

August 9, 1963

Dear Click;

Thanks very much for the copy of Strangers on the Land which you sent. Dr. Stern passed it on to me. I won't get a chance to read through it properly for a while as my daily work really keeps me hopping. I was glad to see that you had used a number of terms in the Yakima dialect. I'm going to pull them out and check them with my Umatilla people. I would be very much interested to see any linguistic forms you have recorded in any of the dialects (at least I think they can be called dialects rather than separate languages since all are mutually intelligible), particularly place names, names of foods and plants, etc. These are very valuable to me as since ^{there} no longer is a daily-functioning speech community here of Umatilla-speakers, there are many words which people haven't used in years. I find that often if I can give my people a Klikitat word from Mel Jacobs' grammar of Northern Sahaptin, that they either confirm it for Umatilla or they can then recall their own word. I often use Nez Perce too as most of my people understand it, if not speak it.

I want to ask you a question about the Palouse: Bill Elmen-dorf at W.S.U. wrote me this week and told me that one of his Nez Perce people had told that the Palouse as a group had been bi-lingual, that in addition to speaking their own dialect they also were able to speak Nez Perce without a trace of an accent. The up-river Nez Perce often joke about down-river Umatillas, Walla Wallas, etc. who speak Nez Perce with an accent. Do you have any information about the Palouse and their language abilities? My interest in the Palouse here lies in their location right next to the Nez Perce. Quite likely, say 2000 years ago, the Nez Perce and and the peoples who now speak the Sahaptin dialects all spoke a com-mon language which is referred to as proto-Sahaptin. I wonder why the break between the two separate language groups which have since developed had its boundary between the Nez Perce and Palouse. Why wasn't it further to the west? It may be that no answer to such a question is possible now, but at least, it's interesting to ask and to speculate on what we can find out.

I wish I could make it up to the Huckleberry Feast at White Swan this weekend, but my wife doesn't feel up to the hot drive. We really roasted coming back from Satus last Sunday. Please drop a line when you can. I'd like to keep in touch with you as you know much of interest to me in my work and I hope that I can be of some help to you in your work and interests. Again, let me thank you for the book. Give my hello to Mrs. Relander too.

Sincerely yours,

Bruce

I will be at this Pendleton address til Sept. 12 or so. My Fall address will be Dept. of Anthropology, Portland State College, Portland, Oregon. I'm going to teach there this Fall and will return to Pendleton in late December to take up my fieldwork again.

[Misc. notes.]

PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE PORTLAND 1, OREGON

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

January 26, 1964

Click Relander
1212 N. 32nd Ave.
Yakima, Washington

Dear Click;

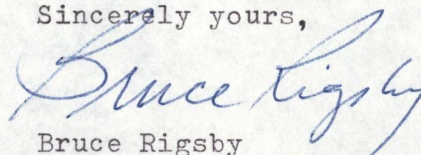
We met briefly this past summer at a Huckleberry Feast at Satus. I was with Theodore Stern. I'm now back on the Umatilla Reservation for six months to continue my work in the Umatilla dialect. Mostly I have been transcribing and translating ethnographic recollections and stories from the oral literature.

Dr. Homer Barnett of the University of Oregon was able to obtain for me this month a small sum of Federal money so that I could take several trips to the Warm Springs, Yakima, and Colville Reservations to gather linguistic materials in the other Sahaptin dialects. I am hopeful that I can find some older people who haven't yet "mixed" their dialects as often happens when reservation life brings into more intimate contact people of diverse linguistic backgrounds. Aside from the invaluable ethnological value of this sort of "salvage" work, I believe it a good thing in itself to set down on paper some small bit of the oral heritage which is disappearing as so many young people grow up speaking only English.

I am hopeful that you will lend me a bit of assistance. I would like very much to talk with you when I come over to Yakima. Perhaps you might suggest some informants who might be willing to work with me. I also want to meet Watson Totus and some of the other people who are carrying on the traditional religion. Could you drop me a line letting me know if you will see me? I would also appreciate your suggestions in going about this sort of project.

With best regards to you and Mrs. Relander, I am,

Sincerely yours,



Bruce Rigsby
Survey of Oregon Indigenous
Languages

Route 1, Box 166
Pendleton, Oregon
March 13, 1964

Dear Click;

I am returning two of the three books you lent me. I want to keep Spier's Prophet Dance and your typescript of the Pandosy grammar a bit longer.

I found Alex Saluskin to be a good linguistic informant. I want to work with him and his wife again the next time I get up your way. As you suggested, Frank Sohappay was glad to help me out when I mentioned money. His wife's eyes lit right up. From what I gathered, he has lived on the Yakima Reservation since he was 11 or 12 years old. He still remembers his Wanapam dialect and as we moved through my word-list, he would contrast the Wanapam and Yakima forms for me. However, when I had him talk on the tape for me, force of habit was too great and he lapsed into Yakima usages. It looks like I will have to look elsewhere for a spoken Wanapam text. I hope you will find your tape and/or I will be able to make a new one with one of the men at Priest Rapids.

