

“Fox and Cayooty”: an early St’át’imcets-Chinook Jargon bilingual text

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This paper contains a transliteration (from the original Duployan shorthand) and translation of an early bilingual St’át’imcets-Chinook Jargon text, with accompanying historical, orthographical and grammatical notes. The story was first published in 1892 in the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper by the oblate priest J.-M.R. Le Jeune; it thus counts as one of the earliest texts in either language.

1 Introduction¹

It is well known to the student of Salishan languages and cultures that before the time of Franz Boas, extremely few coherent texts, as opposed to relatively numerous fragmentary word-lists, of northwest Native American languages were collected and published. The nascent modern disciplines of anthropology and linguistics demanded such documentation. However, another force besides science played a considerable role in the earliest recordings of indigenous languages of this region: The activities of Christian missionaries, which led to work allowing in some cases (viz. Joseph Giorda, SJ’s 1871 dictionary of Kalispel) an excellent view of historical stages in the lives of these languages otherwise lost to us.²

An example of the same phenomenon is available to us also in the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper published by Oblate father J.-M.R. Le Jeune from 1891 to about 1904³, primarily in the Chinook Jargon, of which it is an extensive and often overlooked document. In volume 2, Issue 47 of *Kamloops Wawa*, dated October 16 [sic], 1892⁴, we find under the English heading “Recreative” the following:

Kopa Pavilion ilihī nsaika tlap ukuk hloima syisim kopa Lilwat wawa[:] Fox and Cayooty.(p. 60, seventh and eighth lines; Chinook Jargon transliterated from Duployan shorthand⁵.)

A translation into English of this Chinook Jargon introduction is, “In the Pavilion [British Columbia] area we got this quaint tale in the Lillooet language.” What follows is a story some fifty lines long, written in St’át’imcets in the left column and in Chinook Jargon in the right. Both languages as used in this story exhibit interesting features.

2 About the newspaper

Kamloops Wawa was printed in mimeographed form, using almost exclusively a variant (presumably of Le Jeune’s own device) of the French-originated Duployan phonography, a form of shorthand. By far the majority of the paper’s content was in the Chinook Jargon language, but one of the authors of the present paper has found no less than eight other indigenous and European languages in various editions: English, French, Greek, Latin, Nt̓əʔkepmxcín, Secwepemc̓tsín, Sk̓w̓w̓ú7mesh and St’át’imcets. Father Le Jeune, publisher and parish priest of Kamloops, British Columbia, “preache[d] in the several native dialects of the

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² Sarah G. Thomason (p.c., July 1999) has made significant use of such materials in her work with Seliš/Montana Salish speakers.

³ Vrzić 1998:1, citing Reinecke, John E. et al. (eds.) 1975. A bibliography of pidgin and creole languages. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Sporadic publications by Le Jeune under the *Kamloops Wawa* colophon continued until about 1925.

⁴ Cf. Pilling 1895:46.

⁵ Vrzić 1998.

country, especially Chinook," that is, the Jargon (Zeh 1906). It might be expected then that his shorthand writing system for Chinook Jargon was more fully developed than were those he devised for the Salishan languages mentioned. Another idea to be tested along with this hypothesis is whether Le Jeune's Chinook Jargon was fluent by some standard, and what unique characteristics, if any, it exhibits.

2.1 The Chinook Jargon writing system

The shorthand system used to write Chinook Jargon in *Kamloops Wawa* contains vowel symbols⁶:

?	u
a	o

As well as the consonants:

p	t	c	č	k
				k'
b	d			g
f	θ	†	s	š
v				h
m	n			ŋ
	?	l		

It should be noted that <b d g f θ v ŋ> are infrequent, occurring mostly in words recently borrowed from Indo-European languages, primarily English. Of these sound-symbols only <d> is not quite rare, thanks largely to the frequency of the verb <lidawn> "lie (down)" and of *<drit>⁷ "real(ly)". <k' †> are also infrequent, but with the difference that

- they occur in Chinook Jargon "proper", i.e. in words which *Kamloops Wawa* shares with the other Jargon sources of the time, e.g. Demers et al. 1871;
- they occur only in words derived from indigenous languages; and
- at least <k'> is consistently used in certain words. (The reason <†> is not so consistently employed is that as a rule <kl> or <tl> are written for the sound which we know from other Jargon sources to be the voiceless lateral.)

For comparison, here is the phonetic inventory of Chinook Jargon according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988)⁸:

p	t		c	č	k	k ^w	q	q ^w	?
p'	t'	k'	c'		k'	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w	
b	d				g				
	†		s	š	x	x ^w	χ	χ ^w	
?	n								
		?	l						
?				y					

⁶ These are the vowel symbols, not phonemes, that we have found to be distinctive in *Kamloops Wawa*. The present analysis differs from that of Vrzić 1998. There is some evidence to indicate that KW was able in a minority of the cases to distinguish a Chinook Jargon sound /e/ from /i/, but at this writing (1999) the authors have not found grounds for a consistent discrimination between the two. Note that there are many "diphthong" symbols in this writing system as well, such as <aw, wa, yi, wiyi> (!), which however contain only the same four vowels listed here. See also the following discussion.

