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UMI
TIMNÁKNI TÍMAT (WRITING FROM THE HEART):

SAHAPTIN DISCOURSE AND TEXT IN THE SPEAKER WRITING OF XÍLUXIN

by

Phillip E. Cash Cash

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

GRADUATE INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM
IN AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2000
STATEMENT BY THE AUTHOR

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APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

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[Signature]
Dr. Ofelia Zapata
Professor of Linguistics

Date: 12/11/00
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I kindly acknowledge the American Indian Studies Program for making my educational experience truly rewarding. Most importantly, I would like to acknowledge the contributions of the various speakers of my homeland—Twawáy (Inez Spino Reeves), Thomas Morning Owl, Mildred Queampts, Virginia Beavert, and various others to numerous to mention—who unselfishly provided their expertise and assistance in translating Sahaptin. Also, a special thanks goes to linguist Noel Rude who has been ever willing to guide me along in this process and whose knowledge and assistance I could not have done without.
DEDICATION

Χiłuxin (Charles J. McKay, 1910-1996)

(Photograph by L. Alexander)

İčiknaš ánča tímaša máanpam wá inmí náymuma ku xítwayma, kúušxi átawwitma...

"I am writing this again to wherever you may be my relatives and friends, thus also the precious (life)..."

Χiłuxin, June 26, 1991
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ABSTRACT

The unique contributions of speaker scholarship to the study of Sahaptian languages in the Columbia Plateau have rarely been considered a domain of inquiry in the field of linguistics. In the present study, I utilize a discourse-centered approach to investigate the ways in which an indigenous language is employed as a resource in the creation of texts. I examine the status of Sahaptin language use in a series of unpublished texts produced by Xîluxín (Charlie McKay, 1910-1996), a multilingual Sahaptin speaker and scholar from the Umatilla Indian Reservation of northeastern Oregon. I account for the merging of internal indigenous linguistic forms with writing in two occurrences: language documentation and individual expression. The study found that, when a Sahaptin speaker writer transfers his or her internalized language to the written form, Sahaptin discourse and world view play a key role in its outcome.
Table of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>3rd person acted upon by a 3rd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGT</td>
<td>agentive nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APL</td>
<td>applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>aspectual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOC</td>
<td>associative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAY</td>
<td>Cayuse language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>Chinook Jargon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRS</td>
<td>Columbia River Sahaptin dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSL</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIS</td>
<td>distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IE</td>
<td>American Indian English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCEP</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDV</td>
<td>individuated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTNS</td>
<td>intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INV</td>
<td>inverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun/nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NES</td>
<td>Northeastern Sahaptin dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Nez Perce language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWS</td>
<td>Northwestern Sahaptin dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONOM</td>
<td>onomatopoeia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>past participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPF</td>
<td>present perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIPI</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RM</td>
<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>speech act participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>stem marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRL</td>
<td>translocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VRS</td>
<td>versative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Problem Statement

The unique contribution of speaker writing to the study of Sahaptian (Sahaptin and Nez Perce) languages in the Columbia Plateau has received little attention beyond the communities of which they are a part. The reason for this is twofold that is 1) speaker writing is a rare form of language use in this region and 2) linguistic researchers, in their language documentation work with speakers, have typically privileged spoken natural language to the exclusion of other forms of communication. This study seeks to address this problem by assessing the phenomena of speaker writing\(^1\) within the broader frame of Sahaptian communicative practice. I will be concerned mainly with characterizing the text internal world of speaker writers and the unique challenges they face upon transferring an internalized indigenous language to the written medium. Based upon the limited sample of texts I will be presenting, it is abundantly clear that speaker writers are contributing significantly to the preservation

\(^1\) Here, I use the term speaker writing to refer to the ability of a speaker to exploit the linguistics resources of his or her indigenous language for purposes of writing and text creation. Among the Sahaptian speakers, writing has a unique history and a brief account of this phenomena is given in Chapter 3 of this thesis.
of our world’s linguistic diversity and therefore deserve our utmost recognition.

**Purpose of the Study**

The primary purpose of this study is to evaluate the speaker writing of one Sahaptin community intellectual named Xîluxîn, or whose English name is Charles J. McKay (1910-1996). Born and raised on the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation in northeastern Oregon, Xîluxîn was of Umatilla ancestry and primarily spoke and wrote in two distinct though related languages: Umatilla and Nez Perce. As a speaker writer and scholar, Xîluxîn produced a large corpus of linguistic texts, vocabularies, and diaries in Umatilla and Nez Perce that are now on deposit in the tribe’s archives. It is from these materials that the present linguistic study is based.

In keeping faith with the intent of Xîluxîn’s scholarship, it will be noted that as a language scholar I am expressing an ethical commitment in this study by contributing toward the documentation of an indigenous language that is on the verge of losing its linguistic and cultural diversity. A conscious decision was made by the author to pay particular attention to the Umatilla Sahaptin samples of Xîluxîn’s corpus mostly because this particular dialect is under represented in the linguistic record and to the fact that only 15 fluent speakers continue to speak the language (Morning Owl
p.c. 1998). For this reason, each representative sample text, including those of Nez Perce, are presented in their linguistic form as accurately as possible.

The rationale for this study is premised on the fact that the richness and breadth of American Indian orality are undergoing constant transformation as indigenous discourse becomes embedded and articulated within diverse language environments. Historically, in the Columbia Plateau region, these transformations have been shaped by the construction of "texts" as American Indian languages become the focus of inquiry both by linguistic scholars and community intellectuals.

The need therefore is to understand how speaker writing and text production is positioned within this framework of change based upon the recognition that the "symbols and meanings" associated with texts are matters of great importance in the world view of Sahaptin speaking peoples. Further, because texts by their very nature are artefacts of discourse it becomes necessary to understand how the underlying structure of the Sahaptin language is shaped or constrained in its transformation from an oral mode of communication to a written one. Thus one of my major concerns is to isolate and describe the features of Sahaptin discourse as a means of addressing these phenomena.
Approach of the Study

My approach to this study is organized by two distinct but interrelated phenomena. The first is based upon the hypothesis that a text is a signifier of competing communicative value in a universe of human discourse. To confirm such a hypothesis, we would expect that, upon a text's introduction into an oral-based culture, a text will signify a positive communicative value or a negative communicative value based upon the pervasiveness and vitality of a speech community's language ideology. This investigation requires therefore that an analytic distinction be made as to how a text is conceptualized in the broader domain of human communication. By this I mean to argue that the idea of a text is not solely limited to its purely linguistic form but rather it is one that can be viewed as "a communicative phenomena located in the social matrix within which the discourse is produced and understood, towards which there is a social orientation, rendering text interpretable by a community of users" (Hanks 1989:96).

The advantage of conceiving a text in this manner is that it draws our attention to the various ways in which human agency shapes and defines the configurations of human communicative practice and their contexts of use. Further, by broadening the domain of text to interpretable, communicative domains, I do not restrict my investigation to a simple literate vs non-literate dichotomy rather I enable alternative,
indigenous notions of text to be realized as well.

A second major concern and approach to this study is based upon a careful examination of the phenomena of speaker writing from two important perspectives that is 1) the *context of production* or that which "refers to the moment and situation of the text's creation by speaker or writer," and 2) *context of use* or that which "refers to the occasion on which the text is actually processed by the hearer or reader" (Nystrand 1987:206). What each of these two perspectives allow is a linguistic oriented account of speaker writing and the ways in which a text is constituted when few textual or literary canons are known to exist. Thus, in broad terms, the two approaches that I have outlined here establish a frame of reference whereby one can begin to assess how language utterances, as expressed via a speaker writer, are conceptualized as text in reference to existing patterns of cultural communication.

**The Sahaptian Languages**

Sahaptian is a term used to classify the language family of the southern Columbia Plateau region of western North America. Thus, a language family are those groups of languages that can be shown to be genetically related using techniques developed by comparative linguistics (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby, and Aoki
1998:49). Because of similarities in basic phonology, morphology, and vocabulary, research has shown that the Sahaptin and Nez Perce languages are genetically related and that they descend from a common ancestor termed Proto-Sahaptian.

Historically, the term 'Sahaptian' and its diminutive form 'Sahaptin' are anglicized expressions of the indigenous word *šáptnaxʷ*, a Columbia Salish name used to identify the Nez Perce (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby, and Aoki 1998:58). Europeans later adopted this term as early as 1809 (White 1950) as a way to distinguish the ethnic identity of Sahaptin and Nez Perce speakers from other neighboring groups inhabiting the Columbia Plateau.

Table 1. Sahaptian Languages and Dialects (Based upon Rigsby and Rude 1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proto-Sahaptian</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sahaptin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Sahaptin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>Palouse</td>
<td>Celilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klikitat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pshwanwapam</td>
<td>Walla Walla</td>
<td>John Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taitnapam</td>
<td>Wanapam</td>
<td>Umatilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakima</td>
<td>Lower Snake</td>
<td>Rock Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Columbia River)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Warm Springs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of its common historical usage, field linguists have adopted the
'Sahaptian' designator. However, in linguistic usage, 'Sahaptian' designates only the language family grouping while the diminutive term 'Sahaptin' refers specifically to its daughter language, that is the dialect groupings and the individual language communities they comprise. The French derived term 'Nez Perce' (meaning pierced nose) is also used by linguists to describe the language of the people by the same name. As linguistic terminology, these names have achieved nomenclature status and it is quite common to see them used in the linguistic-anthropological literature as a way of classifying the languages of this region.

Geographically situated within the southern Columbia Plateau and often associated with the Sahaptin and Nez Perce languages are the Cayuse or Weyfiletpuu speakers whose language is now extinct. In the historic period, Cayuse speakers eventually came to adopt Nez Perce over their own indigenous language which has been classified by linguists as a language isolate. Despite the scarcity of its written record, it is believed that a language shift occurred as a result of extensive intermarriage between the Cayuse and the neighboring Nez Perce (Mithun 1999:375). Today, the remaining handful of Cayuse-Nez Perce speakers speak a poorly documented variant of Nez Perce termed the Lower River Dialect.

Not surprisingly, the speakers of this region view their languages in a manner distinct from linguists. For example, there is no comparable indigenous term in
Sahaptin that specifically classifies their language. Sahaptin speakers will often use ethnogeographic references or band specific ethnic designators as a means to identify themselves, their ancestral lineage, and languages. Expressions such as 'in the peoples language' or a generalized Sahaptin word like իցէқкін, which translates as 'in this language', are common (CTUIR 1996). Nez Perce speakers refer to their speech as nimipuutímt of the Upper River Dialect or as numipuutímt of the Lower River Dialect which generally translates as 'the Nez Perce language'. A broader term sometimes used is titooqatímt 'the indigenous language'.

The Sahaptian speech communities were traditionally comprised of closely related but independent bands and villages who often occupied contiguous territories (Schuster 1998). The Sahaptin and Nez Perce languages are primarily oral languages, though Nez Perce has a literary tradition stemming from missionary influence. Despite the differences in dialect, many Sahaptin speakers are able to communicate with ease among all dialectical groups, with the exception of Nez Perce. The Sahaptin and Nez Perce languages are not mutually intelligible, though many speakers were multilingual and possessed the ability to speak fluently in the other's language.

Today, socio-political divisions exist as a result of settlement to the various Indian Reservations. For example, speakers of the Columbia River Sahaptin (CRS)
dialect cluster or the Southern Sahaptin division, which includes the Tenino, Tygh, Celilo, Rock Creek, John Day River, and Umatilla speakers, are mostly found on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation of central Oregon and on the Umatilla Indian Reservation of northeastern Oregon.

Speakers of the Northern Sahaptin division, which is composed of the Northeast Sahaptin (NES) and the Northwest Sahaptin (NWS) dialects, are mostly located on the Yakama Indian Reservation in central Washington; that is the Kittitas, Upper Cowlitz, Yakama, and Klickitat speakers. Northeast Sahaptin (NES) such as the Snake River and Palouse speakers tend to be interspersed among the Yakama Indian Reservation, the Colville Indian Reservation, and the Umatilla Indian Reservation respectively. The Wanapam speakers, like other small Sahaptin groupings, continue to inhabit their traditional homelands along the Columbia River. The Walla Walla speakers are mostly found on the Umatilla Indian Reservation in Oregon. Thus, the estimated remaining number of Sahaptin speakers is 42 (Mithun 1999:478), however, it is likely that this number is much higher.

The Nez Perce speakers are found on three reservations, the majority of which live on the Nez Perce Indian Reservation of Idaho with smaller numbers on the Umatilla Indian Reservation of Oregon and the Colville Indian Reservation of Washington. The current estimated number of remaining Nez Perce speakers is 75
ranging from fairly fluent to highly fluent (Crook 1999:6).

A Brief History of Sahaptian Research

One of the earliest descriptive studies of a Sahaptian language is a grammatical sketch of Nez Perce first published in Horatio Hale's *Ethnography and Philology* (1846). Hale was a part of the 1841 United States Exploring Expedition under the command of Charles Wilkes and was among the first linguistic researchers to recognize the similarities and differences that now characterize the languages of this region. Notably, the grammatical sketch in Hales's volume was produced by the Presbyterian missionary Asa Bowen Smith who was stationed among the Nez Perce from 1838-1841 at Kamiah, Idaho. Accompanying the grammatical sketch are two Sahaptian vocabularies, one belonging to the Nez Perce (179 words) and the other to the Walla Walla (60 words). Below are examples from each vocabulary followed by their modern phonetic form in parentheses.
### Table 2. Samples from Hale’s *Ethnography and Philology: Vocabularies* (1846)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nez Percé.</th>
<th>Walawala.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20. Eye</td>
<td>shilu (šīlu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Mouth</td>
<td>him (húm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Tongue</td>
<td>pawish (pewfš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Teeth</td>
<td>tit (tíť)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Beard</td>
<td>himtoh (hímtux)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beginning in the 1830’s, basic descriptive linguistic work was initiated by early missionaries beginning with Presbyterian Henry Harmon Spalding whose Nez Perce publications include a small primers (1839), a book of hymnals (1842), the Gospel of Matthew (1845a), and a vocabulary (1845b). Additional work include a brief grammatical Nez Perce sketch by Anslie (1876) and a Nez Perce grammatical description and dictionary by Morvillo (1891, 1895). The latest and perhaps among the most substantial missionary publications is a biblical translation of the life of Jesus Christ by Cataldo (1914) at 384 pages.

Despite more than half a century of language documentation by missionaries of the Nez Perce, only one secular language text is known to have been published during this time period and that is the Nez Perce Laws of 1842 (Spalding 1842). The proposed laws were drafted by then appointed sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White and
translated into Nez Perce by missionary Henry Harmon Spalding for distribution among the Nez Perce. The laws were primarily written in response to the growing pressures of colonization in the Columbia Plateau region. The linguistic significance of this early document is reviewed in Cash Cash (1999a).

Early missionary work focusing on Sahaptin was initiated by the Methodist Henry Perkins in the 1840's who worked mainly on Walla Walla, however, his vocabulary and text materials have yet to be located (Boyd 1996:195). Later, a Sahaptin grammar and dictionary, mostly of the Pshwanwapam dialect, was compiled by the Jesuit Marie-Charles Pandosy (1862). Pandosy's volume also contains useful comparative material from other Sahaptin dialects. Continuing his work was the Jesuit Louis Napoléon St. Onge (1872) who published a Yakima catechism.

Modern linguistic research in Sahaptin is clearly distinguished by the now classic 1931 publication of Melville Jacob's A Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar. This important work is one of the first comprehensive studies on the internal structure and diversity of a Sahaptian language. From 1926 through 1931, Jacobs worked closely with Native consultants from two northern Sahaptin dialects, mainly that of X̌ə́l̓x̌ʷəy̓əpm (Klikitat) and Táytnapam (Upper Cowlitz) both of Washington state. He also collected comparative linguistic material from speakers of other Sahaptin
dialects such as Mámačatpam (Yakama), Palúus (Palouse), Walúulapam (Walla Walla), Ímatalam (Umatilla), and Tináynu (Tenino).

Following the work of Jacobs is Bruce Rigsby’s 1965 doctoral dissertation *Linguistic Relations in the Southern Plateau*. Rigsby’s research is the first serious classificatory work to examine the issue of genetic relatedness between the Sahaptin, Nez Perce, Cayuse, Molala, and Klamath speech communities. Working mainly with Native consultants from the various Sahaptin dialects, Rigsby was able to assess the true nature of genetic similarity between these languages or what is described as those traits which are shared inheritances from a common proto-language (Dixon 1997:15). Rigsby later collaborated with the Sahaptin speaker scholar Virginia Beavert to produce the first prototype dictionary of a Sahaptin language (Beavert and Rigsby 1970). Contemporary linguistic work carried out on the Warms Springs reservation of Oregon include a series of articles on Sahaptin discourse by Hymes (1982, 1987) and a pedagogical grammar by Millstein (1990). More recently, Rigsby and Rude (1996) published the critically important grammatical description *Sketch of Sahaptin, A Sahaptian Language* in the *Languages* volume of the Smithsonian’s Handbook of North American Indians.

Modern descriptive research on the Nez Perce language initially arises from the
work of the Bureau of American Ethnology, most notably by material collected in collaboration with the Nez Perce themselves. These early Nez Perce scholars include Harry Hayes (1891), Lewis D. Williams (1896), and Mark Phinney (n.d., 1927). Ethnographer and allotting agent Alice Fletcher (1891) compiled an ethnogeographic atlas of the Nez Perce territory showing Nez Perce place names. Herbert J. Spinden conducted the first serious ethnographic field study of the Nez Perce beginning in 1907, however, only one notebook of his linguistic materials have been located (Cash Cash 1999b). The Nez Perce Archie Phinney, a student of the famed anthropologist Franz Boas, published one of the most comprehensive collections of Nez Perce texts (Phinney 1934). Velten (1943), in a brief but important article, provides the first internal analysis of Nez Perce morpho-syntactic verb structure.

Contemporary Nez Perce research is characterized by the publication of Haruo Aoki's 1970 *Nez Perce Grammar* and is the first authoritative treatment of Nez Perce. Though highly technical and perhaps inaccessible to most Nez Perce speakers, Aoki's review of Nez Perce derivational morphology is the most comprehensive study of any Sahaptian language. In 1994, Aoki published the *Nez Perce Dictionary* and is now the ultimate source and reference on the modern Nez Perce language. Its format and presentation make it one of the most accessible dictionaries of an American Indian
Nápt (CHAPTER II)

TOWARDS A VIEW OF SAHAPTIAN TEXTS

Introduction

Formal inquiry into oral forms of discourse are undeniably accomplished through the creation of "texts." Typically, it is an involved transformational process where spoken utterances from a target language are extracted and transferred to other domains through the medium of text creation. Thus, the domains through which they pass are those very communicative codes that comprise our linguistic diversity and, most often, a newly entextualized oral form of discourse is widely dispersed beyond its originating source. Indeed, this simplified view of the conceptual transfer of discourse to text tells us that language can sometimes be arbitrary and powerless "against the forces which from one moment to the next are shifting the relationship between the signified and the signifier (Saussure in Culler 1974:75)."

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the various forms of cultural expression that result from textualising processes. Here, I look to the communicative practices that have historically emerged in a region linguistically defined as the southern Columbia Plateau of western North America. My intent is to understand how
languages are employed as a resource in the production of texts, particularly as to how the producers and receivers of such texts evoke social meanings and identities in communicative interaction. I hope to show that the strategies they utilize are often constituted along lines of power and resistance fundamentally shaped by the historical interactions in which they are embedded.

My approach requires that we look at the phenomena of text and text production from the perspective of language use, particularly as it relates to a speech communities language ideology. I hypothesize that a text is a signifier of competing communicative value in the universe of discourse among Sahaptin speaking peoples. To understand this phenomena, I examine the occurrence of change in the use of linguistic resources by 1) first showing the conceptual origin of text-like expressions, and 2) discern how such expressions come to denote more than one meaning in discourse. In any natural language, the possibility of an expression acquiring more than one meaning is not unusual, however, multiple meanings or representations can sometimes take on a added value that is determined historically or from external sources. Under this hypothesis then, we would expect to find an increase or decrease of the functional potential of text relative to changes in the “self evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social expression of members as they contribute to the expression of the group” (Heath 1977:53).
Upon developing a theory of text, an immediate problem arises as to how a "text" is defined, especially when inquiry is directed to those speech communities where multilingualism is the norm and divergent views exist on the function of texts and their significance in larger frames of discourse. A text is not simply a uniform, stable, and abstract system of graphemetric elements, rather they are also expressive conceptualizations of communication. With this in mind, I have chosen to define a text as a communicative event. A text defined as communicative event is one where a perceived change occurs in the use of linguistic resources. Thus, the definition allows a framework to be established whereby linguistic forms are assessed in terms of their articulation as communicative practice. Ultimately, the role of the text and the distinctive translations that accompany it should be seen as taking on a kind of specificity that embodies the social dynamics of the communicative act itself, one that is affected by and transformed in the interaction of codes.

To view a text as a communicative event further suggest that this kind of conceptualization of language possesses a pragmatic function in much the same way speech acts and utterances function between a speaker and hearer. The communicative event of a text locates both its production and reception in the sender/receiver (i.e. writer/reader) relationship. The essential feature of a sender/receiver relationship in a
written language allows an identification of the locutionary and illocutionary effects of words and meaning in the communicative event of a text. In other words, a text is as much about doing as it is about knowing.

Early Texts in the Southern Columbia Plateau

Native American literary critic Arnold Krupat (1985) has proclaimed that "there simply were no Native American texts until whites decided to collaborate with Indians and make them." This statement is certainly true for the southern Columbia Plateau as it is elsewhere, however, when one begins to draw upon the indigenous perspective for an accounting of a notion of "text" one cannot ignore the complexity and unique origin it has among the Sahaptin and Nez Perce peoples. It is necessary therefore to adopt a historical view with the intent on understanding how speakers of the Sahaptian languages come to denote writing and "text" when such conceptualizations are believed to be the exclusive cultural capital of Western tradition.

Like many cultures in western North America, the early Sahaptian peoples of this region developed a primary set of natural communication systems involving spoken language, gesture, and signs. Regional sign systems such as petroglyphs and
pictographs are abundant and date as early as 6,000 BP. Their frequency and similarity in form and function has been found to constitute what one researcher describes as the 'Columbia Plateau Rock Art Tradition' (Keyser 1992). Smaller more portable notation systems such as painted hides, counting and calendrical sticks, and string calendars are also found but more at the local level. Communication at the level of the gesture range from informal motions of the body and limbs to more formalized gestures such as hand signals and sign language. As a multifaceted linguistics phenomena, these early communicative forms functioned mainly to convey information through mnemonic or representational means and can be thought of as the precursory aspects of Sahaptian linguistic heritage. Here, I will focus on describing the communicative framework of sign systems mainly as a way of showing its conceptual transfer to text-like forms.

Proto-Sahaptian *time

Ánačan wíyat ana šín natíتaytma patíмaxana pšwápa ku limlímspa ku wisxúspa nak núwitaš átaw sápsikʷat.

'Way back in history the Indians put their writing and recording on rocks, hides and on string to save their precious and dear teachings.'

Lillian Hoptowit and Edith McCloud, Walúulapam (CTUIR 1997)
On a purely linguistic basis, signs conceptualized as communication are commonly derived from the ancestral Proto-Sahaptian form *time ‘(to) mark’ (Aoki 1962:180). This transitive verb is expressed as tîma- in Sahaptin and tîime- in Nez Perce which in modern usage denotes the act of inscription as in ‘to mark, draw, design, brand, or write’. Thus, Proto-Sahaptian *time ‘(to) mark’ can be said to possess the prototypical attributes of a transitive verb whereby it “describes the relation between two participants such that one of the participants acts toward or upon the other (Payne 1997:171).” These two participants are its subject (the one doing the marking) and object (the thing being marked). Corresponding to these grammatical features are their semantic realizations or semantic roles of agent and change-of-state patient, as defined below:

(a) \textit{Agent}: The prototypical transitive clause involves a volitional, controlling, initiating, active agent, one that is responsible for the event, i.e. its salient cause.

(b) \textit{Patient}: The prototypical transitive event involves an inactive, non-volitional, non-controlling patient, one that registers the change-of-state associated with the event, i.e. its salient effect (Givon 1990:565-66).

Compare the two Nez Perce expressions below:
1. Yóx hiwsiqa ?iceyéeyenm wítiíñe lañám
   that 3NOM-be-IMPV-PL.NOM-PST Coyote-ERG DIST-to.mark all
   'Coyote put markings on all of them (Aoki 1989:497).'

2. Kála kíi náaqc wítiímenií xayxáyq
   just this one DIST-to.mark-STAT white

   címúuxcímux qo? ḳ-nilpílp kaa paaxpáax
   black quite red and brown
   'One was marked white, others black, others red, and so on
   (1989:497).'

The semantic structure of each of these expressions show two related senses.

The first sense relation of tííme- is expressed in its prototypical verb form as the 'act
of marking' as in (1). Coyote, in the Agent role, is physically marking an object or in
this case a plural entity who registers the change and who thus assumes the Patient
role. The second sense relation of tííme- is expressed in its deverbal nominal form as
a change-of-state Patient or one who is now a nameable entity as 'one that is marked'
as in (2).

In this particular case, the relational profile between Agent and Patient has
important consequences as to how new meaning will take shape. For example, the
denotation of the deverbal nominal form shows two distinct qualities. The first quality
is one of observability whereby the status of 'one that is marked' is the topic property
of an action having been completed. No epistemic status is indicated here and the
marks received by the change-of-state patient have no attendant value other than their
being marks on some object (see line 2). The second quality is one of specificity or
salience whereby the status of 'one that is marked' is differentiated in its sense-
component by extension. For example, the deverbal nominal expression tímat
(Sahaptin) and tímeníí (Nez Perce) or 'one that is marked' denotes an entity capable
of bearing and communicating cultural information via its marked status. The Nez
Perce ethnic descriptor in (3) below shows such a status:

3   céep tímeníí
    arrow to.mark-STAT
    (lit. "painted arrows")
    'Cheyenne' (Aoki 1994:746)

Thus, the perceptual stimuli of the change-of-state patient or 'one that is
marked' has epistemological status in the sense that its truth-value is determined by its
ability to act as a message-bearing instrument. In other words, the Nez Perce word for
arrow above does not describe a simple, observable entity with fixed meanings rather
it describes an observable entity that possesses the added attribute of interpretability
whereby meaning is culled from the experiential world of Nez Perce speakers.

In terms of the analysis proposed here, tímat (Sahaptin) and tímeníí (Nez
Perce) are communicative events of cultural significance. This reflects the fact that an elemental change has occurred in the use of linguistic resources. Changes of this type can have diachronic significance whereby meaning elements can be traced historically. As will be made clear in the following section, any changes in meaning elements, that is a change in meaning from simple marked entities into message bearing instruments, will imply the development of a complex relational profile in the Sahaptian universe of discourse.

It should come as no surprise that the expressions tímat (Sahaptin) and tīheniñ (Nez Perce) that we have been discussing thus far are used to denote sign representations in the form of prehistoric pictographs and petroglyphs. From an indigenous perspective, tímat (Sahaptin) and tīheniñ (Nez Perce) operate as sign systems in human interaction. Further, they possess a relational profile that can be conceptualized as “mnemotechnic with oral and iconic means, including pictorial literacy (Haarman 1991:70).” In terms of its evolutionary significance, these types of complex relational profiles presuppose a critical link between oral and mnemotechnic resources whereby information is communicated in the deliberate alignment or clustering of iconic symbols.

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2 Haarman (1991:58) defines mnemotechnic as the “cluster of skills needed to fixate information” at the level of the icon for purposes of communication.
For illustrative purposes, a Sahaptin pictographic image from northern central Oregon is presented (Fig. 1) depicting a group of three shield bearing warriors facing a group of three horsemen. As a message bearing instrument, the image exhibits elements of what is commonly referred to as the Biographic Rock Art Tradition (Keyser et.al. 1998:63-66).

The scene contained herein is made coherent both in its overall composition and design. The central elements are two distinct groups of human figurines. The first scene shows a group of pedestrian shield-bearing warriors in single file and the second scene is a group of pedestrian shield-bearing warriors facing a group of mounted
horseman. Of particular interest here is the latter scene showing a series of dashed lines extending horizontally from each group of warriors. The placement of the dashed lines animates the scene both temporally and spatially and it functions as a way to dramatize the event of two opposing forces coming into a face-to-face encounter. Here, the deliberate alignment and arrangement of text-like units in sequential fashion is prototypical of what we now understand to be literacy whereby information is managed and processed at the level of the sign.

