"How we went up to steal a mattress"

A comedy in three acts by Clara Riggs

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1. We present a narrative by Mrs. Clara Riggs here, in two versions: one in English, the other in Chinook Jargon. The Chinook Jargon version reinforces the conclusion previously reached by Hymes and Zenk (1983) in regard to another Jargon text by Mrs. Riggs: Mrs. Riggs' Jargon narrative dictations show, and very clearly show, the same features of internal organization elsewhere noted by Hymes (e.g., 1981: 149-152) for Chinookan traditional narratives. This is of special note because Chinook Jargon is Mrs. Riggs' only indigenous language. Granting the unlikeliness of indigenous patterning being transmitted through any medium other than a local indigenous language, Mrs. Riggs' Jargon narratives evidently confirm Jacobs' (1936:vii) suspicion that, in the western Oregon-Washington region, "no small portion of native culture and knowledge was handed on of late years through the medium of Chinook Jargon."

Here, we aim to carry this line of investigation a step further, with a comparative analysis of Mrs. Riggs' English and Jargon narrative styles. While we do find indications of indigenous patterning in both versions, such patterning is much more obvious in the Jargon text; in the English text, the patterning is more latent than it is clearly iterated. We suggest that implicit canons of properly "Indian" rhetorical style are of primary concern for this narrator when she is using her only Indian language, Chinook Jargon, while they are of secondary concern for her when she is using her only other, now dominant language, English. For those who may hesitate to acknowledge Chinook Jargon as an "Indian" language, we repeat Zenk's (1982) findings based

on work with Mrs. Riggs and other elderly Jargon speakers from the Grand Ronde Indian Community (former Grand Ronde Reservation, Oregon): these speakers habitually refer to Jargon as "the Indian language"; most of them have spoken it from early childhood; most are unacquainted with any other indigenous language.

Finally, although Mrs. Riggs offers us no direct comment on rhetorical style as such, we are able to draw on other information to offer some further comment, which we mean to be suggestive rather than conclusive, as to Native values and attitudes associated with indigenous rhetorical style.

2. A quick reading of the two versions of "the Mattress Story" presented here leaves one with a clear impression: a personal experience transformed into narrative in two renderings, which, however different, are equal in their dramatic force, skillful characterization, and humor. Viewing the videotape recording of this storytelling session confirms the impression--neither one of the versions is lacking in wit, suspense, or irony when viewed together. Each, in fact, seems to move forward on energy of its own; the English cannot be viewed as a "translation" of the Jargon (indeed it was told first), nor the Jargon a "translation" of the English.

A close analysis, first of the Chinook Jargon and then of the English version, gives conclusive support to the notion that both renderings are internally consistent and "whole," formally and stylistically, each in its own way.

The Jargon version

Hymes and Zenk (1983) have already demonstrated that the lineaments of the traditional narrative style of the region are present in another Chinook Jargon text obtained from Mrs. Riggs, that one also a narrative based on personal experience. It is not surprising that they are visible as well in her Jargon version of "the Mattress Story." The traditional features of the Jargon version can be summarized in terms of (1) overall rhetorical design and role of particles, and (2) role of quoted speech.

(1) Overall rhetorical design; role of particles. The story can be viewed as a comedy in three acts. Act I follows Clara and her sister-in-law as they go berrypicking in the mountains. They discover the bunkhouse and the things inside, and make preparations: setting up, preparing the mattresses, and lying to Clara's mother-in-law, "setting her up" too, for a second trip up to steal. Act II: the second trip, the surprise and the ensuing flight; Act III: the discovery of their deeds, and Clara's confession. This organization at the level of acts is perfectly in accordance with the logic of action revealed in Chinookan texts by verse analysis of the kind suggested by Hymes (1981, and elsewhere)--here, Act I: onset; Act II: ongoing; Act III: outcome.

In fact, for the Jargon version, this logic can be shown to operate at each level of detail in the narrative. Scene (i) of Act I is composed of five stanzas (A - E). In (A)--"me and my sister-in-law, we think/'later we'll go get berries'"--setting the

stage (onset); In (B) they are going berrying (ongoing). In (C) they discover the bunkhouse and its contents, and Clara's sister-in-law takes what she wants (outcome/onset). This pivotal third stanza of the scene, which functions as outcome of the action presented in the first three stanzas and onset of the second three, shows the traditional pattern played by the third member of a set of narrative units in traditional Chinookan narratives: an object of perception, it is the point toward which expectations have been directed in the foregoing narration. In (D), Clara's sister-in-law steals, while Clara steals nothing but decides to come back later for the mattresses (ongoing of second triad). In (E), Clara sets up the mattresses for easy access on her return (outome).

Let us return to the pivotal third verse of Act I, Scene (i), which shows a grouping of three verses grouped into a triad according to the logic of onset, ongoing, outcome. Examination of the sequence of pronouns and initial particles within each verse, and within the stanza as a whole, shows this:

Act I, Scene (i), stanza (C) (lines 5-13)

initial particles	pronouns	verbs	d.o. or i.o., (if any)
alda	we	go-see	house
a‡qi	we	go	(inside?)
'n	we	see	(things?)
(a‡qi)* alda	we	go	(inside?)
and alda	we	see	(things?)
Ø	not-I	take	not-a-thing
Ø	she	takes	(things)
Ø	she	takes	everything
Ø	she	makes-tied	her apron

*see notes to text for lines 5-8

The second (or "ongoing") verse of this triplet of verses within Stanza (C) shows the crucial turn-around: in the pronouns, with 'not-I' bridging 'we' and 'she'; in the verbs, taking us from just looking at things to stealing them. The manipulation of initial particles also seems to reinforce the pattern throughout Stanza (C), from the stanza-initial alda ('now') to the subordinated aɬqi (translated as 'later'), to English 'ʾn' (with initial glottal stop, = 'and'), which functions here as subordinate to aɬqi. In the second and third verses, the initial particles gradually drop away, giving the emphasis of actions being performed at greater and greater speed (Clara's sister-in-law grabbing items she wants) (cf. Hymes 1981:327). This hierarchy of function between the Jargon particles alda (verse- or stanza-initial) and aɬqi (subordinate, operating within the frame established by alda) seems to hold throughout the rest of the text--wherever the two are in close proximity, they seem to contrast in this way (cf. Hymes and Zenk 1983:27; see Commentary below for discussion of the role of English particles in the Jargon version). The intention here has been to subject certain sections of the narrative to close scrutiny so as to illustrate the rhetorical form of the entire narrative; it is hoped that the rest of the text will stand up to the same scrutiny when the reader, having been given this exposition, reads the rest of the text carefully with an eye to the form explained here. It seems natural that learning "how to read" a text for its full detail should precede any interpretation of it, comparative or otherwise.

(2) Role of quoted speech. The use of direct quoted speech (and thoughts quoted as speech) and quoted conversations between actors plays a major part in the unfolding of the narrative, and this fact serves as a crucial defining feature of this narrative as traditional in character, style, and form. Quoted speech behavior as outcome or culmination has been noted as a defining feature many times by Hymes (1981 and elsewhere) and Silverstein (1979).

