

## The Fieldwork Encounter and the Colonized Voice of Indigeneity

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC FIELDWORK generates inscriptions of various sorts and, in our contemporary multimedia world, in various modalities as well. A mode of Amerindianist fieldwork rendered canonical by Franz Boas and his students centers on native language texts taken down from dictation-speed informant speech and later translated and published in bilingual editions. In this philological enterprise on behalf of the otherwise unlettered, the goal was to establish through publication a reliable corpus bespeaking a culture's—not merely an individual's—cosmogony and reflexive historical consciousness, its members' view of their sociocultural universe, no less than to provide sufficient primary verbal material for an inductive grammatical analysis of the indigenous language of the corpus of texts.<sup>1</sup>

But of course even such a situation, bringing together a dictating speaker and a transcribing anthropological amanuensis, is a two-party discursive interaction. It is a social event in which individuals inhabit role relationships based on parameters of identity from which they are, as we say, relationally “recruited” to their roles in institutional circumstances that depend on wider background forces of sociohistorical reality. So the dictated material must perforce be read as a text precipitated in and pointing to (“indexing”) a complex and multilayered interactional context, to be treated no differently in this respect from the transcripts we make these days from videotaped interactions for purposes of sociological and anthropological analysis of their dynamics.

In such analysis, we understand the self-contextualizing power of discourse to be semiotically parallel to that of pantomime. In both, much of what is interpretable in the interval of multiparty engagement is built up

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ABSTRACT This essay follows the indexical (context-indicating) clues of linguistic form in spoken Kiksht (Wasco-Wishram Chinookan) and reconstructs the emerging poetic or metrical structures of a long-ago Kiksht-mediated encounter during anthropological linguistic fieldwork, memorialized in a published text. In this way we can hear something of the voice of a Native American speaker coming to grips with the impact of social and cultural change in the American settler state of the turn of the twentieth century. REPRESENTATIONS 137. Winter 2017 © The Regents of the University of California. ISSN 0734-6018, electronic ISSN 1533-855X, pages 23–43. All rights reserved. Direct requests for permission to photocopy or reproduce article content to the University of California Press at <http://www.ucpress.edu/journals.php?p=reprints>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2017.137.2.23>.

from individual gestural acts and from the sequencing and chunking, the metricalization, of whole segments of behavior, whether verbal or kinesic, from which an addressee must reconstruct a cultural context in which the textual form—gradually coming, over space-time, to be “entextualized,” that is, rendered coherent as text—comes to make cultural sense (and by making cultural sense, affords one or more interpretations of what is going on). The relationship of any feature of text to its cultural context is, semiotically speaking, dynamically indexical; at every instant, such features of talk or movement point to an already in-play sociocultural frame and to one about-to-come-into-being, the first licensing the “appropriateness” of the occurrence of some textual feature, the second entailed in-and-by its very occurrence. The second is the so-called performative meaningfulness of what speakers do with words (as with kinesic motions), the social acts we understand their performance will have effected as social actors of particular characteristics in particular circumstances.<sup>2</sup> Such indexical reading is central to discerning a generationally new kind of historical consciousness and hence indigenous voice in the long-ago event of fieldwork encounter on which I concentrate.<sup>3</sup>

Peter McGuff, aged about thirty in the summer of 1905 and a speaker of Kiksht, the easternmost Chinookan language along the Columbia River—as well as of Klickitat Sahaptin and English—dictated a short text to the anthropologist Edward Sapir that the latter published in 1909 in *Wishram Texts*. A doctoral student working under Boas at Columbia University, Sapir published the text along with much other material spoken by far older speakers, principally Louis Simpson, then, in 1905, aged about seventy-five. As someone who has also done fieldwork on the language, in the 1960s and 1970s with a number of Kiksht speakers roughly of Mr. McGuff’s generation and life experiences, I have returned to this text several times in relation to the state of the language as I observed it now forty and more years ago, closer indeed to Mr. McGuff’s usage than to Mr. Simpson’s. I would like here to focus attention upon a grammatical *hapax legomenon* in Mr. McGuff’s dictation, a unique textual occurrence in the whole Sapir collection in fact, and to contextualize its occurrence in respect of the McGuff-Sapir interaction and what it seems to reveal about Mr. McGuff’s generational experience in the rapidly encroaching colonial context of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Native American reservation life.

To do so, we will have to consider Wasco-Wishram social life diachronically, allowing us to contextualize this particular linguistic form in relation to the accumulated corpus of primary Chinookan language materials that we have from the turn of the nineteenth century onward. The earliest are word lists and expressions written down in the languages of the environs of the Columbia River mouth. The late nineteenth- and twentieth-century material spans text collections in two Chinookan languages by Franz Boas; Sapir’s

1905 Kiksht corpus from Mr. Simpson and other speakers, material of the 1930s (compiled by Melville Jacobs for Clackamas and by Walter Dyk for Wasco-Wishram) and from the 1950s (compiled by David and Kathrine French; Dell Hymes) as well as my own material developed some seventy-five years after Boas's. Mr. McGuff's textual features allow us to catch language and cultural change in progress in what had long been a plurilingual speech community, by 1905 transforming in new ways, and to elaborate the several orders of contextualization that are indexically implicated by the linguistic forms in question.

Here is the unique grammatical form in question: ug<sup>w</sup>il̥ix “it [a fire, wá-tul (fem.sg.)] must have been kindled/lit,” occurring as the last word in the first line—Sapir's line number 3b—of the second page of the original printed Kiksht version, visually reassembled in figure 1.<sup>4</sup> Sapir translates it as “[a fire] was already burning”—which is true of the remembered and represented situation, but not a grammatically accurate rendering. The Kiksht form is a tenseless passive inflected verb with feminine singular grammatical subject (it would appear overtly as initial a- were the next sound not -u-), agreeing with the subject of the clause beginning the next printed line, watúl. The stem is -u-g<sup>w</sup>il̥x- based on the root -√kil̥x- “to kindle, light something on fire,” a transitive verb that takes something combustible as its “Patient” or object. The final suffix -ix, a general-purpose deictic and locational element we might gloss as “in this/that place,” here points to something in the default context of communication. In this here-and-now of communication, the utterer of the form indexes the fact that he/she infers that some immediately present sensory evidence indicates—points to the fact—that prior to the moment of communication someone has done to the “Patient” or object whatever the verb-stem denotes.<sup>5</sup> Here, to the inferring consciousness of young Pete, the roaring flames in the fire pit of the traditional Wasco-Wishram semisubterranean winter dwelling evoked by Mr. McGuff's account indexes that someone had kindled the fire prior to his arrival back home. Why is this form, in type what I have termed an “evidential passive,” so revelatory in the textual and sociocultural contexts in which it occurs in Mr. McGuff's dictation to Sapir in 1905? Briefly, I see it as indexing a new kind of consciousness on Mr. McGuff's part, one that brings the consciousness of a remembered past together with that of a remembering present in a new way, very much akin to the indirect free style of narrations of psychological interiority. Before that moment of Mr. McGuff's use it is uncountenanced in the Chinookan language corpus, including even in the other text-artifacts in Sapir's collection, taken from older speakers who did not share the generational experiences of Mr. McGuff in the settler state.

