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THE BUNGEE DIALECT OF THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

by

Eleanor M. Blain

A Thesis  
Presented to the University of Manitoba  
in Partial Fulfilment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Individual Interdisciplinary Master of Arts  
in  
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1989

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**BY**

**ELEANOR M. BLAIN**

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS**

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### Abstract

Bungee is the dialect of English which was commonly heard at Red River in the nineteenth century and is still used by a small group of elderly speakers in the Lower Red River Settlement.

This study attempts to identify the various features of Bungee which are still heard today, and also those found reflected in the documentary sources.

The material is presented in the light of the several languages which have left their mark on Bungee. The fluctuation in the use of s and š, for instance, which has traditionally been attributed simply to the influence of Cree, is reinforced by similar features in Scots and Orkney English and Gaelic which, along with Saulteaux, Michif and French, were part of the confluence of peoples and languages at Red River.

### Acknowledgements

There are so many people to thank for so much. First and foremost, the people of Red River who have endured my intrusion into their lives with grace and hospitality; particularly Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes (whose real names I cannot reveal) who have made me feel like part of the family. They will always have a special place in my heart. My thanks also go to Frank and Minnie Walters for sharing so much that was dear to them. I hope my small effort will help preserve and make available to a wider audience the words and sounds which have been so diligently recorded as a labour of love. I am most grateful to Rose Shrupka for her guidance, for extending her home and hospitality on numerous occasions, and for showing me how to make bannock. And to Warren Sinclair and the Rev. Bob Brownlee, thank you.

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Thanks also to Dr. D. H. Pentland for sharing his great fund of knowledge, to Arden Ogg for her computer wizardry, and to the staff of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for all their help. The field support of the Cree Language Project (S.S.H.R.C.C.) is gratefully acknowledged.

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## PART I: PRELIMINARIES

Almost from its inception in the early nineteenth century, the Red River Settlement has been noted for its linguistic diversity. The major languages in the beginning were French, English, Scots Gaelic, Saulteaux and, of course, Cree -- the lingua franca of the community.

J. J. Hargrave (1871:181) observed that:

A man whose usual language is English, and one who speaks French alone, are enabled to render themselves mutually intelligible by means of Cree, their Indian mother tongue, though each is totally ignorant of the ... language ordinarily used by the other.

Many of the people involved in the fur trade were of necessity multilingual. John Norquay (1841-89), for instance, a native son and Premier of the Province of Manitoba (1878-87) is described as speaking fluent English and French as well as being "master of two Indian languages, Cree and Saulteaux, and could converse in Sioux" (Inkster, undated).

Another contemporary, Alexander Ross, mentions "narrations" which were "made up of an almost unintelligible jargon of the English, French and Indian languages" (1856:79). This is attributed to "freemen" of the "Canadian class" (Métis) on the periphery of the settlement who were more Indian than White in their aspirations. And an anonymous traveller, observing a cart train south of the Red River Settlement, commented that in the "polyglot jabber" of the Métis drivers, he heard "fine broad Scotch", a smattering of Gaelic and Irish brogue, and a plentiful mixture of "rapidly uttered French

patois" (cited in Gilman et al. 1979:14). Spry (1985:98n), has no doubt that this "polyglot jabber" was Bungee -- though there is no indication that all of the above came from every individual.

Bungee (sometimes also spelled Bungay or Bungi) refers to the distinctive dialect which flourished in the Settlement by the end of the nineteenth century. It was based on the speech of the descendants of English, Scottish, and Orkney fur traders and their Indian or Métis wives. With the confluence of settlement at Red River, there was the added influence of the French or Michif-speaking Métis, the Scottish settlers (many of whom spoke only "the Gaelic"), Saulteaux and Cree Indians and assorted others. The social and familial intermingling of all these linguistic components seems to have settled into a dialect of Scots English with a strong Cree component and vestiges of French and Gaelic. This speech could be heard throughout the settlement and, according to the folklore, was distinctive to it.

Today this speech has disappeared but for a few who still speak a recognizable form of it. In addition to the evidence in the speech of those few, the sources include some remnants on archival audiotape and scattered short articles such as Scott and Mulligan (1951), Walters (1969) and Stobie (1968, 1971). A more substantial (but also more complex) source is the collection of Francis J. Walters, consisting of a set of rehearsed tape recordings, two manuscripts and a wordlist. Information has also been gleaned from selected Hudson's Bay Company (henceforth HBC) journals, published letters, etc. For a complete list of sources, see Tables 1-4, pp. 26-29.

This study has largely been a salvage operation. The few remaining speakers of Bungee are well into their seventies, and Mr. Walters is ninety years old. The younger generations have only traces of Bungee left in their speech.

Conventional approaches to dialect study are obviated by several factors, including lack of a sufficient number of speakers, their reluctance to allow any kind of recording device (including note pads and pencils), extreme sensitivity on the part of the few remaining speakers which precludes questionnaires or, in many cases, even direct questions, and a high degree of variability in all the existing evidence due to dialect/language interference. When one woman said to me, "I guess I talk like a Bungee" (evidently suggesting that Bungee means 'Indian' to some Red River people), it was with a sigh of resignation as well as a good-humoured smile.

The term Bungee first occurs in the York Factory journals in the year 1741 in a reference to the various bands of Indians visiting the fort (Stobie, 1978:74).<sup>1</sup> Subsequent mentions include the following instance in a letter from James Isham at York Factory dated 26 August 1759):

Seven Cannoes of Severn Indians came on the 29th of May,  
Brought but 37 made Beaver, and 10 Cannoes of Bungee  
Indians, which is near the said River, but a great distance  
up (cited after Stobie 1968:66).

A Bungee-Saulteaux connection is made in a letter from Sturgeon River Fort in 1779:

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<sup>1</sup> Stobie cites HBCA B.239.

This goes to inform you of Five Indians that Arrived Here  
Last night Three Natives of the land and two Bungees or  
Sauteaux, Belonging to the Carriboes Head (cited after Rich  
1952:296).

Garrioch (1923:82) suggests that the Bungee Indians were called that because they always began petitions for food,<sup>2</sup> etc., with the word pungee, glossed 'a little' (and likely a reflection of Ojibwa panki meaning 'part' or 'portion of something', cf. Cree pahki). Whatever its origins, it appears that the term Bungee applied originally to the Sauteaux Indians living near the Settlement. However, Stobie (1968:68-69) notes that, with the influx of Swampy Cree into the area from Norway House in the 1840's, the term seems to have been broadened to include all Indians in and around the Settlement.<sup>3</sup> By the turn of the century, the term also included the English/Cree dialect of all the old fur-trade families in the Red River Settlement. Stobie supports these "conjectures" by noting that in 1937, when Osborne Scott's radio talk was published in The Winnipeg Tribune, "there was a flurry of letters to the editor from people to whom that sense of the word [Bungee] had been long familiar" (Stobie, 1968:68-69). Though some people now use the term more broadly, applying it to people of Scottish and Indian heritage throughout Manitoba, I have restricted my study to the area of the Lower Red River Settlement from Winnipeg to the mouth of the Red River.

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<sup>2</sup> Black-Rogers (1986:370) suggests that "begging" (according to White cultural norms) was actually a matter of etiquette in Northern Algonquian culture. Ojibwa custom requires a guest to ask for food on arrival, and it is not offered until the request has been made. The point of this custom, according to Black-Rogers, is that the guest should be humble; by asking for something, he attributes greater status to the host who has so much to give.

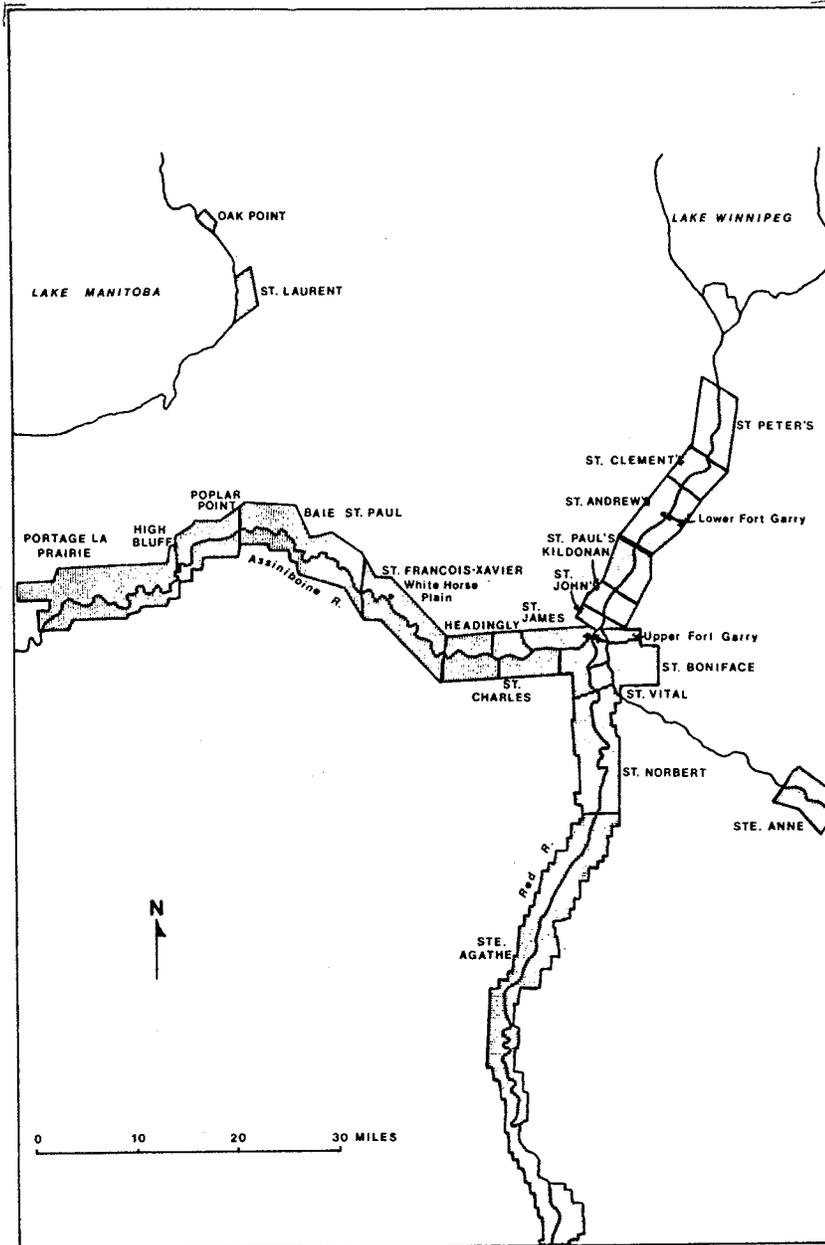
<sup>3</sup> The term Bungee is also used in reference to the Plains Ojibwa (cf. Howard, 1965).

This salvage study is mainly concerned with gathering as much information as possible about the language and describing the features still evident in local speech (with reference to their possible sources). Chapters 3, 4, and 5 present and compare the phonetic features of Bungee as documented in the several classes of sources. Chapter 6 surveys the prosodics of Bungee on the evidence of a single speaker. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 review the words and phrases of Red River speech today. Also included is a short chapter on discourse features (chapter 10) as evidenced in the speech of a single speaker. These are followed by a sample text of a story as performed by Francis J. Walters, a local raconteur (appendix 1), and a glossary of lexical items (appendix 2).

Chapter 1 presents the background of the area, the people and the language; chapter 2 outlines the scope and methodology of the study.

# THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

(by Victor P. Lytwyn, from Peterson and Brown, 1985)



## CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

### The Area

There is a compelling reason why the study of Bungee should focus on the Red River Settlement: that is where folklore has it. However, there are some who disagree; and others who believe that Bungee no longer exists there and that one must go further afield to find evidence of it. In 1965, for example, Stobie travelled throughout Manitoba -- mainly to points north of the Red River Settlement -- interviewing people of mixed Scottish and Indian ancestry.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, when a contemporary Métis leader, Brian Orvis claims (personal communication) that there are 50,000 Bungee speakers in Manitoba, he evidently applies the term to the English spoken by all the Indians in the province. The political reasons for ascribing Bungee status in this manner are understandable; and, in view of the history of the dialect and its sources outside the Red River Settlement, it may seem natural to some that the term Bungee should include the English spoken by all descendants of fur-trade families scattered in communities and reserves throughout the province and beyond.

From interviews conducted in the course of my study, however, two points emerge: the first having to do with the term Bungee, the second concerning the perceived differences in the English spoken by Indians in different areas.

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<sup>4</sup> These interview tapes are the basis for her short paper (1971) on Bungee. The tapes are held in the University of Manitoba Archives, Dafoe Library.

Indians from central and northern Manitoba communities whom I have interviewed do not recognize, or identify with, the term Bungee. On the other hand, people from the Red River Settlement know the term and claim it as part of the Red River heritage -- whether referring to the people themselves, the dialect or both. A woman from the Red River area who grew up as a member of the Bungee-speaking community told me that the Indians further north do not speak Bungee. That she was not referring merely to the term is evident from her explicit remark that "they talk different."

Linguists and Cree speakers (e.g., my Swampy Cree teacher, Ida Bear) agree that dialect diversity is a prominent feature of the linguistic situation in Western Canada. Of course, the criteria for their observations differ -- and so, sometimes, do the results. The views of Cree speakers are coloured by a variety of cultural and social factors; but a speaker can often recognize the Cree "accent" of an unknown speaker and identify the community represented by that person with considerable accuracy. Likewise, some speakers claim to be able to detect the differences in the English spoken in the various communities.

There is no reason to assume that people coming from different areas to settle at Red River all spoke the same dialect initially. But the local stories about the "Red River Twang" suggest that the dialect of the Settlement soon acquired a very distinctive "sound" and a fairly standard vocabulary that everyone used and understood. There was, no doubt, some internal variability. A local man commented to me

that the "twang" in one area of the Settlement was a bit different from that of another. It may even have differed somewhat from one family group to another depending on the balance of Scottish, Indian, French, English, etc., speech involved. Originally the vocabulary and speech contained more Cree elements; but, as time went on, the speakers were increasingly influenced by the developing urban centre in their midst and the growing linguistic impact of English. As a result, the most obvious Cree element, vocabulary, has all but disappeared from present-day speech. Some of the characteristic semantic and syntactic features are also disappearing, though these may surface from time to time -- especially in casual speech.

It would appear, therefore, that a more general divergence has occurred during the past hundred years in the speech of the descendants of these original families. While the linguistic influence of Cree remained stronger in the northern communities,<sup>5</sup> English had very early on asserted itself in the Red River Settlement.

Therein lies the reason that Bungee has become so much a part of Red River folk history. There is a difference in the structural relationships. At Red River, it was clearly English, but it was so distinct from the other variants of English then spoken in Winnipeg -- a fact commented upon by the speakers as well as by outside observers. Further north, it was merely English as opposed to Cree. This structural distinction is the reason the term has come to be so

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<sup>5</sup> One informant from northern Manitoba told me that her great-great-grandfather, a Scotsman, had insisted that his children should speak only Cree. This is just one family out of many, but it suggests that the Cree language had an important continuing influence on the speech of succeeding generations.

strongly associated with the Red River Settlement and its speech.

Stobie's tapes, made in 1965, were almost all recorded in more northerly communities. Today, some traditional Bungee features, for example the interchangeability of [s] and [š] or the third-person masculine/feminine pronouns are probably more typical of the northern speakers -- which seems natural in view of the continuing influence of Cree in these communities. But it has much more significance if a person who knows no Cree uses these same forms.

Francis J. Walters, a local history buff and raconteur (now ninety years of age), recorded expressions and anecdotes which he later incorporated into Bungee stories. And Mary Liz Bayer, a well-known figure in Manitoba, publicly claims to be one of the last speakers of Bungee.<sup>6</sup> She could probably be numbered among those who Pentland speculates are not "native speakers but people who heard their parents or grandparents using it back in the days when Bungee was a living language." There are no doubt a few of those who can imitate the old speech patterns. However, there are also a few who -- though they do not speak Bungee as it was spoken seventy-five or a hundred years ago -- retain many of the features of Bungee in their informal speech and whose formal speech, too, has a decided "accent". In fact, Mr. Walters (during a local presentation of one of his Bungee stories) commented about a small group living within the Settlement whom he referred to as "the only Bungee speakers left" -- which indicates that

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<sup>6</sup> Winnipeg Free Press, 19 February 1980, p. 33; and 26 March 1980, p. 65. Ms. Bayer was Assistant Deputy Minister of Cultural Affairs in the late 1960's, and has since moved to Victoria. She has recently been elected Vice-Chair of the Heritage Foundation of Canada.

even insiders recognize them as Bungee speakers. One member of this group, a woman in her seventies, told me that "Everyone around here has a little Indian in him." She and her sister recall their maternal grandparents speaking Cree when they did not want their grandchildren to understand. They referred to it as Cree, but one of them told me subsequently that it was actually a mixture of Cree and French, i.e., Michif, a creole language still spoken in some Métis communities.<sup>7</sup> The same woman also commented that she hated listening to herself on tape because, she said: "I sound just like an old Indian." Bungee was, of course, spoken by the Indians in the area, and she obviously meant that her speech reminds her of Bungee. All the evidence leads us back to the Red River Settlement -- where all the various elements of Bungee came together -- and where the indigenous people recognize, not only the term, but the language itself.

The Red River Settlement (see Lytwyn's map, p. xiii) covered a large area following the Red River from the delta south towards Pembina, the Assiniboine River from the junction with the Red to Portage la Prairie, as well as points on southeastern Lake Manitoba and Ste-Anne on the Seine River. For the purposes of my Bungee research, I restricted my study to the Lower Red River Settlement -- the area from "the Forks" (now in downtown Winnipeg) to the mouth of the Red. This is the area where the English/Scottish retired HBC servants generally settled (Stobie 1968:72).

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<sup>7</sup> Pentland (1985:10) declares contemporary Bungee to be "just a dialect of English, a post-creole."

## The People

The Reverend William Cockran, writing in the early 1830's (cf. Foster, 1972) about the ethnic roots of his parishioners at St. Andrews, observed that among 92 families there were 39 "European" males and one female. The rest were "Orkney, English, Scotch, French, Welsh, Norwegian, Negro, and Jewish half breeds" (cited after Spry 1985:103). To that mixture one can today add Ukrainian, Polish, German, Icelandic, and probably many others.<sup>8</sup>

Ethnicity, however, is more than genetic roots and cultural practices (Barth, 1969; Foster, 1985). Ethnicity also involves the people's view of themselves in relation to other groups. Unlike the French Métis (Peterson and Brown, 1985), the Scottish Métis of Red River did not develop this sense of themselves as "Métis" -- a group apart from both their Indian and European forebears. Two possible reasons for this are the different attitudes of the English and French towards Indians (Van Kirk, 1980:14), and the time/isolation factor: the French Métis culture had several more generations to develop in relative isolation (Peterson, 1985).

The French, who had colonial goals as well as business interests, favoured intermarriage (especially during the first half of the seventeenth century). The English officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were simply business men and discouraged liaisons with native women. Of course, this was impossible to enforce from London; in the

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<sup>8</sup> Even a cousin of Samuel Clemens (alias Mark Twain) settled in Red River, and his descendants are among the Indian and Métis living in the Settlement today (cf. Amy Clemons [sic], in table 2).

field, the advantages of these alliances with the native populations were obvious -- both from the viewpoint of personal comfort and happiness and from that of business pragmatics.

Though both the French and English developed ties with the surrounding native populations, the English servants and their families remained attached to the posts along the Bay. Only after the fall of New France in 1759 did the HBC successfully expand inland (Lytwyn, 1986). By then the "Métis genesis" (Peterson, 1985) was well under way in the Great Lakes region. The substantial Métis populations had been living in communities of their own in relative isolation from the French. They were employed by the fur-trade companies in Montreal to travel the waterways leading inland the length of the Great Lakes and beyond. This extended period of isolation from the direct influence of French culture, along with their growing sense of community, provided the opportunity to develop a distinct cultural identity.

The Scottish Métis, being under the direct social influences of a trading post (even after the expansion), were required eventually to choose between Indian and White identities. This would be particularly true once they had settled at Red River. The major factor in the Settlement, right from its inception, was no doubt the constant change. The influx of many cultural groups (cf. Cockran's description, above) would tend to cause fragmentation of the whole. As a result, all the people today consider themselves either as "Indian" or as "White" -- while sometimes still admitting to "having a little Indian" in them.

Many of those who consider themselves "Indian" are descended from former residents of St. Peter's Reserve which was moved in 1907 to the present-day Peguis Reserve near Fisher River. Some of the people, whether Saulteaux or Swampy Cree, decided not to move with the others and remained in the area, thereby relinquishing treaty status. Though they call themselves Indians (not Métis) and have family on the Reserve, I have heard one woman comment that "Those Indians are different."<sup>9</sup> Her own cultural ties to her Indian heritage, however, are still evident in a story she told me. When, during her final pregnancy, she was warned by her doctor that she would miscarry, she decided to consult an Indian medicine woman. The prescription (which was successful) consisted of red willow bark tea -- the bark being gathered, in the event, by her Polish husband with the appropriate tobacco offering as part of the ritual.

This woman speaks English fluently as well as Saulteaux and (she tells me) a little French and Ukrainian learned in the course of her work at a local hospital. Though she grew up among Bungee speakers, she has little trace of it in her speech. She is not sensitive about Bungee, but then she really does not speak it.

Among those who put emphasis on their European ancestry, there are no doubt many who have successfully eradicated any linguistic trace of their Indian heritage. Others, however, have not; and the issue of Indian ancestry is often a sensitive one. For example, I asked one woman in all innocence if her husband went hunting ducks and geese in

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<sup>9</sup> One local woman defined a real Indian as one who was not christianized (cf. Wheeler tape, in table 2).

the old days. Her reply was a rather pointed "Nooo, my dear." Although it seems like such an ordinary thing on the prairies, having nothing to do with being Indian, the tone of her response suggested to me that she must equate hunting with being Indian. My interest in Bungee was also a source of some distress to her. A person might agree to be interviewed, but it was soon understood that Bungee was not a pleasant subject to talk about. Only as time progressed did the tension decrease somewhat.

On another occasion I played the tape of a Walters story (the text presented below, p. 228 ff.) for this same woman and her daughter. Afterwards, I overheard the older woman saying that she thought some of her aunts and a few others used to talk like that, but her mother did not. She also claims to this day that her Cree/French speaking grandmother was French, i.e., that she had no "Indian" in her. The "Indian" was on her grandfather's side. Her grandfather died when she was a child, but her grandmother lived into her eighties and was a focal point in her grandchildren's lives. It seems she ascribes the categories "Bungee-speaking" and "Indian" to those who played a less significant role in her life and are less treasured in memory.

This response, of course, was not unexpected; language is a rather sensitive social marker. I met one woman, in her mid-thirties, who remembers being scolded if she played with certain children at school and came home talking like them. She said her father would make her read aloud from a book -- for four hours -- to impress upon her how she should speak!<sup>10</sup> Her maternal grandmother, on the other hand,

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<sup>10</sup> Some sociolinguistic studies (e.g., Labov, 1972b) suggest that

acknowledged her Indian heritage and encouraged her granddaughter to be proud of it. During her youth, this was a source of some tension but ultimately she has opted for her grandmother's view.

"Colour" also seems to be an issue. The same young woman confided that one of her sisters whose colouring is darker than that of her siblings has had problems (i.e., teasing, insults) which were not experienced by other members of her family and which have adversely affected her life. And another older woman has on several occasions mentioned her "fairness" which she inherited from her father. I have heard several comments relating to how dark someone is -- and the expression used by one woman to comment on the fact that she has not had company for a while is, Am I black? -- meaning 'am I a social outcast?' The reference is not to people of African-American descent but to darker skin colour in general.<sup>11</sup>

There are other manifestations of apparent discrimination -- whether past or ongoing. At a large Red River "feast" on the occasion of the Anglican Church Synod meetings in the area in 1987, two women

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women are more socially conscious and therefore more concerned about language matters than are men. In Red River today, the men seem most conscious of these matters. Perhaps this is a fur-trade tradition as a result of the alliances between European males and Indian females. One man I spoke to went on at some length about how educated he and his siblings were and even mentioned a compliment he had received on his speech.

<sup>11</sup> Van Kirk (1985:211) discussing Rev. John Black (married to Henrietta Ross) notes a comment by a parishioner to the effect that "Mr. Black must feel rather ashamed to look down on all his "black" relations when he stepped into the pulpit." The punning reference to "black" and the whole issue is evidence of old colonial values whereby anyone who is not white is termed "black" and prestige is based on the fairness of one's skin (cf., for example, Bolt, 1971).

from a family which has some Bungee speakers were assigned to do the dishes for the whole affair behind the scenes while other parishioners -- including many newcomers to the parish -- were serving up the bannock and buffalo stew all decked out in traditional costume, including Métis sashes. I was talking to two English war brides who had lived in the area since the war. When I asked them if they had learned how to make bannock, they both said, "No" -- that in England bannock was like something that "had not turned out." This attitude may well reflect English/Scottish issues, but they also declined to taste the buffalo stew which was the big item on the menu. It is also noteworthy that none of the families which include Bungee speakers (that I know of) have their family history in the local history book (the current vogue in rural prairie communities). I cannot assume that there was any deliberate attempt on the part of the committee in charge to leave them out. There may have been some reluctance on their own part to participate, whether due to their sensitivities or simply because they do not feel part of the larger community as it exists today. I was not able to determine the reason without making too obvious a point of it.

The above observations and anecdotes give some indication of the complexity of the social situation which exists in the Settlement today. Every community of course develops its own hierarchy based on financial and social concerns and individual personalities, etc. The communities in this area, however, seem to have an added element of tension based on the native component in many of the local families,

whether it is manifested in their speech, skin colour, or in family ties.<sup>12</sup> As a result, anything associated with being "Indian" is a very sensitive issue for some people. This, of course, makes the study of Bungee a delicate and difficult process.

### The Language

During the nineteenth century, mention of the local language situation is restricted to an occasional reference in the writings of historians and observers living in, or passing through, the Settlement (see p. viii). Early Winnipeg newspaper articles also provide some comments about the characteristic speech of the area; and by their own casual use of Cree or Saulteaux words in local news items they reveal their readers' knowledge and everyday use of these terms. Pentland (1985:9) quotes from a description of a costume ball in 1879: "Joe Laporte, effectively rigged out, with skibbi-tah-gun, minji-kah-wun, arqhemuk, and all the rest of it."<sup>13</sup>

More recently, within the last forty or fifty years, a few articles have appeared which attempt to describe the fast-fading dialect. In December 1937, S. Osborne Scott did a radio presentation on the Red

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<sup>12</sup> The evidence seems to be mainly alcoholism and the unusually high incidence of divorce/marriage breakup in the over-65 age group -- which is uncharacteristic of rural areas in my experience. This is merely a casual observation and is not based on any statistical studies.

<sup>13</sup> Winnipeg Quiz, 15 March 1879 (p. 4:2). Pentland notes that these are Saulteaux words: kiškipittâkan 'tobacco pouch', minčikkâwanak 'mitts', and âkimak 'snowshoes'.

River dialect which was subsequently published in a local newspaper.<sup>14</sup>

In 1951, Scott and Mulligan published an article entitled "The Red River Dialect" in The Beaver. In this article, Bungee is described as:

a curious dialect ... which combined some of the characteristics of both [Scottish and Orkney English and Cree] .... The Orkneyman talked English with a Scottish accent and with the lilting cadence of his Norse ancestors.

It should be noted that Scott and Mulligan referred to Bungee as the "Red River" dialect.

Walters (1969, 1989) also published an article describing some of the features of Bungee. His observations, which are more extensive, are discussed below.

In 1965 Stobie visited several communities in central and northern Manitoba and interviewed people who were descendants of the original fur-trade families. In her article, "The Dialect Called Bungi" (1971), she observed that it was the English of the Gaelic-speaking highlanders which is most in evidence "for it has a Gaelic fall." Stobie noted that "today, the rhythm of Bungi is its most distinctive ... and enduring feature ... [which] comes in part from syllable stress -- both syllables of 'canoe' or 'bannock', for instance, have equal stress." Stobie also noted the pronunciation of sawl for 'shawl', pitser for 'picture', and dzudz for 'judge'. This is due to the lack of a phonemic distinction between [s] and [š] in western Cree dialects. A third point mentioned by Stobie is the interchangeable

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<sup>14</sup> The Winnipeg Tribune, 29 December 1937. The script of the radio talk itself (CKY Radio, 7 December 1937) has been preserved in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

use of the pronouns he and she without regard for gender -- the result of the absence of a masculine/feminine distinction for third-person pronouns in Cree (or any Algonquian language).

Pentland (1985:10) describes Bungee as "Scottish English, especially English as spoken in the Orkney Islands" -- with lexical borrowings from Cree and the above-mentioned phonological features. The English of the Orkneys is essentially that of the Lowland Scots. Catford defines 'Scots' as:

a range of distinctly Scottish dialects of English which are the direct continuation of that Anglian dialect of Old English which was introduced into southeastern Scotland in the seventh century ... reaching more or less its present limits of expansion by about 1700 [including the Orkney and Shetland Islands] (1957:109).

This dialect had spread to the Orkney Islands with the migration of the lowlanders -- the spread hastened by the reformation so that:

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Norn [the old Norse language previously spoken there] was sufficiently uncommon for James Wallace, who reported in 1700 that 'all speak English, after the Scots way', to comment that 'some of the common people amongst themselves, speak a language they call Norns' (Price, 1984:201-203).

Today the Norn language has left its mark mainly in lexical items, for example yarm, the sound made by animals of various species (depending on where you live): in the West Mainland, cats yarm but in North Ronaldsay a sheep yarms (Killick 1987:25).

According to all the accounts of Bungee reviewed for this study, the influences include Cree, Salteaux, Gaelic, Lowland Scots English and perhaps a bit of Norn. However, no linguistic study of the language has been attempted until now. Michif, the language spoken by the French Métis, has been the object of several linguistic studies

(e.g., Crawford, 1976, 1983; Douaud, 1980, 1985; Rhodes, 1977; and Laverdure and Allard, 1983) and has been identified as a creole based on Plains Cree, with French noun phrases in a Cree matrix.

In contrast to Michif, Pentland (1985) refers to Bungee as a post-creole, i.e., that it was formerly a creole of English which is now evolving towards the local standard English. DeCamp notes that there are two conditions required for a speech community to reach post-creole status. First, the dominant language must be the same as the creole vocabulary base; and second, that "the social system, though perhaps still sharply stratified, must provide for sufficient social mobility and sufficient corrective pressures from above in order for the standard language to exert real influence on creole speakers" (1971:29). The first condition is certainly met -- Bungee is and was a dialect of English. And one can speculate that the steady stream of Europeans (at first predominantly male) who subsequently married into the local families would have provided many such avenues of mobility. In the 1870's there was a significant migration of Icelanders to the interlake region; large numbers of Ukrainians started coming into the Settlement in the 1890's, and Germans in the 1920's. More specifically, a man from St. Andrews told me his grandfather came to Red River from the Orkneys during the nineteenth century and started up a mill in the Settlement. And the father of a personal friend was among a group from Germany in the early 1920's, coming as a young man with his mother and several siblings and settling at Petersfield. He subsequently married a local woman of Métis and Scottish descent.

As suggested, intermarriage between these various European groups and the local population would provide obvious avenues of social mobility. These avenues might not have been so broad had the populations been strictly English. Haugen, comparing French and English colonial language policies, observes that the English language policy was covert in that the English were tolerant of native tongues, but unwilling to accept their speakers as social equals. (Haugen also suggests that the English were more colour-conscious than the French.) On the other hand, the French had an overt policy towards language. They expected people to learn French, and if they did, they were accepted into the community (Haugen, 1985:11-13).

It seems clear, therefore, that Bungee has been in a constant state of change at Red River, evolving in the direction of the local standard English -- which was initially a Scots English dialect. If the process of language "unlearning" is indeed a reversal of the processes of language learning (as claimed by Cook, 1986), then the appearance of "going haywire" in "dying languages" is presumably due to the fact that the unlearning process is at different stages in the various speakers. While language learning is a continuous process and is fairly regular according to the age and development of the child, language unlearning depends on many social factors as well. In the case of Bungee, the rate of decreolization must have been an important factor in increasing the uncertainty of language learning and the more conscious tensions of language unlearning. Notwithstanding the social prejudices involved in cases of this nature, the mere fact of rapid

change would seem to be enough to create a very sensitive linguistic environment.

The speakers of Michif, the other fur-trade creole, live in various isolated communities in Western Canada, often near Indian communities, and on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. In all instances, they exist in a sea of English speakers except for their Cree or Ojibwa/Chippewa neighbours. Under these circumstances a creole will tend to disappear rather than go through a prolonged process of change. As children cease to learn it, opting for the majority/prestige language of the region, the creole simply dies out. Only by direct political intervention on the part of the whole group can they sustain (or delay the demise of) a creole language under these conditions. Other possible factors in such a case might include the size of the group, the isolation of the area involved, and the functional separation of languages (Rubin, 1985:115). There is historical evidence, according to Hancock (1971:512), of a creole language in Quebec during the seventeenth century which no longer exists; and there is also more direct evidence of a living creole of Montagnais and French in the Betsiamites region of Quebec (cf. Drapeau, 1986).

This is the background against which the following linguistic study has been conducted. The impressions about sensitive social issues which were picked up in the course of the study are very sketchy. Many of the questions were difficult to pursue, especially as I did not wish either to intrude on anyone's privacy or to estrange any of the few sources for my linguistic research.

## CHAPTER 2: SCOPE AND METHOD

### The Model Studies

The purpose of dialect study has traditionally been historical -- to record the older forms of the standard language of a country, region or locality. Studies were typically conducted in rural areas where populations were assumed to be stable and homogeneous.<sup>15</sup> Wordlists and questionnaires were designed to document variation in lexical items and pronunciation; and the results are typically mapped by means of isoglosses over geographic areas showing spatial variations. These studies often involved many fieldworkers and/or long periods of time to complete.

The following are two exemplary cases at opposite extremes. Around the turn of this century, a lone man on a bicycle, Edmond Edmont, travelled throughout France, stopping at just over 600 points with a wordlist of 2,000 words and phrases and collecting data from a single informant in each location. The resulting work (Gilliéron and Edmont, 1902-10) is of course limited by the sparse grid of this survey (Bloomfield, 1933:324-5); however, Edmont's work did establish a number of isogloss bundles, including the large bundle marking the major dialect boundary separating northern and southern France (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:111). A major advantage to this kind of a survey is that all the data is collected by a single observer and is

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<sup>15</sup> Rural areas are considered more conservative with respect to language change simply because there is less contact with people from outside the area.

therefore internally consistent.

The monumental Sprachatlas der Deutschen Schweiz (Baumgartner and Hotzenköcherle, 1965), on the other hand, is built upon the accumulated research of many field workers done over many decades. This involves special training for field workers and no doubt considerable cross-checking of their work to ensure that the results are consistent. However, the larger project can provide a wealth of information for historical or typological studies. Moulton (1960, 1961), for example, made extensive use of the above atlas which, together with some fieldwork of his own, enabled him to analyze the vowel systems of a section of Switzerland, compare them in terms of their structures, and relate them to one another in terms of their historical developments.

Some smaller dialect studies, for example Paddock's study of the dialect of Carbonear, Newfoundland (1981), are more manageable in terms of time, manpower, and money than those undertaken for whole countries; but they still require a fairly substantial sample. It is essential that the populations be comfortable in their linguistic and ethnic identity and willing to participate in a fairly intensive study. Paddock, for example, conducted all his interviews in one summer. He spent four to eight hours interviewing each informant in addition to having them fill out a questionnaire. There were twenty-four informants in all, divided roughly on the basis of religion (Roman Catholic vs. Protestant) which, in this case, roughly parallels ethnic origin (Irish vs. English); age (over sixty vs.

under sixty); sex (thirteen male and eleven female); and financial/social position.

Paddock elicited words and/or pronunciations, and each reply was transcribed in situ. A segment of each interview was tape recorded to allow for verification of his transcriptions and to pick up unelicited forms in "free conversation" (also for comparative purposes). The written records (questionnaires) provided further information regarding stress on compound words: if a compound is written as one word or hyphenated, then Paddock concludes that stress is on the first element of the compound; if two words, then the stress is on the second element. This is a fairly thorough and well-planned study of a living dialect. A large number of these smaller-scale dialect studies scattered all over Newfoundland could yield the equivalent of a dialect atlas provided the same methodology were used consistently throughout and all the field workers were trained to the same standard. However, Paddock's study also has some of the elements of a sociolinguistic study (i.e., the cross-sections according to age, sex, etc.).

Sociolinguistics is the study of dialect in relation to social context. The most prominent current trend is exemplified in the work of Labov in the United States and Trudgill in England.<sup>16</sup> Working with vast urban populations, Labov and Trudgill were able to solicit large numbers of potential subjects and pick from them to fit a

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<sup>16</sup> The reason for this trend, according to Malkiel, lies in non-linguistic factors including the economic infeasibility of large atlas projects today and the vast amounts of accumulated knowledge which no one scholar can reasonably be expected to master (Malkiel, 1984:30-31).

cross-section of society according to age, sex, educational background, occupation, etc. The results of these surveys were then analyzed statistically and presented in charts and graphs.

In Labov's study of small, closed groups or gangs, on the other hand, participant-observation was the only technique available. Fieldworkers had to "hang out" with the gang to the point where they were accepted as part of the group. They could then record (with individual microphones) each member's speech patterns (Labov, 1972b).

In order to determine different styles of speech from the same person (usually in a single taped interview), Labov used a variety of methods which include questions or reading tasks designed to elicit formal replies as well as questions designed to elicit casual, spontaneous replies -- for example concerning some incident in which the speaker was in danger of being killed (which seems more realistic in New York City than in a small town on the prairies). The differences in pronunciation, syntax, etc., between the two styles of speech could then be analyzed (Labov, 1972b).

None of these methods is suitable to the situation prevailing in the Red River Settlement. Because there are so few speakers left, one cannot go from door to door soliciting volunteers, secure in the knowledge that an acceptance rate of one percent will provide an ample number of "subjects" to choose from. The "group" consists of several individuals living independent and active lives, and there is no question of "hanging out" with them on a daily basis. Though I usually visited individuals, I was sometimes invited to attend

funerals, birthday parties, picnics, teas, etc. and have been present at small gatherings of family and/or friends, e.g., at Easter Sunday dinner. On these occasions one can only listen and make notes when courtesy allows. This is not a textbook case: Bungee requires a special approach.

### The Bungee Study

The study began in the spring of 1986, centred on people whose family roots are in the fur trade and who either speak or grew up in a Bungee-speaking environment in the area described above. These were the basic criteria for inclusion in this study -- some of these people consider themselves "Indian" while others do not. Approaching the community through the Anglican priest in the focal area, and through the aunt of a fellow university student who is interested in pursuing his fur-trade roots, I was ultimately led to two major sources.

For Bungee in its present state, I have been working with a family of several aunts, nieces, cousins, etc. some of whom allowed me to record their speech (see table 1, p. 26). My main source of data and information about Bungee is Mrs. Adams, a woman in her seventies, whom I met through her sister, Mrs. Barnes. (All names of present-day speakers are pseudonyms.) In addition, I met and talked to a number of other people, some of whom provided data as well as insights and information which was helpful to my research. Contact with this latter group was limited so that no real study of their speech was possible; only an occasional phrase of phonetic or grammatical

interest was recorded. Most people, needless to say, did not want to be involved and/or did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the study. Though the sample is very small, it should be kept in mind that this study is basically a salvage enterprise. There are very few speakers of Bungee left and the whole issue is a sensitive one -- especially to people who speak it.

The second major source is Francis J. Walters who emerged as the best source of information for a slightly older form of Bungee about which so little has been written. Though he was born in England in 1898, he moved to the Red River settlement with his parents in 1904 at the age of six.<sup>17</sup> He grew up hearing Bungee; and being interested in the people and their ways of speaking, learned to speak like them. He often accompanied his father who was not only a preacher but a doctor who tended the sick, delivered babies, etc. Walters developed an interest in the history and folklore of the region and in the 1960's travelled throughout the community interviewing oldtimers and recording stories and anecdotes. Some of these are incorporated into Bungee stories which he wrote and recorded on audiotape in dialect, using the speech patterns and sounds he had heard since childhood. Mr. Walters is a keen observer and has a good ear for dialect; and, though the speech presented is no doubt stylized somewhat to suit his didactic purposes, it shares many of the features noticed in Mrs. Adams' speech today. It also seems reasonable to surmise that, being

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<sup>17</sup> His father, Eugene Walters, was an orphan but was adopted as a boy and grew up in Essex. After studying for the ministry (Harley College), he was stationed at various points in England. He married a woman from Derbyshire (near Nottingham), and the family was later sent to Jamaica as missionaries, whence they moved to Red River in 1904.

based on the speech of people long since gone, it might also contain some features which have been lost in present-day speech.

The Walters tapes include five stories based on scripts composed and written down before being read or "performed" and recorded on audiotape. This work was probably begun in the 1960's as copies of the tapes were deposited in the University of North Dakota Library in 1969 when "Bungee as She is Spoke" (1969) was published in The Red River Valley Historian. However, the stories have been worked on since. Some of them exist in as many as three recorded versions which are slightly different in content as well as in performance levels. The first story is the most "polished", and it is a version of this story which is presented below (appendix 1, p. 228 ff.). There is a manuscript for the first story and a more detailed manuscript and wordlist for the second story which show various orthographic conventions to represent Bungee pronunciation.

The collection of interviews with oldtimers, recorded during the 1960's, are not in Bungee; though some of the speakers were no doubt bi-dialectal, they were using their more standard dialect for the taping sessions. Most of them show some traces of Bungee in their speech, but only two provide any evidence which could be included in my survey.

Table 1, which follows, lists all the people I interviewed or overheard whose speech is analyzed in the following chapters. The names are fictitious, chosen simply to represent the letters of the alphabet. Other information included is sex (Mr. or Mrs.) and age (by

decade -- sometimes guessed). I have also indicated those speakers who do (I) and those who might (?) consider themselves "Indian" (or at least Métis (M), in the case of (?)). I have included Mrs. Todd in this list though examples of her speech are only reported by her granddaughters.<sup>18</sup>

Table 2 lists speakers heard on archival audiotapes, including two women represented in the Walters Collection, whose speech is used as a source of data in the following chapters. Table 3 lists the other archival sources, written and audio, used in this study, and table 4 lists and outlines the scope of Walters' Bungee stories and manuscripts.

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<sup>18</sup> My own interview tapes (table 1) and my copies of Walters' Bungee stories (the Blain Collection) will be deposited along with the Walters Collection (of oral history interviews) in the University of Manitoba Archives, Dafoe Library.

Table 1: Present-Day Speakers Interviewed or Overheard

| <u>Names*</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Status</u> | <u>Comments</u>                    |
|---------------|------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| Mrs. Adams    | 70's       |               | taped                              |
| Mrs. Barnes   | 70's       |               | taped                              |
| Mr. Clark     | 70's       |               | taped                              |
| Mr. Drake     | 80's       |               | since deceased                     |
| Mrs. Ellis    | 60's       | (I)           |                                    |
| Mrs. Fox      | 70's       |               |                                    |
| Mrs. Granger  | 70's       | (?)           |                                    |
| Mrs. Hart     | 80's       | (I)           | used to live on Brokenhead Reserve |
| Mrs. Innes    | 50/60      | (I)           | daughter of Mrs. Hart              |
| Mr. Jones     | 30's       | (?)           | son of Mrs. Ellis                  |
| Mr. Kerr      | 50/60      |               | nephew of Mr. Drake                |
| Mr. Lake      | 80/90      |               | born in England, grew up in R.R.   |
| Mrs. Mason    | 50's       |               | daughter of Mrs. Barnes            |
| Mrs. Nolan    | 60's       |               | niece of Adams and Barnes          |
| Mrs. Ogden    | 50's       |               | niece of Adams and Barnes          |
| Mrs. Price    | 40's       |               | daughter of Mrs. Adams             |
| Mrs. Quinn    | 70's       |               | wife of Mr. Lake; since deceased   |
| Mrs. Royce    | 70's       |               |                                    |
| Mr. Stone     | 40's       | (I)           | son of Mrs. Ellis                  |

Reported Speech only:

Mrs. Todd (M) (1849-1935) grandmother of Adams and Barnes

\* All the names in this table are fictitious and are not, to my knowledge, common to the Settlement. The actual names reflect the diversity of the area and include surnames of Scottish, Orkney, English, French, Ukrainian, Polish and Icelandic provenance.

Table 2: Speakers Documented in Archival Audiotapes

(a) Ordinary Speech

Mrs. Wheeler\* (c. 1882-1972), born Brokenhead Reserve, taped 1967  
Mrs. Sinclair\* (1872-1968), born St. Andrews, taped 1968  
Mrs. Clemons\*\* (1906- ), taped 1985

\* Interview tape in the Walters Collection, University of Manitoba Archives, Dafoe Library.

\*\* Amy Clemons, great-granddaughter of Long Jake Prince (nephew of Chief Peguis), tape in the Métis Oral History Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM) C368. Interviewed by Nicole St. Onge, 30 May 1985, in Selkirk.

(b) "Performance"

McAllister tape, "Bungee Stories", 1950, PAM C386.

Walters' Bungee Stories (see table 4).

