

LANGUAGE USE IN THE INDIGENOUS SOUTHERN PLATEAU

by

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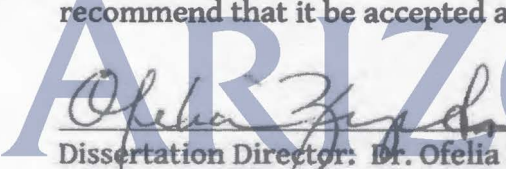

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ʔehé, kí·me mí·l'ac c'í·qan tamá·payksa.

My Grad school experience has been among the most stimulating learning experiences in my life. My PhD program in ANLI (Joint Program in Anthropology and Linguistics, UofA) was intellectually challenging at every step of the way. For this I am grateful. However, something far more challenging entered my life not long after I had completed my ANLI course work: a Stage III cancer diagnosis. This was soon followed by cancer surgery, radiation therapy, and a post-cancer recovery period. Needless to say, everything came to a halt--it was Grad school life interrupted. I knew from then on it was essential that I begin to heal and live as best I could. I had to survive. Without question, it became quite clear to me then that something vital had to change. I soon began to make choices that forged a new core self. This included **ʔí·nim ni·mi·pu·tímt** 'my Nez Perce language' and **ʔí·nim tiwí·yekt** 'my elder's teachings.' And, most assuredly, I also imagined that I would complete my PhD program. It was these essential ingredients that helped me to not just to survive but to rise above my cancer experience. Thankfully, I am well this day far beyond the odds first given by my doctors (who remain undoubtedly surprised at my good health). I know it is particularly important that I acknowledge this life altering experience. It is extraordinary if only for the journey I've been given.

Qeʔciyé-w'yew' 'thank you.' It is time to move forward now.

One of the consequences of my cancer experience is choosing to end my PhD program when health matters took precedence. I decided out of necessity to forgoe a traditional fieldwork-based ethnographic dissertation (which I had been working towards) and instead I choose in its place an articles-based dissertation. What you see here is the outcome of this choice. I am confident it is the right choice.

My dissertation committee has fully supported my academic work with great understanding and care. I would like to thank Dr. Ofelia Zepeda, Dr. Heidi Harley, Dr. Barbara Mills, and Dr. Linda Waugh for their positive support and encouragement. I also kindly acknowledge Regents Professor Dr. Jane Hill, Professor Emerita Dr. Susan U. Philips, Dr. Norma Mendoza-Denton, Dr. Andrew Carnie, and Dr. Susan Penfield for their intellectual brilliance and example. I also generously acknowledge the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) for giving me the opportunity to teach language learning and language revitalization methodologies to Indigenous language advocates from all parts of North America (Canada and Mexico included).

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and insights into our **Ni·mi·pu·tímt**. My visits to his home in Mesa, AZ were the highlight of my research. I also credit him on bringing out my language that I had held deep within after so many years, **qe?ciyéw'yew'**.

In Nespelem, Washington, two elders *cá?yaw* Agnes Davis and *cá?yaw* Frank Andrews were also among the first fluent Nez Perce speakers with whom I interacted with as a part of my linguistic fieldwork. I met regularly with these two elders along with the Nez Perce language program personnel Milton “Jewie” Davis Jr., Albert Andrews Red Star, and his son Jim Andrews to engage in conversations in **nú·nim ni·mi·pu·tímt** ‘our Nez Perce language.’ After I had been in Nespelem WA for several months, I made a brief visit to **Nixyá·wi·pa** (Pendleton, OR area) and a Native elder overheard me conversing in **nú·nim ni·mi·pu·tímt** ‘our Nez Perce language’ and she asked me where I learned to speak so well. I replied, “the elders at Nespelem taught me.” I later mentioned this to *cá?yaw* Agnes Davis and she was so proud that I was crediting them for my renewed speaking abilities. **?ikú·yn hí·wes!**

At Mission, Oregon on the Umatilla Indian Reservation, I interacted with and conversed in **Nu·mi·pu·tímtki** with Cayuse/Nez Perce speakers *cá?yaw* Eugene John, *cá?yaw* Joan Burnside, *cá?yaw* Kathleen Gordon, *cá?yaw* Susie Moore, *cá?yaw* Dan Motanic, Andrew Dumont, Jessie Jones Jr., Fermore Craig, Jess Nowland, and Thomas Morning Owl. I also interacted with Wallulapm speakers *cá?yaw* Elizabeth “Smitty” Jones, *cá?yaw* Ceclia Bearchum, and esteemed Umatilla speaker *cá?yaw* Inez Spino

Reeves. Each of these individuals always gave me good words and guidance.

K^wałámataš.

On the Nez Perce Reservation, I interacted with and conversed in **Ni·mi·pu·tímki** with elder Nez Perce speakers *cá?yaw* Gordon Fisher, *cá?yaw* Horace Axtell, *cá?yaw* Rachel Wapsheli, *cá?yaw* Roberta Ezekiel, *cá?yaw* Irving Watters, Charles “Chuckie” Williams Axtell, Jim McCormack, Alfred Pinkham, Josiah Pinkham, Angel Sobotta, Nakia Williamson, and the esteemed women elders of the weekly weaving circle, most especially fluent **Ni·mí·pu·** speakers Vera Sonneck, Bessie Scott, and Florene Davis. Finally, an important acknowledgement goes to Kemet Spence (a Nez Perce descendant) who is a signer/practitioner of Plateau/Plains Indian Sign Language, an Indigenous non-ASL sign system.

On the Yakama Reservation, among **Ičičíki·n** Sahaptin speakers, I have been encouraged and supported by the kindness of venerated elder Dr. Virginia Beavert, *cá?yaw* Louise Billy, *cá?yaw* Rosita Jim Wesley, *cá?yaw* James Selam, Lonnie Selam, and many others too numerous to mention, **k^wałánawašamataš.**

From the Warms Springs, Oregon reservation, I am pleased to have met and worked with the esteemed elder language advocate and fluent Sahaptin speaker Adeline Miller. My sincere apologies for not being able to formalize and include her brief though important recorded language sample in time for this dissertation.

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Qe'ciyéw'yew' ?óykalo·ma ?í·nim himyú·me ka· liláwtiwa·ma ku?stí·te
?úykin'ix titó·qama.

DEDICATION

ʔí·nim ʔacqá·ma, ʔí·nim qaní·ma,
kemex ká· c'í·qciḡ nú·nim ni·mi·pu·tímt,
wét wét'u ʔaná·smic'isa himeq'ísne titwá·titna
kínmyawa nú·nim naqsniná·wit?

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to provide a broad cultural description and analysis of Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin language use. Investigative priority is given to the behavioral correlates of fluent and semi-fluent speaker choices and the discursive consciousness that informs them. The findings show how language use is organized and embodied as ‘ways of speaking’ in traditional cultures of the Indigenous Southern Plateau region both as a responsive system to societal change and as a semiotic behavioral resource for cultural continuity. The motivation for this study arises from my belonging to the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin speech communities where this research was conducted as well as from the growing global awareness concerning the endangered status of Indigenous languages in the Indigenous Southern Plateau and elsewhere throughout the world. It is hoped that the findings and language data contained in this language documentation research can inform and contribute to positive outcomes centering in the revitalization of culture and language in the Indigenous Southern Plateau.

PROLOGUE

Growing up, I fondly remember sitting with my grandparents, *cá?yaw* **Wetyé·tmes til'aylaká·pi·kt** (Clarence Thompson Burke, 1889-1987) and *cá?yaw* **Wi·nató·winmay** (Annette Blackeagle Burke, 1904-1988), and listening to them converse, tell stories, and sometimes argue in **Ni·mi·pu·tímt** 'The Nez Perce Language'. Being in the presence of these two elders beginning from my childhood into my early adult years and hearing the language spoken everyday, I eventually acquired the basics of the language. Naturally, I would hear complex or unusual words that I did not quite understand. I learned to wait for a pause or lull in the conversations to ask about the meaning of a particular expression that was used. They would explain things to me like **hiwléequqse** 'wind bringing the dust up into the air' or **'ileyípyip'in** 'waves rising up from the heat, as in a heat wave' and all sorts of other interesting expressions not to mention accompanying stories that were often surprise tangents into their interesting lives.

One day, however, I had a sudden heartfelt realization, an epiphany if you will. I realized that much of the knowledge store that my grandparents were sharing with me was quite exceptional and perhaps even rare. Even more compelling in that moment was the realization that the beautiful language they spoke--**Ni·mi·pu·tímt**--would soon go silent. Thus, in my rapport with my grandparents, I had become

aware of myself and my place in the world *through* language. I was not just a singular mind anymore rather I had become a collaborative, meaning-making participant in the linguistic exchanges as a *hearer, speaker, and addressee*. This mind sharing expanded my consciousness in ways I could never have anticipated. While I did not realize it at the time, I had made my entry into what is described as a “community of minds” or a cultural consciousness (Nelson 2007; see Chap. 8). Naturally, this shift in my awareness did not go unnoticed by my grandparents. One day I overheard my grandfather say indirectly and outloud with full effect, “**kál’a ’iske ’éetx wisíix niimípuu**” ‘we are just like real human beings.’

At the same time, this awareness produced a deep sense of responsibility for the vulnerability I felt toward the potential loss of meaning regarding the contents of everything I was acquiring. I followed as much as I could on all the instructions I was given by my grandparents on “how to live a good life.” But something else was required. I soon decided that I needed to keep notes with the idea that I would record my grandparent’s words, thoughts, and conversations. Over the course of my remaining time with my grandparents, I made *impressionistic* linguistic notes (with virtually no linguistic knowledge at the time). In the end, I had transcribed a vocabulary of **Ni·mi·pu·tímt** ‘The Nez Perce Language’ containing an estimated 1,500+ words with English translations *as spoken by my grandparents* (Cash Cash 1998).

I never fathomed the depth of such work and its potential to inform the

knowledge base for **Ni·mi·pu·tímt** as an enduring linguistic record of the language. Rather, *feeling* the words and their meaning as they were being spoken was all that mattered at the time. I had begun to intuit and feel an intimacy between the structure, sounds, meanings of each utterance and their use. What I had understood to be important was how every emergent new meaning anchored my consciousness into a greater cultural whole. This extralinguistic reality where I found myself to be in was truly compelling in every sense of the word. That is, I was immersed in a lifeworld filled with intimate conversations between two knowledgeable elders wherein every utterance was uniquely local and deeply personal.

This experience was instrumental in several ways. First, the transformative aspects of my immersive learning experience helped me to understand the role of natural occurring language use in my own acquisition of **Ni·mi·pu·tímt**. New vocabularies stimulated new ways of thinking about myself, others, and the world in which I existed. I felt at a personal level that my relationship to the world and the ways in which it is constructed across time and space had transformed into a newer intergrated cultural self as **Niimípuu**, a ‘real human being.’ As I have come to learn, this learning experience supports the fundamental idea that acquiring a language “is deeply affected by the process of becoming a competent member of a society (Ochs and Schieffelin 2001:264)”. Possesing a newly developed capacity to speak, interact, and understand language in interaction with other knowing minds is a profound

human experience, perhaps even more so when it is with family members with whom you cherish and love.

Second, an additional key observation here is that my early learning experience closely follows a local language acquisition model. A Nez Perce language assessment report from 2009 found that intergenerational language transmission commonly occurred when a fluent grandparent was present in the home (Cash Cash 2009). Growing up with my grandparents I generally believed that my acquisition experience was a natural fact of life, however, as I got older I soon realized it was more the exception than was common for peers within my generation. Thus, family structure plays a key role on how the Nez Perce language was being transmitted, however, as we are learning when the family structure changes so does the medium of language. In other words, cross generational transmission was far more successful when the core family unit included a fluent grandparent, less so when they were absent.

By no means is my experience exemplary. Rather, my purpose here on describing my language learning experience is simply to show that I acquired **Ni·mi·pu·tímt** not in an educational setting but through conversing with two fluent elder speakers and hearing everyday talk on a daily, ongoing basis. The transmissional sphere in which I was part of was a natural outcome of my being a younger family member of a traditional Nez Perce family unit composed of a child, parent and

grandparent. What I felt to be *natural* about my learning situation was that my elders had no inclination or need to be “language teachers” or to teach me **Ni·mi·pu·tímt** rather they assumed that once I had demonstrated a sufficient level of language comprehension they would simply continue to direct “talk” to me as a way to further my linguistic knowledge. This was consistent throughout my interaction with them. I believe it was in this consistency of interactional awareness that the social realities to which I was exposed to were created and sustained.

As a novice language learner, my situated learning process produced long-lasting effects towards my personal, cultural, and spiritual self-definition. These effects contributed to a greater consciousness concerning my new found linguistic awareness and speaking abilities which in turn led to a number potentially transformative courses of action (e.g. like taking linguistic notes of elder talk or being and becoming a “real human being,” for example).

As I fast forward to today, I can now see how these experiences created a framework for my current scholarship, advocacy, and personal interests in cultural knowledge. While my early efforts stemmed from a desire to take action in the face of a stark though potential reality over the loss of language, my revelation is that this reality has now fully transpired and I find myself as a “younger speaker” among a handful of elderly fluent speakers of a critically endangered heritage language. Too, I have personally experienced this loss many times over first with my grandparents

passing and later with the many elderly fluent speaker “consultants” with whom I have worked with as a part of my language documentation work. I fondly remember all of them and hope that I can continue to honor their contributions to our store of cultural and linguistic knowledge as well as to the companionship they heartfully gave knowing full well I once lived with venerated elders.

My comittment to the life of our language and culture has never been so overtly stated as it has until now. And, as I understand in the sense of how my elders conceived of *how to live a good life*, such comittments are demonstrated in one’s actions, words, and one’s overall consciousness. However, in this dominant radical discontinuity we are now experiencing one requires a radical hope if there exists a desire to make a difference. My work here is a part of this desire, part of this comittment. I celebrate the shared experience of culture while at the same time I seek to make visible the “culture in talk” (Quinn 2005). These ways of seeing, these ways of speaking make the world as it is. And when it does, perhaps we become real human beings after all.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to provide a broad cultural description and analysis of Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin language use. It seeks to show how language is organized and embodied as ‘ways of speaking’ in traditional cultures of the Indigenous Southern Plateau region. It adopts a broad ethnography of communication approach to describe how present-day Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin speakers utilize the linguistic practices of their speech communities at a time when their ancestral languages are severely constrained by language shift and language endangerment. My key interest in this domain of research is learning how language use can accomplish the important task of transmitting culture to its community populace and how speakers of Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin organize their linguistic resources in doing so.

The motivation for this study arises from my belonging to the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin speech communities where this research was conducted as well as from the growing global awareness concerning the endangered status of Indigenous languages in the Indigenous Southern Plateau and elsewhere. It also emerges at a time when endangered language communities in this region are

urgently seeking ways to revitalize and maintain their ancestral languages despite of the tremendous odds against doing so.

Undoubtedly, time is a often a crucial factor in contemporary research focusing on endangered heritage languages because it is common to find that speakers of these languages are rapidly dwindling and are few in number (Coronel-Molina and McCarty 2016, Grenoble and Whaley 1998, Austin and Sallabank 2011). This is true for most all of the present-day speech communities in the Indigenous Southern Plateau. The life of these languages as spoken in the hearts and minds of the remaining population of fluent Cayuse, Nez Perce and Sahaptin speakers are a significant source of cultural identity and many are doing as much as possible to create new speakers before their languages ultimately “fade away.”

Thus, from a documentary perspective, the advantage of creating an ongoing documentary record of the diverse forms of human communication as it is represented here is that it can uniquely assist in this cultural endeavor by bringing to light the complexity of important cultural behaviors when mere observation alone is too transitory. Today’s contemporary heritage language speakers, as representative members of their social and historical collectivities, are keenly aware of the centrality of language as an interactional medium and its greater cultural good. This emergent awareness is especially evident in traditional contexts where a community’s core cultural values are commonly activated for transmission. So it

becomes critical that new information can be brought to bear on how endangered language communities are addressing the impacts of language shift and the loss of traditional knowledge.

Problem Statement

Cultural survival is an imperative if Indigenous Southern Plateau communities are to see the continuity and persistence of their culture, languages, and religious traditions in the coming century. Central to the notion of cultural survival is the belief that the contents of individual and collective values, knowledge, practices, and experiences can be replicated and transmitted to a new generation of learners. It is through this process of transmission that the contents in the mind of one generation becomes reproduced in another. In recent times, however, this transmission process has become constrained due to the impacts of language shift and the dominance of English as a primary mode of communication. Despite the well-documented broadly homogenous nature of Indigenous Southern Plateau cultures (Sturtevant 1998), its rich linguistic diversity is in a state of flux and is experiencing a rapid intergenerational decline. In the minds of many fluent Plateau speakers of recent previous generations, once you lose your language, you lose your identity (Edith McCloud, Wallulapam, personal communication, 1998).

It is in the outward linguistic manifestations of this change that are the subject

of this dissertation. As a form of ethnographic language documentation, it grounds itself in the phenomena studied and gives priority to a comparative assessment of the emergent data. The basic question this study seeks to address is “What are the emergent linguistic choices guiding fluent and semi-fluent speakers when the sociolinguistic sphere of cultural life is impacted by language endangerment.” Investigative priority is given to the behavioral correlates of fluent and semi-fluent speaker choices and the discursive consciousness that informs them. By placing a documentary lense on a broad sample of linguistic practices, for example those found in a highly localized traditional context such as the Plateau Longhouse or from within a highly conventionalized cultural narrative or historical text, it is argued that the findings from this type of ethnographic research can inform and contribute to positive outcomes centering in the revitalization of culture and language.

Tradition and Change in the Indigenous Southern Plateau

Across the Indigenous Southern Plateau, societal change and transformation are not newly discovered or latent experiential realities. In fact, each of these formative aspects are more an enduring set of social, political, economic, ecological, and cultural realities each with their own unique trajectories of change. While the historical conditions for these changes were fueled by colonization and an expanding nation-state, transition to new modes of cultural life were often marked by loss,

adaptation, discontinuities, transformations, and survivals. To understand how Indigenous lives manifested as they did would require a critically informed, in-depth understanding of the choices for survival at each step of the way and at every momentous encounter of the new and different. While the scope of such an investigation is beyond the means of this present analysis, aspects of tradition and change are deeply reflected in the linguistic ecology of Indigenous lives due in part to the interdependence between forms of human communication and the multitudinous environmental factors in which they are found. As we shall see, language change is a signifier of deep change processes relating to a language's ecological network (Mülhauser 1996).

For any Indigenous individual to speak and live one's ancestral language in today's environment, he or she will face tremendous pressure from a dominant English speaking world. If this were not enough, almost all Indigenous communities of the Indigenous Southern Plateau envision a future where their their ancestral languages are a foundational element to cultural continuity, identity, and survival (Jacob 2013). Clearly, such a vision is more than just an aspiration. Its expression in the everyday world of Cayuse, Nez Perce and Sahaptin speech communities has tangible consequences. Thus, the choice on expressing a cultural good is of interest to this analysis particularly since such expressions are distributed across a small number of localized social domains coupled with an all pervasive language shift.

While the range of outcomes might seem dire, many Cayuse, Nez Perce and Sahaptin speakers and traditionalists often proclaim through their speech behaviors that they are expressing a cultural good as imagined by their founding ancestors. Because these choices thematically speak of tradition and change at a key moment when the intensity of such change is magnified by a new generational consciousness, observations within each current traditional context becomes key to understanding local responsiveness to ongoing contingencies or disruptions as well as towards local efforts to maintain cultural stability and continuity.

A Language Documentation Rationale

One of the primary goals in conducting language documentation of an unknown or undocumented language is to obtain a comprehensive record and description of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community (Lehman 2001). Understanding how a speech community uses language to communicate and transmit its culture fulfills a broad but fundamental mandate in the linguistic/anthropological sciences, that is, to increase our knowledge and appreciation of human cultural and linguistic diversity. Recently, however, language endangerment is having a compelling impact on our human linguistic diversity simply because many Indigenous languages and the varying constellations of language use they possess often go undocumented prior to their extinction. For example, among the

Indigenous Southern Plateau speech communities with whom I have been conducting language documentation fieldwork, one such language—the Cayuse language (a language isolate)—went undocumented prior to its extinction and little is known about its linguistic structure and typological attributes aside from the 19th century word lists that have been variously collected. Later, it was not until the modern linguistic work of Rigsby (1965, 1966, 1969) that the true status of Cayuse and its genetic heritage was firmly established. Alternatively, modern inquiry into the Nez Perce and Sahaptin languages and their associated dialects are firmly established (Aoki, 1962, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1994, n.d.; Aoki & Walker, 1989; Beavert, 2017; Beavert & Hargus, 2009; Beavert & Rigsby, 1975; Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation & Noel Rude, n.d., 1998, 2000, 2014; Cash Cash, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004b, 2008, 2010; Crook, 1999; Crook & Wasson, 2013; Deal, 2010a, 2010b; Evans, 1985; Hymes, 1987; M. J. Jacobs, 2013; Jacobs, 1929, 1931, 1934; Jensen, 2010; Phinney, 1932; Rigsby, 1965, 1966, 1969; Rigsby & Rude, 1996; Rude, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1999). This research has been generally dominated by linguistic inquiry whose primary interest is in the creation of descriptive grammars, dictionaries and other similar documentary work.

As important as this work is few studies have attempted to document the relationship between language and culture, that is, a type of research that describes the behavioral correlates of language and their contexts of use such as those found in

group social interaction, multimodal performance, conversation, oratory, ritual, Indigenous knowledge transmission, and gesture, just to name a few. Because of the commonality of these historical factors in linguistic research, many endangered language communities across North America are beginning to see a cultural gap where the link between their languages and culture are poorly documented or poorly represented in language reclamation efforts.

Many endangered language advocates have naturally intuited, rightly so, the vital role language plays in the continuity of cultural life. This sensitivity to language and culture often forms the basis for a kind of internal resistance to standardized language teaching models in lieu of models that are grounded in their own unique cultural realities. It follows that this kind of shift in emphasis to represent a particular kind of experience in reversing language shift requires that we look broadly at how “talk” helps us to organize our culture-specific ways of acting and being in the world. One advantage in this scenario is that there is a co-occurring disciplinary shift in the field of documentary linguistics where language is no longer viewed in simple isolation but rather it is concerned with documenting language as a broad behavioral system. This disciplinary shift thus allows for greater collaboration between linguists and endangered language communities. And, ideally, if the aspirations of the speech community seek to ground their language reclamation work in the cultural realities of their community then field linguists can readily

accommodate this in so far as the culture of “talk” is conceptualized as a robust investigative problem given both the needs of the speech community and the endangered status of the heritage language in question.

The Sahaptian Speech Community

The Sahaptian speech community is composed of two genetically related languages, Nez Perce (Niimípuu) and Sahaptin (’Ichiishkín). Each of these languages and their associated dialects are spoken in five distinct reservation communities in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Location of the Sahaptian language area

Both Nez Perce and Sahaptin are severely endangered languages. A preliminary estimate on the number of fluent speakers show less at least 10-12 (.25% of pop.) remaining speakers for Nez Perce representing three distinct reservation communities in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho and less than 200 (0.8-1% of pop.) speakers for Sahaptin also representing three distinct reservation communities in Oregon and Washington. Thus, only 1% (or less) of the total Nez Perce and Sahaptin population (18,510 total pop.) are fluent in their first language, the majority of whom are above 60 yrs of age.

Nez Perce is composed of two dialects (Upper and Lower dialects), the majority of which speak the Upper Nez Perce dialect. Nez Perce is in the process of losing its dialectical diversity due to the declining number of fluent speakers and its attendant language shift to English. Sahaptin is composed of 15 dialects and it too is facing the loss of its dialectical diversity. The dialectical diversity of the Sahaptin is widely distributed in the Southern Plateau culture area, however, like Nez Perce, these dialects have also suffered the loss of its fluent speaker base due largely to a population decline, relocation (from traditional villages to the reservation), and an English language shift process. Notably, Indigenous knowledge systems, verbal art forms such as ritual speech, mythic narration, and historical recounting are steadily declining or are no longer existent. Cultural and linguistic knowledge of landscapes, biodiversity and associated ecological-based cultural practices have also been

impacted by the continued loss of knowledgeable, fluent speakers.

One critical area of research that has gone unnoticed in the Souther Plateau is assessing the presence of fluent and semi-fluent 2nd language language learners in relation to the overall endangered status of Nez Perce and Sahaptin languages. Among these individuals are those who have English as their 1st language but who may also have been exposed to natural heritage language input for the duration of their life and for whom language oral proficiency is high. The same can be said for those individuals who have shown a natural capacity for self-motivated language learning. It has been my personal observation that these individuals share a common means by which they have acquired their heritage language, that is either through a cross-generational language acquisition model (via a kinship network; much like myself) or by means of a participatory traditional cultural or ritual language acquisition model (or a combination thereof). A characteristic of these individuals is a preference for language use over language literacy and an appreciation for language-centered social interactional cues and local dialectal speech behaviors.

As previously mentioned, Cayuse is a language isolate wherein its speakers historically shifted from their ancestral language to Niimiipuutímt. By the end of the 19th century the Cayuse speech community spoke a dialectal form of Niimiipuutímt termed the Lower Nez Perce dialect (Aoki 1970). As a representative speech community, the dialect usage by speakers of Cayuse Nez Perce in particular, and

Lower River dialect speakers broadly, are not well documented. However, there does exist a corpus of modern narrative texts by Cayuse Nez Perce speakers. A systematic analysis of this corpus would contribute to a greater understanding of the linguistic variation present in this speech community and allow language reclamation a greater awareness and sensitivity to local dialectical usage. Unfortunately, the number of Cayuse Nez Perce speakers has dramatically diminished in the past decade to only a few remaining speakers.

The consequences of a modern language shift for Nez Perce, Cayuse Nez Perce, and Sahaptin show that exposure to the speech community's ancestral language and its communicative potential is no longer available or is highly constrained as a natural mode of learning. Like many endangered language communities throughout the world, Indigenous Southern Plateau communities are adopting newly modernized channels of language learning that seek to replace what has been generally sustained through a fluid kinship or community social structure. What many endangered language communities are coming to realize is that this shift from a localized inclusive community kinship structure to a broadly American educational institutional setting has presented unique challenges that have yet to be fully accounted for when attempting to create speakers of an endangered heritage language. To bridge this gap, contemporary language advocates and scholars are beginning to link Indigenous sovereignties and identities to Indigenous educational

frameworks as a means to sustaining localized language revitalization and reclamation efforts (Counciller 2012, Linn and Oberly 2016). On doing so, Indigenous realities are recognized as being a vital to component to Indigenous language pedagogies and language learning strategies.

Data and Findings

Scientific linguistic methodologies require a broad range of spoken language data samples to be collected, analysed, and interpreted. Structured scientific observations of such samples allow the discovery of behavioral patterns across elicited or otherwise naturally occurring instances of language use within a particular speech community. Thus, insights into the nature and organization of the human linguistic system provide the building blocks of knowledge not just of speaker intuitions on the content of linguistic expressions but also on a wide range of purposeful, culturally motivated language use.

The chapters in this dissertation utilize a common set of qualitative methodologies for differing linguistic data sets. The comparative goal in each however is the same, that is, to establish a core documentary linguistic framework that guides the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data visible to Indigenous communities and language scholars. I have identified three general orientations to my analysis. The first orientation is a basic level data analysis that seeks to make

broad correlations between historical written source materials and modern linguistic equivalencies. The goal here is fairly simple in that I, as the researcher, desire to contribute to the intellectual and artistic legacy of the Indigenous speech communities by bringing forth new information on the richness and stylistic diversity of the endangered languages herein represented. The second orientation is ethnographic in nature in that the analysis focuses on bringing to light socially determined language use patterns from within their locally situated contexts. A third orientation considers as a part of its analysis the nature of language shift and its impact upon the speech communities capacity to communicate and transmit its heritage language. The impacts are most evident in the sociolinguistic sphere in the area of language learning, public-oriented discourse, and in the availability of linguistic resources for the expression of group and individual identity.

The specific significant findings are herein provided forthwith.

Indigenous Southern Plateau Language Status. The findings on the number of fluent speakers of Nez Perce and Sahaptin profiled here are based on estimates from local sources (e.g. language programs) and from my own ongoing language work in Indigenous Southern Plateau speech communities. However, such numbers are not meant to represent real-world conditions by any means since aggregate numbers of this kind are typically produced through language survey methods. In the absence of such data, I want to provide a simple though general estimate on the remaining

number of fluent 1st language speakers of Nez Perce and Sahaptin.

Indigenous Southern Plateau 1st Language Fluent Speakers

Cayuse Language (Isolate)

0 Cayuse Language

Ni·mi·pu·tímt (Nez Perce Language)

2 Cayuse Nez Perce Language (Lower Nez Perce Dialect)

10 Nez Perce Language (Upper Dialect)

Ičiškí·n (Sahaptin)

125-175 Sahaptin (for all 15 Dialects Plateau wide)

Plateau/Plains Indian Sign Language

1 (or more) Plateau Signer

As previously mentioned, the population of fluent/semi-fluent or so-called “younger speakers” of Nez Perce and Sahaptin are typically not counted in general language survey estimates (as is common elsewhere). However, many of these individuals are generally recognized as belonging to the Plateau speech communities as contributing, knowledgeable participants and, in some cases, playing a critical role on sustaining Plateau ritual activities via ritual language use. What was once a gradual attrition from a time period where the number of 1st language fluent speakers were high has now entered into a new onset period of rapid attrition due in part to the 60+ age range of the remaining fluent Nez Perce and Shaptin speakers. Both Nez Perce and Sahaptin will have already entered into a critical stage of

endangerment given the recent losses of key knowledgeable 1st language speaker consultants.

One particularly significant addition to this estimate is recognizing Plateau/Plains Indian Sign Language as a part of the overall Plateau linguistic diversity. To my knowledge, virtually nothing is known on the status of this medium of language use other than its outward visible presence in past intertribal functions by expert multilingual individuals. After encountering and working with an individual Nez Perce descendant signer, I later reported on the possible status of Plateau/Plains Indian Sign Language in the Indigenous Southern Plateau and give a preliminary estimate of 5 Plateau signers (Cash Cash 2010). However, I now offer that to the best of my knowledge only one current (non-ASL) Plateau language signer remains.

Contemporary Oratory in the Indigenous Southern Plateau. Contemporary oratories are a common form of traditional public discourse in the Southern Indigenous Plateau. I present findings from a sample of oratories spoken within their traditional ritual contexts. Such oratories may herein be recognized as a kind of *register* (a cultural model of action) (Agha 2007:79-81) which may be termed “long house talk” after the locality whereby it is most commonly known. However, because of its wide distribution across many social public domains this register is part a larger body of talk that can be appropriately described as Southern Indigenous Plateau Oratory. As a form of communal or ritual-based communication, these enregistered

(i.e. socially recognized) forms of talk are speech-centered actions that direct interlocutor consciousness to modes of self, community, and society (Senft and Basso 2009:1-19). What makes Indigenous Southern Plateau Oratory unique, however, are its added intersubjective, dimensional components which may speak variously to an animistic/creational consciousness, ancestral others, or a conveyance of knowledge on the structure of the Plateau life world (cultural knowledge broadly, and/or Traditional Ecological Knowledge specifically) and our place within it.

The particular oratory form shown in this dissertation are based on samples from the Indigenous Southern Plateau Longhouse, an active communal ritual locality that is distributed throughout the Indigenous Southern Plateau region. Ritual oratories are often set apart from ordinary discourse by auditory contextualization cues (e.g. hand bell). They are overtly identified by a ritual opening and closing to signify its status as an entextualized, enriched form of communication designed to schematically contribute to the ritual's overall purpose.

As shown in Fig. 2, these forms of talk also show evidence of a modern language shift dynamic whereby the multilingual nature of the Plateau Longhouse speech communities are now granting access to English as an emergent channel of communication herein termed an Interpretive Stance. Interpretive stances (almost exclusively in English) are designed to symbolically replicate or decode previously uttered multilingual messages to an otherwise monolingual audience. Often

embedded in these semiotic transformations are interpretive choices which appeal to a fundamental need to belong to the cultures, landscapes, and speech communities of which receptive audiences are a part.

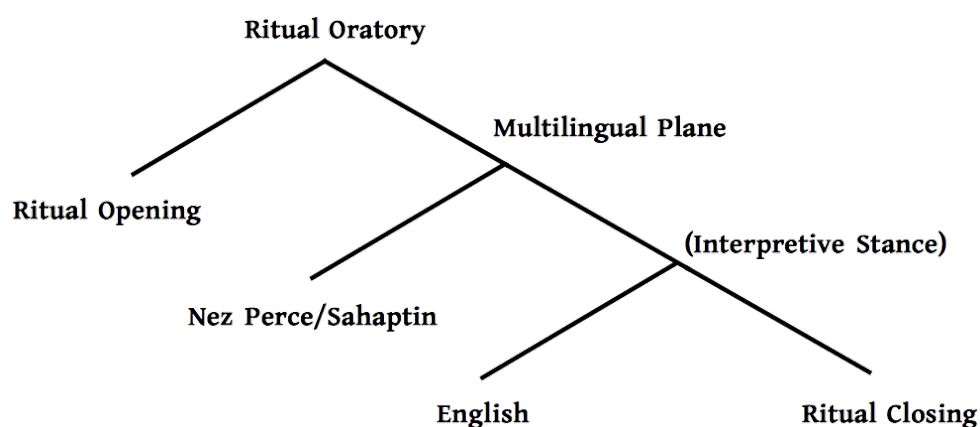


Figure 2. Ritual Oratory in the Plateau Longhouse

Two modes of behavior are evident which support this finding. The first is a form of situated speech making whereby an orator seeks to model one's communicative behavior in relation to the varying multilingual environments of which he or she is a part. Based on Searle (1976:3-4), speakers may choose to either *adjust one's talk to one's environment* (World-to-Word Fit) or *adjust one's talk to cultural modes of action* (Word-to-World Fit). That these speaker behaviors are consistently expressed across most environments herein suggests that there is an underlying

though active communicative adaptation at work within these speech communities. A second mode of behavior emerges when the ritual sphere (i.e. the relational context of interaction) is constrained by competing linguistic codes. Ritual transmission thus requires that the communicative context have cognitive efficacy (Enfield 2009:34-35). I propose and describe here a newly adapted communicative behavior termed Endangered Language Management (ELM). Endangered Language Management seeks to manage the conveyance of competing linguistic codes and attend to the transmissional efficacy of meaning. It is an emergent contemporary form of talk that addresses the uncertainties and contingencies of language shift through cultural modes of communicative action. As a contemporary phenomena, we may continue to observe Plateau orators embodying language as action, a language that does the work of culture rather than a language simply conceived of as a symbolic resource.

Placenames and Sacred Geography in the Southern Indigenous Plateau.

Contributions to knowledge from fluent speakers of Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin have built an enduring documentary record of locally developed world knowledge (Hunn, Morning Owl, Cash Cash, & Karson Engum 2015). My own collaborative language documentation work with cá?yaw Eugene Wilson, a knowledgeable fluent Nez Perce speaker, on identifying Indigenous placenames in the “Wallowas” (OR) also contributed to this important body of Indigenous Southern Plateau scholarship (Cash

Cash 2004; not included in this dissertation).

The documentary evidence I present here attempts to broaden this area of research by bringing to light new information on Plateau sacred topographies which are descriptively underrepresented as a distinct topographic entity. Based on Plateau consultant data, I have proposed the following definition with regard to Plateau Myth Locales.

Myth locales are defined as a mythic action space characterized by the topographic embodiment of superhuman agents and superhuman events across time and space. (Cash Cash 2008, 2006).

This definition offers that myth locales are actualized as a kind of mythic continuum of spatiality. They regularly contain, as a co-present spatial form, the physical embodiment of events stemming from an originating mythic past. Particular features of a myth locale may show interrelated topographic components which depict a mythic action space, pathway, or transformed mythic being.

Existentially, myth locales are an enactive continuum across past and present time. In fact, it is offered that this continuum is collapsed so-to-speak by the co-present spatiality of the myth locale rendering such locations as sacred and powerfully potent. In this sense, Indigenous Southern Plateau myth locales as a whole can be regarded as intrinsically relational by virtue of having a prior mythic

spatiality and for whose sacred status continues to define the Plateau world.

Naturally, it is hoped that the cultural significance of this description will broaden our understanding of sacred topographies generally and myth locales specifically.

Names and Naming Traditions in the Indigenous Southern Plateau. Personal names and naming in the Southern Indigenous Plateau are a key symbolic resource in the perpetuation of Plateau identities. The findings presented here argue that language-based personal names are a significant source of linguistic data that offers real-time insights into the relationships between language, culture, and identity.

At their most basic core, Nez Perce names are often compositional linguistic expressions whose combined form and meaning ascribe a unique referential identifier as name. This is to say that Nez Perce names (and naming) are broadly emblematic to the extent that they align meaning potentials to individuals to signify their relationship to an emergent participatory universe. From a Nez Perce (and Plateau wide) perspective on naming, *being in the world* has signifying potential.

Based on a broad sample of data, this analysis identifies how Nez Perce naming practices are organized into a culturally stratified system of meaning. To understand this system, I propose that the dimension of regularity in name meaning establishes a domain of experientiality. It is within this domain of experientiality that sets the parameters on the use of semiotic resources in naming. When the cultural context is taken into account on the schematic processing of name meaning,

name data are segregated into an *experiential domain* or into a *non-experiential domain*.

The emergent naming pattern supports this interpretation by showing that contemporary Nez Perce naming practices are mostly oriented within the *non-experiential domain* by virtue of societal changes which valorize ancestral names over earlier signifying naming practices which evoke an experiential-based identity formation. This finding is even more pronounced when one considers that certain cultural practices and belief systems are no longer supported wherein names and naming practices have once been dependent upon as an enriched, semiotic resource. However, given that names and naming practices are highly valued as a direct link to individual microgenesis (and hence group solidarity), it is predicted that new modes of experientiality may be adopted to fill the gap in meaning that is central to the percept on being and becoming Niimípuu (Nez Perce), a real human being.

Conclusion. The varying analytic approaches taken in this dissertation have all addressed the diversity inherent in Indigenous Southern Plateau ‘ways of speaking’. Such diversity demonstrates how language use can reveal its internal responsiveness to change in a small-scale society. Thus, data samples on Indigenous Southern Plateau language use are herein robustly represented. It is hoped that each entextualized and translated language sample will retain its potentiality to serve a new generation of language learners, speakers, and scholars. Grounded as they are in the situated usage events in which they were found and documented, we gain an

essential insight into Indigenous Southern Plateau life and the situated centrality of language as a medium of cultural transmission.

SECTION I

ORATORY

CHAPTER 2

Kuʔús Hic'í·x̄ce Hinmató·wyalah̄tq'it Oratory of Young Chief Joseph (1840-1904)



1

As retold by Jonah Hayes (Nez Perce) and recorded onto wax cylinder by Anthropologist Herbert J. Spinden in 1907 at Lapwai, Idaho (Gray & Moses, 1988)

Audio reviewed and set to text on Oct. 9-12, 2006 in Nespelem, Washington in consultation with Nez Perce language consultants *cáʔyaw* Agnes Davis, *cáʔyaw* Frank Andrews, Albert Andrews Red Star, Milton Davis, and Jim Andrews.

- 1 **ʔehé yó·q'ó kuʔús ʔe· c'í·x̄ce.**
 Yes, it is in this manner that I am speaking to you.

1. Photograph is by John H. Fouch and is reportedly to have been taken in October of 1877 at Fort Keogh, MT.

- 2 **ʔé wé·s mamáy'ac ɣayɣáynim titó·qanm.**
You (who) have white children.
- 3 **kem² konyá kem konyá·yn ʔí·mke c'í·ɣce mamáy'acayn**
So be it with you as for those ones, I too am speaking for the children.
- 4 **wé·tes kí· ʔenekí·se piʔímce mamáy'ac**
I am thinking of this land for the growing children.
- 5 **kawá koná ʔí·nim wic'é·yuʔ wé·tes**
Only then will it become my land.
- 6 **ka· kon...konwac'á·n ʔí·m ʔewéwluqse wé·tes.**
And be it the same reason you are wanting land.
- 7 **mét'u ʔí·nkuʔ hé·xnim ʔí·nimkuʔ mamáy'ac**
But I too look after my children.
- 8 **wéwluqse qóʔc piʔímce mamáy'ac.**
I want it for those children yet coming,
- 9 **kál'a míne ʔewc'é·yuʔ wé·tes téw'yeniké·s**
just wherever there will be land to live by.
- 10 **konkí we hetéʔew wé·tes**
On account of that it is precious land,
- 11 **wé·t'u wəɣ ʔé· ʔiní·yuʔ.**
it will not be given to you.
- 12 **kuʔús ʔeten'wé·se wé·t'u we ʔiní·teʔs wé·tes**
I am speaking thusly--there is no land to be given.
- 13 **ʔimené só·yapo·na ʔilé·ɣni wé·s mamáy'ac**
Of the White people, they have many children.

2. It is possible that this phrase starts as kénm rather than kem. kénm is a 1 person plural question particle whereas kem is 2nd person singular relative particle.

- 14 **qó?c yoq'opí hitew'yeniktet'é·se waḡ hipi?imce mamáy'ac**
Yet they are going to be settling, raising children.
- 15 **yoq'opí wé·tesne pe·pi?imnú·se**
Of that land they are raising them.
- 16 **... kí· koná hitew'yeniktet'é·se mamáy'ac pi?ím**
And there the young children are going to be settling.
- 17 **hahácwal waḡ pipit'in' yoq'opí hipi?imnú·yu? wé·tes**
Young boys and girls they will grow of that land.
- 18 **koñyá·yn wé·s konkí wé·t'u ?é· ?iní·t'es so·ya·po·new'é·t.**
For that which I have, it can not in anyway be given to you.
- 19 **ku?ús ?eten'wé·se**
I am speaking thusly,
- 20 **“wé·t'u ?é· ?iní·yu?!”**
“I will not give it to you!”
- 21 **?é·te ?imu·né wéwluqsaqa.**
Surely, they desired theirs (to settle this land).
- 22 **mét'u c'awí·n ?é· hí·ce**
But in spite of this, I say to you,
- 23 **“wé·t'u ?é· ?iní·yu?!”**
“I will not give it to you!”
- 24 **ku?ús ?í·nim c'í·qin ?é·tḡ mic'yá·nim kí· c'í·qin**
Thus are my words, you hear this talk.
- 25 **ku?ús ?é· hí·ce.**
I say to you thusly.
- 26 **ku?ús ?í·n c'í·ḡcene q'o?.**
Clearly, I have talked similarly so (in the past).
- 27 **kawá ?é· hí·ce,**

Now then I am saying to you,

- 28 **“kex kawá ?í·n kine wá·qo? té·w·yece”**
 “Let it be then that I am now settling here.”
- 29 **“wá·qo? ?é· ?iní·ye pelqé·y wé·tes”**
 “Now you are given land on both sides.”
- 30 **“kí· kí·m’o·likam waḡ titá?c”**
 “These high mountains, each being good,”
- 31 **“ka· kí· wá·q’is ha·ní·x wé·tes”**
 “and this living created earth,
- 32 **“wé·t’u ?é· ?iní·t’es”**
 “it is not to be given to you.”
- 33 **“wé·t’u weqí·nu? wé·tes, lá·wtiwa·m.”**
 “I will not forsake the earth, my friend.”
- 34 **ku?ús ?eten’wé·se.**
 I am speaking thusly.
- 35 **?óykalam kí·nm ?eten’wé·se**
 Everyone is speaking in reference to this.
- 36 **ku?ús yóḡ tim’íne waḡ kex ku?ús yóq’o kí· cí·qce.**
 Such a matter being of the heart, let it be that I am speaking of it as well.
- 37 **ku?ús ?é· hí·ce lá·wtiwa·m.**
 Thus, I am saying to you, my friends.
- 38 **ku?ús kál’o?**
 That is all.

Oratory of Young Chief Joseph (1840-1904)

Full English Version

Yes, it is in this manner that I am speaking to you. You (who) have white children. So be it with you as for those ones, I too am speaking for the children. I am thinking of this land for the growing children. Only then will it become my land. And be it the same reason you are wanting land. But I too look after my children. I want it for those children yet coming, just wherever there will be land to live by. On account of that it is precious land, it will not be given to you. I am speaking thusly-- there is no land to be given. Of the White people, they have many children. Yet they are going to be settling, raising children. Of that land they are raising them. And there the young children are going to be settling. Young boys and girls they will grow of that land. For that which I have, it can not in anyway be given to you. I am speaking thusly, "I will not give it to you!" Surely, they desired theirs (to settle this land). But in spite of this, I say to you, "I will not give it to you!" Thus are my words, you hear this talk. I say to you thusly. Clearly, I have talked similarly so (in the past). Now then I am saying to you, "Let it be then that I am now settling here." "Now you are given land on both sides." "These high mountains, each being good, and this living created earth, it is not to be given to you." "I will not forsake the earth, my friend." I am speaking thusly. Everyone is speaking in reference to this. Such a

matter being of the heart, let it be that I am speaking of it as well. Thus, I am saying to you, my friends. That is all.

CHAPTER 3

Joseph Red Thunder Hic'í·qce

Commemorative Speech of August 6, 1989
at the Big Hole National Battlefield, Montana³

(ritual handbell rings: opening)

1.0

tá·qc	nú·nim...	hé·tewit
táaqc	núun-nim	hétewi-t
now/soon	1sg.pl-gen	to.value-n
today	our	affection/love

kenm	ke	pá·ynin	wisí·x	nú·nim	wé·tes
ke-nm	ke	páayn-in	wee-s-iik	núun-nim	wéetes
rel-inc	rel	arrive-asp	be-imperf-pl.nom	1sg.pl-gen	land
when we	which	arriving	we are	our	land

Today, it is with our affection that we are arriving in our land.

3. This public speech was given by Colville Nez Perce tribal member *cá?yaw* Joseph Red Thunder at the annual Nez Perce observance commemorating events stemming from the Nez Perce War of 1877 at the Big Hole National Battlefield, Montana. The speech event is from a video recording that was in the possession of (and possibly made by) the Red Heart Family of Ciwíkte, Idaho. My aunt *cá?yaw* Audrey Red Heart, a fluent Nez Perce speaker, suggested that I “study and learn” from Joseph Red Thunder’s speech.

2.0

ke	koním	nú·nim	(titilú·qicqce)⁴
ke	kon-nim	núun-nim	titíluu-qíicq-s-ee
rel	that-gen	1sg.pl-gen	big/old-to.take.care.of-imperf-pst
which	of that	our	(ancestral heritage)

hipewc'é·ye	tim'né·nekt
hi-pe-wic'ée-ee	tim'íne-nekí-t
3nom-pl.nom-become-pst	heart-to.think-n
they became	worried

Of that which was our (ancestral heritage), they became worried.

3.0

koná	kíye	namá·talapo·sacix⁵
ko-ney	kíye	nemée-talapóosa-s-iik
that-loc	1sg.pl.inc	1pl.refl-to.worship/pray-imperf-pl.nom
there	we/us	we are worshipping ourselves

kínmetla⁶	páaynin'	wisí·x	kiné·px
kíi-nm-met-la	páayn-in	wee-s-iik	kíi-ney-px
this-gen-dem-acc	arrive-asp	be-imperf-pl.nom	this-loc-all
of this here	arrived	we are	hither/to this place

We are worshipping (for) ourselves--of this here--having arrived to this place.

4. This expression is nearly inaudible and requires further inquiry. Nez Perce speaker Eugene Wilson has offered that Mr. Redthunder may be expressing or making reference to 'warmth'.

5. This construction, including my free translation, is problematic. This is due to the 1pl.refl argument that is being represented here.

6. The inflection (-la) is heard here. I believe that this may be an Accusative marker, a dialectical variant of the Upper River Nez Perce (-na).

4.0

hé·tewise	kíye	nú·nim	ḫelé·leyn
héetewi-s-ee	kíye	núun-nim	ḫeléeley-n
to.value-imperf-pst	1sg.pl.inc	1sg.pl-gen	to.work-n
value it	we/us	our work	

ke	hitḫsáwksa	nú·nim	c'íiqin
ke	hi-tex-sáw-k-s-ee	núun-nim	c'íiqin
rel	3nom-shoot-be.silent-st-imperf-pst	1sg.pl-gen	talking/word
which	it echos	our	speech

ku·stí·te	wa·nptá·yn...	(?)⁷
ku·ús-tíite	we·inipí-(t)-éey-n	
thus-same	with.mouth-sieze-ben-n	
the same as	song	

(It is of) value to us, our work that which echos in our words, in the same way, our songs...(?).

5.0

ʔú·yepku	we	ʔé·te
ʔúyepku	wee	ʔéete
naturally	is	surely
naturally	is	surely

ʔiméem	hí·mte·ktoqsene	kínye	ḫelé·leyn
ʔiim-mee-m	híimte·k-toq-s-eeen-ee	kín-ye	ḫeléeley-n
2sg-pl-gen	to.teach/show-back-imperf-sg.nom-pst	this-obj	to.work-n
theirs	shown back	this	work

Naturally, it is theirs shown back (to them) with this work⁸.

