Revisiting Joe Peter's "Chinook" — Twenty Years Later*

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Abstract: In attendance at ICSNL 37 (Bellingham, 2002), Tony Johnson and I presented "an exploratory investigation" of 30 twenty-minute audio recordings made in 1941 by John P. Harrington's assistant John Paul Marr. These recordings consist of English prompts read by Marr; followed by extemporaneous translations into Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon), made by a Cowlitz-identified resident of Yakama Reservation named Joe Peter. The audio quality of the tape dubbings Tony and I had to work from was uneven at best. Fortunately, there now exist high-resolution digital sound files of the original recordings, making them much more accessible. I append a complete transcript of one of these 30 sound files here. With this and other documentation in hand, I offer some historical and linguistic observations on Joe Peter's "Chinook". I also comment on Marr's motivation for recording it at such impressive length.

Keywords: Chinuk Wawa, Chinook Jargon, John P. Harrington, John Paul Marr, Joe Peter

1 The recordings (Marr 1941)

Originally: fifteen two-sided aluminum discs, twenty minutes (give or take a minute or two) to a side — 30 X 20 = 10 hours of English prompts read by J. P. Harrington's associate John Paul ("Jack") Marr; followed by extemporaneous translations from Joe Peter into a language that Marr referred to as "pure Chinook". Marr's modus operandi is described in Zenk and Johnson (2003:323): "with the recording machine running, Marr read from translated portions of Boas (1894) [*Chinook Texts*], breaking the latter into single-sentence, multi-sentence, and phrasal prompts . . . ."

On checking the website of the National Anthropological Archives one day, I noticed that these recordings are now available online as mp3 tracks; and furthermore, that the language was identified there as "Kathlamet Chinook", that is, as Chinookan. But Tony Johnson and myself, working from previously available tape dubbings, had earlier positively identified the language as Chinuk Wawa (autonym of the language known historically as Chinook or Chinook Jargon — "Jargon" in local English, including Joe Peter's in Harrington 1942) (Zenk & Johnson 2003). Notwithstanding the Chinookan origins of much of its lexicon, Chinuk Wawa lacks the productive agglutinative morphology of Chinookan and is in no way to be confused with it (allowing for certain qualifications as discussed below: Section 3).

On seeing this misidentification, I was moved to send an email to Ives Goddard of the Smithsonian Institution, pointing out the error and calling attention to our long-standing interest in these recordings. Ives put me in touch with Daisy Njoku at the National Anthropological Archives, who generously provided us with high-resolution (.wav) files of the recordings. The audio quality of these proves to be far superior to the tape dubbings that Tony and I struggled

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with 20 years ago. To date, I have transcribed two of the 30 sound files (leaving only nine hours and twenty minutes to go!), including the one that Tony and I sampled twenty years ago: NAA sound file sinaa_00000694_side_1, which consists of 169 prompt-plus-translation pairs (see appendix). Tony and I limited our 2002 ICSNL presentation to the first 25 of the latter sets, mainly due to the intensive (and time-consuming) effort it took for us to identify Chinuk Wawa word-forms through repeated plays of the tape dubbing. The remainder of our original transcript is riddled with numerous, often gaping lacunae, which I am pleased to say are largely (albeit not entirely) absent from the new transcript. With respect to those first 25 sets: the two transcripts show matching word-forms for roughly 95% of tokens. Among the 5% that don't match, most are accounted for by word-forms missing from the earlier transcript. But there are also some conflicting identifications, which may serve as a cautionary: while I am by and large confident in my grasp of Joe Peter's Chinuk Wawa (as I point out in Section 4 below, it shows much in common with the language as I know it from other lower Columbia region sources), "confirmation bias" (conditioned by my very familiarity with those other sources) cannot be ruled out, and I must recognize that my transcripts very likely contain some (hopefully not very many) misidentified word-forms.

2 Joe Peter — the man and his languages

Joe Peter (1894–1959) was born at Olequa, Washington, into a family that had both Cowlitz proper (Salishan speaking) and Upper Cowlitz (Taytnapam Sahaptin speaking) connections; he grew up in the Cowlitz River region of western Washington. In about 1919, in common with other Cowlitz identified individuals of his generation, he took up residence at Yakama Reservation (Rick McClure, personal communication, 2021). Harrington's (1942:mf1_r18_0009–0068) 60-odd pages of fieldnotes from Peter include both Salishan and Sahaptin terms, primarily for local flora and fauna. Kinkade incorporated the Salishan terms ("about 35" according to his count; I count more like 25) in his *Cowlitz Dictionary*, while observing that "significant discrepancies from other Cowlitz data . . . suggest that [Peter] had not used Cowlitz for some time, and was quite rusty" (Kinkade 2004:xiv). By contrast, Harrington's fieldnotes include at least 62 terms from Peter identified as Sahaptin: 34 as both Upper Cowlitz (Taytnapam) and Yakama, the remainder marked as one or the other ("the Upper Cowlitz is pretty nearly the same as the Yak[ama]" — Joe Peter in Harrington 1942:mf1_r18_0043). There is also a smattering of terms marked "jargon" (Chinuk Wawa); not to mention the fact that Peter obviously volunteered most of his information to Harrington in English.

To the foregoing emerging picture of Joe Peter's multilingual repertoire may be added impressions gathered from auditing Marr's recordings. Marr reads from a literary source — the free-translations accompanying Boas's (1894) Chinook proper (Lower Chinook) texts. Zenk and Johnson's (2003:324) following observation regarding Peter's Chinuk Wawa translations is just as indicative of Peter's comprehension of literary English, as it is of his fluency in Chinuk Wawa: "Peter almost always responds to Marr's prompts without perceptible hesitation, and the Chinuk Wawa that follows is likewise both rapid and fluid". Only here and there does Peter fail to hear or comprehend a prompt or part of a prompt. In such cases, noncomprehension is usually clearly evident from his response — which is: no response! As in this rather amusing exchange, triggered when Marr, reading from page 171 of *Chinook Texts*, encounters the name of a game: "wacakoai−i" as spelled by Boas — [wɑʃɑkwɑi.i] or perhaps [wɑʃɑku(w)ɑi.i], more-or-less (going by Boas's phonetic alphabet of that period). Marr proceeds to read the name as if it were

meant as standard English (see preface to appendix for an explanation of the alphabet used to spell Joe Peter's Chinuk Wawa):

(1) JPM: they played "wah kah KOO lee"
JP: [no response]

JPM: "[wa kʰa / kʰúuli]" / it's a game
JP: *ɬaska mamuk-ˈhihi ukuk "wagakʰúuli."*
3PL play.it that wagakuli (appendix set 36)

Here and elsewhere, Marr reveals his naïveté — his lack equally of academic training/background and local knowledge. He was, as is well known, Harrington's kid assistant, who seems to have experienced the long (often solitary, as here) trips that Harrington sent him on in search of last speakers of Indigenous languages as a youthful adventure. Albeit the many hours of tedious work that went into the aluminum discs he cut (not always successfully, be it noted) from speakers of many languages also reveals that he possessed exceptional stamina and grit.

3 So why ten whole hours of Chinuk Wawa?

In my email to Ives Goddard, I proposed that Marr's ten hours of audio with Joe Peter could have been motivated by an elaborate plan hatched by Harrington:

> I'm assuming that Harrington put Marr up to this. I wonder whether his idea was to run a linguistic experiment inspired by Boas's following statement in the introduction to Chinook Texts: "we [i. e. Boas and the speaker, Charles Cultee] conversed only by means of the Chinook jargon." So perhaps Harrington wanted to hear a back-translation (English to Jargon, the English originating from Boas's translations of Cultee's Jargon translations of the original Chinookan). Now, that's just my speculation. I don't think Harrington would have conflated "Chinook" (Jargon) with "Chinook" (Chinookan), though that confusion was frequent in Pacific NW history.

Since then, I have explored available correspondence between Harrington and Marr relating to Marr's 1941 Pacific Northwest fieldtrip (Harrington 1941), and must report that I find no evidence of anything so calculated and deliberate. While Harrington directs Marr towards particular informants and indicates areas of interest to follow up with them, he also encourages Marr to exercise initiative. Nor does he come across as a micro-manager — much more like a coach delivering pep talks to the team (Harrington to Marr 3/22/41: "happy to think at last you are making hay while the sun shines — oh boy isn't this splendid"); albeit the team must also be ever mindful of its expenses (Harrington to Marr 4/8/41, concerning Fred Yelkes, a Molala-speaking resident of Portland that Marr recorded: "do try to park the car in Fred's back yard and sleep in it, it will save lots of money") (Harrington 1941:mf9_r14_0145, 0169).

