Father Morice's Rendering of Latin in Carrier Syllabics[*]

William J. Poser

Introduction

Father Adrien-Gabriel Morice, O.M.I., missionary in Fort Saint James, British Columbia from 1885 to 1904, fluent in the Carrier language and an early Athabascanist of distinction, published three editions of a Carrier Prayer Book, consisting mostly of prayers, hymns, and catechism lessons which he had translated into Carrier. All three editions also contain a number of Latin hymns. In the third edition, whose Carrier text is written in the somewhat idiosyncratic Roman-based phonetic notation that Father Morice used for his scholarly work (e.g. Morice 1932), the Latin hymns are written in the Roman alphabet in the usual spelling, but in the first two editions both the Carrier text and the Latin hymns are written in the Déné syllabics, the derivative of the Cree syllabics that he created.

The Hymns

We begin by presenting the text of the hymns. For each hymn, the first column gives the syllabic text, the second column a phonemic IPA transcription of the syllabic text, and the third column the usual Latin orthography. Images of the Prayerbook text are available separately.

O Salutaris Hostia

Δ ᙓᐓᑕ⫽rᐅˢ ᐱˢᐓᒉ	o salitaɹis hostija	O Salutaris Hostia
⸜ᐂ ᗺᐓ ⫷ᐁᕽˢ Δˢᐓᑎ�ᶜ	kwe seli pantis ostijom	Quae coeli pandis ostium,
ᗪᒉ ⊥rᐅᒷᛊ ᐱˢᐓᒉᕀ.	pela pɹemot hostilija.	Bella praemunt hostilia!
ᑎ rΔᗪr, ᕴᐅr Δ⸝ᗺᐓᕽᶜ	to ɹopir, ver oksilijom	Da robur, fer auxilium.
ᐁᐓ ⫶rᐅᕐᐂ ᑎᗺᕐ	uni tɹinokwe tomino	Uni trinoque Domino
ᗺᛊ ᗺᶜᗫᐓrᒉ ⸝ᑎrᐅᕀ,	sit sempiterna kloɹija,	Sit sempiterna gloria!
⸜ᐂ ᕴᐅᒉᶜ ᗺᐓ ᗫrᗺᕐ	kwi vitam sine termino	Qui vitam sine termino
ᕐᗫˢ ᑎᗫᛊ ᐅᕐ ⫷⫶rᐅᕀ. ⊲ᗺᕽ.	nopis tonet in patɹija. amen.	Nobis donet in patria. amen.

Ave, Maris Stella

⊲ᴜ⊳ Ɛꞃ⊳ˢ ˢ�	ave maꞃis stela	Ave, maris stella
ꓤ⊳ Ɛꓕꞃ ⊲ıƐ	tei mater alma	Dei Mater alma
⊲ᴛʅꞌ◿ ꓜᶜꓕꞃ ᴜ⊳ꞃ⋔	atkwe semper virko	Atque semper virgo
ᴜ⊳ꓕꞌˢ ꓜꓕ Λꞃꓚ	veliks seli porta	Felix coeli porta.
∇ᴛ ꓕꞌꓕ ⊳ᴜ⊳ꓜ⊲ꓜꞃ ᒯꞃ∆ꓜꓜᑎꓕꓕˢ ꞌꞃ⊳ˢꓕ	ut tikni eviseamir pꞃomisijonipis kꞃisti	Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Tantum Ergo