CBC (Radio) tape, 1978, Interviews with W.L. Morton, M. Stobie, E. Marwick, and Ramona McBean, who reads the "McBean Letter" (which was written by her mother, Mrs. Charles Sinclair.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Charles Cuthbert (C.C.) Sinclair (1870-1944), son of William Sinclair (1832-1897) and Jane MacDonald (1838-1932) -- and descendant of Chief Factor William Sinclair (1768-1818) and Margaret Nahoway Norton. C.C. Sinclair married Islay Mary Colcleugh and spent from 1902-1911 at Norway House (with a daughter, Ramona, and a son, Moray) in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company (Peter Geller, personal communication); cf. also Moncrieff (see table 3).

Table 3: Other Archival Sources

(see the Reference section for full documentation)

Participant-Observers

Moncrieff Story: a brief article on the Red River dialect in The Winnipeg Tribune, 18 December 1936.

Scott, 1937: an article on the Red River dialect in The Winnipeg Tribune, 29 December 1937 (reprinted in Scott and Mulligan, 1951).

McBean Letter: a letter written by Ramona McBean's mother, Mrs. Sinclair, in The Winnipeg Tribune, 12 January 1938, in defence of Scott's article.

Sanderson Letter: a letter to the editor of The Winnipeg Tribune, 13 January 1938, in response to Scott's article.

Kennedy Letter: a letter to the editor of The Winnipeg Tribune, 15 January 1938, in response to Scott's article.

Mulligan's Story: 'The Shtory of Little Red Ridin Hood', told in Bungee, in Scott and Mulligan, 1951.

Walters manuscripts (see Table 4).

Naive Writers

McKay Journals, Trout Lake 1843-56, HBCA B.239.

Orkney Letters: edited selections included in an article by E. Marwick [originally published in the Orkney Herald?], reprinted in The Selkirk Enterprise, 25 June 1953.

Table 4: Walters Recordings and Manuscripts

Bungee Stories

(variants of the same story are indicated by subscript letters)

| <u>Recording</u><br>(by Walters) | <u>Transcript</u><br>(by Blain) | <u>Edition</u> | <u>Discussion</u> |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Story (1a)                       |                                 |                |                   |
| (1b)                             | Reading Transcript              | Appendix 1     | Chapters 6-10     |
|                                  | Linguistic Transcript           | Appendix 1     | Chapter 4         |
| (1c)                             |                                 |                |                   |
| Story (2)                        | Reading Transcript              |                | Chapters 6-10     |
| Story (3)                        | Reading Transcript              |                | Chapters 6-10     |
| Story (4a)                       | Reading Transcript              |                | Chapters 6-10     |
| (4b)                             |                                 |                |                   |
| Story (5a)                       | Reading Transcript              |                | Chapters 6-10     |
| (5b)                             |                                 |                |                   |

Manuscripts

| <u>Manuscript (by Walters)</u>   | <u>Discussion</u>             |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Story (1)                        | Chapter 5 (passing reference) |
| Story (2)                        | Chapter 5                     |
| Wordlist to supplement Story (2) | Chapter 5                     |

### Interview Techniques

Once contacts were made in the area and I had come to know a few people, it became obvious that any thought of even a moderately conventional social dialect study (i.e., comparing speech patterns of various groups according to age, sex, etc.) was naive and unrealistic. The fact remains, however, that this study is concerned with a dialect -- trying to sketch a phonetic system, gather a glossary of lexical items, and identify a few grammatical features from the assortment of evidence available. It was not possible, however, to conduct a study of Bungee in the manner of Paddock -- with questionnaires, wordlists, etc. There are far too few people who still speak Bungee and those few are far too selfconscious for such a direct approach. Instead, this study is based on an opportunity sample.

The notion of going out every day to do field research was also out of the question. One of the first things I learned, as a novice, was that Sunday is the day for "visiting", and that one is expected neither to visit any other day nor, indeed, to show up every Sunday. Since the socializing includes meals, I reciprocated with gifts of cake, fruit, cigarettes, tea, home-made soup, etc. As it was not a typical research situation, the offering of money in payment for time would have been inappropriate. The pretext (which was only partially a pretext) of social "visiting" was important in order to keep up appearances with the neighbours, as well as for the host's own peace of mind. There was neither the privacy of the country nor the anonymity of the city for protection.

The techniques which could, in the event, be used were audio recording, note taking, telephone note taking (Labov, 1972b) and participant-observation. The opportunities for taping were limited. Some people did not want to be recorded; for example, one woman told me that her sister had told her never to let anyone record her on tape. Those who did allow me to tape them often refused, politely, with "Not today, my dear." Often the occasion of the visit was inappropriate (e.g., Easter Sunday dinner, an illness, death, funeral, etc.) and the tape recorder had to be left at home. I had become a "friend" and friends do not put you on the spot with tape machines -- or even with pen and paper. Taping was permitted only occasionally and always on the host's terms.

So also was note taking. If I was making a technical note on how to make bee's wine, for example, or writing down an expression that a grandmother or uncle used to use, note taking was acceptable. However, in the context of normal conversation (which is the most acceptable form of "visiting"), it drew comments and looks. Occasionally, absent-minded doodling and "X and O" games can disguise sketchy notes. On visits to my apartment, crossword puzzles, combined with television, proved suitably distracting.<sup>20</sup> Even telephone notes, however, are often sketchy due to the necessity of keeping up one's end of the conversation.

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<sup>20</sup> This distraction sometimes served me well. The only utterance of the word gutter 'mud' (In the gutter, yet!) outside of Walters' stories took place when my guest was watching Robin Hood and his rival, Gisbon, fighting in a mudhole. Also, several instances of he for she were observed on some occasions. As Mrs. Adams does not watch television at home, the medium served to make her much less conscious of her own utterances.

In group situations, one can sometimes leave the room to make a hurried note; otherwise one has to rely on memory to make notes later, which reduces reliability. Not only might you forget entirely, but you might remember only partially or incorrectly. Participant-observation was frequently my only recourse.

While being recorded, people are generally careful of how they speak. In order to create the most casual speech situation attainable, it was necessary to ignore the tape recorder myself (and risk the tape running out). In a few instances, I used techniques similar to Labov's (1972b), choosing topics which would elicit the most relaxed response. Of course, the nature of questions in a one-shot taping session will be quite different from conversational questions between friends. Due to the relationship I was able to establish over time, these topics could be more friendly and intimate than those available to Labov. Conversely, as suggested earlier, questions which might be suitable for New York City might be less appropriate in a rural community. However, the results in some of the especially casual taping sessions are sometimes interesting (see chapter 6, p. 127 ff.). Usually, however, the most marked differences in speech style occur in the most casual (and inopportune) moments -- off tape and without a notepad or pen at hand.

There were several ways in which my presence in the community created tensions. When the Anglican priest arranged my first meeting with Mrs. Barnes, he told her that I was interested in Bungee. When she, in turn, introduced me to her sister, Mrs. Adams, she merely said

I was interested in the "old days." Thereafter, I learned to include Bungee in a list of items I was interested in, e.g., the old days, stories people used to tell, Bungee, family histories, etc., in order to cushion it somewhat. It is noteworthy that Mrs. Barnes (in spite of the fact that she seemed the most open to discussing the subject of Bungee), would not consent to be tape recorded until much later when I was firmly established in the group. She told me specifically that she does not like to hear herself on tape because, "I sound just like an old Indian."

Sometime after I had become friends with Mrs. Adams, she told me she was angry at the priest and had given him a piece of her mind. When I asked her why she was mad at him, she said: "'cause he said I was like a Bungee." Apparently he had asked her if she was telling me all about Bungee. To her, Bungee means the same as Indian -- though her sister, Mrs. Barnes, seemed to be aware of the term denoting the speech. Mrs. Adams has become more trusting and willing to explain a few lexical items on occasion, but it is still difficult for her. On a recent visit to my apartment, Mrs. Adams was quite relaxed and casual in her speech. The second evening, when I brought up the subject of Bungee, the style of her speech changed perceptibly. Although I cannot pinpoint the difference, because it was not recorded for analysis, the effect was unmistakable. It had to do with choice of words, perhaps, but more importantly with enunciation and tone of voice.

In the course of the evening, I played a tape of a Walters story (the text presented in appendix 1) and asked her what she thought of Walters' depiction of "the way they used to talk." She listened intently and had several good laughs. Her response was, "Well, he hit the nail on the head that time." This is no doubt the best compliment an author might wish to receive. I went to the kitchen to prepare tea while she and her daughter discussed who "used to talk like that." Mrs. Adams thought some of her aunts and a few others did, but her mother did not really talk like that. As suggested above, she attributes the category "Bungee-speaking" to those who were not so close to her -- yet it seems highly unlikely that she and her sister would be considered as speakers today if their mother did not also speak Bungee.

Walters, on the other hand, loves to talk about Bungee; and much of what he knows about it is incorporated into the stories he has been writing and producing on audiotape. These stories contain information which none of the other speakers would or could tell me. He is very observant, pointing out many features other observers have missed; and many of the forms he uses in his stories may well follow patterns which he repeats from memory even though he might not be able to define or explain them. He has a vested interest in preserving things in his stories which most of the speakers are trying to eradicate from their speech. For example, Mrs. Adams' eldest daughter once said to her, "I remember when you used to say apichekwani, Mom." There has no doubt been considerable change in the speech of the the present-day Bungee speakers over the past forty years.

But it proved impossible to set up a laboratory situation with Walters in which I could test pronunciations or ask questions about grammar or the content of his stories. Any pronunciations had to be gleaned from his imitations of people on and off tape. On one occasion he offered a pronunciation of boada 'body', as he wrote it in his wordlist. Though he was eager to talk about his work -- again, it was on his terms. Another time, when I queried the use of the words arqufy and dangersome in one of his stories, trying to determine whether they were actually used by Bungee speakers or perhaps just used for embellishment, Walters replied a bit defensively, "It doesn't matter what you say but how you say it." He did not confirm or deny the authenticity of the words, and his answer does not truly represent his attitude toward the material. I know it matters to him what he says -- though at the same time he says he has modified the material to suit his purposes. So arqufy is unverified, though dangersome has since been corroborated by Mrs. Adams' use of grumblesome. One might assume, by analogy, that arqufy is also authentic Bungee.<sup>21</sup>

The Walters collection includes two tapes of oldtimers whose speech sounds very much like Bungee phonetically and to some extent in their phrasing. According to Walters, they do not speak Bungee: "They speak pretty good English." A considerable difference exists between their syntax and that of Bungee as represented in his stories -- though some features are present some of the time. But the most prominent differences which I have been able to determine with certainty are in intonation, pitch, and other prosodic features. It

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<sup>21</sup> arqufy is noted in Skeat (1912:97) as a variant in English dialect speech.

seems reasonable to assume that most people in the Red River Settlement at one time spoke a variety of Scots English -- but the Bungee speakers were most distinctive in their syntactic and prosodic patterns.

Though the Walters stories present many problems for linguistic analysis, they are a most valuable document, coming as they do from inside the community.

## PART II: THE SOUNDS OF BUNGEE

The sounds used by Mrs. Adams and Mr. Walters and those reflected in the philological evidence are represented largely in terms of the individual vowels, e.g., [a], [e:], etc. Though the phonemic status of these vowels can be ascertained for Mrs. Adams' more formal speech (which has been recorded on audiotape),<sup>22</sup> the other evidence remains quite intractable from a phonological perspective: somewhat obscure in the "performance" levels of Walters' Bungee stories, and considerably more so in the written evidence.

In comparing the three types of evidence, I will concentrate on groups of words which typically show the same vowel: in many dialects of English, including standard Winnipeg English, palm is pronounced [pɑm], rhyming with Tom and belonging to a lexical set which includes call, dot, dawn, etc. In a few dialects of English, this word is [pæm], rhyming with Sam, and in the same lexical set as dam, that, fad, etc. Lexical sets vary in some individual components, as illustrated, according to historical developments that have taken place in various regional dialects.

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<sup>22</sup> Mrs. Adams' system for her more formal speech is the same as that of Standard Winnipeg English (henceforth SWE) except in detail; for example, where SWE has [ey], Mrs. Adams has [e:]; where SWE has [a] preceding [r], so does Mrs. Adams. Where SWE has [ai] diphthong, Mrs. Adams has [ei] -- the only difference being that [˘i] in SWE varies with [ai] only in specific phonetic environments, while [˘i] apparently varies freely with [ei] in all environments in Mrs. Adams' speech.

In the following chapters, I will first define Standard Winnipeg English (henceforth referred to as SWE). Next, I will place the membership of the lexical sets for each vowel in Mrs. Adams and as evidenced in Walters' stories in relation to SWE. Finally, I will discuss the differences in articulation, both as compared to that of SWE and within the various speech styles which have been recorded.

### CHAPTER 3: A PRESENT-DAY SPEAKER

More than a century after the Canadian takeover of 1870, there are still speakers in the settlement who retain at least some of the features of Bungee in their speech. I have chosen one elderly woman, Mrs. Adams, as my major representative. Mrs. Adams' speech was recorded on various occasions at different stages of the study. Occasionally, I was also able to take sketchy notes, either face-to-face or during telephone conversations. In tape-recorded sessions, Mrs. Adams' style of speech was generally more careful, though on one occasion I was able to record a particularly relaxed sequence (for tape -- which is usually a question-and-answer format or at least more formally topic-oriented). The most casual speech occurred in idle chatter, greetings, exclamations, etc.

The following phonetic sketch attempts to cover all the speech styles I was able to record on audiotape -- with additional evidence from notes which are based on fleeting conversation and are therefore more subject to distortion. Table 5 below shows the vowel symbols used to represent Mrs. Adams' speech and the corresponding SWE vowels.

The colon (:) does not mark distinctive vowel length but represents the difference in quantity -- and quality -- between [e:] and [e], corresponding roughly to the difference in quantity and quality between [ey] and [e] in SWE.

Table 5: Vowels

| <u>Description</u>      | <u>Mrs. Adams</u> | <u>SWE</u> | <u>example</u>      |
|-------------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|
| High front tense        | i:                | iy         | as in <u>beet</u>   |
| High front lax          | i                 | i          | as in <u>bit</u>    |
| Mid front tense         | e:                | ey         | as in <u>bait</u>   |
| Mid front lax           | e                 | e          | as in <u>bet</u>    |
| Low front               | æ                 | æ          | as in <u>bat</u>    |
| Mid back unrounded      | ʌ                 | ʌ          | as in <u>but</u>    |
| Low back unrounded      | a                 | a          | as in <u>bar</u>    |
| Low back rounded        | ɑ                 | ɑ          | as in <u>bought</u> |
| Mid back rounded lax    | o                 | o          | as in <u>bore</u>   |
| Mid back rounded tense  | o:                | ow         | as in <u>boat</u>   |
| High back rounded lax   | u                 | u          | as in <u>book</u>   |
| High back rounded tense | u:                | uw         | as in <u>boot</u>   |

In addition to the above, there is the reduced vowel [ə] as in the first syllable of about. The difference between lax [e] and tense [e:] in Bungee might best be compared to the difference between SWE [pek] 'peck' and [peg] 'peg' (preceding voiced velar consonants) which for most SWE speakers is higher and longer than the [e] in peck or bet (but not diphthongized as [ey] in bait). The main differences between Mrs. Adams' speech and SWE are in the front and back diphthongs (see discussion below) and in the tense vowels which in her speech are all monophthongs while the "tense" vowels of SWE are diphthongized (characterized by an off-glide).

## The Vowels and Consonants of SWE

Before discussing Mrs. Adams' vowels and consonants in detail, a brief outline of SWE seems in order. This description is based roughly on what is referred to as Canadian "Heartland" English, i.e., English west of Toronto. Though there are obviously some differences in the finer details, the vowel system and the consonants are generally the same throughout the region. The following description is based on that of Gregg (1975) for Vancouver English with additional comments where necessary.<sup>23</sup>

| <u>"Tense" Vowels:</u> | <u>Lax Vowels:</u> |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| iy      uw             | i      u           |
| ey      ow             | e    ^    o        |
|                        | æ    a    ʌ        |

Reduced vowel: [ə]

Diphthongs: [ai] and variant [ʌi]  
[au] and variant [ʌu]  
[oi]

Gregg (1975) describes the high "tense" vowels as only occasionally diphthongized (typically monophthongs), while the mid tense vowels are typically diphthongized. For the sake of consistency, I have shown them all as "diphthongized". There is no distinction for length between "tense" and lax vowels (though length differences may exist in

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<sup>23</sup> Chambers (1975:117) notes that the criteria for the heartland dialect is the pronunciation of the central diphthongs, and that the phonological analysis for the heartland holds for Vancouver as well.

some environments). The difference is one of quality.

The vowels of SWE are as shown in table 5 and require no further discussion.

As suggested above, however, the diphthongs of SWE are different from those of Bungee. [ai] varies with [ʌi], which occurs preceding voiceless obstruents, [ai] occurring elsewhere. Examples include:

|        |        |        |            |
|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| [bʌit] | 'bite' | [baid] | 'bide'     |
| [lʌis] | 'lice' | [laiz] | 'lies'     |
| [pʌip] | 'pipe' | [lai]  | 'lie, lye' |

[au] varies with [ʌu], which occurs preceding voiceless obstruents, [au] occurring elsewhere. Examples include:

|        |         |         |         |
|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| [kʌuʃ] | 'couch' | [kau]   | 'cow'   |
| [pʌut] | 'pout'  | [praud] | 'proud' |
| [lʌus] | 'louse' | [paund] | 'pound' |

[oi] as in boil, boy, join, noise, etc.

#### Vowels Preceding [r]

Most vowels are 'coloured' in the environment preceding [r]. The vowels preceding [r] are: [u], [i], [e], [a], [o] and [ə]. Most younger speakers have merged Mary, merry, and marry as [meri] though conservative speakers retain a lower vowel, [æ], in marry. Examples include: [g@rl] 'girl', [kard] 'card', [ford] 'ford', [fer] 'fair', [pur] 'poor', [yir] 'year'.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Although there is some variation in the high vowels preceding [r], it does not likely involve the upward glide typical of diphthongized vowels. Note discussion of the influence of [r] on

## Consonants

As noted by Gregg (1975), English consonant systems vary little among dialects, and few comments are necessary. The consonants of SWE include:

| <u>Lab</u> | <u>L-D</u> | <u>Den</u> | <u>Alv</u> | <u>A-P</u> | <u>Pal</u> | <u>Vel</u> | <u>Glott</u> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| p          |            |            | t          |            |            | k          |              |
| b          |            |            | d          |            |            | g          |              |
|            |            |            |            |            | č          |            |              |
|            |            |            |            |            | ǰ          |            |              |
|            | f          | θ          |            | s          | š          |            | h            |
|            | v          | ð          |            | z          | ž          |            |              |
| m          |            |            | n          |            |            | ŋ          |              |
|            |            |            | l          |            |            |            |              |
|            |            |            | r          |            |            |            |              |
| w          |            |            |            | y          |            |            |              |

[ŋ] occurs typically in word-final -ing. The cluster [ŋg] occurs in words like longer, finger, etc.

[r] is retroflex and occurs in all environments.

[l] has "light" and "dark" variants in leap and loop, for instance.

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vowels (pp. 85-87 below). In essence, the vowel cannot exhibit an upward glide and a downward glide simultaneously. If these glides occur sequentially, poor is [puw@r], with two syllables; then, by definition, it is not vowel [u] preceding [r], but [@]. Consider, for example, the form sewer 'sure' often found in written evidence. (Wright (1914) shows the pronunciation for the Orkneys as [syu@(r)].) Therefore, the difference in quality between year and sir<sup>^</sup>p must be just a slight difference in the height and tenseness of the vowel [i].

[w] is not typically pre-aspirated though some more conservative speakers differentiate between [hwič] 'which' and [wič] 'witch'.

[tuwzdey] 'tuesday', [nuwz] 'news', and [tuwn] 'tune' are typical; however, conservative speakers use a palatal glide as in [tyuwzdey] 'Tuesday' and its informal variant [čuwzdey]. Some of these speakers also use [kæm] 'calm', [pæm] 'palm'. Devoicing of final obstruents in some environments no doubt occurs for some speakers (due, perhaps, to the ethnic diversity of Winnipeg), but it is not characteristic of the speech. For most speakers, the alveolar stop consonants [t] and [d] are both realized as a voiced flap [D] preceding -er so that latter and ladder are indistinguishable.

Mrs. Adams' Vowels and Diphthongs

"Tense" Vowels:

i:        u:  
e:        o:

Lax Vowels:

i        u  
e        ^    o  
æ        a        ɑ

Reduced Vowel: @

Diphthongs: [ei], [ow] and [oi]

Tense Vowels

[i:] A monophthong with the same lexical set as SWE [iy] except for the addition of two words:

[ni:g@r] 'nigger'

[mi:gre:n] 'migrain'        (cf. British English)<sup>25</sup>

This vowel also has a nasalized variant, [ĩ:], especially in numbers ending in -teen, e.g.:

[fiftĩ:] 'fifteen'

[e:tĩ:] 'eighteen'

[e:] This monophthong occurs in the same lexical set as SWE [ey].

Mrs. Adams once said [pænt@r] 'painter' which can also be heard in the recorded speech of Mrs. Wheeler in:

If I could [pænt], I'd [pænt] that house.

<sup>25</sup> Mrs. Adams has no doubt heard the SWE pronunciation [maigreyn] 'migrain' and reinterpreted it, as I have twice heard her refer to a [maigretn̩] 'migrating' headache. NOTE: the subscript symbol on [ŋ] marks a syllabic consonant.

Compare the French pronunciation of peinture in which the first vowel is very close to [ɛ̃] for some Canadian French speakers, i.e., [pɛ̃cür].<sup>26</sup>

[u:] This monophthong occurs in the same lexical set as SWE [uw].

[o:] This monophthong occurs in the same lexical set as SWE [ow].

Particularly good examples of the monophthong [o:] occur in the recorded speech of Mrs. Barnes in the words:

[bo:lz] 'bowls'

[ko:ts] 'coats'

[o:] has a nasalized variant [õ:] in oh, oh girl, and sometimes in words like [õ:li] 'only'. In one recorded instance, [õ:] 'oh' is produced by ingressive airstream and expresses astonishment. (This feature was also noted in the speech of Mrs. Wheeler.)

#### Lax Vowels

[i] This vowel occurs in the same lexical set as SWE [i] with the addition of the word, [grimi] 'grimy'. In the word [hwist] 'whist', Mrs. Adams has a tendency to maintain the lip rounding; the most extreme example (which occurred in unrecorded speech) approximated [hu:st].

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<sup>26</sup> The influence of French can sometimes be heard in the intonation patterns and "accent" of Mrs. Wheeler's speech. Both she and Mrs. Adams have French Métis speakers in their parents' or grandparents' generations.

Mrs. Innis says [kit̩] 'kettle' which is characteristic of Bungee according to Mrs. Ellis and as heard on the McAllister tape. This word is no doubt a normal representative of [i] in Mrs. Innis' dialect.

[e] This vowel varies on a continuum between [e] and [ʌ] and occasionally as [i] in [git] 'get' in casual speech (the latter may also occur in SWE). [ʌ] occurs frequently in casual speech in words like:

[wʌl] 'well' (particle)

[himsʌlf] 'himself'

[e] has a nasalized variant in [ðẽ] 'then'. In Mrs. Adams' speech [mer@r] 'mirror' also belongs to the lexical set of [e].

Mrs. Price reports a usage by her Métis great-grandmother, Mrs. Todd:

[breys@z] 'breasts' "but sounds like braces" (Mrs. Price).

This is no doubt [brest] with the vowel raised to [e:] or [e·]<sup>27</sup> quality (so as to be interpreted as [ey] by Mrs. Price), together with consonant cluster simplification and the plural ending, i.e.:

[bre·s] + [əz] : [bre·s@z] 'breasts'

There is evidence in Walters that [e] is often raised to [e·] (see discussion p. 79).

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<sup>27</sup> [e·] is higher than [e] but not as high (or as long?) as [e:].

[æ] This vowel has a similar lexical set as SWE [æ] except for the addition of:

[kæm] 'calm'

[pæm] 'palm' (e.g., Palm Sunday)

[gænt] 'gaunt'

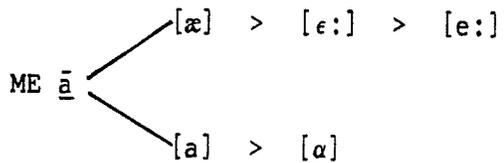
Some of these have also been noted in the speech of Mrs. Barnes and Mr. Lake. Mr. Clark says [pælm] 'palm'.

[æ] varies with [e] in [kent] 'can't' in Mrs. Adams' speech and also has nasalized variants [æ̃] and [ẽ] in and.

Wells notes rural "folk pronunciations" in the United States including [pæm] 'palm' "which may similarly be viewed as relics of traditional dialect imported from Britain by early settlers" (1982:7). Wells also observes the merging of lexical sets for trap and palm as [æ] in some Scots and west-of-England dialects (1982:134). According to Dobson (1957:546), ME ǣ (< OE æ), and ā (< OE au) were both front vowels lower than [æ] in Wallis (1653). Also, Price (1668) and Coles (1674) "give ā in calm which is similar to almond" (Dobson, 1957:604). Many words from the ā set were eventually raised to ē, e.g., ale [eyl], tale [teyl], bale [beyl] while their ME homophones awl [ɑl], tall [tɑl], ball [bɑl], etc., were changed to a low back vowel (p. 604; see diagram below). Dobson observes further:

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we find in St.E. three pronunciations of ME ā, representing three successive stages of fronting: [æ:], open [ɛ:], and close [e:]. Of these, [æ:] seems to have been the normal pronunciation in careful speech before 1650 ...

calm belonged to ME  $\bar{a}$  set, which was undergoing a phonemic split:



Thus, in some dialects of English (including SWE) we have  $[\alpha]$  in calm, while in other dialects of English (including Bungee), calm and palm both exhibit  $[\text{x}]$ .

[^] The unrounded mid back vowel has the same occurrence in Mrs. Adams' careful formal speech as it does in SWE. In her more casual speech, however, there is a clear difference -- [^] has a broader distribution which includes additional words like:

[hims^lf] 'himself'

[s^lk@rk] 'Selkirk'

[n^v@r] 'never'

[^v@r] 'ever'

[tw^lv] 'twelve'

[w^l] 'well'

[s^l] 'sell'

I also observed the following words which occurred only once (in casual conversation) and which I am tentatively adding to the lexical set for [^]:

[dr^j] 'dredge'

[h^l@k@pt@r] 'helicopter'

Abercrombie (1979) refers to the [ʌ] vowel in [e] words as Aitkens's Vowel because Abercrombie had not noticed these usages in Scots English (even in his own speech) until Aitkens pointed them out in 1949. Gregg (1972:123) also notes this vowel in Scots-Irish Ulster as in [wʌske] 'whiskey', [wʌnt@r] 'winter', etc.

Local Red River people (e.g., Mulligan) who studied the local speech probably noticed this usage (in contrast to SWE) long before 1949. Mulligan, in a Bungee version of "The Shtory of Little Red Ridin Hood", writes urra 'very', for example, in which both [e] and word-final [i] are apparently replaced by sounds approximating [ʌ].

Mrs. Hart uses [rʌv@r] 'river' and [sʌtɪŋ] 'sitting'. The former word is "Classical" Bungee -- used in the McBean Letter and noted in Stobie, 1971, but not usually found in present-day speech.

Some speakers have a more rounded variant of [ʌ], [ʌ̃], in words like:<sup>28</sup>

|          |                 |               |
|----------|-----------------|---------------|
| [pʌms]   | 'pumps' (shoes) | (Mrs. Adams)  |
| [hʌn@rd] | 'hundred'       | (Mrs. Fox)    |
| [hʌŋgri] | 'hungry'        | (Mrs. Barnes) |

<sup>28</sup> This pattern can also be heard in the speech of Jim Compton, a local CBC reporter of Indian background, as well as in the speech of Newfoundland politicians like John Crosbie, Brian Peckford, etc. It is also noted in Paddock (1981:25). Paddock attributes phonemic status to this vowel for Carbonear, but notes that for some speakers it varies freely with [ʌ].

The vowel [ʌ] is from ME ǔ and PresE retains ǔ only in some environments -- especially following labial consonants (cf. Dobson, 1957:585, 720). However, dialects apparently differ as to the specific words in which rounding is retained.

[ɑ] This lower back rounded vowel occurs in a similar lexical set as SWE [ɑ]. Mrs. Adams uses the expression [sɑk swetŋ] 'soak sweatin' which is, no doubt, a remnant of Bungee [ɑ:] (see Walters, pp. 80-81). Also, the town of 'Hodgson', located near the Peguis Reserve at Fisher River in the interlake district, is typically pronounced [h^ds@n] by most of the indigenous speakers of the Red River area including Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Ellis and Mr. Stone. A few others, including Mr. Lake and Mrs. Fox, call it [hadson].

[u] This vowel occurs in the same lexical set as SWE [u], though in casual speech it is sometimes realized as the higher back rounded vowel [u:] -- for example in [wu:d] 'wood' and [pu:t] 'put'. In both these examples, the preceding consonant is bilabial. Mrs. Adams' speech exhibits a strong tendency to maintain roundness, as noted above in [hu:st] 'whist' (p. 46). The English of Cree speakers normally has [u:d] 'wood'; and Wright (1905:685) shows this variation in some English dialects, though not in Scots English. On the other hand, [u] is sometimes realized as centred and unrounded [ʌ]; for example, [g^d] 'good' in Mrs. Adams' speech and [p^t] 'put' (following a bilabial consonant) in Mrs. Wheeler's recorded speech.

#### Vowels Preceding [r]

The vowels preceding [r] include [e], [o], [a], [u:], [u], [i:], [i] and [ə]. These correspond to SWE usage with the following exceptions. Mrs. Adams is more likely to say [šur] or [šu@r] than SWE

[š@r] 'sure'; and she uses [m@rniŋ] 'mourning'. Some words with [ə] in SWE are [ar] in Mrs. Adams' speech, including [sarp@nt] 'serpent'. She fluctuates between [marid] and [merid] 'married'. Mary is [meri] (and I have never noted her pronunciation of merry). In SWE, these three words are homophonous for most speakers. The name Clare was first recorded as [klar] but she seems to have changed it permanently to [kler] -- presumably under the influence of my dialect since the name occurred frequently in our conversation. [hari@t] 'Harriet' was also changed to [heri@t] temporarily but has now returned to [hari@t] -- though Harry is [heri]. Pierre is [pi:yar] with even syllable stress. This is no doubt a French/Michif influence as her Métis grandmother had a brother named Pierre. I recall (though I didn't make a note of it at the time) that she once mentioned a [pi:yar y^ŋ] 'Pierre Young' -- adding in explication, "That's Pierre [piyER] Young," with typical French stress on the second, long syllable. Mr. Clark and Mrs. Hart also use [ar] in married. The latter also uses [hard] 'heard'.

### Diphthongs

Mrs. Adams' diphthongs compared to those of SWE are:

| <u>Mrs. Adams</u> | <u>SWE</u>            |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| [ei]              | [ai] and variant [^i] |
| [ou]              | [au] and variant [^u] |
| [oi]              | [oi]                  |

[oi] occurs in the same words in Mrs. Adams' speech as it does in SWE.



As shown, sometimes [u:] occurs in words like [bru:n] 'brown' in free variation with [ou], [ʌ], and [ə] in Mrs. Adams' speech. This is clearly an example of phonemic overlap of two distinct vowels, [u:] and [ou] (Bloch, 1957).

Grant observes the use of [ə] for the onset of the [ai] diphthong "when the diphthong is not final nor followed by r, z, v, ð" in dialect speech in Scotland; for example, [təd] 'tide' and [təd] 'tight', but [taid] 'tied', with an inflectional ending, and [sai] 'sigh' (1914:52, 63). Wright (1905) lists [heid] 'hide' and [hei] 'high' for southern and northeastern Scotland. The development of ME  $\bar{i}$  > [e:i] > [ei] > [æi] > [ai] is discussed by Dobson (1957:660). The diphthong [au] is indicated in Wright (1905) and Grant (1915) for Scots English -- along with [u:] in some words like [ru:nd] 'round' and [hu:s] 'house. Dobson (1957:684) also discusses the development of ME  $\bar{u}$  to the ou diphthong which he notes occurs in some evidence as a more centralized variant [ʌ] ~ [ə]; and Kohler (1966:55) shows [ou] diphthong as a "Scotticism" -- likely a former stage of the [ʌi] diphthong.

Occasional [ai] occurs in Mrs. Adams' speech, e.g., [praɪm] 'prime' in a stressed, slower enunciation. In [faɪnæns] 'finance', perhaps because of the nature of the word, she is more likely to imitate it as it is heard in SWE. It seems that the [ou] diphthong is more resistant to change. Even with speakers who generally use SWE [au], there are a few words which are likely to bring [ou] to the surface. The best example is cow which is usually [kʌ] or [kou] rather than [kau].

The monophthong vowels of Mrs. Adams' speech are characteristic of Scots English (Grant, 1914:47ff). The vowels of Cree are also monophthongs, regardless of length, and no doubt these two systems would serve to reinforce one another in this respect. However, this is clearly an English vowel system; and the diphthongs are also based on a Scots English system.

### Consonants

Mrs. Adams' consonant system is consistent with SWE except for the pre-aspirated [hw] which frequently occurs in words beginning with historical hw-. Also, the glottal stop [ʔ] and the nasal cluster [ŋg] occur in frozen expressions and occasionally in other isolated instances. Mrs. Adams' consonants are as follows:

| <u>Lab</u> | <u>L-D</u> | <u>Den</u> | <u>Alv</u> | <u>A-P</u> | <u>Pal</u> | <u>Vel</u> | <u>Glott</u> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| p          |            |            | t          |            |            | k          |              |
| b          |            |            | d          |            |            | g          |              |
|            |            |            |            |            | č          |            |              |
|            |            |            |            |            | ǰ          |            |              |
|            | f          | θ          |            | s          | š          |            | h            |
|            | v          | ð          |            | z          | ž          |            |              |
| m          |            |            | n          |            |            | ŋ          |              |
|            |            |            | l          |            |            |            |              |
|            |            |            | r          |            |            |            |              |
| hw         |            |            |            |            |            |            |              |
| w          |            |            |            | y          |            |            |              |

## Obstruents

There are three features of obstruents (stops, affricates and fricatives) which are of primary interest in the study of Bungee. These are voicing, aspiration and place of articulation. The latter is of particular interest in Mrs. Adams' speech.

## Stops

Stop consonants are aspirated word-initially (as in SWE) and often word-finally preceding vowels, preceding a pause or at the end of the utterance. Mrs. Adams' speech also exhibits aspiration of [t] (indicated by the symbol  $\text{~}$ ) in mid-word, particularly preceding -er or l, e.g.:

[b<sup>^</sup>t $\text{~}$ @r] 'butter'  
[lit $\text{~}$ ] ~ [lit $\text{~}$ @l] 'little'

But also:

[lu:t $\text{~}$ it $\text{~}$ ] 'Loutit' (surname)  
[hart $\text{~}$ it $\text{~}$ ] 'hearted'

This may be due to syllable stress -- the -er syllable usually carries stress equal to that of the first syllable.<sup>30</sup> Only rarely are [t] and [d] realized as a voiced flap [D] as in SWE.

Typically Tuesday, tune, etc., have a palatal glide, as in

[tyu:zde:] 'Tuesday'  
[tyu:n] 'tune'

---

<sup>30</sup> This also occurs in the standard dialect of British English preceding this syllable (in r-less dialect).

although in informal speech (off tape) I have heard [ču:zde:]  
'Tuesday'. Palatalization takes place at word boundaries as in SWE;  
for example:

[təkŋ^b^uč^] 'talking about you'  
[eln@ružy^ŋyet] 'Eleanor's young yet'

and with rounding:

[šiwǎžčûm^č@v@] 'she was too much of a ...'

Voiced stop consonants are sometimes devoiced word-finally:

[šindik] 'shindig'  
[hart-it-] 'hearted'  
[aigešikut] 'I guess she could'  
[yu:twan^tel@m] 'you'd want to tell him'

Also, from Mrs. Barnes:

[wik@t] 'wicked'

The major influence here is no doubt Cree, where final obstruents are typically voiceless.

### Fricatives

Mrs. Adams rarely, in my experience, substitutes [s] for [š] -- which would be typical of "Classical" Bungee. This occurs in the placename [(h)æd@svil] 'Hadashville' and once in the environment following a velar stop consonant:

[p@rfeks@n] 'perfection'

And, as she joked to some friends after putting on fresh lipstick, Now I'm ready for action [æks@n] -- in which case I believe the [s] for [š] was intentional (perhaps even a play on words). In another incident, when she was in a most elated state (opening birthday presents) she exclaimed over a gift using the word:

[s@rt] 'shirt'

Throughout the tapes there is occasionally an unstressed [si] for [ši] 'she' but not very often. Examples of [s] for [š] from other speakers include:

[fis] 'fish' (Mr. Jones)

[sək] 'shock' (Mrs. Royce)

There is also evidence of [š] for [s] by Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Price in:

[štyu:p@d] 'stupid' <sup>31</sup>

Mrs. Quinn also uses [štyu:d] 'stewed'.

Voiced fricatives are frequently devoiced word-finally in Mrs. Adams' speech (more so than stop consonants), not only before voiceless stops:

[šigo:st@] 'she goes to'

but also word-finally:

[horsis] 'horses'

[b@bsle:s w^s l^ik-] 'bobsleighs was like'

---

<sup>31</sup> On one occasion, after several instances of [štyu:p@d], Mrs. Adams said, "I should say [stu:p@d]." When I asked her what the difference was, she responded, "[štyu:p@d] sounds kinda Bungee."

## Affricates

Mrs. Adams occasionally devoices affricates, usually in word-final position. Examples include:

[čim] 'Jim'  
[čænyəri] 'January'  
[kətič] 'cottage'  
[urinš] 'orange'

As noted above, palatalization is similar to that of SWE at word boundaries, but within words is probably less prevalent (as evidenced in recorded speech) than in SWE. In the word [ču:k] 'tuque', however, the t is very strongly palatalized. Though this word was used only once, the [č] was so strong that I suspect it might be Mrs. Adams' standard pronunciation of the word. According to J. D. Nichols (personal communication), the word [čuk] 'tuque' is also used by some Métis people whose families lived along the old Red River cart trails in Minnesota (where stocking cap is the normal term for this article of headgear). This suggests a Métis (Michif?) influence, especially with respect to the initial consonant.

There is also evidence of depalatalization, i.e.:

[j] --> [j]  
[č] --> [c]<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> [j] sounds like [dž] as in judge which, when depalatalized, becomes [dz] as in dzudz -- ([j] represents the [dz] sound).  
[č] sounds like [tš] as in church which, when depalatalized, becomes [ts] as in tserts -- ([c] represents the [ts] sound).

This feature is noted in all descriptions of "Classical" Bungee. The only evidence in Mrs. Adams' is

[jis] 'just'

She also uses [ist] 'just', which is also noted for Bungee (Walters, 1969). Evidence from other speakers includes:

[ju:s] 'juice' (electricity) (Mr. Kerr)

[cer] 'chair' (Mrs. Hart)

[č@rc] 'church' (Mrs. Fox)

[ti:c] 'teach' (Mrs. Royce)

[skræct] 'scratched' (Mrs. Royce)

Though this feature is not prominent in the speech of Mrs. Adams, it seems to be a regular feature in the speech of Mrs. Hart, Mrs. Fox, and Mrs. Royce, judging from the evidence during my brief encounters with them. It appears that Mrs. Fox and Mrs. Royce depalatalize affricates only word-medially or word-finally.

In the pronunciation [h^ds@n] or [hæds@n] for Hodgson (SWE [hɔ̃js@n]), the consonants have undergone depalatalization, as mentioned above, as well as cluster simplification:

džs > dzs > ds

This is standard throughout the community, even for people who do not have the [j] ~ [j̥] variation in their speech.

The three processes affecting all obstruents (stops, fricatives and affricates) are devoicing, aspiration and depalatalization.

## Devoicing

As suggested above, there is considerable devoicing of final obstruents in Mrs. Adams' speech (and occasionally of word-initial [j]). The only example of devoicing of intervocalic obstruents is [ʃe:f@r] 'shaver' in the expression a little shaver 'little child'. This is not a word she uses often and may be a learned pronunciation. Mrs. Royce, however, uses [θ^us@nd] 'thousand' with intervocalic [s] instead of [z].

Devoicing of obstruents word-finally is an obvious parallel to Cree: Cree obstruents are not distinguished for voice and are typically voiceless word-finally. However, devoicing word-finally is also a feature of Scots English dialects (Grant, 1914:27). An audiotaped interview with Ernest Marwick of Kirkwall, Orkney,<sup>33</sup> includes the following instances in his speech:

[e:č@nsi əf@s] 'agency office'

[enge:čt] 'engaged'

It appears, therefore, that the two major influences reinforce one another.

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<sup>33</sup> During a 1978 CBC radio broadcast on Bungee (see table 2).

## Aspiration

As suggested above, aspiration of stop consonants occurs, not only word-initially as in SWE, but intervocalically and word-finally. There are no doubt several influences at work. Though Scots English is not noted for aspiration, even of word-initial voiceless stops (Wells 1982:409), Gaelic-influenced speech is much more widely aspirated (Shuken, 1984). Initial voiceless plosives in a stressed syllable in Highland English are not only post-aspirated but final ones are pre-aspirated, as in [luhk] 'look' and [k<sup>h</sup>aht] 'cat' (Wells 1982:409). The only example which one might consider a pre-aspirated stop in Mrs. Adams' speech is:

[d<sup>h</sup>an@t] 'Donald'

Though preaspiration of word-final consonants does not seem characteristic of her speech, one cannot fail to notice the amount of aspiration generally used in her speech.

Abercrombie (1979:82) discusses the tendency in Scots English of making the final syllable open, i.e., enunciating the final consonant as if it were the first sound in the following word (if that word begins with a vowel), thereby realigning word boundaries:

VC#V ---> V#CV

As he phrases it, "in Scots [English] a consonant is made a releasing consonant in a syllable when it is possible to do so" (1979:82). There are several instances where such a claim might be made for Mrs. Adams' speech, e.g.:

[yu:t<sup>h</sup>want<sup>h</sup>^t<sup>h</sup>el@m] 'you'd want to tell him'

And perhaps:

[mɪstər^ɪtɪk^myet] 'Mr. Right'll come yet'

[ɪt^w^z@nbrəd^utɪ] 'it wasn't brought out in ...'

[ɪzðæt^rænmeriθət] 'is that Aunt Mary thought'

However, in my experience, no ambiguities arise as a result, the context always making the meaning obvious.

### Place of Articulation

Mrs. Adams' speech reveals some fluctuation in stops and fricatives. There is a tendency towards dental articulation in Mrs. Adams' relaxed speech which results in on-and-off lispings. The inconsistency of the lispings suggests that the place of articulation has a tendency to float. [s] covers the entire range: [s] ~ [s̪] ~ [θ].

Examples include:

[sɛnt̪s] 'cents'

[st̪ək@ns] 'stockings'

[o:vərθt̪ək@ns] 'overstockings'

[ðæt̪s] 'that's'

[m^st̪@d̪^n] 'must have done'

[st̪o:nz] 'stones'

And in one instance:

[t̪ækt] 'stacked'

These examples suggest assimilation to a dental [t]; however, note also:

[biznis] 'business'  
[fainæns] 'finance'  
[y^siðisiz] 'you see this is'  
[misis] 'Mrs.'

and in totally different environments:

[w^s gud] 'was good'  
[w^s brət] 'was brought'  
[fikθt^p] 'fixed up'

Of course, all the above also occur with alveolar articulation.

Some of Mrs. Adams' nieces (including Mrs. Nolan and Mrs. Ogden) and their families, who live in the same area, often show the same tendencies for a slight lisp -- again, not on a regular basis. On the other hand, this does not occur in the speech of her own family members who live in Winnipeg (including Mrs. Price).

The articulation of the voiceless dental fricative [θ] is also sometimes affected:

[betθ] 'Bethel (home)' (Mrs. Adams)  
[mætsθn] 'Matheson (Island)' (Mrs. Wheeler.)

The influence here is presumably Gaelic, in addition to Orkney Norn and French -- none of which have the sound [θ]. Though both of these place names may be learned pronunciation, this sometimes also occurs in other words, e.g., [m^nts] 'months'.

There are two other phenomena which may be linked to this -- the substitution of [j] for [ɟ] and, possibly, the excrescent d in the name Donald.

Firstly, as noted above, a rather weak [j] may be observed in two instances of [jis] 'just'. This pronunciation is not typical of Mrs. Adams' speech (in my experience) though she sometimes uses [ist] 'just'. [jis] occurred in a section of text which included many instances of lisping.

With regard to the second point, the following pronunciations have been noted in Mrs. Adams' speech:

|            |            |
|------------|------------|
| [dʌn@ɪt]   | 'Donald'   |
| [dʌn@l]    | 'Donald'   |
| [mɪkdʌn@l] | 'McDonald' |
| [dʌnd@l]   | 'Donald'   |
| [pænd@ld]  | 'panelled' |

Also, from other speakers:

|          |          |                |
|----------|----------|----------------|
| [dʌnd@l] | 'Donald' | (Mrs. Barnes)  |
| [dʌnɹ]   | 'Donald' | (Mrs. Barnes)  |
| [dʌnd@l] | 'Donald' | (Mr. Clark)    |
| [dʌnd@l] | 'Donald' | (Mrs. Wheeler) |

This seems to involve the preference for releasing [n] into a homorganic stop consonant or [ə] rather than the lateral [l]; and the [l] rarely releases into a [d] except in the example [pænd@ld] which has an inflected ending. Also, the occurrence of [pænd@ld] precludes

the possibility that this is simply a frozen pronunciation of the name Donald. The example [d̥ən@χt] is odd because the [χ] is aspirated and releases into a slight [t] sound -- or could the final [d] be devoiced and pre-aspirated?

