

TABLE 1: FEATURES OF PROTOTYPES AND SATELLITES

	BINOMIAL	-waakuł	REDUPLICATION	COVERT SATELLITES	
SIZE <sup>a</sup>	pyuš (-)	c'iila (-) č'iši (-) saši suspan (-) tawša	wiwnu šaak tk'inat apən ištɬni k'usi	hahaw tamšuy (-)	N=3
	šaxat miimanu	c'iila č'iši nank		t'uulnawaša (-)	N=4.3
RANGE <sup>b</sup>					
	miimanu watik'asas			waxpuš (-) t'uulnawaša (-) xlišawit (-)	N=2.3
MORPHOLOGY <sup>c</sup>					
	miimanu watik'asas	anipaš nank saši suspan tmiš	wiwnu tk'inat apən k'usi	hahaw taštaš (+,-) tišpun waxpuš xlišawit	N=10.3
CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE <sup>d</sup>					
	N=3	N=8	N=6	N=7	N=24

- <sup>a</sup> The taxon listed is relative large unless marked (-), in which case the reverse is true.
- <sup>b</sup> The taxon listed (prototype in columns 1-3, satellite in column 4) is the most common or widespread, unless marked (-), indicating a rare or peripheral range.
- <sup>c</sup> The taxon listed is morphologically or behaviorally more typical of the field, unless marked (-), in which case it is atypical relative to the field.
- <sup>d</sup> The taxon listed is more significant culturally relatively to the field, unless marked (+,-), indicating two distinct peaks of cultural significance.

THE EARLIEST CLACKAMAS TEXT<sup>1</sup>

0. Introduction
1. The published text
2. Linguistic provenience
- 2.1. Dialect?
- 2.2. Native speaker?
3. Narrative competence
4. Analyzed text and translation

0. The earliest recorded text in Clackamas Chinook was obtained by Franz Boas from someone (unidentified) at Grande Ronde reservation in western Oregon. The year was 1892, according to Sapir's footnote to the first of two 'Supplementary Upper Chinookan Texts', published by him in his volume of Wishram Texts (1909: 232, n. 1). There he states: "This short Wasco text, as well as the Clackamas text that follows it, was collected by Dr. Franz Boas in 1892 at Grande Ronde Reservation in northwestern Oregon, and has been kindly put at my disposal by him."

The year may have been 1890. The Boas diaries and letters published by Rohner (1969) show nothing for 1892, either in the way of records from Boas himself (cf. pp. 132-3) or as to a field trip in that year (p. 311). The materials from 1890 do show Boas visiting Grande Ronde twice in that year, before and after discovering Charles Cultee, who was to be his main source of knowledge about Chinookan, at Bay Center, Washington (Rohner 1969: 118, 121, 123). And 1890 is the year in which Boas collected a Wasco vocabulary (preserved in notebook 2 now in the Library of the American Philosophical Society). I have not been able to check the Wasco text for identification, since both it and the Clackamas text discussed in this paper are missing from notebook 1 in which they were recorded on pp. 32 and 33, presumably having been given to Sapir for publication. But there is also some Clackamas vocabulary (11 pages) from 1890 in notebook 2 as well. These indications of work in both dialects in the summer of 1890 make it almost certain that the following passage from Boas' diary of that summer applies:

"It was of little use to get angry over my lost instruments [on first reaching Grande Ronde], especially since I was able to

borrow compasses and other tools from a cabinet maker shop with which I could get along. I started to work immediately but found after about ten minutes that my interpreter was no good. He did not know the language well enough. I then found out that ... the relationship between the Clackamas, which I wanted to learn, and the Chinook...and that there was no Chinook on the reservation; it would be necessary to go to Astoria. I could not leave the next day and therefore ordered an old man to work with me so that I could at least get something out of staying there" (bhner 1969: 118; the dots appear to indicate unintelligible words in the German original).

Most probably, the source of our earliest Clackamas text was the old man whom Boas ordered to work with him, since the interpreter is described as 'no good', and since the work was probably linguistic. For the physical measurements for which he needed instruments, Boas would have sought out a series of individuals.

~~...the source of the text could have been related to the source for all other Clackamas texts known to us, Mrs. Victoria Howard. Mrs. Howard was born at Grande Ronde about 1870, and would have been about 20 or 22 years of age at the time of Boas' visit. Perhaps they saw each other. In any case, nothing more than this short text was known for almost 40 years. In 1928, during his work on Kalapuya, Melville Jacobs discovered that the wife of a Santiam Kalapuya was part-Clackamas. Once he began to work with her, through the summer of 1929 and early in 1930, for a total of four months, he never bothered to seek out the other surviving Clackamas, John Watcheno. As it happened, Mrs. Howard died later in 1930, but two rich volumes attest to her knowledge and gifts (Jacobs 1958, 1959; this information comes from Jacobs 1958: 1).~~

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When Sapir published the text collected by Boas, it seemed in its isolation to show Clackamas to be very close to Kathlamet Chinook, if not identical with it (1909: 234, n. 1). In the light of what is known about Clackamas from Mrs. Howard, that inference is mistaken, but it has a basis that is interesting to consider. The short text does have some Kathlamet features. Examination of it suggests something about dialect relationships, multilingualism and dialect-switching, and narrative competence. The text appears to be from someone whose first dialect of Chinookan was closer to what is known about Kathlamet from Charles Cultee, and who was perhaps not a fluent native speaker of Chinookan. What the text shares most fully with Mrs. Howard's Clackamas texts is an underlying pattern of presentation.

1. Sapir published the text on facing pages (Clackamas, p. 234; translation, p. 235), together with 8 footnotes, some of which (2, 6) were marked in the translation as well as the Clackamas. That text and translation are given here, as reference point for the discussion to follow. The lineation of the original publication is preserved for the sake of consistency in reference to lines. (The line numbers 5 and 10 are present in the original).

