CHINOOK JARGON

The Hidden Language of the Pacific Northwest

Jim Holton

Chinook Jargon

Holton

Chinook Jargon

Chinook Jargon

The Hidden Language of the Pacific Northwest

Jim Holton

Wawa Press

San Leandro, California

Publisher's Cataloging-in-Publication
(Prepared by Quality Books Inc.)

Holton, Jim.
Chinook jargon : the hidden language of the Pacific Northwest / Jim Holton. -- 1st ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
LCCN: 99-76708
ISBN: 0-9674897-1-7 (hbk.)
ISBN: 0-9674897-0-9 (pbk.)

1. Chinook jargon. I. Title.

PM846.H65 2000 497.41
QBI00-312

Front and back cover art by Duane Pasco
Photo enhancements and maps by Jeffrey Kopp
Printed and bound in the United States of America
First printing, 2004

Wawa Press is an imprint of *Adisoft, Inc*., P.O. Box 2094, San Leandro, CA, 94577. Web site: www.adisoft-inc.com/chinookbook

Contents

Foreword

Klahawya tilikêm,

Hayash mersi, thanks very much for looking at this book.

This book didn't quite go the way I planned it. When I started researching Chinook Jargon about seven years ago I was hoping for a topic that I could deal with in about three months. I thought that the "trade language" was the perfect target. It was said to have only three hundred words, no grammar and was long time dead. Simple, right?

Well, the more I looked and researched, the more I saw that all my original ideas were wrong.

Not only is the language much more complex with a vocabulary of thousands of words and compounds, but it has a well developed grammar comparable to other languages despite assertions to the contrary. I found that the language, though not the *lingua franca* that it once was, is still very much alive. It is spoken by some people and it also remains alive in place names, slang and the culture of the Northwest.

As a simple introduction to Chinook Jargon, this book presents the language to the reader via the printed media. The orthography, or spelling system, used in this book has been chosen to minimize barriers to the language for speakers of western European languages. By minimizing theses barriers, the reader can enjoy the discussion on Chinook Jargon's grammar, world view, culture, and history.

By making Chinook Jargon accessible, I hope to generate public interest and appreciation of Native American languages which, hopefully, will lead to general support of the many language revival and continuation programs. Native American languages are part of our heritage and it would be a tragedy to lose them.

I’d like to thank Tony Johnson for the all the hours in which he helped me with my Chinook Jargon, as well as giving me an appreciation of the culture behind it. I’d also like to thank Henry Zenk for the many days of instruction, as well as Barbara Harris, Duane Pasco, Tucker Childs, Jeffrey Kopp, my wife Karen and son Andy for all the help and encouragement they’ve given me. The mistakes are my own.

Klahawyêm, Jim Holton

May 5, 2004

1
History

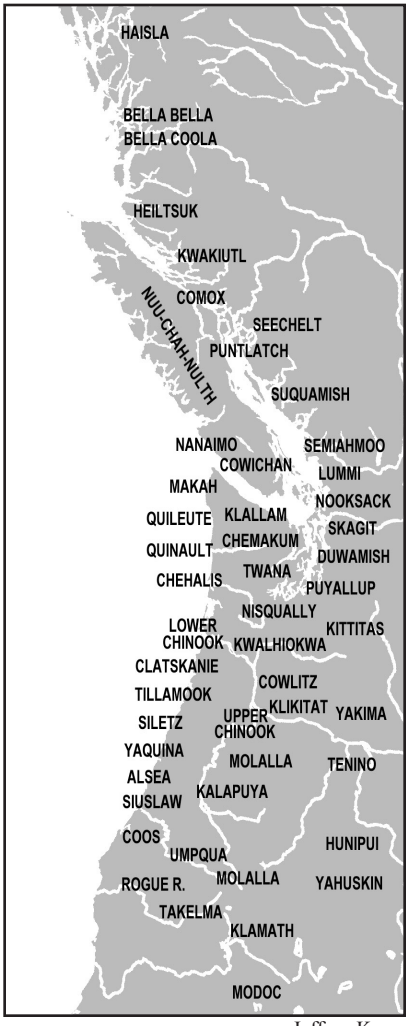
Background

Chinook Jargon is a Native American pidgin language spoken in the Pacific Northwest. The story of Chinook Jargon is the story of Native American culture and Pacific Northwest history. In the 1800s there were over one hundred different languages spoken in the Pacific Northwest. It was one of the most diverse linguistic areas in the world. Chinook Jargon, often known simply as Chinook by speakers, was used among Native Americans, and between early settlers and Native Americans, as a way of bridging the communication gap created by this diversity. Chinook Jargon deeply reflects the oral tradition and culture of that time and place.

Edward Thomas and Rena Grant, historians who wrote about Chinook Jargon during the 1930s and 40s, stated that one hundred thousand people spoke Chinook Jargon in 1875. Speakers ranged from Northern California to Southern Alaska, and from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. Chinook Jargon was still used in northern British Columbia in the 1970s during church services. Over a century later, in 1990, perhaps a hundred individuals, scattered across the region, spoke it. Today however, the situation is changing. Not only are individuals interested in preserving the language, but The Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon is reviving the language. They have a language immersion program for preschoolers, and use the language on signage and at public events.

Chinook Jargon is different from the "Old Chinook" language spoken by the Chinook people who lived near the mouth of the Columbia River. Old Chinook is complex. It is difficult for non-Natives to learn because its conjugations and syntax are very different from those of European languages. On the other hand, Chinook Jargon evolved to be easy to learn and easy to use. Chinook Jargon is a pidgin language. A pidgin contains a reduced vocabulary (based on a dominant language) and a simplified grammar of its own. Chinook Jargon's vocabulary is based on Old Chinook. There are also words borrowed from Nuu-Chah-Nulth (Nootka), French, English, and other indigenous languages.

Some linguists and Native Americans think Chinook Jargon was the result of contact with the European, Canadian and American traders. Other linguists and some Native Americans think Chinook Jargon existed long before non-Natives arrived in the Pacific Northwest.



— Jeffrey Kopp

This map shows some of the many indigenous languages of the Pacific Northwest. No one person could ever learn all of them. A trade language is useful under this condition.

"Mr. Whidbey estimated the number of Indians inhabiting the place [Gray's Harbor, 1792] at about one hundred; they spoke the Nootka language, but it did not seem to be their native tongue."
— Captain George Vancouver (1798, Voyage of Discovery)

"It is a language confined wholly, I believe, to our North-western possessions west of the Rocky Mountains. It originated in the roving, trading spirit of the tribes, and has been added to and increased since the introduction of the whites among them."
— James G. Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coast*)

"The expansion of trade seems to have emphasized a growing split between remaining hundreds of conservative, sedentary tribesmen and the more numerous and wilder buffalo hunters among the Nez Perces. The Hudson's Bay people, if they did not originate the split, deepened it by their presence. Indian Agent Cain declared that when he first arrived in the Nez Perce region he could hardly find a member of the conservative group familiar with the trade language called Chinook, whereas the buffalo group boasted 'any number' who could." — Robert Ignatius Burns (1966, *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*)

Native Trade

Native Americans in the Northwest traded as a way of acquiring necessities and luxuries. What could be produced easily in one area was often in demand by a neighboring group. A group that had an abundance of camas (or quamash, a bulbous food plant) on its land might trade some of it to another group for dried salmon or leather hides. Although most of the trade occurred between neighboring groups on an as-needed basis, there was also a larger "network" in place within which the movement of goods occurred. In 1806, Lewis and Clark explained how one group from the Columbia plains north of The Dalles fit into the trading network:

> During their residence on the river, from May to September, or rather before they begin the regular fishery, they go down to the falls, carrying with them skins, mats, silk grass, rushes, and chappelell bread. They are here overtaken by the Chopunnish, and other tribes of the Rocky mountains, who descend to Kooskooskee and Lewis' river for the purpose of selling bear-grass, horses, quamash, and a few skins which they have obtained by hunting, or in exchange for horses, with the Tushepaws.
>
> At the falls, they find the Chilluckittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots, and Skilloots, which last serve as intermediate traders or carriers between the inhabitants above and below the falls. There tribes prepare pounded fish for the market, and the nations below bring wappatoo roots, the fish of the seacoast, berries and a variety of trinkets and small articles which they have procured from the whites.
>
> The trade then begins. The Chopunnish, and Indians of the Rocky Mountains, exchange the articles, which they have brought for wappatoo, pounded fish, and beads. The Indians of the plains being their own fishermen take only wappatoo, horses, beads, and other articles, procured from Europeans. The Indians, however, from Lewis' river to the falls, consume as food or fuel all the fish which they take; so that the whole stock for exportation is prepared by the nations between the Towahnahiooks and the falls….

This trading network extended from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. Although by 1806, European and East Coast goods had become an important part of this network, it is probable that the trade network predates visits by non-Native merchant ships. Large proportions of the goods traded were of Native American origin.

James Swan chronicles the early 1850s in *The Northwest Coast, or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory*. He confirms that the falls on the Columbia, or The Dalles, was an important trading site. Swan goes on to record a trip to California, for purposes of trade, that occurred a number of years earlier.

> The wife of Mr. Ducheney, the agent at Chenook for the Hudson Bay Company, who is a very intelligent woman, informed me that her father was a Frenchman and her mother a Walla Walla Indian, and that, when she was quite a child, she recollected going with her mother and a party of her tribe to the south for a number of months; that they were three months going and three months returning; that they took horses with them, and Indian trinkets, which they exchanged for vermilion and Mexican blankets; and that on their return her mother died, and was buried where the city of Sacramento now stands. I asked her how she knew where Sacramento was, and she replied that some of her friends had since gone to California, to the gold mines, and that on their return they said that it was at Sacramento where her mother was buried.
>
> She was too young to remember how far into Mexico they went, but I judged that the vermilion she mentioned was obtained from the mountains of Almaden, near San Jose, California. But I have no reason to doubt the statement, as I have heard similar statements from other sources.

Even though Swan acknowledges that this appeared a long trip, it's consistent with other trips he had heard about.

California Here I Come!

Although Chinook Jargon never spread very far into *Spaniyol Ilêhi*, or California, Northwest Natives did visit as far south as the San Francisco Bay area and Sacramento.

"The tribe that had possession of the mines was wealthy as it monopolized the trade in vermillion, a paint ever in demand with warlike savages. These Indians [in California] did a considerable commerce with their neighbors of the North, who visited them in canoes." — A.S. Taylor (1860, *California Farmer*)

"When Fremont first commenced hostilities in California, a large body of Walla Walla Indians from the Columbia was creating disturbances in the region of Sacramento." — James Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coast*)

Early Visitors

Soon after James Cook's visit to Vancouver Island in 1778, non-Natives began fur trading in the Northwest. Trade ships, after stopping in Hawaii, sailed to Vancouver Island to trade manufactured goods for sea otter pelts. An average sea otter pelt was valued between $450 and $650 in today's money. One exceptional sea otter pelt went for $4000 in London. Besides sea otter there were beaver and other furs. Often $100 worth of manufactured goods could be traded for thousands of dollars worth of pelts.

The sailors and traders involved in this lucrative enterprise soon learned a jargon based on the language of the Nuu–Chah–Nulth people who live on the western coast of Vancouver Island. A jargon is a simple list of words with no grammar or usage rules as opposed to a pidgin, which has its own grammar. Speakers use jargon words singly or superimpose them on their own language. Traders in their search for otter pelts were able to use this jargon beyond Vancouver Island. In 1792, Captain George Vancouver used Nuu–Chah–Nulth words effectively at Gray's Harbor near the mouth of the Columbia River. His log notes, "[T]hey spoke the Nootka language, but it did not seem to be their *native tongue*." We do not know if Nuu–Chah–Nulth jargon existed prior to non-Native contact or its distribution, but we do know that Chinook-speaking people along the Columbia River in 1805 used Nuu-Chah-Nulth words.

"*Klush musket, wik kêmtêks musket*," said a Clatsop Chinook person, when shown the effect of gunshot on a duck by Lewis and Clark. This sentence, meaning "a good musket, but I don't understand this kind of musket," could be the Nuu–Chah–Nulth Jargon or it could be Chinook Jargon. It is made up of three words from Nuu-Chah-Nulth and one from English. These Chinook people lived 250 miles away from the Nuu-Chah-Nulth people. The Chinooks also used other Nuu–Chah–Nulth words like *pishak* for "bad" or *tayi* for "chief." All these words are found in Chinook Jargon

Along the Columbia, Lewis and Clark met many Native Americans who could speak some English. They had picked up English from trading ships that visited before Lewis' and Clark's arrival. One Clatsop Chinook told Lewis, "Sturgeon is very good," as they came upon a stranded fish while salvaging items along a beach after a high tide. Lewis and Clark were not the first visitors. The Clatsop people gave Lewis and Clark the names of thirteen different sea captains who had already visited them. They expected many of these men to return. Some Chinooks had even learned to swear in English prior to Lewis' and Clark's visit. They used the terms "damn rascal" and "son of a bitch."

Origins

Pidgin languages are a common linguistic phenomena throughout the world. Often associated with the domination of one group over another, they have historically been looked down upon as mere "broken" languages. Now linguists know that each pidgin language has its own unique grammar and often associated culture. The exact origin of many pidgin languages, however, is uncertain.

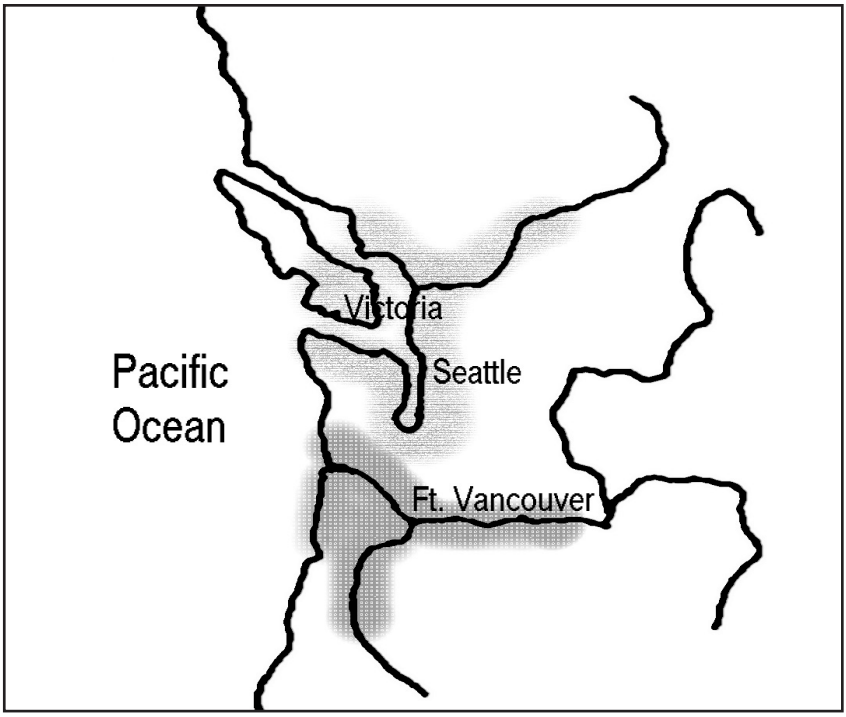
Many pidgin languages have existed in North America. An early one was used between Basque fishermen and Native Americans along the St. Lawrence River in the 1500s. Besides Chinook Jargon, there were Mobilian, Delaware, Ojibwe (Chippewa), and two types of Eskimo pidgins. Perhaps the most famous though is the Plains Sign Language.

> "The Jargon originated in the primitive and prehistorical necessity for a trade vehicle. In the beginning the Chinooks picked up some Nootkan words and the Nootkans acquired a few Chinook words." — Edward Harper Thomas (1927, "The Chinook Jargon")

> John Rodgers Jewitt compiled a word list based on the time he spent as a slave of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth *tayi*, Maquinna, from 1803 until 1806. Of the 87 words he recorded, 10 are found in Chinook Jargon.

> "[Captain Cook] recorded a list of native words which were afterwards used by other captains until it became the foundation of the great Chinook jargon, which, as developed by the Hudson Bay Company, became the common language of all northwestern Indians from California to Mt. St. Elias, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean." — Edmond S. Meany (1946, *History of the State of Washington*)

> "The origin of this Jargon, a conventional language similar to the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean, the Negro-English-Dutch of Surinam, the Pigeon [sic] English of China, and several other mixed tongues, dates back to the fur droguers of the last century. Those mariners whose enterprise in the fifteen years preceding 1800, explored the intricacies of the northwest coast of America, picked up at their general rendezvous, Nootka Sound, various native words useful in barter, and thence transplanted them, with additions from the English, to the shores of Oregon." — George Gibbs (1863, *A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)



Chinook Jargon, as we know it today, rapidly spread northward from the Ft. Vancouver area to Victoria and British Columbia after the Hudson's Bay Company relocated its regional offices to British Columbia in the 1840s.

Non-Native Settlements

The lucrative profits of the fur trade made John Jacob Astor the richest man in America. In an attempt to monopolize the fur trade in the Northwest, he established Astoria on the banks of the Columbia River in 1811. This was the first permanent non-Native settlement in the area. Two years later the Northwest Company took it over, renaming it Fort George. The Hudson's Bay Company acquired the Northwest Company in 1821 and expanded the trading post system in the Northwest, founding Fort Vancouver at present-day Vancouver, Washington in 1825. Permanent trading posts changed the economy of the Northwest from primary subsistence to a trading economy. The first trading posts central to this new economy were in the heart of the area controlled by Chinook–speaking people. This economy increased intertribal commerce in furs, manufactured goods, liquor and slaves. During this period, Chinook Jargon rapidly evolved with the majority of its words adopted from Old Chinook, French and English.

Chinook Jargon

From 1829 until 1835, plagues swept through the Northwest, particularly along the Columbia and Willamette rivers. Samuel Parker, an early missionary, stated that the mortality rate along the Columbia River reached seventy–five percent. During this period, Fort George's importance as a trading center diminished. The newer Fort Vancouver, across the Columbia River from present–day Portland, became an important center of trading activity. Horatio Hale, an ethnologist with the United States Exploring Expedition of 1841, visited Fort Vancouver and wrote, "There are Canadians and half-breeds married to Chinook women, who can only converse with their wives in this speech, and it is the fact, strange as it may seem, that many young children are growing up to whom this factitious language is really the mother tongue, and who speak it with more readiness and perfection than any other." In 1841, the 500 permanent inhabitants included 100 Canadians, some Hawaiians, and many Native Americans from different linguistic groups. There were a large number of people coming and going all the time. At any one time there could have been 2000 people at the fort. Chinook Jargon was its language of commerce. Canadian and Hawaiian men employed at Fort Vancouver often married Native American women. Many of these new husbands did not wish to be transferred to other Hudson's Bay outposts. They left their jobs at the fort to farm in Oregon's Willamette Valley and settled down with their families. Chinook Jargon was the primary language of this Willamette Valley community.

England and the United States partitioned the Northwest in 1846. The Hudson's Bay Company had already moved its main operations from Fort Vancouver, which became part of the U.S., to Victoria on Vancouver Island, in present–day Canada. Hudson's Bay Company personnel continued to use Chinook Jargon at Victoria and wherever they went in the Northwest. This spreading of Chinook Jargon by Hudson's Bay personnel led some people to refer to Chinook Jargon as the "Hudson's Bay language."

Career U.S. Army officers often spent a tour of duty in the Northwest prior to the Civil War. Particularly among Northerners during the Civil War, knowledge of Chinook Jargon was a fraternal badge. Ulysses Grant and some of his subordinates knew Chinook Jargon. Chinook Jargon was occasionally used between cronies in telegraph dispatches for fun and to prevent prying eyes. In a hilarious story, a General Nesmith was accused of passing encrypted messages to war speculators. As proof of this, the Secretary of War presented the evidence to Nesmith in the form of a telegram a friend had sent him. It read, "KLATAWA NIKA SITKUM MOLITSH WEGHT OCOKE KONAMOX LUM."[1] Nesmith, after giving Secretary Stanton a good ribbing, explained that his friend, General Ingalls, was asking for a favor. The telegram said, "Send

me another half barrel of that same whiskey." Nesmith and Ingalls enjoyed corresponding in Chinook Jargon and had been doing so for a year. Stanton was able to get Nesmith's story verified immediately. It seems he was the only officer in the War Department who didn't know Chinook Jargon.

The Heyday

The heyday of Chinook Jargon could be referred to as the "hop days." New agriculture, such as hop farming, changed the economy of the Northwest even more than the fur trade. Changes in the economic and social conditions of Native Americans perpetuated Chinook Jargon and spread it around the Northwest in the later 1800s. The earliest immigrant settlers to the Northwest learned Chinook Jargon out of necessity. Before 1850 these settlers had daily dealings with Native Americans. Much conversation was in Chinook Jargon. After 1850, the spread of Chinook Jargon was based on the new movement and settlement patterns of Native Americans. Native Americans spread Chinook Jargon outward from the Columbia River, Willamette Valley and Puget Sound areas.

During the 1850s, the U.S. and Canada began acquiring Native American land for exclusive non-Native usage. This policy segregated Native

— Sister M.D. McNamee (1959, *Willamette Interlude*, Pacific Books)

Archbishop F. N. Blanchet, shown here, finished Bishop M. Demers' word list and produced one of the finest Chinook Jargon dictionaries of the 1800s. Published in 1871, after being edited by Father L. N. St. Onge, this work included a catechism in Chinook Jargon.

Americans from non-Natives except in certain industries. Under the reservation system in the U.S., people who spoke different languages found themselves living together on reservations throughout Oregon and Washington. Sometimes traditional enemies were placed side by side. Native Americans disenfranchised from their land in Canada congregated in urban ghettos around Victoria, Vancouver and New Westminster. These Native American "melting pots" fostered the usage of Chinook Jargon and it was used in the popular arts. Chinook Jargon songs, stories, and even plays flourished from 1850 to 1890. In some families, children were raised speaking Chinook Jargon.

In many parts of the Northwest, Native American traditional law allows individuals to own the rights to songs. Songs can be traded or borrowed and are wealth. This is similar to modern copyright practice. Any person who sings a song that is owned by another is required to make a payment to the owner of the song. However songs in Chinook Jargon were usually excluded from this requirement, so they circulated freely. Franz Boas copied down many Chinook Jargon songs in the 1880s and 1890s. Some of them are quite rowdy. In the following song, a woman lets her unfaithful lover know how easily he can be replaced.

Cultus kopa nika.	I don't care.
Spose mika mash nika.	If you desert me.
Hyau puty boys coolie kopa town.	Many pretty boys are in town.
Alki weght nika iskum.	Soon I'll take another.
Wake kull kopa nika.[2]	It's not hard for me.

Hop picking was one of the new economic activities that caused population shift and movement. Edward H. Thomas wrote:

> Seattle and Tacoma are forty miles apart, both on the Sound, but a few miles back of the shore there is a limited but very rich valley extending from one city to the other. This, in the [eighteen–] eighties, was one of the world's greatest hop-producing centers. Indians constituted the bulk of the pickers, and came in fleets and armies in the fall to what was to them a great fiesta, not from the shores of the Puget Sound alone, but from the Yakima and Klickitat countries across the Cascades, using the ancient Indian trails. They came from the North, from the Kwakiutl territory and the islands of the Haidahs and Tsimpsiahns.

Chinook Jargon was carried back and forth by this activity. Thomas goes on to say, "Thousands went to the hop fields and followed on the homeward trek just for the fun of it. To these a working knowledge of the Chinook Jargon was very much of a necessity."

Chinook Jargon was the primary means of communication in many industries in the Northwest from 1860 to 1890. Native Americans furnished the bulk of hired labor for seasonal agriculture, especially hop picking, in Washington and British Columbia until 1890. Fishing, canning, sealing, ranching and timber also employed many Native Americans who used Chinook Jargon as a common language. Non-Natives who worked with Native Americans in these industries learned and used Chinook Jargon. Merchants who served Native Americans spoke Chinook Jargon.

Chinook Jargon was a working person's language. People not working in industries dominated by Native Americans or servicing Native American communities had no need for it. Later immigrants looked down on Chinook Jargon. A prejudice against Chinook Jargon survives to this day. An article in a newspaper from the Pacific Northwest on April 22, 1998 described Chinook Jargon as "a strange admixture of French, English, and Indian, containing only 300 words, and barely suitable for bartering." This writer is apparently ignorant of Chinook Jargon, a language rich in idiom and expression.

Missionaries made use of Chinook Jargon in their efforts to convert Native Americans. Catholics and Protestants translated hymns and prayers into Chinook Jargon. Father Modeste Demers compiled an exceptional Chinook Jargon dictionary and catechism in 1839. Father Demers spent a lot of time among Native Americans studying their languages. He disappeared for years at a time in his quest to learn the languages of various Native American peoples. He was especially fond of singing and even after he became the Bishop of Vancouver in 1847, he conducted choir practice himself. Father Demers' work in Chinook Jargon was completed in 1867 by Fathers F. N. Blanchet and L. N. St. Onge and published in 1871.

Myron Eells was born in Oregon in 1843. He published hymns for the Methodist missionaries. He learned and used Chinook Jargon while preaching to Native Americans on Puget Sound in the 1870s. In a separate evangelical effort, *St. Mark's Kloosh Yiem Kopa Nesika Saviour Jesus Christ* or *Gospel According to Mark* was published in 1912 by the British and Foreign Bible Society.[3]

Another missionary, Father Jean-Marie LeJeune, was stationed at Kamloops, British Columbia. Father LeJeune published the *Kamloops Wawa* from 1891 to 1904. This was a magazine that reported the diocese's news and teachings. The *Kamloops Wawa* was written in Chinook Jargon as well as English, French and other Native American languages. Father LeJeune wrote Chinook Jargon in the Duployan shorthand script. He believed the shorthand was easier to learn and teach than the Roman alphabet. The Kamloops Diocese published a great deal of religious material in this shorthand.

Law, Treaties and The Jargon

Chinook Jargon was used for treaty negotiations in the Pacific Northwest, as well as in some early court cases involving Native Americans. The proceedings were usually conducted in three or more languages. When a *Bastên* spoke, English was translated to Chinook Jargon and then Chinook Jargon was translated into the required indigenous languages. When a Native spoke, the process was reversed. Historians like to criticize Chinook Jargon for its part in the treaties. The double translation slowed the proceedings, but Chinook Jargon didn't affect the English copy of the treaties — the subject of debate. Most likely, Native Americans signed "bad" treaties after seeing the force of the westward migration. They realized that there were few options open to them.

The Chinook Nation has no treaty with the U.S. for its historical lands. A treaty agreed to by the Chinooks in 1851 was never ratified by the Senate, while the Chinooks never signed later agreements.

"The Governor told them how the Great Chief in Washington loved Indians, and he told them that he loved them as much as if they were the children of his own loins. Because of his love for them he was going to have the Great Father buy their lands and he was going to give them fine reservations and the blessings of civilization, such as schools and blacksmith and carpenter shops." — Archie Binns (1941, *Northwest Gateway*)

"The first council was held within the city limits of present Tacoma between December 24 and December 26, 1854. Though the Indians appeared in proud finery, Stevens wore the work garb of the district: red flannel shirt, trouser legs thrust inside his boots, a broad-brimmed black hat with his pipe held in its band. The Indians sat on the ground in concentric circles outside the evergreen arbor sheltering the white dignitaries. Standing before them, Stevens made an introductory speech sentence by sentence. Shaw translated into the Chinook trade jargon; Indian interpreters transfromed that into native dialect. The gathering was then dismissed to talk over what had been said. The next day the proposed treaty itself was read and translated phrase by phrase." — David Lavender (1958, *Land of Giants*)

"That young Indian is now standing before a Court of law, to be tried for his life, before an English Court of Justice, the first proceeding of which he does not, cannot understand, with a Chenook (Chinook Jargon) Interpreter by his side, who neither knows good English nor [the language of the] Tsimsean Indian." — Alfred W. Waddington (1860, "Judicial Murderer," *Who Killed William Robinson*, ed. Sandwell and Lutz)

"After Colonel Mike Simmons, the agent, and, as he has been termed, the Daniel Boone of the Territory, had marshaled the savages into order, an Indian interpreter was selected from each tribe to interpret the Jargon of Shaw into such language as their tribe could understand. The governor then made a speech, which was translated by Colonel Shaw into Jargon, and spoken to the Indians, in the same manner the good old elders of ancient times were accustomed to deacon out the hymns to the congregation." — James G. Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coast*)

"As in some of the other treaties, the Indians misunderstood the terms and believed that they were to receive that much a year for twenty years." — Archie Binns (1941, *Northwest Gateway*)

"The difficulty was in having so many different tribes to talk to at the same time, and being obliged to use the Jargon, which at best is but a poor medium of conveying intelligence. The governor requested any one of them that wished [to speak] to him. Several of the chiefs spoke, some in Jargon and some in their own tribal language, which would be interpreted into Jargon by one of their people who was conversant with it...." — James G. Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coast*)

"But it was poorly suited to Euro-American attempts to explain complex matters like land holding and religion. One unhappy result was a series of treaties negotiated between whites and Indians, the language and meaning of which are still a matter of legal dispute." — Carlos A. Schwantes (1989, *The Pacific Northwest*)

"When an Indian spoke the Rogue River tongue it was translated by an Indian interpreter into Chinook, or jargon, to me, when I translated it into English. When Lane or Palmer spoke the process was reversed, I giving the speech to the interpreter in Chinook, and he translated it to the Indians in their own tongue. This double translation of long speeches made the labor tedious, and it was not until late in the afternoon that the treaty was completed and signed." — George E. Cole (1905, *Early Oregon*)

"The Americans will never leave us alone. Let us not concern our hearts .... We will take [Grand Ronde] .... [W]e will make it our own place." — Ki-a-kuts (1855, during negotiations with Joel Palmer), excerpt from T. N. Leavelle (1998, "We Will Make It Our Own Place")

"Governor Stevens, first governor of Washington Territory, before the Civil War, negotiated a long and complicated treaty with all the Indian tribes within the territory, and did it all through the medium of the Jargon." — Edward Harper Thomas (1927, "The Chinook Jargon")

Chinook Jargon was the community language of the Grand Ronde and Siletz reservations in Oregon. In both of these places, people from various linguistic groups lived side by side. Chinook Jargon was the only indigenous language they had in common and was spoken as a home and community language. Descendants of Native people from Astoria, Fort Vancouver and the Willamette Valley, as well as others from the Columbia River to Northern California, live today at Grand Ronde. Some of them speak Chinook Jargon with features not found in the general Chinook Jargon of the Northwest. They claim it is a more developed form of the language.

Decline

The conditions that made Chinook Jargon such a vibrant language eventually led to its decline. The expanding economy demanded a more efficient way of moving goods to and from the Northwest. In the first half of the 1800s one had to travel for months by foot, horse, wagon, or sailing ship to get in or out. This restricted immigration to the area. In 1865 this changed with the completion of the first transcontinental train track between the eastern U.S. and California. This was soon followed by track to Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. A journey that used to take three months could now be made in a week.

Native American communities nurtured Chinook Jargon while mass immigration changed the balance of the economy against them. The official population of Washington jumped from 23,000 in 1870 to 357,000 in 1890. By 1910 it had climbed to 1,141,000. Oregon and British Columbia experienced similar growth. But Native American populations remained level. Native Americans now played a smaller role in a larger economy. New immigrants to the Northwest no longer had to learn Chinook Jargon to survive. The reverse was true. The Native Americans had to learn English.

Government policy on both sides of the border was as unfavorable to Chinook Jargon as it was to most Native American languages. Children were forbidden to speak Chinook Jargon at school. Whites shunned Chinook Jargon because of its perceived low social status. Except for a few places like Grand Ronde, Chinook Jargon was on its way out in the lower U.S. by 1900. It hung around a little longer in British Columbia and Alaska, but World War I and motorized transportation exacted their toll and by the 1920s its usage was in serious decline in the north. Many young men left the area to fight in World War I. They came back realizing that English, not Chinook Jargon, was the language of the world and the future. The gasoline engine

broke the isolation of remote settlements. Motorized boats, cars and trucks allowed people to move to larger, English–only towns, where they enjoyed modern comforts and central services, but still accessed the remote resources necessary to earn their living. Chinook Jargon gave way to English.