Bliss (1984:138) notes that Hiberno-English has both "palatal" consonants [t, d, š, ž, n, l] and "non-palatal" [t̥, d̥, s, z, r]. In English words which mix these qualities in consonant clusters, speakers substitute from the palatal group to the non-palatal group (and vice versa) to assimilate the first consonant to the quality of the second (regressive assimilation). If an English s, for example, is followed by a consonant equated to an Irish palatal consonant, then [š] is substituted (Bliss, 1984:138); while a word with a "non-palatal" consonant following [s] would retain the [s] (or perhaps assimilate the [s] to dental articulation?). The resulting clusters would include some instances of [št] and all [šn] and [šl] combinations. It is interesting that in Mulligan's story (cf. p. 109, below), only strainz 'strange' and strainzers 'strangers' do not exhibit [š] preceding [t].<sup>34</sup>

In the Hiberno-English of Ulster, Harris (1985:58) observes that "Dental articulation of [d̥, t̥, n̥, l̥] are a rural stereotype in

<sup>34</sup> This may also be a reflection of Cree and Saulteaux. Swampy Cree, in the early nineteenth century, seems to have been in the process of depalatalizing the [š] sound to [s]. However, the [š] was retained longer in the environment preceding consonants, particularly [t]. Also there is an assimilation rule in Saulteaux whereby, if two sibilant sounds occur in the same word, the first assimilates to the second -- which would seem to be the case in the word strange (Pentland, personal communication).

Belfast" -- the Belfast forms are alveolar. With regard to Scottish Gaelic, Clement (1984:319) notes that [t̪, d̪, s̪] are dental; while Brook (1963:112) and Grant (1914:27) observe the lack of distinction in the English of Gaelic speakers between [t] and [θ], and [d] and [ð] -- the result of the absence of [θ] and [ð] in Gaelic. The same situation exists in the Orkney and Shetland Islands as a result of the loss of [θ] in Norn (Barnes, 1984:363). Both Gaelic-speaking highlanders and Orkneymen were so much a part of the fur-trade labour force, that the influence of these dental consonants on the English speech of their descendants seems inevitable. In addition to this, Gaelic speakers were present from the beginning at Red River.

Western Cree dialects do not distinguish between [s] and [š]. This is also a much-noted feature of Bungee. Again, however, there is some variation between [s] and [š] in specific words in Scots dialects. Wright (1905:241-242) gives the pronunciation of [šu:] 'sew' for northeastern Scotland and [siu@r)] 'sure' and (p. 597) [sud] 'should' for the Orkney Islands. The following utterance was reported by Mrs. Adams for Mrs. Todd (a Michif speaker long deceased):

Spin to learn them to [šu:].

'aspin [Cree exclamation] you should teach them to sew.'

At first glance, most linguists with an eye on Cree might interpret [šu:] as Michif (although it is a verb and Michif verbs are typically Cree constructions) or at least as the result of Michif influence, i.e., [so:] + vowel raising + palatalization of [s]. However, the same pronunciation of sew is found in Scots English.

In addition to the variable [s] and [š] of some words in various Scots dialects, there is also some variability in the dialects of Highland English which are much more directly influenced by Scots Gaelic. Shuken (1984) observes that some Highland and Hebridean Island speakers neutralize [s] and [š] to [š] in the environment preceding [t] as in stewed, with retroflex t, and also in stop with dental t (p. 158). (Mrs. Quinn uses [štyu:d] 'stewed', and Mrs. Adams uses [štyu:p@d].) Highland English speakers today often devoice obstruents in mid-word (p. 158) and sometimes reverse voicing in initial and final consonants (p. 156). Also, influenced by Gaelic, they sometimes pre-aspirate final voiceless stops -- a feature which also occurs in Cree, e.g., the locative suffix -ihk. Shuken notes that all this attests to "the perceptual importance of friction [as opposed to voicing] in Gaelic consonants."

It is easy to assume, from a glance at a list of features of Bungee speech, that Cree has been the major influence. For example, monophthongal vowels, variability of [s] and [š], and depalatalization of [č] to [c] and [j] to [j]. All these are easily attributed to Cree; but when all the evidence is considered, it becomes obvious that this assumption is far too simplistic. Scots English vowels are also monophthongs; devoicing of obstruents is typical of the English of the Highlands and Lowlands and in Orkney English; and the realization of [s] and [š] varies in many common words in the various Scots English dialects -- and they are further neutralized in "Highland and Island English" (Shuken, 1984).

Depalatalization could also be seen as part of an overall process of fronting due to the interference of Gaelic dental (rather than alveolar) consonants. Also implicated are the loss of [θ] in Norn and, not previously mentioned but also a factor, the absence of interdental fricatives in French. These various linguistic influences were present in the fur trade from the beginning; but with the subsequent confluence of the Cree, the various Métis groups, and the Gaelic and other Scots English speakers at Red River after 1812, these related features would tend to reinforce one another in Bungee.

### Nasals

As noted above, [n] in particular is sometimes omitted, leaving its trace on the preceding vowel which remains nasalized. This tendency has not been noticed in speakers other than Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes, and it may well reflect interference from French. Mrs. Wheeler (deceased and heard only on audiotape) had the same feature in her speech -- and there is French background in the Wheeler family, too.

The velar nasal, [ŋ], is usually the same as in SWE. Mrs. Adams also uses [ŋ] in the frozen phrase [lɑŋg^go:] 'long ago', particularly when it is said with emotion. This was also observed (although only once) in the speech of her daughter, Mrs. Price. Other speakers, including Mrs. Barnes and Mrs. Ellis, have a tendency to release [ŋ] into a slight stop, [k] or [g], at word boundaries, preceding a vowel, or sometimes utterance-finally.

Hall et al. (1977) discuss the development of [ŋg] in seventeenth-century English beginning with evidence from Smith (1568) and Hart (1569) and subsequent phoneticians, tracing the evidence for the forms which would have been used by sailors and colonists. They argue (p. 66 ff.), based on a few studies (e.g., Kurath, 1939-43; Kurath and McDavid, 1961; and Hubbel, 1950), that any existing North American evidence for [ŋg] other than the standard North American usage is a result of interference from a European language other than English. They conclude, with regard to migrations from the British Isles which retained older forms of [ŋg] in their speech, that this feature was levelled in favor of Rule A (below). Only by interference from some other European language was [ŋg] retained beyond the standard usage. However, their observations are mainly for large American cities and Montreal -- and are apparently not based on any detailed studies beyond those mentioned above.

Based on dialect studies carried out in England in the 1960's and 1970's, Hall et al. give the general rule for velar nasal as:

Rule A: g ---> Ø / ŋ \_\_\_ {#

{inflectional ending

{agentive morpheme -er

Condition: inflectional ending ≠ comparative or

superlative suffix

In Northern England, north of an isogloss cutting across England roughly in line with the Humber, the rule has reached the point of:

Rule B: g ---> Ø / η \_\_\_

thus, [lɑη@st] 'longest'.

And in the West Midlands (south of the above isogloss), including Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and S. Lancashire:

Rule C: g ---> Ø / η \_\_\_ X

where X = any segment other than word boundary.

thus, [lɑη@st] 'longest' but [lɑηg] 'long'.

The rule for Bungee seems to be:

Rule C': g ---> Ø / η \_\_\_ X

where X ≠ {(#)

{comparative/superlative suffix

(i.e., the velar stop is optional at word boundary).

In Mrs. Adams' more relaxed speech, the typical ending for the progressive form of verbs is -in, not -ing, which Grant has also noted for many Scots dialects (1914:32). On the other hand, the occurrence of [ηg] was more common in some of the Highland English dialects. Grant observes that in the northern and western highlands, such words as sing and singer were often pronounced as [siηg] and [siηg@r].

The written English of Orkneymen, as evidenced in their letters (cf. Orkney Letters, see table 3, p. 28) shows evidence for [ηk]. The letters were printed with spelling and punctuation intact. Examples from a letter dated 11 May 1822 (from George Setter to his brother in Westray) include:

... in the Sprink which I am Rite hape [happy] of it ...

... and maken [making] al my thinkes [things] ...

... I got another Pied Hors this Sprink from ...

It is obvious from the naive spelling of this man that the [ŋ] was still prevalent in his speech -- even before inflectional endings on nouns. On the other hand, note the verb form maken 'making' in the second sentence with -in ending rather than -ing.

#### Liquids [l] and [r]

[r] is retroflex in Mrs. Adams' speech and occurs in all environments as in SWE. [l] in Mrs. Adams' speech is generally the same as in SWE, i.e., it occurs in both dark (velarized) and light variants; however, she also has a lateral fricative [ɬ] following [t] within a word or across word boundaries but rarely otherwise. Typical examples are:

[litɬ] 'little' (syllabic [ɬ])

[nɔtɬeiktide:] 'not like (non-syllabic [ɬ]) today'<sup>35</sup>

[mist@r^itɬk^myet] 'Mr. Right'll come yet'

[ð@instɪnɬkɬk^mt@y@] 'the instinct'll come to you'

As suggested above (p. 56), there is a tendency towards aspirated [t] word-medially preceding -er, -l, and sometimes -ing, and aspirated voiceless stops word-finally. This aspiration is released laterally as part of the articulation of the the (voiceless) [l]. When the [l] is syllabic, however, the last part of the [l] is voiced -- as if it

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<sup>35</sup> Mrs. Adams has a raised variant of [ə], a short [i], which sometimes occurs in unstressed syllables.

were the sequence [ɫl]. For the sake of simplicity, I use the symbol [ɫ] for this sequence and the symbol [ɭ] for the non-syllabic variant. On other occasions, Mrs. Adams will insert [ə], e.g., [lit-əɫ] 'little'.

#### Glottal Fricative [h]

Occasionally a slight prothetic h can be heard on words beginning with a vowel, e.g., [h^p] 'up'. This is rare, however, and the aspiration is so slight it is not usually noticeable. (It has been observed only during the phonetic transcription of recorded speech.) Once, when discussing her grandmother making moccasins, she said [həl] 'awl' -- and immediately corrected herself. From my own familiarity with Canadian French speakers, I am confident her grandmother would have used that pronunciation and Mrs. Adams' usage was probably triggered by her memory of her grandmother. She generally uses the word without the pre-aspiration.

On another occasion, she told me she went for a ride to [æd@svil] 'Hadashville'. Here the h is dropped and [s] is substituted for SWE [š]. On another occasion she said [hæd@svil]. Since this is a place name, I expect it might be in the same category as Hodgson, which is always pronounced as [h^ds@n] or [hæds@n] by speakers indigenous to the area. The [h], however, occurs optionally in Hadashville.

### Glides [y], [w], and [hw]

[y] is generally consistent with SWE in Mrs. Adams' speech except for the palatal glide in [tyu:zde:] 'Tuesday', [tyu:n] 'tune', etc., and the substitution of [ʔ] for [y] in [ʔi:rz] 'years' (see below). [w], however, sometimes disappears and often becomes barely perceptible in words where it precedes a rounded vowel, e.g., [ud] 'would' and [ɑs] 'was'. [hw] usually, but not always, occurs in words like [hwič] 'which', [hwist] 'whist', [hw^t] 'what' and even in [enihwer] 'anywhere'. In one instance Mrs. Adams said what sounded like [hwn] 'when', which is perhaps the weak form of when [hw@n], commonly found in the English of Northern Ireland (Wells, 1982:428).

### Glottal Stop [ʔ]

A glottal release accompanies the alveolar stop in words like [i:tn] 'eating' as it does in SWE. Glottal stop sometimes also replaces the glottal fricative [h] intervocalically, for example:

[tu:r^undzəlrediʔi:sed]

'two rounds already, he said'

This is a pattern not found in SWE.

The glottal stop also occurs following the indefinite article a which sometimes replaces an in Mrs. Adams' speech (particularly preceding unrounded vowels):

[æʔeɪl] 'a aisle' (the [æ] was a bit raised)

[^ʔ^w@r] 'a hour'

[æʔæpl] 'a apple'

but also:

[æ æčisŋ] 'a Achison'<sup>36</sup>

The frequent use of a for an preceding word-initial vowels in Scots dialects is observed in Kohler (1966:37).

Also, Mrs. Adams frequently says (often with emotion-based emphasis):

[meni'i:rz^go:] 'many years ago'

[twenti'i:rz^go:] 'twenty years ago'

Unstressed or with a word ending in a consonant, she usually uses [yi:rz]. In the above instances, [ʔ] replaces the homorganic glide between homorganic vowels. Three possible rules are:

(a) h ---> ʔ / V' # \_\_\_ V'

(b) Ø ---> ʔ / V' # \_\_\_ V'

(c) y ---> ʔ / V' # \_\_\_ V'

It has been argued elsewhere, including Haiman (1980:41; regarding the Hua language of New Guinea), that [h] should be categorized as a glide. Following this suggestion, (a) and (c) might be written as a single rule:

glide ---> ʔ / V' # \_\_\_ V'

Another plausible argument may be derived from the alternation of strong and weak forms of pronouns as noted by Abercrombie (1979:83) and Wells (1982:414) (see table 6, p. 161). The weak form of he in

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<sup>36</sup> There is no voicing break between [æ] and [æ] -- only a glide upwards in pitch and/or loudness, which is usually perceived as a pitch rise.

Bungee seems to be [i] (and perhaps [i:]?). Given a weak pronoun he, rule (a) and rule (b) can be collapsed to:

$$\emptyset \text{ ---> } ' / v' \# \text{ \_\_\_ } v'$$

In his written discussion (1969) and in word lists, Walters observes that [y] and [w] frequently disappear in certain words, including esterday 'yesterday', ood 'wood' and ont 'want'. (What Walters writes as esterday was likely pronounced [ist@rde:], with [e] raised to [i].) This is also characteristic of the English of Cree speakers, the glides being deleted preceding homorganic vowels:

$$(d) \text{ glide ---> } \emptyset / \text{ \_\_\_ [homorganic vowel] }$$

In Mrs. Adams' speech the glide [y] seems to disappear only in the environment between homorganic (high front) vowels in which case rules (a), (b) and (c) can be collapsed:

$$\emptyset \text{ ---> } ' / v' \# \text{ \_\_\_ } v' \quad (\text{Optional})$$

This general dissimilation rule seems to occur optionally at word boundaries.

#### CHAPTER 4: THE WALTERS TAPES

The second major source of information about the sounds of Bungee is the set of audiotaped Bungee stories prepared by Francis J. Walters. Though these tapes are a valuable source of information about a slightly older form of Bungee, they present a problem for linguistic analysis mainly because they are "performed" rather than spontaneous speech.<sup>37</sup> The more stereotyped Bungee features, such as the interchangeable use of the third-person pronouns he/she and the substitution of [s] and [c] for [š] and [č], etc., are scripted. This does not, of course, make these features invalid, for they are typical features of Bungee -- especially as it used to be spoken.

I will deal exclusively with the tapes here -- the written evidence will be discussed in chapter 5. My observations are based primarily on the first story, the transcript of which is presented in appendix 1.

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<sup>37</sup> These stories, as discussed in chapter 2 and in the introduction to the sample text below, were written and then read/performed and recorded on audiotape.

Vowels and Diphthongs

The vowels heard in the Walters tapes differ from those of Mrs. Adams.

Walters' Tapes:

| <u>"Tense" Vowels:</u> |    | <u>Lax Vowels:</u> |   |   |
|------------------------|----|--------------------|---|---|
| i:                     | u: | i                  |   | u |
| e:                     | o: | e                  | ^ | o |
|                        | ɑ: | æ                  | a | ɑ |

Reduced vowel: [ə]

Diphthongs: [ei], [ou], [oi], and [ai]

Mrs. Adams:

| <u>"Tense" Vowels:</u> |    | <u>Lax Vowels:</u> |   |   |
|------------------------|----|--------------------|---|---|
| i:                     | u: | i                  |   | u |
| e:                     | o: | e                  | ^ | o |
|                        |    | æ                  | a | ɑ |

Reduced vowel: [ə]

Diphthongs: [ei], [ou], and [oi]

The structural differences include the absence of [ɑ:] and the diphthong [ai] in Mrs. Adams' speech. In the Walters tapes, [a] also occurs in a few Cree or Saulteaux words.

In Walters' tapes, it is difficult to determine the status of [o] (other than in the environment preceding [r]). There is a great deal of variability, [α] varying from [α] to [o] in successive renditions of the same words. There are three factors involved: the tapes from which I worked are copies of Walters' homemade audiotapes, and their quality is poor; secondly, there is obviously some interference from Walters' own non-Bungee dialect -- the stories are being read into the tape recorder from a script written in an ad hoc orthographic representation; thirdly, the low back area of the phonological space in SWE is problematic (linguistically speaking) and the vowels in that area are therefore difficult to evaluate.

#### "Tense" Vowels

The "tense" vowels [i:], [e:], [u:] and [o:] are, as in SWE, different in quality from their lax counterparts. The lax vowels have a tendency to be raised so that [e], for instance, might approach [e:] in quality, but the difference in length would likely be audible in most instances. However, there is too much variability -- both in quantity and in quality -- to warrant proposing a separate unit [e]. It should be added that the variability is due not only to the interference of Mr. Walters' own dialect of SWE, but is exacerbated by the various "voices" being imitated throughout the story. However, the evidence suggests length as a feature in some Bungee vowels: the vowel [α:] in particular has a definite long-short contrast which cannot be reduced to a quality distinction with [α]. For a SWE listener, however, the length contrast is redundant -- the vowel [α:]

is especially prominent because it appears only in words which normally show [ow] in SWE. The tense vowels in Walters' stories are all monophthongs as compared to the diphthongized "tense" vowels of SWE -- most noticeably in the contrast between [e:] and SWE [ey].

[i:] The lexical set for this vowel corresponds to that of SWE [iy] except for the addition of [di:f] 'deaf' and [hi:rd] 'heard'.

[u:] has a lexical set corresponding to SWE [uw].

[e:] Walters' [e:] has a similar range of occurrence as SWE [ey].

[o:] The lexical set for this vowel differs considerably from that of SWE [ow] (see [ɑ:] below). One addition to this lexical group is [lo:zin] 'losing' which in SWE belongs to [u:].

[ɑ:] The lexical set for this vowel contains many words which show SWE [ow].

Wright (1905:88) lists some of the principal words included in the lexical set for ME  $\bar{a}$ . When Wright's list is compared with the evidence for [ɑ:] in Walters' recorded stories, the following correspondences are found:

| <u>Walters</u> | <u>ME ā</u> |
|----------------|-------------|
| [bɑ:t]         | 'boat'      |
| [bɑ:t]         | 'goat'      |
| [lɑ:d]         | 'load'      |
| [sɑ:p]         | 'soap'      |
| [ɑ:ks]         | 'oaks'      |
| [bɑ:θ]         | 'both'      |
| [rɑ:p]         | 'rope'      |
| [stɑ:n]        | 'stone'     |
| [ɑ:n]          | 'own'       |
| [ɑ:nli]        | 'only'      |

Also showing an [ɑ:] in Walters' tapes but not listed in Wright are:

|         |         |
|---------|---------|
| [kɑ:ts] | 'coats' |
| [stɑ:v] | 'stove' |
| [fɑ:ks] | 'folks' |

There are also some words which Wright (p. 80) lists as a < OE o which are included in Walters' [ɑ:] set, for example:

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| [nɑ:z]  | 'nose'               |
| [rɑ:zi] | 'rose' <sup>38</sup> |

This evidence for vowel [ɑ:] suggests the survival in Bungee of a vowel with which the Great Vowel Shift of English did not catch up until this century. There is a remnant of it yet in a frozen phrase in Mrs. Adams' speech [sɑk swetŋ] 'soak sweating' in which the vowel shows no length difference from [ɑ].

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<sup>38</sup> Rosie [rɑ:zi] is the name of a cow in one of Walters' stories.

## Lax Vowels

The lax vowels, as suggested above, sometimes have higher variants in casual speech; however, this is just a tendency and is not consistent. There is also a tendency towards a centred [ʌ] instead of [e] and rounding of [ʌ] to [ʊ]. Examples of raising or rounding of vowels include:

|        |        |            |
|--------|--------|------------|
| [dʊr]  | 'door' | (raising)  |
| [gʊ:d] | 'good' | (raising)  |
| [kʌm]  | 'come' | (rounding) |

Note also:

|       |        |                      |
|-------|--------|----------------------|
| [kʊm] | 'come' | (rounding + raising) |
|-------|--------|----------------------|

Centring is most obvious in the weak forms of pronouns, e.g.:

|      |       |
|------|-------|
| [sʌ] | 'she' |
| [ʌ]  | 'I'   |

and occasionally in disyllabic words ending in [i] in SWE, e.g.,

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| [vɛrʌ] | 'very' |
|--------|--------|

[i] has a lexical set similar to SWE with the addition of [krik] 'creek'.

[e] has a lexical set similar to that of SWE [e] with the addition of [set] 'sit'. It seems that at one time Bungee had no distinction between to sit and to set. As a matter of fact, there is evidence that other words belonging to SWE [i] belonged at one time to [e] in Bungee and vice versa. (See discussion p. 117 below).

Like all lax vowels, [e] is sometimes raised -- to [i] as indicated above, but more often to [e:] in quality but shorter, as in [e·]. This results in contrasts like:

[le:t] 'late'

[le·t] ~ [let] 'let'

From the primary evidence found in the tape-recorded stories, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between dialect interference and intra-dialect variation.

[æ] According to the evidence of the stories, the lexical set for this vowel corresponds to that of SWE. While calm and palm do not happen to occur in the stories, evidence from Mrs. Adams' speech suggests that these words would be included in the [æ] word set, and in Mr. Walters' own dialect they are. [æ] is sometimes raised to [e] quality, as in [heb@t] 'habit'.

[ɑ] This vowel occurs as in SWE. There is a strong tendency for [ɑ] to be replaced by [o] as evidenced in the tape-recorded stories. For example:

[top] 'top'

[of] 'off'

[nok] 'knock'

[^lɔŋ] 'along'

This occurs often enough to raise the question of a long-short contrast between [o:] and [o]. Then the [ɑ] representations in these same words (which are quite frequent in the tapes) might be

interpreted as interference from Walters' SWE dialect. For lack of conclusive evidence, I do not omit these words from the lexical set for [α] but merely show the variation with [o]. There are, of course, many words which clearly show [α], including:

|         |          |
|---------|----------|
| [^kræs] | 'across' |
| [kαl]   | 'call'   |
| [pαpl^] | 'poplar' |

So there is definitely a long-short distinction between [α:] and [α]. Included in the lexical set for [α] in Walters stories are:

|         |          |
|---------|----------|
| [wαg@n] | 'wagon'  |
| [hαm@r] | 'hammer' |

[o] occurs in the environment preceding [r].

[u] This vowel is similar to SWE [u] in occurrence; however, it is sometimes raised to [u:] quality as in [gu:d] 'good'.

[^] has a lexical set similar to that of SWE. The word-final [i] of some SWE words, and especially in weak pronouns, frequently appears as [^]:

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| [ver^] | 'very' |
| [s^]   | 'she'  |

[^] also has rounded variants as in [kum] 'come'.

[a] occurs preceding [r] and in some borrowed words, as in:

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| [kaçi:s] | 'Kachees' (name) |
|----------|------------------|

### Vowels Preceding [r]

The vowels preceding [r] in Walters' stories include: [i:], [i], [e], [a], [o], [u], [u:] and [ə] -- but the distribution differs from that of SWE. Examples include:

|          |           | <u>SWE</u> | <u>Walters</u> |
|----------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| [gerl]   | 'girl'    | @r         | : er           |
| [barn]   | 'burn'    | @r         | : ar           |
| [sarkl]  | 'circle'  | @r         | : ar           |
| [marnin] | 'morning' | or         | : ar           |
| [lard]   | 'Lord'    | or         | : ar           |
| [čurz]   | 'chores'  | or         | : ur           |
| [dur]    | 'door'    | or         | : ur           |

The occurrence of vowels preceding [r] in Walters' stories varies considerably from that of SWE, and there are also differences between the evidence in Walters and that from other sources in chapter 5 (e.g. Moncrieff, Mulligan, etc.). There is a clue to the cause of these differences in the tape of Mrs. Alex Sinclair (born 1872 -- see table 2, p. 27): she has a tap-like [R] (not retroflex), and the vowels preceding her [R] have a very different quality, e.g., [b^Rid] 'buried', [č^Rč] 'church', [h^Rd] 'heard', [sist^Rz] 'sisters', [hæRi] 'Harry', [me·Ri] 'Mary', [feRi] 'ferry', etc.

Discussing the influence of r on the development of English vowels in general, Dobson (1957:724) observes three influences of r in relation to rounding, lowering, and the development of a glide vowel

[@] before r. The rounding is due to "the lip protrusion which accompanies the articulation of the consonant" and operates throughout the history of English. The other two influences are as follows:

The lowering influence operates in late ME [fourteenth and fifteenth centuries] ... and in ModE, and perhaps reflects a change in the nature of the consonant, from point-trilled to a variety of the PresE point-fricative; for the latter the body of the tongue is held low (Daniel Jones, op. cit., No. 747) and the sound is practically a vowel (Sweet, Primer of Phonetics, No. 211) -- indeed a frictionless continuant (Jones, op. cit., No. 796), a class of consonant which is in fact a vowel (Jones, op. cit., No. 183 footnote). This point-fricative r is closely allied to the vowels [ @ ] and [ @: ], and 'the sound [of the frictionless continuant variety] is equivalent to a weakly pronounced "retroflexed" [ @ ]' (Jones, op. cit., No. 796). It is the tongue-position which accounts for its lowering influence, and its resemblance to the vowel [ @ ] which explains why the latter often appears as a glide before it. The influence of r on seventeenth century [ ^ ] < ME ú, which, though treated here under 'lowering', really involves a slight raising and fronting of the vowel, is similarly due to the inherent quality of the ModE [r]; for [ ^ ] changes to [ @ ], the vowel to which the consonant is so closely allied.

With regard to Scots English in particular, McClure claims that, in some dialects, the quality of vowels does not change preceding [r] so that pert, dirt, hurt as well as pork and cork are distinguishable while for some "working class" speakers, bird and word would rhyme -- "both having a u vowel as in cut" (1975:184).

The variability which is evident between Walters and the other participant-observers discussed in chapter 5 is no doubt due to each observer's trying to replicate remembered sounds in the environment preceding the standard retroflex r which is used throughout the district today (including in SWE); for example, [barn] 'burn' would no doubt be [b^rn] or [burn] with a non-retroflex r. Rather than trying

to analyze each example, I will continue merely to report what is heard (in the Walters tapes) and what is written in the documents discussed in chapter 5.

### Diphthongs

The diphthongs which occur in Walters' stories include [ai] in addition to those used by Mrs. Adams:

| <u>Walters</u> |      |      |  | <u>Mrs. Adams</u> |      |      |  |
|----------------|------|------|--|-------------------|------|------|--|
| [ei]           | [oi] | [ou] |  | [ei]              | [oi] | [ou] |  |
|                | [ai] |      |  |                   |      |      |  |

Bungee [ei] corresponds to SWE [ai] and [ʰi], and [ou] corresponds to SWE [ou] and [ʰu]. The [ai] vs. [ʰi] (bide vs. bite) and the [au] vs. [ʰu] (loud vs. lout) differences of "Canadian raising" in SWE do not occur in Bungee speech either as represented in Walters' stories or in Mrs. Adams' speech. Bungee [ei] varies freely as [ei] and [ʰi], regardless of the environment; however, [ou] is realized more widely as [ou], [ʰu], [əu] and [u:] in all environments.

The diphthong [oi] occurs as in SWE with two exceptions:

|        |        |               |
|--------|--------|---------------|
| [bai]  | 'boy'  | (exclamation) |
| [bail] | 'boil' |               |

According to Walters, the exclamation [bai] 'boy' is different from [boi] 'male child'. However, in the text (p. 228 ff.) and in his other stories, both [bai] and [boi] occur as exclamations, e.g., "Bai! What ye doin?" (line 47); "eim gat no teim bai" (line 9); "ka:wi:næčini: boi" (line 130). However, when referring to some

specific male child, only [boi] is used -- plural [boiz@z] (see line 142, p. 233). On the other hand, [bail] 'boil' was the standard pronunciation (see the evidence in chapter 5, pp. 108, 111). The diphthong [oi] occurs in [boi] 'boy' and [oil] 'oil' in Walters' stories. However, [naiz] 'noise' was heard on the Sinclair tape.

Kohler, in his study of a manuscript of Sylvester Douglas (an eighteenth-century Scottish scholar who was interested in the English dialects of Scotland) notes:

In many cases where the pronunciation is [oi] today, the eighteenth century had [ai] in both English and Scots: cf. boil, which, as well as foil, oil, anoil, point, void, is pronounced as bile, file, pint by the vulgar (1966:55).

The split between [ai] in boy and boil and [oi] elsewhere may be the result of these two words having resisted change; or it may suggest that some commonly-used [oi] words were part of the dialect (as [ai]) at an earlier stage and the rest of the [oi] words were incorporated into the dialect at a later time. This might also account for the split in meaning between [bai] 'boy' (the exclamation) and [boi] 'boy, male child' for which, in earlier times, the Cree word nâpêsis may well have been used.

The Walters tapes include two other words which exhibit the diphthong [ai], both corresponding to [ey] in SWE and [e:] in Mrs. Adams' speech:

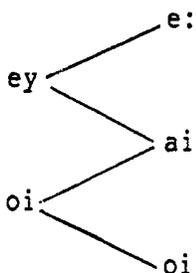
|          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| [naib@r] | 'neighbour' |
| [strait] | 'straight'  |

in addition to:

|        |                     |
|--------|---------------------|
| [bai]  | 'boy' (exclamation) |
| [bail] | 'boil'              |

The resulting contrast between SWE and the evidence in Walters may be represented as follows:

SWE : Walters



The use of [ai] for SWE [ey] is paralleled in Cockney English and, according to Wright (1905:538), in various English dialects including those of northwestern Yorkshire and Essex -- where Mr. Walters' father was born. The corresponding vowel used at the turn of the century in Scotland and the Orkney Islands was [i:].

## Consonants

The consonants used by Walters are the same as those of Mrs. Adams:

| <u>Lab</u> | <u>L-D</u> | <u>Den</u> | <u>Alv</u> | <u>A-P</u> | <u>Pal</u> | <u>Vel</u> | <u>Glott</u> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| p          |            |            | t          |            |            | k          |              |
| b          |            |            | d          |            |            | g          |              |
|            |            |            |            |            | č          |            |              |
|            |            |            |            |            | ǰ          |            |              |
|            | f          | θ          |            | s          | š          |            | h            |
|            | v          | ð          |            | z          | ž          |            |              |
| m          |            |            | n          |            |            | ŋ          |              |
|            |            |            | l          |            |            |            |              |
|            |            |            | r          |            |            |            |              |
| hw         |            |            |            |            |            |            |              |
| w          |            |            |            |            | y          |            |              |

## Stops

All stops are consistent with SWE except that there is often aspiration on intervocalic [t], particularly preceding -er and sometimes l. Final voiced stops may be devoiced. [t] and [d] are alveolar except when Walters is imitating voices -- in one section of dialogue, t is unambiguously dental [t̪]. This was not scripted on paper but performed from memory of an actual conversation. Flapped [D] occurs only rarely.

### Fricatives

Interdental [ð] is sometimes deleted in [æt] 'that' and in the unstressed third-person plural pronoun [əm] 'them'. Like stops, voiced fricatives may be devoiced word-finally.

The variable [s] ~ [š], as suggested above, is a diagnostic for the English of Cree speakers. Everyone who has written about Bungee, e.g., Pentland (1985), Walters (1969), Scott and Mulligan (1951), etc., has noted this. The evidence also exists in the tape-recorded stories. Not only does [s] sometimes occur for [š], but [š] occurs for [s] twice, for example, in the sample text (appendix 1 below):

[šmart]     'smart'     (line 144)

[št^k]     'stuck'     (line 87)

These two instances occurred inadvertently in Walters' performance and this phenomenon was not mentioned in any of his observations about Bungee. Note the reference above (p. 66) to neutralization of [s] and [š] to [š] in some dialects of Highland English in the environment preceding [t] (and [n]). Walters also shows [š] in the environment preceding [m].

### Affricates

There is a tendency for depalatalization of [j] to [j] and [č] to [c], as in

[jæg]     'jag'

[kic@n]     'kitchen'

### Nasals

These, in the sample text, are consistent with SWE; though there is evidence of [ŋg] in some of the other stories.

### Liquids [l] and [r]

Lateral [l] is sometimes aspirated as in the speech of Mrs. Adams (see description p. 72, above), for example:

[litʰ] 'little'.

[r] is retroflex as in SWE and in the dialect of Mrs. Adams. Minor variations are discussed in the introduction to the sample text (appendix 1).

### Glides

There is evidence in the tapes that [w] is deleted preceding rounded vowels as in [u:d] 'wood' and [ɑt] 'what' (line 10, p. 228) -- also that [y] disappears preceding homorganic vowels as in [i:r] 'year' and preceding the high vowel in [hu:] 'hew', for instance. However, Walters is not consistent in this regard. Pre-aspirated [hw] sometimes occurs in words like [hw^t] 'what'.

### Prothetic [h]

Prothetic [h] sometimes occurs word-initially in pronouns and preceding vowels, e.g.:

|         |        |
|---------|--------|
| [h^s]   | 'us'   |
| [hit]   | 'it'   |
| [h^p]   | 'up'   |
| [hop@n] | 'open' |

This occurs with us in some Scots dialects (Wright, 1905:66). Grant (1914:46) also remarks that "In Scotch dialect, [hit] and [h^z] or [h@z] are emphatic forms of 'it' [it] and 'us' [^s]." His footnote states that hit is the original form of the pronoun. This may have been extended by analogy to up -- or these may reflect the hypercorrect forms of French speakers.

### Comparing Walters to Mrs. Adams

The evidence from Walters and Adams agrees in several areas. The monophthongal "tense" vowels are common to both Adams and Walters (in contrast to SWE). However, their tense vowel systems differ in structure. She has only a vestige of [ɑ:] in evidence in the expression,

[sɑk swetŋ] 'soak sweating'

and possibly one instance of [hɑl] 'hole' (the record of which consists only of a rather ambiguous note).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Both instances above occurred in casual conversation (not tape-recorded), and it was impossible to assess the vowel length in

Overall, her vowel system is much closer to that of SWE than is Walters'. If we are right in assuming that Walters' record is archaic, this discrepancy may suggest a structural change in the Bungee vowel system in this century.

Walters' and Adams' diphthongs [ei], [ou] and [oi] are the same, but Mrs. Adams shows no evidence of Walters' [ai] diphthong in any of the four words listed.

The consonants are almost identical -- though his reading style does not provide much evidence with regard to glottal stop and [ŋg]. With the exception of [š] for [s] in two words, he shows total depalatalization as in [kic@n] 'kitchen' and [fis@n] 'fishing'. But it is stereotyped and, as a consequence, it reveals none of the relationship of depalatalized consonants to other features in Bungee speech, i.e., the tendency to dental consonants (and subsequent lispings), etc. This appears to be the difference between an English speaker who learned Bungee and a native speaker of Bungee. On the other hand, Walters has a vested interest in showing features which Mrs. Adams has no doubt worked to eliminate from her speech.

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fleeting conversation.

## CHAPTER 5: THE PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The written evidence comes from a variety of sources and reflects varying degrees of conscious description of the language:

- (a) The naive writers, e.g., William McKay in his Hudsons' Bay Company journals, and the letters of Orkneymen to their families back home. They unselfconsciously wrote the language they knew.
- (b) The explicit observations of a few people who were participants -- living all their lives in the community and observing and describing the speech of the area, e.g., Scott and Mulligan (1951) or Walters (1969) -- including the manuscripts and wordlist for his Bungee stories. The McBean Letter, written by Mrs. McBean's mother (Mrs. Charles Sinclair) in 1938 in response to an irate letter criticizing Scott for his December, 1937, presentation on the radio about Bungee,<sup>40</sup> also belongs in this category -- as does another scrap found in an article by J.J. Moncrieff.<sup>41</sup>
- (c) The linguists/scholars, Stobie (1971) and Pentland (1985), outsiders who observed but were not participants.

The observations of the third group have largely been noted earlier. They mention the interchangeability of [s] ~ [š] and [c] ~ [č], the third-person pronouns he/she, and comment on "cadences" as

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<sup>40</sup> I refer to it as the McBean letter because Mrs. McBean reads it and discusses the circumstances surrounding it in an archival audiotape of a CBC radio program (see table 2, p. 27).

<sup>41</sup> Moncrieff wrote a column for The Winnipeg Tribune under the nom de plume Old Timer (see table 3, p. 28).

being Gaelic, Orkney, Cree, etc. Here I concentrate on the evidence of the participants -- naive or otherwise.

## The Participant-Observers

### The Walters Manuscripts

The most extensive written documentation is in Walters (1969) and in the manuscripts of his first two stories. He also read stories 3-5 from manuscripts also but I have not seen them.

The first manuscript is written basically with standard spelling except for some words like darty 'dirty' or kitsen 'kitchen' to represent special pronunciations -- and also prothetic h in hup 'up', for example, and interchangeable he/she. This typewritten script may well have been the basis for one of the taped versions of Story 1. The manuscript and wordlist for the second story is almost entirely written in "dialect spellings" (and perhaps overdone?), e.g., eet 'it', waya [we:@] 'way',<sup>42</sup> sumboada 'somebody'.<sup>43</sup> This manuscript is, I believe, a more recent work; and it would be impossible to read from it fluently for the purposes of "performing" his stories. For all his efforts, much of the same basic information can be gleaned from his less selfconscious first manuscript -- though, of course, the first shows a lot more variability (i.e., not every word is written in "dialect spelling").

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<sup>42</sup> I have heard him do this occasionally in recorded stories -- always preceding a pause.

<sup>43</sup> Although he once demonstrated oa as a tense [o:] with a central offglide [o:@], it does not occur in that manner in his Bungee tapes.

The written information of the Walters manuscripts generally supports that of the recorded stories, though there are areas which are less clear than in the audiotapes. The following information is based on the manuscripts of the second story (written totally "in dialect") and the corresponding wordlist.

### The Vowels

- [i:] see 'she', eesa 'easy'.
- [e:] make 'make'
- [u:] ood 'wood' (minimal pair with ud 'would')
- [o:] no 'know'
- [ɑ:] bawt 'boat'
- [i] gives 'gives'
- [e] bentse 'bench' (minimal pair with buntse 'bunch')
- [æ] batse 'batch'
- [u] ud 'would'
- [o] gote 'got', noke 'knock'
- [ɑ] closs 'close' (with "o as in off"), across 'across'
- [^] bruss 'brush', buntse 'bunch'

As a result of the absence of the variation which occurs in his readings, one might propose that [o] has phonemic status -- which one cannot do from the audiotaped evidence. However, there is no reduced vowel [ə] in his written document as [a], [^], and [ə] are orthographically neutralized to a. The vowels can be grouped as follows:

"Tense" Vowels:

i:            u:  
e:            o:  
              ɑ:

Lax Vowels:

i            u  
e     ^     o  
æ     a     ɑ

The situation regarding mid front vowels is still not clear. [e·] seems to be only a raised variant of lax [e] in Walters' recorded stories. In fact, the written evidence is even less clear than that of the tapes as he uses the same symbols for writing [e:], raised [e·] and the diphthong [ei]. These conventions include generally: ayCC, aCe or a word from SWE which most closely duplicates the Bungee pronunciation (e.g., SWE waste [weyst] for Bungee west [we·st]?); for example:

[e:] make 'make', tsase 'chase', nayl 'nail'

[e·] bade 'bed', ahade 'ahead', aynd 'end', waste 'west'

[ei] male 'mile', day 'die', faynd 'find', bate 'bite'

So all three of the above are neutralized in his orthographic representations to something which might be read as [ei]. Without the tapes, one might interpret ayCC words as Bungee [ei] (which would be wrong, e.g., faynd 'find' and aynd 'end') and the others as [e:]. In his wordlist he shows pless 'place' which suggests lax vowel [e] -- which is almost how [e:] sounds in that environment to a SWE speaker. (In his recorded stories, the raised [e·] and [e:] sometimes sound slightly diphthongized towards [ei] -- as if they were being raised as he speaks.) The information in his manuscript/wordlist suggests the possibility of a quantitative rather than a qualitative difference

between [e] and [e:] -- mainly because there are so many words, as suggested above, with vowels of similarly-represented quality that there would have to be some means of distinguishing between them. However, as before, the evidence does not coincide with that in the tapes.

The Walters manuscript distinguishes between [ɑ:] and [ɑ] as evidenced in the following words:

[ɑ:] bawt 'boat'  
rawd 'road'  
stawve 'stove'  
gawt 'goat'  
awver 'over'  
rawp 'rope'

[ɑ] smock 'smoke'  
oz 'was'  
froz 'froze'  
closs 'close'  
watse 'watch'  
nossin, nawsin 'notion'

The doublet for notion suggests uncertainty, but might also be an indication of a stressed vs. unstressed word in the context of the sentence.

The SWE vowel [e] corresponds to [i] in four words:

(al)tagither '(al)together'

git 'get'

agin 'again'

kittle 'kettle'

There is an oo vs. ow split -- presumably [u:] vs. [ou] -- in the lexical set which is represented by the diphthong [ou] in the tapes:

oot 'out'

arownd 'around'

oor 'our'

prowd 'proud'

about 'about'

rownd 'round'

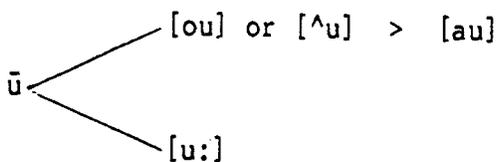
hoose 'house'

fownd 'found'

doon 'down'

drowsa 'drousy'

As a result of the Great Vowel Shift, ME  $\bar{u}$  became the English diphthong [au] through [ou] and/or [ $\wedge$ u] in various dialects (Dobson, 1957:683). No doubt in some dialects there was a phonemic split, e.g.,



The split indicated by Walters does not necessarily reflect the split in any given Scottish dialect, however. For example, in Wright (1905), the Orkney Islands show the following (compare to Walters' list):

[ūt] 'out'

[prūd] 'proud'

[rūnd] 'round'

Northeast Scotland:

|          |         |
|----------|---------|
| [run(d)] | 'round' |
| [ūt]     | 'out'   |
| [ūr]     | 'our'   |
| [@būt]   | 'about' |
| [prūd]   | 'proud' |
| [hūs]    | 'house' |
| [dūn]    | 'down'  |

Kohler, describing an eighteenth-century account of Scots English, observes that the diphthong [ʌu] was preferred (no doubt by the educated classes) to [ou]; and in the south of Scotland today, [ʌu] is common in final position: [kʌu], but [ʌbu:t]. [ou] is described as a "Scotticism", the antecedent of the present-day [ʌu] (Kohler, 1966:55; also cf. Dobson 1957:684).

In Walters' taped stories, the distinction between the two sets is not maintained. Out, for example, occurs as [u:t], [out], and [ʌut]; and around is sometimes [ʌru:nd]. There may be some interference from Walters' standard dialect; however, several attempts to test such issues in a laboratory setting were unsuccessful.

Diphthong [ai] is suggested by the following spellings:

- nybor 'neighbour'
- strite 'straight'
- bye 'boy' (the exclamation)
- byled 'boiled'

Contrast the [oi] diphthong:

noyses 'noises'

boyses 'boys'

There is evidence of [ʌ] in lieu of [e] in:

aver 'ever' [ʌvər]

naver 'never'

and [ʌ] in lieu of unstressed word-final [i] in:

eesa 'easy'

ma 'me'

sa 'she'

Vowels preceding [r]:

|                            | <u>SWE</u> |   | <u>Walters mss.</u> |
|----------------------------|------------|---|---------------------|
| <u>Dzardzes</u> 'George's' | [or]       | : | [ar]                |
| <u>darty</u> 'dirty'       | [@r]       | : | [ar]                |
| <u>tsarts</u> 'church'     | [@r]       | : | [ar]                |
| <u>soor</u> 'sure'         | [@r]       | : | [ur]                |
| <u>tsoors</u> 'chores'     | [or]       | : | [ur]                |
| <u>gerl</u> 'girl'         | [@r]       | : | [er]                |
| <u>fer</u> 'for'           | [or]       | : | [@r]                |
| <u>fort</u> 'fort'         | [or]       | : | [or]                |
| <u>ears</u> 'years'        | [ir]       | : | [ir]                |

All the above are also represented in the taped stories, though not consistently.

## Consonants

The consonants represented in the manuscript and wordlist of the second story are:

| <u>Lab</u> | <u>L-D</u> | <u>Den</u> | <u>Alv</u> | <u>A-P</u> | <u>Pal</u> | <u>Vel</u> | <u>Glott</u> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| p          |            |            | t          |            |            | k          |              |
| b          |            |            | d          |            |            | g          |              |
|            |            |            |            | c          |            |            |              |
|            |            |            |            | j          |            |            |              |
|            | f          | θ          |            | s          | š          |            | h            |
|            | v          | ð          |            | z          |            |            |              |
| m          |            |            | n          |            |            | ŋ          |              |
|            |            |            | l          |            |            |            |              |
|            |            |            | r          |            |            |            |              |
| w          |            |            |            |            | y          |            |              |

In the consonants documented in the manuscript, there is no indication for pre-aspirated [hw]; and there is no variation between [c] and [č], for example -- the depalatalization is complete, as shown in the consonant table. The only exception is [š], which occurs in some Saulteaux words.

