

M'i tst t'akw'
The Tellings of Dr. Sam;
Text and Coast Salish Oratory

by

Andrew Cienski
B.A., University of Victoria 2005
A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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Abstract

Dr. Samuel Sam O.C. (February 19, 1925—December 18, 2007) was a traditionally trained orator of the Tsartlip Nation, located in the territory of WSÁNEĆ (Saanich), Vancouver Island. He spoke the two Central Coast Salish languages of SENĆOTEN (dialect of Northern Straits, Coast Salish) and Hul'q'umi'num' (dialect of Halkomelem, Coast Salish). In the summer of 2006, Dr. Sam and I began the work of documenting some of his knowledge of the mythology, history, and people that made up his community.

This thesis presents two excerpts from these recordings. The first is a traditional WSÁNEĆ Flood Story in SENĆOTEN that tells of the source of the name of the territory and its people. The second is an autobiographical tale told in Hul'q'umi'num' that describes Dr. Sam's life as a young man, working as a migrant farmer with his wife and children.

While collaborating with Dr. Sam to translate and render his stories into text, it became clear that the loss of contextual information surrounding them would be a hindrance to their appreciation and even understanding. This thesis discusses the role of context as a background against which the texts can be viewed. This context includes information about Dr. Sam's motivations for sharing his knowledge, historical information about him and his nation, description of the traditional role of oratory on the West Coast,

and about the decisions made in the process of rendering the oral genre into text.

Coast Salish oratory is a traditional medium for transmission of information, knowledge, and moral teaching. It is as well a beautiful and complex oral art form, rich with stylistic features. The constitutive device of the oratory appears to be that of parallelism, whereby couplet lines and themes are ordered into structures ranging from simple to complex. Dr. Sam's oratory is rich with examples of many features and parallel structures which can be found in neighbouring Coast Salish texts.

Acknowledgements

The writing of this thesis has been dependant on the help and guidance of many people, each experts in their field. It has been a privilege and honour to have worked with and learned from them all.

I would like to first thank the Sam family, especially Greg and Barry (Bear) Sam for introducing me to their father and allowing me to take up so much of his time. Dr. Samuel Sam O.C. trusted me enough to open his door to me and spend hours upon hours working patiently through my questions in the hope that together we might create something of lasting value.

I hope this thesis is only the first step on that long road. On the last day that we recorded, we agreed to record the story of his recovery through the Shaker church. When I arrived the following week, he was not home. He had been taken to the hospital. Within a short time he returned to his ancestors. This thesis is dedicated to his memory. He worked until the absolute end of his life to help heal others and build understanding between White culture and his own. His wisdom was firmly rooted in the application of traditional knowledge to contemporary challenges. I thank him for his teaching. His example continues to fuel our work.

I would like to thank Bill White and Greg Sam who trusted me enough to show me the inside of the beliefs, rituals and struggles of their communities. I thank them for broadening my understanding. My life is the richer for their presence in it.

I would like to thank the thesis committee; Suzanne Urbanczyk, Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, and Donna Gerdt; who provided critical feedback on the various drafts, and moral support along the journey to final completion. I am also greatly indebted to Janet Leonard and Claire Turner for their time and expertise in the transcription and glossing of the texts. Thom Hess challenged me to pursue field work and encouraged me through the earliest drafts of the thesis. Also thanks to Ruby Peter for proofreading the texts.

Each of these linguists' contribution to Indigenous language revitalization and ethical research methodologies has played a huge role in the process of researching and writing the present work.

The completion of this thesis was also greatly aided by the support and encouragement of friends and family, specifically, Honor Cienska who kept the home fires burning throughout my years of study, and Jim Gordaneer who never failed to inspire and encourage over tea and maple cookies.

Huy tseep qa si'siem

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1.0 Introduction

The tradition of story-telling among Northwest Coast cultures is well known. Their stories held and still hold vast amounts of knowledge about the physical environment, cultural history, astronomy, botany, medicine, cosmology, and ways of carrying and conducting oneself. They also hold the keys to an art form and esthetic almost completely foreign to non-Indigenous people. The art of oratory is rarely encountered in our text laden Western culture. Perhaps out of habit or good intentions, when we find it, we quickly write it down.

In the summer of 2006 I met Dr. Samuel Sam O.C.. After several meetings, more and less formal, he agreed to work with me to record and translate his stories. As the work progressed, so did our understanding of one another, and an appreciation of the massive scope of what we had undertaken. As a researcher, it became evident to me the stories were intrinsically bound to the people, places, and traditions that engendered them.

To understand what a story is requires an understanding of both its function and its form. Function is the result of the meeting of both the teller's intentions and listener's needs. These merge at the moment when the story is told, but find their source in the people, place, time, and history of those present. Form is the result of the meeting of esthetic, genre, medium, and tradition. The blanket term for these elements is *context*. When oratory is written down, the page contains only the words, without the people who spoke them, the reason they were spoken, or the manner in which they were performed.

No representation can encompass every aspect of the original event. This thesis objectifies, textually represents, translates, and

analyzes Dr. Sam's tellings for purposes and by processes that have very little in common with the original oral medium or the culture that engendered them. That said, the presentation of the tellings does attempt to find a mode of representation that mediates between the original event of their telling, and the reading of the English texts.

The intention of this thesis is twofold: to present two stories told by Dr. Sam and to discuss their function (by providing situational information) and their form (by exploring various stylistic features of their telling). However, it will also be found to be necessary to discuss the process of translation and presentation of the texts.

The two texts from Dr. Samuel Sam's *SENĆOTEN* and Hul'q'umi'num' oral performances have been translated into English. The *SENĆOTEN* narratives tells the story of the Great Flood that occurred along British Columbia's coast. It tells of the source of the name *WSÁNEĆ* (Saanich), which is the name of the place and its people. The Hul'q'umi'num' story is an autobiographical narrative that tells of Dr. Sam and his wife's early life together, working and traveling as migrant farmers with children in tow; and of how their lot was made easier through the companionship, laughter, and generosity they experienced along the way. The story also teaches of the value of generosity and the reciprocal responsibility of repayment through hard work.

Contexts are more than simply descriptions of situations. Scholars, from epistemologists, to linguists, historicists, anthropologists and folklorists have noted the relevance of context in perception, and in the creation of meaning. The loss of contextual elements to narrative performances has been called *dis-memberment* (Hufford 1995). *Contextualism* attempts to *re-member* narratives by providing information about the narrative frame— the worlds within

and with-out the narrative— and situational information — approaching the narrative event as discourse between the story-teller and their audience (*ibid*). If context is an ingredient in the construction of meaning, then the omission of contextual cues equates to a loss of meaning.

The scope of the notion of context in Chapter 2 of the present study aims to be as broad as possible, including some history of Dr. Sam's WSÁNEĆ nation, of his family and himself (2.2). It is also reflexive, describing both our motivations behind the work, and the collaborative process of the recording (2.3) and translating (2.4), and the motivations of both the speaker and author in entering into the work. Lastly, it needs to be mentioned that if narrative performance falls within the scope of discourse, this thesis extends the dialogue by presenting the stories, and so you too, gentle reader, are part of the conversation.

