# Chinook Jargon Words The Lexicographers Left Out

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## Introduction

It is readily apparent to anyone who works with Chinook Jargon materials and actually listens to it spoken that those who spoke and wrote Jargon used various types of words that are not included in the dictionaries and wordlists of Jargon:

    a) regionalisms used in a small area or among a
            particular tribal group which never came
            to be widely used,
    b) English (and occasionally French) words considered
            to be non-Jargon lapses but which were
            either common in Jargon or were synonymous
            with more generally used Jargon terms,
    c) "crude" vocabulary of body reference and
            sexual slang,
    d) Jargon argot used in particular activities (in
            particular, religious terminology),
    e) Jargon words used consistently among Indians,
            but which apparently never caught the
            attention of the Jargon lexicographers.

The data included herein derive from Chinook Jargon materials that I have collected over the last fifteen years. They include lexical data, speeches, jokes, plays, (including an opera!), letters, advertisements and notices, poetry, sermons and prayers, liturgical chants, translations of the Bible and other literature, songs, place names of Jargon origin, and transcripts of Jargon conversations. The lists are not complete, but are presented with three purposes. First, it is useful to compile and make available a list of these overlooked Jargon words. Secondly, it is important to place on record the observation that most Jargon lexicographers prescriptively evaluated vocabulary in terms of whether they felt it qualified as "generally-used and proper" before including it in their wordlists. Finally, it is hoped that this will serve to alert analysts working on languages of the Northwest to recognize and note Jargon borrowings and Jargonized anglicisms in their data.[1]

## Regionalisms That Never Came Into General Use

Not all of the Jargon recorders and compilers practiced this type of prescriptive evaluation to the same extent. Various lexicographers included selected terms common to their own area --- particularly Swan (1857 - Makah & Quileute terms used around Neah Bay; Good (1880 - localisms from the Thompson area); and LeJeune (1924 - mostly French and English terms used in the Interior). Indeed, most of the early compilers and collators added and deleted a few words, presenting their own version of the Jargon vocabulary. Sam Johnson (1978) has discussed this in his treatment of the mutual influences and relationships between the various Jargon dictionaries (he reviews more than 100 wordlists, distinguishing eight main lines and a few independents).

For the most part, however, it seems to have been common practice to assume that there was "real" Jargon, distinguishable from makeshift localisms and anglicisms which were only used when one couldn't come up with the "authentic" Chinook Jargon term. Take, for instance, the 1970 version of E.H. Thomas' Chinook: A History and Dictionary, a merging of the five Jargon wordlists of G.C. Shaw (the rights to which Thomas had purchased) with some additional material. In the English-Chinook section, Thomas includes (in his Jargon equivalents of English words) no less than 81 words which are not in his Chinook-English wordlist...in other words, there are some Jargon words which one uses, but which aren't really "Jargon vocabulary".

In some cases, the earlier wordlists include hapax legomena (words attested by a single occurrence in the literature). Examples of these are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Parker (1838) | – kummataz | "air" |
| Scouler (1841) | – nutika | "we two" |
| | mutika | "you two" |
| | mitteh | "they" |
| Lee and Frost (1844) | – elhika | "we (inclusive)" |
| | oguivaguah | "sash, belt" |
| | yahanetty | "breath" |
| Dunn (1844) | – hase | "to act" |
| Palmer (1847) | – opeswa | "Eh?! (puzzled)" |
| | oepick | "both" |
| | lahala | "Ouch! Eh?! (pain or surprise) |
| Lionnet (1853) | – alahte | "at last" |
| | kawik | "not yet" |
| | kwet | "arrive" |
| | laracine | "root" |
| | pens | "roast" |
| | tsatsots | "arrow" |
| Gibbs (1863) | – yelakwat | "bark (of tree)" |
| Gill (1909) | – etispolettik | "arm" |
| | metem | "very bad" |
| | tensart | "belly" |

There were also regionalisms used by Indians which were considered standard Jargon in those areas, but not beyond. The most common example of this is the variety of words for "Whiteman":

boston & kinchochman - generally cited terms in dictionaries
sama - used in some areas of the B.C. Interior
suyapi - used primarily by Salish groups in the Interior
hwanitum - used along the northern NW Coast

That only boston and kinchochman are found in the dictionaries suggests that the lexicographers may have tended to consider native-source regionalisms to be non-standard Jargon if they competed with another common Jargon term.

