

THOMAS PAUL'S 'SAMETL':

VERSE ANALYSIS OF A (SANICH) CHINOOK JARGON TEXT<sup>1</sup>

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I

Questions as to the origin, development, and role of pidgin and creole languages include questions as to the patterning of discourse in them. Some such languages have been found to show regularity of patterning of the sort called 'measured verse', discovered first in a number of American Indian languages, especially of the North Pacific Coast (Judith Berman (Kwaguk), John Dunn (Tsimshian), myself (Alsea, Bella Coola, Chinookan, Kalapuya, Takelma), Virginia Hymes (Sahaptin), and Dale Kinkade (Chehalis)). (For general discussion, cf. Hymes 1981, 1985b, 1987, ms).

I have come upon such patterning in two languages of the Pacific, Hawaiian Pidgin English (a short text published by Derek Bickerton), and Kriol, a language of Australia (see Hymes 1988). The growing evidence of such patterning in distant and unrelated languages (Finnish, New Testament Greek, West African French, Appalachian English, as well as American Indian languages such as Lakota, Ojibwe, Tonkawa, Zuni), together with the restricted set of alternative choices of patterning so far found, suggests something inherent and universal.

I am willing to believe that the impulse to such form may be inherent, a universal concomitant, or better, dimension of language. The restricted set of alternatives might suggest an innate modular basis, analogous to Chomsky's current approach, for the particulars as well as the dimension. A functional explanation, however, is also possible. If patterning is to infuse discourse with organization relationships, style woven fine, pairs and triads are the smallest alternative groupings. If patterning is to be flexible, sustaining interest rather than dulling it, associated options--five with three, four with two--are desirable. (The functional impulse might work the other way: from recognition of fives and fours as pattern numbers to use of threes and twos as associated finer-grain). If patterning is to sustain moments of dramatic impact, a complementary marked alternative is desirable--and we find pairing as a marked pattern within an unmarked ground of three and five in Chinookan and Kalapuya, three (and six) as a marked pattern against the unmarked ground of two and four in Tonkawa.

The evidence so far suggests that the presence of such pattern in pidgin and creole languages is not evidence for a biological basis of such languages, but evidence for historical continuity of cultural traditions.

## II

The presence of such patterning in a pidgin language was first established in regard to a text in Chinook Jargon, dictated by the late Clara Riggs of Grand Ronde, Oregon to Henry Zenk (Zenk 1982, Hymes and Zenk ms.), and was developed with regard to another Chinook Jargon text from her (Zenk and Moore 1983). Mrs. Riggs' texts show patterning of the three and five part kind found in the several Chinookan languages, but the vehicle for it must have been Chinook Jargon itself. She knew no Indian language.

Could such discourse patterning have been associated with Chinook Jargon throughout its range? Could such patterning have been everywhere the same as in the texts from Mrs. Riggs? If the latter were to be true, it would be evidence for a Chinookan-centered origin for Chinook Jargon as a whole, as against a northern, Nootka-linked origin, for Nootka appears to have patterning of a two and four part kind (cf. Hymes ms.).

Enough is known to show that the patterning of measured verse need not be always the same in a language, but can vary independently. William Bright's fine texts from the Karok of the Klamath River in northern California show narrators differing in the patterns used in telling the same adventures of Coyote, and one narrator changing pattern as between myths (Hymes 1985b). There is a Sahaptin-Salish example. Sam N. Eyley, Jr. told a myth in Upper Cowlitz Sahaptin to Melville Jacobs (Jacobs 1935: 107-111). One would expect the three and five part patterning that has been found consistently in other Sahaptin texts, as recorded both by Jacobs, and subsequently by Virginia Hymes and Eugene Hunn, from a number of communities and speakers. In this text from Sam Eyley, however, the patterning, is in relationships of two and four (analysis by Virginia Hymes). Eyley knew the Cowlitz Salish repertoire of his mother, Mrs. Mary Eyley, and while the words are Sahaptin, it appears that the verse patterning has followed the patterning of a Salish tradition from which the story derives.

Such use of Indian pattern with English words of course is also known. Thus, a spontaneous exposition by a Zuni elder as to the factuality of Zuni tradition is English in wording, but Zuni in its two, four, and occasionally six part patterning (Young 1987). In a spontaneous exposition, and a narrative, Philip Kahclamet occasionally breaks into Wishram, but predominantly uses English words in Chinookan patterns (Hymes 1981, ch. 6).

Chinook Jargon texts published by Melville Jacobs indicate (a) that verse patterning was widely associated with Chinook Jargon and (b) that the patterning varied with the native language of the speaker. I have examined four texts, one each from speakers of Santiam Kalapuya, Upper Coquille Athapaskan, Snoqualmie-Duwamish Salish, and Sanich Coast Salish.

John B. Hudson's 'A couple kill all their relatives' was recorded in Seattle in February 1932 (Jacobs 1936: 17-18). It was heard by Mr. Hudson from Elias Williams, of Yonkalla (Kalapuya) and Umpqua affiliation. In itself it is important as an analogue to a moving Takelma myth of Eagle and Grizzly Bear, told by Mrs. Frances Johnson to Edward Sapir, but told by Mr. Hudson not as a myth but as a historical event. The patterning, as one would expect in Kalapuya, groups verses in sets of three and five.

