wałšiʔałin ʔuuʔaałuḵi ḥaḥuułi: Coming home to take care of the territory: a project of (re)connecting with traditional lands, waters, knowledge, and identity

by

hiininaasim, Tommy Happynook

B.A., University of Victoria, 2007
M.A., University of Victoria, 2010

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Department of Anthropology

We acknowledge and respect the lək̓ʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands, and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

wałšiʔałin ʔuuʔaałuḵi ḥaḥuułi: Coming home to take care of our territory: a project of (re)connecting with traditional lands, waters, knowledge, and identity

by

hiininaasim, Tommy Happynook
B.A., University of Victoria, 2007
M.A., University of Victoria, 2010

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Andrea N. Walsh, Supervisor
Department of Anthropology

Dr. Iain McKechnie, Departmental Member
Department of Anthropology

Dr. Rob Hancock, Department Member
Department of Anthropology / Office of Indigenous Academic and Community Engagement

Dr. Sarah Hunt / Tłaliłilȧogwa, Outside Member
Department of Environmental Studies

Jeff Cook / Yaałuuʔa, Additional Member
huuʕiiʔat ḥawiɬ

Abstract

Written from a nuučaaʔuł perspective this dissertation documents the reclamation of knowledge, teachings, culture, language, responsibilities, and identity through my personal (re)connection to my family's ḥaḥuuɬi and hereditary home, čaačaaċiiʕas. In specific and intentional ways my research, fieldwork, and dissertation are part of a story of reconciliation between myself and čaačaaċiiʕas, the ḥaḥuuɬi that my family was dispossessed from because of the impacts of colonization. Despite the near severing of our relationship with čaačaaċiiʕas and the near destruction of our ḥaḥuuɬi, čaačaaċiiʕas is thriving and now is the time to pick up my responsibilities and begin to re-establish a relationship with the natural and spiritual worlds found there. In my research the lands, waters, skies, and natural world are not a place and/or object of inquiry, they are non-human knowledge holders and teachers.

The dissertation draws upon on a diverse set of ethnographic, anthropological, and Indigenous literatures. Emphasis is placed upon the use of nuučaaʔuł scholarship, theory, and methodologies including muuɬmuumps (being rooted to the land), ceremony, language, song, and interviews. The research builds on four kinds of knowledge that are expressed as: 1) known knowledge; 2) incomplete knowledge; 3) unaccounted for and/or unknown knowledge; and, 4) ethnographic/anthropological knowledge. Through this theoretical platform I explore tangible and intangible cultural and hereditary forms of knowledge production. Importantly, I highlight the role of song and sound as critical vehicles through which contemporary Indigenous peoples can connect to historical places and times. I place equal emphasis on the production of sound through song as I do through the reception of song and sound through a methodology of deep listening. Song and sound play a crucial role in my research and form the basis of knowledge transfer between myself, čaačaaċiiʕas, and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu (ancestors). Furthermore, the songs shared within this dissertation are the analysis of my data and how I am choosing to disseminate that data. I argue that these connections provide ways for future agendas and aspirations for cultural resurgence and governance to emerge.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

My doctoral research would not have been possible without the never-ending support of my wife Carly Cunningham and son Mahihkan Happynook. This work is never done alone, and I want to acknowledge the sacrifices that my family has made so that this work could be completed.

I want to acknowledge my parents, Tom and Kathy Happynook and my uncle Larry Johnson and the knowledge they shared with me before I started my fieldwork. Hinatinyis, Ron Hamilton, Angie Joe, and wišqii for the language help, support, and conversations which helped me develop the nuučaaʔuł language I use in this dissertation.

I want to acknowledge my nation, Huu-ay-aht, for the financial support they have provided throughout my doctoral research. And Brent Ronning for the wealth of support that he has given to me throughout my entire education.

Thank you also to Corrine Michel, who read some early drafts and offered many helpful insights.

Lastly, I want to thank my committee members, Dr. Andrea Walsh, Dr. Rob Hancock, Dr. Iain McKechnie, Dr. Sarah Tłaliłilaogwa Hunt, and huuʕiiʔat ḥawiɬ, yaałuuʔa Jeff Cook. This dissertation is stronger because of your support. Dr. Sven Haakanson who sat as the external examiner. And, Dr. Dawn Smith, who chaired my defence, I cannot express how important it was that you, a fellow nuučaaʔuł scholar oversaw the proceedings and announced that I had passed.

This research was funded in large part by the Huu-ay-aht First Nation, the University of Victoria, UVic's Department of Anthropology, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

A Note for Readers

Within this dissertation I am using the nuučaaʔuł language and alphabet. I am still learning to speak and write in my language. I have worked in consultation with several language speakers and done my best to be consistent and accurate in the spelling, meaning, and use of the language. There are several places throughout the dissertation that use alternate spellings because it is part of a quote or connected to the work of another scholar. In recognition of the ongoing resurgence of the nuučaaʔuł language, I want to direct non-speakers to the Nuu-chah-nulth language website for the most current orthography which can be found at the following link: https://nuuchahnulth.org/language/alphabet/alpha1.html.

Chapter 1: cawaak

Introduction

ukłaamaḥ hiininaasim. histaqšiƛ huuʕiiʔatḥ ʔaḥʔaa čaačaaciiʔas taqimɬ. ʔuhukʷitaḥ nananiqsu ʔaƛ Lizzie ʔaḥʔaa Billy Happynook. ʔuhukʷaḥ ʔumiiqsu ʔaḥʔaa ṅuẇiiqsu ḥapinyuuk ʔaḥʔaa ʔuuksyakʷayaʔatook. ʔukłaa yaqčiqas ʔaasaawis. ʔaasaawis uu iš Woodland Cree and Métis. ʔaḥʔaa meʔiƛqacaḥ ḥawiɬwinis.

My name is Tommy Happynook. My cultural name is hiininaasim. I am of mixed ancestry and while this dissertation will focus on my Indigenous ancestry, I want to begin by acknowledging my mother and my Scottish and Irish ancestries that come from her.

My Scottish ancestry comes from the Rhynas family of Turnhead Farm (Figure 1) which abuts the river Spey on the south shore, and is now known as Craiglug, near the city of Elgin, in the northeast of Scotland. James Rhynas and Jane Ingram immigrated to Canada from Scotland in the 1850s. They settled in Goderich, Ontario[1] with their children. The family stayed in Goderich for

[1] Goderich is on the traditional territory of the Anishinabek Nation. Known as the People of the Three Fires (Ojibway, Odawa, and Pottawatomi nations). Goderich also recognizes the Saugeen Ojibway Nation (Chippewas of Saugeen and Chippewas of Nawash) as traditional keepers of the land. Goderich is located within the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant and in Treaty 29 territory: Huron Tract Purchase. (https://www.greengoderich.com/land.html)

two more generations before resettling in Burlington.[2] My grandfather was born in Burlington but moved to Toronto, Ontario[3] when they lost everything during the Depression.

Figure 1 - Kathy Happynook at Turnhead Farm (Craiglug). Photo used with permission

[2] Burlington is on the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit. Burlington is located within the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant and in Treaty 3 territory: Brant Tract Purchase. (https://www.burlington.ca/en/your-city/land-acknowledgement.asp).

[3] Tkaronto (Toronto) is on the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit, the Anishnabeg, the Chippewa, the Haudenosaunee and the Wendat Nations. Tkaronto is located within the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant and in Treaty 13 territory: The Toronto Purchase. (https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accessibility-human-rights/indigenous-affairs-office/land-acknowledgement/)

My Irish ancestry comes from the McKaughan family of the Carnkirk Farm (Figure 2), near the village of Bushmills, in Ulster Province, in Northern Ireland. The McKaughans are Ulster Scots who married into the Irish Haughey and Blair families, among others. Angus McKaughan and Ellen Haughey immigrated to Canada from Ireland between 1841 and 1842. They settled in Orillia, Ontario[4] with their two sons who married two Irish sisters from the Blair family. This branch of my family eventually moved to and settled in Toronto, Ontario.

Figure 2 - Kathy and Tom Happynook at Carnkirk Farm. Photo used with permission

[4] Orillia is on the traditional territory of the Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe, Odawa, and Pottawatomi Nations), known as the Three Fires Confederacy. Orillia is located within the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenent and the William's Treaty. (https://native-land.ca)

My maternal, grandparents, Philip Rhynas and Elinor McKaughan, met and married in Toronto, Ontario before moving to Deep River, Ontario[5] where my uncle Karl and then my mother Katherine were born. In 1961, my mother, uncle, and grandparents moved to Edmonton, Alberta[6] before moving to Victoria, British Columbia in 1966.[7] In 1974, my grandfather became the first manager of the Bamfield Marine Station which is how my mother ended up in Bamfield, British Columbia.[8] Bamfield is where my parents met, and my story begins.

My Indigenous ancestry is deeply connected to the Barkley Sound region, the huuʕiiʔat and čaačaaċiiʕas. My naniqʔsu[9] Lizzie Jack (huuʕiiʔat) was the eldest daughter of Jackson Jack (huuʕiiʔat) and Maggie Cootes (Uchucklesaht). My naniqʔsu Tommy Happynook (huuʕiiʔat), known as Bill was the eldest son of Tommy Happynook (huuʕiiʔat) and Annie Moses (huuʕiiʔat). My naniqʔsu Tommy Happynook (huuʕiiʔat) was Lizzie and Bill's eldest son. My naniqʔsu and grandmother, Darlene Deguire (Cree and Métis), met and had my father, Tom Happynook (huuʕiiʔat). The impacts of colonization made it so that my father had to be raised by his nananiqsu, Lizzie and Bill. My parents were married in 1979 and a little over a year later I was born. For my first year of life, we lived in Bamfield before moving to Greater Victoria.

[5] Deep River is on the unceded traditional territory of the Anishinaabe (https://www.algonquincollege.com/tri/land-acknowledgement/).
[6] Amiskwacîwâskahikan (Edmonton) is on the traditional territory of several nations including the Cree, Saulteaux, Blackfoot, Sioux, and Métis, and is within Treaty 6 territory. (https://native-land.ca)
[7] Victoria is located in the traditional territory of the lək̓ʷəŋən (Songhees and Esquimalt Nations).
[8] In 1974, Bamfield was located in the unceded traditional territory of the huuʕiiʔat.
[9] naniqʔsu is a nuučaaʕuł word that translates as "grandparent". The plural of naniqʔsu is nananiqsu.

The čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ are one of the nine hereditary families of the huuʕiiʔat. The huuʕiiʔat are one of the nuučaaʕuł nations that inhabit the west coast of what is now called Vancouver Island. My father is the currently seated ḥawił[10] of the čaačaaćiiʕas maʔas within the huuʕiiʔat hereditary system of governance, but he is beginning to step back from those responsibilities, and I am taking them on. The transition of hereditary responsibilities while everyone is living, as opposed to passing them on after death, is a significant tradition within my family and one that was disrupted for my family first with my naniqʔsu Tommy's death at age 34 in 1968 and then again with my naniqʔsu Bill's death in 1991 and my father being seated as the ḥawił of the čaačaaćiiʕas maʔas.

In 2004, Carly Cunningham and I were married in a huuʕiiʔat ceremony at her mother's home in Rossland, British Columbia.[11] Carly was given the cultural name ʔasaawis at this ceremony. Carly is Cree and Métis through her father and has Scottish ancestry through her mother. Carly is the strongest woman I have ever met, and she inspires me to be my best every day. In 2013, Carly gave birth to our son Mahihkan Catcher Tommy Happynook. Mahihkan's cultural name is ḥawiłwinis, the same name I carried at his age. Mahihkan will one day carry the hereditary responsibilities for čaačaaćiiʕas and, like me and those that came before us, began his training while still in his mother's womb. Unlike me, Mahihkan will grow up connected to čaačaaćiiʕas.

[10] ḥawił is a nuučaaʕuł word that translates as "hereditary leader". The plural of ḥawił is ḥaẇiiḥ. When taẏii is added to ḥawił it is referring to the "head hereditary leader".
[11] Rossland is located in the unceded traditional territory of the Sinixt.

čaačaaćiiʕas

čaačaaćiiʕas is in the northern part of the huuʕiiʔat ḥaḥuuɬi,[12] north of numaqimyis (Sarita River) and south of ḵuxsinqii/popomohah (San Mateo Bay) on the eastern edge of Barkley Sound, not far from the head of the Alberni Canal. When approaching čaačaaćiiʕas from the water, as my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu[13] and our neighbours would have, there are three smaller bays within the larger bay. The bay on the left is surrounded by steep cliffs and not very accessible from the water. The bay on the right is quite deep even at low tide and allows access to čaačaaćiiʕas without having to cross the river. The central bay is rather expansive and shallow before it very quickly drops off and becomes very deep. Low tide gives access to a large sand/gravel beach with the river on the right, cliffs on the left, and thick veil of forest in the middle that hides the wealth contained within the ḥaḥuuɬi.

čaačaaćiiʕas is approximately a four-hour drive from Victoria. čaačaaćiiʕas is the name of the ḥaḥuuɬi my family is responsible for and the place that our knowledge and teachings come from. It is also the name of the river that flows through our ḥaḥuuɬi. When the suffix “atḥ” is added, it refers to the people of čaačaaćiiʕas, the čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ. And it is now the name of our maʔas[14] within the huuʕiiʔat hereditary government. In the same way the name čaačaaćiiʕas refers to multiple and connected pieces, today its meaning also has multiple interpretations. čaačaaćiiʕas includes a small but very important watershed. Known as a place of abundance, it was also a

[12] ḥaḥuuɬi is a complex nuučaaʕuɬ word. In its most simplistic English translation, it is understood as meaning traditional territory. For a more thorough description see Happynook 2010: 22.
[13] yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu is a nuučaaʕuɬ word that translates as "ancestors from the beginning of time”
[14] maʔas is a nuučaaʕuɬ word that translates as “Houses” and refers to both the physical houses we lived in as well as the people that live in and help to care for a particular ḥaḥuuɬi.

place of whalers, which meant that it was not a place that non-čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ went very often prior to contact. Throughout our oral history, we have many stories of the consequences of disrupting whalers, their sacred places, and/or putting the whaling season at risk. The result of jeopardizing the whaling season was often death (čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ oral history) because whales were a major source of food and a huge part of our traditional economy.

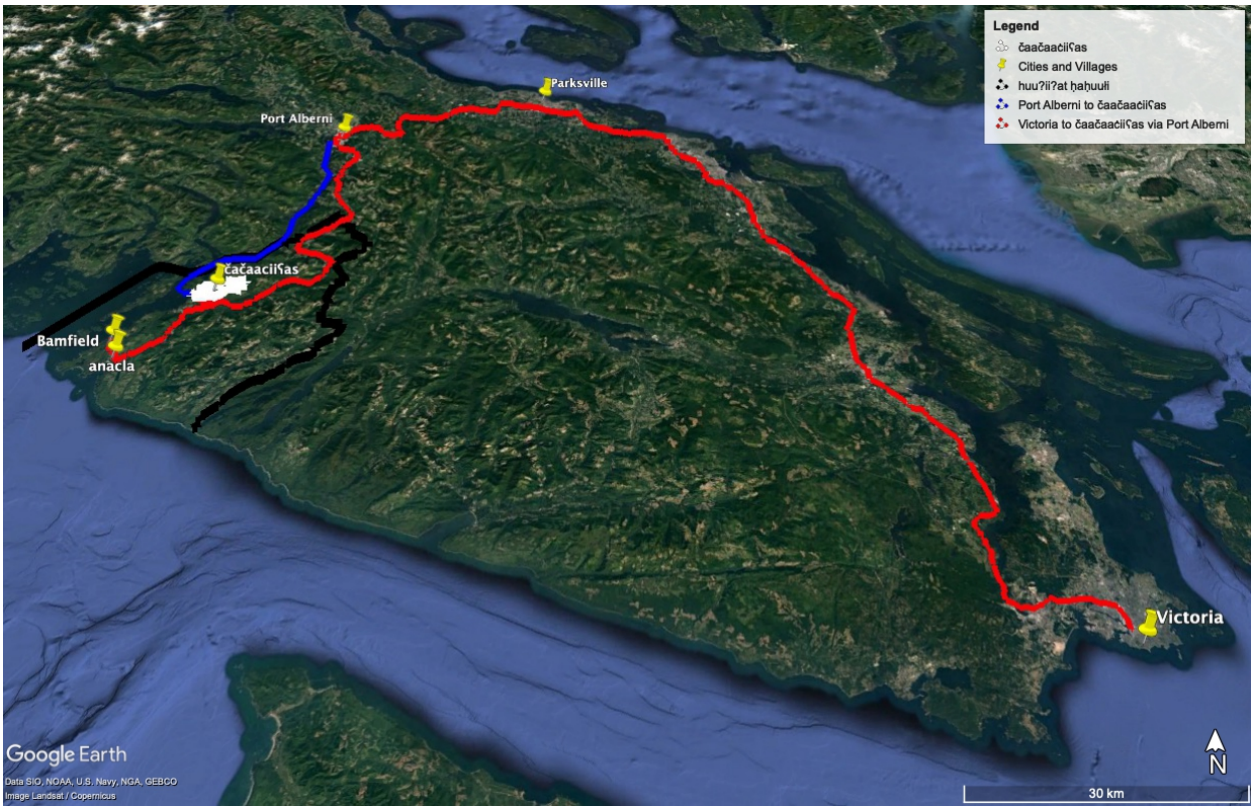

Figure 3 - This map shows the different routes from Port Alberni to čaačaaćiiʕas.

I am čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ. This is not something that I always knew and after I did it took some time to understand. čaačaaćiiʕas is where I come from, I know this and feel it deeply whenever I am there. My son, who is eight at the time I wrote this, has grown up knowing that he is from čaačaaćiiʕas, what that means and where it is, and has, in my opinion, a sense of what that means

for him as a future leader. čaačaaċiiʕas is the one place I feel most connected to in this world. The bones and spirits of my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu reside in čaačaaċiiʕas, and it is where my family first received our ḥawiłmis[15] from the Creator and learned to be whalers. The oral tradition (čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat) and limited written history (Sapir and Swadesh 1955, 244-248; 422-425) about čaačaaċiiʕas all suggest that it was a place of abundance. I know this to be true because I know that čaačaaċiiʕas provided my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu with all the necessary resources to be successful whalers and because I have now witnessed the abundance of natural and spiritual resources in čaačaaċiiʕas firsthand.

Prior to beginning my fieldwork in 2020 and a purposeful return to čaačaaċiiʕas with the intention of (re)connecting myself and my family to our ḥaḥuułi, I understood čaačaaċiiʕas in a singular way. čaačaaċiiʕas was the place that I come from, an important place, but one devoid of personal meaning because I lacked on-the-ground experiences of the places where my family's knowledge and teachings were first received, even as they continue to inform us today. One of the many questions that emerged for me during my time in čaačaaċiiʕas was, what does čaačaaċiiʕas mean? More specifically, how is čaačaaċiiʕas experienced and translated into English? What follows are four contemporary interpretations of čaačaaċiiʕas.

[15] ḥawiłmis is a nuučaaʼnuł word that loosely translates as "the knowledge of a hereditary leader". See Happynook 2010: 25 for a broader discussion of ḥawiłmis.

The first interpretation comes from ki-ke-in winchii, Ron Hamilton, from hupačasatḥ. Ki-ke-in winchii, is also known by the names chuuchkamalthnii and haa'yuups, is a language speaker, knowledge holder, cultural historian, and advisor throughout nuučaaʕuł territory.

> My understanding of matters is that the Chaachaatsii-asat-h were Uu-uutah (whalers) and it is that activity that gives this name meaning. When a whaler successfully harpooned and beached a whale for his people to feast on, there were four days of ceremonies called Chuuchaalthsh, during which the Ts'axwasip "Harpooner" was absolved of taking the life of the whale. There was absolutely formal feasting. Men sang songs, during the entire four days, and women performed a dance holding their hands palms open, fingers kept rigidly together, and facing themselves, their thumbs held erect in imitation of the whale's chaakwaasi. In short, I would translate Chaachaatsii-as as "dancing Chuuchaalthsh on the ground". This seems to imply "out of doors". The Chuuchaalthsh ceremony, as far as I know, was always conducted inside of the house of the Ts'axwasip. I do know that, when the chaakwaasi was left on the whale, until it was beached, the whale was washed, the area around the blowhole and the chaakwaasi was rubbed with fine Ratfish oil, and a little ts'iilthaen was sprinkled on the very tip of the chaakwaasi, and the whale – male or female – was referred to as Hakum and welcomed formally in song and dance. Those welcome dances may very well have been seen as the first part of the four-day Chuuchaalthsh, and thus, "dancing Chuuchaalthsh on the ground" (ki-ke-in winchii, Personal communication, 2021)

The second interpretation comes from wišqii, Robert Dennis Jr., from huuʕiiʔat. Wišqii is a singer, composer, cultural historian, and a knowledge and language holder. This interpretation is consistent with information that my naniqʔsu shared with my father when he was about 15 years old, in 1973.

> The following information comes from your great grandmother Lizzy [weaver, Elder, language and knowledge holder], your father [Tom Happynook], Art Peters [late taẏii ḥawił of huuʕiiʔat], and Willie Sport [Elder, historian, language, and knowledge holder]. One specific instance that comes to mind is from 1994, Art Peters and Willie Sport came out to caacaatsiias to pick up your father and I from an oosimch.[16] In our visit Willie shared that caacaatsiias derived from the word čaasʔi is, a "knock" or "drop". When repetition in a word is used, such as in caacaatsiias, it refers to the

[16] Oosimch (spelled throughout this dissertation as ʔuusimč) is a nuučaaʕuł word that translates as "intensive ritual bathing" and refers to the ritual bathing done to cleanse a person physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually.

> continuous “knocking”. The ʔas is a suffix for “on door”. Therefore, I would say caacaatsiias can be interpreted as “knocking on the door” and caacaatsiiasaht as “the people of knocking on the door” (wišqii, Personal communication, 2021)

The third interpretation comes from numaqimyisʔaqsup, Angie Joe, from huuʕiiʔat. Angie is a huuʕiiʔat elder, fluent language speaker, and language mentor. The name numaqimyisʔaqsup means that she is a resident of numaqimyis. Angie interprets čaačaaċiiʕas as “a place with water on both sides” (numaqimyisʔaqsup, Personal communication, 2021)

The fourth interpretation comes from a written account of Denis St. Claire’s interviews with huuʕiiʔat Elders and knowledge holders Robert Sport, Mary Moses (Bill Happynook’s aunt), Ella Jackson (Lizzie Jack’s aunt), and Billy Happynook (my naniqʔsu).

