P.S.: more Lower Chẹhalis loans in Chinook Jargon, and łəẃáłməš revitalization[1]

David Douglas Robertson, PhD
Lower Chehalis Language Project (Shoalwater Bay Indian Tribe)

Abstract: M. Dale Kinkade's unfinished work on Lower Chehalis/łəẃáłməš provides the starting point for study of just how words of this language came to be integrated into the nascent pidgin, Chinook Jargon/CJ (cf. Kinkade et al. 2010). Here I review a large number of potential łəẃáłməš-to-CJ loans to add to the Kinkade et al. corpus. I show that a handful actually originated in other Coast Salish languages, while candidate Chinookan etymologies for several cannot be ruled out, and a few were published as Chinook Jargon only by mistake. The remainder expand by about 150% the number of reliable łəẃáłməš > CJ loans. Of these, quite a few represent the sole evidence of lexemes otherwise unknown to us in the rather limited documentation of łəẃáłməš, creating the singular situation where a pidgin language is important for revitalizing its lexifier.

Keywords: łəẃáłməš, Lower Chehalis, Tsamosan, Shoalwater Bay, Chinook Jargon, pidginization, revitalization

1 Introduction: P.S. – there are other łəẃáłməš loans into CJ

Since early in the recorded history of Chinook Jargon (CJ), scholars have noted the presence of a thick stratum of loans from Lower Chehalis Salish (łəẃáłməš). This is a language of the Maritime division within the Tsamosan branch of the Salish family (Kroeber 1999:4). For a few decades, łəẃáłməš material was frequently mistaken for the unrelated Chinookan – since many villages were bilingual (Scouler 1841, Tolmie 1884) – or for the pidgin CJ (for example by Gill 1909, as we will discuss), when not outright unidentified (Meares 1791:266, Hale 1846 according to Gibbs 1863a:*v*). But it did not take long for a consensus to emerge that the language known simply as 'Chehalis' in various spellings was among the four or so main contributors to the word stock of this quintessentially multi-lexifier pidgin (Gibbs 1863a, Eells 1894, Shaw 1909).

As is expected in an apparently new language such as the pidgin/creole CJ, the composition of the lexicon varies geographically and chronologically (compare Drechsel 2014:83 on Maritime Polynesian Pidgin and Jahr 1996 on Russenorsk). Observations of this fact abound in the CJ literature, for example Gibbs':

> Many [words] formerly employed have become in great measure obsolete, while others have been locally introduced. Thus, at the Dalles of the Columbia, various terms are common which would not be intelligible at Astoria or on Puget Sound (1863a:*vii*).

This is seconded by Le Jeune's specification in interior British Columbia of a large number of lexemes "used only in other districts" (1924), and Eells' testimony of having often witnessed the introduction of new vocabulary in CJ (1894:307).

All sources agree on a significant number of ɬəẃáĺməš > CJ loans. By my count Kinkade et al. (2010) identify 39 by surveying various sources. Examination of additional documents reveals a more nuanced picture of variation: Gibbs tallied 32 such words (1863a:*viii*), Shaw counts 36 (1909:*xii*), and Eells 64 of them (1894:308). In the community of the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation in Oregon, quite a number of Jargon words that have not necessarily been so identified in the past appear to be not just Salish, but most likely ɬəẃáĺməš, in origin (Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project 2012).

The ɬəẃáĺməš component of the Jargon has not been accepted without criticism. Shaw, quoting from a manuscript CJ compendium of Eells', captures the controversy in a few lines:

> In the appendix [of Swan 1857] is quite a full vocabulary, – 327 words. Judge Swan lived on Shoalwater Bay, Wash., near the [Lower] Chehalis and Chinook Indians, and he gives quite a number of words which are given by no other writer, which he says are of Chehalis origin. Gibbs rejects many of these, because he thinks that Swan imperceptibly used them as Chinook Jargon, but that they did not properly belong to the language, but to the Chehalis. I [Eells] have inserted them as being a part of the Jargon of that region at that time, as certainly many English words now in use on Puget Sound are a part of the Jargon of this time and place. The environment always affects the language (1909:*xvi*).

The facts bear out this judgment by Eells, whose knowledge of ɬəẃáĺməš came from firsthand experience. (Boas' 1890 notes in the American Philosophical Society archives, S2b.1, include reelicitations of Eells' work on the language.) At Bay Center, Washington, where it was aboriginally spoken, a still greater number of items demonstrably originating in this language is consistently found in local CJ, cf. Boas (1892). Native speakers took pains to characterize such loans as non-ɬəẃáĺməš (cf. Harrington 1942).

The net outcome is that there are many more loans from ɬəẃáĺməš in CJ than even Kinkade et al. (2010) enumerated. No study to date, however, has both explicitly presented the entire set of such loans and evaluated the claims to their status as ɬəẃáĺməš. This is the primary goal of the present study.

I have sought here to evaluate all CJ words that both resemble known Salish forms and, due to being used in or adjacent to ɬəẃáĺməš territory, had a likelihood of originating in this language. This geographic limitation was premised on the need to filter out the considerable stock of later loans from other Salish languages in regions to the north, such as *lahanʃut* 'to confess' and *putah* 'goodbye' from Shuswap/Secwepemctsín (Robertson 2011:20). For the same reason, I have

omitted any words of Gibbs's lower-Columbia region dictionary (1863CJ) to which he assigns a 'Nisqually' or 'Puget Sound' Central Coast Salish source. Those etymologies seem accurate, for example his *máh-lie* 'to forget' exactly corresponds with the modern Lushootseed simplex √*báli* (Bates et al. 1994), versus the Tsamosan complex √*mə́l(')q-ni-x(ʷ)* (Kinkade 1991, 2004).

My main sources of łəẃálməš data beyond the Kinkade et al. paper of 2010 were several further works of scholarship which more or less explicitly suggest numerous łəẃálməš items as CJ vocabulary: Swan (1857), Gibbs (1863a), Gill (1909), Harrington (1942), Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project (2012), and Kinkade (n.d.).

The mode of this study is descriptive, with the intention of introducing even more łəẃálməš data to the Salish linguistics community, but I will end on the secondary theme that the information collected here can be applied to language revitalization. In this way I hope to pay an appropriate homage to Salish conference founders Dale Kinkade and Larry and Terry Thompson for their invaluable gift of a sustained interchange between scholars and Native communities.

2 Beware of false positives

A number of the items collected in the database for this study are certainly or most likely *not* instances of łəẃálməš borrowings into the pidgin. The several reasons for therefore excluding them are touched on in the following notes, which include a good deal of comparative data from other languages for obvious reasons.

2.1 Sorry, wrong language

A small number of the CJ literature's items that closely resemble known Salish forms, but whose source language was not definitively indicated in the original literature, have clear origins in other languages than łəẃálməš. Some are simply from other Coast Salish languages: one has its likeliest etymology in Tillamook, as Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project (2012) suggests and as shown in Table 1:[2]

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[2]CJ forms are bolded and italicized in the tables, to facilitate comparisons. I present the most relevant possible documented forms from the Chinookan and Tsamosan local speech of southwest Washington – CJ's earliest region of use – as well as any other languages relevant to the discussion. (PS=Proto-Salish; PIS=Proto-Interior Salish.) Lack of a known equivalent in the literature is signaled in the tables by '?'. Citations from primary data are coded by the speaker's initials in capitals, the researcher's initials in lowercase, the date, the microfilm reel number (for Harrington), the page (or text name 'Qoneqone'), and entry number in our database's transcription. Morphemic breaks are not generally indicated; depending on the source, hyphens reflect 19th-century anglophone practices in rendering Native languages in writing, or bound stems. Example words are generally transcribed into Americanist phonetics wherever possible; the exceptions preserving pre-modern spellings are enclosed <in angled brackets>.

Table 1 CJ < Tillamook

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<kwad'-dis>*	*'whale'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*<é-ko-li>*	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
Tillamook	*qʰʌnís*	idem	Harrington (1942)
Upper Chehalis	*skʷúyxʷ*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*qáƛən*	idem	Modrow ([1971])
łəẃálməš	*syəláx̣ʷ*	idem	ELjh1942.17.423

Lushootseed – presumably the dialect of southern Lushootseed spoken in the vicinity of the Hudson Bay Company's Fort Nisqually, established in 1833 as the first sustained White presence on the head of Puget Sound (Suttles and Lane 1990:499) – supplied names for certain fur-bearing animals. These are shown in Table 2:

Table 2 CJ < Lushootseed

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<quit-chad'dy>*	*'rabbit'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<kun'ne-mun'ne>*	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
Lushootseed	*k̓ʷəčdíʔ*	idem	Bates et al. (1994)
	k̓ʷə́čidiʔ	idem	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	*x̣ʷáyčs*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
łəẃálməš	*skíʔpxʷaʔ*	idem	ISmk19780913.62
Chinook Jargon	*<skud'zo>*	*'squirrel'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<e-kau-tau>*	'pine squirrel'	Gibbs (1863b)
	<skwis-skwis>	idem	(ibid.)
Lushootseed	*sqədᶻúʔ*	'squirrel'	Bates et al. (1994)
łəẃálməš	*skʷəyúxʷ*	idem	ISmk19781130.41

The łəẃálməš cognate for 'squirrel' is a very close match for the CJ, and better yet, northern łəẃálməš dialects in fact affricate /y/ to /ǰ/ (that is [dʒ]; thus *ǰəl-áʔ* 'come and help!' versus southern *yəl-áʔ* idem, NBmk19670426.65–66). Even so, the Lushootseed form corresponds even more closely in phonology.