Coquille Thompson's "The origin of death" (Jacobs 1936: 26-27) is a version of how the trickster (here, Coyote Jim) first says that the dead will not return, then wishes too late that they could. Its two scenes each contain five stanzas, grouping verses in sets of three and five. Coquille Athapaskan texts have not been analyzed. Mr. Thompson's text in Chinook Jargon suggests that the Athapaskan pattern was in terms of three and five.

Jack Stillman's "Chipmunk and his mother" was recorded in May 1930 near Auburn, Washington. The patterning is in sets of two and four, suggesting that texts in Snoqualmie would have such patterning. After an unmarked preface of three lines, identifying participants and place, there are four marked scenes of narrative action.

Thomas Paul's 'Sametl' was recorded in May 1930 near Victoria, B.C. In honor of our meeting place, it is the text analyzed here in detail. Jacobs describes Mr. Paul as a Sanich Coast Salish past middle age. The patterning is in sets of two and four, suggesting that texts in Sanich would have such patterning. Jacobs often enough issued disclaimers as to the quality of texts he recorded and published, and he does so in regard to this text. Once its form is recognized and displayed, however, the text seems coherent and interesting, interweaving various devices quite effectively. That this can be discovered, of course, is possible only because of Jacobs. His extraordinary skill and dedication to the preservation of texts have laid the foundation for understanding discourse in many Northwest languages, including varieties of Jargon.

### III

Before presenting the text and translation, let me present outlines of the two tracks, so to speak, along which the narrative proceeds, a sequence of content and a sequence of grouping.

Five levels of organization are found: act, scene, stanza, verse, line. Acts are indicated by large Roman numerals, scenes by small Roman numerals, stanzas by upper case English letters, verses by lower case English letters. Lines are indicated by Arabic numerals.

### Outline of content sequence

#### I. SAMETL PREPARES

##### i. Sametl was truly fast

- A Truly fast, he would cross to fight,  
others would cross to fight his people,  
he would be back home waiting.

##### ii. He decides to get a small wolf.

- B He decides to get a small wolf and strengthens his house  
C He hurries to Mill Bay and waits for the tide to go out

##### iii. He plans a headstart for his escape.

- D Judging how far out to place his canoe, he jumps too far

##### iv. He accomplishes the headstart.

- E He hauls and jumps, hauls (and jumps), hauls and jumps just  
right, he ties the canoe to his stick.  
F He waits for the tide to come.

#### II. SAMETL SUCCEEDS

##### v. He gets the two small wolves.

- G He reaches the two small wolves  
H He takes the two small wolves in his arms

##### vi. He reaches home just in time

- I He runs, jumps, looses his canoe, paddles  
J He gets inside his house just before the parent wolf, who eats  
up all around.

##### vii. He adorns the small wolves with cedar bark.

- K He wraps the arms, legs and chest of one.  
L He finishes one and the other, taking both back outside

##### viii. M The wolf accepts them, becomes a friend.

### Outline of form sequence

#### I. SAMETL PREPARES

- |           |    |              |                    |
|-----------|----|--------------|--------------------|
| <u>i.</u> | Aa | 1, 2, 3, 4-7 | 4 lines (4 in 4th) |
|           | b  | 8-10         | And                |
|           | c  | 11-13        | And                |
|           | d  | 14-17        | And                |
|           | -- | 18           | kagwa kabit        |

<u>ii.</u>	Ba	19	Sametl
	b	20-21	And
	c	22-23	And
	d	24-25	And
	--	26	Well, kabit kagwa.
	Ca	27-29	--and
	b	30-31	--and
	c	32-33	And
	d	34-35	And
<u>iii.</u>	Da	36	Well
	b	37	And
	c	38	And
	d	39	And
<u>iv.</u>	Ea	40	Well little while
	b	41	...again
	c	42	...again,
	d	43	...again
	e	44	...again
	f	45	And
	g	46-48	And
	h	49-50	And
	Fa	51-52	And
	b	53-54	And
	c	55-56	Time markers (emphatic,
	d	57-58	conventional)

## II. SAMETL SUCCEEDS

<u>Y.</u>	Ga	59-61	Well
	b	62	And
	c	63	And
	d	64	And
	Ha	65-66	And
		67	And
		68	And
		69-70	And-and
<u>vi.</u>	Ia	71-72	Well, ran, ran
	b	73-74	got, now X.
	c	75-76	got, X
	d	77-78	And paddled, paddled
	Ja	79-82	ran, (once) got, X (=ran)
	b	83-84	got, X
	c	85	Now
	d	86-87	And
<u>vii.</u>	Ka	88-90	Well
	b	91-94	And, ...and..., ...and..., again
	c	95-96	And
	d	97	And
	La	98	And again
	b	99-100	... one, ...one
	c	101-102	...do that way, ...do that way
	d	103-104	And...back outside..., ...back outside
(close)		105	Kabit
<u>viii.</u>	Ma	106-107	wolf took (twice)
	b	108, 109-110	wolf to Sametl (twice)
Close		111	Yaga kabit

## IV

Let me discuss here the organization indicated above, first in terms of the explicit signalling of units by discourse markers and repetition, then in terms of a pervasive pattern of relationship.

