

Prosody in Chinook Jargon

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0. This paper re-examines some of the Chinook Jargon data obtained by Melville Jacobs over 50 years ago, in the light of data obtained by myself in 1982-83 with support from the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund.* I will focus on a specific complex of phonetic and grammatical features given in Jacobs' record from one speaker. The features involve Jacobs' transcription of the multi-word forms (hereafter, combined forms) he has subclassified (in Jacobs 1932:33-38) as "compounds"--firmly-knit combined forms functioning as grammatical and/or lexemic units--and "clusters"--looser concatenations of forms in syntactically-determined sequences. The speaker was Mrs. Victoria Howard (herein, VH), also the source of his texts in Clackamas Chinookan.

Where Jacobs' Jargon data were all transcribed directly during live dictation, mine were originally tape-recorded, and for the most part exhibit ordinary conversational styles and rates of delivery. The full spaces demarcating combined forms in Jacobs' fieldnote-book transcripts are not consistently equatable with any acoustic features distinguishable in my sound-recorded data. However, the internal constituencies of these

units, as well as certain phonetic features associated with them, are paralleled there by patterned suprasegmental phenomena linking comparable grammatical categories of form. These parallels are most conveniently considered here with reference to data recorded by me from one particular additional speaker.

1. The Speakers.

This additional speaker, the late Mr. Wilson Bobb (hereafter, WB), was a younger relative of VH. The two formerly were members of the same extended family, and lived in close association with one another for some years in the small northwestern Oregon reservation community of Grand Ronde.

The Jargon language of Grand Ronde speakers must be considered a "creole language," if by that we mean a linguistic medium of manifestly hybrid origins and historical currency as a pidgin, which nonetheless came to assume a full range of communicative functions in household, extended family and larger community (Zenk 1988). WB insists upon the "first language" biographical priority of Jargon for himself: "I talked Jargon I guess ever since I was born." "I never learned Jargon, I just grew up that way. That was my first language." For VH we have the following note in Jacobs (1929-30, notebook 53), given some added substance in a few other notations

scattered through the field notebooks:

Mrs. H[oward]'s twalati [Tualatin Kalapuyan] father died when she was a very little girl, hence her grandparents [mother's parents], one Molale [sic], one Clackamas, were the people who raised [her]; Mrs. H's mother talked mostly jargon to her, but knew Mol. and Clack. just like Mrs. H.

VH's language biography, while a complex one, does not seem unusually so in terms of what we know about life in the Grand Ronde community of her earlier years. Upwards of 15 small tribal and ethnic groups speaking upwards of 9 different languages were undergoing a rapid process of social integration there during that time. This was perhaps most obvious in the ever ramifying and tightening web of extended kinship that was cutting across all linguistic and "tribal" lines of division. In terms of traditional patrilineal reckoning, VH presumably would have been considered a Tualatin. However, while she had had some familiarity with the Tualatin language, she had never spoken it. She however did speak both Molala and Clackamas (Upper Chinookan) as a young girl--the tribal languages of the grandparents who raised her. She also used Clackamas a great deal with the mother of her first husband, who was Clackamas. It was during the 15 or so years of that first marriage that she was in closest contact with WB, who was the step-son of one of her husband's brothers. Extended-family ties were strong

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in this as well as other Grand Ronde families of the period, and it is most interesting that WB remembers VH as a speaker only of Jargon and English, his own repertoire of languages (local non-standard English, note, was also in wide currency in the community of that time). He moreover strongly resisted any imputation of "Clackamas" affiliation to her (beyond that implied by marriage, that is). A Clackamas would never marry another Clackamas, he declared, expressing the sensitivity of Natives older than himself to the slightest taint of incest: blood relationship was usually assumed for fellow members of each small Grand Ronde tribe.

The foregoing circumstances of the speakers' experience and use of the language have important implications for evaluating their linguistic data. These however must await full treatment elsewhere. Briefly, such implications concern (a) creolization, or complications and expansions of linguistic makeup in response to expanded use and function (Hymes 1971:65); and (b) variability, or the correlations between linguistic makeup and factors such as speakers' other languages, their varying generation levels, the relationships and situations affecting their language use, and so forth.