### Depalatalization:

tsarts 'church'

dzon 'John'

kitsen 'kitchen'

matse 'match'

soot 'shoot'

The [ŋ] Cluster:

alonge 'along'

Weak Forms:

at 'that'

ist 'just'

The glide [w] is deleted preceding rounded vowels and [y] disappears before high vowels, front and back; the examples include:

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>oz</u> 'was'   | <u>foo</u> 'few'    |
| <u>ot</u> 'what'  | <u>oosed</u> 'used' |
| <u>ud</u> 'would' | <u>oozes</u> 'uses' |
| <u>ood</u> 'wood' | <u>ear</u> 'year'   |

Walters' written documents naturally support much of the evidence in the recorded stories, e.g., the vowel length contrast of [ɑ:] vs. [α], depalatalization, etc. The prothetic h is scripted in words like hus and hup. However, the stories are much more variable than the manuscript with regard to the lexical sets of [u:] vs. [ou], the realization of [ŋ] vs. [ŋ], and the low back vowels in general. For example Walters writes awld 'old' which is usually [o:l] in the recorded stories. The differentiation of mid-front vowels and diphthongs, which are neutralized in his manuscript, is less obscured in his recorded stories -- though the evidence there is also problematic. Also, there is no evidence for [šmart] 'smart' and [št^k] 'stuck' in his manuscripts. Obviously he is not always aware of his own pronunciation -- nor that of his wife, who says [štju:] 'stew'. Palatalized [š] for [s] is also shown in Mulligan's "Shtory of Little Red Ridin Hood" below.

## The Mulligan Story

Mulligan (Scott and Mulligan, 1951) wrote the "Shtory of Little Red Ridin Hood" in "dialect" using modified English orthography to indicate its sounds. In his introductory comments he noted, firstly, that in Bungee, [š] becomes [s], but also sometimes [s] becomes [š]. Secondly, coat is spelled cot but "the o was long, drawn out" -- [kɑ:t], no doubt. In the published version of the story, the stressed words are printed in italics. The following evidence is gleaned from this document:

### Vowel Raising:

|              |         |                                |
|--------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| <u>een</u>   | 'in'    | (stressed)                     |
| <u>caint</u> | 'can't  |                                |
| <u>goat</u>  | 'got'   |                                |
| <u>loang</u> | 'long'  |                                |
| <u>noak</u>  | 'knock' | but also <u>nowks</u> 'knocks' |
| <u>saiz</u>  | 'says'  | (usually [sez] in SWE)         |

### Centred Unstressed Vowels:

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| <u>vurra</u> | 'very'  |
| <u>bella</u> | 'belly' |

Vowel Quality:

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| <u>fa-ther</u>   | 'father'               |
| <u>wackin</u>    | 'walking' and 'waking' |
| <u>not-issed</u> | 'noticed'              |
| <u>alon</u>      | 'alone'                |
| <u>dawnt</u>     | 'don't'                |
| <u>awpen</u>     | 'open'                 |
| <u>tald</u>      | 'told'                 |

Mulligan describes cot 'coat' as having a long vowel, and his spellings awpen 'open' and dawn't also suggest long vowels. The spelling convention aw is the same as that of Walters -- who writes awpened 'opened' and nawtised 'noticed', indicating a long [ɑ:]. Thus, both Mulligan and Walters suggest a long low back vowel. Wright (1905:553) shows the word open with a short [a] in northeastern Scotland and with a long [ɑ:] in the Orkney Islands.

Vowels Preceding [r]:

|                         | <u>SWE</u> | <u>Mulligan</u> |
|-------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| <u>har</u> 'her'        | @r :       | ar              |
| <u>narvus</u> 'nervous' | @r :       | ar              |
| <u>far</u> 'for'        | or :       | ar              |
| <u>dahr</u> 'door'      | or :       | ar              |
| <u>warin</u> 'wearing'  | er :       | ar              |
| <u>haird</u> 'hard'     | ar :       | er              |
| <u>por</u> 'poor'       | ur :       | or              |

As suggested above (pp. 85-87), the written sources exhibit considerable differences as to the nature of vowels preceding [r].

Diphthongs:

|                         |        |      |
|-------------------------|--------|------|
| <u>bile</u>             | 'boil' | [ai] |
| <u>tai<del>m</del>e</u> | 'time' | [ei] |
| <u>aye</u>              | 'eye'  | [ei] |

Depalatalization:

|                   |           |
|-------------------|-----------|
| <u>tsewd</u>      | 'chewed'  |
| <u>lunce</u>      | 'lunch'   |
| <u>latz</u> [sic] | 'latch'   |
| <u>sutz</u> [sic] | 'such'    |
| <u>cats</u>       | 'catch'   |
| <u>dzumped</u>    | 'jumped'  |
| <u>dzust</u>      | 'just'    |
| <u>strainz</u>    | 'strange' |
| <u>messidze</u>   | 'message' |
| <u>sarp</u>       | 'sharp'   |
| <u>see</u>        | 'she'     |
| <u>buss</u>       | 'bush'    |

Fricatives and affricates were depalatalized both word-initially and word-finally.

Palatalization of [s]:

shtay 'stay'  
shtory 'story'  
shtop 'stop'  
shtring 'string'  
shtarted 'started'  
shpel 'spell'  
shmocked 'smoked'  
shniffin 'sniffing'  
shneakin 'sneaking'

but: strainz and strainer 'strange(r)'

This palatalization of [s] to [š] in word-initial consonant clusters, which is pointed out by Mulligan and revealed inadvertently in Walters' taped stories, is opposite to the stereotypical depalatalization of fricatives and affricates. These contrary patterns suggest one difference between Red River speech and the English of Cree speakers. While the [s] and [š] are in free variation in the latter, the variation appears to be rule governed in Red River speech. The occurrence of [š] for [s] has just recently been observed in the speech of Mrs. Adams (see comments pp. 57-58 above) -- it was not evident in her taped speech.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> This is evidence that there are probably other features in her casual speech which have not yet been observed -- whether due to an ongoing process of relaxation on her part, or to my own increasing ability to "hear".

Noticeably absent in Mulligan is evidence for the back diphthong [ou] -- no doubt because the English spelling is perfectly suited to the sound. He does not indicate a [u:] vs. [ou] split as does Walters. There are two examples of the front diphthong [ei] corresponding to SWE [ai], and he also indicates bile 'boil' with the [ai] diphthong corresponding to SWE [oi]. This agrees with the evidence in Walters for the [ai] diphthong in Bungee. Mulligan offers no evidence for [ŋ] and the distribution of the [s] > [š] rule is wider than that of Walters, i.e., preceding [n] and [p].

#### The McBean Letter

This letter, written by Mrs. McBean's mother (see table 3, p. 28) was a response to an irate letter criticizing S. Osborne Scott for his talk on Bungee in a 1937 radio program. Mrs. McBean says (on the 1978 tape mentioned below) that, though her mother did not speak Bungee, she could imitate it. The following evidence is from the written document exclusively:

#### Raised Vowels:

baid 'bed'

heid 'head'

soogar 'sugar'

#### Centred Vowels:

ruvver 'river'

s'e 'she' (probably [s^])

Low back [ɑ]:

nozz 'nose'

cauld 'cold'

staure 'store'

bott 'boat'

sock 'soak'

Diphthongs:

biled 'boiled'

boabsleigh 'bobsleigh'

boax 'box'

no 'now'

Vowels preceding [r]:

s'art 'shirt'

tsarts 'church'

Depalatalized Consonants:

s'art 'shirt'

tsarts 'church'

s'oes 'shoes'

dsack-fis 'jackfish'

tras' 'trash'

sas' 'sash'

pictserts 'pictures'

In McBean's reading in 1978 (see table 2, CBC tape), the oa diphthong is pronounced exactly as Walters demonstrated the vowel in

boada 'body' -- as [o:@], labialized o with an offglide towards centre. An offglide towards centre is also suggested for [e:] in Walters' wordlist, e.g., waya 'way' [we:@] -- in an open syllable. This suggests the possibility of a long-short contrast, [o:] vs. [o] (and possibly [e:] vs. [e·]?).

The McBean document corroborates the diphthong [ai] in boiled as in Mulligan and Walters. As with Mulligan, the variants of the diphthong [ou] are no doubt disguised by the orthography of English; however, there is no indication at all of the [ei] diphthong in the spelling -- though the raised vowels in heid and baid seem to suggest a diphthong. This may be similar to the situation in Walters (pp. 99-100 above) in which the vowel is neutralized with the front diphthong. Mrs. McBean's reading in 1978 uses a more SWE-like pronunciation; and the absence of the [ei] and [ou] diphthongs, in particular, detracts considerably from the presentation.

#### The Moncrieff Story

Old Timer was the nom de plume of J. J. Moncrieff who, Osborne Scott (1937) notes, was born in the Shetland Islands. Moncrieff wrote a column for The Winnipeg Tribune during the 1930's, including one on the Red River Dialect. In this article, he includes a story (in dialect) sent to him by an unnamed Red River man who, Moncrieff said, was a good source of Red River stories. The following information is gleaned from that story:

Vowel Raising:

sate our nates 'set our nets'  
southwaste 'southwest'  
een 'in'  
sayed 'said'

Vowel Quality:

pepper 'paper'  
nattive 'native'  
faather 'father'  
ackward 'awkward'  
rite 'right'  
robs 'robes'  
drov 'drove'  
awnly 'only'

Diphthongs:

byes 'boys'  
ould 'old' (?)  
cowld 'cold' (?)

Vowels Preceding [r]:

harses 'horses'  
cherch 'church'

Here again, the evidence for vowels preceding [r] is contradictory, e.g., Moncrieff's cherch vs. McBean's tsarts.

Consonants:

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| <u>saver</u>  | 'shaver'  |
| <u>fisin'</u> | 'fishing' |
| <u>sore</u>   | 'shore'   |
| <u>gos</u>    | 'gosh'    |

The evidence for depalatalization of consonants appears to be restricted to [š] > [s], as the story includes cherch 'church'.

Moncrieff also reveals metathesis in Selkrick 'Selkirk'.

## The Naive Writers

### The McKay Journals

Another source of information is found in the Hudsons' Bay Company Archives. By the mid-eighteenth century, some of the native-born sons of company officers were being employed as clerks and post managers -- provided, of course, they had some form of education so that they would be able to keep journals and account books. A representative, whose documents are no doubt typical of others yet to be studied, is William McKay.<sup>45</sup>

He was born c. 1793 to a highland Scot, "Mad" Donald McKay<sup>46</sup> and a daughter of James Sutherland (d. 1797) and his (nameless) Indian wife. McCloy speculates that Donald McKay's wife died c. 1799 as he and his two boys, Donald Jr. and William, went to Scotland in 1799, returning in 1806 to sign up with the HBC again -- but only for one more year, for in the spring [1807] Donald Sr. returned to Scotland.

William McKay received some education in Scotland. He was about six years old when he went there with his father in 1799, so he may have had five or six years of schooling at that time. He seems to

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<sup>45</sup> A note on the tab of William McKay's search file in the HBC Archives reads "Pickerel face McKye", but I have yet to find the source of this nickname -- or a picture of the man. The search file includes a typed copy of McKay's obituary in the Selkirk Record, dated 21 January 1887; a hand-written two-page biography signed by R. R. McCloy; and a note regarding his will which was dated 22 July 1851. Most of the following is gleaned from those few pages.

<sup>46</sup> The name, "Mad Donald", is due, at least in part, to his excessive drinking (cf. Duckworth, 1988). McCloy notes an entry beside his account (B.42/d/86 fo. 35d-36) reading, "When sober, mad, when drunk outrageously so."

have returned to Scotland in 1811 and remained there until 1817, when he signed on with the HBC (at about age 24). At that time he listed his home as Brown, Parish of Clyne, in Sutherlandshire (A. 32/19 fo. 117). He worked his way up from steersman at Norway House, Berens River and Swan River. By 1828-29 he was a clerk at Island Lake and by 1830-31 he was Island Lake postmaster (B.156/d/16 fo. 3). He remained there until 1843 when he was assigned to Trout Lake. In 1856 his son, William Jr., took over Trout Lake and William Sr. was transferred to Norway House and, the next year, to Berens River. According to McCloy, he remained there at least until 1860. He retired to Red River, according to his obituary, in 1871. He died on 13 January, 1887, and is buried in the churchyard at old St. Andrews on the Red.<sup>47</sup>

McKay's writing shows considerable use of naive spelling and provides some evidence regarding Scottish dialects of the time, perhaps with some interference from Cree. He undoubtedly spoke one or more native languages himself, as did most post managers in those days. There is considerable evidence in McKay's writing of a variety of English which is suggestive of Bungee. (There may in fact be more evidence in McKay's writing and a follow-up search would no doubt be rewarding.)

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<sup>47</sup> His will lists the following children: William, John, Dugald, Joseph, Mary and Anne. Mary, it is believed, became the wife of Chief Jacob Berens of Berens River.

A short biography of William McKay was recently published in Killing the Shamen [sic] (Fiddler and Stevens, 1985) where he is said to have been described by a superior as "being quite 'au lait'", especially with regard to his skills as a winter traveller in the bush.

Vowels:

The vowel [e] rather than [i] may have occurred in some words in some Scottish dialects and/or in McKay's speech. The evidence for [e] includes the following words:

|                                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>beld</u> 'build'               | <u>belding</u> 'building'     |
| <u>lettel</u> 'little'            | <u>selvare</u> 'silver' (fox) |
| <u>ketchen</u> 'kitchen'          | <u>sken</u> 'skin'            |
| <u>crepel</u> 'crippled'          | <u>rever</u> 'river'          |
| <u>wemen</u> 'women'              | <u>ten</u> 'tin'              |
| <u>stel</u> ~ <u>stul</u> 'still' |                               |

The occurrence of the vowel [e] for SWE [i] in some of the words listed would help account for centred [ʌ] in Bungee (notably, [rʌv@r] 'river') -- observe the variation of stel with stul, for example. Wright (1905) records [letl] 'little' and [set] 'sit' in Scottish dialects (cf. also Gregg, 1972:123 for Ulster English).

Vowels Preceding [r]:

|                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| <u>parges</u>   | 'perches' (fish) |
| <u>sterving</u> | 'sterving'       |
| <u>allermed</u> | 'alarmed'        |

Diphthongs:

|                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| <u>gaids</u>      | 'guides'           |
| <u>bey</u>        | 'by'               |
| <u>teying</u>     | 'tying'            |
| <u>whey</u>       | 'why'              |
| <u>lake</u>       | 'lake' and 'like'  |
| <u>Round Skey</u> | 'Round Sky' (name) |
| <u>shours</u>     | 'showers'          |

The diphthong [ei] is evident in this record while, as suggested previously, the diphthong [ou] is obscured by the orthography of English. McKay's use of the spelling nibourhoud 'neighbourhood' seems ambiguous, i.e., it may represent the diphthong [ai] as in Walters' nybor -- however, Wright gives the pronunciation [nɪb<sup>^</sup>r] for the Orkneys and Scottish Lowlands, which is more likely in this case.

Consonants

Nasal Cluster [ŋg]:

|                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Longehead</u> | 'Longhead' (name) |
| <u>stronge</u>   | 'strong'          |
| <u>allonge</u>   | 'along'           |

The spelling McKay uses for [ŋg] is the same as that of Walters.

Alveolar/Dental Consonants:

|                                    |             |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| <u>farder</u>                      | 'farther'   |
| <u>thauthesan</u>                  | 'thousand'  |
| <u>thrething</u> ~ <u>thresing</u> | 'threshing' |

[s] ~ [š]:

sould 'should'  
uswall 'usual'  
espesuly 'especially'  
sherching 'searching'

Generally he had problems with sequences of two or more sibilant sounds, including plural forms; for example:

despatiches ~ dispaituches etc. 'dispatches'

servaceses 'services'

sinceses 'senses'

There is also a bit of evidence for the clustering of consonants n, d and l (cf. discussion pp. 65-66 above):

chand 'change'

spanding 'spawning'

suddenly 'suddenly'

sertently 'certainly'

Note the excrescence of d or t following the homorganic nasal word-finally and preceding the suffixes -ing and -ly. Wright records [ondli] 'only' in northeast Norfolk, but nothing similar is shown for Scotland or the Orkneys.

## The Orkney Letters

Letters in an article reprinted in The Selkirk Enterprise of 25 June 1953 (cf. Orkney Letters, table 3, p. 28) show evidence of naive spellings used by Orkneymen in their letters to their families back home. Examples from letters dated in the 1820's include:

### Vowels:

|                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| <u>lettel</u>      | 'little'         |
| <u>honder</u>      | 'hundred'        |
| <u>bot</u>         | 'but'            |
| <u>boflo roner</u> | 'buffalo runner' |
| <u>wastcots</u>    | 'waistcoats'     |

The rounding of [ʌ] to [ɔ] occurs only preceding [n] and following bilabial consonants. The final example shows the correspondence between SWE [ow] and a low back vowel, no doubt [ɑ:] as suggested in Walters.

### Diphthongs:

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| <u>tray</u>   | 'try'       |
| <u>nibour</u> | 'neighbour' |

### Consonants:

|                     |          |
|---------------------|----------|
| <u>helt</u>         | 'health' |
| <u>fow</u>          | 'few'    |
| <u>sould</u>        | 'should' |
| [ŋk]: <u>sprink</u> | 'spring' |
| <u>thinks</u>       | 'things' |

The [t] for [θ] is due to the loss of [θ] in Norn which affected the pronunciation of both Norn and Scots English words (Barnes 1984:363). Wright shows the pronunciation [sʊd] 'should' and [nɪbʰr] 'neighbour' for the Orkneys. The spelling nibour shown in the Orkney letters is the same as that used by McKay above.

### The Written Documents

The vowel system suggested by all the written evidence is the same as that shown above (p. 99) for Walters' manuscript.

The tense vowels are [i:], [e:], [ɑ:], [o:] and [u:]. The written documents provide strong evidence for a long [ɑ:] vowel -- always in words which exhibit [ow] in SWE. There is some evidence that [e:] and [o:] are diphthongized with a glide towards centre; however, the evidence is refractory and inconclusive.

The lax vowels are [i], [e], [æ], [a], [ʌ], [ɔ], and [u]. The evidence suggests that some words with vowel [i] in SWE belong to the lexical set for the vowel [e] in Scots dialects. There also seem to be patterns for raising and for centring. The vowel [e] is raised to [i] preceding [t], [ð] and [n]; and raising of [e] to [e·] (possibly diphthongized) seems to occur preceding voiced stops or consonant clusters. There is evidence for centred [ʌ] rather than [e] preceding [l] or [v].

There is also evidence in both Walters and Mulligan for an [o] vowel corresponding to SWE [ɑ] in words like got, knock, along as well

as a rounded variant of [ʌ], [ʌ̃], preceding [n] and following bilabial consonants. The evidence for [ʌ] to [ʌ̃] is particularly clear in the Orkney letters.

The diphthongs include [ei], [ou], [oi], and [ai]. The evidence for the diphthongs is not entirely clear, but any uncertainties or, indeed, the lack of evidence may be attributed to the orthography of English. For instance, the English digraph ou perfectly fits the diphthong [ou] -- and is used in that function in Walters' manuscript and wordlist. There is evidence for [ei] in both the naive writers and in the observations of Mulligan. The fact that Walters' orthographic conventions fail to distinguish between the mid front vowels and the diphthong [ei] does not contradict this evidence but merely serves to confuse the issue. The [oi] diphthong is clearly indicated, as is the [ai] diphthong in boil and in the exclamation boy.

#### Depalatalization

The evidence of naive writers shows palatal consonants (affricates) though there is some variation in the case of [s] ~ [š]. The Orkney letters reveal some dialect usages, e.g., sould 'should', which is typical for the Orkney dialect, according to Wright (1905). McKay's writing shows a bit more variation with respect to [s] ~ [š], but he nevertheless maintains affricates in some form, e.g., parges 'perches'.

The almost complete depalatalization shown in the Walters manuscripts is echoed in McBean and Moncrieff -- and to some extent in Mulligan. However, as suggested above, the evidence in Mulligan (and the Walters tapes) for palatalization of [s] in some environments suggests that the variation of [s] and [š] in Red River speech, at least for some speakers, may have been rule governed as opposed to the free variation which appears to exist in the English of Cree speakers.

#### Velar Nasal

All sources except McBean show the [ŋ] ~ [ŋg] variation which is a legacy of older Scots English dialects.

## Bungee Sounds

One of the main characteristics of Bungee is the depalatalization of fricatives and affricates which is prevalent in the written sources and for which there is still evidence in the speech of some local people. By this process, [j], [č], and [š] become [j], [c], and [s] respectively.<sup>48</sup> The linguistic influence of Cree -- which, according to Hargrave (1871:181), was the mother tongue of most of the early residents of the Settlement -- is obvious; fricatives and affricates vary freely in the western dialects of Cree, in place of articulation as well as voicing.

On closer inspection, however, depalatalization turns out to be part of a larger process involving place of articulation. There is a general shift forward involving movement, not only of the palatal affricates and fricatives to alveolar articulation, but also the alveolar fricatives and stops, in the direction of dental articulation.

Lowland Scots and Orkney English, Highland English and Gaelic exhibit several corresponding features:

- the dental (as opposed to alveolar) consonants of Gaelic and Gaelic-influenced English;
- the variations in the pronunciations of common words in various Scots English dialects, e.g., [šu] 'sew' and [sud] 'should';

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<sup>48</sup> Remarkably, this is opposite to the process which occurred in the transition from French to Michif, a Cree-French creole (cf. Douaud, 1985), i.e.:

French [t] > Canadian French [c] > Michif [č]

-- the loss of [θ] in Orkney Norn (and the absence of that consonant in French).

With their confluence at Red River, all these features, together with those of Cree, seem to have reinforced one another in altering the place of articulation of typically alveolar consonants towards dental articulation and dragging the associated palatalized consonants forward in the process. The fact that these features spanned the more prestigious English language as well as Cree no doubt added force to the process. The present-day variability in all the alveolar consonants, the consonant clustering of n, d and l and the occasional "lispings" seem symptomatic of a general fluctuation with respect to the place of articulation.

Another salient feature of Bungee is the devoicing of word-final voiced obstruents. Cree clearly plays a strong role in this process as voicing is not distinctive in Cree obstruents. However, the Scottish evidence (Grant, 1914; Abercrombie, 1979) indicates that this was and is also characteristic of most Scots English dialects. Though voicing is distinctive in these dialects, obstruents are typically devoiced in some environments -- particularly word-finally.

A third feature of Bungee which is common to both Cree and Scots English is the monophthongal quality of the vowels -- as opposed to the diphthongized "tense" vowels of Standard English.

There is no doubt that the vowel system of Bungee is based on Scots English rather than Cree, and the diphthongs of older speakers still retain some characteristic features of Scots English.

The lax vowels in particular are subject to variation (raising, centring, rounding, etc.) and in present-day Bungee, there is a distinct pattern of a centred [ʌ] rather than [e] preceding l and v. Abercrombie refers to this vowel as Aitkens' Vowel in modern Scots English and there is evidence of the same vowel in the Scottish Irish speech of Ulster (Gregg, 1972). The occurrence of [ʌ] in words like river, sit, etc., might seem odd until one considers the evidence in McKay (supported by Wright, 1905) for the occurrence of [e] rather than [i] in these words in Scots English speech. The inclusion of these words in the lexical set for [e] in Bungee would account for the occurrence of [sʌt] 'sit' and [rʌvər] 'river' as part of the process of centring [e].

The occurrence of [ŋg] is evident not only in present-day Bungee but in the written evidence of Walters' manuscripts and wordlist, the Orkney letters, and McKay. This feature is clearly a relic of Middle English which is documented in many dialects of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland and the Orkney Islands.

It is the features resulting from the confluence of people and languages at Red River, especially with respect to vowel quality and the place of articulation of obstruents, which give Bungee some of its most characteristic sounds -- sounds which still echo, however faintly, through the Red River Settlement.

## CHAPTER 6: PROSODIC FEATURES

In addition to the linear sound segments found in the words of a language, there are also prosodic features. Pitch, loudness, tempo and rhythm are predominant among these; but any feature which extends over stretches of utterance may be considered as a prosodic feature (Firth, 1948).

Among the prosodic features of Bungee which have been noted in the speech of Mrs. Adams and, to some extent, in Walters' taped stories are: devoicing of stretches of speech; lip rounding; and features resulting from a reduced oral cavity. There are also some obvious differences (as compared to SWE) in the use of stress, especially that associated with compound words and sentence stress.

## Devoicing

In addition to devoicing of word-final (and sometimes word-initial) obstruents, both Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes sometimes devoice longer stretches of speech <<shown within angle brackets>>; for example, the following from Mrs. Adams:

[n<sup>^</sup>inev@rhæd<sup>^</sup> <<kwort@rɑ>> v@t]  
'and I never had a quarter of it'

This example expresses awe at all the toys her grandson has. A similarly dramatic display was recorded in an interview with Mrs. Barnes:

[w<sup>^</sup>šiev@ <<rwik@twiθmi>>]  
'was she ever wicked with me'

Haiman (1989) discusses phenomena of this nature (exaggerated intonation, devoicing, etc., uncharacteristic of general speech) as indicative of the speaker's distance or alienation from his/her message (cf. the Brechtian literary concept of Verfremdung) -- and this feature, clearly, is not limited to Bungee speakers. It is a device, on the other hand, which seems especially common in the spontaneous speech of Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes. No instances were observed in Walters' stories, which are read and performed. (The other prosodic features are found in both major sources of spoken Bungee.)

## Lip Rounding

Lip rounding is a striking feature of Mrs. Adams' more relaxed speech, on and off tape. In her speech it appears to be linked with a reduction in the size of the oral cavity and protrusion of the lips. The looseness of her lips, in highly emphatic situations, results in lip vibrations, as in:

[p̣p̣p̣ep̣@r] 'pepper'

And when watching a baseball game on TV:

[k^man^mp̣p̣p̣] 'come on ump!'

It is difficult to determine to what extent the observed features are characteristic of Bungee (and are exhibited inadvertently by Mrs. Adams in my presence simply as a function of our close friendship) or if they are idiosyncratic. Frequent stretches of lip rounding can be heard in her speech in one very relaxed taping session, but there is no obvious pattern.<sup>49</sup>

In Walters' text (see appendix 1), on the other hand, there are stretches of several syllables which exhibit lip rounding, and the effect is reminiscent of vowel harmony -- several vowels in a row sounding almost like the same vowel even though elsewhere these words have distinct vowels. Some of these features may be scripted<sup>50</sup> by Mr.

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<sup>49</sup> By comparison, SWE uses reduced oral cavity and pursed (but not loose) lips in baby talk -- whether with a baby or in a mocking posture with someone who is acting childish.

<sup>50</sup> Scripted in the sense of using phrases which trigger "Bungee memories" of how some person expressed those exact words. The only evidence in the manuscripts of any suprasegmental "prompts" are occasional words which are circled, likely as a reminder to stress that word in a compound or in the sentence.

Walters to draw attention to some feature of Bungee. There is, however, one instance involving dialogue and "voices" in which very clear lip rounding can be heard in a section of the dialogue (see p. 230, lines 50-51). The affected portions of the utterance are here underscored:

ei kəld bæk tu h@ɱ, "ku:m ukrus yu: ,  
 =====  
 ^i kənt mi: ^m gət nɑ: bɑ:t"  
 -----

'I called back to him, "Come across, you;  
 I can't, me, I'm got no boat"'

In this example, tight lip rounding (double underscore) occurs, starting just before the imperative phrase, "Come across, you," where the vowels are significantly affected by lip rounding -- as is the sound of the consonants. In the second line, the tense lip rounding is relaxed somewhat (single underscore) and the "vowel harmony" occurs.

Moncrieff (see table 3) draws attention to "the illuminating 'nattive' facial expression, and the added emphasis of shooting out the lips on occasion [emphasis supplied]". This may be related to the custom among Indians and Métis of pointing with their lips -- widely reported in the literature (e.g., Chartrand et al., 1985: appendix VIII) and readily observed among Cree speakers, for example. In the instances I witnessed, it was only momentary and did not occur while they were speaking; in other words, it did not, on those occasions, add the feature of lip rounding to the spoken utterances. Whether or not the lip protrusion mentioned by Moncrieff interacts with speech is

a question that must remain open. However, the incident in Walters' story above may have been an occasion for such pointing of the lips -- at the person being addressed.

### Voice Quality and Pitch

This is perhaps the single most marked feature of Red River speech today. This is the feature which is noticed and commented upon by all observers -- and also by the speakers themselves. I heard a woman, noting another woman's speech with some disdain, say, "She sings it, like". Generally there have been comments about and apologies for other people's speech/voice as "sing-songy", "too loud", "excited", etc. This overt stigmatization -- even within the group of dialect speakers -- is a sure sign that this feature of local speech is a social marker.

Mrs. Adams' informal speech fluctuates considerably in pitch depending on how animated she becomes. On one occasion, the taping session had reached informality to the point of an intimate revelation. In mid-sentence, she stopped and said, "It's a good thing that tape's not on." Only later, while transcribing that tape and listening for stress, intonation, etc., did I realize that it had not been the subject matter which had disconcerted her -- but a rather sustained high pitch sequence which had dropped dramatically just before she made the above comment.

Another time, Mrs. Adams' daughter was visiting and wanted to be in on a recording session. Later, she insisted on hearing the tape,

which she found quite entertaining. Her mother, by contrast, was not amused -- she obviously did not like what she was hearing on the tape.

In the introduction to the text edition (appendix 1, below), I discuss the various levels of voice quality in Walters' Bungee representation. A major component of Bungee voice quality is a distinctly higher overall pitch. The level of concentration in his reading performance is heard not only in the quality of vowels and consonants, but in the higher vs. lower pitch.

There is no doubt a direct link between higher pitch and decreased oral cavity which often accompanies higher pitch in speech. For example, in SWE and Cree baby talk, there is a combination of reduced oral cavity, higher pitch, protruding lips -- as well as the characteristic sibilants of baby talk (cf. Pentland, 1975). The physiological relationship between these features seems to include contraction of the facial muscles involved in reducing the oral cavity and the associated raising of the larynx; the tendency of the lips to protrude which may accompany this action of the facial muscles; and the constricted space in the oral cavity for the functioning of the organs of speech. These features, in various combinations and to varying degrees, appear to be an integral part of Bungee speech. Which of these might be the motivating factor is difficult to determine; but they can be heard in the speech of Mrs. Adams, in particular, and also in Walters' Bungee stories.

As Abercrombie (1979:83) reports, a similar effect is not unheard of in Scots English:

The great phonetician Henry Sweet (himself half Scots) claimed that there was a kind of Scottish voice quality familiarly known as 'the pig's whistle'; he attributed the effect to narrowing of the upper glottis or ventricular bands.

Abercrombie notes that the term 'pig's whistle' is no longer used but that these voice qualities (being studied at Edinburgh University) "appear to vary both with region and social class" (1979:83). Whether or not this is relevant to the speech of Red River remains to be determined; it seems quite plausible, however, that some voice feature of Scots English may have been incorporated into the local speech.

### Stress

Dialect-specific stress patterns are another of the characteristic features of Bungee. They are difficult to analyze and describe due not only to the complexity of the subject matter itself, but to interference from SWE and, above all, the sensitivity of the speakers, which makes data collection difficult.

Stress in discourse is used for emphatic or contrastive purposes in the context of conversation. Stress also occurs as part of the natural rhythmic pattern of a particular language, for example, phrase-final stress in French. Stress in multisyllabic English words is variable,<sup>51</sup> for example:

|                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| <u>STRESSful</u> | <u>presTIGE</u> |
| <u>PACKage</u>   | <u>desSTROY</u> |
| <u>DENTist</u>   | <u>sixTEEN</u>  |

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<sup>51</sup> Ladefoged (1982:224) observes that some languages (e.g., English and German) have variable syllable stress while others (Polish and Swahili, for example) have fixed stress on the penultimate syllable.

And in words of more than two syllables:

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>INdicate</u>   | <u>inDUCTive</u>    |
| <u>deMORalize</u> | <u>constiTUTION</u> |

However, in disyllabic compound words (where most of the stress differences in Mrs. Adams' speech seem to occur) the pattern for SWE is more regular:

|                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| <u>BACKspace</u> | <u>DRIVEway</u>  |
| <u>SPACEship</u> | <u>HAIRspray</u> |
| <u>MILKpail</u>  | <u>DESKtop</u>   |

As indicated, a disyllabic compound noun in SWE has stress on the first component,

(a) [the] **BLACK**bird

while in a corresponding noun phrase, the noun rather than the adjective is stressed (though the stress may be minimal):

(b) [the] black **BIRD**

Consider the following examples of contrastive (emphatic) stress:

- (c) I'm looking for a black BIRD (not a black hat). (noun)
- (d) I'm looking for a BLACK bird (not a blue one). (adjective)
- (e) I'm looking for a BLACKbird (not a pigeon). (compound)

Note that in a compound word, as in (e), the stressed component in a contrastive context is the same as that in the non-contrastive compound (a). In phrases with an adjective and a noun, the stressed component depends on which element is being contrasted. In (d) the adjective is being contrasted and therefore that word is stressed.

In (c) the noun is being contrasted and so the stress is on the noun. The difference between (a) and (e), for example, lies in the degree of stress used: contrastive stress is more emphatic than normal word stress. The neutralization of stress marking in examples (d) and (e), in this case, would be disambiguated in the context of the discourse -- as there would likely be no distinction regarding the juncture (i.e., the transition between the two words/components; for example, a pause or aspiration on a word-initial voiceless stop, etc.).

Mrs. Adams commonly uses stress patterns similar to those of SWE -- particularly in her more careful speech (but not exclusive to it); however, quite frequently she uses stress which is noticeably different from that of SWE -- and, seemingly, from the normal patterns of her own speech. This may occur in multi-syllable words but more often it is found in the stressed components of compound words.

The following examples are mainly from the speech of Mrs. Adams. Examples drawn from tape-recordings are tagged with (T). Unmarked examples are from written notes and are identified if produced by another speaker. Examples (1) and (2) are evidently local placenames which accounts for the first-syllable stress (cf. SWE BALLpark or MAINstreet):

- (1) ... but there was lots [of pasture] out at the TWO mile. (T)
- (2) Yes, we used to play in the BIG field. (T)

It should also be noted that the stress patterns in local placenames seem to be consistent.

Other examples which do not involve placenames and which have unusual stress (for SWE) include:

- (3) ... in the little SPARE room.
- (4) ... because sometimes CASTOR oil is very binding. (T)
- (5) He had an operation on his BAD leg.

One might argue that SPAREroom is a compound word in Mrs. Adams' speech; however, this phrase might have stress on the first component in one instance and on the second component two sentences later -- without contrastive stress in either case.

Other examples of adjective-noun phrases exhibiting stress different from that of SWE include:

rain WATER

square DANCING (Mr. Lake)

HOMEbrew

Also the phrase:

jack of ALL trades

SWE, I believe, uses home BREW (or more balanced stress) even though it is (at least according to my intuition) a compound word. Another example, OARboat, is no doubt a compound corresponding to SWE ROWboat.

In another instance Mrs. Adams said:

- (6) Sandy met him at the LITTLE airport.

However, she added in explication that he had left the big airport (in Calgary) and landed at the little airport (in Prince George).

This contrast may have existed in her mind when she uttered the statement, or she may have been covering up a non-SWE utterance.

There are also many examples in Walters' stories:

DUG well

SPOTTED calf

THICK cream

HARD grease

An example of a SWE compound with unusual stress (see line 14 in Walters' text, p. 228 ff.):

springTIME

Another example from Mrs. Adams involves bound morphemes:

(7) They were all OUTside.

With bound morphemes, e.g., outside, inside, upstairs, downstairs, etc., the morphemes can be separate words, but they cannot exist in sequence without being one word (unless a juncture greater than word boundary separates them). Stress in a simple declarative sentence (in SWE) is on the second component of these words. In reply to the question, Where is he?, for example:

He is outSIDE.

She is upSTAIRS, etc.

With contrastive stress:

I told him to go UPstairs, but he went DOWNstairs.

With emphasis:

I want to go outSIDE!

Why can't we go inSIDE?

In example (7) above, there was no contrastive stress involved; again, the pattern is not consistent. Another example from Mrs. Adams' speech is:

(8) ... on THANKSgiving day.

The following example has unusual syllable stress -- both for SWE and for Mrs. Adams:

(9) He's getting married on the 16th of JULY.

Another example occurred in the noun phrase a reCORD. These examples of syllable stress are considerably more rare than the examples with word stress above.

There is little noticeable difference between the stressed words in Mrs. Adams' sentences and those of SWE -- unless the examples (4), (5) and (6), above, are actually instances of sentence stress rather than word stress. This is unlikely, mainly because all the examples seem to involve adjective/noun combinations. Examples of word stress within a sentence in Walters' stories provide a greater variety of words, including:

(10) So I'm lookin for a GOOD rest after my chores are ...

(11) I'm got a little fixin to DO, I thought ...

(12) That's the second TIME that yoke cracked.

Earlier examples (from Mulligan in Scott and Mulligan, 1951) show similar variety:

- (13) ... and nawks hard ON the door.
- (14) Pull the shtring and wack EEN.
- (15) See wuz alwuz waring a red cot LIKE a capote.
- (16) The wolf gave the shtring a HAIRD pull.

The variability which is heard today is probably due in large part to the interference from SWE in the speech of bidialectal speakers. However, the evidence in Walters and Mulligan suggests that this is not a new development.<sup>52</sup>

#### Intonation

The intonation patterns of Mrs. Adams' speech are similar to those of SWE insofar as the end of a sentence is typically marked by falling intonation. There are spans, however, where a sequence of rising intonations can be heard which then subside, and the more typical pattern is resumed. No definite pattern has so far been isolated for these stretches of speech (which occur rarely on tape) beyond the fact that rising intonation only occurs in situations of unguarded speech; however, a detailed study (requiring fieldwork aimed more specifically at a study of prosodics) would perhaps reveal some pattern.

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<sup>52</sup> Stobie also observed, for example, the even stress on syllables of canoe and bannock, etc. Mr. Walters and Mrs. Barnes also commented on "the way they used to pronounce 'canoe'", i.e., as [k^nu:], with equal stress on both syllables. Some of Stobie's informants were probably also Cree or Saulteaux speakers and there may have been more influence from those languages in their English at the time she observed their speech.

### Bungee Prosodics

Of the prosodic features discussed above, the feature which seems most likely linked to Cree is the lip rounding which occurs in both Mrs. Adams' speech and in Walters' performed stories -- and is alluded to by Moncrieff.

Voice quality and pitch, on the other hand, may be associated with some characteristic of Scots English. Of all the sounds of Bungee, this is probably the most stigmatized within the community today. The discrepancies between Bungee and SWE stress marking -- and to a more limited extent in intonation patterns -- may be due in part to the variety of linguistic influences in Bungee, not to mention interference from SWE.

There is no doubt, however, that the combination of the linear phonetic segments together with the prosodic features give the Bungee speech of the Lower Red River Settlement a most distinctive sound.

### PART III: THE WORDS AND PHRASES OF BUNGEE

There are no systematic syntactic differences between SWE and the Bungee I was able to capture in the recorded speech of native speakers. The major differences are in lexical items and in the phrasing. Many of the words discussed in the first section of chapter 6 belong to major lexical categories, e.g., nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. Beyond that, the phrasing of Red River speech is often different from that of SWE with regard to the connecting words such as pronouns, articles, prepositions, etc. Though these words themselves may be identical to their counterparts in SWE, they are sometimes used differently in Bungee speech. If these usages are within the range of variability of SWE (e.g., the use of the definite article), the differences are not noticeable at first: Only once patterns emerge in casual speech do the differences between Red River speech and SWE become apparent. Other features, like the tagword but (see chapter 8), are more obvious to the casual observer.

It should be noted that the differences within SWE are the differences between casual and formal speech variants; while for Red River people, the differences involve two dialects -- one closer to SWE and the other being the contemporary form of Bungee. More and less formal variants of each dialect are no doubt also involved, and the boundaries are quite blurred.

The following chapters attempt to describe the various forms I was able to record, and to suggest historical antecedents for them.

Examples from the speech of Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes which have been recorded on audiotape are tagged with (T). Unmarked examples are from Mrs. Adams' informal speech (off tape), and all examples from people other than Mrs. Adams are explicitly identified.

## CHAPTER 7: WORDS

### Lexicon

Bungee is frequently described as a "mixture of languages" -- particularly Scots English, Cree, and French -- with additional words from Gaelic, Norn, etc. The evidence of this mixture includes Cree and Scots words such as the following from Scott and Mulligan (1951):

- (17) Bye me, I kaykatch [nearly] killed it two ducks  
with wan sot.
- (18) Awe, Willie, I'm just slocked [doused] it the light,  
can't you die in the daark?
- (19) The canoe went apeechequanee [upside down]  
and they went chimmuck [splash!].

Similar examples from the speech of Mrs. Todd were reported by Mrs.

Adams:

- (20) Chistikat, I forgot my clé.  
'[Cree expletive] I forgot my key.'
- (21) Spin to learn them to shoo.  
'[Cree exclamation] you should teach them to sew.'

The Cree/Saulteaux words have all but vanished from the vocabulary heard today. Many of the examples I have been able to record belong generally to three main categories: kin terms, plants and animals, and exclamations/expletives (see glossary p. 246 ff.). Most of these words have been lost within the last twenty or thirty years, as

suggested by the case of one woman in her forties whom I heard say to her mother, "I remember when you used to say apichekwani, Mom." And some of the words which have survived are devoid of their original meaning: Mrs. Price's brother still calls her tash, but it is simply a family nickname.

There is only one word which seems to remain as part of the general lexicon of a few people, chimmuck. In Cree, according to my sources (e.g., Pentland, 1985; Cotter, 1941), it designates the sound made by dropping a stone into still water. The meaning in Red River now includes 'to drop in one's tracks, to die suddenly'. In a conversation about a man who refused to see a doctor even though he knew he had a heart condition, Mrs. Barnes said:

(22) He told me, "When I go, I'll go chimmuck".

Two Scots words which are often cited for Bungee were, in fact, recorded in Mrs. Adams's speech, both in reported usage:

(23) Like they used to say, any water will slock [douse] a fire.

(24) ... and low [light] the fire, as Granny called it. (T)

Other Scots or Gaelic words used less consciously are:

my titty 'my sister' (her brother calls Mrs. Adams this)

Keltu (Mrs. Adams' nickname, used by her father)

butt (of the dirt) [a hump of dirt?]

mooley cow 'a dehorned cow'

From Mr. Walters' tapes:

mouter 'to barter'

bogle 'to bawl (as a bull)'

There is, however, some variation within Walters' stories; for example, the term mouter, which occurs in one story (and is defined elsewhere), is replaced by its gloss 'barter' in another version of the same story.<sup>53</sup> The same editorial process may be traced in the work of Scott. In the 1937 version of his article on the Red River dialect, he uses the phrase, "... [he] opted water from the river." When the same articles was published in 1951 (Scott and Mulligan), the word opted had been (silently) replaced by got.

Mrs. Adams uses some words according to their older meanings and others which are obsolescent in North America or not commonly heard in SWE. Examples of words used with an older meaning include:

mean 'stingy'

dear 'expensive'

witty 'having good sense, having one's wits about one'

Obsolete words and phrases:

jade 'a useless woman'

well posted 'well informed, well read' (cf. SWE

keep me posted)

riddle it out 'figure it out'

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<sup>53</sup> It is interesting that Walters eliminates the older Scots terms "because nobody understands them" (as he says) while leaving in many of the Cree and Saulteaux words and expressions. The most unfortunate result of this arbitrary filtering of content is the lack of a uniform time depth in the dialect he is presenting. In other words, he is substituting more current words and phrases into a matrix which is supposed to represent an older form of Bungee.

Words not typically used in SWE though they may be current elsewhere:

tuck 'a feed, a good meal'

crabbed 'crabby'

cheeky 'brazen, lippy'

This last word especially, which is occasionally used outside the Settlement by a few older people with a British background, is extremely common in the Red River Settlement; it seems everybody in the Settlement uses cheeky.

Some idiomatic words and phrases are more localized:

kitchen sweats, sweats 'a dance in somebody's home'

lodge 'town hall'

Both of these are suggestive of Cree or Saulteaux influence. The latter term I have heard only from Mrs. Adams. On one occasion I used the term lodge in a question and she corrected me to town hall -- but in subsequent conversation, she used lodge again. This suggests that the term, though habitual, is not really acceptable usage. Mrs. Adams once commented with regard to the old sweats:

(25) I used to dance till I was just soak sweatin.

These dances often included jiggling contests that were highly competitive.

The verb to stay seems to include the meaning 'to live', and to stop may mean 'to stay' as well as 'to stop'.<sup>54</sup> This is not so common today but shows up frequently in Walters' stories. The only example

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<sup>54</sup> I have also observed the use of to stop 'to stay' in Cockney English.

from Mrs. Adams is:

- (26) There was a Jewish lady stayed here, Mrs. Abe Lerner,  
-- well, Grandma [who was a midwife] would have to go every  
time she [was in labour] to go and help her. (T)

Examples from Walters include:

- (27) He used to stay not far from where I stayed when I was  
a boy yet in my father's house.
- (28) Now where I stay is by a ferry up south of here.
- (29) After that she stayed with him and she raised up his kids  
until she died.
- (30) John James says they call this slough "McNichol's slough"  
cause an old fella called that used to stop here.

