'Klahowiam Mr Smis': Collocation and Context of Situation in the Interpretation of a Chinook Jargon Text.

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Most of the previous work on Chinook Jargon has dealt with spoken text (see for example Boas, 1883; Drechsel, 1981; Grant, 1945; Jacobs, 1932; Silverstein, 1972; Thomason, 1983). The problems involved in dealing with an original written text are quite different, because of the heavy dependence of meaning in CJ on various linguistic factors, not the least of which was the physical and social context of the utterance. Hale (1846:643) remarked of Jargon, 'A good deal is expressed in the tone of voice, the look, and the gesture of the speaker.' More recently, Drechsel (1981:99) has commented, 'Much understanding depended on the extralinguistic context, including the speaker's tone of voice, looks, gestures and other body language, as well as the particular speech situations. The reason for this reliance on context is found in the lexicon. As Drechsel (96f.) explains, CJ had a 'parsimonious vocabulary of semantically and grammatically ambiguous, generically defined entries (core lexicon); polysemy due to their functions in different linguistic and extralinguistic contexts and/or metaphorical extension.' A glance through Shaw's (1909) dictionary is all that is needed to exemplify this statement. An early comment on the multiplicity of meanings inherent in many CJ words was made by the Rev. Herbert Beaver, Hudson's Bay Chaplain at Fort Vancouver in the late 1830's (see Jessett 1958). In a letter to Benjamin Harrison, Hudson's Bay House, London, dated March 10, 1837, Beaver complained of his inability to communicate effectively with his Indian charges:

3 The three words discussed here were later written, respectively, kokshut, tenas and kloochman although like all CJ words they have several orthographic variants.

1 As opposed to formal writing such as that found in the Kamloops Wawa or in translations of hymns, prayers, Bible stories, etc.

2 This dictionary is by far the most complete of those I have seen, as Shaw combined all the features of his predecessors and quoted their comments at length. For other dictionaries consulted see References.

(1) Nika kumtuks Chinook wawa?
2 SG 'know' 'CJ' 'speech'
'Do you understand Chinook Jargon?'

(2) Nika kumtuks wawa Chinook?
2 SG 'know' 'speak' 'CJ'
'Can you speak Chinook Jargon?'

In (1), wawa functions as the second element of the nominal compound Chinook wawa, whereas in (2) it completes the verb phrase kumtuks wawa.

Word order, however, is not infallible as an indicator of function, as may be seen in the ambiguous statement, yaka kumtuks wawa, which may have four possible...
structures, two with closely related meanings.

(3) Yaka *kumtuks* wawa
NP NP
Subj PredNom
'He/she [is] an orator'

(4) Yaka *kumtuks* wawa
NP AjP
Subj PredAdj
'He/she [is] eloquent'

(5) Yaka *kumtuks* wawa
NP VP NP
Subj Vb Obj
'He/she understands speech'

(6) Yaka *kumtuks* wawa
NP VP Subj Vb
'He/she knows how to talk'

The last is the most likely interpretation if the context is unknown. Lexical collocation must also be taken into account as, in common with other pidgins, CJ expands its small core lexicon by compounding and circumlocution. Thus the sentence Yaka *halo* kumtuks , which appears to have (and indeed could have) the structure

(7) Yaka *halo* kumtuks
NP NEG VP Subj Vb
'He/she [does] not understand'

could equally well, given the right context, be analysed

(8) Yaka *halo* kumtuks
NP NEG AjP Subj PredAdj
'He/she [is] unaware' or 'It[is] unintelligible'

The first problem to be overcome was the physical condition of the letter. Although the photocopy is amazingly clear, time has wreaked its havoc, and the paper appears to be badly foxed. A few (apparently original) inkblots and fold marks add to the difficulty where *halo* functions like the English negative prefix un-.

If all these factors -- polysemy, multifunctionality, and lexical collocation -- must be taken into account when dealing with the spoken language where (at least in the original circumstances) the extralinguistic context was clear, they become much more important when dealing with written texts. Firth (1930:174) points out, 'In written language the context is entirely verbal and referred to an assumed common background of experience.' But what happens when the 'assumed common background of experience' is missing, as is the case when one is dealing with old texts? Lyons (1977:578) says 'Problems of spatio-temporal reference arise when the participants are separated in space and time'; how much more are these problems compounded when dealing with a language like Chinook Jargon, which is so heavily dependent on an understanding of the context, both linguistic and extralinguistic.