In order to illuminate the crucial role played by quoted speech and equivalent in the development and culmination of the plot of this narrative, it seems worthwhile in a text of this length to recall briefly each instance of quoted speech together with the metapragmatic frames which signal the presentation of quoted speech:

FRAME	QUOTATION
But I think: (But naitəmdəm; Ø)	(1-2) "later tonight . . . I'll steal those mattresses... Later I'll steal both" (Clara to herself; lines 17-19, 22-23)
She says: (šiyaxka wawa,)	(3) "Now you come/Later We'll go" (sister-in-law to Clara; l. 31-32)
I say: (naiga wawa,)	(4) "Later we'll 'muck about'/Later I'll return . . . I'll take the two boys" (Clara to mother-in-law; l. 34-36)
He says: (yaga wawa,); Ø	(5-6) "Good evening"/"Good evening" (unidentified man to Clara; Clara's answer; l. 61-62)
Now she says: (alda yaga wawa,); An' he says: (an' yaga wawa,); Ø	(7-9) "Go back. . . " (etc.); "Where's the mattress . . . ?"; "Shuddup!" (sis. to husband; husband; sis. to husband; l. 70-72, 74, 75-77)
An my mother says, in-law, (An naiga mama wawa, in-law)	(10-11) "Where did you go?"/"Ohhh, over there . . ." (mo-in-law; Clara; l. 80; 83-85)

I think: (naiga təmdəm:)

(12) "What's the matter?"
(Clara to herself; l. 90)

1. And he says: (And yaga wawa:)
2. Ø (3.) (he asks/if . . .)
   (alda ya?ask/pus . . .)
4. Well, I say: (Well, naiga wawa:)
5. I said: (I said:)

(13-18) Husband's questioning, and Clara's confession (l. 93-108). 1. husband; 2. Clara; (3) (husband; indirect discourse); 4. Clara; 5. Clara

One might think that too much is being made of quoted speech here, but it is important to realize that many of the essentials of the plot are conveyed in the instances of quoted speech isolated above. Moore was unable to isolate any alternate list of 18 lines of non-quoted material that would convey so many of the essentials of the story; hence, it appears that much of the plot turns on instances of speech behavior by actors which are encoded in the narrative through the use of quotative frames (e.g., "I said"). This would seem to fit with the patterning identified by Hymes for Chinookan narrative, in which quoted speech serves as culmination or outcome of described events, and is the point toward which expectations have been directed in the narrative. Silverstein's remarks on the nature and importance of quoted speech in Chinookan narratives are useful to recall here:

> Texts seem to consist of highlighted or foregrounded descriptions of interactions, including especially speech quotation as framed by metapragmatic verbs of saying, with interstitial or backgrounded setting-the-scene by description of place, or lapse of time, or descriptions of persons (Silverstein 1979:7).

The English version

The most striking thing one notices in reading the transcript of the English version of "the Mattress Story" is that some text

material is presented along the left-hand side of the page in a verse-form similar to the Jargon version, while additional text is presented in blocks of prose along the right side of the page. This procedure was arrived at some months ago and was simply designed to separate the progression of events involved in the story of the attempted theft of the mattresses from the many digressions, "footnotes," and metanarrative commentaries that riddle the main story of Clara and her sister-in-law's adventures. In the prose format of the original transcript, it was very difficult simply to keep track of the events of the story and disentangle them from the morass of added detail which Mrs. Riggs provided. Once the "commentary" material was separated from the main story, one was left with what appeared in many respects to be a well-formed, broadly "Indian style" narrative on the left.

In terms of its overall rhetorical design, the English version bears many similarities to the Jargon. One can discern the same patterning at the level of Acts--the first trip up berrypicking (I), the second trip up to steal (surprise and flight)(II), and the final reckoning that takes place back at home (III).

Differentiation into scenes can also be demonstrated. In Act I, Scene (i) has Clara and Hattie Isaac at the bunkhouse, Scene (ii) has the two back at home making pies. Within Scene (i) one can almost discern three stanza-like units: in (*A) they discover the bunkhouse while berrypicking; in (*B) Hattie steals but Clara does not; in (*C) they decide to return and they prepare the mattresses. In Scene (ii) there seem to be two stanza-like sections: further

conspiracy (*A), and Clara's lie to Gramma Riggs (*B). The term "stanza" cannot be used without qualifications (e.g., "stanza-like") because a stanza by definition consists of one or more verses, and it is rarely possible to discern patterning at the level of verse in the English version (thus the use of asterisks above, and in the transcript, to indicate a reconstruction that is less than certain).

Some groups of lines do seem to fit the pattern, and these are indented as such, for example (Act I, Scene (i)):

She took her apron off
'n filled it up
tied it
'n put it on her back y'know

Still, this four-tiered arrangement of these lines is indicative of the case for the entire English version: the structure present at every level in the Jargon version is only hinted at in the English, and is only demonstrable at the level of large-scale units of narrative such as Act.

It should be clear that the English text has been arranged as if there were patterning present in the English of the kind found in the Jargon; this was done in hopes that any patterning that might be present would be less likely to escape notice. Hence, not all three- and five-tiered indentations of lines really mark patterns of onset, ongoing, outcome (or onset, ongoing, outcome/onset, ongoing, outcome). The entire arrangement must be regarded as tentative, provisional, and above all optimistic with regard to this kind of patterning.

Nowhere in the Jargon narrative does Mrs. Riggs step out of the stream of the ongoing narrative and offer comments as to who the

"real" people mentioned in the story were, where she lived at the time, the ages of her children, and so on. In the English version we see her stepping in and out of the unfolding narrative, offering explanatory footnotes, justifications for her actions, or other kinds of statements that tie the unfolding narrative to the "real world" from which it came. The placement of such lines off to the right of the page is only a typographical device to make clear the distinction between these two modes of discourse, and to mark her alternations back and forth between them. Her meta-narrative commentaries and parenthetical remarks explicitly show a consciousness of the story "as a story" and serve as background to it, while she never reveals this consciousness explicitly while telling the same story in Jargon--such are the constraints that are activated when using the Indian language and engaging the traditional rhetorical form we see so finely delineated in the Jargon version.

It is interesting to note that the presentation of quoted speech seems to be the area of the most complete carry-over of traditional rhetorical style into the English version. Mrs. Riggs routinely mimics the voices of quoted characters when narrating in English.

But more important than vocal mimicry as a diagnostic signal for Native style is the fact that it is the lines of quoted speech in which the patterning of onset, ongoing, outcome seems to obtain most clearly in the English. Let us look closely at the following passage from the scene (curiously absent from the Jargon version) which presents Mrs. Riggs' husband Sam talking with Dave Leno:

Sam 'n Dave was eatin':

"I seen your wife last night"	(onset)
"My wife?!"	(ongoing)
"Yesss I seen your wife"	(outcome/onset)
"Where was my wife?"	(ongoing)
"Up in that bunkhouse" he said	(outcome)

(onset)	"Her 'n another woman they went up to steal a mattress" he said
(ongoing)	"an' she throwed the mattress on me" he said
(outcome/onset)	an' he said "I just snooorred" he said
(ongoing)	"she got wedged in the door" he said
(outcome)	"she went out" he said
	"Wasn't my wife."
(onset)	"By God!" he says,
(ongoing)	"I know Clara
(outcome/onset)	"I know your wife
(ongoing)	"that was your wife
(outcome)	"she had two boys with her."