### English Loanwords Not Considered to be "Standard" Jargon

It is interesting that during Jargon's formative[2] years many terms which are attested by a single reference derive almost exclusively from native languages. However, beginning with Shaw in 1909, the forms that we find with one or two references in the literature are almost always from English (less frequently French), or they are a compound made up of an accepted Jargon word and a new loan from English:

> Shaw (1909) - In his English-Chinook section there are 71 uncommon Jargon terms of English origin, 8 from French, and only 7 from Indian languages. New words compounded of a common Jargon root and a new English word include 'swamp olallie', 'pishhook', and 'pishman'.

> LeJeune (1924, etc.) - His dictionary (1924) includes 116 English forms not occurring otherwise[3], 8 new French words, and 0 new terms of native origin. The reason for the predominance of English over French additions is that most of the terms of French origin in LeJeune's wordlists origin were already well-established in Jargon.

LeJeune's lists point out another significant trend that resulted in terms which seem to have been used, sometimes quite widely, but which never received more than an occasional reference in the jargon vocabularies. There were commonly both French and English words competing for general acceptance by Chinookers, and the French term seems generally to have persisted. We can find many examples of these; among them are:

| English loan | French loan | Common Jargon |
|---|---|---|
| ball | lebal | lebal |
| chicken & hen | lapool | lapool |
| noise | latlah | latlah |
| pees | lepwah | lepwah |
| seezo | leseezo | leseezo |
| sheep | lemooto | lemooto |

In some cases, both the French and English contenders for acceptance were displaced by a third term, e.g.:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| apple, haplis | lapome | powitsh [< Chinook] |
| aunt | (la)tant | kwalh [< Chinook] |
| cup | latahs | ooskan [< Russian] |
| blu | lebleu | spooh [< Chinook] |
| sidah | lased | canim stick |

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[< Chinook & Eng]

This competition between synonymous terms resulted in numerous forms which never got more than a mention in word lists and dictionaries. There were, of course, the odd example of near-synonyms that persisted, either because they became specialized or because they were used in different areas:

> a) mahsh, huyhuy, & makook all refer to buying and selling (but makook came to mean "buy or sell", huyhuy specialized as "to barter or haggle in business", and mahsh means "to sell off or get rid of").
> b) kwult, kokshut, & pokpok all refer to hitting (but pokpok means "to strike a blow with the hand", kokshut is "to hit and break" and kwult generally refers to "hiting without breaking").
> c) alekacheek, hyakwa, & coopcoop were all used for "dentalium shells" and seem not to have specialized, but all were common.

And, there are many true sets of synonyms, too, both of which are accepted as "standard" Jargon and commonly listed in dictionaries. Here are a few:

| | |
|---|---|
| wake & halo | "no, not" |
| lum & wiskee | "whiskey" |
| sun & otelagh | "sun, light" |
| tupso & yakso | "hair (actually, tupso is "leaf, grass, hair") |
| hyak & howh | "hurry" |
| etshum & tumtum | "heart" |
| yakala & chakchak | "eagle" |
| alta & witka | "now" |

The brevity of the vocabulary of pidgin languages such as Chinook Jargon forces speakers to consider circumlocutions and idiomatic phrases as "words", and we must therefore consider synonymous sets of a word and word-phrase which seem to have been both widely used, but only one of which may have gotten into the dictionaries:

| | |
|---|---|
| mahtlinnie & kopa wecoma (lit. 'on the open water') | "at sea" |
| lesap & olallie lapool (lit. 'chicken fruit') | "egg(s)" |
| olhiyu & siwash kushu (lit. 'Indian pig') | "seal" |
| mimelose, atimin, & halo wind (lit. 'no breath') | "dead" |

And, finally, there are the few cases where the Chinooker could choose between a variety of widely used and regional synonymous alternants. The most remarkable of these is the word for "bear", for which at least seven Jargon forms can be mentioned:

> chetwoot, itswoot, siam ("grizzly"), bear (in LeJeune), leguin ("white bear", in Palmer) spahats (in Good), & kah.wha.yun (in Beeson).