> This site (Carnation Creek) was the location of the house or houses of the Chacha:hsiʔasʔath, an Ho : I : ʔath ʔoshtaqimiɬ. MM stated that this subgroup also had a house in the winter village of Nomaqami:s (25). There is disagreement as to the meaning Chacha:hsiʔas. RS translated it as ‘reefs in front’; Sapir as ‘islands-scattered-in-front-of-village’; and JT as ‘a place where it is dripping from the eaves.’ BH believed the name refers to ‘pushing open a house door’ (in order to wake the occupants). (St. Claire 1991, 91)

In pre-contact times the meaning of čaačaaċiiʕas would have been commonly understood throughout the area. Colonization has impacted our understanding of the meaning of čaačaaċiiʕas through a disruption in passing on the language and/or an outright loss of the language, making it a struggle to articulate the meaning(s) of čaačaaċiiʕas in my writing. Here is what I have come to understand. čaačaaċiiʕas is not monolithic, in its use and/or meaning. čaačaaċiiʕas exists in a multitude of ways that extend beyond the physical and material. It is something more than land, water, and resources; in fact, I have come to recognize čaačaaċiiʕas

as a being, in and of itself, an important distinction that is discussed throughout the dissertation. In doing so, I accept the fluid and changing nature of how čaačaaċiiʕas was understood by my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, by my living family, the huuʕiiʔat and nuučaaʕuł, as well as non-Indigenous people, communities, industry, and governments. To clarify my point, my culture recognizes and teaches that all things have agency, including the lands, waters, skies, animals, trees, plants, etc.; however, my recognition of such agency during my research comes from the experiences, connections, and relationships that I established throughout my fieldwork in čaačaaċiiʕas.

The čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ became part of the huuʕiiʔat during a period of war in Barkley Sound, now known as the Long Wars[17]. My family's oral history tells that we were reluctant to amalgamate; we were the last to join with the other eight nations, and this required extensive negotiations (čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ oral history). The results of the negotiations saw that my family would be the head whalers of huuʕiiʔat, would hold the third seat in the newly formed nation, and would stand to the left of the taẏii ḥawił because our ḥaḥuuɬi, from the water, is to the left of the taẏii ḥawił ḥaḥuuɬi. In return the čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ would recognize ƛiišin as the taẏii ḥawił.

Prior to contact and before the amalgamation the čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ consisted of two families. Today they use the family names of Happynook and Sport. My family, Happynook, were whalers and carried the hereditary responsibility for čaačaaċiiʕas and the Sport family were medicine

[17] In 1955 Sapir and Swadesh published Kwishanishim's account of the Long Wars, recorded by Alex Thomas in 1914. The account was translated into English by Sapir and Thomas.

people. Not long after contact in the late 1700s, nuučaaʕuł ways of knowing, being, and doing were devastated by colonization and its many attempts to assimilate us. In 2011 the huuʕiiʔat signed the Maa-nulth Final Agreement alongside the Ka:'yu:'k't'h'/Che:k'tles7et'h', Toquaht, Uchucklesaht and Yuułuʔiłʔatḥ nations. With the signing of our modern treaty, huuʕiiʔat reinstated our traditional system for determining membership in the nation. Now each huuʕiiʔat citizen belongs to one of the hereditary "houses," what we call maʔas. maʔas, as I understand it now, can describe both a physical house and metaphorical house. In the metaphorical understanding, "houses" consist of a ḥawił, their family, and any other families that live with/in and help to care for the ḥaḥuuɬi. It is worth noting that our maʔas system is fluid, and families who do not have a hereditary responsibility to the ḥaḥuuɬi can move and/or switch maʔas. An example of this is the Johnson family who, in 2011, asked to be part the čaačaaċiiʕas maʔas once our treaty was signed and we were no longer bound by the Indian Act. Today the čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ maʔas consists of the Happynook, Sport, and Johnson families.

My family left our hereditary homeland of čaačaaċiiʕas around 1860, and this departure marked the last time anyone from my family lived there. As with many other huuʕiiʔat at the time we moved between numaqimyis (Sarita) and čapis (Dodger's Cove). Sometime later, my family along with many others were moved to ʔanaqƛa (Figure 3), a former Indian Reserve near Bamfield, BC. Forced resettlement was one aspect of a widespread and systemic colonial project of assimilation conducted by Canada towards Indigenous people. The impacts of the forced resettlement of Indigenous peoples in Canada are still being felt generations after initial relocations. Moreover, the dispossession of our lands and our forced relocation to reserves (status Indians) and/or

forced resettlement in the city (non-status Indians) also prevented us from maintaining our relationships with the lands, waters, skies, and natural and spiritual resources. I can attest to these impacts from personal and lived experience. The loss of traditional lands, waters, and resources has deeply impacted my family, hampering our ability to conduct ceremony and uphold our traditional responsibilities and relationship to our maʔas and ḥaḥuuɬi. At the same time, čaačaaċiiʕas was not able to fulfill its role within the relationship because the watershed was clearcut, effectively severing its ability to provide the necessities of life for čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ living in ḥaḥuuɬi. The violence that our yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu and ḥaḥuuɬi endured from forcibly being separated mirrors the violence of the Indian residential schools and the forcible removal of our children. The former was about severing our relationships to ḥaḥuuɬi, the latter about severing our relationships to our language, culture, and family. Fortunately, my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu survived both experiences, as did our ḥaḥuuɬi and now we have begun to rebuild our relationship.

In 1970, čaačaaċiiʕas, known by then as Carnation Creek, was the subject of an experiment that evolved into a multidisciplinary and ongoing research project studying the impacts of forestry practices on watershed processes and salmon populations. The BC Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy 2021 describes how the experiment was initiated by

> Fisheries and Oceans Canada and MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. together with federal and provincial government partners including the Canadian Forest Service and the B.C. Forest Service. Today, the B.C. Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy continues and leads this research into long-term, forestry-related effects and watershed recovery processes in collaboration with key government and industry partners.

> This intensive, single-watershed case study has generated the longest series of continuous data on fish-forestry interactions in the world. The comprehensive, multi-disciplinary study has made major contributions to B.C. forestry legislation, regulations, and guidelines in the 1980s and 1990s. It continues to inform best management practices today. (BC Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy 2021)

The BC Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy website[18] paints a very positive picture but makes no mention of the impacts of the experiment on my family, nation, and ḥaḥuuɬi. The fact is that čaačaaċiiʕas was nearly destroyed by acts of colonization and scientific experimentation to enable natural resource extraction and capitalism: the watershed was clear-cut and as a direct result, the land became uninhabitable for people and animals. The impacts of colonial intervention at čaačaaċiiʕas are demonstrated through multiple generations of my family possessing little to no knowledge or experience of čaačaaċiiʕas; some members of my family have only been there once and only for a few hours, others having never been. Our relationship with the land was severed from the devastation that occurred through the experiment. The experiment is now a long-term study, nearing its 50th year at the time I am writing. During our treaty negotiations, my father agreed to allow the research project to continue until its 100th year, at which time the seated ḥawiɬ of čaačaaċiiʕas will decide if it can continue. Today, my family is beginning to return to čaačaaċiiʕas, to pick up our responsibilities, to walk the land, to bathe and pray in the waters, and to breathe the air of our ḥaḥuuɬi.

[18] For more information about the project refer to the BC government website as https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/plants-animals-ecosystems/fish/aquatic-habitat-management/fish-forestry/carnation-creek

My research

Two unprecedented circumstances provided the opportunity to conduct research to understand my hereditary connection to and responsibilities for čaačaaćiiʕas: 1) my family and čaačaaćiiʕas are in a committed process of healing our relations, and 2) in 2011 my nation signed the Maa-nulth Final Agreement with the province of British Columbia and Canada (Maa-nulth First Nations Final Agreement Act). The signing of the Maa-nulth Final Agreement is important because huuʕiiʔat is a self-governing nation with treaty lands and laws, the huuʕiiʔat ḥaẇiiḥ play a role in the new governance structure, and much of our ḥaḥuuɬi, including significant parts of čaačaaćiiʕas are now treaty lands and as such are subject to huuʕiiʔat laws.

My family's knowledge and our whaling practice comes from čaačaaćiiʕas; it is where we first learned to be whalers, received our spiritual power, and is the reason my family are the head whalers of huuʕiiʔat. čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ knowledge and our understanding of the natural systems and cycles stems from teachings developed through relationships established over millennia between my family and our lands, waters, skies, resources, and the natural and spiritual worlds. These relationships are recognized by other nuučaaʕuɬatḥ through the laws, protocols, and knowledge surrounding whaling. My family's knowledge guides me every day as I try to live our teachings/laws as daily practice, what Cliff Atleo (Kitsumkalum/Kitselas and Ahousaht) describes as "living nuuchahnulth" (Atleo 2010, 38). In my personal life this knowledge is the basis for ethical ways of living well. In my work as an anthropologist, it also serves to define and ground my approach to what western academic tradition calls research methods. My doctoral research focuses on the practice of čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ knowledge through my commitment to physically and

spiritually connecting with the lands, waters, and resources of čaačaaċiiʕas. And, as I argue in this dissertation, the return of humans to čaačaaċiiʕas is a critical component to the health and wellness of both my family and our ḥaḥuuɬi.

Since the closure of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2015, the action or process of reconciliation has become synonymous with the repair of relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. Yet, the act of reconciliation extends much further than this human realm of understanding. Reconciliation must also be about land and, I argue, must include the repair of relationships between Indigenous peoples and the traditional territories from which some of us have been separated by colonial processes. For myself, the process of reconciliation begins by returning to my family's ḥaḥuuɬi to walk the land, bathe and pray in the waters, breath the air, and engage with the natural and spiritual worlds of čaačaaċiiʕas.

Four questions guide my (re)connection[19] with čaačaaċiiʕas, research, and writing:

1. How do I understand the relationship between čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ connection to land, my family's traditional knowledge, and the revival of our culture?
2. How does reconnecting to land, relate to and support language revitalization, and how might learning the language *on the land* change the way čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ conceptualize our worldviews within and outside of that territory?

[19] I write (re)connection using parentheses to acknowledge that this dissertation documents an intentional reconnection with čaačaaċiiʕas even though my connection to čaačaaċiiʕas began many years before my doctoral research and first field day in 2020.

3. How can traditional whaling knowledge inform the development of Indigenous research frameworks, methodology and theory in academia while upholding čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaʕuł laws, as well as the laws of nations that I may work in and/or travel through?
4. How can čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ knowledge inform čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ self-determination and huuʕiiʔat governance in a contemporary context?

To address these questions, the objectives of my doctoral research and dissertation are to document my own (re)connection to land, the acquisition and transfer of traditional knowledge, and the re-emergence of land-based cultural practices between my family and our ḥaḥuułi. The focus of my fieldwork is on my own experience of reconnecting, revitalizing, and restoring my family's knowledge, presence, and traditional responsibilities in and to čaačaaċiiʕas. I achieved this during my fieldwork as I explored and experienced the places in čaačaaċiiʕas that my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu knew intimately, places that I knew only as story. My research connected me to my family's places of responsibility, knowledge, ceremony, and spirituality, not solely through a theoretical understanding, but through an embodied way of learning on and from čaačaaċiiʕas.

Literature Review

This literature review is non-traditional in its approach in that I am not actually reviewing the literature in so much as I am in conversation with the literature and its relationship to my own work. My doctoral research follows in the footsteps of nuučaaʕuł scholars and researchers whose

work examines the relationships between Indigenous people, land, and culture (e.g., Atleo 2010; Atleo 2006; Clutesi 1969, 1990; Cote 2010; George 2003; Happynook 2010; Mack 2011; Ogilvie 2007; Smith 2018; Webster 1983). To date, the publications of Indigenous scholars and allies have called for a return to land-based theory and methodologies and is most typically carried out through interviews with Elders and knowledge holders on the land (e.g. Absolon 2011; Absolon and Willett 2005; Basso 1996; Coulthard and Simpson 2016; Daigle 2016; Fox et al. 2016; Gaudry 2011; Greenwood and de Leeuw 2017; Hill 2017, Hunt 2014; Kovach 2009; Lavallee 2009; Pasternak 2017; Simpson 2017; Thom 2017; Wildcat et al. 2014; Wilson 2008). My own work seeks to ground such intellectual momentum by situating my research with the lands, waters, skies, and the natural and spiritual worlds of čaačaaćiiʔas as a non-human teacher and knowledge holder. In this way, čaačaaćiiʔas is not just a place or object for inquiry, it is a being that requires specific kinds of engagement for the kind of (re)connection I am doing.

This literature review has three areas of foci. First, anthropological/ethnographic literature, specifically, texts written by Philip Drucker (1951) and Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh (1939, 1955), because their work has become synonymous with nuučaaʕuł research and scholarship. In my time as a student of anthropology I have seen their work heavily critiqued, which I think has caused many scholars to hesitate to engage with it; however, I have found value in its contents. Second, Indigenous scholars and allies, specifically, Keith Basso (1996), Glen Coulthard and Leanne Simpson (2016), Michelle Daigle (2016), Margo Greenwood and Sarah de Leeuw (2007), Sarah Morales (2014, 2018), Shiri Pasternak (2017), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), Victor Steffensen (2019), and Brian Thom (2017), because they are writing about the connections between story,

land, knowledge, and identity. Third, nuučaaʔuł literature, specifically, Richard E. Atleo (2010), Marlene Atleo (2006) George Clutesi (1969, 1990), Charlotte Cote (2010), Earl Maquinna George (2003), Tommy Happynook (2010), Ki-ke-in (2013a, 2013b), Johnny Mack (2011), Ruth Ogilvie (2007), Dawn Smith (2018), and Peter Webster (1983), all of whom are nuučaaʔuł people who have contributed to the continued production of nuučaaʔuł knowledge, teachings, and literature.

Anthropological and ethnographic literature

The relationship between the nuučaaʔuł, anthropology, and ethnography began with a well-documented theory that the nuučaaʔuł people and culture were vanishing and thus needed to be captured for the historical record. This was an ideology applied to circumstances of Indigenous peoples throughout North America. The results of which saw early research and documentation of nuučaaʔuł knowledge and culture include varying degrees of appropriation, misunderstanding, and misinterpretation (Drucker 1951; Sapir and Swadesh 1939, 1955). The mistakes of early anthropology and ethnography continued well into the late 1990s (Ames 1981, 1994; Arnold 1995; Donald 1983; Golla 1988; Harkin 1998) as new researchers relied heavily on earlier literature. Unfortunately, and in many cases, this perpetuated the well-established colonial methods for research on Indigenous nations and in some cases worsened the relationship between the nuučaaʔuł, anthropology, and ethnography (Ward et al. 1991, 1993). Beginning in the early 2000's, there was a shift away from deeply colonial approaches to research towards more collaborative and/or Indigenous led research (Kotilla 2001; Mackie & Williamson 2003; Monks et al. 2001; McMillan 2000, 2003, 2009, 2015, 2019; McMillan & St. Claire 2012; Rousseau 2001).

Both of Sapir and Swadesh's books (1939, 1955) are valuable beyond the necessary critiques because they consist of a series of translations of nuučaaʕuł oral histories, in the words of nuučaaʕuł Elders and knowledge holders rather than authoritative accounts by anthropologists. However, I am going to focus on their 1955 book entitled, *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography*, the descriptions of the pre-contact huuʕiiʔat amalgamation and the role of huuʕiiʔat and čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ in the Long Wars. The written accounts are valuable because they are consistent with the oral history I have learned and are meaningful examples of how written and oral histories can complement each other. My family's oral history is that we were the last family to join the huuʕiiʔat amalgamation but lacks many of the details which lead us to the decision to amalgamate. However, an account of the Long Wars and an attack on čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ, obtained in 1914, was published 16 years after Sapir's death in 1939 based on knowledge shared in the nuučaaʕuł language by Elder Kwishanishim, and translated by Alex Thomas, John Thomas, and Frank Williams with further translations by Sapir and Swadesh (1955, 413). I cannot help but think that this account, that of an attack, may have been one of the factors in the decision to amalgamate. This reading of *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography* resonated with me because in its pages are accounts that name čaačaaćiiʕas (1955, 422-425) and specific members of my family (244-248). Moreover, the nuučaaʕuł narratives shared throughout this book highlight a time in nuučaaʕuł history when our nations were far more numerous, and I believe this helps to break down some of the misconceptions of the Indigenous peoples of Canada as having a pan-Indigenous identity that is perpetuated by terms like First Nations, Aboriginal, and/or Indigenous.

Drucker's book entitled, *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes* published in 1951, is iconic. This book is perhaps the best known and most widely cited literature written about nuučaaʔuł culture. I have read this book several times over the course of my education and have always critiqued it quite heavily. Reading this time with the intention of finding value in its contents was a good experience for me because I noticed some things that I missed previously. Drucker's writing does have an implied sense of "ownership" to it, which is not unexpected, but when I look past the positioning of the author, I found that Drucker had a real preference for nuučaaʔuł culture, more so than for any other nations. He even goes so far as to acknowledge the Europeans' treachery in dealings with Indigenous people (1951, 12). Drucker also writes about his apparent disappointment in having to use the standard categorizations of ethnology because of the complexities of the nuučaaʔuł culture (1951, 2) which was a kind of self-location that was not happening among his contemporaries. Drucker, like many others, was very interested in nuučaaʔuł whaling, its practices, rituals, equipment, and our dealings with the supernatural (1955, 27-48; 163). Throughout the course of his work, he made good, useful descriptions of whaling equipment. These descriptions can be used in collaboration with my own knowledge to recreate, for example, whaling equipment and/or ceremonial regalia, as I begin the process of rebuilding my family's ḥuupukʷanum[20] (discussed further in Chapter 2). I think the detailed descriptions in this book used in conjunction with huuʕiiʔat oral history and our recently

[20] ḥuupukʷanum is a nuučaaʔuł word that loosely describes such items as songs, dances, masks, names, etc. See Happynook 2010: 25 for a broader discussion of. See Happynook 2010:24

repatriated museum artifacts can aid in the creation and rebuilding of the ḥuupukʷanum of our ḥaẇiiḥ.

I am not alone in revisiting early anthropological literature with the intention of looking beyond the critiques. Kwakwaka'wakw scholar Marianne Nicolson (Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw) discusses the value of early anthropology for contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw in her Master's thesis entitled, "Moving Forward While Looking Back: A Kwakwaka'wakw Concept of Time as Expressed in Language and Culture" (2005). She notes:

> Boas with the assistance of George Hunt, a Kwak'wala speaker, compiled vast amounts of ethnographic data on the Kwakwaka'wakw from the late Nineteenth Century into the mid-Twentieth Century (Codere 1966, Rohner 1969). Following Boas' instructions, Hunt compiled numerous texts written in the Kwak'wala language with English translations (see Berman 1994, Cannizzo 1983, and Jacknis 1991, for details regarding Hunt's contributions). This data is proving to be a valuable resource to contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw coming to terms with a cultural practice that was actively suppressed by the Canadian Government from 1884-1953 (Cole 1991). (2005, 1)

Gwi'molas Ryan Nicolson (Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw) is another Kwakwaka'wakw scholar who has looked to early anthropological literature and found value. In his 2019 Master's thesis entitled: "Playing the hand you're dealt: An analysis of Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw traditional governance and its resurgence" Nicolson writes about how "manuscripts were recorded by anthropological processes but were actually used by the narrators as a way of recording and passing down traditional histories… [He includes] them to show how oral history, in this instance, has transformed into literary transcripts." (2019, 35). For me, the revisiting of early anthropological literature beyond the contemporary but necessary critiques is an important step

in the reclamation of our knowledge and the undoing of anthropological appropriation, misunderstanding, and misinterpretation.

Indigenous and ally literature

Story, like song, is one of several ways that Indigenous knowledge is transferred from one generation to the next. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith puts it, "stories contribute to a collective story in which every Indigenous person has a place… [and] stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture." (2012, 145-146). Our stories, and as I will come to show in Chapter 3, our songs, are not just entertainment, they are expressions of our history, knowledge, teachings, and laws.

Victor Steffensen, Tagalaka from the Gulf Country of north Queensland, Australia, connects story and land in his chapter entitled "Putting the People Back into the Country" (Steffensen 2019). He writes:

> [l]earning cultural knowledge is always best done when it is practiced traditionally, out on the country. Living the knowledge everyday happens by going out on the land, hunting, learning about the plants and animals, while caring for all the special places. (225)

Steffensen is sharing his experience of learning from Elders while walking on the traditional lands of his mother. I do not have access to Elders who lived at čaačaaċiiʔas who I can learn from. My father has an aunt in California and an uncle in Winnipeg, both of whom we are distanced from us for reasons related to colonization, making my father the most knowledgeable living member of my family still connected to čaačaaċiiʔas. However, my father's health prevented him from

being able to participate in my research in čaačaaćiiʕas. Thus, my fieldwork in čaačaaćiiʕas was done in isolation, after consultation with my father and uncle. This is where my work is distinct. I am learning directly from the natural and spiritual worlds without an Elder and/or knowledge holder who can facilitate and/or interpret encounters in the moment. I write about my experiences of being on the land, as other Indigenous scholars do, but I also write about how I traveled to and from čaačaaćiiʕas; I do not just appear on the land with and Elder and/or knowledge holder.

Keith Basso connects land and story in his book, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (1996). In Chapter 2, he recounts a conversation in which he was told how "places have stories. We shoot each other with them, like arrows" (48). I like this analogy because of the duality of the statement. While we can be struck with the arrows of story and land, and come to understand ourselves in new ways, we can also be struck by those same arrows in harmful ways if we are not mindful of the power of the land and story. As I will document in subsequent chapters, my work connects story, land, and identity. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I had more stories about places in čaačaaćiiʕas than I did experiences. Throughout my fieldwork, I have had encounters and experiences that have connected me to the lands, waters, skies, and the natural and spiritual worlds of čaačaaćiiʕas. In Basso's words, "places have stories" (48), and my songs are the stories of the places, yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, and

beings that I have encountered. As it relates to identity, my time in čaačaaċiiʕas helped me to better understand and connect to the images on my family's łiicapiłim.[21]

Like Basso, Shiri Pasternak's book *Grounded Authority: The Algonquins of Barriere Lake Against the State* (2017) is about the connections between story, land, and self-determination, as well as traditional laws and responsibilities. Pasternak writes how stories "convey important information for survival in the bush" (101). An example of this in my research is a story told to me by my naniqʔsu, Lizzie, who shared that if you are in the bush by yourself, you should carry a walking stick and sing to yourself. She said that a walking stick confuses predators, who know what two feet (humans) and four feet (animals) sounds like when moving through the bush. The singing is so that animals can easily locate where you are and avoid you. These are two teachings that I practiced in čaačaaċiiʕas during my fieldwork.

