

Recentring language authorities in linguistics: A qualitative inquiry of Victoria Howard in *Clackamas Chinook Texts*

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ABSTRACT

For many Indigenous communities, language revitalization requires studying the languages using archival documents co-created by Indigenous people and Western scholars around the turn of the 20th century. Typically, the credit for the research is given to the Western scholar and not the native speakers who were the original sources of the linguistic data and experts of their own languages, what I call here: *language authorities*. The research presented in this paper recenters Victoria Howard as the language authority of the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* credited to Melville Jacobs. Specifically, I re-analyze Jacobs' published metadata notes and reinterpret the language data through an Indigenous lens. This project invokes the indigenous concepts of *holism* (Simpson, 2018) by re-embedding linguistic data back into the cultural context of its original community and for the benefit of its heritage learners. Throughout, I discuss the terminology for *language authority* and the cultural importance of re-centering language authorities and our Indigenous knowledge systems within language revitalization and archives-based research. I discuss how Indigenous methodologies, my perspective as a heritage learner of Kiksht, and the tradition of intergenerational transmission of knowledge from my community have guided this academic inquiry into archival language documentation. I present the findings of the qualitative text analysis and describe its implications for linguistics and language revitalization research.

RESUMEN

Para muchas comunidades indígenas, la labor de revitalización de su lengua requiere de documentación histórica creada de manera conjunta por miembros de la comunidad y académicos occidentales a principios del siglo XX. En estos casos, suele ser que el crédito de la documentación se otorga únicamente al académico occidental y no a los miembros de la comunidad de lengua quienes fueron las fuentes de los datos lingüísticos, y eran los expertos de las lenguas. A ellos se les designa en este trabajo como las *autoridades de la lengua (language authorities)*. En la investigación que aquí se presenta se centra, precisamente, a Victoria Howard como la autoridad de la lengua Chinook de Clackamas (región del Pacífico en el noroeste de lo que es ahora los Estados Unidos). Victoria Howard proporcionó los datos que se documentaron en la obra *Clackamas Chinook Texts* cuya autoría se atribuyó original y exclusivamente a Melville Jacobs. Se presenta, entonces, un nuevo análisis de los metadatos publicados por Jacobs y se reinterpretan los datos lingüísticos desde una perspectiva indígena. Se recurre a la noción de *holismo (holism)* (Simpson, 2018) y se reinsertan los datos lingüísticos dentro del contexto cultural de la comunidad de lengua y para beneficio de los que la están aprendiendo como lengua de herencia. A lo largo del trabajo se elabora sobre el término de *autoridades de la lengua* y sobre la importancia cultural de centrar, dentro de la investigación de archivos históricos para la revitalización lingüística, a las autoridades de la lengua junto con los sistemas de conocimientos comunitarios. Se aborda la relevancia que tienen, para la investigación que aquí se presenta, las perspectivas metodológicas indígenas, la propia perspectiva de la autora como estudiante de la lengua Kiksht, y la tradición de la transmisión generacional de conocimientos dentro de la comunidad de la autora. Se presentan resultados de un análisis cualitativo de textos y se analizan sus implicaciones para la lingüística y para la investigación a favor de la revitalización lingüística.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language authorities are the primary sources of language documentation but also the hereditary ancestors to modern heritage learners. This study reinforces a connection between Victoria Howard and her descendants by providing culturally relevant qualitative data that is beneficial to the heritage community and its revitalization efforts. I develop a model of research that advances Indigenous perspectives and methodologies in research in two ways: 1) by recentering language authorities as the primary knowledge sources of linguistic and cultural content, thus highlighting their significant contributions to the documentary record; and 2) by demonstrating that the cultural knowledge provided by language authorities and preserved as metadata by researchers is best interpreted using an

indigenous lens (i.e., via Indigenous scholars). This project emerges from a broader line of inquiry that asks: *who are the Kiksht language authorities?* I discuss how this research question comes from an Indigenous epistemology and how the project constitutes an Indigenous research paradigm. Furthermore, this research shows how implementing an Indigenous research paradigm can enrich language revitalization research and influence the field of linguistics to be more inclusive of Indigenous-led inquiry of subfields like sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, and semantics.

The primary goals of this research are to reanalyze the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959) to characterize the dialectology of Chinookan languages and retain the dialectal variation provided within the data. The research (re)centers Victoria Howard as the language authority of the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* and re-analyzes Melville Jacobs' published metadata notes to reinterpret the language data through an Indigenous lens. Drawing on the Indigenous concept of *holism* presented within the interdisciplinary field of Indigenous methodologies (Simpson, 2018; Wilson, 2008), this project seeks to “put the world back together again” (Carson Viles, p.c., 2012) by embedding linguistic data back within the cultural context of its original community and for the benefit of its heritage learners. This study contributes to a growing body of research applying Indigenous research methodologies to interpret linguistic and ethnographic data for the benefit of contemporary scholars and communities (e.g., Hall, 2021; O’Neal, 2019; Leonard, 2020). It parallels other studies that reevaluate linguistic and ethnographic data based on sociolinguistic-related research questions (e.g., Conathan, 2006; Senier, 2001; Zenk, 2019).

My analysis aims to reconstruct connections between the present data and other available data of Chinookan varieties. For example, I demonstrate that speakers' linguistic (ethnic) identity is rooted in the Indigenous concept of *relationality* (Wilson, 2008) and includes two major features: geography and kinship ties. Geographical knowledge is carried within the individual language authority through his or her personal histories and is coded within language use. For example, when a speaker says, “I am Wasco,” it means that they are from the Wasco village and speak the Wasco dialect. Furthermore, by describing dialect variation in the available data, my analysis demonstrates how multilingual speakers transmitted linguistic knowledge while retaining personal language identities as part of the social structures among the tribes this research centers.

In Section 2, I provide a brief background on the Kiksht language; Section 3 introduces the Indigenous methodologies and terminology utilized; Section 4 explains the grounded theory method utilized within an Indigenous framework; Section 5 introduces the data analyzed; and Section 6 presents the analysis and discusses the findings. I conclude with implications for engaging in Indigenous methodologies while conducting linguistics and language revitalization research and a call for more such studies.

2. THE KIKSHT LANGUAGE

The Chinookan language family is Indigenous to the Columbia River Basin of North America in the region now known as northern Oregon and southern Washington from the Pacific Coast to the eastern side of the Cascade Mountain Range (specifically, the “High Cascades”) in the United States. The Chinookan language family comprises varieties of Upper Chinookan and Lower Chinookan, languages historically spoken on both sides of the Columbia River, from its mouth at the Pacific Coast to as far east as the John Day River near present-day The Dalles, Oregon. Additionally, the Clackamas dialect(s) – and the subject of this research – were also spoken along the Willamette River into the Willamette Valley at least as far as the Willamette Falls in present-day Oregon City/West Linn, Oregon, located about 20 miles from the Columbia River (Mithun, 1999, p. 382). Figure 1: *Chinookan territories* provides a general geography of the Chinookan language family, with dialectal varieties corresponding to those provided by Mithun (1999, p. 382).

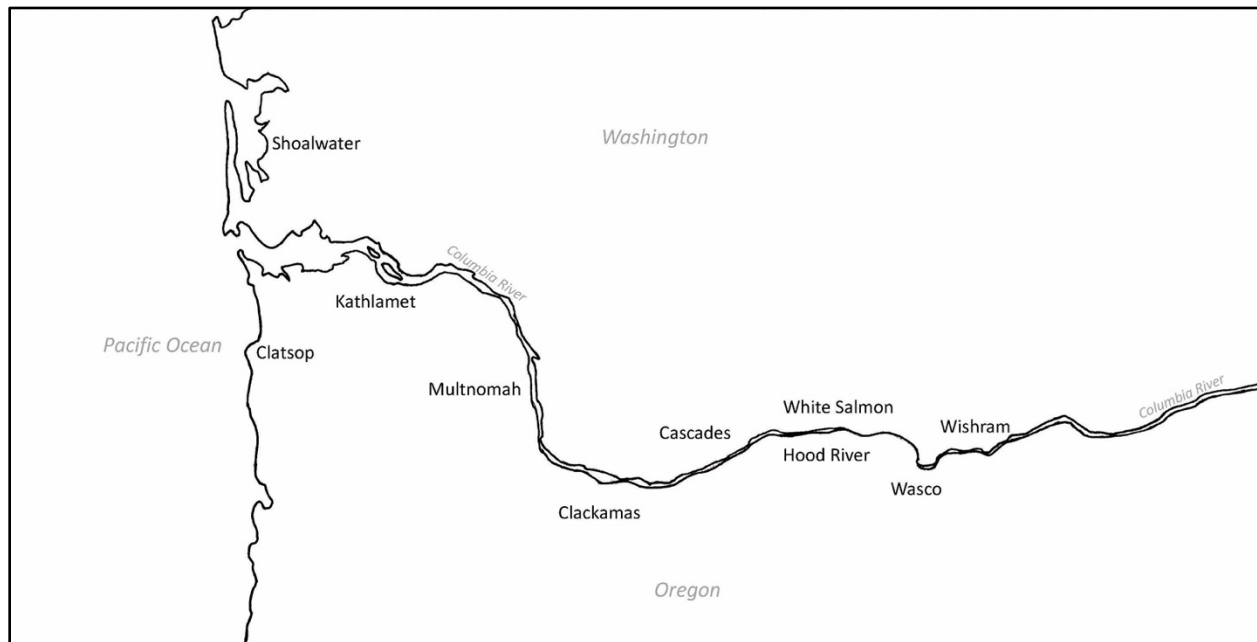


Figure 1: Chinookan territories.

It is important to note that the documentary record is not a reflection of the entire number of languages or dialects historically spoken. Figure 2: *The Chinookan language family* is a diagram depicting some of the best-known branches of the Chinookan language family. The Upper Chinookan varieties are better known and documented in the literature. Future analyses of archival data will further develop the family tree. Finally, it is important to note that although Kathlamet has been

considered an Upper Chinookan dialect, researchers also note that it was not mutually intelligible with Upper Chinookan and might be considered a separate language of its own (Mithun, 1999, p. 382).

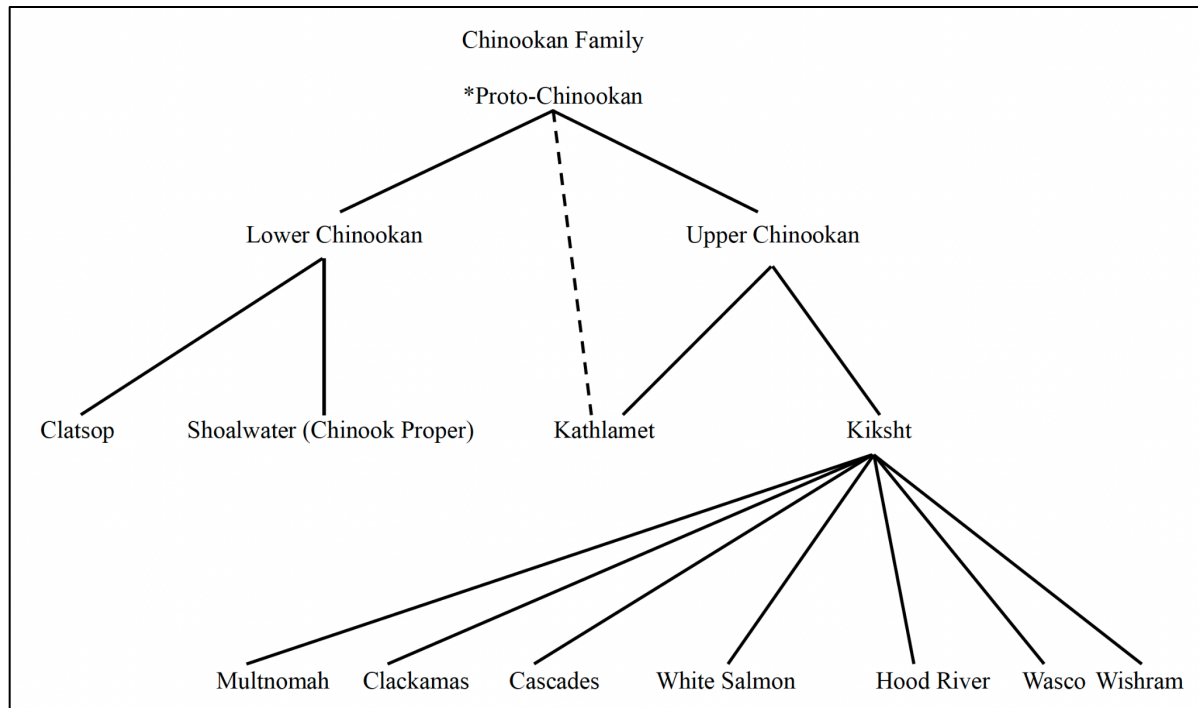


Figure 2: The Chinookan language family

Today the many varieties of the Chinookan language family are no longer spoken by native speakers and, thus, revitalization efforts must rely upon the available language documentation. A large population of descendants of Upper Chinookan villages are enrolled at the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (CTWS) (Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs [CTWS], 2023) and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation (Yakama Nation) (Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation [Yakama Nation], 2023), where they are collectively known as the tribes and bands of the Wascos and Wishrams, respectively, although linguistically, each group includes other language varieties as well. Today the Kiksht language is taught at the CTWS Culture and Heritage Department and by community members in Warm Springs.