⁷ Asterisks denote items not in the present text but standard for *Kamloops Wawa*.

⁸ All phonemicizations of Chinook Jargon in this paper are normalized to the Americanist alphabet. /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ are conspicuous in their absence from Thomason and Kaufman, but included in Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community 1998. For the present, we shall write these two phonemes when they occur in Grand Ronde Jargon.

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

Some major points of contrast between Le Jeune's orthography and this sound system need to be pointed out.

First, Le Jeune makes little provision for distinguishing ejective stops and affricates from their "plain" counterparts, and likewise fails to differentiate labialized from nonlabialized consonants. For example, <talapus> "coyote" for normative Chinook Jargon /t'áləpəs/ (Tony A. Johnson, p.c.)⁹ and <kayuti> "coyote" from English; *<cim> "mark, write" for /c'ém/ and *<šikhanc> from English "shake hands"; *<mokst> "two" for /mák^wst/ and <makmak> "eat", which also apparently means in Kamloops Wawa "be envious of" for /mákmək/; <čok> "water" for /c'éq^w/ and <aiak> "rapid, soon" for /ayáq/.

Second, he does not differentiate between velar and uvular fricatives, nor between these and laryngeal /h/, which Thomason and Kaufman interestingly omit from their inventory (see footnote 6). Some examples are <iht> "one" for /íxt/; <wiht> "also, more, again" for /wéχt/; and <halo> for "hullo!" from English.

Third, Le Jeune distinguishes no glottal stop and significantly fewer vowels than do Thomason and Kaufman, writing <i> for both /i/ and /e/, and depending on the word, any of his <a i o u> (including in the diphthongs of which they can be members) can all be used to represent schwa. Examples: *<haha> "holy", presumably related to Nt'e?kepmxcín /χa?χá?/ "having supernatural power" (Thompson and Thompson 1996); <lidawn> "lie (down)" from colloquial English "lay down"; *<tiawit> "leg" for ?tya?wit/; <talapus> for /t'áləpəs/; <oihat> "path, road, way" for /úyχət/; *<θondir> from English "thunder".

Fourth, as already mentioned, Le Jeune includes additional symbols in order to accurately transcribe unassimilated loanwords. Examples include *<θondir> "thunder"; <foks> "fox"; <pavilion> "Pavilion, B.C."

Le Jeune's Chinook Jargon orthography stands out in another way as well: He alone, among the 19th-century nonscientists who documented the language, innovated as many as five unique symbols for sounds deriving from indigenous languages and foreign to Western European languages. By contrast, Demers et al. 1871, frequently cited as having best documented the indigenous sound system of the Jargon,¹⁰ has only three (truncated versions of Latin <k> and <h>), usually standing for Thomason and Kaufman's /k'/ and /χ/, respectively, and <i> with diaeresis, standing for <y>), and lacks symbols for /ʃ š č c/. We concede, however, that Demers et al. employed their orthographic innovations more frequently and accurately, though with less consistency, than Le Jeune did his. (The spelling of a given word in *Kamloops Wawa* is remarkably uniform among all of the word's occurrences.)

1.2 The St'át'imcets orthography

Le Jeune used the following symbols in writing St'át'imcets in *Kamloops Wawa* as of 1892 (but see below). The vowels and diphthongs are identical to those listed above for Chinook Jargon; the consonants are:

⁹ In the present paper all phonemicized examples of Chinook Jargon are from the variety spoken in the Grand Ronde Community in western Oregon, for the following reasons:

(a) It represents the Oregon variety of Chinook Jargon, whose structure and history are the most extensively documented; cf. Pilling's bibliography and the discussion in G. Davis 1998:7-21 of the history both of the language and of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community.

(b) It is a variety spoken by indigenous peoples, and has preserved the "Indian" sounds of its indigenous donor languages (except, as in all known varieties of Chinook Jargon, in its small Nootkan component, which shows signs of having been phonologically simplified during introduction by Anglophones) to an extensive degree.

¹⁰ Sarah G. Thomason, p.c. (July, 1999).

p	t		c	č	k
					k'
					g
			†	s	š
m	n				x
	r	l			

The one innovation here with respect to Le Jeune's Chinook Jargon alphabet is <x>, which seems essentially to take the place of <h>. Compared with the twenty-one consonants in the Jargon orthography, we find only these fifteen for St'át'imcets. This is remarkable, considering that the following represents the full consonantal phonemic inventory of the language (van Eijk 1997:2):

p	t			c, ç	k	k ^w	q	q ^w		
p'		k'	c'		k'	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w		
		†		s, š	x	x ^w	χ	χ ^w		
ʔ	n									
m'	n'									
		l, l'								
		l', l'								
			z	y	ɣ		ʃ	ʃ ^w	h	w
			z'	y'	ɣ'		ʃ'	ʃ' ^w	ʔ	w'

The fifteen consonant symbols of Le Jeune's orthography are intended to suffice for these forty-four phonemes!

