

Danx̱alagaliṯan's 'We Will Sing in the House':
Reclaiming Domains of the Home Through Song in Kwakwaka'wakw

By

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i. Abstract

This project outlines the process of researching about and composing four songs in the Kwakwaka'wakw song format for the purposes of Kwakwala language revitalization. The Kwakwaka'wakw are an Indigenous people from Northern Vancouver Island, some surrounding islands, and the adjacent mainland of British Columbia. The language of the Kwakwaka'wakw is Kwakwala, which falls under the Wakashan language family. The project "*Danxalagalitlan's* 'We Will Sing in the House': Reclaiming Domains of the Home Through Song in Kwakwala" is about using song in Kwakwala and in a culturally-specific Kwakwaka'wakw format to aid and enable language learning in the home. The project produced four songs that are composed in Kwakwala and structured in traditional Kwakwaka'wakw style with targeted language for domains or places and activities that occur in the home. This project was created in hopes of increasing the fluency and number of Kwakwala speakers and learners by bringing together these different aspects of language learning, and contributing new and unique research to the field of Indigenous Language Revitalization. One of the goals of this research is to build on current literature about the benefits of using song for language learning, Kwakwaka'wakw culture (specifically in terms of song), and the value of home-based and domain-based language acquisition.

ii. Dedication

This project is dedicated to the past, present, and future speakers of Kwakwala. It is for the ancestors who came before us and fought tirelessly to pass on our language and traditions. It is for the parents, grandparents, adults, children, and youth who continue to learn and speak Kwakwala. Finally, it is for the ones yet to come, our *kwala'yu* 'reason for living' who will take up our language and carry it forward. This project is for all of you. *He'am* 'that is all'.

iii. Acknowledgements

This project would not be possible without the support and efforts of so many.

My family: Orion, my *xwḡnukw* ‘own child,’ who inspired this project months before his first breath, *laxwḡlanukwḡnthus* ‘I love you’. Cody, my *la’wḡḡm* ‘husband’, thank you for every gentle reminder to get some work done. To *Ahda* ‘granny’ Lee, *Gḡḡmp* ‘grandpa’ Rob, Grandma Syd, Grandpa Ron, Arielle, Becca, thank you all for babysitting.

My teachers: to the MILR cohort, you showed me how to walk through the tunnel to the light by walking that path first. *Gilakas’daxw’la* ‘thank you all!’ T’lat’lakut, Trish Rosborough, the third song, *Namakḡs Dhuwḡn’s Kḡwḡlskḡwalyakw*, is inspired by you; I hope you like it and are sewing away with our ancestors. *Gilakas’la nḡmyut* ‘thank you relative’. To Ewa, Lorna, Edōsdi, Kari, Sonya, *Gilakas’la* for your guidance and teachings.

My supervisory committee: Su, thank you for your enthusiasm about Kwakwḡḡ’wakw music. To Megan, you pushed and guided me so gently every step of the way. *Olakalḡn mu’la!* ‘I am very grateful.’

The participants: To *Ninoḡsola* ‘Wise ones’ Evelyn Voyageur and Mary Everson, thank you for your wisdom and guidance. To *Ninogad* ‘knowledgeable ones’ William Wasden Jr. and Andy Everson, thank you for sharing your knowledge. To my composing team, my *Ninḡmukwdzi* ‘great friends’ Karver Everson, Marlo Wylie Brillon, and Jessie *Lakos* Everson, thank you for sitting with me, growing with me, and singing with me. *Wiga’xan’s danḡḡalape!* ‘Let’s sing together’ Our voices are stronger together.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Situating Self

Gilakas 'daxw 'la. Greetings everyone, or, as *noxsola* Evelyn says, “come with goodness in your heart.”

Nugwa 'am Lalxsan Dala 'ogwa. Keisha Eversonxtlan. Gayutlan lax Komouxs dlu Tsaxis. Gukwalan lax Comox. Hedan wayasi Cody laxa mamatla lax Vancouver dlu Australia. Hedan xwanukwi Orion. Wi'yugwamali. Hedan umpi Nagedzi laxa Gigal'gam 'Walas Kwagul. Hedan abampi Kenakwalas laxa mamatla lax Vanderhoof dlu wida Netherlands. Hedan ga'agampi Uma'galis laxa Gigal'gam 'Walas Kwagul dlu Wayne laxa mamatla lax England dlu Norway. Hedan gagasi Anna laxa mamatla lax Vanderhood dlu da Netherlands. Hedan gagampi Jon wale laxa mamatla lax Vanderhood dlu da Netherlands.

‘My name is Lalxsan Dala'ogwa. I'm Keisha Everson. I come from the K'omoks First Nation and the Kwagul of Tsaxis 'Fort Rupert'. I live in Comox. My partner is Cody who is non-Indigenous from Vancouver and Australia. Our child is Orion, who is 10 months old. My father is Nagedzi (Rob, 'Big Mountain') of the Gigal'gam 'Walas Kwagul. My mother is Ke'nakwalas (Lee, 'The Path') who is non-Indigenous from Vanderhoof and the Netherlands. My grandparents are Uma'galis (Mary, 'Noble All Over') from the Gigal'gam 'Walas Kwagul and Wayne who is non-Indigenous from Norway. My grandparents are also Anna and Jon (passed) from Vanderhoof and the Netherlands.’

I am a Kwakwaka'wakw woman, mother, learner, teacher, scholar, and cultural person. First and foremost, I am Kwakwaka'wakw. My cultural roots connect me to our language and the lands of my ancestors. My cultural life began in early childhood and was invigorated to deeper levels when my family hosted potlatches and feasts in 1998, 2001, 2009, 2013, and 2018. I received names, dances, responsibilities, and skills with each ceremony. As an adult, I was fully

able to participate in and experience the potlatch ceremony in a unique way. It is where I was given the names *Hilámíłagalís*, and *Lalx̄s̄an Dala'ogwa*. The first is a winter dance name connected to the *hiligax̄ste* role I took to care for my brother as a *hamat̄sa* 'cannibal dancer'. This name and associated role were received in 2013. The second name is my great honour passed from my great-grandmother who was *Uma'galís* (Margaret Frank née Wilson). I carry it with honour in my daily life.

As a learner, I have been actively learning Kwak̄wala for five years. Prior to that, Kwak̄wala was and continues to be a language heard around my grandmother, various relatives, and in ceremony. I am not a fluent or even intermediate proficiency speaker. My journey has taken time and work. However, I see my understanding grow with each year. Part of that growth comes from becoming *ab̄amp* 'mother'. Becoming *ab̄amp* invigorated and continues to inspire my Kwak̄wala language journey every day. Part of that learning is my role as an educator. I began teaching in 2015, and Kwak̄wala became one of my teaching areas. As I learn, I become a better teacher. Today, I teach middle school Kwak̄wala and co-teach an introductory Kwak̄wala course at North Island College in the Comox Valley. Both have contributed to my growth as a language learner and speaker.

I did not consider myself a scholar until I began with this Master's program. One of my goals in this degree is to honour all my genetic, educational, and cultural ancestors. As *T'lat̄lāk̄ul*, Kwak̄waka'wakw researcher Trish Rosborough, said:

I have been schooled in, I work in, and for the most part I live in a society that is dominated by Western thought. By placing Kwak̄waka'wakw stories, language, and epistemology at the heart of my research, I engage in a process that strengthens my sense of identity and place in the world. (Rosborough, 2012, p.22)

As a relative, professor, and mentor of mine, T'łatłakūl's words remind me to keep my Kwakwaka'wakw identity at the core of my work. I live, work, speak, and write this paper in English, the dominant language, the language of my colonial ancestors. It is important for Kwakwaka'wakw teachings to be prioritized and centralized whenever possible because this work is deeply personal and but the next step in my journey of self-discovery.

1.2. Finding My Own Song

This project would not exist without inspiration from songs and from one in particular. In the midst of my Master's journey, I was inspired by my d̄id̄ad̄ola 'family' and most especially by my wi'yugwamala 'baby' Orion, and by the birth of a song.

Years before this project came to life, some of the project participants gathered together to compose a song that would be submitted to a competition. It was to be an anthem of the provincial Indigenous teams in their competitions across Canada. Over the course of a few sessions, we drummed, sang, debated, and came up with a solid entry. Our song was not chosen. Instead, the selection committee chose the song of one of the greatest Kwakwaka'wakw composers and singers of our time (who is incidentally a participant in this research project). We had no idea at the time that a single song-writing session would inspire this project and further compositions together.

In March 2019, my tsaya 'younger sister' asked me to help her compose an empowerment song for women as part of her coursework in a Bachelor of Social Work degree. I readily agreed although I had not composed a song in some time. The tune, chorus, lyrics, and verses happened quickly and organically, and I sent her a finished version only a few hours later. The song (Appendix A) is more of a lullaby than a fierce warrior song, which turned out to be prophetically appropriate as I was b̄awik 'pregnant' two months later.

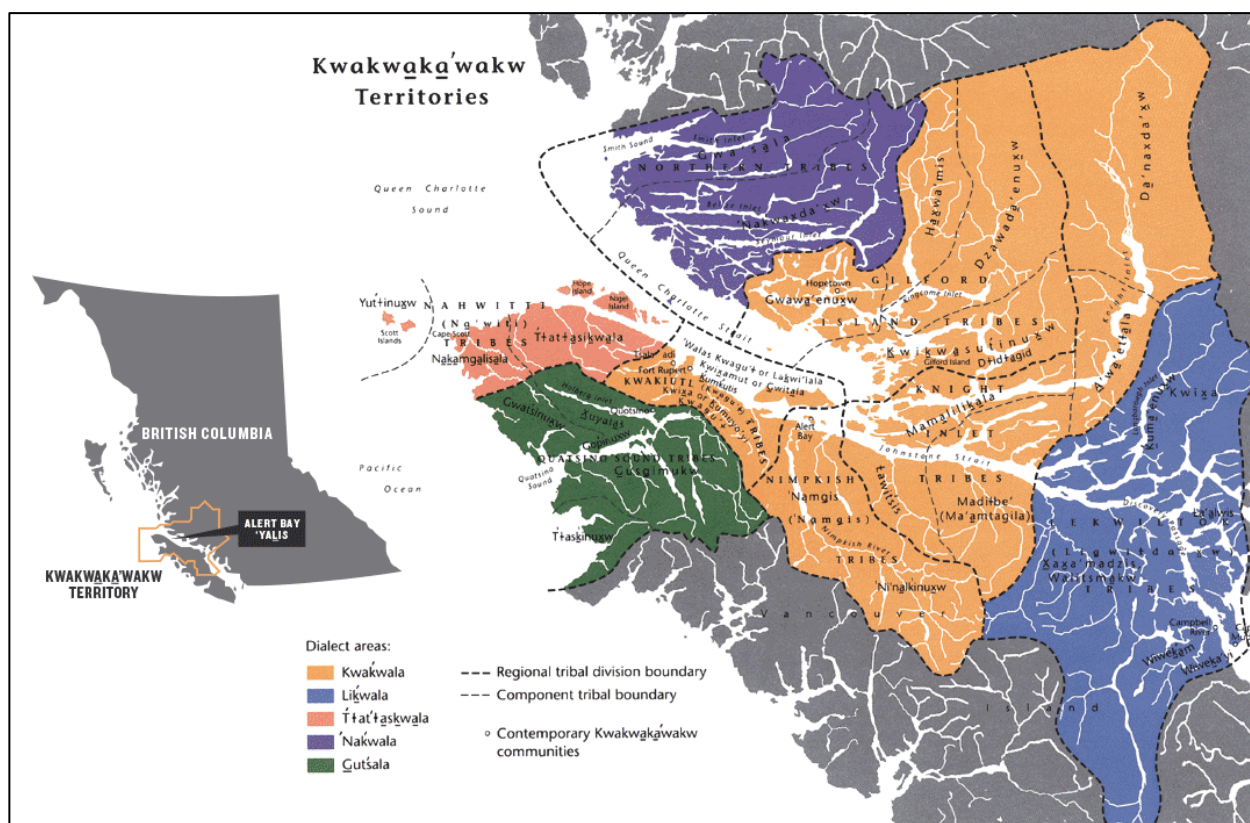
July 2019 saw two more songs coming to life; the chorus for the first song came to me while driving home from Victoria, and it turned into a song about the Orion and Pleiades constellations (Appendix B), ancestors from my Kwakwaka'wakw family. This song was also prophetic, as I gave birth to our son in February and we named him Orion to honour those ancestors. The second song was inspired by the work of He Waka Kōtuia, a Māori Kapa Haka youth group from *Aotearoa* 'New Zealand'. They produced *Te Mahi Tamariki* an album of original songs in te reo Māori and inspired me to compose a song in Kwakwala to the tune of "What I Wouldn't Do" by Serena Ryder (Appendix C). The tune was chosen because the original song has significant positive associations for me and my family. The lyrics were geared toward revitalization-based sentences a learner might like to know for speeches or conversation (e.g. *Łaxwalanukwanthus* 'I love you' and *Wiga'xan's* 'wi'la yakant'ala san's yakandas' 'let us all speak our language'). Song, therefore, has been a strong presence in my life throughout the past year, and I believe the ancestors have been guiding me towards this research topic for some time.