Frank Sohappay was a good informant. He is a sly old fox. The first afternoon he acted as though he didn't speak much English and I had to talk mostly Indian to him or have his wife translate. On the second day he talked mostly English though he went into Indian to tell me about certain events. He told me that Smohalla was his tila or mother's father. He told me of coming to Smohalla's funeral near Satus when he was about four years old. He referred to Shuwapsu (šwapša) as his tila too, but it turns out that he is descended from Shuwapsu through Smohalla. There is no specific kinship term for great-grandparents or great-great-grandparents, and so the term for the appropriate connecting grandparent is used in such a case. Does this bit of genealogical information on Frank jibe with what you know?

I worked at Rock Creek and Celilo this week with Victor George and Henry Thompson. Rock Creek strikes me as the most Indian of any of the communities I've seen. Both Victor and his older brother Levi were very helpful. I'm sorry to have missed their feast and memorial dinner.

I still haven't located any Taytnapam or Klikitat informants. I have a note where you told me there were some Taytnapam near Underwood. I finally found it on the map (near White Salmon) and I imagine you actually said Klikitat and I misheard you. I looked up Mel Jacobs' information on Jones Spencer, whom Jacobs says is mostly Klikitat and part Yakima in speech. That was 35 years ago though. If you can think of the names of any more possible Taytnapam or Klikitat informants, please let me know.

I want to thank you and your wife for the hospitality you showed me on such short notice. I hope to see you and talk with you again soon. By the way, I think I've located an Ediphone here, so if you're still willing, send those Ediphone cylinders down to me and I'll see about transferring them to tapes. Wrap them up good in lots of tissue paper and a heavy cardboard box so they won't get~~x~~ battered up and ruined. I think some sort of filters can be used to remove the scratchiness of the original recordings.

Please be sure to write me ahead of time when you find out when the root feast will be held at Priest Rapids. I don't want to miss that, and I'm hoping you can introduce me to a few men and I can get somebody to make a short tape for me some time while I'm there.

Best regards,

Bruce

The root feast here will be May 3rd.

[Language (Bruce Rigney)]

University of Toronto
TORONTO 5, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

September 8, 1964

Dear Click;

I never did get back through Yakima after seeing you this Spring. I was too busy trying to finish up my work on the Uma Res., though I did go to Rock Creek, Celilo, and Warm Springs. On my second trip to Nespelem, I stopped off for an afternoon at Priest Rapids. It was payday and all were preparing to go to town for groceries, etc. and then to go on down to wanawish to fish for salmon. At Nespelem, I worked with my old Palouse informant who dictated a long tape to me about a trip he made in 1918 with a Mr Redfield of the Indian Bureau. R's purpose was to persuade off-reservation Indians to come onto the reservations. My informant, Tom Billy, served as interpreter. They visited the old village of palu:s first, then to Fish Hook Bend, then to wanawish, then down the Columbia to Blalock Island, and finally up to Priest Rapids, where yuyu:ni was then some sort of leader. The party stayed there for a few days, and of course, yuyu:ni refused to remove. Tom says the PR people held a wa:sat service, evidently on a Sunday, and Redfield's party attended. After a round of songs had been sung, Redfield asked permission to sing his own song. And so he sang "Rock of Ages" to the assembled crowd. Perhaps they thought it was his personal power song. I would have liked to ~~xxxx~~ have seen this affair. Tom told me that Frank Schappy witnessed it too. I haven't yet transcribed and translated the tape so I don't know all the details. I remember just the main outlines as Tom told it to me in Palouse.

I didn't have an opportunity to really go through the Pandosy typescript til last month. I'm much interested to learn there may be another dictionary. Would appreciate your telling ^{me} of anything more you learn. From the reference at the heading of your typescript, I gather that Pandosy wrote his grammar and dictionary in Latin, which Geo. Gibbs and Shea then translated. A lot of the early Catholic stuff was written in Latin as the priests often came from diverse linguistic backgrounds and shared only Latin in common. I assume this translation is the one published in New York in 1862 in 100 copies. Am I right here? I would certainly like to see a catalog of all the manuscripts that Gonzaga has in its archives.

Pandosy's grammar is based on the pšwanwapam or Kittitas dialect of Sahaptin, though he gives many examples for comparison from other dialects known to him. This was the dialect spoken above Union Gap, and it is just a bit different from Yakima proper. I mention this because the dictionary lists forms from all dialects known to Pandosy indiscriminately without giving their origins, where several forms are given under a single English gloss. In other words, use him as an authority with caution.

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I haven't yet finished the job of assessing all my dialect materials but I have half-completed a big manuscript on linguistic groupings in the Columbia Plateau for a book on "Amerindian languages which our mutual friend friend Carl Voegelin is editing. Will send you a few pages of it which gives the dialects and their approximate locations as soon as I can get photocopies. Will send you a reprint too, but that's far in the future now. I hope to come back out for about eight weeks next summer to continue my work. The problem now is getting financial aid.