Of similar disproportion is the ratio of vowels (not even the diphthongal symbols increase the number of these) in this *Kamloops Wawa* orthography to the vocalic phonemes of St'át'imcets, which are, also per van Eijk 1997:

i, j		u, ɥ
	ə, ə	
	a, ǣ	

Here, four vowels in Le Jeune's writing system must stand duty for eight actual phonemes.

By contrast, the same author's orthography for Chinook Jargon uses four vowels for six phonemes; it has twenty-one consonant symbols vs. some thirty-three consonantal phonemes. We find then the following ratios:

Distinct written symbols as percentages of actual number of phonemes

<u>St'át'imcets</u>			<u>Chinook Jargon</u>		
<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>overall</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>overall</u>
50%	34%	37%	67%	64%	64%

Admittedly, the comparison cannot possibly be a direct one. One reason for this is that Le Jeune's Chinook Jargon writing system has at least four graphs <f θ v η> which represent sounds simply absent from Thomason and Kaufman's inventory, while his St'át'imcets alphabet shows no such superfluity in relation to the sound system presented by van Eijk. An additional reason is that (per Tony Johnson, p.c.) the Jargon's sound system can be said to be composed of phones, not necessarily phonemes, from every language from which its words derive – even typologically highly unusual speech sounds. But the general truth of one of our hypotheses is shown by these figures: Father Le Jeune's Chinook Jargon alphabet is considerably more accurate, given the use to which it is put, than is his "Lilwat wawa".

Nevertheless, the original transcription is relatively easy to interpret for anyone familiar with St'át'imcets. This does not mean that it is phonetically accurate; on the contrary, it shows an array of defects typical of early attempts to render Salish languages orthographically (comparable to those seen, for example, in the work of Charles Hill-Tout). More specifically, Father Le Jeune usually fails to distinguish

between velars and uvulars, ejective and plain stops, glottalized and non-glottalized resonants, and /s/ and /z/; and fails to transcribe glottal stops and uvular glides altogether. He does, however, consistently write <ł> for /ł/, and usually records the distinction between /x/ or /χ/ on the one hand and /xʷ/ or /χʷ/ on the other, if in the latter case only as <wx>. There are also a variety of less systematic errors which occasionally make the text hard to decipher; at least some of these are probably typographical.

Of some note is the relatively systematic transcription of ejective /q'/ as [kr]; thus the word /meq'/ "full (stomach)" is transcribed as [mekr], and the word /sq'it/ "day" as [skrit]. (Note that St'át'imcets lacks /r/, like other Northern Interior languages).

Another point of interest is that Father Le Jeune uses one symbol for both /z/ and /c/. This Italian- or German-influenced orthographic choice was common to Catholic missionary linguistics of the 19th century in Northwest North America, in works written in variations of the Roman alphabet. <z> for /c/ was as characteristic of this type of transcription as <g> for /x/ or /χ/ was. Compare for example Father Edward M. Griva, SJ's <Nkamugzin> for /nxaʔamxcín/ "Moses-Columbia Salish language".¹¹ So Le Jeune seems to have carried this convention over into his American Duployan alphabet.

Finally, it may be noted that at a later date (cf. Le Jeune 1897:2-3) the same author developed his writing system for St'át'imcets to the point of apparently beginning to notate <ə>, <ɣ>, and (?) <ɨ> (a long /i/?), among other sounds. Clearly he put a great deal of time and thought, over the years, into representing the sounds of this language.

3 The texts

3.1 The Chinook Jargon text¹²

In the following, the *Kamloops Wawa* text, transliterated, is given; following is the nearest Grand Ronde Chinook Jargon trot (when a cognate having similar meaning, or [in square brackets here] a translation, exists), then a word-for-word English trot, and finally an English translation. Curved brackets enclose those of the literal English trots which for clarity are changed in the translation.

[Column I:]

Line

7-8 Kopa Pavilion ilih nsaika tlap ukuk hloima syisim kopa Lilwat wawa:
 k^hapa (---) ílɪʔi nəsayka k'áp ukuk χlúwima [ikánəm] k^hapa (---) wáwa
 PREP Pavilion land we get DEM different tale PREP Lillooet talk
 In the Pavilion area we got this quaint tale in the Lillooet language.

10-11 Iht son čako kanamokst Foks pi Kayuti.
 íxt sán čáku kánamak^wst [ténəs lílu] pi [t'áləpəs]
 one day come together Fox and Coyote
 One day they met each other, Fox and Coyote.

12-13 Pi Foks, iaka nim wiht Talapus[,] wawa kopa Kayuti:
 pi [ténəs lílu] ya(ka) ním wéχt t'áləpəs wáwa k^hapa [t'áləpəs]
 and Fox 3SG name more {Coyote} talk PREP Coyote
 And Fox, who was also called 'Talapus', said to Coyote:

¹¹ In Carriker, Eleanor, et al. 1976.

