Some Evidence of Elaboration in Chinook Jargon

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The recent literature on Chinook Jargon reveals a notable lack of consensus on the most basic questions of classification, not to mention equally basic questions surrounding the language's origin and later development. The controversy over classification reduces to two radically different characterizations of the Jargon which came into wide regional use during the nineteenth century: one, that it was a stable pidgin language (Kaufman 1971, Thomason 1983); the other, that it exemplified an early, structurally uncrystallized phase of the pidginization process (a "pre-pidgin" perhaps) (Drechsel 1981, with reference to Silverstein 1972). At the crux of this controversy has been the issue of structural autonomy/homogeneity versus variability, an opposition which has been posed especially with reference to the Jargon of one speaker: Melville Jacobs' Clackamas Chinookan speaking consultant Victoria Howard (Jargon texts dictated in 1930, published in Jacobs 1936:1-13). The Jargon of this speaker looks quite unusual by comparison to that of other speakers, as Boas (1933) pointed out by way of criticizing Jacobs' Notes on the Structure of Chinook Jargon (Jacobs 1932; based primarily upon the Howard texts). In Boas' assessment, Mrs. Howard's Jargon looked to be "a jargon affected by the Clackamas, a dialect of Chinook proper", a suggestion since enormously expanded upon by Silverstein (1972). This imputation of a Chinookan structural basis to Mrs. Howard's Jargon has been taken to imply (a), that her form of Jargon was a highly personalized and idiosyncratic one; and (b), that similarly personalized improvisations upon native-language structural patterns also characterized the Jargon of all speakers. Presumption (b) has been systematically countered by Thomason (1983), who has marshalled a large array of evidence to the contrary: that the Jargon in historical regional currency in fact exhibited a high degree of structural homogeneity and autonomy, with respect both to syntax and phonology. As for presumption (a), concerning Mrs. Howard's indisputably variant form of the language, compare the following comments offered by Jacobs (1936:v) in response to Boas' original assessment.

No doubt the Howard texts, coming as they do from a native speaker of a Chinookan language, reveal a form of Jargon already too stylized and far too rich with purely Chinookan content to have been given currency in such garb far beyond the Columbia. The Howard texts are linguistically none the less instructive in revealing the extent to which a jargon may elaborate. Dr. Franz Boas has pointed out that Mrs. Howard's Jargon was exception-
al, not typical Jargon. While a form of Jargon much cruder and simpler than hers held sway over most of the region in which Jargon was spoken, her texts are of interest and importance if the attempt be made to observe the variant local Jargon developments. (Underlining added)

Here, I present some fresh data which seem to me to lend weight to Jacobs' as opposed to Boas' original assessment of Victoria Howard's Jargon. That is, I would like to suggest that Mrs. Howard's Jargon indeed should be taken as an example of "the extent to which a jargon may elaborate"; as opposed to an example (à la Silverstein's psycholinguistic model) of how Chinookan and English structures may be idiosyncratically converged via Jargon lexicon.

