Abstract

Before and during the time when Chinook Jargon was created in the lower Columbia River area there was contact with native Americans all along the coast on the part of whites and their nonwhite workers. Jargonization must have characterized attempts to communicate with the coastal people, and there probably arose a Nootka jargon at Friendly Cove.

Introduction

It has been argued elsewhere that there is more reason to believe that Chinook Jargon (CJ) emerged as a lingua franca in the Pacific Northwest as a result of contact Europeans, and those who accompanied them, had with Chinooks than that it arose indigenously, before this period (Samarin 1986). It has further been argued that whatever its earliest form may have been, the language may have taken root and have been developed in the domestic setting of households established between Euroamericans and Indians (Samarin 1985b). The present study now goes to the earlier period of contact, arguing that contact with the indigenous populations of the Northwest was intensive enough and carried on over a period long enough for more than one jargon to have developed, one of which can be called Nootka Jargon (NJ), which was in a sense incorporated by CJ and was certainly replaced by it. If the phrase "more than one jargon" suggests isolable linguistic systems, whose existence we cannot yet demonstrate, then we are safer in saying that jargonization was going on in the eighteenth century, with different languages as favorite sources or targets.

The present exposition briefly summarizes the nature of the earliest contact with indigenous peoples in the Northwest, which must have been characterized by jargonized communication, then outlines an argument for a more focalized Nootka Jargon, and closes with a hypothesis about the relationship between NJ and CJ.

I use the terms jargon and pidgin as they have been commonly understood among linguists when discussing language contact and language change: a jargon is an unsystematic form of speech that characterizes either a given speaker or a group of speakers or both; a pidgin is a stabilized form of speech, the consequence of pidginization in a language contact situation (Samarin 1971). A pidgin can therefore be the object or goal of one's attempt at learning to communicate (which is a paraphrase of saying that it is a "language"); a jargon by contrast does not provide such a grammatical model. However, we probably must assume variable speech that presents a spectrum from jargonization to pidginization, from a jargon to a pidgin. Jargonization can be assumed without great risk, but jargons, as observable and replicated human behavior, have to be demonstrated for each specific case. On the relationship between jargonization and pidginization see also Mühlhäusler (1986:135ff).
Earliest European Contact

Although the Russians were first in the Northwest, their trade with the coastal peoples further south was never as intense as that of their successors. Nonetheless, their use of indigenous labor, as we see below, was not negligible, and it must have played a significant role in linguistic communication. For Russian trade and colonization see Strausz (1962), Sarafian (1970), Cook (1973), Makarova (1975), Gibson (1978), and Barratt (1981).

Barratt (1981), Cook (1973), and Makarova (1975) also provide data on the number of vessels that traded in the Northwest and on their nationalities; Gibson (1976:169-170) provides a table for the "[Russian-American] Company trade with foreign ships at New Archangel" for the period 1801-1841. From only one source, for example, Cook records that there were 450 ships during the years 1774-1820, and Wike that the "total seasons spent by ships" at Nootka Sound alone during 1785-1825 was 356; for the same 40-year period Fisher (1977:13) reports 330 fur-trading vessels on the Northwest Coast. The critical year seems to have been 1785, very soon after which "the entire coast was glutted with trade goods" (Duff 1964:57, following Wike 1951). Further data on shipping are provided below.

The Center for Pidginization

The eighteenth century maritime fur trade (especially otter and seal) south of Alaska seems to have started with the Nootka at Nootka Sound. Gunther (1972:17) says that following Captain Cook's report of his voyage, Friendly Cove (at the western point of the Sound), called Yuquot by the Indians, became "one of the busiest on the whole Pacific Coast." As one might expect, the natives would have learned something of the languages of the foreigners and, it can be demonstrated, the foreigners learned something of the Nootka language as seen below. The foreign languages were not only Spanish and English (mentioned by Gunther [1972:44], without, however, citing any evidence).

Although English certainly came to dominate the communicative field, we must acknowledge that the ships brought with them men speaking many other languages. These must have included Russian, indigenous Siberian languages, Aleut, Eskimo, Portuguese, several varieties of Amerindian languages among the crew of the Spanish in addition to Alaskan Athapaskans, and others. How frequently speakers of Portuguese (or Portuguese Creole?) came we do not know, only for certain that the two ships that came with Meares in 1789 were "armed by Portuguese" (Cruchet 1952:118). This multilingualism--including varieties of languages beyond the standard ones we recognize today--must be insisted upon. The identification of ships as "English" or "Spanish" or "Russian" is a political one, but we must identify the languages that were spoken on them. Therefore, although there were, for example, speakers of some forms of "standard" English on board some of these ships, many of the crew would almost certainly have been familiar with, if not competent in, Pidgin English in one of its several varieties--or jargons--by which the Chinese and Russians traded with the Indians.

The role of Hawaiians on these ships remains to be studied. Reinecke's otherwise excellent study (1969) cites only Kuykendall's history of 1926, where we learn that Captain George Vancouver had a Hawaiian interpreter (but not necessarily for the Northwest Coast). Later, Hawaii became itself the destination of important exports of planks and cured salmon from Fort Vancouver for the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1839, for example,
the HBC had one steamer and four sailing vessels, averaging in all 1097 tons and manned
by a total of 112 men (Belcher 1979:62, 67); elsewhere (Gibson 1976:18) the number of
undifferentiated ships is given as six for 1825. In 1842, when Fr. J. B. Z. Bolduc learned in
Hawaii that he would have to wait two months before getting a ship to the Columbia River,
he decided he would learn "the Sandwichian tongue" because it would be useful in
evangelizing the 500 pagan Sandwich Islanders in the service of the HBC (Blanchet and
others 1956:133). But it should not be assumed that contact between Hawaiians and "Americans" took place only in the Pacific Northwest. It is recorded (Gibson 1976:147), for
example, that in 1817 there were living in Hawaii itself 24 Russians and their mixed-blood
workers as well as 40 Aleuts. These foreign workers, like all the others that came with the
Europeans, must have played a role in the development and spread of CJ. Drechsel and
Makuakane (1982) discuss the Hawaiian legacy in CJ and Eskimo Jargon but underestimate the number of Hawaiians working for the HBC.