Some old settlers occasionally used Chinook Jargon as a group identifier. In one instance Chinook Jargon was used to persuade Simon Fraser Tolmie, who had learned Chinook Jargon from his father, to run for premier of British Columbia in 1928. Tolmie refused to consider the job even though citizens were hounding him to run. On the eve of choosing a party candidate, the debate was fierce. Henry Pooley, a veteran politician, stood up and aggressively lectured Tolmie in Chinook Jargon. Nobody else in the room understood, but Tolmie went on to become the twenty-first premier.

Chinook Jargon also lingered a little longer in Seattle. Ex-Alaskans, men and women from the Gold Rush—the last time that Chinook Jargon was a necessity—used it as a fraternal badge. Chinook Jargon separated the old-timers from the *cheechako* or newcomers. Nard Jones wrote:

> I remember sitting in the office of a former "Gold Rusher" as he answered the telephone. "*Kloshe*," he said, "Arctic Club, twelve o'clock. *Alki*, *tillikum*."
>
> He replaced the receiver and turned to me as if he had not been speaking in code. In the Chinook Jargon *kloshe* meant good or fine. *Alki* was soon or in the future or, as the Indians thought of it, "bye and bye." As Seattle's gold rushers disappeared during World War II, so did their Chinook Jargon.

Chinook Jargon could still be heard in some parts of the Pacific Northwest well into the twentieth century. There are anecdotes told of fishermen and Canadian Coast Guard members using the pidgin during the 1950s to keep radio transmissions secret. Today there are only a few people in the Northwest who can still speak Chinook Jargon. They are part of a long line of speakers stretching back 200 years or more. But for the most part Chinook Jargon is no longer heard.

Revival

Many linguists and anthropologists have studied Chinook Jargon. Franz Boas used Chinook Jargon to communicate with Natives, who did not speak English, while he was studying other languages in the Northwest. In 1936, Melville Jacobs published a collection of stories told by Native Americans in Chinook Jargon. He also made the first serious study of Chinook Jargon grammar since Horatio Hale's original work in 1846. Henry Zenk studied

the Chinook Jargon used by a dozen elderly people at Grand Ronde, publishing his doctoral thesis in 1984. Dr. Zenk noted that the speakers had all continued to use Chinook Jargon even though they were all also fluent in English. Dr. Zenk believes that they identified Chinook Jargon with being Native American.

In the 1890s, Father LeJeune, of Kamloops, proposed that Chinook Jargon be used as a world language. Father LeJeune argued that Chinook Jargon had a big advantage over artificial languages like today's Esperanto. There were actually thousands of people who could already speak it.

Just as Chinook Jargon was slipping into disuse, interest began to grow in reviving it. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Mrs. Laura Downey–Bartlett, realizing that the Northwest was losing something precious, attempted to revive its use. She spoke and sang at many events in Chinook Jargon. In 1914, she published *Chinook-English Songs*, translations of the period's most popular songs into Chinook Jargon, in an attempt to get people to use Chinook Jargon. In 1924 she published a dictionary. Many other dictionaries were produced from 1909 until 1930 to stimulate interest and satisfy curiosity about Chinook Jargon.

Bound for Alaska

The gold rushers are credited with carrying Chinook Jargon to Alaska, even though it was well-established there prior to that event. Chinook Jargon was used as a jargon by the gold rushers, not having the distinct grammar it had along the Columbia River. Chinook Jargon was popular with Native Americans on the panhandle, where it was often refered to as the Hudson's Bay language.

"At present it is spoken from Washington Territory to Lynn Channel, in Alaska; the older Indians only do not understand it." — Franz Boas (1888, "Chinook Songs")

"By 1900 CJ was effectively obsolete in Oregon. However during the same period CJ spread to parts of Alaska bordering on British Columbia." — Terrance S. Kaufman (1968, "A Report on Chinook Jargon")

"Chinook was not spoken by Alaska natives of the interior, and it was spoken by those of the far southeastern island fringe only after the Russian cession of Alaska to the United States. The Jargon did not go into that territory until the Klondike rush, and even then only a few words were carried there by the Puget Sounders who were among the first seekers following George Carmack's famous find." — Edward Harper Thomas (1927, "The Chinook Jargon")

In more recent times, Duane Pasco, who learned a little Chinook Jargon during his youth in Alaska, also tried to stir up interest in the pidgin. Duane, a traditional carver, published a bimonthly newsletter called *Tenas Wawa* from 1991 to 1995.

The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde is taking steps to preserve and invigorate Chinook Jargon usage on the reservation. In 1997, Tony Johnson was hired as a specialist to put together a language program. "People very much want to know their Chinook," said Tony. "That's the only language they can say was their community language here. Your grandparents, what you heard them speaking was the Chinook."

As part of Grand Ronde's *Twah Sun Chako* preschool, three to four year olds are immersed in Chinook Jargon for 5 hours a day in an attempt to foster fluency in the language. An evening class, in which participants receive University of Oregon foreign language credit, targets adults. Other classes and activities are provided to members of the community.

Other groups across the Northwest have taken an interest in reviving Chinook Jargon. Recently a book, an annual workshop and several Web sites have emerged in an effort to keep this pidgin from dying out.

Tony Johnson, Language Specialist, and Tribal Elder Annabelle "Peachy" Ham are working on reviving Chinook Jargon usage at Grand Ronde, Oregon. Besides Chinook Jargon, the people that moved to the Grand Ronde reservation in the 1850s spoke 30 dialects of 11 Native languages, as well as French and English.

The Threads

If you listen hard enough, you might still be able to hear the echo of Chinook Jargon in the Pacific Northwest. It might be in the form of a place name, an odd expression, or if you're lucky you might run into someone who knows a bit.

"All these words are Chinook Jargon. For Mr. Walker, they were what remained of his 'mother's tongue' [in 1953]." — Dell and Virginia Hymes (1972, "Chinook Jargon as 'Mother's Tongue'")

Atlki was used by Yellow cab drivers in Seattle until computerized dispatching was instituted in the 1990s. According to Leland Brajant, a former driver, it was the correct response to a "bell" or dispatch and indicated that the driver was "right on it." The pronounciation simplified the *tl* to an *l* and the *i* was elongated to an *ay* as in "eye."

"As General Grant knew a great deal of Chinook, he was able to appreciate the joke fully." — General Horace Porter (1906, "Campaigning With Grant")

"I would hear a shouted greeting of 'Klahowya!' or be invited to 'huy-huy.' I never knew what these things meant. (Was it Italian? Yiddish? Swedish?) Sometimes a friend would make a passing, baffling reference to something like 'going klahanie,' or inquire about my 'klootchman.' When I asked about these odd terms, my Seattle friends would look sort of embarrassed and say, 'Oh, that's just the Jargon... no one uses it any more,' or something to that effect, and decline to explain further." — Jeffrey Kopp (1998, "Chinook Jargon – An Introduction")

"I'm a 'native speaker' of Chinook, having been taught it by my grandfather." - Robert Henderson (1998, e-mail correspondence)

Duane Pasco learned Chinook Jargon while growing up in Alaska in the early 1940s, but hadn't used the language since then. During the early 1990s, he tried to drum up interest in the language with a bimonthly newsletter. He gave up because, "Nobody was really interested."

2
Pronunciation

The Sounds

The goal of this book is to let English speakers acquire an intelligible pronunciation of Chinook Jargon in as short of time period as possible and to have fun doing it. In the spelling system used in this book, each letter or letter combination has a single pronunciation and there are no silent letters. There are some sounds in Chinook Jargon that are not found in English. Some consonant pairs, such as *kl*, represent sounds that are different from their normal English representation, so you should study this chapter carefully.

In 1909, Frederick Long wrote, "[N]othing but a short talking acquaintance with the Indians themselves can convey the correct pronunciation" [of Chinook Jargon]. Native American languages found in the Pacific Northwest contain sounds that are not found in English. These sounds entered Chinook Jargon in words borrowed from these languages and persist in Chinook Jargon today. As spoken at Grand Ronde, Chinook Jargon contains sounds that English speakers don't normally use. Where an English speaker has a *k,* a Grand Ronde Chinook Jargon speaker has to choose from a *k, k^h, k', q, q^h,* and *q'*. The *k* can either be pronounced as a normal English *k* or the same sound can be produced deeper in the throat indicated by a *q*. Each variation of the *k* or *q* is slightly different and can affect the meaning of a word. Grand Ronde Chinook Jargon speakers have other sounds not found in English.

Historically, because Chinook Jargon was learned by most of its speakers as a second language, not every speaker accurately produced every sound in any given word. Some varieties of Chinook Jargon differed slightly from the norm. Even with variation, Chinook Jargon speakers were able to communicate with each other.

Some English speakers made do with approximations of sounds that they found difficult. Other English speakers really did "sound Native" when speaking Chinook Jargon. Linguistic transcripts of one English speaker's Chinook Jargon from Alaska show that this speaker used the barred–L sound in many words. The barred–L in Chinook Jargon is derived from Native American languages and is not found in English.

The spelling system used in this book is designed so that Chinook Jargon can be learned quickly, so some sounds are approximated for the English speaker.[1]

This is a picture of Maquinna, a Nuu-Chah-Nulth *tayi* or leader. Maquinna traded with Europeans who came to Vancouver Island looking for sea otter skins. He also had two Europeans as slaves in the early 1800s. One of them, John R. Jewitt, published a book about his experience when he returned home. This picture was drawn around 1788 by Tomas Suria, a Spaniard.

"*Le-yee ma hi-chill* signifies, 'Ye do not know.' It appears to be a poetical mode of expression, the common one for 'you do not know' being *Wik-kum-atush*; from this it would seem that they have two languages, one for their songs and another for common use." — John R. Jewitt (1816, *Narratives of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt*)

> "Another of the developments of these contacts between the Indians and the whites was the creation of Chinook jargon. This was a trade language chiefly, with words from Indian languages, French and English. It had a limited vocabulary and was not difficult to learn. It was extremely convenient and became the *lingua franca* up and down the Island as well as the mainland." — S. W. Jackman (1972, *Vancouver Island*)

Consonants

Here's a list of the consonant sounds used in this book's Chinook Jargon: *b, ch, d, g, h, hw, k, kl, kw, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, sh, t, tl, ts, w,* and *y*.

Some of the consonant sounds are pronounced or used differently than they are in English. With a little practice, you can master them:

ch is pronounced as in the English "ch<u>a</u>nge" or "ea<u>ch</u>."

h is pronounced like an English "h" at the beginning of a word. When it precedes another consonant, thicken it to make it more audible.

hw The *h* is the stressed consonant and dominates the *w*.

k is optionally unaspirated in some words. *Skukum* often sounds like *sgugum*. Some Native teachers wrote "kg" where an unaspirated-K occurred. For example, *kalakala* was written as *kgalakgala*.

Common Sounds

Sounds used in speaking Chinook Jargon are common across the indigenous languages of the Pacific Northwest. Some of the sounds were unfamiliar to non–Natives, who tended to simplify them.

"The sounds used by most [Native] speakers of Jargon are the sounds used in their native languages and dialects. This results in little or no phonetic confusion when strangers from far-distant tribes meet and converse in Jargon." — Melville Jacobs (1932, *Notes on The Structure of Chinook Jargon*)

> "As the Jargon is to be spoken by Englishmen and Frenchmen, and by Indians of at least a dozen tribes, so as to be alike easy and intelligible to all, it must admit no sound which cannot be readily pronounced by all." — Horatio Hale (1890, *An International Idiom*)

"One important point to remember in speaking Chinook is that there are in Chinook many gutteral [sic] sounds which the English language has no letter equivalent for but which are common enough in German. These must be indicated by comparative word sounds as used in English." — W. S. "El Comancho" Phillips (1913, *The Chinook Book*)

kl The *kl* sound represents a barred-L. A barred-L is the same sound as the Welsh *ll.* Put the tip of the tongue against the roof of you mouth and hiss. This is the preferred sound for the *kl*. However, three alternate pronunciations are heard for the barred-L.

Some speakers use a "t" and an "l" pronounced together. The "t" and the "l" are pronounced as close to one another as the speaker can.

Other speakers use an unaspirated-K with an "l." An unaspirated-K sounds to many English speakers as if it were almost a "g." Some people write it as a "kg." Think of "kgl" and use the sound found in "an<u>kl</u>e" and "ora<u>cl</u>e." In Chinook Jargon, this sound can begin a word.

Still other speakers produce the exact sound as they would in English for a "kl" or "cl." These speakers will sound the "kl," like they do with every "kl" sound that begins a word, and produce the sound as in "<u>cl</u>ean" or "<u>cl</u>imb."

Remember, once you settle on one of the possible ways of saying a *kl*, be consistent.

kw is the same as the English "qu" in "<u>qu</u>een" or "<u>qu</u>ote."

ng sounds like the "ng" in "doi<u>ng</u>."

tl Use a true barred-L or, as an alternative, a "t" and an "l" pronounced close together. See the *kl* sound.

ts is pronounced as in "cat<u>s</u>" but occurs in Chinook Jargon at the beginning of words.

The rest of the consonant sounds are as in English. The consonant pairs *bl, dl, kr, kt,* and *st* also occur in Chinook Jargon words. There are a few words were the *kl* is pronounced as in English and not as a barred-L. An example is *lakli*, which is from the French *la clé*. These are noted in the vocabulary.

Vowels and Diphthongs

This book's spelling system uses a one to one correspondence between each sound and letter or pair. Each vowel or diphthong, which is a vowel pair, indicates a unique sound. Pronounce vowels and diphthongs as follows:

a	ah, papa
e	bet, men
ê	ton, but
i	ill, tin
o	toe, row, stove
u	loop, tune
aw	house, trout
ay	buy, I, tide
ey	pay, bait, grade
iy	beat, leap, me
oy	boy, toy
uy	hoo-eey, *oui* (French)

They Drift a Bit

Hilu, *halo*, *helo*, *helu*, and *elo* are recorded as ways to say "none." While the vowels drift from dictionary to dictionary and region to region, consonants remain pretty stable.

"The modern usage of the vowels of the jargon is better defined than that of the time of the Astoria settlement, for Alex. Ross, one of the Astor men, in his Chinook vocabulary, represents our *klaxta* by 'tluxta,' *ahnkutty* by 'ankate,' *weght* by 'wought,' *kuitan* by 'keutan,' *kultus* by 'kaltash,' *iskum* by 'eshkam.' Other early writers indicate the same doubtful vowel sounds of the Indian speech, which time and usage have brought to the simpler present forms." — John Gill (1909, *Gill's Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)

"The Indians are very quick to detect any difference in the intonation or method of pronunciation of the whites, and sometimes think we speak different languages. An Indian asked me one day (while pointing to a cow) what was the name we called the animal. I told him 'cow.' He said that he had just asked another white man, and he called it a 'caow.'" — James G. Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coast*)

Accent

The trick to pronouncing a Chinook Jargon word is to use the syllable breakdown found in the vocabulary at the back. The correct syllable breakdown will help you identify consonant combinations and apply the correct accent. Most Chinook Jargon words are accented on the first syllable (e.g., ***nay****-ka*). The major exceptions to this are words derived from French nouns. These are easily identified as they begin with an *"l"* and are accented on a later syllable (e.g., *li-**mo**-to*)

The Barred-L

The barred-L sound (see page 22), represented as an "ɬ" in the international phonetic alphabet, is not found in English, but is found in many other languges, including Welsh. In the mouths of some Chinook Jargon speakers, the barred-L became a "kl" at the beginning of words and just an "l" in the middle of words. The pronunciation of Chinook Jargon in slang and place names reflects this. The modern pronunciation of "Alki Beach," "klahowya," and "klahanie" are examples of this.

"The peculiar clucking sound is produced by the tongue pressing against the roof of the mouth, and pronouncing a word ending with *tl* as if there was the letter *k* at the end of the *tl*." — James Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coast*)

> "*LL* – a consonant whose difficulty is much overrated, and which can easily be mastered with a little practice. Put the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth and hiss. *Llan* ('church' or 'villiage'), *Llan–gollen*, *Llanelli*." — John Bowen & T.J. Rhys Jones (1960, *Welsh*)

"ɬ – is a voiceless 'l' made with a somewhat hissing sound: try setting your mounth to make an 'l', then blow gently." — Henry B. Zenk & Tony A. Johnson (2003, *Chinuk Wawa, As Our Elders Teach Us to Speak It*)

> "tɬ – is like [*tɬ*], but made with the tongue initially in position for *t*; you will come close simply by trying to say the combination 'tl' as if it were English." — Henry B. Zenk & Tony A. Johnson (2003, *Chinuk Wawa, As Our Elders Teach Us to Speak It*)

Henrietta Failing picked up the phrase "*klatawa saya*" from her father, James Failing, a Portland pioneer. Henry Zenk noticed that she pronounced *kl* in *klatawa* as a *kgl*, a noticeably non–English sound. This is evidence that non-Natives, in the Portland area, targeted the Native *ɬ* sound as "correct."

Development

The sounds and words of Chinook Jargon were "worked out" by the people who spoke it, but not everyone contributed equally. The Nuu-Chah-Nulth contribution, through English, gave a base, but the Chinooks contributed the bulk. There were borrowings from French, English and other Native American languages.

"The Nootka [Nuu-Chah-Nulth] no doubt entered the pidgin through white intermediaries: the marked sounds characteristic of the Chinook– and Salish–derived portion of the lexicon do not occur in any of the Nootka–derived words, except for the voiceless lateral fricative / ɬ /, and it was apparently late eighteenth–century European traders who first introduced a Nootka–based jargon (or incipent pidgin) to the Columbia River." — Thomason and Kaufman (1989, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*)

> "The persistence of such features [non-European sounds] is conclusive proof that most Indians learned CJ from other Indians, not from whites; they also show, I think, that whites were not involved in the original pidginization process." — Sarah Thomason (1983, "Chinook Jargon in Areal and Historical Context")

"The Indians are at present in the habit of living part of the year in Victoria, Vancouver, or New Westminster, working in various trades: in saw-mills and canneries, on wharves, as sailors, etc. In the fall they go to Puget Sound hop-picking. At these places members of numerous tribes gather, who use Chinook as a means of communication. They have their own quarter in every city." — Franz Boas (1888, "Chinook Songs")

> "The words of English origin numbered in 1841, 41; in 1863, 67, and in 1904, 570. Many words of French and Indian origins have been dropped. The English words are used both by Indians and whites when they talk Chinook, and have become part of the language." — (1909, attributed to Myron Eells by George Shaw, *The Chinook Jargon and How To Use It*)

"It might have been expected from the number of Sandwich Islanders introduced by the Hudson's Bay company, and long resident in the country, that the Kanaka element would have found its way into the language, but their utterance is so foreign to the Indian ear, that not a word has been adopted." — George Gibbs (1863, *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)

Growth

Regardless of Chinook Jargon's origins, by the end of the nineteenth century it had grown into an international language.

"It is a language confined wholly, I believe, to our Northwestern possessions west of the Rocky Mountains. It originated in the roving, trading spirit of the tribes, and has been added to and increased since the introduction of the whites among them." – James G. Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coas*t)

> "The 'Trade Language' which came afterwards to be known as the 'Chinook Jargon,' grew into existence. As finally developed, it has become really an 'international speech,' widely diffused..." – Horatio Hale (1890, *An International Idiom; a Manual of the Oregon Trade language, or Chinook Jargon*)

Regional Differences

Although most Chinook Jargon words are pronounced the same across the Northwest, there are a small number of regional differences. These differences are not much of a hindrance in communication but are fun to explore.

Take the word for straight, correct, or truly. It is *dêlet* in the vocabulary. It is pronounced *dêlet* or *dêleyt* at Puget Sound but *dret* at Grand Ronde, Oregon. *Dêlet* originated from the French *droit*. Grand Ronde, populated by people from Fort Vancouver and the Willamette Valley, preserves the form closest to the old Canadian and Missouri patois used by the voyageurs, *dret*. As Chinook Jargon spread and developed, an *l* was substituted for the *r* which many Native Americans had difficulty pronouncing. In the 1850s, as Chinook Jargon was adopted in the Puget Sound area, the *d* and *l* sounds were separated. *Dret* became *dêlet.* At some point the second vowel was elongated. A diverse pool of Native American and European speakers had begun using Chinook Jargon as a second language during this period. They required a more emphatic pronunciation of words to avoid confusion caused by their accents. The word *dêlet* was often pronounced *dêleyt* and was learned that way by new Chinook Jargon speakers. On the other hand, Native American hop-pickers who spoke Chinook Jargon fluently, carried the original forms back to Kamloops, where both *dêlet* and *dret* have been recorded. *Dêleyt* spread northward along the coast from Puget Sound through British Columbia and into Alaska, while *dret* is used today at Grand Ronde and *dêlet* elsewhere in southern Washington and Oregon.

Dictionaries

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw dozens of Chinook Jargon dictionaries on the market. While some were just money–making enterprises, other authors struggled to represent the language as best they could using the French and English orthographies of the times.

"The jargon is essentially a spoken and not a written tongue ... it is very much alive! There are no hard and fast rules for the spelling of words, and everyone, in writing Chinook, follows the dictates of his own judgement in the fabrication of phonetic equivalents, which are at best only approximations." — Dr. C. M. Buchanan (manuscript quoted in the 1913 edition of Theodore Winthrop's*The Canoe and the Saddle*)

"With regard to the spelling, it is believed that a sufficient number of forms is recorded to enable the student to identify pratically every word, as well as to trace the origin of many words of undetermined derivation." — George Shaw (1909, *The Chinook Jargon and How To Use It*)

"The phonology of the Jargon seems simple, but depends to a great extent on the speaker. Since most of the dictionaries have been written by native speakers of English, the more difficult of the sounds ... are represented as they would be pronounced by an English-speaking person." — Barbara Harris ("Chinook Jargon: The Nineteenth Century Trade Language")

"In consulting old word lists or dictionaries one is likely to find the variation in spelling very confusing. The difficulty lies in the fact that those who recorded the words made an attempt to spell them phonetically; but the guttural clucking pronunciation characteristic of the Indians of the Northwest was extremely difficult to represent with accuracy." — Rena V. Grant (1942, "The Chinook Jargon, Past and Present")

Middle Ground

Chinook Jargon provided a middle ground for the whites who couldn't learn a "real Indian" language and for Natives who preferred not speaking English. Even today, knowledge of Chinook Jargon is a cultural identifier.

"The Indians had strange-sounding names for things. The door, which they entered without knocking, was *le pote*. The pitch they recommended for starting fires was *le gome*. Head was *le tate*; the tongue, *le lang*; and the teeth, *le dents*. At first the settlers thought those were Indian words, but it turned out to be the language worked out by traders and trappers and their Indian customers, and the settlers began to learn the useful Chinook Jargon [from the Indians]." — Archie Binns (1941, *Northwest Gateway*)

> "Besides the foregoing language, there is another lingo, or rather mixed dialect, spoken by the Chinook and other neighbouring tribes; which is generally used in their intercourse with the whites. It is much more easily learned, and the pronunciation more agreeable to the ear than the other...." — Alexander Ross (1849, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810 –1813*)

"Unfortunately, all these languages, — the Nootka, Nasquale, Tshinuk, Tsihailish, &c, — were alike harsh in pronunciation, complex in structure, and spoken over a limited space. The foreigners, therefore, took no pains to become acquainted with any of them." — Horatio Hale (1846, "Ethnology Report")

"They appear to have a great aversion to learning the English language, contenting themselves with the Jargon, which they look upon as a sort of Whiteman's talk." — James G. Swan (1857, *The Northwest Coast*)

> "It must not be supposed, however, that the pronunciation I have given is the only correct one; as already stated, there are often different ways of pronouncing the same word in different localities." — George Shaw (1909, *The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It*)

"The speech thus recorded is very Native-sounding, and includes half a dozen gutturals completely absent from my grandfather's Jargon." — Robert Henderson (September 1997, "Klahowya, Sikhs!")

3
Grammar

Like the grammar of any other language, Chinook Jargon grammar provides a target for speakers. Chinook Jargon was spoken over a large geographical area and by people from diverse backgrounds. Chinook Jargon varied from place to place and over time. The main rule in speaking Chinook Jargon is to speak so you are understood and try your best to understand the other speaker. You will need to be flexible, so hang loose.

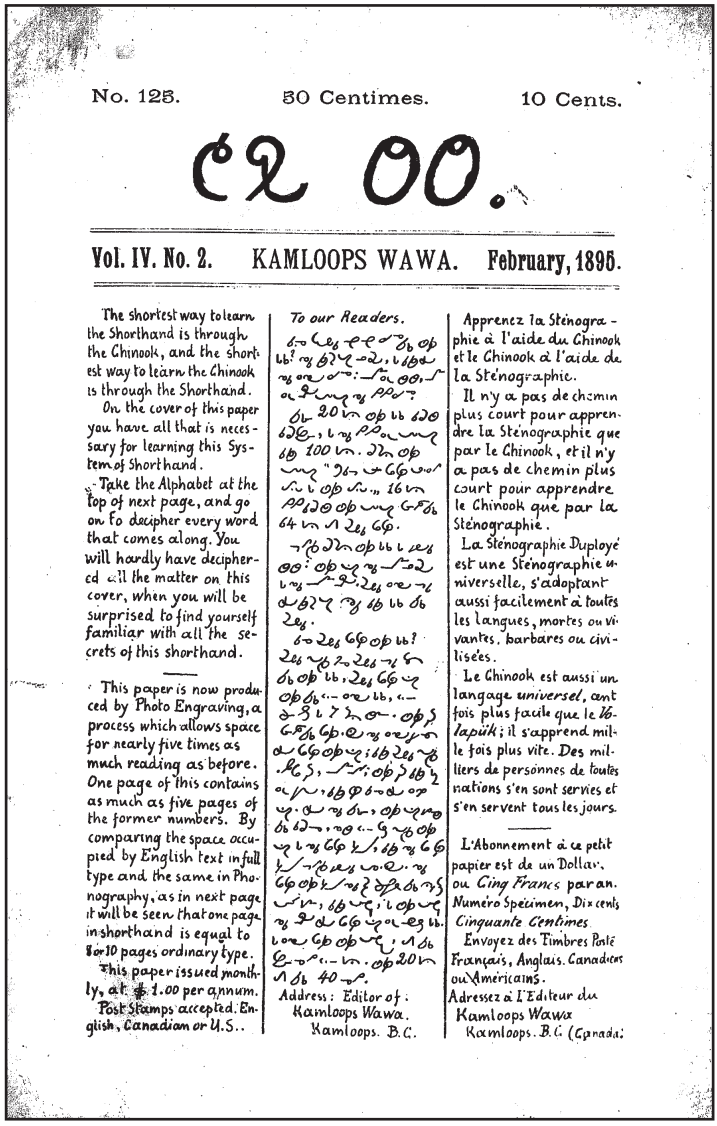
A complete grammar of Chinook Jargon is beyond the scope of this book. In this section you'll learn the most important rules used by Chinook Jargon speakers. You will speak good Chinook Jargon if you adhere to these rules. The best way to learn Chinook Jargon is to find a friend and start practicing.

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Chinook Jargon are:

I, me, my, mine	*nayka*
you, your, yours (singular)	*mayka*
he, she, it, him, his, her, hers…	*yaka*
we, us, our, ours	*nêsayka*
you, your, yours (plural)	*mêsayka*
they, them, their, theirs	*klaska*

These pronouns are used as subjects, objects and to show possession.



No. 125. 30 Centimes. 10 Cents.

ᑕᒪ OO.

Vol. IV. No. 2. KAMLOOPS WAWA. February, 1895.

The shortest way to learn the Shorthand is through the Chinook, and the shortest way to learn the Chinook is through the Shorthand.

On the cover of this paper you have all that is necessary for learning this System of Shorthand.

Take the Alphabet at the top of next page, and go on to decipher every word that comes along. You will hardly have deciphered all the matter on this cover, when you will be surprised to find yourself familiar with all the secrets of this shorthand.

This paper is now produced by Photo Engraving, a process which allows space for nearly five times as much reading as before. One page of this contains as much as five pages of the former numbers. By comparing the space occupied by English text in full type and the same in Phonography, as in next page it will be seen that one page in shorthand is equal to 8 or 10 pages ordinary type.

This paper is issued monthly, at $ 1.00 per annum.

Post Stamps accepted. English, Canadian or U.S..

To our Readers.

[illegible]

Address: Editor of: Kamloops Wawa. Kamloops. B.C.

Apprenez la Sténographie à l'aide du Chinook et le Chinook à l'aide de la Sténographie.

Il n'y a pas de chemin plus court pour apprendre la Sténographie que par le Chinook, et il n'y a pas de chemin plus court pour apprendre le Chinook que par la Sténographie.

La Sténographie Duployé est une Sténographie universelle, s'adoptant aussi facilement à toutes les langues, mortes ou vivantes, barbares ou civilisées.

Le Chinook est aussi un langage *universel*, cent fois plus facile que le *Volapük*; il s'apprend mille fois plus vite. Des milliers de personnes de toutes nations s'en sont servies et s'en servent tous les jours.

L'Abonnement à ce petit papier est de un Dollar, ou *Cinq Francs* par an. Numéro Specimen, Dix cents *Cinquante Centimes*.

Envoyez des Timbres Poste Français, Anglais, Canadiens ou Américains.

Adressez à l'Editeur du Kamloops Wawa Kamloops. B.C. (Canada.

The second column in this issue of *Kamloops Wawa*, a periodical, is written in a Chinook Jargon version of Duployian shorthand. Father Jean-Marie LeJeune, a Catholic priest at Kamloops, B.C., published *Kamloops Wawa* from 1891 until 1904. *Kamloops Wawa* not only contained parish news, but also religious instruction, stories, several plays, and colorful advertisements in the Chinook Jargon shorthand.

Father LeJeune published other material in the shorthand, such as catechisms, bible interpretations and a dictionary.

Articles

There is no word for "the," so use *ukuk* if you are referring to a particular item. *Ukuk* means "this" or "that." There is no word for "a" but sometimes the word *ikt*, meaning "one," or even *ukuk*, for a specific item, can be used.

a man	*man*
one man	*ikt man*
the man	*ukuk man*
that man	*ukuk man*

Ukuk is sometimes used on its own as a pronoun.

This is my bag.	*Ukuk nayka lisak.*
That [thing] is powerful.	*Skukum ukuk*.

Word Order

The verb normally goes after a pronoun in Chinook Jargon. This is always the case when the verb indicates an action. When an adjective or noun is used in place of an action verb (e.g., "I [am] tired") the word order can be switched.

I throw a ball.		*Nayka mash libal*.
I go to the store.		*Nayka klatawa kupa makuk haws*.
	but	
I am tired		*Til nayka*.
	or	*Nayka til.*
He's a coyote		*Talapus yaka.*
	or	*Yaka talapus.*

Kupa indicates location and translates "to," "with," "at," "on," "in," "from," or "by." *Klak*, *kikwêli*, and *klahani* are three modifiers that sometimes appear before *kupa*. *Klak kupa* means "off of" or "away from," while *kikwêli kupa* means "down from" or "underneath." *Klahani kupa* means "outside of," as in *Nayka mitlayt klahani kupa town*, "I live outside of town."

Word Types

Even though linguists say that Chinook Jargon words are flexible as to usage, the vocabulary at the back of this book classifies each word as being a noun, verb, adjective, adverb, etc. You should normally use a word according to the type described in the vocabulary. You will avoid mistakes caused by subtle shades of meaning if you adhere to this policy. If you really need to use a word as a different type, here are two rules to follow:

- Combine a noun or adjective with *mamuk* to use it as a action verb. *Isik* refers to a "paddle." *Mamuk isik* means "to paddle."
- Combine a noun or verb with *kakwa* to use it as an adjective or adverb to express likeness or similarity. *Chikêmin* is the noun for "metal." *Kakwa chikêmin* means "metallic" or "like metal."

A quick warning: Combined words often turn into compound words, which may have special meanings. Check the vocabulary in the back of the book for the meaning of some compounds.

More Words

Horatio Hale documented Chinook Jargon as part of an ethnological study of Oregon conducted by the United States Exploring Expedition in 1841. Hale revisited Chinook Jargon fifty-nine years later. Hale found the language's grammar was stable during that period, but the number of simple words had increased from the original 250 he had collected.

