CHINOOK JARGON

The Language of Northwest Coast History

Lessons, Dictionary, & Historical Introduction

by

J. V. Powell

GILL'S DICTIONARY

OF THE

Chinook Jargon

English-Chinook and Chinook-English

FOURTEENTH EDITION

REVISED, ENLARGED AND CORRECTED

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CHINOOK

AS SPOKEN BY THE INDIANS

—OF—

Washington Territory, British Columbia and Alaska.

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

Chinook—English. English—Chinook.

BY

REV. C. M. TATE,

PUBLISHED BY M. W. WAITT & CO.,

VICTORIA, B. C.

INTRODUCTION

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

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

P R E F A C E

"An episode in the history of the West ...."
"A historical esperanto ...."
"A picturesque artificiality ...."
"A grotesque jargon ...."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Origin of the Chinook Jargon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

how to make them).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE SPREAD OF JARGON

> "(In Victoria) the jargon, even in 1858, was only spoken by the younger generation, the older people never acquiring it."
>
> The Memoirs of James R. Anderson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHINOOK WAWA MIMELOSE ("Chinook Jargon Dies")

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

(Illustration #7 (placement note: place on the page facing the above title and quote);
Caption: While a graduate student at Yale, Theodore Winthrop

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, despite rigorous collection of Chinook Jargon materials

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHINOOK JARGON: OUR LOSS - OUR GAIN

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

(Chinook Jargon ballad)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kitsilano, Capilano, siwash squaw!
Klahowya tillikum, skookum wah!
Hiyu muckamuck, muckamuck uh zip!
B.C. Varsity, rip, rip, rip!

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

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

LESSONS