¹² Following Zenk 1999:45, some Chinook Jargon words are here left unmarked for stress, as these would not in connected speech have any primary stress. Because some of the phrases and sentences in the *Kamloops Wawa* Chinook Jargon text would likely have a divergent word order and thus a different cadence in Grand Ronde Jargon, we have refrained from marking any words for possible alternate stress which that cadence would mandate.

- 14 =Halo, maika mitlait?
[ʔaxáyəm] máyka míʔayt
hallo 2SG sit
“Hallo, is that you there?”
- 15 Kata maika, Kayuti?
qʰáʔa máyka [tʰáʔəpəs]
how 2SG Coyote
“How are you, Coyote?”
- 16 =Naika olo, wawa Kayuti.
nay(ka) úlu wáwa [tʰáʔəpəs]
1SG hungry talk Coyote
“I’m hungry, replied Coyote.
- 17 =Ikta mamuk maika olo, wawa Talapus:
íkta múnk may(ka) úlu wáwa [tənəs lílu]
what make 2SG hungry talk {little wolf}
“What makes you so hungry?” asked ‘Talapus’.
- 18-20 Ayu cikcik čako kopa oihat, patl kopa tlus makmak.
hayú cikcik/cʰíkʰík čaku kʰapa úyχət pát kʰapa ʔúš mékmək
much wagon come PREP path full PREP good food
“Lots of wagons come along the road, filled with good food.”
- 21-22 =Pi wik klaska patlač kopa naika, wawa Kayuti.
pi wík ʔáska palač kʰapa nay(ka) wáwa [tʰáʔəpəs]
and not 3PL give PREP 1SG talk Coyote
“But they won’t give any to me,” said Coyote.
- 23-24 =Nanič naika, wawa Talapus.
náníč nay(ka) wáwa [tənəs lílu]
look 1SG talk {little wolf}
“Watch me,” said ‘Talapus’.
- 25-27 Iawa Talapus klatwa lidawn kopa oihat, kakwa mimlus.
yawá [tənəs lílu] ʔátəwa [míʔayt] kʰapa úyχət kʰakʷa mímlus
there {little wolf} go lie PREP path like dead
Now ‘Talapus’ went and lay down in the road, as if dead.
- 28-30 čako iht tkop man, ayu tlus makmak mitlait kopa iaka cikcik.
čaku íxt [bástən] mán hayú ʔúš mékmək míʔayt kʰapa ya(ka) cikcik/cʰíkʰík
come one white man much good food sit PREP 3SG wagon
There came along a White man; a lot of good food was in his wagon.
- 30-33 Iaka nanič Talapus kakwa mimlus kopa oihat[,] pi iaka wawa:
ya(ka) náníč [tənəs lílu] kʰakʷa mímlus kʰapa úyχət pi ya(ka) wáwa
3SG look {little wolf} like dead PREP path and 3SG talk
He saw ‘Talapus’ as if dead in the road, and he said:
- 34-36 =O, aias tlus ukuk kalkala; tlus naika iskom iaka;
ó hayás ʔúš ukuk kélakəla ʔúš na(y(ka)) ískəm yáka
oh, great good DEM bird good 1SG get 3SG
“Oh, what a nice animal that is; I should pick it up;

- 36-38 alki naika maš iaka skin pi naika sil kopa ayu čikmin.
 áʔqi na(y(ka)) máš ya(ka) skín pi na(y(ka)) mákuk k^hapa hayú číkəmin
 later 1SG remove 3SG pelt and 1SG sell PREP much money
 "I'll take its pelt off and I'll sell [it] for a lot of money."
- 39-41 Pi iaka lolo Talapus pi iaka maš iaka kopa cikcik.
 pi ya(ka) lílu [tónəs lílu] pi ya(ka) máš yaka k^hapa cíkcík/c'ík'ík
 and 3SG take {little wolf} and 3SG remove 3SG PREP wagon
 And he took 'Talapus' and he threw him into the wagon.

[Column II:]