"But, as might be expected, the language continued to develop. Its grammar, such as it was, remained the same, but its lexicon drew contributions from all the various sources which have been named [Nootka, English, French, Chinook], and from some others. In 1863, seventeen years after my list was published, the Smithsonian Institution put forth a 'Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon," prepared by the late George Gibbs, a thoroughly competent investigator. His collection comprised of nearly five hundred words." — Horatio Hale (1890, *An International Idiom*)

"A. P. Grant (1994 MS) is a collection of all morphemes which I have been able to find as purporting to belong to the CJ lexicon; these are divided into well-attested and dubious forms. The latter number over 550; the former ... number 1078." — Anthony P. Grant (1996, "Chinook Jargon and its distribution on the Pacific Northwest and beyond")

A "Correct" Jargon?

"Judge Coquille Thompson, now at Warm Springs, but originally from the northwest Oregon area in which Mr. Walker lived, and where Jargon was strongest in Oregon, considers that those at Warm Springs who have some knowledge of Jargon 'don't put the words together right.' There seems, then, to have been a norm, and a role, for Jargon, beyond sheer makeshift expediency. Perhaps more of the outlines and character of the Jargon speech community can yet be determined, from documents and memory." — Dell and Virginia Hymes (1972, "Chinook Jargon as 'Mother's Tongue'")

Context

Context provides the framework in which an action occurs. Words or phrases marking context are usually placed at the beginning of a sentence. Context can be tense, time, probability, or place.

She goes.	*Yaka klatawa.*
She will go.	*Atlki yaka klatawa*.
She will go soon.	*Wik lili yaka klatawa.*
She will go a while from now.	*Bambay yaka klatawa.*
Maybe she goes.	*Klonês yaka klatawa.*
She is going now.	*Alta yaka klatawa*.
She went.	*Ankati yaka klatawa.*
She just went.	*Chiy yaka klatawa.*
She went a little while ago.	*Tênês ankati yaka klatawa.*
She's going alone.	*Kêpit ikt yaka yaka klatawa.*
She went yesterday.	*Tatlki san yaka klatawa.*
She's unable to go.	*Hawkwêtl yaka klatawa.*

Chinook Jargon relies heavily on context for meaning. Once the context is established, it does not have to be repeated in each sentence. Context words can also appear within a sentence if you wish to emphasize other words.

Modifiers

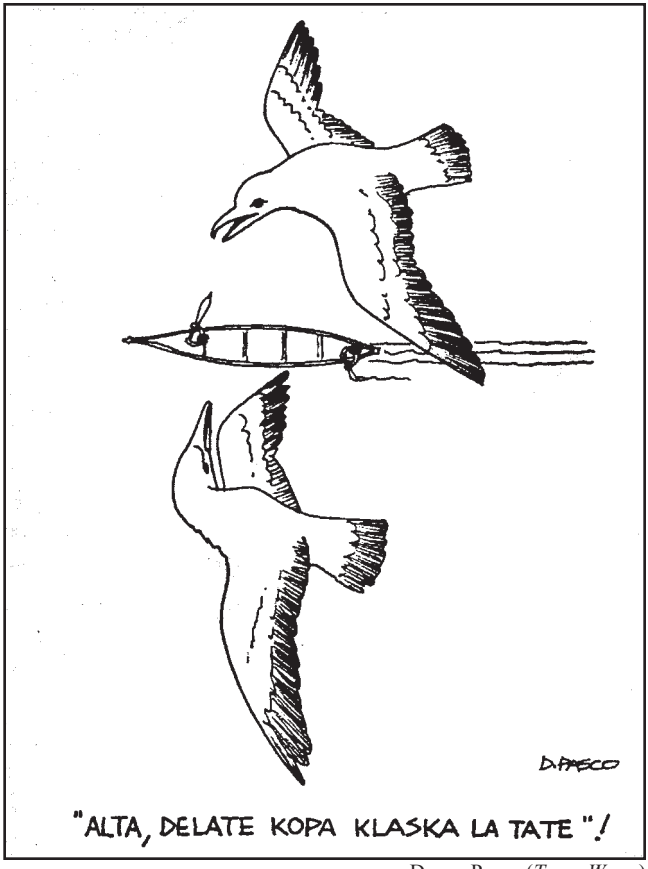
Adjectives and adverbs are important since Chinook Jargon words never change for gender or quantity. The word *musmus* meaning "cow" could be "a male cow," "a female cow," or "cows." Modifiers are placed in front of the noun or verb. A female cow is a *kluchmên musmus*.

many	*hayu*
some	*tênês hayu, wik hayu*
all	*kanawi*
big, very	*hayash*
small, little	*tênês*
strong, powerful	*skukum*
quick	*hayak*
slow	*klawa*
male	*man*
female	*kluchmên*

Wik negates the phrase. *Wik* goes before the subject pronoun and verb in a phrase. *Hilu* is a replacement for *wik* in some varieties of Chinook Jargon, but implies "nothing." *Hawkwêtl* also replaces *wik* and indicates you are unable to do something.

I watch.	*Nayka nanich.*
I don't watch.	*Wik nayka nanich.*
Bob doesn't see anything.	*Bob wik ikta yaka nanich.*
They don't have children.	*Hilu tênas mitlayt kupa klaska.*
I can't see.	*Hawkwêtl nayka nanich.*

In some northern varieties of Chinook Jargon, *hilu* completely replaces *wik*.



— Duane Pasco (*Tenas Wawa*)

This cartoon is from *Tenas Wawa*. Translated it says, "Now, straight for their heads."

"The future, in the sense of 'about to,' 'ready to,' is sometimes expressed by *tikeh* or *tikegh* [*tiki*], which means properly to wish or desire; as, *nika papa tikegh mimaloose*, my father is near dying, or about to die." — Horatio Hale (1890, *An International Idiom*)

Some speakers of Chinook Jargon at Grand Ronde use proclitic pronouns. A proclitic pronoun is reduced in form and placed in front of the verb. *Na* is often used for *nayka*, *ma* for *mayka* and *ya* for *yaka*. *Na klatawa* replaces *nayka klatawa* for "I go." The complete longer forms are used when a speaker wishes to emphasize the pronoun. *Nayka na klatawa* means "I am the one who wants to go." This usage never caught on outside of Grand Ronde.

Pronouns with Other Words

Chinook Jargon speakers include pronouns where they are not used in English. When a noun is the subject, *yaka* or *klaska* is generally put in front of the verb in spoken Chinook Jargon.

That man talks. *Ukuk man yaka wawa*.

(Linear translation: That man he talks.)

People see you. *Tilikêm klaska nanich mayka.*

(Linear translation: People they see you.)

I am going to look for…. *Nayka klatawa nanich….*

(Linear translation: I go watch.)

Mary teaches me. *Mary yaka mamuk kêmtêks nayka*.

(Linear translation: Mary she teaches me.)

Pronouns also show possession. Without a pronoun, any noun preceding another noun will become an adjective.

a dog's house *kamuks yaka haws*

(Linear translation: dog his house)

a dog house *kamuks haws*

(Linear translation: dog house)

Bob's wife's hat *Bob yaka kluchmên yaka siyaputl*

(Linear Translation: Bob his wife her hat)

Some people omit the pronoun when a subject noun is present. Even though people like Charles Tate, Myron Eells, and Father LeJeune were known to speak Chinook Jargon fluently, they adopted a writing style that did not always use a pronoun with a subject noun.

Comparisons

Ilêp, which means "first," conveys "more," and *kimta*, which means "behind," conveys "less." Use *dêlet* in front of *ilêp* or *kimta* to get the superlative.

better	*Ilêp klush* or *manêki klush*
worse	*kimta klush* or *manêki wik klush*
You're better than I am.	*Mayka ilêp klush kupa nayka.*
best	*dêlet ilêp klush*
worst	*dêlet kimta wik klush*

Paraphrasing can also make comparisons.

You're better than I am. *Wik nayka klush kakwa mayka*.
(Linear translation: Negative I good as you.)

Manêki and *pus* are sometimes used instead of *ilêp* and *kupa*.

El Comancho

Using the pen name "El Comancho," Walter Shelley Phillips wrote books with titles such as *Totem Tales* and *Indian Tales for Little Folks*. In *The Chinook Book*, published in 1913, he documents the language as it was spoken on Puget Sound after the turn of the century. Phillips links Chinook Jargon to Native Americans culturally. Like any other langauge, a student must understand the culture, within which the language originated, to speak it fluently:

> "One may learn to talk Chinook from a study of this book but he cannot learn to speak it fluently without considerable study into other things than the mere jargon itself.
>
> "The most important knowledge to possess in this connection is a thorough understanding of the Indian point of view; that is to say, how the Indian thinks, the mental process by which he arrives at an idea and, in addition to this, a knowledge of his method of expressing this idea. Without this knowledge you can never speak Chinook, or any Indian language, fluently."

Question Words

Question words go at the beginning of a sentence. Raise the pitch of your voice when asking a question, as you would in English.

where	*ka*
when	*kênchi*
how much	*kênchi hayu* or *kênchi*
why, how	*kata*
what	*ikta*
who	*klaksta*
why	*pus ikta*

Where are you?	*Ka mayka?*
When are you coming?	*Kênchi mayka chaku?*
Who's there?	*Klaksta yawa?*
What's the matter?	*Ikta kata?*

The simplest way of turning a declarative statement into a question in Chinook Jargon is to raise the pitch of your voice as you would in English. All speakers will understand this method of asking a question.

You are running.	*Mayka kuli.*
Are you running?	*Mayka kuli?* (raising pitch)

Chinook Creole?

"Hale reports that in Fort Vancouver many children who were the offspring of French trappers with Cree wives spoke CJ equally as well as French, Cree or occasionally English. He wondered whether a situation would ever develop where some people used only CJ as a linguistic medium. No such development is known to have occurred." — Terrance Kaufman (1968, "A Report on Chinook Jargon")

More Questions, Conditionals and Imperatives

Chinook Jargon has several words that can be added to the beginning or the end of a sentence to make it conditional, solicit a confirmation or give an order. Here are some:

Wikna — *Wikna* is used for *wik na* and translates as "isn't it so?" or "right?" The speaker uses *wikna* to solicit the listener's confirmation. The sentence "It's good, right?" could be translated into Chinook Jargon as *Klush, wikna?*

Nihwa — *Nihwa* is an attention marker, but also signifies "why don't?" "Why don't you give me some food?" would be *Nihwa mayka patlêch mêkmêk kupa nayka?* Use *Nihwa* in place of "please" when making requests.

Klush — *Klush* at the beginning of a sentence indicates a strong desire on the part of the speaker. "You better go away!" would be *Klush mayka klatawa!* Adding *pus* softens the command. *Klush pus mayka klatawa* means "It would be good if you went away."

Na — Somewhat obsolete, *na* can also be added before a verb to turn any phrase into a question. *Nayka na klatawa kupa makuk haws?* means "Am I going to the store?" Most often though, questions are indicated by raising the pitch of the voice.

Chinook Jargon speakers use these words to be courteous to each other and to ensure the listener is understanding and agreeing to what is being said.

Sermons and Hymns

"Mesplie had been pastor of St. Peter's church at The Dalles from 1851. In the spring of 1855, his parish held only 117 Whites but 300 Indians; of the 500 people baptized up to that date most were Indians. When Captain Archer paid a tourist's visit to this church in March 1856, 'to see the converted Indians at their devotions,' the sermon and hymns were in the trade dialect Chinook." – Robert Ignatius Burns (1966, *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*)

Compound Words and Idioms

There are only 500 to 800 simple words in Chinook Jargon. A vocabulary of 200 simple words is sufficient to be conversant. Chinook Jargon uses compound words to stretch its vocabulary. Often an idea in Chinook Jargon is expressed by combining several words together to form a compound word. A compound word can be a noun or verb. It is treated as a single word.

learn	*chaku kêmtêks*
teach	*mamuk kêmtêks*
sell	*mash makuk*, *makuk saya*
dream	*musêm nanich*
respond	*kilapay wawa*
die, expire	*chaku hilu*
forget	*kêpit kêmtêks*

Chinook Jargon uses a lot of idiomatic expressions. An idiom is an expression that has a meaning beyond the meanings of the individual words. Take the expression *Nayka sik têmtêm* that literally translates as "I have a sick heart." It is often used casually for "I'm sorry." It doesn't connote the emphasis the literal English translation does. Chinook Jargon speakers often use idioms as if they were single words. The idiomatic expressions are pronounced quicker than the words would be singly. Correct use of idiomatic expressions is a sign of a good Chinook Jargon speaker.

Dialects?

James G. Swan wrote about his experiences in early Washington Territory in *The Northwest Coast* (1853). He used Chinook Jargon daily. Several times he mentions the challenges caused by the different varieties of Chinook Jargon:

"By this means, different Indians who have been with the whites acquire a habit of pronouncing such English words as they pick up in the same style and manner as the person from whom they learn them. This causes a certain discrepancy in the Jargon, which at first is difficult to get over. And, again, each tribe will add some local words of their own language, so that while a person can make himself understood among any of the tribes for the purposes of trade, it is difficult to hold a lengthened conversation on any subject without the aid of someone who has become more familiar with the peculiar style."

"Colonel B.F. Shaw was the interpreter, and spoke the [Chinook Jargon] language fluently; but, although he was perfectly understood by the Cowlitz and Satchap Indians, he was but imperfectly understood by the Chenooks, Chehalis, and Queniults, and it was necessary for those present who were conversant with the Coast tribes to repeat to them what he said before they could fully understand."

"I experienced the same difficulty; for, as I had been accustomed to speak a great deal of the Chehalis language with the Jargon, I found that the Indians from the interior could not readily understand me when making use of words in the Chehalis dialect."

Stress and emphasis

A word can be stressed in Chinook Jargon by lengthening its vowel.

before now	*ankati*
a very long time ago	*aaankati*

A word can also be stressed by moving it from its normal position to the front of the sentence and accentuating the word.

I went there.	*Nayka klatawa yawa.*
I went there, not elsewhere.	*Yawa nayka klatawa.*

Pitfalls

There is no word for "to be" in Chinook Jargon. Instead, an adjective or noun will simply take the place of the verb.

She is strong.	*Skukum yaka*.
This is a good book.	*Klush buk ukuk*.
My name is Henry.	*Nayka niym Henry*.
That woman is a doctor.	*Ukuk kluchman dakta yaka*.

Mitlayt or *kupa* can be used for "to be" when the object physically sits or resides at a location.

We are in the house.	*Nayka mitlayt kupa haws*.
Tom is there	*Tom yaka mitlayt yawa.*
I am in this canoe.	*Nayka kupa ukuk canim*.

Many nineteenth-century writers felt that Chinook Jargon had no fixed grammar. Based on this, many people take liberty with the word order. Use the word order found in this book, but be open to usage of other speakers.

Try to think in Chinook Jargon. Chinook Jargon is an idiomatic and expressive language. It is better to use the correct idiom or describe a concept in simple terms rather than go for the fancy word that may not be understood. Learn the idioms and phrases in the following sections. There are more idioms in the appendix. When you're comfortable with an expression, substitute words to use the idiom in a new way.

4
Conversation

You'll never ever need to use Chinook Jargon on the streets of Seattle or Vancouver. But a little Chinook Jargon can be a lot of fun among family and friends. Chinook Jargon will also give you an insight into Native American culture in the Northwest. You'll be speaking an indigenous American language when you *wawa Chinuk*.

Meeting People

Here are some phrases that you and your *tilikêms* can use in the Northwest. Practice them with your family and friends while you walk through Gas Town in Vancouver or visit Pike Place Market in Seattle.

Hello	*Klahawya*
How are you?	*Kata mayka?*
I am…	*…nayka.*
good	*Klush*
tired	*Til*
sad	*Sik têmtêm*
sick	*Sik*
What's your name?	*Kata mayka niym?*
I'm Jim.	*Nayka niym Jim.*
What do you do for a living?	*Kata mayka tulo dala?*
I am a …	*…nayka.*
doctor	*Dakta*
student	*Skul tilikêm*

I…	*Nayka…*
farm.	*mamuk ilêhi.*
teach.	*mamuk kêmtêks.*
program computers.	*mamuk computer.*
I am unemployed.	*Wik nayka tulo dala.*
That's useless (or broken).	*Kêltês ukuk.*
Strong, powerful, "cool"	*Skukum*
Please	*Klush* or *Nihwa*
Thank you.	*Mersi*
You're welcome.	Just smile!
What's the matter?	*Ikta kata?*
Nothing's the matter.	*Wik ikta kata.*
Good-bye.	*Klahawya.*
We'll talk soon.	*Atlki nêsayka wawa.*
Move it!	*Hayak!*
You're on my foot.	*Mayka kupa nayka lipiy.*
My cell phone doesn't work.	*Nayka sel tintin kêltês.*
I'm really sorry.	*Nayka dêlet sik têmtêm.*

It's Not English!

English marks nouns as either singular or plural. Although common among European languages, this is by no means universal. Chinese uses adjectives which describe quantity; it does not change the noun or add an article. This is similar to the Chinook Jargon usage of *hayu*.

The meaning of *alta* in Chinook Jargon is given as "now, in the present." However, in storytelling, both formal and informal, *alta* often means "then," "and then" or "next." "*Ankati ikt kluchmên yaka musêm kupa yaka biyt. Alta yaka kêmtêks ikta kupa yaka kwêlan. Alta yaka gidêp.*" means, "A certain woman was sleeping in her bed. She heard something. And then she got up." *Alta* is often used in Chinook Jargon storytelling to give a sequence of events, indicating that the events took place in the order they are related.

Relations

Relationships and family are important to many Northwest Native Americans. A second or third cousin is considered close kin. Friendships are shared across generations. On the other hand, your typical Seattle transplant may not know how to spell his own mother's maiden name.

mother	*mama*
father	*papa*
older brother, sister or cousin	*kapho*
brother or male cousin	*aw*
sister or female cousin	*ats*
child	*tênas*
brat	*têna*
son or boy	*tênês man*
daughter or girl	*tênês kluchmên*
husband or man	*man*
wife or woman	*kluchmên*
old woman	*lamiyay*
old man	*olman*
grandfather	*chup*
grandmother	*chich*
friend	*tilikêm* or *shiks*
boss, leader	*tayi*
family, person, people	*tilikêm*

In Chinook Jargon, there are words for other relations, but they can also be described. The man who married your sister (brother-in-law) could be described as *nayka ats yaka man*, meaning "my sister's husband." It is easier to describe the relation than it is to memorize another word.

Food and Drink

Salmon and camas were two important foods to Native Americans. Salmon is still popular in the Northwest. Camas is a bulbous plant in the lily family. When roasted it provides a delicious source of starch. Don't try to harvest it yourself, though. A similar-looking plant, called "death camas," is poisonous.

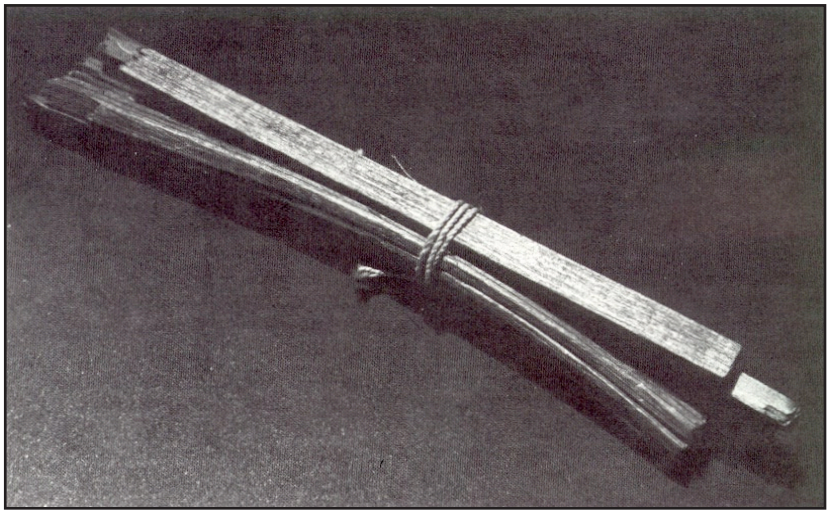
I am hungry.	*Nayka ulu.*
I am thirsty.	*Nayka ulu chêk.*
Do you want something to eat?	*Mayka tiki mêkêmêk?*
Please give …to me.	*Klush pus mayka patlêch ...* [*kupa*] *nayka.*
an apple	*ikt lipom*
some beef	*musmus itluli*
a bottle of beer	*ikt labutay* or *lamchêk*
some berries	*ulali*
a biscuit	*ikt lebiskwi*
some bread	*lipan*
some coffee	*kabi*
some fish	*pish*
two eggs	*makst lisap*
a hotdog, sausage	*ikt sikaluks itluli*
some meat	*itluli*
some milk	*musmus tutush*
a pizza	*ikt pissa*
some pork	*kushu itluli*
a potato	*ikt wapêto*
some salmon	*samên*
some water	*chêk*
some wine	*ulali puyu*
Where's Starbucks®?	*Ka mitlayt Starbucks®?*

5
16 Skukum Words

It's not the number of words that's important. It's how they get used that counts. Chinook Jargon has a small vocabulary but each word is special and does double duty. Here are 16 *skukum* words. You can use them when you *wawa Chinuk wawa*, or you can use them mixed with English, as you tramp around the Northwest.

dêlet This word means straight, direct, without equivocation. *Dêlet wawa* is "direct talk" or the "straight truth." You could say something's *ukuk klush*, meaning "that's good," or you could go with *Nawitka, dêlet klush*, "Yes, perfect." *Dêlet* makes a statement positive and removes any element of doubt. Anything *dêlet* is the genuine article.

kêltês George Shaw gave the meaning of *kêltês* as: "worthless; good for nothing; abject; barren; bad; common; careless; defective; dissolute; filthy; foul; futile; rude; immaterial; impertinent; impolite; no matter; shabby; slippery; unmeaning; untoward; useless; paltry; worn out." The real meaning of *kêltês* is that the item or activity has no purpose or is somehow diminished. It's not a moral issue. It is just in a diminished state. If something is really wicked, use *masachi* instead. If something just lacks a purpose, use *kêltês*. When you *kêltês kuli*, you're just running around with no destination. When you *kêltês nanich*, you're just looking around. *Kêltês wawa* is gossip or idle talk. If something is *dêlet kêltês*, it's truly worthless, beyond a shadow of a doubt. If in doubt, use *wik klush* or "not good." That would be your opinion. *Kêltês* can also mean weak, the opposite of *skukum*. (My son thinks my tennis serve is *kêltês*.) In another meaning, *kêltês* can be "just," "only," or "merely." If I *kêltês nayka mitlayt*, I am just sitting.



— George Castile (1985, *The Indians of Puget Sound*)

A *patlêch* invitation consists of specially shaped sticks wrapped with a string. In the old days, the invitation was simply left at the front door of the guest's house, as the host didn't want to receive any special attention.

kêmtêks *Kêmtêks* is understanding. If you *kêmtêks* something you understand it or know it. To teach is to "make understood," or *mamuk kêmtêks,* and to learn is to "become knowing," *chaku kêmtêks*. If you "stop knowledge," or forget, you've *kêpit kêmtêks*. Don't forget; *wik kêpit kêmtêks!*

klahani "Out," "outside," and "exterior" describe this word. *Klahani* is often used in place names for "the great outdoors" with various spellings. There's a Klahanie Road on the way to Whistler and a Klahhanie Lodge in Port Angeles. Be careful. If you're *klahani*, you're outside, but to *klatawa klahani* or "go *klahani*" can mean you're on your way to a restroom.

klahawya This is the ordinary salutation or greeting when folks meet or separate. A *klahawya tilikêm* or *klahowya shiks* says it all. There are a lot of stories about the origin of this word. They range from its being a corruption of "Clarke, how are you?" to Nuu-Chah-Nulth for "Did you just arrive on the beach?" The most believable story is that it is an alternate form of *klahawyêm*, which is from the Old Chinook root *klahauia*. *Klahowyêm* means "poor" or "miserable," but was used as part of a long salutation when meeting or departing. The salutation was shortened simply to *klahawyêm*, and later *klahawya*. While *klahawyêm* can be used as a salutation, *klahawya* can never be used to mean "poor."

makuk *Makuk* means "to buy." A useful secret word when browsing in the many marketplaces of the Northwest. A *tiki makuk* to your partner signifies a buying strategy in the face of an aggressive clerk. A *makuk haws* is a store, and to *mash makuk* means you're selling instead of buying. *Hayash makuk* means "it's expensive" while *wik ikta makuk* says "it's not worth it."

mamuk This is the busiest word in Chinook Jargon. It is the great Chinook Jargon action word. *Mamuk* means to do, to make, or to work; it's a deed, exercise, motion, operation, service, performance, or anything having motion or action. In short, unless you're going or coming, you can use *mamuk*. *Mamuk* can turn any noun or adjective into a verb. You can *mamuk* your bed when you get up. *Mamuk têmtêm* is to make up your mind. If you *mamuk mimêlust*, you've "made dead" or killed something. If you *mamuk* something you're either making it, building it or using it for its intended purpose. Myron Eells, a preacher, collected 233 different uses for the word *mamuk*. George Shaw's dictionary lists 34. If you want to turn any idea into an action, and you don't have a verb, you can usually *mamuk* the thing.

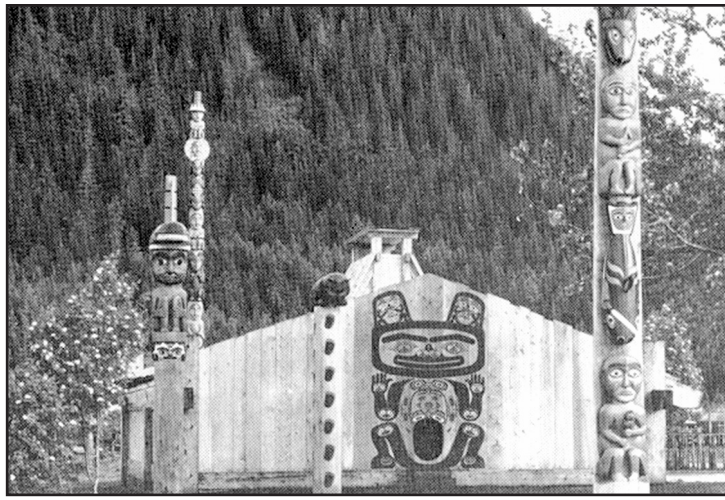
mêkêmêk This is Chinook Jargon word that has found its way into English as "muckamuck.". Most of us know the phrase, "the big muckamuck." A big or high muckamuck is a person who's important because, well, he or she is just important. In Chinook Jargon, *mêkêmêk* is anything associated with food and drink. As a noun, it's the food and drink itself. When *mêkêmêk* is used as a verb, it means to eat or drink. In English, "big muckamuck," a variation of "high muckamuck," comes from *hayu mêkêmêk*, a person who ate at the main table with the *tayi*, or chief, where there was lots of food. These spots were reserved for people of some importance, although they were often visitors not known to everybody in the long house. Maybe his or her importance wasn't always apparent. One Chinook Jargon place name in California is Muckamuck Creek, which feeds into the Klamath River near Hamburg in Siskiyou County. (*Siskayu* is another Chinook Jargon word, which describes a bob-tailed horse.) Muckamuck Creek may have been a good place to collect food.

mitlayt This word comes from the Old Chinook imperative for "sit down." In Chinook Jargon, it does duty for a lot of other ideas. The place where you sit or *mitlayt* is where you live. In Chinook Jargon *Nika mitlayt kupa Seattle*, means "I live in Seattle." If you sit, lie, stay, stop, remain or reside at a location, you also *mitlayt* there. In one odd meaning, *mitlayt*

Legend?

Somebody went "crazy" and he's been remembered in Chinook Jargon by having his last name, *piltên*, used for that condition ever since. However, the story varies and usually comes second-hand.

> "The Indians adopted this word [*piltên*] from the name of a deranged person, Archibald Pelton, or perhaps Felton, whom Mr. Wilson P. Hunt found on his journey to Astoria, and carried there with him. The circumstance is mentioned by Franchêre, in his 'Narrative,' etc." — George Gibbs (1863, *A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)
>
> > "The word *pehlten* [*piltên*] – insane, crazy – comes from 'Filion,' the name of an employee of the Hudson's Bay who became insane. Between French and English pronunciation of that name, the Indians made it *pilio*, *pilian*, and at last *pehlten*, and adopted the name to mean insane in general." — (1909, attributed to *Kamloops Wawa* by George Shaw)



—Edward Keithahn (1963, *Monuments in Cedar*)

This is *Tayi* Shakes' traditional house in Alaska. The Shakes were powerful Tlingit warriors who fought against Russian imperialism in Alaska. A comparison of other "less powerful" people to the Shakes may have given English the expression "no great shakes."

provides a concept of possession. Some Chinook Jargon varieties have the word *towên* which means "to physically have," but *mitlayt* allows for a more poetic form of ownership. The things that sit with you are the things associated with you. If the relationship's right, they are the things you own. If you own the dog or the dog hangs around you, you could say *kamuks mitlayt kupa nayka* or "the dog sits with me." In the book, *The Canoe and The Saddle*, which is about the young author's trip to the Northwest in the 1850s, Theodore Winthrop wrote, "*Hyas tyee mika,– hiu mitlite ikta, halo ikta mitlite copa nika tenas*."[1] This literally translates as, "Big leader you, many reside things, no things reside with my son," or "You're a great leader who has many things, my son has nothing." Winthrop, in the flamboyant language of his time, actually translated it as, "Great chief thou, with thee plenty traps abide, no traps hath my son." Times change. Originally when people used *mitlayt* for possession, the things "sat with" or *mitlayt kupa* them, but eventually, *mitlayt* became a replacement for "have" and an English–like construction was adopted.

nawitka *Nawitka* means "yes," "for sure," "certainly," or "I'll get right on it." It denotes agreement, confirmation and affirms what another speaker is saying. *Dêlet nawitka* means that you are 100% committed, but *hilu nawitka* signifies that you're undecided and sitting on the fence.

patlêch *Patlêch* comes from the Nuu-Chah-Nulth language. *Patlêch* means "to give." If you *patlêch* something to someone, you're physically giving it to them. It's not necessarily without any strings attached though. A gift given with nothing expected in return is a *kêltês patlêch* or a "giving with no purpose." *Patlêch*, commonly spelt "potlatch" in English, also refers to several types of Native American ceremonies or celebrations. Guests are invited by the host to bear witness to the event. Their function is similar to the guests at a European-style wedding or baptism. The *patlêch* can be for the naming of a child, a marriage, or an acceptance of an important position, such as group elder. The host always pays his guests for witnessing the act, so he *patlêch*es a gift to them. By accepting, the guests signify they agree with what is going on. The host also makes sure he has enough *mêkêmêk* for everybody. A little entertainment's not a bad idea either.

skukum *Skukum* has a broad range of meanings. Accented on the first syllable, it can be anything from a replacement for *klush*, meaning "good," to "strong," "powerful," "ultimate" and "first-rate." Something can be *skukum*, meaning "cool," or *skukum* can be "tough." A *skukum* burger is a big hamburger, but when your Mom's food is *skukum*, it's delicious. If you have a *skukum têmtêm*, you're brave. *Skukum chêk* is a river rapid or strong current. If you *skukum wawa* you've constructed your arguments well, or you're giving someone a piece of your mind. The Democratic Club of Seattle was once called the Skookum Club. When you're *skukum*, you've got a purpose and you're on solid ground. *Skukum* is the opposite of *kêltês*. *Skukum* is power and strength. In an odd turnaround, if you accent *skukum* on the last syllable, it refers to a bad spirit.

tamanêwês George Gibbs writes: "A sort of guardian or familiar spirit; magic; luck; fortune; anything supernatural. One's particular forte is said to be his *tamanêwês*. *Mamuk tamanêwês*, to 'conjure'; 'make medicine'; *masachi tamanêwês*, 'witchcraft' or 'necromancy.'" Your *tamanêwês* can be your guardian spirit who gives you your strength or a *tamanêwês* can be an evil spirit out to steal your soul. A *masachi tamanêwês* is an evil spirit, but traditional healers use *tamanêwês* to cure many ills.

têmtêm This is the sound of a heart beating. Tum, tum, tum, tum…. *Têmtêm* signifies your insides, your heart, and your inner feelings. If you *têmtêm* something, it's what you think. Your *têmtêm* is your opinion or your internals. If you *têmtêm klush*, it's a good idea, but if you're *klush têmtêm*, you've got a kind heart or you're feeling good. Having a *sik têmtêm* doesn't usually mean that you have heart disease but rather that you're sad or sorry.

tilikêm Your *tilikêm*s are your people. These can be friends, family, or your social group. *Tilikêm* means a person or people, but has come to signify a friend or ally. *Klahawya tilikêm* is a standard greeting in Chinook Jargon.

tiki *Tiki* means you want or like something. Wanting or liking something is akin to making it happen in Chinook Jargon, so *tiki* can also mean that something is about to occur. If you say *nayka tiki klatawa*, you want to go, and you are about to go. If you *tiki* someone of the opposite sex, it means you're sweet on them.