Brian Thom offers an interesting perspective for thinking about and engaging with the ancestors and spiritual world from a culture that is not his, in a land that he is not from but lives on. In his chapter "Entanglements in Coast Salish Territories," in *Entangled Territorialities: negotiating Indigenous lands in Australia and Canada* (2017), Thom asks the question "What are the ways for living in Indigenous ancestral territories in the twenty-first century?" (2017, 142). This is an interesting question for me because I do not live in my ancestral territory, but I am immersed in the culture, knowledge, and teachings that come from my ḥaḥuuɬi. In answer to his question, he

[21]łiicapiłim is a nuučaaʕuɬ word that refers to "ceremonial curtains" and are discussed in more detail in chapter two.

writes about how his own (and other anthropologists') reflections help to draw "attention to the importance of taking seriously Indigenous ontological categories and experiences" (143). To strengthen this statement, Thom shares a personal experience of a time in which he was admonished by an Indigenous Elder for picking and almost consuming blackberries in a graveyard (145-46). Whatever Thom's personal beliefs, the Elders (from the article) and I would argue the ancestors and land too, believed that harm could come from consuming food growing in a graveyard. Thom's acknowledgement of the agency of the land and ancestors is important to my work and the types of engagement that am trying to do in my doctoral work.

Margo Greenwood and Sarah de Leeuw also make connections between land and story (2007). Their article begins with a story shared by Shuswap Elder Mary Thomas. Thomas' story teaches us that "human beings have no ownership over the land. We are simply a part, indeed a very small part of it." (49). Building from Thomas' story, the authors argue "that the health and well-being of Indigenous children, communities, and ultimately their nations, arise from this connection to land and from a strength of culture that grows this connectivity" (49). In my own experience, I was told some of the stories from čaačaaċiiʕas but was never able to connect to the place they are from. However, through my research, and work to (re)connect with čaačaaċiiʕas, my son is growing up connected to and learning in and form his ḥaḥuuɬi.

While it is important to recognize how the land strengthens us, it is equally important to recognize that our relationship to the land must be reciprocal. Coulthard and Simpson (2016) and

Leanne Simpson (2017) consider reciprocity between land, water, humans, and non-humans through the concept of grounded normativity, they write:

> [grounded normativity] reproduces the practices and procedures, based on deep reciprocity, that are inherently informed by an intimate relationship to place. Grounded normativity teaches us how to live our lives in relation to other people and nonhuman life forms in a profoundly nonauthoritarian, non-dominating, non-exploitive manner. Grounded normativity teaches us how to be in respectful diplomatic relationships with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous nations with whom we might share territorial responsibilities or common political or economic interests. Our relationship to the land itself generates the processes, practices, and knowledges that inform our political systems, and through which we practice solidarity. To willfully abandon them would amount to a form of auto-genocide. (2016, 254)

The concept of grounded normativity acknowledges and emphasizes the human to non-human relationships as much as it does the human-to-human relationships. This is important in the context of my research because so much of the knowledge I acquired during my fieldwork was through engagement with the non-human (natural and spiritual) worlds. The songs I composed during my research (see Chapter 3) were created in a reciprocal relationship between čaačaaċiiʕas, my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, and myself.

Mushkegowuk Cree scholar Michelle Daigle's work entitled *Awawanenitakik: The Spatial Politics of Recognition and Relational Geographies of Indigenous Self-determination* (2016) reinforces the invoking of Indigenous law during research. According to Daigle, awawanenitakik is a law that can be:

> roughly translated as the importance of living an Omushkegowuk Cree way of life by actively upholding our responsibilities to our ancestral lands by engaging in place-based customs such as learning and speaking Omushkego, the Cree language, taking part in our annual ceremonies and harvesting and sharing our local foods. (3)

Concepts like awawanenitakik are a strong reminder about the connection between living a good life and maintaining a strong relationship to the land. My own work and engagement with traditional law parallels the concept of awawanenitakik as I perform ceremony, learn, practice, and use language throughout the ḥaḥuuɬi, and locate places that I can harvest a variety of natural resources.

Cowichan Tribes scholar, Sarah Morales also emphasizes the connections between law, land, and culture in her article entitled "Locating Oneself in One's Research: Learning and Engaging with Law in the Coast Salish World (2018)," when she writes that "Law comes to life in peoples' lives, not just in their minds… It must make sense in its 'place'. Law cannot be separated from its surrounding culture" (149). This was true throughout my fieldwork. As I practiced ceremony in čaačaaćiiʕas I was invoking čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaʕuɬ laws, even though at the time I was not thinking about it that way. Morales continues by emphasizing that:

> our continuing connection to the land and fulfilling our role within that ongoing relationship is centred on our specific environment and the relationships it maintains, rather than on events that may be seen as historically important to others but have only a tenuous connection to our land.
>
> Maintaining traditional obligations to the land is no less important than common law proof of ownership. Furthermore, although there are distinctions made between relationships with ancestors and people and those made with the environment, the principles of snuw'uyulh[22] govern all of these interactions. This idea informs a Hul'qumi'num research methodology because in examining the Hul'qumi'num legal tradition one must always be cognizant not to sever the relationship between the law and the land. This was demonstrated to me during interviews with my Elders. Laws were never discussed in the abstract. They were always spoken of in relation to place and time. (162)

[22] Snuw'uyulh refers to a condition generated by the application of seven teachings: 1) Sts'lhnuts'amat ("Kinship/Family"); 2) Si'emstuhw ("Respect"); 3) Nu stl'I ch ("Love"); 4) Hw'uywulh ("Sharing/Support"); 5) Sh-tiiwun ("Responsibility"); 6) Thu'it ("Trust"); and 7) Mel'qt ("Forgiveness") (Morales 2014)

After reading the work of Basso (1996), Coulthard and Simpson (2016), Daigle (2016), Greenwood and de Leeuw (2007), Morales (2014, 2018), Pasternak (2017), Smith (2012), Steffensen (2019), and Thom (2017) it is apparent to me that colonization has deeply impacted Indigenous laws and lands, as well as the connections between our laws and lands: first by writing them down and removing them from the context they were given/created; and second, by presenting them as story, myth, and/or legend and turning them from law to fictional concepts of a long-ago culture. Counter to this narrative, as the next section will show, is the work of George Clutesi. Clutesi's written work contains a wealth of nuučaaʔuł knowledge and teachings layered into fictional stories.

nuučaaʔuł literature

Despite many acts of colonization, nuučaaʔuł resistance, resilience, resurgence, reclamation, and the hard-fought recognition of rights opened doors for nuučaaʔuł people to begin writing about ourselves (Clutesi 1968, 1969, 1990; Webster 1983) and/or in collaboration with non-nuučaaʔuł researchers (Arima et al. 1990, 1991, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2009; Bridge and Neary 2013; Garrison et al. 2019; Green 2014, 2016, 2018, 2019; Helwig-Larsen 2017; Keitlah and Foxcroft 1995). Such knowledge production marked a turning point in the literature and a shift from the ideology that nuučaaʔuł culture was vanishing. Today, we are telling our own stories, in our own ways (Atleo 2010; Atleo 2004, 2011; Atleo 2006; Cote 2010; George 2003; Happynook 2010; Ki-ke-in 2013a, 2013b; Mack 2011; Ogilvie 2007; Smith 2018). Our presence at post-secondary institutions and

our exercise of tighter control and expectations of research and researchers in our communities have shifted the way that anthropologists and ethnographers relate to/with us and our culture.

The literature of nuučaaʔuł scholars (e.g., Atleo 2010; Atleo 2004, 2011; Clutesi 1969, 1990; Cote 2010; George 2003; Happynook 2010; Ki-ke-in 2013a, 2013b; Mack 2011; Smith 2018; Webster 1983) is arguably the most important and valuable of all the literature I reviewed because it is written by nuučaaʔuł people and from nuučaaʔuł perspectives. The work of each of these scholars is valuable for anyone looking to work with the nuučaaʔuł because we are telling our stories, from our perspectives, and in our way(s). It is valuable for my work because I share a similar worldview and cultural context which allows me to read, understand, and learn from such literature in ways that non-nuučaaʔuł cannot. This idea is further discussed in Chapter 2.

Atleo (2010), Atleo (2004, 2011), Atleo (2006); Cote (2011), Happynook (2010), Ki-ke-in (2013a, 2013b), Mack (2011); Ogilvie (2007) and Smith (2018) are all examples of nuučaaʔuł people who are drawing on our culture, thinking about it critically, writing from a nuučaaʔuł perspective, and pushing beyond the typical bounds of Canadian scholarship to meet the criteria for graduate degrees and/or work within universities. For example, in my own work I created a cultural song to meet the requirements of a comprehensive exam and then used that same song during my fieldwork as a methodological approach for (re)connecting with ḥaḥuuɬi (discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

Ahousaht ḥawiɬ, Earl Maquinna George's book *Living on the on the Edge: Nuu-Chah-Nulth History from an Ahousaht Chief's Perspective* (2003) is an autoethnographic account of his life and exemplifies a story-telling approach to academic writing and completing a graduate thesis. My own work is influenced by George's narrative approach to academic writing, particularly in my choice to use poetry, storytelling, and/or song in my academic writing.

In his graduate thesis, "Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development and the Changing Nature of our Relationships Within the Ha'hoolthlii of our Ha'wiih" (2010), Cliff Atleo (Kitsumkalum/Kitselas and Ahousaht) discusses the difference between being nuučaaʕuɬ and living nuučaaʕuɬ (2010, 38-42). This difference is relevant to my own research through my argument that there is an "action-oriented element to Nuu-chah-nulth identity" (38) that comes from living nuučaaʕuɬ. My doctoral research is about working to live nuučaaʕuɬ by enacting cultural teachings and knowledge in my interactions with the natural and spiritual worlds, as well as excepting and applying the cultural teachings and knowledge learned throughout my fieldwork.

Marlene Atleo (Ahousaht) shares that while "Nuu-chah-nulth territories were never ceded, the Western perspectives served to legally and economically redefine the relationships of Nuu-chah-nulth to their traditional territories" (2006, 7). The redefining of our relationship to land is something that my family and territory and has experienced intimately. And, it is through my research that we will once again have our relationship to čaačaaċiiʕas redefined, only this time it is being redefined by (re)connecting and re-establishing a relationship with the natural and spiritual worlds and our responsibilities to our ḥaḥuuɬi.

Chiinuuks', now known by the nuučaaʔuł name Chaw-win-is (Tla-o-qui-aht and Che:k:tles7et'h), work entitled "Regenerating Haa-huu-pah as a foundation of Quu'asminaa governance" (2007) is about the regeneration of teachings and knowledge in the development of nuučaaʔuł self-determination. Furthermore, she discusses the personal and collective responsibilities of nuučaaʔuł ḥaẇiiḥ to uphold the laws of our ḥaḥuuƚi. Where Chaw-win-is has turned to her human relatives for knowledge and teachings, I have turned to the ḥaḥuuƚi itself for knowledge and teachings.

Johnny Mack (Toquaht) also writes about nuučaaʔuł people's contemporary relationship to our lands and discusses the need for the nuučaaʔuł to find our way home and rebuild our canoe (2011). I see this as an assertion that we need to rebuild our connection to our ḥaḥuuƚi, which I am doing by (re)connecting to čaačaaċiiʕas and rebuilding my family's ḥuupukʷanum.

Ke-ke-in (2013a, 2013b) offers insight into how nuučaaʔuł people continue to practice our ways and contribute to the continued production of our own knowledge, despite being overlooked by non-nuučaaʔuł researchers. As I will describe in Chapters 2 and 3, my work is about picking up our ways and my writing is a contribution to the continued production of nuučaaʔuł knowledge.

Dawn Smith's dissertation (2018) entitled "hiitl kwii itl sitla (bringing something good from way back): A Journey to Humanize Post-Secondary Education" considers how nuučaaʔuł traditional teachings contribute to and inform post-secondary Indigenization and curriculum writing

projects today. Like Smith, I see my research and dissertation as contributing knowledge, academically and culturally, but shared in a way that is appropriate, safe, and in alignment with nuučaaʕuł teachings and laws. Specifically, my research contributes to my teaching practice, and the knowledge, stories, and experiences I share with students in the classroom.

My M.A. thesis (Happynook 2010) is both the foundation and a point of departure for the research I am writing about in this dissertation. My earlier work was theoretical and focused on my understanding the teachings and knowledge of my family. My doctoral research and this dissertation focus on ways by which I have implemented the teachings and knowledge discussed in my Master's degree research thesis as I (re)connect with my family's ḥaḥuuɬi (detailed further in Chapter 2 and 3).

The contributions made by Peter Webster (Ahousaht) and George Clutesi (ċišaaʔatḥ) to the continued production of nuučaaʕuł knowledge cannot be understated. Webster's *As far as I know* (1983) is an excellent example of writing from a nuučaaʕuł perspective and demonstrates nuučaaʕuł teachings by sharing with readers the villages and ḥaḥuuɬi he come from. He writes about how he would move throughout the land and waters, traveling between

> Yarksis to O-in-mi-tis (ʔuuʔinmitis), also called Bear River, at the end of Bedwell Sound. Later, usually, late November, they would move to Cloolth-Pich (ƛułṗič), near Robert Point, on the west coast of Meares Island. In the Spring they would return to Yarksis and travel from there in Summer to Ahous (ʕaahuus), Blunden Island and Bare (Cleland) Island on the west coast of Vargas Island. After a return to Yarksis, the cycle would start again. (17)

This kind of detail helps other nuučaaʔuł to better know who he is, where he comes from, and possibly how we are related. Webster goes on to share knowledge of ceremony (23) and discusses responsibilities, upholding them, and relationships between the natural world and humans (51), all of which contributed to my own incomplete knowledge (discussed in the next section), and helped me in my own (re)connection work with čaačaaċiiʕas.

George Clutesi (ċišaaʔatḥ) is a very important and well-known figure, who shows tremendous humility[23] in his writing by not claiming to be an expert on the things he is sharing. Two of Clutesi's books, *Potlatch* (1969) and *Stand Tall my Son* (1990) are central texts to my approach to research. As I mentioned at the end of the previous section, Clutesi's books are significant because of how they are written and presented as fictional stories or fables as the author calls them. However, as a nuučaaʔuł person reading these books through a nuučaaʔuł cultural context they become so much more than fables, they become manuals for practicing ceremony and for living a good nuučaaʔuł life. Clutesi's work is important because he was using his writing as a counter narrative to the mainstream writing about nuučaaʔuł people and culture. His brilliance is in how he was able to present his writing as fiction for some and teachings for others. At a time when Indigenous laws were still being outlawed and reduced to fictional stories and accounts as defined by the Western tradition, Clutesi was reclaiming ċišaaʔatḥ stories, through his own (re)telling of them. I do not know if he intended his writing to be used this way, but his books have helped me begin to rebuild my family's ḥuupukʷanum, which contains our laws, and invoke čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaʔuł ceremony and law throughout my ḥaḥuuɬi.

[23] See Happynook 2010: 68 for a nuučaaʔuł perspective on humility.

In the third chapter of *Potlatch* (1969), Clutesi writes about ḥaḥuułi and governance (territory and responsibility), two subjects that are very important for understanding the nuučaaʔuł (31-35). The stories Clutesi shares are interlaced with the observations of someone who witnessed it personally from an insider's perspective. He shares knowledge in a way that is interesting, informative, and protective. As a nuučaaʔuł person I share an epistemological and ontological context (traditional knowledge, story, teachings, and experience) with Clutesi that allows me to read and understand *Potlatch*, as if I was out on the land learning from a knowledge holder in a cultural way. This book is also a reminder that my people have been writing about our ways and sharing our knowledge since at least the late 1960s, but differently than anthropologists of that time.

Stand Tall my Son (1990) is another example of Clutesi's talent for writing fiction that is informative and protective. He reminds us that there are lessons to be learned everywhere and every day. One of the stories he shares is instructional for when and how to connect with ḥaḥuułi and I was able to implement this knowledge in the summer of 2021 with my son. In the pages of *Stand Tall my Son* Clutesi shares his knowledge about berries, ritual, ceremony, teachings, boundaries, places, herbs, medicines, cycles of the natural world, and phases of the moon (1990, 59-66), whaling and whaling gear (119); and song making (143-146). I cannot stress enough the importance of George Clutesi's contributions to the production of nuučaaʔuł knowledge and yet I feel bound to follow his example and not speak more than I already have.

What I have learned from this literature is that there is value in the work of early anthropology and ethnography despite the critiques and when considered alongside the growing work of nuučaaʔuł scholars. Specifically, I am intrigued by the ways that Clutesi and Webster can be used to validate the work of Drucker, and Sapir and Swadesh, as well as the lasting influence of early nuučaaʔuł scholars on later nuučaaʔuł scholars.

Methodology

Beyond physically putting my body on the lands and in the waters of čaačaaćiiʕas (muułmuumps[24]), I developed methodological approaches for my research using a blending of čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ and huuʕiiʔat teachings (ceremony, language, song); and well-established Indigenous, ethnographic, and anthropological methods of inquiry (such as interviews, fieldwork documentation). I situate this work at the intersections of understanding connection to place, applied and experiential learning practices, land-based learning and teaching, and the oral and written history of my people. In relation to this, there are four kinds of knowledge applicable to my research and the development of its methodology.

1) Known cultural knowledge. This is the knowledge that has remained intact and continues to be passed down through the generations of my family. Specifically, this knowledge consists of čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ teachings, ways of knowing, being and doing. This kind of knowledge was

[24] muułmuumps is a nuučaaʔuł word that translates as "being rooted to the land". I learned this term from wišqii, a huuʕiiʔat knowledge holder, cultural historian, and language speaker.

instrumental in developing and implementing my research methodologies (muułmuumps, ceremony, language, song).

2) Incomplete cultural knowledge. This too is knowledge that I know and carry, but it is incomplete because of the impacts of colonization. This knowledge required that I look for guidance from čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ and huuʕiiʔat knowledge holders in interviews to fill the gaps in my knowledge. My father and uncle were very important in the process of reconstructing incomplete ceremonial knowledge. Language is another example of incomplete knowledge because I know some of the nuučaaʕuł language but am very much a beginner in reading and writing my language beyond knowing a lot of words and some phrases.

3) Unknown and/or unaccounted for knowledge. This is the knowledge that was lost due to the impacts of colonization. In this instance I learned as my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu did, through the experience of walking the land, swimming the waters, observing the skies, bathing in the river, practicing ceremony, and appealing to the natural and spiritual world. The methodology of listening falls under this kind of knowledge because it was an unknown and unaccounted for approach until I began the process of (re)connecting with and learning from čaačaaċiiʕas.

4) Ethnographic and anthropological knowledge. This knowledge is often partial and/or incomplete and yet is still useful, as discussed in the literature review. For example, I found several my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu named in the literature I reviewed, some identified by their English names and two by their nuučaaʕuł names. Finding these names is important because the

cultural names in my family are often connected with places and/or roles and now we have two new names that can be given to čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ members.

What follows is a more detailed discussion of the specific methodologies that I used throughout my research.

muułmuumps

The concept of muułmuumps and positioning land and water as knowledge holders/teachers is an important methodological approach for my work. I am an ardent believer that everything we need to know about living a good, balanced, and sustainable life can be learned from the land, water, and natural world. This is reinforced in the many cultural stories that I have heard over the course of my life, stories I am now sharing with my son. My family's roles, responsibilities, and position within huuʕiiʔat comes from the fact that we have a relationship with čaačaaćiiʕas and that čaačaaćiiʕas has shared its many gifts with us based on an understanding of mutual respect and reciprocity. In practice that means being in relationship with the land, waters, and natural world daily. It is the reciprocal relationship/connection to the land, water, skies, and our spiritual places that allowed for our systems (government, leadership, education, etc.) to emerge in a way that reflects the natural world we lived/live in.

Colonial processes effectively removed my ability to be in relationship with čaačaaćiiʕas daily until very recently. However, over my life I heard many stories of my ancestors gaining knowledge and spiritual powers from connecting to the land through ceremony. This idea is further

reinforced by the written work of George Clutesi (1968, 1969, 1990). Embarking on this research meant that I had to trust that my family's relationship to čaačaaċiiʕas was still intact enough that I could be there and learn from the land as my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu did before me. My family's knowledge and teachings as a methodology for revitalization and (re)connection allowed me to invoke traditional family law, ceremony, and spirituality in a place and way that has not been practiced by my family in almost 100 years.

My original plan for becoming muułmuumps was to walk the entirety of čaačaaċiiʕas, its perimeter, the river, and its tributaries. I would bathe in the river's pools and in the bay. I would look for the places that my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu knew and used for ceremony. I planned to start my fieldwork in mid-September with smaller ceremonies and culminate at the end of my fieldwork with an ʔuusimč ceremony in February. I had also intended to have my father accompany me throughout my fieldwork.

My research plans changed because of my father's health and a realization from the interviews that I needed to conduct my research in isolation, which was reinforced by an experience I had on my first trip to čaačaaċiiʕas. My field work started in November 2020, which coincidentally is when my family would begin our whaling preparations and ended in February. I did not walk the entirety of čaačaaċiiʕas. I was immediately drawn to the lower watershed between the ocean and the river, and it was there that I spent most of my time. By the end of my first trip to čaačaaċiiʕas I was very aware of the fact that song and prayer were going to be the primary way for me to communicate with and engage in relationship building with čaačaaċiiʕas. I also realized

very quickly that I was not prepared to ʔuusimč at the end of my fieldwork, so instead I practiced several smaller ceremonies. Two reasons for my decision to not ʔuusimč were:1) it did not feel appropriate to practice ʔuusimč while engaged in the initial stages of connecting to/with čaačaaćiiʕas. In fact, it felt like to do so would have been disrespectful; and 2) I knew that I was not physically, mentally, emotionally, and/or spiritually ready to ʔuusimč. At the time I felt there was still too much I needed to learn from čaačaaćiiʕas.

Ceremony

Ceremony is an integral and multifaceted methodological approach in my research that goes beyond physically being in čaačaaćiiʕas. Ceremony in this context is about reawakening the spiritual connection that was intimately shared by my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu and our ḥaḥuuɬi in the present day. As a methodology, ceremony helped me begin to weave together all the bits of knowledge and teachings that I carry in the place that they come from. This research, as a starting point, and my continued practice of ceremony in čaačaaćiiʕas ensures our relationship continues to grow. In other words, ceremony is a method for picking up, and putting into practice, my responsibilities. Due to the sacredness of our ceremonies, I will not be sharing any more information about what I did and/or where.

