Victoria Howard's Chinook Jargon in context*

Henry Zenk
Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon

Abstract: Chinook Jargon (Jargon, Chinuk Wawa) is represented by extensive documentation from speakers of many ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Conspicuous by its near absence, however, is a record of the language as used by speakers of Chinookan, the language family to which the variety's chief lexifier language belongs. The only such known substantial record consists of several Chinook Jargon texts transcribed by Melville Jacobs in 1930 from Victoria Howard, his source also of texts dictated to him in the Clackamas dialect of Kiksht Upper Chinook. Victoria Howard's Jargon reveals itself to be quite distinctive, even anomalous, by comparison with the language as known for much of the greater Pacific Northwest. But how might her variety of Jargon reveal itself, if considered within the narrower context of what is known about the language's use and features in her natal community, the Grand Ronde Indian community of northwest Oregon? This contribution assesses Jacobs's record of her Chinook Jargon in the light of documentation from two younger elder Grand Ronde speakers, taking into consideration social as well as linguistic dimensions of the language's historical role and status at Grand Ronde. Implications of these assessments for reconstructing the social history of Chinook Jargon in western Oregon contact communities are also explored.

Keywords: Chinook Jargon, Chinuk Wawa, Victoria Howard, Melville Jacobs, Grand Ronde community.

1 Victoria (Wishikin) Wacheno Howard and Chinook Jargon

Victoria (locally, Victoire [vɪkˈtʰwɑːr]) Howard[1] (1867-1930) is best known for a substantial collection of texts in the Clackamas dialect of Kiksht Upper Chinook that she dictated to the pen of Melville Jacobs (field originals: Jacobs 1929-30; published: Jacobs 1958-59). Within the more limited circle of students of Chinook Jargon (Chinuk Wawa, Jargon),[2] the Indigenous lingua franca of the old Pacific Northwest, she is also known for a small yet very consequential collection of Chinook Jargon texts transcribed by Jacobs incidentally to his Clackamas Kiksht fieldwork (field originals: Jacobs 1929-30, 67:99-111, 68:97-131, 69:9-21, 76-80; published: Jacobs 1936:1-13). These texts provide the only extended sampling of Chinook Jargon connected speech on record from an L1 speaker of a language belonging to the Chinookan family, which also includes Lower Chinook, Jargon's chief lexifier language. They also exhibit an array of features not met with in historical and ethnographic sources documenting the Chinook Jargon of the greater Pacific Northwest (Boas 1933, Thomason 1983). According to one assessment, these features pose issues that call into question the very status of Chinook Jargon as a rule-governed linguistic system, or "language" in the usual sense of that term (Silverstein 1972).

---

*I wish to express my gratitude to the chinuk-wawa language program of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde and the program's current manager, Justine Flynn, for their valued support. I dedicate this exercise to the memory of my late friend and colleague, Yvonne Phillips Hajda (1930-2024).

[1] The local usage (still remembered by elders I interviewed in the early 80s) is supported by Grand Ronde Reservation records, a number of which show the spelling "Victoire" sans natal or married surname. This will be my preferred usage herein. Jacobs consistently spells "Mrs. Howard" in publication, "Mrs. H." in his field notebooks.

[2] I usually follow the local English usage of the Grand Ronde community elder speakers I recorded in the 80s of the last century, terming the language Jargon in most English language contexts. Chinuk Wawa is the language's proper autonym: from the ethnic name Chinook [t͡ʃʰɪˈnʊk] plus [ˈwɑwɑ] 'speech, language' both in Chinuk Wawa and in Kiksht Upper Chinook. I avoid referring to the language as Wawa, as George Lang (2008) does, since as far as I know that has never been a Lower Columbia region usage, albeit it may have been in British Columbia.

In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages 60*,
Ella Hannon, Brian Diep, Laura Griffin, Mila Loginova, Bruce Oliver, Lauren Schneider, Reed Steiner, and Bailey Trotter (eds.). Vancouver, BC: UBCWPL, 2025.

Jacobs's teacher and mentor Franz Boas, who himself had used Chinook Jargon in the course of fieldwork all up and down the Northwest Coast, was the first scholar to call attention to the apparent anomalousness of Victoria Howard's Jargon. In a review of Jacobs's (1932) *Notes on the structure of Chinook Jargon,* based largely on Jacobs's Howard text collection, Boas declared that this speaker's Jargon was "certainly not the Chinook Jargon that has been used for years all along the coast, but seems to be a jargon affected by the Clackamas, a dialect of Chinook proper" (Boas 1933:208-209). Subsequent evaluations by linguists, including those of Thomason and Silverstein cited above, have taken Boas's declaration as a point of departure. What has been largely missing from mainstream linguistic discussions is Boas's accompanying query: "whether other similar material was obtained from other individuals." While likewise largely unacknowledged in elite linguistic disputations regarding the origin, history, and description of Chinook Jargon, field research conducted with elderly speakers from Victoria Howard's natal community of Grand Ronde, Oregon, during the 70s and 80s of the last century (Hajda 1977-80, Zenk 1978-93) provides material of direct relevance for addressing Boas's query. Although most of this material has been made publicly available through my own collaboration with the Chinuk Wawa language program of the contemporary Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde or CTGR (Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project 2012, hereafter: CWDP; also see Zenk 2019), it is not well known outside of program participants and a small circle of interested linguists and other students of Chinuk Wawa. Nor has the significance of this newer material for clarifying the problematic nature of Victoria Howard's Chinook Jargon ever been fully assessed. I mean this contribution as a long overdue step towards that end.

2 A Grand Ronde life

Many Grand Ronde family histories present dense and tangled webs, the multifarious strands of which can be extremely challenging to clearly separate. The most comprehensive treatment to date of this reservation community's founding families is *Living in the great circle: the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation, 1855-1905* (Olson 2011), by the CTGR's foremost genealogist, the late June Olson. Victoria Howard (referenced as Victoria Wishikin) and members of her natal and affinal families receive extended attention there: Olson (2011:154-158, 178-182, 461-474, 507-512). Two short biographical sketches prepared by myself are oriented more to issues of language repertoire and tribal identity: CWDP 372-374, Zenk (2016). While some of the sources accessed by June and myself require careful interpretation lest errors intrude, the following particulars concerning the life and languages of Victoria Howard (hereafter, usually Victoire) are reasonably clear. This individual's family history is actually comparatively well documented by Grand Ronde standards.

Father: Wishikin [ˈwɪʃɪkɪn][3] (also spelled Wishington) or William, known also as Tualatin (Tuality, Twalati, etc.) William (or Bill) or Wapato Bill, who came to Grand Ronde with the Tualatin treaty tribe, a Northern Kalapuya speaking group ("Wapato" appears here as a corruption of the geographic name Wapato Lake, also a synonym of the tribe name Tualatin).

Mother: Sarah, a daughter of Gwayakiti [ˈgwɑjɑkɪ̀ti] (a Clackamas name) (also: Shkaintch [ˈʃkɑ(j)in͡ʧ], a Molala name), the Molala tribal chief at Grand Ronde; and his Clackamas Kiksht speaking wife Wagayuthlen [wɑˈɢɑjuɬən].

Thanks to the vital statistics meticulously kept by Grand Ronde's missionary Catholic priest, Fr. Adrien-Joseph Croquet (locally, "Father Crockett"; he used Jargon daily with his Grand Ronde "flock"—section 3.2 below), we know that a daughter named "Victoire" was born to "Twalatys [Tuality] William (Bill) of this mission [Grand Ronde]," about a month before her baptism on Nov. 9, 1867 (Munnick and Beckham 1987, register I, B-80, p. 51). A subsequent government census of Grand Ronde Reservation family households (Grand Ronde ca. 1872) shows "Wᵐ Wichikin 'Wappato Bill'" with wife Sarah and three children, including "Victoire," age 6. On Dec. 17, 1875, according to Fr. Croquet's register, "William

[3] Bracketed phonetic spellings are IPA transliterations from ethnographic sources, primarily Jacobs (1929-30) (although the spelling [ˈwɪʃɪkɪn] is an exception, having been transliterated from Gatschet 1877:78). Names are usually referenced subsequently by their accompanying anglicized forms.

Wishington, of Twalatay nation" was buried, having died at the age of "about 30 years old" (Munnick and Beckham 1987, register I, S-28, p. 96). Following her father's death, the child Victoire was taken in by her maternal grandparents, as related by Victoire herself in a Clackamas text-segment that Jacobs (1958-59:534-536) titled: "Brought up by my mother's mother." No doubt, Victoire's grandmother, whose original home group was the Clackamas-speaking village at Willamette Falls (modern West Linn, Oregon), was the person who mainly raised her, thus explaining her impressive L1 adult fluency in Clackamas Kiksht. But the grandfather too receives mention in that text, featured in conversation with the grandmother, albeit the language of conversation is not identified. Evidence that Victoire indeed did hear Molala (a language quite distinct in lexicon and structure from Clackamas) while growing up is provided by some 38 pages of Molala lexical items and sentences that Jacobs (1928) transcribed during his very first field sessions with her. According to Jacobs (1958-59:642 n386) himself: "Mrs. Howard understood Molale [Molala] well, but apparently she never spoke it with fluency or self-confidence."

The following further notices from Fr Croquet's register throw additional light on Victoire's life-story:

Following William Wishikin's death, Victoire's mother married Foster Wacheno, a son of the Clackamas treaty chief Wacheno [wɑˈt͡ʃʼi:nu] (Jacobs anglicizes as Watcheeno; his name appears as "Daniel Wacheno of Klakamas nation" in Munnick and Beckham 1987, register I, B56): "December 31, 1878, whereas it has been proved that Andrew Foster Wacheno had been forced to marry against his will with Ann, his former wife, and that marriage appears to be null; we [including] the undersigned priest . . . have received the mutual consent of marriage between the same Foster Wacheno and Sarah Wishington, both Indians of this mission" (Munnick and Beckham 1987, register I, M-13, p. 110). The Wacheno family came to Grand Ronde as part of the Clackamas tribe, whose ancestral lands included the lower Clackamas River and a fall fishing village at modern Gladstone, Oregon. Note that the Clackamas-speaking original tribe of Victoire's maternal grandmother, Wagayuthlen, was a distinct tribe on the early reservation, known as the Oregon City tribe.

A "Sacrament of Confirmation in St. Michael's Church [Grand Ronde]," April 11, 1880, contains a long list of names, including "Victoire Wishington under the name Cecilia" (Munnick and Beckham 1987, register I, C-31, p. 114).

By Victoire's own account (Jacobs 1929-30, 58:118), she was first married at the age of 15. Exactly 15 years (to the year) after he recorded the birth of "Victoire" to "Twalaty[s] William," Fr Croquet recorded the marriage of "Victoire Wishington" to Foster Wacheno's brother, Daniel (more usually: Dan) Wacheno (not to be confused with Daniel Wacheno, the Wacheno brothers' father): "December 12, 1882, after three publications, I the undersigned Rector of St. Michael's have united in marriage, with their mutual consent, Daniel (Marc in his baptismal name) Wacheno and Victoire Wishington of this place" (Munnick and Beckham 1987, register I, M-14, p. 123).[4] Jacobs's annotations are silent regarding Victoire's own role or agency in marrying her step-father's brother at the age of just 15, but do reveal that her Molala foster family, including the Clackamas-speaking grandmother who primarily raised her, strongly disapproved of the union (Olson 2011:510). Nonetheless, Victoire remained married to Dan Wacheno, bearing her first child at the age of 16. She subsequently raised at least six children with Dan Wacheno, all of whom predeceased her.

The Wacheno brothers' elderly mother, Wasusgani [ˈwɑsusgɑni] or Charlotte, also lived with the couple in their Grand Ronde household. Wasusgani was of Cascades Chinookan and Klickitat origin, but had lived as part of the Clackamas River tribe since a young woman. Most of the narratives and reminiscences composing Jacobs's Clackamas Kiksht text collection are sourced to one or the other of Victoire's two senior Kiksht-speaking family members: her grandmother, Wagayuthlen; and her mother-in-law, Wasusgani. Here and there are notes registering minor dialectal differences revealed by the two elders' Kiksht varieties. The old chief, Daniel (Sr), receives only third-person (and rather gossipy) mention

[4] Victoire's information to Jacobs that she was 15 when first married, taken in conjunction with Fr Croquet's entries in his register, supports the biographical time-line presented here. Olson (2011:472), citing a source she identifies as *Polk County Circuit Court Case Files, Index to Divorce Cases 1859-1909*, has it that Victoire married Dan Wacheno in August, 1875, which is simply not credible considering the other sources cited here.

in the collection; his passing is dated May 21, 1887, in Fr. Croquet's register (Munnick and Beckham 1987, register II, S-8, p. 29). Daniel (Jr.), her first husband, goes by and large unnoted in Jacobs's field record, save for a love song in Jargon sung by Victoire to Jacobs's recording machine and identified as follows: "Sung or rather heard by Mrs. Howard when her 1st husband Watchínu [wɑˈt͡ʃʷi:nu] sang it. He sang it using jargon" (Jacobs ca. 1930:36; see CWDP 405 for a transcript, made by myself from a tape dubbing of the original wax cylinder). According to Olson (2011:471-472, 510), Dan Wacheno died in 1908, some five years after Victoire had married her second husband, Eustace Howard. The passing of the person that Jacobs's annotations indicate was especially crucial to her early-life experience of Jargon, namely, her mother Sarah (Gwayakiti) Wishikin Wacheno (2.3 below), is dated Nov. 11, 1891 in Fr Croquet's register: "Sara, wife of Andrew Foster Wacheno, of this place, received the Sacraments of the Church and died, aged about 50 years" (Munnick and Beckham 1987, register II, S14, p. 72). The sacraments of the Church were presumably administered following the failed shamanistic cure that Victoire described in Clackamas in *The shaman at my mother's last illness*, as titled by Jacobs (1958-59:512-514).

In addition to Victoire's husband Dan, her mother's husband Foster, and the brothers' elderly father and mother, the extended Wacheno family of Grand Ronde Reservation included a third brother. This was John Wacheno, step-father of my consultant Wilson Bobb Sr. and maternal grandfather of Yvonne Hajda's consultant Elmer Tom. Both of the latter elders contributed at length to the record of Jargon that Yvonne and I made between 1977 and 1983: section 4 below. Information from these two elders, taken in conjunction with biographical notes in Jacobs's notebooks, has also served as a check on the (primarily document-based) foregoing biographical time-line.

2.1 Tribal affiliations

Jacobs repeatedly refers to Victoire as "a Clackamas Chinook." What is less clear is how Victoire herself would have identified herself, had she been asked. It is not clear from Jacobs's fieldnotes that she ever was. When Jacobs visited her, she was living at West Linn, Oregon, with her second husband, Eustace Howard, who was from a Santiam (Central Kalapuya) speaking Grand Ronde family. According to Jacobs (1958-59:1):

> In 1928 my Santiam Kalapuya informant, Mr. John B. Hudson, told me that the only other well-informed Santiam, Mr. Eustace Howard, was married to a part-Molale part-Clackamas who might remember her languages and heritages in substantial detail. . . . When I visited Mr. Howard I found that his wife did possess a large store of information on Clackamas and a much smaller amount on Molale. She exhibited fine humor, sharp intelligence, and excellent dictation in both Clackamas and English.

The following field annotation provides a more detailed glimpse of Victoire's indigenous heritages. It also credits her with a depth of knowledge superior to that of her second husband, from whom Jacobs nonetheless transcribed an enormous trove of Santiam Central Kalapuya texts while visiting the family's West Linn home (Jacobs read back about 60% of these texts for later translation by John B. Hudson, leaving 40% as yet untranslated; none were translated with the man who dictated them). Victoire is "Mrs. H." here and uniformly elsewhere in Jacobs's field record.

> [Eustace Howard] had lived his first thirty odd years just with his Santiam mother, most of the time indeed quite alone with her. He knows only Santiam, jargon, and English. He sp[oke] Santiam with his mother, all those years. That is why he is potentially the best informed surviving Santiam. Mrs. H. knew some twáɬati [Tualatin] people, could understand Molale, speaks Clackamas, jargon and English, can sing interestingly, knows Wasco [another Kiksht dialect], and generally is worldlier and abler and respected, by comparison. (Jacobs 1929-30, 52:30, 32)

In favor of Jacobs's identification of Victoire as "a Clackamas Chinook," post-marriage residence in indigenous Northwest Oregon was as a rule patrilocal: that is, wives as a general rule joined their husband's group after marriage. Natal local affiliation for both men and women was reckoned through the father's line, while the prevailing custom of intergroup marriage (reinforced by a strong taboo on marriage within any traceable degree of blood relationship) meant that a woman's married local affiliation was usually different from her natal affiliation. The tribes of nineteenth-century Grand Ronde Reservation were all quite small, the result of drastic demographic declines induced by prior Euro-American contact. Reflecting ties of fictive and putative kinship as well as demonstrable biologic relationship, members of these small tribes tended to regard one another as relatives. This virtually precluded intra-tribal marriage on the reservation. With respect to Victoire's family background as sketched above, she could be labeled as a Tualatin based on her original natal family (she is indeed so identified in a death notice appended to Grand Ronde 1932, the Grand Ronde Indian census for that year). She could also fairly be considered Molala, based on her upbringing in the household of her Molala grandfather (she is so identified by Mary Ann Michelle, an Oregon City Clackamas descendant and lifelong resident of Grand Ronde, in a letter to the Howards' daughter, Agatha (Howard) Howe Bloom; Michelle 1953). And as explained above, she could also be considered Clackamas, based on her marriage to Dan Wacheno.

But were considerations of marriage and residency what induced Jacobs to label her as a "Clackamas Chinook"? A more likely possibility is that her mastery of the Clackamas Kiksht language was uppermost in Jacobs's mind when he so referred to her. Lacking any clearer statement of self-identity from Victoire herself, other than that implied by the foregoing quotation from Jacobs's fieldnotes, the question of her own preferred tribal self-identification (if any) must remain open.[5]

2.2 Early experience of English

Nor were Clackamas and Molala Victoire's only languages. Jacobs's field notebooks document her knowledge of two other languages that she spoke fluently: Jargon and English.