7. This segment is inaudible.

8. This proposed free translation will need to be verified.

6.0

kúʔus	kí·	ʔéete	tito·qaná·wit
kú·us	kíi	ʔéete	titóoqa-néewit
thus	this	indeed	person/people-custon
thus	this	indeed	Indian custom

Thus, it is indeed the Indian way.

7.0

koná	pí·qepsqepsné·wit	nú·n	ʔinéhnecix
kon-ney	píi-qepsqéps-néewit	núun	ʔinéhne-s-iik
that-loc	recip-strong-custom	1sg.pl	to.take-imperf-pl.nom
there	strength in one's self	we	are taking

There we are taking strength in ourselves,

7.1

kú·s	ke	laʔám	ʔisíi	lé·pt	wé·tes
kúu-s	ke	la·ám	ʔisíi	léep-t	wéetes
to.do-imperf	rel	all	someone	to.hold-n	earth
you have done	which	all	someone	held	earth

as all of you whom are held in the earth have done.

8.0

ʔiné·k'u	ke	néxsep	talapó·sa
ʔinéek'u	ke	néxsep	talapóosa
although	which	different	to worship
although	which	different	to worship

Even that which is a different worship (is doing the same).

9.0

qetu	ka·	yóx	kí·	hiláwtimsa
qetu	kaa	yooq	kíi	hi-láw-tím-s-ee
somewhat	and	that	this	3nom-aimlessly-to.speak-imperf-pst
somewhat	and	that	this	it is just talk

It is more than just talk.

10.0

yóx	kúʔus	ke	kiwáyl	ʔí·nim	né·kt	tamá·payks
yooq	kúʔus	ke	kíi-wayl	ʔiin-nim	néeki-t	tamáapayk-s
that	thus	which	this-length.of	1sg-gen	to.think-n	to.tell-imperf
that	thus	which	this much	mine	thought	I tell

Thus, this much of my own thought I tell.

Joseph Red Thunder now speaking in English.

“This day brings us together, gives me liberty and honor to be here, the place where the conflict occurred. Our forefathers paid their life. Therefore, understanding our traditional tribute we have, understanding in our ritual ways. And we thank all you folks that could be present to witness this very important moment. Thank you.”

(ritual handbell rings: closing)

CHAPTER 4

Speech of Cayuse Chief Jesse Jones at the Celilo Village Longhouse (OR), March 2006

(Ritual hand bell rings: opening)

(Chief Jesse Jones is speaking in the Lower River Nez Perce dialect)

- 1 **hé·nek'e qeʔciyéw'yew' himyú·me láwtiwaaním**
Again I am glad (to be here) my relatives and friends
- 2 **kál'o táʔc šo·ya·po·tímtki hic'í·qin kál'a kí· mé·ywípe**
All will be spoken well with English just on this morning.
- 3 **ka· mí·w'ecpe titó·qan ʔecú·kwece Cayuse·pu· nu·mí·pu·nim**
And momentarily people who know of the Cayuse people's Nez Perce (language).

(Chief Jesse Jones is now speaking English)

“It’s a great honor to be here today. Glad that all of you people are here to witness this ceremony. You see this stuff out here (*gesturing towards floor*). I want to thank all the family members for backing this young man. Going to receive his big warbonnet today “**tá·qmat** (*hat*).” Like it was said, it started at Rock Creek. 1940 it was handed down, it had been in the family for a long time. The outfit...the warbonnet was well taken care of. Was made by a family member...knowing that would be in the family. They didn't have a subchief here, subchief at that time in the 40's. Howard took that

position. Served his people, served his community with high esteem. This is where all you young people you come in (*gesturing to audience*). You're from that tree, of your elders along the river here. You too will stand along this river. Breathe the fresh air. What's left of the river will talk to you. It'll tell you a history. You listen. The pine trees over here by the park, they will talk and you listen. Something up above will wash down. You accept all of that, you believe in that. Because the old people did. Many times Howard told me he stood and listened to the river. The river foretold, told him that it was gonnabe vanished someday--the falls. As I said earlier, that's all we got today--the pictures (*gesturing to the far wall*). The elders that have taken part, you have that in your heart, those long memories. That you will never forget. Some of you might have experienced fishing out here on the river. The water gives you fresh air, has life in it. Celilo at one time was more than people than their families from that river. They cherished the salmon, they worshipped the salmon. People made a good living here long time ago. People stayed here all summer, all of the year then went back. Took their family's wives out to pick huckleberries. The land gives us roots that we strive by. So when you look, when you are asked to go dig roots, You are feeding yourselves, you are giving yourselves structure, strong body. You don't go to McDonalds or any fast food. Too many of us today do that. Got to stop at McDonalds! My partner wanted to stop at McDonalds out of Winslow, Arizona. But I come on. Wanted to spend that fives dollars burning a hole in her pocket. But I come

on down, I want to eat some dry, dried meat, dried salmon, eels. Learn all that stuff you young children. Learn from your elders how to take care of the salmon, take care of the eels, your roots, dry meat. A delicacy today--dry meat. This young man--you're a witness to this today. Taking the big warbonnet, a big responsibility, big shoes to fill--Tommy Henry Thompson. Now Olsen Meanus Jr. Everybody give him a hand (*applause*). You are here, you're witnessing this, this ceremony today. He's got a big responsibility, he's got to be a good listener. You got a problem, you come and you talk to him or you talk to your elders. You listen. Don't let it go in this ear and come out fast the other side. Because it happens all the time. I heard a little boy bout the size of this little girl right here--a **šo·yá·po·** boy--white boy, use the Lord's name in vain to his mother, SOB'ed her. Use a four-letter word, "I don't have to do that." Nothing she could do. We'd done that a long time ago we'd been pickin' ourselves up in the corner, two weeks time we'd be comin' out of that corner. We would have got back handed, got whipped. Tell you a story a long time ago. Had a whipman on our reservation--Louis Longhair, Billy Josua, Johnson Chapman. **ʔí·** ...those guys, you could tell by just the way they sat on the horse or they way the horse travelled. Oh, Johnson, **ʔí·** just happy to see Johnson. I runnin' out there, took care of his horse, fed it, give him grain. My partner and I, Tush...Tush Selam, y'all know Tush don'tya. Many times we'd been whipped ya know, we shoulda been a...preachers or something, ya know. Should have been standing at the pulpit, ya know. Told my

mother, “I want to be a whipman.” **ʔi** my grandmother she’d put a blanket out like this. And a belt bag, beaded belt...**ʔi**, she’d give us all that good stuff? **ʔé·hne**, they’d pull me down and get whipped. I was a good boy but ya know (*audience laughter*). My sister took care of me. But anyway that’s what it used to be long time ago. That’s one of those beautiful moments, ya know. But anyway, this young man’s taking this warbonnet, big shoes to fill to represent this village here. As I said, I don’t come here as a stranger, I come here as a relative. And I am very glad that all of you people are here to witness this ceremony today. And may God bless each and every one of ya.”

(Chief Jesse Jones is speaking in the Lower River Nez Perce dialect)

yó·q’o kál’o.

That is all.

(Ritual hand bell rings: closing)

ʔá·yy (audience response in unison)

CHAPTER 5

Kuʔús Hic'í·x̣ce Tipiyeléhne Cimú·xcimux

Oratory of Black Eagle (Josiah Blackeagle Pinkham)

In honor of the Young Nez Perce Buffalo Hunters

26 March 2006, Lapwai, Idaho

(cáʔyaw Horace Axtell is speaking)

- 1 **wá·qoʔ Tipiyeléhne Cimú·xcimux hic'í·qce.**
Now Black Eagle he is speaking.

(Tipiyeléhne Cimú·xcimux is speaking)

- 2 **qeʔciyew'yew'níx,**
Truly grateful,

(cáʔyaw Horace Axtell rings ritual handbell: opening)

nú·nim tamá·lwit.
(for) our Creator's law.

- 4 **kí· há·wtnin' lé·heyn,**
This sacred day,

kíye timí·pn'isi·x nú·nim heteʔwníx hípt, nú·nim qoq'á·ḷx.
we are remembering our precious food, our buffalo.

- 5 **kaa kíye timí·pn'isi·x nú·nim tukelixnew'é·t.**
And we are remembering our hunters.

- 6 **kaa qeʔciyé·w'yew' nú·nim hetéʔew tamá·lwit.**
And (we) are grateful/thankful for our sacred law that watches over us.

- 7 **qeʔciyé·w'yew' tim'né·pxkin'iskey.**
From our hearts we are truly grateful.

- 8 **kaa míl'ac so·ya·po·tímtki kínki lé·heyki.**
And with just a few words in the Whiteman's language this day.

(Tipiyeléhne Cimú·xcimux is speaking in English)

“Today we remember our law, our way. The way that was placed here for us. To be who we are. And we remember those animal people that long ago stepped forth to give of themselves for the people to live. And we remember the sacrifices that our hunters--back then and today--have made in order to put these sacred foods before us. It is true indeed they are medicine for our body, our mind, and our spirit. For this we are thankful this day.”

(Tipiyeléhne Cimú·xcimux is speaking in Ni·mi·pu·tímt)

qeʔciyé·w'yew'.
Thank you.

(cáʔyaw Horace Axtell rings ritual handbell: closing)

ʔá·yy
(Audience response in unison)

CHAPTER 6

Documenting Language, Visualizing Culture: Shooting Digital Video in Two Endangered Language Communities⁹

Introduction

This paper is part of an ongoing ethnographic documentary study on how present-day speakers of Nez Perce and Sahaptin utilize the linguistic practices of their speech communities at a time when their ancestral languages are severely constrained by language endangerment and language shift. It adopts the contemporary concerns of documentary linguistics to understand how utterances are utilized as linguistic resources in public ritual oratory. As a macro-analytic study, it accounts for 1) the range of multilingualism in public settings, 2) how communicative codes are organized in interaction, and 3) the nature and extent to which oratory becomes meaningful in the life of Indigenous peoples.

To establish the basis for such accounts, I employ a filmic-based approach, herein termed “situated visual analysis,” whereby I record and document oratorical

9. This chapter originally appeared in the Austin, Peter K., Oliver Bond, and David Nathan (Eds.). 2007. *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation & Linguistic Theory*, 7-8 December 2007, SOAS London. University of London: School of Oriental and African Studies. UK.

speech forms using digital video. My unit of analysis is the “ritual oratory” performance given by Nez Perce and Sahaptin traditionalists in strictly localized contexts. Because of their high visibility as discursive phenomena, ritual oratory are informative precisely in the way they operate across multilingual and intercultural social domains. Further, ritual oratory events are often multimodal in character and as such they are ideally suited for observational study using digital video technologies.

Audio-Visual Representations as Language Data

The use of film or digital video in language documentation is not new as it seems. Linguists have steadily adopted this medium as a way to capture and understand the complexities of spoken or gesture-based language samples. Thus, filmic-based methods and analyses can be described in at least two instances.

2.1 *Instrumental Visual Analysis*. Instrumental linguistic techniques and methods are typically designed as experimental observations. Time-aligned audio-visual representations derived from film or digital video tend to be treated in much the same way as audio recordings and photos. That is, such representations have measurability as data and are unambiguous in the sense that linguists can make descriptive claims about the range of possible human languages (Ladefoged 2003). In many cases, instrumental visual analyses attempt to visually record the articulatory

behavior of the human vocal apparatus. In general, however, audio-visual representations exhibit measurability limitations in this mode of analysis and it is for these reasons that linguists often choose to rely almost exclusively on recorded audio samples for their data. In the present study no instrumental visual analyses were conducted.

Situated Visual Analysis

Situated visual analyses promote linguistic inquiry into the locally situated contexts of real-world language use. The primary element of concern is the skills speakers bring into a communicative situation. In terms of basic data analysis, it strives to account for the “communicative act” or those observable forms of talk that are “generally coterminous with a single interactional function” (Saville-Troike 2003:24). Thus, the goals of situated visual analyses are simply to visually capture the complexity and range of communicative acts.

Three important criteria are proposed in this analysis. First, recording activities must be “observational” to the extent that they record direct representations of naturalistic language use. In other words, there is an empirical concern as to how talk becomes differentiated across varying domains of interaction. Second, recording activities are non-interventionist in orientation. The use of the camera seeks to preserve the “distinctive spatial and temporal configurations

(MacDougall 1994:31)” which emerge over the course of a communicative situation.

Third, film-makers must be able to self-monitor their recording activities based on an ethical recognition of the unfolding nature of real-world language use. That is, respect for the dignity and aspirations of community participants is observed at all times during the film-making process. The motivations for these criteria are to inform our use of filmic-based methods within the framework of contemporary ethnographic/linguistic documentation as well as to dispel some of the uncertainty surrounding the use of film as a representational medium.

Filming in the Nez Perce and Sahaptin Communities

Permission to film was granted in four speech communities (Nez Perce Reservation, Umatilla Indian Reservation, Celilo Village, and Yakama Nation). While a number of participants/consultants were filmed in varying contexts and situations, a limited number of recording events exhibited reoccurring subject matter containing naturalistic language use. This reoccurrent subject matter tended to depict ceremonial events and activities in locations referred to as “the longhouse,” a public ceremonial center common to most Nez Perce and Sahaptin communities. It was here that the organizing features of ritual oratory first became apparent. However, much of this analysis would not have been possible without having been granted privileged access to locations on the basis of my being recognized as a member of the

societies under study. No where was this more apparent than when I was obligated to surrender my participant-observer role for that of a ritual orator. A moment of fidelity that was captured on film by my own camera!

The Status of Nez Perce and Sahaptin Language Endangerment

The Sahaptian speech community is composed of two genetically related languages, Nez Perce (Nu·mí·pu·) and Sahaptin (’Ičičkín), both of which are located in the southern Columbia Plateau of western North America. Each of these languages and their associated dialects are spoken in five distinct American Indian reservation communities in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Nez Perce is composed of two dialects (Upper River and Lower River dialects), the majority of which speak the Upper River Nez Perce dialect. Sahaptin is composed of 15 dialects and is organized by three geographic divisions in the Columbia River region.

Currently, Nez Perce and Sahaptin and their associated dialects are severely endangered. A preliminary estimate on the number of fluent speakers show 30 (less than 1% of pop.) speakers for Nez Perce and 250 (1.5% of pop.) speakers for Sahaptin. Thus, only 1-1.5% of the total Nez Perce and Sahaptin population are fluent in their first language, the majority of whom are above 60 yrs of age.

In spite of severely limited resources, present-day tribal language maintenance and revitalization programs are actively promoting ways to increase

the number of heritage speakers, speaker fluency, and heritage language awareness. Language immersion is currently the most common form of language teaching in these communities but it has yet to become a sustainable pedagogical practice across all age groups.

Multilingualism in the Southern Columbia Plateau

Multilingual societies are composed from the coexistence of two or more languages or dialects. The documentary problem to be addressed here is found in Mühlhäuser (1996:323), “Knowledge has to be obtained as to what sustained traditional multilingualism and how much of the traditional support system is still in place.”

Thus, from ancient times into the historical period, Nez Perce and Sahaptin speech communities exhibited a stable traditional multilingualism with a strong homogenous sociocultural underlayer. As reported in the literature for this region, prestige is ascribed to multilingual individuals who exhibit communicative competence in more than one language variety (Spicer quoted in Thomason 2001:28). Based on consultant interviews, multilingual individuals are also remembered as communicating in a closed situational repertoire among intimates or kinsman and communicating in another repertoire in other settings. However, in ritual settings (evident from early recordings), multilingual abilities were often put on display to

multilingual audiences. We can thus claim the following knowledge regarding the existence of multilingualism in Nez Perce and Sahaptin speech communities based upon at least two factors, these are i) prestige in possessing plurilingual competence in multiple languages, and ii) maintenance of intergroup solidarity.

Today, the traditional multilingualism of the past has been more or less replaced by a modern destabilized form, one that is punctuated by an incipient shift to English and a gradual weakened state of language use. Notably, however, elements of traditional multilingualism continue to persist as a form of praxis in ritual oratory.

Consider the opening lines of a ritual oratory given to a mostly Sahaptin multilingual audience at the longhouse of Celilo Village, Oregon.

*Cayuse Chief Jesse Jones, March 2006
Speaking in the Lower River Nez Perce dialect*

- 1 (inaudible)...**hé·nek'e qeʔciyéw'yew' himyú·me láwtiwa·nim.
kál'o táʔc šo·ya·po·tímtki hic'í·qin kál'a kí· mé·ywipe. ka·
mí·w'ecpe titó·qan ʔecú·kwece Cayuse-pu· nu·mí·pu·nim.**

“...Again I am glad (to be here) my relatives and friends. All will be spoken well with English just on this morning.”

(Speaker now shifts to English)



Fig. 1 Scene of Cayuse Chief Jesse Jones giving ritual oratory.

It is clearly evident from the above passage that the facets of social identity has its partial origin in an older traditional multilingual society. Attendance to the parameters of linguistic variation demonstrate a deliberate orientation to interactional opportunities. The unintended consequence of this orientation to variation is that English is now accomodated as alternative interlingual code despite its non-Indigenous status. Nevertheless, we can begin to see how utterances are mobilized as interactional resources and that their employment, in this instance, can have real world effects on modes of social organization (Agha 2007).

Ritual Oratory in the Longhouse Tradition

Ritual oratory are aesthetically marked episodes of communication that are meaningfully oriented to an audience. Among Nez Perce and Sahaptin speaking peoples, ritual oratorical performances are commonly public occurrences though often restricted to localized contexts and place. They are generally recognized as a participant-linked speech event which can be distinguished from ordinary discourse by its stereotypic performative force. The most highly regarded ritual oratory are those spoken in the longhouse, a community ceremonial center.

An oratory is set apart from ordinary discourse by a set of contextualization cues. These cues take the form of auditory signals given by a “bell ringer,” a ritual specialist who organizes the order of events over the course of a ceremony. These signals serve to mark the boundaries of social action such as the opening and closing of a particular segment of discourse or performance (see Fig. 2).

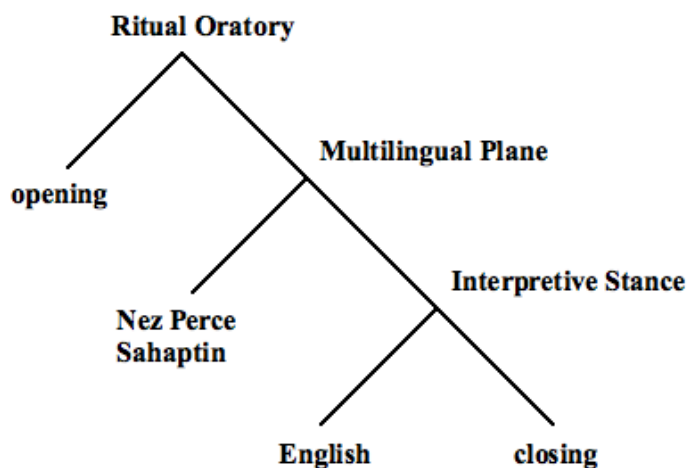


Fig. 2 Structure of Ritual Oratory

In addition to the opening and closing of an oratory sequence, it includes i) a multilingual plane where a speaker chooses a Indigenous code to speak in and ii) an interpretive stance where a speaker has the option of interpreting his or her speech or to make a commentary using English. Based upon our sample, the structure of ritual oratory is revealing in that it makes transparent an “order of indexicality” whereby the use of linguistic resources are stratified according to cultural preferences and abilities (Blommaert 2005:73).

ORDER OF INDEXICALITY

(1) Indigenous Code > (2) Indigenous Code & Interpretive Stance > (3) Non-Indigenous Code as Interpretive Stance

Authentic ritual oratory are those that are expressed wholly in the Indigenous code or as an oratory composed of an Indigenous code accompanied by an interpretive stance in English. On one occasion, I was seated next to a respected elder during the meal break of a ceremony. As the meal progressed, various members of the longhouse got up to speak. Some spoke in the Indigenous language but many spoke only in English. Upon hearing a person speaking in English the elder--who clearly identified herself as a receiver of the oratory performance--remarked to no one in particular, "They should be talking in our language!" In other community longhouses, I witnessed similar ritual oratory given only in English.

It is evident that English-based ritual oratory is not as highly valued when compared to those spoken in the Indigenous language(s). Valuing traditional oratorical forms may be partly a response to the notion that human experiences, especially deep spiritual experiences, are directly linked to the ways in which they have been habitually conceptualized and encoded through language. As many fluent speakers can attest to, older ways of thinking are often embedded in older ways of speaking. It is precisely these "ways of speaking" that make ethnographic/language documentation so vital to understanding how the content of culture is transmitted in the minds of each new generation.

Conclusion

In this study, we have documented contemporary forms of public ritual oratory. It utilizes an empirically informed “situated visual analysis” to draw attention to the convergence of filmic-based documentary methods and sites of research. These considerations have been largely inclusive of the current impacts of language shift and how such a process can critically inform community and disciplinary concerns over language endangerment. Thus, when we begin to account for the materiality of language and its larger role in human communicative behavior (McConvell 2003, Hill 2006, Woodbury 2003), we are essentially claiming that the myriad “ways of speaking” are also sites of struggle in the distribution of semiotic resources. The documentary evidence is undeniable in this regard. At the outset of this project, the contribution of ritual oratory to language documentation is one that points to an enriched and deepening understanding of language as “organizations of diversity” (Hill 2006) in which I as linguist and tribal member can count my own membership.

CHAPTER 7

Contingent Codes: Ritual Interactions in the Columbia Plateau Longhouse¹⁰

Introduction

Like many Indigenous communities throughout the world, language shift and language endangerment are transforming the current conditions for heritage language survival in the southern Columbia Plateau of western North America. The intergenerational transmission of the Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin languages are being replaced by a dramatic shift to English. Under these conditions, heritage language use is becoming restricted to traditional ritual contexts. Due to the ongoing vibrancy of traditional life in the southern Columbia Plateau community awareness of language shift and its impact on heritage language use is intensifying. The aim of this chapter is to show how this awareness has transformed into an articulated set of linguistic practices herein termed Endangered Language Management (ELM). Endangered Language Management (ELM) practices in traditional settings are formed with two communicative goals in mind, 1) to ensure the efficacy of ritual practice and

10. This chapter was originally presented in the AAA Presidential Session: “Advancing Indigenous Scholarship in Anthropology Through Language and Culture Revitalization Research and Community Engagement: Creating a Better Kind of Anthropology.” American Anthropological Society Conference, San Francisco, CA 2008.

ritual communication in the face of endangerment, and 2) to limit or otherwise restrict the use of English as a code of communication.

The gradual introduction of English into the ritual sphere is a result of three time related factors, 1) the loss of an older generation of fluent, multilingual speakers, 2) a shift from a traditional multilingual language ecology to one of subtractive bilingualism where learning English has interfered with heritage language maintenance, and 3) a dramatic increase of English monolingual speakers in the tribal population. The emergent effect of these combined factors is that English is now being heard in the traditional ritual sphere where it has not been heard before.

Thus, community responses to the introduction of English into the ritual sphere provides us with an important opportunity to discover how communicative transmission processes are successively rendered when the linguistic resources of the community are severely constrained by endangerment.

Talk in the Plateau Longhouse

Currently, there are 12 active Longhouses in the southern Columbia Plateau. Each Longhouse serves as a center for traditional ceremonial life. The major ceremonials include the “First Foods” ceremony, the Salmon Feast, the Huckleberry Feast, Winter Solstice or Indian New Year ceremonial observance, Traditional

Naming ceremonies, Funerals and Death Rites, and a Memorial of a Venerated Ancestor.

All ritual activities within the Plateau Longhouse have the potential for multilingual behavior due to the active participation of linguistically diverse speech communities who share in the Plateau Longhouse belief system. In fact, many participants actively identify individual and group multilingualism as a linguistic resource for one's identity. However, many Plateau Longhouses are now diglossic in orientation due to the current ongoing impacts of language shift. The current trajectory of change in the language ecology is one from a strong multilingual language economy to a diglossic one where there is a complementary distribution between Indigenous and non-Indigenous codes.

The linguistic practices within the Plateau Longhouse are differentiated by three characteristics, these are 1) their spatial distribution, 2) their temporal-based action sequences, and 3) their participant structure. The first two elements are meaningful in actualizing the overall ritual forms found in the Plateau Longhouse.

The *spatial distribution of talk* consists of orientations to sacred space. All ritual interactions, including the ritual spaces in which they are found to occur, are oriented to the sun's path along an east-to-west incline.

Temporal-based action sequences are multimodal episodes of communication where symbolic ritual content are sequentially enacted through a paired Sender/

Receiver communicative behavior.

The third element is particularly meaningful to this analysis. *Participant structures* are primarily composed of group communicative interactions. These group interactions consist of a “mutual orientation to signs and messages” (Agha 2007:69) wherein the transmission of ritual content is transacted over the course of a ritual. This mutual orientation by ritual participants is based on the principle that anyone who participates in the Plateau Longhouse rituals “accepts the idea, at least implicitly, that his or her patterned behavior is symbolically meaningful and effective” (Rothenbuhler 1998:26).

Data

The following data is presented to show speaker responses to code contingency and the emergence of Endangered Language Management (ELM).

- (1) Traditional Cayuse Chief
(Speaking in the Lower River Nez Perce dialect)

1 ...hé·neke qeʔciyéw'yew' himyú·me lá·wtiwanim
...again I am glad (to be here) my relatives and friends

2 kál'o táʔc šo·yá·po·timtki hi'í·qin kál'a kí· mé·ywipe
All will be spoken well with English as of this morning.

3 ka· mí·wecpe titó·qan ʔecú·kwece Cayuse·pu· nu·mí·pu·nim
And momentarily (for) people who know the Cayuse/Nez Perce people's

(language).

(Codes Switches from Lower River Nez Perce to English)

In (1), the speaker expresses a common communicative virtue by acknowledging the strong multilingual diversity in these settings. However, such an orientation is a “world-to-word” (Searle 1976) fit (i.e. adjusting one's talk to one's environment) whereby the discursive features of talk are mapped to emergent social realities. In this instance, the contingency of English is accommodated and later enregistered via code-switching as a performative ritual oratory.

(2) Traditionalist Columbia River Sahaptin speaker
(Speaking in English)

“I’m going to talk in our language for awhile in order to make it legal, the Indian Name Giving. Ya’know I talk our language down coast (to) people that don’t understand our language. They wanted to be the name. Help that name of a person down there. But I told them I couldn’t do it til I talked in our own language. Cuz its proper for our people regardless of whether they understanding or not. But that has been the law in this world, in our Indian Names. You can’t overlook, especially an old name like this one. It has to be presented in the right way.”

(Code-switches from English to Columbia River Sahaptin language)

In (2), while the contingency of English is operative here, it is operative only in the sense of a metasemiotic process. That is, as a behavioral sign, English is

consciously managed as a partial, non-normative code. Here, the discursive features of talk are organized as a “word-to-world” (Searle 1976) fit (i.e. adjusting one's talk to cultural modes of action) whereby enregisterment (i.e. formalizing forms of language use) is successfully rendered through a normative code choice.

Discussion

A general theory of code choice as developed here may be able to make predictions on the status of endangerment when contingencies exist within a speech community. The range of language use between accommodation and resistance is revealed in the way code choices are linked directly to their transformative modes of behavior. Thus, Endangered Language Management (ELM) practices are centered on the virtues of enregisterment, transmission, and ritual enactment. Otherwise diglossic behavior becomes recognizable only as a form of subtractive bilingualism.

Conclusion

Endangered Language Management (ELM) is an emergent form of enregisterment whereby “diverse behavioral signs are functionally reanalyzed as cultural models of action” (Agha 2007:55). The current reanalysis of behavioral signs by speakers of endangered languages is an overt attempt to address the contingency and eruption of non-Indigenous codes in the wake of language shift. In doing so,

traditional practitioners are manifesting a form of purism not built on difference but enacted as a linguistic ideology that evokes the “idealized ritual person.” (Geertz 1990:329). Thus, the basis for power in the Plateau Longhouse tradition is not to simply take actions that are desired by others but it is one where codes are expertly managed as a means of ensuring their originating transformative capacity and continuity in the face of change.

SECTION II
ORAL NARRATIVES

CHAPTER 8

Ni·mí·pu· Oral Narratives from Lapwai Idaho

These oral texts represent a linguistic analysis of the field notes of Herbert J. Spinden. H. J. Spinden (1879-1967) was among the first ethnographers to conduct a systematic field study of the Nez Perce, a Sahaptian-speaking group inhabiting the Columbia Plateau region of western North America. He conducted fieldwork on the Nez Perce Indian Reservation of Idaho beginning in 1907 under the auspices of the Peabody Museum at Harvard and, again in 1908 at the direction of the American Museum of Natural History. The result of his visits culminated in the publication of *The Nez Perce Indians* (Spinden 1908a) and *Myths of the Nez Perce Indians* (Spinden 1908b).

Source material for this project is derived from a copy of an original field notebook that is presently a part of the Herbert J. Spinden Papers of the Peabody Museum Archives. The field notebook is identified as, “Nez Perce – 1907, Lapwai Idaho,” on the cover. All of the entries are handwritten and are comprised of two forms: inter-linear texts in Nez Perce with English glosses and English only texts. Spinden (1908b:13) states in his publication of Nez Perce myths that he elicited all of these oral texts from a Nez Perce consultant identified as Jonas Hayes, however, his

name does not appear in the field notebook.

A brief review of the subject headings shows a minimum of seventeen titled entries. These are listed as follows:

Nez Perce – 1907, Lapwai Idaho

Creation Story	(no title) aka “Half-Leg”
Kamiah Monster	Grizzly Bear
How the People Learned to Dream	Names
etc. in the old time	When Horses First Came
Marriage	Wiaqunt
The Cloud, a medicine song	Fire
First Medicine Man	Ghost Wolf Song
Burial	Beaver Story
Coyote and Fox	How the Salmon Got Over the Falls

For purposes of this project, only those oral texts with accompanying Nez Perce linguistic transcriptions were selected for analysis. Each oral text is retranscribed and put into interlinear format using the standard orthographic conventions developed by Aoki (1970, 1994) and Rude (1985). For comparative purposes, each text line is accompanied by their original Nez Perce transcription and literal English gloss as represented by Spinden. Following these initial two lines are 1) the phonemic transcription, 2) the underlying forms of the morphemes, 3) the paradigmatic glosses of the morphemes, 4) the direct word glosses, and 5) the free translation.

The majority of the oral texts presented here were reviewed in consultation with Eugene B. Wilson, a well known fluent Nez Perce speaker of the Upriver dialect. I am most grateful for his invaluable assistance. Eugene's keen insight into the world of the Nez Perce language contributed greatly towards the completion of this project. Naturally, any errors in transcription and translation are entirely my own.

Creation Story

01.1

Itsē'yehě hīwāke mēyoqot
he was a coyote, he was a chief

ʔiceyé·ye	hiwé·ke	miyó·ḡat
ʔiceyé·ye	hi-wé·k-e	miyó·ḡat
coyote	3nom-be-pst	chief of the (animals)
coyote	he was	chief of the (animals)

Coyote was chief of the animals.

02.1

kaūa' hīnāstīne ki
now he told them that

kawá	hiné·scine	kí·
kawá	hi-né·s-hí-cine	kí·
then	3nom-pl.obj-say/tell-imperf.pl.nom.pst	this
then	he was telling them	this

Now, he was telling them this,

02.2

tītōkan kīntem nētītēlwit hīwexhīen
one tribe/people (close) coming all kinds of tribes/people coming.

titó·qan	kí·mtem'	netí·telwit	hiwéhyem
titó·qan	kí·mtem'	netí·telwit	hi-wéhye-m
a person	a short distance away	human being/people	3nom-to come-cisl
people	a short distance away	human race	is coming

“People (are) a short distance away, the human race is coming!”

03.1

yō'kopi ō'yikana ikūitīn atsā'āna
that there all of them all his talk came honest

yoq'opí	ʔóykana	ʔikú·y·tim	ʔá·tsana
yoq'opí	ʔóykala	ʔiku-y-tim	ʔá-t-sana
that very	all	true-say	to go out-imperf.sg.nom.pst
that very	all	true talk	came out

All that (he had said) came out as true words.

04.1

kawá hīn(ä)esne wā'ko
then he told them to be at a distance

kawá	hīné·sne	wá·qoʔ
kawá	hi-né-s-hí-(n)e	wá·qoʔ
then	3nom-pl.obj-say/tell-pst	now
then	he told them	now

then he told them, “now,

04.2

wātīs hipaino wātēskinīq hāāto tītōkan
tomorrow they'll come out of the ground out of the people

watíisx	hipá·ynoʔ	wé·teskin'ix	haʔátoʔ	titó·qan
watíisk	hi-pá-y-(n)uʔ	wé-tes-kin'ik	hi-ʔá-t-uʔ	titó·qan
tomorrow	3nom-to arrive-fut	land-abl	3nom-go out-fut	people
tomorrow	he will come	from the earth	it will go out	people

tomorrow, people will come and (they) will migrate out from the earth!”

05.1

kūnkī wáko kīye tsāā'tsix
for that reason I will (look out something is name coming) time

konkí	wá·qo?	kíye	c'a?ácix
konkí	wá·qo?	kíye	c'a?á-cix
with that	now	1pl	come about of a designated time-imperf.pl.nom
with that	now	we/us	their coming about at a designated time

“For that reason, we can expect their coming about

05.2

ka kīye pīpoqnū
and they will scatter

ka·	kíye	pí·puḡnu?
ka·	kíye	pí-puk-nu?
and	1pl	recip-separate after meeting-fut
and	we/us	will separate ourselves after meeting

and we will separate ourselves after meeting!”

06.1

kūnkī hīněšwěnikē
for that reason he named them

konkí	híné·swe?nike
konkí	hi-né-s-we-?inikí-e
with that	3nom-pl.obj-with mouth-to place-pst
with that	he named them

With that he named them.

07.1

kaua hīnešwēnikē
then he named them

kawá hīné·sweʔnike

kawá hi-né·s-we-ʔinikí-e
then 3nom-pl.obj-with mouth-to place-pst
then he named them

Then he named them,

07.2

wako hiněswenike lāōm'p
finished he named all

wá·qoʔ	hīné·sweʔnike	laʔám
wá·qoʔ	hi-né·s-we-ʔinikí-e	laʔám
now	3nom-pl.obj-with mouth-to place-pst	all
now	he named them	all

until he named them all.

08.1

kaua' titokan hāā'ta
then the people came out

kawá titó·qan	haʔáta
kawá titó·qan	hi-ʔá·t-e
then a person	3nom-to go out-pst
then people	it came out

Then people came out

08.2

ka tsaiya weniqt ĩpnim'
and no name his

ka·	caʔya	weʔní·kt	ʔipnım
ka·	caʔya	we-ʔinikı́-t	ʔipı́-nim
and	absent	with mouth-to place-n	3sg-gen
and	without	name	his

and he (himself) was without a name.

09.1

kauá titokan iläqnik hāā'ta
and people many came out

kawá	titó·qan	ʔiləḡnix	haʔáta
kawá	titó·qan	ʔiləḡni-nik	hi-ʔá-t-e
then	a person	many-intns	3nom-to go out-pst
then	people	very many	it came out

More people came out.

10.1

kaũá ipnũ'nike ĩtaiyē'yě
then he named himself coyote

kawá	ʔipnú·ʔnike	ʔiceyé·ye
kawá	ʔipné-we-ʔinikı́-e	ʔiceyé·ye
then	3sg.refl-with mouth-to place-pst	coyote
then	he named himself	coyote

Then he named himself “Coyote!”

11.1

kūńki hiwitsē'yě tītō'ka
then came people

konkí	hiwc'é·ye	titó·qa
konkí	hi-wic'é-(y)e	titó·qan
with that	3nom-come to be-imperf-pst	a person
with that	came to be	people

With that came to be people,

11.2

wātūmīs nonsīwat pātsaiye lāām'p titokan
not us alone they come all people

wé·t'umi?s	nonciwá·tx	pewc'é·ye	la?ám	titó·qan
wé·t'u-mi?s	non-ciwá·tx	pé·wic'é-(y)e	la?am	titó·qan
neg-neg	1sg.pl-alone	3←3-come to be-pst	all	a person
not	we alone	they came to be	all	people

not we alone, (but) all people came to be.

Original free translation published by Herbert J. Spinden (1908b)

Coyote was chief of the animals. Now, he told them that the tribes of men were coming near, one and all. Everything he said came true. Then he said to them, “tomorrow the people will come out of the ground, so i will name them and they will spread out.” Then he named them, he named them till he had named all. And the people came out, and coyote had no name for himself. Many people came out. Then he named himself “Coyote.” Thus came the people, not we alone, but all the people.

Present free translation

Coyote was chief of the animals. Now, he was telling them this, “people are a short distance away, the human race is coming!” All that he had said came out as true words. Then he told them, “Now, tomorrow, people will come and they will migrate out from the earth!” “For that reason, we can expect their coming about and we will separate ourselves after meeting!” With that he named them. Then he named them until he named them all. Then people came out and he himself was without a name. More people came out. Then he named himself “Coyote!” With that came to be people, not we alone, but all people came to be.

ʔilcwé·w'cix

Kamiah Monster. Wako aĩńke. another titwatit story

01.0

Hiwäke himä kesnix kũ itũ
there was an awful big something

hiwé·ke	himeq'isníx	kuʔitú·
hi-wé-(k)e	himé·q-ʔis-níx	kuʔ-ʔitú·
3nom-be-pst	big-adj-intns	indef-what
it was	enormous	something

It was enormous, what ever it was.

02.1

kūnim ūniksane iltswätsiq
that named (monster like deer)

koním	ʔú·niksene	ʔilcwé·w'cix
kon-nim	ʔe-we-ʔinikí-sene	ʔilcwé·w'cix
that-gen	3obj-with mouth-to place-imperf.sg.nom.rm.pst	monster
of that	his is named	monster

That one is named *ʔilcwé·w'cix*.

03.1

kaua kūnim pāmütsě ine
and that called

kawá koním	pemú·cene
kawá kon-nim	pé·mú·se-ne
then that-gen	3→3-to invite-imperf-sg.nom-pst
then that	he summoned it

then that one summoned...

03.2

oyikala weyīwītelikt kustit oyikala wepī wītelikt.
all birds (general) the same all animals (general)

ʔóykala	weyíwtelikt	kuʔstít	ʔóykala	wepíwtelikt
ʔóykala	weye-wité-lík-t	kuʔús-títe	ʔóykala	wep-wité-lík-t
all	to fly-spread-move-n	thus-same	all	paw-spread-move-n
all	birds	the same	all	animals (with paws)

all the birds, in the same way, all the animals.

04.1

kaua oyikala na pä-mu qsne
and all he swallowed

kawá	ʔóykalana	pé·muxsne
kawá	ʔóykala-ne	pé·múxs-ne
then	all-obj	3←3-to swallow-pst
then	all of	he swallowed it

Then he swallowed all of them.

05.1

kaua ʔt sēyeye hitsū kūwēn e
and coyote he found out

kawá	ʔiceyé·ye	hicú·kwene
kawá	ʔiceyé·ye	hi-cú·kwe-(n)e
then	coyote	3nom-to know-pst
then	coyote	he learned of it

Then coyote found out.

06.1

kaua hikūme nixyawe konapix walwayix
and he went towards by Umatilla he came through the way [?]...Wallowa

kawá	hikú·me	nixyá·wi·	koná·px	wal'wá·yix
kawá	hi-kú-m-e	nixyá·wi·	koná·px	wal'áwa-(y)ix
then	3nom-to go-cis-perf	Umatilla area	to that place	wal'áwa-loc
then	he came	Umatilla area	to that place	vicinity of Wallowa

Then he came to Umatilla country and on towards the Wallowa area.

07.1

kaūa imnahayix hiwāy e_kaūna
and by Imna ha he crossed

kawá	ʔimnáhayix	hiwá·yixqawna
kawá	ʔimnáha-(y)ix	hi-wé·yik-qaw-(n)e
then	ʔimnáha-loc	3nom-to move across-straight through-pst
then	vicinity of Imnaha	he went across straight through

Then he went across straight through the Imnaha area.

08.1

kaūa ẽwäke topotkats
and he had a sort of flint spear

kawá	ʔewé·ke	tapátka?c
kawá	ʔe-wé·k-e	tapátk-e?s
then	3gen-be-pst	to use a weapon-an object for
then	he had	a flint-like weapon

Then he had a flint-like weapon.

09.1

kaūa pātsu kēyū ske
and he dug through a ridge

kawá pecú·keʔyuʔkse

kawá pé·cú·-(k)eʔey-uʔ-k-se
then 3←3-with pointed object-move-against-K-imperf.pst
then he is moving with pointed object against it

Then he is going with his weapon poised (ready to fight).

10.1

ataiyāl kolam hīwēy ike
across from Whitebird (a saddle) he crossed
name of place

ʔatayá·l'kolam

ʔeteyé·likó·lam
distant-saddle/ridge
(a place near whitebird)

hiwé·yike

hi-wéyik-e
3nom-to move across-pst
he crossed over

He crossed over at (a place near Whitebird).

11.1

kaūa patolaine lamtana
and he went up Whitebird Cr

kawá patoláyna

kawá pé·toláy-(n)e
then 3←3-to go upstream-pst
then he went upstream

lamtá·na

lamáta-ne
white bird creek-obj
white bird creek

Then he went upstream to White Bird creek.

12.1

kaūa hikoyimne tomantoyami -(u)k
and he climbed top Salmon R Mt. North side

kawá	hiq'uyimne	tomántoyami
kawá	hi-q'uyim-ne	tomán-tóyam-i
then	3nom-to go up-pst	wild rose berry-summit-loc
then	he went up	in the vicinity of salmon river mountain

Then he went up by the way of the Salmon River mountain area.

13.1

kaūa hīsūs iye päks ipnätēlkel ike
and put around his head grass he tied himself

kawá	husúsiwe	péqs	?ipné·telkelike
kawá	hú:sus-síwe	péqs	?ipné-té'lke-lí·k-e
then	head-forehead	bunch grass	3sg.recip-to be tied-proceed-pst
then	forehead	bunch grass	he tied himself

Then he tied his forehead with bunch grass.

14.1

ka kōniq päne
and the one beyond told him (coyote)

ka·	koní·x	pé·ne
ka·	koní·x	pé·hí·-(n)e
and	from there	3←3-to say-pst
and	from there	he told him

And from there he told him,

14.2

ke nūn iltswě wītsix ke nūn
 you + me monster you + me

ké·	nú·n	ʔilcwé·w'cix	ké·	nú·n
ké·	nú·n	ʔilcwé·w'cix	ké·	nú·n
hort	you and I	monster	hort	you and I
let	you and I	monster	let...	you and I

“Let’s you and I, monster, let’s you and I ...”

14.3

pīwe-tamēleks
 let us suck another into our body

pí·wetemeyleks
 pí·we·temé·leylé·k-s
 recip-with mouth-to throw-into-pres
 we are inhaling each other

“...inhale each other!”

15.1

kaūa hitsiwai_ina iltswe wītsix
 and he surprised the monster

kawá	hicciwá·yna	ʔilcwé·w'cix
kawá	hi-cicwá·y-(n)e	ʔiclwé·w'cix
then	3nom-to be surprised-pst	monster
then	he was surprised	monster

Then the monster was greatly surprised.

16.1

ka hinäke monām a_umīne tītōkan hītse
and he thought I wonder where anybody when at

ka·	hiné·ke	manáma	míne	titó·qan	híce
ka·	hi-nekí-e	manáma	míne	titó·qan	hí-ce
and	3nom-to think-pst	what?	where	person	to say-imperf.sg.pst
and	he thought	oh! i wonder	where	person	say

And he thought, “oh! I wonder where this human voice (is coming from)?”

17.1

kaūa naq hūsūs hīwel kǔ pe
and then his head he nodded

kawánnax̣	hú·sus	hiwaʔlk'ú·pe
kawánnax̣	hú·sus	hi-waʔ-lik'ú·p-e
at that very time	head	3nom-on head-palpitate-pst
at that very time	head	he nodded

Just then, he (Coyote) nodded his head.

18.1

kaūa naq päqne
and then seen

kawánnax̣	pé·xne
kawánnax̣	pé·hekí-(n)e
at that very time	3←3-to see-pst
at that very time	he saw it

Immediately, (the monster) saw him.

19.1

kaūa nāq ūtsēyē yě hiū_sē kēkě
and then coyote he got up

kawánnax	ʔiceyé·ye	hiwsé·keʔyqe
kawánnax	ʔiceyé·ye	hi-wisé·-(k)eʔéy-k-e
at that very time	coyote	3nom-up to standing position-move-K-pst
at that very time	coyote	he stood up

Finally, coyote stood up.

20.1

kaūa iltsweuitsix_nim päne
and the monster told him

kawá ʔilcwé·w'cix	pé·ne
kawá ʔilcwé·w'cix	pé·hí·ne
then monster	3←3-to say-pst
then monster	he told him

Then, the monster told him,

21.1

īnūnqōts pīwetamēīlākūm
you first suck me with your breath

ʔí·nanq'oʔc	pí·wetemeylekum
ʔí·n-nen-q'oʔc	pí·we-temé·leylé·k-u-m
I-obj-first	recip-with mouth-to throw-into-toward-cisl
me first	inhale each another toward (the other)

“You inhale me first!”

22.1

kaūa itseyeynim pū₌te₌mēlēeke
and coyote sucked him

kawá	ʔiceyé-yenim	pú·temeyleke
kawá	ʔiceyé·ye-erg	pé·we-temé·leylé·k-e
then	coyote	3←3-with mouth-to throw-into-pst
then	coyote	he inhaled it

Then the coyote inhaled him.

23.1

kīmet himākesnenix pa₌sapōlamka
then the biggest moved its leg

kí·met	himeq'isníc	pasapóʔlamka
kí·met	himé·q'is-níc	pé·sap-uʔ-lam-k-e
all of a sudden	big-intns	3←3-caus-toward-to move-K-pst
all of a sudden	enormous	he caused it to move toward

All of a sudden, he caused the enormous (thing) to move toward him.

24.1

kaūa iltszewitsix₌nim itsyēy ēñē ipnanke pūtāmēlēkē
and the monster coyote told his turn he drew breath

kawá	ʔilcwé·w'cixnim	ʔiceyé·yene	ʔipné·nk'e
kawá	ʔilcwé·w'cix-nim	ʔiceyé·ye-ne	ʔipné·nk'e
then	ʔilcwé·w'cix-gen	ʔiceyé·ye-obj	him also
then	the monster	the coyote	him too

pú·temeyleke
pé·we-temé·leylé·k-e
3←3-with mouth-to throw-into-pst
he inhaled it

Then the monster inhaled the coyote too.

25.1

pūtāmēlēkě
he drew breath

pú·temeyleke

pé·we-temé·leylé·k-e
3←3-with mouth-to throw-into-pst
he inhaled it

He inhaled,

25.2

(wi)
kaua ūileptix qītīli_ekūīye
and both broke the rope

kawá	ʔúyleptix	ḫit'íl'	ʔekú·ye
kawá	ʔúyleptix	ḫit'íl'	ʔe-kú-(y)e
then	both	to break	3gen-go-pst
then	both	break	his went

then both of his (bindings) snapped.

26.1

kaūa hiwilā keke
and he ran

kawá hiwilé·keʔeyke

kawá hi-wilé·keʔéy-(k)e
then 3nom-run-move-pst
then he ran

then he ran.

27.1

kaŭa hīwaiyakalka iltswewitsix nim hīmpe
and he came to mouth of the monster to the mouth

kawá hiwayaq'ólka	ʔilcwé-w'cixnim	hím'pa
kawá hi-weye-q'ol-k-e	ʔilcwé-w'ix-nim	hím'-pa
then 3nom-to move quickly-to slip off-K-pst	monster-gen	mouth-loc
then he quickly peered off	the monsters	at mouth

then he quickly peered off at the monsters mouth.

28.1

kwapěně
then he told him

kwapé·ne
kawá-pé-hí-(n)e
then-3←3-to say-pst
then he told him

Then he told him,

29.1

kaŭa kisäkin kek ātsta
and open your mouth I will go in

kawá qisé·qin	kex	ʔá·csa
kawá qiséq-in	ké·x	ʔá·c-se
then to open ones mouth-imp	hort-1sg/pl	to go in-imperf.pst
then open your mouth!	let me	I am going in

“Open you mouth then, let me go in!”

30.1

kaŭa päne nŭsnŭpe atsix
and told him at the nose go in

kawá pé·ne	nusnú·pe	?á·cx
kawá pé·hí-(n)e	nusnú·pa	?á·c-x
then 3←3-to say-pst	nose-loc	to go in-imp
then he told him	at the nose	go in!

Then he (the monster) told him, “go in the nose!”

31.1

kaŭa päne wātu itaiyē ěnm
and told him no coyote

kawá pé·ne	wét’u	?iceyé·yenm
kawá pé·hí-(n)e	wét’u	?iceyé·yenm
then 3←3-to say-pst	neg	coyote-gen
then he told him	no/not	the coyote

Then the coyote told him, “no!”