### Marking

The salient marking of units is at the level of scenes and verses. 'Well' occurs six times in the text, five as the first word of a scene, once as the first word of the last line of a scene (see discussion below). 'And' frequently occurs as the first word of a verse (twenty-nine times). Verses are also marked at certain points by paired lexical repetition. A 'close' element occurs four times, twice at the outset and twice at the end. These features are discussed in turn.

Six scenes, those of the main narrative of action on the part of Sametl (ii-vii), are each marked once with 'Well', five of them initially. One might speculate that the similarity in sound between Wel and wulf enters into the absence of a 'Well' in the concluding scene, in which Wulf is initial in all four lines. In any case, the scene is distinguished in form by parallelism and repetition (see below), and in content by its complementary place in relation to the preceding scene and the sequence of scenes as a whole.

Stanzas consist of four units, usually verses. Each scene has at least one such four unit stanza. Five scenes have two stanzas, each of four marked verses (i, ii, iv, v, vi, vii). (See below on the first stanza of (iv)). Three scenes have but one stanza (i, iii, viii). The earlier single stanzas contain initially marked verses (i, iii); the later, concluding stanza, has four parallel lines (viii).

'And' is the common marker of verses within scenes. Usually it is initial to what it marks, but it can begin the second element of its unit (lines 29, 31). Rhetorical length enters into its role. Where the vowel of pi is not long, the line appears to be subordinate to a pi that is long (63) or to be paired with one that is not (69, 70), or part of an organization that is based on repetition of verbs and verb constructions (77-78 within 71-84).

(Compare the use of pi and end medially in two balancing lines that balance each other (92, 93), 'here on the arms and here, / left and right'.)

In one passage non-initial 'again' appears to enter into a sequence of six marked lines (= verses) that swell a stanza beyond the usual norm of four. This passage and one other show special elaboration of lines through repetition of verbs.

(a) In scene [vi] the last pair of verses are marked initially with 'Now' and long 'And', but the six preceding pairs show an intricate interplay of verbs. Together with the initial 'Well', the first two lines (71-72) are paired: 'he ran now/ hard (he) ran'. The third and fourth lines (73-74), and the fifth and sixth lines (75-76), are paired with the pattern of 'get (to) in the first of a pair, a consequent action in the second. The seventh and eighth lines (77-78), like the first two lines, repeat a verb: 'And he paddled/ hard (he) paddled'. The ninth through twelfth lines form a set that has repetition again of 'ran' (79, 82) enclosing and interwoven with 'get (to)' (80) plus consequent action ('ran'). Altogether, three pairings of lines with 'get (to)' plus consequent verb, three doublings of verb, in these six verses.

Such close-grained repetition seems intended to highlight the tension and suspense of the escape. And it is Sametl's ability to get home fast that is the announced theme of the story, illustrated at the outset ([i]), when he is back at his place before his opponents can take advantage of his absence, and the concern of the detailed preparations of the rest of the first half.

(b) It is in this first half that another special elaboration of lines occurs. Sametl waits for the tide to go out so as to secure his canoe a distance from shore, and give himself a head start, by leaping to it, when he returns. He is such a great strider, leaper, that he underestimates his own ability, and jumps too far. Only on the fourth attempt does he hit it right. In the passage that describes his getting it right, by hauling the canoe farther out three times, 'hailed' and 'jumped' are interwoven in six lines that are marked at the beginning by 'Well' (40) and at the end by 'And' (45), and in between by four occurrences of 'again'. There does not appear to be any reasonable way to divide these six lines. They appear clearly to go together.

A mechanical approach to the patterning of the text, recognizing only groups of two and four, and expecting a scene to have two stanzas of four parts each, would run afoul of this passage. Stanza (E) (40-50) has four initial markers to be sure (Well, And, And, And) but also, it would appear, also an fourfold dramatic amplification linking 'Well' and the first 'And'. (Cf. Hymes 1985b on a similar occurrence in a Tonkawa myth; on amplification, cf. Hymes 1985a).

A somewhat different close-grained repetition of words, focussed not so much on verbs of action, as on objects and locations, occurs in [vii].

The first verse repeats 'cedar bark' (89, 90), and repeats 'right' (*luš*) within its third line (90). (Notice that 'cedar bark' presumably indicates red cedar bark, that is, the ceremonial regalia of winter dances, indicating a privilege or power possessed by the wearer. Sametl is bestowing upon the



two wolf children rights and privileges which merit the approval of their parent, and his entering into a relationship of reciprocity with the bestower.

The second verse repeats 'arms' in its first two lines (91, 92). It repeats 'here' within its second line (92), and doubles the symmetry of locational balance with 'left and right' in its third line (93): 'here...and here'/'left and right'. The four line elaboration of the tying on the arms is completed with 'he tied again' (94), forming an abba pattern, analogous to an envelope quatrain in European verse.