It has seemed reasonable to change the published orthography. No point of interpretation appears to depend upon it. Let me note that I have not seen the original notebook and Boas' own transcription. Sapir states that "The phonetic system of the original has been modified to accord with that used in this book" (232, n. 1). The one point of particular interest has to do with the voiceless lateral. Sapir has evidently substituted barred l in the Wasco and Clackamas text for the capital L that Boas commonly used at the time the text was recorded by him. In the early 1890s Boas had not yet clearly sorted out the kinds of lateral encountered in Northwest languages. (See discussion in Hymes 1955, where I erroneously concluded that Boas' L represented an affricate in Kathlamet. The Kathlamet transcriptions obtained by Curtis, early in this century, and Boas' own use of L in a Wasco vocabulary in the 1890s, show otherwise). While substituting l (lines 5, 7, 12), Sapir has retained L for an affricate in one instance (line 12). I do not know whether Boas had differentiated that instance in his own transcription, or whether Sapir simply knew the stem in question (-t<sub>l</sub>q) to have the affricate, from his work with Wishram-Wasco.

The differences between the orthography used here and that published by Sapir are as follows: long vowels shown here by a following colon are marked there by a macron above the letter; schwa is written there with a capital E; turned c (line 7) is written with o; ɬ and ɮ are written c and tc; the palatal and velar voiceless fricatives, x and χ, are written the reverse, as χ and x; glottalized stop is signalled by following exclamation mark, !. A dash separating vowels that might be taken as forming a diphthong, but which belong to distinct syllables, is retained.

Ikala agiux<sup>1</sup>utum ičā:xan. Aqa gayū:ya itōmoqo:, aqō-  
lōmuq ačō:ya. A:qa dō:ika daba<sup>2</sup> qayalgā:xit qālamuq.<sup>3</sup>  
A:qa iq'ō:uqt<sup>4</sup> ne:yoχ iā:xan. A:qa šifkeqiqš<sup>5</sup> iā:q'aq-  
štaqba; iā:šyal<sup>6</sup>yt čō:gīlga iā:q'aqštaqba. Nelgāxitx qō-  
lamuq<sup>3</sup> iaq'āqštaqba niāgyoxtōmbet. A:ga gačīō:lōxa:mχ: 5  
"Qada gamōyatχ e:mō:šyalχ dā:wiaχ?" Kwābd ačī:uwaq  
iā:xan. A:ga gačīō:lōxa:mχ: "Qa:χpō mgwāle:lχ mkē:χaχ?"<sup>6</sup>  
---"Ke:mātyō<sup>7</sup> nā-ika e:lā:lax dišīqčam gačnō:lagwa."  
---"Kwābda mχāytqwat," gačīō:lōxamχ iā:xan. A:ga  
ik'āškaš galiχqwaštχ. A:ga q'e:yūqt<sup>3</sup> nō:yoχ yā:χka k'āš- 10  
kaš<sup>3</sup>. A:ga yāχkaba qanā:gaba<sup>8</sup> e:mō:lak. Aqa kwōbd  
iā:šyut<sub>l</sub>q, q'e:ōqt<sup>3</sup> nō:yoχ. K'ane:k'anē:

- 1 [See below under linguistic provenience (2).
- 2 Pointing to head.
- 3 These nouns lack the masculine pronominal prefix i-.
- 4 Iq'ōuqt means properly 'old man'. It is here used, probably undiomatically, for 'old, older'.
- 5 Probably čīgōqiqš<sup>5</sup> ("he louses him"). [i.e., tc-, not c-]
- 6 Literally, 'Where you-person (or you-poor-one) you-become?'
- 7 -txo: occurs in Kathlamet in tšintxo: ("why?"). Perhaps this should be tkeiwatxo: ("thus").
- 8 Related to qanā:χ ("How many?").

Here is Sapir's translation, aligned to match the lines of the text.

She gave birth to a male (child), her son. Now he went to get wood, sticks he gathered. Then a stick ran into him right here.<sup>2</sup> Now his son became elder. Then (his father) leuses him on his head; and finds his scar on his head. A stick had run into him on his head, after they had given birth to him (whence his scar).

Then (his father) said to him: 5

"Now did you come to get this scar of yours?" Then he whipped his son. Then he said to him: "Where did you get to be so?"<sup>6</sup> ---"Once a deer struck me with its horns."

---"Then bathe!" he said to his son. Then

the boy bathed. Now he became older, the boy. 10

But elks never appeared to him (when he hunted, for he had falsely accused them of inflicting the scar upon him). Now then it is finished, he got to be old. Story, story.

(Each flush left line of the translation corresponds to a line of the text. The phrases in lines 4 and 10 have been transposed to facilitate the parallelism. The parenthetic explanations are Sapir's, and his footnote numbers refer to the same footnotes as given with the text.)

2. In his first footnote Sapir places the text in terms of his close knowledge of Wishram-Wasco, and his familiarity with Boas' work on Kathlamet Chinook and Chinook proper. Geographically the known dialects ran west to east, from the mouth of the Columbia to about the site of The Dalles, some two hundred miles inland, with ~~Shinamxpxap~~ Boas' Chinook proper (Shoalwater, Clatsop) at the ocean, Kathlamet somewhat inland along the Columbia, Clackamas south of present Portland on the Willamette, and Wishram-Wasco from Hood River east. Here is Sapir's note:

"This text, short and incomplete as it is, is the only specimen of Clackamas yet published. Linguistically Clackamas seems to be very close to Kathlamet, if not identical with it. The main points of difference from Wishram-Wasco, as exemplified here, are: 1st, the presence in Clackamas, as in Kathlamet, of accented inorganic vowels (aqlux<sup>h</sup>stum and qam<sup>h</sup>xatx would be gagix<sup>h</sup>stum and gamy<sup>h</sup>stx in Wishram); 2d, the presence, it seems, in some verb forms, of the tense prefix a-, found also in Lower Chinook, alongside of the ga- regularly used in Wishram; 3d, a few lexical differences (e.g., it<sup>h</sup>mqo: ("wood"); cf. Kathlamet <sup>h</sup>mqo: ("stick") and aqlam<sup>h</sup>uq ("stick") for Wishram ik<sup>h</sup>mun<sup>h</sup>aq ("stick"), itk<sup>h</sup>mun<sup>h</sup>aq ("wood"))."