Lushootseed is less definitely a potential source of two more words in the same fur-trade semantic domain, shown in Table 3:

Table 3 CJ < probable Lushootseed

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<skad>*	*'mole'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	?		
Lushootseed	*p̓ətq̓ʷáčiʔ*	'mole'	Bates et al. (1994),
	qad	'back up'	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	*sqan̓*	'gopher'	Kinkade (1991)
łəw̓ál̓məš	*pək̓ʷálməš*	'mole'	
Chinook Jargon	*<skub'by-you>*	*'skunk'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<o-pún-pun>*	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
Lushootseed	*sq̓əbyáʔ*	idem	Bates et al. (1994)
Upper Chehalis	*sq̓əmyú*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
łəw̓ál̓məš	*hay̓íʔ*	idem	ELjh1942.420

Both CJ words in Table 3 appear Lushootseed- (or Twana-) like, in that they contain oral stops where Salish cognates show nasals. But they possess closer known cognates in Tsamosan. With regard to *<skad>*, we know that 19th-century anglophone recorders of łəw̓ál̓məš and neighboring languages frequently wrote glottalized *n̓* as an oral stop, with or without nasal segments preceding it. (Compare *tsŭntn* 'yaka' [CJ for 'he, she'] for łəw̓ál̓məš *cən̓* in Cooper 1854, and *taqualant* 'ear' for łəw̓ál̓məš *t=(ʔə-)q̓ʷəlán̓* 'DEF.NONF=(2.S.POSV-)ear' in Lee and Frost 1846:342.) As for *<skub'by-you>*, <m> often interchanged with <b> (for example, just about every occurrence of a 'b' in Gibbs' 1863b Chinookan is phonologically an *m*). That fact bolsters the case for non-Lushootseed etymologies here. But in any case, łəw̓ál̓məš is known to use completely different forms in both instances, so we can leave this question open and move on.

One word now integrated into łəw̓ál̓məš is nonetheless a loan from CJ, which most likely inherited it from the earlier Haida pidgin, via the intervening 'Nootka Jargon'. (See CWDP 2012, s.v. *hilu*, for details on these convolutions). Table 4 compares these forms with Chinookan and Tsamosan negators.

Table 4 CJ < Nootka Jargon < Haida

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<halo>*	*'NEG'*	*(Palmer 1838)*
Chinookan	*nikšt*	idem	Boas (1910:668)
łəẃálməš	*hílu*	idem	ISmk19781015.10
	míłt	idem	LHcs19670817.1503[3]
Cowlitz	*míłta*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Haida	*hi·lu·*	idem	CWDP (2012)

A couple of other Nootka Jargon words are Nuuchahnulth in origin (again see CWDP 2012 for details), though they have resemblances to Salish. Table 5 illustrates:

Table 5 CJ < Nootka Jargon < Nuuchahnulth

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*húyhuy*	*'trade'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-xəmuta*	'barter'	Boas (1910:615)
łəẃálməš	*lə́q*	'buy'	NBcs19670524.516
	táxʷ	idem	LHcs0817.1499
Upper Chehalis	*táxʷiwi*	'sell'	Kinkade (1991)
	xʷíy̓xʷiy̓	'greedy, stingy'	(ibid.)
Nuuchahnulth	*ḥaʔuyi*	'trade, barter, swap'	CWDP (2012)
Chinook Jargon	*mə́kʰmək*	*'eat'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-wulʔ(?)*	idem	Boas (1910:590)
łəẃálməš	*ʔíł*	idem	ISmk19780911.97
	múxʷm	'go + try to get s.t. to eat from s.o.'	ISmk19781128.13
Upper Chehalis	*mə́q̓ʷməq̓ʷtn*	'swallow repeatedly'	Kinkade (1991)
Chinookan	*maġmaq*	'gulping down'	CWDP (2012)
Nuuchahnulth	*<maȓhoȓmaq->*	'choice wheatmeal' [sic, for 'whalemeat']	Oxford Dictionary of English (2010:827)[4]

One word has a reasonable łəẃálməš etymology, but a better one in Kalapuyan.

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[3] łəẃálməš still routinely used its inherited Salish negator *míłt* in the 1890s, as seen in Charles Cultee's usage (Boas 1890), but by the time further documentation was performed in the 20th century, speakers almost exclusively negated with the borrowed *hílu*.

[4] This is an unusual authority to cite here, but no corresponding form could be located in Powell and Callicum (1991).

Table 6 CJ < Kalapuyan

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*t̓úx̣*	*'saliva'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-mx̣ti*	idem	Boas (1910:608)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*túx̣ʷsč*	'to spit out'	ISmk19781128.46
Kalapuyan	*t̓aφ*	'spit, saliva'	CWDP (2012)

And a few items match forms in languages widely enough dispersed in the Pacific Northwest to be considered areally shared.

Table 7 CJ < > areally shared

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*ə́x̣*	*'excrement'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*áx̣*	'cough up'	(ibid.)
Sahaptin	*áx̣*	'yucky, icky'	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	*ʔəx̣ʷínustn*	'he defecated'	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*ná̓ʔ*	'dear; honey'	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*ʔ*		
Sechelt	*náq*	'dear (term of affection for anyone)'	Beaumont (2011)
Chinook Jargon	*ó*	*'oh'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*u*	idem	Boas (1910:635)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*ʔú*	idem	CCfb1890Qoneqone3.1
Kalapuyan	*úʔ*	idem	Jacobs (1945:247)
Sahaptin	*au*	idem	Jacobs (1929:219)
Chinook Jargon	<kah'-kah>	'crow'	Gibbs (1863a)
Chinookan	<ská-ha>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*ská̓*	idem	ISmk19780911.21
Quileute	*ká̓yoʔ*	idem	Powell and Woodruff (1976)

Finally, a word for European-style dishware has no clear etymology or language of origin, as Table 8 shows. (The trail ends where the unrelated Quinault and Quileute display the same form; Quileute *b* < **m*.)[5]

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[5]This word is first documented by Hale (1846), then by Gibbs (1863a), both in the lower Columbia River region. Checking dictionaries of Coast Salish (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994, Klallam: Montler 2012, Sechelt: Beaumont 2011), Southern Wakashan (Nuuchahnulth: Powell and Callicum 1991), and Northern Wakashan (Heiltsuk: Rath 1981), I found no occurrences of this as a loan word. Its present distribution in Native languages – restricted to the northerly Pacific Coast of Washington state – suggests both (A) its rapid obsolescence in CJ and (B) its persistence only in 'backwater' areas where the

Table 8 CJ < indeterminate source

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*məláx̣*	*'pan, dishpan'*	*ELjh1942.18.448*
Chinookan	<á-bo-wa>	'dishes'	Gibbs (1863b)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*smətáʔ*	idem	NBmk19670519.18
	cilíɬnm	'pans, dishes, plates for eating'	CCfb1890.24
Upper Chehalis	*cakʷə́ɬxʷ*	'pan, bowl, dish'	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*maláx̣*	'basin, dish pan'	Modrow ([1971])
Quileute	*bá·lax̣*	'tin metal, pie tin'	Powell and Woodruff (1976)

2.2 Long-term Chinookan-ɬəẃáɬməš sharing

Quite a number of CJ words beyond this can be ascribed to ɬəẃáɬməš with varying degrees of confidence. However, the complication here is that sustained joint settlement and linguistic contact has led to the lexicon of Chinookan possessing many forms that are practically indistinguishable from those in its Salish neighbor. In some cases a corresponding ɬəẃáɬməš form is not known, but Tsamosan relatives have one, suggesting possible cognacy (Table 9).[6]

Table 9 CJ < indeterminate Chinookan / ɬəẃáɬməš

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	<chis>; <tsish>	*'cold'*	*(Gill 1909)*
Chinookan	<ts'his'>; <tsus>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*pamás*	idem	NBmk19670405.130
Upper Chehalis	*ƛíš*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*čx̣í;* <chee>	*'immediately; new'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*čx̣i*	idem	(ibid.)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*či*	'and'	ISmk19781014.23
Chinook Jargon	*ícx̣ut*	*'bear'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*iíčx̣ut*	idem	(ibid.)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*čə́tx̣ʷṅ*	idem	Kinkade et al. (2010)

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pidgin had both (i) early taken hold and (ii) remained in use longer than in the sections of the state such as Shoalwater Bay and the corridor from Fort Vancouver to Puget Sound that were first settled by Whites.