The third verse repeats 'legs' (95, 96). The fourth verse completes the locations of the tying on of the cedar bark with 'chest' (97).

The fifth verse repeats the final word of the fourth, 'crossways' (97, 98), but the lines, and their stanzas, appear to be formally distinct. The initial marker of the fifth verse is double, 'And again', seemingly an indication of a new section. Further, the verb 'tied' has occurred four times until now, and does not occur again. The characteristic verbs of the second stanza so far as the adornment of the wolves is concerned, are 'do' and 'finish', neither of which occurs in the first stanza. This lexical compartmentalization seems significant, part of the distinguishing of stanzas. On this interpretation, the boundary is expressed in the two lines about the chest crossways themselves, 'tied' in (97), 'did' in (98).

The two lines of the sixth verse repeat 'one' as final word (99, 100). The two lines of the seventh verse repeat 'do it that way' as final word. The second line of each has 'finish'. The lines of the eighth verse repeat 'back outside'.

The second and third verses of the second stanza (b, c) have no initial marker, as do the others. To be sure, (c) has non-initial 'again', perhaps to be taken as parallel to the 'again' of (a). (b) lacks any marking other than verbal parallelism. It appears that the precise verbal repetition of these pairs of lines--they are the only pairs in which the repetition is constantly line final--gives them weight equivalent to that of a verse marked in other ways, especially perhaps when framed by paired verbal repetition in the verses that precede. Indeed, as we have seen, every verse of the scene has it.

Notice the indication of a possible pattern in a similarity of this stanza to scene [vi]. There the first six verses of the scene, which are not initially marked, are followed by a pair of concluding verses which are. Here two verses which are not initially marked the stanza are followed by a concluding verse that is. Perhaps the similarity reflects an expectation that the last verse(s) of a scene or stanza will be initially marked. Perhaps such an expectation is to be found in Sanich.

A semantic pattern that coincides with verses appears in the fourfold format of action in lines 59-64 (the beginning of act II). The four verses of

the stanza can be summarized by their verbs as 'ran', 'arrived', 'stood', 'saw'. Such a format of action was discovered in Pima-Papago oratory by Bahr (1975). The pattern is symbolized by Bahr as DTAX: Departure, Travel, Arrival, X (whatever outcome). The same format has been found at the opening of certain Coyote myths in the Tonkawa language of Texas (Hymes 1980) and at the opening of a scene in the myth of Eagle and Grizzly Bear's Daughter (mentioned above) in the Takelma language of Oregon. To find it in a Chinook Jargon text from British Columbia suggests that it is a convention to be expected among other languages in which two and four part patterning is used.

### Relationships

Pairs of adjacent scenes show a relationship of initiation and outcome (I, O). This is particularly clear with scenes (iii-viii). [iii] begins preparations at Mill Bay, [iv] successfully completes them. [v] has to do with taking the small wolves, [vi] with success in getting safely home with them. [vii] has to do with preparation and presentation by Sametl, [viii] with successful acceptance by the wolf. [i] and [ii] also can be seen as having such a relationship, if less obviously. The two are linked by Sametl's ability to defend his home (by speed, by strengthening it); [i] relates Sametl's ability to defend his home in a typical case, while [ii] indicates preparation to do so in the particular case of the story (B). More broadly, [i] relates Sametl's ability to go on a mission and return before his adversary, in a typical case, while [ii] has him go and return (to strengthen his house), then go again.

[In a sense, the rest of the story completes this frame, elaborating the preparations, the actuality, and outcome of the return. Thematically, this pattern occurs at two levels. There is a pairing of a characteristic going and returning [i] with a particular case (ii-viii). Within the particular case, there is an initiatory/preparatory going and returning (iiB), and the going and returning that accomplishes the purpose (iiC-viii).]

A relationship of initiation and outcome obtains, not only between adjacent scenes, but also between adjacent pairs of scenes. [i, ii] have Sametl go twice to Mill Bay, once seeing a small wolf there (iiB), once going to get it (iiC), ending with waiting for the tide to go out. [iii, iv] have to do with his preparations there, ending with waiting for the tide to come in. Again, [v, vi] have to do with escaping the parent wolf, ending with the parent wolf setting up siege, and [vii, viii] have to do with propitiating the wolf, ending with the wolf as a partner.

These pairs of pairs of scenes of course constitute the acts of the story. The relationship of initiation and outcome obtains between them as well. The first four scenes focus on Sametl's abilities. Two dimensions are twice exemplified: physical (to run fast, to leap far) and mental (to plan in advance and to wait). The last four scenes focus on the outcome of the use of those abilities. It is here that the story has Sametl's two relations to the wolf, first flight, then exchange. Put otherwise, the first four scenes have to do with the decision to get the two small wolves and preparation for doing so (including speed [i] as an ability that enters into the preparation). The second four scenes have to do with the getting and its consequences.