Among these early foreigners the "Alaskans" must have played an important role. They were the natives first exploited by the Russians in acquiring pelts. Our present
ignorance in the West of that trade should not be allowed to distort the history of the
Northwest. The following facts give only a glimpse into what must have been great industry
by the Russian-American Company, not binational in spite of its name. Our best sources in
English on the Russian-American Company may be Sarafian (1970) and Tikhmenev
(1978). In 1817, for example, the Spanish at San Francisco reported that the Russians had
several hundred Kodiaks, as they were called, at La Bodega (about 30 mi. [48 km] south of
the Russian establishment). In that year, when San Francisco was in its fortieth year as a
Spanish colony, there was an "absolute shortage" of workers, and the most skillful worker
was one of the Kodiaks captured hunting in Spanish waters (de Roquefeuil 1823a[1]:159,
160). At Fort Ross itself, Davydov (1977:77) reported for the beginning of the century, 50
to 60 Kodiak Indians were generally employed. A few years later, that is, 1818-1819, there
were at that place 75-78 "natives" of unspecified ethnicity as well as 21-17 Russians (Gibson
1976:12). In the hunting season of the years 1809, 1810, and 1811 the Kodiaks had come in
convos of 30 to 50 kayaks and had killed about 8000 animals (de Roquefeuil 1823a[1]:161-
162). Another index of the amount of labor that was used at the Russian colony in
California is that between 1816 and 1824 four brigs were built there (Wrangell 1980:9).
Given the tonnage (160-200 tons) and the fact that they were built with local oak, we can
imagine the number of men that were needed to cut down and then saw the lumber, not to
speak of the women needed for cooking the meals.4

The major center for the activity of the Russian-American Company seems to have
been Kodiak, where in 1818 there was a population of 12-15,000 people, with 30 Russian
inhabitants and already about 60 locally-born creoles, as they were called (de Roquefeuil
1823a[2]:27, 28): that is, people of mixed blood.5

But let us go back to the beginning of the period of Russian presence in this area
and summarize the use of indigenous peoples. This is how Black does it (1981:117-118,
120):

1745-1770: Large numbers of eastern Siberians, predominantly Kamchadal,
are among the crew [in trading voyages].

1770s to end of 1780s: Smaller proportion of Siberian natives among the
crew, but more Siberian tribes represented.

1799-1817: In the Eastern Aleutians, the majority of the Aleuts are
impressed into the labor force ....
And Gibson, writing earlier (1978:52), citing a Russian source of 1820, said that the Russian-American Company's "maritime fur trade was completely dependent upon the Aleuts, since no Russians had bothered to learn how to hunt sea animals." In 1820 there were about 1000 Aleuts in the Company's posts, the largest contingent of them at New Archangel.

We are therefore fully justified in assuming that over the decades up to the end of the eighteenth century Alaskan and Siberian natives were the ones who made contact with the people of the Pacific Coast, learning something of their languages as they did of that of their Russian employers and patrons. Indeed, employment provided opportunities for many of the American indigenes to acquire European languages, as we shall observe again. At La Bodega, for example, one of the Kodiaks, who had escaped from San Francisco, "spoke tolerable Spanish" (de Roquefeuil 1823b:39).

It oversimplifies matters to say that the Russian personnel were "Russians." At the time of the de Roquefeuil expedition in the Northwest the Governor-General of New Archangel was Captain de Heigmeister, obviously one of the Germans in Russian employ. Likewise, Beck and Haase (1974:40, with map of sea otter fields), in their article on the Russian-American Company settlement (1812-1841), write of Aleuts rather than Kodiaks in the service of the Russians. Since there were three farms in the area around Rossiya (subsequently Fort Ross) whose purpose was to provide staples for the Alaskan fur posts, the local Porno Indians also must have been used for manual labor (see below). It is in contexts such as these that language is jargonized and pidgins sometimes arise.

It would appear that the Californian hunting and trading of the Russian-American Company in these early years were very much in the hands of Jonathan Winship, being preceded by others of course. One of these was D'Wolf, furnished with "Kodiak Indians" and a Kaluschan (i.e. Tlingit) woman interpreter (D'Wolf 1961:29, 43, 44, 54, 57). According to Gibson (1978:57) there were a number of joint hunting expeditions for which "the Russians provided Aleuts and Americans furnished ships, the catch being evenly divided." Winship first appeared on this coast in 1803 in the O'Cain, a ship owned in part by his brother and himself. It was not until 1805 that he struck an agreement with Alexander Baranof, the chief director of the Company at the time, whereby profits in the otter trade would be divided amongst them. Among Baranof's contributions, it would appear, was the contingent of Aleuts, as they were called, under the leadership of a certain Slabodchikov (Coy 1929:29). But the crew, some of whom must have come from Boston, would have included some English-speaking Americans. In 1812 Winship returned to the East Coast, never to return and, for some reason not yet determined, without fully recounting his exploits to his own countrymen.