Chinookan groups are also enrolled in other tribes today, notably at the Chinook Nation (Chinook Nation, 2023), the Shoalwater Bay Indian Tribe (Shoalwater Bay Indian Tribe [Shoalwater], 2023), the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians (Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians [CTS], 2023), and the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon (Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde [CTGR], 2023) where Chinook Jargon (called *chinuk wawa* in the language) is today being revitalized as one of the tribal languages.

The case study presented here focuses on Victoria Howard, a member of the Grand Ronde tribal community and a Clackamas multilingual who made significant contributions to the documentary record of the Clackamas dialect of both Kiksht and Chinook Jargon (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959; Zenk, 2022). She was reported to have spoken Clackamas, Chinook Jargon, Molale, and English, and to have at least partially understood Cascades (discussed later). Victoria Howard worked with linguist Melville Jacobs, who recorded her languages during the summer of 1929 and January of 1930 before she passed away on September 26, 1930 (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959; Zenk, 2019).

Victoria Howard is the primary language authority who provided linguistic data for the Clackamas language, work published in *Clackamas Chinook Texts: Volume 1 and Volume 2* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958- 1959). While these texts were published originally under the sole authorship of Melville Jacob, this paper reconceptualizes this important work as co-created by both and presents Victoria Howard and Melville Jacobs as co-authors of *Clackamas Chinook Texts*. In cases where passages are quoted in the first person, it should be assumed that the remarks are primarily from Melville Jacobs’ perspective, unless indicated that they are from the perspective of Victoria Howard.

The orthographic representation of the data I use here is different than the original orthography used in the *Clackamas Chinook Texts: Volume 1 and Volume 2* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959). It does not change the sounds originally recorded by Melville Jacobs, but it does slightly modify the system for representing the sounds. ɢ, ɢʷ, ʂ, ʂ', ʃ, and ʃʷ were chosen because they align more closely with the modern International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), while sh, ch, and ch' were chosen because they are easily recognized by English language users and are simple to type using the generic American keyboard. Both sets of changes make for easier typing by linguists familiar with IPA, and both sets of changes should reduce ambiguity of interpretation. For example, in historical documents, ʂ can either represent the English ‘sh’ sound or the ‘ch’ sound, depending on the way the orthography is being utilized. Using ‘sh’ and ‘ch’ to represent those sounds as they are used in English removes that ambiguity. The list of corresponding transliterated phonetic symbols used in this paper is given below.

<u>Original</u>	ɢ	ɢʷ	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ'	ʃ	ʃ'	ʃ	ʃʷ
<u>Transliterated</u>	ɢ	ɢʷ	sh	ch	ch'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	ʃʷ

Table 1: Transliteration of Howard and Jacobs’ (1958-1959) orthography

3. RECENTERING INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES IN RESEARCH

Indigenous methodologies and research carried out by Indigenous scholars challenge standards set by Western academic institutions by interrupting systemic colonial programming that continues to dismantle Indigenous knowledge systems (Simpson, 2018; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). This project constitutes an Indigenous research paradigm because it recenters the role of language authorities in language documentation and revitalization and explores questions informed by my perspective as an Indigenous researcher and heritage learner of the Kiksht language. The research questions stem from an Indigenous epistemology because my relationship to the language and to its original community drives the goals and guides the questions of the research.

3.1 TERMINOLOGY FROM INDIGENOUS RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGIES

This research draws on the concepts of *relationality* and *holism* presented by Indigenous academics Shawn Wilson (2008) and Leanne Simpson (2018). Within the Indigenous perspective, knowledge is gained through relationships with people and the natural world. Through the course of one's lifetime, many relationships are fostered and thus, knowledges are co-created. Since each person's experiences are different, no one set of knowledges or beliefs are considered correct. Multiple truths or knowledges may coexist, a concept known as *pluralism* (Wilson, 2008; Simpson, 2018). Wilson (2008) describes Indigenous knowledge systems as *relational*, in that, "relationships do not merely shape reality, they *are* reality" (p. 7).

Because Indigenous knowledges are relational, they are embedded within their environment and social context. Extraction of knowledge from its context would be to dissolve much of its meaning. As Wilson (2008) states, "An idea cannot be taken out of this relational context and still maintain its shape... The closer you get to defining something, the more it loses its context. Conversely, the more something is put into context, the more it loses a specific definition" (p. 8). The concept of relationality is thus related to the concept of *holism*. Leanne Simpson (2018) considers holism as similar to duality (in which two things coexist) and dissimilar to dichotomy (in which two sides of something are separate):

Duality is another principle that confuses Western thinkers because they get it mixed up with dichotomy... Every year, we all experience the fall and spring equinoxes, when there is the same number of hours of darkness and light... Now that's not what really happens... there are 363 other days of shadowlands, and all of it is part of a complex whole. (p. 201)

Smith (2012) explains how and why Western research has had a troubled relationship to Indigenous communities, stating,

It was a process of systematic fragmentation which can still be seen in the disciplinary carve-up of the Indigenous world; bones, mummies and skulls to the museums, artwork to private collectors, languages to linguistics, 'customs' to anthropologists, beliefs and behaviors to psychologists. To discover how fragmented this process was one needs only to stand in a museum, a library, a bookshop, and ask where Indigenous people are located. Fragmentation is not a phenomenon of postmodernism as many might claim. For Indigenous peoples, fragmentation has been the consequence of imperialism. (p. 29)

The goal of this research is to "put the world back together again," a phrase taught to me by Carson Viles (p.c., 2012), a language revitalization practitioner of the Nuu-wee-ya' language of the Siletz tribal community (and another contributor to the present volume). The goal of putting the world back together again is a form of decolonization from an Indigenous perspective that aims to promote healing and growth of cultural values within the community by fostering the right environment for revitalization to take place.

3.2 MY ROLE AS AN INDIGENOUS RESEARCHER

It is my goal to gather information about the Cascades varieties of the Kiksht language as a part of my heritage. In studying languages of the Pacific Northwest, both as linguistic objects and as a language revitalization practitioner and language learner, I realized that my heritage is that of a multilingual. For example, my maternal grandmother Alice Florendo was a native speaker of Kiksht, Ichishkīin, Chinook Jargon, and English who identified as Wasco.

One of the primary questions and goals driving this research is to learn about the *Adwaimax* (those who have passed before us, Ancestors) who spoke Kiksht. The present analysis focuses on the life of Victoria Howard to better understand my own heritage as a Kiksht speaker. Culture informs my research process because in my culture, Indigenous knowledge is transmitted from the Elders to the younger generations, and we follow the ways of our ancestors. Wilson (2008) explains:

The use of an Indigenous research paradigm when studying Indigenous peoples requires the holistic use and transmission of information. Consequently, I present the information in this study in a way that is more culturally appropriate for Indigenous people by taking the role of storyteller rather than researcher/author. Indigenous people in Canada recognize that it is important for storytellers to impart their own life and experience into the telling. They also recognize that listeners will filter the story being told through their own experience and thus adapt the information to make it relevant and specific to their own life. (p. 32)

Victoria Howard is a member of our Kiksht-speaking tribes, an Elder to the descendants who are learning the language. In our way, by learning from Victoria Howard, we learn the language from an Elder so that we might appropriately continue the work our ancestor has set forth for us.

3.3 LANGUAGE AUTHORITIES

I use the term *language authorities* to refer to the traditional culture bearers of the language, particularly those of Elder or Ancestor status who have the tribal authority to transmit traditional knowledge. As such, their authority is legitimized by values embedded within the community's culture and not by some external source, such as a degree or training, although they may also hold such credentials. Language authorities' linguistic and cultural knowledge stems from thousands of years of oral history and intergenerational transmission of knowledge. They are the primary sources of language documentation but also the ancestors to heritage learners. Therefore, the language authority is often the most important member of the research project from an Indigenous perspective (Burge *et al.*, 2023; EagleSpeaker, 2019; Hall, 2021; Viles & Viles, 2018). Language authorities are those who are conventionally referred to in the field as "consultant", "(native) speaker", or "Elder." As stated in Burge et al. (2023):

EagleSpeaker (2019) and Hall (2021) use the term *language authority* to refer to the first-known Indigenous scholars, Indigenous researchers, and Indigenous archivists of their community's language revitalization efforts. Often, they are an Elder of an Indigenous language who provides learning opportunities for their community by sharing their linguistic knowledge. In situations where the language has no L1 users and the community must use documentation data for revitalization, a *language authority* is someone who has preserved the language through documentation. (p. 40)

For Indigenous people, our Elders, teachers, leaders, and language authorities are traditionally centered within our Indigenous knowledge systems. As an Indigenous scholar, recentering language authorities within the research process is a method to engage with the studied language data that honors Indigenous lifeways and traditions.

3.4 DEVELOPING AN INDIGENOUS FRAMEWORK

Recentering language authorities will have a culturally significant impact to Kiksht language data by situating the language back within an Indigenous cultural context. This will prompt us to reframe our research questions to learn from the story the Elder is telling, rather than to analyze the data using more Western methodologies. This recentering resembles the tradition of intergenerational transmission of knowledge characteristic of Indigenous epistemologies (Kovach, 2009; Simpson, 2018; Smith, 2012).

Shifting the research paradigm to include tribal perspectives and values is only one facet of the Indigenous research framework development. Indigenous researchers may still utilize Western tools but are able to make contributions based on a number of research design elements. Each of these elements is constructed to engage with the data in a way that is Indigenous, but also academically rigorous and communicative. Thus, the *methodologies* are the philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks, while the *methods* are the mechanical processes by which a planned study is carried out (Smith, 2012, p. 144). The present study utilizes an Indigenous methodology to develop a framework carried out using the grounded theory method. Margaret Kovach (Kovach, 2009) describes the process of Indigenous inquiry as a process of meaning making and provides a set of criteria for successful Indigenous empiricism, stating:

To uphold a tribal methodology that is congruent with a tribal compass, we first need to commit to its values and demands. After making this commitment, it becomes a matter of absorbing the vernacular of research language. For Indigenous researchers, there are often three audiences with whom we engage for transferring the knowledge of our research: (a) findings from Indigenous research must make sense to the general Indigenous community, (b) schema for arriving at our findings must be clearly articulated to the non-Indigenous academy, and (c) both the means for arriving at the findings and the findings themselves must resonate with other Indigenous researchers who are in the best position to evaluate our research. We can choose to disengage from either of these communities, but if we enter into academia we must traverse these different worlds. (pp. 133-4)

The process of developing the Indigenous research paradigm and framework began with my personal inquiry into my own identity and that of my community, both of which were in the forefront of my mind as I embarked on my academic research of the Kiksht language materials. To engage in linguistic and language revitalization research, my first step was to identify, locate, and access Kiksht documentary materials as language data sources and for dissemination for community use. I first developed a “Chinookan Research” spreadsheet to organize the titles of the documents I knew about.

Chinookan language documentation began in the late 19th century with some of the earliest documentary records produced by Franz Boas and his students, with further documentation work continuing through the turn of the 21st century (Mithun, 1999, pp. 382-383). These items include audio recordings, published texts, descriptive linguistic grammars, and published articles and books. Within the spreadsheet, I noted whether the item was easily accessible or if it had been removed from the heritage communities and placed in archival repositories around the country. I organized the spreadsheet by the scholar’s name in the left column and included details about their research on

Chinookan languages in the subsequent columns. This tool allowed me to keep track of the dialects each linguist had studied, speakers with whom they consulted, publication information, archive locations, and other notes.

My goal in compiling this spreadsheet was utilitarian, to create an organizational tool to keep track of what available Chinookan language data and metadata existed and how to access it. However, based on my curiosity as a heritage learner, I also used the spreadsheets to make notes of cultural information of particular interest to me. Through this process, my primary research question at the time was to reconnect with those who had passed away in recent history, such as my own maternal grandmother and countless other relatives. I had a strong curiosity about how many and *who* the language authorities were. Mere mention of a particular person's name in the record could not inform me of the village or reservation where they lived and how that person might fit into my lived experiential knowledge of my own community. I began to keep detailed notes about these language authorities within the "Description and notes" sections in the spreadsheet. An example of what this looks like is provided in Table 2: *Sample of entries from "Chinookan Research" organizational spreadsheet.*

Researcher	Language/ dialect	Identified documents	Description and notes
<p>Boas, Franz</p> <p>German American Anthropologist.</p> <p>Studied in Germany, earning doctorate in physics, 1881.</p> <p>Became professor at Columbia University in 1889.</p> <p>Students include Edward Sapir, etc.</p>	<p>Chinook</p> <p>Kathlamet</p> <p>Clackamas (?)</p> <p>Kiksht (Wasco)</p>	<p>Chinook Texts (1894)</p> <p>Kathlamet Texts (1901)</p> <p>“Chinook” in Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part I. (1911)</p> <p>Wasco vocab found in field notebook #2 at the Library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Penn.</p> <p>He also has notebooks archived at Columbia University in NYC.</p>	<p>1890, 1891, 1894 Bay Center, WA he recorded Lower Chinook and Kathlamet, the majority of what is known today is from Charles Cultee. Obtained additional vocabulary and examples of grammar.</p> <p>“Chinook” (1911) is an analysis of Lower Chinook. It includes a short discussion of Kathlamet and Wasco-Wishram. The text “Coyote and Ich’ixyan” is analyzed grammatically word by word.</p> <p>He recorded a short Wasco text and 11 pages of Wasco vocabulary (from whom and what year?).</p>
<p>Curtin, Jeremiah (1835-1906)</p> <p>Ethnologist, folklorist, translator.</p> <p>1863: Graduate Harvard.</p> <p>1872: Married Alma, she served as his secretary.</p>	<p>Kiksht (Wasco)</p>	<p>Creation Myths of Primitive America, 1898 (available at http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/39106)</p> <p>Wishram Texts (Sapir & Curtin, 1909)</p> <p>Wasco vocab prepared by US Govt Major John Wesley Powell, original is in Smithsonian Anthropological Archives (?).</p>	<p>Obtained stories at WS agency in 1885, both in WS Sahaptin and Kiksht. His stories were published by Sapir (Wishram Texts, 1909).</p> <p>Wasco vocabulary he collected was photocopied and Hymes checked it with Hiram Smith.</p> <p>Married to Alma Curtin. She stories around Oregon and California, but he got credit for her</p>