Each culture's heritage is made up of stories. However, oral cultures also transmit the art of oratory along with the content of the stories themselves. Sadly, in places where oral cultures have been influenced by literate ones, those who remember the art are growing older and fewer. In the words of Interior Salish, Niha7káp̓mx Elder, Louie Phillips, few remember how to “rhyme [stories] together like the old people used to” (Hanna and Henry 1996:145).

What does it mean to rhyme off a story? What are some of the esthetic principles behind Coast Salish oratory, and how are they applied? These questions make up the analysis of Chapter 4.

When the texts are formatted to reflect the manner of their telling by breaking lines to indicate pauses and grammatical cues, it will be found that various internal structures come to light. Chapter 3 will explore some of these, drawing on examples from the translated texts.

Drawing on research in ethnopoetics research, this thesis will show that Dr. Sam employed many stylistic features (Jacobs 1972) which consistently appear in narratives all along North America's western coast. Examples of these features make up the first half of Chapter 4. The second half is devoted to parallelism within the texts. Parallelism is a rhetorical and literary device whereby pairs of linguistic elements (from phonemes to sentences and themes) reinforce one another as through repetition. This chapter will show that parallelism is the fundamental building block of Dr. Sam's oratory.

As well as working on the level of individual clauses and sentences (textually represented as lines in verse form), the tool of parallelism also contributes to the overall structure of plot movement. The circularity and redundancy that result from parallelism are tokens of oral cultures. Conversely, "[S]parsely linear or analytic thought and speech is an artificial creation, structured by the technology of writing" (Ong 1982:40). Dr. Sam's oratory reveals how repetition is applied within narratives to create complex and multi-tiered parallel structures.

The texts themselves are presented in Chapter 5. They have been phonetically transcribed with morphological glosses, rewritten according to each language's orthography, and given an English translation. The translation is a synthesis of Dr. Sam's own fluid translations and the literal glosses. Footnotes accompany the texts. These provide related linguistic information such as questionable gloss analyses and issues in translation. Endnotes provide further background information given by Dr. Sam during our translation sessions. Finally, chapter six concludes the topics discussed in the thesis.

2.0 Context and Methodology Behind the Texts

This chapter aims to situate the texts presented in Chapter 5 by providing background information regarding the people and process involved in its creation. The chapter begins by situating the languages in which the tellings were performed in 2.1, followed in 2.2 by some historical information about Dr. Sam's nation, family, and himself. Section 2.3 describes the process of recording, and 2.4 discusses the process of translation.

Before embarking on these topics it is important to provide a brief note on the terminology. Narrative performances have been labeled with many names in the relevant literature. Perhaps most commonly they have been called *stories*, *narratives*, or *texts*. I have decided to apply the term *telling*, borrowed from Hanna and Henry (1996). The term seems the most appropriate one for what has been transcribed and translated in this thesis. I find the term *story* is insufficient in its scope since stories generally restrict themselves to actions and events pertaining to particular characters within a sequential structure consisting of a beginning, middle, and end. This chronology is not always followed in Coast Salish narratives. There is also an assumption, due to the influence of Western literature, that stories entail some kind of conflict (man versus man, man versus nature, man versus himself etc.), which is not necessarily the motivating factor behind characters' actions in West coast narratives. Also, Dr. Sam's tellings are imbued with moral teachings to the extent that the teachings become structural cues, as will be seen in the analysis of the Flood text.

Narrative is not an entirely appropriate term, since Dr. Sam often steps out of the narrative frame to discuss the relevance of the story he is telling. These interjections are not part of the story's

narrative flow, yet they are integral to the structure and meaning of overall telling.

Although *text* is often used to refer to spoken narrative content, by definition, it restricts itself to the printed word. When any of the above terms are used here, they are done so with the intention of highlighting certain aspects of the telling. For example, when *text* is used in this paper, it refers to the printed version of the original oral performance.

I find *telling* to be the most appropriate because one can a) tell someone something (information), b) tell someone to do something (imperative) or c) tell someone about something (description). Dr. Sam's tellings perform all of these functions.

2.1 Situation of the Languages

Dr. Sam was raised in a bilingual home of Hul'q'umi'num' and SENĆOTEN. Dr. Sam is from the Tsartlip Nation located on the Saanich peninsula of southeastern Vancouver Island. The traditional language of the Tsartlip people is the Saanich (sənčaθən or SENĆOTEN) dialect of what linguists call the Northern Straits Coast Salish language. Other dialects traditionally spoken on the island include Sooke (T'sou-ke), Songish (Lekwungen), Samish (Malchosin), and Semiahmoo. Those spoken in Washington State include Lummi and Samish. Hul'q'umi'num' is a Vancouver Island dialect of the Halkomelem language, spoken from the north shore of the Saanich Inlet to roughly Nanoose Bay on the east coast of the island. The two other dialects are situated along the Fraser River valley on British Columbia's mainland, and include Downriver (Musqueam) and

Upriver. Both SENĆOTEN and Hul'q'umi'num' are Central Coast Salish languages.

The transcribed texts include versions in the respective orthographies of both languages. The SENĆOTEN orthography was developed by Dave Elliott of the Tsartlip Nation. Mr. Elliott was a distant cousin to the Sam family as well as uncle to Earl Claxton Sr., son of Elsie Claxton, all of whom were native speakers and developed language learning tools and collaborated with linguists and other researchers by providing them with data and insight into their language, history, and culture. The Dave Elliott writing system has been officially adopted by the Saanich Native Heritage Society and is used by the Saanich Indian School Board and ŁÁU,WELNEW Tribal School.

For the Hul'q'umi'num' story, I have used the orthography adopted by the Hul'q'umi'num' Treaty Group which represents the majority of the Hul'q'umi'num' speaking nations on Vancouver Island. The orthography has been developing since the early settlers and missionaries employed the English orthography for this language. The major changes over the years have been in the representations of Hul'q'umi'num' phonemes which do not occur in English, especially [t, x, ǰ, ǰ^v, ʕ, ʔ] and glottalized phonemes. The last adaptation was largely developed by native speakers Ruby Peter and Arvid Charlie in collaboration with linguists Tom Hukari and Donna Gerdts. Below is a key to the Hul'q'umi'num', SENĆOTEN and American Phonetic Alphabet (APA) (adapted from Turner 2007:80, adapted from Elliott 1990).