There are eight total turns at talk here; Sam has three, and Dave has five. Two of Dave's five turns at talk are classic Chinookan five-tiered sequences; Sam's three turns at talk are single lines: "My wife?!," "Where was my wife?," and "Wasn't my wife." Turns at talk organized according to the pattern number(s), the use of line-terminal quotative frame "I said" for each of Dave's first five lines seem to reinforce the impression of pervasive patterning in this section of narrative, as does content itself--in both of Dave's five-tiered "terraced" verses of speech, there is a general move from general to specific, from onset to outcome, with the final statement "she had two boys with her" as final outcome, conclusive evidence that the woman who encountered Dave in the bunkhouse was in fact Clara.

The two texts presented and analyzed here, in their differences and similarities, provide a rare opportunity to examine some of

the processes involved in the transformation of personal experience into narrative. One can see the organization of personal experience into narrative in two modalities: the one that is "particularistic," full of detail as to persons and places, richly allusive and loosely structured--closer, it would seem, to the "real world" of of personal experience; and the other, "universalistic," concise, and "bleakly symbolic" (to borrow a phrase from Jacobs), abstracted from the real world and reorganized into narrative in accordance with the strict rules of narrative form, the rhetorical design also operative in the myths, tales, and oratory of the region.

Here, in the comparison of the formal design of the two versions, we can see how "the grounding of performance and text in a narrative view of life"*operates in two separate modalities or registers of narrative discourse. The differences in register, in the range and compass of the narrative "voice," are apparent here. In the Chinook Jargon version, the compass is a narrow one, selecting only certain events or attributes of actors for special narrative attention and detail (e.g., quoted speech), while giving only the most cursory treatment to others. In the Jargon version, the actors are identified only by their kin relations to the narrator--we have "I," "sister-in-law," "mother-in-law," "my (or her) man," and so on. In the English version, on the other hand, we are given the proper names of all the characters (and the names of some people who are not characters, e.g., "Charley Larson"), as well as specific information as to lapse

*cf. Hymes 1977.

of time and location, her childrens' ages at the time of the events, and so on. Importantly, we are also provided with the narrator's opinion about the motivations, feelings, and moods of the characters (including herself); this last would seem to constitute a crucial departure from the canons of traditional narrative of the region:

> A recitalist never once verbalized a motivation, feeling, or mood of the actors of a myth or tale. . . . the succinct recitation of actors' deeds and discourse alone revealed sentiments meant to be expressed and the response meant to be elicited (Jacobs 1960:x).

As Hymes has noted, "anything that happens can become a story, and if it becomes a story and it gets shaped into the story form, it will have structure just by the carrying out of these principles of patterning, of arousal and satisfaction of expectation" (Hymes 1982:137). Here, "something that happened" has been transformed into two stories, one in English, one in Jargon; in both cases, experience has been shaped into a "story form," but only in one case, that of the telling in Jargon, have the principles of indigenous patterning been fully carried out and realized at each level of organization (Act, Scene, Stanza, Verse, line).

3. The foregoing conclusions following from an analysis of Mrs. Riggs' Jargon and English texts make up the core-part of this presentation; they are in the main part Moore's work. Additional analysis supporting these conclusions is presented in 5, in the form of a commentary to the texts themselves. Here, we broach the important question: what is the Native valuational and attitudinal

context of the formal stylistic patterning being discussed? We draw upon Zenk's recent fieldwork to offer some contribution, partial to be sure, to the task of better understanding this context.

Although formal stylistic patterning in the region's narrative genres had not been described as such prior to Hymes' work, the stylistic distinctiveness of these genres has not failed to impress previous scholars. Hymes' exposition of the iterative mode of organization underlying Native narrative (three- and five-phase sequences of lines combining into larger units at several levels of inclusiveness, each level retaining the basic three- and/or five-phase iteration) reveals a structural basis for distinctiveness. Previous discussions necessarily leaned heavily upon qualitative characterizations; take, for example, the following passage in Jacobs' (1945:6) introduction to Kalapuya Texts:

> Like most Indians of the northwestern United States, the natives of western Oregon expressed their feelings and ideas about their vanishing culture in terse and almost laconic form. They always chose for overt mention only a few things. They implied and their native auditors understood all the many things that were not ever mentioned. And so I believe that although this text collection comes from only one man, it does give a fair sampling of western Oregon native speech style of the reservation era if not of pre-Caucasian times. It is clear, parsimonious, bleakly symbolic in its rigid and narrow selection of things that were spoken of, never richly or even just cursively descriptive. It did not lack complexity in certain respects, but it was never ornate.

The terms simplicity, economy, and clarity might do for a conveniently succinct summing up of the stylistic characteristics of Native narrative suggested by the foregoing.

The same kinds of features are apparent from the few examples of indigenous oratory that have come down to us. Consider the following speech, delivered in 1867 at Grand Ronde Reservation by the Santiam Kalapuyan chief Jo Hutchins (also spelled Joseph Hudson; he was the great uncle of Zenk's Chinook Jargon consultant Mrs. Eula Petite). The speech was addressed to the then Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, A.B. Meacham, who reports it evidently more-or-less verbatim (Meacham 1875:117-119) (there is no indication whether the original was given in English or Chinook Jargon; the latter possibility arises because Meacham elsewhere prefaces another speech from the same individual: "speaks English fluently, but talked in Chinook"). Patterning by threes and fives is clearly evident in this text, permitting us to present it in roughly analyzed form. This example supplements examples of oratory previously offered by Hymes (1981:201-203), and clearly supports his observation that Native oratory appears to exhibit the same kind of rhetorical patterning characteristic of Native narrative genres. We furthermore find this example, together with Meacham's comment, highly suggestive in the light of some comments recently offered to Zenk by Mr. Wilson Bobb, the senior living Chinook Jargon speaker from Grand Ronde. It reinforces an impression also conveyed by Mr. Bobb: for some Natives, at least, it was not style as such which was valued, but what that style signals. In these Natives' perception, simplicity, economy, and clarity just naturally suit what <u>really</u> counts in verbal expression: that it be <u>to the point</u>, <u>from the heart</u>, and <u>true</u>.

I am watching your eye.
    I am watching your tongue.
        I am thinking all the time.

Perhaps you are making fools of us.
    We don't want to be made fools.
        I have heard tyees talk like you do now.
            They go back home
                and send us something the white man don't want.

We are not dogs.
    We have hearts.
        We may be blind.
            We do not see the things the treaty promised.
                Maybe they got lost on the way.

The President is a long way off.
    He can't hear us.
        Our words get lost in the wind before they get there.
Maybe his ear is small.
    Maybe your ears are small.
        They look big.
Our ears are large.
    We hear everything.
        Some things we don't like.