We are today in a much better position to compare the dialects involved, thanks especially to the Clackamas material recorded by Jacobs. Sapir was right about the Kathlamet character of some of this text, but wrong about the place of Clackamas as a dialect. Clackamas and Wishram-Wasco were mutually intelligible, albeit with some difficulty, and shared a common language name, kiksht. Kathlamet was almost certainly not mutually intelligible, although standard classification groups it with Clackamas and Wishram-Wasco as a dialect of Upper Chinook, as against Lower Chinook (Boas' Chinook proper (Shoalwater, Clatsop)). Recently Silverstein has found reason to suggest that Kathlamet may have been a distinct intermediate entity (Silverstein 1974).

2.1. The main features of the text that bear on dialect provenience are, phonologically, the voicing of stops and the quality of long vowels; morphologically, the prefixation of nouns, the prefixation of verbs, and postpositions to nouns; and, lexically, the makeup of pronominal and particle words, and certain choices of stem.

2.1.1. The voicing of stops in the text mostly fits Clackamas and Wasco, which have intervocalic voicing of stops, except for some stops that are stem-initial. In Kathlamet only *g* is found more than rarely, and usually word- or stem-initial. Other stops are commonly voiceless. In this text one finds the locative element *-ba*, which is always *-pa* in Kathlamet; and *dé:ka* 'here' (line 2), parallel to *dfka* in Mrs. Howard's texts (CCT 2:553:15, 17), where Kathlamet has *té:ka* (KT 109: 4, 97: 14).

The text nonetheless appears to begin with a Kathlamet orientation. The first four occurrences of the particle *aga* 'now' have the voiceless velar stop, while the remaining six occurrences have the voiced stop, agreeing with the universal Clackamas (in Mrs. Howard's texts) pronunciation and that in Wasco as well. Notice also that in the first line the word for 'wood' is *itéməqo:*, agreeing with *témqo* in Kathlamet (KT 128: 6), whereas Mrs. Howard has *idémqu* (CCT 87: 18, 102:8, 115:18; cf. 153.1, 6 and 190: 3, 5, 6). These facts suggest that the speaker began with a Kathlamet pronunciation, then remembered Clackamas norms.

2.1.2. The Boas text frequently has long mid vowels, where Mrs. Howard's Clackamas has short high vowels. The long mid vowels agree with the Kathlamet of Charles Cultee. Thus, the words for 'wood' just cited have [u] in Mrs. Howard's Clackamas, corresponding to [o:] in the Boas text and in Kathlamet. Likewise, 'elk' is *imólak* in Mrs. Howard's texts (CCT 17: 12), but *imó:lak* in Kathlamet (KT 58: 10), and in this text it is transcribed as *e:mó:lak* (line 11). Again, the text ends with *k'ane:k'ané:*, agreeing with Kathlamet (KT 141: 16) in contrast to Mrs. Howard's Clackamas, which has *k'anf k'ani:* (156: 8), *k'anfk'ani:::* (141: 10), and the like. Finally, this text has *iq'é:uqt* (line 3), alongside typical Kathlamet *iq'eyó:qt* (KT 15.1, 113.11, 165.13), and contrasting to Mrs. Howard's *il(-)qfwqt*, *wil(-)q'fwqt* (90: 2, 91: 12).

2.1.3. Sapir notes the occurrence of three nouns without the normal gender-number prefix of Chinookan nouns: *qálamuq* 'stick' (lines 2, 4); *q'eyóqt* 'old man' (lines 10, 12); and *k'áškacáš* 'boy' (line 10). (All are marked by his footnote 3). The other nouns of the text do occur with the appropriate number-gender prefix. Moreover, it is striking that each case of a noun without such prefix follows an initial occurrence of that noun with the proper prefix: *a-qálamuq* (line 1), *i-q'óuqt* (line 3), *i-k'áškacáš* (line 10). This relationship suggests a shift from more self-conscious to less self-conscious attention to grammar. Omissions of number-gender prefix occasionally occur in speech, and their occurrence in the speech of younger speakers is stigmatized by older speakers, a fact which may be connected with the dropping of such prefixes in Chinook Jargon.

The omissions do not seem to bear on dialect provenience, although they might suggest a command of Chinookan less than easy.

A variation in noun prefixation that does seem to bear on dialect relationships involves the two nouns in the text that have the plural collective prefix. 'Wood' occurs with this prefix in the form *it-* in line 1 (*it-š-məqo:*), and 'horns' occurs with it in the form *d-* in line 8 (*d-iš:-qčam*). Now, the presence of initial *i* in such prefixes is characteristic of Clackamas and Wasco, in which the *i-* has presumably developed by analogy with the frequent and prominent singular masculine prefix of that shape. The corresponding Kathlamet prefixes lack the initial *i-*, having instead *t-* 'collective plural', etc. Notice that *it-* is Clackamas-Wasco in shape, but these dialects would have *id-* before a stressed vowel; and that *d-* is Kathlamet in shape, but Kathlamet would most likely have *t-* as the pronunciation. In sum, in line 1 the speaker seems to be remembering Clackamas morphemic shape and Kathlamet pronunciation (*t*), whereas in line 8 he appears to be remembering Kathlamet morphemic shape and Clackamas pronunciation (*d*). This cross-cutting variation certainly suggests acquaintance with Kathlamet in both respects.