These words not only have linguistic value, they give you a little insight into how the inhabitants of the Northwest view the world they live in.

How Expressive?

Just how expressive is Chinook Jargon? Those who say it is limited often refer to Horatio Hale's description, claiming a need for accompaning sign language. On the other hand, sometimes there was less gesturing in Chinook Jargon than in other Native languages.

"We frequently had occasion to observe the sudden change produced when a party of natives, who had been conversing in their own tongue, were joined by a foreigner, with whom it was necessary to speak the Jargon. The countenances which before had been grave, stolid, and inexpressive, were instantly lighted up with animation; the low, monotonous tone became lively and modulated; every feature was active; the head, the arms, and the whole body were in motion, and every look and gesture became instinct with meaning. One who knew merely the subject of the discourse might often have comprehended, from this source alone, the general purport of the conversation." — Horatio Hale (1846, "The 'Jargon' or Trade-Language of Oregon")

"Sometimes Hy-na-um ... found his knowledge of Chinook insufficient for his purpose. He would then lapse into his native Ohyaht, supplemented by dramatic gestures. I believe I sensed what he meant and for the sake of continuity, I have written these passages of his narration in Chinook, and then translated them." — Alfred Carmichael ("The Legend of the Flood")

"Doctor Maynard was master of ceremonies, and an interpreter hacked and jammed the Governor's English into procrustean Chinook jargon." — Archie Binns (1941, *Northwest Gateway*)

"Mother is approaching her 90th birthday and the present eludes her. But speak some words of the Chinook jargon and she can come right back." — Edith Randall (1970, told to Jess Scott, *The Oregonian*)

"How can this Jargon pretend to be a universal language? At least as reasonable as the Volapuk [an early Esperanto-type langauge]; for where is the Volapuk spoken? – whereas, without pretending to make the Chinook the language of the twentieth century, it is true to say that it is understood by 20,000 or 30,000 people in British Columbia, Washington and Oregon." — Fr. Jean-Marie LeJeune (1895, *Kamloops Wawa*)

6
Places

Over a thousand places in the Pacific Northwest have Chinook Jargon names. Most visitors and residents see them simply as more Native American names. Recognizing these names as Chinook Jargon and translating them can add lots of enjoyment to any trip.

Important Words

You can easily translate Chinook Jargon place names because they tend to come from a small subset of the vocabulary. The same words are used over and over again. Be on the lookout for variations in spelling as place names use various historic spellings, which aren't standardized. For instance, the word *klahani* is usually spelled "klahanie" in place names. Kopachuck really means *kupa chêk*, or "at the water." Here are the most important words you'll run into:

alkie, alki	*atlki* - future
alta	*alta* - now, presently
chuck	*chêk* - water
coolie, cooley	*kuli* - run (There is another word *coulee* which refers to a stream or river that is dry part of the year. This is not actually Chinook Jargon but from a French dialect.)
cooliechuck	*kuli chêk* - stream, small river, tidal eddy
cultus	*kêltês* - useless, worthless, no value
delate, delett	*dêlet* - straight, true, very
illahie, illahee, illahe	*ilêhi* - land
kanaka	*kanaka* - Hawaiian native
klahhanie, klahanie	*klahani* - outdoors, outside
kopa, copa	*kupa* - on, near
memloost, memaloose	*mimêlust* - dead
mesachie	*masachi* - bad, evil
muckamuck	*mêkêmêk* - food, to eat

ollalie, ollala	*ulali* - berries
owyhee	*owayhi* - Hawaiian
pil	*pil* - red
skookum	*skukum* - strong, powerful, steep
skookumchuck	*skukum chêk* - rapids, river
tumwater, tumchuck	*têmwata, têmchêk* - waterfall
tyee	*tayi* - leader, important, excellent

There are many other words used in place names. You'll find many of these in the vocabulary at the back of this book.

Interesting Places

One of the most commonly used Chinook Jargon words is *tayi*. *Tayi* means "leader," "chief," "best," or "important," and is spelt in place names as "tyee." There's a Tyee Hotel on Interstate 5 in Washington south of Olympia. There's a Tyee Court in Vancouver and a Tyee Road in Victoria. Tyee Drive is located in Point Roberts. Point Roberts is a little bit of the U.S. that is totally cut off by British Columbia from the continental U.S. People unfamiliar with the area drew up the boundary between Canada and the United States, isolating Point Roberts from the rest of the United States. Oregon has Tyee Camp, along with Tyee Wine Cellars and Tyee Lodge. There are many businesses with "tyee" in their name in the Pacific Northwest.

Tilikêm, commonly spelt "tillicum," means "person" or "people," and often has the connotation of a friend or relative. There's a Tillicum Mall along Tillicum Road in Victoria and a Tillicum Street in both Seattle and Vancouver. Tillicum Village on Blake Island, accessible from Seattle by ferry, offers a northwest luau, complete with a stage show, for the hungry tourist. Blake Island is believed to be the birthplace of Chief Seattle.

The Pacific Northwest and the great outdoors are synonymous. Therefore it isn't surprising to find a lot of places named *klahani*, which means "outside." Seattle and Victoria both have Klahanie Drives, while Klahanie Road is located along the way to Whistler, British Columbia. Klahhanie Bed and Breakfast is in Port Angeles, Washington, which is at the top of the Olympic Peninsula.

The Chinook Jargon word *têm*, spelt "tum" in place names, refers to the sound of a tumbling brook or beating heart. Your heart is your *têmtêm*. Tumwater, Washington, just south of Olympia, was named after the falls on

the Deschutes River. Native American names for the place were *Têmchêk*, *Têmwata*, and *Spakwatl*. There are several other places named Tumwater in Washington. *Têmwata* was the Chinook Jargon name for Oregon City.

Washington also has a place called Tumtum. *Têmtêm*, besides meaning your "heart" and "thoughts," can connote something unusual, such as a large tree with special significance. There was a large yellow pine in Tumtum that was used as a gallows. A local character known as Chief Tumtum greeted visitors with *Hayu têmtêm!* or "Good day."

The Hawaiians, who arrived early on during the fur trade, also left their mark on the map with two frequently used words. These are *owayhi* and *kanaka*. *Owayhi*, spelt "Owyhee" in place names, is a corruption of *'O Hawai'i* or "Hawaii." *Kanaka* is the term for "person" in the Hawaiian language. Both of these words came into Chinook Jargon because of the Hawaiians who worked at Fort Vancouver.

Owyhee River, which flows into the Snake River in Oregon, was named in honor of two Hawaiians. They were part of an early fur exploration party and were killed in a skirmish with Native Americans along this river. There are Owyhee counties in Idaho and Nevada. Kanaka Point in British Columbia was also named in honor of an early Hawaiian. There's a Kanaca Place in Victoria, while Kanaka Creek and Kanaka Gulch are in the Siskiyou Mountains of Northern California.

Kêltês is also a popular name. Meaning "worthless" and usually spelt "cultus," *kêltês* either signifies a place that has no economic value or was often substituted for more vulgar terms when official recording was done. Take Cultus Hole, a lake in the Wenatchee National Forest in Washington. The place was originally named something else by local sheepherders, who were known for their especially vulgar speech habits. When it came time to

Company Men Turned Family Men

James Swan, in *The Northwest Coast*, 1857, repeats often that many Hudson Bay Company employees left the company to settle down with their Native wives.

> "A number of the retired servants of the Hudson Bay Company who had intermarried with this tribe [Nez Perce] had settled in the Willamette Valley, and to these persons the Indians communicated the intelligence of the gold discovery."
>
> "The fact that the [Hudson's Bay] Company were about to remove from the Territory, and intended closing up their affairs there, was well known and talked about by the Indians and by those of the former servants who had permanently settled themselves on farms."

Their Own Names

While we focus on the names that entered English, many places with English names also have Chinook Jargon names.

"This talk Leschi had brought back to the sound, along with a terrifying notion of *polakly illeha*, the land of perpetual darkness (an echo, perhaps, of Alaska's long winter nights). *Polakly illeha*, so he said, was the reservation to which the whites intended to send the Indians when they signed the treaty." – David Lavender (1958, *Land of Giants*)

Its Chinook Jargon–speaking inhabitants knew Fort Vancouver as *Ski-chut-hwa*.

The Chinook Jargon of British Columbia uses the word *stalo* for "river." It comes from the local name for the Fraser River and the Salish–speaking people who live along it.

Bastên ilêhi is the Chinook Jargon word for the United States. In effect, the whole country is named after the city of Boston where many of the first Yankee traders came from.

According to Edward H. Thomas, "Sketsotwa" [*Skichuthwa*] is also the name for the lower Columbia river in Chinook Jargon.

According to Edward S. Farrow, in *Mountain Scouting – A Hand-Book for Officers and Soldiers on the Frontiers*, the Chinook Jargon name for Vancouver [Washington] was *Kits-oat-qua*. This is probably a variation of *Skichuthwa*.

Gilbert McCleod gave *Matala* as the Chinook Jargon name for Victoria in a 1992 interview.

Victoria became *Biktoli* in Chinook Jargon. While modern tourists are enamoured with the quaintness of the city, early Native Americans often found it large, cold and impersonal.

The Chinook Jargon word for New Westminster, BC, *Kunspaeli*, is derived from the orginal European name of the area, Queensborough.

"Seattle was growing into a town, and still the big lake to the east was *hyas chuck* and the little lake between the big one and the Sound was *tenas chuck*. Those were not even proper Indian names. They were Chinook jargon for 'big water' and 'little water'; identifications, but not names." — Archie Binns (1941, *Northwest Gateway*)

In Seattle, *hayash chêk* became Lake Washington and *tênês chêk* became Lake Union.

Olympia, Washington is referred to as *Stechas* and France is written as *Flance* in a 1918 letter written in Chinook Jargon from the "Thomas Prosch Collection" at the University of Washington.

This Delate Road is located just outside of Poulsbo, Washington, across from Seattle on the Olympic Peninsula. There are many roads and streets with Chinook Jargon names in the Pacific Northwest.

draw a map of the area for U.S. Forest Service personnel, the first word of the original name was swapped for *kêltês* to allude to the original meaning. Both Oregon and British Columbia boast a Cultus Lake. Vancouver has a Cultus Avenue and a Cultus Court.

The Siskiyous

The largest geographical feature that bears a Chinook Jargon place name is the Siskiyou Mountains separating Oregon from California. In Chinook Jargon, *siskayu* is a bob-tailed horse. George Gibbs explains how this word came to be applied to the mountain range:

> Mr. Archibald R. McLeod, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the year 1828, while crossing the mountains with a pack train, was overtaken by a snow storm, in which he lost most of his animals, including a noted bob-tailed race-horse. His Canadian followers, in compliment to their chief, or "bourgeois," named the place the Pass of the Siskiyou, — an appellation subsequently adopted as the veritable Indian name of the locality, and which thence extended to the whole range, and the adjoining districts.

The northern most county in California takes its name from the Siskiyou Mountains.

Name Givers

Many Chinook Jargon place names were given in the old-fashioned way. Early explorers, trappers, settlers, and Native Americans who knew and spoke Chinook Jargon referred to geographical features in the language they knew. The names stuck and were recorded.

On the other hand, real estate agents, property owners and entrepreneurs use Chinook Jargon names to give a natural or slightly exotic flavor to their wares. Some turn to Chinook Jargon dictionaries in their quest for originality. The U.S. Forest Service also used Chinook Jargon in an attempt to give each geographical feature a unique name as an aid to firefighting. One employee, A. H. Sylvester, often turned to his knowledge of Chinook Jargon as he put an estimated 3,000 names on the map.

In *Names of the Land*, James Stewart gives this account of Sylvester's naming style. Stewart wrote: "Klone [*klon*] in Chinook means 'three,' and after paying three dollars for a dog, Sylvester named him Klone. 'His full name was Klone pee sitkim, three and a half, for I hadn't had him long until he killed a chicken for which I had to pay half a dollar.' Klone Peak, therefore, does not mean a triple-pointed mountain, but like many another American stream or hill commemorates a good dog, even though he may have begun as a chicken killing pup." Sylvester often turned to Chinook Jargon to eliminate redundant names. A mountain named Cougar Peak that was too close to another mountain, also named Cougar Peak, was renamed Puss-puss Peak.

7
Outside

The Pacific Northwest is synonymous with the great outdoors. When you're *klahani* or outside, you'll see a lot of animal and plant life. Try using their Chinook Jargon names when you talk about them.

Animals

Some of these animals are domestic and some of them are your *limulo shiks* or wild friends. Some of the words consists of repetitive syllables. For example, *kwiskwis* is pronounced *kwis–kwis*, and *kêlakêlama* is pronounced *kêla–kêla–ma*.

beaver	*ina*
bird	*kêlakêla*
black bear	*itswêt*
bug	*inapu*
cat	*puspus*
chicken	*lapul*
cougar, mountain lion	*hayash puspus*
cow	*musmus*
coyote	*talêpês*
crow	*kaka*
deer	*mawich*
dog	*kamuks*
duck	*kwehkweh*
eagle	*chakchak*
elk	*mulak*
fish	*pish*

flea	*supêna inapu*
frog	*shwakek*
goose	*kêlakêlama*
grasshopper	*klakklak*
grizzly bear	*shayêm*
mosquito	*malakwa*
orca	*kakowan yaka pishak*
otter (land, river)	*nênamuks*
otter (sea)	*ilaki*
owl	*wahwah*
pig	*kushu*
porpoise	*kwisêo*
rabbit	*yutlkêt kwêlan*
raccoon	*kalis*
raven	*hayash kaka*
salmon	*samên*
seal	*ulhayu*
sheep	*limoto*
squirrel	*kwiskwis*
vulture	*hêm latet*
whale	*ikuli*
wolf	*lilu*

Chinook Jargon speakers often use the term *tênês mawich*, "little deer" to refer to any small animal for which they do not have a name. Other animals can be described. A turkey is a *yutlkêt liku kêlakêla* or "long-necked bird."

Kopachuck State Park is located on Highway 16 just north of Gig Harbor in Washington. *Kupa chêk* means "at the water" in Chinook Jargon.

"The [San Francisco] Times of June 24 [1858] prints a letter from a Fort Langley miner who says, 'Mining license is $5 a month, which the American peeps won't pay. King George's men may if they like, but Boston men, no .... But very few Indians here speak the Chinook lingo." — Rena V. Grant (1942, "The Chinook Jargon, Past and Present")

> "In going up the [Fraser] river they should never interfere with their Indians, but permit them to go by any route they see fit to select, and to load the canoes as they please. When at Fort Hope, they should be very careful to select good and smart Indians, and to have one who can speak the Chenook jargon." — W. H. Woods (1858, *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*)

"The Chinook jargon should be learned by everyone contemplating a trip to the Fraser River gold mines, as it is the language used by all the different Indian tribes in British North America west of the Cascade Mountains, as the means of conversation with the whites, and a knowledge of it has in many instances saved the wandering traveller from being scalped, and not a few from being treacherously murdered." — Duncan MacDonald (1862, *British Columbia and Vancouver's Island*)

During the period of 1858 to 1862, Chinook Jargon seems to have become well established in the Fraser River gold mining area.

Plants

The Pacific Northwest is famous for its *hayash stik ilêhi*, "big tree country," or rainforest. In Chinook Jargon, many trees get their names from their use. The cedar was the choice for making canoes so it became the "canoe tree" or *kanim stik*. The maple and ash were used for paddles so they both became the "paddle tree" or *isik stik*. Use the vocabulary in the back of this book to decipher the names of the other trees.

ash tree	*isik stik*
acorns	*kênawi*
bark	*stik skin*
blackberries	*klikêmuks*
camas	*lakamas*
cedar tree	*kanim stik* or *klush stik*
corn	*isatlh*
fir	*mula stik*
flower	*tokti tipsu* or *tatis*
grass	*ilêhi tipsu*
hazelnut tree	*takwêla stik*
maple tree	*isik stik*
oak tree	*kêl stik* or *kênawi stick*
pine tree	*lagom stik*
potato	[*bastên*] *wapêtu*
salal bush	*salal*
tree	*stik*
wapato	[*sawash*] *wapêtu*
willow tree	*ina stik*

Geography

The Pacific Northwest has some of the most stunning scenery in two countries. See how many of these Chinook Jargon words you can use as you drive through it.

beach	*pulali ilêhi*
creek	*tênês chêk*
field	*klush ilêhi*
forest	*stik ilêhi*
hill	*tênês sahali ilêhi* or *tênês lamotay*
lake	*chêk*
mountain	*lamotay*
ocean	*salt chêk*
opposite shore	*inatay*
place, land	*ilêhi*
pond	*mimêlust chêk*
prairie	*tipsu ilêhi*
rapids, current	*skukum chêk*
river	*chêk* or *stalo*
salt water, sea	*salt chêk*
seashore	*nawits*
stream	*tênês chêk*
water	*chêk*
waterfall	*têmchêk* or *têmwata*

Directions

These direction words will help you navigate.

across	*inatay*
away from	*klak* or *saya kupa*
below	*kikwêli*
east	*ka san yaka chaku*
from	*kupa*
shoreward	*matlhwêli*
left	*kêltês lima*
nearby	*wik saya*
north	*ka kol chaku* or *stopilo*
on top	*sahali*
over there	*kupa*
right	*klush lima* or *kenkiyêm*
seaward	*matlini*
south	*ka san mitlayt kupa sitkum san* or *stewah*
towards	*kupa*
west	*ka san klatawa* or *ka san klip*

The Fires Below

While most sources provide *sahali ilêhi* as the word for "heaven," "hell" has many different names. Father Demers gives *lempel*, while some sources cite *kikwêli paya*, *hayash paya*, *diyab yaka ilêhi*, and *kikwêli ilêhi*. Gibbs and many others are quiet on the subject.

The Sky and the Weather

Here are the names of some of the things you might see in the sky.

cloud	*kosah smok*
fog	*ilêhi kosah smok*
rain	*snas*
sky	*kosah*
snow	*snu* or *kol snas*
sun	*san*
wind	*win*

International Idiom

There are interesting anecdotes of Chinook Jargon being spoken far from its home in the Pacific Northwest. Pauline Johnson, a Mohawk poet, used it with Joe Capilano, a Vancouver Native, in London, 1906. In "The Chinook Jargon, Past and Present," Rena Grant tells the story of Captain Dan O'Neill. O'Neill was the captain of the first river steamer in the Pacific Northwest, the *Columbia*, in 1849 and 1850. In Australia during the 1850s, he relates:

"On one particular evening I was suffering from a lame knee and amused myself by sitting in one corner with my disabled limb resting on an extra stool. Upon the starting of music, the dancers soon appeared, and the seats were all occupied. One rough-looking red-shirted chap, pretty well filled with 'tangle-foot' came over to where I was sitting and took hold of the stool that I was using as a rest for my knee. I said, 'You can't have that, my friend, I am using it.' He straightened up a moment, looked sharply at me and replied: 'Well, I'm a better man than you are.' He was told there was no doubt of that. He continued: 'I'm a smarter man, better educated, can speak more languages than you can' —opening with 'Parlez–vous Francais?' 'No,' said I, 'I don't parlez vous.' He then came back with 'Sprechen sie Deutsche?' I shook my head, when he followed with, 'Hablar usted Espanol?' Of this I was also ignorant, and he seemed quite disgusted over my lack of lingual abilities, the audience around being amused as well. He stood there hesitating as if in doubt what he would try me with next. I concluded to try him with a language not common in that part of the world, and said to him. 'Nika cumtux Chinook?' He gave a startled look for the moment and then burst out with, 'now-witka six, nika cumtux Chinook. Nika hyas close wawa—' and more, all rattled off lively…. He had lived in Oregon in the early ´forties. I acknowledged that he was a smarter man and knew more languages than I did."

Groups in the Northwest

Sawash is the word used to describe a Native American in Chinook Jargon. In English this became "Siwash" and is now considered to be derogatory. Demers doesn't use this word, instead prefering *telikom* [*tilikêm*], which was the Chinook Jargon word for "people."

While the derivation of *Bastên man* for an American and *Kinchuch*, a corruption of "King George" for a Canadian or Englishman seem obvious, the usage of *pasayuks* for French or French–Canadian is not.

"As most of those who came to these coasts under the Stars and Stripes were from Boston and as Americans made many inquiries for the lost ship Boston, which the Nootkans had burned after killing the crew, the Indians learned to associate the name of Boston with the Stars and Stripes. To this day 'Boston-Man' means American in the Indian Esperanto, or Chinook jargon, just as 'King George-Man' means Englishman." — Edmond S. Meany (1946, *History of The State of Washington*)

> "The opposite of 'sourdough' in Alaskan (the equivalent of the 'tenderfoot' of the West) is 'cheechako,' pronounced cheechawker, derived from a word in the Chinook jargon meaning 'newly arrived.'" — Ernest Gruening (1964, *The State of Alaska*)

"...*Pasaiuks* [*pasayuks*], which we presume to be the word *Français*, corrupted to *Pasai* (as neither *f*, *r*, nor the nasal *n* can be pronounced by the Indians), with the Tshinuk plural termination *uks* added. The word for blanket is probably from the same source (*françaises*, French goods, or clothing)." — Horatio Hale (1846, *The "Jargon," or Trade-Language of Oregon*)

> "Mr. Hale supposed this [*pasayuks*] to be a corruption of the French word *Français*. It is, really derived from the foregoing [Chinook] word, *pasisi*, with the terminal *uks*, which is a plural form applied to living beings. Lewis and Clarke (vol. ii, p. 413) give *pashisheooks*, clothmen, as the Chinook name for the whites, and this explanation was also furnished me by people of that tribe. It has since been generally restricted to the French Canadians, though among some of the tribes east of the Cascade Range, it is applied indiscriminately to all the Hudson's Bay people." — George Gibbs (1863, *A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)

Theodore Winthrop, in *The Canoe and the Saddle*, first published in 1853, uses the term "blanketeer" when he talks about voyageurs, the French–Canadian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. He refers to these same voyageurs as pasaiooks [*pasayuks*] in his Chinook text.

8
Numbers

Counting

Chinook Jargon numbers have an interesting story behind them. Father Jean-Marie LeJeune wrote this in 1924:

> To understand the origin of the numbers, as expressed in the different languages of these districts, open out both hands, palms facing outside, the thumbs near each other. The little finger of the left hand is one, next to it, his helper, his second, two; the third finger, middle hand, three; the next coming, the index, is a special number, four: they used to keep the dead bodies until the fourth day. Then comes the thumb, full hand five; the next is across to the other hand, the thumb of the right hand, the first of the second hand, six. Seven seems to mean second of the right hand and in fact we have sinamoxt, again two. Eight is also a special number, an octave, stotekin. The fourth finger of the right hands shows but one, both hands full but one, kwist, pretty nearly full hands. Then comes full hands, ten. Notice kwinnum, five, taghum, across to the other hand, tahtlum, both hands full, has the same termination….

The numbers in Chinook Jargon are straightforward.

one	*ikt*
two	*makst*
three	*klon*
four	*lakit*
five	*kwinêm*
six	*taham*
seven	*sinêmakst*
eight	*stutkin*
nine	*kwayts*
ten	*tatlilêm*
one hundred	*takomunêk*

Compound numbers are made by using *pi* to add the simple numbers together.

eleven	*tatlilêm pi ikt*
twelve	*tatlilêm pi makst*
thirteen	*tatlilêm pi klon*

Placing the multiplier in front of ten (*tatlilêm*) creates units of ten.

twenty	*makst tatlilêm*
thirty	*klon tatlilêm*
forty	*lakit tatlilêm*
fifty	*kwinêm tatlilêm*
sixty–two	*taham tatlilêm pi makst*
ninety–nine	*kwayst tatlilêm pi kwayst*

Numbers can be used as modifiers and context dictates whether they indicate order or are being used to describe quantity. To indicate repetition, *i* is added to the end of the number. Use *ikti*, "once" and *maksti*, "twice."

three people	*klon tilikêm*
the second person	*ukuk makst tilikêm*
I went twice.	*Nayka klatawa maksti.*
He is the third.	*Yaka ukuk klon*.

The expression "a lot of" is translated *hayu*.

Days of The Week

Sunday is *Santi*, while the other days of the week are numbered from that day. Monday is *ikt san*. Tuesday is *makst san* and so on. To avoid confusion between "the number of days ago" and the days of the week, some Chinook Jargon speakers will use *mamuk* [*san*] for the days of the week. Monday is *ikt mamuk* [*san*]; "first work day" and Saturday is *taham mamuk* [*san*]; "sixth work day."

"The other days of the week are usually counted from this [Sunday]; as, *icht*, *mokst*, *klone sun kopet Sunday*, 'one, two, or three days after Sunday.'" — George Gibbs (1863, *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)

> "Saturday used to be called at the Hudson's Bay Company's posts *muckamuck sun*, 'food day,' as the one on which the rations were issued." — George Gibbs (1863, *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)

"*Sunday*, Sunday. *Ikt sunday*; one week. *Hyas sunday*; a holiday." — John Gill (1889, *Gill's Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*)

Time

The months and days of the week are usually expressed in English or numerically (*e.g.*, January could be *ikt mun*).

afternoon	*lah san*
day	*san*
evening	*tênês pulakli*
month	*mun*
morning	*tênês san*
night	*pulakli*
noon	*katsêk san*
sunset	*klip san*
tomorrow	*tumala*
week	*santi* or *wiyk*
yesterday	*tatlki san*

Hours are expressed by prefixing the number to the word *tintin*.

six o'clock	*taham tintin*
seven-thirty	*sinêmakst pi sitkum tintin*
(linear translation: seven and a half o'clock)	
three-fifteen	*klon pi kwata tintin*
(linear translation: three and a quarter o'clock)	
two-twenty	*makst pi makst tatlilêm tintin*
(linear translation: two and twenty o'clock)	
four-fifty	*tatlilêm ilêp kwinêm tintin*
(linear translation: ten before five o'clock)	

Here are some things to say about time:

What time is it?	*Kênchi tintin?*
It's three fifteen.	*Klon pi kwata tintin.*
When can I go outside?	*Kênchi nayka klatawa klahani?*

Numbers Remembered

"Henrietta Failing recalls going with her parents as a small girl to trade with the Indians. Members of local area tribes, as many as 60 or 70, would set up shop in the open at what is now the site of Couch School in northwest Portland. There they would barter and sell their handicrafts – garments, baskets, beaded pouches, leatherwork and blankets – to Portlanders.

"On such occasions Chinook jargon flew fast and furious. Knowing your numerals – Ikt, Mox, Klone, Lock-it, Kwin-num, Tagh-kum, Sin-na-mox, Sto-te-kin, Twaist, Tan-tlum (1, 2, 3, 4, etc.) was almost essential if you didn't want to resort to counting on your fingers." – Karl Klooster (1989, "Local Lore: The Chinook Jargon," *The Oregonian*)

Money

As a visitor or resident in the Northwest, you're sure to spend some money. Chinook Jargon uses the American slang terms for the names of the coins. A dime or ten cents started out as a *kêltês bit*. With the American term, there are eight bits in a dollar. Each bit is worth 12 ½ cents. Since the American dime or Canadian 10–cent piece is short of that, both were referred to as a *kêltês bit* or worthless bit. *Kêltês* was eventually dropped and *bit* now refers to 10 cents only. But *makst bit* or two bits still refer to an American quarter or Canadian 25–cent piece. This makes for interesting math. In Chinook Jargon, two 2–bit pieces may be half a dollar, but a half-dollar is worth five bits.

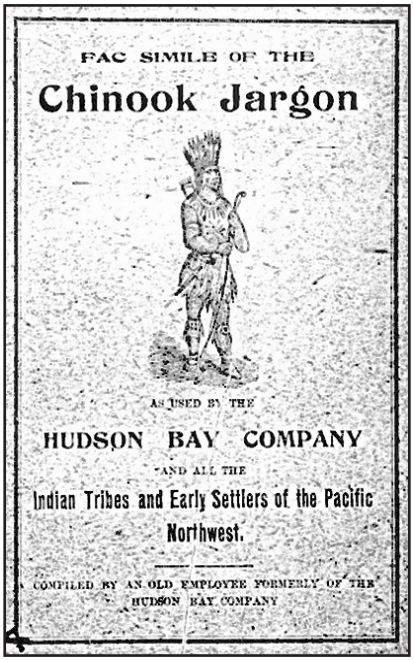
one cent	*peni*
five cents	*kwinêm peni* or *sitkum bit*
ten cents or dime	*bit*
twenty-five cents or quarter dollar	*makst bit* or *kwata*
fifty cents or half-dollar	*sitkum dala*
one dollar	*ikt dala*
coins	*chikêmin*
paper money	*piypa dala*

Here are some phrases to help you manage your money:

How much is this?	*Kênchi hayu dala ukuk?*
That's two dollars.	*Ukuk makst dala.*
That's very expensive!	*Hayash makuk!*
I'll give you a dollar and a half.	*Nayka patlêch* [*mayka*] *ikt pi sitkum dala.*
Dad, I want five dollars.	*Dad, nayka tiki kwinêm dala.*
Keep the change.	*Wik kilapay patlêch chikêmin.*

A Trading Language Forever

Chinook Jargon was used as a trading language well into the twentieth century.


FAC SIMILE OF THE

Chinook Jargon

AS USED BY THE

HUDSON BAY COMPANY

AND ALL THE

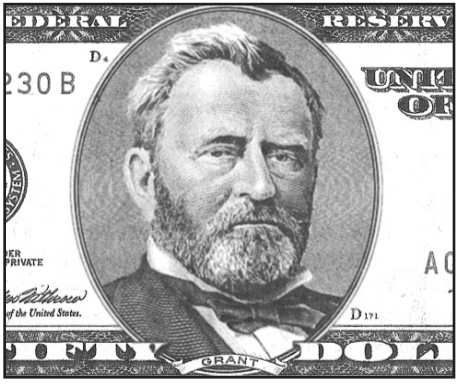
Indian Tribes and Early Settlers of the Pacific Northwest.

COMPILED BY AN OLD EMPLOYEE FORMERLY OF THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY

The pocket wordlist *Facsimile of the Chinook Jargon as Used by the Hudson Bay Company and all the Indian Tribes and Early Settlers of the Pacific Northwest* was "compiled by an old employee formerly of the Hudson Bay Company." It is small in size, 3 inches by 5 inches, and only 6 pages long. It was meant to be carried around as a word book, possibly for use during trading sessions.

According to Dan Macy, a retired store keeper from Warm Springs, Oregon, dentalium and Chinook Jargon were used in the store there until the 1940s.

At least one Chinook Jargon speaker appears on the money of the United States of America. President Ulysses S. Grant is on the fifty dollar bill. Grant learned Chinook Jargon when he was stationed in the Pacific Northwest prior to the Civil War.



"The handy little 1902 pocket edition loaned to me belonged to Henrietta's father, James Failing, youngest brother of Henry Failing, one of Portland's most influential civic leaders in the 19th century. The fact that banker James Failing kept such a booklet in his possession attests to the persistence of the jargon as a means of communication between local whites (Boston men) and Indians (Siwash) into the early 20th century." – Karl Klooster (1989, "Local Lore: The Chinook Jargon," *The Oregonian*)

9
Songs and Stories

Chinook Jargon is a wonderful communications medium. From about 1840 until 1920, Chinook Jargon was used to create songs and stories in the Northwest. Since 1990, several people have begun to use Chinook Jargon again for poetry, storytelling, and journalism.