Apropos of my purpose here, Jacobs's annotations provide some background information on Jargon in her earlier life, but shed very little light on when and how she acquired English. Her fluency in English is revealed, rather, in the close translations she made of her Clackamas and Jargon dictations, given as Jacobs read his phonetic transcripts back to her; as well as in a wealth of detail of all kinds that she delivered in English to Jacobs, and which he wrote down in annotations scattered throughout the 17 field notebooks he made with her. This oversight is consistent with Jacobs's modus operandi in all of his Northwest fieldwork, which was to focus single-mindedly on making a record of indigenous languages and traditions; his sources' contemporary lives and communities were of much less interest to him (Seaburg and Amoss 2000:3-36). The only hint I find anywhere in his field notebooks of an early-life exposure to English comes in the following anecdote, which has no obvious connection to the Clackamas text dictation opposite which it appears in the notebook. What I infer happened here was: Jacobs was curious as to whether Victoire had any thoughts about where a Grand Ronde community member well known to her, a man named William Hartless, might have picked up French folktales that he dictated in his tribal language (Marys River Central Kalapuya) to the linguist Leo J. Frachtenberg, some 15 years earlier (these folktales were later edited and published by Jacobs 1945:275-335). He wrote down her response, which consists of three very briefly

[5] Although she and her Santiam second husband, Eustace Howard, retained close connections to their original Grand Ronde community (as pointed out to me in 1989 by their grand-daughter Bernice (Howe) McEachran, who herself was born at Grand Ronde), I am aware of no source identifying Victoire as Santiam. My consultant Wilson Bobb Sr., whose step-father John Wacheno was a brother of Victoire's first husband, objected when I referred to Victoire as a Clackamas: "I can't figure out how one Clackamas could get together and *marry* another Clackamas. You never did see people from one tribe marrying one another in those times" (quoted in CWDP 373). Mr. Bobb said he believed he knew which tribe Victoire belonged to, but couldn't recall just then. Unfortunately, I neglected to pursue the question further with him.

sketched scenarios for tracing where Hartless *might* conceivably have encountered such stories. These thoughts are left as an isolated one-off; the question receives no further attention in Jacobs's notebooks.

> Bill Hartless had a wife who was part French—his m.-in-law [sic] spoke French. When Mrs. H. went to school at Grand Ronde the Catholic sisters told the children French lore. Thus we see how such lore filtered into the Indian population in W. Oregon. There were other French speaking families. (Jacobs 1929-30, 56:122)

Three possible sources of French lore in the Indian community are proposed: 1) William Hartless's wife's French-speaking family; 2) the teachers at Grand Ronde's government boarding school, attended by Victoire ("Mrs. H.") herself; 3) other French speaking families in the community (local French was among the languages of the multi-lingual founding Grand Ronde Reservation community). Taken out of context, the reference to "Mrs. H." could conceivably be to Bill Hartless's wife. However, this is very unlikely, considering that "Mrs. H." is how Jacobs identified Victoire throughout the 17 field notebooks he transcribed from her. Accordingly, Scenario 2 appears to tell us that, in common with virtually every other Grand Ronde Indian child of her generation, Victoire attended the reservation's government school, where priority was given to teaching the children to speak, read, and write English. So far, no corroborating documentation of her attendance in the school has turned up, although such documentation is on record for Eustace Howard, her second husband. Not all children attending the school were boarded there; some attended as day students, which may or may not explain the lack of such documentation. But it would be surprising had she not put in a stint at the school. Without a doubt, she would have received significant early-life exposure to English there.

2.3 Early experience of Jargon

In contrast to the dearth of reference to English in the field notebooks, Jargon receives a fair number of mentions. One singular fact emerges from the greater number of these: Victoire associated her early-life experience of Jargon with one family member in particular—her mother.

> Mrs. H's twálɑti [Tualatin] father died when she was a very little girl, hence her grandparents, one Molale [sic], one Clackamas, were the people who raised [sic]; Mrs. H's mother talked mostly jargon to her, but knew Mol[ala] and Clack[amas] just like Mrs. H. (Jacobs 1929-30, 52:142)

Jacobs took care to record such background information as Victoire was able to supply regarding each and every one of her narrative dictations, notably the identities of individuals from whom she first heard and learned them. That "Mrs. H's mother talked mostly jargon to her" is given added credence by this record. One of the first myth texts that Victoire dictated in Clackamas Kiksht is accompanied by the following note in the field version:

> This must be a Molale story, Mrs. H. says, but Mrs. H. learned it in jargon from her mother, and tells it here in Clackamas. (Jacobs 1929-30, 52:137)

An endnote to the published version (Jacobs 1958-59:446-449, text 53) repeats this information, only in Jacobs's restatement it would appear that Victoire knew the story must be Molala *because* it was told in Jargon by her mother—a conclusion which is not self-evident from the field source.

> Mrs. Howard thought that this myth, one of the first she dictated to me . . . , must be of Molale origin, because she had learned it not in Clackamas but in Chinook jargon and from her mother. (Jacobs 1958-59:642 n383)

A more glaring disjunct between field source and public (published) information is apparent for another Molala-identified narrative, likewise attributed by Victoire to her mother and represented by

renditions both in Clackamas (Jacobs 1958-59:449-451, text 54) and in Jargon (Jacobs 1936:4-6, text 2; excerpted here in Appendix 1). In this case, the field transcript of the Jargon version states quite clearly that Victoire originally heard this narrative in Jargon. Jacobs lost track of this field annotation when he worked his Clackamas texts up for publication, instead reasoning that since this is a Molala story, Victoire's mother must have told it originally in Molala.

> [Field version:] same story as above [Clackamas field version], told about as her mother originally told it to her in jargon. (Jacobs 1929-30, 67:99; this information is repeated in Jacobs 1936:4 n5).

> [As published in *Clackamas Chinook texts*:] The story . . . came from Mrs. Howard's mother, who presumably told it in the Molale language to her daughter. (Jacobs 1958-59:642 n386)

Judging by the sequence in which Victoire's four Jargon texts appear in the field notebooks, this was the first Jargon text that Victoire dictated to Jacobs. It is of special significance here, because its corresponding Clackamas version (which immediately precedes the Jargon version in field notebook 67) contains a key piece of background information enabling us to situate the (attributed) Jargon original within the time-line sketched above for Victoire's childhood and young adulthood. The narrative opens with an introductory paragraph appearing in both versions; in the Clackamas version as published, this begins: "Wherever my stepfather (my mother's husband) went, I would watch for him to return." The Clackamas term translated 'stepfather' [iˈt͡ʃəmut] is clearly explained in the gloss accompanying the Clackamas field text (where the introductory paragraph actually appears after the text proper):

> itcə́mut / my step-father / my mother's husband who is not my own father / (also my mother's brother). (Jacobs 1929-30, 67:99)

The text is framed as a story told to the child Victoire, when (à la the interlinear field translation corresponding to the above opening line of the published Clackamas version:) "wherever (whenever) / he'd go / my stepfather / I'd kind of go watch and wait for him to come." The story describes a grandmother and grandchild who suffer a terrible fate, all due to the disobedience of "that little girl," who lingered while watching for the return of uncles gone off hunting every day—thus failing to heed her grandmother's warning that in doing so she just might "see something" (namely, a monstrous being). The context, as well as the type of story (told for the specific purpose of scaring children into behaving; I wonder whether this would be considered really a "myth" in traditional terms) points to Victoire's later childhood, presumably sometime in between her mother's marriage to Foster Wacheno in 1878 (when Victoire would have been 11), and her own marriage to Dan Wacheno at age 15.

Two more Jargon texts appearing in *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (Jacobs 1936:1-4, 12-13; text numbers 1, 4 there) are likewise accompanied by field annotations identifying the original language as Jargon: text 1 is "probably" a Molala narrative, but heard by Victoire "in Jargon" (Jacobs 1929-30, 69:7; according to additional information cited in Jacobs 1936:1 n4, the source was a Modoc slave woman brought up among the Molalas); text 4 was "told to Mrs. H. by her mother, in Jargon" (Jacobs 1929-30, 69:76; this text is excerpted in Appendix 2). Text 1 by all appearances belongs to the same genre as text 2—a story used to scare children into behaving. Text 4 describes a children's game, and could be classified as an ethnographic description. The original source language of text 3 as published (also represented by a Clackamas version in Jacobs 1958-59:438-446) was less certain in Victoire's memory, Jargon and Clackamas both being offered as likely candidates:

> Mrs. H.'s mother told this either in jargon or Clackamas, which she also spoke, as well as Molale. Perhaps she also used Molale in telling it—as, e.g. íʼɪnhúːdɪ, which is Molale (Jacobs 1929-30, 67:138)

The Molala-attributed term <(')í'inhú·di>, translated 'our sister-in-law', appears in publication in the Clackamas version of this text; while the Jargon version shows, instead, a Chinookan-derived (but evidently properly Jargon) term: *yat^{h}um* 'sister-in-law' (CWDP 256, 420).

Jacobs's field record includes several more references to Victoire's past experience of Jargon. The following one in particular calls to mind Jacobs's (1936:vii) observation that "no small portion of native culture and knowledge was handed on of late years through the medium of Chinook Jargon."

> Mrs. H. says she is vague about what either Molales or Clackamas said of the land of the dead; she thinks it is across the ocean (idə́mɑɬ [a Clackamas term]) but she heard it talked about, as a land off over the ocean, in jargon only. (Jacobs 1929-30, 52:142)

3 Was Chinook Jargon a creole at Grand Ronde?

To recapitulate section 2 above: a variety of sources, notably including Jacobs's 17 field notebooks full of linguistic, biographical, and ethnographic data secured from Victoire herself during the last two years of her life, provide an unusually detailed account of her life experience of the three indigenous languages she knew—namely, Clackamas Kiksht, Molala, and Chinook Jargon. Little such detail is preserved regarding her fourth adult language, English; we know only that as an adult she spoke English with a high degree of fluency and expressive facility. Of her three indigenous languages, Chinook Jargon stands out by virtue of its biographical association with one family member in particular—namely, her mother. What pray tell explains the latter association?

Jacobs's texts and annotations include very little information from Victoire concerning her natal Grand Ronde household, the one established by her Molala and Clackamas speaking mother, Sarah Gwayakiti, and her Tualatin (Northern Kalapuya) identified father, William Wishikin. At the same time, much of Victoire's Tualatin family tree is recoverable from Jacobs's annotations, showing that she did know that she was born into what, in traditional terms, would be considered a Tualatin family. By the evidence of Jacobs's texts and annotations, neither Victoire nor her mother knew or had more than a passing acquaintance with the Northern Kalapuya language (Victoire was able to repeat a few lines of Tualatin words from songs she heard at winter dances; texts in Jacobs ca. 1930). Jargon was a language of daily interaction in other Grand Ronde households (an example is given below), raising the possibility that Victoire's mother used Jargon with her first husband, and that this was the (or a) source of her apparent preference for using Jargon when speaking to her daughter. While Jacobs's field annotations offer no direct confirmation of such a scenario, they do include information on other community members' language repertoires, some of which proves relevant for evaluating the role of Jargon in the early-forming Grand Ronde community.

The expected traditional regional pattern of language use in tribally bilingual households was for household members to use one or the other, or both of their respective tribal languages. An example is the bilingual household that Victoire shared with her grandparents, whose two tribal languages were both in household use. Jargon appears not to have been a language of this household—for one thing: "Mrs. H's grandmother could not talk jargon" (Jacobs 1929-30, 69:92). In the following annotations, Victoire appears to struggle somewhat to identify the tribes of two individuals belonging to the Clackamas-Molala community circle of her early years at Grand Ronde. While the languages spoken by individuals within that circle are clearly relevant for determining their tribal affiliations, Victoire weighs in other factors as well.

The first individual, a cousin (mother's brother's son) who died young, went by a Clackamas name ([kʾɑˈtɑmʃ]) as well as an English name (Augustin). Victoire weighs the boy's Clackamas name, his language repertoire, and most crucially (*à la* 2.1 above) his paternity, to fix his tribal affiliation:

> kʾɑtámc, Augustin.
> A Clackamas man's name. But Augustin spoke Jargon only and died at about 12. He was really Molale [sic]—his father was Molale and his mother Shasta. (Jacobs 1929-30, 68:84)

Uncertainty regarding the tribal provenance of the name [ˈɬɑaɬɢɑɪ], borne by a man who spoke both Clackamas and Molala, appears to have complicated Victoire's evaluation of the case below: that of one of this man's sons, whose English surname (Kaikai) appears to derive from the foregoing indigenous name. Accordingly, Victoire apparently can do no better than to suggest tribally mixed heritages for both father and son. She takes into consideration the name [ˈɬɑaɬɢɑɪ], the family's languages, and the son's parentage:

> Man, half Molale [sic], half Klamath, lived most of his life at Grand Ronde, Steven Kaikai. His father's Indian name was łɡáiłɡai, his father was part Molale but spoke Clackamas perfectly; the name łɡáiłɡai is uncertainly Molale or Clackamas. … His mother was a probably full Klamath. She never talked Klamath to him. … But Kaikai himself knew neither Molale or Clackamas fluently, speaking only Jargon and English. (Jacobs ca. 1930:33-34)

Slave origin complicates the following case of a woman who spoke Clackamas but, as far as Victoire knew, was known only by the Jargon nickname *hayash-tutúsh* ('big breasts', CWDP spelling) and the English name Mary:

> … she was a doctor woman, brought up as a child from the Modocs, as a slave, brought to the Clackamas, who raised her; she spoke only Jargon and Clackamas. She was called háyɑs ʇuʇuˊc, "big breasts"; Mrs. H. does not know her real name—if she had one. The whites called her Mary. (Jacobs ca. 1930:34)

As these and other annotations indicate, Victoire recognized Jargon as a language of her family and community, coordinate in that respect with the founding community's tribal languages and (increasingly so as time went on) local English.

The special status of Jargon in the local Grand Ronde community (in contrast to the larger dispersed community constituted by all tribally affiliated individuals: an important distinction) persists down to the present day, although the language was clearly in danger of disappearing when Yvonne Hajda and myself first came onto the scene in the late 1970s. The community was then actively campaigning to reverse the termination in 1954 of its status as a federally recognized Indian tribe, a collective effort that bore fruit with the tribe's restoration in 1983. Between 1977 and 2000, Yvonne Hajda, Tony Johnson, and myself interviewed a total of 14 Grand Ronde elders who retained varying degrees of knowledge of Jargon (CWDP 16-18). These 14 elders represented but some last surviving members of an originally far larger generational cohort, as pointed out in 3.1 and 3.2 below.

All of these 14 elders attributed their knowledge of the language to earlier-life family contexts of use. Among these speakers were four daughters and a foster son of John B. Hudson (1868-1954), a contemporary of Victoire and a life-long resident of Grand Ronde. Hudson's language repertoire is well documented, once again thanks largely to the linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork of Jacobs (1928-36). Hudson spoke one tribal language fluently (Santiam Central Kalapuya, the main focus of Jacobs's sessions with him; texts published as Jacobs 1945:13-142), understood another (Yoncalla Southern Kalapuya), and was fluent both in Jargon and English. His Jargon is sampled in texts transcribed and published by Jacobs (1936:14-19), as well as in an audio recording made in 1941 by a grandson, Vincent Mercier (CWDP 383-384). Samplings both of his English and of his Santiam may be heard on an audio tape recorded by Swadesh (1953), shortly before his death.

An especially interesting aspect of this case is presented by the Hudson parents' emphatically progressive outlook. Both had attended the Grand Ronde government boarding school as children (the father for two years, the mother for three—typical stints for reservation children) and were fluent and literate in English. They strongly encouraged their children to pursue their own educations and become productive members of the larger society (two of the daughters and a son became career teachers, beginning a family tradition that has continued down through succeeding generations). The mother, Hattie (Sands) Hudson, was the daughter of an absent White father and a Takelma-speaking mother, and according to the

sisters was heard to use Takelma on occasion with older members of her own mother's extended family. While Takelma (a language isolate) and Kalapuyan (a family of three languages) are thought by some linguists to be genetically ultimately related, they are quite dissimilar in structure. The parents used both Jargon and English, not their tribal languages, in the home—Jargon mainly with each other (and in earlier years, with the siblings' maternal grandmother and a great aunt, also household members), English mainly when speaking to the children. All of the children could speak Jargon as adults (my Grand Ronde audio recordings include samplings of connected Jargon speech from three of the sisters and from the foster son), although by their own accounts the siblings' main childhood experience of the language was from hearing their parents use it, much more than from using it themselves. The Hudson siblings' life-experience of their two natal household languages was succinctly sketched for me by the longest-lived Hudson daughter, Ila (Hudson) Dowd (1908-2001), who, note, is captured conversing in Jargon with her father in the above-mentioned audio recording made by Vincent Mercier in 1941.

> I'll tell you what I think. I think our parents tried to talk English with us as much as they could, but then when they talked among themselves they would talk Jargon and we automatically understood, then after that it didn't matter they could mix it up with us. Because we, I can't remember of a time that we had to, [that] we didn't know Jargon or didn't know English. It was just, was just natural ... , We knew both at the same time, we never had to learn anything 'cause we just naturally knew. (Zenk 1978-93, notebook 4:173-174)

3.1 The great Cascades divide

As pointed out above, the expected traditional regional pattern of language use in tribally bilingual households was for household members to use one or the other, or both of their respective tribal languages. Silverstein, arguing against granting creole status to Jargon, observes:

> In the course of fieldwork among Columbia River people, I have not heard of any cases in former years where intermarriage and/or permanent residence in the same household resulted in the use of Jargon rather than one of the languages used by the people previously … . (Silverstein 1972:380)

But as also pointed out above, Grand Ronde case histories are on record showing precisely such a state of affairs. Grand Ronde is a Columbia River region community, presenting us with a disjunct between these cases and the observations of a linguist widely recognized for his expert knowledge of Chinookan languages.

This disjunct is actually less jarring than it might first appear, when we consider that Silverstein's fieldwork among Columbia River people was focused on Kiksht Upper Chinook speaking members of the Yakama and Warm Springs communities, both of which lie to the east of the Cascades divide. Historically no less than today, the Cascades summit demarcates a social and cultural divide as well as a geographical-climatological divide. Grand Ronde and the related contact communities that preceded it, notably Fort Vancouver (modern Portland Basin) and French Prairie (in the northern Willamette Valley), were all west-side communities. To a much greater extent than the indigenous communities consolidated at the Warm Springs and Yakama agencies to the east, these communities were tribally, ethnically, and linguistically heterogeneous. A student of Silverstein, Chris Roth (1994), on surveying the record for Fort Vancouver in particular, concluded that the multifarious and fluid nature of interethnic contacts there constitutes, in itself, presumptive evidence for Silverstein's (1972:380) further claim that "we have no examples of a stable linguistic community which maintained Jargon speech over a long period of time, presumably leading to creolization."