The text referred to in the title is a letter written in the year 1881 by 'Jack' in Quileute, W.T. to 'Mr Smis' in Seattle (see Appendix I). A photocopy of this letter was given to me by a colleague, along with a first attempt at an interlinear and a free translation by an anonymous consultant. A first comparison of the interlinear and free translations with the text revealed that they did not seem to fit properly. The free translation was too free and some of the glosses in the interlinear did not agree with those accepted by most dictionaries and glossaries of CJ. As well, some of the transcription did not make sense in terms of CJ structure, but these misinterpretations were mostly attributable to difficulties with reading the text, for reasons explained below. Excited by the prospect of analysing a piece of 'real' CJ and inspired by Firth's dictum (1930:175f.) that 'to translate mere words is a vicious waste of time,' I set about the task of producing a translation that would not only be as accurate as possible but would also fit in with the historical and social context as far as it could be determined. This paper deals with my ensuing attempts to relate the apparent content of the letter to its time and place of origin, over a century ago in Washington Territory.

The first problem to be overcome was the physical condition of the letter. Although the photocopy is amazingly clear, time has wreaked its havoc, and the paper appears to be badly foxed. A few (apparently original) inkblots and fold marks add to the difficulty
of decipherment. The handwriting is an exceedingly careful copperplate, in itself easy to read. With the aid of a magnifying glass and a strong light, I was able to transcribe the letter to my own satisfaction, and thus clear up a number of the puzzles posed by the first interlinear translation. For example, Jack only used capital letters at the beginnings of paragraphs (and not always then) or for proper names, so it is often difficult, reading the letter with the naked eye, to tell whether a dot is in fact a full stop or whether it is one of the many tiny marks caused by foxing over the years or by a spluttery pen nib at the time of writing. And although the penmanship is generally clear, various spots and fold marks have in some places almost obliterated the writing. I am satisfied that the transcription I have provided is as accurate a one as can be achieved from the photocopy in my possession. However, I would like at some time to try either to get a look at the original, or have the copy cleaned up in order to be completely sure.

The next stage in the interpretation was to prepare a new interlinear translation. Because of the polysemy involved in the lexicon of CJ, it was necessary to do this in very general terms, and to make a small accompanying glossary of terms having more than two or three meanings for easy reference. This having been done, the actual interpretation could begin.

Although at the time my progress was more of a meander than a bee-line, I will deal with the letter here sentence by sentence.

Nika tenas wake tenas sick. This sentence presents no problems to speak of. Nika is the first person singular pronoun, all cases, and tenas means either 'small, little, few' or by extension 'child, the young of any animal' (but in the latter case the animal is always specified, e.g. 'foal' is tenas kuitan). Wake is one of the two negatives used in CJ, the other being halo; they seem to be used almost interchangeably, though Shaw (1909:6) says:

"Probably properly 'wake' means no, and 'halo' all gone, but on Puget Sound 'halo' is used for no; the same as 'wake' is in Oregon and other localities. Custom uses 'halo' in some combinations and 'wake' in others, and both in some.

Jack uses halo throughout except in this first sentence and once near the end of the letter. The position of the next occurrence of tenas, preceding sick, indicates that it is functioning as an adverbial modifying sick, making a compound adjective tenas sick which could be glossed as 'ailing'. As usual in CJ, the intensive stative verb be is not represented. This sentence can thus be translated, 'My child is not ailing.'

Yaka skookum, pe nika kloochman halo tenas sick. Yaka is the third singular personal pronoun, all persons, all cases. Since no name is mentioned, we do not know whether the child is a boy or a girl, but presumably Mr Smith did, and would read 'he' or 'she' accordingly. (From internal evidence further on in the letter, it seems likely that it is in fact a boy. Skookum, commonly used as a modifier, means generally 'strong, fit tough' etc. Pe is one of the two conjunctions in CJ; it serves a co-ordinating function. Usually glossed 'and' or 'but', it sometimes seems to mean 'then' and occasionally 'or'. Nika here must be possessive, as it is followed by kloochman, always a noun. Kloochman means 'female' (see the Rev. Mr. Beaver's comments above), though like tenas it is always followed by the name of the species if non-human, e.g. kloochman kuitan 'mare'. It also refers, if unmodified, to the adult female; thus 'girl' is tenas kloochman and 'filly' is tenas kloochman kuitan. Halo, as stated above, is one of the two CJ negatives, and the one that Jack commonly uses. Tenas sick has been discussed in the context of the previous sentence. This sentence could then be rendered 'He/she is fine and my wife is not ailing (either).'

