1.0 INTRODUCTION

Before proceeding with the remaining "mystery words" of Chinook Jargon, I should like to return briefly to a few of the items investigated in Part I of this paper.

Dr. John Hewson of the Memorial University of Newfoundland has kindly sent me the following suggestions:

1) referring to clef, balle, and main he says, "... it is quite feasible that it was the plural form that was borrowed, and the lekleh represents les clefs. Several of the borrowings in Micmac are of this kind ..."¹ This explanation fits the French/Chinook vowel correspondence [e]/[i]~[i] (see Appendix II) perfectly for lekleh [iiki] and lebal [iibal]; the plural article les also appears in Jargon as [Ie]~[Ii] in lesep [Iezep] ~ lesap [Iisap] < les oeufs (eggs). However, the reflex of the masculine singular article le is also, and almost invariably, [I], while the pronunciation given for lemah is [Iema]. This could again be a case of tense/lax variation [e]~[e], but there are other examples of the feminine singular article la turning up as [Ie] in Jargon (again, see Appendix II). Could it be the case that the original lexicographers had difficulty distinguishing

¹Personal communication (letter), December 7, 1981.
the non-low front vowels \[i \sim \imath \sim e \sim \varepsilon\] (there was a good deal of variation in spoken Chinook Jargon) and were inconsistent in their transcriptions as a result (not to mention unsure of the genders of French nouns)?

2) "Zasanje looks to me, given Québec assibilation of dentals before high front vowels, as probably from \textit{la ceinture}, which would explain both the /\j/ and the /\l/."\textsuperscript{2} This etymon certainly fits the phonological correspondences much better than either Gibbs' (apparently) non-existent \textit{sîngle}, or the word he probably was referring to, \textit{sangle} — in fact, it fits perfectly.

3) \textit{lepishemo}. Dr. Hewson traces this back to Proto-Algonkian *axphišimowenj 'mattress' > Cree aspisimowin 'pillow, bed' and Ojibway appišsimowin 'mattress', whence CF apichimoin and CE appishimoin 'horse blanket'\textsuperscript{3} (at which last point I blush with embarrassment at not having seen the connection myself). He goes on to say, "... the Glossaire indicates that the word is \textit{acadien}." This fits rather nicely with our other apparently Acadian derivative, \textit{lekje} 'piebald horse'; it requires no great feat of imagination to envisage "un acadien errant" making his way towards the Pacific Coast and acquiring \textit{en route} a black and white pony with a colourful saddle blanket on its back!

I am also indebted to Emmanuel Hérique, a graduate student from Nancy, for a possible (and less fanciful) etymology for

\textsuperscript{2}Hewson, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{3}Personal communication (letter), December 23, 1981
lagwin. He suggests l'égoiné\textsuperscript{4}; Belisle gives the alternate spelling égohine and defines it as "Petite scie à main, qu'au Canada on appelle passe-partout" [italics mine]. If, as this would seem to imply, égoine is not in common use in Canadian French, then it is not surprising to find that few Canadian dictionaries have an entry for it. The Dictionnaire Canadien has no entry in the French–English section, but offers égoine as a gloss for handeaw in the English–French part. The entry in the Glossaire reads in its entirety:

\begin{quote}
egouine (egw\textsuperscript{n}) // Egohine
\end{quote}

which is not particularly helpful except for the pronunciation; but this should be reflected in Jargon as \textit{*[\textipa{lg\textsuperscript{w}n]} or \textit{*[\textipa{lg\textsuperscript{w}n]} not the given [lag\textsuperscript{w}n]. If, however, l'égoiné is not an everyday word in French Canada, there may have been confusion with or interference from \textit{la gouine} (see Part I) in the derivation of lagwin. The sexual connotation is even more explicit in the current expression jouer de l'égouine, a euphemism for 'masturbate'.\textsuperscript{5} Neither Dionne nor Juneau list any of the three variants égoine, égouine, or égohine.

I am most grateful to Dr. Hewson and to M. Hérique for their valuable suggestions. There remain to be dealt with a dozen or so words which may or may not be attributable to some definite source, and a few whose origin is still lost in the mists of linguistic history. For the suggested Nootkan etymons, I am

\textsuperscript{4}Personal communication.

