Jargon by Asian immigrants, who also confuse r and l. Indian languages also have no f or v, so Indians heard and pronounced these sounds as p and b respectively -

and some languages have no b either, so f, v, p, and b were all pronounced p. Thus fish became pish and wharf, wap. When two or more consonants coming together seemed strange to Indian ears, they sometimes inserted vowels to separate the consonants or just left some consonants out. In this way the name Fred became Palid; cold, col; Vancouver, bakooba; and Victoria either Biktoli or patuliya.

Chinook Jargon avoided any sounds which caused knots in either White or Indian tongues. Although this resulted in a vocabulary composed of words that were foreign to all parties concerned, it allowed at least general uniformity of pronunciation among speakers, no matter what their mother tongue. Thus, all of the guttural Indian sounds were softened to h and k for White speakers' ease. The nasal vowels of French proved troublesome to both Indian and English speakers and these were left out (e.g. French cochon, 'pig' became kushu; le main, 'hand,' arrived in Jargon as lemah). Often English and French voiced consonants (e.g., b, d, z) were changed to voiceless ones (p, t, and s, respectively):

(French)	la bouche, 'mouth'	---	lapush
(English)	dance	---	tanse
(English)	suppose	---	spose (meaning "if")

These changes allowed general agreement in pronunciation, although no amount of phonetic levelling could erase the distinct Indian, English, French, Japanese, Chinese, or other accents which identified the mother tongues of Jargon speakers.

Spelling of Chinook Jargon

There never was agreement as to the way Chinook Jargon should be written or how the words should be spelled. In general the words were spelled the way they "sounded." This led to little uniformity since the words sounded different depending on who pronounced them. For instance, the word for woman has been written in the following ways:

kloochman, cloutchman, klouchman, tlotchman, tlotchimi.

Iron was heard:

chickamin, chickamun, chickmen, chicamin, chikmin,
chinkmin and sickaminny.

Then, late in the 1800's dictionaries of Jargon commenced to appear. They did not immediately result in standardization of spelling because, as usual, the authorities could not agree among themselves. The great Jargon preacher, Myron Eells, thought little of the writing systems used in these dictionaries, "... instead of following the phonetic method, ... (dictionaries) tried to follow the English method; in other words, no method at all." However, these dictionaries did cause certain general conventions to be used in writing down Jargon. We will use generally accepted usage in the lessons, but the student must realize that variant spellings can be proposed or found and should not allow this to create any confusion. This lack of uniformity has disadvantages, of course, but there is one very appealing advantage: you cannot misspell a Chinook Jargon word. A word is only spelled incorrectly if the reader cannot discern what is intended. The beginning learner should attempt to stick to spellings as found in the standard dictionaries.

PRONUNCIATION

In the lessons and dictionary, we give the pronunciation of jargon words using phonetic transcriptions which follow the system given below. This guide to pronunciation will be given in various places throughout the text, but you may wish to acquaint yourself with it by practicing reading the exercises which follow. Don't worry about learning the meanings of the words at this stage; concentrate on pronouncing them according to the phonetic symbols.

a	as in father
ā	as in ate
ă	as in cap
e	as in set
ē	as in seed
i	as in pin
ī	as in pine, eye
o	as in yoke, note
u	as in boot
ŭ	as in but
au	as in caught, ought, awe

Exercise A:

Pronounce the following Jargon words. Phonetic transcriptions are given in slant brackets / / . If you have the tapes which accompany the text, listen carefully to the pronunciation.

/a/ as in father

hahthaht	/há.t.hat/	duck
makook	/má.kuk/	to buy
mahsie	/ma.sé/	thank you
tala	/tá.lǔ/	dollar, money

/ā/ as in ate

pepah	/pā.pǔ/	paper, letter
wake	/wāk/	no, not
delate	/dē.lát/	exactly
klale	/klāl/	black, dark

/ǎ/ as in man

snass	/snǎs/	rain
oleman	/ól.mǎn/	old, worn out, old man
alki	/ǎl.ki/	by and by, later
klonas	/klo.nǎs/	perhaps

/e/ as in set

leplet	/le.plét/	priest
lemel	/le.mél/	mule
tenas	/te.nás/	little, child
latet	/la.tét/	head

/ē/ as in seed

chee	/chē/	new
pee	/pē/	and, well
bebe	/bē.bē/	to kiss
elip	/ē.lip/	before

/i/ as in pin

ikt	/ikt/	one
sick	/sik/	sick, sickness
isick	/í.sik/	paddle
till	/til/	heavy

/ī/ as in pine

cly	/kli/	to cry
hiyu	/hi.yu/	much, many
hyas	/hi.yas/	big, large
dly	/dli/	dry, thirsty

/o/ as in yoke

col	/kōl/	cold
klone	/klōn/	three
ko	/kō/	to arrive, reach a place
lope	/lop/	rope, string

/u/ as in boot

kushu	/ku.shú/	pig, pork
chinook	/chi.núk/	Chinook Jargon
coopcoop	/kúp.kup/	shell "money"
opoots	/ó.puts/	tail, back

/ǔ/ as in but

cultus	/kúl.tǔs/	worthless, bad
kull	/kǔl/	hard
chuck	/chǔk/	water
ikta	/ík.tǔ/	thing, clothing

/au/ as in taught, law, and ought

wawa	/wáu.wau/	to talk, language
waum	/waum/	warm, hot
law	/lau/	law
siwash	/sí.waush/	Indian

Exercise B:

Pronounce the following longer words, paying careful attention to the phonetics.

tillikum	/tí.li.kũm/	friend, people
klahanee	/kla.há.nē/	outside
kliminawhit	/kli.mí.nũ.wit/	to tell a lie
klootchman	/klúch.mũn/	woman
tukamonuk	/tũ.ka.mó.nũk.	one hundred
tikegh	/tí.kē/	to want
sinamokst	/sí.nā.maks/	seven
pasiyooks	/pa.sē.yúks/	Frenchman
lummieh	/lũ.mē.yũ/	old woman

Additional New Material

One of the first things that new immigrants arriving in the old Northwest or British Northwest had to master was how to count in Jargon. Nearly all intergroup transactions and negotiations were carried on with the Jargon numbers, including haggling over prices and wages between traders, merchants, employers, workers, and coolies (a Jargon word originally from Fr. courir, 'to run'). The numbers are of Chinook origin:

one	ikt /ikt/, sometimes /iks/
two	mokst or mox /maks/, or /makst/
three	klone /klon/
four	lakit /lá.kit/
five	kwinnum /kwí.nũm/
six	taghum /tá.hũm/
seven	sinamokst /sí.nā.maks/ or /sí.nā.makst/
eight	stotekin /stót.kin/
nine	kwaist /kwāst/
ten	tahtlum or tahtlelum /tát.lũm/, or /tát.le.lũm/

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by saying ten-and-one, ten-and-two, etc. The word for 'and, also' is pee /pē/ from Fr. puis, 'then.'

eleven	tahtlum pee ikt
twelve	tahtlum pee mokst
thirteen	tahtlum pee klone
fourteen	tahtlum pee lakit
fifteen	tahtlum pee kwinnum
etc.	

The numbers twenty to one hundred were also formed by combinations of the basic numbers, one through ten, by stating two-tens (twenty), three-tens (thirty), etc.

twenty	mokst tahtlum
twenty one	mokst tahtlum pee ikt
twenty two	mokst tahtlum pee mokst
etc.	

thirty	klone tahtlum
forty	lakit tahtlum
fifty	kwinnum tahtlum
etc.	

one hundred	tukamonuk /tũ.ka.mó.nũk/
two hundred	mokst tukamonuk

We are now able to count as far as is necessary for most activities.

We can also discuss dates:

1975 tahtlum pee kwaist tukamonuk, sinamokst tahtlum
pee kwinnum;

and prices: (dollar, money is tala, /tá.lũ/ from English)

\$168.00 tukamonuk, taghum tahtlum pee stotekin tala.

These numbers must be learned well.

Numbers precede the things they enumerate.

mokst sun,	two days
sinamokst boston	seven Whites
kwinnum okoke	five of these

Exercise C:

Translate the following phrases into English.

tahtlum pee taghum siwash
stotekin tahtlum pee klone sun
kwaist tahtlum pee kwinnum takta
sinamokst tahtlum pee ikt tillikum
lakit tukamonuk, mokst tahtlum pee kwaist boston
tahtlum tukamonuk (N.B.: there is no other way to say 'one thousand')
stotekin pee tahtlum tukamonuk, sinamokst tahtlum pee taghum
lakit tahtlum tukamonuk, kwinnum tahtlum pee kwaist
taghum tahtlum pee mokst okoke (i.e. _____ of these)
sinamokst tukamonuk, kwaist kloshe (i.e. _____ good ones)
kwinnum tukamonuk, lakit tahtlum pee klone sick (i.e. _____ sick ones
or sicknesses)
mokst tahtlum pee taghum boston takta (i.e. _____ white doctors)

Exercise D:

Translate the following phrases into Jargon.

twenty eight Indians
one hundred forty five doctors
three hundred eighty nine Whites
seven hundred fifty two friends
six hundred sixty six sick ones
1492
1066

1703

\$155.00

\$888.00

\$741.00

Exercise E: Arithmetic

We are now able to do elementary mathematics in Jargon:

5 + 6 = 11, kwinnum pee taghum, tahtlum pee ikt

In order to ask the sums of numbers, you will need the interrogative word.

kunjih /kún.jě/ 'how many,' a Chinook word.

Kunjih mokst pee sinamokst? How much are two and seven?

(answer)

Mokst pee sinamokst, kwaist. Two and seven are nine.

Ask and answer the following problems.

2 + 6 = ?

5 + 3 = ?

28 + 14 = ?

5 + 9 = ?

9 + 12 = ?

73 + 62 = ?

8 + 3 = ?

13 + 16 = ?

86 + 34 = ?

7 + 5 = ?

18 + 17 = ?

111 + 89 = ?

Exercise F: Money

The word for dollar and money in general, tala, was presented above. There were also Jargon words for coins:

bit, /bit/ a dime (10¢)

sitkum bit, a nickel, i.e. half (sitkum /sít.kũm/) a dime

kwahta, /kwá.tũ/ a quarter (25¢)

sitkum tala, half a dollar (50¢)

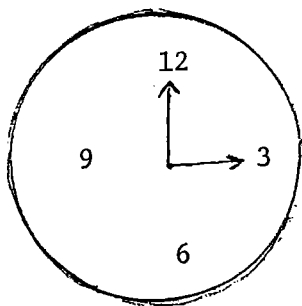
We have now learned the words for fractions in Jargon: sitkum, 'half,' and kwahta, 'quarter.' Actually, sitkum is generally used for any part or portion of a whole unless one specifically intends a quarter of it.

What coins would you use to most efficiently pay the following amounts?

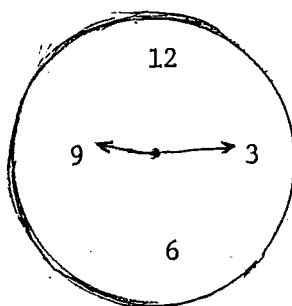
5¢	55¢	\$1.35
15¢	65¢	\$1.45
35¢	80¢	\$4.70
40¢	95¢	\$8.45

Exercise G: Telling Time

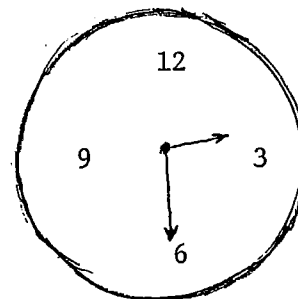
Having learned both numbers and fractions, we can now tell time in Jargon. You will need the new words delate /dē.lát/. 'exactly, really' (from Fr. droite, 'straight'); kimta /kím.tǔ/, 'after' (C); elip /é.lip/, 'before' (LCh)



delate klone



kwahta kimta kwaist



sitkum elip klone

(a) Draw more clocks on paper or the blackboard and tell the time in Jargon from them.

(b) Ask each other "What time is it now?" Kunji clock alta? /kún.jē klak á.l.tǔ/, and answer in Chinook Jargon.

LESSON II

Dialogue

Tyee pee takta yaka klootchman;

Klootchman: Klahowya, tyee.
 Man: Klahowya. Kahta mika?
 Klootchman: Nika kloshe. Mika nah
 kumtuks wawa Chinook wawa?
 Man: Nawitka! Nika kumtuks delate
 kloshe Chinook wawa.
 Klootchman: Mika nah tikegh nanitch
 nika piah tsiktsik?
 Man: Mika nah makook chee piah
 tsiktsik tahlkie?
 Klootchman: Wake. Alki nika makook
 piah tsiktsik tomolla.
 Man: Aha. Kah mika klatawa alta?
 Klootchman: Nika klatawa kopa house.
 Tikegh moosum.
 Man: Nika klatawa muckamuck alta.
 Klootchman: Klahowya, tyee.

The Chief and the Doctor's Wife

Woman: Hello, chief.
 Man: Hello. How are you?
 Woman: I'm fine. Do you know (how
 to) speak Chinook Jargon?
 Man: Of course. I know Chinook
 Jargon really well.
 Woman: Do you want to see my
 car?
 Man: Did you buy a new car
 yesterday?
 Woman: No. I'm going to buy a
 car tomorrow.
 Man: Oh. Where are you going now?
 Woman: I'm going home. I'm
 sleepy.
 Man: I'm going to eat now.
 Woman: Goodbye, chief.

Vocabulary

ahnkuttie /án.kũ.tē/ (C) formerly,
 before now, long ago (also used as
 marker for the past tense).
 alki /ál.ki/ (C) by and by, later on,
 in the future (also used as marker
 for the future tense or intention)
 chee /chē/ (C) new
 tsiktsik /tsíktsik/ (J) wagon;
 piah tsiktsik, car (i.e. fire wagon)

Chinook wawa /chi.núk.wá.wau/ (C)
 the Chinook Jargon
 house /haws/ (E) house, home;
 klatawa kopa house, go home
 kah /ka/ (C) where? where is?
 klootchman /klúch.mũn/ (N) woman,
 wife, female, Mrs., Madam
 kumtuks /kũm.tũks/ (N) to know,
 to understand, to know how to

makook /má.kuk/ (N) to buy with
money or credit

man /mǎn/ (E) man, male, Mr., Sir

moosum /mú.sǔm/ (UCh and LCh) to sleep;
tikegh moosum, be sleepy

muckamuck /múk.ǔ.múk/ (?) to eat, to
drink, food

nah /na/ (C) Question marker

nanitch /ná.nich/ (N) to look, to see

nawitka /na.wít.kǔ/ (C) Yes, of course,
O.K., indeed

piah /pí.yǔ/ (E) fire, flame, match

tahlkie /tál.kē/ (C) yesterday;
also, tahlkie sun

tikegh /tí.kē/ (C) to want, to wish,
to like, to love

tomolla /to.mó.lǔ/ (E) tomorrow

tyee /tī.yē/ (N) chief, boss,
superior, manager, officer

wawa /waú.wau/ (C) word, language,
to speak, talk.

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

The new vocabulary introduced in Dialogue 2 derives from English, Nootka and Chinook. The English words house and man are easily recognizable, although piah ('fire') and tomolla (tomorrow) require acquaintance with those sound changes (i.e. f becomes p; r becomes l or is lost) which English words necessarily underwent to facilitate pronunciation by Indians. Klootchman ('woman') derives from Nootka lutsma,¹ so it can be seen that Indian words also underwent changes in being adopted into and adapted for Jargon. The Jargon vocabulary of Chinook origin provides us with most of the "grammatical" words (the pronouns; demonstratives, and words that show tense) and modifiers (numbers, colors, etc.). Nootka and Salish words comprise some of the most

¹ The "whispered l" sound, written l (barred l) in phonetics, is a common sound in Northwest Coast Indian languages. It also occurs in Welsh, where it is written ll, and reflected in names like Lloyd and Parnell. Because non-Indians in general could not produce the sound, they pronounced it kl or tl. When you find Jargon words with kl at the beginning or tl in the middle or at the end, you know that these words contained whispered l in the Indian tongues from which they were borrowed. Some White speakers of Jargon learned to pronounce this sound. You produce it by setting your mouth as if you were going to pronounce a word that started with l (leap, leopard) and then simply blowing without moving lips or tongue. If you have the tape, listen to a few examples of words pronounced with whispered l: klahowya, klaksta, klohkloh (oysters), chetlo (also oysters), tatlalum, yotlkut (long), potlatch (to give), mitlite (to stay, reside), and pahtl (full, note that pahtlum, 'drunk (or full of rum)' really should be spelled pahtlum). For a full treatment of the sound changes that words underwent when adopted into Jargon, see the introduction to the Chinook-English dictionary at the back of the book.

basic actions and things, and English and French loanwords are typically used in Jargon for those trade items, tools, and foodstuffs which were introduced by the White traders for which there were, naturally, no Indian words. There are, of course, some exceptions to these generalizations.

Idioms and Expressions

Due to the miniaturized vocabulary of Jargon, it was often necessary to compose elaborate descriptive phrases to express ideas and names of things which in other languages are expressed by a single word. Many of these exist in Jargon and some are quite imaginative.

hum opoots 'stink tail'	---	'skunk (i.e. stinking tail end)'
opitsah yaka sikhs 'knife his friend'	---	'fork (i.e. the knife's friend)'
tenas man moosmoos 'little man cow'	---	'steer (i.e. boy cow)'
stone kopa mimalose ilahee 'stone in death ground'	---	'grave-stone'

You'll have to exercise your imagination to help you make up such expressions as you speak Jargon. They are essential "phrase-descriptions" of things or actions based on a characteristic (e.g. smell), relationship (fork to knife), distinction (male-vs-female), or location (if you find a thing only in a particular place). Don't be timid about creating these expressions. Use your imagination! Sometimes the most far-fetched characterizations are the most easily recognized. Remember that Jargon is first and foremost a practical language ... the only test of success in speaking Jargon is being able to make yourself understood. This "caricaturing" of a thing by using the available vocabulary is part of the skill and much of the fun of using Jargon. Exercise D at the end of the lesson will give you some practice at composing these phrase-words.

There are also idioms which already exist in standard Jargon usage which must be learned. We will learn several hundred in the course of our lessons. A few useful words do a disproportionate part of the work in Jargon and appear in dozens of idiomatic expressions. Two of these are:

- 1) mamook /ma.muk/ (N) 'to do, make, cause, work, act'
e.g. mamook chako 'to fetch (lit. cause to come)'
mamook elip 'to begin (cause to start)'
mamook cultus 'to ruin (make bad)'
mamook delate 'to correct (make straight, right)'
mamook kuntuks 'to teach, show (cause to know)'
mamook kunjih 'to count (make how many)'
etc.
- 2) chako /cha.ko/ (N) 'to come, approach, become'
chako mimalose 'to die (become dead)'
chako halo 'to be destroyed, disappear, be all gone (become not!)'
chako boston 'to acquire Whiteman's habits (become White-ish, lit.)
chako polaklie 'to get dark'
chako waum tumtum 'to get excited'
chako hyiu tumtum 'to get proud (become much heart)'
chako yotl tumtum 'to be happy, glad (become glad heart)'
chako solleks 'become angry'
chako tenas 'decrease (become little)'
chako pelton 'go crazy (become deranged)'
etc.

Broad and Narrow Meanings of Words

Notice how broad the meanings of many Jargon words are. Wawa, for instance, means 'word, language, speak, talk, converse, speech, sermon, story, voice, call, declare (anything said, written or printed)'. In his Jargon dictionary (1909), George C. Shaw listed 45 meanings for kloshe, ranging from 'good, well, fine' to 'handsome, hospitable, and virtuous'. However, the historical development of Jargon as a trade language resulted in some very precise meanings for particular words. Knowing these developments can add to your enjoyment of learning Jargon.

The word makook, for instance, originally meant 'to trade for or trade away', as trading was the way goods originally changed hands on the Northwest Coast. Later, when money came to be used in the fur trade, makook came to mean 'to buy or sell', as well. The French loanword

mahsh /mash/ (from marchand or marché) originally had the meaning "to sell," which overlapped with that of makook. By extension, it took on the meaning of "throwing away, expelling, and getting rid of." Then, a third term appeared: huyhuy /hu.wē.hu.wē/ (probably from oui, oui! Fr. "Yes, yes!" suggesting haggling in trading) basically meaning "to buy, trade, sell". So we had 3 words with overlapping meaning. Makook and huyhuy both meant to buy, sell, or trade with makook being the most common word and huyhuy often meaning to "make a fast deal." Mahsh meant to sell, but usually only in the sense of "selling off" to get rid of something.

The words kwult /kwult/, 'to hit without cutting or breaking', and mamook kokshut /kōk.shut/, 'to hit and break' also suggest such distinctions. However not all Jargon speakers recognize such a difference between this pair of words.

Synonyms

Although it seems wasteful with such a small vocabulary, there are also numerous sets of synonyms in Jargon. You should know them both for understanding and because you can use them to spice your Jargon usage. Most of these sets of words with similar meaning were caused by borrowing words for the same thing from two different languages. A few, however, are caused by extension of the precise meanings of words, which cause overlapping connotations with other words. For instance, tala means 'money in general, as well as dollar'. There is also the word chikamin /chí.kū.min/ which means 'iron, metal (and was extended to mean coins or gold)' and the words hykwa /hī.kwū/ (N) and coopcoop /kúp.kup/ (C) both of which mean 'dentalium shell trade goods (and were extended to mean money in general)'. So we have four words which can be used for money. In fact, George Coombs Shaw, the Jargon lexicographer, used the pen name Nika Tikegh Chikamin, 'I want money'.

Despite the small jargon vocabulary, there exist a few sets of synonyms for which no distinctions of meaning have ever arisen. These are often due to the same historical accidents that left both mahsh and makook meaning originally 'to sell'. Jargon sprang into use over a great area in a relatively short span of time, and during this formative period a few words came to be used in one area at the same time as a different word was being adopted for the same thing or idea elsewhere. These pairs of words

with the same meaning might, later, suffer one of a number of fates:

A) become specialized and, thus, distinguished in meaning; B) one might take precedence and the other be forgotten or fall out of use; or C) both might remain as synonyms.

Examples of synonyms in Jargon are:

wake }
halo } both meaning 'no, not.' Apparently halo was commonly
 } used as a negative in the Puget Sound area Jargon
 } usage while wake was more common in Oregon. In
 } later years, however, the two seem to have been
 } used interchangeably.

lum
whiskey } 'whiskey (any alcoholic beverage)'

sun
otelagh /ó.te.lag/ } 'sun'

noise /as in Eng./
latlah /la.tlá/ } 'noise, noisy'

tupso /túp.so/ (also 'grass, beard')
yakso /yák.so/ } 'hair'

hyak /hí.yák/
howh /ho/ } 'to hurry'

Numerous phrases also prove to be synonymous with Jargon words, e.g.:

klapite /klú.pít/ ('twine, thread')
tenas lope (lit. 'little rope') } 'twine'

delate ('straight, exact')
halo kliminawhit (lit. 'not a lie') } 'true, truth'

yiem /yem/
wawa (or wawa wawa) } 'to tell a story'

Don't be troubled by synonyms. Neither word is "more authentic" than the other. Use them to color your Jargon usage.

Variant Pronunciations of Words

There are instances of Jargon words having different pronunciations in different areas which were so distinct as to appear to be different words. In the dictionaries they frequently occur as synonyms rather than variant pronunciations (or spellings). An example of this is kunjih and kunsih,

which are simply variant pronunciations of the same Chinook word. These variations in pronunciation are generally due to the adoption in different areas of Indian words used with slight tribal variations in pronunciation. It may, however, also be that the two terms only appear to be different pronunciations of the same word, but are, in fact, two different Indian words borrowed into Jargon at different times. Examples of this are the following pairs:

shwakuk	/shwa.kúk/ (possibly Twana, Chehalis without s-prefix)	} 'frog'
wakik	/wa.kék/ (Chehalis, Halkomelem and other languages)	
itswoot	/íts.wut/ (C)	} 'black bear'
chetwot	/ché.t.wut/ (Puget)	

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

In this lesson, we have the beginning of the grammatical material which must be mastered if one wants to speak Jargon in more than monosyllables. It is a common misconception that Jargon has no grammar. All real languages have grammar, and pidgin languages like Chinook Jargon are no exception. We must distinguish, however, between two uses of the term grammar. Jargon does not have grammar in the sense that Miss Fidditch used to teach us grammar ("Not ain't gonna, but shall not, Johnny!"). Such established and accepted norms of correctness do not exist for Jargon, as such. Chinook Jargon has a grammar in the sense that mechanisms exist in the language which allow us to decide which word indicates the subject of an action and which the object. It makes provision for the expression of tense, plural, person (i.e. the person speaking, spoken to, or spoken about), passive action, possession, questions and commands. In each of the following lessons, we will cover a few aspects of the grammar of Jargon.

A) Word Order in Sentences

As in English and French (but differing from Indian languages of this area, see footnote), much grammatical information is conveyed by the

Indian languages of the North Pacific Coast belong to a class of tongues known somewhat forbiddingly to scholars as agglutinative or polysynthetic languages. Such languages handle most grammatical processes by affixation (i.e. morphology) rather than by stringing together words into phrases and sentences as we do in English.

order of words in the Jargon sentence. Primarily, it allows the hearer to distinguish subject, predicate and object relations (that is, the actor, the action and the thing acted upon, respectively). We will discuss the order of constituents of several types of Jargon sentences below, giving examples of each type.

1) Simple sentences (with no direct object)

Subject - Verb

Siwash kumtuks ('The Indian knows.')

2) Negative sentences

Wake
Halo } Subject - Verb

Wake siwash kumtuks (or) Halo siwash kumtuks ('The Indian doesn't know.')

3) Sentences with a direct object

Subject - Verb - Object

Siwash - kumtuks - Chinook wawa ('The Indian knows Jargon.')

Tyee - tikegh - kloodchman ('The chief likes the woman.')

4) Negative sentences with direct objects

Wake
Halo } Subject - Verb - Object

Wake - siwash - kumtuks - Chinook wawa ('The Indian doesn't know Jargon.')

Halo - tyee - tikegh - kloodchman ('The chief doesn't like the woman.')

5) Questions

If there is no question word, you insert the question marker nah: Subject - nah - Verb - Object.

Boston nah makook tsiktsik? ('Is the Whiteman buying a wagon?')

The question marker nah was used importantly in Jargon during the early days, but Shaw notes that it had fallen out of use completely in the Puget Sound area by the turn of the century. We encourage you to use it.

If a question word is included in the sentence you use the following order (without nah):

Question word - Subject - Verb - Object

Kah boston makook tsiktsik? ('Where is the Whiteman buying the wagon?')

We have already learned three question words:

kahta 'how, why'

kah 'where'

kunjih 'how many, how much'

Other important ones are:

ikta /ík.tũ/ 'what'

klaksta /klák.stũ/ 'who'

kunsih /kún.sē/ 'when'. Note that this word was originally a variant of kunjih. It may be that some Indian groups changed the j to a ts sound. In any case, we find that very early Jargon developed the two distinct words for questions: kunsih, when, and kunjih, how many/much.

6) Commands

mika

mesika } - Verb - (object) -or- Verb-(object)

Mika klatawa! -or- Klatawa! '(you) Go!'

Mesika potlatch tala -or- Potlatch tala '(you) Give money

(i.e. to me)!' (Note: Common usage left out mika and mesika.)

B) Tense in Jargon

Most sentences in Jargon do not have the tense of the verb explicitly marked. It is apparent from the context. Where tense is important or ambiguity might occur, tense is marked by the use of an adverbial particle which we will call a tense marker. All three Jargon tense markers have already been introduced in the dialogues:

Present - alta 'now'

Past - ahnkuttie 'formerly, in the past'.

Future - alki 'in the future, later on'

(N.B.: bymby /bīm.bí/ (from Eng. By and by) is also used to show future tense in Jargon, but implies a more remote future activity than alki.

In simple declarative sentences, this marker will probably appear as first or last constituent. Examples of the use of these tense markers can be found in the dialogue. Other examples are:

Mika nah kuntuks alta? 'Do you understand now?' (or 'Do you understand?')

Alta mika kuntuks. 'You understand now.' (or 'You understand.')

Alta mika makook muckamuck. 'You buy food now.' (or 'You are buying food.'

Ahnkuttie siwash nah klatawa? 'Did the Indian go?'

Ahnkuttie tyee klatawa. 'The chief went.'

Ahnkuttie boston tikegh klootchman. 'The White liked the woman.'

Takta nah moosum alki? 'Will the doctor sleep?'

Alki nika moosum. 'I will sleep.'

Alki nika nanitch klootchman. 'I will see the woman.'

Bymby nika nanitch klootchman. 'I will see the woman someday.'

Sometimes adverbs such as tomolla, okoke sun, and tahlkie serve to set the tense as future, present or past, respectively, and no tense marker is used.'

C) The verb 'to be' and the articles (a, an, the)

You may by now have noticed that there is no way to express the verb to be in Jargon. This does not create a problem. Sentences are constructed on the following pattern:

Tsiktsik chee. 'The wagon is new.'

Okoke siwash tyee. 'That Indian is chief.'

Kahta mika? 'How are you?'

Nika sick. 'I am sick.'

Mika kloshe. 'You are well.'

Mika nah kloshe? 'Are you well?'

Ahnkuttie mika kloshe? 'Were you well?'

Ahnkuttie nika sick. 'I was sick.'

Nika nah kloshe alki? 'Am I going to be well?'

Alki siwash tyee. 'The Indian will be chief.'

The use of the verb to be in passive type sentences (e.g. The man was hit.) will be covered in Lesson IV.

Both the definite article ('the') and the indefinite articles ('a, an') are left untranslated in Jargon, as well. Indeed, the word for 'this', okoke, exists for precise reference when that is necessary. Articles, which carry no locational reference, are not translated into Jargon, however. You will find that it creates no problem of understanding.

Tyee nanitch boston kopa house. 'The chief sees the Whiteman in the house.' (or) 'A chief sees a Whiteman in a house.'

Whether the definite or indefinite article should be assumed in translating a Jargon sentence will generally be evident from context. In English, we usually use the indefinite article to mention something for the first time, and the definite article to refer to it thereafter.

John saw a trunk. The trunk was red and black.

If it is important to assure reference to a particular thing or idea, the demonstrative okoke may be used. Examples are presented below.

Siwash nanitch boston. Okoke boston delate sick.

Halo kumtuks boston Chinook wawa. Klatawa siwash kopa takta kopa piah tsiktsik.

'An Indian sees a White. That White is really sick.

The White doesn't know the Chinook Jargon language.

The Indian goes to or for a (or, if there is only one doctor in the community, the doctor) doctor in a car.'

EXERCISES

Exercise A

Read and translate the following sentences which contain vocabulary from Lessons I and II.

- 1) Siwash hyas sick okoke sun.
- 2) Klatawa mika tillikum kopa takta tomolla?
- 3) Kahta mika, nika klootchman?
- 4) Nika kumtuks wawa Chinook wawa.
- 5) Wake nika tikegh muckamuck boston muckamuck alta. Halo kloshe.
- 6) Alki mika pee nika klatawa kopa nika house. Tikegh muckamuck pee moosum.
- 7) Kah mika chee house? Tikegh kumtuks kah okoke house.
- 8) Nawitka. Nika makook muckamuck kopa tyee. (Kopa means 'for' in this case.)
- 9) Nika sick tumtum. Nika tillikum hyas sick okoke sun.
- 10) Nika tikegh tahtlum pee mokst chee piah tsiktsik
- 11) Kunjih siwash klatawa kopa mika house?
- 12) Kunjih okoke piah tsiktsik?
- 13) Kunjih mokst tahtlum pee kwinnum, pee sinamokst tahtlum pee kwaist?
- 14) Klahowya, tyee yaka klootchman; alki nika klatawa kopa house.
- 15) Wake tyee kumtuks kunjih siwash kopa Bakooba.

Exercise B

Numbers.

- 1) Count to twenty by twos.
- 2) Count to one hundred by fives.
- 3) Count backwards from ten.
- 4) In what year did Columbus discover the Americas?
- 5) Tell the time now in Jargon.
- 6) How many miles from where you are to Victoria (Biktoli), to Seattle (Siyatl)?
- 7) How much change do you have in your pocket?
- 8) Kunjih tala tikegh mika?

Exercise C

Read and translate the following paragraph.

Wake nika kumtuks kah nika klootchman. Ahnkuttie nika klatawa kopa piah tsiktsik kopa tyee. Wake tyee kumtuks kah nika klootchman. Nika klatawa kopa takta pee kopa bostonman. Halo takta kumtuks kah nika klootchman. Pee halo bostonman kumtuks. Ahnkuttie nika klatawa kopa tillikum. Nika klootchman wake kopa okoke house. Alki klatawa kopa siwash-tillikum. Nika siwash-tillikum kumtuks wawa Chinook wawa. Alki wawa Chinook wawa kopa nika tillikum. Tillikum nika hyas sick, halo kloshe. Pee alki nika klatawa kopa nika house. Klonas ('maybe') nika klootchman kopa house.

Exercise D

Use your imagination to decide what these phrases express in Jargon.

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1) makook house | 5) moosum house |
| 2) house kopa mamook kumtuks | 6) siwash ilahee |
| 3) tala house | 7) muckamuck house |
| 4) sick house | |

Exercise E

Express the following sentences in past, present and future tenses.

- 1) Nika kumtuks Chinook wawa.

Example: Alta nika kumtuks Chinook wawa. "I know Jargon (now!)."
Ahnkuttie nika kumtuks Chinook wawa. "I used to know Jargon."
Alki nika kumtuks Chinook wawa. "I will know Jargon."

- 2) Mika tikegh moosum.
- 3) Tyee yaka klootchman makook muckamuck.
- 4) Takta klatawa kopa sick siwash.
- 5) Bostonman nanitch nika chee piah tsiktsik.

Exercise F

Two very important words were introduced in this lesson: Mamook and chako. What do these words mean? Review the idioms that include these words. Then write ten Jargon sentences using these idioms.

Exercise G

You have now encountered all of the important question words in Jargon. They are: kah, kahta, kunjih, kunsih, ikta, klaksta, and the question-marker nah. Learn their meanings and make up a question using each. Pay attention to the order of words in your questions.

Exercise H

A news periodical for native issues called KAHTOU has been published in B.C. for several years. What Chinook Jargon term is this? Why do you think a Chinook term would be chosen for a newspaper that is read by Indians from bands speaking various languages?

Exercise I

In Chinook Jargon days, every Chinooker had a nickname. It did not have to be a Chinook Jargon word or phrase, although the great Chinook dictionary maker George Coombs Shaw used the phrase NIKA TIKEGH CHIKAMIN for a nickname. Another dictionary writer named Walter S. Phillips used the nickname EL COMMANCHO. The nicknames could even be a "Jargonization" of one's own name following the usual sound shifts of r - l, with addition of vowels between most pairs of consonants (this is covered in lesson 5); for example, Mary Lou would be Malilu, etc.). Come up with your own nickname and make it known so that others can use it with you.

LESSON III

Dialogue

"Kopa Makook House"

Makook Man: Klahowya, sikhs!

Kahta Mika?

Tenas Klootchman: Nika, kloshe.

Snass okoke sun, aha?

MM: Aha. Ikta tikegh makook?

TK: Nika hyiu tikegh hyiu muckamuck,
klone klale pasisi, kinootl, sail,
mestin, pee lum.

MM: Ikta muckamuck tikegh?

TK: Tikegh kaupee, salt, lepan, pish,
tatoosh, lesap, lapool, kushu, olalie,
pee huloima ikta.

MM: Delate hyiu muckamuck! Kunsih
sail mika tikegh?

TK: Ikt stick pil, tkope, pee
kawkawak sail.

MM: Halo mitlite pil. Spooch mitlite
kopa nika.

TK: Kloshe. Mika nah elahan lolo?

MM: Nawitka! Addeda, yaka delate til!
Kah piah tsiktsik mikas?

"At The Store"

Merchant: Hello, friend!

How are you?

Girl: I'm fine. It's raining
today, eh?

Merchant: Yes. What do you
want to buy?

Girl: I need a lot of food,
three black blankets, tobacco,
cloth, medicine, and whiskey.

Merchant: What food (would) you like?

Girl: I want coffee, salt, bread,
fish, milk, eggs, chicken, pork,
fruit, and other things.

Merchant: Really a lot of food!
How much cloth do you want?

Girl: One yard of red, white,
and yellow cloth.

Merchant: (I have) no red. I have
light blue.

Girl: Good. Will you help carry it?

Merchant: Of course! Ugh, it's
really heavy! Where's your car?