In (30), the verb to stop may also mean 'to live', judging from the context of the sentence. This is no doubt a reflection of Cree nomadic lifestyle -- as exemplified in the Cree verb pimâciho- which means both 'travel' and 'live' (Ahenakew, 1987b).

A complete and more fully documented list of words recorded during the course of this study may be found in the glossary (appendix 2, p. 246 ff., below).

## Articles and Pronominals

Articles and pronouns, both demonstrative and personal, are related in meaning and function (see discussion below) and are treated together in this chapter.

### The Definite Article the

In SWE, the definite article is used to designate a specific object, knowledge of which is shared by speaker and listener, i.e., it refers to "old information" in the context of a conversation. The indefinite article is used without reference to any specific object and usually introduces new information into the conversation. In more conventional or idiomatic usage, one may go to the beach or the opera -- and in the case of diseases, there are a few which are commonly referred to in SWE as the flu, the measles, the mumps. However, Mrs. Adams usage goes beyond that of SWE:

- (31) Auntie, I'm got the sinus. (T)
- (32) I'm not got the diarrhea.
- (33) Under here I've got the woolen shirt and the bra.
- (34) Uncle Fred had the even dozen. (T)
- (35) John and I used to have the horses and we'd have the sleighs, like. (T)
- (36) ... they used to get a lot of grease by the fat of the animal and the fat of the pork. (T)

All but (32) and (33) are from taped speech. The Bungee use of the is not often noticed in casual conversation and so is rarely documented in my notes (or by earlier observers).

The frequent use of the definite article is observed by Pringle (1981) in the dialect of the Ottawa Valley as depicted in the Glengarry stories of Ralph Connor. Pringle claims that this usage results from the absence of an indefinite article in Gaelic. Aitken (1984:106) also notes the influence of this feature of Gaelic in some Highland dialects.

On the other hand, both definite and indefinite articles are sometimes deleted, as in:

(37) We had teacher by the name of Miss Walker. (T)

(38) You can even go to store and buy ... (T)

Rarely is the pronoun omitted; however, in the following emphatic sentence, the pronoun she (in context) is deleted:

(39) Well, SURE [sc. she] was poor. (T)

And in the following sentence, the third-person pronoun appears to be missing:

(40) ... [he asked her to] describe her basket to him.

So she was telling him that was all trimmed with white tissue paper ... (T)

In (40), what appears to be the deletion of the pronoun it (i.e., the basket) after the word that, is more likely the use of that as a pronoun coreferential to basket. The intonation shows no stress or emphasis of any kind (which would normally be required for an emphatic demonstrative in SWE). Further investigation is required as to Mrs. Adams' use of that.

The Demonstrative, Relative and Third-Person Pronoun that

In Mrs. Adams' speech, as in SWE, that is used as a demonstrative pronoun and as a relative pronoun. The demonstrative pronoun is often used as it is in SWE:

(41) What do you call that cream, now? (T)

(42) That's a nice coat, yes.

However, example (43) is not typical of SWE:

(43) Many's the good old hoedown was held in that. (T)

Here the demonstrative that refers to that lodge (hall) which is the topic being discussed. SWE would typically use deictic there.

The relative pronoun that is used for animate as well as inanimate referents. That is not to say that SWE speakers never use that instead of who, but not so consistently and/or in as many contexts. For example, with inanimate coreferent (similar to SWE):

(44) Well you see, when they grew up, there was land out back at number eight highway -- all out there that wasn't owned by anybody. (T)

There is no pause after all out there or any stress on that to suggest an emphatic demonstrative; instead, that is used as a relative pronoun. In (45) its use as a relative pronoun is completely unambiguous:

(45) I took my book that I bought ... (T)

Referring to animate referents:

- (46) ... and then the boys that fell in the Second World War ... (T)
- (47) George is a girl that's from Selkirk that's living out there too. (T)
- (48) I have my sister, Susan, that's seventy-five. (T)

Example (46) might also occur in SWE; however, (47) and (48) likely would not. Of course, these sentences are atypical of SWE in other respects also. Aitken (1979:105) notes the tendency to avoid wh-relatives in favour of that in Scots English and the same is true in Mrs. Adams' speech.

In (49) that is used instead of it:

- (49) I took my book that I bought -- paid twenty five dollars for -- I took and took it out to Kevin so he could read that if he got lonesome. (T)

While I was unable to elicit the intuitive judgement of the speaker,<sup>55</sup> Mrs. Adams clearly uses both it and that to refer to book. Note especially that, in the example above, that carries no stress. (With contrastive stress, that would be an emphatic demonstrative in SWE.) Example (50) is not so clear:

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<sup>55</sup> Labov (1969:715) notes that "whenever a subordinate (non-standard) dialect is in contact with a superordinate (standard) dialect, it is not possible to investigate the grammar by eliciting intuitive judgments of grammaticality from native speakers. Data gathered by such a method will reflect the superordinate dialect more than the one being studied."

(50) Whoever had a bit of talent, that was the violin player. (T)

In SWE, that would likely be omitted entirely or possibly expanded to that one or stressed he/she. But the emphatic demonstrative that in SWE would require stress, which is not found here.

There is no evidence of stress in any of the above uses of that in Mrs. Adams' speech. There is also no stress on that in (51):

(51) If she thought about something when she opened her eyes, she grumbled about that till she went to bed the same night. (T)

Here again, that can be replaced by it. In this case, however, that is possible in SWE -- with stress, to show the single-mindedness of the old woman (and it would likely be accompanied, in SWE, by a tone of voice which made the point clear). Though this might work in (51), however, it would not work in example (40) above.

The evidence in Walters' Bungee stories (performed from scripts) and the written evidence, except for the naive writers, is different in that minor components are not usually deleted in written style; and the use of the definite/indefinite articles generally follows the writing style of the author. The examples of relative and demonstrative pronouns, where they differ from standard usage, seem more deliberate and perhaps exaggerated. Even so, they are exaggerations of something the writer must have observed.

Walters' taped stories show the demonstrative pronoun that used with a plural noun (in addition to more SWE-like usage); for example:

- (52) You two men can pluck the feathers off that geese and ...  
(53) I'm sure that wives won't like it when they get away there.

Walters frequently uses what (which rarely occurs in Mrs. Adams' speech) instead of the relative pronoun that:

- (54) It was one of these kind what has a place in the middle for to put a ramrod in and ...  
(55) Not like the people what lives close along the river ...  
(56) Some of them what fishes [that go fishing] all the time ...

But also:

- (57) ... and stab a few with my spear that I made.

Walters does, however, use that in lieu of the pronoun it:

- (58) This is why I want to dig snakeroot to take up where I can get stuff for that or they give you ... [i.e., trade it at the fort in exchange for goods]

And in the following examples, in which the phrasing differs considerably from that of SWE:

- (59) There's two more places this side of that where you can get whiskey ... [that referring to a stopping-place mentioned in the previous sentence]  
(60) And when they save that up, they buys shovels and stuff ... [that referring to money paid in fines]

Mulligan, on the other hand, generally uses the "correct" (i.e., SWE) forms for relative pronouns -- except in one instance:

(61) ... a shtory of a little gurl wat wuz called ...

There is no evidence in Mulligan for that as a third-person pronoun. However, that in lieu of it is shown in both Mrs. Adams' natural speech and Walters' Bungee stories.

For English, as well as for German and the Romance languages, Lyons sketches the relationship of both the third-person pronouns (i.e., he, she, and it) and the definite article (the in English) to the demonstrative pronoun:

This gives us a clue to the relationship between these three different 'parts of speech'. They all 'include' the feature 'definite': from this point of view, the man, this man, that man contrast with a man, and he contrasts with someone. But the man and he being undetermined with respect to proximity, are both in contrast with this man ('proximate') and that man ('remote'). The traditional separation of the 'articles', the 'personal pronouns' and the 'demonstrative pronouns' obscures these relationships (1968:279).

Cree does not use third-person pronouns for simple declarative sentences, only in emphatic clauses. A noun phrase with demonstrative pronoun ôma, for example, is more definite than one consisting only of a noun (definite/indefinite articles are not used); for example (Ahenakew, 1987a:143 ff.):

ôma môhkomân 'this/the knife'

môhkomân 'a knife'

The demonstrative pronoun ôma (without a noun) can be used as either the subject or object of a sentence. In English, the third-person

pronoun would be used in this situation. In both cases, the (Cree) demonstrative pronoun and the (English) personal pronoun are coreferential with the person/object already identified, or presupposed. English uses word order to avoid ambiguity in identifying coreferents (along with sentence context) while Cree uses a system of demonstratives which are marked for animate/inanimate as well as proximate/obviative, etc. So that and it are semantically linked and the correspondence between them is easily transferred from one language to another.

### Third-Person Pronouns

Mrs. Adams occasionally uses third-person pronouns without regard for gender distinction:

- (62) My father-in-law was a nice man. She was good to me,  
I will say. (T)

This is clearly a matter of formal (on tape) vs. informal (off tape) style, and this is the only example found in transcript readings. Early in the study, she was more formal even in unrecorded casual conversation, and occasional instances of he for she were caught and corrected.

- (63) ... [she asked her] for his -- for her phone number.  
(64) My daughter, he -- she is [a hard worker].

But over the three years I have been visiting Mrs. Adams, her style has become more informal and relaxed and the following examples have been noted:

(65) I love listenin' 'er. [i.e., the priest singing]

(66) John come down too -- she got Lorne and Ronnie.

[i.e., he brought them with him]

(67) He goes by himself and she goes by himself.

On a recent visit to my apartment, when she commented on some television program, I asked her what her grandmother would say about that. Her reply:

(68) He'd say the same if he saw it.

Walters, of course, recognizes this as a regular feature of Bungee and scripts it in all his Bungee stories. Curiously, it is not mentioned in Scott and Mulligan (1951) or in the McBean letter.

Though this is undoubtedly a prominent feature of Bungee and was widely used at one time, it is heard less frequently in the speech of present-day Red River people. It is, however, a regular feature in the speech of Mrs. Hart, who spent much of her life on a reserve and no doubt speaks Saulteaux fluently. Examples from a short interview include:

(69) I had to hold his hands. [speaking of a female]

(70) His name is Mrs. Bear.

(71) He's a widow woman, too.

This feature rarely occurs in Mrs. Ellis's speech, but I did hear it once. Mrs. Ellis, though she refers to herself as "Indian", has few Bungee features in her speech. She is younger than Mrs. Hart and has lived and worked in an urban community most of her life.

The use of he/she without distinction for masculine/feminine gender involves interference from Cree (or Saulteaux). As a result, many people whose first language is Cree do not make a distinction when using he/she or il/elle.<sup>56</sup> The same problems arise for anyone learning a second language, whether it is English, German, Cree, or Arabic: each language has its own system of categorization.

In earlier stages of Bungee, the masculine/feminine distinction may have been absent from the categorization of third-person pronouns as a result of the strong influences of Cree. In present-day speech, the distinction is usually made; but, there is still clear evidence of the persistence of older patterns which surface only in the most unguarded speech.

Douaud (1985:31-32) lists four areas of linguistic interference from Cree on the French/Michif and English spoken by the Métis community at Lac la Biche, Alberta. The interference occurs at three levels, phonetic, semantic and syntactic:

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<sup>56</sup> I have observed the same phenomena in the casual English of a Japanese woman. In Japanese, the distinction is made only in the most formal speech styles and not in more casual speech.

phonetic: vowel raising and palatalization

semantic: gender of third-person pronouns

syntactic: possessive construction

The phonetic features, according to Douaud, occur only in French while the semantic and syntactic interference affects both the French and the English of the Lac la Biche Métis (1985:32). As suggested above, there is still evidence of interference in the third-person pronouns of Bungee; however, the present-day speakers generally follow SWE (their high dialect).

There is no evidence in my Bungee data of the possessive construction found in Michif.<sup>57</sup> Mrs. Adams' possessive constructions are similar to those of SWE; for example, (72) involves a list -- and like all lists in her speech, it is exceptional more for the reiteration of the whole phrase than for the form of the possessive within it:

- (72) My Aunt Christie, she married a Cox,  
my Aunt Nancy, she married a Calder,  
my Aunt Mary, she married a man by the name ... (T)
- (73) My daughter, he -- she is [a hard worker].

The two examples from Walters involve animals and are less typical of SWE -- perhaps because of the nature of the verbs (which have low transitivity):

- (74) My animals, they give me no trouble.
- (75) Maybe your horse, he caught them off of you.

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<sup>57</sup> Douaud's examples for Lac la Biche Métis speakers include: My sister, her son, he's at Fort McMurray.

Only the following example from Walters shows an obvious relationship to Cree:

(76) That's not me, my louse -- that's you, your louse.

(76) is apparently a quotation: Walters said he knew the women involved -- though he likely just heard the story as part of local folklore. This example is very Cree-sounding: the corresponding Plains Cree sentence shows contrastive use of the emphatic pronouns:

(77) môy NIYA nitihkom, KIYA kitihkom!

[not ME my-louse, YOU your-louse]

'That's not MY louse, that's YOUR louse!'

Cree uses personal pronouns only to show emphasis or contrastive stress as nouns may take a pronominal prefix to show possession. In the example above, ni(t)- corresponds to 'my' and ki(t)- to 'your'.

#### Pronouns: Stressed and Unstressed

Pronouns have stressed and unstressed (strong/weak) variants in all dialects of English. Mrs. Adams generally uses forms similar to those of SWE -- which include some unstressed forms. Except for the occasional lack of gender distinction with the third-person pronouns, as discussed above, she generally uses [hi:], [ši:], [ʌs] where Walters uses [(h)i:], [si:], [(h)ʌs].

Table 6, below, gives the pronouns as used by Walters in his performed stories. As discussed above, Walters' script does not distinguish the third-person pronouns (subject and object) for

masculine/feminine gender. This free variation of forms is indicated by the symbol  $\approx$  in the chart.

The unstable [h], which may not only be dropped, but added as well, in some pronoun forms, e.g., (h)e, (h)it, (h)us, may be attributed to the influence of Scots English -- particularly the third-person pronouns (Grant, 1914:46). However, there is no doubt some additional reinforcement from French in the prothetic h in hus. Walters, in manuscripts and word lists, writes sa [s^] 'she' as typical Bungee usage. The audiotaped stories, as summarized in table 6, show more variation.

According to Abercrombie (1979:83), words like prepositions, pronouns, etc., have stressed (strong) forms which are distinct from unstressed (weak) forms. These are found in connected speech in all varieties of English, e.g., them and 'em, the latter being the unstressed/weak form. The difference between Scots English and other English dialects is in the distribution of the two. In most forms of English, the choice is syntactically determined (1979:83). Unless there is contrastive stress, for example, the subject forms he, she, etc., might be stressed while the object forms are reduced: 'em, 'er, etc.

Table 6: Stressed (+) and Unstressed (-) Pronouns in Walters' Tapes

|         | <u>Personal</u> |               | <u>Possessive</u> |                  |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
|         | <u>Subject</u>  | <u>Object</u> | <u>Subject</u>    | <u>Predicate</u> |
| 1 sg. + | ei ^i           | mi            | mei               |                  |
| -       | ^               | m@            | m^                |                  |
| 2 sg. + | yu:             |               |                   |                  |
| -       | y^              | y^            | y@r               |                  |
| 3 sg. + | (h)i~ši~si      |               | hiz, h@r          | h@r@n, hiz*      |
| -       | i ~ s^          | im ~ @r       | iz, @r            |                  |
|         | it              | it            |                   |                  |
| 1 pl. + | wi:             | (h)^s         | our               |                  |
| -       |                 |               | ar                |                  |
| 2 pl. + | yu: (yu:z)**    |               |                   |                  |
| -       | y^              | y^            | y@r               |                  |
| 3 pl. + | ðe:             |               |                   |                  |
| -       |                 | @m            |                   |                  |

\* This set occurs only once.

\*\* Used once in yous kids.

In Scots dialects, Abercrombie points out, "the weak forms are stylistically rather than syntactically determined: their occurrence depends almost entirely on the speed of talking and on the formality of the occasion" (1979:83).

Walters' taped stories show both stressed and unstressed pronoun forms; however, it has proven impossible to ascertain whether the motivation is syntactic or stylistic. This is no doubt due to the fact that the story was read into the tape-recorder; so it is not only slower than natural speech, but subject to the rhythms pre-established in the writing and/or the reading. These rhythms might lengthen sounds where they would otherwise be short. Reading style (because it is slower?) is more formal than normal speech (Labov, 1972b). Even though, in this case, the dialect was meant to be informal, the fact that Walters was reading it from a script may have resulted in a more formal style of presentation.

## CHAPTER 8: PHRASES

### Tagwords

Tagwords are one of the most striking and distinctive features of Mrs. Adams' speech. Tagwords (or phrases) in SWE include like, you know and, of course, eh. Mrs. Adams occasionally uses eh to question something she does not understand or did not hear, but not as a tagword. Emphatic third-person pronouns occur as tagwords utterance-finally, showing agreement in person and number with the corresponding nouns, e.g.:

(78) Fred and Irma are going to Reno, them.

(79) Oh she has been all over, her. (T)

(80) She's out at Ear Falls, her.

And with the imperative (second-person):

(81) Oh don't write that down now, you! (T)

The first-person pronoun also occurs as a tagword:

(82) They had cheesecake and everything out there yesterday, me.

Emphatic pronouns are not only used as tags, they also occur directly after the noun:

(83) Mary, her, is gone to Florida.

(84) Emily, her, has pneumonia.

First person me frequently occurs after I think to emphasize a point:

(85) I think, me, that's not right.

(86) I think, me, it's just a fine rain.

This is echoed by Moncrieff and McBean, respectively:

(87) I think me its the awnly time he was wrong.

(88) I think me ye're dsust tryin' to s'ow off!

These uses of emphatic pronouns are reminiscent of the emphatic pronouns both in French and in Cree.

Tags need not show "agreement" with the noun; for example, you may be used in emphatic (imperative) constructions as in (81) or with any sentence addressed to a person:

(89) I can't wait to get home, you.

(90) He's a Jew doctor, you.

(91) That's my knockabout coat, you.

(92) She wasn't havin to pay a cent, you!

In more formal conversation, the second-person pronoun is replaced by the name of the person addressed -- or, more casually, my dear or (my) girl. For example:

(93) Oh, I guess a great many more, Eleanor. (T)

(94) Times is changed, my girl. (T)

(95) I never got married in the church, my girl. (T)

Yes and, presumably, no are also used as tags to indicate agreement/disagreement or positive/negative attitude about something, as well as being used in response to questions:

(96) You're a bad girl to tease me, yes.

(97) If I dust them, yes.

There is only one recorded example for no, though others have likely occurred:

(98) But when we were a kid, no.

This example may in fact be a conditional sentence with no as the main clause -- see the discussion below with regard to pitch.

Another tagword which is frequently used in informal speech is but:

(99) When things settle down, but.

(100) I'm dyin for a cigarette, but.

(101) A bugger to work and clean things, but.

It seems but is not totally devoid of the usual concessive meaning of the word and is sometimes echoed with sentence-initial but (as is the tag yes) -- see examples (107), (111), and (112).

look seems more emphatic:

(102) You'll take what you get, look!

(103) I couldn't even get my picture taken for the church register, look.

In emphatic sentences, the tagwords are not characterized by any sudden change in pitch but fit smoothly into the intonation curve of the utterance -- which usually falls at the end of the sentence. Unfortunately, in most of the notes taken in informal situations, the intonation patterns were not recorded. (It is often difficult merely to capture the segmental utterance after the fact -- trying to commit it to memory until one has the chance to write it down -- and the suprasegmental evidence is lost even more easily.)

In non-emphatic sentences, on the other hand, tags are usually accompanied by a sudden drop in pitch. Unless the utterance is lengthy (requiring a pause and the accompanying pitch features), the intonation curve of the utterance is, as a whole, fairly flat and the tagword is also flat -- but lower in pitch. Most of the following examples come from Mrs. Adams' taped speech:

- (104) He passed on since the war, like, you know. (T)
- (105) We were just -- not far to go, like. (T)
- (106) Oh I guess a great many more, Eleanor. (T)
- (107) But she's in the Bethel home, but. (T)
- (108) The better I'll be, yes.
- (109) But when we were a kid, no. (T)

As noted above, the sentence structure of (109) suggests that the word no may constitute the main clause of the sentence. However, the pitch of no is dropped -- fitting the pattern of the other tagwords. On the other hand, the stress on no is greater than that typically used for tagwords -- therefore, no may indeed constitute the main clause.

The concessive but can be seen at the beginning of both (107) and (109). In the former example, it is echoed by the sentence-final tag but -- which again has a drop in pitch. From the evidence available, it is impossible to sort out how the factors of stress, dropped pitch,

etc., relate to meaning. If it were possible to get all manner of speech recorded on audiotape so that more examples of every type were recorded, one could perhaps differentiate between but, the tagword, and situations in which it served as a concessive at the same time, but the few recorded examples do not permit further analysis.

Sometimes this pitch mechanism is used to add further information after the tagword, as in the following example (which refers to square dancing):

(110) There'd be first, second and third, sets,  
(T) you know, like.

The tag, you know, is lower pitch, sets is raised to the pitch level of the sentence body, and the final tag, like, again has dropped pitch. Only one example (108) has been noted outside a recorded situation -- that was during a telephone conversation when I was listening for that feature with pencil and paper at hand.

This is no doubt a normal pattern in Mrs. Adams' speech, regardless of formal or informal style. The tags themselves, and their frequency of use, may be formal vs. informal in distribution, but the intonation pattern does not appear to be affected. In fact, the pattern seems so unexceptional (I never noticed it in conversation, only when listening for pitch or stress patterns), it is no doubt similar to SWE patterns for you know or like. On the other hand, the SWE tagword eh generally has rising pitch.

There is a clear tendency to echo a tag -- using the same word at the beginning and end of a sentence. In addition to example (107) above:

(111) But I care now, but. (T)

(112) Yeh, that was part of the way they used to talk, yes. (T)

Similarly, in Walters' stories:

(113) But that couldn't stop him, but.

(114) They must be got a different way of punching it down, must be.

(114) is peculiar in that it tags the end of the sentence with a segment from within the sentence body (though it occurs near the beginning of the sentence).

In Mrs. Adams' speech, the tags you and but most frequently occur off tape. We can therefore conclude that these are the least formal.

Scott (1937) and Moncrieff's story show the tag whatever. Walters' stories show tags similar to Mrs. Adams', including pronouns, although, like, but, mind ye, you'll see, etc. An example from the text below (lines 51-52):

(115) "Come across, you. I can't, me, I'm got no boat".

Because his stories do not contain much dialogue, the tags you, yes, no, etc., occur less frequently than in Mrs. Adams' speech.

Aitken (1979:109) observes the Scots English tags but and though -- and a tag like is reported for Gaelic-influenced dialects (Shuken 1984:155).

## Prepositions

Mrs. Adams' use of prepositions varies considerably depending on their function in the English sentence, e.g., directional, locative, or used as particles attached to verbs, pronouns (e.g., by myself) and in other idioms of English.<sup>58</sup> Generally, prepositions as in directional movement to or from or location on or in are used as in SWE. For example:

- (116) Mary, her, is gone to Florida.
- (117) You could come home from the store with ... (T)
- (118) ... lined up from the north door to the south door. (T)
- (119) Throw it in the garbage. (T)
- (120) ... [they were] stacked up on a flat ... (T)

Locatives using at and in in Mrs. Adams' speech are different than in SWE (which in turn differs, say, from British English). In SWE, at is used in relation of a particular punctual spot or location -- at home, at the office, at the cottage, at UBC, etc.; in reference to the outdoors, examples include at the beach/lake. The preposition in is used with regard to a general area, e.g., in the city, in St. Vital, in the bush, in B.C., in Toronto, in town, in the mountains, etc.

Bungee at generally corresponds to SWE in, though Mrs. Adams is obviously aware of the discrepancy between Bungee and SWE forms as indicated in her correction in (123):

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<sup>58</sup> All the "prepositions" discussed in this section have counterparts in SWE and the purpose of the discussion is to contrast their use. The following section on "Deictics and Directionals" deals with a set of words which are exclusive to Bungee.

- (121) ... but at Toronto, Kevin has friend named ...
- (122) She's out at B.C. in a nursing home. (T)
- (123) She lived at -- bought a home at -- in St. Vital. (T)

In the locative phrase at home, Mrs. Adams deletes at, for example:

- (124) That's all right, I can do that home.
- (125) I have a creamy colour [pantyhose] home.
- (126) I'm got money home.

With main verbs like listen to and happen to, the particle to is deleted:

- (127) ... if anything happened me.
- (128) I wonder whatever happened her. (T)
- (129) I love listening her.

And in the imperative:

- (130) Listen this, Eleanor! (T)
- (131) Listen me, now!

I have, however, observed whistle me rather than whistle at me in Cockney speech; so there may be precedents in other dialects of English.

In Mrs. Adams' speech, distance is measured from ego to a stationary object, as in:

- (132) We were quite a little distance to the CPR track. (T)

In SWE, distance is measured from the stationary object.

SWE uses by in by myself, by himself, but in Mrs. Adams' speech, the normal form is to:

(133) I put in a good day to myself.

(134) I'll be alright here to myself.

(135) He even learned from himself ... (T)

In the latter example, the verb to learn may be a determining factor, i.e., to learn s.t. from vs. to teach s.t. to. However, using a directional verb, she once said:

(136) He goes by himself and she goes by himself.

The following examples also differ from SWE conventional usage. For example, SWE uses different from or different than while Mrs. Adams uses:

(137) He has a different kind of arthritis to me.

Where a SWE speaker might say she met me at the bus (depot/stop) or she met my bus, Mrs. Adams uses:

(138) She met me off the bus.

The following examples using with me all seem to involve non-directional verbs:

(139) He never finished his story with me. (T)

(140) ... and mother used to get so mad with me ... (T)

And from Mrs. Barnes:

(141) Was she ever wicked with me -- oh girl, she was wicked with me. (T)

In Mrs. Barnes' usage, wicked means 'mean, ill tempered'. In SWE, one is angry with but mad at and mean to somebody; but one is merely wicked, not wicked with or wicked to somebody.

Mrs. Adams has one locative form which is very distinctive,<sup>59</sup> along, which occurs in the usual SWE sense of along the road, etc.; but, in Red River speech, it is also used to mean beside, near, or en route/on the way. For example, from Mrs. Adams:

(142) She used to live up here, along Miss Hay. (T)

(143) Mrs. P. lived along Pearl.

This usage is corroborated in Walters' stories:

(144) ... we left the wagon settin along the door ...

(145) ... for my oxen to chew on when I stop along.

(146) I was settin along the stove havin a warm ...

His stories support Mrs. Adams' usages in other areas also. The particle to is omitted following verbs:

(147) She standed in the door [doorway] and wave us.

(148) Now he doesn't have to wave nobody cause ...

The verbs (from both sources) for which this occurs seems to consist of listen to, wave to, and happen to.

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<sup>59</sup> This preposition is part of the set of deictics discussed in the next section. It is the only one retained in present-day speech, presumably because it has a counterpart in SWE, although the meaning still extends, in Mrs. Adams' speech, beyond that of SWE.

Walters' stories exhibit to home with both directional and non-directional verbs. In SWE, directional verbs occur with home while locative at is optional with the verb to leave s.o. 'not to bring':

(149) You can't leave them to home all alone.

(150) ... and he taked his woman to home with him.

Similarly, to is used for locative at/in in:

(151) ... same as they have over to Maggie Town.

Possibly Mrs. Adams' usage  $\emptyset$  home is a hypercorrection of an older usage to home -- particularly since SWE in some instances also omits at, e.g., I was (at) home all day (in which at is optional); and he took her home, etc.

SWE phrases involving time of day, e.g., in the morning/afternoon/evening, during the day/night, at dawn/sunset and the frequently used at night 'when it is dark', often differ from the corresponding phrases in Bungee. The following examples are from various sources:

(152) I can't sleep in the day, you know. (Mrs. Adams)

Perhaps day corresponds to SWE daytime in this instance.

(153) I would always make my lunch in the night before to go to school. (Mrs. Barnes)

(154) Now at the day, they can rub off the flies on the bushes.

(Walters stories)

(155) Maybe they was there yesterday already and never went home in the night. (Walters stories)

I have never heard at the day besides the example from Walters' story. However, in the day or in the night (before), as shown by the examples above, are heard occasionally. This use is probably analogous to SWE in the morning, etc.

Cree has a general locative suffix -ihk which is attached to a noun to indicate location 'at, on, in'. This may be the source of semantic interference with respect to the at/in locative in Bungee. The sense of the other prepositions of English is expressed as part of the Cree verb stem (Ahenakew, 1987b):<sup>60</sup>

|                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| <u>âsimakan-</u>   | 'to go down'         |
| <u>nîhcupayih-</u> | 'to jump down'       |
| <u>têhcupayih-</u> | 'to jump on'         |
| <u>têhçikâpaw-</u> | 'to stand on'        |
| <u>nîhçipit-</u>   | 'to pull s.o. down'  |
| <u>nîhçiwêpin-</u> | 'to throw s.o. down' |

The prepositions are an area where the interference from Cree seems strong; and once patterns and usages are established, the process of decreolization -- which is likely at work in Bungee -- takes generations. The fact that there are few differences between SWE and Bungee with respect to prepositions used in dynamic situations as opposed to static situations (Lyons, 1968:300 ff.) is undoubtedly due to the more obvious nature of directional relations.

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<sup>60</sup> English verbs have some capacity for indicating direction as in come, go, descend, climb, straddle, cover, raise, etc., thus eliminating the necessity for a preposition.

## Deictics and Directionals

The prepositions discussed above are common to both SWE and Bungee. However, a remarkable set of deictics is found in the various sources of Bungee which are no longer common in the present-day speech of most Red River people. The one exception is along which occurs in Mrs. Adams' speech -- no doubt because it is common to SWE (though not with all the same meanings). The remainder of the original set includes:

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <u>up out</u>        | 'up and out of'   |
| <u>up over</u>       | 'overhead'  |
| <u>upside</u>        | 'up alongside of' (up beside?)  |
| <u>topside</u>       | 'on top of'   |
| <u>opside, opset</u> | 'opposite/facing'   |
| <u>cross-side</u>    | 'on the other side of the river/road from,<br>but not necessarily facing' |

upside [ʌpseid] occurs in the taped speech of Mrs. Maggie Sinclair (b. 1872).

opside [ɒpseid] is heard in Walters' stories and variations are found in McKay's journals (opset), Scott and Mulligan (upset), and Moncrieff (upsit).

topside has been observed in Scott (1937) as well as in Walters' stories.

up out and up over have been observed only in Walters' stories.

cross-side is still used by Mrs. Hart and was observed by Moncrieff.

Mr. Walters, in the course of his taped interviews with old-timers (in the 1960's), used opside and cross-side quite naturally in his speech.

There is no doubt that this set of deictics was once widely used.

The deictic phrase away (there) sounds typically Cree (cf. isi). This phrase is used in Walters stories with directions (east, west, etc.) or to indicate far-away places -- including Heaven:

(156) ... to get from away east that way.

(157) ... over the ocean away there where ...

In the phrase referring to Heaven, the word get (and its variants) is always stressed in the instances heard in Walters' tapes:

(158) ... if he ever GOT away there [to heaven].

(159) I'm sure that wives won't like it when they GETS away there dressed up like that [in a shroud].

Example (159) refers to an incident in the Wheeler tape. Mrs. Wheeler is telling the story of an old Indian woman who had requested that she, Mrs. Wheeler, dress her in a "real Indian costume [k@sčũ:m]" complete with beaded velvet skirt, fringed shawl, leggings and the whole regalia when she passed on. This term is found only in the Walters' stories and on the Wheeler tape.

## Negative

There seems to be a pattern in Red River speech of contracting the auxiliary and the noun or pronoun rather than the auxiliary and the negative. This pattern is also mentioned by Aitken (1979:105) for Scots English.

In her formal (recorded) speech, Mrs. Adams uses the negative contractions which are also found in SWE; and, with one exception, the examples from her informal speech all involve first-person I'm not which is indistinguishable from SWE. (With the first-person pronoun, the negative cannot be contracted with the auxiliary, as in ain't.) In Mrs. Adams' speech, however, the auxiliary be is used with the verb get (got?) which differs markedly from SWE usage. Examples for the first-person pronoun include:

- (160) I'm not got that big money.
- (161) I'm not got a hand like my father.
- (162) I'm not wanting a shabby looking purse, my dear.

The example using the second-person pronoun is:

- (163) You're not got your fine boyish figure.

The Walters' stories include many more examples of the variety of contracted forms:

- (164) When people wants something and he's not got it, ...
- (165) ... for money you're not got anyhow.
- (166) Her man likes it and they're not been up to get any by now.
- (167) What if they're not got no dolly, what then?

For both Adams and Walters, this negative form seems to occur mainly with got -- except examples (162) with wanting and (166) with been. not got is the general pattern for present tense. never, on the other hand, occurs for past tense with a variety of verbs. never occurs in the sense of 'not ever' as well as 'didn't'. The following examples meaning 'didn't' are from Mrs. Adams speech:

(168) I never got married in the church, my girl. (T)

(169) But he never put in any flax.

'But he didn't sow flax.'

Examples from Walters' stories include:

(170) And that's the way he never got drowned.

(171) It's good you never bring [his spear] along so you can't fish.

(172) ... or maybe they was there yesterday already and never went home in the night.

This use of never for 'didn't' is also found in SWE, but perhaps in more restricted circumstances. Examples of the use of never for 'didn't' in my own speech include:

(173) I guess that's why I never had it [written] down in the first place.

(174) I just never had enough examples.

Both were uttered in protest or self-defence. Two common examples volunteered by others include:

(175) I never knew that.

(176) He never came [even though expected].

Perhaps this usage occurs typically in concessive sentences in SWE.<sup>61</sup> This would also account for the examples (168) and (169) from Mrs. Adams but not for the examples from Walters' stories.

#### The Adverbial ever

Mrs. Adams' use of the adverbial particle ever contrasts sharply along formal/informal lines. In formal (tape-recorded) situations, ever is used with the same word order as in SWE, i.e., the copula and auxiliary always precede the noun as in question formation:

(177) Oh was it ever! And was she ever hopeless! (T)

(178) Oh was she ever! (T)

(179) Did we ever look forward to that. (T)

In informal situations (off tape) the word order is consistently different<sup>62</sup> -- the noun precedes the auxiliary, copula or modal:

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<sup>61</sup> Similar tendencies to use never for negative preterite as an emphatic device are noted in the English dialect of Reading, England (cf. Cheshire, 1982:68).

<sup>62</sup> In a recent telephone conversation, she used a form which seems to contradict this, Has he EVER put on the weight, with heavy emphasis on ever. Perhaps it is merely a function of the amount of emphasis rather than of the formal/informal dichotomy. On the other hand, something was mentioned in the conversation which may have caused her to switch to a more formal speech style. The question remains unresolved.

(180) It was ever low. 'It sure was low'

(181) I was ever glad she didn't.

(182) I'm ever glad to hear from you.

(183) I'll ever miss him.

(184) Oh, it's ever pretty!

And in the embedded clause in:

(185) I bet that'll ever be good.

Examples (182) and (183) might be interpreted as meaning always, however, the other examples could not -- either in structure or in context. An example of the archaic use of ever 'always' is found in the work of an old Red River writer, J. J. Gunn (1930:54):<sup>63</sup>

(186) ... he was ever the first to strip to the waist ...

Possibly the two uses of ever are simply collapsed in Bungee.

ever may follow a determiner, as in the following example from Mrs. Adams:

(187) It's nice to be home on this ever hot day.

In other, more emphatic examples, the noun and auxiliary or copula are deleted and a tag is added which optionally states the identity of the subject:

(188) Ever makes you sick, yes.

(189) Ever makes you sick, those kids.

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<sup>63</sup> John J. Gunn, 1861-1907; the 1930 publication is a collection of his earlier writings about pioneer days at Red River.

A similar example, which differs markedly from SWE, is heard in the taped speech of Mrs. Barnes:

(190) "Oh girl, yes," she says, "What we'd [we would] ever used to do, eh Doris?" (T)

This usage does not occur in Walters' stories, no doubt because they do not involve natural conversation which might include dialogues of this nature. I did not note any similar usages among the other people to whom I talked in the course of this study.

## CHAPTER 9: VERB PHRASES

### Aspect

In her more formal speech, Mrs. Adams uses tense/aspect forms which are indistinguishable from those of SWE; for example:

- (191) So I phoned Sarah and she said she hadn't gone for the mail yet, but she would go. So she went and she phoned. She said, "Yes, they're in." (T)

However, in relaxed speech the aspectual structure of her sentences sometimes differs from that of SWE:

- (192) Ahhh, you'd faint when I tell you. (T)

The aspect of the first half conflicts with that of the second. In SWE, this sentence might be You'd faint if I told you -- conditional future; or simple future: You'll faint when I tell you. In the following, Mrs. Adams uses what appears to be the present progressive form with a stative verb which does not take this form in SWE:

- (193) I'm not wanting a shabby looking purse, my dear.

- (194) She wasn't having to pay a cent, you!

The following examples seem to involve habitual aspect:

- (195) Before the dance came off, we'd be always seeing each other at school ... (T)

- (196) Sometimes we didn't even have enough blankets -- we'd be covering up with wool coats. (T)

According to Pringle (1981:132), similar examples, though rare, can still be found in Ottawa Valley English. For example:

(197) They was being shepherds.

(198) As soon as I found out that they were having the whooping cough, I sent them away to get the needles.

(199) There was an elderly aunt there that was walking around she used to be mumbling to herself in Gaelic.

And in habitual aspect:

(200) In the summer when we had a lot of milk we'd be sending it to the cheese factories.

These non-standard uses of the English continuous form are seen by Pringle (1981:133) as "an overgeneralization from the partial correspondence of English continuous aspect and the Gaelic periphrastic forms." Gaelic has a tendency to use particles or auxiliaries instead of inflection in its verb forms. Pringle does not discuss the possibility that there may be (or may have been) evidence of an aspectual system, e.g., the habitual forms suggested above.

Walters in his stories frequently uses the expression I'm thinkin now ... which is highly reminiscent of the usage observed by Pringle in Connor's Glengarry novels:

(201) Your laddie is improving, I'm thinking.

In the above example, the phrase is used as a tag at the end of the sentence. Bliss (1984:147) gives the following example from the English of Southern Ireland:

(202) 'Tisn't ideas the like of you have, I'm thinking.

These apparently Gaelic influences appear occasionally in Mrs. Adams' speech (as suggested above), both on and off tape.

Continuous Aspect: The Prefix a-

This verb form is obsolete in standard English; however, it can still be heard in Red River speech. I have heard it from only three sources: Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes use it occasionally, and it also occurs in Walters' stories. In one instance, Mrs. Adams was quoting an old woman called Granny McLeod who, she pointed out, is "very Scotch"; the second example is her own:

(203) "It's about time she was a-comin". (T)

(204) Both our grandmothers in those day were only a-gettin  
twenty dollars pension for old age pension. (T)

And Mrs. Barnes, reporting that she used to use the word hark, gave the example:

(205) Hark at the birds a-singin.

The following examples are from Walters' stories -- the first two can be found in the sample text (see pp. 228-9, lines 14, 36):

(206) The wind's a-whistlin ...

(207) ... big black fellers a-crawlin around at the ...

(208) ... left the lamp a-burnin.

(209) ... unless it starts a-rainin or something.

Wright (1905:297) notes the use of this prefix on present and past participles in many areas of England (but not in Scotland). I

observed this usage in the HBC journals of Humphrey Marten<sup>64</sup> at Severn 1759-60 (B.198/a/1). For the date 16 October, for example:

men a-digging

myself a-making

two a-cutting

No doubt this form occurred in the speech of many eighteenth-century HBC servants, but its persistence in Red River speech is rather remarkable. The feature is not highly marked, however, and seems to go unnoticed in casual speech.

#### The Construction been Vb-ing

This construction does not occur in SWE except as part of the perfective paradigm; however, it is often heard in Mrs. Adams' informal speech, e.g.:

(210) Joan's been phonin Brian.

Mrs. Adams had just been speaking to Brian and he told her that his niece, Joan, had called him (long distance from Winnipeg) -- involving a single past incident. The next example,

(211) Somebody been takin it off.

refers to a piece missing from her lawnmower -- past and punctual.

The first time I heard this construction I may have missed the -ing ending on the verb. Mrs. Adams was looking in her purse for something she thought she had put there:

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<sup>64</sup> Born c. 1729 in Somerset (HBCA B.239/a/49 fo. 37, 37d).

(212) I been put [?] it in my purse.

The best examples are:

(213) There's an old lady at Red River Manor been dyin.

She had just read the obituary notice -- past tense and definitely a unique, punctual event. The same holds for the following:

(214) The old man's been passin away and it's just the old lady left now.

There is one corrected version which occurred on tape in response to the question: "Who did he have lunch with (at the basket social)?"

(215) I don't know who he been -- who he ended up with. (T)

This same construction was heard in a taped interview of a local Indian woman who had received the Order of Canada (cf. Amy Clemons, table 2). When asked by the interviewer for what she had received the award, she replied:

(216) Oh, somebody been givin my name.

'Oh, somebody nominated me.'

Otherwise, she largely used the syntax of SWE.

This verb form clearly has nothing to do with continuous aspect -- it is past and involves a single punctual, completed event.

I have found no reference to this form in Gaelic or in Scots English. However, similar constructions occur in Black English signifying past tense.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Rickford (1975) discusses the uses of stressed BIN and unstressed bin, including their use with verbs (Vb-ed and Vb-ing) signifying

There is evidence for this same form in Walters referring to a single punctual past event:

(217) The jugs are been gettin mixed and he took a big swiq of the lamp oil.

(218) But now Jamesie's been tellin me she died.

In one example, there clearly is a durative element but it is past and completed:

(219) I been thinkin about my trip to the fort for the last hour or so and then I guess I dozed off.

Mulligan (in Scott and Mulligan, 1951) also uses a variant of this form. Some of the examples from his story use continuous aspect but he also has the following:

(220) So Red Ridin Hood's mother has bin puttin a bannock and two shmocked gold ayes in a rogan [basket] and ...

(221) So the owld wife's been dzumpin out.

(222) Red Ridin Hood's bin wackin [waking] up ...

(223) The wolf gave the shtring a haird pull, and the dahrs bin flyin oppen.

In all his examples, Mulligan uses the present form of the auxiliary to have (see example (220)). Considering the other evidence, this is no doubt an unconscious correction on his part. Walters often uses the auxiliary to be (in (217) and elsewhere) with the verb to be, and the ambiguous Jamesie's is consequently to be interpreted as Jamesie

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past tense. Vb-ing, however, involves progressive/continuous aspect in the examples he gives -- both from Philadelphia and from the Gullah-speaking Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina.

is been. This usage also occurs in (210) above. In another instance Mrs. Adams said:

(224) You're been at that crust, I see.

This example shows that she also uses the auxiliary to be with the verb to be. A further example of this is found in the Orkney letters (referring to a horse):

(225) I am not Bin on his back yet ...

So both Adams and Walters sometimes use the auxiliary to be with been Vb-ing.

The form been Vb-ing seems to be exclusively Bungee. The Bungee form differs from that of Black English in that it sometimes occurs with the auxiliary to be. Its meaning is past tense and by all appearances perfective -- but has nothing to do with continuous aspect. The only exception is Walters' example (219) and the examples of Mulligan, which may involve correction from Standard English.

The Construction be got

Another construction which occurs frequently is be got. be got is used in casual speech (in the present tense) where SWE exhibits to have:

- (226) They're got new railing on the bridge.
- (227) That's a new fence they're got.
- (228) You're got your tea, my girl.
- (229) We're got lots of time, my girl.
- (230) I'm not got that big money.
- (231) I'm not got my glasses.

And examples from taped speech:

- (232) Auntie, I'm got the sinus. (T)
- (233) Comforters and everything, now, we're got. (T)
- (234) You're got brains and wits to know. (T)

And the fragment:

- (235) They're got a ...

Again, this form occurs more commonly off tape. This might indicate the difference between informal speech and more formal recorded speech. However, it may also be because the interview tapes are generally oriented to things which happened in the past, hence past tense. Since this form seems to occur only in present tense, this may be the real reason it occurs more often in unrecorded casual conversation.

Other examples from local speakers include:

- (236) I think I'm still got it in the box. (Mrs. Barnes) (T)

(237) They're only got about ten minutes left to play.

(Mr. Lake)

Walters also has some examples of be got in his stories:

(238) We're not got no time, but.

(239) ... and they're not got nobody to home to chore up for them.

(240) They must be got a different way of punchin it around, must be.

The latter construction (240) is more complex, involving a modal with the undeclined form of be, the whole of which is echoed in the tag.

There is historical evidence for the same form from various sources:

(241) I'm got on Sophie's bodie [bodice] and it's too tight.

This is from the McAllister tape (see table 2). The McBean letter (see table 3) includes:

(242) I'm got in my green box under the bed pictsers ...

Evidence may also be found in the Orkney letters (see table 3):

(243) I hop your got a goud Houese bay ...

(244) I am got two geldron [children] John and Nance ...

(245) I am got no noues to inform you of ...

And in the McKay journals:

(246) They are got the store, half the walls upe.

This form is well represented in the contemporary speech of Red River people as well as in the written documents. Its origins are no

doubt in Orkney and perhaps Scots English. Too little is known about the syntax and semantics of Cree aspect to determine how Cree may have influenced any of these usages.