\textsuperscript{5}Léandre Bergeron, \textit{Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise} (Montreal: VLB editeur, 1980)
indebted to Chief John Angus Thomas, a native speaker of Nitinaht, who also provided the transcriptions; he also provided information about two of the apparently onomatopoeic items.

2.0 WORDS OF APPARENT NOOTKAN ORIGIN

The following items appear to be traceable to Nootkan origins. The proposed etymons given here are chiefly from Nitinaht.

2.1 kapsula [kæpswɔla] 'to steal'

Gibbs and Shaw make no comment. Mr. Thomas cites a Nitinaht word [kapsi̯] 'take something away from someone' as a probable etymon.

2.2 kehwa [kɛwa]? 'because'.

Gibbs says, 'Not in common use.' Shaw does not give it at all. The usual Jargon word for 'because' is kâkwa [kâkwa ~ kwêkwe]. Might kehwa not simply be a variant form, especially in view of the apparent tendency of Jargon speakers to fricativize velar stops in medial position?

2.3 klahowya [klahoujə] 'the ordinary salutation at meeting or parting'.

This probably most familiar of all Chinook Jargon words has suffered from extraordinary folk etymologizing. Several of the early lexicographers, including Gibbs, related it to a Chinook word klahowyum (one of the thirteen spellings given by Shaw —

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6 Mr. Thomas also speaks a dialect of Chinook Jargon, learned from his grandfather and his mother who were and are fluent speakers.
he says there are many others) 'poor, miserable, wretched'. Gibbs remarks (with overwhelming ethnocentricity), 'The salutation above given [i.e. klahowya] probably originated in some whining reply to the first whites ...' A more amusing if equally ethnocentric etymology is the one that tells the story of Lewis and Clark being greeted on their first arrival at a native settlement on the Columbia River with the cry 'Clark, how are ya?', which came out in the Indians' English as 'Klahowya.' Just how these hospitable natives knew who Clark was and were able to greet him in their own variety of English is never explained. Mr. Thomas feels sure that the greeting in fact is derived from a Nootka word, [təxawhək] in Nitinaht and [ʔa̱həʔhək] in Nootka, meaning 'have you just arrived on the beach?'

2.4 *mistchimas* [məs̩čimas]? 'a slave'. Gibbs says, 'Dr. Scouler gives this word as Nootka and Columbian. Mr. Hale makes it Chinook. It is certainly, however, neither Chinook nor Chehalis; and Jewitt gives kakoealth as Nootka, while I find the Makah word kotlo and the Nittinat [sic] kotl.' Palmer (1847) cites elitah for 'slave' in the area of 'the middle and lower divisions of Oregon', as does Winthrop (1863). Mr. Thomas notes a Nitinaht word [məs̩čim] meaning 'slave', which would seem a reasonable possibility as the etymon, if the final syllable can be accounted for.

2.5 *nanitsch* [nənits̩] 'to see, look for, seek'.

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7This story is about on a par with that which attributes the origin of Canada to the French-Canadian settlers' resentment of the Intendant's having rationed their beer, whereupon they chanted continuously outside his house 'Can a day! Can a day!' (in English!).
Gibbs says (again), 'The word is certainly neither Chinook nor Chehalis. Dr. Scouler gives nananitoh as Nootka and Columbian. It is possibly the former.' Shaw gives the derivation as (Nootka, - nananitoh. -Eels). Mr. Thomas apparently has vindicated Gibbs and Eels; he has given me [nana·č] 'looking at, inspecting', from Nitinaht.

2.6 pohih [pôhi]? or pitchih [pîči]? 'thin in dimension'.

Gibbs notes this word as 'not in common use', and Shaw lists it only in his 'Supplemental Vocabulary'. Neither suggests an etymon. Mr. Thomas cites a Nitinaht word [pukw] 'thin' from which he feels pohih may be derived.

2.7 tshike [čik]? [čaik]? 'directly, soon'.

Gibbs and Shaw, quoting Hale, say 'Not Jargon' (but it was obviously used by Jargon speakers, as neither of them remarks to the contrary as they did with item 2.6). Mr. Thomas gives a Nitinaht word [či·k] having the same meaning.