32.1

kaŭa hā ā tsa
then he went in

kawá ha?áca
kawá hi-?á·c-a
then 3 _{nom} -to go in-pst
then he went in

Then he went in.

33.1

kaūa hipaina yoqke tīmīne keyoq esūl kēt esē
and he got up to that fellows heart where it hung

kawá	hipá·yna	yóḵke	tim'íne
kawá	hi-pá·yn-a	yóḵ-(k)e	tim'íne
then	3nom-to arrive-pst	that-rel	heart
then	he arrived	that which	heart

ke	yóḵ	ʔesú·lketese
ke	yóḵ	ʔe-sú·lke-te-se
which	that	3gen-hang-s-imperf-pst
which	that	his hangs

Then he arrived, there it was--his heart--it was just dangling there.

34.1

kaua kona hā ā lika
and then he built a fire

kawá	koná	haʔá·lika
kawá	koná	hi-ʔá·lik-a
then	there	3nom-to build a fire-pst
then	there	he built a fire

And there he built a fire.

35.1

kaūa paqotwa lits ewāke
and five knives he had

kawá	pá·ḵatwalc	ʔewé·ke
kawá	pá·ḵat-walc	ʔe-wé·k-e
then	five-knife	3gen-to be-pst
then	five knives	he had

Then he had five knives.

36.1

kaüa künkī pasakeukañye
and then he cut

kawá	konkí	paʔsak'íwkaʔnya
kawá	konkí	pé·ʔise-k'íw-k-eʔny-a
then	with that	3←3-with a cutting edge-to cut-K-benf-pst
then	with that	he cut it

Then with that he cut it.

37.1

kaüa enäq päne
and even he told him

kawá	ʔiné·x	pé·ne
kawá	ʔiné·k	pé·hí-(n)e
then	although	3←3-to say-pst
then	even though	he told him

Then even though he told him,

37.2

kaüō attoq
(let us) to come out in vain

kawóʔ	ʔatóʔx
kawóʔ	ʔá·t-úʔ-x
then	to go out-toward-sg.imp
then	go out!

“Now go out!”

37.3

kemex wetkūyě ts
 Kamiah let me vomit you

ké·mex	wetkú·yehts
ké·mex	we-tukwé·y-léht-s
let me you	with mouth-to cling-out-pres
let me you	send out as one clings

“Let me cast you out!”

38.1

pāne wātuq kēnex tītōkan hitsūkwenū
 he said no they might people they might know

pé·ne	wé·tu?	ké·nex	titó·qan	hicú·kwenu?
pé·hí-(n)e	wé·tu?	ké·nex	titó·qa-n	hi-cú·kwe-nu?
3←3-to say-pst	no/not	lest I	person-n	3nom-to know-fut
he told him	no!	lest I	people	he will learn

he told him, “No! Lest the people know!”

39.1

kaūa pasakē yūkanye
 and he cut

kawá	paʔsak'íwkaʔnya
kawá	pé-ʔise-k'íw-k-eʔny-e
then	3←3-with cutting edge-to cut-K-benf-pst
then	he cut it

Then he cut it.

40.1

kaūa hīnesne
and told

kawá hiné·sne

kawá hi-né·s-hí-(n)e
then 3nom-pl.obj-to say-pst
then he told them

Then he told them (the swallowed animals),

40.2

kaūō ātītq matsyopa ka nūsnūpe
then go out at the ears and at the nose

kawó?	ʔá·titx	mac'yó·pa	ka·	nusnú·pa
kawó?	ʔát-itk	mac'áyo-pa	ka·	nú·snu-pa
then	to go out-pl.imp	ear-loc	and	nose-loc
then	go out!	at ear	and	at nose

“Now, go out the ear and nose!”

41.1

kaūō kaūsat_ĕkūyo
then it came off

kawó?	k'áw(..)	ʔekú·ye
kawó?	k'áw-[<i>unknown stem</i>]	ʔe-kú-(y)e
then	to trim-[<i>unknown stem</i>]	3obj-to do-pst
then	cut off	I did something to it

“I cut it off now!”

42.1

kaūa hēlex itseyeye haāta
and behind coyote went out

kawá	hé·lex	ʔiceyé·ye	haʔáta
kawá	hé·lek	ʔiceyé·ye	hi-ʔá·t-a
then	last	coyote	3nom-to go out-pst
then	last	coyote	he went out

Then coyote went out last.

43.1

kaūa hītnū qne iltswewitsix
and he died the monster

kawá	hitn'úxne	ʔilcwé·w'cix
kawá	hi-tin'ukí-ne	ʔilcwé·w'cix
then	3nom-to die-pst	monster
then	he died	monster

Then the monster died.

44.1

kaūa päsiwěňě
and he slaughtered

kawá	paʔsíwana
kawá	pé-ʔisiwe-(n)a
then	3←3-to butcher-pst
then	he butchered it

then he butchered it.

45.1

kaūa lā āmp titokana pätek ānā
and all people gave each a piece

kawá	laʔám	titóqana	pé·tek'ene
kawá	laʔám	titó·qa-ne	pé·té·k'e-(n)e
then	all	person-obj	3←3-to distribute-pst
then	all	the people	he distributed it

then he distributed it to all the people.

46.1

kaūa yoq Kami-yeqp pásōk sīlikēn ye tīm ine
and at Kamiah he set it down the heart

kawá	yóx	qémyex̄p	pé·sew̄xiʔlikeʔnye	tīm'ine
kawá	yóx	qémyex̄p	pé·se·p-wīxsuʔ-li·k-eʔny-e	tīm'ine
then	that	Kamiah, ID	3←3-caus-to sit-be sit, lie-move-benf-pst	heart
then	that	Kamiah, ID	he put it in place	heart

And at Kamiah he set down the heart.

(50)

oyikana naq wākīs panya tītōkana
all then delivered them people

ʔóykana	ná·qc	wá·q'is	pé·nye	titó·qana
ʔóykala	ná·qc	wá·q-ʔis	pé·haní·-(y)e	titó·qa-na
all	one	alive-adj	3←3-to make-pst	person-obj
all	one	to be alive	he created it	the people

He created one life for all the people.

Sapá·wy'at

or how the people learned to dream in the old time

01.1

ä

Wätü titokan pëštü kũëtsane
No people they learned

wé·t'u	titó·qan	pé·cukwecene
wé·t'u	ttoqa-n	pé·cú·kwe-cene
neg	person-n	3←3-know-imperf-sg.nom-pst
no/not	person	he understands it

a person did not understand it

01.2

kímëť wākīpa
then long ago

kí·met	waqí·pa
kí·met	waqí·pa
this-temp	past-loc
when	long ago

when, long ago,

01.3

títokan hīpñmīksane
people they slept

tító·qan	hipinmí·ksene
titoqa-n	hi-piním-lí·k-sene
person-n	3nom-to be asleep-to move-imperf-sg.nom-pst
person	he fell asleep

a person slept

01.4

kaŭa pām-tsisane stīyikǐpǫ
and they heard talking

kawá pá·mc'isana
kawá pé·mic'í-sene
then 3←3-to hear-imperf-sg.nom-pst
then he heard it

c'íqipx
c'íq-kípx
to talk-this way
a way of talking.

he then heard a kind of talking.

02.1

kaŭa pätsane kutskutsane mīōt sna
and told little fellow baby

kawá pé·cene	kúckucene	miyaʔásna
kawá pé·hí-cene	kúckuc-ene	miyáʔc-ne
then 3←3-to say-imperf-sg.nom-pst	small-obj	child-obj
then he told him	small	a child

Then it was spoken to the small child,

02.2

äwīñp q
song

ʔeweʔnípx
e-we-ʔinipí-px
3←sap-with mouth-seize-all
you are to sing!

“You are to sing!”

03.1

kaūa āsāpākoyim-nuq kaūō
and they made him climb then

kawá	ʔesepé-q'uyimnoʔ	kawó
kawá	ʔe-sepé-q'uyím-nuʔ	kawá-u
then	3←sap-caus.sg-to climb-fut	then-intns
then	he/his will be made to go upward	now

Then, he will be made to go higher now.

03.2

kíkuts kutsane pūimtēy e
the little people they asked him

kikúckucene	pú-y'imteye
ki-kúckuc-(e)ne	pé-weimte-e
redup-small-obj	3←3-to order-pst
small ones	he ordered him

He was ordered, the small one.

04.1

kaūa hixoyim ne
and he climbed up (a hill)

kawá	hiq'uyímne
kawá	hi-q'uyimn-e
then	3nom-go up-pst
then	he went up

Then he went up.

04.2

kona hiwē wītūksane
then he stayed over night

koná	hiwéwtuksene
koná	hi-wéwtuk-sene
there	3nom-to stay overnight-imperf.sg.nom.pst
there	he stayed overnight

There he stayed overnight.

05.1

kaüa pä tsane
and saw

kawá	pé·kcene
kawá	pé-hekí-sene
then	3←3-to see-imperf.sg.nom-pst
then	he saw him

Then he saw

05.2

titokana tats hama hiüsä tū
people good man standing

titó·qana	tá?c	há·ma	hiwsé·tu.
titó·qa-na	tá?c	há·ma	hi-wíse·tu
person-obj	good	man	3nom-standing position-prog.pres
person	good	man	he is standing

a handsome indian man standing (there).

06.1

kaua pätsane hīnā pte tīmūne ka walimstap
and saw had hold of bow and arrow

kawá pé·kcene

kawá pé·hekí·cene
then 3←3-to see-imperf-sg.nom-pst
then he saw him

hiʔné·pte	tim'ú·ne	ka·	walí·mca·p
hi-ʔiné·p-te	tim'ú·ni-ne	ka·	walí·m-cé·p
3nom-to hold-pres.hab	bow-obj	and	of old days-arrow
he is holding	the bow	and	old time arrow(s)

Then he saw him holding the bow and old-time arrows.

07.1

kaūa pätsane kī ä ĩnī se
and said I'll give you this

kawá pé·cene	kí·	ʔé·	ʔiní·se
kawá pé·hí·cene	kí·	ʔé·	ʔiní·se
then 3←3-to say-imperf.sg.nom.rm.pst	this	2sg	to give-imperf.sg.nom
then he told him	this	you	I give

Then he said to him, “I give you this!”

08.1

ka hatswal hīnpū kīnye
and boy he got then

ka·	há·cwal	hiʔnpúʔkinye
ka·	há·cwal	hi-ʔinipí-uʔ-kin-(y)e
and	boy	3nom-take hold of-loc-this-pst
and	boy	he received this

and the boy received this.

09.1

kaūa pēnyě wēnipt
and gave song

kawá peʔénye
kawá pé-ʔiní-e
then 3←3-aug-to give-pst
then he gave it to him

weʔnípt
we-ʔinipí-t
with mouth-to sieze-n
song

then he gave him a song.

10.1

ka hinpū kīnye
and got this

ka· hiʔnpú·kinye
ka· hi-ʔinipí-u·kini-(y)e
and 3nom-to take hold of-as object approaches-pst
and he received this

and he received this.

11.1

yoq ēwitsa iye waps ionas oyikalana īmāsne
[] will be to kill everything deer

yóx ʔé· wic'é·yuʔ
yooq ʔé· wic'é·uʔ
that 2sg to become-fut
that you will become

wá·pciy'awnaʔs	ʔóykalana	ʔimé·sne
wep-ci-y'aw-(n)eʔs	ʔóykala-na	ʔimé·s-ne
with hand-to kill-to do	all-obj	deer-obj
to kill	all	the deer

With that you be able to kill all the deer!

12.1

kūis itsū kūině
then he learned

kuʔús	hicú·kwene
kuʔús	hi-cú·kwen-e
thus	3nom-to have knowledge-pst
thus	he learned

Thus, he learned.

13.1

kōnkī wātū qaiyē spe hīwēnī pe
that he never fooled (by) singing

konkí	wét'u	q'eyé'y'spe	hiweʔnípe
konkí	wét'u	q'eyé'y's-pe	hi-we-ʔinipí-e
with that	neg	play rough-loc	3nom-with mouth-to sieze-
pst			
with that	no/not	play around with	he sang

On account of that, he never sang in playing.

14.1

ka kaūa tūskinix hipaina
and then up above he came

ka·	kawá	tú·skin'ix	hipá·yna
ka·	kawá	tú·s-kin'ik	hi-pá·yn-e
and	then	up above-abl	3nom-arrive-pst
and	then	from up above	he/it came

And then from up above (in his dream) it came.

15.1

kaŭa hīpīnike
and he slept

kawá hipinmí·ke

kawá hi-piním-li·k-e
then 3nom-to be asleep-to move-pst
then he fell asleep

Then, he went to sleep (and dreamed).

16.1

kūūs hītsūqwěně
like this he learned

kuʔús hicú·kwene

kuʔús hi-cú·kwen-e
like this 3nom-to have knowledge-pst
like this he learned

In this way, he learned.

17.1

ka kau a naksnīpkī niq kaŭa lāāmp mamaiats
and then from the first one and all children

ka·	kawá	ná·qcipkin'ix	kawá	laʔám	mamáyac
ka·	kawá	ná·qc-ipk-kin'ik	kawá	laʔám	ma-miyáʔc
and	then	one-up to-abl	then	all	redup-child
and	then	from one	then	all	children

And then from one, then to all the children.

18.1

kōnyā pū nīke sapōy at
then he named sending off into into after dream

konyá	pú·ʔnike	sapó·y'at
kon-ya	pé·we-ʔinikí-e	sepé·wá·y'at
that-obj	3←3-with words-to place-pst	caus.sg-go on spirit guardian quest
that	he named it	made to go on one's spirit guardian quest

that he named *sapá·wy'at*.

19.1

hatōk its pāy aq na hetěě wenix
hard to find the best possible

hatók'ic	pá·ʔyaxna	heteʔewnix
hat'okí-ʔic	pé·ʔiyáq-(n)e	hé·tewi-ʔew-nix
to be difficult to obtain-adj	3←3-to find-pst	precious-adj-ints
to be difficult to obtain	he found it	very valuable

it is difficult to find, it is very valuable.

20.1

kōnkī wātū maŭa hīwŭqīnū
that not ever throw it away

konkí	wé·t'u	mawá	hiwqí·nuʔ
konkí	wé·t'u	mawá	hi-wiqí-(n)uʔ
with that	neg	ever	3nom-to throw away-fut
on account of that	no/not	ever	he will throw his away

on account of that, he will never ever throw it away.

Piwlé·keʔykus

proposing, making known ones intentions in marriage

Marriage. When a young man was in love, he would send some old man to represent him. He would see the girl's father and mother and arrange things.

01.1

Kolla naksna hāmā nā pōyīm tākāka sēpnī te
then one man they asked him to go ask

kál'a	ná·qcna	há·mana	pó·y'intaqaqa
kál'a	ná·qc-na	há·ma-na	pé·wéy'i·mte-qaqa
just	one-obj	man-obj	3←3-to order, ask one to do-hab.sg.nom
just	one	man	he was ordered, asked to do something by someone

sé·pn'ite

sé·p-pin'í-te
caus-to come out-pres.hab
to be asking

one man was put in charge of asking.

02.1

kā pāqyō kākā
then he would go

ka·	pakiyó·qaqa
ka·	pé·kú·yu-qaqa
and	3←3-to go-toward-hab.sg.nom
and	he used to go over to her.

and he used to go over to her.

03.1

kā pān kākā āhīwēwilū ksě
then he would tell them they like you

ka·	pá·nqaqa	ʔé·	hiwéwluqse
ka·	pé·hin-qaqa	ʔé·	hi-wéwluq-se
and	3←3-to say-hab.sg.nom	2sg	3nom-to desire, want-imperf-pst
and	he used to say to him	you	he wants

and he used to say to her, he likes you!

04.1

kāpān kākā takts hikū kūm
then he would tell them he can come

ka·	pá·nqaqa	tá·qc	hikú·kum
ka·	pé·hin-qaqa	tá·qc	hi-kú-kum
and	3←3-to say-hab.sg.nom	now	3nom-to go-cisl
and	he used to say to him	now	he can come

and she used to say to him, now, he can come!

05.1

pātsūk wātsana kūnyīn pītēnwēsix
they knew a certain person he was in love with

pecú·kwecene	konyí·n
pa-cú-kwe-sene	kon-yí·n
pl.nom-cú-kwe-imperf-sg.nom-pst	that-with
they knew it	with that

pí·ten'wesix
pí·ten'iwé·six
recip-to make proposal of marriage-imperf.pl.nom
they are courting each other

with that, they knew they were courting each other.

06.1

kū maŕa hipāwĩtsē yū
some day when they get married

ku?	máwa	hipewc'é-yu?
ku?	máwa	hi-pé-wic'é-u?
indef	at any time	3nom-pl.nom-to become-fut
sometime	when	they will become married

whenever they will become married,

06.2

kaŕa lěpĩt tĩtĩllū ha ham pasapō tsōkwā tsāna
and 2 old people men they would let them know

kawá	lepít	titílu
kawá	lep-ít	titílu
then	two-nhum	big, large
then	two	elder

háham	pesepé·cu·kwecene
ha-há·ma	pa-sepé-cú·kwe-sene
redup-man	pl.nom-caus-to know-imperf.sg.nom.pst
men	they inform, let people know, announce

then two elder men let the people know.

07.1

yūk hīwāke pīwīlā kēkūs
that used to be the marriage

yóḡ	hiwé·ke	piwilé·keʔykus¹¹
yóḡ	hi-wé-(k)e	pí-wilé·keʔéy-k-ú-s
that	3nom-to be-pst	recip-run-move-directed to, toward-imperf
that	he was	running toward each other

that was proposing, making known ones intentions in marriage.

08.1

kaūa hīpōnikōka mālāhēn
and (name) they set the day the day

kawá	hipó·ʔnikoʔqa	mé·le·heyn
kawá	hi-pé-we-ʔinikí-oʔqa	mé-lé·hey-n
then	3nom-pl.nom-with words-to place-cond	intrr-to be a day-n
then	they could name it	what day

then they could name what day.

09.1

ka pāōtwainim kaūō papainōs anā ka pā tsanā
then the womenfolks now they came to them and that day came

ka·	paʔá·twaynim	kawóʔ	papayno·sana
ka·	pa-ʔá·tway-nim	kawá-úʔ	pa-pá·y-nu·sene
and	pl.nom-old woman-erg	then-intns	pl.nom-to arrive-all-imperf-sg.nom-pst
and	the elderly women	then	they came

ka· **pé·cene**

11. This form retains the morpheme prefix form /wilé/ following Spinden's transcription. The modern Nez Perce form would appear as /wlé/.

ka· pé·hí·cene
 and 3←3-to say-imperf.sg.nom.pst
 and said to him

and the elderly women then came and said to her,

10.1

wāko äpě mptěmě
 that came after him

wá·qo?	ʔé·	peʔnpté·me
wá·qo?	ʔé·	pé·ʔinipé·té·me
now	2sg	pl.nom-to take hold of-go away to-cisl.pst
now	you	we go and get him/her

now, we have come to get you!

11.1

ka ai ātom titokan patsaŭwiā yatsā na
 and the girl's relatives they dressed her up

ka·	ʔá·yatom	titó·qan	pacáwtiwacana
ka·	ʔá·yato-m	titó·qa-n	pé·cáwatiwa-cene
and	woman-gen	person-n	3←3-to decorate with shells-imperf.sg.nom.pst
and	womans	people	she decorated her with shells

and the womans relatives elaborately dressed her.

12.1

kaūa pānā nātsānā hamannm īnīt
and they would take her to the man's house

kawá pé·ʔnehnece	há·mann	ʔinít
kawá pé·ʔinéhne-cene	há·ma-nm	ʔinít
then 3←3-to take someone along-imperf.sg.nom.pst	man-gen	house
then he (or they collectipely) took her	the mans	house

Then they took her to the man's house.

13.1

ka hītkōlēq nōq wako ēlākñī
and he would hunt and (lots) he would have enough

kawá hitkolí·xnax	wá·qoʔ	ʔiléxni
kawá hi-tuk ^w él-lí-k-nax	wá·qoʔ	ʔiléxni
then 3nom-shoot, hunt-to move-cond	now	many, much
then he would have hunted	until	many, much

Then he would have hunted until he had enough.

14.1

kaūa aīatōnā pananats ana īpnīm nixp initx
and they would take the (bride) women to her own house (old house)

kawá ʔá·yatona	pé·ʔnehnece
kawá ʔá·yato-na	pé·ʔinéhne-cene
then woman-obj	3←3-to take someone along-imperf.sg.nom.rmt.pst
then the woman	he (or they collectipely) took her

ʔipnimníc	ʔinít
ʔipí-nim-níc	ʔinít
3sg-gen-intns	house
her own	house

Then they took the woman to her own house.

15.1

ka källonim pananats ana
and that many they would take her

ka·	kalóʔnim	péʔnehnecene
ka·	kalá-úʔ-nim	péʔ-ʔinéhne-cene
and	that-intns-gen	3←3-to take someone along-imperf.sg.nom.rmt.pst
and	just that much	he (or they collectively) took her

And (it was) only that far they took her.

16.1

ka hīpt paniāsā naq
and dinner they would make for them

ka·	hīpt	paniyá·yʼsanʼax
ka·	hīpt	pa-haní-(y)éyʼ-sanʼax
and	food	pl.nom-to make-benf-cond.imperf
and	food	they would make it for someone

And they would make a meal.

17.1

yoqke sōq īsūp tsax
that one spoon they used

yóxke	só·x	hisú·pcix
yóx-(k)e	só·x	hi-sú·p-cix
that-rel	spoon, ladle	3nom-to eat porridge, soup-imperf.pl.nom
that which	spoon, ladle	they eat porridge, soup

With that one (special) spoon they eat soup.

18.1

ka yō kōpī ō yikala sōq pā nīsānā
and those all spoons gave them

ka·	yoq'opí	ʔóykala	só·x	pé·ʔnisene
ka·	yoq'opí	ʔóykala	só·x	pé·ʔiní'-sene
and	that very	all	spoon	3←3-to give-imperf.sg.nom.pst
and	that very	all	spoon	they gave them something

And all of those spoons were given to them.

19.1

ka lāā mp somq pētū tō hōn ka tsīt skūn
and all dress some things pants (leggings) and blankets

ka·	laʔám	sámx	pé·ʔtu	tóhon	ka·	cí·ckan
ka·	laʔám	sámx	pé·ʔtu	tóhon	ka·	cí·ckan
and	all	shirt	each any	leggings	and	robe
and	all	shirt	each any	leggings	and	robe

and all kinds of shirts, and such things as leggings and robes.

20.1

yōq kūs pīt kālai tsīna
that was they way they traded

yóx	kú·s	pí·tkalaycina
yóx	kú·s	pí·takalay-cina
that	to do-perf	recip-to exchange, trade-imperf.pl.nom.pst
that	have done	they exchanged, traded with each other

That is how they traded with each other.

21.1

yōq hīwā ke kēkūūs saũ salistāq t
that was like marriage

yóḅ	hiwé·ke	ke	kuʔús sé·wselist'eqt
yóḅ	hi-wé·k-e	ke	kuʔús sép-wisé-list'eqí-t
that	3nom-to be-pst	rel	which thus caus-to stand up-be next to-n
that	it was	which thus	one who is to be married

That was the way one would be married.

First Medicine Man

Young man first starting to be a medicine
man--Gets his dream and reveals his power
at the dance

01.1

Kōlla wātū ipnasō kwāna
he would never know

kál'a	wét'u	?ipné·cukwenu?
kál'a	wét'u	?ipné-cú·kwen-u?
just	neg	3sg.refl-to know-fut
just	not/not	he will know himself

he will not know himself,

01.2

kūstit wātū titokan patsō kwānā
samething never people they would know

ku?stít	wét'u	titó·qan	pecú·kwenu
ku?ús-títe	wét'u	titó·qa-n	pé·cú·kwen-u
thus-same	no/not	person-n	pl.nom-to know-fut
the same	no/not	people	we will know

in the same way, the people will not know

01.3

ka hīwampōka ilxnī pe
and he would sing in a crowd

ka·	hiwaʔnipóʔqa	ʔilxní·pe
ka·	hi-we-ʔinipí-oʔqa	ʔilé·xní-pe
and	3nom-with mouth-to seize-cond	many-loc
and	he would sing	among many

when he would sing in a crowd.

02.1

kaūanaq tiklūn pamsokō ka
then old people would know

kawánnax	titlú·nm	pamscó·kwanoʔqa
kawánnax	ti-tílu-nim	pé·mis-cú·kwen-oʔqa
for sure	redup-big/old-gen	pl.nom-hear-to know-cond
for sure	our elders	they would understand by hearing it

Surely then, the elders would understand upon hearing it,

02.2

kūūs hīhītse yōqke hīwě npīsě
 what it means that song he is singing

kuʔús hihíce

kuʔús hi-hí-ce

thus 3nom-to say-imperf.sg.nom

thus he is saying

yóʔke

yóʔke

that which

that which

hiwéʔnpise

hi-we-ʔinipí-se

3nom-with mouth-aug-seize-imperf.sg.nom

he is singing

what he is thus saying in that which he is singing.

03.1

ěyī ts_ukīnīke kākūny a wawamnoq pātīt salikatsatatū ipě līkīn
 southern part of state that thing the head of canyons it goes over the cloud

ʔiyeq'í·ckin'ikey¹²

ʔiyéq'is-kin'ikey

hot-lat

(far) south

kakonyá

ke-kon-ye

rel-that-obj

which that

waw'amnó·ḡ

wá·w'am-nú·ḡ

head of creek-directed to/toward-cond

toward the head of the creeks

peculiké·cetetu

pé·ci-cu-liké·ce-tetu

pl.nom-redup-pointed object-on top of-hab.sg.nom

the many breaks of the hills that always come together

ʔipelikínm

ʔipelí·kt-nim

cloud-erg

cloud

Far south,

toward where the head of the creeks

(and) the many breaks of the hills that always come together--that cloud!

Spinden's original version:

song

Far south, it goes over
 the heads of the canyons
 that cloud!

12. Spinden records eyitskinike, along with its diacritic markings, that suggest the form ʔeyíckin'ikey or to this beautiful placeside. However, Spinden's free translation is given as far south and southern part of state. I choose his free translation here. The text of line 03.1 represents a wéyekin song.

04.1

ka wākī man tīwä tīm konapki patan wataq
and old times medicine man then he would talk to him

ka·	waqí·man	tiwé·tim	konapki	pá·tan'wat'aḫ
ka·	waqí·man	tiwét-im	konapki	pé·ten'iwé·t'aḫ
and	the old time	Indian Doctor-erg	to that place, there	3←3-to speak-cond
and	the old time	Indian Doctor	to that place, there	he speaks to him

And the old time Indian Doctor he would speak to him there.

05.1

tsalawi - tsāā tsī ūkin ätkī tax
if it is truth talk comes true

c'alawí	c'aʔá	c'íqin	ʔá·tkit'aḫ
c'alawí	c'aʔá	c'íqin	at-kik-t'aḫ
if/when	be exactly right	speak	to go out-trl-cond
if/when	be exactly right	speech	would go on out to

If his talk were true as it would go on out to him,

05.2

kaūa pātōyāqnoq
and would faint

kawá	pató·ʔyaqno·ḫ
kawá	pé·tó·ʔyaq-no·ḫ
then	3←3-to enter a trance-to move to another location-cond
then	he would faint from it

then he would faint from it.

06.1

ka tītōkan paqnaq kūūs eote hīhī tse
and the people would see him what he means

ka·	titó·qan	pá·xn'aḡ	kuʔús
ka·	titoqa-n	pé·hekí(n)-'eq	kuʔús
and	person-n	3←3-to see-cond	thus
and	people	they would see it	thus

ʔé·te hihíce

ʔé·te hi-hí-ce

surely 3nom-to say-imperf-sg.nom

surely it is saying

And the people would thus see what it surely means.

07.1

One medicine man faints & another wakes him

kūnki kākā iske pīnmī kīn
then like if he is asleep

konkí	kaká·	ʔiske	pinmí·kin
kon-k	ke-ka·	ʔiske	piním-í·k-in
with that	rel-and	like/as	to be asleep-to move-asp
with that	when he	like/as	be in a state of sleep

Because when he (faints) as if asleep,

07.2

kaūa tiwätim pāsāpō pōqpō qnāq
and medicine man he blows on him to cure him

kawá tiwé·tim	pasapó·poxpoxn'aḡ
kawá tiwét-im	pé·sapú·puxpux-n'aḡ
then Indian Doctor-erg	3←3-blow-sound of blowing-cond
then the Indian Doctor	he would blow his healing breath on him

then the Indian Doctor would blow his healing breath on him.

08.1

kaūa naq kūnkū hīwanpītaq
and then that (man asleep) would sing lots years

kawánnax	kúnk'u	hiwaʔnpít'aḡ
kawánnax	kúnk'u	hi-we-ʔinipí-t'aḡ
at that very time	always	3nom-with mouth-to seize-cond
at that very time	always	he would sing

thereupon, he would always sing his song.

09.1

ilāknī ĩnwī mit pais pākō ptītpa ĩnwī mītpē
lots years about (about 50 years etc.) 50 years

ʔiléḡni	ʔinmí·wit	páy's	pá·qaʔptit	ʔinmí·witpe
ʔiléḡni	ʔinmí·wit	páy's	paxat-eptit	ʔinmí·wit-pe
many	years	perhaps	five-ten times	years-loc
many	years	perhaps	fifty	in years

Many years, perhaps in fifty years,

09.2

kōna hītwatiwītaq
then he would doctor

koná hitwetiwí-t'aḡ

koná hi-tiwetiwí-t'aḡ

there 3nom-treat a sick person as a shaman-aug-s-cond

there he would treat a sick person as in doctoring

there he would doctor a sick person.

10.1

kaūa ōyīkalana pāsūkwe ně
and everybody would know

kawá ʔóykalana pecú·kwene

kawá ʔóykala-ne pé·cú·kwen-e

then everyone-obj 3←3-to know-pst

then everyone it was known

Then it was known to everyone.

11.1

kūnki komainīsna
that a sick person

konkí k'ó·mayniʔsna

konkí k'ó·may-niʔs-ne

with that to be ill-one that is...ed-pst

with that one that has sickened

with that one that has sickened,

11.2

wātū isīnm pamtakaltato
not anybody could see it

wé·t'u	ʔisí·nm	pamtaktáltato
wé·t'u	ʔisí·nim	pé·nim-ták-tele-tetu
no/not	who-NOM.PL	3←3-see-to do as one passes by-sickness-pres.hab
no/not	who	he always sees and treats the sickness as it passes by

nobody but him can ever see and treat the sickness as it passes by.

12.1

ka pätatū
and tells him

ka·	peté·tu
ka·	pé·hí-tetu
and	3←3-say-pres.hab
and	he will always say to him

and he will always say to (the sick one),

12.2

watī sx kīwalla tats ē? awītsawitsēyu
tomorrow a certain time good (healthy) you will be

watí·sx	kīw'alá	tá?c	ʔé·	wic'é·yu?
watí·sx	kí·w'alá	tá?c	ʔé·	wic'é·u?
tomorrow	this-at such time	good	2sg	become-fut
tomorrow	at this time	good	you	will become

“Tomorrow at this time, you will become well!”

13.1

kaūa yokopi atsā tatō kūnki tsāā
and that will be then right time

kawá	yoq'opí	ʔac'áʔtato	konkí	c'aʔá
kawá	yoq'opí	ʔa-c'áʔ-tetu	konkí	c'aʔá
then	that one	3gen-to occur-pres.hab	with that	be coming about
then	that one	it/his always occurs	with that	be coming about

Then that one, his (health) always happens to come exactly as that.

14.1

wakis hīū tsetatū
well he will be

wá·q'is	hiwc'é·tetu
wá·q-ʔis	hi-wic'é--tetu
well-adq	3nom-become-pres.hab
well	he will always become

He will always become well.

15.1

ʔoũũ

tsalaūwi mētū paq naq wakī ma wēoũkin
if he would see old sickness

c'alawí	mét'u	pá·xn'aḥ	waq'í·ma	wiyá·wqin
c'alawí	mét'u	pé·hekí-(n)'aḥ	waq'í-me	wiyá·wqa-in
if	but	3←3-to see-cond	past-abl	to be hurt-stat
if	but	he would see it	of old time	hurtfulness

but if he would see it was an old time sickness

15.2

ka panaq kala wāwitū qt kaūa ätīn xnū
 and tell him so many days and then you will die

ka·	pá·n'aḥ	kál'a	wéwtukt	kawá	?é·	tin'xnú?
ka·	pé·hí·n'aḥ	kál'a	wéwtuk-t	kawá	?é·	tin'ukí-nu?
and	3←3-say-cond	just	a day-n	then	2sg	to die-n-fut
and	he would say	just	a day	then	you	will die

and then he would say, just one day and then you will die!

16.1

kaūa yōkopi atsāa naq
 then that would be so

kawá	yoq'opí	?awc'á·n'aḥ
kawá	yoq'opí	?e-wic'é·n'aḥ
then	that one	3gen-become-cond
then	that one	his would be

Then that one his (death) would be so.

Burial

Burial robe - hide wrapped around body and laced up in front from foot to head.

01.1

Wakīpa pīnī kǎnĕkā weotū wătīspe kala uyikāmpē
old times burial not in the soil on the ground but in talus cliff

waqí·pa	pí·ʔnikeʔniqe	wét'·u	wé·tespe
waqí·pa	pí·ʔinikí·eʔniqe	wét'·u	wé·tes·pa
past-loc	recip-to bury-pl.hab	no/not	earth-loc
long ago	we used to bury our dead (lit.: <i>ourselves</i>)	not	in earth

kál'a	ʔu·yi·ké·mpe
kál'a	ʔú·yi·ke·m·pa
just	talus-loc
just	in talus

Long ago, we used to bury our dead not in the ground but in a talus (slope).

02.1

kākāhǎl titotkan kahál patamix tawan yayikal
the length body people the length they would pile the rocks on one side to dig hole

kakahál	titó·qan	kahál
ke-kahál	titó·qa-n	kahál
rel-certain length	person-n	certain length
of which is a certain length	a person	certain length

pá·tamixt'awanyayikal
pé·té·m'ik-t'awani-[yayikal]
3←3-in dirt-do whatever-[*unknown stem*]
he does whatever to it in the dirt, ground....

a person being of a certain length, (they) do whatever in the talus...to that length.

03.1

kaūa kōnā pānī kanīka pē tūnē tōkōna
and where they would bury some things mats of cattails

kawá	koná	pé·ʔnikeʔniqe	peʔtú·ne	tok'ó·na
kawá	koná	pé·ʔinikí-eʔniqe	peʔtú·ne	tók'o-ne
then	there	3←3-to bury-pl.hab	anything-obj	tule-obj
then	there	they used to bury it	anything	tule

Then they would bury (them) there with a kind of tule.

04.1

kaūa kūspě pīnikānēka tsaiya allīs yōqke wīkipskīn
and then they would bury no coffin that burial robe

kawá	kuʔuspé	pí·ʔnikeʔniqe	cáʔya	ʔá·l'as
kawá	kuʔús-pe	pí·ʔinikí-eʔniqe	cáʔya	ʔá·l'as
then	thus-loc	recip-to bury-pl.hab	not exist	coffin
then	at this point	we used to bury our dead	without	coffin

yóḡke	wí·qepsqiʔn
yóḡ-(k)e	wí·qéps-q'íʔ-n
that-rel	stretch-to close the eyes-to fasten-n
that which	burial robe (lit.: <i>object that is stretched, closing and fastened</i>)

Then at this point, we used to bury our dead without a coffin
but which instead a burial robe (was used).

05.1

kona pětū samq pětū kaluo wñ patsayatwitna-nikal
 then they would put things shirts beads they would send them with the dead

kona	peʔtú·	sám'x	peʔtú·	q'alawní·n
kona	peʔtú·	ssám'x	peʔtú·	q'aláwn-ín
there	anything	shirt	anything	beads-with
there	anything	shirt	anything	beaded

pasapatwí·xnanikal

pé·sepé·tiwíik-ne-[nikal]

3←3-caus-to go with-pst-[unknown stem]

it was sent with.....him/her

then various clothing and beaded items were sent with...(the dead).

06.1

kūhūs yoq wākī pa titokan pītōm ikoneo ka
 that was the way old style people would bury

kuʔús	yóx	waqí·pa	titó·qan	pí·tamikaʔniqa
kuʔús	yóx	waqí·pa	titó·qa-n	pí·temik-aʔniqa
thus	that	long time-loc	person-n	recip-in dirt-pl.hab
thus	that	a long time ago	person	we used to bury our dead

Such was the way we used to bury our dead people a long time ago.

07.1

kaūa tāltā nā papokal ikan ĩka
 and cedar they would stand up

kawá	taltána	paʔpó·xalikaʔniqa
kawá	talátat-na	pé·ʔipú·xe-lík-aʔniqa
then	western red cedar-obj	3←3-to have standing-to assume-pl.hab
then	cedar	they would have it standing up

And then they would have a cedar post standing up.

A later form

The ceremony meant that they were sending the horses with the dead man.
The ghosts of men had to ride & eat etc. same as live people

08.1

Mětíkū kakal sīkem ōka hamanm
all those horses how many a man

met'iku?	kakalá	sík'em	ʔo·qá	há·manm
met'iku?	ke-kalá	sík'em	ʔe-wé·qa	há·ma-nm
but uncertain	rel-certain amount	horse	3obj-have-pst	man-gen
although	as much as	horse	he had	man

Although as many horses a man had,

09.1

ka yōkōpī kamats pīlept sīkem oka
and then how many 4 horses he had

ka·	yoq'opí	kamác	pí·lept	sík'em ʔooqá
ka·	yoq'op?	ke-mác	pí·lep-t	sík'em ʔe-wé·qa
and	that one	rel-how many	four-num.st	horse 3obj-have-pst
and	that one	how many which	four	horse he had

And however many that one-- four horses he had.

10.1

ka yokopi poptsiyaũ naqsan aq
and then they would kill them

ka·	yoq'opí	pó·pciy'awsan'aḫ
ka·	yoq'opí	pé·wé·p·ciy'aw-san'aḫ
and	that one	3←3-with hand-to kill-cond
and	that one	he would have been killing it

And (for) that one, they would have killed them.

11.1

yok kōnya ponikō nika peo saüyem-müksě
that they named

yóḫ	konyá	pó·ʔnikaʔniqa
yóḫ	konyá	pé·we-ʔnikí-aʔniqa
that	that-obj	3←3-with words-to place-pl.hab
that	that	they used to name it

[piyyá·wsawamu·ksa]

pí·yiyé·wi·sáway·mu·k·sa
recip-be buried-graveyard-to call-K-sa
summons each other to be buried in grave

they used to call that [*summons each other to be buried in grave*].

Coyote and Fox

01.1

kūnkū hitēwīyēn ikēnikne itsēyēyě ka tilípe
those they used to live together coyote and fox

kúnk'u	hitéw'yenikeʔniqe	ʔiceyé·ye	ka·	tilípe
kúnk'u	hi-téw'ye-nik-eʔniqe	ʔicyé·ye	ka·	tilípe
always	3nom-to live-to start-pl.hab	coyote	and	fox
always	they used to settle	coyote	and	fox

They always used to live together coyote and fox.

02.1

kaūa tilípe hitmīpnīye keq wēyě ānā saiyakōs
and fox he remembered I think I will look for him

kawá	tilípe	hitmí·pn'īye
kawá	tilípe	hi-timí·pin'i-(y)e
then	fox	3nom-heart-to come out-pst
then	fox	he thought,

“kex	weye	ʔanasaʔyó·xoʔs”
kex	weye	ʔe-né·s-se-ʔiyó·xoʔ-s
let me	at this time	3←sap-pl.obj-see-to search-perf
let me	at this time	I search for them

Then fox thought to himself, “let me now search for them.”

03.1

kaūa hitolāin a mēwīx
and he went up a canyon or river early in the morning

kawá	hitoláyna	mé·ywix
kawá	hi-toláy-ne	mé·ywi-x
then	3nom-to go upstream-pst	morning-abl
then	he went up the river	in the morning

Then he went up the river early in the morning.

04.1

kīmet pen mekūn ye īmet tē wīsīn
then he saw it coming a buck

kí·met	pé·nmekunye
kí·met	pé·nimé·kuni-(y)e
all of a sudden	3←3-to see with the eyes-see something coming-pst
all of a sudden	he saw it coming toward him

ʔimét	té·wisi·n
ʔimét	té·wis-ín
is it so	horn-with
is it so	mule deer buck (lit.: with antlers)

All of a sudden, he saw it coming toward him--
indeed it was a mule deer buck!

05.1

hitkū awītisem īmet ēwētētpělēptē pelqai
 it was running down it coming wounded with arrows both sides

hitqé·w'itisem	ʔimé·t
hi-teqʔew'i-ti-se-m	ʔimé·t
3nom-to fall-loc?-imperf-pst-cisl	is it so
it came falling downward	is it so

ʔewitetpelépte	pelqé·y
ʔewí-té·tip'é-lep-te	pelqé·y
to shoot with an arrow-run-to be on hillside-to hold-pres.hab	both sides
to be held with arrow in running on hillside	both sides

It came falling downward, indeed, it was wounded on both sides!

06.1

kīmet kīm tem hīwītsēye kaūa hit kaiōqī ne
 then a little ways to be close and dropped dead

kí·met	kí·mtem'	hiwc'é·ye
kí·met	kí·mtem'	hi-wic'é·e
all of a sudden	a short distance away	3nom-to become-pst
all of a sudden	a short distance away	he became

kawá	hitqewqí·ne
kawá	hi-teqe-wiqí-(n)e
then	3nom-suddenly-to die quickly-pst
then	it dropped dead

Suddenly, it came a short distance away and then dropped dead.

07.1

peokūye kaūa peowin kteteūny[e]
 he went to it and he pulled them out (the arrows)

pé·kuye	kawá	pewí·nikt'atu·ʔnya
pé·kú·-(y)e	kawá	pé·wí·niké·t'át-u-ʔny-a
3←3-to go-pst	then	3←3-dist-to pull with hand-to rip-toward-benf-pst
he went to it	then	he pulled, ripped each out by hand for (whomever)

He went to it and then purposely pulled each of the arrows out by hand.

08.1

kaūa kīket pasapakoi kanya
 and the blood he cleaned it

kawá	kikéʔt	pasapá·q'oykaʔnya
kawá	kikéʔt	pé·sepé·q'óy-k-eʔny-e
then	blood	3←3-caus-to be clean-K-benf-pst
then	blood	he made it to be clean for (whomever)

Then he purposely cleaned them of blood.

09.1

kaua tats hīneot snikeonye
 and good laid them down

kawá	táʔc	hiné·c'nikeʔnye
kawá	táʔc	hi-né·s-ʔinikí-eʔny-e
then	good	3nom-pl.obj-to place-benf-pst
then	good	he laid them down for (whomever)

Then he neatly laid them down.

10.1

kīmēt mī wetspa peonmekū nye tatxisne
then a little while he saw him come the oldest

kí·met	mí·w'acpa	pé·nmekunye
kí·met	mí·w'ac-pa	pé·nimé·kuni-(y)e
all of a sudden	short while-loc	3←3-to see with the eyes-to see coming-pst
all of a sudden	in a short while	he saw him come

té·xisne
té·q-ʔis-ne
oldest-adj-obj
the eldest

Then, momentarily, he saw him come--the eldest.

11.1

ka kūnm měli x konapkĩ tūlūpt
and that the next behind next youngest

ka·	kunmálix	konapkí	tulupt
ka·	kun-mála-li·k	konapkí	[unknown word]
and	next to-many-s	to that place, there	[unknown word]
and	proceeding next	to that place, there	youngest

And proceeding him was the next youngest,

11.2

kaŭa heonike naqts konapki tūlūpt
and another one next younger

kawá	hé·nek'e	ná·q'c	konapkí	tulupt
kawá	hé·nek'e	ná·q'c	konapkí	[unknown word]
then	again	one	to that place, there	[unknown word]
then	again	one	to that place, there	youngest

and again the next youngest one,

11.3

kaŭa heonike naqts konapki tŭlŭpt
and another one next younger

kawá	hé·nek'e	ná·q'c	konapki	tulupt
kawá	heneeke	ná·q'c	konapki	[unknown word]
then	again	one	to that place, there	[unknown word]
then	again	one	to that place, there	youngest

and again the next youngest one,

11.4

kaŭa laīmūnix
and youngest of all

kawá	laymiwníx
kawá	laymíwt-níx
then	the yougest one-intns
then	the youngest of all

then the very youngest of all.

12.1

kaŭa peotsěne kī wŭn meonex tsep wŭsŭq
and told him old fellow where are our arrows are

kawá	pé·cene	qí·wn
kawá	pé·hí·cene	qí·wn
then	3←3-to say-imperf-sg.nom-pst	old man
then	he told him	old man

mínix	cé·p	wisí·x
mínix	cé·p	wé·six
from where	arrow	to be-imperf-pl.nom
from where	arrow	we have

Then (they) said to the old man, “Where are our arrows?”

13.1

kaūa peotsēñě
and they told him

kawá	pé·cene
kawá	pé·hí·cene
then	3←3-to say-imperf-sg.nom-pst
then	he told him

He then told him.

13.2

kaĩtsiyeoye wako tsep inpsix
thank you! we will arrows take

qe?ciyéw'yew'	wá·qo?	cé·p	?inpsí·x
qe?ciyéw'yew'	wá·qo?	cé·p	?inipí·six
thank you	now	arrow	to take hold of-imperf.pl.nom
thank you	now	arrow	we take

“Thank you, now we take our arrows.”

13.3

wako waq eonīwĩ natsix
we will leave it

wá·qo?	wax	?anwíhnacix
wá·qo?	wax	?e-ni-wíhne-cix
now	and	3obj-leave-to go away-imperf.pl.nom
now	and	we leave it

“Now we leave it behind.”

13.4

yōqko eowěs imīs
you can have the deer

yóq'o	ʔé·	wé·s	ʔímes
yoq-ʔu	ʔé·	wé·s	ʔímes
that-intns	2sg	to be-imperf	deer
that	you	have	deer

“That deer is yours.”

13.5

kēm ĭ sīwěně
you can dress it

kem	ʔisíwene
ke-m	ʔisíwe-ne
rel-2sg	to skin, butcher-pst
when you	you butchered it

“You can butcher it.”

14.1

kaŭa hī sīwěně
and he dressed it

kawá	hiʔisíwene
kawá	hi-ʔisíwe-ne
then	3nom-to skin, butcher-pst
then	he butchered it

Then he butchered it.

15.1

kaūa hīnētsīklīke
and he took it home

kawá	hī?néhcikli·ke
kawá	hi-ʔinek-cikilí-(k)e
then	3nom-pl.obj-carry-to go home-pst
then	he went home

And he took it home.

16.1

Kaloke
that all

“kalóʔ	ke!”
kalóʔ	ke
the end	which
the end	which

“That’s all!”

20.1

Kūpipt
"all in!"

k’upípt
k’upíp-t
break-n
broke

“Broke!”

ʔilcilxú·se

name of animal Tsíltsil[_]xosye - not used in the story

01.1

Ka pámstāyō kŭnye
he heard him coming

ka· pamc'iyó·kinya
ka· pé·mic'í·ú·kini-(y)e
and 3←3-to hear-as something approaches-pst
and he heard him coming

And he heard him coming.

02.1

I sīmet hiwiyū naptēm
he was singing

ʔisí·met hiwiyú·ʔneptem
ʔisí·met hi·wiyé·we·ʔiné·p·te·m
who it is 3nom-as one goes-with mouth-to hold-pres.hab-cisl
there he is he is singing as he comes

There he is--singing as he comes.

03.1

kū_nūikt[___] kāpāmmakūnye
something he saw his enemy

kúʔnu ʔitú· ka· pé·nmekunye
kúʔnu ʔitú· ka· pé·nimé·kuni-(y)e
I wonder what and 3←3-see with the eyes-see something coming-pst
I wonder what and he saw it coming toward him

Whatever it was, he saw it coming toward him.

04.1

kīmet ātē naqe weoyuk ītseope
but [] half leg on his back

kí·met	ʔé·te	néqe	wé·yux	hiʔcé·pe
kí·met	ʔé·te	néqe	wé·yux	hi-ise·pí-e
all of a sudden	indeed	half	leg	3nom-to carry on back-pst
all of a sudden	indeed	half	leg	he put on his back

All of a sudden, surely, he carried on his back half a leg.

05.1

kaka yokus peo kně ka ĩpínke weoyūk hisakē yuke
when that one he saw him and then he cut his leg too cut off

kaká·	yóḡ	kuʔús	pé·xne
kaká·	yóḡ	kuʔús	pé·hekí-(n)e
when he	that	thus	3←3-to see-pst
when he	that	thus	he saw it

ka·	ʔipínk'e	wé·yux	hiʔsak'íwyuke
ka·	ʔipínk'e	wé·yux	hi-ʔise-k'íw-yu-(k)e
and	he too	leg	3nom-with cutting edge-to cut-toward-pst
and	he too	leg	he cut toward it

When he saw him like that, then he too cut off his leg.