Hul'q'umínum	SENĆOTEN	APA	Hul'qumínum	SENĆOTEN	APA
e	Á	e	ts'	ʦ	ç
ee	Á	ee	s	S	s
a	O	a	ch	Č	č
aa	O	aa	ch'	J	č̣
i	I	i	sh	Š	š
ii	I	ii		Z	z
u	E	ə	tl'	ʦ	ʃ
uy	Í	əy	lh	Ł	ł
ey	Á	ey		N	ŋ
uw or o	U	əw or u	k	C	k
y	Y	y	kw	Ø	k ^w
w	W	w	kw'	Q	k ^w
p	P	p	q	Ɔ	q
p'	B	p̣	q'	K	q̣
m	M	m	qw	Ɔ̣	q ^w
th	F	θ	qw'	Ɔ̣	q̣ ^w
tth	TF	t ^θ	h	H	h
t	T	t	hw	W	x ^w
t'	D	ṭ	x	X	ç̣
ts		c	xw	Ɔ̣	ç̣ ^w
tth'	ʦ	ṭ ^θ	'	,	? or glottalized resonants

2.2 Place, People, and History

When the Tsartlip people permanently settled on the eastern shore of the Saanich Peninsula, their territory included the San Juan Islands, Georgia Strait and Boundary Bay, as well as the Saanich Peninsula (WSÁNEĆ). The inland boundary was a straight line between Mount Douglas (PKOLS) in the east across to Mount Finlayson (WMIYETEN) and Goldstream (S,ELEKTEŁ) in the west (Elliott 1990). The Saanich peninsula was the traditional area for their winter settlements, but their territory included the islands in the Salish Sea (Georgia Strait) between Southern Vancouver Island and Boundary Bay on the BC's mainland coast (see Elliott 1990 for a complete list including traditional place names). The WSÁNEĆ were known as the Saltwater People.

If you take a look at the land, the kind of country it is, you can see what kind of people we would have to be. We didn't have all that much land. It was broken up into Islands, into water. We had to be sea-going people: Fishermen, Sailors, Navigators, Canoe builders

(Elliott 1990:17)

During summers they traveled their territory, harvesting flora and fauna from the islands, beaches, straits and bays. Their major settlements were among the islands and along the seaward east coast of the peninsula. But this left them vulnerable to Haida and Kwagwiltz raiders from the north (*ibid*). Dr. Sam tells a story of when

his ancestors moved down into the Saanich inlet (on the western shore) to escape the raiders. At that time there were only a single family living there. Elliott (1990) provides the names of the widow, SEXSOXELWET living with her two sons, ØELOWENTET and XIÁØEĆTEN.

Almost all of this territory was lost in the signing of the Douglas Treaties in 1852. The arrangement to establish a treaty was precipitated by a sawmill company that wanted to set up operations north of Mount Douglas, for which the WSÁNEĆ people “demanded payment” (Duff 1969:8). The total cost of the treaties incorporating both North and South Saanich came to just over £109. Although James Douglas of the Hudson’s Bay Company and first governor of B.C. offered to pay them in cash, they preferred to be paid in woolen blankets. Each of the 128 heads of families involved in the signing of the treaties was paid approximately three blankets for the roughly 50 square miles of peninsula land (*ibid*).

That they preferred blankets to cash is reflective of Coast Salish culture. Traditionally, blankets, called SWEKO,Ł (swəqʷaʔ), were made predominantly of mountain goat wool, which island nations acquired through trade with mainland nations, and hair from a unique and now extinct breed of dog. One blanket required approximately two goats worth of wool and took months to weave. SWEKO,Ł were symbols of wealth and prestige in pre-contact culture. They carried spiritual significance, had ceremonial applications, and were very important trade items. Protocol required, and continues to require, that blankets (and other gifts) be distributed to guests attending potlatch and Winter Dance ceremonies, as a demonstration of wealth and generosity on the part of the hosting family (White and Cienski 2006). Boas (1889) noted a noble Snuneymuhw bride’s dowry may include 40 blankets. An ocean going canoe or one good slave could retrieve a

payment of five SWEKO,Ł, a deerskin shirt, and a fathom of dentalium shells (Curtis 1976).

Included in this territory “purchased” for three blankets per family head, was Mount Newton, ŁÁU,WELNEW. This mountain is one of the highest points on the peninsula. It was the mountain to which the Saanich people anchored their canoe in the time of the Great Flood. It is sacred for that reason, and a place where young men and women would go to receive guidance from their ancestors and spiritual guides. Dr. Sam himself spent time there seeking guidance as a young man. Today the mountain is largely parceled into private lots. There is a park of 174 hectares, but the land is public. Dr. Sam discusses this towards the end of the Flood story, and further elaborates in the transcription of endnote xi.

Dr. Sam, XEXEYELEK, was born on February 19, 1925, on the Tsartlip reserve, to Agnes (nee Smith) and Johnny Sam, ŁELKIMET. His grandfather, to whom he credited all his cultural and historical knowledge, was ŁEMEXES, whose father was LEXLEXELUK¹. At the time of Samuel Sam’s birth, the family was living in a traditional longhouse shared with his uncles and grandparents. His mother spoke SENĆOTEN and Hul’q’umi’num’, so he was raised in a bilingual home. They were quite poor and often went without food. His fondest memories from those early years were the times spent with his grandfather and uncles who taught him fishing, hunting, stories, place names, canoeing and canoe building, and traditional teachings around values, good conduct, and history.

At thirteen Dr. Sam was taken away to the residential school on Kuper Island where he soon found children were losing their

¹ I thank Greg Sam for help with the genealogy and spelling of family names. Greg Sam wears the name of his great-great grandfather, LEXLEXELUK.

languages. So he began to conduct clandestine language lessons in the school basement. A lifelong friend of his, from Cowichan territory, learned SENĆOTEN at Kuper Island and speaks it to this day.

As a young man he married Julia, daughter of Alec Johnny, SELOSELTEN of Nanaimo. With young children in tow, they worked summers together, as many families did at that time, as migrant workers, harvesting crops throughout Washington State. Since much of northern Washington State was also Coast Salish territory, many of the other workers were distant relations and old friends. As well as being an opportunity for work, it was also an opportunity to reconnect.

During the winters he worked in the Victoria coal yards stacking coal and eventually became a foreman and stayed on year round. When he found himself growing too old for the heavy work, he left, and was soon invited to be the first administrator of Tsartlip's ŁÁU,WELNEW Tribal School. It was around this time that Dr. Sam turned to the Shaker Church to help conquer his alcoholism. Eventually he, and especially his wife, Julia Sam, became well known for the strength of their ability to help and heal people in their own community and beyond.

This healing work led to a career with Health Canada, conducting drug and alcohol counseling workshops from coast to coast. He would draw on his own experiences as well as on the teachings and values he learned as a youth and through the Shaker Church and Bighouse ceremonial complex. He carried these same teachings into the programs he helped develop with the Canadian National Defense (CFB Esquimalt), Corrections Canada, and municipal police forces. He was inducted into the Order of Canada for his efforts in 1992.

He also spent a good deal of energy working to bridge the White (Western) and Coast Salish cultures by guiding workshops for the UVic Law Institute, government ministries, and others. He was

awarded an honorary doctorate of Laws in 1991 by the University of Victoria. Even into his eighties he continued with this work by conducting sweat lodge cleansing ceremonies with his son Greg to whom he passed on his knowledge. Even the work of recording and translating these stories is a reflection of his effort to keep his language, stories, and teachings alive. He worked on these until the very end of his life.