Marr's letters to Harrington (1941:mf9_r7_0637–0645) establish that he recorded Joe Peter during the first week of June 1941. The correspondence between Harrington and Marr for the period between March and July 1941 reveals that one of Harrington's goals for Marr was to locate speakers of "pure Chinook", by which Harrington meant the Lower Chinook language transcribed by Boas from Charles Cultee some 50 years earlier. A man named John Clipp, then still alive, was reputed to know that language. Harrington to Marr 4/29/41:

> Have you received the boas [sic] book giving stories in the Chinook (Baker's Bay) language . . . ? It is vital for you to get this for getting the stories translated from English by John Clip [sic]. . . . Watch out that John Clip does not give you the WRONG LANGUAGE, OR SWITCH CONSTANTLY TO THE WRONG LANGUAGE. I went to the Lib[rary] of Cong[ress] yest[erday] and got a special list of Baker's Bay CHINOOK words, and mailed them to you by air mail so that you can constantly check on him with those words. Checking by words is the only safe way. Reference by language means little. For instance there may be ten languages all popularly called CHINOOK. (Harrington 1941:mf9_r14_0193)

Marr first visited John Clipp in May of 1941, but found him unwilling to give information. In very short order, however, he was on the track of another individual he had been led to believe knew the "pure Chinook" language — Joe Peter, named in the following letter dated 6/2/41:

> Have finally traced Joe Peter up the river to where his camp <u>was</u>. He has left only one day before I arrived to some unknown place to pick cherries. . . . Will keep on until I find him though. Pure Chinook will be well worth the search. (Harrington 1941:mf9_r7_0637–0638)

Then, in a letter dated the very next day (6/3/41):

> God has graced us at last! I have been working Joe Peter, getting pure Chinook from him. It has been twenty or thirty years since he last spoke it, but he remembers excellent [sic]. Joe was picking cherries at about 7 dollars a day. . . . I told Joe I would pay him seven dollars a day, he wouldn't have to labor hard as picking cherries and we would work in a room up town. His boss wouldn't even know about it and he could come back to work in a few days. It worked and we are now recording good chinook [sic]. Most of his words correspond with the words in Charley Cultee's book – a few differ. But it is Pure Chinook. I am thrilled pink at the very thought of this chinook coming to me just when my hopes had almost vanished. If we can get enough of this pure chinook and some of this Pe El lingo from Kate Charley well, then I will know that my life was not in vain. I will feel that I have accomplished something But! only after I have all of this ancient lingo on records will I feel this way! . . . Am having the Cultee-Boas book dictated sentence by sentence. That is, what he can get of it. (Harrington 1941:mf9_r7_0638–0639)

Marr did not receive the following letter and additional resource (Boas's *Kathlamet Texts*) from Harrington before finding Joe Peter and recording him. The letter is dated 6/5/41, while Marr writes on 6/4/41 (apparently from somewhere near The Dalles, Oregon) that "I have just now received your letter dated May 28 the first letter since I left Taholah [Washington]" (Harrington 1941:mf9_r7_0641). It seems a puzzle why Harrington would think that Boas's Kathlamet volume would be any more suitable than the Chinook volume for review with Joe Peter. Did he suspect that Peter would very likely not have known the "Baker's Bay pure Chinook", but may have had familiarity with another Chinookan dialect? Also, was Harrington not aware that Marr lacked the requisite training to fully penetrate Boas's Chinookan transcriptions — key for assessing the "purity" of Peter's "Chinook"?

> After Boas got the wonderful stories from Charley Cultee in the Baker's Bay pure Chinook, misspelling I am sure all the words, Charley Cultee gave him some more stories in the Cathlamet dialect, and Boas made the Cathlamet stories book . . . . I don't know for sure if you have this book with you or not, but it is in the extinct (???) Cathlamet lingo and will be fine to go through with Joe Peter. For fear that you don't have this Kathlamet book, I'm SENDING it to you addressing it to you at Olympia this same mail as this airmail letter. (Harrington 1941:mf9_r14_0229)

In a letter bearing the very same date as Harrington's foregoing communication (6/5/41), Marr writes of having "finished getting what Joe Peter knew of Pure Chinook". As naive as he clearly was, Marr was beginning to get an inkling of the true nature of what he was hearing from Joe Peter:

> I caught him [Joe Peter] many times substituting Jargon words instead of pure chinook when he couldn't think of the Pure Chinook word. He had to think a long time in between times as it has been [unintel] (thirty) years since he last spoke any of this Pure chinook at all. (Harrington 1941:mf9_r7_0642)

Harrington apparently had his own doubts. In a later letter to Marr (dated 7/4/41) he wrote:

> Do you in your conviction believe that Joe Peters [sic] know [sic] much of the pure Chinook lingo, the man who was picking cherries near the Dalles? Please give in detail your impression after having worked with him as regards his knowledge of the pure Chinook language. (Harrington 1941:mf9_r14_0253)

When he visited Joe Peter at Yakama Reservation the next year, Harrington made no note of any attempts to elicit Chinookan from him. His transcriptions from those visits are confined to Cowlitz (Salishan) and Taytnapam-Yakama Sahaptin terms along with, yes, a smattering of "jargon" — clearly labeled as such.

So how could Marr have imagined that he was getting pure Chinookan from Joe Peter, when what he was really getting was pure Chinuk Wawa? We must remember that nearly half of the lexicon of lower Columbia Chinuk Wawa is of Chinookan origin, with a substantial contribution also from local Salishan languages. As spoken by Indigenous people of Peter's and older generations, Chinuk Wawa words of Chinookan and local Salishan origin were pronounced more or less as they would be in the contributing languages. So yes, Marr would have heard a good deal of Chinookan from Joe Peter. And yes, he would have been able to make out a fair amount of it in Boas's *Chinook Texts*. Only, the Chinookan part of the Chinuk Wawa lexicon contains but very few words derived from Chinookan inflected verbs, while those few which are so derived are morphologically frozen forms (for example: *miłayt* 'sit, be there, remain' and *iskam* 'take, get', both represented by tokens in the appended sample, are derived from Chinookan verbs inflected for imperative mood, but function as simplex forms in Chinuk Wawa) (see Zenk & Johnson 2005). Inflected verbs constitute the very beating heart of Chinookan grammar, and it is their absence/nonfunctionality in Chinuk Wawa that induces the sharp, bright line setting Chinuk Wawa off from Chinookan, the latter including but not restricted to its "pure" Baker's Bay variety. Marr was far from being the first sojourner along the lower Columbia to fall prey to confusing the two "Chinooks" — a confusion, indeed, seen not infrequently down to the present day.

4 Joe Peter's Chinuk Wawa — some preliminary observations

A great deal could be said about linguistic aspects of Joe Peter's Chinuk Wawa based on the appended sample. Since that sample is dwarfed by the sheer volume of data yet to be processed, a comprehensive description is best left to the future. I confine myself here to pointing out some similarities and differences between Joe Peter's Chinuk Wawa (as illustrated in the sample) and the Chinuk Wawa of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon (as sampled in Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project 2012: hereafter, CWDP), the variety of the language with which I am most familiar. See Zenk Johnson (2003:325–326) for some additional such observations.

4.1 Lexicon and phonology

By the evidence of the sample, most of Joe Peter's Chinuk Wawa word-forms closely match corresponding word-forms compiled in CWDP. While my prior familiarity with the CWDP variety of the language may have induced a degree of confirmation bias here, I am confident that these matches are very close in most instances. There are also many matching compounds and idiomatic usages, as indicated in the sample by CWDP comparisons accompanying their first occurrences. Intrusions from English are fairly common and are usually easy to identify. There remain a number of unidentified forms (tricky to transcribe due to the marginal audio quality of the recording), at least some of which may be due to intrusions from Peter's other languages. I have proposed possible sources for such forms in sets 58 (Cowlitz Salishan) and 65 (Yakama Sahaptin, with reference to Beavert & Hargus 2009), although it will be observed that both of these matches are rather tenuous.[1] On the other hand, I do not have much of a handle on either of those languages, and it is possible that Peter's Chinuk Wawa shows more influence from one or the other (or both) of them than I have recognized.

While the audio resolution of the digital sound files is not high enough to support a narrow phonetic transcription, it is sufficient to reveal that Peter spoke Chinuk Wawa with a full array of Indigenous phonetic features, as further confirmed by Harrington's (1942) transcriptions of about a dozen "jargon" terms from him. Refer to explanation of the CWDP alphabet prefacing the sample.