Building upon the data I have presented thus far, I wish to show in following section how the Sahaptian verb prototype ‘(to) mark’ extended from its basic meaning to its more contemporary meaning by way of a conceptual transfer.

*Sahaptin tímash and Nez Perce tímnes*

The protohistoric period (1600-1750 A.D.) in the Columbia Plateau is characterized by the first introduction of nonaboriginal influences into the indigenous

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3 In my work with Plateau tribal elders, this image is suggested by some to have the connotative significance of prophecy foretelling the acquisition of the horse. Its distinct representational design as Biographic Rock Art is consistent with what is known in the oral tradition. The image is dated circa 1730s at which time the Sahaptian speakers were believed to have acquired the horse. This event is further confirmed in various oral accounts concerning the origin of the horse that were later documented by non-Indians (McKay 1889, Painter 1946).
culture and ends at the first recorded contact with non-Indian peoples (Walker and Sprague 1998:138). It was during this time period prior to contact that the Sahaptian speaking cultures underwent change due to accumulative impacts from outside sources. These changes had the unprecedented effect of transforming the physical (material resources, technology), the social (interpersonal, tribal relationships) and the consciousness (psychology, religion) realms of every day life in the Columbia Plateau. Most notable among these developments is the emergence of prophecy foretelling the arrival of non-Indians, the horse, new implements, strife, and a tímaš (Sahaptin) or tímnes (Nez Perce) that variously refers to a great “book” or “paper”.

The historical record has shown that intense prophetic activity, often termed the Prophet Dance, was a powerful intellectual response to the smallpox epidemics of the 1770s and 1800-1 (Vibert 1995). This prophetic response allowed the formation of an emergent consciousness, one that served to mediate the uncertain conditions brought on by an unknown illness and to restore vitality and balance in a crisis-ridden world.

A central feature of this development was the prophetic foretelling of the future, as in the Nez Perce expression ʔiméεčinプ ‘to prophesy’ (Aoki 1994:1025), by indigenous prophets or ʔiméεčinプン (1994:1025). These individuals, who in an
altered, psychological state, were said to have visited the land of the dead only to reawaken bearing prophetic messages and law-like instructions for the living. Many of these messages were realized in the form of ritualization, song, and a newly organized religious worship, most of which continues to persist today in derived form as the Wáašat (Sahaptin) or Waaʔtáasat (Nez Perce) ritual.

Among the Sahaptian-speaking peoples, indigenous prophets envisioned the existence of a ‘paper’, ‘book’, or some ethereal text-like object identified simply as tímaš (Sahaptin) or tíiňes (Nez Perce). Such a text-like object was believed to possess great unspecified knowledge and in it were contained “revelations” (quoted in Walker 1985:36). Most all references to a tímaš or tíiňes are expressed in song, however, only a few of these song texts have ever been published partly because of their sensitive nature and ongoing religious significance in contemporary Sahaptian culture. Compare each of the following Nez Perce examples.

4  Máʔs ñetke wáx ʔiméewiıyecukwece tíiňespe ʔune...ye... not for and 2SG.PL-as.one.goes-to.know-IMPV-PST book-LOC (voc.) 'You have no idea how you are recorded in that book.' (Aoki 1979:84-5)

5  'Now in the heavens coming toward us, That's what the tíiňes tells us.' (Walker 1985:35)
What becomes evident from these examples is the fact that the Proto-Sahaptian *time 'to mark' is now case marked by the patient nominalizer suffix -š (Sahaptin) and -s (Nez Perce). The difference between these forms and the preceding ones is simply that the case suffix -š/-s are characteristic of nominal morphology whereas the case suffix -t/-niň are characteristic of verbal morphology.

While these linguistic facts help to convey the richness of Sahaptian morphology and show how event structures such as 'to mark' become variously represented in nominal and verbal form, it is necessary to put into cultural context their use as referential entities. The critical issue here is the fact that the driving forces of change that were experienced during the proto-historic period also had important consequences toward reshaping the universe of discourse among Sahaptian speaking peoples. Understandably, the implication of this discussion suggests that an indigenous conception of text was realized prior to contact in the prophetic experience of Sahaptian prophets. In fact, many present day Sahaptian intellectuals would assert the primacy of tīmaš (Sahaptin) or tīmiňes (Nez Perce) as an indigenous universal rule of truth of great antiquity. The challenge therefore is to contextualize these lexical forms as widely as possible so we can begin to discern the participatory modes of human consciousness that inform communicative events and make statements relative
to the emergence of new meaning in communicative interaction.

For purposes of my analysis, I present an excerpt from a taped interview$^4$ of Clarence Burke (Walúulapam) and Annette Burke (Nez Perce), both fluent Nez Perce speakers. The interview was conducted by Ike Patrick (Cayuse) and Peter Quaempts (Yakama) in October of 1973 on the Umatilla Indian Reservation. In the Nez Perce conversation that follows, Ike Patrick is eliciting information from Clarence Burke concerning a Walúulapam woman who comitted suicide by hanging herself. The woman is said to have come back to life only to report on her death experience, her witnessing the heavens, and of her instructions or a kind of law for human kind. Among her instructions was a series of songs, one of which regards a tímaš or tímëš$^5$.

6.IP 'You were saying the other day too about that...referring to a tímëš you know.'

7.CB 'Ooh...'

8.IP '...also started by that...'

$^4$ A copy of this tape recording is in possession of the author and is currently being prepared for translation. All of the above participants are presently deceased.

$^5$ A transcription of this song is not given here.
9.CB 'Yea, same person...hitíte kála
to.say-same just
just saying the same.'

10 Kúus hihíne
to.do-PP 3NOM-to.say-RM.PST
'It has been said,'

11 hiwées wéet'u 'itúu peeéyc
3NOM-be-PRS no/not anything hidden
'Nothing is hidden,'

12 la?ám hiwées tímësnim
everything 3NOM-be-PRS paper-GEN
'everything is of that paper,'

13 koná hiwées tímës kíye wisíx koná
there 3NOM-be-PRS paper/book we be-IMPV-PL.NOM-PPF there
there it is the paper (and) there we are.'

14 Kaa kúus we?nptéyn
and to.do-PP song
'And this is the song.'

15 (song is sung by Clarence Burke)

16.AB 'What does it mean...yóóqo titooqatimtkí?
that Indian.person-language-with
in that Native language?'

17.CB Wéet'u titooqatimtkí ?ewíce?
NEG Indian.person-language-with 1/2SUBJ—3OBJ-to.say-IMPV-PST
'You do not speak in the language?' (laughing)

18.AB 'I know that is not in my language! I can't understand it!'
19.IP  ‘It’s referring to all the things that are individual that is on this earth, I think, tīṁespa...all...its all written down.’

20.CB  Ke yóx takláy páatañanisna kâla wéeťesnim.
REL that at.the.same.time 3→3-censure-IMPV-RM.PST just earth
‘Then at the same time she was censured here on this earth.’

21  Tīṁes hiwées ke kús wéeťes
paper 3NOM-be-PRS REL to.do-PP earth
‘It is the paper which you have created on this earth,’

22  tīṁes hiwées laʔám
paper 3NOM-be-PRS all
‘everything is on the paper (recorded).’

23  (inaudible expression)

24  Koná hiwées tīmēnił laʔám ʔewsíne
there 3NOM-be-PRS to.mark-PP all 1/2OBJ→3OBJ-have-IMPV-PL.NOM-PST
‘There it is written down, all the things you have done!’

The data presented thus far regarding a tīmaš or tīṁes is attested in ritualized contexts. What is indicated here is that tīmaš or tīṁes is a communicative event that has been conceptualized in a new horizon of experience precipitated by the revelatory power of vision and prophecy. Many such religious experiences were common throughout the Columbia Plateau. Before I assess this phenomena further, however, I will examine other forms of Sahaptian discourse that utilize the notion of a tīmaš or tīṁes as a way to account for its varying epistemic status among Sahaptian speakers.
Two example texts are presented, the first is from a Klikitat (NWS) myth and the second is from Umatilla (CRS) personal account.

A Klikitat (NWS) myth, simply identified as text “No. 10”, is presented in Jacobs (1929:227-31) as told to by Xʷálxʷaypam speaker Joe Hunt⁶. The myth is mainly concerned with its central character Spilyáy (Coyote) who mourns over the death of his daughter. In his loss, he embarks on a journey to a “country far, far away” only to encounter his daughter in spirit form in a distant land “above”. From there, Spilyáy (Coyote) attempts to bring her back to their homeland but fails on reaching the fifth day whereupon the daughter's death spirit is released. Suddenly, the narrative changes when he makes a second attempt and instead of reaching the land above he journeys eastward only to reach a populated land with “white houses”. Here, he encounters a great Chief of that land and bargains with him concerning a document Spilyáy (Coyote) had in his possession, a document containing “teachings” and “words”.

⁶ Jacobs original orthography is updated using current conventions. Jacobs free translation is unchanged from the original.
25 Kúuk Spilyáy i-čátpni-ya pinmínk
then Coyote 3NOM-spread.out-PST 1SG.GEN

waxúš i-čátpni-ya.
[...] 3NOM-spread.out-PST
‘Coyote opened his document.’

26 Ku ḫinn-a,
and say-PST
‘He said,’

27 “Íkuuš á-ʔínun-a-k!”
thus 3ACC-see-PST-IMP
“Look at it!”

28 “Íči-tya i-wá šix sápsik-at-ay miyanaš-mamí-yay.”
this=MOD 3NOM-be teaching-BENF children-PL.GEN-BENF
“This is superior for the teaching of the children.”

29 Ku ḫ”pímk miyáwax á-tkín-a ḫ”pímk Spilyay-nmí tímaš.
And the aforementioned Chief 3ACC-see-PST Coyote-GEN paper
‘That Chief looked at the document of Coyote.’

30 Áw á-šuk"a,
now 3ACC-know
‘He found out,’

31 “Áw-xaš-tx a-wá šix íči-tya!”
now=MOD=MOD 3ACC-be good this=MOD
“This must be better indeed!”

32 Ku pá-ʔinn-a Spilyáy-nan
and 3INV-say-PST Coyote-ACC
‘He said to Coyote,’
"Áw-nam pá-ni-ta inák k"pínk sínwit!"
Now=2SG 3INV-give-FUT 1SG.OBJ the.aforementioned
"Give these words to me!"

Ku áw-in-a Spílyáy,
And 3ACC-say-PST Coyote
'Coyote replied,'

"Íi áw. Áw-mataš níi-ta."
yes now now-2PL.OBJ give-FUT
"Very well. I shall give it to you."

Ku á-winp-a miyawax k"pínk.
and 3ACC-get-PST chief the.aforementioned
'The Chief took it.'

K"ínkinak áwkuk i-sápsík"a-na i-kkat-maaman
that.INST.LOC then 3NOM-teaching-PST 3NOM-child-PL.OBJ
'With it he instructed the children.'

I-ná-txan-an-a Spílyáy,
3NOM-vocalize-become-PST Coyote
'Coyote said,'

"Ínák-naš wá nêí miyawax!"
1SG.OBJ=1SG be big Chief
"I am the great Chief!"

Ku-maš ní-ta-šamš šíx tímaš
And=2SG.OBJ give-FUT-CISL good paper
"I am giving you a fine document!"

The historical significance of this passage was recognized by Jacobs who saw in it a kind of cultural disjunction between the generally conservative nature of
Sahaptin mythic representation and what appears to be the incorporation of elements typically found in the modern world. His brief commentary is quoted in full:

The essential idea is that Coyote gave writing, the Bible and so on to the white leader instead of giving it to the Indian people. I do not know enough of the mental life of the Indian neighborhood to decide whether or not Mr. Hunt is personally responsible for this remarkable solution of the problem of the origin of arts possessed by the whites (Jacobs 1929:231).

Jacobs is partially correct in his reading of this myth in that a text artefact was transferred to the "white leader" by Spilyáy (Coyote), however, the motive of the transfer was to demonstrate and provide a superior form of indigenous knowledge to these eastern people as in (28). Thus, from an emic perspective the existence of a tífmaš or tífmes or 'document' from which knowledge, 'teachings,' and 'words' are made known is not that unusual among the Sahaptin and Nez Perce. Conservatively speaking, this mythic portrayal lends support to an indigenous conception of text prior to contact. Processes of indigenization, however, weaken this claim by suggesting that certain culture elements introduced during contact are often incorporated into the cultural matrix by various means so as to make them appear less alien. At the present, there is great debate in the anthropological literature over the origin and timing of the
Prophet Dance and by implication a notion of *tímaš or títimes. Based upon my own conversation with various Sahaptian elders and the linguistic evidence I have presented thus far, I tend to support its indigenous origins.

For comparative purposes, an example of a more secular nature is found in Xilúxín's texts and is presented here to show a contemporary, personalized use of the aforementioned terms.

41 Čí-naš mít tímaš níčin--
this-1SG however.much paper put.PP
'However much of this paper I put away--'

42 náxš tímaš-pa wanikí
"National Geographic Society American Indian"
one paper-LOC name.PPF.[NES] N.G.S.A.I.
'of one paper called National Geographic Society American Indian--'

43 k*ná shelfe-pa áxway-š.
there shelfe-LOC still.yet-PP
'is there on the shelf still.'

It is clear from the foregoing review that the linguistic resources associated with the Proto-Sahaptin lexical form *time 'to mark' include both its relational (verb and deverbal nominal) and nominal expressions. A hierarchical structure of this expression is given in (45). This representation is meant to serve as a basic linguistic
description of the Sahaptian lexicon.

A contextualized view, however, offers a very different story. We see instead a newly emergent consciousness erupting forth in the lives of the Sahaptin and Nez Perce peoples during the protohistoric period whereby the communicative frames of human interaction are rehaped through transcendent experience, vision, and prophecy. One of the common themes that emerge here is the recurrent phenomena of individuals arising from the dead bearing messages, songs, and "laws" for the living. Within this communicative frame is a developing notion of tímaš or títhles. Specifically, it refers to the symbolic act of entextualization whereby the moral conduct of one's life in this world is "written" down and recorded in the heavens only to be revealed at the moment of one's death. The fate of one's afterlife existence then is determined by one's earthly moral conduct. For example, committing suicide is deemed immoral conduct by the 'Creator' Anilá (Sahaptin) or Haniyawáat (Nez Perce) and is reason for censure and denial of admittance into the spirit world as indicated in line (20.CB). A second notion of tímaš or títhles is its representation as knowledge and truth from which
various forms of "teaching," "instruction," and "law" are drawn for the benefit and continued existence of Sahaptin and Nez Perce people. Such an example is found in the Klikitat myth dictated by Joe Hunt in text No. 10 (lines 25-40). An important observation to note here is that the context of this myth concerns death and the afterlife similar to what we find associated with tímaš or tímnes where individuals are reported to reawaken from a death experience. The fact that this notion appears in the form of myth may also be an indication of its antiquity. As can be expected, the last line of evidence is the contemporary usage of this term (lines 41-43) showing a clear correspondence with elements found in our secular, modern culture.

As a conceptualization of reality, tímaš or tímnes is a pre-contact phenomena originating from the development of sign systems but which takes its full expression from cross-cultural visionary experience. What makes it particularly meaningful in the world view of Sahaptin and Nez Perce speakers is the constellation of values in which such visionary experiences are compared, reinterpreted, and given new life through the sedimentized human horizons of experience.

It should come as no surprise that non-Native researchers who view this phenomena tend to interpret the notion of tímaš or tímnes as anticipating the arrival of the Bible (Walker 1985:35) or as representing the Bible itself (Jacobs 1929:231). The
merits of such a comparison partly rests on the compatibility of the Christian worldview with its indigenous counterpart whereby the extent of one's spiritual condition in the afterlife is determined by one's moral action. However, many Sahaptin and Nez Perce speakers tend to insist upon the antiquity of tímaš or tíines and its conceptual foundation as being equivalent to rather than derived from the Christian bible and that its presence is but one indicator of the richness and complexity of Sahaptin and Nez Perce experience since time immemorial.

As a developing language ideology, tímaš or tíines is partly conceived as a message-bearing instrument within the frames of sacred discourse and, from the perspective of many Sahaptian speakers, its status as a communicative event is absolute. The revelatory experiences of the first dreamers and prophets thus helped to shape a macrocosm of shared imagery where the communicative act has affective force beyond the mundane, everyday world of ordinary discourse. As situated meaning, tímaš or tíines describes an ongoing, perpetual act of being and becoming whereby the lives of Sahaptin and Nez Perce people are entextualized in the unfolding order of a world in motion since the first creation.

In the following section, I will provide a brief review of language contact relations between the Sahaptian speech community and Euro-Americans during the
historic period following contact. My review will focus on the general cultural patterns with respect communicative interaction. More specifically, I take into account cultural factors that tend to treat writing as a medium of global communication. As will become clear, the written medium was often viewed as a critical element of societal interaction despite differing conceptions of language and world view.

A Brief Look at Language Contact

The initial interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous cultures in this region was preconditioned on the limited availability of shared linguistic codes in communication. As is common for most contact situations, direct discourse is restricted thus necessitating the use of interpreters and cross-cultural translation between languages. However, as communicative competence increases cross-culturally, the creation and use of texts as a medium of communication was often seen as a potential avenue to overcoming communication barriers.

In actuality, the first attempts at communication outside of the realm of ordinary discourse was conceived through the use of pictographic images by White missionaries such as "ladders" and charts in an attempt to accurately portray the Christianized world to Plateau peoples (Boyd 1996:186-188). Communication, in this
sense, occurred at the level of the sign. In practice, the use of signs as pedagogical tools required intensive cross-cultural interpretation for it to be effective as a medium of communication. The following passage by the White missionary Henry Spalding illustrates this point:

My manner of preaching is as follows. We have represented in paintings several events recorded in the Scriptures, such as the passage through the Red sea, the crucifixion of Christ, etc. These I explain first to my crier. I then go over with the subject to the people, the crier correcting my language and carrying out my history. But this only forms a starting point for these inquiring minds. They return to their tents, and sometimes spend the whole night in perfecting what they but poorly understood on the Sabbath. If one is to leave camp for some distant part of the country, my crier and the paintings are sent for, and the whole night spent in going over with the subject to prepare himself to instruct others. Several are already preaching in different parts of the nation. I am frequently astonished at the correctness and rapidity with which several will go through with many events recorded in the Scriptures. (H. Spalding 1837; quoted in Boyd 1996:186-187)

Both Catholic and Protestant Ladders were used in the Columbia Plateau.

Here, the Christian world was portrayed hierarchically and is divided horizontally by a series of time markers beginning with the creation of Adam and Eve at the bottom and extending upward to Heaven of God. As a pragmatic tool, the use of sign vehicles by White missionaries may have been far more effective than they had originally planned since Plateau peoples also possessed sign systems originating from the prehistoric
period. The competing influences of Catholics and Protestants and their zeal to save
Indian souls was real enough that they began to portray each other in negative terms in
each of their pictographic ladders (Peterson 1993:111). For many Plateau peoples, this
inevitably introduced a contradiction in meaning since the missionaries violated their
own Christian doctrine, that is to "love thy enemy." In this sense, the use of
pictographic codes did more to reveal the underlying motives of the missionary
enterprise than it did of fulfilling the belief that the "wandering Indian" would embrace
the gospel and civilization upon the introduction of Christianity.

In direct contrast to these early missionary attempts at communication is the
development of written texts as a mode of interaction. With introduction of the
printing press in the 1830's, the transformation of the spoken word to the written word
was preconditioned on the premise that literacy would promote greater communication
and enable the conversion and acceptance of Plateau peoples into the world of
Christianity. In terms of organized language development, they were the first
language planners to document the Sahaptian languages, however, their efforts were
narrowly defined by the goals of missionization and Christian ethics. Language use in
this context was limited to the reading (and its recitation) of biblical and hymnal texts,
usually written Sahaptian, and had little pragmatic value beyond the linguistic
interaction of corporate worship. Christian literacy in this form occurred as a socially
organized practice with specified goals. It is not clear how an indigenous orality 
functioned within this framework but it can be suggested that, at least in its initial 
stages, Christian literacy reduced the participatory roles of Sahaptian linguistic 
interaction. As language shift increased, literacy in the English language was 
eventually preferred over Sahaptian bringing missionary linguistic work to an end in 
the early 20th century (circa 1915). This was most likely due to the fact that English 
literacy had greater pragmatic status in a literate rich world dominated by English 
speakers.

It is not documented how the prophetic elements of a Plateau world view 
affected the reception of texts, however, it is likely that the very presence of biblical 
texts and books represented a realization of prophetic expectations in much the same 
way early White arrivals were received in the Plateau (Hunn 1990:251, Vilbert 
1995:212). Drawing upon these linguistic resources within the context of prophecy, it 
is possible to suggest, as Walker (1985:38) does, that:

...they seized on this new status as a means of buttressing their 
positions. Further, it seems to have been generally acknowledged 
during this time period that the new religion or "power" was superior to 
the old and, therefore, that those political leaders who drew on it were 
superior to those who did not. When missionary Christianity finally 
arrived, this attitude became particularly clear.
The development of writing systems by the missionaries also contributed to its use by colonizing agents. Beginning in the late 1830's and thereafter, the first stages of colonization and settlement of the Oregon Frontier were taking place. The need to regulate the intercourse of White settlers and to offer protection against aggression to both settler and indigenous populations resulted in a code laws named the "Nez Perce Laws of 1842." The proposed laws were drafted by the then newly appointed Sub Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White, and imposed upon the autonomous Nez Perce by way of a council in December, 1842. The Laws were translated into Nez Perce with the assistance of Presbyterian missionary Henry H. Spalding, printed by the Lapwai Mission Press, and distributed among the Nez Perce. As the following excerpt shows, the control over linguistic resources as a written medium had the initial effect of facilitating difference in the unequal distribution of power in the Columbia Plateau.

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The Nez Perce Laws are comprised in six categories including punishment, these are murder (Law 1), arson (Law 2, 3, and 4), trespass (Law 5), theft (Law 6), property (Laws 7, 8, and 9), and assault (Law 10) (Rivers 1978). The last, Law 11, serves an administrative function in that it promulgates the previous ten. In essence, the majority of these laws were applicable only to indigenous Plateau peoples.
Tahsain inakanikash palkaikah *SUIAPU, ALAIMA wah NUMIPU*, Takta HWAIT-nim hinashhintaka *tamalwit ki ka hitimasa.* 'For the sake of good relations towards both sides, the Americans, the Frenchmen, and the Nez Perce people, Doctor White has shown them the law he has now written.'

Wak uiikalo Mimiohat hipanpukinia naksniki timnaki. 'And the Chiefs of the all the people take a hold of it as with one heart.'

The introduction and use of writing in this context helped to shape a sphere of unequal relations during contact thus contributing to a shift in the language ideology of the Sahaptian speech community. By restricting the frame of linguistic interaction to the written medium, a society in possession of literacy will create inequity and forces its initial acquisition upon those who lack it. The possession of the written medium thus becomes symbolic capital. From this perspective, literacy has an important social function, one that serves as a means of maximizing societal interaction and the establishment of power. For some indigenous peoples, writing may have presented an assimilative avenue to a newly forming White world but in order to attain it one had to first separate out the indigenous, prophetic elements it had acquired prior to contact. The acceptance of Christianity often served this means and enabled writing and its texts to survive so long as missionaries continued to promote literacy.
Conclusion

In this chapter, I have proposed that a text be understood as a communicative event. I have demonstrated that changes in the use of linguistic codes are motivated by a fundamental human need to create meaning in the world. When societies come into contact communicative behaviors are restricted often requiring the strategic use of linguistic resources. Cross-cultural communication is desired but not at the expense of losing one's autonomy and societal self interest.

In this particular historical encounter, both the Sahaptian speaking peoples and early EuroAmericans possessed analogous conceptions of text. For Sahaptian speaking peoples, a notion of text had its origin in prehistory but was later fully realized as a signifier of embodied discourse in the religious, prophetic experience of Sahaptian prophets. With the introduction of writing by missionaries and colonizing agents, the experiential and process oriented potential of texts changed as the referential aspects of communication changed. New corresponding realities of text were brought to bear upon the Sahaptian world view. Similarly, the social function of texts as literacy introduced not just new forms of societal relations but had the effect of creating an unequal distribution of power. In terms of my original hypothesis, partial confirmation is given to the view that texts are signifiers of competing communicative value. However, it is not abundantly clear from the limited data how language
ideology contributes to an increase or decrease in the competing communicative value of a text except to say that certain fundamental motivations appear to be factors, that is a human need for cross-cultural communication and a human need for societal autonomy. From a historical perspective then, it can be argued that linguistic codes are powerful instruments in linguistic interaction and can contribute to assimilative and resistance strategies when language barriers in contact are reformulated to meet societal needs in the expansion of the nation-state.
Mitaat (CHAPTER III)

Tímnakni Tímat (Writing from the Heart)

Činaš áw tamášwikša. Cáwš čí áwtká yalmílk tuntún tímaša, áwanikša, ášuyaša, etc.

I am now translating this. I am not writing this all for nothing, any old way, naming, inspecting, etc.  

Xíluxin, n.d.

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the development of indigenous writing and text production in the Columbia Plateau as exemplified in the work of Xíluxin, also known as Charlie McKay (1910-1996), a bilingual speaker of Sahaptin and Nez Perce. My overall aim is to recognize the independent contributions of speaker scholars in the area of language documentation and literature. In the proceeding sections, I will employ an empirical-conceptual approach to describe the basic linguistic properties of Xíluxin's texts so as to account for their position within the frames of linguistic scholarship and Sahaptin and Nez Perce linguistic interaction.

Two basic approaches to the language data are utilized. In assessing Xíluxin's texts, particular attention is devoted to 1) the context of production or that which "refers to the moment and situation of the text's creation by speaker or writer," and 2)
context of use or that which "refers to the occasion on which the text is actually processed by the hearer or reader" (Nystrand 1987:206).

A review of the context of production will outline two important aspects that have contributed to indigenous writing. The first is the general, historical trend of language shift part of which can be shown to be a specific acculturative pattern whereby writing and literacy are valued over indigenous orality. The second is the unique role many speaker scholars have played in this historical development, not just as intellectuals but as active participants in facilitating the preservation of indigenous languages. Because Xiuxin and other speaker scholars like him bring continuity to this developing tradition, it is possible to propose a local practice in what I call community linguistics.

Similarly, a review of context of use presents a much more challenging view as to how a speaker writer conceptualizes his or her internalized language as a goal oriented process of entextualization. Naturally, the forms and functions of Sahaptian language use and language experience pose unique problems to the way a speaker writer transfers and represents his or her language in written form. This analysis is an attempt to address this issue. Building from this framework, I will then explore issues relating to aspects of ethnic identity and language and how writing may or may not
contribute to alternative forms of self-representation.

**Sahaptian Language Documentation**

A common assumption confronting community fieldworkers who document language is the notion that only an academically trained linguist can accomplish the task of documenting and describing the varieties of human language. However true or erroneous this assumption may be, the experience of language shift and language endangerment has moved many community individuals to engage in the documentation of their own indigenous language in a manner that can be described as *community linguistics*. To borrow from De Beaugrande (1998:115), community linguistics greatly resembles practice-driven or fieldwork linguistics (i.e. functionalism, applied linguistics) in that the status of language is established in terms of its connection to human practice. In other words, there is an elevated *purposive use* of language where the central issue is "what speakers...believe they are doing with their language as communicators using a goal directed interpersonal medium" (Silverstein 1985). Thus, community linguistics can be said to represent an internal ideological shift where speakers are 1) consciously reassessing the natural originating function of language use and 2) positively reorienting its various functions to meet the
future needs of the speech community.

This historical development has important implications to our understanding of Sahaptian language ideology. Two important distinctions can be made here. The first is the fact that our originating conception of language ideology is one that is grounded in participatory consciousness or one that places primary importance on the experiential dimensions of Sahaptian life and the forms of discourse that are informed by it. In other words, orality has primacy over all other forms of communication, including writing. The second distinction is more historical in orientation and offers a language ideology that is grounded in reflexive consciousness or one that places primary importance on the ability to reflect upon our shared human experiences and the critical role language plays in our human history.

