

THREE WISHRAM TEXTS
TOLD BY PHILIP KAHCLAMAT TO WALTER DYK¹

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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 Yakima 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 1988 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.

¹ This paper is dedicated to the memories of Philip Kahclamat and Walter Dyk.

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 arise.

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.

¹ See David H. French, 'Zebras along the Columbia River: Imaginary Wasco-Wishram names for real animals', International Journal of American Linguistics 51(4): 410-11; Dell H. Hymes, 'Breakthrough into performance', In vain 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.

[Notebook A. Odd numbered pages 1-13. No title.]

(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. Kachlamet's version here is sketchy and incomplete, but is significant for explicitly locating the travel as along the Columbia. It is quite possible that Kachlamet's version continues by going down the Deschutes. The Deschutes would be a reasonable continuation in the light of other versions: Charles Cultee's Kachlamet 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'alia).

[|Weasel shoots the big-bellied chief|] (A)

Ič'inun galikim,
 "Kwob(a) anuya."
 Iyaxix ik'askaš gaciúlxam,
 "Atxúy(a) alma."
 Gaciúlxam,
 "Ai, alm(a) atxuya."

5

Gayuya Ič'inun,
 gayúyam,
 gayulait.
 "Wax amšgenuxa, áwimax"
 "Ai kwaiš".

(B)

10

Galikdaíaitam ik'askaš.
 Kwopt gaciúlxam,
 "Ilamugwál ixímat,
 "Ilamaq anilluxa."
 "Iyak'waska".
 Gaciúlxam,

(C)

15

"Anilluxa ilamaq ilamugwálba agámačxangi".
 Gaciúlxam ilamaq ik'askaš,
 iyaxliu Wadaiwadai,
 gaciux istámx ikála.

20

[Eagle and his younger brother]
 (i) [Weasel shoots the big-bellied chief] [A]

Eagle said,
 "I will go there."
 His younger brother, the boy, told him,
 "We both will go."
 He told him, 5
 "Yes, both of us will go."

Eagle went, [B]
 he got there,
 he sat down.
 "Dump me out, older brother"
 "Yes, soon" 10

The boy ran to be there. [C]
 Then he told him,
 "A big-bellied person is lying there,
 "I will shoot him."
 [---], 15
 "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. 20

(ii) [Hidden in the cave] [A]

Gayuqwába Ié'inun.
 Qídaumax itkámunaq gaqtíluxčúix.
 Gaqšwálalamšk.

Galilkapqix Ié'inun yáxdau. [B] 25
 Yáxdau Wadaiwadai galilikapqix.
 Qídau t'laq galixux Ié'inun.
 Kwoba Wadaiwadai tixwop itkálamat [C]

Kwoba Wadaiwadai gačiwaq iguliu,
 t'lq'up qačiúx igaúwan 30
 čikčik gačtilúx idiaq'imsukš iyaxíwaixíwai
 Gailglgábaix:
 "u· Wadaiwadai ilgiwaq!"

Hymes, Vishram Texts

(ii) [Hidden in the cave] [A]

Eagle went out.
This sort of wood was shoved down a hole.

The two began to be chased about.
Eagle hurried inside that (hole).

[B] 25

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.

[C]

30

He went out of the hole:
"Ohh! Weasel is dead!"

Hymes, Vishram Texts

(iii) [Weasel sees a woman fucked (did he do it too?) [A]

Gayúya yaxadmank
gayulait.

35

Ic'inun gaciugumcugwa
"Dán qəngi?"
"Qádaga.

"Išqagilek škiúlal.
"Ncúqmit.

40

"Gaštuya.
"gaškšglga,
"gačaxímaču.
"upčéx
"gacuštka".

45

[B]

Gaštúy(a)
Aga gaciúlcam,
"Aga či mait'ax imuštka?"

Gaciulcam,
"Ai",
gaciúx.

50

Gaciulcam,
"K'aiya muštka."

[C]

Galiktáx Wadaiwadai.
čaglgáx daukwa upčxíx
Gaciúlcam,

55

"M' aiyayaš.
"K'aiya muštka mait'a!"