Yaka skookum. A truly simple sentence. Since yaka obviously refers to kloochman in the preceding sentence, there is no gender problem. The sentence reads 'She is fine.'

Chee nika copet potlatch kopa nika tillicums. Chee is a modifier indicating recent time, and may function adverbially or adjectivally; here it is obviously an adverb as no nominal form follows. The next phrase could be ambiguous and the interpretation hangs on the full stop at the end, and on the beginning of the next sentence. Nika SG, could be 'I' or 'mine'; copet can be a verb or a modifier; potlatch can be noun or verb. Thus nika copet potlatch could be glossed either 'my only gift' or 'I stop giving'. Kopa nika tillicums does not help, as it should mean 'to my people' in either case. Kopa is the all-purpose preposition of CJ; here it has to be glossed either 'to' or 'from', and 'to' is the more likely if copet is in fact a verb.
And so it would appear, because we then come to a full stop, and the next sentence begins with an adverbial phrase. The suggested interpretation of this sentence is that the subject is an anaphoric referent: 'Recently I stopped giving to my relatives/friends.'

Moxt moon alta nika kwansome potlatch kopa nika tillicums. Moxt moon alta can be seen to be an adverbial phrase: moxt 'two' modifying moon 'month' followed by alta, the present tense marker also used as an adverbial meaning 'now, at the present time'. Nika here functions as subject; it cannot be possessive since potlatch is obviously the verb in this sentence, modified by kwansome. Kwansome, according to Shaw, means 'always, forever, eternal, continual, everlasting, perpetual, unceasing'; apart from having these fairly specific meanings, it also seems to be used as a sort of continuous action marker that can often be translated by a progressive in English. Kopa nika tillicums constitutes the same phrase as in the previous sentence. Thus this sentence likely reads '[For] two months now I have been giving to my relatives/friends.'

Pe kwansome yaka hehe, kwansome yaka halo ickta mamook kopet hehe pe klokwolwol. Pe and kwansome have already been discussed. The use of yaka 3 SG, seems odd here, as the anaphoric referent is surely tillicums at the end of the preceding sentence. One has to assume that Jack used only one third person pronoun for both singular and plural, relying on the context to indicate number. Hehe means any kind of amusement, laughter, and so forth, and can also be used as a verb, as it is here. Ickta is generally considered to be the interrogative pronoun 'what', while as a plural noun it usually means 'thing'; however, Shaw (p.7) says 'occasionally the singular ickta is used, though not often' (see also footnote 7). This must be one of the occasions, as the interrogative function does not fit here, and Shaw's English-Chinook glossary (42f) gives Haio ickta for 'nothing' (although he does not list this compound under either of its component elements in the main dictionary). Mamook is the multi-purpose verb of action, often translatable simply by 'do'. Kopet

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7 Nika tillicum is always glossed 'my relatives' but in the plural the sense seems to be less clear. Tiliicum is one of two words in CJ that may be pluralized, the other being ickta 'thing', which in the plural has the connotation of 'belongings'.

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8 According to the Guide to the Province of British Columbia for 1877-8 (Hibben 1877), mamook hehe means 'to amuse'. However, the structure of this sentence does not easily admit this analysis although the connotation fits well.
Nika kloshe nanich kopa Wesley spose yaka chaco kopa Quileute. The only new lexical items in this sentence are spose 'if, when', also acting as a sort of a sort of conditional marker, and chaco 'come'. The main question posed by this sentence was 'Who was Wesley?'

My first source (Powell and Jensen 1976) mentioned an A. W. Smith who established a school at La Push in 1882. The context of further references to 'Wesley' in the letter made it seem likely that this was the person in question, a suspicion that became almost a certainty with the discovery that 'A. W.' stood for 'Alanson Wesley' (Pettitt 1950:26). The sentence is thus translatable as 'I [will] look after Wesley when he comes to Quileute.'

As this sentence is long, I have broken it into parts.

(1) Pe alka spose mika kopa Quileute: alka is no , tense. changed final vowel is probably through contamination from alta, the present tense marker. Both words can be used adverbially. In this sentence, 'sometime' or 'by and by' might be adequate glosses, or it may be that alka is simply putting the whole sentence into a future time frame. The rest of this part of the sentence is quite transparent.