Only the first three were commonly used in Jargon; the others occur in a single source.

Thus, we can see that although a few sets of synonyms persisted in Jargon, coming to be included in the most widely published sources,

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nerally one term came to be thought of as standard Jargon and the her(s) passed out of usage.

## dy Reference and Sexual Slang

Not all of the vocabulary treating the "private zones and bodily nctions" (the things that early ethnographers would have translated to Latin!) were excluded from the major dictionaries. Many of the rdlists include tenino ("crevasse, vulva, pudendum") and opoots ("anus d buttocks, as well as tail and backside"). However, Gill was the rst to include wootlat ("penis"). And, although Shaw includes mahsh uck ("to urinate, lit. to void water") it would appear from the ctionaries that there was no way to speak of defecation, menstruation, sex. In fact, there were a number of words commonly used in Jargon to fer to all of these actions:

| | |
|---|---|
| mahsh muckamuck | "to defecate" |
| manak | "to defecate, feces" |
| mel | "feces (and by extension, "B.S.")4 |
| is | "to urinate, urine" |
| mahsh pilpil | "to menstruate" |
| moon sail | "sanitary napkin (lit. moon cloth)" |
| skutch | "vagina" |
| pusi/busi | "pudendum" |
| iwosh | "penis" |
| lecock | "penis (lit. rooster or cock)" |
| stone(s) | "testicles (lit. rocks)" |
| moosum | "to have intercourse (lit. to sleep)" |

A commonly-sung ditty on the Coast went as follows:

Roll boys roll, let's travel,
To the place they call Seattle,
Seattle Ilahee.
There'll be hiyu tenas klootchman by the way,
There'll be hiyu tenas moosum 'til the daylight fades away!

ou can appreciate the punning going on if you remember that the famous eattle Ilahee (lit. "the place") was a well-patronized brothel. There ill be "very few women" (hiyu tenas klootchman) by the way (they'll all e there!) and there'll be "very little sleeping" (hiyu tenas moosum) ntil nightfall (and then there will be one sense or another of moosum).

There were undoubtedly other terms as well for these stigmatized ssues. We could include here, as well, words that are socially tabu or ethnic groups. Chinook Jargon was not particularly self-conscious bout reference to ethnic groups; thus, the term negga ("Negro") was ised by speakers, but the lexicographers were apparently squeamish about ncluding it in their wordlists....we find klale tillikum ("black man") n Eells (1878).

## Iargon Argot Used In Particular Activities But Not General Usage

There were various types of activities in which Jargon was widely ised and for which a considerable vocabulary arose. We find that

dictionaries include a wide variety of terms falling within the topics of food, clothes, family relationships, hunting and animals, logging and trees, buying and trading, and natural phenomena. However, some occupations for which Jargon was known to be used seem to have few terms represented in the wordlists. Three of these are religion, farming, and (unexplainably) fishing.

We know from LeJeune and Eells that Jargon was used almost exclusively for missionizing in some areas during the early days. The sermons of Eells have a few specific vocabulary items for religious concepts, but for the most part he used circumlocutions such as Jesus yaka muckamuck ("eucharist"), Saghalie Tyee yaka ilahee ("heaven"), and Saghalie Tyee yaka wawa ("the Gospel"). LeJeune and the priests who ministered to the Indians of the Interior coined Jargon terms by borrowing from French and English, and few of these appeared in wordlists other than their own. This religious terminology was probably widely known, but never got wide acceptance as "proper Jargon". Many examples can be found in the wordlist below, for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| sin & lepeche | "sin" |
| Emberdays & lakateta | "days of fasting for Catholics" |
| bishop & lesevek | "bishop" |
| rosary & lechaple | "rosary" |
| lestlemosio | "extreme unction" |
| lacofirmasio | "confirmation" |

