Margaret Sherwood's Badger And Skunk
A Spokane Traditional Legend With Commentary

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This paper presents a traditional Spokane legend from a comparative perspective. The Spokane text is annotated with comparative material primarily from Thompson River Salish and secondarily from Interior (and other) Salish languages. The comparative approach developed unintentionally, but naturally. I initially intended to work up a Spokane text I gathered in 1979 (but had not looked at since). I soon noticed, however, that I kept seeing Spokane through a Thompson River Salish lens (which language I have worked on since 1980). The text below is a sketch of that Thompson-Thompson River Salish vision. This Spokane legend is the first of six told to me in 1979 by the late Margaret Sherwood. The legend’s main character is Badger, with Skunk as his foil. The legend divides naturally into four episodes, four also being the pattern number in Spokane (and Thompson River Salish).

The first episode begins with Badger walking down a road. Badger hears Skunk coming his way, whom Badger does not want to see. Badger decides to play dead, hoping that Skunk will leave him alone and pass on by. The episode ends with Badger lying down in the road “playing ‘possum” as Skunk approaches.

The second episode begins with Skunk finding Badger. Skunk complains about his “friend” Badger having abandoned him through death. Skunk then goes on his way, only to turn back, toss Badger on his back, and announce that he will take Badger home to eat. Skunk rationalizes that Badger would want him to do just that. The second episode ends with Skunk carrying Badger homeward.

The third episode begins with Skunk bragging that he fears nothing. Badger meanwhile puzzles over how he might get out of this sticky situation. Skunk swaggers on down the road, like a miniature miles gloriosus, bragging again that he fears nothing. When he brags of his fearlessness the third time, he conceives that there is one thing he fears, but he adds that he would never tell what it is. When he brags his fourth and final time, he lets slip that it is Bobwhite whom he fears. The third episode ends with Badger thinking to himself, “now I’ve got you.”

The fourth episode begins with Badger whistling softly like Bobwhite. Skunk stops abruptly, hears nothing, and then quickens his pace. Badger whistles a little louder. Skunk stops, hears nothing, and begins to trot. Badger whistles still louder. Skunk stops, hears nothing, and runs. Badger’s fourth whistle is a “loud noise.” Skunk throws Badger down on the road and runs off, not to be seen again. The fourth episode ends with Badger standing up and commenting how Skunk had run off.

The Spokane text is presented in a general three-line format. The Spokane line is shown first, followed by an English morph-by-morph gloss line, which is then followed by a translation line. The symbols from the list below are used to segment forms in the Spokane line and correspond to a same symbol in the English morph-by-morph line to facilitate understanding of the analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>slash</td>
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<td>V: (colon after vowel)</td>
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<td>(secondary stress)</td>
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<td>(long vowel)</td>
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<td>CY (subdot under phoneme)</td>
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Capital letters are used to gloss particles and grammatical affixes, except in a very few cases where lower case letters are used for certain particles that have definite English correlates. Lexical glosses are in lower case letters.

Languages cited in the footnotes are abbreviated as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern (N. Int.)</td>
<td>Southern (S. Int.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Lillooet</td>
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<td>Sh</td>
<td>Shuswap</td>
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<td>Th</td>
<td>Thompson River Salish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kennewick</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
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<td>Coeur d'Alene</td>
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<td>Spokane</td>
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<tr>
<td>Okanogan</td>
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</tbody>
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1The Thompson River Salish data are drawn from L.C. Thompson’s and M.T. Thompson’s The Thompson Language and their Thompson-English Dictionary, both forthcoming.

2My research on the Salish languages has been supported generously by the Meville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

3Margaret later explained that Badger did not wish to see Skunk because one never knew just which way Skunk was going to go and that he was “moody.” His odor also was thought to be lethal in mythic times. Mythic Skunk apparently was considered unpredictable, even irrational. (Skunk in Thompson River Salish folklore is similarly characterized.) Skunk’s behavior in the legend fits that characterization.

4Actually, in the text below Skunk whistles four times, and then on the fifth time he throws Badger down and runs off. When I analyzed the story with Margaret, however, she told me that Skunk should have whistled only four times. I was not aware of the significance of that “editing” at the time.
The following abbreviations and labels used to gloss the Spokane text.

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The following abbreviations and labels used to gloss the Spokane text.
Badger was walking down the road.

and beared someone coming toward him singing.

Then beared him and recognized the voice.
than

Object. Th analogues related root pronouns, where Th has been conservative. Newman (1980: 156) proposes the child, parent" (Kuipers 1974:71). The prefix (1938:699) treats

The cognate negative

Th cognate particle *ka

The cognate root

is presently found in verbs expressing subjective states, psychological and emotional." Margaret in this text only gives "he thought" as *kA, apparently is a reduced form of *kA. In this text, "he thought" will be analyzed simply as *kA (think). In closely related Flathead Ka speakers regularly reduce all material following the stressed vowel; e.g., for Sp "fire" [kWent], "play" [kWent; Sp "knife" [kWent]. Vogt (1940:2, 17) discusses the same phenomenon more generally for Ka. (Margaret thought that the phenomenon was especially prevalent in Flathead.) Cr apparently has a similar process of reducing material after the stressed vowel (Ivy Doak, p.c.).

