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U.B.C. MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

LESSON I

Dialogue

You will find a brief conversation or "dialogue" at the beginning of each lesson. Learn this dialogue so well that you and a classmate can recite it easily from memory or, if necessary, by referring to the English on the right to remind yourself of the sequence of utterances. The purpose of the dialogues is to present new vocabulary and to give you practice in using these new words in longer phrases and idiomatic expressions. Part of each class or study period should be spent in reciting the dialogue. The pronunciation and meaning of new words appearing in the dialogues is provided in the vocabulary sections.

Hints: Learn the dialogues with a partner.
Be sure to learn both parts.
Take care to learn the correct pronunciation
of words so as not to implant improper
habits that may be difficult to break
later.

Boston:	Klahowya, nika tillikum.	"Hello, my friend."
Siwash:	Klahowya. Kahta mika?	"Hello. How (are) you?"
Boston:	Nika hyas kloshe. Kahta mika?	"I (am) very good. How (are) you?"
Siwash:	Nika wake kloshe.	"I (am) not well.
	Nika hyas sick okoke sun.	"I'm very sick today."
Boston:	Nika sick tumtum.	"I'm sorry (to hear it)."
Siwash:	Alta nika klatawa kopa takta.	"Now I'm going to (the) doctor."
Boston:	Kloshe. Klahowya.	"Good. Goodbye."
Siwash:	Klahowya, tillikum.	"Goodbye, friend."

Vocabulary

A key to the phonetic transcriptions and exercises in reading them will be introduced on page below.

alta /ál.tũ/ now
 Boston /baú.stũn/ White man
 (also American)
 takta /ták.tũ/ doctor
 hyas /hí.yũ/ very, exceedingly
 kahta /ká.tũ/ how
 klahowya /klũ.háw.yũ/ how are you
 klatawa /klũ.táw.wũ/ go, travel
 kloshe /klosh/ good, well, handsome
 kopa /kó.pũ/ to, in, on
 mika /mí.kũ/ you, your, yours
 nika /ní.kũ/ I, me, my, mine

okokey /o.kók/ this, this one
 sick /sik/ sick, sickness, wound
 siwash /sí.wáush/ Indian
 sun /sun/ day, sun
 okokey sun, today
 tillikum /tí.li.kũ/ friend, people
 tumtum /tũm.tũm/ heart, soul spirit
 sick tumtum, sorry
 wake /wāk/ no, not

ABOUT THE VOCABULARY

As we know by now, the words of Chinook Jargon are drawn from numerous languages. The vocabulary introduced in Lesson I is representative of this diverse origin. There are four words of English derivation, one from French, seven from Chinook, four from Nootka, and one sound-symbolism type word which sounds like what it implies. Can you pick out the English loan-words? They are not difficult to recognize: sun, sick, takta and boston. The derivation of Jargon words, where known, is given in the vocabularies and repeated in the dictionary section at the end of the volume.

It is important at the outset that you know about the Indian languages which contributed vocabulary to the developing Jargon. The map on page shows these Indian languages and the areas in which they were spoken. Some people refer to these distinct and different languages as "dialects" and suggest thereby that all Indian tongues are simply varying forms of a single language used by all Indians everywhere. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is also distressing to note that many of these languages are already extinct or nearly so. Attempts are in progress to teach many of these moribund languages to younger tribal members in both the U.S. and Canada. We should

all hope for the success of these endeavors in order that these irreplaceable aspects of our respective national heritages should not be lost. It is also important to stress that although languages such as Lower Chinook are extinct, the peoples that spoke the languages continue as identifiable ethnic groups.