Powerful evidence for the part that the "Alaskans" played in the history of this era comes from recent ethnographic and linguistic historical reconstructions. In Kashaya Pomo, a language spoken in the area near Fort Ross, about 30 words of Russian origin and 15 of probably Alutiiq origin have already been established (Jeff Leer to Kari; Oswalt 1958, 1976). But borrowing went in the other direction as well. Kari (n.d.) has demonstrated convincingly that the variety of the hand guessing-game that is found, even today, at Cook Inlet among the Dena'ina (Tanaina) Athapaskans and neighboring Alutiiq (Chugach Eskimos) and Aleuts came from these same Porno Indians. His evidence is in the form of the game (i.e. its rules) and in some of the vocabulary that accompanies the playing (e.g. in names of objects and calls). And negative (i.e. contrastive) evidence lies in the fact that the gambling terms used by the Alaskans do not appear to be used in intervening Northwest Coast Indian (e.g. Tsimshian, Salishan, and Wakashan) languages, even though hand games are found among these peoples. One must conclude that the Alaskans acquired the Pomo form of the game before the Chinook (and possibly even the Nootka) began to play
an important role in relations with Europeans. Moreover, Kari makes explicit that he believes that the appearance of the game among the Dena'ina was after contact with Europeans. He also leaves the impression that it was Athapaskan Indians who took the game north, although any one of the Alaskan groups could have been the carriers. Direct evidence for Pomo and Alaskan interaction comes from Pattie (1905:285), cited by Sarafian (1970:198): "Arriving at Ross in June [1829], in three days Pattie vaccinated an estimated 1500 Russians, creoles, Aleuts and Southwestern Pomo Indians with his own smallpox vaccine." For a general treatment of the Pomo see McLendon and Oswalt (1978).

Further research will undoubtedly uncover a great deal more evidence. Kari (n.d.) points out that "we do not yet know the origins of most of the calls, terms, and songs" associated with the Dena'ina hand game. With its recent revival and the recovery of more and more songs from the elders, scholars will have the resources for accomplishing the historical analysis.

Kari is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that three (I should say at least three) Alaskan languages were represented at the Russian colonies in California, namely, Aleut, Alutiiq, and Dena'ina. The fact that Athapaskans were in the labor force is clear from the existence of Kalifornsky as a village and family name among these people at Cook Inlet (Kari 1983). But Kari is almost certainly wrong in confining the period of this service to the years 1812-1841, relying only on Spencer-Hancock 1978. This happens to be only the years following Winship's departure in 1812 and up to the end of Russian occupation. If this period were as slack for the Russians as some historians would suggest, we would have to assume that the period of intensive activity preceded 1812.

The power of the hand game as evidence in the reconstruction of labor history lies not only in the fact of the spread of a cultural item to distant peoples but also in the nature of that cultural trait. It was a game. It was an event where individuals from several different ethnolinguistic groups, limited in their ability to communicate richly in any of the languages they shared (one of which must certainly have been jargonized), were nonetheless able to interact for long hours at a stretch with good will and good humor. Such evidence requires the correction of most descriptions of pidginization in which one group of people is somehow the victim at the mercy of another.

The preceding paragraphs have demonstrated, I believe, that jargonized speech of some variety or varieties—and even the beginnings of a pidgin—could have emerged in the eighteenth century as the result of the arrival of whites on the Northwest Coast. It is not clear at all that the base of that language was some form of vernacular Chinook. The chronology of exploration and trade would suggest that there might first have developed some Sibero-Alaskan medium for the most northern areas, based in part (we can speculate) on a considerable amount of multilingualism that already existed in the area. Fisher reports (Walker 1982:21-22), for example, that the nearby Prince William Sound was "an area of cultural mixing, having been settled at various times by Eskimo, Tlingit, and Athapaskan groups." This jargonized speech may then have been adapted for communication with people further and further south. It would have overlapped for a time with and then have been succeeded by, as we shall now see, a Nootka-based jargon.

Nootka Jargon

I cannot demonstrate anything specific about this putative means of communication between whites and Nootkas. Although conditions existed for the emergence of a somewhat systematic means of communication, including a strategy for getting messages
across and an inventory of lexical items and gestures, it may not have arrived at a stage of systematization, shared by most participants in interaction, that we should want to call it a pidgin. Some might want to call it a pre-pidgin or undeveloped pidgin, phrases that have been used in discussions about pidgin origins. We would probably not be far from the truth in assuming that it was a jargon in the narrow sense—without a grammar shared by foreigners and natives. It follows that CJ was not a jargon in its later stage but a stable pidgin; CJ should therefore be characterized, if not named, as Pidgin Chinook. In this domain of discourse one must be extremely wary of terminological false-leads. Names of language phenomena are not necessarily classificatory in the scientific sense.

Whatever the nature of the Nootka-based jargon may have been, it must be recognized that for a certain time—twenty or thirty years possibly—it was an important means of communication for the reason that so much trading was done with the Nootka. As K. E. von Baer (1792-1876) wrote in 1839, "The language spoken by the Wacash Indians of Nootka Sound ... is well known" (that is, so familiar to Europeans that it did not need comment) (Wrangell 1980:165).

In support of believing in the existence of a jargonized Nootka we provide, in what follows, evidence for the failure of English to be an important target of language learning on the part of the local population, the fact that Nootka in some form served as the basis of communication between foreigners and natives, and the fact that when natives spoke to the foreigners their speech was "distinct" and easier to comprehend than Indian languages were elsewhere.