Beginning in the late 1880's, systematic documentation of indigenous languages was initiated by anthropologists and linguists. The earliest known published Sahaptian writing comes from a bilingual Wishram speaker named Peter McGuff. McGuff, fluent in both Chinookan and Sahaptin, was trained to read and write linguistically by the renowned linguist Edward Sapir who was then documenting

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8 This analysis does not assume, however, that one language ideology has replaced the other. Any language researcher who embarks upon a study of Sahaptian must readily acknowledge the persistence of both language ideologies. More significant, however, is the speaker writers own resolution of these concerns.
the Chinookan language. McGuff wrote personal letters in Chinookan and was later asked by Sapir to translate one into Sahaptin. The result was the first Klikitat (NWS) letter (Sapir 1909:195-97). As stated in the previous chapter, the earliest independent uses of Nez Perce were by speaker scholars Harry Hayes, Lewis D. Williams, and Mark Phinney who contributed materials to the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington DC. More recent is the independent contributions of Corbett Lawyer, also a Nez Perce speaker scholar. What is unique about Corbett Lawyer's scholarship is that he developed his own orthography despite a continued community preference for the more common missionary orthographies. Biographic ledger art is also documented in the work of Nez Perce George Piyopyó’t’alikt (Northwest Interpretive Association 1991) and the Umatilla Black Elk.

In the contemporary period, it is not known how early and to what extent Sahaptin speaker scholars engaged in documenting their language beyond what we now know in Xiłuxin's work. More research is needed in this area. However, it is reported that several Sahaptin individuals on the Yakama Indian Reservation are presently writing in their language.

One common feature to both speaker scholars and speaker intellectuals who have worked with linguists is the fact that many recognize the historical value of language documentation. They saw in it a means to record important tribal traditions
and histories. For example, in the 1930's, linguist Morris Swadesh recorded a set of historical narratives from Cayuse-Nez Perce speaker Gilbert Minthorn. In the course of telling his narrative, Minthorn states:

2. **Wéeťu naqciním ḫiłlíwem píʔamxníʔšním titwátit kíí**
   NEG one-GEN many-HUM-GEN council-GEN story this

   **wéeťu mišéemt**
   NEG lie-N

   **laʔám ḫiłúuytiimt kíí ḫín tamáapaykš titwátit kíí.**
   all tell.truth-N this that.much 1SG.NOM bring.out-PP story this

   'This story--not of one--of a council of many, not a lie, completely true, I have brought out this much of the story.'

3. **Hiwcéeyuʔ künku titwátit hanyín,**
   3NOM-become-FUT always story make-PP
   'The story will be made permanent,'

4. **ka konyá wiyéepʔimnim pěhitemenenuʔ**
   REL that.ACC generations-GEN 3/3-read-FUT
   'that which the generations will read...' (CTUIR 2000a:130)

To build from this an inclusive theory that acknowledges the localized activity of community linguistics (i.e. its context of production), it is useful to briefly examine the theoretical framework of traditional linguistic fieldwork and to contrast it with the self-directed approaches of speaker scholars. According to Himmelmann (1998:161-
the task of recording a little-known language consists of two main activities, the first being the collection, transcription, and translation of primary data termed *documentary linguistics* and the second a low-level analysis of these data or what is called *descriptive linguistics*. Each activity is potentially a separate field of inquiry, however, in ideal practice the interrelation between the two is one of bilateral mutual dependency (1998:165). Thus, the linguistic researcher plays a central and often critical role in the description and documentation of a language.

An important qualification must be stated in that it cannot be assumed here that speaker scholars share in the same kinds of objectivity that is characteristic of a linguistically trained scholar, rather from a speaker scholar perspective language is viewed more as a system of participation whereby the forms of language are realized through linguistic interaction. That is to say that oral language experience forms the basis by which language production is assessed and compared and that a descriptive adequacy is determined inclusively rather than exclusively.

*Given the notion that there is a high purposive use of language in community linguistics, it is further suggested that speaker scholars utilize a world view model that strategically positions language as a central element in cultural production, one that maximizes its cognitive aspect relative to knowledge, its social aspect relative to*
actions and interactions, and its linguistic aspect relative to real human language (De Beaugrande 1998:107). This world view orientation would allow us to distinguish community linguistic practice by observing its data discovery methods and the way emphasis is placed upon certain linguistic levels in meeting their documentary needs.

The Speaker Scholarship of Xīluṅin

Xīluṅin was a versatile community scholar who possessed an in-depth knowledge of Nez Perce and Sahaptin, including their major dialectical variation represented in the Northeastern (NES), Northwestern (NWS), and Columbia River (CRS) divisions. He was also familiar with Cayuse, an extinct language isolate, Chinook Jargon, an indigenous trade language, French, and Latin. Upon his death in 1996, five of his field notebooks were deposited in the tribe's archive. Present are an estimated 550 pages of linguistic materials representing two major textual components: word-for-word equivalencies and texts.

Xīluṅin was born October 14, 1910 at Wáwnaši (Spring Hollow) on the Umatilla Indian Reservation of northeastern Oregon. He and his three brothers and six sisters were raised by their parents Billy and Annie Teckmuseah McKay. He later

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Additional notebooks are believed to exist outside of this collection, however, this has yet to be confirmed.
served in the U.S. Army during World War II and saw active duty in the Philippines and Japan. Xíluxin’s training as a community linguist arises from his association with the preeminent linguist Melville Jacobs, a pioneer researcher of Northwestern Native American languages. While the full extent of his work with Jacobs is not clearly understood at this time, it was common practice for Jacobs to work with selected community speakers, translators, and assistants (i.e. non-Indian linguists in training) to carry out his linguistic research. As in all linguistic documentation projects, the role of the speaker is paramount, however, both the translators and assistants were key in the collection and transcription of language data.

It is reported that Xíluxin\textsuperscript{10} was chosen by Jacobs to be a translator and was taught to read and transcribe in the newly developed Sahaptin orthography. During the time Jacobs conducted his field work on the Umatilla Indian Reservation, Xíluxin would have most likely worked along side other translators such as Cy Johnly (Walúula-Palouse), Wade Minthorn (Walúula), Allen Patawa (Umatilla) and Celestine Minthorn (Umatilla) (Jacobs 1931:98). One text is identified in Xíluxin’s corpus as originating from this time period. The text is simply titled ‘Story told by Walter Pond

\textsuperscript{10} Prior to his passing, Xíluxin expressed to the author by way of conversation that Jacobs taught him how to read and write in Sahaptin. This is confirmed by Virginia Beavert, a Yakama speaker scholar also trained by Jacobs (Virgina Beavert p.c. 2000).
In year 1929 hunting. RS Rotten Springs.' While it is not known who transcribed this text, it is likely that Xīluxīn was associated with its translation and later transcribed it in his own field notebooks. The name "Walter Pond" is obviously a Umatilla speaker known as Yaxlášat. This single text is an important link that identifies Xīluxīn's scholarship as originating from his association with the preeminent linguist Meville Jacobs.

Orthography

Tímašsim ititámaxa tanán sínwit tímat.
'Only on paper can it be read, a person's written words.'

Xīluxīn, 6-26-91

A large part of the independent success of speaker scholars rests upon their ability to codify and manipulate their language using graphic means. Much of what we know about speakers scholars is that many were initially exposed to linguistic methods of transcription while working with linguists and were subsequently trained to record the sound units of a language by corresponding them to a phonetic alphabet. Additional evidence also shows that at least one speaker scholar, Corbett Lawyer (n.d.), devised his own systemized phonetic alphabet to represent Nez Perce. Thus, graphisation represents the first step toward transforming an oral language to
### Table 3. Key to Xíłuxin's Orthographic Representations

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*Note: The key includes various orthographic representations from Sahaptin Jacobs, Rigsby and Rude, Nez Perce Cataldo, and CTUIR.*
a written, literate form.

Two orthographic systems are utilized in Xiluxin's texts (see Table 1.). The first is his representation of Sahaptin based upon the orthographic system developed by the linguist Melville Jacobs (1931, 1934-37). The second is his representation of Nez Perce based upon the orthography of Cataldo (1914) whose biblical transcriptions he often draws upon. Cataldo (1914:vii) states that he utilizes the orthography originally presented in Anthony Morvillo's Grammatica Linguæ Numipu of 1891. What is described as current or technical orthography is represented in Rigsby and Rude (1996) and in publications generated by The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) language program.

Variation exists in Xiluxin's transcription of Sahaptin ranging from early impressionistic representations to more contemporary representations found in the work of Hunn (1990), Rigsby (n.d.), and Schuster (1975). For example, we can trace these variations in multiple recordings of a single expression as in alašik 'turtle' (Chrysemys picta).
The data suggest that the period from 1983 onward, Xiluxin's transcription practices became more technical in nature perhaps influenced by the above mentioned authors. Prior to this he sometimes alternated between impressionistic forms and that of Jacobs in producing a broad transcription. Rarely do we find transcriptions that employ English spelling conventions as in natitite > natitayt ‘people' with a silent [e] and Teenmamun > tînmaaman ‘the people' showing a long [ee]. In several cases, he takes advantage of conventions that are found in very early linguistic usage prior to Jacobs or are from English dictionary usage, as in the following use of [û], a high front rounded vowel, to represent the dipthong [aw]:

KU Wishwaũ TUKen ḡAika (12) (from ‘Story told by Walter Pond')
ku wiś-wáwtukin-ḡa-yk-a.
and traveling-camp.overnight-HAB-TRL-PST
‘and traveling on would camp overnight'

Another example is found in [Œ] indicating vowel length.
"Yes!" or "Yes indeed!" Coyote says.

Most notably, Šičúxín elaborates upon Jacobs' orthography by utilizing small capitals similar to his representation of intermediate stops [B], [D], and [G]. As a transcription device, he innovated upon its use to show the prosodic features of Sahaptin. Similar conventions are found in the Jacobs system, however, these supersegmental devices appear to be representative of surface structure only. Jacobs (1929:vii) uses a raised period to indicate length and rhetorical emphasis, a circumflex to indicate high to low (falling) tone, and a wedge to indicate low to high (rising) tone. Šičúxín did not put to use Jacobs' notations rather he preferred to make use of small capitals to variously indicate stress and, at other times, to indicate the prosodic features of discourse. Umatilla Sahaptin, like all Sahaptin languages, is a stress language employing three levels of stress, that is primary stress, secondary stress, and unstressed (CTUIR:1996). Rhythm in Umatilla is syllable timed. In current orthography, primary stress is indentified in its surface structure in only one syllable per word. Although Šičúxín's notations of stress are not always indicated, small capitals and an acute accent over vowels are often found to be used in their place.

11 Current phonetic transcriptions do not use or distinguish these intermediate forms or use small capitals in general.
In the following example of stress usage, Ūlụxịn uniquely transcribes the English word 'automobile' using his small capital convention to indicate how such a word would be pronounced by a Sahaptin speaker. Notice too how he indicates the initial stress in the verb 'stand.'

8 Atutĩša automobīles (24) (from '4-14-91 SUN')
á-tuti-ša Automobiles,
3ABS-stand-PST automobiles
'automobiles were parked,'

Thus, the distribution of stress in both vowels and consonants are variables of tone represented at the level of the phoneme. In other instances, Ūlụxịn uses small capitals to indicate intonation. His conception of intonation is one that serves to accentuate a constituent at the level of the clause as in the example also taken from the text '4-14-91 Sun'.

9 chaush shukwaša mishnash Nawat pakoKpasiṃ. (2)
čáw-š šúkʷa-ša mǐš-naš náwat pà-kuuk-pa-sim.
NEG-1SG know-IMPV how-1SG belly be.situated-then-LOC-only
'I do not know how it is THEN situated only in my belly.'

Prosodic representations in (9) are indicated in the use the letter capitalization.
Here, the accentuated expression *paKOOKpasim* 'it is THEN situated only' prominently marks the morpheme *kúuk* 'then' as a way to index the utterance to current and prior discourse time (Schiffrin 1987:27). That is to say that its prosodic prominence brings into focus the temporary cognitive state of the Subject 'I' as an EXPERIENCER of some unknown phenomena. In this context, *kúuk* 'then' can be said to be a metadiscourse item in the sense that *Xíluxin* maximizes its use as a signaling device in the management of information flow and that such signaling helps to establish a relation between former and ensuing information states.

A similar example of *kúuk* 'then' is found in the following Sahaptin expression.

10  *mimiš či paxša*, (23)  
*Mími-š čí pax-ša*,  
Long.ago-1SG this recall-IMPV  
'This I am remembering long ago,'

11  *kuna waunaši* (Spring Hollow) KUK Iwača. (24)  
*kʷná Wáwnaši “Spring Hollow” wawáxim kúuk i-wač-á.*  
there going.over.and.over Spring.Hollow spring then 3NOM-be-PST  
'there at Wáwnaši “Spring Hollow” it was THEN spring.'

Quoted speech or what Jacobs (1929:243) calls DIRECT DISCOURSE is a recurrent phenomena in Sahaptin and can be said to be found at all levels of discourse.
X̱iluxín's representation of quoted speech is partially indicated both by quotation marks and by small capitals as in the following Nez Perce example.

12 WAKO IN Lawit TSUKWatsa (23) (from '11-23-93 Tuesday')  
Wáaqo? Ṫin láawit cúukwece!  
Now 1SG true to.know-TMPV-SG.NOM  
"I know it to be true!"

The more common features or organizational devices represented in X̱iluxín's texts are commas, periods, and sometimes hyphens. These devices are unambiguous and are used to the distinguish the basic clause unit consisting of a predicate and one or more argument noun-phrases. No paragraph indentations are found to distinguish informational structure in a stretch of text. In fact, X̱iluxín's organization of text on a page is very fluid and and at times compact.

While the focus of this thesis deals mainly with Sahaptin, the data shows X̱iluxín's Nez Perce transcription to be consistent with what is presented in Cataldo (1914). The variation that does exist is only slight and appears to be a consequence of the phonetic correspondences that exist between the transcription conventions represented in Cataldo (via Morvillo) and the other orthographies. Further, no corresponding change was noted in his representation of Nez Perce in the post-1983
time period.

For example, the following three line entry dated 'Sat 5-5-84' is typical of his overall Nez Perce transcription practice and is presented here in its entirety.

13  ZIKetpa Ultaz Uako Ka aug.
    Cikéetpa wíi'tec wáaqo? káa?awx
night-LOC almost now to.dawn-up.to
'The night is nearly toward morning.'

14  ZeuZuenim Kíe i-pai-no-sa,
    Čéewčewnim kíye hipaynóosa
ghost-ERG we/us 3NOM-come-move.to.another.location-IMPV-PST
'The ghost is coming toward us,'

15  Kus-pa Tus-kini-KiniKai.
    Kúuspa túskinixkiniikey.
Water-LOC above-LOC-LOC
'There from above and over the water.'

Based upon a review of the data, Xíluxín's transcription parallels the linguistic work of Jacobs and his contemporaries in that he was able to achieve a one-to-one correspondence between the speech sounds of Sahaptin and Nez Perce and their graphic representations. His transcription practices can be said to be phonemically broad and accessible to recovery in current phonetic form. As a speaker scholar, Xíluxín was well aware of the fundamental limitations of such a representation and
sought to innovate upon its uses by uniting their conventional forms with what he felt to be the expressive, prosodic features of Sahaptin discourse. Thus, the success of his transcription lies not in the presentation of accurate phonetic form but rather it is one that arises from a constrast of forms that deviate from the routinized and automatic patterns of an internalized phonological awareness.

**Wiwenexseptimt (Dialect)**

A significant feature of  Xiłux̣in's writing is his representation of dialectical variation in Sahaptin and Nez Perce. As a multilingual Sahaptin individual, Xiłux̣in draws upon his vast repertoire of learned knowledge to depict the dialect differentiation that exists between each of the major linguistic divisions in Sahaptin. These include the Columbia River Sahaptin (Southern Division), Northwest Sahaptin (Northern Division) and Northeast Sahaptin (Northern Division) groupings. He was also aware of Nez Perce dialectical differentiation despite the fact that the Cataldo orthography he utilized did not make such distinctions.

Most all language researchers working in the Columbia Plateau region have noted the existence of multilingualism as being present to varying degrees (Hunn

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12 This Nez Perce expression is obtained from the writing of Nez Perce speaker scholar Corbett Lawyer (n.d.).
1990, Jacobs 1931, Rigsby 1965, Sherzer 1973). If we can view the individual speaker as representing a microcosm of this phenomena, then the data exemplified in the work of Xíluxín is a clear example. I believe linguist Bruce Rigsby provides a good summary of this situation and is quoted in full here.

In historic times, at least, multilingualism was a common phenomena among the Sahaptin groups, with the possible exception of the Wanapam who did not always enjoy the most cordial relations with their Columbia Salish neighbors to the north. The Kittitas Sahaptins regularly spoke the Wenatchee dialect of the Columbia Salish language. The Upper Cowlitz Sahaptins generally spoke Lower Cowlitz, a Coast Salish language. Presumably, the Upper Nisqually Sahaptins spoke some Coast Salish language as well. The Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Palouse Sahaptins often spoke dialects of Nez Perce. Many of the western Columbia River Sahaptins spoke Upper Chinookan dialects, Wasco and Wishram, as did the Kliktat Sahaptins too. One should also mention that, two or so generations back, the Chinook Jargon was widely spoken throughout this area. It was used to communicate with peoples who spoke mutually unintelligible languages and in the early contact period, with the Whites. Sahaptin multilingualism may be attributed to extensive trading relationships and contacts with neighboring peoples and to that feature of the common Sahaptin bilateral kinship system which proscribed marriage with a wide kindred grouping and which often led to intermarriage with bordering peoples of different linguistic families (Rigsby 1965:62-63).

Xíluxín represents dialect differentiation within the context of two forms: texts and vocabulary. Typically, each of his cross-linguistic representations consist of a

Compare the various lexical items in the following sentence. Notice that each comparative form is represented by parentheses. In my own analysis, dialect differentiation is identified at the morphemic level by the general designations Columbia River Sahaptin (CRS), Northwest Sahaptin (NWS), and Northeast Sahaptin (NES), and Chinook Jargon (CJ).
Kwapt čaktxi u ·ča (awača) (13) (from text 'SUN 6-5-88')
Ráapt čáqʷxʷk-i úuč-á (á-wač-a)
In.the.way loosen[CRS]-PP 3ACC.be-PST.[NES] 3ACC-be-PST

putumt Ku napt niknit (I2.00) sitkumsawn
pútítmt ku nápt niknit (I2.00) sitkumsáan
ten and two go.around (12:00) midday.[CJ]
'(The crowd) had loosened up at twelve o’clock 12:00 noon.'

It is clear that Xíluxín is consciously representing dialect differences by
drawing upon his stored knowledge as a natural feature of his multilingual status.

Two differing patterns can be discerned from this process. As in (16), dialectical
differences are, for the most part, consciously realized and differentiated for purposes
of descriptive, linguistic representation. Alternatively, unconsciously realized
dialectical differentiations are also represented in what may be more a phenomena of
code switching. These differences are represented in the transcription as constrained
forms whereas an internal dialectical awareness is not. Compare the following
sentences showing each of these patterns.

asku aša watíš (11) (from text ‘4-14-91’ Sun)
A-š ku áš-a watíšx,
REL-1SG and go.in-PST yesterday.[NP]
‘As I went in yesterday,'
18 paniya sapə atpama Tautnuk (plax) (12)  
  pā-ni-ya ʃapa-ʔat-pamā tawtnūk (plóx)  
  INV-give-PST CAUS-go.out-pretaining.to medicine.[NWS]  
                  medicine.[CRS, NES]  
  'he gave me laxative medicine,'

In (17), rather than choosing the Umatilla Sahaptin expression watim  
'yesterday,' he code switches with Lower Nez Perce to give wafissx 'yesterday.' In  
(18), the expression tawtnuk 'medicine,' a Northwest Sahaptin (NWS) word, is used  
here as the natural underlying expression and its overt dialectical version plóx  
'medicine,' found in Southern Sahaptin (CRS, NES), is off set in parentheses for  
comparison. All of the text data that I have reviewed thus far show both of these  
patterns, although for obvious reasons, the overt dialectical representation pattern is  
the more common one.

In addition to documenting lexical correspondences between dialects, Xiluxin  
elaborated further by comparing units of discourse (i.e. sentence level clauses). In the  
following example presented in (19), an entire interlinear text is presented. This text  
segment duplicates as closely as possible the original hand written version. Nez Perce  
is shown in initial position, this is followed by an equal sign and then Umatilla. I have  
added a free translation to this text. Beginning in (20), I provide a fully reconstructed  
interlinear representation of the original. The text itself appears to be a reflection on
the nature of religion and religious belief. Notably, texts of this type are almost always transcribed in Nez Perce.

19 11-23-93 Tuesday
IPNA AWiIN – panay awink. La-am-NA titokan – tlaxna
Tananka INA Twixnimtx – inay Twanemtk. Mitsi-ay-tasx tsiaken
– yiknaytas sinwit. WAKO IN Lawit TSUKWATSAN – Auś (awnaš) in
PA-ek-ksa-na Koon-ya ^l Hamana – paquinušana kʷana winsNA.

He told all the Indian people, “Follow me! Listen to my words!
I know it to be true!” (Yet) nothing grew from this. (What)
they saw of that man.

20 'Ipné əewín laʔám-na titóqan[^13]. (Nez Perce)
3SG.REFL 3ACC.say-PPF all-ACC Indian.people

Paańáy áwin-k Xáaxʷ tanán-ma. (Umatilla Sahaptin)
3SG.GEN 3ACC.tell-IMP all Indian.person-PL
‘He told all the Indian people,’

21 "'Íńe tiwíximtx!"
1SG.ACC follow-GEN-PL.IMP

“Íńáy twáana-m-tk!"
1SG.ACC follow-CISL-PL.IMP
“Follow me!”

[^13]: In this construction, Xífluxín marks the initial sentence with a period following the first two words. I offer a conjoining of this initial sentence with the next due to the pronounced deitic frame that is expressed here.
"Mičiyáay'tax číiqin!"
to.hear-BENF-COND word

"Yíkn-ay-taš sínwit!"
hear-BENF-1PL.EXC word.
"Listen to my words!"

"Wáaqo? ṭín láawit cúukwece!"
Now 1SG true to.know-IMPV-SG.NOM

"Áw-š (áw-naš) inlawít šúk"a-ša!"
Now-1SG (now-1SG) 1SG right know-IMPV
"I know it to be true!"

Wée'lu ṭítúu ḥepí?ímne.
NEG what 3ACC-to.grow-RM.PST

Čaw-tún i-ttáwax-na.
NEG-what 3NOM-growth-PST
'(Yet) nothing grew from this.'

Péekcene konyá háamana.
3/3-to.see-IMPV-SG.NOM-RM.PST that.OBJ man-ACC

Pá-qinu-šan-a kʷaaná wínš-na.
INV-see-IMPV-PST that.ACC man-ACC
'(What) they saw of that man.'

Additional comparisons between lexical items are presented in Xíluχín's
vocabularies. An entry dated '4-26-87 SUN' is presented in its entirety with no current
additions. The cultural outline of the transcription is NEZ PERCE to ENGLISH to
SAHAPTIN.
26  4-26-87 SUN.
I-Uze-ya = He or she (it) was = (iwisaiča, itsánana)
I-Leyak-nim = the heat or fever = (Lax′aix-nim)
I-TAMAGaLpa = he opened it = (ičaxalpa)
INI-U = will give you = (INITA)
I-N-nek-sina = they thought = (papxwišana)
I-ZAKA = have said = (nawača ·, NU · ča)
Ipa-Ta-Ta-sa = is to arrive = (iyawitaša)
Ipa-nim-a = have came = (iyawima)

The organization of expressions in (26) is typical of Xíluxín's vocabulary lists and demonstrates the complexity and depth of his linguistic knowledge. Xíluxín's purpose in organizing data in this manner is to associate the dialectical features of Sahaptin and Nez Perce not so much as isolated lexical items but as fully, integratable linguistic expressions. In more typical descriptive research situations, a linguistically trained scholar will manipulate data outside of his or her experience whereas a community speaker scholar has the ability to draw upon his or her internalized linguistic knowledge as a means of contrast and comparison.

In this respect, Xíluxín's data discovery methods are two fold. The first approach is a broad, comparative framework showing only Sahaptian (Sahaptin and Nez Perce) and English. The second comparative framework is comprised almost exclusively of Sahaptin and Nez Perce only. Internal dialectical variation is more prominent at this level. Further, his vocabulary comparisons are inclusively syntactic
in that each lexical item is fully realized in their nominal and predicate forms. His text comparisons are similarly organized and are presented in interlinear form as coherent discourse, however, his interlinear texts appear to be more restricted in that they typically show no English equivalents.

The general pattern that emerges here is that Xîlùxin's data discovery methods are closely aligned with Sahaptian language use. This alignment can be conceptualized as having 1) organizational meaning whereby the whole and parts of linguistic form and their attendant propositions are expressed in complementary fashion and 2) it possesses constituency structure "in which a larger meaning unit is directly made up of contiguous smaller units" and 3) it possesses cohesive structure or texture "in which chains of semantic relationships unite units" of an utterance or expression in a text (Lemke 1998). It is suggested therefore that what we are calling "community linguistics" must be, at a minimum, an activity that transposes language use as practice to language use as organized verbal data.

Tîmani Sînwit (Written Words, Speech, Language)

As is becoming clear, Xîlùxin's documentation of Sahaptin and Nez Perce is motivated by his commitment to preserving language including its intrinsic vitality
and expressive force in human communicative experience. Indeed, his early association with the linguist Meville Jacobs and his subsequent independent research confirms such a view. However, when we begin to focus more intently upon each instance of use, we find, in addition to his descriptive practice, a range of other entextualizing features that are distinctly unique. Learning to write is not simply an activity comprised of a complex sequence of physical and conceptual acts much like learning to ride a bike or baking Kwínč ‘pin lichen’ in a roasting pit, but once mastered, it becomes a practice embedded within our cultural frames of human linguistic interaction.

The notion that a speaker writing is a real world phenomena of indigenous communication presupposes that the linguistic resources a speaker writer will have access to are minimally constituted in specified ways. That is the linguistic resources shared by speakers and speaker writers of a particular speech community will not only “contain large stocks of expressions and structures with stable imagery (e.g., morphemes, words, idiomatic phrases, metaphors, traditional narratives), but each usage of a conventional expression implicates it in a particular social and linguistic situation or requires the framing of a novel experience (Palmer 1996:39).” In essence then, this section and those that follow are devoted to discovering what these conventional expressions might consist of in a speaker writing.
The fact that the ever evolving structure of human communication can evoke an unlimited range of cultural meanings and mental representations has important implications for analyzing discourse. Understandably, contemporary research into Native American discourse has yielded important insights into the structure of indigenous communicative practice. The various theoretical perspectives that have been adopted center on two fundamental issues of discourse: the *what* perspective or "what is being talked about" and the *how* perspective or the "structure of what is being talked about" (Goutsos 1997). From a descriptive standpoint, in-depth linguistic documentation commonly adopts the latter approach with the intent on revealing the structure of human communication or the "discovered shape and quality of discourse, the organization of its form, and the information to be conveyed" (Kinkade and Mattina 1996:260). By adopting this approach, I will examine Xíluxin's writing and attempt to demonstrate its apparent link it to larger frames of Sahaptin discourse. Twelve (12) interlinear texts are represented in this thesis with the intent on showing both the range of Xíluxin's corpus as well as their particular uses.

The kinds of discourse phenomena that have been documented among the Sahaptian speech communities first appeared in the pioneering work of the linguist Melville Jacobs. Upon working with various speakers of the Northwest Sahaptin
dialect, Jacobs (1929:243-44) identified three major discourse genres. The first genre type is the Watitaaš or myth and is herein described by Jacobs, "The Watitaaš are myths of beings and persons of the former world, when animals, birds, insects, fish of the present world were persons, when magically powerful and harmful beings...were about, when Indian people were not yet near their later homes" (1929:243). The second genre type is the Txánat or story, remembrance which are generally stories representing contemporary human events and experiences. Finally, the third genre type is the Šuk"at or knowledge, learning, teaching representing those "ex tempore reflections about the myths and tales, about stages the world has gone though, about life since the advent of whites" (1929:244). As genre, these internal emic distinctions signify their value as organized discourse. Their purposive function is to create a "horizon of expectation" between the producers and recipients of such discourse (Tonkin 1992:2).