Vocabulary

aha (J) /á.ha/ yes, OK, agreed, fine

addeda (J) /á.de.da/ eh? Ugh! Ouch! etc.

elahan (LCh) /é.lũ.hũn/ help, aid, give alms

huloima (C) /hu.lóy.mǔ/ other,
 another, strange, different
 hyiu (N) /hí.yū/ many, much
 ikta (C) /ík.tǔ/ what? thing,
 goods, merchandise
 kaupee (E) /káu.pī/ coffee
 kawkawak (C) /káv.kǔ.wǔk/ yellow
 kinootl (C) /kí.nutl/ tobacco,
 smoking
 klale (C) /klāl/ black, dark blue
 konaway (C) /ká.nǔ.wā/ all, every,
 entire, whole
 kushu (F) /kú.shu/ pig, pork, bacon
 lepan (F) /le.pán/ bread
 (also sapolil)
 lepool (F) /le.púl/ chicken
 lesap (F) /le.sáp/ egg (also
 olalie lapool)
 lolo (C) /ló.lo/ carry, load,
 load up
 lum (E) /lǔm/ whiskey
 (also piah chuck, wiskee)

mestin (E) /més.tin/ medicine
 mitlite (C) /mit.līt/ to stay,
 sit, dwell, possess
 moosmoos (Klik? Cree?) /mús.mus/ 'cow,
 olalie (K) /ō.lá.lē/ berry, ^{beef} fruit
 pasisi (C) /pa.sé.sē/ blanket
 pechugh (C) /pǔ.chák/ green
 pil (C) /pil/ red, orange
 pish (E) /pish/ fish (general)
 sail (E) /sāl/ cloth, yard goods
 salt (E) /sault/ salt, salt water
 snass (?) /snās/ rain
 spooch (C) /spó.wǔ/ light blue, faded
 stick (E) /stik/ tree, wood,
 pole, wooden; also yardstick,
 one yard (measurement)
 tatoosh (Cree) /ta.túsh/ milk,
 breast
 tkope (C) /t.kóp/ white, clean
 yaka (C) /yá.ka/ he, she, him,
 her, it.

Idioms

hyiu tikegh, need (nika hyiu tikegh muckamuck, 'I need food').

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

Etymology

The derivation of Jargon words has been discussed above and the source language of new words is given as they are introduced in the lessons. Although there is little doubt as to the language of origin of most of the words in Jargon, a number of terms have been changed so drastically that we can no longer recognize the relation between the word as it is used in Jargon and the form in which it occurs in the source language. An example is the word elahan or elann, 'to help'. We assume that it is a Salish loanword, but

no Salish language has a form exactly matching the Jargon term. The closest are:

Quinault	jəlaa	'to help' (ə as in {but})
Lower Chehalis	yəla',	'come help' and yəla'ən 'he helped him'
Upper Chehalis	syaləm	'a helper'

Bearing in mind the sound changes necessary to make Jargon words pronounceable for speakers of numerous different and widely differing languages, it seems quite normal that a few words might change beyond recognition. Such problems of identification are especially common with Salishan loanwords, for there are twenty-one distinct Salish languages -- each of which may have a slightly variant term for a thing or action. Furthermore, words probably passed from mouth to mouth numerous times before gaining common acceptance in general Jargon parlance. For a few words, such as elahan, it has resulted in seriously obscuring their origin.

The origin of other Jargon words is obscured by a fog of folklore. The wandering artist, Paul Kane, gives us an early example of such popular attempts to account for the derivation of Jargon terms:

"This patois (Jargon) I was enabled after some short time to acquire, and could converse with most of the chiefs with tolerable ease; their common salutation is clak-hoh-ah-yah, originating, as I believe, in having heard in the early days of the fur trade, a gentleman named Clark frequently addressed by his friends, "Clark, how are you?" This salutation is now applied to every white man, their own language affording no appropriate expression."

(Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist,
London, 1859, p. 183)

We can be grateful that Kane was a better artist than philologist. The word klahowya is a normal greeting in the Chinook language that was borrowed by Jargon. However, such "folk etymologies" could be collected wherever old-timers gathered to swap fictions, and a few persist.

Beware of these mythological explanations. No informed Jargon speaker should be guilty of believing or spreading such colorful balderdash! The informed Chinooker doesn't need the seasoning of folklore, anyway. There is a great deal of etymological spice in Jargon without resorting to the imagination. For instance, the term pelton, 'crazy, foolish' entered

Jargon due to a deranged trader variously recorded as Arthur (Archibald?) Pelton or Felton, who was brought to Astoria in 1812 by Wilson Price Hunt. The Indians were so entranced by the antics of this lunatic that his name has been immortalized in the trade language.

Frenchmen were pasiyooks: the -ooks suffix is Chinook for 'people' (and seen in the name Chinooks), and is attached either to a corruption of the word Français (Pasi-) or to a form of the Jargon word for blanket, pasisi. George Gibbs was convinced of the latter, that White traders were characterized as "clothmen" and the name was later restricted to the French Canadian traders (although Indians east of the Cascades are reported to have applied it to all traders in the early days). The word for Saturday, muckamuck sun, derives from the fact that rations were passed out at all the Hudson Bay posts on Saturday. A rattlesnake is shugh opoots (literally 'rattle-rear'); spectacles are lakit seeowist ('four eyes') or tala seeowist ('dollar, round eyes'). Fever and ague is waum sick col sick ('hot sickness-cold sickness'). An awareness of the historical accidents which helped create Jargon can make learning easier and remembering more enjoyable.

Exclamations

We learned two exclamatory expressions in this lesson: aha and addeda. These belong to a category of words peculiar to Chinook Jargon which serve as interjections. There are a number of these words which you should learn. They give a particularly authentic flavor to your Jargon usage. Be careful. You will find them creeping into your English!

aba /á.ba/ 'well, then'

aha /á.ha/ 'yes, OK, agreed, fine, now you have it,
is that right?'

ala /á.la/ 'Oh! (surprise or inspiration) Eureka!'

ana /á.na/ 'Nuts! Phooey! You've got to be kidding!

(disgust or displeasure)

kwa /kwǔ/ (surprise, often feigned)

kwish /kwish/ 'Nuts! Go to the devil! (exclamation of refusal)

piupiu /pyú.pyu/ (exclamation of disgust at a stink)

More Idioms

It is important to continue learning Jargon idiomatic expressions if one is to develop facility in the type of colloquial conversation for which the language is so well suited. Among the most important idioms are those involving three words which we have already learned: delate, mahsh, and huloima.

delate /dē.lāt/ (Fr. droite or Eng. straight) 'straight, sure, accurate, true, truly, exact, definite, correct'
klatawa delate 'go straight ahead'
okoke delate 'that is correct'
halo delate 'not right or true'
delate tahtlum col ahnkuttie 'exactly ten years ago'
wawa delate 'speaking the truth'
delate kumtuks 'know for sure, be certain, know really well'
delate pahatl 'completely full'
delate mika wawa 'your own language, your promise'
nika delate sick tumtum 'I'm very sorry, really sorry'

>

mahsh /mash/ (Fr. marchand) 'to sell, throw away, change, exchange, get rid of, spend, put out (extinguish), drop, leave, distribute, reject, put aside, banish, reject, etc.
mahsh mika! 'get out'
halo mahsh 'to save, not waste or throw away'
cultus mahsh 'to waste'
mahsh kopa ilahee 'to bury'
mahsh poolie pish 'throw away rotten (poolie) fish'
mahsh tenas man 'give birth to a baby'
mahsh chuck kopa canim 'bail a canoe'
mahsh house 'move from a house, sell a house'
mahsh kamooks klahanie 'put the dog (kamooks) outside'
mahsh kapo 'take off one's coat'
mahsh kunamokst 'to mix up, stir all together (kunamokst)'
mahsh kow 'untie (kow, knot, tie)'
mahsh mestin kopa lemah yaka kloshe kopa sick 'to vaccinate
(lit. put in medicine in the arm which is good for sickness)'

huloima 'different, other, another, diverse, foreign, strange,
odd, unusual, separate'

huloima ikta 'various, different, other things'

hyas huloima 'a great difference'

huloima wawa 'foreign language'

huloima ilahee 'foreign country, someone else's land'

huloima tumtum 'different opinion, dissent'

huloima tillikum 'different tribe'

klatawa kopa huloima ilahee 'immigrate'

huloima mamook 'a miracle, an amazing occurrence'

Sound Symbolism and "Repeater" Words

A common feature of the Indian languages of the North Pacific Coast is the use of what linguists call reduplicated words. Such words are composed of a part, often a syllable, repeated twice. Many of these words appear to sound like the animal, thing, or activity which they connote, i.e. are sound symbolism or onomatopoeic terms. Such words aren't toy words or baby talk! They're a feature of almost all languages....but particularly common in pidgins. Most of the Jargon repeaters are original Chinook words, but a few have been taken from English or French. Note that "ha-ha" and "ding-ding" are doubled in English, too. Some of the Jargon words seem to have been made up. Tsiktsik is usually said to have been composed to sound like the squeaking of a wagon, but it may be an attempt to portray the clucking noise one makes to start a team of horses. The origin of muckamuck is one of Jargon's most piquing mysteries. Here is a list of the common Jargon "repeater words".

chakchak (C) - 'eagle'

cheechee (C) - 'small bird'

chilchil (C) - 'stars, buttons'

coopcoop (C) - 'dentalium shell money'

hahthaht (Puget) or kwehkweh (C) - 'mallard duck'

hehe (E) - 'laugh, laughter, joke'

hohhoh (C) - 'to cough'

hoolhool (C) - 'mouse'

kahkah (C) - 'crow'

kishkish(C) - 'to drive animals'

klohkloh (C) - 'oysters'

kweokweo (C) - 'ring, circle'

kwiskwis (C-Upper) - 'squirrel'

moosmoos (C? .Klik? .LCh? 'Cree?) - 'cow, beef'
 pilpil (C) - 'blood'
 pukpuk (?) - 'a blow from a fist'
 pusspuss (Fr) - 'cat'
 tehteh (C) - 'trot (as a horse)'
 tiktik (E) - 'clock, watch'
 tintin (F or E) - 'bell'
 tlaktlak (?) - 'grasshopper'

There are, as well, two forms made up of reduplicated parts, each of which is two syllables long.

coleecolee (C) - 'rat'
 kwala kwala (C) - 'to gallop (as a horse)'

GRAMMATICAL MATERIAL

Pronouns

The pronouns comprise the category of Jargon words which occur most frequently in conversation. They are absolutely indispensable and must be flawlessly learned. Luckily they are easy to memorize -- we have learned most of them already.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
1st person (speaker)	nika 'I, me'	nesika /ne.sí.kǔ/	'we, us'
2nd person (one spoken to)	mika 'you'	mesika /me.sí.kǔ/	'you all'
3rd person (one spoken about)	yaka 'he, she, it'	klaska /klá.skǔ/	'they'

Notice that there are no gender distinctions: male things are not distinguished from female, nor are animate things from inanimate. If a person or animal must be distinguished as a female, a form with klotchman may be used, e.g. klotchman takta 'a doctor who is a woman', or klotchman kamooks 'a female dog'.

The student is now in a position to learn all the forms of Jargon verbs. Using the format provided below, you can learn to give the forms in order (1st, 2nd, 3rd singular, then plural) for any Jargon verb:

'I want'	nika tikegh	'We want'	nesika tikegh
'You want'	mika tikegh	'You all want'	mesika tikegh
'He, she or it wants'	yaka tikegh	'They want'	klaska tikegh

* * * *

'I see you' nika nanitch mika

'We see him' nesika nanitch yaka

'You see me' mika nanitch nika

'You all see me' mesika nanitch nika

'He sees us' yaka nanitch nesika

'They see you all' klaska nanitch mesika

Remember that we have already learned the only other Jargon pronoun, the demonstrative okoke 'this, that'.

Possessives

There are several ways to say you "have" or "own" something in Jargon.

- A. The most common method of expressing ownership or control is by simply using a pronoun, for example:

nika tala 'my money'

nesika tala 'our money'

mika tala 'your money'

mesika tala 'your (pl.) money'

yaka tala 'his, her, it's money'

klaska tala 'their money'

Note that these possessive pronouns precede the word which is possessed.

- B. Pronouns may also follow the thing possessed, but only when they will be the last word in a sentence. Although this is not universal Jargon usage, students are encouraged to learn it. It apparently derives from English, as in "that dog is yours" or "the house is John's". As in English, such forms have an -s suffix, as well.

okoke tala nikas 'that is my dollar, or that dollar of mine'

yaka sikhs mikas 'he is your friend, or it's a friend of yours, etc.'

nesika tyee klaskas 'we are their chief'

- C. A third manner of showing possession in Jargon is by using the preposition kopa. It may be used with pronouns (e.g. tyee kopa nika 'my chief, lit. chief to me'); however, it occurs primarily in constructions that do not contain pronouns...

house kopa tyee 'the chief's house (lit. house to/of chief)'

muckamuck kopa boston 'the White man's food'

moosmoos kopa siwash 'the Indian's cow'

- D. In fact, you can combine those two types of possessive (kopa and -s) just as in English when we say, "that nurse of my mother's" and "the car of John's". Here are some examples:

okoke kopa yakas 'This is (of) his'

halo kopa nikas 'It's not (of) mine'.

We learned a fourth type of possession in Dialog 2. It takes the form possessor - yaka - possessed, e.g.

takta yaka klootchman, 'the doctor's wife'
siwash yaka tenas, 'the Indian's son'.

E. A fifth form of possessive phrase in Jargon uses the word mitlite. We saw examples of it in Dialog 3. It's usually used for articles in stock or in hand
halo mitlite pil 'there is no red' (or) 'I don't have any red'
spooch mitlite kopa nika 'light blue I do have'.

This type of phrase can be seen in these other examples as well:

mitlite hiyu tala kopa yaka 'he's got a lot of money'
halo mitlite pish kopa John 'John hasn't got any fish (to eat)'
ikta mitlite kopa mika? 'what do you have?'

Prepositions

As you have by now noticed, the most important Chinook Jargon preposition is kopa. It is a factotum that serves to denote any locational or attributive relationship. Shaw, in his dictionary, gives the following meanings:

"At, according to, around, about, concerning, to, into, with, towards, of, there, in that place, than, for, from, on, during, through, instead of."

The meaning which is intended will normally be evident from context. Examples of the use of kopa have been given above. Others are:

Mika klatawa kopa La Push. 'You are going to (or towards) La Push (Wash.)

Alki nika kopa Tumwata kopa kwinnun sun. 'I will be in Tumwater (Wash.) for five days'.

Yaka sick kopa bed. 'He is sick in bed'.

Mesika chako kopa makook house? 'Are you all coming from the store?'

Mika wawa kopa klaska kopa okoke ikta! 'You speak to them about that thing!'

Yaka chako kopa chuck. 'He is coming by water (or along or into the water depending on where the speaker is located)'

There are, however, other Jargon prepositions. They are really locational adverbs which are simply impressed into service as prepositions. A few of them cannot be used as prepositions without kopa. They are listed below with examples of proper use. Note that constructions with kopa denote motion.

- A) elip /é.lip/ 'first, front, beginning (before, in front of, ahead of)'
Nika elip klaska. 'I am ahead of them.'
- B) enati /é.nũ.tī/ 'the other side of, the opposite (across, beyond, over)'
Mika enati hyas chuck. 'You are across the big river.'
- C) keekwullie /ké.kwũ.lē/ 'the underneath, inside, area below (under, inside)'
Klaska keekwullie house. 'They are under the house.'
Klaska klatawa kopa keekwullie. 'They are going down.'
- D) kimtah /kím.tũ/ 'afterwards, last rear, the end (after, behind, in back of)'
Mesika kimtah house. 'You all are behind the house.'
Mesika chako kopa kimtah. 'You all are coming back, out back,
to the end.'
- E) klahanie /kla.há.nē/ 'the outside, the out of doors (out, outside)'
Nika mamook klahanie house. 'I am working outside the house.'
Nika klatawa kopa klahanie. 'I am going out of doors.'
- F) klak /klak/ 'to take off, cut off, away (off, out, away from)'
Nesika klak house. 'I am off, away from the house.'
Nesika klatawa klak house. 'I am going away from, off from the house.'
- G) mahtlinnie /mát.lí.nē/ 'off shore, on the ocean (away from shore)'
Klaska mahtlinnie salt chuck. 'They are out on the ocean.'
Klaska klatawa kopa mahtlinnie. 'They are going out to sea.'
- H) mahtwillie /mát.wi.lē/ 'on land, interior (towards land, inland)'
Yaka chako kopa mahtwillie. 'He is coming inland.'
- I) mimie /mí.mē/ 'the downstream area (downstream)'
Nika klatawa kopa mimie. 'I am going downstream.'
- J) kotsuk /kó.tsuk/ 'between' (note, that in some dictionaries this is
given as potsuk, a typographical error introduced in the Hibben
dictionaries and perpetuated).
Nika kotsuk house-house. 'I am between the houses.'
Nika chako kotsuk mika house pee house yakas. 'I am going
between your house and his house.'
- K) saghalie /sá.ha.lē/ 'the top, highest, sky, upwards (on top of, above)'
Jesus klatawa kopa saghalie. 'Jesus goes to heaven.'
Alta yaka saghalie nesika. 'Now he's above us.'

This completes the grammatical material for Lesson III. Learn the "three P's" (pronouns, possessives, and prepositions) presented in this section, and do the exercises provided below which pertain to this important new material.

EXERCISES

Exercise A Review of Material Covered in Previous Lessons

- 1) Mamook kunjih ikt kopa tahtlum. (mamook kunjih, 'count, lit. make how many')
- 2) Kunjih kwinnum pee lakit tahtlum pee kwaist?
- 3) Kunjih tala: \$827.50, \$643.25, \$295.10
- 4) Kah mika house? (hint: street is wayhut /wā.yoot/)
- 5) Ahnkuttie mika muckamuck okoke sun? Kah?
- 6) Mika nah kumtuks wawa Chinook wawa?
- 7) Klaska mika tyee? Klaska tyee Bitiskolopiya? Klaska tyee kinchochman?
Klaska tyee bostonman?
- 8) Nika tikegh tala. Potlatch tala kopa nika.
- 9) Mamook tzum okoke klone wawa kopa Chinook wawa: 'buy', 'sell', 'trade'.
(mamook tzum /tsum/ 'write, lit. make pictures, lines';
remember that wawa also means word)
- 10) Mika nah tikegh moosum? Wake moosum kopa kolawis! (/kó.lũ.wis/ 'school' from
English schoolhouse; sometimes kolawis-house)
- 11) Kunsih mika klatawa kopa house?
- 12) Mika nah tikegh muckamuck whiskey? Halo nah mika kumtuks whiskey hyas cultus?
- 13) Kahta (why) nah mika tikegh kumtuks Chinook wawa?
- 14) Ahnkuttie nah mika klatawa kopa Dutchman ilahee? Kopa klale-man ilahee?
Kopa Chapan ilahee? (hint: all Europeans except English, American
and French are Dutchman)
- 15) Mika nah kumtuks shantee Chinook wawa shantee? (shantee, from Fr.
chanter, 'to sing, song')

Exercise B Translate the following exclamations into Jargon.

- 1) Phew! A skunk is under the house.
- 2) Phooey! Fifteen dollars!
- 3) OK! I'll buy that chicken.
- 4) Well! I don't know. I must think about this. (think, mamook tumtum)
- 5) Eh? What's that?
- 6) Oh! I know now. It's one hundred dollars.
- 7) Nuts! It's very little!

Exercise C Translate the following sentences into English

- 1) Okoke halo delate.
- 2) Tyee wawa delate kopa nesika.
- 3) Halo delate kumtuks Chinook wawa.
- 4) Ahnkuttie nika klatawa kopa Biktoli delate kwinnum sun.
- 5) Delate kloshe klootchman nikas.
- 6) Delate nika house.
- 7) Yaka delate sick tumtum.
- 8) Halo cultus mahsh muckamuck!
- 9) Alki mahsh kopa ilahee okoke mimelose oleman siwash.
- 10) Mahsh kow okoke bot nikas.
- 11) Wake tikegh mika mahsh kapo mikas?
- 12) Ahnkuttie yaka klootchman mahsh tenas man kopa sick house tahlkie sun.
- 13) Ana! Halo tikegh okoke! Hyiu tikegh huloima ikta.
- 14) Halo kumtuks huloima wawa. Kumtuks wawa Chinook wawa pee Boston wawa
- 15) Hyas huloima! Siwash ilahee huloima ilahee.

Exercise D Here is a song that the missionary Myron Eells published in 1889. Can you translate it. It includes the names of various ethnic groups in Jargon.

Saghalie Tyee yaka pepah (paper, book), yaka Bible kloshe.
Kopa konoway Boston tillikums, yaka hyas kloshe.
Kopa konoway siwash tillikums, yaka hyas kloshe.
Kopa konoway King George tillikums, yaka hyas kloshe.
Kopa konoway pasaiyooks tillikums, yaka hyas kloshe. (Note 'spelling!')

Kopa konoway China tillikums, yaka hyas kloshe.
Kopa konoway klale man tillikums, yaka hyas kloshe.
kopa konoway Kanaka tillikums, yaka hyas kloshe.
Konoway tillikums tikegh tumtum tkope.

Exercise E Answer the following questions in Jargon

- 1) What color is the Canadian flag? (sail, 'flag'; tupso /tup.so/ 'leaf'
isick /i.sik/ stick, 'maple tree (lit. paddle tree)')
- 2) What color is the American flag? (chilchil, 'star'; delate tzum, 'stripes')
- 3) What color are your eyes? (seeowist /se.yu.host/ 'eye')
- 4) What color is your car? your house?

Exercise F Note how the following phrase can be given in all persons, numbers, and tenses. Can you tell the meanings of each?

	Present	Past	Future
I	Alta nika tikegh lum.	Ahnkuttie nika tikegh lum.	Alki nika tikegh lum.
You	Alta mika tikegh lum.	Ahnkuttie mika tikegh lum.	Alki nika tikegh lum.
He/she	Alta yaka tikegh lum.	Ahnkuttie yaka tikegh lum.	Alki yaka tikegh lum.
We	Alta nesika tikegh lum.	Ahnkuttie nesika tikegh lum.	Alki nesika tikegh lum.
You all	Alta mesika tikegh lum.	Ahnkuttie mesika tikegh lum.	Alki mesika tikegh lum.
They	Alta klaska tikegh lum.	Ahnkuttie klaska tikegh lum.	Alki klaska tikegh lum.

Can you do the same with these phrases?

1. Nanitch okoke kloodchman ('see the lady')
2. Chako kopa Kanaka Bar ('come to Kanaka Bar', a settlement in the Fraser Canyon of B.C.)
3. Hyiu tikegh takta ('needs a doctor')

Exercise G Give three other ways to express each of the following possessives.

1. Okoke house nika house. 'This is my house.'

Example: Okoke house nikas.

Okoke house kopa nika.

Okoke house mitlite kopa nika.

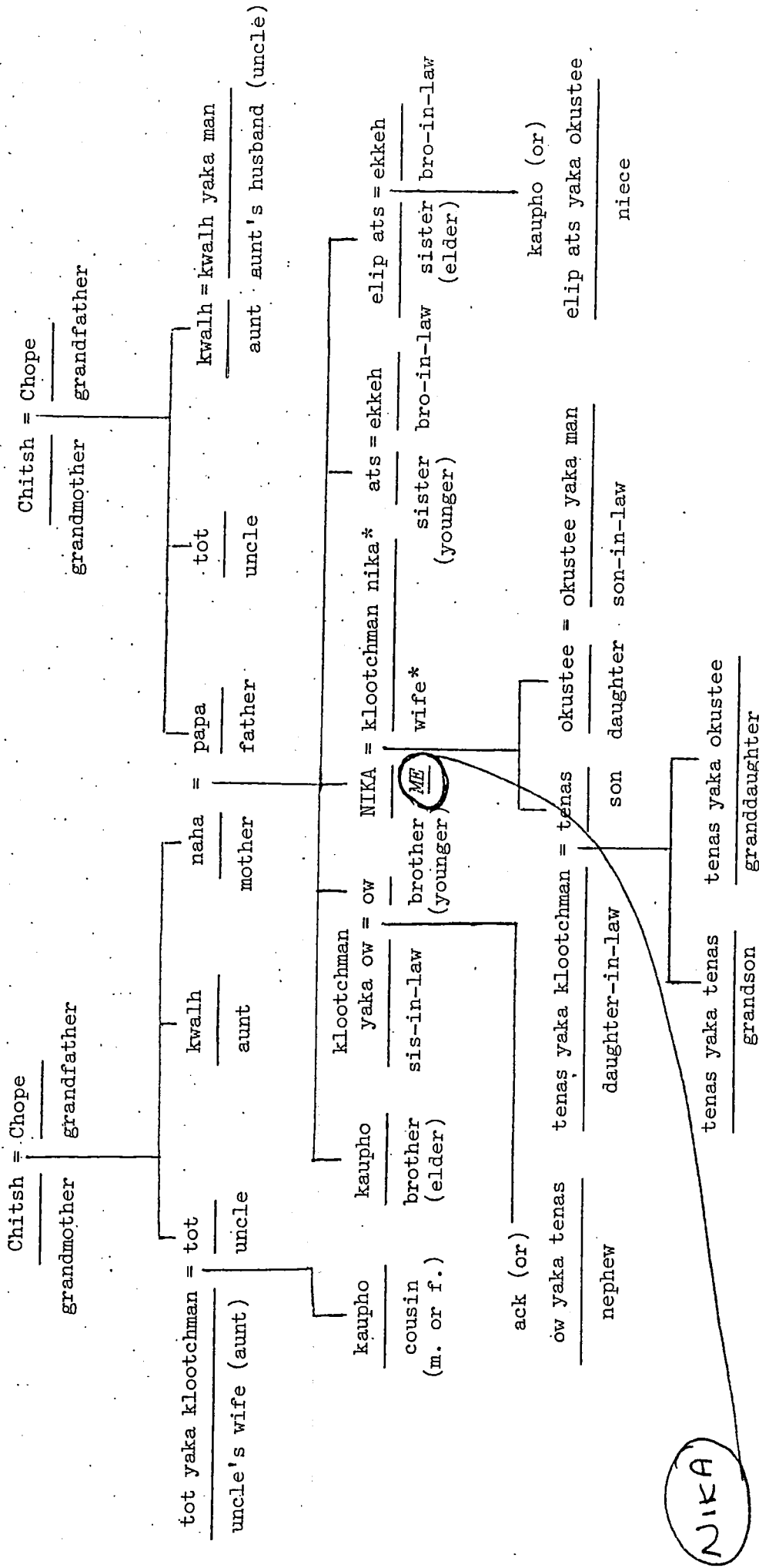
2. Pil mika pasisi? 'Is your blanket red?'
3. Kloshe mesika muckamuck! 'Your food is good.'

Exercise H Translate the following sentences.

- 1) Mesika elip house kopa tyee
- 2) Ahnkuttie mitlite chilchil saghalie petlum (Bethlehem)
- 3) Nika canim enati chuck
- 4) Nesika kamooks coolie kopa klahanie pee keekwullie house mikas
- 5) Takta klak sick house alta; chako kopa tyee yaka house
- 6) Yaka coolie elip kopa klaska
- 7) Makook man klatawa kopa kintah makook house
- 8) Mahsh kapo! Klak kapo mikas! Col klahanie okoke sun! Waum kopa house
- 9) Konoway ikta keekwullie lesak ('bag' from Fr. le sac; konoway /ká.nũ.wā/
(C) 'all'
- 10) Yaka moosum kintah house.

- ats /ats/ (J) younger sister
 elip ats, elder sister
 papa yaka ats, (paternal) aunt
 naha yaka ats, (maternal) aunt
 ats yaka man, brother-in-law (see also ekkeh)
 ats yaka tenas, nephew (see also ack)
 ats yaka okustee, niece (see also kaupho)
- ack /ak/ (J) nephew (often the important nephew was the mother's brother's
 son or father's sister's son)
- kaupho /kap.ho/ (C) elder brother, cousin, niece
 (elip ow, elder brother (also))
 tenas yaka tot, tenas ow yaka naha, tenas yaka kwalh, tenas ats
 yaka naha, okustee yaka tot, okustee ow yaka naha, etc., cousin (also)
 ats yaka okustee, elip ats yaka okustee, ow yaka okustee, etc., niece (also)
- kwalh /kwal/ (S) aunt
 tot yaka klootchman, aunt (uncle's wife)
 kwalh yaka man, uncle (aunt's husband)
- okustee /o.kús.tē/ (C) daughter
 tenas yaka okustee, granddaughter
 okustee yaka man, son-in-law
- ow /o/ (C) younger brother
 klootchman yaka ow, sister-in-law
 kintah ow, younger brother
- naha /ná.ha/ (C) mother (this form has been almost completely replaced by
 English mama)
- papa /pá.pa/ (E) father
- chitsh /chēch/ (S) grandmother
- chope /chop/ (S) grandfather
- tot /tot/ (S) uncle
- ekkeh /é.ke/ (C) brother-in-law
- tenas (N) son (sometimes also tenas man)
- klootchman, wife
- man, husband

THE FAMILY



- = - Affinal relationship (by marriage)
- | - Linear relationship (direct blood descendents)
- [- Sibling relationship (brothers & sisters)

*females should change kloodtchman nika (my wife) to read man nika (my husband).

It will be evident that there are a number of ways of stating the relationship of tot, kwalh, kaupho, ack more specifically, if that is important to understanding. Learn the members of the family so that you can discuss them in Jargon.

Exercise J Answer the following questions in Jargon.

- 1) Kunsih ats pee elip ats mika?
- 2) Ikta mamook mika man? (mika kloodchman?)
- 3) Kunsih tenas kopa mika? Kunsih okustee?
- 4) Ikta nem yaka tenas? (or mamook nem yaka tenas)
- 5) Kah yaka chitsh pee chope mitlite alta?
- 6) Kah yaka ats pee ekkeh mitlite alta?
- 7) Kunsih tot mitlite kopa mika?
- 8) Kunsih (in this case, 'when') mallie (marry) nika?
- 9) Klaksta mika switat (sweetheart)?

Exercise K Can you translate this excerpt from a Myron Eells song from the 1880's?

Saghalie Tyee yaka mamook
Konoway tillikums, konoway kah,
Konoway iktas, konoway kah,
Konoway ilahee, konoway kah,
Konoway muckamuck, konoway kah.

Now make up verses of your own:

Konoway _____, konoway kah.

LESSON IV

FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.
NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.
U.B.C. MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Dialogue

Mokst Sikhs Chee

Two New Friends

Sikhs I: Klahowya, huloima tillikum.

First Friend: Hello, stranger.

Sikhs II: Klahowya. Ikta yahhul mikas?

Second Friend: Hi. What's your name?

I: Nika yahhul Skookum Shantee.

1: My name is Powerful Song.

II: Delate huloima yahhul! Ikta
shantee mika? Mika nah shantee
itlokum shantee?

2: What a strange name! What do
you sing? Do you sing
gambling songs?

I: Halo. Nika shantee tamanawis
myeena, mestin shantee.

1: No. I sing spirit songs,
medicine songs.

II: Kloshepose mika shantee kopet ikt
time?

2: Would you sing once?

I: Nawitka! Kumtuks mika kopa kwolan.
(Shantee) Cultus kopa nika!
Cu-u-ultus kopa nika!

1: Of course! Listen.
(Sings) I don't care!
I don't ca-a-are!

II: Kopet! Kopet hyiu!
Elip peshak kopa konaway!
Mika shantee delate kahkwa kahkah.

2: Stop! Enough!
The worst!
You sing just like a crow.

I: Potlatch nika kinootl. Potlatch
piaah weght.

1: Give me tobacco. Give (me)
a light, too.

II: Ana! Mesachie smoke. Spose mika
smoke, bymby sick emih.

2: Huh! Smoking is evil. If you
smoke, you('ll get) a sick chest.

I: Kloshepose nika smoke kopet ikt?

1: Could I smoke just one?

II: Klonas ikt! Yukwa! Iskum!

2: Perhaps one. Here! Take it!

I: Kah mika iskum okoke peshak kinootl?

1: Where did you get this awful
tobacco?

II: Aba! Killapi. Spose nika kinootl
cultus, killapi konaway.

2: Nuts! Give it back. If my
tobacco is worthless, return
it all.

I: Mika kinootl delate kloshe.
Mahsie, sikhs.

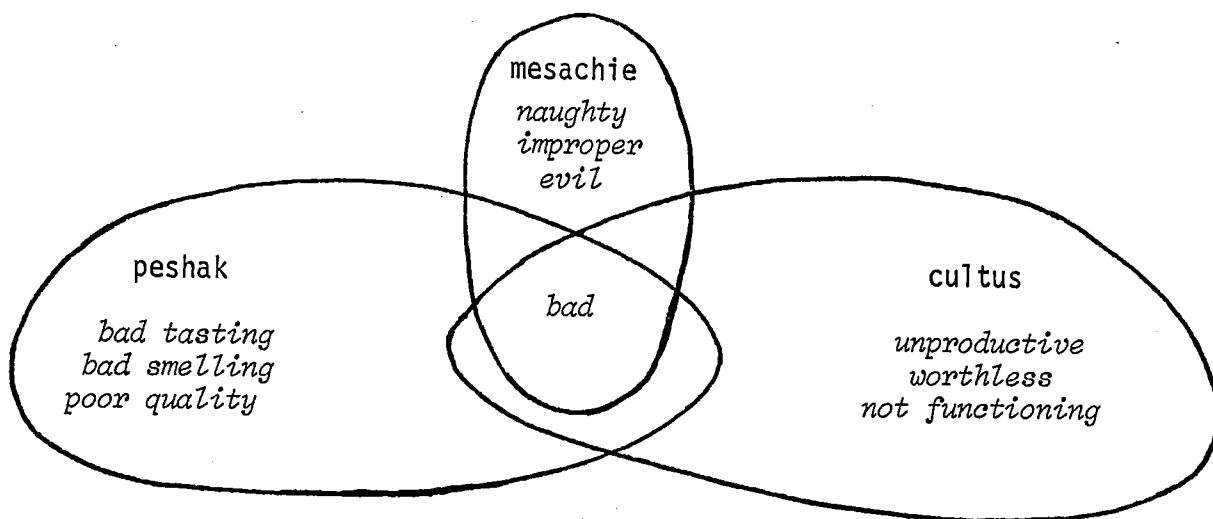
1: Your tobacco is really good.
Thanks, friend.

Vocabulary

cultus /kúí.tũs/ (C) worthless, bad cultus kopa nika 'I don't care (it's all the same to me)'	kinootl /kí.nutl/ (C) tobacco
emih /é.mī/ (J) chest, trunk of body	kwolan /kwó.lǎn/ (UCh & LCh) ear(s)
iskum /í.skũm/ (C) take, get, keep, receive, accept, put away	kumtuks kopa kwolan, to hear, listen
itlokum /ít.lo.kũm/ (C) gamble, bet, gambling game (also slahal)	mesachie /mē.sá.chē/ (C) evil, bad
kahkwa /ká.kwũ/ (N) like, as, similar	peshak /pē.shak/ (N) bad, dangerous
killapi /kí.lũ.pī/ (C) turn, return, give back, overturn, crooked	potlatch /pát.lach/ (N) to give, present, gift
klonas /kló.nũs/ (C) perhaps, maybe, may I, can, possibly	shantee /shan.tē/ (F) to sing, song
kloshespose /klósh.spóz/ (N & E) may I, let me, could I, would I, what if (used with any pronoun)	smoke /smok/ (E) to smoke, cigarette
konaway /ká.nũ.wā/ (C) all, every, whole, everything, total	spose /spoz/ (E, and probably C) if, what if, suppose
hyiu peshak kopa konaway, the worst	kahkwa spose, as if
kopet /kó.pet/ (C) stop, quit, only, enough, alone, except	time /tīm/ (E) time, an occasion
kopet ikt time, once	mokst time, twice
kopet hyiu, enough	hyiu time, often, usually
	weght /wekt/ (C) again, too, also
	tenas weght, a little more
	yahhul /yá.hul/ (C) name, be called
	yukwa /yũ.kwa/ (also often yahkwa) (C) here, here is

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

We have frequently mentioned the importance of nuances, synonyms, and multiple meanings of words. In this lesson, cultus, peshak and mesachie can be used to exemplify graphically how a set of Jargon synonyms can have nuances which allow speakers to distinguish shades of meaning. All three of these words overlap in meaning but include distinctive connotations, as well.