These data come in the Jargon of an elderly former member of the same community in which Mrs. Howard herself spent the greater part of her life, the Grand Ronde Indian Community (formerly, Grand Ronde Reservation) of western Oregon. This elder, Mr. Wilson Bobb, age 93 at this writing, speaks a Jargon exhibiting many of the same features which makes Mrs. Howard's Jargon seem so unusual. Since the two speakers knew one another well, this would hardly be surprising—but for the extreme artificiality which has resulted from considering Mrs. Howard as if she were a case in isolation. Of course, Mrs. Howard in real life was no such case—her daily life at Grand Ronde (where she was born, grew up, and spent most of her adult years) was spent in the constant company of relatives, friends, and acquaintances. It was these people, fellow family and community members, not outsiders, with whom she learned and used Jargon. Jacobs' fieldnotes (1929) from Mrs. Howard herself have this to say about Jargon in her earlier life: "Mrs. Howard's mother talked mostly Jargon to her,[although she] knew Molale and Clackamas just like Mrs. Howard". Later on, during a good portion of her mature years, Mrs. Howard was married to Dan Wacheno, a brother of Mr. Bobb's stepfather John Wacheno. The two brothers were also close neighbors, and extended-family alignments remained strong in this as in other Grand Ronde Reservation families. Consequently, Mr. Bobb was for a number of years rather closely associated with Mrs. Howard. The languages they learned, and used to him: Jargon and English (Mrs. Howard, note, was fluent in English, like most Grand Ronde Reservation Natives of her generation). It is interesting, furthermore, that while Mr. Bobb can remember Mrs. Howard speaking Jargon, and his stepfather, step-uncles, and step-grandmother speaking Clackamas (regarding which he retains a distinct impression of that language's acoustic harshness, although he himself has never spoken or understood it),
He has no memory of Mrs. Howard speaking Clackamas. Not only that, but he firmly rejected my assertion that Mrs. Howard even was, originally, "a Clackamas" (that is, by natal "tribal" affiliation). The "tribes" (aboriginal cultural-linguistic groups) at Grand Ronde were by that time all quite small, and in Mr. Bobb's perception (quite genuinely Native on this point) a Clackamas-Clackamas marriage (as between Dan Wachen and Victoria Howard) would have been tantamount to a marriage between relatives. (In fact, Mrs. Howard's father, who died when she was a child, was Tualatin Kalapuyan, while her part-Clackamas mother was an offspring of one of the reservation's prominent Molala families. Jacobs 1929.)

The intricately intertwined histories and circumstances of individuals and families on Grand Ronde Reservation will concern us no more here (refer to Zenk 1984 for more detail on the Wachenos and other Grand Ronde families in which Jargon was used). What I wish to call attention to is the comparability of Mr. Bobb's Jargon with Mrs. Howard's. This is most immediately obvious with regard to certain features of syntax, which are quite unusual in regional terms. Some of these indeed do strongly suggest a Chinookan structural basis or origin. But, insofar as they characterize Mr. Bobb's Jargon as well as Mrs. Howard's, we must reject Silverstein's claim that they necessarily betray the workings of a Chinookan speaker's grammatical competence. Mr. Bobb, to repeat, has never had the least such competence, passive or active (nor, for that matter, has he ever had any competence in any indigenous language, other than Jargon). His mother was Tualatin-Klickitat, his natural father, who died when he was 4-5 years old, was Tillamook, and his stepfather was Clackamas; Jargon was probably the only language shared by his mother and natural father, while both Jargon and English were used in the home by his mother and stepfather. Of course, the presence of patently Chinookan traits in the speakers' Jargon does require explanation. In short, there seems to have been at Grand Ronde a peculiarly Chinookanized dialectal variety of Jargon, just as intimated above by Jacobs. At the same time, there are also indications that the formal peculiarities of this "variant local Jargon development" cannot be accounted wholly to Chinookan source-language models. Rather, the Jargon of these speakers, and beyond that, the Jargon of the Grand Ronde Community generally, appears worthy of consideration as a developing linguistic system in its own right. Some of these indications will receive consideration here.

The present discussion will be limited to just a few points of syntax: (a) the presence of a special aspect marker in these speakers', as well as in some other Grand Ronde speakers' Jargon: aspectival hayu; (b) these speakers' distinctive and regular usage of short cleftic versus long independent separate sets of pronouns; and (c), their resort to formal reduplication to convey plural and distributive meanings. In addition to these, another syntactic feature, which in posing a significant point of contrast between the two speakers also raises some interesting issues concerning speakers' versus our own analytic perspectives on linguistic variation, will be considered: (d), the speakers' rather different word order patterns.