[iii] [Weasel sees a woman fucked (did he do it too?) [A]

He went a little further,
he sat down. 35

Eagle asked him,
"What's the matter?"
[---]

"Nothing of importance.
Two women are digging.
I saw them. 40

Two went,
they got them,
he laid her down,
she is stitched up,
he fucked her." 45

They went [B]
Now he told him,
"Now did you fuck her too?"
He told him,
"Yes," 50
he did to him

He told him,
"No way you fucked her too."

Weasel ran. [C] 55
He gets her sewed up the same way.

He told him,
"You fool!
No way you fucked her too!"

[iv] [Grizzly Bear and Adat'alia] [A]

Kwopt gaštúya dabadaúya Dallesba
Daba gaštúya itq'liba. 60
K'u gašxúx itq'liba.

Iqxídauk'tix Ik'waukwa.
Gašixíma Wadaiwadai.
Yáxiba oxt agagílek.

Galakím, 65
"Aní-! Wadaiwadai!"

[B]

Aga kwopt gagiúlxam,
"Dan gamilgwímnit?"
laq' gaciux.
laq' gagiúx igáqštaq 70
gagíllada ícaq'utsiaixəlm.

Wadaiwadai gatsúbina yáxkayamt.
Gatsúbinax,
gašig'lgax iqaqčaq, 75
galixilmux

[C]

Aq'euqt galagímx,
"Ícixlxum."
Kwapt gagiugwílx ícatúkwašangi.
Aga kwopt gayutxwít Ič'inun. 80
Gašxilgaiyux Adat'ália.

Gigadnux Wadaiwadai kwadau Ik'waukwa gašxilgaiyux
Wadaiwadai, Ič'inun kwadau Adat'ália gašxilgaiyu
Gaškawaq (a)dát'alia kwadau Ik'waukwa.

[iv] [Grizzly Bear and Adat'alia] [A]

Then the two went to this place here at the Dalles. Here they went to a house. They stopped to rest at the house. Grizzly Bear is tied up. Weasel lay himself down. Over there a woman is sitting.	60
She said, "Oh dear! Weasel!"	65
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.	[B] 70 75
The old woman said, "He is eating his up." Then she hit him with her cane. Now then Eagle stood up. The two fought, Adat'alia [and Eagle]. A little way this way Weasel and Grizzly Bear fought. Weasel, Eagle and Adat'alia fought. They killed Adat'alia and Grizzly Bear.	[C] 80

[v] [Grizzly Bear and Adat'alia at The Dalles] [A]

Aga kwopt l'cinun galigimx, "Aga txúya." Gaštuya gigádiwa Dallesba. Gašguyíkil itq'li. Gaštuyam Wadaiwadai iyaxt. Daxgámax wít'ax itq'li, yaxkámax itq'utsialxlm. Wít'ax kwaba iqxidauk'xidix, maga daba qutlíluxt ic'inun iyauxix. Yaim[a] l'cinun igušíwal, iyauxix Wadaiwadai qutl iluxt ayak'watauyasba, iyauxix.	85 90 95
Gaštaškúpqax. Daxkamax itq'li, oxt daxkámax wít'(a) adat'alia Galagimx ná wit, "Dan gamilgwínnil imitq'utsialxlm?" laq'w gačiúxax igíwaq.	[B] 100
Nawit gačilutx Wadaiwadai. Gačiulxam, "Dan maiya gamilgwínnil?" "Idialxlm dauda kwakíax."	[C] 105
Náwit gagig'lgax iqaqčaq. Kwopt gagigllátax Wadaiwadai gasúbəmax yaxkaiyamt. Kwopt gačig'lgax yaxkaiyaxdau iqaqštaq [¶ ?] aga wít'ax.	[D]

- [v] [Grizzly Bear and Adat'alia at The Dalles] [A]
- Now then Eagle said,
 "Now let's go." 85
 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. 90
 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. 95
- [B]
- 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?" 100
 He took out the meat,
 Right away Weasel gave it to him. [C]
 He told him,
 "What do you regularly feed him?"
 "This is what his food is like." 105
- [D]
- 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.