- Pi Talapus ayu makmak kopa cikcik, pi iaka čako patl.
 pi [tónəs lílu] hayú mək'ək k^hapa cíkcík/c'ík'ík pi ya(ka) čáku páʔ
 and {little wolf} much eat PREP wagon and 3SG come full
 And 'Talapus' ate a great deal in the wagon, and he got full.
- 3-5 Pi iaka čomp pi iaka kilapai kopa Kayuti pi iaka wawa:
 pi ya(ka) [súpəna] pi ya(ka) k'ílepəy k^hapa [t'áləpəs] pi ya(ka) wáwa
 and 3SG jump and 3SG turn PREP Coyote and 3SG talk
 And he leaped off and he returned to Coyote and he said:
- 6-8 =Nanič naika, Kayuti[,] naika patl. Thus maika mamuk kakwa naika.
 náníč nay(ka) [t'áləpəs] nay(ka) páʔ ʔúš ma(y(ka)) múnk k^hak^wa nay(ka)
 look 1SG Coyote 1SG full good 2SG make like 1SG
 "Look at me, Coyote, I'm full. You ought to do like me."
- 9-11 =Thus, wawa Lilu. Pi Kayuti klatwa lidawn kopa oihat.
 ʔúš wáwa lílu pi [t'áləpəs] ʔátəwa [míʔayt] k^hapa úyχət
 good talk {wolf} and Coyote go lie PREP path
 "Good," said 'Lilu'. And Coyote went to lie down in the road.
- 12-15 čako iht tkop man. Iaka nanič Lilu, pi iaka saliks iaka, iaka kakšit iaka kopa stik;
 čáku íxt [bástən] mán ya(ka) náníč lílu pi ya(ka) sálíks yaka pi ya(ka) kákšət yaka
 k^hapa stík
 come one white man 3SG look {wolf} and 3SG angry 3SG 3SG beat 3SG PREP wood
 A White man came along. He saw 'Lilu', and he was mad at him, and he beat him with a stick.
- 15-18 Lilu ayu klai, pi iaka aiak kuli ipsut, pi wik iaka čako patl.
 lílu hayú kəláy pi ya(ka) ayáq kúri ípsut pi wík ya(ka) čáku páʔ
 {wolf} much cry and 3SG rapid run hide and not 3SG come full
 'Lilu' gave a great cry, and he quickly ran off to hide, and didn't [ever] get full.

3.2 The St'át'imcets text¹³

As in the Chinook jargon version above, the first line of the St'át'imcets text is a direct transliteration of the Duployan short-hand. The second line contains a reconstruction of the original St'át'imcets, using the van Eijk Practical Orthography in general use in St'át'imc territory. (A conversion chart from the van Eijk orthography to standard Americanist phonetic usage is provided in the appendix.) The third line contains a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and the fourth an English translation. (...) in the second and third lines indicates interpolated material (which we have inserted only if (a) grammatically required, and (b) clearly recoverable from the text), and <...> encloses material whose transcription is speculative (unclear in the original).

[Column I:]

- 10-11 Pala skrit psanaš taxwaluxwa tankiapa.
Pál7=a sq'it pzán-as ta=xwgwálcw=a ta=nk'yáp=a.
one=EXIS day meet(DIR)-3TRANS DET=fox=EXIS DET=coyote=EXIS
One day a coyote met a fox.
- 12-13 Ni†tlo kwaloč taxwaluxwa altankiapa:
Nílh=t'u7 qwal'út-s ta=xwgwálcw=a l=ta=nk'yáp=a,
FOC=so speak=3POSS DET=fox=EXIS at=DET=coyote=EXIS
So then the fox said to the coyote:
- 14-15 =Ka†wawx, nkiap? Wa†kawx kanam, nkiap?
"K'a=lh=wá7=acw, Nk'yap Wá7=lhkacw kánem, Nk'yap?"
apparently=HYP=PROG=2SG.CONJ Coyote PROG=2SG.SUBJ do.what Coyote?
"How are you, Coyote? What are you up to, Coyote?"
- 16 =Wa†kan tait, šut nkiapa.
"Wá7=lhkan tayt," tsut (ta=)nk'yáp=a.
PROG=1SG.SUBJ hungry say (DET=)coyote=EXIS
"I'm hungry," said the coyote.
- 17-18 =Kanam šwašut tait, šut taxwaluxwa?
"Kánem s=wá7=su tayt?" tsut ta=xwgwálcw=a.
do.what NOM=PROG=2SG.POSS hungry say DET=fox=EXIS
"Why are you hungry?" said the fox.
- 18-20 Xwit iwíkn iwa tlak altaxwa††a,
"Cw7it i=wákn[=a] i=wa7 t'ak l=ta=c.wálh=a,
many PL.DET=wagon[=EXIS] PL.DET=PROG go.along on=DET=road=EXIS
"There are many wagons going along the road,

¹³ Abbreviations are as follows (generally but not always as in van Eijk (1997)): AUT= autonomous intransitivizer, CONJ=conjunctive ("subjunctive") subject clitic, DET=determiner, DIR=directive ("full control") transitivizer, EXCL=exclamation, EXIS=existential enclitic, FOC=focus predicate, HYP=hypothetical complementizer, LOC=locative, MID=middle intransitivizer, NEG=negative predicate, NOM=nominalizer, OBJ=object suffix, PL=plural, POSS=possessive, PROG=progressive auxiliary, RED=redirective ("relational") transitivizer, REDUP=reduplication, SG=singular, SUBJ=indicative subject clitic, TRANS=transitive ("ergative") subject suffix. = stands for a clitic boundary, - for an affix boundary, and . for a reduplication boundary.

