Etymological Problems in the Lexicon of Chinook Jargon:

Some Proposed Solutions

Part II: Words of Non-French Origin

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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]~[ɩ] (see Appendix II) perfectly for *lekleh* [lɩklíʔ] and *lebal* [lɩbál]; the plural article *les* also appears in Jargon as [lɛ]~[lɩ] in *lezep* [lɛzép] ~ *lesap* [lɩsap] < *les oeufs* (eggs). However, the reflex of the masculine singular article *le* is also, and almost invariably, [lɩ], while the pronunciation given for *lemah* is [léma]. This could again be a case of tense/lax variation [e]~[ɛ], but there are other examples of the feminine singular article *la* turning up as [le] in Jargon (again, see Appendix II). Could it be the case that the original lexicographers had difficulty distinguishing

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[1]Personal communication (letter), December 7, 1981.

the non-low front vowels [i ~ ι ~ e ~ ε] (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) "*lasanjel* looks to me, given Québec assibilation of
dentals before high front vowels, as probably from *la ceinture*,
which would explain both the /ʝ/ and the /l/."[2] This etymon
certainly fits the phonological correspondences much better
than either Gibbs' (apparently) non-existent *cingle*, or the
word he probably was referring to, *sangle* — in fact, it fits
perfectly.

3) *lepishemo*. Dr. Hewson traces this back to Proto-
Algonkian **axphišimoweni* 'mattress' > Cree *aspisimowin* 'pillow,
bed' and Ojibway *appiššimowin* 'mattress', whence CF *apichimon*
and CE *appishimon* 'horse blanket'[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
acadien." This fits rather nicely with our other apparently
Acadian derivative, *lekye* 'piebald horse'; it requires no great
feat of imagination to envisage "un acadien errant" making his
way towards the Pacific Coast and acquiring *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

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[2]Hewson, *loc. cit.*

[3]Personal communication (letter), December 23, 1981

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lagwin. He suggests *l'égoine*[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 *handsaw*
in the English-French part. The entry in the *Glossaire* reads in
its entirety:

> egouine (egwin) // Egohine

which is not particularly helpful except for the pronunciation;
but this should be reflected in Jargon as *[ligwin] or *[lɪgwin]
not the given [lagwin].   If, however, *l'égoine* is not an
everyday word in French Canada, there may have been confusion
with or interference from *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'.[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

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[4]Personal communication.

[5]Léandre Bergeron, *Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise*
(Montreal: VLB editeur, 1980)

indebted to Chief John Angus Thomas, a native speaker of
Nitinaht,[6] 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* [kæpswɔ́la] 'to steal'

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

2.2 *kehwa* [kɛ́wa]? 'because'.

Gibbs says, 'Not in common use.'

Shaw does not give it at all. The usual Jargon word for
'because' is *kahkwa* [kákwa ~ kwékwe]. 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* [klahóuja] '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 Riber 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.[7] Mr. Thomas feels sure that the greeting in fact is derived from a Nootka word, [ɬaX̌awƛak] in Nitinaht and [ɬaḥuˑƛḥak] in Nootka, meaning 'have you just arrived on the beach?'

2.4 *mistchimas* [mɪsči̧mas]? '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 *kakoelth* 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 [masči̧m] meaning 'slave', which would seem a reasonable possibility as the etymon, if the final syllable can be accounted for.

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

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[7]This 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 *nananitch* as Nootka and Columbian. It is possibly the former.' Shaw gives the derivation as '(Nootka, - *nananitch*. -Eels)'. Mr. Thomas apparently has vindicated Gibbs and Eels; he has given me [nana·č] 'looking at, inspecting', from Nitinaht.

2.6 *pohih* [póhɪ]? or *pitchih* [píčɪ]? '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* [hʌm] '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 Jargon[8]; 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 [ʔmmʔ] (spelled *mmph* in the comic strips), which suggests a kind of universal imitative origin for Jargon *humm*.