2. Combined forms in VH's texts.

The following description necessarily refers

frequently to syntactic units and relations whose adequate exemplification would require a much lengthier and more specialized treatment. Stereotyped and idiomatic forms and meanings are also frequently encountered in VH's texts--as would become much clearer in a comprehensive consideration of data from all Grand Ronde speakers recorded. Hopefully, I will be able to make up for some of these gaps in the future.

In Jacobs' field recordings from VH (Jacobs 1929-30), combined forms appear as sequences of forms adjoining one another without intervening breaks, bounded initially and finally by full spaces--orthographic words. In preparing the texts for publication (Jacobs 1936:1-13), Jacobs preserved these units as originally recorded, while adopting certain conventions to clarify their structure. The original convention of the orthographic word is carried over in the transcription of dependent personal pronouns preposed to full forms. All other constituents are set off from one another by means of connecting dashes (in the 1932 structural Notes, dependent personal pronouns are likewise so treated). The following sample, presenting one punctuation-unit from Jacobs' original field notebooks (where only one punctuation mark, ., appears), followed by the corresponding unit as it appears in the published texts,

illustrates these differing usages. Note that in the published version, only one combined form appears as a whole typographic word--yagu:ri, the only form consisting of a dependent personal pronoun (ya '3 P.S.') preposed to a full form (gú:ri 'run').

[Original:]
áldawéxt yagú:ri tǎxni Úkdənes-tútʃmən wiklí:liwəxt
yagú:ri kábaháus. [U=upsilon]

[Published:]
álda-wéxt yagú:ri tǎxni úk-dənes-tútʃmən,
wik-li:li-wəxt yagú:ri kába-háus, . . .

[Translation, as published:]
'Then again the little girl ran outside, pretty soon
again she ran to the house,'

The majority of combined forms transcribed by Jacobs for VH (see 4. below) demarcate whole syntactic constructions, either (a) fillers of specific syntactic function slots; or (b) complex verb forms, in which simplex or compounded verbs appear joined to pronouns or other verb-modifying elements. In the following examples of clause-level constructions (each identified with Jacobs' numbers for text, paragraph, and paragraph division), each full word or combined form shown exemplifies one of these two types.

- 1) álda dənəs-háyas háyu-wáwa íkda.
now little-big FREQ-talk something
'Now something or other was talking a little louder'.
3:5(1).

- 2) dónəs-lí:li alda íkda yagámdaks,
 little- now some- 3PS-understand
 awhile thing
 'In a little while she heard something', 3:5(1).
- 3) qántʃi-lí:li gá:gwa-~~t~~ásga.
 such-awhile that way-3PP
 'I do not know how long a time they were like that'.
 1:1(2).
- 4) qántʃi-lí:li yámunḡ-gá:gwa.
 such-awhile 3PS-TRNS-that way
 'I do not know how long a time she was doing that'.
 1:4(2).
- 5) t'lú:nas álda yámunḡ-mí:məlust natʃótʃ.
 Presumably now 3PS-TRNS-dead 1PS-grandmother
 'Maybe he has killed my grandmother by now'.
 1:6(1).
- 6) ~~t~~ásmanḡ-gú:ri-yáxga.
 3PP-TRNS-run-3PS
 'They followed running after him'. 1:6(3).
- 7) kábət-í:xt-yáxga yámunḡ-kánawi-íkda,
 only-one-3PS 3PS-do-all-thing
 'She alone did everything', 3:12(3).
- 8) tʃágu-~~t~~áx úk-yalagú:m
 TRSL-out DEM-3PS-pitch
 'the pitch came out', 3:3(1)
- 9) lí::li álda tʃágu-tʃxóp uk-báya.
 awhile- now TRSL-ex- DEM-fire
 AUG tinct
 'After a time the fire went out'. 1:10(2).
- 10) úk-lamyái bí-yakwi?ím, kabit-mákwʃt, búš-~~t~~asmí:lait
 DEM-old- CONJ-3PS- only-two would-3PP-
 lady granddaughter stay
 kaba-háus.
 PREP-house
 'The old woman and her granddaughter, just the two of
 them, only they stayed at the house'. 1:1(1).
 [Internal punctuation added to published text--
 lacking in field transcript.]

- 11) álda í:xt-sá:n úk-lámiyai yága-hai-mank-ú:ʃ+uʃ,
 now one-day DEM-old 3PS-FREQ-TRNS-good-good
 lady
 'Now one day when the old woman was straightening
 things', 3:2(1).