- 20 kol iama šit'in.
 qul i=ámh=a s-7ilhen."
 full PL.DET=good=EXIS NOM-eat
 full of good food.
- 21-22 =Xwac kwašominšulitaš[,] šut ankiapa.
 "Cw7aoz kw=s=um'-en-tsál-itas," tsut (t)a=nk'yáp=a.
 NEG DET=NOM=give-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3PL.TRANS say DET=coyote=EXIS
 They won't give me any," said the coyote.
- 23-24 =Acxinš, šut taxwaluxwa.
 "Áts'x-en-ts," tsut ta=xwgwálcw=a.
 look-DIR-1SG.OBJ say DET=fox=EXIS
 "Watch me," said the fox.
- 25-26 Niłtlo kišlixš taxwaluxwa ałtaxwałła
 Nílh=t'u7 kíts-lec-s ta=xwgwálcw=a l=ta=c.wálh=a
 FOC=so lie-AUT=3POSS DET=fox=EXIS on=DET=road=EXIS
 So then the fox laid down in the road,
- 26 cila kosok.
 ts'íla ku=zúqw.
 like DET=dead
 as if dead.
- 27 Tlak tapapila šama,
 T'ak ta=pápel7=a sáma7
 go.along DET=one.human=EXIS white.person
 Along came a white man,
- 29 Xwit inłampa šit'in ałtatawaginš;
 cw7it i=n-lhám'=a s-7ilhen l=ta=wáken-s(=a).
 a.lot PL.DET=LOC-put.in=EXIS NOM-eat in=DET=wagon-3POSS(=EXIS)
 with a lot of food loaded in his wagon;
- 30-32 Acxanaš taxwaluxwa cila kosok ałtaxwałła,
 Áts'x-en-as ta=xwgwálcw=a ts'íla ku=zúqw l=ta=c.wálh=a,
 see-DIR-3TRANS DET=fox=EXIS like DET=dead in=DET=road=EXIS
 he saw the fox lying as if dead in the road,
- 32-33 Niłtlo šuč:
 nílh=t'u7 s=(ts)ut=s:
 FOC=so NOM=say=3POSS
 so then he said:
- 34-35 =Tawi, ama ča kosposx; xoiłkan kwan;
 "Ta wi, áma ts7a ku=spzú7! Cúy'=lhkan kwan;
 EXCLAM good this DET=animal gonna=1SG.SUBJ take(DIR)
 "Say, this is a nice animal! I'm going to take it;

36 †acoxnani†tlo šok'nan
 <lh=áts'x-en-an>, nílh=t'u7 súqw'-en-an
 <HYP=see-DIR-1SG.TRANS> FOC=so skin-DIR-1SG.TRANS
 <Since I saw it>, then I'll skin it,

37-38 atlaxa štawminan tašipaišša.
 <aylh> s=táw-min-an ta=sip'áz'-s=a
 <then> NOM=sell-RED-1SG.TRANS DET=skin-3POSS=EXIS
 <And then> I'll sell its skin."

39-40 Ni†tlo šxatanaš taxwaluxwa,
 Nílh=t'u7 s=cát-an'-as ta=xwgwálcw=a,
 FOC=so NOM=lift-DIR-3TRANS DET=fox=EXIS
 So then he lifted up the fox,

40-41 N†amanaš tawagina.
 nham'-án-as (l=)ta=wákn=a
 LOC-put.in-3TRANS (in=)DET=wagon=EXIS
 and he put it in his wagon.

[Column II:]

1-2 Ni†tlo šmk'mk'ilax taxwaluxwa altawikna.
 Nílh=t'u7 s=meq'.meq'-flc ta=xwgwálcw=a l=ta=wákn=a
 FOC=so NOM=full[REDUP]-AUT DET=fox=EXIS in=DET=wagon=EXIS
 So then the fox stuffed himself full in the wagon.

2 Mkr, ni†tlo štlikwilixš
 Meq', nílh=t'u7 s=t'elkw-flc=s,
 full FOC=so NOM=dismount-AUT
 When he was full, he got off,

3 Ni†tlo španč altankiapa,
 Nílh=t'u7 s=p'an't=s l=ta=nk'yáp=a
 FOC=so NOM=return=3POSS at=DET=coyote=EXIS
 then went back to where the coyote was.

4 Ni†tlo šuč:
 Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s:
 FOC=so NOM=return=3POSS
 Then he said:

5 =Acxinš, nkiap, mkrkan.
 Áts'x-en-ts, Nk'yap, meq'=kán
 see-DIR-1SG.OBJ Coyote full=1SG.SUBJ
 "Look at me, coyote, I'm full.

7-8 Ama†ka †xilmux ašinš.
 Áma=lhkacw lh=xíl-em=acw e=s7énts
 good=2SG.SUBJ HYP=do.like-MID=1SG.CONJ to=me
 "You'd be good if you did the same as me."