3.2 *muckamuck* [mʌkamʌk] '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

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[9]The 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* [pasáiuks] (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 ʀ ã s ɛ́]   Ch. [p a s i s i] ?

[p _ a s ɛ] +-uks   [p a s i s i] +-uks

CJ [p a s á i] +-uks   [p a s a i ʸ] +-uks
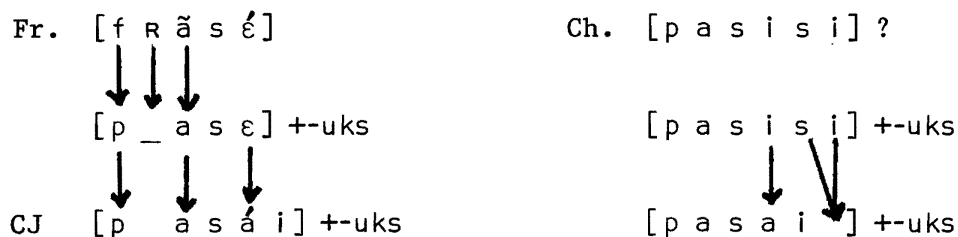
neither of which is completely satisfactory. But there exists
yet another possibility, according to John Thomas, who tells me
that he has always been told that the word was related to
Nitinaht [p̓išukʷ] 'dark-complexioned, swarthy'. The phonology is
fairly close:

Nit. [p̓ i š u k ʷ]
↓↓↓↓↘↘
[p a sái u k s]

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* [pɛ́ltʌn] '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 *pitlilh, pithlil* [pɪtlíl]? '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 [ɫ] 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* [føtʀe] 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* [sʌ́lʌks] '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 possiblities 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* [wápato] '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* [hélo] 'none, absent' and *likpuhu* 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) [kápo], 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.[10]

[n(ə)saika papa ɬaksta məɬait kupa saxali
Nesika papa klaksta mitlite kopa saghalie,

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[10]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.

ɫuš kupa n(ə)saika təmtəm maika nem

kloshe kopa nesika tumtum mika nem;

ɫuš maika taii kupa kanawi talhəm

kloshe mika tyee kopa konaway tillicum;

ɫuš maika təmtəm kupa ili?i kakwa kupa saxali#

kloshe mika tumtum kopa illahie kahkwa kopa saghalie.

paɫač kanawi san n(ə)saika makmak##(s)pus

Potlatch konaway sun nesika muckamuck. Spose

n(ə)saika mamuk masáči wik maika haias salaks

nesika mamook masachie wake mika hyas solleks,

pi (s)pus ɫaksta masáči kupa n(ə)saika wik n(ə)saika

pe sopose klaksta masuchie kopa nesika, wake nesika

saləks kupa ɫaska##maš saia kupa n(ə)saika

solleks kopa klaska. Mahsh siah kopa nesika

kanawi masači ## ɫuš kakwa.

konaway masachie. Kloshe kahkwa.

(A very literal translation would be as follows:

    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* [karabin] 'rifle' > CJ *calipeen* [kǽlapín]

b. > CJ [ɩ] elsewhere (and occasionally finally):

Fr. *biscuit* [biskɥi] > CJ *lebiskwee* [ɩbɩskwi]

c. > CJ [e] in one case from contamination with English:

Fr. *le gris* [ləgʀi] 'the grey one' > CJ *legley*
[ɩɩglé] 'grey'

2. Fr. [y]

a. > CJ [i] ~ [u]

Fr. *charrue* [šaʀy] 'plough' > CJ *la shallee* [lášali]
la shalloo [lášalu]

b. > CJ [o] if [ʀ] precedes in the French etymon:

Fr. *ruban* [ʀybã] 'ribbon' > CJ *leloba* [ɩɩlóba]