1.3. Context: Background

Kwakwala is the language of the Kwakwaka'wakw, the "Kwakwala speaking people." We are a coastal people whose territories range from the Oyster River near Campbell River to the northern tip of Vancouver Island, and on the adjacent coastal mainland from Quadra Island to Smith Inlet. There are five dialects (Kwakwala, Likwala, Tlat'łaskwala, 'Nakwala, and Gutsala; see Figure 1 for dialect areas) across twenty Nations. Kwakwala has been the term used to describe the language as a whole, although this practice is slowly changing to more accurately reflect the dialect differences between Kwakwaka'wakw communities. Kwakwala is the dialect being used in this project. When I refer to Kwakwala here, I am referring to the greater language that encompasses the five dialects as well as the specific dialect.

Figure 1

Image of Kwakwaka'wakw Territories (U'mista Cultural Society, 2020).



The number of fluent speakers has dropped from 165 in 2014 to 139 people in 2018, making up 2.2% of our population, according to census data by the First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) (Dunlop et al., 2018); these numbers indicate that Kwakwala is at risk of dormancy or falling asleep by international language status standards (Eberhard et al., 2020) unless a significant change is made. Approximately 12.3% of the Kwakwaka'wakw population (763 people) are learning Kwakwala (Dunlop et al., 2018), and yet too few are progressing to the point of becoming fluent speakers themselves. It should be noted that only 10 of the 15 Kwakwala-speaking communities reported their numbers to the FPCC and these statistics are therefore incomplete and may reflect higher or lower numbers than the reality. Additionally,

Covid-19 is a particular threat to our elders who make up the majority of fluent speakers. Now more than ever, it is vital to redouble our language revitalization efforts to ensure the survival of our languages.

Kwakwala is comprised of 49 distinct sounds. Most territories and nations use the U'mista Orthography, which is also reflected in the *First Voices* online language resource and app (First Peoples Cultural Council, 2019; Pine, 2017). *λəmatak^w/Tłəmatak^w* ‘Campbell River’ and *Ĉaq^waluten/Tsək^waluten* ‘Cape Mudge’, however, use letters of the North American Phonetic Alphabet (NAPA). While both systems work well and I am familiar with both, I have been using and will continue to use the U'mista Orthography in this project because it is the system that is the most accessible and the more widely used by Kwakwala speakers and scholars.

1.4. Context: Need

Evidence has shown that intergenerational language transmission, fluency, and reversing language shift happens best when language is learned in an immersion environment (Franks & Gessner, 2013; Hinton 2013; Hinton et. al 2018; Kirkness 2002; McIvor 2015). Consequently, Kwakwala language funding and resources are focused on language nests, immersion programs for babies and young children (e.g., McIvor, 2015), school programs (immersion schools or in-school second language classes) for children and youth, or one-on-one adult immersion such as Mentor-Apprentice programs. I would like to focus my research on areas that could benefit from resources and supports: the home and song.

The home is an immersion environment that often goes unclaimed and is important to ensure lasting language learning and retention (Franks & Gessner, 2013; Kirkness 2002; McIvor 2015). When learning a language to the point of fluency, it is important to experience the target language as much as possible and in as many areas of life as possible. We need to ensure that

Kwakwala learners are getting to learn and practice Kwakwala at home. While the number of Kwakwala learning resources is growing, the amount easily accessible and implementable by Kwakwala-learning families is limited. Today, 46% of Indigenous people are under the age of 25 (Kelly-Scott & Arriagada, 2016), and the fluent speakers are generally elderly (over 60) (Dunlop et al., 2018). With a growing population of children, youth, and young families, as well as an aging fluent population, we need more supports to ensure that Kwakwala is passed on to the next generation.

With isolation and social distancing recommendations due to Covid-19, it has become difficult to gather at schools, gi'gukwdzi 'bighouses,' language nests, and community centres where the language is generally experienced. The home is the safest option and may remain safest for months or years to come. Kwakwala is still in decline, so we need to focus our efforts on generating resources for use in the home as quickly as possible. Research has shown that the home is the place where intergenerational language fluency begins (Hinton, 2013). Because of the scarcity of elders and provincial recommendations to keep our social "bubble" small and avoid contact with the most vulnerable - particularly the elderly - we need to look at different solutions.

Song is an often overlooked and under-utilized aspect of language learning; it is one of the ways humans learn language in infancy and is a proven method of second or additional language learning later in life (Gordon et al., 2010). By composing four original songs in a culturally congruent way in Kwakwaka'wakw style with lyrics and content aimed at language learning domains of the home, the home will become a more easily accessible venue for Kwakwala language learning, especially in homes where full immersion environments are difficult or impossible. The Kwakwaka'wakw are a fortunate people in that we have many *ninogad* 'knowledgeable ones' (often used to refer to singers as well due to their additional role as cultural carriers) and composers of songs in Kwakwala. These songs, however, are designed

for two specific domains: ceremony in the *gukwdzi* ‘bighouse’ or school-based learning for children in the classroom or daycare. To encourage and enable families to move language into the home, we can return to song and composition to create songs designed for reclaiming language in home-based language learning domains. The purpose of this project is to examine and understand the importance of song and its role in Kwakwaka’wakw culture then apply those principles and methods to language acquisition for Kwakwala language learners in the home.

2. The Questions

The goal of *Danxalagalitlan*'s 'We Will Sing in the House' is to outline why song is an effective teaching and learning tool, to understand the role of song in Kwakwaka'wakw culture, and to apply the Kwakwaka'wakw rules of song structure and composition to four original works whose purpose is facilitating language learning for activities and locations in and around the home.

2.1 Research Questions

My project focuses on revitalizing Kwakwala in domains of the home. This idea was solidified upon reading Kwakwaka'wakw scholar Gwixsisalas' (Emily Aitken's) Master's thesis (Aitken, 2017) about working with Kwakwala language learners on language-domain subsets and Lushootseed language scholar Zalmi Zahir's paper on nesting language in places or domains of the home (2018). This topic came together with my renewed focus on song, and subsequently encouraged me to narrow my question and research in a unique direction. My project looks at the intersection of Kwakwaka'wakw song traditions, home-based and domain-based language learning methods, and the role of song in language learning. The following three research questions guided this work:

How can home-based and domain-based language learning methods support Kwakwala language learning in the home? The home is often overlooked in terms of language revitalization supports. In these uncertain times when we are being asked to stay home, we have an opportunity to look at how home-based and domain-based learning methods can be applied to Kwakwala learning households.

How can Kwakwaka'wakw song traditions support language learning in the home? It is important to resist separating culture from language. The two are not so much implicitly

intertwined as they are two sides of the same paddle; you cannot have one without the other and to think otherwise devalues both (Rosborough, 2012). Therefore, by examining the ways Kwakwaka'wakw song culture can support language learning in the home, I hope that this research will reveal a culturally prescribed intersection where language, song, and the home can thrive. Additionally, although this is outside the scope of my project, I hope that the culture will then inform on traditional teaching and learning methods, traditional song and dance structures, and traditional child-rearing and home life.

How can research on the role of song in language learning inform Kwakwaka'wakw language learning in the home? While approaching the research from a cultural lens, I knew that I also wanted to apply the lens of proven language learning methods to support and enrich the traditional Kwakwaka'wakw knowledge. We as Kwakwaka'wakw have used songs to convey meaning for generations. By approaching song from a Western perspective as well, it helps solidify the significance of this work and encourages critics to consider this stance.

3. Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

One of the goals of this research is to not only echo but build on current literature about the benefits of using song for language learning, Kwakwaka'wakw culture (specifically in terms of song), and the value of home-based and domain-based language acquisition. I hope that this project will be both aspirational and inspirational for other Indigenous language revivalists, families, researchers, and learners.

Section 3.2 examines the role that song plays in language learning, which includes developmental evidence as well as anecdotal examples from languages around the world. Section 3.3 examines Kwakwaka'wakw culture and song. Section 3.4 looks at home-based and domain-based language learning.

3.2. The Role of Song in Language Learning

Song is a practice shared by all human cultures. In fact, Medina (1993), Schoepp (2001), and Hancock (2013) agree that the use of song has been shown to improve language learning, speaking, and retention (as cited by Busse et al., 2018). Good and colleagues (2015) showed that Spanish-speaking students taught a foreign language (English in this case) through song “showed more improvement in English vocabulary and pronunciation than students taught via speech-based methods.” (as cited by Busse et al., 2018, p. 2) While Kwakwala learners are often Kwakwaka'wakw and therefore are learning their heritage language (that is, the language of their ancestors), most are learning their heritage language as a second language. Busse and colleagues demonstrate that song is beneficial to second or additional language learning efforts.

Parents are explicitly encouraged to sing to their children from infancy because infants show a preference for “infant-directed song to infant-directed speech” (Gordon et al., 2010). As a

new parent, I can attest to the value of song in communicating with, entertaining, teaching, and calming a baby. In fact, it has been suggested that music is a gateway where spoken language is actually a form of song (Brandt et al., 2012). Song, therefore, is a proven important step in first language acquisition as well.

There are many successful language revitalization programs in places where song is a central and essential part of the Indigenous culture. For Hawaiians and Māori, song is a significant part of culture; Hawaiians have the hula and Māori have the haka. Māori scholar Hanna O'Regan (2018) shared an anecdote of Māori youth composing and sharing a song in te reo Māori in only a couple hours. In doing so, O'Regan explained that the youth demonstrated high levels of proficiency in language and music to compose a song in such a short period of time, which was, for her, a successful realization of the home-based and family-based language revitalization movement *Kotahi Mano Kāiika, Kotahi Mano Wawata* 'A Thousand Homes, a Thousand Dreams'.

Songs passed down through the generations have also been used to preserve and revitalize language. Dene scholar Laura Tutcho (2016) looks at *ets'ulah*, the Dene love song, and through it addresses how older songs can help current learners with their revitalization journey. Miyashita and Crow Shoe (2009) also examined the way ancient songs, specifically lullabies in Blackfoot, can contribute to language preservation, learning, and revitalization. This research demonstrates the important role that song and composition have played in language for generations. These authors did not, however, look toward new compositions that follow culturally-specific structure, organization, and melodies; instead, they focused on what language could be learned from pre-existing and ancient songs that have been passed down. Through conversation with singers, composers, and elders, I hoped to learn from the traditional songs, as

Tutcho, Miyashita, and Crow Shoe have done and apply those teachings to new compositions for specific language learning goals.

While song in language learning is important from infancy, it is worth noting that musicality can impact the pronunciation, accent, and emphasis of speech (Miyashita & Crow Shoe, 2009). Through the process of recording, transcribing, and translating Blackfoot lullabies, Miyashita and Crow Shoe (2009) noted the ways that phrases from the song may be different in spoken form. They did not, however, indicate ways for learners to mitigate that when learning language through song.

I have observed that many songs used for language learning are often Western nursery rhymes that have been translated into the target Indigenous language or have been composed using the familiar Western melody with new lyrics. For example, Bommelyn and Tuttle (2018) describe their Tolowa Dee-ni' home-based and family-based language revitalization journey, including collaboration and support from an elder (a speaker and family mentor) to translate modern nursery rhymes into Bommelyn's heritage language. This practice is common in many Indigenous communities, which shows how pervasive Western music is as well as how valued songs are by families. It is so essential that even Western melodies will suffice as part of the culturally immersive and all-encompassing work of language revitalization.

3.3. Kwakwaka'wakw Culture and Song

Kwakwaka'wakw culture and language are at the core of this work and understanding existing research is essential to moving forward. Kwakwaka'wakw scholars have written extensively about the ways in which language and culture are intertwined (Aitken, 2017; Child, 2016; Everson, 2001; Nicolson, 2005, 2014; Rosborough, 2012; Rosborough & Rorick, 2017).