[6]Starting with this section, some examples will be accompanied by background discussion, at times fairly extensive but confined to footnotes to keep the exposition simple.

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*kúyʔ*	*'hopefully; wishing that...'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*<qui>*	'will; let us; shall'	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*kʷíʔ*	'give'	ISmk19781015.166[7]
Chinook Jargon	*líli*	*'long time'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*líli*	idem	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*nácyə̀q*	'after a long time'	ISmk19781014.49
	tá ʔxʷ	'far'	NBcs19670405.145
Upper Chehalis	*líl-*	'far away'	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*lípʰlip*	*'boil'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*laplap*	idem	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*púp-*	'boil'	ISmk19781014.207
	ʔúqʷs-	'boil (cook)'	LHcs19670619.414
Chinook Jargon	*na*	*'Q*[8]	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*na*	idem	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*na*	idem	ISmk19781014.179
Chinook Jargon	*q̇áləs*	*'raccoon'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*iq̇ʷalás*	idem	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*q̇ʷáĺs*	idem	ELjh1942.17.407
Chinook Jargon	*spú ʔuq*	*'grey'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*šbuq*	idem	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*ṗáqʷ*	idem	EL1942.17.484
Chinook Jargon	*ćíqʰʷa ʔ*	*'piss-ant'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*ačíqʷa*	idem	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*ćəsqíyə̀q*	'ant'	ISmk19780911.84
Upper Chehalis	*ćíq̇ʷa-*	'step on'	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*úma ʔ*	*'feed'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-ʔim*	idem	CWDP (2012)
łəẃáĺməš	*ʔúṁ-*	idem	ISmk19781014.74

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[7]Compare the grammaticalization of a verb 'give' into permissive/imperative markers in Mandarin Chinese (Sun 2003) and Russian (Aikhenvald 2010:350).

[8]I.e. polar-question marker. This is an enclitic in both Chinookan and Salish.

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*ḱáwtin*	*'squirrel'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*iḱáutən*	idem	(ibid.)
ɬəẃáĺməš	*sk̓ʷəyúx̣ʷ*	idem	ISmk19781130.41
	sḱʷaṱəɬ	idem	ISmk19780911.66
Chinook Jargon	*ḱʷíš*	*'exclamation of refusal'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*ḱš*	'oh!'	(ibid.)
ɬəẃáĺməš	*kʷə́š*	idem	ELjh1942.18.418
Chinook Jargon	*pɬə́x̣*	*'aphrodisiac'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*ipɬə́x̣*	'medicine'	CWDP (2012)
ɬəẃáĺməš	*?*		
Upper Chehalis	*pɬə́x̣*	'aphrodisiac'	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*ƛə́x̣ʷƛ̓əx̣ʷ*	*'oyster'*	*CWDP (2012)*
	<chet'-lo>	idem	Gibbs (1863a)
Chinookan	*ƛ̓ə́x̣wƛ̓əx̣w*	idem	(ibid.)
ɬəẃáĺməš	*čə́ƛ̓əx̣ʷ*	idem	ISmk19780911.53
Lushootseed	*ƛ̓úx̣ʷƛ̓ux̣ʷ*	idem	Bates et al. (1994)
Chinook Jargon	<a-yah'-whul>	*'borrow'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*[9]
	yáx̣ʷəl	'borrow'	CWDP (2012)
Chinookan	<hul-ge'-bish-ta>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
PS	**kʷul*	idem	(Kuipers 2002)[10]
Chinook Jargon	<youtl>	*'glad'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*yuƛ̓l, yuƛ̓*	idem	CWDP (2012)
Lushootseed	*juʔil*	idem	Bates et al. (1994)
ɬəẃáĺməš	*?*[11]		

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[9]Both variants (<a-yah'-whul>, *yáxʷəl)* appear to carry Chinookan argument-marking prefixes (cf. Swanton 1900:214) and a root <hul>/<whul>/*xʷəl*, but because the CJ word is traced by Gibbs to ɬəẃáĺməš (1863a), I examine a possible native Salish etymology.

[10]In Tsamosan, Cowlitz inherits this Proto-Salish root as *kʷústm-* (Kinkade 2004) plausibly from PS **kʷú(l)-st(ə)w-m*, borrow-CAUS-AD [agent demotion] (for these two grammatical morphemes, cf. Kroeber 1999:26–27, 95). (For loss of coda **l* in this branch, compare Upper Chehalis *lé·ʔ* 'far' < √*líl-,* Kinkade 1991.) Upper Chehalis has it also (with its regular **k>č* shift, and **l>y*) in *čó:yaʔ* 'borrow' (Kinkade 1991). Could the root be an old loan between Chinookan and ɬəẃáĺməš? A posttonic alternation *k>(k)x* is known in Chinookan (Boas 1910:568).

[11]In the Lushootseed form, *ǰ* is a historical development from PS **y*. The final sequence -*il* is a "stem-forming suffix, common on experiencer stems" (Bates et al. 1994:116); such a suffix has not been identified in Tsamosan, cf. Kinkade (1991, 2004). The important claim here is that there exists a Salish root **yuʔ*, which conceivably developed as ɬəẃáĺməš

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<ka-wak'>*	'to fly'	Gibbs (1863a)
Chinookan	*-ka/-ku*	idem	(Boas 1911:662)
łəẃálməš	*qaẃaq*	idem	ELjh1942.18.398
Chinook Jargon	*<haht-haht>*	*'duck'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*x̣átx̣at*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Upper Chehalis	*x̣átx̣at*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*x̣atx̣át*	'swan'	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*<paht'l>*	*'full'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*pał*	idem	Boas (1910:620)
łəẃálməš	*ƛə́č̓*	idem	ISmk19781014.165
	pə́ł	'thick'	ISmk19781014.128
Chinook Jargon	*<tagh'-um>*	*'six'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*tə́x̣m*	idem	Boas (1910:637)
łəẃálməš	*sítəč*	idem	LHcs19670817.1453
	t̓əx̣ə́m	'eight' [six]	LHcs19670817.1455[12]
Chinook Jargon	*<tot>*	*'uncle'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*tata*	idem	Boas (1910:607)
Upper Chehalis	*t̓át̓a-*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
łəẃálməš	*táʔt̓*	idem	(Kinkade et al 2010)

(unattested!) *yúʔ-əł* 'glad-INTENSIFIER' (about that suffix cf. Robertson 2014:122). Such a form could have been loaned into neighboring Chinookan in a pronunciation ending in a nonejective, *yúλ,* because there exists *ł~λ̓* variation in łəẃálməš words, e.g. *[č̓áʔλ̓]* for */č̓áʔł/* 'three' (NBcs19670615.10) and *[ƛ̓ə́λ̓]* for */ƛ̓ə́ł/* 'tough, hard' (EOcs19670619.997).

[12] *sítəč* is the only word for 'six' that most latter-day speakers gave, but *t̓əx̣ə́m* is clearly ancestral in Salish and is used elsewhere in Tsamosan such as in Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991). Its antecedents are PS *t̓əx̣* 'to open up, branch out' or **t̓aq̓* 'to cross over', both used in words for 'six' (Kuipers 2002), and PS **-m* 'AD' (agent demotion; Kroeber 1999:26–27, 95). That *t̓əx̣ə́m* is only vaguely remembered is evident from one speaker giving it only as an alternative for 'six', and from another's gloss as 'eight' (sic). We can only speculate over the replacement of such a core lexical item. One explanation fitting the Olympic Peninsula milieu is lexical tabooing, the replacement of a lexical item when a person of similar-sounding name had recently died. This custom was practiced by the Lower Chinookan population who were long intermingled with the łəẃálməš around Shoalwater Bay (cf. Boas 1892, 1910:666), as well as by fellow Coast Salish groups such as the Twana (Elmendorf 1951). Elmendorf notes that names that became tabooed sometimes originated in other language (p. 206), an observation highly pertinent to *t̓əx̣ə́m* with its multiple potential etymologies.

