

New light on pidgin Chinookan: with due credit to Horatio Hale’s “esteemed friend” J. K. Townsend

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Abstract: A draft version of the first systematic description of Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon, CW), Horatio Hale’s *The “Jargon,” or trade-language of Oregon*, shows many credits to the American naturalist John K. Townsend, all however dropped in publication. Townsend is also the source of independent CW and Chinookan word-lists. In contrast to Hale’s and later records, the Townsend word-lists show few CW words of ultimate Nootkan, English, or French origin, instead consisting mostly of locally contributed (primarily Chinookan) words and phrases. A number of the CW and Chinookan phrases provide interesting case-studies in Chinookan morphological simplification: the word-forms are Chinookan, but they are missing supposedly obligatory Chinookan inflections. Townsend’s lists may point to a CW variety much closer to Chinookan than the CW described by Hale, a finding which has implications for assessing the role of Chinookan speakers in co-creating the hybrid CW of Hale and later authorities.

1 Introduction¹

A draft version of Horatio Hale’s *The “Jargon,” or trade-language of Oregon* (Hale 1846:635–50, Hale ca. 1841) reveals that this source, the very first comprehensive description of Chinuk Wawa (CW) as a linguistic variety in its own right, drew significantly on contributions from the American naturalist John Kirk Townsend (1809–1851). While those contributions were left wholly unacknowledged in publication, Townsend himself left an independent manuscript word-list identified as follows: “Vocabulary of the language spoken by the Indians in the Columbia & used as the means of communication between them & the Whites. The language as used is much mixed; being composed of Chenook [sic], English, French &c.” This word-list is among a group of word-lists collected by Townsend, including another identified as a “vocabulary of the Chenook [sic] tribe—inhabiting the Columbia River near the sea” (Townsend 1835). Both Hale and Townsend collected their materials in and around Fort Vancouver on the lower Columbia River. Hale’s “Jargon” and Townsend’s “mixed” language are identifiable with the CW of later record; both also collected vocabularies in CW’s principal lexifier language, Chinookan (in Townsend’s terminology: the language of the “Chenook tribe”). While Hale was far and away the more accomplished

¹ This contribution grew out of a presentation by George Lang and myself to a session of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, held at the 86th Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting (Zenk and Lang 2012). The present paper revisits my own take on Townsend’s contribution to the historical record of lower Columbia Chinuk Wawa.

linguist of the two, Townsend's record is of special interest because it suggests that a more strongly Chinookan-influenced variety of CW co-existed with the more English-friendly variety recorded by Hale. Indeed, Townsend's record may shed important light on the role of Chinookan speakers in the pidginization of Chinookan—or in other words, on their key role as co-creators of the hybrid medium that is the CW of later nineteenth-century and twentieth-century record.

2 Hale and Townsend

I am not aware of any independent notice of Hale and Townsend's collaboration, beyond the following passage in Hale's draft (omitted, along with all other references to Townsend, from the published version):

As a evidence that this Jargon is in reality a regular & permanent language, I may mention that, after my return, I requested of my esteemed friend Mr. J. K. Townsend whose travels in the Oregon Territory have made his character & attainments well known to the public a list of such words as he retained in his memory & the translation of some phrases to compare with those which I had taken down on the spot. The words & phrases with which he furnished me (the former comprising nearly the whole stock of the idiom) were found to agree very closely with those in my vocabulary. The differences of orthography were only such as must necessarily occur in the attempt to reduce foreign language to writing: the words & constructions were precisely the same (Hale ca. 1841:n.p.).

In Hale's draft version, almost half of his "Jargon" vocabulary items are accompanied by the letter "T" (some letters placed before the item so marked, some placed following in parentheses); and 27 full sentences are explicitly identified as being "from Mr. Townsend." These "T"-marked and "Townsend"-identified entries moreover include many tokens that Hale did not publish. Of the 27 sentences attributed to Townsend in draft, three appear in identical form in the published sketch, two exhibit near identity to published examples, while two more represent common everyday expressions that could easily have been obtained independently; the remainder are missing. Also left out were many words of Chinookan origin, most of which in turn find matches in Townsend's 1835 "mixed" language list. The *Appendix* to this paper lists all the "T"-tagged "Jargon" items in Hale's ca. 1841 draft, cross-tabulated with matches (where available) from Townsend's 1835 "mixed" language list.

Most items on Townsend's latter list appear to be from local languages, especially Chinookan. Although Townsend's preface points out that the language is "mixed" with English and French, those languages are conspicuous by their near absence in the list itself. And only five items there (*Appendix*: come, far, many/much, see, understand) can be attributed to Nootka Jargon—items of ultimate Nootkan origin, but known to have been introduced to the lower Columbia by predominantly English-speaking seafaring traders beginning in 1792 (five additional such items marked "T" appear in Hale's draft: *Appendix*: bad, fight [*also* kill], slave, trade, woman). Not only do Chinookan-identifiable items appear alongside of or in place of English, French, and Nootka-Jargon origin

items known from later sources (see *Appendix*: arm, bone, child, father, fire, God, good, gun, head, house, lake, man, moon, morning, name, nose, salmon, sheep, shoes, star, stone, sun, to-day, wind, wolf, woman, wood); but a number of meanings not met with in later sources show Chinookan terms as well (*Appendix*: back, breast, cheek, creek, fingers, fox, heaven, knee, many/much, (finger-)nail; plus some meanings showing evidently redundant Chinookan synonyms: bad, bird, dog, like/love, sea).

A plausible explanation for the observed differences between Hale's and Townsend's versions of CW is that Hale's record reflects a variety of the language more associated with the foreign presence at Fort Vancouver; while Townsend's record reflects a variety of the language more associated with indigenous (primarily Chinookan-speaking) people of the lower Columbia. There is actually some supporting internal evidence for this surmise in the two versions of Hale's sketch.

Sentences (1) and (2) are from the draft list of sentences labeled "from Mr. Townsend." Like most of the 27 examples listed, Hale did not publish them. I supply interlinear glosses based on my own familiarity with later sources.²

- (1) Kanséct t'kwahli mihtlait kwāpa maika ilēhi
 extent? house be-there PREP thy place
source translation: How many houses are in your town?

- (2) naika mamuk kikwili naika kēnawi ikata
 I CAUS-down my every-thing
 kwāpa naika tilkommama;
 PREP my father
 iáhka mimalust ēnakati klōn ōtlā
 he die ago three day
source translation: I have buried all my property with my father who died three days ago.