Songs

Native Americans normally used their first language in traditional and ceremonial singing. Chinook Jargon was used for the little songs that people often made up to express their feelings as they went about their daily business. The last half of the 1800s was a period of change for Native Americans. People moved away from the traditional village life and into cities and onto reservations. Many of the songs they composed and sang reflected the loneliness they felt and the problems they experienced with their new life. Franz Boas collected some of these songs. In this one, the singer cries for his former home:

Ka'nowē sun naika kelai'!	I cry always
Saia ē'li naika mitlait alta.[1]	Far away is my country now

In the next song, the singer suggests that the city is ruder than he would like. This is a common theme in country western music today. This song could be titled "In Victoria":

Haias tlaqauya	Very unhappy I was
Kunamokst naika oleman,	[Together] With my wife,
Kopa Bictoli.	In Victoria.
Hēlo tlaksta	Nobody
Wawa tlaqauya nesaika	Said good-day to us
Kopa Bictoli.[2]	In Victoria.

— Edward Keithahn (1963, *Monuments in Cedar*)

Mungo Martin was a world-renowned artist and fluent speaker of Chinook Jargon. Linguists studying Chinook Jargon recorded him. Here he is seen working on a totem pole.

"Vocabularies and collections of phrases were published from time to time, but it is not generally known that the jargon is even used by native poets."
— Franz Boas (1888, "Chinook Songs")

> "This legend was told to Hy-na-um by his uncle Cheepsaw; [his] father was Tsa-tsa-wist-a-a. Hy-na-um told it to me. Believing that there are many who would like to know what Chinook sounds like, I have written the legend in the jargon, each paragraph followed by a somewhat free translation."
> — Alfred Carmicheal ("The Legend of the Flood")

"Yeah, yeah. *Konaway kah nika coolie konaway delate cultus okoke lalang*.[3] Yeah, yeah. That's what they'd say. Didn't matter where you went in those days, people talked Chinook. Yeah, *lalang*. That's language." — Gilbert McLeod (1992, Interview with Andrea Giles, University of Victoria)

> Gilbert McLeod was born in 1903 at Cape Muzon on Dall Island in southern Alaska. His parents came there as Presbyterian missionaries.

A large number of early songs dealt with love. They carry many of the same themes that love songs do today. In this song, which mixes English and Chinook Jargon together, a woman asks her lover, Charlie, not to forget her when he marries another.

Good-bye, oh my dear Charlie!	Good-bye, oh my dear Charlie!
Spōs maika iskum tlōtchman,	When you take a wife,
Wēk maika ts'ēpe naika.[4]	Don't forget me.

And finally, in this song, a husband's anger has gotten the better of his wife. She asks him sadly what is wrong:

Ikta maika tiki?	What do you want?
Kwansum maika soleks.	You are always cross.
Maika ōleman,	Your old wife
Hēlo skukum alta.[5]	Is very weak now.

Some of these songs remained popular for many years after they were first sung in Chinook Jargon.

Hymns

Non-Natives dominated this genre. The Reverend Myron Eells wrote *Hymns in the Chinook Jargon Language* in 1889. Eells was born in Oregon but learned Chinook Jargon after he became a minister in Washington. Eells' Hymn Book Song #4 is perhaps the most popular of the so called temperance songs. Here is the first verse of a song-called "Whiskey":

Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,	Formerly, I loved whiskey,
Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,	Formerly, I loved whiskey
Pe alta nika mash –	But now I throw it away –
Alta nika mash.	Now I throw it away.
Alta nika mash.	Now I throw it away.
Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,	Formerly, I loved whiskey,
Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,	Formerly, I loved whiskey,
Pe alta nika mash.[6]	But now I throw it away.

Whiskey was a very popular theme with Eells and many of the missionaries. Eells' Song #5 is also called "Whiskey." It gives good advice on what drinking does to your savings.

Spose nesika muckamuck whiskey,	If we drink whiskey,
Whiskey muckamuck nesika dolla.[7]	Whiskey will eat up our money.

Further verses of this song have whiskey eating up *iktas, wind* and *tumtum* or "things," "lives," and "souls."

Popular Tunes

Laura B. Downey-Bartlett translated some songs into Chinook Jargon in an effort to improve Chinook Jargon's status among non-Natives. Here is the first verse to "America":

Nika illahee, kah-kwa mika,

T'see illahee, wake e-li-te,

Kah-kwa mika, nika shunta.

Illahee, kah nika papa mamaloos,

Illahee, klosh tellicum chaco;

Kee-kwilla konaway lemoti,

Mamook wake e-li-te tin-tin.[8]

My country 'tis of thee

Sweet land of liberty,

Of thee I sing;

Land where my fathers died,

Land of the pilgrims' pride;

From every mountainside,

Let freedom ring.

One thing you'll notice is that the Chinook Jargon version of the song has too many syllables to be sung easily to the traditional tune. Ms. Downey-Bartlett performed in Chinook Jargon at the Pioneer Reunion in Portland on Thursday, June 19, 1913 and probably on other occasions as well.

Stories

It is a mistake to think that Chinook Jargon was used only for bartering and other functional activities. During his fieldwork in the thirties Melville Jacobs documented that Chinook Jargon was used in traditional storytelling. One of his consultants makes specific mention of having learned many myths and narratives in Chinook Jargon that she had not learned in her two tribal languages. Jacobs wrote in the preface to *Texts in Chinook Jargon*, "[S]ince about 1850, no small portion of native culture and knowledge was handed on of late years in the medium of Jargon."

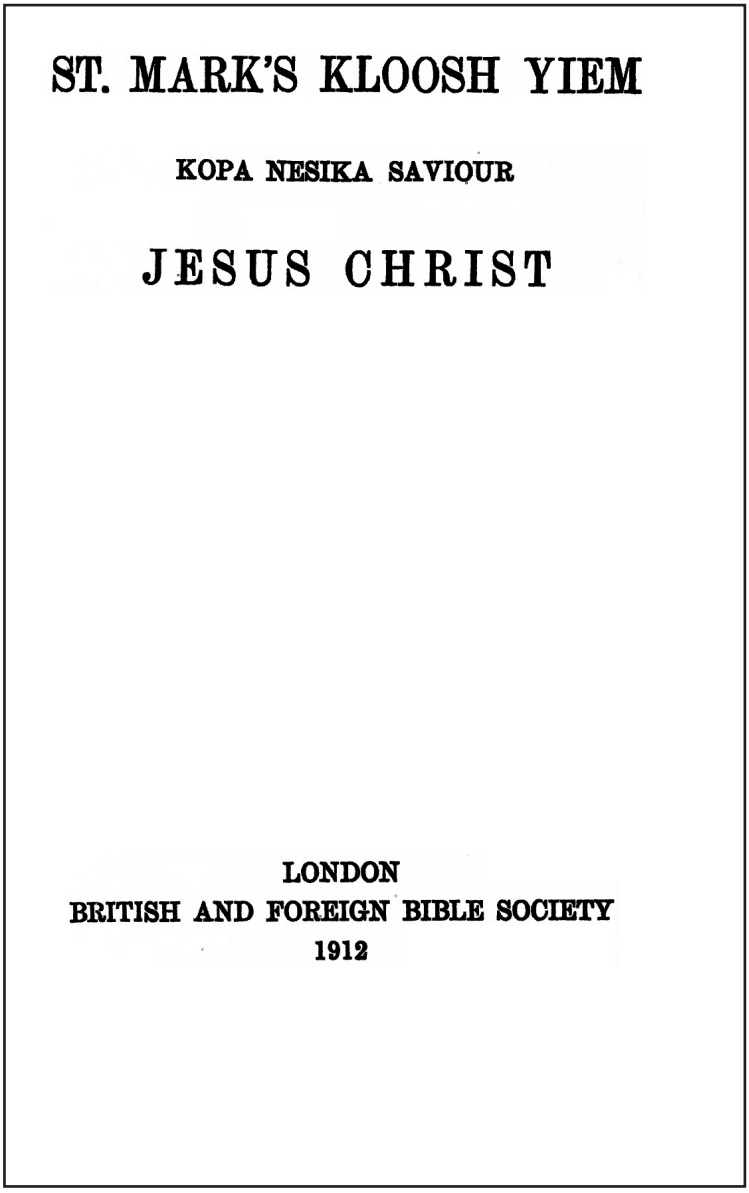
The following example is from "The Origin of Death." Coquille Thompson of the Siletz Reservation told this story to Melville Jacobs in 1935.

> *łasga-miłet tênas-aya łasga-haus. wel, ik-dilxêm yaga-miłet ik-dênas-man, yaga-uguk-saya miłet ik-tênas-man. wel, ik-man yaga-tênas uguk-tcagu-sik, wel, tênas tłunas mak-san yaga-sik, alda yaga-mimlus tênas-man. wel, uguk-man sgugum-sik-dêmdêm. yaga-klai. wel, yaga-mac kaba ili'i, ya-mak-ixbu uk-ili'i. wel, k'ilaba*[i] *kaba-haus, yaga-sik-dêmdêm.*[9]
>
> They dwelt some distance apart in their (respective) houses. Well, that person had a son, (and) that one yonder (also) had a son. Well, the son of that man became ill, well, the youngster was sick perhaps two days, and then the young man died. Well, that man was extremely sick at heart. He cried. Well, he put him in the ground; he had the ground covered over. Well then, he went back home, he was sick at heart.

This passage shows the sound shifts in Chinook Jargon. In the above paragraph, *k* and *t* sounds associated with this book's orthography, and many other dictionaries, were recorded by Jacobs as *g* and *d*. The *ł* sound is the barred-L and is similar to the Welsh *LL*. This book uses the *kl* and *tl* for this sound and its approximation by *Bastên* speakers. Jacobs also uses hyphens to show word clustering by the speaker. Accent marks in Jacob's original have been omitted above.

The Canoe and the Saddle

The Canoe and the Saddle; *or, Klalam and Klickatat*, was first printed in 1863 with the final printing in 1913. The author, Theodore Winthrop, chronicles his trip throughout the Pacific Northwest in the early 1850s. Throughout the book, Winthrop uses Chinook Jargon in all conversations involving Native Americans. The style and timing of Winthrop's Jargon indicate that he had learned it during his Northwest trip. Winthrop was killed in the Civil War.



ST. MARK'S KLOOSH YIEM

KOPA NESIKA SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST

LONDON
BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY
1912

St. Mark's Kloosh Yiem or "St. Mark's Gospel" was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1912, after the height of Chinook Jargon usage in the Northwest.

Revival

Several authors have attempted to revive Chinook Jargon by making Chinook Jargon translations of popular literature. Robert Stuart, a contemporary of Elizabeth B. Downey-Bartlett, made some of these early attempts. Stuart translated the poem "The House That Jack Built" and circulated it among people interested in preserving Chinook Jargon. Here is the third verse of the poem:

Okoak Pish-pish,	Here is the cat.
Yaka memaloose tenas mowitch,	That killed the rat,
Yaka muck-a-muck la-reh,	That ate the malt,
Midlight copa house	That lay in the house
Jack yaka mamook.[10]	That Jack built.

Stuart's translation is interesting for several reasons. He uses the term *pish-pish* for "cat." Most Chinook Jargon varieties use *puss-puss*. He also uses the term *tenas mowitch* (*tênês mawich*) or a "little deer" for a rat. *Tênês mawich* was sometimes used for any small animal the speaker didn't know the name of. According to W. S. Phillips in his *Chinook Book*, the term for rat, *hyas hoolhool* (*hayash hulhul*) or a "big mouse", was used, but not common. Stuart uses the correct Chinook Jargon construction "Jack yaka mamook" where many non-Native authors might have been tempted to say simply "Jack mamook." Stuart also uses *yaka* instead of directly translating the implied "who." This is similar to the later speakers of Chinook Jargon from Vancouver Island and Alaska who often use *yaka* in place of *klaska* and *klaksta*. Stuart clearly had a good working knowledge of Chinook Jargon.

Personal Correspondence

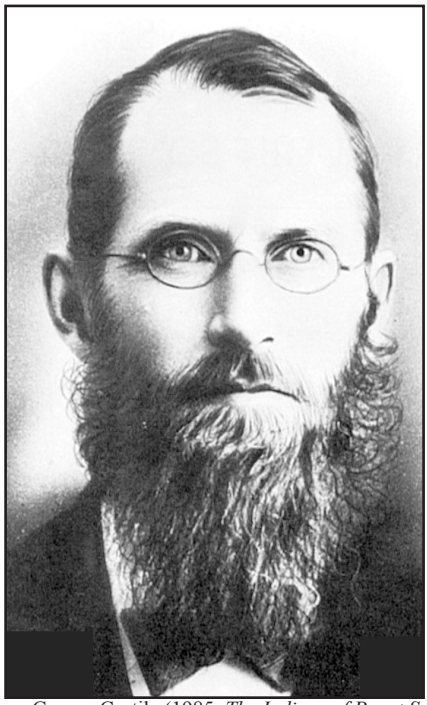
Was Chinook Jargon used in personal letters? Revialists and people having fun certainly used it, but there are cases where it was used as the primary means of written communication. For example, in "Klahowiam Mr. Smis," Barbara Harris analyzes a letter written in Quileute, Washington to an A.W. Smith in Seattle on February 1, 1881. James Winston wrote two letters to his grandchildren on November 27, 1891. James Winston, originally from Richmond, Virginia, arrived in Oregon City in 1846. Another letter, written in 1900 by Sue Bert to the *Oregon Native Son*, complains about the paper's delivery service. Not a lot of Chinook Jargon letters have been preserved, but for a "spoken" language, these types of manuscripts indicate that Chinook Jargon was used in normal personal correspondence.

Duane Pasco published *Tenas Wawa, The Chinook Jargon Voice* from 1990 to 1995. Pasco, a leading Northwest Coast-style artist, was born in Seattle in 1932, but soon moved to Anchorage with his parents. There, between the ages of four and six, he learned some Chinook Jargon. His interest in it developed as he heard Chinook Jargon off and on throughout the Northwest. In 1990, he started the "Chinook Write a Letter Club." Pasco would write a letter to a person in Chinook Jargon and then he would wait for a reply. After some time, he would tire of waiting and he would write a new letter to someone else in the club. He would wait again. In 1990, he decided to formalize the process by publishing *Tenas Wawa*. This bimonthly publication achieved a circulation of 150 subscribers in 1994. Due to the low circulation and large effort required to produce the newsletter, publication ceased in early 1995. Here are the first five paragraphs from an article called "Pelton Tilikum Ship," which appeared in Volume 3, Number 1, January 1992:

> *Kwinnum ton bronze canim pahtl animal pe tilikum.*
> *Bill Reid pe yaka elan tilikums, klaska mamook hiyu yeah kopa okoke hyas pe delate. Toketie sculpture pe alta yaka kopet.*
> *October, okoke year, tilikum klaska mitwhit yaka kopa Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C.*
> *Yaka delate yahul "Spirit of Haida Gwai" keschi Reid, yaka potlatch nem "Pelton Tilikum Ship."*
> *Okoke sculpture, yaka delate le-gley klale kahkwa argillite. Yaka sit kopa tenas wake klip chuck. Sculpture, yaka delate kloshe kunjie towagh chako klak chuck pe koko okoke klale klimin canim.*[11]
>
> It's a five ton bronze canoe filled with animals and people.
> Bill Reid and his assistants worked hard and diligently on this for many years. This beautiful sculpture is now complete.
> October, this year, it was placed at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C.
> It's officially called the "Spirit of Haida Gwai," but Reid has given it the name, "Ship of Fools."
> This sculpture is very dark grey resembling argillite. It sits in a shallow pool of water. The sculpture looks best when the light reflected off the water hits the dark soft canoe.

Duane Pasco also authored the book *Klahowya* in 1990. *Klahowya* is a handbook for learning Chinook Jargon accompanied by a cassette.

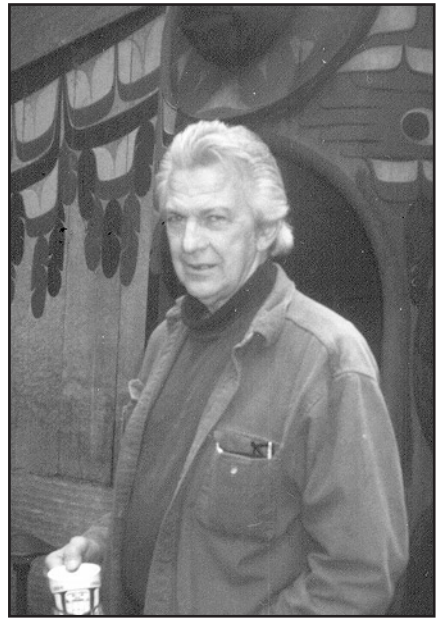
A Voice Great Within Us by Terry Glavin and Charles Lillard explores the significance of Chinook Jargon in the culture of British Columbia. In the poem "Rain Language," Glavin tells the story of Chinook Jargon through



— George Castile (1985, *The Indians of Puget Sound*)

Myron Eells composed many hymns in Chinook Jargon. Although born in Oregon in 1843, he didn't learn Chinook Jargon until he moved to Washington in 1874. His *Hymns in the Chinook Jargon Language* was published in 1878 and 1889.

Duane Pasco is a famous Northwest Coast artist. From 1990 until 1995 he published *Tenas Wawa*, a bi-monthly publication in and about Chinook Jargon. He first became acquainted with Chinook Jargon as a child in Alaska during the early 1940s.



imagery. He compares linguistic survival to a race between two cars and the abundance of Chinook Jargon place names to "*tsiatko cooley chako halo kah*," or "ghosts walking out of nowhere." While giving poetic examples of how Chinook Jargon words affected the world-view of people in British Columbia, Glavin weaves in Chinook Jargon songs from the 1800s to bring the Chinook Jargon experience back to life. Here are the first 18 lines of the poem which starts with the race between a Ford and a Chevrolet, or Chinook Jargon and English:

Yako yiem halo kliminawhit.
This is a true story.
Waum illahie klip sun, kopa Byrne Oakut,
On a late summer evening on Byrne Road,
kimta tenas wahm snass chako,
after a gentle summer rain,
spose hyack cooley konamokst chikchik, Ford pe Chevrolet,
in a race between a Ford and a Chevrolet,
spose Ford tolo kopa tenas-sitkim mile
if the Ford won on the quarter mile
pe Ford man mamook klahwa,
and the Ford guy slowed down
kopet cooley, yaka halo mamook fly
soon enough to avoid going airborne
oakut opoots,
at the end of the road,
Ford, yaka skookum chikchik.[12]
then the Ford was the skookum car.

Since the Chinook Jargon Revival is still picking up steam, it is expected that a number of new works and teaching aids will become available in the next few years.

Accross The Wide Missouri

"Across the Wide Missouri" was filmed in 1951. It starred Clark Gable as mountain man Flint Mitchell and Ricardo Montalban as Ironshirt, a Nez Perce. Taking place in the 1830s, the Native Americans and mountain men speak Chinook Jargon to each other. Nipo T. Strongheart was the technical advisor.

The book, *Across the Wide Missouri* by Bernard DeVoto, which the movie is "based" upon, makes no reference to Chinook Jargon.

10
Resources

Now you're interested in learning more about Chinook Jargon and possibly even speaking a little. Where do you go from here? I'd be deceiving you if I said there were a lot of possibilities out there. However, a few exist, and given the way information moves nowadays, many of these are probably available to you.

Dictionaries

If you are serious about Chinook Jargon, you will want a Chinook Jargon/English - English/Chinook Jargon dictionary. A good *Bastên*–style Chinook Jargon dictionary, *A Dictionary of The Chinook Jargon or Trade Language of Oregon* was written in 1863 by George Gibbs. The last edition was in 1911. Gibbs lived in Oregon and Washington from 1848 until 1860. According to James Pilling, while Gibbs was in the Pacific Northwest, he devoted himself to the study of Native American languages and the collection of vocabularies and traditions of the region. Gibbs helped the Smithsonian Institution organize their collection of Native American manuscripts. His Chinook Jargon spelling was the basis for later dictionaries and place names. Although out of print, it is still available at large libraries and on at least one Web site.

Another good dictionary is *Chinook Dictionary, Catechism, prayers and hymns composed in 1838 and 1839.…* Demers, Blanchet and St. Onge wrote this. Although the "dictionary" part is a bit jumbled, the wordlist itself is comprehensive and there are plenty of language examples in the catechism, prayer and hymn sections. This is readily available on the Internet.

The easiest way to get a physical dictionary is to acquire a copy of *The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It*, by George Shaw. This book is valuable because it includes some words that Gibbs' dictionary does not. Originally published in 1909, it has been reissued and is available from Coyote Press, P.O. Box 3377, Salinas, CA 93912. Coyote Press provides anthropology, archeology, history and prehistory publications on California and the western U.S. The price of the Shaw reprint is approximately US$ 10.00 plus

Henry Zenk, an anthropologist, recorded and documented the Chinook Jargon used by some Grand Ronde elders in the early 1980s. People studying Chinook Jargon find his Ph.D. thesis to be very useful. It is titled: *Chinook Jargon and Native Cultural Persistence in the Grand Ronde Indian Community, 1856-1907: A Special Case of Creolization*.

US$ 3.00 for shipping and handling. Coyote Press can be reached at (831) 422-4912 or at their Web site at www.coyotepress.com. They answer their phone "Archeological Consulting," so don't hang up! You should check with them before ordering.

Edward H. Thomas' *Chinook – A History and Dictionary* is another useful book. Although out of print it can still be obtained in bookstores in the Northwest and from Web bookstores such as Amazon.com or Barnes and Noble (ISBN: O-8323-0217-1). The price is approximately US$ 15.00– US$ 20.00. In creating his work, Thomas basically acquired the rights to Shaw's work, publishing an updated volume. He also includes 56 pages of history before the dictionary.

From time to time, other nineteenth–century dictionaries are reprinted and can be found in museum shops. Also, if you're lucky enough to live in the Northwest, consult your public or university library. Many of the Chinook Jargon dictionaries may still be on the shelves.

Books

Klahowya – A Handbook for Learning Chinook Jargon by Duane Pasco is available with an accompanying cassette for US$ 22.50. The book gives grammar tips and provides exercises in the form of stories that the student can read and translate. The tape is especially useful. It is one of the few ways the student can actually hear Chinook Jargon being spoken.

Back issues of *Tenas Wawa,* a bimonthly newsletter, are available for US$ 2.00 each. You may obtain all 27 issues for US$ 54.00. *Tenas Wawa* was published in Chinook Jargon along with English translations from 1990 until 1995, reporting on Northwest Coast news items and printing short stories. In August 1992, the saga of "Moola John" was introduced. "Moola John" is the fictional story of an East Coast immigrant to the Northwest told within the historical backdrop of the 1850s.

As of April 2004, both *Klahowya* and *Tenas Wawa* can be purchased by sending a check for the total amount along with US$ 3.50 for shipping and handling, to Duane Pasco, 19330 Widme Rd. N.E., Poulsbo, WA 98370.

A Voice Great Within Us, by Charles Lillard and Terry Glavin, is published by New Star Books in Vancouver, B.C. It contains two essays on the history of Chinook Jargon in British Columbia, the poem "Rain Language," a glossary, and a list of eighty Chinook Jargon place names found in British Columbia. This book costs CAN$ 16.00. You may order it from New Star Books, 2504 York Avenue, Vancouver, BC V6K 1E3. Include CAN$ 4.00 for shipping and handling. It's best to call New Star first at (604) 378-9429 as there are also GST and HST taxes. The book is also available through General Distribution Service at (800) 387-0141 if you live in Quebec or Ontario, or (800) 387-0172 for the rest of Canada. (ISBN: 0-921586-56-6.)

A Chinook Jargon Speech

The Columbia River Bicentennial Commission published an audio cassette, *In Their Own Words,* in 1993. Side B talks about Chinook and Chinook Jargon. As part of this discussion, Henry Zenk reads a reconstruction of a speech that was originally given by Dr. William McKay as part of the Centennial Celebration of Captain Gray's discovery of the Columbia River. Dr. McKay gave the 1892 speech in Chinook Jargon. Since the audience was a gathering of Oregon pioneers, it can be surmised that many people in the audience understood the speech.

Internet

The Internet is an inexpensive way for individuals to publish their thoughts and to make documents available. It's hardly surprising that it should become a forum for the perpetuation of Chinook Jargon. A Web search on "Chinook Jargon" will turn up a number of sites dedicated to the language.

"The Chinook Jargon: Selected references for students and scholars." by Jeffrey Kopp is aptly titled. This site provides links to many dictionaries and historical texts. Another interesting site is "Tenas Wawa - The Chinook Jargon Voice." It has the story of "Moola John," and provides access to the *Tenas Wawa* Bookstore.

Mike Cleven of Vancouver, BC, attempts to carry Chinook Jargon from the nineteenth directly into the twenty-first century with his Web site. Besides offering a look into the role that Chinook Jargon played in the early lives of British Columbia, Cleven provides a glossary that includes up-to-date words, such as *piahtzum skookumklahwayhut*—literally the "fire-writing super-free-road" or the information superhighway, for the Internet. Cleven states, "I am interested in the adaptation of the jargon for modern use, and am ready to try and coin terms and usages, rather than regarding it as fixed in the past." In addition to an original glossary, this site provides Shaw's dictionary and examples of Chinook Jargon usage.

Organizations

The primary organization playing an active role in preserving and perpetuating Chinook Jargon is the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon. Grand Ronde is currently developing a Chinook Jargon language program for learners affiliated with the tribe, and an introductory *Chinuk Wawa* class is held weekly. For more information on the language program and its availability contact the cultural education coordinator at The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, 9615 Grand Ronde Road, Grand Ronde, Oregon, 97347.

Beyond Grand Ronde, there is an informal network of people who meet at the annual *Chinuk Wawa Lu'lu*; "Chinook Jargon Workshop" and subscribe to The Linguist List's Chinook e-mail discussion list. There are occasionally other groups that meet to practice Chinook Jargon.

"Chinook jargon, the Native American trading language that once linked Northwest tribes and early U.S. fur traders and settlers, is finding a new life – on the Internet." — Courtenay Thompson (1998, *The Oregonian*)

Chinook Jargon Vocabulary

The following vocabulary used George Gibbs' *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon* as a starting point. A standard spelling system has been adopted. I've added some new words and idioms that are used or required by modern speakers. I've omitted some of the terms that Gibbs marked as "not proper jargon." This should not be considered a complete dictionary but merely an introductory list of words.

Please consult Chapter 2 for a pronunciation guide. Accented syllables are bold. For the most part, word classification is as in English (viz., *noun*, *adjective*, *verb*, *adverb*, *conjunction*, etc.). A *marker* denotes a type of *adverb* that functions as a context marker and is normally found at the beginning of a phrase. In theory, any adverb can function as a marker, but adverbs often acquire a special meaning when used in the context marker position. For grammar information, please consult Chapter 3.

Brackets "[ ]" denote optional or alternative usage. Standard shifts in pronunciation (e.g., "t" to "d," "k" to "g" or "p" to "b") have not been presented. Within a compound expression or idiom, the bracketed word is optional and may be omitted.

a•ha *adverb* yes
al•**a** *interjection* oh!, expression of surprise
a•**lak**•ti *marker* hopefully, possibly, maybe (*usage restricted to Grand Ronde*)
a•lim *verb* rest (*usage restricted to Grand Ronde*)
al•ta 1. *marker* now, presently, at this time 2. *marker* now, next, and then
    alta kakwa *marker* now that's how, then that's how
    alta wekt *marker* then again
a•**mu**•ti *noun* strawberry
an•**a** *interjection* displeasure!, expression of pain or disgust
an•ka•ti *marker* past
    ankati lili *marker* long ago, a long time ago (*modern usage only*)
    ankati ~ san *marker* ~ days ago
atl•ki *marker* near future, soon (*alternate form "alki," with the final vowel pronounced "eye" is used in Northwest English*)
    atlki wekt *letter closing* soon again
ats 1. *noun* sister, younger sister 2. *noun* female cousin, younger female cousin
aw 1. *noun* brother, male cousin 2. *noun* younger brother, younger male cousin
a•**ya**•hwêl 1. *verb* lend 2. *verb* borrow

ba•dash *noun* hermaphrodite
bam•**bay** *marker* by and by, sometime in the future, a long time from now
bas•tên 1. *adjective* American 2. *adjective* foreign 3. *noun* American 4. person of European descent
bastên haws *noun* American style house
Bastên ilêhi *noun* United States
bastên uyhêt *noun* road, street, highway
bi•bi 1. *noun* kiss 2. *verb* kiss
bit *noun* dime, ten cents
biyt *noun* bed
blum *noun* broom
bot *noun* boat
bot nus *noun* bow (*of a boat*)
bot upuch *noun* rudder

cha•ku 1. *verb* come 2. *verb* become, turn into
chaku dlay *verb* become dry, dry out
chaku halakl 1. *verb* open out 2. *verb* become less dense
chaku hilu *verb* die
chaku haws *verb* come in
chaku kilapay *verb* come back, return
chaku klah 1. *verb* come up 2. *verb* open out 3. *verb* clear up 4. *verb* sprout
chaku klush *verb* get well
chaku kêl *verb* become hard
chaku kêmtêks *verb* learn, become acquainted with
chaku pil *verb* ripen
chaku spuok *verb* fade
chaku tsêh 1. *verb* become cracked, 2. *verb* become split
chaku yakwa *verb* come here
chak•chak *noun* bald eagle
chêk 1. *noun* water 2. *noun* river, stream
chêk chaku *noun* incoming tide
chêk kilapay *noun* outgoing tide
chêh *noun* chip
chet•lo *noun* oyster
chich *noun* grandmother
chik•chik 1. *noun* wagon, cart 2. *noun* wheel
chikchik uyhêt *noun* road, street, highway
chik•ê•min 1. *adjective* metal, iron 2. *noun* metal, iron
chikêmin chikchik *noun* train
chikêmin dala 1. *noun* silver 2. *noun* silver coin, change
chikêmin lop *noun* wire, chain
chil•chil 1. *noun* button 2. *noun* star
chit•**wêt** *see* "itswêt" (*particularly in Puget Sound and northward*)

chiy 1. *adjective* new 2. *marker* recently, just now
chiy klatawa *verb* start
chiy kol ilêhi *noun* fall, autumn
chiy mun *noun* new moon
chiy wam ilêhi *noun* spring
chup *noun* grandfather

dak•ta *noun* doctor
da•la 1. *noun* dollar 2. *noun* money
dala siyahwês *noun* eyeglasses
dê•**let** 1. *adjective* physically straight, direct 2. *adjective* true, direct, without equivocation 3. *adverb* physically straight, direct 4. *adverb* true, direct, without equivocation 5. *marker* directly, without hesitation (*Some speakers elongate the final 'e' to "dêleyt." Alternate form is "dret."*)
dêlet sick têmtêm 1. *verb* apologize 2. *verb* be sorry
dêlet tiki *adverb* really necessary
dêlet wawa *noun* truth
dê•**lit** *see* "dêlet"
diy•**ab** *noun* devil
dlay *adjective* dry
dlay tipsu *noun* hay

gid•**êp** *verb* get up
gidêp san *noun* sunrise
gliys 1. *noun* fat 2. *noun* grease 3. *noun* oil

ha•hê•tsêk *noun* grasshopper (*alternate form is "klakklak"*)
hal *see* "mamuk hal"
ha•lakl *adjective* wide, open (*as in a forest*)
hat•hat *noun* mallard duck
haws *noun* house, lodge, building, room
haw•kwêtl *marker* unable
hay•ak 1. *adverb* fast, quick 2. *imperative* hurry!
hayak kilapay *verb* return quickly
hayak hayak *adverb* so often
hay•**ash** 1. *adjective* large 2. *adjective* great, very 3. *adverb* large 4. *adverb* great, very
hayash ankati 1. *adjective* very old 2. *marker* long time ago
hayash chiy *adjective* entirely new
hayash hulhul *noun* rat
hayash hêloyma *adjective* very different
hayash kaka *noun* raven
hayash klush 1. *adjective* very good 2. *adverb* very well 3. *letter salutation* dear
hayash kakshêt *adjective* broken to pieces
hayash kêmtêks *verb* to be in the habit of
hayash kêmtêks salêks *verb* be passionate
hayash kwahtin *adjective* pregnant
hayash makuk *adjective* expensive