There are several things I want to ask about: Do you have, or do you know if the Yakimas have, available for sale, dittoed briefs for their Claims Case Docket #161. I have copies from the Umatillas' case, and have seen the Colville's briefs. I wrote the Yak T. 6 at the beginning of the summer but never heard from them. These documents contain much information not available elsewhere. If I recall correctly, weren't you a witness for the Yakima side in their northern boundary dispute with the Colvilles and Moses people? Hope you can help me out here.

Also, I would appreciate it if you could get tape recordings of anything in the way of Coyote stories and historical recollections from any old people you know who would be willing. The stuff is valuable and later generations will thank you for it. Particularly needed are texts from your wanapam friends. Frank Sohapp speaks mostly Yakima now, though he knows all the wanapam words and idioms, so I lack any real wanapam texts, though I have word-lists. Carl Voegelin let me copy tapes this summer which he collected 12 years ago from Kaiutus Jim, and I was able to transcribe and translate them. Also have a word-list tape of Donald Umtuch. I hate to see this language die as it appears to be doing, but I find some consolation in seeing as much of it in its various dialects saved for future generations. We both know that when they no longer speak the language, they have lost the greatest part of their cultural patrimony as so much of their culture is passed from one generation to the next by means of the language. This younger generation just doesn't have the knowledge the old people have. Hope you can get a bit of it down on tape.

Could you send me Alex Saluskin's address? I seem to have lost it and I told him I would write, and I have some questions for him.

All Sahaptin dialects have /xay/ 'man's male friend' and /λ'aks/ 'woman's female friend.' There is no general word for "friend" or "friendship" like our concepts. Some people use /taxantway/ for 'man's female friend' but I'm not real sure of its proper sociological meaning. Today when giving a speech and one wants to address both men and women as "friends," a man will use /atawima/ which can be so translated. Literally, it means "those who are liked" or "those who are dear (to me)." I can't think of a word for ~~XX~~ "friendship" though perhaps there is a word */xaywit/ which might mean "friendship or comradeship among males." You had better check this one out. I know there is a special word for "hillside" and I have it in my notes, but I couldn't find it right away.

pronounce x as ch in German 'ack'

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We are settled in Toronto now and like it very much. I hope I have time enough to carry on my own research this year, but teaching will take up much of my time. My best to both you and Jenny. Write me when you have an opportunity.

Sincerely,

Bruce

Bruce J. Rigsby

University of Toronto

TORONTO 5, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

October 8, 1964

Dear Click;

I am enclosing the xerox copy of a piece of a manuscript I am still working at on the languages of the Southern Plateau. I would have sent it earlier but couldn't get it copied til now. Since it is not a finished piece, I would appreciate it if you wouldn't quote it directly if you find you want to mention any of the material in it in something of your own.

I am also returning your copy of Spier's The Prophet Dance. I'm teaching a course next term on the Great Basin and the Plateau and so will lecture on some of the material from it. Our library here has a copy. However, we don't have a copy of Cora Dubois, The Feather Cult of the Middle Columbia which is in the same series. I borrowed your copy last Spring and returned it to you soon after. It is out of print now. I'm wondering if you would be willing to lend me your copy again for a short while so I can have our library xerox a copy. I would be very appreciative if you would, as it will save a lot of trouble in trying to locate a copy in some other library which we would then have to borrow.

I haven't had much of a chance to do any of my own work lately. I'm too busy preparing lectures from scratch. Next year will be much easier, I hope. The Mayflower people are three months late in getting my household goods here from Pendleton, and I'm about to ulcerate my stomach over that too. Otherwise, we are settled down pretty well. I love the city here, and the university is a very easy-going pleasant place.

Please say hello to your wife for me. Hope to spend some time with you again in the next year or so, and talk "Indians." Also hope to hear from you soon about the Dubois book.

Yours,

Bruce

Languages of the Southern Plateau

Enclosure. 1964, Oct. 8

The Sahaptian family includes two languages: Nez Perce and Sahaptin which formerly appeared in the literature as Northern Sahaptin. The name Sahaptin, however, is an anglicization of a Columbia Salish (which includes the mutually intelligible Columbia, Winatchee, Entiat, Chelan, and Methow dialects) word for the Nez Perce. Sahaptian is a language family in the Voegelinian sense. The relationship between the two languages is quite patent, and a common parent language is easily reconstructed as the following short lexicon shows.

	NP	Yakima	Tygh	Val	Umatilla	Proto-Sahaptian
I	?i:n	ink	ini	in		*?i:nik
thou	?i:m	imk	imi	im		*?i:mik
he/she/it	?ipi:	pnk	pni	pn		*?ipinik
man	há:ma	am (hus band)	am (hu)	am (hu)		*há:ma
woman	?á:yat	áyat	áyat	---		*?á:yat
mouth	hi?m	#m	#m	#m		*hi?m
name	wení:kt	wanikt	waničt	waničt		*wení:kt
watch	-tkáy*	-tki-	-tki-	-tki-		*-tkáy-
father(voc)	to:t	-tút-	-tút-	-tút-		*-to:t-
mother	pike	pča	pča	pča		*pike
dig roots	-qeni:-	-xni-	-xni-	-xni-		*-qeni:-
enemy	tiwelqe	twalxa	twalxa	twalxa		*tiwelqe
raven	qó:qox	xuxux	xuxux	xuxux		*qó:qox

As the above chart shows, Nez Perce is phonologically more conservative.