Both of these examples appear to presuppose a Native context. Example (1) would probably only be queried of a Native. And the words given for 'house' and for 'day' are from Chinookan, where Hale's published list shows "haus" for the first and "sūn" for the second (*Appendix*: house, day; also, note that while Hale's draft glosses both 'day' and 'sun' as "son, (*T* otlah)", his published sketch drops "otlah" for 'day' but keeps it as a synonym for 'sun'). Example (2) appears to show Native cultural content, albeit it may have been supplied by Townsend himself, not directly by a lower Columbia Native.

² Where source transcriptions are sufficiently accurate, I provide italicized simplified respellings of Chinuk Wawa and Chinookan forms, following (for Chinuk Wawa) Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project (2012) and (for Chinookan) the Chinookan phonemic alphabet in volume 7 of the Handbook of North American Indians (The Northwest), except that I use *χ* instead of *ç* for the uvular fricative.

The following two examples show the same sentence from Hale: (3) as published; (4) as appearing in draft. Conventions as for (1) and (2) above.

- (3) nūsaika sáleks masátsi-tilikūm / Klon nūsaika kākshatl
 we fight bad-people three we destroy
source translation: We fought the enemy (bad people). We killed three.
- (4) nsaika sáleks Masátsi tilikam, klon nsaika kakcat
 we fight bad-people three we destroy
source translation: We fought the Blackfeet & killed three.

Note Hale's normalized respellings and edited translation in (3). Note also that at the time of Hale's visit to Fort Vancouver, the Hudson Bay Company was engaged in protracted conflict with the Blackfeet in Montana and Alberta, very far removed from Fort Vancouver on the lower Columbia River. This conflict is far more likely to have involved company employees than local Indians. Hence, the sentence (which may very well represent a local source, since Hale says his examples were written down "as heard from the natives and others") is much more likely to have been from a fur-company employee than from a local Native.

The following further two examples juxtapose one of the sentences attributed to Townsend in Hale's draft (5); against a near-match in his published sketch (6):

- (5) ikata pos wēk maika klátawa kēkcutl mauitc
 what? for not thou go destroy deer
 pi mákuk sókwálal.
 and buy gun
source translation: Why don't you go & kill deer & buy a gun?
- (6) Ikāta maika wek klátawa kākshatl ina,
 *qata thou not go destroy beaver
 *how?
 alke maika makok mūskit?
 later thou buy gun
source translation: Why dost thou not go and kill beaver, and buy a gun?
 (Hale 1846:645)

It seems unlikely that (5) and (6) were obtained wholly independently; however, they both appear in the draft (in different sections), leaving it uncertain how they are related. The word for 'gun' in sentence (5) is from Chinookan, that in sentence (6) is from English (*Appendix*: gun). Although 'deer' in (5) is from Nootka Jargon (vs Chinookan-derived 'beaver' in (6)), Townsend (1835) shows the same word not only as "mixed" language, but as "Chenook" language as well. The placement of the negative adverb *wek* in between subject pronoun and verb in (6) is more characteristic of English-speaking users of the language, versus the more typical indigenous word-order in (5). But what is really telling about these two examples is Hale's evident misconstrual of "Ikāta" as *qata* 'how?, why?'

in (6). It is clear elsewhere from his grammar sketch that Hale confuses *ikta* ‘what?’ and *qata* ‘how?, why?’, which are clearly different words in local Native varieties, conflating them to create a single word “Ikāta” translated ‘what?, why?’ (see *Appendix*: what). It is very unlikely that any local indigenous-language speaker would conflate two such obviously different-sounding words (section 3 below); but an English speaker easily could. Townsend’s “Ikata pus” is a much more plausible interrogative in this context: cf. Grand Ronde CW *ikta-pus* ‘whatever for?’ (variant of *pus-ikta* ‘for what?, why?’; Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project 2012).

Lacking an account of Townsend’s Native sources, and most crucially, how he managed the potentially difficult task of communicating his intentions and working with them, it is by no means clear to what extent his “mixed”-language word-list can be taken as an accurate reflection of register and dialect variation in 1830s-period lower Columbia CW. That there indeed was a contemporaneous “Jargon” variety showing a stronger Chinookan impress than the one described by Hale, is hinted at by Hale himself—in another passage left out of the published sketch.

It should also be noted that the Methodist missionaries established among the Chinooks,—finding the language of that people very difficult of acquisition are accustomed to preach in the Jargon, & have composed hymns in this dialect, which are sung to our common church melodies. As these compositions, however, contain many Chinook words which do not properly belong to the trade-language, they would not be good specimens of its powers (Hale ca. 1841:n. p.).

And is it not unlikely that upon examining his examples from Townsend in detail, Hale revised his initial impression that “the words & phrases with which he furnished me (the former comprising nearly the whole stock of the idiom) were found to agree very closely with those in my vocabulary”? From his point of view, much of Townsend’s “mixed” language would appear, rather, to consist of “Chinook words which do not properly belong to the trade-language.” There may remain yet more to be learned about Townsend’s “mixed” language and Hale’s evident dismissal of it. According to Ives Goddard (personal communication 2011), there are papers from both men at the Library of Congress; while Townsend also has papers at the American Philosophical Society. These all remain to be thoroughly sorted out and evaluated.

3 Chinuk Wawa *versus* Chinookan

One of the striking features of the CW in historical use between speakers of English and French, on the one hand, and speakers of lower Columbia indigenous languages, on the other, is the prevalence of phonetic distortions in original source-language word-forms, induced by each side’s tendency to bend the opposite side’s phonologies closer to norms more familiar to itself. Hale was the first linguist to comment on this phenomenon. According to him, the phonology of “Jargon” is really a compromise:

As the Jargon is to be spoken by Chinooks, Englishmen, and Frenchmen, so as to be alike easy and intelligible to all, it must admit no sound which cannot be readily pronounced by all three. The gutturals of the Tshinuk (χ and q) are softened to h and k ; txl becomes kl at the beginning of a word, and tl at the end; ... thus we have *tūkéh* for *tōqéχ* ... , *klosh* for *txlōōsh* ... (Hale 1846:640).