We have been a long time in the mud.
    Sometimes we sink down.
        Some white men help us up.
            Some white men stand on our heads.

. . . . . .
(A long list of specific grievances and concerns follows;
patterning by threes and fives is evident throughout.
The speech concludes:)

Maybe you don't like my talk.
    I talk straight.
        I am not a coward.
            I am Chief of the Santiams.
                You hear me now.

We see your eyes;
    look straight.
Maybe you are a good man;
    we will find out.
Sochala-tyee [sáxali taiyí]--God sees you.

All these people hear me talk.
    Some of them are scared.
        I am not afraid.

Alta-kupet [alda kAbít]--I am done.

It seems apparent from this example that rhetorical patterning could very effectively serve oratorical performance. The speech impressed Meacham, and evidently the assembled audience of Indians, by its forthrightness and forcefulness: "Here was a man speaking to the point. He dodged nothing. He spoke the hearts of the people. They supported him with frequent applause" (Meacham 1875:119).

Mr. Bobb indicates that Native people indeed positively valued the qualities which impressed Meacham, not only in oratory but in verbal expression in general. Moreover, in his strongly expressed view, such qualities are somehow of one piece with language itself--speaking Chinook Jargon or another indigenous language properly, he suggests, precludes even the possibility of telling an untruth. The case is quite the opposite with English. Mr. Bobb's own forceful and forthright words deserve quotation here (slashes indicate normal speech-pauses in the taperecorded original, indentations longer pauses; WB = Wilson Bobb, HZ = Henry Zenk).

WB I'd rather hear a person talk Jargon than English anytime/ when a Whiteman gets up and/ started to speak/ or even now/ well it's more now than it ever was/ a Whiteman startin' to talk/ I says there's some more of that damn bullshit/ it's all they got is/ just a bunch of bullshit/ all of it/ they'll lie/ do all sorts of things . . .
... that's the way I feel about English now/ if I hear a person talkin' Indian/ I know he's tellin' the truth/ but you take a Whiteman he's talkin' English/ or maybe/ I never heard one talkin' Indian/ but if they talk English/ to me that's bullshit

HZ You mean by talking Indian you mean any kind of Indian/ like if they're talking Yakima or talking Jargon or

WB they're telling the truth/ but/ if they talk English/ then that/ bullshit comes to the surface/ 'cause/

all Whites/ like to lie/ and they do lie/ I don't know about you but
when they're talkin' English they're lying but/ if they could talk Jargon or/ any other Indian/ they can't tell a lie/ they got just/ that same lingo can't be changed

HZ why do you think they can't lie if they're talking Indian?

WB 'cause they can't/ express themselves like they can in English/ . . . yeah it's hard to lie 'cause/ you can't tell a lie and really/ tell it good/ but in English/ ... you can/ spread it all over/ all over the place . . .
you take a good/ liar anybody/ the better he could talk the better he can lie/ he'll make you believe it see

HZ well why do you think it's because Indians ah/ don't talk as much or kinda think more before they talk/ or what

WB no/ it don't come in their language/ it's not in their language

HZ and that's not just Jargon

WB no/ it's any language

HZ any Indian language?

WB yeh/ you can't go to/ go talk Sioux 'n/ start lyin'
you might joke/ or somethin' like that

Mr. Bobb has expressed such sentiments on a number of occasions. There is no reason to doubt that they reflect genuine conviction. But what is Mr. Bobb really telling us? Is the foregoing a confirmation (despite Mr. Bobb's feeling to the contrary), straight from Grand Ronde's senior Jargon speaker, of the expressive inadequacy of Jargon? Is this a medium so insufficient as to make difficult even the fabrication of a self-respecting lie? But Jargon was expressively more than adequate, indeed was by many accounts actually preferred, as a medium for joking and poking fun. Then, it is simply obvious that

a language adequate for making a factual assertion is equally adequate for making an untrue assertion. Actually, Mr. Bobb's words can be read in different ways at different points. Is "bullshit" peculiarly a property of the English language as such ("can't express themselves like they can in English")? Of the character of Whites ("all Whites like to lie")? Of the way Whites would use whatever language they were speaking ("talkin' English, or maybe, I never heard one talkin' Indian")? We suggest that our foregoing analysis of Mrs. Riggs' English as opposed to Jargon narrative styles may help clarify what Mr. Bobb is saying. An apt way of characterizing that analysis would be: in English, Mrs. Riggs feels free to "spread it all over"; in Jargon, she keeps to Native canons of form which enjoin strict simplicity, economy, and clarity. The point here does not require us to follow Mr. Bobb in equating "spreading it all over" with lying, or even with "bullshit" (as implying much matter and little worth). All we are saying is that when Mr. Bobb tells us "it's not in their language," a good deal of what he means may be: it (i.e., "spreading it around") is not permitted by the norms of proper rhetorical form which operate when their (Jargon or other indigenous) language is being used in a culturally appropriate manner. In the following, Mr. Bobb implies that one did not, more than could not, lie in Jargon, and that the unwillingness to do so reflects culturally conditioned preconceptions as to appropriateness in verbal exchanges.

HZ is it harder to lie in Jargon?

WB you don't lie/ you never did lie/ but in English/ it's all lies/ you know that yourself/ two of you fellas get into an argument/ one simple subject/ and it'll get you fellas so tied in till/ neither one of you will give up

HZ people didn't argue in Jargon?

WB no/ the Indian people/ whoever was talkin'/ supposed to be a/ have a feeling that/ he's/ he knows what he's/ talkin' about/ the rest of the people recognize him/ as what he's talkin' about/ is the truth/ . . . I lived in Grand Round/ and whatever I said/ everybody believed I was tellin' the truth/ nobody's/ say you're lyin'/ or/ handin' a bunch of bullshit

Mr. Bobb, who himself served a number of years as chairman of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Indians, retains childhood memories of the last of the old-time chiefs of Joseph Hudson's generation. Compare his following comment with Meacham's on Hudson's speech.

> the [old-time] leaders of the Grand Round/ tribe spoke y'know/ God they could really talk . . . [they were] what I call real leaders they weren't/ bullshitters/ they were lookin' for something good for the people/ you could see the way they talked/ come from their hearts/ and you listened

4. The texts were recorded on videotape by Robert E. Walker III (Portland State University Television Services) and Claire Stock, at Mrs. Riggs' home in Grand Ronde, Oregon, on February 1, 1983. The transcription and translation are by Zenk, the verse arrangements by Moore and Zenk. The success of the session owed much to the participation of another Grand Ronde elder, Mrs. Eula Petite. Mrs. Riggs had not been feeling well for some time prior to the session; indeed, we are sorry to report, she has since fallen seriously ill. Mrs. Petite's presence and encouragement contributed to Mrs. Riggs' comfort and good humor, more so than could have been realized at the time--it is a matter of Mrs. Riggs' personal principle never to complain about her own pain or discomfort.