3.0 WORDS OF ONOMATOPOEIC ORIGIN

3.1 humm [h̥m] 'stink, smell'.

Gibbs and Shaw say simply 'an invented word'. John Thomas says that it is used in Nitinaht as a euphemism for defecation or excrement, but there is no way of knowing which way the borrowing went, or if it is a borrowing. Hum has existed in British (and to some extent Canadian) English slang for many years with the same meaning as it has in Jargon8; however, the Shorter Oxford dates this usage

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8 A friend of mine coined (I believe) the expression anti-hum for 'deodorant'; it is now the common term used by both our families. Has anyone else ever heard or used it?
to 1927, possibly earlier (enough earlier to have been in sailors' jargon?). *American Heritage* defines *hum(m)* as among other things, an interjection 'indicating surprise or displeasure'; this is usually articulated something like [ʔmm?] (spelled *mmph* in the comic strips), which suggests a kind of universal imitative origin for Jargon *hum*.

3.2 *muckamuck* [mʌkəmʌk] 'to eat, to bite, food'.

Gibbs says it is neither Chinook nor Chehalis, and that 'Mr. Anderson considers it an invented word.' So does Mr. Thomas, who says that it represents smacking lips (cf. the English nursery word *numnum*, which can also be used as a noun, as in 'Time for numnums!').

3.3 *snass* [snæs] 'rain' ('snow' is *cole snass*, i.e., cold rain).

This is one of the complete mystery words of Chinook Jargon, and but for one thing, should belong in the next section of this paper. Gibbs and Shaw both state 'The word is . . .9 perhaps manufactured'. John Thomas can suggest nothing from Nootka or Nitinaht. However, one of my students who is blessed with an acute ear and a good imagination posits an onomatopoeic origin. In this land of rain forests, this seems as good an explanation as any — as I write, the rain is definitely *snassing* through the trees and shrubs outside the window.

4.0 UNSOLVED MYSTERIES

Although some of the remaining items have been given

9The reader must be as tired of reading 'neither Chinook nor Chehalis' as I am of writing it.
etymologies, there seems to be room for further investigation.

4.1 *pasiooks* [pasáuks] (Winthrop gives the spelling *Pasaiooks*) 'French, a Frenchman'.

Gibbs attributes a derivation from *français* to Hale, but he himself feels that the word is 'really derived from [Chinook] *pasisi*,'['blanket'] with the terminal *uks*, which is a plural form applied to living beings. Lewis and Clark ... 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* [italics mine]. (Winthrop gives the word for blanket as *pesispy* and Palmer lists it as *pos-seas*, either of which may be a local variant or a simple case of mishearing.) The fact of the word referring usually to French Canadians inclines me to lean towards the *français* derivation, especially since Englishmen were called *King Chautsh* < *King George* and Americans *Boston*. The phonetic correspondences for the proposed etymons work out as follows:

Fr. [f Rãs̥ɛ] Ch. [pası̯s̥i]?

Fr. [p asɛ] + -uks
CJ [p a s ái] + -uks

neither of which is completely satisfactory. But there exists yet another possibility, according to John Thomas, who tells me that he has always been told that the word was related to *Nitinah* [pišukʷ] 'dark-complexioned, swarthy'. The phonology is fairly close:
the main problem being the insertion of the diphthong [ai] (the first vowel, being unstressed, could well have been realized as [ʌ]). The semantic correspondence is also reasonable; compared to many white men (merchants, doctors, etc.) the French Canadian boatmen who spent most of their lives exposed to sun and wind must have indeed seemed swarthy, a complexion often reinforced by the addition of native and métis blood.

4.2 pelton [pəltən] 'a fool, deranged person'.