ꓚꓕᑎᶜ ⊳+⋔ Ɛꞌꞃ⊲ꓜꓕᑎᶜ	tantom erko sakꞃamentom	Tantum ergo Sacramentum
ᴜ⊳ꓕꞃ⊳ꓜꞃ ꓜꞃꓕ◿,	veneꞃemir sernᴧwi,	Veneremur cernui;
⊳ᴛ ⊲ꓕꓕ⋔ᶜ ∩ꓜꓜᑎᶜ	et antikom tosimentom	Et antiquum documentum
∩ᴜ∆ ꓜꓚᴛ ꞃ⊳ꓕ◿;	novo setat ꞃitᴧwi;	Novo cedat ritui.
ᒯꞃ⊳ˢꓕᴛ ᴜ⊳ꓕˢ ꓜꓜꓕꓜᑎᶜ	pꞃestet vites siplementom	Praestet fides supplementum
ꓜꓕꓜ∆ᶜ ꓕᴜ⊳ꞌꓕ◿.	sensiom tevektiwi.	Sensuum defectui.
ꓜꓕᑎꞃ⊳ ꓜꓕᑎꓕꞌ◿	ʃenitoꞃi ʃenitokwe	Genitori Genitoque
∩ˢ ⊳ᴛ ᴕ⊳ꓚꓜꓲ,	los et ʃupilasijo,	Laus et jubilatio.
Ɛꓕˢ ∧∩ꞃ ᴜ⊳ꞃꓕˢ ⋔ꞌ◿	salis honor virtis kokwe	Salus, honor, virtus quoque
ꓜᴛ ⊳ᴛ ⊳ꓕꓕꞌꓜꓲ;	sit et penetiksijo;	Sit et benedictio.
ᒯꞃ∆ꓜꓕᶜꓕ ⊲ᒲ ⊳ᴛꞃ∆ꞌ◿	pꞃosetenti ap itꞃokwe	Procedenti ab utroque
⋔ᶜꓴꞃ ꓜᴛ ∩ꓚꓜꓲ. ⊲ꓜꓕ	kompar sit lotasijo. amen	Compar sit laudatio. Amen.
∆ᶜꓕ ꓕꓕꞌꓚꓜᑎᶜ ⊳ꓕ ꓜ ⊲ꓕꓕꓕᶜ.	omne telektamentom in se hapentem.	Omne delectamentum in se habentem.

Laudate Dominum

∩ᑕᗡ ∩Ʒᕐᶜ ᐃᶜᗡˢ ᗏᗒᗡˢ, * ∩ᑕᗡ ᐅᐃᶜ	lotate tominom omnes ʃentes, * lotate eom	Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes, laudate eum
ᐃᶜᗡˢ ᖴᗱᗞ.	omnes popili.	omnes populi
ᗰᗞᏫᶜ ᗰᗒᥩᐅrᗱᑕ ᐅˢᵀ Ʒᗞr ᕐˢ	konijam konvirmata est siper nos	quoniam confirmata est super nos
ƷᗞrᐅᗰrᗞᏫ ᐅᗏˢ * ᐅᵀ ᥩᐅrᐅᑕˢ ∩Ʒᗞ	mizeɹikortija eʃis * et veɹitas tomini	misericordia ejus et veritas domini
ᗱᗞᵀ ᐅᗒ ᐅᗞrᕐᶜ	manet in eternom	Manet in aeternum.
ʼ∩rᐅᏫ ᑕᵀrᐅ ᐅᵀ ᥩᐅᗞᏀ * ᐅᵀ ˢᗞrᐅᑌᗘ ᗱᵕʼ∩	kloɹija patɹi et vilijo * et spiɹituwi saŋkto	Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto
Ʒᗏᵀ ᐅrᗤᵀ ᐅᗒ ꞁrᗤƷᗞᏀ ᐅᵀ ᑕʼ ᐅᵀ	sikit eɹat in pɹasipijo et nak et	Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
Ʒᶜᗞr * ᐅᵀ ᐅᗒ ƷƷᑕ ƷƷ∩rᐃᶜ. ᗤƷᗒ	semper * et in sekila sekiloɹom. amen	Semper et in saecula saeculorum, amen.

The Orthography of the Hymns

The orthography of the hymns differs from that used to write Carrier in the addition of two graphs needed to write sounds not found in pre-contact Carrier. The roman letter <r> is used to write /r/, both in coda position, where a special graph is used for the other consonants in the unextended system, and in immediately pre-vocalic onset position, where with the exception of the glottal stop, the consonant forms part of a graph representing a CV unit. It is interesting that /r/ is distinguished from /l/ in view of the fact that /r/ is not native to Carrier and that early loans into Carrier show /l/ for foreign /r/.

The character ᥩ is used for both Latin /f/ and /v/. The choice of a rotated version of an existing letter no doubt avoided the need to create additional type, but otherwise the choice appears to have been arbitrary. Why Father Morice used the same character for /f/ and /v/ is unclear. It is possible that it indicates that Carrier speakers did not distinguish them, but if so there is no other evidence of such a merger. The elders with whom I have worked who learned these Latin hymns in residential school all distinguish /f/ from /v/.

The asterisks appear to mark rests where the singer may take a breath, a purpose for which they are used in religious music. [1] Morice (1933:16) proposed the use of the asterisk both as a marker of hiatus and preceding proper nouns.

What Does the Text Represent?

