The Sounds of Kamloops: The Sound System of Chinook Jargon as Represented in the Transcription Systems Used by J.-M. R. Le Jeune, the publisher of *Kamloops Wawa*

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This paper is a preliminary study of the sound system of Chinook Jargon (CJ) as represented in the shorthand and Roman transcription used for the language by Jean-Marie Le Jeune (LJ). The discussion is based on the inspection of LJ's own presentation of his original shorthand and Roman transcription systems in *Chinook and Shorthand Rudiments* (1898) and *Chinook Rudiments* (1924), as well as the inspection of their use in the texts of the *Kamloops Wawa*.

I first provide a brief description of Chinook Jargon texts contained in my corpus (Section 1) and a short historical background about the author/editor and publisher of the texts, Father J.-M. R. Le Jeune (Section 2). Then (Section 3), I turn to the 'reconstruction' of the sound system of Kamloops Wawa CJ (KW CJ) based on individual inspection and then, comparison of the two transcription systems used by LJ. I also compare the 'reconstructed' KW CJ sound system to the sound system given for the language in Thomason and Kaufman 1988 (based on Kaufman 1966).

1.   Texts: Kamloops Wawa and Kamloops Miscellany

I transcribed and translated texts that I compiled from the newspaper *Kamloops Wawa* (KW), and from a collection of other publications of the St. Louis Mission in Kamloops, British Columbia named *Kamloops Miscellany* (KM).

KW was a newspaper published by a Catholic priest, Father Jean-Marie Raphael Le Jeune (see Section 2 below) from 1891 to 1904[1] in Kamloops, B.C. as a part of his missionary activity at the St. Louis Mission in Kamloops. In 1891, the first year of its publication KW was a monthly, it was a weekly from 1892 to 1893, a monthly again from 1894 to 1900, and finally, a quaterly from 1901 to 1904 when its regular publication was stopped (Reinecke 1975:720). The paper was largely handwritten and mimeographed, and for several years, printed by photoengraving. At the peak of its popularity it had a circulation of about 3,000 copies (Reinecke 1975, KW 5:12). All CJ texts in KW are transcribed in Duployan shorthand and therefore, handwritten. The early issues mostly contained texts in CJ. The later issues contained increasingly more material in English.

At this point, my corpus consists of six texts from KW and one text from KM. I also use two short texts in LJ 1924 written in both Duployan shorthand and Roman transcription. The texts are of diverse genres, four news articles, one story, a cathecism and a religious play. They span a period from 1892 to 1924. While the discussion in Section 3 mostly refers to LJ 1898 and LJ 1924, I include a textual sample from the above mentioned corpus for illustration.

2.   Father Le Jeune and the St. Louis Mission

According to his own account (KW, 9:3-10, 1900), Father Le Jeune (LJ) left Paris for the 'New World' on September 1, 1879. He was accompanied on his trip by Rev. Father Durieu, Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, B.C., Father E. C. Chirouse and Father J. M. Le Jacq, all members of the Catholic Congregation of the O.M.I., or Oblates of Mary Immaculate. They travelled over New York, Buffallo and Detroit to San Francisco, and then to Victoria and finally New Westminster, B. C. where they arrived on October 17, 1879.

The first Catholic missionaries to the Pacific Northwest were the Quebec Mission members, Father F. N.

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[1]   Several special issues appeared from time to time since then until 1924 (Reinecke 1975).

Blanchet, later the first Archbishop of Oregon, and Father M. Demers, later the first Bishop of Victoria and Vancouver Island (Munnick 1972, Notice 1956, Demers et al. 1871, KW 1904, 13:1). They arrived to Oregon in 1838.

According to LJ (KW 5:6, 1896), Rev. Father Ricard, Superior of the O.M.I. at the Notre Dame de Lumière, France, was the first Oblate appointed in 1847 to "go and found missions in the extreme Northwest of North America (p. 122)". Accompanied by four other Oblates he went to Oregon after a request for missionaries was made by Monseigneur Blanchet, first Archbishop of Oregon (and member of the Quebec Mission) and at the entreaties of the Bishop of Walla Walla (brother of Father F. N. Blanchet).[2] In 1850, the second group of French Oblates (Rev. Father D'Herbomez , the first Vicar Apostolic of British Columbia, and Brothers Janin and Surel) came to the Pacific Northwest (presumably to British Columbia). The third group of Oblates from France (LJ doesn't give a year) consisted of Rev. Father Durieu who at the time of LJ's writing in 1896 was the Bishop of New Westminster and Rev. Father Richard who was at Mission City. It seems that LJ arrived to British Columbia with the fourth group of French O.M.I. missionaries to the Pacific Northwest.