4.2 *yaka* '3SG' used with reference to indefinite, abstract, or collective subjects, as well as for 3SG volitional subjects

In the CWDP variety of the language, the usual forms of the 3SG pronoun are *yaka* and *ya*: used with reference to 3SG subjects capable of volition either inherently (e.g., people and animals) or by attribution (e.g., active forces like wind or fire, or through idiosyncratic projections of "personhood" onto inanimate things). The most glaring disjunct between Peter's variety of the language and the CWDP variety comes with respect to Peter's usage of *yaka* not only for 3SG volitional subjects (many examples in the sample), but also for indefinite or abstract subjects; and even as a kind of collective subject devoid of singular:plural contrast (reminiscent of the Chinookan neuter collective element *ł-*, which forms part of the Chinuk Wawa pronouns *łaska* '3PL' and *łaksta* 'who?; someone'). While example (2) is entirely congruent with CWDP usage, example (3) definitely is not: *yaka* here appears to be working like English *it* in *it became dark*. First lines of each set are Marr's prompts.

(2) in the evening he came home
chaku-ˈpulakʰli yaka chaku-ˈhaws
become-night 3SG comes.in
'(As) it grew dark, he came home.'
(cf. CWDP *chaku-haws* 'come in, come home'). (set 52)

[1] David Robertson considers the Salish intrusion suggested for 58 a stretch. Also note: while Peter's term for 'cougar', *swawa*, is identical to the Cowlitz term for the same animal, that usage is known from other Chinuk Wawa varieties, although it does not appear in CWDP.

(3) when it grew dark he awoke
yaka chaku-'pulak^{h}li alta yaka chaku-'miɬayt
3SG become-night then 3SG become-be.there
'*It* grew dark then he became present.' (set 149).

Example (4) illustrates *yaka* used with apparent collective reference.

(4) and the following morning the elkskins arose / and became elk
alta come next *'san k^{h}anawi ukuk yaka 'mitxwit alta*
then come next day all those 3SG stand now
uk 'mulak yaka skin / yaka chaku-'mulak alta k^{h}anawi
that elk 3SG.POS skin 3SG become-elk now all
'Then come next day, there stood up all the skins of those elks / all became elks now.'
(sets 156 –157).

4.3 3SG emphasis form *yaχka* available for focusing special attention on a third person (singular or plural) subject, object, or possessor

The use of this special emphasis form is also characteristic of some Grand Ronde community speakers. In the following CWDP example, it is used with reflexive intent:

(5) (from CWDP 257:)
'yaχka ya nanich k^{h}upa looking-glass / *'yaχka*
3SG.EMPH 3SG see PREP looking-glass 3SG.EMPH
'It was HER (herself) she saw in the mirror — HER (herself)!'

Examples (6) and (7) from the sample show Joe Peter using *yaχka* evidently with like intent:

(6) and he was burned
alta yaka chaku-'paya yaχka
now 3SG get.burned 3SG.EMPH
'Now he got burned up — HE (himself).' (set 19)

(7) he hid himself inside
yaka mamuk-'ipsut yaχka yawá 'ɬaχani
3SG hides.it 3SG.EMPH there outside
'He hides HIM (himself) there outside [sic].' (set 125)

In example (8) *yaχka* is used to cross-reference two different referents of the same noun (*kənim* 'canoe(s)') within the same clause. Makes for awkward close translation!

(8) these are not the same canoes he said
yaka 'wawa k^{h}anawi ukuk 'kəním wik 'yaχka ukuk 'kəním /
3SG say all those canoes not 3SG.EMPH those canoes
χluym[a] ɬaska
different 3PL
'He said all of those canoes are not the *PARTICULAR those canoes* / they are different.'

(set 25)

In example (9) *yaẓka* is used as an attention-focuser, as also in CWDP:

(9) there was the panther
'yaẓka *ukuk* *'kʰupá* *uk /* *ukuk* *'swawaʔ*
3SG.EMPH that.one over.there [sttr] that cougar
'The one over there was the cougar.' (set 43)

4.4 Short and long forms of frequently used function words

In Zenk and Johnson (2003:325) we speculated that Peter used the CWDP short form *munk-* for the causative auxiliary verb, along with the usual regional form *mamuk-* (the latter is illustrated by examples 1 and 7 above). Indeed, my initial transcripts of the sample showed a number of instances of *munk-*. But on re-auditing the latter, I found myself unsure whether I had really heard an independent *munk-*, or just an unstressed *mamuk-* dissolving into the ambient background noise —and/or a slur-form: [mɑ.ũk], more or less. My suspicion now is that Peter uses *mamuk-* consistently, and that marginal audibility cannot be ruled out in the case of apparent exceptions. Peter does clearly use both the short form *uk* and the full form *ukuk* for the demonstrative pronoun ('that; that one'), also a regional usage. Short and long forms of personal pronouns are well exemplified in CWDP, but are unusual regionally. Here and there Peter shows *ya* not *yaka* for the 3SG, although stutters or false starts may account for some if not all of these instances.

4.5 Regionally unusual features shared with CWDP

Duplicated word-forms, characteristic of CWDP but almost unknown in regional Chinuk Wawa, are found in sets 26, 59, 140–141, 146, and (probably) 34, 164. Sets 31, 32, 38, 55, 62, and 78 show Peter attaching *hayu-* (derived from the adverb and adjective *hayú* 'much, many; often') to verbs as a marker of durative aspect, a usage likewise almost unknown outside of CWDP, and taken by Robertson (2018) as a linguistic indicator (along with duplicated word forms and other features) of the language's creolization in its lower Columbia cradle. Examples (10–12) below show duplicated word-forms; examples (13–14) durative *hayu-* (glossed 'ongoing' here). Note that examples (10), (11), and (13) provide further illustrations of *yaka* '3SG' used with impersonal or collective reference.

(10) the others had holes and were [not strong]
ukuk wəẓt ya / ukuk *'ẓluyma* *yaka* *'miɬayt* *ɬxwáp-ɬxwàp* *'kʰanawi*
[false start] those different 3SG have hole-hole all
'Those different ones all have a lot of holes.'
(CWDP *ɬxwap* 'hole') (set 26)

(11) and counters lay there
ukuk *'c'həm* *hayu-hayu* *yaka* *'miɬayt*
those.ones mark many-many 3SG be.there
'Those (for) marking lots and lots were there.'
(CWDP *hayu* 'many, much; lots of') (set 59)

(12) she turned over all the elkskins

yaka	*mamuk-'k'ilapay-k'ilapay*	*'kʰanawi*
3SG	turn.over-over	all

'She turned all of them over and over.'
(CWDP *munk-k'ilapay* 'return it; reverse it') (set 141)

(13) they played dice with beaver teeth

ɬaska	*hayu-'hihi*	*yaka*	*ukuk*	*anqati*	*ʔina*	*yaka*	*'litá*
3PL	ongoing-play	3SG	those.ones	long.ago	beaver	3SG.POS	teeth

'They were playing the ones that long ago (i.e., originally?) were beaver teeth.' (set 32)

(14) he reached his house he heard batons

yaka	*'ɬatwa*	*kʰupa*	*yaka*	*'haws*	*yaka*	*hayu- /*	*hayu-'kəmtəks*	*[unintel]*
3SG	go	PREP	3SG.POS	house	3SG	[sttr]	ongoing-perceive	[???]

'He went to his house, he was hearing ???'
(cf. CWDP *hayu-kəmtəks* 'hear [lit., ongoing-perceive]') (set 62)

5 Concluding remarks

Marr's claim that Joe Peter had not used "Chinook" much in the preceding 20 or 30 years is quite significant, albeit it could to some extent have been motivated by puzzlement over why Peter's Chinook seemed less "pure" than expected (maybe the man hadn't used the language in a long time?). Harrington's 1942 notations show a preponderance of Sahaptin terms from Peter; and furthermore, suggest that his wife, Agnes Peter, was a Sahaptin speaker. Taking into consideration also Kinkade's assessment of Joe Peter's Cowlitz Salishan as "quite rusty", we are left to wonder whether he spoke principally Sahaptin and English during his years of residency at Yakama Reservation. Taking Marr's claim at face value, it would follow that Peter's main experience of Chinuk Wawa dated to his earlier life in the Cowlitz homeland, before he relocated to Yakama Reservation. If that is true, that early-life experience must have been intensive and prolonged, otherwise we would be hard put to account for the impressive fluency and fluidity of the Chinuk Wawa heard on these recordings. This is a language that Joe Peter obviously felt very much at home in.