We have noted the origin of Jargon words as follows: (C) Lower Chinook provides approximately 50% of the words in Jargon. Now extinct, Lower Chinook was spoken in two dialects, Clatsop (spoken along the southern bank of the Columbia River from Astoria downward) and Chinook Proper spoken on the north side of the Columbia below Gray's Harbor and along the shores of Shoalwater Bay. Upper Chinook (C-upper) is still spoken in several forms by a few older people. Dialects of Upper Chinook were spoken by the Wasco and Wishram in the area of The Dalles, and by the Kathlamet and Clackamas in the Willamette Valley and along the lower courses of the Columbia. Nootka (N) is still spoken by numerous old people on the west coast of Vancouver Island. It is closely related to the Nitinat and Makah languages. Approximately ten percent of the Jargon vocabulary comes from Nootka. Kwakiutl (K) is still spoken by several hundred people, although almost no one below age 30 can still converse in this language of northern Vancouver Island and the adjacent B.C. mainland. Bella Bella (BB) or Heiltsuk is spoken in remote Bella Bella, B.C., by a few elders. Upper Chehalis (UCh), Lower Chehalis (LCh), and Twana (T) are all but extinct with a speaker or two of advanced age. The Chehalis lived around and eastward from Grays Harbor and included the Oyhut and Lower Chehalis Proper (both LCh) and the Humptulip, Wynooche, Satsop, and Upper Chehalis Proper (all UCh). Twana was the language of the Skokomish, near Shelton, Wash. The Puget Salish language (Puget S.) has recently come to be called Lushootseed. It is spoken by a few old people in northern dialects (Snohomish, Skagit, and Skykomish) and southern dialects (Duwamish, Nisqually, Puyallup, Muckleshoot, and Suquamish). The Kalapuya (Kal) language was an Oregon neighbor to Clackamas Chinook and Klickitat was spoken along the Columbia above Upper Chinook.

Loanwords from English (E) and French (F) comprise about 15% of Jargon each. There are no Russian terms in Jargon. Kanaka, a Hawaiian word for 'man,' was regularly used to refer to the Pacific islanders who came to the mainland in some numbers during the 19th century. A single jargon

word of Spanish origin is thought to exist. Kiyutan, 'horse,' appears to derive from the Spanish word for horse, caballo. Other long range borrowing occurred when the French trappers or voyageurs brought Cree and Ojibwa words from Ontario to the Pacific coast and they came into use in Jargon: mitass (Ojibwa) 'leggings,' lapishmo (Ojibwa) 'saddleblanket,' tatoosh (Cree or Ojibwa) 'milk,' wappato (Cree) 'potato,' kinnickinick (Cree) 'Indian tobacco,' siskiyu (Cree) 'bob-tailed horse,' and possibly moosmoos 'cow,' (see the dictionary regarding derivation of this term).

Figures for the number of words deriving from each source language can be tabulated as follows, showing the figures compiled by George Gibbs in 1863 and the count compiled in preparing the dictionary included herein.

<u>Language</u>	<u>G. Gibbs (1863)</u>	<u>J.V. Powell (1979)</u>
English	67	
French	94	
Lower Chinook	200	
Upper Chinook	4	
Nootka	24	
Upper Chehalis (and Twana)	}	}
Lower Chehalis		
Puget Salish (Lushootseed)		
Kwakiutl and Bella Bella	0	
Kalapuya	4	
Klickitat	2	
Cree and Ojibwa	3	
Direct onomatopoeia and questions	24	
Interjections common to various languages	8	

A number of generalizations regarding Chinook Jargon can be drawn from the vocabulary of this lesson.

A) The Meaning of Chinook Jargon Words. 'Sun' is an example of a loanword which has come into use in Jargon with an expanded meaning. It continues to mean sun, as it does in English, but is primarily used with extended

1 The origin of many Jargon words is still a matter of debate, but there have been several recent publications on etymology (word origins); see especially Harris (1983-4) and Thomason (1981). Earlier work includes Chamberlain (1891) and Hancock (ms dictionary).

reference to day, daylight, daytime, or a 24-hour period. 'Sick,' an English adjective, is used in Jargon as both an adjective (e.g. sick tillikum) or a noun (e.g. waum sick, 'fever'). To understand these changes in meaning we must look at the nature of Jargon as a language.

Chinook Jargon is not simply the Chinook language with a heavy admixture of borrowed words. It is an entirely independent pidgin language based on Chinook only to the extent that approximately 50% of the Jargon vocabulary is Chinookan. Thus, all Jargon vocabulary, even words of Chinook origin, can be thought of as borrowed vocabulary or loanwords into an independent trade language, composed of pieces of many languages but distinct from all of them. Words often take on slightly different meanings when they pass from one language to another -- for instance, Tahitian tatau, 'to draw,' became English tattoo; Jargon hiyu muckamuck, 'much food,' became English high muckamucks meaning important personages (who have a lot of food!). Furthermore, because of the brevity of the vocabulary (about 500 words) of pidgin languages individual words often designate a wide variety of things and may function as a noun, verb, and adjective. For example:

nika means I, me, my, mine;

kloshe means good, well, handsome, pretty, tasty, delicious;

klatawa means go, walk, travel, ride, make a trip, scam;

kopa, the all-purpose preposition, means in, on, at, by,

alongside, towards, to, in any spatial relation to.

