THREE WISHRAM TEXTS
TOLD BY PHILIP KAHCLAMAT TO WALTER DYK

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Background

In 1905 Franz Boas sent Edward Sapir to work on the easternmost variety of Chinookan. Sapir’s principal consultant was Louis Simpson at Takima Reservation. Sapir published an insightful article, ‘Preliminary report on the language and mythology of the Upper Chinook’ (1907), and Wishram Texts (1909). Some start was made on a dictionary.

In the early 1930s Sapir sent Walter Dyk to work with Wishram Chinook. His principal consultant was Philip Kahclamat. Kahclamat assisted Dyk in the development of a considerable lexical file, as well as in grammatical work. Dyk completed A grammar of Wishram (1933) for a dissertation at Yale, and wrote at least two papers, but was not able to any of what he had done, partly because of other work, partly because he subsequently fell victim to Parkinson’s disease.

After the Second World War Dyk deposited his Wishram materials with the then newly established Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in New York City. Through his generosity and the kindness of the Foundation, these materials were made available to me in the academic year 1955-1956. One of Dyk’s manuscripts of the 1930s was edited for publication (Dyk and Hymes 1956). In the 1970s a xerox of the extensive lexical files was made by the Library of the American Philosophical Society, which gave copies to David French and Michael Silverstein. (Through oversight, a number of small slips in Sapir’s handwriting were not included).

In the fall of 1986 I gave to the Library other items associated with Dyk, including a typescript of his dissertation and handwritten notes on the dissertation by Sapir. Two items remain to be deposited. One is a set of letters in Wishram (as yet untranslated) written by Philip Kahclamat to and for Dyk. The other is a pair of notebooks which contain the texts of eight Coyote myths.

Oral tradition mentions two occasions of the burning of Wishram materials in Philip’s possession. He is said to have had a fight with Dyk in connection with the work at Yale, and in anger to have burned materials he had. After his death in 1958, as a result of a blow in a fight with his brother Piel, his brother is said to have burned (presumably in keeping with Chinookan custom) the contents of a box that Philip had kept. It may be that the set of letters and the two notebooks are part of what has been thought to be lost. Neither, of course, preserves what Philip may have written on his own apart from the relationship with Dyk. He was a man of considerable intellectual gifts and interests1, and the only speaker of Wishram-Wasco known to have actively written it--literate and intellectual without community.

None of the myths have been published, or even, so far as I know, utilized. Three of the myths are indeed otherwise unknown in Chinookan. This paper is devoted to making these three otherwise unattested stories available, and to indicating something of the interest and value of the material as a whole. A description of the notebooks is included as an appendix.

MODE OF PRESENTATION

In addition to the texts and translations, an analogue of the original notebook pages is provided. There are several reasons for this:

It is possible that conversion of an orthography may misrepresent or obscure a detail of interest, especially if a judgment has to be made as to what was intended. I do not think such problems arise here, but the analogue makes it possible to see where such might arisen.

The texts in the notebooks are lightly punctuated, and sometimes one has to decide upon a sentence boundary. The analogue makes it possible to take into account the original disposition of words in lines on the notebook pages.

See David H. French, ‘Zebras along the Columbia River: Imaginary Wasco-Wishram names for real animals’, International Journal of American Linguistics 5(4) 410-11, Dell H. Hymes, ‘Breakthrough into performance’, ‘In rain I tried to tell you’ (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), ch. 3, and ch. 6 (where the poem ‘For Philip’ contains some further information about his life). The volume of Wishram in the Collected Works of Edward Sapir will include a photograph of Philip (he is the only Wishram-Wasco with whom Sapir worked for whom photographs are known).
Sometimes the translations in the notebook are quite literally one word at a time, and one may have conclude that they are not to be taken literally. Thus, in text 2, the translation of one word has men told by Coyote to copulate with 'her' (in order to have white salmon to catch). In the context of the story I take it that 'her', rendering the feminine object-marking prefix in the verb, does not refer to a new and otherwise unidentified female, but is in concord with the feminine prefix to the word for 'stone'. Dyk's lexical slips regularly supply 'him' and 'her' for the object markers in verbs, although agreement with a non-animate noun is implied.