Researcher	Language/ dialect	Identified documents	Description and notes
1883-1891: Bureau of American Ethnology Field Researcher.		Myths of the Modocs, Sampson Low, Marston & Company. Ltd. (1912)	documentation work. Their work was funded by the Smithsonian, but some work may have been their own personal. That which wasn't turned into the Smithsonian was left with family. Much of their Warm Springs data was never published.
<p>Jacobs, Melville (1902-1971)</p> <p>Anthropologist trained at Columbia University by Franz Boas.</p> <p>University of Washington faculty 1928-1971.</p> <p>Married anthropologist, Elizabeth Jacobs.</p>	<p>Clackamas</p> <p>Chinook Jargon</p> <p>Sahaptin (?)</p> <p>Molalla</p> <p>Kalapuya</p> <p>Tillamook</p> <p>Alsea</p> <p>Upper Umpqua</p> <p>Galice</p>	<p>Clackamas Chinook Texts, Vol 1 (1958).</p> <p>Clackamas Chinook Texts, Vol 2 (1959).</p> <p>Content and Style of and Oral Literature (1958)</p> <p>The People are Coming Soon: Analysis of Clackamas Chinook Myths and Tales (1960).</p> <p>“Five short narratives” (Howard, 1977)</p> <p>“Sahaptin Texts” (1934)</p> <p>“Kalapuya Texts” (1945)</p>	<p>Recorded Victoria Howard in Oregon City, OR for a winter before she died in 1930. He found her in 1929 while he was teaching at UW. Her stories are published in two volumes of Clackamas texts which he also analyzes in two other publications. There are some personal experiences. There are some stories Victoria heard in Molale</p> <p>His papers are held at UW in Jacobs Archive.</p>

Table 2: Sample of entries from “Chinookan Research” organizational spreadsheet

However, I soon recognized that the language authorities were minimally represented as contributors to the collections. Likewise, information about their identities and knowledge was not easily discerned in the way the language data and metadata were presented in authorship, titles, or content of the documents. Their names were seldom listed as authors in publications, and they were not named as creators of linguistic documents found in the archives. This meant that unless the scholar-linguist took care to list the language authorities prominently in their works, their identities were obscured within the pages of history. This realization prompted me to create a new chart that categorizes the data by recentering the language authorities first, listed in the left column of my spreadsheet. As I recompiled the resources' information with the language authorities as the primary column of this organizational tool, the biographies and legacy work of each individual language authority began to take form. In the second column, "Language/dialect," I kept track of each language the person was known to have spoken. In the third column, "Identified documents," I listed the publications and archival documentation they had contributed to, which allowed me to see the breadth of work not been previously attributed to their careers as language revitalizationists. Finally, in the fourth column, I began to compile biographical information in more detail. It was through the processing of these details into the spreadsheet that I began to grapple with the theme of multilingualism, which became a later focus of the data. Table 3: *Chinookan Language Authorities* is an example of entries found in my "Language Authorities" chart.

This language authorities-centered chart prompted the development of the current research. The "Language Authorities" chart and the ensuing research design constitute an Indigenous framework. My perspective as an Indigenous researcher created a paradigm shift which compelled me to develop a new framework for investigating language-related research questions. My framework utilizes an Indigenous perspective to reframe the research in terms of my cultural heritage as a Wasco person while using the grounded theory method to investigate inquiries into the research data. Through the use of this framework, we are able to find answers to research questions such as: *What is the role of language authorities in archival research? What has been the historical norm of multilingualism and cultural practices in the Pacific Northwest? What are the implications of an Indigenous research paradigm and Indigenous researchers within the larger fields of language revitalization and linguistics?* In the next section, I will discuss how this study utilized the grounded theory method to explore the research questions, and how this iterative coding process. allowed me to keep the conversation open between myself as the researcher and the language authority, Victoria Howard.

Language authority	Language/ dialect	Identified documents	Description and notes
Cultee, Charles <i>Q'ltée</i> Bay Center, WA	Chinook Proper, Kathlamet, Kiksht?	<p><i>Chinook Texts</i> (Boas & Cultee, 1894)</p> <p><i>Kathlamet Texts</i> (Boas & Cultee, 1901)</p> <p>'Chinook'. In <i>Handbook of American Indian Languages</i>, Part I (Boas, 1911).</p> <p><i>The Language of Kathlamet Chinook</i> (dissertation for Phd) (Hymes, 1955).</p>	<p>Cultee's stories were recorded by Franz Boas and published by Sapir, providing all the language that is found in <i>Chinook Texts</i> (Boas & Cultee, 1894) and <i>Kathlamet Texts</i> (Boas & Cultee, 1901). Those field notebooks are archived at the Library of American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and at Columbia University in NYC. Franz Boas' notebooks are the same for all of the languages (Hymes, 1955).</p> <p>Cultee had lived at Kathlamet and had Kathlamet ancestors. His maternal grandmother was Kathlamet, maternal grandfather Quilápax. Paternal grandmother was Clatsop, and paternal grandfather was Tinneh. His wife is Chehalis (Boas & Cultee, 1894, 1901).</p>
Florendo, Alice (1922-1995) Warm Springs, OR	Wasco, Wishram? Chinook Jargon, Sahaptin	<p><i>Culture Segments and Variation in Contemporary Social Ceremonialism on the Warm Springs Reservation, Oregon</i> (dissertation for PhD) (French, 1955).</p>	<p>Alice Florendo worked at the Warm Springs Culture and Heritage Department with anthropologists David and Katherine "Kay" French, and their students (Silverstein, Morrision, Hymes, Moore). Her cousins Annie and Zelma Smith were also speakers who worked with linguists. In Kay French's dissertation, Florendo is referred to as a resource (French, 1955, p. 6).</p> <p>Alice recorded Raccoon story in English with Jarold Ramsey in August 1969. Worked with Moore "not for the first time" Sept 6 1984 on Raccoon story (Moore, 2009).</p>

Language authority	Language/ dialect	Identified documents	Description and notes
			<p>Alice Florendo and Dell Hymes met in 1952. Alice recalls her grandmother’s storytelling in the work that she did, not covered in this particular article, but something to look for in the archives (Moore, 2009).</p>
<p>Howard, Victoria (c. 1865- 1930) Oregon City, Oregon/ Grand Ronde reservation</p>	<p>Clackamas, Molalla, Kalapuya?, Chinook Jargon, Cascades?</p>	<p><i>Clackamas Chinook Texts</i>, Volumes 1 & 2 (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959). 'Content and Style of Oral Literature' (Jacobs, 1958) <i>The People are Coming Soon: Analysis of Clackamas Chinook Myths and Tales</i> (Jacobs, 1960).</p>	<p>She was born c 1865 on the Grand Ronde reservation. Learned Clackamas culture from her grandmother and Cascades from her mother-in-law.</p> <p>Melville Jacobs met her in 1929 and recorded her for a year until she died in Oregon City, OR in 1930. Her stories are published in two volumes of Jacobs’ analyses as <i>Clackamas Chinook Texts</i>, Volumes 1 & 2 (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959). In these volumes there are some personal experiences and some stories VH heard in Molale (Mollala).</p>

Table 3: Chinookan Language Authorities

4. UTILIZING GROUNDED THEORY WITHIN AN INDIGENOUS FRAMEWORK

Grounded theory, a method developed by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss (1967), claims there is no need for preconceived questions that force data into a specific research paradigm (or framework). Rather, the information comes through comparative analysis of the data. “Unlike quantitative research that requires data to fit into *preconceived* standardized codes, the researcher’s interpretations of data shape his or her emergent codes” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 515). Grounded theory analyses begin with data collection, and then coding begins to define and categorize the data. A grounded theory approach is analogous to an emic (vs. etic) approach to typology studies in linguistics where the data dictates its categorization. Grounded theory is flexible, iterative, and interactive as we pose questions to the data while coding it. Such notions of flexibility and interaction (and thus adaptation) in research suit an Indigenous researcher perspective, because they allow the researcher to learn from the data – in this case, from the Indigenous language authorities.

Such an analysis adopts a broad set of research questions to the data by analyzing the contributions of Victoria Howard’s Kiksht language data, published in the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959). The flexible and interactive nature of the grounded theory method allows for the Indigenous researcher to iteratively learn from the data by posing questions to it, which creates a dynamic interactive relationship between the researcher and Victoria Howard, through her data. Culturally, heritage learners and scholars such as myself are able to review this body of work as an example of leadership within the language revitalization community through the implementation of this framework. In section 6 (“Analysis and Findings”) below, I discuss the coding process and the interpretation of the codebook as well as the interpretation of the coded excerpts and findings.

5. VICTORIA HOWARD AND THE *CLACKAMAS CHINOOK TEXTS*

For this analysis, I chose one person from my “Language Authorities” chart to conduct focused research on. From an Indigenous methodologies perspective, my goal is to demonstrate how reframing language authorities within the research can provide rich, culturally relevant knowledge about languages to language revitalization communities and encourage the accepted use of Indigenous methodologies within the academic field of linguistics. For purposes of linguistic and language revitalization research, my goal is to learn more about the dialectology of the Kiksht language and to include any cultural information that may help linguistics and language revitalization practitioners better understand the use of language forms and their meanings.

I chose to work with Victoria Howard’s *Clackamas Chinook Texts*, Volumes 1 and 2 (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959) for two reasons, the primary one being that the metadata notes provide a number of details about dialectology, particularly of the Cascades dialects, which I investigate. The *Clackamas Chinook Texts* are a body of texts in the form of stories that primarily focus on the literary mode or the

oral narrative genre. However, the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* are somewhat unique in that Howard and Jacobs (1958-1959) systematically included notes about dialectal variation whenever it arose in their collaborative discourse (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 268). These metadata (also considered published fieldnotes in this body of work) are presented in the form of footnotes and endnotes. The footnotes usually contain place names and dialectal differences, while the endnotes usually emphasize biographical information. The second reason to work with these volumes is that they are published in print and thus legible, organized, and not held privately with any particular tribe or institution. Unpublished archival data is more likely to be in raw form, less processed, and less organized. Conducting the present research from published texts allows me to focus on developing the methodology of research and understanding the implications of the work.

In his article, "The Methods and Tasks of Anthropological Philology (Illustrated with Clackamas Chinook)," Dell Hymes (1965) discusses several aspects of Howard and Jacobs' (1958-1959) *Clackamas Chinook Texts* that can contribute to and benefit from careful philological analysis among the Chinookan language varieties, including phonetics, lexicon, grammar, and dialectal comparison. Hymes notes that contributions to folklore, ethnography, and philology are available by way of the translations, interpretations, and analyses, "Both volumes have numerous, useful notes, and the second offers abstracts of the contents not only of these volumes, but also of Wishram and Wasco texts" (pp. 328-9). In this he compares *Clackamas Chinook Texts* to *Chinook Texts* (Boas & Cultee, 1894), *Kathlamet Texts* (Boas & Cultee, 1901), and *Wishram Texts* (Sapir & Curtin, 1909), stating that Jacobs' documentation work was more thorough than the latter two in its ethnographic notes and phonetic transcriptions, among other things. Indeed, the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* provide a dynamic layering of linguistic and ethnographic content told, in part, from an Indigenous perspective as Victoria Howard herself made the bulk of the contribution to this work. Because of this, *Clackamas Chinook Texts* can play an important role in comparative analyses among the Chinookan language varieties in understanding the origin and meaning of lexemes, literary themes, phonology, and other topics.

The *Clackamas Chinook Texts*, Volumes 1 and 2 are organized as a single linear collection with the texts organized by sections, and each given a number and title. The sections are: "Clackamas Myths," containing texts 1-49; "Molala Myths (dictated in Clackamas Chinook)," containing texts 50-54; "Clackamas Stories of Transitional Times," containing texts 55-62; "Molale Stories of Transitional Times (dictated in Clackamas Chinook)," containing texts 63-64; "Clackamas Stories of Pre-White Times," containing texts 65-70; "Ethnographic Texts," containing texts 71-148. Volume 1 includes texts 1-30 and a "Notes" section (pp. 268-293), and Volume 2 includes texts 31-148, followed by the "Abstracts" section (pp. 573-628) and the other "Notes" section (pp. 629-663). The footnotes are found at the bottom of the pages with the texts and the endnotes, presented as "Notes," are found at the end of each volume.