Two possible origins for this word are given by Shaw, both involving the surname of a man who had become mad while travelling or working in the territory; one is (Archibald) Pelton or Felton (occupation unknown), the other (first name unknown) Filion (a Hudson's Bay employee). The man apparently became sort of a legend in the area, and his name applied to anyone who acted in a foolish or outré manner. This at first looks like folk etymology at its most rampant, until one stops to consider, for example, bigot, boycott, and pasteurize. It is tempting to try to relate this item to French fou ~ fol, but there seems to be no justifiable reason for doing so; the only other possibility I can see is Fr. félon or Eng. felon 'one who acts contrary to the law', which by extension could come to mean 'contrary to convention'. I am not greatly attached to this explanation; it feels too much like grasping at straws. One can only hope that 'Archibald Pelton' did not suffer too long in his deranged state.

4.3 píthilh, píthil [píthil] 'thick in consistency, as molasses'.
This word is a total mystery, as no etymon whatsoever seems to have been suggested, and Mr. Thomas can offer no assistance. The orthography would suggest that the etymon had at least one [4] sound, pointing to an Amerindian origin. On purely semantic grounds, I would like to suggest *pitchy*, but the word-final stress of the Jargon word would seem to obviate that possibility. French *feutré* [føtʁ] would give a satisfactory phonological result, but the semantics are hardly attractive; *feutré* < *feutre* 'felt' means 'muffled' as in *à pas feutrés* 'with muffled steps'. The etymon of this item must, at least for the time being, remain a large question mark.

4.4 *solleks*, *sahleks* [səlʌks] 'angry, anger, malice, etc.'.

There are no suggested etymons. The orthography would seem to indicate that the first vowel sound might equally well have been [ɔ] or [a]. If we also consider that the -*eks* may represent the same suffix as is said to exist in *pasiooks*, a number of possibilities present themselves for the stem, e.g., English *sore* [sɔr], [sar] in some dialects. The older senses of the word are 'severe, hard, harsh' and the modern slang sense of 'angry' dates at least as far back as 1887, according to Wentworth and Flexner (1975) (the Jargon word for *sore* in its more usual sense of 'painful' is *sick*). Other possibilities are English *sullen* and *sulky*, but they pose phonological problems which must by now be evident to the reader. Another puzzle for etymologists to ponder.

4.5 *wappatoo* [wʌpəto] 'potato'.

Gibbs, after once more eliminating Chinook and Chehalis, says that the word 'is everywhere in common use.' Shaw quotes Chamberlain: 'from Cree or Otcipwe' [sic]. The Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles derives it from Chinook
Jargon, an etymology which leaves us exactly where we started.

4.6 Complete mysteries

There are two items remaining about which nothing whatsoever seems to be known, halo [helo] 'none, absent' and likpuku or likpo 'elder sister'. About the former, one can only say that it was a very commonly used word, and that a Chinook origin has apparently been eliminated. As to the latter, all I can offer is the Jargon word for 'elder brother' kahpho (Shaw's orthography) [kāpo], which he says is from Chinook and which looks as if it might form the root of the item in question.

5.0 SUMMARY

It is thus possible to divide the etymologically problematic words from Chinook Jargon into four main categories, those for which French derivations are posited, those apparently of Nootkan origin, imitative words, and as yet unsolved mysteries. Again, I should like to invite readers' comments on these items, especially those offering any further etymological possibilities that I may have overlooked or be unaware of.

Appendix I: Transcription of the Lord's Prayer in Chinook Jargon.  

\[ \text{n(a)saika papa təksta mətalt kupa saxali} \]

\[ \text{Nesika papa klaksta mitlite kopa saghalie}, \]

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\[ ^{10}\text{This transcription was provided by Lorna Lane, a student in the Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria. The interlining is the prayer as commonly written in Chinook Jargon. I have taken the liberty of changing some of the vowel symbols of the transcription so that it is consistent with that used in the body of the text.} \]
Our father who dwells in above, beautiful in our hearts thy name; good you [are] chief over all people; good thy will on earth as in above. Give every day our food. If we do evil not thou [be] very angry, and if anyone [does] evil to us, not we [be] angry at them. Take far from us all evil. Good so.