Sometimes the translations in the notebook are given phrase by phrase, and I have provided a translation that is more literal, as an aide to those not familiar with the language, or to show relations of repetition and ethnopoetic marking.

For these reasons, the relationships of line in the notebooks are reproduced, as are the translations given in the notebook, so that others can recognize and control for interpretations of the original.

The three texts presented here have interest as (a) a contribution to understanding Chinookan handling of a theme popular among a number of Northwestern peoples (but detailed comparison is reserved for another occasion); (b) a myth that may have no parallel, adapting the character of Coyote uniquely to a local geological formation; (c) a myth that turns in part on community bilingualism.


(a) Eagle and his younger brother [Weasel]]

A journey or adventure of two such brothers, the smaller 'youngest meanest', is found widely in the Northwest. Kachlameit's version here is sketchy and incomplete, but is significant for explicitly locating the travel as along the Columbia. It is quite possible that Kachlameit's version continues by going down the Deschutes. The Deschutes would be a reasonable continuation in the light of other versions: Charles Culley's Kachlameit version, and a version reported by Sapir, take the two brothers to Tygh Valley; Alfred Smith and Hiram Smith located the travel entirely along the Deschutes. One might expect a third Grizzly and Grizzly Woman (Adat'ala).
[Eagle and his younger brother]

Eagle said,
"I will go there."

His younger brother, the boy, told him,
"We both will go."

He told him,
"Yes, both of us will go."

Eagle went,
he got there,
he sat down
"Dump me out, older brother."
"Yes, soon."

The boy ran to be there.
Then he told him,
"A big-bellied person is lying there,
"I will shoot him."

[...]
"Be still!"

He told him
"I will shoot at the big belly with arrows."
The boy shot him,
the one named Weasel, he did it to the chiefly man.
Eagle went out.
This sort of wood was shoved down a hole.
The two began to be chased about.
Eagle hurried inside that hole.
Inside that (hole) Weasel hurried.
That way Eagle was broken.

There is Weasel in a hole in the rock.
There Weasel killed a rat,
he cut its belly,
he smeared its guts on his spear.

He went out of the hole:
"Ohh! Weasel is dead!"
Eagle asked him, "What's the matter?"

"Nothing of importance. Two women are digging."

"I saw them."

They went. "Now did you fuck her too?"

He told him, "Yes," he did to him. "No way you fucked her too."

Weasel ran. He gets her sewed up the same way. He told him, "You fool! No way you fucked her too!"
Then the two went to this place here at the Dalles.
Here they went to a house.
Grizzly Bear tied up.
They stopped to rest at the house.
Weasel lay himself down.
Over there a woman is sitting.
She said,
"Oh dear! Weasel!"
Now then she told him,
"What do you regularly feed him?"
He pulled it out.
She took out a head, she threw it to her dog.
Weasel jumped towards him.
He jumped, he got the head, he ate it.
The old woman said,
"He is eating his up."
Then she hit him with her cane.
A little way this way Weasel and Grizzly Bear fought.
Weasel, Eagle and Adat'ala fought.
They killed Adat'ala and Grizzly Bear.
Now then Eagle said, "Now let's go."
The two went this way to the Dalles. They saw a house. Eagle and his older brother got there. The same kind again of house, the same kind of dog. Again he is tied up there. While here his younger brother is hanging on Eagle.
Only Eagle is travelling along, his younger brother Weasel is hanging on him in his buckskin coat, his younger brother.

The two went into the house. Same kind of house, same kind of Adat'alia sitting again. She said right away, "What do you regularly feed your dog?" He took out the meat. Right away Weasel gave it to him. He told him, "What do you regularly feed him?" "This is what his food is like."