LJ came to the St. Louis Mission in Kamloops in 1880 and stayed there until his retirement in 1929 (Morse 1958). St. Louis Mission was founded by Father Demers in 1845 as a site of his yearly visits to the place. Following Demers, the Mission was regularly visited by other missionaries, among them the Oblate Father Durieu. The first resident priest, Father Grandidier, was brought to the St. Louis Mission in 1878, two years before LJ was sent there (Morse 1958). He started publishing the *Kamloops Wawa* [Voice of Kamloops] in 1891 at 100 copies, and continued its regular publication until 1904. It had increasing popularity until 1898, and seems to have reached a circulation of 3000 copies (Reinecke 1975). The newspaper was intended primarily for the Indians (mostly various Salish tribes--Shushwap, Thompson, Okanogan and Lillooet), and contained writings in CJ, but also in French and, moreso, English. The texts in CJ were written in the "wawa shorthand" (i.e. Duployan stenography) which was used (read and/or written), as claimed by LJ, by about 2,000 Indians (LJ 1898). In the last issue of the paper for the year 1898, at the time when the popularity of the paper seems to have started waning (Reinecke 1975), LJ invites the readers to keep their subscriptions by appealing to "a wonderful work that the "Wawa" [i.e. the *Kamloops Wawa*] is doing for the spreading of the gospel and civilization among those who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death" (KW 5:12 1898). Over the years LJ issued a considerable number of other publications (in both mimeographed and printed form; see Reinecke 1975 for a partial bibliography), consisting of manuals and vocabularies of CJ as well as other Indian languages of the area, a publication *Kamloops Phonographer* intended to teach Duployan shorthand (as applied to CJ, English and French), prayers and hymn collections in CJ and other Indian languages, etc. (see *Kamloops Miscellany*).

LJ mentions starting learning CJ, the language used for preaching by Catholic priests across the Northwest (see for example Demers, Blanchet, and St. Onge, 1871, Notices 1956[3]), during his trip from Europe

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[2]   The requests for O.M.I. missionaries made by the Bishop of Walla Walla (LJ does not give his name) seemed to have been successful at an earlier time as well. He obtained three Oblates from Reverend Father Guigues, Superior of the O.M.I. in eastern Canada and Bishop of Ottawa.

[3]   It does not appear that either Durieu or Le Jeune were aware of the existence of the "Chinook dictionary, catechism, prayers, and hymns" prepared by the Catholic priests of the Quebec Mission, M. Demers, F. N. Blanchet and L. N. St. Onge, and published in 1871 in the Quebec Mission in Montreal. Le Jeune mentions two of the authors, Demers and Blanchet, at various instances in his accounts in KW (e.g. KW 5:5 1896, KW 13:1 1904), but does not show awareness of the existence of their dictionary and texts. I find this a somewhat surprising possibility since LJ's short account of the establishment of the O.M.I. in the Pacific Northwest clearly shows that the Oblates were in contact with the catholic missionaries members of the Quebec Mission, in particular Father Blanchet, Bishop of Oregon who was Father Demers' contemporary and who revised, corrected and completed the "Chinook Dictionary..." in 1867, four years before it was published. Father Demers became the first Bishop of Victoria and Vancouver Island, and paid Kamloops a visit several times from 1842 on.

to British Columbia from the 'flying sheets' given to him (and prepared) by Bishop Durieu. The sheets contained some 250 to 300 words (and were recopied by LJ in LJ 1924; this list of CJ words is separate from his own CJ vocabulary given there). It is known that CJ was spoken in British Columbia and southern Alaska by various groups of Indians (see Boas 1933, Kaufman 1971, Thomason 1983, etc.). The preliminary account of CJ sound system given in the following section actually supports the indigenous transmission/spread of CJ from its place of origin in Oregon to Canada.[4]