Personalities

The factor that is almost entirely ignored in accounting for the origin of pidgins is the personal one. The participants in the causative contexts are seen as an anonymous aggregate of human beings, constrained by social-cultural and (now) "biolinguistic" forces (Bickerton 1984). But personalities had a great deal to do with the events that took place. It would appear in the present case that the local Nootka chief (or lord, as he was also called) was a remarkable individual, a person of strength, sagacity, and power; a person with whom the whites found they could deal to their own advantage, but himself a person who could take advantage of the whites. This Makina (Macouina, Maquinna, Mokquilla, etc.), as he was known, had signed a written treaty with the Spanish.

In reading about Makina, however, we have to be careful about what individual may be named. Contrary to what the traders believed, Makina was not a personal name but, as Fisher points out (Walker 1982:17), the title of a "series of ranking leaders," or, as Donald would have it (1983: personal communication), the highest-ranking title-holder of the Moachat federation at Friendly Cove. Some of this was recognized by Davydov, who made a voyage to what was called Russian America in 1802-1807. In referring to Macquena, he said that "the name and possessions of a chief are hereditary" (1977:111). It would therefore seem appropriate to write the title as makina.

The role of a local notable was, of course, not necessarily dominant in language contact. Although whites would have spent a considerable amount of time engaged in some kind of communication with one of these makina, or their equivalents elsewhere, contact between the expatriates and the locals would not have been restricted to him. But he would have determined to some degree the kinds—and possibly amount—of contact that went on. He would also have had some say in who among his people would come in contact with the foreigners. Of course, not all contact was under his control.
Usage

The following evidence suggests the kind of speech that must have been a jargon at Nootka Sound. A certain makina was in authority in 1818 when de Roquefeuil arrived on a French ship. A conversation is reported in which the chief "explained in an intelligible manner" the treaty he had made with the Spanish (Cruchet 1952:152). It is not clear what language the makina talked in. Although it is claimed that by 1803 he knew some English (McKelvie 1949:18; which must be recognized as a journalistic secondary source), he does not appear to have dealt directly with de Roquefeuil but through his interpreter, Noak, one of his sub-chiefs, "knowing how to make himself understood by means of a few words of English [and] aided by gestures which he used with a great deal of skill" (de Roquefeuil 1823a[1]:180). This must not have been pure English, because de Roquefeuil (1823a[1]:184) says that the natives had adopted "several terms" from the Spanish language.

In any case, the place of English by this time cannot be minimized; for example, one woman, the wife of one who had been the first chief under the makina was "very talkative [and] spoke a little English" (de Roquefeuil 1823a[1]:185). Without impugning the virtue of this woman, it should be observed that by 1818 "At Nootka the means to satisfy [the needs] that nature imposes are available to all" (de Roquefeuil 1823a[1]:216). On the other hand, Captain Cook, Walker, and Jewitt all observed of the preceding period in any case that Nootka women did not prostitute themselves, the latter making explicit that it was captive women who were forced to do this (Walker 1982:87, 88, 100, 247). Among the Russians even in Cook's time, however, miscegenation was very common, as Sarafian (1970) makes clear.

De Roquefeuil also reports on conversations in what seems to be an indigenous language: "In their conversations with us, the natives pronounced [their words] in a distinct manner, and showed a great deal of astuteness in the use and knowledge of gestures that we on both sides were obliged to rely on" (Cruchet 1952:150). It would appear that this was some form of Nootka—or what de Roquefeuil thought was Nootka—because he says that there were four "dialects" of this "idiom" as well as other dialects on the islands and on the continent. I take this to be a simplified Nootka because of the "distinct manner" in which it was spoken (mentioned in de Roquefeuil [1823a(2):216]). Normal Nootka, with its very complex phonology, would have been far from clear to the whites. If this manner of speaking noted by the French trader was characteristic of jargon-talk, it must have originated much earlier. Indeed, of the contact thirty years earlier it was said that "These Americans speak in short sentences, and one word seems frequently to express a compleat [sic] proposition" (Walker 1982:90).

Further evidence for a pidginized form of Nootka in the second decade of the nineteenth century might be deduced from the following:

On our first call we found the language that they speak at Nootka [Sound] very course [sic]; [but] it appeared to us almost like Italian when we returned to Friend Cove, after having visited the southern parts of the coast. To the degree that one advances in this direction, the language becomes more and more harsh and disagreeable to the ear [de Roquefeuil 1823a(1):217-218].

In other words, the trader-explorer found that what he at first took to be a difficult language at Nootka Sound turned out to be less difficult (or simply less harsh-sounding) than the ones further south. If the languages, being closely related, are not as different as he thought they were, then that which the people at Friendly Cove spoke with whites was
indeed easier for them—in fact, like Italian! This impression seems to be confirmed by Davydov (1977:113), whose contact with the Nootka took place about a decade earlier: "their language though very guttural is not so harsh and uncouth as the Sitkan."

Interpreters

Arguing in favor of the existence of a jargonized Nootka idiom is the information we have about the use of interpreters. All of them seem to be conversant in the language of Nootka Sound, not of the Columbia River. David Coolidge, second mate of the Lady Washington, captained by Robert Gray, served as interpreter in negotiations between the Spanish and Americans in 1788 (Cook 1973:106). John Kendrick, Jr. was described by a contemporary as "perfectly conversant" in the Nootka language. He had come to Nootka Sound as early as 1788, serving as second pilot on the Columbia, but converted to Catholicism and became a captain in their service, where his talents as interpreter were greatly appreciated (Cook 1973:184, 422). Among the Spanish in 1789 at Nootka Sound there were Captain Pedro Alberni and a "boy from Guadalajara who had learned some of the Nootka tongue," who were able to translate (together apparently), it is claimed, an oration by Tlu-pa-na-nootl (Cook 1973:310).