### Order of Constituents

The order of lexical constituents within the phrases in Mrs. Adams' speech is sometimes different from that of SWE (as suggested for ever, above). The following examples from Mrs. Adams' speech show some typical discrepancies in word order. In (247), the particle about follows the head rather than preceding it:

(247) That's the only thing I like Winnipeg about.

This may involve interference from the SWE usage with a dynamic verb, as in: that's what I asked him about, for instance. In (248), quite and to be are transposed:

(248) They were getting quite to be the young men. (T)

In the following examples, the verb compound to look forward to is interrupted by words which might be called intensifiers:

(249) We looked more forward to it [New Year's] because ... (T)

(250) We looked so forward to it because ... (T)

The word order in examples (247) and (248) may be accidental, but (249) and (250) show a pattern.

Considering the influence of Cree on the history of Bungee, however, one might expect to find an echo of Cree in some of the phrasing. Cree is said to exhibit relatively free word order --

especially as compared to English, which depends heavily on word order in its syntax.

There is little evidence of this in Mrs. Adams speech; only one construction type can be said, with any assurance, to be based on a Cree model. This involves the reply to the greeting, How are you?

(251) Not too good, but you.

This is corroborated by the McAllister tape, which includes the typical Bungee greeting and response:

(252) How do you do? I'm well, you but.

'I'm well, and you?'

This parallels a Swampy Cree response to the same question (cf. Blain 1987:15):

(253) niminwâyân, kîna mâka.

[I am well, YOU but]

'I'm well, and you?'

Another example from the speech of Mrs. Adams includes what, in SWE, would be a cleft noun phrase (O-S-V rather than typical S-V-O word order). However, it seems typical of Cree word order:

(254) Comforters and everything, now, we're got. (T)

[object                      verb phrase]

And in Walters' stories:

(255) Two more days workin at that ditch I put in.

[object                      verb phrase]

Cleft sentences are typical of Gaelic-influenced English. Bliss (1984:147) gives the following examples from Southern Ireland in which verb phrases are cleft:

(256) Is it catch her you want?

(257) It's thinking I am that it's unyoke him we'd better do.

Pringle's (1981) examples (from the writings of Ralph Connor) also show cleft verb phrases but include the following example with a noun phrase occurring in a cleft construction:

(258) It is the good brother you have been to me.

The Gaelic examples are distinct in that they all begin with obligatory it is. Examples (254) and (255) are quite different in character and the Cree model seems more likely here.

Mrs. Adams' speech, even in examples (251) and (254) above, does not exhibit the same order of constituent phrases as occurs in Walters' stories. For example, in the following sentences, in which a pronoun is immediately followed by its referent noun (and vice versa):

(259) You can come over and do it up everything [the chores] in the evening.

(260) There's somebody she stays behind and does the chores for them.

And in the following example from Scott (1937):

(261) Bye me I kaykatch [nearly] killed it two ducks with wan sot.

This construction suggests interference from Cree verb phrases in which the verb may be inflected for the number and gender of both the object and the subject. The verb can then be followed (or preceded) by noun complements.

In other examples from Walters' stories, there seems to be a clash between higher and lower verbs in the arrangement of verb phrases:

(262) She was cooking stuff for the wedding to take up.

(263) I was trying to say these things quiet, like, so's  
little Mary sleepin' behind the curtain not to wake her up,  
like.

(264) ... and they never hit nothing to kill them, only  
wound a duck.

The evidence, though intriguing, is far from conclusive; it is presented mainly as an invitation to further study.

## Bungee Words and Phrases

The patterns sketched in chapters 7, 8 and 9 show a fairly clear break between formal and informal speech. Informal speech is distinguished from formal, taped speech in the following forms, which occur only rarely in taped speech:

- been Vb-ing This construction is used in present-day speech with reference to a past, punctual and completed event.
- be got This construction is also used with a negative: be not got. The fact that it is always present tense may account for its rare occurrence in taped interviews, which are more oriented to past events. This feature clearly reflects Scots English.
- but, you The latter tag is the informal variant of [name], my girl, my dear. These tags rarely occur on tape.
- ever This particle in informal speech reflects the archaic form meaning 'always' (i.e., the word order differs from that of SWE in informal speech).
- he/she The lack of distinction in the third-person pronouns he/she, though it is not common, is more likely to occur in informal conversation off tape. This feature clearly reflects interference from Cree.

These "markers" (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:84) seem to distinguish between formal and informal speech. When they occurred in taped speech, they were not commented upon but they were sometimes caught and corrected (as in (215), for example). The fact that they were corrected suggests that these are the more socially-sensitive grammatical forms. The tapes also show considerable variation within the formal style, such as the instances of verbal aspect in examples (191) and (192). Here, however, the demarcation lines are more subtle -- the more casual forms may occur in the midst of an otherwise formal sequence. It would, therefore, be difficult to distinguish degrees of formality in taped speech on the basis of grammatical forms alone. The features exhibited in the sounds and the prosodics of Bungee are also an integral part of the speech style.

## CHAPTER 10: DISCOURSE FEATURES

Bungee exhibits a number of stylistic and rhetorical devices which are quite distinct from SWE. Some are more evident in Walters' stories while others appear only in Mrs. Adams' speech. These two sources show the sharp distinction in style between spontaneous speech as compared to composed stories which, though their purpose is to portray natural speech patterns, are nonetheless subject to stylization and the various conventions of written style.

### Indirect Questions

The use of indirect questions seems to be a common feature of story telling at Red River -- perhaps more prevalent in the speech of some individuals than others. Mrs. Adams does not use this feature very often in her speech. This might be because she rarely "tells a story" or relates incidents in a story-telling fashion as if she were reliving the event. She more often talks about things. The only example I succeeded in recording is:

(265) ... and didn't I see Lucy and Dora!

Mrs. Barnes, on the other hand, used the device twice in the same sentence when relating a story about her experiences with her grandmother:

(266) ... and didn't I go to the cupboard now,  
and didn't I pull out this bottle, girl.

The story-telling function of this device is particularly evident in the following (stylized and perhaps exaggerated) examples from Walters' Bungee stories:

- (267) ... and didn't the trap go off and catch him by the nose.
- (268) ... well the very first bunch of ducks that come along, didn't Long Tom forget and both guns they went off same side ...
- (269) And didn't the corpse thaw out and fall offen the bench BANG onto the floor.
- (270) ... didn't they get such a start their hair was standing straight up, mind you.
- (271) And old Wheeler, he swing Jemima so hard didn't she land right on top of Maskupenes sleeping in the corner, mind you.

Indirect questions are sometimes used by Mrs. Adams following the phrase I wonder:

- (272) I wonder, when did he eat.
- (273) Wonder what would she do if she was in my shoes now ... (T)

And in response to a knock on the door:

- (274) I wonder, who's this.

The following example with whatever is found both in Bungee and in SWE:

- (275) I wonder whatever happened her.

Bliss (1984:148) discusses the frequent use of indirect questions in Southern Ireland, especially with verbs like wonder, know, see, etc. A sample includes:

(276) They asked when would you be back.

(277) I didn't know did anybody try to find out.

(278) I wonder, does she honestly mean it.

And with an interrogative:

(279) Do you think would it be alright?

The use of indirect questions appears to be another legacy of Gaelic in the speech patterns of Red River.

#### Chiastic Constructions

Mrs. Adams uses a construction which appears every now and then to make a point -- more in awe than for emphasis:

(280) He took me everywhere,  
everywhere he took me. (T)

(281) She never wasted nothing,  
not a thing did she waste. (T)

(282) He's so knowing,  
a very knowing cat.

This is a rhetorical device called chiasmus (cf. Ducrot and Todorov, 1979), which is prominent in Cree rhetoric. The examples which Ahenakew and Wolfart (1983) cite from Ahenakew (1987b) include the following:

- (283) êkwa mîna ê-osîhtamâsot maskisina,  
mîna ayiwinisa ê-kî-osîhtamâsot.  
 'They also made their own shoes,  
 and their own clothes they made ...'
- (284) ... êkoni ôhi ka-kitâpamâcik,  
ta-nanahihtawâcik otôkimâmiwâwa ...  
 'These they would watch,  
 and would pay heed to their leaders ...'
- (285) ê-papâ-itohtatamawâyâhkik ôk ônôcihkêwak,  
êkwa mîn âhtayak mân ê-kiwêhtahâyâhkik, ...  
 'We would haul goods to the trappers,  
 and the pelts we would bring back, ...'

In the chiasitic constructions, the second clause mirrors the first.  
 The examples above illustrate both possibilities:

|    |     |     |    |     |
|----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| NP | VP, | and | VP | NP, |
| VP | NP  |     | NP | VP  |

In the Bungee examples, (280) to (282) above, the structures differ somewhat depending on the type of sentence:

(280):

|     |      |
|-----|------|
| VP  | loc, |
| loc | VP   |

(281):

|          |           |
|----------|-----------|
| VP       | NP (obj), |
| NP (obj) | VP        |

(282):

NP (pred) adj,  
adj NP

Walters (1969) specifically remarks that "repetitions were common"; and the examples he gives both fit the pattern above:<sup>66</sup>

(286) I was born in St. Andrews,  
in St. Andrews that's where I was born.

(287) That's what he said  
when he said that to me.

The latter example (which also appears in the sample text, appendix 1, p. 228, line 10) is echoed by Mrs. Adams:

(288) This is just what he told me  
when he said ...

Perhaps related to the chiasitic construction are a group of sentences gleaned from Mrs. Adams' tapes which seem to mirror without repeating the middle component:

- (289) Now's the time it comes is in the springtime. (T)  
(290) That's the last I saw of him was Tuesday. (T)  
(291) Many's the night I did that on a Friday night. (T)  
(292) That's where they all went out there and ... (T)

And a similar example found in Walters' stories:

(293) ... and make it like my mother told me the best way  
to make it.

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<sup>66</sup> Example (286) is almost a direct quote from a tape of Mrs. Sinclair (see table 2, p. 27).

The main difference between the Cree examples and those for Bungee seems to be that, in Cree, the form is there but the content of the two phrases may vary -- while in Bungee, both the form and the material are repeated. This may, in fact, be the reason for the "condensing" which occurs in examples (289) to (296), i.e.:

AB, BA > ABA

In the examples (289), (290) and (292), the initial deictic that or now is resumed in the final phrase:

now -- in the springtime

that [temp.] -- Tuesday

that [loc.] -- out there

Example (291) uses a variant of the adverbial phrase many is the (time) which is common in Mrs. Adams' speech. In this instance, it serves the same function as the deictics above; but instead of stipulating that (one) or now, it refers to many instances of the occurrence in question. All of Mrs. Adams' examples have the same structure:

(deictic: loc./temp.) (main clause) (adv: loc./temp.)

Walters' example (293) exhibits the same pattern with different components.

In another example from Mrs. Adams, the pronouns at the beginning and the end trigger the two meanings of the same sentence:

- (294) They had cheesecake and everything out there  
yesterday, me.

The sentence body tells what was served (at a local function) and the tag adds that the speaker ate it.

#### Closing Formulae

Another discourse feature noted in Mrs. Adams' speech is the use of a formal statement announcing that "this is the end." This is used sometimes when she has nothing more to say about a subject:

- (295) That's about all I know of. (T)  
(296) That's all I can tell you about that. (T)  
(297) And that's all about it. (T)  
(298) And that's about the size of all what happened around  
here, my girl. (T)

Similarly, on the Wheeler tape:

- (299) I guess that's all I can remember just now to say.

This form of closing statement is not characteristic of SWE. It is, however, reminiscent of the discourse style of Cree storytellers -- for example in Ahenakew (1987b:36 and 45) where stories often end

with a similar kind of statement:

(300) êwako isko pitamâ êwako anima.

'That is it for now.'

(301) êkoyikohk pitamâ mîna nîsta nik-êtwân.

'This much I, too, will say for now.'

For further discussion of opening and closing formulae in Cree literature, cf. Wolfart (1985) and Wolfart (1982:78-80, 83).

#### Framing of Narrative Discourse

Another similarity between Mrs. Adams' discourse and that of Cree storytellers is the frequent interjection of he says/said between the clauses of a story which is being related second-hand. SWE speakers do use the same device -- but perhaps at longer intervals in the narration. Compare the following samples from Mrs. Adams and Ahenakew (1987b:69), respectively:

(302) "Well," he said,

"the baskets start coming up -- and," he says,

"I clean forgot," he says,

"I didn't know," he says,

"a forget-me-not flower," he says,

"from a buttercup."

(303) "kêtahtawê kâ-môsihtât kîkway ohcikwanîhk," itwêw,  
he said,

"ê-sâ-sâmiskâkot -- ôtê ê-itâpit,

pôti ôhi êkoni kinêpikwa," itwêw,  
he said,

"ê-pê-tahkwamâyit kotaka ayîkisa," itwêw,  
he said

"ê-kitâpamikot," itwêw,  
he said

ê-pê-minîhkwâtâyit," itwêw.  
he said.

"Suddenly he felt something on his knee," he said,

"something was touching him -- and when he looked there,

here it was that same snake," he said,

"with another frog in his mouth," he said,

"looking at him," he said,

"to trade it for a drink," he said.'

### Bungee Discourse

It is important to bear in mind that it was F. J. Walters who first drew attention to the framing formulae and the chiasmic constructions as salient features of Bungee discourse (and first put his observations into print; cf. Walters, 1969, 1989).

Just as the indirect questions appear to be a reflection of Gaelic syntax, the chiasmic constructions and framing formulae appear to be a legacy of Cree rhetoric. All these features seem to go largely unnoticed in the community, i.e., they do not seem to be marked in any way and are simply part of the patterns of speech.

### Concluding Remarks

Throughout the preceding chapters, I have included short summaries comparing Mrs. Adams' sounds with Walters' sounds or discussing the various possible sources for the features found in Bungee. Building upon the comments at the end of chapter 9 (pp. 195-6), the following is a brief summary of all these features in relation to the distinction of formal and informal speech. These remarks are based mainly on the evidence of the present-day speech as represented by Mrs. Adams.

### Sounds

tape recordings of Mrs. Adams' speech show some distinction between careful and casual styles even in the formal context of recording sessions. Her most formal speech, which is documented more often in early interviews, is more carefully enunciated and slower. The more relaxed, casual speech shows, for example, a change from [twelv] to [tw^lv] (Aitken's Vowel) -- which is her more normal pronunciation. There is also more dental articulation of otherwise alveolar consonants, even to the point of lisping. These are the most obvious differences, though a more systematic study might reveal other, more subtle variants within her formal speech styles. There are no obvious phonetic differences between her casual speech on tape (formal) and off tape (informal). The evidence for the latter is difficult to record for study.

Monophthongal vowels and the distinctive diphthongs are characteristic of both formal and informal styles of Bungee and are very prominent features of Bungee in general.

Stress marking (in contrast to that of SWE) also is a salient characteristic of Bungee. It is featured in the work of both Walters and Mulligan and commented on by Scott. As observed by Stobie in 1971, "today, the rhythm of Bungi is its most distinctive ... and enduring feature ... [which] comes in part from syllable stress ...". This feature prevails in the formal speech styles as well as in the informal speech and this, no doubt, gives it the prominence which makes it so readily noticeable to any outsider -- undoubtedly, it is a salient feature of Bungee.

However, the single most sensitive feature of Red River speech today is voice quality and pitch. This is the feature which is noticed and commented upon by the speakers themselves -- a linguistic social marker within the community. This is the one feature which I know caused Mrs. Adams distress (see discussion pp. 131-2 above). It is interesting that the most highly stigmatized feature of Bungee today is a prosodic one.

### Words

The only noticeable distinction between formal vs. informal lexicon seems to involve a few old-fashioned words which occurred in Mrs. Adams' speech when I first met her, e.g., don, vouched. They seem to have been "fancy words" brought out for the occasion rather than a

regular part of her vocabulary. Other words like witty, mean 'stingy', tuck, etc. are used in both formal and informal speech. Many of these words are used exclusively according to their older meaning, i.e., mean 'stingy'. A few words like gutter 'mud' and mooley (see glossary below), which occur rarely in her speech, seem to be the most informal -- probably a style of speech she is reluctant to use with someone from outside the community. Some Cree and older Scots words (e.g., slock) were apparently part of her speech at one time but now occur only in reported usage.

### Phrases

As noted on pp. 195-6 above, there are a few features which rarely occur in formal speech. These include: been Vb-ing, be got, the use of ever, the tags you and but, and the use of he ~ she without regard for gender. These must therefore be considered as "marked" grammatical features.

### Discourse Features

This is one area of Red River speech which rather remarkably reflects the speech patterns of Cree, particularly with regard to chiastic constructions and closing formulae. Perhaps because they are subtle and largely go unnoticed by both speakers and observers, there is little pressure to change or disguise them. They are, however, among the last echoes of Bungee in the speech of the Red River Settlement.

The more prominent features are summarized in table 7, which shows their distribution in the various styles of Bungee. This chart is based on the evidence selected for presentation in the preceding chapters. Since informal speech as defined occurs off tape and is not available for detailed study, a more systematic comparison between formal and informal style was not attempted.

Table 7: Distribution of Bungee Features

| Feature            | FORMAL [taped] |            | INFORMAL   |
|--------------------|----------------|------------|------------|
|                    | Careful        | Relaxed    |            |
| Vowels/Diphthongs  | XXXXXXXXXX     | XXXXXXXXXX | XXXXXXXXXX |
| Aitken's Vowel     |                | x x x x x  | XXXXXXXXXX |
| Obstruents         |                | x x x x x  | x x x x x  |
| Voice Quality      |                | X X        | X X X X X  |
| Stress             | x x x          | X X X X X  | X X X X X  |
| Marked Grammatical |                | X X        | X X X X X  |
| Discourse          | x x x          | x x x      | x x x      |

Legend:

Size: prominence of the feature in speech (X, x)

Density: regularity or frequency of the feature in speech

XXXXX regular feature throughout

X X X used occasionally

X X X found only infrequently --

"marked" features, which are especially

rare in formal (taped) speech, are  
indicated by a sequence of only 2 x's.

The evidence summarized in table 7 was stated even more succinctly  
by Walters when he said:

"It's not what you say  
but how you say it."

The most prominent and salient features of Bungee are indeed its  
sounds. Aside from a handful of grammatical features, voice quality  
seems to be the most "marked" feature; these two, grammatical features  
and voice quality, most sharply show the demarcation between formal  
and informal speech. Other features, especially discourse features,  
go almost unnoticed -- though some of them are clearly a legacy of  
Cree in the speech of the Red River Settlement.

## APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE TEXT

### Introduction

The following text is the first in a series of five Bungee stories which depict a week in the life of a Red River farmer about a hundred years ago. They were performed on audiotape by Francis J. Walters, who grew up in the area and became a fluent speaker of the Bungee dialect -- in addition to the more standard dialect of English spoken in and around Winnipeg. The preparation of these stories, however, presented a rather unique problem for him. They were first written and then performed (by the author) in the Bungee dialect. They are decidedly "oral performance" oriented, and his problem was how to preserve the sound and sense of Bungee while making it presentable and interesting to an audience -- some of whom are familiar with it, and others who perhaps have never heard it. He has endeavoured to capture the "accent" -- the sounds and prosodic patterns -- as accurately as possible. There are always problems trying to write in dialect using standard orthography, and this case was no exception. The further problem of maintaining an "accent" while reading a hodge-podge of orthographic representations did take its toll. Though he obviously knew his material very well, one can hear his concentration waver as he works his way through the rather lengthy scripts. (He was in his sixties and seventies when he recorded these tapes.)<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> A set of these tapes was deposited in the University of North Dakota when he published his article (Walters, 1969). He has, however, reworked some of them since. There are three versions of the first story, each a little different. The version here edited I have labelled 1(b) (cf. tapes in Blain Collection deposited in

Mr. Walters explicitly states that he modified the syntax of these stories to suit his purposes. He describes natural spoken Bungee as repeating itself a lot and, in illustration, he uses the sentence That's what he said when he said that to me (line 10; cf. the discussion p. 199). There is undoubtedly some stereotyping involved -- but it is based on features which exist (or existed) in the language. These stereotyped features at one time were the linguistic markers of Bungee. One can therefore assume that the phrase sequencing patterns which emerge and flow through the stories in a consistent and natural manner are Bungee -- or at least an acceptable variant of it. Mr. Walters' stories are the largest single source of information available for an older form of Bungee. Whatever their shortcomings, I believe they are an important source.

In addition to their linguistic interest, the stories also contain local folklore. Some of this is carried in the matrix text which depicts something of the lifestyle and culture of the area. But woven into the matrix text are "inserts" -- anecdotes and stories about people and incidents which are part of the folklore of the region.<sup>68</sup> Unfortunately, the sensitivities of some members of the community and/or the writer have resulted in a reluctance to name names in these stories (when, indeed, they are known). Even if many of these stories

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the University of Manitoba Archives, Dafoe Library.

<sup>68</sup> Some of these anecdotes also occur in a series of Mr. Walters' historical stories run weekly in the Selkirk Journal (summer, 1988 - winter, 1989) in a series entitled "Pieces of the Past". A group of these stories have been collected and made into a book (Walters, 1989) which is available from the author. That some of these stories occur also in other written documents (e.g., Scott and Mulligan, 1951) is further proof of their folkloric status.

are common knowledge among the locals, they do not wish to be compromised in any way by the cultural material depicted. Attitudes among many of the people are changing in this regard; however, the existing form of the stories does not reflect this. So the names given do not likely belong to the actual people involved and the characters in these stories may indeed be composites of several individuals.

The sample text in particular is peopled by "voices" -- whether those of the original characters or of particular story tellers. Generally speaking, the "voices" appear in the segments which are anecdotes about people and incidents. Shorter "inserts" which are more like stock phrases/sentences (e.g., Sit in, there's lots of tea) recur in variation throughout the stories and are part of a pattern one soon recognizes as "Bungee" in the current folklore of the area. Bungee, itself, is now part of the folklore.

The texts reveal the folklore of the region at three levels:

- The matrix contains general information about the culture and lifestyle of the period.
- The inserts contain anecdotes and stories about people and incidents. Many of these stories he has told me, again, outside the context of the text, and some also recur elsewhere, e.g., in Scott and Mulligan (1951).
- The Bungee dialect (now also part of the folklore) as represented in the sounds, the words, and the phrases of the story.

The complexity of the oral presentation and the variety of information contained in this text require two distinct editions. The first edition presents a linguistic transcript of the sounds, both phonetic and prosodic (as recorded in version (1b)). The second edition is a reading version (see discussion, p. 236).

## Linguistic Edition

There are throughout the story three levels of voice quality. Level 3 includes sections with a distinct "voice" imitation -- whether it is the voice of the original character or of someone who told the story to the author in a manner which made it particularly memorable. (Of course, the third possibility is that the story and the voice are a composite -- part of the storyteller's repertoire.) Level 2 is a more or less generic "Bungee voice". Both levels 2 and 3 use reduced oral cavity accompanied by (or resulting in?) a higher basic pitch and a tendency towards raised vowels and audible lip rounding. The more extreme forms of this "Bungee voice" are included in level 3. Level 1 is basically Mr. Walters' everyday deep voice.

Levels 2 and 3, I believe, are part of the oral presentation, whereas level 1 has a less marked voice quality which occurs when mistakes are made and/or concentration is lost in the rather complex process of reading "in dialect" from a script which is written in an imperfect phonetic representation of the words. Part way through the story, when the "voices" are less frequent, the amount of level 1 voice quality increases. It is no doubt due to a degree of tedium in maintaining the level of delivery -- until about line 170 when the momentum picks up again.

In the transcript edition, the boundaries between these levels are marked with a double vertical line with the numbers 1, 2 or 3 preceding and following. For example, 2||3 indicates a boundary between the end of level 2 and the beginning of level 3. Of course,

the "boundaries" are not always so clearcut and the boundary point may reflect mainly the judgment of the editor. For example, eliminating other factors, I often listened only to voice tone/pitch and simply chose a point in the progression between two levels. Needless to say, opinions of other listeners might differ.

## Phonetic Transcription

Just as the voice quality changes levels throughout the text for a variety of reasons, so also does the phonetic realization of the words -- and Bungee sounds are sometimes replaced by those of SWE. This happens more frequently in level 1 speech but it does occur at all three levels. This is to be expected given the conditions of the presentation as described above. The variation, of course, is between Bungee and Mr. Walters' standard English. There is also considerable variation within some sets. For example, the diphthong [ei] -- corresponding to SWE [ai] and its higher variant [ʰi] -- appears very consistently in most words, e.g., [fein] 'fine' and [teim] 'time'; but some frequently-used words like I, which in Bungee should be [ei], is often SWE [ai] regardless of the level. Another example which involves inconsistency is the word up. It ranges from [ʰp] ~ [hʰp] ~ [ʰp] ~ [hʰp] (see below for an outline of vowel symbols); not only does the vowel change for roundness, but there is also a prothetic [h] in some instances. All of these may, however, be well within the bounds of Bungee variability.

As a result of the interference from Walters' standard dialect -- which did not occur in large segments which might be distinguished (i.e., Bungee || SWE) but were mixed together -- it is not possible to use two transcription systems. It seems more practical to use a single broad-phonetic representation in the text.<sup>69</sup> For a fuller description of the sounds of Bungee, see chapter 4 above.

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<sup>69</sup> Also, the quality of the tapes -- which are copies of the ones Mr. Walters made on home equipment -- is not sufficient to permit detailed phonetic study.

There are features which affect the sounds in some places, e.g., lip rounding and "vowel harmony" which may change the phonetic realization of one or more vowels in stressed sequences. These areas are marked as described below.

### Consonants

- [b] and [p] - bilabial stops, voiced and voiceless
- [d] and [t] - alveolar stops, voiced and voiceless
- [g] and [k] - velar stops, voiced and voiceless
- [ʔ] - glottal stop

All resemble their SWE counterparts except that there is more likely to be aspiration on intervocalic voiceless stops (especially preceding the -er ending), final voiced stops may be devoiced and [t] is sometimes dental in the "voices". It should be noted that in Gaelic and in the English of many Gaelic speakers, [t] and [d] are dental stops.

- [ð] and [θ] - interdental fricatives, voiced and voiceless
- [v] and [f] - labiodental fricatives, voiced and voiceless

[ð] is sometimes dropped in that [æt] and in the unstressed third-person plural pronoun them [em]. Like stops, voiced fricatives may be devoiced word-finally.

- [s] and [z] - alveopalatal fricatives, voiced and voiceless
- [š] and [ž] - palatal fricatives, voiced and voiceless

The variable [s] ~ [š] pair is a shibboleth for the English of Cree speakers. It is also subject to some variation in Scots English. Wright (1905:242), for example, notes the pronunciations of [šu:] 'sew' in northeast Scotland and [syu@(r)] 'sure' and (p. 597) [sud] 'should' in Orkney Islands. Part of the myth of Bungee (e.g., in Walters, 1969) is that [s] will always occur where there should be [š] but there is evidence to suggest that the occurrence of [s] or [š] was rule governed at least in some environments (see the discussion, p. 65 ff., regarding the influence of Gaelic (and also older dialects of Cree) on [s] in word-initial consonant clusters). And in Walters' text below, note the examples in lines 87 and 144 with [š] for [s]. They have been shown as they occur even though sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between them on the tape.

[j] and [č] - palatal affricates, voiced and voiceless

These are usually depalatalized to [j] and [c].

[m], [n], [ŋ] - nasals

The nasal consonants in the edited tape are consistent with SWE.

Though Walters maintains elsewhere (Walters, 1969) that [ŋ] is often [ŋg] word-finally, there is no evidence of this in this text (though in other stories there is some evidence of [ŋg]).

[l] - lateral liquid

[r] - retroflex liquid

The liquids are consistent with SWE -- [r] being typically retroflex. However a flap occurs in springtime (line 16), and in the word stubborn (line 108) the [r] sounds about halfway between [r] and [r̥] -- as [st^b@r@n] with the latter [r̥] being more pronounced. [l] is sometimes aspirated following [t], as in [lit̥].

[w] and [y] - glides

There is evidence for Bungee that [w] disappears preceding rounded vowels as in [u:d] 'wood', but Walters is not consistent. Also, the [w] is often preaspirated in words like which. There is also evidence that [y] disappears before high vowels as in [hu:] 'hew'. However, this also is inconsistent and I have shown it as it occurs.

[h] - glottal fricative

Sometimes prothetic [h] occurs in the stressed pronouns [h^s] 'us' and [hit] 'it' (typical of Scots English) but it is also found prevocally in the stressed variants of up, open, and I, for example. While there may be interference from several sources, including Scots English and French, it is not consistent and I have shown it where it occurs.

### Vowels

- [i:] roughly comparable to SWE beet
- [e:] roughly comparable to SWE beg
- [ɑ:] comparable to SWE alms (with vowel held long)
- [o:] roughly comparable to SWE code
- [u:] roughly comparable to SWE boot

These "tense" vowels are distinguished from SWE vowels in that they are monophthongs while SWE "tense" vowels are characterized by an off-glide (diphthongized).

[i] as in SWE bit

[e] as in SWE bet

[æ] as in SWE bat

[ɑ] as in SWE pot

[u] as in SWE cook

[^] as in SWE but

[a] as in to SWE heart

[o] as in SWE fort

As discussed above (p. 79) the "tense" vowels are different from the lax vowels in quality. Although some length differences may be perceived, this feature is not distinctive except in the contrast between [ɑ:] and [ɑ]. However, since [ɑ:] occurs only in words which correspond to SWE [ow], this distinction is not relevant to a SWE listener (see discussion p. 80 above).

Otherwise the tense vowels [i:], [e:], [o:] and [u:] differ little from SWE usage except for [lo:z@n] 'losing' and [w@q@n] 'wagon' and those words with SWE [ow] which are included in the lexical set for Bungee [ɑ:]. Occasionally, SWE [ey] occurs for [e:], as in line 95, for example.

Lax vowels may be raised as in [git] 'get'; centred as in [ver^] 'very'; or rounded -- which sometimes occurs with [^] (see [k^l@rd] 'coloured', line 133) in which this vowel also has a more back and

round variant [ʌ]. Sometimes nasal consonants are dropped, leaving their trace on a vowel, as in [tãũ] 'town' (line 31). [ɑ] has a strong tendency to be raised to [o]. The vowels [ɑ], [o] and [o:] are used to represent the vowels as they are heard in the text. The reduced vowel is represented as [ə]. The quality of vowels preceding [r] is discussed in chapter 4 (pp. 85-87).

### Diphthongs

[eɪ], [ou], [aɪ], [oi].

The variation between [aɪ] and [ʌi] (bide ~ bite) and between [au] and [ʌu] (loud ~ lout) does not occur in Bungee. Evidently the lowering of the diphthong in open syllables and preceding voiced consonants (the so-called "Canadian raising") had not occurred in the Scots English dialects influencing Bungee. All the occurrences of [aɪ] 'I', for example, in the text are interference from English. There are four exceptions in words which exhibit [oi] and [ey] in SWE (see the discussion in chapter 4):

|              |        |          |             |
|--------------|--------|----------|-------------|
| [bai], [boi] | 'boy'  | [naib@r] | 'neighbour' |
| [bail]       | 'boil' | [strait] | 'straight'  |

The diphthong [oi] also occurs in 'boy'. Walters claims that [bai] does not mean 'boy' but is "just an expression" (an exclamation). However, it appears that both [bai] (lines 9, 47) and [boi] (line 130) occur in this function. When referring to a male child, only [boi] -- plural [boiz@z] -- is used. I record both in the text as they are spoken.

The diphthong [ei], which varies to [ɛi] and [ʌi], is the Bungee counterpart of the SWE [ai] ~ [ʌi] diphthong. [ou], which varies as [o:], [ɔu], [u:] and [ʌu], is the Bungee counterpart of the SWE [au] ~ [ʌu] diphthong. Unlike the SWE diphthongs, the Bungee diphthongs vary freely in all environments.

### Prosodics

Comments on the prosodics of the sample text (including particularly rhythmic sequences) are enclosed in angle brackets which mark both the beginning and end of the segment. Observations made with regard to the prosodics include: firstly, the stretches with extended lip rounding or "vowel harmony" all fall within segments between asterisks or other pause indicators -- except for lines 129-30; and secondly, there seems to be no correlation between stressed words and their location within either a sentence or a segment between pause indicators.

Some of the sighs indicated and many of the sustained rhythmic passages are no doubt the result of reading from a script. As suggested above (p. 162), even the more subtle rhythmic patterns of reading no doubt affect the distribution of stressed and unstressed pronouns. Though the unstressed forms are there, some of them, for example [ʌ] 'I' occur infrequently. Reading style also results in a more formal usage (cf. Labov, 1972b); as it is slower than casual speech, the extended duration of a vowel may affect its quality considerably. Even though the speech scripted is intended to be very informal, the fact of its being read/performed for an audience precludes the fully informal style.

### Third-Person Pronouns

A feature of both Bungee and the English of Cree and Ojibwa speakers is the lack of distinction between the masculine and feminine third-person pronouns. This is a result of interference from Cree and/or Saulteaux. Throughout the text they are used interchangeably; a woman may be referred to as he or she, for example. The evidence that this has been deliberately scripted by Mr. Walters exists in the manuscripts -- and in the fact that he does not interchange them in his own speech.

### Sentences, Paragraphs, etc.

Falling intonation usually marks sentence boundaries -- so periods have been used generally as in SWE. Where stress and/or higher pitch fall on the final word in a sentence-like segment, a dash (--) is used to indicate the transition. Whether or not this is a contrast between SWE and Bungee intonation is not clear. Commas are not used but all clearly audible pauses are marked with an asterisk unless they are accompanied by a sigh or chuckle, or the like. Then the appropriate notation is made within angled brackets. False starts are preserved.

The syllable stress in words of two or more syllables is often similar to that of SWE except for words like butter which have balanced stress on both syllables (and an aspirated intervocalic stop consonant). I mark the main stress of a sentence, and sometimes more than that where there is a distinct rise in pitch in all instances. I also mark stress in particularly rhythmic passages and stress that

differs markedly from SWE -- often SWE compounds do not match Bungee compounds and vice versa. Bungee is characterized by rather unusual stress marking (see discussion, p. 133 ff. above).

Initially paragraphs are almost invariably marked with a shift from 3 --> 2 level and a pause -- which are indicated 3|\*|2. Almost as frequently, the following paragraph begins with the word now. All of these paragraph breaks would seem quite normal to a SWE speaker. The transition at the end of the initial paragraph and at the end of the text may seem unmotivated and no doubt it is. The same phrase is repeated in both cases and I have indicated the break preceding the phrase in both instances.

Where the 3|\*|2 + now pattern does not apply, I have continued to use the word now as a paragraph break. Towards the end Walters is obviously tiring and the now occurs more frequently. It was necessary to choose which of them to use as paragraph markers depending on the content and in accordance with the patterns already established.

I have written contractions as they are spoken, e.g., poplar's 'poplar is' (line 137) or one's 'one is' (line 144); they are treated the same as it's 'it is', i.e., as one word. There are a couple of instances of deleted inflectional morphemes as in it for it's (line 161) and thing for things (line 175). In line 158, Walters held the s overlong in the word [α:kss@n] 'oxen'; perhaps he lost his place in the script, hence the <long pause>.

## Editorial Symbols

- || a shift between voice quality levels  
(preceded and followed by numerals 1, 2, 3  
to indicate the levels)
- \* pause
- |\*| pause (+/- level change numbers), interpreted as  
paragraph
- . end of sentence with falling intonation
- pause at the end of a sentence with strikingly  
Bungee intonation
- <----> angle brackets containing information about  
prosodic phenomena (at the beginning of the  
segment); these are also used to indicate sighs,  
coughs, etc.
- <> the end of a lengthy prosodic segment  
(see symbol immediately preceding)
- >----< a stretch of speech affected by  
"vowel harmony" or lip rounding
- >>--<< extreme instance of the preceding
- \_\_\_\_\_ stressed words/segments
- ˀ preaspiration or striking aspiration  
on consonants (beyond that found in SWE)

- / break after false start
- ㄩ rough or "bleating" voice quality
- ŋ syllabic consonant
- â lip rounding
- t dental articulation of typically alveolar  
consonant
- ∩ dramatic intonation curve

[Linguistic Edition]

ðis iz w^t aim θiŋkin

||3 its keind^ >darti aut< ðis marnin \* so æft@r fi:dŋ hæp æt ð@  
ste:b@l \* ^ w^z setŋ @loŋ ð@ sta:v hævin @ warm \* æn du:nin m^i sik@n  
ple:t \* α b^stin æn θik kri:m. its ^ litʒ an ð^ barnt seid ei θat. ^  
hæp si hæz bet@r l^k wiθ @r nets bæc \* æn nat t@ barn it so m^ts.  
3|\*|2

5

ðis iz w^t aim θiŋkin --wen αl æs w^ns<sup>70</sup> ðer >komz @ nok an ð@ du:r<  
\* so ai se:z t@ ð@ mis@s \* "si hu:z ðæt" -- æn ðis iz mei naib@r  
je:msi nou \* so ai sez to @m 2||3 "kom \* sit in ðerz lats ^ ti:" --  
b^t reit @we: i: sez t@ mi \* "eim gat no teim bai -- eim gat ^ sik  
hors an ^ kənt git im ap bai." ðæts at i: sed \* ^wen i: sed ðæt tu  
m^. so: ai sez tu: im \* >"hal an nɑ:< -- ^l git on m^i hæt æn kæt \*  
æn >kum ^lo:ŋ< wiθ y^ \* æn te:k a luksi:."  
3|\*|2

10

n^u αl ðis iz in ð@ le:t sprinteim yul si:. ð^ windz ^wislin æn ferli  
blo:win ^s af@n ar fi:t \* æn nei an te:kin ar briθ ^we: ^ut av ^s.  
nau wir ^p tu ar ni:z in gut@r in ple:siz \* æn its t^f go:in -- but wi  
ki:ps tu ð@ li: @ ð@ buš \* æz best wi: kun b^t \* til wi k^mz tu ð@  
guli li:dŋ ap t@ je:msis ple:s \* æn ^bu:t a:ps^it ænt/ 2||3 o:l ant  
jen^ks -- æ ðē @z wir pasin si kalz out t@ mi \* tu kal @lo:ŋ an m^ we:  
bæk æn te:k a fres bæn^k for mi: æn ð@ misis -- me:d wiθ hard gri:s.  
bai \* ðæts ats qu:d ^lo:ŋ wiθ ni:pi jæm.

15

20

<sup>70</sup> Ideally this phrase (according to Walters) is [αl æs ans] 'all at once' but he does not capture this in his reading. The same thing occurs line 57 below.

3|\*|2

no an ar we: hɔp n^u \* je:msis telin mi \* ^bout hiz mis@s. hiz ov@r  
tu mægi t^un \* givin mægi \* ʒæk ^ hænd \* kli:nin hɔp @r nu: ædis^n.  
si:mz leik mægi jim si hæz w^an \* so mægi ʒæk si hæz t@ hæv w^an tu:.  
2||3 "uu:" ai se:z \* "æn ei s^pɔ:z if@n its ^/ ^ gerl sil kəl it mægi  
\* 3||1 se:m æz @r m^ð@r? 1||3 "næ:" je:msi: sez \* "hits ^ nu:  
li:ntu: aim takin ^bu:t -- a ple:s tu: stor w^an st^f or ænuð@r \* æn  
t@ put selvz in. givz mor ru:m for setn \* in t@ kic@n." "o~"  
<chuckle> ai sez "ðæt kein @v ænd<sup>71</sup> ædis@n." eim θiŋkin n^u \* we:t  
til mei mis@s hi:rz ^b@ut ðis -- >al nat< git no >pi:s ^nti:l hi:<  
hæz @n ædis@n se:m æz ðe: hæv o[v]@r tu mægi tãũ.

25

30

3|\*|2

n^u wen wi komz ^p tu ð@ ste:b@l \* hi:rz iz hors stændin ^p n^u æn  
kalin tu h^s. "wel y@ gat ^ fein ænim@l" ai sez "b^t i luks ^ litl  
pi:k@d tu mi:" ei sez. so ai 2||3 <very slow> >gɑ:z ap klɑ:s< \* æn  
ei kud si: ði:z big blæk fel^s \* <slow and rhythmic> ^krolin ^round æt  
ð^ to:p end av iz te:l \* æn du:n ^round iz nek <> \* æn ðen ai no:d  
reit ^we: \* 3||2 <graduates to normal speed> ~w^t ð^ tr^b@l w^s kaz ^i  
hæd æn ænim^l æt [that] hæd ðem w^ns \* ^ dif@rn kein b^t. ^i θiŋk mi:  
hi: kat ðem af@n ð^ tʃik@nz \* kaz ðer alwes skræçin. 2||3 so  
<chuckle> h^i sez t@ je:msi \* in ^ jok ai sez tu im \* <chuckle> "me:bi  
<swallow> yor hors hi: kat em af@ yu: -- enih@u r^b im doun wiθ s^m  
qu:s gri:s \* æn hi:l be: alreit in teim.

35

40

3|\*|2

<sup>71</sup> See discussion pp. 65-66.

nɑ: ^ te:ks li:v @v je:msi n^u \* æn θiŋks mi: \* eid te:k ^ t@rn ^ro:n  
ð^ medsin krik \* æn hi:r ai nɑ:tist s^mw^ŋ \* an ð@ α:pseid bæŋk.  
"ðerz > >>sombodi<< ái θát so: ái kálz áv@r< \* "bai \* ~w^t y@  
du:in?" \* ai kal <tape?> "eim fišin" \* i kalz bæk t@ mi. 2||3 "o:" \*  
ai sez "ai θat y@ az fisin" ^i kalz bæk. 3||2 n^u <chuckle> aim ^  
m^it di:f so ai nev@r hi:rd ð^ w@rdz 2||3 >kumin out áv im< reit.  
enih@u ei kald bæk >tu h@m \* >>"ku:m úkrús yu:<< < -- ^i kənt me: ^m  
>gát nɑ bɑ:t<".

45

3|\*|2

^im θiŋkin n^u weil ei we:t -- ^im stəndin reit an ð@ se:m pl/ spət  
təl fæni tu:n \* si krast ð@ krik w^ŋ sprin. h@r m^ð@r teld @r \* nat  
t@ du: it -- kaz ð^ eis w^z ratŋ \* æn si nat kud go: -- si went enihou  
\* b^t. æn @r m^ð@rz wacin fr^m in ð@ du:r \* æn al æs w^ns \* si si:z ^  
hed stikin @ut \* 2||1 æn fæni \* stil go:in \* tu me:k ð@ bæŋk α:ps^it  
@r m^ð@rz h^us l^ik.

55

|\*|

n@u i: k^mz pɑ:lin @kras n@u æn wen i gits klas ^i si: 1||2 ðis iz  
@o:l [old] bu:ru: -- "~werd y@ git ðæt @ɑ:l t^b?" ^i sez tu @m \*  
<quick choppy syllables> ^i ekspektid it t@ t@rn apič^kwani æn y@ go:  
čimurŋk intu: ð^ wat~@r."<> hi: onli sez "dææ" b^t \* æn i halz ^p ð@  
bæk av iz hænd tu mi \* æn no:ds iz hed. wel æts ^ hæb@t i:z got tu  
se: i:z tu: smart wiθ ^ bɑ:t \* for ^ θiŋ laik ðæt t@ hæp@n. wel wi:  
tæks for ^ litʃ ^bu:t ð@ kætʃis i:z bin kæcin le:tli -- ðen i: puts  
<catch in throat> mi: 2||3 strait an ð@ nu:z ^r^un. <slow, choppy  
beat> si:mz laik ald jik^ps sik^n dort@rz bin θiŋkin on gitŋ marid i:  
sez. hiz f@rs dot@rz mæn nat kæn git ^hed so qud \* sins iz k^u d^id.

60

65

70

"tu: bæd tu lo:z ^ gud ænim@l laik ðæt" ^i sez. "wel iz sik^n dort@r  
me:kin ^ betr@r mæc but" i: sez <> \* 3||2 "oredi @r mæn hæz ^ kou --  
æn ^ sæk @v fl^w@r -- æn a h^us. æn i:v@n \* 2||3 hi:z gat ^ wind^ in  
iz ^psters."

3|\*|2

75

n^u wi tak s^m >mor @bo:t o:l to:m@s lo:zin< iz peip. evri teim i:z  
go:in s^mwer i: l/ kalz tu bese \* 2||3 <high pitch> "bese ~wirz mei  
peip?" 3||2 i: kalz -- æn bese >wud kum runin< \* wiθ iz peip. "h@n  
i: u:s t@ driŋk ^ litl̩" bu:ru: sez \* "æn bese ud se: \* 2||3 'hi:z bæd  
in^f wen i:z sab@r \* b^t wen i:z drun̩k i:z ^nbar@b@l.'" "wel driŋkin  
or not" ^i se: "hi: ŝur kud me:d ðæt a:l fidl̩ tak enih@u boi y@ nɑ:  
si: laik." ei mein w^n teim ðer hævin ^ kic@n swet \* æn i:z fidlin  
^we: \* æn ki:pin teim \* æn ð@ flor wiθ iz fi:t so hard \* hi: fælz af  
ð@ çer \* reit d@un ant@ ð@ flor meind y@. b^t ðæt kudŋ stəp im b^t.  
hi:r i: iz stil fidlin @we: le:in an iz seid \* lukin ^p æt ð@ pi:p@l  
dænsin bai. "wel n^u its tu: bæd i hæd t@ git bu:rid ð@ we: i: did"  
^i sez. ð@ hæ:l æd gat dug \* pi:mi \* æn ð@ baks \* it gat ŝtuk kein@  
seid an hæf we: du:n. æn so ðe: left it laik ðæt. "o:" ol bu:ru:  
se:z \* "i: ales w^z æn ækw@rd ol bug@r enih@u." 3|\*|2 -- i: sez.