Essentially, language is at the core of culture: "Language is a crucial part of the way that peoples

understand and express their distinct cultures, and for many it is essential to their identity as distinct groups.” (Rosborough, 2012, p.6). It is difficult to fully understand a culture without its language, especially for cultures that were largely oral until after European contact.

Earlier works that discussed Kwakwaka'wakw culture, including songs, come from Franz Boas, a German-born, American anthropologist who documented Kwakwaka'wakw culture and language extensively in the late 1800s and early 1900s. He has published a number of works on Kwakwaka'wakw culture and song (e.g. 1888, 1893, 1895, 1896 1900, 1900, 1905, 1909, etc.). While an outsider of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, Boas worked with my ancestor George Hunt, a Tlingit and English man who was married into a Kwagwł family and grew up in Tsaxis (Berman, 1994), to document and preserve a great deal of information. Their work has enabled later generations of Kwakwaka'wakw scholars to revitalize language and cultural practices that may have otherwise been lost to colonization, oppression, and time.

Boas' *Songs of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1896) is his only work dedicated solely to song and documents some Kwakwaka'wakw songs including lyrics, translations, and accompaniment, which was acapella or recorded as “sticks” in Boas' notes, meaning two sticks being struck together, or a wooden beater striking a log drum. In many of his other works, however, there are only sections dedicated to songs, specifically the lyrics and translations with some cultural observations (Boas, 1966). Some songs included in *Kwakiutl Ethnography* (1966) are those written for infants and children, which is helpful because the four songs composed for this work are aimed at children, youth, and their families. Children's songs, love songs, war songs, and mourning songs in particular have repetitive lyrics with only small changes between various lines and verses. As Boas observed, “it is not difficult to understand children's songs . . . love songs, and mourning songs because the words used belong to the ordinary everyday language and the syntactic structure is preserved when the song contains complete sentences.” (1966,

p.352). From Boas' notes it is possible to infer that children's songs were used for the purposes of language learning in a non-ceremonial context. As the songs for this project will be non-ceremonial songs targeted at language learners, it is good to see various examples of songs one would not sing in a ceremonial setting. Overall, while Boas is a valuable resource, he was not Kwakwaka'wakw, and therefore, he approached Kwakwaka'wakw culture and history from an anthropological and linguistic perspective. His goal appears to be preservation and cultural observations.

While Boas did not analyze the songs that he documented in great detail, another researcher did. Ida Halpern was instrumental in documenting Northwest Coast Indigenous songs through recordings as well as written notes. Halpern appears to be interested "in preservation in terms of affirming its value as music ...[and opposed to the views of anthropological predecessors who] viewed such recordings as mere data." (Coleman, et al., 2009, p.190). This perspective gave Halpern a level of understanding and respect for the subtly complex songs of Kwakwaka'wakw, which she refers to as the Southern Kwakiutl in the liner notes of *Kwakiutl: Indian Music of the Pacific Northwest* (1981). The interview transcripts she documents are especially valuable as she was able to speak with Tom Willie, Mungo Martin, and Billy Assu, all well-known, respected singers and composers in the Kwakwaka'wakw community. Through Halpern, they share important knowledge about song structure, singing protocols, song culture, and other teachings. It is important to note that Boas and Halpern (for the first 10 years of her research) were documenting songs, culture, protocols, and teachings at a time when potlatching was illegal and punishable by law; the Anti-Potlatch Law was in effect from 1884 to 1951. While participants were not being coerced into sharing their knowledge, the situation itself - being unable to otherwise preserve and share songs and teachings – may have pressured participants to

share. Halpern and Boas both appear to have presented the knowledge of the Kwakwaka'wakw as it was shared with them and largely without alterations.

In addition to these legacy descriptions of song culture curated by outsiders, Kwakwaka'wakw people continue to do the important work of transmitting knowledge about and reinvigorating practices around song culture. For example, an article in the Vancouver Sun in April 2014 accounts the work of William Wasden Jr. who is Kwakwaka'wakw and a member of the *Ninogad* participant group for this project (Griffin, 2014). The article relates Wasden's work with the community to share and teach several Kwakwaka'wakw songs in the name of reconciliation. One such example is a baby song, which each child would be given when they are born; colonization and residential schools have interrupted that intergenerational process for many years, but this practice, and others like it, are re-emerging. This article is full of teachings in an otherwise sparse world of Kwakwaka'wakw song research. It enforces the importance of songs composed for life events and everyday use in addition to those composed for ceremony and the sacred; it also shows that there are other people in the Kwakwala learning community who are interested in song-based revitalization work (Griffin, 2014). This is not only language revitalization work, but also cultural reclamation.

One of the important points made in these descriptions of Kwakwaka'wakw song culture is vocables, which are syllabic sounds with no direct translation. In a musicology context, vocables can be defined "as fill-ins or vocalizers when the singer forgets the text or just wants to hum the melody" (Halpern, 1976, p.253). Halpern notes that this musicological definition is used for Western music and was incorrectly applied to Kwakwaka'wakw songs as well for a long time. Now, however, scholars like Halpern understand that while Kwakwaka'wakw songs contain vocables (syllabic sounds with no translation), these vocables are very intentional and

deliberately differ from song to song. Indeed, the kind of song dictates the vocables that song can contain (Halpern).

3.4. Home-Based and Domain-Based Language Learning

Because the goal of my research is to compose songs in Kwakwaka'wakw with home-based, home-centric language, it is important to understand home-based language learning, its methods, and evidence for its success. Many scholars believe that the home is the best and most important place to learn language (Abraham, 2010; Aitkin, 2017; Dunlop et al., 2018; Grant & Turner, 2013; Hinton, 2013; Rosborough, 2012; Zahir, 2018). Leanne Hinton, a co-founder of the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program, strongly advocates for language in the home: “It is the language least used in the surrounding society that must be emphasized at home in order to help a child become bilingual” (2013, p. 226). The FPCC and First Nations Education Steering Committee have each released several reports and handbooks that argue strongly for language learning at home (Dunlop et al., 2018; Dunlop et al., 2019; Franks & Gessner, 2013; McIvor, 2015). By speaking our Indigenous languages at home, we “benefit families and children by creating strong ties to [our] identity and culture. It also supports efforts to reclaim, revitalize and maintain languages like the ones found in British Columbia” (Dunlop et al., 2019, p. 4).

The intersection of language at home, song, and language learning domains is significant. Lushootseed scholar Zalmai Zahir examines and practices Language Nests where the target language is nested in a place in the home. This is different from the usual understanding of language nests where babies and young children are in a preschool space and nested in the language. The goal of Zahir’s Language Nests is self-narration and self-immersion in specific areas which are then expanded. Zahir targets specific home domains for language acquisition,

which can be specific to a place (e.g. the bathroom) or a task (e.g. washing one's hands) (2018). As Zahir says, “[The bathroom] is not only a place we all use, but we also tend to have a great deal of control over what language we use, given that we are usually alone” (2018, p.160). These principles can easily be applied to song. Miyashita and Crow Shoe also indicate that song and home-based language learning work well together because “songs do not require conversation partners. A song is a great tool to learn a language because one can practice singing by him/herself” (2009, p.185).

Other language revitalists have used language nesting (e.g., as described by Zahir, 2018) or similar methods to immerse themselves in language. As a mentor in a Mentor-Apprentice program, Kwakwaka'wakw scholar Aitkin worked with participants to target language domains such as the soccer field (Aitkin, 2017). Nuuchahnulth scholar Rorick (2016) conducted an immersion camp on her traditional territory, which involved language sets (collections of words and phrases) built around specific activities such as cooking and eating food. The sources mentioned here are not by any means a comprehensive list. They are simply examples that target the home, song, and, in the case of Aitkin, Kwakwaka'wakw learners.

Learning language at home with family is meant to be organic and instinctive. Learning a target language, such as an Indigenous heritage language, in such a setting can be a daunting task due to lack of exposure to fluent speakers or language resources, time commitments, and lack of like-minded learners to speak with. Domain-based and home-based language learning methods are essential to making learning at home more accessible to adult, children, and intergenerational family units of learners.

3.5. Gaps in the Literature

Because of the specific research areas of this project, the literature review was targeted to three main areas: the role of song in language learning, Kwakwaka'wakw culture and song, and home-based, domain-based language learning. Firstly, song is a foundation of language learning from first-language learning in infancy to additional language learning in childhood and beyond.

While previous scholars have looked at songs that have been handed down over millennia for language learning, the composition of new songs in a culturally congruent, Indigenous way has not been closely explored or examined. Secondly, song plays a key role in Kwakwaka'wakw culture, but not explicitly for the purposes of language learning except in the case of children's songs. Thirdly, Kwakwaka'wakw song culture has been documented, especially by non-Indigenous scholars, but not examined as closely by Kwakwaka'wakw scholars, singers, and composers for the purposes of culture and language reclamation. Fourthly, the home and domains of the home are an important foundational area for language learning, especially a target language like Kwakwala that may not be heard anywhere else outside that space except in ceremonial settings. By targeting the home and domains of activity therein through new compositions, language learning becomes more accessible for learners.

4. Methodology and Methods

4.1. Methodology

Before embarking on a learning journey, it is necessary to examine the ways we gain knowledge. This is called methodology or, as Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson says, “the science of finding things out” (2008, p.34). This is a project by, for, and in collaboration with Kwakw̓ak̓a’wakw so it follows that the methodology be rooted in Kwakw̓ak̓a’wakw culture, teachings, and worldview (Absolon, 2011; Wilson, 2008). As Anishinaabe kwe scholar Kathy Absolon said in her book *Kaandossiwin: How We Come to Know*, “If we are to conduct research that is ethical, humane, relevant and valid, our methodologies must be culturally congruent” (2011, p.120). Following the example of Maori researcher, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), the methodology is formed from Kwakw̓ala words that have deep cultural significance.

The most important principle is *maya’x̓ala* ‘respect’. It is about respect for all things including the land, water, animals, and humanity. If the work has *maya’x̓ala*, the work is starting in a good way. Doing things in a good way is about having positive intentions and seeking collaboration with all. Kwakw̓ak̓a’wakw culture demands that the project is a collaborative one. Cooperation and collaboration on this project are essential to the work.

Other Kwakw̓ala words formed my methods, including *K̓asit̓las̓ala* ‘going house to house inviting people to a potlatch’ and *Bakw̓an’s* ‘sitting together,’ which will be explained more clearly in 4.2.1. and 4.2.2. respectively.

4.2. Methods

Like my methodology, my methods – the on-the-ground actions I took – are grounded in Kwakw̓ak̓a’wakw ways of being. These ways can be found embedded in our language. Kwakw̓ala is a beautifully specific language with countless teachings and principles encoded in

its' words. To stay grounded in Kwakwaka'wakw teachings, I built my methods around two specific words and associated concepts. *Kasitlasala* 'going house to house inviting people to a potlatch' outlines the recruitment process as it was intended and as it evolved due to Covid-19. *Bakwan*'s 'sitting together' is the guiding principle of interview conversations with participants and explains how those interactions proceeded according to participant group.

4.2.1. *Kasitlasala* 'Going House to House Inviting People to a Potlatch'

Because it is a collaborative project, the way that a group of people work together is important. Words like *Bakwan*'s 'sitting together' and *Kasitlasala* 'going house to house inviting people to a potlatch' emphasize the importance of sitting together and doing so in comfortable environments. It also encourages face to face interactions whenever possible.

Before going around house to house, I needed to know who I was going to approach. In my selection process, I knew I needed to consult the elders of my community, singers and composers, and, finally, compose four songs as part of a collaborative event. Therefore, the participants for this project were chosen for specific reasons and placed in one of three groups: *Ninoxsola* 'wise ones' (elders), *Ninogad* 'knowledgeable ones' (singers), and *Ninamukwdzi* 'great friends' (collaborators).

Ninoxsola included Mary Everson and Evelyn Voyageur. They are Kwakwaka'wakw, language speakers, and knowledgeable about language and culture. They are recognized as elders in the Indigenous sense of the word that had nothing to do with their age and everything to do with their cultural upbringing, dedication to nurturing and guiding others, wealth of lived experience, and impeccable morals and behaviour. An elder has lived a long, humble, and honourable life; a senior citizen is not always an elder. Mary Everson is *Kwagul* from Comox and *Tsaxis* 'Fort Rupert' while Evelyn Voyageur is *Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw* from

Ugwānalis ‘Kingcome Inlet’. The *Ninoxsola* in this project are widely acknowledged for their role as elders in the community.