Nor would a high degree of fluency in Chinuk Wawa have been unusual in Cowlitz country around the turn of the last century, considering what we know of that region's early post-contact history. One of the cradles of lower Columbia creolized Chinuk Wawa lay just to the south, at Fort Vancouver, where a community composed in large part of French-speaking fur company employees and their local Indian wives had formed during the 1820s–30s. In the course of time, some of these mixed or metis families relocated to French Prairie in the northern Willamette Valley, from whence a number later found their way to Grand Ronde Reservation (founded 1856). Other Fort Vancouver metis families went in the other direction, relocating to the Cowlitz Prairie region. While there are historical references to Chinuk Wawa in use in and around Cowltiz Prairie, to date there has been little if any linguistic description of it. Marr's trove of Chinuk Wawa data from Joe Peter is potentially of considerable interest in this regard.

Of course, we would like to know more about Joe Peter's experience of the language, who he used it with and under what circumstances — detail that is often difficult or impossible to come by so long after the fact. One possible direction for future research is presented by Peter's family

background (Harrington 1942; Robert Boyd personal communication 2019; Rick McClure personal communication 2021). His father was Captain Peter Wyanneshut, who had acquired the inherited name Wyanneshut (Harrington: <wαyά·nαʃαt>; IPA transliteration: [wʌjʌ́:nʌʃʌt]) from his own father following the latter's death. It is possible that the older Wyanneshut (Joe Peter's paternal grandfather) was the same man known to early Willamette Valley settlers as "Wyanoshut" (variously spelled) or Tenas McKay, who first enters recorded history at Fort Vancouver in 1835 and was known subsequently as the leader of a southwest Washington "Klickitat" band that had crossed the Columbia River to settle in the Willamette Valley. If true, this identification points to a family background with multi-generational experience of the kinds of contact situations historically strongly associated with the use of Chinuk Wawa.

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Appendix: complete transcript of sinaa 694 side 1

Template:

English prompt (John Paul Marr: JPM)
Chinuk Wawa translation (Joe Peter: JP; spelling: CWDP alphabet)*
interlinear glosses
(notes)

JPM's prompts are reproduced word-for-word, minus conventional punctuation or capitalization. The translation is restricted to preliminary glosses on JP's Chinuk Wawa word-forms. It will be observed that the glossing is left somewhat loose, that is, that identical word-forms are not always glossed identically. At least in part (with due allowance for transcriber carelessness!), this reflects the nature of the language: word-meaning is highly context-sensitive in Chinuk Wawa. Note also: compounds are glossed sometimes as complete word-forms (as in *mamuk-wax* 'spill.it', *łush-iliʔi* 'prairie'); sometimes according to their individual constituents (as in *chaku-pulakʰli* 'become-night', *kʰaku-dlet* 'like/as-true'). First occurrences of compounds belonging to the former category are explained in notes. This translation must be considered a first approximation.

*CWDP: Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project (2012), which spells using the Chinuk Wawa alphabet of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon. This alphabet uses English letters for sounds whose values are the same as their English-alphabet counterparts; while using adaptations of Americanist symbols elsewhere. Selected CWDP symbols with IPA equivalents:

CWDP	IPA
a	[aː]~[ʌ]
c'h, k', p', q', t', t'ɬ, t's	[tʃ'], [k'], [p'], [q'], [t'], [tɬ'], [ts']
ə	(variable quality: uniformly short)
i	[iː]~[ɪ]
ɬ, tɬ	[ɬ], [tɬ]
q, qʰ	[q], [qʰ]
u	[uː]~[ʊ] (~[o])
x	[x]
ẋ	[χ]
ʔ	[ʔ]
aw, ay	[aʊ], [aɪ]

Other symbols:

[ ]	(e.g., [*alta*]) uncertainly caught
–	(e.g., *wik–ikta*) joins constituents of compounds
'̲	(e.g., *'ɬun*, *'kəlákəla*) higher prominence of stressed syllable *note:* word-stress (̲́) marked only non-initially
/	speech pause

Other abbreviations:

[sttr]	stutter
[unfin]	unfinished
CT	*Chinook Texts* (Boas 1894)
Cowlitz	Cowlitz Salishan form cited from Kinkade (2004)
JP 18.####	Harrington's (1942) fieldnotes from JP (by microfilm frame number)
Yakama	Yakama Sahaptin form cited from Beavert & Hargus (2009)

sinaa_694_side 1

0:00:19.9

1 he reached still another prairie
*yaka ˈɬaẓ kʰupa ixt ɬush-ˈili.i**
3SG emerge PREP one prairie
(*CWDP *ɬush-iliʔi* 'prairie [lit., good-land]')

2 the third
ukuk ˈɬun
that.one three

3 one half of it burned
ixt ˈsitkum ukuk paya yaka [an] ˈpaya
one half that.one burned 3SG ?on fire
(for: 'one half burned, [rather,] it is on fire')

4 he took one of his buckets and emptied it
ixt yaka ˈkitɬən yaka ˈiskam yaka mamuk ukuk / ˈwaẓ kʰanawi
one 3SG.POS bucket 3SG take 3SG do that.one spill all

5 he took one more bucket and emptied half of it
yaka ˈiskam ixt yaka / ˈkitɬən yaka mamuk-ˈwaẓ sitkum*
3SG take one 3SG.POS bucket 3SG spill.it half
(*CWDP *munk-waẓ* 'spill it')

6 then he reached the woods on one other side of the prairie
*alta yaka ˈɬatwa limulu-stik * yawá ˈinatay kʰupa uk ɬush-ˈili.i*
then 3SG go woods there across PREP that prairie
(**limulu-stik*: idiomatic; lit., 'wild-wood')
0:00:55.1

7 now he had only two buckets [and a half left]

alta *kʰupit* *'makwst-pi-sitkum* *yaka /* *'chək* /* *kʰupá*
now only two-and-half 3SG.POS water over.there
(*JP18.0017: "we call the water tʃɑk [tʃʌk], for in the Nisqually & neighboring dialects tsʊк [tsʊq] is an erection of the penis"; cf. CWDP *tsəqw~tsuq* 'water')

8 he reached another prairie that was almost totally on fire

yaka *'q'oʔ* *kʰupa* *ixt* *ɬush-'ili.i*
3SG arrive PREP one prairie

alta *wik-saya** *'kʰanawi* *yaka* *'paya* *ukuk*
now nearly all 3SG fire that.one
(*CWDP *wik-saya* 'near, nearly, almost')

9 he took one half the bucket and emptied it

yaka *'iskam* *sitkum* *yaka ..kitɬən* *yaka* *mamuk-'wax* *ukuḳ*
3SG take half 3SG.POS bucket 3SG spill.it that.one

10 he took one more bucket

ixt *wəẋt* *yaka 'kitɬən* *yaka* *'iskam*
one again 3SG.POS bucket 3SG take

0:01:22.5

11 now only one bucket was left

kʰupit-'íxt *yaka kitɬən* *[alta]* *'miɬayt*
only-one 3SG.POS bucket ?now be.there

12 he reached another prairie

yaka *'q'o* *[wəẋt]* *kʰupá* *'ixt ɬush-'ili.i*
3SG arrive ?again over.there.at* one prairie
(*CWDP 106 *kʰapá~kʰupá* 1) DEM 'over there'; 2) PREP 'over there at')

13 it was all on fire

kʰanawi *['wal]* *ukuk* *yaka* *'paya*
all ?[w]all that.one 3SG fire

14 he poured out his bucket

yaka *'waẋ* *[al]* *ukuk* *yaka 'kitɬən*
3SG spill ?all that 3SG.POS bucket

15 when he nearly came across he emptied his bucket

yaka *wik-'sayá* *chaku-'inatay*
3SG nearly come-across

[alaa]* *'alta* *yaka* *'kʰanawi* *alta* *yaka 'chək* *yaka* *'waẓ*
?EXCLM now 3SG all now 3SG.POS water 3SG spill
(*cf. CWDP 263 *ala* exclamation of surprise — unless just a false start here)

0:01:51.7

16 he took off his bearskin blanket and beat the fire
yaka *mamuk-'ɬaq** *uk* *yaka pəsisi* *alta* *[pi ya..]* *'q'wəɬ* *ukuk* *'fayər*
3SG remove.it that 3SG.POS blanket then ?and [sttr] hit that fire
(*CWDP *munk-ɬaq* 'remove it, take it off')