80

85

|\*|

90

n^u wiθ ðæt \* <chuckle> ^i te:ks li:v @v @o:l bu:ru: \* æn ^ hits for  
ham -- nat t@ f@rgit t@ pik ^p 1||2 mai bænik -- for tumor^ iz ^ bizi  
teim @hed for mi: \* 2||1 for eim gat^ te:k ^p ^ lɑ:d @ lenθ wud tu ð@  
fort n^u indi:d \* æn te:k ^ big sark@l 2||1 ^round b^i ð@ mars \* æn  
pik ^p ^ jæg @ hey an m^ we:i bæk. ^i left ^ b^t ^ut ðer æn it gat  
drift@d a:v@r an mi \* æn ð@ læs teim ei wuz ^ut ^ f@rgat mai s^v@l æt

95

hom \* æn ^ kudŋ dig it ^ut. æn ð@ neks wi:k/ neks wi:k ail trei mei  
 hænd æt træp@n -- ^ fy: m^skræts ai ges \* kɑz ^m gitŋ h^ŋgri for ^  
 fi:d ^ fres mi:t. æn ^ 1||2 <rhythmic> θiŋkin >o:n o:l< ði:z θiŋz<>  
 \* æz ^ dzɑg ^lɑŋ w^t ^m gat^ du:. æz ^ me:k @ t@rn in @ bend @ ð@ rad 100  
 \* ^i r^ŋ <!>slæp intu ser^ bendin ov@r @r k@u. ŝiz stændin ðer 2||3  
riŋin @r hændz @n telin mi \* ŝi w^z te:kin razi for ^ vizit \* æn si  
 gits st^br@n \* æn le:z d@un. ser^ stærtts riŋin @r hændz ^gen æn si  
 sez \* "mei \* ^i wis wi kud git @r av@r tu jɑrjɪs." 3||2 wiθ ðæt wi  
bæθ givz ^ t^g an ð@ rɑ:p æn ð@ rɑ:p bre:ks æn razi te:ks af \* bel @n 105  
 al \* hei te:lin it \* @kræs ð@ fi:l æn av@r ð@ fens -- "αα" ser^ sez  
 "li:v @r bi:. sil k^m bæk wækin le:t@r an.

|\*|

no: <chuckle> ð@ tu: @v ^s wi wak ^lɑŋ t@gið@r n^u til >wi kum tu ð@<  
geit \* wer si livz \* @n ^ nɑ:tis @r ol m^ð@r θru ð@ windo we:vin mi. 110  
 ser^ sez tu kum in æn hæv @ kup ^ ti: \* æn pæs ð@ teim @ de: -- so ai  
 te:k @r hæp on ðæt \* kɑz ^ wan tu θæŋk ð@ α:l le:di for me:kin mi: æn  
 th@ mis@s <breath> s^m mæksinz læs wint@r.

|\*|

nɑ: ŝi me:ks ð@ be:s raunto:d mæksinz in ð@ kuntri æn fɑ:ks k^mz fr^m 115  
 al @roun t@ git ð@m fr^m @r. siz rækin ^we: 2||1 in @r ol rækin čer  
 æn ^i sez tu @r \* 1||2 "h^u ɑr y^?" \* æn si sez 2||3 "mi: \* eim feiŋ."  
 ðen si ants t@ tak s^m mor ^bout w^t hæp@n tu @r lɑŋ ^go <tape?> 3||2  
 wen si u:s t@ wats ð@ indy@nz du:in ðer s^ndæns \* æn ol medsin mæn  
 du:in iz st^f an sumb^di \* t@ če:s ð@ dev@lz ^we: \* so:z i k@n git 120  
 bet^@r ^gin. æn æft@r siz d^ŋ takin ai sez tu @r \* ðæf si kud git ol  
 kɑčis tu git @r ^ mu:s heid \* si kud tæŋ it ^p æn me:k mi ^ bi:d@d

ka:t \* æn for @r tr^b@l ^id briŋ @r 2||3 >lo:ts @ k^l@rd< bi:dz fr^m  
 ð@ fort wen ^i tuk m^i lɑ:d @ wud ^p tumor^ . si m^s bi o:ld ei θat \*  
 b^t si kud rimemb@r θiŋz alðo w^t hæp@nd tu @r \* wen s^ w^z ^ litl  
 gerl ist æz if it al hæp@nd est@rde: -- so ^i æst @r \* "h@u ar y@/  
 h@u o:ld ar y@ ðen n^u?" 3||2 so ši k^unts te:n for i:tš fiŋg@r haldŋ  
 ^p @r hænd leik \* æn si sez 2||3 "ei s^po:z @t te:n te:n te:n te:n" æn  
 ši ki:ps ^go:in an \* tu: hæn z \* ðæt we: \* leik. so ei sez >"hɑ:l an  
 nau -- nabadi< livz ðæt laŋ." so ši sez "ka:wi:næçini: boi:" č^klin  
 se:m teim. <chuckle> 3||2 ðin ai rimemb@rd m^i misis. hi: wants s^m  
wil^ bil@ts \* so i kud me:k ^ hat fei@r \* for kukin mæk^mi:n^s for ^ur  
sup@r t@neit. so ai te:ks li:v @ ðem bat \* æn ei huri bæk hɑ:m. ^im  
 θiŋkin n^u @bu:t t@ fein feð@r tik siz me:kin \* æn si sed sid hæv it  
red^ \* for ar bed t@neit. so ^im lukin for ^ gud rest æft@r m^i çu:rz  
 ar al d^an ^p. n@u bifor ðæt b^t \* ^im gat^ sip@reyt ð@ α:k æn æs fr^m  
 ð@ papl^ \* in m^i ud peil -- kaz papl^z \* w^t ðe: b@rn up/ 2||1 in ðe  
 s^m@r taim ^p æt ð^ fort. <swallows> n@u ^im θiŋkin if ^ put an mei  
 lɑ:d ðis i:v@n \* ^l git @n arli start in ðe marnin.

125

130

135

|\*|

140

n@u wen ^i raivd hom n^u hi:rz mai ge:t stændin weid ap@n æn ðe kæt@l  
 kumin @ut. "α ðæts ðo:z boiz@z fr^m krassed ðe rad" ai θat. ðe:  
 al@s du: ðæt \* wen ðe: >kum fɑr @ kɑ</ pe:l @ wat^@r. [ð]@ big@s  
 w^nz @ ri:l kip@ts \* æn θiŋks i:z šmart w^tev@r b^t i:z nat i:v@n.  
 <chuckle> wen ai θiŋk @ w^t ðe: du: it me:iks me: bailin mæd \* b^t ^i  
dɑ:nt se: n^tn b^t -- kaz ðer fæð@r nat ^ bæd ol stik. 1||2 hi kein  
 @v ^ krip@l b^t @n ðe fɑ:ks @round wil hæf t@ me:k @ bi: -- æn dig @m  
 ^ 2||3 <slows slightly> wel in iz an ple:s s^mteim. ðæts ist w^t ^i

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w^z θiŋkin \* weil ei s^t ð@ ge:t æn ei t@rnz @rɑ:n \* æn hi:rz mei  
misis kalin for ð@ wil^ bil@ts si wants \* "huri ^p nɑ:" i: sez \* "ðan  
ki:p mi: stændin tu: lɑŋ. teim is presis \* æn eim nat gɑt m^tš" \* ši  
sez.

150

3|\*|2

inseid n@u θiŋks mi: \* its hat in^f -- si wants wil^z en@h@u boi. n@u  
ð@ dip@r hæŋin an ð@ wat^@r pe:l \* so ai te:ks ^ kwik driŋk æn af @ut  
\* bifor i wants sum'ŋ els @gen yul si:. <chuckle> n@u av@r æt ð@  
ste:b@l ^i θrɑ s^m fi:d 2||1 tu ð@ ænim@lz \* in ð@ yard. en ei go:  
inseid æn fi:d ^p m^i yɑ:k @v ɑ:kss@n. <long pause> ^m gɑt ^ litl  
fiks@n tu du: ai θat \* bifor ai k@n go: ^p tumor^. ðæts ð@ sik@n teim  
ðæt yak krækt. ^l hæf t@ go: an/ tu ð@ buš s^mteim \* æn hu: ^ut ^ nu:  
w^ŋ. wel it din@r teim @gen æn siz kalin mi: @gen. siz kugin ^ pi:s  
@ starj@n ol jan je:mz brat av@r <sigh> æn it sur smelz gud k^min θru:  
ð@ dor. æft@r i:tn wapus al wint@r \* 1||2 fis iz gon^ te:s meiti  
fein.

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|\*|

n@u mi: @n ð@ mis@s \* wi me:k ^ hebit \* tu te:k ^ næp æft@r din@r. wi  
k^t it sort t@de: b^t kaz siz gɑt @r kuk@n \* æn stic@n t@ du: --  
<rhythmic> æn eim gɑt ^ gri:s m^i wɑq@n <> -- æn ^m gɑt^ fyu: mor jɑbs  
\* ai bin putŋ af le:tli \* kaz @ fel^ gits @ keind@ do:qi in ð@  
sprinŋteim -- b^t ^m gɑt^ finiš ^p n@u b^t. ð@ aft@rnu:n it go:z 2||3  
<slowly> bai fæst in^f -- its nɑ teim @tal ^ntil wir setŋ in ^gin \* æn  
i:tn @ur s^p^@r. >wi:r go:t kompni ðis i:vn@n< b^t. mai y^ŋg@s  
dort@r \* ænj@li:k @z av@r \* tu bor^ s^m b^t^@r \* æn si left @r litl  
gerl t@ ste: for @ fyu: de:z. siz gud k^mpni for ð^ mis@s wen eim out

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du:in θiŋ outseid. n@u bai θis teim its getŋ derk \* so ^i >go: o:t<  
æn ^ fi:d up m̄ai anim@lz ^gin æn <rhythmic> >ai lɑ:d an m̄ai wɑq@n wiθ  
ud< -- æn te:k æn armful @ split st^f <> \* int@ θ@ kic@n. in θ^ ru:m  
æt θ@ fr^nt θer bæθ siŋ@n ^we: \* ^bout \* "hi: wil was ^we: \* mei sinz"  
3||2 n@u θ@ mis@s iz ^ gre:t wæn for siŋin himz wiθ θ^ litl w^nz \* wen  
θe: >kamz ɑ:v@r< -- ^i sez t@ θ@m \* 2||3 ~w^t kein @v ^ sinz kæn ^  
litl gerl l^ik miri hæv?" ai se:z <tape?> b^t mai grændət@r æns@rd  
mi: r^it ^we: @rself meind y^ \* kwik æz ^ wip \* æn si sez \* "eim gat  
mak^sinz."

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3|\*|2

<chuckle> wiθ θæt ^i go an t@ θ@ kic@n \* so æz nat t@ let θ@m hi:r mi:  
c^klin. ~weil ei bail @ kitl \* ^i te:k d^un m^i fidl @n ei ple: ^  
fyu: tu:nz \* w^il θ@ mis@s \* hi: puts litl mer^ \* t@ bed. 2||3 <slow  
even beat> wi bæθ sit du:n \* t@ trei @ut ald ænt jən^ks bænik.<> bei  
θis teim eim gitŋ priti dr^uz^ \* so ai bæŋ hap θ@ fei@r for θ@ neit \*  
æn ei me:k for h^psterz @n intu bed. ^i kud hi:r θ@ mis@s spinin ^we:  
\* æt s^m yarn šiz me:kin -- θis iz ~wei ei kænt git tu sli:p -- b^t  
džis θen si kəlz ^p tu mi \* "ar y@ fein æn k^m-fort-^b@l <sup>72</sup> in y@r nu:  
feθ@f tik pi:t@r?" <high pitch> "yes" ei sez \* <loud> "b^t yud bet@r  
kam æn go: tu bed tu: b^t \* kaz ai wæn^ slək ^ut θ@ leit -- æn marnin  
k^mz arli". <>

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3|\*|1

<drop in pitch> θis \* iz w^t ^m θiŋk@n.

<sup>72</sup> This word on the tapes always sounds like three words.

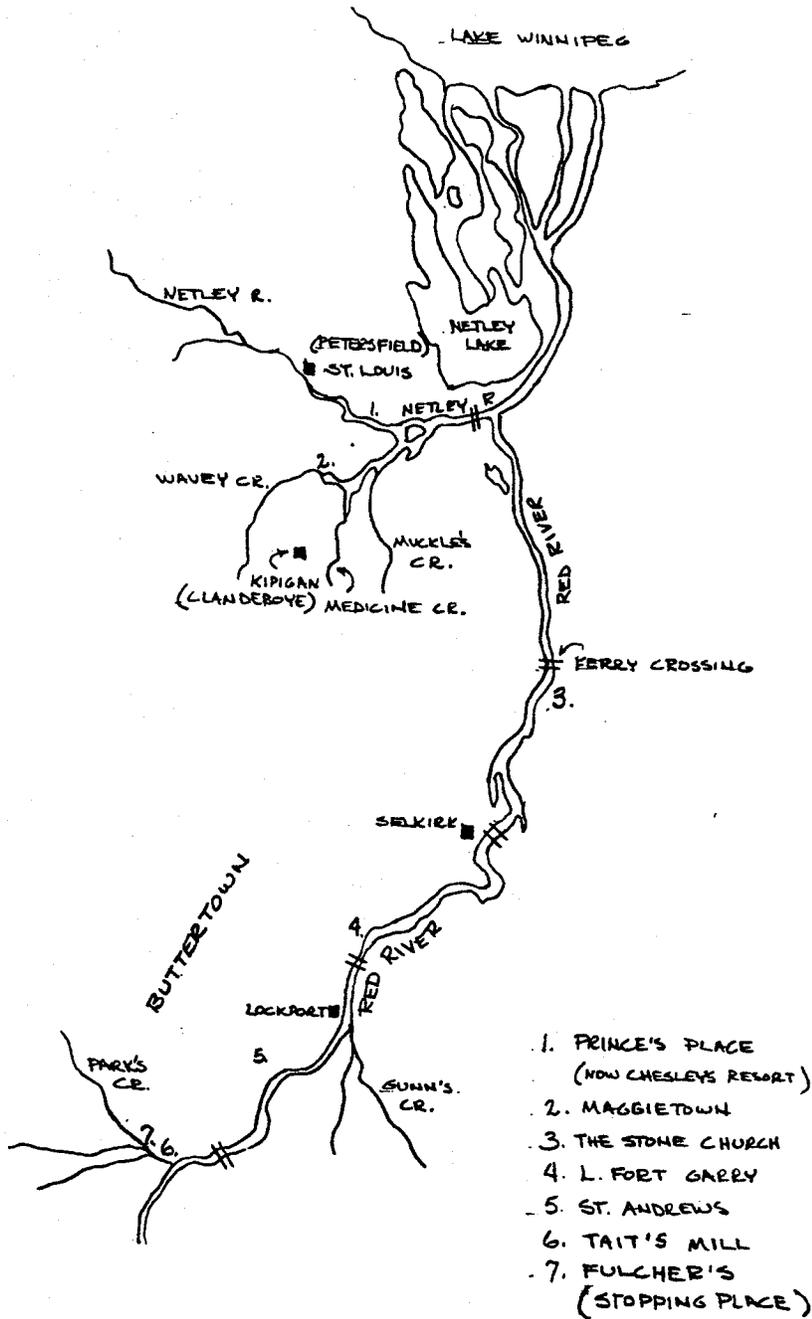
## Reading Edition

The following edition is primarily a reading version. The emphasis is on the content, and it is to be used in conjunction with the glossary to illustrate terms as required; words and phrases which can be found in the glossary are underscored. Footnoting is used where required to comment on culturally relevant material.

The orthography is standard with one concession to style: the use of -in on verbs and the unstressed syllables of nouns like mornin in which the full -ing ending does not occur in Bungee. Grant (1914) notes this feature for some Scottish dialects of English. Also, set is the Bungee verb corresponding to SWE sit, so set and sit are written as they occur on tape; the latter is considered to be interference from SWE. Words like opside, iffen, and offen 'off of' are written as they are spoken. Paragraphing follows that established in the transcript edition. Commas have been added and punctuation has been adjusted to suit a reading version, as the pause markers of the transcript edition are not used. False starts are edited out.

The map of the Red River area below the city of Winnipeg gives a few of the local landmarks as they existed roughly one hundred years ago. This map is compiled from information provided by Mr. Walters locating, for example, Maggiatown, Buttertown and several ferry crossings, etc. Information is also gleaned from Kaye (1981) regarding the location of Tait's Mill and the various creeks in the area. Settlements are identified by their former names, e.g., Kipigan, which is now called Clandeboye, and St. Louis, now Petersfield.

Map of Red River Points of Cultural Interest



[Reading Edition]

THIS IS WHAT I'M THINKIN

It's kinda dirty out this mornin, so after feedin up at the stable, I was settin along the stove havin a warm and downin my second plate of bustin and thick cream. It's a little on the burnt side, I thought. I hope she has better luck with her next batch and not to burn it so much.

This is what I'm thinkin -- when all at once there comes a knock on the door, so I says to the Missus, "See who's that." And this is my neighbour, Jamesie, now, so I says to him, "Come, sit in, there's lots of tea." But right away he says to me, "I'm got no time, boy. I'm got a sick horse and I can't get him up, boy." That's what he said when he said that to me. So I says to him, "Hold on now. I'll get on my hat and coat and come along with you and take a looksee."

Now all this is in he late springtime, you'll see. The wind's a-whistlin and fairly blowin us offen our feet and nigh on takin our breath away out of us. Now we're up to our knees in gutter in places and it's tough goin -- but we keeps to the lee of the bush as best we can, but, till we comes to the gully leadin up to Jamesie's place and about opside old Aunt Jennock's. And then, as we're passin, she calls out to me to call along on my way back and take a fresh bannock for me and the Missus -- made with hard grease. Boy, that's what's good along with nipi jam.

Now on our way up, now, Jamesie's tellin me about his Missus. He's<sup>73</sup> over to Maggiatown givin Maggie Jack a hand cleanin up her new addition. Seems like Maggie Jim, she has one so Maggie Jack, she has to have one too. "Ohhh," I says, "and I suppose ifen it's a girl, she'll call it Maggie, same as her mother?" "Naaa," Jamesie says, "it's a new leanto I'm talkin about -- a place to store one stuff or another and to put shelves in. Gives more room for settin in the kitchen." "Ohhh," I says, "that kind of an addition." I'm thinkin now, wait till my Missus hears about this -- I'll not get no peace until he has an addition same as they have over to Maggiatown.

Now when we comes up to the stable, here's his horse standing up now and callin to us. "Well, you got a fine animal," I says, "but he looks a little peaked to me," I says. So I goes up close and I could see these big black-fellas a-crawlin around at the top end of his tail and down around his neck and then I knowed right away what the trouble was cause I had an animal that had them once -- a different kind, but. I think, me, he caught them offen the chickens cause they're always scratchin. So I says to Jamesie -- in a joke I says to him -- "Maybe your horse, he caught them off of you -- anyhow, rub him down with some goose grease and he'll be alright in time."

Now I takes leave of Jamesie now and, thinks me, I'd take a turn around the Medicine Creek. And here I noticed someone on the opside bank. "There's somebody," I thought, so I calls over, "Boy! What you doin?" I call. "I'm fishin," he calls back to me. "Oh," I says, "I thought you was fishin," I calls back. Now I'm a might deaf so I

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<sup>73</sup> Typical instance of interchangeability of third-person pronouns.

never heard the words comin out of him right. Anyhow, I called back to him, "Come across, you. I can't, me, I'm got no boat."

I'm thinkin now while I wait, I'm standin right on the same spot tall Fanny Tune, she crossed the creek one spring. Her mother telled her not to do it, cause the ice was rotten and she not could go. She went anyhow, but. And her mother's watchin from in the door and all at once she sees a head stickin out and Fanny still goin to make the bank opside her mother's house, like.

Now he comes polin across now and, when he gets close, I see this is old Buru. "Where'd you get that old tub?" I says to him. "I expected it to turn apichekwani and you go chimuck into the water." He only says "Daaa," but, and he holds up the back of his hand to me and nods his head. Well, that's a habit he's got to say he's too smart with a boat for a thing like that to happen. Well, we talks for a little about the catfish he's been catchin lately -- then he puts me straight on the news around. Seems like old Jacob's second daughter's been thinkin on gettin married, he says. His first daughter's man not can get ahead so good since his cow died. "Too bad to lose a good animal like that," I says. "Well, his second daughter's makin a better match, but," he says. "Already her man has a cow, and a sack of flour, and a house. And even, he's got a window in his upstairs."

Now we talk some more about old Thomas losin his pipe. Every time he's goin somewhere he calls to Bessie, "Bessie! Where's my pipe?" he calls -- and Bessie would come runnin with his pipe. "And he used to drink a little," Buru says, "and Bessie would say, 'He's bad enough

when he's sober, but when he's drunk, he's unbearable.'" "Well, drinkin or not," I say, "he sure could made [sic] that old fiddle talk anyhow, boy, ye-naw-see, like." I mind one time they're havin a kitchen sweat and he's fiddlin away and keepin time on the floor with his feet so hard he falls off the chair -- right down onto the floor, mind you. But that couldn't stop him, but. Here he is still fiddlin away lyin on his side lookin up at the people dancin by.<sup>74</sup> "Well now, it's too bad he had to get buried the way he did," I says. The hole had got dug pimi and the box, it got stuck kinda side on half way down. And so they left it like that. "Oh," old Buru says, "he always was an awkward old bugger anyhow," he says.

Now with that, I takes leave of old Buru and hits for home -- not to forget to pick up my bannock. For tomorrow is a busy time ahead for me, for I'm got to take up a load of lengthwood to the fort, now indeed, and take a big circle around by the marsh and pick up a jag of hay on my way back. I left a butt out there and it got drifted over on me. And the last time I was out, I forgot my shovel at home and I couldn't dig it out. And next week, I'll try my hand at trappin -- a few muskrats, I guess, cause I'm gettin hungry for a feed of fresh meat. And I'm thinkin on all these things as I jog along what I'm got to do. As I make a turn in a bend of the road, I run slap into Sarah bendin over her cow. She's standing there wringin her hands and tellin me she was takin Rosie for a visit and she gets stubborn and

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<sup>74</sup> A familiar theme in Cree stories (cf. Ahenakew (1987b)): in a story about a jiggling contest, one man, at the point of exhaustion, threw himself on the floor and, without missing a beat, kept time to the music with his elbows. I have heard several references to jiggling contests at some of the old "sweats" at Red River.

lays down. Sarah starts wringin her hands again and she says, "My, I wish we could get her over to George's." With that, we both gives a tug on the rope and the rope breaks and Rosie takes off, bell and all, high-tailin it across the field and over the fence. "Aaaa," Sarah says, "leave her be. She'll come back walkin later on."

Now the two of us we walk along together now till we come to the gate where she lives, and I notice her old mother through the window wavin me. Sarah says to come in and have a cup of tea and pass the time of day. So I take her up on that cause I want to thank the old lady for makin me and the Missus some moccasins last winter.

Now she makes the best round-toed moccasins in the country and folks comes from all around to get them from her. She's rockin away in her old rockin chair and I says to her, "How are you?" and she says, "Me, I'm fine." Then she wants to talk some more about what happen to her long ago when she used to watch the Indians doin their Sundance and old medicine man doin his stuff on somebody to chase the devils away so's he can get better again. An after she's done talkin, I says to her that if she could get old Kachees to get her a moosehide, she could tan it up and make me a beaded coat -- and for her trouble, I'd bring her lots of coloured beads from the fort when I took my load of wood up tomorrow. She must be old, I thought, but she could remember things, although, what happened to her when she was a little girl -- just as if it all happened yesterday. So I asked her, "How old are you then, now?" So she counts ten for each finger holdin up her hand, like, and she says, "I suppose it ten, ten, ten, ten,"

and she keeps a-goin on two hands that way, like. So I says, "Hold on now, nobody lives that long." So she says, "Kawinachini, <sup>75</sup> boy," chucklin same time. Then I rememebered my Missus -- he wants some willow billets so he could make a hot fire for cookin makameenas for our supper tonight. So I takes leave of them both and I hurry back home. I'm thinkin now about the fine feather tick she's makin and she said she'd have it ready for our bed tonight. So I'm lookin for a good rest after my chores are all done up. Now before that, but, I'm got to separate the oak and the ash from the poplar in my woodpile -- cause poplar's what they burn in the summertime up at the fort. Now I'm thinkin, if I put on my load this evenin, I'll get an early start in the mornin.

Now when I arrived home, now, here's my gate standin wide open and the cattle comin out. "Aaa, that's those boyses from cross-side the road," I thought. They always do that when they come for a pail of water. The biggest one's a real kipits and thinks he's smart, whatever, but he's not, even. When I think of what they do, it makes me boillin mad. But I don't say nothin, but, cause their father's not a bad old stick. He's kind of a cripple, but, and the folks around will have to make a bee and dig him a well in his own place sometime. That's just what I was thinkin while I shut the gate and I turns around and here's my Missus callin for the willow billets she wants. "Hurry up, now," he says, "don't keep me standin too long. Time is precious and I'm not got much," she says.

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<sup>75</sup> kacini, a variant of this expression, was commonly used by Selkirk residents within the past forty years. It was an indication of teasing and jocularly in general (R. J. Glendinning, personal communication).

Inside now, thinks me, it's hot enough. She wants willow billets anyhow, boy. Now the dipper's hangin on the waterpail, so I takes a quick drink and off out before he wants somethin else again, you'll see. Now over at the stable, I throw some feed to the animals in the yard. Then I go inside and feed up my yoke of oxen. I'm got a little fixin to do, I thought, before I can go up tomorrow. That's the second time that yoke cracked. I'll have to go to the bush sometime and hew out a new one. Well, it's dinner time again and she's callin me again. She's cookin a piece of sturgeon old John James brought over, and it sure smells good comin through the door. After eatin wapos all winter, fish is gonna taste mighty fine.

Now me and the Missus we make a habit to take a nap after dinner. We cut it short today, but, cause she's got her cookin and stitchin to do, and I'm got to grease my wagon. And I'm got a few more jobs I been puttin off lately, cause a fella gets a kind of doggy in the springtime -- but I'm got to finish up now, but. The afternoon, it goes by fast enough -- it's no time at all until we're settin in again and eatin our supper. We're got company this evenin, but. My youngest daughter, Angelique, was over to borrow some butter and she left her little girl to stay for a few days. She's good company for the Missus when I'm out doin things outside. Now by this time it's gettin dark, so I goes out and I feed up my animals again and I load up my wagon with wood -- and take an armful of split stuff into the kitchen. In the room at the front, they're both singin away about "He will wash away my sins." Now the Missus is a great one for singin hymns with the little ones when they comes over. I says to them,

"What kind of a sins can a little girl like Mary have?" I says. But my granddaughter answered me right away, herself, mind you, quick as a whip, and she says, "I'm got moccasins."

With that I go on to the kitchen so as not to let them hear me chucklin. While I boil a kettle, I take down my fiddle and I play a few tunes -- while the Missus, he puts little Mary to bed. We both sit down to try out old Aunt Jennock's bannock. By this time I'm gettin pretty drowsy, so I bank up the fire for the night and I make for upstairs and into bed. I could hear the Missus spinnin away at some yarn she's makin. This is why I can't get to sleep. But just then she calls up to me, "Are you fine and comfortable in your new feather tick, Peter?" "Yes," I says, "but you'd better come and go to bed too, but, cause I want to slock out the light -- and mornin comes early.

This is what I'm thinkin.

## APPENDIX 2: GLOSSARIES

### Introduction

This appendix is divided into two sections: the first section is a glossary of words representative of Bungee,<sup>76</sup> while the second is a list of "Indian" words and phrases which I have come across in Bungee sources (including a couple of words which are undoubtedly Michif in origin) which were presumably known to Bungee speakers. Both glossaries are far from systematic, being assembled from information which opportunity provided. In cases where an "Indian" word has been reported as Bungee, the same word will occur in both sections. In the "Indian" section, an attempt is made to give the likely Cree or Ojibwa sources. Some of the Cree or Saukteaux terms found in the Walters stories are part of the expression of Bungee only insofar as some Bungee speakers were also speakers of Saukteaux or Cree.<sup>77</sup> However, other Indian words were, until fairly recently, used by Bungee speakers as a regular part of their vocabulary, e.g., chimmuck, apichekwani, etc., and still others show evidence of English inflectional endings added to a stem that is a borrowing from Cree or Saukteaux, e.g., ponassed, ponassin' [sc., ponassing] 'to roast on a stick'. These latter have been listed in the Bungee glossary but with

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<sup>76</sup> The list is not exhaustive and the words listed are not necessarily exclusive to Bungee but may be shared by other dialects of English.

<sup>77</sup> The "Indian" component of Bungee is mainly Cree -- the Saukteaux words and phrases seem to be later additions. For some younger people like Mrs. Adams' daughter, who knows a few "Indian" words, the words seem to be mainly Saukteaux -- whereas words reportedly used by Mrs. Todd, Mrs. Adams' Michif-speaking grandmother, are from Cree.

a cross-reference to the "Indian" wordlist for Cree/Ojibwa sources.

Some of the kin terms especially have prefix m(i)- rather than n(i)- 'my' (or k(i)- 'your', o- ~ w- 'his/her') as in Cree. This may be interference from the English possessive pronoun my -- or possibly carried over from the indefinite prefix mi- in Cree which occurs only with body parts, e.g., mi + cihciy 'a hand'.<sup>7 8</sup>

In some instances, the etymologies given are extremely tentative. The record of words and phrases as they are remembered by Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes from their grandmother's speech may be quite distorted -- as may be the pronunciations found in Walters' stories. Their glosses may be impressionistic, i.e., inferred from context in the case of children and their grandmother, or distorted over time in the folklore of the region as reported by Walters.

#### Orthography

The orthography used for Bungee is that of standard English except for those words which have no parallel in SWE, in which case the rules of English are applied to the extent practical. Where there are several spelling versions used by local writers, I have arbitrarily chosen the one I prefer. The entries in the glossary of "Indian" words are in English orthography with a phonetic representation where possible.

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<sup>7 8</sup> Pentland (personal communication) notes that Faries (1938) gives most Cree kinship terms with prefix mi-.

In contemporary Ojibwa studies there are two major orthographic conventions -- one using symbols for voiceless consonants and vowels with diacritics for length/stress, the other using voiced consonant symbols and double vowels for length. I follow the former tradition for Ojibwa words which are given as possible sources for the word or phrase in question. Likewise, Cree orthography (as used by Wolfart) is used for Cree sources.

Published sources (Ahenakew, Faries, Nichols and Nyholm, Rhodes, etc.) are cited wherever possible. Considerable information was also provided by H.C. Wolfart for Plains Cree, J.D. Nichols for Ojibwa, and D.H. Pentland for Algonquian languages in general (e.g., Cree, Swampy Cree, etc.); and Mike and Barbara Angel on various ethnological points. The Walters sources are marked as follows:

Walters (indicating a personal communication)

Walters stories (indicating his Bungee stories -- from  
transcribed tapes),

Walters (1969, 1989) (published works).

Arrangement of Entries (and Typographical Conventions)

Citation: printed in italics (underscored); stressed constituents, where relevant, are printed in upper-case

[Phonetic Transcription]: in square brackets, given only as required or to highlight a particular rendition

(Stem-Class Code): in parentheses following directly after the citation

'Gloss': in single quotation marks -- the gloss may be my own (especially where the meaning is obvious)

‡ Definition: preceded by ‡ -- given as understood from an illustration, explanation or from context

Examples: whether taken from spoken or written records, the examples are printed in italics (underscored) and identified as to source

cf.: etymological sources are marked "cf.", including, in the Bungee glossary, cross-references to the List of "Indian" Words. In the List of "Indian" Words, the likely Cree and/or Ojibwa sources are listed for each entry

\*: any further discussion, including stories or anecdotes

## BUNGEE GLOSSARY

a- (verbal prefix)

‡ Prefix used by some speakers to show continuous aspect in verbs.

a-going, a-singing, etc. (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Barnes and Walters stories)

afore (adverbial particle)

'before' (Walters stories)

after my head is planted

'after I'm dead and buried' (Mrs. Adams)

ahead of (adverbial phrase)

'before'

He died ahead of my husband. (Mrs. Hart)

along (locative)

‡ Used in phrases like along the road, but also used in sense of near, beside, and even en route.

although (adverbial)

‡ Tagword. (Walters stories)

anti-i-over [ænti:aio:v@r] (noun)

‡ A children's game in which a ball is tossed back and forth over a building.

apichekwani (adverbial)

'upside down'

‡ Also used in the sense of to fall down as when drunk.

He went apichekwani. (Mrs. Adams)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

auntie (noun)

‡ Term of respect (in addition to kin term).

\* When Mrs. Price referred to a local woman as auntie and I asked her afterwards how this woman was related to her, she explained that there was no family relationship but simply one of respect. Similarly, granny is used as a term of respect for older women.

away (adverbial)

'way over there'

‡ Used with directions, e.g., away south.

away there (locative phrase)

‡ Used to refer to great distances, for instance, over the ocean or in Heaven (see GET away there).

babiche (noun)

‡ Rawhide strips which are woven together to make rope, snowshoe netting, etc.

cf. French babiche.

\* Cotter (1949) refers to it as "parchment" of Moose and Caribou hides.

back and fore (adverbial phrase)

'back and forth' (Mr. Drake, Mr. Lake)

back west (locative phrase)

‡ Direction away from the River (for those living on the west bank). All directions are in relation to the river.

bag (noun)

'cow's udder'

bannock (noun)

‡ A flat bread made with baking powder and traditionally with lard or grease from wild animals (see hard grease).

cf. Gaelic.

\* In Bungee, bannock is a count noun -- e.g., a bannock, two bannochs, etc.

barm up (verb)

‡ Bloating or distending of stomach due to gas.

cf. Story et al. (1982), barm (noun) 'yeast'.

basket social (noun)

‡ Sometimes called a 'box social'.

\* Includes a dance and auction: women pack a lunch for two in a basket/box, the basket is auctioned off at lunchtime, and whoever bids highest for the basket has lunch with the woman who brought it.

beaded coat (noun)

‡ A leather coat with Indian/Métis beadwork, fringes, etc.

BED lunch (compound noun)

‡ A snack before bedtime. (Walters stories)

\* Also referred to as a bed night lunch. (Walters, 1989)

bee (noun)

‡ (1) A gathering of people to do a big job for a neighbour, e.g., dig a well, build a barn, etc.; usually ends with a feast and dance.

(2) A yeastlike membrane like mother of vinegar which, by fermentation, produces an acetic beverage called BEES wine. It is kept in a crock or a glass jar; and presumably, if water, sugar, flavouring, etc., are added as the liquor is used, the fermenting process is continued by the bee. I am told the "bees" could be purchased in the form of a small square yellow-coloured pellet.

BEEF shoes, beefhide shoes (compound noun)

‡ A low shoe made from cowhide with a leather string drawn through the top, slipper fashion, to hold the shoe on the foot. Described as maroon in colour, with toes turned up "like Dutch shoes". Once wet, they became hard and cracked (see crackin boots).

BEES wine (compound noun)

‡ The fermented liquor produced by bee (see above),  
reportedly a refreshing drink.

big (quantifier)

'a lot'

a big fun, a big heat, and big money.

big fun, a fun (noun)

'a joke or good laugh' (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Barnes, Moncrieff  
story)

big heat (noun)

'a good fire' (Walters stories)

big money (noun)

'a lot of money' (Mrs. Adams)

billets (noun)

'sawn poles'

‡ Wood for use as fuel in a stove.

cf. Story et al. (1982).

binding pole (noun)

‡ A pole tied on top of a load of hay to keep it on the  
wagon.

black fellas (noun)

'lice'

blow (noun)

'a big wind, windstorm'

bluff (noun)

'a grove of trees'

bodie (noun)

'a bodice, a tightwaist'

‡ Undergarment worn by women.

bogle (verb)

‡ To bellow or bawl (said of a bull).

cf. Norn boqlan kye 'bawling cows' (Killick 1987);

cf. also Mather & Speitel (1977).

\* In Red River, in contrast to Orkney, only bulls bogle.

bogle (noun)

'bawling'

Stop your bogle. (reported by Mrs. Barnes)

\* Usually said to someone who is crying.

boiled shirt [baild sart] (noun)

‡ A white shirt for Sunday and dress-up wear. (McBean letter)

box (noun)

'coffin' (Walters stories)

brindled (adjective)

‡ Roan-coloured, mottled (said of a cow).

boyses (noun)

'boys'

‡ Plural forms also include pantses, peoples. (Walters stories)

buck buck

‡ Children's game.

bud, buddy (noun)

‡ A nickname and/or term of endearment for a brother or son common in the Settlement. It has been used for several generations and is still used today.

\* Ramona McBean's brother was called Buddy, as is one of Mrs. Ellis' nephews. Mrs. Barnes' granddaughter calls her son my bud and Mrs. Adams and her sisters call their brother my buddy.

bulling [bul@n] (verb)

‡ Said of a cow in breeding season. (Mrs. Ellis)

bungee (noun)

(1) "someone who is half Indian and half Canadian or Icelandic, or something" (Mrs. Barnes)

(2) The dialect of English spoken in the Red River Settlement. Also called The Red River Twang.

cf. Avis (1967:93).

bush, a bush (noun)

‡ A wooded area or a bluff of trees. (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Wheeler)

bushed (adjective)

'exhausted'

BUSH puppies (compound noun)

'wild rabbits'

bustin (noun)

‡ Cracked wheat roasted and cooked as porridge (a staple food in the old days). (Mrs. Sinclair, Walters stories)

but (adverbial)

‡ Tagword. (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Barnes, Walters stories)

butt (noun)

(1) 'the end of a small haystack' (Walters)

(2) 'a lump of earth', i.e., the butt of the dirt (Mrs. Adams)

cf. Jamieson (1867:87): "A small piece of ground disjoined from the adjacent lands."

\* cf. also Bliss (1984:141) for the meaning 'end' in the English of Southern Ireland.

buttertown (noun, placename)

‡ Rossdale, i.e., area west of The Two Mile. (Mrs. Adams)  
Also called milk town, with the location given as Lockport.  
(Wheeler tape)

\* Area where cows were pastured and milking and butter-making were carried out in the days before herd laws (in the time of Mrs. Adams' grandmother). According to Walters, in the early days the men would go off on buffalo hunts in the summer while the women and children would tent out back between their river lots and the bogs to the west, taking care of their cattle. The butter produced was shipped by river to the fort. Perhaps analogous to this, the Métis settlement across the river from the town of Fort Vermilion, Alberta, is called Buttertown (Barbara Angel, personal communication).

bye [bai] (noun)

'boy'

‡ Used only "as an expression." (Scott, McBean, Walters stories)

cf. Story et al. (1982).

\* Reported in many sources.

byre (noun)

'cow shed'

\* According to Scott (1937, 1951), this word was commonly used throughout the Settlement in the old days; but it is not in current use.

caark (noun)

'a corpse' (McBean letter)

cf. carcass

\* The vowel is presumably a long, low front vowel.

cabbage (verb)

‡ To take someone's money and hide it (perhaps in the sense of closing one's hand around it?)

He cabbaged the money. (Mrs. Adams)

call (verb)

‡ Referring to the act of a cow (or some other animal) calling. Also referring to a train's whistle (Mrs. Hart).

call hard (verb)

'to yell loudly, to call for help' (see hard) (Mulligan)

call off (verb)

‡ To call the instructions in a square dance.

capote (noun)

‡ A hooded coat (an HBC trade item).

cf. Cotter (1949).

caron stove

‡ A type of stove imported from Scotland and widely used, according to Walters.

\* A large, low box stove which gives off a lot of heat.

cassette (noun)

‡ A lightweight trunk shaped to fit the curve of a canoe. (Scott)

cf. French cassette, cf. also Cotter (1949).

\* Used widely in the fur trade.

ceased (adjective)

'deceased' (Mrs. Innes)

cheeky (adjective)

'impudent, brazen'

\* A term frequently used in the Settlement to this day. Not generally used in Winnipeg.

chew the rag (verb)

‡ To bicker.

they always used to argue and chew the rag (Mrs. Adams)

chimuck

‡ The splashing sound made when something is dropped in the water.

Also used today in the sense of 'to drop in one's tracks, to die abruptly'.

He said, "When I go, I'll go chimuck". (Mrs. Barnes)

\* This was said about a man who died of a heart attack, having refused to consult a doctor about his heart condition.

chipo nuts [či:po] (noun)

‡ Wild nuts (hazelnuts? acorns?) gathered and used for cooking and eating. (Walters stories)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

\* Mrs. Adams tells of gathering hazelnuts on the way home from school.

chore up (verb)

‡ To do the barnyard chores. (Walters stories)

clandeboye (placename)

‡ Town in the settlement named after estate of Mrs. Muckle (grandmother of a Mrs. Elliot) in Northern Ireland. Formerly called kipigan. cf. Elliot tape in Walters Collection.

comb their hair

‡ To chastise s.o. severely, reprimand, give s.o. hell.

She really combed their hair. (Mrs. Adams)

come away (verb)

‡ To leave a place (and come here?). (Wheeler tape)

come off (verb)

‡ To be about to take place, in the process of being planned, etc. (said of dances or weddings). (Mrs. Adams)

coming into womanhood (verb phrase)

‡ To be at the age of puberty. (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Price)

common (adjective)

‡ Simple, not elaborate affairs (said of weddings in the old days).

cooler (noun)

‡ A bowl of milk (with the cream skimmed off) left to keep cool in the dairy as an after-school treat; the bowl was typically wooden or crockery.

corduroy road (noun)

‡ Road through a bog built using logs laid crossways as the road base; of a bumpy, corduroy texture.

cf. Scargill (1977).

cowfeed (noun)

'a farmer's straw hat' (Mr. Clark)

cow pies (noun)

‡ Cow manure as it drops in the pasture. When dry, they may be burned to create a smudge to keep flies away from the animals; also used as fuel if necessary.

cowyard (noun)

'barnyard' (Mr. Lake)

crabbed [kræb@d] (adjective)

'crabby, grouchy' (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Ellis)

CRACKIN boots (compound noun)

‡ Shoes or boots which, once wet, get hard and make a cracking sound when you walk in them.

\* One old fellow liked the sound of these boots and would wear them to dances. He would dance with Aunt Eliza "and his boots would be crackin' away." (Mrs. Sinclair)

cracklins (noun)

‡ The crispy bits remaining after pork fat is rendered into lard.

\* Sometimes used to add flavour to mashed potatoes or else used for pig feed.

cf. Joyce (1910:241).

cranky (adjective)

'tippy'

‡ Birchbark canoes were often cranky and would turn over easily. (Wheeler tape).

CROSS-side (locative)

‡ On the other side of the river or road from but not necessarily directly opposite.

crowducks (noun)

'cormorants'

\* There is a Crowduck Lake in the northern Whiteshell Park on the Manitoba-Ontario border (Barbara Angel, personal communication).

curds (noun)

'cottage cheese'

\* Made at home by leaving milk on the back of the stove until the curds separate. Hung in a bag to drain all liquid.

cut dog (noun)

‡ A castrated dog [presumably]. (Mrs. Price)

dairy (noun)

‡ A little building with an earthen floor where milk is left in bowls to cool and to allow the cream to rise. Also where one separates the milk to remove the cream.

dangersome (adjective)

'dangerous' (Walters stories)

dasn't, daren't (negative modal)

'dare not' (Walters stories and Mrs. Barnes, respectively)

dast, dashed (adjective)

‡ Darned, damned -- mild expletive. (Walters stories and Mulligan (Scott and Mulligan, 1951), respectively)

dear (adjective)

'expensive' (Mrs. Adams)

[the] devil's fighting with his wife

‡ Refers to the sun shining through the clouds while it is raining. (Mrs. Adams)

dialogue (noun)

‡ A little play for the school Christmas concert. (Mrs. Adams)

dirt (noun)

‡ Term used when scolding a bunch of rowdy children:  
you little dirts. (Walters stories)

cf. Jamieson (1867:158): "An expression of contempt for a mean, insignificant person or for a troublesome child."

dog alone (adverbial)

'all alone' (Mrs. Adams)

I sit here dog alone. (Mrs. Adams)

doggy (adjective)

'lazy' (Mrs. Adams, Walters stories)

domestic (verb)

‡ To do housework for someone else (outside one's own home).

I had to go out and domestic. (Mrs. Adams)

don (verb)

'to put on' (a sweater, for example) (Mrs. Adams)

dotten [dætŋ] (adjective)

'doting' (Mrs. Adams)

\* Forgetful due to old age, senile.

cf. SWE dotty.

down north (directional)

‡ Corresponds to SWE up north, no doubt relating to the flow of the Red River from south to north.

\* Any reference in speech to coming down, going up, etc., will always plot according to the flow of the river.

drive (verb)

‡ (1) To drop accidentally, e.g., a fork or spoon. (Mrs. Adams)

(2) To drag in on one's shoes, e.g., sand from the street. (Mrs. Adams)

\* Both are used rarely. The first occurred twice (corrected each time) in my first taping session with Mrs. Adams. The second example occurred once about three years later in casual conversation.

drops of brandy

‡ The name of a dance (a reel?) which was very popular in the old days.