The basically phonetic transcription follows standard Americanist usages, with accomodations to the available keyboard: A is a lower-mid-central vowel (English 'but'); I is a lower-high-front vowel (Eng. 'bit'); U is a lower-high-back-vowel (Eng. 'put'); Stress falls on initial syllables unless otherwise indicated. Abbreviations: EP = Eula Petite; CR = Clara Riggs.

A few textual notes to the Jargon version directly follow it, keyed to the text by line number rather than footnotes.

Zenk acknowledges the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund for helping to make his field work with surviving Jargon speakers from Grand Ronde possible. Zenk and Moore wish to acknowledge David French, Yvonne Hajda, and Wayne Suttles for their helpful suggestions.

"How we went up to steal a mattress"

by Clara Riggs

(I)

(1)(A)
well, naIgA and naIgA °ɛ:c, saIgA təmdəm, 1
"°ałqi saIgA ɬo:do °IskAm °u:ləli." 2

(B)°aldA saIgA ɬo:do °IskAm °u:ləli, 3
saIgA munk pał pał vał °uk saIgA kettles. 4

(C)°aldA saIgA ɬo:do saná:nč °ix (ha:ʊs). 5
°ałqi° saIgA ɬo:do°, 6
'n °IktA saIgA na:nIč. 7
(°ałqi) °aldA saIgA ɬo:do, 8
and °aldA nəsáIgA na:nIč. 9
wēk°ÍktA ná'IgA °IskAm. 10
°uk naIgA° sister-in-law ya°ÍskAm, 11
yagA °IskAm k^{h}ànu°ÍktA, 12
yamunk k'aU k^{h}obA ya°áoron. 13

(D)°aldA ya°munk mIłət k^{h}obA yagA back. 14
wēk naIgA °IskAm °IktA, 15
but naItámdəm, 16
"°ałqi tonight 17
"°ałqi naIgA q'o°, 18
"°ałqi naIgA k^{h}apšwa:lA °uk mattress." 19

(E)°aldA naIgA munk °IskAm the ɬu:š mattress, 20
naImunk míłətmíłət. 21
"°ałqi tonight saIgA q'o°, 22
"°ałqi naIgA k^{h}apšwá:lA ma:kwa." 23

(Translation)

(I)
(i)(A)
Well, me and my sister (-in-law), we think, 1
"We'll go get berries." 2

(B)Now we go get berries, 3
We make all full those our kettles. 4

(C)Now we go we see one house. 5
Later we go (in), 6
And what do we see. 7
Now we go, 8
And what do we see. 9
Nothing do I take. 10
That my sister-in-law she takes, 11
She takes everything. 12
She makes it tied-up in her apron. 13

(D)Now she puts it on her back. 14
I don't take anything, 15
But I think, 16
"Later, tonight, 17
"Later I'll get here, 18
"Later I'll steal those mattresses." 19

(E)Now I do it, get the good mattresses, 20
I make them placed. 21
"Later, tonight, we'll get here, 22
"Later I'll steal both." 23

(ii)(A)
so saIgA čʰa:guˀ kˀɛləpA, 24
saIgA muŋk ˀu:ləli, 25
saIgA muŋk pie, 26
saIgA pick saIgA ˀu:ləli. 27
kʰʌ̀nuˀÍktA łu:š. 28

(B)ˀaldA yagA čʰa:gu naIgAˀ. 29
šiyáɣkA wa:wA, 30
"ˀaldA maIgA čʰagu 31
"ˀałqi saIgA ɬɔ:do." 32

(C)and naIgAˀ mother-in-law naIgA wa:wAˀ, 33
"ˀałqiˀ just čʰa:go ɬɔ:doˀ yAkʰwˀup here a little. 34
"ˀałqiˀ naIgA kˀɛləpA, 35
"naIgA lu:lu makws tənəs boys." 36

(II)
(i)(A)
so saIgA ɬɔ:doˀ, 37
saIgA qˀɔˀ kʰɔbá. 38
ˀaldA saImuŋk ɣaləɣ ˀuk door. 39
naIgA na:nč ˀuguk wēk, wēk naIgA muŋk mIɬət yAkʰwá ˀuguk. 40
and ˀałqi naIgA na:nč qʰa ˀuk mIɬət ˀuk naIgA mattress. 41

(B)ˀaldA naIˀÍskAm ˀuguk, 42
namuŋk kʰa:go, 43
namuŋk [ƛˀux] on the ma:n yagA mu:sAm kʰɔbá. 44
ˀaldA yamuŋk [...] noise. 45
ˀaldA kˀwa:s ɒsáIgA čʰa:go. 46

(ii) (A)
So we come back, 24

We do the berries, 25

We make pie, 26

We pick (through?) the berries. 27

Everything fine. 28

(B)Now she comes to me. 29

She says, 30

"Now you come 31

"Later we'll go." 32

(C)And my mother-in-law I tell, 33

"We'll just muck about here, up here a little, 34

"Later I'll return, 35

"I'll take the two little boys." 36

(II)

(i)(A)
So we go, 37

We get to there. 38

Now we open that door. 39

I see that's not, (that) I didn't put here that one. 40

And later I see where that lays, the one which is my mattress. 41

(B)Now I take that one, 42

I do like so, 43

I drop it on the man, he's sleeping there. 44

Now he makes a noise. 45

Now we get scared. 46

(C)na'ÍskAm limá:, dənes ma:nz lImá ma:kws, 47

'aldA saIgA č^{h}a:gu out, 48

and naI' saIgA got stuck. 49

(ii)(A)
saIgA č^{h}a:gu down, 50

saIgA ku:rikuri 51

ku:rikuri 52

ku:rikuri. 53

(B)'aldA saIgA' mItxwət, 54

hi:hi 55

hi:hi 56

hi:hi 57

and naIgA hi hi hi. 58

(C)'aldA a ma:n č^{h}a:go. 59

yagA wa:wA', 60

"good evening." 61

"good evening." 62

wək naIgA na:nč łakstA. 63

(iii)(A)
'aldA saIgA č^{h}a:gu k^{h}i:kwəli, 64

nesáIgA č^{h}a:gu down. 65

(B)and 'aldA' naIgA' sister-in-law yagA ma:n, 66

yagA mAnk' with yagA lImá 67

k^{h}ago' owl munk noise. 68

(C)I take (their) hands, the little boys' hands, both, 47

Now we come out, 48

And I, we got stuck. 49

(ii)(A)
We come down, 50

We run and run 51

Run and run 52

Run and run. 53

(B)Now we stand, 54

Laughing and laughing 55

Laughing and laughing 56

Laughing and laughing 57

And I laugh laugh laugh. 58

(C)Now a man comes. 59

He says, 60

"Good evening." 61

"Good evening." 62

I don't see who it is. 63

(iii)(A)
Now we come down, 64

We come down. 65

(B)And now my sister-in-law's husband, 66

He's doing with his hands 67

Like an owl making noise. 68

(C)ʔaldA yagA wa:wA, 69

"ɬɔ:do k'ɛləpA, 70

"naIgA ʔałqi ɬɔ:do with Clara, go roun', 71

"maIgA ɬɔdo k'ɛləpA." 72

and yagA wa:wA, 73

"qʰa ʔuk, ʔuk ah ʔałqi maIgA lu:lu down mattress?" 74

"shudduo! 75

"ɬɔ:do k'ɛləpA, 76

"naIgA ɬɔdo around." 77

(III)

(i)(A)
ʔaldA saIgA čʰa:gu k'ɛləpA, 78

and ah, naIgA mAmá wa:wA, in-law, 79

"qʰa maIɬó:doʔ" 80

ʔɔ:::, wɔ̃k naIwá:wA naIɬó:do (EP/ kʰApšwá:lA). 81

wɔ̃k naIgA wa:wA naIɬó:do naIkʰópšwalA. 82

"ʔɔ:::, wisáIgA, kʰɔbá saIgA just mIɬət, 83

"wa:wAwawA 84

"wa:wAwawA." 85

(So, Eula mattress anyway.)