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<so-le'-mie>*	*'cranberry'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
	súlmix	idem	ELjh1942.18.466
Chinookan	<sú-la-mikh>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
łəẃálməš	Ɂəsúlmš	idem	ELjh1942.18.466[13]
Chinook Jargon	sx̣iláqmi	*'looking glass' (mirror)*	*ELjh1942.18.459*
Chinookan	<e-shal-la'-kabt>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
	-okuman	'to look at'	Boas (1910:662)
	-aqamt	'to look'	Boas (1910:663)
łəẃálməš	?		
Upper Chehalis	ɁáɁx̣cšṅ	'mirror'	Kinkade (1991)[14]
Chinook Jargon	<smock-smock>	*'grouse'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	<un-whust'wust>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
łəẃálməš	hə́msəlč̓	idem	ELjh1942.18.387
Upper Chehalis	<.smukwā'.m.k>	idem	Kinkade (1991)[15]
Chinook Jargon	<setlokum>	*'the game of "hand"'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	<it-hlo-kum>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
łəẃálməš	ɁíɁłakum	idem	ELjh1942.18.328[16]

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[13]The forms in *-x/-<kh>* suggest a loan <u>from</u> łəẃálməš – whether to Chinookan or CJ – that antedates the sound shift from *$*x>š$* and suggests the lexical suffix *$*mix/mix^w$* 'person(s), land, river' etc., which traces back to Proto-Salish (Kuipers 2002), though I have found no correspondent of a root *sul* in Salish. On the other hand, the prefixed *Ɂə-* evokes a direction of loaning back into łəẃálməš from Chinookan, where this looks like an unstressed noun gender prefix *a-* or *i-* reduced to schwa (Boas 1910:580–581).

[14]This word is included for two formal reasons, aside from its presumable post-contact origin. The beginning, particularly, of it suggests native łəẃálməš material such as [an unattested word] *s-√xil=á=q=mi(n)* (NOM-√do=STEMX=hair=INSTR, cf UCH *=min*), thus 'instrument to do one's hair with'. The end, especially, of this same form is of course a decent match for the Chinookan roots shown. At this point we can only speculate about the sorts of mutual influence among Shoalwater Bay tribal languages that this implies.

[15]The triconsonantal reduplication in the CJ form fits the frequent Chinookan pattern for forming birds' names, though 'grouse' was not found in the sources I consulted (Boas 1910:655). The phonotactics of the reduplicated sequence, with an *s-* initial followed by CVC, are however typical of Salish words and very similar to the Upper Chehalis form, whose etymology is not clear.

[16]The łəẃálməš form is an obvious Salish nominalization of a Chinookan loan.

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*\<moolak\>*	*'elk'*	*Cox (1832)*
Chinookan	*-mulak*	idem	Boas (1910:598)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*q̓íɬt*	idem	ELjh1942.17.684

2.3 "Mistaken CJ", as Sam Johnson said

A good many of the ɬəẃáɬməš forms in one published Chinook Jargon source (Gill 1909) can be proven beyond a reasonable doubt to not belong there. These are among the numerous idiosyncratic additions that Samuel V. Johnson has shown Portland publisher John Kaye Gill to have made in republishing F.N. Blanchet's 1853 CJ dictionary (Johnson 1978:69ff). Usually Gill notates these words as "O.C." for "Original Chinook", that is Chinookan, but several are recognizable as ɬəẃáɬməš even without Gill's sporadic label "Che." for "Chehalis". (This was the usual label for the ɬəẃáɬməš tribe and language at the time.)

  Of these, roughly half are identifiable as being lifted uncredited from Swan (1857), albeit with some changes to the spellings (Johnson 1978:77ff). The relevant observation to make is that Swan never claimed these to be Chinook Jargon lexemes, presenting them instead in a separate ɬəẃáɬməš word list. As Johnson observed of certain other CJ dictionaries, this is "mistaken CJ" (1978:21ff). Table 10 illustrates these and one misprint found in Kinkade et al. (2010):

Table 10 ɬəẃáɬməš mistakenly called CJ; data sources known

language	word	gloss	source
"CJ"	*\<cuk'-ko\>*	*'porgy' [a fish]*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*?*		
ɬəẃáɬməš	*swənɬč*	idem	ELjh1942.17.310[17]
"CJ"	*\<e-kap'-pa\>*	*'hail'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*-kápa*	'ice'	Boas (1910:601)
ɬəẃáɬməš	*sƛ̓íləxʷ*	idem	ISmk19781015.132
Quinault	*q̓ə́puxʷəx̣ʷƛ̓íləxʷ*	'little hailstone'	Modrow ([1971])[18]

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[17]The CJ word is of uncertain origin; I have not found a term for the fish 'porgy' in Gibbs (1863b), Boas (1910), and Swanton (1900), The ɬəẃáɬməš form's etymology is uncertain but apparently Salish, cf. Upper Chehalis *s-* 'NOM', *wən* 'fold' and *=iɬ=či* 'water' (Kinkade 1991).

[18]Latter-day ɬəẃáɬməš informants volunteered only *(s)ƛ̓íləxʷ*. Chinook Jargon *\<E-kap'-pa\>* may have been a loan at the time when Swan documented ɬəẃáɬməš.

language	word	gloss	source
"CJ"	*<has'-litch>*	*'liver'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*ipánaqš*	idem	CWDP (2012 s.v. liver)
łəw̓áĺməš	*sx̣ásəlčəc*	idem (?)	Kinkade (1991:164)
Upper Chehalis	*sáʔš*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
	<Sûssûltca>	idem	(ibid.)[19]
"CJ"	*<kaer-hutch>*	*'crab'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<kal-he'-la>*	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
łəw̓áĺməš	*qíʔx̣əč̓*	idem	ISmk19780911.54
"CJ"	*<met'-chip>*	*'fire'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<o-ól-pits-ki>*	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
łəw̓áĺməš	*mə́čp*	idem	ELjh1942.18.317
"CJ"	*<se'-cartl>*	*'spruce tree'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<e-pé-natl'h>*	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
łəw̓áĺməš	*cqáł*	idem	ELjh1942.17.168
"CJ"	*<she-sinch>*	*'shrimp'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*?*		
łəw̓áĺməš	*šəyíšn̓əč*	idem	NBcs19670615.1100
"CJ"	*<squintum>*	*'white man'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*?*		
łəw̓áĺməš	*sx̌ʷə́ntm*	idem	ISmk19781014.275
"CJ"	*<ta-lass'>*	*'foot'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*-ps/-pš*	idem	Boas (1910:602, 639)
łəw̓áĺməš	*cáłaʔš*	'shoes'	ISmk19781129.60
"CJ"	*<taerk>*	*'bone'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*ikamúkuk*	idem	Boas (1910:611)
łəw̓áĺməš	*t̓íq̓*	idem	ISmk19781014.256
"CJ"	*tam*	*'what?'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*tan*	idem	Boas (1910:609)
łəw̓áĺməš	*tám*	idem	ISmk19781014.216
"CJ"	*<teh'-a-ner>*	*'jay'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*-qišqiš*	'blue jay'	Boas (1910:598)
łəw̓áĺməš	*t̓íx̣n̓aʔ*	idem	ELjh1942.18.257

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[19]Comparison of the forms in CJ, łəw̓áĺməš (which Kinkade 1991 mysteriously tags with a parenthetical '(?)') and Upper Chehalis suggests a root of the approximate form *h/x̣áʔs/š* and a lexical suffix, both with meanings not yet known to us. For the loss of *h* following the nominalizing prefix *s-*, a mutation not uncommon in Salish, compare PS *s-(h)ayas* 'to play' > Songish *siyásŋ* 'play games' ~ Lillooet *sáy̓səz'*, Thompson *séy̓siʔ*, Shuswap *séyse*.

language	word	gloss	source
"CJ"	*<ten-arts-lets>*	*'veins'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<te-bek-het-hlau>*	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
łəẃáĺməš	*?*		
Upper Chehalis	*wasə́ĺ*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
	(s-)ʔac(')-=íl(')als	'inside'	(ibid.)[20]
"CJ"	*<ten-sah'-wit>*	*'bladder'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*?*		
łəẃáĺməš	*?*		
Upper Chehalis	*səxʷ/saxʷ*	'wet'	Kinkade (1991)[21]
"CJ"	*<ten-squails>*	*'blood'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*łʔáwilqt*	idem	Boas (1910:568)
łəẃáĺməš	*sqʷíł*	idem	ISmk19780911.111
"CJ"	*<tens-ho'-mish>*	*'arm'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*-puti*	idem	Boas (1910:601)
łəẃáĺməš	*sx̣ʷúṁəč*	'hand'	LHcs19670619.132
"CJ"	*<tah'ness>*	*'knee'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*úq̇uxƛ*	idem	Boas (1910:609)
łəẃáĺməš	*tán̓əs*	idem	ISmk19781129.58
"CJ"	*<ten'-tome>*	*'navel'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*?*		
łəẃáĺməš	*túm*	idem	ISmk19781015.50
"CJ"	*<tsole>*	*'round'*	*Kinkade et al. (2010)*[22]

The remainder of Gill's (1909) łəẃáĺməš-origin mistaken CJ items come from a data source that is unidentified as of this writing.