Phrases also function importantly:

snas, 'rain'; col snas, 'snow (literally, cold rain)'.

pepah, 'paper, book'; mamook pepah, 'to write (lit. to make a paper)'.

muckamuck kopa tenas sun, 'breakfast (lit. meal in the young sun)'.

Do not be confused by variant meanings of Jargon words. Context will usually make it clear which meaning is implied.

In order to speak properly, one must be aware of nuances. For instance, boston originally meant American as distinct from kinchochman (King-George-man or British, later Canadian) or pasiyooks (French). The first Americans seen on the Northwest Coast were fur traders, many of whom sailed from Boston. Later however, boston came to mean Whitemen in general and things typical of them such as boston muckamuck, 'Whitemen's food.'

A Canadian would refer to himself as a bostonman if discussing his race, but would call himself kinchochman if emphasizing his Canadian nationality. There are two Jargon words for friend: tillikum and sikhs. Tillikum was originally the word for people, tribe, and folks, and came to mean friend with no reference to degree of acquaintance. Sikhs remains the term for a close personal friend or buddy (usually used between men).

Finally, a few Jargon words have come into use in English with derogatory connotations. Siwash (from French sauvage, 'Indian') is a perfectly acceptable, indispensable Jargon word meaning Indian. It should be used without self-consciousness when speaking Jargon, even though it can no longer be used without discretion in English conversation.

B) Tumtum is an example of onomatopoeia or sound symbolism. It suggests the beating of the heart and, by implication, the heart itself and the center of one's emotions. The sound-imitating syllable tum- also occurs in tumwata, the Jargon word meaning waterfall or cataract. Such words, which imitate the sound of their referent, are found in all languages (note English bang, crunch, sizzle) and are especially common in the Indian languages of the Northwest Coast. These words should not be thought of as baby talk or less respectable vocabulary. Jargon can be fun to speak -- but it is not a toy language. In the first few lessons we shall learn a number of these words:

tsiktsik, 'wagon'

tintin, 'bell'

tiktik, 'clock'

poo, 'sound of a gun'

THE SOUNDS OF CHINOOK JARGON

We have noted that Chinook Jargon is composed of elements of both Indian and European languages. The Indian languages of the Pacific Northwest are remarkably different from the tongues spoken by the early traders and settlers. In particular, the "inventory of sounds" which are used in speaking the native Indian languages is distinctive to this area and so extraordinarily complex that linguists come from all over the world to study these languages. The sound systems of the tongues spoken by the Indians were so different from those of the Whitemen's languages that real problems of communication arose because neither group could pronounce or even hear correctly the sounds that

composed the words of the other. Further, there was and remains no simple or totally accepted system for writing down the Indian sounds.

For example, the Indian languages of the Northwest have the following sounds and clusters of sounds which are not common to European tongues:

- A) guttural back versions of k and h (which are sometimes written q, x and ẋ),
- B) consonants spoken with the lips rounded (k^w , q^w , x^w , and \dot{x}^w),
- C) a "whispered l" which is pronounced like 'thl' slurred into a single sound with the tongue held in the l position (we write it ɬ, but Whites often pronounce it kl),
- D) combinations of consonants which function as a single distinctive sound, like the sounds which begin the English words 'church' and 'judge.' Among these clusters are ts, dz, tsh, tɬ, dl,
- E) consonants pronounced with an explosive release of air heard as a "click" (we write these glottalized consonants ɸ, ɬ, ɕ, ɕʷ, etc.),

However, Whites tended to hear, or mishear, the Indian words as if they were composed of only those sounds which exist in their own native tongues. This caused non-Indians to overlook a number of distinctions important to the Indian languages. The sounds k, ɕ, q, ɕ, k^w , \dot{k}^w , q^w , and \dot{q}^w were all heard by the Whites as k or kw. Mishearing led naturally to mispronouncing. Vowels tended to be inserted between consonants when they fell in long strings or some of these consonants might simply be left out.