Language

Language is integral. It is not only a descriptor in my writing, it is a different way of thinking about and conceptualizing the knowledge generated through my research and helps bring about a different outcome than expressing myself in English only. Throughout my doctoral studies I have

worked with language speakers from my community who range from advanced learners to fluent speakers, and I have used websites, apps, and dictionaries to help me express myself in the nuučaaʕuł language as I (re)connect with čaačaaċiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. With every visit to my ḥaḥuuɬi, I would come back with a deeper understand of our language and many more questions about how to express what I was experiencing. The creation of cultural songs exemplifies my language learning journey and is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

The nuučaaʕuł language is an Indigenous language and plays a substantial role in my research and writing. Colonization has homogenized our languages, significantly reducing the number of dialects that were spoken in and around what is now huuʕiiʔat ḥaḥuuɬi. Today the huuʕiiʔat are considered to speak the East Barkley Sound dialect of the nuučaaʕuł language (hinatinyis, Personal Communication, 2020).

There are many examples of Indigenous scholars incorporating Indigenous languages into their research, so much so that inclusion of Indigenous languages in Indigenous research is becoming common practice (e.g., Absolon 2011; Archibald 2008; Archibald et al. 2019; Atleo 2004, 2011; Atleo 2006; Elliott et al. 2009; Happynook 2010; Hill 2017; Ogilvie 2007; Simpson 2017; Smith 2012; Thomas 2005; and Wilson 2008). The learning and use of the nuučaaʕuł language provided an opportunity in my research for a land-based contextualization of the language as I continue to learn and use the language to engage with ḥaḥuuɬi and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. In my writing, the learning and use of language allows for different levels of understanding and engagement with my research because the use of nuučaaʕuł gives greater context and meaning

to those who understand the language. The use of the term ʔuusimč is a good example of this idea. I have defined ʔuusimč, loosely, for non-nuučaaʕuł speakers so that they can understand what I am writing about. However, for nuučaaʕuł people who know and understand the word ʔuusimč, its use invokes a deeper level of meaning from our shared language(s), oral history, stories, and for some, personal experience. Moreover, by using the nuučaaʕuł language I can interrupt the Western perspective through a prioritization of key nuučaaʕuł concepts that exist within nuučaaʕuł epistemological and ontological understandings of the world. nuučaaʕuł allows me to speak in the language of my ḥaḥuuɬi and yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, and in doing so I am reclaiming knowledge and knowledge production, connecting the past, present, and future generations of my family, and reinstituting čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaʕuł laws.

Song

Song plays an important role in the lives of nuučaaʕuł people and culture. In his book *Potlatch*, George Clutesi writes that "in Nuu-chah-nulth culture we need to start every journey with a song" (1969, 13). This insight is significant because without knowing it at the time, I set out to create a song to meet the requirements for a comprehensive exam that I could also use in my work to re-establish a relationship with čaačaaċiiʕas. One of the impacts of colonization was the loss of my family's songs when they were not passed on by my naniqʔsu Bill after his conversion to Christianity. The creation of new songs becomes a methodological approach in my research because it is through song that I have engaged most specifically with čaačaaċiiʕas, culturally and in our language. It is through the sharing and creation of songs in čaačaaċiiʕas that I have been able to experience reciprocity and connection with my ḥaḥuuɬi and yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu.

Interviews

Interviews were a small but very important part of my research. I interviewed two people for my research: my father, ḥapinyuuk (Tom Happynook), and my uncle, ʔaaniiċačišt (Larry Johnson). Both are huuʕiiʔat, members of the čaačaaċiiʕas maʔas, and mentors to me. A global pandemic and its effect on in-person interviews meant that I had to conduct interviews by email and phone. This presented a challenge from a cultural standpoint as much as it was a deviation from my Indigenous methodological approach for interviews. Fortunately, because of my familial relationship, necessity, and the understanding of ḥapinyuuk and ʔaaniiċačišt, I was able to conduct successful interviews. At his request, I emailed the questions to ḥapinyuuk so that he could respond in writing first and then followed up with a telephone conversation as we sat in our respective living rooms. ʔaaniiċačišt on the other hand texted me that he was ready to talk and asked me to call him while I was driving. After pulling over I called, and we talked on the telephone as I transcribed his answers to the interview questions. Both conversations lasted about an hour. The interviews were strictly concerned with verifying and/or increasing my knowledge of specific ceremonies. The interviews helped me prepare for the ceremonial work I did in the field, and I am not going to discuss or analyze the specific knowledge shared in the interviews because that knowledge was meant for me and my work in čaačaaċiiʕas. What I can say about the interviews is that they were instrumental towards filling in the gaps in my cultural knowledge about specific ceremonies and ways of engaging with the natural and spiritual worlds. ḥapinyuuk and ʔaaniiċačišt equipped me with the knowledge and teachings I needed to engage safely and appropriately with čaačaaċiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu.

The more I engaged with the knowledge shared in the interviews the more I realized that my work needed to be done on the land and in isolation. With the sharing of information by my father and uncle I bear the responsibility of applying it in my own context and way. I had to find my own path even as my father and uncle laid out guideposts for me to follow. I expand on this in Chapters 2 and 3.

Fieldwork Documentation

I had plans to use a lot of video and photography in conjunction with written notes, all of which I have used to varying degrees. What was interesting about documenting this process was that I learned the most when I put down my camera and notebook and listened. During one visit, I just walked in the bay at low tide before lying down and listening to čaačaaċiiʕas. The importance of this experience is difficult to quantify and/or qualify in the English language, but I was finding a way to be muułmuumps. I believe that evidentially the importance of these kinds of experiences and learning opportunities is found in the songs that I was gifted while in čaačaaċiiʕas.

Listening was an unexpected and yet almost instantly important methodology for my research from the first moments that I was in čaačaaċiiʕas. Listening, as I have come to understand it in the context of my research, involved three approaches. First, I need to engage in a deep repetitive process of listening, specifically regarding the implementation of knowledge from the interviews. This approach became apparent to me after a discussion with my supervisor, Dr. Andrea Walsh, in relation to the repetitive nature of the knowledge that was being shared with me in the

interviews with my father and uncle. I also recalled how repetition is an important Indigenous tool for the transmission of knowledge. Second, I had to learn to listen differently while in čaačaaċiiʕas. This approach required me to listen in a cultural way to the land, waters, skies, animals, and the natural and spiritual world. In this way, I found knowledge and teachings in the silence of čaačaaċiiʕas as much as in the resonating and reverberating sounds of the natural world. And third, at certain times I had to remind myself not to listen. Specifically, I had to not listen when the influences of colonization tried to undermine the experiences and the knowledge that I was gifted by čaačaaċiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. I had to trust the gifts from the land, water, skies, and natural and spiritual world by shutting down the voices of colonization that insisted what I had experienced needed to be understood from a colonial understanding of the world.

In the next chapter I will first share the different ways that I implemented my methodological approaches (discussed above) through the revisiting of known cultural knowledge and teachings. The methodological approaches I used throughout my research and fieldwork to engage with the natural and spiritual worlds can be applied in other projects, but the specifics will be different depending on many factors. This includes but is not limited to, the lands, waters, skies, resources (natural and spiritual), and ways for interacting with yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. And second, I will discuss how my understanding of family teachings, knowledge, and responsibilities has been enhanced through my doctoral research and time in čaačaaċiiʕas.

Chapter 2: ała

Revisiting Known Knowledge

In this chapter I discuss four kinds of teachings, knowledge, and positionalities that I carried into my fieldwork in čaačaaċiiʕas. First, I will discuss how I have navigated the conflict between my cultural and colonial educations and the influences each perspective has had in my research. Second, I will discuss how the knowledge I received throughout my fieldwork will be shared and with whom it will be shared. Third, I will discuss my family's łiicapiłim and the new ways that I have come to understand the images depicted on it. And fourth, I will revisit my previous writing on the concepts of ḥaḥuułi, ḥuupukʷanum, and ḥawiłmis, as well as several teachings.

In discussing these four areas I want to highlight how Indigenous teachings and knowledge are not static and/or only valid when viewed in the context of a pre-contact time (Battiste 2018; Borrows 2010; Ilutsik 2002; Little Bear 2009; Smith 2012). čaačaaċiiʕasatḥ knowledge and teachings, within the context of our systems of education (huuʕiiʔat and nuučaaʼnuł), accept and expect that our knowledge and teachings will evolve over time as they are passed down through the generations of our families, communities, and nations. As a learner, I am not expected to regurgitate memorized understandings of the knowledge being shared with me. Rather, I am responsible for showing an understanding of our teachings in the context of the time and place that I am in, even if that means it differs from how others understand it. This acceptance of knowledge and teachings evolving over time is so deeply embedded within čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaʼnuł systems of education that understanding becomes the marker of

preparedness for more advanced lessons. As such, knowledge was not freely given to everyone, it was passed down as the need arose and to the appropriate person(s). Beyond the basic common knowledge needed to participate in nuučaaʔuɬ society, knowledge was closely guarded. My family's knowledge of whaling helped us to contribute to the feeding of people, thereby giving us a purpose and place within the larger community.

A conflicted mind: culture and colonization in my research

Most of my adult life and post-secondary education has been dedicated to understanding the impacts of colonization for Indigenous peoples and therefore myself. Some of this work has been academic (writing papers, presentations etc.) but most of it has been introspective. From this, I have learned to recognize when the influences of colonization are creeping in, stop them, and redirect my path away from those influences when necessary. Understanding colonization is important but in the history of my family, ḥaḥuuɬi, and nation, colonization is but a small footnote. Rather my foci are revitalization, resurgence, and (re)connection, and my approach does not negate or dismiss the fact that colonization (historical and ongoing) is embedded in the landscape of čaačaaċiiʔas and within my own consciousness. Today, for me, it is about finding a balance by neither privileging nor omitting certain parts of my history.

Colonization is clearly seen on the lands and in the rivers of čaačaaċiiʔas. Logging roads exist and trespass as scars of colonialism. Mighty old growth trees that once stood tall lay as rotting stumps buried under the debris of clear-cut logging. A steel fish barrier, concrete pads, and research equipment such as rain gauges and sampling troughs, scour-and-fill monitors, and magnetically

tagged colour coded stones can be found along the river (BC Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy 2021). Yet, despite these significant and lasting impacts, the rejuvenation and revitalization of the watershed is underway. Layered on top of the destruction is life; the natural world abounds with life sustaining resources and my family has begun a journey home.

The divide between culture and colonization within my research is exemplified in two ways. First, the contrast between being in čaačaaċiiʕas (a place of culture) and living in the city (a place of colonization) has become ever more apparent. Physically, when I am in čaačaaċiiʕas I move at a slower pace and am more deliberate in my actions and ways of being. Mentally, I speak more slowly (to myself and čaačaaċiiʕas) because I am using as much of the nuučaaʔuł language as possible and the tempo of nuučaaʔuł is slower than English. Emotionally, I feel far more balanced when I leave čaačaaċiiʕas and experience a need to return at times of stress. This is spiritual work and I feel connected in a way that I have not experienced before (re)connecting with čaačaaċiiʕas. Second, I have felt at times that I do not have much to show in an academic context of research. My field notes are not extensive, I do not have extensive visual (photography, video) documentation, and it has been difficult to quantify and/or qualify my relationship building outside of a cultural context (e.g., receiving cultural songs), which I discuss in detail in Chapter 3. To counter these feelings, I continually reminded myself to be patient. My yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu lived in čaačaaċiiʕas and were able to experience and maintain that relationship daily, whereas I do not, partly due to the impacts of colonization and partly because I live and work in the city, four hours from čaačaaċiiʕas.

Patience is a teaching that can also be found within the huuʕiiʔat and nuučaaʼuł stories I have heard and read throughout my life. The stories of Ko-ishin-mit and Ah-tush-mit found in the pages of George Clutesi's *Son of Raven, Son of Deer* (1969)[25] all highlight how success and achievement are found through patience. My doctoral research is not an end, it is a beginning, and my first steps towards rebuilding a connection and relationship with my ḥaḥuułi, knowledge, teachings, and responsibilities.

Knowledge: what to share and with whom to share it

For Indigenous peoples and communities, the questions of what to share and who to share it with are of paramount importance. Asking ourselves these questions, at least in nuučaaʼuł culture, is not new and/or a by-product of colonization, even though colonization is a part of the consideration for asking the questions today. In my culture, knowledge is powerful and is earned through understanding and/or sacrifice, meaning some knowledge is for us and some is not. The knowledge that is for us comes with a responsibility to respect it, carry it, use it, and share it appropriately. When knowledge is acquired the holder of that knowledge must decide how that knowledge will be shared and who it will be shared with, provided they are not given specific directions regarding how to share that knowledge. The knowledge holder must decide if the knowledge acquired is personal, family, community, and/or public knowledge.

[25] Ko-ishin-mit (Raven) is often featured in stories as a being who lacks patience and suffers the consequences. Ah-tush-mit (Deer) helped humans get fire from the Wolves by showing calm and patience.

I received knowledge, teachings, and songs through connection to the natural and spiritual worlds during my fieldwork in čaačaaćiiʕas. These songs (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) are one of the culturally appropriate methods for the transmission of knowledge and teachings in nuučaaʔuł culture. In this case, I am talking about the sharing of knowledge that is beyond the common knowledge needed to function within our society, the kind of knowledge one might need to fulfill a specific role and/or responsibility within their family and/or nation. In our culture, children are observed closely to understand how they might best contribute to the nation as they grow to adulthood. Very often learning begins with a teacher (often human, sometimes not) sharing knowledge because they have recognized a child's interests or observed their potential (e.g., a child who hangs around the carvers all the time). Sometimes, children are born into a role and responsibility and so age becomes an indicator for when knowledge is shared (e.g., children who will take up a hereditary role and/or responsibility). In either case, learning begins with a teacher and the sharing of knowledge. Once a teaching and/or knowledge has been shared, the learner has the responsibly to show they have understood the knowledge, not by repeating what they were told through memorization and regurgitation but by applying it in new ways and within the context of the learner's time, place, and experience. After this, the teacher might share more knowledge and/or advanced lessons.

As noted in the methodology section in Chapter 1, there are four kinds of knowledge applicable to my research: 1) known cultural knowledge; 2) incomplete cultural knowledge; 3) unknown and/or unaccounted for knowledge; and, 4) ethnographic and anthropological knowledge. The knowledge I acquired, for the most part, during my time in čaačaaćiiʕas helped me to gain a

deeper understanding of my known cultural knowledge and a better understanding of knowledge contained within some ethnographic/anthropological literature. The new knowledge that I acquired helped me to fill in the gaps of some of my incomplete cultural knowledge and help me to identify some of the unknown and/or unaccounted for knowledge. I will continue this discussion and offer some examples in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

As I sit here writing, I have become increasingly aware of the need to be mindful of what I can and cannot share in this dissertation as I walk between and work with the laws and traditions of my culture and academia. In this regard I am reminded of Dylan Robinson's *Hungry Listening* (2020) because he asks non-Indigenous readers to stop reading on page 33 and rejoin the book at Chapter 1 on page 37. I respect Robinson for asking this of his readers because it invokes a visceral response that requires critical thought to process and firmly contextualizes Indigenous perspectives of knowledge not being for everyone (33). In this instance, Robinson is making a distinction between knowledge that is just for Indigenous people and knowledge that is for everyone. I expand on this concept in my research by putting the knowledge I acquired in and from čaačaaċiiʕas over the course of my fieldwork into four categories for transmission: public (nuučaaʼnuɬ and beyond), huuʕiiʔat (community), čaačaaċiiʕasatḥ (family/maʔas), and personal (just for me). What follows is not a detailed account of the knowledge I received while in čaačaaċiiʕas; rather this part of my dissertation places emphasis on these different ways in which I will share what I have learned.

Public knowledge (nuučaaʕuł and beyond) in the context of my research and dissertation is all the information contained within these pages. This dissertation shares knowledge that I consider safe for public consumption and with my best intentions, does not break cultural laws, protocols, and/or teachings for knowledge sharing. In this occurrence, my family's songs will be heard publicly, at least within nuučaaʕuł territory when we are participating in public cultural events (e.g., a gathering of our maʔas, huuʕiiʔat cultural nights, a potlatch). Furthermore, my songs, when viewed in the context of this dissertation, are both my analysis and understanding of what I learned as well as how I connected and communicated with čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu during my fieldwork. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 3.

huuʕiiʔat and/or community knowledge sits between the categories of public and čaačaaćiiʕasatḥ in terms of the details I consider shareable in prospective contexts and particular circumstances[26]. For example, during my time in čaačaaćiiʕas I made notes on the natural resources including types, amounts, and locations. This information can be added to huuʕiiʔat Traditional Use Study (TUS) information with the intent of strengthening and increasing huuʕiiʔat communal and/or common knowledge. Another example of information that can be shared with huuʕiiʔat are observations on the condition of the river and the bay. By sharing knowledge about the condition of the land, water, and resources in čaačaaćiiʕas, huuʕiiʔat ḥaẃiiḥ can be better informed about the state of the ḥaḥuuɬi in its entirety. In terms of huuʕiiʔat as a category for knowledge transfer, my family's songs can be learned by huuʕiiʔat singers in the same way that

[26] Such circumstances could depend on the closeness of kinship. For example, I have cousins who belonging to another huuʕiiʔat maʔas but because of our relationship as extended family, I might share more.

I know huuʕiiʔat songs that do not come from my family. I can also share more of the story of my song's creation within the category of huuʕiiʔat. As an example, I might say in a public setting that I received the songs while in čaačaaċiiʕas; within a huuʕiiʔat setting, I might be more forthcoming in some of the particulars of where and when.

Knowledge that I will share within the category of čaačaaċiiʕasatḥ is by far the most extensive. Beyond a couple of personal encounters, I can share most of what I learned from čaačaaċiiʕas with members of my family and maʔas. What would not be shared in this instance is the knowledge that is specific to my family, the knowledge that gives us and/or every huuʕiiʔat family a role within the nation. Prior to contact we would have all lived in čaačaaċiiʕas, maintained a relationship with the natural world there, benefitted from its resources, shared in the responsibility of caring for it, and shared in the production of čaačaaċiiʕasatḥ knowledge. We would have known the land, water, skies, winds, and natural and spiritual worlds of čaačaaċiiʕas and čaačaaċiiʕas would have known us. I want all čaačaaċiiʕasatḥ to feel they are connected to čaačaaċiiʕas beyond being members of the maʔas. In relation to songs, sharing the details of how, when, where, and why our songs were created is important in the continued production of čaačaaċiiʕasatḥ knowledge. I was not able to learn family songs because my naniqʔsu did not pass them on to my father. However, my son has grown up hearing the songs that I have composed during his lifetime and together we are beginning a new cycle of creating and sharing knowledge through song.

A small portion of what I learned in čaačaaċiiʕas is personal and likely will not be shared beyond myself. It could potentially be shared with my son in the same way that my father and uncle gave me guideposts for how to practice ceremony while in isolation. The kind of engagement that I have had with čaačaaċiiʕas, and the natural world has given me an on-the-ground understanding and context from which to create my own stories. Furthermore, I understand the stories and teachings I have received over my lifetime in an evolved way and am better situated to help my son begin to engage with and experience čaačaaċiiʕas for himself.

I am reminded of a video of my naniqʔsu Lizzie, that documents her weaving a cedar and swamp grass shopping basket. Throughout the video my naniqʔsu teaches the steps for weaving a shopping basket, and she also shares information about the huuʕiiʔat nation and some information specific for my family. When edited properly, this video can be very useful as a teaching tool. Obviously, all the information contained in the video can be seen by my family members. A second edit that cuts out family specific information could be shown to all huuʕiiʔat. And a third edit could just highlight the parts that show how to weave a shopping basket, which could be used in a multitude of ways (e.g., the courses I teach, weaving workshops, reference for new weavers, etc.). Similarly, the songs that I have created and the knowledge they contain can be applied to the public, huuʕiiʔat, and čaačaaċiiʕasatḥ categories in different but connected ways.

łiicapiłim: connecting story, land, and identity

łiicapiłim are nuučaaʔuł ceremonial curtains that illustrate a family's history, including but not limited to roles, responsibilities, obligations, territorial resources, boundaries, encounters with the natural and spiritual worlds, and important events (see Green 2018 for a detailed discussion on łiicapiłim). My family's łiicapiłim is a visual record of the connections between our history, stories, land, and identity. They are a historical record that deserves some explanation, but first I want to contextualize the use of story and then land within my research. Sometime in the 1960s my naniqʔsu Bill was convinced to convert to Christianity, and he burned, among other items, his łiicapiłim. After my naniqʔsu death in 1991, my father was seated as the ḥawił of čaačaaćiiʕas. My father, in consultation with my naniqʔsu Lizzie, gathered information and drew some sketches for a new łiicapiłim. Our current łiicapiłim was painted in the mid 1990s by Coast Salish artist and family friend, Doug LaFortune (Tsawout) with some additional images added about ten years later by nuučaaʔuł artist and knowledge holder Ron Hamilton (hupačasatḥ). Doug LaFortune is adding more images to our łiicapiłim. In recent years I have come to really appreciate the fact that Doug LaFortune painted the majority of our łiicapiłim. I grew up in W̱SÁNEĆ territory and while it is not depicted on our łiicapiłim having Doug and his family contribute to its story is an acknowledgment of our time and relationships there.

I have always known the reasons and stories behind the images shown on our łiicapiłim and yet I did not have an on-the-ground context for those depictions. As I worked to become muułmuumps in čaačaaćiiʕas by experiencing first-hand the land, river, skies, ocean, mountains, and abundant resources, the meaning of my family's łiicapiłim grew. I invite readers to first view

my family's ɬiicapiɬim in its entirety (Figure 4) before I highlight specific images and offer some commentary on how my understanding has grown.

Figure 4 - The ɬiicapiɬim of huuʕiiʔat ḥawiɬ ḥapinyuuk (Tom Happynook)

When viewed in its entirety, our ɬiicapiɬim illustrates my family's responsibilities as whalers and in each image, I am reminded of the knowledge, teachings, responsibilities, and obligations that have been shared with me throughout my life. I understand the imagery on our ɬiicapiɬim now, through having embodied the experience of being physically present and in relationship with čaačaaċiiʕas. I have walked in the places that are shown on our ɬiicapiɬim and I have heard, smelled, seen, touched, and tasted the lands, waters, skies, and resources of čaačaaċiiʕas.

In this dissertation, I am only speaking of my family's ɬiicapiɬim, but it is important to note that ɬiicapiɬim exist in a much larger context of nuučaaʔuɬ culture. There is a level of consistency to the kinds of images that appear on ɬiicapiɬim that speaks to the larger common experience shared by all nuučaaʔuɬ people more generally. Denise Green describes how ɬiicapiɬim "physically create a space in the potlatch setting, [and how] they also make visual reference to places of history,

encounter, possession, and resources" (2018, 86). I would add to this that the images depicted on łiicapiłim also connect us to our cultural stories and collective or common knowledge (čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and/or nuučaaʕuł).