Nez Perce is presently spoken on the Nez Perce Reservation in north-central Idaho; on the Colville Reservation in north-central Washington by descendants of Chief Joseph's and other bands from the Wallowa country in northeastern Oregon and bands

These are all from my own field notes.

Hawco - is this a correct transcription?

from the Salmon River country in central Idaho; and on the Umatilla Reservation in northeastern Oregon by Cayuse who have lost their original Waiilatpuan language and now speak a Nez Perce dialect. Also on the Umatilla Reservation are many people of mixed descent (Nez Perce, Palouse, Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla) who speak a Nez Perce dialect as their only Amerindian language. At the present time, one may speak of two Nez Perce dialect clusters: Upper Nez Perce and Lower Nez Perce. Aboriginally, the Lower Nez Perce dialects were spoken west of the Snake River from perhaps Weiser to Lewiston, Idaho and on the Snake River from Lewiston down to the confluence of the Tucannon River with the Snake. The Upper Nez Perce dialects were eastern dialects.

The chief distinction between the Upper and Lower Nez Perce clusters is a phonetic one. The Upper dialects have diffuse $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} s & c & \text{č} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ where the Lower dialects have compact $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{š} & \text{č} & \text{č} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$. There are also lexical differences of an unknown extent, and perhaps, minor differences in grammatical structure. In aboriginal times, dialect differentiation was undoubtedly much greater and the uniformities of present-day Nez Perce dialects are due largely to recent levelling on the reservations. Asa Bowen Smith, an early Presbyterian missionary to the Nez Perce in the Kamiah Valley, wrote an excellent (for its day) short sketch of Nez Perce grammar which Horatio Hale included in the Philological section of the Wilkes Expedition Report. Smith

observed that there were phonological and lexical differences even among dialects spoken by the very small band groups he had contact with. He also mentioned that the speech of women and children contained forms in /l/ where men's speech had /n/. Materials in several Nez Perce dialects by Haruo Aoki, William Elmendorf, and myself also indicate greater dialect differentiation in the past. Some dialects have V: corresponding to V? of other dialects; some have spirantized /k/ and/or /q/ as first members of consonant clusters (nukt/nuxt; na:qc/na:xc); and some dialects appear to have dropped initial /h/. Two other valuable sources of data on Nez Perce dialect differentiation are Archie Phinney's Nez Perce Texts and a dictionary written by a Jesuit missionary in the 1890's which is based on a Lower Nez Perce dialect.

An interesting feature of Nez Perce morphophonemics is a vowel harmony between co-occurring pairs of vowels. Nez Perce has a five-vowel system /i e a o u/. Within the word boundary, the pairs /a:o/ and /e:u/ occur. /i/ is neutral with respect to vowel harmony. Selection of vowel pairs is governed, at least partly, by certain invariable affixes. For example, /ʔipnéku:se/ 'he is drinking' and /ʔipnáko:saqa/ 'he was drinking.' *Vowel harmony was probably a feature of the protolanguage.*

Sahaptin is a language now spoken in a number of quite distinct dialects on the Warm Springs, Umatilla, Yakima and Colville Reservations and in several off-reservation Indian

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communities, Celilo, Rock Creek, and Priest Rapids. A major phonological difference between the closely-related Nez Perce and Sahaptin is the loss of vowel harmony in Sahaptin. The Sahaptin dialects have a three-vowel system /i a u/. Nez Perce /a e/ correspond to Sahaptin /a/; likewise /o u/ to /u/. However, I found one dialect of Sahaptin spoken in bilingual (in Nez Perce and Sahaptin) Lower Nez Perce bands along the Snake River which perhaps retains the original five-vowel system. I examined the speech of the one surviving man from this group and I have not yet reached a decision as to whether his five-vowel system is idiosyncratic- the result of interference from his Lower Nez Perce- or truly a reflection of the retention of the original five-vowel system.

The Sahaptin dialects of the aboriginal and historic period fall into three dialect clusters which can be defined both phonologically and lexically. The Northwest Sahaptin cluster (to follow Melville Jacobs' earlier usage) includes the following dialects:

- Yakima /mámačatpam/ Spoken on the Yakima River from a point above the confluence of Cold Creek with the Yakima River to above Union Gap.
- Kittitas /pšwánwapam/ Spoken on the Yakima River above Union Gap.
- Upper Cowlitz /táytnapam/ Spoken on the upper Cowlitz River. The phonology of this dialect shows interference from

Lower Cowlitz Salish as the phonetic range for the /i:/ and /u:/ phonemes has been lowered to include [e:] and [o:], respectively. The Sahaptin name of this band suggests an original home on the Tieton River.

- Upper Nisqually /mišálpam/ Melville Jacobs lists this very small band west of the Cascade divide on the upper Nisqually River. This is the only Sahaptin dialect for which there is no linguistic data available.