At the same time, it should be noted that it seems likely that the Catholic priests (both in Oregon and Washington, and later in Canada) might have had a role in spreading CJ as well. LJ's own efforts in spreading literacy through the periodicals *Kamloops Wawa* and *Kamloops Phonographer* are one evidence of this. Also, from the 'reminiscenses' about "Bishop Durieu and his work among the Indians" written by LJ (KW 9:1-10) it is learned that not all Indians encountered by the Catholic missionaries in B.C. were proficient in CJ. On occasions, when holding sermons and conducting religious education in CJ, the priests (LJ mentions Bishop Durieu and himself) were using translators, Indians speaking both CJ used by the priests, and the local Indian language.[5]

3.   The transcription and sound system of the Kamloops Wawa Chinook Jargon (KW CJ)

As mentioned earlier, Le Jeune (LJ) uses two different transcription systems for CJ (see LJ 1898 and LJ 1924)--the Duployan shorthand (that he also calls 'phonography' and the 'wawa shorthand') and Roman transcription. Most texts in CJ in KW are in shorthand only. In LJ 1924 vocabulary items and excercises are given in both systems. Each transcription systems is relatively consistent while not entirely identical to the other as will be discussed below. They were altered only in isolated cases over the course of LJ's publishing activity in CJ.

His Roman transcription contains certain English conventions, as examplified by the use of <sh>, <ch> or <oo> digraphs, and <x> with their usual English phonetic values. Overall, his Roman transcription system is phonetic, and mostly independent of either English or French spelling. In most cases (but not all, see below), it also correlates closely with the transcription of the language in the strictly phonetic Duployan shorthand.[6]

Demers is also claimed to have established the St. Louis Mission in Kamloops (Morse 1958). LJ refers to one of the visits as happening "about the year 1845" (KW 13:1:24 1904).

A brief comparison of the transcription systems used by Demers et al. and Le Jeune respectively shows that Le Jeune's work must have been independent. According to Thomason 1983 (p.828) "[...] the transcriptions in this work [i.e. Demers et al.] agree very closely with later transcriptions of CJ elicited from Indians by linguists". While LJ shows more inconsistances, especially in the spelling (some of which might be explained as typos--all KW texts in shorthand and LJ's 1924 "Chinook Rudiments" were handwritten), he seems to have captured most of the phonological features of CJ that were captured in Demers et al. according to Thomason.

[4]   I provide a descriptive account of CJ grammar in LJ's texts in my forthcoming dissertation (Vrzić, forthcoming). I also discuss issues related to CJ word order in Vrzić 1997.

[5]   Also, LJ and other Catholic priests found it necessary and useful to translate religious texts not only into CJ, but also various local Indian languages.

[6]   A number of French and English words are an exception to this. LJ (1924) often gives these in their original spelling which differs, sometimes dramatically, from the shorthand transcription and the presumed CJ pronunciation of the word, e.g. *la vieille* 'old woman' is a lexical item that has a shorthand form *lamiai* (p. 14). However, LJ is often inconsistent in the way he writes French and English words when using the Roman alphabet. He switches between the actual English/French spelling--this method being particularly common for what might be more recent English borrowings in his list, a 'phonetic' spelling approximating the way a word was pronounced in CJ, e.g. *lema* 'hands' from French *les mains*, and the combination of the two, e.g. *couli* 'to walk' from French *courir* 'to run'. LJ is occasionally inconsistent, and gives different spellings of the same word in

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The shorthand 'phonetic alphabet' proposed for CJ in LJ 1898[7] (p. 2) consists of 16 shorthand signs, 9 consonantal and 7 vocalic, with the 'phonetic' equivalents given in Roman characters as shown in (1) below. LJ notes that "the pronunciation is the Latin pronunciation, in which the consonants are the same as in English".

(1)   h   p   t   k   l   sh   s   n   m
        a   o   oo   ow   wa   e   u

This early version of the CJ shorthand/Roman alphabet does not contain unitary shorthand symbols for /ts/ and /tš/ sounds which LJ introduces later (see (2) below). For example, in a text dating from 1892 "Shosep pi yaka telikom", LJ transcribes /ts/ by using a combination of symbols <t-s> (e.g. <t-s-e-p-e> for what shows up later as <ts-e-p-e> where /ts/ is represented by a special symbol related to a symbol for <s>. Similarly, he transcribes /tš/ as a combination of symbols <t-š> (e.g. <n-a-n-i-t-š> for a word that is transcribed later as <n-a-n-i-tš> where /tš/ is represented by special symbol related to a symbol for <š>.