Ninogad included William Wasden Jr., Andy Everson, and Jessie *Lakos* Everson.

William Wasden Jr. is ‘*Nāmgis*’ from ‘*Yālis*’ ‘Alert Bay.’ Andy Everson and Jessie Everson are *Kwagūl* from Comox and *Tsaxis*. They are all Kwakwāka’wakw singers with experience in song composition, translation, learning, and singing. They are also heavily involved in potlatch culture and the role of song therein.

Nināmukwdzi included Karver Everson, Marlo Wylie Brillon, and Jessie *Lakos* Everson.

Karver Everson is *Kwagūl* from Comox and *Tsaxis*. Marlo Wylie Brillon is Haida and Cree with family connections to the *Kwagūl*. Jessie Everson is a participant in both the *Ninogad* and *Nināmukwdzi* groups because he is a knowledgeable youth who is being mentored in becoming a singer and conductor in our ceremonies, and he is also a young composer in his own right. They are youth who are interested in song composition, singing, and language revitalization. Indeed, I have composed a song with this group several years ago and have sat with them many times to share and learn songs that we have each composed.

Upon approval of my ethics application in November 2019, I approached participants in person when possible to tell them about my intended research area and gauge their interest in the project. These conversations followed a recruitment script (Appendix D).

In a culture that gathers regularly and in large numbers, it is difficult to conceptualize a world where gathering together is dangerous. However, in light of the current global pandemic, allowances had to be made to protect the elders and community members who are key to the survival of our language and culture. This project involved the participation of several individuals and therefore underwent the Ethics Application process, including adaptations to accommodate the public health social-distancing recommendations surrounding Covid-19.

Originally, I hoped to approach my participants in person and conduct all meetings in person to follow the principles of *Kasitlasqa* and *Bakwan*'s. While I was not able to literally go house to house or sit in a room with the participants, I attempted to maintain the spirit of those teachings in all interactions. The participants were approached via phone, Facebook Messenger, email, or text message to set up meetings to request their involvement with the project. Most of my original participant group were willing to participate in the work months later. Two elders were unavailable due to technology and prior commitments. Another youth chose to step back as well, and they were assured that the songs would be available for them to learn when they (the songs and the youth) were ready to do so. Language revitalization and sharing our cultural teachings is such a deeply personal endeavour that there is no place for hard feelings, only understanding and gentleness.

Understanding and gentleness is also essential because all of the participants in this work are relatives. Some, in fact, are immediate family. The choice to include family in this work was done deliberately. In order to conduct this research, I knew that I needed to look at my own history in terms of Kwakwaka'wakw song culture and language learning. I know my personal history, so I needed to look intergenerationally as well to better understand the changes over time, the songs and teachings that have been passed down, and the impact time and colonization had on my own family. For these reasons, I needed to have conversations with my *ahda* 'granny' Mary Everson, and my *k'wali* 'uncle' Andy Everson. *Ahda* is our matriarch and *K'wali* is our family's historian and culture keeper. Additionally, I wanted to work laterally with youth in my family from my own generation. Therefore, I reached out to my *wakwa* 'sibling of a different gender from me' Karver and my *k'wali* Jessie who is 18. I wanted to understand their potentially different and certainly unique perspectives on this topic while also ensuring that this work followed Kwakwaka'wakw teachings of reciprocity, meaning that my work "actualizes the

principle of serving the community” (McGregor et al., 2018, p.15). Indigenous language revitalization for one’s own sake is important and valuable work. However, when working with community, the work must give back to the community in some way. For myself, I wanted this work to give back not only through the four songs, but also through the participatory and compositional experience. For this reason, I chose to work with and give back to my family.

4.2.2. Bakwan’s ‘Sitting Together’

All participants were approached because of specific skill sets and teachings they carry that makes their perspectives unique. Because of this, the conversations with various participants unfolded differently. There are, however, some consistencies across all three groups and all meetings that should be addressed first.

In conversations with *Ninoxsola* and *Ninogad*, I came to each conversation with no expectations and no questions. I knew that interview questions would bring my personal bias to the conversation and potentially alienate my own family members. Instead, I came with conversation topics that I hoped to discuss (see Appendix E) and an open mind. The gatherings opened with general questions about themselves and slowly progressed to discussing Kwakwaka’wakw song and its role in our culture. The conversation then moved to discussing personal memories of songs and the intricacies of them. As conversations unfolded, I ended up discussing all topics in Appendix E that were originally allocated to specific groups. In the moment, I understood that all three groups carried knowledge that could speak to all possible topics.

While I was flexible in conversation and topics, there was one area in particular that I did not bend on. No meetings with participants were recorded. Instead, detailed notes were taken of the conversations. This choice was deliberate. For some, being audio or video recorded makes

otherwise natural conversations awkward and stilted. Additionally, I wanted to ensure that I really listened and was present in the moment for the conversations. At our potlatch ceremonies, audio and video recording is generally discouraged. The host family may record for posterity and their own records. Historically, Kwakwaka'wakw were expected to be active witness participants to the proceedings, and *yagwam* 'gift received at a potlatch' were a transactional token of gratitude from the host from for performing the duties of a witness by remembering what occurred at the ceremony. Having an excellent memory was necessary to properly participate in those ceremonies. Today we have technology to do the remembering for us and we forget the value of truly witnessing and remembering. I wanted to honour that important practice through my research by relying on my memory and some note taking on my computer. The only exception is the final recordings of the four songs composed by the *Ninamukwdzi* group. See Section 6.3. Sharing Songs for more details on that aspect of the process.

4.2.2.1. Ninoxsola

Ninoxsola were met with one-on-one for a couple reasons. First, coordinating schedules with very busy elders can be difficult. Secondly, elders are such rich and vibrant resources that it felt disrespectful to give each elder anything less than my full attention. In a perfect world, we would sit together drinking tea. While this was not possible, I am so grateful to the *ninoxsola* for bringing the spirit and feeling of *bakwan*'s to our conversations. I have learned that conversation with elders must happen naturally and in its own time. It is not for us as researcher and as younger people to dictate the direction of conversation with our *ninoxsola*. I find I receive the most wonderful teachings when the conversation meanders as the *noxsola* chooses.

4.2.2.2. Ninogad

Meetings with *ninogad* were also held one-on-one again due to coordinating schedules and showing respect for their knowledge. Also, one participant, William Wasden Jr. requested that I email him, so I tweaked the conversation topics into open-ended and fairly broad questions. I was fortunate to have a long meeting with Andy Everson and safely borrow some book resources from him. He has an extensive library of Kwakwaka'wakw literature and was able to point me in the direction of places in Boas' texts that discuss song. Andy is an invaluable resource as a family member and researcher. The conversations with William and Andy were rich in teachings and also embodied the spirit of *bakwən*'s.

4.2.2.3. Ninamukwdzi

The *Ninamukwdzi* group was approached early on in this project and possible song topics emerged in idle conversation as we approached the final stages of the research. In September, I reached out again via phone to ensure their continued participation and, once that was confirmed, sent each the *Ninamukwdzi* conversation topics (Appendix E) with the request that they think about their response prior to our first composing session. The sessions themselves were in a group setting instead of one-on-one because the collaborative process is so important to composing and learning language together. At a mini-session to discuss song topics, we came up with ideas. At subsequent later sessions, we composed. All eight composing sessions occurred via FaceTime.

5. Outcomes

As mentioned previously, the main outcome of this project is four songs composed in Kwakwala by the *Ninamukwdzi* group. In order to obtain this goal, conversations had to happen with the participants of the *Ninoxsola*, *Ninogad*, and *Ninamukwdzi* groups in that order to ensure that the outcomes adhered to the teachings of song composition. Essentially, the research, discussion, and composition process had to be done in the most respectful, Kwakwaka'wakw way possible while also protecting the participant community members. By composing these songs, the outcome will hopefully be twofold. First, the songs are each focused around an activity or place of the home, such as processing fish, communicating with a baby, making button blankets, and preparing to attend a potlatch. The songs contain Kwakwala words and phrases that a learner will be able to apply to everyday life. The outcome here is language learning and comprehension. Secondly, the songs are composed in a Kwakwaka'wakw style with verses, choruses, and vocables organized in an appropriate way. The second outcome will be a reclamation of culture, specifically of non-ceremonial songs by Kwakwaka'wakw. I will be discussing the teachings I received from my relatives first before sharing the songs that were composed under the guidance of those teachings.

5.1. Teachings

The name of this section is very deliberate. As Stó:lō researcher Jo-Ann Archibald says, “I use the term ‘teachings’ to mean cultural values, beliefs, lessons, and understandings that are passed from generation to generation.” (Archibald, 2008, p.18) I will share some of the teachings from the *Ninoxsola* and *Ninogad*, which have been separated into five subcategories: the role of song (6.1.1), song structure (6.1.2), composing culture (6.1.3), ownership (6.1.4), and family legacy

(6.1.5). I have chosen to organize the teachings this way because the conversations naturally revealed these interwoven, overarching themes.

5.1.1. The Role of Song: Aligning our Lives

In order to compose Kwakwaka'wakw songs, I needed to properly understand the role Kwakwaka'wakw songs play in our culture. This was at the core of my conversations with the *Ninoxola* and *Ninogad*. I have known for some time that our language is at the core of our culture. However, I only had an inkling of how song is perceived by our people and the place it holds in our culture. The perspective on the role and significance of song in ceremonial contexts was unanimous among participants: the songs are the “glue that holds our ceremonies together” (A. Everson, personal communication, September 23, 2020) and “the spirit of our ceremonies and culture” (W. Wasden Jr., personal communication, September 19, 2020). As a culture that is historically oral-based and whose socioeconomic, spiritual, and judicial systems operate in a song-based ceremony (the potlatch), it is no wonder that songs, composers, and singers are so important. Jessie Lakos Everson explained that “all our songs – whether children’s or ceremonial songs – they have meaning and purpose behind them. We don’t just sing them because we like them. They have a purpose” (personal communication, September 12, 2020). They not only “impact the energy of the ceremony” (A. Everson, personal communication, September 23, 2020), they are the “heartbeat of our ceremonies; if the songs are not strong and are struggling, so will our ceremonies” (W. Wasden Jr., personal communication, September 19, 2020). As *noxola* Evelyn says, “If the singers are good, that makes a big difference.” (E. Voyager, personal communication, October 19, 2020). As with many cultures, song is a deeply spiritual experience for Kwakwaka'wakw:

Songs connect us to our Creator and the spirit of our ancestors, connecting us to the sacredness of our dances and ceremonial life. Songs are used for healing; the different tones and vibrations stimulate and reverberate through our bodies and spirits, awakening emotions and feelings that connect us to the ceremonies that are being performed to align our lives (W. Wasden Jr., personal communication, September 19, 2020)

Knowing how significant song is to Kwakwaka'wakw, the knowledge adds another unpleasant facet to the Anti-Potlatch Law, residential schools, and other explicit tools of colonization. It makes every potlatch, every ceremony, every song, every word, every drum beat a declaration to our resilience as Indigenous people.

5.1.2. Song Structure

Through the impacts of colonization, thousands of songs have persisted. For many, they follow structural rules based on the type of song. Others break those rules. For yet others, the rules are different or more like guidelines. Through my conversations with *Ninoxsola* and *Ninogad*, I have come to learn some of the rules of song structure that impacted the work of the *Ninqmukwdzi* group in our compositions.

In general, songs are four lines of chant with four lines of verse that follow the same musical melody. The chants themselves vary and usually are a “chorus called *o'yi* ‘spiritual sounds’ or ‘vocables’” (W. Wasden Jr., personal communication, September 19, 2020). As mentioned in section 3.3 of the literature, vocables are very deliberately chosen based on the type of song. For example, a chant for *hamatsa* ‘cannibal dancer’ songs will likely contain the vocable “ha-may” while a celebratory song may contain “woah hi” or “woah yey.” Songs used in ceremony will generally have two verses minimum and up to four or five depending on the song. In ceremonial songs, they are also sung in a particular pattern. The song leader will sing the

chorus through once by themselves. This was intentional as Andy says, “The purpose of that is to help the other singers catch onto the song and the way the song leader is singing it.” (A. Everson, personal communication, September 23, 2020). Then the other singers join in for two choruses all together. After that it follows a “two verses, two choruses” pattern until the song is finished, the dancing is finished, or the ceremony is finished.