As usual, it appears that no Jargon speaker in the old days would have known all 3 of these words. Shaw advises that the word *mesachie* was used in the Puget Sound area rather than *peshak*. The development of Jargon along the Coast left pockets of speakers who used different terms for things and ideas than their distant neighbors did. These regionalisms often persisted as synonyms. You may find either term in Jargon writings or that speakers are acquainted with only one of the terms. The Jargon student should be aware of both. A list of the more important and common synonymous pairs is provided below:

'song or to sing'	shantee (F) or myeena (C)
'to come'	chako (N), and essaL (C)
'neck'	chesp (C?), and lecoo (Fr. from <u>le cou</u>)
'nose'	emeets (C), and nose (E)
'heart'	etshum (C), and tumtum (J)
'beard'	tupso (C, also 'grass, leaf'), and klapoochus (C)
'cold'	tshish (C), and col (E)
'eagle'	yakala (Puget Salish or Halkomelem), and chakchak (C)
'now'	alta (C), and witka (C).

In many cases, an idiomatic phrase is used synonymously with a single word:

'at sea'	kopa wecoma (C), and mahtlinnie (C)
'seal'	siwash kushu ('Indian pig'), and olhiyu (C)
'egg(s)'	olalie lapool ('chicken fruit'), and lesap (Fr)
'dead'	halo wind (lit. 'out of breath'), and mimelose (C)

You will find Jargon dictionaries filled with these synonyms.

More Idioms

The verb kopet, 'to stop, etc.', introduced in this lesson appears in numerous important idiomatic expressions. Among these are:

kopet mamook 'to stop working' but mamook kopet 'to finish, conclude'

kopet kumtuks 'to forget (literally, to stop knowing)'

kopet coolie 'to stop going, halt'

kopet nika 'except me'

e.g. konaway coolie kopet yaka, 'everyone walked except him'

kopet hiyu 'enough, more than enough'

kopet ikt 'only'

e.g. nika tikegh kopet ikt shugah, 'I want only sugar'

kopet ikt time (kopet mokst time, etc.) 'once (twice, etc.)'

kopet yaka wawa 'only he speaks'

mamook piah kopet 'put out, extinguish fire'

mamook towagh kopet 'turn out the light' (towagh /to.wa/ (C)
'daylight, shine, light')

halo siah kopet 'almost done (siah /sī.ya/ (N) 'far')

Another of the new words introduced in the dialogue which figures in a number of important idioms is kahkwa, 'like, similar to, etc.'

kahkwa mika 'like you'

kahkwa okoke 'like this, in this manner'

yaka kahkwa 'it is like it, he is similar'

also klaska kahkwa, 'they're alike'

kahkwa spose 'as if'

delate kahkwa 'exactly alike'

kloshe kahkwa 'amen! (said after a prayer), as it should be'

Kahkwa also has an important grammatical function in Jargon, for it occurs in idioms which transform nouns, verbs and phrases into adjectival modifiers (i.e. forms which describe a quality). Students of Jargon should practice creating adjectives; Exercise C gives practice in developing skill at creating these modifiers. Examples of such phrases using kahkwa are:

kahkwa sikhs 'friendly'

kahkwa chikamin 'hard, like metal, metallic (also
kahkwa stone)'

kahkwa waum ilahee 'summery, hot weatherish (lit. like
warm season)'

kahkwa chuck 'watery, liquid, fluid, flowing'

kahkwa klootchman 'feminine, womanly'

kahkwa boston 'White, American, typical of Whitemen'

kahkwa kinchochman 'Canadian, English'

kahkwa siwash 'Indian, typical of Indians'

kahkwa hoolhool 'like a mouse, quietly, sneaky'

> In the dialog, we learned the word yukwa (or, sometimes, yahkwa) meaning here. Its "opposite" is yahwa, meaning there. Here and there, yukwa pee yahwa. Here are some idioms using these terms:

yaka coolie yukwa pee yahwa, 'He walks here and there
(or back and forth)'

chako yukwa 'come here'

yukwa kopa house 'this side of the house'

yahwa Mary mitlite 'there is Mary!'

ikt yahwa, ikt yahwa 'apart from one another'

wake siah yahwa 'thereabouts, not far from there'

Adjectives

Thus far we have learned only adjectives for colors, quantities (hyiu, konaway), possession (nika, 'my', etc.) and a few qualities (sick, chee, kloshe, delate, huloima, etc.). The Jargon adjectives are one of the most important categories of terms. They must be thoroughly learned

if one is to be able to speak Jargon fluently. In order to facilitate learning the qualitative adjectives, those which have not already been introduced are presented below. Although this is a burdensome concentration of new material, it should be memorized carefully. Exercise D below provides practice with many of these new words.

- col /kol/ (E) 'cold'
dely /de.li/ (E) 'dry, thirsty'
hahlakl /há.la.kül/ (C) 'wide, open (as a door or opening)'
hyak /hí.yák/ (C) 'fast, rapid, hurried, quick'
hyas /hí.yás/ (N) 'large, big, vast, enormous'
keekwullie /ké.kwũ.lē/ (C) 'low'
kotsuk /kó.tsuk/ (C) 'central, middle'
klahanie /klá.ha.nē/ (C) 'outside, exterior'
klahowyum /kla.háw.yũm/ (C) 'poor, wretched, broke, miserable'
klahwa /klá.wa/ (C) 'slow, late (also lazy (E))'
klikwallie /klik.wa.lē/ (C) 'brass, brass-colored'
kliminawhit 'kli.mí.nũ.wit/ (C) 'untrue, false'
klimmin /klí.min/ (C) 'soft, fine'
klook /kluk/ (E) 'crooked, illegal, cheating (also
hunlkih /hũnl.kē/ (C) and kiwa /kí.wũ/ (N))'
klukulh /klũ.kũl/ (UCh) 'broad, wide (as a street or plank)'
kull /kul/ (C) 'hard, tough, solid, difficult'
kwates /kwāts/ (LCh) 'sour, bitter (also klitl /klēt1/ (C))'
lazy /lá.sē/ (E) 'lazy'
lekye /lē.kí/ (F) 'spotted, splashed with color'
lemolo /le.mó.lo/ (F) 'wild, savage, not tame (wild (E) also common)'
oleman /ól.mǎn/ (E) 'old, worn out (used of people and things)'
olo /ó.lo/ (C) 'hungry, thirsty, starved'
pahtl /pá.tũl/ (probably C, but many Coast languages have a
similar word) 'full, filled'
pitchih /pũ.chē/ (?) 'sparse, thin (woods, hair, beard)'
pewattie /pē.wá.tē/ (C) 'thin (planks, paper, cloth)'
piah /pí.yũ/ (E) 'burned, ripe, cooked'
pitlahh /pit.lí1/ (Quileute?) 'thick (as molasses or flooding water)'
siah /sí.ya/ (N) 'distant, far-away, remote from all'
sipah /sí.pa/ (Upper Chinook, Wasco?) 'straight'
stoh /sto/ (C) 'loose, untied, freed, free, out of jail'

talis /tá.lēs/ (C) 'darling, dear, beloved'
toketie /tók.tē/ (C or Kal?) 'pretty, well-behaved'
towagh /tu.wá/ (C) 'shiny, bright, sunny, lit'
tsee /tsē/ (C) 'sweet, mature (fruit), tasty (also kahkwa shugah)'
waum /wawm/ (E) 'warm, hot, feverish'
yakisitl /yá.ki.si.tŭl/ (C) 'sharp, pointed'
yotl /yó.tŭl/ (UCH) 'happy, proud, pleased (also kwan (C))'
yotlkut /yó.tŭl.kŭt/ (C) 'long (not time)'
yotskut /yóts.kŭt/ (C) 'short (not time)'

A number of nouns and verbs which are occasionally employed as adjectives have not been included in this group. Examples of nouns which occasionally come into use as modifiers are: otelagh /ó.te.lak/ (C) 'sun or sunny' (not common in Jargon); ualtee /wŭl.ti/ (?) 'joy or joyful'; humm /hum/ (C) 'stink or stinking'. Adjectives that are really verbs put to work as modifiers are of the type: hehe, 'to laugh or funny'; whim, 'to fell or fallen'; kwass, 'to fear and afraid'.

Recall that modifiers usually precede the word or words they modify. Phrases composed simply of adjective + noun often serve as sentences.

hyas muckamuck 'big feast, much food, large edible thing'
klininawhit wawa 'untrue words, false promise, lying story'
kull mamook 'hard work, difficult job'

or

hyas muckamuck 'it is (was, will be) a big feast'
klininawhit wawa 'it is a lie; they are untrue words'
kull mamook 'it is hard work, he works hard'

Adjectives may follow a noun. There is no important difference in meaning between yaka skookum and skookum yaka although the former is more common. Recall, however, that many nouns can also function as verbs and context must be relied upon for intended meaning. For instance, kloshe mamook may mean 'good work' or 'work well'; mamook kloshe may mean 'the work is good' or 'do good work!'. Notice also that the words listed above can function as both adjectives and adverbs:

col 'cold or coldly'
hyak 'fast or quickly'
klahwah 'slow or slowly'
etc.

* * * *

Hints: In learning the long list of new adjectives given above, attempt to find pairs of opposites, and then learn the pair together. For instance,

waum - col ('warm or hot - cold')

kliminawhit - delate ('untrue - true')

klook - delate ('crooked - straight') also hunlkih - sipah ('crooked - straight')

oleman - chee ('old - new')

yotlkut - yotskut ('long - short')

klimmin - kull ('soft - hard')

tsee - kwates ('sweet - sour')

etc.

Also, attempt to find phrases which link the word to something that is typified by the quality the adjective connotes. This will help you to remember what the word means. Examples of this are:

toketie klootchman ('pretty woman')

hyak kiyutan ('fast horse')

tsee olalie ('sweet berry')

yakisitl opitsah ('sharp knife')

klahowyum kamooks ('miserable, poor dog' or olo kamooks for dog lovers)

GRAMMATICAL MATERIAL

Comparative and Superlative Degree of Adjectives

Having just learned the Jargon adjectives, it seems appropriate to learn how to express what is called the comparative (more of a quality, e.g. more sharp, sharper) and superlative (the most of a quality, e.g. the most sharp, sharpest). These important functions are expressed in several manners, however the most common constructions employ the word elip, which we have learned previously meaning 'before, in front of, ahead of, at the beginning'. We use elip in the sense of 'more' to make the following phrases:

elip kloshe '(literally, 'the first good') more good, better'

elip peshak 'more bad, worse'

elip col 'colder'

elip siah 'farther'

elip pitlahh 'thicker'

elip skookum 'stronger'

The phrase more _____ than or _____ er than can also be formed by using the term kahkwa, 'like, similar to':

elip skookum kahkwa nika 'stronger than I'

However, in actual usage it is more usual to express this by use of the jack-of-all-trades word kopa:

elip skookum kopa nika 'stronger than I'

elip kloshe kopa huloima 'better than the other(s)'

elip col kopa tahlkie 'colder than yesterday'

elip sick kopa yaka sikhs 'sicker than his friend'

elip peshak kopa shantee nikas 'worse than my song'

elip olo kopa ahnkuttie 'hungrier than before'

elip yotl pee mitlite elip hiyu tala kopa bymby 'happier
and richer than later on'

elip siah kopa bakooba 'farther than Vancouver (or further
on to Vancouver)'

The phrase as _____ as (e.g. as strong as) is formed with kahkwa.

kahkwa skookum nika 'as strong as I (am)'

kahkwa col tomolla 'as cold as tomorrow (will be)'

kahkwa waum piah 'as hot as fire'

kahkwa toketie pee kahkwa talis yaka 'as pretty and dear
as she (is)'

The expression just like a _____ is formed similarly.

delate kahkwa nika 'just like me, just like I (do)'

delate kahkwa yaka papa 'just like his father'

delate kahkwa mamook siwash 'just like the Indians do it'

delate kahkwa wawa laplet 'just like the preacher talks'

In Jargon, the superlative degree is formed by using the phrase
elip _____ kopa konaway (literally 'first _____ of all')

elip kloshe kopa konaway 'the best (of all)'

elip yotlkut kopa konaway 'the longest'

elip pahtl kopa konaway 'the fullest'

elip klahwa kopa konaway 'the slowest'

A kind of comparative superlative, _____ er than all the others is also
expressed elip _____ kopa konaway. Examples are:

nika elip klahowyum kopa konaway huloima 'I am poorer
than all the others'

tyee kumtuks elip hyiu kopa konaway boston 'the chief knows
more than all the Whites'

nesika coolie elip hyak kopa konaway klaska 'we run faster
than all of them'

One area in which Jargon's grammar is not at all impoverished is in ways to express intensity of degree such as really, especially, remarkably (e.g. really strong, almighty strong indeed!). It reflects on the colloquial nature of jargon usage that the exaggerating expressions so common to everyday chat figure so prominently in the language. Listed below are six ways Chinookers used to add strength to their utterances.

A) hyas + adjective, noun or verb

hyas sick 'very, especially, exceedingly sick'

hyas house 'a mansion (a remarkable house)'

hyas tikegh 'to need or particularly want'

B) delate + adjective

delate kloshe 'perfectly well'

delate hiyu 'really a lot'

delate hyas 'stupendous, really immense'

C) skookum + adjective, noun or verb

skookum mesachie 'very, awfully evil'

skookum halo 'really not, out of the question!'

skookum sick 'really sick, very sick'

(Note: some English dialects regularly use such expressions as in "That table has powerful big legs.") But, don't confuse these skookum phrases with actual idioms in Jargon such as skookum house, 'jail'; skookum wawa, 'cursing'; or skookum chuck, 'rapids'.

D) You can double adjectives to show you really mean it! This is a trait of some Indian languages on the Coast.

siah-siah 'really far'

cultus-cultus 'really bad, very worthless, not worth a red cent!'

hyas-hyas kloshe 'very-very good'

E) You can also lengthen the stressed or accented syllable in words which have an especially noteworthy characteristic.


klaho-o-owyum 'really miserable, very poor'

cu-u-ultus okoke muckamuck 'this food is really terrible'

mamo-o-ok nika 'I really work'

kincho-o-ochman okoke boston 'this White is really Canadian'

F) Finally, you can pronounce the stressed syllable of a word with a falsetto raising of the voice. This is a characteristic of Northwest Indian languages, used predominantly by women but occasionally by men, as well. It often carries over into the English usage of Indians, and can be heard in animated conversation.

yaka hyas kloshe 'he's very good'
_____  _____ (intonation pattern)

It is possible to use more than one of these intensifiers at once. For instance, one might use skookum cultus with both lengthening of the stressed syllable and a falsetto pitch.

If there's one aspect of Chinook Jargon expression that will mark you as a veteran Chinooker, it's your ability to use adjectives. Learn them well.

Passive

You can use "passive expressions" in Jargon, as well. These are sentences where someone or something gets acted upon (e.g. John was hit by the man) rather than the usual "active" sentence pattern of English (The man hit John.)

Siwash iskum kokshut. 'The Indian got hit' (kokshut /kák.shŭt/
(N) 'to fight, hit')

Kloutchman iskum kow. 'The woman got arrested' (kow /ko/ (C)
'to tie, lock')

Takta iskum wawa. 'The doctor was called'

Sikhs iskum nanitch. '(My) friend was seen'

Alta klahowyum iskum elahan. 'The poor person is now being helped'

Muckamuck iskum iskum. 'The food was fetched, gotten'

If you want to emphasize a change in state (becoming or getting) use the word chako, 'to come, become'.

Moosmoos chako muckamuck. 'The cow got eaten (i.e. became food)'

Canim chako halo. 'The canoe got destroyed (i.e. became nothing)'

Kloutchman chako mimalose. 'The woman got killed'

Siwash chako tenas. 'The Indians diminished (became few)'

Nika chako yotl tumtum. 'I get excited'

These are rare sentences in Jargon. They aren't often necessary to express ideas adequately and they are easily misunderstood. But, they can be used to add variety to your usage.

Saying What Might, Could or Should Be

Things which are contingent (if I go; should it rain; whether I win) or possible (I may go; it could rain; perhaps I'll win) can also be discussed in Jargon. There are special terms for talking about what might, could or should happen and many of them were introduced in the dialog. They are:

A) spose (Probably from both E suppose re-enforced by C pos, 'if') "if; whether"

Spose nika klatawa, alki nika nanitch yaka. 'If I go,
(then) I will see him'

Spose snass tahlkie, nika halo chako. 'If it rains tomorrow,
I won't come'

Spose nika sikhs mimalose delate sick tumtum nika. 'If my
friend dies, I will be really sad'

Spose is also used in two idioms:

a) kahkwa spose, 'as if'

Nika iskum nanitch kahkwa spose nika pelton. 'I am looked
at as if I (were) crazy'

Yaka mamook kahkwa spose yaka pahtlum. 'He moves (acts)
as if he (were) drunk'

b) kloshe spose, 'It is good if, it would be nice if, I should'.

This seems to be different from the single word kloshe spose discussed under (B) below. Kloshe spose (two words) is used with the literal meaning, "It would be good if....." as in these examples:

Kloshe spose mika klatawa kopa Tolo wayhut. 'You should go via Tolo Road (a road near Medford, Oregon)! or 'It would be good if you'd go via Tolo Road. (tó.lo (Cal.) 'to earn, conquer')

Kloshe sposse nika makook muckamuck. 'I should buy groceries' or 'It would be nice if I'd buy food'

Kloshe sposse yaka potlatch tala kopa klahowyum. 'He should give money to the poor'

B) kloshespose 'may, let, how about if, etc.'

Kloshespose nika klatawa, weght? 'May (shall, how about if) I go, too?'

Kloshespose yaka moosum yukwa okoke polaklie? 'May he sleep here tonight?'

Kloshespose Boston killapi konaway ilahee kopa siwash?

'How about if the Whites give back all the land to the Indians?'

Kloshespose nika tillikums stoh. 'Let my people go (free)!'

C) klonas 'perhaps, possibly, maybe'

Klonas nika klatawa kopa Biktoli. 'Maybe I'll go to Victoria'

Klonas col snass tahlkie sun. 'Maybe it'll snow tomorrow'

Klonas! 'Maybe!'

Nika kwass nika papa klonas mimalose. 'I fear my father might die'.

D) howkwutl /háw.kwüt1/ (Probably another case where a C word was re-enforced by E "how could"). The original Chinook word with a meaning of cannot or unable and has taken on various senses of inability and impossibility: 'can't, how can?, how does one?'. Other meanings include mayn't, mightn't, couldn't, might it not be that, and how could.

Howkwutl nika moosum ... hyiu latlah. 'How could I sleep ... too much noise!'

Howkwutl mika mamook kopa hyas tawun? 'Couldn't you work in the city? (i.e. hyas town)'

Yaka wawa kopa takta. Howkwutl yaka klootchman alki mimelose.

'He said to (asked) the doctor. Mightn't his wife die'

Howkwutl mika mamook okoke huloima? 'Couldn't you do it differently?'

EXERCISES

Exercise A Review of Material Covered in Previous Lessons

- 1) Mamook kunjih ikt kopa mokst tahtlum.
- 2) Kunjih sinamokst pee kwaist? taghum pee stotekin?
- 3) Express the following sentences in past, present and future:
 - (a) Nika klatawa kopa Bakooba.
 - (b) Nika tikegh kwinnun tala.
 - (c) Nika nanitch hyiu siwash.
- 4) Give the following sentences with the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural pronouns:
 - (a) _____ chako kopa house.
 - (b) _____ potlatch hyiu ikta kopa sikhs _____.
 - (c) _____ halo kumtuks Chinook wawa.
- 5) Create questions using the following interrogative questions:
 - (a) where?
 - (b) how many?
 - (c) when?
 - (d) what?
 - (e) who?
 - (f) why?
 - (g) how much?
 - (h) how?
 - (i) how could?
 - (j) do?
- 6) Say the following sentences in Jargon using at least three different ways of showing possession:
 - (a) That is my dog.
 - (b) Where is your car?
 - (c) Sell me your black blanket.
 - (d) Buy his white cloth!
- 7) Translate into Jargon:
 - (a) OK, I will help you carry various things.
 - (b) Whew! A bad stink. Skunk! Rotten fish! Rotten eggs!
 - (c) Oh! She had a baby.
 - (d) Nuts! That fish is very small.
 - (e) Well, then, take off your coat.
 - (f) Phooey! That isn't true; you are telling a lie.
- 8) Translate into Jargon, using prepositions other than kopa:
 - (a) I ran in front of the house and behind the house.

- (b) The cat goes outside my house and under your house.
- (c) I looked between the two houses on the other side of the street.

Exercise B Translate the following sentences into Jargon using the idioms presented in Lessons II - IV.

- 1) He went crazy exactly five years ago.
- 2) Everyone (all) knew for sure except me.
- 3) You are almost done and I am beginning.
- 4) Bury and forget the dead.
- 5) He has a different opinion; he says teach the Whites Chinook Jargon.
- 6) Fetch enough and then stop. Only five more (weight). Finished!
- 7) It got dark. Oh! She turned out the light.
- 8) He is exactly like his father. He gets excited.
- 9) Don't waste food as if you had much.
- 10) She immigrated and learned a foreign language.

Exercise C Devise adjectives using kahkwa and translate the following into Jargon

- 1) It's smoky outside.
- 2) It is work for a chief (i.e. chiefly work).
- 3) This is a sleepy town.
- 4) I like French food.
- 5) It isn't yellow; it's milky white.

Exercise D Translate into Jargon using adjectives presented in this lesson

- 1) A large, fast horse ran far.
- 2) I was hungry and very thirsty. I ate sweet fruit, not sour.
- 3) That poor old person is very happy.
- 4) Were you here a long time? No, a short time.
- 5) The street is wide and crooked. (wayhut, 'street, road')
- 6) The dog is very wild and feverish. Maybe he is sick.
- 7) My beloved wife is not pretty ... she's very sweet!
- 8) Don't laugh! It's not a funny thing.
- 9) That's a lie. Phooey! My hat is full of water.
(seahpo /sē.á.po/ (F) 'hat')

- 10) I am afraid. It is difficult work.
- 11) The water is low and warm, and very dangerous.
- 12) All these are new and different: red, yellow, black, white and blue.
- 13) I often hear my sister sing. Twice I heard my aunt sing; once
my grandmother.
- 14) It is not well-behaved to smoke bad (smelling) tobacco.
- 15) All of them are similar and all worthless.

Exercise E Translate the following into Jargon and then change to reflect the comparative (stronger, etc.) and superlative (strongest, etc.)

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1) I am strong. | 6) The woman is slow. |
| 2) The horse is fast. | 7) I am miserable. |
| 3) It is far. | 8) The berry is sweet. |
| 4) The work is good. | 9) The car is old. |
| 5) The food is bad. | 10) You are thin. Eat! |

Exercise F Translate into English

- (1) Okoke wawa delate. (2) Hy-y-yas ahnkuttie siwash tikegh mamook itlokum. (3) Yaka ma-a-amook itlokum hyiu time. (4) Konaway yaka sikhs wawa kopa yaka, "Hyas mesachie mamook itlokum kwanesum (always)!" (5) Siwash halo kumtuks kopa kwolan. (6) Wake kopet mamook itlokum, pee mahsh konaway tala. (7) Bymby klatawa kopa huloima tawun pee mamook itlokum. (8) Mahsh, mahsh. Mahsh konaway tala; mahsh yaka kiyutan. (9) Alki chako waum tumtum, chako pelton. (10) Yaka wawa: "Nika tikegh mamook itlokum kopa (for) klootchman nikas." (11) Yaka klootchman to-o-oketie! Skookum toketie! (12) Siwash mahsh yaka klootchman, weght. (13) Klahowyum siwash! Alta halo mamook itlokum.

Exercise G Translate into Jargon

- 1) I was seen in the restaurant.
- 2) The house was destroyed by the wind. (wind /pronounced as in English/ (E) 'wind, breath, spirit of life')
- 3) The car was fetched by the old man.
- 4) He was killed in the war. (skookum pight, 'war')
- 5) You will be arrested.

Exercise H Translate into Jargon

- 1) If I sleep here tonight, I will not be sleepy tomorrow.
- 2) The woman runs as if she were sick.
- 3) The rain should (is supposed to) stop today.
- 4) Perhaps I will return to my house.
- 5) Maybe it is better to save money. I should buy food instead of whiskey.

Exercise I Create a dialogue with the vocabulary and idioms which we have learned so far. Learn it and present it to the class.

Can you tell a joke in Jargon?

Translate a song into Jargon or compose one and sing it for the class.

ADDITIONAL NEW MATERIAL

Time

Chinook Jargon has developed vocabulary which allows you to talk about time with some exactness. We have already learned a few of these words.

alta, 'now, at present' (delate alta, 'right now')

alki, 'later on, in the future'

bymby, 'by and by'

ahnkuttie, 'back then, formerly, in the past'

* * * * *

sun, 'day'

oko ke sun, 'today'

tahlkie sun, 'yesterday'

ikt tahlkie sun, 'day before yesterday'

tomolla or tomolla sun, 'tomorrow'

sitkum sun, 'noon (literally, half sun)'

elip sitkum sun, 'morning (lit. before noon)'

tenas sun, 'early morning'

kimta sitkum sun, 'afternoon'

sun chako, 'dawn, daybreak, sunrise'

polakli, 'night'

* * * * *

sunday, 'Sunday'

ikt sun, 'Monday'

mokst sun, 'Tuesday'

klone sun, 'Wednesday'

etc.

muckamuck sun, 'Saturday'

Note: Why do you suppose Monday is the first day (ikt sun)? It is because for most Indian groups the only reason to keep track of what day it was involved sending the kids to school. Monday was the first day of the school week. Saturday was the Hudson Bay Co. food distribution day (muckamuck sun).

* * * * *

ikt sunday, 'one week'
ikt moon, 'one month'
ikt col, 'one year (lit. one winter)'

* * * * *

col ilahee, 'winter'
tenas waum ilahee, 'spring'
waum ilahee, 'summer'
tenas col ilahee, 'autumn'

Note: Many Indian groups in the Northwest have more than four seasons. The Jargon seasons follow English reckoning.

Here is an old Jargon song which you can now understand:

Kitty Apples hyas klahowyum
Okoke col ilahee.
Klonas klaksta iskum yaka?
Hope steamboat!

"Kitty Apples is very sad
This winter.
Who will take her away?
The steamboat hope (will)."

Can you translate the whole song that Skookum Shantee started to sing in the Dialog of Lesson IV?

Cultus kopa nika
Spose mika mahsh nika.
Hiyu puti boys coolie kopa tawun.
Alki weght nika iskum.
Wake kull kopa nika.

"I don't care
If you cast me off.
Many pretty boys are strolling
around town.
Soon I'll take another one.
That won't be hard for me.

Here is another song from the Chinook-English songbook of Laura B. Downey-Bartlett. It has been transcribed into the spelling system we are familiar with. (Other songs that she translated are given in the appendix. These have not been retranscribed.)

Nika wake shantee oleman shantee,
Nika shantee ankhuttie hiyu col.
Nika tumtum pee wawa wake tikegh,
Pelton chuck chako nika seeowist
Ankhuttie sun chako nika tumtum
Pee konaway kumtuks shantee.
Wake nika shantee oleman shantee,
Kopet kumtuks pee moosum,
Wake nika shantee oleman shantee,
Kopet kumtuks pee moosum.

I cannot sing the old songs
I sang long years ago,
For heart and voice would fail me,
And foolish tears would flow;
For by-gone hours come o'er my heart,
With each familiar strain,
I cannot sing the old songs,
Or dream those dreams again,
I cannot sing the old songs,
Or dream those dreams again.

READING EXERCISE

You are now ready to read Chinook Jargon materials. Below we have given the first section of a Chinook Jargon sermon, given Sunday, December 22, 1895 by Mr. Alfred Carmichael. The handwritten version of this sermon was found in the B.C. Provincial Archives.

Note how much can be expressed in Jargon with very few different words! Also note the variations in spelling of words we have learned

(tillicum, okook, pe, illahie, and yakka). Note also that spelling of words differs even within the text: hyas - hyias, masachie - mesachie, and chaco - chakko. You should have no trouble at all reading this.

Nesika tillicums, nika tikegh wawa mesika kahta nesika tikegh mamook church kopa okook illahie, kahta nesika hyas tikegh wawa mesika kopa Jesus, kopa Jesus wawa, kopa okook book. Jesus wawa kopa konaway yakka tillicums, "Mesika klatawa kopa konaway illahie, pe wawa konaway tillicums kopa nika, pe spose mesika kopet wawa konaway tillicums, nika chakko." Oh, tillicums, nesika hyias tikegh Jesus chakko, spose yakka chako yakka mamook kloshe law kopa konaway tillicums, yakka mamook konaway tillicums kopet masachie, pe mamook kahkwa yakka tikegh. Okook sun nika tikegh wawa mesika kahta mesachie chaco kopa okook illahie pe kahta Jesus tikegh mash konaway mesachie siah kopa nesika.

Translation:

Our friends, I want to tell you how we want to make a church in this land, how we very much want to tell you about Jesus, about Jesus' message, about this book. Jesus told all his people, "You go to all lands (the world) and tell all people about me, and if you finish telling all peoples I (will) come. Oh, friends, we very much want Jesus to come, if he comes he (will) make good law for all people, he will make all people stop evil and do as he wants. Today I want to tell you how evil came on this world and how Jesus wants (us) to throw away all evil far from us.

LESSON V

Dialogue

"Kopa Kolawishouse"

Teecha: Klaksta koko lapote?

Hahlakl lapote! Chako.

Chako yakwa.

Tenas: Kow lapote!

Wake hahlakl lapote

Teecha: (Ketop pee hahlakl lapote)

Nah! Klahowya, Palid.

Yoots. Mahsh kapo pee mitlite.

Kahta mika chako?

Tenas: Nika chako kehwa tikegh klap
kumtuks Boston wawa.

Teecha: Keschi halo nika hyiu time,
nawitka, nika mamook kumtuks
mika Boston wawa.

Mika nah tikegh kumtuks mamook
tzum, weght?

Tenas: Nika kwass. Hyas kull chako
kumtuks mamook tzum.

Teecha: Shem! Keschi, chako tomolla.
Alki nesika mamook elip.

Tenas: Mahsie, teecha. Klahowya.

Teecha: Ikpooie lapote!

"At School"

Teacher: Who's knocking on the door?

Open the door! Come (here).

Come here.

Student: The door is locked!

The door doesn't open.

Teacher: (Gets up and opens the door)

Well! Hello, Fred.

Sit down. Take off your coat and
stay. Why have you come?

Student: I come because I want to
learn English.

Teacher: Although I haven't much
time, of course, I (will) teach
you English.

And, do you want to know how to
write, too?

Student: I'm afraid. It's very
difficult to learn how to write.

Teacher: Shame! Nevertheless, come
tomorrow. We will start.

Student: Thank you, teacher.

Goodbye.

Teacher: Shut the door!

Vocabulary

hahlakl /há.la.kúl/ (C) 'wide, open'

ikpooie /ik.pu.ē/ (C) 'to shut, close'

kehwa /ka.wū/ (C) 'because'

keschi /ké.chē/ (C) 'nevertheless,
although'

ketop /két.op/ (E) 'get up, arise, stand'

klap /klap/ (C) 'to arrive, to find'

koko /kó.ko/ (J) 'to knock, rap, tap'

kow /ko/ (C) 'to lock, shut, tie'

kwass /kwas/ (C) 'to fear, frighten,
be afraid'

lapote /lū.pót/ (F) 'door'

mitlite /mit.láy/ (C) 'to stay,
live, have (with one), dwell,
remain'

na /nú/ (J) interrogative inter-
jection

nah /nah/ (S) 'Well, hey, I'll be!
So! How about this?'

shem /shem/ (E) 'shame, too bad'

tzum /tsum/ (C) 'mark, line,
figure, stripe'

mamook tzum, 'draw, write, paint'

yoots /yuts/ (C) 'to sit, sit down,
take a seat'

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

Nika klatawa kopa Sammunsisko.

Mika chako kopa Bitiskolopiya.

You may recognize the words for San Francisco and British Columbia in the sentences above. We already know that a number of sounds do not occur in Jargon (see Lesson I). It's now important for you to know how to change words in order to make them conform to the rules of Jargon, to make them sound like Jargon. For instance, you know that there's no r in Jargon. However, it's hard to predict whether an r in an English loanword will simply drop out (as in shugah, 'sugar') or be replaced by an l (as in lice 'rice' or dely 'dry'). In this aspect of its grammar Jargon is as rebellious as ever and it is almost impossible to set down any strict rules. We propose the following generalization to help you decide how to change words in adapting them to Jargon.

If r is preceded and followed by a vowel change
it to l, otherwise delete it or add a vowel between
the r and the consonant. Drop it from the end of words.

This explains the following Jargon words: dely, piah, galees 'grease', calipeen 'rifle (from carbine)', Palid 'Fred', teecha 'teacher', mahsie 'thanks (from Fr. merci)', Biktoli 'Victoria'. Think how the following place names and personal names might be changed to fit the generalization above: Portland,

New Westminster, Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, Marjorie (remember j is usually changed to ch), Franklin, Roger, Brooks, Theodore (th becomes t), Winifred, Geraldine, and Yvonne. These would become Potlan, Nuwesminista, Polupa, Alat Bay, Machali, Palankalin, Racha, Balook, Tedo, Winipalid, Cheladin, and Ipan.

More Idioms

A number of idioms can be created from the important word mitlite, introduced again in this lesson. Mitlite connotes a wide range of ideas which includes be, stay, live, inhabit, dwell, remain, keep, possess, have, and be present.

yaka mitlite kopa house 'he is at home, in the house'

halo mitlite kopa house 'don't stay at home'

kah mika mitlite? 'where do you live?'

kloshe mitlite 'a sojourn, a stop-over'

cultus mitlite 'hanging around, wasting time'

kunjih mitlite? 'how many are left, how much is still there?'

yaka klootchman mitlite tenas 'his wife is pregnant'

kah lapee mitlite 'footprint (literally, where the foot was)'

lapee /lũ.pē/ (F)

kwonesum mitlite kopa nika 'I always keep, remain permanently with me'

yaka mitlite kopa Bakooba 'he is in Vancouver'

yaka mitlite kopa canim 'he is in the canoe'

mitlite elip 'to stay ahead, remain first, be ahead'

mitlite tumtum 'to stay of the same opinion, not change one's mind'

> There are also a number of important idioms using the new word tzum 'mark, line, stripe, mixed color, picture, paint, printing, ornament':

mamook tzum 'to write, mark, draw, paint a design on, etc.'

tzum stick 'pen, pencil, paint brush'

tzum kiyutan 'zebra (striped horse)'

tzum seeowist, tzum pikcha 'photograph'

tzum sammon 'trout, steelhead salmon'

klale chuck kopa mamook tzum 'ink, black paint'

The new verb klap ('to find, arrive, reach a decision or destination') is found in the following idioms:

nika klap kopa Biktoli 'I arrive in Victoria'

nika klap house mikas 'I find your house, get to your house'

mika nah klap mika klootchman? 'did, can you find your wife?'

klap Chinook wawa 'to learn Chinook Jargon'

klap tumtum 'to reach a decision, remember'

klap kopa canim 'to arrive by canoe'

klap kumtuks 'to learn'

#> Other verbs in this lesson are used in idioms, as well:

kow ('to tie, secure, lock')

kow kamooks kopa lope 'tie the dog with the rope'

kow mika piah tsiktsik 'lock your car'

yaka kow kopa skookum house 'he's in jail, locked in the jail'

mamook kow okoke 'tie this, knot this, lock this'

mahsh kow 'untie, loose, unlock, release'

kwass ('to fear, be frightened, be afraid')

yaka wake kwass 'he is fearless, not afraid'

kamooks hyas kwass kopa yaka 'the dog is very afraid of him'

kamooks mamook yaka kwass 'the dog frightens him'

nika kwass kopa tyee, pee kopa tyee mikas, weght 'I'm afraid of the chief, and of your chief, also.'

halo kwass! 'Don't be afraid!'

ketop ('to arise, get up, get out of bed, stand up')

ketop, lazy! Alta sitkum sun 'get up, lazy! It's noon.'

halo ketop 'don't get up (stay seated)'

elahan nika ketop 'help me stand up'

ketop sun 'sunrise (also chako sun)'

Plurals

In general, more than one of something is indicated by hiyu, many. For a few, one can state how many with a number:

nika nanitch klone klootchman 'I see three women'

A late development in Jargon is the use of the English -s suffix

nika nanitch nika tillikums 'I see my friends'

nika muckamuck yaka olallies 'I am eating his berries'

strangely, although a
language for business,
no word common for

mink

weasel

marten

marmot

mine

Of course, generally it is not necessary to state pluralness. You only indicate it when it is necessary for understanding.