It should be noted at the outset that Mr. Bobb has had little occasion to use Jargon for a good many years, a circumstance which does have bearing on the data gleaned from him. Most of these came in the form of sentence elicitations, that is, as Mr. Bobb's Jargon translations of English model sentences preferred by myself. Towards the end of the fieldwork period, however, I was able to use my own rudimentary Jargon competence to engage Mr. Bobb in some Jargon conversation. Since Mr. Bobb no longer feels comfortable giving Jargon text dictations, these constitute our only samples of Jargon discourse from him.

(a) Aspectival hayu. Mrs. Howard frequently preposes the particle hayu (hayy, hai) to verbs. Jacobs (1932:33, 49) identifies it, naturally enough, with the adverbial hayu, hayy 'many, much'. Such an interpretation is suggested by the patterning of other adverbials, which usually occur externally to (preceding or following) the pronoun-verb-(object) complex, but may also appear directly preposed to the verb (often, with change in meaning). However, hayu behaves curiously in Mrs. Howard's texts. In my scan of the texts I spotted just three instances of other preposed adverbs (Jacobs 1936:78; Jacobs' orthography transliterated and somewhat simplified).

alda ya-hayyâ kildâ uk-dams-awlâmân
'The little girl cried out loud.' (hayâ 'greatly, loud'; note Spro Adv V S order.)

alda-yâ-dâs gamdâks
'She listened carefully.' (bûf 'good, carefully'; gamdâks 'know, perceive')

alda-yâ-dâs-dimdim uk-ya-yâk
'Her grandmother was in fine humor now.' (bûs 'good, well'; dimdim 'think, feel'; Spro Adv V S order.)
not obvious in his actual translations. In most cases, we are
driven to the context for any suggestion of augmentation; lacking
that, very few contexts definitely exclude the alternate
interpretations 'rather, sort of, somehow'!

The data from Mr. Bobb bring some new light to this confusing
picture. Mr. Bobb frequently uses preposed hayu (minimally or not
at all stressed; occasionally reduced to hayá or hai). For him, it
is most definitely not the same word as adverb/adjective hayó,
which he consistently stresses on the second syllable: thus
demarcating a minimal pair. (By the way, the failure of Jacobs'
transcription to show the same distinction more than sporadically
is not necessarily decisive: stress falls lightly in this form of
Jargon, and consistency here is much helped by the realization, or
at any rate the suspicion, that there are indeed two words at
issue. Jacobs had no inkling of this.) Preposed hayu serves,
rather, to highlight action in its aspect of continuing or repeat­
ing performance (I am indebted to Professor Wayne
Suttles for
originally suggesting that an aspectual distinction might be at
issue here). A literal gloss, suggested by Mr. Bobb's own
introspection, would be 'do(ing)-that'.

hayú na mákmak; na mákmak hayú
lots I eat I eat lots

na hayu mákmak
I do-that eat

na hayu mákmak hayú
I do-that eat lots

makádi lás wawa danákì
twice they talk yesterday
tumàlá lás wawa fàxà
tomorrow they talk once
qANŚI 11:11 lás hayu wawa
such time they do-that talk
11:11 wàk lás wawa
long-time not they talk
11:11 lás hayu wawa
long-time they do-that talk

wik na:níí uguk
not look that

wik hayu na:níí khanauí IxTá
not do-that look all thing

kas hayu na:níí pus uk du'nàs danás
'They're looking for the little
they do-that look for that little child child,'

káldáñas ya wawa wawa, ya h’omínxwát h’omínxwát
just he talk talk he lie lie

'He just talks and talks, he constantly lies.'
drút ya kändáñas h’omínxwát
'stay he know lie

(From a conversation)

If lás báñ wawa, má kändáñas lás háí h’omínxwát kábá máí
"... they good talk you know they do-that lie to you

"If they speak finely, you know they're lying to you."