2.1.4. The initial prefixes of the verb, marking tense, show clearly a Clackamas character. Kathlamet lacks the presence, and alternation, of *ga-* 'remote past' and *ni-* 'near past' found here (cf. Silverstein 1974, Hymes 1975). Still, the text begins in an uncertain way with regard to the marking of tense. The *a-* prefix of the first verb is not Clackamas, but Kathlamet (or Shoalwater-Clatsop) in its apparently necessary interpretation as an aorist, referring to action that has already occurred. (Sapir notes this fact as point 2 of his footnote 1, quoted above). In Clackamas one would have *a-* only in the future, together with a verb-final correlative *-a*. Just such an affixation pattern, indeed, occurs with the third verb of the text, *ačšwaq* where it is possible to take it as a future of habitual action (a Clackamas pattern) in this position in a story. The text then proceeds with *ga-* and *ni-* in good Clackamas fashion, but suddenly a down-river aorist-like *a-* occurs in *ačšwaq* 'he beat his son'. The verb clearly requires reference to the continuing past action, and just as clearly *a-* is not a Clackamas way of doing that. Again, acquaintance with Kathlamet seems a necessary inference.

2.1.5. Two postpositions to nouns occur in the text, *-ba* (line 4 (twice), 5, 11 (twice)), and *-bet* (line 5). The use of *-ba* in Clackamas and Wishram-Wasco appears the same as its use in Kathlamet (cf. Sapir 1911: 651, Boas 1911: 648). The dialect difference is in the voicing or lack of it of the consonant.

The *-bet* that occurs in this text is used in a fashion parallel to its use in Clackamas and Wishram-Wasco, giving retrospective temporal meaning (cf. Sapir 1911: 654). There is an element *-pet*

in Kathlamet, but, although etymologically no doubt connected, the attested uses do not have the same specific force (cf. Boas 1911: 648, Hymes 1955: 286, Sapir 1911: 654). In Kathlamet the element has the basic sense of 'as far as', and some related senses in context, but not the established sense of a prior stage of time, found in this text, and commonly in Wishram-Wasco (e.g., n-k'šškaš-bet 'when I was a child' (WT 188:8, my own field notes).

In sum, both postpositions agree with Clackamas and Wishram-Wasco in pronunciation, and in such difference in use as occurs,

2.1.6. Four particle and pronominal words are of interest here. In line 2 the expression dš:ka daba combines two forms each with a sense of 'here'. The combined expression is rendered 'right here' in Mrs. Howard's texts (CCT 553: 17) and in Wishram-Wasco both. Stress may vary, but the initial stop is always voiced and the first vowel always high and short: dika dšbš (CCT 553: 17), dika dabš (WT 92: 11), dika dšba (my own field notes). One may also find dšbš dika in this sense (CCT 553: 15). The combined expression is missing in Kathlamet, which does show tš:ka (KT 59: 6, 97: 14, 109: 4; cf. Boas 1911: 624), and does have ta- as first element of similar locative forms (ta-gi 'this' (KT 38: 2)). The standard Kathlamet equivalent is gipš: 'here', intensified to 'right here' by a suffix: gipš:-tix (Boas 1911: 624; but possibly analyzable as gi-pat-ix (Hymes 1955: 291)). Thus this doubled expression reflects a provenience in Kiksht.

The case is different with dš:wiax in line 6. It has no apparent counterpart in Mrs. Howard's Clackamas, but does fit a pattern of pronominal words with initial ta- and final -ax in Kathlamet. The word as a whole is not identical with anything attested in Kathlamet, and the central element, occupying the place of the stem, -awi-, is not attested as a pronominal stem in Kathlamet. (Two identical vowels coalesce, so that the sequence da-awi- would result in dawi-). The element -awi- is attested in words of this type in Kathlamet, however, following the pronominal stem -ax (Hymes 1975: 74, 76)--an order that in effect reverses that found here. In short, the word is clearly of Kathlamet lineage, and may be unique testimony to a Kathlamet word.

The compound particle in line 8, ke:mš-txo:, is recognized as having Kathlamet lineage by Sapir in his note 7. Sapir is also right in suggesting that the -m- of the word may be an alternate of a -w-. He was probably aware that -m- and -w- are sometimes alternates in Chinookan words, as in Kathlamet -uča-kš 'ears', Wishram-Wasco -mča-kš 'earrings'. Sapir's suggested reconstruction of the form, however, is implausible. No form or model such as his suggested kē:watxo: is to be found. With reference to Kathlamet, the first part of the word is evidently a variant of qīwa- 'therefore, because' (Hymes 1955: 284), and the second part, -txo:, always occurs second in a two-element particle sequence with the force of 're necessity, consequence' (Hymes 1955: 287). We now can know, however, that the word of the text, including its -m-, was known in Clackamas. Mrs. Howard has Coyote use it when he explains that even though,

indeed because, he was unable to conceal a secret obscene act, henceforth no one will be able to do so (CCT 96: 3; cf. Hymes 1981b: 236, text line 40).

The compound particle in line 11, qanā:gaba, is related by Sapir to qanā:x 'how many' in his note 8. Presumably Sapir was aware that the latter word occurs in Kathlamet (KT 137: 6), although he does not mention Kathlamet. The work is in fact attested in Kathlamet (apart from the postposition -ba). The first element is qana- 're purpose, explanation', and the second is -qa 're purpose of what follows' (these meanings were abstracted from several constructions in Hymes 1955: 284, 288). Together the two elements have a force of 'to no purpose, vain, just, only' in regard to evaluating or explaining what follows. The postposition -ba 'at, to, etc.' perhaps echoes the -ba on the preceding word. The sentence literally means something like 'Now to-him no-purpose Elk'; that is, 'either "Now Elk had no purpose toward him" or "Now to him Elk was in vain"'.

The word is not restricted to Kathlamet, however, but is attested in Clackamas from Mrs. Howard: 'to no avail' (CCT 519: 4), 'merely' (CCT 100: 8), 'just' (CCT 100: 12). The pronunciation with voiced velar stop indicates that its use in this Boas text is associated with Clackamas as well, rather than with Kathlamet. At least the form does not discriminate morphologically between the two dialects.