In the high center of our łiicapiłim is our ḥaḥuuł, čaačaaċiiʕas (Figure 5). I draw your attention to this image because it shows the land, rivers, mountains, a house, and a natural world that includes humans. The inclusion of humans on our łiicapiłim, though not unique, is significant given the impacts of colonization on the relationship between čaačaaċiiʕas and my family. It is a reminder that humans, my family, have a role, responsibilities, and obligations to and in čaačaaċiiʕas. Working to be muułmuumps in čaačaaċiiʕas has allowed me to hear, smell, see, taste, and touch our ḥaḥuuł in a way that images on our łiicapiłim and/or pictures cannot. As my family and I begin to (re)connect with čaačaaċiiʕas, we are bringing that important human element and relationship back into our ḥaḥuuł and in doing so, we move further away from colonization towards cultural healing, health and understanding.

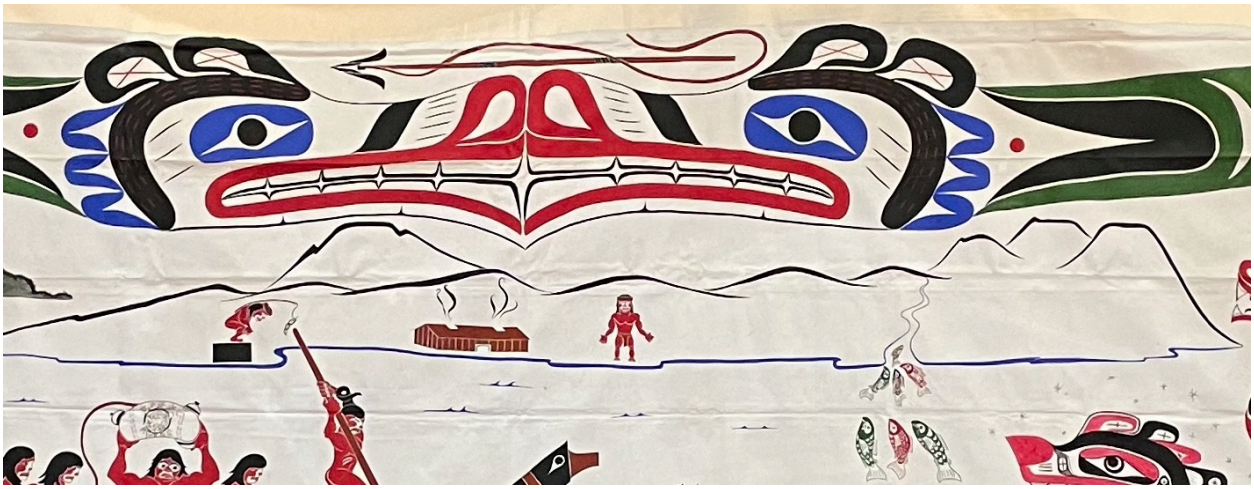

Figure 5 - čaačaaċiiʕas (land, river, mountains, people, house)

Whaling is a widespread theme within the nuučaaʕuł world, and examples may be drawn from art, literature, stories, and łiicapiłim, to name a few. Whaling is a major theme within the illustrations on my family's łiicapiłim too. The connections between whaling may or may not be obvious and will depend on the viewer's knowledge of the nuučaaʕuł world. The most recognizable whaling images are those of the whalers (Figure 6), whaling canoes (Figure 7), harpoons (Figure 8), and seal skin floats (Figure 9). Some of the less known elements of whaling on our łiicapiłim are the animals such as blackbirds (Figure 10), čims[27] (Figure 11), and harbour seals (Figure 12), all of which provide a critical element for a successful whaling season. The least known but most prominently displayed images related to whaling are the hiiʔiiƛik and kakaẃin (sea serpent and Orca, Figures 13 and 14) which represent encounters that my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu had as we learned to be whalers. These encounters are critical aspects of my family's whaling practice and our success as whaler, and I am unable to comment further on them in this dissertation. However, Alan McMillan's article entitled, "Non-Human Whalers in Nuu-chah-nulth Art and Ritual: Reappraising Orca in Archaeological Context" (2019) discusses the importance of non-human whalers' relationships with human whalers. All these images express my role, responsibilities, and obligations, but they also express the reciprocal relationship that my family and maʔas had and are working to re-establish with čaačaaćiiʕas. While in čaačaaćiiʕas I was able to see the many resources in an on-the-ground context. I saw trees that could be used for paddles, canoes, and rope, and I found čims tracks and saw grey whales and harbour seals

[27] čims is a nuučaaʕuł word that translates as "bear".

swimming in the bay. I know where to go to begin the steps to whale should that be something my family, maʔas, and nation decide to pick up again.

Figure 6 - čaačaaćiiʕasatḥ whalers hunting a whale

Figure 7 - A whaling canoe

Figure 8 - A whaling harpoon

Figure 9 - The seal skin floats on the left and right side of the łiicapiłim

Figure 10 - The blackbirds are an indicator species for whaling

Figure 11 - The bear's hide is crucial for successful whale harvesting

Figure 12 - The seals skin is used as a float during whaling

Figure 13 - hiiʔiiƛik represents encounters had by my ancestors

Figure 14 - kakaẃin represents encounters had by my ancestors

So much of our łiicapiłim has new meaning for me because of my time in čaačaaćiiʕas and similarly; my understanding has grown regarding some of the concepts and teachings that I previously held (Happynook 2010), which I will discuss next.

ḥaḥuułi, ḥuupukʷanum, ḥawiłmis, and teachings: revisiting knowledge

There are 3 concepts that I discussed in my master's thesis (Happynook 2010) that I want to revisit in this dissertation, ḥaḥuułi (22), ḥuupukʷanum (24), and ḥawiłmis (25), because my understanding of them expanded as I worked to be muułmuumps in čaačaaćiiʕas during my fieldwork.

ḥaḥuuɬi

In 2010, I was writing about the concept of ḥaḥuuɬi in relation to being ḥawiɬ and my family's teachings. However, I was not writing from a place of having experienced being on the land, in the waters, and knowing the skies. I lacked the physical and spiritual connections and relationship with the natural and spiritual worlds in čaačaaċiiʕas that my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu had. My understanding of ḥaḥuuɬi as a concept grew over the course of my fieldwork as I built a connection and relationships in and with čaačaaċiiʕas and the natural and spiritual worlds. I have heard čaačaaċiiʕas during the day and at night, in the sun, rain, and during a windstorm. I have smelled čaačaaċiiʕas, breathed in its scent in the bay, river, forests and up the mountain. I have seen čaačaaċiiʕas from a boat in the bay looking up and looking down from the top of the mountain. I have tasted the waters of čaačaaċiiʕas, chewed on the salal leaves, and can tell you what the thimble berries tasted like just as they are ripening. My body knows the cool touch of the river during a winter bath, the touch of the underbrush as I walked through the forest, and the feeling of the earth under my feet and in my hands. The sensory experiences of being in čaačaaċiiʕas have given me a deeper understanding of ḥaḥuuɬi because I can talk about čaačaaċiiʕas in specifics. I knew čaačaaċiiʕas was a place of abundance (from oral and written histories) but now, I know specifics about that abundance (new understandings). I know where to find building materials, where to locate medicine and foods, I know the river crossings, and I know where the high and low tide lines are, which is important for accessing čaačaaċiiʕas and its resources safely. Having this kind of sensory experience of čaačaaċiiʕas significantly increases my

understanding of ḥaḥuuɬi and is important in the transmission of knowledge and teachings, as well as the picking up of and transition of hereditary responsibilities.

ḥuupukʷanum

In 2010, my understanding of ḥuupukʷanum was bound within the translations and interpretations of others. I knew that our ḥuupukʷanum contained physical items such as masks, drums, medicines, shawls, headbands, capes, and rattles, to name a few. But it also contains songs, dances, rituals, prayers, chants, names, and family teachings. My understanding of ḥuupukʷanum has expanded considerably from my time in čaačaaċiiʕas. I now have knowledge of where to find the resources to create tangible aspects of our ḥuupukʷanum. For example, I know where to harvest cedar bark for regalia like head bands, hats, and shawls. I know where to find trees for carving masks, rattles, and drum frames. I also know where to find materials needed to rebuild our whaling equipment. Moreover, the songs I have composed before and during my fieldwork (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) contribute to the intangible parts of my family's ḥuupukʷanum as well as to the continued production of čaačaaċiiʕas, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaʼnuɬ knowledge.

ḥawiɬmis

The biggest difference in how I understood ḥawiɬmis in 2010 and how I understand ḥawiɬmis now is that I have been the places from which my family's ḥawiɬmis come from. I have walked, swam, slept, ate, drank, and breathed in the places that my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu were born, lived, and died. While in čaačaaċiiʕas, I was able to put into practice some of my family's ḥawiɬmis. For

example, prior to beginning my doctoral studies in 2017, I held some knowledge about how to conduct ceremony while in isolation. Before beginning my fieldwork in 2020, I was able to reinforce and add to my knowledge about when, where, and how to conduct ceremony while in isolation from the interviews with my father and uncle. During my fieldwork I was able to implement this prior knowledge of conducting ceremony while in isolation. All this knowledge enabled me to come to čaačaaćiiʕas in a culturally appropriate way to seek knowledge from čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu.

When considered alongside my cultural and academic work and responsibilities, a more comprehensive understanding of these concepts is particularly useful. Culturally, what I have learned during my fieldwork is important for helping other čaačaaćiiʕasatḥ to return and connect with our ḥaḥuuɬi. I am excited by the prospect of gathering with other čaačaaćiiʕasatḥ, in čaačaaćiiʕas to learn our songs, gather materials for creating regalia, and pick up our collective responsibilities. As my knowledge of čaačaaćiiʕas and these concepts continue to grow, the benefits extend into my work on the huuʕiiʔat ha'wiih council.[28] My research helps me to be better equipped to contribute to the overall management of the huuʕiiʔat ḥaḥuuɬi by being able to speak from a place of experience about čaačaaćiiʕas as it relates to the overall huuʕiiʔat ḥaḥuuɬi. Academically, advancing my understanding of these concepts helps in my teaching practice, writing, and future research. Furthermore, I hope to one day work with my family and maʔas to teach students about these very concepts while in čaačaaćiiʕas.

[28] In its current form, the huuʕiiʔat ḥawiiḥ council is a branch of our treaty government and consists of the seated ḥawiiḥ of huuʕiiʔat, chaired by the taʏii ḥawiɬ.

Teachings

Further to the concepts of ḥaḥuuɬi, ḥuupukʷanum, and ḥawiɬmis, there are four teachings I explored in 2010 that I understand in a new way now and there are two reasons that I am writing about these teachings again. My understanding of generosity, patience, humility, and respect has expanded from my time in čaačaaċiiʔas, and I recognize čaačaaċiiʔas as a being unto itself and I approached my fieldwork, culturally, as a learner seeking knowledge from the natural and spiritual worlds as my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu did before me.

Whereas previously I considered generosity in a human only context, I have now experienced the generosity of the natural and spiritual worlds and can speak to the generosity of čaačaaċiiʔas as a holder of knowledge, a teacher, and a provider. The most significant example of non-human generosity from my fieldwork was receiving two songs from encounters with the natural and spiritual worlds of čaačaaċiiʔas (detailed in Chapter 3). Having experienced this kind of generosity, I now have the responsibility to share those songs and the knowledge they contain.

The teaching of patience was reinforced almost constantly while I was in čaačaaċiiʔas. A couple of the many examples include needing to be patient as I move throughout the ḥaḥuuɬi simply because it is rough terrain. During one of my winter visits, I wanted to cross the river but could not for safety reasons; I was by myself, and the river was raging and well above my waist. Simply moving through second growth forests requires patience as there is so much underbrush that at times it feels like I was swimming through the salal. Perhaps the most striking example of

patience is the interconnectedness of the rejuvenation of čaačaaćiiʕas. In Chapter 1, I spoke about the forestry experiment and destruction of my family's ḥaḥuułi, and one of the lessons I received about patience was through observing how the čaačaaćiiʕas is rejuvenating itself. For example, as shrubs and trees (salal and alder) continue to regrow along the riverbanks, those riverbanks begin to stabilize, the trees provide a canopy of shade which is good for the fish returning to the river, and fish can help to sustain the čims, qʷayaćiik,[29] and humans. The lesson comes as a reminder that this kind of work does not happen overnight and requires patience as relationships, among the natural world and between my family and čaačaaćiiʕas, are re-established.

Every time I was in čaačaaćiiʕas, I encountered the teaching of humility. I have always had a healthy respect for nature and yet I was humbled by the power of the natural and spiritual parts of čaačaaćiiʕas. Witnessing the vast amounts of water flowing in the river at tremendous speeds; the rain falling so hard that I had to seek shelter; the sound of the wind blowing through the trees and waves crashing on to the beach. My time in čaačaaćiiʕas certainly gave me perspective into my place in the world and power of the natural and spiritual worlds. While I was being reminded of my place in the world during my fieldwork, I was also reminded of George Clutesi's writing and the stories of the different ways that nuučaaʔuł people have learned and applied the teachings of humility. *Son of Raven, Son of Deer* (1967) is filled with stories of Ko-ishin-mit learning humility as he comically learns to fish (31, 113) and/or learns from Eagle (45). Ah-tush-mit demonstrates humility and patience in his quest to bring fire to humans (17).

[29] qʷayaćiik is a nuučaaʔuł word that translates as "wolf" and/or "wolves".

ʔisaak (respect) is one of the most important teachings in my culture. It is a teaching that applies to all our relationships, including with the lands, waters, skies, resources, and animals, throughout the natural and spiritual worlds (Happynook 2010, 70). While this is still true today, my understanding has grown because I have put this list into practice as I worked to be muułmuumps during my fieldwork. I practiced ʔisaak when I walked the land, bathed in the river, stood in the ocean, breathed in the air, used the resources, observed animals, and engaged with my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu.

In July 2021, I began anew the cycle of knowledge transmission in our ḥaḥuuɬi. I was able to share with my son some of the teachings and stories that my father shared with me, as he and I walked through the forest to the beach. I was also able to share my songs with my wife, son, and parents in čaačaaċiiʕas. In Chapter 3, I expand on knowledge and knowledge sharing through a focused discussion of my songs.

Chapter 3: qacća

Every Journey Begins with a Song

Songs played an integral role in the development and implementation of my research. Culturally, my songs are a record of events, an expression of complex experiences, teachings, and knowledge, and a method of communication between čaačaaćiiʕas, my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, and myself. Academically, my songs are the documentation and analysis of my doctoral fieldwork. Composing songs has helped me to simultaneously reconnect to my ḥaḥuuɬi and revitalize my family's ḥuupukʷanum. Picking up these responsibilities helped to connect my cultural knowledge and teachings to the places they originate. By engaging with čaačaaćiiʕas, as a knowledge holder, like my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu before me, I have learned new cultural knowledge and teachings that can be passed down in the continued production of čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ knowledge. Songs and singing are interwoven into all aspects of nuučaaʕuɬ life. Some examples of how songs are integrated are: weavers sing to measure time, specifically, how long cedar bark is immersed in water before being used to weave; canoe paddlers sing to keep time and pace on a long journey; we sing love songs or lullabies to our family members. Songs represent and express our extensive knowledge systems, history, and complex relationships with our ḥaḥuuɬi and neighbours. I have come to recognize nuučaaʕuɬ songs not just a representation of our past, but as a culturally embedded system necessary for continuing the production of our knowledge.

This chapter will explore how nuučaaʔuł knowledge continues to be produced through interactions with the natural and spiritual worlds through songs, and how songs can be used to transfer knowledge and teachings as well as reinforce our laws and systems of governance in culturally appropriate ways. However, it is important to first explain some of the hesitancy and barriers I have had to overcome in creating my songs.

Hesitancy, barriers, and overcoming them

In his book *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sounds Studies*, Dylan Robinson describes a time when the fear that our songs would be lost forever and the subsequent duress from that fear created the space researchers needed to coerce us into recording our songs when we were approached (2020, 150-151). To this I would add that the duress from the fear of losing our songs continues today, only now the fear manifests itself differently. Where in the past the fear caused us to allow our songs to be recorded, today the fear creates a hesitancy to record and/or write down our cultural songs and more generally our knowledge. Nuxalk filmmaker Banchi Hanuse examines this tension in the film Cry Rock (Hanuse 2010). Hanuse asks if the real meanings of the oral tradition can be captured in recordings and if those recordings can be considered cultural knowledge. The film examines how Nuxalk stories are more than just words, as my work examines how nuučaaʔuł songs are more than just and entertainment.

Nuučaaʔuł scholars like Atleo (2010), Atleo (2004, 2011), Atleo (2006), Clutesi (1967, 1969, 1990), George (2003), Ogilvie (2007), and Smith (2018) exemplify how we are documenting and sharing cultural and family knowledge appropriately and often using the English language. I understand

the resulting loss from the impacts of fear intimately and at times wish someone had recorded my family's songs for future generations. At the same time, I have found a deep sense of connection and pride in composing songs for my family, and I do not know if I would be creating songs today if our songs had not been lost. Despite that pride, I have struggled, over the course of my doctoral studies, with the idea of writing my songs into this dissertation. My hesitation stems from the history of colonization and the residual impacts that left me questioning the authenticity of creating my own cultural songs, as well as a fear of how my songs could be used without permission by anyone who reads my dissertation and a reluctance to have my songs analyzed outside of a nuučaaʔuł context. Three things have helped me overcome this hesitation and find confidence: 1) the interviews with my father and uncle who helped me to see that I was ready for this work; 2) working with huuʕiiʔat language speakers hinatinyis, numaqimyisʔaqsup and wišqii; and 3) learning from wišqii about the structure and differences between nuučaaʔuł songs, prayers, and chants. Furthermore, after conversations with my father and yaałuuʔa (huuʕiiʔat ḥawiɬ, Jeff Cook), a desire to archive my songs for the future generations of my family/ maʔas and the realization that my songs are meant to be used in public settings (e.g., a potlatch) lead me to share my songs in this dissertation. It is very important for readers to understand that despite the fact my songs are in this dissertation, they belong solely and completely to my family. Our songs are cultural property, part of our ḥuupukʷanum and wealth. Songs connect us to specific lands, waters, skies, animals, resources, names, yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, rights, responsibilities, and laws. This means that they cannot be used in any form without permission, and I want to offer my thanks to readers for respecting this part of my culture.

There have been a few barriers for me in composing new songs but the largest was my desire to recreate what I thought we had lost instead of creating something new. I worried about the authenticity of the songs I was composing and for a long time that stopped me from creating. I overcame this barrier when I began reading about and listening to the contemporary ways that Indigenous people are understanding and reimagining song. Inspiring artists like Dylan Robinson, the students at Allison Bernard Memorial School, Jeremy Dutcher, the Northern Cree Singers, and the Snotty Nose Rez Kids, exemplify a revitalization of culture and language that is multilayered and not just about revitalizing the past but also about the evolution and continued production of knowledge into the future. The Snotty Nose Rez Kids use hip-hop to spread powerful messages of Indigenous resistance (Skoden 2018, track 13), revitalization (Rebirth 2019, track 2), knowledge (Wa'wais 2019, track 1), pride (Long hair don't care 2018, track 5), humour (Boujee Natives 2019, track 8), and respect (Son of a Matriarch 2019, track 3). The Northern Cree singers mix traditional and contemporary music styles and languages. Songs like "Red Skin Gal" (2007) and "Smilin" (2007) feature traditional powwow music and the English language, making their music more accessible to non-Cree speakers. While the Snotty Nose Rez Kids and Northern Cree incorporate their Indigenous languages into their contemporary music, students from Allison Bernard Memorial High School have remade The Beatles' mega hit "Blackbird" (1968) in the Mi'kmaq language (Allison Bernard Memorial High School 2019). These are powerful examples of how Indigenous artists are reimagining what it means to practice and revitalize their cultures and languages.

Nuučaaʕuł scholar George Clutesi wrote that “we need to start every journey with a song” (1969, 13). Unfortunately, for my family, our songs were lost and forgotten during the time of my nananiqʔsu, sometime before Clutesi published those words. Colonization and Christianity disrupted my family’s process of passing down our songs to the next generations. This was followed by the destruction of our ḥaḥuuɬi through its clearcutting in the 1970s. However, the gift and/or opportunity in this loss is the space it created for me to compose new songs as I began my own journey of revitalization and connection with čaačaaċiiʕas. This also speaks to the resilience of čaačaaċiiʕas, my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, family, knowledge, and teachings. Despite the colonial devastation, new songs and stories continue to emerge through a deepening relationship and (re)connection with my ḥaḥuuɬi that began with my fieldwork in November 2020.

Fieldwork

Prior to beginning my fieldwork, I sought the necessary academic (research proposal defence, ethics) and cultural approvals. Culturally, I started with my father, ḥapinyuuk (Tom Happynook), asking his permission to conduct my fieldwork in our ḥaḥuuɬi. After receiving his permission, I informed the huuʕiiʔat ḥawẇiiḥ Council of my intentions to conduct research in my family’s ḥaḥuuɬi and after a short presentation, I was granted their blessing to proceed. I had planned to give a presentation at the upcoming huuʕiiʔat People’s Assembly to engage with the entire community, but it was postponed due to the global pandemic. As an alternative, I was able to work with the huuʕiiʔat communications team to send out a write up about my intended research in the huuʕiiʔat newsletter as well as on their various social media platforms. After receiving academic

and cultural permission I was ready to begin my fieldwork. My fieldwork consisted of four days and one night during the winter of 2020/2021, working in isolation, and a subsequent fifth day in July 2021 with my wife, son, and parents. The following are brief accounts from my fieldwork that describe how I got to and from čaačaaćiiʕas, who I encountered, where I visited (worked), and what I did during my field days.