3. Fr. [e] > CJ [i] ~ [ɩ]:

Fr. *clef* [kle] 'key' > CJ *lekleh* [likli]

courez [kuʀe] 'run!' 2nd plural imperative > *cooley*
[kúlɩ]

4. Fr. [ɛ]

a. > CJ [ɛ]:

Fr. *cassette* [kasɛt] 'box' > CJ *lacaset* [lakasɛ́t]

graisse [grɛs] 'grease' > CJ *lakles* [lagrɛ́s]

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

i. Fr. [ɛ:] > CJ [e]:

Fr. *chaise* [šɛ:z] 'chair' > CJ *lashase* [lašes]
(This is the only example in Jargon, but the same
thing happens in English where a *chaise longue*
[šɛ:zlõg] has become a *chaise lounge* [čez launǰ].)

ii. Fr. [ɛʀ] > CJ [a]:

Fr. *merci* [mɛrsi] > CJ *mahsi* [mási]
(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. [ø] and [œ] > CJ [ε] ~ [a]:

Fr. *les oeufs* [lezœ:] 'eggs' > CJ *lezep* [lεzέp]

lesap [lιsáp]

6. Fr. [ɛ̃] > CJ [a]:

Fr. *moulin* [mulɛ̃] 'mill' > CJ *moole* [múla]

B. Non-front vowels

1. Fr. [a]

a. > CJ [æ] frequently (but not invariably) if stressed:

Fr. *sac* [sak] 'bag' > CJ *lesak* [lιsǽk]

Fr. *carabine* [karabin] 'rifle' > CJ *calipeen* [kæ̀lapín]

b. > CJ [e] sometimes in the Jargon reflex of the French feminine definite article:[11]

Fr. *la hache* [laʔaš] 'hatchet' > CJ *lahash* [lehǽš]

la main [lamɛ̃] 'hand' > CJ *lema* [lema]

la montagne [lamɔ̃taɲ] 'mountain' > CJ *lamonti* [lemɔ́nti]

c. > CJ [ɔ] in two words only, presumably from contamination with English:

Fr. *balle* [bal] 'ball, bullet' > CJ *lebal* [lιbɔl]

cf Eng. *ball* [bɔl]

sauvage [sovaž] 'wild, untamed' > CJ *siwash* [saiwɔš]

cf. Eng. *wash* [wɔš]

d. > CJ [a]:

Fr. *capot* [kapo] 'coat' > CJ *capo* [kapó]

bardeau [baRdo] 'shingle' > CJ *lebahdo* [lιbádo]

2. ?Fr. [a] > CJ [ɔ]; there is only one example:

Fr. *diable* [djabl] 'devil' > *leyaub* [lιjɔ́b]

(There are ten other spellings for this, nine of them
indicating a low back vowel.)

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[11]If these had been borrowed with the plural article *les*, as Dr.
Hewson suggests, they should have had [li] rather than [le] 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. [ã]

    a. > CJ [æn] if followed by a stop in the French etymon:

        Fr. *chandelle* [šãdɛl] 'candle' > CJ *lashandel* [lašǽndɛl]

    b. > CJ [æ] if followed by a consonant other than a stop:

        Fr. *planche* [plãš] 'board' > CJ *laplash* [laplǽš]

    c. > CJ [a] in final position:

        Fr. *dent* [dã] 'tooth' > CJ *letah* [lɪtá]

4. Fr. [u] > CJ [u] ~ [ʊ]

    Fr. *bouche* [buš] 'mouth' > CJ *laboos* [labus]

                            lapush [lapuš]

5. Fr. [ɔ]

    a. > CJ [o] usually:

        Fr. *cochon* [kɔšɔ̃] 'pig' > *cosho* [kóšo]

        Fr. *porte* [pɔrt] 'door' > *lapote* [lapót]

    b. > CJ [ɔ] in two words only:

        Fr. *carotte* [kaʀɔt] 'carrot' > *lacalat* [lakalɔ́t]

        Fr. *coq* [kɔk] 'cock' > CJ *lecock* [lɪkɔ́k]