To understand all this, we must center discussion on the Kiksht language community, including those speakers of Upper Chinookan dialect localisms, like Messrs. Simpson and McGuff, earlier distributed in a geographical range

	<p>A'ngadix' nkla'ckacbet itql'e'yóqtike qxa'nutck atgiu'xwa tcage'lqlix'. Aga kwó'ba nxugui'tcatkt. Aqnólxa'ma :</p> <p>"I" 10a "Cma'n' amugopti'da a'-itsxep nā'wit amxqwó'dama; cma'nix klā'y' amugopti'da klā'y' amxgwa'dama." Yaḥ' itckla'xc iqxa'nutck nkla'ckacbet ag' adnēnklna'mxida da'ḫka da'ud aqxnu'lxam' ag' anxuguwi'tcatkema. Cma'ni ā'-itsxep anugopti'da sa'q' aliḫu'igw' aqxenu'gote'gema.</p>
	<p>"II" 15a A'igenul'lxam' itql'e'yóqt: "Mxgwa'tam." Kí'nua ql'e'm anxu'xw' aga dnu qxa'daga há'ai' nu'ya. Da'kdag aq-nu'xwa ngaq'da'tḫ qa'xb' iteleqta't fiabla'd ika'ba ó'watici da'ukwa daqla'b iḫi'gat.</p>
	<p>A'gí'nēluda iql'i'sten bama capca'p qixu'nniit ika'ba.</p> <p>"III" 20a A'igenul'xa'ma: "Sāq' Lxó'b amiu'xwa-axdix'a; le'b am-xu'xwa, amḫkta'tcgw', amxelga'gw', asemxelu'tka a'tpxiamd aga'lax, wā' 'mxu'xw' amglu'maya; le'b amxu'xw', amḫ-ta'tcgw' asemxelu'tka tclé'qikemt giga'd, wā' nā'wid wi'tl' amxu'xwa; le'b amxu'xw', amḫda'tcgwa, wi'tla daukw' am-glu'maya, iwa'd asemxelu'tka tclé'qikemt; le'b amxu'xw', amḫda'tcgw', asemxelu'tk' u'lpqdiamd aga'lax, wā' 'mxu'-xwa; le'b amxu'xwa ḫagw'e'nemix', mḫda'tcgw', aminxa'-nauēnḫ' igu'cax, wā' 'mxu'xw', aga kó'pt, amḫatk'lwā'ya."</p>
<p>a<sub>1</sub> - ... -a ga<sub>1</sub> - -t<sub>6</sub> - ...</p>	<p>"IV" 5b Qxnul'xa'ma: "Nā'qxi qsakli'delk wa'tuḫ; iwa'd emxel-ga'gwa, imipu'tc ya'lud wa'tuḫ; p'ū' agemu'xwa k'w'e'ldix', agemu'xwa .k'u'ldix' amū'mda." Ya'ḫtau qxē'dau ga-qxē'ntx bama klā'y' ita'mqt kwó'dau itaxē'wulḫ, a'watici da'ukwa iyu'fmax gi'gēlxu'lal. . Aga ga'nuit nkla'ckac bama' 10b klā'ya qxa'ntciḫ itctcge'mem; da'minua tkḫē'wulḫ; klma klā'ya ganigi'tkel dan ia'xleu iyu'fmax,<sup>1</sup> qe'nēgi ḫkán ia'lgwi'lit. } Cma'ni klā'y' ika'ba wi'maḫba ix'tma'ḫix' akni'm a'watici abu'd ié'luxt; ḫaka'ḫt' itlcoqa' ḫenxelgwó'da. Abu'd a'watici 'knim tcta'cq tcage'lqlix' tclēlb'óniit da'minua a'-ic 15b qxi ma'nk tslu'nus a-itsā's. } Qxi'dau.</p> <p>footnote</p>

FIGURE 1a. Textual features of McGuff's reminiscence in Kiksht.

A long while ago, when I was a boy, the old men would tell myths in winter. Now there I was listening to them. I would be told: "If you fall asleep before it is finished, straightway you will have to go and bathe. If you do not fall asleep, you will not go and bathe." Now I was fond of myths when I was a boy, so I would be satisfied with the things that I was told and would listen to them. If I fell asleep too early, (when) it was all finished, they would wake me up. An old man would say to me: "Go in bathing!" I would try to refuse, but in vain, so I just had to go. I was undressed entirely naked where he knew there was lots of ice or also where it was pressed together tight.

He would give me an ax for chopping up the ice. He would say to me: "You will chop right through it, you will dive under water, you will stick your head out, you will turn around, you will look to the rising sun, you will cry out 'wā!', you will shout. You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, you will look across this way (*i. e.*, *north*), straightway you will again shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, again you will shout as before, you will look across yonder (*i. e.*, *south*). You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, you will look to the setting sun, you will shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water for the fifth time, you will stick your head out, you will look up to the sky. Then enough; you will return home."

Now when I came home, a fire was already burning. On the ends of my head-hair icicles were dangling. I would be told: "Don't be looking at the fire; turn away from it, present your buttocks to the fire. It will quickly blow at you and make you grow quickly." That is how I was done to in order not to be sick and in order to be strong, or, just so, in order to prepare one for a guardian spirit. And indeed ever since I was a child I have never been sick; I have always been strong. But not at all have I seen anything that they call a guardian spirit,<sup>1</sup> I do not know what it is like. Sometimes, although there is no ice in the river, it is present in a canoe or a boat; in that same water I would bathe myself. In winter the water of a boat or canoe always freezes, which is just a little bit cool. Thus.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "what its name a guardian spirit." "Not what" = nothing.

northward from Clackamas in villages on the Willamette River south of Portland, Oregon, and ranging eastward along both sides of the Columbia River—now the boundary between the states of Washington and Oregon—to the easternmost pair of villages, *Nixhuidix* (in the Sahaptin language, *Wišxami*) on the present Washington side of the Columbia, and *Atasq'u* (Sahaptin, *Wasq'upam*) on the present Oregon side, just below the former Celilo Falls, at present The Dalles, Oregon.<sup>6</sup> By the time of Sapir's graduate school fieldwork in 1905, a number of families from both villages and from other riverine locations had accepted allotments of farm- and ranchland on one of the two sister reservations, one in Washington state, one in Oregon, that came into being consequent upon the signing of treaties, the cession of riverine lands, and the administration of the federal Dawes Act of 1887. Mr. Simpson and his brother, Tom Simpson, both became landholders outside the town of White Swan on the Yakima [now Yakama] Reservation in south-central Washington, where no fewer than twenty-one different named ethno-tribal units of Native Americans were consolidated, from three different historical language families, Salishan, Sahapti(a)n, and Chinookan. As well, a long period of contact from the earliest days of the Oregon fur trade in the late eighteenth century had already resulted in multiple non-Indian partial ancestries for many Columbia River people, such as Mr. McGuff himself, whose father was black, though his maternal affiliations by residence, mode of life, and language seem to have been definitive in his own self-identification as indigenous.