(2) Nika kloshe nanich kopa mlka pe lolo mika kopa kloshe lllahe. Nlka is obviously the subject of both kloshe nanlch and llo. Lolo has the generic meaning 'carry', but here the connotation seems to be 'bring' or 'convey'. Illahe means anything to do with land, from the soil itself to a field or farm, to a district, region, or country. Preceded by kloshe it seems to have had an especially favorable meaning, somewhat in the sense of belonging to one's own people. I have no evidence whatsoever, but just a very strong feeling that it may refer to the village of La Push itself, located at the mouth (la bouche) of the Quillayute River, and by all accounts a kloshe illahe indeed. Allowing for this flash of intuition, then, sentence J. in its entirety would read 'And if you come to Quileute sometime, I will look after you and take you to the village.'

Spose Wesley klap kopa Quileute nika konamoxt kopa yaka mamook tsum kopa konaway siwash. Spose could probably be interpreted here as 'when', since from the preceding two sentences (even if the historical context were not known) it seems certain that Wesley was in fact going to Quileute. Klap means 'find, arrive', surely the latter in this context. Konamox is a blend of konaway 'all' and moxt 'two' thus 'both', but it can also be glossed 'together', which seems more likely in this case, followed as it is by the preposition kopa and the 3 SG pronoun yaka, yielding 'I together with him'. Mamook has already been discussed; tsum by itself means any kind of mark or coloration, as well as writing and various other combinations of background and pattern. The compound mamook tsum denotes various activities involved in putting marks on paper or other material; two such meanings are 'enroll' and 'enumerate'. Because of the following preposition kopa, the best gloss here seems to be 'make a list of' especially when followed by konaway siwash 'all the Indians' -- a particularly likely occupation for a prospective schoolmaster and his native mentor. For this sentence we then have 'When Wesley arrives at Quileute he and I will make a list of all the band members.' (In terms of the sentence structure, mamook tsum kopa konaway siwash could just as well read 'write to all the band members', but it is unlikely that many of them could have read what was written to them at that time; one has the feeling that Jack was a leader and an exception in his literacy in CJ. In any case, if Wesley and Jack were right there with them, it would hardly have been necessary to write to them.)

9 Pettitt (1950) gives the date of the founding of the school as 1883.

10 Were 'Mr Smis', the A. J. Smith who signed the notation at the end of the letter, and Wesley's father all the same man? I have not been able to answer that question yet. All I have been able, so far, to discover about Wesley's father is that he was a schoolteacher from New York state who came to Washington Territory via Wisconsin and Dakota Territory; in 1876, Mr Smith senior was employed as a cook for the Indian Agency at Neah Bay (Pettitt, p.26). But as he was literate, he may well have risen in the Agency service and have been employed in Seattle in 1881.

11 The term kloshe illahe was used in reference to an Indian village near Bedwell Harbour on Pender Island in about 1896, where it was shortened to 'the Klo-shie' (Elliott, forthcoming).
Fe nika tenas sick, most sun nika halo get up.
The first half of the sentence is ambiguous, taken by itself, and the ambiguity is structural:

(9) Nika tenas sick alta
1 SG NP Aj PRES Poss Subj PredAj Av
'My child is sick at present'

(10) Nika tenas sick alta
1 SG AjP PRES Subj PredAj Av
'I am a little sick at present'

However, the second clause disambiguates the first: 'For two days I [did] not get up.' The whole sentence can thus be interpreted 'I am not very well just now, I didn't get out of bed for two days.'

This sentence is preceded in the original letter by a sort of equal sign as well as an overly large full stop. These marks are perfectly clear and quite obviously deliberately made, but I can offer no logical explanation as to their significance, if any. As this sentence is long and difficult to interpret, it too is better dealt with in two parts.

(1) Tenas alka klonas ickt moon pe sitkum, nika klatawa kopa Queets pe Ho. Tenas here acts as an intensifier attached to the future marker alka; Shaw gives 'in a little while' for tenas alki. Klonas, he says, is 'an expression of uncertainty or doubt' and may be glossed 'might, may' (among other things). Ickt moon pe sitkum is literally 'one month and [a] half', hence, six weeks. The rest of this part of the sentence presents no problem (klatawa meaning loosely 'go') except that I had no idea of the location or the significance of Queets and Ho. I soon discovered (Pettitt 1950, and Powell and Jensen 1976) that Queets and Hoh are both rivers and Quileute settlements south of La Push.

(2) Iskum kopa siwash lolo kopa Quileute... This part of the sentence looks difficult at first because of the structure. There seems to be either one element too many or too few; i.e. either the first occurrence of kopa is unnecessary, or there should be something between siwash and lolo:

The more frivolous side of my mind suggests 'All things being equal' as an introduction to this sentence suggested by the '=".