In many respects, the record for Fort Vancouver parallels that available for Grand Ronde. There is a rich documentary resource, in the Fort Vancouver case including Hudson Bay Company and Catholic

Church records; along with some academic scholarship, notably from the pioneer linguist Horatio Hale (a visitor in 1841). Contemporary observations of languages in use, as for Grand Ronde, are anecdotal: in this case, they include Hale's (1846:644) much-quoted observation that "this factitious language" (Jargon, for which Hale also provides the first systematic linguistic description) was being spoken by "many children," for whom "it is really the mother-tongue, and who speak it with more readiness and perfection than any other." George Lang's (2008:85-121) deep dive into the Fort Vancouver record leaves a much more nuanced impression of Jargon's role and importance there than Roth's encapsulation. Of course, lacking direct observations of languages in daily use, the case is necessarily largely circumstantial. According to Lang, the weight of circumstantial evidence regarding the early community adoption and subsequent regional dissemination of Jargon points to a key role for the multi-tribal and linguistically heterogenous cohort of Indian women married to French-speaking fur-company employees (known as voyageurs):

> …a… primal logic operated within voyageur families in the 1830s. Given the linguistic discontinuities in their community and within those families themselves, Wawa [Jargon] was an essential element of exchange. … Spoken as a contact pidgin by a heterogeneous and scattered population, Wawa was most thoroughly embraced and transformed by the small community who had urgent need for it: Indian and *métisse* women who had entered fur trade society too late to learn French or English, whose own children did not acquire their mother tongues, and whose speech habits were phonologically Native. Although many were Chinookan speakers, a large number of Salishan and even some Wakashan and Hokan speakers were part of the mix. With some exceptions, there is considerable convergence among these languages, at least in terms of phonological traits central to Wawa (Lang 2008:120)

An additional factor of which I was not fully cognizant years ago, when I tried to make a case for classifying Jargon in its Grand Ronde setting as a creole (Zenk 1988), is the observation that many members of these west-side communities viewed Jargon in a neutral or positive light—in contrast to the stigmatizing attributions frequently encountered in settler-era sources, as well as in the writings of many academics (according to Roth above: Jargon "was regarded as 'primitive' and limited by both whites and Indians"). This insight came to me on recently rereading some of Emanuel Drechsel's work on Mobilian Jargon, the historical pidgin lingua franca of the Gulf Coast.

> The use of MJ [Mobilian Jargon] … did not convey any obvious negative connotations. In the minds of its last speakers, the pidgin was a neutral, impartial medium, being nobody's language. Joke songs performed on such occasions as intertribal games and dances, when chanted in MJ lost some of their sarcasm; they resulted in much laughter, …. several older Indians remembered the pidgin quite fondly as a most practical medium, and described it as a "handy language." (Drechsel 1987:437)

Drechsel's characterization of his sources' attitude towards Mobilian Jargon is reminiscent of sentiments regarding Chinook Jargon shared with me by some of my elderly Grand Ronde consultants, with the important proviso that Jargon was the language most associated with the Grand Ronde Indian community's collective heritage (as opposed to the heritages of any of its original founding tribes), and in that sense could fairly be described as "somebody's language." I am also able to speak from personal experience of Jargon's negative evaluation, not only from fellow Northwesterners of Euro-American origin, but more pointedly, from some elderly Wasco (Kiksht Upper Chinook) speaking members of the Warm Springs community. To some extent, those speakers' evaluation may reflect a Chinookan speakers' perception of Jargon as inferior Chinookan (if Victoire, a Chinookan speaker, had a like perception, Jacobs did not note it); but alternatively, it could also reflect an historical association of Jargon with settlers, who in early days used it to communicate with local Native people. Negative stereotyping of Jargon is also frequently encountered in the writings of Euro-Americans, including historians and anthropologists. A quite

different point of view was expressed to me by one of the more fluent Jargon-speaking Grand Ronde elders I recorded, Wilson Bobb Sr (1891-1985), who sharply distinguished "good Jargon," spoken only by Indians, from local settler varieties of the language:

> I used to talk to White people in MackMinnville [McMinnville, Oregon, 25 miles from Grand Ronde] that tried to tell me they could talk Jargon or Chinook [t͡ʃʰɪˈnʊk], shoot you could see right away they can't. Even if they came over on the Oregon Trail they couldn't talk good Jargon. … Like me, I could tell right away that they're off, but I could understand what they're trying to say, then sometimes they get mixed up 'n I have to study what they're saying, and they'd get fouled up. (CWDP 432)

The following contemporary notice of Jargon in elder use in the Grand Ronde community of 1934 provides a succinct study in Jargon's conflicting social evaluations. The source is the journal of the anthropologist Joel Berreman, who spent the entire summer of 1934 at Grand Ronde engaged in participant observation of the Indian community.

> Most all the real old people still know jargon, though almost none know their tribal languages. When two old people meet it is not unusual for them to converse a little in jargon. … To the entire group it seems like the real old Indian language, though in reality it is a frontier linguistic freak. (Berreman 1935, 2:9).

Two quite different perspectives are evident from this anecdote: that of "the entire group," presumably the local Grand Ronde Indian community at large, for which Jargon constituted part of the community's collective heritage; versus that of the observer-anthropologist, whose own evaluation is revealed in his sarcastic phrasing: "the real old Indian language"; followed by his contrastive: "in fact… ."

3.2 Recent contributions to the social history of Chinook Jargon at Grand Ronde

In Zenk (1988) I drew on then available sources to support a sketch of the social history of Jargon in the Grand Ronde Indian community. In the intervening years additional sources have come to light, a full accounting of which must await further evaluation. But two in particular add detail significant enough to rate mention here.

Among anecdotal notices of Jargon in use in the nineteenth-century community, the following from General O. O. Howard's account of an 1876 visit to the reservation is especially suggestive. Having arrived at the new government school, administered by the Catholic church and taught by Catholic sisters, Howard reports:

> From the school-room we went to the agency office near the "children's home." Here the Indians wished me to talk to them. I did so, expressing my gratification at the school, the farms, the evident progress of the people of the several tribes here gathered. One after another the Indians made answer. The younger Indians could speak plain English, but for fear the old ones would not understand them, they all talked the Chinook, or "Jargon," as they call the language, and had it interpreted to me. (O. O. Howard quoted in Kenoyer, Zenk, Schrock 2017:15)

It must be remembered that Grand Ronde Reservation was founded in 1856 with the forced consolidation and segregation there of linguistically diverse indigenous groups uprooted from all over interior western Oregon. Individuals who had come to the reservation as adults or grown children constituted a sizeable portion of the reservation population for the following 50-plus years. While there may have been some "old ones" in 1876 who still did not understand English, the weight of evidence tells us that many did—only, many of them also preferred not to hear or use it within their own families and community (or at least, not

all the time).[6] In a Northwest reservation community constituted by speakers of nine-plus original languages, none of which commanded majority status in the community (see Zenk 1988), Jargon was the only viable community alternative to English. Very likely, General Howard's "younger Indians" were using Jargon at least as much out of deference for the feelings and perceived collective preference of the gathered "old ones," as out of any necessity to make themselves more universally intelligible than they might have in English.

Similar considerations apply to Fr Croquet, Grand Ronde's missionary priest from 1860 to 1898. Fr Croquet spoke French natively, spoke English with a thick French accent, and delivered sermons in English accompanied by his own extemporaneous Jargon translations provided "for the old Indians" (Kenoyer, Zenk, Schrock 2017:7, 32n5, 305n1). A notable addition to the documentary record of Jargon in the nineteenth century community has recently come to light, in the form of an extended sample of literary Jargon written in the mid-1880s, most likely by Fr Croquet himself (although no author is listed; Grand Ronde Mission ca. 1884). This appears in print in a Church volume, along with comparable samples from some 26 other North American Catholic missions. Each mission is represented by a petition to the pope imploring the canonization of Kateri Tekakwitha and two martyred French priests; and each petition appears in a language spoken at that mission (Hogue 2014). It is noteworthy that a half dozen or so Northwest missions are represented, each by a text in a tribal language—with the exception of Grand Ronde, which has the only petition composed in Chinook Jargon. Noteworthy, but not really surprising, considering that Grand Ronde was a polyglot multi-tribal, multi-ethnic community, where but two languages enjoyed community wide currency—English and Jargon. In my judgment, this text provides important documentary confirmation of the symbolic significance that Jargon acquired for members of the nineteenth century Grand Ronde community. I have excerpted it in Appendix 5; and draw upon it as a source of supporting examples in section 4.

3.3 A question of definition

Well, where does all this leave us? Is it permissible to term Jargon as used historically in west-side contact communities of the southern Northwest Coast a creole language?

A quick look online (www.wordnik.com/words/creole) reveals this definition of "creole": "A dialect formed from two languages [should be: two or more languages] which has developed from a pidgin to become a first language." In these terms, Jargon as historically documented in the northwest Oregon and southwest Washington subregion can be classified as a creole, on the basis of multiple independent notices of children there learning it as a first or a co-first language, albeit we are unable to cite any documented example of a monolingually or primarily Jargon-speaking local community. The linguist David Robertson, our foremost authority on regional Chinook Jargon (Jargon in its many tribal, ethnic, and sub-regional manifestations across the greater Pacific Northwest), argues that sources documenting Jargon in the greater lower Columbia subregion definitely point towards creolization; and furthermore, that certain linguistic features of the Jargon historically used there are best considered diagnostics of creolization (Robertson in Joe Peter Chinook Transcription Project 2024:216-218).

The then-dominant definitions of "creole" that I encountered in my graduate program in anthropology during the 80s were much more restrictive than the foregoing Wordnick definition. They are well exemplified by the entry for "creolized language" in my trusty old American Heritage Dictionary (New College Edition), published the very year I first began interviewing Grand Ronde elders—1978:

> A type of mixed language that develops when dominant and subordinate groups that speak different languages have prolonged contact, incorporating the basic vocabulary of

[6] According to the Indian agent overseeing the reservation in 1891: "Out of the whole number of Indians I think 300 of them can use English enough for ordinary conversation, though nearly all understand the English language more or less, but seldom try to speak it" (Lamson 1891:369). The locally resident population of Grand Ronde Reservation fluctuated between about 300 and about 400 during this period.

> the dominant language with the grammar and an admixture of words from the subordinate language, and becoming the native tongue of the subordinate group.

The conditions imposed by narrow definitions such as this one is what motivated me (in Zenk 1988) to refer to Jargon at Grand Ronde as a "creolizing language," versus a "creole" as such. In brief: I argued that Jargon became an expression of Indian community identity on the nineteenth-century segregated reservation, where it was being learned by many community children—albeit by the end of that era it had yielded priority of community place to local English. In retrospect, I should think that Jargon in its Grand Ronde setting can be considered a creole, at least loosely speaking; more strictly or technically speaking, perhaps it is better termed a nativized expanded pidgin[7]—a "type of mixed language" owing not only its grammar to indigenous sources (Thomason 1983), but much of its basic lexicon as well (Zenk, Johnson, Braun Hamilton 2010). The important thing to recognize is that from the mid-nineteenth into the early twentieth centuries, this was a language of daily use in the Grand Ronde Indian community. Case histories and circumstantial evidence alike point especially to older Indians, those whose life experience extended back before or shortly following the founding of the reservation in 1856, as crucial players in keeping the language alive in Grand Ronde households well into the twentieth century, even as it acquired a largely symbolic (as opposed to practical or communicative) function in the community at large (as recognized by Roth 1994:157, who cites my authority along with that of Jacobs and Hymes for the discovery that Chinook Jargon "became a culturally significant joking register in some American Indian communities in the twentieth century").

4 Chinook Jargon as spoken by Victoria Howard and other members of her natal community

Jacobs did not begin transcribing Jargon narrative texts from Victoire until March, 1930, near the very end of his two years' worth of field work with her. By then, he had developed a firm grasp of the phonetic features and nuances of the Clackamas Kiksht he was hearing from her. What he then heard in Victoire's Jargon surprised him in some respects. The phonetic bases of the rather different impressions that the two languages made on him are best illustrated with reference to his field transcriptions and translations, as opposed to his published text collections in each language. With Victoire's passing in 1930, the opportunity to further check and process texts with their originator was gone. In preparing his Clackamas texts for publication many years later, Jacobs modified his original field transcriptions, eliminating what he took to be superfluous phonetic detail and replacing many of the older Americanist alphabet-symbols appearing there with modern equivalents drawn from the Americanist phonemic alphabet developed by Edward Sapir. He did so without the benefit of a morphological analysis of the word-forms whose spellings he was simplifying, albeit the published spellings adhere by and large very closely to their corresponding field originals. While Jacobs (n.d.) reveals that he did apply himself to the language's morphology to some extent, most likely in conjunction with preparing the texts for publication (the results are mixed, in the judgment of the late Chinookanist Dell Hymes),[8] the field notebooks themselves are quite bereft of focused grammar work (a deficit that Jacobs himself felt moved to clarify in his introduction to the published collection; Jacobs 1958-59:2). In preparing the translations for publication, Jacobs converted his field display, in which Victoire's English appears largely in interlinear format, to one of matching full sentences.

[7] This terminology follows a suggestion made to me by the late Tucker Childs, remembered for his many contributions to African and pidgin-creole linguistics.

[8] The inflectional morphologies of Chinookan languages were worked out by a succession of linguists working with fluent L1 speakers of the languages, beginning with Boas in collaboration with the Lower Chinook and Kathlamet speaker Charles Cultee. Why then, wondered Hymes (in correspondence with Yvonne Hajda, 9/18/1981), do Jacobs's (n.d.) Clackamas linguistic slip-files reveal no indication that he had consulted any of that hard-won previous work?: "Morphology was not Jacobs's strong point, to judge from the start he made on Clackamas. Apparently ignoring what Boas had worked out in Lower Chinook, and [Walter] Dyk's unpublished Wishram dissertation, he fumbled around, making many alternative cuts of the same forms and duplicating a lot of entries for the same word."

Unless one has a pretty good working knowledge of Chinookan grammar (Chinookan languages in general are known for their exuberant inflectional morphologies), this makes it very difficult to form much of an appreciation of what is going on in the Clackamas, based on the translations as published—as illustrated by example (1), consisting of *a*: a Clackamas field set with original field translation (Jacobs 1929-30, 69:92); followed by *b*: the corresponding set as published (Jacobs 1958-59:551); and by *c*: the component Clackamas word-forms as parsed by Duncan (2022:297).[9]

(1) a.

gɑtgíyɑmx̣	qɑ́·x̣bɑ	ǩú· qɑ́dux̣t	idɑ́lxɑm.
They got there	where	they had gathered (at Dayton)	the people

b. gatgíyamx̣ qáx̣ba ǩú qɑ́dux̣t idɑ́lxam.
'They reached the place (Dayton) where they were assembling the (Indian) people (whom they were bringing to new homes at Grand Ronde).'

c. ga–tg–í–yam–x̣
MYT.PST–3PL–EP–arrive–USIT (inflected verb: √*yam* 'arrive')

ǩú Ø–qɑ́–d–u–x̣–t
gather PRS–3INDEF–3PL:ABS–DIR–do–IMPRF
(particle verb: *ǩú* 'gather'; paired inflected auxiliary verb: √*x̣* 'make, do, become')

qáx̣–ba	id–´ lxam
where–LOC (suffixed particle)	PL–people (noun)

Jacobs's field display of Victoire's Jargon is also basically interlinear, only the interlinear translations are usually (with some qualifications, as noted below) not matched to corresponding whole word-forms, as they are (for the most part) in the Clackamas field texts. Rather, they are paired with grouped independent words, represented in the field texts as unsegmented multi-word clusters. In editing the texts for publication, Jacobs left these clusters intact, inserting dashes in between most, but not all of the words constituting them—as illustrated by example (2), consisting of *a*: a Jargon field set (Jacobs 1929-30, 68:113); *b*: the same set as published (Jacobs 1936:9):

(2) a.

yámʊŋklɑgámɑs	wíklí·lɪ	áldɑyɑmʊŋkpá·tɬ	kánɑwɪ'íkdɑ.
She dug camas	not long Pretty soon	then she filled up	everything (she had)

b. yámuŋk–lagámas, wík–lí·li álda–yamuŋk–pá·tɬ kánawi–íkda, …
'She dug camas, in no long time she filled everything,' …

In spite of how obviously different in structure these two languages are, some of the same considerations raised for the field and published versions of Victoire's Clackamas texts also apply to her Jargon texts. The placement of the field translations is more conducive to close examination of the language's grammatical and expressive patterns. Plus, the field translations sometimes come with supplementary detail that Jacobs had to sacrifice in the interests of narrative presentation.

It should also be pointed out that unlike his teacher Boas, Jacobs had never used Jargon in his own fieldwork and had never developed a practical proficiency in the language. Had he such proficiency, he might have avoided an error like that flagged in (3) below, in which, following a Jargon pattern used elsewhere by Victoire, he repunctuated a passage in the field text to alter its word-order accordingly in

[9] The glossing abbreviations appearing in (1)-c are reproduced from the cited source. See note 11 for a list of glossing abbreviations used with Chinook Jargon examples appearing in this paper.

publication—thus changing the passage's meaning in a way that really makes no sense in context. I have expanded upon (3) as follows: to *a*: the field set (Jacobs 1929-30, 68:103) and *b*: the corresponding published set (Jacobs 1936:7); I add *c*: a respelling of Jacobs's reformulation into the contemporary Chinuk Wawa alphabet of the CTGR, followed by a translation conveying my own sense of what Jacobs's reformulation might be taken to mean, granted an appropriate context.

(3) a. qá·dɑ máigɑ. masík.
what's the trouble with you are you sick?

b. qá·da? máiga masík?
'What is the matter? are you sick?'

c. qʰata? mayka ma sik?
'What is the matter? Is it you who is sick?'

The considerations guiding my retranslation in (3)-c should become clearer from my discussion of personal pronouns in the Jargon of Grand Ronde community speakers: 4.2 below (note that *mayka* and *ma* are both forms for the 2SG). With respect to this particular example, there is the additional consideration that *qʰata mayka?* is a common idiom in Grand Ronde Jargon—translatable (depending on context) as 'what is the matter with you?'; or more usually, 'how are you?'[10]

To sum up: Jacobs's field texts and accompanying interlinear field translations are as close as it is possible to come to the actual words and multi-lingual intuitions of Victoire herself, and for that reason form the basis of the following discussions. To be sure, Jacobs took great care to ensure that his published text collections accurately reproduced his field record. Bald-faced errors like that exemplified in (3) above are very few and far between (another one is noted below: example 24). At the same time, the translations as published sometimes reflect Jacobs's own interpretations, which I would prefer to keep out of the picture here, insofar as possible.

4.1 Word clusters and word stress

The peculiar clustering or clumping together of independent words that Jacobs encountered in Victoire's Jargon gave him pause for thought. Although he observed the same phenomenon in samples of Jargon he had transcribed from other Northwest Native people, he nonetheless was surprised to encounter it also from a speaker of Chinookan, the language family to which Jargon's chief lexifier language belongs.

> The phenomenon of clustering bears startling resemblance to the phrase clusters of the Kalapuya dialects of western Oregon. Nevertheless it is certain that Chinookan, not Kalapuyan structure influenced Jargon most deeply. And Chinook does very little word clustering. The feeling for it in Jargon is especially unexpected in the Jargon speech of our Chinookan (Clackamas) informant [Victoria Howard]. (Jacobs 1932:38)

But might not these "phrase clusters" marked by Jacobs in Victoire's Jargon just be artifacts of the live dictation situation?—in effect, concessions made by the speaker, Victoire, to Jacobs's impressive, but not unlimited ability to write as fast as she could talk? Would her Jargon delivery segment itself into the same isolable word-clumps, were she to produce Jargon at a normal everyday conversational clip? Fortunately, audio recordings of Jargon being spoken by other members of Victorie's natal Grand Ronde community do include samplings of the language being so spoken, permitting a deeper consideration of this question.