Hale (ca. 1841) and Townsend (1835) reveal a more nuanced picture of Fort Vancouver-era CW. Not only does Townsend (1835) show more Chinookan content than Hale; he also alludes to (“guttural”, “squeaking” etc.) Chinookan phonetic features. Hale’s “guttural” “ χ ” and “ q ” both occasionally appear in his ca. 1841 spellings of CW words, where he uses the same phonetic alphabet for CW that he uses for indigenous languages. For example, the phrase spelled “*wēkt ikt sūn*” (glossed ‘one more day, again one day’) in Hale (1846:642) appears in the draft as “*wéχt iχt son*”. He evidently normalized his 1846 spellings to reflect the rule stated above. In lower Columbia Indian CW, words of local indigenous origin retain original “ χ ” (corresponding to modern Americanist x , χ), “ q ” (q , k' , q'), and “ txl ” (t , λ , λ'), as the comparisons collated in the *Appendix* show.

Very odd indeed is Hale’s choice of the item “*klōsh ~ txlōōsh*” (*Appendix*: good) to illustrate his rule. This could not be a case of Chinooks, Englishmen, and Frenchmen compromising to eliminate Chinookan “gutterals”: the item is from the Nootkan-contributed part of the CW lexicon, known to have been introduced by predominantly English-speaking seafarers. Hale has inadvertently provided evidence that “Chinooks” assimilated an originally indigenous word (cf. Nootka Nootkan *λuł* ‘pretty, handsome’), introduced to the lower Columbia in distorted form by English-speaking seafarers (cf. Nootka Jargon *klush* ‘good, pretty’), thereby yielding the “nativized” lower Columbia pronunciation recorded by Hale and preserved (in the usual form *tuš* ‘good’) down to the present day (Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project 2012:148).

One of the most interesting features of Townsend’s two 1835 lists (including the “Chenook tribe” vocabulary along with the “mixed”-language list: the two are not neatly divisible into distinct linguistic varieties) is its paucity of vocabulary items assignable to Nootka Jargon, English, and French, all well represented in later records of CW. That paucity is also apparent in phrasal constructions appearing in the two lists, because these show no verbal compounds formed using the Nootka-derived auxiliary elements *mamuk*- ‘cause to be’ and *chaku*- ‘get to be’ (although the sentences attributed to Townsend by Hale do show some such sentences: e.g. example (2) above). These happen to be two of the most frequently occurring grammatical elements in later records of the language. In a number of the examples discussed in section 5 below, Townsend appears rather to depend on Chinookan models, either attempted complete or reproduced in simplified form—as expanded upon in the next section.

4 Morphologically simplified Chinookan

According to the grammars, there are two basic sentence types in Chinookan:

- The verbal sentence, consisting minimally of a verbal stem inflected for tense/aspect and person. This minimum core may be expanded through the addition of apposed nouns, particles, and independent pronouns.
- The nominal sentence, consisting minimally of a nominal stem inflected for gender and number. An inflected noun may also be used to explicate a subject or object appearing in a verbal sentence. The number-gender (N/G) and/or possessive (POSS) markers of a noun so used agree with any relevant person markers appearing in the verb.

While a Chinookan verbal sentence is supposed to have an inflected verb, and while Chinookan nouns are supposed to appear invariably inflected, occasional exceptions can be spotted in the Chinookan text corpus, e.g. (pcl: particle; n: noun; v: verb):

- (7) *mániχ* *ł-łágil* *tq'ix* *łá-kikal*
 (pcl) (n) (pcl) (n)
 when a woman loves her husband
 q^wap *a-ł-ú-mąqt-χ*
 (pcl) (v)
 nearly she dies

‘When a woman loves her husband and she is near death’ (respelled from Boas 1894:253.17).

The nouns *ł-łágil* and *łá-kikal* show the neuter/collective N/G and poss prefixes *ł-*, *łá-*, used here to refer to an indefinite subject; these agree with the person prefix *ł-* (third person neuter/collective) on the main-clause verb *-mąqt*. The clause segregated on the first line contains a verbal particle (*tq'ix* ‘love’), but not an inflected verb. Compare:

- (8) *tq'ix* *a-gá-ł-a-χ* *ł-gá-xiwisx*
 (pcl) (v) (n)
 like she does (to) it her dog
 ‘She likes her dog’ (respelled from Boas 1894:43.19).

Here, the auxiliary verb *-χ* ‘to do, make, be, act, become’ (the usual accompaniment of a verbal particle in all Chinookan dialects) shows the person markers *g-* (feminine singular subject) and *ł-* (neuter object), the former agreeing with POSS *ga-* and the latter with N/G *ł-* on the noun *-kiwisx* (the remaining prefix positions are occupied by a tense-aspect marker in the first position, and a directive prefix immediately preceding the verb stem). For all I know (not being a Chinookan expert), the fact that *tq'ix* occurs in a subordinate clause in (7) may constitute an exception to the rule that a verbal particle must be paired with an inflected verb. But this is beside the point: the subject-object and tense/aspect relations of the clause must still be gathered from the context and the clause’s four content words.

Example (9) shows a noun missing its proper N/G prefix: *-kúsait* ‘mink’ should have a masculine singular N/G prefix, agreeing with the third-person masculine singular person prefix *i-* on the verb; *χ-* is a reflexive prefix.

- (9) *ig-i-χ-gúti-čk* *kúsait*
 he said Mink
 ‘Mink said, ...’ (respelled from Boas 1901:23.13).

Compare:

- (10) *š-χ-i-láit-ix* *i-kúsait* *k’a* *í-ia-lxt*
 they-two be with him Mink and his older brother
 ‘There was Mink and his older brother’ (respelled from Boas 1901:103.1).

Here, the person marker *š-* (dual) is followed by a relational prefix (*χ-*) and the person marker *i-* (third person masculine singular, indirect object). *i-* in turn agrees with the N/G prefix *i-* on the noun *-kusait*, and the POSS prefix *ia-* on the noun *-lxt*. *-lxt* is also a masculine noun, hence shows the *i-* N/G prefix.

The two kinds of simplification illustrated by examples (7) and (9) are both characteristic of the Chinookan-derived portion of the CW lexicon:

- The basic CW lexicon as known from the mid-nineteenth century on includes many Chinookan verbal particles (including the particle *tq’ix*, *tq’ix* ‘like, love, want’; frequently heard as *tiki*). In CW, these function either as full verbs; or as constituents of verbal compounds formed with the Nootka-Jargon derived auxiliaries *mamuk-* ‘cause to be’ and *čaku-* ‘get to be’ (some can function as both).
- Chinookan N/G and POSS prefixes are usually dropped in CW when the prefixes occur unstressed in Chinookan; but are usually retained when the prefixes occur stressed in Chinookan.

Examples (11) and (12) show two CW sentences from the Catholic missionary corpus, both with CW words derived from Chinookan particles. Example (13) illustrates the rule for retaining or dropping Chinookan N/G and POSS prefixes in CW.