- 12) yága-hái-mank-plú:m wík-saya kába-ʃasbáya.
 3PS-FREQ-TRNS-broom not-far PREP-3PP-fire
 'when she was sweeping not far from the fire',
 3:2(1). [háí stressed in field transcript, not pub-
 lishd.]

The interlinear translations distinguish between items functioning primarily as grammatical markers, and all other items, glossed with English lexical equivalents. Most grammatical markers in VH's Jargon have alternate forms, which may be grouped into two sets: (1) a dependent set of modally unstressed and often otherwise reduced modifiers ("modal stress," note, as subject to certain conditioned modifications of basic stress pattern to be treated below), and (2) a set of corresponding stressed full-forms. Dependent variants occur usually joined, while full-form variants are much more likely to appear unjoined. Of the grammatical functions referred to, the following should probably be commented upon.

TRNS. munk, the common element of many compound verbs of stereotyped transitive meaning, is derived from the regional Jargon causative verb mamuk. An original or contributing causative meaning is usually evident, but not always obviously so: for example, munk-híhi in its

usual meaning ('TRNS laugh') is to mock someone, not "make them laugh"; and Jacobs' published translation of man-gú:ri (no. 6), 'they followed running after him', is a misleadingly dressed-up version of the field translation, 'they followed, ran after him' ('chase' is the most frequently-given meaning for this compound in my notes). múnk may also occur as a main verb ('to make, do'), in which case it is usually stressed.

TRSL. "Translative": a verb-forming element denoting change of state, whether processual or resultative.

FREQ. háyu, hayú is an adverbial meaning 'many, much'. For some Grand Ronde speakers, including the two being considered, this has given rise to the distinct form háyu (hai), a productive verb modifier indicating frequentive and/or continuative aspect.

Generally speaking, full forms may assume the syntactic functions of their dependent counterparts. At the same time, they may also be used to convey expressive and/or lexical meanings not ordinarily accruing to the dependent forms. The qualification "not ordinarily" is necessary because this rule does not operate entirely regularly. For example, in samples 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12 above an unstressed-joined mun(k) (or man(k)) forms compound transitive verbs. In 7, however, munk is apparently functioning as a main verb, corresponding to the

full form múnk, mánk (and unusually for VH, mámuk) 'to do, make' elsewhere (the form mámuk in context has the additional special meanings 'work', 'sexual intercourse'). Compare the inconsistently-given combinations múnk-lagámas (three instances), munk-lagámas (three instances), and mámuk lagámas (one instance, corrected to máunk lagámas) 'to dig [i.e., "do"] camas'.

2.1. Many combined forms in VH's texts consist of a dependent form preposed to a full form. These almost invariably coincide with endocentric (attribute-head) or exocentric (modifier-verb) constructions. Allowing for some expressively-motivated and/or irregular variation, monosyllabic dependent forms occur regularly unstressed, disyllabic dependent forms variably unstressed in these combinations. To cite from the foregoing examples:

[na[tʃʹtʃ]], [ya[gámdaks]], [uk[báya]],
 [tʃagu[tʃxʹp]], [kaba[háus]]. [úk[lámyai]],
 [tʃágu[ʹáx]], [háyu[wáwa]].

The demonstrative pronoun uk (corresponding full form: úguk) occurs stressed in this environment more often than the short-form personal pronouns. Stress may have emphatic value in either case, although the texts and translations usually do not permit us to discriminate finer shadings of emphasis (as in extra-careful speech) from evidently unmotivated variation.

2.2. With only a few exceptions, postposed joined pronouns occur as full forms in VH's texts:

[gá:gwa]tásga, [tás[man[gú:ri[yáxga]]],
[[kábot[í:xt]]yáxga].

2.3. In combined forms corresponding to endocentric attribute-head constructions lacking marked dependent constituents, head forms regularly occur stressed, attributive forms variably stressed:

[dénəs[háyas]], [dénəs[lí:li]], [qántʃi[lí:li]].
[kabit[mákwʃt]] (compare [[kabot[í:xt]---]).