[10] *ikta-qʰata*, recorded from Victoire and other Grand Ronde elder speakers with the meanings 'what is the matter?; something's wrong', would be more apt than *qʰata* used by itself here. This idiom appears as <íkdɑ qá·dɑ / something flooey> in (Jacobs 1929-30, 67:103), the field gloss providing a glimpse of Victoire's real local English.

To this end, I have adapted some phonetic transcripts I made around 1990, when I applied myself to re-transcribing audio-tapes I had made in the early 80s with two of the most fluent Jargon-speaking Grand Ronde elders I worked with, Mr. Wilson Bobb (1891-1985; hereafter: WB) and Mrs. Clara (Robinson; also Menard) Riggs (1891-1983; hereafter: CR) (Zenk ca. 1990). My goal at the time was to develop as phonetically narrow a record of these speakers' Jargon as I was able to. My methodology was thoroughly retro: with earphones on and pencil and paper in hand I repeatedly pressed "play," "rewind," "play" on a cassette player, while attempting to audit and transcribe every phonetic nuance I could catch in these speakers' Jargon. Since 1990, audio technologies have progressed far beyond where they were then. All of my Jargon field tapes have since been digitized and are available both in mp3 and WAV formats, which would permit the application of available software programs for more closely studying acoustic properties captured on those tapes (compare Joe Peter Chinook Transcription Project 2024, a progress report on a team project with which I am currently involved, the goal of which is to recover the contents of a large collection of Jargon audio recordings from 1941). A worthy future project, no doubt (another worthy future project: to similarly process Yvonne Hajda's 1977-80 field tapes of a third Grand Ronde community speaker, Elmer Tom; these recordings have likewise since been digitized). But for the present, I think that my ca. 1990 transcripts will suffice for identifying patterns relevant to the present purpose, which is to compare Jacobs's transcriptions of Victoire's Jargon with samples of the language as spoken by younger elder speakers of her natal community. For maximum accessibility, I have transliterated my somewhat idiosyncratic Americanist-based ca. 1990 phonetic symbols into IPA equivalents. Also, in order to facilitate comparison with Jacobs's transcription of word clusters as close-knit combined forms, I represent stretches of speech separated by breaks similarly—that is, sans any indication of word boundaries. The word-forms constituting these stretches are clarified in a subsequent line consisting of respellings into the CTGR Chinuk Wawa alphabet.

My format for citing examples from my field recordings is as follows:

Line 1: IPA phonetic transcript of unsegmented word-clusters.
Line 2: line 1, respelled and segmented (with some modifications) à la CWDP.
Line 3: interlinear translation of line 2 ({…} = compound; CAPS = glossing abbreviation[11]).
Line 4: free translation ({…} = meaning of compound in context)

Consider the following example from the 1941 audio recording of John B. Hudson noted in section 3.0:

(4) [ˈixdənəsˈsánjɑgɑˈlú:lʊjɑgʌˈmá:ʃ ˈsɑjɑkʌbʌˈí:x(t)ˈu:lmənjɑgɑˈhá:ʊswɪkˈsɑjʌ]

ˈix(t)	*tənəs-ˈsán*	*yaka*	*ˈlúlu*	*yaka*	*ˈmásh-ˈsaya*
one	{little-sun}	3SG	carry	3SG	{throw-away}
kʰapa	*ˈíxt*	*ˈulman*		*yaka*	*ˈháws* *wik-ˈsaya*
PREP	one.FOC	old.man		3SG	house {NEG-away}

'One {morning} he took (those cats) he {got rid of} (them) at a certain old man's place {nearby}.'
(from a home disc recording make by Vincent Mercier of his grandfather, John B. Hudson, in 1941; see CWDP 383-384).

Rather than a series of discrete word clusters, example (4) presents us with a full breath-group. To my ear, fluid elder-spoken Jargon has a characteristic cadence or rhythm, which I have tried to suggest in lines 1 and 2 above by distinguishing three levels of syllable prominence: low (unmarked); stressed (IPA ˈ preceding the stressed syllable); stressed and accented (adding the acute accent mark ´ over the vowel of a ˈ-marked syllable). This sentence contains two verbs (*lulu, mash*), both of which exhibit high syllable prominence (stressed and accented); it also contains a pronoun (*yaka*) and a preposition (*kʰapa*), both heard

[11] 1 = 1st person, 2 = 2nd person, 3 = 3rd person, CAUS = causative, COND = conditional, CONJ = conjunction, DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, DUR = durative, FOC = focus, INCHO = inchoative, NEG = negative, PL = plural, PREP = preposition, SG = singular.

unstressed here. These are default patterns for these elements in these positions; complications arise for other word categories, as well as for pronouns and prepositions in other positions (some of these complications are discussed below). Shifts of emphasis and focus, which can be quite subtle, may be conveyed by shifting the position of a stress or an accent. Thus, granting the default pattern for a noun phrase composed of an attribute modifying a head noun, we would expectˈ*ixt ˈulman* or *ˈixt ˈúlman*, translating 'an old man', in the prepositional phrase concluding (4). Shifting the accent to the attribute, yielding *ˈíxt ˈulman*, creates a shift in focus, as conveyed here by the translation: 'a certain old man'.

Compare (5), a set from my field recordings of Wilson Bobb Sr. (WB), with (4) above (here and below, the mark _ in my own and Jacobs's phonetic transcripts underscores breaks separating word-clusters).

(5) [ˈnamʊŋkˈɬáːχajamˈɬaskabʌt _ ˈnáɪga _ ˈkwáːnsʌmnaˈɬáːdwa _ naˈɬáːdwaˈɬadwa _ ˈtílɪxʌmɬasˈtɪx̣ɪˈdáːla _ ˈdála _ ˈkʰanʌwiˈqʰá]

ˈna-munk-ˈɬáχ̣ayam	*ˈɬaska,*	*bət*	*ˈnáyka,*	*ˈkwánsəm*	*na*	*ˈɬátwa,*
1SG-{CAUS-pitiful}	3PL	CONJ	1SG.FOC	always.FOC	1SG	go

na	*ˈɬátwa-ˈɬatwa,*	*ˈtílixam*	*ɬas*	*ˈtiki-ˈdála,*	*ˈdála,*	*ˈkʰanawi-ˈqʰá*
1SG	{go-go}	people	3PL	{want-money}	money	{all-where}

'I {pitied} them (certain relatives), but as for me, I was just always on the move, {going on and on}, relatives {begging for money} and yet more money, {everywhere}.' (Zenk ca. 1990, WB 75; cf. CWDP 430-431).

The first clause in (5) above illustrates a frequent tendency for the first of two (or more unusually, the first of three) normally unstressed elements preceding a stressed and accented head word to also acquire light stress. I usually mark stress on the first element of these combinations, while showing the head word both stressed and accented.

All of the Grand Ronde elder speaker I recorded produced Jargon with basically the same patterns of alternating unstressed, stressed, and accented syllables; these patterns are also clearly evident in the 1941 recordings referenced above to Joe Peter Chinook Transcription Project (2024), which represent the Jargon of a Cowlitz identified resident of Yakama Reservation. As illustrated by (6) below, they are also largely reproduceable from Jacobs's Jargon transcriptions, notwithstanding the fact that Jacobs's transcriptions show only stress (marked with an acute accent) or its absence. (6) also illustrates my guidelines for applying my above format to examples cited from Jacobs's Jargon texts: the first line reproduces Jacobs's field transcription in <…>-brackets; the second line is my transliteration of the first line into the CWDP Chinuk Wawa alphabet, à la the conventions outlined above.

(6) <yámʊŋklagámas _ wíklí·lɪ _ áldayamʊŋkpá·tɬ _ kánawɪ'íkda.>

ˈya-munk-laˈkámas,	*ˈwik-ˈlíli*	*ˈalta*	*(ˈ)ya-munk-ˈpʰátɬ*	*ˈkʰanawi-ˈíkta*
3SG-CAUS-camas	{NEG-awhile}	then	3SG-{CAUS-full}	{all-thing}

'She dug camas, {pretty soon} now she {filled up} {everything}.' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:113)

As (6) illustrates, Jacobs shows the first of two normally unstressed elements preceding a stressed head word variably stressed—sometimes stressed, sometimes not. In the case of short-form pronouns preceding *munk-,* Jacobs's transcripts from Victoire show a ratio of roughly 50 : 50 stressed : unstressed forms (there are however few examples in his transcripts that show both options in the same display). This pattern is ubiquitous in the Jargon of all the fluent speakers I recorded, and can affect normally unstressed full-form pronouns, as well as normally unstressed short forms: as for the full-form *nayka* in example (7) from Clara Riggs (CR).

(7) [ˈʔɑldʌˈnɑɪgʌmʊŋk _ ˈʔísgʌm*the*ˈɬuːʃ ˈ*máttress*ˈnɑɪmʊŋkˈmíɬətˈmɪɬət]
ʼalta *ʼnayka-munk(-)ʼískam* the *ʼɬush* ˈmáttress*,* *ʼnay-munk-ʼmíɬət-ʼmiɬət.*
then 1SG-{CAUS-get} *the* good *mattress* 1SG-{CAUSE-be.there-be.there}
'Then I {gathered up} the good mattresses, I {arranged} them.' (Zenk 1978-93, CR sf 68.09:53; cf. CWDP 460).

Accordingly, my CWDP transliterations in (6) and (7) show the elements of these combinations joined with dashes. These combinations clearly qualify as "phrase clusters," thus lending support to Jacobs's observations quoted above.

Similar considerations apply to the language's many bipartite compounds. I usually transcribe these as less prominent (stressed or unstressed) attributive elements joined to more prominent (stressed or stressed and accented) head words: as in *tənəs-ˈsán* 'morning', *ʼmásh-ˈsaya* 'get rid of', *wik-ˈsaya* 'near', in example (4); and *ʼkʰanawi-ˈqʰá* 'everywhere', in example (5). Again, Jacobs shows only stress or the lack of stress. Occasionally, he shows the first element of a bipartite compound unstressed, although in a ratio far short of 50 : 50. Sometimes also, he transcribes the head word with a lengthened vowel, suggesting higher accentuation: as in <wíklíˑlı> (CWDP: *ʼwik-ˈlíli* 'in a little while') in (6); but even where there is no such clue, the elements are almost always shown closely fused: as in <kánɑwıʼíkdɑ> (CWDP: *ʼkʰanawi-ˈíkta* 'everything'; compare *ʼkʰanawi-ˈqʰá* 'everywhere' in 5).

While the bounded word clusters that Jacobs transcribed in Victoire's Jargon do not exhibit perfect alignment with the phrase clusters and bipartite compounds I transcribe in the Jargon of younger Grand Ronde elder speakers, the two representations evidently reflect underlying congruent prosodic patterns. And note also: the breaks (_) showing in the IPA display for example (5) demarcate word groups very suggestive of Jacobs's word clusters, as marked in (6).

4.2 Long forms and short forms

It will also be observed that examples (4)-(7) show multiple forms for some of the personal pronouns exemplified. The personal pronouns on record from Grand Ronde community speakers, as well as certain word-order constraints observed for certain forms, are tabulated in Figure 1. Each form is categorized with reference to two cross-cutting oppositions: long/full : short; and (normally) stressed : (normally) unstressed. All three of the speakers being compared here (Victoire, WB, CR) spoke Jargon using both long and short as well as stressed and unstressed pronouns.

		LONG/ STANDARD	TRUNCATED	SHORT (CLITIC)	FOCUS/ EMPHASIS
		Unstressed: pre-predicate subject or possessor; otherwise stressed	Unstressed: pre-predicate subject or possessor; otherwise stressed	Pre-predicate subject and possessor only; normally unstressed	Any role; always stressed, often accented
1SG	I, me, my, mine	**nayka**	**nay**	**na**	**nayka**
2SG	you, your, yours	**mayka**	**may**	**ma**	**mayka**
3SG	he, she, him, her, his, hers	**yaka (yaχka)**	**ya**	**ya**	**yaka, yaχka**
1PL	we, us, our, ours	**n(t)sayka, nisayka**	**n(t)say, tsay, say, nisay**	**n(t)sa, sa**	**n(t)sayka, nisayka**
2PL	y'all, y'all's	**msayka, misayka**	**msay, misay**	**msa**	**msayka, misayka**
3PL	they, them, their, theirs	**łaska**	**łas**	**łas**	**łaska**

Figure 1. Personal pronouns recorded from Grand Ronde community elder speakers of Chinuk Wawa (adapted from Larsen 2002)

Leaving aside certain complications posed by the clitic column for now (these will be addressed in 4.3 below), any normally unstressed form from the long/standard and truncated columns can potentially be stressed and/or accentuated for expressive effect. Stress and accent are the crucial determinants of emphasis and focus, not length or fulness of form. What creates the focusing effect is the raised acoustic profile of an element that is not ordinarily so produced in that position, as in the following examples from CR and WB. In (8), the accentuation of *nay* '1SG' serves as an attention focuser: hence, the free translation 'I myself'. (9) shows shifts affecting multiple parts of speech, all serving to convey an impression of overbearing arrogance on the part of the (White) capitalist exploiter from whose mouth the utterance is represented as emanating (à la the narrative device of quoted speech). As also illustrated in (9), a main verb-word or predicate-word is normally stressed and accented, so will not stand out unless pronounced with an extra increment of loudness and/or lengthening and/or raised pitch: hence, the lengthening of *saχ̣ali* 'high up'.

(8) [ˈɑldɑnɑɪgɑˈmíɬətˈnɑmʊŋkˈmíɬətˈjɑgɑjɑˈkwɑˈɑldɑjɑˈmíɬət _ ˈɑldɑjɑˈkwɑˈnáɪˈmɪɬət]
ˈalta *nayka* *ˈmíɬət,* *ˈna-munk-ˈmíɬət* *ˈyaka* *yaˈkwa,*
then 1SG be.there 1SG-{CAUS-be.there} 3SG here
ˈalta *ya* *ˈmíɬət,* *ˈalta* *yaˈkwa* *ˈnáy* *ˈmíɬət.*
then 3SG be.there then here 1SG.FOC be.there
'Now I'm there (at the church), I {seat} her here, then she sits, then here *I myself* sit.' (CR in Appendix 4, set 7; cf. CWDP 458.95)

(9) [ˈsáːːχəliˈnáːɪgɑˈsɑχəli _ ˈwɪkˈóˈkˈmɑnˈjáˈsɑχəlipi _ ˈnáɪgɑ _ ˈdréːtnɑˈsɑχəli]
ˈsáaaχ̣ali, *ˈnáyka* *ˈsaχ̣ali,*
high.up.FOC 1SG.FOC high.up
ˈwik *ˈúk* *ˈman* *ˈyá* *ˈsaχ̣ali* *pi* *ˈnáyka,*
NEG DET.FOC man 3SG.FOC high.up CONJ 1SG.FOC
ˈdrét *na* *ˈsaχ̣ali*
truly.FOC 1SG high.up
'WAY UP there, I'M up there, not THAT man — HE isn't as high up there as ME, I'm REALLY up there!' (quoted speech: expressing the point of view of a capitalist exploiter; WB in Appendix 3, set 13; cf. CWDP 438.9)

All three speakers sometimes pair a stressed and accented full-form pronoun to a normally produced subject or object pronoun, thereby adding an increment of focus/emphasis:

(10) [ˈt͡sáːɪgʌsʌˈwáːwʌˈwɪkˈmáːɪgɑ]
ˈtsáyka *sa* *ˈwáwa* *ˈwik* *ˈmáyka.*
1PL.FOC 1PL speak NEG 2SG.FOC
'WE'RE the ones who speak, not YOU.' (WB in Appendix 3, set 10; cf. CWDP 436)

(11) [ˈjáːχkʌjɑˈnáːːnɪt͡ʃkop(ə)*looking*ˈ*gláss*ˈjáːχkʌ]
ˈyáχ̣ka *ya* *ˈnáaanich* *kʰupa* {looking-ˈgláss}, *ˈyáχ̣ka*
3SG.FOC 3SG see.FOC PREP {mirror} 3SG.FOC
'It was she herself she saw in the mirror! She herself! (Zenk 1978-93, CR sf 7.20:44)

(12) <áldayáχgawáχt _ ókɬótcmən _ gá·gwawáχt _ yáχga _ yasú·p̓na>
ˈalta ˈyaχka ˈwəχt uk ˈɬuchmən
then 3SG.FOC also DET woman
ˈkakwa ˈwəχt ˈyaχka ya ˈsupʼna
thus also 3SG.FOC 3SG jump
'Then she too, that woman, so too did she herself jump.' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:125; cf. CWDP 423)

An increment of stress and/or accent can also be applied globally to normally unstressed words, thus to induce an impression of painstaking word-by-word delivery, such as might be called for in slow dictation or when trying to spell out one's meaning especially clearly—as in speaking to a misbehaving child; or to someone perceived as having a limited grasp of the language. A speaker who habitually uses short forms can further enhance this effect by opting to substitute stressed long word-forms for corresponding (normally) unstressed short forms. Something like this is going on in Victoire's first-dictated Jargon text (text 2 as published; field version: Jacobs 1929-30, 67:101-111), which in notable contrast to the other three texts shows many stressed long-form pronouns pronounced in isolation. In addition, it shows normally unstressed forms like *uk* 'DET' and *hayu-* 'DUR' stressed in isolation ("normally": that is, allowing for the exception noted above for two or sometimes more unstressed forms preceding a stressed and/or accented head word). Since none of the normally unstressed elements shown stressed in (13)-(15) below stand out in context, neither do they obviously qualify as emphasis forms. Rather, it would seem that each utterance as a whole could be labelled an emphasis form. I apply the gloss FOC to only one form in (14): *chakwa*, recorded elsewhere as an emphasis form corresponding to the verb *chaku* 'come; come to be'.

(13) <aláxdɪ _ íkda _ á4ġɪ _ máiga _ ná·nɪtc _ sgugúm.>
aˈlaxti ˈikta ˈaɬqi ˈmayka ˈnanich skuˈkum.!
maybe something later 2SG see dangerous.being
'There just may be some Thing you will see—a Dangerous Being!' (Appendix 1, set 2)

(14) <ɬɬú·nas _ qantcɪlí·lɪ _ áldawáχt _ yága _ háyu _ nánɪtc _ bús _ álda _ búsɬásga _ tcágwa.>
ˈtʼɬunas qʰənchi-ˈlili ˈalta-ˈwáχt ˈyaka ˈhayu ˈnanich
uncertain {extent-awhile} then-again 3SG {DUR look}
ˈpus ˈalta ˈpus ˈɬaska ˈchakwa.
COND now COND 3PL come.FOC
'Who knows how {long a time}, then again she is {looking} whether they would be a-coming now.' (Appendix 1, set 6)

(15) <álda _ yawáwa _ úkyátcətc _ káldəsmíɬait. _ álda _ náigamáŋk _ íχbui _ ntsáiga _ labώ·t.>
ˈalta ya wawa ˈuk ˈya chich, "ˈkʰəltəs ˈmiɬayt!
then 3SG say DET 3SG grandmother just be.there
ˈalta ˈnayka ˈmunk(-)ˈíχpuy nˈtsayka laˈpot."
now 1SG {CAUS-close} 1PL door
'Then her grandmother said, "just be still! Now I (will) {close} our doors." ' (Appendix 1, set 8)

Victoire attributed the text from which (13)-(15) are excerpted to her mother, but she likewise attributed her last dictated text, text 4 as published (excerpted: Appendix 2), to the same source. Text 4, in contrast to text 2, shows a predominance of unstressed short-form pronouns in pre-verb position, with stressed full-forms in that position used for expressive effect—which is exactly how her step-nephew, WB, spoke Jargon to me during my sessions with him (compare Appendices 2 and 3 with respect to these features). True, text 2 appears to belong to a genre of stories intended to scare disobedient children into behaving, which may be relevant to Victoire's delivery when she dictated this particular text to Jacobs. On the other hand, text 1 in the published sequence looks to belong to the same genre, but shows unstressed

short forms consistently, with only a few exceptions. In example (15), the short form *ya* 3SG appears both as a verbal subject and as a possessor (the latter anomalously stressed, in contrast to its accompanying unstressed object of possession—for no obvious motivation that I can see); while the stressed full form *nayka* 1SG appears as verbal subject, the stressed full form *ntsayka* 1PL as possessor. There are few examples of unstressed full-form personal pronouns to be found in Victoire's texts, but there are some: for example, Appendix 1, sets 3, 7.