The Animals

We have already learned the names for various animals. These words were originally a very important part of the Jargon vocabulary, since it was necessary for fur trappers and traders to discuss animals and their pelts, and because Indians and settlers lived much closer to the natural world and depended upon it for food. Now students of Jargon probably have little need for such a complete list of animal terms; in fact, most of us have never seen a lot of these animals. Nonetheless, we give all of the Jargon terms for animals, fish, birds, and insects here in one place so that they may be conveniently learned or referred to as a group.

- chetwoot /ché.t.wut/ (Puget Salish) black bear (an alternative form, itswoot, appears to derive from Chinook), siam chetwoot or lemolo chetwoot are used for grizzly bear
- coleecolee /kú.li.kuli/ (C?) rat; also hyas hoolhool
- eena /é.nũ/ (C) beaver
- ekkoli /e.kó.lē/ (C) whale (also kwadis /kwá.dis/ (Lushootseed)
- elakha /e.lá.kā/ (C) sea otter
- emintapu /e.mín.tũ.pu/ (?) muskrat
- hoolhool /húl.hul/ (C) mouse
- kamooks /ká.muks/ (C) dog
- kiyutan /kí.yu.tũ/ (Probably ultimately from Spanish, see discussion in dictionary section, but possibly related to cayuse, and enough like the Algonkian loanword siskiyu that the two terms re-enforced each other) horse, also siskiyu /sís.kī.yu/ (Originally Cree) 'bobtailed horse'.
- kushu /kú.shu, kwi.shú, or ko.shó/ (F) pig
- kwadis, see ekkoli
- kwiseo /kwí.sē.yo/ (?) porpoise
- kwiskwis /kwís.kwis/ (C-Upper?) squirrel
- kwitchadie /kwí.chũ.dē/ (Puget Salish) rabbit
- lemel /lē.mél/ (F) mule
- leloo /lē.lú/ (F) wolf
- lemooto /lē.mu.to/ (F) sheep

moolak /mu.lak/ (C) elk
moosmoos /mús.mus, mús.mŭs and mis.mús/ (C, LCh, and Klickitat
all have terms similar to this, as well as Cree; see
discussion in dictionary section) cow, cattle
mowitch /má.wich/ (N) deer
nenamooks /ne.ná.muks/ (C) land otter
olhiyu /ól.hī.yu/ (C) seal; also siwash kushu
pusspuss /pús.pus/ (E or F, note Quileute po'sh) cat;
according to Gibbs the pronunciation /pish.pish/ became
current in the Puget Sound area. Later, pusspuss came to
be used for cat and pishpish for kitten; hyas pusspuss,
cougar.

skad /skad/ (?) mole
skubyu /skú.byu/ (Twana or Lushootseed) skunk, also ħumm opoots
swawa /swá.wa/ (Straits Salish) cougar; or hyas pusspuss,
lemolo pusspuss
talapus /tá.lŭ.pŭs/ (C) coyote (and by extension a sneaky
character)
tishkoko /tish.kó.ko/ (?) fox
ulchey /ú.l.chē/ (?) moose

For fish there is a general term pish /pish/ (E) and sammon is used for all
salmon. One can specifically refer to tyee sammon (king, Chinook or spring
salmon), mesachie sammon (various species including the silverside or coho,
chum or dog, and humpback), and tzum sammon (salmon trout or steelhead).
Other fish for which there were Jargon terms were pows /pos/ (?) halibut,
and oolaken /ú.lŭ.kŭn/ (C) smelt or candlefish. Names for other sea
creatures were:

lukutchee /lŭ.kŭ.chē/ (F?) clam; also ona /ó.nŭ/ (C)
toluks /tó.lŭks/ (Clallam) mussel
guiduck /gú.ē.duk/ (Lushootseed)
klohkloh (C) oyster, and chetlo /ché.t.lo/ (LCh)

Several names existed for snake in different areas. The most common was
oluk /ó.lŭk/ (LCh), but snek /snek/ (E) was also used. Shaw also gives
the term wahpoos /wá.pus/ (?). Rattlesnake was shugh opoots. Turtle was
itlagwa /ít.lŭ.gwŭ/ (C).

The general word for any bird was kalakala /kũ.lá.kũ.la/ (C). A small bird could be referred to as cheechee /ché.chē/ (?). Other birds were:

kahkah /ká.ka/ (C, Puget Salish, and various other languages have terms which could be source) crow; and hyas kahkah for raven

hahthaht /há.t.hat/ (Puget Salish, Twana and possibly UCh) mallard duck, and sometimes ducks in general. The Chinook word for mallard kwehkweh /kwá.kwā/ was sometimes used in the south

yakala (or yakola) /yá.kũ.la/ (Puget Salish and Halkomelem) eagle; chakchak /chá.k.chak/ from Chinook was also used in the south. According to some dictionaries, shákshak arose as a variant pronunciation and was used by some speakers to mean hawk

kwelkwel /kwé.l.kwel/ (C) owl; some dictionaries also suggest waughwaugh (?)

kalakalama /kũ.lá.kũ.la.mũ/ (C) geese; note also

kaloke /ka.lók/ (C) swan

kokostick /kó.ko.stik/ (C and E) a composite word for woodpecker meaning wood-knocker

lapool /lũ.pul/ (F) chicken

There is no general term for bug or insect in Jargon, but individual insects were referred to as follows:

melakwa /mé.la.kwa/ (F) mosquito, fly

dago /dá.go/ (some have suggested English "they go" as origin, which seems improbable) gnat

inapoo /í.nũ.pu/ (C?) louse; sopena inapoo, 'leaping louse' was often used for flea, although the Puget Salish term

chotub /chó.tũb/ was more common

kukwalla /ku.kwá.lu/ (?) ant

tlaktlak /tlák.tlak or tláy.tlak/ (?) grasshopper, cricket

Although these terms were reasonably standardized, a great deal of regional variation was common. This, of course, typifies Jargon use in general. Although these names seem often to be attempts to imitate the sound of particular animals, almost all of these words can be traced to the Indian languages from which they were borrowed. Thus, these words can't

be thought of merely as words devised by Jargon speakers to signify animals in a simplistic manner.

GRAMMATICAL MATERIAL

Why and Because

We have already learned the question word kahta with its usual meanings of 'how' and 'why'. In the dialogue for this lesson you found the word kehwa, 'because'. These two words often occur in paired questions and should be learned carefully.

Kahta mika kapswalla piah tsiktsik nikas? 'Why did you steal my car?'

Kehwa hyas sick nika tenas. Nika hyiu tikegh iskum. yaka kopa doktin. 'Because my son was very sick. I had to take him to the doctor.'

Pee kahta? Kahta mika halo co lie kopa lapee? 'Why so (lit. 'and why')? Why didn't you walk on foot?'

Kehwa nika hyiu kwass. 'Because I was really afraid.'

Note in the above exchange that there are some idiomatic uses of kahta:
pee kahta 'and what for, and why, why is that, why so?'
kahta halo 'why not'

Keschi

The word keschi (also kechi or kegtetchee) is used in a number of types of sentences. It can be translated as 'however, nonetheless, although, and therefore'. Here are some examples:

Nika klatawa kopa pikcha house keschi tikegh moosum.

'I am going to the theater although I'm tired.'

Nika halo tikegh moosum. Keschi nika klatawa kopa pikcha house. 'I am not tired. Therefore I am going to the theater.'

Keschi nika tikegh moosum, nika klatawa kopa pikcha house.

'Although I am tired, I'm going to the theater.'

Note that the word keschi often occurs in pairs:

Keschi nika tikegh moosum, keschi nika klatawa kopa pikcha house.

'Although I am tired, nonetheless I am going to the theater.'

Keschi nika tikegh moosum, keschi halo klatawa kopa pikcha house.

'Since I am tired, I am not going to the theater.'

A common use of keschi involves nawitka in the following phrase:

Keschi nika halo tikegh moosum, nika nawitka klatawa kopa pikcha house. 'Since I am not tired, I am, of course, going to the theater.'

Keschi nika tikegh moosum, nika nawitka halo klatawa kopa pikcha house. 'Since I am tired, I am, of course, not going to the theater.'

Sentence Length in Jargon

Despite the very complex sentences we've just presented, it is important to remind speakers that Jargon is most easily understood if one uses short utterances wherever possible. Below are a few examples to help you develop the habit of dividing longer English sentences into manageable Chinook Jargon sentences:

Example: 'You gave your coat to that big guy by the door who looks just like a bear.'

You might express this in Jargon with the following sentences:

Ankuttie mika potlatch kapo kopa okoke hyas tillikum.

Yaka delate kahkwa chetwoot. Yaka mitlite halo siah lapote.

Example: 'I saw the Indian who works at the school going home with a lot of groceries to give to his friend.'

This should be expressed in Jargon in a series of statements:

Ankuttie nika nanitch okoke siwash tillikum. Okoke siwash mamook kopa kolawishouse. Yaka klatawa kopa house. Lolo (or yaka lolo) hyiu muckamuck. Yaka tikegh potlatch okoke muckamuck kopa yaka sikhs.

EXERCISES

Exercise A Review of Material Covered in Previous Lessons

1) Mamook kunjih tahtlum kopa ikt (i.e. backwards, opoots elip).

2) Kunjih:	9 + 16	12 + 7	18 + 26
	6 + 13	37 + 63	50 + 11

- 3) Translate into Jargon, expressing each sentence in past, present, and future:
- (a) I see a black cow.
 - (b) They untie the canoe slowly.
 - (c) The White lady sings just like a crow.
- 4) Give the following sentences with the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and plural pronouns:
- (a) _____ mitlite kopa house _____s.
 - (b) _____ halo tikegh chako kopa Bakooba.
 - (c) Ankuttie _____ muckamuck konaway _____ lapool.
- 5) Ask a question which might receive each of the following answers:
Example: (i) Nika klatawa kopa muckamuck house.
Answer: Kah mika klatawa? or Ikta mika mamook? or Kahta mika halo mitlite kopa house?
- (a) Nika mamook okoke tahlkie sun.
 - (b) Tahtlum pee klone siwash yakwa.
 - (c) Nika halo kumtuks yahhul yakas.
 - (d) Kwinnun pee sitkum tala.
 - (e) Alki yaka klatawa tomolla.
- 6) Review the prepositions in Lesson III and then translate the following sentences:
- (a) The car is behind the house.
 - (b) Take the money (which is) under the blanket.
 - (c) Between the hotel and (between the) store is a wide road.
 - (d) In front of the dog! The ham is on the ground.
 - (e) Away! I don't want to see you. Stay away from my house.
- 7) Review the adjectives in Lesson IV and translate the following sentences into Jargon:
- (a) The poor, old woman lives far from the water.
 - (b) The large, black horse ran fast from Seattle to Tacoma.
 - (c) The road is wide and crooked. It is not narrow and straight.
 - (d) You speak a lie (untrue). It is not true. He is very proud.
 - (e) The savage (wild) dog is loose. Is your knife sharp?
 - (f) They are happy. The pretty girl is not lazy. She works hard.
 - (g) A long canoe is slower than a short car.
 - (h) I am hungry and thirsty. Give me (some) sweet fruit, dear.

8) Translate into Jargon emphasizing the difference between comparative and superlative degree:

- (a) A canoe is fast; a car is faster; a train (chikamin kiyutan, lit. 'iron horse') is fastest.
- (b) I am larger than you are, and the doctor is the largest.
- (c) The fruit is good; the beef is better; and the bacon is the best.
- (d) The bear is as big as a horse.
- (e) I am hungrier than you are.

9) Review the passive voice and subjunctive in Lesson IV and translate the following sentences into Jargon:

- (a) If you get seen, don't speak to them.
- (b) If I go to the store, I will buy eggs.
- (c) The woman was hit.
- (d) Perhaps he knows how to speak Chinook Jargon.
- (e) May my friend come to the restaurant?
- (f) I should help that poor man. He is old.

Exercise B Formulate Jargon equivalents to the following names. Answers are provided upside down on the right.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (a) Mary and Robert | (j) ApIika, Yoolop, pee Astaliya. |
| (b) Fort Rupert and Port Alberni | (i) Chuch Haman pee Sachun Pisha |
| (c) Port Angeles and Forks | (h) Pode pee Chepoley |
| (d) Marjorie and Roger | (g) Palooks pee Ilyodo |
| (e) Winifred and Franklin | (f) Kolopiya Chuck pee Paleysa Chuck |
| (f) Columbia River and Fraser River | (e) Winpald pee PalankalIn |
| (g) Brooks and Theodore | (d) Machall pee Lacha |
| (h) Ford and Chevrolet | (c) Pot Anchulus pee Poks |
| (i) Judge Herman and Sergeant Fisher | (b) Polupat pee Potabant |
| (j) Africa, Europe, and Australia | (a) Malee pee Lapat |

Exercise C Translate into Jargon using the idioms from Lesson V

- (a) Stay at home. Don't go out with your friends!
- (b) Keep this money with you always.
- (c) How much coffee is left.
- (d) Why are you hanging around here. Go to work!
- (e) Do you know how to write?

- (f) Keep a photograph of your beloved always.
- (g) You should write with blue ink.
- (h) They arrived home yesterday.
- (i) Come in and shut the door, Fred.
- (j) Perhaps I will find it at home.
- (k) Tie the canoe with a rope.
- (l) Lock the door after you leave the house.
- (m) The large horse frightens you. Don't be afraid.
- (n) That lazy woman doesn't get up.
- (o) If you are sick, don't get up today.

Exercise D Translate into Jargon

- (a) The snake ate the mouse.
- (b) (There are) many flies in the house, but there are no fleas.
- (c) The ravens are fighting with the eagle.
- (d) On the Indian reserve I ate elk, moose, bear, salmon, halibut, oolachen, clams, oysters and duck.
- (e) The seal and the beaver eat fish. No, not true. The beaver eats sticks.
- (f) The woodpecker makes noise. (latlah /la.tla/ (F) 'noise')
- (g) A cat and three kittens are under the house.
- (h) I saw the white deer tail.
- (i) A grizzly bear is savage, a cougar is too.
- (j) The wolf and the sheep are good friends.

Exercise E Translate the following into English

- (a) Kahta yaka kuntuks wawa Chinook wawa?
- (b) Nika kuntuks wawa siwash wawa kehwa nika mitlite kopa siwash ilahee.
- (c) Kahta mika klatawa kopa takta, sikhs?
- (d) Kehwa ahnkuttie nika sick ikt tahlkie sun.
- (e) Pee kahta? Mika hyiu toketie kloodchman!
- (f) Kahta mika halo muckamuck okoke kloshe olalie?
- (g) Keschi sick tumtum nika, nika halo shantee ualtee shantee.
- (h) Keschi halo nika tala, nawitka potlatch mika kwinnum tala.
- (i) Keschi yaka oleman tillikum, keschi mamook kull.

Exercise F Translate the following sentences into Jargon:

- (a) Although I love you, I will not return.
- (b) Why are you afraid of the white dog?
- (c) There is no coffee because I drank it all.
- (d) If you can speak jargon, why don't you talk to me.
- (e) Although I like the red cloth, I will (nevertheless) buy the yellow.
- (f) Because it is raining out. Because it is cold.
Because I haven't (got) a coat.
- (g) Whereas you lied to me, I will, of course, not give you the money.

Exercise G Express the following English sentences in a series of short Jargon sentences or phrases

- (a) Why did that crazy old man give the doctor all that money when the doctor is very rich and the man is very poor?
- (b) I think (tuntum) that the canoe which you made from cedar is better than the canoe which my friend bought from that store in Victoria which only sells metal canoes.

Exercise H Read the following poem in Chinook Jargon and then compose one yourself

Pil laloos, (laloos /lũ.lús/ (F) 'rose')
Spooch saghalie,
Tsee shugah,
Pee mika weght.

Exercise I Read the following paragraph and then write one yourself on the topic of a visit to the woods

- (a) Ahnkuttie nika klatawa kopa hyas stick. (b) Nika coolie siah kopa tenas wayhut kopa stick. (c) Hyiu mowitch yakwa, pee moolak, chetwoot, pee ulchey weght. (d) Nika nanitch mokst moolak mamook kokshut.
- (e) Nika muckamuck olalie pee muckamuck chuck yakwa kopa stick.
- (f) Nika klap huloima tillikum yakwa. Yaka kloshe sikhs nikas. Yaka Boston. (g) Hyiu toketie kopa stick. Myeena kalakala. Halo latlah. Kloshe yakwa.

Reading Exercise

Here is a Cowichan Indian story from the Nanaimo area of Vancouver Island. It was published as part of the History and Folklore of the Cowichan Indians (1901) by Martha D. Harris. Many of the words are spelled somewhat differently than spellings we have learned. You will also note a number of words that you don't know. Some of them are words from the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem. At the end of the story you will find a listing of new vocabulary and the English translation which Harris provided in her book.

CHEE-CHEE-KA

Hyas ankutte, icht soyka, yaka mamook icht schilt, kopa klip chuck; pe yaka mitlite atshim, yaka nanitch okook schilt.

Tenas lele, yaka nanitch atshim, icht-ickta klatawa kopa schilt; pe yaka hyas kwutl, yaka schilt, pe yaka iskum yaka klisumtum, pe yaka nanitch icht tenas stikya.

Pe yaka wawau, "ichta mika mamook, kopa nika schilt?" Tenas stikya wawau, "Nika tikegh tlap quitsi." "Mika kopet; mika mesahchie pos kapswalla nika quitsi."

Chee-Chee-Ka mamook iskum tenas stikyias kopa yaka stehue, yaka mamook memaloost, pe qualo yaka squani, okook tenas. In-a ti, icht hyas stikya, wawau.

"Kla-how ya! Halo mika nanitch nika tenas?" Pe-Chee-Chee-Ka, wawau. "Halo nika nanitch kah yaka. Pe okook stikya, wawau konoway yaka sikhs. Kalu, Chetwoots, mowitch, pe swaawa, Quinass, pe klextimist konoway sikhs, pos ela han yaka - pe konoway kulakula. Halo klaska cumtux kah okook tenas mitlite.

Stikya wawau kopa, "Chea-Chea, halo mika nanitch nika tenas?" Nika tumtum hiyu kwass kloonass yaka memaloost. "Nawitka," Chee-Chee wawau. Hyas kull pos nika nanitch, nika mamook killipi. Tenas lele okook Chea-Chea-Ka wawau. "Klonass, nika klap yaka."

Yaka hyou cumtux kah okook tenas mitlite. Pe Chee-Chee-Ka, hyou mamook temanous, konamoxt yaka oluk ats, pe quietan ats, "Coolie konaway Kah Tipsoo pos nanitch tenas stikya." Pe yaka coolie konaway illi-hi, pe halo.

Alta Chee-Chee-Ka cultus wawau, yaka mamook squalish, copa yaka ats. Pe yaka iskum okook tenas stikya. Yaka memaloost, yaka mash yaka qualo, konamoxt yaka schyus. "Nah, nanitch mika tenas!" Alta konaway stikya tillicum hyu haam.

Pos-kahta mika mamook mameloos nesika tenas? Alta konaway tillicum coolee pos iskum Chee-Chee-Ka pe wake kahta pos iskum. Chee-Chee-Ka klatawa killipi, copa quietan illi-hi, yaka ipsoot copa scholtz pe winapie yaka chacow copa klahanie, pe hyou enyalish.

Tenas lele scattle mamook iskum Chee-Chee-Ka pe tillicum hyou melalum. Pe scickikwas wawau, "Chee-Chee-Ka, nika sikhs, halo memaloost okook soyka, yaka nika Kahpho." Spaal, cumtux hyou kliminawhit wawau, "halo mesika memaloost Chee-Chee-Ka, yaka hyas klosk kopa nesika, yaka kwansum wawau kentsum, mash killipi, pe nesika iskum lakwitchee, pe chetlo, pe toluks. Alta yaka opoots, pe mahsh yaka; tillicum wawau, klosk, klosk. Pe yaka tlkope yaka opoots, pe hyou hee-hee pe potlatch okook opoots kopa tenas. Yaka kow Chee-Chee-Ka opoots kopa klosk kwek pe yaka staadi.

Konaway stikya tenas coolee pe hee-hee pe pok takwatz opoots. Chee-Chee-Ka hyou cli pe coolee kopa yaka chitsh, wawau, "Nanitch, nika opoots yaka tsolo; klosk nika hyou tikegh pos mika temanous yaka iskum copa nika."

Klosk Chitsh wawau. Chitsh mamook hyou temanous, pe moxt yaka klatawa kopa scholtz, pe nanitch opoots. Konaway tenas mamook poh yaka. Pe Chitsh wawau, "Seewin hyak chahko okook opoots kopa Chee-Chee-Ka." Pe opoots staadi chahko kopa Chee-Chee-Ka, yaka hyak iskum hyou chumouck pos chummult yaka opoots pe halo kahta mamook. Yaka hyou snais Chee-Chee-Ka hyou sollecks pe mash yaka opoots klatlum, pe hyou sick tumtum. Yaka hyou shem, pe klatawa klawhap kopa smand, pe yaka kwass, pe kwansum ipoots halo chahko, til-til.

Uncle Samuel Grant died mid 60s worked up coast Bristo/Bony to Oregon

NEW VOCABULARY

atshim (?) 'stick'

cheecheeka (Halk) 'mink'

chumouch (Halk) 'pitch, gum'

kalu (Halk) 'beaver'

čāčiqān

sqalew

kentsum (?) 'tide'
klawhap /kla.hop/ (C) hole
klip /klip/ (C) deep, covered
klisuntum (?) meaning unknown
kwek (C - kweokweo) 'circle'
melalum (Halk) 'to judge'
qualo (Halk) 'skin, hide' q w! a/aw
quietan (Halk) 'mouse'
quietan ilahee 'mouse hole'
quinass (Halk) 'whale' (common in Jargon) q w a n a s
quitsi (Halk) 'trout'
scattle (Halk) 'land otter'
schilt (Halk) 'door' x e r .
scholtz (Halk) 'to hide, something hidden'
schyus (Halk) 'head'
smanas /sma.nus/ (Halk and Lushootseed) 'hill, mountain' (commonly used in Jargon)
snais (Halk) 'fat' s n a a s - f a t a n m a t , g r e a s e o i l s r n a a s = f a t
soyka (Halk) 'man' s h s w a i k e .
spaal (Halk) 'raven'
squalish (Halk) 'Indian dance'
squani (?) meaning unknown
staadi (?) 'to roll around'
stikya (Halk) 'wolf' s t a a y a

Translation of CHEE-CHEE-KA

Chee-che-ka was once upon a time a man who could change himself into mink shape. One day he had set his trap in the river and was watching the stick that held the door open. Presently the stick moved, and he let down the door and pulled up the trap. Instead of fish he caught a fine young wolf.

"Now, then, what are you doing in my trap?"

"Oh, I was looking for salmon trout. Please let me go."

"No, indeed; you have been stealing from me long enough, and now I will punish you."

So the poor wolf was killed, the fur and head taken off and stuffed.

By and bye the wolf's father came down to the river and asked Chee-che-ka if he had seen his son pass that way.

"No, I have not," answered Chee-che-ka, telling a lie. So the wolf asked all his friends, the bears, deer, sea lions, panthers (whale) - everyone he asked, and all the birds. But no one knew where his son was. He asked the blue-jay to find the child, so this boaster said: "Oh, yes, I will try, but it will be hard." So off he flew to look.

Then Chee-che-ka came forward and said: "Perhaps I can find your son."

"Very well," said the wolf; "if you bring him to me alive, I will be your slave."

So Chee-che-ka began to sing with his sisters, the snakes and mice. They beat the sticks and sang, and he called his spirits to help. He told his sisters to go all about the grass and woods, and to pretend to find the young wolf. Then they came back, empty-handed, and then he, with a great show of noise, brought out the head and skin, stuffed, of the poor young wolf.

"Here is your son, Stikya."

Then the crying and mourning began, and some of the animals made a dash to catch Chee-che-ka, but he had turned into a mink and disappeared down a mouse-hole and ran along their roads and came up outside. Just then the land-otter caught him, and the animals all came to hold a court and try him for killing their friend's son. After much talking, the panther said in the court:

"Chee-che-ka must die. He has killed our young friend, so must give up his life."

The death sentence was pronounced, but the coon and the raven begged to be heard. The coon said:

"Don't kill him, for he is my cousin."

The raven, who is a great lawyer and knows well how to tell lies, said:

"Don't kill him, for he is useful to us; when we go digging clams, oysters and mussels, he orders the tide to keep away, so that it is dry for us to walk on. If you kill him there will be no one left to order the tide water back. If you must punish him, cut off his tail. So, after much considering, they agreed to cut off his tail. So the tail was cut off and tied like a hoop, and given to the children to roll about. What fun they all

had out of the tail! Poor Chee-che-ka ran away to his grandmother and asked her to see if she could not get back his tail. So she called her spirits and told them what she wished. So off she and her grandson went to the place where they were shooting arrows at the hoop. The spirits rolled the hoop to them, and Chee-che-ka seized it and ran off with it to try to stick it on again. He put pitch on the end and stuck it on; but he was so fat that the tail would not stick on, so he threw it away in great disgust. He ran off to the woods and mountains, ashamed to show himself any more to people. He has since then lost the power of becoming a man, and remains a mink.

Writing a letter in Chinook Jargon

You now know enough Chinook Jargon to allow you to write letters in the language. Here are a couple of examples of Jargon letters. The first is a business letter which was written in light humor to the editor of the Oregon Native Son.^{*} The writer was one of the newspaper's agents, perplexed when one edition of the paper failed to arrive on schedule.

Yoncalla, Oregon

August 8, 1900

Native Son Publishing Co.

Klose tenas man:

Klone moon o'koke mika papah wake chaco copa conomox o'coke klooohman, Mrs. Susan Smith, pee ole man C.H. Westernheiser, Yoncalla. Nesika hyas mesahche, copa nesika spose mika wake copa yaka. Klose mika hyas mamook chaco o'koke papah, copa skookum chickamin kwitan, pee klonas mesika kokshut klose tumtum.

Mika klose tilicum

Sue Burt, Agent.

* See also E.H. Thomas, Chinook, a History and Dictionary (Binford and Mort, Portland), 1935 (2nd ed. 1970), pp. 44-45.

Translation:

Dear Young Man:

On the third of this month your paper did not come to both these people, the lady Susan Smith and old man C.H. Westernheiser of Yoncalla. Ours is a very bad position, for us if you don't (get the paper) to him/her. It would be good if you actually sent paper, on the train, otherwise perhaps you will ruin our good reputation.

Your good friend

Sue Burt, Agent.

A second, contemporary example of a Jargon letter was written in 1970 to the B.C. Indian Languages Project. It is a personal letter, and remarkably lucid in its use of Jargon. Such letters are fun both to write and receive. Such is the enjoyment of knowing and using this language.*

Nika kloshe kaupho R.,

Alta nika mitlite kopa Kimberley, okoke ikt hyas kloshe ilahee, mamook tumtum kwankwan, halo wayhut nika wawa kunjih.

Mika mamook ikta? Nika mamook hyas tumtum, kaupho, spose mika chako kopa nesika oleman house. Nika weght chako Biktoli oleman house Sunday Klismas, mamook hunt mika klap wawa, lingling mika lektlik wawa kopa mika papa house, kopa hyas kumtuks house, konaway kah.

Nika chako yukwa mitlite, mamook kopa tenas kumtuks house, mamook teach kopa polaklie yaka school, mika kumtuks?

Nika tikegh mika kaupho, alki nanitch mika kopa oleman house.

Mika sikhs,

D.

Translation:

My dear older brother, R.,

I'm now staying in Kimberley, this is a very fine place, makes

* A few changes have been made to change spellings to those we use in this text.

the heart really glad, there's no way to tell you how much.

Will you do something? I would have great (good) feelings if you come to our old house. I'm also coming to Victoria, to our old house Christmas week (or Christmas Sunday). I'll try to get through to you, (give a ring) on the telephone at your father's house, at the university, everywhere.

I am coming there to live, to teach in a primary school and teach at night school, you know?

I cherish you, brother, and will see at the old house.

Your friend,

D.

Why not write letters to other members of your class or teachers? Even write short notes to people here in the Northwest who don't know Chinook Jargon! It will remind them of this interesting aspect of our history. They may decide to klap kumtuks Chinook wawa!

LESSON VI

Dialogue

"Mokst Sikhs Mamook Hunt"

Boston: Ana! Halo nika kwan!

Nesika mamook hunt yakwa konaway
sun. Wake nesika nanitch moolak;
halo mowitch; halo chetwoot.

Kopet ikt kwiskwis!

Siwash: Aha! Pee delate tshis okoke
sun! Tsalil wake siah shelipo.

Klonas nika mamook olapitskee.

Boston: Cultus ilahee! Ahnkuttie nesika
tsolo konaway wayhut kopa stick.

Si-i-i-ah; La-a-a-ly!

Siwash: Mitwhit pee nanitch mowitch
yahwa kopa chuck. Ahnkuttie yaka
sopena kopa ikhol. Sitshum
kopa yakwa.

Boston: Alta yaka chako maltini.

Mitlite winapee. Alta mamook poo!

(Siwash mamook poo) Poo!

Siwash: Nika tseepe! Kah yaka?

How!

(Halo latlah. Boston chukkin kalapeen
kopa stick)

Boston: Ana! Alki nika mamook hunt
kopa opitlkegh pee kalitan.

Siwash: Alki nesika makook itlwillie.
Kloshespose nesika hokometl olalie.

"Two Friends Go Hunting"

"Phooey! I'm not happy! We've
been hunting here all day. We
haven't seen an elk; no deer;
no bear. Only one squirrel."

"Indeed! And it's really cold
today! The lake is almost
frozen. Maybe I'll make a fire."

"Worthless country! We've
wandered every path in the woods.
A lo-o-ong ways; lo-o-ong time!"

"Stand up and look at that deer in
the water. He just jumped into
the river. He's swimming
towards us here."

"He's coming close. Wait. Now
shoot!"

(The Indian shoots) Bang!

"I missed him! Where is he?
Listen!

(There isn't a sound. The White
kicks his gun into the woods)

"Nuts! I'm going to hunt with
a bow and arrow."

"We'll buy our meat. Let's
gather berries."

Vocabulary

chukkin /chŭ.kin/ (UCh and LCh) 'to kick'	poo /pu/ (Puget Salish) 'bang! (sound of a gun)'
hokometl /hó.ko.metl/ (UCh) 'to gather'	mamook poo 'shoot'
how /haw/ (?) 'listen!'	shelipo /shé.li.po/ (C) 'freeze, frozen'
ikhoh /i.kól/ (C) 'river, stream (chuck is more common)'	sitshum /sí.chum/ (UCh & LCh) 'to swim'
itlwillie /ítl.wi.lē/ (C) 'meat, muscle'	sopena /só.pŭ.nŭ/ (C) 'to jump'
kalapeen /ká.la.pēn/ (E or F) 'rifle, carbine'	stick /stik/ (E) 'tree, wood, woods'
kalitan /ka.lí.tŭn/ (C) 'arrow'	tseepe /tsé.pē/ (Kal) 'to miss, fail'
kwan /kwan/ (C) 'happy'	tshis /chis/ (C) 'cold (col is more common)'
laly /lá.lē/ (C) 'time'	tsolo /tsó.lo/ (Kal) 'wander, get lost'
latlah /la.tlá / (F) 'noise, sound'	tsalil /tsá.lil/ (C) 'lake'
maltini /mal.té.nē/ (?) 'near, close (wake siah is more common)'	wekoma /we.kó.mŭ/ (?) 'sea, ocean'
mitwhit /mit.wit/ (C) 'stand, stand up, standing'	winapee /wí.nŭ.pē/ (N) 'later on, a while'
olapitskee /o.lŭ.pits.kē/ (C) 'fire'	mitlite winapee 'wait a minute'
opitlkegh /o.pítl.ke/ (C) 'bow'	

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

The Real Chinook Jargon Vocabulary and the Rest

Sick Dutchman haul col pish. 'The ill European carries cold fish.' Every word in that sentence comes from English. There is a tendency to think of English loanwords as being somewhat less respectable than the Jargon vocabulary which derives from Indian or, at least, other languages. While Jargon flourished, a great number of English words were used regularly in the language. A list of them is below. These are part of the historical Jargon. It must be remembered, however, that a pidgin language is primarily a practical language. Therefore, it must adopt new words as they are needed. You should not hesitate to borrow an English word should it be necessary, i.e. should you be unable to express the idea you are discussing using only the vocabulary of the historical Jargon. It may be helpful for you to keep the

distinction between the historical terms and your "new loanwords" in mind, but the use of such vocabulary doesn't make your Jargon less correct. Try to avoid using English loanwords as much as possible. It will encourage more imaginative improvisation in your Jargon usage. However, such circumlocutions as 'piah steamboat yaka klatawa kopa moon' are understandably avoided in favor of new forms like lakatship (e.g. 'rocket-ship'). Don't be afraid to coin new Jargon terms.

The list of English loanwords below contains all of those English loans which are found in the major Jargon dictionaries.^{FN} Thus, although probably no single Jargon speaker ever used them all or thought of all of them as "standard" Jargon, they were all used by speakers of one area or another during what we might call the Classical Period - the last half of the 19th Century.

bymby 'by and by'	ketop 'arise, get up'
boston 'White man'	kalapeen 'rifle, carbine poss. from Fr.)'
bet 'wager, bet'	kaupée or kwapi 'coffee'
belief 'faith, believe'	ketling 'kettle, pot'
bit 'dime' (also sitkum bit, etc.)	klook 'crooked'
baloom 'broom'	kloosway 'crossways, diagonal'
pot or bot 'boat'	kut 'court'
buk or book 'book'	kwahta 'quarter'
dutchman 'non-French or British European'	lays 'rice'
doctin or takta 'doctor'	lazy 'lazy, slow'
dely 'dry, thirsty'	lef or left 'left, on the left side'
galees 'grease, oil'	lo or law 'law' (and loyah 'lawyer')
house 'house or any building'	lop or lope 'rope, string'
hello 'greeting'	liva or livah 'river' or 'liver'
haul 'carry, haul, drag, pull'	
jump 'jump (also sopena)'	

Add footnote on page

Footnote at bottom of page 109

Many Jargon words of English derivation appear not to have made it into the jargon dictionaries. Among these are the "crude" vocabulary of body reference and sexual slang. Other English words seem to have been thought to be simply uncommonly used localisms. Thus, they were never dignified as "real jargon" and were overlooked by the lexicographers. Shaw, however, included many English words in the English-Chinook section of his dictionary. Below, you will find these terms with the more common Jargon term, if one exists:

ball (lebat) ~~lebat~~
 belly
 chick
 coat
 cook
 cut

fella
 fly

gamble (ITOKAM) *

wait

gley (i.e. "gray")

glume (i.e. "green")
 guess (dely types)
 high hawk

hops
 ka
 honey
 Kettle (i.e. Kella)

light

long

max
meat
Ludak (i.e. rudder)

noise
 pair
 pence (Kalaha) *

pishhoan (i.e. pishhoan, "skin")

all started (*) in the
 dictionary section
 sometimes Eng word...

Many Jargon words of English derivation appear not to have made it into the Jargon dictionaries. Among these are the "crude" vocabulary of body reference and sexual slang and other words taken simply to be intrusive English terms. Among these are wap "wharf", tawun "town", ban "barn", ka "car", and names like Fred (Palid) Washington (Wasitin), California (Kaliponiya), etc. Sometimes English words competed unsuccessfully with cognate French words. Sisos lost out to leseezo "scissors", pees to lepwah ("peas"), kalash to laklash ("garage"). Religious vocabulary such as (Sisuklay) "Jesus Christ", chachawis "church-house" and others are covered in a later chapter.

Sisuklay

lum 'rum, alcohol, whiskey'	snow 'snow'
man 'man, person'	some or sam 'some, a few'
mind, main 'mind'	sop or soap 'soap'
moon 'moon, moonlight'	stick 'tree, woods, wood'
musket, musgut 'gun'	stone 'stone, rock'
nem or name 'name'	sun 'sun, sunlight, sunny'
nose 'nose'	sunday 'week, Sunday'
papa 'father (poss. from French)'	swim 'swim'
paint 'paint, dye'	takinis 'stockings, socks'
pepah or papah 'paper, letter'	tala 'dollar, cash, money'
piah 'fire, match, light'	tans or dans, dance 'dance'
sail 'cloth, sail, canvas'	tausan, thousand 'thousand, many-many'
salt 'salt water, salt'	ti, tee or tea 'tea'
seed 'seed, pit, nut'	tikshu, shoe 'shoes'
shem 'shame, pity, mercy'	time 'time, occasion'
ship 'large boat, power boat'	waum 'warm, hot'
shugah or shukwah 'sugar'	week or wik 'week'
shut 'shirt'	
sick 'sick, illness'	
sidah or cedah 'cedar'	
skin 'hide, skin, furs'	

For more than half of these words, there exists another Jargon word or idiomatic expression which does not rely on English loanwords. A case can therefore be made for the argument that we hardly even need the English words which already exist in Jargon. However, don't let this deter you from borrowing whatever other English terms you find necessary to continue a discussion.