The reverse of this problem caused trouble for the Indians when attempting to fit their tongues around the strange words of the trappers and settlers. Indian languages of the Northwest Coast have no r, so the Indians pronounced both r and l as l. Thus rum becomes Jargon lum and rice is lice. Some people have mistakenly thought this to be evidence of influence on Jargon by Asian immigrants, who also confuse r and l. Indian languages also have no f or v, so Indians heard and pronounced these sounds as p and b respectively -

and some languages have no b either, so f, v, p, and b were all pronounced p. Thus fish became pish and wharf, wap. When two or more consonants coming together seemed strange to Indian ears, they sometimes inserted vowels to separate the consonants or just left some consonants out. In this way the name Fred became Palid; cold, col; Vancouver, bakooba; and Victoria either Biktoli or patuliya.

Chinook Jargon avoided any sounds which caused knots in either White or Indian tongues. Although this resulted in a vocabulary composed of words that were foreign to all parties concerned, it allowed at least general uniformity of pronunciation among speakers, no matter what their mother tongue. Thus, all of the guttural Indian sounds were softened to h and k for White speakers' ease. The nasal vowels of French proved troublesome to both Indian and English speakers and these were left out (e.g. French cochon, 'pig' became kushu; le main, 'hand,' arrived in Jargon as lemah). Often English and French voiced consonants (e.g., b, d, z) were changed to voiceless ones (p, t, and s, respectively):

(French)	la bouche, 'mouth'	---	lapush
(English)	dance	---	tanse
(English)	suppose	---	spose (meaning "if")

These changes allowed general agreement in pronunciation, although no amount of phonetic levelling could erase the distinct Indian, English, French, Japanese, Chinese, or other accents which identified the mother tongues of Jargon speakers.

Spelling of Chinook Jargon

There never was agreement as to the way Chinook Jargon should be written or how the words should be spelled. In general the words were spelled the way they "sounded." This led to little uniformity since the words sounded different depending on who pronounced them. For instance, the word for woman has been written in the following ways:

kloochman, clootchman, klouchman, tlotchman, tlotchimi.

Iron was heard:

chickamin, chickamun, chickmen, chicamin, chikmin,
chinkmin and sickaminny.

Then, late in the 1800's dictionaries of Jargon commenced to appear. They did not immediately result in standardization of spelling because, as usual, the authorities could not agree among themselves. The great Jargon preacher, Myron Eells, thought little of the writing systems used in these dictionaries, "... instead of following the phonetic method, ... (dictionaries) tried to follow the English method; in other words, no method at all." However, these dictionaries did cause certain general conventions to be used in writing down Jargon. We will use generally accepted usage in the lessons, but the student must realize that variant spellings can be proposed or found and should not allow this to create any confusion. This lack of uniformity has disadvantages, of course, but there is one very appealing advantage: you cannot misspell a Chinook Jargon word. A word is only spelled incorrectly if the reader cannot discern what is intended. The beginning learner should attempt to stick to spellings as found in the standard dictionaries.

PRONUNCIATION

In the lessons and dictionary, we give the pronunciation of jargon words using phonetic transcriptions which follow the system given below. This guide to pronunciation will be given in various places throughout the text, but you may wish to acquaint yourself with it by practicing reading the exercises which follow. Don't worry about learning the meanings of the words at this stage; concentrate on pronouncing them according to the phonetic symbols.

a	as in father
ā	as in ate
ǎ	as in cap
e	as in set
ē	as in seed
i	as in pin
ī	as in pine, eye
o	as in yoke, note
u	as in boot
ū	as in but
au	as in caught, ought, awe

Exercise A:

Pronounce the following Jargon words. Phonetic transcriptions are given in slant brackets / /. If you have the tapes which accompany the text, listen carefully to the pronunciation.