The impression of words pronounced in isolation, as conveyed by Victoire in text 2, invites comparison with a short Jargon text dictated by another Grand Ronde expatriate of her and John B. Hudson's generation, Louis Kenoyer (1868-1937), an L1 speaker of Tualatin Northern Kalapuya (see Kenoyer, Zenk, Schrock 2017:1-37 for a biographical sketch). This Jargon text, with my review of it with WB in 1983, is excerpted as Appendix 6. The linguist Jaime de Angulo, charged by Boas to make a record of Tualatin, transcribed this brief sample of Jargon to test his hunch that the speaker's Tualatin, which the linguist thought was itself "far along towards analysis, or isolatism," may have been influenced by the speaker's Chinook Jargon. A not outlandish possibility, considering that, in Angulo's words (quoted in Kenoyer, Zenk, Schrock 2017:2), Kenoyer "has used the Chinook Jargon from infancy." But Jargon flunks the test, in Angulo's judgment:

> Expressions like "make run," "make sleep," "make bring," etc. (where "make" becomes a real causative), are quite absent from Tfalati [Tualatin]. What we mean is that we do not find in Tfalati that hallmark of "pidgin" languages: the makeshift piecing together of words to express what in the minds of the speakers is habitually expressed by a grammatical process (in their own language). (Angulo and Freeland 1929:n.p.)

Angulo's "real causative" "make" is for *mamuk*, used by Kenoyer instead of *munk*, the usual form of the causative auxiliary in Grand Ronde community Jargon. But *mamuk*, the form assumed by the causative auxiliary in the regional Chinook Jargon—as well as in the Grand Ronde Mission literary text excerpted in Appendix 5—was also known to all three of the speakers Victoire, CR, and WB. The following example from CR shows *mamuk* used both as a causative auxiliary and as a main verb:

(16) [ˈwikɬaskʌˈtíkɪ _ ˈmʌmʊkˈká:ʟo _ ˈá::nqʌtɪ _ saɪʟʌˈmʌmʊk]

ˈwik	*ɬaska*	*ˈtíki*	*ˈmamuk-ˈkáku*	*ˈáaanqati*	*sayka*	*ˈmamuk.*
NEG	3PL	want	{CAUS-thus}	long.ago.FOC	1PL	do

'They (young people today) don't want to {do like} we did in the long long ago past (that is, traditionally).' (Zenk 1978-93, CR sf 25.4:17)

mamuk had also acquired a taboo meaning ('sexual intercourse': noun or verb), rendering its use in other senses problematic for some speakers—including for Victoire (as noted in CWDP 153). Nonetheless, the field version of Victoire's text 3 (in Jacobs's published sequence; see CWDP 414-425) shows three instances of *mamuk* used as a causative auxiliary, including that in (17) below—albeit Jacobs crossed out all three on reading the text back to Victoire for translation (see CWDP 153, 423-24 for further detail).

(17) <álda-ɬaswáwayáx̣ga _ bús'úkdaná·s _ yakılái _ wí·kmáiga~~mamuk~~ ^{mʊŋk}ɬáq^{w}.>

ˈalta	*ɬas*	*ˈwawa*	*ˈyax̣ka,*			
then	3SG	tell	3SG			
ˈpus	*ˈuk*	*təˈnas*	*ya*	*kʰiˈlay*	*ˈwík*	*ˈmayka-[mamuk-]ˈɬáqw**
COND	DET	child	3SG	cry	NEG.FOC	2SG-{CAUS-off}

'Then they told her, "if that child should cry, DO NOT {remove} (unsecure) him" ' (*<wí·k-máiga-muŋk-łáq^{w}> in Jacobs 1936:11) (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:125; cf. CWDP 423)

WB's observations regarding Louis Kenoyer's use of the form *mamuk*, as brought to his attention in the exchange below (clipped from Appendix 6, which includes glosses and translations), brings us back to a central point of this section: generally speaking, it is the suprasegmental profile of a form, more than the choice of an available long or short variant, that makes for the best (most fluid and stylistically "natural") Jargon (WB: "good Jargon"). This exchange features myself (HZ) reading from Angulo's Chinook Jargon typescript, while calling WB's attention to Kenoyer's evident preference for stressed full-forms, notably *mamuk* (CWDP spellings):

(18) HZ (reading)	*ˈyax̣ka ˈmamuk ˈqʰwetɬ ˈsax̣ali.*
WB (responding)	I'd say it about the same: *ˈya-munk-ˈqʰwétɬ ˈsáx̣ali* [ˈjɑmʊŋkˈqʰwétɬ̂ ˈsáːχəlɪ]
HZ	but see though you said it different /…/ he says
	ˈyáx̣ka ˈmámuk, where you say *ˈya-ˈmúnk* /. . ./
HZ (re-reading)	*ˈyáx̣ka ˈmamuk ˈqʰwétɬ ˈsax̣li /.../*
WB (responding)	yeah *ya ˈmamuk,* yeah, *ya ˈmamuk-ˈqʰwétɬ* [jʌˈmʌmʊkˈqʰwɛ́tɬ̂],
	but see, if you say it right, you don't come too strong with that *ˈmamuk* stuff,
	don't say *ˈmamuk* that strong /…/ now listen to me [WB modelling]
HZ	OK, *ˈyáx̣ka ˈmamuk-ˈqʰwétɬ.*
WB	see, if you said that, where if you was talking to somebody understands Jargon,
	[they] wouldn't think nothing of it. /. . ./
HZ	but your, your way of Jargon is a little bit different though isn't it?
WB	shouldn't be, well, you're ***stressing*** the words a little more [note emphasis]
HZ	why do you think he would ***stretch*** the words a little more there? [note emphasis]

It is ironic that the "linguist" in this exchange, so fixated on the issue of short versus long word-forms, did not register the "informant's" use of a proper linguistic term: *stress,* not *stretch!*

It is also notable that WB, who used short form pronouns more consistently and regularly than Victoire did in her Jargon dictations to Jacobs, was well aware of other usages, and that he professed no difficulty in navigating those other usages. Some possible historical implications of this state of affairs will be taken up in section 5.

4.3 A Chinookan substrate?

In observing that Victoire's Jargon "is certainly not the Chinook Jargon that has been used for years all along the coast, but seems to be a jargon affected by the Clackamas, a dialect of Chinook proper," Boas (1933:208-209) pointed to three linguistic features of her Jargon in particular: short-from pronouns; the contracted form *munk* used in place of regional *mamuk*; and reduplicated verb forms. All three of these features are recorded also from the two younger Grand Ronde community elder speakers considered in 4.1 and 4.2: examples (5), (7), (8), (9) illustrate their use of short as well as long pronouns; examples (5), (7), (8), (14) illustrate their regular use of *munk-* not *mamuk-* as their preferred form of the causative auxiliary; and examples (5) and (7) show them using reduplicated verb forms. Additional such illustrations may be found in the samplings of these two speakers' Jargon composing Appendices 3 and 4. Since these two younger elder speakers were not Chinookan speakers, it would appear that the three features identified by Boas are not necessarily diagnostic of a variety of the language unique to Chinookan speakers. But may it

not still be possible that Victoire's Jargon grammar differs from that of these two other speakers, in ways that might be attributed to her fluency in a Chinookan language? In this section I offer some observations of relevance for further exploring this question.

In Zenk (2019) I make a case for distinguishing two kinds of predicate in the Jargon of Grand Ronde community elder speakers: *verbal* and *attributive.* The case is based on word-order differences observed within clauses:

> A *verbal predicate* normally shows a subject personal pronoun in pre-predicate position (allowing for certain exceptions and complications).
>
> The subject of an *attributive predicate* can be either a pronoun or a noun (a noun-word or noun-phrase), placed optionally in pre-predicate or post-predicate position.

A limitation of this schema is that the intuition of a fluent elder speaker is required to decide borderline cases. Such a case may arise, for example, when the record shows a subject pronoun only in pre-predicate position, although the inherent meaning of the predicate-word or predicate-phrase strikes us as more descriptive or nominal than verbal. We would not want to prejudge how an elder speaker of Grand Ronde creole Jargon would have perceived the inherent verbal or nominal/descriptive meaning of such a predicate (both WB and CR claimed Jargon as their first language, note). Unfortunately, no such speakers are currently available for testing borderline cases; nor can the possibility of disagreement among different creole speakers be ruled out with respect to such cases. The best we can do now is to search our transcripts and recordings from the speakers, hoping to identify examples that might support one or the other interpretation, while admitting the possibility that some cases may simply be undecidable on the available evidence.

The following examples from CR and WB illustrate nonverbal predicates in both orders, both moreover within one display each:

(19) [ˈɑldɑjɑgɑˈwáwɑˈnɑɪgɑˈkʌldʌsˈmɑɪgɑ _ ˈpíldən _ ˈkʌldʌsˈmá:nˈʔʊgʊk]
ˈalta yaka ˈwáwa ˈnayka, "ˈkʰəltəs ˈmayka ˈpíltən,
then 3SG say.to 1SG just 2SG foolish
ˈkʰəltəs ˈmán ˈukuk.
just man that.one
'Then she said to me, "You're just crazy [subject + attribute], that's just a man [attribute + subject]" '
(CR in Appendix 4, set 12)

(20) [ˈdənəsˈʔá:nqʌtɪ _ jɑ _ ˈwɪkˈɬú:ʃ ˈdrɛ́:tˈwɪkˈɬú:ʃ ˈnɑɪgʌ _ ɑˈláxtɪnɑˈmí:məlost*you ˈknow*]
ˈtənəs-ˈánqati ya ˈwik-ˈɬúsh, ˈdrét ˈwik-ˈɬúsh ˈnayka,
{little-long.ago} 3SG {NEG-good} truly {NEG-good} 1SG
ɑˈláxti na ˈmíməlust you know
nearly 1SG die *you know*
'{Recently}it (my heart) was in {bad condition} [subject + attribute], I was really in {bad shape} [attribute + subject], I nearly died you know.' (Zenk ca. 1990, WB 219; cf. CWDP 440-442)

Victoire usually shows the subject of a nonverbal predicate in predicate-first order:

(21) <dánəsmá·n _ ǒkdanά·s>
ˈtənəs-ˈmán *ˈuk* *təˈnas*
{little-man} DET child
'The child was a {boy}.' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:121; cf. CWDP 422)

(22) <yanántcyáx̣ga _ wí·kɬú·c _ yáx̣ga.>
ya *ˈnanch* *ˈyax̣ka* *ˈwík-ˈɬúsh* *ˈyax̣ka.*
3SG see 3SG NEG-good.FOC 3SG
'He saw her, (that) she was not at all right. (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:121; cf. CWDP 422)

(23) <yaɬɬáp _ í·xt _ hayά·c _ stík _ hayú· _ yalagú·m>
ya *ˈtˈɬap* *ˈíxt* *haˈyash* *ˈstik* *haˈyú* *ya* *laˈkum*
3SG find one.FOC big.FOC wood much.FOC 3SG pitch
'She found a particularly big tree, its pitch was abundant.' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:101; cf. CWDP 416)

An apparent exception to this rule turns out not to be, but is, rather, another instance of error introduced by Jacobs when he edited his field text for publication—example (24) below (compare 3 above). *a* shows the field original (Jacobs 1929-30, 69:19); *b* shows the incorrect published version (Jacobs 1936:3); and *c* provides a CWDP alphabet transliteration of *a,* adding corrected interlinear and free translations.

(24) a. wí·k dílxam álda yáx̣ga. x̣lúwima álda.
no (more) a person now she (is) different (she is) now

b. wí·k dílxam álda, [sic] yáxga x̣lúiwima álda.
'(She is) no (longer) a person now, she is different now.'

c. ˈwik ˈtilxam ˈalta ˈyax̣ka, x̣lúyma ˈalta
NEG person now 3SG different now
'She is not a person now, (but) is different now.'

The use of the stressed long-form pronoun *yax̣ka* to denote the subject of a following nonverbal predicate, as in *b,* seems quite unusual for Victoire, considering the patterns exhibited by her frequent usages of that form elsewhere in the texts she dictated to Jacobs. On the other hand, there are indeed examples from Victoire of short-form pronouns appearing in subject-first order in what, judging from the usages of other speakers, would appear to be nonverbal clauses. But I find only one example in her texts of a nonverbal predicate produced with a preceding short-form subject pronoun; alongside examples elsewhere of the same predicate accompanied by a following noun subject or long-form subject pronoun:

(25) <áldayawáwa _ úkyátcətc _ wíkmagágwa.>
ˈalta *ya* *ˈwawa* *ˈuk* *ˈya chich,* *"ˈwik ma ˈkakwa."*
then 3SG say DET 3SG grandmother NEG 2SG thus
'Then her grandmother said, "don't you be like that!" ' (Appendix 1, set 4)

(26) <qantcılí·lı _ gά·gwa _ yáx̣ga. _ gwά·nısım _ gά·gwa _ yáx̣ga.>
(ˈ)qʰənchi-ˈlíli *ˈkakwa ˈyax̣ka,* *ˈkwanisim* *ˈkakwa ˈyax̣ka.*
{extent-awhile} thus 3SG always thus 3SG
'{For some time} she was being like that, all the time she was being like that.' (Appendix 1, set 5)

It is possible to draw a contrast between (25) and (26) on the basis of volitionality or control: in (25), the subject (*ma* 2SG) is presumably capable of being "like that" or not; whereas in (26), the subject (*yax̣ka* 3 SG) is "like that," period! Lacking more examples such as this, it cannot be taken as obvious that every predicate qualifying as nonverbal for CR or WB according to the criteria of my foregoing verbal : nonverbal test,

would necessarily also so qualify for Victoire. Many Jargon words are multi-functional and can be assigned to different parts of speech depending on their different possible sentence roles. On the strength of the following examples, *saliks* 'anger' (or 'be angry') looks to be classifiable as a nonverbal predicate—only, just because it clearly is for CR in (27), that does not mean that it necessarily is for Victoire in (28). It is easy enough to imagine anger being a volitional act, not just a state of mind.

(27) [ˈɑldʌˈsá:lɪksˈjɑχkʌ]
ˈalta ˈsáliks ˈyaχka.
then angry 3SG
'Then he was angry.' (Zenk 1978-93, CR sf 31:0033)

(28) <áldayasá·lɪkc.>
ˈalta ya ˈsáliks
then 3SG angry
'Then she was angry.' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:99; cf. CWDP 415)

A search of Victoire's texts for examples of subject-first order with patently nonverbal predicates brought to light (29) and (30) below. While these examples show that subject-first order in nonverbal clauses was at least not something entirely out of bounds for Victoire, an important qualification arises with respect to the placement of the subject pronoun *yaχka* before a predicate prepositional phrase in (29). All speakers occasionally vary normal word order by moving a clausal constituent to clause-first position, thereby focusing attention on it—as I convey in (29) by translating: *Then there she was …* . I don't really know what to say about (30), aside from observing that the placement of a subject noun phrase before a predicate adverb (*kʰapá* 'over there') is unusual, albeit not to the point of interfering with basic intelligibility.

(29) <áldayáχga _ kabaˈílɪˈ _ gí·gwlɪ.>
ˈalta ˈyaχka kʰapa ˈiliʔ ˈkíkwəli.
then 3SG PREP ground down.FOC
'Then there she was way down in the ground (buried).' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 68:129; cf. CWDP 424)

(30) <ɬɬú·nasqántcɪháyu _ dílxam _ wə́χt _ kábá.>
ˈtˈɬunas ˈqənchi-ˈháyu ˈtilxam ˈwəχt kʰaˈpa.
uncertain {extent-many} people also over.there
'Who knows {how many} people were there too.' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 69:15; cf. CWDP 484)

The contrast between two basic types of Jargon clause, verbal and attributive, along with predicate-subject word-order as a frequent characteristic of attributive clauses in particular, could (conceivably) trace ultimately to the Chinookan roots of Jargon in its lower Columbia cradle. Chinookan clauses may be built either around verbs or around nouns, which in Chinookan are distinguished on the basis of the prefixes they can bear. Verbal prefixes encode relationships between subjects and objects, while other verbal affixes (prefixes and suffixes) convey various modal and temporal/aspectual modifications. Nouns bear prefixes classifying them according to number and gender; a noun so prefixed can stand alone as an existential clause, the subject being conveyed by the classifying prefix. And of possible special relevance to the patterning of Jargon pronouns as tabulated in Figure 1, Chinookan intransitive subject prefixes for some persons and numbers are one and the same as the corresponding transitive object forms for those same persons and numbers; while the corresponding transitive subject forms are different (see Dyk 1933:31 for a tabulation of Kiksht pronominal prefixes). Consider the following simplified version of Figure 1:

	LONG/ STANDARD	TRUNCATED	SHORT (CLITIC)
	Unstressed: pre-predicate subject or possessor; otherwise stressed	Unstressed: pre-predicate subject or possessor; otherwise stressed	Pre-predicate subject and possessor only; normally unstressed
1SG	**nayka**	**nay**	**na**
2SG	**mayka**	**may**	**ma**
3SG	**yaka (yaχka)**	**ya**	**ya**
1PL	**n(t)sayka, nisayka**	**n(t)say, tsay, say, nisay**	**n(t)sa, sa**
2PL	**msayka, misayka**	**msay, misay**	**msa**
3PL	**łaska**	**łas**	**łas**

Figure 2. Excerpted detail from Fig 1.

It will be observed that the clitic pronouns are restricted to pre-predicate position. Modal word order in a Jargon transitive clause is subject-verb-object; modal word-order in a Jargon attributive clause is attribute-subject. It follows that one and the same long/standard or truncated pronoun can appear either for a subject in attribute-subject order, or for an object in subject-verb-object order. The clitic forms, by contrast, are restricted to pre-predicate position. So, there is at least a partial congruence in Jargon between the positioning of an intransitive subject (taking the subject of an attributive clause as a kind of intransitive subject) and the positioning of a transitive object.