(EP prompts/ ʔaldA maIgA ma:n k'oʔ kʰIləɔaI.)

(CR/ yeh, yeh.)

(C)Now she says, 69

"Go back, 70

"I'll go with Clara, go around, 71

"You go back." 72

And he says, 73

"Where's that, that ah, (what) you were to bring down, mattress(es)?" 74

"Shuddup!" 75

"Go back, 76

"I'm going around." 77

(III)

(i)(A)
Now we come back, 78

And ah, my mother-in-law says, 79

"Where did you go?" 80

Ohhh, I don't say I went (to) steal. 81

I don't say I went (and) I stole. 82

"Ohhh, we, over there we just stayed, 83

"Talking and talking, 84

"Talking and talking." 85

(So, Eula mattress anyway.)

(EP prompts/ Now your husband gets back.)

(CR/ yeh, yeh.)

(B)... q'ɔ° k'ɛləpA. 86

naIgA k^{h}Abət kAmdəks naIgA łɔ:do°. 87

°aldA naIgA na:nIč wəkàú:š yagA°. 88

naIgA dəmdəm, 89

"°IktA q^{h}a:dA?" 90

(to EP/ °o: wək°ÍktA naIgA təndəm mind you.)

(C)nəsáIgA łɔ:do°, 91

nəsáIgA mIłət to mAkmAk °aldA. 92

and yagA wa:wA, 93

"naIgA tIgi° ask maIgA something." 94

"°IktA maItÍgi ask?" 95

°aldA ya°ésk, 96

pus naIgA q'ɔ° k^{h}ɔbá, 97

°ałqi naIk^{h}apšwá:lA mattress. 98

and naIgA na:nč °uk tənəs tIlxAm, 99

łaskA na:nč [. . .], you know. 100

well, naIgA wa:wA, 101

"wəkqÁnši naIλ'əmí:nxwət k^{h}abA maIgA, 102

"wə́kq^{h}Ánši:" 103

(D)I said, 104

"°AhÁ k^{h}ɔbá naIgA łɔ:do, 105

"pi wək sak^{h}Apšwá:lA. 106

"k^{h}ɔbá saIgA łɔ:do, 107

"but wək k^{h}apšwá:lA." 108

(B). . . gets back. 86

I forgot I went. 87

Now I see he's not so good. 88

I think, 89

"What's the matter?" 90

(to EP/ Oh I didn't think anything of it mind you.)

(C)We go, 91

We sit to eat now. 92

And he says, 93

"I want to ask you something." 94

"What do you want to ask?" 95

Now he asks, 96

If I got to there 97

(And if) later I stole mattress(es). 98

And I look at those children, 99

They look [at each other?], you know. 100

Well, I say, 101

"Never shall I lie to you, 102

"Never!" 103

(D)I said, 104

"Yes over there I went, 105

"And I didn't steal. 106

"Over there we went, 107

"But didn't steal." 108

(E)ʾaldA nanáːnč wēkɬúːš yagA təmdəm. 109

ʾix puːləkli yamíɬət, 110

<u>'n</u> ʾaldA kʾɛləɒA. 111

(E)Now I see not so good is his heart. 109

One night he stayed. 110

And then returned (to work). 111

NOTES TO TEXT

(Line numbers:)

5/ Mrs. Riggs gets stuck trying to think of a Jargon rendering for 'bunkhouse'(cf. English version). EP supplies "house", which we transcribe phonetically in recognition of the fact that most speakers accept this as a real Jargon word, not just a transfer from English. After a couple of unfinished sentences, which we take to be false starts, Mrs. Riggs finds the thread of the narrative again at line 6.

8/ ałqi here is probably another false start.

30/ šiyaχkA-- on the face of it, a simple case of Mrs. Riggs' English interfering with her Jargon (producing "she"+ '3 p.s.:). While the resulting form does fill in the gender identification lacking in the Jargon word, we have no evidence that such forms were in general use.

44/ ƛ'ux 'fall' is the word which belongs here; this is probably what Mrs. Riggs is trying to say, while slurring badly. Perhaps, she could not fully remember the word at that moment; such lapses are not unusual for her.

83/ wisałgA-- "we"+'1 p. pl.'. Cf. note line 30.

87/ An unfinished sentence (false start) precedes this line.

	You know the--Hattie Isaac--that's Sammy's sister--I'll tell it in English
We went to pick berries blackberries y'know then we filled up our buckets	
An' we come there There's a bunkhouse	
	The loggers stayed in that bunkhouse but they left all that junk and they moved up further
Well we came there	
	Well y'know Indians were hell to wear aprons. I never wore a apron. She had apron on.
We went in there and then she she'd start to pick up everything she wanted	
She took her apron off 'n filled it up tied it 'n put it on her back y'know	
And we'uz packin' the berries besides but I didn't take anything y'know	
Then we came back 'n she said	
Well, when while we was up there we seen those mattresses y'know while we was up there	
Then I--we stood the mattresses out y'know where we gonna--we're gon' COME UP THAT NIGHT WE'RE GON' STEAL!	
We put the mattress a good mattress an' a big mattress we put two mattresses	
Alright 'n we come down she said, "We'll make pies" she said "We'll can be all ready "'n I'll come by with a flashlight."	
So she come 'n	
	Orrin was maybe I don't know how old he was--Rastus 'n Orrin--they mighta been nine 'n ten or something like that, they was only a year apart
She came back back 'n Gramma Riggs said, "Where you goin?" "Ohh we're just goin' up over here, "Ah--to Miles[Godsey ?], "seein' them awhile"	
	I lied y'know--I didn't want to tell her where I was goin'

So we went up
we got up there y'know
I think I had a flashlight; noo yeh
we had a flashlight
We got up there
'n pushed the door open y'know
An' I:
"It's daark!"
You see I only had that flashlight
An' I said:
"Why, this mattress that's here" I said to her
"That ain't the mattress I put here"

I took that mattress
an' I took it
an' I just throwed it
and there was a man see laying on the bunch of mattresses here
An' I throwed it on top of that man
an' he just:
"snort-whhheeeeeewwww" he went

Ohh I just got a hold of those two boys by the hand
we got wedged in that door
we couldn't hardly get out of that door