Field day one - November 14, 2020

I started fasting at 7pm the night before in preparation for my first day of fieldwork and continued to fast until I returned to Port Alberni the following day. I woke up about 5am and drove from Victoria to Port Alberni. The best part of leaving that early is the lack of traffic leaving Victoria which makes for a smooth drive up the up the island. I met my uncle ʔaaniiċačišt at Fisherman's Wharf just before 8am. After parking our vehicles, we made our way down to the docks and onto his boat. The weather could not have been better, given that the days before and after were very stormy. As we pulled out of the sheltered marina, the smell from the gas engines subsided and was replaced with natural smells of the ocean after a storm. To me this is the smell of home, and I was eager to breathe it in. The ride down the canal was smooth and fast, the water was like glass, and I could see the mountains reflected on the surface, when I was not blinded by the reflecting sun. Due to the global pandemic, ʔaaniiċačišt stayed in the cabin and drove the boat while I stood in the back, taking in the crisp morning air. It was wonderful breathing in the cool air, and it helped me to feel at peace and prepare for the work ahead. Throughout the whole trip, ʔaaniiċačišt pointed out significant natural and cultural landmarks as well as the ḥaḥuuɬi of other nuučaaʕuɬ ḥawiiḥ. I was thankful for this change in perspective, as I am used to marking these

points from higher up in the mountains and on a logging road. We only slowed down as we came past ḵuxsinqii/popomohah (San Mateo Bay), partly because two grey whales were swimming perpendicular to the boat and partly because we were getting ready to turn into čaačaaciiʔas. I knew immediately that I was home despite only once before, that I recall, coming past čaačaaciiʔas by boat when I was younger. As we came around the point, the tide was high covering the estuary and obscuring the river channel (Figure 15). We pulled into a small deep bay on the south side of the estuary that my uncle had scouted out two days before. He also talked to me about how this little bay would be a great spot for a future dock. After completing the day's work (discussed in detail in the next section) we took one last cruise around the bay, checked out a houseboat that somehow made its way to čaačaaciiʔas, contemplated its future, and headed back to Port Alberni. As we left, just as when we arrived, we spotted the two grey whales who had greeted us earlier, we rounded the point, and it was another smooth ride down the canal.

Figure 15 - čaačaaciiʔas from the water. Photo taken by author.

Field day two - December 30, 2020

I woke up at 5am and drove to čaačaaciiʔas via Port Alberni (Figure 3). The whole drive was met with bursts of light to heavy rain and gusts of wind. It was a far cry from my first day in the field. The drive from Victoria to Port Alberni was wet and windy but otherwise routine. As I left the paved roads of Port Alberni and entered the active gravel logging road that would take me to the čaačaaciiʔas turnoff, the rain subsided to a drizzle. I was mindful as I bumped along the gravel road to watch out for places the road might washout if the rain picked up again. The landscape had changed quite a lot from logging since the last time I drove the last 56 kms to čaačaaciiʔas. I arrived at the turnoff to čaačaaciiʔas and had to open a closed gate, thankfully it was not locked

because I did not have a key for that gate. From the turnoff, the drive goes up and down on a narrow gravel road that winds along the base of a mountain. The rain and wind had picked up again and fortunately I did not have to deal with any blown down trees over the road and only had to stop to unlock the other gate before making the short downhill drive to the research station (Figure 16). I was the only human in čaačaaciiʔas that day. I parked my vehicle in front of the research station, got out, and took it all in. I felt the light rain falling and a cool wind swirling around my body as if the rain and wind were cleansing me and wrapping me in a protective barrier. I watched the trees swaying as if they were dancing in front of me. I heard the rush of the river through the forest. I smelled the rain and the trees and knew that I was home. After this wonderous sensory experience, I walked down to the river to look for a place to cross. However, the river was moving quite fast and was higher than I have seen it before. I noticed several shades of brown in the water as sediment was being moved from higher up the river and decided not to cross the river because I was alone. While at the river's edge, I said a prayer and sang a few songs as I explored the lower river for several hours, trying to get a sense of where I need to be in čaačaaciiʔas. Around noon, I started hearing my stomach more than anything else and decided to head back my vehicle for lunch. I had packed peanut butter and buns which I ate before and left. The wind and rain had picked up again and I wanted to make it home before the roads became unpassable. On the way out, I had to twice drive through spots where the river had overtaken the road, otherwise it was another uneventful drive home.

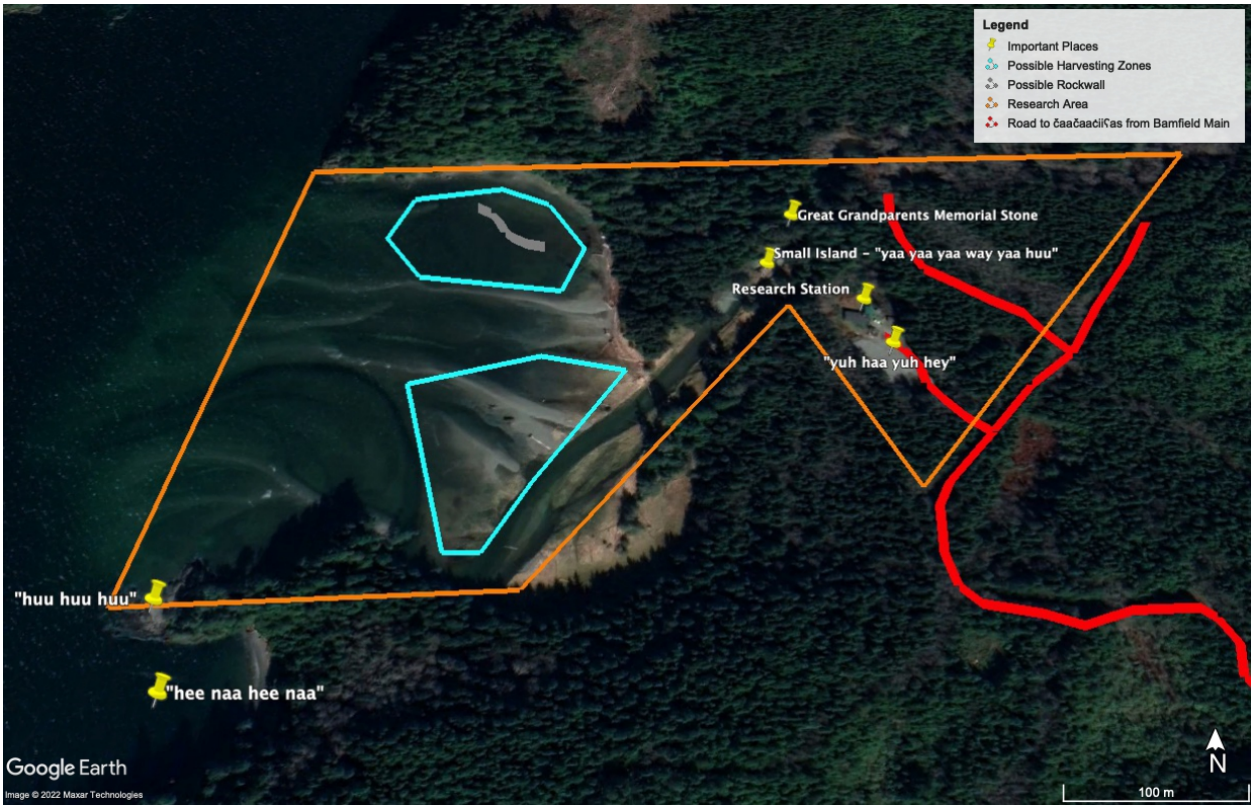

Figure 16 - This map shows some of the places I received knowledge and teachings.

Field day three - January 18-19, 2021

I spent two days and one night in čaačaaciiʔas on this visit. I was up and on my way at 5am again. The weather was good, damp from the cooler overnight temperatures but there was no rain and the drive from Victoria via Parksville and Port Alberni was quick. This time I borrowed my father's truck which made the drive easier due to the truck's height and because I can sleep in the truck bed protected by a canopy. I had considered fasting for the trip but decided against it because I was going to be exerting myself physically and working in isolation. The nice thing about cooler nights is the morning dew which keeps the roads from being too dusty. Upon arriving in čaačaaciiʔas, I quickly went to check the river and found that I was able to cross in my boots. Most of my work on this trip was between the ocean and the river (Figure 17).

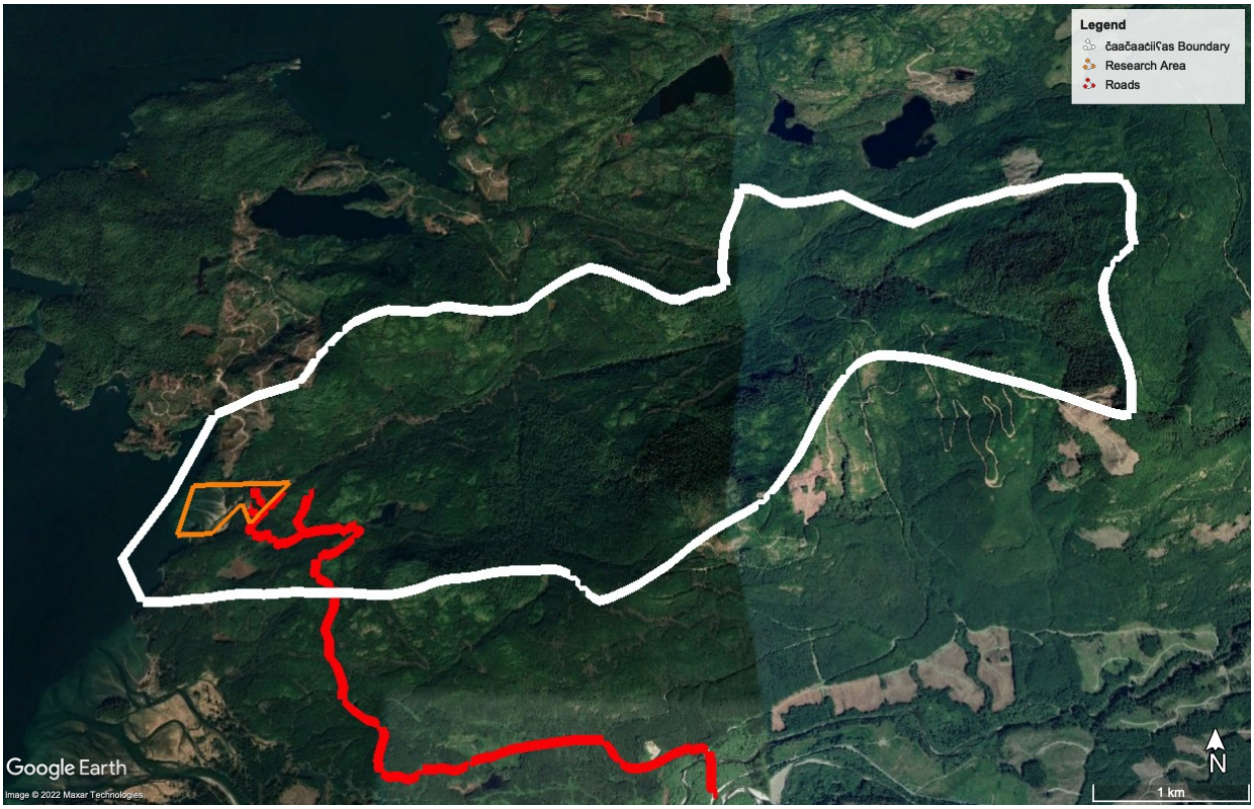

Figure 17 - This map shows the boundary of čaačaaciiʕas and where I conducted my fieldwork

It was two wonderful days, clear sunny skies, warm in the sun and cool in the shade with frost on the ground in the morning that melted by midday. I spent a lot of the first day sitting in the intertidal zone at low tide listening to the sounds of birds, watching the clam bubbles in the sand, smelling the drying sea grasses, and feeling the pebbles beneath me. This kind of sensory immersion was/is instrumental for (re)connection to čaačaaciiʔas. In the late afternoon, on my way back to my camp, I explored the forested area between the beach and the river. The bush is thick where the forest and beach meet, it feels more like wading than walking for a couple metres and then I emerged into the forest which is considerably darker because of the thick canopy. This area is filled with the evidence of foods and medicines that will come in the spring. The ground

has a thick layer of duff and I had to be mindful of where I was walking so not to end up knee deep in the ground. I also walked about 500 metres of the river which was clean and clear. I sang my songs over and over as I traversed my way from the beach, into the forest, and up the river. It was emotional and powerful. I would not characterize myself as a singer, even though I sing in private and/or in front of Carly and Mahihkan all the time. The idea of singing publicly or for an audience is rather daunting for me. However, in čaačaaciiʔas I felt like I could let all that go and just sing. I have never sung as loudly and/or confidently as I did on this day, and I was surprised by how far my voice carried throughout the watershed. Instead of shyness, I felt a sense of accomplishment in being able to sing in/for my ḥaḥuuɬi and yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. That night I went to sleep early, mostly because it was so dark. The following day I engaged more with the spiritual world than the natural world. I woke up with the sun, ate some trail mix and oranges for breakfast, and relaxed as I listened to čaačaaciiʔas begin to wake up with the rising sun. As the sun began to crest the tops of the trees, I walked down to the river. I sang my songs, said a prayer, and bathed in the river. The river's water was cool and refreshing as it cascaded down my back and arms. There is nothing quite like a cold mountain bath in the middle of winter, especially when it is in a place that your yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu may have bathed. The drive out was dusty the whole way and I am thankful for the invention of air conditioning and recirculating air.

Non-field day – July 17, 2021

This trip to čaačaaciiʔas was not a planned field day. My wife, son, and I were visiting my parents at their home in Parksville and decided to all go to čaačaaciiʔas. We all got into my father's truck mid-morning, packed some sandwiches, stopped for coffees and donuts, and hit the road. My

son found and claimed my research camera so that he could document our trip (pictures below). It was a beautiful and sunny summer day, which meant the logging roads would be dusty, but the drive was thankfully uneventful. Once in čaačaaciiʔas we did some exploring, my son and I crossing the river and making our way to the beach. Before we left, I shared my songs with my family. Our trip was short but fulfilling and discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The following images were taken by my son, Mahihkan (ḥawiłwinis), on our non-fieldwork visit to čaačaaciiʔas in July 2020. Mahihkan decided that he would be our photographer and record the day's events. He has a growing interest in photography, a good eye for taking pictures, and so we were both happy that he had found a job that would keep him occupied as I drove us from Parksville to čaačaaciiʔas. A month or so later, Mahihkan and I were looking through the camera for photos to include in this dissertation, when Mahihkan declared that he unsure if he wanted the photos he took in my dissertation. With his mother representing his interests, we began negotiations. In the end, it was agreed that Mahihkan would receive full credit in the dissertation for the photos, five dollars for each photo used, and he would require that I give him the camera. I got permission to use the photos, he got credit, twenty dollars, and my brand-new camera.

Figure 18 - ḥawiɬ ḥapinyuuk waking čaačaaćiiʕas up. Photo credit Mahihkan Happynook

Figure 19 - River on lower side of the steel fish barrier. Photo credit Mahihkan Happynook

Figure 20 - River on upper side of the steel fish barrier. Photo credit Mahihkan Happynook

Figure 21 - Possible fish trap and/or rock wall. Photo credit Mahihkan Happynook

Interactions with the natural and spiritual worlds

Since I began composing cultural songs in 2007, I have completed four. I discuss my songs in much greater detail below, but it is worth noting here that one of my songs was influenced from a visit to čaačaaćiiʔas prior to my doctoral research, one was composed to meet the requirements for a comprehensive exam and sung during my first day of fieldwork, and two were created during my fieldwork in partnership with čaačaaćiiʔas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. These four songs are among the most concrete examples of how my interactions with the natural and spiritual world in čaačaaćiiʔas contribute to the continued production of nuučaaʕuł knowledge. I only wish that you could hear the songs because their power is in the hearing not the reading.

As noted in Chapter 1, there is a long-standing call by Indigenous and ally scholars for a return to land-based learning, whose methodologies are applied through human-human interactions on the land (e.g. Absolon 2011; Absolon and Willett 2005; Basso 1996; Coulthard and Simpson 2016; Daigle 2016; Fox et al. (2016); Gaudry 2011; Greenwood and de Leeuw 2017; Hill 2017, Hunt 2014; Kovach 2009; Lavallee 2009; Pasternak 2017; Simpson 2017; Thom 2017; Wildcat et al. 2014; Wilson 2008). My research builds on this foundational research and literature by working directly with the natural and spiritual world. I have heard and read many stories about how the natural and spiritual worlds would take on the role of knowledge holder and teacher when our people were seeking knowledge (e.g., Bridge and Neary 2013; Clutesi 1967, 1969, 1990; Drucker 1951; Hill 2017; Sapir and Swadesh 1955; Thom 2017). Now, I am learning from, working with, and creating anew in a reciprocal relationship with čaačaaćiiʔas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, the results of which are cultural songs. In nuučaaʕuł culture this invokes protocols

and teachings for how to appropriately engage in relationship building. For example, such recognition creates a shared understanding that čaačaaćiiʕas can share or not share its knowledge as it deems appropriate, just as would be expected if I was working with a human knowledge holder. Moreover, recognizing the agency of čaačaaćiiʕas requires certain cultural protocols are adhered to so that we can proceed in a good way. For me, this meant approaching čaačaaćiiʕas for the first time (in a research/fieldwork context) from the water. It also meant being prepared to introduce myself and state my intentions. I did this by singing two songs. The first, entitled "yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu" to announce and introduce myself and the second, entitled "hee naa hee naa" to state my intentions as a knowledge seeker.

By trusting what I had learned from my father and uncle during our interviews, my čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ and huuʕiiʔat knowledge and teachings, and my cultural understanding of the natural and spiritual worlds, I was able to find recognition and reciprocity in my relationship with čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. There are three encounters and/or signs from the natural world that expressed to me that I was working in a good way. The first encounter happened while on the boat with my uncle ʔaaniiċačišt. We were greeted by two grey whales, a mother and child, as we came around the point and into čaačaaćiiʕas. This encounter was significant because it happened as I was returning home to begin my journey to pick up my responsibilities, as čaamaṫa.[30] Seeing the whales swimming in the waters fronting čaačaaćiiʕas was a reminder of the cultural relationship and hereditary responsibility that my family has

[30] čaamaṫa is a nuučaaʕuł word that translates as "next in line" and refers to the next ḥawił in the line of succession.

with/to whales. The second encounter was with a harbour seal that was swimming around the bay where the ocean and a cliff meet. The harbour seal was another reminder of our responsibility as whalers because hunting seals is how young whalers learn and train to hunt some of the largest animals on the planet. The third encounter took place while I was singing "yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu" and "hee naa hee naa" for the first time in čaačaaċiiʕas. As I was singing an ċixʷatin[31] flew over my uncle and me, landed in a cedar tree, and listened to my songs and prayer, before flying off again. This was perhaps the most significant encounter that day because culturally ċixʷatin, their feathers, and their down, represent among other things, cleansing and blessings. From a spiritual and/or ancestral context, čaačaaċiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu reciprocated the sharing of songs by gifting me with the knowledge to finish a ċiqaa.[32] I was not expecting this kind of immediate reciprocity and took this as a sign I was on the correct path, had done good work that day, and could continue to walk the path of (re)connection with čaačaaċiiʕas. The role that songs have in my research cannot be understated and as such I will share the creation stories of four of my songs, two I completed before my fieldwork and two I completed during my fieldwork, as well as the songs.

yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu

I began composing my first song, entitled "yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu" in 2007, shortly after my nanaqʔsu Lizzie passed away. I was soaking in the tub when I was gifted the nuuks (sounds or vocalizations), "yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu". I recognized a song was being shared with me almost

[31] ċixʷatin is a nuučaaʕuł word that translates as "eagle".
[32] ċiqaa is a nuučaaʕuł word that translates as "prayer song" or "chant".

immediately and worked hard to remember what I was hearing. In 2009, just before I started writing my master's thesis, I went to čaačaaċiiʕas with my father for two days. During this visit the river gifted me the drum beat for the song. I knew that I wanted the ʕimčiƛ (words that convey meaning) of this song to express where I come from, and we are strong. In the last year I have worked on this song more as my understanding of nuučaaʔuł songs and song making has grown. The ʕimčiƛ is "histaqšiƛ ma huuʕiiʔat" - we are from huuʕiiʔat, "čaačaaċiiʕasʔathin" – we are the people of čaačaaċiiʕas, followed by "našuḵaṗin, našuḵaṗin" – we are strong. This was my first attempt at composing a cultural song and it has taken a long time to finish to my satisfaction. It is a simple song and easy to learn. "yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu" can be sung in several situations. For example, my family sang it as we ceremonially brought new members into our maʔas. It can be sung to announce ourselves as we wait to be invited into another's ḥaḥuuɬi. I sang this song on my first day of fieldwork, on my uncle's boat in čaačaaċiiʕas' bay as a way of introducing myself to čaačaaċiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. A single round of the song goes like this:[33]

[33] All the songs presented in this dissertation have been handwritten by the author to highlight the embodied connections between the songs, čaačaaċiiʕas, my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, and myself.

yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu huu huu

yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu huu huu

histaqšiɬ ma huuɬii?at
čaačaaċiiɬas?athin
našukapin, našukapin
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu huu huu

yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu huu huu

histaqšiɬ ma huuɬii?at
čaačaaċiiɬas?athin
našukapin, našukapin
yaa yaa waay yaa huu huu huu

yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu
yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu huu huu

hee naa hee naa

In 2020, I began composing a second song titled “hee naa hee naa”. It is a more complex song in how it is sung, the drumbeat, and the story it tells. I composed this song initially with two purposes in mind, one cultural and one academic. Culturally, I wanted a song that expressed my desire to (re)connect with čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu in an appropriate and recognizable way. Moreover, it felt right to come home with a song and promise. In composing this song, I was able to speak to čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu despite my limits in speaking the nuučaaʔuł language. Academically, I wanted to meet the requirements for one of my three comprehensive exams and underscore the central role of cultural songs in the continued production of nuučaaʔuł knowledge. This was the second song that I sang during my first field day in čaačaaćiiʕas. I sang this song from my uncle’s boat to convey my intentions for coming home and picking up my responsibilities.