Yes, the congruence is far from perfect! One big complicating factor is the identity of form evident for the two third person pronouns in Figure 2; the truncated forms are indistinguishable from their clitic counterparts, except with respect to stress. WB, in particular, employed the third-person singular pronoun *ya* quite freely as a truncation, available for use in any position. But he is not the only speaker to employ a truncated third-person form, as the following examples from Victoire show. Here, she uses *łas(k)* both for an attributive subject and for a transitive object—hence, clearly, as a truncation available for use in any position.

(31) <kánamákwct _ gá·gwa _ łásk.>
ˈkʰanaˈmakwst ˈkakwa ˈłask.
together thus 3SG
'They were both like that (in that condition).' (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 67:111; cf. CWDP 412)

(32) <gá·gwa _ yámʊŋkłás.>
ˈkákwa-ˈya-munk ˈłas.
thus-3SG-CAUS 3SG
'Thus it did to them' (Note unusual order: *munk-kakwa* is normal) (Vict in Jacobs 1929-30, 67:111; cf. CWDP 412)

I must admit that when I have shared such thoughts in online forums—to whit, that a Chinookan substrate may underlay the patterning of personal pronouns in Grand Ronde community Jargon— I have been met by considerable skepticism from participating linguists. For the present purposes, the important thing to note is that the Jargon of the three speakers considered here is congruent in many respects. With respect to personal pronouns in particular, it is clear that all three speakers drew upon a shared repertoire of forms and patterns. Granting that some of these forms and patterns may be historically grounded in Chinookan, it may be that some of Victoire's usages—for example, her usual attribute-first patterning of attributive clauses, as opposed to the variable attribute-first option observed for WB and CR—may reflect the influence of her L1 facility in Chinookan. I can't help but wonder whether forms and patterns like those reviewed here were part of what made Silverstein (1972) decide that Victoire must have spoken Jargon with a Chinookan grammar in her head. While I would never claim that speakers of Jargon were not influenced by their other languages, it does bear noting that Victoire's repertoire of long and short word-

forms, as well as the patterns characterizing her deployments of them, are basically congruent with the usages of other Grand Ronde community speakers represented by comparable data. Viewed in community context, there is nothing at all anomalous or idiosyncratic about Victoria Howard's Chinook Jargon.

This point is underscored by the Grand Ronde Mission text excerpted in Appendix 5. While the composer of this text (in all likelihood Fr. Croquet) uniformly employs long word-forms, including *mamuk* for the causative auxiliary, the text also shows attributive clauses in predicate-first as well as subject-first order. Additionally, it shows word meanings and compounds comparable to those recorded from Grand Ronde elder speakers. Read with reference to WB's advice for interpreting the suprasegmental phonology of long-form Jargon, it situates itself quite comfortably within the known parameters of Grand Ronde community Jargon. Here are some example sentences featuring instances of predicate-first clauses:

(33) <heloman iaka,>
hilu-man *yaka,*
{lacking-man} 3SG
'She (Kateri Tekakwitha) was a {virgin}.' (Appendix 5, set 5)

(34) <iaka mamouk nsaïka ats iaka.>
yaka *mamuk* *nsayka ats* *yaka.*
3SG make 1PL sister 3SG
'He made it (so that) she is our sister.' (Appendix 5, set 7)

(35) <Pi alta, nsaïka Papa, kakna* pous Jesus-Christ nsaïka;> /. . ./
pi *alta,* *nsayka papa,* **kakwa pus* Jesus Christ *nsayka.*
CONJ now 1PL father {like COND} *Jesus Christ* 1PL
'And now, our Father (pope), we are {like unto} Jesus Christ.' (Appendix 5, set 8)

5 Conclusions: re-assessing the implications of Victoria Howard's Jargon for the social history of Chinook Jargon

A certain irony may be noted for the situation that confronted Yvonne Hajda and myself in the late 70s of the last century, when we set about trying to recover what we could of the Chinook Jargon once widely spoken in the Grand Ronde Indian community of northwest Oregon. By then, the language lived on mainly in the minds and memories of a rapidly diminishing cohort of elders who had lived in that community, particularly during their formative years. When Jacobs undertook to track down last surviving speakers of western Oregon tribal languages, he faced a situation not unlike the one we faced 50 years later. There simply were very few fluent L1 speakers of tribal languages left by the time he arrived on the scene; and for the most part, these languages no longer functioned in day-to-day life, having been superseded by local English—and yes, by Jargon (as noted by Jacobs 1945:8, with reference to the Kalapuyan languages, originally spoken by a number of the founding tribes of Grand Ronde Reservation).

Unlike his teacher and mentor Franz Boas, Jacobs never had to use Jargon to communicate with the tribal-language speaking elders he contacted. By his time, English was in general use in the Native households and communities of western Oregon and Washington, if not yet universally so east of the Cascades summit. Yet, we know that Jargon was still very much alive in the family households of John B. and Hattie Hudson and of Victoria and Eustace Howard at the times of Jacobs's visits to both (between 1928 and 1935). We know that Jargon was still a language of daily life in the Hudson home, thanks to information and examples of spoken Jargon shared with us by the Hudson sisters and their foster brother. While factual support in the case of the Howard family households (the one at West Linn, Oregon, which Jacobs visited; the Howards had earlier lived at Grand Ronde, according to information shared with me by the family) is much thinner, there is indeed some. The Smithsonian linguist J. P. Harrington dropped by the Oregon City home of the Howards' daughter, Agatha (Howard) Howe Bloom, in 1942. What, exactly, Harrington was up to is not entirely clear, but the fact that the Molala language is singled out for mention below suggests that he may have been trying to locate surviving speakers of that language.

> In[formant] says she can talk jargon & understand Clackamas & Mol[ala]. Her m[other] talked Mol[ala], Clack[amas], jargon, & English. … Henry Yelkes [father of Fred Yelkes, from whom Jacobs transcribed samples of Molala speech] died at Mólalla [sic] before my m[other] died and my m[other] was living & spoke it better than he. (Harrington 1942, mf 18.1017-1018)

So, the Howards' daughter could talk Jargon, by her own account. While Agatha Howard and her two daughters are acknowledged in passing in some of Jacobs's field annotations, revealing that these family members were indeed encountered by Jacobs during his visits, "participant observation" was not how Jacobs did anthropology. Rather, he confined himself to documenting his consultants' indigenous languages in painstaking detail; while supporting and supplementing his linguistic work with annotations in English. I personally was able to briefly interview both of the Howards' granddaughters, the late Priscilla Howe and the late Bernice (Howe) McEachran. Both granddaughters retained childhood memories of their grandparents, albeit both were quite young when Victoire passed away in 1930. One of the Hudson sisters, Velma Mercier, happened also to be the godmother of Priscilla Howe, the older of the two. Velma was kind enough to relay my queries about Jargon in the Howard household to Ms Howe, who replied to me in writing.

> Sorry, I cannot tell you a lot about my grandmother & grandfather speaking their Jargon. As I was a little girl then & could only hear them speak a word or few around me. … Yes, they both spoke Jargon to one another a lot but I didn't know what they were saying. A lot of English words used when speaking to me. So only a few words I remember TODAY as I forgot about the years past of long ago. I told Velma in writing that I only know few of the Jargon words. (CHUCK meant water) (CODA MIGA meant Hello & how are you). (SUPPLIE was Bread) (SQUAKLE meant eels). [cf. CWDP: *tsəqw ~chəqw* 'water'; *qʰata mayka?* 'how are you?'; *saplil~sable* 'bread'; *skakʰwəl* 'lamprey eels']. As my grand folks loved eels right here from the Willamette Falls. Both passed away early in life when I was young so didn't hear any more Jargon. … And all was from hearing my grandmother speak to me. But mostly was English words. Her & grandfather & other Indians that came to visit talked a lot of Jargon. (Priscilla M. Howe to Henry Zenk, 04/28/1985)

These reminiscences suggest that language use in the Howard household was similar to that described above for the Hudson household. Since Jargon was the only language that Eustace and Victoire Howard shared besides English, it is likely that when the grandparents spoke to one another in a language that the granddaughters did not understand, they were using Jargon. In the memory of the younger granddaughter, Bernice (Howe) McEachran, their grandmother and grandfather "spoke Indian to one another all the time."

Furthermore, Ms Howe's observation that her grandmother "& grandfather & other Indians that came to visit talked a lot of Jargon" could well have a bearing on certain linguistic feature variations revealed in the Jargon texts that Victoire dictated to Jacobs. As WB explained to me when I queried him about longer and shorter word-forms in Grand Ronde community Jargon, you just might select a longer form …

> if you want to emphasize a little, make it a little plainer. Depends on how you feel or talk or who you're talking to, or something like that.
>
> Lotta times that Jargon is who you're talking to, where you're talking, when you're talking, and how you feel. Maybe sometimes you want to scrap or tell 'im real out plain, then a little, a little different way of expressing yourself.
>
> It's quite a language to really get onto. (Zenk 1978-93, WB in notebook 4:27-28)

We have no information on which to base inferences about extra-linguistic factors that may have conditioned word-form and suprasegmental variations caught by Jacobs in his Jargon transcriptions of Victoire's Jargon. But such feature variations are clearly there: from her repeated stressing of full-form function words in isolation in her first-dictated text (excerpted in Appendix 1); to the expressive use of such forms within otherwise smoothly flowing streams of unstressed short-form function words preceding stressed content words, as seen in her last-dictated text (Appendix 2); to the apparently mixed usages occasionally seen elsewhere, in which full-form and short-form function words get used seemingly interchangeably (example 15 above; also: Appendix 1, sets 3, 7). The thing that is really striking to me about the record of the language from Victoire is this stylistic diversity. From other speakers, we tend to see one style or another: from WB, smoothly flowing short-form Jargon, with stressed full-forms reserved for expressive effect (Appendix 3); from CR, indiscriminate use of short and long forms of function words, with the exception of the stressed emphasis/focus and object form *yaχka* for the 3SG (Appendix 4); from Fr Croquet and Louis Kenoyer, uniform use of full-forms, with the qualifications that the former case probably reflects the influence of Catholic missionary literary models, while the latter is too limited a sampling to support generalizations about the speaker's habitual usages (Appendices 5, 6).

It follows that Jacobs's record of Victoire's Jargon provides persuasive linguistic evidence for positing distinct stylistic registers in the Jargon used by Grand Ronde community speakers. While the existence of such registers is strongly suggested by the record from other speakers, the case there is necessarily largely circumstantial. When I called WB's attention to the patterning of alternate forms in his own Jargon as well as in that of Victoire and other Grand Ronde community speakers, he was moved to distinguish between Jargon spoken "real out plain"; and Jargon as ordinarily used when "talking to another Indian," with whom one can more often than not just "cut things short" (Zenk 1978-93, notebook 3:123, notebook 4:28). These characterizations strike me as perfectly apt descriptors of two basic styles of speaking Jargon, as exemplified in the Jargon texts and conversations recorded from Grand Ronde community speakers. That is, it can be said that two basic stylistic registers are definable for Grand Ronde community Chinuk Jargon (properly: Chinuk Wawa): *Real Out Plain*; versus *Cutting Things Short*. While shortened versus full word-forms are key to this dichotomy, a degree of flexibility is made possible by the suprasegmental system: a fluid, "natural" sounding Jargon can be produced drawing from either category of word-form, as long as the word-forms show contrasting syllable prominences in tandem with their different sentence roles. To produce a stylistically "real out plain" Jargon, such as you might speak to a disobedient child or to an outsider (say, a newly arrived settler or a linguist), just select full-forms and *stress* them!

And what of Silverstein's (1972) theoretically argued case for attributing Victoire's Jargon grammar to an underlying Chinookan deep grammar? As I have already pointed out, I would not want to rule out any speaker's Jargon being influenced by their knowledge of their other languages. Nor do I have the theoretical chops to support conjectures regarding anyone's deep grammar. I would only point out that, insofar as Chinook Jargon can be described as a pidgin Chinookan, Jacobs's record of this particular Chinookan speaker's Chinook Jargon may provide important clues for clarifying the Chinookan antecedents of the regional Chinook Jargon. Only, it must not be forgotten that Victoire drew from repertoires of word-forms, word orders, and prosodic patterns shared with non-Chinookan speaking members of her natal community. These include all of the features cited by Boas when he observed that Victoire's Jargon appears to be "a jargon affected by the Clackamas, a dialect of Chinook proper." No doubt, Victoire's Jargon reveals Chinookan fingerprints; but then, what about the Jargon of those other speakers?

In closing, I would like to re-iterate my point that global value judgments like Roth's quoted in section 3.1—"[Chinook Jargon] was regarded as 'primitive' and limited by both whites and Indians"—are of questionable value for understanding the persistence of Jargon into the era of universal English currency in the Indian community which gave birth to the Hudson and Howard households and others like them. Jargon was different things for different people, depending crucially on the unique circumstances of its social history in particular local communities. Jargon took root at Grand Ronde initially as a lingua franca facilitating communication within the polyglot founding reservation community. Even after knowledge of English became general in this community (and at least in part: *because* English became increasingly

dominant in the late nineteenth-century community), Jargon took on the important role of an intergenerational linguistic neutral ground, permitting older, more conservative Indians to interact with younger community members (notably, their own children and grandchildren) without having to resort to English. Another outcome of the language's historical role at Grand Ronde was that Jargon became a badge of solidarity for many community members there, bespeaking a shared Grand Ronde Indian identity over and above individuals' many different tribal origins. Jargon's significance as a badge of solidarity is especially clearly expressed by WB in the following exchange with me, which commenced when I queried him about his past use of Jargon with the "Wheeler boys," brothers from a Grand Ronde Kalapuyan family that he knew well:

HZ: Why would you talk Jargon with those Wheelers? Could they speak English too?
WB Oh yeah they spoke English just like I do.
HZ Why do you think you talked Jargon with them?
WB 'Cause they were Indians and we being talking Jargon we talked Jargon.
HZ Talking Indian in other words.
WB Like we feel better talking Jargon than English, we were closer together talking you know, we're together like, instead of being half-White or whatever it is. We feel like we're real Indians talking you know.

References

Angulo, Jaime de, and Lucy S. Freeland. 1929. *The Tfalati dialect of Kalapuya*. Ms 91/5 in University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Melville Jacobs papers, Acc# 1693-001, Seattle, Washington.

Berreman, Joel V. 1935. *Field notes and various documents, research concerning cultural adjustments of the Grand Ronde Indian tribes, obtained during the summer of 1934.* Manuscript in archives of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Cultural Resources Department, Grand Ronde, Oregon.

Boas, Franz. 1933. "Note on the Chinook Jargon." *Language* 9(2):208-213.

Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project. 2012. *Chinuk Wawa kakwa nsayka ulman-tilixam łaska munk-kəmtəks nsayka / Chinuk Wawa as our elders teach us to speak it.* Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon.

Drechsel, Emanuel J. 1987. "Metacommunicative functions of Mobilian Jargon, an American Indian pidgin of the lower Mississippi River region," Pp 433-444 in *Pidgin and creole linguistics: Essays in memory of John E. Reinecke*, Glen Gilbert, ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Duncan, Philip. 2022. "Documenting what's in almost every narrative: Free relative clauses in Kiksht." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 88(3):271-323.

Gatschet, Albert S. 1877. *Texts, sentences, and vocables of the Atfálati dialect of the Kalapuya language of Willámet Valley, northwestern Oregon.* Ms 472-a, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Grand Ronde. 1932. Annual Indian census. Manuscript in archives of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Cultural Resources Department, Grand Ronde, Oregon.

Grand Ronde. ca. 1872. Register of family households on Grand Ronde Reservation. Manuscript in archives of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Cultural Resources Department, Grand Ronde, Oregon.

Grand Ronde Mission. ca. 1884. "Nsaïka sauvage pi sitkom sauvage kopa Grand Rond [sic], Oregon. Kopa nsaïka Papa, lepape." [We Indians and Mixed Bloods in Grand Ronde, Oregon. To our Father, the

pope.] Pp 125-127 in *Beatificionis Seu Declarationis Martyrii Servorum Dei.* Rome, 1916: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis [preserved at the Library of Université Montréal, Canada].

Hajda, Yvonne. 1977-80. Linguistic and ethnographic data from members of the Grand Ronde community, Oregon. Fieldnotes, sound-files, and transcripts in archives of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Cultural Resources Department, Grand Ronde, Oregon.

Hale, Horatio. 1846. "Ethnography and philology," vol. 6: *Narrative of the US exploring expedition during the years 1838–42*, ed. Charles Wilkes. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.

Harrington, John P. 1942. *The papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957, volume 1: Alaska/Northwest Coast*, reel 18. National Anthropological Archives microfilm.

Hogue, Kellie Jean. 2014. "A saint of their own: Native petitions supporting the canonization of Kateri Tekakwitha, 1884-1885." *U. S. Catholic Historian* 32(2):25-44.

Jacobs, Melville. 1928. Molala words and sentences from Victoria (Wishikin) Wacheno Howard. Field notebook no. 37, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Melville Jacobs papers, Acc# 1693-001, Seattle, Washington.

Jacobs, Melville. 1928-36. Santiam Central Kalapuya texts and data from John B. Hudson and Eustace Howard. Field notebooks nos. 33-37, 46-47, 76-90, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Melville Jacobs Papers, Acc# 1693-001, Seattle, Washington.

Jacobs, Melville. 1929-30. Clackamas Upper Chinook texts and data from Victoria (Wishikin) Wacheno Howard. Field notebooks nos. 52-69, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Melville Jacobs Papers, Acc# 1693-001, Seattle, Washington.

Jacobs, Melville. 1932. "Notes on the structure of Chinook Jargon." *Language*, *8(1)*, 27-50.

Jacobs, Melville. 1936. *Texts in Chinook Jargon*. Seattle: University of Washington.

Jacobs, Melville. 1945. *Kalapuya texts*. Seattle: University of Washington.

Jacobs, Melville. 1958-59. *Clackamas Chinook texts*. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics.

Jacobs, Melville. ca. 1930. *Music and ethnology / Klikitat and N. W. Oregon.* Field notebook no. 51 in University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Melville Jacobs Papers, Acc# 1693-001, Seattle, Washington.

Jacobs, Melville. n.d. *Chinook (Clackamas)*. Linguistic slip-files, boxes 63-65, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Melville Jacobs papers, Acc# 1693-001, Seattle, Washington.

Joe Peter Chinook Transcription Project (Darrin Brager, Nathan Fulton, Henry Zenk, David Robertson, Julie Baumler, Alexander Code, Lynn Jeffries, Alexander Moreno). 2024. "More 'pure Chinook' from Joe Peter, 1941." *Papers for the Fifty-ninth International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages:* ICSNL 59:199-222. (https://lingpapers.sites.olt.ubc.ca/)

Kenoyer, Louis, Henry Zenk, and Jedd Schrock. 2017. *My Life, by Louis Kenoyer: reminiscences of a Grand Ronde Reservation childhood.* Oregon State University Press.