The form [wík[saya]] provides another instructive exception. Attribute-head compounds in VH's Jargon are mostly bipartite, with stress falling regularly on the second and variably on the first member of the compound (some endocentric head-attribute constructions also occur, which bear stress on the first member but not on the second). By contrast, full forms are mostly disyllabic and initially stressed. The form wíksaya belongs to a group of compounds that seem to hover somewhere in between compounds and full forms. As used here, it seems to carry the weight of a full word--a prepositional element meaning 'not far from, close to'--notwithstanding its transparently compound character. WB, by contrast, always pronounces it as a compound--wíksáya, used both adverbially ('nearly, almost, near') and prepositionally.

2.4. In a sequence of two dependent forms preceding a main (head or verb) form, the main form occurs regularly stressed, the **first** dependent form variably stressed, the second dependent form regularly unstressed. Note the evident parallelism between the dependent portions of such compounds and the aforementioned dominant patterning for full forms.

[yá[munk[gá:gwa, -mí:məlust]]],
 [yága[hái[mank[plú:m]]], [úk[ya[lagú:m]]],
 [bí[ya[kwi?ím]]], [yá[mun[kánawi[íkda]]],
 [kába[ɬas[báya]]], [ɬás[man[gú:ri[yáxga]]].
 [yága[hai[manɰk [[ɬú:]ɬu]]].

The form [bús[ɬas[mí:ɬait]]] illustrates another borderline case. bus is a versatile adverbial, being exemplified (1) as a verb-initial modal qualifying the action of the verb as somehow conditioned or hypothetical, (2) as a subordinating conjunction ('if', 'but', 'that'), (3) as a preposition ('for the sake of', 'than'), (4) as a frequent constituent both of idiomatic and de novo adverbial compounds. Here it exemplifies function (1), and as such parallels closely the verb-modifying elements I gloss with block letters. However, specialization of function is unaccompanied by any con-

sistent specialization of form in this case. Therefore, I treat bus the same way I treat other adverbials, although the English glosses required for interlinear translation are thereby necessarily various.

2.5. The example with bus is paralleled by many others in which adverbial forms appear joined to forms filling syntactic verb, subject or object slots. Such examples are frequent enough to define an alternate modal pattern. The following samples typify many others.

- 13) álda-yaʔú:maʔ úk-yatʃétʃ.
 now-3PS-feed DEM-3PS-grandmother
 'she gave (of) it to her grandmother'. 3:2(2).
- 14) álda-uk-dónəs-4útʃmən lí:lí wík-ya4á:dwa.
 now-DEM-little-girl awhile not-3PS-go
 'For awhile the little girl did not go'. 3:9(1).

3. Prosody.

The taperecorded samples of WB's Jargon drawn upon here, consisting both of sentence elicitations and excerpts from free conversation, exemplify the speaker's ordinary conversational style and rate of delivery, albeit subject to lapses and discontinuities attending long disuse of the language.

I have marked two degrees of accentuation accompanying stress in WB's Jargon, indicated as , less accented and ' more accented before each stressed form affected. Since stress usually falls on the first syllable of a stressed multisyllabic full form, the stress

marks, ˈ (full) and ˘ (reduced or secondary) are used only to mark variant stress placements. Taking into consideration also the occurrence of unstressed-unaccentuated (hence unmarked) forms, three degrees of syllable prominence may be distinguished.

Level 2: full stress with higher pitch.

Level 1: reduced stress, or stress (full or reduced) with lower pitch.

Level 0: Unstressed.

Each of the following samples transcribed according to the foregoing conventions corresponds syntactically to one or more clause-level constructions. Each string of forms bounded by |--a speech pause of less than 1 second--or #--a full stop--marks one breath group. (Note: A=caret, I=iota, U=upsilon.)

- 15) # ,dunus'hàya'ya, hayu'wa:wa #
- 16) # ,qAntʃi'li:liʃas, hayu'wawa #
- 17) # ,kagubus'Ikdatʃau'qa:da, ya #
- 18) # ,kAbət'i:xt, nai | 'wa:wa, wawa, wa:wa #
- 19) | ,kanawe'Ikda, tʃau'ɬu:ʃ | kagəps | ,tʃau'qwe:ɬ, kagwa #
- 20) # ,kanawe'Ikdana | munk'ɬUkɬUk #
- 21) # na, hayumunk'ɬUkɬUk #
- 22) | ?uk?uk'ba:sdən, yamunk'mi:məlust?ukya'ʔa:u |
 ,aldaya'ɬadwəkəbə .. |
 ya'ladwəkəba'ha:usya'ʔIsgAm, ?ukya'kàrapí:n, aldaya |
 munk'mi:məlust?uk'ba:sdən #

I developed the following further conventions-- before I began trying to analyze Jacobs' transcriptional usages--in order to segment such groups in a manner equally revealing of the language's syntactic patterns, and the phonetic features marking those patterns.