There is a long history of plurilingualism in the historically dynamic speech community that encompasses these Kiksht-speaking peoples and various surrounding groups and newcomers to the area. There was an indigenous system of rank-sensitive intermarriage-trade-warfare-slavery that promoted linguistic exogamy as well as linguistic exolocality. Further, the Chinookan speakers, in particular, were renowned for their status as middlemen in trade in the lower Columbia River and tributary drainages, both among indigenous groups seasonally pouring into the *Wišxami-Wasq'upam* area for the products of the extraordinary local salmon fishery, for basketry and carved items, for dentilium ("wampum"), for slaves, and so on, and later, among the early nineteenth-century Euro-Americans and -Canadians coming as traders, as missionaries, and then settlers. It was, of course, the Chinookan language, Lower Chinook, spoken at and around the mouth of the Columbia River and Willapa Bay, that was the principal component, along with words from Nootka, French, and a little English, of Chinook Jargon ("Tsinuk Wawa"). This trade language emergent from the Europeans' maritime exploration of the Northwest Coast was eventually used—in the late nineteenth–early twentieth century—from the Alaska panhandle almost to northern California, and from the Pacific coast inland to Saskatchewan and Idaho, as the intergroup contact vernacular used beyond the bounds of normal indigenous polyglot sociality.<sup>7</sup>

By Mr. McGuff's generation, English, learned in a relatively standardized form through Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding-school education, of which he had some, was clearly being added to the repertoire of languages among Yakima Reservation and Columbia River people; thus could Mr. McGuff serve as interpreter, translator, and later collaborator by postal correspondence for Sapir's research both during fieldwork and afterward as he prepared the text collection for publication (Sapir taught McGuff to write the heretofore unwritten Kiksht language using a roughly phonemic orthography, as he, Sapir, had done during the 1905 field season). Mr. Simpson, by contrast, born circa 1830–1835, while able to speak Klickitat Sahaptin and Chinook Wawa, barely knew English beyond some words and phrases: "His English is extremely broken, hardly intelligible at times," noted Sapir in his introduction to the texts.<sup>8</sup> (My own experience, too, in 1970 with Mrs. Martha Sconawah, who still lived at *Nixhuidix* and was born circa 1865, was that she knew essentially no English, while my consultants born during the period of 1878 through 1893 were quite fluent at least in local vernacular forms of the rural Northwest.)

Though the situation on the Northwest Coast has long attracted students, such as Franz Boas himself, of linguistic and cultural diffusion across social groups—resulting in linguistic and cultural areal phenomena—this tale of plurilingualism should not, in fact, be seen as particularly unusual. We can be certain that Boas himself, from central Europe, understood something of the polyglot abilities of most educated Europeans and thus of the plurilingualism of Europe as a linguistic as well as cultural area, with certain intense manifestations such as the Balkan southeast, then under Habsburg and Ottoman rule. Boas used diffusional arguments against the social evolutionary, racializing discourses of unique, pristine, autonomously evolving language-culture-race (including "mentality") linkages that were the stock-in-trade of late nineteenth-century technical as well as popular theorizing, coming ultimately, if erroneously, to question the validity of *Stammbaum* (branching-tree) linguistic "family" relationships for any North American language.

Here, in fact, in Kiksht, we have lots of evidence of diffused or borrowed linguistic material that came from the speakers'—like Messrs. Simpson and McGuff and my consultants—contact with Sahaptin and their at least partial bilingualism in this numerically more dominant language spoken on both reservations where Kiksht speakers were allotted land. Such contact must have been over the course of several hundred years, in fact, since certain borrowed forms already occur in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century attestations of Chinookan languages even further downriver toward the Pacific Ocean, where no Sahaptin speakers were living. What I am particularly concerned with here, however, is not a singular linguistic form as such, so much as a "voicing," a way of orienting one's consciousness in narration toward narrated—and narratable—worlds, that is innovative and

unique in all the Chinookan corpus and bespeaks a new kind of contact-era consciousness on the part of Mr. McGuff and those of his generation and later whose language I was also able to study.<sup>9</sup>

Now Mr. McGuff was usually the interpreter mediating between Sapir and Mr. Simpson and other oldsters, but in the stretch of talk I am concerned with here, he himself served as “informant,” talking slowly about “winter bathing” as Sapir wrote it all down in the summer of 1905 for later translation and publication as an “ethnologic text,” one revealing or explicating cultural customs, in the Boasian way of distinguishing types of texts. In such an enterprise, an “ethnologic text” is differentiated from a “myth text,” in which is narrated the cultural cosmogony, how things became as they now are based on plots of transformation of a previous moral order of the universe. In previous work I have analyzed several features of this particular dictation, from the particular constructional details of grammar to its genre characteristics.<sup>10</sup> Here, I want to recapitulate some of these matters with an eye specifically to linguistic and cultural change, embedding that moment in the White Swan, Washington, apple orchard between the thirtyish-year-old Peter McGuff and the twenty-one-year-old Edward Sapir in its proper envelope of cultural and linguistic histories. I start with the larger genre issues and proceed to the linguistic forms of particularly revelatory value that illuminate what the evidential passive form [a]ug<sup>w</sup>íłxix tells us.

As noted, Sapir thought that this dictation fit into the rubric of explicating “customs,” in the instance that of “punishing” pubescent children who fell asleep during long nights of wintertime myth-telling. The “punishment” was a solitary, if highly choreographed ritual dip in the icy waters of the Columbia River. What could be the cultural logic here? It involves the connection between the characters in cosmogonic myths via the tendrils of immanence that epistemically remote world still had with the current-era Wascos and Wishrams through the “spirit power complex.”<sup>11</sup> As I have explicated this dictation, in fact, it is not merely Mr. McGuff’s recounting of custom in this respect, saying that when one fell asleep as a child one had to jump into the water through a hole cut in the ice of the frozen Columbia River; it is a genre of interaction, I maintain, that my own consultants of that very generation performed with me as well in the 1960s and 1970s, one I caption “Why I Don’t Have a ‘Spirit Power.’” (The “spirit power” [Kiksht -iúłmax̄] quest of late pubescence/early adolescence, if successful, endowed an individual in the regional societies with characterological, personality, and status attributes necessary to successfully navigate the adult life course. Spirit powers came from direct, secret, generally nocturnal encounters with faunal avatars of the very species that, as narrative characters, populate the cosmogonic world of creation myths.)