Lamson, E. F. 1891. Agent's annual report. Pp 340-342 in *Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for the year 1891*. Washington, DC.

Lang, George. 2008. *Making Wawa: The genesis of Chinook Jargon*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Larsen, Tom. 2002. “Blue munk: Towards an analysis of causatives and the like in Chinuk Wawa.” In *Proceedings of the 50th anniversary conference of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, June 8-9, 2002.* Berkeley: University of California.

Michelle, Mary Ann. 1953. Personal letter addressed to Agatha (Howard) Howe Bloom, 2/12/1953. Barbara Danforth papers, archives of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Cultural Resources Department, Grand Ronde, Oregon.

Munnick, Harriet, and Stephen D. Beckham, eds. 1987. *Catholic Church records of the Pacific Northwest—Grand Ronde.* Portland, Oregon: Binford & Mort.

Olson, June. 2011. *Living in the Great Circle: The Grand Ronde Indian Reservation, 1855-1905.* A. Menard Publications [available from https://indiancountrybooks.com/, as of 1/1/2025].

Roth, Christopher. 1994. “Towards an early social history of Chinook Jargon.” *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 28(1):157–75.

Seaburg, William, and Pamela Amoss. 2000. *Badger and Coyote were neighbors: Melville Jacobs on Northwest Indian myths and tales*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Silverstein, Michael. 1972. “Chinook Jargon: Language contact and the problem of multi-level generative systems.” *Language* 48:378–406, 596–625.

Swadesh, Morris. 1953. Tape recording of Santiam Central Kalapuya words, sentences, and texts from John B. Hudson, at Grand Ronde, Oregon. Recording 85-555-F (OT 7408) in Archives of Traditional Music, Indian University, Bloomington.

Thomason, Sarah. 1983. “Chinook Jargon in areal and historical context.” *Language* 59(4):820–70.

Zenk, Henry. 1978-93. Linguistic and ethnographic data from members of the Grand Ronde community, Oregon. Fieldnotes, sound-files, and transcripts in archives of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Cultural Resources Department, Grand Ronde, Oregon; and in the Henry B. Zenk Papers, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Seattle, Washington.

Zenk, Henry. 1988. “Chinook Jargon in the speech community of Grand Ronde Reservation, Oregon: An ethnography-of-speaking approach to an historical case of creolization in process.” Pp 107-124 in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language 71: Sociolinguistics and pidgin-creole studies,* John R. Rickford, ed. Mouton de Gruyter.

Zenk, Henry. 2016. *Victoria (Wishikin) Wacheno Howard (c 1865-1930)***.** Online entry in the *Oregon Encyclopedia.* (https://oregonencyclopedia.org).

Zenk, Henry. 2019. *chinuk-wawa learners grammar: Reference version. http://www.lulu.com/shop/henry-zenk/chinuk-wawa-learners-grammar-reference-version/paperback/product-24175734.html*

Zenk, Henry. ca. 1990. Phonetic transcripts of Chinuk Wawa as tape-recorded from two Grand Ronde community elder speakers: WB (Wilson Bobb Sr.); CR (Clara Riggs). Manuscripts in archives of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Cultural Resources Department, Grand Ronde, Oregon; and in the Henry B. Zenk Papers, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Seattle, Washington.

Zenk, Henry, Tony A. Johnson, and Sarah Braun Hamilton. 2010. “Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon) etymologies.” *Papers for the forty-fourth and fiftieth International Conferences on Salish and Neighbouring Languages:* ICSNL XLIV/XLV:270-348. (https://lingpapers.sites.olt.ubc.ca/).

Appendices

Abbreviations:

CWDP: Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project (2012).
CTGR: Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon.

CWDP alphabet:

This alphabet uses English letters for sounds whose values are the same as their English-alphabet counterparts; while using adaptations of Americanist and IPA symbols elsewhere—e.g.:

CWDP	IPA
a	[ɑ:]~[ʌ]
c'h, k', p', q', t', t'ɬ, t's	[t͡ʃ'], [k̓], [p̓], [q̓], [t̓], [t͡ɬ'], [t͡s']
ə	(variable quality: uniformly short)
i	[i:]~[ɪ]
ɬ, tɬ	[ɬ], [t͡ɬ]
q, q^h	[q], [q^h]
u	[u:]~[ʊ] (~[o])
x	[x]
x̣	[χ]
ʔ	[ʔ]
ˈ (e.g. ˈ*kwansəm, təˈnas)*	(syllable stress)*
ˊ (e.g. ˈ*kwáansəm)*	(higher prominence of accented syllable)*

*Revision of original CWDP usage: intended to align the alphabet closer to IPA standard.

Template (Appendices 1—5):

source spellings: <…>[12]; IPA spellings: […] (adapted from Zenk ca. 1990).
Transliteration of line 1 into the CWDP alphabet.
Interlinear translation of line 2.
Free translation.

Contents:

[12] Jacobs's phonetic spellings are reproduced with the following adjustments to the available keyboard: < ġ> = Jacobs's "g" with dot appearing underneath; ˊ is struck directly over the marked vowel, not directly following it as Jacobs wrote it and had it printed. Also, the mark _ is introduced to highlight breaks between word clusters.

Appendix 1. Excerpts from *A Dangerous Being Kills Two Women* (as titled in Jacobs 1936:4-6), dictated by Victoria Howard at West Linn, Oregon, in 1930 (Jacobs 1929-30, 67:101-111; cf. CWDP 409-413).

1 <qá _ bus _ yáx̣ga _ yaɬá·dwa _ alda _ náiga _ máma _ yawáwa _ wík _ háyu _ nánitc _ ayáq _ ayáq.>

ˈqʰa pus ˈyax̣ka ya ˈɬátwa alta ˈnayka ˈmama ya ˈwawa,
where COND 3SG.FOC 3sg go now 1SG mother 3SG say
“ˈwik ˈhayu ˈnanich aˈyaq aˈyaq.”
not DUR look quickly quickly
‘Wherever HE (my stepfather) would go, now my mother says, “DO NOT BE LOOKING (for him) SO EAGERLY.” ’

2 <aláxdi _ íkda _ áɬġi _ máiga _ nánɪtc _ sgugúm.> /…/

“aˈlaxti ˈikta ˈaɬqi ˈmayka ˈnanich skuˈkum.
maybe something later 2SG see dangerous.being
‘ “There may be some Thing you will see—a Dangerous Being.” ’

3 <gwá··nisɪm _ ġwánəm _ yaga _ tát _ ɬáska _ ɬadunánitc _ má·wɪtc.> /…/

ˈkwáaanisim ˈqwinəm yaka ˈtʰat ˈɬaska(-)ɬatu-nánich ˈmawich.
always.FOC five 3SG uncle 3PL-{go-see deer}
'Her five uncles did nothing but {go hunting} all the time.'

4 <áldayawáwa _ úkyátcətc _ wíkmagágwa.>

ˈalta ya ˈwawa ˈuk ˈya chich, "ˈwik ma ˈkakwa.”
then 3SG say DET 3SG grandmother NEG 2SG thus
‘Then her grandmother said, “don’t you be like that!” ’

5 <qantcɩlí·lɩ _ gá·gwa _ yáx̣ga. _ gwá·nɪsɪm _ gá·gwa _ yáx̣ga.>

(ˈ)qʰənchi-ˈlíli ˈkakwa ˈyax̣ka, ˈkwanisim ˈkakwa ˈyax̣ka.
extent-awhile thus 3SG always thus 3SG
'For some time she was being like that, all the time she was being like that.'

6 <tˈɬú·nas _ qantcɩlí·lɩ _ áldawə́x̣t _ yága _ háyu _ nánɪtc _ bús _ álda _ búsɬásga _ tcágwa.> /…/

ˈtˈɬunas (ˈ)qʰənchi-ˈlíli ˈalta-ˈwəx̣t ˈyaka ˈhayu ˈnánich
uncertain extent-awhile now-again 3SG DUR see
ˈpus ˈalta pus ˈɬaska ˈchakwa.
COND now COND 3PL come.FOC
'Who knows how long a time, then again she’s looking whether they would be a-coming now.'

7 <íkda _ x̣lúwima _ sgugú·m. _ yə́ɬɪma _ yáx̣ga _ yaga _ múŋk _ lalám.> /. . ./

“ˈikta ˈx̣lúyma skuˈkum!
something different dangerous.being
ˈya lima ˈyáx̣ka yaka ˈmunk laˈlam!”
3SG arm 3SG.FOC 3SG do oar
‘ “It’s something different—Something Dangerous! His own arm is what he uses as an oar!” ’

8 <álda _ yawáwa _ úkyátcətc _ káldəsmíɬait. _ álda _ náigamáŋk _ íχbui _ ntsáiga _ labώ·t.> /…/
ˈalta ya wawa ˈuk ˈya chich, “ˈkʰəltəs ˈmiɬayt!
then 3SG say DET 3SG grandmother just be.there
ˈalta ˈnayka ˈmunk(-)ˈíχpuy nˈtsayka laˈpot.”
now 1SG {CAUS-close} 1PL door
‘Then her grandmother said, “just be still! Now I (will) {close} our doors.” ’

9 <ɬásganá·ntcnantc yalıpyí. _ hí··lu. _ wík _ íkda _ ɬásgatʼɬáp.> /…/
ˈɬaska ˈnanch-nanch ya liˈpʰyi, ˈhíiilu. ˈwik ˈíkta ˈɬaska ˈtʼɬap.
3PL look-look 3SG track lacking.FOC NEG thing.FOC 3PL find
‘They looked all over for its tracks, nothing at all. They did not find a single thing.’

10 <álda _ tʼɬúnas _ qáʼiwá _ ɬásga _ ɬá·dwa _ úkdí·lxam.>
ˈalta ˈtʼɬunas ˈqʰa-iˈwa ˈɬáska ˈɬatwa ˈuk ˈtilxam.
now uncertain where-DEM 3PL go DET people
'Now who knows which way those people went off to.'

11 <kábıtgágwa _ álda _ náiga _ gámdaks.>
ˈkʰəpit-ˈkákwa ˈalta ˈnayka ˈkəmtəks.
{just-thus} now 1SG know
'That’s {as much as} I know of that now.'

Appendix 2. Excerpts from *A Girls’ Game* (as titled in Jacobs 1936:12-13), dictated by Victoria Howard at West Linn, Oregon, in 1930 (Jacobs 1929-30, 69:76-80; cf. CWDP 406-408).

1 <namáma _ bʊsyayáʼımnáiga _ qá·da _ á·nġadı _ búsɬashí·hı.>
na ˈmama (ˈ)pus-ya-ˈyáʔim ˈnayka ˈqʰata ˈanqati ˈpus-ɬas-ˈhíhi
1SG mother COND-3SG-tell 1SG how long.ago COND-3PL-play
‘My mother would tell me how they would play long ago.’

2 <ɬásɬádwaʼísgam _ úkdadí·s,>
ˈɬas ˈɬatwa ˈiskam ˈuk-taˈtís,
3PL go get DET-flowers
‘They go get these flowers,’

3 <áldaɬásmʊŋkḵwítḵwıt _ kábıtʼúkdadí·s,>
ˈalta ˈɬas-munk-ˈkʼwítkʼwit ˈkʰəpit ˈuk-taˈtis,
then 3PL-{CAUS-pluck} only DET-flowers
‘then they {pick off} just the flowers,’

4 <áldaɬásmʊŋkḵá·uḵau _ kabayú··ɬġat _ lú·p.>
ˈalta ˈɬas-munk-ˈkʼáw-kʼaw kʰapa ˈyúuuɬqat ˈlup.
then 3PL-{CAUS-tie-tie} PREP long.FOC rope
‘then they {tie them all} up into a really long rope.’

5 <álda _ qántcɪháyuɬásga _ í·xtyamítxwɪt _ dánəs·áya.>
ˈalta ˈqʰənchi-ˈháyu ˈɬaska ˈixt ya ˈmitxwit ˈtənəs-ˈsáya.
then {extent-much} 2PL one 3SG stand {little-away}
‘Then {as many of} them as there are, one of them stands a {little ways off}.’

6 <álda’í·xt _ ɬásmʊŋk _ qwətɬkabayáx̣ka _ úkdadí·s,>
ˈalta ˈixt ˈɬas-munk(-)ˈqʰwátɬ kʰapa ˈyax̣ka ˈuk-taˈtís,
then one 3PL-{CAUS-hang} PREP 3SG DET-flowers
‘Then (on) one, they {hang on} her those flowers,’

7 <kánawɪqáɬasᵐᵘᵑᵏmíɬait _ kabayáx̣ga,>
ˈkʰanawi-ˈqʰá ˈ)ɬas-munk-ˈmíɬayt kʰapa ˈyax̣ka,
all-where 3PL-{CAUS-be.there} PREP 3SG
‘everywhere they {place} them on her,’

8 <kábɪtdadí·s _ ya’íɬ’wəl. /. . . />
ˈkʰəpit-taˈtís ya ˈiɬwəl.
only-flowers 3SG flesh
‘her body is just flowers.’

9 <ɬas’í·xt _ úkdənəsɬútcmən _ yaɬá·dwa _ qá·’ʊk’í·xt _ yamí·txwɪt.>
ɬas ˈixt ˈuk-tənəs-ˈɬúchmən ya ˈɬatwa ˈqʰa uk ˈixt ya ˈmíiitxwit.
3PL one DET-little-woman 3SG go where DET one 3SG stand.FOC
‘One of those girls goes to where that other one is just standing.’

10 <álta _ yáxga’ʊkmí·txwɪt _ á+ġiyawáwa>
ˈalta ˈyax̣ka uk ˈmíiitxwit ˈaɬqi ya ˈwawa
then 3SG DET stand.FOC later 3SG say
‘Then the one who is just standing will say,’

11 <tcxí··matcá·gu _ nanánɪtc _ máigaháyuhí·hi.>
“ˈchxíii ma ˈchaku na ˈnanich ˈmayka ˈhayu-ˈhihi.”
newly.FOC 2SG come 1SG see 2SG.FOC DUR-laugh
‘ “Just AS SOON AS you’re coming this way I see YOU ARE ALREADY LAUGHING!” ’

Appendix 3. Excerpts from a Chinuk Wawa conversation with Wilson Bobb Sr. (Zenk ca. 1990, WB 188-203; cf. CWDP 434-439).

1 [ˈkʰʌ́nawiˈɬaksʈʌʔʊkˈhájʌʃ _ ˈʈajiˈʈɪlɪxəmˈwekˈʔíkdʌɬʌsˈwáwa]
ˈkʰánawi-ˈɬaksta uk ˈháyash ˈtayi ˈtilixam ˈwik-ˈíkta ɬas ˈwáwa.
{all.FOC-who} DET big.FOC {chief people} {NEG-thing} 3PL say
‘The {whole lot} of those bigshot (tribal) {officials}, they won’t say {anything} (won’t speak up}.’

2 ['kágwəɬʌs _ ˈʧíʞɪpʊsʃʌˈwá:ʃ ˈwɪkˈʔíkʧʌ _ ɬʌsˈwá:wɑ]
ˈkákwa *ɬas* *ˈtíki,* *pus* *shaˈwásh* *ˈwik-ˈíkta* *ɬas* *ˈwáwa*
thus.FOC 3PL want COND Indians {NEG-thing} 3PL say
'That's just the way they want it, for no Indians to say {anything} (speak up).'

3 [ˈkʰʌpɪtˈná:ɪgʌˈwawɑˈká:gwʌ]
ˈkʰəpit *ˈnáyka* *ˈwawa* *ˈkákwa*
only 1SG.FOC speak thus.FOC
'I'm the only one who speaks like this.'

4 [bətʔ _ ˈkagʊpʊsˈwɪkˈʔíkʧʌ..ˈwɪkˈʔíkʧʌnɑˈwɑwɑˈkʌldəsɬʌsˈmí::ɬət]
bət *ˈkakupus* *ˈwik-ˈíkta* *na* *ˈwawa,* *ˈkʰəltəs* *ɬas* *ˈmíiiɬət.*
CONJ as.if {NEG-thing} 1SG say only 3PL sit.FOC
'But it's just as if I said nothing, they just SIT.'

5 [ˈkánʌwiˈɬɑksʧʌ _ ɬʌs..ˈɬasʞʌʔʊkˈhájʌʃ ˈʧɪlɪxəm _ ..ˈkágwʌɬʌsˈtíʞɪ]
ˈkʰánawi-ˈɬaksta *ˈɬaska* *uk* *ˈháyash-ˈtilixam,* *ˈkákwa* *ɬas* *ˈtíki.*
{all.FOC-who} 3PL DET big.FOC-people thus.FOC 3PL want
'{ALL of those} who are the bigshot people (tribal officials), that's just the way they want it.'

6 [ˈɑɬqe̯ˈkʰɑ:nʌwe _ ˈʞwá::nsəmɬʌs _ ˈhaju _ ˈhajuˈmɔ́ŋkˈ*money* _ ɬʌsˈtɑˈjí:ˈʧɪlɪxʌm] /.../
ˈɑɬqi *ˈkʰanawi* *ˈkwáaansəm* *ɬas* *ˈhayu-ˈmúnk* ˈmoney,
later all always.FOC 3PL DUR-make *money*
ɬas *tɑˈyí-ˈtilixam*
3PL {chief.FOC-people}
'All will forever be making money, their bigshot (tribal) {officials}.'

7 [ˈɑɬqɪˈsʌmʊŋkˈsá:χəliʊk _ ˈdá:lʌ] /.../
"ˈɑɬqi *ˈsa-munk-ˈsáχali* *uk* *ˈdála."*
later 1PL-{CAUS-high.up} DET money
' "We'll {pile up} that money." '

8 [ˈwɪkɬʌsˈkʌ́mdʌkspəsˈt͡sá:ɪgʌˈwɑwɑwɛlˈɬú:ʃbət _ ˈwɪkˈqʰʌ́nt͡ʃi t͡sɑɪˈwá:wɑ]
ˈwik *ɬas* *ˈkə́mtəks* *pus* *ˈtsáyka* *ˈwawa* *ˈɬúsh,*
not 3PL know COND 1PL.FOC speak good.FOC
bət *ˈwik-ˈqʰánchi* *tsay* *ˈwáwa*
CONJ {not-when} 1PL speak
'They don't understand that it is for us to speak well, but we {never} speak.' (*note:* interpreting [wɛl] as a slip for the following word: *ɬush* 'well').