Where context alone clearly indicates continuous or repeated
action, or, alternatively, where an adverbial such as kwan(i)sam
'salways' renders its specification superfluous, preposed hayu
is optional.

na čagú hayáñ hayu wawa śawáñ wawa
I become big do-that talk Indian talk

na čáxu hayáñ wawa śawáñ wawa
I become big talk Indian talk

'I grew up speaking the Indian language (Jargon).'
(The second sentence was given upon my request for a
repetition of the first, which came during a conversa­
tion— as Pr. Bobb's quite spontaneous self-
expression of being a native speaker of Jargon.)
qha ya hayu kurikuri khàsnàwigá
still she do-that run-all-around everywhere

qha ya kurikuri khàsnàwigá
still she run-all-around everywhere

'She's still running around all over.'

A secondary implication, of action continuing and, therefore, happening in present time, is sometimes evident.

HZ IktÀ mamùnk aIdÀ?
what you-do now

'What are you doing now?'

WB na hayu mès cëqw kàbà uk
I do-that throw water on that

'I'm (now) putting water on this (grass)._'

dànu hayàš ya hayu wawA
little big he do-that talk

'He's talking a little louder now._'

alàxdì iAs hayu wawA, wak naI kàmdAìks
perhaps they do-that talk not I know

'Perhaps they're talking perhaps they do-that talk not I know now, I don't know._'

Some instances of preposed aspectival hayu occur also in samples from two other Grand Ronde speakers: Jacobs' Santiam Kalapuyan speaking consultant John Hudson (Jacobs 1936:14-19); and, Yvonne Hajda's consultant Elmer Tom (Hajda 1976-80). So far as I know it is documented nowhere else. None of the younger speakers is familiar with the usage at all. The following are the four instances which I find in Mr. Hudson's texts (all are from text no. 2).

yaga-hài-màlık-lùís-uk-paya
'He made a good fire._'

(Literal translation uncertain. Presumably, the subject worked some to build up the fire.)

"wik-àlgi nàlgi ãdà: naíga, gàigu kàlgi-hayu-màlık
"But we will not have to wait for me, such as you have had to do so often._" (gàigu contracted for hasva ãki, meaning of hayu clearly indicated by translation here.)

yagá-lúnk-líplíp ugûk-làsù:p
'He made the soup boil._'

(yagá evidently contracted for yaga hài again, we can only presume that some time and effort were given to the soup.)

"dà'ì-yaga-uk-ulman yagayu-màmak uk-làsù:p"

"It must be this old man who has been eating the soup._" (yagayu evidently contracted for yaga hàyu again, a clear translation.)

The above considerations permit the following conclusions: Pre-verb hayu patterns quite differently from the adverbials serving more usually in Jargon to convey time reference (Thomason 1984, p.c.). Compare especially the relative-tense indicators aIdÀ (marking a point in time: 'now'), and aåGi (_rking time following a given point in time: 'later'). While adverbials of manner are often found directly preposed to verbs (except: only rarely in Mrs. Howard's texts), aIdÀ and aåGi almost invariably (at least, in all the older Grand Ronde speakers' Jargon) fall clause-externally. Aspectival hayu, on the other hand, is invariably directly preposed to verbs, in effect creating verb forms specially marked for continuative-repetitive aspect. As a productive device complicating the expression of verbal ideas in this language, it must be accounted a trait of elaboration. Moreover, it does not seem directly traceable to Chinookan structure. In fact, the adverbial hayu, patently the source of aspectival hayu, belongs to the Nootkan rather than the Chinookan component of Jargon lexicon.