[E]

NOTES

- 16 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 predications here, 49, and 50-51.
- 22-34 Scene ii is obscure. The last five lines might hold together as a stanza. I can only guess at the point and organization of the preceding lines. My best guess is shown here: five pairs of lines. One constant amidst the uncertainties of the text is reliance on movement, travel, location as marks of what is going on. The five pairs of lines seem to fit with that and to have coherence as pairs of 'this, then that':
 (a) Eagle goes out, something obscure about wood shoved in a hole.
 (b) They are chased, Eagle runs in a hole.
 (c) Weasel runs in the hole, Eagle is broken (on the wood of (a))?
 The word 'aq can refer to the cracking sound of something breaking, such as wood or a bone.
 (d) Two lines about Weasel, both beginning with Kwaba 'There'.
 (e) A new movement by Weasel and the response. Presumably the pursuers are deceived.
- 27, 28 I have followed a detail of the notebook translation in placing 'There' at the beginning of the next stanza. The capital 'T' in handwritten 'There' under kwaba seems decisive. Otherwise, one might expect 'That way broke it became/ Eagle (was) there/ Weasel (was in a hole) (in a) rock there Weasel killed a rat...' But it must be Eagle who is broken (perhaps by the wood mentioned just above, as a result of a sudden incursion by Weasel. The construction does not allow a transitive reading, '*Eagle broke it (the wood)', and 'wood' would have had to be expressed with -d- in concord with the prefix it-(k'amunaq).
- 31 The form may actually be čakčak. Dyk regularly wrote [i] after [č] where others all have heard schwa, or an i-tinged schwa quite distinct from [i] in, say, ilgiwaq.
- 33 Probably this is said by Weasel as a deception.

- 34-58 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 'fucked her' as an ending point (45, 53, 58). What actually happens, however, is obscure.
- 46 I take 'now' to go with the following verb, although it is written continuously with the preceding verb.
- 53, 58 *kaya* negates existence of objects, things, people, as in the common phrase, *kaya dan* 'nothing'. Negation of a verb, an action, is expressed with *naqi*. I use 'no way' as an ad hoc device to distinguish this utterance from simple negation of a verb.

NOTEBOOK ANALOG

it'cinun Eagle	galikim he said,	kwoba nuya I will go to that place	
iyauxix his y. brother	ik'ackac the boy	gaciułxam he told him	
atxuyalma we will go then	gaciułxam he told him	ai alma- yes then	
-txuya we will go	gayuya he went	it'cinun Eagle	gayuyam he got there
gayulait he sat down.	wax amcgenuxa dump me out		
awimax brother	ai kwais yes soon	galikdai aitam he got there	
ik'ackac the boy	kwopt then	gaciułxam he told him	
ilamugwal a big belly	iximat lying (there)	ilamaq shoot him	

gayúya yaxadmank gayulaít
he went little further he sat down

it'cínun gatcugumtctxugwa dán-
eagle he asked him whats

-qingi? qádaga icqagilak ckiúlal
the matter nothing 2 woman are digging

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

gatcaxímatcu uptcxéx gatcuctka
he laid her down she is stitched/up he fucked her

gactúyaga gatciúlxam aga tci
they went now he told him now

maít'ax imuctka? gatciulxam ai
you fuck her? he told him yes

gatciúx gatciulxam k'aiyamuctka
he did it he told him no you fucked her

galiktáx wadaiwadai tcaglgáx
he went weazel he got her

daukwa uptcxéx gatciúlxam
also sewed up he told him

m' aiyayac k'aiyamuctka maít'a!
you fool you didn't fuck her you!

Kwopt gactúya dabadaúya Dallesba
Then they went to this here Dalles

daba gactúya itq'liba k'u gacxúx
here they went to a house They stopped to rest

itq'liba iqxidauk'tix ik'waukwa
at the house he is tied up G. B.

gatcixíma wadaiwadai yáxiba
he laid him down weazel over there

oxt agagílak galakím aní-
is sitting a woman she said Oh!