“hee naa hee naa” is a song that simultaneously expresses sorrow, mourning, loss, return, (re)connection, and revitalization, and celebrates what is still to come. The ʕimčiƛ of this song is “waał še uɬin ʔuʔaaɬuk ii, waał še uɬin ʔuʔaaɬuk ii, ḥaḥuuɬi, ḥaḥuuɬi” - we are coming home to take care of our territory. Within a huuʕiiʔat context the ʕimčiƛ is an acknowledgement of my sorrow and mourning over the loss of our ḥuupukʷanum, which includes our songs. The circumstances of that loss stem from the fact that my naniqʔsu Lizzie was a survivor of the Indian Residential School system and that my naniqʔsu Bill converted to Christianity. After his conversion, the missionary convinced him to burn all our family's tangible culture (regalia, whaling equipment, etc.) and not pass on the intangible culture (songs, dances, etc.), all things we publicly used to

conduct our business and responsibilities. This was compounded when my naniqʔsu Tommy was taken to an Indian residential school, contracted Tuberculosis, spent the next 4 years in an Indian hospital, and died of a drug overdose in Vancouver's Downtown East Side at the age of 34. Despite these circumstances, “hee naa hee naa” also gives us permission to stop mourning and begin the process of restoring our relationships to the natural and spiritual worlds and rebuild our ḥuupukʷanum. As we come out of our mourning, “hee naa hee naa” becomes a song of triumph and revitalization: through my research I am reconnecting to čaačaaćiiʕas and laying the groundwork that ensures my son and his generation (family and members of our maʔas) will grow up connected to čaačaaćiiʕas in a way that previous generations have not. My son’s generation will be connected to the places their cultural names and knowledge come from. Lastly, “hee naa hee naa” is a song of joy and celebration for the future because it is a record of our efforts in revitalization, the rejuvenation of ḥaḥuuɬi and ḥuupukʷanum, and a reminder to the generations still to come that it is okay to create anew because it is through our creations that we can show our understanding of our teachings and culture. A single round of the song goes like this:

hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee nii yah
hee nii yah

hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee nii yah
hee nii yah

watši ?aẋin ?uu?aaɬuki
watši ?aẋin ?uu?aaɬuki
ḥahuuti
ḥaḥuuti

hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee nii yah
hee nii yah

watši ?aẋin ?uu?aaɬuki
watši ?aẋin ?uu?aaɬuki
ḥahuuti
ḥaḥuuti

hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee naa hee naa hee naa hi yeaa
hee nii yah
hee nii yah

huu huu huu

When I started my fieldwork in November 2020, I had the beginnings of my third song but no sense of its intended purpose. “huu huu huu” came together during my first visit to čaačaaċiiʕas. After singing “yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu” and “hee naa hee naa”, I was looking up into the watershed from my uncles’ boat and was reminded of a writing from my master’s thesis:

The sun sets behind sacred mountains
The whaler’s moon rises
The ancestors are coming
Solitude is calling, the cleansing time has come
Wolves ascend from the sea returning to the mountains
Four times
Fins to paws
Into the mountains for preparation
Soon the wolves will grow hungry and restless
Hunger felt through the people’s need
…
The sun climbs into the sea
The whaler’s moon rises
The ancestors are coming
The call of hunger, the hunting time has come
Wolves descend from the mountains returning to the sea
Four times
Paws to fins
Into the sea for the hunt
The people’s need is great
Another year, the cycle continues…
(Happynook 2010, 63)

I do not know why I started singing but as I did, this song, which is a ċiqaa, came to life. The ċiqaa itself is a song for calling our family’s qʷayaċiik.[34] In the moment of its creation, the ʕimčiƛ of this

[34] qʷayaċiik is a nuučaaʔnuł word that translates most simply as “wolf/wolves”. In this context, I am referring to spiritual qʷayaċiik that can be called on for aid/protection.

ċiqaa was sung in my broken nuučaaʼnuł. To complete this ċiqaa, I have used several nuučaaʼnuł dictionaries, and worked with hinatinyis Cote and wišqii to find the best way to express the complex ideas of this ċiqaa. The nuuks is sung to sound like the howling of qʷayaċiik. The ʕimčiƛ says “naʔaa, naʔaataḥisč, huuḥ huu ḥama qʷayaċiik” - listen, listen to me, wolves are howling, followed by “čitakinʔaała ʼnačuʔał suẃa” – we are always happy to see you, and “ʔayaaƛma mamums” – there’s lots of work to do. This ċiqaa is meant to be sung at the beginning of important meetings, events, and/or ceremonies to cleanse and/or bless the space and ensure the business of the day is done in a good way. A single round of the ċiqaa goes like this:

huu huu huu huu huu huu huu huu huu uu huu
huu huu huu huu huu huu huu huu huu uu huu
naʔaa, naʔaataḥisɛ̌ huuḥ huu ḥama qʷayaciik
čitakinʔaata ʔaʔuʔaɬ suẁa ʔayaaƛ̓ma mamums

yuh haa, yuh hey

The final song I want to talk about in this dissertation is my also my most recently composed song. In December 2020, I went to čaačaaćiiʕas for the day. It was an exceptionally wet and windy day, so torrential and gusty that it was hard to hear myself think at times. I was struggling with doubt about whether I was approaching my research in the right way and worried čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu wouldn't hear me. Upon arriving in čaačaaćiiʕas, I spent some time singing, praying, and wandering where I could in the lower watershed (the river was not crossable that day) and trying to figure out where I need to be in čaačaaćiiʕas. Around midday, I was having lunch, hoping the rain would ease up and that the road had not washed out, when I heard two people talking, I could not understand what was being said and do not know if the words were in nuučaaʔuł or English. It was like I was hearing a whisper carried on the wind. The colonized part of my mind wanted to believe that it was just the wind and my imagination, but all my cultural teachings and knowledge told me that I was hearing my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. For me, this experience was an acknowledgement I was doing good work, my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu and čaačaaćiiʕas heard me, I was worthy of the knowledge they were sharing with me, and I needed to compose a new song.

This song is titled "yuh haa yuh hey" and is a tribute to the experience of hearing the voices of my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu on the wind. The ʕimčiƛ of this song is a mix of nuučaaʔuł and English as a reminder that my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu come from many places and is "I heard your voices on the wind", "yuu ii ii oh, yuu ii ii oh" is a reference to the wind, "yakʷiimit kʷiyiis

nananiqsu" – ancestors from the beginning of time", and "ƛekoo ƛekoo" – thank you, thank you".

A single round of the song goes like this:

yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuh hey hey oh yuh hey hey oh
yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuu ii ii oh yuu ii ii oh

yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuh hey hey oh yuh hey hey oh
yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuu ii ii oh yuu ii ii oh

I heard your voices on the wind
yuu ii ii oh yuu ii ii oh
yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu
ʔekoo ʔekoo, ʔekoo ʔekoo

yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuh hey hey oh yuh hey hey oh
yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuu ii ii oh yuu ii ii oh

I heard your voices on the wind
yuu ii ii oh yuu ii ii oh
yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu
ʔekoo ʔekoo, ʔekoo ʔekoo

yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuh hey hey oh yuh hey hey oh
yuh haa yuh hey yuh haa yuh hey
yuu ii ii oh yuu ii ii oh

The song “huu huu huu” and the story of its creation demonstrates the reciprocal relationship that čaačaaćiiʕas and I (re)established in those first moments, just as “yuh haa yuh hey” represents the reciprocal relationship that I formed with my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. Both “huu huu huu” and “yuh haa yuh hey” highlight the similarities between human-human and human-natural/spiritual worlds interactions within my research. From a cultural standpoint, learning from čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu was very similar to learning from my father and uncle. Both require a relationship of trust, a cultural awareness that the knowledge being shared is not necessarily recognizable outside of a cultural context, and an acknowledgement of the agency of those I worked with throughout my research (father, uncle, čaačaaćiiʕas, yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu). Accepting that all things in the natural and spiritual worlds have agency is an important teaching within nuučaaʔuł culture connected to teachings of respect and reciprocity and something that is missing within a colonial understanding of the world. The primary difference in the learning process is how we communicated. My father, uncle, and I speak a common language (English mostly, but some nuučaaʔuł too), making the sharing of knowledge relatively straightforward. Communication with čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu is hard to articulate, it is bound up in experiences of being muułmuumps in čaačaaćiiʕas, in the encounters with the natural and spiritual worlds, and in the way the memories and feelings that are drawn out as I walked throughout the ḥaḥuuɬi. In this way the songs I composed in čaačaaćiiʕas become even more important because they are the expression (culturally) and analysis (academically) of the knowledge and teachings I received throughout my fieldwork.

Sharing songs and sharing knowledge

Having written about how I received knowledge, teachings, and songs through connection to the natural and spiritual worlds during my fieldwork in čaačaaċiiʕas. I want to turn the discussion to how songs are one of the culturally appropriate methods for the transmission of knowledge and teachings in nuučaaʼuł culture. Two examples from my own experience, related to songs, that highlight the process I just described are: 1) a conversation I had with my naniqʔsu Lizzie before her passing; and 2) my composing "yaa yaa yaa waay yaa huu." In the first case, I was inquiring about the structure and creation of nuučaaʼuł songs and as was her way, my naniqʔsu said that she did not know anything. Then a day or so later, and quite out of the blue, she said "Happynook songs only have four drums in the circle" before turning around and leaving. I spent a good while thinking about what this meant and concluded there were at least two reasons our family only used four drums when singing our songs. Symbolically, the number four plays a prominent role in nuučaaʼuł culture, and practically, having more than four drums can drown out the singers and thereby the meaning of the song. I went back and talked to my naniqʔsu Lizzie about what I thought, and she smiled letting me know I had done a good job. The second case, my song "yuh haa yuh hey," after receiving the ʕimčiƛ for this song, I spent the next month contemplating what and who I had heard, what it meant to me, how I was going to express it in a song, and when I returned to čaačaaċiiʕas, it was with a completed ʕimčiƛ. During a field day in January, I was singing the ʕimčiƛ to myself while I walked along beach and was gifted with beginnings of the nuuks. I was able to put the whole song together in June 2021 because I finally understood how the parts fit together. Despite completing this song relatively fast, at least for me, it still

developed over time as I showed čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu that I understood what they shared with me in the context of my own life.

Sharing my songs is an important step in my process of creating because it forces me to stop adjusting them. The act of sharing my songs is an ending and beginning in my process of composing. Cultural songs reach from the past, bringing knowledge and teachings to the future and those yet to come. What that knowledge is and how it is used depends on the relationship between song and singer(s). Moreover, songs allow for the sharing of knowledge and teachings at deepening levels depending on the different audiences (e.g., family, maʔas, huuʕiiʔat, and/or public). Marianne Nicolson negotiates this idea in her artistic practice by being "active in creating both traditional work for ceremonial purposes and contemporary work for public institutions" (Nicolson 2005, 9). Nicolson also writes about a time when she questioned her uncle about the acceptability of selling masks and his reply was

> the value was in its 'meaning', its symbolism, not the object itself…that the mask could always be re-made. So it seems ironic to me that it was the symbol (or form) that was so prized by the Western institutions while its "meaning" was so prized by us. (Nicolson 2013, 403)

While I am not selling my songs, I feel this example bears relevance because my songs will have different meanings to different audiences, particularly if an audience is seeing them as written text versus hearing them in a cultural context. There are three circumstances where my songs are available to public audiences. First, my songs can be read in this dissertation, and possibly in future publications making them available to a potentially very wide audience. However, within my dissertation the songs lack the power and impact from being heard in a cultural context and

thus the knowledge they contain is protected. nuučaaʼuɬ cultural songs are “owned” and cannot be sung without permission; to do so would shame yourself, your family, and your maʔas and invoke several different protocols for correcting such a taboo. One might equate this to plagiarism in the academic world; the consequences are much higher and farther reaching in our culture. Second, my songs can be heard publicly at cultural events and/or ceremonies (e.g., potlatches) hosted by my family/maʔas/huuʕiiʔat and/or if we were at a ceremony hosted by another nation. Cultural events and ceremonies are the mostly likely scenario for my songs to be heard in a public and cultural setting. Creating songs has helped to advance my efforts to reconnect with čaačaaċiiʕas and pick up my responsibilities. A part of picking up my responsibilities is rebuilding my family’s ḥuupukʷanum (e.g., by the creation of songs, dances, etc.). Rebuilding our ḥuupukʷanum is important because it contains all the necessary things to conduct cultural business in public settings. And third, my songs might be heard publicly if/when I feel it is appropriate to sing one. Examples of such contexts are conferences, in reciprocation for another person’s sharing of song, and/or to begin a meeting. In a public setting, the stories of how my songs were created will not be more than I have already shared in this dissertation.

As a member of the huuʕiiʔat nation, I want huuʕiiʔat citizens to know the čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ songs, just as I have learned the songs of other huuʕiiʔat ḥawiiḥ and citizens. At a minimum, sharing our songs helps to reinforce long-standing relationships of reciprocity between individuals, families, and huuʕiiʔat maʔas. It strengthens the production of knowledge for all huuʕiiʔat through the process of teaching and learning each other’s songs by bringing us together for cultural learning. Additionally, and specifically regarding my family, sharing our songs

demonstrates to huuʕiiʔat citizens how we are picking up our responsibilities, rebuilding our ḥuupukʷanum, adhering to cultural laws, and assuming our role with the huuʕiiʔat systems of governance as we prepare ourselves for a more public role and business. In terms of how I will share and teach čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ songs among the huuʕiiʔat, there are a couple of options. I can attend and teach my songs at the many culture nights huuʕiiʔat hosts throughout the year. Traditionally, we had people in our nations who learned and carry the many ḥaẃiiḥ songs; this continues today, and I would certainly like to contribute to the continued production of culture knowledge and songs.

In Chapter 1, I shared that the čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ are a maʔas consisting of the Happynook, Sport, and Johnson families. Sharing the songs with the members of our maʔas is important because: it helps my family (Happynook) and the Sport family re-establish our relationship with čaačaaćiiʕas; it can be a starting point for building a relationship for the Johnson family, who became part of the čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ in 2011; and it is one way that all čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ can connect with čaačaaćiiʕas and participate in the collective cultural revitalization and rebuilding of our maʔas. Knowing our songs enables us to be represented when we are invited to cultural events and/or ceremonies. I would like to teach the members of our maʔas my songs in čaačaaćiiʕas when possible because learning the songs in the place that inspired them is significant for several reasons: first, it helps to connect our maʔas to čaačaaćiiʕas through the practice of learning on the land; second, it is an opportunity for the members of our maʔas to make personal connections with čaačaaćiiʕas; and third, sharing the stories of the song's creation in čaačaaćiiʕas

brings an on the land context and thus a deeper understanding of the knowledge and experiences contained within the songs.

The importance of sharing my songs with my family goes well beyond simply being able to sing together. These songs represent a point in our history, a revival of culture, the picking up of our responsibilities, and our (re)connection to our ḥaḥuuɬi. My son will be able to help me teach others in our family because most nights I sing our songs to him as he goes to sleep. He has shown a marked interest in learning our songs, asking me to sing and if he can use a drum. In terms of teaching the songs and sharing the stories of their creation really depends on how engaged the members of my family are in the learning process. In July 2021, my wife, son, and parents visited čaačaaċiiʕas with me. This trip was significant for several reasons: first, it was the first time in over a century that three generations of the čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ hereditary line of succession have gathered in čaačaaċiiʕas; second, it was Mahihkan's first visit to čaačaaċiiʕas and he is at an age when he would begin more formally learning/training for his future roles (e.g., as a leader and whaler); and third, Mahihkan's first time in čaačaaċiiʕas was with his nananiqsu, an important relationship in a cultural education. The fact that Mahihkan was able to learn from his naniqʔsu in čaačaaċiiʕas was a momentous occasion for me to witness because it is a relationship that I was not able to have with my naniqʔsu. We were only in čaačaaċiiʕas for a couple hours, but it was a very meaningful experience for me. I walked with my son through the thick undergrowth of second growth forest between the river and the beach. We talked the whole time and I shared with him the some of the things that I had seen and learned during my time in čaačaaċiiʕas. And just before we got in the truck to drive home, I sang the songs "hee naa hee naa" and "yuh haa

yaa hey". Culturally, this was an important day for my family because it was a day filled with cultural revitalization (the sharing of songs), connection to ḥaḥuuɬi (walking the land and washing in the river), and the picking up of our responsibilities (sharing knowledge of the ḥaḥuuɬi with the future ḥawiɬ of čaačaaćiiʕas). Furthermore, the experience of being in čaačaaćiiʕas and sharing some of the things that I learned there with my family, in particular my son, is a very concrete example of how čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ knowledge continues to be produced and transmitted into the future.

Chapter 4: Muu

Conclusions and Beginnings

It is a strange feeling to write a conclusion for research that is just beginning. In the grand scheme of my life, career, and (re)connection with čaačaaċiiʕas, this dissertation is but a single point on the long journey towards my family's return to our ḥaḥuuɬi, relationship building in and with čaačaaċiiʕas, and future research projects. Therefore, this chapter is both an academic conclusion to my doctoral research and the commencement of my life's cultural and academic work. And so, as I bring my dissertation to a close, I want to discuss what I discovered and why it matters, revisit the four kinds of knowledge discussed in Chapter 1, share how my research contributes to the continued production of knowledge, and consider what comes next.

What I discovered and why it matters

In Chapter 3, I wrote about being on the land, how I got there, and some of what I learned from and in čaačaaċiiʕas. In my research, ḥaḥuuɬi was not simply a backdrop for learning with Elders and knowledge holders; ḥaḥuuɬi was/is a knowledge holder and active participant in the process of reciprocal relationship building and (re)connection with čaačaaċiiʕas. I chose to engage in this way in small part because of the circumstances of colonization, outlined in Chapter 1, that disrupted the traditional methods of passing down knowledge through the generations of my family. I also chose to engage in this way in large part because it is how my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu first became muułmuumps in čaačaaċiiʕas and is how we first received teachings that continue to be shared with the next generations. From this, two different but connected points

of theoretical inquiry emerged from my research that I want to acknowledge in my dissertation and note for future consideration. The first point was a recognition of the potential for theoretical inquiry into the agency of the natural world (čaačaaċiiʕas) and the spiritual world (yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu) when understood within a čaačaaċiiʕas, huuʕiiʔat, and/or nuučaaʕuł worldview. Such a theory, and possibly a methodology, could be applied outside the context of my research, by recontextualizing the knowledge, teachings, and relationships to the places and culture being worked with. For example, my knowledge and teachings stem from čaačaaċiiʕas, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaʕuł culture(s), but other Indigenous knowledge and teachings could easily be applied within the natural and spiritual places they come from. The second is exploring muułmuumps, being rooted to the land, as a theoretical concept for territorial (re)connection and reconciliation.

To the first point, the idea of the natural and spiritual worlds having agency was not a new concept for me coming into my research; in fact, it was already part of my known cultural knowledge of the natural and spiritual world (čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and/or nuučaaʕuł oral history and stories). What is new was recognizing the potential for theoretical inquiry into the agency of the natural and spiritual worlds, an agency experienced firsthand as I applied known cultural knowledge, teachings, and ceremony in čaačaaċiiʕas. Each time I was in field, I was drawn to a very specific area in čaačaaċiiʕas and each time that I went to the places that I was being directed to, I was gifted with knowledge, teachings, songs, and interactions with the natural and spiritual worlds. So many of the interactions I experienced during my fieldwork are personal and I will not share them. However, I am reminded of an encounter with a ċixʷatin from my first field

day. In Chapter 3, I wrote about this encounter as an acknowledgement from the natural world that I was doing my work in a good way. It also stands as an example of the natural world's agency in that ċixʷatin are important figures in nuučaaʕuł culture. In this instance, having a being from the natural world, whose feathers are considered lucky and whose down is used to spiritually cleanse physical spaces, arrive to greet my uncle and I as I sang two songs from the water is a powerful indication of the reciprocal relationship that once stood between my family and our ḥaḥuuɬi. I believe this ċixʷatin represented čaačaaċiiʕas (natural world) and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu (spiritual world) in a culturally significant moment, namely, a čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ returning to the ḥaḥuuɬi with the intention of (re)connecting. Further examples can be found in Chapter 1 where I wrote about listening, Chapter 2 where I wrote about teachings, and Chapter 3 where I wrote about songs.

To the second point, the concept of muułmuumps and the potential for developing a theory and methodology of territorial (re)connection/reconciliation follows in the footsteps of Indigenous scholars who have developed theories, and methodologies based on culturally specific concepts. Examples of such scholarly work include, but are not limited to, Absolon's "kaandossiwin" (2011), Atleo's "tsawalk" (2004, 2011), Daigle's "awawanenitakik" (2016), Mack's "hoquotist" (2011), and Smith's "hiitl kwii itl sitla" (2018). muułmuumps, much like the list above, is a single word with immense meaning and contains a multitude of knowledge, lessons, and teachings. My doctoral research, from a methodological standpoint, has already laid the foundation for future work around muułmuumps through my use of presence and ceremony to rebuild the connection and relationship between my family and čaačaaċiiʕas. Understanding my work through the

concept of muułmuumps has bound me to čaačaaċiiʕas in a way that I was not prior to my fieldwork. Our relationship is grounded in culture, ceremony, reciprocity, and trust, and together we shared experiences and knowledge through the creation of songs.

Why does this matter? In both cases, further investigation matters because we live in a country with a deep colonial history that has purposefully removed us from to our lands, waters, resources, etc., and attempted to permanently sever those connections. We live in a time where we must reconcile our relationships with our ḥaḥuuɬi, in as much as we need to reconcile Indigenous/settler relations. Theoretical inquiry into the agency of the natural and spiritual worlds as well as the concept of muułmuumps can help those who are interested in reconnecting to their ḥaḥuuɬi but do not know where to begin. Moreover, developing Indigenous theory and methodology shows how our knowledge can grow out of one place and be applied by others in their own pursuits. It is like the guideposts that my father and uncle set out for me for conducting ceremony, there to help us stay the course, but the path is ours to walk and experience.

Revisiting four kinds of knowledge

When I first conceptualised what my research could be, I outlined a project documenting my own (re)connection to land, the acquisition and transfer of traditional knowledge, and the re-emergence of land-based cultural practices between my family and our ḥaḥuuɬi. Focusing on my own experience of reconnecting, revitalizing, and restoring my family's knowledge, presence, and traditional responsibilities in our ḥaḥuuɬi, not in a theoretical understanding but in an embodied understanding of having learned in and from čaačaaċiiʕas. I intended to walk the entirety of

čaačaaćiiʕas, its perimeter, the lower and upper parts of the watershed, from the beach up into the mountains. I planned to swim in the bay and bathe in the river as I searched for the places of my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu as well as my own. However, from the first moments of being in čaačaaćiiʕas, I was quickly and quietly directed to very specific places and my work shifted so that I was engaging more with the spiritual world than the natural.

Now, as I reflect on my research and start to write the conclusion to my dissertation. I see clearly how a nuučaaʔuł cultural education was/is influenced through interactions with the natural and spiritual worlds. Without a connection to and relationship with čaačaaćiiʕas I would not have been able to create my songs, expand my understanding of the nuučaaʔuł language, complete my doctoral studies and become more connected to ḥaḥuuɬi and grounded in my culture than any other time in my life. This work has helped me to find my place in world and I am struck with the overwhelming understanding that I am at the beginning of my life's work of picking up, connecting to, and understanding my responsibilities to čaačaaćiiʕas.

In Chapter 1, I wrote about four kinds of knowledge – known cultural knowledge, incomplete cultural knowledge, unknown or unaccounted for knowledge, ethnographic and anthropological knowledge. I want to revisit my discussions of the four kinds of knowledge from chapter two here.