On the other hand, some of the Europeans, notably the Spanish, actually bought and took away with them Indian slaves from the coast. The object would have been, as was common during the whole period of colonization, and into the late nineteenth century in central Africa (Samarin 1982a), to Christianize them, to teach them the European language, and to use them as laborers. That some of these would have returned as interpreters is a possibility that we would be foolish to deny.

That last report should not, of course, lead one to overestimate the linguistic competence of the whites in Nootkan. The following, from Cook (1973:398), is probably closer to the truth. It comes from the journal of Thomas Manby, on the ship Chatham, and describes how English and Spanish carpenters worked together during the winter of 1972-1973: "... curious scenes, repeatedly ensue as our Conversation is generally carried on, by a few words, of all Languages--& signs--altho' the 'Nootka Lingo,' forms the greatest part--sometimes, we understand each other--at other times not ..." That statement, documenting the interlinguistic use of the indigenous language, may even provide evidence of the existence of the jargon we have been hypothesizing.

Linguistic Data

Against the hypothesis that the lingua franca at Nootka Sound might have been CJ and was instead speech based on Nootka, I would submit linguistic data that are garnered from de Roquefeuil's record. Most of the words are Nootkan. Moreover, that some of them are documented for CJ suggests the direction that subsequent linguistic change took.

This list of eight words (Table 1) does not of course prove that there was a Nootka jargon, but it does suggest it. In dealing with jargon and pidgin origins we are sometimes as limited in data as archaeologists frequently are. Nonetheless, we have four words, selected by accident, from all that were available to the trader de Roquefeuil.12 Three of them are especially enlightening.

‘Friend.’ The Nootka expression was recorded earlier by Walker as Haweelkh wakass ‘Friendship’ and even before that by Captain Cook: Haweelsth; Hawalth Haheis Wakash (Carlson in Walker 1982:295). From Jewitt's journal (1931) for 1 January 1804 we
Table 1

Etymologies and congers in Chinook Jargon of words recorded at Nootka Sound in 1818.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DE ROQUEFEUIL 1818</th>
<th>CJ</th>
<th>NOOTKA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 'brothers'         | kalati | ------ | qa·ta·tyk 'younger brother'
| 'cemetery'         | che ha | ------ | č'a·ha· 'cut with an adze'
| 'chief'            | tahi  | tayi   | ta·yi 'older brother'
| 'friend'           | wakosh| ------ | wa·ka·s (used in greeting a chief)
| 'gift'             | pachitl | pa·taš 'give' | p'a-. -či. -k 'make a ceremonial gift, 'factive,' suffix
| 'mountain'         | nu    | ------ | noč- 'mountain'
| 'slave'            | mischumis | mistšímas 'slave' | masčim- 'common person'
| 'ten'              | ayo   | ayo    | ḥayo 'ten'


learn that they had gone to visit a village 30 miles up the sound, where they were received with the firing of muskets and "with these words wharcash, wharcash, that is, very good" (where the letter 'r' is obviously used in the English manner to indicate the quality of the vowel 'a'). Contemporary Nootkas report that it was used in addressing Europeans, but it is also found in such expressions as wa kasuka 'Glory to the Creator!' The etymology of the word is not known, but it should be noted that the vocative regularly takes a long vowel, as in haw'at from haw'it 'chief' (Barry F. Carlson, personal communication). I would speculate that the word was introduced by foreigners who had tried to ingratiate themselves to the natives by greeting them in a friendly manner. A similar practice was used by the whites and their cohorts on the Congo River in the nineteenth century.

'Slave(s).' The relationship between Nootka 'common person' and 'slave' in our source is transparent at one level but opaque at another. In itself it does not reveal how the word was mediated through the Spanish language and what its social history was. According to Silverstein (1973:43), meschimes (with the Spanish plural -es) is cited by Mozino Suarez de Figueroa, who was in the Nootka area in 1792, as referring to their own sailors and soldiers (Mozino 1970).13

In support of the attempt to establish the relationship between the concepts slave and worker, it should be noted that early in the nineteenth century Davydov (1977) reported that a Koniaga, in explaining why he wanted to kill his own son, said "Better it should die than become a kaiur," for Davydov translates the word as both 'slave' and 'worker.'

'Ten.' In itself the history of this word recapitulates the process of pidginization. Already, when Walker was dealing with the Nootkas in 1785-1786, the communication of numbers had been simplified to a gestural system. Walker describes the process in these words; "In computing, to avoid the use of their Numerals, they expressed all the tens in any number, by a clasping together of their hands, and then add the Units" (Walker 1982:90). That this was a substitute system is absolutely clear, because Walker himself provides the indigenous names for the numbers. Some time later speech was added to sign, as observed in 1818 by de Roquefeuil (1823a[2]:218-219). His description of numeration starts with the observation that the natives did not count beyond ten; for greater numbers they repeated ayo as frequently as there were units of ten, indicating the digits with the fingers. The evolution of many ayo's to mean 'many' in CJ followed naturally by metaphorical extension. However, any account of this word should take note of the fact that Sapir and Swadesh (1939:245) cite it with the meaning 'much, many' in Nootka itself.