11

11

wadaiwadai aga kwópt gagiúlxam
weazel and then she told him

dan gamil gwímníl? tlaq^w gatciux
what are you in the habit of feeding him? he pulled it out

tlaq^w gagiúx igáqštaq gagig'ílada [second q over k]
she took it out the head she threw it to him

itcaq'utsiaixilm wadaiwadai
herdog weazel

gatsúbina yáxkayamt gatsúbinax
jumped towards him he jumped

gatcig'lgax iqaqtcaq galixílmux
he got it the head he ate it

aq'euqt galagím^x itcixlxum
the old woman said he is eating his up

kwapt gagiugwílx itcatúk^wacangi
then she hit him with her cane

13

13

aga kwópt gayutxwit it'cinun.
and then he stood up Eagle

gacxilgaiyux adat'ália gigadnux
they 2 fought the monster little way this way

wadaiwadai kwadau ik'waukwa
weazel and GB

gacxilgaiyux wadaiwadai itc'inun
fought weazel Eagle

kwadau adat'ália gacxilgaiyu
and the monster fought

gackawaq dát'ália kwadau ik'waukwa [d over a?]
they 2 killed them 2 the monster and G. B.

aga kwópt it'cinun galigim^x,
and then eagle said

aga txúya gactuya gigádiwa
now let's go they went this way

Dalles ba gacguyikil itq^wli gactwyarn
to Dalles they saw a house they got there

wadaiwadai iyalxt daxgámax
weasel his o. brother same kind

wit'ax itq^wli yaxkámáx itq'utsialxlm
again house same kind dog.

wit'ax kwoba iqxídauk^wdix maga
again at that place he is tied up and

daba qutl|íluxt itc'inun iyauxix.
here he is hanging on him eagle his y. b.

yaim it'cínun igucíwal iyauxix
only eagle is travelling his y. b.

wadaiwadai qutl|íluxt ayak'watau-
weasel he is hanging in his buckskin
on him

yasba iyauxix gactackúpqax
coat his yB. They went in the house

daxkamáx itq^wli ɔxt daxkámáx
same kind of house sitting same

wit'a dat'ália galagímáx náwit
again monster she said right away

dangamilgwímnil imitq'utsialxlm
what are in the habit of feeding your dog?

tlaq^w gatciúxáx igíwaq nawit
he took out meat right away

gatcilutáx wadaiwadai gatciuxam
he gave it to him weasel he told him

dan maiya gamilgwímnil idialxlm
what thing you feed him his food

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

iqaqtcáq kwəpt gagillátax
the head then she threw it to him

19

wadaiwadai gatsúbəmax yáxkai-
weazel jumped towards

-yamt kwopt gatcig'lgax yaxkaiyax-
it Then he got it That one

te
dau iqaqtaq iqaqtaq aqawit'ax.
the head now again

[Please leave blank page so that the next part will begin on the left,
and so that the text and its translation can be on facing pages]

[Notebook A. Odd numbered pages 23-31. No title.]

[Coyote and catching white salmon]

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 (1: 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.

	A
Kwopt gačluxeam	
"Anuy(a) aga agalaxyamt ulpl."	
Kwopt galiti,	
Na-wit galidimam yaxliwix andutpa.	
Kwoba gač ya'lkI [t]šmaukšt iškála.	5
Kwoba štuxt,	
itq'auwan šktuxlxl.	
	B
Kwopt galigimx Isk'ulya,	
"Dan yaxka dauya mtgiuxlxl?"	
"Dauda itq'auwan,"	10
gašgimx.	
Aga kwopt galigimx Isk'ulya	
"K'aiy(a) amtktuxa itq'auwan wigwaba,	
"Yaima alma kadux amtgugigaiya itq'auwan.	
"Šamani šan aldímama q'axš tklúxt itq'auwan,	15
"naq[i] amtklluda,	
"Šamani k'aiya itq'auwan,	
"ayamdłuxa ak'álatat.	
"Alma kwoba amdúya,	
"daxdau itk'álatatpa amtguštgáma	20
"axdau ak'álatat čušdix.	
"Alma kadux amtgugigłaiya itq'auwan,	
"Atgadímama."	
"Au",	
gašgimx.	25
Aga kwopt gaštúix,	
gašguštgamx axkaxdau ak'álatat.	
	C
Kadux,	
ade,	
idatilx itq'auwan gašgugilx.	30
Daukwa qidau iqaqmit dauya wigwa.	
Kwopt gač-úlxam,	
"Aga dáminwa amdulaida dika.	
"Alma atgadímama id'lxam,	
uxalúimax idlxamax,	35
"Alma dikadauya qidau iqanutšq amdulxáma."	