The objective of my current analysis is to learn something about the language authorities that is not explicitly told by the authors, retrieving linguistic, biographical, and sociocultural information to reconstruct a context not immediately present in the body of work. My analysis focuses on the footnotes and endnotes of each volume of the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* because the content describing dialectal differences is primarily found there. The body texts also include some place names and other cultural content, but it is less concentrated than in the notes sections. Moreover, I am primarily concerned with information presented in the notes because I am interested in what was deemed peripheral and, thus, obscured based on the perspective from which this work was originally produced. There is a large amount of cultural content within the texts themselves – for example the ethnographic texts are each acutely aware of specific cultural themes ranging from marriage to shamanism – but that content is already prominently presented as central to the body of work and is more readily accessible. However, the Ethnographic Texts section of Volume 2 also contains biographical vignettes presented as personal narratives directly relating to Victoria Howard’s life, seven of which have also been analyzed for this project: “Why Mrs. Wheeler died” (pp. 520-522), “I was ill and *dúshdaq* doctored me” (pp. 523-526), “They said the cat is crying” (pp. 530-531), “Brought up by my mother’s mother” (pp. 534-536), “My older cousin and I” (pp. 536-537), “*Wásusgani* and Watcheeno” (pp. 538-556), and “A dream told by *Wásusgani*” (pp. 556).

Before discussing the results of the analysis, I would like to acknowledge that some other academics have chosen Victoria Howard and the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* as their object of study (Henry Zenk via The Confederated Tribes of the Grant Ronde Community of Oregon [CTGR], 2012, pp. 372-375; Zenk, 2019, 2022; Senier, 2001). Siobhan Senier, professor of English and American literature, has written about Victoria Howard in her work, *Voices of American Indian assimilation and resistance: Helen Hunt Jackson, Sarah Winnemucca, and Victoria Howard* (Senier, 2001). Senier lends a feminist perspective in discussing the implications of giving autonomy and voice back to Victoria Howard as a literary figure. From this perspective, Senier declares that Victoria Howard “constructs herself, her characters, and other women telling traditional narratives as embattled *female* subjects, subjects who struggle with, circumvent, and manipulate the power of men and white people” (Senier, 2001, p. 122). Senier reconstructs themes in Victoria Howard’s contribution, including culture, Grand Ronde history, a biographical account of Victoria Howard’s life, the dialogue, not only between Howard and Jacobs, but between Howard and her wider audiences, and the oral literary tradition. Senier discusses themes found in the stories that Howard chose to tell, but also the themes of relationships that Howard chose to reveal, such as her relationships with some of the elders from whom she learned these stories, as well as her own role as an authority in storytelling.

Zenk authored a short biography on Victoria Howard through his work with the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde’s (CTGR) *chinuk wawa* dictionary project (CTGR, 2012, pp. 372-375; Henry

Zenk, personal communication, 2023). Zenk has worked with the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* and with some of the original field notes of Mellville Jacobs and Victoria Howard's documentation work of 1930 (Zenk, 2019; personal communication, 2023). Zenk's work does access some data that is only available in the field notes and not within my data set. For this reason, I have reviewed these works and will reference them when applicable.

6. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In this section, I will discuss the process of coding the data, the emergence of themes from the data, and interpret their results. As will be discussed below, the findings demonstrate that through the implementation of this Indigenous research paradigm and framework, we can reconstruct social and cultural norms in regard to multilingualism. The findings will demonstrate that the speaker's language identity can be partially reconstructed and that in Victoria Howard's society, language identity comprises connection to place and kinship ties.

6.1 CODING THE DATA

This analysis is centered on the life and linguistic contributions of Victoria Howard, including the contributions of her documentation legacy from an Indigenous perspective, her role as a language authority within the documentation and conservation process, and details about her multilingual knowledge and heritage. In order to capture relevant content about these questions from the data, I developed a codebook that targets content about: 1) her biography; 2) culturally relevant content of interest to the Kiksht language community; 3) content about linguistic variation and particularly about Kiksht dialects; 4) content about multilingualism; and 5) geographic content relating to language use, including traditional village sites prior to contact.

In grounded theory, the researcher begins with a set of data (usually written, i.e. transcripts, narratives, etc.) and a line of inquiry, a topic/question or a set of questions related to that topic. In my case, I wanted to know "*Who are the language authorities?*" More specifically, I developed my inquiry with a focus on Victoria Howard's multilingual knowledge and her knowledge of the Kiksht dialects. The next step was to code the data within the texts. After the initial lines of inquiry were established, I looked through the data for excerpts that pertain to the research questions and tagged them with the corresponding codes. All the data was analyzed, and excerpts can be tagged with one or more codes, or none at all if it was not applicable to the research questions.

The coding was done by uploading the 663 total pages of *Clackamas Chinook Texts* as two separate PDF files into the Dedoose (2021) software program. The first step in my process of coding was to create major themes or lines of inquiry to investigate, while understanding that this process would be iterative by necessity. I created the following major categories: Clackamas authorities,

Chinookan varieties and geography, researchers, cultural themes, and linguistic metadata. These themes were chosen as “parent codes” and guided the grouping of additional codes added later.

After creating the parent codes, I began the tagging process by creating child codes. For example, under the parent code ‘Clackamas authorities’ are child codes such as ‘Victoria Howard’, ‘Victoria Howard’s mother-in-law’, and ‘Victoria Howards’s maternal grandmother’, to name a few. Throughout the process of coding, additional themes emerged that were developed into parent codes: ‘Chinook Jargon’, ‘other language authorities’ and ‘other tribes and languages’. This brings the total number of parent codes to eight. All the excerpts were tagged with child codes and organized under parent codes with the exception of ‘Chinook Jargon’ (discussed below) which includes excerpts tagged only with the parent code. The final analysis included a total of 109 child codes, and 334 total coded excerpts. Table 4: *Coding themes in Clackamas Chinook Texts* below show the parent codes in the top row, and each of the child codes is listed alphabetically beneath its corresponding parent code in the bottom row. I analyzed the theme of ‘multilingualism’ by viewing the system of themes and their excerpts as a whole when observing the data throughout the entire project.

Chinookan varieties & geography	Chinookan language authorities	Chinook Jargon	Other Language Authorities	Other tribes & languages	Cultural themes	Linguistic metadata	Researchers
Oregon Dayton, OR Cascades Cascade Mountains Chinookan family Clackamas Clackamas R. Clackamas at W-W Columbia River Cooks Grand Ronde Hood River Kathlamet Lake Oswego Lower Chinook Oregon City Portland	Victoria Howard VH's mother VH's father <i>wagáyuʔn</i> (maternal grandmother) VH's uncle <i>χáχshni</i> (VH's cousin) <i>wásusgani-washáwt</i> (VH's mother-in-law) Eustace Howard Old Watcheeno John Watcheeno John Watcheeno's grandfather <i>wagánwas</i> Mrs. Wheeler <i>ʔímiki</i> Mrs. Wheeler <i>k'amáʔamayχ</i> Old Wood	Chinook Jargon	VH's grandfather Sophie Watcheeno Foster Watcheeno John B. Hudson Joe Hudson Frank Wheeler Polk Scott Louis Kenoyer Bill Warren Dick Tipton <i>wátutamx</i> <i>qʔwásha dúnch</i> <i>dudúsh</i> Shaman Mary <i>túkshin</i> Yamhill Joe <i>dúshdaq</i> <i>niʔúdiya</i> <i>úbidi</i>	Athabaskan: Umpqua, Rogue River, Coastal, S. of Coos Coast Salish (Oregon) Coos Kalapuya: Santiam, Tualatin, Yamhill, Yoncalla Klamath Modoc Molale Sahaptin people and languages Shasta Siletz, Oregon Siuslaw Snake Indians Southwestern Oregon Takelma	Death Europeans: arrival & contact Headman or Chief Indian names Indian tricks Marriage Mermaid/River Monster/ <i>-ch'íxyan</i> Miscellaneous cultural themes Money and wealth Multilingualism Oral tradition Slavery Spirit power & shamanism Traditional foods	Other Clackamas sources Physical data Project info	Franz Boas Jeremiah Curtin Dr. Homer Barnett Dr. Philip Drucker Leo Frachtenberg David & Kay French Albert S. Gatschet Melville Jacobs Vern F. Ray Edward Sapir Leslie Spier

Chinookan varieties & geography	Chinookan language authorities	Chinook Jargon	Other Language Authorities	Other tribes & languages	Cultural themes	Linguistic metadata	Researchers
Q'ímashmt 'the Clackamas language' Sháxlat 'upriver Wasco-Wishram' Upriver, E. of Willamette R. Warm Springs, OR Washington West Linn Willamette River	<i>g^wiyánagun</i> <i>diyaláx</i> Peter		<i>shám^wxn</i> <i>gadám^wxn</i> <i>k'amíshdiq^wnq</i> <i>chág^wanam</i> Jim Young Henry Wallace <i>í^wixsha</i> <i>k'átamsh</i> Agustin				

Table 4: Coding of themes in Clackamas Chinook Texts

6.2 AN OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE AUTHORITIES IDENTIFIED IN THE DATASET

The most central portion of this analysis began to focus on Victoria Howard's life and the 'Language Authorities' theme more generally. Here, I provide a brief synthesis of the primary language authorities identified based on the content found within the data excerpts for each individual. This portion of the analysis demonstrates sociolinguistic characteristics of multilingualism and the transmission of linguistic knowledge, as well as the cultural relevance of identifying language authorities for the heritage community and potentially for future research. Thus, the content found in this list will be added to my "Language Authorities" spreadsheet (cf. Table 3 above) for future reference.

Culturally, it has always been important to acknowledge relational ties as a facet of social structure, and so this must be done here. However, aside from my culture practice, this analysis demonstrates that in naming relational ties, Indigenous cultures of the Pacific Northwest have consistently and regularly transmitted identity information that is place-based and reinforced by linguistic information. Dialectal variation is place-based, but individual speakers carry linguistic knowledge of dialectal information within them through their familial histories and personal biographies. Thus, mapping out relational ties can demonstrate some of the geographical and marriage-based language communities of dialect regions and domains.

The names of the language authorities identified in this analysis are listed below, followed by an indication of their tribal affiliation(s). Tribal affiliations are typically specified in terms of the primary language an individual spoke and are listed here in the order most-often denoted by Howard and Jacobs (1958-1959). For example, Victoria has Clackamas and Molale heritage, but her biographical information (metadata) indicates that she identified primarily as a Clackamas Chinook by place, heritage through her grandmother, her language, and that her linguistic knowledge of Molale was not as strong as her knowledge of Clackamas.

From the onset of this analysis, it was apparent that Victoria Howard learned some details about the Cascades dialects from her mother-in-law. This prompted inquiry into who might be included in the data as speakers of various Chinookan dialects. To begin coding data about individual language authorities, I created a new code for each person mentioned or described in the data set. Throughout this process, a set of one or more data excerpts was compiled for each individual person.

Because my leading questions provoked inquiry into kinship ties, language varieties, and the geographic locations where they were spoken, the analysis expanded to include speakers of several languages outside of the Chinookan Language Family, such as Molale, varieties of Kalapuyan, and Chinook Jargon. It became apparent that each language authority spoke more than one language, thus the cultural phenomenon of multilingualism became prominently revealed in the data set. This list includes language authorities who contributed significantly to linguistic documentation such as John

Watcheeno, who worked with Dr. Philip Drucker on Clackamas in 1934 (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 1). It also includes important family members and influences on Victoria Howard, such as her grandfather, who was a Molale and contributed to her multilingualism (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, pp. 640-641). There were several other individuals mentioned who were featured much less prominently in my dataset. For example, Shaman Mary, a Modoc slave woman who was raised by Clackamas people, was mentioned in reference to Indian doctoring and oral transmission of knowledge (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 660). These details, although fascinating, are not directly related to the analysis presented here because there was not enough data to demonstrate Shaman Mary's linguistic knowledge of any language she spoke, nor was there any evidence that Victoria Howard's linguistic knowledge was influenced by Shaman Mary. A full list of additional individuals found in my analysis is provided in Appendix A: Other Indigenous People Identified in *Clackamas Chinook Texts*.

Finally, kinship relations to Victoria Howard and notes related to multilingualism are also included here. For clarity, these kinship details are further discussed in Section 6.6 *Discussion of linguistic identity: Language, place and kinship ties*, below.

Victoria Howard, Clackamas/Molale. Howard was born circa 1865 and was purported to be about 60 years of age when Melville Jacobs documented her language. She was born and raised on the Grand Ronde reservation and raised by her maternal grandmother after her father died and her mother subsequently married (to Foster Watcheeno) when she was still a child (pp. 534-535). She married at age fifteen and had her first child, a girl, at 16 (p. 653). Her husband was Eustace Howard, a Santiam Kalapuya (p. 292), whose mother was part Clackamas and part Klickitat (p. 269). According to Zenk (2019), Victoria Howard lived with her mother-in-law when she was married to her son, Dan Watcheeno.

Victoria Howard's mother, Clackamas/Molale. Howard's father died when she was a child, and her mother subsequently married a man named Foster Watcheeno and from then on, Howard was raised by her maternal grandmother (pp. 534-535). It is unclear exactly how Foster Watcheeno is related to the rest of the Watcheeno family. Howard's mother told her a "historical narrative of a nineteenth century Snake Indian raid on a group of Chinooks (p. 663)." Howard tells at least one story about her mother's death, "The shaman at my mother's last illness" (pp. 512-514), but the story does not say what age Victoria Howard was when her mother died. Howard's grandfather had lived the experience of being relocated from his home at Tumwater (Oregon City) to the Grand Ronde reservation along with Howard's grandmother and maternal uncle (pp. 550-551). It is unclear whether Howard's mother was also alive during this relocation.

wagáyuʔn, *Victoria Howard's maternal grandmother, Clackamas Chinook*. “Mrs. Howard believed that her mother's mother spoke the Clackamas dialect that was used at and near Oregon City...” (p. 268). She “preferred, as standard Clackamas, morphemes which her grandmother employed” (p. 648). In some cases, Howard reports that she believed her grandmother learned a certain story from the Molales, for example, “Mrs. Howard supposed that grandmother, who told her this tale, heard it from Molale rather than from Clackamas people, according to her recollection of what her grandmother used to remark when recounting it” (p. 645). *wagáyuʔn* had lived the experience of being taken from her home at Tumwater (Oregon City) and being relocated to the Grand Ronde reservation and Howard provides some details, recalling her grandmother's stories (pp. 550-551).