Such a text of “Why I Don’t Have a Spirit Power” has a specific Bakhtinian “voicing” structure. It is not the voice merely detailing, however elaborately

or telescopically, distantly remembered events—Mr. Simpson’s long story in the same volume of his participation in the Paiute (1860) or perhaps Bannock War (1878) is of this type. In such a narrating stance, the historicity of such past events is uniformly projected from the here-and-now of an event in which “what happened”—and even why and wherefore—is in a coherently constructed prior time-and-space. In Mr. McGuff’s presentation, rather, Sapir encountered a confrontation in the narrating present of a *recuperated consciousness* situated within earlier childhood events in relation to the *narrating consciousness* of the present 1905 moment. I know of no other text in the whole Chinookan corpus—four different dialect collections—that features this kind of split or fully doubled consciousness. That recuperated consciousness in this narrative event in 1905 is Mr. McGuff’s young self: hearing, seeing, experiencing things with a Wishram youngster’s naive belief, hope, and ingenious expectation of encountering a spirit power. Mr. McGuff’s 1905 consciousness comments in conclusion—perhaps wryly, perhaps wistfully, perhaps ruefully—on the fact that, even though earlier as a child he had done everything correctly, or nearly correctly, in submitting to the inevitable “punishment” for falling asleep during the nightlong telling of cosmogonic myths, he did not after all acquire a spirit power (though perhaps, in keeping with the goal of the regime, he owes his always excellent health to the presumptively fortifying and ultimately also protective effect of the bracing “winter bathing”).

How is that recuperated consciousness made manifest on the plane of morphology and syntax and word choice, making up what we term the denotational text of the dictation event? It is clearly through verbally constructing a *secondary (transposed) deictic center* from the perspective of which events are projected as experienced in the distinct chronotope (“spacetime”) of the young Pete, who is a character in the narrative world, not a participant in the event of narration. Let us see very briefly how that works. As shown in figure 1, Mr. McGuff’s text is built around four direct quotes (which I have boxed in and labeled with roman numerals), each bit of quoted utterance occurring in a situation set up by putting himself—and us—retrospectively into the situation described. Think of the parallel “narrative present” of vernacular American English: when, recounting a past event, we might say, “So he says ‘Here’s your lost book!’ And I say ‘Great! Now I won’t have any overdue fine!’” Note, in contrast to the expected past inflection (said), the present tense inflection of the framing predicate lexeme say, in which the sayings and doings of the characters in the past event being narrated seem to be treated as, in effect, within an experiential envelope knowable to the participants of the current ongoing event of communication, for which a so-called “present,” that is, non-past tense would be used (though note that the framing verb say here remains in the same simple un-auxiliated form in this narrative usage as it would have with the past inflection; this is clearly not

a mere substitution of the descriptive or true present-of-ongoing-activity, which in English requires a progressive aspect construction, [I am/[he] is saying). Note also the spatial and temporal organization in what is directly quoted from the characters in such vividly recounted situations—“Here is your lost book!” (proximal-presentational here; present tense is; earlier interlocutory participant you) and “Now I will not have any overdue fine!” (adverb of concurrence now; earlier interlocutory participant I; earlier futurity of will have). Such narratively quoted representations of what was uttered by interlocutory parties in some prior communicative event deictically project from the configuration of roles of the interlocutors in that very situation of interaction; note how the narrating frame itself is, as well, figuratively transposed, via tense, at least in part to that spacetime. Contrasting with the situation in which the story is being recounted, it becomes a secondary deictic center, a virtual “here-and-now-in-the-past” in which the uttered deictic (indexical-denotational) “here” and “now,” “I” and “you” that our characters speak *as well as the tense deixis of the frame* anchor whatever and whoever is spoken about in the there-and-then context of the grammatical subjects’ consciousness.

To be sure, Mr. McGuff uses the tenseless “simultaneous/ongoing” verb construction several times with a force equivalent to such an English narrative present. In the second printed line, line 9a, we have *Aġa k<sup>w</sup>á=ba n<sub>3</sub>-x̣-u<sub>4</sub>-gwi-|wíċa-√tk-t* “Now there I<sub>3</sub> . . . [am] listening to them<sub>4</sub>” (. . . am in a state of “giving ear,” to gloss the literal Kiksht idiom). There is no actual tense prefix in verb-initial position, but rather only the final suffix -t indicating a frozen interval of time for young Peter in a durative or stretched-out event of a recurring type. Similarly, in describing young Peter’s very wet, shivering body just returned from the frigid dip in the Columbia in line 4b, Mr. McGuff vividly reports icicles sticking out in every direction from his hair “they<sub>3</sub>[are]-severally<sub>8,1</sub>-flying<sub>7+8,2+11</sub>-out<sub>9</sub>-on<sub>5</sub> it<sub>4</sub>” *i<sub>3</sub>-t<sub>4</sub>-x<sub>5</sub>-√k’wá<sub>7</sub>-iu<sub>8,1</sub>-l<sub>8,2</sub>-k<sub>9</sub>-t<sub>11</sub>*, again a tenseless form representing a continuous, spatially distributed state of individuable things (the icicles) stretched out and around in a space the center point of which is the youngster’s sensation of his head and hair (*it-nátxat*). Let us pay closer attention to the distribution of such forms in the overall textual structure (entextualization) that emerges in the course of Mr. McGuff’s dictation, highlighted in figure 2 by extracting the poetic parallelism of the initial, scene-setting introduction and the culminative focal episode upon young Peter’s return from the Columbia River.

In the earliest narrative section, Mr. McGuff starts off by framing the temporal relation to the current moment of interaction with Sapir: “Long ago when-I-was-a-child.” What took place then? He narrates in the habitual aspect about events that were a regular occurrence: “The old people would (*a* . . . *-a*) tell myths ([i] *qánučk* -√x̣<sub>7</sub> ‘do, make myth’) in wintertime”; “[A-certain-] someone would (*a* . . . *-a*) give to (*-t<sub>5</sub>-u<sub>6</sub>-√t<sub>7</sub>*) me an axe”; and so on.

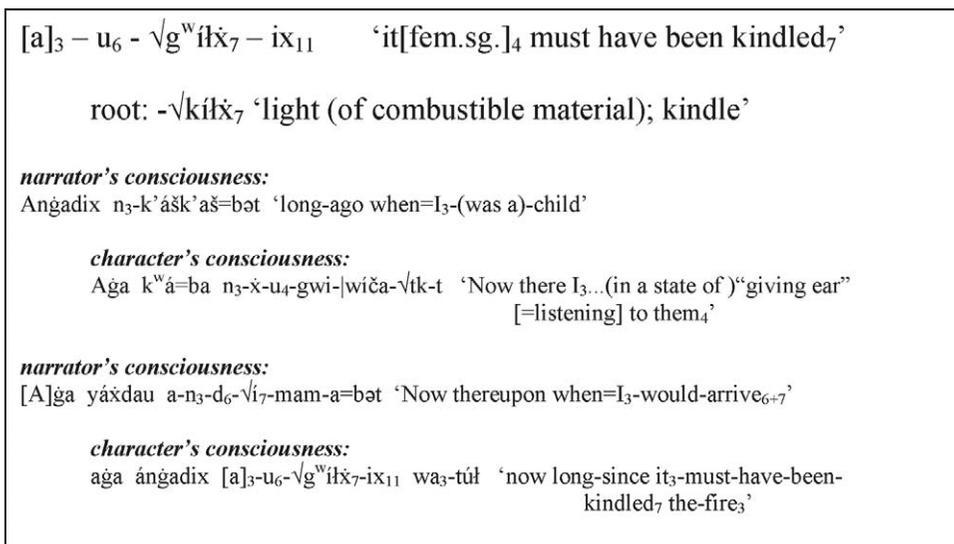


FIGURE 2. Framework of parallelisms in narrative deixis.