- (11) *Tlush* *nsaika* *tikel-* *iaka*
 should we love him
 ‘We should love Him’ (Demers et al. 1871:45; cf. *tq’ix/tq’ix* above).

- (12) *Sesu* *Kli* *iaka* *mamuk* *Maliash* *pus* *mamuk kao*
 Jesus Ch he make marriage to make-tied
 il-t *man* *pi* *il-t* *tluchmen*
 one man and one woman
 ‘Jesus Christ instituted Marriage to join one man and one woman’ (Demers et al. 1871:65; *k’au* ‘tied’ is from a Chinookan verbal particle).

(13) Chinuk Wawa	Chinookan	
<i>k'áinuł</i>	<i>i-k'áinuł</i>	tobacco
<i>ícχut</i>	<i>i-łícχut</i>	black bear
<i>cúq</i>	<i>ł-čúq</i>	water
<i>tílixam</i>	<i>tí-lxam</i>	people
<i>siyáxus(t)</i>	<i>š-iá-χušt</i> (his...)	eyes

5 Evidence of simplified Chinookan in Townsend's "mixed" language and "Chenook tribe" word-lists

I was able to make varying degrees of sense of about half of the phrases appearing in Townsend's two lists (the mixed language list and the Chenook list). No doubt, more could be done with the remainder, although it is difficult to imagine all of these examples yielding up their secrets—Townsend's handwriting is not easy to make out; and as a glance at his spellings reproduced below will show, he was no systematic linguist.

Examples (14)–(17) show word forms and sentence patterns identical to those of the CW of later record, as shown by the accompanying CW comparisons (spellings and glosses adapted from Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project 2012). All of these are from the "mixed" language list. In addition, the 27 phrases and sentences attributed to Townsend in Hale (ca. 1841) fall into this category: see examples (1), (2), (5) above.

- (14) nika cumatax mica I understand you.

(cf. CW:)

<i>nayka</i>	<i>kəmtəks</i>	<i>mayka</i>
I	understand	thee

- (15) Icita mica nonnaneech what do you see?

(cf. CW:)

<i>ikta</i>	<i>maika</i>	<i>(na)nanič</i>
what?	thou	see

- (16) nika hiass tekay I desire it very much

(cf. CW:)

<i>naika</i>	<i>hayaš</i>	<i>tiki</i> (var. of <i>tq'ix</i>)
I	greatly	want

- (17) nika tekay nonnaneech yaka I want to see it

(cf. CW:)

<i>naika</i>	<i>tiki</i>	<i>(na)nanič</i>	<i>yaka</i>
I	want	see	him/her/it

(18) Kagh egh tenneagho love
 (cf. Chinookan:)
 tq'ix n-t-u-x
 love I do them
 ‘I love them’ (respelled from Boas 1901:33.14-14)
 (literally, ‘love I-them-DIR-do’; “Kagh egh”, which Townsend notes is
 “very guttural,” is apparently from another Chinookan verbal particle: cf.
 Wishram *kʷaxš* ‘to desire’).

- (20) anācatte you'bukti he is killed
 (cf. Chinookan:)
 anqadi(x) 'long ago'
 i-u-(w)áq-ux
 'He is killed' (Dyk 1933:14).

(21) anyouqualle I know / takanyouqualle I know that
(cf. Chinookan:)
i-n-í-qəl-kəl
'I saw (became aware of) it' (stem *-kəl*) (respelled from Boas 1901:13.9).
š-gə-n-u-kəl
'They know me' (respelled from Boas 1901:117.6).

(22) unchala[m]ach

to eat

(cf. Chinookan:)

i-m-χələm-u-χ

‘You eat (this)!’ (respelled from Boas 1901:249.4).

a-n-a-n-χələm-ú-χu-m-a

‘I will eat it’ (respelled from Boas 1901:99.5).

And of particular interest (as suggesting a simplified or “pidgin” Chinookan), both lists show phrases with Chinookan word-forms, but minus inflections supposed to be obligatory in Chinookan. Examples (23)–(26) are from the “mixed”-language list; examples (27)–(30) are from the “Chenook”-language list. In order not to prejudge these either as incorrect Chinookan or as correct CW, I refrain from citing phrasal comparisons from either language; rather, I simply list matching or near matching word-forms from each.

(23) anācatte naicatlcup

I have killed him

(cf. Chinookan:)

anqadi(x) ‘long ago’

naika ‘1 SG’ (indep prn)

łq’up ‘cut’ (verbal pcl)

łk’up ‘burst’ (verbal pcl)

łgup ‘shoot’ (verbal pcl)

(cf. CW:)

anqati ‘long ago; past’

naika ‘1 SG’

łq’up ‘cut’

łk’up ‘burst’

(24) maica Kagh egh

You love

(cf. Chinookan:)

maika ‘2 SG’ (indep prn)

k’axš ‘desire’ (verbal pcl)

(cf. CW:)

maika ‘2 SG’

(25) anācatta Kagh egh

I have loved

(cf. Chinookan:)

anqadi(x) ‘long ago’

k’axš ‘desire’ (verbal pcl)

(cf. CW:)

anqati ‘long ago; past’

(26) alta nika kipallaolal

I now talk

(cf. Chinookan:)

alta ‘now’ (adverbial pcl)

naika ‘1 SG’ (indep prn)

i-xə-l-p’alawəla ‘he is talking’

(cf. CW:)

alta ‘now, then’

naika ‘1 SG’