17 the whole bearskin blanket was burned
ukuk / *ukuk* *itsxwət-'pəsisi* *alta* *'kʰanawi* *yaka* *chaku-'paya*
that that bear-blanket now all 3SG get.burned

18 his hair caught fire
yaka *..* *yaqsu* *kʰanawi* *chaku-'paya*
3SG [sttr] hair all get.burned

19 and he was burned
alta *yaka* *chaku-'paya* *yaẓka*
now 3SG get.burned 3SG.EMPH

20 now that bird was dead
alta *yaka* *'miməlus* *ukuk* *'kəlákəla*
now 3SG dead that bird

0:02:22.1

21 when it was nearing dark he came to his sister
alta *yaka* *chaku-'pulakʰli* *[alta]* *yaka* *'q'oʔ* *kʰupa* *yaka 'ats*
now 3SG become-night ?now 3SG arrive PREP 3SG.POS sister

22 ah my brother is dead
alta *uk* *nayka 'aw* *yaka* *'miməlus*
now that 3SG.POS brother 3SG dead

23 he said to him
yaka *'wawa* *kʰupa* *'yaẓka*
3SG say PREP 3SG

24 now all these things you said / you see are not true

alta	*ukuk*	*kʰanawi-'ikta*	*mayka*	*'wawa*	*mayka*	*'nanich*
now	that	all-thing	2SG	say	2SG	see

alta	*wik*	*yaka*	*kʰaku-'dlét*
now	not	3SG	like/as-true

25 these are not the same canoes he said

yaka	*'wawa*	*kʰanawi*	*ukuk*	*'kəním*	*wik*	*'yaχka*	*ukuk*	*'kəním /*
3SG	say	all	those	canoes	not	3SG.EMPH	those	canoes

'χluym[a]	*ɬaska*
different	3PL

0:03:08.3

26 the others had holes and were [not strong]

ukuk	*'wəχt*	*ya /*	*ukuk*	*'χluyma*	*yaka*	*'miɬayt*	*ɬxwáp-ɬxwàp*	*'kʰanawi*
that	more	3SG . .	that	different	3SG	have	hole-hole	all

27 he said

yaka	*'wawa*
3SG	say

28 you are dead now therefore you see differently

mayka	*'miməlus*	*alta*	*kʰaku*	*[pi]*	*mayka*	*'nanich*	*χluyma*
2SG	dead	now	thus	?but	2SG	see	different

29 now she carried her brother across to the other side

alta	*yaka*	*['hal]*	*kʰupa*	*yaka*	*'aw*	*yawa*	*inataɣ*
now	3SG	?haul	PREP	3SG.POS	brother	there	across

30 he saw the people

yaka	*'nanich*	*ukuk*	*'tilixam*
3SG	see	those	people

0:03:36.6

31 they sang they played Ithlikum

nayka	*'nanich*	*ukuk*	*'tilixam*	*ɬaska*	*hayu-'iɬəkum**	*[an ???]*
1SG	see	those	people	3PL	ongoing-bone.game	???

(*CDWP 81-83 *hayu-* 'ongoing [marker of durative aspect]')

32 they played dice with beaver teeth
ɬaska hayu-'hihi yaka ukuk anqati ʔina yaka 'litá
3PL ongoing-play 3SG that.one long.ago beaver 3SG.POS teeth

33 the women / played their Ithlikum
ukuk 'ɬuchmən ɬaska 'iɬəkum wəx̣t
those women 3PL bone.game also

34 they played hoops
ɬaska mamuk ɬaska ['mamúk] / 'hihi kʰupa [loġəl]-loʔloʔ-'stik*
3PL do 3PL [?sttr] play PREP ?round-round-stick
(*reduplicated? — David Robertson)

35 they played dice with ten discs
ɬaska ɬaska 'mamuk wəx̣t ɬaska mamuk-'hihi
[sttr] 3PL do also 3PL play.it

loʔəloʔ [yaka] taɬənəm / [nʔ ʔ nʔ layk ʌ] 'litá wik-ʔina*
round ?3SG.POS ten [?sttr] ?like a teeth not-beaver**
(*CWDP *taɬlam* 'ten'; **'teeth-not-beaver': circumlocution for 'dice'?)

0:04:13.7

36 they played "wah kah KOO lee" [JPM reading from CT 171: Boas spells <wacakoai-i>]
[no response]

"[wa kʰa / kʰúuli]" / it's a game
ɬaska mamuk-'hihi ukuk 'wagakʰúuli.
3PL play.it that wagakuli

37 further on there they sang the conjuror's song
tunús-sayá yawá ɬaska 'mamuk / 'sing
little-away there 3PL do sing

ukuk ['paya] ukuk ['paya] yaka 'aw
that ?fire that ?fire 3SG.POS brother
(JP's meaning is obscure)

38 he wanted to go to these singers
yaka tiki 'ɬatwa [alta məɬət] qʰa ɬaska hayu-'mamuk 'sing*
3SG want go ?now ?be.there where 3PL ongoing-do sing
(*slur for *miɬayt* 'be there'?)

39 he tried to shout
yaka tiki 'kʰliyí
3SG want cry out

0:04:58.1

40 but he was laughed at
bət [kʰaná] ɬaska [mamuk-]'hihi yaẓka*
but ?all 3PL ?mock 3SG.EMPH
(*CWDP *munk-hihi* 'mock (someone)')

41 he went to his brother in law's house
yaka 'ɬatwa kʰupa yaẓka .. / yaka 'aw yaka 'haws ya ..
3SG go PREP 3SG 3SG.POS brother 3SG.POS house [unfin.]

42 their chief was his sister's husband
yaka tayi yaka 'ats yaka 'man
3SG.POS chief 3SG.POS sister 3SG.POS man (husband)
(for: *[yaka tayi [yaka ats [yaka man]]]*)

0:05:17 –0:05:39.5

[gap: during which JPM jumps to CT 194]

43 there was the panther
'yaẓka ukuk 'kʰupá uk / ukuk 'swawaʔ
3SG.EMPH that.one over.there that that cougar

44 he was an elk hunter
yaẓka uk [ya] 'kəmtáks mamuk-'kakshət [ukuk] 'mulak
3SG.EMPH that ?3SG know.how* kill.it ?that elk
(*CWDP *kəmtəks* sense 3: 'know how to, be good at')

45 every day he went hunting
kʰanawi-'san yaka ɬatwa-'nanich
every-day 3SG go-look.for

0:06:02.9

46 one day he found the branch of a spruce tree
*ixt ixt-san yaka 't'ɬap ukuk / ukuk 'limá-stik**
[sttr] one-day 3SG find that that branch

[kʰupa ukuk] 'hayash-stik yawá
?PREP ?that big-stick there
(*CWDP *lima-stik* 'branch [lit., arm-stick]')

47 he twisted it and threw it under his bed

yaka mamuk-'ɬuk uk stik ya 'mash kikwəli kʰupa yaka 'bet*
3SG break.it that stick 3SGthrow down PREP 3SG.POS bed
(*CWDP *munk-ɬuk* 'break it')

48 it was a pretty branch

yaka hayash 'ɬush kʰupa 'nanich
3SG big good PREP look

49 then he said

alta yaka 'wawa
then 3SG say

50 oh I wish you would become a man

[qʰaq.. qʰaqwi[tɬ] pi wik] chaku-man 'mayka*
[?[sttr] ?cannot ?but ?not become-man 2SG
(*?CWDP *qʰawqaɬ*: var. of *x̣awqaɬ* 'can't, unable')

51 the next day he went / elk hunting

ixt ixt-'san wəx̣t yaka 'ɬatwa yawa yaka 'nanich mulak
[sttr] one day again 3SG go there 3SG look.for elk

0:06:41.5

52 in the evening he came home

chaku-'pulakʰli yaka chaku-'haws
become-night 3SG comes.in
(CWDP 65 *chaku-haws* 'come in, come home')

53 now he saw cedar bark laying on the ground

*alta yaka 'nanich ukuk kəním-'stik**
now 3SG see that cedar*

kʰupa yaka 'haws miɬayt kʰupa 'ili.i
PREP 3SG.POS house be.there PREP ground
(*CWDP 271 *kənim-stik* 'cedar [lit., canoe-wood]')

54 where did those people come from

qʰa ɬaska 'chaku ukuk 'tilixam
where 3PL come those people

55 they have been playing at discs / he said

ɬaska hayu-'hihi / .. ɬaska hayu-'hihi kʰupá ukuk 'miməlus
3PL ongoing-play 3PL ongoing-play over.there.at those dead (ones?)