### Heuristics and Alternatives

The many cases of a consistent rhetorical 'logic', a 'this, then that' mode of development lead one to expect such relationships generally. Such an expectation enters into testing hypotheses at every level. In all such work one has to become intimately familiar with the text. A first analysis of organization is an approximation. Further study is likely to bring out effects and relationships not apparent at first. The same thing is true of recurrent markers, such as 'Well' and 'And'. Where they are not present, or not present in the expected way, one examines the passage in question all the more carefully. One's tentative assumption about a marker may be mistaken. Often one finds that features and relationships one had not notice, or not understood, are at work. The discovery deepens understanding of the text, of its organization as an expressive act. None of this can be mechanical, as mentioned above with regard to dramatic amplification in stanza (E). No single feature can be taken as all-determining. The fundamental purpose is to do justice to the proportions and point of the text as a whole, by recognizing the form-meaning covariation, both salient and subtle, that may inform it.

Possibilities of alternative analyses among which a choice must be made occur twice in the opening lines (1-18, 19-25). Both involve the status of lines containing kabit (which I translate throughout as 'enough'). In the text as a whole there are four such lines, two at the outset (18, 26) and two at the end (105, 112). The question arises as to whether the cases that occur at the outset count as part of the stanzas with which they follow, or not?

The two concluding occurrences are evidently external. They follow clearly marked sets of verses, eight and four respectively (vii, viii). The second of the two introductory occurrences also is external, if 'and' with long vowel [pi:] consistently introduces a verse, as appears to be the case. The stanza then consists of lines 19-25. Its first verse, beginning the action proper, begins with the name of the principal actor, a frequent enough

relation in American Indian texts. Three verses follow, marked by initial 'And'. The relation of form to content is excellent. In the first two verses (19-21) Sametl sees a small wolf, and thinks he would get the small wolf. In the second two verses (22-25), Sametl goes to his house, and fixes his house. Note the parallelism of (see, think) in the first pair, and of (run, go), (fix, make) in the second, together with the repetition 'small wolf' in the first pair, and the fourfold repetition of 'house' in the second.

What is odd about the occurrence of kabit in the next line is that it is preceded by the scene marker, 'Well'. Such a cooccurrence is unique in this text. In all subsequent scenes, 'Well' is initial.

One cannot say that this first 'Well' is literally initial, that the narrative action is still to come. The action has already been set in motion in the preceding lines--Sametl has run home and made his house strong (for the attack by the parent wolf that he knows will occur (see end of vi)). An initial travel and return have already taken place. Making the house strong is a first preparation, to which the placing of the canoe far out from shore in aid of a headstart is a second. One might, however, note that the action preceding this first 'Well' is still essentially at home, and that it is after this first 'Well' that the continuous journey and return that constitute the main dramatic action occur.

I speculate that Mr. Paul knew or created a pattern by which kabit, and perhaps other such expressions, closed each of the first two groupings of a story, and placed it at the end of this stanza for that reason. I speculate that a marker of such weight, associated with major units, attracted another marker of similar level, 'Well'. The conjunction of the two, attaching 'Well' to kabit, may have seemed appropriate as a conjunction of introductory close (kabit) and the first use of a marker of scenes ('Well'), because what precedes this first 'Well', as said, precedes the main action, and what follows constitutes it.

What about the first occurrence of kabit? Is it 'extrametrical' as well, that is, outside the measured grouping of verses into pairs and fours? Such 'extraterritorial' status is, to be sure, a recurrent option for markers of closure. The answer depends on whether or not the opening lines (1-18) consist of one stanza or two. If the line containing kabit (18) is counted as part of a stanza, then the opening lines would contain two stanzas: the four sentences of (1-7) and the four verses of (8-18). Such a relationship might be suggested by the fact one can recognize four initial markers in lines (8-18), but in the first four sentences, none.

There seems reason to recognize the first four sentences as a unit. The first three sentences are each lines, the fourth is elaborated into four lines. The first line ends with 'long ago'; such use of 'long ago' at the end of a first line may be a convention in Chinook Jargon texts. The second and third lines each have emphatic vowel length in their initial, adverbial, words. The

elaboration of the fourth sentence into four lines seems expressive amplification, completing a set of four introductory attributions and introducing an example.

Like the four sentences of the last scene and stanza of the text, these are thus characterized by features specific to the lines, not by markers that recur elsewhere. Unlike the last four sentences, however, and unlike other sets of lines which constitute verses in the absence of initial markers, these initial four sentences contain no distinctive repetition, whether of verb or noun. That fact suggests that they do not have the same structural status. They do not show verses internally (in contrast to paired lines in [vii] and [viii]). In the absence of a stanza marker ('Well') and in the absence of four verse units marked by 'and' or 'again' or repetition, the four sentences appear to be just that, four sentences, which can be taken, fourfold, as a verse, but no more than that.

There follow three verses (8-18) beginning with 'And'. Each of the three contains kuli 'run, hurry' (as did the first (3)). These verses are the first to be marked by the initial particles, particularly 'and', that occur throughout the rest of the text. They do not stand apart from the preceding lines, but complete them: Sametl would come across to fight (a), people would try to take advantage of his absence to go across to fight him (b), they hurry (c), they hurry but Sametl is already back, waiting (d).