The internal features of Sahaptin discourse have been described by Hymes (1982, 1987). Hymes analysis offers a structured view of the underlying repetition and patterned variation of Sahaptin discourse, one that shows a distinct sequencing of verbal units organized into patterns of three and five. Such patterns are culturally significant. However, the analysis I provide in the proceeding sections suggest that
this underlying pattern may also represent temporal juncture in that it allows a portrayal of events in uninterrupted, sequential ordering.

Two discourse types identified by Jacobs are represented in Ḵiluxin’s corpus, these types are translated into Umatilla as Walsáyc (cf. Jacobs NWS ‘watít’aas’) or *myth* and Timnanáx(n) (cf. Jacobs NWS ‘txánat’) or *story, rememberance.* It is not certain if Šúk”at or *knowledge, learning, teaching* is present in Ḵiluxin's corpus. This uncertainty is partly due to the fact that this form of genre is poorly documented in the linguistic record. However, there are indications that at least some of his writings are oriented in this fashion.

*Walsáyc (Myth)*

Jacobs definition of the Kilkitat expression watít’aas ‘myth’ (1929:243) is accepted here for Umatilla Sahaptin. Two myths are identified in Ḵiluxin’s corpus, these are Walsáyc Kúckuc ‘Little Myth’ a Umatilla myth depicting Tiskayáya ‘Skunk’ as its central character and an untitled English to Sahaptin myth concerning Moon and Coyote’. My analysis of this particular genre will focus on ‘Little Myth,’.

As a mythic character, Ḵiluxin’s portrayal of Tiskayáya ‘Skunk’ matches well

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14 The text depicting Moon and Coyote is not featured here in this analysis.
with those represented in Melville Jacobs' *Northwest Sahaptin Texts* (1934, 1937).

Thus, *Tiskayáya* 'Skunk' is often outwardly boastful and feigns illness so he can lure animals to their death by ejecting musc upon them.

It is of note here that mythic personages in Sahaptin and Nez Perce are uniquely distinguished by the use of a mythic vocabulary and affected speech patterns. In 'Little Myth,' the common form *tiskáy* 'skunk' (Spilogale putoris) is nominalized in polymorphemic form as *Tiskayáya*. Similarly, in Nez Perce, the more common form *tísqe*? 'skunk' is nominalized as *Tíckexeyxey* (Aoki 1979:3). Further, many mythic characters demonstrate an affected speech pattern. For example, *Tiskayáya* 'Skunk' speech patterns show certain words inflected with the prefixal morpheme *qi*- and certain pronunciations show *q* alternating with *k* (CTUIR n.d.) Archie Phinney (1934:ix) also notes that among the Nez Perce the mythic character *Tíckexeyxey* "nasalizes in high-pitched voice and changes *x* to *x* and *k*, *s* to *ts*, *a* to *â*." Upon careful examination of *Xíluxin*’s 'Little Myth' transcription, however, no phonemic variations were noted in *Tiskayáya*’s speech pattern. Rather, his transcription of the narrative is presented in his pre-1983 format.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) The "Little Myth" text is similar in transcription form to text 5 in the appendix entitled '9-7-77 WED.' Both show the overt use of hyphens. It is of also of minor note that 'Little Myth' is graphically distinct in that it was originally transcribed
A particular important feature of this genre is the use of **DIRECT DISCOURSE**.

Jacobs (1929:243) was among the first linguistic researchers to document this feature as key element of Sahaptin discourse style. For example, in 'Little Myth,' Tiskayáya's internal speech is fully represented.

27  **Ku náxš ḫkʷ-i-pa i-pوضوع-ि-na, (3)**  
and one day-LOC 3NOM-think-PST  
'And one day he thought (to himself),'

28  "Áw-s čí áw škáw-aša tún-maaman!" (4)  
now-1SG this now be.afraid-upon person.[NWS]-PL.ACC  
"Now, with this, I am scaring the people!"

Parallels of this feature are found throughout Xíluxín's texts in what are otherwise ordinary, everyday representations. Compare the following lines below.

29  **Piná-ʔinn-a, (19)**  
SG.REFL-tell-PST  
'I told myself,'

30  "Șiʔix-nam! Čáw tún páyuwi-t!" (20)  
good.[NES]-2SG NEG what be.sick-NOM  
"You are well! There is not any sickness!"

upside down in his field notes.
It is possible to suggest here that Sahaptin DIRECT DISCOURSE phenomena, particularly as it is represented in its reflexive form, functions as a way to impart volition and animacy in the immediate reality of the perceiving agent.

In conclusion, Xíuxín's representation of Walsáyc 'myth' does not depart from our understanding of this genre in terms of Jacobs' original definition. However, if we are to take the view that Xíuxín is a participant of the culture he is describing, then he will have most likely experienced Walsáyc 'myth' as a comprehensive communicative act involving preformance, dynamic speech, and bodily gesture. Thus, writing Walsáyc 'myth' represents a radical departure from its original conception as mythic drama and may not be well suited to documenting certain ephemeral behaviors such as affected speech patterns.

Timnanáxt (Story, Remembrance)

Three texts are identified for this type. These are 'Story told by Walter Pond in year 1929 Hunting RS Rotten Spings,' '10-20-87 TUES,' and '6-26-91 Wed.' In Umatilla (CRS), the nominal expression Timnanáxt 'story, remembrance' is based upon the verb root Timnanáx(n) meaning 'to tell a story, relate' (CTUIR 1998, 2000b). Jacobs (1931:171) proposes that Timnanáx(n) is cognate with with Timná- 'in heart,
know, love' and the anterior verb root -te - 'speak, call, tell, narrate.' As a genre, 

**Timnanáxt** may be said to refer to a form of traditional narrative comprising a 
chronological framework and a reporting of facts, dispositions, and experiences in 
which the narrator has some intimate, background knowledge as suggested in the 
cognate timná 'heart.'

The text 'Story told by Walter Pond In year 1929 Hunting RS Rotten Sping; s' is 
a clear example of **Timnanáxt** in that the Umatilla speaker narrator *Yaxláášat* (Walter 
Pond) is relating remembered events from his childhood. Based upon a reconstructed 
history of this text, it is proposed here that the original narrative was orally present safe 
and sequentially transcribed in collaboration with a field linguist. The identity of the 
transcriber is not explicitly mentioned and it is possible that *Xílúxín* himself may have 
recorded the narrative with the assistance of the linguist Melville Jacobs or one of his 
asstists. The date of the narrative '1929' is consistent with what we now know of 
Jacobs Sahaptin field work which extend from the period 1926 through 1931 
beginning with the his work among the Klikitat and Upper Cowlitz Sahaptin speakers 
(Jacobs 1931:96, University of Washington Libraries n.d.).

In terms of its presentation, the narrative of *Yaxláášat* (Walter Pond) describes 
a small band of Umatilla embarking on their annual fall trek into the John Day region
of northeastern Oregon to hunt, fish, and gather foods. The opening sequence of the narrative begins with the narrator establishing a deitic frame where the 1ST PERSON 'I' is a ground element from which the ensuing narrative proceeds. Here, the narrator is both the perceiver and experiencer of real world phenomena, however, with the introduction of other meaningful participants, the narrative's deictic frame shifts from 1ST PERSON SINGULAR 'I' to 1ST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE 'We' meaning 'we but not you.' This is indicated in the use of clitics. For example, compare a-š showing a RELATIVE particle and the 1ST PERSON SINGULAR clitic -š in lines (31) and (32) with ku-taš of line (33) showing the particle 'and' with the 1ST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE 'We.'

31  Máimi a-š kú wač-á áswan, (1)  
Long.ago REL=1SG and be-PST boy  
'Long ago when I was a boy,'

32  a-š kú wač-á pšít wáqiš ku pčá, (2)  
REL=1SG and be-PST Father alive and Mother  
'when my Father and Mother were alive'

33  ku-taš kúuk wišána-χana k̠áan pít'xanu-kan. (3)  
and=1PL.EXC then move-PST.HAB that.VRS upland.country-VRS  
'we then used to move in that direction toward the upland country.'

In the opening lines of (31) and (32), the narrator Yaxlášat (Walter Pond)
orients himself in respect to person, place, time, and behavioral situation. However, it is only in the deictic frame of 1ST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE ‘We’ that we see the temporal sequence of events unfold in the narrative as in line (33). This is a reoccurring phenomena that appears elsewhere in the narrative.

34  kʷná i-wá káyaytt Šapáqičt. (13)  
    there 3NOM-be.PRS valley [place name]  
    ‘At that place—Shapaq’icht--there is a valley.’

35  Ku-taš kʷná áwku wiš-wáwtukín-χan-a  
   And=1PL.EXC there then traveling-camp-HAB-PST

   míł nápt sčát. (14)  
   how.many two nights  
   ‘And then traveling along there we used to camp some two nights.’

36  Áw-taš kú kʷná wáa-tkʷaynín-χan-a. (15)  
    now=1PL.EXC and there meanwhile-hunt-HAB-PST  
    ‘Then while there we would hunt’

37  A-š páyš ín míł láxš á-tuxna-χan-a. (16)  
    REL=1SG if-tell how.many one 3ACC-shoot-HAB-PST  
    ‘as many maybe as one--I--would shoot.’

The copula construction iwá ‘it is’ of line (34) expresses a referential relationship to place and does not contribute in anyway to the sequential ordering of events. In the next two lines (35) and (36), the temporal sequence of events unfold
and the SUBJECT of each phrase is shown in the use of the 1ST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE 'We.' That is the events represented are sequentially ordered as in 'then traveling, we camped, then we would hunt.' Immediately following this in line (37), a RELATIVE CLAUSE construction is used showing the 1ST PERSON SINGULAR and here again this usage by the narrator expresses only a topic comment that does not in anyway disrupt the sequencing of the narrative.

The uninterrupted sequential, temporal ordering of the two clauses represented in lines (35) and (36) is a narrative phenomena described as temporal juncture (Labov and Waletzky 1968:25). What makes this significant as a form of language use in Timnanáxt is the combination of a 1ST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE 'We' diectic frame with the discourse connectives áw 'now' and áwku 'then'. In both Sahaptin and Nez Perce, these discourse connectives are highly salient in terms of their semantic focus in that they help to organize discourse temporally and sequentially. Jacobs (1929:v) makes a similar observation, "From a native point of view the connectives and conjunctions áw, ku, áwku and so on, delimit phrases and sentences and are alone truly significant for native sentence form and sentence tone." This type of narrative structure is also found in mythic discourse, however, the use of diectic frames are more restricted. Narrative participants are typically portrayed using only a SECOND
PERSON and THIRD PERSON profile. A FIRST PERSON profile is selectively represented only in DIRECT DISCOURSE.

How then does Timnanáxt as an oral narrative compare with this form being presented as a written narrative? Part of this answer lies in the fact that in any given speech situation a speaker will have a mental representation as to who will be talking to who. Indeed, our understanding of the narrative of Yaxlásašat (Walter Pond) from the moment it was produced in 1929 up to the moment in which we read it tells us that he had in his presence a receptive audience for whom the narrative was related. Because Timnanáxt is a conventional form of linguistic interaction, the speaker or narrator will typically “carry a running mental model of the hearers' belief and intentional states” during the course of a narrative performance (Dickson and Givón 2000:163). Such a model presupposes that the speech act participants are grounded in a construal relationship whereby the parameters of the speech event and its meanings are conceived in certain ways usually initiated by the speaker (Langacker 1987:128). Jacobs (1934:x) notes that the role of the Sahaptin hearer was clearly defined during the telling of myth, however, no such indications are made for Timnanáxt or Šúkat genres.

The shift from an oral to a written mode of communication therefore changes
the construal relationship where the behaviors of the speech event are no longer self evident. In this respect, the speaker writer no longer has access to the hearers' belief and intentional states rather he must anticipate them in their absence (Dickson and Givón 2000:163). In the two instances of Tímmnanáxt that are represented here, the first being an oral account by Yaxláasát (Walter Pond) and the other a written account by Xíluxin entitled '10-20-87 TUES,' we can make comparisons on linguistic grounds and show what differences may exist between the dialogic and monologic forms of communication.

In the opening lines of '10-20-87 TUES,' Xíluxin is orienting himself as a speaker writer with respect to person, place, time, and behavioral situation.

38 Čí-naš áw máyk mít tíma-ša, (1)
this=1SG now more however.much write-IMPV
'I am now writing however much more of this'

39 máan-pam wá inmí náymu-ma ku xítway-ma, (2)
where.to-2PL be 1SG.GEN kinsman-PL and friend-PL
'to where you may be my relatives and friends,'

40 ?iním himyúu-me wáx lawtíwa-ma. (3)
1SG.GEN.[NP] to.call.someone.a.relative-PL.[NP] and friend-PL.[NP]
'my relatives and friends.'

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16 Many more examples are present in Xíluxin's corpus and have yet to be analyzed. The texts presented here are only a representative sample of his writing.
Several observations can be made here. The first is the fact that the speaker writer assumes or anticipates the presence of a hearer via the reader in lines (39, 40, and 41). In the physical absence of a hearer, the speaker writer alternatively construes a running mental model between himself and an imagined collectivity of readers identified as 'relatives' and 'friends' of the past and present and of 'mine (who) just came' who are presumably persons of his own lineage or band who have recently come into being. Further, these addressees are located in an unrealized time and space by the locative diegetic expression máan-pam wá 'to wherever you may be.' While the significance of these opening lines may not be readily apparent here, it is only as one reads over Xi'lu'xin's corpus that we find a large number of his texts containing this
form of address. In several instances, he expands his address to be all inclusive by adding the expression kúušxi átawwitma ‘thus also the precious (life)’ (see text ‘n.d.’ and ‘6-26-91 Wed.’). It is worthy of note that lines (39) and(40) show a kind of evocative parallelism between languages.

Based upon the Umatilla (CRS) oral texts that are available to me, I will present the opening lines of several texts as a way to further delineate the ways in which speech act participants acquire a mental representation of the speech act event and show how deictic information becomes a critical organizing factor.

45 Sínwisanaš ká?witki.
‘I am speaking about the root feast.’ (CTUIR 1997b)

46 Áwna timnanáxša ana kúuš míími patámayčiníxana kʷínc.
‘Now I’m telling a story like long ago they used to barbecue pine lichen.’ (CTUIR 1997c)

47 Áwnaš sínlwa anakú tiičám pinátamasklikinxa.
‘Now I am speaking (about) when the earth turns itself.’ (CTUIR 1997d)

48 Áwnaš čí mít ápxša tanantímtki sínwit waničt.
‘Now I am remembering some names in Indian.’ (CTUIR 1997e)

What we encounter in these examples are a set of routinized deictic expressions that ground the speaker and the addressee in a unified frame of linguistic
interaction. The speaker refers to him or herself in the FIRST PERSON relative to the entities and state of affairs designated by the referents or subjects of the speech event. Nowhere in the proceeding sections of the text do the speakers claim to presuppose the ambiguity of the mental model of the 'hearers' belief and intentional states' in the current speech situation.

However, when we return again to Xiluxin's '10-20-87 TUES' written text and look more carefully, we find a great deal of ambiguity being expressed in a set of propositional statements in lines (42) and (43) concerning the act of writing by the speaker writer and its relation to a hearer/reader addressee. It is significant that these statements should follow his opening address. The proposition 'It is cold in this written language, like pitiful to my own way of thinking' situates him simultaneously as a speaker writer doing the writing and a reader monitoring and reflecting upon his own written expressions as a viable form of communication. Thus, a tension exists in the predicated elements of the transitive verb tfina-, that is the profiled speaker writer I and demonstrative this of line (38), and the discourse processing upon which it is built. The model of the 'hearers' belief and intentional states' is not just an presupposition or experience space being rendered on the part of the speaker writer rather he is expressing a comparative relationship between speaking as an internalized cultural
pattern and the act of writing as being an extension of this model.

It should be of no surprise here that the act of writing is portrayed as a minimally realized mode of communication. However, it is only in the purposive use of writing to which Xíluxín is investing that we see a tension build between the expressive and referential function of language and how they become embodied as experience in discourse. As an answer to this problem, in line (44) 'In that way I am teaching myself,' we see now that he has resolved himself to understanding the contradictions that writing poses both to the world of Sahaptin discourse and to his status as a speaker writer attempting to communicate beyond the constraints of putting words onto a page.

As indicated in the oral narrative of Yaxmláásat (Walter Pond), we noted the presence of temporal juncture where two clauses occur in uninterrupted sequential ordering and that such clauses are headed by the discourse connectives áw 'now' and áwku 'then.' This ordering is what gives the events of the narrative temporal structure. However, in Xíluxín's '10-20-87 TUES' written text, the temporal ordering of events is suspended between the episodic memory of the speaker writer, the moment of writing, and the events represented in the state of affairs of the referents or subjects of his writing. Thus, only one example of temporal juncture is present in the text. Lines
(50) and (51) show a shift from the 1ST PERSON SINGULAR 'I' to the 1ST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE 'We' and the use of the discourse connective kúuk 'then' to indicate temporality between sequences.

49 Mími-š čí páx-ša, (23) Long.ago-1SG this recall-IMPV 'This I am remembering long ago,'

50 kʷná wáwnaši "Spring Hollow" wawáxi:m kúuk i-wač-á. (24) there going.over.and.over Spring.Hollow spring then 3NOM-be-PST 'there at Wáwnaši "Spring Hollow" it was THEN spring.'

51 Ku-taš kʷíni kúsi-k i-wína-čan-a (25) And-1PL.EXC that.ABL horse-V 3NOM-go-HAB-PST 'And from there we would go horseback,'

52 xáwš khí-čan-a. (26) cous.root dig.roots-HAB-PST '(we) would dig xáwš.'

The minimal presence of temporal juncture in the text '10-20-87 TUES' is striking. Any narrative must at least appeal to a process of time and causality in its narrative producing action. So what is happening in '10-20-87 TUES' as a narrative? Our initial proposal would be that linear, chronological time as portrayed in event sequences is etically determined based upon accepted norms of chronometric measures. Such a view of time is common cross-culturally. However, if we take an
emic view, time is more concerned with cultural-specific and thus arbitrary
segmentations and conceptualizations of the temporal continuum (Nõth 1990:416).
In this sense, our understanding of Xíluxín's narrative text as Timnanáxt is one of
remembrance. What Gennette (1972:27) calls "narrating" or the producing narrative
action now shifts from a chronological time to a time rendered as total, immediate
experience. This may partly explain why the narrator or speaker writers experience is
more vicarious than personal due to the constant activation of discourse referents in
consciousness. What we then see reflected in the text is an increase in the mentions on
the act of writing (9 total) and its relation to a present or future outcome as a
communicative event of rememberance, such as the one in line (53).

53 Ana šín i-yáxta čí tímaš. (17)
REL who 3NOM-pour.out this paper
'Whoever is pouring out to this paper.'

Compare also the following lines.
54  **Ku čí kúuk kúckuc i-wá nákpi-t šniwáy**  
And this then little.[NP] 3NOM-be bring.out-NOM pitifully

**inmí-yaw px"í-f-nawit-pa. (51)**  
1SG.GEN-ALL think-manner-LOC  
'And today a little bit is pitifully brought out to my way of thinking.'

55  **Čí-naš yalmílk tíma-ša**  
This-1SG old.way write-IMPV

**Nixyáaw-ki ku ánča Háwtmi-ki, (52)**  
Nixyáaw-INST and again Háwtmi-LOC  
'This I am writing of the olden days about Nixyáaway and again about Háwtmi,'

56  **áxway-naš tk"ílk" tíma-ta, (53)**  
Still/yet-1SG straight write-FUT  
'I will yet write it straight,'

Lastly, the third narrative of this type, '6-26-91 wed,' is more a brief expository text on the subject of **Timnanáxt** and does not possess the type of narrative structure discussed here. Rather, it portrays **Xíluxín's** thoughts on the act of remembering stories and events he himself has witnessed. His concluding statement is particularly revealing in that he views the entextualizing process as being one of separation where one's words and speech are dislocated from its human source only to be transformed and reconfigured in space and time.
at the end of Tímâx-taš tímâx-xa kámâx. (12)
And thus-PRES.HAB now-1PL.INC tell-MOD by-ABL
And so thus now we can tell from the tape.'

The analysis thus far has attempted to compare Sahaptin discourse genres with their written equivalents. Mythic discourse as it is represented in Walsáyc 'myth' appears in only one example in Xíłuxin's corpus and based upon its structural features no known distinctions were noted. An in-depth analysis will require additional examples beyond what is available here. Upon looking at Timnanáxt 'story, remembrance,' I compared an oral version in the 1929 narrative of Yałlašat (Walter Pond) with what I believed to be a written equivalent in Xíłuxin's text '10-20-87 TUES.' The implications bought out in this comparison suggest that Timnanáxt
'story, remembrance' poses certain problems to writing, these are 1) reconciling a dialogic-based communicative pattern with a monologic one, and 2) an appeal to a process of time and causality in the narrative producing action of the writer and the narrated event. It will be important to compare additional texts by other speaker writers to gain a broader view as to how one might mobilize a linguistic resource to confront each of these challenges. In this respect, a speaker writer like Xíluxin may be the exception based upon his enduring commitment to 'yet write it straight' in the language he so much loves.

In the proceeding sections, I will present representative samples of potential, new genres that are found in Xíluxin's corpus and again I will attempt to correlate them with what is becoming known in our review of Sahaptin discourse.

Wapáxiša Sínwít (Releasing Words)

The analogue for this type of cultural expression is primarily found in oratorical discourse. I purpose it here only to account for its current use in Xíluxin's corpus based upon his own description of this phenomena. Wapáxiša Sínwít 'releasing words' refers to the act of actualizing and expressing one's reflexive consciousness in language. Its discourse function is primarily emotive centering on
the speaker or speaker writers’ attitude toward the content of the message (Nóth 1990:187). This is similar in form to what can be described as pináčaxílpayša timné ‘opening one’s heart’\(^{17}\), or the belief that one’s heart is one of the primary sources for the production of individual human language and thought. Thus, upon opening one’s heart to speak one would be ‘releasing (true) words.’

Two example\(^{18}\) texts are represented here in interlinear form. The first is identified as ‘9-7-77 Wed’ and the second is ‘2-1-81 Sunday.’ In the opening lines of ‘9-7-77 wed,’ Xíluxín is addressing his ‘relatives’ in an intimate fashion.

62 \(\text{?Iním náymu-
ma, (1)}\)
1SG.GEN.[NP] kinsman-PL
‘My relatives,’

63 čí-naš mél sínwit inmí-niin wapáxi-
ša čí áw kláawitt-pa. (2)
this-1SG INTR words 1SG.GEN-EMP release-IMPV afternoon-LOC
‘I am releasing myself of however many words now this afternoon.’

64 Míš-naš k*ýáam tk*ílk* sínwi-wi-
ta čí ičíškún, (3)
how-1SG true straight speak-DIST-FUT this in.this.language
‘How will I speak of each true and straight in this language,’

\(^{17}\) The similarity of ‘releasing words’ to this expression provided me with the title to this study, that is Timnákni Tímat ‘writing from the heart.’

\(^{18}\) Additional untranslated examples may be present in Xíluxín’s corpus.
What we again encounter in this orientational sequence is the central concern of a speaker writer utilizing the internalized cultural patterns of his or her linguistic resources for purposes of writing. The concern is one of continuity whereby the speaker writer wishes to maintain the experiential basis of language as a means of engagement with the world and that such engagements typically have purpose. The passage suggests that Xiłuxin is assessing this means and questions the communicative potential of writing to achieve a level of discourse as it is embodied in the truth conditions of individual and collective human experience. In other words, he is indicating to us that 'releasing words' must first be spoken to have communicative efficacy. It is only then in the moment of the utterance that words become 'true and straight' and that a speakers awareness or reflexive consciousness erupts forth to create meaning in the world.

Despite its rarity of occurrence as writing, these two texts provide us a momentary but rich glimpse into the experiential phenomena of Sahaptin linguistic interaction. The significance of both his address and question further suggest, at least initially, that the cultural dimension of Sahaptin orality is a bounded social space
comprised of a society of intimates. As a written genre, however, further comparative analysis will be needed both to accurately define this phenomena and to equate its description with a broader sample of Sahaptin speaker views on discourse.

*Tuntún Wikut (The Various Doings, Happenings)*

I propose this type as a minor variation of *Timnanáxt* 'story, remembrance.'

*Tuntún Wikut* 'the various doings, happenings' refers to a reportage of ordinary events within the immediate time frame of their occurrence. There is no overt purpose attributed to the reporting other than to describe the everyday encounters and situations that are of interest to the narrator. This proposed form is very similar to what is described in Umatilla Sahaptin as *Tamápayks* 'tell on, report on,' however, like *Timnanáxt* it is quite distinct in terms of its communicative orientation and presupposes an overt relationship between interlocutors, that is between a speaker and hearer. It was necessary here to find a more neutral form of reportage specific to the writing situation since, as it will be shown, no particular audience is formally indicated in these texts.

Five (5) texts are identified here as belonging to this type. These are 'SUN 6-5-88,' 'SUN 12-3-89,' '9-27-90-thu,' and '4-14-91.' One text identified as 'n.d.' shows an
opening address common to the other genres, however, I include it here mostly because of its content and reporting of ordinary events and situations.

The texts presented in this section are distinct in their overall orientation to time, that is in the immediate narrative present of the speaker writer and to events of recency within the experience of the speaker writer's life. Further, the texts do not evoke a social deictic frame common to the other narrative genres rather they are more concerned with their relevance to the representation of real, social phenomena and to creating a narrative producing action in writing. Perhaps their most significant feature is the emerging presence of the speaker writer as narrator. Thus, Xīluóxīn as a narrator is not so much concerned with the actualization of the self in writing as he is with the narration of the self as an “unfolding reflective awareness of being-in-the-world” (Ochs and Capps 1996:21).

For example, the opening lines in three of his texts brings into view the 1ST PERSON SINGULAR 'I' as a sentient subject.

66 Čí-naš mīt tín̕ma-ša (1) (From text 'SUN 6-5-88')
This-1SG however.much write-IMPV
'This much I am writing,'
čí áw kúuk máycqi-š tášxi ana á́f skáw. (2)
this now then morning-1SG wake.up.PPF REL generous strong
‘now that I wake up this morning quite strong.’

Opening line from text ‘4-14-91 Sun.’

Áw-š čí máyk wáqiš piná-tawyak-in, (1)
now-1SG this more.[NES] alive SG.REFL-feel.[NES]-ASSOC
‘Now I am more alive with feeling.’

Opening line from ‘9-27-90-thu.’

?Etke ?inciwáátx hipt haníisa. (1) (NP)
because 1SG-alone food to.make-IMPV-SG.NOM

Ač-tya-š ínk-sla tkʷátat ani-ša. (Umatilla Sahaptin)
because.MOD=1SG 1SG-alone.[NWS] food make-IMPV
‘Because I am alone I am making food.’

In comparison to the other genres, Tuntún Wíkut ‘the various doings,
happenings’ displays distinct temporality in that the transition in the entities and states
of affairs represented therein are organized chronologically and possess temporal
juncture. However, unlike the construction represented in the 1929 oral narrative of
Yaxláašat (Walter Pond), temporal juncture is represented in a 3RD PERSON narration,
that is from the internal narrative viewpoint of the speaker writer. Further, discourse
connectives such as áw 'now' or áwku 'then' are typically not present. The reason for this may be that the events depicted are restricted to the narrator's reality and outside the purview of an hearer addressee. The text '4-14-91 Sun' shows one such example. Lines (62-65) are all characterized by temporal juncture.

70 Watím-š kʷa-míl kú-ya KayElk-mamí qqaanáy-wit, (21)
Yesterday-1SG doubt-few go.[NES]-PST Kay.Elk-PL.GEN
be.industrious-ABS
'Yesterday, I wonder how many went to Kay Elk's memorial,'

71 i-wiyápsk-t waník-t, (22)
3NOM-come.into.view.[NWS]-NOM name.[NES]-NOM
'the coming out of the name,'

72 yánawi-ya xlák, (23)
arrive-PST many
'many arrived,'

73 á-tuti-ša Automobiles, (24)
3ABS-stand-PST automobiles
'automobiles were parked,'

74 áw-na-ša-ša kiwkiwlac, (25)
3ABS-singing-on/upon-PST drum.[NES]
drum was sounding,'

75 pa-páaxam-ša. (26)
PL-war.dancing-PST
does war danced.'

A unique phenomena of Tuntún Wikut is the ability of the speaker writer to
employ the linguistic resources of language to portray events not from the perspective of the past but from the perspective of the present. The time value of the event is in present time or the immediate moment at which the event itself was occurring. This is made possible by the use of present tense or what is termed the 'historical present' (Ochs and Capps 1996:25). For example, compare lines (76-77) with the proceeding lines (78) and (80) showing the use of the present tense.