Of the other such words in the text, qada (line 6) seems specifically Kathlamet in terms of the attested texts. Mrs. Howard's texts show sometimes qā dan (65: 5, 84: 9, 86: 2) in similar function. Wishram-Wasco has qada in a sense tied to

its analogue of the form last discussed, qadaga. All the Chinookan dialects, indeed, share sets of forms built on the root qa- with a sense of 'what, how', but this one in the sense 'how' seems Kathlamet in character.

The word qai:pa in line 7 is shared with Clackamas in the same sense of 'where' (CCT 97: 10, 106: 13, 520: 5, 538: 3), where it is pronounced qā:ba.

The words kwābd and kwābda in lines 6 and 9 are specifically Clackamas, rather than Kathlamet, in character.

In sum, note 7 to the original text, and the implication of note 8, suggest a Kathlamet tendency in the particle and pronominal words. Both these words, however, qimatyo: and qanagaba, are shared by Kathlamet and Clackamas, and both favor Clackamas in specific form. There are two words of this kind in the text that point to Kathlamet, qada and dā:wiax (both line 6). The other words of this kind either point to both Kathlamet and Clackamas (qā:ba) or specifically to Clackamas (de:ka daba, kwabd, kwabda). The order of occurrence of the eight words, indicated in these terms, is C, K, C, K, C-K, C-K, C, C-K (lines 2, 6, 6, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11). Insofar as there is a tendency here, it is that the specifically Kathlamet words occur in the first part (twice in line 6).

2.1.7. Certain choices of stem have a bearing on the original dialect of the narrator, but are best discussed in the section following this one, since they do not discriminate between Kathlamet and Clackamas. (see 2.2).



The linguistic provenience of the text can be assessed in two respects. First, several properties of the text indicate that the norm of reference for its dictation was Clackamas. Presumably 'Clackamas' is what Boas requested, or ordered. The change in pronunciation from aqa to aga (2.1.1) is striking evidence of that. The fact that the first verb tense-prefix is Kathlamet in character, but that all the rest, except one, are Clackamas in character, fits this view (2.1.4). So perhaps does the pattern of occurrence of particles and pronominal words specifically Clackamas or Kathlamet (2.1.6), the two specifically Kathlamet forms coming early on (line 6).

Second, certain properties of the text make it difficult to treat the question as one of assigning the dialect to either the Clackamas of Mrs. Howard or the Kathlamet of Charles Cultee. The preponderance of voiced stops points clearly to Clackamas, while the preponderance of long mid vowels in pronunciation points clearly to Kathlamet. The cross-cutting of pronunciation and morphemic shape in the two collective plural prefixes to nouns seems to contribute to the difficulty as well (2.1.3). So perhaps does the almost equal proportion of pronominal and particle words that are particularly Clackamas, particularly Kathlamet, and are both (3, 2, 3).

The most likely inference appears to be that the dialect most familiar to the narrator, and perhaps the dialect aimed at in the text, was a variety of 'Clackamas' more easterly than that of Mrs. Howard.

We can not now be certain of the range of variation in the dialects of the two varieties of Chinookan. Kathlamet

was spoken in communities over some range of miles along the Columbia, from near Astoria on the west to about Rainier, Oregon, on the east. Cultee's Kathlamet was learned from his mother's family, who lived at the old village of Cathlamet (later abandoned) on the Oregon side just a few miles east of Astoria. There would have been varieties of Kathlamet closer to Clackamas. The people known to early writers as Skilloots (on the Oregon side) and as Wahkiacum (on the Washington side), both more easterly than the Kathlamet proper, very likely shared more features with Clackamas. Conversely, the Chinookan groups adjacent to these Kathlamet groups on the east, the Multnomah of Sauvie's Island and the stretch of the Columbia river between Rainier and the mouth of the Willamette river, were probably essentially Clackamas in character, but more like their Kathlamet neighbors than were the Clackamas proper some miles down the Willamette at the falls near Oregon City.

In short, Kathlamet and Clackamas are each known to us from points almost at opposite poles of the dialect areas each represents. Communities closer to the shared fringe were presumably closer in this or that detail of speech. Dialects do commonly intergrade, and this was almost certainly true of the inter-marrying, multilingual, widely travelling Chinook.

The evidence suggests a narrator familiar with both Kathlamet and Clackamas as distinct varieties. The evidence summarized in the first point of this section militates against inferring a consistent intermediate dialect for the text as a

whole. The complete, consistent shift from aqa to aga is particularly telling in this regard. At the same time, the evidence militates against inferring a speaker who shifted from Kathlamet as otherwise known to Clackamas as otherwise known. The pervasive joining of voiced stops and long mid vowels is particularly telling in this regard. One infers that the narrator became aware of the inappropriateness of aqa to a dictation in Clackamas, but was never troubled by long mid vowels, ending his text formally indeed with a pronunciation of 'story story' consistent with Cultee's Kathlamet rather than with Mrs. Howard's Clackamas. A Clackamas closer to Kathlamet than that spoken by Victoria Howard seems strongly indicated as the narrator's target. Most likely the Kathlamet features of his text come from a Kathlamet closer to Clackamas than that spoken by Charles Cultee.

2.2. Two kinds of evidence suggest that the narrator was not a fluent native speaker of either kind of Chinookan. The dropping of initial gender-number prefixes to nouns, after giving them once, may be one such indication (2.1.3). The strongest indication consists of certain choices of stem.

2.2.1. Two noun-stems are pertinent here. The word translated 'stick' is in fact the word for 'bark (alder)' in both Kathlamet and Clackamas: a-qálemq 'bark' (KT 114: 7, 8, 9); a-mí-gelemq 'your bark' (CCT 153: 8). The translated meaning 'stick' may seem to fit the story, but bark can be heavy and scar in falling. Most likely the narrator remembered the word correctly (and it is bark that fell and cut in the Wasco story collected by Curtin (1909: 258)), but was not sure of its meaning,

remembering it as some part of a tree. If the text was recorded in 1892, as reported by Sapir (1909: 232, n. 1), then it is difficult to attribute the error to Boas, who had collected in 1891 a story in which this word for 'bark' figures in a similar way ("Mink's Myth" (KT 103-117; cf. p. 114 in which an old man thinks to kill Mink by causing the bark of a tree to fall on him when they go for wood). (Sapir's citation of aqálemuq as "stick" in Kathlamet in his note 1 to this text is in error; the word consistently means 'bark').