- Klikitat /x^wálx^waypam/ Spoken on the Lewis, White Salmon, and Klickitat Rivers, and several mixed Wishram/Klikitat villages on the north bank of the Columbia River below the Dalles.

The Northeast Sahaptin dialect cluster includes the following dialects:

- Wanapam /wánapam/ Spoken on the Columbia River from above Pasco to the head of Priest Rapids near the present town of Beverly, Washington.

- Walla Walla /walú:lapam/ Spoken on the Columbia River from Wallula Gap to near Pasco, and on the lower Walla Walla River.

- Wawyukma /naxiyamláma or naxiyampam/ (Cognate with Nez Perce /'ilexéyupu/ 'downriver people;' a somewhat pejorative term for Sahaptins). Spoken on the extreme lower part of the Yakima River to its confluence with the Columbia, and on the Snake River from its confluence with the Columbia at Pasco

main village at
Wallula or
Walla Walla

*includes the
wawukma*

(village name, k^wsis) to the confluence of the Palouse River with the Snake. Melville Jacobs identified part of these people as Wawukma /wawukmá^ápam/. /wawukmá/ was the name of a winter village used by these people near Fish Hook Bend on the Snake River.

- Palouse /palú:spam/ Spoken on the Palouse River. /palú:s/ was the name of a village at the confluence of the Palouse and Snake Rivers. Above /palú:s/ on the Snake River were Lower Nez Perce bands, bilingual in Nez Perce and Palouse Sahaptin.

The Columbia River Sahaptin dialect cluster includes a number of dialects spoken on the Columbia River from below Wallula Gap to a village on the south bank of the Long Narrows of the Columbia River nine miles below Celilo Falls. I use the term "Columbia River Sahaptin" following the native use of the term /nči wanałáma/ or simply /wanałáma/ (but not /wánapam/) which means literally 'big-river people' or 'river people.' I should point out that other Sahaptin groups were on the Columbia River also, but they are not 'river people' nor do they speak the 'river language.'

- Umatilla /imatilamláma/ Spoken at the village of /imatilam/ at the confluence of the Umatilla River with the Columbia River, and at the village of /náwawi/ on the north bank of the Columbia near present Alderdale, Washington.

- Rock Creek /qmilláma/ Spoken in a large canyon which

opens into the north bank of the Columbia River about five miles downstream from Roosevelt, Washington. This local community is now a noncontiguous part of the Yakima Reservation, and it has a resident chief as in the past.

- John Day /takšpašláma/ Spoken on the south bank of the Columbia River at villages at /takšpáš/ (confluence of the John Day River and the Columbia), /táwaš/ (near Quinton, Oregon), and /tamáypx/ (near Arlington, Oregon).

- Celilo /wayamláma/ Spoken at the village /wayám/ at present-day Celilo, Oregon, and at a winter village /tqux/ (confluence of the Deschutes River and the Columbia). Probably also spoken at /skin/, a village on the north bank of the Columbia across from /wayám/.

- Tenino /tinaynuháma/ Spoken at the village of /tináynu/, nine miles below /wayám/ on the south bank of the Columbia River. This was the last Sahaptin village on the south bank. The next village /wasqú/ was Upper Chinookan in speech.

- Tygh Valley /tayxláma/ ^{mliláma} Spoken by several bands who lived in or near the Tygh Valley. In recent times they utilized the eastern slopes of the Cascades down to Klamath territory, and fished at Sherar's Bridge /tílxni/ on the Deschutes River.

George P. Murdock uses the term "Tenino" to include those Sahaptin now living on the Warm Springs Reservation who derive from four groups, John Day, Celilo, Tenino, and Tygh Valley, which formed a political confederation in the past century.

As the term "Sahaptin language" implies, all Sahaptin dialects are mutually intelligible. They thus constitute what Hockett calls an "L-simplex." The greater differentiation is found between the three dialect clusters. All dialects have the same phonemic inventory with slightly different distributions. However, sound change has operated independently within each cluster to yield phonemically different cognate forms. Lexical differences are striking, with grammatical and stylistic differences less so. Lesser differentiation is found within clusters, but is sufficiently marked to warrant the use of the term "dialect" at the level I have used it. Columbia River Sahaptin shows the greatest degree of cluster-internal differentiation.

It may perhaps be objected that I have drawn too fine a line in discriminating and separating the above dialects and their boundaries. Let me say that my dialects (with the exception of Upper Nisqually) are defined strictly on the basis of shared linguistic similarities. Sociopolitical considerations have not entered into my setting-up of separate dialects. In the case of the Columbia River Sahaptin dialects, I have purposefully omitted mention of southern boundaries, save in the Tygh Valley case. All my boundaries are more or less approximate, but I have drawn them on the basis of my own field data gathered from informants on five reservations and three off-reservation communities. I have also utilized Melville Jacobs' published

materials and Verne F. Ray's published materials, as well as unpublished materials of Ray's contained in various Claims Case documents. Ray's groupings are sociopolitical units; mine are linguistic units, though they perhaps reflect to some extent an earlier sociopolitical situation.