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[20]The *ten* at the start of this and other CJ forms in this table is transparently łəẃáĺməš *t=n-* 'DET.NONF= 1.SG.POSV-', cf. Robertson (2014). The Upper Chehalis word for 'inside' is based on the 'stative' prefix, exceptionally used as a root in several Upper Chehalis and łəẃáĺməš words, and the lexical suffix meaning 'side, insides' (Kinkade 1991).

[21]If this word for 'bladder' involves a cognate of the Upper Chehalis root for 'wet', the final *t* of the CJ word can plausibly be interpreted as łəẃáĺməš *=t́* 'INSTR' (cf. Robertson 2014).

[22]The supposed CJ form *<tsole>* in Kinkade et al. (2010) is a misprint for *<tsole-pat>* 'shotpouch' (Gibbs 1863a; discussed in Table 13 below), and is not found in CJ sources.

Table 11 łəẃálməš mistakenly called CJ; data sources unknown

language	word	gloss	source
"CJ"	*<pa-mas'>*	*'cold'*	*?*
Chinookan	*-caca*	idem	Boas (1910:599)
łəẃálməš	*pamás*	idem	ISmk19781130.83
"CJ"	*<oke>*	*'cry'*	*?*
Chinookan	*-qə́caχ*	idem (sg.)	Boas (1910:612)
łəẃálməš	*ʔúkʷ*	idem	ISmk19781014.225
"Chinook Jargon"	*<law'-suk>*	*'dance'*	*?*
Chinookan	*-wəčk*	idem (sg.)	Boas (1910:612)
łəẃálməš	*láq̓ʷsəq*	idem	ISmk19780912.74
"CJ"	*<tah-oo>*	*'far'*	*?*
Chinookan	*kəlá-(?)*	*idem*	Boas (1910:672)
łəẃálməš	*táʔxʷ*	*idem*	ISmk19781014.4
"CJ"	*<ny-ee'-na>,* *<my-ee'-na>*	*'sing/song'*	*?*
Chinookan	*čχəm*	*'sing shaman's song'*	Boas (1910:588)
łəẃálməš	*məyín̓atn*	*'sing'*	ISmk19781014.59
"CJ"	*<skatl>*	*'sky'*	*?*
Chinookan	*-gušaχ*	*idem*	Boas (1910:601)
łəẃálməš	*sq̓áƛ̓ʔ*	*idem*	ISmk19781130.64
"CJ"	*<hook>*	*'small'*	*?*
Chinookan	*-k̓aic*	*'smallness'*	Boas (1910:641)[23]
łəẃálməš	*xʷúʔkʷ*	*'small'*	ISmk19781014.85
"CJ"	*<clak-oo'>*	*'snow'*	*?*
Chinookan	*-utk*	*'to snow'*	Boas (1910:661)
łəẃálməš	*sƛ̓áq̓ʷ*	*'snow (on the ground)'*	ISmk19781130.65
"CJ"	*<kais>*	*'stone'*	*?*
Chinookan	*-qanakš*	*idem*	Boas (1910:604)
łəẃálməš	*qáys*	*idem*	ISmk19780913.92

3   But there is still much more łəẃálməš in CJ than thought

The remainder of the data increases the number of known reliable łəẃálməš > CJ loans to 80 from the 39, and one mistaken form shown at the end of Table 10, listed by Kinkade et al. (2010). (I do not repeat the items in that 2010 word list here.) Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz and Quinault forms are presented for comparison here, when known.

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[23] This is among the adjectival concepts that receive expression as abstract nouns in Chinookan (Boas 1910:657).

Quite a number of these newly identified loans are given by speakers in the community as łəẃáĺməš, in addition to being identified in the literature as being used in CJ. (CWDP 2012 is the first to suggest łəẃáĺməš etymologies as a possibility for several of these; my label 'newly identified' is intended as confirming those speculations.) Table 12 illustrates these items:

Table 12 CJ < łəẃáĺməš (newly identified)

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*áləkš*	*'beg'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*?*		
Upper Chehalis	*ʔóːxʷaš-*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
	natáw-	idem	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*ʔáĺəqš*	'bumming for food; stand watching s.o. eat + wanting food'	ISmk19781128.12
Chinook Jargon	*<tsi-ā'-list>*	*'branch'*	*(Lionnet 1853)*
Chinookan	*?*		
Cowlitz	*ḱáĺx*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
łəẃáĺməš	*čáĺš*	idem	ISmk19781130.56
Chinook Jargon	*číča*	*'grandmother'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*<kl-kuk-ké-ke>*	idem on father's side	Gibbs (1863b)
	<kl-kush-kash'ka>	idem on mother's side	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	*káyʔ*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
łəẃáĺməš	*čə́ča*	idem	EOcs19670720.742
Chinook Jargon	*íləp*	*'first; before'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*q̓astə́n*	'for the first time'	Boas (1910:634)
	-ániwa	'first'	Boas (1910:659)
łəẃáĺməš	*ʔílp*	idem	ELjh1942.18.229
Chinook Jargon	*kʰʷiʔím*	*'grandchild'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*qaš*	idem said by a man	Boas (1910:612)
	kai	idem said by a woman	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	*ʔéˑm̓c*	'grandchild'	Kinkade (1991)
łəẃáĺməš	*kʷəʔím*	idem	ISmk19781129.36
Chinook Jargon	*ɬákʷən*	*'wipe'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-naɬx̣*	idem	Boas (1910:662)
Upper Chehalis	*-xʷíkʷi*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
łəẃáĺməš	*ɬákʷn*	'wipe it away/off!'	ELjh1942.17.284

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*p̓úxən*	*'blow'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*pu*	'to blow once'	Boas (1910:628)
łəẃáĺməš	*púxʷn*	'blow [on sth., e.g. on fire]'	NBcs19670512.291
Chinook Jargon	*q̓áyax*	*'entrails'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-amš*	'guts'	Boas (1910:607)
łəẃáĺməš	*q̓ə́yx*	idem	ISmk19781130.44
Chinook Jargon	*skʷíč*	*'vagina'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*?*		
łəẃáĺməš	*skʷə́č*	idem	BCmk19670511.19
Chinook Jargon	*sləhál*	*'gambling game'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*<e-tlált-lal>*	'game of disks'	Gibbs (1863b)
	<it-hlo-kum>	'game of hand'	(ibid.)
	kwot-lá-buks	'game of beaver dice'	(ibid.)
łəẃáĺməš	*sləháĺ*	'gambling game'	ELjh1942.18.229
	ləhál	idem	ELjh1942.18.64924
Chinook Jargon	*tʰə́qsin*	*'pursue'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-wa*	idem	Boas (1910:659)
łəẃáĺməš	*tə́qšṅ*	'follow s.o., chase s.o.'	ISmk19781014.3
Chinook Jargon	*tú?an*	*'have'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*?*		
łəẃáĺməš	*tú?n*	'put it away'	ISmk19781015.10925
Chinook Jargon	*xúqʰən*	*'gather'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-piáłx*	idem	Boas (1910:660)
łəẃáĺməš	*xʷúqʷn*	'pick it up (e.g. from the floor)'	ELjh1942.18.481
Chinook Jargon	*čúmt̓*	*'chair'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-łait*	'sit'	Boas (1910:665)
łəẃáĺməš	*čə́mt̓*	idem	ISmk19780911.43
Chinook Jargon	*ləḱʷánu?*	*'earring'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*<is-ká-lal>*	*idem*	Gibbs (1863b)
łəẃáĺməš	*ləḱʷáṅu?*	*'small earring'*	NBmk19781129.48

[24]EL says that *ləhál* is the real łəẃáĺməš word, and that *sləháĺ* is CJ. Note the glottalized resonant in the latter, a phoneme type not documented in other CJ varieties including the phonologically rather conservative Grand Ronde creole (CWDP 2012:25–29).

[25]The pronunciation in CWDP (2012), if reflective of etymology, also implies łəẃáĺməš *tú?a?n* 'put [it] away!' (On the morphological formation of the imperative, see Robertson 2014:107–108.)