While some songs follow that distinct “one chorus solo, two chorus, two verse, two chorus etc.” pattern, some songs do not. One of my favourite *tlalkwala* ‘ladies dances’ starts on the verse, for example. Another that I am learning cycles through a verse-like chorus before the proper verse and feels dizzyingly complex at times. Therefore, some songs start on the chorus or the verse, and others do not follow the standard familiar pattern because that is the way it is sung. Some songs also do not keep the same tune between the chorus and verse.

The songs that tend to follow their own rules are the everyday, non-ceremonial songs. Many are the same lines over and over again with no chorus. Children’s songs seem to have no chorus and are meant to be sung over and over again. Similarly, some of our lahal or bone game songs follow that same pattern. Some others have verses.

In general, it seems that Kwakwaka’wakw songs follow patterns and rules for the most part, but more everyday songs tend to move away from those rules.

5.1.3. Composing Together

In learning about the role of songs and the structures of them, we can now look at how new songs are composed. This is a practice that is becoming increasingly popular in recent years. As events like Tribal Journeys saw a resurgence in the 1990s, communities up and down the coast saw a similar return of old and new paddling songs (A. Everson, personal communication,

September 23, 2020) as well as celebratory songs for sharing. Composing is often collaborative, gentle, and inspired by ancestral songs or the natural world.

Composing has often been a collaborative affair where songs are composed by four or more people (J. Everson, personal communication, September 12, 2020). Jessie spoke about being present to witness the composition of a Ligwíldaḡw gratitude song; he watched as the composers came up with an o'yi and played it over and over to get a feel for the tune. Gradually they added words that suited the message of the song – of being a giving people. Ultimately, Jessie shared, Wah (William Wasden Jr.) guided the group, but the song really came from the Ligwíldaḡw (personal communication, September 12, 2020). Receiving this teaching about collaboration was validating as I had not even considered tackling this project, especially the composing portion, alone.

The Ninogad agreed that composing is something that cannot be rushed and comes fairly naturally, or, as Jessie Everson says, “I think about it but don't over think it.” (personal communication, September 12, 2020). Wasden Jr. also shared a beautiful teaching that spoke to me: “I come from a long line of composers and artists, and I find that my DNA memory imprint has been a blessing and guides my journey in our culture” (personal communication, September 19, 2020). It made me think of the songs I began composing before this project was imagined and the way I have been guided to this work, as detailed in Section 1.2. Finding my Own Song. Music is in our blood as Indigenous people and we must always honour that ancestral knowledge as it is passed to us.

The music is all around us in our ceremonies and the natural world. The ancestral songs are themselves an inspiration for composing. It is about borrowing pieces of old, old songs and revamping them, Wasden shared, but not plagiarizing them: “I believe it is channeling ancestral energy and bringing it back, powerful work” (personal communication, September 19, 2020).

Nature is also a powerful teaching and inspiration for composition Wasden Jr.'s mentor, renowned singer and composer Tom Willie, shares his inspirations for composing:

Well, the oldest people know how to make songs. Some of them people dreaming about what the songs they want to make are. That man know how to sing and make songs. Sometimes they get it from his dreaming; he remember his dreaming and when he wake up in the next morning he starts singing over again that finished by make song up. Some of them make songs out of rain blowing, you know blowing. When you hear that blowing you sing it. When it rains so hard in Winter, water drip down from the roof on the corner of the house it's something like singing. And when you lay down in the boat and when you hear the water dripping in the side of the boat. It's like singing. (Halpern, 1981, p.12)

I have heard several friends (Kwakwaka'wakw and Indigenous from other nations) share how songs came to them in dreams. It is heartening to know a bit more of this practice and reminds me to listen to my dreams going forward. Tom Willie found inspiration in nature as well, which is echoed by Wasden Jr. in his own experiences with the environment as well as the *waxwaxwali* 'thrush' whose song inspires him (personal communication, September 19, 2020).

The resurgence of Kwakwaka'wakw song composition is collaborative, and inspired by dreams, pre-existing ancestral songs, and the natural world. It is heartening to know that the composition process today is the same as it has been for thousands of years.

5.1.4. Ownership

Similar to composition methods, concepts of song ownership have not changed for millennia. In Kwakwaka'wakw culture, songs have ownership rights. Songs belong to a nation, a community, a family, or even an individual. They cannot be publicly sung without the owner's consent. In

ceremony, it is important to state the owner of a song and where it comes from (J. Everson, personal communication, September 12, 2020; E. Voyageur, personal communication, October 19, 2020). As noxsola Dr. Evelyn Voyageur says, “Whenever someone sang a song, they would get up and announce whose song it was and why they chose to sing it” (personal communication, October 19, 2020). Our songs are interconnected with dances, ceremonies, cultural roles, and masks; these interconnected cultural prerogatives are owned by families and passed down through the generations. They tell the stories of those families’ histories.

Ownership protocols also relate to the vital role of singers in ceremony. Andy Everson explains that,

In the olden days, it was really important to not make mistakes, especially during the *tseka* ‘red cedar bark ceremony’. If you missed a beat, the *hamatsas* ‘cannibal dancers’ would go wild. It was a very serious role. Nowadays there are more mistakes (personal communication, September 23, 2020).

Singers, therefore, have a responsibility during ceremony to execute the songs perfectly. To do otherwise can have serious consequences and historically a mistake would require the singers to pay the host for the upset. Generally, the owners of a song are the most likely to sing the song correctly, and the “host [chief] has all authority to choose who they want to sing their songs” as Wasden Jr says (personal communication, September 19, 2020). It is important that “Family members . . . lead songs if they are a singer and their family song is being used or borrowed. [We should] allow the singers of the respected nations to lead their tribe’s songs” (W. Wasden Jr., personal communication, September 19, 2020). This practice of families singing their own songs continues in many families today. In preparation for potlatches, host families will even send out lyrics and audio of specific songs to singers they would like to have sit on the drum log and sing with the collective (A. Everson, personal communication, September 23, 2020). The ownership

and presentation of songs in ceremony is a core facet of Kwakwaka'wakw culture. It is consequently essential to understand the severity of ownership rights and protocols in order to understand the ownership and sharing permissions surrounding the four songs of this project. I am grateful to the *Ninoxola* and *Ninogad* for making a point of discussing ownership rights.

5.1.5. Family Legacy

This project was largely inspired by and conducted in concert with family. It was also inspired by my growing interest in singing, composing, and non-ceremonial songs. Through my conversations with participants, we discussed the various family legacies that have been passed down to us.

One of those legacies is the tendency to record songs. My great-great-grandfather, *Wasamala* or Charlie 'Mountain' Wilson, sat with Franz Boas at one point and recorded songs on wax cylinders. We are still discovering these songs and gradually learning them. My great-grandfather *Nagedzi* (Andy Frank) was recorded in the 1940s and 50s on a reel-to-reel recorder. My great-grandmother Audi (Margaret Frank née Wilson) was recorded throughout her life as well. We are fortunate to have recordings and even multiple versions of songs. There are other songs, unfortunately, that have been lost to time. For example, "*Wasamala* used to sing doing cat's cradle string figures. He'd have songs for each one he made" (A. Everson, personal communication, September 23, 2020). While *Wasamala* never recorded these songs, Mary Dick 'Anitsa' was recorded and transcribed by Freda Shaughnessy singing different cat's cradle songs (Dick & Shaughnessy, 1977).

It was not until I was partway through the conversations with participants that I had a startling realization: our family has been passing down one unrecorded, non-ceremonial song in particular for generations. '*Wi'welas* *Kalawi* (Appendix G) is a song that was sung to my *ahda*

‘granny’ Mary Everson by her grandfather *Wasqmala* (Charlie Mountain Wilson). It has been passed all the way down to my *sasgm* ‘child’ through six generations. The song itself is very simple with very silly lyrics, and it demonstrates the interesting structures of a child’s song.

‘Wi’welas <i>Ḳ</i> alawi (Adapted from Everson, 2004)	
‘Wi’welas <i>Ḳ</i> alawi?	What are you doing, worm?
‘Wi’welas <i>Ḳ</i> alawi?	What are you doing, worm?
Tłatłitsowān’s gigi’ana,	Laying on a log and getting a sun tan,
Lax ikamas ‘nala.	On this good day.
Pālxamut̄sow lis’le.	But it’s foggy and there is no sun.
Wi wala gi laya?	Whatever are you doing?
Amusa’a ha’am	The end.

The lyrics are fairly simple with some repetition at the beginning in the first two lines. Additionally, the lines of the song are very clear and comprehensible, which is in contrast with many ceremonial songs whose lyrics contain antiquated forms of speech. When sung, the lyrics are almost spoken in their even notes and tone. The clarity and spoken aspects of the song reflect other children’s songs, which indicates that Kwakwāḱa’wakw children’s songs are meant to facilitate language learning. A song like ‘*Wi’welas Ḳalawi*’ shows the tenacity of not only song, but also of Kwakwāḱa’wakw families. Through the impacts of colonization, smallpox, Spanish Influenza, Residential schools, the Anti-Potlatch Law, the Indian Act, and general systemic racism, these loving children’s songs have managed to persist through the generations. It gives me hope, which is a beautiful legacy to carry for my family.

5.2. Composing

Composing a song is a truly humbling and beautiful process. It requires collaboration, creativity, flexibility, and, in terms of this project, an understanding of our Kwakwaka'wakw song structure. First, we had to understand that there are many different formats and look ahead to compose accordingly. Secondly, we had to come up with domains that we wanted to explore and think of the type of song that would suit that activity (i.e. a slow song for a lullaby versus a fun song or a game song for an activity like cleaning). Thirdly, we needed a tune that fit the type of song, which can sometimes be the *o'yi*, the vocables or spiritual sounds, which often make up the chorus of the song. Then we needed words – the lyrics – and had to fit them into the tune. Fifth, we needed to consult the *Ninoxsola* to ensure that our format and lyrics were accurate and appropriate. Next, we needed to transcribe the lyrics and include translations to make sharing easier. The final step is to record and share them with the world. The process for each song generally followed this structure. Each song was composed to suit a domain of the home and to help learners develop their language skills with specific language learning goals.

5.2.1. Ixpami da K'utala

Early on in the discussion process, the idea of a fish processing song came up. Kwakwala is such an amazingly specific language, especially when it comes to *k'utala* 'fish.' There are not only many names for different species of *k'utala*, but more importantly, there are many verbs that refer to very specific activities around fish. From harvesting fish, to cutting it, to processing it to eating fish, the way we talk about fish is very precise and specific. I have spent long hours with the *Ningmukwdzi* group processing salmon for our family, and they are some of my fondest memories from my childhood. It is only fitting that we composed a song to honour those memories and the *k'utala*. The name of the song says it all: *Ixpami da k'utala* 'The fish tastes good' (see Appendix H for full transcription).

<i>Ixpami da Kútala</i>	
Wigilān's x̄wa nalax? Ķitān's. Ķitān's. X̄watān's. X̄watān's. Ixpami da Kútala.	What are we doing today? We are (all) rod-and-reel fishing. x2 We are cutting fish. x2 The fish tastes good.
Wigilān's x̄wa nalax? Xaḷān's. Xaḷān's. T̄hubākwiḷān's. T̄hubākwiḷān's. Ixpami da Kútala.	What are we doing today? We are smoking fish. x2 We are making barbecue fish. x2 The fish tastes good.
Wigilān's x̄wa nalax? Ķawasilān's. Ķawasilān's. Dzupān's. Dzupān's. Ixpami da Kútala.	What are we doing today? We are making Ķawas. x2 We are canning fish. x2 The fish tastes good.
Wigilān's x̄wa nalax? Yusilān's. Yusilān's. Ķutkwatān's. Ķutkwatān's. Ixpami da Kútala.	What are we doing today? We are making fish soup. x2 We are eating salmon. x2 The fish tastes good.