Terms for farming and farm implements and technology are also seldom found in the dictionaries. It was very common for native workers to be engaged in temporary or seasonal employment on farms throughout Jargon country. The annual haps hokometl ("hops harvest") drew native workers to the Tacoma area every fall for long workdays followed by campfire socializing in Jargon long into the night. The vocabulary of the farm included terms such as: barn, harness, harrow (i.e. halo), lalure ("hoe"), lashallee ("plow"), and others. Dictionaries usually resort to circumlocution to express many of these ideas --- Shaw has mamook comb ilahee (lit. to do combing the soil) for "to harrow".

Chinook Jargon was a functional language. It developed extensive vocabulary for those domains in which it was used. The lexicographies provide coverage of the vocabulary of many of those areas, but a few have been largely overlooked and the specialized terminology unrecorded.

## Words Widely Used Among Natives But Overlooked By Lexicographers

This is a puzzling group of words, small but of interest, for these Jargon words seem to have been used extremely widely by Indian Jargon speakers. They regularly came to be included as loanwords in the Indian tongues themselves, which may account for the lexicographers thinking of them as non-standard Jargon lapses by the native speakers. Among these terms are:

| | |
|---|---|
| lakamin | "stew or dumplings" (< French la commun, "the common pot) |
| kalash, lekalash | "garage" |
| wap | "wharf" |
| kiks | "cake, pies, cookies (any baked sweet)" |
| olanchis | "orange(s)" |
| haplis, aplis | "apple(s)" |

kolayps                "grape(s)"
tanapas                "turnips"
kantee                 "candy"

One means of recognizing these terms is to recall that most of them would have arrived in these Indians' usage as loanwords from Jargon rather than from English. Phonetic form will often allow such English borrowings via Jargon to be recognized. Some examples from Quileute may illustrate this. The phonemic system of Quileute contains /p,b/. English loanwords containing [b] which are borrowed directly from English, are incorporated into Quileute with /b/:

| English Sourceword | Quileute Reflex |
|---|---|
| beer | bí·ya |
| pork and beans | pokabí·d 5 |
| Beverly | Bí·pali |

But, if the loanwords come from English via Chinook Jargon they will usually reflect English /b/ (and all voiced stops) as voiceless stops. Examples are:

| English Sourceword | Chinook Jargon Form | Quileute Form |
|---|---|---|
| boat | /pot/ | po·t |
| boston | /pastən/ | pástad 6 |

The criteria for deciding whether loanwords derive from Chinook Jargon will, of course, differ form language to language. Other examples of this type of unrecognized Jargon will undoubtedly become apparent.


## Jargon Words That Were Not Included In the Dictionaries

The following list contains words which were not generally included in the published dictionaries and wordlists, but which are attested as having been used in Chinook Jargon by one or more of the following:

> a) occurrence in a Jargon literary source (if that
>    source is a dictionary, it must usually be a
>    hapax legomenon), or
> b) occurrence as a loanword in a native language in
>    such a phonetic form as to suggest that it
>    was borrowed from Chinook Jargon rather than
>    directly from the source language of the loanword.

Each entry will have the following data (where known): (i) the attested Jargon form, (ii) the source language [E=English, F=French, and others specified], (iii) the source for the form, and (iv) other Jargon words with the same or similar meanings which came to be recognized as "standard Jargon" and included generally in the dictionaries.