Victoria Howard's maternal grandfather, Molale. Howard and Jacobs report that he identified himself as a Molale. The weight of Victoria Howard's linguistic influence from her maternal grandfather was likely affected by the fact that Howard's maternal grandmother raised her (pp. 534-535). Although Victoria Howard's primary language was Clackamas, she also spoke some Molale and recounted several Molale legends (p. 1). Howard's grandfather had lived the experience of being relocated from his home at Tumwater (Oregon City) to the Grand Ronde reservation along with Howard's grandmother and maternal uncle (p. 550-551).

Victoria Howard's maternal uncle, Molale/Clackamas. Howard and Jacobs identify him as Molale (p. 661), even though he may have the same parents as Howard's mother (p. 661). Howard's maternal grandmother, grandfather, and an unnamed uncle had lived the experience of being relocated from his home at Tumwater (Oregon City) to the Grand Ronde reservation (pp. 550-551).

Eustace Howard, Santiam Kalapuya. Victoria Howard's husband. He spoke Santiam Kalapuya and at least understood Tualatin Kalapuya (p. 292). Eustace was a known language authority by anthropologists and may have provided linguistic data (p. 1).

John B. Hudson, Santiam Kalapuya. He was a language authority who provided linguistic data of Kalapuya to Melville Jacobs and referred Jacobs to meet Eustace and Victoria Howard to collect Kalapuyan and Clackamas data (p. 1). He also referred Jacobs to contact John Watcheeno who spoke Clackamas. He may have been related to Joe Hudson, Eustace's grandfather.

Dan Watcheeno, Cascades/Klickitat. *Victoria Howard's previous husband*. His mother is mentioned many times in *Clackamas Chinook Texts* as a source of Victoria Howard's linguistic and cultural knowledge from an upriver Cascades Chinook variety. He is part Cascades and Klickitat from his mother's side, however his patrilineal identity from the Watcheeno family is unknown from my data set. In Henry Zenk's 2019 work, “Victoria Howard's narrative of the coming of the epidemic diseases to the lower Willamette Chinookans, as dictated to Melville Jacobs in 1930 [unpublished manuscript],” Zenk analyzes a story that Victoria Howard retold him from her mother-in-law's perspective. This story

is later published in the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* as “*Wásusgani* and Watcheeno” (pp. 538-556). According to this work (Zenk, 2019), Victoria Howard lived with her mother-in-law when she was married to Dan Watcheeno.

wásusgani – *wash?áwt*, a.k.a. *Mrs. Watcheeno*, *Cascades Chinook/Klickitat*. Victoria Howard’s mother-in-law who was married to a “chief” (p. 554), who is referred to as Old Watcheeno in the texts. She has two recorded Indian names, *wásusgani* and *wash?áwt* (p. 268). She was part Cascades Chinookan, and part Klickitat Sahaptin. “Mrs. Howard believed ... that the relatives of her mother-in-law came from dialects spoken in villages just to the east of the Willamette River and along the Columbia River. Mrs. Watcheeno was in fact part Klickitat Sahaptin, I gather that her Chinook ancestry was largely from persons in the intergrading dialects between the Willamette River Clackamas and the Cascades Chinooks” (p. 268). In the narrative text, “*Wasúsgani* and Watcheeno,” Victoria Howard retells her mother-in-law’s extensive personal narrative about the coming of the whites, including the several waves of epidemics that hit them and their subsequent relocation to the Grand Ronde reservation (pp. 538-556). As an “adolescent girl” (p. 539), *wasúsgani* was “purchased” by Old Watcheeno and entered into a polygynous marriage. One of the other wives for a time was Sophie, a Molale who also happened to be the sister of Victoria Howard’s grandfather (pp. 538-539). “I ... gave birth to my two sons right here (at Grand Ronde). Cattle killed the first and older brother. After quite some time we moved to here, they gave us this place here. And now we live right here” (p. 553).

Old Watcheeno, presumably *Clackamas*, *Headman of the Watcheeno family*. Old Watcheeno is referred to as a “chief” (p. 554) by Victoria Howard through her story “*Wasúsgani* and Watcheeno.” He is the husband of Howard’s mother-in-law, Mrs. Watcheeno, and the father of John Watcheeno. “Old Watcheeno had three or four wives before the time when Caucasian farmers colonized the Willamette valley of western Oregon. His manner of functioning as a Clackamas village headman is difficult to describe or assess because of the paucity of information about him” (p. 657). My data set does not explicitly denote Old Watcheeno as a Clackamas Chinook, but this is deduced by the two facts that he is the headman of a large Clackamas family in Grand Ronde at the time and by the fact that his son John Watcheeno is denoted as a Clackamas speaker who provided Clackamas data to Dr. Philip Drucker in 1934. For further information it may be useful to confer with the research conducted with John Watcheeno.

John Watcheeno, *Clackamas*. He is the son of Mrs. Watcheeno’s late husband, Old Watcheeno, though it is unclear if he is her own son. “In 1928 my Santiam Kalapuya informant, Mr. John B. Hudson, told me that the only other well-informed Santiam, Mr. Eustace Howard, was married to a part-Molale part-Clackamas who might remember her languages and heritages in substantial detail. Mr. Hudson added that Mr. John Watcheeno was very likely the only additional Clackamas informant... I never

took time to meet Mr. Watcheeno. But at my suggestion Dr. Philip Drucker, accompanied by Dr. Homer Barnett, interviewed him in July 1934 as the Clackamas informant for their Oregon culture element list project. He was then the sole survivor who could give information. The total return which we shall have for Clackamas, apart from items noted by observers of frontier days, comes from the session of about one week which Dr. Drucker had with Mr. Watcheeno and from my four months with Mrs. Howard” (p. 1).

6.3 BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF VICTORIA HOWARD

For the recounting of Victoria Howard’s biography, excerpts were coded from the “Introduction” of the volume of the texts, from seven personal narrative stories, and from the authors’ notes. There are 63 total excerpts tagged for the theme “Victoria Howard.”

Victoria Howard was multilingual and provided linguistic data in Clackamas and sociolinguistic metadata on Molale, Kalapuya, Chinook Jargon. Her data informs the sociocultural context surrounding the coming of the Europeans and life on the Grand Ronde reservation. Victoria Howard was essential to the documentation of Clackamas. Jacobs states that in the 1920s, there were only three or four known speakers of the Clackamas dialect, and that at the time of the research with Howard, she was the only known living speaker of Clackamas who was willing or able to provide linguistic data (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 1). The only other known Clackamas speaker according to Jacobs was John Watcheeno (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 1).

Victoria Howard was about 60 years of age when she co-created a body of work with Melville Jacobs in the winter of 1929-30. She passed away later in 1930. Jacobs (1958-1959) describes his work with Howard at her home in West Linn/Oregon City, Oregon, where she lived with her husband Eustace Howard, her daughter, and grandchildren. Jacobs explains:

Mrs. Howard was born and brought up at the Grand Ronde Reservation. I would have liked an autobiography and I tried to get one. But Mrs. Howard never seemed in a mood to describe her life in detail. Possibly I was too young for her to feel like revealing inward things, or perhaps I failed to handle the relationship in a manner which made clear what I wanted and how she could present the story of her life”. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 656)

Victoria Howard was born around 1865 and raised on the Grand Ronde reservation. She was part Molale and part Clackamas, having a maternal grandfather who was Molale, and a maternal grandmother who was Clackamas, but there is no mention of her father in the data set. Howard and Jacobs (1958-1959) quite often reference the grandmother as the source of Victoria Howard’s knowledge. In the story, “Brought up by my mother’s mother,” Victoria Howard explains that she was

raised by her grandmother, her father died when she was a child, and her mother remarried to a man named Foster Watcheeno, (pp. 534-535). Victoria Howard does tell a story about the death of her mother, titled “The shaman at my mother’s last illness” (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, pp. 512-514), but neither my data excerpts nor the story itself tells the age of Victoria Howard when her mother died. Victoria Howard believed that her grandmother spoke the dialect of Clackamas spoken in the Oregon City area (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 269) and she “...preferred, as standard Clackamas, morphemes which her grandmother employed” (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 648).

Victoria Howard was married to Eustace Howard, who spoke Santiam Kalapuya and at least understood Tualatin Kalapuya. He was known as a Kalapuya speaker by Jacobs and other anthropologists of the time, and he may have provided some Kalapuya data to researchers. However, he only appears in five excerpts of my dataset and no mention of any specific research that he conducted.

In an unpublished 2019 manuscript, “Victoria Howard’s narrative of the coming of the epidemic diseases to the lower Willamette Chinookans, as dictated to Mellville Jacobs in 1930,” Henry Zenk analyzes a story that Victoria Howard retold to Jacobs from her mother-in-law’s perspective. This story is later published in the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* as “Wásusgani and Watcheeno” (pp. 538-556). According to Zenk (2019), Victoria Howard lived with her mother-in-law when she was married to her son, Dan Watcheeno. *wásusgani*, who is referenced 51 times, is often cited as a Cascades language resource for Victoria Howard. “Wásusgani and Watcheeno” (pp. 538-556) is an important story in which *wásusgani* (via Howard) describes the disease epidemics in Clackamas/Kalapuya/Molale territory, and her personal experience of their subsequent removal to the Grand Ronde reservation. These important knowledges passed from *wásusgani* to Victoria Howard, along with Victoria Howard taking a linguistic identity primarily from her maternal grandmother, suggest a matrilineal transfer of linguistic knowledge to women who are multilingual.

Victoria Howard told some Molale oral narratives, which she dictated to Jacobs in Clackamas. Jacobs and Howard recorded her songs of Clackamas, Molale, and Kalapuya origin (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 3). Jacobs stated, “... I found that [Victoria Howard] did possess a large store of information on Clackamas and a much smaller amount on Molale. She exhibited fine humor, sharp intelligence, and excellent diction in both Clackamas and English...” (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 1), and that he was, “mindful that few modern Chinook raconteurs could have attained the mastery of literary repertoire and technique that Mrs. Howard seemed to possess...” (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 2).

6.4 DIALECTOLOGY BASED ON VICTORIA HOWARD'S EXPERIENTIAL, RELATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Two of the main goals in this research are to determine what we can learn about the Kiksht dialects that were spoken by each language authority, and to gain a greater understanding of the community's culture of multilingualism from the data. The data show that social contact with other languages was a main theme of life at the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation community, and also that prior to reservation life, Clackamas speakers were multilingual and had traditional relationships outside their language community.

Of the language authorities discovered in this analysis, other than Victoria Howard herself, there are two who stand out as providing rich metadata about Kiksht dialectal variation in the texts: 1) *wagáyuʔn*, Victoria Howard's maternal grandmother, a Clackamas Chinook, and 2) *wásusgani - washʔáwt*, Victoria Howard's mother-in-law, also known in the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* as Mrs. Watcheeno. Other than Victoria Howard, they are the two language authorities cited most frequently in my data set: there are 53 excerpts coded for Howard's grandmother and 84 coded for Howard's mother-in-law. Throughout the texts, Howard and Jacobs (1958-1959) indicate whether each story was told to Howard by either Victoria Howard's grandmother or mother-in-law. Jacobs states:

Mrs. Howard heard this myth told by her mother-in-law, Mrs. Watcheeno, whose Clackamas names were *wásusgani* and *washʔáwt*. For each story told by Mrs. Howard I indicate, as here, whether the specific source was her mother-in-law, her mother's mother who was named *wagáyuʔn*, or some other Clackamas person or persons. Mrs. Howard believed that her mother's mother spoke the Clackamas dialect that was used at and near Oregon City, and that the relatives of her mother-in-law came from dialects spoken in villages just to the east of the Willamette River and along the Columbia River. Mrs. Watcheeno was in fact part Klikitat Sahaptin, I gather that her Chinook ancestry was largely from persons in the intergrading dialects between the Willamette River Clackamas and the Cascades Chinooks. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 268)

wagáyuʔn, Victoria Howard's grandmother, spoke the Clackamas dialect. Victoria Howard's grandfather was Molale, so *wagáyuʔn* also spoke the Molale language. The data show that both Howard and her grandmother had linguistic knowledge of the Molale language, having heard and understood Molale stories well enough to retell them in their preferred languages. Table 5 below includes four excerpts which further illustrate Victoria Howard's linguistic knowledge of Molale.

Additional Molale stories, recorded in text and translated by the late Dr. Leo Frachtenburg, are in manuscripts owned by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Copies are in my possession, but they will not be made available in print until fresh linguistic studies of Molale have made it possible to sharpen the translations. The Molale abstracts printed here are of materials which Mrs. Howard dictated in Clackamas Chinook words (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 606).