(b) Separate sets of pronouns. The pronoun usages of the two speakers are closely comparable, but not identical. In the following tabulation, forms used by both speakers are shown unparenthesized, while those used by Mr. Bobb alone are parenthesized.
The familiar regional Jargon has but one set of pronouns: identical with the above full-form set (column 3). In these two speakers' usage, however, the full forms are functionally specialized, serving: (1) as accusative forms; (2) as the usual subject forms in attributive and equational constructions; and (3) as special emphatic (marked) subject forms alternating with short clitic (unmarked) forms in transitive/intransitive and possessive constructions (cf. Jacobs 1932:42). The latter unmarked:marked significance is uniquely attested in the Jargon of these speakers. Some other Grand Ronde speakers also frequently use short clitic forms (from both sets: columns one and two) in alternation with full forms, but so variably that no marking significance is obvious with respect to one or the other set. It should be pointed out that the data from Mr. Bobb reveal this significance even more clearly than do Mrs. Howard's texts, which include examples of short forms not just pronouns but a whole plethora of truncations and contractions as well, especially when communicating with close familiars under highly casual circumstances (as, for example, when at home—Jargon having been a medium of daily general communication in many Grand Ronde households). In Rymes' [Hymes] terminology, these speakers' pronoun usages therefore exhibited variation with respect to "contextual" or "situational" function. As a significant indicator of register differentiation within the Jargon spoken in this community, such variation would indeed seem to constitute positive evidence of elaboration.

(c) **Formal reduplication.** As Thomason has pointed out (1982, p.c.), repetition (for emphasis, etc.) is probably universal in the world's languages, and duplication for emphatic effect should not be surprising in anyone's Jargon. Examples of simple repetition of words—usually duplication or triplication—are available from other Grand Ronde speakers also frequently use short clitic forms (from both sets: columns one and two) in alternation with full forms, but so variably that no marking significance is obvious with respect to one or the other set. It should be pointed out that the data from Mr. Bobb reveal this significance even more clearly than do Mrs. Howard's texts, which include examples of short forms not just pronouns but a whole plethora of truncations and contractions as well, especially when communicating with close familiars under highly casual circumstances (as, for example, when at home—Jargon having been a medium of daily general communication in many Grand Ronde households). In Rymes' terminology, these speakers' pronoun usages therefore exhibited variation with respect to "contextual" or "situational" function. As a significant indicator of register differentiation within the Jargon spoken in this community, such variation would indeed seem to constitute positive evidence of elaboration.

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3 p.s. can be given an extra degree of marking, since not one but two full forms are available: **yagA** (marked, as opposed to unmarked **ya**), **yagA** (very infrequently used by Mr. Bobb, therefore highly marked for him). Chinookan source-language patterning is quite clearly revealed in the first and third sets of pronoun forms. Both correspond one-for-one to Chinookan originals: Chinookan pronominal prefixes on the one hand, Chinookan independent pronouns on the other (Jacobs 1932:41-42). Furthermore, the patterning of the Jargon sets is paralleled in Chinookan, wherein pronominal prefixes are obligatory, while independent pronouns are optional and hence available for expressive effect (Silverstein 1972:400-404). However, there seems to be no Chinookan precedent for three distinct sets of forms. Yet, the third set (column 2) is indeed functionally distinguishable (although, to be sure, fully so only from Mr. Bobb): these forms may be used like full forms, accusatively (note, here, Mrs. Howard's occasional usage of short **yagA** as an accusative form), or to indicate the subject in attributive and equational constructions; but they may also be used like column-1 short forms, to indicate the unemphasized subject in transitive/intransitive/possessive constructions.

So even here, where Chinookan origins are transparent, we find an indication of independent development: a complete extra set of pronouns. The Chinookan-parallel distinction between independent-emphatic and short-unemphatic subject forms remains fundamental, but speakers now also have the option of using one set of pronouns accusatively, or to indicate, without emphasizing, all categories of subjects and possessors.