When the lines are recognized as the four verses indicated, one can see parallelism between the first and last, the second and third, thus constituting again an abba, or envelope quatrain, pattern. Sametl is present in the first and last, and it is in the first and last that there is going across to another side. In the second and third, the mass of the people is presented; they come together, they fill two canoes. One can also see linking between the first and second, the third and the fourth. The first two have the two intention to fight on either side (6, 10). The second two have the people going.

The point is not to choose between these relationships, but to note that they show the lines to be well integrated as a group of four verses.

The line that follows, then, kagwa kabit 'For that enough', is external to the stanza, as are the other three lines containing kabit.

All this provides a consistent interpretation of Mr. Paul's use of lines containing kabit. The two introductory uses follow the first two stanzas. The two concluding uses follow the last two stanzas.

The handling of kabit in the text, pairing introductory and concluding notes of closing, enhances the sense of a firm rhetorical logic of pairing at work throughout the text. Altogether, the text shows considerable formal control and expressive skill. Devices and relationships are varied, elaborated and condensed, against a common ground.

V  
TEXT<sup>2,3</sup>

I. SAMETL PREPARES

[i]

Yága sgúgum mé:n ángadi.	1
Hí:lu lákšda tú:lu.	2
Dilé::it háyas kárnde:ks kú:li.	3
Pus-yága-čá:gu kaba-í:natai,	4
čá:gu kaba í:xt vílǽdj,	5
diki-fáit,	6
sé:laks.	7
Pi:-tílǽm láska-čágu-kána-makst,	8
"lúš-nisáiga kúli kaba-yága-háus úguk-mé:n.	9
"Pi:-álgi nisáika kákšit yaga-tílǽm."	10
Pi: tílǽm yaga kú:li,	11
lú:lu mákst káni:m,	12
pé:l kaba-tílǽm.	13
Pi:-lásga-kú:li,	14
lé:dwa kaba í:natai,	15
wík-saya Xépšu:	16
Sámeǽ yága mǽlait.	17
Ká:gwa kabit.	18

[ii]

Sámeǽ yága-né:nič tǽné:s-wúlf,	19
pi:-yága-támtam,	20
pus-yága-í:sgam úguk tǽné:s-wúlf.	21
Pi: Sámeǽ yaga-kú:li-hú:m,	22
yága-lé:dwa-kaba-yága-háus.	23
Pi: yaga mámuk-lú:š yaga-háus,	24
yaga-mámuk sgúgum yaga-háus.	25
Wel', kabit ká:gwa.	26

Yága ísgam tənέ:s kənim,	27
kú:li-kaba-yaga-kənim,	28
pi: mólait kaba-kənim yaga í:sək.	29
Kú:li-kaba-qé'ye,	30
pi:-yága-ǵép qé'ye.	31
Pi: yága-né:nič čák,	32
pus-yága-kú:li.	33
Pi-yága-mólait wí:t úguk táid,	34
pus-yága lé:dwa úguk táid.	35

## [iii]

Wél', úguk čák lé:dwa álta.	36
Pi: yága kənim yaga há:l aut.	37
Pi: Sámeǵ yaga djəmp.	38
Pi: yága lé:dwa kaba í:natai.	39

## [iv]

Wél', tənέ:s lí:li yaga-wəxt tənəs-há:l.	40
Yága-djəmp-wəxt.	41
Yága-wəxt-há:l-'aut.	42
Yága-wəxt-há:l-'aut,	43
yága-djəmp-wəxt;	44
Pi:-yága-dilí:t yága ǵép-yaga-kənim.	45
Pi-yága-ísgam-yaga-sdík,	46
yaga-mámuk-mítzwit sdík,	47
yága-mólait úk-sdik.	48
Pi:-Sámeǵ yaga-ísgam-lúp,	49
yága-mámuk-káu kaba-sdík ká:gwa.	50
Pi: yaga-kú:li,	51
lé:dwa kaba-šə:.	52
Pi:-yága-wí:d,	53
pus-táid čá:gu.	54
Mólá::it,	55
ǵunέ:s qá:da-líǵli.	56
Čák yága-čá:gu,	57
pé:l álta.	58

## II. SAMETL SUCCEEDS

## [v]

Wél', Sáme:λ yaga-kú:li,	59
lé:dwa-kaba-wúlf,	60
qá-yaga-mólait úk-wúlf.	61
Pi: yága-ǵép,	62
Pi-yága-mítzwit.	63
Pi:-yága-né:nič mákst tóne:s-wúlf.	64
Pi:-yága-lé:dwa,	65
yaga-wák-slú:.	66
Pi: yága ísgam mákst tóne:s-wúlf.	67
Pi: yága ísgam,	68
Pi íxt-kaba láit,	69
pi-íxt-kaba-left.	70