“Four girls took away the girl” is a Clackamas recounting of a Molale myth which Mrs. Howard heard her mother tell. The latter woman had probably learned it from her Molale father. Mrs. Howard's Clackamas grandmother also told this myth, but she, too, had heard it among Molales... A Chinook jargon version is in my Texts in Chinook Jargon, pp. 6-12. The field recording of the Clackamas version is in notebooks 16 and 17. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 641)

After Mrs. Howard had told this Molale myth, which is in my notebook 16, she dictated the first paragraph in Clackamas, as an introduction to a subsequent version which she dictated, at my request, in Chinook jargon. The latter has been published long since in my Texts in Chinook Jargon, pp. 4-6. The story, which begins with the second paragraph, came from Mrs. Howard's mother, who presumably told it in the Molale language to her daughter. Mrs. Howard understood Molale well, but apparently she never spoke it with fluency or self-confidence. She devised a suitable title in Clackamas words. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 642)

Mrs. Howard thought that this myth, one of the first she dictated to me, in field notebook 1, must be of Molale origin, because she had learned it not in Clackamas but in Chinook jargon and from her mother. Linguistically the text is poor. The Molale word for ‘wood rat’ is *qík^wat*, therefore it is italicized in the title. The Clackamas word for this animal is *igúliw*. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 642)

Table 5: Victoria Howard’s linguistic knowledge of Molale

Victoria Howard’s mother-in-law had two Indian names (and no English name in this data set) recorded by Howard and Jacobs, *wásusgani* and *wash^háwt*, and is referred to as *wásusgani* in the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 268). Victoria Howard’s grandmother was from downriver and her mother-in-law from upriver, which is an important distinction for understanding and preserving the intermediate dialects between the Clackamas and the Wasco-Wishram regions.

The Wasco and Wishram dialects are very closely related and often discussed together and termed “Wasco-Wishram” (Mithun, 1999). Linguistic knowledge of the intermediate Kiksht varieties between Clackamas and Wasco-Wishram is previously discussed in the academic literature but is not well known (Mithun, 1999). As stated earlier, *wásusgani* spoke an upriver dialect of Kiksht, in addition to speaking the Klickitat dialect of the Sahaptin language (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 268). The variety of Kiksht that she spoke is regarded by Howard and Jacobs as an upriver dialect distinct from Clackamas, spoken just upriver (eastward) from the Portland area (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959), and closely related to the Wasco and Wishram dialects. It is unclear whether *wásusgani* spoke multiple Cascades dialects of Kiksht. She is part-Klickitat (presumably Klickitat Sahaptin) which is located upriver in the region of the Klickitat River nearer to the Wasco-Wishram dialectal area.

The excerpts illustrating the Kiksht dialects are compiled in Table 6 below. In each example the dialect(s) is indicated. In some excerpts, the specific dialect may be mentioned, and in other cases, the dialect or origin of a story is indicated by the speaker. In instances where just Clackamas is indicated, it is presented because it provides some contrast with other dialects and might inform their use. This analysis takes on a holistic approach to analyzing information from dialectology to include geographical land use and cultural cognate information in the form of oral narrative figures and themes. In instances where no specific language data is provided, an excerpt may be included because it gives insight that can help provide an account of where a certain dialect was used or how oral literatures reflect dialect variation, such as differences in the meanings of words.

Dialect	Excerpt
Clackamas	Mrs. Howard heard her grandmother recount this myth. Possibly, then, it was not shared by Columbia River Chinooks who lived immediately east of Willamette River Clackamas. It is in notebook 8. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 631)
Clackamas; Clackamas variant; Cascades	<i>kúshaydi</i> was thought of as completely like a person. But he was also <i>itt'úχyal</i> , that is, a person who could withstand and survive a wound that would be fatal to another Indian. Some few modern Clackamas were also supposed to have such spirit-power. The term may be translated 'person who can withstand a mortal wound.' A 'killer of people' was something else. He was termed <i>aták'awk'aw</i> . Mrs. Howard never heard of a Clackamas woman, or a female of the Myth Era, who was of either type. Mrs. Howard said that she heard this myth, which is recorded in my field notebooks 6 and 7, told both by her mother-in-law and by a man, Peter, named <i>diyalaχ</i> in Clackamas. She said that he spoke a near-Clackamas dialect from a village or villages to the east up the Columbia River. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 632)
Clackamas, Cascades; Wasco; Wishram	Although this <i>chúyusht</i> , 'dangerous being,' was mashing the bones of dead people, which were the "roots" she ate, she told <i>kúshaydi</i> falsely that she was mashing an edible root. Mrs. Howard could not translate its native word. Clackamas ate the root but did not find it in their territory. They had always obtained it from Chinooks who lived east of them up the Columbia River valley. These neighbors either skinned it as soon as it was dug or when they returned home. Then they mashed and dried it and ate the dried meal. In the late nineteenth century upriver Chinooks some-times also boiled the dried pounded meal, added sugar, and ate it much as if it were Europeans' oatmeal. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 634)

Dialect	Excerpt
Clackamas; Cascades	[note 429] Mrs. Howard's grandmother used these words: <i>ishémikch</i> , 'your nose;' <i>aq'ádiwama</i> , 'ball. Her mother-in-law's family used the following: <i>ishémigch</i> , 'your nose;' <i>itúmn</i> , 'ball.' Mrs. Howard preferred, as standard Clackamas, morphemes which her grandmother employed. Her mother-in-law's family was from settlements east of the Willamette River. The short text her offers and illustration of one of the ways in which myths were quoted from, and frequently so. The slanderous anus and nose comments are quotations from myth text 6, paragraph 59. The comment about eyes is from text 16. People sometimes teased children in this manner. The text is in notebook 15. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 648)
Clackamas; Cascades	Mrs. Howard heard her mother-in-law tell this myth, which is recorded in field notebook 12... Mrs. Howard's grandmother named Crow <i>wat'ánsha</i> . Her mother-in-law named Crow <i>waq'áyxmal</i> . The latter may be preferred in dialects immediately east of the Willamette River. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 640)
Cascades; Clackamas	Her baby boy <i>ikmáχachx</i> , 'Pillow,' was born after the death by melting of his Cold East Wind father and after his uncles had left to return west to their warm home. The departing four brothers had at once felt cold at the time that the baby was born. Its mother hid little Cold East Wind Jr. under a pillow, hence his name Pillow or as we might indicate, Pillow Jr. Had Pillow Jr. been killed by his four uncles, we should have no frigid east winds today. In fact there would never be cold weather. Pillow Jr. or Cold East Wind Jr. was never as cold or strong in supernatural ways as his deceased father. Had Cold East Wind Sr. lived, winters would be frightful today. Every winter some people would freeze to death. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 287)
Cascades; Clackamas	Mrs. Howard's grandmother used the word <i>ikaq</i> , 'Lie on pillow.' Her mother-in-law said <i>ikmáχachx</i> , 'Pillow.' The former term was perhaps preferred in villages of the Oregon City area. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 287)

Dialect	Excerpt
Cascades; Clackamas	Mrs. Howard then said that for ‘quail’ her grandmother said <i>idálxgʷl</i> . Her mother-in-law said <i>idsúχʷabwala</i> . (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 274)
Cascades; Clackamas	Mrs. Howard this myth told both by her mother-in-law and her grandmother. It is in field notebook 13. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 269)
Cascades; Clackamas	[note 536] Mrs. Howard’s mother-in-law would have said <i>kiksht</i> , not <i>q’ímashmt</i> , for ‘the Clackamas language.’ (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 660)
Cascades; Clackamas	[note 394] Mrs. Howard’s grandmother called ‘soup’ <i>ítt’á</i> . Her mother-in-law called it <i>ilúlushq</i> , a word which may be from a dialect spoken along the Columbia River just east of the Portland area. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 644)
Cascades	[note 290] Mrs. Howard said that she had heard this fragment – perhaps more – of a myth told by her mother-in-law. That woman was a member of a lineage that lived in Columbia River settlements east of Willamette River Clackamas. Hence the telling of a story about Seal Woman is worthy of note. The story is from field notebook 17. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 631)
Upriver, East of Clackamas	[note 66] Clackamas did not make these hard cakes of mashed boiled carrots. The cakes were gotten from Chinooks who lived up the Columbia River. The cakes had to be soaked in water before eating. Mrs. Howard added that another root that was not named in this myth, and which was also brought downriver to Clackamas, was <i>ibyáχi</i> , ‘bitterroot.’ It was peeled when dug. Its roots are two to three inches long. They were boiled with fish to make a soup. Spier and Sapir mention the root (op. cit., p. 183) without translation but indicate that it is about five inches in length. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 274)

Dialect	Excerpt
Hood River	<p>[note 559] Mrs. Howard said that in the early nineteenth century the Chinook women were killed by Snake Indians every year, toward dawn during the camas season, at that same camas patch which was, perhaps, somewhere near Hood River about seventy miles east of Clackamas villages. Also see text [note 147] about a Snake Indian massacre of Chinook women. Both text 147 and this text were faultily recorded because they were written in the first weeks of the research and were not rechecked later. This text is in note-book 2.</p> <p>[note 560] At night his arms were tied folded in front of him, his feet were tied, and he had to lie on his back or side on the ground at some distance from her in the long row of sleeping Snakes. As she lay on the ground in the row of sleepers, her arms were fastened behind her and her feet were tied, too.</p> <p>[note 561] The third captive did not escape this band of Snakes. Chinooks never heard about her again.</p> <p>[note 552] This is a Clackamas war whoop. Mrs. Howard implied that the Snake Indian war whoop was the same. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 663)</p>
Clackamas; Wasco	<p>[note 103] Mrs. Howard supposed that the East Wind person of this myth was probably <i>ikaq</i> in the Wasco dialect. In the region in and west of the Cascades Mountains of Oregon and Washington an east wind in winter is usually frigid, a west wind balmy. In this myth East Wind Man therefore stood for unusually cold winter weather. East Wind and the Coyote of the myth were merely partners or comrades not relatives. It was fortunate, Mrs. Howard explained, that they lived together for a while, else winter and summer would each have been twelve months long when the Indians came into the land. Mrs. Howard learned the myth from her grandmother, but her mother-in-law also knew it and told it. It was recorded in field notebook 5. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 277-278)</p>

Dialect	Excerpt
Clackamas; Wasco	[note 88] The Grizzly Ogress, <i>kíchimani</i> in Clackamas, <i>t'únaqa</i> in Wasco Chinook, was one of the principal actors in Clackamas literature. Text 143, which will be published later, offers further items regarding her, and I have discussed her in my forthcoming book on content and style in an oral literature. She was exactly like a woman but often if not always had especially pendant breasts. She was a killer of people, of other women notably. In this Coyote myth she baked a woman, just as Clackamas baked camas in ground ovens, for her husband, Grizzly Man. When he returned home, he poked a stick into her oven, took out a woman as if she were a camas, and ate her. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 276)
Wasco; Cascades	[note 192] Mrs. Howard said that upriver Chinooks of the dialect groups near The Dalles said <i>icháchaq</i> , 'it is very cold.' (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 286)
Clackamas; Wishram	[note 89] Mrs. Howard suggested that these villagers were Wishrams. She said that these upriver Chinooks were in recent times excessively stingy about foods because Coyote had taught them how to eat and to value foods. Before his advent they had been wholly satisfied with the smells of their foods. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 276)
Clackamas; Wasco; Wishram	[note 80] This sentence may be a Clackamas imitation of how the <i>sháχlat</i> 'upriver Wishram-Wasco' people spoke. Mrs. Howard mimicked and mocked that dialect. They "made everything short," and they pronounced words a little differently and funny. She also commented on how Wishrams bubbled and got excited when they received news. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 275)

Dialect	Excerpt
Clackamas; Sahaptin	[note 329] This dangerous being, whom I have termed the Basket Ogress, is a solitary figure who should be distinguished from the numerous Grizzly Women of Clackamas mythology. The Basket Ogress is a cognate of the Washington Sahaptins' <i>t'at'at'iya</i> ogress and in changing features may be traced in mythologies hundreds of miles from the Columbia River. Clackamas thought of her as a woman with a pack basket who sought babies or children whom she might steal. When there was a heavy fog, children were warned to stay inside lest she steal them. See also the short ethnographic text 88. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 636)

Table 6: Kiksht dialectology excerpts from Howard & Jacobs (1958-1959)

6.5 MULTILINGUALISM: CLACKAMAS AND GRAND RONDE COMMUNITY MEMBERS

This research recovers some themes surrounding multilingualism in the life of Victoria Howard and contributes to our understanding of multilingualism as a social and cultural phenomenon in Chinookan societies. The previous section focuses on dialectology of the Kiksht languages, but there are numerous other languages mentioned in the data, thus, multilingualism became a major strand of research inquiry in this investigation. In this section, I outline an understanding of multilingualism among Clackamas speakers. Because multilingualism (and language shift) is affected by external factors, I include information about life on the Grand Ronde reservation to situate the language data in context. However, the data also show that Chinookan language authorities lived as multilinguals prior to removal to the Grand Ronde reservation.

The data demonstrate that life on the Grand Ronde reservation was multicultural due to the many tribal groups living there together after being removed to the reservation (Zenk, 1988). In the narrative text, “*Wasúgani* and Watcheeno,” Victoria Howard retells her mother-in-law’s extensive personal narrative about the arrival of the whites, including the several waves of epidemics that hit them and their subsequent relocation to the Grand Ronde reservation (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, pp. 538-556). The story describes an aspect of the intertribal reservation community:

It was quite some time before they assigned land to us. They moved some of them (the Shastas, Rogue River Indians, and Upper Umpquas) across there (to New Grand Ronde) where they are now living. Then they constructed houses for us (the Molales,

Chinooks, Kalapuyas, and Klamaths) here on this side (at Old Grand Ronde), some houses were (already) standing there. They lived at that place. (p. 553)

Since Victoria Howard was around 60 years old at the time of this Clackamas language documentation work in 1930 (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 656), she must have been born around 1870, although some sources indicate that she was born around 1865 (e.g. CTGR, 2012, p. 372). Grand Ronde reservation was multicultural and multilingual at this time, and Chinook Jargon had become the lingua franca (subsequently English as well) (CTGR, 2012, p. 13).