ahueyo [Quileute] (Swan) "box, chest" - lacaset
alahte [?] (Lionnet) "At last! (expression of relief)
alter [E] (LeJeune) "altar"

apostle [E] (LeJeune) "apostle" - lesapot
apples [E] (Good) "apple(s) - lapome, powitsch
apron [E] (LeJeune) "apron" - kisu
arrow [E] (Good) "arrow" - kalitan, stick kalitan
ask [E] (Shaw) "ask" - wawa
atole [E] (Shaw) "adore" - hiyu tikegh
attus [?] (Beeson) "chickadee" -
aunt [E] (Good) "aunt" - kwalh

back [E] (Shaw) "back (of a person)" - emeek
bad [E] (LeJeune) "bad" - mesachie, peshak, cultus
balls [E] (LeJeune) "ball" - lebal
baptism [E] (LeJeune) "baptism" -
barn [E] (LeJeune) "barn" - moosmoos house
barrel [E] (LeJeune) "barrel" - tamolitsh
basin [E] (Good & LeJeune) "wash tub/basin" - ketling
basket [E] (Good & LeJeune) "basket (general term) - opekwan
beads [E] (Good & LeJeune) "beads" - kamosuk
bear [E] (LeJeune) "bear" - chetwoot, itswoot, siam (grizzly)
beaver [E] (Good) "beaver" - eena
beef [E] (LeJeune) "beef" - moosmoos itlwillie
bell [E] (LeJeune) "bell" - tintin
big [E] (LeJeune) "large" - hyas
bishop [E] (LeJeune) "bishop" - lesevek (not common)
blind [E] (Shaw) "blind" - halo nanitch, halo seeowist
blow [E] (LeJeune) "to blow" - mamook poh
bonnet [E] (LeJeune) "bonnet" -
bottle [E] (LeJeune) "bottle" - labootay
box [E] (Good & LeJeune) "box, chest" - lacaset (see ahueyo above)
bright [E] (Good) "bright, light" - towagh
buggy [E] (LeJeune) "buggy, carriage" - tsiktsik

candle [E] (Shaw) "candle" - leshandel, glease piah
candy [E] (various NW languages) "candy" - tsee
canoe [E] (LeJeune) "canoe" - canim
cart [E] (LeJeune) "cart, wagon" - tsiktsik (see wagon below)
catch [E] (LeJeune) "to catch (a person, fish) - iskum
chair [E] (LeJeune) "chair" - lashase
cheap [E] (LeJeune) "not expensive" - wake hyas mahkook
cheat [E] (LeJeune) "to cheat" - lalah
chekok [?] (Gill) "foot" - teahwit, lepee
chick [?] (Gill) "liver" - haslitch, livah
chicken [E] (Shaw) "chicken, hen" - lapool
clazy [E] (Shaw) "crazy" - pelton
cocoa [E] (LeJeune) "cocoa" -
corn [E] (Shaw) "corn, cob" - esalth
court [E] (Shaw & various NW languages, /k t/) "court of law" -
cross-cut [E] (LeJeune) "a cross-cut saw" - lasee ('saw', general term)
cup [E] (Shaw) "cup" - ooskan, lepot

devil [E] (LeJeune) "the Devil" - lejaub
dig [E] (Shaw) "to dig" -
dilo [E] (Palmer) "teen (used with numbers: klone-dilo, '13')" -
                              tahtlum pee klone ('13')
dish [E] (Good & Lejeune) "dish(es) - lasiet, leplah
dleam [E] (Shaw) "dream" - nanitch kopa moosum
dlunk [E] (Shaw) "drunk" - pathlum (pathl lum)

Easter [E] (LeJeune) "Easter" - Paska
egg [E] (Shaw) "egg" - lesap, olallie lapool
eight [E] (LeJeune) "eight" - stotekin
ekappa [Chehalis?] (Gill) "hail" - stone snass, cole snass
ekiceman [corruption of chikamin] (Armstrong) "money" - tala, chikamin
eloe [?] (Lionnet) "medicine, do Indian medicine" - mestin
Emberdays [E] (LeJeune) "Catholic fasting days" - olo sun
esguamanahle [?] (Lee & Frost) "heart" - tumtum. etshum
etel [?] (Lionnet) "burial" - mahsh kopa ilahee
etispolettik [Chinook] (Gill) "arm" - lamah
eye [E] (LeJeune) "eye" - seeowist