First, we brainstormed verbs relating to fish. Unfortunately, we could not include every single verb relating to processing fish in our song. However, we were able to include some of the more common ones as well as a few that are rare. We talked about the song showing the journey of the salmon from the fishing rod to our mouths. As you can see from the lyrics, we were able to capture that from *Ķitān's* 'we are (all) rod-and-reel fishing' to *Ķutkwatān's* 'we are eating salmon.' Even the choice of *Ķita* 'to fish with a rod-and-reel' was very deliberate. We decided to use a fishing verb that members of our *Ninamukwdzi* group have done and were doing in

September and October when this song was created. We also wanted the song to show unity, so all verbs were conjugated into the inclusive form of the first personal plural (“we are all”), which is a special feature of Kwakwaka because the language also has a first person plural exclusive form, which translates to “we are (but not the addressee or person I am speaking to).” We wanted inclusion and unity, so therefore we chose the inclusive form. We used the present tense because we hope that this song will be used by a collective while processing fish; we wanted the song to reflect something we were and are doing together. The song also has four verses, which is significant. Four is a sacred number in Kwakwaka’wakw culture. Many songs are composed with four verses. This song follows that tradition. It does not, however, have a chorus. We discussed including a chorus, specifically one that alluded to the chorus of a ceremonial salmon dance. Ultimately, we decided against it and used the pattern of repeating the first and last line of each verse as a way to separate the verses.

The first line of the song echoes that of *Wi’welas Kalawi?* The question “what are you doing?” is an excellent survival phrase and the related “What are we (all) doing?” is also an extremely useful one. In song, it allows us to explore different activities we could do together (and therefore, use different verbs). When used in speech as a survival phrase, it enables a learner to communicate with other learners and fluent speakers and acquire more language without using English.

The last line went through several interesting changes as I brought it forward to our *ninoxsola*. Originally the line was *Laxwalan’s sa kutala* ‘we (all) love fish (incorrect)’, which was changed to *Laxwalanukwan’s sa kutala* ‘we (all) love fish (technically correct)’. Subsequently, *ninoxsola* Mary Everson shared the teaching that *laxwala* ‘to love’ is used for people but we “don’t love fish. We like the taste of fish, but we don’t love fish. So

Laxwǎlapa...it's a different type of interpretation [of the verb 'to love']" (personal communication, October 29, 2020).

This song has an optional drum beat that is steady, slow, in a 'one, two, pause, one, two, pause' pattern. This was also a deliberate choice. We wanted to have a beat that has a methodical, working feeling and is not distracting from the song, the lyrics, or the fish processing work that you might be doing while singing it.

5.2.2. *Tsax'idaga, kagwid*

As I embarked on this research and composing journey, I became increasingly fascinated by our Kwakwaka'wakw children's songs. I especially love the way that many refer to the child as 'Master' or 'Mistress' and use self-deprecating language about the singer (a parent or grandparent), such as 'dog'. Nicknames for grandparents "were like *watsi* 'dog' and *watsaga*. They treasured their grandchildren and were like slaves to their children and grandchildren" (E. Voyageur, personal communication, October 19, 2020). As a new parent, I certainly feel like a slave to my *xwǎnukw* Orion, and I sing to him all the time. They are mostly nonsense songs in English or Kwakwala that are quickly composed and as quickly forgotten. For this project I wanted to compose a song that refers to the baby in this manner and incorporates some phrases that one might say to a baby or young child, hence the title of this song: *Tsax'idaga, kagwid* 'Wake up, Master' (see Appendix I). The concept of waking up a baby is inspired in part by two children's songs documented by Franz Boas and George Hunt that are titled "Song of Parents Who Want to Wake up Their Son" and "Song of Parents Who Want to Wake up Their Daughter" (Boas & Hunt, 1921, p.1315). The songs are very similar and tell the child "Don't sleep!" and that their paddle or digging stick has fallen in the water. The overall theme of waking a child up was important to me.

<i>Tsax'idaga, kagwid</i>	
Tsax'idaga, kagwid	Wake up, Master
Iksukwux* da nalax	It's a beautiful day
Kuxwtsudaga**	Put on your clothes
Tsutsaxw'exex'ida's***	Brush your teeth
Wixan's amfal'sa	Let's go play outside
* replace with 3 syllable weather word as appropriate:	
T'hisalux	It is sunny
Wadalux	It is cold
Anwa'yux	There are clouds
** replace with 3 syllable commands or phrases as appropriate:	
xax'ida's	Comb your hair
*** replace with 5 syllable commands or phrases as appropriate:	
Tsutsaxwamdaga'	Wash your face

The song *Tsax'idaga, kagwid* 'Wake up, Master' is five lines, as children's songs do not seem to follow the same set pattern as ceremonial songs. It has no drum beat because it's the kind of song you sing as you open the blinds and gently pick up your waking *wi'yugwamala*; you may not have hands free to tap out a beat. It also has no repetition. Instead, I've marked places where a learner could substitute other words into the song as needed. For example, *kuxtsudas* 'get dressed' could be replaced by *xax'ida's* 'comb your hair' as they have the same number of syllables and are in the imperative or "command" form of speech. Similarly, *iksukwux* 'it is beautiful' could be replaced with different three-syllable weather words. Orion wakes up three times a day, so I can practice the song a lot and gradually make substitutions to appropriately reflect what we will be doing as my confidence grows.

5.2.3. *Namakas Dluwan's Kwalskwalyakw*

Sometimes, a song happens organically with ease. Being in flow state is so beautiful and was part of the fun of this song: *Namakas dluwan's kwalskwalyakw* 'the same as our old people' (Appendix J). We discussed a song that served as a conjugation lesson with the same verb repeated with slight variations (I am, you are, he is, etc.), but we wanted the repetitions to make sense for the song. As we discussed topics and ideas, the idea of a sewing song came up. I had worked on a sewing song almost three years ago and nothing came of it. Upon finding the aforementioned song, we concluded that the tune and the topic wasn't quite right for our project. As we talked, I thought of the verb *kangextolagila* 'to make a button blanket,' which is an activity that many of the women in my family are very familiar with. Button blankets are part of our regalia. As Trish Rosborough explains, "[they are] ceremonial robes that some of the Indigenous peoples of northwestern North America use" (2012, p.32). She goes on to share that "button blankets are called *kangextola*; literally, 'sewn on top.' In Kwakwaka'wakw ceremony the button blanket . . . displays our history and family connections" (Rosborough, 2012, pp.32-33). As with the song *Ixpami da kutala*, we had returned to an activity that is often "a social activity of working with a group of community members" (Rosborough, 2012, p.33). The verses quickly unfolded from there with lots of repetition and the unity of button blanket making. This song is sung with a steady, toe-tapping kind of beat. A drum or hands can be used to create a steady beat. It can also be sung a cappella, without any accompaniment. We decided that our song needed a chorus and Marlo suggested that the chorus refer to honouring our ancestors and doing things just as they did. As a group of lower proficiency language learners, we were stumped on how to capture such a complex idea in just seven syllables. Jessie made a quick judgment call and phoned his mom, my *ahda* and one of our project *Ninoxsola*. He put her on

speakerphone, and we explained the idea we were trying to capture in the lyric. She thought about it and said, “*Namakās dluwan’s kwalskwalyakw*, the same as our old people. That’s how *Audi* would say it” (M. Everson, personal communication, November 8, 2020). Just like that, we had our title and line that ties together the song and the importance of making regalia.

<i>Namakās Dluwan’s Kwalskwalyakw</i>	
<i>Ḳang̣extolagiḷan</i>	I am making a button blanket
<i>Ḳang̣extolagiḷas</i>	You are making a button blanket
<i>Ḳang̣extolagiḷux</i>	He is making a button blanket
<i>Ḳang̣extolagili</i>	She (not here) is making a button blanket
<i>O’yi:</i>	
Ah woah ho ho ho hey ya	
Ah woah ho ho ho hey ya	
Ah woah ho ho ho hey ya	
<i>Namakās dluwan’s kwalskwalyakw</i>	The same as our old people
<i>Ḳang̣extolagiḷan’s</i>	We are (all) making a button blanket
<i>Ḳang̣extolagiḷanux</i>	We (but not you) are making a button blanket
<i>Ḳang̣extolagiḷaxdaḡwas</i>	You (all) are making a button blanket
<i>Ḳang̣extolagiḷaxdaḡwux</i>	They (all) making a button blanket
<i>O’yi</i>	

Kwakwala is an interesting language because it has nine pronoun endings. A *Kwakwala* speaker can differentiate in the third-person singular (he/she/they/it is) and plural (they are) between persons that are nearby versus farther away and generally not visible. This adds two pronoun endings to the language. The first-person plural also adds a second option with the first-

person plural inclusive and exclusive, respectively. As mentioned earlier, in Kwakwala I can include or exclude the person I am speaking to when discussing a group activity. As in the song, I can say “*Kangextolagilan’s*” ‘we are (all) making a button blanket’ and include the person I am speaking to, or I can say “*Kangextolagilanux*” ‘we (but not you) are making a button blanket’. Kwakwala communicates this distinction inherently in the words where an English speaker would need to pay attention to tone, context clues, and body language to know whether they are being included in a “we are” statement. In this song, we wanted to stick to four lines per verse and needed to drop one of the nine pronouns. We chose the last (“they (all, not here) are making a button blanket”) because the third-person singular seems more common than the plural form. Similarly, the first-person plural is very common, and the special linguistic distinction of inclusive and exclusive first-person plural seemed important to keep in the song.

5.2.4. *Pasapatlan’s*

Composing songs is more difficult than you might think. Inspiration comes from the ancestors, dreams, nature, and the old songs, but that inspiration still needs to come. *Pasapatlan’s* ‘we are going to potlatch’ (Appendix K) was an early idea for this project and ended up being the last one written. It turns out that an upbeat melody is much more difficult to conceptualize and realize than the more methodical melodies of the first three songs. For this song, it took two dedicated composing sessions and input from all *Ningmukwdzi* with one exception. The idea for the line *Ani’kaxdan’s* ‘we gathered firewood’ came from my *ump* ‘father’ who was listening in on our discussion.

Inspiration can come at the most unusual times. As I fell asleep one night, I asked to dream of a song. Around 4:00 am, I woke to my son’s squeaks from across the hall and went to feed and hush him back to sleep as has been our routine for the past few weeks. I fed, cuddled,

and rocked him, watching him explore the bed and the skills of his growing body. My thoughts eventually turned to our most recent composing session and the upbeat song melody we were struggling with. And just like that, there it was, a fully-fledged chorus. I quickly grabbed my phone to write down the chant, promising myself that I would record it once he fell asleep. In the meantime, I explored *First Voices*, an online Kwak'wala language resource (FPCC, 2019), for phrases that fit the tone my *Ninamukwdzi* had discussed recently. Once baby was in bed again, I crept to the living room and quickly recorded the chant and a beat against my thigh. I then sent the audio to the *Ninamukwdzi* via text at 5:28am.

<i>P̄asapatlan's</i>	
<p><i>O'yi: (x2)</i> yo ho hey ya ha woah oh yo ho hey ya ha woah oh yo ho hey ya ha woah oh yo ho hey ya ha woah oh ho</p> <p><i>Verse 1: (x2)</i> Āni'kaxd̄an's. ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey k̄asit̄las̄alaxd̄an's. Dzupaxd̄an's. ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya P̄asa-pat̄lan's</p> <p><i>O'yi (x2)</i></p> <p><i>Verse 2: (x2)</i> K̄anḡexto-lagilaxd̄an's. yo ho hey. Dāx'ida xa pata'yi. Xātaxd̄an's. ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya P̄asa-pat̄lan's</p>	<p>We gathered firewood. Ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey We went around inviting people to our potlatch We canned fish. Ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya We're going to potlatch.</p> <p>We made button blankets. Yo ho hey. Take the medicine. We smoked fish. Ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya We're going to potlatch.</p>

<i>O'yi (x2)</i>	
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P̄asapatlan's incorporates some verbs from *Ixpami da Kutala* and *Namak̄as Dhuwan*'s *K̄wals̄kwalyakw*, such as *dzupa* 'to can or jar fish' and *xq̄la* 'to smoke fish', and *k̄angextolagila* 'to make a button blanket' respectively. This time, however, we explored mixing the past tense with the command tense and future tense. Seeing these differences between the lines and the commonalities between the songs is an educational experience of its own. The sentences are still relatively simple and follow a narrative as the previous songs have done. As a fledgling composer, I tend towards simple repetitive *o'yi* and verses that use the same melody. This song follows the pattern of some Kwakw̄ak̄a'wakw songs where words replace some but not all of the *o'yi* during the verses. *Kia's Lullaby* (Appendix A) does the same thing where part of the *o'yi* is preserved at the end of the lines in the chorus. Overall, *P̄asapatlan*'s follows the more common format of Kwakw̄ak̄a'wakw songs; there is a distinct *o'yi* that is sung twice. The first verse is then repeated twice, then the chorus twice again, and so on. The two-chorus, two-verse pattern holds true here. The beat of *P̄asapatlan*'s is a quick double beat commonly found in *am'lala* 'fun dances' or *alaxwa* 'lahal, bone game' songs. Out of all the songs composed for this project, this song feels the most like one you could sing at a potlatch, feast, or more formal ceremonial context like a family gathering or inter-tribal sharing. This song in particular challenged my preconceptions and definitions of the home. While some might not consider this a home or domain-based song, I felt it was important to honour the inspiration, the guidance of my family members, and the growing understanding that the home in a Kwakw̄ak̄a'wakw context is different from a Western one. I will discuss this further in 5.3. Song Reflections.