9 ['p̥á:sn̥ɬasˈwawakabʌˈ*Wáshington* _ ˈkágwəm̥saˈmɔ́ŋk] /.../
ˈbástən *ɬas* *ˈwawa* *kʰapa* ˈWáshington, *"ˈkákwa* *msa* *ˈmúnk."*
Whites.FOC 3PL speak PREP *Washington*.FOC thus.FOC 2PL do
'Whites speak from Washington, "That's how you're going to do it!" '

10 [ˈt͡sáːɪgʌsʌˈwáːwʌˈwɪkˈmáːɪgɑ] /.../
“ˈtsáyka sa ˈwáwa ˈwik ˈmáyka.”
1PL.FOC 1PL speak not 2SG.FOC
‘ “WE'RE the ones who speak, not YOU.” ’

11 [ɬʌsˈdəmdəmʊkˈb̥áːsdənˈɬásgʌʊk _ ˈhájʌʃ ˈt̪ɪlɪxʌm _ ˈsáːːχəliˈɬʌsgʌ] /.../
ɬas ˈtə́mtəm uk ˈbástən ˈɬáska uk ˈháyash-ˈtilixam,
3PL think DET Whites.FOC 2PL.FOC DET {big.FOC-people}
ˈsáaaχ̣ali ˈɬaska
high.up.FOC 3PL
‘The Whites think that they’re the {superior people} (race), (that) they’re way up there.’

12 [ˈkʰɑːgwəˈjáːχkʌˈkagwʌjaˈt̪ə́mdəm _ ˈkagwʌjaˈk̪ʎ́mdʌksˈkʌbət.. _ ˈkʌpətˈkágwəjaˈk̪ʎ́mdʌks] /.../
ˈkakwa ˈyáχ̣ka, ˈkakwa ya ˈtə́mtəm, ˈkakwa ya ˈkə́mtəks,
thus 3SG.FOC thus 3SG heart.FOC thus 3SG know
ˈkʰəpit-ˈkákwa ya ˈkə́mtəks
{only-thus} 3SG know
'It’s just what he (the Whiteman) is, what his character is, it’s what he knows, {it’s ALL} he knows.'

13 [ˈsáːːχəli _ ˈnáːɪgɑˈsaχəli _ ˈwɪkˈǒkˈmanˈjáˈsaχəlipi _ ˈnáɪga _ ˈdréːtnɑˈsaχəli] /.../
ˈsáaaχ̣ali, ˈnáyka ˈsaχ̣ali,
high.up.FOC 1SG.FOC high up
ˈwik ˈúk ˈman ˈyá ˈsaχ̣ali pi ˈnáyka,
NEG DET.FOC man 3SG.FOC high.up CONJ 1SG.FOC
ˈdrét na ˈsaχ̣ali
truly.FOC 1SG high.up
‘ “Up there, I’M up there, THAT man isn’t as high up there as ME, I’m REALLY up there!” ’

14 [ˈɬǒχəlqʌˈhɑˈjúː _ ˈdálajaˈɬu.wʌn _ ˈwɪkˈʔíktɑˈɬúːʃˈkɔbɑˈjɑ] /.../
ˈt’úχ̣əlqa ˈhaˈyú ˈdála ya ˈt’uʔan,
too.FOC much.FOC money.FOC 3SG have
ˈwik-ˈíkta ˈɬúsh kʰupa ˈya
{NEG-thing} good PREP 3SG
‘He has just way too much money, it’s not even {anything} of any benefit to him.’

15 [ˈwɪktʃʰˈɬuʃkʌbʌˈt̪ɪ́lɪxʌm _ ˈɬʊχəlqʌˈháˈjupʊsˈjáːχgɑ]
ˈwik ch-ˈɬush kʰapa ˈtílixam, ˈt’uχ̣əlqa-ˈháyu pus ˈyáχ̣ka
NEG INCHO-good PREP people.FOC {too-much} PREP 3SG.FOC
‘It's of no benefit to people, it’s just way too much for him alone.’

Appendix 4. Excerpts from a Chinuk Wawa dictation by Clara Riggs (Zenk ca. 1990, CR 6-27; cf. CWDP 453-459).

1 [ʔalda ʔ _ naɪgaˈwáwajaʔ..ˈjaχga _ ˈʔaɬqɪnaɪgaˈḵélәpʌ]
alta nayka ˈwáwa ˈyáx̣ka, “ˈaɬqi nayka ˈk’élapa.”
then 1SG say 3SG later 1SG return
‘Then I say to her, “I will return.” ’

2 [jagaˈwáwa _ ..ˈʔaɬqɪmaɪgaˈt͡ʃʰaguˈḵélʌpaˈqʰaˈsán] /.../
yaka ˈwáwa, “ˈaɬqi mayka ˈchaku-ˈk’élapa ˈqʰa-ˈsán.”
3SG say later 2SG come-back {where-day}
‘She said, “You do come on back {someday} later on.’

3 [ˈʔaɬqɪˈnaɪga _ ˈmíɬәtjakwamaɪˈt͡ʃʰágu _ ˈmaɪgaˈt͡ʃʰágumaɪgaˈʔískʌmˈnaɪgʌ] /.../
“ˈałqi ˈnayka ˈmíłәt yakwa may ˈcháku, mayka ˈcháku mayka ˈískam ˈnayka.”
later 1SG be here 2SG come 2SG come 2SG get 1SG
‘ “I will be here (when) you come, you come (and) you get me.” ’

4 [naˈɬadonaˈʔískʌmˈjaχkʌ]
na ˈɬatu na ˈískam ˈyax̣ka.
1SG go 1SG get 3SG.FOC
‘I went and got her.’

5 [ˈt͡ʃʰágoʔaldamaɪgaˈɬá:do[ɳ]maˈná:nt͡ʃsaɪgʌˈsaqlɪˈtáji _ ˈnaɪgʌˈsaqlɪˈtáji]
“ˈcháku alta mayka ˈɬátu [ən]
come now 2SG go CONJ (?)
ma ˈnánch sayka ˈsax̣li-ˈtáyi, ˈnayka ˈsax̣li-ˈtáyi.”
2SG see 1PL high-chief 1SG.FOC high-chief
‘ “Come on now, you're going (to our Catholic church)—you will see our ‘high chief’, MY ‘high chief’ (the priest, who CR as a child conflated with God, also named 'high chief' in Jargon).” ’

6 [ʔɔ:maɪgaˈp̬íltʔn̥jaˈwáwa_] /.../
“oo mayka ˈpíltən” ya ˈwáwa
oh 2SG foolish 3SG say
‘ “Oh you're crazy,” she said.’

7 [ˈaldanaɪgaˈmíɬәtˈnamʊŋkˈmíɬәtˈjagajaˈkwa _ ˈaldajaˈmíɬәt _ ˈaldajaˈkwaˈnáɪˈmɪɬәt]
ˈalta nayka ˈmíɬәt ˈna-munk-ˈmíɬәt ˈyaka yaˈkwa
then 1SG be.there 1SG-{CAUS-be.there} 3SG here
ˈalta ya ˈmíɬәt, ˈalta yaˈkwa ˈnáy ˈmiɬәt.
then 3SG be.there then here 1SG.FOC be.there
‘Now I'm there (at the church), I {seat} her here, then she sits, then here I myself sit.’

8 [ˈkanaˈɬákstʌˈná:nɪt͡ʃˈna:nɪt͡ʃˈna:nɪt͡ʃbətwekˈʔíktʌnaɪgʌˈt̪ámdəm]
ˈkʰana-ˈláksta ˈnánich-ˈnanich-ˈnanich bət wik-ˈíkta nayka ˈtámtəm.
{all-who} look-look-look CONJ {NEG-thing.FOC} 1SG think
‘{Everyone} (in church) keeps looking and looking and looking, but I think {nothing at all} of it.’

9 [ˈaldə..ʔʊgʊkˈmá:njagəˈwá:wawawə] /. . ./
ˈalta ukuk ˈmán yaka ˈwáwa-wawa.
then that.one man.FOC 3SG talk-talk
‘Then that man there (the priest) talks away.’

10 [ˈaldajəˈná::nɪt͡ʃˈnaɪgə _ jagəˈt̪ámdəmˈkʌldəsˈp̬íldənˈnaɪgə]
ˈalta ya ˈnáaanich ˈnayka, yaka ˈtəmtəm ˈkʰáltəs ˈpíltən ˈnayka.
now 3SG look.FOC 1SG 3SG think just foolish 1SG
'Now she’s looking very intently at me, she’s thinking I’m just crazy.'

11 [ˈaldəˈkʰʌ́b̥ɪtˈwa:waˈkʰʌ́b̥ɪtˈwa:waˈaldanaigə _ naɪgəˈʔískʌmnaɪgəˈlúlu _ ˈsáχəlɪ]
ˈalta ˈkʰápit-ˈwawa, ˈkʰápit-ˈwawa, ˈalta nayka ˈískam nayka ˈlúlu ˈsáχali.
then {stop-talk} {stop-talk} then 1SG get 1SG carry up.FOC
‘Then the (service) {concludes}, it {concludes}, so then I get (her) I take (her) up [help her up from where she was seated? get her up into the hack for the ride home?].’

12 [ˈaldajagəˈwáwaˈnaɪgəˈkʌldʌsˈmaɪgə _ ˈp̬íldən _ ˈkʌldʌsˈmá:nˈʔʊgʊk]
ˈalta yaka ˈwáwa ˈnayka, “ˈkʰəltəs ˈmayka ˈpíltən,
then 3SG say.to 1SG just 2SG foolish
ˈkʰəltəs ˈmá:n ˈukuk.
just man that.one
‘Then she said to me, “You’re just crazy, that’s just a man.” ’

13 [wekˈqʌnt͡ʃɪmaɪgəˈná:nt͡ʃˈsaqlɪˈtaji _ ˈkʌldʌsˈb̥ásdənˈʔʊgʊk]
“wik-ˈqʰənchi mayka ˈnánch ˈsaχli-ˈtayi, ˈkʰəltəs ˈbástən ˈukuk.
{NEG-when} 2SG see {high-chief} just White that.one
‘ “You {never} see ‘High Chief’ ({God}), that’s just a White guy.” ’

14 [jagəˈwáwawawə..bətwekˈʔíkdanaɪgəˈkʌ́mdʌksjagəˈwáwə]
“yaka ˈwáwa-wawa bət wik-ˈíkta nayka ˈkámtəks yaka ˈwáwa."
3SG talk-talk CONJ {NEG-thing} 1SG understand 3SG talk
‘ “He talks on and on but I understand {nothing} whatsoever of what he says.” ’

Appendix 5. An excerpt from Grand Ronde Mission (ca. 1884).[13] The complete text, including scans from the original pages along with a transliteration and free translation, may be accessed at: https://chinookjargon.com/2020/02/11/ca-1880-grand-ronde-discovery-schoolkids-letter-in-chinuk-wawa-henry-zenk-guest-post/ .
The text and lists of names show many typos, flagged * below.

1 <Kahsi nsaïka tlahawiam pi nsaïka sauvage, Sahale-Taï. iaka mamouk tlahawiam nsaïka,>

k'aχchi	*nsayka*	*ɬaχayam*	*pi*	*nsayka*	*sawash,*
although	1PL	pitiful	CONJ	1PL	Indian
saχali-tayi	*yaka*	*mamuk-ɬaχayam*		*nsayka,*	
{high-chief}	3SG	{CAUS-pitiful}		1PL	

'Although we are wretched and we are Indians, {God} {pitied} us,'

2 <iaka patlach la Religion Catholique Kopa nsaïka.>

yaka	*palach*	la Religion Catholique	*kʰupa*	*nsayka.*
3SG	give	*the Catholic Religion*	PREP	1PL

'he gave the Catholic Religion to us.'

3 <Pi weht iaka mamouk nanich nsaïka okouk tlosh tluchmen Catherine Tegakwita.>

pi	*wəχt*	*yaka*	*mamuk-nanich*	*nsayka*	*ukuk*	*ɬush*	*ɬuchmən*
CONJ	also	3SG	{CAUS-see}	1PL	that.one	good	woman
Catherine Tegakwita.							
Kateri Tekakwitha.							

'And in addition he {shows} us that blessed woman, Kateri Tekakwitha.'

4 <Okouk tluchmen sauvage kakwa nsaïka,>

ukuk	*ɬuchmən*	*sawash*	*kakwa*	*nsayka,*
that.one	woman	Indian	like	1PL

'This woman was Indian like us,'

5 <heloman iaka,> /. . ./

hilu-man	*yaka,*
{lacking-man}	3SG

'she was a {virgin},'

6 <Nowitka nsaïka Komtoks Sahale Taï patlach okouk tlosh tluchmen Kopa nsaïka, kakna* aias tlosh ikta pous nsaïka;>

nawitka	*nsayka*	*kəmtəks*	*saχali-tayi*	*palach*	*ukuk*	*ɬush*	*ɬuchmən*
{truly	1PL	know}	{high-chief}	give	that.one	good	woman
kʰupa	*nsayka,*	**kakwa*	*hayash ɬush*	*ikta*	*pus*	*nsayka;*	
PREP	1PL	thus	{great good	thing}	PREP	1PL	

'{We have faith} {God} gave this good woman to us, as a {great blessing} for us.'

[13] Thanks to Bob Walls, who called David Lewis's attention to this nearly lost gem. And thanks to David for passing it along to me.

7 <iaka mamouk nsaïka ats iaka.>
yaka *mamuk* *nsayka* *ats* *yaka.*
3SG make 1PL sister 3SG
'He made it (so that) she is our sister.'

8 <Pi alta, nsaïka Papa, kakna* pous Jesus-Christ nsaïka;> /. . ./
pi *alta,* *nsayka papa,* **kakwa pus* Jesus Christ *nsayka.*
CONJ now 1PL father {like COND} *Jesus Christ* 1PL
'And now, our Father, we are {like unto} Jesus Christ.'

9 <Pi weht mokst Pasaiouks kakwa pous sauvage tlaska,>
pi *wəx̣t* *makwst* *pasayuks* *kakwa pus* *sawash* *ɬaska,*
CONJ also two Frenchmen {like COND} Indian 3PL
'And in addition, two French persons, {like unto} Indians they were,'

10 <kewa tlaska mitlaït Kopa sauvage pous mamouk komtoks Jesus-Christ pi tlosh oïhot Kopa Sahale,>
qʰiwa *ɬaska* *miɬayt* *kʰupa* *sawash*
CONJ 3PL be.there PREP Indian
pus *mamuk-kəmtəks* Jesus Christ *pi* *ɬush uyxat* *kʰupa* *saχ̣ali,*
COND {CAUS-know} *Jesus Christ* CONJ good road PREP high up
'because they lived among Indians to teach (about) Jesus Christ and the good path to heaven,'

11 <pi Kopa akok* chako sik tomtom masachi telekom,>
pi **kʰupa-ukuk* *chaku-sik-təmtəm* *masachi-tilixam,*
CONJ {PREP-that.one} INCHO-{sick-heart} bad-people
'and {on account of this} bad people became {resentful},'

12 <pi tlaska mamouk memeloust tlaska.> /. . ./
pi *ɬaska* *mamuk-miməlust* *ɬaska.*
CONJ 3PL {CAUS-dead} 3PL
'and they {killed} them.'

13 <Pous maïka patlach okouk tloun pous tlaska elahau* nsaïka Kopa Sahale,>
pus *mayka* *palach* *ukuk* *ɬun* *pus* *ɬaska* **yeʔlan* *nsayka* *kʰupa* *saχ̣ali,*
COND 2SG give that.one three COND 3PL help 1PL PREP high.up
'Should you give these three that they should help us from heaven,' (*cf. Bay Center Jarg [jiˈlʌʔʌn] 'help'; CWDP 258)

14 <pi tlaska wawa Kopa Sahale Taï pous nsaïka,>
pi *ɬaska* *wawa* *kʰupa* *saχ̣ali-tayi* *pus* *nsayka,*
CONJ 3PL speak PREP {high-chief} PREP 1PL
'and (for) they to speak to {God} for us,'

15 <nsaïka tomtom chako ioutl pi tlosh kwaiussom* nsaïka;> /. . ./
nsayka *təmtəm* *chaku-yutɬiɬ* *pi* *ɬush* **kwanisim* *nsayka,*
1PL heart INCHO-glad CONJ good always 1PL
'our hearts will become glad and we will be blessed forever;'

16 <pi weht aïo sauvage Kawèk tlaska eskam la baptême, alké tlaska chako Catholic>
pi *wəχt* *hayu* *sawash* *kʰa-wik* *ɬaska* *iskam* la baptême,
CONJ also many Indian {still-not} 3PL get baptism
aɬqi *ɬaska* *chaku*-Catholic.
later 3PL INCHO-*Catholic*
'and also, many Indians {not yet} having gotten baptism, they will become Catholic.'

Appendix 6. Excerpts from Zenk (ca. 1990, WB 110-121; cf. CWDP 450-451): field review of a short Chinook Jargon text originally dictated by Louis Kenoyer to Angulo and Freeland (1929). Template:

(#) Ms Reproduction of Angulo and Freeland's (1929) Chinook Jargon transcript.
Ms Reproduction of Angulo and Freeland's (1929) interlinear translation of line 1.
HZ *Audio of Zenk (HZ) reading line 1 to Wilson Bobb Sr. (WB).*
WB *Audio of WB's responses to HZ.*

1 Ms <áldɔ̃ɻ yáχga ískəm úkuk íɬwɪlɪ>
Ms <then he get the meat>
HZ *ˈálta ˈyáχka ˈískam ˈúkuk ˈíɬwəli*
WB *ˈalta ya ˈískam uk ˈíɬwəl, ˈíɬwəli ˈálta /* yeah, that sounds alright /. . ./

2 Ms <yáχga maˑmuk qwɛtɬ sáxlɪ>
Ms <he make hang up>
HZ *ˈyáχka ˈmamuk ˈqʰwétɬ ˈsáχali. /. . ./*
WB I'd say it about the same: *ˈya-munk-ˈqʰwétɬ ˈsáχali* [ˈjɑmʊŋkˈqʰwétɬ ˈsáːχəlɪ].
HZ but see though you said it different /…/ he says *ˈyáχka ˈmámuk,*
where you say *ˈya-ˈmúnk /. . ./*

3 [HZ follows up: reading the complete Ms text of example (2):]
Ms <yáχga maˑmuk qwɛtɬ sáxlɪ qax n'sáyga
Ms <he make hang up where we
maˑmuk ɬʊs pʊs maˑmuk təláy úkuk íɬwɪlɪ >
make good for make dry the meat>
HZ *ˈyáχka ˈmamuk ˈqʰwétɬ ˈsaχli ˈqʰá ˌnˈsaika*
ˈmamuk ˈɬúsh ˈpus ˈmamuk tʰəˈláy ˈukuk ˈíɬwəli
WB yeah *ya ˈmamuk,* yeah*, ya ˈmamuk-ˈqʰwétɬ* [jʌ-ˈmʌmʊk-ˈqʰwétɬ]
but see, if you say it right, you don't come too strong with that *ˈmamuk* stuff,
don't say *ˈmamuk* that strong /…/ now listen to me [WB modelling]
HZ OK, *ˈyáχka ˈmamuk-ˈqʰwétɬ.*

WB see, if you said that, where if you was talking to somebody understands Jargon, [they] wouldn't think nothing of it. /. . ./

HZ but your way of Jargon is a little bit different though isn't it?

WB shouldn't be, well, you're stressing the words a little more [emphasis added]

HZ why do you think he would stretch the words a little more there? [emphasis added]