fall [E] (LeJeune) "to fall, drop" -
falldown [E] (LeJeune & Shaw) "to fall down" -
five [E] (LeJeune) "five" - kwinnum
flag [E] (Shaw) "flag" - sail, hyas Sunday sail
flat [E] (Shaw) "flat" -
four [E] (LeJeune) "four" - lakit
Friday [E] (LeJeune) "Friday" - Kwinnum sun (i.e. fifth school day)

gley [E] (Shaw) "grey" -
glouse [E] (Shaw) "grouse" - smoksmok
God [E] (LeJeune) "God" - saghalie Tyee
guess [E] (Shaw) "to guess" - wawa kopa tumtum

hammer [E] (LeJeune) "hammer" - lemahto
hand [E] (LeJeune) "hand" - lamah
hang [E] (Shaw) "to hang" - mamook kahkah (lit. to make [into] a crow)
haplis [E] (in Quileute) "apple(s)" - lapome, powitsh
haps [E] (Shaw) "hops (for brewing) - tlanemas
harness [E] (LeJeune) "harness" - lasanshel kopa kiyotan
hase [?] (Dunn) "to act" - mamook, mamook kahkwa
hat [E] (LeJeune) "hat" - seahpo, seahpus
hawhaw [redup. form of howh] (Hale) "to hurry" - howh, hyak
hawk [E] (Shaw) "hawk" - chakchak
hay [E] (Shaw) "hay" - dely tupso
hen [E] (Shaw) "hen" - lapool
hole [E] (Shaw) "hole" - klawhop
honey [E] (Shaw) "honey" -
hundred [E] (LeJeune) "hundred" - tukamonuk
hwanitum [Tsimshian] (used in several NW langs.) "Whiteman" - Boston

iotso [Chinook] (Hale) "bone" - stone

kaerhutch [Chinook] (Gill) "crab" -
kaium [Kathlamet] (scouler) "moon" - moon
kalash [E] (in many NW Coast languages) "garage" -
kalits [E] (in many NW Coast languages) "carrots" -
kawats [related to kalits?] (in many NW Coast languages) "spuds,
          carrots (sometimes)" - wappato
kawik [?] (Lionnet) "not yet" - halo, wake
kenkiyam [?] (Lionnet) "right (hand or side)" - kloshe lamah
kiks [E] (in Quileute) "cake, pie, cookies" -
kolayps [E] (in many NW Coast languages) "grape(s)" -
kummataz [< kumtuks, "to know"?] (Parker) "air (misprint?) - wind
kwet [?] (Lionnet) "to arrive" - klap, chako, kow

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lacofirmasio [F] (LeJeune) "confirmation" -
lagalet [F] (LeJeune) "cake, pancake" -
lakamin [F] (in many NW Coast languages) "stew, dumplings" - lasup
lalamp & lamp [F & E] "lamp" -
lalure [?] (Palmer) "hoe" - lapeosh
laplah [F] (Shaw) "plates, dishes" - lasiet
laracine [F] (Lionnet) "root" - stick keekwillie ilahee
lasup [F] (Shaw) "soup" - liplip muckamuck
laydown [E] (LeJeune) "to lie down" - mitlite (kopa bed)
lebatem [F] (LeJeune) "baptism" -
lebleu [F] (LeJeune) "blue" - spooh (light or faded), klale (dark)
leggings [E] (LeJeune) "leggings" - mitass
legwin [?] (Palmer) "white bear" - chetwoot, itswoot
lekalash [F] (in many NW Coast Languages) "garage" -
lekalem [F] (LeJeune) "Lent" - olo sun
lekateta [F] (LeJeune) "Ember Days (Catholic fast days)" - olo sun
lekalist [F] (LeJeune) "the Eucharist" - Jesus yaka muckamuck
lent [E] (LeJeune) "Lent" - olo sun
lepeche [F] (LeJeune) "sin" - mesachie
leseeblo [F] (Good & LeJeune) "spur(s)" -
lesevek [F] (LeJeune) "bishop" -
lettuce [E] (LeJeune) "lettuce" - kwitshadie muckamuck
luddah [E] (Shaw) "rudder" -