hayash mamuk kwutl *verb* haul tight
hayash musêm *verb* sleep very sound
hayash pulakli 1. *adjective* very dark 2. *noun* late at night
hayash puspus *noun* cougar (*Some other names for a cougar are "yutlkêt upuch" and "swaawa."*)
hayash salt chêk *noun* ocean
hayash stik ilêhi *noun* rain forest
hayash santi *noun* holiday
hayash tiki *verb* long for
hayash takomunêk *adjective* thousand
hayash wam *adjective* hot
hayash wawa *verb* shout

hay•kwa 1. *noun* large dentalium 2. *noun* shell money

hay•**u** 1. *adjective* much, many, plenty 2. *adjective* enough
hayu chiy *adjective* entirely new
hayu haws *noun* town, city
hayu ilêhi kupa *adjective* dirty
hayu tilikum *noun* crowd

hay•u 1. *marker* continually, constantly 2. *verb – continual auxiliary, action performed over a period of time* continually, constantly *(The usage of "hayu" for continual action is restricted to the Columbia River area, especially Grand Ronde)*

hêl•**oy**•ma *adjective* other, another, different
hêloyma tilikêm 1. *noun* stranger 2. *noun* foreigner

hêm 1. *noun* stink 2. *noun* smell 3. *verb* stink
hêm upuch *noun* skunk
hêm latet [kêlakêla] *noun* turkey vulture
hêm sikaluks *noun* dirty diapers

hêntl•ki 1. *adjective* curled, crooked 2. *adjective* knotted

hi•hi 1. *noun* laughter 2. *noun* amusement
hihi haws 1. *noun* tavern 2. *noun* bowling-alley

hik•ê•chêm *noun* handkerchief

hil•hê•mêtl *verb* work, toil

hi•lu 1. *marker* none, absent 2. *noun* nothing 3. *adjective* deceased (*alternate form is "hilo"*)
hilu ~ yaka [mitlayt] *idiom* he/she doesn't have any ~
hilu ~ yaka [towên] *idiom* he/she doesn't have any ~
hilu gliys *adjective* lean, thin, skinny
hilu ikta 1. *adjective* poor 2. *adjective* destitute
hilu klaksta *noun* no one
hilu klush têmtêm *noun* mentally challenged
hilu kwêlan *adjective* deaf
hilu siyahwês *noun* blind
hilu shiym mayka *idiom* aren't you ashamed!
hilu têmtêm 1. *adjective* nonsense 2. *adjective* without a will
hilu win 1. *adjective* breathless 2. *adjective* dead

ho•ho 1. *noun* cough 2. *verb* cough

ho•kên *verb* gather

hu *interjection* hurry!, quick!, turn to!
hul•hul *noun* mouse
huy•huy 1. *noun* bargain 2. *verb* exchange, barter, trade 3. *verb* change
    huyhuy têmtêm *verb* change one's mind
hwa *interjection* surprise!, admiration!
hwim *adjective* fallen
    hwim stik *noun* fallen tree, log

i•**ka**•num *noun* legend, traditional story
i•kih *noun* brother-in-law
ik•ik *noun* fish-hook
ik•puy 1. *verb* shut 2. *adjective* shut, closed
    ikpuy kwêlan *adjective* deaf
ikt 1. *adjective* one 2. *marker* once (*alternate form is "iykt"*)
    ikt kaw *noun* bundle
    ikt kol *noun* year
    ikt mamuk san *noun* Monday
    ikt mun *noun* month
    ikt [pi] ikt 1. *adjective* some one or other 2. *adjective* here and there 3. *adjective* side by side 4. *adjective* once in a while 5. *adjective* one after/and the other
    ikt san [kêpit santi] *noun* Monday
    ikt santi kêpit *noun* last week
    ikt siyahwês *adjective* one eyed.
    ikt stik *noun* yard (measure)
    ikt tamolêch *noun* bushel (measure)
    ikt tumala *adverb* day after tomorrow
    ikti *adjective* once
ik•ta 1. *interjection* well, what now! 2. *marker* what? 3. *noun* thing, something 4. *noun* merchandise 5. *noun* clothing
    ikta alta *marker* what will?
    ikta kata *idiom* what's the matter?
i•ku•li *noun* whale
i•la•ki *noun* sea otter
i•**lay**•tih *noun* slave
il•ê•hi 1. *noun* ground, earth, land 2. *noun* dirt 3. *noun* country, region
    ilêhi kosah smok *noun* fog
    ilêhi tipsu *noun* grass
i•lêp 1. *adjective* first 2. *adjective* before 3. *adjective* superlative 4. *adverb* first 5. *adverb* before 6. *adverb* superlative 7. *marker* primarily
    ilêp klush *adjective* best
    ilêp tilikêm *noun* an ancient people
i•lih•an 1. *noun* aid 2. *noun* alms
i•na *noun* beaver
    ina stik *noun* willow
i•na•pu *noun* louse
in•a•tay 1. *adjective* across, opposite, other side 2. *adverb* across, opposite, other side

inatay chêk *adjective* other side of river
ip•sut *verb* hide, keep secret, conceal
ipsut klatawa *verb* steal away
ipsut wawa 1. *noun* secret language, code 2. *verb* whisper
i•satlh *noun* corn
is•ik *noun* paddle
isik stik 1. *noun* ash 2. *noun* maple
is•kêm 1. *verb* take, take hold of, hold 2. *verb* get
iskêm kêmtêks *verb* learn
iskêm lima *verb* shake hands
it•la•na 1. *noun* fathom 2. *noun* length of extended arms
i•tlê•kêm *noun* hand game
itl•u•li 1. *noun* flesh, meat 2. *noun* muscle
its•wêt *noun* black bear

ka 1. *adverb* where 2. *adverb* still, continuing 3. *marker* where? (*alternate form is "kah"*)
ka kol chaku *noun* north
ka ka *adjective* here and there
ka ukuk *noun* place
ka san chaku *noun* east
ka san klatawa *noun* west
ka san mitlayt kupa sitkum san *noun* south
ka•bi *noun* coffee
kah•chi *adverb* notwithstanding, although
ka•ka *noun* crow
ka•ko•wan **ya**•ka **pi**•shak *noun* orca
kak•shêt *verb* break, beat
ka•kwa *adverb* alike, like, similar to, equal with, as
kakwa chikêmin *adjective* metallic
kakwa kamuksh *adjective* beastly
kakwa pus 1. *adverb* as if, appears, seems to be 2. *conjunction* as if 3. *marker* it appears to me
ka•la•**piyn** *noun* rifle
ka•**lay**•tên 1. *noun* arrow 2. *noun* shot, bullet
kalaytên lesak 1. *noun* quiver 2. *noun* shot pouch
kal•is *noun* raccoon
ka•**mo**•sêk *noun* bead, beads
kam•uks *noun* dog (*alternate form is "kamuksh"*)
ka•**na**•ka *noun* Hawai'ian Native
kan•a•makst 1. *adjective* together 2. *adjective* both
kan•a•wi *adjective* all, every
kanawi ka 1. *adjective* everywhere 2. *pronoun* everywhere
kanawi klaksta *noun* everyone
kanawi tilikêm *pronoun* everybody
ka•**nim** *noun* canoe
kanim stik *noun* cedar

kap•ho *noun* elder brother, elder sister, elder cousin
ka•**po** *noun* coat
kap•**swa**•la *verb* steal
    kapswala klatawa 1. *verb* sneak away 2. *verb* abandon
    kapswala mamuk *verb* do secretly
    kapswala musêm *verb* commit adultery
    kapswala wawa 1. *verb* disparage, say bad things about
kaw *verb* tie, fasten
kaw•ka•wak *adjective* yellow, pale green (*see "pêchih" for an explanation of color usage*)
kat *verb* love, have a romantic crush on
ka•ta 1. *marker* how? 2. *marker* why? 3. *noun* problem
    kata alta *marker* what now?
    kata pus mamuk ~? *question* how do you make ~?
ka•wêk *verb* fly
kay•ah *noun* entrails
kay•nutl *noun* tobacco
kay•u•wa *adjective* crooked
kêh *imperative* quiet!
kêl 1. *adjective* hard (in substance) 2. *adjective* difficult
    kêl stik *noun* oak
kê•la•kê•la *noun* bird
    kêlakêla haws *noun* bird's nest
kê•la•kê•**la**•ma *noun* goose
kê•**lah** 1. *noun* fence 2. *noun* corral, enclosure
    kêlah stik *noun* fence rails
ke•lok *noun* swan
kêl•tês 1. *adjective* worthless, without purpose, worn, nothingness, useless 2. *marker* only
    kêltês kuli *verb* stroll, walking around
    kêltês hihi *noun* fun
    kêltês klatawa *verb* stroll
    kêltês kupa nika *idiom* I'm not interested, it is nothing to me
    kêltês mash *verb* waste
    kêltês mitlayt 1. *verb* sit idle 2. *verb* do nothing 3. *verb* stop without a particular reason
    kêltês nanich 1. *verb* look around, look around idly 2. *verb* curious
    kêltês patlêch 1. *noun* present, free gift 2. *verb* to give a present
    kêltês tilikêm 1. *noun* insignificant person 2. *noun* common person, commoner
    kêltês wawa *noun* idle talk, gossip, nonsense
    kêltês uyhêt *noun* cul–de–sac, dead end
kêm•têks 1. *verb* know, understand, acquainted 2. *verb* imagine, believe
    kêmtêks kleminêhwit *verb* be a liar
    kêmtêks salêks *verb* be passionate
kê•na•wi *noun* acorn
    kênawi stik *noun* oak tree

kên•chi 1. *adverb* when, ever 2. *marker* when? 3. *marker* how many?
kênchi hayu *marker* how many
kênchi klush *idiom* just right
ken•kiy•êm *noun* right (*direction*)
kê•**pit** 1. *adverb* stop, end 2. *adverb* enough 3. *verb* stop, end
kêpit hayu mitlayt *idiom* there is enough
kêpit ikt nayka *marker* me alone
kêpit kêmtêks *verb* forget
kêpit ukuk *idiom* that's all
kêpit tumala *adverb* day after tomorrow
kêpit wawa *verb* stop talking!, shut–up!
kêts•êk *noun* middle, center
katsêk san *noun* noon
ki•kwê•li 1. *adjective* low 2. *adjective* below, under, beneath
kikwêli chêk *noun* low tide
kikwêli sikaluks *noun* underwear
ki•**lay** *verb* cry
kil•a•pay 1. *adjective* upset 2. *verb* turn, return 3. *verb* overturn, upset
kilapay wawa *verb* respond, answer
kim•ta 1. *adjective* behind, after, afterwards 2. *adjective* last 3. *adjective* since 4. *adjective* less than 5. *marker* since
kimta klush *adjective* not so good, so-so
kimta makst san *adverb* next Tuesday
Kin•chuch 1. *adjective* English 2. *adjective* Canadian (*derived from "King George"*)
Kinchuch man 1. *noun* Englishman 2. *noun* Canadian
kip•wêt 1. *noun* pin, needle 2. *noun* stinger 3. *noun* thorn
kish•kish *verb* drive (*as in cattle*)
ki•su *noun* apron
kit•lên *noun* kettle, basin, can
ki•wa *conjunction* because
kiy•u•tên *noun* horse
klah 1. *adjective* free or clear from 2. *adjective* in sight
klah•a•ni *adverb* outside, out
klahani haws *noun* bathroom, outhouse
kla•**haw**•ya *salutation* hello, good-bye (*see "klahawyem"*)
kla•**haw**•yêm 1. *adjective* poor, miserable, wretched 2. *adjective* humble 3. *noun* compassion 4. *salutation* hello, good-bye
klak *adverb* off, take off, take away, away from
klak•klak *noun* grasshopper
klak•sta 1. *marker* who? 2. *pronoun* who
kla•kwên *verb* wipe, lick
klap 1. *verb* find 2. *verb* begin
klap shush *idiom-verb* take off shoes
klap sik *verb* become sick
klap tênês *adjective* give birth
klas•ka *pronoun* they
klat•a•wa *verb* go
klatawa dêlet *verb* go straight

klatawa ilêp *verb* go before, precede
klatawa inatay *verb* cross over
klatawa iskêm 1. *verb* fetch 2. *verb* gather
klatawa kimta 1. *verb* go behind 2. *verb* trail
klatawa klah 1. *verb* escape
klatawa klahani 1. *verb* go outside 2. *verb* go to the bathroom
klatawa bot *verb* sail (*a boat*)
klatawa kiyutên *verb* ride a horse
klatawa lipiyi 1. *verb* walk 2. *verb* hike
klatawa musêm *verb* go to sleep
klatawa nanich *verb* hunt
klatawa tiyawêt 1. *verb* walk 2. *verb* hike

kla•wa *adverb* slowly
klêk•ê**tl** *adjective* broad, wide (*as in a board*)
klêh *verb* tear, rip
klê•payt *noun* thread, twine
klêm•ê•hên 1. *verb* stab, wound, dart, gore 2. *verb* cast, hook
klêm•**in•**ê•hwit 1. *noun* lie 2. *verb* lie
klêh•**wap** *noun* hole
klik•ê•muks 1. *noun* blackberries 2. *noun* dewberries
klim•in 1. *adjective* soft, fine, mushy 2. *adjective* broken (*into pieces*)
klimin ilêhi 1. *noun* mud 2. *noun* marshy ground 3. *noun* swamp
klimin saplil *noun* flour
klimin klimin *adjective* smashed

klip *adjective* deep, sunken
klip chêk *noun* deep water
klip san *noun* sunset

klis•kwis *noun* mat
klitl *adjective* bitter
kliy•ê1 *adjective* black, dark green, dark blue
klon *adjective* three
klon mamuk san *noun* Wednesday
klon san [kêpit santi] *noun* Wednesday
klo•**nês** 1. *adverb* perhaps, probably, maybe – maybe not 2. *marker – indecision in the mind of the speaker* perhaps, probably, maybe – maybe not
klonês kênchi lili *marker* about so long a time
kluch•mên 1. *adjective* female 2. *noun* woman 3. *noun* wife
kluchmên kiyutên *noun* mare
kluk *adjective* crooked
kluk tiyawêt 1. *adjective* lame 2. *noun* broken leg
klush 1. *adjective* good 2. *adverb* well 3. *marker* please 4. *marker* must
klush ilêhi 1. *noun* farm, ranch 2. *noun* field
klush lima *noun* right-hand
klush mayka *marker - imperative*
klush mayka iskêm *idiom* have you any
klush nanich 1. *verb* take care 2. *verb* look out
klush nayka tiki *idiom* I'd really like
klush pus 1. *marker* shall, may 2. *verb* please 3. *verb* it would be good if

ko *verb* reach, arrive
ko ubut *verb* reach a goal, finish
kol *adjective* cold
kol ilêhi *noun* winter
kol sik *noun* flu
kol snas *noun* snow
kom *noun* comb
ko•sah *noun* sky
kosah smuk *noun* cloud
koy *marker* would be (*only used on the Columbia River, particularly Grand Ronde*)
koy klush *idiom* that would be good
ku•li 1. *verb* run 2. *verb* go
kuli kiyutên *noun* race-horse
kuli chêk *noun* stream, creek
ku•pa *locative* to, in, at, with, towards, of, from, about, concerning
kupa tulo *idiom* to the end (*alternate form is "kopa"*)
ku•**pa** *marker* over there, in that place
kup•kup *noun* small dentalium, small shell money
ku•shu *noun* pig
kwa•lê•la *verb* gallop
kwan 1. *adjective* glad, content 2. *adjective* tame
kwa•ni•sêm *adverb* always, forever
kwa•nis *noun* whale
kwas 1. *adjective* afraid 2. *adjective* tame 3. *noun* fear
kwa•ta *noun* quarter dollar, twenty-five cents
kwa•tin 1. *noun* belly 2. *noun* entrails
kwatl *noun* aunt
kwayts *adjective* nine
kweh•kweh *noun* mallard duck
kwê•lan *noun* ear
kwên•in *noun* count 2. *noun* numbers
kwêsh *interjection* refusal!, no!, no you don't!
kwetl 1. *verb* wear 2. *verb* hang
kwêtl 1. *adjective* squeezed, pushed together, tight 2. *verb* hit (*with a projectile, such as a ball*)
kwêtl•kwêtl *verb* knock (*alternate form "koko" is common*)
kwêtlkwêtl stik kêlakêla *noun* woodpecker
kwêts *adjective* sour
kwi•im *noun* grandchild
kwi•kwiy•êns *noun* pin
kwin•êm *adjective* five
kwinêm mamuk *noun* Friday
kwinêm san [kêpit santi] *noun* Friday
kwi•sê•o *noun* porpoise
kwis•kwis *noun* squirrel
kwit•shad•i *see* "yutlkêt kwêlan"
kwuy•u•kwuy•u *noun* ring, finger ring, circle (*physical object*)

la•**barb** *noun* beard
la•bu•**tay** 1. *noun* bottle 2. *noun* beer (*bottle of*)
la•**gom** 1. *noun* pitch 2. *noun* glue
    lagom stik *noun* pine, pitch-pine
la•**gwin** *noun* handsaw
lah 1. *adjective* leaning 2. *verb* lean, tip 3. *verb* stoop, bend over
    lah san *noun* afternoon
la•**hash** *noun* axe, hatchet
lah•**lah** 1. *verb* cheat 2. *verb* fool
lak•a•chi *noun* clams
la•**kam**•as *noun* camas (*Scilla esculenta*)
la•ka•**set** *noun* box, trunk, chest
la•**kê**•lat *noun* carrot
lak•it *adjective* four
    lakit mamuk san *noun* Thursday
    lakit siyahwês *noun* glasses
    lakit san [kêpit santi] *noun* Thursday
la•**kli** *noun* key (*note: the "kl" is pronounced as in English*)
la•**kru**•a *noun* cross
la•**lam** *noun* oar
la•**lang** 1. *noun* tongue 2. *noun* language
la•**lim** *noun* file (metal), emery board
lam *noun* alcoholic drink
    lam chêk *noun* beer, wine
la•**mesh** *noun* Catholic mass
la•mê•**tsin** *noun* medicine
la•miy•ay *noun* old woman
la•**mo**•tay *noun* mountain
la•**pa**•liyd *noun* bridle
la•**pel** *noun* shovel, spade
la•**pesh** *noun* pole
la•pey•**ush** *noun* hoe, mattock, spade, shovel, clam-digger
la•**pi**•esh *noun* trap
la•**pip** *noun* pipe (tobacco)
    lapip kêlakêla *noun* band-tailed eagle
la•**plash** *noun* board
la•pu•**el** *noun* frying-pan
la•**pul** *noun* chicken, fowl, poultry
la•**push** 1. *noun* mouth 2. *noun* river mouth
la•pu•**shet** *noun* fork
la•pus•mu *noun* saddle-blanket
la•**pot** *noun* door
larp *noun* uva ursi (*a plant which is smoked*)
la•**si** *noun* saw
la•**sel** *noun* saddle
la•sha•**lu** *noun* plough
la•**shan**•tel *noun* candle
la•**shen** *noun* chain

la•**si**•et *noun* plate
la•**swey** 1. *adjective* silken 2. *noun* silk
la•**tam** *noun* table
la•**tet** *noun* head
la•**tla** *noun* noise
la•**wen** *noun* oats
la•**west** *noun* vest
lays *noun* rice
le•**ba**•rê•du *noun* shingle
le•**bis**•kwi 1. *noun* biscuit, cracker, cookie 2. *noun* bread (*hard*)
le•**blo** 1. *adjective* chestnut colored 2. *noun* sorrel horse
lê•**hwet** *noun* whip
le•**kak** 1. *noun* cock 2. *noun* fowl
le•**krem** 1. *adjective* cream colored 2. *noun* cream colored horse, light dun horse
lê•**lu**•pa 1. *noun* ribbon 2. *noun* tape 3. *noun* magnetic tape
    lêlupa lakaset *noun* magnetic tape recorder–player
le•**mar**•to *noun* hammer
lê•san•**chel** *noun* belt, sash
lê•**sit**•lo *noun* squash (*vegetable*)
le•**yaub** *see* "diyab"
li•**bal** 1. *noun* ball 2. *noun* bullet
li•**du** *noun* finger
li•**gley** 1. *adjective* gray 2. *noun* gray horse
li•**kay** 1. *adjective* spotted, speckled 2. *noun* piebald horse
    likay salmon *noun* spotted salmon, winter salmon, Suckley salmon (*salmo canis*)
li•**k'lu** *noun* nail
li•**ku** *noun* neck
li•li *marker* a while, for some time, a long time
li•**lu** *noun* wolf
li•**ma** *noun* hand
li•**mel** *noun* mule
li•**mu**•la 1. *noun* saw-mill 2. *noun* machine
    mula stik *noun* fir
li•mu•lo 1. *adjective* wild, untamed 2. *adjective* skittish
li•**mo**•to *noun* sheep
li•**pan** *noun* bread (light, raised)
li•**piy**•i *noun* feet
lip•lip *adjective* boiling
li•**pom** *noun* apple
li•**pret** *noun* priest
li•**pu**•wa *noun* pea
li•**sak** 1. *noun* bag 2. *noun* pocket
li•**sap** *noun* egg
li•**shash** *noun* chair
li•si•**pro** *noun* riding spur
li•**si**•su *noun* scissors

li•**suk** *see* “shuga”
li•**ta** *noun* tooth
liy•si *adjective* lazy
lo•ka *verb* drink
lo•lo **1**. *adjective* circular, round 2. *adjective* whole, entire 3. *noun* gathering, meeting 4. *noun* ball (*modern usage refers to a "lu-lu"*)
lolo saplil *noun* whole wheat
lop *noun* rope
lu•lu 1. *verb* carry 2. *verb* load

makst 1. *adjective* two 2. *adjective* twice
makst lapush *noun* river fork
makst mamuk san *noun* Tuesday
makst pow *noun* double barreled shotgun
makst san [kêpit santi] *noun* Tuesday
makst têmtêm *adjective* undecided
maksti *adjective* twice
ma•kuk 1. *noun* bargain 2. *verb* buy 3. *verb* sell 4. *verb* trade
makuk haws *noun* store
makuk saya *verb* sell
mal•a•**kwa** *noun* mosquito
ma•**lah** *noun* tinware, crockery, earthenware
ma•li *see* "kêpit kêmtêks"
mal•**iy** *verb* marry
ma•**ma** *noun* mother
mam•uk 1. *verb* make, do, perform 2. *verb* work 3. *verb* help 4. *verb – causative auxiliary to make any adjective or noun a transitive verb*, cause, make happen (*along the Columbia River, particulary Grand Ronde, "mamuk" has acquired a sexual connotation and an alternate form "mamunk," or simply "munk" is used in polite conversation*)
mamuk blum *verb* sweep
mamuk chaku *verb* fetch
mamuk dlay *verb* dry
mamuk halakl *verb* open (*a door*)
mamuk hal 1. *verb* haul 2. *verb* must haul
mamuk hawkwêtl *verb* shake
mamuk hêm *verb* smell
mamuk hihi *verb* amuse
mamuk hwim *verb* fell, cut down (*a tree*)
mamuk ikpuy *verb* surround
mamuk ilêhi *verb* dig
mamuk isik *verb* paddle
mamuk itlêkêm *verb* gamble
mamuk kata *verb* offend
mamuk kêmtêks 1. *verb* teach 2. *verb* explain
mamuk kênchi *verb* count
mamuk kikwêli *verb* lower

mamuk kikwêli sil *verb* take in sail
mamuk kilapay 1. *verb* bring back 2. *verb* send back
mamuk klah *verb* uncover, unwrap
mamuk klak *verb* take off
mamuk klatawa *verb* send
mamuk klêwhap *verb* dig
mamuk klimin *verb* soften
mamuk klush têmtêm *verb* make friends, make peace
mamuk klêh ilêhi *verb* plough
mamuk kom *verb* comb
mamuk kom ilêhi *verb* cultivate (*soil*)
mamuk kwas 1. *verb* frighten 2. *verb* tame
mamuk kwêlan *verb* listen
mamuk kwênin *verb* count
mamuk lalah *verb* make fun
mamuk lalam *verb* row
mamuk lapêla *verb* roast
mamuk lapuel *verb* fry
mamuk latla *verb* make noise
mamuk lakli *verb* lock
mamuk lêhwet *verb* whip
mamuk liplip *verb* boil (*to cause to*)
mamuk lulu 1. *verb* load 2. *verb* roll up
mamuk mimêlust *verb* kill
mamuk mitlayt *verb* put
mamuk musêm ilêhi *verb* camp
mamuk patl *verb* fill
mamuk paya 1. *verb* cook 2. *verb* burn
mamuk piypa *verb* write
mamuk pêkêpêkê 1. *verb* fist-fight 2. *verb* box
mamuk pu *verb* shoot
mamuk salêks *verb* fight
mamuk sil *verb* sil
mamuk skukum yutlêtl *verb* have a fine time
mamuk stik *verb* cut wood, chop wood
mamuk stoh 1. *verb* untie, undo 2. *verb* absolve
mamuk tamanêwês 1. *verb* perform native medicine 2. *verb* conjure
mamuk têmtêm *verb* decide
mamuk têpshin *verb* sew, mend, patch
mamuk til *noun* weigh
mamuk tintin 1. *verb* ring (*a bell*) 2. *verb* phone, use a phone
mamuk toh *verb* spit
mamuk tsish *verb* sharpen
mamuk tsêh *verb* split
mamuk tsêh ilêhi *verb* plough
mamuk tsêm *verb* write

mamuk wêh chêk *verb* pour out some water
mamuk wash *verb* wash
mamuk wam *verb* heat
mamuk yutlêtl nesayka têmtêm *idiom-verb* to party

man 1. *adjective* male 2. *noun* man
man mulak *noun* buck elk

man•ê•ki 1. *adjective* more 2. *adverb* more *(usage chiefly along the Columbia River, particularly Grand Ronde)*
manêki chiy *adjective* newer
manêki klush *adjective* better

ma•**sa**•chi *adjective* bad, wicked
masachi tamanêwês *noun* witchcraft, necromancy

mash 1. *verb* toss, throw off, throw away 2. *verb* remove, take off 3. *verb* leave 4. *verb* sell
mash kaw *verb* untie
mash makuk *verb* sell
mash pilpil *verb* bleed
mash ston *verb* castrate
mash têmtêm *verb* give orders

matl•hwê•li 1. *adverb* in shore, shoreward 2. *emphatic* keep in!

matl•i•ni 1. *adverb* off shore, seaward 2. *emphatic* keep off!

maw•ich 1. *noun* deer 2. *noun* venison 3. *noun* wild animal

may•ê•mi *adverb* downstream

may•ka *pronoun* you, your, yours (*singular*)

mêk•ê•mêk 1. *noun* food 2. *verb* eat, drink 3. *verb* bite
mêkêmêk san *noun* Saturday
mêkmêkmêk *verb* eat-up

mêl•**as**•is *noun* molasses

mer•si *verb* thank you

mê•**say•**ka *pronoun* you, your, yours (*plural*)

mês•kit *noun* gun

mim•ê•lust 1. *noun* dead 2. *verb* die

mist•mas *noun* slave

mit•**as** *noun* leggings

mit•hwêt *verb* stand, stand up
mithwêt stik 1. *noun* ship's mast 2. *noun* standing tree

mitl•ayt 1. *verb* sit, sit down, lay 2. *verb* live (*at*), stay (*at*), reside, remain 3. *verb* have, be associated with
mitlayt kikwêli 1. *verb* set down, put down 2. *verb* put under
mitlayt tênês *verb* be pregnant

mu•la *see* "limula"

mu•lak *noun* elk

mun 1. *noun* moon 2. *noun* month

mus•mus 1. *noun* buffalo 2. *noun* cattle

mu•sêm 1. *noun* sleep 2. *verb* sleep
musêm ilêhi *noun* camp
musêm nanich *verb* dream

na 1. *interjection* Do you hear me!, *calls attention to a point or person* 2. *adjective – interrogative particle (obsolete)*
nan•ich 1. *verb* see, look 2. *verb* look for, seek
nanich pehpah *verb* read
na•**wit•**ka *adverb* yes, certainly
naw•its *noun* seashore
nay•ka *pronoun* I, me, my, mine
nê•**nam•**uks *noun* land otter
nê•**say•**ka *pronoun* we, us, our, ours
ni•hwa 1. *adverb* hither 2. *marker* why don't, let's 3. *marker* attention
niym *noun* name
nus 1. *noun* nose 2. *noun* promontory

o•lêk *noun* snake
ol•man 1. *adjective* old, worn 2. *noun* old man
o•pi•kwan 1. *noun* basket 2. *noun* kettle
op•kat•i *noun* bow (*for arrow*)
o•**way•**hi 1. *noun* Hawaii 2. *adjective* Hawaiian (*alternate form is "wayhi"*)

pal•êks *noun* male sex organ (*chiefly along the Columbia River*)
pa•pa *noun* father
pa•**say•**uks 1. *noun* French 2. *noun* French-Canadian, Metis
pa•sê•si *noun* blanket
patl *adjective* full
patl chêk *adjective* wet
patl ilêhi *adjective* dirty
patl lam *adjective* drunk
patl mun *noun* full moon
patl•êch 1. *noun* gift 2. *verb* give
patlêch lema *verb* shake hands
patlêch wekt *verb* give some more
patl•êtl *adjective* nonsense, full of it *(derogatory)*
paw•ich *noun* crab-apple
pay•a 1. *adjective* ripe, cooked 2. *noun* fire
paya chikêmin *noun* steel
paya chikchik *noun* automobile, truck
paya lop *noun* gas line
paya ulali *noun* ripe berry
paya saplil *noun* bread
paya ship *noun* steamship, motorized ship
paya sik *noun* venereal disease
pê•**chih** *adjective* green (*"pêchih" is often used for blue, yellow, and brown as well as green)*
pê•kê•**pê•**kê 1. *noun* punch 2. *noun* fist-fight
pêkêpêkê salêks *verb* fight in anger
peynt 1. *noun* paint 2. *adjective* painted

pi 1. *conjunction* and, or, then 2. *conjunction* besides, but
pi [alta] kakwa *conjunction* therefore
pi wekt *conjunction* and also
pi•**hwê**•ti *adjective* thin (*like paper*)
pi•ko *noun* back
pil•tên 1. *adjective* foolish, crazy 2. *noun* fool
pil 1. *adjective* red, reddish 2. *adjective* ripe
pil chikêmin 1. *noun* gold (*metal*) 2. *noun* copper (*metal*)
pil dala *noun* gold (*metal*)
pil ilêhi 1. *noun* red clay 2. *noun* vermilion
pil kiyutên *noun* bay horse, chestnut horse
pil•pil 1. *noun* blood 2. *noun* menstruate
pish *noun* fish
pi•**shak** *adjective* bad
pitl•êtl *adjective* thick (*like molasses*)
piw•piw *noun* pine squirrel
piy•pa 1. *noun* paper 2. *noun* letter, any written thing
pli•ey haws *noun* church
pow *noun* sound of a gun
pu *verb* blow out, extinguish
pu•lak•li 1. *adjective* dark 2. *noun* night 3. *noun* darkness
pu•la•li 1. *noun* dust, sand 2. *noun* gunpowder
pulali ilêhi 1. *noun* sandy ground 2. *noun* beach
pu•**li** *adjective* rotten
pus *conjunction* if, that, supposing, provided that, in order that (*alternate form "spos" is used, especially in literature*)
pus alta *conjunction* and then, if then
pus kakwa *conjunction* therefore
pus ikta *marker* why?
pus•pus *noun* cat (*alternate forms "pus" and "pêshpêsh" are commonly used*)

sah•a•li *adjective* up, above, high
sahali chêk *noun* high tide
sahali ilêhi 1. *noun* mountains, high land 2. *noun* heaven
sahali paya *noun* lightning
sahali tayi *noun* God, deity
sa•**lal** *noun* salal berry (*gualtheria shallon*)
sal•êks 1. *adjective* angry 2. *noun* anger
salêks chêk *noun* rough sea
sa•mên 1. *noun* salmon 2. fish
samên ulali *noun* salmon berry
salt 1. *adjective* salty 2. *noun* salt
salt chêk *noun* sea, ocean
san 1. *noun* sun 2. *noun* day
san•dê•li 1. *adjective* ash-colored, roan-colored 2. *noun* roan horse