Continuity

We have to assume for the development of a viable means of communication on Vancouver Island, as elsewhere, continuity among some of the participants. This follows from the axiom that language is a learned form of behavior, shared by a body of speakers for common purposes. In other words, it is impossible for us to believe that a certain number of human beings can produce linguistic structure randomly. In this case, unlike all those others with which we are well informed, there seems to have been little continuity among the white foreigners, even though some of the responsible individuals may have had the forethought to provide themselves with some of the published material and any of the expatriates may have shared linguistic knowledge, as Joseph Ingraham did with the Spanish, to whom he gave a Haida wordlist. I suggest that this is true in spite of the fact that the Spanish had established forts for short periods of time and traders are known to have wintered on the islands from time to time. These, I recognize, are topics that clearly require a great deal more investigation.
If there was no real continuity among whites, it may have been assured by two other groups of speakers. The first, obviously, were the local residents. They both learned from the whites and introduced to them a way of talking that had been worked out in preceding encounters (e.g. talking slowly and distinctly). The second were the hundreds of men from the Arctic region employed by the Russians and then by Jonathan Winship from 1806 to 1812. Therefore while the arrival of Europeans introduced a setting in which pidginization could take place, it is viewed much too narrowly to say of this area that "the social conditions for the emergence of a pidgin were not present until the Europeans set up permanent trading posts that provided the necessary multilingual contact situation" (Thomason 1983:866, emphasis added). The history of the emergence of Pidgin Sango in the Ubangi River basin demonstrates, for example, that expeditions are "mobile multilingual colonies." The cliche of the trading post as a locus of pidginization has to be replaced by something more informed by real history.

Relation of NJ to CJ

As was noted above, the argument has been made that CJ existed before the arrival of Europeans in the Pacific Northwest (Hymes 1980; Thomason 1983). If this were the case, whites began acquiring CJ at the Columbia River at the same time that they were doing business at Nootka Sound. Indeed, if there were a simplified language already in existence, the foreigners may have tried to use it at Nootka Sound, especially if it were already in use between Salish- and Wakashan-speaking peoples. The latter does not seem to have occurred, as the preceding exposition suggests.

What happened, I suggest, is that Chinookan began to be jargonized as soon as foreigners came into contact with them at the mouth of the Columbia River. By this time most of the men on the ships would have had a great deal of experience in dealing with people whose languages they did not know and some of them would have acquired the manner of speaking at Nootka Sound. It is reasonable to assume that they tried this jargon out on the Chinooks. Indeed, the presence of Nootka words in CJ suggests that this is exactly what happened. The process might be called a transmutation of one form of speech into another. Had Vancouver Island become the center of a longer-lasting and more intensive set of relations between foreigners and natives, NJ might have developed into a pidgin. Instead, the focus of activity shifted to the south.

Therefore the following considerations will have to be taken into account in writing the sociolinguistic history of the Pacific Northwest:

1. There was a dramatic drop at least by the second decade of the nineteenth century in the number of skins of sea animals that could be acquired on both the Queen Charlotte Islands and Vancouver Island, although there is evidence that by the end of the eighteenth century trade in this commodity had become restricted.

2. Increase in the number of "Boston men," as the American traders were called, in the Northwest Coast waters and the subsequent development of land trade from the mouth of the Columbia River. These two factors shifted, we can well imagine, the
focus of activity and the "personae" in language change. The percentage of American ships in the total number (excluding Russians ones) is the following (as supplied by L. Donald):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1780</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1784</td>
<td>No record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785-1789</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790-1794</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795-1799</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1804</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805-1809</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the year 1801 alone 14 out of 16 ships along the West Coast were Bostonian (Barratt 1981:125). Internal developments, as it is well known, incited the exploration and development of land on both sides of the political border. Trade by land toward the sea became as important if not more important than trade by sea. The most important company, of course, came to be the Hudson's Bay Company, established in this area in 1821, preceded by the Pacific Fur Company (up to 1813) and the North West Company (1813-1821) whose histories are treated briefly in Ross (1956:3-4).14

It should be noted that Fort Astoria was built at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811, replaced by Fort Vancouver in 1825 further up the river, where Vancouver is located in the state of Washington, both in Chinook territory. Although the HBC came to have trading posts further north along the coast, the headquarters of its Pacific trade was Fort Vancouver, until political events forced the British out of American territory and led them to build Fort Victoria in 1843.

3. With this new focus and locus of trade the Chinooks came into a privileged relationship with respect to the whites, a relationship that enhanced their status in the eyes of other peoples of the area and one that they exploited. Since they may have been the first brokers of the trade and then employees of the Europeans in various capacities, the language they used for this trade was adopted by the others. One should recall Ross' use of Chinook interpreters, cited above. The case of the Chinooks is therefore so similar to that of the Sango-Yakoma and the Bobangi people, whose languages contributed to Pidgin Sango, on the one hand, and Bangala/Lingala on the other, that from a historical point of view one is justified in saying that they were exactly alike.

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper has been to demonstrate the relationship between work (and workers) and linguistic communication in the earliest period of contact in the Pacific Northwest. Although linguistic evidence was not provided to satisfy a linguist—as linguist—that a jargonized Nootka served as a medium of communication at that time, evidence of
other kinds suggests that its existence is a strong possibility. Some day the linguistic evidence might be found (and there does not have to be very much of it). The present work would then constitute the first "chapter" of the history of that language.

Jargons may indeed be what people create in certain situations to carry on whatever it is that they want to or have to experience--work, play, sex, demonstration of personal power or prowess--but so great is the human compulsion for order and system that such jargons must be ephemeral phenomena. And where they do not evolve into something else (such as pidgins)--as linguistic means adaptive to the varied and unpredictable minutiae of life--they become predictable, therefore, frozen and ritual. Having matched the need that led to their creation, they go no further; they do not become "languages." In my opinion this is what happened in the Gulf of Papua in the nineteenth century, where traders who came to reside for a period of time as their cassava was being prepared for them were prevented from having intimate or, it would appear, even casual contact with the residents; in effect, they were quarantined (Dutton 1983).