It is immediately apparent that the syllabic text is not simply a transliteration of the Latin into syllabics, for the syllabic text reflects neither the true classical pronounciation of Latin reconstructed by linguists (e.g. Allen 1978) nor even the Italianate pronounciation commonly used in the Roman Catholic Church. At the very least, we must recognize that the syllabic text reflects the French clerical pronounciation of Latin. Thus, we have /o/ for Latin <au>, /e/ for Latin <ae> and <oe>, and /s/ for <c> before front vowels.[2] Even so, to account for Father Morice's transcription, we must assume that he began with a French rendition of the Latin, then adapted this to the phonology of Carrier.

To facilitate analysis, the following table lists all of the words in the four hymns. ⟨ɥ⟩ is arbitrarily transcribed as <v>.

---

1   Thanks to Tim Montler (p.c. 2009-03-02) for suggesting this. An example may be found at:
    http://www.revcastor.com/jubilate/adoremus-laudate.htm.
2   Of course, some of these differences are not specific to the French pronounciation of Latin. The change of <ae> to [e:],
    for example, is not only a common feature of Romance but is known to have taken place in colloquial Latin by 200
    B.C.E.

#	Syllabics	Latin	N
1	alma	alma	1
2	amen	amen	3
3	antikom	antiquum	1
4	aꞖ	ab	1
5	atkwe	atque	1
6	ave	ave	1
7	eɹko	ergo	1
8	est	est	1
9	et	et	9
10	eviseamir	efficiamur	1
11	eɹat	erat	1
12	eʃis	ejus	1
13	haꞖentem	habentem	1
14	honor	honor	1
15	hostiia	hostia	1
16	hostiliia	hostilia	1
17	in	in	5
18	eternom	aeternum	1
19	itɹokwe	utroque	1
20	kloɹiia	gloria	2
21	kokwe	quoque	1
22	kompaɹ	compar	1
23	koniiam	quoniam	1
24	konvirmata	confirmata	1
25	kwe	quae	1
26	kwi	qui	1
27	kɹisti	christi	1
28	los	laus	1
29	lotasiio	laudatio	1
30	lotate	laudate	2
31	manet	manet	1
32	mater	mater	1
33	maɹis	maris	1
34	mizeɹikortiia	misericordia	1
35	nak	nunc	1
36	noꞖis	nobis	1
37	nos	nos	1
38	novo	novo	1
39	o	o	1
40	oksiliiom	auxilium	1
41	omne	omne	1
42	omnes	omnes	2
43	ostiiom	ostium	1
44	Ꞗantis	pandis	1
45	patɹi	patri	1
46	patɹiia	patria	1
47	Ꞗela	bella	1
48	Ꞗenetiksiio	benedictio	1
49	poꞖili	populi	1
50	Ꞗorta	porta	1
51	pɹasiꞖiio	principio	1
52	pɹemot	praemunt	1
53	pɹestet	praestet	1
54	pɹomisiionipis	promissionibus	1
55	pɹosetenti	procedenti	1
56	sakɹamentom	sacramentum	1
57	salis	salus	1
58	salitaɹis	salutaris	1
59	sankto	sancto	1
60	se	se	1
61	sekila	saecula	1
62	sekiloɹom	saeculorum	1
63	seli	coeli	2
64	semꞖer	semper	2
65	semꞖiterna	sempiterna	1
66	sensiom	sensuum	1

#	Syllabics	Latin	N				#	Syllabics	Latin	N			
67	sernʌwi	cernui	1				68	setat	cedat	1			
69	sikit	sicut	1				70	sine	sine	1			
71	siɒeɹ	super	1				72	siɒlementom	supplementum	1			
73	sit	sit	3				74	spiɹituwi	spiritui	1			
75	stela	stella	1				76	tantom	tantum	1			
77	tei	dei	1				78	telektamentom	delectamentum	1			
79	teom	eum	1				80	termino	termino	1			
81	tevektiwi	defectui	1				82	tikni	digni	1			
83	to[3]	da	1				84	tomini	domini	1			
85	tomino	domino	1				86	tominom	dominum	1			
87	tonet	donet	1				88	tosimentom[4]	documentum	1			
89	tɹinokwe	trinoque	1				90	uni[5]	uni	1			
91	ut	ut	1				92	veliks	felix	1			
93	veneɹemir	veneremur	1				94	ver	fer	1			
95	veɹitas	veritas	1				96	viliio	filio	1			
97	virko	virgo	1				98	virtis	virtus	1			
99	vitam	vitam	1				100	vites	fides	1			
101	ɹitʌwi	ritui	1				102	ɹoɒiɹ	robur	1			
103	ʃenitokwe	genitoque	1				104	ʃenitoɹi	genitori	1			
105	ʃentes	gentes	1				106	ʃuɒilasiio	jubilatio	1			