In Mr. McGuff’s youth, like all children, he experienced multiple, recurring episodes of being “punished” for falling asleep during those long winter nights of cosmogonic mythopoesis.

Note by contrast how he frames the specific events of interest to his young self: “Now there [= at these occasions where the myths were being told, in the semisubterranean winter house] *I’m-in-the-state-of-listening-to-them.*” This last verb form, the translation of which I have made a bit complex, is a formally tenseless “simultaneous/ongoing” form, in the default deictic case of here-and-now conversation, the equivalent of the English true “present” in be . . . V+ing, for example, [he] is walking (“now”). Mr. McGuff is using the closest thing in Kikshat to what we term in our European literary tradition the “vivid narrative present style” to capture what it felt like to be at the (here, generic or recurrent) event from the deictic perspective of his now narratively conjured-up young self. With him, as readers peering over Sapir’s, the original addressee’s shoulder to his notebook page now printed, we, too, are transposed into this event from that perspective.

To be sure, there are some passages in the myth and historical narrative texts we have from older narrators like Mr. Simpson that also use some of the deictic categories, like spatializing directional in predicates—“proximad” -t<sub>6</sub>- “toward ‘here,’” “distad” -u<sub>6</sub>- “toward ‘there’”—as a narrative resource so as to capture the onstage orientation of complex events that are experienced through a myth-age character’s consciousness. Its use here in the first person, the voicing of autobiographical memory is, I would submit, an indicator of

a cultural transformation taking place in Mr. McGuff's generation of Anglo-schooled Native Americans, in which their prereservation youths take on something of the quality of a "myth" era, that is, an era before extraordinary and violent change from the older, riverine fishing, hunting, and gathering life to the life of small-scale ranchers and farmers making a living in the middle ranges of the Yakima Valley agricultural lands.

But I want to focus on the unmistakable parallel to Euro-American "indirect free style" recuperation of consciousness that occurs in how Mr. McGuff frames the fourth remembered quotation, labeled with Roman numeral IV, on the return home of his youthful self, dripping and uncomfortable, from the "punishment." Again, a scene-setting habitual form: "When (=bat) I would (a . . . -a) come back (-t<sub>6</sub>-√i<sub>7</sub>-mam<sub>9</sub> 'hither-go-to.goal')," spoken from the narrator's 1905 sensibility. And then a switch to Peter's sensory consciousness-in-the-typical-moment: the icicles felt sticking to his hair; a warm roaring fire suitably prepared. What precedes this quotation, the culminating directive of the elders waiting for him to return, features a historically new grammatical verb form, the evidential passive, a form unattested not only in the Boas texts in Lower Chinook and Kathlamet from downriver, or the Clackamas texts from the Willamette, but also unattested in any older speaker's Kiksht of which we have records, though it is attested in Walter Dyk's (1933) and in my own later field materials. The form in question, as earlier noted ug<sup>w</sup>ilxix "it [a fire, wá-tuł (fem.sg.)] must have been kindled/lit," signals unequivocally the transposition of deictic center to the consciousness of the moment. It is indirect free style, narrating the event as it would be thought/narrated in-and-at the moment it describes by a participant—here, the young, wet, cold, dripping Peter McGuff—in that narrated event.

Indirect free style, long associated with literary "stream of consciousness" authors, is, to be sure, a particular Bakhtinian "voicing" effect, in which, as also in so-called indirect discourse, the permeable boundary is crossed between the narrator's perspectival origin-point in the world of the actualized event of communication and a character's perspectival origin-point in the event of the narrated world. In direct discourse, narrating frame and narrated utterances and thoughts are formally separated; in indirect discourse, the narrator's framing perspective indexically colonizes that of the character, interpreting it by in effect describing it; in free indirect style, the directionality is reversed, and the ascriptive conceptual-affective and discursive formulations of a character within the narrated world seem themselves to give communicative shape to the narration, in effect transposing the character's perspectival origin-point out into the world of narration through the character's now quasi-re-presented thoughts and words.

Virginia Woolf starts out *Mrs. Dalloway* with canonical indirect discourse, a metapragmatic framing construction, Mrs. Dalloway said, in the

past tense projected from a moment in which the character is walking in London on her household errand.<sup>12</sup> (To be a persnickety grammarian, had Woolf been a nineteenth-century novelist writing in a different “voice” she probably would have written “Mrs. Dalloway had said,” to differentiate her earlier resolve and communication of that resolve before setting out into the city on her errand. That Woolf does not, leaves the reader a bit floating in time, if not in space, an effect perhaps specifically—and, in the passage, ingeniously—planned by the author.) The frame is followed by a subordinate clause that explains that errand—were it in full form it would be introduced by the subordinator that—that gives a propositional interpretation of some utterance earlier in time, here to the effect that Mrs. Dalloway, rather than her servant named Lucy, committed herself—a performative act effected by her uttered words!—to buy some flowers for a party to take place at her home later that day.

*Mrs. Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself.*

At this point in the narration, Woolf runs through the mindset, the justification to herself for Mrs. Dalloway to have committed herself to undertaking the errand. Here is indirect free style. Note that it begins with the logical connector for, synonymous with because, and is followed by a version of what, presumably, Mrs. Dalloway had earlier said to Lucy, or at least had thought at the moment when she formulated her resolve at that earlier point in the day: “You have your work cut out for you,” having to undertake the major preparations for the party, including opening up connecting rooms with the assistance of a certain Mr. Rumpelmayer’s crew. All this is still in her mind as she ambulates:

*For Lucy had her work cut out for her. The doors would be taken off their hinges; Rumpelmayer’s men were coming.*

And her mind comes quickly to appreciate the particular delight of being out-and-about on this particularly bright London morning, experienced as her unanticipated reward, as it were, for her kindness to Lucy. Woolf uses as parenthetical metapragmatic frame, thought Clarissa Dalloway (and note the use of full name precisely at this moment at which the character’s affective engagement with her world through her sensorium becomes the focus of attention!) the frame interrupting an essentially direct-discourse citation of affect, characterized by Woolf by including a striking simile: “And then, what a fresh morning—!”