- 8 Xoma†, šut nkiap.
 “Hú7malh,” tsut ta=nk’yáp=a.
 Goodbye say DET=coyote=EXIS
 “Goodbye,” said the coyote.
- 10-11 Ni†tlošinaš nkiapa kičlix altaxwa††a.
 Nílh=t’u7 s=nas (ta=)nk’yáp=a kíts-lec l=ta=c.wálh=a,
 FOC=so NOM=go (DET=)coyote=EXIS lie.down-AUT in=DET=road=EXIS
 Then the coyote went and lay down in the road.
- 11 Tlak tapapila šama.
 T’ak ta=pápal7=a sáma7
 go.along DET=one=human=EXIS white.person
 Along came a white man,
- 12 Acxanaš nkiapa,
 Áts’x-en-as [ta=]nk’yáp=a
 see-DIR-3TRANS [DET=]coyote=EXIS
 he saw the coyote,
- 13-14 Ni†tlo škalilminaš;
 Nílh=t’u7 s=qlíl-min-as;
 FOC=so NOM=angry-RED-3TRANS
 then he got angry with him;
- 14-15 Ni†tlo †siknaš, altamulxa;
 Nílh=t’u7 sek-en-ás l=ta=múlc=a,
 FOC=so beat-DIR-3TRANS with=DET=stick=EXIS
 then he beat him with a stick.
- 16-17 Itlxšam nkiapa, ni†tlo šxulilš;
 Ít’x-ts-am’ [ta=]nk’yáp=a nílh=t’u7 s=cúlel=s;
 scream-mouth-MID [DET=]coyote=EXIS FOC=so NOM=run.away=3POSS
 Coyote screamed and ran away;
- 17-18 Xwaitlo ksmkrš.
 Cw7ay=t’u7 kw=s=meq’=s.
 NEG=so DET=NOM=full=3POSS
 he didn’t get to eat his fill.

4 Linguistic notes on the texts

The value of these parallel texts is twofold. First, they are among the earliest texts, as opposed to wordlists, to have been put into writing in either language. Second, there is some interesting evidence in each which can deepen our knowledge of both languages’ historical development and usage. Notes regarding these points follow.

4.1 Features of the Chinook Jargon text

Overall the story is in extremely clear, standard Chinook Jargon. The grammar, which in the case of such an isolating language is essentially the same as saying the syntax, would be perfectly intelligible to any speaker of the language, though it shows some minor deviation from norms (see the end of the following list). It is mostly in lexicon that the text is innovative. New words are introduced:

- The use of <Foks> is nonstandard for the language (again, taking the Grand Ronde variety as our metric, for reasons already enumerated), and the /f/ of English has not been assimilated to the overall phonology of Chinook Jargon. By contrast, elsewhere in *KW*, it has, as in the word *<paia> “fire”.

- <Kayuti> also is decidedly nonstandard, and the spelling suggests a regional vernacular English source.

- <lidawn> appears to be a local innovation, and again originates in colloquial English: “lay down” is to this day familiar in the region for standard “lie down”.

- <halo> is unknown to the authors from other Chinook Jargon sources, and is another word presumably taken from local spoken English. Note that a few decades after the publication of “Fox and Cayooty”, the same author wrote (Le Jeune 1925: 32):

“Of course, now all over, the salutations are made in English. The above [a list of Secwepemctsin greetings with literal translations such as ‘thou reachest us’] goes on [sic] to show that there are no corresponding expressions in the native languages.”

- <sil> for “sell” is a replacement of one of the most common Chinook Jargon words, /makuk/, with yet another English word likely to be heard and known by indigenous interlocutors in their contacts with nonnatives.

- <čomp> from English “jump” is another, replacing the very common standard word /supəna/.

Also, standard words are used in innovative ways:

- <Talapus> as a synonym for <Foks> is not normative, as the trots above show. (Some of the old sources on Chinook Jargon, e.g. Griva n.d., also have <tiskoko> for “fox”.)

- Neither is <Lilu> as a synonym for <Kayuti>. Interestingly, Charlie Mack in telling the story of “The Copper Hoop” (Bouchard and Kennedy 1977) has Coyote and Wolf as close friends, as opposed to the common Plateau scenario of Fox as sidekick to Coyote. Whether Father Le Jeune was confused in writing the *Kamloops Wawa* account of this story is open to question.

- The negative <wik> is used instead of a more standard /hilu/ “nothing, there is no...” in Column I, line 21. (This occurs often in *Kamloops Wawa* Jargon, e.g. in the idiom *<wik kata> [literally “no how”] to express inability.)

- <iawa> “there” is used in the narrative to mean “and then” or “now...”, much as /niʔ=t'uʔ/ in the St'át'imcets text.

- <kalkala> is Le Jeune's idiosyncratic version of this standard word. How he managed to drop one syllable of the word is undetermined; he did use a variant *<kalakala> also in *Kamloops Wawa* sometimes. In any case, his use of the word to mean “animal” is highly unusual. It is generally considered that standard /máwič/, literally “deer”, can be pressed into service to mean “animal [generic]” (viz. Thomas 1970:88). In fact, on the same page as our bilingual text we find lines 1 and 2) next to a picture of rats at play with an egg, <Nanič ukuk mokst tanas mawič>: “Look at these two little animals!”

- <tkop man> seems a calque on the common English phrase “White man”. The Grand Ronde norm would prefer /bástən (man)/ “American”, or indeed /kInčóč (mán)/ “[White] Canadian”—a more generic term being lacking.