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(27) Kat eyahale misika okook</p> <p>(cf. Chinookan:)
 <i>qada</i> ‘how?, what?’
 <i>i-iá-χal</i> ‘his name’
 <i>mšaika</i> ‘2 PL’ (indep prn)
 <i>ukuk</i> ‘DEM’</p> | <p>what does your nation call this?</p> <p>(cf. CW:)
 <i>qata</i> ‘how?, what?’
 <i>yáχal(i)</i> ‘name’
 <i>m(ə)saika</i> ‘2 PL’
 <i>’ukuk</i> ‘this, that’</p> |
| <p>(28) masatche mika eken ujamala mik[a]</p> <p>(cf. Chinookan:)
 cf.? <i>masáčił</i> ‘pretty’ (pcl)
 <i>maika</i> ‘2 SG’ (indep prn)
 <i>ikun</i> ‘CONJ’
 <i>i-iá-məla</i> ‘his badness’</p> | <p>you are a rascal</p> <p>(cf. CW:)
 <i>masači</i> ‘bad, mean’
 <i>maika</i> ‘2 SG’</p> |
| <p>(29) ulke tokte mika</p> <p>(cf. Chinookan:)
 <i>ałqi</i> ‘later’ (pcl)
 <i>t’ukdi</i> ‘good’ (n, pcl)
 <i>maika</i> ‘2 SG’ (indep prn)</p> | <p>you will soon be well</p> <p>(cf. CW:)
 <i>ałqi</i> ‘later, in the future’
 <i>t’ukti</i> ‘good’³
 <i>maika</i> ‘2 SG’</p> |
| <p>(30) taktayacha</p> <p>(cf. Chinookan:)
 <i>t’ukdi</i> ‘good’ (n, pcl)
 ? <i>iaχka</i> 3 SG MASC (indep prn)
 ? <i>i-χ-a</i> ‘make it’</p> | <p>he got better</p> <p>(cf. CW:)
 <i>t’ukti</i> ‘good’
 <i>ya(χ)ka</i> ‘3 SG’</p> |

Going by the criteria set forth in the Chinookan grammars: (23)–(25) (and probably, (27)) should have inflected verbs; what may be a Chinookan gerund in (26) (-ki- is an intransitivizing prefix used to form gerunds) appears to lack a subject prefix, and what appears to be an inflected noun in (28) does not agree with the subject pronoun to which it is paired; ‘good’ in (29)–(30) could be a noun, in which case it should be inflected, or a verbal particle, in which case it needs an accompanying inflected verb (doubtfully, it may have one in (30)).

6 Concluding note

Some of Townsend’s “mixed”-language sentences are clearly identifiable as CW, while some of his “Chenook” sentences at least suggest (without necessarily exemplifying) “good” Chinookan. At the same time, the “Chenook” list also shows examples of CW-looking constructions lacking obligatory Chinookan

³ Appearing only in some early word-lists; not part of CW as spoken from the mid-nineteenth century on.

inflections; while the “mixed”-language list shows examples of Chinookan-looking inflections not later met with in CW. In any case, Chinookan inflections are either badly garbled by Townsend, who appears not to have had a clue to their grammatical functions; or they are dropped altogether. Assuming that Townsend was a reasonably apt transcriber, the dropping of Chinookan inflections in most if not all of his examples is most likely to be attributed to his Native source or sources. Presumably, their motivation in doing so was to produce a simplified Chinookan, one that they thought could be more easily understood by a foreigner than “straight” Chinookan would be. What is especially interesting is that their strategies for doing so, insofar as revealed by these examples (which, notwithstanding their fragmentary nature, do add significantly to the very slight previous historical record of early cross-language communication on the lower Columbia) result in word-orders suggestive of the CW of late-nineteenth and twentieth-century record—pronoun-subject preceding an active verb: (23), (24), (26); pronoun subject following a predicate-adjective (or predicate-noun): (28) and (29), and probably, (30); adverbial elements usually coming clause-first: (23), (26), (27), (29) (CW Dictionary Project 2012:30–51).

No doubt, the CW word-orders evident in Townsend’s examples could also reflect, at least to some extent, his Native source(s)’ familiarity with the CW of the period. But as I have noted, expected Chinookan inflections are occasionally dropped even in Chinookan, judging by examples in the Chinookan text corpus. While CW and Chinookan are clearly very different orders of language, the “line” between them is not necessarily always sharply etched. This is especially so in the earliest sources documenting both varieties—among which Townsend’s vocabulary receives attention for the first time here.

It is this fuzzy line between Chinookan and CW revealed by this and other early sources, taken in conjunction with the largely intact Chinookan word-forms characterizing the CW of later record, that has led me to my own perspective on the much disputed genesis of CW (see Thomason 1983, Samarin 1986, 1996, Grant 1996, Lang 2008:55–121 for other perspectives). This perspective is summed up in the following passage from a contribution by Tony Johnson and myself to a recent collection of essays on Chinookan culture and history.

One striking feature of Chinuk Wawa is that the part of its basic lexicon derived from lower Columbia languages, comprising at least half of the 500–700 simple (that is, noncompounded) words in most frequent use on the lower river, includes many words derived from Chinookan pronouns, nouns, and particles, but comparatively speaking hardly any derived from Chinookan inflected verbs. . . .

Any hypothesis concerning Chinuk Wawa’s origin and early development must account for these facts of linguistic form, which taken together point to a systematic avoidance of Chinookan morphological complexity. Note that while the Chinookan morphology of Chinuk Wawa’s large Chinookan contribution is unmistakably simplified, it is by no means mangled—as we might expect had it originated with foreigners’ reproductions of Chinookan words whose internal constituencies they did not comprehend. . . . [At the same time,] lower Columbia Chinuk Wawa in its fully crystallized historical form . . . owes much to the early American and British seafarers. It was they who contributed the Nootkan-

derived auxiliaries *mamuk-* ('make, do, cause to be') and *chagu-* ('become, get to be'), which Chinookans learned to use in place of the Chinookan inflected auxiliary verb *-x* [*-χ*] ('make, do, become' . . .). Substituting Nootka Jargon *mamuk-* and *chagu-* for Chinookan *-x*, would have removed much of the necessity for using Chinookan verbs and associated nominal prefixes, setting the stage for a Chinookan-derived lexicon in which verbs and nominal agreement prefixes were simply avoided. Chinookans could have drawn upon a pre-existing lower Columbia pidgin, or upon Chinookan foreigner-talk, or upon both, to constitute such a lexicon.

For all their reputed difficulty, Chinookan languages also feature a lexicon distinguished by an exceptionally large number of words of simple morphological form—in particular, its plethora of uninflected (or minimally inflected . . .) particles, many of which in turn convey onomatopoeic or semi-onomatopoeic sound-associations While Chinookan clearly deserves its historical reputation for difficulty, it also comes with a considerable repertoire of built-in means for its own simplification. It is indeed not impossible that both of these aspects of Chinookan are rooted in the historical position of Chinookans as regional trade middlemen. Further linguistic, socio-historical, and even archeological investigation (insofar as it helps to document the extent and intensity of aboriginal trade) may yet further clarify the disputed genesis and early development of Chinuk Wawa (Zenk and Johnson 2013:279–82).