22Th cognate root *kA"motionless" (PS *kA > Th y, Sp h). Th cognate suffix -dye (PS *kA > Th h, Sp d) and Th -dye (PS *kA > Th c) "pretense." There are cognates for Sp -dyей and Th -dye, -dye throughout Interior Salish (PS *-aya?).

Li

Sh

Ok

Cr

23Cm particle hoñ? "then" apparently has a similar narrative function as Sp hoñ? (Kinkade 1978:15-17), as does Cr hoñ? (Reichard 1938:699).

24Carlson and Flett (1989:57, 284) gives "he thought" as Int-âls (think-). The meaning of the suffix -âls apparently means "mind, heart." Vogt (1940-57) instructs that -âls "is used in verbs expressing subjective states, psychological and emotional." Margaret in this text only gives "he thought" as Int-âls, apparently is a reduced form of Int-âls. In this text, "he thought" will be analyzed simply as Int (think). In closely related Flathead Ka speakers regularly reduce all material following the stressed vowel; e.g., for Sp "fire" (> "matches") [sânt] or Ka [sânt], the Flathead pronunciation is [sânt]; Sp knife [n"n"c"n"n"], Sp "needle," [kWen"kWen"], and Sp "elk," [n"n"kWen"], is pronounced in Flathead as [n"n"] (is a diminutive prefix), [kWen"kWen"], and [n"n"]. Vogt (1940:2, 17) discusses the same phenomenon more generally for Ka. (Margaret thought that the phenomenon was especially prevalent in Flathead.) Cr apparently has a similar process of reducing material after the stressed vowel (Ivy Doak, p.c.).

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Li

Sh

Ok

Cr

26Reichard (1938:669) shows Cr particle nñ? which has a function of tying together dependent clauses similar to Sp ne here: Cr nñ? . . . nñ?, "if . . . then"; Sp ne . . . ne, id. Further afield, Edel (1959:40) gives na as a subordinating particle, glossed as "if, when."
27 Use of the augmentative here is not understood.

28 Carlson and Flett (1989:29) analyzes Sp "road" as /lusùw/-. An alternative analysis would treat "road" as a diminutive /lusùw/-t. Th cognate /sù-w/-t "road" (PS *x > Th x, Sp §); Cm cognate /xuwâl/ (Kinkade 1987:79). (PS *xuwâl; cf. Ti /xog/"-t" "road"). The additional l in the Sp diminutive (C,V) prefix /x/ in /lusùw/-t is not understood.

29 Th cognate form /le-ce-en-t-e-em/ arrive-DIR-1V "he got to him." Use of the IDF form here indicates that Badger is in focus. Focus shifts to Skunk below (lines 68, 72, 75, 77, 81), where the IDF form then is used to indicate that Skunk is in focus. When an agent is identified in a clause with an IDF form, it is marked with an oblique particle (OBJ) in Sp (t) and Th (te or ra). Kinkade (1989a) discusses the use of the IDF (-t-m), its "passive," as a means of topic maintenance in certain Salish narratives. Vogt (1940:68) and Kuipers (1974:78) similarly had remarked on the use of the IDF as a topicalizer in Ka ("indefinite dependent form") and Sh ("passive"), respectively.


31 Analysis of this form is unclear.

32 Th cognate /læst/ (friendly-IM) "friend" (vocative) in Spences Bridge and Merritt dialect areas (< Ok Tl)ejot). Martin (1973:74) analyzes the Ok source form as /x/et/ "partner" (Nom/Head-STative).

33 Possible Th cognate or related root /x/et/ "sad (formal usage);" as in Th /x/et/ /x/et.t (Sad Chr-IM) "sad." The semantic extension in the Th root would be from "abandoned" to "sad." Compare Th /x/et/ /x/et.t (Aug-Heartstrick-INC) "feel very bad, hearstrick, lonely, abandoned."
28.

29.

30.

31.

32.

33.

34.

The expected root here would be /taxil/, not /taxi/. Perhaps the is devoted to I before the following voiceless s, which then is lost under the regular Sp phonological rule of I > 0 / _ s.

Sp /mā/ "eat" has cognates throughout Interior Salish. PIS *mā has been narrowed to Th /mā/ "animal eats." Th /hēken/ means "person eats." Compare German essen (animal eats) versus essen (human eats).

Carlson (1973-49) calls tmā (written tmā then) "rhetorical interrogative." Vogt (1940:168) characterizes tmā similarly, adding it often is translated as "namely." Margaret translated tmā as "because" here. Sp tmā may derive from /tam/ "not, lack," and Sp interrogative particle ba. Th ĭ Tin /tām/, which likely derives from Th ĭ Tin "not, lack" (*a > e here) and Th interrogative particle nI. The meaning and function of Th ĭ Tin /tām/ is not yet fully understood; recognition of apparently parallel Sp tmā may help to solve the mystery of Th ĭ Tin.