An' we came down the railroad tracks
we hit every other tie
and they was barefooted them two damn kids
Every other tie until we musta came down
about three or four miles
An' the railroad track was low an' the banks high
so I leaned up against the bank there
and I laughed
and I laughed
and I--
There was a man comin' up the railroad track
I don't know who it was
"Hello"
"Oh, hello" I said
I didn't know
I didn't even turn around to see who it was
We laughed
we laughed
we laughed

And we got way down here y'know
an' Frank Isaac an' he was makin' a--with his fingers
makin' a noise like an owl
So before I got there,
here he was with a wheelbarrow
an' he was gonna wheel her mattress home
An' we got down there,
an':
"Go on home" she said
"With that wheelbarrow" she said
"Where is that mattress?"
"Oh shuddup!" she said
"Go on down the road I'm goin' this way with Clara" she said

So she came this way with me
And then I--those boys you see when I--we ran down the railroad tracks
I held them so blamed tight that their fingers were just cramped y'know
we couldn't hardly--
And then we got down.
"Go on" she said
she said:
"we didn't, we didn't, we didn't, steal nothing", she said
An' Orrin, my boy:
"Mother, did we go up there to steal?"
"Yesss" I said
"'Mother' went up to steal but 'mother' didn't steal nothing" I said

We got back in y'know
an' I never--I forgot about the damn thing y'know
I had forgot that we went up there to steal
I just forgot about it.
So then--
Mighta been around for about two weeks
'n course Sam worked up there y'know
he built--for Palmer he built rightaways y'know
him 'n Dave Leno. Well Sam never came
home only once ah one or two days a month
you know for five years. An' when he
came home well--when he comes down the
railroad track y'know our [whistle]
wouldn't always come down to the [speeder].
They'd walk him 'n Dave Leno an' the
boys the kids would always run down 'n
--one'd pack his packsack 'n differnt
things. An' we wasn't living in this
house, we lived in the old house back there,
further back y'know--this is the third house
lived in since I been over here an'--
And I forgot about the damn mattress y'know
I never thought--
So I seen Sam didn't look right y'know
on the back porch it was all walled in
'n everything
'n he sat there
'n took off his loggers 'n everything
come on in.

So I guess that man see next morning from the--that I throwed that mattress on.
Well he went up to the, to the new place where they eat
The loggers--see they left what they
didn't want there
An' he said,
"I seen your--" he told Sam

Sam 'n Dave was eatin':
"I seen your wife last night"
"My wife?!"
"Yesss I seen your wife"
"Where was my wife?"
"Up in that bunkhouse" he said
"Her 'n another woman they went up to steal a mattress" he said
"An' she throwed the mattress on me" he said
an' he said "I just snooorred" he said
"She got wedged in the door" he said
"She went out." he said
"Wasn't my wife."
"By God!" he says,
"I know Clara,
"I know your wife,
"that was your wife
"she had two boys with her."

An' I never--I forgot about being up there even!
an' I seen he--I noticed he didn't look right you know
he come and sat down to eat y'know
We had home-made table everything we had when we got married everything was home-made I wasn't used to that everything was home-made.
I noticed he looked kinda cranky
an'--I just--and I forgot the damn mattress

An' so:
"I want to ask you something."
"Go ahead and ask" I said
"I wouldn't lie" I said
He said,
"Was you up there?" he said
"You 'n Auntie Hattie" he said
"Up to the first bunkhouse" he said
I looked at those boys
them boys looked at one another
they wanted to know who told him y'know
"Yes,
"I was there" I said
I said I was damn tired a sleeping on a straw tick
I said,
"You got it bounded-up, bounded-up" I said
"And I'm not used to a straw tick we always had mattress" I said
And I wasn't used to the straw tick.
An' Gramma Riggs looked:
"Ohhh honey did you go up to steal?"
"Yesss 'honey' went up to steal but 'honey' didn't steal" I told 'er
Well she said,
"Now you write I'll tell you what to do" she said
"You write Charley Larson."
Charley Larson was our sub-boss you know

"You tell him I wanta see him.
"I want money so we had mattresses."
So Charley Larson came y'know
and he gave her y'know
She had her own money from Klamath Falls y'know--her boy got drownded there--then she fell heirs to all a that so she had her own money.
So we all had new mattress!

I took a damn mattress out there in the field
an' I just emptied out the straw tick
an' I just set a match to it
the damn mattress 'n everything
then I told him.
I told him I wasn't used to sleeping on the darn straw tick I told him
he never said nothin'
he stayed overnight
he was upset with me
an' he went back up

I forgot about the damn mattress even, that time
but I never stole it!
you know I never

Eula a lot of times I wanta steal or somethin'
I never in my life have stole anything yet
I don't know why

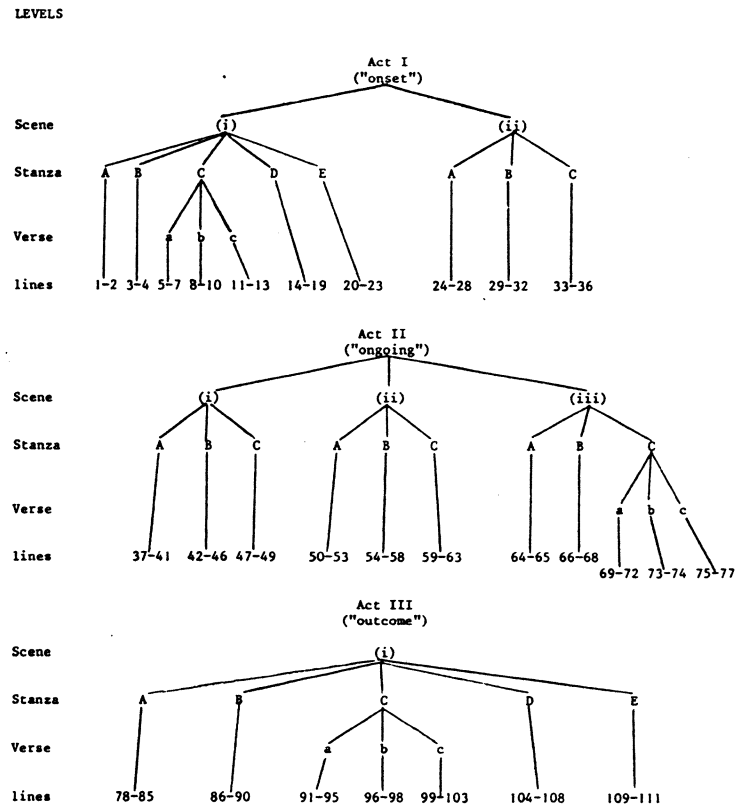
---

5. Commentary

The Chinook Jargon version. The Chinook Jargon version, despite the fact that its delivery is punctuated with pauses, hesitations, and occasional false starts, displays a notable degree of internal coherence in its form (see "Table of Relationships," below). Since the verse arrangement of Act I was given some detailed treatment in the main body of the paper as an illustration, Acts II and III will discussed briefly here and some suggestions will be offered as to other features of the text.