Again, the use of the word for an 'old man' to express the growing older of a child is difficult to reconcile with native fluency. Both dialects in question have the same normal verbal expressions for the meaning, consisting of appropriate inflections of the possessed noun-stem 'big, large' and the verb-stem 'to become'.

2.2.2. Three verb stems also suggest an imperfect command. In line 1, 'he went to get wood' is expressed by the common stem 'to go', -y(a), followed by a generic word for 'wood', it-mqu. Clackamas (and other varieties of Chinookan) actually have two specific ways of expressing the meaning involved. One is to use 'to go' in its usual meaning, followed by a phrase containing a word for 'wood' and a verb with the meaning 'to get'. Thus: kawéx atgiya ačúnaq atgugálmama 'Each morning they would go, maple they would get' (CCT 241: 6). Alternatively, Chinookan has verbs which directly convey actions having to do with gathering, picking, and finding important materials such as wood. Thus: k'watíqf amxnmíčk'imáma 'That is the way you shall

fetch wood' (CCT 86: 17), and *ixnmičk'i* 'he is gathering wood' (CCT 86: 9), with stem *-mičk'i*, and person-markers *m-* 'you', *i-* 'he (indefinite)'.

Again, in lines 1-2, 'he gathered sticks' is expressed by the 'factotum' verb stem *-x-* 'to do, make', preceded by the word for 'bark' (here translated 'sticks', as discussed above). The verb is morphemically *a-č-(a)-o-x-a*, literally, future-he-it-(directional)-do, make-future. (The object marker *-a-* always drops before directional *u* (phonetically, *o*). The expressed meaning is something like 'he will do, make bark'. Idiomatic Chinookan would use a verb stem specific to gathering wood, or finding, or picking up. The narrator commands the language well enough to maintain concord in the verb between the object marker and the number-gender prefix of the associated noun, *a-qôlëmuq*, and to observe a morphophonemic rule common to all Chinookan varieties; but he reaches, as it were, for a 'make-do' verb stem.

Again, in line 4, 'he finds his scar on his head' is expressed by the verb *č-i-gl-ga* between the nouns for 'his-scar' and 'his-head-on'. The verb is literally 'he-it-gets, takes, holds'. The verb-theme *-gl-ga* is a very popular one in Wishram-Wasco, and apparently somewhat so in Clackamas, with a wide range of uses. It does not, usually, have such senses as 'find, discover, see' and would not properly refer to something perceived only, something not in some way obtained. At best it could mean 'he holds it'. And it ought grammatically to have the suffix *-t* marking the present stative, as does the verb *čagalgât* (*waq'ômi*)

'he had (the platter) (CCT 269: 19). (The preceding verb in this sentence has a stem ending in *-t*, *-qiqât*, to which a suffixed *-t* would assimilate, so presence or absence there cannot be detected). There is some basis for the extension of meaning in use of the stem, to be sure, in Mrs. Howard's Clackamas. At the very end of the myth of 'Flint and his son's son' Panther's wife sees smoke far away, goes, gets there, indeed there is her husband! The next sentence is *ga-g-f-gl-ga* 'she had found him' (CCT 179: 10). The force is that she had regained him. The act of discovery has just been stated in the three-part sequence just indicated: 'she went, she got there, indeed there (is) her husband!' (CCT 179: 9-10). One can see that such contexts could suggest extension in use of *-gl-ga* to discovery itself, but that extension does not occur anywhere else in Chinookan, so far as I know.

These three cases suggest a speaker with a knowledge of common verbs of the language, but one not readily able to summon up particular verbs, even ones that would be in regular household use.

2.2.3. Taken together, the evidence of the text would seem to point to a speaker who had acquired a command of Chinookan early in life (the complex morphology of the grammar is solidly present); who had done so in a community, or under circumstances of a sort, that combined features of pronunciation hitherto considered discretely either Kathlamet (long mid pronunciation of /i/, /u/) or Clackamas (frequent voicing of stops); and who had not used his Chinookan in everyday life for some time (the choice of generic rather than specific verb stems).

We cannot be certain that Chinookan was the speaker's first language. Multilingualism was a normal state of affairs among the people of the region before the arrival of the whites. (I have tried to sketch an image of the situation in a recent essay (Hymes 1980b: 405-18). All of our sources of published Chinookan texts were competent in three or more languages: Shoalwater Chinook, Kathlamet Chinook, Chehalis Salish, Chinook Jargon for Charles Cultee; Clackamas Chinook, English, Chinook Jargon, and at least receptively perhaps, Molale and some Kalapuya for Victoria Howard; Wishram-Wasco, English, Chinook Jargon, and probably some Sahaptin, receptively at least, for Louis Simpson; Wishram-Wasco, English, Chinook Jargon, and some Sahaptin for Philip Kahlamet and Hiram Smith. Cultee is a notable case. One of the two Chinookan varieties for which he is the sole source of texts cannot, by definition, be his first language.

Such facts should not tempt one to dismiss the difficulties of a text such as this one, collected by Boas, as an admixture without evidentiary weight. Years of study of Cultee's texts in Shoalwater, on the one hand, and Kathlamet, on the other, have shown both bodies of material to be consistently distinctive. It is fair to assume that the source of this short Clackamas text was faithful to a consistently distinctive variety of Chinookan, intermediate between the Kathlamet and Clackamas otherwise known. He was aware of norms for Clackamas pronunciation, particularly in regard to intervocalic voicing of stops, somewhat different from his own, and shifted to them in the course of the short dictation. What more would have emerged in further work we cannot know. Given the circumstances of the work, if the passages quoted from Boas'

diary apply, the speaker was given short shrift by his importunate visitor, who would, indeed, have been brief with Charles Cultee as well, had not the unexpected depth of Cultee's knowledge and linguistic intelligence held him, and later, brought him back. One can say that the speaker was fully in command of the narrative patterning shared by Chinookan communities, and that even this short text shows the pattern, to which I now turn.