Unstressed forms are transcribed with the stressed forms to which they are syntactically most immediately linked: joined by a dash, -, to following such forms, fused to preceding such forms. Endocentric compounds coinciding wholly or in part with immediate constituents of clauses are written as orthographic words--separated from one another by full spaces--provided that they do not occur also as constituents of complex verb forms-- which are likewise transcribed as orthographic words. A complex verb form is defined as a simplex or compound verb, linked directly to one or more dependent modifying forms. With reference to the foregoing examples:

- 15) ,dunus'hàyaʃ ya-,hayu'wa:wa
 little-big 3PS-FREQ-talk
 'He's talking a little louder now'.
- 16) ,qAntʃi'li:li ʔas-,hayu'wa:wa
 such-awhile 3PP-FREQ-talk
 'They've been talking such a long time'.
- 17) ,kagubus 'Ikda tʃau-'qa:da,ya
 like-as some- TRSL-how-3PS
 thing
 'Looks like something's happened to him'. [Or as
 the syntax of the Jargon would have it: 'looks
 like he's become something-howed'.]

- 18) ,kAbət'i:xt,nai | 'wa:wa,wawa,wə:wa
 only-one-1PS talk-talk-talk
 'I'm alone, (just) talking and talking and talking'.
- 19) ,kanawe'Ikda ,tʃau'ɬu:ʃ | kagəpʃ- | ,tʃau'qwe:ɬ,kagwa
 all-thing TRSL-good like-as TRSL-tight-like
 'Everything turns out fine, its like it all ties together'.
- 20) ,kanawe'Ikda na- | munk-'ɬukɬuk
 all-thing 1PS TRNS-break-break
 'I break it all up'.
- 21) na-,hayumunk'ɬukɬuk
 1PS-FREQ-TRNS-break-break
 'I'm breaking it up'.
- 22) uk- uk-'basdɛn ,yamunk'mi:mɛlust ukya-'ʔa:u |
 DEM DEM-white 1PS-TRNS-dead DEM-3PS-brother
- ,alda ya-'ɬadwə kəbə-.. | ya-'ɬadwə kəba-'ha:us
 now 3PS-go PREP 3PS-go PREP-house
- ya-'Isgam ,ukya'kərapí:n ,alda ya- |
 3PS-get DEM-3PS-rifle now 3PS-
- munk-'mi:mɛlust uk-'ba:sdɛn
 TRNS-dead DEM-white
 'That, that white man killed his brother. So then he
 went to, he went to the house, he got his rifle, and
 then he killed that white man'.

It will be noted that the orthographic words so marked occur at levels of structural segmentation identical to those exemplified by the combined forms illustrated in VH samples 1-12. When these and other samples are compared further, it becomes evident that the prosodic patterns characterizing WB's orthographic words closely parallel the patterning of stressed and unstressed constituents in VH's combined forms. This may be illustrated with reference to samples 15-22, in con-

junction with the compilation of forms already presented for VH (certain points at which the two speakers' usages differ will become evident--these, again, await treatment elsewhere):

3.1. (:2.1.). [munk[['ʔuk]ʔuk],-mi:məlust]],
[uk['ba(:)sdən]], [ya['ʔadwa]], [kaba['ha:us]],
[ya['Isgam]]. [,tʃau['ʔu:ʃ]].

3.2. (:2.2.). [[tʃau['qa:da]],ya],
[[,kAbət['i:xt]],nai].

3.3. (:2.3.). [,dunus['həyáʃ]], [,qAntʃi['li:li]],
[,kanawe['Ikda]].

3.4. (:2.4.). [,ya[munk['mi:məlust]]],
[,uk[ya['kərapí:n]]], [na[,hayu[munk[['ʔuk]ʔuk]]]].
[uk[ya['ʔa:u]]], [ya-,ʔas[,hayu['wa:wa]]].