*And then, thought Clarissa Dalloway, what a morning—fresh as if issued to children on a beach.*

Observe the details here for Kiksht, then. Mr. McGuff uses a temporal adverbial clause to introduce quotation IV that is completely parallel to the very opening phraseology in part I. He says, “Now at-this-(place/time) I-would-arrive; now long-since it-must-have-been-kindled the fire; [from] the

ends-of my-hair icicles (are-)sticking-out-from (in all directions).” Along with the simultaneous and continuative form “they(-are)-hanging-from it” (*i-t-x-√k'wá-iu-l-k-t*), he formulates what I have termed an “evidential passive,” [*a*] *u-g<sup>w</sup>itx-ix wa-tút* “it [namely, the fire] must-have-been-kindled.” Such a form is generally used when, in the presence of sensorily available evidence, the speaker infers that someone must have done something to someone or something, such that the evidence is the index of this prior agentive action. It is the passive verb form of that inferentially prior action, used together with a characteristic deictic suffix *-ix* that independently occurs on verbs of positionality. The form as such is strongly deictic, linking the inference of the utterer of the form that “[someone] must-have-V-ed” to the perception of something in the context of inference-stimulating consciousness. Here, note, the recuperated consciousness of Mr. McGuff—young Pete—reacts to the proximity of a roaring fire, from which it infers that “someone must-have-lit/kindled-it.”

This evidential passive form, providing precisely the parallelism in a verb form and thus predication to the “simultaneous” forms of the earlier segments of the text, is, moreover, an innovation within the Wishram-Wasco dialect of Kiksht of Mr. McGuff’s generation. As I remarked earlier, it does not occur either in Clackamas, at the western extension of Kiksht, in which we have extensive text materials, dictated to Melville Jacobs by Mrs. Victoria Howard, born circa 1865, nor in the Kiksht of the other speakers from whom Sapir gathered materials in 1905–09. It does, however, occur extensively in the Kiksht of my own consultants born around the same time as Mr. McGuff. (Walter Dyk’s “Wishram” fieldwork of 1930–33 recorded the form, but does not recognize its proper position within Kiksht grammatical structure.)

As an index of historical process, note that the particular voicing of narrative chronotopes by Mr. McGuff points to a shift of perspective from one in which the myth era was the generative, cosmogonic space-time in which was ordained the orderliness of the way humans related both to each other and to the faunal universe. The shift is to what we would recognize as a “before” and “after” defined by the definitive encompassment of Native American life by the settler state in the grip of which Mr. Simpson and Mr. McGuff both found themselves, Mr. McGuff all the more so as a product of a colonial Anglophone educational system.

There is a sense in which, then, for Mr. McGuff English-derived modes of forming narrative allow the interplay of the immediate and the recuperated consciousness revealed in this plaint to Sapir (which apparently fell on deaf ears). Discourse structures we can recognize as speakers of English seem to be incipiently “enregistered”—rendered as coherently co-occurring text-forming features—in Mr. McGuff’s generation’s Kiksht usage. Thus, note the textual series of (a) tenseless punctual present-simultaneous forms, such as *n-x-u-gwi-|wiča-√tk-t* “I . . . in a state of ‘giving ear’ [=listening] to them”; (b) habitual

conditionals (formally “futures”), such as *a-tg-n-u-√kx+ám-a* “a certain one would (on occasion) say to me”; (c) tenseless evidential passives, such as the form in question, *[a-]u-√gʷtš-ix* “it [fire] must have been lit”; and (d) tenseless duratives-of-state, such as *i-t-x-√kʷá-iu-lk-t* “they are hanging down from it” (icicles from the ends of his hair). This series of verb forms congruently constitutes predications deictically centered in the recuperated consciousness of the then young Pete McGuff, with the exception of “habitual” type (b) all of them tenseless—hence predicable only of some spacetime projected from a remote here-and-now deictic center, one that clearly is described in the narrative as (e) *n-kʷáškáš=bat* “when I was a child” during which period all the myth-telling and “winter bathing” took place. That narrative consciousness shifts suddenly back to the deixis of the ongoing interactional moment with Sapir as Mr. McGuff sums up right after the last quotation of the elders; here he switches to the “remote/mythic past” form (f) *ga-q-ǰ-n-t-√x* “they [impersonal] did to me” (lines 7–8b) with distinctive *ga<sub>1</sub>-...-t<sub>6</sub>-...* inflectional form for temporally remote events experienced in a long-ago earlier phase of life.

This cleavage of predicational deixis into two intersecting planes—one projected from the here-and-now of consciousness in the moment of discursive interaction with Sapir, the other projected from the recuperated consciousness of the young Peter—creates the effect of two “first persons.” But what I wish to emphasize here is the fact of *two predicational registers*, in effect, “[objective] past” and “free indirect [reinhabited] past” as the student of Kiksht stylistics notices in the chain of coherent, cotextual continuities and compatibilities of verb forms (a) through (d), intersecting with another chain, that of (b)–(e)–(f). (Note the parallelism here to how Émile Benveniste discovered two registers of predication in French, one, objectively “voiced,” as Bakhtin would say, admitting the “passé simple” [for example, *je fus*] and several other tense, aspect, and perfect forms, the other, subjectively “voiced,” excluding the “passé simple” though admitting several of the other forms—thus two intersecting but distinct planes defined by enregistered chains of predicational compatibilities within discourse segments.<sup>13</sup>)

And further, the historical point to hand: This kind of textual assemblage, bespeaking a contrast of “voicings” and thus indexing a historical change in historical consciousness, seems to be an innovation of Mr. McGuff’s generation, the first to be schooled at places like his boarding school, Chemawa, in the colonial language, English. It is, I would say, the adaptive assimilation of the deictic narrative pragmatics of English that we see in his transcribed text, one in which the specific historical emergence of the evidential passive form-type makes perfect sense as part of a predicational register that contributes to establishing two serially organized modes of consciousness, a present-and-prospective-in-the-past (the young and obedient Peter paying anxious attention to his old people in the hope of getting a spirit power) and a present-and-

retrospective-in-the-present (the sadly spirit-power-less Mr. McGuff, older and wiser, interacting with Sapir). *Mr. McGuff's narrative deployment of the variously compatible and coherent predicational forms in entextualizing/contextualizing his historical consciousness is the very locus of emergence and change of the grammar of Kiksht.* That is to say, this newly emergent discursive use of the Kiksht grammatical category of “evidential passive” for the “indirect free style” of personal memory points to a change in temporal or historical consciousness across the cataclysm of settler-state reorganization of social life—even of where Wishram and Wasco culture could exist in the peripheries of the settler-state political economy.