2.3 Making the Recordings

The collaboration between Dr. Sam and me began in the summer of 2006. He was motivated to leave a document of his personal knowledge and history for his family and community. I was interested in recording and translating his tellings and learning about the poetic and stylistic features that are part of Coast Salish oratory. When we sat down to record, Dr. Sam took the opportunity to talk about whatever subjects he wanted, in whatever stylistic fashion, and level of detail. This approach to the research project ensured that both of our objectives were being met.

One limitation of research guided exclusively by the researcher is the information collected largely limits itself to responses to the questions asked of the consultant (language speaker). On the other hand, when the consultant is free to guide the research, she or he can provide information and insights the researcher was not aware of and could not have purposfully illicited. By his sharing control of the work's course and content, our research has not only documented new stories and linguistic data, but also provided a small glimpse into the web of relationships between the land, stories, ethics and esthetics of the people of WSÁNEĆ. Very little if any of this understanding would

have been possible without the wisdom and generosity of Dr. Sam and his family. A collaborative research creates room for and allows for the influence of the insights of language speakers (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009).²

All together, Dr. Sam and I made five recording of tellings in Hul'q'umi'num' and SENĆOŦEN, at an average length of 40 minutes. These were delivered without interruption. Most contain mythological stories and fragments of community, family, and personal history; all mixed with thoughts and reflections on a rainbow of subjects, such as the importance of cultural perspectives, dealing with addiction, the role of family and community, and the application of values. The texts that make up chapter 5 of this thesis constitute two, nine minute exerpts from this body of recordings.

The first tells of the Great Flood. It was made outside the Songhees, Lekwammen Bighouse. Sounds from the harbour caught in the background came from the Naden Naval base in the bay behind the peninsula where the Bighouse stands. Dr. Sam had passed on his knowledge of carving and canoe building to another of his sons, and spent most of his summer days that year at the Bighouse, overseeing his son's building of a canoe in the adjacent shed.

The actual recordings were captured by a Sony Hi-MD digital Minidisc recorder and were conducted in the front seat of my Volvo, since closed spaces provide better acoustic environments. Not being a language speaker, I was not an ideal audience. In an attempt to compensate for this, and knowing Dr. Sam's intention for these recordings to be of value to his descendants and community, I

² For further reading on collaborative research models see Battiste 2000, Czaykowska-Higgins 2002, Friere 2000 [1970], Gerdts 1998, Rice 2006, Thom 2006, and Urbanczyk 2002.

suggested he imagine he was speaking to an audience of youth. As he spoke he made no hand gestures, but he did speak slowly, modulating his voice with great care, and pausing for effect (both structural and dramatic).

The first translation sessions were conducted at the Bighouse but this proved too cumbersome, so we continued in Dr. Sam's home. The second set of recordings, of which his autobiographical telling is a part, were told in Hul'q'umi'num' and conducted at his home (his wall clock ticking through each one).

2.4 Negotiating Translation

The field of documentation of West Coast First Nation stories essentially began in the 1890's with Franz Boas, collecting texts to help better understand the material Indigenous artifacts in the museum exhibits he curated (Briggs & Bauman 1999: 489). Boas oversaw several notable students who continued in the vein of eliciting texts and anthropological information around the Americas and Asia, such as Alfred Kroeber, William Jones, Edward Sapir, Elsi Clews Parsons, John Swanton, and others. Since then, subsequent generations of linguists, folklorists, and anthropologists have continued to document First Nations texts.

The original intention of Boas' collection of texts and songs was to contextualize artifacts. The study of any one thing requires it be objectified and to some degree isolated from its environment. When oral narratives are isolated from their speakers and transcribed, they become textual, and serve, for the most part, academic ends. Studied texts, as those in this thesis, undergo a scientific method of observation and measurement for the purpose of testing a hypothesis.

For the most part, the information accompanying texts in academic work relates directly to the focus of the research, as opposed to the intentions of the teller. This is understandable, as the incorporation of information outside the focus of a given piece of research would be either superfluous or would change the focus of the research to being more descriptive than prescriptive (in the sense of proving hypothesized rules).

The quality of a literary translation is judged on two dominant criteria: the fluidity and naturalness of the target language, and the accuracy of the interpretation of the original's intended meaning. Coast Salish and Indo-European languages have little isomorphic correspondence beyond the level of the plain noun. The translator is constantly weighing the balance between fidelity to the original and fluidity of the target text. Any decision by a translator can be questioned by another, calling into question interpretations of the source text's meaning. Ultimately, a good literary translation draws minimal attention to itself. A window is only seen because of spots or streaks on its surface. In the field of literary translation, transparency refers to a fluidity of language so clean it seems the text has not been translated at all.

In Brian Swann's, *Translation and Collaboration* (1987), translators are urged to produce opaque translations. Swann argues against transparency, following Wiget's (Wiget:P.C. quoted in Swann 1987) warning that no translation is definitive, especially when converting oral performances to text. The "iconic notion of text as object...transcribed and appropriated for purposes alien to that which it was created in performance" devalues the tradition of performance (*ibid*:248). Instead Swann and Widget suggest translators lay bare the decisions made in the translation process, along with contextual

information, incorporating both in footnotes and endnotes. He refers to this as *opacity* in translation (1987).

Swann points out that words stand for minimal meaning, and suggests that providing added context through accompanying essays and notes act as “another extending voice”, which ultimately contributes to meaning (1987:252).

Swann (1987) points out three issues most prominent in the area of translation:

- the translator’s understanding of the source language;
- accuracy of the translation which aims to strike a balance between literal translation, colloquial (in keeping with the original speaker’s manner) and poetic/literary language;
- and degree of transparency, wherein the translator must decide to what extent his or her influence over the text is revealed.

Such a rare individual would be able to produce a translation in the target language that conveys various aspects of the source language in ways that are understandable to readers. There do exist native speakers of West Coast languages with linguistic training and an interest in documentation and translation. Some notable Coast Salish speaker/linguists include Ellen White (Dr. Sam’s wife’s niece), Ruby Peter (who helped edit the present texts), Vi Hilbert, Levi and Martha Lamont (who provided and translated some of the texts analyzed by Toby Langen (1996)).

The first steps towards translating Dr. Sam’s tellings were accomplished by replaying the recordings to him, sentence by sentence. He would listen, then provide a fluid translation. This process was often hampered by his limited hearing. Each of these sessions was also recorded. Since then, the entire collection of recordings has been transferred to DVDs and given to the family.

During the translation sessions, Dr. Sam would often provide additional background and explanatory information on particular points. These have been incorporated as endnotes after the texts given in this thesis. The footnotes of the texts concern linguistic and translation related issues, such as further explanation of meanings where glosses are insufficient, and insight into choices for translation.

The texts have been transcribed in three lines: phonemic transcription, morphological gloss, and transcription in each language's practical orthography. The fourth line is an English translation.