There are furthermore certain other grounds for considering the existence of different sets of pronouns in Grand Ronde Jargon an elaboration, if not in the narrowly syntactic sense under consideration here. For the foregoing two speakers, the short:long pronoun alternation serves what Rymes (1968:115-124) terms "expressive" function. While this cannot be identified in the case of other attested Grand Ronde speakers who used both sets of forms, there is however evidence that the "mixed" usages, too, should be viewed in functional terms (Zenk 1986). In brief: back when Jargon was still in regular daily use in this community, many speakers seem to have used short forms, not just pronouns but a whole plethora of truncations and contractions as well, especially when communicating with close familiars under highly casual circumstances (as, for example, when at home—Jargon having been a medium of daily general communication in many Grand Ronde households). In Rymes' terminology, these speakers' pronoun usages therefore exhibited variation with respect to "contextual" or "situational" function. As a significant indicator of register differentiation within the Jargon spoken in this community, such variation would indeed seem to constitute positive evidence of elaboration.
all the Grand Ronde speakers. However, the regular usage of some of the speakers (but most especially, Mrs. Howard and Mr. Bobb), in which formally reduplicated forms convey specific distributive or plural meanings, appears to be distinctive. The description of the reduplication process which Jacobs gives in his structural notes (1932:32-33), however, requires some correction. There, it is indicated that the first syllable of a reduplicated monosyllabic root is regularly lengthened (except where the vowel is a), likewise the second syllable (if closed) of a disyllabic root. However, Jacobs' texts from Mrs. Howard include two examples of reduplicated forms which do not show the expected lengthening: (mun)kw'itkw'it 'break off plural objects'; (munk)tixtix 'tickle all over' (but more literally, 'make repeatedly silly'). (These verbs are both attested in simplex form from other Grand Ronde speakers, including Mr. Bobb who uses both the reduplicated and simplex forms). Apparently, it is stress, not length as such which really marks the reduplication. This is suggested by the general high frequency of stressed long syllables in the texts, as well as, more specifically, by many evidently purely phonological reduplicants: pu:smun 'brains', hiihi 'laugh', lu:lu 'carry', llili 'awhile', and others. In fact, I was uncertain whether to indicate length in a number of the reduplicated forms cited below from Mr. Bobb. Often, the indicated lengthening reflects syllable prominence more than quantity— as could be graphically shown by an orthography which permitted the first syllable to be printed in larger letters than the second.

Examples from Mr. Bobb:

yamunk. 'A'Ax uk pia
he-make tear that paper
'He tears the paper (e.g., one to a few pieces).'

yamunk. 'A'i:zh'Ax uk pia
he-make tear-up all the paper (a lot of it).'

na c'i:bi
I miss

na c'i:bi:ibid
I miss-repeatedly

ya šox
he slip

ya hayu šox:šox
he do-that slip-repeatedly

(with munk, the form šox:šox takes on a special meaning: 'give hell to, a good talking to'.)

na hayAš wawA ya, namunk šox:šox ya
I big talk him I-'give-hell-to' him

'I gave him a big talking to, I really gave him hell.'

na š'Akán ya
I kick him

na š'Akánš' Akán ya upuč, ya hayAš keši
I kick-repeatedly his ass he big cry

'I really kicked his ass, he sure cried.'

Where distributive or plural meaning is otherwise obvious, it may be unnecessary, and hence optional, to use a reduplicated verb-form (cf. hayu above). Such a form may however serve to convey extra emphasis.

khanawi ši:gi š'Iman Ilahi
all later soft earth

'Its going to get all muddy.'

pus uk sne:ša šaggo, khanawi uk Illahi šaggo š'Imunš'Imun
if that rain come all that earth become all-soft

'If it rains, its going to get all muddy.'

namunk šuk khanawi ḫita
I-make break all thing

'He slipped.'

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khanawi Iktà namunk k’a:U
all thing I-make tie

namunk ku:’a:k’a:U ìàs
I-make good tie-repeatedly then

'I tie it all up.'

'I tie them together really well.'