In historic times, at least, polylingualism was the general case for the Sahaptin groups, with the possible exception of the Wanapam whose relations with the Columbia Salish were not always cordial. Kittitas Sahaptins regularly spoke a dialect of Columbia Salish. Upper Cowlitz Sahaptins generally spoke Lower Cowlitz, a dialect of Upper Chehalis. ^{Salish} Presumably ¹ the Upper Nisqually spoke some Coast Salish language as well. Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Palouse Sahaptins often spoke Nez Perce. Many of the western Columbia River Sahaptins spoke Upper Chinookan (Wasco or Wishram), as did also many Klikitat. Of course, one should also mention that ^{two} ~~a~~ generations or ^{so} ~~long~~ ago, Chinook Jargon was widely spoken in this area and used in dealings with Whites. Such polylingualism can be attributed to extensive trading relationships and contacts with neighboring peoples and to a feature of the Sahaptian bilateral kinship system which proscribed marriage within a rather large bilaterally-reckoned kindred. (Residence was strongly patrilocal). In view of the latter, it is remarkable to find such diversity in modern Sahaptin dialects. I found informants to be much aware of dialect differences and received much help from them in

observing and isolating these differences. Evidently, speakers learn the divergent forms of other dialects, but continue to use the forms peculiar to their own dialect.

I am personally less familiar with Nez Perce polylingualism. I know of a small number of individuals who were bilingual in Nez Perce and Bannock (Utoaztekan), either captives or children of captives. My colleague, Deward E. Walker, Jr., has ethnographic data on a mixed Nez Perce/Northern Paiute village. This is remarkable since Sahaptian relations with Utoaztekan-speaking peoples to the south were generally quite hostile. I know one Nez Perce man, now close to or just over, 100 years-old, who was sent by his parents to live among the Crow as a boy that he might learn to speak the Crow language. I have heard of other Nez Perce who also speak Crow. Many of the northern or northeastern Nez Perce spoke Flathead Salish. I know of several such individuals today. Many Nez Perce today bear Flathead names of whose origins they are aware. This is the result of intermarriage, probably common, with Flathead.

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The Wailatpuan family includes two languages, Molala and Cayuse, which have sometimes been erroneously said to be dialects of a single language. In historic times, Molala was spoken west of the Cascade divide on the western slopes of the Cascades ^(the eastern slopes of the Willamette Valley) by two small bands. The northern Molala band was east of Oregon City; the southern band east of Eugene, Oregon. W. S. Laughlin who conducted archeological researches in the Willamette Valley in the 1940's recently told me that the Kalapuya economic utilization was restricted mainly to the valley floor and the lowest slopes. The Kalapuyans spoke three related Kalapuyan languages, presumably Oregon Penutian. Murdock and myself have gathered information that some Molala lived east of the Cascade divide near the Tygh Valley area and were pushed westward in the early part of the last century. I have information that in historic times some Molala fished at Sherar's Bridge after the fish runs at Oregon City were over, and that some Tygh Valley Sahaptins fished for eels (lamphreys) at the falls at Oregon City.

The Cayuse lived in northeastern Oregon, bounded on the west by the Umatilla and the Walla Walla, the south by Northern Paiute, the east by the Nez Perce, and the north by the Snake River. In recent times, the Cayuse have been much intermarried with neighboring Sahaptian peoples, and they now speak a Lower Nez Perce dialect. Earlier they spoke their own Wailatpuan language, Cayuse. It seems to have been being replaced at the

time of first missionary contact in the 1830's. The Cayuse appear to have been hard-hit by epidemics during these times, and a bit later, by war-losses. My informant for Palouse Sahaptin, a 77 year-old man, came from a Lower Nez Perce band on the Snake River. He recalled that his father's father had been Cayuse and would speak Cayuse when among other older Cayuse. His father, however, never learned to speak the language.

Molala became extinct about ten years ago with the death of Fred Yelkes whom Morris Swadesh worked with briefly on the Penutian Survey in 1953. Albert S. Gatschet did linguistic work in Molala in the 1880's. Edward S. Curtis collected a short Molala word-list about the turn of the century which he published in his multi-volumed work on the American Indian. Sometime just before World War One, Leo J. Frachtenberg rechecked Gatschet's materials with at least one of his old informants, Stevens Savage, and presumably gathered new data. In the late 1920's, Franz Boas turned over all previous Molala manuscripts to Melville Jacobs, and Jacobs did a last-hour rescue operation. His main informant was Mrs. Kate Chantelle (Molala Kate), and perhaps he also worked with Fred Yelkes. Jacobs' Molala material remains unpublished.