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	p̓ís	'soul'	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-kanati	*idem*	Boas (1910:622)
ɬəẃáȽməš	spís	*idem*	ISNBmk19781129.25
Chinook Jargon	q̓áyt	'fishhook'	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-kik	'hook'	Boas (1910:601)
ɬəẃáȽməš	q̓ít-	'fishing with hook & line'	LHcs19670619.121
Chinook Jargon	k̓ʷík̓ʷiyans	'straight pin'	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	\<kwé-kwi-ens\>	'pin'	Gibbs (1863b)
	\<kle-bá-kwo-te\>	*idem*	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	k̓ʷík̓ʷi-	'sticking in'	Kinkade (1991)
ɬəẃáȽməš	k̓ʷík̓ʷiyan̓st	*idem*	NBcs19670731.1213
Chinook Jargon	t̓ə́pšin	'patch'	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	\<an-ékh-po\>	'sew'	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	t̓ə́lpšn	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*idem*	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	t̓ə́pn	'patching it'	Modrow ([1971])
ɬəẃáȽməš	t̓ə́pšn	'to patch (a canoe or clothes)'	ELjh1942.18.361
Chinook Jargon	x̣íləməɬ	'work'	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-xučkən	*idem*	Boas (1910:600)
Upper Chehalis	yús	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	yayús	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)
ɬəẃáȽməš	x̣íȽməɬ	*idem*	ELjh1942.18.386
Quinault	*idem*	*idem*	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	yə́nəs	'tooth'	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-ačx̣	*idem*	Boas (1910:601)
Upper Chehalis	yə́ns	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*idem*	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	y̌ə́ns	*idem*	Modrow ([1971])
ɬəẃáȽməš	yə́n̓əs	*idem*	NBmk19670405.66

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*c̓íkʷt*	*'light, lamp'*	*ELjh1942.18.370*
Chinookan	*waχ*	'light, set afire'	Boas (1910:631)
Upper Chehalis	*sqaĺáχ*	'light'	Kinkade (1991)
	sk̓ʷə́ł	*idem*	(ibid.)
	qʷaĺíłtn	'lamp'	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	*q̓éχaṁłtn̓*	'light, candle, torch'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*ǰə́χuł*	'light, daylight'	Modrow ([1971])
łəw̓áĺməš	*c̓íkʷt*	'light'	NBcs19670512.293
Chinook Jargon	*ʔápcit*	*'rudder'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*?*		
Upper Chehalis	*ʔápct*	'stern of a canoe, front seat of a car'	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*łáʔxʷəc*	'stern, the hind part of a canoe'	Modrow ([1971])
łəw̓áĺməš	*ʔácan (?)*	'canoe stern'	CCfb1890.6
Chinook Jargon	*púq̓ʷəĺəs*	*'housefly'*	*ELjh1942.18.398*
Chinookan	*<e-bóts-kun>*	*idem*	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	*xʷay̓úxʷaʔ*	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
	púw̓s	'a fly in mountains'	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	*cáwłkaχa*	'fly (n.)'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*p̓áhk̓əs*	'fly'	Modrow ([1971])
łəw̓áĺməš	*p̓əq̓ʷĺs*	*idem*	ELjh1942.18.294
Chinook Jargon	*q̓ə́ł*	*'sugar'*	*ELjh1942.18.445*
Chinookan	*<tsee>*	'sweet'	Gibbs (1863b)
	<yat-se-bub>	*idem*	(ibid.)
łəw̓áĺməš	*q̓ə́ł*	'sweet'	LHcs19670619.841
Quinault	*idem*	*idem*	Modrow ([1971])
Upper Chehalis	*idem*	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*idem*	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)
Chinook Jargon	*<smet'-ocks>*	*'large clam'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*-iʔi*	'mud clam'	Boas (1910:598)
	<kláb-o-wa>	'clam (lutraria)'	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	*qʷáliqn*	'horseclam'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*sqʷálitn*	'large clam sp.'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*məʔáqs*	'horse clams'	Modrow ([1971])
łəw̓áĺməš	*sməʔáqs*	'clam sp.'	ELjh1942.18.465

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<essa>*	*'to come'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	*<a-mit-e>*	*idem*	Gibbs (1863b)
	<bat'te>	*'come, (imp.) to one person'*	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	čís-	*'come'*	Kinkade (1991)
	né?ša?	*'come near!'*	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	?ís	*'come'*	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*idem*	*idem*	Modrow [1971])
łəẃáİməš	?ísa?	*'come here!'*	ISmk19780911.108
Chinook Jargon	*<hachr>*	*'house'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	tqúλi	*idem*	Boas (1910:568)
Cowlitz	x̣áx	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)
Upper Chehalis	x̣áłta	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
łəẃáİməš	x̣áš	*idem*	ISmk19780914.5
Upper Chehalis	*idem*	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*<scal'la-been>*	*'rifle'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<shuk-wa-lál-la>*	*'gun or musket'*	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	*<Sûlla'ip'>*	*'rifle'*	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	cí?čln	*'gun'*	Modrow ([1971])
łəẃáİməš	skələpín	*'rifle'*	ELjh1942.18.49026
Chinook Jargon	*<swaa'wa>*	*'panther'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<e-kwái-ye-wa>*	*'cougar'*	Gibbs (1863b)
	-iqaċíłak	*'panther'*	Boas (1910:614)
Upper Chehalis	swá·wa·	*'cougar'*	Kinkade (1991)
	swáʔwa?	*idem*	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	swáwa?	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	gʷá?a	*idem*	Modrow ([1971])
łəẃáİməš	swáẃa?	*idem*	ELjh1942.17.441
Chinook Jargon	*<arts'poe>*	*'flea'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*<i-na-pu>*	*idem*	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	máċ̓ṁ	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	máč̓iła?	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	k̓ʷəšús	*idem*	Modrow ([1971])
łəẃáİməš	?ácpu?	*idem*	ISmk19780913.85

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[26]This is a unique nativization of an existing CJ noun into łəẃáİməš by the addition of the łəẃáİməš nominalizing prefix *s-* (cf. Robertson 2014:123–124, CWDP 2012, s.v. *karapin*).

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	q̓aláp	*'deep'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*?*		
Quinault	ƚúxʷ	*idem*	Modrow ([1971])
ƚəẁáĺməš	ƛ̓áp	*idem*	Kinkade et al. (2010)
Upper Chehalis	*idem*	*idem*	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*idem*	*idem*	Kinkade (2004)27
Chinook Jargon	t̓áqʰʷin	*'lick'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-miqƚ	idem	Boas (1910:660)
Upper Chehalis	t̓áqʷn	'lick (tr.)'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	t̓áqʷn	'lick, lap'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	t̓áqsʔaʔ	'to lick (off a dish)'	Modrow ([1971])
ƚəẁáĺməš	t̓áqʷn	'to lick (with tongue)'	LHcs19670619.528

The remainder are certainly at least Tsamosan and, for multiple reasons, more plausibly from ƚəẁáĺməš than from Upper Chehalis, Quinault, or Cowlitz. Of these, typically it is ƚəẁáĺməš that provides the closest phonological and semantic match. It is also the language geographically closest to where each word was first documented – Grand Ronde, Oregon, in most cases. As shown in Table 13, minor differences of form from known ƚəẁáĺməš words characterize several of these. (Phonological differences observed between the source and pidgin languages – such as q̓~k̓ variability, attrition of labiality in stop codas, and addition or removal of glottality – are typical for the pidgin, as a glance through the etymologies in CWDP 2012 proves.)

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[27]A variant of the usual CJ form *<klip>/<klep>* already etymologized by Kinkade et al. (2010).

Table 13 CJ < ɬəẃáɬməš (probable, with slight mutations)

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*k̓wíshən*	*'toast'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-kčkt	'roast'	Boas (1910:569)
	-ləkč	idem	Boas (1910:650)
Upper Chehalis	caqá?n	'stick for roasting'	Kinkade (1991)
	<k' lk· l>	'when putting salmon on a roasting stick'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	<tawa'shweyə>	'roasting stick'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	xʷásatm	'burning hair (of a seal) or roast'	Modrow ([1971])
	q̓ʷúlim	'roast by fire'	(ibid.)
	čəlíšstəq	'roast'	(ibid.)
ɬəẃáɬməš	q̓ʷəšy̓əps	idem	LHcs19670619.574
Chinook Jargon	*pálaks*	*'penis'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	?		
Cowlitz	səxʷáy̓mini	'his penis'	Kinkade (2004)
ɬəẃáɬməš	spə́lq	idem	BCmk19670511.17
Upper Chehalis	idem	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*q̓óka*	*'choke'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-čikčik	'almost choked'	Boas (1910:632)
Upper Chehalis	qə́q-	'choke'	Kinkade (1991)
	míɬnali-	idem	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	qíqɬn	'choke, hang'	Kinkade (2004)
	k̓ʷuk̓ʷápsm	'choke, stick in the throat'	(ibid.)
Quinault	qáq	'to choke'	Modrow ([1971])
ɬəẃáɬməš	qə́q	'choke (on s.t.)'	ISmk19781015.46
Chinook Jargon	*t̓ɬáxan[-]hæn*	*'deadbeat'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	q̓am	'lazy'	Boas (1910:632)
Upper Chehalis	ƛ̓á·xan-	'hunt'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	ƛ̓á·xanm	'hunt (game), go hunting'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	ƛ̓ác̓ym	'to hunt'	Modrow ([1971])
ɬəẃáɬməš	sƛ̓á?hnm	'they went out hunting'	ELjh1942.17.46[28]