76  Watim Ted-nim náxažwi-ya mís-na (7)
yesterday Ted-ERG challenge-PST how-ACC 'Yesterday, Ted challenged someone'

77  ?itaŋyáanwaas-kan (itaymaʔáwas-kan) kʷná nčí-pa níít-pa
    town.[NP]-VRS (store-VRS) there big-LOC house-LOC armory
    'toward town (toward the store) there at the "big house" armory.'

78  Tuntún pá-tayma-ša, (9)
each.thing INV-buy-IMPV 'He is buying each thing,'

79  xlák twínpaš ílapat kúuʃ-ʔi tanán aní-t (crafts). (10)
many gun bullet thus-also Indian make-NOM crafts
'a lot of guns, bullets, thus also the Indian makings (crafts).'

80  Áš-nataš (11)
go.in-1PL.EXC 'We enter,'
It is clear that *Xíluxin*, as a narrator, is bringing into view the remembered subjective experience of a lived, momentous event. By all indications it is possible to suggest here that this particular narrative strategy is rare in the Sahaptin linguistic record. This is perhaps due to its restricted use in everyday language and outside the purview of the elicited framework of the speaker and linguist relationship typically found in language documentation situations. Further comparative research is needed to determine the extent to which the historical present is used and the kinds of linguistic interaction that may contribute to such an expression.

A similar but more common form in the use of present tense is found in the Sahaptin imperative. Typically, imperatives occur in DIRECT DISCOURSE and are deitically framed by mutually identified or assumed speech act participants. Text '9-27-90-thu' shows this type of usage. Notice too how *Xíluxin* compares Nez Perce and Umatilla Sahaptin usage constructions.
In review, the texts presented here in the form of Tuntún Wikut indicate a greater linguistic correlation between the speaker writer's discourse processing and the narrative producing action. I propose that this increase in correlation is a result of two phenomena, that is 1) the act of writing has become internalized, and 2) following internalization, existing cultural patterns of communication once modeled on the speaker/hearer relationship are no longer the primary model available for discourse.

This internalizing phenomena is what Vygotsky (1962:99) calls the conscious
realization of "inner speech." However, in this instance, it is not as culturally
determined or as experientially preformed as Timnanáxt 'story, remembrance' and
Wapáxiša Sínwit 'releasing words' rather it is more a realization of the discursive self,
one that is constantly driven by a need to create and mobilize meaning in an universe
of discourse as he himself has experienced.

Pinápaniša Timalá (Making One's Self a Writer)

I will now explore in more detail the implications the act of writing has to
individual consciousness and how it contributes to the authoring of the self. Indeed,
the transformation of the Sahaptian (Sahapt and Nez Perce) languages to writing by
a speaker writer is of such rarity in the Columbia Plateau region that a comparison of
individual approaches is made problematic, however, this shortcoming is surmounted
by the diversity of production and use to which we currently find in the writing of
speaker writer Xíluxín. Fortunately for us as well is the extraordinary relationship this
individual has to language at a moment in time when the stability and future of the
Sahaptin and Nez Perce languages are uncertain. Thus, the range of choices available
to Xíluxín to intervene and act upon the world through language are not simply
alternative possibilities realized through writing rather they are also a result of a
strategic awareness developed out the inevitable consequence writing has on objectifying language and thought. As we have seen, embedded in his writing are authorial commentaries on the potential effects and outcomes of writing on language in the world and on language in text. Even more vivid are his personal reflections on pinâ'aniša timalá ‘making one's self a writer.’ It is from this perspective that I wish to begin my discussion of his developing role as author.

As we have seen in our analysis of Tuntún Wikut ‘the various doings, happenings,’ the emergence of the narrator was made possible in the alternative arrangement of the self as sentient subject. This referential quality is not lacking in the other genres but is merely subsumed in larger issues relating to the maintainance of writing as a culturally appropriate form of linguistic interaction. Thus to engage in tîmaša ‘writing’ one invariably becomes timalá a ‘writer’ or ‘one who writes.’ However, in the Sahaptin world view there is little shared imagery as to what may constitute a timalá ‘writer’ other than those images present in the dominant society. Instead, the default schema tends to always be sinwitá the ‘speaker.’

In several instances, the act of writing was actually referred to as speaking. Not surprisingly, these references are mostly found in the texts identified as Wapáxiša Sinwit ‘releasing words’ where speaking is an essential element of this genre. Thus,
compare lines (63) and (64) of text '9-7-77 wed' with line (85) below from text '2-1-81 Sunday' (also of the aformentioned genre).

85 Íkuš-naš sínwi-ša čí kúuk čí k’láawitt-pa. (1)
    EMPH.thus=1SG speak-IMPV this then this evening-LOC
    'Thus, I am speaking today, this evening.'

Our common assumption that speaking entails an immediate relationship to language that writing cannot provide is made evident in this example. If we are to take a viewpoint that rightfully presupposes the existence of an author for every text then we are at least partially constrained in our interpretations to explain the contextualizing phenomena represented in Wapáxiša Sínwit 'releasing words.' In these texts, Xiłuxin deliberately forgoes the authoring role in lieu of a culturally determined speaker role. In this respect, writing is first conceived as oral, verbal behavior and, second, it is culturally framed within a comprehensive communicative act resembling oratory. Whether or not he was successful we will never know, but by all indications, the participatory consciousness in which he engages tells us that tímasha 'writing' and becoming timalá a 'writer' is but one means of enacting and reproducing cultural behavior.

In the genre Timnanáxt 'story, remembrance,' the notion of author, at least in
its written form, is more developed and has greater presence than what we see in

Wapáxiša Sínwit 'releasing words.' This may also be partly a response to the cultural
disposition in which Timnanáxt is often expressed, that is the projection of a 1ST
PERSON deictic frame onto human experience and human memory. As we have seen,
time moves from its etic dimension to an emic one as human memory becomes
momentarily activated into consciousness and into writing. Thus, a notion of
authorship is limited to realizing its context of production as cultural practice. In other
words, a primary concern of authorship is bringing into being a narrative producing
action. For example, towards the end of the text '10-20-87 TUES,' Xiłuxin views this
process metaphorically as a 'pouring out of words.'

86  Wá-š-ní čí náami yaxáyxít. (59)
    be-PRS-APPL this 1PL.GEN daily.living
    'This is how (it was) our life.'

87  Čáw-na náma lawwit šúk'áša, (60)
    NEG=1PL.EXC what.[NP] for.sure know-IMPV
    'We never know for sure what (it is),'

88  tún i-wá-m-š, (61)
    what 3NOM-be-CISL-PRS
    'what has come,'
89  túu-na áyk-ta mís nfix uu mís čilwít. (62)
    what=1PL.INC hear-FUT how good or bad
    'what we hear however good or bad.'

90  Kúuś-naš či sínwít yáx-ša, (63)
    thus=1SG this speaking pour.out-IMPV
    'Thus, I am pouring out these words,'

91  ana-š kúma áykin-šan-a ikúuš pa-náwa. (64)
    REL=1SG those hear-HAB-PST in.that.manner PL.NOM-say
    'those which I used hear in that manner of talking,'

92  K vá-š naš áw čápát wá tíma. (65)
    That.much=1SG now in.a.little.while be write.PP
    'Now that much, in a little while, I have written,'

The analysis that was brought to bear on Tuntún Wikut 'the various doings,
happenings' also showed a development of the author in a broad sense of the term or
what can best be described as an emergent, sentient narrator. The internalization of
language and its transference to writing had the result of intensifying the speaker
writers awareness as to the purposes of writing and his evolving role as timalá 'writer.'
The notion that this awareness is strategic is more a response to the fact that as a
speaker writer engages in tímaša 'writing,' one is also projecting language out onto the
world in an objective fashion and, as a consequence, he must strategize language use
as a way to prevent the loss of meaning and enstrangement from language.

Nowhere is this more evident than in 'n.d.' in which the following text segment
is derived. I include a large portion of it here only to show the progression of thought in the narrator’s consciousness and its ultimate conclusion concerning his role as tímałá ‘writer’.

93  Íčik tíma-t-pa míš ánča-xi, (5) EMPH.this.PRON.[NWS] write-NOM-LOC how again—also ‘Maybe again also in this writing.’

94  táaminwa-ś pín-čišk-awa. (6) always.[NES]-1SG 3SG-to.lie-DIR 'I always lie to (someone).'

95  Píná-talwask-xa. (7) 1SG.REFL-inform.[NES]-HAB 'I must inform myself.'

96  ?Eet šniwáy! (8) very.[NP] pitiful 'So very pitiful!'


98  Ana-š túkin tíma-ta, (10) REL-1SG with.what write-FUT 'As with what I will write,'

99  áw-če-tya-ś piná-sapsíkʷa-ša íčik. (11) now-V-MOD=1SG SG.REFL-teach-IMPV EMPH.this.PRON 'even now I am teaching myself this.'
100 **Kúuš-naš kú-xa k̉ayní.** (12)
thus-1SG do-HAB in that.direction
‘Thus, I do so in that direction.’

101 Čáw-naš ín piná-ʔani-ša tima-lá Xáaxʷ túkin (13)
NEG-1SG 1SG SG.REFL-make-IMPV write-AGT all with that
‘I am not making myself a writer with all that

102 ana kúuš paščín-ma pá-tqa-nay-n-xa (14)
REL thus White.person.[CJ]-PL INV-suddenly-carry-ACC-HAB
‘carrying on like White people,’

103 čí ikúuš-payn at’uk inmí-yaw i-wá. (15)
this in.this.manner-LOC difficult 1SG.GEN-ALL 3NOM-be
‘in this way of mine it is difficult.’

104 **Hatókic hiwées.** (16)
to.be.difficult-ADJ.[NP] 3NOM-be-IMPV.[NP]
‘It is difficult.’

105 “Íí!” or “Íí indeed!” Coyote says. (17)
“Yes!” or “Yes, indeed!” Coyote says.’

What we encounter in these passages is the emergence of a dialectical form of consciousness where writing is at the center of two opposing forces. On the one hand is a real, internalized language phenomena embodied by the speaker writer and on the other is an arbitrary symbolic text stripped of all the expressive features of human communication. As timatá ‘writer,’ Xúluxín is expressing his concern over the consequences of reducing language to writing, that is the objectifying stance of the
text artefact and its relative autonomy as an arbitrary register. The uncertain outcome of putting words onto the page inevitably contributes to an intense awareness of the potential separation of language and the loss of meaning. Thus, the gap of ambiguity that exists between these two opposing forces can, at times, seem great causing the timalá ‘writer’ to become ‘poor and pitiable’ and ‘bothersome’ (97) in his own eyes. Further, the words projected out onto the world through text will seem to ‘always lie to someone’ (94) along the way.

Xiluxin’s challenge is simple but yet formidable and the task at hand is to ‘inform’ and ‘teach’ one’s self as a timalá ‘writer’ of each and every entextualizing moment the act of writing engenders. From such heightened awareness then, the timalá ‘writer’ must never be ‘so poor and pitiable’ but rather he must decide on the best possible course of action and exercise one’s individual praxis in writing. I will argue therefore that Xiluxin’s status as timalá ‘writer’ is one of a cultural mediator or a kind of ambient translator who is constantly seeking ways to liberate meaning from the bonds of consciousness and language in writing and, in his own words, not to be a timalá ‘writer’ “with all that carrying on like White people” (101-102). We, the present day readers of his texts, like Coyote, the instigator and knower of all deception, can come to appreciate the difficulty of his task. To this we also say, “Íi
Conclusion

Based on this limited sample, we can accept Xíluxín’s speaker scholarship as language documentation based on the assumption that he is attempting to provide a comprehensive though unique record of the linguistic practices and traditions of the Sahaptian (Sahaptin and Nez Perce) speech community (Himmelmann 1998:166). Further, it becomes evident that his data-discovery methods are actualized as autonomous metacognitive events, or what is described as the act of self apprehension when human thinkers become conscious of, articulate, and organize the things they know (Wenden 1998:516). This is not to say that Xíluxín’s scholarship is lacking in metalinguistic awareness, on the contrary, it is demonstrably high in metalinguistic content. The distinction that I like to make here is that metacognitive events are processes in knowledge whereas metalinguistic awareness is the language units or elements of that knowledge.

Taken as a whole, Xíluxín’s scholarship is both idiosyncratic and conventional. It is idiosyncratic in the sense that his inscription of Sahaptian communicative processes are self-guided. It is conventional in that he utilizes a functional approach
by centering almost exclusively on the word. The important difference that makes
speaker scholarship distinctive is found in the way knowledge is organized and
adapted to convey linguistic meaning. Further, as in the case of Xílúxin, a speaker
scholar may already be deeply knowledgeable in the target language and would
therefore be more apt to take advantage of a variety of exploratory methods in
documenting language. Similar situations exist for those speaker scholars who
cultivate immersive speaker/hearer learning relationships as a way of transferring
linguistic knowledge to others in addition to its documentation.

In this respect, a world view model would hold that data discovery methods are
inclusive, participatory, and high in cultural specificity which, in many respects,
would do well for documentary linguistic practice. It should not be surprising then
that a speaker scholarship would subordinate the role of describing high-level units
such as phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics to the extent that they are
unobtrusive. In other words, linguistically defined systems of language become
significant insofar as they are inherently meaningful as human discourse as opposed to
their description as abstracted entities.

As exemplified in the work of Xúlíxin, speaker scholarship utilizes locally
established frameworks of knowledge but due to its purposive use orientation,
knowledge becomes emergent, encyclopedic, and culturally and linguistically adaptive. If the goal is to intervene in the processes of language shift and to halt the trend towards language endangerment, adaptation and innovation are a necessary prerequisite to any language revitalization project. By recognizing speaker scholar orientations and the products of their scholarship, these adaptations are very relevant to current linguistic theory and practice and the discipline can only benefit from their inclusion into the domain of language research.

Finally, Xiuxin's speaker scholarship poses challenging though problematic questions concerning his role as author in the creation of texts. His authorship is wholly unique in that it is constituted in the strategic use of multiple linguistic codes. Further, his texts do not readily fit into the genres commonly associated with traditional literature. Instead, his texts are enmeshed in the flux of social life in the same way as its initial production (Giddens 1979:44) and prevents its own alienation from the world and the people who live and speak Sahaptian. Thus, speaker scholarship brings to the fore that change in the use of linguistic codes can be one of resisting Lingua Franca while at the same time allowing for innovation in language as a means of cultural self-expression.

Based on this review, it is argued that the inclusion of community generated
scholarship, that is speaker scholars writing in their own languages, requires only a
minor reorientation in theory and practice in the field of documentary linguistics.

Naturally, such an inclusion will diversify the linguistics discipline and allow access to
the dynamic world of community-based writing and language documentation at a
particular moment in time when indigenous languages are being threatened with
extinction.
This thesis presented an analysis of language use as it is represented in the writing of speaker scholar Xíluxín (Charlie McKay, 1910-1996), a multilingual speaker of Umatilla Sahaptin and Nez Perce. A discourse-centered approach was utilized as a means of discerning the linguistic structure of his texts and their relationship not just to Sahaptin discourse patterning but to their overt purpose as language documentation. Such an approach was warranted largely due to Xíluxín's status as a speaker writer and scholar and to the linguistic diversity exhibited in his corpus. Traditionally, such research, what we now understand to be the Americanist Tradition (Valentine and Darnell 1999), has and continues to center on the collaborative, dialogic relationship that develops between a native speaker of an indigenous language and a linguistic researcher. The shared goals of documenting the linguistic behavior of a speech community inevitably results in the entextualization of language in codified form through such processes as graphisation, grammatication, and lexicalization (Haugen 1983). That the role of the native speaker is central to past, present, and future linguistic inquiry and language description is a truism beyond mere
imagination.

Historically, however, the collaboration between speakers, researchers, and translators has given rise to unexpected forms of language use: writing. For example, at the request of the linguist Edward Sapir, Peter McGuff, both a speaker of Kiksht (Wasco-Wishram Chinookan) and Klikitat (NWS) and who was trained by Sapir to write and record linguistically, translated a Kiksht letter into Klikitat (NWS) thus resulting in the first published Sahaptin text written by a Sahaptin speaker (Sapir 1909). Here, I present the first few lines of the original letter using current orthography.

1 Wínamnaš, túxamaš, yánawiaš náplk*ipa pútímtpa
   I came, I came home, I arrived here second-day-on ten-at
   wáasclik. Áwyaxnaš íñami śniwáy miyánaš áx*ay wáqiś
   time. I found my poor child still alive
   ku ínmipa px*í čáw iwáta áñačaxi náxš ḯk*í.
   and my-in judgment not he will again one day.

   'I started for home and got here Tuesday at 10 o'clock. Found my poor boy still alive but still, in my judgement, he won't live another day.' (Sapir 1909:195-197).

   A more contemporaneous linguistic reading would be as follows.
2 **Wína-m-naš**, (1)  
Go-CISL=1SG  
'I have come,'

3 **tíx-a-m-aš**, (2)  
return-CISL=1SG  
'I have returned home,'

4 **yánawi-aš ná̱p-łkʷi-pa pú̱timm-pa wáasclík.** (3)  
arrive=1SG two-day-LOC ten-LOC turn.around  
'I have just arrived on Tuesday at 10 o'clock.'

5 **Áw-yaxn-aš iín-amí šníwáy miyánaš áxʷ-ay wáqíš** (4)  
3ABS-find=1SG 1SG-GEN.PL pitifully child still alive  
'I find my poor child still alive'

6 **ku ínmí-pa pxʷí tí cháw i-wá-ta ánáčaxí náš łkʷí.** (5)  
and 1SG.GEN-LOC thought no/not 3NOM-be-FUT again one day  
'and in my judgement he will not live one more day.'

I present these two entextualized forms not so much as to emphasize the necessity of maintaining the faithfulness of the original but rather I am more interested in highlighting the nature of Sahaptin discourse that informs its. The opening line of McGuff's letter is characterized by a patterned series of verbs **wína** 'go,' **tíx** 'return home,' and **yánawi** 'arrive.' Interestingly, Sapir's translation of this opening line is expressed in a single sentence. We could be content to accept Sapir's translation of McGuff's letter 'I started for home and got here Tuesday at 10 o'clock' and perhaps even grant him some latitude since the Klikitat letter is twice removed from the
original. However, upon closer examination, McGuff's organization of verbal phenomena into a pattern of three should alert us to the fact that something unique is happening here. Such phenomena is the stuff of Sahaptin discourse. Clausal patterns of three (3) and five (5) have been found to occur quite regularly in Sahaptin language use, especially in speaker narratives (Hymes 1987, 1992). Even more compelling is the fact that this phenomena is an entextualized feature of writing just as much as it is a feature of oral discourse.

Now I have come, have returned, and have just arrived to the heart of the matter concerning this thesis. I examined Xiluxin's writing not just to identify underlying patterns and hence attribute them as discourse rather I also looked at how the use of the linguistic resources of language might be constrained by or elaborated upon in its transfer to the written medium. Despite the pervasive rarity of text production in the Sahaptian (Sahaptin and Nez Perce) speech communities, Xiluxin's immense output as a scholar and speaker writer is intellectually challenging and proved to be more than what can ever be represented here by these few sample texts.

Beginning in Chapter 2, I examined how a notion of text emerged historically in the experiential world of Sahaptian speaking peoples of the Columbia Plateau both during the protohistoric period prior to language contact and in the historic period
following language contact. The nature of the data explored thus necessitated a definition of text as a ‘communicative event.’ From this, I hypothesized that a text is a signifier of communicative value in the universe of discourse among Sahaptian speaking peoples. A historical review showed that the Sahaptian speech community extended the indigenous meanings of Proto-Sahaptin tíma ‘(to) mark’ to account for new, analogous referents of text and entextualization processes arising from indigenous prophetic responses to disease and indirect contact during the critically important protohistoric period. The evidence presented would seem to partially support my hypothesis in that the competing communicative values associated with text are socially determined by the communicative practices they sustain. A historical view permits an understanding of text within its functional orientation and thus, from the indigenous perspective, texts are most often perceived as locales of power in a developing White world. Such power can be found in its referential aspects as influenced by Christianity and in its social aspects as influenced by colonizing agents during the early historic period.

Chapter 3 examined how indigenous writing developed locally. As demonstrated in the Sapir-McGuff example, influences directly stemming from ethnographic and linguistic research produced some of the first independent uses of the Sahaptin language, including those we now see in the work of Xiluxín. An
important discovery was made in a single text ‘Story told by Walter Pond In year 1929
hunting RS Rotten Springs.’ This text, orally transmitted by the Umatilla Sahaptin
speaker Yaxlåaašat (Walter Pond), linked Xîluxîn to the preeminent linguist Melville
Jacobs who was then conducting Sahaptin linguistic field research and working with
Sahaptin speakers during the time period 1926 through 1929. This is also confirmed
in Xîluxîn’s documentary practice.

A review of the context of production showed that Xîluxîn utilized and further
elaborated upon Jacobs original orthography as a means of capturing the expressive
features of Sahaptín discourse. This as well as his comparative interlinear texts and
vocabularies has led me to propose a practice which I call community linguistics, that
is a purposive orientation by indigenous speaker scholars that establishes the status of
language in terms of its connection to human praxis. Further, it was demonstrated that
speaker scholars utilize a world view model that positions language within the frames
of human communicative experience. Cultural forms of knoweldge, social interaction
phenomena, and real human language are the primary sites from which data discovery
methods are applied. These observations suggest that speakers scholars are concerned
with achieving a descriptive adequacy that is inclusive and culturally appropriate to
human discourse processing.
Upon examining context of use, I determined as well that speaker scholars mobilize their linguistic resources in ways that reflect the organized patterns of communicative practice that are a part a speech communities linguistic heritage. It was clear, however, that the act of writing positions the speaker writer as author and, as such, introduces alternative, emergent conceptualizations of the self. Thus, for many indigenous speaker writers, such conceptualizations are dialectical thus forcing a choice between competing alternatives—one that can be potentially realized as a real, internalized language phenomena or one that is arbitrarily conceived as symbolic, autonomous text. Again, as we have seen, a speaker writer will draw upon a world view model as a means of navigating the dilemmas of putting words onto a page and, in this instance, assuming a dialectical consciousness was most applicable to evoking Spilyáy 'Coyote' as the ultimate source on all matters contradictory or otherwise. "Íí indeed!" Coyote says.

It is becoming readily apparent that new kinds of relationships are emerging between the nation's indigenous languages and the people who speak it. The experience of language shift and the trend towards language endangerment are compelling and have moved many in the indigenous community to adapt in ways never before experienced. It should be of no surprise then that among those adapting to these circumstances are speaker scholars who engage in what I call community
linguistics, a linguistically oriented community practice analogous to documentary
linguistics. Ḫiluxin (Charlie McKay, 1910-1996), a multilingual speaker scholar, has
endeavored to reclaim his linguistic heritage and is to be recognized for contributing to
the preservation of our world’s linguistic diversity. Ḫiluxin, and the many others like
him, are providing us a rare opportunity to understand how indigenous peoples are
"writing the world."
APPENDIX A

SAMPLE TEXTS

Walsáyc (Myth)

1. WULL-saitz - kuutzkuut¹

e-wa-cha-xi sskauí Tis-ka-yai-yai. Tławx shi-na pe-teet-na
sha-xa-na. Ku nawkxsh thlkwi-pa e-pxwi-na, aush chi AW-chish
kau-wa-sha Teenmamun. Maitz-ki chau e-La-aitcha Chau
yuk-sha mish num shi-na AW-win-pa-TA-TA paish nush
e-wa-pa sha-Ta oomish e-Lux-pi-Ta. Ku six- ku-mish
e-La-ooy-ya wiyet pet'xa-nu-kun, ku pa-na-chicha kwa-na
yaw-mush-na, PA-TOOKna, mish-ni xai e-Lausha Tiska-yai-yai
chachawt. Ku tza-yau pa-wi-na-na wana Ku Tiska-yai-yai ee
pa- Teet-na-sha tla-ya-yit.

Little Myth

Similarly, it was powerful Skunk. He used to eject musc upon everyone. And
one day he thought (to himself), "Now, with this, I am scaring the people!" In
the morning he did not sit leisurely, he did not eat. And he said to the good one,
"I am feeling sick, will you get somebody?" "Maybe he will doctor with his
hands or doctor me otherwise." And (the good one) he somehow began to run
toward the mountains and that deer was brought by him, it was seen by him,
"How is friend Skunk lying with legs spread out?" And as he was approached
close by him, and Skunk, yes, he has been musked to death by him.

¹ This text was reviewed by Umatilla Sahaptin speaker Twáway (Inez Spino
Reeves) with the assistance of linguist Noel Rude. Their comments and suggestions
were very helpful. Any errors in the final translation are my own.
I-wač-á-χi skáw Tiskayáya.
3NOM-be-PST-same powerful Skunk
'Similary, it was powerful Skunk.'

Xáaxwí šín-a pá-tliitn-aša-xan-a.
all who-ACC INV-eject.musc-upon-HAB-PST
'He used to eject musc upon everyone.'

Ku náxš ḳí-pa i-pχí-na,
and one day-LOC 3NOM-think-PST
'And one day he thought (to himself),'

"Áw-š čí áw škáw-aša tíin-maan!
now-1SG this now be.afraid-upon person.[NWS]-PL.ACC
"Now, with this, I am scaring the people!'"

Máycqi čáw i-lá-ʔayč-a
morning no/not 3NOM-leisurely-sit-PST
'In the morning, he did not sit leisurely,'

čáw i-tkʷátan-a
no/not 3NOM-eat-PST
'he did not eat.'

Ku šíʔíx-na pa-ʔinn-a
and good.[NES]-ACC INV-say-PST
'And he said to the good one,'

"Páyu-š piná-tawyak-ša,"
sick-1SG SG.REFL-feel-PST
"I am feeling sick,'

"míš-nam šín-a á-winp-ata-ta?"
Y/NQ-2SG who-ACC 3ACC-get-go-FUT
"will you get somebody?"
“Páyš-naš i-wapáša-ta umíš i-láxpi-ť’a.”
maybe-1SG 3NOM-work.with.hands-FUT or 3NOM-doctor- FUT
“Maybe he will doctor with his hands or doctor me otherwise.”

Ku ši?píx ku miš i-wla2-ʔúuy-a wíyat píťxanu-kan
and good.[NES] and how 3NOM-running-begin-PST far mountain-ALL
‘And (the good one) he somehow began to run toward the mountains’

Ku pá-načič-a k"aaná yáamaš,
and INV-bring-PST that.ACC deer
‘and that deer was brought by him,’

pá-tuuvin-a,
INV-to.see.[NES]-PST
‘it was seen by him,’

“Mišní ťáy i-láw-ša Tiskayáya čačáat?”
how friend 3NOM-lie-IMPV Skunk with.legs.spread.out
“How is friend Skunk lying with his legs spread out?”

Ku čáa-yaw pá-winan-awan-a,
and close-ALL INV-go-DIR-PST
‘And he was approached close by him,’

ku Tiskayáya í pá-tiitn-aša ʔiyawit
and Skunk yes INV-eject.musc.on-upon.PF to.death
‘and Skunk, yes, he has been musked to death by him.’