Working with my fieldnotes, the original recordings, and the recorded translation sessions, I produced an impressionistic narrow phonetic transcription. To develop a systemic phonemic transcription, a morpheme by morpheme gloss was worked out with the aid of reference grammars, dictionaries, and analytical publications such as Montler's Saanich Classified Word List (1991) and Outline to Saanich Morphology and Phonology (1986) for the SENĆOTEN texts. For the Hul'q'umi'num' texts, I relied largely on Suttles' Musqueam Grammar (2001), and Hukari and Peter's (1995) and Gerdt's (1997) Hul'q'umi'num' Dictionaries. Lastly, Dr. Sam's fluid translations were amended to reflect information gained from the literal morphological gloss.

Finally, the tellings were played for Ruby Peter, who proofread the transcriptions and translations. Mrs. Peter is a linguist and fluent Hul'q'umi'num' speaker who is also very familiar with SENĆOTEN.

While working through the translations, Dr. Sam revealed a talent for finding simple translations for sentences with sometimes complex structures, such as in (1), taken from the Flood telling. (See Chapter 5 for list of morphology related abbreviations.)

(1) (SENĆOTEN)

4:11	təw	š-ne-s	t ^θ ə	š-leʔəs	k ^w s
	then/there	NOM-name-its	the	NOM-this.place.where	that
	Then that was the name of the place where				
4:14	ʔqəneʔs	t ^θ ə	snə-nix ^w əʔ		
	anchor-3POS	the	PL-canoes		
	the canoes were anchored.				

However, other sentences required further parsing.

(2) (SENĆOTEN)

6:29	čəlee	t ^θ ə	x ^w ənaaʔ	waʔačə	təwələ	təw
	first	the	start.of.saying	I.guess	the.begining	then
	That first <i>utterance</i> , I guess, was the beginning with					
6:33	s-q ^w el-s	θeʔə	s ^k wtaʔ			
(1.73)	NOM-word-his	that.one	raven			
	that Raven's word					

In (2), Dr. Sam provided the fluid translation “That was the first word from the Raven.” In Dr. Sam’s translation, the essential information from the original is retained; that of the primary nature of the word, and who spoke it. His translation also reflected syntactic elements from the original, with “from Raven” stated as an adjunct.

The gloss shows that the primary nature of Raven’s speech is referred to three times with čəlee, x^wənaaʔ, and təwələ. The translation was adapted to reflect this fact. The most problematic of the three was x^wənaaʔ, which is not documented by Montler (1991, or 1986) as a SENĆOTEN word or particle, but does show up in Hukari and Peter (1995) as a Hul’q’umi’num’ first position particle meaning *first*, or *first time*. Dr. Sam provided the translation of the term as “the start of saying something.” Later, Dr. Sam translated line 6:42, which refers back to Raven’s first utterance as “*that sound’s its name*”. The reference to Raven’s *primary* speech as “sound” appears to indicate the

moment when the arbitrary sound, or vocalization /x^wsenəč/ becomes instantiated with meaning—that of the name of the territory and the nation. In order to capture the notion of a word without meaning, I chose the term *utterance* because an utterance can equally refer to speaking a word or producing a meaningless vocalization.

The predicate of the clause of 6:33 in (2) carries a nominalizing *s*-prefix and a possessive [-s] suffix. Dr. Sam's translation captures the fact that the predicate is nominal, however it adds the preposition *from* which hints at the possession. The refined translation attempts to reflect both the nominal and possessive affixes more strongly.

Another important point with regards to issues in translation pertains to the inclusion of sentence initial particles. In Hul'q'umi'num', the auxiliaries *?i* (proximal) and *ni?* (nonproximal) and in SENĆOTEN *?i?*, (accompanying) and *?əw* (contemporaneous) are the most frequently used prepredicate particles.

They carry little to no lexical meaning and are therefore not usually translated (Suttles 2004 and Montler 1986). However, I have chosen to reflect their presence in the English in order to retain their metrical contribution from the original performance. It will also be shown in Chapter 3 that they play a structural role in oral delivery and its textual representation.

The particle *ni?* is non-proximal, and therefore has been translated as *then*. *?i* is proximal and so is most often translated as *and*. Also, it is nearly homophonous with the connector *?i?* which does mean *and*. However, when the action described by the following predicate is immediately subsequent to the preceding event and the use of *and* would be misleading, I occasionally translate it as *then*.

In conversation, the Hul'q'umi'num' particles roughly indicate the spatial and temporal proximity of the action of the predicate to the speaker at the time of speaking (*ni?* indicating *then* and *there*, and *ʔi* indicating *now* and *here*).

Interestingly, within the present narratives of both languages, the particles tend to situate the action of the forthcoming predicate in relation to that of the preceding one. The Hul'q'umi'num' *ʔi* appears to indicate a concurrent or immediately subsequent action to that of the previous sentence.

(3) provides an example of the contrast between the *ni?* and *ʔi* in the Hul'q'umi'num' text taken from the autobiographical telling lines 2:28 to 2:39. (Lines are determined by a combination of pauses and sentence initial particles described in chapter 3).

(3) (Hul'q'umi'num')

1	ʔiii	təw	qpas	ʔal		
	and	then	bend.over	just		
	Aaand so then we were just bending down					
2		s-yaays	ct			
		NOM-work	we			
	working.					
3		k ^w aʔəsəm	ni	səwqt	rik	
		look.up	come	seek.it	Rick	
	We looked up to look for Rick					
4		ʔiʔ	ʔəwəte			
		and	nothing			
	and he wasn't there.					
5			niʔ	yəwx ^w	nem	ʔ' iw
			then	must	go	run away
	He must have snuck off.					
6		ʔəwə	ct	niʔət	le-ləmət	
		NEG	we	us	PROG-seeing.him	
	We didn't see him					
7		ʔi	niʔ	həyeʔ	ʔ ^w -čənəm	
		and	then	leave	become-run	
	and he must have ran off.					

In lines 1 and 2 of (3), Dr. Sam is working, then turns to look for his son. Line 5 opens with *niʔ*, mentioning that his son must have snuck off at some time removed from the immediate one described in the above lines. Note the use of *ʔiʔ* in line 4, describing the immediate situation. The last sentence is separated into two lines, 6 and 7. It interestingly employs *ʔi* and *niʔ* together. Taking the chronology of events into account, 7 occurred before 6. This is also indicated by the presence of sentence initial particles seeming in mid sentence. By doing so, they highlight the inversion of the chronology of the two events. That 7 occurred at a distant time is indicated by *niʔ*, and 7's connection to the contemporary event of not seeing him in line 6, is indicated by *ʔi*. In the translation, *ʔi* is indicated by the word *and*, and *niʔ*'s is reflected by the use of the past perfect.

In SENĆOTEN, *ʔiʔ* indicates that the following predicate accompanies or involves some previously stated or understood situation (Montler 1986:193). For the most part, the particle is translated as *and*; however, other temporal or spatial indicators (such as *then* or *when*) are used when they better reflect the intended meaning. The contrasting *ʔəw* (referred to as contemporaneous (*ibid*)) indicates the following predicate contrasts with another activity or situation (see Montler 2003 and 1986:194 for further discussion). I have translated *ʔəw* as *so*. When *ʔəw* introduces a subordinate clause, it takes a nominalizing *s-* prefix. This is reflected in the translation as *so then*, or *and so* where appropriate.