Right away she got the head. Then she threw it to him. Weasel jumped towards it. Then that very one got the head now again.

The notebook is ambiguous as to the association between words of speaking and quoted speech. The first line of notebook page 3 might be taken to have Don't do it, he told him. Given the preference in this text, and commonly in the language, to have a word of speaking precede what is said, that pattern is adopted here, except where the other is clearly dictated. In lines 49-51 there is apparently a closing verb, as well as an opening one, but it is 'to do, make', with ai, which has the force of a nod or other gesture of agreement. Perhaps there are two distinct predicators here, 49, and 50-51.

The form may actually be čaččak. Dyk regularly wrote [i] after [e] where others all have heard schwa, or an i-taung schwa quite distinct from [i] in, say, igitqaq.

Probably this is said by Weasel as a deception.
This scene is also unclear. The three changes of location do appear to introduce and distinguish three stanzas (34, 46, 54). Each stanza begins with movement and ends with quoted speech. Indeed, A and B both appear to have a 1 + 3 pattern: movement, followed by three turns at speech. This is almost unknown in Chinookan. I can think of one occasion in Clackamas, where a fifth verse of response to what has last been said is sometimes present, sometimes absent (CCT #8). Yet notice that if movement and quoted speech are taken as the essential elements, there are ten such elements in the scene, distributed among stanzas in the proportions 4, 4, and 2. The focus of the section is on 'tucked her' as an ending point (45, 53, 58). What actually happens, however, is obscure.

I take 'now' to go with the following verb, although it is written continuously with the preceding verb.

K'aya negates existence of objects, things, people, as in the common phrase, k'aya dan 'nothing'. Negation of a verb, an action, is expressed with naql. I use 'no way' as an ad hoc device to distinguish this utterance from simple negation of a verb.

NOTEBOOK ANALOG

1

it'cínun galikim kwôba nuya
Eagle he said, I will go to that place

iyauxix ik'áckac gatciúlxam
his y. brother the boy he told him

atnúyalma gatciúlxam ai alma-
we will go then he told him yes then

-tluxya gayuya it'cínun gayuyam
we will go he went Eagle he got there

gayulait wáx amcnganúx
he sat down dump me out

áwirnex ai kwaíi galikdai aitam
brother yes soon he got there

ik'áckac kwôpt gatciúlxam
the boy then he told him

ilamanqgál ikximát ilamanq
a big belly lying (there) shoot him
I will do it. I don't do it he told him.

I will shoot the big belly.

He shot him.

He shot him.

He made him chief.

He went out.

They 2 were chased about.

He went (run) in a hole.

They killed him.

Oh! Weazel they killed / him.

Rymes. Wishram Tells...
gayúya yaxadmank gayulait
he went little further he sat down

it'cinun gatcuqumtcxugwa dán-
eagle he asked him what's

"qingi?" qádaga icqagilak clhulal
the matter nothing 2 woman are digging

kc
ntcúqmit gactuya gacsagigca
I saw them they went they got them

gatcaximatcu uptcx'x gatcuctka
he laid her down she is stitched/up he fucked her

gactúyaça gatciúxam aça tci
they went now he told him now

mat'ax imuctka?
gactuliíxam ai
you fuck her? he told him yes

mat'ax gatciúxam k'alyamuctka
he did it he told him no you fucked her

galiítákx wadaivadai tcagigáx
he went weazel he got her
daúkwa uptcxís gatciúxam
also sewed up he told him

m: aiyac k'alyamuctka mait'á!
you fool you didn't fuck her you!