3. The story recounted here is one of a series of stories involving the Elk as a source of guardian spirit power, known from Chinookan and Sahaptian groups. The text discussed here, together with longer stories recorded by Curtin for Wasco (1911: 257-9) and Jacobs for Klikitat Sahaptin (1934: 5-6, 1937: 2-3) are discussed in a stimulating way by Jarrold Ramsey (1982; the paper is also a chapter in his book of 1983). In the summer of 1981 I obtained in English an account from Hiram Smith, one which retains the feature of a wound caused by bark, but goes on into the story of an elk in Lost Lake.

The cultural context of the story is one in which success in hunting is associated with the favor of a guardian spirit. The guardian spirit relationship involves moral obligations, such as truth-telling and limiting what is killed to what is needed. Probably the guardian spirit of this story is *ilmix*, as in Cultee's Chinook text (CT 193-5). The name is known at the other end of the Chinookan range among the Wasco, and identified by Hiram Smith as the 'white elk' that cannot be killed. (Somewhat distinct

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probably is the legend told by Cultee in which a boy who gains the aid of a woman guardian spirit kills elks magically with a painted stick (CT 234-7). This legend is probably connected with reference to 'she' as the helper in Curtin's Wasco story (1911: 257)).

The boy's report of contact with a deer's horns is taken by the father as an encounter with a potential guardian spirit. His command to the boy to bathe is a command to seek the power in a permanent relationship by ritual preparation. The boy fails, having lied, and indeed prevented any later relationship by telling about the encounter. To do so is to lose the chance to have the power, as people at Warm Springs reservation in Oregon still explain. (Cf. CT 211-5, 236). The father is foolish too, then, for going to bathe would not overcome the loss by reporting the truth, had the report in fact been true. Probably he persists, whipping his son, because the boy is silent when first asked about the scar (line 6). His touch of avarice is rewarded with deception, either self-defeating with regard to the power sought, and doubly so together.

In this context the use of the term 'deer' in the son's answer is probably not a mistake, but a reflection of a cultural pattern. It is likely that 'deer' is not a slip for 'elk', but is being used in a generic sense. In the Shoalwater Chinook texts obtained from Cultee by Boas, this word, *i-lálay*, is generic for 'birds', whereas in Kathlamet, Clackamas, and Wishram-Wasco, it occurs in the meaning 'deer'. The link between the two meanings appears in the use by Louis Simpson, Sapir's source, of a Wishram-Wasco form for 'birds' to refer to 'horses' (WT 239, n. 4),

a use said to be somewhat slangy. Apparently there was a Chinookan inclination to refer to 'critters' as 'birds'. Deer were the large mobile animal par excellence in pre-contact times, and horses became such an animal to the Plateau-oriented Wishram-Wasco in the nineteenth century. I suggest that in this text the use of 'deer' indicates 'creatures of that (valued) kind', and that the subsequent use of 'elk' specifies the most powerful and valued of that kind.

The short text shows the kind of organization into lines, verses, and stanzas found throughout Chinookan. The specific marking of units is consistent with what is found in both the Kathlamet of Cultee and the Clackamas of Victoria Howard. As explained in earlier articles (Hymes 1980, 1981a) and a book (1981b), Chinookan narratives are organized at several levels in terms of sequences of three and five units. Initial particles, especially 'now' and 'then' (*aga*, *kwapt*), frequently participate in the marking of verses, and in the Wishram of Louis Simpson do so consistently. The sequences have an aspect of content as well as form. Broadly speaking, a sequence of three has to do with an onset, ongoing, and outcome. In a sequence of five the third unit completes an initial sequence as its outcome, and initiates a second as its onset.

In this text there are evidently three main parts: the experience leading to the scar; the interaction between father and son in which the scar is discovered; and the result for the boy when grown. Each of the three main parts begins with a reference to the age of the boy: birth, older, old. ("Old" can be taken as an attempt to express 'grown up' (cf. 2.2.1)).

Within each of the three main parts, or scenes, there are sets of verses that are almost always marked initially. Let us consider each scene in turn.

In scene [i], having to do with the birth of the boy and acquisition (implicitly) of the scar, the first two phrases "She bore a male, / her son" resemble the prefatory opening of a Chinook myth (CT 127.1) in its two-part rhythm. Each of the remaining two parts begins with aqa 'now'. The three lines that are distributed among the two verses show the logic of narrative action described above: go for wood, get sticks, be struck.

In scene [ii], having to do with the interaction between father and son, the father speaks to the son three times. Each of the three stanzas within the scene appears to be associated not only with the father speaking to the son, but also, in its beginning, with use of the word 'his-son'. Almost all throughout the scene verses can be discriminated by the occurrence of initial particles. Thus, the first three occurrences of 'Now' go together as the first stanza of the scene: the son becomes older, his father discovers the scar, the father asks about the scar. (A silence seems implied on the part of the son at the end).

The next three verses are marked by an initial 'Then' (he beat his son), 'Now' (the father speaks again), and a turn at talk by the boy. Together these constitute stanza two of the scene.

The next verse begins, like the first verse of the second stanza, with 'Then' (within quoted speech), and 'his son'. Only a second verse remains, introduced by 'Now'. The absence of a third verse in this stanza seems a genuine absence. Any attempt

to juggle the assignment of status as a verse in order to achieve the expected numerical patterning would do violence to the internal parallelisms of content. The next line introduces a change in relation to time (the boy grows up), and does so in a way parallel to the change in relation to time that begins scene ii. The line seems clearly the beginning of a new scene, both in terms of this text and in terms of Chinookan texts generally. If one attempts to add the preceding line 'Once a deer struck me with its horns' to the verse, in order to give it three verses as a stanza, one disrupts the parallelism by which the boy's response is the final element of each stanza (silence; 'Once....'; bathe). One also disrupts the present middle stanza, which, to have three verses, would have to recruit the last verse of the initial stanza of the scene, thus destroying the parallelism by which each stanza includes one statement by the father. The parallelism by which the second and third stanzas each begin with the only occurrences of initial 'then' would also be lost.