(4) (SENĆOTEN)

3:22 təs ýəx^w ʔə k^ws š-təs ʔi ʔənʔe k^wəʔl'ləq^w
 arrive about OBL that there-arrive and come explode

It reached about that time when the explosion came,

3:27 səw ʔənʔe t^əə q^waʔ
 (4.59) so.then come the water

and so the water *surged*.

In summary, the final translations were arrived at as a synthesis of the literal gloss of the transcription and Dr. Sam's fluid translation. The English texts aim to retain his manner of speaking English, though arranged so as to follow the syntax of the Coast Salish as much as possible. I have found this process produces translations that adhere closely to the literal text while remaining readable (approaching spoken/colloquial language). My role in the process was less that of translator and more of interpreter of the various versions (original recordings, literal gloss, Dr. Sam's fluid translations, and my own translation process) I attempted to assemble them in such a way as to create a translation that aims to reflect the original language's syntax and logical structure.

3.0 From Telling to Text

Chapter 2 presented contextualizing information behind the people, places, motivations and methodologies behind the texts presented in this thesis. Chapter 3 will discuss the relevance and importance of contextualizing information when oral genres are abstracted from the people and places they came from, translated, and localized onto the page. It draws on work from epistemologists, phonologists, translators of Maya and West Coast oral narratives, and others. This chapter explores the role of context in the audience's process of understanding and finding meaning in a text. It argues that this process requires awareness of the author's or speaker's motivations behind producing the text, such as the need to inform and entertain, record personal history, or make a political or social statement. Being the result of all of these elements, the text becomes a medium for or process whereby the story is understood and experienced.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 explore how certain rhetorical elements can best be represented on the page. These sections consider issues involved in translation and in the textualization of oral genres.

3.1 Telling Through Frame and Discourse

“When a speech is made or a story is told, reality is not in the sound or light waves that reach a recording device, but in the imaginations of the speaker and listeners” (Tedlock1990:134).

Audio recordings are abstractions of the original performance event, leaving out all context of place (beyond ambient noise), and the

people present (beyond their voices alone). Transcribed performances lose even these, retaining only the words. And translated texts leave the language behind. In order that the originally intended meaning of the telling be retained in the text, it needs to be re-situated against a background of whatever contextual information possible. This contextual information reinstates knowledge of the people and reasons for the performance, such as socio-political and historical factors.

3.1.1 The Role of Contrast

The following discussion of contrast explains its role in the creation and communication of meaning.

The word contrast refers to the differences between things. Coming from the Latin *contra*—‘against’ and *stare*—‘stand’, it was originally used in the field of fine art in 17th century France, to point out juxtapositions of form and colour, such as an object in a painting standing against a background. From the point of view of the observer, contrast situates the subject. For example, the face in a portrait is set within a scene that either contributes to its understanding or heightens its presence, as palid skin against a dark background.

The role of contrast in the perception of meaning is well established in phonetics, phonotactics and psycholinguistics (see Boersma 1998, Flemming 2004, Hume and Johnson 2001, 2004, and Steriade 1995,1997,1998, among others). For example, Hume and Johnson researched perception of similar sounding phonemes in native and nonnative language speakers. They concluded that “perceptual distinctiveness is a function of phonological contrast [and that] partial contrast reduces perceptual distinctiveness for native listeners” (2001:233).

The phenomenon is generalized and related to Optimality-Theory

by Flemming, who points out that “The nature of the process of speech perception leads us to expect that any phonological constraints motivated by perceptual factors should be constraints on contrasts” (Flemming 2004: 233).

From a dialogical perspective, knowledge and meaning are the result of negotiations (dialogues) between the observer and the thing observed, between the knower and the known; “[t]he mind is structured so that the world is always perceived according to this contrast” (Holquist 1997:22).

This section has attempted to show the necessity of contrast from the elemental level of perception to that of the creation of meaning. The following sections introduce concepts related to addressivity which brings the audience into Dr. Sam’s telling, and which makes the tellings of mythological and historical narrative, relevant to the modern day.

3.1.2 Dialogue Between Frame, Figure and Ground

Chapter 2 serves as an attempt to provide some background as to who Dr. Sam was, and the sources and intentions behind the tellings and subsequent texts. This kind of ‘background’ information provides the context of the tellings. The assumption that an action or statement can only be understood relative to the context in which it occurred is referred to as contextualism. As stated above, rendering oral media in text results in a loss of most of the original context. Hufford (1995) refers to the act of contextualization as re-membering, or re-situating fragments of the situational context. The most powerful tools of contextualism are frame and discourse (*ibid*).

Frame refers to the boundary containing the world of the narrative, inhabited by the characters of the story. Conversely, the

world of the *narrative event* is that inhabited by the teller (or text) and audience (or reader). Bakhtin acknowledges the frames that are inherent when a speaker or text “performs” a narrative. He distinguishes the framed world within a narrative from that of the narrative event experienced by the audience or reader. “[T]hese two events are indissolubly united in a single but complex event that we might call the work in the totality of all its events” (Bakhtin 1981:255 quoted in Hufford 1995:531).

Discourse approaches the narrative event as a dialogic process between the teller (or text) and audience (or reader). Discourse as applied in this thesis, addresses the various ways in which the context, intentions, and perceptions of the speaker (or text), and those of the audience (or reader), influence what is stated and how it is understood.

John M. Foley sheds light on what is meant by “the work” as referred to by Bakhtin (1981) in his discussion of the often biased tendency of hermeneutics; firstly, to view texts as static objects, and secondly to view the direction of influence flowing from the text to the reader. Whereas, “without the reader’s active and creative involvement in a literary discourse there may exist an object text but there can be no work, simply because there can be no process, no experience” (Foley 1986: 204).

If the reader’s influence affects the texts then the translator’s affecting role is even greater as she or he actually alters the object of the text. The nature of the task of textualizing oral narrative creates a web of influences around *the work*, which I believe impossible to completely untangle to arrive at some ideal objectivity. This is not a weakness in the study however, as the real subject of this section is perception, and perception is ultimately subjective.

3.1.3 Intertext and Crossing the Frame

Cases of literary allusion or academic citation are overt examples of texts being influenced by other texts. Similarly, Salish story tellers traditionally acknowledge the person from whom the story was learned. Sercombe calls this tradition *provenance* (Sercombe 2001). As well as being influenced by other texts and people, texts are also influenced by the historical, political, social, and geographical world. Said another way, they are influenced by everything that has influenced and informed the speaker or author, and as Bakhtin and Foley point out, by the audience as well. Tedlock and Tedlock (1985) explore intertextuality in the artistic traditions of the Quiche Maya. Maya artists, Tedlock and Tedlock point out, rarely restrict their talents to a single medium. The result is that visual arts, for example, influence oral and musical ones within a single artist.