Cayuse is known only from a ¹³⁰short word-list collected by Horatio Hale in the late 1830's and published in the Philological section of the Wilkes Expedition Report; a 150-form lexicon collected mainly by Verne F. Ray on the Umatilla

Reservation from older Cayuse in the early 1930's; and a 35-form lexicon recently collected by Theodore Stern. This last was collected on the Umatilla Reservation in the summer of 1963 from Philip Guyer, a very knowledgeable and thoughtful man, who had heard Cayuse spoke in his family as a boy and young man. Mr. Guyer had been one of Morris Swadesh' Nez Perce informants in the Penutian Survey. Since then, he had written down a list of all the Cayuse words he could remember in a rough orthography (mainly for mnemonic purposes) in the hope of passing them on to an interested linguist or anthropologist. I also rechecked the Ray Cayuse lexicon with him. Mr. Guyer and several other informants told me that Cayuse was spoken regularly among themselves by a small number of older Cayuse into the 1920's. During the summer of 1930, Melville Jacobs conducted a field-training school on the Umatilla Reservation. At that time he hoped to locate Cayuse-speakers and do a last-hour recovery job. He located two elderly Cayuse women, /inahapi/ and /iminke'yeyikt/, but they refused even to talk with him. They were Philip Guyer's father's mother's sister and father's mother, respectively. They were probably the last fluent speakers of Cayuse, though as late as ten years ago, there were still living several old people who had spoken Cayuse in their youth.

The relationship of Molala and Cayuse has been asserted since the 1840's. I shall try to sketch briefly the history

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of this asserted relationship. Sometime in the late 1830's, Marcus Whitman of Massacre fame, travelled from his Waiilatpu Mission in the Walla Walla Valley to Oregon City, an early important settlement in the Willamette Valley. He had in his party a number of Cayuse Indians who spoke the Cayuse language. While in Oregon City, he "discovered" that the Cayuse and the Molala, a band of whom lived near Oregon City, spoke the same language and had once been the same tribe. Philip Guyer told me the above account. Among Whitman's papers I found only this statement in a letter written in the early 1840's: "The Molalas speak the same language as the Kaius and are said to have been separated from them in their ancient wars with the Snakes." Even today, one hears from informants that the Molalas are a lost band of Cayuses or Nez Perces who wandered off or were driven off by the Paiutes, or else that the Cayuse were once part of the great "Willamette tribe." I tend to regard these tales as post-dating Whitman's "discovery."

When Horatio Hale was gathering field materials, he spent a short period of time at the Waiilatpu Mission before proceeding northward up the Columbia. He observed in his report that Whitman had obtained Cayuse informants for him, as well as Walla Walla and Nez Perce informants. Whitman undoubtedly told Hale of his discovery that the Cayuse and Molala were once a single tribe and spoke dialects of a common language. Hale must have accepted Whitman's assertion, since he grouped the two

languages in a single Wailatpuan family when he published his word-lists in the Wilkes Expedition Report. I examined these lists which contain "basic" vocabulary items and found ^{a few} ~~no cog-~~ ^{resemblant forms.} ~~nates.~~ I find it difficult to believe these two languages ~~to be~~ genetically related, much less dialects of the same language.

In 1880, Albert S. Gatschet made the rather conservative statement in discussing Klamath external relationships that "the Sahaptin and Wayiletpu families are the only ones with whom a distant kinship is not altogether out of the question." In 1894, J. W. Powell and J. N. B. Hewitt of the Bureau of American Ethnology placed Klamath/Modoc, Molala/Cayuse, and Sahaptin/Nez Perce in a single larger stock on the basis of supposed slight lexical resemblances. In 1918, in a paper on Chinookan, Kalapuyan, and Takelman resemblances, Leo Frachtenberg observed, "I have, furthermore, gathered voluminous data supporting previously expressed contentions concerning the genetic relationship between Lutuanian [Klamath/Modoc], Wailatpuan and Sahaptin, which will be published as soon as additional material from the Sahaptin field will be made available;..." I regard Frachtenberg's remarks as overstatement, particularly since Edward Sapir found the greater part of Frachtenberg's Chinookan/Kalapuyan "cognates" to be Chinookan loans. In 1929, Edward Sapir placed Sahaptin [Sahaptin/Nez Perce], Wailatpuan [Molala/Cayuse], and Lutuanian [Klamath/Modoc] in a grouping which he called "Plateau

Penutian." In 1931, Melville Jacobs accepted the earlier classifications and observed that he had extensive manuscript notes to establish it "adequately." Jacobs has the earlier Frachtenberg manuscripts, among others. He also mentioned possible external relationships with Maidu and other California Penutian and Oregon Penutian languages, as well as morphological similarities between Sahaptin and Utoaztekan, probably the result of borrowing. The evidence remains unpublished.

Harry Yelton has personally inspected these mss. but I haven't had an opportunity to speak with him.

*Yelton remembers nothing about the Jacobs/
Frachtenberg Plateau Penutian mss.*

University of Toronto

TORONTO 5, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

November 8, 1964

Dear Click;

Thanks very much for the loan of DuBois. I just got the Xerox copies the other day from our duplicating service. It's often hard to obtain stuff like that which has been out of print for years. Since I last wrote, I have been able to shift my extra course (on the peoples and cultures of the Basin and the Plateau) over to another colleague who will teach the Southwest instead. I'm glad to be relieved of the extra work, though I would have enjoyed teaching the course since it is my own special area.