5.3. Song Reflections

These four songs manage to cover a range of language areas. As mentioned in Section 6.2.4. the songs explore past, present, future, and command forms. They demonstrate different ways we can talk about the weather. They show traditional ways of addressing and referring to our children. They discuss cooking (*Ixpami da Kútala*), basic hygiene (*Tsax'idaga, kagwid*), and – most importantly – cultural values (all four songs). These songs manage to do all these things at once, which is part of the beauty of song.

I found it interesting during the composing process that it was so difficult to write songs just for the purpose of language learning. As a collective and as culturally-motivated youth, we were constantly discussing ideas for celebration songs, feast songs, and so many more. Reigning ourselves into the idea of hand washing or cooking songs was a challenge. I think it speaks to the intrinsically ceremonial connection we make to Kwakwaka'wakw songs. We want to sing them loud and proud in the *gukwdzi*. We are less accustomed to singing songs whose purpose is only language learning. As Jessie Everson said during our conversation, all of our songs have purpose to them. Many serve multiple purposes in our culture. They inform our spirituality, educate on our history, lift our spirits, teach us how to fulfill different roles in our ceremonies, comfort the grieving, remember the departed, reassure our children, convey language structures, and so much more. It may have been presumptuous to think that I could constrain our music to the home. Our home is not only the houses we live in. It is also the cultural home of the *gukwdzi* and the ancestral home of our *awi'nagwis* 'land' or homelands.

5.4. Sharing the Songs

As mentioned in 5.3., we want to sing these songs loud and proud. We spent many nights composing these songs and would like the world to hear them. Throughout the composing process, we recorded the songs through audio and written notes. We transcribed the lyrics of the

songs and recorded the final version of the songs on my computer as they appear in the appendices. They are ready to be shared.

Some of the songs of this project were officially shared for the first time at the Master's project defense in December 2020. They were sung by a combination of myself and the *Ningmukwdzi*. This sharing demonstrates reciprocity to the Kwakwaka learning community as well as the greater language revitalization community.

There are songs shared in this project (Appendices A, B, C, G) which are not for public use. These songs may be shared by myself or the *Ningmukwdzi* in potlatch, YouTube, or social media and will not be connected to this research except as the source of inspiration for the project. Appendices A, B, and C were composed by me in collaboration with the members of the *Ningmukwdzi* group prior to the inception of this research. '*Wi'welas K'lawi*' is a song that belongs to my family and cannot be used outside the family without the permission of our *gigame* 'chief' and *noxola* 'wise one'.

Song ownership is important in Kwakwaka'wakw culture and the four songs of this project were deliberately designed so anyone who wants to learn Kwakwala can learn them and sing them. Kwakwala language learners and the language revitalization community have the permission of myself and the *Ningmukwdzi* to use these songs whenever they like for the purposes of personal language learning. Recording and publishing these songs for financial gain is not permitted without our consent. Sing these songs for a classroom, your children, or a friend. When you do, we ask that you do as our ancestors have done: stand up after it is finished and tell your listeners who wrote it, where it comes from, and that you have our permission to sing and share it.

6. In Closing

Learning and deepening cultural understanding is a journey that never ends. While this project has an ending, the necessary cultural work does not. There are some necessary next steps that need to happen in completing this stage of the project. Additionally, there is future research that can and should be undertaken to further the knowledge and growth of Kwakwaka'wakw language revitalization.

6.1. Next Steps

There are some ideas for this project that, due to various circumstances, did not come to fruition. In the weeks and months following this project's institutional end (i.e., graduation), I would like to work to see these steps completed.

When this project was conceived in Fall 2019, I originally wanted to host the defense in the *gukwdzi* at K'omoks, invite participants and family to attend, give gifts to the participants and my supervisory committee, share the songs publicly, feed everyone, and, finally, gift attendees with USB keys containing audio files and transcriptions of the songs. Covid-19 has made that vision unattainable. With the restrictions on movement and gathering, I would instead like to upload the songs to YouTube for sharing with the online Kwakwaka'wakw community. This form of sharing will ultimately reach more language learners and speakers than a physical sharing ever could, and it will fit the spirit of reciprocity that my cultural teachings demand. This change, while unexpected and sometimes saddening, will be a positive one.

Sometimes a vision changes over time because of circumstances you did not consider. Kwakwaka'wakw songs and dances are often intrinsically linked. Many of our ceremonial dances contain gestures that connect to the lyrics of the songs they accompany. Because of this, I envisioned that each song would have movement and gesture to accompany it. Unfortunately, this did not happen for a few reasons. First, I did not consider the nature of everyday songs and

the fact that you may not have a hand free to act out the song. If you are cutting a fish while singing *Ixpami da Kútala*, gesture and movement becomes redundant. The same concept applies to sewing *Kikangextola* ‘button blankets.’ It didn’t make sense from a logistical perspective at the time. However, we have paddling songs that we share in ceremony but also sing for practical reasons while canoeing. A dance with movement and gesture could be created for learning and sharing these practical songs. Second, the time constraints of composing songs and writing a project paper while also being a new parent meant that gesture became an afterthought. Gesture is so important to Kwakwaka’wakw culture that it felt disrespectful to quickly tack some movement on to the end of the project. Careful consideration and consultation with *ninoxsola* are necessary for such work to happen properly.

While I was unable to accomplish everything that I envisioned for this project, I am satisfied with where it ended. Rushing the process is not beneficial to anyone, and it is important to ensure that work is being done in a good way.

6.2. Future Research

There are a number of ways the work of this project can be developed and applied to future work. As I mentioned, learning is a lifelong, ongoing process so the possibilities are numerous. There are a few potential future projects, however, that I would personally like to be involved in.

It would be beneficial to assess the effectiveness of learning Kwakwala using this song-based, home domain-based method. I envision research dedicated to assessing Kwakwala language learning with a multigenerational participant group with a large range of ages and fluency levels over the course of one or two years. Ultimately, it would be ideal to create many more songs with language lessons around each song to scaffold learning over this one- to two-year period.

Additionally, I would like to help facilitate a Kwakwaka'wakw song composition workshop, share the songs from this project, and enable learners and speakers to create more songs for learning language around different domains of the home. This workshop could also delve into how the four songs from the project can be adapted to the other four dialects of Kwakwala.

Overall, this project is a stepping stone to revitalizing the cultural practice of everyday song composition, learning a language in a fun and effective manner, and revitalizing Kwakwala for the entire Kwakwala speaking community.

6.3. Final Thoughts

This project was a long, educational, and uplifting journey. I grew as a singer, composer, Kwakwala speaker, and person through the course of this work. I learned how to compose and sing in a good way. I virtually sat with *ninoxsola*, *ninogad*, and *ninamukwdzi* to share space, knowledge, and teachings. I discovered the joy of singing original compositions to my *xwgnukw* Orion. The work of this project will never be finished, and yet I am left satisfied and hopeful. By researching and composing traditionally structured songs in Kwakwala in a home-based language environment, I hope this project makes Kwakwaka'wakw language learners feel empowered and inspired to start, continue, or deepen their learning. Additionally, I hope this research enables revitalists from Indigenous language communities around the world to compose songs in pursuit of language revitalization and cultural reclamation. I hope this project has inspired even one person to listen to their dreams, sit in nature, and compose a song in the language of their ancestors.

Gilakas'daxw'la, olakala ikan noke! Wiga'xan's danxalape! He'am. 'thank you all, my heart is good. Let's sing together! That is all.'

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Appendices

Appendix A: Kia's Lullaby

Written by Keisha Everson

<p>Ha yah heeeeeey hey yah ah ha Ha yah heeey hey yah ah ha Ha yah ha ha hey hey ya Ha yah heeey hey yah ah ha</p>	
<p>Gwasa'-aaaaat-uxwi'ida's ha Idzakwalaaa-la's yah ah ha Łokwimasan tsadaķex. Idzakwalaaa-la's yah ah ha</p>	<p>Turn your ear this way Repeat my words I am a strong woman Repeat my words</p>
<p>Ha yah heeeeeey hey yah ah ha Ha yah heeey hey yah ah ha Ha yah ha ha hey hey ya Ha yah heeey hey yah ah ha</p>	
<p>'Mas'manuuuuutłux da waldam Idzakwalaaa-la's yah ah ha Nawalaaaakwan tsadaķex Idzakwalaaa-la's yah ah ha</p>	<p>The words punch in the ear Repeat my words I am a supernatural woman Repeat my words</p>
<p>Ha yah heeeeeey hey yah ah ha Ha yah heeey hey yah ah ha Ha yah ha ha hey hey ya Ha yah heeey hey yah ah ha</p>	

Appendix B: Aliwadza'yi 'Orion'

Written by Keisha Everson

Sing in the pattern of chorus three times (solo by leader then twice with all), verse 1 twice, chorus twice, verse 2 twice etc. Rattle accompaniment

Ha may Ham ha ma-ah may Ham ha ma-ah may yay hai	Chorus. Repeat x2
Gaxmi Aliwadza'yi Hanaṭṭa'enuṭ yay hai	Here he comes. Aliwadza'yi Chief of the heavens.
Gaxmi Hām'gilatḥi Da Bibagwanamk̄ala. Yay hai	Here he comes. He is going to feed The people
Gaxmi Hanaṭṭatḥi Ṭḥax̄ Ḳ̄wamadza'yi. Yay hai	Here he comes. He is going to hunt Ḳ̄wamadza'yi
Gaxmi Ixdalk̄walatḥi Aliwadza'yi yay hai	Here he comes. He will have goodness in his heart Aliwadza'yi

Appendix C: Łaxwálanukwántłus ‘I love you’

Written by Keisha Everson

Kwakwala	Translation
<p>Wiga'xan's 'wi'la ya^hkan- ^hála san's ya^hkandas. Łokwimas^han's bibakw^ham. Wi'la'molan's ne'nakwana'. Wi^hxan's mayax^halape'. Sany'as. Kwakwalat^han's. Gwagwixs'al^han's łaxw^hala. Łaxwálanukwántłus Łaxwálanukwántłus</p>	<p>Let us all speak our language We are strong Indigenous people. We are travelling home together. Let's respect each other. You know. We're going to speak Kwakwala. We're talking about love. I love you I love you</p>
<p>Saltáalaxda'xwla's Hasalala da^hxalax Gwa's k^hikołtsamk^hala. Takw^hala gan no^hkex ka's Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Łaxwálanukwántłus Łaxwálanukwántłus</p>	<p>Walk softly! Sing loud Don't talk like you know it all My heart is beating for you. Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah I love you I love you</p>
<p>Wixan's kas'ida' laxa walas awinagwis. Nawalakwan's bibakw^ham. Tluman's tamga'nakw^hala Danxalat^han's. Yaxwat^han's. E. Thil'-wat^hlił-ál-an's La'am^htan's kitlał, namukw. Laxslaga' la xwa xwakwanax. Ham'gilat^han's da wi'ump.</p>	<p>Let's go for a walk on the great land. We are supernatural Indigenous people. We are really plants sprouting from the ground. We're going to sing. We're going to dance. Yes. We are calling the people to the dance floor. We are going to go fishing, friend. Get in the canoe. We are going to feed the ancestors.</p>

<p>Saltalaxda'xwla's Hasalala daxalax Gwa's kikohtsamkala. Takwala gan noxex ka's Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Laxwalanukwantus Laxwalanukwantus</p>	<p>Walk softly! Sing loud Don't talk like you know it all My heart is beating for you. Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah I love you I love you</p>
<p>Wiga'xan's 'wi'la Ix'dalkwala Danxalatlan'sa xwa ganutlex Hutlilala xa kwalskwal'yakw Lamux ne'nakwana'!</p>	<p>Let us all have goodness in our hearts We are going to sing tonight. Listen to the old people It's time to go home.</p>
<p>Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Saltalaxda'xwla's Hasalala daxalax Gwa's kikohtsamkala. Takwala gan noxex ka's Saltalaxda'xwla's Hasalala daxalax Gwa's kikohtsamkala. Laxwalanukwantus Laxwalanukwantus Laxwalanukwantus</p>	<p>Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Woah-oh-oh Woah Walk softly Sing loud Don't talk like you know it all. My heart is beating for you. Walk softly Sing loud Don't talk like you know it all. I love you I love you I love you</p>

Appendix D: Recruitment Script

Preface: *This script will be shared with the participant prior to first data collection meeting.*

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

I, Keisha Everson, am a student in the Master's of Indigenous Language Revitalization at the University of Victoria. I am conducting research as part of my Master's Project requirement for my degree. The goal of this research is to understand the role of song in Kwakwaka'wakw culture and the traditional styles of Kwakwaka'wakw songs; In collaboration with Kwakwaka'wakw language learners, we will apply this understanding to the composition of four (4) original songs in the traditional Kwakwaka'wakw style but with language content and themes about domains of the home (i.e., washing dishes, cooking fish) that will enable listeners of the songs to build language vocabulary in these target areas and apply them to everyday life.