When all of these influences (from text to text, from context to artist to text, between speaker and audience, and between media) are considered simultaneously, we approach the labyrinth of intertextuality explored by the imagination of Luis Borges, the philosophy of Umberto Eco, and the person of Miguel de Cervantes. On this point, De Grandis' (1988) discussion of Luis Borges' use of intertext and frames seems equally applicable to events of oral performance: "Text, then, is a dialectic process between the reader and writer bringing the story off the page, and making the reader its subject" (De Grandis 1988:15). The key here is the definition of text not as an object, but as a dialectic process.

The dialogue that is the negotiation of meaning between the reader and the author occurs across the border of the narrative frame. The works of Borges, Eco, and Cervantes explore its permeability by including themselves as authors in the text. For example, the experiment of Don Quixote to live simultaneously in the world of the

novels he reads, and in the physical world, is an experiment in traversing the narrative frame.

We also find manipulation of the narrative frame in Dr. Sam's Flood telling, to the extent that crossing the frame may be interpreted as a cue to the structural designation of acts. When the Flood story is broken into acts (the meaning of the designation of acts will taken up again in section 3.3) we find the telling begins within the narrative frame in act 1 and 2. Dr. Sam then steps out of the story to talk about its relevance in act 3, re-enters the story in act 4, and steps out again to discuss it in act 5.

- Act one: 1:50 to 2:58 (ancestors' preparation for the flood)
- Act two: line 3:08 to 5:02 (events during the flood)
- Act three: line 5:14 to 6:06 (discussion of how a modern individual can find the resources that helped the ancestors survive the Flood)
- Act four: 6:16 to 7:41 (recapitulation of the events of the Flood)
- Act five: 7:47 to 9:33 (discusses the contemporary loss of reverence for the sacredness of the mountain that saved the ancestors)

It appears that for him, the audience's understanding of the stories relevance was as important as the story itself. For this reason the explanation not only takes up 40% of the telling, but is woven into the very structure of the tale.

3.1.4 Addressivity

As one can see from the discussion above, the discorsal element of oral performances is reflected in the teller's manipulation of

content and structure. His or her manipulation is the result of the teller's intention for the story combined with an addressing of the audience's state of mind. Bakhtin refers to the teller's response to the audience as *addressivity* (Holquist 1997).

Dr. Sam's Flood story tells of the mythological and sacred source of the name WSÁNEĆ. Dr. Sam's motivation behind documenting his knowledge stemmed from a need he felt to transfer his stories and experiences to his family, community and the greater population. In that way they would be aware of the existence and relevance of his and their heritage. Such information about the speaker's intentions occurs in the frame surrounding the narrative event, and influences the form and content of the discourse.

Historical and social concerns are clearly present in a story about a sacred mountain he saw every day but could no longer visit as he had before it was parceled and developed. Despite his own deep connections to that mountain, Dr. Sam could not hope that his progeny will know the same kind of connection. Perhaps he feared too, that the memory of its sacred nature will also become lost in the passage of generations. By telling the story in the way he did, he reminds them (and us, the current readers) of these things. As Hufford points out, "If reality vanishes when dis-attended, it follows that a sense of shared reality must be grounded in the continual production and reception of 'metaphysically constant' domains, through a host of discursive practices" (Hufford 1995:108).

When statements of such shared realities contradict the assumptions of the dominant, in this case colonial population, the act of discourse becomes what Hufford (1995) labels counter-hegemonic "backtalk". From this perspective she notes "Historical narratives are among the most powerful narratives for constructing a context within which cultural productions make sense" (*ibid*:540).

The following examples of addressivity in West Coast oratory provide evidence that Dr. Sam's application of it is part of a tradition that goes far beyond Coast Salish culture.

Madrona Holden (1976) comes close to naming a subgenre of Coast Salish stories, stating the "elaborate tradition" (*ibid*: 272), of folktales in Southern Coast Salish territory that appears to be constructed deliberately to make fun of the White "story collector" come to record their oratory. She goes on to speculate that

...it is a tradition shared, one might well believe, by many if not all of those folk groups who have been so accustomed, as were these native Salish, to receive visitors from a more politically powerful (and destructive to their own) culture, come to collect the remembrances of native traditions.

(*ibid*: 271-272)

The nineteenth century Haida story-teller Skaay, appears to alter the content of his story (Bringhurst 2001). In the story, Raven asks his son to tell him a raven story. Bringhurst conjectures the teller does so in response to the presence of the anthropologist Swanton, perhaps poking fun at him for expending so much effort to record others' stories while having no stories of his own (in Skaay's story, Raven's son does not have any stories for his father). Bringhurst states that this "is the only recorded version in which one character asks another to tell the very story already being told" (*ibid*:269). Skaay's response to Swanton's presence forces him to do something non-existent in any of the documented Haida myths (*ibid*). It is interesting to note that the Haida narrative idiom, so governed by tradition and structure, is still flexible enough to allow such a high degree of spontaneous creativity on the part of the teller.

Tedlock finds the ability to critique political or social questions

in the Zuni oral tradition. In his introduction to an origin story, Tedlock writes

“The Sun Priest and the Witch-Woman is a story about legitimacy in public office—but nowhere do politics break out of ancient times and jump into the lap of the polite reader, as they do here. Writing also makes an appearance here, and it does so as an instrument of power”

(Tedlock1990:138).

It appears then, that oral genres not only have the capacity, but perhaps are motivated by the need of tellers to convey information and teachings.

Such direct communicative points,... are part of the essential communicative nature of Salish myth itself, a communicative nature linked both to its situational emphasis and to its concurrent historical nature in translating the stuff of tradition into an existential and a present power.

(Holden 1974: 282)

The employment of addressivity by story tellers enables their tellings to address contemporary issues and realities. Transcriptions and translations are relatively new manifestations of traditional oral performances, and may hold the potential to continue the same dialogue with new audiences of readers. However, it must be noted that texts function within quite a different sphere of communication than orality. Textualization of oral performances shifts narratives from an interpersonal, oral/aural medium to an intrapersonal and visual one.

The voice of the speaker is rendered visually through typography: through fonts, prose and/or verse formatting; and through the

inclusion of background information. Though texts do differ in mode and function from oral discourse, the fundamental dialogical demands pertaining to perception and understanding of a speaker remain; those demands being knowledge of who is speaking, what they are saying, and why it is said that way.

Having outlined some ways in which addressivity plays a role in other Pacific Northwest cultures, the following section will outline research on what a story is in terms of traditional genres and intentions as they relate to Dr. Sam's tellings.

3.2 Charting the Telling

Sercombe (2001) states that the predominant role of Coast Salish narrative is to inform, educate, and entertain. This is true for almost all literature universally. Oral narratives are commonly referred to as oral literature, which is of course a misnomer since literature, is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as: *printed material of any kind; or having to do with the realm of letters*. The comparison implied by the word *literature* is with Western creative language arts (Sercombe 2001). However, within Salish communities, "traditional stories are not considered imaginative fiction, nor are they appreciated as such" (Thompson et.al. 2008:xxx). Though the stories are artfully, even poetically performed, and often humorous and fantastic, their purpose is informative. The information they contain covers a huge spectrum of information, including suggested hunting practices, genealogical, historical, geographical, meteorological, horticultural, and maricultural information to name a few. Stories are often simultaneously used to convey moral and ethical teachings.