6. Fr. [ɔ̃]

    a. > CJ [ɔn] if followed by a stop in the French etymon:

        Fr. *montagne* [mɔ̃taɲ] 'mountain' > CJ *lamonti* [lamɔnti]

    b. > CJ [o] in final position:

        Fr. *mouton* [mutɔ̃] 'sheep' > CJ *mooto* [lɪmúto]

        (The one exception to this is CJ *leblau* [lɪblɔ] 'light

        haired etc.' < *le blond* [ləblɔ̃], where there could be

        contamination from English *blonde* [blɔnd].)

7. Fr. [o] > CJ [o]

    Fr. *bardeau* [baʀdo] 'shingle' > CJ *lebahdo* [lɪbádo]

C. Glides

    1. Fr. [wa]. The CJ reflexes show great variation:

        a. > CJ [u]:

            Fr. *doigt* [dwa] 'finger' > CJ *ledoo* [lɪdú]

    b. > CJ [e]:

        Fr. *droite* [dRwat] 'right' > CJ *delate* [dɪlét]

    c. > CJ [we]:

        Fr. *soie* [swa] 'silk' > *lasway* [laswé]

    d. > CJ [i]:

        Fr. *avoine* [avwan] 'oats' > CJ *laween* [lawín]

    e. > CJ [oa]:

        Fr. *croix* [kRwa] 'cross' > CJ *laclou* [laklóa]

    f. > CJ [wɔ]:

        Fr. *pois* [pwa] 'peas' > CJ *lepwau* [lɪpwɔ́]

        (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* [mális]

3. Fr. [ɥ]

    a. > CJ [u] when the stress shifts onto it from the
        following vowel:

        Fr. *hui-hui* [ʔɥiʔɥi] 'a bargain, hasty exchange'
        > CJ *huy-huy* [húɪhuɪ] 'barter, trade'

    b. > CJ [w]:

        Fr. *biscuit* [biskɥi] > CJ *lebiskewie* [lɪbískwi]

    c. disappears:

        Fr. *puis* [pɥi] '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. [ʔ] > CJ [h]

    Fr. *hache* [ʔaš] 'hatchet' > CJ *lahash* [lahǽš]

  2. Fr. [f] > CJ [p]

    Fr. *fourchette* [fuRšɛt] 'fork' > *lapooshet* [lapušɛ́t]

3. Fr. [v] > CJ [w]

    Fr. *veste* [vɛst] 'jacket' > CJ *lawest* [lawɛst]

    Fr. *avoine* [avwan] 'oats' > CJ *laween* [lawin]

4. Fr. [š]

    a. > CJ [š] usually:

        Fr. *cochon* [košɔ̃] 'pig' > CJ *cosho* [kóšo]

        Fr. *bouche* [buš] 'mouth' > CJ *lapush* [lapuš]

    b. > CJ [s] occasionally:

        Fr. *chapeau* [šapo] 'hat' > CJ *seahpo* [síapo]

        Fr. *bouche* [buš] 'mouth' > CJ *laboos* [labus]

5. Fr. [ž]

    a. > CJ [š]

        Fr. *sauvage* [sovaž] 'wild' > CJ *siwash* [saiwɔš] 'native'

    b. > CJ [ǰ]?

        This correspondence is suggested by the orthography of
certain words, e.g., *lapiege* [lapiɛǰ]? from Fr. *piége*
[piеž] 'trap', but the voiced affricate seems unlikely
except in the mouths of native English speakers of
Jargon.

6. Fr. [ʀ]

    a. > CJ [l]

        Fr. *prêtre* [pʀɛtʀ] 'priest' > CJ *leplet* [lɪplɛt]
'clergyman'

    b. disappears if part of a medial or final consonant
cluster, see example above, also:

        Fr. *marteau* [maʀto] 'hammer' > CJ *lemahto* [lɪmáto]

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