san•ti 1. *noun* Sunday 2. *noun* week
    santi chaku *noun* next week
    santi ubut *noun* weekend
    santi klatawa *noun* last week
sap•**lil** 1. *noun* wheat 2. *noun* flour
sa•wash 1. *adjective* native 2. *noun* Native American
    sawash kushu *noun* seal (*animal*)
    sawash lapul *noun* grouse
say•**a** *adjective* far, far off *adjective* (*after word it modifies*) next, future
    saya saya *adjective* very far
shat *noun* shot, lead
    shat ulali *noun* huckleberry
shat *noun* shirt
sha•ti *verb* sing
shay•êm *noun* grizzly bear
shêh *noun* rattle
    shêh upuch *noun* rattlesnake
shiks 1. *noun* friend 2. *noun* paramour, mistress (*alternate forms are "siks" and "shiksh"*)
shiym *noun* shame
ship *noun* ship, boat, raft (*any vessel that is not a canoe*)
    ship stik *noun* mast
    ship man *noun* sailor
shush 1. *noun* shoes 2. *noun* moccasins
shu•ga *noun* sugar
shwa•**kek** *noun* frog (*alternate form "shwakeyk" is commonly used*)
si•chêm *verb* swim
sik *adjective* sick
    sik mun *noun* waning moon
    sik têmtêm 1. *adjective* grieved, jealous, unhappy 2. *noun* jealousy, grief, sadness
si•**kal**•uks *noun* pants, trousers
sil 1. *noun* cloth, linen 2. *noun* sail
    sil haws *noun* tent
sin•ê•makst *adjective* seven
sis•kay•u *noun* bob-tailed horse
sit•kum 1. *adjective* half 2. *adjective* part 3. *noun* half 4. *noun* part
    sitkum dala *noun* half dollar, fifty cents
    sitkum pulakli *noun* midnight
    sitkum san *noun* noon
sit•**ley** *noun* stirrups
siy•a•hwês 1. *noun* face 2. *noun* eye
siy•**a**•putl *noun* hat, cap
    siyaputl ulali *noun* raspberry
ski•**lak**•êm•i 1. *noun* mirror, looking glass 2. *noun* glass
skin *noun* skin
    skin lop *noun* rawhide thong
    skin shush *noun* moccasins

sku•kum *adjective* strong, powerful
skukum chêk *noun* river rapids
skukum haws *noun* jail, prison
skukum têmtêm *adjective* brave
skukum wawa *noun* strong argument
sku•**kum** *noun* ghost, evil spirit, demon
skwa•kwêl *noun* lamprey
skwich *noun* vagina
sla•**hal** *noun* slahal game
smit•aks *noun* large mouth clam
smuk 1. *noun* smoke 2. *noun* clouds, fog, steam
snas *noun* rain
snu *noun* snow
sop *noun* soap
spos *see* "pus"
spu•ok *adjective* faded, light–colored
spun *noun* spoon
stik 1. *adjective* wooden 2. *noun* stik 3. *noun* tree, wood
stik ilêhi *noun* forest, woods
stik ship *noun* sailing-ship
stik shush *noun* boots, leather shoes
stik skin *noun* bark
stach•ên *noun* sturgeon
stack•ên *noun* stocks, stockings
stoh *adjective* loose
ston 1. *noun* rock, stone 2. *noun* bone 3. *noun* horn 4. *noun* testicles
ston kiyutên *noun* stallion
stut•kin *adjective* eight
stuv *noun* stove (*also "stob" is used*)
su•lê•mi *noun* cranberry
su•pê•na *verb* jump
supêna inapu *noun* flea

tah•am *adjective* six
taham mamuk *noun* Saturday
taham pu *noun* six–shooter gun
taham san [kêpit santi] *noun* Saturday
tak•o•**mu**•nêk *adjective* hundred
ta•kwêl•a 1. *noun* hazel–nut 2. *noun* nut
takwêla stik *noun* hazel–nut tree
tal•ê•pês 1. *noun* coyote 2. *noun* sneaky person
ta•**ma**•nê•wês 1. *noun* guardian spirit 2. *noun* magic 3. *noun* luck, fortune 4. *noun* one's forte, specialty, strength
ta•**mo**•lêch *noun* tub, barrel, bucket
tans 1. *noun* dance 2. *verb* dance
tat *noun* uncle
tat•**is** *noun* flower
tatl•ki [**san]** *adverb* yesterday

tat•li•lêm *adjective* ten
tatlilêm takomunêk *adjective* thousand
tay•**i** 1. *adjective* superior, best, important 2. *noun* leader, important person
tayi samên *noun* spring salmon
têm•chêk *noun* waterfall, cascade, cataract
têm•têm 1. *noun* heart 2. *noun* will, opinion
têmtêm klush pus *verb* prefer that
têmtêm pus *verb* think that
têm•**wa**•ta *see* "têmchêk"
tên•**a** *noun* brat, spoiled child
tên•ês *adjective* small, few, little
tênês chêk *noun* stream, creek
tênês kol *noun* autumn, fall
tênês kuli *verb* go a little ways
tênês hayu *adjective* some, few 2. *noun* few
tênês lili *marker* in a little while
tênês libal *noun* shot
tênês lop *noun* cord
tênês makuk *adjective* cheap
tênês mawich *noun* small animal
tênês pulakli *noun* evening
tênês sahali ilêhi *noun* hill
tênês sik *adjective* hung over
tênês sitkum 1. *adjective* quarter, twenty-five percent 2. *adjective* small part 3. *noun* quarter 4. *noun* small part
tênês san 1. *adjective* early 2. *noun* early morning
tênês wam *noun* spring
tênês wawa 1. *noun* word 2. *noun* small talk
tênês wekt *noun* a little more
tên•**as** 1. *adjective* young 2. *noun* child, youth
tênas kluchmên 1. *noun* girl 2. *noun* daughter
tênas man 1. *noun* boy 2. *noun* son
tê•**pi** 1. *noun* quill, feather 2. *noun* wings
têp•shin *noun* needle
tê•tê *verb* trot
ti *noun* tea
tik•i 1. *verb* want, wish 2. *verb* will, shall 3. *verb* love, like
tiki musêm *verb* be sleepy
tiki salêks *verb* be hostile
tik•tik *noun* watch
til•i•kêm 1. *noun* person, people 2. *noun* relative, friend 3. *noun* group, tribe 4. *noun* commoner
til 1. *adjective* tired 2. *adjective* heavy 3. *noun* weight
tin•tin 1. *noun* bell 2. *noun* musical instrument 3. *noun* hour
tip•su 1. *noun* grass, leaf 2. *noun* fringe 3. *noun* feathers 4. *noun* fur
tipsu ilêhi *noun* prairie
tiy•**a**•wêt 1. *noun* leg 2. *noun* foot

tkup *adjective* white, light-colored
tkup chikêmin *noun* silver
tlkop 1. *verb* cut, hew, chop 2. *verb* carve
tlkop tipsu *verb* cut grass, mow a lawn
tok•ti *adjective* pretty
tokti tipsu *noun* flower
to•**wah** 1. *adjective* bright, shiny, shining 2. *noun* light
towah lêlupa *noun* movie
to•wên 1. *verb* have, be in physical possession of 2. *verb* store, put away, put up
tsêh *noun* crack, split
tsêk•ên *verb* kick
tsêm 1. *adjective* spotted, striped, marked 2. *adjective* painted 3. *noun* mixed colors 4. *noun* spot, stripe, mark, figure 5. *noun* paint
tsêm ilêhi *noun* surveyed land
tsêm piypa 1. *noun* writing 2. *noun* letter, printed material
tsêm sil 1. *noun* printed cloth 2. *noun* calico
tsêm samên *noun* trout
tsi *adjective* sweet
tsi•pi *verb* miss a mark, mistake, blunder, error
tsipi uyhêt *verb* take the wrong road
tsiy•**at•**ko *noun* nocturnal demon
tsiyk•wên *verb* pinch
tso•lo *verb* wander (*in the dark*), lose one's way
tu•luks *noun* mussel (*shell fish*)
tu•lo 1. *verb* earn 2. *verb* win, gain
tulo dala *verb* to earn a living (at)
tu•**ma•**la *adverb* tomorrow
tu•tu 1. *verb* shake 2. *verb* sift, winnow
tu•**tush** 1. *noun* breast 2. *noun* milk
tutush gliys *noun* butter

u•**but** *noun* goal, end
uk *see* "ukuk"
u•kuk 1. *article* the, that, this, *a particular item* 2. *pronoun* this, that, it
ukuk san *noun* today
u•lal•i *noun* berry
ul•hay•u *noun* seal (*animal*)
u•lu *adjective* hungry
ulu chêk *verb* be thirsty
ulu mêkêmêk *verb* be hungry
ulu musêm *verb* be sleepy
u•na *noun* razor clam
us•kan *noun* cup, bowl
up•tsêh 1. *noun* knife 2. *noun* sweetheart
u•puch 1. *noun* posterior, buttocks 2. *noun* tail
upuch sil *noun* breechcloth
uy•hêt 1. *noun* path, trail 2. *noun* road, street, highway

wah•wah *noun* owl (*along the Columbia River, particularly at Grand Ronde, an owl is called "pupup"*)
wam *adjective* warm, hot
wam ilêhi *noun* summer
wam sik kol sik *noun* malaria
wap•ê•tu 1. *noun* wapato, wapato root (*Sagitaria sagittifolia*) 2. *noun* potato
wa•wa 1. *noun* talk, conversation, speech 2. *verb* talk, speak, call, ask, tell, answer
wawa lakaset 1. *noun* phone 2. *noun* answering machine
wêh 1. *verb* pour, spill 2. *verb* vomit
wekt *adverb* again, also, more
wik 1. *marker - negates the phrase* 2. *adjective* opposite of 3. *adverb* no, not *(optionally pronounced "weyk")*
wik hayu *adjective* some, not many, not much
wik ikta *pronoun* nothing
wik ikta kata *idiom* nothing is a problem, nothing's the matter
wik klush 1. *adjective* bad 2. *adverb* badly
wik kênchi *adverb* never
wik kênchi wekt *adverb* never again
wik lili *marker* soon
wik saya *adjective* near
wik saya kêpit *idiom* almost finished
wik skukum latet *noun* feeble mind
win *noun* wind
wiyk *noun* week *(chiefly British Columbia)*
wutl•êt *noun* male sex organ *(chiefly British Columbia)*

ya•ka *pronoun* he, his, him, she, it, her, hers
ya•kis•ilt *adjective* sharp
yak•su *noun* hair
ya**•kwa** 1. *adverb* here 2. *adverb* this side of, this way
ya**•wa** 1. *adverb* there 2. *adverb* beyond
yay•êm 1. *noun* story, tale, yarn 2. *verb* relate, tell, confess
yutl• êtl 1. *adjective* glad, pleased, proud 2. *adjective* spirited (of a horse) (*alternate form "yutl" is commonly used*)
yutl•kêt 1. *adjective* long 2. *noun* length
yutlkêt kwelan *noun* rabbit, hare
yuts•kêt *adjective* short

English - Chinook Reference

This is an English – Chinook Jargon cross-reference list. Using an English word, find a possible Chinook Jargon word in the list. Next, look up the Chinook Jargon word in the previous vocabulary to determine its exact meaning and the parts of speech to which it belongs. .

abandon — *kapswala klatawa*
above — *sahali*
absent — *hilu*
absolve — *mamuk stoh*
acorn — *kênawi*
acquainted — *kêmtêks*
across — *inatay*
admiration — *hwa*
afraid — *kwas*
after — *kimta*
afternoon — *lah san*
afterwards — *kimta*
again — *wekt*
aid — *ilihan*
alike — *kakwa*
all — *kanawi*
alone — *kêpit ikt*
also — *wekt*
although — *kahchi*
always — *kwanisêm*
American — *bastên*
amuse — *mamuk hihi*
amusement — *hihi*
ancient people — *ilêp tilikum*
and — *pi*
anger — *salêks*
animal — *tênês mawich*
another — *hêloyma*
answer — *kilapay wawa*
answer — *wawa*
answering machine — *wawa lakaset*
apologize — *dêlet sick têmtêm*
appears — *kakwa pus*
apple — *lipom*
apron — *kisu*
arrive — *ko*
arrow — *kalaytên*
as — *kakwa*
as if — *kakwa pus*
ash — *isik stik*
ashamed — *hilu shiym mayka*
ash-colored — *sandêli*
ask — *wawa*
attention — *nihwa*
aunt — *kwatl*
automobile — *paya chikchik*
autumn — *tênês kol*
away from — *klak*
axe — *lahash*
back — *piko*
bad — *masachi*, *pishak*, *wik klush*
bag — *lisak*
bald eagle — *chakchak*
ball — *libal*
bargain — *huyhuy*, *makuk*
bark — *stik skin*
barrel — *tamolêch*
barter — *huyhuy*
basin — *kitlên*
basket — *opikwan*
bathroom — *klahani haws*
beach — *pulali ilêhi*
bead — *kamosêk*
bear (black) — *itswêt*
beard — *labarb*
beastly — *kakwa kamuks*
beat — *kakshêt*
beaver — *ina*
become — *chaku*
bed — *biyt*
beer — *labutay*, *lam chêk*
before — *ilêp*

begin — *klap*
behind — *kimta*
believe — *kêmtêks*
bell — *tintin*
belly — *kwatin*
below — *kikwêli*
belt — *lêsanchel*
bend over — *lah*
beneath — *kikwêli*
berry — *ulali*
besides — *pi*
best — *ilêp klush*
better — *manêki klush*
beyond — *yawa*
bird — *kêlakêla*
bird's nest — *kêlakêla haws*
biscuit — *lebiskwi*
bite — *mêkêmêk*
bitter — *klitl*
black — *kliyêl*
blackberries — *klikêmuks*
blanket — *pasêsi*
bleed — *mash pilpil*
blind — *hilu siyahwês*
blood — *pilpil*
blow out — *pu*
blue — *pêchih*, *kliyêl*, *spuok*
blunder — *tsipi*
board — *laplash*
boat — *bot*
boil — *mamuk liplip*, *liplip*
bone — *ston*
boots — *stik shush*
borrow — *ayahwêl*
boat — *ship*
both — *kanamakst*
bottle — *labutay*
bow (boat) — *bot nus*
bow (arrow) — *opkati*
bowl — *uskan*
bowling-alley — *hihi haws*
box — *lakaset*
box (fight) — *mamuk pêkêpêkê*
boy — *tênas man*
brat — *têna*
brave — *skukum têmtêm*
bread — *lebiskwi*, *paya saplil*, *lipan*
break — *kakshêt*
breast — *tutush*
breathless — *hilu win*
bridle — *lapaliyd*
bright — *towah*
bring back — *mamuk kilapay*
broad — *klêkêtl*
broken — *klimin*, *hayash kakshêt*
broken leg — *kluk tiyawêt*
broom — *blum*
brother — *aw*
brother-in-law — *ikih*
bucket — *tamolêch*
buffalo — *musmus*
building — *haws*
bullet — *kalaytên*, *libal*
burn — *mamuk paya*
bushel — *ikt tumolêch*
but — *pi*
butter — *tutush gliys*
button — *chilchil*
buy — *makuk*
calico — *tsêm sil*
call — *wawa*
camas — *lakamas*
camp — *mamuk musêm ilêhi*, *musêm ilêhi*
can — *kitlên*
Canadian — *Kinchuch*, *Kinchuch man*
candle — *lashantel*
canoe — *kanim*
cap — *siyaputl*
carrot — *lakêlat*
carry — *lulu*
cart — *chikchik*
carve — *tlkop*
cascade — *têmchêk*
cast — *klêmêhên*
cat — *puspus*
cattle — *musmus*
cedar — *kanim stik*
center — *katsêk*
certainly — *nawitka*
chain — *chikêmin lop*, *lashen*
chair — *lishash*
change — *huyhuy*
cheap — *tênês makuk*

cheat — *lahlah*
chest — *lakaset*
chestnut colored — *leblo*
chicken — *lapul*
chief — *tayi*
child — *tênas*
chip — *chêh*
chop — *tlkop*
chop wood — *mamuk stik*
church — *pliey haws*
circle — *kwuyukwuyu*
circular — *lolo*
city — *hayu haws*
clam-digger — *lapeyush*
clams — *lakachi*
clear up — *chaku klah*
cloth — *sil*
clothing — *ikta*
cloud — *kosah smok*
clouds — *smuk*
coat — *kapo*
cock — *lekak*
code — *ipsut wawa*
coffee — *kabi*
cold — *kol*
comb — *kom*, *mamuk kom*
come — *chaku*
come in — *chaku haws*
come up — *chaku klah*
commoner — *kêltês tilikum*
conceal — *ipsut*
confess — *yayêm*
conjure — *mamuk tamanêwês*
constantly — *hayu*
content — *kwan*
continually — *hayu*
conversation — *wawa*
cook — *mamuk paya*
cooked — *paya*
cookie — *lebiskwi*
copper — *pil chikêmin*
cord — *tênês lop*
corn — *isalh*
corral — *kelakh*
cougar — *hayash puspus*
cough — *hoho*
count — *kwênin*, *mamuk kênchi*, *mamuk kwênin*
country — *ilêhi*
cousin — *aw*, *ats*, *kahpo*
coyote — *talêpês*
crab-apple — *pawich*
crack — *tsêh*
cracker — *lebiskwi*
cranberry — *sulêmi*
crazy — *piltên*
cream colored — *lekrem*
creek — *kuli chêk*
creek — *tênês chêk*
crockery — *malah*
crooked — *hêntlki*, *kayuwa*, *kluk*
cross — *lakrua*
crow — *kaka*
crowd — *hayu tilikum*
cry — *kilay*
cul-de-sac — *kêltês uyhêt*
cultivate — *mamuk kom ilêhi*
cup — *uskan*
curious — *kêltês nanich*
curled — *hêntlki*
cut — *tlkop*
cut down — *mamuk hwim*
cut wood — *mamuk stik*
dance — *tans*
dark — *pulakli*, *kliyêl*
darkness — *pulakli*
dart — *klêmêhên*
daughter — *tênas kluchmên*
day — *san*
dead — *hilu win*, *mimêlust*
dead end — *kêltês uyhêt*
deaf — *hilu kwêlan*, *ikpuy kwêlan*
dear — *hayash klush*
deceased — *hilu*
decide — *mamuk têmtêm*
deep — *klip*
deer — *mawich*
deity — *sahali tayi*
demon — *skukum*
destitute — *hilu ikta*
devil — *diyab*
dewberries — *klikêmuks*
die — *chaku hilu*, *mimêlust*
different — *hêloyma*

difficult — *kêl*
dig — *mamuk ilêhi*, *mamuk klêwhap*
dime — *bit*
direct — *dêlet*
dirt — *ilêhi*
dirty — *hayu ilêhi kupa*, *patl ilêhi*
dirty diapers — *hêm sikaluks*
disparage — *kapswala wawa*
displeasure! — *ana*
do — *mamuk*
do nothing — *kêltês mitlayt*
do secretly — *kapswala mamuk*
doctor — *dakta*
dog — *kamuks*
dollar — *dala*
door — *lapot*
double barreled shotgun — *makst pow*
downstream — *mayêmi*
dream — *musêm nanich*
drink — *loka*, *mêkêmêk*
drink (alcoholic) — *lam*
drive — *kishkish*
drunk — *patl lam*
dry — *dlay*
dry — *mamuk dlay*, *chaku dlay*
dust — *pulali*
ear — *kwêlan*
early (morning) — *tênês san*
earn — *tulo*
earth — *ilêhi*
east — *ka san chaku*
eat — *mêkêmêk*
egg — *lisap*
eight — *stutkin*
elk — *mulak*
emery board — *lalim*
enclosure — *kelakh*
end — *kêpit*, *ubut*
English — *Kinchuch*, *Kinchuch man*
enough — *hayu*, *kêpit*
entire — *lolo*,
entrails — *kayah*, *kwatin*
equal — *kakwa*
error — *tsipi*
escape — *klatawa klah*
evening — *tênês pulakli*
ever — *kênchi*
every — *kanawi*
everybody — *kanawi tilikum*
everyone — *kanawi klaksta*
everywhere — *kanawi ka*
evil spirit — *skukum*
exchange — *huyhuy*
expensive — *hayash makuk*
explain — *mamuk kêmtêks*
extinguish — *pu*
eye — *siyahwês*
eyeglasses — *dala siyahwês*
face — *siyahwês*
fade — *chaku spuok*
faded — *spuok*
fall — *tênês kol, chi kol ilêhi*
fallen — *hwim*
far — *saya*
farm — *klush ilêhi*
fast — *hayak*
fasten — *kaw*
fat — *gliys*
father — *papa*
fathom — *itlana*
fear — *kwas*
feather — *têpi*, *tipsu*
feeble mind — *wik skukum latet*
fell — *mamuk hwim*
female — *kluchmên*
fence — *kelakh*
fetch — *klatawa iskêm*, *mamuk chaku*
few — *tênês*, *tênês hayu*
field — *klush ilêhi*
fight — *mamuk salêks*
fight — *pêkêpêkê salêks*
file (metal) — *lalim*
fill — *mamuk patl*
find — *klap*
fine — *klimin*
finger — *lidu*
finger ringer — *kwuyukwuyu*
finish — *ko ubut*
fir — *mula stik*
fire — *paya*
first — *ilêp*
fish — *pish*
fish-hook — *ikik*
fist-fight — *mamuk pêkêpêkê*, *pêkêpêkê*

five — *kwinêm*
flea — *supêna inapu*
flesh — *itluli*
flour — *klimin saplil*, *saplil*
flower — *tatis*, *tokti tipsu*
flu — *kol sik*
fly — *kawêk*
fog — *ilêhi kosah smuk*
food — *mêkêmêk*
fool — *lahlah*, *piltên*
foot — *tiyawêt*, *lipiyi*
foreign — *bastên*
foreigner — *hêloyma tilikêm*
forest — *stik ilêhi*
forever — *kwanisêm*
forget — *kêpit kêmtêks*
fork — *lapushet*
fortune — *tamanêwês*
four — *lakit*
fowl — *lapul*, *lekak*
free (clear) — *klah*
free (gift) — *kêltês patlêch*
French — *pasayuks*
French-Canadian — *pasayuks*
Friday — *kwinêm mamuk*, *kwinêm san*
friend — *shiks*, *tilikêm*
frighten — *mamuk kwas*
fringe — *tipsu*
frog — *shwakek*
fry — *mamuk lapuel*
frying-pan — *lapuel*
full — *patl*
full moon — *patl mun*
fun — *kêltês hihi*
fur — *tipsu*
future — *bambay*, *saya*
gain — *tulo*
gallop — *kwalela*
gamble — *mamuk itlokum*
gas line — *paya lop*
gather — *hokên*, *klatawa iskêm*
gathering — *lolo*
get — *iskêm*
get up — *gidêp*
get well — *chaku klush*
ghost — *skukum*
gift — *patlêch*
girl — *tênas kluchmên*
give — *patlêch*
give birth — *klap tênês*
glad — *kwan*
glad — *yutlêtl*
glass — *skilakêmi*
glasses (eye) — *lakit siyahwês*
glue — *lagom*
go — *klatawa*, *kuli*
go to sleep — *klatawa musêm*
go to the bathroom — *klatawa klahani*
goal — *ubut*
God — *sahali tayi*
gold — *pil chikêmin*, *pil dala*
good — *klush*
good-bye — *klahawya*, *klahawyêm*
goose — *kêlakêlama*
gossip — *kêltês wawa*
grandchild — *kwiim*
grandfather — *chup*
grandmother — *chich*
grass — *ilêhi tipsu*, *tipsu*
grasshopper — *hahêtsêk*, *klakklak*
gray — *ligley*
grease — *gliys*
great — *hayash*
green — *pêchih*
grief — *sik têmtêm*
grizzly bear — *shayêm*
ground — *ilêhi*
group — *tilikêm*
grouse — *sawash lapul*
gun — *mêskit*
gun shot — *pow*
gunpowder — *pulali*
hair — *yaksu*
half — *sitkum*
hammer — *lemarto*
hand — *lima*
handkerchief — *hikêchêm*
handsaw — *lagwin*
hang — *kwetl*
hard — *kêl*
hat — *siyaputl*
hatchet — *lahash*
haul — *mamuk hal*
have — *mitlayt*, *towên*

Hawaii — *owayhi*
Hawai'ian Native — *kanaka*
hay — *dlay tipsu*
hazel-nut — *takwêla*
hazel-nut tree — *takwêla stik*
he — *yaka*
head — *latet*
heart — *têmtêm*
heat — *mamuk wam*
heaven — *sahali ilêhi*
heavy — *til*
hello — *klahawya*, *klahawyêm*
help — *mamuk*
her — *yaka*
here — *yakwa*
here and there — *ikt ikt*, *ka ka*
hers — *yaka*
hew — *tlkop*
hide — *ipsut*
high — *sahali*
high tide — *sahali chêk*
highway — *bastên uyhêt*, *chikchik uyhêt*, *uyhêt*
hike — *klatawa lipiyi*, *klatawa tiyawêt*
hill — *tênês sahali ilêhi*
him — *yaka*
his — *yaka*
hit — *kwêtl*
hoe — *lapeyush*
hold — *iskêm*
hole — *klêhwap*
holiday — *hayash santi*
hook — *klêmêhên*
hopefully — *alakti*
horn — *ston*
horse — *kiyutên*
hostile — *tiki salêks*
hot — *hayash wam*
hour — *tintin*
house — *haws*
how — *kata*
how many — *kênchi*, *kênchi hayu*
huckleberry — *shat ulali*
humble — *klahawyêm*
hundred — *takomunêk*
hung over — *tênês sik*
hungry — *ulu*, *ulu mêkêmêk*
hunt — *klatawa nanich*
hurry — *hu*, *hayak*
I — *nayka*
idle talk — *kêltês wawa*
imagine — *kêmtêks*
in shore — *matlhwêli*
in sight — *klah*
incoming tide — *chêk chaku*
iron — *chikêmin*
it — *ukuk*, *yaka*
jail — *skukum haws*
jealous — *sik têmtêm*
jump — *supêna*
just now — *chiy*
kettle — *kitlên*, *opikwan*
key — *lakli*
kick — *tsêkên*
kill — *mamuk mimêlust*
kiss — *bibi*
knife — *uptsêh*
knock — *kwêtlkwêtl*
knotted — *hêntlki*
know — *kêmtêks*
lame — *kluk tiyawêt*
lamprey — *skwakwêl*
land — *ilêhi*
land otter — *nênamuks*
language — *lalang*
large — *hayash*
last — *kimta*
last week — *ikt santi kêpit*, *santi klatawa*
late (night) — *hayash pulakli*
laughter — *hihi*
lay — *mitlayt*
lazy — *liysi*
lead — *shat*
leaf — *tipsu*
lean (angle) — *lah*
lean (thin) — *hilu gliys*
learn — *chaku kêmtêks*, *iskêm kêmtêks*
leather shoes — *stik shush*
leave — *mash*
leg — *tiyawêt*
legend — *ikanum*
lend — *ayahwêl*
length — *yutlkêt*

less than — *kimta*
let's — *nihwa*
letter — *piypa*, *tsêm piypa*
liar — *kêmtêks kleminêhwit*
lick — *klakwên*
lie — *klêminêhwit*
light — *towah*
light-colored — *tkup*
lightning — *sahali paya*
like (prefer) — *tiki*
like (similar) — *kakwa*
linen — *sil*
listen — *mamuk kwêlan*
little — *tênês*
live — *mitlayt*
load — *lulu*
load — *mamuk lulu*
lock — *mamuk lak'li*
lodge — *haws*
log — *hwim stik*
long — *yutlkêt*
long for — *hayash tiki*
long time ago — *hayash ankati*
look — *nanich*
look around — *kêltês nanich*
look for — *nanich*
look out — *klush nanich*
looking glass — *skilakêmi*
loose — *stoh*
lost (way) — *tsolo*
love — *kat*, *tiki*
lover — *shiks*
low — *kikwêli*
low tide — *kikwêli chêk*
lower — *mamuk kikwêli*
luck — *tamanêwês*
machine — *limula*
magic — *tamanêwês*
magnetic tape — *lêlupa*
make — *mamuk*
malaria — *wam sik kol sik*
male — *man*
mallard duck — *hathat*, *kwehkweh*
man — *man*
many — *hayu*
maple — *isik stik*
mare — *kluchmên kiyutên*
mark — *tsêm*
marry — *maliy*
marsh (swamp) — *klimin ilêhi*
mass (Catholic) — *lamesh*
mast — *ship stik*
mat — *kliskwis*
mattock — *lapeyush*
may — *klush pus*
maybe — *alakti*, *klonês*
me — *nayka*
meat — *itluli*
medicine — *lamêtsin*
meeting — *lolo*
mend — *mamuk têpshin*
merchandise — *ikta*
metal — *chikêmin*
Metis — *pasayuks*
middle — *katsêk*
midnight — *sitkum pulakli*
milk — *tutush*
mine — *nayka*
mirror — *skilakêmi*
miserable — *klahawyêm*
miss (a mark) — *tsipi*
mistake — *tsipi*
mistress — *shiks*
mixed colors — *tsêm*
moccasins — *shush*
moccasins — *skin shush*
molasses — *mêlasis*
Monday — *ikt mamuk san*
Monday — *ikt san [kêpit santi]*
money — *dala*
month — *ikt mun*, *mun*
moon — *mun*
more — *tênês wekt*, *manêki*, *wekt*
mosquito — *malakwa*
mother — *mama*
mountain — *lamotay*
mountain range — *sahali ilêhi*
mouse — *hulhul*
mouth — *lapush*
movie — *towah lêlupa*
much — *hayu*
mud — *klimin ilêhi*
mule — *limel*
muscle — *itluli*

mushy — *klimin*
musical instrument — *tintin*
mussel (shell fish) — *tuluks*
must — *klush*
my — *nayka*
nail — *lik'lu*
name — *niym*
native — *sawash*
Native American — *Sawash*
near — *wik saya*, *atlki*
neck — *liku*
needle — *kipwêt*, *têpshin*
never — *wik kênchi*
never again — *wik kênchi wekt*
new — *chiy*
new moon — *chiy mun*
newer — *manêki chiy*
next — *alta*
next week — *santi chaku*
night — *pulakli*
nine — *kwayts*
no — *wik*, *kwêsh*
no one — *hilu klaksta*
noise — *latlaê*
none — *hilu*
nonsense — *hilu têmtêm*, *kêltês wawa*
nonsense — *patlêtl*
noon — *katsêk san*, *sitkum san*
north — *ka kol chaku*
nose — *nus*
not — *wik*
not interested — *kêltês kupa nika*
not many (much) — *wik hayu*
nothing — *hilu*, *wik ikta*
notwithstanding — *kahchi*
now — *alta*
numbers — *kwênin*
nut — *takwêla*
oak tree — *kêl stik*, *kênawi stik*
oar — *lalam*
oats — *lawen*
ocean — *salt chêk*
off — *klak*
off shore — *matlini*
offend — *mamuk kata*
oh — *ala*
oil — *gliys*
old — *olman*
old man — *olman*
old woman — *lamiyay*
once — *ikti*
one — *ikt*
only — *kêltês*
open — *halakl*, *mamuk halakl*
open out — *chaku halakl*, *chaku klah*
opinion — *têmtêm*
opposite — *inatay*, *wik*
or — *pi*
orca — *kakowan yaka pishak*
order — *mash têmtêm*
other — *hêloyma*
other side — *inatay*
our — *nêsayka*
ours — *nêsayka*
out — *klahani*
outgoing tide — *chêk kilapay*
outhouse — *klahani haws*
outside — *klahani*
over there — *kupa*
overturn — *kilapay*
owl — *wahwah*
oyster — *chêtlo*
paddle — *isik*, *mamuk isik*
paint — *peynt*, *tsêm*
pale green — *kawkawak*
pants — *sikaluks*
paper — *piypa*
part — *sitkum*
party — *mamuk skukum yutlêtl*
passionate — *kêmtêks salêks*
past — *ankati*
patch — *mamuk têpshin*
path — *uyhêt*
pea — *lipuwa*
people — *tilikêm*
perform — *mamuk*
perhaps — *klonês*
person — *tilikêm*
phone — *mamuk tintin*, *wawa lakaset*
pig — *kushu*
pin — *kipwêt*, *kwikwiyêns*
pinch — *tsiykwên*
pine — *lagom stik*
pine squirrel — *piwpiw*