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2 This expression was originally written as [e-La-ooy-ya]. Here, Twáway (Inez Spino Reeves) offers iwlaʔúuya ‘he began to run’.
Timnanáxt (Story, Remembrance)

2. Story told by Walter Pond In year 1929 hunting. RS Rotten Springs

MI-MI ASHKU WACHA ASWAN ASHKU wacha psheT WAKIS KU PCHA
KUTAS KUUK Wishanana Kwaan Peťxanukan. Chaumish LAMKA
KU KwaňáXI WACHA Tamashkwátit. Iwáchá chi winsh __ KU TiĽAATKUN
Páwinaňana. Pawacha TKAHINLAMÁ. KU Geo Spino inakwinaňana TLAAWXW
myanashma KU TiĽAATKíMA. KU TASH AWKU wishanánxana Kwaan Mulishin-ma-kan.
Cheni wishanánxana TASH KU Wishwa TUKEN ƛ%Aika Kuná IWA KAYAYIT shápákiicht.
KUTASH kwná áuku wishwáatúKnxáná meht nap stáat. AUTASHKU Kwná
wáátkwainpçnxana. Ashpaishen meht LàĂxh átuxnánxana kwnáá TASH KU KUNI
wishanáňáika Kwá Mulishin-ma-kan. Kwá Iwánishá Mulishinmá wánat. Tashku
wipátukenxana niit paish páxat niit. Autashkukuni TLAAWXWAMÁA kwná tkwainpenxána
mulishinmapá. PaĽÁxyawíxáná nukut. AUKU kuni Páwinaňaika TLÁALKA LáXAIKAN
KWNÁ IWA LÁXAIĆ CHUSH. KAĂPEN IWANISHA R.S. CHIKUUK. AUKU KWNÁ TLĂĂX Tun
páwı̃Unpenxána TKWÁTATE KU KWNÁ páwinaňunuňxana Láxaićpa CHUSWA TLĂĂXWTUN
wishápsháxána AUKU shápááshápenxana KUSIPA. MEHTASH (TO A) KU AUKU
páwinaňama pátuxunxama, Ku pááyana wíxama AUTASHKU KWNÁ (↔ TO) wí-wacha
shápááshápi meht náapTTIT wáẮUÁ. Khulmáămim AUTASHKU wishtuniKeñxana
mulishinmáyáu, Tunishiyáu, wiyátyáu Tunishyáu. YákanáaTash AUKU KWAĂI AWÁKITSHA
KWNÁ. KWNÁ wishanáá pááTASH AUKU wiyákinunxaná TSALMENMÁ PAKAČITSHA
xááikwána. AUKU paxaăikwíxáná kwńá TSALMENMÁ. AUTA KU CHI CHNÁ PAISH.
TSAL-MENMÁAMI ÁWIIWA TLĂĂXWTUN TKWAATPAMA. KUUK YIYĂUPOA KWNÁ
páxáikwíxaná MIIMI. KUUKNÁSH AKinuňxána. AUTASH KU wisháchiken xaiKá
Tunishi mulishinmápá. AUTASHKU YAKÁNA AWÁKITXANÁ. PAKUKNÁTÁSH KWNÁ AÚ
yachāľáKENXÁNA wápááníhláan. KUTASH CHAUTYA wápááníhláan mishAmíxáná AÚ MAIrk

This oral text is attributed to the Umatilla Sahaptin speaker Yaxláashat
(Walter Pond). No attribution of the transcriber of this text is given, however, because
it forms a part of Xiluxín’s corpus, it is believed that he may have played a role in
recording the narrative while working alongside the linguist Melville Jacobs. The text
was reviewed by Umatilla Sahaptin speaker Twáway (Inez Spino Reeves) with
the assistance of linguist Noel Rude. Comments were also provided by Umatilla speakers
Thomas Morning Owl, Mildred Quaempts, Donald "Mushy" Joe, Emily Littlefish and
Mitch Pond. Their comments and clarifications made this a unique and valuable text.
Long ago when I was a boy, when my Father and Mother were alive, we then used to move in that direction toward the upland country. No way (were) we alone, and Tamaśwátqít was there as well. There was this man, and he used to go with his wife. They were hunters. And George Spino used to take along all the women and children. And we then used to move in that direction toward Múlišınma from here. We used to move and traveling on would camp overnight. At that place—Šapáqı́ič̣̄t—there is a valley. And then traveling along there we used to camp some two nights. Then while there we would hunt, as many as one—I—would shoot. There then from that place we would move on toward Múlišınma. The river in that direction is named “Múlišınma.” When we would set up the teepees—maybe five teepees—then from that place we would go hunting in every direction at Múlišınma. They used to dry meat. Then from that place the women used to go toward the hot—the water is hot there—and today the aforementioned is called Rotten Springs. At that place then they gather each and every food, and they would bathe in the hot spring. (They) used to load up everything, then (they) would have (them) pack (it) on the horses. However many we each loaded, more than twenty. Then they used to come, they used to come home and arrive here. Now we (were) that many, then we would travel upstream to Múlišınma, upstream, far upstream. Over that way then we are looking for Black Bear. In that moving we would then see, “Chinese people are looking for gold.” The Chinese used
to dig for gold there then. Here then maybe the Chinese have everything pertaining to food. Then in a pitiful way they used to dig gold there long ago. I used to see them at that time. Then we would move on back upstream to Múlisíina. Then we would look for the Black Bear. There sometimes we would run into a Grizzly Bear, but we wouldn’t do any harm to the Grizzly because we used to be afraid of the Grizzly Bears. And we would shoot only several Black Bear, maybe three or four. Then they would barbecue them, then we upon finishing (are) then satisfied with it all. We would then again pack each of the horses, we would move this way—they call it Tunap’x̣t’lú. Traveling this way we would then camp overnight, and would fish (with hook and line) there, (and) would hunt. We would camp there a little while on the way here. And we would come from there traveling this way, to that which they say Tamaxaalk’šaní[t]. From this place at TayåyKulima in that direction where three hills are sitting more from here TayåyKulima Fox Valley. And then we used to look for elk there. Now we used to shoot however many elk, three as many as four. Then the aformentioned elk meat would quickly dry. There then maybe (in) almost two Sunday's it would dry. Then we used to move from there this way, traveling back here more in that direction—too cold now, almost two months then we would travel around over there. Then we would move toward Háwtní. Traveling along then we would camp overnight there on McKay Creek. Then there now we would separate from one another on the way here. Then we would move this way toward Šísnnávít. Then that much I (have told). That’s all.

1 Míimi a-š kú wač-á áswan,
   long.ago REL-1SG and be-PST boy
   'Long ago when I was a boy,'

2 a-š kú wač-á pšít wáqiš ku pčá,
   REL-1SG and be-PST Father alive and Mother
   'when my Father and Mother were alive,'

3 ku-taš kúuk wiśána-xan-a k’áan pítxanu-kan.
   and-1PL.EXC then move-HAB-PST that.VRS upland.country-VRS
   'we then used to move in that direction toward the upland country.'
4 Čáw míš lamak-šá,  
NEG how we-alone  
'No way (were) we alone,'

5 ku kʷá-xi i-wač-á Tamašwátqít.  
and there-same 3NOM-be-PST Tom.Joe  
'and Tom Joe was there as well.'

6 I-wač-á čí wínš  
3NOM-be-PST this man  
'There was this man,'

7 ku tšlaaki-in pa-wína-χan-a.  
and woman-ASSOC PL.NOM-go-HAB-PST  
'and he used to go with his wife.'

8 Pa-wač-á tkʷáynp-łam.  
PL.NOM-be-PST go.hunting-AGT.PL  
'They were hunters.'

9 Ku George Spino³ i-nákwina-χan-a xáaxʷ miyánaš-ma ku tšlaaki-ma.  
and G.S. 3NOM-take.along-HAB-PST all child-PL and woman-PL  
'And George Spino used to take along all the women and children.'

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² Thomas Morning Owl attributed the identity of this individual as Tom Joe, brother of Láʔwiš (Maud Joe) who is also the daughter of Ḫmáxʷsaat (Columbia Joe) and wife of George Spino.

³ George Spino is also known as Wiylašnats (also called Tímtyaxʷin). His youth name was Pačí.
10  Ku-taš áwku wišána-χan-a kʷáan Múlišinma⁴-kan číni.
and=1PL.EXC now and move-HAB-PST that.VRS [place.name]-VRS this.ABL
'And we then used to move in that direction toward Múlišinma from here.'

11  Wišána-χan-a-taš
from.here move-HAB-PST=1PL.EXC
'We used to move'

12  ku wiš-wáwtukin-χa-yk-a.
and traveling-camp.overnight-HAB-TRL-PST
'and traveling on would camp overnight.'

13  Kʷná i-wá káyayt Šapatáqít⁵.
there 3NOM-be.PRS valley [place.name]
'At that place--Shapaq'icht--there is a valley.'

14  Ku-taš kʷná áwku wiš-wáwtukin-χan-a múl nápt sčát.
and=1PL.EXC there now traveling-camp-HAB-PST how.many two night
'And then traveling along there we used to camp some two nights.'

now=1PL.EXC and there meanwhile-hunt-HAB-PST
'Then while there we would hunt,'

16  a-š páyš ín múl láxš á-tuxna-χan-a
REL-1SG maybe 1SG how.many one 3ACC-shoot-HAB-PST
'as many maybe as one--I--would shoot.'

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⁴ This place name was recorded by the anthropologist Verne Ray as a part of the CTUIR's land claims research. Múlišinma is located on the North Fork of the John Day River near the present site of Dale, OR.

⁵ Twáway (Ínez Spino Reeves) identified this place name and its meaning as 'hanging up (something).'
   there=1PL.EXC and that.ABL move-HAB-TRL-PST in.that.direction
   [place.name]-VRS
   'There then from that place we would move on toward Múlíšinma.'

18. *Káy i-wání-ša Múlíšinma wánat.*
   in.that.direction 3NOM-name-IMPV Múlíšinma river
   'The river in that direction is named "Múlíšinma."'

19. *[A]-taš ku wí-patukin-šan-a nít--páyš páxat nít--
   REL=1PL.EXC and DST-set.up-HAB-PST tent maybe five tent
   'When we would set up the teepees--maybe five teepees--'

20. *Aw-taš ku kíní Xáax máan kíná tkáynpin-šan-a Múlíšinma-pa.*
   now=1PL.EXC and that.ABL all where.VRS there hunt-HAB-PST [place.name]-LOC
   'then from that place we would go hunting in every direction at Múlíšinma.'

   3PL.NOM-dry-HAB-PST meat
   'They used to dry meat.'

22. *Akwú kíní pa-wína-xa-yk-a tłaaki-ma láx̱ayxt-kan--
   then that.ABL 3PL.NOM-go-HAB-TRL-PST woman-PL hot-VRS--
   'Then from that place the women used to go toward the hot--'

23. *Kná i-wá láx̱ayxt čuíš--
   there 3NOM-be.PRS hot water--
   'the water is hot there--'

24. *kaʔapín i-wáníš-a R.S. čikúuk*
   and.aforementioned 3NOM-name-IMPV R.S. today
   'and today the aforementioned is called Rotten Springs.'
Awkú k'ná Xáaxʷ tún pa-wí-winpin-čan-a tkʷátat, then there all what 3PL.NOM-DIST-get-HAB-PST food 'At that place then they would gather each and every food,'

ku k'ná pa-wínanu-čan-a láxʷayt-pa čuíš-pa and there 3PL.NOM-bathe-HAB-PST hot-LOC water-LOC 'and they would bathe in the hot spring.'

Xáaxʷ tún wí-šapš-a-čan-a, all what DIST-load-HAB-PST '(They) used to load up everything,'

awkú šápá-šapin-čan-a Kúsi-pa then CAUS-pack-HAB-PST horse-LOC 'then (they) would have (them) pack (it) on the horses.'

Mít-taš wí-wač-a šapá-šap-i mít náapt wá?paw. how.many=1PL.EXC DIST-be-PST CAUS-pack-PP how.many twenty beyond 'However many we each loaded, more than twenty.'

Ku awkú pa-wína-ča-m-a, and then 3PL.NOM-go-HAB-CISL-PST 'Then they used to come,'

pa-tuíxín-ča-m-a, 3PL.NOM-return-HAB-TRL-PST 'they used to come home,'

ku pa-wiyánawi-ča-m-a. and 3PL.NOM-arrive-HAB-CSL-PST 'and arrive here.'

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6 This construction was partitioned or segmented in the original text and is herein restored. Xíluxín's notations indicated the appropriate matching of segments and, hopefully, the present restored text renders the narrative more cohesive.
Áw-taš ku k"ná k"ńt -maaman,
Now-1PL.EXC and there that.many-PL.ACC
'Now we (were) that many,'

áw-taš ku wiš-tuníkin-čhan-a Múlišinma-yaw
now-1PL.EXC and traveling-upstream-HAB-PST [place.name]-ALL

túniši-yaw, wiyat-yaw túniši-yaw.
upstream-ALL far-ALL upstream-ALL
'then we would travel up upstream to Múlišinma, upstream, far upstream.'

Yáka-nataš awkú k"áy á-waqít-śa k"ńá.
black.bear-1PL.EXC then in.that.direction 3ACC-look.for-IMPV.PRS there
'Over that way then we are looking for Black Bear.'

K"ńá wišána-t-pa-taš awkú wiyá-qínun-čhan-a
that.LOC move-N-LOC-1PL.EXC then while.going-see-HAB-PST
'In that moving we would then see,'

Cálmin-ma pa-waqít-śa xašáyk"-na.
Chinese-PL 3PL.NOM-look.for-IMPV metal-ACC
"Chinese people are looking for gold."'

Awkú pa-xašáyk"-i-čhan-a k"ńá Cálmin-ma.
then 3PL.NOM-metal-V-HAB-PST there Chinese-PL
'The Chinese used to dig for gold there then.'

Áw-ta kü čí čná páyš Calmin-ma-amí á-wi-wa Xáax" tún
now-MOD and this here maybe Chinese-PL-GEN 3GEN-DST-be.PRS all what

tk"ámat-pama.
food-pretaining.to
'Here then maybe the Chinese have everything pertaining to food.'
39 Kúuk iyáw-pa kʷná pa-χażáy-χ-i-ča-x-a mímí.
then pitiful-LOC there 3PL.NOM-metal-V-HAB-PST long.ago
'Then in a pitiful way they used to dig gold there long ago.'

40 Kúuk-naš á-χinun-ča-xa.
then=1SG 3ACC-see-HAB-PST
'I used to see them at that time.'

41 Áw-ča-xu wišáčikín-χa-yk-a túníši Múlisinma-pa.
now=1PL.EXC and move.back-HAB-TRL-PST upstream [place.name]-LOC
'Then we would move back upstream to Múlisinma.'

42 Aw-ča-xu yáka-na á-χaqítin-ča-x-a.
now=1PL.EXC and black.bear-ACC 3ACC-look.for-HAB-PST
'Then we would look for the Black Bear.'

43 Pa-kúuk-naš kʷná á-wiyáčaakin-ča-x-a wapaanlá-an.
DST-then=1PL.EXC there 3ACC-run.into-HAB-PST grizzly.bear-ACC
'There sometimes we would run into a Grizzly Bear.'

44 Ku-ča-xu wapaanlá-an miš á-mi-ča-x-a áw máyík
and=1PL.EXC NEG-MOD grizzly.bear-ACC how 3ACC-do-HAB-PST now more
'but we wouldn't do any harm to the Grizzly because'

45 á-skawn-ča-x-a-ataš wapaanlá-maaman.
3ACC-fear-HAB-PST=1PL.EXC grizzly.bear-PL.ACC
'we used to be afraid of Grizzly Bears.'

46 Ku yáka-maaman-sim-ča-xu miš á-tuχna-ča-x-a
and black.bear-PL.ACC-only=1PL.EXC how.many 3ACC-shoot-HAB-PST

páyíš mítat pínapt.
maybe three four
'And we would shoot only several Black Bear, maybe three or four.'
Awkú patá-tamayčín-χan-a,
then 3PL.NOM/3ACC-barbecue-HAB-PST
'Then they would barbecue them,'

awkú támayč-naqi-t-pa-ataš awkú nīx awkú ḥāaχʷ-i.
then barbecue-finish-N-LOC-1PL.EXC then good then all-PP
'then we upon finishing (are) then satisfied with it all.'

Aw-taš ku ánča-çi wišapa-šapin-χa-m-a Kúsí-ma
now-1PL.EXC and again-same DST-CAUS-pack-HAB-CSI-PST horse-PL
'We would then again pack each of the horses,'

áw-taš wišána-χa-m-a--
now-1PL.EXC move-HAB-CSI-PST
'we would now move this way--'

kʷaana patá-waničín-χa Túnapxʷla.
that.ACC 3PLNOM/3ACC-name-HAB.PRS [place.name]
'they call it Túnapxlá.'

Áw-taš kú kʷná wiš-wáwtukin-χa-m-a,
now-1PL.EXC and there traveling-camp.overnight-HAB-CSI-PST
'Traveling this way we would then camp overnight,'

ku kʷná wačílakin-χan-a,
and there fish.with.hook.and.line-HAB-PST
'and would fish (with hook and line) there,'

tkʷáynpin-χan-a
hunt-HAB-PST
'(and) would hunt.'

7 Twáway (Inez Spino Reeves) recognizes this place name as meaning 'kicker up of dust.'
Cáʔat-nataš kʷná awkú wiś-wáwtukín-χa-m-a.
little.while-1PL.EXC there then traveling-camp.overnight-HAB-CSL-PST 'We would camp there a little while on the way here.'

Ku-τaš winá-χa-m-a kʷíni wišána-χa-m-a,
and-1PL.EXC go-HAB-CSL-PST that.ABL move-HAB-CSL-PST 'And we would come from there traveling this way,'

ana kʷáana patáʔin-χa Tamaxaalpayer[l]°
REL that.ACC 3PL.NOM/3ACC-say-HAB [place.name] 'to that which they say Tamaxaalpayer.'

číni kʷáy TayáyKulima-pa
this.ABL in.that.direction [place.name]-LOC

ana kʷáy pa-tamátun°
REL in.that.direction 3PL.NOM-sit.three.PRS

máyk-číni-čs° TayáyKulima ñmayi.
more-this.ABL-? [place.name] Fox.Valley 'From this place at TayáyKulima in the direction where three hills are sitting more from here TayáyKulima Fox Valley.'

Ku-τaš awkú kʷná á-waqitín-χan-a wawúkya-maaman.
and-1PL.EXC then there 3ACC-look.for-HAB-PST elk-PL.ACC 'And then we used to look for elk there.'

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° Twáway (Inez Spino Reeves) recognizes this place name without the final [t].
°° Twáway (Inez Spino Reeves) interprets this verb phrase as 'three [i.e. inanimate object] are sitting.'
°°° The morpheme -čs is unverified and may reflect a recording error.
Aw-taš míł á-tuxna-χan-a wawúkya-maaman,
now=1PL.EXC how many 3ACC-shoot-HAB-PST elk-PL.ACC

mítaat míł pínapt.
three how many four
'Now we used to shoot however many elk, three as many as four.'

Aw-taš ku k"apín káxyawi\(^{11}\) -χan-a
Now=1PL.EXC and the aformentioned suddenly.dry-HAB-PST

χáaxʷ nik"ít wawúkya-nmi.
all meat elk-GEN
'Then the aformentioned elk meat would quickly dry.'

Aw-taš kú k"ná páyš míł nápt pačwaywit čawwiyat
now-1PL.EXC and there maybe how many two Sunday almost

i-láxyawi-χan-a.
3NOM-dry-HAB-PST
'There then maybe (in) almost two Sunday's it would dry.'

Aw-taš kú wišana-χa-m-a k"íni,
now=1PL.EXC and move-HAB-CSL-PST that.ABL
'Then we used to move from there this way,'

wiš-tuxʷin-χa-m-a máyk awkú k"áy--ksít-χa-tya áw,
traveling-return-HAB-CSL-PST more then that.way cold-also-MOD
'traveling back here more in that direction--too cold now,'

nápt-taš awkú k"áy álχayyə k"ná čawwiyat wišinwišin-χa-χk-a.
two-1PL.EXC then that month there almost move.about-HAB-TRL-PST
'almost two months then we would travel around over there.'

\(^{11}\) At the suggestion of Noel Rude, laxyawi- 'dry' is offered, however, I have chosen to retain the original.
66 Aw-taš kú íčin wiśána-xa-m-a Háwtmi-kan,
now-1PL.EXC and this-ALL move-HAB-CSL-PST McKay.Creek-VRS
'Then we would move here toward McKay Creek.'

67 Aw-taš ku k"ná wiś-wáwtuk-in-xa-m-a Háwtmi-pa
now-1PL.EXC and there traveling-camp.overnight-HAB-CSL-PST McKay.Creek-VRS
'Traveling along then we would camp overnight there on McKay Creek.'

68 Awkú k"ná áw k"ná pápa-wiyapaa-xa-m-a-ataš.
then there now there RECIP-separate-HAB-CSL-PST=1PL.EXC
'Then there now we would separate from one another on the way hcr.c.'

69 Aw-taš kú čí náama wiśána-xa-m-a Šiśnamūš-ka[n].
now-1PL.EXC and this 1PL.NOM move-HAB-CSL-PST [place.name]-VRS
'Then we would move this way toward Šiśnamūš.'

70 Awkú k"áy kúul-naš áw čáax".
then that that.much-1SG now all
'Then that much I (have told). That's all.'
3. 10-20-87 TUES

činaš au maik moł timaša. manpamwa inmi naimu ku xtwaima, inim Himyuma uag lautua-
ma. Kusxi inim Pie-ma uag, Kapisna tamin-was ičiškin Timaxa anakuš šnawai
inniyau pxwinawwatpa Kwainiš in pinasap-
siqwasa čau kuk au pawa moł man nčinči
ma anakuš mimi. Čmai čnasim Hautmipa
pawača xalak tananmi, ti · 'nma inatitaitma
či ičiškin pasí 'nwxana. činaš Kapail ititama
[...ja mołman puča Naptit (20) Ku Kuma wapamatcmtk
pawača putumpt (10). Činaš atimaiša wanikt
waničt ana kuma čna panišaiKinxana Hau-
[...jimapu Tunisí ku paxsi. Ku waunasisitaxs
waniki Spring Hollow. Anašin iyaxta
[...ji timaš. Čau au šin pawa čna Haut-
mi, anamolmanpu pawa waptai.
kiskis tawaxt. Inas wišaiča OCT 14 1910
nimnawi · t xwesamau au uinepaptit ku uinept (77) anwikt.
mimiš či paxšá kuna waunaši (Spring Hollow)
wawaxam KUK Iwača. Kutas Kuni Kusik iwinaxana
xaus xnixana. Kuna ci KUK inisaiksa Raymond
Burke (Popcorn) paiš xai u · ča Esther Pondmi
Tičam. Kuna mimi Iwača nit Ku Kusipamá Ku
šuyapama pais kai pawamsišana. pawaniššana
Rothlin. Kunataš wač tsixwiLi, Ku Kwan tsa
puča pawača paščen šuyapu waniki pawas-
K[w]KiLiksana Horn. Kunaš čau šukwašana
kaitas nami Tičam. Ku muntas Kuna tayanaik
nisaitá. Ku moł nitnit Kusipama Blacksmith
ku metat uyikini. Kunitas Missionkin winam
xana, čaus paxša moł pacwaiwit, ačya na-
ma Bruce ku in wača palaí axwai. Anaš
či nu Mission ikwaknatas wača nami Tičam
čau[...] či kuk šukwaša tai itaimaná umis awačá
xaLaK waqiš kuk Frank Bowmanmipa Taima
Tawaspa. pais Kuna waqiški Tkwatat iwin-pinxana. Tłax šin Kuna waqiš pa-anixana
ku kusxi šampa (iýampá)
kų Tłaxma pasapatsaxana wawaxem ku WaLa-
tukłamikini xaxaik (kitwi) pawinpinxana (patla[...]
onxana) Ku winsma Ku TiLaki pais uča uima
tatapit umis putaptit Ku UILaxsaptit sapinawit
(acres) Ku[,] Ku či kuk KutzKutz Iwa nakpa[t]
šnawai inmiyau pxwinauwatpa.
činaš YILmil.k TiMaša Niixyauki ku anča Hautmiki
axwainas Tkwiik TiMata Tłax tukin anasmana · skulí
ya, ititama, simanšíman atukinxana ncincimaman ikusnáš či
TiMaša. Xalak iwa Timas Winptas Tainas ci Twitzaxi wita.
wašni či nami yaxaixt, cauna nama Lawit sukwaša Tún
iwamš, Tuna aikt-Ta mis niix umis ailtwit. Kusnas či sin-
wit yaxsa anas kuma aikinxana ikus panawa. Kuñnaš au
ca- ’at watima.

I am now writing however much more of this, to wherever you
may be my relatives and friends, my relatives and friends. Thus
similary, mine (who) just came, it is always cold in this written
language, like pitiful to my own way of thinking. In that way I am
teaching myself. Now they are no more however many ancestors
like long ago. For this here only at Háwtmi our people were
many, the Indian people—the true Indian people—they used to
speak in this language. Here recently, I am counting however
many (of the people), they were twenty and of those [...] they were
ten. This I am writing for them (their) name (name), those who
used to settle here at Háwtmi upriver and downriver. And “having
gone over and over and returning home” is named Spring Hollow.
Whoever is pouring out to this paper. They who are no more here
at Háwtmi, “the people of however far and distant” are young,
small in origin. I was born October 14, 1910. Rightfully so, I am
an old man now, seventy seven years. This I am remembering
long ago, there at Wáwnaši “Spring Hollow” it was THEN spring.
And from there we would go horseback, (we) would dig xáwš.
There today Raymond “Popcorn” Burke is settling, maybe his
cousin had Esther Pond's land. There long ago it was a house pertaining to horses and white people, maybe it was clear of borrowing. They were named "Rothlin". There we had a small storage teepee, and close in that direction were White people named, (they were rotating on axis) "Horn". And I had not known we cleared our land. Later we settled in that village. And how many little houses pertaining to horses of the Blacksmith? Three from the beginning. We used to come from there toward Mission, I do not recall however many Sundays, because we—Bruce and I—were crazy yet. This which I tell of Mission—we were of that our land. Today, I do not know what to tell given the news or—"it had been real lively then at Frank Bowman's store." Maybe there with liveliness food used to be bought. All whoever used to make a life with that. And all would make it draw near to spring—and in the same way also at Fall time—and from the overseer they used to get money [...] , the men and women if they had eighty or twenty and sixty alotted acres. And today a little bit is a pitifully brought out to my way of thinking. This I am writing of the olden days about Nixyáaway and again about Háwmti. I will yet write it straight seeing, everything which I had seen, what (was) read as a student of the various ones who used to be seen of the elders. In this manner I am writing this. It is a lot of paper we take, I tell this stingily doing so. This is how (it was) our life. We never know for sure what (it is), what has come, what we hear however good or bad. Thus, I am pouring out these words, those which I used hear in that manner of talking. Now that much, in a little while, I have written.

1

Čí-naš áw máyk míít tíma-ša,
this-1SG now more however.much write-IMPV
'I am now writing however much more of this,'

2

máan-pam wá inmí náymu-ma ku xítway-ma,
where.to-2PL be 1SG.GEN kinsman-PL and friend-PL
'to where ever you may be my relatives and friends,'
3. 'Inim himyuu-me wáx lawtíwa-ma
1SG.GEN.[NP] to.call.someone.a:relative-PL.[NP] and.[NP] friend-PL.[NP]
'my relatives and friends.'

4. Kúuš-χi 'inim páy-na wáx,
thus-also 1SG.GEN.[NP] to.come-[NP] and.[NP]
'Thus similary, mine (who) just came,'

5. Kpís-ma táaminwa-š ičiškín tím-a-χa
cold-PL always-PP in.this.language write-HAB
'It is always cold in this written language,'

6. ana kúuš šniwáy inní-yaw px̱í-nawit-pa
REL thus pitifully 1SG.GEN-ALL think-manner-LOC
'like pitiful to my own way of thinking.'

in.that.direction-1SG 1SG SG.REFL-teach-IMPV
'In that way I am teaching myself.'

8. Čáw kúuk áw pa-wá míł-man nčínči-ma ana kúuš mûimi.
NEG then now 3PL.NOM-be however.much-PL big-PL REL thus long.ago
'Now they are no more however many ancestors like long ago.'

9. Chí-may čná-sí̱m Háwtmi-pa pa-wač-á xlák tanan-mí,
this-CSL.BENF here-only Háwtmi-LOC PL.NOM-be-PST many person-GEN
'For this here only at Háwtmi our people were many,'

10. tfín-ma--i-natítayt-ma--ĉi ičiškín
person.[NWS]-PL PRON.EMPH-Indian.people-PL this in.this.language

pa-sínwi-χan-a.
3PL.NOM-speak-HAB-PST
'the Indian people—the true Indian people—
they used to speak in this language.'
Čí-naš kpáyl ititáma-ša míł-man,
this=1SG recently counting-IMPV however.much-PL
'verecently I am counting however many (of the people),'

púuč-a náaptit
3PL.NOM.be.[Nes]-PST twenty
'they were twenty'

ku kúma [wapamatcmtk]1 pa-wač-á pútítmt.
and those [...] 3PL.NOM-be-PST ten
'and those [...] they were ten.'