(11) Iskum kopa siwash lolo kopa Quileute...
V PREP NP V PREP NP 'get' ? 'Indian' 'bring' ? Quileute

This analysis assumes, however, that kopa is always a preposition, when, in fact, it is not. It can also be used as an adverb of place. In speech, the difference of function would be clear: 'When thus used as an adverb, the accent is on the last syllable which is prolonged.' (Shaw, p.12). In writing, this prosodic difference cannot be realised. Lolo means not only 'carry' or 'bring' but also 'fetch'. Mamook, in this context followed by sealskin, likely has connotations of 'work'. Sentence M. may then be interpreted as 'In a little while, maybe six weeks, I will go to Queets and Hoh to get band members there to come back to Quileute to work on sealskins.'

The second page of the letter begins with the sentence Pe nika Ow Henry yaka kloshe, halo tenas sick. No problems arise here, as the only new word is Ow 'younger brother', and there are no structural or contextual difficulties. The only point of grammatical interest is the use of the reinforcing or recapitulatory (Quirk et al. 1980:970) pronoun yaka after a subject nominal, a normal feature of CJ syntax. The translation is 'And my younger brother Henry [is] fine, not ailing.'

Pe nika mama yaka kloshe pe kwansome mitlight kopa nika house. The only new item in this sentence (but see footnote 5) is mitlight having a general existential meaning; it can be translated in a number of ways, e.g. 'be, stay, rest, live'. This sentence then means 'My mother is fine and still lives at my place.'

Pe John yaka kwansome k[ ]loshe nanich kopa nika pe potlatch pire stick. The beginning of the sentence presents no difficulties. The original translation

Sealing was one of the traditional occupations of the Quileute, especially after the establishment of the fur trade in the Pacific north-west. In 1881, when this was written, as many as 8,000 sealskins were traded in a season (Pettitt, 1950).

Untypically, this feature does not occur when Wesley is the subject, Spose Wesley klap kopa Quileute...
assumed that the subject of potlatch in the second clause was nika, but the structure, compared to that of previous sentences would seem to indicate 'John' as the given of the pire stick. My first reaction to this compound was that 'fire stick' must equal 'gun' (the result, no doubt, of watching too many old western movies on TV), and indeed the first translator had so interpreted it. A quick search of the dictionaries and glossaries soon revealed, however, that 'gun' in CJ is either musket or kalipeen (from Fr. carbine), and that pire stick is in fact simply 'firewood'--which better fits the feeling of the letter, in any case. Thus, this sentence tells us, 'And John always looks after me and gives [me] firewood.'

Howeattle yaka kwansome ickt tumtum kopa nika kwansome kunamoxk kopa nika spose ickt takta mamook. This sentence presented problems both contextual and structural. The original transcript reads How-kwut'l yaka . . . , translated as 'I can't he . . .' in the interlinear version and left out of the free version altogether. The wording in the photocopy was decipherable as Howeattle, but I was then faced with another mystery man (having dismissed 'John' as a relative of Jack and Henry). Back then to Quileute history, to find that one of the Quileute chiefs appointed by the treaty of 1855 was How-yaks (Powell and Jensen) or How-yat'l (Pettitt), and that Howeattle is now a Quileute surname. Assuming that Chief Howeattle was somewhere between thirty-five and fifty years old at the time of the treaty, he could easily have still been alive in 1881. The tone of the sentence also seems to imply someone who is respected and looked up to. In any case, Howeattle was of one mind with me, always supports me no matter what happens.

If we assume that the child is more likely than the father to want a whistle, then (13) is the correct analysis, and the child is probably male, as in the late nineteenth century a whistle would not have been considered a very proper toy for a girl child. It is, however, entirely possible that Jack wanted a whistle for himself, but in that case, delate kloshe tenas whistle would surely be the more likely word order. Based on that assumption, I have opted for 'I [would] like [it] if you [would] give my child a really good whistle.'

Wake kakwa mitlight kopa okoke makoke house. Wake is used for the negative here, where it means simply 'not'. Kakwa is used for comparison, and sometimes for 'because'; it clearly has the former meaning here. Mitlight is again existential. Okoke is a demonstrative, either pronoun or determiner. Here it modifies makoke house a compound made up of makoke 'trade' and house 'building', thus a store, shop or trading post. The sentence thus reads 'Not such as are in this store.'
Klahowiam, Mr. Smis. The 'ordinary salutation at meeting or parting' (Shaw, p. 10) is klahowga, but there is very clearly an m on the end of the word in this letter. Klahowgum is glossed as 'poor, miserable, in need of help' and may have been used as a sort of honorific when addressing anyone of higher social standing (p.c. Thom Hess). However, Shaw quotes Eels as saying:

I have never been able to see any difference. In the Willamette Valley in 1850 and afterwards we always used Klahowgum for both and I never heard Klahowga. On Puget Sound for about twenty years we have used Klahowya for both; and I have seldom heard Klahowgum.