In LJ 1924 (p. 5) the 'phonetic alphabet' is given in the expanded and compounded form[8] (see (2) below), and contains symbols for consonant and vowel sounds that seem to be both those of CJ as given in (1) above, and English.

(2)   Vowels:
        a   o   oo   ow   wa   e   u[9]
        an   in   on   un

        Consonants:
        h   p   t   f   k   l   sh   s   n   m
        b   d   v   g   r   ch   ts   ng

This list is followed by the English alphabet (and mostly repeats the shorthand symbols given in the first list). An additional symbol appears for the English letter (and the corresponding sound) <y> which also occurs commonly in CJ. It appears from the two lists (as well as LJ 1898) that the English letter <j> and the digraph <ch> correspond to the same shorthand symbol (used to represent /tš/ in word of Indian origin). The same goes for the English letter <z> and the digraph <ts>.

In addition to the above, LJ 1924 lists several 'compound vowels' (some of them already listed in his previous lists) with accompanying shorthand symbols or combination of shorthand symbols, see (3) below.

(3)   wa   woo   owa   we   weyie   woe   wow   owa   way   weeya

More interesting for the study of CJ is LJ's additional list of consonants in which he makes an effort to represent and describe some of the Indian sounds and consonant clusters (in addition to providing a symbol for the English digraph <th>), cited in (4) below (LJ 1924:5).

(4)   h   always aspirate, never silent

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different places, e.g. he normally writes *kooli* 'to walk' in addition to the above mentioned *couli*.

[7]   LJ (1898) also gives a version of the 'phonetic alphabet' to be used for English.

[8]   It applies presumably to both English/French and CJ, but LJ 1924 doesn't explicitly state that.

[9]   The shorthand symbol corresponding to letter <u> in this list is used in words spelled with <yu> in the 1924 vocabulary, e.g. *yutl* 'glad', *yoolkat* 'long'. In Kaufman's (1966) dictionary the words are *yutl* and *yulqat*.

kh   guttural, explosive
h-l   separate
hl   combined
lh   wet l, lla, lya
l-h   separate
h-k   separate
kr   an explosive articulation
          a very soft r, or an imitation, heard in some native languages[10]
h-h   a duplication of the articulation, but x lighter one than usual, can be acquired only by
          practise
th   in English th same in some instances in the native languages sound as tha, tha, thye
          needs to be heard

With the exception of <h> and <lh>, and more occasional <kh> and <kr>, no other symbols are used in LJ 1924 and the KW texts I inspected.[11]

Anticipating somewhat the following discussion, Table 1 below shows the sound system of KW CJ as 'reconstructed' from LJ's Roman and shorthand transcriptions presented above. The following sounds distinctions seem to have been recognized by LJ.[12]

(5)

Table 1

KAMLOOPS WAWA CJ (KW CJ) SOUND SYSTEM

p	t		ts	tš	k	[kw]
						k'/q'
(b	d				g)	
			s	š	x	X
m	n					
	(r)	l			(λ?)	
w					y	
i		u				
e	3	o				
	a					

I am starting the discussion of the Table 1 by looking at consonants. The sound given in brackets [kw] is represented by a combination of shorthand symbols <k-w>, and therefore, it is unlikely that LJ considered it to be 'one sound'. However, he clearly distinguished <k> followed by labialization or as represented by him, by /w/

[10]   No Roman character is given as a correlate of this shorthand symbol.
[11]   It is not clear at this point why LJ finds it necessary to single out clusters <h-l>, <l-h> and <h-k> apart from other clusters occuring in KW CJ. The symbol for <hl> described by LJ as "combined" could be an effort to represent a lateral fricative. However, this spelling is never used by LJ to transcribe words that have these sounds in 'Indian' CJ. The "very soft r" as well as <h-h> and <th> are also not used by LJ to transcribe CJ. The symbols <kh> and <kr> seem to represent one and the same sound, and further correlate with the more commonly used <k> discussed later in the text. For example, LJ commonly transcribes the lexeme 'to arrive' as k'o (LJ 1924:12), but transcriptions such as kro and kho are found while rare (see one example in Appendix 2).
[12]   For comparative purposes, I use the same sound symbols for CJ as Thomason and Kaufman 1988 (see Table 2).