pipe — *lapip*
pitch — *lagom*
place — *ka ukuk*
plate — *lasiet*
please — *klush*, *klush pus*
plenty — *hayu*
plough — *lashalu*, *mamuk klêkh ilêhi*, *mamuk tsêh ilêhi*
pocket — *lisak*
pole — *lapesh*
poor — *hilu ikta*, *klahawyêm*
porpoise — *kwisêo*
possibly — *alakti*
potato — *wapêtu*
poultry — *lapul*
pour — *wêh*
powerful — *skukum*
prairie — *tipsu ilêhi*
precede — *klatawa ilêp*
prefer (that) — *têmtêm klush pus*
pregnant — *mitlayt tênês*, *hayash kwatin*
present — *kêltês patlêch*
presently — *alta*
pretty — *tokti*
primarily — *ilêp*
printed cloth — *tsêm sil*
printed material — *tsêm piypa*
prison — *skukum haws*
probably — *klonês*
problem — *kata*
promontory — *nus*
proud — *yutlêtl*
punch — *pêkêpêkê*
pushed together — *kwêtl*
put — *mamuk mitlayt*
put away — *towên*
quarter — *tênês sitkum*
quarter dala — *kwata*
quick — *hayak*, *hu*
quiet — *kêh*
quill — *têpi*
quiver — *kalaytên lesak*
rabbit — *yutlkêt kwelan*
raccoon — *kalis*
race-horse — *kuli kiyutên*
rails (fence) — *kelah stik*
rain — *snas*
rain forest — *hayash stik ilêhi*
ranch — *klush ilêhi*
rapids — *skukum chêk*
raspberry — *siyaputl ulali*
rat — *hayash hulhul*
rattle — *shêh*
rattlesnake — *shêh upuch*
raven — *hayash kaka*
rawhide thong — *skin lop*
reach (arrive) — *ko*
read — *nanich pehpah*
recently — *chiy*
red — *pil*
red clay — *pil ilêhi*
refusal — *kwêsh*
region — *ilêhi*
relate — *yayêm*
relative — *tilikêm*
remain — *mitlayt*
remove — *mash*
reside — *mitlayt*
respond — *kilapay wawa*
rest — *alim*
return — *chaku kilapay*, *kilapay*
ribbon — *lêlupa*
rice — *lays*
ride (a horse) — *klatawa [kupa] kiyutên*
rifle — *kalapiyn*
right — *kenkiyêm*
right-hand — *klush lima*
ring — *kwuyukwuyu*, *mamuk tintin*
rip — *klêh*
ripe — *paya*, *pil*
river — *chêk*
river fork — *makst lapush*
river mouth — *lapush*
road — *bastên uyhêt*, *chikchik uyhêt*, *uyhêt*
roast — *mamuk lapêla*
rock — *ston*
roll up — *mamuk lulu*
rope — *lop*
rotten — *puli*
rough sea — *salêks chêk*
row — *mamuk lalam*
rudder — *bot upuch*

run — *kuli*
saddle — *lasel*
saddle-blanket — *lapusmu*
sadness — *sik têmtêm*
sail — *sil*, *klatawa [kupa] bot*
sailing-ship — *stik ship*
sailor — *ship man*
salal berry — *salal*
salmon — *samên*
salmon berry — *samên ulali*
salt — *salt*
sand — *pulali*
sandy ground — *pulali ilêhi*
sash — *lêsanchel*
Saturday — *mêkêmêk san*, *taham mamuk*
saw — *lasi*
saw-mill — *limula*
scissors — *lisisu*
sea — *salt chêk*
sea otter — *ilaki*
seal (animal) — *sawash kushu*, *ulhayu*
seashore — *nawits*
seaward — *matlini*
secret — *ipsut*
see — *nanich*
seek — *nanich*
sell — *makuk*, *makuk saya*, *mash*, *mash makuk*
send — *mamuk klatawa*
send back — *mamuk kilapay*
seven — *sinêmakst*
sew — *mamuk têpshin*
shake — *mamuk hawkwêtl*, *tutu*
shake hands — *iskêm lima*, *patlêch lemah*
shall — *klush pus*, *tiki*
shame — *shiym*
sharp — *yakisilt*
sharpen — *mamuk tsish*
she — *yaka*
sheep — *limoto*
shell money — *haykwa*
shingle — *lebarêdu*
shining — *towah*
shiny — *towah*
ship — *ship*
ship's mast — *mitwhêt stik*
shirt — *shat*
shoes — *shush*
shoot — *mamuk pu*
shoreward — *matlhwêli*
short — *yutskêt*
shot — *kalaytên*, *shat*, *tênês libal*
shot pouch — *kalaytên lesak*
shout — *hayash wawa*
shovel — *lapel*, *lapeyush*
shut — *ikpuy*
sibling — *ats*, *aw*, *kapho*
sick — *sik*
side by side — *ikt ikt*
sift — *tutu*
sil — *mamuk sil*
silk — *laswey*
silver — *chikêmin dala*, *tkup chikêmin*
silver coin — *chikêmin dala*
similar to — *kakwa*
since — *kimta*
sing — *shati*
sister — *ats*
sit — *mitlayt*
sit down — *mitlayt*
sit idle — *kêltês mitlayt*
six — *taham*
six-shooter gun — *taham pu*
skin — *skin*
skinny — *hilu gliys*
skittish — *limulo*
skunk — *hêm upuch*
sky — *kosah*
slave — *ilaytih*, *mistmas*
sleep — *musêm*
sleep soundly — *hayash musêm*
sleepy — *tiki musêm*, *ulu musêm*
slowly — *klawa*
small — *tênês*
smashed — *klimin klimin*
smell — *hêm*, *mamuk hêm*
smoke — *smuk*
snake — *olêk*
sneak away — *kapswala klatawa*
sneaky person — *talêpês*
snow — *kol snas*, *snu*
so often — *hayak hayak*

soap — *sop*
soft — *klimin*
soften — *mamuk klimin*
some — *tênês hayu*, *wik hayu*
some one or other — *ikt ikt*
something — *ikta*
son — *tênas man*
soon — *atlki*, *wik lili*
sorry — *dêlet sick têmtêm*
so-so — *kimta klush*
sour — *kwêts*
south — *ka san mitlayt kupa sitkum san*
spade — *lapel*, *lapeyush*
speak — *wawa*
specialty — *tamanêwês*
speckled — *likay*
spill — *wêh*
spirit — *tamanêwês*
spirited — *yutlêtl*
spit — *mamuk toh*
split — *mamuk tsêh*, *tsêh*
spoiled child — *têna*
spoon — *spun*
spot — *tsêm*
spotted — *likay*, *tsêm*
spotted salmon — *likay samên*
spring — *tênês wam*
spring samên — *tayi samên*
sprout — *chaku klah*
spur (riding) — *lisipro*
squash — *lêsitlo*
squeezed — *kwêtl*
squirrel — *kwiskwis*
stab — *klêmêhên*
stallion — *ston kiyutên*
stand — *mithwêt*
star — *chilchil*
start — *chiy klatawa*
stay — *mitlayt*
steal — *kapswala*
steal away — *ipsut klatawa*
steam — *smuk*
steamship — *paya ship*
steel — *paya chikêmin*
stik — *stik*
still — *ka*
stinger — *kipwêt*
stink — *hêm*
stirrups — *sitley*
stockings — *stackên*
stocks — *stackên*
stone — *ston*
stoop — *lah*
stop — *kêltês mitlayt*, *kêpit*
stop talking! — *kêpit wawa*
store — *makuk haws*
store — *towên*
story — *yayêm*
stove — *stuv*
straight — *dêlet*
stranger — *hêloyma tilikêm*
strawberry — *amuti*
stream — *chêk*, *kuli chêk*, *tênês chêk*
street — *bastên uyhêt*, *chikchik uyhêt*, *uyhêt*
strength — *tamanêwês*
stripe — *tsêm*
stroll — *kêltês klatawa*, *kêltês kuli*
strong — *skukum*
sturgeon — *stachên*
Suckley salmon — *likay samên*
sugar — *shuga*
summer — *wam ilêhi*
sun — *san*
Sunday — *santi*
sunken — *klip*
sunrise — *gidêp san*
sunset — *klip san*
superlative — *ilêp*
surprise — *hwa*
surround — *mamuk ikpuy*
surveyed land — *tsêm ilêhi*
swamp — *klimin ilêhi*
swan — *kelok*
sweep — *mamuk blum*
sweet — *tsi*
sweetheart — *uptsêh*
swim — *sichêm*
table — *latam*
tail — *upuch*
take — *iskêm*
take away — *klak*
take care — *klush nanich*
take in sail — *mamuk kikwêli sil*

take off — *klak*, *mamuk klak*, *mash*
tale — *yayêm*
talk — *wawa*
tame — *kwan*, *kwas*, *mamuk kwas*
tape — *lêlupa*
tape recorder — *lêlupa lakaset*
tavern — *hihi haws*
tea — *ti*
teach — *mamuk kêmtêks*
tear — *klêh*
tell — *wawa*, *yayêm*
ten — *tatlilêm*
ten cents — *bit*
tent — *sil haws*
thank you — *mersi*
that — *ukuk*
that's all — *kêpit ukuk*
the — *ukuk*
then — *pi*, *alta*
there — *yawa*
they — *klaska*
thick — *pitlêtl*
thin — *hilu gliys*
thin — *pihwêti*
thing — *ikta*
think (that) — *têmtêm pus*
thirsty — *ulu chêk*
this — *ukuk*
thorn — *kipwêt*
thousand — *hayash tukamonuk*, *tatlilêm takomunêk*
thread — *klêpayt*
three — *klon*
throw away — *mash*
Thursday — *lakit mamuk san*
tie — *kaw*
tight — *kwêtl*
tinware — *malah*
tip — *lah*
tired — *til*
tobacco — *kaynutl*
today — *ukuk san*
together — *kanamakst*
tomorrow — *tumala*
tongue — *lalang*
tooth — *lita*
toss — *mash*
town — *hayu haws*
trade — *huyhuy*, *makuk*
traditional story — *ikanum*
trail — *klatawa kimta*, *uyhêt*
train — *chikêmin chikchik*
trap — *lapiesh*
tree — *stik*
tribe — *tilikêm*
trot — *têtê*
trousers — *sikaluks*
trout — *tsêm samên*
truck — *paya chikchik*
true — *dêlet*
trunk — *lakaset*
truth — *dêlet wawa*
tub — *tamolêch*
Tuesday — *makst mamuk san*
turkey vulture — *hêm latet [kêlakêla]*
turn — *hu*
turn — *kilapay*
turn into — *chaku*
twenty-five cents — *kwata*
twice — *maksti*
twine — *klêpayt*
two — *makst*
unable — *hawkwêtl*
uncle — *tat*
uncover — *mamuk klah*
undecided — *makst têmtêm*
under — *kikwêli*
understand — *kêmtêks*
underwear — *kikwêli sikaluks*
undo — *mamuk stoh*
unhappy — *sik têmtêm*
United States — *Bastên ilêhi*
untamed — *limulo*
untie — *mamuk stoh*, *mash kaw*
unwrap — *mamuk klah*
up — *sahali*
upset — *kilapay*
us — *nêsayka*
useless — *kêltês*
venison — *mawich*
vermilion — *pil ilêhi*
very — *hayash*

very far — *saya saya*
vest — *lawest*
wagon — *chikchik*
walk — *klatawa lipiyi*, *klatawa tiyawêt*
walking around — *kêltês kuli*
wander — *tsolo*
waning moon — *sik mun*
want — *tiki*
wapato — *wapêtu*
warm — *wam*
wash — *mamuk wash*
waste — *kêltês mash*
watch — *tiktik*
water — *chêk*
waterfall — *têmchêk*
we — *nêsayka*
wear — *kwetl*
Wednesday — *klon mamuk san*
week — *santi*, *wiyk*
weekend — *santi ubut*
weigh — *mamuk til*
weight — *til*
west — *ka san klatawa*
wet — *patl chêk*
whale — *ikuli*, *kwanis*
what — *ikta*
what's the matter — *ikta kata*
wheat — *saplil*
wheel — *chikchik*
when — *kênchi*
where — *ka*
whip — *lêhwet*, *mamuk lêhwet*
whisper — *ipsut wawa*
white — *tkup*
who — *klaksta*
whole — *lolo*
whole wheat — *lolo saplil*
why — *kata*, *pus ikta*
wicked — *masachi*
wide — *halakl*, *klêkêtl*
wife — *kluchmên*
wild — *limulo*
wild animal — *mawich*
will — *têmtêm*, *tiki*
willow — *ina stik*
win — *tulo*
wind — *win*
wine — *lam chêk*
wings — *têpi*
winnow — *tutu*
winter — *kol ilêhi*
wipe — *klakwên*
wire — *chikêmin lop*
wish — *tiki*
without — *hilu*
without purpose — *kêltês*
wolf — *lilu*
woman — *kluchmên*
wood — *stik*
woodpecker — *kwêtlkwêtl stik kêlakêla*
woods — *stik ilêhi*
word — *tênês wawa*
work — *hilhêmêtl*, *mamuk*
worn — *kêltês*, *olman*
worthless — *kêltês*
would — *koy*
wound — *klêmêhên*
wretched — *klahawyêm*
write — *mamuk piypa*, *mamuk tzêm*
writing — *tsêm piypa*
yard — *ikt stik*
yarn — *yayêm*
year — *ikt kol*
yellow — *kawkawak*
yes — *aha*, *nawitka*
yesterday — *tatlki [san]*
you — *mayka*, *mêsayka*
young — *tênas*
your — *mayka*, *mêsayka*
youth — *tênas*
—

Notes

Since there has never been standard spelling for Chinook Jargon, the quoted passages in this book often represent the same Chinook Jargon word with different spellings, which in turn are different from the orthography used in this book. These notes have been provided primarily as an aid to interpreting some of the longer passages. Additional notes have been included on the technical aspects of the book's orthography.

Chapter 1

1. Using this book's orthography, General Nesmith's message would have been spelt:

   Klatawa nayka sitkum tamolêch wekt ukuk kanamakst lam.

2. Using this book's orthography, the copy from Boas would read:

   Kêltes kupa nayka.
   Spos mayka mash nayka.
   Hayu puti boys *kuli kupa* town.
   Atlki wekt nayka iskêm.
   Wik kêl kupa nayka.

3. The translator of this gospel is unknown. The author believes it was Charles Tate, a Methodist minister who spoke Chinook Jargon. Using this book's orthography, the title of the gospel would be:

   St. Mark's Klush Yayêm Kupa Nesayka Savior Jesus Christ

Chapter 2

1. Chinook Jargon was spread around the Northwest in the 1800s via Native carriers that shared common consonants in their languages. We know this by looking at both linguistic evidence and historical sources. Native English speakers do not use all these consonants when speaking English. Although various groups may have spoken varieties of Chinook Jargon that did not differentiate between all the consonants, early adopters in each group most likely learned Chinook Jargon from speakers who used the consonants described by Terrence Kaufman in 1968. According to Terrance Kaufman, the following grid represents the consonants used in Chinook Jargon:

p	*t*		*ts*	*tš*	*k*	*kw*	*q*	*qw*	*?*
p'	*t'*	*tɬ'*	*ts'*	*(tš')*	*k'*	*kw'*	*q'*	*qw'*	
b	*d*				*g*				
		ɬ	*s*	*š*	*x*	*xw*	*X*	*Xw*	
m	*n*				*(ng)*				
	r	*l*							
w				*y*					

There are 8 rules in shifting Kaufman's consonant base to derive the orthography used in this book:

1. All *k* and *q* based sounds are simplified to the *k* or *kw*.
2. Ejectives are transformed to a simple consonant (e.g., *p'* to *p*).
3. Glottal stops are removed (i.e., no *?*).
4. The *x* is represented by an *h*.
5. In most cases the *X* is transformed to an *h*. In a couple cases *X* is transformed to a *k* (e.g., *ikt*).
6. The barred-L (i.e., *ɬ*) is represented by either *kl* or *tl*.
7. The *tš* is transformed to a *ch*.
8. *š* is spelled as *sh.*

So, the “shifted” chart looks like:

p	*t*		*ts*	*ch*	*k*	*kw*	*k*	*kw*
p	*t*	*kl,tl*	*ts*	*ch*	*k*	*kw*	*k*	*kw*
b	*d*				*g*			
		kl,tl	*s*	*sh*	*h*	*hw*	*h,k*	*hw,kw*
m	*n*				*ng*			
	r	*l*						
w				*y*				

Chapter 5

1. Using this book's orthography, the passage from *The Canoe and The Saddle* would be:

   Hayash tayi mayka, hayu mitlayt ikta, hilu ikta mitlayt kupa nayka tênas.

Chapter 10

1. Using this book's orthography, the quote from Boas would read:

   Kanawi san nayka kêlay!
   Saya ilêhi nayka mitlayt alta.

2. Using this book's orthography, the quote from Boas would read:

   Hayash klahauyêm
   Kanamakst nayka olman,
   Kupa Bictoli.
   Hilu klaksta
   Wawa klahauya nêsayka
   Kupa Bictoli.

3. Using this book's orthography, McLeod's sentence would read:

   Kanawi ka nayka kuli kanawi dêlayt kêltês ukuk lalang.

4. Using this book's orthography, the quote from Boas would read:

   Good-bye, oh my dear Charlie!
   Spos mayka iskêm kluchman,
   Wik mayka tsipi nayka.

5. Using this book's orthography, the quote from Boas would read:

   Ikta mayka tiki?
   Kwanisêm mayka solêks.
   Mayka olman,
   Hilu skukum alta.

6. Using this book's orthography, Ells' Song #4 would read:

Ankati nayka tiki whiskey,
Ankati nayka tiki whiskey,
Pi alta nayka mash-
Alta nayka mash.
Alta nayka mash.
Ankati nayka tiki whiskey,
Ankati nayka tiki whiskey,
Pi alta nayka mash.

7. Using this book's orthography, Eells' Song #5 reads:

Spos nêsayka mêkamêk whiskey,
Whiskey *mêkamêk nêsayka dala.*

8. Using this book's orthography, the quoted rendition of Downey-Barlett's Chinook Jargon "America" is written as:

Nayka ilêhi, kakwa mayka,
Tsi ilêhi, wik ilaytih,
Kakwa mayka, nayka shati.
Ilêhi, ka nayka papa mimêlust,
Ilêhi, klush tilikêm chaku;
kikwêli kanawi lamotay,
Mamuk wik ilaytih tintin.

9. The paragraph from *The Origin of Death* in this book's orthography is:

Klaska mitlayt tênês saya klaska haws. Well ikt tilikêm yaka mitlayt ikt tênas man, yaka ukuk saya mitlayt ikt tênas man. Well, ikt man yaka tênas ukuk chaku sik. Well, tênas klonês makst san yaka sik, alta yaka mimêlust tênas man. Well, ukuk man skukum sik têmtêm. Yaka kilay. Well, yaka mash kupa ilêhi, ya[*ka*] [*ma*]*muk ikpuy uk ilêhi. Well, kêlapay kupa haws, yaka sik têmtêm.*

10. Using this book's orthography, Stuart's version of "The House That jack Built" is written as:

    Ukuk Pêshpêsh,*
    Yaka mimêlust tênês mawich,
    *Yaka mêkamêk laray**,*
    Mitlayt kupa haws,
    Jack *yaka mamuk.*

    * *pêshpêsh* is an alternate form of *puspus*.
    ** *laray* is translated as "malt."

11. Pasco's article would be "*Piltên Tilikêm Ship*" in this book's orthography and the quoted text would be:

    Kwinêm ton bronze *kanim patl* animal *pi tilikêm.*
    Bill Reid *pi yaka ilihan tilikêms, klaska mamuk hayu* years *kupa ukuk hayash pi dêlet. Tokti* sculpture *pi alta yaka kêpit.*
    October*, ukuk* year*, tilikêm klaska mitwhêt yaka kupa* Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C.
    *Yaka dêlet yayêm** "Spirit of Haida Gwai" *kêshki*** Reid*, yaka patlêch nêm "Pitlên Tilikêm* Ship*."*
    Ukuk sculpture*, yaka dêlet ligley kliyêl kakwa* argillite. *Yaka* sit *kupa tênês wik klip chêk.* Sculpture*, yaka dêlet klush kênchi towah chaku klak chêk pi kwêtlkwêtl ukuk kliyêl kanim.*

    * *yayêm* is translated as "called."
    ** *kêshki* is translated as "but."

12. This wordlist will help you match Glavin's quoted Chinook Jargon verse in "Rain Language" to his quoted English verse. Each of the following entries is respelled in parenthesis using this book's orthography:

chako (*chaku*) - come
chikchik (*chikchik*) - wagon, but here is used for "car"
cooley (*kuli*) - go
halo (*hilu*) - not
hyack cooly (*hayak kuli*) - race, literally "quickly running"
kimta (*kimta*) - after, following
kliminawhit (*klêminêhwit*) - lie, falsehood
klip sun (*klip san*) - evening, around sunset, literally "sunken sun"
konamokst (*kanamakst*) - both, together
kopa (*kupa*) - on
kopet (*kêpit*) - finish, stop
mamook klahwa (*mamuk klawa*) - slow down
man (*man*) - person
oakut (*uyhêt*) - road
opoots (*upuch*) - end
pe (*pi*) - and
skookum (*skukum*) - powerful, strong
snass (*snas*) - rain
tenas-sitkum (*tênês sitkum*) - quarter, literally "little half"
tenas wahm (*tênês wam*) - luke-warm.
tolo (*tulo*) - win
waum illahie (*wam ilêhi*) - summer
yako (*yaka*) - means "he," or "she." Used here for "this."
yiem (*yayêm*) - story

Bibliography

Binns, Archie. 1941. *Northwest Gateway – The Story of the Port of Seattle.* New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company.

Boas, Franz. 1888. Chinook Songs, *Journal of American Folklore.* Vol. 1.

Burns, R.I. 1966. *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Carmichael, Alfred. *The Legend of the Flood*. Unpublished manuscript from the B.C. Provincial Archives.

Castile, George P. 1985. *The Indians of Puget Sound – The Notebook of Myron Eells*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Cole, George E. 1905. *Early Oregon, Jottings of Personal Recollections of a Pioneer of 1850*. Spokane.

Davis, James T. 1974 [1961]. *Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California*. Ramona: Ballena Press.

Demers, Blanchet and St. Onge. 1871. *Chinook Dictionary, Catechism, prayers and hymns composed in 1838 and 1839….* Montreal.

Dominica, Mary. 1959. *Willamette Interlude*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books.

Downey-Bartlett, Laura B. 1914. *Chinook-English Songs*. Portland: Kubli-Miller Company.

Drechsel, Emanuel J. 1997. *Mobilian Jargon – Linguistic and Sociohistorical Aspects of a Native American Pidgin*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

— 1996. An integrated Vocabulary of Mobilian Jargon, a Native American Pidgin of the Mississippi Valley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 38:2 Summer.

Eells, Myron. 1889 [1878]. *Hymns in the Chinook Jargon Language*. Portland: David Steel.

Facsimile of the Chinook Jargon as used by the Hudson Bay Company. Found in Oregon State Historical Society.

Farrow, Edward S. 1881. *Mountain Scouting*. New York.

Gibbs, George. 1863. *A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or, Trade Language of Oregon.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Gill, John K. 1889. *Gill's Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*. Portland: J.K. Gill & Co.

Grant, Anthony P. 1996. Chinook Jargon and its distribution in the Pacific Northwest and beyond, *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, etc*. Ed. Wurm, Tyron and Muhlhausler. Mouton de Gruyter.

Grant, Rena V. 1942. The Chinook Jargon, Past and Present, *California Folklore Quarterly*. January 28.

— 1951. Alphonse Pinart and the Chinook Jargon, *California Folklore Quarterly*. October.

Gruening, Ernest. 1954. *The State of Alaska*. New York: Random House.

Hale, Horatio. 1846. The "Jargon," or Trade–Language of Oregon, *The United States Exploring Expedition*. Philadelphia: C. Sherman.

— 1890. *An International Idiom. A Manual of the Oregon Trade Language or Chinook Jargon*. London: Whittaker & Co.

Harrington, John P. 1972. *Karuk Indian Myths*. Ballena Press.

Harris, Barbara. 1985. Klahowiam Mr. Smis: Context of Culture as a Factor in the Interpretation of a Chinook Jargon Text, Anthropological Linguistics. Fall.

— 1997. *The Disputed Origins of Chinook Jargon*. Given to Society for the Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages, Chicago. January.

— *Chinook Jargon: The Nineteenth Century Trade Language of the Pacific Northwest*. Unpublished Paper. University of Victoria.

Harris, Barbara and Andrea R. Giles, Chinook Jargon: Trade language of the Pacific Northwest, University of Victoria.

Henderson, Robert K. 1997. Klahowya, Sikhs!, *True West*. September, Vol. 44, No. 9. Stillwater: Western Publications.

Howay, F. W. 1942. The Origin of the Chinook Jargon, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. Vol VI, No. 4, October.

Hymes, Dell and Virginia Hymes. 1972. Chinook Jargon as "Mother's Tongue", IJAL. No. 3, Page 207.

Jacobs, Melville. 1932. Notes on The Structure of Chinook Jargon, *Language*. Vol. VIII, No. 1, March.

— 1936. *Texts in Chinook Jargon*. Seattle: University of Washington.

Jackman, S.W. 1972. *Vancouver Island*. Harrisburg: Stackpole Books

Jewitt, John R. 1975 [1820]. *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt While Held as a Captive of the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island, 1803 to 1805*. Ed. Robert F. Heizer. Ramona: Ballena Press.

Johnson, Samuel Victor. 1978. *Chinook Jargon: A Computer Assisted Analysis of Variation in an American Indian Pidgin*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Kansas.

Kaufman, Terrance. 1968. *Notes on Chinook Jargon Phonology and Grammar*. Manuscript from Multnomah Co. Library.

— 1971. A Report on Chinook Jargon. *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Ed. Dell Hymes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kopp, Jeffery. 2004. *The Chinook Jargon: Selected references for students and scholars*. Web site.

Lane, Barbara. 1998. *Background of Treaty Making in Western Washington*. Web site. Institute for the Development of Indian Law and Cook Christian Training School.

Leavell, Tracy Neal. 1998. We Will Make It Our Own Place. *American Indian Quarterly*. Fall, Vol. 22 No. 4.

LeJeune, Jean Marie. 1893. *Chinook First Reading Book*. Kamloops: St. Louis Mission.

— *The Kamloops Phonographer*. Kamloops: St. Louis Mission.

— 1891–1900. *Kamloops Wawa*. Periodical. Kamloops: St. Louis Mission.

— 1924. *Chinook Rudiments*. Kamloops: St. Louis Mission.

Lavender, David. 1958. *Land of Giants, The Drive to the Pacific Northwest*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company.

MacDonald, Duncan G.F. 1862. *British Columbia and Vancouver's Island*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green.

McNamee, Mary Dominca. 1959. *Willamette Interlude*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books.

Meany, Edmond S. 1946. *History of the State of Washington*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Moore, Robert E. 1988. *Report of Chinook Jargon fieldwork with Gilbert McCleod*.

Parker, Samuel. 1967 [1838]. *Parker's Exploring Tour, Beyond the Rocky Mountains*. Minneapolis: Ross & Haines.

Pasco, Duane. 1993. *Klahowya, a Handbook for Learning Chinook Jargon*. Poulsbo, Washington.

— 1990 – 1995. *Tenas Wawa*. Bi-monthly newsletter. Poulsbo, Washington.

Phillips, W.S. 1913. *The Chinook Book*. Seattle: R.L. Davis Printing Co.

Pilling, James. 1893. *Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages (Including the Chinook Jargon)*. Bureau of Ethnology.

Richardson, Albert. 1867. *Beyond the Mississippi, etc.* Hartford: American Publishing Company.

Ross, Alexander. 1849. *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River 1810 – 1813*. London: Smith & Elder

Schwantes, Carlos A. 1989. *The Pacific Northwest, An Interpretive History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

St. Mark's Kloosh Yiem Kopa Nesika Saviour Jesus Christ. 1912. London: British and Foreign Bible Society.

Scott, Jess. 1970. Hiya Goodies, Klosh!, Grapevine, The Oregonian. October 18.

Shaw, George C. 1909. *The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It*. Seattle: Rainer Printing Company, Inc.

Stuart, Robert. *The House that Jack Built*. Unpublished manuscript from University of Washington Archives.

Swan, James. 1857. *The Northwest Coast, or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers.

Thomas, Edward H. 1970. *Chinook – A History and Dictionary*. Portland: Binfords and Mort.

— 1927. The Chinook Jargon, *American Speech*, Vol. II, No. 9, June.

— 1928. Chinook Dictionaries, *American Speech*, Vol. III, No. 3, February.

Thomason, Sarah G. 1983. Chinook Jargon in Areal and Historical Context, *Language*. 59(4):820–870.

Walker, Alexander. 1982. *An Account of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America in 1785 & 1786*. Edited by Robin Fisher & J.M. Bumsted. Seattle:University of Washington Press.

Winthrop, Theodore. 1913 [1863]. *The Canoe and the Saddle, or, Klalam and Klickatat*. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Zenk, Henry B. 1984. *Chinook Jargon and Native Cultural Persistence in the Grand Ronde Community, 1856–1907*. Ph.D. Thesis. Eugene: University of Oregon.

— 1993. *In Their Own Words*. Columbia River Bicentennial Commission. Portland.

— 1998. *The Christian Prayers in Chinook Jargon*. Unpublished manuscript.

— 1999 "Dr. McKay's Chinook Address 1892": A Commemoration in Chinook Jargon of the First Columbia River Centennial, *Great River of the West: Essays on the Columbia River.* Ed. Lang, William L. and Robert C. Carniker. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Zenk, Henry B. and Tony A. Johnson. 2003. *Chinuk–Wawa, As Our Elders Teach Us to Speak It*. Unpublished manuscript received from authors.

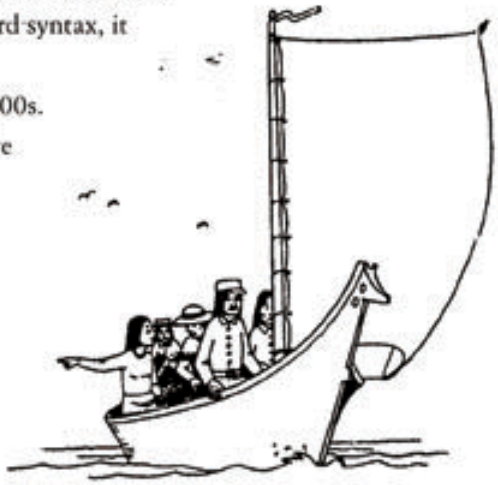
Index

Chinook Jargon

The Hidden Language of the Pacific Northwest

This book provides the traveler and resident alike with a unique insight into an area where few modern explorers venture – Native American languages. As custodians of their cultures, these languages are disappearing from the North American landscape. Two hundred ninety of the 300 indigenous languages will be extinct within the next century unless present trends are reversed.

Chinook Jargon is the most accessible of all the Native American languages. With a small utilitarian vocabulary and straightforward syntax, it was the lingua franca of the Northwest for most of the 1800s. One hundred thousand Native Americans, settlers and immigrants were using it in 1875. Enough Chinook Jargon can be learned in a few hours to enjoy simple conversation. This book provides added entertainment by deciphering place names in the Northwest. You'll help preserve this American pidgin by participating in this enriching experience.



ISBN 0-9674897-0-9

9 780967 489704 52000

Chinook Jargon

Holton

WAWA PRESS

$20.00 USA