06.1

kīmet wītats itkaīokīn
but he almost dropped dead

kí·met	wít'ec	hitqé·w'yuq'in
kí·met	wít'ec	hi-teqé·w'i-yu·q'i-n
all of a sudden	almost, nearly	3nom-to fall-toward-cling to life-imperf
all of a sudden	almost, nearly	he fell toward death

All of a sudden, he nearly dropped dead.

07.1

kaūa itsāpe weoyūke ūp̄inke itsēyē yě
and he put it on his back on his back coyote

kawá	hiʔcé-pe	wé-yux	ʔipínk'e	ʔiceyé-ye
kawá	hi-ise-pí-e	wé-yux	ʔipínk'e	iceyé-ye
then	3nom-to carry on back-pst	leg	he also	coyote
then	he put on his back	leg	he also	coyote

Then Coyote also put his leg on his back.

08.1

ka kaūa wako pēwewikūnye penūke tsīm weo yūk
[unknown word] when they met half a piece leg

ka·	kawá	wá·qoʔ	pé-wewkunye
ka·	kawá	wá·qoʔ	pé-wéw-kuni-(y)e
and	then	now	3←3-refl-see someone coming-pst
and	then	now	he met him

penukecim	wé-yux
penukecim	wé-yux
each with only	leg
each with only	leg

And so then he met him, each with only (one) leg.

09.1

kaūa päne tsīkauwāsna_x ä wäwīkūnnīs
then he told him you are a brave one I met

kawá	pé-ne	cikaw'isnīx	ʔewéwkunis
kawá	pé-hí-(n)e	ciká-w-ʔis-nix	ʔe-wéw-kuni-s
then	3←3-to say-pst	to fear-adj-intns	3obj-refl-see someone coming-perf
then	he told him	very fierce	I met him

Then he told him, "I just met a very fierce one!"

10.1

kaūa īpetemā yuke
and they sat down

kawá hipetemé·yeqe

kawá hi-pé·temé·yeq-e
then 3nom-pl-to sit-to be sitting-pst
then they sat down

Then they sat down.

11.1

pāne wākō ä īnise kutskuts nukt
he told him I will give you little piece meat

pé·ne	wá·qoʔ	ʔé·	ʔiní·se	kúckuc	núkt
pé·hí-(n)e	wá·qoʔ	ʔé·	ʔiní·se	kúckuc	núkt
3←3-to say-pst	now	2sg	to give-imperf.sg.pst	small	meat
he told him	now	you	I give	small	meat

He told him, “Now I give you a small piece of meat.”

12.1

kaūa ītsēyē yen pētsēpkūt swīye
and then coyote cheated him

kawá ʔiceyé·yenm

kawá ʔiceyé·ye-nm
then coyote-erg
then coyote

pecep·k'ú·cwiye

pé·sepé·k'ú·cwi-(y)e
3←3-caus-to cheat-pst
he cheated him

Then Coyote cheated him.

13.1

kaüa itseyeye hōhōk sna emāsnim nukt witsäqt
 [] the coyote "wished" of deer meat what to be

kawá	ʔiceyé·ye	hohóxsna	ʔimé·snim	núkt	wic'é·tx
kawá	ʔiceyé·ye	hi-hóxs-(n)e	ʔimes-nim	núkt	wic'é-tx
then	coyote	3nom-to use magic-pst	deer-gen	meat	to be-imper.pl
then	coyote	he used magic, wished	deer	meat	be!

Then coyote used magic, "Be deer meat!"

14.1

ka päne itseyeyen
 and he told coyote

ka·	pé·ne	ʔiceyé·yenm
ka·	pé·hí-(n)e	ʔiceyé·ye-nm
and	3←3-to say-pst	coyote-erg
and	he told him	coyote

And Coyote told him,

14.2

wako ä inkě nūkt inīse
 [] I'll "treat you" meat give

wá·qoʔ	ʔé·	ʔí·nk'e	núkt	ʔiní·se
wá·qoʔ	ʔé·	ʔí·n-k'e	núkt	ʔiní·se
now	2sg	1sg-also	meat	to give-imperf.sg.pst
now	you	I too	meat	I give

"Now, I too give you meat."

15.1

kaüa künma hinaq kīlaü wānaq
and then he turned back to the other way

kawá	konmá	hiʔnáhq'ilawnax
kawá	konmá	hi-ʔinek-q'ílaw-nax
then	that way	3nom-in carrying-to turn ones head around-cond
then	that way	he would turn around in doing something

Then he would turn around the other way in doing something.

16.1

ka itseyeyen ipnimniq panītōka
and coyote himself gave back

ka·	ʔiceyé·yenm	ʔipnimníx	paʔní·toqa
ka·	ʔiceyé·ye-nm	ʔipí-nim-níx	pé-ʔiní-toq-a
and	coyote-erg	3sg-gen-intns	3←3-to give-back-pst
and	coyote	his very own	he gave back to him

And Coyote gave his very own back to him.

17.1

ka päne wako kīye hīpsīx
and he told him we will eat let us eat

ka·	pé·ne	wá·qoʔ	kíye	hipsíx
ka·	pé·hí-(n)e	wá·qoʔ	kíye	híp-six
and	3←3-to say-pst	now	we.incl	to eat-imperf.pl.nom
and	he told him	now	we	we eat

And he told him, "Now, let us eat!"

18.1

ka yōkōpī imāsnim hīhīpe
and that one deer meat ate

ka·	yoq'opí	ʔimé·snim	hīhīpe
ka·	yoq'opí	ʔimes-nim	hi-híp-e
and	that very	deer-gen	3nom-to eat-pst
and	that very	deer	he ate

And he ate that very deer (meat).

19.1

ka yōkōpi tsikaũ wīs ipnimnix nūkt hīhīpe
and that one brave his own meat ate

ka·	yoq'opí	ciká·w'is	ʔipnimníx	núkt	hīhīpe
ka·	yoq'opí	ciká-w-ʔis	ʔipí-nim-nik	núkt	hi-híp-e
and	that very	to fear-adq	3sg-gen-intns	meat	3nom-to eat-pst
and	that very	fierce	his very own	meat	he ate

And that fierce one, he ate his own meat.

20.1

ka päne ätän kūstīm wīsīx
and he told him we are both just alike

ka·	pé·ne	ʔé·tenm	kuʔscím	wisí·x
ka·	pé-hí-(n)e	ʔé-te-nm	kuʔus-cim	we-sí·x
and	3←3-to say-pst	in fact-gen	thus-only	be-imperf.pl.nom
and	he told him	we in fact	alike	we are

And he told him, “We surely are alike!”

21.1

kūn_wātsān weotū itsayē yene poptsiyaūwana
reason not coyote he did not kill him

konwacá·n	wé·t'·u	ʔiceyé·yenm	pó·pciy'awna
kon-wece·n	wé·t'·u	ʔiceyé·ye-nm	pé·wé·p·ciy'aw-(n)e
that-purp	no/not	coyote-erg	3←3-with hand-to kill-pst
because of that	no/not	coyote	he killed him

Because of that, Coyote did not kill him.

22.1

kaūa pīwīyūyū ne
and they left one another (go in opposite directions)

kawá	piwyuyú·ne
kawá	pí·wiyú·y·ú·ne
then	recip-to separate-directed to-pst
then	they left one another to go in opposite directions

Then they left one another to go in opposite directions.

23.1

yoq kallo ūs
that is all

yóx	kal'óʔ	ʔú·s
yóx	kal'óʔ	ʔe-wé·s
that	just	3obj-to be-pres
that	just	it had

That's just it.

ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ

Haqhats - Grizzly Bear

01.1

Kōna paqlo titmai
there were five girls

koná	pá·ᖃloo	titm'á·y'
koná	paq-lu	ti-tim'á·y'
there	five-hum.st	redup-maiden
there	five people	maidens

There (were) five maidens.

02.1

atsīm ātōn haqhats-yaye ka yaka
they were sisters grizzly bears and a black bear

ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ	ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ	ka·	yá·ka?
ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ	ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ	ka·	yá·ka?
womans younger sister-siblings	grizzly bear-family	and	black bear
sisters	grizzly bears	and	black bear

They were sisters--grizzly bears and a black bear.

03.1

konaitīta hit ewīyetse ne
same place lived with them lived together

konatí·ta	hitéw'yecine
koná-tí·ta	hi-téw'ye-cine
there-same	3nom-to live-imperf.pl.nom.pst
at the same place	they lived

They were living together at the same place.

04.1

kaŭa kōnim yakanim äwäke nakts timaiyēn yats ka nakts hatswal
and that blackbear had one girl (about old enough to marry) and one boy

kawá	koním	yá·kaʔnim	ʔewé·ke
kawá	kon-ním	yá·kaʔ-nim	ʔe-wé·k-e
then	that-gen	black bear-gen	3obj-to be/have-pst
then	that	black bear	she had

ná·qc	tim'ay'í·myaʔc	ka·	ná·qc	há·cwal
ná·qc	tim'á·y-miya-aʔc	ka·	ná·qc	há·cwal
one	unmarried girl-child-ref	and	one	boy
one	unmarried daughter	and	one	boy

Then that black bear she had one unmarried daughter and one boy.

05.1

kaŭa paqlo titeäqet hitäwiwetsēne
and 5 boys they were living (in another place)

kawá	pá·xloo	titeʔéxet	hitéw'yecine
kawá	paq-lu	ti-teʔéxet	hi-téw'ye-cine
then	five-hum.st	redup-boy	3nom-to live-imperf.pl.nom.pst
then	five people	boys	they lived together

At that time, five boys were living together (elsewhere).

06.1

ka kūnim tāqisnim yākāna timaienyats pēn pēnye
and that (one) oldest blackbear girl he married her

ka·	koním	té·q'isnim	yá·kaʔna
ka·	kon-ním	té-q-ʔis-nim	yá·kaʔ-ne
and	that-gen	oldest-adj-erg	black bear-obj
and	that	eldest	black bear

tim'ay'í·myaʔc	peʔénpeʔnye
tim'á-y-miya-aʔc	pé-ʔinipí-eʔny-e
unmarried girl-child-ref	3←3-take as wife-benf-pst
unmarried daughter	he married her

And the eldest married the daughter of black bear.

07.1

kōnwatsan kūnki päqitsemnsene
reason the former (blackbear) got mad

konwacán	konkí	pé·xíc'emsene
kon-wacan	konkí	pé-xíc'em-sene
that-purp	with that	3←3-to become angry-imperf.sg.nom.pst
for that reason	about that	he/she became angered at him/her

For that reason, (one of the Grizzly Bears) she became angered over that.

08.1

kaūa hitkait äwiyetsēne
and they were then living together

kawá	hitqetéw'yecine
kawá	hi-teqe-téw'ye-cine
then	3nom-briefly-to live-imperf.pl.nom.pst
then	they temporarily lived together

Then they temporarily lived together.

09.1

kaūa yō kome haqhats hīpatamalwīya
and that one (the blackbear) grizzlybear they made up their mind

kawá	yoq'omá	ḡáḡa·c	hipatamá·lwiya
kawá	yó·q'o-ma	ḡáḡa·c	hi-pe-tamá·lwi-(y)e
then	that-intns.pl	grizzly bear	3nom-pl.nom-to plot against-pst
then	those	grizzly bear	they plotted against

Then those grizzly bears they plotted against (them).

10.1

wako kīye optsiaū witsix
[] let us kill them

wá·qo?	kīye	ʔó·pciy'awcix
wá·qo?	kīye	ʔe-wé·p·ciy'aw-cix
now	1pl	3obj-with hand-to kill-imperf-pl.nom
now	we/us	kill them

“Let us kill them!”

11.1

kaūa hiwāke tāqis
and dreamed oldest

kawá	hiwé·ke	té·q'is
kawá	hiwé·k-e	té·q-ʔis
then	to dream-pst	oldest-adj
then	dreamt	eldest

Then the eldest dreamt.

12.1

haqhats kahīhīne
bear then she told them (her sisters)

ḡáḡa·c	ka·	hihīne
ḡáḡa·c	ka·	hi-hí-(n)e
grizzly bear	and	3nom-to say-pst
grizzly bear	and	she said

Grizzly Bear then said,

12.2

wako hiwisīx wapsīaū wīñix
[] they are killed (formula)

wá·qo?	hiwsí·x	wapciy'awnix
wá·qo?	hi-wé-six	wé-p-ci-y'aw-nix
now	3nom-to be-imperf.pl.nom	with hand-to kill-intns
now	they are	killed

“Now, they are killed!”

13.1

kaūa ipnūnū pe kūlē wit
[] they sang evening

kawá	?ipnunú·pa	kulé·wit
kawá	?ipnú-nu-pa	kulé-wit
then	3sg-directed to-loc	evening
then	he directed to	evening

Then in the evening she directed it out.

14.1

kaūa yoks apatsa'na koltskomēwīx
and him (the oldest blackbear) they killed early in the morning

kawá	yóx	pé·cene	qóʔc	q'oʔ	mé·ywix
kawá	yoq	pé·hí·cene	qóʔc	q'oʔ	mé·ywi-x
then	that	3←3-to say-imperf.sg.nom.pst	yet	quite	early morning
then	that	he told him long ago	yet	quite	early morning

Then that one she said to them, “As soon as early morning!”

15.1

ka hīsamkēya ka hilit skawī ya haiqhaiq
she dressed up she put on a bonnet white

ka·	hisam'qí·ya	ka·	hilickawí·ya	ḡayḡáyḡ
ka·	hi-sam'aq-i-(y)e	ka·	hi-lí·ckaw-i-(y)e	ḡay-ḡayaq
and	3nom-dress-s-pst	and	3nom-basket cap-s-pst	redup-white
and	she dressed up	and	she put on a basket cap	white

And she dressed up and put on a white basket cap.

16.1

kaūa hīkū ye
then she went

kawá	hikú·ye
kawá	hi-kú·(y)e
then	3nom-to go-pst
then	she went

Then she went.

17.1

kaūa tī ta äte hitatī wēne
 same time as it happened he went hunting

kawatí·ta	ʔé·te	hitex̄tíwene
kawá-tí·ta	ʔé·te	hi-tex̄tí·we-ne
then-same	indeed	3 _{nom} -to hunt (for birds)-pst
at the same time	indeed	she went hunting

At the same time, indeed she went hunting.

18.1

kaūa hiyē wēnēñě ka papai yñōye
 [] he went over the ridge [] he came

kawá hiyéwnene	ka· hipaynó·ya
kawá hi-yéwne-ne	ka· hi-páy-n-uu-(y)e
then 3 _{nom} -to go over a hill-pst	and 3 _{nom} -to come-toward-pst
then he went over a ridge	and he came toward someone

Then she went over a ridge and came toward (the youth).

19.1

kaūa īnākīx patskaū naq kīntem papainōya
 [] anyhow he was afraid close he came to her

kawá ʔinekí·x	pá·ckawn'aḥ	kí·mtem' papaynó·ya
kawá ʔinekí·x	pé·ciká·w-(n)aḥ	kí·mtem' pé·páy-uu-e
then even though 3←3-be afraid-cond	near	3←3-to come-toward-pst
then even though he would be afraid of her	near	he approached her

Then even though he would be afraid of her, he approached her a short distance away.

20.1

kaua päne haqhatsnim
then told him the bear

kawá pé·ne	ḡáḡa·cnim
kawá pé·hí-(n)e	ḡáḡa·c-nim
then 3←3-to say-pst	grizzly bear-erg
then he told her	grizzly bear

Then grizzly bear told him,

20.2

ĩtū pe weyē oseliksem kūm haūmtits kā-pī tēnwēs kīntem
what are you stopping for come in a hurry we will talk close together

ʔitú·pa	wiyú·selikcem
ʔitú·pa	wiyé·wisé·lí·k·ce·m
what-loc	while time passes-to a standing position-be about to-imperf-sg.nom-csl
at what	be standing around while time passes

kú·m	há·mti?c	ka·	pí·ten'wes	kí·mtem'
kú·im	há·mti-ʔic	ka·	pí·ten'íwé-s	kí·mtem'
to come-csl	quick-adj	and	recip-speak-pres	near
come!	hurry	and	speak to each other	near

“What ever are you standing around for?”

“Come here quick! Let us just speak close to each other!”

21.1

kaūa pātķēq yūye ka popsīyaū na
then she chased him and killed him

kawá pe·tqekiyú·ye

kawá pé·teqe·kiyú·-(y)e

then 3←3-momentarily-be angry with-pst

then she became angered with him

ka· pó·pciy'awna

ka· pé·wé·p·ciy'awn-e

and 3←3-with hand-to kill-pst

and killed him

Then she became angered with him and killed him.

22.1

ka hiklawit makaū wīna wātu hipaitoka
[] he stayed till after dark never he came back

ka· hiklawitmaka?awina¹³

ka· hi·kulé·wit·me·ká?aw·i·-(n)e

and 3nom-evening-abl-to dawn-s-pst

and it went from evening to dawn

wé·t'u hipá·ytoqa

wé·t'u hi·pá·y·toq·e

not 3nom-to come-back-pst

not he came back

And it went from evening to dawn and he did not return.

13. This is a highly unusual noun incorporated expression.

23.1

kaūa hānākē kūstī te kīlē wit hīhī ne kaūa hānāke
and again same thing in the evening she said [] again

kawá	hé·nek'e	kuʔstīite	kulé·wit	hīhī·ne
kawá	hé·nek'e	kuʔús-tīit	kulé·wit	hi-hī-(n)e
then	again	thus-same	evening	3nom-to say-pst
then	again	in the same way	evening	she said

kawá **hé·nek'e**
kawá hé·nek'e
then again
then again

Then again in the evening she said, “Then again!”

24.1

hikū ye konapkitī ta
she went to the same place

hikú·ye	konapkití·ta
hi-kú·e	konapki-tí·te
3nom-to go-pst	to that place, there-same
she went	to that same place there

She went there to that same place.

25.1

kaūa tākisq tūlūkt hikū ye
the next oldest went over there

kawá té·q'is	tulukt¹⁴	hikú·ye
kawá té·q'is	[unknown word]	hi-kú-e
then oldest	[unknown word]	3nom-to go-pst
then eldest	[...]	he went

Then the eldest next in line went.

26.1

pīyep hipāwiye konapkītīta hikū ye
his brother he looked for him to the same place he went

pī·yep	hiʔpé·w'ye	konapkítī·ta	hikú·ye
pī·yep	hi-ʔipé·w'i-(y)e	konapkí-títe	hi-kú-e
older brother	3nom-to look for-pst	to that place, there-same	3nom-to go-pst
older brother	he looked for	to that same place there	he went

The older brother looked for him at that same place where he went.

27.1

kaūa konapkītīt pākne āyātōnā
and to the same place he saw a woman

kawá konapkítī·t	pé·xne	ʔá·yatona
kawá konapkí-tít(e)	pé-hekí-ne	ʔá·yat-ne
then to that place, there-same	3←3-to see-pst	woman-obj
then to that same place there	he saw it	woman

Then at that same place he saw a woman.

14. This word may be a variant of temelú:kt (Aoki 1994:711).

28.1

kaūa pākūye
and he went up to her

kawá pé·kuye

kawá pé·kú·-(y)e
then 3←3-to go-pst
then he went to her

Then he went to her.

29.1

kīmet kustītě pāne
and she told him the same

kí·met

kí·met
all of a sudden
all of a sudden

kuʔstíite

kuʔús-tíite
thus-same
the same

pé·ne

pé·hí·-(n)e
3←3-to say-pst
she told him

Then she told him the same.

30.1

kaūa patkaikū ye ka poptsiyaū na
and she took after him and she killed him

kawá petqekú·ye

kawá pé·teqe-kú·-(y)e
then 3←3-suddenly-to go-pst
then she suddenly took after him and

ka·

ka·
and

pó·pciy'awna

pé·wép·ciy'awn-e
3←3-with hand-to kill-pst
she killed him

Then she suddenly took after him and killed him.

31.1

kaūa hānēke hipeklā wītne tsiaya
and again he stayed till night never

kawá	hé·nek'e	hipeklé·witne	cá?ya
kawá	hé·nek'e	hi-pa-kulé·wit-(n)e	cá?ya
then	again	3nom-loc-evening-pst	missing, absent
then	again	it became evening	missing, absent

Then again it became evening--he was missing.

32.1

kaūa hānāke kulē wit hipūyetsēye
and again in the evening they danced (the girls)

kawá	hé·nek'e	kulé·wit	hipuyecéeye
kawá	hé·nek'e	kulé·wit	hi-pe-weyé·ce-(y)e
then	again	evening	3nom-pl.nom-to dance-pst
then	again	evening	they danced

Then again in the evening they danced.

33.1

kīnki hāneke mēwix hīkūye
then again in the morning she went

kinkí	hé·nek'e	m?eywix	hikú·ye
kin-kí	hé·nek'e	m?eywi-x	hi-kú·-(y)e
this-instr	again	morning-abl	3nom-to go-pst
with this	again	in the morning	she went

With this again in the morning she went.

34.1

kaūa hānāke nakts mītaūq hīkūye
and again one the third he went

kawá	hé·nek'e	ná·qc	mitá·w'x	hikú·ye
kawá	hé·nek'e	ná·qc	mita-we-x	hi-kú·-(y)e
then	again	one	three-hum.st-abl	3nom-to go-pst
then	again	one	of three	he went

Then again the third one went.

35.1

hīnāthipā(wi)ye
he looked for them

hiné·λ'inpew'ye¹⁵
hi-né·λ'-in-ʔipé·w'i-e
3nom-pl.nom-csl-to look for-pst
he looked for them

He looked for them.

36.1

kaūa komaitīta papainoya
and he came to the same place

kawá	konmaytí·ta	papaynó·ya
kawá	konmaytí·ta	pé·pá·yn-u·-(y)e
then	to the same place	3←3-to come-toward-pst
then	to the same place	he came toward it

Then he came toward the same place.

37.1

15. Spinden incidently transcribed an instance of [th] which uniquely represents the stylized speech of Grizzly Bear.

kaŭa kustīte poptsiaŭ na
and the same thing she murdered

kawá	kuʔstíite	pó·pciy'awna
kawá	kuʔús-tíite	pé·wép·ciy'awn-e
then	thus-same	3←3-with hand-to kill-pst
then	the same way	she killed him

Then in the same way she killed him.

38.1

kaŭa lömtaix pīlepupk ka kūstite mēwix papai[_]onya
and the last one the 4th and the same thing in the morning he came to it

kawá	lam'táyx	pí·leptipx
kawá	lam'táy-x	pí·lep-t-ipx
then	to be last-abl	four-num.st-all
then	the very last	fourth

ka·	kuʔstí·ta	mé·ywix	papayno·ya
ka·	kuʔús-tí·ta	mé·ywi-x	pé·pá·yn-uu-(y)e
and	thus-same	morning-abl	3←3-to come-toward-pst
and	the same way	in the morning	he came toward her

Then the very last, the fourth one--and in the same way--in the morning he came toward her.

39.1

kaūa potsiaū na
and she killed him

kawá pó·pciy'awna

kawá pé·wé·p·ciy'awn-e
then 3←3-with hand-to kill-pst
then she killed him

Then she killed him.

40.1

kaūa hīkūye kūlēwit
and he went in the evening

kawá hīkú·ye **kulé·wit**

kawá	hi-kú·(y)e	kulé·wit
then	3nom-to go-pst	evening
then	it came	evening

Then evening came.

41.1

yaka'nim miots hatswal hīkūye kaūa kōna moits hitōmtaina
black bear's [] boy he went and at (there) that place child he told it

yáka·nim	miyá?c	há·cwal	hīkú·ye
yáka·nim	miyá?c	há·cwal	hi-kú·e
black bear-gen	child	boy	3nom-to go-pst
black bear's	child	boy	he went

kawá koná	miyá?c	hitamtá·yna
kawá koná	miyá?c	hi-tamtá·y-ne
then there	child	3nom-to report-pst
then there	child	he reported

Black bear's boy child went and there the child reported,

41.2

wako hinaswaptsiyaũn
[] they have killed them

wá·qo?	hiná·swapciy'awn
wá·qo?	hi-né·s-wé·p-ci·y'aw-n
now	3nom-pl.obj-with hand-to kill-stat
now	she killed them

“Now she killed them!”

44.1

ka kaũa taqts hipūyetse yū kaũa taqts ä näqsep
and [] when they have a dance [] then you different

ka·	kawá	tá·qc	hipuyecé·yu?	kawá	tá·qc	ʔé·	néxsep
ka·	kawá	tá·qc	hi-pé·-weyé·ce-yu?	kawá	tá·qc	ʔé·	néxsep
and	then	soon	3nom-pl.nom-to dance-fut	then	soon	2sg	different
and	then	soon	they will dance	then	soon	you	different

And then presently they will dance and then you (will be) different.

44.2

anaswetskulikě'nyū kākā hipūyetsē ye
you tell them (different) when they danced

ʔenesweck'ú·like?nyu?	kakáa	hipuyecé·yu?
ʔe-né·s-weck'ú·li·k-e?ny-u?	ke-káa	hi-pé·-weyé·ce-(y)u?
3obj-pl.obj-change-move-benf-fut	rel-and	3nom-pl.nom-to dance-fut
you will be changing it for them	when	they will dance

You will be changing it for them when they will dance.

44.3

kaūa nāqsep hinas wetskulike 'nye
then he said different

kawá	néxsep	hinesweck'ú·like?nye
kawá	néxsep	hi-né's-weck'ú·li·k-e?ny-e
then	different	3nom-pl.obj-change-move-benf-fut
then	different	he changed it for them

Then he changed it for them making it different.

44.4

Yokoqko hinaswapsīaū na haqhat sna
sign he would kill them grizzly bears

yó·q'o	hiná·swapciy'awna	ḡáḡa·cna
yó·q'o	hi-né's-wé·p·ciy'awn-e	ḡáḡa·c-ne
that	3nom-pl.obj-with hand-to kill-pst	grizzly bear-obj
that	they killed them	Grizzly Bear

He killed them with that--the grizzly bears.

45.1

kaūa hītskīlī ne
and then he went home

kawá	hickilí·na
kawá	hi-cikilí-(n)e
then	3nom-to return-pst
then	he went home

Then he went home.

46.1

kaūa tiwēye hīhī ne
then (he told his youngest) brother in-law he told him

kawá	tiwé·ye	hīhī·ne
kawá	tiwé·ye	hi-hí-(n)e
then	brother-in-law	3nom-to say-pst
then	brother-in-law	he said

Then he said to the brother-in-law,

46.2

wākō anashapū simē wiye
[] I made them mistake (fooled them)

wá·qo?	?anassapu·siméywiye
wá·qo?	?e-né·s-sé·p-ú·siméy-wi-(y)e
now	3obj-pl.obj-caus.pl-toward-to not do-s-pst
now	I have caused them to not do it right

Now I have caused them to make a mistake!

47.1

ka mēwix hīkūye künmaitita laimē nix
then in the morning he went same way the youngest

ka·	mé·ywix	hīkú·ye
ka·	mé·ywi-x	hi-kú·e
and	morning-abl	3nom-to go-pst
and	in the morning	he went

konmaytí·ta	laymiwnix
konmaytí·ta	laymíwt-nix
to the same place	youngest-intns
to the same place	the very youngest

Then in the morning, the very youngest went to the same place.

48.1

wako kūse tāqts inēkī x hiwapstiaūnūq
 [] I'll go even if she kills me

wá·qo?	kú·se	?inekí·x	hiwá·pciy'awn'aḫ
wá·qo?	kú·se	?inekí·k	hi-wé·p·ciy'aw-n'aḫ
now	to go-imperf-pst	although	3nom-with hand-to kill-cond
now	I am going	although	she would kill

Now I am going even if she would kill me!

49.1

grizzly bear talks here

mētū taqts hama_ain ĩnpū
 I will even for a husband take

mét'u	tá·qc	há·ma?ayn	?inipú?
mét'u	tá·qc	há·ma-?ayn	?inipí-u?
but	soon	man-benf	to take-fut
but	soon	for man	I am going to take

“But it will be that I am going to take a husband.”

50.1

kaūa kōnix hikūye
 then from there she went

kawá	koníx	hikú·ye
kawá	koníx	hi-kú·-(y)e
then	there	3nom-to go-pst
then	there	she went

Then she went from there.

51.1

kōna píktsa na
then they met

koní	pá·kcaʔna
koná	pé·kicaʔí·cene
there	recip-meet-imperf.sg.nom.pst
there	he met her

There she met him.

52.1

kaūa haman pōptsiau -wi-naq
then the man killed her

kawá	há·manm	pó·pciy'awn'aḥ
kawá	há·ma-nm	pé·wé·p·ciy'aw-n'aḥ
then	man-erg	3←3-with hand-to kill-s-cond
then	man	he would have killed her

Then the man would have killed her.

53.1

kaūa wātū hīpaina haqhats
and never she came the grizzly

kawá	wét'u	hipá·yna	ḫáḫa·c
kawá	wét'u	hi-pá·yn-e	ḫáḫa·c
then	not	3nom-to come-pst	grizzly bear
then	not	she came	grizzly bear

Then Grizzly Bear never came.

54.1

kōnaitīta pīktsāna
at the same place they met

konmaytī'ta

konmaytī'ta
at that same place
at that same place

pá·kcaʔna

pé·kicaʔí-cene
recip-meet-imperf.sg.nom.pst
she met him

At the same place, she met him.

55.1

kaūa hānāke poptsiawinaq
and again he killed her

kawá hé·nek'e

kawá hé·nek'e
then again
then again

pó·pciy'awn'aḥ

pé·wé·p·ciy'aw-n'aḥ
3←3-with hand-to kill-cond
he would have killed her

Then again he would have killed her.

56.1

kaūa hāneke pīpěwāw itūke
[] again they stayed over night

kawá hé·nek'e

kawá hé·nek'e
then again
then again

hipewéwtuke

hi-pe-wéwtuk-e
3nom-pl.nom-to stay over night-pst
they spent a night

Then again they spent a night.

57.1

kaūa häneke mēwix kaūa häneke konaitīt piktsa'qna
 [] again to same place they met

kawá	hé·nek'e	mé·ywix
kawá	hé·nek'e	mé·ywi-x
then	again	morning-abl
then	again	in the morning

kawá	hé·nek'e	konmaytí·ta	pá·kca?na
kawá	hé·nek'e	konmaytí·ta	pé·kica?í·cene
then	again	at that same place	recip-meet-imperf.sg.nom.pst
then	again	at that same place	she met him

Then again in the morning and again at the same place she met him.

58.1

kaūa häneke poptsiaū winaq
 [] he killed her

kawá	hé·nek'e	pó·pciy'awin'aḡ
kawá	hé·nek'e	pé·wé·p·ciy'aw-i-n'aḡ
then	again	3←3-with hand-to kill-s-cond
then	again	he would have killed her

Then again he would have killed her.

59.1

wako nakstsīsīmkai häneke hīkūye kona pkitī t
 [] this last one []

wá·qoʔ	naḫcicimk'á·y'	hé·nek'e	hikú·ye
wá·qoʔ	naḫcicimk'á·y'	hé·nek'e	hi-kú·-(y)e
now	just one more	again	3nom-to go-pst
now	just one more	again	he went

konapkití·t

konapki-tít(e)
 to that place, there-same
 to that same place there

Now just one more time he went again to that same place there.

60.1

kaūa häneke lämtai ĩna poptsiaū winaq
 [] youngest he killed her

kawá	hé·nek'e	lamt'áy	pó·pciy'awin'aḫ
kawá	hé·nek'e	lamt'áy	pé·-wé·p-ciy'aw-i-n'aḫ
then	again	to be last	3←3-with hand-to kill-s-cond
then	again	to be last	he would have killed her

Then again he would have killed her at last.

61.1

kaŭa yoŋke hahmna haŋhatsnim hinaswaptſiaũ(wi)naŋ
and those the men the grizzlies had killed them

kawá yóŋke	hahámna	ḡáḡa·cnim
kawá yóŋ-ke	ha-há-ma-ne	ḡáḡa·c-nim
then that-rel	redup-man-obj	grizzly bear-erg
then that which	men	grizzly bear

hinaswapciy'awin'aŋ
hi-nés-wé-p-ci-y'aw-i-n'aŋ
3nom-pl.obj-with hand-to kill-s-cond
she will have killed them

Then those men which Grizzly Bear would have killed,

62.1

kaŭa hīpěněpě wīp īleptix
and he went and got all from

kawá hipeʔnépte	wí·pileptix
kawá hi-pe-ʔiné-p-te	wʔi-pílep-tipx
then 3nom-pl.nom-to hold-pres.hab	dist-four-num.st.all
then he is holding them	each of the four

Then he is holding each of the four.

63.1

kaūa hupūska ta ye
then he straddled them

kawá hipusqé·teye

kawá hi-pe-we-siqé·te-(y)e
then 3nom-pl.nom-assume position-to straddle-pst
then he straddled over them

Then he straddle over them.

64.1

kaūa waqis hipāwitsēye
and

kawá wá·q'is

kawá wá·q-ʔis
then alive-adj
then alive

hipewc'é·ye

hi-pe-wic'é·-(y)e
3nom-pl.nom-come to be-pst
they came to be

Then they came back to life.

CHAPTER 9

Há·cwal Pe·lé·ynin' Lost Boy

Story was originally told by Jim Miles of Sweetwater, Idaho in the summer of 1945. This version was rerecorded and transcribed in collaboration with consultant cá?yaw Gordon Fisher in 2006.

- 1 **Waqí·pa ná·qc nimí·pu· te?é?et há·cwal hipe·lé·yne me?sé·mpe**
Long ago one young Nez Perce boy became lost in the mountains

ke konmá ?ipnám himí·yu te?tíwepx hipekúye.
where his family had gone on a hunting trip.
- 2 **Mí·w'acpa ?ením' hipá·yna**
Soon winter arrived

kaa wé·t'u míne yú?snim wic'é·nwe·s ?ewé·ke.
and the poor youth had no place to live.
- 3 **Me?sé·mpel'u·m pé·xcene**
The mountain inhabitants had observed his presence

ka· pecú·kwecene tá·qc hitin'xnú? c'a·lawí wé·t'u ?isí·nm pó·payatasano?.
and understood he would perish if nobody offered to help him.
- 4 **kawá pí?amxna wax hipetimmíyune maná· konkí hipakiyó?qa.**
They assembled a council to decide what should be done.
- 5 **“tá?c ?í·n ?ewné·k'niku?,” xá?a·c hihí·ne,**
“I will take care of him,” said Grizzly Bear,

“cá?ya wé·s ?inimníx mamáy'ac.”
“I don't have any children of my own.”

- 6 **kawóʔ kúckuc há·cwalna pé·ʔnehnene ʔipnám ʔiní·tkex piswé·pe.**
So she took the little boy to her home nestled among the rocks.
- 7 **koná halxpíʔs ʔením hipepinmí·ke.**
There they slept the entire winter in her warm den.
- 8 **yóx ʔewsí·ne ʔiléxni hí·l'amkin' taltánm pé·xt**
It was well matted with plenty of cedar bark
- ka· hecú·ki ham'ó·yham'oy simé·s.**
and configured in the form of a soft springwood bed.
- 9 **ʔelwíte·spe xáxa·c hihí·ne,**
During the early part of June Grizzly Bear said,
- “wá·qoʔ kíye wíhnecix!”**
“Now we will travel!”
- 10 **kawá teʔéxetune pé·ʔnehnene til'éhtitkin'ikeyx**
Then she took the boy eastward
- neqé·y himé·q'is mexsé·mx,**
over a high mountain peak,
- kí· ka· wispiní·tpe weʔnekí·n.**
which is now called Lolo Pass.
- 11 **ʔú·yit ke ka· hé·nek'e ʔením' hipá·yna,**
But before winter came again,
- hipackilí·toqa**
they ventured back
- ke yóx ʔewsí·ne luʔúq'ic qiy'á·w'is hiyú·mne·s tilé·lpe.**
to their warm dry cave along the hillside.
- 12 **koná pá·xat ʔinmí·wit hipawyá·ka·ʔawna.**
There they lived together for five years.

- 13 **kí·met ná·qc wéwtu·xt teṭtíwetu·m pú·c'illiksene ṡáṡa·cna.**
Then one day Grizzly Bear was killed by a hunter.
- 14 **c'awí·n há·cwal hitéw'yenike meṡsé·mpe,**
However the boy continued to stay in the deep forest,

hinmí·wixqana ṡáṡa·cnim waqí·ma ṡiní·tpe.
wintering in the bear's old home.
- 15 **hé·lexnike, wé·t'u ṡisí· hicú·kwecix ke mahál,**
After a period of time, nobody knows how long,

titó·qanm pá·yxcana
he was found by his tribesmen

ka· pé·ṡnehcikli·ktoqsana ṡipnám wic'é·nwesx.
and taken back to his own village.
- 16 **timí·pn'itkin'ix**
From his memory,

teṡéṡetum hiné·shimteṡke titó·qana
he was able to guide his people

ṡáṡa·cnim ṡitṡlítṡ ṡiskit k'u·séy'nepx.
along Grizzly Bear's trail in the thicket to Montana.
- 17 **hé·lexnike kúnk'u konyá ṡiskíne pé·twixcene**
Thereafter they followed that trail

kaka· hipewíhnene qoq'á·lxnim wé·tesx
when they traveled to Buffalo Country

ka· yóq'o koní·x cu·kwené·wit nimí·pu·nm ṡapawc'á·ya.
and it has been known by the Nez Perces ever since then.
- 18 **titoṡósma hipení·ne pá·y's peṡtú·qes há·cwal hickilí·toqa ṡáṡa·cqeṡeṡéyṡ**
Some say the impetuous boy returned back to the Grizzlies enclave

ṡetke ka· wé·t'u máwa hé·nek'e himyú·mem pé·xcene.

and was never seen again by his own people.

19 **kuʔskin'í-x ná-qc lé·heyn hiwetxú·wiye.**

Finally one day he returned home.

20 **néxcim teḡtíwepe hitkú·pkeʔyke tú·sti póholkex**

Once during a hunting trip he pointed across the canyon

kaa láwtiwa·mana hiné·sepn'iye,

and said to his companions,

“wéet 'e·xcí-x yóḡ titlú·ne 'amsá·ḡna neqé·y likó·lampa?”

“Do you see those large boulders across the ridge?”

21 **“yóq'o koná ḡḡa·c hitéw'yece!”**

That is where the Grizzly lives!”

22 **koní·x táyam hipe·lé·yne hexné·y'.**

The following summer he disappeared without a trace to his whereabouts.

23 **titoʔósma hipené·ke pá·lwit ḡḡa·cpo·m pó·pciy'awcana**

Some came to the conclusion that maybe the Grizzly Bears had killed him

ʔetke ʔipním hinesepeḡí·c'emne

because he angered them

kaka· teḡtiwetú·ne hiná·c'nahpayka ʔimé·m wé·tesx.

when he brought hunters into their homeland.

Full English Text

Long ago one young Nez Perce boy became lost in the mountains where his family had gone on a hunting trip. Soon winter arrived and the poor youth had no place to live. The mountain inhabitants had observed his presence and understood he would

perish if nobody offered to help him. They assembled a council to decide what should be done. "I will take care of him," said Grizzly Bear, "I don't have any children of my own." So she took the little boy to her home nestled among the rocks. There they slept the entire winter in her warm den. It was well matted with plenty of cedar bark and configured in the form of a soft springwood bed. During the early part of June Grizzly Bear said, "Now we will travel!" Then she took the boy eastward over a high mountain peak, which is now called Lolo Pass. But before winter came again, they ventured back to their warm dry cave along the hillside. There they lived together for five years. Then one day Grizzly Bear was killed by a hunter. However the boy continued to stay in the deep forest, wintering in the bear's old home. After a period of time, nobody knows how long, he was found by his tribesmen and taken back to his own village. From his memory he was able to guide his people along Grizzly Bear's trail in the thicket to Montana. Thereafter they followed that trail when they traveled to Buffalo Country and it has been known by the Nez Perces ever since then. Some say the impetuous boy returned back to the Grizzlies enclave and was never seen again by his own people. Finally one day he returned home. Once during a hunting trip he pointed across the canyon and said to his companions, "do you see those large boulders across the ridge? That is where the Grizzly lives!" The following summer he disappeared without a trace to his whereabouts. Some came to the conclusion that maybe the Grizzly Bears had killed him because he angered them

when he brought hunters into their homeland.

CHAPTER 10

Ye·lé·pt
Eugene Wilson Hic'í·x̣ce

This Ni·mí·pu· oral narrative was given by consultant *cá?yaw* Eugene Wilson. It was recorded on February 5th, 2000 at his home in Mesa, Arizona.¹⁶ It is important to note that the setting for this narrative takes place in the Nez Perce traditional territory of the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness.

- 1 **Ná·x̣cim waqí·pa ni·mí·pu· hité·wyecine**
Once long ago Nez Perce were living
- 2 **ka· koná hí·wes Qémyex̣p ni·mí·pu· titó·qan**
and (over) there is Qémyex̣p Nez Perce people.
- 3 **ka· kí·me ?imemú·nika?niqa ?uyé·me,**
And these ones used to name themselves ?uyé·me,
- 4 **?uyé·me kinú? Qémyex̣pe.**
?uyé·me here at Qémyex̣pe.
- 5 **konó? hiwsí·ne lepú? háham, láwtiwa· hiwsí·ne.**
There were two men, they were friends.
- 6 **láwtiwa· hiwsí·ne kí· ?u lepít.**
These two were friends.
- 7 **ná·qc hiwé·ke tiwí·tukeytet,**
One was Tiwí·tukeytet (Leading Buffalo Hunter),

16. At the time of recording in February of 2000, *cá?yaw* Mr. Wilson asked me to offer two Ni·mí·pu· names for the brothers depicted in the narrative. Unfortunately, I was unable to think of and offer any names. Since this will represent the 1st published version of this narrative, I herein offer the two names as presented here in honor of his request. I also give the narrative its appropriate title: Yelépt 'comrades or blood brothers'. Sections of this narrative were first presented in Cash Cash (1999), however, the translation and names contained here in Chap 10 are to be treated as the complete, most up-to-date version of this text.

- 8 **ka· ná·qc...ná·qcnim weʔnikí·n' ʔewé·ke ʔelelímye.**
and one...one had the name ʔelelímye (Cyclone).
- 9 **hetéʔew látiwa·yi·n hiwsí·ne kí·me.**
These (two) were close friends.
- 10 **ka· tiwí·tukeytet ʔewé·ke táʔc titó·qan ʔiwé·pne,**
And tiwí·tukeytet had good wife,
- 11 **taʔcníx titó·qan.**
a very good looking person.
- 12 **ka· qóʔc ʔipsiwá·tx hiwé·ke ʔelelímye.**
And ʔelelímye was yet unmarried.
- 13 **ka· ná·qcm wá·qoʔ pá·sayxnaʔnya ʔiwé·pne tiwí·tukeytetne.**
And this very one now admired the wife of tiwí·tukeytet.
- 14 **ka· ʔelelímye hiné·ke,**
And ʔelelímye thought,
- 15 **“manmaʔí kex ʔaʔnpányoʔqa ʔiwé·pne?”**
“In what way can it be that I might take a wife?”
- 16 **ka· hitimmiyunú·ye tiwí·tukeytetne ka· hiné·ke,**
And he schemed towards tiwí·tukeytet and he thought,
- 17 **“wá·qoʔ ʔewnéhnenuʔ pipiswehí·spx himé·q'is méxsem”**
“Now I will take him to the big rocky mountains”
- 18 **“ka· koná ʔesepteqelwetí·yequ?”**
“and I will strand him there.”
- 19 **“ka· ʔené·snuʔ,”**
“And I will say to them,”
- 20 **“hitqéwye koná ʔeʔpé·w'isine waptásqaqana,”**
“He fell there (as) we hunted for eaglets,”

- 21 **“koná ʔeʔpé·wʼisine pipiswehí·spa.”**
“there (where) we hunted at the rocky place.”
- 22 **qʼoʔ namá·wyawana ka· pewskeʔéyne Qémyeḵkinʼix.**
Right away, they got themselves ready and moved from Qémyeḵ.
- 23 **pipiswahí·s koná hiwé·ke hemé·qʼis méḵsem weʔnikí·n...**[*tape stop*]
The rocky place there was a big mountain named...
- 24 **konóʔ hiwé·ke méḵsem kuʔús hipeweʼnikí·n ʔipé·tuxmeḵs.**
The mountain right there they called it ʔipé·tuxmeḵs (Misty Mountain).
- 25 **ka· konóʔ hipahí·caya.**
And right there they climbed up.
- 26 **ka· koní·x pe·sú·lketeye piyé·ḵski ʔelelímyenm,**
And from there ʔelelímye dangled him with a rope,
- 27 **pesu·lkeléhnene,**
he lowered him,
- 28 **pesu·lkeléhnene tiwí·tukeytetne qʼuyyíc koná.**
he lowered tiwí·tukeytet there (where it was) slippery.
- 29 **ka· koná sí·ks ʔewsí·ne wepté·snim.**
And Eagles had a nest there.
- 30 **ka· koná hiwsekeʔéyke.**
And there it stood.
- 31 **ka· koná sí·ks ʔewsí·ne wáyʼat.**
And there they had a nest far out.
- 32 **ʔayyíʔc koná hiwé·ke**
It was dangerous there
- 33 **ka· peʔsexicʼílkeʔnye táwtas,**
and he severed his rope,

- 34 **piyé·x̣snim yóx táwtas peʔsexic'ílkeʔnye.**
he severed that rawhide rope of his.
- 35 **q'oʔ ʔelelímye hickilí·ne,**
Indeed, ʔelelímye went home,
- 36 **konóʔ ke hiwé·ke.**
the place from which (it happened).
- 37 **konóʔ hitin'xnúʔ,**
There he will die,
- 38 **konóʔ hitin'xnúʔ, wé·t'u manmaʔí hihí·ceyuʔ kiné.**
there he will die, in no way will he climb (from) here.
- 39 **q'oʔ hickilí·ne,**
Right away he returned,
- 40 **hickilí·ne ʔelelímye ka· hiná·stamtayna titó·qana.**
ʔelelímye returned and he informed the people.
- 41 **“konóʔ hitqé·w'ye kex ke ʔepé·wisine waptá·sqaqana.**
“There he fell down as we searched for eaglets.”
- 42 **“konóʔ ʔit'íl ʔekú·ye táwtas ka· hitqé·w'ye q'oʔ tinxnúʔ.”**
“Right there the rope broke and he fell down to his death.”
- 43 **“wá·qoʔ hitin'xní·n.”**
“Now he is dead.”
- 44 **“ʔé·tx yúʔc tin'xnín hitqé·wse.”**
“Pitifully so, he unexpectedly fell to his death.”
- 45 **“q'oʔ ciklí·nime keyox kús ʔé·tx tamtáyca.”**
“Right away, I came back as I have done to inform you all.”
- 46 **“konóʔ hitqé·w'ye tiwí·tukeytet.”**
“There tiwí·tukeytet fell.”

- 47 **kál'a wəx kaka· tiwí·tukeytetne pé·septeqelweti·yeke,**
Just then at the time when tiwí·tukeytet was left stranded,
- 48 **ʔuyné·pt waptá·sqaqana hiné·sexne.**
He saw seven eaglets.
- 49 **ka· hiné·ke,**
He thought,
- 50 **“manmaʔí kex kínmem hipopá·yatayoʔqa?”**
“In what way would it be that these ones might help (me)?”
- 51 **q'oʔ hiné·spiʔimne.**
Right then he raised them.
- 52 **“kaka· hipiʔimnuʔ ka· hiné·switeli·kuʔ.”**
“When they will grow their wings will spread.”
- 53 **“ka· hipeʔnewé·hkeʔykuʔ ʔallá·ykax.”**
“And they will fly carrying (me) downward.”
- 54 **“ka· wá·q'is wic'é·yuʔ.”**
“And I will live.”
- 55 **q'oʔ kuʔús hikú·ye tiwí·tukeytet.**
Thus he did, tiwí·tukeytet.
- 56 **q'oʔ...q'oʔ kaka· titilu pewc'é·ye kíʔu waptá·sqaqan,**
Quite...when these eaglets became quite big,
- 57 **ka· hinéswiteli·ke,**
and with their wings spread,
- 58 **ka· penewéhkeʔyksine ʔallá·ykax.**
they flew carrying him downward.
- 59 **“ʔi·y wá·q'is wíc'es!**
“Ooh, I am alive!

- 60 **“wá·q’is wíc’es!”**
“I am alive!”
- 61 **q’oʔ hickilí·ne ʔipsqíkeʔyke Qémyex̄p.**
Right then he walked home to Qémyex̄p.
- 62 **wáy’at ʔipsqíkeʔykt,**
Walking far,
- 63 **wá·qoʔ konóʔ hinaspaynó·ya.**
now he came to them there.
- 64 **ʔisí·met kí· pí·ʔamksix,**
Here they are gathering themselves.
- 65 **pí·ʔamksix**
They are gathering,
- 66 **wá·qoʔ ʔé·tex...**
“Now surely I...”
- 67 **“wá·qoʔ ʔé·tex ʔiwé·pne ʔinpé·y’sé.”**
“now surely I take another’s wife.”
- 68 **pé·ne ʔiwé·pne,**
He said to the wife,
- 69 **“ʔiin ʔé·yenuʔ.”**
“I will love you.”
- 70 **“wá·qoʔ hitin’x̄ní·n.”**
“He is dead now.”
- 71 **ke pewíc’es q’oʔ,**
As it had just became so,
- 72 **pé·ne “ʔe·hé”**
she said, “Yes.”