Appendix II: Phonological Correspondences between French and Chinook Jargon

A. Front vowels

1. Fr. [i]
   a. > CJ [i] in the final syllable of a word:
      Fr. carabine [karabín] 'rifle' > CJ calipeen [káíapín]
b. > CJ [i] elsewhere (and occasionally finally):
Fr. biscuit [biskwi] > CJ lesbiskwe [l̩biskwi]

c. > CJ [e] in one case from contamination with English:
Fr. le gris [legri] 'the grey one' > CJ legley [l̩gl̩] 'grey'

2. Fr. [y]

a. > CJ [i] ~ [u]
Fr. charuru [ʃary] 'plough' > CJ la shalley [l̩ʃal̩i]
la shalloo [l̩ʃal̩u]

b. > CJ [o] if [œ] precedes in the French etymon:
Fr. ruban [rybã] 'ribbon' > CJ leloba [l̩l̩o̩ba]

3. Fr. [e] > CJ [i] ~ [i]:
Fr. olef [kle] 'key' > CJ lekleh [likli]
ourez [kure] 'run!' 2nd plural imperative > cooley [k̩lt]

4. Fr. [ɛ]

a. > CJ [ɛ]:
Fr. cassette [kaset] 'box' > CJ lacaset [l̩kas̩et]
graissee [gres] 'grease' > CJ lakles [l̩gɾ̩s̩]

b. if Fr. [ɛ] is long, or if it is followed by [œ], the following shifts occur:

i. Fr. [ɛː] > CJ [e]:
Fr. chaise [ʃeːz] 'chair' > CJ lashashe [l̩ʃes̩]
(This is the only example in Jargon, but the same thing happens in English where a chaise longue
[ʃeːzl̩ɡ] has become a chaise lounge [ʃeː laz̩n].)

ii. Fr. [ɛœ] > CJ [a]:
Fr. merci [mersi] > CJ mahsi [m̩sì]
(Again the only example; the pronunciation of the vowel may well have been influenced by Canadian
French and the [r] would disappear as the first element of a cluster.)

5. Fr. [φ] and [œ] > CJ [e] ~ [a]:
   Fr. les oeufs [lezœ̃] 'eggs' > CJ lezep [lezé̃p]
   lesap [lezé̃p]

6. Fr. [ɛ] > CJ [a]:
   Fr. moulin [mu̯lɛ̃] 'mill' > CJ moole [mûle]

B. Non-front vowels

1. Fr. [a]
   a. > CJ [œ] frequently (but not invariably) if stressed:
      Fr. sac [sak] 'bag' > CJ lesak [lezé̃k]
      Fr. ararine [kararîn] 'rifle' > CJ aalîpeen [kælapîn]
   b. > CJ [e] sometimes in the Jargon reflex of the French feminine definite article:¹¹
      Fr. la hache [laʔẽ̝] 'hatchet' > CJ lahæ̝̃ [lelæ̝̃]
      la main [lame] 'hand' > CJ lema [lêma]
      la montagne [læmɔ̃taɲ] 'mountain' > CJ lamonti [lêmonti]
   c. > CJ [ɔ] in two words only, presumably from contamination with English:
      Fr. balle [bal] 'ball, bullet' > CJ lebal [lêbal]
      cf Eng. ball [bol]
      sauvage [sovaʁ] 'wild, untamed' > CJ siwash [saïwoʃ]
      cf. Eng. wash [wɔʃ]
   d. > CJ [a]:
      Fr. oapot [kapo] 'coat' > CJ oapo [kapø]
      bardeau [bardo] 'shingle' > CJ lebæ̃do [lêbádo]

2. ?Fr. [a] > CJ [œ]; there is only one example:
   Fr. diable [djabl] 'devil' > leyaub [lîjɔb]
   (There are ten other spellings for this, nine of them indicating a low back vowel.)

¹¹ If these had been borrowed with the plural article les, as Dr. Hewson suggests, they should have had [iː] rather than [œ] as the first syllable, unless one posits a single high front vowel /i/ with allophones [i] ~ [e]; in any case, why are these nouns all feminine?
3. Fr. [æ]
   a. > CJ [œn] if followed by a stop in the French etymon:
      Fr. _chandelle_ [ʃændel] 'candle' > CJ _lashandel_ [laʃændel]
   b. > CJ [œ] if followed by a consonant other than a stop:
      Fr. _planche_ [plɑ̃ʃ] 'board' > CJ _laplash_ [laplɑ̃ʃ]
   c. > CJ [a] in final position:
      Fr. _dent_ [dæ] 'tooth' > CJ _letah_ [litɑ̃]