To be sure, not only plurilingual speech communities, but every unilingual language community is internally diverse from a sociolinguistic point of view—as Bakhtin long ago emphasized with his concept of *разноречие* or “heteroglossia.” A “language,” then, actually consists of *the logical union of all the repertoires of distinctive registers* controlled by people who are, to different degrees, encompassed in, and oriented to (or by) its linguistic norms for using and evaluating the well-formedness of utterances.<sup>14</sup> (As we use the term “language,” it denotes norms for denotational—referring and modally predicating—verbal communication, cross-cut and intersected, then, by what we term “indexical” values associable with specific signaling forms that link language to socially definable contexts of interaction.) Thus, as socially self-contextualizing actors, all communicationally competent speakers of a language actually orient their usage to many such registers implicit in the total community repertoire, among a subset of which they move unremarkably as a function of interactional situation (or with noticeable performative entailments when communicating against expectations).<sup>15</sup> Various studies have elaborated such institutionalized registers as “sports announcer talk,” bespeaking a professional voice in broadcast or print, or “motherese,” a register in Euro-American society for caregivers who are interacting with infants and young children, the latter itself sometimes incorporating features of the “baby talk” register adults project onto children (who actually speak quite otherwise).<sup>16</sup>

Of course, these registers are characterizable as contextually, and thus ethno-demographically and -situationally specific clusters of criterial indexical features, together with all the machinery necessary to render denotational discourse entextualized form-in-context. To the native speakers, as it were, registers are “alternate ways of ‘saying the same thing,’” that is, in a sense situationally appropriate or expectable equivalents or near-enough equivalents of communicated purport [“meaning”] formulated in a particular way. (Of course, no such thing can in fact be true when we analyze the language, making instability of denotational code an essential outcome of the cultural fact of enregisterment.) Every register has features that are highly salient indexicals of communicating “in register,” the occurrence of which keys communication as to relevant participant identities being invoked, to

ongoing social action, and so on; these stand out in relation to all the rest of linguistic form necessary to making denotational sense in an utterance, but which clearly are features of the language. Registers differ, moreover, in which kinds of structural features of linguistic signs are paramount in their indexical salience: note how some registers are predominantly phonological (see Peter Trudgill's study of pop music register in the 1960s and 1970s); others, such as our registers of variously tribal "academese," being principally lexical—through terminologization [*Eccel!*—and morphosyntactic—featuring sesquipedalian Graeco-latin derivative morphology, involved syntax of subordination and modification, and so on.<sup>17</sup>

Being drawn into pragmatic paradigms of indexicality across register divides—*enregisterment* of linguistic forms, as we term it—and its opposite, the collapse of such distinctions, constitutes a dynamic force acting upon the organization of any language so as to change it. Salience of formal features that have an isolable, performative indexical "punch" (reliable indexical semiosis) thus fluctuates in time according to cultural values, coming into being and disappearing through the many links of interdiscursivity and of ideologically (culturally) informed metapragmatic (un)consciousness, all the stuff of culture in its usual operation.<sup>18</sup> When we study the contours of usage and the degree of indexical salience of so-called sociolinguistic variables in the real time of a synchronicized slice—the ethnographic horizon—of diachrony, we get a glimpse of the register structure that is the real functional locus of any language form. Such register structures frequently operate at the historical intersection of language communities that have come into perduring, as opposed to fleeting contact for one or another reason. In such situations, a plurilingual *speech community* is in evidence, such as frames the interaction of Peter McGuff and Edward Sapir, where alternate "languages" as such come to be contextually mobilized by thus polyglot speakers, as a function of the sociocultural contexts in which communication goes on.

With the concept of register in mind, careful philological study of such texts-in-context focusing on the internal poetics of grammatical form thus opens a larger vista of sociohistorical phenomena. The linguistic forms are organized into registers that are associable with denotational and interactional genres of particular sorts, first-person memory narrative here explaining a personal deficit—no spirit power—that coincides with massive social upheaval and cultural change. To be sure, the manifold of registers of which any "language" is composed is in constant flux, but we see how the emergent "evidential passive" linguistic form reveals the modernizing force of a new predicational style assimilated from Anglophone others in the plurilingual speech community in which intersect English, Sahaptian, and Kiksht.

Of course, it is precisely in the kind of interaction where an indigenous Mr. McGuff would be telling a Euro-American Mr. Sapir about "Why I Don't

Have a Spirit Power” that the ironic or wistful or angry split consciousness would become institutionalized, to the performance of which the innovative enregisterment of predication-types, including the “evidential passive” specific to Wishram-Wasco in this generation, would become useful—in a sense, “selected for” as a grammatical affordance of “voice.” That is to say, there is a substantive link between what we might term linguistic change of this sort and cultural change insofar as erstwhile efficacious ritual practices are put into question by the kind of asymmetric contact with the Anglo society that Mr. Simpson’s and Mr. McGuff’s groups have suffered. But there is also an intersection of linguistic and cultural change insofar as the very interactional genre we have encountered via Sapir’s inscription is the vehicle of shifting cultural normativities. Here, we catch a shift in the very culturally specific anxieties about identities and their bases in moving from those defined by the spirit quest “complex”—to use the Boasian diffusionist term—to those of importance in the situation of contact and settler colonization. To Sapir, Mr. McGuff had obviously moved a good way into the encompassing larger society:

Pete McGuff . . . may serve as a type of the younger generation of Indian. . . . He has not of course that feeling for the old Indian life, and faith in the truth of the myths, that a man like Louis Simpson has; nevertheless, in spite of his white man’s rationalism, he is not at all disposed to dismiss as idle the ideas of the Indians in regard to medicine-men and guardian spirits. He has been trained in the Agency school, reads and writes English well, and in general displayed throughout remarkable intelligence.<sup>19</sup>

How much of the nuance of Sapir’s characterization of the divided allegiances of his field assistant and interlocutor now seems to us to be contained in the very text we are examining! Built as it is on the duplex—even dialectical—voicing structure of the colonized organic intellectual’s split consciousness, to the attuned and sensitive reader the “Winter Bathing” chapter in *Wishram Texts* indexically contextualizes itself through an entextualized structure of intersecting predicational registers, in one of which the “evidential passive” is a useful affordance of a culturally emergent voice.

## Notes

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Earlier versions of this paper were presented as follows: “The Multiple Linguistic and Cultural Contextualizations of Language Change,” circulated and discussed at the Wenner-Gren Foundation-National Science Foundation Workshop “Analyzing Change: Linguistic and Cultural Models,” New York City, 9–12 April 2008 (Joel Robbins and Bambi Schieffelin, organizers). “Culture and History in a Kiksht *hapax legomenon*: The Ethnohistorical Contextualization of Linguistic Form,” given

as the keynote address of the Wyoming Humanities Council conference “Language, Culture and History” held at University of Wyoming, Laramie, 1 July 2010 (Leila Monaghan, organizer). An expanded version was circulated and discussed at the Semiotics: Culture in Context Workshop, at the University of Chicago, 14 October 2010. Thanks to the organizers of the first two occasions for the invitations to present this work, and to all three interlocutory groups for useful comments for revision. I am grateful as well to the three editors of this issue of *Representations*, originally organizers of a symposium at the 2015 annual meeting of the American Comparative Literature Association in Seattle, for comments on a prefinal draft, now extensively revised in the light thereof.