mahkl [<mahsh?] (Spaulding) "get out" - mahsh, klatawa
matches [E] (LeJeune) "matches" - piah stick
malhuale [?] (Palmer) "back(side) - emeek
manke [?] (Lionnet) "more" - elip hiyu
meat [E] (Shaw) "meat, flesh" - itlwillie
metchip [Chinook] (Gill) "fire" - piya, olapitskee
milk [E] (LeJeune) "milk" - tatoosh
mink [E] (Shaw) "mink" -
mitten [E] (Palmer) "mitten" -
mitteh [Chinook] (Scouler) "they two" - klaska
molasses [E] (Shaw) "molasses, syrup" - melass
Monday [E] (LeJeune) "Monday" - ikt sun
mule [E] (LeJeune) "mule" - lemel
mutika [Chinook] (Scouler) "you two" - mesika

nauits [?] (Shaw) "beach" -
necktie [E] (LeJeune) "necktie" -
negga [E] (Gill) "Negro" - klale tillikum
nets [E] (LeJeune) "net(s)" -
nine [E] (LeJeune) "nine" - kwaist
nobuckata [?] (Lee & Frost) "dead" - mimelose
noise [E] (Shaw) "noise" - latlah
nowich [Chinook] (Gill) "island" - tenas ilahee
nutika [Chinook] (Scouler) "we two" - nesika

oh! [E] (LeJeune) "Oh!" (interjection) - Ana, etc.
oepick [?] (Palmer) "both" - maks kunamokst
oguivaguah [?] (Lee & Frost) "belt, sash" - lasanshel
opeswa [?] (Palmer) "Eh?!" (puzzled interjection) - Adedah, etc.
one [E] (LeJeune) "one" - iks, ikt
oven [E] (Shaw) "stove" - piya
owe [E] (shaw) "to owe" -

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pamas [Chinook] (Gill) "cold" - cole, tsish
pat [E] (Shaw) "part" - sitkum
pay [E] (Shaw) "pay" - potlatch tala kopa mamook
pence [E] (Shaw) "fence" - kulahan
pens [?] (lionnet) "roast" - mamook piah
pikcha, picture [E] (Shaw) "picture" - tzum
pight [E] (Shaw) "fight" - pokpok, kahdena
pile [E] (Shaw) "file" -laleem
pishhook [E] (Shaw) "fishhook" - ikik
pishman [E] (Shaw) "fisherman" - tillikum yaka mamook pish
ploud [E] (Shaw) "proud" - yotl tumtum, yotl
pound [E] (Shaw) "pound (measurement)" -

quitz [Chehalis] (Gill) "to give" - potlatch, cultus potlatch

read [E] (Shaw) "to read" - kumtuks pepah
rifle (laipel) [E] (LeJeune) "rifle" - musket, kalapeen
rotten [E] (LeJeune) "rotten" - poolie

sacrament [E] (LeJeune) "sacrament" -
saddle [E] (LeJeune) "saddle" - lasell
sai [F?] (Shaw) "saint" - lesai (i.e. sai Sha - St. John)
sama [?] (in several Interior langs.) "Whiteman" - Boston
sash [E] (Good) "belt, sash" - lesanshel
seealow [?] (Good) "beaver" - eena
seeten [Halk?] (Good) "basket" - opekwan
self [E] (Shaw) "oneself" -
send [E] (Shaw) "to send" - mahsh
seven [E] (LeJeune) "seven" - sinamokst
sew [E] (Shaw) "sew" - mamook tupshin
shail [Chinook] (Gill) "to give" - potlatch, cultus potlatch
sharp [E] (Shaw) "sharp" - yakisilth
sheep [E] (Shaw) "sheep, mutton" - lemuto
shooee [Chehalis] (Gill) "ice" - shelipo
slip [E] (Shaw) "to slip" - wake siah klatawa kimta
shoes [E] (Shaw) "shoe(s) - tikshu
shoo [Chinook] (Gill) "old" - oleman, lamiai
silup [E] (Shaw) "syrup" -
six [E] (LeJeune) "six" - taghum
sleep [E] (Shaw) "(to) sleep" - moosum
smallpox [E] (Shaw) "smallpox" - piah sick
smeet [E with Salish s- prefix] (Good) "meat" -itlwillie
sogah /soja/ [E] (Shaw) "soldier" - pight tillikum
sour [E] (Shaw) "sour" - kwates
spahats [?] (Good) "bear" - chetwoot
swamp [E] (Shaw) "swamp" -
swear [E] (Shaw) "to swear (an oath)" - halo kliminawhit
suyapi [?] (in several Interior langs.) "whiteman" - boston