I am sorry to hear about the death of Johnny Tomalwash. I had heard of him. Good thing you got to know him, though. I had bad news a few weeks ago too. My Palouse informant at Nespelem, Tom Andrews, died last month. He was a virtual goldmine of information. Since his death, old Charlie Williams of Nespelem, about 86, is the last person to know much of the old Palouse dialect. Tom had learned it from his greatgrandmother and his mother who were from the old village of Palouse.

I am toying with the idea of bringing my main Umatilla informant, Vera Jones, to Toronto this summer. She is also a very close personal friend and we did a lot of living and travelling together over the past year. I think I will get enough money from the university to cover it.

I will try to find time soon to sit down and write up a phonetic chart for your use in recording Indian words. It requires a few more special characters or letters from English since this language uses more different sounds or phonemes in its "alphabet." I always wanted to try to teach an Indian to write his own language, but never had a chance. Then too, I've noticed that some of them try to use English spelling which is complicated enough even when used for English.

Hope this letter finds all okay. Give my best to your wife.

As always,

Bruce

University of Toronto

TORONTO 5, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

September 13, 1965

Dear Click,

I have been meaning to answer your letter for some time, but put it off til now. It had been forwarded to Toronto and was waiting for me when I returned here about the 21st of August. I had hoped to spend several weeks working at Pendleton and to make a few short trips to Rock Creek and Yakima. However, the hard facts of reality soon shattered my expectations. All of my old Umatilla informants are now incapable of further linguistic work. One old lady, aged about 95, had just had the second ~~and~~ stroke in a week's time and wasn't expected to survive. Another old lady was in the hospital in a generally debilitated condition. Mrs. Jones, my main Umatilla informant, is also in a bad way and unable to work. She spent most of last year as a long-term case in the local hospital; she has diabetes and heart trouble and her relations don't honor their kinship obligations. Her doctor let her come home this summer as her nephew sent two daughters up to look after her, which they did in a very conscientious and satisfactory manner. However, she was quite worried as to what the fall would bring, with the girls going back to school, etc. We stayed at her place for four days, but I could see that she was very weak and the strain of working with me was just too much as she never uses her language anymore, except with me.

^{for her}
I tried to locate several Walla Walla informants at Pendleton I had worked with before, but none were to be found, what with the harvest, berry-picking, etc. So, I decided it wouldn't be worth the effort to stay any longer or to go over to Yakima. We went up to Washington State University at Pullman to visit some academic friends for a few days and look the place over as I've been offered a job there. I stopped off a half day in Kooskia, Idaho to see Haruo Aoki, a Japanese linguist friend of mine who has been working on the Nez Perce language for a several years now. I'm sorry I got so close to you, but didn't quite make it to see you. I hope to work in British Columbia next summer, 1966, but would like to work in the Yakima dialect the following summer.

I didn't get much Chinook Jargon during my work. Most of my informants parents or grandparents knew it and used it, but it died out pretty quickly as Indian children learned English in schools, etc.

Hope your latest sculpture was finished in time to meet your tentative schedule for casting in California early in September. Are you writing anything on Indians these days? My friend Deward Walker, who is now on the anthropological staff at Washington State, told me that he had met you. I told him that you had been of tremendous help to me in locating informants and had a wide personal knowledge on matters of Southern Plateau anthropology and history. I told him he would be foolish if he didn't develop further contact with you.

Give my best to your wife, hope she had a good summer at Central Washington. Sorry to have missed seeing the two of you again.

As always,

Spence

Committee on Plateau Research
Laboratory of Anthropology
Washington State University
Pullman, Washington 99163

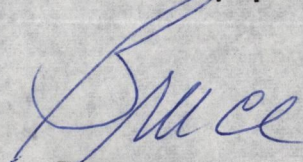
Dear Colleague,

A short while ago, Drs. Elmendorf, Walker and I sent you a mimeographed query-form regarding your past and present research activities in the Plateau culture area. By setting ourselves up as an ad hoc "Committee on Plateau Research" and sending out the query-forms, we hoped (and hope) to lay the groundwork for a periodic newsletter through which Plateau specialists in the several fields (ethnography and ethnohistory, archeology, linguistics, and physical anthropology) could learn of past and on-going research in the Plateau, among other things. The response to our query has been good, but some colleagues have not yet returned their completed query-forms. We would like to have a complete return before proceeding to collate and process the information in the queries and to publish Volume I, Number I. The headings of the query-form are meant only to be suggestive guides, please don't feel too constrained by them. We are looking forward to receiving your completed query-form back soon, so that we may compile a reasonably complete inventory and listing of Plateau research activities and materials for the first number of the newsletter.

Please do not return your completed query to me or Dr. Elmendorf. Send it to Dr. Deward E. Walker, Jr., Committee on Plateau Research, Laboratory of Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington. Dr. Walker is doing the initial cataloging and handling.

With best wishes to you for the coming academic year and earnestly desiring your cooperation, I remain,

Sincerely yours,



Bruce J. Rigsby
for the Committee on Plateau
Research.