1. See Regna Darnell, “Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, and the Americanist Text Tradition,” *Historiographia Linguistica* 17, nos. 1–2 (1990): 129–44; and Michael Silverstein, “From Baffin Island to Boasian Induction: How Anthropology and Linguistics Got into Their Interlinear Groove,” in *Franz Boas as Public Intellectual: Theory, Ethnography, Activism*, ed. Regna Darnell et al. (Lincoln, NE, 2015), 83–127.
2. For a reasonably nontechnical conspectus on such analysis of dyadic interaction, worked in detail on an extended example, see Michael Silverstein, “The Voice of Jacob: Entextualization, Contextualization, and Identity,” *ELH* 81, no. 2 (2014): 483–520. For an elaborate guide through the analytic procedures necessary to contemporary linguistic anthropological work, see Stanton Wortham and Angela Reyes, *Discourse Analysis Beyond the Speech Event* (New York, 2015).
3. I have treated this text in respect of linguistic and cultural details in two prior publications, emphasizing in the first its genre as a fieldwork encounter, and in the second innovations in the syntax of its language consistent with influence from English. See Michael Silverstein, “The Secret Life of Texts,” in *Natural Histories of Discourse*, ed. Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban (Chicago, 1996), 81–105; and Michael Silverstein, “Kiksht ‘Impersonals’ as Anaphors and the Predictiveness of Grammatical-Categorical Universals,” *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 21 (1995): 262–86.
4. Our modern Americanist orthographic practices differ somewhat from those of 1905, when Sapir transcribed into his notebooks (now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia), but in the main are consistent. My representations of Kiksht forms are in a phonological orthography, moreover, while Sapir’s are closer to phonetic-as-heard. For those readers wishing to get a sense of the phonetic realization of Kiksht, note that orthographic <ł>, so-called “voiceless ell,” is pronounced like English orthographic <l> without any voicing; orthographic <x̣>—here used for a more canonical letter with a dot underneath—represents a uvular (far-back-of-tongue) pronunciation as at the end of German *Bach*, while orthographic <x> represents a similar sound made slightly in the direction of the last sound of German *ich* (Sapir uses, respectively, <x> and <x̣>); and <ḡ>—more canonically with dot underneath—represents a uvular correspondent to velar <g>, voiced sounds paralleling the uvular <q> and velar <k> made without voice. Stress is indicated on the relevant vowel, all three of which, written <a, i, u>, are pronounced as in Continental orthographies. In Sapir’s orthography, the unstressed voicing, the so-called schwa of syllables like the second one in English <kettle> or <button> is indicated with a small cap <E>; our modern orthographies use a turned letter, thus: <ə>.
5. I have treated this grammatical form in some descriptive and historical detail, including its pragmatic, or context-sensitive aspects in “Deixis and Deducibility in a Wasco-Wishram Passive of Evidence,” *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 4 (1978): 238–53.

6. The definitive anthropological account of these people is David H. and Kathrine S. French, "Wasco, Wishram, Cascades," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 12, *Plateau*, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Washington, DC, 1998), 360–77. An earlier treatment emphasizing the history of cultural transformation in the encroaching settler state is David H. French, "Wasco-Wishram," in *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*, ed. Edward H. Spicer (Chicago, 1961), 337–430.
7. On Chinook Wawa or Jargon, see Michael Silverstein, "Dynamics of Recent Linguistic Contact," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 17, *Languages*, ed. Ives Goddard (Washington, DC, 1997), 117–36. On the Chinookan-speaking peoples of this region, see Michael Silverstein, "Chinookans of the Lower Columbia," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 7, *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington, DC, 1990), 533–46; and, in a more popular vein, Robert H. Ruby and John H. Brown, *The Chinook Indians: Traders of the Lower Columbia* (Norman, OK, 1976).
8. Edward Sapir, *Wishram Texts* (Leiden, 1909), xi.
9. The concept of "voicing," that is, coming to inhabit a particular "voice" in the role of narrator, is a central focus of Bakhtinian criticism, developed in Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson (Austin, TX, 1982), in which are elaborated not only this concept, derived from musicological discourse, but as well the related notions of "polyphony" and "double voicedness" in the way a narrator (dis)aligns with the characters and social interests that populate a narrated universe.
10. See note 3.
11. This geographically widespread system of customs and beliefs, whereby the ethical, moral, and psychodynamic forces embodied in the cosmogonic "myth" era license and guard over the being-in-the-social-world of an individual who has successfully encountered an avatar of that earlier order of things. Ruth Benedict's Columbia University doctoral dissertation was a comparative study, published as *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (Menasha, WI, 1923). For the specifically Wasco-Wishram manifestations, see Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography* (Seattle, 1930), and, based on more recent fieldwork, Michael Silverstein, "Private Ritual Encounters, Public Ritual Indexes," in *Ritual Communication*, ed. Günter Senft and Ellen Basso (Oxford, 2009), 271–92.
12. Virginia Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway* (London, 1925).
13. Émile Benveniste, "Les relations de temps dans le verbe français," in *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (Paris, 1966), 237–50. See also Monika Fludernik, "Narratology and Literary Linguistics," in *Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, ed. Robert I. Binnick (Oxford, 2012), 75–101, for a critique of how Benveniste's analysis has been made use of by subsequent narratologists, such as Ann Banfield, *Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in the Language of Fiction* (London, 1982), which especially treats indirect free discourse.
14. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination*, 259–422. For the derivation of the entailments of heteroglossia/enregisterment to conceptualizing a language sociolinguistically, see Michael Silverstein, "Denotation and the Pragmatics of Language," in *Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Nick Enfield, Paul Kockelman, and Jack Sidnell (Cambridge, 2014), 128–57.
15. See especially Asif Agha, "Registers of Language," in *The Blackwell Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti (Malden, MA, 2004), 23–45; and Asif Agha, *Language and Social Relations* (Cambridge, 2007).

16. Charles Ferguson, "Sports Announcer Talk: Syntactic Aspects of Register Variation," *Language in Society* 12, no. 2 (1983): 153–72; Catherine Snow, "Mothers' Speech to Children Learning Language," *Child Development* 43, no. 2 (1972): 549–65; Charles Ferguson, "Baby Talk in Six Languages," *American Anthropologist* 66, no. 6, part 2 (1964): 103–14.
17. Peter Trudgill, "Acts of Conflicting Identity: The Sociolinguistics of British Pop-Song Pronunciation," in *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives* (Oxford, 1983), 141–60.
18. See references in note 14, and on the dynamics of the semiotic processes of enregisterment, see Michael Silverstein, "Language and the Culture of Gender: At the Intersection of Structure, Usage, and Ideology," in *Semiotic Mediation: Sociocultural and Psychological Perspectives*, ed. Elizabeth Mertz and Richard J. Parmentier (Orlando, FL, 1985), 219–59; and Michael Silverstein, "Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life," *Language and Communication* 23, no. 3–4 (2003): 193–229.
19. Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, xii.