Known Cultural Knowledge

This is the knowledge that remained intact and continues to be passed down through the generations of my family. Specifically, this knowledge consists of čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ teachings, ways of knowing, being and doing. This kind of knowledge was instrumental in developing and implementing my research methodologies (muułmuumps, ceremony, language, song). My known cultural knowledge was the basis from which the other three kinds of knowledge are understood and/or contextualized. It is also the knowledge that I used to develop the methodological approaches used during my fieldwork. It is knowledge that was reinforced during my interactions with the natural (čaačaaċiiʕas) and spiritual (yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu) worlds. My known cultural knowledge allowed me to approach čaačaaċiiʕas and conduct ceremony in an appropriate, recognizable, and reciprocal way, the results being the gifting of knowledge and teachings, and the creation of songs. The most significant outcome from my research regarding known cultural knowledge is the confidence I now feel, having confirmed through experience, what I know to be true as true.

Incomplete Cultural Knowledge

Incomplete cultural knowledge is knowledge that I know and carry; however, it is incomplete because of the impacts of colonization. To address the gaps in my cultural knowledge I had to first identify and understand how and where my knowledge was/is incomplete. Second, I had to determine and seek out appropriate sources of guidance to complete my incomplete knowledge. In this instance, I conducted research interviews with my father and uncle, which resulted in a more complete understanding of several ceremonies I practiced throughout my fieldwork. My

father often shared with me a teaching that he learned from his naniqʔsu (who presumably learned it from his and so forth). The teaching in the context of a ḥawiɬ teaching his čaamaɬa, is simply that you do not need to know everything, but you do need to learn who to ask. At the surface this teaching is about learning to ask for help. However, if you dig deeper into its meaning it is also about knowing and recognizing the roles, knowledge, teachings, expertise, and responsibilities of those in your maʔas, community, and nation. Third, I had to implement the ceremonial knowledge I learned from the interviews throughout my fieldwork and was rewarded with further knowledge from čaačaaćiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu. And fourth, I had to suture my known and learned knowledge, and put it into practice in čaačaaćiiʕas as a way of showing čaačaaćiiʕas, my father, and my uncle that I understood what had been shared and was able to use that knowledge in the context of my life and experience.

Unknown and/or Unaccounted for Knowledge

This was knowledge that was lost due to the impacts of colonization. In this instance, I learned as my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu did, through the experience of walking the land, swimming the waters, bathing in the river, practicing ceremony and appealing to the natural and spiritual worlds for help. The best examples of unknown and/or unaccounted for knowledge in my research are my interactions with the natural (čaačaaćiiʕas, animals, river, ocean, forest, and winds) and the spiritual (yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu) worlds and the songs that were created. The song "yuh haa yuh hey" described in Chapter 3, exemplifies how čaačaaćiiʕas helped to facilitate a moment in which the wind (natural world), my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu (spiritual world) and I were able

to interact with one another, the result of which was a cultural song to commemorate that interaction and experience.

Ethnographic and Anthropological Knowledge

This knowledge is often partial and/or incomplete and yet, as I discussed in the literature review, I have found it useful. For example, while standing on the beach in čaačaaċiiʕas, I could not help but remember the stories I have read and re-read of the Long Wars and impacts that it had on my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu (čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ and huuʕiiʔat oral history; Swadesh 1948; Sapir and Swadesh 1955). It was easy to imagine the panic my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu must have felt for their family as enemies landed on the beach. It was easy to imagine the fear felt as they looked for escape routes up the river and into the mountains. Another example is how, as I walked through the forests of čaačaaċiiʕas, taking note of the many resources in čaačaaċiiʕas, Drucker's descriptions and drawings of whaling equipment would come to mind. I think I have a clearer understanding of the fascination of the` deep cultural history found in nuučaaʼnuɬ ḥaḥuuɬi by early anthropologists.

Contributions to the continued production of knowledge

In writing this section, I find myself conflicted. As an academic, stating my contributions to the continued production of knowledge (in my case, čaačaaċiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, nuučaaʼnuɬ, and anthropology/ethnography) is an important step in the process of writing. However, from a cultural perspective, it feels a lot like bragging, which in my culture is frowned upon. Culturally, we do not acknowledge our own accomplishments. If our accomplishments are worthy of

recognition, our community will recognize them. And so, I find myself once again walking a fine, but familiar, line between culture and academia.

My doctoral research contributes to the continued production and use of knowledge in several ways. First, through my own physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual (re)connection with čaačaaćiiʕas, I have (re)connected čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ knowledge, teachings, and ceremony to our ḥaḥuuɬi and in doing so, am better equipped to advocate for and participate in the management of čaačaaćiiʕas at the huuʕiiʔat ḥaẃiiḥ council. Furthermore, by applying known cultural knowledge throughout my fieldwork, incomplete, unknown and/or unaccounted for knowledge has been (re)learned and sutured into the common knowledge of living čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ and those yet to come. Second, through the rebuilding of the čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ ḥuupukʷanum to which my songs are the strongest example of cultural knowledge production in my research. Another example from my fieldwork was my identifying and cataloguing the many natural resources in čaačaaćiiʕas. Knowing what resources can be found in our ḥaḥuuɬi is important for our maʔas and our ability to make drums, rattles, masks, and regalia for ceremony. All these items and more are needed in our ḥuupukʷanum so that as a maʔas we can conduct cultural business and contribute to the continued production of čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaẖuɬ knowledge. Third, my work is a reclamation of knowledge, teachings, and presence within the discipline of anthropology. I write as a čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaẖuɬ person within anthropology (student and faculty) and as I pick up, make space for, and rebuild and reclaim the expertise of čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ, huuʕiiʔat, and nuučaaẖuɬ knowledge, I do so as a cultural insider.

The nature of my work very easily falls into a cultural space/work and could be done outside of the academy, but it is equally important to acknowledge how my work contributes to anthropological research and knowledge. In this regard, my work is about bringing two different worlds together, one cultural and one academic, two worlds that at times have been in conflict. My research brings together oral and written histories by considering how they complement and help to inform each other, as opposed to how they are different. I have written about my place in the natural and spiritual worlds not as separate from myself, but as a participant in the relationships and interactions that I have experienced. Just as my presence in čaačaaćiiʕas was about reconciling an almost severed relationship with my ḥaḥuuɬi, my presence in the University of Victoria's Department of Anthropology can be about reconciling and strengthening Indigenous-anthropology relationships. The research I choose to do, the colleagues I collaborate with, the methodological and theoretical approaches I use, the ways I share my work, and my teaching practice are all potential points of reconciliation within the discipline of anthropology. My final comprehensive exam exemplifies this because I did not write a traditional paper, I composed a cultural song entitled, "hee naa, hee naa" (detailed in Chapter 3). I composed this song because it was culturally appropriate and necessary in the process of picking up my responsibilities and (re)connecting with čaačaaćiiʕas, but it also helped to reframe what anthropology accepts as knowledge in the meeting of an academic rite of passage, otherwise known as the comprehensive exams.

And fourth, in Chapter 1, I wrote that reconciliation is not just about human-to-human relationships but must also make space for the relationships between humans and the natural/spiritual worlds, particularly for those of us who have been removed and dispossessed of our traditional territories. Chapter 3 highlighted the importance of songs and how songs made it possible in my personal journey to (re)connect and reconcile with čaačaaċiiʕas. Songs also make it possible for me to share, albeit at different levels depending on the context of sharing, what I have learned from čaačaaċiiʕas and my yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu in a way that is both safe and appropriate. In the larger context of reconciliation in Canada, my songs are a different kind of witnessing, one that represents the impacts of being dispossessed of ḥaḥuuɬi. Through the act of hearing the songs and seeing the dances I am sharing a new ontological approach to truth-telling and when my songs are sung, a truth is being shared. My songs allow me to share private knowledge and experience safely and appropriately in a public setting. I look forward to the day when I can witness my songs being heard.

What comes next?

The most important next step is to continue nurturing a lasting relationship with my ḥaḥuuɬi and yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu through a sustained physical, spiritual, and ceremonial presence in čaačaaċiiʕas as I connect knowledge, teachings, and ceremonies to the places they originated. I see three ways my work with čaačaaċiiʕas continues after my doctoral research concludes: 1) a continued physical presence on/in the lands, waters, and spiritual places of čaačaaċiiʕas, moving from the beach, where my research was primarily conducted, up into the mountains; 2) take in the land, waters, and natural resources, figuratively (seeing, hearing, smelling, and experiencing)

and literally (consuming foods, medicines, and water); and 3) continue to work with and understand the ceremonial knowledge and teachings that I learned from my father, uncle, yakʷiimit kʷiyiis nananiqsu, and čaačaaćiiʕas by experiencing my ḥaḥuuɬi through rituals and ceremonies such as ʔuusimč.

Academically, I foresee future research and projects in čaačaaćiiʕas including, but are not limited to, archaeological work to find the old longhouse and traplines, construction of a traditional fishing weir, examination of a possible shellfish harvesting rock wall, ethno-mapping as well as identifying, gathering, processing, and preserving food resources. Moreover, I am excited by the prospects of the collaborative work that can be done in čaačaaćiiʕas with our maʔas, huuʕiiʔat, and my colleagues at the University of Victoria.

In closing, I have begun a lifelong journey home, ensured that my family and maʔas, through my son's introduction to čaačaaćiiʕas in July of 2021, will never have to be disconnected from our ḥaḥuuɬi again. I have participated in the continued production of čaačaaćiiʕasʔatḥ knowledge through the confirming of known cultural knowledge, and the filling in of incomplete cultural knowledge, and the finding of unknown and/or unaccounted for knowledge. Additionally, I have begun to immerse my son in our cultural knowledge, teachings, and ceremonies so that he can find his way to being muuɬmuumps in čaačaaćiiʕas.

References

Absolon, Kathleen E. 2011. *Kaandossiwin: How We Come to Know*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Allison Bernard Memorial High School. 2019. "Emma Stevens - Blackbird by the Beetles sung in Mi'kmaq." 2:36. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99-LoEkAA3w

Ames, Kenneth M. 1981. "The Evolution of Social Ranking on the Northwest Coast of North America". *American Antiquity* 46, no. 4: 789-805.

Ames, Kenneth M. 1994. "The Northwest Coast: Complex Hunter-Gatherers, Ecology, and Social Evolution". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 :209-229.

Archibald, J.-ann. 2008. *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Arima, Eugene Y., and John Dewhirst. 1990. "Nootkans of Vancouver Island". In *Handbook of North American Indian*, edited by W. Suttles and W. Sturtevant, 391-411. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Arima, Eugene et al. 1991. *Between Ports Alberni and Renfrew: Notes on the West Coast Peoples*. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Arima, E.Y., T. Klokeid, K. Robinson, E. Sapir, M. Swadesh, A. Thomas, J. Thomas et al., eds. 2000. The *Whaling Indians: West Coast Legends and Stories, Tales of Extraordinary Experience*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Arima, E.Y., T. Klokeid, and K. Robinson, eds. 2004. *The Whaling Indians, Legendary Hunters: West Coast Legends and Stories*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Arima, E.Y., T. Klokeid, and K. Robinson, eds. 2007. *The Whaling Indians West Coast Legends and Stories: The Origin of the Wolf Ritual*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2007.

Arima, E.Y., H. Kammler, T. Klokeid, and K. Robinson, eds. 2009. *The Whaling Indians: West Coast Legends and Stories – Family Origin Histories*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Arnold, Jeanne E. 1995. "Transportation Innovation and Social Complexity Among Maritime Hunter-Gatherer Societies." *American Anthropologist* 97, no. 4: 733-747.

Atleo, Cliff. 2010. “Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development and the Changing Nature of our Relationships Within the Ha’hoolthlii of our Ha’wiih.” MA thesis, University of Victoria.

Atleo, E. Richard. 2004. *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Atleo, E. Richard. 2011. *Principles of tsawalk: an indigenous approach to global crisis*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Atleo, Marlene. 2006. “The Ancient Nuu-chah-nulth Strategy of Hahuulthi: Education for Indigenous Cultural Survivance.” *International Journal of Environment* 2, no. 1: 153-162.

Basso, Keith. 1996. *Wisdom sits in places: landscape and language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Battiste, M. 2018. “Reconciling Indigenous Knowledge in Education: Promises, Possibilities, and Imperatives”. In *Dissident Knowledge in Higher Education*, edited by M. Spooner and J. McNinch, 123-148. University of Regina Press.

BC Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy. 2021. “Carnation Creek Watershed Experiment.” https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/plants-animals-ecosystems/fish/aquatic-habitat-management/fish-forestry/carnation-creek.

Borrows, John. 2010. “Drawing out law: a spirit’s guide.” Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bridge, Kathryn & Kevin Neary. 2013. *Voices of the Elders: Huu-ay-aht Histories and Legends*. Victoria: Heritage House Publishing Company Ltd.

Clutesi, George. 1967. *Son of Raven, Son of Deer: Fables of the Tse-shaht People*. Sidney: Gray’s Publishing.

Clutesi, George. 1969. *Potlatch*. Sidney: Gray’s Publishing.

Clutesi, George. 1990. *Stand Tall My Son*. Victoria: Newport Bay Publishing.

Cote, Charlotte. 2010. *Spirits of our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah & Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Coulthard, Glen, and Leanne Simpson. 2016. “Grounded Normativity/Place-based Solidarity”. *American Quarterly* 68, no. 2: 249-255.

Daigle, Michelle. 2016. “Awawanenitakik: The Spatial Politics of Recognition and Relational Geographies of Indigenous Self-determination.” *The Canadian Geographer* 60, no. 2: 259-269.

Drucker, Philip. 1951. *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.

Garrison, Nanibaa' A., Maui Hudson, Leah L. Ballantyne, Ibrahim Garba, Andrew Martinez, Maile Taualii, Laura Arbour, Nadine R. Caron, and Stephanie Carroll Rainie. 2019. "Genomic Research Through an Indigenous Lens: Understanding the Expectations". *Annual Review of Genomics and Human Genetics* 20: 495-517.

George, Earl Maquinna. 2003. *Living on the Edge: Nuu-Chah-Nulth History from an Ahousaht Chief's Perspective*. Winlaw: Sono Nis Press.

Golla, Susan. 1988. "A Tale of Two Chiefs: Nootkan Narrative and the Ideology of Chiefship". *Journalde la Societe des Americanistes* 74: 107–123.

Green, Denise N. 2014. "Producing materials, places and identities: a study of encounters in the Alberni Valley". PhD diss., University of British Columbia.

Green, Denise N. 2016. "Genealogies of Knowledge in the Alberni Valley: Reflecting on ethnographic practice in the archive of Dr. Susan Golla." In *Histories of Anthropology Annual*, edited by Regna Darnell and Frederic Gleach, 273-301. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Green, Denise N. 2018. "Producing Place and Declaring Rights Through Thliitsapilthim (Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations' Ceremonial Curtains)." *Textile* 17, no. 1: 72-91.

Green, Denise N. 2019. "An Archival Ethnography of Sapir's "Nootka" (Nuu-chah-nulth) Texts, Correspondence, and Fieldwork through the Douglas Thomas Drawings." *Ethnohistory* 66, no. 4: 353-384.

Greenwood, Margo, and Sarah de Leeuw. 2007. "Teachings from the Land: Indigenous People, Our Health, Our Land, and Our Children." *The Canadian Journal of Native Education* 30, no.1 :48-53.

Hanuse, Banchi, dir. 2010. *Cry Rock*. Smayaykila Films.

Happynook, Tommy. 2010. "iṅ sii ʔaƛ̓ niš k̓̂ʷii sii yuk mit kin: The end of one journey is the beginning of another." MA thesis, University of Victoria.

Helweg-Larsen, Kelda. 2017. "Ca? ak (Islands): How place-based Indigenous perspectives can inform national park 'visitor experience' programming in Nuu-chah-nulth traditional territory." MA thesis, University of Victoria.

Hill, Susan M. 2017. *The clay we are made of: Haudenosaunee land tenure on the Grand River*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Ilutsik, Esther A. 2002. "Oral Traditional Knowledge: Does It Belong in the Classroom." *Sharing Our Pathways* 7, no. 3: 1-15.

Keitlah, Wilma, and Debbie Foxcroft. 1995. *Wawaa-c'akuk Yaqwii?ltq Quu?as: The Sayings of Our First Peoples*. Penticton: Theytus Books.

Ḳi-ḳe-in. 2013a. "Art for Whose Sake?". In *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas*, edited by C. Townsend-Gault, J. Kramer and Ḳi-ḳe-in, 677–719. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Ki-ke-in. 2013b. "Hilth Hiitinkis – From the Beach." In *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas*, edited by C. Townsend-Gault, J. Kramer and Ḳi-ḳe-in, 26–30. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Kotilla, Wendy. 2001. Carnation Creek Community History Project. University of Victoria.

Kovach, Margaret. 2009. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. University of Toronto Press.

Little Bear, Leroy. 2009. *Naturalizing Indigenous Knowledge, Synthesis Paper*. Saskatoon: Aboriginal Education Research Centre, and First Nations Adult Higher Education Consortium.

"Maa-nulth First Nations Final Agreement Act." 2007. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/natural-resource-stewardship/consulting-with-first-nations/first-nations-negotiations/first-nations-a-z-listing/maa-nulth-first-nations

Mack, Johnny Camille. 2011. "Hoquotist: Reorienting through Storied Practice." In *Storied Communities: Narratives of Contact and Arrival in Constituting Political Community*, edited by H. Lessard, R. Johnson and J. Webber, 287–307. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Mackie, Alexander P., and Laurie Williamson. 2003. "Nuu-chah-nulth Houses: Structural Remains and Cultural Depressions on Southwest Vancouver Island." In *Emerging from the Mist: Studies in Northwest Coast Culture History*, edited by R. G. Matson, G. Coupland and Q. Mackie, 105–151. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

McMillan, Alan D. 2000. *Since the time of the transformers: The ancient heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

McMillan, Alan D. 2003. “Reviewing the Wakashan Migration Hypothesis.” In *Emerging From the Mist: Studies in Northwest Coast Culture History*, edited by R. G. Matson, G. Coupland and Q. Mackie, 244–259. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

McMillan, Alan D. 2009. “A Tale of Two Ethnographies: The Contributions of Edward Sapir and Philip Drucker to Nuu-chah-nulth Archaeology”. In *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush: Papers in Honour of James Valliere Wright*, edited by D. L. Keenlyside and J.-L. Pilon, 617–646. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

McMillan, Alan. 2015. “Whales and Whalers in Nuu-chah-nulth Archaeology”. *BC Studies* 187: 229-261.

McMillan, Alan D. 2019. “Non-Human Whalers in Nuu-chah-nulth Art and Ritual: Reappraising Orca in Archaeological Context”. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 29, no. 2:309–326.

McMillan, Alan D., and Denis E. St. Claire. 2012. *Huu7ii: Household Archaeology at a Nuu-chah-nulth Village Site in Barkley Sound*. Burnaby: Simon Fraser University Archaeology Press.

Monks, Gregory, Alan D. McMillan, and Denis E. St. Claire. 2001. “Nuu-chah-nulth Whaling: Insights into Antiquity, Species Preferences, and Cultural Importance.” *Arctic Anthropology* 38, no. 1: 60-81.

Morales, Sarah. 2014. “SNUW’UYULH: FOSTERING AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE HUL’QUMI’NUM LEGAL TRADITION”. PhD diss., University of Victoria.

Morales, Sarah. 2018. “Locating Oneself in One's Research: Learning and Engaging with Law in the Coast Salish World.” *Canadian Journal of Women & the Law* 30, no. 1: 144-168.

Nicolson, Marianne. 2005. “Moving Forward While Looking Back: A Kwakwaka’wakw Concept of Time as Expressed in Language and Culture.” MA thesis, University of Victoria.

Nicolson, Marianne. 2013. “Yaxa Uḱwine’, yaxa Gukw, dłuwida Awińagwis: “The Body, the House, and the Land”: The Conceptualization of Space in Kwakwaka’wakw Language and Culture.” PhD diss., University of Victoria.

Nicolson, Gwi'molas Ryan. 2019. “Playing the hand you’re dealt: an analysis of Musgạmakw Dzawadạ'enux̱w traditional governance and its resurgence.” MA thesis, University of Victoria.

Northern Cree. 2007. *Northern Cree & Friends - Vol. 6, Calling All Dancers*. Canyon Records

Ogilvie, Chiinuuks. 2007. “Regenerating Haa-huu-pah as a foundation of Quu'asminaa governance.” MA thesis, University of Victoria.

Pasternak, Shiri. 2017. *Grounded authority: the Algonquins of Barriere Lake against the state*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Robinson, Dylan. 2020. *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Rousseau, Jerome. 2001. "Hereditary Stratification in Middle-Range Societies." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7, no. 1:117-131.

Sapir, Edward, Morris Swadesh, and Linguistic Society of America. 1939. *Nootka texts; tales and ethnological narratives, with grammatical notes and lexical materials*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sapir, Edward, and Morris Swadesh. 1955. *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics.

Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. 2017. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Smith, Dawn. 2018. "hiitl kwii itl sitla (bringing something good from way back): A Journey to Humanize Post-Secondary Education." EdD diss., University of British Columbia.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples 2nd Edition*. New York: ZED Books Ltd.

Snotty Nose Rez Kids. 2018. *Snotty Nose Rez Kids*. Snotty Nose Rez Kids Music.

Snotty Nose Rez Kids. 2019. *Trapline*. Snotty Nose Rez Kids Music.

Steffensen, Victor. 2019. "Putting the People Back into the Country." In *Decolonizing research: indigenous storywork as methodology*, edited by Jo-ann Archibald, Jenny Lee-Morgan, and Jason De Santolo, 224-238. London: ZED Books Ltd.

St. Claire, Denis E. 1991. "Barkley Sound Tribal Territories." In *Between Ports Alberni and Renfrew: Notes on West Coast Peoples*, edited by Eugene Y. Arima, Denis E. St. Claire, Louis Clamhouse, Joshua Edgar, Charles Jones, and John Thomas, 13–202. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Swadesh, Morris. 1948. "Motivations in Nootka Warfare." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 4, no. 1:76–93.

Thom, Brian. 2017. “Entanglements in Coast Salish Territories.” In *Entangled Territorialities: negotiating Indigenous lands in Australia and Canada* edited by Sylvie Poirier & Francoise Dussart, 140-162. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ward RH, BL. Frazier, K. Dew-Jager, S. Pääbo. 1991. “Extensive mitochondrial diversity within a single Amerindian tribe.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 88, no. 19:8720–8724.

Ward RH, A. Redd, D. Valencia, B. Frazier, S. Pääbo. 1993. Genetic and linguistic differentiation in the Americas. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 90, no. 22:10663–10667.

Webster, Peter. 1983. *As Far as I Know: Reminiscences of an Ahousat Elder*. Campbell River: Campbell River Museum and Archives.

Wilson, Shawn. 2008. *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Fernwood Publishing.