3.5. (:2.5.). The variant modal patterning given in VH samples 13-14 is paralleled to the extent that simplex adverbial forms ordinarily occur at level 1 (in example 19 at level 0)--that is, at a lower prominence level than (and therefore likely to be perceived as subordinate to) accompanying verb and substantive forms.

4. Implications.

The types of combined form described with reference to samples 1-12 and 13-14 account for the majority of such forms appearing in VH's texts. Virtually all variances from modal type involve forms that only partially

realize full syntactic constructions (it must be pointed out that such a determination occasionally involves fine points of interpretation--which, again, must await treatment elsewhere). I have not provided counts of modal and non-modal forms for all texts, since the frequency of occurrence of combined forms per text and portion of text, as well as their degrees of coincidence with whole constructions, are somewhat variable. This may be seen especially for the first-recorded and last-recorded texts, numbers 2 and 4 respectively. Text 4, with approximately 17 full lines of (published) text, has a total of 74 combined forms, or an average of 4.35 per line. Of these, 47 (.64 of the total) realize whole syntactic constructions; almost all the remaining (.30 of the total) are accounted for by the other modal type. Text 2, with 34 lines, has 112 combined forms, or an average of only 3.29 per line. Of these, about .79 realize whole syntactic constructions, while .07 exemplify the other modal type; .13, alongside .08 for text 4, are partial realizations of whole constructions.

The most significant of these several variances between the two texts is the first--the higher frequency of occurrence for text 4. A principal reason for this variance is that in text 4, items with dependent and independent variants exhibit a near-perfect match between

form and function. In text 2, by contrast, many independent variants assume their dependent-form grammatical functions. In some clauses, indeed, not a single dependent variant is to be found, and VH seems to be speaking something very like pidgin Jargon.

- 23) álda ɬásga tʃágwa náiga tát.
 now 3PP come 1PS uncle
 "'Now my uncles are coming"'. 2:3(2).
- 24) gwá::nisim ǵwónəm yaga tát ɬaska ɬadu-nánitʃ
 always five 3PS uncle 3PP go-look
 má:witʃ
 deer
 'Her five uncles went hunting deer all the time'.
 2:1(1)

This peculiarity, together with the fact that text 2 was the first recorded, suggest that Jacobs' initial lack of familiarity with the language prompted the informant to speak exceptionally carefully and deliberately. The data from WB confirm this surmise, to the extent that they show full forms assuming dependent-form grammatical functions only for specific and restricted purposes. Basically, WB resorts to such substitutions only in order to convey emphasis. His usage and his introspection agree that full forms convey a "stronger" impression, which, depending on circumstances, may convey the speaker's emotional state, or be used just to make communication clearer--more explicit.

I have elsewhere suggested (Zenk 1988) that Grand

Ronde speakers could have found the more "pidgin"-like style of Jargon suggested by VH's samples 23-24 useful for certain purposes--as in communicating with White speakers (or linguists?) perceived to be subcompetent in the language. The data from WB are not conclusive in this regard, since I was unable to secure uniform samples of such a style of Jargon from him. That is, he employs the substitutions in question only on a form-by-form basis, not on a scale suggesting anything like a distinct stylistic register. At the same time, he is also aware that some people spoke Jargon in such a fashion, and he professes not to find this particularly unusual: "that all comes in Jargon," as he commented once.

The foregoing observations permit me to suggest, by way of conclusion, an explanation for the high degree of coincidence between orthographic and syntactic units in Jacobs' Jargon texts from VH. Jacobs' own remarks (1932:33-34, 1936:v-vi) suggest that he perceived combined forms to be phonetically real entities. I would suggest that an important factor in that perception resides in the pragmatics of the live-dictation situation in which Jacobs worked. In brief, it would appear that VH tried to dictate her texts to Jacobs carefully and deliberately, out of deference to his (impressive but not unlimited) capacity to write as fast as she talked. In

this light, it comes as no particular surprise that almost all the clauses recorded with unjoined full forms to the exclusion of combined forms occur in the first text dictated. The Jargon of VH's remaining texts, in which syntactic units up to specific levels of inclusiveness are realized wholly or partially as combined forms, very likely represents Jargon as she was used to and/or preferred to speak it--yet produced with some special effort to keep it neat and precise. VH's Jargon as we have it, that is to say, seems to some extent to be a Jargon deliberately styled with reference to the live dictation situation.

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