- 73 **“wá·qoʔ hiwc'é·ye ka· kíye pewc'éyuʔ.”**
“Now, it came to be, and we will come to be.”
- 74 **ka· kíʔu hina·spaynó·ya.**
And here he came upon them.
- 75 **ʔisi·met kál'a hipsí·x hiʔéy'scix wá·qoʔ.**
Lo and behold there they are just feasting and celebrating now.
- 76 **wá·qoʔ ʔelelímyenim peʔénpeʔnye.**
Now ʔelelímye took her.
- 77 **hick'í·wniyuʔ.**
He will marry his *cik'í·wn*.
- 78 **hick'í·wniyuʔ tiwí·tukeytetne ʔiwé·pne.**
He will marry his brother tiwí·tukeytet's wife.
- 79 **peʔénpeʔnye.**
He took her away from him.
- 80 **ka· hina·spaynó·ya ka· hiné·sne,**
So he came upon them and said,
- 81 **“konóʔ weye wá·qoʔ ʔé·tx titwá·tisa.**
“Right here now at this time you tell a story.”
- 82 **kál'a cíckup hina·spaynó·ya.”**
“Suddenly I have just came upon you.”
- 83 **ka· hiné·sne,**
And he told them,
- 84 **“kuʔús ʔekú·ye tiwí·tukeytetnim.”**
“tiwí·tukeytet thus did it like this.”
- 85 **“kex ká· hisepteqeʔlwetí·yeke,”**
“It being stranded as I was,”

- 86 **“kex ká· sí·ks papá·yna kí· ka· ʔallá·y,”**
 “as I arrived to the bird nest further on below,”
- 87 **“peʔsexic’ílkeʔnye, peʔsexic’ílkeʔnye wé·ptes.”**
 “he severed it, he cut me loose (with the) eagles.”
- 88 **“ka· hiné·ke,”**
 “And he thought,”
- 89 **“konóʔ hitin’xnúʔ ka· hickilí·nime.”**
 “*There he will die*, and he returned.”
- 90 **“neʔé· ye·lépt?”**
 “Isn’t it so my friend?”
- 91 **ka· ʔelelímye kicé·ynin’,**
 And ʔelelímye ashamed,
- 92 **k’om’á·yc kicé·yne ʔewéwteyleke,**
 hurtfully ashamed hanging his head down,
- 93 **ka· misemiyí·x peʔemsteqeʔénpe,**
 the lying one answered him,
- 94 **“ʔu·nné·!”**
 “Yes!”
- 95 **q’óʔ misemiyí·x yóx hihí·ce,**
 To that lying one he said,
- 96 **“ʔe·hé· kuʔús ʔekú·ye yelé·pt”**
 “Yes, you did thusly my friend.”
- 97 **ka· ku· málaham pé·ne,**
 And after some length of time he said to him,
- 98 **“kú·s ne· pí·ku·me yelé·pt.”**
 “This you have done, you did to me, my friend.”

- 99 **ka· hé·nek'e pé·nqaqa,**
And again he then said to him,
- 100 **“ʔu·nné!”**
“Yes!”
- 101 **q'oʔ kicé·yne ʔelelímye.**
ʔelelímye was greatly ashamed.
- 102 **ka· hiwsé·keʔyke,**
And he stood up,
- 103 **ka· hewé·peye.**
and he went into the forest.
- 104 **ka· koná wálc ʔiní·pe.**
And there he took a knife.
- 105 **wálc ʔewé·ke ʔapás wálc...kamó·twalc.**
He had a knife, a flint knife...a stone knife.
- 106 [*murmur*] **kamó·twalc ʔewé·ke.**
[...] he had a stone knife.
- 107 **ka· konkí ʔipná·ʔptayana q'oʔ tin'úx.**
And with that he stabbed himself to death.
- 108 **yóx kuʔús kicé·y kí· ʔekú·ye** [*murmur*].
Thus being ashamed as he was he did this [...].
- 109 **ʔé·t'e kuʔús láwtiwa· ʔekúye.**
Certainly, his friend thus did so.

CHAPTER 11

ke yóx hitamtá·ycaqa c'í·qinpa
 (that which is reported in talk):
 Reported Speech in Nez Perce¹⁷

ʔipnetxsú·kt

(introducing, introduction)

This paper is a study of reported speech in Nez Perce (Sahaptian), an endangered language presently spoken in the southern Columbia Plateau region of western North America. In its most basic form, Nez Perce reported speech can be characterized as an utterance or set of utterances whose main purpose is to initiate a new universe of discourse (Gívon 1990:532) among speech participants. A pattern discerned in a recent elicited narrative indicate that reported speech can be used as a means of signaling positive and negative behavior. Evidence of this type of use suggest that Nez Perce reported speech can serve a larger *cultural function*, one that “involves discourse in the service of collective social purpose” (Urban 1993:241). This paper therefore will focus on the use of reported speech in Nez Perce narrative to

17. This chapter was originally published as *ke yóx hitamtá·ycaqa c'í·qinpa (that which is reported in talk): reported speech in nez perce*. Coyote Papers, 13. University of Arizona, Tucson.

determine 1) the range and types of reported speech registers, and 2) discern how such reported speech registers might be patterned so as to indicate their cultural functions.

lawwít tamtá·ynim c'í·qinki

(reporting clearly with words, narrating)

Contemporary research into Native American discourse analysis has yielded important insights into the structure of Indigenous communicative practice. The various theoretical perspectives that have been adopted center on two fundamental issues of discourse: the *what* perspective or "what is being talked about" and the *how* perspective or the "structure of what is being talked about" (Goutsos 1997). From a descriptive standpoint, in-depth linguistic documentation commonly adopts the latter approach with the intent on revealing the structure of human communication or the "discovered shape and quality of discourse, the organization of its form, and the information to be conveyed" (Kinkade and Mattina 1996:260).

Reported Speech thus displays important grammatical features that are in direct correspondence to the structure of discourse. The challenge of this paper therefore is to make generalizations about the kinds of typifiable cultural practices that tend to emerge in the use of reported speech forms. Such generalizations rely

upon an attribution of form to function. In this respect, “*Function, or purposive use of language, is characterization from the perspective of what speakers think or believe they are doing with their language as communicators using a goal directed interpersonal medium*” (Silverstein 1985:132).

Narratives then, rather than dialogue and conversation, provide a unique opportunity to examine the uses of reported speech because narrators tend to exercise greater control over their linguistic resources in the course of language production. It is assumed therefore that “control” over one’s linguistic resources allow speakers and narrator’s to strategically employ the grammatical and lexical elements of their language so as to maximize its communicative force in interaction. The mobilizing effects this has on narrative and the various patterns that emerge from it can provide us with an “index” to sociocultural information (Ochs 1990:293) at the level of the narrative producing action.

ke yóx hitamtá·ycaqa c’í·qinpa

(that which is reported in talk)

Archie Phinney, a Nez Perce speaker/scholar and student of the famed anthropologist Franz Boas, is among the first scholars to note the use of reported speech and other similar phenomena in Nez Perce narrative.

A form very effective in narration is direct discourse. The adroitness of this usage is revealed in the striking way it adds to the vividness of tales. A similar stylism is that of address in the third person. If a person speaks to another with deep feeling, perhaps in anger, ridicule, or pity, the statement is made doubly emphatic by use of the third person (Phinney 1934:xii).

Writing 45 years later, Haruo Aoki (1979:10) observes that Nez Perce narrative does not utilize reported speech as is common elsewhere in the world languages but rather Nez Perce typically utilizes direct discourse and other undefined reporting phenomena.

In the sections that follow, I will briefly review and offer a descriptive analysis of each of these reported speech forms drawing upon Nez Perce data from Aoki (1979, 1989) and Phinney (1934) as well as data from my own research.

Reported speech. Naturally, the most common form of reported speech in Nez Perce narrative is direct discourse¹⁸. A simple estimate on the frequencies of direct discourse in Nez Perce narrative demonstrate its overall position in Nez Perce communicative practice. For example, in the narrative ‘Cottontail Boy and Snowshoe Rabbit,’ the first narrative of Phinney’s 1934 publication, direct discourse accounts

18. For expository purposes, I will retain the use of the term direct discourse as originally applied in Phinney (1934) and Aoki (1979) rather than referring to this phenomena as “direct speech,” “quoted speech,” etc..

for 75 percent of the total utterances (Phinney 1934:1-3). Immediately following this narrative is ‘Coyote and Bull’ where direct discourse accounts for 46 percent of the overall utterances (Phinney 1934:4-10). In contrast, a modern ethnographic text in Aoki (1979:67-73) showed direct discourse comprising 8 percent of the total utterances. My impression is that direct discourse will typically range on the lower end of the spectrum, that is somewhere between 10-40 percent of the total utterances in any given stretch of text.

Nez Perce direct discourse is represented in the following text example.

- 1 **kal’á ná·qcna há·mana pó·y’imtaqaqa sé·pn’ite.** *Jona Hayes, speaker*
kaa pakiyó·qaqa.
kaa pá·nqaqa,
“ʔé· hiwéwluqse!”
kaa pá·nqaqa,
“tá·qc hikú·kum!”
pecú·kwecene konyí·n pí·ten’wesix

One man was put in charge of asking.
 And he used to go over to her.
 And he used to say to her,
 “He likes you!”
 And she used to say to him,
 “Now he can come!”
 With that, they knew they were courting each other. (Cash Cash 1999:36)

This segment of text comprises the opening lines of a narrative describing Nez Perce courtship that was originally recorded in 1907 by Herbert J. Spinden

(1879-1967), then an anthropology graduate student of Harvard. Although this example of Nez Perce direct discourse appears to be fairly typical, its use as linguistic interaction suggests that these types of utterances can count as actions since they are minimally informed by a set of expectations regarding appropriate behaviors within a particular cultural frame of reference. Thus, direct discourse can be imbued with intentionality and routinized to the extent that such utterances can cause “actors to typify themselves, situating and monitoring their own conduct and persona relative to the roles, categories, and routines that they apply to others and that they perceive others apply to them” (Hanks 1990:71).

Nez Perce direct discourse is not only straightforwardly descriptive but it is also a significant feature of historical reportage. That is, these types of speech acts are fully represented as being equal to the wording of the original utterance (Besnier 1992:169). Consider the example below as related by Nez Perce speaker Agnes Moses in ‘My Childhood’ (Aoki 1979).

- 2 **kawóʔ koná** *Agnes Moses, speaker*
tak’áycix kicú·ynim haní·tx ʔatk’áycix célmene.
ka hiné·scix,
“wá·qoʔ kíye cawcá·w kú·tecix kú·mtk’u!”
cawcá·w kawóʔ wá·qoʔ pecú·keʔyks.

At that place
 we watched Chinese making (panning) gold.
 And they told us,
 “Now we go to chowchow (eat), come along!”

Then we marched on following them. (Aoki 1979:87-89)

Naturally, it is presumed here that the Chinese miners successfully communicated to the Nez Perce despite their mutual linguistic barriers. Evidence of this is found in the use of the onomatopoeic expression *cawcá·w* which Aoki later glosses as *chowchow*, a Chinese expression meaning 'eat'. Thus, Agnes Moses is attempting to accurately report the speech of the Chinese miners as she herself once heard it. On a minor note, however, it is curious that the current translation underspecifies Moses' predicative use of this expression in her later statement (see the last line in 2). Alternatively, this can be amended to read, "Then we marched on following them *to eat*."

The direct discourse in example (2) takes on further significance when we consider that, in addition to an accurate reportage of events and speech utterances, it can also establish a referential frame by which the sources of the original utterance(s) are identified in terms of their cultural origin. In (2), a simple one-to-one correspondence is formed between the source of the utterances and the identity of the interlocutors by Agnes Moses's use of the Nez Perce ethnic descriptor *célmene* 'the Chinese' and her reproduction of Chinese speech *cawcá·w* 'eat'.

Another simple form of direct discourse is the reporting of individual thought. Consider, in (3), a text excerpt from the opening lines of 'Coyote and Fox' recorded by

Herbert J. Spinden in 1907 (Cash Cash 1999).

- 3 **kúnk'u hitéw'yenikeʔniqe ʔiceyé·ye ka· tilípe. *Jona Hayes, speaker***
kawá tilípe hitmí·pn'iye,
“kex weye ʔanasaʔyó·xoʔs!”

Coyote and Fox they always lived together.
 Then Fox thought (to himself),
 “Let me now search for them!” (Cash Cash 1999:58)

It is suggested here that the representation of thought in direct discourse is a micro-level function, one serves to impart volition and animacy in the immediate reality of the perceiving agent. In excerpt (4), we readily obtain the reading, “Then Fox thought (to himself).” On semantic grounds, the literal or direct translation of *hitmí·pn'iye* ‘he thought (to himself)’ shows *timí-* ‘heart’ as the source and *pin'-i-* an object “coming out,” hence *the thought of it*. This interpretation assumes that Fox, via his heart, is a kind of *experiencer* who undergoes a physically realized thought process. The use of this expression to report one’s thoughts as direct discourse thus indexes an embodied field of perception as to the depth and quality of one’s thoughts and experiences. This suggests that in the thought world of Nez Perce speakers deep lived experiences and human memory are stored in the heart and can be reported upon as direct discourse.

The data further indicate that a referential frame has other more dramatic

There,
 “quyé·s, quyé·s!”
 He is suddenly saying.

In (4), Bluejay has been revealed in his deception of the Well-Behaved Maiden and, as a consequence, his identity as deceptor is surrendered and he reverts back to his true identity as plain Bluejay. As plain Bluejay, he is no longer capable of uttering human-style speech instead he only utters what all bluejays are capable of uttering, “quyé·s, quyé·s!”

The use of direct discourse in this instance is a *function of contrast* in that the referential frame that is established here consists of two identities in contrast. That these identities are constructed through the canonical uses of language clearly offers the notion that the reproduction of linguistic forms in a Nez Perce universe of discourse are contextually salient much to the same degree as pure indexicals (Eggart 1998:112). Thus, the larger cultural function implicated in the use of direct discourse is its ability to serve as an index to ideal and expected behaviors among speech act participants.

This is evident in the following elicited text that I recorded in the field in cooperation with fluent Nez Perce speaker, Eugene Wilson. The text is tentatively titled *Yelé·pt* which means ‘friends sworn to die together’ and was told to Eugene by his mother while they were traveling in the mountainous region near the Idaho/

Montana border. I present a synopsis of the story followed by a text excerpt in (5) showing the dramatic use of direct discourse as a function of contrast.

Yelé·pt

Two friends lived in a village. One had a beautiful wife whom the other much desired. While gathering eaglets in a high mountainous place, the covetous friend lowered the other down a cliff face to a nest of eaglets whereupon he cut the rope and left his friend to die. The covetous one returned to the village and reported that his friend had died thus claiming his wife. The stranded friend ties himself together with matured eaglets and flies to safety. Upon returning to the village, he interrupts a wedding feast in progress to confront his covetous friend thus revealing his deception. Greatly shamed, the covetous friend goes into the forest and kills himself.

- 5 kaa hiné·sne, *Eugene Wilson, speaker*
 “kuʔús ʔekú·ye Tipyaláhnim,
 kexka· hisepteqeʔlwetíyeke
 kexka· sí·ks papá·yna kíi
 kaa ʔallá·y pec'eʔxít'ilkinye,
 pec'eʔxít'ilkinye wá·ptas.
 kaa hiné·ke,
 “konóʔ hitin'xnúʔ.” ka· hickilí·nime.
 ne·ʔé yelé·pt?”
 kaa Tipyaláhna kicé·ynin'
 k'ómaýc kicé·ynin' ʔewéwteleqe
 kaa misemiyí·x peʔemsteqeʔénpe
 “ʔu·nné·!”
 qóʔ misemiyí·x yóx hihí·ce,
 “ʔe·hé· kú·s ʔé· ʔekú·ye yelé·pt.”
 ka· ku· málaham pé·ne,
 “kú·s neeʔ píikume yelé·pt.”
 kaa héenek'e pá·nqaqa, “ʔu·né·!”
 qóʔ kicé·yne Tipyaláhna

And he told them,
 “That is what Tipyaláhna did,
 when he deserted me up there,
 when I arrived to the nest,
 and down below he cut the rawhide rope,
 he cut the rawhide rope (there among) the eagles.
 And he thought,
 “‘There he will be dead” and here he came home.
 Isn’t that so, Yeléépt?”
 And Tipyaláhna (became) ashamed.
 Utterly ashamed he hung his head
 And the lying one answered him,
 “‘Yes!”

 Indeed that lying one said,
 “‘Yes, I did that to you, Yeléépt.”
 And again he said it, “‘Yes!”
 Tipyaláhna was greatly ashamed.

Similar to (4), the significance of this text is found in the assertion of guilt given by Tipyaláhna after he had been revealed as a deceptor. The choice of expression given by Tipyaláhna is *ʔu·né·*, a Flathead Salish term meaning ‘yes’ rather than the Nez Perce expression *ʔe·hé·*. Again, the concern raised here in the use of direct discourse is its referential salience in the signaling of positive and negative behavior (i.e. its function of contrast).

As a cultural indicator, the expression *ʔu·né·* realigns Tipyaláhna’s identity outside the Nez Perce realm and forces us to reexamine his un-Nez Perce like behavior from an ecological standpoint given the fact that this story is geographically situated on the borders of the Nez Perce-Salish contact area. Thus,

the code-switching situates it within a specific cultural and geographic space and strongly suggest that the linguistic components of interethnic contact are operating as symbols of ethnic identity.

A near identical linguistic phenomena is found in a text entitled, “How Porcupine Went to the Plains” (Aoki 1989:107-120). In this myth text, Porcupine travels east to the Buffalo Country and is linguistically portrayed here as a bilingual who speaks both Nez Perce and Flathead Salish. His bilingual abilities is represented in his use of the Flathead Salish utterances *ʔo-tá* ‘no’ and *ʔu-né* ‘yes’.

In my last example, direct discourse also serves as a signal of extralinguistic phenomena such as we saw earlier in (4). In this instance, however, it is not speech that is being replicated or reported rather it is more an echoing of sounds that are symbolic in origin or, more properly, onomatopoeia like. Compare the following synopsis and text excerpt in (6).

Bear and Racoon Boy

While out searching for crawfish, Racoon Boy encounters a bear and kills her by thrusting her thorn needle into her ear. His grandmother cuts her hand while helping him roast the bear and he sends her to a menstruation lodge. In the meantime, he pretends guests have arrived and eats up the entire bear roast. His grandmother leaves him, wrapping herself in a bearskin. When he comes upon her, she crushes him to death. (Phinney 1934:494-95)

- 6 Qá·caʔcin hité·wycine k'ayk'ayó·chacwal. *Weyí·letpu-, speaker*
 hitiʔláyayixqana
 ʔetke pá·yqopnax konyá.
 kal'á “xaw xaw” hipqána,
 ka· wét'u mis hiwyéʔnikse.
 kuʔús hiwéwitise
 pé·wyepeʔwise tiʔlá·na
 kímet ka· “setú·x”
 ʔipné·tewyeke.

Racoon Boy and his grandmother were dwelling there.
 He would go around looking for crawfish
 because he was very fond of them.
 he would devour them on the spot with a crunching noise,
 and he never thought to save any to take home.
 Thus, one day, he went along the stream
 searching for crawfish
 when suddenly,
 he felt a presence hovering about him. (Phinney 1934:259-260)

The text excerpt in (6) is the opening lines of the myth text ‘Bear and Racoon Boy.’ An amended literal translation of Phinney’s text is given below. Here, I have attempted to incorporate the sound symbolic utterances into the text.

Racoon Boy and his grandmother were dwelling there.
 He would go around looking for crawfish
 because he relished them.
 Just so, “xaw xaw,” he would devour them,
 and he never saved any at all.
 Like this he goes along down stream
 searching for crawfish
 when suddenly, “setú·x”
 he felt a presence hovering about him.

First, the use of onomatopoeia identifies Racoon Boy's manner of eating crawfish, given here as *ɣaw ɣaw*. This reporting of extralinguistic phenomena is significant because it immediately links Racoon Boy's manner of eating with his antisocial behavior which later contributes to his ultimate demise.

Second, a sound symbolic utterance is given in *setú·ɣ*, a unique expression which is translated as an "indefinable awareness that someone is present" or "noiselessness in movement" (Aoki 1994:635). Here, its use as direct discourse is unique due to the fact that it does not possess "metapragmatic transparency" (Silverstein 2001:396) rather its use is contextually dependent upon a larger referential frame of sensory perception. Thus, a Nez Perce cultural logic allows unknown entities and states of affairs to erupt into our perceptual field as discernable presences. Experientially, these types of discernable presences have affective force and the limits of ordinary perception are satisfied simply as dramatized extralinguistic phenomena.

hínaq'itpa

(conclusion)

Nez Perce narratives open a universe of discourse where speech within speech is reproduced both as direct discourse and as extralinguistic phenomenon. I have

reviewed each of these occurrences with the purpose of describing their form and function. The evidence indicate that direct discourse is a process of communication that constructs and organizes a range of conventionalized communicative behaviors and perceptual awareness as encoded linguistic structures of reference. The evidence presented here favors the argument that our developing notion of linguistic interaction is informed by a larger cultural function, one that engages direct discourse in a dynamic interplay between individual behaviors and collective social purpose. Thus, reported speech is an active linguistic force that contributes to the formation of a Nez Perce sense of self.

CHAPTER 12

Oral Traditions of the Natítaytma¹⁹

The emergence of the ancient *Netítelwit*, the first ‘human beings, people,’ are documented in our Indigenous oral traditions known as *titwatityáaya* (NP) or *wálsakt* (NES) ‘the myth’ and *shúkwat* ‘knowledge’ (CRS). It is from these first ‘human being, people’ that we, the modern-day cultures of the southern Columbia Plateau, trace our emergence. Today, we, the descendants of the *Netítelwit* (NP) or *Tiin* (CRS) ‘human beings, people,’ are known variously as *Weyíletpuu* (Cayuse), *Imatalamthlama* (Umatilla), *Pelúutspuu* (Palouse), *Nuumípuu* (Nez Perce), *Walúulapam* (Walla Walla), and *Ichishkín* (Columbia River Shaptin) speaking peoples. We are culturally, historically, and linguistically diverse. Our ancestral lands are distributed across the interior regions of the southern Columbia Plateau which extend along the middle Columbia and Snake Rivers and their tributaries in what is now Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

Modern and contemporary research in the social sciences continues to advance our knowledge and understanding of human cultures in the southern

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Columbia Plateau. A convergence of evidence from archaeology, linguistics, ethnography, and oral tradition are beginning to suggest that the identity of the ancient *Netúitelwit* (NP) or *Tíin* (CRS) ‘human beings, people’ can be linked to the Proto-Sahaptian linguistic family, the earliest known speech community identified for this region. The basis for such a link is one of cultural continuity. First, the descendants of the *Netúitelwit* (NP) or *Tíin* (CRS) ‘human beings, people’ report no migration tradition which places them outside their current ancestral homelands; instead, their oral traditions contain imagery of mammoths, ice age phenomena, and ancient volcanic activity. As the Proto-Sahaptian speech community developed through time, the *’Ichishkíin* (Sahaptin) and *Nuumípuu* (Nez Perce) daughter languages emerged along with their associated dialects. The *Weyúletpuu* (CA) or *Líksiyu* (CA) language is considered a language isolate and its ancient origins are yet unknown, however, in the early nineteenth century its speakers adopted *Nuumiipuutímt* ‘the Nez Perce language’ as their first language. Second, the archaeological record in the southern Columbia Plateau supports this continuity on the basis of a well established cultural adaptation to riverine environments. The Columbia Plateau rock art tradition also supports a long, unbroken cultural continuity in this region (Keyser 1992; Keyser et al 1998). Thus, Plateau scholars have noted that the archaeological evidence for cultural continuity is much greater than is permitted for the linguistic record (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby, and Aoki 1996),

despite tantalizing clues to the contrary which tend to support rather than disconfirm a deeper link to an ancient Proto-Sahaptian speech community.

Viewed from within a Native Science paradigm (Cajete 2000), Indigenous oral traditions provide a foundational understanding of the natural world, the capacity of life, and the fundamental human relationships that are bound by it. They are organized bodies of discourse whose primary purpose is to provide a set of generalized statements on the meaning of reality. These deep meanings are empirically and creatively structured across different forms of talk. Today, these forms of talk, or discourse genre, are recognized by fluent speakers as culturally distinct communicative events within the *'Ichishkíin* (Sahaptin) and *Nuumípuu* (Nez Perce) speech communities. Notably, however, many Indigenous speech communities in the Columbia Plateau and elsewhere are experiencing a decline in the intergenerational transfer of their first languages. As the adoption of the English language increases the vitality and continued use of the ancestral languages becomes endangered, including many of its culturally enriched forms of talk. Fortunately, a linguistic record of Indigenous discourse genres has developed over time as anthropologists, linguists, and community tribal members set out to record and transcribe the oral traditions for the benefit of future generations. This linguistic textual record is a vital resource for understanding the role and place of Indigenous oral traditions in the ongoing culture of the *'Ichishkíin* (Sahaptin) and *Nuumípuu* (Nez

Perce) communities.

Analyses of Indigenous discourse in western North America and elsewhere have discerned a broad range of discourse genres, these are classified as myth, tales, sacred texts, historical narratives, speeches, poetry, songs, and life histories (Kinkade & Mattina 1996:244). While the concept of genre can be readily applied to most *'Ichishkiin* (Sahaptin) and *Nuumípuu* (Nez Perce) ways of speaking, only a small number of studies have focused on classifying the oral traditional culture in these two speech communities (Aoki 1979, Jacobs 1929, 1934, Phinney 1934). A partial typology on the more well known discourse genres is presented below.

myth	'Ichishkiin (Sahaptin) <i>wat'ít'ash</i> (NWS) <i>walsákas</i> (CRS) <i>wálsakt</i> (NES)	Nuumípuu (Nez Perce) <i>titwatityáaya</i>
historical narratives	<i>tχánat</i> 'happenings' (NWS)	<i>'ikúuyn titwáatit</i> 'true stories' <i>wiyekúutpeme tamtáyn</i> 'news of doings'
life histories	<i>timnanáχt</i> 'remembrance' (CRS) <i>timnanáχt</i> 'story' (NES)	<i>'ipnatitwáatit</i> 'story of one's self'
informing, reporting	<i>talwáskt</i> (NES) <i>támapayškša</i> (CRS)	<i>tamáapaykt</i>
knowledge	<i>šúkwat</i> (NWS)	<i>cúukwen'in</i>
songs	<i>walptáaykt</i> 'song' (CRS) <i>wánpt</i> 'spirit song' (CRS)	<i>we'nípt</i> 'song' <i>wéyekwe'nípt</i> 'spirit song'

In addition to the above research, a number of studies have focused on analyzing the internal structure and content of discourse genre in a variety of contexts (Aoki 1979, Cash Cash 2000, 2005a, Hines 1984, 1991, V. Hymes 1987, 1994, D.

Hymes 2003, Jacobs 1929, 1959, Kroeber 1997, McWhorter 1940, Ramsey 1977, 1983, Seaburg and Amoss 2000, Skeels 1949, Spinden 1908b, 1917, Thomas 1970, Walker and Matthews 1998). The conceptual underpinnings of these studies are largely descriptive and most seek to make generalized statements on the world creating properties of spoken discourse whether it be for linguistic, literary, sociological, or folkloristic purposes. As culturally enriched 'ways of speaking,' these genre naturally lend themselves to understanding the problems and possibilities of human experience through their narrative form and function.

The linguistic textual record shows that *titwatityáaya* (NP) and *wálsakt* (NES) 'the myth' are among the most well documented and publicly known oral traditions. This is understandable given the fact that the *'Ichishkín* 'Sahaptin' and *Nuumípuu* 'Nez Perce' peoples are primarily an oral culture and 'the myth' provided a kind of public domain of knowledge that helped shape the learning experiences of children and adults alike. Thus, for all members of society, 'the myth' constituted a framework for apprehending the world and its creative potential as well as serving as a guide for future adult life (Thomas 1970).

Myths often describe the origin of the world. For many Indigenous cultures, mythic origins serve to ground the generalized experience of ancient peoples across space and time. When we carefully examine *'Ichishkín* 'Sahaptin' and *Nuumípuu* 'Nez Perce' myth, we are able to discern a core cosmology that is largely shaped from

mythic events centering on the emergence of the *Netítelwit* ‘human beings, people’ (Cash Cash 2005b). A common pattern found in mythic narratives is that the structure of the universe is typically represented as a single cosmological system, one that was brought into being not so much by its creation as by its physical transformation. Other discourse genre, such as *šúkwat* (NWS) ‘knowledge’ and ritual speech, speak more directly of a creation specific to human origins. Nevertheless, its structure consists of a present world populated by modern humans and a former ancient world inhabited by supernatural entities. These two worlds are separated by a deep and ancient time dimension whereby the mythic past remotely precedes the human present.

We gain a better understanding of the cosmological system when we look at how the physical world is structured through myth. Thus, a prominent and often overlooked feature in many *titwatityáaya* (NP) or *wálsakt* (NES) ‘myth’ is its geographically distributed myth locales. Myth locales are defined as a mythic action space characterized by the topographic embodiment of superhuman agents and superhuman events across time and space. These topographic embodiments are often the result of a mythic transformation and their physical presence bears witness to the changing moral character of the world, one emerging from chaos to a world of order and human form. To present-day humans, myth locales are considered sacred and potentially dangerous because the deep time separation that exists between a

former ancient world and the present are collapsed at these sites (Fig.1).

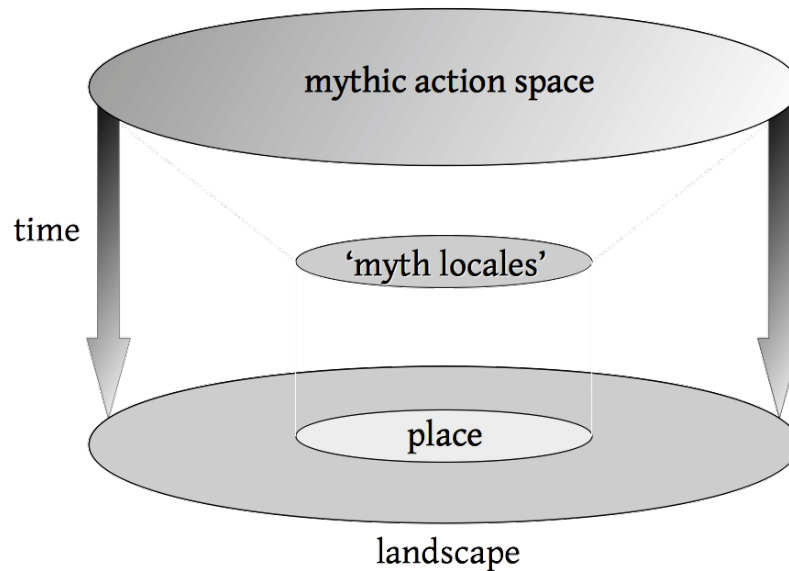


Fig. 1. Myth locales.

Myth locales and other physical environments referenced through mythic discourse provide a unique kind of map or mazeway across the cultural landscape. They take on an important present-day role on defining 'place' in a broader cultural system of ecological knowledge and interethnic territoriality.

Historical narratives in *'Ichishkíin* 'Sahaptin' and *Nuumípuu* 'Nez Perce' oral traditions are generally agreed to make reference only to the post-mythic human era. Unlike their myth counterparts, the fundamental perspective adopted in the

construction of a historical narrative is an its emphasis on known, reportable events as the primary realities in this form of genre. Reportage on the temporal order and flow of events in the collective community life experience are highly perceptible and heterogenous phenomenon. Thus, discourse proceeds from one state of affairs to another, but it does so in a mimetic narrative mode (i.e. dramatized speech) which portrays the direct speech of the story interactants throughout a text. The manner in which these utterances are represented tend to contribute to the overall temporal frame of a historical narrative.

Consider the opening sequence contained in a historical narrative told by (*átway*) Mrs. Ada Patrick. The narrative relates a historical event involving two sisters that occurred in the vicinity of Squaw Creek, Oregon on the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), Oregon. The narrative is told in the Lower River dialect of *Nuumiipuutímt* ‘the Nez Perce language’.

*Kíi híiwes ’ikúuyn titwáatit.
Ne’élem hináastitwatiya.
Kakáa qo’c míl’ec sooyáapoo hipáaycana kíne wéetespe.*

*Kaa lepú hiwsíine ’acípiin.
Kaa píine, ’ácip hihíne,
“Wáaqo’ kíye pe’mínenu’.”*

This is a true story.
My father’s mother told us this story.
It happened when few whitemen had yet arrived in this place.

And there were two sisters.

And they told each other, she told her younger sister,
 “Now, we will go digging (for roots).” (Rude 1985:256)

As a form of practice, *’Ichishkín* ‘Sahaptin’ and *Nuumípuu* ‘Nez Perce’ historical narratives tend to make few evaluative statements on the status of the ensuing discourse. Those that do, as we see in this opening text passage, are typical in that the narrator is minimally expressing not so much the tellability of a narrative but rather its significance in a wider domain of lived human experience. These types of evaluative statements almost always occur at the margins of the narrative and only occasionally within the body of the narrative itself. Thus, what we often find is that the setting of the historical narrative and the unfolding of events are key moments in the narration and it is through these key moments that the direct experiences and consciousness of its story characters become enacted. This narration strategy “evokes reality by staging it” (Herman and Vervaeck 2005:14).

Understanding the historical narrative can be further exemplified in the Indigenous terms that describe this genre. In Sahaptin, historical narratives are generally referred to as *tχánat* ‘happenings, customs’ (NWS) which is based on the manner prefix *tχá-* indicating that the action is ‘uncaused, of its own volition’ (Jacobs 1929:150). In Nez Perce, this genre was referred to in the past as *wiyekúutpeme tamtáyn* ‘a narrative regarding a succession of actions’ or ‘history’ (UNP) (Morvillo 1895). This is composed from the verb morphemes *wiyé-* ‘as one goes’ and *-kúut-*

'doings, action' to indicate the succession of events. Contemporary Nez Perce speakers are recorded as using the terms *'ikúuyn titwáatit* 'true story' (LNP) (Rude 1985:256) and *wiyéwc'etpeme* 'history' (UNP) (Lawyer n.d) among other references.

When considering other oral narrative forms, we find an underlying commonality between historical narratives and the genres variously known as *timnanáxt* (CRS) 'remembrance', *'ipnatitwáatit* (NP) 'story of one's self' and *talwáskt* (NES), *támapayškša* (CRS) and *tamáapaykt* (NP) 'informing, reporting'. Each of these genre share an emphasis on the narrator's personal knowledge on some aspect of the storyworld, however, where they differ in the discourse continuum is when the narrator manifests a greater degree of interpersonal involvement in the course of the narration. Typically, narrators retain the mimetic narrative mode (i.e. dramatized speech) coupled with the use of the first person "I, We, and Us." This narration strategy generates a perceptual center from which the elements of one's experience and recounting are assembled in storyworld form. Despite the fact that the differences between a life history and an '*informing, reporting*' account are minimal, it is possible to suggest that in a life history the narrated self is socially and temporally intergrated in the emerging storyworld whereas in '*informing, reporting*' accounts the narrated self is less integrated due in part to its episodic and heterogeneous framework.

Documented life histories are quite rare in Sahaptin and Nez Perce culture.

From the few accounts that do exist, we find that the conceptualization of the self in time is the episodic unfolding of consciousness and self-awareness of being in the world. Consider the opening narrative sequence of (átway) Mr. Howard Jim (*Wayám*) who, as a youth in the Columbia River Sahaptin village of *Wayám* (CRS), identifies the moment when he “first became aware” (Conford & Zaccheo 1990).

**Míimish ináwyaw ana ku’
páysh iwachá ku chávsh páshukshamsh anwícht.**

**k^waaná kúush iwachá palaláy tanán kuna nch’inchi ttáwaxt.
shks’ks kuuk k^wyáam wiyánawi kuna páysh 13 years old...**

Long ago, when in my youth,
it was perhaps, although I do not know how many years.

But at that time there were many people, elderly people.
Being young, then I came into my true knowing there around 13 yrs old...

In a text analysis of this narrative opening, Cash Cash (2004) offers that the manifestation of (átway) Mr. Howard Jim’s self-awareness is metaphorically depicted as *wiyánawi* ‘arriving’ (Fig. 2). That is, the narrated self is projected outward onto the world (i.e. the Columbia River) and ‘arrives’ in the sense that the self is emerging aware in time and place. Thus, the world is no longer autonomously imagined, rather, it is concretely realized in the formative experience of the individual.

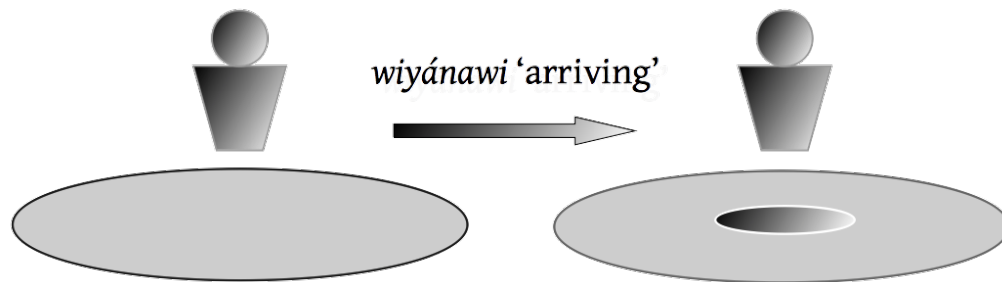


Fig. 2. Event of “becoming aware.”

Next, consider a brief narrative passage from the 1950’s that was given by an unidentified Nez Perce consultant to a modern day ethnographer. The following narrated sequence depicts a highly personal and deeply spiritual experience relating to the acquisition of spirit power.

I used to know nothing.
 One time I went down to the log cabin in Spalding.
 An old fellow was singing.

I started shaking and crying.
 He was singing about the Stick Indian
 and I thought I didn’t know nothing about it,
 but I got scared and didn’t know nothing (e.g., was unconscious) for a long
 time.

I used to always dream I was flying,
 especially in high mountains, from canyon to canyon.
 That’s the way Stick Indian travels. (unidentified consultant, Coale 1958:140)

In this type of narration, which is indented here as *tamáapaykt* (NP) ‘informing, reporting’, the subjectivity of the narrator is highly visible. That is, the

perceptual states of the first-person narrator are made visible to those narrated to. In a hunter-gatherer culture, deep experiential accounts such as these suggests that the function of the ‘informing, reporting’ genre are to enable the acquisition of information arising from lived experience. These accounts were not simply random personal experiences rather their information value is highly significant and the portrayal of life experiences through narrative often serve as a guide to others on “ways of being” and acting in the world.

Šúkwat (CRS) ‘knowledge, learning, teaching’ is described by Jacobs as “extempore reflections about the myths and tales, about the stages the world has gone through, about life since the advent of whites” (1929:244). A potentially correspondent genre in Nez Perce is *cúukwen’in* ‘known empirically, known spiritually, spirited’ (Rude 1985:248-257), however, this term tends to describe more of an experiential state of which knowledge is only one component. Nonetheless, as a distinct genre, narratives of this type are poorly represented in linguistic record with the exception of a single Klikitat (NES) text found in Jacobs (1929).

In summary, this analysis attempted to integrate data dealing with the oral traditions of present-day Indigenous *’Ichishkíin* (Sahaptin) and *Nuumíipuu* (Nez Perce) peoples. The resulting study was not meant as a comprehensive ethnographic or narrative analysis rather its focus was to gain a greater understanding of the role of oral traditions in the lived experiences of modern-day descendants of the ancient

Netítelwit ‘human beings, people.’ Naturally, these rich and time honored oral traditions have contributed to our overall survival as a people. In terms of the future, however, it is important that we also make room for the emergence of modern and contemporary oral traditions which reflect our current struggles and triumphs. And as modern-day descendents of the ancient *Netítelwit* ‘human beings, people,’ we are reminded that in order to preserve our place in creation we must continue to tell our stories, to remember the words and teachings of our ancestors, to remember our *tamáalwit* ‘the natural law,’ and to name the land, the animals, and foods that is so essential to our continued survival. This will be our story, our oral tradition.

SECTION III
HISTORICAL TEXTS

CHAPTER 13

The Nez Perce Laws of 1842: A Reconstruction and Analysis

Introduction

This paper presents a reconstruction and analysis of an early Sahaptian text known simply as the Nez Perce Laws of 1842. The source text is a translation of a set of codified laws from English into Nez Perce, a Sahaptian language, and is among the earliest publications to appear in the Pacific Northwest following the introduction of the printing press. Our current knowledge of the oral culture of modern-day Nez Perce speakers and their dialects is presented in Aoki (1962, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1994) and Rude (1985, 1999). Building upon these studies, I will explore the potential for extracting language variation from this early Nez Perce colonial text by using a philological-based methodology.

Philological Methodology

Source texts are central to philology in that they allow a comparison of written attestations of a language at various stages in its history. The overall goal is to identify and assess occurrences of diachronic change in a single language or among related languages by examining variation in its underlying sound patterns

and lexical forms. The methods of philology therefore use a written text or "a record, a second-hand attestation, of a finite number of verbal manifestations of a language (Goddard 1973:727)" as a means of reconstructing a representative sample of human speech phenomena. These reconstructed, written attestations are then compared to actual speech events to determine what changes, if any, may have taken place in a language.

For purposes of this study, I will use the philological method to reconstruct the current orthography that is present in the source text and determine how it was used to represent Nez Perce speech patterns. I will then apply the method of internal reconstruction to identify alternations or variants in form which show more than one phonological shape in the morphology. Evidence gathered from such a comparison will then be examined in light of what is currently known of Nez Perce dialectology.

The Source Text

The Nez Perce Laws of 1842 were written in response to the growing pressures of colonization in the Pacific Northwest that brought Euro-American and British settlers into conflict with the regions Indigenous populations. The proposed Laws were originally drafted by Dr. Elijah White, the first appointed sub-Indian Agent of Oregon Territory, and imposed upon the autonomous Nez Perce by way of a council

in early December of 1842. The Laws were then translated into Nez Perce with the assistance of the Presbyterian missionary Henry Harmon Spaulding, printed by the Lapwai Mission press and distributed among the Nez Perce. Thus, the overall significance of the document is attested by the fact that it represents a speech event of socio-political importance, one that occurred at a time when language contact and the political cultural of a newly forming nation-state coincided to a fairly high degree.

The introductory sections of the document outlines the cultural identity of the various actors for whom the Laws are to be applied, namely the *suuyáapuu* 'White Americans', the *ʔalláyma* 'French', and the *nuumíipuu* 'Nez Perce'. Eleven codified statutes accompanied by appropriate penalties are then specified, covering such topics as murder, arson, trespass, theft, misappropriation of/damage of property, and assault (Rivers 1978).

The source document's orthographic representation of Nez Perce is attributed to John Pickering's *Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America* (1820) (Mackert 1996). Here, I have outlined the correspondences in sound values that exist between Pickering's system, that of Spaulding's, and the current Nez Perce sound system presented in Aoki (1994).

	Pickering	Spaulding	Aoki
Stops			
<i>voiceless</i>	p	p	p, p'
	t	t	t, t'
	k	k	k, k'
	q	k	q, q'
	-	(h)	ʔ
<i>voiced</i>	b	-	-
	d	-	-
	g	-	-
Affricates			
<i>voiceless</i>	ts, tz	ts, s	c, c'
<i>voiced</i>	ds, dz	-	-
	dj, dsh, dzh	-	-
Fricatives			
<i>voiceless</i>	f	-	-
	th	-	-
	s	s	s, c, c'
	sh	sh	š
	kh	-	x
	h	h	h, x, x̣, (ʔ)
	-	hw	x ^w
<i>voiced</i>	v	-	-
	dh	-	-
	z	-	-
	zh	-	-
	gh	-	-
Nasals			
<i>voiceless</i>	-	-	-
<i>voiced</i>	m	m	m, m'
	n	n	n, n'
Semivowels			
<i>voiceless</i>	-	-	-
<i>voiced</i>	w	w	w, w', ʔoy
	y	-	y, y'

Laterals

<i>voiceless</i>	-	-	ɬ
	-	-	ɬ'
<i>voiced</i>	l	l	l, l', ɬ

Apico-Alveolar Trill

r	-	-
---	---	---

Vowels

<i>front</i>	i	i	i, ii, y, y'
	e	a	e, ee
<i>back</i>	a	a	a, aa, u, ay
	u	u	u, uu, w, iw, yu
	o	o	o, oo

Vowel Combinations

ai	ai	ay, ey, ya
au	au	aw, ew
iu	iu	iw, iyu, i?yu, yu, yu?
-	aia	aya
-	aai	aay
-	aiu	ayo, eyu
-	auia	away, ewye, eewye
-	aua	awa
-	ia	iya, iye, iyawa, ye
-	iaii	iyeeyi
-	iaui	iyaw
-	iaui	iyaaawi
-	io	iyu
-	iua	iyiwe
-	iuia	iwy
-	ui	uy, oy, u?i
-	uii	oy
-	uia	oya
-	uai	u?ey
-	oi	ohi
-	oa	-

Dialect Variation in Nez Perce

The Nez Perce (NP)²⁰ language, like the middle Columbia River Sahaptin (S) language, descends from a proto-language termed Proto-Sahaptian (PS). The dialectical features of Nez Perce have been summarized in Aoki (1962, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1994) and Rude (1985, 1999). Thus, two dialects are present in Nez Perce; these are termed the Lower Nez Perce dialect and the Upper Nez Perce dialect. The Upper dialect cluster (i.e. upriver) was geographically situated on the middle and south forks of the Clearwater River of central Idaho, the majority of which is within the present-day Nez Perce reservation boundary. The Lower dialect cluster (i.e. downriver) occupied the areas west of these groups and was geographically spread throughout the middle Snake River drainage area that included parts of northeastern Oregon and southeastern Washington. In the early nineteenth century, the Lower Nez Perce dialect expanded to include the Cayuse, formerly speakers of a language isolate, who later adopted the Nez Perce language as a result of intermarriage and a political alliance with the Nez Perce.

The major differences that exist between the Lower and Upper dialects are 1) the Lower dialects have at least five additional phonemes, these include the

20. By way of introduction, the Nez Perce speech community was historically a major constituent of what is termed the Columbia Plateau culture area, occupying such areas as northeastern Oregon, southeastern Washington, and central Idaho. Today, however, the Nez Perce language has become an endangered language with an estimated 10-30 fluent speakers remaining, each of whom reside on the various reservations of Umatilla (OR), Nez Perce (ID), and Colville (WA).

labiovelars /k^w, k^{w'}, q^w, q^{w'}/ and the voiceless fricative /š/ making it the more conservative dialect due to the fact that *k^w > k^w (S) : k (NP), *q^w > k^w (S) : q (NP), *š > š (S) : s (NP) (Aoki 1962, Rude 1999); 2) the Lower dialects tend to show one less vowel where /o/ freely alternates with /u/, 3) As a result of 2, there is no vowel harmony in the Lower dialects (Aoki 1994); and finally, 4) the Lower dialects frequently show /n/ for Upper dialect /l/ (Aoki 1970, 1994, Rude 1985). Each of these features will be reviewed individually as the data permits.

The Voiceless Fricative /š/

Both *s and *š are present in Proto-Sahaptian. These two sounds are also the most visible ethnic markers that distinguish the Lower Nez Perce from the Upper Nez Perce dialects and should therefore have predictive power on the regularity of their occurrence in Lower dialect speech patterns. In other words, we should be able to show the regularity of /š/ in the Lower dialects where sound correspondences exist only in *š > š (S) : s (NP) and likewise in the regularity of /s/ only in sound correspondences that result from *s > s (S) : s (NP). In terms of our philological approach, however, the regularity of these two sounds are to be found elsewhere in Nez Perce since Haruo Aoki's 1994 dictionary gives emphasis only to the Upper Nez Perce dialect in this important work.