Čí-naš á-tima-ay-ša waníkt waníč-t,
this=1SG 3ACC-write-BENF-IMPV name.[NP] name-NOM
'This I am writing for them (their) name (name),'

ana kúma čná pa-nišaykin-čan-a Háwtmi-pa tüníši ku paššì2.
REL those here 3PL.NOM-settle.[NWS]-HAB-PST H.-LOC upriver and
downriver
'those who used to settle here at Háwtmi upriver and downriver.'

Ku wáwnaši-tux-š waníki Sping Hollow.
and go.over.and.over-return-PP named.[Nes] Spring.Hollow
And "having gone over and over returning home" is named Spring Hollow.

Ana śín i-yáxta čí tímaš.
REL who 3NOM-pour.out this paper
'Whoever is pouring out to this paper.'

1 This expression, originally recorded as [wapamatcmtk], is unverified.

2 This expression appears to be derived from yipášši 'downriver' of the NWS dialect. The CRS dialect form is yipix 'go downstream.'
18 Čáw áw šín pa-wá čná Háwtmi-pa,
NEG now who 3PL.NOM-be here Háwtmi-LOC
'They who are no more here at Háwtmi,'

19 ana-máal-man-pu pa-wá waptáy,
REL-however.far-wherever.to-people 3PL.NOM-be young.[NES]

kskís ttáwaxt.
small pedigree
"the people of however far and distant" are young, small in origin.'

20 Ín-aš wísayč-a "OCT 14 1910."
1SG-1SG be.born-PST October.14,1910
'I was born October 14, 1910.'

21 Nimniwit xʷísaat áw uynáptit ku uynápt anwíkt.
rightly.so Old.man seventy and seven year.[NES]
'Rightfully so, I am an old man now, seventy seven years.'

22 Míími-š čí páx-ša,
Long.ago-1SG this recall-IMPV
'This I am remembering long ago,'

23 kʷná wáwnaši "Spring Hollow" wawáxim kúuk i-wač-á.
there going.over.and.over Spring.Hollow spring then 3NOM-be-PST
'there at Wáwnaši "Spring Hollow" it was THEN spring.'

24 Ku-taš kʷíni Kúsi-k i-wína-χan-a
and-1PL.EXC that.ABL horse-V 3NOM-go-HAB-PST
'And from there we would go horseback,'

25 χáwš xní-χan-a.
cous.root dig.root-HAB-PST
'(we) would dig χáwš.'
26  K'na čí kúuk i-nišáyk-ša Raymond.Burke.Popcorn
   there this then 3NOM-settle.[NWS]-IMPV Raymond.Burke.Popcorn
   'There today Raymond "Popcorn" Burke is settling,'

27  páyš xáy uuč-á Esther.Pond-mi tíičam.
   maybe cousin 3ACC.be.[NES]-PST Esther.Pond-GEN land
   'maybe his cousin had Esther Pond's land.'

28  K'na mími i-wač-á nít
   there long.ago 3NOM-be-PST house

   ku Rusi-pamá ku šuyápú-ma,
   and horse-pertaining.to and white.person-PL
   'There long ago it was a house pertaining to horses and white people,'

29  páyš káy pá-wamši-šan-a.
   maybe clear INV-borrow-IMPV-PST
   'maybe it was clear of borrowing.'

30  Pa-wanik-šan-a Rothlin.
   3PL.NOM-name.[NES]-IMPV-PST Rothlin.
   'They were named "Rothlin."'

31  K'na-taš wač-á čxyúllí,
   there-1PL.EXC be-PST small.storage.teepee.[NES]
   'There we had a small storage teepee,'

32  ku k'áan čáa puuč-á páščin šuyápú
   and in.that.direction close 3NOM.PL.be-PST White.person.[CJ] White.person
   'and close in that direction were White people'
33 wanikí pa-wiyásklik-šan-a Horn.
named.PP (3PL.NOM-rotate.on.axis-IMPV-PST) Horn
named (they were rotating on axis) "Horn".

34 Ku-naš čáw šukʷá-šan-a káy-taš namí tíčam.
and-1SG NEG know-IMPV-PST clear-1PL.EXC our [and
'And I had not known we cleared our land.'

35 Ku mún-taš kʷná táwyanayk-t nišaykt-á.
and when-1PL.EXC in.that village-NOM settle.[NWS]-pst.
'Later we settled in that village.'

36 Ku mít níitniit kúsi-pama Blacksmith?
and how.many house-REDUP horse-pertaining.to Blacksmith
'And how many little houses pertaining to horses of the Blacksmith?'

37 Ku mítat úyi-kni.
and three begin-ABL
'Three from the beginning.'

38 Kʷní-taš Mission-kan wína-m-čan-a
from.there-1PL.EXC Mission-VRS go-CSL-HAB-PST
'We used to go there toward Mission,

39 čáw-š páx-ša mít páčwaywit,
NEG-1SG recall-IMPV how.many Sundays
'I do not recall how many Sundays,'

---

3 The original expression was given as [pawas-K(w)KíLiKsana]. By taking
the simplest proposal first, we would have the expression pawásclikšana 'they were
turning around.' The second possibility, one which closely resembles the original, is
pawiyásklikšana 'they were rotating on axis.' A third more complicated form is
derived from Nez Perce--páwasqikillikšana 'it had bent around backwards in forming a
V-shape.' Here, I have opted to choose the second representation.
áča⁴ níma *Bruce* ku ín wač-á paláy áxway
because 1SG.PL Bruce and 1SG be-PST crazy yet
‘because we--Bruce and I--were crazy yet.’

Ana-š čí núu *Mission--*
REL=1SG this tell.[NES] Mission
‘This which I tell of Mission--’

îkʷak-nataš wač-á naami túčam.
that.ABS.[NES]=1SG.PL be-PST 1PL.GEN land
‘we were of that our land.’

Čáw-š čí kúuk šúkʷa-ša táy i-táymun-a
NEG=1SG this then know-IMPV tell 3NOM-give.news-PST
‘Today, I do not know what to tell given the news’

umíš "á-wač-a xlák wáqiš kúuk *Frank Bowman*-mi-pa taymaťáwas-pa."
or.[NES] 3ACC-be-PST many alive then Frank.Bowman-GEN-LOC store-LOC
‘or “it had been real lively then at Frank Bowman’s store.”’

Páyš kʷná waqiš-ki tkʷátat i-wínpin-xana.
maybe in.that alive-INST food 3NOM-buy-HAB-PST
‘Maybe there with liveliness food used to be bought.’

Xáax šín kʷná wáqiš paʔaní-χan-a
all whoever in.that awake/alive PL.NOM-make-HAB-PST
‘All whoever used to make a life with that.’

Ku Xáax-ma pá-šapa-čaa-χan-a wawáxim
and all-PL INV-CAUS-near-HAB-PST spring
‘And all would last until spring--’

---

⁴ This expression typically co-occurs with *ku* ‘and,’ however, it is absent here.
48  ku kúuš-çi špám-pa tiyám-pa--
and thus-also autumn-LOC autumn.[NWS]-LOC
'and in the same way also at Fall time--' 

49  ku walačúk-la-mi-kni xaxáykʷ kícuy pa-wínpin-čan-a
and observe.over-AGT-GEN-ABL money money.[NP 3PL.NOM-get-HAB-PST

[patla...onxana] ⁵
[...]
'and from the overseer they used to get money [...],' 

50  ku wíns-ma ku tílaaki páyš uuč-á uymítáaptit umíš
and men-PL and women if 3NOM.be-PST eighty or

náaptit ku uylxsáaptit šapínawit (acres) ku.
twenty and sixty measurement (acres) and
'the men and women if they had eighty or twenty and sixty allotted acres.

51  Ku čí kúuk kúcuc i-wá nákpi-t šniwáy
And this then little 3NOM-be bring.out-NOM pitifully

inmi-yaw pxʷí-nawit-pa.
1SG.GEN-ALL think-manner-LOC
'And today a little bit is pitifully brought out to my way of thinking.'

52  Čí-ñaš yalmílk tíma-ša
this-1SG any.old.way write-IMPV

Nixyáaw-ki ku ánča Háwtmi-ki
Nixyáaway-INSTR and again Háwtmi-INSTR
'This I am writing of the olden days
about Nixyáaway and again about Háwtmi,' 

⁵ This expression is unverified.
áxway-naš tk"îlk" tîma-ta
yet-1SG straight write-FUT
'I will yet write it straight,'

Xáax" tûukin ana-s mâána skúuli-ya ititáma
all see.[NES] REL-1SG what.[NP] go.to.school-PERS read
'everything which I had seen, what (was) read as a student'

šíman-šíman á-tuukin-čan-a nêfnêi-maaman.
who.PL.ABS-REDUP 3ACC-see.[NES]-HAB-PST elders-PL.ACC
'of the various ones who used to be seen of the elders.'

Ikúuš-naš cí tîma-ša.
EMPH.thus-1SG this write-IMPV
'In this manner I am writing this.'

Xlák i-wá tîmaš wînp-taš
Many 3NOM-be paper take-1PL.EXC
'It is a lot of paper we take,'

tây-naš cí twačixí wîmita.6
tell-1SG this stingy will.do.things
'I tell this stingily doing so.'

Wá-š-nî cí náami yaxáyxt
be-PRS-APPL this 1PL.GEN daily.living
'This is how (it was) our life.'

Čáw-na náma lawwít šûk"a-ša
NEG-1PL.EXC what.[NP] for.sure know-IMPV
'We never know for sure what (it is),'

---

6 The original expression was given as [wita], here, I offer wîmita.
tún i-wá-m-š,
what 3NOM-be-CISL-PRS
‘what has come,’

 prá na áyk-ta mís núx umís čilwit.⁷
what-1PL.INC hear-FUT how good or bad
‘what we hear however good or bad.’

Kúuš-naš či sinwit yáx-ša
thus-1SG this speaking pour.out-IMPV
‘Thus, I am pouring out these words,

ana-š kúma áykín-șana ikúuš pa-náwa.
REL-1SG those hear-PST.HAB in.that.manner PL.NOM-say
‘those which I used hear in that manner of talking.’

K’ół-naš áw čáʔát wá tíma.
that.much-1SG now in.a.little.while be write
‘Now that much, in a little while, I have written.’

---

⁷ The original expression was given as [ait.wit] and appears to be derived from NWS čilwit ‘bad.’
4. 6-26-91 Wed

ičiknaš anča Timaša man pam wa inmi
naymuma ku xtwaimá, kušxi atawitma
cauš Lawit sukwašá tunš wá Timataš, miš
nas tun inaqi ci kuku kusx kpail. Tūn tam-
nanext, anastuna Tuntun aqinun. Twá kyam
inmi Tamlamaiwit, anaš či šnawai ṕinana kwna
cau śina yikTas ci ičiškin sinwit. Timaš-sim
ititamaxá Tahan sinwit Timat ku kusx aw[na]
payxa tapekni.

I am writing this again, to where ever you may be my
relatives and friends, thus also the precious (life), I do
not know for sure what it is we are writing, whatever it
is I finish today at this time. Whatever story,
something which I have seen of each thing. It is true
of my uncertainty, which I am pitifully taking along in
that nobody can hear you in this Indian way of
speaking. Only on paper can it be read, a person's
written words. And so thus now we can tell from the
tape.

1 Įčik-naš ánča tíma-ša,
EMPH.this.PRON.[NWS]=1SG again write-IMPV
'I am writing this again,'

2 máan-pam wá inmí náymu-ma ku xítway-ma,
where.to-2PL be 1SG.GEN kinsman-PL and friend-PL
'to where ever you may be my relatives and friends,'

3 kūuš-či átaw-wit-ma,
thus-also precious-NOM-PL
'thus also the precious (life),'
4 čáw-š lawít šúk"a-ša tún-š wá tíma-taš,
not-1SG for.sure know-IMPV what-PP be write-1PL.EXC
'I do not know for sure what it is we are writing,'

5 miš-naš tún ínaqi či kúuk kúuš-χ kpáyl.
how-1SG what finish this then thus-PRES.HAB soon
'whatever it is I finish today at this time.'

6 Tún tímnánáx-t,
whatever tell.story-NOM
'Whatever story,'

7 ana-š tún-a tuntún á-ðínun.
REL-1SG what-ACC each.thing 3ABS-see
'something which I have seen of each thing.'

8 Í-wa k"yáam inmí tamłamaywí-t,
3NOM-be true 1SG.GEN not.be.sure.of.one's.self-NOM
'It is true my uncertainty,'

9 ana-š čí šniway pá-nana
REL-1SG this pitifully INV-take.along.[NES]
'which I am pitifully taking it along'

10 k"ná čáw šína yík-taš čí ičiškín sínwit.
in.that no who.ACC hear-2PL in.this.language speech
'in that nobody can hear you in this Indian way of speaking.'

11 Tímaš-sim ititáma-χa tanán sínwit tíma-t
paper-only read-MOD person words write-NOM
'Only on paper can it be read, a person's written words.'

12 Ku kúuš-χ áw-na tamáapay-χa tape-kní
And thus-PRES.HAB now-1PL.INC tell.[NP]=MOD tape-ABL
'And so thus now we can tell from the tape.'
Wapáxiša Sínwit (Releasing Words)

5. 9-7-77 Wed

Inim Naimuma,[..] chi-nush milt sinwit in-mi-niin
WAPáu-xi-sha chi AU KLA-WI-TTT-PA. Mish-nush kyawm txwiik
sin-wi-wi-ta Chi Ish-kin Ta-nun-Tumki PAish Aúxa.
IN-ми-yau PXI-ná-wut-pa I-wa I-ÍHOOK chi sinwit tanuntumki
chmaish Mai-Kootz TumTla-mai-wi-ka Shu-ya-pu-toomptki.
ChauNush La-wiit pux-sha MILT̬-na un-witcht chi- nama
AWsha-pa[ya]-wauwn MILT̬-na unwitcht-Kun KU-yawn
paish pinupt un-witcht. Chi-na wa-na-mi AW-Taú-niń
TKa-nai-wit. Chi-na aw-na Kuush sshkuuksha unna MILT̬
na-mi AW-TAU-niń tka-nai-wit, sup-c-kqwut Koosh-xi wa-pa-Tut
mya-nas-ma-mun US-won-ma Koosh-xi Pl-Tí-li-ma, cháu mish

My relatives, I am releasing myself of however many words now this
afternoon. How will I speak of each true and straight in this language,
the Indian language as it should be? To my way of thinking, it is
difficult speaking the Indian language. For this here I am even more
uncertain of English. I do not recall for sure of how many years we are
made to pass on, of however many years that go by, maybe four years.
Of this is our precious journey. Of this, we are thus carving out as many
Sundays, we help ourselves, we shine a light upon ourselves. We are on
this our precious journey, in the same way the teaching helps our
children, the boys and thus the girls, not just for ourselves. Thus
similarly, we (are) greatly growing.

1  ?Inim náymu-ma,
1SG.GEN.[NP] kinsman-PL
'My relatives,'
čí-naš mít sínwit inmí-niin wapáxi-ša čí áw kláawitt-pa.
this-1SG however.many words 1SG.GEN-EMP release-IMPV afternoon-LOC
'I am releasing myself of however many words now this afternoon.'

Míš-naš k'ýám tkũík̓ sínwi-wi-ta čí čiškúm
how-1SG true straight speak-DIST-FUT this.in.this.language
'How will I speak of each true and straight in this language,'

tanán-timki páyš áw-ša.
Indian-language maybe now-MOD
'the Indian language as it should be?'

Inmí-yaw pxʷí-nawit-pa
1SG.GEN-ALL think-manner-LOC
'To my way of thinking,

í-wa it'úuk čí sínwi-t tanán-timki
3NOM-be difficult this speak-NOM Indian language
'it is difficult speaking the Indian language.'

Čí-m-áy-š mayk-kuc' tamlamáywi-ka šuyapu-tímtki.
this-SCL-BENF-1SG more-[...] not.be.sure.of.one's.self-also in.English
'For this here I am even more uncertain of English.'

Čáw-naš lawít páx-ša mít-na anwíčt
NEG-1SG for.sure recall-IMPV how.many-ACC year
'I do not recall for sure of how many years'

čí náma ášapa-ya-wawn²
this 1PL 3ABS-CAUS-in.air-pass
'we are made to pass on,'

---

¹ The expression [Mai-Kootz] was originally given and it is not clear what morphemes may be represented. In context, it is suggestive of quantity.

² The underlying representation of this expression is proposed here.
10 mîl-na anwîct-kan k'iyyáan pâyâš pinâpt anwîct.
how-many-ACC year-ALL go.by maybe four year
'of however many years that go by, maybe four years.'

11 Čí-na wá namí ataw-nûn qqaanáy-wit.
this-ACC be our precious-too be.industrious-manner
Of this is our precious journey.

12 Čí-na áw-na kûuš š-kuu-k-sâ
this-ACC now-1PL.INC thus with.cutting.instrument-do-V-IMPV

ana mîl pâčwaywit,
REL how.many Sunday
'Of this, we are thus carving out as many Sundays,'

13 pâpa-yata-ša,
RECIP-help-IMPV
'we help ourselves,'

14 pâpa-lux-š-mi-ša.
RECIP-shine-PRON-do-IMPV
'we shine a light upon ourselves.'

15 Wá-š-na čî namí atáw-niin qqaaná-wit,
be-PP-1PL.INC this our precious-too be.industrious-manner
'We are on this our precious journey,

16 sáp-sik*a-t kûuš-xi wapáata-t miyánaš-maaman
CAUS-know-NOM thus-also help-NOM child-PL.ACC
'in the same way the teaching helps our children,'

17 áswan-ma kûuš pt'ilí-ma,
boy-PL thus girl-PL
'the boys and thus the girls,'
18 čáw-miš pamá-ay-sim.
NEG-how 3PL.RFL-BENF-only
'not just for ourselves.'

19 Kúuš-xi náma nế́́cí ttáwaχt
thus-also we big growing
'Thus similarly, we (are) greatly growing.'
6. 2-1-81 Sunday

íkucnac Sinwica Tci Kuk
Tci Klawititpa. Tcaunac IN
Pxwina munac yaphítá Tci
íkucpain ATAUúnin tkanaiwitpa
inmiyau Pxwinawutpa Iwa
íTuk sinwit tci íTcickin Tanun-
temtki Tcmaic cuyaputemtki
Kootz Tamłamaiwixá.

Thus, I am speaking today, this
evening. I do not to think when I am
to pass away here in this manner, in
this precious journey of mine. In the
way of thought, the words are
difficult in this language, in the
people's language. For this here in
English, I am yet careless.

1 íKúš-naš sínvi-ša čí kúuk čí k"láawitt-pa.
EMPH.thus-1SG speak-IMPV this then this evening-LOC
'Thus, I am speaking today, this evening.'

2 Čáw-naš ín px"f-na mún-aš yapit'a¹ čí ikúš-payn,
NEG-1SG 1SG think-PST when-1SG pass.away this thus-LOC
'I do not to think when I am to pass away here in this manner,'

3 ataw-nín qqaanáy-wit-pa inmi-yaw.
precious-too be.industrious-manner-LOC 1SG.GEN-ALL
'in this precious journey of mine.'

¹ The the morpheme gloss and free translation is proposed here.
Pʰʷⁿᵃʷⁱʷᵃ⁻i⁻wá⁻itʹůk⁻sínwit⁻čí⁻íčškiin
think-manner-LOC 3NOM-be difficult speech this in.this.language
tanantím-ki.
people.language-INST
'In the way of thought, the words are difficult in this language,
in the people's language.'

Čí⁻m⁻ay⁻š⁻šuyaputím⁻ki
this-CISL-BENF=1SG in.White.people's.language-INSTR
qóʔc⁻tamlamáywi⁻xa.
yet.still.[NP] be.careless-HAB
For this here with English, I am yet careless.
Tuntún Wikut (The Various Doings, Happenings)

7. SUN 6-5-88

cinaš mał Timaša či aukuk mackiš Taxsi ana ef skau. Ci au Kpail Bea Iktikutana, Ted in panakwina (panana) pinmin kinki SäuLaKaiKašk chevvy -uča awa (U!) xaixas išxawitiya (ituxtunxa)
ef hananai (Lamatitz!). Watim Tednim naxaswiya misna TamyanwaasKan (Taimatawaskan) Kuna nčipa nitpa (armory) Tuntun pataimasá xaLak Twinpaš, ilapai Kuš -xi tanan anit (crafts). ašnatas Napt Kicwi (kaxaic) Napak pinápt inaš wasatiya. Kwapt čaktxi u · ča (awača) putumt Ku napt niknit (12.00) sitkumsawm.
Ku metat Ku Tłaxsimxa UILexs LikLin (niknit)
čautas tun kwapčaka. ef šnawai (yootz yeuitz)

This much I am writing, now that I wake up this morning quite strong. Here just recently Bea worked, Ted and I took her along with this Chevy wagon she has. Aah! All night it must have rained, so bothersome! Yesterday, Ted challenged someone toward town (toward the store) there at the "big house" armory. He is buying each thing, a lot of guns, bullets, thus also the Indian makings (crafts). We enter, I paid two dollars, four dollars for both. (The crowd) had loosened up at twelve o'clock noon. And three probably all to six o'clock somehow we have not tied it up. So pitiful!
(So poorly miserable!) Ted got the same knife at eighty-five dollars, it was naming at one hundred and thirty-five dollars. With Ted having made him miss, he said, "I will not give that much for yours!" Ted is sure tough in that way, whenever are we not doing so? We one bettered it, it was an old artifact, it was an old-timer. It is twenty four, maybe it is still there. And we will somehow decide because of that. That much now I have written, I will yet add to this book whenever.

1 Čí-naš mǐt tíma-ša
this-1SG how.much write-IMPV
'This much I am writing,'

2 čí áw kúuk máycqí-š tášxi ana áł skáw.
this now then morning=1SG wake.up_PP REL generous strong
'now that I wake up this morning quite strong.'

3 Čí áw kpáyl Bea i-kútkutn-a,
this now recently B. 3NOM-work-PST
'Here just recently Bea worked,'

4 Ted ín pa-nákwina-na (pa-nána) pinmín
Ted 1SG 3PL.NOM-take.along-PST (3PL.NOM-take.[NES]) 3SG.GEN
'Ted and I took her along

5 kín-ki šáwlakaykaʔš Chevy uuč-á (á-wa).
this-INST.[NP] wagon.[NES] Chevy 3ACC-be.[NES]-PST (3ACC-be)
'with this Chevy wagon she has.'

6 ?Á! xáayx-xaš ñšxaawiti-ya áł hananúy lammáṭle!
aah! all.night-MOD rain-PST freely.giving bothersome bothersome.[NP]
'Aah! All night it must have rained, so bothersome!'
Watim Ted-nim náxašwi-ya míš-na¹
yesterday Ted-ERG challenge-PST how-ACC
Yesterday, Ted challenged someone

'itamųánwas-kan (itaymaťáwas-kan) k'na nčí-pa nít-pa armory
town.[NP]-VRS (store-VRS) there big-LOC house-LOC armory
toward town (toward the store) there at the "big house" armory.

Tuntún pá-tayma-ša
each.thing INV-buy-IMPV
'He is buying each thing,'

xłák twínpaš ḥlapat kúuš-ći tanán aní-t (crafts).
many gun bullet thus-also Indian make-NOM crafts
'a lot of guns, bullets, thus also the Indian makings (crafts).'

Áš-nataš
go.in-1PL.EXC
'We enter,'

nápt kícuy (xaxáyk") napák pínapt ín-aš wášati-ya
two dollar.[NP] (dollar) both four 1SG=1SG pay.[NES]-PST
'I paid two dollars, four dollars for both.'

Ráapt² čáqʷxk-i uuč-a (a-wač-á)
in.the.way loosen.[CRS.WS]-PP 3ACC.be.[NES]-PST (3ACC-be-PST)

pútint ku nápt níknít (12:00) sitkumsáan
ten and two go.around (12:00) miday.[CJ]
'(The crowd) had loosened up at twelve o'clock noon.'

¹ This interrogative has an accusative case suggesting a human object.
² This expression seems to refer to a 'a crowd in the way'.
14 Ku mítaat ku šáax-šim-ša uylíxs likíin (nikít) and three and all-only=MOD six o'clock.[NP] (o'clock) And three probably all to six o'clock.

15 čáw-taš túñ kʷa-pčaak-a
no/not-1PL..EXC what doubt-tie.together-PST 'somehow we have not tied it up.'

16 Áł šniwáy (yúʔc yiyéewic) freely.giving pitiful (pitiful having.a.hard.time.[NP]) 'So pitiful! (So poorly miserable!)

17 Náxš-ši šašxk-áwas i-wínp-a Ted one=same cut=INST.NOM 3NOM-get-PST

uymitáaptit ku páxat (85.00) (páxat'máaptit) eighty and five (85.00) (eighty.[CRS-wsl]) 'Ted got the same knife at eighty-five dollars,

18 i-wanik-šana putáaptit ku mitáaptit ku páxat (135.00). 3NOM-name-PST.IMPFV one.hundred and thirty and five (135.00) 'it was naming at one hundred and thirty-five dollars.'

19 Ted-in pá-šapa=kʷay-waxn-a Ted-ASSOC INV-CAUS-in.that.direction-miss.[NES]-PST 'With Ted having made him miss,'

20 páʔinn-a INV-say-PST he said.

---

3 This expression originally appeared as kwapčaka. Here, I offer kʷapčaaka.
21 "Čáw-maš k'ú ní-ta!"
no/not-2SG.GEN that.much give-FUT
"I will not give that much for yours!"

22 ʔÉet skáw wá Ted kúuš-payn,
very.[NP] tough be Ted thus-EMPH.LOC
'Ted is sure tough in that way,'

23 čáw mún wá áw kú-taš.
no/not when/whenever be now do-1PL.EXC
'whenever are we not doing so?'

24 Náxš-nataš á-shí'íx-ša
One-1PL.EXC 3ABS-good-PST
'We one bettered it,'

25 i-wá nčí wáak"l-k-awas,
3NOM-be great thing.like-V-INST.NOM
'it was an old artifact,'

26 můmi-ł-k-u i-wá
long.ago-Q-V-HUM 3NOM-be
'it was an old-timer.'

27 I-wá náapít ku pináapt (24.00)
3NOM-be twenty and four (24.00)
'It is twenty four,'

28 páyš áxway k'úná i-wá
maybe still there 3NOM-be
'maybe it is still there.'

29 Ku-taš mís tmiyúu-ta k'íinki
and-1PL.EXC how plan/decide-FUT with.that/because.of.that
'And we will somehow decide because of that.'
30 K'áa-naš áw wá tíma
that.much-1SG now be write
'That much now I have written,'

31 áxway múun pácak-ta ċi tímat.
yet whenever add.on.[NES]-FUT this paper
'I will yet add to this book whenever.'
8. SUN 12-3-89

či naš mël Timas ničin naxs Timaš
-pa waniki National Geographic Society
American Indian Kuná shelvēpa axwais.
E.O.kinis saLit'awas acaxtlkna kutz kutz
page 100. ikušnaš ci Timaša kyamxis Laakta
iwa it'uk yaktaš anamöl pačwaiwit umiš
alxaix kunam Laakta caušin cau. Iwa
ikuš Timatas Taminwa ananam kus awinxá
manaxas ínci Nict Tlamaiča. Kunušat kuš
Tmiyuki či Timasa. Kuł au yuxa kalu
kiu wail Tima kie Laheipa Lammatz!

However much of this paper I put away—of one
paper called "National Geographic Society
American Indian"—is there on the shelve still. From
the E.O., I cut out a little clipping (from) page 100.
In this manner I am writing, it must be true I will
forget it is difficult—we unconcerned as many
Sundays or however (many) months—and you will
never forget no one. It is in that manner we write
always when you thus go, what must be an elder put
away and similarly lost. For this reason, as with
thought I am writing this. Now that much over
yonder. Just this much writing today, So
bothersome!

1 Či-naš mël tīmaš ničin--
this—1SG however.much paper put.pp
'However much of this paper I put away—'

2 náxš tīmaš-pa wanikí "National Geographic Society American Indian"
one paper-LOC name.ppf.[NES] N.G.S.A.I.
'of one paper called "National Geographic Society American Indian"—'
3 k"ná shelve-pa áxway-š.
there shelve-LOC still.yet-PP
'is there on the shelve still.'