from the one that is not.[13]

The sounds separated by a slash, /k'/ and /q'/ are not distinguished from each other, and are represented by one shorthand sign meant to render a "guttural, explosive" sound in LJ's own description. This sound is often but not regularly written as a letter <k> followed by an apostrophe, i.e. as <k'>. However, the presence of glottalization on velar and uvular stops is not marked on all the lexemes where its presence can be noted in Kaufman's (1966) dictionary of CJ.[14] It is marked in words like k'el 'hard', k'o 'to arrive' and k'ow 'tied', but it is not marked by LJ in other words that Kaufman gives as having glottalization, e.g. LJ's kilapay 'to return' given by Kaufman as k'ilapay, or LJ's kaka 'crow' given by Kaufman as k'ak'a.[15]

The voiced stops, /b d g/, and /r/ are rare in CJ basic vocabulary given in LJ 1924 in two separate lists, "The 163 original words" and "Chinook words more or less used". The voiced stops all occur in words of English and French origin, such as dlet 'really, truly' from (Canadian) French droit (dreit?) /dr(u)et/ (Kaufman 1968, Zenk 1996), dlai 'dry' from English dry and glis 'grease' from English grease (with the possible exception of bebe 'kiss'[16]). The phoneme /r/ is also uncommon in CJ basic vocabulary. There, in words of English and French origin the original /r/ is normally replaced by /l/ as shown in dlai and dlet above.[17] The only instance where LJ uses /r/ to transcribe a sound in a CJ word of a basic vocabulary is ratrat 'geese' where it corresponds to the uvular fricative /X/ (see Table 2 below) in Kaufman 1966, i.e. XatXat 'mallard duck'. The "wet l, lla, lya" described by LJ, and singled out for a separate shorthand symbol, occurs in a few words only, such as itluilh 'flesh, body', pelhten 'crazy', and pelhte 'thick'. It is not clear what the phonetic value of this sound might have been in KW CJ (I represent it tentatively as a palatal lateral /λ/ only because that approximates LJ's description) as it seems to correpond to different sounds in 'Indian' CJ as shown by Kaufman's phonemic transcription of the same lexemes, i.e. itɬ'wel(i), p3lt3n, and pɬeɬ respectively.

I now turn to the discussion of vowels. Most of the vowel system is unproblematic. However, the letter/sound that does not appear on LJ's lists given under (1) and (2) above, but which exists in his Roman transcription is /i/. LJ distinguishes between /e/ and /i/, e.g. tsepe 'mistaken' and tsi 'sweet'. In these two words (and a few other examples) the distinction is also made in the shorthand transcription.[18] LJ gives separate symbols for 'ow', 'wa' and 'yu', etc. (see (1), (2) and (3) above). It does not seem that these should be considered to have a phonemic status. They are likely to have been devised as shorthand presentations of common combinations of glides /w/ and /y/ and vowels.

In summary, LJ's transcription system clearly reflects his European linguistic background in ways to be discussed further below. However, LJ also recognizes several marked, Indian features of CJ phonology (see Thomason & Kaufman 1988 (T&K 1988), Thomason 1983, Kaufman 1966, Zenk 1996, etc.). Compare the KW CJ sound system in (5) above with the full Indian CJ sound system presented in T&K 1988, given below.