taerk [Chehalis] (Gill) "bone" - stone
tahl [E?] (Gill) "big" - hyas
talass [Chehalis] "foot" - teahwit, lapee
tanapas [E] (in many NW Coast languages) "turnips" - lenawo
tant [F] (Shaw) "aunt" - kwalh
teapot [?] (Winthrop) "certificate" - pepah
tehaner [Chehalis] (Gill) "blue jay" - kwiskwis

ten [E] (LeJeune) "ten" - tahtlum
tensart [Chehalis] (Gill) "belly" - yahkwatin
tensahwit [Chehalis] (Gill) "bladder" -
tenshomish [Chehalis] (Gill) "arm" - lemah
tensquails [Chehalis] (Gill) "blood" - pilpil
thousand [E] (LeJeune) "thousand" - tahtlum tukamonuk
three [E] (LeJeune) "three" - klone
tlak [Chinook] (Gill) "to love" - hiyu tikegh
tlihtlih [?] (Shaw) "to itch" -
tolth [Chinook] (Gill) "house" - house
tootoo [?] (LeJeune) "cat, pet" - pishpish
tsatsots [?] (Lionnet) "arrow" - stick kalitan
tuletule [?] (Shaw) "stringed instrument" - tintin (with gesture)
two [E] (LeJeune) "two" - maks

ulick [?] (Gill) "girl" - tenas klootchman
uncle [E] (Shaw) "uncle" - tot

wait [E] (Shaw) "to wait" - mitlite
wine [E] (Shaw) "wine" -

yahanetty [?] (Lee & Frost) "breath, spirit" - wind

## Notes

1. The topic of this paper was first suggested to me by M. Dale Kinkade. The material herein derives from Chinook Jargon notes and data collected on the Northwest Coast since 1968, primarily in LaPush and Neah Bay, Washington. This is a working paper. I have at this point simply noted language of origin as specified by the compilors of the wordlists from which the Jargon forms are taken; source forms have not been checked at this point.

2. If the reader is interested, I feel the evidence points persuasively towards post-contact origin of Chinook Jargon. However, the issue is not directly relevant to this paper.

3. I have included Jargon forms from LeJeune among the hapax legomena even when they are also attested in Good (1880). LeJeune reports in his journals having used the wordlist of Good, and a few of LeJeune's forms appear first in that lexicon.

4. Quileute has the term melsta·daq ("liar, blowhard"). The suffix -stadaq was immediately apparent, meaning "one who habitually does a thing", but I could find no meaning for the root mel-, nor explain why it was the only word in the language with an m (Quileute has no nasals). Only later did I discover that it is Jargon mel ("crap" < Fr. merde), combined with the Quileute suffix to mean "a habitual B.S.-er").

5. Note that there are exceptions to this rule, e.g Eng. bit, as in "two bits (25 cents)", which occurs in Quileute as 'bit', even though it was borrowed via Jargon. However, here we know that the Jargon form had a [b] as well. The exceptions occur because Jargon was not totally consistent in changing English b to p).

6. Quileute historically changed n to d (a process which continues with few exceptions, see 4 above). The d in pastad derives from n in boston.

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