4 E.O.-kni-š saali-ťáwas á-čaŋk-na kuckúc page 100.
'From the E.O., I cut out a little clipping (from) page 100.'

5 Ikúuš-naš čí tíma-ša
EMPH.thus.[NWS]-1SG this write-IMPV
'In this manner I am writing,'

6 k"yáam-ša-láak-ta i-wá iťúk
true-MOD-1SG forget-FUT 3NOM-be difficult
'it must be true I will forget it is difficult--,'

7 yáax-ťaš ana-mít páčwaywit uu miš álχayx
undisturbed.[NES]-2PL.EXC REL-however.much Sunday or how month
'we unconcerned as many Sundays or however (many) months--'

9 kú-nam láak-ta čáw shín čáw.
and=2SG forget-FUT NEG who NEG
'and you will never forget no one.'

10 I-wá ikúuš tíma-taš táaminwa
3NOM-be EMPH.thus.[NWS] write=2PL.EXC always
'It is in that manner we write always'

11 ana-nam kúuš á-win-ša,
REL=2SG thus 3ACC-go-HAB
'when you thus go,'
12 **manáa¹ -xaš nčǐ nčέ-t ṭaamáy-ča.**
what-MOD elder put.away-NOM lost-also
‘what must be an elder put away and similarly lost.’

13 **Kʷínwašat kúuš tmíyú-ki čí tíma-ša.**
for.this.reason thus plan-INST this write-IMPV
‘For this reason, as with thought I am writing this.’

14 **Kʷfl áw yúu-xa**
that.much now that.over.there[NES]-HAB
‘Now that much over yonder.’

15 **Káloʔ kiwáyl túíne ků léeheypa**
certain.amount-INTNS.[NP] this.much.[NP] writing.[NP] this.[NP] day-
LOC.[NP]
‘Just this much writing today,’

16 **Lammáťic!**
bothersome.[NP]
So bothersome!

¹ Originally, Xífuxín gave *mana-* which may be Nez Perce *manáa* ‘what’.


Because I am alone I am making food. They will eat. (I am) about to be working for you too. A niece is returning. Now she is about to come. "Look at it!" "You are not doing right!" Now you were seeing it. It makes me tired.

1  "Etke ʔin-ciwáatx hipt haniš-s-a.  
   (Nez Perce) 
   because 1SG-alone food to.make-IMPV-SG.NOM

Ač-tya-š įnk-sla tkátat aní-ša.  
   (Umatilla Sahaptin) 
   because-MOD-1SG 1SG-alone.[NWS] food make-IMPV  
   'Because I am alone I am making food.'

---

^1 This text is a comparative interlinear text consisting of Nez Perce and Umatilla Sahaptin. In the original, Nez Perce appears first and then Umatilla Sahaptin is followed in parentheses.
2  Pehipú?.
3PL.NOM-to.eat-FUT

Pa-tkʷáta-ta.
3PL.NOM-eat-FUT
'They will eat.'

3  Cepelixniktetéey ?iméenke.
by pressing-to.move.around-INCEP-BENF 2SG.ABS-also

Kutkut-ťá-tk imáy-ča.
work-INCEP-PL.IMP 2PL=also
'(I am) about to be working for you too.'

give-back-IMPV-PL.NOM that woman's.sister's.child

I-tux-ša ní-tux-ša káša.
3NOM-return-IMPV give-return-IMPV woman's.daughter's.child
'A niece is returning.'

5  Wáaqo? hipaytaťáaša.
now 3NOM-arrive-INCEP-IMPV-SG.NOM

Áw yánawi-taťa-ša.
now arrive-INCEP-IMPV
'Now she is about to come.'

6  ?Eekítx!
to.see-PL.IMP

Á-ńinu-tk!
3ABS-see-PL.IMP
"Look at it!"

2 This kinship term was originally written as [ká ɬ̥ʃx].
Wéet’u tukúx ʔéetx kúsíxl
NEG right 2SG.PL-IMP to.do-IMPV-PL.NOM

Čáw-nam ³ tkʷítkʷ kú-sa!
NEG-2SG correct/straight do-IMPV
“You are not doing right!”

³ This expression was originally written as [caunan], here, I offer čáw-nam.

8 ʔítm wáaqoʔ ʔipnéeʔ aakcáaq.a.
2SG now 3SG.REFL to.see-IMPV-SG.NOM-PST

Ím áw paanáy á-ʔínu-šan-a (á-tuuk-šan-a).
2SG now 3SG 3ACC-see-IMPV-PST (3ACC-see-IMPV-PST.[NES])
‘Now you were seeing it.’

9 ʔAsapáaʔlatwiš.a.
3OBJ-CAUS-be.tired-IMPV-SG.NOM

I-šapa-šaláwi-sa.
3NOM-CAUS-be.tired.[NWS]-IMPV
‘It makes me tired.’
10. 4-14-91 Sun


Now I am more alive with feeling, I do not know how it is THEN only in my belly. (I) might have diarrhea, and because of that it causes me to worry. Similarly long ago, Pílot Rock Koch inspected me and wrote a slip for me then, there we went into
the Community Hospital. I do not recall when it had cleared up yet when it was opened today it was not broken. As I went in yesterday, he gave me laxative medicine, rightly so I defecated cleanly, he inspected it, he completed a picture (X-rayed) toward that "wheel chain" motioning, in good health he released me toward the office with the so-called slip of paper. I told myself, "You are well! There is not any sickness!" Yesterday, I wonder how many went to Kay Elk's memorial (doings), the coming out of the name, many arrived, automobiles were parked, drum was sounding, they war danced. Nearby from there, a Pontiac was parked. There one man was sitting leisurely in the car. He takes off of himself, a vest which Friend Ellison Schuster gave to me. At Toppenish when they had their coming out of the name. There put away toward the river, similarly, it is true Victor George had seen you, grabbed and shook your hand, in a little while those ones asked, "Had you (originated) from Rock Creek?" Similarly, he had answered, "Yes!" To finish—it came out somewhat crazy on the paper, (what) was seen then, (to be watched) of this twenty-first day of the month. Be Sunday now I but want to know for sure, thus similiarly like Armand Minthorn said recently, "One medicine to be told!"

1 Áw-š čí máyk wáqiš píná-tawyak-in
   now=1SG this more alive SG.REFL-feel.[NES]-ASSOC
   'Now I am more alive with feeling,'

2 čáw-š šúk"a-ša mís-naš náwat-pa kúuk-pa-sim
   not=1SG know-IMPV how=1SG belly-LOC then-LOC-only
   'I do not know how it is THEN only in my belly.'
3 Táwčxin- xa
 to.have.diarrhea.[NWS]-MOD
 'I might have diarrhea,'

4 kú-naš kínki i-sapá-pxw.Impi-xa.
 and-1SG because.of.that 3NOM-CAUS-worry-HAB
 'and because of that it causes me to worry.'

5 Mímí-xi-š pá-suya-na PR Koch-nim
 Long.ago-also-1SG INV-to.inspect-PST Pilot.Rock Koch-ERG
 'Similarly long ago, Pilot Rock Koch inspected me'

6 ku-naš tíma-ay-na slip kúuk
 and-1SG write-BENF-PST slip then
 'and wrote a slip for me then,'

7 kíná ás-taš CommunityHospital-pa.
 there go.in-1PL.EXC Community.Hospital-LOC
 'there we went into the Community Hospital.'

8 Čáw-š páx-ša mún káay2 i-wac-á
 NEG-1SG recall-IMPV when clear 3NOM-be-PST
 'I do not recall when it cleared up,'

9 áxay čaxílpí i-wac-á
 yet open.PP 3NOM-be-PST
 'yet when it was opened'

10 čáw čí kúuk pá-waaku?up-a.
 NEG this-then INV-break.[NES]-PST
 'today it was not broken.'

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1 It is possible that Xíluxin may be alternatively using this morpheme suffix as a HABITUAL, whereby the expression would read 'having diarrhea.'

2 This word appears to be a weak form of the adverb káayk 'clear.'
A-š ku áš-a wátišx
REL-1SG and go.in-PST yesterday.[NP]
‘As I went in yesterday,’

pá-ni-ya šapa-ʔat-pamá tawtnůk (plň)
INV-give-PST CAUS-go.out-pretaining.to medicine.[NWS]
medicine.[CRS,NES]
‘he gave me laxative medicine,’

nímniwit čixn-a kyáak,
rightly.so defecate-PST clean
‘rightly so I defecated cleanly,’

pá-šuya-na,
INV-inspect-PST
‘he inspected it,’

pá-šapa-naqi-ya šapálalpá-na (X-rayed)
INV-CAUS-to.finish-PST picture-ACC (X-rayed)
‘he completed a picture (X-rayed)’

kʷáan wheel chain pá-sapa-wayna-na,
toward.that wheel.chain INV-CAUS-fly-PST
‘toward that “wheel chain” motioning.’

kʷná piná-xítway-ma-na pá-wapaxi,
in.that SG.REFL-be.friendly.to-PL-ACC INV-let.go.of.PP
‘in good health he released me’

office-kan kʷapín-ča-šan-a³ tímaš.
office-VRS the.aforementioned-MOD-IMPV-PST paper
‘toward the office with the so-called slip of paper.’

³ This construction seems unusual here and appears in verbalized form.
19 Piná-ʔinn-a
SG.REFL-tell-PST
'I told myself,'

20 "Šiʔix-nam! Cáw tún páyuwi-t!"
good[NES]=2SG no/not what be.sick-NOM
"You are well! There is not any sickness!"

21 Watím-š kʷa-míl kú-ya KayElk-mamí qqaanáy-wit,
yesterday=1SG doubt-few go.[NES]-PST Kay.Elk-PL.GEN be.industrious-ABS
'Yesterday, I wonder how many went to Kay Elk's memorial (doings),'

22 i-wiýápayusk-t waník-t,
3NOM-come.into.view.[NWS]-NOM name.[NES]-NOM
'the coming out of the name,'

23 yánawi-ya-xlák
arrive-PST many
'many arrived,'

24 á-tutil-ša Automobiles
3ACC-stand-PST automobiles
'automobiles were parked,'

25 áw-na-ša-ša Riwkíwlač
3ACC-singing-upon-PST drum.[NES]
'drum was sounding,'

26 pa-páaxam-ša.
3PL.NOM-war.dancing-PST
'they war danced,'

27 Kʷíni cáá šapá-tuti-ya Pontiac.
from.there near CAUS-stand-PST Pontiac
'Nearby from there, a Pontiac was parked.'
28 Kʷná náxš wínš i-lá-ʔayč-a šáwlakaykaʔš-pa.
there one man 3NOM-leisurely-sit-PST wagon.[NES]-LOC
'There one man was sitting leisurely in the car.'

29 Piná-tamčanwi⁴,
SG.REFL-take.down.[NES]
'He takes off of himself,'

30 waqalpí (vest) a-naš xáy Ellison Schuster-nim i-ní-ya.
vest (vest) REL-1SG male.friend Ellison.Schuster-ERG 3NOM-give-PST
'a vest which friend Ellison Schuster gave to me.'

31 Toppenish-pa ana kú paamlin uuč-a
Toppenish.WA-LOC REL and 3PL.GEN 3ABS.be.[NES]-PST

i-wiyápayšk-t waník-t.
3NOM-complex.into.view.[NWS]-NOM name.[NES]-NOM
'At Toppenish when we had our coming out of the name.'

32 Kʷná á-nicin-kan yaxlayna⁵,
there 3ACC-put.away-VRS along.the.river
There put away toward the river,

33 á-tuuk ím kʷyáam-χí i-wá Victor George
3ACC-see.pp.[NES] 2SG true-also 3NOM-be Victor.George
'similarly, it is true Victor George had seen you,'

34 apáp á-txʷín-a (á-winp-ay)
hand 3ACC-hold.in.one's.hand.[NES]-PST (3ACC-grab-BENF)
'grabbed and shook your hand,'

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⁴ This clause is distinctly is marked by a comma in the original.
⁵ This word may represent an idiomatic expression related to naming. For a potential NWS correspondence see Jacobs (1931:157) as in iya'χʷle·na 'he went along and took a drink'.
35  čá?at á-k"ima á-šapni-ya
    in.a.little.while 3ACC-those 3ACC-ask-PST
    'in a little while those ones asked,'

36  miš-ya-m á-wač-a sapá-wilwit 6 Qmít-pa
    Y/NQ-PERS-CISL 3ABS-be-PST CAUS-[originate?] Rock.Creek-LOC
    "Had you (originated) from Rock Creek?"

37  I-wáanp-a "Íi!" a-wač-χi.
    3NOM-answer.[NES]-PST yes 3NOM-be= same
    'Similary, he had answered, "Yes!"

38  to finish--paláy-š ku át-tya-š tímaš-pa,
    to.finish crazy-PP and go.out-MOD-PP paper-LOC
    'To finish--it came out somewhat crazy on the paper,'

39  Á-túuk-šan-a kúuk a-wá (á-tkín-at’a)
    3ACC-see.[NES]-IMPV-PST then 3ACC-be (3ACC-watch-INCEP)
    '(what) was seen then, (to be watched),'

40  čí álχayx-pa náaptit ku náxs 7 łkʷí-pa
    this month-LOC twenty and one day-LOC
    'of this twenty-first day of the month.'

41  Páčwaywit-i áw-tya-š lawít šúkʷa-y-at’a-na
    sunday-PRS now-MOD-1SG for.sure want.to.know-BENF-PURP-ACC
    'Be Sunday now I but want to know for sure,'

---

6 Based upon the context of the utterance, I have offered 'originate' as a filler.

7 Xíluxin gives the "21st" as the date rather than the 14th of April as was noted at the beginning of the text.
kúuš-ći Armand Minthorn ana (ets aka)
thus—same Armand.Minthorn REL (hicáqa.[NP])
‘thus similarly like Armand Minthorn said recently,’

náxš tawtnúk núu-k-na
one medicine tell.[NES]-IMP-PST
“One medicine to be told!”
11. (n.d.)

Aunas ci anča timaša manpam wá inmi naimu koo xtwaímai kusxi ATAWitma. Nimnawitnas wa tamawin wiyat a · naí. Ichick Timatpa mis ančaxi taminwash pincishkau. PinataLwaskxa= AAT SHNawai yaayitz yootz IN lamatitz! Anas tukin timata aučyaš pinasapsiqwasha ichik. Koos nas kooxa kaini. Caunas in pina · anisha tima[i/t]a tlax tukin anaKOOSH Paščenma Patkanaïnxa chi IKOos payn itook inmiyau iwa (i'uuqíitz ewaash) i · or É indeed Coyote says. činas pinauxiša, timas clip pad. Paisnam Koosnam Ku awanikxa Ku pi · 'sha timatpama Pencil (maqis) (yellow pencil) (maksmaks). (Chinash au timaswiksha čauš či autika yiLmiLk Tun Tun timasa, awaniksha, ashuyasha).

(English) (I am now translating this. I am not writing all this any old way, naming, inspecting, etc.) ci au kpail iwanasha anpama (Liklinaš) Koitz oomis tzimist niknit maitzki (Jargon Chinook sitkumsantali).
Watampana łxuna tapašpama kuni ishat kni putaatpit ku naaaptit (putaatpit wax-laaptit) Kitzuy AT Tatz. itu kunki sapá-la-am-nu.
aunas ci Palai Tamnawatashwisha. AKSHA (not sure) walptaiktanai awasna (Radio) Timas (E.O.) ititamana Merle Duffy ítìnookuxna Kpail AwacHA Bruce Anthony Dusty-mi (maternal Grandma). IK’waknaš au wapshimaiwisha itu yoox Katlá oomis ALa. ALa iwa, et yais IN---
Lakta (TeetoLasha). Chautaš axwai shukwasha mun panichta (panikta) Beanam an-na kwan pana kwinata PrineviILLeKan anakuna awa pinmiim naimut kušxi nćincima.

Now again I am writing this to wherever you may be my relatives and friends, thus also the precious (life). Rightly so, I am too far behind. Maybe again also in this writing, I always lie to (someone). I must inform myself. So very pitiful! So poor and pitiable I am! So
bothersome! As with what I will write, even now I am teaching myself this. Thus, I do so in that direction. I am not making myself a writer with all that carrying on like white people, in this way of mine it is difficult (it is difficult). "Yes!" or "Yes, indeed!" Coyote says. I am laying down this paper clip pad. Maybe thus you name yours "a piece of writing paper," "(pencil) yellow" (yellow pencil) "yellow." I am now translating this. I am not writing this all for nothing, any old way, naming, inspecting, etc. (English: I am now translating this. I am not writing all this any old way, naming, inspecting, etc.) Here just now the sun was moving, the time (is) nine or nine o'clock in the morning Chinook Jargon noon-time. The lake water was rising into the piney area, because of that (it) laid down one hundred and twenty dollars. Very good indeed! What will I squander with that? Now (with) this I am crazy, I am just becoming greedy. I am (not sure) hearing a song afterwards (that) had been on the radio. The E.O. newspaper read Merle Duffy passed away recently, she had been Bruce, Anthony, Dusty's maternal Grandma. Now I am unable to place that one, what is that? Maternal or paternal Grandmother? It is paternal Grandmother, (it is) just no good, I will forget (I am forgetting)! We do not know yet when we will be put away. In that direction you will be taking along Bea toward Prineville where your relations are, thus also the ancestors.

1 Áw-naš či ánča tíma-ša
current-1SG this again write-IMPV
'Now again I am writing this'

2 máan-pam wá inmi námyu ku xítway-ma
where.to-2PL be 1SG.GEN kinsman and friend-PL
'to wherever you may be my relative and friends,'

3 kúuš-xi átaw-wit-ma.
thus also precious-manner-PL
thus also the precious (life).
Nimniwit-naš wá tamawín wíyat ánay.
rightly.so-1SG be.too.much.[NES] far after
Rightly so, I am too far behind.

Íčik tíma-t-pa mǐš ánča-xi
EMPH.this.PRON.[NWS] write-N-LOC how again—also
'Maybe again also in this writing,'

táaminwa-š pín-čišk-awa
always.[NES]-1SG 3SG-to.lie-DIR
'I always lie to (someone).'

Piná-talwask-xa
1SG.REFL-inform.[NES]-HAB
'I must inform myself.'

'Eet šniwáy
very.[NP] pitiful
'So very pitiful!'

Yiyéewic yūc ?ín! Lammátíic!
poor.[NP] pitiable.[NP] 1SG.[NP] bothersome.[NP]
'So poor and pitiable I am! So bothersome!'

Ana-š túkin tíma-ta
REL-1SG with.what write-FUT
'As with what I will write,'

áw-č-tya-š piná-sapsik"a-ša íčik
now-V-MOD=1SG SG.REFL-teach-IMPV EMPH.this.PRON
'even now I am teaching myself this.'

Kúuš-naš kú-xa k*yání
thus-1SG do-HAB in.that.direction
'Thus, I do so in that direction.'
13 Čáw-naš in piná-ʔani-ša tíma-ła ƛáaxʷ túkin
NEG=1SG 1SG SG.REFL-make-IMPV write-FUT all with.that
'I am not making myself a writer with all that'

14 ana kúuš paščín-ma pá-tqa-nay-n-xa
REL thus White.person.[CJ]-PL INV-suddenly-carry-ACC-HAB
'carrying on like white people,'

15 čí ikúuš-payn at'úk inmí-yaw i-wá
this in..this.manner-LOC difficult 1SG.GEN-ALL 3NOM-be
'in this way of mine it is difficult.'

16 Hatókic hiwées
to.be.difficult-ADJ.[NP] 3NOM-be-IMPV.[NP]
'It is difficult.'

17 "Íí!" or "íí, indeed!" Coyote says.
"Yes!" or "Yes, indeed!" Coyote says.'

18 Čí-naš piná-wxi-ša tímaš clip pad.
this-1SG SG.REFL-lie.down.[NES]-IMPV paper clip pad
'I am laying down this paper clip pad.'

19 Páyś-nam kúuš-nam ku á-wanik- xa
maybe-2SG.GEN thus-2SG.GEN and 3ACC-name.[NES]-HAB
'Maybe thus you name yours'

20 "ku píša tíma-t-pamá," "(pencil) maqíš" (yellow pencil) "maqsmáqs."
and piece.of.[IE] write-N-pertaining.to (p.) yellow.[NES] (y.p.) yellow.[NP]
"a piece of writing paper," "(pencil) yellow" (yellow pencil) "yellow."

21 Čí-naš áw tamášwik-ša
this-1SG now interpret-IMPV
'I am now translating this.'
22 Čáw-š čí áwtiška yalmílk tun-tún tíma-ša,
NEG-1SG this for.no.reason any.old.way REDUP-what write-IMPV
'I am not writing this all for nothing, any old way,'

23 á-wanik-ša
3ACC-name.[NES]-IMPV
'naming,'

24 á-šuya-ša etc.
3ABS-inspect-IMPV
'inspecting, etc.

25 (English subtext): I am now translating this. I am not writing all this any
old way, naming, inspecting, etc.

26 Čí áw kpáyl i-wána-ša an-pamá,
this now recently.[NES] 3NOM-flow-IMPV sun-pretaining.to
'Here just now the sun was moving,'

27 liklí-ñes kúyc úumis čímsí nkní-t máycqi
to.go.around.[NP]-object.for.[NP] nine or nine.[NES] go.around-NOM
morning
'the time (is) nine or nine o'clock in the morning'

28 (Jargon Chinook sitkum-san-tali).
(Chinook Jargon middle-sun-[…] [CJ])
'Chinook Jargon noon-time,'

29 Watam-pamá ãtx'-uun-a tašaš-pamá,
lake-pretaining.to ascend-into.water-PST.[NWS] piney.area-pretaining.to
'The lake water was rising into the piney area,'

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1 The initial morpheme of this expression can be found in Jacobs (1931:185).
30  Ḳʷǐní išá-t-kni
because.of.that lie.down.[NES]-N-ABL

putáaptit ku náaptit (puute?éptit wax le?éptit) kícuy
one.hundred and twenty one.hundred.[NP] and.[NP] twenty.[NP] metal.[NP]
‘because of that (it) laid down one hundred and twenty dollars.’

31  Ḩéëetta?c!
EMPH-good.[NP]
‘Very good indeed!’

32  Ḩítuu konkí sapáa-la?am-nu?
what.[NP] with.that.[NP] CAUS-to.disappear-FUT.[NP]
‘What will I squander with that?’

33  Áw-naš čí paláy,
now=1SG this crazy
‘Now (with) this I am crazy,’

34  timna-wa-ʔa-aš-wi-ša.
heart-be-want-DES=1SG-V-IMPV
‘I am just becoming greedy.’

35  Áyk-ša (not sure) walptáykt ánay á-wa-š-na (Radio).
Hear-IMPV (not sure) song afterwards 3ACC-be-PRS-PST (Radio)
‘I am (not sure) hearing a song afterwards (that) had been on the radio.’

36  Tímaš (E.O.) ltitáma-na Merle Duffy hi-tńúx-ne kpáyl,
paper (Eastern Oregonian) read-PST M.D. 3NOM-die-RM.PST.[NP] recently
‘The E.O. newspaper read Merle Duffy passed away recently.’

37  á-wač-a Bruce Anthony Dusty-mi (maternal Grandma).
she had been Bruce, Anthony, Dusty’s maternal Grandma.
Íkʷak-naš áw wepšiméyišwe,
that.one.[NWS]-1SG now with.hand-to.not.do-IMPV-PST.[NP]
‘Now I am unable to place that one,’

ʔítúu yóx kála úumis álá?
what.[NP] that.[NP] maternal.grandmother.GEN or paternal.grandmother.GEN
‘what is that? Maternal or paternal Grandmother?’

Ála i-wá,
paternal.grandmother 3NOM-be
‘It is paternal Grandmother,’

ʔÉet yáyš in láak-ta (tíóola-ša)!
EMPH.[NP] be.no.good.[NES] 1SG forget-FUT to.forget.[NP]
‘(It is) just no good, I will forget (I am forgetting)’!

Čáw-taš áxʷay štíkʷa-ša
NEG-1PL.EXC yet know-IMPV

mún pa-níč-ta (pa-ʔíník-ta).
when 3PL.NOM-put.away-FUT 3PL.NOM-put.away.[NES]-FUT
‘We do not know yet when we will be put away.’

Bea-nam ana kʷáan pá-nakwina-ta Prinville-kan,
Bea-2SG REL in.that.direction INV-take.along-FUT Prinville-VRS
‘In that direction you will be taking along Bea toward Prineville,’

ana kʷná á-wa pinnín náymu-t kúuš-χí nčínči-ma.
REL in.that 3ACC-be 1SG.GEN kinsman-N thus-also elder-PL
‘where your relations are, thus also the ancestors.’
Klikitat Letter

12. Klikitat Letter
Translated from Chinook into Klikitat by Pete McGuff (Wishram) (From Sapir 1909:195-197).

Wínamnaš, túxamaš, yánawiaš náptkʷípa pútitmt̓pa wáasclik. Áwyaxnaš ínami šniwáy miyánaš áxʷay wáqiš ku ínmí pxʷí čáw iwáta ánačaxi náxš tkʷí. Xúyx twáti inátxana čáw iwáwtukta níipt. Tínma twátima pákutkt̓ša pawap̓ít̓ša. Ánačaximaš mún níkta tímaš páyšnaš mún Xiyáwita áswan. Páyšmaš čáw mún qínuta ánačaxi wiyat̓íš. Miškinímaša pášukʷataxn̓ay inamikí šniwáy áswan miyánaš. Ínami míšnaš áyat ínám tímaš; páyšnaš wínpa. Tímaš namníma wínanaš kúknaš čáw wáča. This is all.

I started for home and got here Tuesday at 10 o’clock, found my poor boy still alive but still, in my judgement, he won’t live another day. The White Doctor said he could not live for two days at first. The Indian Doctors are working on him. I’ll write some time again if my son dies. I don’t think I’ll see you for a long time. If anyone knows me I wish you let them know of my poor son. My daughter wrote you, I suppose you got the letter. The letter you wrote me came when I was gone. This is all.
(English text from original.)

1 Wín-a-m-naš,
Go-CISL=1SG
‘I have come,’

2 túx-a-m-aš,
return-CISL=1SG
‘I have returned,’
3  yánawi-aš náp-lk"i-pa pútirm-t-pa wáaslick.
going.along=1SG two-day-LOC ten-LOC turn.around'I have just arrived on Tuesday at 10 o'clock.'

4  Áw-yañ-n-ás fin-amí šnìwáy miyánaš áx"ay wáqíš
3ABS-find=1SG 1SG-GEN.PL pitifully child still alive'I find my poor child still alive'

5  ku ínmi pχ"i čáw i-á-wá-ta ánačaxí náxs tóí.
and 1SG.GEN thought no/not 3NOM-be-FUT again one day‘and in my judgement he will not live one more day.’

6  Xúyx twáí i-ñá-txá-na
white doctor 3NOM-talking-suddenly-1PL.INCL
'The White Doctor then said to us,'

7  čáw i-wáwtk-ta nípt.
no/not 3NOM-night-FUT two
"He will not (live) two days!"

8  Tíin-ma twáíi-ma pá-kutkút-ša
Indian-PL doctor-PL INV-work-IMPERF
'The Indian Doctors are working on him,'

9  pa-wapšíta-ša.
PL.NOM-help-IMPERF
'they are helping him.'

10  Ánačaxi-maš mún ní-k-ta tímáš
Again=1SG—2SG.PL when give-V-FUT write.PPF

  páyš-naš mún Xiýáwi-ta áswan.
maybe=1SG when die-FUT boy.
'Again sometime I will send you a letter if my boy will die.'
11 Páyš-ñaš čáw mún qínu-ta ánačaxí wíyať'-iš.
Maybe-1SG—2SG.PL no/not when see-FUT again far-ATT
'Maybe I will not see you again for a long time.'

12 Míš k"ín-im-aša pa-šuk"a-taňay
Y/NQ that.one.INV.ERG-CISL-upon PL.NOM-know-COND
'How would they know of that one,'

13 i-na-mi-kí šniwáy áswan miyánaš
1SG-ACC-GEN-INST pitiful boy child
'about my poor son?'

14 Í-na-mi míš-naš áyat i-níʔam tímáš;
1SG-ACC-GEN how-1SG woman 3NOM-give-2SG paper
'My daughter however I sent you a letter,'

15 páyš-ñaš wínp-a.
maybe-1SG get-PST
'I suppose (you) got it.'

16 Tímáš-nam ní-ma wína-naš kúk-naš čáw wáč-a
paper-2SG.GEN give-PL go-1SG then-1SG no/not be-PST
'The letter you sent me came when I was gone.'

17 *This is all.*
References


*Declaration of Sovereignty.* Warms Springs, Oregon.