The table entries are color-coded as follows:

\<i> for \<u>	glide insertion	\<e> for \<ae> and \<oe>
\<om> for \<um>	\<ʃ> for [ʒ]	\<o> for \<au>
\<k> for \<qu>	presence of \<h>	anomaly

Perhaps the most striking feature of the syllabic text is the merger of the two Latin stop series: Latin

---

3   There does not appear to be any principled explanation for the use of /o/ for /a/ here. Since in all other cases Latin /a/ is rendered /a/ and no plausible environmental conditioning accounts for the distinction, it seems likely that this is a typographical error.

4   Although in most cases (61,62,69) Latin \<cu> /ku/ is rendered /ki/, here it is rendered /si/. Here Father Morice appears to have forgotten that the /i/ is not original and to have applied the rule of Franco-Latin pronounciation by which Latin \<c> is pronounced [s] before front vowels. In other words, it is an instance of anachronistic rule ordering.

5   There are three instances in which Latin \<u> is exceptionally rendered /u/, namely this example, (91), and (106). No principled explanation for this presents itself. It may be an error due to orthographic rather than phonological transfer.

<p> and <b> are both rendered /p/, Latin <t> and <d> both /t/, and Latin <k> and <g> both /k/. The two non-ejective Carrier stop series are distinguished by aspiration rather than voicing. Morice evidently decided that since both Latin series are unaspirated they should be collapsed into the single Carrier unaspirated series.

Latin <qu> is rendered sometimes as /kw/ and sometimes as /k/. The labiovelars are preserved before unrounded vowels as in (5) and (25), but before rounded vowels, as in (3), (21), and (23), the labialization is lost. This reflects the fact that Carrier does not permit /w/, /xʷ/, or /kʷ/ before the rounded vowels /o/ and /u/.

The rendering of Latin <in> as /a/ in (51) no doubt reflects the Franco-Latin pronounciation of tautosyllabic <in> as [æ̃]. The same treatment is seen in loans such as [zusta], [kustata], and [pola] for French *Justin, Constantin*, and *Paulin*. That <in> is not so rendered in (17) is not anomalous as the pronounciation as [æ̃] is inapplicable in the preposition where <in> stands alone.

There are many examples of glide insertion. In (15), (16), (20), (23), (34), and (46) a /j/ is inserted between /i/ and /a/, in (29), (43), (54), and (96) between /i/ and /o/. A /w/ is inserted between /u/ and /i/ in (74) and (81), between /ʌ/ (from <u>) and /i/ in (67) and (101). This reflects the fact that Carrier does not permit hiatus between vowels, as noted by Morice (1891:173, 1932:7) and Prunet (1990).

There are a few examples of cluster reduction. In (52) *praemunt* the /n/ of the coda cluster /nt/ is deleted, as is the /n/ of /nk/ in (35) *nunc.* These reflect the impossibility of coda clusters in Carrier. The retention of the /n/ in (59) *sancto* may reflect the assumption that it could be syllabified [saŋ.kto]. As examples like (20) with /kl/ and (51) and (52) with /pr/ show, Morice assumed that Carrier speakers could handle novel onset clusters.

The presence of <h> is curious. As Carrier has /h/ both in onset and coda position, it would present no difficulty for them, but there is no source for /h/ since it is lacking both in French and in the French pronounciation of Latin. Father Morice appears to have carried <h> over from the Latin orthography.

Latin <u> is in most cases rendered as /i/. Since Carrier has the vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and /ʌ/, this cannot be attributed to the lack of the corresponding vowel in Carrier. Rather, it must be due to the fact that Father Morice used the French clerical pronounciation of his time, in which <u> was pronounced as in French, that is, as [y]. Since Carrier lacks this vowel, Morice evidently reasoned that it would be adapted as /i/. The consistent rendering of <um> as /om/ rather than */im/ in (3), (18), (40), (43), (56), (62), (66), (76), (78), (79) and (86) reflects the fact that in the French pronounciation of Latin word-final <um> is pronounced [om], not *[ym].