More Idioms

You have now progressed to the point where you can create your own idioms. Nonetheless, there are a few expressions based on terms which were introduced in the dialogue for this lesson, and they will be presented below.

A) laly 'time, while (in terms of length or passage of time, rather than an instance, as in "one time").

kunjih laly 'how long'

hyiu laly 'a long time' (note that extending the vowel,

la-a-aly shows an extremely, extre-e-emely long time!)

tenas laly 'a short time, a little while'

tenas laly elip, tenas laly kimtah 'a little while before, after'

kunjih laly yaka mitlite yahwa 'how long has he/she lived or
stayed there?'

hokometl laly 'harvest time'

sammon laly 'salmon time (period of the salmon run)'

- B) stick 'tree, wood, woods, forest, pole, measuring stick, yard, etc.'
- ikt stick 'one yard, i.e. one measuring stick'
- kopa stick 'to the woods, in the woods'
- isick stick 'ash (i.e. paddle wood)'
- kull stick 'oak, hardwood'
- goom stick 'pine (i.e. gum or resin wood)'
- kalakwahtee stick 'cedar (kalakwahtee is the soft inner bark
of the cedar which was used by Indians in weaving capes and
skirts)'
- hyas stick 'forest, woods'
- stick skin 'bark'
- mitwhit stick 'a standing tree'
- ship stick 'a mast'

Lest they be missed, there are a few idioms that relate to words which will be introduced later in this lesson. They will be included here as well.

- C) seeowist /sē.o.wist or sē.a.host/ 'eyes'
- halo seeowist 'blind'
- ikt seeowist 'one-eyed'
- klook seeowist 'cross-eyed' (also hunlkih seeowist)
- lakit seeowist or tala seeowist 'glasses, a person who
wears glasses'
- chuck kopa seeowist 'tears'
- nanitch kopa seeowist nikas 'I saw with my own eyes'
- D) sapolil /sa.po.lil/ (F) 'flour, meal (sometimes 'bread')'
- piyah sapolil 'bake bread'
- hyiu sapolil 'a lot of bread'

Talking about Food

The dialogue for Lesson III, "Kopa Makook House," took us shopping and we learned the name for a number of edibles. There are several that we have not yet learned, however, and in order to facilitate learning all of the terms in this important category, we list them all below. Speakers of Chinook Jargon should never go hungry!

amote /a.mó.tǔ/ (C) 'strawberry'

kushu /kú.shu/ (F) 'pork, ham, bacon'

(Note that for this and other meats, one can say kushu itlwillie 'pork,' tenas moosmoos yaka itlwillie 'veal' etc.)

lacamas or camass /lá.kǔ.mǔs or kǎ.mǔs/ (N) 'camas (an edible wild tuber that looks like a small onion. Camas and salal have become known throughout the Northwest by their Jargon names - as has kinickinnick)'

klikamuks /kli.kǔ.mǔks/ (C) 'blackberries'

kawats /ká.wats/ (E) or lacalach

/la.ká.lǔch/ (F) 'carrots' (Note:

kawats came to be used for potatoes as well)

lakamin /la.kǔ.mén/ (F) 'stew, dumplings'

lapome or haplis (F) 'apple'

lapool /lǔ.púl/ (F) 'chicken' (also tepeh lapool 'chicken wing,' emih lapool 'chicken breast,' etc.)

lashey /lǔ.shā/ (?) 'oats, barley'; also lawen 'oatmeal, porridge'

lebiskwee /lǔ.bis.kwé/ (F) 'biscuit, cracker'

lepan /lǔ.pán/ (F) 'bread

(sapolil is more common)'

lepwah /lǔ.pwá/ (F) 'peas'

melass /mǔ.lás/ (E) 'molasses, syrup'

olalie /ó.la.lē/ (K and possibly Chinook) 'fruit, berry (note also

olalie chuck 'juice,' seahpo

olalie 'raspberry (lit. hat berry),' and shot olalie 'huckleberry)'

salal /sǔ.lál/ (C) 'salalberry'

salt /salt/ (E) 'salt'

sapolil /sá.po.lil/ (F, see note in dictionary) 'flour, bread'

shugah, shukwah (E) 'sugar'

solemie /só.le.mē/ (C) 'cranberry'

tatoosh /tǎ.túsh/ (Chippewa or Cree) 'milk, galees tatoosh 'butter'.'

tukwilla /tǔk.wí.lǔ/ (Kal) 'hazel nuts, nuts'

ulalach /ú.la.lach/ (?) 'onion'

wappato /wá.pa.to/ (Cree) 'potato'

Note: Some other food terms that appear occasionally in Jargon were not common: lawen "oats", olanchis "orange", lasup "soup", lenawo or tanaps "turnips", kolehps "grape(s)", mush "bread and milk", etc.

We also ought to know the names for meals.

muckamuck kopa tenas sun 'breakfast'

muckamuck kopa sitkum sun 'lunch, mid-day meal'

muckamuck kopa polaklie 'supper, evening meal'

tenas muckamuck 'a between meal snack, coffee or tea break'

The terms for eating utensils and furniture relating to eating will be introduced below. We have, as well, avoided introducing the cuts of meat (e.g. haslitch 'liver,' tumtum 'heart,' pish latate 'fishheads') since we will be discussing the parts of the body at the end of this lesson. You should be able to improvise nearly all of the terms you will need in order to discuss food. You have the adjectives (kloshe, tsee, peshak, waum, klile, kull, kahkwa salt, etc.) and the process verbs (liplip 'boil,' chako piah 'cooked,' chako piah kopa galees 'fry,' etc.). You can now go to the muckamuck house and order with care. And be certain that they don't serve your olalie lapool hiyu galees ('greasy').

Furniture, Tools and Utensils

An important function of Jargon was to enable workers to conduct their business and settlers and Indians to buy the tools that they couldn't make themselves. Thus, Jargon has a list of terms for "store-bought" items. We will not include those things which we have prominently introduced before or already enumerated previously in this lesson, but the list is nonetheless quite long. Note that most of the items derive from French. This suggests how important the French trappers, known as The Voyageurs, were in the early history of our area.

bed (E) 'bed (also tzum pasisi
'quilt,' etc.)'

kalitan /ka.lí.tũn/ (C) 'arrow,
shot, bullet'

kamosuk /ka.mó.suk/ (C) 'beads'

keepwot /kēp.wot/ (C) 'needle,
pin (also tipshin /túp.shin/ (UCh)

kilitsut /kí.lit.sut/ (C) 'glass,
flint'

kweokweo /kwē.yo.kwē.yo/ (C)
'ring (also circle)'

lableed /lũ.bléd/ (F) 'bridle'

labootai /la.bu.tí/ (F) 'bottle'

lacaset /la.ka.sét/ (F) 'chest,
box, trunk'

lagoom /lũ.gúm/ (F) 'glue, pitch'

lahash /lũ.hásh/ (F) 'ax, hatchet'

lalahm /lũ.lám/ (F) 'oar'

laleem /lũ.lém/ (F) 'file'

lapeep /lũ.pép/ (F) 'pipe'

lapehsh /lũ.pésh/ (F) 'pole'

lapell /lũ.pél/ (F) 'shovel'

lapeosh /lũ.pē.ósh/ (F) 'hoe'

lapiege /lũ.pyéitch/ (F) 'trap'

laplash /lũ.plásh/ (F) 'plank'

lapushet /lŭ.pu.shét/ (F) 'pitchfork'
 lasee /lŭ.sé/ (F) 'saw'
 lasell /lŭ.sél/ (F) 'saddle'
 lashaloo /lŭ.sha.lú/ (F) 'plow'
 lashandel /lŭ.shan.dél/ (F) 'candle
 light or lamp'
 lashase /lŭ.shās/ (F) 'chair, bench'
 lashen /lŭ.shén/ (F) 'chain'
 lasiet /lŭ.sē.yét/ (F) 'plate'
 latah̄b /lŭ.táb/ (F) 'table'
 labadoo /lŭ.ba.dú/ (F) 'shingles'
 lebal /lŭ.bál/ (F) 'ball, shot'
 lekleh /lŭ.klā/ (F) 'key'
 lemahto /lŭ.ma.tó/ (F) 'hammer'

no#

lepishemo /lŭ.pish.she.mó/ (Cree)
 'horse blanket, livery for a horse'
 leplah /lŭ.plá/ (F) 'plate'
 lesak /lŭ.sák/ (F) 'bag, sack'
 lewhet /lŭ.wét/ (F) 'whip'

malah /má.la/ (C) 'tin pans, tin
 (this term came prominently into
 use in many languages of the
 Coast)'
 mitass /mē.tas/ (Cree) 'leggings'
 ikik or akik /ík.ik/ (C) 'fishhook'
 ooskan /ú.skān/ (C) 'bowl, cup'
 opekwan /ó.pe.kwan/ (C) 'basket,
 kettle'
 opitsah /o.pí.tsŭ/ (C) 'knife'
 opitsah yaka sikhs 'fork'
 spoon (E) 'spoon'
 polallie /po.la.lē/ (F) 'powder'
 selokmil /se.lók.mil/ (? but probably
 related to Chinook shelokum)
 'window'
 shelokum /shē.ló.kŭm/ (C) 'mirror'
 sukwalal /su.kwāl.al/ (C) 'gun'
 tamolitsh /tŭ.mó.lich/ (C and poss.
 Yakima) 'tub, barrel'

You can also discuss the material that these things are made of, be it cloth, iron, brass, gold, tin, or wood (i.e. sail, chickamin, klikwallie, pil chickamin, malah or ekskaun /ék.skawn/ (C) a less common term for 'wood' than stick, respectively). Keep in mind that you should know where to store these things, too. The cellar (klawhop /kla.wáp/ (C) or ketwilla (?)) would be a good place for many of them.

Here, as well, there is plenty of room for improvisation. It may not be crucial to know the words for leggings or pitchfork, but how are you going to ask for toilet paper (pepah kopa klahanie house) or a road map (pikcha kopa konaway wayhut kopakoke ilahee)? As an exercise, attempt to devise expressions that would allow you to discuss other common household items. An important term to remember in creating idioms is ikta, which besides 'thing' means 'tool, device, machine, and whatchamacallit.'

EXERCISES

Exercise A Review of Material Covered in Previous Lessons

- 1) Ikta okoke col?
- 2) kunjih: (a) kwinnum shut; ikt shut \$2.50 (how much are five shirts if one shirt is \$2.50?)
(b) mokst labootay tatoosh; ikt labootay 65¢
(c) klone ooskan kaupee; ikt oskan 17¢
(d) lakit shelokum; ikt shelokum \$4.50.
- 3) Translate into Jargon after reviewing Lesson II:
 - (a) Yesterday I went to San Francisco; today I stay at home; and tomorrow I will go to the insane asylum
 - (b) I want to buy a new house, but I can't sell my old house.
I must trade my house and car for a new house
 - (c) I must fetch the milk before it gets dark
 - (d) He got angry and I got excited
 - (e) You will ruin it. I will have to correct it.
 - (f) If you die, I will put up (mamook mitwhit) a really beautiful grave-stone
 - (g) We can count in Chinook Jargon, but you will have to correct us.
- 4) Translate into Chinook Jargon after reviewing Lesson III:
 - (a) Well, go straight ahead and you will come to (klap kopa) his house
 - (b) Oh, now I know (for sure)
 - (c) Nuts (to you)! It is not good to waste food
 - (d) (There is) no difference: chako and essal, two words for 'to come'
 - (e) This is my house and that is your house. Mine is better
 - (f) According to the chief, you did not work well. Shame!
 - (g) My canoe is on the other side of the river
 - (h) There is nothing (halo ikta) above the sky.
- 5) Translate into Chinook Jargon after reviewing Lesson V:
 - (a) Open the door, teacher. I want to learn how to write English!
 - (b) Why did you buy three yards of blue cloth in Victoria?
 - (c) Because you know Chinook Jargon, you can talk to the Indians in Oregon

EXERCISES

Exercise A Review of Material Covered in Previous Lessons

- 1) Ikta okoke col?
- 2) kunjih: (a) kwinnum shut; ikt shut \$2.50 (how much are five shirts if one shirt is \$2.50?)
(b) mokst labootay tatoosh; ikt labootay 65¢
(c) klone ooskan kaupee; ikt oskan 17¢
(d) lakit shelokum; ikt shelokum \$4.50.
- 3) Translate into Jargon after reviewing Lesson II:
 - (a) Yesterday I went to San Francisco; today I stay at home; and tomorrow I will go to the insane asylum
 - (b) I want to buy a new house, but I can't sell my old house.
I must trade my house and car for a new house
 - (c) I must fetch the milk before it gets dark
 - (d) He got angry and I got excited
 - (e) You will ruin it. I will have to correct it.
 - (f) If you die, I will put up (mamook mitwhit) a really beautiful grave-stone
 - (g) We can count in Chinook Jargon, but you will have to correct us.
- 4) Translate into Chinook Jargon after reviewing Lesson III:
 - (a) Well, go straight ahead and you will come to (klap kopa) his house
 - (b) Oh, now I know (for sure)
 - (c) Nuts (to you)! It is not good to waste food
 - (d) (There is) no difference: chako and essal, two words for 'to come'
 - (e) This is my house and that is your house. Mine is better
 - (f) According to the chief, you did not work well. Shame!
 - (g) My canoe is on the other side of the river
 - (h) There is nothing (halo ikta) above the sky.
- 5) Translate into Chinook Jargon after reviewing Lesson V:
 - (a) Open the door, teacher. I want to learn how to write English!
 - (b) Why did you buy three yards of blue cloth in Victoria?
 - (c) Because you know Chinook Jargon, you can talk to the Indians in Oregon

- (d) The dog ate the cat, the cat ate the rat, the rat ate the fly, the fly ate the sugar ... and all were sick
- (4) In the woods I saw an elk, two moose, eight bears, five grizzly bears, three cougars, an eagle, a hawk, and other different birds and animals
- (f) Although I like to go to Seattle, I am happy to stay at home
- (g) Although they are well-behaved dogs, I fear them nevertheless
- (h) Your blue shirt and red pants are dirty (either kahkwa ilahee or mitlite hyas humm, depending upon how dirty they are!)
- (i) The new stockings I gave you for Christmas are yellow and black
- (j) Because I am sick I will not come to his house in the evening.

Exercise B Translate the following sentences into English

- 1) How! Ahnkuttie tseepe okoke mowitch kopa opitlkegh pee kalitan.
Mamook mika poo kopa kalapeen. (note: kopa here means 'with'.)
- 2) Tillikum. Hyiu tsish yakwa, pee nika tikegh mamook olapitskee
- 3) Mitlite winapee. Spose nesika chako tsolo (become lost) kopa stick, klonas mimalose konaway nesika. Alki killapi nika kopa house
- 4) Hyas latlah! Kahta mamook okoke latlah? Kopet! Mamook kopet alta.
Halo tikegh nika kumtuks kopa kwolan okoke latlah
- 5) Halo chukkin mika kopa opoots nikas. Spose mika chukkin nika, alki nika mamook kokshut kopa mika.

Exercise C Translate into English.

1. Papa tans tausan time, hyiu laly.
2. Nika hyiu tikegh waum ti pee lum. Halo nika tiksu pee hyiu snow klahanie.
3. Sidah stick bymby chako hyas. La-a-aly! Tukamonuk col.
4. Ketop, lazy! Kahta mika mitlite kopa bed?
5. Nika hyiu tikegh opitsah yaka sikhs pee spoon.
6. Nesika klatawa kopa Hyack Sun (Hyack Days, i.e. Hyak) kopa Nuwesminista. (In May every year, New Westminster, B.C., has a Hyack Days festival in which that city's Hyack Anvil Battery of cannons is fired).

Exercise D Here is a somewhat threatening note (possibly sent in jest) regarding a proposed clam (ona) bake. A translation is provided following exercise F.

Klahowya six. Tahlkie mika wawa nika. Spose mika mamook icht ona potlatch kahkwa siwah mamook ahnkutte, nika pe hyu tillicums charco copo mika ellahia. Nika oleman alta. Mika wawa spose huloima mamook kahkwa, mesika charco; nika

wawa: "huloima mika tumtum." Klaska wawa mesika ticky mamook kahkwa mika pee siwash tillicums mamook ahnkutte. Naah, spose mika pee mika tillicum wake charco. Nika pee huloima mamook me-sa-chie copo mesika, pee mamook piah copo mika moos-moos house.

Exercise E Here is a Jargon medicine-song, song by a Coast (possibly Nootka) Indian practicing among the Nicola of B.C. before the turn of the century. Can you recognize the jargon-words and their meaning (translation follows Exercise F)?

Naika komtoks maika. Naika ne Tom. Naika tiki tlap maika sik.
Naika komtoks maika sik. Naika iskim maika sik. Naika skukum dokta. Spos naika iskim maika sik, maika nanits maika sik.
Naika helo tliminahwit. Naika helo koltas wawa. Naika delet dokta. Haiyu son (i.e. sun) naika helo mokamok. Naika helo mokamok kopa tatlem son. Naika helo iktas stop pi naika help sek (i.e. lesak) stop. Alta, naika iskim maika sik pi maika nanets.

Exercise F Here is a letter that was sent in 1881 to the new teacher at La Push, Washington, by a Quileute named Jack. Can you translate it?

Mr. Smis

Nika tenas wake tenas sick. yaka skookum. pe nika kloodchman halo tenas sick. yaka skookum. chee nicka copet potlatch kopa nika tillicums. moxt moon alta, nika kwansome potlatch kopa nika tillicums. pe kwansome yaka hehe, kwansome yaka halo ickta mamook kopet hehe pe klockwolly. pe nicka kwansome kloshe nanitch kopa nika tillicums pe konaway siwash. kwansome nika potlatch hyiu muckamuck pe halo lolo ickt bit. nika kloshe nanich kopa Wesley spose yaka chaco kopa Quileute (i.e. La Push). pe alka spose mika chaco kopa Quileute nika kloshe nanich kopa mika pe lolo mika kopa kloshe ilahee. spose Wesley klap kopa Quileute nika konamoxt kopa yaka mamook tsum kopa konaway siwash. pe nika tenas sick alta, moxt sun nika halo get up. - tenas alka klonas ickt moon pe sitkum, nika Klatawa kopa Queets pe Ho (i.e. Queets and Lower Hoh River villages), isikum kopa siwash lolo kopa Quileute mamook sealskin. pe nika Ow Henry yaka kloshe, halo tenas sick. pe nika mama yaka kloshe pe kwansome mitlight kopa nika house. pe John yaka kwansome kloshe nanich kopa nika pe potlatch pire stick.

Howeattle (i.e. name of the foremost chief of the Quileutes) yaka kunamoxt kopa nika spose ickta mamook. nika tikegh spose mika potlatch kopa nika tenas delate kloshe whistle. wake kakwa mitlight kopa okoke makoke house.

Klahowiam Mr. Smis.

Kloshe mash haeuiman tsum kopa mika nika kakwa kwansome mika tillicum.

Jack (E?)

Translations of Exercises D, E, and F

D) Greetings, Friend

You spoke to me yesterday. If you make a clambake feast like the Indians used to make, I and many people (will) come to your place. I am an old man now. You say that if others do this, you guys will come; I say "change your mind". They say you-all want to do as you and Indian people used to do (e.g. boycott a feast after elaborate preparations had been made in order to shame the feast givers). Well, if you and your friends didn't come, I and others (would) do evil things to you-all, and burn down your barn.

(This note is on display in the Port Townsend Museum, dubiously labelled as an invitation to the 26th Annual Pt. Townsend Clambake!)

E) I know you. My name is Tom. I want to find your sickness. I know your sickness. I will take away your sickness. I am a strong doctor. If I take your sickness, you will see your sickness (i.e. and be able to conquer it). I don't lie. I don't speak worthless words. I am a real doctor. (For) many days I have not eaten. I haven't eaten for ten days. I have no things (tools) with me and I have no sack (of medicines) with me. Now I will take your sickness and you will see it.

(This song is from a manuscript in the archives of the National Museum of Canada - B121 F6 1210.6).

F) Mr. Smith,

My child is not sick at all. He is fine, and so is my wife. Recently I stopped giving handouts to my relatives. For two months I have been supporting them while all they did was amuse themselves, doing nothing but play games and perform wolf dances (i.e. the tlokwalí secret society dances). But I have always looked after my relatives and all the band members. I always provide lots of food and never get one dime back. I'll look after Wesley (Smith's son) when he comes to La Push, and then if you come out too, I'll watch out for you and take you to the village. When Wesley comes, he and I together will make a list of all the band members. But, I'm not very well at the moment. I stayed in bed for two days. In a little while, maybe six weeks, I'm going to Queets and

Hoh River to get some band members there to bring back to La Push and work on sealskins. My younger brother Henry keeps well, not ailing. My mother is well too and still staying in my house. And John always looks out for me and gives me firewood. Howeattle is always on my side and backs me up no matter what. I would like it if you would give my child a really good little whistle, not like the ones they have in the store here.

Goodbye; Mr. Smith. I am pleased to write to you again and I am as always your friend. Jack

(Letter and translation (freely rendered) from Harris 1984)

ADDITIONAL NEW MATERIAL

Parts of the Body

When you klatawa kopa takta, it's very important that you be able to tell where it hurts. But, that's not the only time that we talk about parts of the body. In fact, the Jargon words for bodily parts get used so frequently, you are probably wondering how you progressed so far without this important part of the vocabulary. Again, it is interesting that many of the terms come from French. We will present all of the body parts from latate to lepee below. Learn them carefully.

- latate /lũ.tet/ (F) 'head, face'
- tupso /tũp.so/ (C) 'hair, beard, grass, fur'
- kwolan /kwo.lan/ (UCh and LCh) 'ear'
- seeowist /sẽ.o.wist or sã.a.host/ (C) 'eyes'
- emeets /ẽ.mets/ (C) 'nose,' a more common word was nose /nos/ (E)
- kapala /ka.pá.lũ/ (?) 'cheeks'
- lapush /la.push (pronounced as in English push)/ (F) 'mouth, lips'
- lalang /lũ.lang/ (F) 'tongue'
- latah /lũ.ta/ (F) 'tooth'
- makeson /má.kũ.sin/ (?, probably Salish) 'chin'
- klapoochus /kla.pú.chũs/ (C?) 'beard' (also tupso and yakso)
- lecoo /lẽ.kú/ (F) 'neck,' also chesp /chesp/ (C) and okwanax /o.kwa.nuk/ (C?)
- okchuck /ok.chũk/ (C?) 'shoulders'
- lamah /la.má/ (F) 'arm, hand'
- emih /ẽ.mĩ/ (?) 'chest'
- telemin /té.lũ.min/ (?) 'ribs,' also etlawill (?)
- etshum /ét.shũm/ (C) 'heart' which is much less common than tumtum
- itlwillie /itl.wi.lẽ/ (C) 'muscle, flesh'
- haslitch /hás.lich/ (?) 'liver' Less common was livah (E).

emeek /e.mēk/ (?) 'back'
kiya /kē.yū/ (Twana) 'innards, guts'
tentome /tūn.tūm/ (LCh) 'navel'
yakwatin /ya.kwá.tin/ (C) 'stomach, belly'
ledoo /lū.dú/ (F) 'finger'
opoots /ó.puts/ (C) 'buttocks'
lepee /lū.pé/ (F) 'foot, leg' more common than teahwit /tē.yá.wit/ (C)
towah /tó.wa/ (C?) 'fingernails, toenails'
tlepait /tle.páy/ (C) 'nerves (actually thread)'
tumtum /tūm.tūm/ (LCh?) heart, spirit, intellect,
center of emotions
pilpil /píl.pil/ (from Chinook pil, red) 'blood'
stone /ston/ (E) 'bone'*
stone latate 'skull'
stone teahwit 'footbone'

Learn these terms until you can use them easily in making sentences, and then you might try to sing the song 'Dry Bones' in Jargon.

"stone latate kow kopa stone lecoo, "Head bone connected to the neck bone,
stone lecoo kow kopa stone emih, neck bone connected to the chest bone,
etc." etc."

Clothes

Students can breathe easy, because the Jargon vocabulary devoted to clothing was very small and functional. Some speakers used the term pasisi ('blanket') for all clothes, but there were a few words for articles of clothing.

kapo /ká.po or kũ.pú/ (F) 'coat,' also klotchman kapo 'dress'
sakoleks /sá.ko.leks/ (C) 'trousers,' also keekwullie
sakoleks 'underwear (men's or women's)'
shut /shut/ (E) 'shirt'
kisu /kē.su/ (C) 'apron, skirt'

*Stone was also used to refer to testicles (i.e. stone kiyutan, stallion). The word for women's genitals, tenino /te.nī.no/ (C) vulva (also canyon) and penis, iwosh /ē.wash/ (?) are often not included in dictionaries. Skutch (UCh?) was also used by several tribes for female genitals. Is /is/ and manakh /ma.nak/ are found in several languages of the Coast for urinate and defecate, resp. They were widely used in Jargon.

lasanshel /la.san.shel/ (F) 'belt'
lawest /la.west/ (F) 'vest'
seahpo /sē.yá.po/ (prob. F, see dictionary) 'hat, cap'
takinis /tá.ki.nis/ (E) 'stockings, socks' or
kushis /ku.shēs/ (LCh?)
shoe or tikshu (E?) or tkitlipa /tkí.tli.pǔ/ (C) 'shoes'
hokatshu /hó.küt.shu/ (E) 'handkerchief'

The term iktas was sometimes used for clothes, but is confusing except in contexts in which it is understood that one refers specifically to clothes.

There is also a terminology related to sewing and the making of clothes. This will be presented here, as well.

tipshin /típ.shin/ (UCh) 'needle, pin'
mamook tipshin 'to sew'
sail /sāl/ (E) 'cloth'
klapite /klǔ.pít/ (C) 'thread' or hwilom /hwī.lum/ (?)
lasiso /la.sē.só/ (F) 'scissors'
kwekweens /kwé.kē.ǔns/ (UCh, LCh) 'pin'
laliba /la.lē.ba/ (F) 'ribbon'
chilchil /chil.chil/ (C) 'button'
tahnim /tá.nim/ (UCh) 'to measure'
cut /kut/ (E) 'to cut, also tkope /tul.kop/ (C)'
wash /wash/ (E) 'to wash (or mamook wash)'

READING EXERCISE

Here, as a reading exercise, is the Whiteman's Creation Story in Chinook Jargon as given in a Christmas Sermon by Alfred Carmichael, in Victoria, 1890. Carmichael's manuscript sermon notes have been copied exactly as they were written, without transcribing them into the spelling system which we utilize.

Boston Creation Story

Hyias ankuttie Saghahie Tye mamook okook illahie. Kimta yahka kopet mamook okook illahie, yahka mamook konaway pish, konaway moosemoos, konaway mowitch. Konsih yahka kopet mamook konaway klaska ictas, yahka mamook man. Yahka wawa, kloshepose nesika mamook man kahkwa nesika,

nika potlatch yahka illahie kopa klaska. Pe Saghalie Tyee mamook man kahkwa yahka. Konsih yahka kopet mamook icht man, yahka wawa kopa yahka, "Nika potlatch okook illahie kopa mika - konaway pish, konaway moosemoos, konaway mowitch. Konaway ictas, mika hyiu kopa klaska. Mika mamook nem kopa konaway klaska, "Pe Adam mamook nem kopa konaway klaska. Pee Adam (okook yahka nem God potlatch yahka) halo mitlite icht klootsma, pe Sagalie Tyee, icht polaklie konsih yahka sleep, Saghalie Tyee iksum icht bone kopa Adam, pe Saghalie Tyee mamook icht klootsma, pe potlatch yahka kopa Adam. Konsih Adam nanitch yahka klootsma okook Saghalie Tyee mamook kopa yahka, yahka wawa yahka nem Eve. So, Saghalie Tyee mamook mox tillicums, Adam de yahka klootsma Eve. Pe God wawa kopa klaska, "Mesika nanitch okook illahie nika potlatch kopa mesika, konaway yahka? Spose mesika mamook quanesum kahkwa nika tikegh, pe wick mamook mesachie, nika potlatch teach kopa mesika quanesum, wick mesika mamaloose, mesika mitlite quanesum kopa okook illahie."

Pe Saghalie Tyee mamook klaska mitlite kopa icht hyas kloshe garden car (i.e. kah) mitlite hyiu muckamuck kahkwa apple (lepom), pear, konaway kloshe muckamuck. Pe Saghalie Tyee mamook icht kahkwa teach stick kahkwa lepom mitlite kopa yahka. Pe Saghalie Tyee wawa kopa klaska, "Kloshe spose mesika muckamuck konaway klaska, pe icht wick mesika muckamuck - klonas mox kole chakko, pe klaska Adam pe Eve mamook quanesum (kahkwa) Saghalie Tyee wawa klaska, mesachie halo chakko.

Pe icht sun diab chakko kopa Eve pe wawa yahka, "Icta Saghalie Tyee wawa kopa mesika kopa yaka teach stick?" Pe, Eve wawa, "Yahka wawa kopa nesika, mesika muckamuck konaway stick muckamuck. Pe icht teach tree muckamuck wick mesika muckamuck. Spose mesika muckamuck yahka, mesika mamalose."

Pe diab wawa kopa yahka, "Wick mesika mamalose. Saghalie Tyee kumtux spose mesika muckamuck yaka, mesika chakko hyas (delate) kahkwa yahka." Pe Eve muckamuck yahka tree, pe potlatch Adam, pe yahka muckamuck.

Klaska kopet mamook kahkwa Saghalie Tyee wawa klaska. Diab wawa klaska pe klaska mamook kahkwa yahka wawa. Yahka kahta mesachie mamook chakko kopa okook illahie.

Tenas alkie Saghalie Tyee chakko kopa klaska, pe klaska shem tumtum. Pe mamook ipsoot klaska selves, pe Saghalie Tyee hyias wawa, "Adam, car mika mitlite?" Pe Adam chakko, pe Saghalie Tyee wawa, "Kahta mesika shem tumtum? Mesika muckamuck kopa yahka tree okook nika wawa mesika, wick

mesika muckamuck."

Pe Adam wawa, "Nika klootsma potlatch yahka kopa nika, pe klootsma wawa, "Diab wawa nika yahka kloshe muckamuck. Pe Saghalie Tyee wawa, "Alkie mesika mamalose, pee bymby nika mahsh icht man kopa mesika kopa mesika illahie pe yahka save mesika. Bymby Adam pe Eve klap tenasses, pe yahka tenasses klap tenasses, pe tenas alkie tillicums mitlite kopa okook illahie.

This is the Boston Creation Story in Chinook Jargon. The last section of this Christmas sermon is presented as the reading at the end of Chapter VII. Note that spelling of some of the words varies from use to use within the text. Note also that some English words such as teach, garden, save, and tree are used here despite the existence of Jargon words for such things or the possibility of expressing the ideas in commonly used Jargon. This points to the fact that Jargon's fluid and uncanonized nature persisted throughout its use. The only words in the above which might give you trouble are diab (F) 'the devil,' and shem tumtum 'to be ashamed.'

SING IN CHINOOK JARGON

Here is a translation of Good Night, Ladies by Laura Downey-Bartlett. You will have no trouble with the easy words: Goodnight, Ladies! We're going to leave (you) now. Merrily we roll (i.e. stroll) along, o'er the dark blue sea. Farewell, Ladies! Sweet dreams, Ladies! etc.

KLOSH POLAKELY T'SLADIE

Ict

Klosh polakely t'sladie!

Klosh polakely t'sladie!

Klosh polakely t'sladie!

Nesika klatawa, alta.

Hee-hee nesika cooley kah,

Cooley kah, cooley kah,

Hee-hee nesika cooley kah,

E-niti hy-as chuck.

Mox

Kla-how-ya t'sladie!

Kla-how-ya t'sladie!

Kla-how-ya t'sladie!

Nesika klatawa alta.

Klone

T'see moosum t'sladie!

T'see moosum t'sladie!

T'see moosum t'sladie!

Nesika klatawa alta.

L E S S O N V I I

DIALOGUE

"Kopa Chachawishouse"

Siwash: Hello-o-o. Kah
laplet? Nesika tikegh
mallie.

Laplet: Yakwa. Mesika tikegh
mallie, aha? Killapi winapee.
Alta nika mamook lamess.
Bymby nika mamook mallie
kopa mesika.

Siwash: Kloshe, mahsie, laplet.
Halo mahlie nesika!

Laplet: Halo mahlie, halo mallie?
Ikta wawa mika?

Siwash: Halo mahlie. Nesika
killapi tenas laly. Nika
tikegh klatawa kopa siwash
ilahee; tikegh iskum keelolly.

Laplet: Keelolly! Keelolly kopa
eklis? Halo. Keelolly elitee
kopa lejaub, kopa konaway tseatko.

Siwash: Cultus wawa! Keelolly
mitlite kopa kloshe tamanawis.
Spose mika tikegh, nika iskum
plopit. Bymby konaway nesika
mamook hullel.

Laplet: Sick tumtum nika. Halo
nika mallie mesika.

"At Church"

Indian: "Hello-o-o. Where's the
priest. We want to get married."

Priest: "Here (I am). You want to
get married, eh? Come back a
little later. I am performing
the mass now. Later on I'll
marry you."

Indian: "Fine, thanks, Priest.
Don't forget us!"

Priest: "Don't forget or don't
marry? Which did you say?"

Indian: "Don't forget. We (will)
return soon. We want to go to
the Indian reserve and get the
shaman."

Priest: "Shaman! Shaman in the
church? No. A shaman is a slave
of the devil, of all night-
prowling-ghosts."

Indian: "Nonsense! A shaman lives
with good spirit-powers. If you
wish, I (will) get the prophet
(of the Shaker Church). Later
we'll perform a shake ritual.

Priest: "I'm sorry. I won't
marry you."

Vocabulary

chachawishouse /cha.chá.wis.haws/ (E) or eklis or leglis (F) 'church'	mahlie /ma.lē/ (Puget Salish) 'forget'
elitee /e.lī.tē/ (C) 'slave'	mallie /ma.lē.yā/ (F) 'to marry'
hullel /hu.lél/ (C) 'to shake'	mamook mallie 'to perform a marriage'
keelolly /ké.la.lē/ (C) 'shaman, Indian medicine man'	plopit /plá.püt/ (E) 'prophet, esp. early prophet of the Shaker Church'
laplet /lũ.plét/ (F) 'priest, minister'	tseatko /tsē.át.ko/ (UCh and Puget Salish) 'stick Indian, ghost'
lejaub (or diab) /lũ.jawb/ (F) 'the devil, Satan'	
lamess /lũ.més/ (F) 'mass, church service'	

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

The early missionaries among the Indians of the Northwest Coast found Chinook Jargon an indispensable tool in communicating their gospel message. It was a common practice for missionaries and preachers to learn the Jargon before arriving in the area. The vocabulary of Jargon was expanded to include a number of terms necessary for discussing Christianity and its teachings. Among these are idioms using the term saghalie 'sky, heaven, high':

- Saghalie Tyee, 'God'
- Saghalie Tyee yaka tenas, 'Jesus (also called Sisukli,
Jesuklays, etc.)'
- Saghalie Tyee yaka book, 'Bible'
- Saghalie Tyee yaka wawa or yiem, 'gospel message, preaching,
religious talk'
- Saghalie Tyee yaka tamanawis, 'Holy Spirit'
- kahkwa Saghalie Tyee, 'holy'
- wawa kopa Saghalie Tyee, 'pray'

Other terms that were borrowed by Jargon for religious use were:

- olo time, 'lent'
- lesapot /le.sa.pot/ (F) 'the apostles'
- Kismus /kís.mus/ (E) 'Christmas'

Paska /pás.kũ/ (F) 'Easter'
lesapek /le.sa.pék/ (F) 'a bishop'
ensel /én.sel. (E) 'angel'
plopit /plá.püt/ (E) 'prophet'
baptize /báp.tays/ (E) 'baptize'
lacloa /lũ.kló.wũ/ (F) 'cross'
plie /plē.yey/ (F) 'prayer'

Various Jargon terms were specialized in meaning to give them a religious connotation, as well: mesachie 'sinful, sin' mesachie tillikum 'sinner'

yiem /yem/ (UCh) 'story, to tell a story' also 'to repent'

kloshe yiem 'gospel, prophecy'

kloshe muckamuck, Jesuklays yaka muckamuck 'communion'

tumtum 'soul, spirit'

mamook tumtum 'meditate'

kloshe tumtum yaka chako 'to welcome him/her'

wawa kloshe 'to bless'

hyas piah, keekwillie ilahee, lejaub yaka ilahee 'hell,
hellfire'

man yaka kloshe kopa yaka lapush, pee mesachie kopa
tumtum yakas 'hypocrite'

The Indian Spirit World

Despite the zeal of the missionaries, the Indians continued to attend to the responsibilities of their own spirit world. Although the beliefs and practices of each tribe on the Coast differed, we can speak of a few aspects of native religious life that typified most of the groups. Indian medicine was a highly developed set of beliefs and rituals for explaining the unknown and controlling it. Most groups felt that everyone had a soul (tumtum) and guardian spirit (tamanawis). Individuals would, when they reached adulthood, go out alone to find their personal spirit power. This power became their personal guiding and strengthening force throughout their lives.