56 on the following morning he went again / elk hunting

.. ukuk tənəs-'san wəx̣t yaka ɬatwa-'nanich mulak

that morning again 3SG go.look.for elk

(CWDP *tənəs-san* 'morning [lit., little-sun]')

57 in the evening he came home

tənəs-pulakʰli alta yaka chaku-['haws] chaku-'k'ilapay

evening then 3SG ?come.in come-return

0:07:29.1
[gap]
0:07:41.7

58 now the floor of his house / lay full of cedar bark

alta [.. an] 'kikwəli yaka chaku 'kʰupá kʰanuwi 'patɬ

now ?? ?on down 3SG become over.there all full

*[tí-yaka] / [mamuk] uk yaka skin-'stik***

? INDEF*-3SG.?POS ?makes that 3SG.POS bark

(*? cf. Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:143) *t* INDEF; **CWDP *skin-stik* 'bark [lit., skin-wood]')

59 and counters lay there

ukuk 'c'həm hayu-hayu 'kʰupá yaka 'miɬayt

that mark many-many over.there 3SG be.there

60 he went out for a fourth time

alta yaka 'ɬatwa a lakt ['tayətʰay(m)]

then 3SG go ?"a" four ?[sttr] ?time

61 and came home later in the afternoon

yaka 'chaku hayash-'lili kʰupá / [mash sitk .. [cut-off]]

3SG come big-awhile over.there [unfin]

62 he reached his house he heard batons

yaka 'ɬatwa kʰupa yaka 'haws

3SG go PREP 3SG.POS house

*yaka hayu / hayu-'kəmtəks** [rvɛ́:ɑ χló[ɪ]mɑ]

3SG [sttr] hear* ?over.there a (*x̣luyma*:) different?

(*CWDP *hayu-kəmtəks* 'hear [lit., ongoing-perceive]')

63 then he became angry

alta yaka chaku-'saliks

then 3SG become-angry

0:08:20.6

64 where did these people come from
qʰa *ɬaska* *'chaku* *ukuk* *'tilixam*
where? 3PL come those people

65 they always play at discs / in my house
kʰanawi-'san *[ukuk* *'kʰaqəpuɬ*]* *ɬaska* *'hihi* *kʰupa* *nayka* *'haws*
every-day ?that ?? 3PL play PREP 1SG.POS house
(*?cf. Yakama *k'puuɬ* [q'puːɬ] 'round, spherical')

66 he heard the noise in the house
yaka *'kəmtáks* *ukuk* *'hayáa* *kʰupa* *'haws*
3SG aware that ?ONOM PREP house

67 and the baton struck
ukuk *yaka* *'aw* *kʰaku* *'ɬun*
that 3SG.POS brother as three
(here and in 68, 158, JP appears to understand the prompts with reference to some story other than the one JPM is reading — a story from his own store of traditional knowledge?)

68 [he arrived at home and entered (unintel prompt restored with ref to CT 194)]
yaka aw *'q'oʔ* *kʰupa* *yaka* *'haws* *yaka* *'ɬatwa*
3SG.POS brother arrive PREP 3SG.POS house 3SG go

69 now counters lay on the plank
alta *kʰupá* *[ukuk]* *yaka* *'miɬáyt* *kʰupa* *'liplash**
now over.there ?that 3SG be.there PREP plank
(*CWDP *laplash* 'plank, board')

0:08:55.3

70 he said
yaka *'wawa*
3SG say

71 tomorrow we shall hide to see where these people came from
tumála *aɬqi* *nayka* *'ipsut* *yawá*
tomorrow will 1SG hide there

nayk[a] / *'nanich* *qʰa* *uk* *'tilixam* *ɬaska* *'chaku*
1SG see where those people 3PL come

72 the next morning he went out
ukuk *wəx̣t* *tənəs-'san* *yaka* *ɬatwa-'ɬax̣ani*
that again morning 3SG go-outside

73 he stayed near the grass near the house
yaka wik.. yaka 'miɬayt kʰupá
3SG not [sttr] 3SG be.there over.there

wik-saya kʰupa 'tipsu kʰupa ukuk 'haws
not-far PREP grass PREP that house

74 and looked
yaka 'nanich
3SG looks

75 he did not see anybody
wik-ikta yaka 'nanich
nothing 3SG see

0:09:25.9

76 then he heard the bat.. [*break in audio*: *bat*ons moving in the interior of the house]
[break] kəmtəks ukuk 'hayú / ikta 'hayú ən / [ixwl] kʰupa 'haws*
. . . ?aware of those many things many ?in ?move PREP house
(*see 120 below)

77 he went home and looked through a hole in the wall
yaka 'ɬatwa kʰupá pi yaka 'nanich kʰupa uk 'ɬxwap / yaka 'liplásh
3SG go PREP and 3SG look PREP that hole 3SG.POS plank

78 now there was a youth who was playing at discs
naw 'alta kʰupá ukuk 'ixt tənəs-'man ɬaska hayu-'hihi kʰupá*
now now over.there that.one one boy 3PL ongoing-play over.there
(*CWDP *tənəs-man* 'boy [lit., little-man]')

79 my brother calls me a branch of the spruce
[ukuk] nayka 'aw yaka 'mash kʰupa 'nayka lima-stik
?that.one 1SG.POS brother 3SG throw PREP 1SG branch

[yaka] wawa] uk nim uk 'stik
?3SG say that name that stick

80 my brother twisted me often
[ukuk] nayka aw yaka mamuk
?that 1SG.POS brother 3SG do [unfin?]

81 then the panther entered
ukuk 'swawa yaka chaku-'haws alta
that cougar 3SG comes.in now

0:10:18.5

82 oh my poor brothers why do you hide yourself before me

*na nayka aw 'qʰata pi mayka mamuk-ipsut*mayka [iɬwəli] kʰupa nayka*
.. 1SG.POS brother why? but 2SG hide.it 2SG.POS ?flesh PREP 1SG
(*CWDP *munk-ipsut* 'hide it [lit., make hidden]')

83 then the youth was ashamed
ukuk ukuk tənəs-'man yaka hayash-'shim alta
[sttr] that boy 3SG great-shame now

84 he remained there
yaka 'miɬayt kʰupá
3SG be.there over.there

85 now the panther gave him good arrows
alta uk alta ukuk hayas-'swawa [ya] 'paɬæch yaχka*
now that now that big-cougar ?3SG give 3SG

hayash 'ɬush ka / 'kaláytən
great good [sttr] arrow
(*cf. CWDP *palach* 'give')

86 then the boy went hunting deer
alta ukuk tənəs-'man yaka ɬatwa-'nanich mawich
then that boy 3SG go-look.for deer

87 then the panther said to his younger brother
ukuk ukuk 'swawa yaka 'wawa kʰupa yaka tənəs-'aw
[sttr] that cougar 3SG say PREP 3SG.POS little-brother

0:11:00.3

88 go only this way do not go down the river
mayka 'ɬatwa yakwá wik mayka 'ɬatwa yawá
2SG go here not 2SG go there

say[a] 'kikwəli kʰupa uk 'chək
far down PREP that water

89 he obeyed and only went up the river
[pi] 'alta yaka 'kəmtəks pi yaka 'ɬatwa kʰupa 'saχali kʰupa uk 'chək
?and then 3SG understand and 3SG go PREP up PREP that water

90 he grew up
*yaka chaku-'hayash**
3SG grow.up
(*CWDP *chaku-hayash* 'grow up [lit., become big]')

91 one day however he went down the river
ixt 'san ya / ixt 'san ixt 'san alta yaka 'ɬatwa kikwəli ukuk uk 'chək
one day [sttr sttr] one day then 3SG go down that.one that water

92 he came to a prairie where he found a chicken hawk
yaka 'q'oʔ kʰupá kʰupa uk tənəs ɬush-'ili.i
3SG arrive over.there PREP that little prairie

qʰa ukuk / 'miɬayt 'kəlákəla kəmtəks-'mawʔn
where that.one be.there bird knows-mountains*
(*ev. circumlocution: *kəlakələ-kəmtəks*-[mountain] 'bird knowing (having familiarity with) the mountains')

93 he shot it
yaka 'pu
3SG shoot

94 and hit its wing
yaka 'q'wəɬ kʰupa yaka / [audio glitch]
3SG hit PREP 3SG.POS . . .