/a/ as in father

hahthaht	/há.t.hat/	duck
makook	/má.kuk/	to buy
mahsie	/ma.sé/	thank you
tala	/tá.lǔ/	dollar, money

/ā/ as in ate

pepah	/pā.pǔ/	paper, letter
wake	/wāk/	no, not
delate	/dē.lāt/	exactly
klale	/klāl/	black, dark

/ǎ/ as in man

snass	/snǎs/	rain
oleman	/ól.mǎn/	old, worn out, old man
alki	/ǎl.ki/	by and by, later
klonas	/klo.nǎs/	perhaps

/e/ as in set

leplet	/le.plét/	priest
lemel	/le.mél/	mule
tenas	/te.nás/	little, child
latet	/la.tét/	head

/ē/ as in seed

chee	/chē/	new
pee	/pē/	and, well
bebe	/bē.bē/	to kiss
elip	/ē.lip/	before

/i/ as in pin

ikt	/ikt/	one
sick	/sik/	sick, sickness
isick	/í.sik/	paddle
till	/til/	heavy

/ī/ as in pine

cly	/kli/	to cry
hiyu	/hī.yu/	much, many
hyas	/hī.yas/	big, large
dly	/dlī/	dry, thirsty

/o/ as in yoke

col	/kōl/	cold
klone	/klōn/	three
ko	/kō/	to arrive, reach a place
lope	/lop/	rope, string

/u/ as in boot

kushu	/ku.shú/	pig, pork
chinook	/chi.núk/	Chinook Jargon
coopcoop	/kúp.kup/	shell "money"
opoots	/ó.puts/	tail, back

/ǔ/ as in but

cultus	/kúl.tǔs/	worthless, bad
kull	/kǔl/	hard
chuck	/chǔk/	water
ikta	/ík.tǔ/	thing, clothing

/au/ as in taught, law, and ought

wawa	/wáu.wau/	to talk, language
waum	/waum/	warm, hot
law	/lau/	law
siwash	/sí.waush/	Indian

Exercise B:

Pronounce the following longer words, paying careful attention to the phonetics.

tillikum	/tí.li.kũm/	friend, people
klahanee	/kla.há.nē/	outside
kliminawhit	/kli.mí.nũ.wit/	to tell a lie
klootchman	/klúch.mũn/	woman
tukamonuk	/tũ.ka.mó.nũk.	one hundred
tikegh	/tí.kē/	to want
sinamokst	/sí.nā.maks/	seven
pasiyooks	/pa.sē.yúks/	Frenchman
lummieh	/lũ.mē.yũ/	old woman

Additional New Material

One of the first things that new immigrants arriving in the old Northwest or British Northwest had to master was how to count in Jargon. Nearly all intergroup transactions and negotiations were carried on with the Jargon numbers, including haggling over prices and wages between traders, merchants, employers, workers, and coolies (a Jargon word originally from Fr. courir, 'to run'). The numbers are of Chinook origin:

one	ikt /ikt/, sometimes /iks/
two	mokst or mox /maks/, or /makst/
three	klone /klon/
four	lakit /lá.kit/
five	kwinnun /kwí.nũm/
six	taghum /tá.hũm/
seven	sinamokst /sí.nā.maks/ or /sí.nā.makst/
eight	stotekin /stót.kin/
nine	kwaist /kwāst/
ten	tahtlum or tahtlelum /tát.lũm/, or /tát.le.lũm/

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by saying ten-and-one, ten-and-two, etc. The word for 'and, also' is pee /pē/ from Fr. puis, 'then.'

eleven	tahtlum pee ikt
twelve	tahtlum pee mokst
thirteen	tahtlum pee klone
fourteen	tahtlum pee lakit
fifteen	tahtlum pee kwinnun
etc.	

The numbers twenty to one hundred were also formed by combinations of the basic numbers, one through ten, by stating two-tens (twenty), three-tens (thirty), etc.

twenty	mokst tahtlum
twenty one	mokst tahtlum pee ikt
twenty two	mokst tahtlum pee mokst
etc.	
thirty	klone tahtlum
forty	lakit tahtlum
fifty	kwinnun tahtlum
etc.	
one hundred	tukamonuk /tũ.ka.mó.nũk/
two hundred	mokst tukamonuk

We are now able to count as far as is necessary for most activities.

We can also discuss dates:

1975 tahtlum pee kwaist tukamonuk, sinamokst tahtlum
pee kwinnun;

and prices: (dollar, money is tala, /tá.lũ/ from English)

\$168.00 tukamonuk, taghum tahtlum pee stotekin tala.

These numbers must be learned well.