More specific conclusions are the following:

1. Different jargons can co-exist in contiguous geographical areas, having different languages as foci or targets, and having the same or similar functions. For central Africa see Samarin (1985a).

2. A pidgin can emerge from the coalescence of two or more jargons, one becoming dominant because of association with a vernacular. This process--that is characterized by assimilation, adaptation, relexification, etc.--can lead to the death of other jargons, the emergence of at least two varieties of the pidgin, or to a variable language the nature of which has yet to be described rigorously. Pidgin Sango today has one variety with most words differentiated by two register tones and another by three (Samarin 1967; Bouquiaux and others 1978). The first is probably closer to the original, since the speakers of several of the Bantu languages would have brought a two-tone contrast with them, the second closer to vernacular Sango. Similarly, Bangala as it is spoken in northeastern Zaire is probably closer to the nineteenth century variety, being simpler than the "standard" form known as Lingala.

3. Although whites were the highest ranking people in all the expeditions into the area under study, it would appear that there was a significant number of non-whites among the personnel, especially in the eighteenth century but even into the nineteenth century. It is reasonable to suppose that in some places and at some times these individuals had more contact with the local Indians than the whites did. If this were so, their contribution to the creation of jargons was not inconsiderable. Here too there is a parallel in the role that foreign Blacks had in the creation of the lingua francas of central Africa (Samarin 1982b, 1984).

Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful to the following individuals who most generously answered my questions and provided me with ethnographic, linguistic, and historical information: Franklyn D. Mahar, Humboldt State University; M. Dale Kinkade and Arthur J. Ray, University of British Columbia; Barry F. Carlson, Leland Donald, and Thom Hess, University of Victoria; Sarah Grey Thomason, University of Pittsburgh; James Kari, University of Alaska; and Robert Oswalt, California Indian Language Center. Moreover, Donald Kinkade, Keith Ralston, University of British Columbia; James R. Gibson, York
University; and Thomason made helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. I alone bear full responsibility for the contents of this paper and the use of that which these colleagues have so generously shared with me.

Endnotes

1. In response to that paper Thom Hess (personal communication) provides further information that he believes supports the view that CJ did not predate the coming of Europeans. It appears that CJ had by 1855 not yet arrived in the area of Puget Sound, around Everett and northward. At the signing of the Mukilteo Treaty in 1855 Indians in that area did not know CJ, because Governor Stevens’ English was first translated into CJ by a Mr. Simmons, a white, and then into Lushootseed by a certain John Taylor. This information is found in a personal reminiscence in Lushootseed of Mrs. Ruth Shelton, who knew no English, in the early 1950s. She lived on the Tulalip Reservation. She was over 100 years old when the tape recording was made, and spoke about the treaty on the authority of her father, who was present on that occasion. A detailed documentation of the distribution of CJ for the earliest years of the nineteenth century will certainly be important in substantiating the argument for the contact origin of the language.

2. My conclusions, arrived at independently, may be similar to those of William Sturtevant who, according to a fifteen-line report in the California-Oregon Languages Newsletter 4:4 (16 June 1981), gave a talk on the origins of Chinook Jargon at a meeting of the Gallatin Society in Washington, D.C. on 4 June 1981. It is reported that "By carefully tracing accounts of the early explorers and traders, plotting the location of contacts and which language or languages were reported used and/or understood, Sturtevant was able to document the quick spread and elaboration of communication using Nootka, English, and French words up and down the coast." My attempt to get more information about this talk proved futile.

3. It is possible that these Portuguese were only part of that migration that eventually settled in Boston—that is, cod fishermen and whalers. But K. Ralston suggests (personal communication) that these may only have been ships from Macao flying the Portuguese flag to escape the monopoly of the East India Company. Cruchet (1952) is a reprinting of de Roquefeuil (1823a), and de Roquefeuil (1823b) is an English version not characterized as a translation.

4. Baron (then Rear Admiral) Ferdinand Petrovich Wrangell (1796-1870) served the Russian-American Company as Director in 1828-1835, returning to Russia by the eastern route, stopping in California on his way.

5. Since pidginization and creolization are said to have taken place precisely in such "Creole" populations, it should be noted that these offspring of Russian colonizers seem to have been different. Of them, Wrangell wrote (1980:15) "All Creoles are thoroughly conversant with Russian, but not with the Aleut nor the Kodiak languages. Their way of life is the same as that of the Russians ..." The explanation must lie in the attitudes adopted by this population as a result of deliberate cultural indoctrination. From the earliest years, it appears, the Russians forced Koniags, for example, to give up children as hostages and "to raise them" [as reported by a very old man in the 1850s] (Shelikhov 1981:13).

6. The history of pidgins, if not of colonization, should pay attention to these indigenous notables. A parallel figure is Chief Bembe, of the Gbanziri ethnic group on the
Ubangi River, who played a crucial role in the occupation by the Belgians and French of the Ubangi basin (Samarin 1984/1985). Similar figures appear in the earlier history of the exploration of the Congo (Zaire) River basin.