(p. 10)

I would venture to suggest that whoever taught Jack his epistolatory style used it as the closest CJ equivalent to 'Y'r humble servant.'

Kloshe mash haleuiman tsum kopa nika kakwa kwansome mika tillicum. Mash is the verb that generally denotes movement away from, into, or out of, and can function either transitively or intransitively. The next word, huleuiman appeared on the original interlinear translation as hahlakl, glossed 'open'; in spite of a rather large blot, it was clearly identifiable under the magnifying glass as huleuiman, which must be a variant spelling of huloima 'different, strange, another.' Tsum here apparently refers to the letter itself, as it is followed by kopa nika 'to you' and a further expression of friendly sentiment, nika kakwa kwansome mika tillicum 'I am always your friend.'

It is now possible to put the whole thing together in one coherent whole, having solved all the puzzles, historical and linguistic, except one -- exactly who was 'Jack'?

The letter

Quileute, W.T. Feb. 7, 1881

Mr. Smith

My child is not sick at all. He is fine, and so is my wife. Recently I stopped giving handouts to my relatives. For two months I have been supporting them

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17 See footnote 6 for an example of this verb used as part of a compound.

Elliott, Marie, ed. (forthcoming). The Memoirs of Win­
ifred Grey.


Gibbs, George (1861). A Dictionary of the Chinook Jar­

Hale, Horatio (1846). United States Exploring Expe­


Hibben, T. N. (1877). 'Indian Trade Language (Chin­

(1931). Chinook Jargon as Spoken by the Indians of the Pacific Coast. Victoria: Diggon's Limited. [This appears to be a late edition of an earlier work, as Shaw (q.v.) quotes a comment by Eels (1893) comparing Hibben and others to Gibbs.]


Kay, Paul, and Gillian Sankoff (1972). 'A Language-Uni­
versals Approach to Pidgins and Creoles.' In DeCamp and Hancock (q.v.):61-72.

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Silverstein, Michael (1972). 'Chinook Jargon: Language Contact and the Problems of Multi-level Generative Sys­


APPENDIX I

Letter from
Jack
Mr Smis

NOTE: Apparent inconsistencies in spelling are not typographical errors; punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing are as they appear in the original.

Quileute, W. T. Feb. 7, 1881

Mr Smis

Nika tenas wake tenas sick. yaka skookum. pe nika kloochman halo tenas sick. yaka skookum. chee nika copet potlatch kopa nika tillicums. moxt moon alta, nika kwansome potlatch kopa nika tillicums. pe kwansome[ml] yaka hehe, kwansome yaka halo ickta mamook kopet hehe pe klokwoolly. pe nika kwansome kloshe nanitch kopa nika tillicums pe konaway swash. kwansome nika potlatch hyiu muckamuck pe halo lolo ickt bit, nika kloshe nanich kopa Wesley spose yaka chaco kopa
Quileut. pe oilka spose mika chako kopa Quileute nika kloshe nanich kopa mika pe lolo mika kopa kloshe illahe. spose Wesley klap kopa Quileute nika konamox kopa yaka mamook tsum kopa konaway siwash. pe nika tenas sick alta, moxt sun nika haloo get up. = tenas aika klonas ickt moon pe sitkum, nika klatawa kopa Queets pe Ho, iskum kopa siwash lolo kopa Quileute mamook sealskin.

(p.2) pe nika Ow Henry yaka kloshe, halo tenas sick. pe nika mama yaka kloshe pe kwansome mitlight kopa nika house. pe John yaka kwansome koshe nanich kopa nika pe potlatch pire stick.

Howeattle yaka kwansome ickt tumtum kopa nika kwansome kunamox kopa nika spose ickta mamook. nika tikegh spose mika potlatch kopa nika tenas delate kloshe whis­
tle. wake kaka mitlight kopa okoke makoke house.

Klahowiam Mr Smis

Kloshe mash haleuiman tsum kopa mika nika kakwa kwansome mika tillicum.

Jack [E?]