Numbers precede the things they enumerate.

mokst sun,	two days
sinamokst boston	seven Whites
kwinnum okoke	five of these

Exercise C:

Translate the following phrases into English.

tahtlum pee taghum siwash
stotekin tahtlum pee klone sun
kwaist tahtlum pee kwinnum takta
sinamokst tahtlum pee ikt tillikum
lakit tukamonuk, mokst tahtlum pee kwaist boston
tahtlum tukamonuk (N.B.: there is no other way to say 'one thousand')
stotekin pee tahtlum tukamonuk, sinamokst tahtlum pee taghum
lakit tahtlum tukamonuk, kwinnum tahtlum pee kwaist
taghum tahtlum pee mokst okoke (i.e. _____ of these)
sinamokst tukamonuk, kwaist kloshe (i.e. _____ good ones)
kwinnum tukamonuk, lakit tahtlum pee klone sick (i.e. _____ sick ones
or sicknesses)
mokst tahtlum pee taghum boston takta (i.e. _____ white doctors)

Exercise D:

Translate the following phrases into Jargon.

twenty eight Indians
one hundred forty five doctors
three hundred eighty nine Whites
seven hundred fifty two friends
six hundred sixty six sick ones
1492
1066

1703

\$155.00

\$888.00

\$741.00

Exercise E: Arithmetic

We are now able to do elementary mathematics in Jargon:

$5 + 6 = 11$, kwinnum pee taghum, tahtlum pee ikt

In order to ask the sums of numbers, you will need the interrogative word.
kunjih /kūn.jē/ 'how many,' a Chinook word.

Kunjih mokst pee sinamokst? How much are two and seven?

(answer)

Mokst pee sinamokst, kwaist. Two and seven are nine.

Ask and answer the following problems.

$2 + 6 = ?$

$5 + 3 = ?$

$28 + 14 = ?$

$5 + 9 = ?$

$9 + 12 = ?$

$73 + 62 = ?$

$8 + 3 = ?$

$13 + 16 = ?$

$86 + 34 = ?$

$7 + 5 = ?$

$18 + 17 = ?$

$111 + 89 = ?$

Exercise F: Money

The word for dollar and money in general, tala, was presented above. There were also Jargon words for coins:

bit, /bit/ a dime (10¢)

sitkum bit, a nickel, i.e. half (sitkum /sít.kūm/) a dime

kwahta, /kwá.tŭ/ a quarter (25¢)

sitkum tala, half a dollar (50¢)

We have now learned the words for fractions in Jargon: sitkum, 'half,' and kwahta, 'quarter.' Actually, sitkum is generally used for any part or portion of a whole unless one specifically intends a quarter of it.

What coins would you use to most efficiently pay the following amounts?

5¢

55¢

\$1.35

15¢

65¢

\$1.45

35¢

80¢

\$4.70

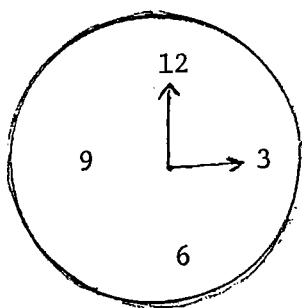
40¢

95¢

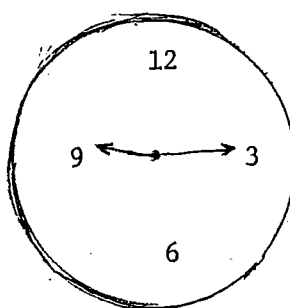
\$8.45

Exercise G: Telling Time

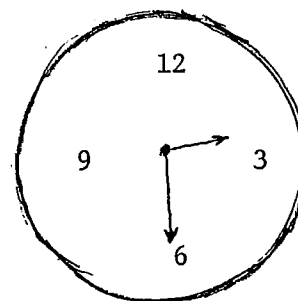
Having learned both numbers and fractions, we can now tell time in Jargon. You will need the new words delate /dē.lát/, 'exactly, really' (from Fr. droite, 'straight'); kimta /kím.tǔ/, 'after' (C); elip /é.líp/, 'before' (LCh)



delate klone



kwahta kimta kwaist



sitkum elip klone

(a) Draw more clocks on paper or the blackboard and tell the time in Jargon from them.

(b) Ask each other "What time is it now?" Kunji clock alta? /kún.jē klak ál.tǔ/, and answer in Chinook Jargon.