Although Clackamas appears to be the prevailing linguistic identity for Victoria Howard, at least on the surface, her linguistic identity includes a culture and heritage of multilingualism. These findings provide details specific to Victoria Howard, but also have the potential to shed light on the cultural structure of Chinookan multilingualism that may slightly differ from one tribe to the next. Therefore, it is important to document these details for linguistic research in general. However, these findings about multilingualism are immediately important to note within the Kiksht language revitalization context. For example, this knowledge of a historical account of multilingualism further supports my intent to learn about the dialectology of Kiksht. Chinookan heritage learners such as myself can learn from this cultural information to inform and influence our modern linguistic identities in ways congruent with our tribal cultures.

In coding the dataset, I tagged excerpts whenever various languages and tribal groups were mentioned and tagged excerpts pertaining to the Grand Ronde community. For example, the excerpt that states, “Mrs. Howard thought that her Clackamas grandmother had learned this story from Molales. It is definitely ascribed to Transitional Times, not to the Late Myth Age,” (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 645), is an interesting piece of information about multiculturalism, but it only tells us that the Molale people might be the source of the story. It does not tell us whether the Grandmother spoke Molale or heard the story in Chinook Jargon, the lingua franca. The excerpts in Table 7, below, focus specifically on passages that elucidate language contact and multilingualism.

Languages	Excerpts
Chinook Jargon	[note 517] This text contains a number of Chinook jargon words Each is indicated by its underlined phonemes. Of course, each jargon word functioned in its borrowed form as a morpheme to which Clackamas affixes attached. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 657)
Chinook Jargon	The morpheme <i>-kiwtan</i> is the Chinook jargon term for “horse.” Observe that x alternates with k in Chinook. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 657)
Chinook Jargon	[note 480] The italicized morpheme is a Chinook jargon word, literally “rum,” but connoting whisky or any alcoholic beverage. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 653)
Chinook Jargon	[note 461] Polk Scott did not speak Clackamas. He usually used Chinook jargon, as did everyone who lived at the Grand Ronde Reservation during the middle to late nineteenth century. The jargon words which are italicized are the exact words which Scott used, according to Mrs. Howard. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 651)
Chinook Jargon	[note 457] This was the father, referred to in these pages as Watcheeno, of the John Watcheeno who died in the later 1930’s. Watcheeno, or Old Watcheeno, was the husband of Mrs. Howard’s mother-in-law. The morpheme for “horse” is from Chinook jargon. The text comes from note book 17. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 650)
Chinook Jargon	[note 426] The text is in notebook 17. His possibly Clackamas name was <i>k’átamsh</i> . His English name was Augustin. He died at twelve years of age. He spoke only Chinook jargon. Although his mother was a Shasta, he was identified as a Molale because his father was largely Molale. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 647)

<p>Clackamas, Molale, Chinook Jargon</p>	<p>[note 385] Italicized words are Molale.</p> <p>[note 386] After Mrs. Howard had told this Molale myth, which is in my notebook 16, she dictated the first paragraph in Clackamas, as an introduction to a subsequent version which she dictated, at my request, in Chinook jargon. The latter has been published long since in my Texts in Chinook Jargon, pp. 4-6. The story, which begins with the second paragraph, came from Mrs. Howard's mother, who presumably told it in the Molale language to her daughter. Mrs. Howard understood Molale well, but apparently she never spoke it with fluency or self-confidence. She devised a suitable title in Clackamas words.(Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 642)</p>
<p>Yonkalla Kalapuya; Molale</p>	<p>[note 459] Polk Scott was partly Yonkalla Kalapuya and partly Molale. He spoke both those languages. Probably all residents of Grand Ronde Reservation during the middle and late nineteenth century would have employed him in doctoring. Mrs. Howard said, in effect, that "he did not doctor with his hands. During or after his singing, and when he had located the disease-cause, he would seize it and extract it." She remembered only two of his doctoring songs. This text is from notebook 17.</p> <p>[note 460] This one of Polk Scott's doctoring songs is on Ediphone cylinder 14547e and dubbed on tape II. I failed to note with accuracy the so-called nonsense syllables which accompanied the melody. They were approximately u··hámi··há, ha··hámi·· (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 650)</p>
<p>Chinook Jargon</p>	<p>'Boston person, American' from Chinook jargon. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 662)</p>
<p>Chinook Jargon</p>	<p>The Chinook jargon word for "cattle" is <i>músmus</i>. Winslow here told the oldsters that their heads were flattened like the heads of cattle. Winslow's sally apparently amused and did not discomfit these oldsters. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 661)</p>
<p>Chinook Jargon</p>	<p>The title, which Mrs. Howard provided, is in Chinook jargon words. The text is from notebook 16. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 660)</p>

<p>Chinook Jargon, Molale</p>	<p>[note 527] The person with the new spirit-power, for whom a singing and dancing session of five nights was given, would be the first singer each night. After his song or songs, the remainder of the evening and much of the night, perhaps, was devoted to the singing and concomitant dancing of the spirit-powers of some of the other persons who were present and who had already “assisted” in the novice’s singing and dancing.</p> <p>[note 528] The new possessor of a spirit-power might or might not drop, faint, and “die.” If he did, then when he revived, if it had been necessary to revive him with the help of shamans, he would try to sing his new spirit-power song for the first time. By general agreement, a person who was supposed to be most likely to have a similar or identical kind of spirit-power sat by the unconscious or reviving novice and listened and watched closely when the latter commenced singing. The informally assigned song-observer, who was called <i>g^witáχawalchgix</i>, ‘the one who catches on to the song,’ attempted to identify and repeat the melody of the novice’s new song. The assembled people appear to have caught on, in their turn, to the song-observer’s relatively forthright rendition of the new song. They did so before anyone was able to make much of the feeble initial venture, in singing, of the emotionally and often physically shattered novice.</p> <p>[note 529] He was also known as Old Wood. His wife was a part Molale named <i>wátutamx</i>. They lived on the Clackamas River or at Oregon City.</p> <p>[note 530] Note the underlined words, from Chinook jargon, in this and succeeding paragraphs. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 659)</p>
<p>Clackamas, Molale, Chinook Jargon</p>	<p>[note 381] And that night she slept with him.</p> <p>[note 381] This expression is Molale, again. The Clackamas equivalent would be <i>é: k^wátqích!</i></p> <p>[note 383] Mrs. Howard thought that this myth, one of the first she dictated to me, in field notebook 1, must be of Molale origin, because she had learned it not in Clackamas but in Chinook jargon and from her mother. Linguistically the text is poor. The Molale word for ‘wood rat’ is <i>qík^wat</i>, therefore it is italicized in the title. The Clackamas word for this animal is <i>igúliw</i>. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 642)</p>

<p>Clackamas, Molale, Chinook Jargon</p>	<p>[note 373] This is a Clackamas recounting of a Molale myth which Mrs. Howard heard her mother tell. The latter woman had probably learned it from her Molale father. Mrs. Howard's Clackamas grandmother also told this myth, but she, too, had heard it among Molales. Upon my request for a title Mrs. Howard devised one which she judged apt. A Chinook jargon version is in my Texts in Chinook Jargon, pp. 6-12. The field recording of the Clackamas version is in notebooks 16 and 17. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 641)</p>
<p>Molale</p>	<p>[note 368] Mrs. Howard used Molale words when she sang this song, which I recorded on Ediphone cylinder 14544c and dubbed on tape II. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 641)</p>
<p>Molale</p>	<p>Mrs. Howard thought that her Clackamas grandmother had learned this story from Molales. It is definitely ascribed to Transitional Times, not to the Late Myth Age. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 645)</p>
<p>Wasco, Wishram</p>	<p>The following is the abstract of a fragment of a Wasco tale which was published in Edward Sapir, Wishram Texts. Franz Boas recorded the tale in 1892 at Grand Ronde, Oregon. (233) Eagle hunts deer and boils the meat. His younger brother, Coyote, hunts mice and roasts them on coals. Coyote becomes angry and kills Eagle. (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959, p. 620)</p>

Table 7: Languages and multilingualism at Grand Ronde

6.6 DISCUSSION OF LINGUISTIC IDENTITY: LANGUAGE, PLACE, AND KINSHIP TIES

Kinship ties are prominently marked within the data (i.e. titles of texts, details in the fieldnotes). Whenever Victoria Howard talks about persons and where she acquired linguistic and cultural knowledge, she is invoking an Indigenous concept of relationality whereby a person's identity is strongly connected to language, place, and familial kinship ties. Through the coding process, a list of language authorities, linguistics, and other Indigenous people was created, which demonstrated a complex social structure among the Clackamas. This complexity apparent in the relevant data findings led to the creation of this family tree provided in Figure 3: *Family Tree of Victoria*. The visual family tree provides clarity, but is also of benefit to Chinookan heritage learners. The family tree is commonly used in Native American communities to keep track of familial relations and histories, and *Clackamas Chinook Texts* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959) provides Victoria Howard's oral version of a family tree,

which is often how relational knowledge is passed down. Figure 3: *Family Tree of Victoria* (below) shows that most of the individuals mentioned have heritage from multiple tribes, wherever tribal heritage information is given. The family tree displays an example of the social structures that marriage plays a role in and demonstrates that such diagrams may be useful in further study of Indigenous social structures in the Pacific Northwest.

The concept of relationality is an important element of oral history and the reason our Elders expect us to remember stories, place names, and kinship ties. Culturally, each of these elements is intended to map out Indigenous ways, and this knowledge is transmitted through Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies (Simpson, 2018; Wilson, 2008). Without an Indigenous perspective, it would be much more difficult for a researcher to comprehend how language, place, and kinship are not only tied into an Indigenous tribal identity, but also preserved within the language documentation. Most Western-style presentations of language documentation, such as the published volume *Clackamas Chinook Texts* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959), fail to understand the significance of these kinship ties. The stories are often removed completely from their cultural context and have been presented in a way that does not align with traditional ways of knowing. This may be why the stories felt disjointed and baffling to me when I attempted to learn from them for the first time.

Howard and Jacobs (1958-1959) demonstrate how dialectology of the Kiksht language is dependent on geographic space. The language is tied to the land, yet when you are talking about a language, you are also talking about a place from where that language derives, and the people of that place. They are inextricably connected. In at least some parts of the greater Pacific Northwest, when a person moved to another place, it was customary for the person to speak the local language, because it was believed that language belongs to place, as evidenced in studies of Northern California tribes (Golla, 2011, p. 4). In the *Clackamas Chinook Texts*, the eastern boundary of the Clackamas dialect seems to be at the Columbia River just at the eastern edge of modern-day Portland, where the Cascades dialects begin. In Victoria Howard's lifetime, she left the Grand Ronde reservation and returned to the land where her grandmother's dialect, Clackamas, originated, in the area around present-day West Linn, Oregon adjacent to the Willamette River. She identifies as Clackamas, and as a Clackamas language authority, she worked to preserve her language.

Many researchers have become interested in village place names and their word formations (e.g. Zenk et al., 2016). For example, when someone is talking about the Wasco language, they are also referring to the Wasco village that was located near present-day The Dalles, a place also named *wasq'ú* 'bowl, cup' for the natural land formation (also nicknamed "Big Eddy" in English) carved out by the river.