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Appendix “Jargon” items in Hale (ca. 1841) attributed to “T” (Townsend); with matches (where available) from Townsend’s (1835) “mixed” language list

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend’s (1835) “mixed” language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
about, concerning / kwapa	kuapá, kopá (T kwāpa)		kapa, kapá; kupa, kugá	KC, UC kupá, k ^w ábá (there)
arm / limán	T itcalikt	itch a li_cht	limá (<Fr)	KC i-čá-yu (my ...); LC i-čá-putitk (her) forearms
back / *	T itcakūst	itch a coosh, Kiăcow		KC i-íá-kučx (his ...; ? i-čá-... my ...); i-čí-gal (my backbone)
bad / masátsi, mashátshi; pīshak, pēshak	msatsi, masátci; (T masátsi, pī’cak)	ma[ʃatsee, etərmalee	mašáči (bad, mean); pišák (bad, rough) (<NJ)	KC i-íá-məla (he is...); UC ídám̄la (they are...)
beads / kamōšuk	kamósok (T kamūsak)		kamúsak	LC t-kamúsak
big-belly / *	iákwatin	qua’ttin (belly)	k’watin	
bird / kalákala	kalákala (T)	Callackala; skillalocose (pl)	kaláđala	cf Chn -ga (to fly), -galal (flying); LC t-lálox-uks (birds)
black / klāi	T klāil	*k’lai-ail	ʔitil	LC ʔitil, KC, UC ʔal
blue / *	kli’il (T spok)	spok (blue)	ʔitil ‘black’, spuʔuq ‘ash, grey, faded’	LC ʔitil; Chn špuk, špək

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
bone / stōn	stōne[sic] (T iōtso)	Eotso	stōn (<Eng)	KC i-ía-q'úču (his ...s), LC ú-úču (shell) ¹
both / kanamākst	kanimākst (T kánamākst)		kanumdkwst	Chn kanamdkwšt
bow / ūpitlki, ōpilki	ūpitlki, (T ōpitlki)	Opitlkai	ūpʰl'iki	LC ú-pʰl'iki
brandy / ōlapitski-tsōk	T ōlapitski tsok		(see fire, water)	(see fire, water)
bread / sāpelil	sāpelil, (T capl'í)	Shappleel	saplíl	UC a-sáblal
breast / *	T skōlom	quin'nm		cf ? KC č-ía-čk'un-pa (on his clavicles)
broken, thrown down / *	mac	Maush (to cast away)	maš	
brother (older) / kāpo, kápūhu	kapo, kapxu, (T kaffo)	Capho (brother)	kápuxu (o. sibling)	LC kápuxu (o. sibling!)
brother (younger) / au	au (T)	Aw	au	LC au (y brol)
canoe / kanēm	kanēm (T kaním)	K'nimm	kaním	LC i-kaním
cattle / músmus	músmus (T)	Moos-moos	músmus	

¹ The KC and LC stems appear to be related: KC -q'úču; LC -(?)úču is 'shell' with feminine u-; quite likely, it was 'bone' with masculine i-, hence paralleling the KC.

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
cheek / *	<i>T melóqtan</i>	<i>Me'l'logh'tan</i>		UC <i>a-ia-m'lq^wtan</i> (his...)
child / tánas	<i>T atlkáskas</i>	<i>'Atlascas</i> (Child), <i>Kas Kas</i> (small boy)	<i>ṭandás</i> (<NJ)	UC <i>íł-k'ášk' aš</i> (baby), <i>i-k'ášk' aš</i> (boy)
chin / *	<i>T skánakwāst</i>	<i>Scowaqwast</i>		
cloth / pasése	<i>pacíci, pasése,</i> (<i>T pasísi</i>)		<i>pasísi</i>	LC <i>ṭ-pášíši</i>
come / tshako	<i>tcako</i> (<i>T</i>)	<i>chako</i>	<i>čáku</i> (<NJ)	
creek / *	<i>T éqel</i>	<i>ekh'el</i>		LC <i>í-qyít</i> , UC <i>wá-qaṭ</i>
dark / pólakli, klāil	<i>klāil</i> (<i>T pūlakli</i>)	(<i>see black, night</i>)	(<i>see black, night</i>)	(<i>see black, night</i>)
day / sūn	<i>son</i> , (<i>T otlah</i>)		(<i>see sun</i>)	(<i>see sun</i>)
dog / kāmūks	<i>T kāmoks</i>	<i>Kahmuxe</i> , 'ehcutcut, 'Kaiwis	<i>kámukš</i>	LC <i>u-gu-xámukš</i> (my...), <i>ṭ-kṭwūš</i> ; KC <i>i-k' útṭ' ut</i>
earth / ilēhi, ílahi	<i>ílahi, ilēhi</i> (<i>T</i>)	<i>Ailaigh hē</i>	<i>íłṭi, ilṭi</i>	LC <i>í-lí-i</i> , KC <i>í-lx, í-lix</i> , UC <i>wí-lx</i>
eat / mākamak	<i>mākamak,</i> (<i>T mókamok</i>)		<i>mákmak</i>	UC <i>mágmag</i> 'gulping down'
elk / mōlak	<i>móluk</i> , (<i>T molak</i>)		<i>múlak</i>	Chn <i>i-múlak</i>
eye / siáhos	<i>siáhust, siáhos,</i> (<i>T? siáhost</i>)	<i>Ceāghhoost</i>	<i>siyáxus(t)</i>	LC, KC <i>s-íá-ṭust</i> , UC <i>is-íá-xus</i> (his...)

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
far / saia	saia, saia (T)	Sia	sayá (<NJ)	
father / pāpa, ōluman, tlikūm-māma	pāpa, ōluman, (T tilkom-mama)	tl'cummama, stl'bmama	papá (<Fr), ūlman (<Eng)	LC t̥a-mí-mama (your...; tilxam: see people)
fearful, strong / *	skokóm, (T skukūm)		skúkum (strong), skukúm (fearful) (? <S)	
fight / saleks, kākshatl	kákcattl, (T kakcōtl)		sálikš (angry); kākšat (whip) (<NJ)	
fingers / *	T klōkcin	Klukshin		LC u-kši (a ...); UC t̥á-mi-kši (your hand)
fire / paia	paia, (T ōlapitski)	Ool'pitskee	páya (<Eng); úlipcki	LC u-ʔúlapčkix
food / mākamak	mākamak, (T mōkamōk)		(see eat)	(see eat)
foolish / pílton	pílton (T)		píldan (<Eng) ²	
fox / *	T tiskáukau			UC (i-)t'isquau
friends / siks	siks, (T cikš)		šikš	LC i-šikš, šikš!