[13]   LJ does not make note of labialization occuring with a uvular stop /qw/. Thus, kolan 'to hear' (sometimes also k'olan) is LJ's form corresponding qw'3lan given in Kaufman 1966.
[14]   It cannot be definitely decided from the information available to me at this point whether this is due to LJ's inconsistent transcription (an option that seems quite plausible to me now), or a fact about the dialect of CJ spoken in B.C.
[15]   In one instance LJ's /k'/ stands for the cluster /qɬ/, e.g. halak' 'to open' is given by Kaufman as xalaqɬ.
[16]   Neither Kaufman 1968 nor Zenk 1996 give an etymology for this word.
[17]   In the lists of French words (LJ 1924:14-15) (claimed to be hardly ever used any more) the replacement of /r/ by /l/ is also most common, as it is in the list of religious words most of which are of French origin as well. The /r/ normally occurs in the (long) list of commonly used words of English origin, perhaps because these may have been more recent borrowings introduced by bilingual speakers.
[18]   Most of the time the distinction between /i/ and /e/ cannot be discerned in the shorthand. Because the symbol for both vowels seems to be the same, the difference between them, when present, consists only in how they attach to the previous symbol.

(6)

Table 2

THOMASON AND KAUFMAN 1988 CJ SOUND SYSTEM

p	t		ts	tš	k	kw	q	qw	ʔ
p'	t'	tɬ'	ts'		k'	kw'	q'	qw'	
b	d				g				
	ɬ		s	š	x	xw	X	Xw	
m	n								
	r	l							
w					y				
i		u							
e	3	o							
	a								

As is clear from the comparison of Table 1 and Table 2, LJ's system in Table 1 is missing most members of the glottalized and labialized series. It is also prominently missing the lateral fricative and glottalized lateral affricate, /ɬ/ and /tɬ'/, so typical of the languages of the Pacific Northwest area and CJ. The absence of these phonemes is characteristic of all non-Indian varieties of CJ. A rather regular correspondence exists between the 'Indian' CJ (as described by T&K 1988 and Kaufman 1966) and the KW CJ discussed here. For example, the phonemes /tɬ'/ and /ɬ/ are replaced in KW CJ by the clusters /kl/ or /tl/ word initially, as in *klaska* 'they' (Kaufman *ɬaska*), *klunas* 'maybe' (Kaufman *tɬ'unas*), *tlun* 'three' (Kaufman *ɬun*), and *tlep* 'deep' (Kaufman *tɬ'3p*).[19] The variation between <tl> and <kl> occurs word-initially. Elsewhere in the word, lateral fricatives and affricates are represented in KW CJ by <tl>, e.g. *patl* 'full' (Kaufman *paɬ*) and *yutl* 'glad' (Kaufman *yutɬ'*), *patlach* 'give' (Kaufman *paɬatc*) and *itluilh* 'flesh, body' (Kaufman *itɬ'wel(i)*).

A further comparison of LJ's shorthand and Roman transcription of CJ shows his awareness of additional phonological properties of CJ.

In his 1924 vocabulary LJ consistently marks stress on all words that have more than one syllable. The stress is usually on the first syllable, and occurs on other syllables much more rarely. The match between the assignment of stress in LJ 1924 and Kaufman 1966 is very close, and differs only in a few cases.

Another feature that comes out in LJ's Roman transcription of CJ is the existence of the 'schwa' phoneme, /3/, which LJ marks by a diacritic ˘ over a vowel, presumably marking shortness, e.g. *hŭm* 'to smell' (Kaufman *h3m*) or *tlĕp* 'deep' (Kaufman *tɬ'3p*).[20] This justifies the addition of /3/ to the vocalic system of KW CJ in (6) above.

Finally, in Roman transcription (but not in shorthand) LJ marks the opposition between the velar and uvular fricatives /x/ and /X/. The uvular fricative /X/ is transcribed using a letter <h> followed by an apostrophe--<h'>, e.g. *h'loima* 'different' (Kaufman *xluima*)[21], or *eh'pui* 'to shut' (Kaufman *ixpui*). LJ spells the velar fricative

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[19] There does not seem to be any internal linguistic reason as to why some words use /kl/ and others /tl/.

[20] Not every 'schwa' in Kaufman's vocabulary collerates to a vowel marked short in LJ's list, e.g. *kakshet* 'broken' (Kaufman *kakc3t/kakcat*) and *kalkala* 'birds' (Kaufman *k3lak3la*). Equally, not every vowel marked short in KW CJ corresponds to a 'schwa' in Kaufman 1966, e.g. *hŭlhŭl* 'mouse' (Kaufman *hulhul*).

It is beyond the goals and scope of this paper to discuss the issue of whether LJ's marking of shortness on vowels should be taken as a reason to posit the phonemic existence of short vowels or, rather, as a fact that points in the direction of the existence of a 'schwa' phoneme. For simplicity reasons, I accept the latter possibility here which also goes along with T&K 1988 CJ phonological system.