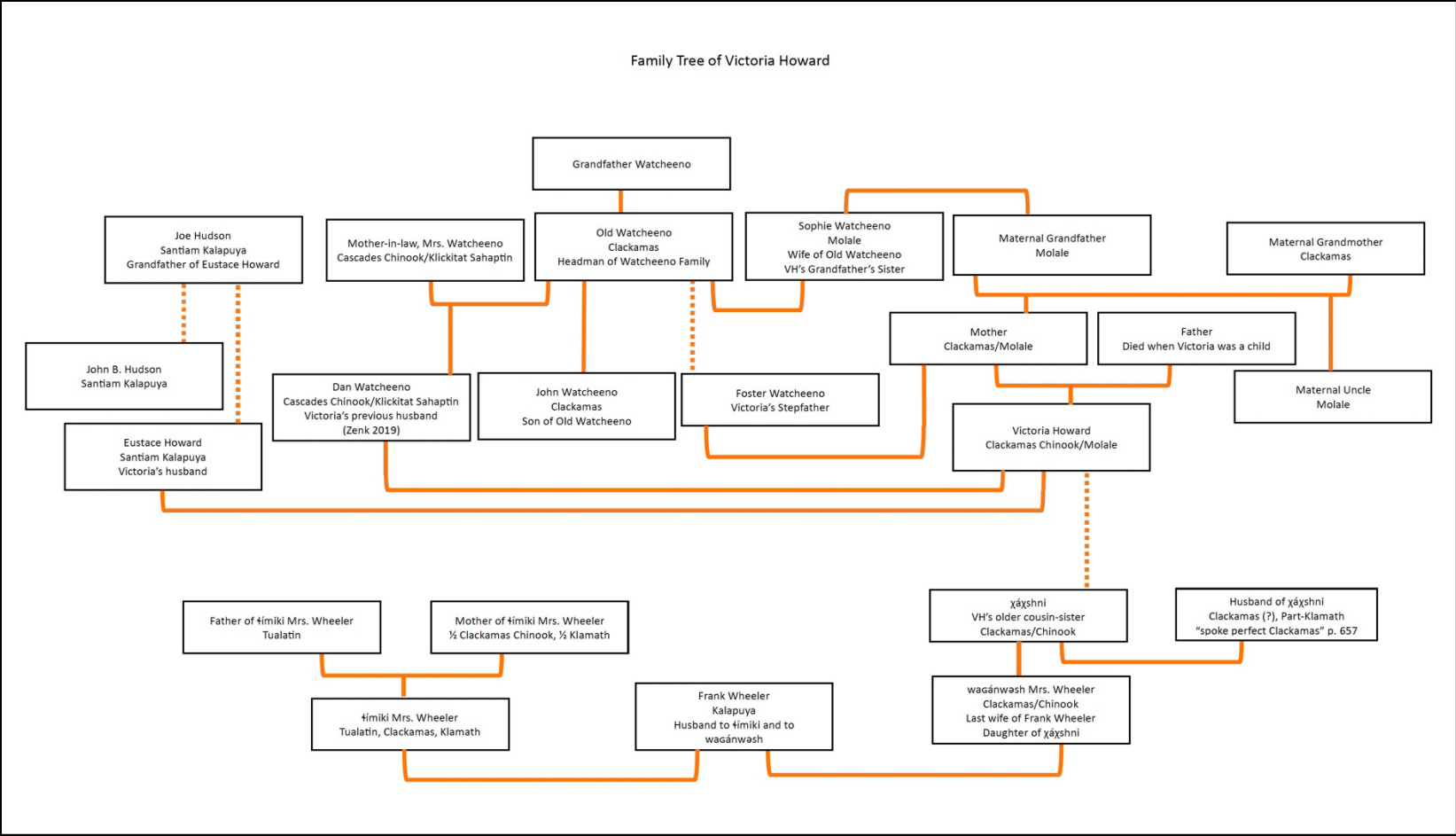


Figure 3: Family tree of Victoria Howard

The data here show that an individual's tribal identity was, at least partially, defined by the language they spoke. Many references to a person's cultural identity in the data demonstrate this: Victoria Howard is Clackamas, she speaks Clackamas. Her mother-in-law is part-Cascades, part-Klickitat and speaks those languages. Victoria Howard's husband is part-Kalapuya and is a language authority for Kalapuya. It is as if the language spoken *is* the identity of the person. Language, place, and heritage are all packaged into a person's tribal identity and connect a person to their land. In my culture from my community at Warm Springs, I have heard Elders say many times: *Our language is who we are. We are the River people. We are the Salmon people.* After seeing the data in Howard and Jacobs (1958-1959), I can better understand how language was such an important identifier and perhaps why every language community I have seen is very intentional about how they frame and teach their languages.

7. CONCLUSIONS

To recap, the study presented here is guided by the following research questions: *What is the role of language authorities in archival research? What has been the historical norm of multilingualism and cultural practices in the Pacific Northwest? What are the implications of an Indigenous research paradigm and Indigenous researchers within the larger fields of language revitalization and linguistics?* The Indigenous-led inquiry to the data and the grounded theory method employed in this research allow the themes of language authorities, dialectology, and multilingualism to emerge. By recentering Victoria Howard as the language authority who provided linguistic data, this research analyzes and presents data more closely aligned with its original context.

This paper has explored what can be found in the metadata of a linguistic document about our Chinookan language authorities in order to center them within a scholarly analysis, focusing on Victoria Howard's contribution to the *Clackamas Chinook Texts* (Howard & Jacobs, 1958-1959). The data show that Victoria Howard is a language authority who provided rich cultural and linguistic knowledge that benefits Indigenous communities across the Willamette Valley and the Columbia River. Her work relates to the Columbia River Chinookan tribes, the Molallas and Kalapuyas of the Willamette Valley, and the entire community of the Grand Ronde Indian reservation. Victoria Howard also provides us with some insights to pluralism and multilingualism based on kinship (e.g. her marriage to Santiam Kalapuya while herself being a part-Molale, part-Clackamas, who also learned Cascades dialect from her previous husband's mother) and the use of a lingua franca, Chinook Jargon. In addition to reconstructing Victoria Howard's linguistic identity based on the texts, I identified 39 other individuals who were otherwise unknown to me and of whom several were language authorities themselves and have likely provided data for other documentation resources. I also recovered and organized metadata about the Cascades dialect including geographic information and individual lexemes.

Victoria Howard's preference for her grandmother's Clackamas dialect as "standard" demonstrates that language attitudes which are also intertwined with place, heritage, and transmission of knowledge are intimately linked to language identity. As Indigenous language revitalization practitioners, we are not only tasked with the analytical process of understanding language data, but we must also be able to understand its relevance within the context of the language's community or origin. Thus, language revitalization practitioners using this data may teach our youth the purpose of these kinship ties so that they will know to appreciate and preserve the cultural significance embedded in the work produced by language authorities such as Victoria Howard. Even though Victoria Howard did not address the reader directly, she chose which information would be preserved by choosing the information to share through her language preservation work. In her culture and traditions, she perpetuated knowledge that belonged to the land and to the people.

The multilingualism of each speaker in this analysis became apparent and is at least partially due to the mixing of tribal cultures on the Grand Ronde reservation, although multilingualism was also the norm prior to reservation living. This is demonstrated through multiple and consistent examples of extensive intermarriage between tribal groups, and a propensity for individuals to maintain their linguistic identity even after multiple marriages. The implication here is that it is beneficial to attend to the multilingual nature of Indigenous communities in research and in language revitalization practice as a way to preserve the diversity of Indigenous languages while countering monolingual ideologies that continue to contribute to the silencing of Indigenous languages (Kroskrity, 2018).

It is useful to academics and tribal communities to know all the tribes mentioned by Victoria Howard because it demonstrates the Indigenous concept of relationality and how information is stored and transmitted in the knowledge systems about societies surrounding the Indigenous context. This information concerning tribal diversity and relationality is useful to a Clackamas or Chinookan person to understand how we historically related to other tribes and how tribal intermarriage is a facet of the culture *within* a given tribal group rather than something separate from it. Language documentation practices within the context of monolingual ideologies in the United States have failed to recognize that our communities are multilingual (Kroskrity, 2018) and culturally appropriate revitalization practices may benefit from embracing multilingualism rather than attempting to revive languages within a monolingual framework.

Cultural and contextual information can be used to add depth and richness to what is provided semantically by translations alone. When there are no longer living native speakers, we cannot conduct new studies and gather data using more modern documentation methods, but we can reanalyze the data, even using methods not available when the data was collected 100 years ago. Further analyses based on other sources of data will need to be collected to better understand the

nuanced roles of multilingualism use within other Chinookan tribal groups and other tribes of the Pacific Northwest.

In conclusion, the present study contributes to an academic understanding of the multilingual situations surrounding the dialectology of Chinookan languages and their multicultural speakers. It also advances Native American and Indigenous perspectives in the field of linguistics and promotes inclusion and cultural sensitivity within digital humanities and archival studies, and therefore, this research calls for more Indigenous-led inquiry within linguistics. This research advances a framework for gathering and processing available language data for revitalization purposes while also conveying to an academic audience the validity of Indigenous processes for doing so. As a heritage learner, researcher, and teacher of Kiksht, my goal is ultimately to gather and process all the Kiksht language materials I can find so they may be preserved and made available for language revitalization purposes within their original communities. Today there are no fluent or native speakers of the Kiksht language and so revitalization efforts rely heavily upon the available archival documentation and our living resources, the learner-teachers of Kiksht, and researchers who have studied the language. Thus, the greatest contribution of this research demonstrates the rich, culturally relevant interpretation of linguistic data that iteratively and interactively connects the Indigenous researcher to the language authorities of Chinookan languages and their peoples.

APPENDIX: OTHER INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN *CLACKAMAS CHINOOK TEXTS*

1. *John Watcheeno's grandfather*. Mrs. Watcheeno told a story about him, her father-in-law (pp. 660-661).
2. *Foster Watcheeno*. He is Victoria Howard's stepfather (p. 535). It is unclear how he is related to the larger Watcheeno family.
3. *χάχashni, a part-Clackamas part-Chinook*. She was Victoria Howard's cousin. She died, "...during the influenza epidemic of 1919. Her husband was a part Klamath who spoke perfect Clackamas. Her daughter *wagánwəs* was the last wife of Frank Wheeler, a Kalapuya (pp. 656-657)." The texts note that she is part-Clackamas and part-Chinook (p. 656), but no further details on her "Chinook" identity are given.
4. *wagánwəs, aka Mrs. Wheeler, Clackamas, Chinook*. Daughter of Howard's sister-cousin *χάχashni*, who was part-Clackamas part-Chinook. "... *wagánwəs* was the last wife of Frank Wheeler, a Kalapuya (pp. 656-657)."
5. *timiki, aka Mrs. Wheeler, Tualatin/Clackamas/Klamath*. A wife of Frank Wheeler. Her mother was half-Clackamas, half-Klamath, and her father was Tualatin (p. 520).
6. *Frank Wheeler, Kalapuya*. Husband to *timiki* (p. 520) and *wagánwəsh* (p. 657).
7. *k'amátamayχ, Old Wood, Clackamas*. Relative and cousin to the Watcheenos. He was orphaned by a fever epidemic as an infant and raised by a Kalapuyan family. Later, his older brother-cousin Watcheeno brought him back to live in Clackamas country (p. 547). His wife, *wátutamχ* was "part Molale" and they lived on the Clackamas River or at Oregon City (p. 659).
8. *wátutamχ, Molale*. Married to *k'amátamayχ* a.k.a. Old Wood, the Clackamas cousin to Watcheeno, and together they lived on the Clackamas River or at Oregon City (p. 659). *wátutamχ* was "part Molale" (p. 659).
9. *g^wiyánagun*. A boy relative of Victoria Howard's grandmother. He is presumably Clackamas or at least Chinookan based on his name. This name may be of interest for investigating the historical structure of the Chinookan word. The story tells of how he acquired this nickname (p. 646).
10. *diyáláχ* Peter, Clackamas/Cascades.
11. *kílípashda*, a Clackamas woman who married a Molale and would talk and visit with Victoria Howard's grandmother (p. 554).
12. *Polk Scott, Yonkalla Kalapuya and Molale*. He spoke both of these languages, but mostly spoke in Chinook Jargon. He did not speak Clackamas. He was an Indian doctor who was widely used at the Grand Ronde reservation "during the middle and late 19th century (p. 650)." Victoria Howard remembered two of his doctoring songs and at least one of them was recorded by Jacobs on an Ediphone cylinder.
13. *Louis Kenoyer, Tualatin Kalapuya*. Language authority who provided Tualatin Kalapuya data to Melville Jacobs in 1936. His father also worked with Dr. Albert Gatschet in 1877 (p. 657).
14. *Bill Warren*. Brother of Louis Kenoyer (p. 657).

15. *Dick Tipton*. Brother of Louis Kenoyer (p. 657).
16. *q̄t̄wásha dúnch*, a *Modoc slave of the Molale*. She was referred to as a “Molale-speaking raconteur” by Howard and Jacobs (p. 641), so she may have been a source of other oral narratives. She was a slave who was taken as a child by the Molales and spoke Molale and Chinook Jargon.
17. *dudúsh*, *Shaman Mary*, a *Modoc slave of the Clackamas*. Her name is Clackamas, meaning ‘breasts’. She understood Clackamas and Chinook Jargon. She had a coyote spirit-power and a spirit-power song which Victoria Howard sang onto an Ediphone cylinder. She was taken as a child from the Modocs and became a slave among the Clackamas. She was married to a man named *túkshin* who was also known as Yamhill Joe, a Yamhill Kalapuya. She had no children (p. 660).
18. *túkshin Yamhill Joe*. Husband of *Dudúsh Shaman Mary* (p. 660).
19. *dúshdaq*, *Tualatin Kalapuya*, a.k.a. *Mr. Smith*. A shaman man who worked on Victoria Howard (p. 523).
20. *niʔúdiya*. Wife of *Dúshdaq*, a Tualatin Kalapuyan shaman (p. 525).
21. *úbidí*, *Umpqua*. A shaman woman with an Eagle spirit power who came to work on Victoria Howard (p. 654).
22. *shémxn*. Unknown tribal identity. A shaman woman who came to work on Victoria Howard and whose doctoring song Howard recorded on an ediphone wax cylinder (p. 652).
23. *gadámxn*, *Klickitat*. She was a shaman woman and was married to a Molale (p. 522).
24. *k’amíshdiqʷnq*. A person of unknown tribal affiliation mentioned as living on the Grand Ronde reservation (p. 540).
25. *chágʷanam*. A woman shaman (p. 650).
26. *Henry Wallace*. A man who lived at Grand Ronde and whose wife was *íʔixsha* (p. 515).
27. *íʔixsha*. Wife of Henry Wallace (p. 515).
28. *k’átamsh*, *Augustin*, *Molale and Shasta*. He only spoke Chinook Jargon. “Although his mother was Shasta, he was identified as a Molale because his father was largely Molale” (p. 647).
29. *Jim Young*. Man accused by *ʔímiki* Mrs. Frank Wheeler in the moments before her death as being the witch who poisoned her (p. 653).

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