Kwopt gactúya dabadaúya Dalesba
Then they went to this here Dalles

daba gactúya itq'-liba ku gacúx
here they went to a house They stopped to rest

itq'-liba ispadauk-tíx ik'waukwa
at the house he is tied up G. B.

gatciúxma wadaivadai ýaxíba
he laid him down weasel over there

cxt icqagilak galaktm am
is sitting a woman she said Oh!
| wadaiwadai | asa kwipt | gagulxam |
| weasel | and then | she told him |
| dan gamil gwimnil? | tlaqʷ gatciux |
| what are you in the habit of feeding him? | he pulled it out |
| tlaqʷ gagíux | igáq'taq | gagilxada |
| she took it out | the head | she threw it to him |
| itcaq'utsiabsilm | wadaiwadai |
| herdog | weazel |
| gatsúbina | yáxkayamł | gatsúbinax |
| jumped | towards him | he jumped |
| gatcig'gałx | iqaqtcaq | galixdimux |
| he got it | the head | he ate it |
| aq'uqt | galigimx | itcixbrum |
| the old woman | said | he is eating his up |
| kwipt | gagiuswilx | itcatúxvacangi |
| then | she hit him | with her cane |

| aga kwipt | gayutxwit | it'cínun. |
| and then | he stood up | Eagle |
| gacxilgaiyunx | adal'ála | gigadnux |
| they 2 fought | the monster | little way this way |
| wadaiwadai | kwadau ik'waukwa |
| weasel | and | GB |
| gacxilgaiyunx | wadaiwadai | it'cínun |
| fought | weazel | Eagle |
| kwadau adal'ála | gacxilgaiyunx |
| and | the monster | fought |
| gackawaqw | dál'ála | kwadau ik'waukwa [d over a?] |
| they 2 killed them | 2 | the monster and | GB |
| aga kwipt | it'cínun | galigimx, |
| and then | eagle | said |
| aga txúya | gacxúa | gigádiwa |
| now let's go | they went | this way |
Dalles ba gacguykil itq'li gactwyarn
to Dalles they saw a house they got there

wadaiwadai iyahst
dagáman
weasel his o brother same kind

wit'ax itq'li yaxkáman
again house same kind
dog

wit'ax kwoba iqsidauk'úx maga
again at that place he is tied up and

daba qutll ñurt
here he is hanging on him eagle his y b.

yaim itc'ínun igucgíwal iyauxix
only eagle is travelling his y b.

wadaiwadai qutll ñurt iyak'wateu-
weasel he is hanging in his buckskin
on him

yasba iyauxix gactackúpax
coat his y b. They went in the house

dakamán itq'li ost dakamán
same kind of house sitting same

wit'a da't'ála galagímx ná wit
again monster she said right away

dangamigwíñnil imitq'utsílañim
what are in the habit of feeding your dog?

thaq' gaticúñax igiwaq náwit
he took out meat right away

gaticúñax wadaiwadai gaticúñam
he gave it to him weasel he told him

dan maiya gamigwíñnil idílañim
what thing you feed him his food

dauda kwakíax náwit gagig'ígax
this it is immediately she got it

igaqtcáq kwapt gagiglátax
the head then she threw it to him
wadaiwadai gatsûbaraz yâskai-
weâzel jumped towards

-yamt kwôpt gatçîg'âz yâskâyax-
it Then he got it That one
to
dau iqaçtaq iqaçtaq agawî'ax.
the head now again
I know no other report of this myth. Certainly there is none attested from Chinookan communities. A story of lack of water because of fear of something in the water, something that Coyote finds to be merely white salmon, is well attested (from Louis Simpson in Wishram Texts, in Edward Curtis' The North American Indian, from Victoria Howard in Clackamas Chinook Texts (I: 102-3, where ida'q'auwan is rendered as 'dog salmon').

Presumably Coyote makes the rock into a shape that makes feasible the ritual action he prescribes. Probably a rock of such a shape could be seen near Underwood and was pointed out and commented upon in relation to the story. (Underwood is on the Washington side of the Columbia, a few miles west of the town of White Salmon, and the White Salmon River, and across the Columbia from Hood River, Oregon.)