Invitation:

I would like to invite you to participate in this research because you have a significant perspective as [*Ninoxola, Ninogad, Ninamukwdzi*] in the Kwakwaka'wakw community. Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on our relationship. You may decline to answer any questions.

Meeting:

I would like to meet with you at your home, my home, or somewhere like the Komox Grind to discuss my project further. [*If the potential participant is Wedlidi Speck or William Wasden Jr.: I would like to talk to you on the phone or through Facebook Messenger or Skype to discuss my project further.*] If you are agreeable, at that time we would go over the informed consent script to ensure that you understand your rights as a participant and have time to ask me questions about the project.

Procedures:

Ninoxsola and Ninogad: If you agree to participate, we will have up to 2 (Ninogad) or 3 (Ninoxsola) conversations about Kwakwaka'wakw culture, song, and language between now and March 15, 2020. The conversations will take between 60-180 minutes and I will take notes during our conversation.

Ninamukwdzi: If you agree to participate, we will have up to 4 composition meeting sessions between now and March 15, 2020. The composition sessions will take between 60-180 minutes and I will take notes during our meetings.

Compensation:

While I value your knowledge and support with my research, you will not be paid for participating in this research. I will ensure to provide refreshments at each meeting and a thank you gift upon conclusion of the research.

Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Consent to First Meeting:

- Do you consent to meeting to discuss this project?
- If yes, where would you like to meet?
 - Potential participant home
 - Researcher's home
 - Neutral location: _____
- What date and time would you like to meet?
 - Date: _____
 - Time: _____
- Do you have any questions for me about the project that I can answer right now?

Appendix E: Conversation Topics

Preface: *These topics will be the themes of discussion with participants according to group. I will not ask specific questions of the participants, but instead will generate open-ended dialogue and allow conversation and sharing to flow naturally and comfortably.*

Conversation Topics:

All Groups:

- Kwakwaka'wakw culture
- The role of song in Kwakwaka'wakw culture
- Favourite songs and why?

Ninoxola:

- Childhood memories about songs
- Lullabies and songs you heard around the house as a child
- Protocols around songs
- Lyrics of songs and song structures

Ninogad:

- How you became a singer
- Song structure – differences between song types
- How you compose a song – personal methods, traditional teachings

Ninamukwdzi:

- Your interests in language learning
- What you know about song composition
- Areas of the home you'd like to be able to speak about as a learner
- Areas you would like to focus on for song

Appendix F: Verbal Consent Script

Preface: *This script will be shared with the participant at the first data collection meeting prior to beginning conversation.*

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

I, Keisha Everson, am a student in the Master's of Indigenous Language Revitalization at the University of Victoria. I am conducting research as part of my Master's Project requirement for my degree. The goal of this research is to understand the role of song in Kwakwaka'wakw culture and the traditional styles of Kwakwaka'wakw songs; In collaboration with Kwakwaka'wakw language learners, we will apply this understanding to the composition of four (4) original songs in the traditional Kwakwaka'wakw style but with language content and themes about domains of the home (i.e., washing dishes, cooking fish) that will enable listeners of the songs to build language vocabulary in these target areas and apply them to everyday life.

Participation:

I have invited you to participate because you have a significant perspective as Ninoxola, Ninogad, Ninamukwdzi in the Kwakwaka'wakw community. Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on our relationship. You may decline to answer any questions.

Procedures:

Ninoxola and Ninogad: If you agree to participate, we will have up to 2 (Ninogad) or 3 (Ninoxola) conversations about Kwakwaka'wakw culture, song, and language between now and March 15, 2020. The conversations will take between 60-180 minutes and I will take notes during our conversation.

Ninamukwdzi: If you agree to participate, we will have up to 4 composition meeting sessions between now and March 15, 2020. The composition sessions will take between 60-180 minutes and I will take notes during our meetings.

Compensation:

While I value your knowledge and support with my research, you will not be paid for participating in this research. I will ensure to provide refreshments at each meeting and a thank you gift upon conclusion of the research.

Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Withdrawal of Participation:

You may withdraw at any time without explanation or consequence. If you withdraw, I may destroy any notes related to our interview unless you consent to your information remaining in the project. You may also request that parts of our conversations not be used in my project. If there are parts of the conversation that you want removed, I will remove them.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

You have the option to be acknowledged by name or be anonymous in the Master's Project Presentation and Master's Project Paper that will conclude this project.

If you choose to be anonymous, I will use a pseudonym for you. However, because our Kwakwaka'wakw community is small, I cannot guarantee that those who are familiar with you would not recognize you.

Research Results will [may] be Used/Disseminated in the Following Ways:

I will use the information from our meetings in a Master's Project Presentation to my supervisor, supervisory committee, and community members, and a paper written in partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Education.

Ninamukwdzi: At the Master's Project Presentation, I may also use audio recordings of or share the songs composed during our composition sessions.

Storage of Data:

Any field notes will be stored safely and securely indefinitely.

The songs will be audio recorded with accompanying lyrics and shared with the greater Kwakwaka'wakw and Indigenous Language Revitalization community. I will provide a copy of the songs and lyric sheets to you for your own use. You are free to share the songs and lyric sheets.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have questions or concerns about this research project you may contact my professor, Megan Lukaniec, Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics, mlukaniec@uvic.ca and/or the Human Research Ethics Office, University of Victoria, (250) 472-4545 ethics@uvic.ca

Consent:

Participation:

- Do you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers?
- Do you consent to participate in this research project?

Visually Recorded Images/Data:

- Do you consent to Photos* being taken of you for use in a Master's Project Defense?
- Do you consent to Audio being taken of you for use in a Master's Project Defense?

*Even if no names are used, you may be recognizable if visual images are shown as part of the results.

Waiving Confidentiality:

- Do you consent to be identified by name and be acknowledged in the project?

- Would you like to remain anonymous in the project?
- If yes, please identify a pseudonym you would like me to use when referring to you.

Future Use of Data

- Do you consent to being contacted in the event your interview or song is requested for future research?

Appendix G: ‘Wi’welas K̄alawi ‘What are you doing, worm?’

Written by Unknown. Family song has been passed down for generations.

‘Wi’welas K̄alawi (Adapted from Everson, 2004)	
‘Wi’welas K̄alawi?	What are you doing, worm?
‘Wi’welas K̄alawi?	What are you doing, worm?
T̄l̄ath̄itsowan’s gigi’ana,	Laying on a log and getting a sun tan,
Lax̄ ik̄amas ‘nala.	On this good day.
P̄al̄x̄amutsow lis’le.	But it’s foggy and there is no sun.
Wi wala gi laya?	Whatever are you doing?
Amusa’a ha’am	The end.

Appendix H: Ixpami da Kútala ‘The fish tastes good’

Written by Karver Everson, Marlo Wylie Brillon, Jessie Everson, and Keisha Everson

Sing song through as written. Drum accompaniment in a “quick, slow” pattern

<i>Ixpami da Kútala</i>	
<p>Wigilān’s x̄wa nalax? K̄itan’s. K̄itan’s. X̄watlan’s. X̄watlan’s. Ixpami da Kútala.</p>	<p>What are we doing today? We are (all) rod-and-reel fishing. x2 We are cutting fish. x2 The fish tastes good.</p>
<p>Wigilān’s x̄wa nalax? Xalan’s. Xalan’s. T̄hubakwilan’s. T̄hubakwilan’s. Ixpami da Kútala.</p>	<p>What are we doing today? We are smoking fish. x2 We are making barbeque fish. x2 The fish tastes good.</p>
<p>Wigilān’s x̄wa nalax? K̄awasilan’s. K̄awasilan’s. Dzupān’s. Dzupān’s. Ixpami da Kútala.</p>	<p>What are we doing today? We are making K̄awas. x2 We are canning fish. x2 The fish tastes good.</p>
<p>Wigilān’s x̄wa nalax? Yusilan’s. Yusilan’s. K̄utkwatan’s. K̄utkwatan’s. Ixpami da Kútala.</p>	<p>What are we doing today? We are making fish soup. x2 We are eating salmon. x2 The fish tastes good.</p>

Appendix I: Tsax'idaga, Kagwid 'Wake up, Master'

Written by Karver Everson, Marlo Wylie Brillon, Jessie Everson, and Keisha Everson

Sing through as written with no accompaniment.

<i>Tsax'idaga, kagwid</i>	
Tsax'idaga, kagwid	Wake up, Master
Iksukwux* da nalax	It's a beautiful day
Kuxwtsudaga**	Put on your clothes
Tsutsaxw'exex'ida's***	Brush your teeth
Wixan's amlal'sa	Let's go play outside
* replace with 3 syllable weather word as appropriate:	
T'hisalux	It is sunny
Wadalux	It is cold
Anwa'yux	There are clouds
** replace with 3 syllable commands or phrases as appropriate:	
xax'ida's	Comb your hair
*** replace with 5 syllable commands or phrases as appropriate:	
Tsutsaxwamdaga'	Wash your face

Appendix J: Namak̄as Dluwan's Kwalskwalyakw

Written by Karver Everson, Marlo Wylie Brillon, Jessie Everson, and Keisha Everson

Sing through as written. Optional: sing each verse or chorus twice before moving to the next.

Drum accompaniment in a steady beat.

<i>Namak̄as Dluwan's Kwalskwalyakw</i>	
K̄angextolagil̄an	I am making a button blanket
K̄angextolagil̄as	You are making a button blanket
K̄angextolagilux̄	He is making a button blanket
K̄angextolagili	She (not here) is making a button blanket
<i>O'yi:</i>	
Ah woah ho ho ho hey ya	
Ah woah ho ho ho hey ya	
Ah woah ho ho ho hey ya	
Namak̄as dluwan's kwalskw̄al'yakw	The same as our old people
K̄angextolagil̄an's	We are (all) making a button blanket
K̄angextolagil̄anux̄	We (but not you) are making a button blanket
K̄angextolagilaxdaxw̄as	You (all) are making a button blanket
K̄angextolagilaxdaxwux̄	They (all) making a button blanket
<i>O'yi</i>	

Appendix K: Pásapatlan's 'We are going to potlatch'

Written by Karver Everson, Marlo Wylie Brillon, Jessie Everson, and Keisha Everson

Sing as written. Drum accompaniment in a steady beat.

<i>Pásapatlan's</i>	
<p><i>O'yi: (x2)</i> yo ho hey ya ha woah oh yo ho hey ya ha woah oh yo ho hey ya ha woah oh yo ho hey ya ha woah oh ho</p> <p><i>Verse 1: (x2)</i> A^hni'kaxdaⁿ's. ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ka^sit^lasa^lxdaⁿ's. Dzupa^xdaⁿ's. ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya Pa^sa-pat^lan's</p> <p><i>O'yi (x2)</i></p> <p><i>Verse 2: (x2)</i> Ka^hngex^to-lagila^xdaⁿ's. yo ho hey. Da^x'ida xa pata'yi. Xa^lxdaⁿ's. ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya Pa^sa-pat^lan's</p> <p><i>O'yi (x2)</i></p>	<p>We gathered firewood. Ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey We went around inviting people to our potlatch We canned fish. Ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya We're going to potlatch.</p> <p>We made button blankets. Yo ho hey. Take the medicine. We smoked fish. Ya ha woah oh Yo ho hey ya We're going to potlatch.</p>