A medicine man or shaman (keelolly) was trained to handle the unpredictable ghosts of the dead (tseatko, the word also refers to stick Indians or sasquatch). Ghosts were supposed to move to the land of the

dead, but often they would loiter around the place of their death and must be frightened away or tricked into leaving by wily shamans. Ghosts and spirit powers with evil intent could inhabit a body and drive out a person's soul. An errant soul usually resulted in sickness or unconsciousness, and a shaman could pursue and capture the wandering soul and replace it within the body.

Thus, Indian medicine treated the supernatural reasons for troubles and illness. The "old peoples'" conception of the supernatural, just like that of the White settlers, was one which served to answer life's ultimate questions (e.g. How did the world come to be? Why did the lightning strike Henry's house? Why me, Lord?). As with the new answers that the missionaries brought, the traditional answers of the Indians to these ultimate questions were often found in the peoples' myths (e.g. the world was created by Raven, or in a garden called Eden or by an exploding nebula). These beliefs and the whole Indian world view were not immediately abandoned by the Indians upon contact with White religion. Their view of the world persisted, despite the impression, encouraged by the missionaries, that adopting the beliefs of the Whites would result in goods and power. Thus, a number of Jargon words came into use for reference to aspects of the Indians' supernatural world.

The Indian Shaker Religion

Toward the end of the 1880's, Indian religion entered what appeared to be its darkest hour. New diseases were ravaging the Indian populace and traditional medicine was ineffective in treating them. Alcohol and pre-contact work patterns of seasonal labor were reducing the Indians to poverty and hardship. At this time, a series of Indian prophets (etamana) appeared on the Northwest Coast. One of the most important of these prophets was John Slocum, an Indian from Mud Bay, near Olympia, Washington. According to traditional Shaker beliefs, John Slocum arose from the dead, claiming to have been in heaven for three days and that God had sent him back to earth to tell his people how to be good Indians. He recovered and preached commandments including abstinence from drinking, smoking and immorality. Few converts resulted immediately from his preaching, but his wife, Mary, became a firm

believer. According to some sources, John soon slid back into just the habits he was preaching against, and again became ill unto death. As he lay in a coma one evening, attended by friends, Mary came into the room and was trembling as she approached the bed. All were astounded when John immediately sat up, cured to the extent that he asked to be fed. News of this "miracle" spread throughout the Indian world, and soon groups were meeting regularly to emulate Mary Slocum's miracle by "shaking" for the dead and dying. The procedure became ritualized and was extended to shaking for those in need of spiritual guidance. Indian Shaker congregations sprang up from California to Northern B.C., and as far eastward as Idaho. Great Shaker preachers such as Mud Bay Louie and Mud Bay Sam travelled widely, preaching in Chinook Jargon.

The Indian Shaker religion (to be distinguished from the fundamentalist Shakers of the U.S. eastern seaboard who believed in neither sexual intercourse nor missionary action and, hence, died out) maintained a distinctive Indian character. The drum was replaced by bells (tintin), the fire by candles (lashandel), the red and black of the shaman's regalia by the white robes of Shaker ceremony, and the secrecy of the shaman's lore replaced by the openness of the Shakers, who displayed their bell, book (Bible) and candles openly. Despite these concessions to White practice, ceremonies continued to emphasize the aboriginal practice of participants developing an altered state of consciousness called "getting the spirit." Much of the cultural vacuum caused by outlawing and discouraging central aspects of the "old ways" was filled by Shakerism. Shaking (called in Jargon hullel) became so common that at La Push, Washington, it was regulated by the Indian Agent to two hours twice a week.

The Shaker religion continues to be an active force in Indian life here on the Coast, and although its ceremonies are no longer conducted in Chinook Jargon, the history of the two are intertwined.

Chinook Jargon Enters Its Literary Period: The Kamloops Wawa

During the final years of the 19th Century, the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Kamloops area of B.C. were seriously engaged in evangelization of the Salish Indians of that area. In the St. Louis

Mission at Kamloops, Fr. John M. LeJeune set out to preach and translate God's Word into the various languages of the Indians around the mission. Babel ensued, so he decided to use Chinook Jargon as a means of reaching the Indians of various tribes with a single idiom. However, he carried his efforts even one step further, and decided to write the Jargon in a form of shorthand which had been developed in France by the Duploye brothers. This simple shorthand and various pages from the Jargon newspaper Kamloops Wawa are shown in the illustrations on the following pages. Besides the monthly Wawa, they published a practical Chinook Jargon vocabulary (1886), a Chinook primer (1892), and a booklet with the shorthand and Jargon rudiments (1898).

Note the basic strokes of the shorthand and then attempt to read the Jargon terms written in shorthand. You will find that you can easily start to recognize symbols. It is also interesting to note the way that the French priests heard the Jargon words with no h's at the beginnings of words (i.e. hyiu was written 'aioo').

The Chinook Jargon Gospel

The Protestants were not far behind in their efforts to reach the Indians through Jargon. In 1912, the British and Foreign Bible Society in London published the Gospel of Mark, translated by C.M. Tate. The first four verses are reproduced below. You should have no problem at all reading it.

(Illustration 19 (placement instructions - to be placed on page below the above paragraph: No caption).

(Illustrations 15, 16, 17, 18 and 20) - see this and next pages)

(Illustration 15 - Caption: English title page of the Kamloops Wawa. Father Le Jeune attempted to interest non-Indians and foundations in supporting this approach to the evangelization of the Indians. Copies of the Wawa are now collector's items.)

(Illustration 16 - Caption: Description of the Duployan shorthand system from the Kamloops Wawa. Le Jeune published hymns, stories, catechism, Bible passages, plays, dictionaries, newspaper, and sermons in this shorthand phonetic alphabet.)

(Illustration 17 - Caption: The Duployan shorthand system. It could be mastered in a few hours and was used to write French, English, Chinook Jargon and other Indian languages of southeastern British Columbia.)

(Illustration 18 - Caption: A brief Chinook Jargon vocabulary. Here on a single page was all one needed to know in order to get along in this trade language at the end of the last century. Note the transliteration of each Jargon word into Duployan shorthand characters.)

(Illustration 19 (see previous page) - no caption).

(Illustration 20 - Caption: A section from the catechism by Fr. Le Jeune. Besides English and Chinook Jargon, the information is also given in Shuswap, one of the Indian languages of the area in which Fr. Le Jeune carried on his work.)

Jargon Sermons and Songs

Much earlier than these works of Jargon's "Golden Age," numerous prayers, songs and sermons had already appeared in print. Probably the first serious composition in the language had been done as early as 1838-9 by Fr. Modeste Demers, who prepared a catchism, prayers and hymns. These were revised by Francis N. Blanchet and published in Montreal, 1871. A few Jargon songs also appeared casually in early literature, including the following hymn, published by Daniel Lee and J.H. Frost (1844), who had spent ten years in Oregon. Note their Jargon usage:

Ak-ah eg-lah-lam en-si-kah	Here we now unite singing
Mi-kah ish-tam-ah em-e-hol-ew	Glory, Lord, unto Thy name.
Kup-et mi-kam toke-ta mi-mah	Only good and worthy praising
Mi-kah ek-ah-tlah gum-o-hah	Thou art always, Lord, the same.
Mi-kah dow-ah gum-e oh	Of the sun thou art creator;
Kon-a-wa e-toke-ta ten-mah	All things good, yea, every creature,
Mi-kah an-kut-e gum-toh	At the first Thou madest to be.

At this time, Jargon was still in its formative stages, and the Nootkan word mamook had not yet come into common usage in the Oregon area (the Chinookan form, gum-, was used there). Various other Chinookan words which did not become "standard" Jargon can also be seen here.

Although Jargon was used by literally hundreds of preachers throughout the Northwest Coast area, probably the best known Jargon preacher of them all was Myron W. Eells, missionary to the Indians of the Skokomish Reservation near Shelton, Washington. As early as 1881, he published a book of hymns in Jargon, and in 1893 he finished a monumental five volume manuscript dictionary of Chinook Jargon. In his introduction he states:

"Having used it (Chinook Jargon) for eighteen years, having talked it, sung in it, prayed in it, preached in it, translated considerable into it, and thought in it, I thought I knew a little about the language, but when I began to write this dictionary I found that there was very much which I did not know about it, but which I wished to know in order to make this dictionary as perfect as it should be."

Unfortunately, this sourcebook for Jargon remained in manuscript form. One of his sermons and some of the songs from his hymn book (1899) are reproduced on the following pages. His Jargon prayer for use before meals is provided below. You should be able to read it without trouble.

O Saghalié Tyee, nesika Papa, nesika wawa mahsie
kopa Mika, Mika potlatch kopa nesika okoke muckamuck.
Kloshe spose Mika kwanesum potlatch muckamuck kopa
nesika. Kloshe spose Mika potlatch Mika wawa kopa
nesika, kahkwa muckamuck kopa tumtum. Help nesika
tumtum chaco kloshe. Kopa Jesus nesika tikegh
konoway okoke. Kloshe kahkwa.

Here is part of a sermon of Rev. Eells delivered in 1888. It was delivered with illustrations which were held up while he spoke.

Okook kloosh yiem kopa Jesus Christ; Sah-a-lee
Tyee tenass.

Kakwa okook ankutee prophets mamook tzum, "alki
nike mash ikt man elip kopa mika, spose mamook
kloosh mika wayhut."

Kakwa spose hyas wawa midlite kopa wilderness,
"kloosh mesika mamook wayhut kopa Sahalee Tyee,
mamook delate yaka wayhut."

John yaka baptize tillicum kopa wilderness,
pe yaka yiem spose killipi tumtum, pe mash klaska
mesatchie mamook.

Mk I. 1-4

Moxt Sunday ahnkuttie nika mamook kumtux mesika
kopa okoke papeh. Yahwa mesika nanitch moxt
klootchmen. Klaska chaco kopa mimoloose-illahee,
kah Jesus mitlite, kopa Sunday, kopa delate tenas
sun. Spose klaska klap okoke mimaloose-illahee,
klaska halo nanitch Jesus. Jesus get-up; yaka
klatawa. Kahkwa nika wawa kopa mesika talkie
Sunday.

Okoke sun nika tikegh wawa kopa mesika kopa okoke papeh. Kimtah Jesus yaka get-up, yaka mitlite kopa illahee lakit tahtlum sun. Spose kopet lakit tahtlum sun, Jesus yaka tikegh klatawa kopa Saghalie. Kahkwa yaka lolo yaka tillikums klahanie kopa town, kopa okoke illahie kah mesika nanitch klaska. Yahwa mesika nanitch Jesus. Yahwa yaka tillikums. Jesus yaka tikegh potlatch kloshe wawa kopa yaka tillikums, elip yaka killapi kopa Saghalie.

Alta nika mamook tumtux mesika kopa Jesus yaka wawa kopa yaka tillikums. Yaka wawa kopa klaska: "Kloshe mesika klatawa kopa konoway illahee, konoway kah, pe lolo Bible wawa kopa konoway tillikums." Kahkwa Jesus yaka wawa kopa klaska.

Jesus yaka kumtux konoway tillikums, konoway kah, halo kumtux kopa kloshe home kopa Saghalie. Klaska halo kumtux kopa Lejaub yaka home kopa hias piah. Jesus yaka kumtux ikt man yaka tumtum delate hias mahkook; yaka elip hias mahkook kopa konoway dolla pe konoway iktas kopa konoway illahee. Kahkwa yaka tikegh yaka tillikums, yaka leplet, klatawa konoway kah, pe help konoway tillikums mash Lejaub yaka owakut, pe klap Jesus yaka owakut.

Klaska iskum Jesus yaka wawa. Ikt man klatawa kopa ikt illahee; huloima man klatawa kopa huloima illahee; huloima man klatawa kopa huloima illahee; kahkwa kopa konoway okoke leplet ahnkuttie. Jesus chaco hias kloshe tumtum kopa klaska, kopa klaska mamook. Jesus yaka help klaska; pe hiyu tillikums kopa hiyu illahee.

Here as a further exercise is the last portion of the sermon by Mr. Alfred Carmichael, from which we read the Creation story earlier.

Konaway klaska mamook mesachie, klaska halo kumtux mamook klooshe quansum, pe konaway mamaloose. Lachet tattlehum tukamonuk cole illahie chahko pe klatawa, pe jesus chahko, kahkwa tenas man. Wick jesus chahko kahkwa hyias tyee, yaka chahko kahkwa tenas man. Icht klootsma, yahka nem Mary. Yahka klap tenas, pe Saghalie Tyee mash angel kopa yahka pe wawa yahka, "Mika klap tenas. Konsih yahka chahko, mika wawa yahka nem Jesus. Because yahka mamook save konaway tillicums. Jesus chahko pe yahka mitlite konamox yahka papa pe mama klone tattlem cole. Yahka mamook kopa yahka muckamuck kahkwa nesika. Konsih yahka klap klone tattlum, yahka chaco kopa (illegible) yahka house, yahka chahko kopa hyias city jerusalem, pe yahka mamook klooshe kopa konaway tillicums quansum. Spose icht man halo kumtux wawa, yahka mamook yahka kumtux mamook wawa. Spose icht tillicum yahka (cultus) leha, yahka mamook yahka kloosh. Spose icht mans klishklis kokshot, yahka mamook okook klooshe. Jesus hyias klooshe man. Klone cole chahko pe mesachie men klap mesachie tumtum kopa jesus. Klaska kumtux alkie tillicums jesus. Tyee, klaska sick tumtum, icht polakali klaska iskum jesus, pe lolo jesus kopa hyias courthouse, pe wawa, "Okook man mesachie! Yahka wawa yahka Saghalie Tyee (yahka) tenas." Alkie tyee kopa courthouse yahka cultus. Yahka potlatch jesus kopa klaska pe klaska mamook mamaloose jesus kopa cross.

Jesus potlach yahka self kopa okook illahie. Yahka mamaloose, okook yahka potlatch teach kopa konaway tillicums, pe alta mesika.

Nika tillicums, Jesus tikegh mesika kumtux yahka mamaloose okook yahka mamook cultus potlach teach kopa mesika. Kopa mesika.

Konaway nesika mamook masachie, mesika kumtux yahka dilate. Wick ict nesika mamook klooshe quansum. Konaway nesika (hyiu) tikegh jesus dilate.

Okook book wawa, okook Jesus chako mox times kopa okook illahie. Yahka chaco icht, mox tattlum tukamonuk cole ahnkotte. Alkie yaka chako weght. Konsih yaka chako, yahka chako kahkwa hyias tyee, pe yahka mamook tzum kopa okook book, okook yahka mamook skukum law kopa konaway tillicums. Yahka mamook mesika mash konaway mesachie, yahka mamook konaway tillicums nanitch yahka tyee kopa okook illahie. Yahka wawa weght, kloshepose mesika tahuk konsih mesika nanitch nika, pee

hyias klooshe spose konsih mesika halo nanitch nika konamox mesika seahost. Mesika takuk nika. Yahka wawa weght, spose mesika chee tumtum takuk. Mika(?) pilpil wash mesika tumtum elip nika chahko weght. Konsih nika chahko nika mamook mesika get up (spose mesika mamaloose) pe nika mamook mesika tyees kopa nika kingdom!

Here are the Jargon lines of a number of the hymns from Myron Eells' hymn book. Published in 1889, the hymnal also included several songs translated in Twana and Lushootseed (called Nisqually). Eells' control of Jargon is apparent in his expressive phrasing. As you read the lines enjoy the elegance of Eells' articulate translations.

1)

Saghalie Tyee, yaka seahost
nanitch skookum konaway kah.
Pe wake kunjih nika ipsoot
kopa yaka seahost.

God's eyes see everywhere,

And I can never be hid
from his eyes.

Kah kopet ikt tillikum mitlrite
yahwa yaka seahost.

Where only (even) I man is,
His eyes are there.

Kah kopet ikt man kapswalla
yahwa yaka seahost.

Where even I man steals,
His eyes are there.

Kah ikt man kliminawhit ...
Kah hiyu polaklie mitlrite ...
Kopa nika tumtum kwonesum ...

Where one man lies,
Where there is great dark,
Always in my mind,

2)

Nika mitlrite yakwa alta
kopa ilahee
Wake lala nika halo
kopa ilahee
Kah nika klatawa
nika lala halo kumtuks
Klale nika tumtum
kopa siah ilahee

I live here now
on earth
I won't be here long
on earth,
Where I'm going
I didn't know for a long time.
My mind was dark
about that far off land.

Saghalie Tyee mitlite
kopa saghalie
Yaka tikegh nika klatawa
kopa saghalie
Spose nika kloshe yakwa,
Halo mamook cultus ikta,
Yaka tikegh nika klatawa
kopa saghalie

God lives
in a far land.
He wants me to go
to heaven
If I'm good here,
Don't do evil things,
He (will) want me to go
to heaven.

Kloshe tillikums mitlite siah
kopa saghalie
Cultus tillikums mitlite keekwilee
kopa hias piah
Kopet spose nika kloshe
Mahsh mesachie konaway
Delate okoke tyee
lolo nika yahwa

Good people live far away
in heaven.
Bad people live below
in the hellfires.
Only if I'm good,
Throw off everything bad
Truly, this God will
carry me there.

3)

Saghalie Tyee potlatch iktas kopa nika
nika mahsie wawa
Spose nesika tikegh mahsh mesachie tumtum
nika wawa Jesus
Spose nesika tikegh tumtum kahkwa Jesus
nika wawa Jesus
Jesus tikegh nika wawa yaka kwonesum
nika wawa Jesus

God gives me many things
and I say thank you
If we want to cast off an evil heart,
I pray to Jesus.
If we want a heart like Jesus
I pray to Jesus.
Jesus wants me to pray to him always,
I pray to Jesus.

4)

Konaway tillikums mimelose bymby.
Bymby nika mimelose.
Halo mimelose nika tumtum.
Kopet nika mimelose.

By and by everyone dies.
By and by I will die.
My soul doesn't die
Only I die.

Kah nesika tumtum klatawa
spose nesika mimelose?
Klonass yahwa kopa saghalie,
klonass kopa hias piah.

5)

Nika tikegh kopa saghalie
yahwa konaway tillikums kloshe
Kunamoxt Jesus klaska mitlite
Jesus skookum kwonesum

Jesus help nesika alta
nesika tumtum mamook kloshe,
Lolo nesika kopa saghalie
spose nesika mimelose.

6)

Kahkwa yaka mama wawa
kwonesum yaka hyak mamook.
Kopa okoke tenas
ahnkuttie yaka potlatch wawa kloshe.
Kopa yaka lemah
ahnkuttie yaka lolo hyiu tenas.

7)

Kah, oh kah, mitlite Noah alta
siah, kopa kloshe ilahee
Alki nesika klatawa nanitch

8)

Kopa Saghalie konoway tillikums,
halo olo, halo sick,
wake kliminawhit, halo sollers,
halo pathlum, halo cly
Jesus mitlite kopa saghalie,
kunamoxt konaway tillikums kloshe.

Where will our souls go?
When we die.
Perhaps to heaven
Perhaps to the hellfires.

I want (to go) to heaven
There all good people (are).
With Jesus they live.
Jesus is always strong.

Jesus help us now,
Make our heart good.
Carry us to heaven
If we die.

As his mother said
So he always quickly die.
To those children
he gave his gospel message
In his arms
he carried many children

Where, oh where, is Noah now?
Far away in a good land.
Soon we'll go see him. (etc.)

In heaven everyone
Doesn't hunger, no sickness,
No lies, no anger,
No one's drunk, no one cries.
Jesus lives in heaven,
With all the good people.

Yahwa tillikums wake klahowya,
halo sick tumtum, halo till,
halo mimelose, wake mesachie,
wake polaklie, halo cole.

There people aren't poor
There is no sorrow, no tiredness,
No one dies, no evil,
No darkness, no cold.

Yahwa tillikums mitlite kwanesum
hyiu houses, hyiu sing,
papa, mama, pe kloshe tenas,
ooacut yaka chikamin pil.

There the people live forever,
Lots of houses, much singing,
Papa, Mama, and dear children,
Streets are gold.

Jesus potlatch kopa siwash,
spose mesika hyas kloshe,
konaway iktas mesika tikegh,
kopa saghalie kwonesum.

Jesus gives the Indian
If you are good
Everything you want
In heaven always.

9)

Cultus klaska muckamuck
Spose nesika muckamuck whiskey
Whiskey muckamuck nesika dolla.
(iktas, wind, tumtum)

They that drink are worthless
If we drink whiskey
Whiskey will eat our money.
(things, life, souls)

10)

Saghalie Tyee yaka mamook
(a) konaway iktas, konaway kah
(b) konaway ilahee, konaway kah
(c) konaway muckamuck, konaway kah
(d) konaway tillikums, konaway kah
(e) konaway moosmoos, konaway kah
(f) konaway kiutan, konaway kah

God made
everything, everywhere
all lands everywhere
all food everywhere
all people everywhere
all cattle everywhere
all horses everywhere

11)

Saghalie Tyee yaka pepah,
yaka Bible kloshe
a) kopa konaway boston tillikums
yaka hias kloshe

God's Bible is very good.
It's good for all Whites

- | | |
|--|--|
| (b) kopa konaway siwash tillikums
yaka hias kloshe | It's good for all Indians |
| (c) kopa konaway King George tillikums
yaka hias kloshe | It's good for all English |
| (d) kopa konaway Pasaiyooks tillikums
yaka hias kloshe | It's good for all French |
| (e) kopa konaway China tillikums
yaka hias kloshe | It's good for all Orientals |
| (f) kopa konaway Klale man tillikums
yaka hias kloshe | It's good for all Blacks |
| (g) kopa konaway Kanaka tillikums
yaka hias kloshe | It's good for all Sandwich Island
People (Hawaiians). |

12)

Nika tikegh tumtum tkope	I want a white soul.
Nika mahsh mesachie tumtum	I throw away the evil heart.

13)

Jesus chako kopa saghalie	Jesus came from heaven
Jesus hias kloshe	Jesus is very good
Jesus wawa kopa tillikums	Jesus taught the people
Jesus hias kloshe	Jesus is very good
Jesus wawa wake kliminawhit	Jesus teaches not to lie
Jesus wawa wake kapswalla	Jesus teaches not to steal
Kopa nika Jesus mimelose	Jesus died for me
Jesus klatawa kopa saghalie	Jesus went to heaven

Here are the words to three hymns translated by Laura Downey-Bartlett. (More of her songs are included in the Appendix.) The spelling system which she uses differs considerably from the one we use.

WAKE SI-YAH NIKAH SAHALE TYEE, KOPA MIKA

NEARER, MY GOD, TO THEE

Ict.

1

Wake siyah nika Sahale Tyee, pee Mika,
Wake siyah kopa Mika,
Kegh-techie yaka lo-cloa,
Okoke mamook sahale nika,
Konaway nika sante kwanisum,
Wake siyah Sahale Tyee pee Mika,
Wake siyah Sahale Tyee,
Wake siyah kopa Mika.

Nearer, my God, to Thee
Nearer to Thee!
E'en tho' it be a cross,
That raiseth me,
Still all my song shall be,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!

Mox.

2

Kah-kwa nika t'so-loa,
Ict sun klatawa kee-kwilla,
Klale sahale kopa nika,
Nika bed ict stone.
Klosh mitlite moosum nika,
Wake siyah Sahale Tyee pee Mika,
Wake siyah Sahale Tyee,
Wake siyah kopa Mika.

Tho' like a wanderer,
The sun gone down,
Darkness be over me,
My rest a stone;
Yet in my dreams I'd be,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!

Klone.

3

Klosh kumtux kah Mika,
Klatawa sahale illihee;
Konsi Mika potlatch kopa nika,
Chaco kah-kwa klosh tum-tum.
Sahale tah-manawis tikegh nika;
Wake siyah Sahale Tyee pee Mika,
Wake siyah Sahale Tyee,
Wake siyah kopa Mika.

There let my way appear,
Steps unto heaven;
All that Thou sendest me
In mercy given;
Angels to beckon me,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!

Klosh kah-kwa.

MAMOOK, POLAKELY CHACO

WORK FOR THE NIGHT IS COMING

Ict.

1

Mamook, polakely chaco,
Mamook, konaway chee sun,
Mamook, konsi tenas chuck t'wagh,
Mamook, mitlite chee chaco tupso,
Mamook, konsi sun chaco t'wagh,
Mamook, mitlite hy-as wam sun,
Mamook, polakely chaco;
Konsi man kopet mamook.

Work for the night is coming,
Work through the morning hours;
Work while the dew is sparkling,
Work mid springing flowers;
Work when the day grows brighter,
Work in the glowing sun;
Work for the night is coming,
When man's work is done.

Mox.

2

Mamook, polakely chaco,
Mamook, mitlite sitcum sun,
Pahlt t'wagh sun kopa mamook,
Kopet mamook tenas alki.
Potlatch konaway kawak sun.
Mitlite, wake potlatch pee mika,
Mamook, polakely chaco,
Konsi man kopet mamook.

Work for the night is coming,
Work through the sunny noon;
Fill brightest hours with labor,
Rest comes sure and soon;
Give every flying minute,
Something to keep in store;
Work for the night is coming,
When man works no more.

Klone.

3

Mamook, polakely chaco,
Kee-Kwilla kopa sahale sun,
Konsi t'wagh t'zum konaway kah
Mamook, konaway sun klatawa,
Mamook kah-kwa t'zum chaco halo,
Klatawa, pee t'wagh wake chaco;
Mamook, polakely klale chaco,
Konsi man mamook copet.

Work for the night is coming,
Under the sun-set skies;
While their bright tints are glowing,
Work for daylight flies;
Work till the last beam fadeth,
Fadeth to shine no more;
Work while the night is dark'ning,
When man's work is o'er.

KOPA JORDON, HY-IU WIND ILLAHEE, NIKA MIT-WIT

Ict.

Kopa Jordon, hy-iu wind illahee, nika mit-wit,
Pee nanich kah-kwa tikegh see-owist,
Kopa Canaan, klosh, hy-iu hee-hee illahee;
Kah nika konaway ictas kee-kwilla.

Mox.

Wah! okoke konaway klatawa nanich,
Chaco sahale kopa nika see-owist!
T'see klackan, yah-kwa mitlite pe-chughe,
Pee mitlite chuck delate youlth.

Klone.

Konaway kah, kopa hy-as illahee,
Te'wagh kwanisum okoke sun;
Kah Sahale Papa, Tenas Man kwanisum mitlite,
Pee marsh polakely si-yah.

ON JORDAN'S STORMY BANKS I STAND

1

On Jordan's stormy banks I stand,
And cast a wishful eye,
To Canaan's fair and happy land,
Where my possessions lie.

2

Oh! the transporting, rapturous scene,
That rises to my sight!
Sweet fields arrayed in living green,
And rivers of delight!

3

All o'er these wide extended plains,
Shines one eternal day;
There God, the Son, forever reigns,
And scatters night away.

LESSON VIII

Mini-Dialogue

Chako Kuntuks Wawa Kahkwa Chinook

"Learning to Talk Like (some) Chinooks

Siwash: Nika pos-wake-na-klatawa

Indian: I shouldn't go."

Boston: Ikta mika wawa?

White: "What (did) you say?"

Siwash: Ka-uk-pos-na-klatawa, nika
wake-na-klatawa. Ya-wawa-klas
nika pos-wake-na-klatawa

Indian: "Where I was going, I
shouldn't go. He told them
I shouldn't go."

The Jargon used in the dialogue above was a very unusual, localized form of the language recorded by Professor Melville Jacobs from Mrs. Victoria Howard of Oregon City in the early years of this century. Henry Zenk (1981) has found evidence that Indians of northern Oregon considered this form of Jargon, heavily influenced by the Lower Chinook (Proper), to be a "better" form of Jargon than that which was widely used. We should have some acquaintance with it since there is a large corpus of Chinook Jargon stories in this usage. A brief introduction to this form of Jargon is presented below, followed by a text that will give you some practice. Remember, though, that this was not general Jargon usage.

THE GRAMMAR OF VICTORIA HOWARD'S CHINOOK JARGON USAGE

The Pronouns

Although the independent Jargon pronouns which we have already learned were also used, a series of pronoun affixes was important.

<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Independent form</u>	<u>Suffix form</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
I	nika	na-	na-chako	'I come'
you	mika	ma-	ma-wawa	'you talk'
he, she	yaka	ya-	ya-mamook	'he/she makes'
we	nesika	ntsa-	ntsa-kow	'we tie'
you all	mesika	mtsa-	mtsa-klatawa	'you all go'
they	klaska	klas-	klas-klap	'they arrive'

Note that these have all been subject forms. There is one object suffix:

<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Independent form</u>	<u>Suffix form</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
them	klaska	-klas	na-elahan-klas	'I help them'
			ntsa-kow-klas	'we tie them'
			klas-kopet-klas	'they stop them'

The demonstrative pronoun is also abbreviated and used as a prefix:

this, that	okoke	uk-	uk-ya-klootchman	'that wife of his'
------------	-------	-----	------------------	--------------------

Making Compound Words

There is a general order to the elements which combine to make the compound words of this type of Jargon. This can best be shown by simply providing you with several examples of such run-on words. The building blocks of these compounds are familiar to you:

pos-	"if, suppose, should"
wake-	"no, not (negative)"
alta-	"now (present)"
alki-	"later (future)"
klonas-	"maybe"
kopa-	"to"

There is one form which we have not yet encountered:

nihwa-	"let's (probably a derivative of nawitka)"
--------	--

Note how these word formatives are used in creating the following compound forms:

alta-na-lolo-klas	'I'm carrying them'
alki-ntsa-elahan-klas	'we'll help them'
wake-pos-ya-klatawa	'he shouldn't go'
pos-wake-na-klatawa	'I shouldn't go (note that these forms can occur in either order)'
kopa-uk-ma-chope	'to (that one) your grandfather'

A Text in Victoria Howard's Chinook-ized Jargon

The following text was collected and published by one of the most dedicated early ethnographers on the Northwest Coast, Melville Jacobs. It is part of a mythological tale which he copied in 1930, from the dictation of

the Clackamas (Upper) Chinook woman, Mrs. Victoria Howard. A few changes have been made in the transliteration to make the forms recognizable, and an interlinear translation has been provided.*

Klas-mitlait ikt-lamai pee-ya-tenas-ya-tenas. Uk-tenas-klootchman
They lived, one old lady and her grandchild. That little girl

kwonesum ya-klatawa hokometl lacamas. Kwonesum ya-chako kilapee
always went to gather camas. Always she came returned (home)

kopa-klas-house. Alta-ya-piah uk-lacamas. Alta-ya-potlatch-klas
to their house. Then she baked the camas. Then she gave them

kopa-ya-chitsh. Alta-pos-klas-muckamuck. Tomolla-weght
to her grandmother. Then they would eat. The next day also

ya-klatawa hokometl lacamas. Alta-pos-ya-chako kilapee kopa-klas-house
she went to gather camas Then when she came home to their house,

alta-pos-ya-potlatch-klas kopa-uk-ya-chitsh. Kwonesum kahkwa ya-mamook.
then she would give them to her grandmother. Always thus she did.

Alta ikt-sun uk-lamai ya-kloshe-mamook-iktaikta. Ya-mamook-baloom
Then one day that old woman was cleaning up things. She was sweeping

wake-siah kopa-klas-piah. Ya-klap uk-lacamas ya-skin. Hyas uk-skin.
not far from the fire. She found a camas (its) skin. A big skin.

New Vocabulary: lamai /lu.ma.ē/ (F) 'the old lady'
kwonesum /kwon.sum/ (C) 'always, forever'

*This text was originally published in Melville Jacobs, "Notes on the Structure of Chinook Jargon" (1932). Franz Boas (1933) argued that other Chinook Jargon speakers did not use this form of Jargon, and that it was simply a form of the language heavily influenced by the mother tongue of Lower Chinook users of Jargon. Michael Silverstein (1972) expanded the point to suggest that the structural form of everyone's Jargon was autocratically conditioned by the structure of their own language. This does not, however, mean that everyone spoke Jargon in a significantly different way.

Ya-mamook-mitlait kopa-ya-teahwit. Kopet hyas yaka uk-skin
She put it on her leg (knee). It just fit (was big enough), that skin,

pos-ya-teahwit. Alta ya tumtum uk-lamai, "Ala! Kahkwa ya-mamook.
her leg. Then she thought that old lady, "Aha! Thus she does it.

Tenastenas ya-potlatch kopa-nika, alta yaka uk-hyashyas ya-muckamuck-klas."
Little ones she gives to me, then she the big ones eats them."

Alta wake-siah polaklie ya-chako uk-tenas-klootchman. Ya-mamook-piah.
Then almost at nightfall she came, the little girl. She made a fire.

Ya-mamook-piah uk-lacamas. Mamook-kopet-piah alta-ya-potlatch-klas
She cooked that camas. It got finished cooking, then she gave them

uk-ya-chitsh. Alta-ya-solleks. Wake-ya-tikegh muckamuck laly.
to her grandmother. Then she was angry. She did not want to eat for a long time.

Alta-klas-moosum. Chako-tomolla. Alta-weght-ya-klatawa hokometl lacamas.
Then they slept. The next day came. Then, again, she went to gather camas.

Wake-siah polaklie ya-chako. Uk-ya-chitsh ya-moosum maltini-uk-piah.
Nearly (at) dusk she came. Her grandmother was sleeping near the fire.

Ya-waum ya-opoots uk-lamai. Ya-tumtum, "klonas ya-sick na-chitsh."
*She was warming her back, the old lady. She thought, "Maybe she is sick, my
grandmother."*

Ya-mamook-piah uk-lacamas. Alta-weght-ya-potlatch-klas kopa-uk-ya-chitsh.
She baked the camas. Then, again, she gave them to her grandmother.

Uk-lamai ya-solleks. Alta-weght-wake-tikegh muckamuck uk-lacamas.
The old lady was angry. Then, again she didn't want to eat the camas.

solleks /só.leks/ (?) 'angry'

Chako-tomolla, pee-alta-weght-ya-klatawa uk-tenas-klootchman hokometl
The next day arrived, and then, again, she went, the girl, to gather

lacamas. Alta-uk-lamai ya-klatawa kopa-stick. Ya-klap ikt hyas
camas. Then the old lady went to the woods. She found one large

goomstick. Hiyu goom uk-stick Alta ya-mamook olapitskee. Chako-klas
pine tree. Much pitch in that tree. Then she made a fire. They came out

uk-goomgoom. Chako-lolo ka-uk-goom ya-klatawa kopa-ilahee. Alta ya-wawa
that much gum. It became piled up that pitch; it went onto the ground. Now she said

kopa-uk-goom, "Alta ma-chako ekutosh. Na-tenas-na-tenas ya-potlatch kopa
to the gum, "Now you become a bad spirit. My granddaughter she gave to

nika uk-tenastenas lacamas. Alta-ya-muckamuck yaka uk-hyashyas."
me little camas. Then she ate, she (did), the big ones."

Alta ya-kilapee uk-lamai. Kloshe kahkwa.
Then she went home, the old woman. That's good (i.e. the end).