[21] Kaufman 1966 marks the velar and uvular fricatives as /h/ and /x/ respectively.

/x/ as a plain <h> instead, e.g. *elehe* 'land, place' (Kaufman *ilahi/ili'i*), or *iht* 'one' (Kaufman *iht*).[22] Most of the time, word-initial velar fricative /x/ is dropped, e.g. *ehe* 'laugh' (Kaufman *hihi*), *ayas* 'big, greatly' (Kaufman *hayas*), *ayu* 'many' (Kaufman *hayu*), *elo* 'not' (Kaufman *hilu*), etc.[23]

4.   Conclusion

LJ' transcription systems for CJ capture a fair amount of phonological features associated with the 'Indian' CJ, often lacking from presentations of the language by French and English speaking authors. As a matter of fact, the number and kind of phonological contrasts that has been captured by LJ is quite comparable to Demers et al. (1871) whose representation of CJ (as spoken in Oregon) has been claimed to come very close to the transcription of CJ later elicited from Indians by linguists (Thomason 1983:828). At the same time, LJ is more inconsistent in marking certain features, such as the contrast /k/ ~ /k'/ or /q'/, /x/ ~ /X/, or the presence of /3/, whether in Roman characters or in Duployan shorthand.

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[22] Not every /X/ in Kaufman corresponds to <h> in LJ, e.g. *halak* 'to open' (Kaufman *xalaqɬ*), *kallahan* 'fence' (Kaufman *kalax(an)*) or *kah* 'where' (Kaufman *qax*). As before, it is not clear at this point whether this is the consequence of LJ's inconsistent spelling, faulty perception, or a fact about CJ spoken in B.C.

[23] Words *hŭlhŭl* 'mouse' (Kaufman *hulhul*) and *hŭm* 'smell' (Kaufman *h3m*) are exceptions to this. It may be significant that in both /x/ is followed by 'schwa'.

It seems plausible that the word-initial dropping of /x/ in LJ's CJ is a feature carried over by him from his native French which has no initial velar fricatives.

Society.

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Appendix 1
The spelling conventions used in the transcription of KW CJ texts

In my transcription of CJ I essentially follow LJ's spelling. However, I have modified it slightly to avoid inconsistencies, to provide a closer match to the language as it is represented in the shorthand and to represent all phonological contrast that were noticed by LJ whether marked in the shorthand and/or Roman spelling. The modifications are the following.

1.   I replace <oo> by <u>, e.g. *tloos* is *tlus*.

2.   I do not mark stress.

3.   I do not mark length on vowels, cf. chi will be given as *chi* since the marking of length does not seem to correlate with Kaufman's 1966 system.

4.   I mark geminate consonants only when their marking correlates with the existence of geminate consonantal symbols in the shorthand and/or in Kaufman's system, hence, in *elle* 'to leave', but not in *kallahan* 'fence' or *pasissi* 'blanket(s)'.

5.   I do not use <z> in transcription if the symbol for /s/ is used in the shorthand transcription, e.g. LJ lists *ayaz* 'big' with a <z> in spelling although the shorthand version of the lexeme has a symbol for /s/ instead. In support of this (and other similar examples), Kaufman 1966 gives /s/ as well.

6.   As mentioned earlier, Le Jeune varies in how he spells words of French and English origin in CJ. One point of oscillation are English words with <j> or <g> standing for the voiced (alveo)palatal affricate /j/, and French word with <j> or <g> representing the voiced (alveo)palatal fricative /ž/. In shorthand the symbol representing /tš/ stands where English <j> and <g> are found in LJ's spelling, e.g. the lexical entry *Vigil* is transcribed in shorthand as <vichil>, *statjen* from English *sturgeon* is transcribed as <stachen>. The symbol for /š/ stands in the shorthand for the French <j> and <g>, e.g. the lexical entry *Les Anges* is transcribed as <lesash>, *Lejooip* from French *Les Juifs* is transcribed as <leshuip>. I will follow the shorthand in my transcription of all words coming from French and English as it seems to come closer to the form these words had in CJ (cf. Kaufman also has *statchen* 'sturgeon'; I did not find other lexemes mentioned above in his dictionary, but cf. Kaufman's *sawac*, where /c/ = /š/, from French *sauvage* 'Indian').