[28]CWDP (2012) suggests that the element *-hæn* here may be from English 'hand', as if the CW word connoted 'hunting for a handout'; compare the semantics of the first group of

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language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*ćíq̓šət*	*'brass, copper'*	*ELjh1942.18.409*
Chinookan	*iqiḱə́s*	'brass'	Boas (1910:613)
	iwaχúmi	'copper'	Boas (1910:616)
Upper Chehalis	<qwe'qɛtstɛkan>	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	<.tskwe'.kᵘ>	idem	Kinkade (2004)
łəẁálməš	*ćíq*	'red'	ISmk19781014.63‾
Quinault	*ƛ̓ámšət*	'brass'	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*qiwćíkʷt*	*'candle'*	*ELjh1942.18.430*
Chinookan	?		
Cowlitz	*q̓éχaṁłtṅ*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*síwqtn*	idem	Modrow ([1971])
łəẁálməš	*qíxʷ*	'lard (fat)'	NBcs19670405.87
	ćíkʷt	'light'	NBcs19670512.293²⁹
Chinook Jargon	<tsole-pat>	*'shot-pouch'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	<e-kwald>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
	<o-bá-hwai>	idem	(ibid.)
	-maq	'the act of shooting'	Boas (1910:672)
Upper Chehalis	*síłtn*	'bullet-bag'	Kinkade (1991)
	síł	'bullet, lead, arrow'	(ibid.)
	<Nauwals>	'bullet, lead'	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	*síł*	'bullet, bullets, shell, shells, gunpowder'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*séʔič*	'shot (n.)'	Modrow ([1971])
łəẁálməš	*ćulə́p*	'round'	Kinkade et al. (2010)³⁰

words in Table 11. For the simplification of coda clusters of nasal + obstruent, compare CW *win* 'wind; breath' (CWDP 2012).

[29] The alternation *w>xʷ* is not frequent in łəẁálməš, but the semantics here exactly correspond with CJ's widely documented *klis-pʰáya* 'candle', literally 'fat-fire/light' (cf. CWDP 2012 s.v. *klis*).

[30] Emma Luscier, in her 1942 reelicitations of Chinook Jargon with J.P. Harrington, did not recognize CJ *tsole-pat,* but volunteered łəẁálməš *łəṅálsí* 'bullet bag'. This word turns out to be an approximate synonym of the first, cf. Upper Chehalis √*łə́n* 'receptacle' (used as the first member in compounds), =*ál(=)s* 'round things', and =*tn* 'INSTR', thus 'container for holding shot/bullets'. Supporting my interpretation of the first lexical suffix, Upper Chehalis has <Nauwals>, i.e. √*nəw=ál(=)s,* 'bullet', where the root – unglossed by Kinkade – is cognate with łəẁálməš *náw* 'big' (NBcs19670405.207). (Though its Upper Chehalis uses suggest a meaning 'real; main part', compare *s-*√*náw=ucn* 'mouth of a man', √*naw=áy̓s* 'top of a tree; end of a road' and √*naw=áps* 'front of a door', Kinkade 1991.) Employing the same main concepts as in *łəṅálsí* but in the reverse order, CJ *tsole-pat* is almost surely the łəẁálməš morphs *ćulə́p* 'round' in a metaphorical meaning (otherwise

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*skáləmən*	*'sea otter'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-na(m)námuks*	'otter'	Boas (1910:598, 655)
	-láki	'sea-otter'	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	*sáxʷiyṅ*	'river otter'	Kinkade (1991)
	ṗitkʷɬ	'sea otter'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*idem*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
	skálmn	'otter'	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	*idem*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*ƛ̓əkʷálaqi*	'sea otter'	Modrow ([1971])
	gʷášʔups	'land otter (long tail)'	(ibid.)
łəw̓ál̓məš	*ƛ̓əq̓ʷáləq*	'sea otter'	ELjh1942.17.400

4   And now, the best part – these pidgin data help us revitalize łəw̓ál̓məš

Having opted in Section 2 to exclude quite a lot of the potential łəw̓ál̓məš > CJ loans from consideration, and ignoring the 39 already established by Kinkade et al. (2010), we have still found the 41 additional items in Section 3 either definitely tracing to łəw̓ál̓məš or more likely to it than to any Tsamosan congener. This is already an increase of a little more than 100% in the corpus. (It is probable that more will be discovered, like several in the present data set, unlabeled by the numerous CJ lexicographers as to a source language.) An interesting fact is that many of these represent the sole evidence for lexemes otherwise unknown to us in the somewhat limited documentation of łəw̓ál̓məš.

To continue that theme, 21 more words have their closest known correspondents elsewhere in Tsamosan. But the trend of evidence so far shows that Salish loans in CJ whose sources are clear overwhelmingly trace to łəw̓ál̓məš, and these 21 items are documented within the lower Columbia and Shoalwater region. On such grounds, we might infer that these data too (Table 14) represent likely łəw̓ál̓məš material – meaning that we have potentially expanded the corpus of such loans into CJ by as much as 150%.

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unattested) 'round thing; shot, bullet, lead ball' and =*t̓* 'INSTRUMENT'. This structure in turn parallels its Upper Chehalis synonym √*síɬ-tn* 'bullet bag, hunter's pouch' (Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz √*síɬ* 'bullet, arrow', Kinkade 1991 and 2004).

Table 14 CJ < ɬəẃáĺməš (likely, but indirect evidence)

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*q̓áyʔwa*	*'crooked'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-tk̓ik	idem	Boas (1910:665)
Upper Chehalis	q̓əyúɬ	'crooked'	Kinkade (1991)
	q̓ə́lxʷ-	idem	(ibid.)
	púyi-	idem	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	č̓úyuk̓ʷ-	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	júq	idem	Modrow ([1971])
ɬəẃáĺməš	q̓əmúy̓tńɬ	'trout (crooked-mouth)'	ISmk19781130.54
Chinook Jargon	*máq̓*	*'gulp'*	*CWDP (2012)*
	mə́kʰmək	'eat'	(ibid.)
Chinookan	-wulʔ	'to swallow'	Boas (1910:660)
Upper Chehalis	mə́q̓ʷ-	'swallow'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	mə́q̓ʷm	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	núqʷ	idem	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*p̓íʔns*	*'bake'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-ši	'to roast in ashes'	Boas (1910:662)
Upper Chehalis	p̓ə́nstq	'by the fire'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	p̓ə́nc-	~ 'prepare (cook) camas'	Kinkade (2004)[31]
Quinault	čəlíšstəq	'to bake in the oven or to roast'	Modrow ([1971])
	klís	'to bake (in ashes)'	(ibid.)
Chinook Jargon	*p̓úʔ*	*'fart'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	-ʔwəsqʷəs	'breaking of wind'	Boas (1910:601)
Upper Chehalis	pó·ʔ	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	p̓óʔ	idem	Kinkade (2004)

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[31]Camas is precisely the usual object of *p̓íʔns*, baking in ashes, in Victoria Howard′s narrations (cf. text 13.4 in Jacobs 1936). The root seems to descend from PS **p̓ə́n* 'besides, parallel, straight' (Kuipers 2002), in a distinctly Tsamosan sense 'beside the fire'.

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*snás*	*'rain'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	\<slél-hutst\>	idem	Gibbs (1863b)
	məƛ̓	'wet'	Boas (1910:633)
Upper Chehalis	*snús*	'moist, moisture'	Kinkade (1991)
	x̣asíls	'rain'	(ibid.)
	sə́k̓ʷ	idem	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	*sə́x̣ʷa-*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
	x̣asílʔ	idem	(ibid.)
Quinault	*c̓ájəkʷ*	idem	Modrow ([1971])
łəẃál̓məš	*túl̓s*	'to rain'	LHcs19670619.196[32]
Chinook Jargon	*t̓síkʰʷən*	*'to pinch'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-ƛ̓kúp*	'being squeezed out (one-eyed)'	Boas (1910:599)
Upper Chehalis	*c̓ík̓ʷn*	'pinch'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*c̓ayə́pn*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*míci*	idem	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*qʰə́stəkʷ*	*'balm'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	?		
Upper Chehalis	*qə́stkʷ*	'mint'	Kinkade (1991)
Chinook Jargon	*x̣ax̣áʔ*	*'sacred'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	*-káwək*	'shaman's guardian spirit'	Boas (1910:601)
Upper Chehalis	*x̣ax̣á·ʔ*	'sacred, taboo, forbidden, holy'	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*x̣ax̣íʔt*	'holy'	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*yáx̣an*	*'judge'*	*CWDP (2012)*
Chinookan	?		
Upper Chehalis	*yax̣ə́n*	'make a choice, pick out, sort'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*yə́x̣n*	'make a choice; sort'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*čácisx̣ʷu*	'to judge'	Modrow ([1971])
	jáx̣	'choose'	(ibid.)