7. De Roquefeuil's own interpreter was his pilot, Eyssautier by name, who possessed "the same talents to a prodigious degree" (de Roquefeuil 1823a [1]:180). But transactions with the natives were not without difficulties, of course. The explorer reports that they required "above all a steadfast patience" (p. 195). (All translations from the French texts are mine.) We are still far from understanding the amount of language learning that was going on between Europeans and natives in the early period of contact. When Walker was at Nootka Sound in 1785-1786, the natives "showed no desire to become acquainted with any more of our language, than the words Copper and Iron" (Walker 1982:90). This would suggest that the target of language learning was not English, therefore probably Nootka.

8. At least one Spanish (or Portuguese) word from this early period seems to have been adopted. T. S. Kaufman (1971:275) cites it in the form *wapto*, being, he says, one of the "few words which are unique to CJ," and gives as his source the Lewis and Clark expedition (where the date should be 1805 instead of 1895). The fact that this was the name of a "round root near the size of the hens egg" about the "Size of a Small Irish potato" suggests the etymology. The Spanish actually discovered it on the California coast, at Trinity Harbor, in 1775 (Walker 1982:197). Note further that *wapto* is not the only way Clark wrote the word, as we might be led to believe by Kaufman, but also *Wap-pa-to, Wap-pa-too, papto,* and especially *pap-pa-too* (Thwaites 1905[3]:194,196,224,226). The last form, it should be noted, came last chronologically in the diary. It was recorded at Haley's Bay (now Baler's Bay) at the mouth of the Columbia River. The editor identifies the object as arrowhead or "Swamp potato" (*Samittaria latifolia*) (Thwaites 1905[3]:197n). The present proposal of a Spanish or Portuguese origin must, however, be evaluated in contrast with the Algonquian one proposed from at least early in this century.

9. "Dan leurs conversations avec nous, les naturels prononçaient d'une manière distincte, et mettaient beaucoup de sagacité dans l'emploi et l'intelligence de signes auxquels on était obligé d'avoir recours de part et d'autre."

10. Wike (1951:50) commits a gross error in identifying the language here as Chinook Jargon, when she records (Wike 1951:50-51) John Hoskins' observation that in 1792 "this Language [of Nootka Sound] begins in Latitude 47° 30' North and holds as far as the Latitude of 52° 30' North and then falters as likewise to the Southward ..." For another statement of its distribution see Adelung 1816(3):114. On the history of this work see Fodor (1982).

11. Characterizing a form of Nootka as pidginized does not imply, as we took pains to suggest above, that a pidgin necessarily existed. Pidginization is something that happens to a linguistic system over a period of time as people make a particular language their principal element of exploitation. It seems to me reasonable to assume that Nootka was being pidginized while a jargon was emerging.

12. We can assume that other material was available, because de Roquefeuil's editor notes that he had deleted from what he called "the original work" the vocabulary of different Indian languages, on the ground that it was difficult to put these languages down in an exact way, illustrated by the differences in the transcriptions of "the preceding navigators" (de Roquefeuil 1832a[1]:x-xl). From the latter phrase, we are justified in assuming that other wordlists were available for comparison. Since the voyage was made
with the help of several maps and books (de Roquefeuil 1872a[1]:4), we might assume that
the wordlists were in them.

13. This information is from Thomason (1983), whose reference to Silverstein I
have used in entirety.

14. Wike (1951:22) would appear to be wrong in asserting that the opening of
the HBC activity "in the area coincided with the depletion of sea otter ..."

References Cited

Adelung, Johann Christoph
1816 Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde mit dem Vater Unser als
Sprachprobe in bey nahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten, 4 vols.,
edited by Johann Severin Vater, with additions to Vols. 1-3 by Friedrich

Barratt, Glynn
Presence in the North and South Pacific. Vancouver: University of British
Columbia Press.

Beck, Warren A. and Ynez D. Haase

Belcher, Edward
1979 H. M. S. Sulphur on the Northwest and California Coasts, 1837 and 1839:
the Accounts of Captain Edward Belcher and Midshipman Francis
Guillemand Simpkinson, edited by Richard A. Pierce and John H. Winslow.

Bickerton, Derek
1984 The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis. The Behavioral and Brain Sciences,
7:173-188, 212-221.

Black, Lydia T.
1981 The Nature of Evil: Of Whales and Sea Otters. In Indians, Animals, and
the Fur Trade: A Critique of "Keepers of the Game," Shepard Krech, editor,

Blanchet, F. N., S. J.
1956 Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest.
Being the Correspondence, Notices, etc. of Fathers Blanchet and Demers,
together with those of Fathers Bolduc and Langlois. ... Mission to the Engagés
of the Hudson’s Bay Company and Pagan Natives, 1838 to 1847. Quebec
diocese, Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Portland: Oregon
Historical Society.

Bouquiaux, Luc
d'Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France [SELAF].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Editor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Gunther, Erna 1972 Indian Life on the Northwest Coast of North America, as Seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders During the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.


Kari, James n.d. Ch'enlahi, the tep-wi hand game of the Dena'ina.


McKelvie, Bruce Alistair 1949 Tales of Conflict. Vancouver: Vancouver Daily Province.


Oswalt, Robert L.  

1976  Kashaya Loanwords from Alaskan Languages. Ms.

Pattie, James O.  

Reinecke, John E.  

Roquefeuil, Camille de  


Ross, Alexander  

Samarin, William J.  


Sapir, Edward J. and Morris Swadesh

Sarafian, Winston Lee

Shelikhov, Grigorii I.

Silverstein, Michael

Spencer-Hancock, Diane

Strausz, David A.

Thomason, Sarah Grey

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, editor
1904/05 *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804-6.* New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co.

Tikhmenev, Petr Aleksandrovich

Walker, Alexander

Wike, Joyce A.

Wrangell, Ferdinand Petrovich