A P P E N D I X I

Chinook Jargon Songs

Despite the popularity of Jargon songs in the old days, few of them have survived. The lyrics that we have were collected principally by Franz Boas at the turn of the century. Boas became interested in Jargon songs when he encountered one in a "third class novel" called For Love and Bears published during the 1880's in Chicago. During subsequent field trips to the Northwest he became a collector of Jargon songs and we are lucky that he preserved the following examples. He describes the origin of these songs as follows:

"The Indians are at present in the habit of living part of the year in Victoria, Vancouver, or New Westminster, working in various trades: in saw-mills and canneries, on wharves, as sailors, etc. In the fall they go to Puget Sound hop-picking. At these places members of numerous tribes gather, who use Chinook as a means of communication. They have their own quarter in every city. The Indian is very hospitable, and particularly anxious to make a display of his wealth to visitors. Thus it happens that their little shanties are frequently places of merriment and joy; invitations are sent out, a great table is spread, and whiskey helps to stimulate the humor... It is at such feasts that songs frequently originate. If they happen to strike the fancy of the listening crowd they are taken up, and after a lapse of a few years known all over the country."

The 38 songs that Boas published in his Journal of American Folklore article, 1888, are given below transcribed into the orthography used in this book.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Klaksta switat hiyu pahtlum? | Whose sweetheart is very drunk? |
| Nika switat hiyu pahtlum! | My sweetheart is very drunk! |
| Wake mika yotl kopa nika, | You do not like me, |
| Wake mika yotl kopa nika, | You do not like me, |
| Wake mika yotl kopa nika! | You do not like me! |
| Nika kumtuks kahta mika! | I know you! |

2. Konaway sun nika cly!
Siah ilahee nika mitlite alta.
- I cry always.
Far away is my country now.

Songs for sorrow at the parting of friends

3. Kahkwa nika tillikum mimalose,
Steamboat klatawa, nika cly.
- It's as if my friends were dying,
(When) the steamboat leaves, I cry.
4. Goodbye, barkeeper! nika klatawa
alta okoke sun.
Chako! Potlatch pahtl cocktail nika.
- Goodbye, barkeeper! I am going
now today.
Come! give me a full cocktail.
5. Klonas kahta nika tumtum
Nika nanitch Godsroad klatawa
Pee Chali mitlite. Klahowyum nika.
- I do not know, how my heart feels.
I have seen Godsroad (a steamer) leave,
And Charlie on board. I am very
unhappy.
6. Klonas kahta nika tumtum
Kwonesum nika tikegh nanitch mika.
Alki nika wawa klahowya. Ya aya.
- I do not know, how my heart feels.
Always I wish to see you,
(But) soon I (must) say good-bye.
Ya aya.
7. Hayaleha, hayaleha, hayaleha!
Spose mika nanitch nika tillikum
Wake saya nika mimalose alta
Kopa Kunspa ilahee. Yaya.
- Hayaleha, hayaleha, hayaleha!
If you see my friends
(Say), that I had almost died
In New Westminster (Queensborough).
Yaya.
8. Ya konaway sun nika sick tumtum.
Kopa nika man kopa Caliponia.
- Ya, always I long
For my husband in California.
9. Hyas laly nika sick tumtum,
Pee okoke sun elip hyas kull,
Kahta entelplise yaka leave nika.
- A long time I felt unhappy,
But to-day is the hardest day,
For the Enterprise (ship) has
left me (behind).

The following are love songs and songs of jealousy over the actions of lovers or the sadness of rejected love.

10. Ya, kloshe kakwa
Ya, kloshe kakwa
Cultus klootchman
Wake tikegh nika.
11. Hyas klahowyum
Kunamokst nika oleman,
Kopa Biktoli
Halo klaksta
Wawa klahowya nesika
Kopa Biktoli.
12. Yaya.
Spouse mika iskum klootchman
Yaya
Wake mika solleks nika
Cultus kopa nika.
13. Kah Chali klatawa alta?
Kah Chali klatawa alta?
Killapi nanitch
Nika tumtum.
14. Nika nanitch Johnny klatawa.
Pee nika tumtum yaka mitlite house
Nika hyas pelton tumtum kahkwa.
15. Goodbye, oh my dear Charlie!
Spouse mika iskum klootchman,
Wake mika tseepie nika.
16. Ikta mamook, nika sister.
Wawa nika! mika mahsh mika?
Ya un aya.
- Ya, that is good!
Ya, that is good!
That worthless woman
Does not like me.
- Very unhappy I was
With my wife,
In Victoria.
Nobody
Said good-day to us
In Victoria.
- Yaya.
When you take a wife,
Yaya.
Don't become angry with me.
I do not care.
- Where is Charlie going now?
Where is Charlie going now?
He comes back to see me,
I think.
- I have seen Johnny go
And I think he is at home
I am very foolish to think so.
- Goodbye, oh my dear Charlie!
When you take a wife,
Don't forget me.*
- Why, oh my sister,
Tell me, why will you cast me off?
Ya un aya.

* tseepie was generally used with the meaning "to make a mistake."

17. Ikta mika tikegh?
Kwonesum mika solleks
Mika oleman,
Halo skookum alta.
What do you want?
You are always cross.
Your old wife
Is very weak now.
18. Ikta mamook Billy alta?
Yaka klatawa beerhouse
Boston wawa: Get out of the way!
Yaka klatawa. Hiyu cly.
What is Billy doing now?
He is going to the beerhouse.
The American say: Get out of the way!
He goes and cries aloud.
19. Klonas kahta nika tumtum
Kopa Johnny.
Okoke tenas man, mamook pelton nika.
Aya.
I don't know, how I feel
Towards Johnny.
That young man makes a fool of me.
Aya.
20. Kiti Apples hyas klahowyum
Okoke col ilahee
Klonas klaksta iskum yaka?
Hope steamboat.
Kittie Apples is very unhappy
This winter.
Who will take her away?
The steamboat Hope.
21. Cultus kopa nika
Spose mika hehe nika,
Dirty boy.
I do not care,
If you laugh at me
Dirty boy!
22. Kah mesika klatawa alta?
Potlatch lemah!
Klahowya! George Bell!
Where are you going now?
Shake hands!
Good-bye! George Bell!
23. Hyas klahowyum nika,
Spose steamboat chako yakwa.
Klonas nika cly
Spose steamboat klatawa.
I am very sad
When the steamboat comes here.
I think I shall cry
When the steamboat leaves.

24. Tawun gud nika klatawa,
Nika nanitch nika sister,
Nika kloshe tumtum.
(Note: gud is a Haida word meaning 'on.'
It is not common to Jargon.)
I went to town,
I saw my sister,
My heart was glad.
25. Kloshe nika chako - ahiya ya!
Polaklie alta - aya a!
Nika tikegh wawa - aya!
Oh, come here!
To-night!
I want to speak to you!
26. Konaway sun nika cly.
Siah nika mitlite alta.
Always I cry,
For I live far away.
27. Whiteman alta kopa mika man, Mary.
Ha! Kloshe kahkwa mika mahsh nika.
Cultus kopa nika alta
Ya aya aya.
A white man is now your husband, Mary.
Ha, cast me off thus!
I do not care now.
Ya aya aya.
28. Wake klaksta mamook sick nika tumtum.
Annie mamook kahkwa.
Nobody can grieve me!
That is Annie's work.
29. Kloshe kopet mika tikegh nika
alta - ya u.
Wake alki weght mika nanitch
kah nika coolie.
All right, if you do not like
me any more now.
You shall not see where I go.
30. Ha! Kahta mika tumtum?
Kwonesum mika solleks nika
Ha. Kbshe delate mahsh nika.
I don't care alta. Ya.
Ha! What do you think now?
You are always cross with me.
Ha. You had better desert me altogether.
I don't care now. Ya.
31. Spose steamboat klatawa
Wawa nesika goodbye, Jimmy.
Klahowyum Billy tumtum.
When the steamboat leaves,
Say good-bye, Jimmy!
Billy will feel very sad.

32. My dear Annie,
Spose mika mahsh Jimmy Star
Wake mika forget
Kahta yaka klahowyum tuntum
Kopa mika.

My dear Annie,
If you cast off Jimmy Star,
Do not forget
How much he has a sad heart
For you.

33. Coulie, coulie, tenas tyee.
Coulie, coulie, tenas tyee.
Klahowya mika, klahowya.
Aya, aya, a.

Go, go, little chief.
Go, go, little chief.
Fare you well, farewell.
Aya, aya, a.

34. Ah, you my dear!
Where have you been all day?
Kahkwa Billy wawa nika.

Ah, you my dear!
Where have you been all day?
Thus Billy said to me.

35. Aya, aya
Elip nika nanitch
Sitka mesika ilahee.
Cultus sposse nika mimalose
Yakwa elip.

Aya, aya!
I have seen
Sitka your country.
Never mind, if I die
Now soon.

36. Qat kawawetl! my dear!
Wawa klahowya
Nika alta.

I broke down! my dear!
Say good-bye!
To me now.

(Note: the first two words are Tlingit.)

37. Cultus kopa nika
Spose mika mahsh nika.
Hyiu puti boys coolie kopa tawun.
Alki weght nika iskum.
Wake kull kopa nika.

I don't care
If you desert me.
Many pretty boys are in the town.
Soon I shall take another one.
That is not hard for me!

38. Ha! Kloshe kahkwa Billy! Aya.
Iskum Chinaman Kiddie! Ya aya.
Yaka way up kopa mika.

Ha! That is all right! Billy! Aya.
Take Chinese Kiddie! Ya aya.
She is far better than you.

One of the most elegant of these Indian songs is recorded by that renowned early Chinooker, Judge Swan, in The Northwest Coast (1857). It is described as an "Indian Woman's Song to the Husband Who Absents Himself":

Kah mika klatawa?	Where did you go?
Kah mika klatawa?	Where did you go?
Konaway sun	Every day
Hiyu cly	Greatly weeps
Annawillee.	Annawillee.

Oh nika tenas	Oh my child
Hyas klahowyum!	Is very poor!
Hiyu cly	Greatly weeping
Konaway sun,	Every day,
Nika tenas.	My little one.

Konaway halo	All gone
Nesika muckamuck.	Our food
Wake siah mimalose	Death is not far away,
Nika tenas.	My little one.

It is interesting to note that according to Boas, the composers of most of these songs were women. One of the most prolific translators of English songs into Jargon was also a woman, Laura B. Downey-Bartlett. We have included 10 of her translations below with English lyrics alongside. You will note immediately the difference between the Jargon songs above and these English songs, which have been translated into Jargon.

Note that these songs have not been transcribed into the spellings used in our lessons. Many of the spellings are actually closer to general pronunciation although a few of the words are spelled in a way which reflect Oregonian Jargon usage.

Illustration ____ Cover of Chinook-English Songs by Laura B.

Downey-Bartlett, 1914 with insert picture of her from the flyleaf.

Caption: In 1914, Laura B. Downey-Bartlett published 38 songs with lyrics in Jargon and English. She dedicated the book:

MAMOOK POTLATCH

Kopa ankutta tellicum, mitlite okoke hy-as klosch illahee, yah-ka man pee kah-kwa kloochman, konsi chaco, kah-kwa, yah-ka kopet nanich klosch tellicum si-yah kopa sun chaco, steg-wah, pee sitcum sun illahee; spose yah-ka chaco konas mitlite chick-chick, moos-moos mamook haul, klonas mitlite ship yaka chaco si-yah pee okoke nose yah-ka nem, Horn; mamook chee illahee. Mesika man, kah-kwa kloochman, konaway, hy-iu mesah-chie, kull, kah-kwa hy-iu mamook, mitlite hy-iu sahale skookum stick, kopa kah, mitlite hy-iu masah-chie shah-wash, kah-kwa lemolo chetwoot, swaa-wa; yah-ka mamook whim stick pee mamook house. Pee kah-wa yah-ka chaco mamook kah-kwa, konaway klosch chaco okoke illahee. Kopa konaway ankutta tillicum mitlite, kah-kwa wake kopet kum-tux tellicum klatawa kopa Sahale Papa house, nika potlatch okoke t'zum.

MAMOOK T'ZUM

DEDICATED

To the pioneers of this great Northwest, the men and women who left their home and loved ones in the far east, south and middle west; who came by ox teams across the plains, or around Cape Horn, in sailing vessels and builded up a new country; men and women who suffered extreme hardships, surrounded by forests which were infested with savage Indians and wild animals; who felled trees, builded homes and made possible the wonderful development of this great Northwest; to the remaining few and in memory of those departed this little book is respectfully dedicated.

THE AUTHOR

BOSTON ILLAHEE

Ict.

Nika illahee, kah-kwa mika,
T'see illahee, wake e-li-te,
Kah-kwa mika, nika shunta.
Illahee, kah nika papa mamoloos,
Illahee, klosk tellicum chaco;
Kee-Kwilla konaway lemoti,
Mamook wake e-li-te tin-tin.

Mox.

Nika Boston illahee,
Illahee, klosk wake e-li-te;
Mika nem, nika tikegh.
Nika tikegh, mika stone, pee chuck,
Mika stick, klosk house pee lemoti,
Nika tum-tum chaco kwann,
Yah-kwa mitlite sahale.

Klone.

Mamook tin-tin konaway pee wind,
Kah-kwa kopa kanaway stick,
T'see wake e-li-te shunta;
Tellicum la-lang kopet moosum,
Kah-kwa mitlite klosk mamook,
Kopet okoke stone, wake mamook,
La-tlah klatawa kah.

Locket.

Nika papa, Sahale Tyee pee Mika,
Kah, chaco wake e-li-te;
Kopa Mika nesika shunta.
Yoult-cut nesika illahee te-wagh,
Mitlite wake e-li-te chaco tah-manawis,
Nanich nesika, kah-kwa mika skookum,
Sahale Papa, nesika Tyee.

AMERICA

My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride;
From every mountain side,
Let freedom ring.

My native country thee,
Land of the noble free —
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break —
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God! to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King!

OLE KENTUCKY ILLAHEE, KLOSH POLAKELY

Ict.

Okoke sun konaway t'wagh, mitlite Kentucky illahee,
Yah-ka wam, pee klale tellicum hy-iu hee-hee;
Yesolth sahale chaco klosch, kah-kwa tupso pee illahee;
Kah kula-kula kwanisum shunta, konaway sun.
Tenas man, pee kah-kwa kloochmen, keelapy kee-kwilla
kopa house,
Hy-iu shunta, hy-iu hee-hee, hy-iu t'wagh,
Alki hy-as klaw-how-iam chaco ko-ko nika leport,
Nika ole Kentucky house, klosch polakely.

Konaway Shunta

Kopet cly nika t'sladie,
Nah, wake cly okoke sun;
Nesika shunta ict sante, pee ole Kentucky illahee,
Pee ole Kentucky illahee, si-yah.

Mox.

Yah-ka kopet klatawa poo, ict possum, kah-kwa coon,
Kopa kee-kwilla, lemoti, pee chuck illahee,
Nesika kopet shunta, kopa t'wagh pee okoke moon,
Lashase klah-hanee kopa house leport;
Ict sun klatawa, nika tum-tum hy-as sick;
Tenas ankutta nika kwanisum by-iu hee-hee;
Ict sun chaco, konsi tellicum klatawa kah,
Nika ole Kentucky house, klosch polakely.

Konaway Shunta: Kopet Kly,

Klone.

Lagh nika letate, kah-kwa emeek chaco kee-kwilla,
Konsi kah, klale tellicum klatawa;

Wake hy-iu sun, tum-tum chaco halo sick,
Kopa illahee, kah sugar stick mitlite;
Wake hy-iu sun nika klatawa lo-lo ictas,
Kwanisum lo-lo ictas, mamook nika till,
Tenas hy-iu sun, nika hul-hul kopa o'e'hut,
Nika ole Kentucky house, klosk polakely.
Konaway Shunta, Kopet cly ets.

MY OLD KENTUCKY HOME, GOOD NIGHT

1

The sun shines bright in the old Kentucky home,
'Tis summer, the darkies are gay;
The corn-top's ripe and the meadow's in the bloom,
While the birds make music all the day;
The young folks roll on the little cabin floor,
All merry, all happy and bright,
By'n-by hard times comes a knocking at the door,
Then my old Kentucky Home, good-night!

Chorus

Weep no more, my lady,
Oh, weep no more to-day!
We will sing one song for the old Kentucky Home,
For the old Kentucky Home, far away.

2

They hunt no more, for the 'possum and the coon,
On the meadow, the hill, and the shore,
They sing no more by the glimmer of the moon,
On the bench by the old cabin door;

The day goes by like a shadow o'er the heart,
With sorrow, where all was delight;
The time has come when the darkies have to part,
Then my old Kentucky Home, good-night!

Chorus, Weep no more, etc.

3

The head must bow and the back will have to bend,
Wher'ever the darkey may go;
A few more days and the trouble all will end,
In the field where the sugar-cane grow;
A few more days for to tote the weary load,
No matter, 'twill never be light,
A few more days till we totter on the road,
Then my old Kentucky Home, good-night.

Chorus, Weep no more, etc.

KOPET ICT TUPSO KOPA, WAM

THE LAST ROSE OF SUMMER

Ict.

Kopet ict tupso kopa wam,
Mitlrite kopet ict;
Konaway yah-ka klosh tellicum;
Chaco spooh pee klatawa;
Halo tupso tellicum mitlrite,
Tenas tupso, wake si-yah,
Kee-lipi pill-pill kopa see-owist,
Pee tum-tum hooe-hooe.

'Tis the last rose of summer,
Left blooming alone,
All her lovely companions
Are faded and gone;
No flower of her kindred,
No rosebud is nigh
To reflect back her blushes,
Or give sigh for sigh.

Mox.

Nika wake klatawa, kopet ict,
Mika sick tum-tum kopa stick,
Mika tellicum konaway moosum,
Klatawa moosum mika klaska;
Klosh spose nika marsh konaway kah,
Mika tpuso kopa bed,
Kah mika tellicum kopa klosh illihee
Kee-kwilla pee mamoloos.

I'll not leave thee thou lone one,
To pine on the stem,
Since the lovely are sleeping.
Go sleep thou with them;
Thus kindly I scatter
Thy leaves o'er the bed,
Where thy mates of the garden
Lie scentless and dead.

Klone.

Tinas alki nika klatawa,
Konsi tellicum chaco halo,
Tik-egh t'wagh kweu-kweu,
Klatawa kee-kwilla kah,
Konsi klosh tum-tum mamoloos,
Pee klosh tellicum chaco halo;
Nah: konsi tik-egh mitlrite,
Klale illihee, kopet ict?

So soon may I follow,
When friendships decay,
And from love's shining circle
The gems drop away;
When true hearts lie withered,
And fond ones are flown,
Oh, who would inhabit
This bleak world alone?

OLE KULL STICK TAMOLITSH

Ict.

Kah-ta klosk nika tum-tum, nanitch kah-kwa nika tenas,
Klosk wake kopet kum-tux chaco pee nika,
Le-pome stick, whim tupso, kah-kwa lemolo stick,
Konsi nika tikegh kum-tux pee nika tenas.
Hy-as kluk-uhl chuck, ict moo-lah, wake si-yah,
E-nati chuck stick, ict stone, kah-kwa kee-kwilla chuch,
Tenas house pee nika papa, to-toosh house, wake si-yah,
Pee ict ole tamolitsh, kopa kee-kwilla chuck.

Konaway Shunta.

Ole kull stick tamolitsh, chickemon pee kah-kwa,
Yah-ka tupso tamolitsh, mitlite kee-kwilla chuck.

Mox.

Okoke tupso tamolitsh, nika wau-wau klosk tum-tum,
Sitkum sun nika chaco, kopa klosk illahee,
Kah-kwa nika tum-tum yah-ka delate youlth,
Klosk pee t'see, spose yah-ka konaway potlatch.
Nika hy-ak iskum, kah-kwa pil nika lemah,
Marsh yah-ka kee-kwilla, tekope stone whim,
Chee yah-ka chaco, pee hy-iu chuck mitlite,
Kee-kwilla cole, okoke chuck chaco sahale.

Klone.

Kah-ta t'see pechugh tupso, okoke chuck nika iskum,
Sahale okoke stick, whem chaco nika la-boos,
Wake pahtl pil ooskan mamook nika klatawa,
Keghtechie kah-kwa okoke Jupiter iskum,

Alta nika si-yah kopa nika tikegh illahee,
Chuck kopa see-owist kwanisum chaco,
Nika pittick, klatawa, papa illahee,
Sick tum-tum nika kopa tamolitsh whim chuck.

THE OLD OAKEN BUCKET

1

How dear to my heart are the scenes of my childhood,
When fond recollection presents them to view!
The orchard, the meadow, the deep tangled wild-wood,
And ev'ry loved spot, which my infancy knew;
The wide spreading pond, and the mill that stood by it,
The bridge and the rock where the cataract fell;
The cot of my father, the dairy house nigh it,
And e'en the rude bucket that hung in the well.

Chorus

The old oaken bucket, the iron bound bucket,
The moss covered bucket, that hung in the well.

2

That moss covered bucket, I hail as a treasure,
For often at noon, when returned from the field,
I found it the source of an exquisite pleasure,
The purest and sweetest that nature can yield.
How ardent I seized it, with hands that were glowing,
And quick to the white pebbled bottom it fell,
And soon, with the emblem of truth overflowing,
And dripping with coolness, it rose from the well.

Chorus: The old oaken bucket, etc.

How sweet from the green mossy brim to receive it,
As, poised on the curb, it inclined to my lips!
Not a full blushing goblet could tempt me to leave it,
Tho' filled with the nectar that Jupiter sips.
And now far removed from the loved habitation,
The tear of regret will intrusively swell,
As fancy reverts to my father's plantation,
And sighs for the bucket that hung in the well.

Chorus: The old oaken bucket, etc.

LILLY DALE

Ict.

Halo wind polakely, yah-ka moon t'kope
te'wagh,
Konaway lemoti, pee illahee,
Yah-ka tellicum tum-tum sick, chaco
nanich mamoloos bed,
Mitlite nika klosh Lilly Dale.

Konaway Shunta

OO, Lilly, t'see Lilly,
Klosh Lilly Dale,
Alta tupso mitlite kopa yah-ka tenas
mamoloos house,
Kee-kwilla stick pee tupso, klosh illahee.

Mox.

Nika klatawa, yah-ka wau-wau, kopa
illahee, halo mamook,
Pee e'lip nika skookum klatawa,
Nika yi-em kopa kah, mika mamook
mamoloos bed,
Mitlite marsh klosh Lilly Dale.
Konaway shunta, OO, Lilly.

Klone.

Kee-kwilla kopa tuka-willa stick,
konaway lemola tupso kah,
Tenas chuck klatawa mitlite illahee;
Kah kula-kula kwanisum shunta mitlite
chee wam,
Yah-wa, yah-ka marsh Lilly Dale.
Konaway shunta, OO, Lilly.

LILLY DALE

1

"T'was a calm still night and the
moon's pale light,
Shone soft o'er hill and vale,
When friends mute with grief,
stood around the death bed
Of my poor lost Lilly Dale.

Chorus

O, Lilly, sweet Lilly,
Dear Lilly Dale,
Now the wild rose blossoms o'er
her little green grave,
'Neath the trees in the flow'ry vale.

2

"I go," she said, "to the land
of rest
And ere my strength shall fail,
I must tell you where, near my
own loved home,
You must lay poor Lilly Dale."
Chorus, O, Lilly, etc.

3

"Neath the ches'nut tree, where
the wild flowers grow,
And the stream ripples forth thro'
Where the birds shall the vale
warble, their songs in spring,
There lay poor Lilly Dale."
Chorus, O, Lilly, etc.

CHACO MITLITE SAPOLILL

Ict.

Nah spose tellicum, nanich tellicum,
Chaco kopa sapolill,
Spose ict tellicum, ba-ba tellicum,
Spose yah-ka tellicum cly?

Konaway Shunta

Konaway kloochman, iskum ict man,
Halo nika, yah-ka wau-wau,
Pee konaway man yah-ka hee-hee nika,
Konsi chaco mitlite sapolill.

Mox.

Nah spose tellicum nanich tellicum,
Chaco mitlite town,
Spose tellicum, kwann wau-wau tellicum,
Spose yah-ka kah-kwa sul-lux.

Konaway Shunta.

Klone.

Konaway yak-wa, ict man mitlite,
Nika tum-tum klosh pee yah-ka,
Kah, yah-ka house, pee klaxta nem,
Nika wake wau-wau pee mika.

Konaway Shunta.

COMIN' THRO' THE RYE

Old Scotch Air

1

Gin a body meet a body
Comin' thro' the rye,
Gin a body kiss a body,
Need a body cry?

Chorus

Ev'ry lassie has her laddie;
Nane, they say, has I;
Yet a' the lads they smile at me,
When comin' thro' the rye.

2

Gin a body meet a body
Comin' frae the town,
Gin a body greet a body,
Need a body frown?

Chorus, Ev'ry lassie, etc.

3

Amang the train, there is a swain,
I dearly lo'e my-sel,'
But whaur his hame, or what his name,
I dinna care to tell.

Chorus, Ev'ry lassie, etc.

BEN BOLT

Ict.

Nah! wake kopet kum-tux t'see Alice, Ben Bolt,
T'see Alice, klaksta yet-so tenas klale,
Yah-ka cly, kah-kwa hee-hee, spose mika se-owist klosh,
Pee hul-hul, kah-kwa kwass mika sullux;
Mitlite ole chuch illahee, kee-kwilla, Ben Bolt,
Tenas yah-wa halo nanich copet ict,
Yah-ka marsh le-plash, mamook stone le-glasy,
T'see Alice, kee-kwilla kopa stone,
Yah-ka marsh le-plash, mamook stone le-glasy,
T'see Alice, kee-kwilla kopa stone.

Mox.

Wake kopet kum-tux okoke stick, Ben Bolt,
Tenas si-yah te'wagh whem lemoti,
Konsi, nesika shunta, kee-kwilla hy-as stick,
Pee ko-ko kah-kwa wau-wau okoke moo-lah;
Alta okoke moo-lah chaco halo Ben Bolt,
Wake la'tlah, konaway kah,
Nanich ole stick pee house, kah-kwa tupso t'see
Mamook konaway, kah kee-kwilla illahee,
Nanich ole stick pee house, kah-kwa tupso t'see
Mamook konaway kah kee-kwilla illahee.

Klone.

Wake kopet kum-tux, okoke kum-tux house Ben Bolt,
Mamook kum-tux man, delate hy-as klosh,
Klosh tenas illahee, wake siyah cooley chuck,
Kah nesika iskum tupso, chaco hy-as.
Kopa kum-tux man, mamoloos house, hy-iu tupso,
Pee tenas cooley chuck chaco dly,
Konaway nesika tellicum mitlite kum-tux house,
Yah-kwa mitlite Ben, kopet kona-mox,
Konaway nesika tellicum, mitlite kum-tux house,
Yah-kwa mitlite Ben, kopet kona-mox.

BEN BOLT

1

O! don't you remember sweet Alice, Ben Bolt,
Sweet Alice, with hair so brown,
She wept with delight when you gave her a smile,
And trembled with fear at your frown.
In the old church yard, in the valley, Ben Bolt,
In a corner obscure and alone,
They have fitted a slab of granite so grey,
And sweet Alice lies under the stone,
They have fitted a slab of granite so grey,
And sweet Alice lies under the stone.

2

Don't you remember the wood, Ben Bolt,
Near the green sunny slope of the hill,
Where oft we have sung neath its wide-spreading shade,
And kept time to the klick of the mill,
The mill has gone to decay, Ben Bolt,
And a quiet now reigns all around;
See the old rustic porch, with its roses so sweet,
Lies scattered and fallen to the ground,
See the old rustic porch, with its roses so sweet,
Lies scattered and fallen to the ground.

3

Oh! don't you remember the school, Ben Bolt,
And the master, so kind and so true,
And the little nook, by the clear running brook,
Where we gathered the flowers as they grew?
On master's grave grows the grass, Ben Bolt,
And the running little brook is now dry,
And of all the friends who were school mates then,
There remains, Ben, but you and I,
And of all the friends who were school mates then,
There remains, Ben, but you and I.

NAU HY-AS SALT CHUCK

SHELLS OF OCEAN

Ict.

1

Ict wam polakely, nika tum-tum pittick,
 Nika klatawa kopa nau-its mah-thlinnie,
 Kah mitlite mamook kultus tenas hee-hee.
 Nika koku-mulh nau ankutta sun,
 Nika koku-mulh nau ankutta sun.
 Cooley chuck ten-ten kopa kee-kwilla,
 Wau-wau pee nika tikegh le-mole,
 Tamah-nawis chaco kee-kwilla nika,
 Nika tum-tum spose chaco tenas.
 Tamah-nawis chaco kee-kwilla nika,
 Nika tum-tum spose chaco, chaco tenas.

One summer eve, with pensive thought,
 I wandered on the sea-beat shore,
 Where oft in heedless infant sport,
 I gathered shells in days before,
 I gathered shells in days before.
 The splashing waves like music fell,
 Responsive to my fancy wild,
 A dream came o'er me like a spell,
 I thought I was again a child,
 A dream came o'er me like a spell,
 I thought I was again, again a child.

Mox.

2

Nika mit-whit kopa nau-its mathlinnie,
 Kokumulk ictas kopa konaway kah,
 Pee iskum mitlite nika lemah,
 Nika marsh konaway, ict, pee ict,
 Nika marsh konaway, ict, pee ict.
 Nah! nika wau-wau konaway kah-kwa;
 Kopa ictas nesika tikegh mamook pelton,
 Nesika iskum nau kah-kwa tenas, pee man,
 Nesika wake iskum kah-kwa tenas,
 Nesika iskum nau, kah-kwa tenas, pee man,
 Nesika wake iskum kah-kwa, kah-kwa tenas.

I stood upon the pebbly strand
 To cull the toys, that round me lay;
 But as I took them in my hand,
 I threw them, one by one away,
 I threw them, one by one away.
 Oh! thus I said, in every stage,
 By toys our fancy is beguiled;
 We gather shells from youth to age,
 And then we leave them like a child,
 We gather shells from youth to age,
 And then we leave them, leave them,
 like a child.

TENAS BED SANTE

CRADLE HYMN

Ict.

1

Nah: nika tenas, kee-kwilla pee moosum,
 Sahale Tah-manawis nanich mika bed,
 Kah-kwa Sahale klosch chaco, halo kwun-um.
 Chaco kee-kwilla kopa mika letate,
 Konsi klosch kah-kwa, hy-iu nanich mika,
 Wake yah-ka iskum okoke Sahale Tenas Man,
 Yah-ka chaco kee-kwilla kopa illahee,
 Pee yah-ka chaco tenas, kah-kwa mika.

Hush my child, lie still and slumber,
 Holy angels guard thy bed,
 Heavenly blessings with-out number,
 Gently falling on thy head.
 How much better thou'rt attended,
 Than the Son of God could be;
 When from heaven He descended,
 And became a child like thee.

Mox.

2

Hy-as klimmin, wake kull mika bed,
 Mitlite Sahale Papa bed, kull,
 wake klosch;
 Chee yah-ka nanich, mitlite ict
 kuitan house
 Yah-ka Sahale Tenas bed, dly tupso.
 Kwanisum nika yi-em konaway yah-ka,
 Mesah-chie tellicum mamook kopa
 Sahale Tyee;
 Kah-ta yah-ka mamoloos nika Sahale Pape?
 Mamook nika sulux, konsi nika shunta.

Soft and easy is thy cradle,
 Coarse and hard thy Saviour lay;
 When His birth-place was a stable,
 And His softest bed was hay.
 Oh, to tell the won-drous story,
 How His foes abused their King;
 How they killed the Lord of glory,
 Makes me angry while I sing.

Klone.

3

Nah: nika tenas, wake sulux kopa mika,
 Klonas nika shunta, mika tum-tum kull,
 Mika ma-ma mitlite kopa mika,
 Mitlite yah-ka lemah klosch nanich mika.
 Klosch mika tum-tum pee hy-iu kwass,
 Mamook kopa Sahale Tyee, konaway sun;
 Alki yah-ka klatawa, kwanisum mitlite,
 Wau-wau mika tum-tum hy-iu shunta.

Hush, my child, I did not chide thee,
 Though my song may seem so hard;
 'Tis thy mother sits beside thee,
 And her arms shall be thy guard,
 May'st thou learn to know and fear Him,
 Love and serve Him all thy days;
 Then to dwell forever near Him,
 Tell His love and sing His praise.

HY-IU MOO-LOK MITLITE

Ict.

Nanich hy-iu Moo-lok mitlite,
Kopa okoke town,
Potlatch le-mah kopa yah-ka,
Marsh tupso konaway kah,

Konaway Shunta

Konaway tellicum, lope mika kah-moox,
Hy-iu Moo-lok mitlite town,
Klonas yah-ka marsh Moo-lok konaway,
Spose yah-ka cooley kah.

Mox.

Konaway man, pee kah-kwa kloochman,
Klosh tum-tum kopa mesika,
Mitlite sahale ka-wak chack-chack;
Kwanisum nanich mesika.

Konaway Shunta.

Klone.

Hy-iu hee-hee hy-iu muck-a-muck,
Tellicum konaway kah;
Klosh alki mesika chaco kwanisum,
Kopa nesika illahee.

Konaway Shunta.

Chee mamook t'zum okoke sante pee
konaway mitlite Moo-lok, tikegh klosh
chaco kopa tellicum Moo-lok, mitlite
hy-iu Moo-lok Hee-Hee, kopa Potlan,
Olegon, Sin-na-mox moon, Tah-tlum-
twaist Tah-ka-monuk-Tah-tlum-mox, pee
kintah mamook kum-tux. Momook t'zum
okoke, mitlite okoke klosh tupso,
kah-kwa kula-kula town, spose wake
tikegh copet kum-tux, okoke ankutta
tellicum, yah-ka nem, Charles E.
Vivian, klaks-ta ankutta mamook iskum
ko-ku-mulh, hee-hee tellicum, pee
mamook chaco skookum "Moo-lok Tellicum."

MANY ELKS ARE IN OUR TOWN

1

Attention, friends, the Elks are here,
They've come to our town,
Greet them, with a hand of welcome;
Scatter roses all around.

Chorus

All good friends, tie up your dogs,
While the Elks are in our town,
For they would surely scatter the herd;
If left loose running around.

2

All the people in our town,
Have good hearts for you,
While high above us flies the eagle,
Guarding you so true.

Chorus: All good friends, etc.

3

A round of pleasure, with plenty to eat,
And friends on every hand,
We wish you would return to us,
And live in every land.

Chorus: All good friends, etc.

This song was originally written, to be used as a welcome to the visiting Elks, to the Elks' Carnival, which was held in Portland, Oregon, in July, 1912, but too late for use, and was written on the 1st day of July, 1912, in the City of Roses and Birds, and dedicated to the memory of Charles E. Vivian, who years ago, gathered together his theatrical friends and perfected the organization, of what is now the great "Order of Elks."

There were also numerous examples of English songs in which Chinook Jargon words and phrases occurred. These songs are part of the great undocumented folklore of the Northwest which we can now trace only by an occasional reference in the literature of the period. Of course, one reason that this lore went unrecorded was that most of it was considered unprintable! Here is one of these songs, rare in that it has persisted and can still occasionally be heard in the logging camps of B.C.:

Roll boys Roll; let's travel
To the place they call Seattle
Seattle Ilahee.
There'll be hiyu tenas kloochman by the way
There'll be hiyu tenas moosum til the daylight
fades away.

There is regular reference to the distaff side and sleeping (moosum had the extended connotation of sleeping with someone) in these songs reflecting the frontier, goldrush, logging camp camaraderie of men without women.

Other secular poems were current which employed Chinook and one or more other tongues. Robie Reid has preserved one of these for us:

Oh! be not kwass of nika,
thy seeowist turn on me,
For thou must hiyu kumtuks
that I hyas tikegh thee.

I will give thee hyas iktas,
I will bring thee sapolil,
Of pasisis and lebiskwe.
I will give thee all thy fill.

KEEL-A-PIE, AN INDIAN OPERA

In 1925, C.H. Hanford published a historical novel called Halcyon Days in Port Townsend. Chapter 12 of the book contains an "Indian opera." Hanford tells how a clever entertainer known as Yankee Plummer, who was proficient in the use of Chinook Jargon, produced Keel-a-pie in Port Townsend with "complete success." General Rossel G. O'Brien of Olympia acted the part of Moses, and Yankee Plummer himself took the part of Lem-e-eye.

The opera's list of characters includes:

Moses, a young lover and hero
 Mihmy (i.e. mimie), Moses' sweetheart
 Lem-e-eye (i.e. lamiye), the grand-
 mother of Mihmy

Klale, Pill, Lokit, Klone, Kwass, five
 Quill-a-yute conspirators who capture
 Mihmy and are killed by Moses.

The opera commences with Lem-e-eye singing:

Kon-o-way till-a-kum chah-ko yuk-wah
 Kon-o-way meh-si-kah kum-tux tee-hee
 Skoo-kum tah-man-ous hi-yu mah-muk
 Kah-kwah de-late kul-a-kully my-kah.