² Supposed to be derived from the name of one of the American sea captains who traded at the mouth of the Columbia River. Apparently original to Chinuk Wawa.

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
God / sákali-taie	tománuas, sakale~ sahale-taie, (<i>T</i> kánom)	Kannūm	<i>t' amánwas</i> (spirit-power), <i>saxali-tayí</i> (God), <i>ikánam</i> (myth)	LC <i>t-t' amánwas</i> , <i>saxali</i> (high; <i>tayí</i> 'chief' < NJ), <i>ikánam</i> (myth)
good / klōsh	klós, kloc, (<i>T</i> itōkta)	Etōkteh	ʔuš (<NJ); <i>t' ukti</i>	Chn <i>t-t' úkdi</i>
grand-mother / *	tcits, (<i>T</i> bāākāka)		čič (<S)	LC <i>gak'i</i> (grmother!), <i>u-mí-k'ík'i</i> (your...)
green / pitshish	pitcíc, (<i>T</i> pitcíc)	pitchish	pčix	Chn pčix
gun / müskit	múskit, (<i>T</i> sókwala)	Sukwallal	<i>máskit</i> (<Eng), <i>séqwalala</i>	LC šə-qwalala
head / latēt	latēt, (<i>T</i> itsóktok)		<i>latēt</i> (<Fr)	LC <i>i-qtq</i> (a ...), <i>i-čə-qtq</i> (her..., my...)
heaven / *	<i>T</i> kūsaḥ	Koosah	ʔúsax (sky)	LC <i>t-kušax</i> (sky)
here (this)	ókok, (<i>T</i> ūkuk)	Oocook (here)	(see that, this)	(see that, this)
house / haus	haus, (<i>T</i> tkwā'hi)	T'qaghle	haus	KC <i>t-quíti</i> , UC <i>it-ḡwáti</i>
how much, how many / kántshyak, kántsek	kántciak, kántci, (<i>T</i> kōnsec[t])		<i>qāncí(χ)</i>	LC <i>qāncix</i> , UC <i>qāncix</i>
hungry / olo	ólo, (<i>T</i> ōlu)	Olo	úlu	LC <i>ú-lu</i>
ice ("heavy water") / túl-tsok	<i>T</i> tiltsoḥ		(see tired, water)	(see tired, water)

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
kill / kākshatł, mámuk mēmēlust	kākcatł, (T kākcotł), T mámuk mēmēlust		kākšat (whip) (NJ), mamuk- mīmēlust (make-dead = 'kill': see make)	LC t-mímalušt (dead)
knee / *	T kəq ^h ol	Kogh'ul		LC u-íá-q'uyt (his...)
knife / ōpītsah	ópitsa	opitsāgh, okewekkah	úpcaχ	LC úpcaχ; u-qíwíqí
lake / lēk	lēk, (T íkakōtli)	ekacōtlee	leyk (<Eng)	LC í-kak'úłitx
land / ilēhi	T ilēhi		(see earth)	(see earth)
lie (deceive) / kliminēkwit	kliminēkwit, (T kapcuála)	Klaminihoot (a lie), Capsu-allah (to steal)	λ'amínxwət (lie), kápšwala (steal)	LC, KC í-λ'mínxut (a lie)
lightning ("fire above") / sáhalí-olapitski	T sáhalí ōlapitski		(see fire, God)	(see fire, God)
like, love / tükéh	tükéh (T káqaq)	tekay (want), 'Kagh egh (love; "very guttural")	tq'ix, tíki	Chn tq'ix (like), UC k'axš (desire); (cf ? S χaʔd- (love [stem])
long ago / *	ánkati, (T á'nakūti)		ánqati	LC ánqati
make / mámuk, mámok	mamok, (T mamuk)		mámuk (<NJ)	
man / man	man, (T skotlēlekōm)	'Scōtlailecum	man (<Eng)	LC t-gutłxamk (person)

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
many, much / haiu	haiu, haiō (<i>T</i>)	Oghooway (much), hyo (many)	hayū (<NJ)	LC úxuit (much)
moon / mūn	mūn, (<i>T</i> uktlémn)	Ooktlemin	mun (< Eng)	LC u-kłəmín
morning / tánas-sūn	tānas-sun (<i>T</i> etcókti)		tānas-sán (little-sun = 'AM'; < NJ + Eng)	KC i-ga-čúktix (early AM)
mother / nāa	nāa, nāhka, (<i>T</i> nā)			LC ʔ-gá-na.a (her...); ʔ-ia-na.a (his...)
nail (finger) / *	<i>T</i> klaqwāte	ʔkghwarte (nails)		UC a-ʔxwádi
name / iáhāle, nēm	iáhale (<i>T</i>)		nim (< Eng); yáxall(i)	LC i-ia-xal, KC, UC i-ia-xliw (his...)
night / pōlakli, pūlakli	pōlakle, (<i>T</i> pūlakli)	Pōlaklee	pūlakli	KC pūlakli (at ...)
none / hēlo, hílu	hílu, helo, (<i>T</i> helu)	haloo	hílu ³	
nose / nōs	nōs, (<i>T</i> itsókotc)		nus (<Eng)	KC i-č-kri (my...), UC i-ia-kč (his...)
people / tilikūm	<i>T</i> tilikūm	T'hlicum	tílxam (person, people)	LC tí-bxam, tí-laxam (people)
perhaps / klunās	klonās, (<i>T</i> klūnās)	Klū'nass	ʔúnas	LC ʔúnas

³ Ross Clark (personal communication 2010) has presented evidence for an NJ origin, ultimately from Hajda *hi lu* 'be finished'.

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
potatoes / *	T pasáyuks wápatus pasáyuks (French, white); wáptu (potatoes) ⁴			
powder, gun / pólali, púlali	pólali, (T púlali)		pólali (? <Fr)	
property, goods / íkta, ikta	íkta, (T íkata)		íkta (thing)	LC í-ktá (thing)
quick / *	haiák, (T haiók)		áyaaq, ayáq	Chn áyaaq, ayáq
river / ěmatl, aibalt	T ěbalt	aibalt		LC, KC í-maġ (river, bay, ocean)
salmon / sámũn	sámũn, (T kwánaq)	'quanagh	sámũn (<Eng)	LC i-gwánat
sea / wikōma, haias tsok	T wikōma	Wecōma	sálcaq ^w (<Eng + Chn caq ^w : water)	cf LC wíkwa, wígwa (ocean; -ma suffix?)
see / nánānits̄h, nānits̄h	nānits̄c, (T nānānitc)	nonnaneech	(na)nānič (<NJ)	
sheep / lemútũn	mutan, lemútũn, (T āsínkwa)		límto (< Fr)	cf ? KC í-šixq (mt. goat)
shoes / shūs	cúz, stíkuz, (T kittélpõ)	'k'tl'ph	šus (<Eng); tqłpa	LC dá-giłpa (moccasins), UC id-íd-giłba (his...)