	A
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.	5
	B
Then Coyote said, "What is that you're doing?" "These are white salmon," they said. 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.	10 15 20 25
	C
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."	30 35

NOTES

- 5a ċ = tš-š 'he-those two'
- 5b The t at the start of tcmaukt is presumably an error:
tc heard for c (ċ for š).
- 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 šmani in the Wishram Texts from Louis Simpson.
The stress on the first a in line 17 indicates that it is not misheard
for schwa
- 32 ċ = tš-š 'he-those two'
- 36 A stress mark over the second vowel is cancelled (in favor
of the stress heard over the third)

NOTEBOOK ANALOGUE

23

kwopt gatcluxam anuyaga
Then he told them now I'll go

agalaxyamt ulpl kwopt
towards the rising sun Then

galiti na-wit galikdimam
he came straight he arrived here

yaxliwix andutpa kwoba
its name (underwood) There

gac-y'kl tcmakct ickála
he saw 2 two men

kwoba ctuxt itq'auwan
there they live white salmon

cktúxlal kwopt galigimx
They caught Then he said

isk'ulya dan yaxka dauya
coyote what is that

25

mtgiúxlal dauda itq'auwan
you are doing These W.S.

gacgimx aqa kwopt galigimx
they said then he said

isk'ulya k'agimtktúxa
coyote you should not catch

itq'auwan wígwaba yaima
W.S. by day only

alma kádux amtgugigaiya itq'auwan
in the morning you should catch W.S.

camani can aldímama
if whoever gets here

q'axc tklúxt itq'auwan
wanting w. s.

naqamtktúda cámani k'aiya
do not give them if no

Z7

itq'auwan ayamdluxa ak'úlamat.
w. s. I'll make you a rock

alma kwoba amdúya daxdau
there you will go there

itk'alamatpa amtguctgáma
to the rock you will go to fuck her

aɣdau ak'álamat tucdix
that rock evenings

alma kadux amtgugiglaíya
in the morning you will see

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

au gacgímɣ aga kwopt
alright they said then

gactúix gacguctgámɣ
They went They went to fuck her

29

axkaxdau ak'álamat
That there rock

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

gacgugílɣ daukwa
Thus
They saw

qidau iqaqmit dauya wígwá
the law to This day

kwopt gatc-úlxam aga
Then he told them now

dáminwa amdulaida dika
forever you will live here

almatgadímama id'lxam uxalúimɣ
When, after the people arrived different

idlxamax alma dikadauya
peoples Then this here.

qidau iqanutcɣ amdulxáma
same story you will tell them.

31

[Notebook A. Odd-numbered pages 101-109] [no title]

Apparently Coyote has been living with Deer among Sahaptin speaking people. Who understands which language appears central to the drama.

[Coyote and Deer]

	[A] [Opening]	
Štuxt Isk'úlya kwadau ic'ank.		
	[B] [Coyote eats his partner]	
Isk'ulya kwopt walu gaglux.		
Kwopt Isk'úlya gaciwaq ic'ank.		
Kwopt sa q ^w galixilmux.		
Kwopt ilána gacilux.		5
Aga kwopt galikim Isk'ulya,		
"l'cuxix iyačgəmim ikixax."		
	[C] [Owl doctors]	
Aga kwopt gaci'gla idiagiwam Isk'ulya.		
Kwopt gacugiga idak'igwaugwau.		
Galuxixəq idilxam,		10
Gacig'gla idiagiwam Ikauxau.		
Kwopt gayug'wilit idiagiwam Ikauxau.		
Kwopt g aliglalamšk Ikauxau:		
"La wa gwau gwau		
"Ai ma wačkti algixt"		15
	[D] [Coyote pulls the string]	
Galikim Isk'ulya,		
"O naka,		
"Kwənáq namtxánana palyaúatpa,		
"Na'a'na'ka",		
gacixga ilána,		20
X'ukλ'uk galixux iyauxix.		
Kwopt galikčax Isk'ulya.		
Kwopt galgiulxam,		
"K'aiya iyačgəmim,		
"Wačkti algixt."		25
	[E] [No use]	
Kwopt idiagiwam galix'wa.		
Kwopt galuxwak'waiya idəlxam.		
Kwopt gaci'gla iyauxix,		
gaciudaba.		