The closing instruction to make the incident a story recurs in these texts from Mr. Kachlamet. Such a pronouncement nicely authorizes the teller, doing what the story says is to be done.
Then he told them,
"Now I'll go towards the rising sun."
Then he came,
Straightway he arrived at (the place) named Underwood.
There he saw two men.
There they live,
they catch white salmon.
Then Coyote said,
"What is that you're doing?"
"These are white salmon," said they.
Now then Coyote said,
"You should not catch white salmon all during the day.
'Only in the morning should you catch white salmon.
'If anyone gets here wanting white salmon,
don't give them to them.
'If there are no white salmon,
I'll make you a rock.
'There to those rocks you will go
you'll go to fuck that rock evenings.
'In the morning you will see white salmon.
They'll get here."
"Alright."
the two said.
Now then they went,
they went to fuck that rock.
In the morning.
Oh my!
they saw plenty of white salmon.
The law is this way to this day.
Then he told them,
"Now you'll live here forever.
'People will get here,
different peoples.
'You will tell them this very same story."

NOTES
5a ę = tš-š 'he-those two'
5b The t at the start of tcmaukct is presumably an error to be heard for c (ę for ę).
5c Gamma is a voiced velar fricative
8 Note 'customary' suffix of myth narrative, -x, in 8, 11, 12, 25, 26, 27, 30
13 The top of -y- is overwritten a closed loop that may have been the top of a 'g'. The same word is clear in 17
15, 17 šamani is šamani in the Wishram Texts from Louis Simpson
The stress on the first ā in line 17 indicates that it is not misheard for schwa
32 ę = tš-š 'he-those two'
36 A stress mark over the second vowel is cancelled (in favor of the stress heard over the third)
NOTEDOOK ANALOGUE

kwọpt gatchukam anuyasa
Then he told them now I'll go

agalaxyamt ulpl kwọpt
towards the rising sun Then

galiti na vit galikdimam
he came straight he arrived here

yatliwix andutpa kwọba
its name (underwood) There

gac y’kli termaukt ickála
he saw 2 two men

kwọba ctuxt itq’auwan
there they live white salmon

cktúsäl kwọpt galigimx
They caught Then he said

isk’ulya dan yaxka dauya
coyote what is that

mtgiúslal dauda itq’auwan
you are doing These W.S.

gacımx aṣa kwọpt galigimx
they said then he said

isk’ulya kaigamktúxā
coyote you should not catch

itq’auwan wigwab yaima
W.S. by day only

almá kádux ämtgugigálya itq’auwan
in the morning you should catch W.S.

camani can aldímama
if whoever gets here

q’axc tkhx itq’auwan
wanting w.s.

naqamaktluda camani k’aìya
do not give them if no
itq'auwan  eyamdlusa  ak'alamat.
  w.s.  I'll make you  a rock

alma kwoba  amdunya  daxdau
  there  you will go  there

itkalamatpa  amtguctgama
  to the rock  you will go to fuck her

axdau  ak'alamat  tcucdix
  that rock  evenings

alma kadux  amtgusiglaiva
  in the morning  you will see

itq'auwan  atgadimama.
  w.s.  They will get here

au  gacgmx  aqagwpt
  alright they said  then

gactuix  gacguctgmx
  They went  They went to fuck her

aksazdau  ak'alamat
  That there  rock

kadux  ade  idatix  itq'auwan
  in the morning  Oh!  plenty of  w.s.

gacgusig  daukwa
  Thus

qidau idaqqmit  dauya  wigwa
  the law  to This day

kwpt  gacgutilxam
  aqagwpt  then  he told them  now

daminwa  amdulsida  dika
  forever  you will live  here

alomagdimama  id'lxam  uskallumax
  When, after the people arrived  different

idlaxamx  alma  dikadauya
  peoples  Then  this here.

qidau idqanutoq  amdulsima
  same story  you will tell them.
Apparently Coyote has been living with Deer among Sahaptin speaking people. Who understands which language appears central to the drama.