While Morice was correct in his assumption that Carrier speakers would adapt [y] to one of their existing vowels, he appears to have been incorrect in his judgment of how they would do so. As can be seen in the list of French loans below, Carrier has often borrowed French [y] as /u/ rather than /i/. The only instance of which I am aware in which French [y] was borrowed as /i/ is [sizi] "Jesus" (French *Jésus* [ʒezy]), the pronounciation of which may very well have been determined by Father Morice and the religious material that he produced rather than by Carrier speakers' perception of the French. [sizi] is in any case anomalous in adapting French [ʒ] as /s/ rather than /z/ and in adapting French [e] as /i/

rather than /e/.[6]

Carrier	English Gloss	French Source
za	John	Jean
zuli	Julie	Julie
zuljet	Juliette	Juliette
zuta	Judas	Judas
zusta	Justin	Justin
zuljen	Julien	Julien
zultʌpak	Easter	Jour de Pacques
pelzeni	Virginia	Virginie
ezeni	Eugenia	Eugénie
lizwif	Jew	les Juifs
lʌzuk	skirt	la juque (dialectal for l*a jupe*)
uzen	Eugene	Eugène
tloz	barley	de l'orge
lʌpaz	boat	la barge

Father Morice used /ʃ/ for French /ʒ/ in (103-106). This appears to reflect a mistaken guess as to how Carrier would assimilate /ʒ/. In fact, as the above examples show, French /ʒ/ is consistently adapted as /z/ in Carrier, not as /ʃ/.

Why would Father Morice have erred in deciding how Carrier speakers would adapt [y] and [ʒ] when it would seem that all he had to do was observe how they pronounced these in existing loanwords? It seems most likely that he had to make a decision on theoretical grounds for lack of relevant examples, either because he introduced these hymns at so early a point in his study of Carrier that he had not yet learned them or because at that point no suitable examples were available to guide him. Few relevant examples occur in French words likely to have been acquired through interaction with the fur traders present since 1806, but the Roman Catholic mission had been in existence for twenty years when Morice arrived in 1885, so it seems likely that Carrier people would by then have received Christian names containing [y] and [ʒ] on baptism. If so, this suggests that Morice proceeded

---

6   It is possible that /sizi/ is not the result of direct contact with French. Derivation from Chinook Jargon /sesu/ does not
    seem promising as no change is required to make it phonologically acceptable in Carrier. It is conceivable that /sizi/ has
    its origin in the pseudo-Christian prophet movement, in which case it may have passed through several native languages.

on a theoretical basis rather than determining empirically how Carrier speakers handled foreign sounds. In his defense, he may have considered it unnecessary to conform his adaptation of the hymns to the general practice of Carrier speakers in handling loans since Carrier speakers would be exposed to the words in these hymns only via the Church and would never detect any inconsistency. For him, what was important was that Carrier people be able to pronounce the hymns, and for this purpose it mattered not which sounds he chose so long as they were sounds familiar to Carrier speakers.

Conclusions

The syllabic text of the Latin hymns in the Carrier prayerbook reflects an attempt on the part of Father Morice to adapt his pronounciation of the hymns to the phonology of Carrier. In two respects, namely how Carrier speakers would handle foreign [y] and [ʒ], Father Morice appears to have made false assumptions as to how Carrier speakers would behave. This should serve as a warning that adaptations made by non-native speakers may not be reliable evidence.

References

Allen, W. Sidney (1978) *Vox Latina: The Pronunciation of Classical Latin.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Second edition.

Duffin, Ross W. (1985) "National Pronunciations of Latin ca. 1490-1600," *The Journal of Musicology* 4.217-26.

Morice, Adrien-Gabriel (1890) "The New, Methodical, Easy and Complete Déné Syllabary," Stuart's Lake Mission: the author. 3 pp.

Morice, Adrien-Gabriel (1891) "The Déné Languages," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* 1.170-212.

Morice, Adrien-Gabriel (1902) "The Déné Syllabary and its Advantages," in *A First Collection of Minor Essays, Mostly Anthropological.* Stuart's Lake Mission: the author. pp.65-74.

Morice, Adrien-Gabriel (1932) *The Carrier Language.* Mödling bei Wien, St. Gabriel, Austria: Verlag der Internationalen Zeitschrift "Anthropos".

Morice, Adrien-Gabriel (1904/1933) Ɔsꓭ̌ˢ ∇v⧘ᴛ ꓷᑕᶻƆꙄ ["prayerbook"]. Stuart's Lake Mission: the author. (The two editions appear to be identical.)

Morice, Adrien-Gabriel (1938) *Carrier Prayer-Book.* Lejac Indian School.

Mulhall, David (1986) *Will to Power: the Missionary Career of Father Morice.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Prunet, Jean-François (1990) "The Origin and Interpretation of French Loans in Carrier," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56.4.484-502.