4. Fr. [u] > CJ [u] ~ [ʊ]
   Fr. _bouche_ [buʃ] 'mouth' > CJ _laboos_ [læboʊs]
      _lapush_ [lapuʃ]

5. Fr. [o]
   a. > CJ [o] usually:
      Fr. _cochon_ [koʃɔ] 'pig' > _cosho_ [koʃɔ]
      Fr. _porte_ [pɔʁt] 'door' > _lapote_ [lapɔt]
   b. > CJ [ɔ] in two words only:
      Fr. _carotte_ [kaʁot] 'carrot' > _lacalat_ [lakalot]
      Fr. _coq_ [kok] 'cock' > CJ _lecock_ [lɪkɔk]

6. Fr. [ɔ]
   a. > CJ [ɔn] if followed by a stop in the French etymon:
      Fr. _montagne_ [mɔtɑ̃] 'mountain' > CJ _ləmonti_ [lemonti]
   b. > CJ [o] in final position:
      Fr. _mouton_ [mɔtu] 'sheep' > CJ _mooto_ [ləmʊto]
      (The one exception to this is CJ _leblau_ [ləblɔ] 'light
      haired etc.' < _le blond_ [ləblɔ], where there could be
      contamination from English _blonde_ [blɔnd].)

7. Fr. [o] > CJ [o]
   Fr. _bardeau_ [bɑʁdo] 'shingle' > CJ _lebahdo_ [ləbədo]

C. Glides

1. Fr. [wa]. The CJ reflexes show great variation:
   a. > CJ [u]:
      Fr. _doigt_ [dwa] 'finger' > CJ _ledoo_ [lɪdʊ]
(This distribution of these needs to be worked out more carefully than I have had time to do so far.)

2. Fr. [j] > CJ [i]
   Fr. marier [marje] 'marry' > CJ malieh [mali^]

3. Fr. [u]
   a. > CJ [u] when the stress shifts onto it from the following vowel:
      Fr. hui-hui [?u ?u] 'a bargain, hasty exchange'
      > CJ huu-huu [huhuu] 'barter, trade'
   b. > CJ [w]:
      Fr. biscuit [bisku] > CJ lebiskewie [lubiskwi]
   c. disappears:
      Fr. puis [pu] 'then' > CJ pe [pi] 'and, but'
      (This reduced form of puis is common to French-based Pidgins and Creoles as a whole.)

D. Consonants

1. Fr. [?] > CJ [h]
   Fr. hache [a?] 'hatchet' > CJ lahash [lahas]

2. Fr. [f] > CJ [p]
   Fr. fourchette [furset] 'fork' > lapooshet [lapuset]
3. Fr. [v] > CJ [w]
Fr. veste [vest] 'jacket' > CJ lawest [lawest]
Fr. avoine [aywan] 'oats' > CJ laween [lawin]

4. Fr. [z]
   a. > CJ [ʒ] usually:
      Fr. cochon [koʒɔ] 'pig' > CJ cosho [koʃo]
      Fr. bouche [buʃ] 'mouth' > CJ lapush [lapuʃ]
   b. > CJ [s] occasionally:
      Fr. chapeau [ʃapo] 'hat' > CJ seahpo [ʃapo]
      Fr. bouche [buʃ] 'mouth' > CJ laboos [labuʃ]

5. Fr. [ʒ]
   a. > CJ [ʒ]
      Fr. sauvage [sovaʒ] 'wild' > CJ siwash [saivəʃ] 'native'
   b. > CJ [ʃ]?
      This correspondence is suggested by the orthography of certain words, e.g., lapiege [lapieʒ] from Fr. piège [pieʒ] 'trap', but the voiced affricate seems unlikely except in the mouths of native English speakers of Jargon.

6. Fr. [ʁ]
   a. > CJ [l]
      Fr. prêtre [pretʁ] 'priest' > CJ leplet [l ipt] 'clergyman'
   b. disappears if part of a medial or final consonant cluster, see example above, also:
      Fr. marteau [marto] 'hammer' > CJ lemahto [l imáto]
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