0:11:48.7

95 he fell down and ran and jumping away
yaka 't'ɬuẋ yawa pi yaka 'ɬatwa / wik-sayá
3SG fall there and 3SG go not-far

96 he chased it for a long distance
yaka mamuk-'kuri sayá yawá*
3SG chase.it far there
(*CWDP *munk-kuri* 'chase, pursue [lit., make-run]')

97 then he saw a house
yaka 'nanich uk 'haws
3SG see that house

98 the chicken hawk entered the same house
yawa [yaka] ukuk / kəlákəla kəmtəks-'mawʔn yaka 'miɬayt kʰupá
there ?3SG that bird knowing-mountains 3SG be.there over.there

99 then he went on slowly
alta *yaka* *'ɬatwa* *ɬawá*
then 3SG go slow

100 he thought
yaka *'təmtəm*
3SG think

101 oh they will kill me I had better turn back
*alaxti*ɬaska* *mamuk-'miməlus*** *nayka* *'ɬush* *nayka* *['mamuk]* *k'ilapay*
maybe 3PL kill.it 1SG best 1SG ?make return
(*CWDP *alaxti* 'maybe, almost'; **CDWP *munk-miməlust* 'to kill [lit., make-dead]')

102 but I like my arrows so well
.. *nayka / ..* *nayka* *hayash-'tiki* *nayka* *kal /* *'kaláytən*
[sttr] 1SG greatly-like 1SG.POS [sttr] arrows

0:12:28.4

103 I must go in
ɬush *nayka* *'ɬatwa* *kʰupá*
best 1SG go over.there

104 then he entered the house
alta *yaka* *ɬatwa-'nanich* *kʰupá*
then 3SG go-look over.there

105 standing at the door
yaka *'mitxwit* *yawá* *kʰupa* *'lapót*
3SG stand there PREP door

106 the house was full of people who looked at his arrow
kʰanawi *uk tilixam* *ɬaska* *yaka* *'patɬ* *kʰupá* *yaka* *'nanich yaka 'kaláytən*
all those people 3PL 3SG full over.there 3SG look 3SG.POS arrows
(?'those people *ɬaska* (they) the ones (*yaka*) being full over there': possible use of 3SG *yaka* as a relative pronoun? — resumed by *yaka* in *yaka nanich:* '...who looked')

107 all the people looked at it
kʰanawi *ukuk 'tilixam* *ɬaska* *'nanich ukuk*
all those people 3PL look that.one

108 they gave the arrow to a bird who looked at it
ɬaska *'paɬæch* *ukuk 'kaláytən kʰupa* *uk* *tənəs-maʔ /* *ixt 'man* *yaka* *'nanich*
3PL give that arrow PREP that boy [unfin] one man 3SG look
(CT 195, from which JPM is reading, says "Blue Jay," not bird; JP repeats as "boy" before correcting himself to "a (=one) man")

109 then the young man said
ukuk ukuk tənəs-'man yaka 'wawa
[sttr] that boy 3SG says

0:13:06.3

110 give me my arrow
'paɬæch nayka / 'kaláytən
give 1SG arrow

111 it is not your arrows / you bad man
wik ukuk 'misáyka misáyka 'kʰaltash [yaka uk] man /*
not those 2PL.POS 2PL worthless ? 3SG ?that man

misáyka masháchi 'man
2PL bad-man
(*CWDP *kʰəltəs* (sense 4:) 'worthless, no good')

112 again the people looked at the arrow
ukuk 'tilixam ɬaska 'nanich[aɬqi wəx̣t] 'kaláytən
those people 3PL look.at ?later ?again arrow

113 and they said
ɬaska 'wawa
3PL say

114 to what chief may this arrow belong
ɬaksta tayí yaka 'kaláytən yaka / miɬayt
who? chief 3SG.POS arrow 3SG possess

115 it is a good arrow
ukuk hayash-ɬush 'kaláytən
that great-good arrow

116 [they] gave it to the bird
ɬaska 'paɬæch k'ilapay kʰupa ukuk 'kəlákəla
3PL give back PREP that bird

0:13:43.8

117 give me my double-pointed arrow
*'paɬæch nayka ukuk makwst nayka yaka 'ɬush [yak'isiɬ]**
give 1SG that two 1SG.POS 3SG well ?sharp
(*?cf. CWDP 303 *yak'isiɬ* 'sharp')

118 we'll take
nisáyka .. / *'iskam* *ukuk*
1PL take that.one

119 then the young one / young man arose / and took it
alta *ukuk* *ix* *tənəs-'man* *yaka* *'mitxwit* *yaka* *'iskam*
then that one boy 3SG stands 3SG takes

120 he shook himself
yaka *mamuk-[ixwəl]** *yaχka /* *iɬwəli*
3SG ?shakes.it 3SG.EMPH body
(*cf. CWDP *χələl* 'shake'; JP may have a different word-form, perhaps from the same original Chinookan source: cf. CT 60.9 <ixɛlɛ́l> [iχələ́l] 'he moves')

121 his body was covered with dentalia
yaka *a* *yaka /* *yaka* *iɬwəli /'patɬ* *kʰupa* *ukuk* *hayu* *'yak'ísiɬ-ikta*
3SG [sttr] 3SG 3SG body full PREP those many sharp-things
(*hayu yak'isiɬ-ikta* is a circumlocution, perhaps reflecting off-audio explanation by JPM?)

122 then the chicken hawk flew on in in the house assumed the shape of a woman followed the chief [sic!]
yaka *uk /* *yaka* *uk kəlákəla* *yaka* *kəmtəks-'mawʔn* *[tilixam]*
3SG that 3SG that bird 3SG knowing-mountains ?person

yaka *'chaku* *[kʰawak ..* *kʰawak ta]*tʰil* *alta* *yaka* *[ch]aku-'χluyim[a]***
3SG comes ?flies ?flies ? until then 3SG changes
(*very uncertainly caught: cf. CDWP 290 *qʰawaq* 'to fly'; **CWDP *chaku-χluyma* 'change, transform [lit., become different]')

123 they went and went and went
alta *yaka* *'ɬatwa*
then 3SG goes

0:14:32.8

124 until he finally came to his older brother's house
alta *yaka* *'q'oʔ* *kʰupa* *[ukuk]* *oldmæn* *ya* *olmæn* *yaka* *'aw**
then 3SG arrive PREP ?that old.man [sttr] senior 3SG brother
(**olmæn yaka aw*: ?'senior it (*yaka*) is (the) brother [the senior person who is his brother]')

125 he hid himself inside
yaka *mamuk-'ipsut* *yaχka* *yawá* *'ɬaχani*
3SG hides 3SG.EMPH there outside
(JP apparently heard "outside," not "inside")

126 the [old] woman entered the house and did not see anybody

ukuk	*yaka*	*[kəlá(y)tən*]*	*yaka*	*'ɬatwa-haws***pi*	*wik-ɬaksta*	*yaka*	*'nanich*
that	3SG	?arrow	3SG	go.inside	and nobody	3SG	see

(*misheard? misspoken?; **CWDP *ɬatwa-haws* 'go into the house')

127 she thought

yaka	*'təmtəm*
3SG	thinks

128 where may that youth have gone?

q^{h}a	*q^{h}a*	*uk*	*tənəs-tilixam*	*ɬaska*	*'ɬatwa*
[sttr]	where?	that	child	3PL	go

129 in the evening the panther came home

alta	*tənəs-pulak^{h}li*	*yaka*	*uk*	*'swawa*	*yaka*	*chaku-'k'ilapay*
then	evening	3SG	that	cougar	3SG	come-return

130 now there was a woman / in this house

alta	*ukuk*	*'ɬuchmən*	*[ya]*	*k^{h}upá*	*'k^{h}upá*	*yaka*	*'haws*
now	that	woman	?3SG	over.there	over.there.at	3SG.POS	house

0:15:13.9

131 he thought

yaka	*'təmtəm*
3SG	thinks

132 certainly he went down the river

nawitka	*[mey]*	*yaka*	*'ɬatwa*	*[kə]*	*kikwəli*	*k^{h}upa*	*ukuk*	*'chək*
indeed	??	3SG	go	[sttr]	down	PREP	that	water

133 then he married the woman

alta	*yaka*	*miɬayt*	*'ɬuchmən*	*iskam*	*ɬuchmən*	*k^{h}upá*
then	3SG	possess	woman	get	woman	over.there

134 she thought

yaka	*'təmtəm*
3SG	thinks

135 when did that youth come home

q^{h}ənchi	*[yaχka*	*uk*	'youth	*pi]*	*ya*	*chaku-'k'ilapay*
when	?3SG.EMPH	?that	?youth	?but	3SG	come-return

136 on the following day she searched for him

yaka	*.. /*	*ukuk*	*hayash*	*[uk] san*	*yaka*	*[??]*	*k^{h}upá*	*[aɬq]*
3SG	[sttr]	that	big	?the day	3SG	??	over.there	[unfin]

137 she searched / she turned over [all] the elk skins until it turned dark
yaka mamuk-'k'ilapay k^{h}anawi ukuk / mulak yaka skin*
3SG turn.over all those elk 3SG.POS skin

ənt^{h}íl ['wik] yaka pulak^{h}li
until ?not 3SG night
(*CWDP *munk-k'ilapay* 'reverse it, turn it back')

138 she continued two days
yaka mamuk 'k^{h}akwa makst 'san
3SG do thus two days

0:15:53.4

139 then she searched through all the skins on one side of the house
alta yaka mamuk-'k'ilapay k^{h}anawi ukuk 'skin
then 3SG turn.over all those skins

k^{h}upa 'ixt [k^{h}upa-ukuk] 'haws
PREP one ?PREP-that.one house

140 now she searched / at the other side of the house
alta ixt [wəẓt] alta yaka mamuk-'k'ilapay-k'ilapay .. 'k'ilapay k^{h}anawi*
then one ?again now 3SG turn.over-over over all
(*CWDP *munk-k'ilapay-k'ilapay* 'turn it over and over, roll it'; triple repetition here?)