By contrast with Mrs. Howard, Mr. Bobb seems disinclined to
reduplicate adjectival forms. For example, when I posed Mrs.
Howard's dunidiadunus to him (cf. her ìàs-mun-k’a:uk’au dunidiadunus
caswá lìba, 'they wrapped up a little of everything'); one of the
examples used by Silverstein, 1972:606), he could not recall ever
hearing the form. But, he was able to tell me quite specifically,
and without prompting, what it should mean, and to furnish a
supporting example.

kàl’dàs dunidiadunus ya palàs
just little-by-little he give

'He just gives out a little at
a time.'

The following is one of the few spontaneously given examples of a
reduplicated adjectival form we have from him.

q’àiwał aw’läw uk mei siyáx was
all-crooked that your eye

'Your eyes are every which way.'

Something that might be said to a man "saying" a woman, or a woman
"saying" a man.

This feature may serve to underscore a point already intimated
in the discussion of feature (b): elaboration may or may not entail
independence development. Formal reduplication must indeed be
accounted a trait of elaboration: as in (a) and (b) above, we have
here a productive formal device evidently absent in the regionally
more usual Jargon. Nor is reduplication in Grand Ronde Jargon an
exclusively Chinookan-connected speakers' usage: other speakers
also show such forms, if much less frequently than Mr. Bobb and
Mrs. Howard. At the same time, this looks to be a Chinookan device,
pure and simple (cf. Boas 1904:118-124). That is, the examples from
these speakers, as far as I can see anyway, suggest no Jargon-
internal processes of formal or functional differentiation in
regard to this feature.

Finally, along with the foregoing points of close comparison,
I consider a point of variance between the two speakers.

(d) Word-order patterns. Grand Ronde Jargon shows regular SVO
word order with verbs used transitively; usual SV order, as well as
occasional (stylistically optional) VS order, with verbs used
intransitively; and variable S-Fred/Fred-S order in attributive
and equational constructions (Thomason, 1983, treats predicate
adjectives and predicate nouns as intransitive verbs, hence
equating S Fred = SV, Fred S = VS).

The most notable exception to the foregoing picture comes in
the Jargon of one speaker— Victoria Howard. Mrs. Howard, by
contrast to all other speakers everywhere (that is, those
represented by data!), employs VS order with quite high frequency—
by Thomason's count, yielding in her texts a VS / SV ratio of
46/94. In view of its seeming anomalousness, this feature indeed
suggests Mrs. Howard's spontaneous (idiosyncratic) simplification
of her VS-dominant Clackamas Chinookan word-order patterns. While I
must acknowledge that Mrs. Howard's Clackamas competence may indeed
be a factor to be reckoned with here, I would also like to point
out some important qualifications concerning this feature. In my
own rapid scan of the Howard texts, I found that VS order
(including S-pronoun V and S-pronoun) is almost always restricted
to verbs used intransitively. Most of the verbs in question,
furthermore, are ones which are intransitive in normal meaning.
The main exception to this rule was the verb wawa, 'say, tell' (8
VS instances), which has an about equal likelihood of turning up
transitive or intransitive. In 5 of the 8 wawa instances, context
clearly indicates intransitive meaning; in two, context clearly
dicates transitive meaning— both showing S-pronoun V as
verb order. The one remaining case (Jacobs 1936:5:
ala yawawa uk-ya-tc),
translated 'and she said to her grandmother' I believe to be a
misrepresented example of VS order, with intransitive wawa (the
all-important context— the relationship between the two actors,
and the preceding pattern of turns of talk involving them—
suggests that it is grandmother who is speaking here).

It therefore appears that Mrs. Howard rather consistently, if
not invariably, conforms her VS preference to the limitations of
normal Jargon syntactic order. That is to say, that she by and
large conforms to Jargon syntactic norms where it most makes a
difference— in transitive verb constructions. But, as already
pointed out, VS order in intransitive constructions is stylisti-
cally optional for other Grand Ronde speakers. Furthermore, were
we to count the latter speakers' rather frequent examples of Fred S
order as examples of VS, we would find VS not so unusual after all
in Grand Ronde Jargon. So, Mrs. Howard's VS usage, while indeed
unusual, does exhibit definite points of comparison with other
Grand Ronde speakers' usages.