## [vi]

Wél', yága kúli álta,	71
sgúgum kúli.	72
Pu:s-yága-ǵép kaba-bí:č,	73
náu-yaga-dj émp.	74
Yaga-ǵép kaba-yaga kónim,	75
yága-mé:š-uguk-lúp,	76
Pi-yága ísak,	77
sgúgum ísak.	78
Kú:li kaba-yaga-hú:m;	79
pús-yága-ǵép kaba-háus--	80
yaga-lú:lu úguk mákst tóne:s-wúlf--	81
kú:li-ín kába-yaga-háus.	82
Čí:-yaga-ǵép kába-ínsaid,	83
yága-mámuk ápuwi' lópu:t.	84
'Alta hayé:s wúlf čágu kaba-yaga-háus.	85
Pi:-wúlf yaga-sé:leks,	86
yaga-mákmak kaba-háus.	87



## [vii]

Wél', SámeĽ yaga-támtam	88
pús-yága-ísgam sí:də-bá:k;	89
yága-dilí:::t lú:š mámuk lú:š úguk sí:də-bá:k.	90
Pi:-SámeĽ yaga-mámuk k'áu yaga-lí:ma	
úguk-t šne:s-wúlf,	91
yá:wa-lí:ma pi:-yáwa,	92
léft-end-ráit,	93
yaga-k'áu wáxt;	94
Pi:-yága-legz,	95
mákst légz mámuk k'áu kaba sí:də-bá:k.	96
Pi:-yága-mámuk k'áu kaba-yaga-čést kaba-króswe.	97
Pi:-wáxt yaga-mámuk-króswe.	98
Yaga-kábit-í:xt.	99
Yaga-í:sgam í:xt.	100
Yaga-wáxt mámuk ká:gwa.	101
Pús-yága-kábit mamuk ká:gwa.	102
Pi:-yága-lú:lu kaba-láxani í:sgam úguk-mákst	
t šne:s-wúlf,	103
yaga lú:lu kaba-láxani.	104
Kábit.	105

## [viii]

Wúlf yága ísgam yága-téne:s kábi:t.	106
Wúlf yága-lú:lu-hú:m yaga-tán <sup>2</sup> e:s.	107
Wúlf yága-dilí:t tíl <sup>2</sup> xəm kaba-SámeĽ.	108
Wúlf sám <sup>2</sup> taims yága-péleč má:wič kaba-šámeĽ,	109
lú:š-tíl <sup>2</sup> xəm álta.	110
Yága kábit.	111

## VI TRANSLATION

The wording of the translation has been revised in two respects.

(1) Where possible, a word in the original has been rendered by the same word in English. kuli is a good example of the benefits and limitations. The word occurs in all four verses of the first scene (lines 3, 9, 11, 14). Let us first consider the second, third and fourth. The earlier translation renders kuli as 'go' in 9, as 'hurry' in 11 and 14. Rendering it 'hurry' in line 9 as well does justice to the general sense (to go with haste) and to the specific sense of the passage, which is about the rapid response of the people to Sametl, who nonetheless is there before them. The result is also to render the parallelism of the original in these three verses (bcd).

It does not seem possible to render kuli as 'hurry' everywhere. In line 3 the result would be 'Truly he knew how to hurry well'. If one can infer that Sametl could run on water, then the 'run' of the earlier translation would be right. The story tells us, however, that Sametl used a canoe: 'ran to his canoe' (28), then 'he hurried [kuli] to Mill Bay' (30). Sametl's return to his own side in the first stanza presumably is also by water, since the people who go to his side go by canoe. Evidently kuli applies to travel on both land and water, and so can not easily be rendered always the same. One might render it always as 'hurry', or 'hasten' or 'go fast' or 'speed', neutral as to means of motion. In [v], however, 'he ran now, he ran hard' seems to convey the sense of urgency and intensity better than 'he hurried (hastened/went fast/sped) now, he hurried (hastened/went fast/sped) hard' (71, 72), and to parallel better the specific 'he paddled, he paddled hard' (77, 78) that follows. In the next verse one might say 'He hurried to his home...he hurried into his house' (79, 82), but 'ran' is consistent with the opening of the scene, and seems to convey better the sense of sustained intense effort.

In [iv], either 'ran' or 'hurry' would do, but presumably Sametl ran, since the tide is out, and it seems best to use 'ran' wherever fastness on land is meant.

The scope of kuli, speed on land and water both, does suggest that one wants, not 'ran', but a generic expression at the beginning of the story (line 2), when Sametl's ability to go fast on either land or water is meant (and where the immediate example in this first scene involves water). 'Go fast' may be best.

(2) Where possible, English expressions to complete a line have been omitted. Such additions interpret in ways that may obscure the force of the original. The opening scene [i] is an example. The original translation casts the response of the people (verses ii-iv) in the conditional: 'would', 'would',

'would'. There is no conditional marker in the text. The passage is a direct description of action. No doubt it is intended to illustrate Sametl's speed with a characteristic example that may have recurred, and a conditional marker (pus) in regard to Sametl frames the whole. I have found the unity of the scene, the action of the people as a direct response to Sametl, made clear by the exact translation that omits the conditional where it does not occur in the original. First he is on one side, then, when the people seek to surprise his own people with him away, he is back before them on the other side. Somehow, reading a translation with the conditional supplied in all the verses, this was not clear, but deflected.