Act II (which serves as "ongoing" in the triad of Acts) is made up of three scenes each composed of three verses/stanzas. Scene (i): (A), we get there, things aren't as arranged (onset); (B), I move the mattress around, drop it on a sleeping man, he snorts, we get scared (ongoing as complication); (C), I grab the little boys, we start to run out, get wedged in the door (outcome). Scene (ii): (A), we run-and-run (onset); we stop to rest, laugh-and-laugh (ongoing); (C), encounter with man--"Good evening" (outcome--note speech as outcome, and absence of initial particles in B, giving emphasis of speed, "run-and-run"). Scene (iii): (A), we come down (onset); (B), encounter sister-in-law's husband making owl noises (ongoing); (C), sister-in-law to husband: "Shut up! Go back" (outcome again as speech). This last stanza of Act II is the most differentiated, and contains our first example of actual conversation encoded in Act II. The sister-in-law has two turns at talk, each of three lines, and her husband has a single turn at talk of a single line. Again, in the presentation of this verbal exchange, lack of quotative frame or other elaboration (such as initial particle) seems to indicate an emphasis on the speed of

"The Mattress Story"
TABLE OF RELATIONSHIPS



her response to her husband, in the same way that lack of initial particles gave the emphasis of speed in the same character's acts of theft in I.i.C (discussed above)--here, "Where's that mattress?" "Shuddup! Go back. I'll go around"--she appears to cut off her husband's question almost before he is finished with it, with her "Shuddup!"

If we needed any confirmation of the patterning of quoted speech (especially conversation, turns at talk) as outcome or culmination, we have it in Act III, which is the culmination of the whole story and is composed almost entirely of verbal exchanges between the actors. Act III opens in just as Act I ended: with Clara lying to her mother-in-law.

It is of some interest, especially within the comparative framework of this paper, to note the role of English words (as distinct from English-derived Jargon words) in the Chinook Jargon version. One interesting case is 'I said,' which initiates a classic five-tiered Chinookan-style verse (III.i.D) and, crucially, serves as the quotative frame for Clara's confession. One might argue that Mrs. Riggs' Chinook Jargon competence is not what it once was (undoubtedly this is the case), or that she was simply growing tired, and in any case simply forgot or was too tired to employ Jargon at this point; but she apparently had no trouble remembering or providing the Jargon equivalent (naiga wawa) only three lines before. It seems useful to recall the passage here

(English will be underlined, and translation of the Jargon will appear in parentheses):

III(i)(C) And (I look at those two little boys)
(they look . . .) y'know
Well, (I say:)
("Never would I lie to you,
I said: Never.)
("Yes I went up there,
(but I didn't steal;
(we went up there,)
But (didn't steal)"

There is a sense of weight, of tension, as Clara looks at the boys, they look at each other--"Well, I say, 'never would I lie . . . '," delaying still further, until "I said, 'Yes . . . But." It appears that words of English are at times purposefully used to signal dramatic emphasis and "marked-ness" without violating any of the constraints imposed by narrating in the Indian language. The materials used in this story, the individual words, may not all be traditional (that is, they may not all be Chinook Jargon), but they are built up and organized together, as the narrative unfolds, in a fashion that is very much in accordance with the traditional norms of storytelling style in western Oregon. Perhaps words of English have at Grand Ronde become a legitimate part of the traditional storyteller's expressive "bag of tricks" (along with reduplication, vowel lengthening, and the like); perhaps this is not surprising when viewed as a (sociolinguistic) outcome of historical and social processes peculiar to the Grand Ronde community.

English words are also used in the Jargon version to serve another function, again in keeping with the canons

of traditional narrative style, as initial particles. The distribution in this Jargon text is at times quite telling--the story starts with 'Well' (as does the text analyzed in Hymes and Zenk 1983), which marks the beginning of Act I. Act II begins with 'So' followed by several instances of alda and ∅. It seems reasonable to conclude that, at least in the case of Clara's confession (see above), English is being used as a narrative device to give special foregrounding and dramatic weight to the thing said.

Still, it seems certain that most of the instances of English in the text are explainable either by the narrator forgetting the Jargon equivalent, or the absence of a suitable equivalent in Jargon (as, 'bunkhouse'). It is simply argued here that when Mrs. Riggs alternates between Jargon and English in particles and quotatives, this alternation is in fact rule-governed and is actually governed by rules of discourse patterning familiar from studies of narratives in indigenous Indian languages in the area--hence, they are examples of "English means to Chinook Jargon ends."

The English version. The arrangement into "main narrative" on the left and "meta-narrative commentary" on the right, questionable as it may be, still seems to justify itself from time to time. Above all, it makes the story much more comprehensible; in some cases, the native patterning does seem to show through in the English, as in

Ohh I just got a hold of those two boys by the hand
We got wedged in that door
we couldn't hardly get out of that door

Compare with the corresponding point in the Jargon version:

I take (their) hands, the little boys' hands, both,
Now we come out,
and I, we got stuck

Compare also this section of the English, a few lines later, with the Chinook Jargon version:

An' the railroad track was low and the banks high
So I leaned up against the bank there
and I laughed
and I laughed
and I--
There was a man come up the railroad track
I don't know who it was
"Hello"
"Oh hello" I said
I didn't know
I didn't even turn around to see who it was

The corresponding point in the Jargon version:

Now we stand:
laughing and laughing
laughing and laughing
laughing and laughing
and I laugh laugh laugh
Now a man comes.
He says,
"Good evening."
"Good evening."
I don't see who it is.

In any case, the separation of the ongoing narrative into these two interlarded components, one presented as prose, the other as "poetry," was at its inception a purely heuristic device designed to make the story more comprehensible, and in the final analysis it can be no more than that.

However, a different kind of non-Native narrative artifice is sometimes revealed in Mrs. Riggs' use of meta-narrative commentary in the English version. The longest piece of commentary (at the beginning of Act II, starting with "Mighta been around for about

two weeks . . . "), which appears at first to deserve the title "digression," is actually a rather ingenious way to set the stage for the entrance of a new, and crucial character, Clara's husband. It is actually a small narrative in itself. A tiny story is spun of how her boys would run down the tracks to meet their father when he returned from work. It is this anecdote, with its happy description of family life (contrasting with the intra-family tension which follows around the dinner table), that serves to set the stage for her husband's entrance and his subsequent discovery of Clara's adventures in the mountains. Here we see how one story is used to explicate another, how a miniature narrative embedded in a larger one can serve as background and setting-the-scene for the larger one in a most artful way, and all this in what at first appears to be a digression.

The English version shows definite features which suggest that it can be seen as made up of lines. The pervasive use of line-initial and line-terminal markers would seem to suggest this (line-initial 'And,' 'So,' 'And then,' and 'Well,' and line-terminal 'y'know,' and '---said' as quotative at the terminus of lines). The pervasiveness of these markers in the English narrative would seem to suggest that one can view it as composed of individual lines, with one predicate per line, though the lack of any hierarchy of function among these particles, together with other features of this version (cf. "spreading it all over" above in 3), makes the positing of any arrangement of such lines into verses showing familiar rhetorical patterning very difficult if not impossible, with the one exception already noted (above under 2): quoted speech.

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