⁴ Of uncertain origin; perhaps from Kalapuyan *-pdu*, *-pdu?* 'Sagittaria latifolia' (also known as "Indian potato"), with the Upper Chinook nominal prefix *wa-*. pasáyuks is for CW *pasáyuks* 'French' (also sometimes used for 'White').

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) “mixed” language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
sister (older) / likpō, likpūn ⁵	kāpo, (T āts)	lk'p'ho (girl)	kāpxu (o. sibling) ac (y. sister; sister)	(see brother—older)
sister (younger) / ats	ao, (T likpho)	lk'p'ho (girl)	ac (y. sister; sister), au (y. bro.; bro.)	(see brother—younger)
sibling (older) / *	kapo, kapho	Capho (brother)	kāpxu (o. sibling)	LC kāpxu (o. sibling!)
slave / mītcimos	mītcimos “(?)”, ilaīeti, (T mītcemis)		mīšcimis (<NJ); ilāitix	Chn i-lāitix (male slave)
sleep / mōšūm, mūsom	mosom, musom (T)	moosum	mūsom (<S)	
so, thus / kākwa	kākwa, kwākwa, (T kēkwa)		kāḷḷ ^{wa} a (<NJ)	
star / tilit, tshiltshil	tītil, tēltcil, (T koqkāqnap)	K'ghkaghnap	čīlčil	KC t-q'ixānap, UC i-k'āxanapx
stone / stōn	stōn, (T k nāks)	K'nnaks	sḡon (<Eng)	LC ṭ-qānakš, UC i-qānakš
stop! / *	alke! “(?)”, (T kwāpot)		ḡqi (later), kēpit (stop)	Chn ḡqi (later), LC kēpit, kupit (enough)
strong / skokōm, skukūm	skokōm, (T skukūm)		sḷukūm (strong) (?<S)	

⁵ I was unable to find local indigenous-language matches for the spellings likpō, likpūn, (and likpho, attributed to T: see sister (older)). Gibbs (1863:15) explains them as “probably a corruption of KUP-HO [CW/Chn *kāpxu*: see brother (older)].”

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
sun / sūn, ōtlah	son, (T ōtlah)	ōtlagh "(tl very guttural & squeaking)"	san	LC u-ʔúʔax
surely / nawítka	nawítka, nawítika (T)		nawítka	LC nawítka
talk / wāwa	T wāwa	Kipallaolal	wāwa	KC, UC wāwa (talking–PCL), a-wāwa (speech–N), ⁶ UC ux ^w ip 'aláwala (talking)
teeth / litān	lidān, (T yīnis)	Yee'nis	lītá (<Fr); yānas (<S)	
terrible / *	skukūm	Skookūm (devil, spirit), Skook'm (hell)	skukūm (something dangerous) (?<S)	
that way / iāwa	iāwa, (T yówa)		yawá	LC yāwa
that, this, there, & c. / ōkok, (T ūkuk)	ōkok, (T ūkuk)	Oocook (here)	ūkuk (that, this)	LC ūkuk (there, that)
they / klaska	klaska (T)	Klaska (it)	łaska	LC łaska (it, they)
this / ōkok, ūkuk	ōkok, (T ūkuk)	Oocook (here)	(see: that)	(see: that)
tired / tūl, ʔl	tol, til (T)	till	til	LC, KC tal, til

⁶ Cf. also: Nootka Jargon wawa 'talk'.

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) “mixed” language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch (see: this)
to-day / ōkuk-sūn	ōksān, ōkok~ūkuk son, (T ūkuk ūtlah)		uk-sān (uk + san; see: this, day)	
toe / *	T tlpíc	’tlpish		UC it-páš (foot)
trade / mákuk, mákok	makok, (T makuk)		máḡuk (buy; <NJ)	
understand / kūmataks	kómtaks, (T komataks)	Cum a tax	ḡamtḡaks (<NJ)	
water / wāta, tsok, tsūk, tshōk	wāta, tsuk~tsok, tcok, (T tsok)	Tshuk “(gutteral)”	cuq ^(w)	LC t-čūq ^(w)
what (also ‘why’) / káta, íkāta ⁷	káta, ik’ta, (T íkāta)	Icita, Aksōhah	íkda (what?), qáṭa (how?)	Chn í-hta (what), qáda (how, what); (cf ? S ?ak ^w u INTER)
white / tūkōp	tkōp, (T tkūp)	’Tkoop	tk’up	Chn tk’up
who / klaksta	tlaksta, klaksta (T)	tlāksta	ṭāksta	LC ṭāksta
wind / win, itsōt	win, itsōt, (T kómahūts)	K’mmáhātʔ (air)	win	cf ? LC i-čxáx, í-kxat (wind), i-ká.amtq (SW wind)
wish / tūkéh, takéh	takeh, toké, tokéh, (T tēkéh)		(see like, love)	(see like, love)

⁷ Hale confuses two words which from an indigenous point of view are phonetically quite distinct—hence very unlikely to have confused local Indians.

gloss/spelling in Hale 1846 (*only in Hale ca. 1841)	Hale ca. 1841	Townsend's (1835) "mixed" language	CW (<English, Eng) <French, Fr) <Nookta Jarg, NJ) <Salish, S)	<Chinookan (Chn): LC:Lower Ch) KC:Kathlamet Ch UC:Upper Ch
wolf / lilū, tálapas	lilū, (T klékhə [large], tálapas [small])		līlu (wolf; <Fr), t'álapas (coyote)	Chn i-t'álapas (coyote); KC ʔ-líq'amú (wolf)
woman / klōtshman, klūtshman	klōtshman, (T klūtshmin)	Agh'keil	ʔúčmən (<NJ)	LC u-ʔúlk'wíl
wood / stik	stik, (T kěmě'něk)	Kom'monok	stik (<Engl)	cf? KC tá-maqu
yellow / kaukauwak	T kaukauwək	Kow-kow-wuk	k'auk'áuwiq	LC i-k'auk'áuwiq (Oregon grape) ⁸

⁸ Oregon grape (*Berberis* spp) is the source of a yellow dye used in local Native basketry.