Two clear examples of *s are found in the source text. Previously, Aoki (1962:173) has reconstructed the Proto-Sahaptian cognate **hê·sù*, ‘eel’ based upon Northern Sahaptin *asú-m* and Nez Perce *hé·su·*. It should be predicted then that *s will be retained in the Lower Nez Perce dialect. However, in the source text (18.1) we find the place name *hashotin* > *hašóotiin* ‘eel fishery’. This difference may simply be an error in transcription or it may indicate that sporadic processes other than regular sound change are at work (such as ethnic differentiation) which may have caused *s to become dissimilated²¹. A similar example of this pattern is found in the personal name *mitat-waptash* > *mitáat wéépteš* ‘three feathers’ (25.1). The Columbia River Sahaptin form *wáptas* ‘wing, feather’ is found in both Yakama (S) (Beavert and Rigsby 1975) and Walúulapam (S) (CTUIR 1998:388) dialects and is cognate with NP *wééptes* ‘feather’. A postulated **wééptes* is presented for Proto-Sahaptin. The second example of *s is expressed in *pawiskilktatasha* > *pewisk’ilkket’éeše* ‘it is about to have been blocked from a standing position by him’ (40.2) which shows the adverbial prefix *wiséé-* ‘from a standing position’. This form is attested in the walúulapam (S) dialect which has the adverbial prefix *wisá-* (CTUIR 1998:408). Here, it is possible to postulate the Proto-Sahaptian cognate form **wiséé-*.

21. Dissimilation represents a change where sounds become less similar to one another (Campbell 1998:28).

Other examples of *s are found in the following (*three of which are attested elsewhere by /š/ and can be discounted):

suiapu > suuyáapuu, -na, -m	01.1, 29.1, 49.1, 49.2, 63.1
huisinmelakin > hiyúusinmelaykin	10.1
sisutlinkan > sisyúutilinčan	11.1
silupipaiu > silupipáayu	12.1
aisak > Isaac	13.1
josep > Joseph	17.1
jeson > Jason	18.1
jems > James	23.1
sokolaikin > soqóolaykin	25.1
mitat-waptash > mitáat wéépteš	25.1
pawiskilktatasha > pewisk'iltet'éeše	40.2
*isimkai > ?isíimk'ey'	02.1
*hitimasa > hitíim'ese	29.1
*pawausa > páawaawsa	33.4

One form is present showing *š > š (S) : s (NP) as in sokolaikin > soqóolaykin 'place near river bank' which is based on the noun form súqu 'river bank' (25.1). This noun form is also attested in walúulapam (S) which shows the form išxú 'river bank' (CTUIR 1998:96). Here, it is possible to postulate a Pre-NP *išúqu > súqu based upon PS *išúxu assuming that initial ú > Ø with the stress moving to the right in S and that i > Ø and x > q in NP.

It is of note here that loan words will often retain /s/. For example, the attributed Christian names of four Nez Perce chiefs all show /s/. However, as in most borrowings, they will undergo phonemic substitution, as in the example of j > c (ts) in

cóosip ‘Joseph’ (Aoki 1994:51). By way of observation, it is possible to suggest that the high visibility and retention of /s/ may have acculturative significance, one that indicates novelty of borrowing and a progressive identity toward the acceptance of acculturative influences. This may explain the retention of /s/ in the loan word suuyápuu ‘Whiteman’ which may have originally been a borrowing from Chinook Jargon se-áh-po, se-áh-puł (Gibbs 1863) < Fr. chapeau ‘hat’ (Aoki 1975). Among the Columbia River Sahaptin, this word commonly appears as šuyápu and among the Interior Salish it appears with the same meaning as suyápənu^w in Columbian, suyépəməš in Coeur d’Alene, and suyápi in Kalispel (Aoki 1975). It is the author’s belief that the meaning ‘hat’ which signifies ‘Whiteman’ is derived from the more common, and perhaps earlier, term that was originally used in the Indigenous sign language.

Examples of roots containing /š/. All of these forms presented below show /s/ in the Upper Nez Perce dialect.

wiwatashpa > wíiwetešpe	06.1
wiwatashpama > wíiwetešpama	09.1
tishaiahpa > tišayaḡpa	11.1
tsainashpa > c’éynešpe	12.1
autash > ʔéewteš	14.1
inintahshaukt > híiniintaḡšawkt	15.1
shakanma > šáqanma	16.1
apashwahaiakt > ʔapášwahayqt	18.1

shakantai > šaq'antáayx	25.1
kakashl > kekašl	33.3
ishina > ʔišíine, -nm	60.1
shikam > šík'em	35.1
wamshitp > wéemšitp	36.3
wapshishuikash > wéepšišuykeʔš	37.1, 45.2
hishamtuks > híišemtuks	54.2
hanishhanishnawitpa > xenišxenišnéewitpa	57.1
imashpa > íimééšpe	59.1

From the limited comparative data, I am able to identify cognates for 'who' in (NP) íišíi and in (S) ší-n (CTUIR 1998:277, Beavert and Rigsby 1975) which would allow a postulated *íišíi in PS. A cognate for 'borrow' (36.3) is found in wéemsi- in (NP) and wámši- in Walúulapam (S) (CTUIR 1998:380). Also present is a possible cognate for the term 'deer' found in ʔimées of NP (59.1) and yáamaš of Yakama (S) (Beavert and Rigsby 1975).

The remaining examples presented below are various affixes that appear in the source text. The extent of these forms in Columbia River Sahaptin is unknown and due to the limited availability of data they will not be reviewed here.

Examples of plural objective prefix -néeš:

hinashmuna > hinééšmune	03.1
hinashtanuaiaka > hinééšten'wíiyuʔqe	05.1
hipanashwiwanika > hipenéešwiweʔnike	06.1
hinashhimitaka > hinééšhiimteʔke	29.1

Examples of causative prefix -šep and -šepe:

pashapawihnima > peešepéewíinime ?	05.1
pashapatkuku > pašapatk'ukʔu	50.2, 63.2
shapautsat > šapawʔáat	54.2
pashapatkuktatashi > pešepetk'uktet'éeše	62.1

Examples of adjectival suffix -iiš:

himakespkinih > himéeq'ispkin'ix	01.1
takash > téeq'iš	07.1
himakeshna > himéeq'išne	33.4

Examples of the suffixal -eʔš:

tahwaiash > taḡwayaʔš	20.1
wawashtakan > wew'eʔšteqin	28.1
inakanikash > ʔinéek'nikeʔš	29.1
wawianash > wawyan'aš	35.3
wapshishuikash > wéepšišuykeʔš	37.1, 45.2
hanitash > hanít'aš	36.1
tamanikash > temenikéeš	40.1
assai-ikash > ʔáacsaaykaʔš	44.1, 44.2, 45.1
ipnatamtainash > ʔipnáatamtaynaʔš	50.2
inikash > ínikeʔš	54.1
imamatamtainash > ʔimamatamtáy'naš	63.2

Examples of locatives suffix -eš and -hiiš:

pakatash > páaqataš	11.1
witkishpa > witkíišp	27.1

Example of locative suffix -nweeš:

haninwash > hanínwaaš	54.1
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Examples of the perfective suffix -š:

kush > kúuš	36.3, 42.1, 42.1
talkakliksh > téelkelikš	60.1

Examples of the imperfective suffix -š/s:

hitimasa > hitíim'ese	29.1
papahwitatasha > pepexwitet'éeše	33.1
papahwisha > péepexwiše	33.3, 33.4
hiwash > hiwéeš	33.3
pawausa > páawaawsa	33.4
panpaitataisha > peʔenpey'tet'éeše	35.1
pusatatasha > puucatat'áaša	35.2
panahnatatasha > péeʔnehnetet'éeše	35.2
hinptatasha > hiʔnptet'éeše	35.3
hikutatasha > hikúutat'aša	36.2
hitamatkuitatasha > hiteméetk'uʔytet'éeše	36.3
passoaitataisha > paʔcsoʔwaytat'áaša	40.1
pawiskilktatasha > pewisíilktet'éeše	40.2
hiwasatatasha > hiwecetitet'éeše	41.1
panitatasha > panitat'áaša	41.2
hanishih > haanišíix	44.2
hikshishimtatasha > hiʔíic'emtet'eše	45.1
kushp > kúušp	45.1
hiwash > hiwéeš	45.1, 54.1
patimiunaitatasha > petimmiyun'éytet'eeše	45.2
popsiautatasha > póopciáawtat'aaša	47.1
hiutsatatasha > hiwéetet'éeše	47.1
panahtakanpotatasha > paʔnaxtaqaʔnpoʔtat'aaša	49.1, 50.1
popshishuiktatasha > póopšišyuktat'aaša	49.2
patkuptatasha > petkuptet'éeše	52.1, 53.1
autsatatashih > éewʔéetet'ešix	59.1
hikiaikshih > hikiyéeyikšix	59.1
paukaitatasha > [paukai]tet'eeše	62.1, 63.1
pashapatkuktatashi > pešepetk'uktet'éešix	62.1

The Labiovelars k^w, k^{w'}, q^w, q^{w'}

Labiovelars in modern Nez Perce exist underlying in its morphological

structure. Included in the inventory of labiovelars is the phoneme /x̣ʷ/, however, its position relative to Lower Nez Perce is not clear in the literature. One example of /x̣ʷ/ appears in the source text as papahwitataša > pepex̣witet'éeše 'he may be stealing it' (33.1, 33.3, 33.4). The verb root péex̣wi 'to steal, pillage' (Aoki 1994:530) has cognates in páx̣wi 'steal, rob' of Walúulapam (S) (CTUIR 1998:211) and páx̣wi 'steal' of Yakama (NW Sahaptin) (Beavert and Rigsby 1975). Here, the NP form may simply represent a non-phonemic sound shift²² where x̣ʷ (S) > x̣w (NP). Another example is Takta HWAIT > Doctor White (01.1 and elsewhere) where the transcription of hw in hwait may in fact represent the phoneme /x̣ʷ/.

Two examples are presented describing /kʷ, kʷ'/. The first is found in patkuptataša > petkuptet'éeše (51.1, 54.1) which has the verb root tukʷéep 'to set fire' (Aoki 1994:794). As a way to show the surface manifestations of kʷ in tukʷéep compare the following two forms, tukéeplikliikse 'I am setting fire in a ring' ~ ?etkúuplikliikse 'He is setting fire in a ring'. The presence of underlying kʷ is indicated in the vocalic modification toward rounding that occurs when this

22. Non-phonemic sound shifts refer to a shift in pronunciation at the phonetic level with no change in the number of distinctive sounds (campbell 1998:19).

phoneme is immediately followed by a reflex (Aoki 1962:174). The second example is k^w and it appears in the form *pashapatkuktatashi > pešepetk'uktet'éešix* 'they were about to be made to straighten him out' (61.1 and 63.2) based upon the verb form *tuk'ukí-* 'to be straight'. Here, however, Aoki (1994:797) does not identify the underlying phoneme k^w as belonging to this verb form, instead it is plainly represented as /tuk'ukí-/. Thus, it is possible to postulate a Pre-NP form $tuk^w'íki$ or $tuk^w'íki$ based on the presence of $tk^w'ík$ 'be straight' in Sahaptin (CTUIR n.d.:71) and $tk^w'íkw$ 'straight' in Yakama (NW Sahaptin) (Beavert and Rigsby 1975).

Freely alternating /o/ and /u/

Aoki (1994:ix) identifies the presence of freely alternating /o/ and /u/ as one of the main elements that distinguishes the dialects of Lower Nez Perce from Upper Nez Perce. Evidence is presented from the 1930 field notes of Morris Swadesh who collected texts from speakers of the Lower Nez Perce dialect (Cayuse-Nez Perce). Thus, dialectical variation is shown in the alternating forms *kuná* 'there' (LNP) ~ *koná* 'there' (UNP) and *natsúʔx*, *natsóʔx* 'chinook salmon' (LNP) ~ *nacóʔx* 'chinook salmon' (UNP).

The following forms are presented as a means of identifying alternating /o/ and /u/ and are to be read in sequence as Source Text > Lower Nez Perce > Upper Nez

Perce.

kuno kunóʔ konóʔ	04.1
kunma kunmá konmá	05.1
kuna kuná koná	06.1, 36.2, 40.1, 44.2, 45.1, 49.2, 52.1, 63.2
kakuna kakuná kakoná	33.1
kunmanimn kunmanim konmanim	33.3 (?)
kunim kunám konám	33.4
kunia kunyá konyá	35.2, 45.2, 63.2
kunapki kunapki konapki	36.3, 40.2, 41.1, 55.1, 57.2, 60.2
pakuna pakuná pakoná	44.1

In the example kuno > kunóʔ > konóʔ of sentence 04.1, it shows /o/ and /u/ appearing together thus indicating that the transcription of /o/ and /u/ in the source text are often treated as distinct phonemes. Typically, NP vowel harmony would not allow such an occurrence, instead back vowels will occur either in the weak vowel cluster set of /i, e, u/ or in the strong vowel cluster set of /i, a, o/ but never together. The variation represented in kuno > kunóʔ > konóʔ strongly suggests that the source text represents a Lower Nez Perce dialect based on the fact that /o/ and /u/ are treated as distinct phonemes and that Lower Nez Perce dialects freely alternates /o/ and /u/ as exemplified in Aoki (1994). This interpretation argues that the variants of the morpheme ko- ‘that’ are correctly transcribed in the LNP dialectal form ku-.

Nez Perce Vowel Harmony

As previously suggested, NP vowel harmony is an assimilatory process that determines the regularity and distribution of vowels based upon their articulation and co-occurrence. NP vowels are mutually exclusive and are divided into a co-occurring “weak” set showing only /i, e, u/ and a co-occurring “strong” set showing only /i, a, o/ (Aoki 1970, 1994; Rude 1985, 1999).

Given our understanding of alternating /o/ and /u/ in the source text, we may be able to predict the lack of NP vowel harmony in words that show this type of variation. However, due to the fact that vowels /e, a/ are often recorded as /a/ and that /e/ is rarely ever used in the source text, only the most obvious non-harmonic words²³ are identified.

The following words are to be read in sequence as Source Text > Lower Nez Perce > Upper Nez Perce.

suiapu	suuyáapuu	sooyáapoo	01.1, 29.1, 49.1, 49.2, 63.1
miohatupkinih	miyóoḡatupkinix	miyóoḡatopkinix	01.1, 03.1, 45.2, 49.2, 61.1
piamuhna	pʔáamuxna	pʔáamxna	03.1
wiwatashpama	wiwéetešpama	?	07.1
hiusinmelakin	hiyúusinmelaykin	?	10.1
silupipaiu	silupipáayu	silupipáayo	12.1
tamapsaiu-haihai			
	taʔmapcáayu	ḡayḡayḡ	

23. For purposes of clarity, these proposed non-harmonic words will appear in bolded italics throughout the interlinear text.

taʔmapcáayo ɣayɣayɣ	14.1
toh-tamalwiun t'oxtamáalwiyun t'uxtamáalwiyun	16.1
ilotin ʔilootíin ʔiluutíin	21.1
numipu nuumíipuu niimíipuu	29.1, 48.1, 50.1, 50.2, 60.1
takspul táɣcpul táɣcpol	33.3, 33.4
shikam šík'am sík'em	34.1
popsiaunu póopciáawnuʔ póopciáawnoʔ	39.1, 40.2, 60.2
patu paʔtúu peʔtúu	44.2
panahtakanpotatasha	
paʔnaxtaqaʔnpotat'aaša	
paʔnaxtaqaʔnpotat'aaša	48.1, 50.1
ipnatamtainu ʔipnáatamtaynuʔ ʔipnáatamtaynoʔ	49.2
popshishuuktatasha pópšišyuktat'aaša ?	49.2
patuain paʔtúuʔayn ?	53.1

Based upon this comparative sample, I would argue that all of these non-harmonic forms are representative of the Lower Nez Perce dialect due the regularity of $o > u$ and, sometimes $a > e$ as in *shikam* > *šík'am* > *sík'em* (34.1).

Alternating /l/ and /n/

Alternations of /l/ and /n/ are understood as having sound symbolic qualities in Nez Perce and may not necessarily be an indicator of dialect variation (Aoki 1970, 1994; Rude 1985, 1999). However, there does seem to be a limited preference for /n/ over /l/ in the Lower Nez Perce dialects. Only one example is present in the source text. The form *sikamkan* > *ciq'ámqan* > *ciq'ámqal* 'dog' (58.1) is given and is based upon the original noun form *cíq'am* (Aoki 1994:39). Thus, the case marking *-qan* and *-qal* 'young (person or animals)' (1994:571) are sound symbolic contrasts with *-qal*

showing /l/ as the diminutive form. However, as attested here, the evidence supports the fact that the Lower Nez Perce dialect shows a preference for /n/ over /l/.

Conclusion

This research has utilized an early source text written in Nez Perce, an endangered Indigenous language, as a means of identifying and recovering dialectical variation. Using a philological approach combined with the methods of internal reconstruction, it has been shown that older written materials in Nez Perce (as well as in Sahaptin) can offer a wealth of information regarding the historical position of Lower Nez Perce speech patterns relative to the Upper Nez Perce speech community. This fact becomes particularly compelling when historical factors suggest that language diversity (in the form of dialect variation) declined as a result of the removal of autonomous villages to the reservation in the period 1860-1900's. In most cases, this language diversity may only be found in these early trade, missionary, and government written sources. The Nez Perce Laws of 1842 is one example.



Wilupupki 1842, Lapwai hipaina Takta HWAIT
 Tamalwiawat hima-kespkinih, SUAPU-MIOHAT-upkinih.

Wiatwama oka Mr. MAKAI Mr. LASHIS wah pahlo isimkai
 mutatkinih.

Takta HWAIT-nim hinashmuna uii-kalona mimiohatuna. Kuno
 wah Lapwai piamuhna uiikalo.

Kaua hinashtanuaiaka kunma pasha-pawihnima kinaq titokap.

Kuna kaua hipaina naks MIOHAT INOKTIAWAT: kaua
 wiwatashpa MIMIOHAT hipanashwiwanika.

MIMIOHAT

TAKASH MIOHAT

E L L I S.

WIWATASHPAMA MIMIOHAT.

Kamiah.	HIUSINMELAKIN, IUMTAMA-LAIKIN.
Tishaiahpa.	PAKATASH, SISUTLINKAN.
Tsainashpa.	HALHALTHOTSOT, SILUPIPAIU.
Pita-luawi.	AISAK.
Lamata.	TAMAPSAIAU-HAIHAI, HAHAS-ILPILP, AUTASH,
Pikunan.	PAKAUIALKALIKT, ININ-TAHSHAUKT.
Shakanma.	TOH-TAMALWIUN.
Wailua.	JOSEP, HAHAS-ILAHNI.

WIWATASHPAMA MIMIOHAT.

Hashotin.	APASHWAHAIAKT, JESON.
Tawa-luawi	HAHAS-TAMALWIAT.
Iatoin.	KUIPELAKIN, TAHWAIASH.
Iahtoin.	LILHKIMKAN, ILOTIN.
Iaka.	IUMTAMALUKT.
Lapwai.	JEMS.
Hatwai.	NOA.
Sokolaikin.	MITAT-WAPTASH, SHAKANTAI.
Alapawawi.	TIMOTI, HIMIN-ILPILP.

Witkishp. LUK, IPILKIN.
Tokohp. WAWASHTAKAN.

Tahsain inakanikash palkaikah SUIAPU, ALAIMA wah NUMIPU,
Takta HWAIT-nim hinashhimitaka tamalwit ki ka hitimasa.
Wak uiikalo Mimiohat hipanpukinia naksniki timnaki.

T A M A L W I T

N A K S I P.

Ka kuna patuna papahwitatasha tito-kanm, LAPAHAM pa kalatita panitoktats-ha; kaula wapshishuikash autsaiu laptit wah pahat Wawai tsalawi ituna papahwisha kakashl ka hiwash takspul hu ma kunma-nimn. Wah tsalawin papahwisha hima-keshna ka kunim pawausa takspulna kaula PAKAPTIT wawai autsaiu.

L A P I T I P

Ka ipnim panpaitataisha ishina shikam inata, kaula kunia pusatatasha, mipah pa-nahnatatasha; hu itu mina inata hinptata-sha, wawianash, hu itu usiikala ka hiwash hanitash patuain: ka kuna ioh pai hikuta-tasha, kaula kunapki hitamatkuitatasha ka kush wamshitp hiwash tamatkuit; kaula autsaiu laptit WAWIA wapshishuikash, hu ma mitaptit, pilaptit, mas pakaptit, ka kala miohat hitimiuna.

MITATIP

Ka ipnim passoaitataisha ishina tama-nikash kaua kuna tamanikina popsiaunu; hu ma ipalkalikina pawiskilktatasha kaua kunapki kokalh haasu, tamanikina popsi-aunu; kunapki kaua hiwasatitatasha, kaua hanaka wapshishuikash autsaiu laptit wah pahat WAWIA. Kush uikalaham hiutsaiu ka kalaham kush hiuiakiu.

PILALPTIT.

Pa kuna hiwash init titokanain assai-ikash kunku. Metu ka kuna patu hanishih, hitauiasih; watu ishimn lilkuk assaiikash. Ka ishi hikshishimtatasha kushp assip ka kuna watu assaiikash hiwash, kunia kaua miohatum patimiunaitatasha wawia, hu ma itu wapshishuikash.

PAHATIP.

Ka ipnim popsiautatasha titokana ipi WALAUKAKIN hiutsatatasha tinuku.

WILAKSIP.

Ka minm Numipum panahtakanpotata-sha Suiapuna hu ma Alaimana, Miohatap kaua ipnatamtainu ipi Suiapu hu ma Alaima, kaua kuna Miohatum POPSHI-SHUIKTATASHA. Kaua taklai ka minm Suiapum, Alaimam panahtakanpotatasha Numipuna kaua Takta HWAITP ipna-tamtainash autsaiu ipnim Numipum kaua kuna Takta HWAIT-nim kunia PASHA-PATKUKU.

WINAPTIP.

Ka ipnim patkuptatasha inina ka kuna titokan hitauiasa initpa, kaua hilunu ioko-pi init; ipi WALAUKAKIN hiutsaiu tinuku.

WIMATATIP.

Ka ipnim patkuptatasha inina ioh ka hiwash patuain inikash, hu ma haninwash; ipnim autsaiu Pakaptit Wawia kaua Wilaks hishamtuks tiauispa Initpa sha-pautsat. Kaua uiikinih Hiwasatiu kun-apki initpa wak uiikalap ka kala hilunu.

KUISIP.

Ka ipnim hanishhanishnawitpa ala ina-kihnikitpa Patkupu inina hu ituna ipal-kalikina, tamanikina, kunapki Hiwasatiu Uiikalap ka kala hilunu.

PUTIMTIP.

Imamsim autsatatashih sikamkan ka ima wiwaiat imashpa hikiaikshih. Ka ishinm sikamkanm Popsiaunu ituna kul-kulalhna, hokhokna, hu ituna, ka kala talkaliksh hiwash, ipnim taks PUSATIU kunapki ka ipnim a sikamkanm, kaua Popsiaunu sikamkana.

PUTIMT WAH NAKSIP.

Ka minm Numipum paukaitatasha kinia tamalwina; kua kinamam Mimiohatum PASHAPATKUKTATASHI. Kua takalai, ka minm Suiapum hu ma Alaimam paukai-tatasha kinia tamalwina, kinap titokap, kua kuna Imamatamtainash apautsaiu Takta HWAITP kua ipnim kua PASHAPATKUKU.

NUMIPU MIOHAT.**ELLIS.**

01.0

Wilupupki 1842, Lapwai hipaina Takta HWAIT
 Tamalwiiawat himakespkinih, SUIAPU-MIOHAT-upkinih.

wilúupupki	1842
wilúupup-ki	1842
when cold air traps-at the time of	1842
January	1842

léepwey	hipáayna	takta x^wayt
léep-wey	hi-páayn-e	takta x ^w ayt
(place name)-creek	3nom-come-pst	doctor white
(Lapwai, ID)	he came	doctor white

tamalwiyaw'áat	himéeq'ispkinix	suuyáapuu	miyóoxatupkinix
tamáalwi-yew'éet	himéeq'-iis-pkin'ix	sooyáapoo	miyóoxat-úu-pkin'ix
to legislate-agt.nom	great-adq-abl	white person	leader-toward-abl
law enforcer	from the greatest	white person	from toward the leader

In January of 1842, Doctor White came to Lapwai, a law enforcer from the great Whiteman chief.

02.0

Wiatwama oka Mr. MAKAI Mr. LASHIS wah pahlo isimkai mutatkinih.

wiyéetweeme	?ooqá
wiyée-tiwée-me	?e-wée-qa
as one goes-to be with someone-pl	3obq-have-pst
to be with them as one goes	he had

Mr. Makai	Mr. Lashis	wax	páaxlo	?isiimk'éy'	múut'etkin'ix
Mr. McKay	Mr. Lashis	wax	paq-lu	?isíi-m-k'éy'	múut'e-t-kin'ix
Mr. McKay	Mr. Lashis	and	five-hum.st	who-csl-also	downstream-st-abl
Mr. McKay	Mr. lashis	and	five people	who also	from downstream
area					

He had accompanying him Mr. McKay, Mr. Lashis and five others who are also from

the down river area.

03.0

Takta HWAIT-nim hinashmuna uii-kalona mimiohatuna.

takta	x^waytnim	hinéešmune
takta	x ^w ayt-nim	hi-neeš-múu-ne
Doctor White	-erg	3nom-pl.obj-to summon-rm.pst
Doctor White		he summoned them

ʔóykalona	mimiyóoxatuna
ʔóykala-wee-noon	mi-miyóoxat-uu-noon
all-hum.st-obj	redup-chief-toward-obj
all	the chiefs

Dr. White summoned all of the chiefs.

04.0

Kuno wah Lapwai piamuhna uiikalo.

kunóʔ	wax	léepway	píʔamuxna	ʔóykaloo
koná-uʔ	wax	léep-vey	pí-ʔamokí-ne	ʔóykala-we
there-toward	and	(place name)-creek	recip-to be gathered-rm.pst	all-hum.st
there toward	and	(Lapwai, id)	they were gathered	all people

And there toward Lapwai all the people were gathered.

05.0

Kaua hinashtanuaiaka kunma pasha-pawihnama kinaq titokap.

kawá	hineešten'wíiyuʔqe	kunmá
kawá	hi-néeš-ten'ewíi-úʔqe	kon-má
then	3nom-pl.do-to call out/inquire-cond	that-pl
then	he would inquire of them	those

pešepewíhnime	kinníx	titóoqap
pée-šepe-wíhne-im-e	kin-níx	titóoqa-px
pl-caus-to go-csl-pst	this-intns	people-all
he was made to come to	this very one	to people

Then he would inquire of whom he was made to come to among these very people.

06.0

Kuna kaua hipaina naks MIOHAT INOKTIAWAT:
kaua wiwatashpa MIMIOHAT hipanashwiwanika.

kuná	kawá	hipáayna	náaqc	miyóoḡat	ʔinoqtiyaw'áat
koná	kawá	hi-páayn-e	náaqc	miyóoḡat	ʔinóoqti-yew'éet
there	then	3nom-come-pst	one chief	to lead-agt.nom	
there	then	he came	one	chief	a leader

kawá	wíiwetešpe	mimiyóoḡat
kawá	wíi-wéeteš-pe	mi-miyóoḡat
then	dis-land-loc	redup-chief
then	of every land	the chiefs

hipenéešwiweʔnike
hi-pe-néeš-wíi-we-ʔinikí-ee
3nom-pl.nom-pl.obj-dis-with words-to place-pst
(he) named each of them

Then there came one chief, a leader who then named each of them,
the chiefs of every land.

07.0

MIMIOHAT

mimiyóoxat

mi-miyóoxat

redup-chief, leader

the chiefs

The Chiefs.

08.0

TAKASH MIOHAT **E L L I S.****téeq'iš**

téeq-ʔiš

senior-adq

the one who is senior

miyóoxat

miyóoxat

chief, leader

chief

Ellis

Ellis

Ellis

Ellis

The senior Chief Ellis.

09.0

WIWATASHPAMA MIMIOHAT.

wiwéetešpama

wíi-wéeteš-pa-ma

dist-land-loc-pl

those in various places

mimiyóoxat

mi-miyóoxat

redup-chief, leader

the chiefs

The Chiefs of the various locations.

10.0

Kamiah. HIUSINMELAKIN, IUMTAMA-LAIKIN.

qémyeḫp	hiyúusinmelaykin	hiyúumtamalaykin
qémyeḫp (place name) (Kamiah, ID)	hiyúu-s-inme-laykin bear, grizzly-agt-loc-the edge of grizzly bear from the edge	hiyúum-teme-laykin bear, grizzly-lie down-the edge of grizzly bear laying down on edge

Qémyeḫp. Hiyúusinmelaykin, Hiyúumtamalaykin.

11.0

Tishaiahpa. PAKATASH, SISUTLINKAN.

tišayaḫpa	páaqataš	sisyúutilinqan
tiš-ḫayḫáyḫ-pa rock-white-loc of tišayaḫ	páaqa-t-eš five-num-loc five wounds	sisyúu-til-in'/en-qan to fear-on warpath-(agt/nom?)-young young feared one at war

Tišayaḫpa. Páaqataš, Sisyúutilinqan.

12.0

Tsainashpa. HALHALTHOTSOT, SILUPIPAIU.

c'éynešpe	tukulxucúut	silupipáayu
c'éynešp-pe foot of the hill-loc of c'éynešp	tukulxucúut antelope antelope	sílu-pi-páayo eye-redup-strong strong eyes

C'éynešpe. Tukulxucúut, Silupipáayu.

13.0

Pita-luawi. AISAK.

píite ʔiyíwewiy	aisak
píite ʔiyíwewiy	Isaac
(place name)-mouth of creek	Isaac
(at mouth of creek near cottonwood cr., ID)	Isaac

Píite ʔiyíwewiy. Isaac.

14.0

Lamata. TAMAPSAIAU-HAIHAI, HAHAS-ILPILP, AUTASH.

lamáta	taʔmapcáayu ʔayʔayʔ	ʔáʔaac ʔilp'íl	ʔéewteš
lamáta	taʔmapcáayo ʔayʔayʔ	ʔáʔaac ʔilp'íl	ʔéewteš
(place name)	hawk white	grizzly bear red	wound
(white bird cr., id)	White Hawk	Red Bear	Wound

Lamáta. Taʔmapcáayo ʔayʔayʔ, ʔáʔaac ʔilp'íl, ʔéewteš.

15.0

Pikunan. PAKAUIALKALIKT, ININ-TAHSHAUKT.

píik'unen	páaqawaylq'iliikt	híniintaʔšawkt
píik'un-en	páaqa-wayl-q'íi-líik-t	hí-niin-tex-šaw-k-t
river-nom	five-of time-to survive-move-n	say, sounding-with-echo-silent-K-n
Snake River	five times coming to life	the echoer

Píik'unen. Páaqawaylq'iliikt, híniintaʔšawkt.

16.0

Shakanma. TOH-TAMALWIUN.

šáqanma

šáqan-ma

gorge-hum.pl

gorge people (Hells Canyon, ID)

t'oxtamáalwiyun

t'úk-tamáalwi-un

shout-to lead, legislate-person who does

the shouter of law

Šáqanma. T'oxtamáalwiyun.

17.0

Wailua. JOSEP, HAHAS-ILAHNI.

wal'áwa

wal'áwa

(place name)

(Wallowa River, OR)

Josep

cóosip

Joseph

Joseph

ḡáḡaac ʔiléḡni

ḡáḡaac ʔiléḡni

grizzly bear many

many bears

Wal'áwa. Cóosip, ḡáḡaac ʔiléḡni.

18.0

HASHOTIN. APASHWAHAIAKT, qESON.

hašóotiin

héešu-ti-iin

eel-loc-assoc

eel place (Asotin, WA)

ʔapášwahayqt

ʔápš-we-heyq-t

flint-with implement-encircle the neck-n

flint necklace

Jeson

Jason

Jason

Jason

Hašóotiin. ʔApášwahayqt, Jason.

19.0

Tawa-Iuawi. HAHAS-TAMALWIAT.

teeweʔiyíwewiy	ḡáḡaac tamalwiyaw'áat
téewis-ʔiyíwewiy	ḡáḡaac tamalwi-yew'éet
horn, antler-mouth of creek	grizzly bear lead, legislate-agt.nom
(Orifino Creek, ID)	grizzly bear enforcer

teeweʔiyíwewiy. ḡáḡaac tamalwiyaw'áat.

20.0

Iatoin. KUIPELAKIN, TAHWAIASH.

yatóoyn	KUIPELAKIN	taḡwayáʔš
yatóoyn	[qipqipéelixkin]?	teḡ-weye-eʔš
(place name)	[unknown]	shoot arrows-move quickly-for doing
(Potlatch Creek, ID)	[unknown]	for shooting arrows as he goes

Yatóoyn. KUIPELAKIN, Taḡwayáʔš

21.0

Iahtoin. LILHKIMKAN, ILOTIN.

yaḡtóoyn	LILHKIMKAN	ʔiluutíin
yaḡtóoyn	[unknown]	ʔilúut-híin
(place name)	[unknown]	belly-one that is ...ed
(Potlatch Creek, ID)	[unknown]	with belly (i.e. big belied)

Yaḡtóoyn. LILHKIMKAN, ʔilootíin.

22.0

Iaka. IUMTAMALUKT.

yáaka ²⁴	hiyúumtamalukt
yáaka	hiyúum-temeúukt
black bear	grizzly bear-second, next in line
black bear	second grizzly bear

Yáaka. Hiyúumtamalukt

23.0

Lapwai. JEMS.

léepwey	James
léep-wey	James
(place name)-creek	James
(Lapwai, ID)	James

Lapwai. James.

24.0

Hatwai. NOA.

héetwey	Noa
héetwey	noa
(place name)	noa
(Hatwai Creek, ID)	noa

Héetwey. Noa.

24. The placename yáaka? “black bear” is most likely the source of the name Bear Creek which later changes to Potlatch Creek, Idaho. See Fletcher, A. (1891), “The Nez Perce Country” manuscript No. 4558/58-59, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

25.0

Sokolaikin. MITAT-WAPTASH, SHAKANTAI.

soqóolaykin	mitáat wéépteš	šaq'antáayx
súqu-laykin	mitáat wéépteš	šáaq'an-táayx
river bank, steep-at edge of	three feathers	top, crown-[unknown]
place near the river bank	three feathers	baldeagle

Soqóolaykin. Mitáat Wéépteš, Šaq'antáayx

26.0

Alapawawi. TIMOTI, HIMIN-ILPILP.

ʔalpáwawiy	TIMOTI	hímiin ʔilp'íl
ʔalpáha-ʔiyíwewiy	tímeti	hím-hiin ʔilp-ʔilp
(place name)-mouth of creek	timothy	mouth-with redup-to be red
(alpowa creek, wa)	timothy	red wolf

ʔAlpáwawiy. Tímoti, Hímiin ʔilp'íl.

27.0

Witkishp. LUK, IPILKIN.

witkíišp	lúuk	IPILKIN
witix-hiiš-p	lúuk	[unknown]
alder tree-loc-all	luke	[unknown]
(village near Nisqually John canyon, WA)	luke	[unknown]

Witkíišp. luk, IPILKIN.

28.0

Tokohp. WAWASHTAKAN.

toqóoxp

toqóox-p

cave, rock shelter-all

(village on Clearwater River)

waw'aʔštaqín

wew'-eʔš-teqíi-n

hitting-to do with-fish with net-n

striking with a fish net

Toqóoxp. Waw'aʔštaqín.

29.0

Tahsain inakanikash palkaikah SUIAPU, ALAIMA wah NUMIPU, Takta HWAIT-nim hinashhimitaka tamalwit ki ka hitimasa.

táʔsʔayn táʔc-ʔayn good-for the purpose of for the sake of goodness	ʔinéekʔnikeʔš ʔinéekʔnik-eʔš to take care-to do with to care for	peqéeykex peqéey-kex both sides-all towards both sides
---	--	--

suuyáapuu sooyáapoo white man Whiteman	ʔalláyma ʔalláy-ma the downriver region-hum.pl Frenchman	wax wax and and	nuumípuu niimí-pu Nez Perce-people Nez Perce people
--	--	---------------------------------	---

takta x^waytnim takta x ^w ayt-nim Doctor White-erg Doctor White	hinéeshiimteʔke hi-néesh-híimteʔk-e 3nom-pl.obj-to teach, show-pst he has shown to them
--	---

tamáalwit tamáalwi-t legislate-n the law	kíi kíi this this	kaa kaa and and	hitíimʔece hi-tíimʔe-ce 3nom-to write, mark-imperf.pst he has written
--	-----------------------------------	---------------------------------	---

For the sake of good relations towards both sides, the Americans, the French, and the Nez Perce people, Doctor White has shown to them the law he has now written.

30.0

Wak uiikalo mimiohat hipanpukinia naksniki timnaki.

wax	ʔóykaloo	mimiyóoxat	hipaʔnpúʔkiniya
wax	ʔóykala-we	mi-miyóoxat	hi-pa-ʔinipí-úʔ-úukini-(y)e
and	all-hum.pl	redup-chief	3nom-pl-to take hold-loc-as it approaches-pst
and	all people	chiefs	they take hold of it as it approaches

naaqcnikí	tim'néeki
náaqc-nik-ki	tim'íne-ki
one-intns-instr	heart-instr
as with one	with heart

And the chiefs of all the people take a hold of it (as it was given to them) with one heart.

31.0

T A M A L W I T

tamáalwit
tamáalwi-t
to legislate-n
the law

The Law.

32.0

N A K S I P.

náaqsipx
náaqcipx
of one
one

One.

33.0

Ka kuna patuna papahwitatasha tito-kanm, LAPAHAM pa kalatita panitoktats-ha;

kakuná	peʔtúune	pepeḡwitet'éeše	titóoqanm
ke-kon-ney	pe-ʔitúu-ne	pée-péexwi-tet'ée-še	titóoqa-nim
re-there	dis-ʔitúu-obj	3←3-to steal-incep-imperf.pst	person-gen
whereupon	anything	he may be stealing it	person's

lepéhempe	kalatíita	páaʔnitoqtaʔcḡa
lep-éhem-pa	kala-tíita	pée-ʔiníi-toq-táʔc-ḡ-e
two-times-loc	certain amount-same	3←3-to give-back-good-K-pst
at twice	same amount	he shall give back generously

whereupon one may be stealing a person's things,
he shall give back generously twice the amount;

33.1

kaua wapshishuikash autsaiu laptit wah pahat Wawai

kawá wéepšišuykeʔš	ʔewc'éeyuʔ
kawá wéepšišúy-k-eʔš	ʔe-wic'ée-uʔ
then with hand-to learn lesson-K-to do with	3gen-to come to have-fut
then to be punished	it will be his

leʔéptit	wax	páaxat	wáwya
lep-eʔéptit	wax	páaxat	wáwya
two-ten times and	five	five	a blow, hit
twenty	and	five	lashes

then his punishment will be twenty five lashes;

33.2

tsalawi ituna papahwisha kakashl ka hiwash takspul hu ma kunma-nimn.

c'alawí	ʔitúune	péepexwiše	kekašl
c'alawí	ʔitúu-ne	pée-péexwi-še	ke-kašl
if, when	what-obj	3←3-to steal-imperf-pst	re-certain size
if, when	what	he steals it	of a certain size

kaa	híiweš	táxpul	huumée	kunmanim
kaa	hi-wée-š	táxpol	huumée	kon-ma-nim
and	3nom-to be-imperf	beaver	or	that-pl-gen
and	it is	beaver	or	of those

when the thing he steals is of a certain amount,
and it is of beaver or of that kind,

33.3

Wah tsalawin papahwisha hima-keshna ka kunim pawausa takspulna kaua
PAKAPTIT wawai autsaiu.

wax	c'alawín	péepexwiše
wax	c'alawín	pée-péexwi-še
and	just the same	3←3-to steal-imperf-pst
and	just the same	he steals it

himéeq'išne	kaa	kunám	páawaawsa	táxpulna
himéeq-ʔic-ne	kaa	kon-nim	pée-wáaw-se	táxpol-ne
big, great-adq-obj	and	that-gen	3←3-to surpass-imperf.sg.nom	beaver-obj
big	and	of that	it surpassed it	beaver

páaqaʔptit	wáwya	ʔewc'éeyuʔ
paq-eʔéptit	wáwya	ʔe-wic'éé-uʔ
five-ten times	a blow, hit	3gen-to come to have-fut
fifty	lashes	it will be his

and just the same, he steals (something) that exceeds the value of a beaver,
he will receive fifty lashes.

34.0

L A P I T I P

lepítip

lepítipx
of two
second

Second.

35.0

Ka ipnim panpaitataisha ishina shikam inata,

ke	ʔipnám	peʔnpey'tet'ééše
ke	ʔipí-nim	pée-ʔinipí-éey'-tet'éé-še
re	3sg-gen	3←3-to take hold of-benf-incep-imperf.pst
which	his	he is about to take it away from him

ʔišíine	šík'am	ʔinéete
ʔišíi-ne	šík'em	ʔinée-tíite
who-obj	horse	myself-same
any	horse	one's self

whoever is about to take away any horse for one's self,

35.1

kaua kunia pusatatasha, miph pa-nahnatatasha;

kawá	kunyá	puucatat'áaša
kawá	konyá	pée-wéce-tet'ée-še
then	that	3←3-to be riding-incep-imperf-pst
then	that	he is about to ride it

mípx	péeʔnehnetet'éeše
mípx	pée-ʔinéhene-tet'ée-še
to where	3←3-to take along-incep-imperf-pst
to where	he is about to take it along

then he is about to ride that to where he is taking it along,

35.2

hu itu mina inata hinptata-sha, wawianash,

huu	ʔitúu	míne	ʔinéete	hiʔnptet'éeše
huu	ʔitúu	míne	ʔinée-tíite	hi-ʔinipí-tet'ée-še
or	what	where	myself-same	3nom-take-incep-imperf-pst
or	what	where	one's self	he is about to take it

wawyan'aš
wáwya-(n)eʔš
to hit-an object for doing
axe

or wherever he is about to take for one's self, (such as) an axe

36.0

hu itu uiikala ka hiwash hanitash patuain:

huu	ʔitúu	ʔóykala	ke	híweš	hanít'aš
huu	ʔitúu	ʔóykala	ke	hi-wée-š	haníi-(t)eʔš
or	what	all	re	3nom-be-pres	to make-for doing
or	what	all	which	it is	for making

paʔtúuʔayn

peʔtúu-ʔeyn
anything-benf
for things

or any all (such objects) which is for making things

36.1

ka kuna ioh pai hikuta-tasha,

kaa	kuná	yóḡ	páay	hikúutat'aša
kaa	koná	yóḡ	páay	hi-kúu-tet'ée-še
and	there	that	to appear	3nom-to do-incep-imperf-pst
and	there	that	to appear	he is about to do (something)

and when that is to be made apparent (found out),

36.2

kaua kunapki hitamatkuitatasha ka kush wamshitp hiwash tamatkuit;

kawá	kunapki	hitamáatk'uʔytat'aaša
kawá	konapki	hi-teméetk'u-ʔy-tet'ée-še
then	to that place, there	3nom-to pay-benf-incep-imperf.pst
then	to that place, there	he is about to repay him

ke	kúuš	wéemšitp	híiweš	tamáatk'uʔyt
ke	kúu-š	wéemši-t-p	hi-wée-š	teméetk'u-ʔy-t
re	to do-perf	to borrow-n-loc	3nom-be-imperf	to pay-benf-n
which	I/you have done	in debt	he is	in payment to him

then for that which he has incurred a debt, he is to return in payment to him.

37.0

kaua autsaiu laptit WAWIA wapshishuikash,

kawá	ʔewc'éeyuʔ	leʔéptit	wáwya
kawá	ʔe-wic'ée-uʔ	lep-eʔéptit	wáwya
then	3gen-to come to have-fut	two-ten times	a blow, hit
then	it will be his	twenty	lashes

wéepšišuykeʔš
wéepšišúy-k-eʔš
with hand-to learn lesson-s.st-to do with
to be punished

then he will receive twenty lashes as punishment,

38.0

hu ma mitaptit, pilaptit, mas pakaptit, ka kala miohat hitimiuna.

huumé	mitaʔáptit	pileʔéptit	mác
huumé	mita-eʔéptit	píle-eʔéptit	mác
or	three-ten times	four-ten times	how many
or	thirty	fourty	how many

paqʔáptit	ke	kal'á	miyóoḡat	hitimmíyune
paq-eʔéptit	ke	kal'á	miyóoḡat	hi-timmíyu-ne
five-ten times	which	just	chief	3nom-to plan, deliberate-rm.pst
fifty	which	just	chief	he made deiberations

or thirty, forty, or perhaps as many as fifty (lashes) as the chief determines.

39.0

MITATIP

mitáatip
 mita-t-ipx
 three-num.st-all
 third

Third.

40.0

Ka ipnim passoaítataisha ishina tama-nikash kaua kuna tamanikina popsiaunu;

ke	ʔipnīm	paʔcsoʔwaytat'áaša
ke	ʔipí-nim	pée-ʔáac-uʔ-vey-tet'ée-še
re	3sg-gen	3←3-to enter-toward-as one goes-incep-imperf.pst
which	him/her	he is about to have entered toward another

ʔišíine	temeníkéesh	kawá	kuná
ʔisí-ne	temeníkí-éesh	kawá	koná
who-obj	to plant in a vegetable garden-loc	then	there
someone	planted garden, fied (i.e. crop)	then	there

temeníkíne	póopciy'awnuʔ
temeníkí-ne	pée-wéep-ciy'aw-nuʔ
to plant in a vegetable garden-obj	3←3-with hand-to kill-fut
the planted garden, fied (i.e. crop)	he will kill it

whoever is about to have entered someone's garden or field and thereupon he will destroy the garden or field,

40.1

hu ma ipalkalikina pawiskilktatasha kaua kunapki kokalh haasu, tamanikina popsi-aunu;

huumé	ʔipáalk'alakina
huumé	ʔipée-líik-k'alakí-ne
or	to be standing-to do-to interfere-obj
or	fence (the standing of inanimate object that interferes)

pewisk'ilktet'éeše	kawá
pée-wiséé-k'ilikí-tet'ée-še	kawá
3←3-from a standing position-to be blocked-incep-imperf.pst	then
it is about the have been blocked from a standing position by him	then

kunapki	qoq'áalx	haʔácuʔ
konapki	qoq'áalx	hi-ʔáac-uʔ
to that place, there	bison (i.e. cattle)	3nom-to go in-fut
to that place, there	cattle	he will enter in

temeníkine	póopciy'awnuʔ
temeníkí-ne	pée-wéep-ciy'aw-nuʔ
to plant in a vegetable garden-obj	3←3-with hand-to kill-fut
the planted garden, fied (i.e. crop)	he will kill it

or he tears down the fence (allowing) cattle to enter that place where (they) will destroy the garden

41.0

kunapki kaua hiwasatitasha tama-nikitp,

kunapki	kawá	hiwecetitet'éeše
konapki	kawá	hi-wéeceti-tet'ée-še
to that place, there	then	3nom-to pay-incep-imperf.pst
to that place, there	then	he is about to have paid it

temenikítp

temenikítx
to the planted garden, field (i.e. crop)
to the planted garden, field (i.e. crop)

then (for the damages) to that garden he shall have paid it,

41.1

ipalkalikina taks panitatasha,

ʔipáalk'alakina

ʔipée-lík-k'alakí-ne
to be standing-to do-to interfere-obj
fence (the standing of inanimate object that interferes)

táaqc panitat'áaša

táaqc pée-haní-tet'ée-še
now 3←3-to make-incep-imperf-pst
now he shall have made it

(and) he shall have repaired the fence soon thereafter,

41.2

kaua hanaka wapshishuikash autsaiu laptit wah pahat WAWIA.

kawá	héenek'e	wéepšišuykeʔš
kawá	héenek'e	wéep-šišuy-k-eʔš
then	again	with hand-to learn lesson-κ-to do with
then	again	punishment

ʔewc'éeyuʔ	leʔéptit	wax	páaxat	wáwya
ʔe-wic'ée-uʔ	lep-eʔéptit	wax	páaxat	wáwya
3gen-to come to have-fut	two-ten times and	and	five	a blow, hit
it will be his	twenty	and	five	lashes

then again his punishment will be twenty-five lashes,

42.0

Kush uiikalaham hiutsaiu ka kalaham kush hiuiakiu.

kúuš	ʔóykalaham	hiwc'éeyuʔ	ke	kal'áham
kúu-š	ʔóykala-éhem	hi-wic'ée-(y)uʔ	ke	kal'áham
to do-perf	all-times	3nom-to beome-fut	re	just-times
have done	of all times	it will become	which	of just so many times

kúuš	hiwyekiyúʔ
kúu-š	hi-wiye-kúu-(y)úʔ
to do-perf	3nom-while going-to do-fut
have done	it will happen

(and) of all the times it was done, he will be (punished) as many times as it will happen.

43.0

P I L A L P T I T .

píilaptip

píilep-t-ipk
 four-num.st-all
 fourth

Fourth.