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[32] The Salish languages north of Upper Chehalis give this root a different sense 'greasy', but match CJ in having the vowel */a/* or */ə/* in it (compare PS **nu./a.s* ~ 'greasy; wet' (Kuipers 2002). One can wonder whether this implies a source for this old CJ word in (a) a Tsamosan variety bordering right on the *nas* 'greasy' / *nus* 'wet' isogloss or (b) Tillamook, little data on which was available to me as I wrote this study. (No Ti cognate was found in searches of Anderson and Harrison 2012.)

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*q̓ʷíc̓*	*'hook'*	*ELjh1942.18.394*
Chinookan	*-kik*	idem	Boas (1910:601)
Upper Chehalis	*q̓ét̓*	'fishhook'	Kinkade (1991)
	x̣é·n̓s	idem	(ibid.)
	łík̓ʷn	idem	(ibid.)
Cowlitz	*yasə́n*	'hook, net'	Kinkade (2004)
	q̓ét̓am̓łtn̓	'a hook, bait'	(ibid.)
	x̣ə́n̓s	'fishhook'	(ibid.)
	<aiʹkamɛltɛn>	idem	(ibid.)
Quinault	*q̓ʷíc̓*	idem	Modrow ([1971])
	kʷíʔc	'hook'	(ibid.)
Chinook Jargon	*ʔúʔcəč̓*	*'bracelet'*	*ELjh1942.18.408*
Chinookan	*<klik'-wal-li>*	idem of brass wire	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	*ʔó·c̓ača*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*sáwc̓*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
	t̓amákamn	'bracelet, ring'	(ibid.)
Quinault	*ʔuʔcəčəs*	idem	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*ƛ̓əčíčəx̣*	*'saw' (n.)*	*ELjh1942.18.422*
Chinookan	*?*		
Upper Chehalis	*ƛ̓iƛ̓íc̓x̣n̓*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*ƛ̓ičíčax̣*	idem	Modrow ([1971])
	kʷáyaƛ̓i	idem	(ibid.)
Chinook Jargon	*qʷátš*	*'trap'*	*ELjh1942.18.425*
Chinookan	*-qšil*	'fish-trap'	Boas (1910:601)
Upper Chehalis	*qʷátš*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	*idem*	idem	Modrow [1971])
Cowlitz	*qʷátx̣ʷ*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Chinook Jargon	*sə́c̓səc̓ł(?)*	*'fork'*	*ELjh1942.18.426*
Chinookan	*?*		
Upper Chehalis	*sə́c̓młn*	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*sac̓ə́mn*	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	*sə́c̓səc̓łn*	idem	Modrow ([1971])

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*t̓ə́ʔqíʔ*	*'belt'*	*ELjh1942.18.428*
Chinookan	-kʷima	idem	Boas (1910:604)
Upper Chehalis	t̓əqíxʷ	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	idem	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	t̓íqi	idem	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*q̓əyác̓q̓əyəx̣*	*'chain'*	*ELjh1942.18.432*
Chinookan	*ʔ*		
Upper Chehalis	q̓áyc̓ls	'braid of hair'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	stə́kʷiʔ	'braid (n.)'	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	čanáqa	'to braid (hair)'	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*caʔə́txʷ*	*'roof (with shingles)'*	*ELjh1942.18.435*
Chinookan	<é-puktl>	'roof tree'	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	sƛúk̓ʷaʔx̣ʷ	'roof'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	x̣áɬtxʷ	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	cáʔatxʷ	'shingles'	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*<kush'-is>*	*'stockings'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	<ta-kétl-pa>	'shoes'	Gibbs (1863b)
Upper Chehalis	qʷúpšn	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	idem	idem	Kinkade (2004)
Quinault	sáɬšn	'shoe'	Modrow ([1971])
Chinook Jargon	*<kwetlh>*	*'proud'*	*Gibbs (1863a)*
Chinookan	yuƛ̓l	idem	Boas (1910:616)
ɬəẃáĺməš	múʔɬəl	idem	ISmk19781128.41
Quinault	idem	idem	Modrow [1971])
Upper Chehalis	cépɬ	'proud, feel happy'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	idem	'proud, stuck-up'	Kinkade (2004)
PS	*q̓axʷ	'stiffen, harden, freeze'	(Kuipers 2002)
PIS	*q̓əxʷ	'proud'	(ibid.)[33]
Chinook Jargon	*<qui'cer>*	*'porpoise'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	-kučkuč	idem	Boas (1910:599)
Upper Chehalis	qʷsíyuʔ	idem	Kinkade (1991)
Quinault	qáʔɬənuʔ	idem	Modrow ([1971])

[33]In the ɬəẃáĺməš, Quinault, Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms, *(ə)ɬ* is a suffix (analyzed as 'intensifier' for ɬəẃáĺməš by Robertson 2014). The PS root is found in Upper Chehalis meaning 'freeze' (Kinkade 1991). The PIS root – perhaps its descendant – is of course not known in the literature on Coast Salish, but its form and semantics support a hypothetical ɬəẃáĺməš *q̓(ə)xʷ-(ə)ɬ* 'proud'. See also the footnote at *youtl* in Section 2.2.

language	word	gloss	source
Chinook Jargon	*<ska-kairk>*	*'hawk'*	*Swan (1857)*
Chinookan	*šnqitqít*	idem	Boas (1910:602)
	-ṫíti	idem	Boas (1910:598)
	-'lčap	'fish-hawk'	(ibid.)
	-'npič	'chicken-hawk'	(ibid.)
Upper Chehalis	*sxʷayáṫ*	'hawk'	Kinkade (1991)
Cowlitz	*<.swai'a'tok>*	'chicken hawk'	Kinkade (2004)
łəẇáİməš	*sxʷiẏáṫ*	idem	ELjh1942.17.381[34]

The data in this table set up the unusual situation of a pidgin language playing an instrumental role in revitalizing its lexifier. This involves a novel sense of the well-established concept of "pidgins (and creoles) in education"; in creolistics, that label implies conducting formal education in the contact-generated language (cf. Migge et al. 2010, Nero 2012).

The idea at hand should be distinguished as well from the novel proposal to remedy loss of agglutinative/polysynthetic Aboriginal languages by, in effect, teaching only lexical items of the ancestral language and using them in a new, analytical, "pidgin" syntax. That is not an outrageous proposal – Powell has suggested such an approach for Quileute (1973), as have Goodfellow and Alfred for Kwak'wala (2002), and the Aboriginal community of Tasmania, Australia has put this strategy into effect with 'Palawa Kani', cf. Crowley (2007:3–5). But our revitalization program operates from the quite different assumption that we will be able to reconstruct łəẇáİməš morphosyntax. (Robertson 2014 is a first progress report.)

Instead, what Chinook Jargon enables us to do is to start filling gaps in the documentary record of łəẇáİməš, which is reasonably good but finite since this Salish language has had no native speakers in decades. As we move into the next step of morphologically analyzing the łəẇáİməš words now collected from CJ, we will have quite a useful resource at hand when it comes to decisions about strengthening the vocabulary of łəẇáİməš for talking about daily life and the local environment. When there is no known łəẇáİməš expression for a concept, there will be cases where we can still consider CJ words that are obviously from this language, or those that we feel have a probability of representing the old speech, before being forced into raw coinages, calques on other Tsamosan, or loans. (Given the frequency of mutual borrowing, we can expect that both łəẇáİməš and Chinook Jargon will in turn provide the same service in any restoration of Shoalwater Lower Chinook.)

The field work done by Dale Kinkade and his student Charles Snow provide

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[34] łəẇáİməš speakers agree that this is the only word for 'hawk' that they have. No Salish or Chinookan comparanda have been found, but the CJ word's form better matches Salish than other languages: it looks like a typical noun with *s-* NOM and a root in the form either CVCVC or CVC with commonplace reduplication.

a great deal of the crucial data that these discoveries are based on. Their research is an irreplaceable foundation for our present efforts under the Lower Chehalis Language Project to 'repatriate' and revitalize łəẃálməš. Borrowing one of the tribal elders' fine words in the language, we raise our hands in appreciation and say *"x̣ə́sqəʔ"* – thanks!

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