Sp /kēt-s/ < underlying /kēt-n-e/-(take-DRY-TR-3.SBJ). Compare Th /kēt-s/ < underlying /kēt-n-e/-(take-DRY-TR-3.SBJ). Sp and Th apparently have the same morphophonemic rules of un relaxed vowel loss followed by loss of consonants. /kēt-n-e/ < /kēt-n-n-e/ > /kēt-n-n-n-e/ > /kēt-n-n-n-n-e/ > /kēt-n-n-n-n-n-e/ > /kēt-s/ ( > /kēt-s/). Sp has an additional final nasal vocalization rule: /n > i /_.

4Sp and Th form causative middle (MDL-CAU) constructions. It is one way to transitivize middles in both languages. E.g., Th /jya-m-s-t-e/ "he understands s.t." (hān-s-CAU-TR-3.SBJ).

4Th cognate auxiliary x'oty FUT [] and rare Th root /x'oty/ "go." Th predicative /x'oty/ has developed into an auxiliary indicating future tense.

4Th particle pe has a contrastive or switch reference function similar to Sp pn'. Th pe may be glossed as "but." E.g., pe n-wō'n as /i-stēt-e-t-m te l /kiyvə, "but the older sister already recognized him [Coyote] (where the younger sister had not)." Ka pn' expresses opposition or contrast to the preceding statement, and is translated as "but" (Vogt 1940:71). Sh particle pe apparently has a similar function/meaning (Kupfers 1974-75, 158). Margaret explained that pn' meant "back to Badger?" here.

49Th /j'et-e-t-m (carry on back-DRY-TR-IDF) "he carried it on the back," shows DRV -e- (underlying /i-/ ) transitive suffix instead of the RLT -min- suffix. Use of the IDF form here indicates Badger still is in focus vis-à-vis Skunk.
43. \( m \ k'\u /\text{Fr}p'\text{-n\text{-s}} \)
    FUT  Is.OBJ  escape-NCT-TR.3.SBJ
    so I can escape?

44. \( \text{s/tem} \)  /\text{ck/-c\text{-t}}
    DEM.CTD  back/away-DT.CTD
    Right then be said again.

45. \( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,

46. \( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,

47. \( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,

49. \( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,

53. Th cognate /k\text{-t}e/ "three."  

54. \( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,

\( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,

\( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,

\( \text{ho\ldots} /\text{p\text{-t}}\)
    tu u \( N\text{Cr} \)
    then /just ADJ at /three NOM.DT.CTD
    Right on that third time be said,
RPL (replacive) is an affix indicating action to a thing as it relates to a...

He [Skank] went on from there again.

There is only one thing I really fear.

It is Bobubite.

We do not mean to tell...

That is what I am afraid of.

Bobubite.

Then after that Badger thought,
66. \( i \) /\( x^2 \)[\( i \)\( q \)]

67. hoy tl' \( s \)\( e \)\( l \) /\( t e \)\( n \)\( e \)\( s \)\( s \)
then from DEM /\( p r e c e d \)
Then be [\( S k u n k \)] went on from there.

68. hoy /\( s i k \)\( -t \)k\( -a \)-t-m

69. \( i \) /\( x^2 \)[\( i \)\( p \)]\( u \) /\( s i n u m \)-\( -t \)

70. /\( t \)k /s\( e m \) /\( s i w \)-\( n e \)\( z \)-\( m i \)-\( s \)
\( n \)\( e m \) /\( n o m \)\( n \)\( a \)
/\( s e m \)\( n \)\( u \)-\( i \)-\( t \)-DT\( -3 \)\( S B I \)
He [\( S k u n k \)] did not hear anything.

71. u tl' \( s \)\( e \)\( l \) /\( t e \)\( n \)\( e \)\( s \)\( s \)
and from DEM /\( p r e c e d \)
He [\( S k u n k \)] went on from there.

72. he\( l \) /\( s i k \)\( -t \)\( i \)-t-m
/si\( k \)\( w \)-\( o \)\( n -t \)-DT\( -3 \)\( S B I \)
Again be [\( B a d g e r \)] whistled softly at him [\( S k u n k \)].

73. /\( s \)\( u \)-\( i \)\( l \)-\( p \) ec\( s \)\( u \)-\( n \)-\( e \)
\( m \)-\( t \)-\( 4 \)\( i \)
\( n \)\( o \)\( p -\)INC \( S T / l i s t e n -3 \)-DT\( -C T D \)
He [\( S k u n k \)] stopped and listened (very intently).
Not too far and then he [Badger] again whistled at him [Skunk]. Immediately he [Skunk] threw Badger down on the wayside. And he [Skunk] kept on running down the road—kept on running down the road.

He [Skunk] probably is still hiding somewhere.

He's gone. He's gone. He's gone. That's it then [formulaic ending].
Bibliography


—. Forthcoming. *The Thompson Language*.