DUG well (compound noun)

‡ A well for water. (Walters stories)

electric storm (noun)

‡ Thunder and lightning storm. (Mrs. Adams)

electric train (noun)

‡ The subway (in Toronto). (Mrs. Adams)

english church (noun)

‡ The Anglican church. (Mrs. Hart)

cf. Swampy Cree: âkanâsiwi- 'Anglican' (Wolfart ed., 1988:48).

english shoes [eŋlis su:s] (noun)

‡ Store-bought shoes. (McBean letter)

fade (verb)

‡ To faint (figuratively speaking).

You'd fade when I tell you. (Mrs. Adams)

farmost (adverbial)

'foremost' (McBean letter)

fatso [fætsu:]

‡ Nickname for Porky Charbonneau, a local radio announcer in the 1950's. (Mrs. Wheeler)

\* He also worked for a radio station in Regina.

fifty-cent bit (noun)

'fifty cents' (McBean letter)

cf. SWE two bits '25 cents', four bits '50 cents'.

fine and warm, fine and fat, fine and comfortable, fine and fresh

\* Phrases sometimes used by Mrs. Adams (with warm and fat).

Walters' stories contain fine and comfortable. The last example was attributed to someone named Delmar who always said, Now I'm [fein @n fres], when he had a bath.

fish milk (noun)

'fish broth'

\* Reportedly used for infant feeding.

flagweed (noun)

‡ Rushes found in sloughs.

football (noun)

'soccer'

french church (noun)

‡ Roman Catholic church (Mrs. Hart).

cf. Swampy Cree: pâhkw- 'Roman Catholic' (Wolfart ed., 1988:57).

fresh (adj.), to freshen (verb)

‡ Said of a cow when she has her calf and starts to produce milk.

FRONTroom, BIGroom (compound noun)

‡ Usually the living-room and the dining-room combined.

gained the race

‡ To win the race. (Orkney letters)

\* (Although I have no record of it, I believe I have heard a similar usage from Mrs. Adams.)

geordies (noun)

'mudhens' (Walters)

\* See jawdies below.

geordy peter (proper noun)

‡ A beef hash dish named after a local fellow who "liked to eat".

GET away there

‡ Get to heaven. (Mrs. Wheeler, Walters stories)

\* The stress as indicated above occurs only in the Walters stories. Mrs. Wheeler, also referring to heaven, did not use this stress pattern. The same phrase without the above stress pattern is also used by Walters referring simply to 'some far away place'.

grab s.o. up (verb)

‡ To grab onto someone to prevent them from falling off (a load or a wagon) and pull them back up. (Walters stories)

granny (noun)

‡ Term used respectfully for older women. (Mrs. Adams)

\* Mrs. Wheeler commented (on Wheeler tape) that a child referred to his/her mother's midwife as "granny".

gravel snow (noun)

'crystallized snow' (found in late winter or early spring)  
cf. Cotter (1949) and Avis (1967) referring to water snow  
'granular snow which melts more easily when boiling a kettle.'

\* Used by Mrs. Todd, in preference to well water, to make barley soup. (reported by Mrs. Adams)

grip of

It's got a grip of my tonque. (Mrs. Adams)

\* Referring to something tart or sour.

grumblesome (adjective)

‡ Given to grumbling. (Mrs. Adams)

\* The -some suffix also occurs on dangersome.

gunny bag (noun)

‡ A gunnysack or burlap bag.

\* Mrs. Barnes said that people used to sling them over the shoulder to carry something.

gutter, mud and gutter (noun)

'mud, watery mud' (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Barnes, Walters stories)

cf. Jamieson (1867:249) 'a mire'; cf. also Mather and Speitel (1977). Used in Orkneys and parts of Scotland.

hard (adjective/adverb)

'a lot, greatly, intently' (intensifier)

She had a real hard stroke. (Mrs. Barnes)

a hard look and looked so hard at us 'a stern or intent gaze' (Walters stories)

callin' hard 'yelling' (Mulligan)

stervin hard 'starving greatly' (McKay's journals)

\* Perhaps Bungee reflection of Cree misi- (preverb particle)

'big, greatly'; cf. Ahenakew (1987b).

HARD grease (compound noun)

'beef grease which gets hard' (Mrs. Barnes)

'fat of wild animals' (Walters stories)

\* Possibly reflects the distinction in Cree between muscular fat as opposed to the fat around the innards. The muscular fat, when rendered, hardens while the other fat stays soft.

hark at (verb)

'listen to'

\* Mrs. Barnes told me she used to use this expression.

have the face to (verb)

'to have the nerve to' (Mrs. Adams)

hayday (noun)

'a wonderful time' (Mrs. Adams)

heifer [h^if@r] (noun)

'cow'

The old heifer's bullin. (reported by Mrs. Ellis)

\* Contrast SWE, where heifer [hef@r] refers to a young cow which has not yet calved.

helldivers (noun)

'a grebe' (Walters stories)

hide (noun)

‡ A blind (when hunting ducks or geese). (Walters stories)

hindside (noun)

'backside, back'

go in hindside farmost 'go in backwards' (McBean letter)

hit for home (verb phrase)

'head for home' (Walters stories)

hit the hay (verb phrase)

'go to bed' (Mrs. Adams)

hoedown (noun)

‡ A dance with jigging, reels, square dances, etc.

hoeing her down (verb)

‡ Dancing with much vigour and enthusiasm. (Walters stories)

hoist the sails

‡ Children's game.

home s.o. (verb)

'to send someone home'

She'll home me now for sure. (Mrs. Adams)

in a line

‡ In a row [?] -- referring to something hung by a rope in a well in order to keep it cool.

in a string (prepositional phrase)

'in a row' (with reference to people in a lineup) (Mrs. Sinclair)

‡ Also used with reference to thick cream pouring from a spoon to form a continuous string. (Mr. Lake)

jade (noun)

‡ A useless, demanding woman. (Mrs. Adams)

jaq (noun)

'a small load of hay or wood' (Walters)

jawdies (noun)

'mudhens'

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

\* Walters said the Indians called them jawdies but some of the other people used the term geordies. However, in his stories, Walters has the old farmer using jawdies. Geordies is a term used to refer to Northumbrians (Mike Angel, personal communication). The similarity between jawdies and geordies might account for the use of the latter, no doubt in jest.

jumper (noun)

‡ A sleeveless dress worn over a blouse.

keltu

‡ A nickname used by a father for his daughter.

cf. Jamieson (1867:305), kelties 'children' in the dialect of County Angus.

kaykatch (adverbial particle)

'nearly'

Bye me I kaykatch [nearly] killed it two ducks with wan sot.

(Scott and Mulligan 1951:42)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

keeyam (adverbial particle)

'never mind'

Girl keeyam if you take my neechimos [sweetheart] I'll get me another whatefer! (Scott and Mulligan 1951:42)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

kipigan (placename)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

\* Now known as Clandeboye.

KIpits [kip@ts] (noun, or adjective)

'a mischievous boy' (noun) (Walters)

‡ Glossed as 'kind of crazy' (adjective) by Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes.

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

\* This word in its current state is reminiscent of the Yiddish word [kib@ts] 'to fool around' which is widely used in SWE. (There is a German-speaking settlement at Little Britain which at one time included Yiddish speakers; note also the reference to "Jewish halfbreeds" in the 1830's, p. 6.)

Mrs. Barnes (when asked recently) said that kipits is also used in the phrase to kipits around which, as a verb, strangely resembles Yiddish [kib@ts]. This suggests that, at least for some speakers, the two words may have coalesced.

kipochisk (noun)

'dirty arse'

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

kitchen sweats, sweats (noun)

‡ Dances held in someone's home. (Mrs. Adams and Walters)

I used to dance until I was just soak sweatin. (Mrs. Adams)

\* In her younger years, Mrs. Adams was the winner of many a jigging contest. These dances were a frequent event and people looked forward to them with great anticipation. Mrs. Adams recalled an old woman who would curl her hair every day just in case there was a dance that night.

lead (noun)

‡ A path through the brush.

lee (noun)

'a place sheltered from the wind' (Mrs. Adams)

\* Common in marine terminology.

leggings (noun)

‡ Garment made of leather covering the lower leg (tied below the knee). Often beautifully decorated with beadwork.

LENGTH wood [lenθwud] (compound noun)

'poles, not sawn short' (Walters stories)

lest (adverbial)

'so that we don't' (Walters stories)

let you know (verb)

‡ Corresponding to SWE have you know in an emphatic reprimand. (Mrs. Adams)

I'll let you know, Sam Folster, I love Maggie too! (used by Mrs. Adams in a story)

lifts (noun)

'cupboard doors' (Mrs. Adams)

\* The term is known to Mrs. Barnes. She explained that, in the old days, cupboards were usually constructed so that the doors slid down into a slot (lower cupboards) and that the door had to be lifted to gain access to the contents.

cf. O.E.D. lift 'a gate that has to be lifted out when opened'

like (adverbial tag)

‡ Tagword. (Walters stories)

liquor (noun)

'juice from a roast' (Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Barnes)

LOAF bread (compound noun)

‡ As opposed to bannock. (Mrs. Adams, Wheeler tape)

lodge (noun)

'hall, town hall' (Mrs. Adams)

\* Not used in SWE except in proper names such as for Elks'

Lodge, etc.

log block (noun)

'a log building constructed in a block without additions'

(Walters, 1989)

logged (adjective)

‡ To be full after a good meal. (Mrs. Adams)

long headed (adjective)

‡ Far-sighted, able to plan something in advance. (Mrs. Adams)

\* The term is used in Governor Simpsons' Character Book of 1832 regarding one of the HBC men (cf. Williams, 1975:222).

LOOKsee (noun)

‡ A look at something to see what the problem is.

to take a looksee. (Walters stories)

low (verb)

‡ To light a fire. (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams)

cf. Jamieson (1867).

low (noun)

‡ (1) A flame (of a lamp).

Isn't the low too high? (McAllister tape)

(2) 'grease' (Walters)

\* Walters told me an old Red River jingle in which he glossed low as 'grease':

Bánnoch and blúeberries,

Pémican and lów,

Hí ho the mérry-o --

I knów she lóves me.

Pémican and blúeberries,

Bánnoch and black téa,

Hí ho the mérry-o --

Shé's the gírl for mé.

lye s.t. (verb)

'to soak s.t. in water with lye' (Mrs. Hart)

‡ Technique used to remove the husk from Indian corn. The lye could be from the ashes of white poplar or store bought.

maggie jack, maggie alex

‡ This is a nicknaming system to distinguish between two or more women bearing the same Christian name. There were many families with the surname Sinclair, for example, and many girls were named Margaret. As a result, there might be several women named Maggie Sinclair. The system uses the

name of the woman followed by that of her husband.

If two men have the same name, some distinguishing feature between the two would be used, e.g., Long Tom and Short Tom.

maggietown (noun, placename)

‡ An area along Netley River (see map p. 237) where five Maggies lived about the turn of the century.

The morpheme town does not refer to an urban settlement, but simply a group of houses (or perhaps small farms) in a cluster along the river; cf. Cree ôtênaw 'circle of tents, town'.

makaminas (noun)

‡ A kind of baking-powder bisquit made with raisins, currants or, traditionally, with wild berries.

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

making leathers

‡ Tanning hides. (Mrs. Wheeler)

\* In Mrs. Wheeler's account, the hides are scraped, rubbed down with grease and brains, and then the hide is stretched over a rack and "smudged".

many's the (time)

‡ Favourite phrase of Mrs. Adams'. Also heard on Sinclair tape.

maarkin at ye

'to make rude or teasing remarks to someone to put them in their place' (paraphrase of Mrs. Quinn's explanation for the above phrase from the McBean letter).

‡ The term is derived from remarking, according to Mrs. Quinn.

cf. Cotter (1949), mark at it 'to take notice of a person or object'.

\* Mrs. Quinn said her grandmother used that expression.

mean (adjective)

'stingy'

\* Used exclusively in this sense by Mrs. Adams.

medicine creek

‡ Runs into Netley River.

message (noun)

‡ An errand, includes taking a basket to Grandma.

you sould never shtop when you are goin on a messidze and ... (Scott and Mulligan, 1951).

cf. McClure (1975) to go the messages 'to do the shopping'.

mind (verb)

'to remember' (overheard among old women talking July, 1989; Walters stories)

\* Widely cited in all the printed reports about Bungee.

moccasin rubbers (noun)

'small rubber overshoes to cover the foot of moccasins'

monias (noun)

'whiteman, greenhorn' (Scott, Walters)

cf. List of "Indian" Words; cf. also Avis (1967:483).

mooly chair (noun)

'wooden chair with no back' (used as a stool)

\* When asked how it got such a name, Mrs. Adams drew an analogy to mooly cow.

mooly cow

'a cow that has been dehorned'

cf. Jamieson (1867:312, 1880), to mouligh 'to whimper, to whine' (Ayrshire); also, Ir. Gaelic maoluigh-am 'to become dull, stupid.'

cf. also Joyce (1910:291) maol, mail, maileen, and (from Ulster) moileen, moilie 'a hornless cow'.

cf. Wright (1913:326) Mully, a milkmaid's call in parts of England.

\* Trying to determine the etymology and meaning involved, I asked if a cow bawls a lot when dehorned; Mrs. Adams responded that this was irrelevant, that the term meant simply that the cow had no horns. This supports the connection with the Gaelic source above, i.e., 'dull, blunted' and definitely 'hornless'.

mosisim

‡ Mrs. Adams said her kindly old father-in-law used to call her by this pet name.

cf. List of "Indian" Words, s.v. noshishin.

moss bag (noun)

‡ Moss-filled leather pouch attached to a cradleboard for carrying infants. An Indian custom adopted by some of the early settlers in the district, according to Walters.

cf. List of "Indian" Words, s.v. tikanagan. cf. also Avis (1967).

mossy face [mɔsɪfɛs] (noun)

'pubic area (female)'

mouter [mu:t@r] (verb)

'to barter'

cf. Jamieson (1867:361-363), 'to take multure for grinding corn'. multure 'a fee for grinding grain' (usually a share of the flour)

cf. also Joyce (1910:296-7) moutre.

muckle's creek

‡ Flows into Netley River. Named for Alex Muckle, the Indian agent. (Walters)

mudded up (verb)

'walls plastered with mud' (to fill cracks and keep air out)

musquash (noun)

'muskrat'

cf. List of "Indian" Words; cf. also Avis (1967:502).

napkin (noun)

'a diaper' (Mrs. Adams)

cf. British English nappy.

napoosi(ni)ny River [napu:si(ni)ni:] ([sic] Walters)

'River of Death' (Walters)

‡ Refers to Netley River.

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

\* Mrs. Wheeler (on tape) translated 'death creek' into  
Saulteaux as [onipuzibe].

never mind (adverbial)

‡ Tag phrase. (Walters stories)

nichi (noun)

(1) 'brother'

(2) 'Indian'

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

nichimos

'sweetheart'

Girl keeyam if you take my neechimos [sweetheart] I'll get  
me another whatefer! (Scott, 1937)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

nigh on (adverbial)

'nearly' (Walters)

ninimushe

'are you my sweetheart' (reported by Mrs. Price)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

ninnies (noun)

‡ A woman's breasts. (Mr. Drake)

NIPI jam (compound noun)

'jam made from high-bush cranberries'

cf. List of "Indian" Words, s.v. nipimanan.

\* Traditionally made "with the pips left in".

nishtaw

'friend'

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

\* Said to be a typical greeting from the boats: hello,

nishtaw! 'hello, friend'. (Mrs. Adams)

no-see-ums (noun)

'blackflies'

‡ A very small biting fly found in the bush. (Walters)

no word a lie

‡ Confirmatory expression to emphasize the truth of what has been said. (Mrs. Adams)

OARboat (noun)

'rowboat'

off out (verb)

'to leave with some urgency'

cf. Walters stories (see sample text p. 233, line 155).

\* Mrs. Adams' son told me when he first moved to Toronto he once used the phrase; but as the people he was talking to didn't understand, he had to explain. He off out with her means roughly 'he pulled her out' or 'he left, pulling her behind him'. (The question of verb tense remains problematic.)

of lately (adverbial)

'of late, lately' (Mrs. Adams)

old wife, wife (noun)

'woman'

‡ Usually referring to an older married woman.

cf. Cree nôtokwêw 'old woman, wife' (Ahenakew, 1987b:238).

\* The HBC journals contain many instances of old wife.

one time (adverbial)

'once' (Walters stories)

on saddle (adjective)

'on horseback' (Mrs. Sinclair, Walters stories)

on the hammer (adjective)

'sick, broken'

They never got a bannock when I was on the hammer. (Mrs. Adams)

Mrs. Adams also used the term with reference to her pump, which was broken: when my pump was on the hammer.

opside, opset (locative)

'opposite, facing' (Moncrieff story; Scott, 1937; Walters stories)

\* part of a set of locatives, see p. 175 above. Found in various spellings in many of the written sources and in Walters stories. Not now in use.

opted (verb)

'got'

cf. Jamieson (1867:377) optene 'obtain'

\* In Scott, 1937, it occurs as opted. In the reprint of the same article, published in 1951, the word has been replaced by got.

parkie (noun)

'parka' (Mrs. Adams)

peaked [pi:k@d] (adjective)

'thin, not healthy-looking' (Walters)

peeved (adjective)

'irritated'

pemmican (noun)

‡ A staple food available at the fort or home made in the old days. Made of pounded dried meat (usually buffalo) mixed with fat and dried berries.

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

[pep@r] (noun)

(1) 'pepper'

(2) 'paper'

‡ In the old days these were homonyms in Bungee -- you had to specify "eating or writing" (Scott, 1937; Sanderson letter). In fact, they are still homonyms in Mrs. Adams's speech -- though paper varies from [pep@r] to [pe:p@r].

perched (ears) (adjective)

‡ Perked up, pricked up so as to hear everything. (Mrs. Adams)

pimi (adjective)

'crooked, twisted' (Walters stories)

‡ Also used in sense of not getting the story straight (Sanderson, 1938).

pishki (adjective)

'crooked' (reported for Mrs. Todd by Mrs. Barnes)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

pitiful (adjective)

‡ Frequently used by Mrs. Adams, e.g., pitiful times, s.o. is pitiful, etc.

cf. Cree: kitimâkisi- VAI 'be pitiful, be poor' (Ahenakew 1987b:217).

\* Ubiquitous in HBC journals.

played out (adjective)

'exhausted'

I'm all played out. I'm all in but my shoe laces

[su:les@s]. (An "old expression" reported by Mrs. Ellis)

pointed-toe moccasins

‡ Cree-style moccasins (as made by Mrs. Adams' grandmother, Mrs. Todd).

\* She would order leather and sinew from her family living at Fort Vermilion, Alberta.

pom-pom pull away

‡ Children's game.

ponassin, ponassed (verb)

'to roast on a stick'

‡ Used in Walters stories with the English inflectional endings -in' '-ing' and -ed.

cf. List of "Indian" Words; cf. also Cotter (1949), ponask 'game or fish cooked on stick over an open fire'; cf. also Avis (1967:573).

pos (noun)

'cat' (reported by Mrs. Adams)

‡ Borrowed into Cree from English, originally.

\* Mrs. Adams told a story about Gilbert Smith who was asked by the teacher to spell cat. He stood up and said, "c-a-t, pos." (This event took place before Mrs. Adams went to school and no doubt was part of the folklore of the day.)

prosper (verb)

'to succeed, do well'

‡ Used by Mrs. Adams in reference to the need to know Cree in the old days if you wanted to prosper, like.

Mrs. Price used the term in reference to children raised to adulthood. Her grandmother had eight children, but she only prospered with five.

PUBLIC road (compound noun)

'municipal road'

put a handle on it (verb)

‡ To put the finishing touches on something; to make a witty remark about something.

guern (noun)

'a set of grinding stones for grinding grain in the home'

(Walters)

RABBIT blanket (compound noun)

‡ A robe made of strips of dried and twisted rabbit hide worked together with a stitch similar to a button-hole stitch. A fairly full description is to be found on the Wheeler tape.

RABBIT dance

cf. SWE bunny hop which is danced to schottische music.

rat (noun)

'muskrat'

\* Good for its hide and also for eating. (Walters)

REAL Indian (compound noun)

'one who is not "bapTIZed"' (Mrs. Wheeler)

red river cake (noun)

'bannock' (Mrs. Ellis)

red river jig

‡ A tune with accompanying jig step which local folklore says is distinctive to Red River.

relics (noun)

‡ Antiques, museum pieces, e.g., bells for horse harness. Something of archeological value, e.g., stones collected by an old man.

richot ~ richaud (noun)

‡ Pemmican made with oatmeal instead of berries. (Walters)

cf. Avis (1967:629-30), richeau ~ rechaud.

\* Described by Avis as a stew of pemmican, flour and vegetables warmed over a fire.

riddle it out (verb)

'figure it out' (Mrs. Adams)

rift (verb) (noun?)

'to belch'; 'belch' (Mrs. Adams)

cf. Wright (1902) lift 'to belch'

\* Perhaps involving a shift of liquids [l] > [r]?

rime (noun)

'frost on blankets in the morning' (Mrs. Barnes)

rogan (noun)

'birch-bark basket' (Mulligan; also reported by Walters)

cf. List of "Indian" Words; cf. also Avis (1967:640)

round-toed moccasins

‡ Ojibwa or Saukteaux-style moccasins. (Walters stories;

cf. sample text p. 232; line 115)

rubbaboo (noun)

‡ Pemmican made with wild potatoes (seneca root) (Walters)

cf. Cotter (1949) 'a thick soup or stew made with flour,

water, and scraps of meat' (see richot above); cf. Avis

(1967:644).

ruction (noun)

'an uproar' (Mrs. Adams)

running full race

'running at full speed' (Scott and Mulligan, 1951)

saskatoons (noun)

‡ A wild berry of the prairies.

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

Scotch grass (noun)

(Walters' stories)

separate (verb)

‡ To separate the cream from the milk by putting it through a (cream) separator, a machine which accomplishes this task by means of centrifugal force.

separator (noun)

‡ (1) A machine to separate cream from milk.

(2) A threshing machine which separates the grain from the straw.

\* These terms are common to rural English throughout the prairies.

[su:w@r]

'sure' (Sanderson letter)

cf. Wright (1905:242), [syu@(r)] for Orkney Islands.

shaver [ʃe:f@r] (noun)

'a small child' (Mrs. Adams)

\* A more common pronunciation in the old days was [se:v@r]

'shaver' (cf. Moncrieff).

shakedown (noun)

'a feather tick' (Mrs. Adams)

shike poke [ʃ^ik po:k] (noun)

'a bittern' (species of bird)

shindig [ʃindik] (noun)

'a dance' (Mrs. Adams)

SHOCK-threshing (compound noun)

‡ The threshing of shocks or stooks of grain. A stook is a construction of sheaves/bundles stood on end and leaning against one another the better to shed rain and to dry out so they will be easier to thresh.

cf. Allen (1959), who notes the use of stook as Canadian while shock is American; note stook wagon, below.

shoo [ʃu:] (verb)

'to sew' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams)

cf. Wright (1914:242), who reports this pronunciation for northeastern Scotland.

\* Mrs. Price once used the term inadvertently when she was talking about her great-grandmother.

shroud (noun)

'cloth to cover body for burial'

\* The Wheeler tape tells about one old Indian woman who refused to be buried in a shroud. She arranged for Mrs. Wheeler to come and dress her in a real Indian costume [k@sčũ:m], complete with beaded velvet skirt, leggings, shawl, etc. The old lady had commented with regard to some other women That wifes [sic] won't like it [being dressed in a shroud] when they git away there [to heaven].

sinew (noun)

'the sinew of animals'

‡ Used to sew moccasins (waterproofed with bees' wax).

skimmer (noun)

‡ A flat metal utensil with holes in it used for skimming the cream off milk after it rises to the top.

skitters (noun)

'diarrhea' (Mrs. Adams, Walters stories)

skwech (noun)

'youngest, last-born child' (reported by Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Wheeler)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

\* Frequently-used term in the old days.

slock (verb)

'to put out a fire or flame' (reported by Mrs. Adams,  
Walters stories)

cf. Jamieson (1867:494); Scots sloken 'to quench or put out  
a fire'.

\* Today found only in reported speech.

slock lime (verb phrase)

‡ To pour water on lime and make it "boil" (release gasses)  
so that it doesn't burn skin when handling it. (Mrs. Ellis)

\* There are also references to burning lime. Lime was used  
as a whitewash and for chinking cracks.

slog along (verb phrase)

'to trudge, walk along' (Walters)

small little (compound adjective)

'very small'

SMALL shot (compound noun)

‡ Used in muzzle loaders when hunting small game (sprays the  
shot), as opposed to a lead ball used for larger game.

(Walters stories)

smudge (noun)

‡ Smokey fire to keep mosquitoes or flies away. (Walters  
stories)

cf. Cotter (1949).

smudge s.t. (verb)

‡ To smoke something, usually fish or a hide (in tanning process). (Mrs. Wheeler)

snake out (verb)

'drag out of the bush' (Walters stories)

snakeroot (noun)

'seneca root, wild potato, Polygala Senega L.'

‡ Often gathered and brought to the fort in trade for goods -- by Indians and farmers alike, according to Walters stories.

soak sweatin [sək swetŋ] (adjective)

‡ Soaking wet with perspiration (Mrs. Adams)

\* Also heard from Mrs. Mason as [so:kswetŋ].

sock footed (adjective)

'in sock feet'

‡ Walters also uses sore footed and shirt sleeved in his stories.

Did you go downstairs bare footed? (Mrs. Adams)

spare (verb)

'to give up'

Why don't you spare a piece of it for them? (Walters stories)

square needle (noun)

‡ Used for sewing leather (moccasins).

stage (noun)

'rack for smoking fish' (Mrs. Wheeler)

cf. Story et al. (1982).

\* Term used in fur-trade journals.

STANDING boy (compound noun)

'a scare crow'

‡ A figure used to scare birds away from a garden.

stay (verb)

(1) 'to live'

(2) 'to stay'

\* Used in both senses in Walters stories. Mrs. Adams occasionally uses (1), but not regularly.

steelyard [stily@rd] (noun)

‡ Scales used by Mrs. Todd to weigh sugar, flour, etc.

(Mrs. Barnes)

STEP dancers (compound noun)

‡ Those who jig as opposed to other types of dancing.

\* Mrs. Todd is reported not to have liked waltzing:

Spin, just walkin. They [should] use their feet. (Mrs.

Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams).

[they] always tried to beat each other who could be the best

step dancer. (Mrs. Wheeler)

stick (noun)

‡ Any piece of wood, even a long pole. (Walters)

STITCHIN cotton (compound noun)

'thread' (Walters stories)

stinkin-hide football

‡ Possibly one made out of cows bladder/stomach, or a turkey gobbler's (air?) bladder.

\* The term appears in the McBean letter. The description is Mrs. Quinn's.

stop along (verb phrase)

‡ To stop en route to boil a kettle and rest. (Walters stories)

STOPPIN place [stəp@nples] (compound noun)

‡ A public house, sometimes called a "halfway house" (Walters). Located at intervals along the lake and river (or any well-travelled route).

stoneboat (noun)

‡ A flatbed on sleds for hauling stones, etc.

stook wagon (noun)

‡ A wagon loaded with stooks or shocks of grain to take them to the separator for threshing.

strip (cows) (verb)

‡ To get the last drop of milk.

striped sash [strip@d sæs] (noun)

'a Métis-style belt'

Cdn. Fr. ceinture fléchée 'arrow sash' after the design woven into the sash; cf. Avis (1967).

supping (verb)

'to eat, have supper' (Walters stories)

‡ Also heard on Wheeler tape with reference to having a "sup" of liquor from a bowl at an Indian ceremony for naming a child.

cf. Bliss, 1984:141; Gaelic sup 'small quantity of liquid'.

sugar tree [su:g@rtri:]

‡ Local maple trees used for tapping sap for maple syrup.

sweet time (noun phrase)

‡ A difficult time.

we had our own sweet time. (Mrs. Adams)

\* I have heard this term used in rural Saskatchewan, i.e.,

We had a sweet time, I tell you 'we had a difficult time' --

with ironic intonation and stress marking (cf. Haiman, 1989).

tan (proper noun)

‡ A girl's nickname (used by her father)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

tash (proper name)

‡ A girl's nickname (used by her father)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

taties [teyDi:s] (noun)

'potatoes' (Mrs. Adams)

cf. Story et al. (1982).

tease himself (verb phrase)

‡ to joke and kid around a lot. (Mrs. Adams)

cf. Cree ê-nihtâwâhpihisot 'he/she is good at joking about himself/herself' (Ahenakew 1987b:xiii).

the avenue (placename)

‡ Stevens Avenue in Lockport.

the four mile (placename)

‡ Also number eight highway. The lots along the river were four miles deep. These roads crossed them at the two-mile and the four-mile points.

the MAIN road (noun)

‡ The road that runs along the river (west bank) from Winnipeg to Selkirk and beyond.

\* Also known as the two mile, and number nine highway.

the pines (placename)

‡ The area around present-day Birds Hill, about twenty miles east of St. Andrews, where the women used to go (on foot) to gather moss for moss bags. (Walters, 1989)

the rights (noun)

‡ The truth about something, or the whole story about something.

You don't know the rights about it. (Mrs. Adams)

\* Also heard on the Sinclair tape.

the sinus (noun)

'a sinus condition' (Mrs. Adams)

the stone church

‡ St. Peter's (Dynevor) Church, on the old St. Peter's reserve north of East Selkirk.

the top of the morning (adverbial time phrase)

‡ Referring to a time around midnight. (Mrs. Adams)

It's the top of the morning, my girl.

the two mile (placename)

‡ Also known as number nine highway.

THICK cream (compound noun)

'the heavy cream which rises to the top of milk when left to set' (Walters stories)

\* In the old days they ate bustin and THICK cream. (Walters)

think long (verb)

'to yearn or long for'

\* Noted in Orkney letters and among people visited by Stobie (CBC tape, 1978).

tich [tič] (noun)

‡ A greeting Hello, tich. (reported by Mrs. Adams)

\* The term is apparently used in Cockney English (e.g., by a man addressing his sister).

tightwaist (noun)

‡ Bodice, more commonly bodie (an undergarment worn by women).

titty (nickname)

‡ A nickname (brother to sister), i.e., my titty.

cf. Jamieson (1867:566), diminutive of sister. Used in Scotland.

toddy (noun)

‡ A little drink of home brew (or any liquor?) taken by Mrs.

Todd at bedtime for her cough. (Mrs. Barnes)

toe the scratch

'toe the line, toe the mark' (Mrs. Adams, Mr. Lake)

topside (locative)

'on top of' (Scott, 1937; Walters stories)

tramp (verb)

‡ To walk, probably with high steps. Used in reference to water and snow. One could tramp across the Red River (at the point where the dam and locks are now) when the water was low in the summer.

And Mrs. Adams got gravel snow where nobody tramped for her grandmother's barley soup.

tuck, a good tuck out (noun)

‡ A good meal or a good feed. (Mrs. Adams)

turn about (verb phrase)

'to take turns' (Mrs. Adams, Walters stories)

two times (adverbial)

'twice' (Walters stories)

up out (locative)

‡ Up and out of (a well, for instance). (Walters stories)

up over (locative)

‡ Overhead (Walters stories)

upside (locative)

‡ Up alongside of (up beside?). (Mrs. Sinclair, Walters stories)

up south (directional)

‡ To the south. Related to the flow of the river from south to north.

\* These direction markers are typically used by Red River people. In Winnipeg, a few miles away, the terms are up north and down south.

vouched (verb)

'promised faithfully'

\* Used once by Mrs. Adams -- rather "fancy" usage.

wapos (noun)

'rabbit'

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

waterworks (compound noun)

'indoor plumbing' (Mrs. Adams)

wavies (noun)

'geese'

cf. Wavey Creek which runs into Netley River.

cf. Avis (1967:840); according to Avis, the term refers especially to snow geese.

\* In HBC journals for Lac Seul, the distinction was made between wavies 'Canada Geese' and grey geese.

weecase (noun)

'sweet flag, iris'

‡ Root dug by Indians for medicinal purposes and also eaten by muskrats. (Walters)

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

well posted (adjective)

'well read or educated'

\* cf. SWE keep me posted 'keep me informed'.

what (noun)

'something, thing'

I nuvver see such a what for a ox. (Kennedy letter)

[they] would make tea or what and .... (Mrs. Adams)

cf. Plains Cree: kikway 'what; something'

whatever, whatefer (adverbial tagword)

‡ Typical tagwords. (Scott, 1937; Walters stories)

whisky ditch (placename)

‡ A ditch dug to drain the bogs, which got the name because the cost of construction equipment was covered by fines for the sale of whisky to Indians, according to Walters. Labour was supplied in lieu of taxes by the local people. (Walters story).

\* Now McPhillips Avenue in Winnipeg.

WHITE gift (compound noun)

‡ A gift typically wrapped in white tissue paper to take to Sunday School or some such.

wicked [wik@t] (adjective?)

'mean, ill-tempered'

\* See mean, above.

wicked serpent [wik@t sarp@nt] (noun phrase)

'a very mean person' (Mrs. Adams)

willow basket (noun)

\* Used to carry lime, among other things. Made by local Indian women. (Walters)

witigo (noun)

'ghost, devil'

cf. List of "Indian" Words.

witty (adjective)

‡ Having good sense, having one's wits about one, etc.  
(Mrs. Adams)

work (noun)

'a big job'

[it was] too much of a work (Mrs. Barnes)

they worked such a work (Walters stories)

ye-naw-see [y@nɑ:si:]

'don't you see'

‡ A frozen phrase used as a tag.

\* Walters apparently used to consider this to be an Indian word meaning don't you see (cf. the introduction (on tape) to story 1(b)).

you'll see

‡ Tag phrase. (Walters stories)

LIST OF "INDIAN" WORDS

apichekwani [ʌpíč@kwani]

'upside down'

cf. Plains Cree âpocikwâni- 'to do a somersault'

\* Widely reported by people in the area as well as in written sources.

ashimiashipiyai [ʌšimi:ʌšipi:yai]

'75 cents' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams)

?cf. Plains Cree asiniy- 'stone'

\* Michif? Attributed to Métis grandmother.

chili [čili] (name)

‡ Name of one of Mrs. Todd's brothers (as reported by Mrs. Adams)

\* Perhaps Michif for Charles, or Giles?

chimmuck [č@m^k]

'splash'

‡ Always pronounced [č@m^ŋk] in Walters' stories.

cf. Cree camôhk '(sound of splash)'

cf. Ojibwa čamônk '(sound of splash)'

\* The splashing sound made when a rock is dropped straight down into still water. Also listed in Cotter (1949).

chipo nuts [či:po]

‡ Wild nuts, hazelnuts [?]. (Walters)

?cf. Plains Cree cipo- 'pointed'

chistikat kepahopaton [čistikæt ke:p^hop^ton]

'we'll go to bed' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams)

cf. Plains Cree wâcistikâc (exclamation of dismay or surprise)

?cf. Plains Cree kipahoto- 'to lock one another up'  
(Ahenakew 1987b)

?cf. Plains Cree -tân 'let's' (21 imperative ending)

\* Remark of a Métis woman to a child whose play made her drop stitches -- phrase and gloss provided from memory by her grandchild, Mrs. Adams.

jawdies

'mudhens' (Walters stories)

?cf. Ojibwa âčikate 'lesser American coot, mudhen' (Nichols and Nyholm, 1979).

kanabunayan skwayak [no sound recording available]

'side hair' (Walters)

\* A plant whose root when boiled is used for "heart trouble."

kawinachini, katsini [kawinačini:] [kacini:]

?cf. Ojibwa kâwîn 'no' (negative particle)

?cf. Ojibwa ačina 'a little while, a short time'

\* This phrase (first version) is attributed to an old lady in one of Walters' stories in response to, "Hold on now, nobody lives that long!" The second version was commonly used and heard in the area and was a general indicator of teasing and jocularly (R. J. Glendinning, personal communication).

kaykatch [no sound recording available]

'nearly' (Scott and Mulligan, 1951)

Bye me I kaykatch [nearly] killed it two ducks with wan sot.

cf. Plains Cree kêkâc 'nearly'

keeyam [no sound recording available]

'never mind'

Girl keeyam if you take my neechimos [sweetheart] I'll get me another whatefer! (cf. Scott and Mulligan, 1951:42)

cf. Plains Cree kiyâm 'never mind'

kibakate [kib^k^te:]

'thin'

?cf. Ojibwa kipakkate 'you are thin'

?cf. Ojibwa kî-pakkate 'he was thin'

\* Walters reports this as a Saulteaux word.

kina kishkawepin [ki:n^kišk^we:pin]

‡ Said to somebody who is drunk. (reported by Mrs. Barnes)

cf. Swampy Cree kîna kikiškîwêpân 'you are drunk'

kipets [kip@c]

'a mischievous boy', 'a foolish person' (Walters and Mrs. Ellis, respectively)

?cf. Plains Cree kakêpât(i)s- 'a foolish, silly person'

?cf. Ojibwa kakîpatisi 'he is crazy, foolish, etc.'

\* In Cree, the stress is on the second syllable, -kê-. In Ojibwa, the phrase is reduced to kîpatis(i) in normal speech (Peter Kelly, personal communication).

kipigan [kipig^n]

‡ The place now called Clandeboye.

kipochisk [kip^čisk]

'dirty arse'

?cf. Plains Cree kipw- 'close off, cut off'

?cf. Plains Cree -cisk- 'rectum, anus'

(Ahenakew, 1987c:21)

\* I have heard this word used (by a man addressing a woman) as a slightly naughty term of endearment. The term always drew a laugh or giggle.

kitanimisin [kit<sup>^</sup>nimisin]

'you are very bad' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Barnes)

?cf. Plains Cree kitâyimisin 'you are difficult, wild,  
mean'

?cf. Plains Cree âyimisi- 'be difficult' (Ahenakew,  
1987b:191)

?cf. Swampy Cree âniman- 'be difficult' (Wolfart ed., 1988)

kundamu [k<sup>^</sup>nd<sup>^</sup>mu:]

‡ Root of English water lily used as poultice for cuts,  
abscesses, etc.

cf. Ojibwa akkantamô 'fragrant water lily, *Nymphaea*  
*odorata*' (Rhodes, 1985:205)

kwawewizans [no sound recording available]

'he who killed the first Sioux Indian' (Indian name)

?cf. Ojibwa kwîwisêns 'boy'

\* A man otherwise called John Chisaw and his father were  
both known by this name, according to Walters. This is a  
good example of a gloss which seems to be part of folklore  
but may have little to do with the meaning of the word.

kwawichidwebang [no sound recording available]

'great runner' (Walters)

\* The Saulteaux name of Thomas Greyeyes, a local man now  
deceased (cf. Wheeler tape).

makaminas [mæk^mi:n^z]

'bread with berries' (Mrs. Ellis)

?cf. Cree mâkonikan- 'a handful, enough dough to make  
a bannock' (cf. Faries 1938:309)

?cf. Cree -minan 'berry'

\* Baking-powder bisquit with raisins or berries.

makatewiyas [m^k^te:wi:y^s]

'black nigger' (Mrs. Wheeler)

cf. Ojibwa makate- 'black'

cf. Ojibwa wiyâs 'meat' (Nichols and Nyholm, 1979)

\* This was mentioned on the Wheeler tape (Walters  
Collection) as a taunt in schoolyards in Selkirk.

makosimanan [makõsiminan]

'low bush cranberry'

?cf. Ojibwa makkõssimin 'little bearberry'

\* Pronunciation as spoken by Mrs. Wheeler. She described  
these berries as growing on moss in bogs on "little hairs".

michenak [mič@n^k]

'my friend' (a greeting)

?cf. Cree nīčiwâ 'brother!' (vocative) (Faries, 1938:31)

mindamin [mind^min]

'Indian corn' (Walters)

cf. Ojibwa mantâmin

miskopines [miscu:p@ne:z]

'Red Thunder, Red Bird' (name) (Walters)

cf. Ojibwa misko-pinêssi 'red thunder(bird)'

mojisair [mo:ʃi:sair]

'oh my God' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Barnes)

?cf. French Mon Dieu, Seigneur

\* Heard in Michif-speaking grandmother's prayers.

monias [mo:nyas]

'white man, greenhorn' (Walters)

cf. Cree môniyâs 'white man'

cf. Cotter (1949), munyasse 'greenhorn' (term of contempt);

cf. also Avis (1967:483).

\* Ojibwa speakers often use the term for Métis in the sense that they can not survive in the bush (J.D. Nichols, personal communication).

nanitowis [no sound recording available]

'male cousin' (Walters)

cf. Ojibwa nîttâwiss 'male cross-cousin'

napoosi(ni)ni [n^pu:si(ni)ni:]

'River of Death' (Walters)

‡ Referring to Netley River.

?cf. Cree nipo- 'dead'

?cf. Cree sîpiy- 'river'

?cf. Cree ininiw- 'person'

nichi [ni:či:]

'brother'

cf. Ojibwa nīči 'my male friend', vocative of

nīčkikiwensī

cf. Michif Bo'jou, Neejee! 'hello friend' (Brasser, 1976)

nichimos [ni:či:mos]

'sweetheart'

cf. Cree nīcimos 'my sweetheart'

nininushe [nininu:še:]

'female cousin'

cf. Ojibwa nīnimuššēnh 'my sweetheart, my female  
cross-cousin'

\* In both Ojibwa and Cree society, the most suitable marriage partners were cross-cousins, i.e., for a male, his mother's brother's daughter or, for a female, her father's sister's son.

nipiminan [ni:pi:minan]

'high bush cranberries'

cf. Plains Cree nīpiminân-

\* See nipi jam in Bungee glossary.

nishtaw [ni:štaw]

'my friend, my brother-in-law'

cf. Plains Cree nîstâw- 'my brother-in-law, my male  
cousin'

\* Said to be the standard greeting from the boats: hello  
nishtaw 'hello friend'. (Mrs. Adams)

noshishin, mosisim [nu:ši:šin] [mo:sisim]

'granddaughter' (Walters)

‡ The latter is from Mrs. Adams -- she said her  
father-in-law called her mosisim.

cf. Plains Cree nôsisim- 'my granddaughter'

cf. Ojibwa nôšiššênh 'my grandchild'

pemmican [pemik^n]

cf. Cree pimihkân- 'prepared fat'

pimi [pi:mi:]

'crooked, twisted' (Walters stories)

cf. Cree pîmi- 'at an angle, sideways'

cf. Ojibwa pîmi- 'at an angle, sideways'

pishki [piški]

'crooked' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Barnes)

cf. Pentland, 1983.

ponassin, ponassed [po:næst]

'roast on a stick'

?cf. Plains Cree pônasi- 'make a little fire'

?cf. Cree apwânâsk- 'roasting spit'

cf. Cotter (1949), ponask 'game or fish cooked on a stick over open fire'; cf. also Avis (1967:573)

\* This stem is inflected with English endings in Walters' stories.

pos [po:s]

'cat'

cf. Cree pôsis 'cat' (Wolfart ed., 1988)

\* A loan word from English.

rogan ~ arogan [(^)rəg^ʌn]

'basket'

cf. Cree roggin 'a flat birch rind dish' (Faries, 1938:157); cf. also Cotter (1949); and Pentland (1979).

saskatoon [sæsk^tu:n]

‡ A wild berry of the prairies.

cf. Cree misâskwatômin- 'saskatoon berry'

shipoi atimasin [ši:poi^tim^sin]

'you are bad, you are stubborn' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams)

?cf. Plains Cree sipwê 'off!, away!'

?cf. Plains Cree kitâyimisin 'you are difficult'

skwech [skwe:č]

'the youngest child, last child' (Mrs. Adams)

cf. Plains Cree iskwêyâc 'last'

cf. Swampy Cree iskwêčâkan 'last-born child'

cf. Ojibwa iškwâč 'finally, at last'

shunias

'money' (reported by Mrs. Price)

cf. Ojibwa šuniâ- 'money' (Nichols and Nyholm, 1979)

spinwa, spin [spin(w^)]

‡ Exclamation (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams)

cf. Plains Cree aspin 'off with you, away!' (Ahenakew, 1987b:130)

tan [tæn]

‡ A girl's nickname (used by Mrs. Adams' father).

cf. Cree nitânis- 'my daughter'

tash [tæš]

‡ A girl's nickname (used by Mrs. Adams' father).

?cf. Plains Cree nitôsim- 'stepdaughter, niece'

\* Mrs. Price is still called Tash by her older brother.

However, this is simply a family nickname.

tikanagan [no sound recording available]

'moss bag, cradle board for infants'

cf. Cree tihkinâkan- 'cradle board'

wabagasiwin [no sound recording available]

'White Nails' (name)

cf. Ojibwa wâpikansiwin 'having white nails or claws'

wachistikat [w^čistikæt]

‡ Exclamation. (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Barnes)

cf. Plains Cree wâcistikâc (exclamation of surprise and dismay)

wapos [w^pos]

'rabbit'

cf. Cree wâpos- 'rabbit'

weecase [wi:ke:s]

'wild ginger'

‡ Also food for muskrats (Walters)

cf. Plains Cree wihkês- 'sweet flag (Acorus Calamus L.)'

cf. Ojibwa 'sweet flag' 'ratroot' (Rhodes, 1985).

wischika [wisčik^]

'dirty things' (Mrs. Todd as reported by Mrs. Barnes)

cf. Swampy Cree wiščêkan- 'be smelly, stink'

witigo [no sound recording available]

'ghost, devil'

cf. Cree wihtikow- 'windigo'

cf. Cotter (1949), weetigoo 'a wandering spirit or robidoo'

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