141 she turned over all the elkskins
yaka mamuk-'k'ilapay-k'ilapay 'k^{h}anawi
3SG turn.over-over all

142 finally she found him
alta yaka 't'ɬap yaẓka
then 3SG find 3SG.EMPH

143 sleeping under the skin
'musum yaka 'musum ant^{h}ap əvə [ukuk a] / pəs / pasisi
sleep 3SG sleep on top of a that.one [sttr] [sttr] blanket

144 she took some grease / and / and elk hooves
yaka 'iskam .. mulak yaka 'lep^{h}yi pi 'klis
3SG take elk 3SG.POS foot and grease

145 she made a fire and roasted the hoofs
yaka *'mamuk* *paya* *[alta]*
3SG makes fire ?now

yaka *mamuk-'paya** *alta* *uk /* *'lipʰyí* *kʰanawi*
3SG cooks.it then those feet all
(*CWDP *munk-paya* (sense 2) 'cook it')

0:16:40.4

146 and [when] they were done she pounded them
yaka .. kʰu / *ɬaska* *'kʰupít* *alta* *[uk]* *'lepʰyé*
3SG [sttr] 3PL stop then ?those feet

yaka *mamuk- / 'q'wəɬ-q'wəɬ* *ɬaska*
3SG make strike-strike 3PL

147 she took some soot and mixed it with hair of an elk's nose
yaka *iskam* *tunus /tunus* *paya-stik* *kʰanawi* *['ɬe.il* *tu mamuk ..]* *kʰupá*
3SG take little little burnt-stick all ?black ?to make ?? over.there

148 now she mixed it [with along with every thing else]
alta *yaka* *'mamuk* *kʰanu /* *'kʰanumákwst* *ukuk* *kʰupa* *kʰanawi-'ikta*
now 3SG makes all together that.one PREP every-thing

149 when it grew / grew dark he awoke
yaka *chaku-'pulakʰli* *alta* *yaka* *chaku-'miɬayt*
3SG become-night then 3SG become-be.there

150 now his nostrils felt sore
alta *alta* *yaka / [unfin]*
now now 3SG

151 oh my younger brother
alta *yaka* *chaku-'sik* *yaka 'aw* *o* *nayka* *tunús-'aw.*
now 3SG become-sick 3SG.POS brother oh 1SG.POS little-brother

0:17:26.3

152 your nose is transformed into an elk's nose
ukuk *mayka 'muqsin** *yaka* *chaku* *mulak* *yaka muqsin* *kʰakwa*
that 2SG.POS nose 3SG become elk 3SG.POS nose like
(*CWDP 286 *məqʰəsən* 'nose'; Cowlitz *máqsn* 'nose')

153 oh my older brother

*o nax * ukuk nayka / [aw] nayka 'aw*
oh ?INTERJ that.one 1SG.POS [sttr] 1SG.POS brother
(*?cf. CWDP *nəx* (var. of *nəʔ*) INTERJ)

154 hoofs / are growing on my feet

uk mulak yaka 'lipʰyi kʰupa ..
those elk 3SG.POS ?feet PREP [sttr]

ukuk / chaku-'hayásh kʰupa nayka 'lipʰyí
?those grow PREP 1SG.POS feet

155 I cannot help you

wik nayka wik 'qʰaqwitɬ pus nayka 'elán** mayka*
not 1SG not unable for 1SG help 2SG
(*CWDP *qʰawqwaɬ* (var. of *x̣awqaɬ*) 'unable, can't'; **CWDP *yeʔlan* 'help, assistance')

156 and the following morning the elkskins arose

alta kʰəm nekst 'san kʰanawi ukuk yaka 'mitxwit alta
then come next day all those 3SG stand now

uk 'mulak yaka skin
those elk 3SG.POS skin

157 and became elk

yaka chaku-'mulák alta kʰanawí
3SG become-elk now all

0:18:05.2

158 the youth arose

alta pus ɬaska mamuk-'paya [taɬlam]
then ?would 3PL burn.it ?ten
(Here and there, JP's translations reflect his own perceptions of the story behind JPM's words; only here, it is hard to fathom his meaning: 'then they would burn ten (of what?)' ???)

159 he became a spirit

alta ya.. / alta yaka 'chaku ukuk x̣luyma 'tilixam
then [sttr] then 3SG become that different person

*yawa .. miməlus-'ili.i**
there ?? cemetery
(*CWDP *miməlust-iliʔi* 'cemetery [lit., dead-land]')

160 then he went out

alta *yaka* *ɬatwa-'ɬaχani*
then 3SG go-outside

161 then all the elks arose and went into the woods

alta *k^{h}anawi* *ukuk 'mulak* *ɬaska* *'mitxwit*
then all those elk 3PL stand

pi *ɬaska* *'ɬatwa* *yawá* *k^{h}upa* *'stik*
and 3PL go there PREP wood

162 the other panther took the woman [at] her arm

ukuk *'swawa* *yaka* *iskam* *ukuk* *'ɬuchmən* *k^{h}upa* *yaka limá*
that cougar 3SG takes that woman PREP 3SG.POS arm

163 he carried her out of the house

yaka *'lulu* *yaka* *'ɬaχani k^{h}upa* *ukuk 'haws*
3SG bring 3SG outside PREP that house

note: JP's normally rapid delivery seems to speed up towards the end of this track, making these last half-dozen segments rather difficult to follow — transcription in doubt!

0:18:50.2

164 and shook her till all her [skin] fell down

yaka *mamuk-'ixwəl** *alta*
3SG shake.it then

[χələqɬ-χələqɬ *'χələqɬ**]* *uk* *k^{h}anawi* *yaka 'iɬwəli* *uk* *['t'ɬuχ* the ground*]*
?opens-opens ?opens that all 3SG.POS flesh that ?fall to ?the ground]
(*see 120; **CWDP *χalaqɬ* 'open'; triple repetition?)

165 he threw her down and said

yaka *'mash* *yaχka* *[t'ɬuχ]* *[pi]* *yaka* *'wawa*
3SG throw 3SG.EMPH ?fall ?and 3SG say

166 your name shall be chicken-hawk

nayka mamuk / *nayka* *[mamuk-nim]* *[kləklə]* *kəmtəks ../*
1SG make 1SG ?name.it ?bird knowing

uk kəlákəla *'kəmtəks-mawʔn* *k^{h}anawi-'ikta*
that bird knowing-mountains every-thing

167 and from now on you will never make chiefs unhappy

ukuk /	*ukuk*	*[??*	*pi] hilu*	*hilu-ɬaksta*	*pus*	*munk*	*[nu]*	*sik-təmtəm**
that	that	??	?but [sttr]	lacking-who	for	make	?new	sadness

(*CWDP *sik-təmtəm* 'sorry, sad, regretful')

168 when you see a snake you shall eat it

pus mayka .. /pus	*mayka*	*'nanich*	*ukuk*	*'ʔuliq*	*alta*	*[mayka]*	*'mək^{h}[mək]*	
when 2SG	when	2SG	see	that	snake	then	?2SG	eat

169 my name shall be panther

yaka	*nayka*	*'nim*	*miɬ[ayt]**	*[tənəs-]swawa*
3SG	1SG.POS	name	be.there	?little-cougar

(*crack in record)

0:19:35.6 end of sinaa 694 side 1