In sum, there is a good deal of parallel organization built into this little text. If its narrator has slipped in one respect, here at the end of the middle scene, arbitrary adjustment can not conceal the slip. The interweaving of aristry otherwise accomplished prevents it.

In scene [111], having to do with the consequences for the boy, there are three occurrences of initial 'now', marking three verses. Notice that the formal close 'story story' makes a fifth line. The double particle in the third line, 'Now then', is the marker consistently used in Wishram by Louis Simpson, and seems here to add a bit of extra weight and finality.

All in all, then, these few lines, unelaborated as they are, nonetheless display all the lineaments of Chinookan narrative structure, including a formal close. The competence that most shows through the text is narrative competence. One can imagine a resident of Grande Ronde agreeing to serve as a source of Clackamas for the short, German-accented, intense stranger, and providing vocabulary (still in Boas' field notebook, unpublished) and, perhaps reluctantly, a short text. The beginning is a bit uncertain as to dialect, but pronunciation and morphology soon become almost wholly Clackamas. Idiom is a bit shaky, and generic verbs are pressed into service. Nonetheless, the sequence of events and the moral are clear, and the mold of a story, implicitly patterned and overtly marked, is clear. At Grande Ronde in the late nineteenth century it was probably still story enough to convey its moral to people who understood the relation to the creatures with whom humankind shares the natural world of which it speaks.

4. Here now is the text and translation in verse-form. I have given the Clackamas in an essentially phonemic orthography, and have shown morphological elements. Some stresses are supplied, notably on penultimate syllables as would be normal with áqa, -kála, dába. "Inorganic" stressed vowels are shown only by a stress mark between hyphens (cf. Sapir's n. 1). I have supplied the indirect object prefix, -d-, needed in the verb in line 16, for agreement with the d- of the preceding noun. Morphologically present vowels that coalesce with following

identical vowels are in parentheses. The shape of a stem such as -qálamuq has been regularized throughout. A few incorrect pronunciations or recordings of velar as opposed to palatal voiceless fricative have been changed (e.g., y-áyka in line 20). Nouns without a number-gender prefix begin with hyphen (e.g., -qálamuq in line 5).

The translation has been tidied up a bit in the direction of literalness. Notice especially that the initial particles aqa and kwapt are each consistently translated throughout as 'now' and 'then', so that their role in marking verse relationships can be perceived. Sapir was quite inconsistent, as many fieldworkers tended to be in such regards. The three occurrences of kwapt are consistently translated 'then' (lines 6, 9, 11), but the ten occurrences of aqa/aga are translated successively as 'now', 'then', 'now', 'then', 'then', 'then', 'then', 'now', 'but', 'now'. (I should mention here that I do not understand the -a at the end of kwapda in line 9).

[The boy who lied about his scar]

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[i]

I-kāla a-g-i-u-yūtu-m,  
i-čā-xan.  
Aqa ga-y-ū-ya it-'mqu,  
a-qālamuq a-č-ū-x-a.  
Aqa dīka dāba q-a-ya-l-gā-xit -qālamuq.

5

[ii]

Aqa i-q'fuqt n-f-x-u-x (i)-iā-xan.  
Aqa č-i-f-xi-qīqā (i)-iā-q'aqātaq-ba,  
(i)-iā-šxalx č-f-gl-ga (i)-iā-q'aqātaq-ba.  
(n-i-l-gā-xit-x -qālamuq (i)-ia-q'āqātaq-ba,  
ni-i-g-y-u-ytū-m-bet).  
Aqa ga-č-i-ū-lxam-x,  
"Qāda ga-m-'-x-a-t-x i-mf-šxalx d(a)-āwi-ax?"

10

Kwāpt a-č-f-u-waq (i)-iā-xan.

Aqa ga-č-i-ū-lxam-x:

"Qāxpa m-gwāiilx m-kf-x-ax?"

15

"Qimā-txu n-āika i-lālay d-iā-qčam ga-č-n-d-i-la-gwa."

"Kwāpda m-xā-t-qwat",

ga-č-i-ū-lxam-x (i)-iā-xan.

Aqa i-k'ākaš gal-i-x-qwāt-x.

[iii]

Aqa -q'ifqt n-f-x-u-x y-āka -k'ākaš.  
Aqa y-āka-ba qanā-ga-ba i-mūlak.  
Aqa kwapt i-i'-f-x-u-t-iq,  
-q'ifqt n-f-x-u-x.  
K'ani k'anī.

20

[The boy who lied about his scar]

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[i]

She bore a male,  
her son.  
Now he went (for) wood,  
he got sticks.  
Now right here a stick is made to strike him.

5

[ii]

Now his son became older.  
Now he louses him on his head,  
he gets his scar on his head.  
(A stick was made to strike him on his head,  
after they had bore him).  
Now he told him:  
"How did you come to get that scar of yours?"

10

Then he beat his son.

Now he told him:

"Where did you become a poor person?"

15

"Once a deer struck me with its horns."

"Then go bathe!",

he told his son.

Now the boy bathed.

[iii]

Now that boy became old.  
Now Elk had no purpose to that one.  
Now then it is finished,  
he became old.  
Story story.

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FOOTNOTES

- 1 Contributed to the 17th International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages, 9-11 August 1982, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon. Please note that the following abbreviations are used in citing references for forms:
- CCT : Clackamas Chinook Texts (Jacobs 1958, 1959--consecutively paginated)
- CT : Chinook Texts (Boas 1894).
- KT : Kathlamet Texts (Boas 1901).
- WT : Wishram Texts (Sapir 1909).