# I. SAMETL PREPARES

[i]

He was a powerful man long ago.	1
<u>No way</u> at all they could beat him.	2
<u>Really</u> knew how to go fast.	3
He would come to this side,	4
come to some one village,	5
want to fight,	6
mean.	7
And people come together:	8
"Good we hurry to that man's house.	9
"And then we fight his people."	10
And the people hurry,	11
two canoes go back,	12
full of people.	13
And they hurry,	14
go to the other side,	15
not far from shore:	16
Sametl is waiting.	17
For that enough.	18

[ii]

Sametl saw a small wolf,	19
and he thought,	20
he would get that small wolf.	21
And Sametl ran on home,	22
he went to his house.	23
And he fixed his house well,	24
he made his house strong.	25
Well, enough for that.	26

He took a small canoe,	27
ran to his canoe,	28
and waiting in the canoe was his paddle.	29
He hurried to Mill Bay,	30
and he reached Mill Bay.	31
And he saw the water,	32
it would run (out).	33
And he stayed waiting for that tide,	34
it would go (out), that tide.	35

## [iii]

Well, that water went (out) now.	36
And he hauled out his canoe.	37
And Sametl jumped.	38
And he went too far across.	39

## [iv]

Well, in a little while, he hauled it out a little.	40
He jumped again.	41
He again hauled it out.	42
He again hauled it out,	43
he jumped again;	44
And he reached right to his canoe.	45

And he took his stick (pike pole),	46
he stood his stick (in the water),	47
he made the stick stay.	48
And Sametl took rope,	49
he tied it to the stick like that.	50

And he ran,	51
went ashore.	52
And he waited,	53
the tide would come.	54

He <u>stayed</u> ,	55
I don't know how long.	56
The water came,	57
full now.	58

## II. SAMETL SUCCEEDS

### [v]

Well, Sametl ran,	59
went towards the wolf,	60
to where that wolf stayed.	61
And he arrived,	62
And he stood,	63
And he saw two small wolves.	64

And he went,	65
he walked slowly.	66
And he took the two small wolves.	67
And he took (them),	68
And one in the right (arm),	69
and one in the left (arm).	70

### [vi]

Well, he ran now,	71
he ran hard.	72
(Once) he could get to the beach,	73
now he jumped.	74

He got to his canoe,	75
he took that rope,	76
And he paddled,	77
he paddled hard.	78

Ran to his home;	79
(once) he could get to his house--	80
he brought back those two small wolves--	81
he ran into his house.	82
He just got inside,	83
he made shut the door.	84

Now the big wolf came to his house.	85
And the wolf was mean,	86
he ate up (everything) around the house.	87

**[vii]**

Well, Sametl thought 88  
 he should get cedar bark; 89  
right away he fixed that cedar bark just right. 90  
 And Sametl tied it on the arms of that small wolf, 91  
 here on the arms and here, 92  
 left and right, 93  
 he tied again. 94

And on its legs, 95  
 two legs he tied to the cedar bark. 96  
 And he tied it on his chest crossways. 97

And again he did it crossways. 98  
 He finished one. 99  
 He took (the other) one. 100  
 He again did it that way. 101  
 He could finish doing it that way. 102  
 And took back outside those two small wolves, 103  
 he went back outside. 104

Enough. 105

**[viii]**

The wolf took [accepted] his small ones fully. 106  
 The wolf took his small ones back home. 107

The wolf (was) a true friend to Sametl. 108  
 The wolf sometimes gave deer to Sametl, 109  
 good friends now. 110

That's enough. 111

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(See discussion in my Foreword to the book)
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- 1 This paper was written for the 22nd International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages, held at the University of Victoria, August 13-15, 1987. It was completed too late to be included in the Working Papers of the conference, compiled by John Dunn, and circulated in advance, but was discussed during one of the conference sessions.
- 2 This text is typed in a font designed by Katherine and David French, and designated by them as 'CS Boston' (C for 'Chinookan', S for 'Sahaptin', Boston for the font of which it is an adaptation. Let me thank them for providing me with a copy of it. They would welcome comments and suggestions about it. ~~CS Boston has been designed using the Geneva font of Macintosh. I have departed from it in this regard, using New York.~~  
 With regard to the orthographic symbols used by Jacobs in printing this text, I should explain that turned c [ɔ] has been used instead of Greek omega (lines 52, 97, 98) and [e] has been used instead of Greek epsilon, ~~for the short vowel (in most occurrences of the name Sametl (18, 22, 38, 49, 88, 91, 109, but not 59, 108), and in other words in lines 17, 30, 62, 70, 74, 75, 86, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 109, notably in the emphatic form of Xep get (to).~~
- 3 The hyphens in the text were provided by Jacobs to represent, not morphological divisions, but his perception of the association of words in pronunciation: 'Every dash indicates a psychologic break, a word ending, which may or may not appear as a brief glottal closure' (vi). Apart from dependent personal pronouns, 'All other words, whether often rather firmly compounded like the demonstrative úk, 'this, that', and the auxiliary verb múŋk 'make, cause', or words more fortuitously joined, are separated by dashes from words with which they are heard associated' (vi).