7.   I give below the spelling key for the transcription of KW CJ I use. For that purpose I repeat the Table 1 representing the KW CJ sound system, and mark the spelling letter for each sound underneath it in bold face. The

spelling convention follows closely LJ's system with the exception of the symbol <3>, and other modifications discussed earlier. Each lexical entry will be consistently represented in one way. Of the two or several alternative forms appearing in LJ 1924, the one closer to 'Indian' CJ as represented by Kaufman will be chosen (e.g. *t3likom* over *telikom* 'Indians, people', *k'olan* over *kolan* 'to hear'). At this point and with the previous discussion in mind, it seems reasonable to me that the variation in presentation of some lexical items in LJ's dictionary is due to his inconsistency rather than, for instance, a sign of variation in pronunciation that he tried to capture.

(i)

KAMLOOPS WAWA CJ (KW CJ) SOUND SYSTEM AND SPELLING KEY

p	t	ts	tš	k		[kw]
p	**t**	**ts**	**ch**	**k**		**kw**
						k'/q'
						k'
(b	d				g)	
b	**d**				**g**	
		s	š	x		X
		s	**sh**	**h**		**h'**
m	n					
m	**n**					
	(r)	l		(λ?)		
	r	**l**		**lh**		
w			y			
w			**y**			
i	u					
i	**u**					
e	3	o				
e	**3**	**o**				
	a					
	a					

Appendix 2

Excerpt from a CJ text originally written in shorthand
The Wreck of the Clallam (KW, 1904, 13 (1):10-16)

1   Kopa flaidi 8 shanwari, iht ayas
2   stimpot, yaka nem klallam, yaka mash siatl town
3   teke chako kopa viktoria: kwanesem yaka kuli
4   kopa siatl pi kopa viktoria.

5   Kopa ukuk flaidi 8 shanwari 55 tkop t3likom
6   klatwa kopa ukuk stimpot, teke klatwa kopa
7   viktoria. 44 man mamuk kopa ukuk stimpot:
8   kakwa klaska mitlait 99 kanawe kanamokst kopa
9   ukuk stimpot.

10   Wek saya yaka kro kopa viktoria: klunas
11   iht weht owr pi yaka tlap kopa viktoria,
12   pi yaka tlap skukum wind, pi kaltash ukuk:
13   ayu taim yaka tlap skukum wind, pi wek yaka kwash:
14   dlet ayas ukuk stimpot, dlet ayas tlus yaka.
15   Ukuk t3likom kuli kopa ukuk stimpot ayu tomtom
16   kata yutl alke klaska tlap pus klaska kro kopa
17   viktoria; pi S.T. h'loima yaka tomtom.

Translation:

On Friday January 8th a big steamboat called Clallam left Seattle to go to Victoria. It travelled between Seattle and Victoria all the time.

On that Friday January 8th 55 white people who went on the steamboat wanted to go to Victoria. 44 men worked on the steamboat. Hence, they were 99 people in all on the steamboat.

They almost arrived to Victoria. Maybe another hour and they would have gotten to Victoria. But they met a strong wind and this was bad. Many times it met a strong wind and it wasn't scared away. This boat was really big, it was really very good. The people who went on the steamboat were thinking how pleased they would get later, when they arrive to Victoria. But God, he thought differently.

Wreck of the Clallam.

January 8, 1904, a large Steamboat, the Clallam, was going from Seattle to Victoria. There were 55 passengers on the Steamer, and 44 hands. Coming towards Victoria, she got into strong wind, but she had met strong wind before; only some of the Starlights broke in and water gushed in, that way it put out the fires, so that the engines became powerless, and the boat was at the mercy of

the wind. As the boat began to sink, the Captain & officers thought of saving first the women and Children, of which there were 15 on board, by sending them ashore on the light boats. But they were all drowned, on account of heavy sea, some just after leaving the Steamer, other at a short distance. Towards midnight, two tugs could come to the Clallam's rescue: they tried first to tow her to Port, but as she sank rapidly, they had to cut her loose, and save all the men they