Just before the abduction of Mihmy by the Quileute conspirators, she sings this impassioned aria:

Aht-chee-dah Moses! pe-kah-tah klah-how-yum?
 Ahn-kutty my-kah si-wash tee-hee tum-tum.
 Ten-ass klooch-man tum-tum klat-a-wah si-yah,
 Hi-yu mah-muk boo hoo ko-pet my-kah.
 Ha-lo pilton kloshe ko-pah ny-kah,
 Ko-pet skoo-kum man, ny-kah tik-ee.
 Pe-kah-tah my-kah hay-lo wah-wah?
 Koly ten-ass man ko-pah mah-mah.

Moses daringly proves his valour by rescuing Mihmy as Act I ends. The second act takes place years later as Moses, by now an old man, hosts

a potlatch. He chants an invitation to the other chiefs as follows:

Ty-ee Moses wah-wah kah-kwah,
 Wake lay-ly mem-a-loose ny-kah
 Ul-tah ny-kah de-late ty-ee.
 Chah-ko hi-yu mah-muk te-hee
 Kah-kwah ny-kah hy-ass tik-ee
 Kloshe tum-tum ko-pah meh-si-kah
 Kon-o-way ich-tahs ny-kah pot-latch
 Ko-pah kon-o-way till-i-kum.

Mihmy, entering, greets the guests:

Klah-how-yah kon-o-way till-i-kum!
 Kloshe tum-tum ko-pah meh-si-kah
 Hi-yu mah-muk tee-hee
 Kah-kwah neh-si-kah tik-ee.

Later, on the beach, a malicious idler throws a baby into the fire. Not only is the child not burned, but an eagle appears, grabs the child, and flies off. Others view this as an omen that a fire will destroy the Indians and their land. An old woman laments:

Oke-oke ten-ass kul-tus boo hoo
 Sull-iks pilton mahsh Ko-pah pi-ah
 Ickt kull-a-kully hy-ack chah-ko
 Is-kum ten-ass lo-lo sok-a-ly
 Al-kie hy-ass pi-ah ko-pet hay-lo
 Ten-ass lay-ly mah-muk meh-sat-chee.
 Ko-pet mit-lite si-wash ill-a-hee.
 Kon-o-way klax-tah hy-ass klah-how-yum
 Kah-hwah pilton kon-o-way till-i-kum
 Hi-yu wah-wah cha-ko meh-sat-chee.

The child's mother, Mary, and chorus chant:

Keel-a-pie ten-ass ko-pah ny-kah
 Keel-a-pie ten-ass ny-kah ticky
 Keel-a-pie ko-pah my-kah mah-mah
 Ko-pet ten-ass kloshe ko-pah ny-kah.

Chorus:

Pi-ah tyee lo-lo sok-a-ly
 Kon-o-way klootch-man hi-yu boo hoo

Sick tum-tum kon-o-way till-i-kum
 Ull-tah de-late hy-ass klah-how-yum.

Moses, knowing the location of the eagle's nest, goes there and rescues the baby before the terrified tribesmen can start sacrificing other children to appease the spirit world. When he returns to the village, the work ends as he and the chorus intone:

Kon-o-way klax-tah mah-muk tee-hee
 De-late hy-ass kloshe si-wash ill-a-hee
 De-late hy-ass kloshe ny-kah tum-tum
 Ko-pah kon-o-way si-wash till-i-kum.

Chorus:

Mah-sie Moses, hy-ass skoo-kum ty-ee,
 Ten-ass la-ly klat-a-wah sok-a-ly;
 Kim-tah chah-ko hi-yu till-i-kum
 Kwan-i-sum kum-tux Moses tum-tum.

Besides the jargon names and songs, the dialogue of the opera is replete with Chinook Jargon phrases such as the following: She was kapswallowed (kidnapped), aht-chee-dah nykah tenass, and lale-set (sit a while)! Such was the place of Jargon in life during the halcyon days in Port Townsend.

APPENDIX II

Chinook Jargon Names

The Northwest is Chinook Jargon country. Anyone who doubts its historical impact has only to look at a map or keep their eyes and ears open as they drive from place to place. The list of place names which follows was compiled from a review of maps of British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon, and from gazetteers of the greater Northwest Coast area. No attempt has been made to compile the many names of streets, businesses, schools, and public buildings with Chinook Jargon names. A quick review of the Seattle telephone book for businesses with Jargon names showed that in 1979 there are 16 Alki's (most of them on Alki Street or near Alki Point), 8 Tyees including a school and golf course, 4 Chinooks, 2 Tillicums, 1 Skookum, and a Boston enterprise on Boston Street.

Probably no community in the Northwest is without at least one or two names if we include campgrounds, school teams or yearbooks (e.g., the University of Washington's "annual" is called The Tye and their famous sculling boat is the Tamanawis), celebrations (e.g., Snohomish's Kla-ha-ya Days), and the names people have given their boats and country homes. Make your own list of names in your area . . . and encourage the practice by using and suggesting Chinook Jargon names whenever possible.

	<u>Meaning of Jargon</u>
BRITISH COLUMBIA	
Cariboo District	
Chinaman Creek	Chinese
Chuk Lake(i.e., chuck)	water
Dutchman Mountain	European
Eena Lake	beaver
hy U Creek (i.e., hiyu)	big
Illahie Mountain	land
Kakwa River	like, similar
Mica (Mika) Mountain	your

Olally Creek (i.e., olalie)	fruit, berry
Opitsah Creek	knife
Siwash Lake	Indian
Tenaskli (i.e., Tenas Creek)	little

Cassiar District

Chee Mountain	new
Haul Creek, Lake	carrying
Klahowya Creek, Lake	Hello!
Kloutchman Canyon	woman
Mica (Mika) Creek, Peak	your
Moosmoos Creek, Meadows	cow
Nanitch Lake	look, see
Saiya Creek, Lake (i.e., saya)	distant
Salix Creek (i.e., solleks)	angry
Tenas Hill	little
Tupso Creek	hair/grass
Tzum Point	line

Clayoquot District

Kanim Lake (i.e., canim)	canoe
Laylee Island (i.e., laly)	(long) time

Coast District

Boston Islands	whiteman
Chik Chik Bay, Lake	wagon
Chekamin Bay, Creek, Lake, Mountain, Range	iron, metal
Chuckwalla River (chuck water?)	water?
Cultus Sound	worthless
Dutchman Head	European
Elalie Lake (Olalie?)	berry
Ena Creek, Lake	beaver
Ilahie Inlet	land
Klonas Lake	perhaps
Kloutch(man) Canyon	woman

Kluk Creek (i.e., klook)	crooked
Kulee Creek (i.e., coulee)	running
Lahlah Creek	cheating
Max Lake (i.e., mokst, mox)	second, two
Mesachie Nose or Head	evil
Moolock Cave	elk
Mooto Creek, Lake	sheep
Mowitch Point	deer
Ocock River (i.e., okoke?)	this
Pilldolla Creek (i.e., pil dala)	red money
Polallie Creek, Lake	dusty
Salal Island, Point	salal
Siwash Rock	Indian
Skin Tyee Knob	fur chief
Snass Point, Lake	rain
Stick Point	woods, trees
Tenas Creek, Island, Lake	little
Tyee Rock, Point	chief
Tyhee Creek	chief
Wahpeeto Creek	potato
Wawa Lake	talking
Comox District (including Alberni)	
Boston Bay, Creek	Whiteman
Kaka Creek	crow
Cowichan District	
Kanaka Bluff	Hawaiian
Mesachie Lake	evil
Kamloops District	
Chinook Cove, Creek	Chinook
Chuck Creek	water
Cultus Lake	worthless
Hiahkwah Lake	shells (like dentalium)
hyas Lake	great

Ipsoot Creek	black bear
Kanaka Station, Mountain	Hawaiian
Kixwilli Creek	low, underneath
Klowa Creek, Mountain (i.e., klawah)	slow
Lackachin Creek	clamshell
Lolo Creek, Lake, Mountain	to carry
Mowitch Station	deer
Paska Lake	Easter
Siam Lake	grizzly bear
Siwash Creek, Lake	Indian
Skookumchuck Rapids	rapids
Toketie	pretty
Tumtum Creek, Lake	heart
(also Cayuse Creek, Lake, possibly Jargon)	

Kootenay District

Alki Creek	by and by
Cultus Creek (two of them)	worthless
Kloosh Creek	good
Lakit Creek, Mountain	fourth, four
Mica (Mika) Creek	your
Mount Moloch (moolock)	elk
Oldman Creek	old
Potlash (Potlatch) Creek	give, giveaway feast
Sitkum Creek	half
Siwash Mountain	Indian
Skookumchuck Creek, Station, Mountain	strong water
Taghum Post Office	sixth, six
Tumtum Station	heart
Tye Station (i.e., tyee)	chief
Tyee Creek	chief
(Cayuse Creek also possibly Jargon)	

Lillooet District

Canim Creek, Falls, P.O., Station, Lake, River	canoe
---	-------

Canimred (Jargon?)	red canoe?
Salal Creek	salal
Skookum Lake	powerful
Tsee Creek	sweet
New Westminster District	
Alta Creek, Lake, P.O., Station (Jargon?)	now
Cultus Lake	worthless
Kanaka Creek	Hawaiian
Pillchuck Creek	red water
Potlatch	give, giveaway feast
Siwash Rock, Island	Indian
Skookum Creek	powerful
Skookumchuck Narrows	rapids
Tyee Point	chief
Nootka District	
Boston Point	Whiteman
Clotchman Island (i.e., klotchman)	woman
Eena Lake	beaver
Osoyoos District	
Alki Lake	by and by
Bit Creek	dime
Dutchman Creek	European
Sitkum Creek, Lake	half
Siwash Rock, Mountain	Indian
Peace River District	
Chinaman Lake	Chinese
Chinook Ridge	Chinook
Coulee Creek	running
Kakwa Lake	similar
Kwokwullie Lake	
(klikwallie 'brass'? kikwillie 'under'?)	

Mica (Mika) Creek	your
Tsea River	sweet

Rupert District

Kokshittle (kashutl) Arm (kokshut?)	broken
Kultus Cove	worthless
(Cayuse Creek also possibly Jargon)	

Sayward District

Chetwood Lake	bear
Pill Islets	red
Lolo Mountain	to carry
Tyee Point	chief

Similkameen District

Olalla P.O., Creek	berry
--------------------	-------

Yale District

Boston Bar (Bar, P.O., and Creek)	Whiteman
Kawkawa Lake, Creek	green
Memaloose Creek	dead
Snass Creek, Mountain	rain

WASHINGTON

Asotin County

Tamtam Ridge	heart
--------------	-------

Chelan County

Camas land	camas
Chumstick Creek, Mountain (i.e., tzumstick)	pencil
Colchuck Lake	cold water
Klone Peak	three
Knapp Coulee, and other Coulees	valley
Ollala Canyon	berry

Sahale	heaven, high
Squilchuck State Park	? -water
Tillicum Creek	friend
Tumwater Campground, Mountain	waterfalls

Clallam County

Alckee Creek (i.e., alki)	by and by
LaPall Campground	frying pan
La Push	mouth (of the river)
Pilchuck River	redwater
Sitkum River	half
Tatoosh Island	milk, breast
(note: actually named after the Nootkan chief Tootoosch or Tutusi, but the pronunciation soon came to be that of the Jargon word Tatoosh 'milk, breast' which people assumed the name to be)	
Teahwhit Head	foot
Tillicum Park	friend, people
Tyee	chief

Clark County

Camas	camas
-------	-------

Ferry County

Kumtux	knowledge
Tenas Mary Creek	Little Mary

Franklin County

various Coulees	valley
Skookum Canyon	powerful

Grays Harbor County

Mox Chehalis Creek	second Chehalis
--------------------	-----------------

Island County

Cultus Bay	worthless
Tillicum Beach	friend, people

Jefferson County

Alta Creek	now
Heehaw Creek (i.e., heehee; Jargon?)	laughing
Kanim Point (i.e. canim)	canoe
Kimta Creek, Peak	after
Kloochman	woman
Olele Point (i.e., olallie)	berry
Point Kanowi	acorn
Saghalie Creek	heaven

King County

Alki Point	by and by
Chetwoot Lake	black bear
Mount Kaleetan (i.e., k'alitan)	arrow
Keekwulee Falls	low, underneath
Milakwa Lake	mosquito
Ollalie Creek	berry
Sallal Prairie	salal

Kitsap County

Ilahee	land, earth
Olalla	berry
Olalla Valley	berry

Kittitas County

Alta Mountain	now
Chikamin Peak, Ridge	iron
Hyak Creek	fast, running
Lamah Mountain	hand

Latah County

Mica Mountain	yours
Potlatch	giveaway feast
Potlatch Junction, River, and Ridge	giveaway feast

Lewis County	
Klona Creek (klonas?)	maybe
Lacamas Creek, Prairie	camas
Tatoosh Range, Ridge, and Ranch	milk, breast
Tumtum Peak	heart
Mason County	
Lake Kokanee	salmon
Potlatch	giveaway feast
Skookum Inlet	strong
Okanogan County	
Alta Lake	now
Coulee Creek	running
Hehe Mountain	laughing
Muckamuck Mountain	food
Siwash Creek	Indian
Pierce County	
Tiye Point (i.e., tyee)	chief
Skagit County	
Siwash Slough	Indian
Skamaniah County	
Cayuse Meadow	horse
Cultus Lake, Creek	useless
Lemei Rock (i.e., lemiai)	old woman
Olallie Lake	berry
Skookum Meadow	powerful
Tillicum Creek	friend, people
Snohomish County	
Mica Lake	your
Pilchuck Creek, Mountain, River	redwater
White Chuck Glacier, River	(white) water

Spokane County

Alkah Lake (i.e., alki?)

by and by

Coulee Creek

running

Stevens County

Tumtum

heart

Big Camas Plain

camas

Thurston County

Lacamas Creek

camas

Skookum Chuck Creek and River

powerful water

Tenino

chasm

Tumwater

cataract

Wahkiakum County

Tenas Ilahee Island

little land

Whitman County

Almota

strawberry

Camas Prairie

camas

Wawawai (?)

wawa = speak

Yakima County

Camas Patch

camas

Wappato

potato

various Coulees

valley, running

OREGON

Clackamas County

Memaloose Creek

dead

Clatsop County

Ecola Creek and State Park

whale

Curry County

Nesika Beach	we
Siskiyou Mountain, National Forest, etc.	bobtailed horse
Skookum House Butte	strong
Winchuck River	win - water(?)

Lane County

Hehe Mountain	laughing
Katsuk Butte	the center
Olallie Mountain	berry
Tipsoo Butte	hair

Lincoln County

Camas Prairie	camas
Moloch Creek	elk
Olalla Creek and W. Ollala Creek	berry
Tumtum River	heart

Linn County

Tamolitsch Falls	barrel
------------------	--------

Multnomah County

Hiyu Mountain	big
---------------	-----

IDAHO

Benewah County

Lolo Creek and Pass	carrying, packing
---------------------	-------------------

Kootenai County

Mica (town), Creek, Bay, Peak	you
-------------------------------	-----

APPENDIX III

Chinook Jargon and Northwest Treaty Negotiation

An important historical application of Chinook Jargon was its use in negotiating treaties between the United States and tribes living in the continental U.S. For many Washington tribes, first official contacts with the Whitemen came as late as the 1850's. By that time the Chinook Jargon had taken form and come into wide use between Indians and traders. It was only natural that Jargon should have been used in explaining treaty provisions to the Indians. Treaties were never written in Jargon. They were drafted and printed in English. These documents were then paraphrased verbally in Jargon so that the Indians would know what they were agreeing to. At that time for most tribes there were no available bilinguals capable of expressing these things in the Indians' own language. Jargon was therefore an important communicative tool during this period of first official interactions.

Several of the early Indian agents in western Washington were renowned Chinookers. James G. Swan, for instance, was a Bostonian who used the California gold rush as an excuse to exchange sedentary family life in New England for the individual freedom of the West. He was an Indian agent, medic, schoolmaster, and careful observer of Indians and settlers from 1850 until his death in 1900. Swan served as an interpreter for Isaac Stevens, governor of Washington Territory, who had designed and "imposed" the treaties upon the Indians along the Pacific Coast in what is now Washington state. Swan's reports of the use of Jargon in negotiating the treaties is therefore of interest to us for two reasons. It allows us to appreciate the crucial role of Jargon in these historical events; and, more importantly, it helps clarify current contentions by Indian groups that the native signers of these treaties poorly understood the contents of the treaties as a result of the use of an imprecise jargon in the negotiations. Swan's narrative provides an account of one use of Jargon in treaty discussions. It is not a positive picture of the value of Jargon.

"The next morning the council was commenced. The Indians were all drawn up in a large circle in front of the governor's tent and around a table on which were placed the articles of treaty and other papers. The governor, General (George) Gibbs, and Colonel (B.F.) Shaw sat at the table, and the rest of the whites were honored with camp stools, to sit around as a sort of guard, or a small cloud of witnesses After Colonel Mike Simmons, the agent, and, as he has been termed, the Daniel Boone of the Territory, had marshaled the savages into order, an Indian interpreter was selected from each tribe to interpret the Jargon of Shaw into such language as their tribes could understand. The governor then made a speech, which was translated by Colonel Shaw into Jargon and spoken to the Indians First the governor spoke a few words, then the colonel interpreted, then the Indians; so that this threefold repetition made it rather a lengthy operation. After this speech the Indians were dismissed until the following day, when the treaty was to be read.

The second morning after our arrival the terms of the treaty were made known. This was read line by line by General Gibbs, and then interpreted by Colonel Shaw to the Indians.

The features and provisions of the treaty were these: The Indians were to cede all the territory, commencing on the Pacific coast, at the divide of the Quaitso and Hooch Rivers, thence east between the same, along the line of the Quillahyute tribe, to the summit of the coast range; thence south, along the line of the Chemakum and Skokomish tribes, to the forks of the Satsop River; thence southeasterly, along the lands ceded by the Nisqually Indians, to the summit of the Black Hills, and across the same to the banks of the

Skookumchuck Creek; thence up said creek to the summit of the Cascade range; south, along the range, to the divide between the waters of the Cowlitz and Cathlapoodl Rivers; then southwestwardly to the land of the Upper Chenooks, to the Columbia River, and down that river to the sea. The Indians were to be placed on a reservation between Gray's Harbor and Cape Flattery, and were to be paid for this tract of land forty thousand dollars in different installments. Four thousand dollars in addition was also to be paid them, to enable them to clear and fence in land and cultivate. No spirituous liquors were to be allowed on the reservation; and any Indian who should be guilty of drinking liquor would have his or her annuity withheld.

Schools, carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops were to be furnished by the United States; also a saw-mill, agricultural implements, teachers, and a doctor. All their slaves were to be free, and none afterward to be bought or sold. The Indians, however, were not to be restricted to the reservation, but were to be allowed to procure their food as they had always done, and were at liberty at any time to leave the reservation to trade with or work for the whites.

After this had all been interpreted to them, they were dismissed till the next day, in order that they might talk the matter over together, and have any part explained to them which they did not understand. The following morning the treaty was again read to them after a speech from the governor, but, although they seemed satisfied, they did not perfectly comprehend. The difficulty was in having so many different tribes to talk to at the same time, and being obliged to use the Jargon, which at best is but a poor medium of conveying intelligence. The governor requested any

one of them that wished to reply to him. Several of the chiefs spoke, some in Jargon and some in their own tribal language, which would be interpreted into Jargon by one of their people who was conversant with it; so that, what with this diversity of tongues, it was difficult to have the subject properly understood by all. But their speeches finally resulted in one and the same thing, which was that they felt proud to have the governor talk with them; they liked his proposition to buy their land, but they did not want to go on to the reservation. The speech of Narkarty, one of the Chenook chiefs, will convey the idea they all had. "When you first began to speak," said he to the governor, "we did not understand you; it was all dark to us as the night; but now our hearts are enlightened, and what you say is clear to us as the sun"."

(Excerpt from a description of the conference preceding the Cowlitz, Satsop, Chehalis, Quinault, and Chinook treaty of February, 1855, which took place on the Chehalis River. From The Northwest Coast, Or, Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory, Harper Brothers, 1857, pp. 341-345.)

Swan's account suggests a low opinion of Jargon for intercommunication. Part of this problem may have been caused by regionalisms and the use of words from local Indian languages which were not more widely known. In discussing Jargon, Swan enlarges on these problems.

"...different Indians who have been with the whites acquire a habit of pronouncing such English words as they pick up in the same style and manner as the person from whom they learn them. This causes a certain discrepancy in the Jargon, which at first is difficult to get over. And, again,

each tribe will add some local words of their own language, so that while a person can make himself understood among any of the tribes for the purposes of trade, it is difficult to hold a lengthened conversation on any subject without the aid of some one who has become more familiar with the peculiar style.

This fact I saw instanced on an occasion of a treaty made, or attempted to be made, by Governor Stevens with five tribes on the Chehalis River in the spring of 1855. There were present the Cowlitz, the Chehalis, Chenook, Queniült, and Satchap Indians. Colonel B.F. Shaw was the interpreter, and spoke the language fluently; but, although he was perfectly understood by the Cowlitz and Satchap Indians, he was but imperfectly understood by the Chenooks, Chehalis, and Queniülts, and it was necessary for those present who were conversant with the Coast tribes to repeat to them what he said before they could fully understand.

I experienced the same difficulty; for, as I had been accustomed to speak a great deal of the Chehalis language with the Jargon, I found that the Indians from the interior could not readily understand me when making use of words in the Chehalis dialect....."

".... It is a language, however, never used except when the Indians and whites are conversing, or by two distant tribes who do not understand each other, and only as an American and a Russian would be likely to talk French to communicate their ideas with each other. The Indians speaking the same language no more think of using the Jargon while talking together than the Americans do....."

"The Chehalis language is very rich in words, and every one is so expressive that it is not possible, like the Jargon, to make mistakes; for instance, in the Jargon, which is very limited, the same word represents a great many different things...."

"Many of the Jargon words, though entirely different, yet sound so much alike when quickly spoken, that a stranger is apt to get deceived; and I have known persons who did not well understand the Jargon get angry with an Indian, thinking he said something entirely different from what he actually did...."

"Ulthl means proud, and ulticut long, but they are readily confounded with each other. A friend of mine, who was about leaving the Bay, wished to tell some Indians who were working for him that if, on his return, he found they had behaved well, he should feel very proud of them and glad, used the following: Ulticut nika tumtum, or, my heart is proud. 'He must have a funny heart,' said the Indian who related it to me. 'He says his heart is long; perhaps it is like a mouse's tail'.

There are many other words that are as readily misunderstood....."

(Swan, Ibid., pp. 309-317.)

Swan knew Jargon well. As a regular user of the language and eyewitness to the negotiation, his report and opinion of the utility of Jargon (and its problems) deserve careful attention. Whether the problems of understanding were caused by regional usage or by the very nature of this pidgin's simple structure and vocabulary, a case can be made that there was not clear passage of ideas in the case reported above. The argument could be advanced that these discussions involved fourth-hand information (governor to Shaw to Indian translator to Indians) and even in a single language three retellings usually

engenders distortions of the message.

During the U.S. Court of Claims hearings on Indian land rights, there was an attempt to show that Chinook Jargon was a weak channel of communication which resulted in a historical unfairness during the treaty negotiations. In the courtroom, an English passage was translated in Chinook Jargon orally by an Indian and then this was retranslated into English by someone else (U.S. Court of Claims, Duwamish et al. - vs - U.S., Case File F-275). According to researcher Barbara Lane, the experiment was "not successful" in either sustaining or refuting claims about Jargon's value as a communicative device. I have done a similar experiment which I include here. While negotiating the Point Elliott Treaty, a Jargon speech was given on Governor Stevens' behalf by Indian Agent Mike Simmons. I have taken an English translation of that speech (A) and retranslated it into Jargon (B) which I then asked Squamish elder Louis Maranda to translate into English. All four forms of the speech are given below as an experiment intending to reveal how capable or problematic Jargon really was as a language for official use.

Mike Simmons' Jargon Speech at Point Elliott

"Nika Owh. Hyass leli nika kumtux mesika, pe mesika kumtux nika. Kwahnesum close tumtum mesika kopah nika, pe ahncotti kopa konaway Boston. Alta mesache Boston chahko pe mahcook lum kopa mesaika, kahkwa tilicum cupswalla mesika dolla pe chahko klahowyum Siwash. Alta ikt ikt Siwash mamook mesache kopa Boston. Nika tumtum lum mamook kahkwa Nika Siwash tumtum. Close nika potlatch tumtum kopa Siwash alta. Mesika copet mahcook lum kopa mesache Boston, wake leli chahko close konaway Siwash. Konaway mesika tenass chahko kahkwa Boston tenass. Leli hyass kly nika tumtum kwahnesum. Boston wawa nika Siwash kwahnesum capswalla yakka ictah, yakka lehash, pussisse, shirt, sakoleeks, wappatoo, pe kwahnesum mesache Boston kokshet Siwash. Kwahnesum Siwash wawa ikt ikt Boston mesache kokshet nika. Kwahnesum kly nika tumtum alta. Pose Siwash copet muckamuck lum, kopet klatawa

kopa mesahche Boston house, wake leli chahko close mesika Siwash. Mesika Papa, kopa Boston illahee wake yakka tumtum mamook mesahche kopa Siwash. Alki close nannitch Siwash kwahnesum. Spose chee Siwash pe Governor Stevens mamook paper, Nesika tyee yakka nannitch. Pose yakka kumtux paper close, yakka tchum yakka name hyas close kopa paper. Spose yakka tchum paper, chee paper kalipi, pe chahko mesika dolla kopa illahee. Okook ictah mesika iskum okook sun, cultus potlatch. Konaway Siwash kumtux nika tumtum elip Boston yukwa. Wake close nika na wawa kopa Siwash? Close kopa alta. Alta mesika wawa Governor Stevens pe Siwash tyee."

(A) "My Brothers.

I have known you a long time, and you have known me. Your hearts have always been good towards me and formerly they were towards all Americans. Since then bad white men have come who sell you rum, so that people cheat you of your money and Indians become poor. Nowadays some Indians ill treat the whites. In my opinion rum is the cause of this - such is my real mind. I now give my true heart to you. Do you stop buying rum of bad white men, and it will soon be well with all Indians. All your children will be like American children. My heart has cried for a long time. The Whites tell me the Indians are always stealing their goods, their axes, blankets, shirts, pantaloons, and potatoes, and bad white men are always beating Indians. The Indians are always telling me that some whiteman or other beats them. My heart is sick all the time. If you Indians will stop drinking liquor, stop going to the houses of bad white men, it will be good for you. "Your father in the American Country - his heart is not to do ill to you. He will hereafter always take care of you. As soon as the Indians and Governor Stevens have agreed on the paper, our chief will see it. If he thinks the paper good, he will put his name to it. When he has signed it, the paper will be returned and the money will be sent for your land.

"The goods that are given you today are given as a present. You all know what my opinion was before the Americans came here. Did I not tell you the truth? I have done. Now the Governor will speak again and then the Indian Chiefs." (Cheers)

(B) Translation back into Jargon by Jay Powell.

Nika Ow̄h. Nika hyas laly kumtuks mesika, pee mesika kumtuks nika. Mesika tumtum kwonesum kloshe kopa nika, kahkwa ankhuttie kopa konoway boston tillikum. Alta chako mesachie boston klaksta makook lum kopa mesika, pee tillikum kapswalla mesika dala. Siwash chako klahowyum. Alta tenas hiyu siwash mamook mesachie kopa boston tillikum. Nika tumtum lum mamook okoke --- nika delate kumtuks kopa tumtum. Alta nika wawa delate kopa mesika. Spose mika kopet makook lum kopa mesachie boston, halo laly konoway kloshe kunamokst siwash tillikum. Bymby konoway mesika tenas kahkwa boston tenas. Nesika tumtum hiyu laly kly. Boston tillikum wawa kopa nika, "Siwash kwonesum kapswalla nesika iktas. nesika lahash, nesika shut, nesika sakoleks, pee wapato", pee mesachie tillikums kwonesum mamook kokshut kopa siwash. Siwash kwonesum wawa kopa nika, "Ikt boston mamook kokshut kopa nika!" Kwonesum sick nika tumtum. Spose mesika siwash mamook kopet muckamuck whiskey, mamook kopet klatawa kopa mesachie boston yaka house, alki konoway hyas kloshe. Mesika papa, tyee kopa boston ilahee, halo yaka tumtum mesachie kopa mesika. Alki yaka mamook kloshe pee nanitch kloshe kopa mesika. Hyak, kunsih konoway siwash pee tyee Stevens mamook kloshe tumtum kunamokst kopa okoke pepah, alki nanitch okoke pepah hyas boston tyee. Spose yaka tumtum okoke pepah kloshe, yaka mamook tzum yaka nem kopa pepah. Pee spose yaka mamook tzum nem kopa pepah, hyas hyak killapi pepah pee konoway dala kopa mesika illahee.

Nesika potlatch konoway okoke ikta kopa mesika. Mesika kloshe kumtuks nika tumtum elip chako boston tillikum yukwa. Halo nika wawa delate kopa mesika? Kloshe kakwa! Alta tyee Stevens wawa kopa mesika pee konoway siwash tyee wawa kimta yaka.

(C) Translation of B into English by Louis Maranda, Squamish elder of North Vancouver, B.C.

My brothers. I have known you all a long time and you all know me. Your hearts (or thoughts) were always good to me, like long ago with all White (or American) people. And now, the evil whitemen come who see rum/whiskey to you all. Then people steal your money. Indians become poor. Now a few more Indians do bad to the Whitemen. I think whiskey has done that. I really know in my heart. Now I speak true to you all. If you stop buying whiskey from bad Whitemen, not long

and all will be good with Indian people. After a while, all of your children will be like White children. My heart has had a plenty long cry. White (American) people tell me, Indians always steal our things, our axes, our shirt, our pants, and spuds. And bad people always are hitting the Indian. Indians often tell to me, a Whiteman beat me up. Always my heart is sad. If you Indians would stop drinking whiskey, stop going to bad Whitemen's houses. In the end it will be very good. The father of you all, the ruler or boss of the American land, he does not think (to do?) bad towards you all. In the future, he will do good and see good to you all. As soon as all the Indians and boss Stevens will make good feeling together, iwth this paper, the big American ruler, after seeing that paper, if he thinks that paper is good he will write his name on the paper. And if he does write his name on the paper, very fast he will return the paper an all the money for you land. We give all these things to you now, today. They are a gift. All of you Indians knew my heart before the Americans came here. Did I not speak right to you all? So be it! Now Ruler Stevens will talk to you all and all Indian chiefs will speak after him.

This has been a very revealing exercise. Despite three translations (an English speaker's Jargon speech translated into English, which was retranslated into Jargon, and that in turn was translated into English again) the message remains quite clear. A common party game is to have each member of the group "pass on" a short message to the next until it has been whispered all the way around the crowd. The message usually becomes quite garbled, even though it is carried on entirely in one language. It is a convincing validation of the communicative reliability of Jargon that three translations later the above speech remains relatively unchanged.

There are many who felt that Chinook Jargon served quite adequately for official purposes. Testimony in Jargon was accepted in courtrooms on Vancouver Island as late as the 1940's. C.H. Hanford gives an interesting insight into the use of Jargon for testimony in his book Seattle and Environs: 1852-1924 (p. 668, Vol. 1).

"It was not difficult for people to soon learn enough of the few words necessary for bartering or dealing with the Indians, and the general drift of short conversations could be understood where the jargon was interspersed with English words on the part of the white person and by a few "de-late Siwash" (straight Indian) words on the part of the Indian, accompanied by signs and gestures; but where clear understanding or more precision was necessary, like testimony in the trial of criminal and other cases in courts, a more thorough knowledge of the language and ingenuity in constructing sentences was required. For instance, it was somewhat difficult for the ordinary court interpreter to frame an oath to be administered to witnesses that would be impressive and follow as near as possible the usual English form. William DeShaw, a storekeeper at Point Agate, near the Port Madison Indian reservation, and whose wife was a granddaughter of Chief Seattle, when acting as interpreter, administered a very satisfactory and impressive form as follows:

Ul-tah kloshe mi-kah waw-waw de-late kon-a-way
mi-kah kum-tuks waw-waw de-late spose Sok-a-ly Ty-ee
nan-itch mi-kah. Kloshe mahm-uk sok-a-ly mi-kah kloshe
le-mah pe waw-waw kah-kwa: Ni-kah kow ni-kah tum-yum
ko-pah Sok-a-ly Ty-ee pe ni-kah waw-waw de-late;
kon-a-way de-late waw-waw; ko-pet de-late waw-waw.
Sok-a-ly Ty-ee nanitch.

Translation: Now you must tell as you know truly as if speaking to God. Raise your right hand and say these words: I bind my heart to God; I will speak the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. God witness.

Thus, although a case can be made for the value of Jargon as a mode of official communication, it is important emphasize that it was not necessarily a quick way of getting the ideas across. Here is a description of the use of Jargon in a Yale, B.C., courtroom;

The principal evidence was that of Indians belonging to the encampment where the occurrence took place, and, as they gave their evidence in the Thompson Indian tongue, and that had to be translated into Chinook (Jargon) and then into English, the process was necessarily very tedious, and the case occupied the whole day. (Inland Sentinel, Dec. 8, 1881).

In a less serious vein, this section is concluded with a reported conversation in Chinook Jargon relating to laws and lawmaking. It originally appeared in an Oregon City, Oregon, (Flumgudgeonberg) newspaper called the Flumgudgeon Gazette and Bumble Bee Budget published by Curltail Coon (Pickett), August 20, 1845. Published in manuscript form, the Gazette was the first newspaper on the Pacific Coast. The article, showing how precisely one can talk about lawmaking (even if there may exist difficulties discussing the provisions of particular laws), is given in its entirety.

Indian Dialogue with a Boston

The Editor was accosted by a savage Tilicum a few days since, with the inquiry, as to what they were doing in the "wawa house" - with that striped and spotted sail waving over it. Now as the Editor would have been at a loss to explain their movements in English, on account of their varied evolutions, manoeuvring, marching, countermarching, double dealing, and tangling up of affairs, it proved a much greater difficulty to translate it into the jargon - a language in the vulgar tongue which he but imperfectly understood, having only acquired enough of it to do the small necessary trading. But as Mr. Tilicum was a particular friend of ours, and paused for a reply from us, we thought we could do our best to enlighten him. So says we - Conoway Willamette Boston Tilicum mammue (mamook) ocke (okoke) tatalum pe clone (klone) tilicum tiero, and wawaed Klaska chokco (chahko)

cuppa Tumwater pe mamue close papier. Icta close papier?
says he. Now as we could not undertake to explain all
the laws, we commenced telling about one in which they
are much interested, as many frauds are committed on
them in their trading operations with the Bostons, in
the shirt blanket and skin line.

This was the law compelling the payment of debts ...
We then told him of the currency bill, with which he
seemed pretty well pleased; but offered an amendment ...
that ... an addition be made in the variety of the
circulating medium, and regarded as legal tender, to wit:
olilleis (ollalie), cammas, salmon and salmon skin,
mowitch skin, as well as all other kind of skin usually
traded by them.

But says he, you told me they come to mamue papier,
why do they mamue so much hias wawa? O says we, wake
scia conoway ocoke wawa - cultus wawa - cokqua (kahkwa)
hias wind; hias pilton wawa; wake scia conoway ocoke
tillicum, wake cumtux icta Klaska wawa. Now witka
six! says he. Clonas nica cumtux cokqua.

But says he, cotta (kahta) icht man mamue hia
(hiyu) hias sollux (sollex) wawa hias poo? That's
Buncombe wawa says we. Icta ocoke? Now as an
explanation of this would have been unintelligible to
our friend from Clackamas City, as they have no such
thing known in their legislative proceedings we
concluded to drop the subject by saying Clakowayou
(Klahowya) six ulta (alta) nica clatawa cuppa theatre."

casie

hyas Kioshe —

Seva bank ~~new~~ new
bank service

Klortawa

? mancherie — India service
jaya

p
~~Fransais~~

Sahabie

Pasiryooks

Shopping center

Kardops

family name

Rach Gray - Kikaville

Chanteé Marie — Klusker

90 Klap kuitex (W)

gunboat Navy -
subboat painted grey
and wood work for
submarine watch

Talapus }
Nenamook } built in
New Westminster
at Star Shipyard

hype -

~~ekkoti~~

p. 111

Lab stick - barberry tree -
(pink th. lichen) - leaves
mosses, potatoes

Kahnaway stick - oak

Lab. c. a. a. tree

Kakadua - see

119 the part
spelled diff 120