[Coyote and Deer]

	[A]	
Coyote and the Deer are (together).		
	[B]	
Coyote then became hungry.		
Then Coyote killed Deer.		
Then he ate him all.		
Then he tied a string to him.		5
Now then Coyote said:		
"My younger brother is sick."		
	[C]	
Now then Coyote got a doctor.		
Then he got stick beaters.		
The people got together,		10
Owl was gotten as doctor.		
Then Owl, the doctor, performed.		
Then Owl sang:		
"Beat the sticks easy,		
"Only grass filled".		15
	[D]	
Coyote said:		
"Oh brother,		
"There at the stick game he got sick,		
"My brother,"		
he pulled the string,		
his younger brother nodded.		20
Then Coyote wept.		
Then they told him,		
"He is not sick--		
"Grass filled."		
	[E]	
Then the doctor went home.		25
They went home the people.		
Then he got his younger brother,		
he threw him out.		

NOTES

- 1 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)).
- 2 The same kind of deer (ič'ank 'mule deer', not ilalax 'white-tail deer', as in the very different benevolent host, bungling host story told by Louis Simpson to Edward Sapir (Sapir 1909; see analysis in Hymes 1985), and titled by Sapir 'Coyote and Deer'. The contrast is great, but there is a link in that in both Coyote responds wrongly to Deer, once as host, once as partner.
- 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	Partner	Helpers (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.
- 5 An initial analysis grouped 2, 3, 4 together under heading shown, and began a new stanza with 5, 6-7, 8, headed as follows: [C] [He calls others to 'cure' him]. The following stanza began with 9.
- 8 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 or 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 dramatis personae. In terms of a five part organization of the stanza, 11 picks up the topic of the first verse (8), 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.
- 12 A more accurate translation would be 'doctored' idiagiwam, a standard term for 'doctor', is etymologically his dreams'. The verb theme -g'ílait is best translated as 'to doctor' (to do what such a doctor does). The doctor doctored' sounds odd in English, hence, 'performed'.
- 15a Dyk has 'usually' above the conjunction of the words wackti algixt, and a dipping curved line joining the final i of wackti an theinitial a of algixt. 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. (Cf 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.
- 15b 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. *kwáná* is 'there', *náka* 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 *-xána* 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 1981, ch. 9).
- 19 This expression is not translated in the notebook. On the basis of the first line of the song, where *náka* 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 'kwópt'. Lines 20 and 21 could easily have also been marked by initial 'kwópt', 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 detectable, 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.

NOTEBOOK ANALOGUE

ctux̄t	isk'úlya	kwadau	
They are living	coyote	and	
it'cank	isk'úlya	kwópt	
the deer	coyote	then	
walu gagiux̄		kwópt	isk'úlya
he became hungry		so	coyote
gatciwaq	it'cank	kwópt	sá q'w
killed	the deer	Then	all
galixilmux		kwópt	ilána
he at him		Then	a string
gatcilux		aga kwópt	galikim
he tied to him		and then	he said

gatcixga ilána t'luk t'luk
he pulled the string he nodded

galixux iyauxix kwopt
his younger brother then

galiktcax isk'úlya kwopt
coyote wept then

galgiulxam k'aiya iyatcəmim
They told him he is not sick

watckti algixt kwopt
grass filled Then

idiagiwam galixk'wa kwopt
The doctor went home then

galuxwak'waiya idilxam
They went home the people

kwopt gatcig'iga iyauxix
then he got him his y. brother

gatcig'iga gatciuládaba
and threw him out.