[Coypote and Deer]  
[1] (Opening)  

Coyote and the Deer are (together).

[Coypote and Deer]  
[2] (Coyote sets his partner)  

Coyote then became hungry.
Then Coyote killed Deer.
Then he ate him all.
Then he tied a string to him.
Now then Coyote said:  
"My younger brother is sick."  

[Coypote and Deer]  
[3]  

Now then Coyote got a doctor.
Then he got stick beaters.
The people got together,
OWL was gotten as doctor.
Then OWL, the doctor, performed.
Then OWL sang:
"Beat the sticks easy,
"Only grass filled."

[Coypote and Deer]  
[4]  

Coyote said:  
"Oh brother,
"There at the stick game he got sick,
"My brother,"  
he pulled the string,
his younger brother nodded.
Then Coyote wept.
Then they told him,
"He is not sick--  
"Grass filled."

[Coypote and Deer]  
[5]  

Then the doctor went home.
They went home the people.
Then he got his younger brother,  
he threw him out.
The first line, and verse, is in the present tense. Like other such openings, it establishes a frame in terms of principal actors, and a location and activity (here, simply that they are together, literally, 'The two are (present state').

The action of this story inverts that of the well known story of Coyote and Skunk. Spurred by hunger, Coyote has his partner, Skunk, feign illness, and calls on others (food animals) to come to help. When the others have gotten behind Skunk, and are helping to carry him up outside, Skunk lets loose his musk sac, which in the myth times before the Indian people had come, was fatal. Deer are one kind of animal called (not a single deer, but a set of five). In both stories, then, others are to be deceived that Coyote's younger brother, or partner, is sick. In one in order that those deceived be killed and eaten (Coyote and Skunk), here in order that those deceived be persuaded that the younger brother, actually already eaten, is not dead, and so to take or share responsibility for his death, since the attempt to cure him necessarily will fail.

Together the two stories present the alternatives of such a feigning—dead, presented as alive: alive, presented as sick (perhaps dying—the point of taking Skunk out may be that he not die in the house). The three parties are Coyote, partner, invited helpers. The five roles (functions) are deceiver, slayer, patient, slain food animal, deceived.

Deceiver  Slayer  Patient  Slain food animal  Deceived

Coyote  Coyote  Partner  Partner  Helpers
Coyote, Partner  Helper  (Deer, etc.)  Helpers, Partner

The difference in action goes together with a difference in scene. As the interplay of languages implies, Coyote presumably is a guest among speakers of another language than his own and that of the story.

An initial analysis grouped 2, 3, 4 together under heading shown, and began a new stanza with 5, 6-7, 8, headed as follows: [1] (He calls others to cure him). The following stanza began with 9.

This stanza has four units marked as verses, not three or five. 8 (now then), 9 (then), 12 (then), 13-15 (then, quoted song). Neither 10 nor 11 appear to follow on 9 as part of a single sequence and verse. 10 introduces a new agent (the people), distinct from activity of Coyote (8, 9), and the passive construction of 11 is not a continuation of activity by Coyote. The two appear to go together, completing the dramatic persona. In terms of a five part organization of the stanza, 11 picks up the topic of the first verse (6), and so is appropriate as a third, or part of a third, verse. Thus I take 10-11 as a virtual verse. That it is unmarked appears a slip.

A more accurate translation would be 'doctored'. sidaaqewarm, a standard term for 'doctor', is etymologically 'his dreams'. The verb theme =hulat best translated as 'to doctor' (to do what such a doctor does). The doctor doctored 'sounds odd in English, hence, 'performed'.

Dyk has 'usually' above the conjunction of the words watakti a/qist, and a dipping curved line joining the final i of watakti an their initial a of a/qist. An arrow points down across the curved line to "'Pro. not in a song". The likely reference is to the running together of the two vowels indicated by the curved line joining them (CI adjacency of other forms, the first with final vowel, the second with initial vowel). 'Pro. not in a song' probably means that the forms would be separated in a song actually sung, rather than dictated as words, as presumably was the case here.