Mr. Bobb is one of the speakers who frequently employs Fred S
order. On the other hand, he is also one of the speakers who
hardly ever employs VS order with verbs properly so-called. One of
the few such examples we have from him, however, serves ideally for introducing a new consideration to the discussion.

"The Whites think they're the superior people (race)."

This example is especially suggestive for two reasons: it shows V2 order in a transitive construction, therefore violating seemingly the most cardinal rule of Jargon syntax; and, it came spontaneously, in conversation, rather than in the set-piece frame of prompted sentence elicitations. It is easy enough to see why variant word order brings no confusion in meaning here: simply, it seems the most cardinal rule of Jargon syntax; and, it came shows spontaneously, in conversation, rather than in the set-piece frame of prompted sentence elicitations. It is easy enough to see why variant word order brings no confusion in meaning here: simply, it is unlikely (that is, in the particular terms of the particular conversation in which the example came) that anyone but Whites would think this. What is much more to the point though: Mr. Bobb did not seem to find this example (on review) to be in the least awkward. To him, it seems perfectly "good Jargon".

I would like to use this example to pose the following question: on what basis is Mrs. Howard's VS preference to be considered idiosyncratic or "anomalous"? We have no indications whatsoever that other competent speakers of the Grand Ronde community would have perceived it as such. Moreover, if they did not, this probably would have been for lack of competent-speaker's criteria for differentiating "good" from "poor", "natural" from "awkward" Jargon. Mr. Bobb, for one, holds quite exacting criteria in this regard, particularly with respect to traits of phonology (on which basis he adjudges the Jargon of most other contemporary Grand Ronde speakers to be quite "poor"). Indeed, for all we can now know, Mrs. Howard's VS preference (say, by virtue of imparting a more "Chinooky" stamp to her Jargon) was stylistically motivated, not a matter of spontaneous simplification at all. For want of additional evidence, this possibility must remain in the realm of speculation—but then perhaps, so should the evaluation of "anomalousness".

Conclusion. In one regard, this paper may be viewed as an expansion of Thomason's (1983) case for Jargon structural autonomy. Thomason argues that the pidgin Jargon formerly in wide regional distribution exhibited distinct norms with respect both to phonology and syntax. These are revealed in the typically "non-simplificatory ways" in which Jargon turns out to differ from its speakers' other languages. Here, I have argued that the same sort of considerations apply to the variant form of the language heretofore known only from Jacobs' Clackamas Chinookan speaking consultant Victoria Howard. It very much appears that, other views to the contrary, Jacobs' original assessment of Mrs. Howard's Jargon was correct after all. That is, her Jargon is best seen, not as one speakers' idiosyncratic improvisation upon Chinookan structural patterns, but as exemplifying: (a) "the extent to which a jargon may elaborate", and (b), a particular dialectal "variant local Jargon development". The focus here has been upon point (a). Specifically, certain syntactic peculiarities of Mrs. Howard's Jargon turn out to find close parallels in data recently gleaned from a fellow former member of her home community. While these peculiarities to some extent do reveal Chinookan source-language patterning, their presence in the Jargon of this speaker, who has never known a Chinookan language, suggests that they represent something more than spontaneous simplifications of Chinookan. Furthermore, not all of these peculiarities turn out to trace to Chinookan structural models. Some, rather, suggest processes of internal development characterizing these speakers' Jargon as a linguistic system in its own right. Nor can these two speakers' form of Jargon be considered simply in isolation— it turns out to exhibit many points of comparison with the language as we know it from other Grand Ronde speakers.

NOTES

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The orthography used is conditioned by the available typewriter keyboard: I stands for "iota", A for "caret". Stress is marked when it falls on other than first syllables, or on first syllables when doubled for emphasis.

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