- The presence or absence of <kopa> “PREP” and <pus> “for; if” is used in novel ways. The phrasing <patl kopa...makmak> “full of...food” stands in for the standard, which has /páʔ/ without the preposition.

Conversely, <saliks iaka> “mad at him” is nonstandard for /sálɪks kʰapa yáka/. And <kakwa mimlus>, <kuli ipsut>, and <klatwa lidawn> could each properly take a middle word /pus/ in the standard.

- Another syntactic peculiarity is the placement of the adverb after the subject pronoun in the second column (15-18) <iaka aiak kuli>, where the normative variety would prefer /ayáq ya(ka) kúri/. Compare this with (1-3) of the same column: <Talapus ayu makmak>.

To summarize, the language of this Chinook Jargon text is a quite fluent variety, yet distinct from the norm. Whether this is due solely to the idiosyncrasies of Father Le Jeune or reflects the shared speech habits of the Kamloops-area Jargon speech community remains indeterminate. We suspect that the nature of the nonstandard words—loans from informal English—in this speech variety is evidence for borrowing, and use, of these words in everyday Indian-White contact situations, in which Chinook Jargon was the medium of communication. Trade is among perhaps the most likely settings for such interactions, but more research is called for to resolve this question.

4.2 Features of the St’át’imcets text

The style of “Fox and Cayooty” is vernacular St’át’imcets, recognizably from the Upper (“Fountain”) dialect, as one would expect from a story collected in the Pavilion (Ts’k’wáyl’acw) area. Pavilion is at the extreme North-East corner of St’át’imc territory, directly adjacent to the Secwépemc (Shuswap) territory of Hat Creek and Bonaparte. Diagnostically Upper St’át’imcets vocabulary includes the following words and phrases:

k’a=lh=wá7=acw	literally, “there you are, apparently” (typical Upper St’át’imc greeting, not commonly used by the Lower St’át’imc (Lil’wat7úlmecc)).
tayt	“hungry” (< Shuswap; the Lower St’át’imcets equivalent is q’7al’men.)
s-7ilhen	“food” (the Lower St’át’imcets equivalent is s-q’a7)
kíts-lec	“to lie down” (also used by the Lower St’át’imc, who, however, prefer to use <i>exíts</i> for human and quasi-human characters)

Grammatically, the story is generally unremarkable; of some note are

(i) the use of two overt arguments in the transitive sentence in Column 1, lines 10-11. It has been claimed that in contemporary St’át’imcets, the use of such sentences is the result of English influence. This seems unlikely, however, for “Fox and Cayooty”; the story-teller is likely to have known English only as a third or fourth language.

(ii) the rather extensive use of overt nominals throughout the story, even when the referents of those nominals have already been clearly established in prior discourse (see for example Column 1, lines 25-6, and Column 2, lines 10-11). This indicates that the ‘anaphoric’ use of overt nominals in discourse is quite readily available in turn-of-the-century St’át’imcets, as in the contemporary language.

(iii) the auxiliary-subject-verb order in Column 2, lines 10-11. This word order – which is easy to elicit from contemporary Upper St’át’imcets speakers – has not been recorded in a text before. Its presence here provides evidence that it is not a recent innovation.

(iv) the use of the preposition l= as a general oblique marker (see Column 1, line 13, Column 2, line 4). This is quite characteristic of contemporary Upper St’át’imcets, but has not been recorded before in older textual materials, where the oblique marker is usually the preposition e= (as seen here in Column 2, line 8). This indicates that the use of l= is not an innovation, but a long-standing dialectal variant.

5 Conclusions

A look at the present bilingual text shows us a fluent record of a distinct variety of Chinook Jargon, apparently undergoing great influence from vernacular English. The St'át'imcets version is an early document of the speech variety spoken perhaps closest to Kamloops, and exhibits several features of interest for the historical linguistic study of the language. The alphabets used are more or less adequate to the task, the Chinook Jargon orthography being significantly more efficient than is the St'át'imcets. This presumably relates to the fact that Father Le Jeune made comparatively extensive use of the former language.

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Appendix: key to St'át'imcets (van Eijk) orthography

orthographic value	phonemic value	orthographic value	phonemic value
p	p	n'	ḥ
p'	p̥	z	z
t	t	z'	z'
t'	t̥	l	l
ts	č (c)	l'	l̥
ts'	č̥	r	ɣ
k	k	r'	ɣ'
kw	k ^w	g	ʃ
k'	k̥	gw	ʃ ^w
k'w	k̥ ^w	g'	ʃ'
q	q	g'w	ʃ' ^w
qw	q ^w	ʔ	ʔ
q'	q̥	y	y
q'w	q̥ ^w	y'	y̥
s	š (s)	w	w
lh	ʈ	w'	w̥
c	x	i	i
cw	x ^w	ii	i̥
x	x̥	e	ə
xw	x̥ ^w	v	ə̃
h	h	u	u
m	m	o	ũ
m'	m̥	a	a
n	n	ao	ã

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