The song, particularly its second line, gives the game away—Deer is not sick, but dead, eaten, and stuffed. But Coyote's lament indicates that the audience may not know the language of Owl's doctoring song. A doctor truly trying to cure a patient would work up a degree of intensity in drumming and singing. Either Owl is in on the ruse, or in singing over the patient, discovers the fraud and sings the true state of affairs (no point in exerting yourself, boys).

There is a parallel with the climax of a story widely known in the region in which Coyote pretends to cure a girl with whom actually he
copulates (but in doing so, cures her); he has assembled birds to sing loudly to keep those outside from hearing her. Probably Owl fits this image; loud noise to conceal deception. Owl is an unlikely choice for true doctoring, its cry being an omen of death.

17-19a The words of the song are not Wishram, but Sahaptin. Presumably this is because the Sahaptin language is associated with Deer, is appropriate to a lament over Deer, and to a lament addressed to Deer's people. I am not sure of the exact variety. na'ka is vocative 'younger brother' or 'younger cousin' (Jacobs 1931: 237) at Warm Springs in the 1970s, 'younger male relative, nephew,' not literally, but as a term of kinship courtesy, Virginia Hymes has recorded nam- 'to wear out', and -tmana is 'to become', -na 'past', for the last word, cf. Warm Springs paliyawa-ta 'to go to gamble with bones (sticks)'. -pa is a common locative postposition.

Apparently the story presupposes that Coyote has been living with Deer among Sahaptin speaking people. That Coyote himself does not have a fixed abode is in keeping with his character as indicated in many of the stories. Even when shown 'in residence', he can be expected to travel again.

17-19b A tripartite form of lament appears to be traditional. Cf. the lament of the mother over her dead younger brother in Victoria Howard's Clackamas telling of 'Seal and her younger brother lived there' (Hymes 1951, ch. 9)

19 This expression is not translated in the notebook. On the basis of the first line of the song, where nak-a is 'brother', and the use of na- as possessive first person marker in Sahaptin (albeit in a more limited context than this), I conjecture 'my brother'.

25 The stanza preceding, and this stanza, both end on the same significant words, and point, 'grass filled'. Within this stanza, three parts are rhetorically marked. Coyote's lament (as quoted speech), and the two verses that begin with the marker kwọpt. Lines 20 and 21 could easily have also been marked by initial kwọpt, forming part of a five-verse stanza. Thus, the form of the narration suggests that Coyote pulls the string, causing the younger brother to nod, at the same time as, or in the same narrative moment, as he laments.

24-25 The true situation may have been detectible, or even obvious, to observers. And/or some of the Sahaptin speakers may have understood Chinookan. Multilingualism was not uncommon within a matrix of in-law and trading partner relationships across communities.
is'k'ulya  itcuxix  iyxtcgamíí
coyote  my younger  sick

ikísax  ega kwọpt gatcig'lgá
he is  and then  he got

idiagwam is'k'ulya  kwọpt
a doctor  coyote  then

gatcugíga  idak'igwau gwaú
he got them  The stick beaters

galuxixíq  idilxam  gaqig'lgá
They got together  the people  he was gotten

idiagwam ikauxau  kwọpt
the doctor  the owl  then

gayugélct  idiaqiwam
he doctored  the doctor

ikauxau  kwọpt  g alggllamck
The owl  Then  he sang

ikauxau  "la·wa gwaugwau
the owl  beat the sticks easy

iına  watcxti algixt'
(pro. not in a song)

only  grass  filled

galikím  isk'úlya  o naka
Oh brother,

kwanáq  namsóoná  palyuáapá
then  he got sick  at the stick/game

na'sa'na'ka
The string he nodded then

his younger brother then

coyote wept then

They told him he is not sick

Then

The doctor went home then