44.0

Pa kuna hiwash init titokanain assai-ikash kunku.

pekuná	híiweš	ʔiníit	titóoqanʔayn
pe-koná	hi-wée-š	ʔiníit	titóoqa-n-ʔayn
indef-there	3nom-to be-imperf	house	person-n-benf
some there	it is	house	for people

ʔáacsaaykaʔš	kúnk'u
ʔáac-eey-k-eʔš	kúnk'u
to enter-loc-K-to do with	always
to do with entering	always

maybe there is a house for people to enter at all times,

44.1

Metu ka kuna patu hanishih, hitauiasih; watu ishimn lilkuk assaiikash.

mét'u?	ke	kuná	peʔtúu	haanišíix
mét'u?	ke	koná	pe-ʔitúu	haníi-šix
but	which	there	indef-what	to make-imperf-pl.nom
but	which	there	anything	they are making

hitéw'yecix

hi-téw'ye-cix

3nom-to reside-imperf-pl.nom

they reside

wéet'u	ʔišiinm	lilk'úx	ʔáacsaaykaʔš
wéet'u	ʔisíi-nim	lilk'úx	ʔaac-eeey-k-eʔš
neg	who-gen	unfoundedly	to enter-loc-K-to do with
not	anyone	unfoundedly	to do with entering

but if there (in that house) which they are (to be) making things, or are residing, no one is to enter without just cause,

45.0

Ka ishi hikshishimtata sha kushp assip ka kuna watu assaiikash hiwash,

kaa	ʔišíi	hiqšišimtet'éeše	kúušp
kaa	ʔišíi	hi-xíc'em-tet'ée-še	kúu-š-ipk
and	who	3nom-to become furious-incep-imperf.pst	to do-imperf-all
and	who	he was about to become furious	have done to

ʔáacsip	ke	kuná	wéet'u	ʔáacsaaykaʔš
ʔáac-ipk	ke	koná	wéet'u	ʔáac-eey-k-eʔš
to enter-all		which there	neg	to enter-loc-K-to do with
to enter against		which there	not	to do with entering

híiweš
 hi-wée-š
 3nom-to be-imperf
 he is

and whoever was about to have exercised force upon entering at such places where he is not to be entering,

45.1

kunia kaua miohatum patimiunaitatasha wawia, hu ma itu wapshishuikash.

kunyá	kawá	miyóoḡatum	petimmiyuney'tet'éeše
konyá	kawá	miyóoḡat-m	pée-timmíyu-ney'-tet'ée-še
that	then	chief-erg	3←3-to deliberate-benf-incep-imperf-pst
that	then	chief	he was about to have deliberated on his account

wáwya	húume	ʔitúu	wéepšišyukeʔš
wáwya	húume	ʔitúu	wéep-šišyu-k-eʔš
a blow, hit	or	what	with hand-to learn lesson-K-to do with
lashes	or	what	punishment

then the chief shall judge (however many) lashes or the kind of punishment.

46.0

P A H A T I P .

páaxatip

páaxatipx
of five
fifth

Fifth.

47.0

Ka ipnim popsiautatasha titokana ipi WALAUKAKIN hiutsatatasha tinuku.

ke	ʔipním	póopciy'awtat'aaša	titóoqana
ke	ʔipním	pée-wéep-ciy'aw-tet'ée-še	titóoqa-ne
which	3sg-erg	3←3-with hand-to kill-incep-imperf.sg.nom	person-obj
which	he (who)	he was about to have killed him	a person

ʔipí	wal'áakaykin'	hiwc'etet'éeše
ʔipí	wel'ʔe-keyk-in'	hi-wic'ée-tet'ée-še
3sg	knots, pertaining to rope-to fall-stat	3nom-to become-incep-imperf.pst
he	to be hanged	he was about to become

tin'úku

tin'úxu
dead (used adverbially)
dead

whoever shall have killed a person, he is to be hanged until dead.

48.0

W I L A K S I P .

ʔoyláaqcip

ʔoyláaqcipx

six-all

sixth

Sixth.

49.0

Ka minm Numipum panahtakanpotata-sha Suiapuna hu ma Alaimana,

ke	mínm	Nuumípuuum
ke	mi-nm	niimí-puu-m
re	inter-gen	nez perce-people-erg
which	which one	Nez Perce people

paʔnaxtaqaʔnpoʔtat'áša

pée-ʔinek-teqe-ʔinipí-uʔ-tet'ée-še

3←3-carry-temporarily-to take hold of-against someone-incep-imperf.pst

he was about to temporarily carry, take hold of something against someone (i.e. weapon)

suuyáapuuna	huumé	ʔalláymana
sooyáapoo-ne	huumé	ʔalláy-ma-ne
white man-obj	or	the downriver region-hum.pl-obj
whiteman	or	frenchman

any Nez Perce who shall take a weapon against a Whiteman or Frenchman,

49.1

Miohatap kua ipnatamtainu ipi Suiapu hu ma Alaima, kua kuna Miohatum
POPSHI-SHUIKTATASHA.

miyóoxatop	kawá	ʔipnáatamtaynu?	ʔipí
miyóoxatopx	kawá	ʔipnéé-tamtáay-n-u?	ʔipí
to the chief	then	3sg- recip- to give report-n-fut	3sg
to the chief	then	he himself will report	it

suuyáapuu	huumé	ʔalláyma	kawá	kuná
sooyáapoo	huumé	ʔalláy-ma	kawá	kon-ney
white man	or	the downriver region-hum.pl	then	there
whiteman	or	frenchman	then	there

miyóoxatum	pupšišyuktet'éeše
miyóoxat-m	pée-wéep-sisyu-k-tet'ée-še
chief-erg	3←3-with hand-to learn lesson-K-incep-imperf.pst
chief	he was about to mete out punishment on him

then the Whiteman or Frenchman will report it to the chief, whereupon the chief shall mete out punishment on him.

50.0

Kaua taklai ka minm Suiapum, Alaimam panahtakanpotatasha Numipuna

kawá takláy	mínm	suuyáapum	ʔalláy mam
kawá takláy	mínm	sooyáapoo-m	ʔalláy-ma-m
then instead	which one	whiteman-erg	the downriver region-hum.pl-erg
then instead	which one	whiteman's	Frenchman

paʔnaxtaqaʔnpoʔtat'áaša

pée-ʔinek-teqe-ʔinipí-uʔ-tet'ée-še

3←3-carry-temporarily-to take hold of-against someone-incep-imperf.pst

he was about to temporarily carry, take hold of something against someone (i.e. weapon)

nuumípuuuna

niimí-puu-ne

nez perce-people-obj

a nez perce

in the same respect, any Whiteman or Frenchman who shall take a weapon against a Nez Perce,

50.1

kaua Takta HWAITP ipna-tamtainash autsaiu ipnim Numipum kaua kuna
Takta HWAIT-nim kunia PASHA-PATKUKU.

kawá takta x^waytp
kawá takta x^waytipx
then to Doctor White
then to Doctor White

ʔipnáatamtaynaʔš
ʔipnéé-tamtáay-(n)eʔš
3sg.recip-to give report-duty
has a duty to give a report of himself

ʔewc'éeyuʔ
ʔe-wic'éé-uʔ
3gen-to come to have-fut
it will be his

ʔipnám nuumípuuum
ʔipnám niimíi-puu-m
he/him nez perce-people-erg
he/him nez perce

kawá koná
kawá koná
then there
then there

takta x^waytnim
takta x^wayt-nim
Doctor White-erg
Doctor White

pašapáatk'ukʔu
pée-šepée-tuk'ukí-ʔu
3←3-caus-to be straight-fut
he will make him straight

then it will be the duty of the Nez Perce to report him to Doctor White,
then there Doctor White will straighten him out.

51.0

WINAPTIP.

ʔuynééptip

ʔuynééptipx

of seven

seventh

Seventh.

52.0

Ka ipnim patkuptatasha inina ka kuna titokan hitauiasa initpa,

ke	ʔipnám	patkuptat'áaša	ʔiníine	
ke	ʔipí-nim	pée-tuk ^w éep-tet'ée-še	ʔiníit-ne	
which	3sg-erg	3←3-to set fire-incep-imperf.pst	house-obj	
which	he who	he was about to set fire to it	a house	
kaa	kuná	titóoqan	hitéw'yece	ʔiníitpe
kaa	koná	titóoqa-n	hi-téw'ye-s-ee	ʔiníit-pe
and	there	people-n	3nom-to live, reside-imperf.pst	house-loc
and	there	people	he lipes	in house

whoever was about to set fire to a house and there people were residing in (that) house,

52.1

kaua hilunu ioko-pi init; ipi WALAUKAKIN hiutsaiu tinuku.

kawá hiʔilíwne

kawá hi-ʔilíw-ne

then 3nom-burn-rm.pst

then it burned

yoq'opí

yoq'opí

that very

that very

ʔiniit ʔipí

ʔiniit ʔipí

house 3sg

house he

wal'áawkaykin'

wel'ée-wée-keyk-in'

knots, pertaining to rope-be-to fall-stat

to have fallen while knotted with rope

hiwc'éeyuʔ

hi-wic'ée-uʔ

3nom-to become-fut

he will become

tin'úku

tin'úxu

dead (adverbially)

dead

then that very house burned, he (that person) is to hang until dead.

53.0

WIMATATIP.

ʔoymátatip

ʔoymátatipx

of eight

eighth

Eighth.

54.0

Ka ipnim patkuptatasha inina ioh ka hiwash patuain inikash, hu ma haninwash;

ke	ʔipním	patkuptat'áaša	ʔiníine
ke	ʔipí-nim	pée-tuk ^w éep-tet'ée-še	ʔinít-ne
re	3sg-gen	3←3-to set fire-incep-imperf-pst	house-obj
which	he/him	he was about to set fire to it	a house
yóḡ	ke	híiweš	ʔinikésʔš
yóḡ	ke	hi-wée-š	ʔinikí-eʔš
that	which	3nom-to be-imperf	to place-an object for...ing
that	which	it is	storage
húume	hanínwaaš		
húume	haníi-nweeš		
or	to make-place of doing		
or	place to make things		

whoever was about to set fire to a house that which is used to store things or a shop to make things,

54.1

ipnim autsaiu Pakaptit Wawia kaua Wilaks hishamtuks tiauispa Initpa sha-pautsat.

ʔipnīm ʔipí-nim 3sg-gen he/his	ʔewc'éeyuʔ ʔe-wic'ée-(y)uʔ 3gen-come to have-fut it will be his	páaqaʔptit paq-eʔéptit five-ten times fifty	wáwya wáwya a blow, hit lashes
kawá kawá then then	ʔoyláaqc ʔoyláaqc six six	híišemtüks híišemtüks month month	tiyáaw'icpa tiyáaw-ʔic-pa firm, secure structure-adj-loc at a structure causing to be secure
ʔiníitpa ʔiníit-pe house-loc at house	šapawc'áat šepe-wic'ée-t caus-to stop, stay-n cause to become immobile		

he will receive fifty lashes then he is to be incarcerated for six months in the strong house,

55.0

Kaua uiikinih Hiwasatiu kun-apki initpa wak uiikalap ka kala hilunu.

kawá kawá then then	ʔúykin'ix ʔúykin'ix all-abl from all	hiwécetyuʔ hi-wéceti-uʔ 3nom-to pay-fut he will pay	kunáapki konápki to that place, there to that place, there		
ʔiníitpa ʔiníit-pe house-loc at house	wax wax and and	ʔóykalap ʔóykalapx up to all up to all	ke ke which which	kalá kalá that much that much	hiʔlíwne hi-ʔilíw-ne 3nom-burn-rm.pst it burned

in addition to all of this, he will pay (for damages) to the house and up to all which was burned.

56.0

K U I S I P .

k'uʔícip

k'uʔícpx
of nine
ninth

Ninth.

57.0

Ka ipnim hanishhanishnawitpa ala ina-kihnikitpa Patkupu inina

ke	ʔipnám	ḡanišḡanišnáawitpa	ala ²⁵
ke	ʔipnám	ḡenišḡeniš-néewit-pe	[unknown]
re	3sg-erg	rough, wild-the way of-loc	“or”
which	he (who)	(acts) willfully, rashfully	“or”

ʔineq'íixneq'itpe

ʔinek-q'íi-k-naq'i-t-pe
to accompany-to last of supplies-all-completipe-n-loc
accompany to the end of supplies (i.e. negligence)

péetkupu?

pée-tuk^wéep-u?
3←3-to set fire-fut
he will set it on fire

ʔiníine

ʔiníit-ne
ʔiníit-obj
the house

any person who, willfully or by negligence, will set on fire a house,

25. 'or' is proposed for this hereto unknown form. It was proposed by James Cornelison, an early missionary to the Cayuse. He is also credited with having made a translation of the Nez Perce Laws which is present in the Whitman College Northwest Archives of Whitman College, Walla Walla, WA.

57.1

hu ituna ipal-kalikina, tamanikina, kunapki *Hiwasiatü Uiikalap* ka kala hilunu.

hu	ʔitúune	ʔipáalk'alakina
hu	ʔitúu-ne	ʔipée-líik-k'alakí-ne
or	anything-obj	to be standing-stat-to interfere-obj
or	anything	fence (the standing of inanimate object that interferes)

temeníkine	kunáapki	hiwécetyuʔ
temeníkí-ne	konapki	hi-wéceti-(y)uʔ
to plant a vegetable garden-obj	to that place, there	3nom-to pay-fut
a planted garden, field (i.e. crop)	to that place, there	he will pay

ʔóykalap	ke	kál'a	hiʔlíwne
ʔóykalapx	ke	kál'a	hi-ʔilíw-ne
up to all	which	just	3nom-burn-rm.pst
up to all	which	just	it burned

or anything as a fence or crop, he will pay for (damages) up to all which has burned.

58.0

PUTIMTIP.

púutimtip
 púutimtipx
 of ten
 tenth

Tenth.

59.0

Imamsim autsatataših sikamkan ka ima wiwaiat imashpa hikiiaiikših.

ʔiméemcim
 ʔimée-m-cim
 2sg-pl-only
 only they/those

ʔewc'etet'éešix
 ʔe-wic'ée-tet'ée-šix
 3gen-come to have-incep-imperf.pl.nom
 they were about to have it

ciq'ámqan
 ciq'ámqal
 dog
 dog

ke ʔimée
 ke ʔimée
 which they
 which they

wiwáy'at
 wi-wáy'at
 dist-far, distant
 various distant places

ʔiméešpe
 ʔimeš-pa
 deer-loc
 to deer

hikiyéeyikšix
 hi-kúu-eeyi-k-šix
 3nom-to go-around-K-imperf-pl.nom
 they are going around

only those shall own a dog which they, in traveling to various distant places, (hunt) deer.

60.0

Ka ishinm sikamkanm Poqsiaunu ituna kul-kulalhna, hokhokna, hu ituna, ka kala talkaliksh hiwash,

ke	ʔišiinm	ciq'áamqanm	póopciy'awnu?	ʔitúune
ke	ʔišii-nm	ciq'áamqal-m	pée-wéep-ci-y'aw-nu?	ʔitúu-ne
which	who-gen	dog-gen	3←3-with hand-to kill-fut	what-obj
which	whom	dog	he will kill it	what

kulkul'éexne	hoq'hóoq'na	hu	ʔitúune	ke	kál'a
kulkul'éex-ne	hoq'hóoq'na	hu	ʔitúu-ne	ke	kál'a
domestic calf-obj	pig, hog-obj	or	what-obj	which	just
a domestic calf	a pig	or	what	which	just

téelkelikš	híiweš
téelke-líik-š	hi-wée-š
to be tied-to attain a state-perf	3nom-to be-imperf
in a state of being tied	it is

whose ever dog shall kill any such thing as a domestic calf, a pig, or any such thing which is plainly corralled,

60.1

ipnim taks PUSATIU kunapki ka ipnim a sikamkanm, kaua Popsiaunu sikamkana.

ʔipnīm	táaqc	púucetiyu?	kunapki	ke	ʔipnīm
ʔipí-nim	táaqc	pée-wéeceti-(y)u?	konapki	ke	ʔipí-nim
3sg-gen	now	3←3-to pay-fut	to that place, there	which	3sg-gen
his	now	he will pay him	to that place, there	which	his

a	ciq'áamqanm	kawá	póopciy'awnu?	ciq'áamqana
[unknown]	ciq'áamqal-m	kawá	pée-wéep-ci-y'aw-nu?	ciq'áamqal-ne
[unknown]	dog-gen	then	3←3-with hand-to kill-fut	dog-obj
[unknown]	dog	then	he will kill it	the dog

it will be that he (the owner of the dog) will pay him for (damages), at which the owner of the dog will then kill the dog.

61.0

PUTIMT WAH NAKSIP.

púutimt	wax	náaqcip
púutim-t	wax	náaqcipx
ten-num.st	and	one-all
ten	and	one

Eleventh.

62.0

Ka minm Numipum paukaitatasha kinia tamalwina; kua kinamam
Mimiohatum PASHAPATKUKTATASHI.

ke	mín	nuumípuum	[paukai]tat'áaša
ke	mín	niimípuu-m	[cok ^w áy] ²⁶ -tet'ée-še
which	which one	nez perce-gen	["ignore"]-incept-imperf.sg.nom
which	which one	Nez Perce	be about to "ignore"

kinyá	tamáalwina
kinyá	tamáalwi-ne
this-obj	law-obj
this	the law

kawá	kineeméem	mimiyóoḡatum
kawá	kíne-me-m	mi-miyóoḡat-m
then	here-pl-pl.nom	redup-chief-pl
then	from these ones	the chiefs

pašapatk'uktat'áaša
pée-šepe-tuk'ukí-tet'ée-še
3←3-caus-to be straight-incept-imperf.sg.nom
he was about to be made to straighten him out

if any such person among the Nez Perces shall "ignore or break" these laws, then
from among the various chiefs, they shall be made to correct him.

26. This form [paukai] is unknown or may be in error. However, it closely resembles NP cok^wáy "be disinterested, unmindful, oblivious" (Aoki 1994:49). Too, it is unlikely to be in error as it is repeated again in the preceding lines.

63.0

Kaua takalai, ka minm Suiapum hu ma Alaimam paukai-tatasha kinia tamalwina, kinap titokap,

kawá takaláy	ke	mínm	suuyáapum	húume
kawá takláy	ke	mínm	sooyáapoo-m	húume
then instead	which	which one	white person-pl	or
then instead	which	which one	whitemen	or

ʔalláyma	[paukai]tet'eeše
ʔalláy-ma	[cok ^w áy]-tet'ée-še
the down river region-pl	["ignore"]-incept-imperf.sg.nom
frenchmen	be about to "ignore"

kínye	tamáalwina	kinéep	titóoqap
kínye	tamáalwi-ne	kinéepx	titóoqapx
this-obj	law-obj	to this place	toward (indian) people
this	the law	to this place	toward (indian) people

then, at the same time, if any such person among the Whitemen or Frenchmen shall "ignore or break" these laws against these people,

63.1

kaua kuna Imamatamtainash apautsaiu Takta HWAITP kaua ipnim kunia PASHAPATKUKU.

kawá kuná	ʔimamatamtáynaʔš	takta x^waytp
kawá koná	ʔimée-me-tamtáy-(n)eʔš	takta x ^w ayt-p
then there	2sg-pl-to report-duty	doctor white-loc
then there	they have a duty to report	to Doctor White

kawá ʔipnám	kunyá	pašapatk'ukuʔ
kawá ʔipnám	kónya	pée-šepe-tuk'ukí-uʔ
then he-erg	that-obj	3←3-caus-to be straight-fut
then he (who)	that	he will make him straight

they are then to report it to Doctor White then he will correct him for that.

64.0

NUMIPU MIOHAT. ELLIS.

<i>nuumípuu</i>	miyóoxat	Ellis
niimípuu	miyóoxat	Ellis
nez perce people	chief	Ellis
the nez perce	chief	Ellis

The Nez Perce Chief Ellis.

LAWS OF THE NEZ PERCE (1843)

The below originally appeared as part of the President's State of the Union message of December 3, 1844. Senate Document No. 1, 28th Congress, 2d Session, at page 507.

Wallaumette, March, 1843.

The Nezperces have one Governor or principal chief -- twelve subordinate chiefs of equal power being the head of the different villages or clans, with their five officers to execute all their lawful orders, which laws they have printed in their own language, and read understandingly.

The chiefs are held responsible to the whites for the good behaviour of the tribe. They are a happy and orderly people, forming an honorable exception to the general Indian character; being more industrious, cleanly, sensible, dignified, and virtuous.

This organization was effected last fall, and operates well, and with them, it is to be hoped, will succeed. A few days since, Governor McLaughlin favored me with a note, addressed to him from the Rev. H. H. Spalding, missionary to this tribe, stating as follows:

“The Indians in this vicinity are remarkably quiet this winter, and are highly pleased with the laws recommended by Doctor White, which were unanimously adopted by the chiefs and people in council assembled.”

“The visit of Doctor White and assistants to this upper country will evidently prove an incalculable blessing to this people.”

“The school now numbers 224 in daily attendance, embracing most of the chiefs and principal men of the nation.”

Laws of the Nez Perces.

Art. 1. Whoever wilfully takes life shall be hung.

Art. 2. Whoever burns a dwelling shall be hung.

Art. 3. Whoever burns an out-building shall be imprisoned six months, receive fifty lashes, and pay all damages.

Art. 4. Whoever carelessly burns a house, or any property, shall pay damages.

Art. 5. If any enter a dwelling without permission of the occupant, the chiefs shall punish him as they think proper. Public rooms are excepted.

Art. 6. If any one steal, he shall pay back two-fold; and if it be the value of a beaver skin and less, he shall have twenty-five lashes; if the value is over a beaver skin, he shall receive fifty lashes.

Art. 7. If any one enter a field, and injure the crops, or throw down the fence, so that cattle or horses go in and do damage, he shall pay all damages, and receive twenty-five lashes for every offence.

Art. 8. Those only may keep dogs who travel or live among the game. If a dog kills a lamb, calf, or any domestic animal, the Owner of the dog shall pay the damage, and kill the dog.

Art. 9. If an Indian break these laws, he shall be punished by his chiefs. If a white man break them, he shall be reported to the agent, and punished at his instance.

Art. 10. If an Indian raise a gun or other weapon against a white man, it shall be reported to the chiefs, and they shall punish him. If a whiteman do the same to an Indian, it shall be reported to the agent, and he shall punish or redress it.

E. WHITE.

N.B. Many of the Indian tribes have adopted the above laws, and thus far honored them beyond all expectation.

E. W.

SECTION IV
NAMING TRADITIONS

CHAPTER 14

Hinmató·wyalahṭq'itnim Weʔní·kt²⁷ Young Chief Joseph's Name

This Nez Perce narrative was related to me by my elders *cáʔyaw* **Wi·nató·winmay** (Annette Blackeagle Burke, 1904-1988) and *cáʔyaw* **Wetyé·tmes** **Til'aylaká·piikt** (Clarence Thompson Burke, 1889-1987). In this respect, I am not an author in the truest sense. I am but a word carrier. Here, the grammatical organization of the text is entirely my own, including any errors. *cáʔyaw* **Wi·nató·winmay**, my maternal grandmother, was among the last direct descendents of the Nez Perce **Hinmató·wyalahṭq'it** (aka Young Chief Joseph, 1841-1904) for whom the name and story relates to. **Hinmató·wyalahṭq'it** is a well known historical personage due to his critical role in the ongoing Nez Perce struggle to restore ancestral lands guaranteed to them in the Nez Perce Treaty of 1855 with the U.S. Government (Josephy 1965). This struggle later intensified with the outbreak of the Nez Perce War of 1877. Today, I write the story to honor my past and to impart the knowledge by which I was gifted.

27. This article was previously published in Red Ink, a Native-run literary, arts, scholarship magazine at the University of Arizona. Full citation: Cash Cash, Phillip E. (1999). hinmatoowyalahṭqitnim we'niikt. Red Ink, Vol. 7, No. 2. Tucson, Arizona. This text represents an entextualized oral sourced narrative that was originally heard in person and spoken in the Nez Perce language.

-
1. **wá·qo? ?ew'néhpinyu? kayóx ke hí·wes cú·kwenin' kínm yáwa we?níkt--
Hínmató·wyalahq'it.**

Now, I will bring forth that which is known concerning the name--
“Thunder traveling up out of the water to higher areas.”

2. **kúnk'u hi·nen'í·xne ?í·nim titlú·me,
“?e·hé, ?ikú·yn we?ní·kt, hiwéhyem kiné·me wé·tes!”**

My elders always used to say,
“Yes, it is a true name, it comes from this land!”

3. **tá·qc, kínu? wé·tespe koná hí·wes ?iwé·tem hiwe?nikí·n, “Wallowa Lake.”**

Now, here in this land there is a lake called, “Wallowa Lake.”

4. **kaa kínukex hitéw'yenike?nixne Qemúynu· titó·qana.**

And toward this place there used to live the Wallowa Band people.

5. **ku?ús pé·pewiye·cukwenin' yoḡ cikaw'í·sna--hinmé·t--
hité·w'yecene wáy'at limq'í·spe ?imí·tpe.**

6. Thus, over time it became known to them that a dangerous being--Thunder--
lived way deep inside (the lake).

7. **q'o? ?etḡsawksa konma?í, hinmetú·ne hitkoláhtqana limq'í·spkin'ix
kaa hiq'oyímnaqana tú·skex titoyá·mi·.**

In a great echoing manner, Thunder would come out from the deep waters
and ascend upward along the summit.

8. **konó? coqó·toyami· hitíyeksan'aḡ.**

There he would perch on the high peaks.

9. **ka· ʔetke pakká· hilk'ú·pluk'upin, hinmetú·m taxsáwkt hitxsawkóʔqa ʔoykaslix kíne wé·tespe.**

And because every so often he moved repeatedly, Thunder's sound would be echoing all over the land.

10. **kuʔús titlú·nm q'oʔ pemscú·kwene.**

Thus our ancestors truly understood (in hearing) it.

11. **ʔimé·m hiwc'éye hetewyí·n cú·kwe wiyé·leheype .**

It became a valued knowledge in their day to day existence.

12. **kuʔúsuʔ haʔátima weʔní·kt.**

In this manner, the name came out.

13. **kaa hip'ímne ná·qcipkin'ix kíne hé·pey tiwí·teqisnim wiyé·piʔim.**

And it grew from one here among Senior Warrior's lineage.

14. **ka· koníx kí· weʔní·kt haʔátkika tiwí·iteqisnim miy'á·c.**

And from there this name went out on to Senior Warrior's child.

15. **q'oʔ hiwic'á·t'aʔ cú·kwenin' kuʔstít wá·qoʔ kíye wisí·x c'í·qce.**

Truly, it would become known the same as we are now speaking (it).

16. **weʔní·kt kí· hí·wes ciká·w'is.**

It is a fierce name.

17. **hí·wes ciw'é·tciw'et cú·kwe.**

It is precious knowledge.

Full English Version

Now, I will bring forth that which is known concerning the name--Thunder traveling up out of the water to higher areas. My elders always used to say, "Yes, it is a true name, it comes from this land!" Now, here in this land there is a lake called, "Wallowa Lake." And toward this place there used to live the Wallowa Band people. Thus, over time it became known to them that a dangerous being--Thunder--lived way deep inside (the lake). In a great echoing manner, Thunder would come out from the deep waters and ascend upward along the summit. There he would perch on the high peaks. And because every so often he moved repeatedly, Thunder's sound would be echoing all over the land. Thus our ancestors truly understood (in hearing) it. It became a valued knowledge in their day to day existence. In this manner, the name came out. And it grew from one here among Senior Warrior's lineage. And from there this name went out on to Senior Warrior's child. Truly, it would become known the same as we are now speaking (it). It is a fierce name. It is precious knowledge.

CHAPTER 15

Speech of Traditional Ni·mí·pu· Leader Horace Axtell

This oratory was given in regard to the Nez Perce Naming of Mac Strong and Sons
 Nez Perce Reservation, Lapwai, Idaho
 April 13, 2006

1

kí· lé·heype kí·me hipe?npú·kinis titó·qan we?ní·kt ke hí·wes.

On this day, these ones have received a personal name, that it is so.

2

ka· kine wé·tespe ke ku?ús hí·wes numí·pu· nú·nim cú·kwe.

And here in this land, it is thus our Nez Perce way.

3

kaka· hiwc'é·tetu kímti ?iske we?ní·kt ?iné·p'init.

When one is to be with a new name it is like an inherited name.

4

ka· kinkí ?imé·m waqiswí·tpa ?ó·ykalo

With this throughout their lives

kex kiwáyl hipewc'é·yu? wá·qis,

however long life shall be,

5

kí· pe·?né·k'niku? we?ní·kt,

they will take care of this name

6

ke ku?ús hine·s?ípekin titó·qan wé·s.

as the people they are.

7

ka· kí· heté?ew há·ma ke hí·wes poxpok'aliyaw'á·t.

And this important man, he is a ballplayer.

8

kí· hí·wes ?ilé·ptikin ʒe·lé·wit.

This is the sport of football.

9

koná ?ipí ha?ácqawna ʒe·lé·witpe.

There he went straight into the game.

10

ka· kí· lé·hey hipá·yca ke ?ipním ?iwé·pne ?ús nimí·pu·.

And this day he is arriving with his wife who is Nez Perce.

11

ka· konwacá·n hiwéwluqe we?ní·kt

And it is for this reason he wanted a name,

ke hí·wes tito·qatímtki we?ní·kt.

that which is an Indian name.

12

ka· kí· hí·wes cú·lim tim'í·ne

And this one is "Bull's Heart."

13

qepsqepsné·wit ?ipí ?inpú·kinis kí· we?ní·kt ke ?ipí ʒelé·leype ʒe·lé·witpe

In way of strength, he receives this name for his work, his sport.

14

ka· ciká·w'is hitqeke?éyktetu ?iske cú·lim.

Fiercely moving at times like a bull.

15

ka· hé·neku ?ipním tim'í·ne ku?ús qepsqéps.

And again his heart (is) likewise strong.

16

kúnk'u...kúnk'u hiḵelé·yleytetu kaka· wé·tu ḵe·lé·wise.

He is always working, no playing.

17

hi...heḵipetetu kí· hí·wes talapó·sanwa·spa.

He always participates with this place of worship/church.

18

ka· koná hiná·swapayatato kí· hí·wes kicúyki peḵtú·ki.

There he is always helping them financially in various ways.

19

kustít·t mamáy'ac hiné·stiwixteḵnix ḵóykaslix koná.

Similarly, he continually accompanies the children all over.

20

ka· hitemscú·kwetetu kuḵús hí·wes tuk'uxné·wit qepsqepsné·wit.

He always instructs them thusly in the ways of goodness and strength.

21

ka· kúnk'u ḵipí hiwéwluqtetu

He always desired

né·cmiḵs ḵóykaló mamáy'ac hiḵepiḵímce c'aḵá ka· táḵc.

and wished to raise all of his children right and good.

22

so·ya·po·tímtki ḵús weḵní·kt "Mac Strong."

His English name is Mac Strong.

23

ka· hiḵelé·witetu ḵila·pqaḵí kí· hí·wes ḵelé·wit.

He always plays football which is a sport.

24

ka· ḵipnám mamáy'ac ḵimé·nk'e ḵipelí·kuḵ hiḵeḵnpú·kinis weḵní·kt.

And his children too are standing up and have recieved a name.

25

ka· kí· *Isaia*...(which one is *Isaia*)...And here *Isaia* (which one is *Isaia*?)**kí· *Isaia* hí·wes ʔipnám weʔní·kt ʔetqé·wse ʔiceye·yó·my'ac,**
here *Isaia* his name becomes ʔiceye·yó·my'ac,

26

ʔiceye·yó·my'ac...that means, “A Child of a Coyote.”

27

ka· henek'ú kí· *Evans* takláy hí·wes...And again this one *Evans*, at the same time is...**ʔipnám weʔní·kt ʔetqé·wse ya·kayá·ka.**
his name becomes *ya·kayá·ka*.

28

That's a Bear Cub, a little Black Bear Cub...*ya·kayá·ka*.

29

That's the three names that we brought out today.

30

ka· kús hitqé·wsix

And having done this,

kí·me weʔní·kt hipeʔné·k'nikuʔ

these names will be received

ke kiwá·yl hipewc'é·yuʔ kine wé·tespe.

and it shall last however long in this land here.

31

qeciyéw'yew' kal'óʔ

Thank you, that is all.

CHAPTER 16

Niimípuu (Nez Perce) Naming Practices²⁸**Introduction**

Among the Niimípuu (Nez Perce) of western North America, proper names are often associated with spiritual power. Niimípuu (Nez Perce) naming practices thus illustrate an unconventional notion of reference which evoke a set of prior conditions in naming, one that links proper names to personal histories, social context, and ecology. This chapter examines the linguistic and cultural origins of Niimípuu (Nez Perce) proper names and naming practices to arrive at a general understanding on how meaning is motivated and constructed in such practices. Preliminary evidence suggest that the creation of meaning in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) naming practices are derived primary from experience given their long term adaptation to the interior southern Columbia Plateau environment.

Within the Niimípuu (Nez Perce) speech community, traditional names are known to be descriptively rich in meaning, linguistically complex, and deeply

28. This chapter was developed from a set of research papers first presented in 2006 at the Plateau Conference, Plateau Center for American Indian Studies, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington and then later presented with new findings in 2008 at the Arizona Linguistics and Anthropology Symposium, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

private. Traditional names and their associated meanings evoke a wide range of human experience and are grounded in modes of perception that are enabled by centuries of interaction with the interior Columbia Plateau ecology of western North America. As a naming practice, Niimípuu (Nez Perce) traditional names are regarded as formative elements in the construction and maintenance of personal identities and ancestral lineages. As a linguistic resource, traditional names are becoming increasingly significant as Nimiipuutímt (the Nez Perce language) becomes endangered due to language shift and the loss of knowledgeable, fluent speakers. Thus, new information on names and naming practices are desirable not just because Nimiipuutímt (the Nez Perce language) is endangered but because it is also a polysynthetic language with a complex morphological component. The compositional features of Niimípuu (Nez Perce) names confirm this fact and their assessment will contribute to a broader understanding of the morphosyntactic structure of Nimiipuutímt (the Nez Perce language). This paper is among the first attempts to provide a description and analysis of Niimípuu (Nez Perce) proper names and naming practices. It examines both the linguistic and cultural conventions of proper names to account for the various ways in which meaning is motivated in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture.

A common feature of a proper name is its reference. In traditional linguistic semantics, reference is taken to be the process by which a signifier relates to the

signified (Frawley 1992). In other words, an entity referred to by a linguistic expression is its extension, that is, the class of entities it defines. The content of a linguistic expression is its intension or what is otherwise the defining properties of a given class of entities under consideration. It is generally offered that in language use intension precedes and fixates the extension of a linguistic expression. As a lexical semantic theory, this type of approach is a holistic one in that it adopts a usage-based language model that assumes the existence of an intimate relation between linguistic expressions and their instances of use. The role of reference in this kind of system is interdependent with the various contexts by which intension can give rise to the naming of entities in the world through the use of proper names and natural kind terms. Thus, Frawley summarizes this basic understanding when he states that, “a speaker’s words refer because the speaker inherits a set of belief states from the community--intensions--that fix reference and thus effectively obligate the connection of a signifier to a signified (Frawley 1992:19).”

Belief states are a particularly important feature in a holistic, contextual approach to lexical semantics. Thus, belief states are a kind of binding force over the way information or content is presented in a system of reference. This is to suggest that the construence of meaning is not simply a matter of frequency, grammaticality, or truth-value determinations derived from an infinite range of possible worlds but rather it is one built up from the sedimentized horizons of human experience. In

other words, the meaning bearing aspects of experience and the belief states they produce provide the cognitive foundation for the semanticity of lexical expressions. From this perspective, “a theory of meaning is a theory of how we understand things...how an individual as embedded in a linguistic community, a culture, and a historical context understand (Johnson 1987:190 quoted in Alverson 1994).” This is also true for proper names, especially for traditional names within the Niimípuu (Nez Perce) speech community. As will be demonstrated, names and naming practices among the Niimípuu (Nez Perce) provide a sustained view of a Columbia Plateau hunter and gatherer culture and their long-term interactions with the environment. Such experiences provide the grounds for building a theory of meaning based on the fact that “hunterer and gatherers typically view their world as imbued with human qualities of will and purpose (Ridington 1990:86).”

Upon looking at Niimípuu (Nez Perce) names and naming practices, we set out to show the existence of a relation between systems of reference, instances of language use, and morphosyntactic structure. For purposes of this analysis, it is particularly important that this kind of relation be systematic or at least minimally recurrent. The aim here is to capture the motivations underlying the creation complex form-meaning units in naming. In this sense, motivations in language become transparent when individual speakers share embodied private representations across cultural and linguistic communities. Motivations such as

these are further articulated when its shared representations become a kind of guiding heuristic for interpreting the world or what is otherwise called a cultural representation (Enfield 2002). Cultural representations enable the formation of premises in cultural logic or what is otherwise a folk system of reasoning.

Niimípuu (Nez Perce) Naming Practices

In Nimiipuutímt (the Nez Perce language), *weʔn·ikt* ‘name’ is compositionally derived from the verb prefix *-we-* ‘with words’ and the verb root *-ʔinikí-* ‘to put, place’. Literally, this is translated as ‘to put, place with words.’ At this basic level of meaning, naming is conceptualized as an embodied act of cataphoric reference. In its more conventionalized meaning, *weʔní·kt* ‘name’ generally refers to a linguistic expression that is conventionally established as denoting an entity or person. Typically, a proper name is acquired as a part of a speech act performance or as a culturally recognized act of bestowal. In traditional Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture, names can be acquired at birth, life-stage ritual initiations, and at anytime during adulthood. Post-adolescent names, however, tend to have greater permanence. Sources for traditional names can be varied but generally they are more or less obtained through childhood naming, inheritance, the *wéyekin* or ‘spirit guardian’ tradition, dreams, myths, warfare, incidental or life-defining experiences, and by purchase or hire.

In the following oral narratives, name origins and naming practices are exemplified by two primary aspects: the performance of naming in communicative interaction and the performance of naming in the construction of individual identity.

Narrative 1

Coyote was chief of the animals. Now, he was telling them this, “People are a short distance away, people are coming!” All that he had said came out as true words. Then he told them, “Now, tomorrow, people will come and they will migrate out from the earth! For that reason, we can expect their coming about and we will separate ourselves after meeting!” With that he named them. Then he named them until he named them all. Then people came out and he himself was without a name. More people came out. Then he named himself “Coyote!” With that came to be people, not we alone, but all people came to be. Creation Narrative of Jonas Hayes (Cash Cash 1999)

Narrative 2

I was named Pi·lú·ye·kin when I was a boy. That means wéyekin [guardian spirits] mating or coming together. When I grew up Paul Slickpoo picked the name Tu·xtamalwiyú·n. This means “pipe bearer on war party” or “war party leader.” Indians have one name while they grow up, and when they become a man, they are given a new name. I inherited this new name from my mother’s father. Slickpoo selected the name for me, and we had a little dinner. A few people came over. Paul Slickpoo said, “You are Pi·lú·ye·kin no longer. Now we select this name for you, Tu·xtamalwiyú·n.” They gave me a good buckskin horse and said, “With this horse we select your name.” I turned around and gave the horse to my father in-law. Narrative of Pi·lú·ye·kin (Thomas 1970:35)

Narrative 3

I was a boy of about thirteen snows when my parents sent me away into the hills. It was to find my Wyakin I saw something—not on the ground, but about four feet up in the air. I took my

bow and shot an arrow. It was in moon you call May when my parents again sent me out. This time it was to the wildest part of the mountains. To a place beyond Kemei Koois. Gave me one blanket, but no food. I might go fifteen, maybe twenty, suns with nothing to eat. But could drink water aplenty. Only trees for shelter, and fir brush to sleep on. I might stay in one place three nights, maybe five nights, then go somewhere else. Nobody around, just myself. No weapons, for nothing would hurt me. No children ever get hurt when out on such business. After going so many suns without food I was sleeping. It was just like dreaming, what I saw. A form stood in the air fronting me. It talked to me in plain language, telling me: "My boy, look at me! You do as I am telling you, and you will be as I am. Take a good look at me! I will give you my power; what I have got. You may think I am nothing! You may think I am only bones! But I am alive! You can see me! I am talking to you! I am Hemene Moxmox [Yellow Wolf]." It was a Spirit of a wolf that appeared to me. Yellow-like in color, it sort of floated in the air. Like a human being it talked to me, and gave me its power. I did not say anything back to the Spirit talking to me. I was asleep [in a trance]! I was not scared. Was just as I am now. Nothing was there to hurt me. After I saw this wolf-thing, after I heard the Spirit-voice, I awoke and started for home. When near to maybe quarter mile of home, I dropped down, supposed dead. Someone, man or woman, came and brought me to the tepee. They had seen me, had watched for me. It was good for the one finding me. That was how I got named Yellow Wolf. Named for that vision-wolf appearing to me. It was yellow-colored, and gave me the power of the wolf. Narrative of Himín Maqsmáqs (McWhorter 1940:27-28)

Narrative 4

My elders they used to tell this story. It is a true story. There at Niixyaway there was always war. Then the Cayuse and the enemy fought with one another. And one man was named Tamsasluuwit. He alone Tamsasluuwitnim rushed out to the enemy. He rushed out to them horseless. The enemy was gathered together and then all of a sudden they galloped towards him. Then Tamsasluuwit ran. He ran up to the edge of the bluff. And there they caught up with him. Right close one

enemy galloped toward him with a spear. There the enemy pierced him. And he fell from the bluff and there he landed in the rose bush. From the rose bush he came out, he came out alive. From the rose bush, he named himself "Tamsasluuwit". In this manner, he named himself this. That is all. Narrative of Annette Blackeagle Burke and Clarence Thompson Burke (Cash Cash 2005)

Utterances organized as speech acts in the event of Niimíipuu (Nez Perce) naming are an intentional, reflexive activity whose intended effect in the world is to designate and bestow a proper name to the unnamed. Thus, the speech event characterized by naming, one where utterances possess illocutionary force in denoting an entity or person, is defined as a performative nomination (Lyons 1977:217-218). Consider the following utterances from Narrative 2.

(1) Statement: "You are Pi·lú·ye·kin no longer."

The *speaker* wants *listener* to accept that [it is true that] he is no longer Pi·lú·ye·kin.



(2) Statement: "Now we select this name for you, Tu·xtamalwiyú·n."

The *speaker* wants *listener* to accept that [it is true that] he is named Tuxtamalwiyún



The establishment of utterance meaning, as in (1) “You are Pi-lú-ye-kin no longer,” is conveyed through its illocutionary force. Notably, it is what the speaker does with his or her utterance in relation to the proposition that is of importance here (Truckenbrodt 2004). Thus, in its immediate context, performative nomination establishes a naming convention, however, its broader function is to assign identity (Anderson 2004:441).

In the above narrative accounts, Narrative 2 provides the best description by which contemporary Niimípuu (Nez Perce) naming practices are currently modeled. Thus, placed in its cultural context or interactional frame (Tannen and Wallat 1999), the performative nomination achieves its meaning in use as a set of verbal and nonverbal activities involving a naming ceremony, a naming giveaway or distribution of goods, and a naming feast (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Niimípuu (Nez Perce) Naming Ceremony, August 2003, at Ciwíkte on the Nez Perce Indian Reservation, Idaho (photo by author).

Today, the naming ceremony is a culturally significant activity in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) contemporary life. The general purpose of the naming ceremony is to assign a cultural identity to the unnamed members of one's family. When a name is selected for an unnamed individual, it is often said that the name is "brought out" into the full view of "the people" and the natural world and, upon its bestowal, the recipient of the name stands as a unique individual once and for all. In the performative nomination, the selected name is often "echoed" three times to ensure that the natural world--the earth, the rivers, and the animals--have witnessed the

bestowal of the name. It is believed that as the individual matures in life the world will come to know and recognize him or her as they engage in traditional subsistence activities such as the collection of food plants, medicines, fishing, or in the hunting of wild game. In this sense, the naming practices in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture have evolved not just as a means to differentiate individuals but also as a means of reaffirming the interdependent link between humans and the environment. What emerges from this affirmation is the recognition that the Niimípuu (Nez Perce), over millennia, have located themselves in relation to other domains of existence and, as a consequence, have developed an ethic of respect that ensures a balance of human values and human existence in place. It should not be surprising therefore that personal names have the potential to reflect a deeply entrenched hunter and gatherer's orientation. Consider the following Niimípuu (Nez Perce) personal names in (3) below.

- (3) tuqlí·ks 'fish trap'
 sistóʔs 'harpoon'
 tí·psaʔs 'horn hide scraper'

The ecological dimensions of Niimípuu (Nez Perce) life are further exemplified in the wé·yekin or 'guardian spirit' tradition, a widely distributed culture trait among the interior Columbia Plateau tribes (Ray 1939). Names

originating from the wé·yekin or ‘guardian spirit’ tradition are cultural representations of a deeply personal spiritual experience. As illustrated in the narrative of himín maqsmáqs ‘Yellow Wolf’ above (Narrative 3), private representations emerge as a recurrent cultural process. These include (1) the direct apprehension of a wé·yekin ‘guardian spirit,’ which occurs in an altered state of consciousness or dream state; (2) a set of directives in which the wé·yekin vocally and visually transmits information about its identity, attributes, and powers; and (3) the transfer of powers from the wé·yekin to the human participant (Cash Cash 2005).

The experience resulting from the acquisition of a wé·yekin ‘guardian spirit’ will often have a direct bearing on the identity formation of the human recipient and in the composition of his or her personal name. In particular, it is the experiential or perceptual states of the vision-inducing wé·yekin ‘guardian spirit’ and its representation as such that become transmuted as “grammars of experience” (Cash Cash 2001). That is, the underlying structure of such names can be thought of as a set of culturally conditioned cognitive states by which the units of meaning are assembled in the grammar. It is through these units of meanings that we see the semiotic transformation of power and experience encoded as elements of one’s personal identity. Thus, as a cultural representation, wé·yekin ‘guardian spirit’ names emerge as an archaic symbol in a deeply entrenched hunter and gatherer orientation.

Among the Niimípuu (Nez Perce) and linguistically related ʔičiškí·n (Sahaptin), the numbers three and five are often associated with spiritual power and thus contribute to the more commonly understood wé·yekin ‘guardian spirit’ names.

- (4) mičí·yopaxat ‘five ears, five times hearing’
 paqaʔalwayná·kt ‘five winters’
 pá·xat ʔipeté·hemkt ‘five fogs’
 pá·qatas ʔewyí·n ‘five wounds’
 paqaháykatin ‘five blue skies’
 paqatamó·cat ‘five ridges’
 paqawyakalí·kt ‘five times circling’

Niimípuu (Nez Perce) personal names are also derived from warfare. Narrative 4 is typical in this respect as names of this type tend to document incidents of personal combat or distinctive, war-like behaviors. Thus, warfare names are biographical or “narrative” like in orientation and record not so much the personal accomplishments of a warrior as they do of key events in the life of a warrior. It is observed, however, that this is not an exclusive association because it often the case that one’s wé·yekin ‘guardian spirit’ is itself intimately involved with the survival outcomes of war. This is simply to say that the wé·yekin can possess warlike attributes. Nonetheless, these types of names are quite distinctive and most are readily translated as such by contemporary Niimípuu (Nez Perce). Consider the

following examples:

- (5) ʔá·tim kǐ·wniń ‘cut arm’ General Oliver O. Howard
 ʔé·wtes ‘wound’
 ʔewté·sin ‘arrow passed through the body’
 ʔewyí·n ‘wounded’
 hawlí·swaʔnpun ‘war singer’
 hímpe ʔewyí·n ‘shot in the mouth’
 husú·spe ʔewyí·n ‘shot in the head’
 hú·sus ʔewyí·n ‘wounded head’
 nú·snu kǐ·wniń ‘cut nose’
 silutukcáʔkiń ‘shot through the eye’

Personal names are also known to possess mythic associations. Names of this type typically draw upon a specialized myth vocabulary and speech inflections associated with particular mythic animals (Aoki 1979). For example, in (6), the speech inflection of the mythic character ʔiceyé·ye ‘Coyote’ is marked by the verb prefix ʔisci (Aoki 1994, Phinney 1934).

- (6) ʔiscipit' í·n ‘girl chasing animal’

Phinney (1934:319) states that the use of this prefix “contribute(s) a bizarre

element of characterization.” Thus, when the prefix *ʔisci* is combined with *piť í·n* ‘girl’ through prefixation, the ordinary nominal form is radically transformed in meaning, one that is particularly incongruent to the expectations of girl-like behaviors in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture. Names like (6) are quite rare, however.

The more common forms are compositionally derived from the following two lexical pairs (Aoki 1979:3-4) in (7) below.

(7)	Myth Lexical Form	Common Lexical Form
	<i>tipiyeléhne</i> ‘eagle’	<i>wé·ptes</i> ‘eagle’
	<i>wiyetené·t</i> ‘sun’	<i>hí·semtuks</i> ‘sun’

Mythologized nominal forms are usually combined with a range of descriptive attributes to derive a personal name.

- (8)
- tipiyeléhne cí·ckan* ‘eagle robe’
 - tipiyeléhne cimú·xcimux* ‘black eagle’
 - tipiyeléhnekeʔeykin* ‘eagle maneuvering’
 - tipiyeléhne ʔóykala cí·xniń* ‘eagle speaks all languages’
 - tipiyeléhne ká·ʔawpo·* ‘eagle from the light’
 - wiyetené·t ʔilpíp* ‘red sun’
 - wiyetenetú·cickan* ‘sun blanket’
 - wiyetenetú·lepi·kt* ‘sun captured’
 - wiyetenetú·letpét* ‘sun tied’

wiyetenetú·weheyqt ‘sun necklace’

In addition to the expressions in (8), there are personal names, much like placenames, which make specific reference to mythic events and entities in-situ. Almost all myths in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture originate in a culturally bounded geographic space described as a ‘myth locale.’ Myth locales are defined as a mythic action space characterized by the topographic embodiment of superhuman agents and superhuman events across time and space (Cash Cash 2005). Personal names thus make reference to these superhuman agents and superhuman events.

- (9) hinmató·wyalahťqit
 hinmé·t-(u·)-wiyé·-láhtqíVS-t
 thunder-(VOC)-as.one travels-move.up.and.out.of.water-NOM
 ‘thunder traveling out from the water to higher areas’

This personal name is of a well known historical figure named Young Chief Joseph (1840-1904). Hinmató·wyalahťqit was of the qemúynu·, the Wallowa band Nez Perce who inhabited the Grande Ronde basin of northeastern Oregon. In this particular case, Young Chief Joseph’s personal name describes a mythic thunder being that lives in Wallowa lake. Its behavior is captured in the verb stem láhtqíVS ‘to move up and out of the water’ (Aoki 1994:301). Oral tradition describes the

thunder being ascending from the depths of Wallowa lake to the surrounding mountain peaks to perch. Its movement would cause the land to quake in its wake (Annette Blackeagle Burke and Clarence Thompson Burke p.c.). This personal name thus provides a unique localized view of how Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture and perception are intimately linked to the inhabited landscape.

Thus, as a general pattern, personal names which are derived from mythic representations are experientially a collective phenomenon. That is, no one individual has exclusive access to mythic content in the acquisition of a name. Mythic content and imagery constitute a kind of panhuman experiential stratum.

This brief discussion of Niimípuu (Nez Perce) personal names and their sources has attempted to outline how the lexical and semantic properties of personal names are informed by deeply entrenched cultural representations. As we are beginning to see demonstrated, a significant and widespread source for personal names are from generic cosmological representations such as planetary bodies, weather, landscape forms, and fauna. These meaning potentials, in turn, are modeled on the basis of an experiential hierarchy (Fig. 2). It is argued here that the organizational principles of this hierarchy are prototypically derived from a hunterer and gatherer orientation which identifies experience and perception as one of the most fundamental features to human survival. The experiential domain thus constitutes the primary reality for meaning creation in Niimípuu (Nez Perce)

Naming.

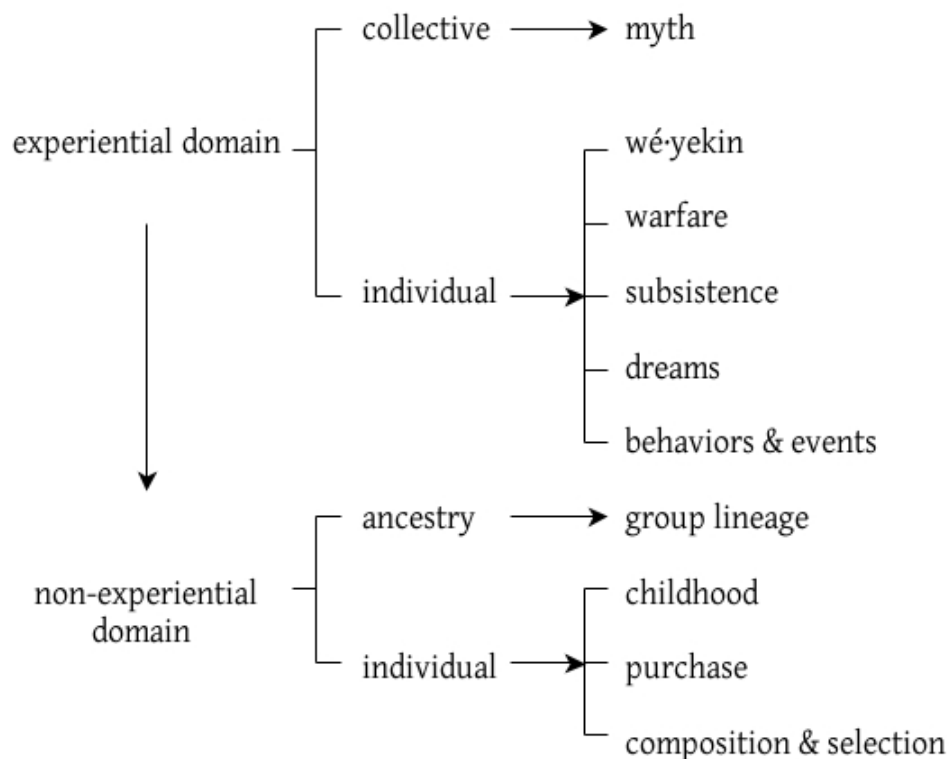


Fig. 2 Experiential Hierarchy in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) Naming

Alternatively, the non-experiential domain is a secondary reality in the creation of meaning in Niimípuu (Nez Perce) naming. This domain is more conventional in nature with regard to the portrayal of human experience. Nevertheless, the continuity of tradition, culture, and ancestral lineages are a central concern when a choice is made to “bring out” personal names originating from one’s

group lineage. Appeals to tradition often embrace the notion that group success in one's lineage will be maintained and will receive future benefit with the bestowal of ancestral names to newer unnamed members of one's line. Unfortunately, ancestral names are a finite resource and many Niimípuu (Nez Perce) families have depleted their store of names. In such cases, families have occasionally resorted to the purchase of ancestral names from other families or from living individuals. Personal names are also being composed or selected from existing placenames. However, further research is required to grasp the full range of naming options available to contemporary Niimípuu (Nez Perce).

Conclusion

Due to the increasing secularization of Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture and a 19th century shift from a hunterer and gatherer orientation to a modern cash economy, Niimípuu (Nez Perce) naming practices are undergoing change. The full extent of this change has yet to be fully understood and documented even as the Nimiipuutímt (Nez Perce language) undergoes a contemporary language shift to English. Niimípuu (Nez Perce) ethnic renewal remains strong, however, and continuity and innovations in traditional naming practices are a specific kind of culture-creating activity. Its link to identity formation will be a crucial element as pre-existing cultural traditions shift from an older hunterer and gatherer orientation

to a contemporary Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture. It is anticipated that the poetics and power of personal names will be on the forefront of cultural revitalization and enactment of Niimípuu (Nez Perce) culture. As in the past, personal names evoke a powerful sense of survival and vitality. It should be no less for the unnamed generations coming.

SECTION V
PLACENAMES

CHAPTER 17

Lasáyat Isínwiša

cá?yaw Louise Billy is speaking in the Columbia River Sahaptin language, a local dialect of Sahaptin. It was recorded by Phil Cash Cash on 14 January 2004 at her residence in Billyville, Washington. She is speaking on placenames in the middle Columbia River region.

(Phil Cash Cash is speaking in Columbia River Sahaptin)

- 1 **Íi, áw.**
Yes, now.

(Lasáyat is speaking in Columbia River Sahaptin)

- 2 **Áw? Ah, čikú·k iwá Monday kwlá·wit,**
Now? Ah, today is Monday evening,

ana kú iwá sínwit čáw mún iłamáyta
and there is a word that never should be lost,

tún ana tún iwá átaw--
of that which is sacred--

ti·čám, ku wána, ku tł'á·xw waníči pšwá.
the land, and the river, and all the named rocks.

- 3 **Ku ana kwíł iwá wánapa.**
And those things which are in the river.

- 4 **íma apín iwáynaša island,**
The aforementioned floating island,

ku iwá kwná tún átaw,
and it is there the various things which are sacred,

- kwa·ná pašúkwata pmáy ttáwax̣tma tanánma,**
which are known to the people that grew up there,
- tún iwá átaw.**
whatever is there (is) sacred.
- 6 Čáw mún ɪlamáyta tún átaw!**
Never lose what is sacred!
- 7 áwtya kú iwáta tá·minwa, tananmí waniči iwáta.**
That way it will always be named in the people's tongue.
- 8 Kw'áy apín iwá island, íma iwaníša "Nayšlápa."**
That aforementioned is an *island*, an island named "*the swallower place.*"
- 9 Kwíni wáyčt Oregonpni iwaníša "Wánwawi."**
From there coming out from *Oregon* it is named "Wánwawi."
- 10 Ku iwá Nayšlá island**
And it is at *Nayshlá Island*
- ku kwná iwá pínč'a Spilyáy – ipátun pšwá.**
where that one, the Coyote– the rock is standing.
- 11 Ku úykni kwá·n iwá ánc'a pšwá "Štáwĩš,"**
Also further that way is another rock "Štáwĩš,"
- pšwá waniša**
that rock is named that.
- 12 ɪkwĩn c'áa Walawítisyaw bridgeyaw,**
To there close to that *Maryhill bridge*,
- aw kú paan iwá,**
and there is a place,
- anam kú·š áq'inayix̣a šuyápuna map**
that when you look at the whiteman's map,

- kwná aw kú iwá, ana kwíni iwá *John Day Dam below!***
there where now is the *John Day Dam below!*
- 13 Tǰá·xw míš waničt ti·čám kwná ay iwá**
All kinds of names for the land are there.
- 14 Ku čikú·k kuš čáw ku mún kw'áy kwa·ná áwititamataxna *right now!***
And today, those names have never been written except for *right now!*
- 15 Kwáy iwá λ'á·xw kwná *Indian name* ti·čám**
There are many *Indian named* places

below the John Day Dam.
below the John Day Dam.
- 16 Kú·šxi iwá *John Day* kwíni iwámsh *little river, Oregon side.***
John Day is similar from where comes (a confluence of a) *little river, Oregon side.*

iwaniša Tákšpaš kw'áy.
it is named *Tákšpaš* that place.
- 17 Aw kú iwá ku up, waničt náxš,**
Then it is on *up* there, one name,

iwá nč'í kwná waničt *across from Rock Creek*--“*Táwyaš.*”
it is a big named place *across from Rock Creek*--*Táwyaš.*
- 18 Itútiša Wawúkya Pšwá.**
It stands there, the Elk Rock.
- 19 Táwyaš! kwná áy.**
Táwyaš! That one.
- 20 Kwá·lnaš kw'áy sínwi.**
That much I'll say about that.
- 21 kkáasni áw!**
I'm in a rush now!

22 Áynaš kwíł aqawanxikiksh áw.

That much is about all I can go on about, now.

23 Áw...Áw!

Now...now!

(Phil Cash Cash responds in Columbia River Sahaptin)

24 Íi.

Yes.

(Lasáyat responds in Columbia River Sahaptin)

25 Íi!

Yes!

CHAPTER 18

The Land as Witness:
Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin Placenames from the
Columbia Plateau²⁹

Abstract

This paper examines the ethnogeography of Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin placenames in Plateau culture. Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin placenames exhibit a rich and enduring set of human-environmental interactions across the southern Columbia Plateau landscape. These interactions are informed by cultural, linguistic, and biological diversity that draws our attention to the complex ways landscape and place enter into our ancient human experience. In particular, these interactions are seen to embody cultural notions of space and time as transformative, thus giving rise to nested identities, social order, and the sacred. Emphasis is placed on the importance of collaboration in placename research and the potential benefits it can bring to Indigenous and aboriginal communities.

29. This chapter originally appeared in Amery, R. & Nash, J. (Eds.), Warra Wiltaniappendi 'Strengthening Languages': Proceedings of the Inaugural Indigenous Languages Conference (ILC) 2007. South Australia: University of Adelaide.

Introduction

Inquiry on *place* and *placenames* typically explore a simple though increasingly complex set of questions regarding the relationships between place, placenames, landscapes, and the cultures that name them. What does it mean when we assign meaning to a physical landscape or place? What does it mean when we interact with, experience, and sense a place as a part of our cultural tradition? The challenge to inquiry is to investigate these issues in depth by carefully examining the cultural processes and practices that render a place or physical landscape meaningful. In today's contemporary context, such inquiry takes on added significance due, in part, to the links between place and increasing environmental impacts such as globalization, climate change, and a long history of dispossession and displacement of Indigenous peoples from their originating homelands. Further, Indigenous and aboriginal communities around the globe have long recognized the rich and enduring meanings of place and their importance not just to inquiry but their broader role in facilitating continuity of culture, preserving biodiversity, revitalizing endangered languages, and supporting struggles for Indigenous land rights.

Conducting research on Indigenous or aboriginal place and placenames often requires collaboration. The standards and ethics of research now recommend that researchers and communities work side-by-side working in a mutually beneficial research process (Rigney 2006, Yamada 2007). This is done not just by actively

engaging knowledgeable community experts in the formation of a baseline of information from which to work but it also recognizes the critical role of Indigenous knowledge as an analytic or interpretive tool in research.

This paper summarizes recent placename research in support of Indigenous concepts and knowledge. Research conducted among the Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin speaking peoples of the southern Columbia Plateau of western North America points to some key findings which may be of relevance to Indigenous and aboriginal peoples elsewhere. Thus, basic documentation and analysis of placenames and their associated ethnogeographic data present concrete information on the elementary forms of ecological, mythic, and perceptual knowledge. They are reference points from which we can begin to reconstruct the cultural complexity of our human-environmental interactions as well as provide current assessments on the status of environmental knowledge in small-scale societies.

Placenames and Ethnogeographic Phenomena

Worldview plays a significant role in understanding placenames and ethnogeographic phenomena. According to Yupiaq scholar Oscar Kawagley (1995: 7), “A world view consists of the principles we acquire to make sense of the world around us.” Thus, the task of the researcher and local community is to discover what these principles may be. It is first and foremost, a practical problem as it links

placenames and ethnogeographic phenomena within a broad ecological continuum, one that is operative across localized communities. As the complexity of information on cultural landscapes increases, a preliminary explanatory framework can be adopted based upon the links between actions, meanings, and cultural context.

Obviously, placenames are one among many value-based elements that provide a formative foundation for the understanding of worldview, that is, they are “content” in the sense that they express through language and experience our perceptions of the world. Placenames are not random phenomena because not all things in the world are equally important to us in terms of our perception and experience. When we name a place, locational or spatial objects are made perceptually salient from a variety of perspectives, including but not limited to referential, ecological, geographic, spatial, or mythic viewpoints. In this sense, placenames may be regarded as notional representations of the world at large. Thus, our analytic focus is committed to understanding the conceptual basis of placename formation as well as identifying the extensional elements or domains to which placenames often refer.

Since our problem is of a linguistic nature, we shall be concerned with using our linguistic data to establish broader links between placenames and at least two forms of ethnogeographic knowledge: social and environmental (Blaut 1991). Social knowledge in this context refers to an awareness of transactional behaviours that

create and sustain social relations across space. Environmental knowledge refers to an awareness of spatial relations and ecology from two complimentary perspectives: micro and macro environments. An awareness of micro environments refers to regions of space that are occupied by natural objects. Similarly, an awareness of macro environments refers to regions of space that are prototypically understood as a “place” in a broader system of reference. Links between linguistic facts and knowledge become apparent once the semantic units, those derived from a culture’s network of social and environmental concepts, stand in relation to one another as a coherent conceptual framework. Empirically such links may be invariable or at times opaque due to any number of linguistic factors. However, in the case presented here for Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin placenames, the regularity and complexity of placename content may be sufficiently attributive to claim broader links between language and human-environmental based forms of knowledge such as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). Similar to the approach presented here, traditional ecological knowledge research recognizes and validates local, traditional knowledge systems (Turner 1997). It treats traditional ecological knowledge as complementary and equal to other forms of knowledge. While links between placenames and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) appear promising, this research is much more modest in offering a basic description of the linguistic resources that people use in differentiating the world in which they find themselves.

Placenames from the Southern Columbia Plateau

Examples from placename research conducted among the Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin speaking peoples of the southern Columbia Plateau of western North America are presented in the following sections (Cash Cash 2006, 2004a, 2004b). Data is drawn from a summary of approximately 90 placenames located in a distinct ecological region known as the Wallowa Mountains of northeastern Oregon as well as from ethnographic research conducted on places in the middle Columbia River region in Oregon and Washington. The regularity, quantity, and type of information indexed by the data provide a basis for identifying what relationships the data may have to the concepts they represent. These elementary links are further supported by ethnographic evidence as established in the rich anthropological literature for the southern Columbia Plateau (Hunn et al. 1998). Finally, a small number of placenames were found to be opaque, that is, the links between the form and content of a placename expression were sometimes not immediately recognizable to speaker consultants.

Placenames from the Wallowa Region

Mountainous peaks and four major streams define the Wallowa region in northeastern Oregon. This roughly 350 square mile area comprised one of the primary hunting, fishing, and food gathering areas for the Nez Perce, Cayuse, and

Sahaptin speaking peoples. However, for various environmental, cultural, and geopolitical reasons, contemporary tribal use of these resource rich areas are steadily in decline.

The distribution and frequency of placenames are summarized below:

Wallowa Placenames Data

- ✓ 51% of the Wallowa placenames have recognizable meanings referring directly or indirectly to local flora and fauna,
- ✓ 41% describe landforms and hydrographic features, and
- ✓ 8% refer to people.

The high correlation between placenames and local ecology and geography of the Wallowa region are linguistically and culturally significant. Placenames which refer to flora or fauna can be generally linked with a high degree of confidence 1) to local ecology and bioresource potential, 2) to subsistence strategies which are optimally oriented to bioresource potentialities, and 3) to micro environmental perception, in this instance, how flora/fauna occupy regions of space. Similarly, placenames representing landforms and hydrographic features can be linked to 1) regional or local geographies which in themselves are composed from a set of local environmental elements, and 2) macro environmental awareness and perception or

how geographic/hydrographic elements occupy regions of space. One of the questions that emerge here with regard to landforms and hydrographic features is do these types of places also index the bioresource potential similar to those previously described? The answer is not as obvious due in part to an emphasis on form. Finally, placenames referring to people generally refer to named individuals or groups. Such placename references are often based on a socially shared historical awareness of prominent individuals or ethnic sub-groups.

One of the dominant denotative themes recurring throughout the placename data is the harvesting and processing of fish, a common subsistence strategy for Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin speaking peoples.

- 1) 'eyχetéespe
 'eyeχ-etees-pe
 white/spawned.salmon-site.of-LOCATIVE
 “at the site of the spawned salmon”

In this example, the salmon reference denotes two characteristics, the age of the salmon and its behavioural migration pattern, rather than a species type. However, it is commonly known that at least two species of salmon spawned in these waters: Chinook salmon *Onchoryhncus tshawytscha* and Sockeye salmon *Onchoryhncus nerka*. The white flesh of the salmon is indicative of the salmon's adult stage where it

has reached the end of its life cycle thus returning a second time from the ocean to spawn itself out in fresh waters. When this type of salmon is linked to place, the spawning behaviour becomes foregrounded as a locale, a micro environment consisting of a salmon-spawning habitat and whose relative position is located in reference to some axis along a streambed. From a subsistence perspective, the white salmon was generally recognized as a less preferred food item due to the quality of its meat and processing this fish for consumption was different when compared to younger harvested salmon.

Spatial domains can be modeled with respect to distinct micro-features; however, such modeling does not necessarily increase or grant spatial saliency. For example, the placename (2) identified below is typical in this regard.

- 2) hiyúumteq'eluunweesp
 hiyúum-teq'e-luu-nwees-p
 grizzly.bear-to.bathe-underwater-place.of....ing-LOCATIVE
 “grizzly bear’s wallowing place”

Expert Nez Perce consultants agree that the above placename (2) is a generic reference and not an actual “place” in the sense of a culturally determined locale. Despite its rich content, they explained that it is generic in the sense that it refers only to the internal representations of a grizzly bear’s activities and his or her

wallow, that is, its micro environment. To regard it as an actual “place,” they recommended, it should be appropriately expressed as in (3):

- 3) hiyuumteq’elúunweespe
 hiyúum-teq’e-luu-nwees-pe
 grizzly.bear-to.bathe-underwater-place.of....ing-LOCATIVE
 “at the grizzly bear’s wallowing place”

These expert consultant interpretations are significant. In (2), the object referent is the grizzly bear’s activity in relation to its wallow, whereas in (3) the object referent is conceived as a relational or focal element within a broader notion of spatial reference. The crucial difference, as advanced by the expert Nez Perce consultants in (3), is that the post-semantic spatial meanings allow a greater degree of spatial discrimination between the micro and macro environmental features attributed to this placename. Thus, as we are beginning to see, the relations *between* the constituent properties of a placename are just as important to understanding the meaning of place, as are the items or things a constituent denotes. In addition, these interpretive facts help to substantiate the placename suffix **-pa** ‘at/on’ as a prototypical reference to place and to macro environments, whereas **-p** simply denotes a locality in a generic sense.

A placename may also contain references to both flora and fauna and to

landforms.

- 4) qapqápnim wéele
 qapqáp-nim wéele
 cottonwood.tree-GENITIVE stream
 “stream of the cottonwood trees”

Placenames that refer to people typically take a “people” referencing suffix.

- 5) haawpál’o
 háawn-pál’o
 rapids-people/inhabitants of
 “people/inhabitants of the rapids”

As a matter of inquiry, it is desirable to know at what point environmental knowledge becomes operable along this continuum of reference. Based upon what we know so far, we can make claim to the presence of two types of knowledge emerging from these key examples: *schematic knowledge* and *local knowledge* (Hanks 1990:70). Schematic knowledge, in this context, refers to an assessment of pre-existent, general level representations and features and their corresponding relations. As an expert Nez Perce consultant states, “(2)...can be any number of grizzly bear wallowing places” meaning that these features are only sensed implicitly

at a general level. Local knowledge refers to an assessment of localized representations and features and their corresponding relations from a human-centered *perspective point* or “the point within a scene at which one conceptually places one’s “mental eye’s” to look over the rest of the scene” (Talmy 2000: 217). That is, places such as (3) are no longer simply referent expressions rather they are expressions having a uniquely defined spatial location that can allow participants to revise and update their immediate perceptual and sensory experience. What we are claiming here is that local knowledge arises from an “intimate understanding of what is generally true in the locally obvious; it concerns what is true about place in general as manifested in this place” (Casey 1996: 45).

The foregoing discussion outlines several important issues concerning placenames and their status as objects of research. Placenames in small-scale societies are rich sources for interpretation and analysis and, in this particular case, they continue to offer insights into the thought worlds of Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin speaking peoples. Collaborative exchanges between expert/knowledgeable consultants and project researchers prove to be critical in this process. For example, in what may seem like casual consultant interpretive or explanatory comments, they may ultimately turn out to be crucial facts about reality. What we are finding is that the meaning and function of placenames do not simply refer to places. Rather they also carry complex information and content by which lived realities may be critically

assessed. Thus, in summary, our claim is fairly simple: placenames obtain knowledge status when they present evidence in support of a speakers' mental categorization of place as a unified system of representation. A chief characteristic of this system is that the referential intent of placenames show a greater preference for real world truth conditions. This is because the propositions represented by placenames are taken for granted to be true based on larger frames of reference such as a culturally shared form of world knowledge.

In terms of documentation, aggregate sources compiled from across a *cultural landscape* (see definition in UNESCO 1998, para. 47) are useful towards validating the constituent nature of such knowledge. Placenames are particularly meaningful when the coding of micro and macro environmental features and attributes of place are accessible or transparent to its speakers. Referential transparency is often crucial in situations where knowledgeable speaker consultants are from endangered language communities or from communities having a historically diminished set of human-environmental interactions. In such situations, one might expect the reconstruction of placename meanings to be accomplished through a speaker's type familiarity with lexical patterns and/or actual visits to named places, much of which was possible or desirable in the research presented here.

Myth Locales in the Southern Columbia Plateau

Because Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin-speaking peoples each constitute a geographically distinct ethnic grouping, landscapes and place are culturally significant elements in the life history and experience of these ancient peoples. They share a unified world view where notions of place serve as a basis for evoking one's ethnogenesis or what is described as the lived process of a particular peoples "coming into being." A large body of principal myths celebrate this ethnogenesis, many of which are directly linked to various cultural landscapes as myth locales.

Placenames that refer to myth locales can be generally linked to 1) culturally defined units of space, and 2) to topographies or landscapes that are valued for their role in perpetuating human symbolic-systems through time. I define myth locales in the following statement:

Myth Locales

Myth locales are defined as a mythic action space characterized by the topographic embodiment of superhuman agents and superhuman events across time and space (Cash 2006:10).

In terms of their cultural significance, myth locales are the physical embodiment of events or dreamings that occurred during mythic times. Particular geographic features, shapes and/or forms of a landscape will often resemble the

event, event participants, or event objects being depicted. The actions that are composed from these mythic events are the 'action space,' a set of interrelated topographic components representing an action pathway or action state. In other words, they are localized events. Thus, a myth 'action space' is equated as a 'myth locale(s)' when such actions or event attributes are localized across a particular mythic topography and are referenced as such by modern-day, expert Indigenous or aboriginal consultants.

For many Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin-speaking peoples, mythic events occurred during a time when no humans inhabited the landscape. So in this sense, the time of the myth age and the time of humans are deeply separated.

The arrows in Fig. 1 represent the passage of time between the mythic past and the present. It is important to note that myth locales collapse this deep time separation because of their direct link to known physical space. As such, this time collapse represents a time foreign to modern-day peoples. More often than not these myth locales are sacred yet powerful, dangerous places.

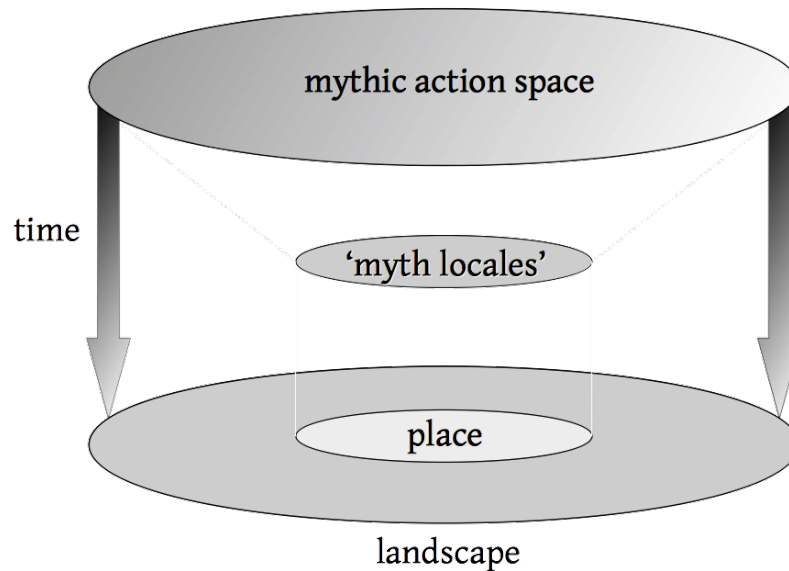


Fig. 1 Myth Topography

In summary, myth locales are characterized by the actualisation of space through mythic means. A definitive attribute of myth locales is their dynamic enactive orientation to both space and time. Such an attribute is usually accompanied by a functioning set of sanctions that guide or otherwise restrict certain behaviours and interactions.

In my fieldwork with Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin-speaking people, scared sites and other areas of deep significance often depict events of mythic transformation whereby mythic beings were once transformed from an animated

mythic state into stone or some static geographic feature. Their assigned purpose is to stand for all time as a witness to the changing character of the world. Once, following a visit to a sacred island area on the Columbia River, I and other field researchers were instructed by a highly respected Sahaptin elder *átway* James Selam on the significance of the myth regarding *nayshtlápa* “the swallowing monster’s place.”

Everything has an explanation. The place [a rock art site] you are talking about was a probably [sic] witness to what happened, probably became a witness. That water in that channel is down so deep below the sea level, 180-some feet I believe, where the swallowing monster lives. On the side near the beginning of channel, there is a big slide, that's where the Coyote sat up and teased that monster until the monster got tired and swallowed him. That's the legend. We tell that legend all the time. That channel, people are forbidden to enter from either side, because if you went up or down in a canoe the water would start to whirl and take you down. That place [a rock art site] was probably a witness to that time. It wasn't seen by anyone living, but it is part of nature's identifying there were people there. The animals were people. Coyote turned himself back into coyote. Of course, a lot

of animals were people that were swallowed by the monster. So these legends, these stories, were more of a lecture to the children to understand the foundation and form of the land and water, whatever was there. Even the [Celilo] falls, there are legends about the falls. The story is interesting. I believe the face on the rock is something to identify that place as being dangerous. (Cash Cash 2004a:11)

The role of the land as witness is to conceive a kind of originating “truth” which correlates the mythic structures of the world with the structures of time and human experience. It is a perpetual embodied state that blurs the time distinction of its origin by “standing for all time” and conveying a “truth” of a world transformed (Cash Cash 2004a:13).

Conclusion

This analysis sought to integrate the conceptual content of placenames with the worldview of Indigenous and aboriginal peoples. This was made possible in the way placenames are organized in the grammar of Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Sahaptin-speaking peoples. As a system of reference, placenames describe how the world is organized spatially, how it is composed in its biological diversity, and how small-scale societies view themselves as a part of the larger world.

The current impact of language endangerment is having an equal impact on the knowledge systems of Indigenous and aboriginal peoples. Linguists and others who work with endangered language communities must be cognizant of these facts and know that they can meaningfully contribute to the reconstruction of these ancient links through collaborative, participatory research. Documentation of place and placenames helps to stabilize these endangered systems of knowledge. They also support the aspirations of endangered language communities by helping to maintain vital links to ongoing spiritual, political, and group identity.

SECTION VI
LANGUAGE STATUS

CHAPTER 19**Nez Perce Language Assessment Report**

The successful intergenerational transmission of ni·mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language) occurs when a fluent parent or grandparent speaks his or her language to a child and the child acquires this language as a natural process of his or her growth in life. Since time immemorial, ni·mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language) has been and continues to be a vital element of Nez Perce culture. At this moment in time, however, this fundamental core feature of Nez Perce life is radically changing. This is because a dramatic language shift from ni·mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language) to the culturally dominant English language is taking place. Thus, the natural transmission process of endowing our language to a new generation of speakers is at risk. This assessment report therefore summarizes the data collection activities which seek to understand the knowledge capacities of present day language learners who have received instruction in ni·mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language). The findings clearly show that the acquisition of ni·mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language) by young and adult language learners is problematic and that language use is mostly limited to autonomous strategic competencies (i.e. self-learning) in the absence of a broader

social learning framework. Such conditions, however, are quite common to endangered language communities global wide. The recommendations set forth in this report identify a set of changes to language learning and language use so that Nez Perce language learners when seeking to acquire *nimi-pu'timt* (the Nez Perce language) do so in a sustainable and culturally appropriate manner.

Introduction

This summary report describes a language planning effort funded by the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grant to the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho. This one year project was completed to establish a demographic baseline of language acquisition among Nez Perce tribal members. The summary data from this study is to be used towards language development and programming that is critical to the Nez Perce Tribe's aspirations on maintaining and preserving their ancestral *nimi-pu'timt* (the Nez Perce language).

The 2009 language assessment was carried out by team members and team advisors of the Nez Perce Language Program (NPLP). NPLP team members planned, organized, and implemented the data collection activities for this project. This project was overseen by the Nez Perce Tribe's Cultural Resources Program and advised by the community-based Circle of Elders, the majority of whom are fluent in

ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language).

Overview of Nez Perce Language Planning

Language planning is generally defined as a strategic effort to achieve a planned change in the language use of a speech community. Due to the endangered status of many of the world's Indigenous languages, language planning has been innovatively transformed into a core set of community driven initiatives centering on language preservation (LP), language maintainance (LM), and language revitalization (LR).

Locally, the first focused efforts in Nez Perce language planning centered almost exclusively in language documentation and description activities emerging from modern linguistic field work by Nez Perce tribal scholar Archie Phinney in the 1930s and later in the important work of linguist Haruo Aoki in the 1960s. Community responses to language preservation and maintainance emerged soon thereafter in the 1970s and 1980s culminating in the first efforts to teach ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language) in tribal governmental institutions, local schools, and in higher education.

Contemporary language planning fully emerged in the 1990s with a focused effort on intergrating many of the core concerns of language preservation (LP),

language maintenance (LM), and language revitalization (LR) with the establishment of the Nez Perce Language Program. A key rationale for instituting language planning is to reverse the negative trends in a *ni-mi-pu-tímt* (the Nez Perce language) language shift to English and to support long term language maintenance goals that promote the aspirations of the Nez Perce speech community. By 1989, the Nez Perce Tribe sought to recognize and promote the right(s) of its heritage speakers in perpetuating their unique linguistic diversity in the face of a more dominant language and culture. The Nez Perce General Council took action by expressing its concern regarding the endangered status of the “*Nimí-pu* language” and by mandating the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee (NPTEC) and the Cultural Resources Program to develop a strategy to preserve and maintain the ancestral language. The planning document entitled, “*Nuunim Nimiipuutimtnewit* (Our Speaking Nez Perce)” sets forth the first formative policy statement on implementing a language revitalization strategy.

In response to the enactment of Public Law 102-524, the “Native American Languages Act of 1992” (NALA), the Nez Perce Tribe passed a tribal resolution recognizing the “need for efforts of preservation and restoration of the native *Nimí-pu* (Nez Perce) language” and thus authorizing a language program proposal under the official title “*Nimi-putimtná-wit* (Speaking the Nez Perce Way) Language Program” to be administered under the Nez Perce Cultural Resources Program. Thus, the Nez Perce Language Program was established by the Nez Perce Tribal Executive

Committee and concerned elders in 1993 to encourage Nez Perce Tribal Members to study and speak the language fluently.

A significant development occurred at the state level in 2002 when then Governor Dirk Kempthorne signed into law Idaho statute 33-1280 which states, "It is the policy of the state of Idaho to preserve, protect and promote the rights of Indian tribes to use, practice and develop their native languages and to encourage American Indians in the state to use, study and teach their native languages in order to encourage and promote: the survival of the native language." The Nez Perce Language Program with the assistance of the Circle of Elders established its teacher certification standards for ni-mi-pu-timt (the Nez Perce language) language teachers. A group of thirteen (13) language teachers were among the first to be certified in accordance with Idaho Code 33-1280 in 2006. One additional language teacher was certified in 2007 bringing the total to fourteen (14) certified ni-mi-pu-timt (the Nez Perce language) language teachers.

Nez Perce Language Assessment (NPLA)

The goals of the 2009 Nez Perce Language Assessment are to:

- implement a formal assessment that will identify levels of fluency in ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language), and
- assist the Nez Perce Tribe in achieving a vision of maintaining and preserving language fluency for future generations.

These goals were accomplished in three separate data collection activities: field interviews, focus groups, and fluency testing. This report accounts for the findings obtained in the focus groups and fluency testing only. First, in-depth field interviews were conducted to collect data from community members on the historical aspects of the Nez Perce Tribe's language preservation efforts to date. With the input and guidance of the Circle of Elders, fifteen (15) individuals were selected and later interviewed by the NPLA Team. Key recommendations were sought on developing strategies for language learning. Due to the ongoing data processing of these interviews, the field interview data was not available in time for this report.

Second, the NPLA methodology utilized the traditional focus group format as a component of its data gathering process. The data collected from each focus group were designed to produce information to be used in guiding the overall language planning process and to allow the community to participate as stakeholders.

Thirdly, a key objective of the fluency testing was to evaluate the oral aspects of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) language use. Such a narrow focus

necessarily excludes assessing the literacy skills (i.e. reading and writing) of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) language learners. The NPLA Team based this approach on the assumption that a regular and conscious use of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) as an oral resource fosters authentic communicative interaction. Further, this approach is consistent with the Nez Perce Language Program's overall goal to develop immersion based instruction and language learning strategies. Thus, immersion-based language learning is widely cited as one of the most effective learning strategies by endangered language communities world wide because it maximizes the learner's exposure to real world language use.

NPLA Focus Groups

In February of 2009, the NPLA Team enlisted the assistance of the NPLA advisors and the Circle of Elders to review the focus group proposal and offer their guidance and input. It was determined that three areas of emphasis would be applied to gain an understanding on the general status of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) in the community, these areas are language use, language learning, and fluency.

In mid-year of 2009, the NPLA Team organized four focus group meetings. These meetings took place on June 9th at Orofino, June 16th at Lapwai, and June 23rd

at Kamiah. One focus group activity occurred “online” for current and former students of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) classes that have been sponsored across the four regional institutions: Lewis and Clark State College (ID), University of Idaho (ID), Washington State University (WA), and Northwest Indian College (WA). Approximately, forty one (41) tribal members and fifteen (15) students participated in the focus group meetings. All of these meetings were documented by NPLA Team members via digital audio recordings, note taking, and online survey format.

Language Use. Information on language use seeks to determine how ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) is used in the home and in the family. Two (2) questions were posed in this regard.

- Tell us how much Nimipuutímt is being used in your home by you and/or your family.
- Give us examples in which situations you and your family use language in your home.

Language Use Summary. Focus group participants almost always responded that natural language use--that is, language used in every day talk and conversation--is intimately linked to the presence of a grandparent in the home. When a

grandparent was present, language use proceeded naturally regardless of the comprehension level of other family members. This finding strongly supports the notion that the transmission of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) occurred intergenerationally between grandparent(s), parent(s), and grandchildren rather than it being an exclusive parent to child transmission process.

For example, one respondent stated that when a fluent grandparent was no longer in the home all natural language use ceased. Further, when language use centered only between a parent and child, the pattern of natural language use was reduced from brief or occasional conversation to simple naming, greetings, and kinship address usage.

Core Finding on Language Use. Language transmission and language use in the core Nez Perce family unit (grandparent, parent, and grandchildren) is dependent upon the quality of intergenerational relationships.

Language Use Recommendation. As a language maintenance and learning pathway, family oriented curriculum and language support should be developed to aid and foster the intergenerational transmission of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) between i) the grandparent and grandchild and between ii) the parent and child. An alternative to this model would be to expand the core family unit to include extended family members in the absence of a grandparent. The key feature of this family oriented curriculum is to allow family members to use ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez

Perce language) in the home and in family oriented activities. The advantage of this recommended language maintenance and learning pathway is that it will not only promote language learning but it will foster greater family cohesion and interaction. Language Learning.

Language learning--whether it is learning a 1st language or 2nd language--typically involves acquiring the knowledge and skills related to the way the language works as a communicative system. Eight (8) questions were posed in this regard.

- How high of a priority have you and your family made to learn ni-mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language) and what have you and your family did to meet this priority?
- Tell us about your and your family's previous efforts to learn Nimipuutímt?
- If your previous efforts to learn ni-mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language) was successful, what did you do and why?
- What would it take for you and your family to learn the language?
- If your previous efforts to learn ni-mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language) was not successful, what were the barriers you had and why?
- What are your greatest obstacles to learning ni-mi·pu·tímt (the Nez

Perce language)?

- What strategy did you come up with to overcome your barriers?
- Tell me about your experience with technology for learning ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language)?

Language Learning Summary. Participants overwhelmingly cite three main sources for learning ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language): within the family, in the schools, and in cultural oriented activities (church, culture camp, etc.). Most all participants recognize the importance of maintaining ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language). The recognized cultural value of ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language) to the Nez Perce people is a primary motivating factor for many participants to make a conscious choice to learn the language. For example, one participant offered that anyone who has knowledge of ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language) can be an example for others to follow. This same sentiment was expressed by another participant who offered that “leadership” is needed from fluent Nez Perce speakers to motivate others to learn and acquire the language.

Participants identified a number of strategies to learn and acquire ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language), these include individual daily practice, individual and family attendance in a language learning classroom or setting, and attempts to maintain continuity in learning even when community support is

lacking. In addition, participants identified a small number of technological tools they have utilized to assist their language learning, these are a language listserv, websites, and digital media containing language content.

Most all participants readily acknowledged numerous difficulties in learning ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language). Participants identified the following factors related to challenges in learning:

- difficulty in learning pronunciation,
- lack of continuity in classroom teaching,
- lack of opportunities to interact with other speakers and learners,
- time, funds, and traveling required to do learning, and
- having few healthy fluent speakers to actively teach those in need of learning.

Language Learning Finding. Overall, ni-mi-pu'tímt (the Nez Perce language) language learners show a strong commitment to learning the language even when support and resources are limited. If given the chance, language learners will take the initiative and seek opportunities to interact with fluent speakers, language teachers, and other language learners on a regular basis.

Language Learning Recommendation. When radical changes in language use

are taking place, opportunities to create and sustain language learning is difficult. This difficulty must be met by enhancing and strengthening current language program models and expanding these models to be responsive to the educational and cultural needs of the wider speech community. Further, it is evident that the Nez Perce tribal community places a high cultural value on leadership roles and role models to promote language, culture, and learning in general. Thus, advocacy support must be established to foster the development of Nez Perce leadership roles and role models that directly promote language learning in the community. Such roles are to assist in countering the power and status attributed to the English language. The establishment of advocate role models can be forever effective in promoting *ni-mi-pu-tímt* (the Nez Perce language) as a key feature of Nez Perce life, culture, and individual growth.

Fluency. Fluency is generally believed to be the result of acquiring knowledge of a spoken language and using such knowledge accurately and efficiently in communication with others. Further, such language use is considered proficient speech when the knowledge and skills of the language user are combined naturally in most cultural contexts. Within the Nez Perce speech community, fluency is no longer restricted to individuals who learned Nez Perce as a first language rather the notion of fluency has expanded to also include those who have learned *ni-mi-pu-tímt* (the Nez Perce language) as a second language.

Four (4) questions on fluency were posed to focus group participants.

- Do you have a fluent speaker in your family and does someone in your family work with them to learn ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language)?
- Which levels of fluency and use of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) would you say you and/or your family is at? Fair, Good, High, Very High Ex: High Fluency, but low use.
- What would you recommend as the best method to determine language fluency levels for the general tribal membership, from youth to elders?
- And how can this knowledge of fluency levels affect strategies in the immediate future?

Fluency Finding. The data collected on this topic is inconclusive. This finding suggests that notions of fluency may not be well understood in the Nez Perce speech community. Such responses are to be expected in severely endangered communities where fluency is limited to only a few speakers.

Fluency Recommendation. For any language curriculum to be sustainable it must have the capacity to draw upon the knowledge and experience of its 1st and 2nd

language speakers. In this regard, fostering fluency means a shift in emphasis in language teaching, that is, one must move away from simply developing basic linguistic competency to concentrating on and developing discourse competency (i.e. natural authentic spoken interaction). Because of interactional complexity of ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language), it is critical that a serious effort be made to explore ways to foster authentic fluency in 1st and 2nd language speakers/learners.

NPLA Fluency Testing

The Nez Perce Language Assessment utilizes a performance-based fluency testing. Performance-based fluency testing seeks information on what a language learner can actually do with his or her proficiency. The test situation simulates closely as possible occasions of authentic language use. A reciprocity criterion is used to assess the appropriateness of the language learner responses in each test situation. When a reciprocity criterion is applied it weighs language learner responses according to their general effectiveness in a speaker-to-hearer interpersonal interaction scenario.

A six-part test was administered to sixty four (64) randomly selected participants from five age groups. Testing focused exclusively on oral language use emphasizing listening and speaking ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language). The

fluency guidelines were divided into two general assessment categories, these were:

- What a language learner can understand at different levels, and
- What a language learner can say at different levels.

The levels of proficiency were progressively established as novice, intermediate, advanced, superior, and distinguished. Thus, the assessment process moved in step-wise fashion allowing the participants to begin at a novice level and progressively advance to more level based on their performance.

A major finding in actual tests revealed that most all selected participants were able to attain scores for a novice or intermediate rated proficiency. None of the participants progressively advanced beyond the intermediate level of the test. Based on our criteria, demonstrated understanding and interaction were minimal overall and little or no “fluent” speech can be said to occur.

Novice: Listening

In Part I of this first test, participants listened to an audio recording of an elder fluent in ni·mi·pu·tímt (the Nez Perce language). For each multiple choice task,

the participant hears an utterance and responds by choosing the correct utterance reference from among five possible visual options. The audio sample is an evidential statement whereby participants hear the following:

1. “Náaqc: Kíi híiwes sík'em. Kíi híiwes sík'em.”

(trans.: “One: This is a horse. This is a horse.”)

2. “Lepít: Kíi híiwes 'ímes. Kíi híiwes 'ímes.”

(trans.: “Two: This is a deer. This is a deer.”)

The sequence continues through several more items to include common animals, common foods, and common objects. In the second part of this first test, participants were asked to write the Nez Perce numbers from 1-10.

Part I. Novice-Listening Average Test Scores

Age Category Percentage of Correct Answers Given No. of Participants

17 & under 58% 31 participants

18-25 69% 7 participants

26-39 78% 8 participants

40-54 68% 10 participants

55 & over 54% 5 participants

Overall Average scores (all ages) = 64%

Novice: Speaking

Part II of this test is “Novice: Speaking” whereby participants are shown a series of flash cards showing a visual stimuli containing representations of animals, colors, foods, and objects. Participants are required to “speak” by giving the correct words for each image. Test scores for “Novice: Speaking” showed a significant decrease when overall average scores are compared to “Novice: Listening.”

Part I. Novice-Speaking Average Test Scores

Age Category Percentage of Correct Answers Given No. of Participants

17 & under 58% 30 participants

18-25 61% 5 participants

26-39 62% 8 participants

40-54 55% 8 participants

55 & over 45% 3 participants

Overall Average scores (all ages) = 58%

Intermediate Listening

In the next section, intermediate proficiency was tested among participants. A key finding from the intermediate proficiency testing was that participants were not advanced to the next progressive phase of “speaking” due to overall low scores and smaller representative sample size. Thus, the testing ended here due to limited fluency among test subjects.

The test was designed to elicit correct interpreted written responses from participants. Answers to each question are given on paper in each instance.

1. 'isíi wées píst? (trans.: Who is your father?)
2. 'isíi wées píke? (trans.: Who is your mother?)
3. 'isíi wées qáac'ac? (trans.: Who is your mother's mother?)
4. 'isíi wées 'éele'c? (trans.: Who is your father's mother?)

Next, students are given a set of pictures and they are to give correct answers orally and in writing. The first image is of a picture depicting children standing in front of a clock and the clock shows the time as 8:30.

1. Mac liklín híiwes? (trans.: What time is it?)
2. Mácwa hahácwal hiwsíix? (trans.: How many boys are there?)

The second image is of a picture depicting two people, one short and fat the other tall and slim.

1. 'isíi híiwes tisqá'aw? (trans.: Who is fat?)
2. 'isíi híiwes lokóylokoy? (trans.: Who is skinny?)

Finally, participants are asked to write the human numbers as spoken by a fluent elder.

Part I. Intermediate-Listening Average Test Scores

Age Category Percentage of Correct Answers Given No. of Participants

17 & under n.a. 0 participants

18-25 89% 2 participants

26-39 60% 5 participants

40-54 70% 6 participants

55 & over 29% 2 participants

Overall Average scores (all ages) = 64%

NPLA Summary

Performance measures show at least 50% oral language retention and comprehension across all ages groups. Language competency ranges from generally effective among Novices to generally not effective among Intermediate language learners. The general difficulties participants encountered here are of a general nature centered on of understanding and speaking ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language).

Understanding ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) deals with the complexities of understanding language as a “polysynthetic” system and learning to manipulate various parts of that system to create meaningful utterances. Speaking ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) requires a sustained and gradual progression towards meaningful every interaction with other proficient ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language) speakers and language learners. Both of the these key features are present in limited degrees in the participants tested.

Discussion and Recommendations

Two key aspects are in need of development in the language program instituted for the Nez Perce Tribe. First, its fluent speaker base must be recognized by developing a first language maintenance program. This program in its various capacities can be specifically devoted to creating a knowledge base of traditional

language use and its link to traditional knowledge systems. This can be accomplished specifically through ethnographic and language documentation activities and programs. This program can also foster and promote a fluent speaker's language skills and capacities in interpreting, translating, and teacher training and certification.

Second, a new division in the language program can be specifically devoted to second language learning. This program can be instrumental in extending its program capacities more generally to the wider community and to local and regional educational institutions. One key area of concern is the development of community-based curriculum that is effectively applied in all educational contexts and settings. In conclusion, such a bipartite division is meant to be efficient in devoting key resources and to assist in taking full advantage of our elders' expertise across all domains and departments within the tribe.

More generally, it is recommended that the following key areas be developed with the broad goal of creating new speakers of *ni·mi·pu·tímt* (the Nez Perce language) and strengthening the Nez Perce Language Program capacities:

- Target enhanced language learning for current 1st & 2nd language speakers & learners,

- Develop family-based curriculum for use in the home to foster intergenerational language learning and transmission,
- Develop & field test immersion-based language learning & curriculum for long term use,
- Establish support network and incentives for teacher certification in ni-mi-pu-tímt (the Nez Perce language),
- Enhance & strengthen language program capacities in all sectors of Nez Perce reservation, local school districts, and higher education,
- Reevaluate & strengthen Nimipuutímt language planning and program capacities.

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