Flathead Elder, Joe Cullooyah, said “Everything you need to know about life is in the Coyote stories—if you just listen carefully. (quoted in Thompson et.al 2008: xxxii). This fact is exemplified in a reconstructed South Wind epic (*ibid*:3-59). In the Tillamook tradition, South Wind is the Transformer, equivalent to the *XÁ,ELS* character of the Hul’q’umi’num’ and WSÁNEĆ people. In this epic, Southwind travels through Tillamook territory “along documented contact period pathways, used for winter travel by the Tillamook” (Thompson et.al 2008:9).

It is conceivable, even probable that in its original tellings the South Wind epic would have followed the entire coastline of the Tillamook world. Orators likely invoked a consecutive line of visible landmarks, giving a line-of-sight narrative, talking the coastline, ...These tales would have been told to children, and likely taught rote, line by line. The tales would have taught them to navigate the terrain, to locate its resources, to avoid its threats, to recall the epic origins of its place names. ...There was nowhere they could travel in their own land that did not have a story attached—nowhere that did not invoke an event from myth-time, provide an explanation of the landscape’s genesis, and give an implicit or explicit moral lesson. The physical landscape did not consist of inert matter but was full of life and power—a collage of mnemonics...that both informed the Tillamook and guided their behavior as they traversed the land.

(Thompson et.al 2008:10)

There are many kinds of stories, often referred to as genres. Coast Salish languages appear to consistently distinguish stories along the chronological categories of SXl,ÁM, [*sx^{wi}?em*]; referring to myth-

time or the “Epic Age” (Vi Hilbert quoted in Sercombe 2001:10), and SĶEL,ĶEL, [sq^wəlq^wəl], referring to stories from “the time that can be remembered” (Langen in Bierwert 1996:156). Dr. Sam’s autobiographical story would fall within the genre of SĶEL,ĶEL,.

SĶI,ÁM, appear to contain two eras: that before the Transformer, XÁ,ELS, “stabilized” mythical beings into their animal, human, plant, insect, or geographical states; and that after the tales of Transformer. Those that take place afterwards have human characters, and though transformation is still possible, as when human characters become animals by donning the skin of that animal, transformations are not permanent (Sercombe 2001).

Where and when stories were told appears to have affected their content and the manner of their telling. Jacobs points out that

...a morning pedagogical-ethical version [to pre-adolescents], a second version as given to a men’s house audience [southwestern Oregon], and a third version as given to a miscellaneous evening household audience in January or February.

(Jacobs ca. 1969-1970: 12, quoted in Sercombe 2001: 71)

Differing contexts created opportunities to focus on various elements of a story or abridge others (Thompson et.al 2008). As will be seen, tellers have been known to introduce characters, or alter what they do and say depending on his or her intentions. These alterations are strategies of engaging the listener. Dr. Sam’s autobiographical telling is made up of short anecdotes, each beginning with a state of hardship met by generosity which is in turn repaid. The theme of

generosity, hard work and repayment is never explicitly stated, but supported and heightened by the tale's repetitive nature.

As the structural patterns within the tellings are perceived, and the thematic elements such as moral teachings are taken into account, the reader becomes aware of the interplay between the two. As the various patterns and structures of stories are acknowledged, it becomes clear that the oratory of story telling is a complex and esthetically motivated genre.

3.3 Texted Oratory

The process of textualizing Dr. Sam's oral performances requires a great degree of isolation of the events from their context, and produces a version quite alien to their original oral medium and the culture that engendered them. That said, this thesis does attempt to find a mode of representation that mediates between the original event of their telling, and the reading of the English texts. Chapter three is concerned with discussion of that process.

There appear to be two central considerations when working with oral genres through a textual medium: abstraction and alteration. Abstraction occurs when a representation is made, but not elements of the referent are included in it. This is an unavoidable component of any representation, since no representation can include the whole of the dimensional and contextual situation of the original event. This is true enough in painting and photography whose media still share a dependence on the visual senses used to view the original event. But when stories are told, they occur as an experience between people and in time, whereas the reading of text is a solitary experience, and texts exist in space, taking room on a page and on a shelf.

Alteration of oral genres affects especially the perception of them, such as translations, and transposition from voice to page. Since poetry is literature's closest link to the oral world, typographical solutions to the problem of visual representation of aural qualities have long been considered and refined in the field of poetry. Capitalization, italicization, formatting (breaking of lines and organization of verses and stanzas), punctuation, and fonts are the tools of printed troubadours, as much as the aural features of assonance, dissonance, meter, and rhyming.

The following section considers two major approaches to rendering oral media on the page. One of these aims to highlight the internal structures of the texts, while the other aims to preserve and relate information about the manner of delivery. The next section following, in 3.3.2 will apply these approaches to the texts in chapter 5.

3.3.1 Reading the Voice

Translators of Native American oral genres, most notably Dennis Tedlock, have developed a technique of representing pauses and alterations in pitch and tone on the page. Tedlock argues that the "process of notation can open our ears to things we never heard before and lead us to revise our picture of the world projected by an oral performance" (1990:136). Tedlock inserts spaces between letters to indicate drawn out words, bold text, all caps to show emphasis, hyphens to indicate pauses, and other typographical tools. He also provides information about hand gestures when relevant. The goal is to produce a text that can stand as a guide for someone wanting to recreate its telling.

In discourse generally, and narrative performances specifically, facial expressions, hand gestures, tone of voice and pauses convey

meaning and emotion. Though all of these are important, their analysis stands outside of the scope of this thesis. Section 3.3.2 will explore how prosodic and syntactic elements pertain to the formatting and analysis of the present texts.

Another approach to retaining non-lexical elements in the text is the use of punctuation. Kinkade's (1987) translation of Silus Heck's Upper Chehalis *Blue Jay and His Sister* indicates short pauses with a single comma and long pauses with a double comma. He represents rising intonation with hyphens.

Hymes (1977, 1981, and 1983) developed an approach to represent oral genres on the page while working with transcriptions of Chinookan texts. Without the benefit of recordings, he was left to rely solely on grammatical cues and shifts in scene and plot movement within the narrative. Hymes (1977) finds that the predicate is a structurally elemental unit. When he isolated each clause into a separate line, he was suddenly able to discern patterns within the text.

The lines are grouped into verses, each containing "repetition within a frame, the relation of putative units to each other within a whole" (1977:438).

He further groups verses into "stanzas". These are usually indicated by "the initial elements of sentences" (Hymes 1977:438) which situate the predicate in time and space in relation to the speaker or the main event of the narrative (as discussed in section 2.4). Hymes usually translates these as *and*, or *and then*. The equivalent Hul'q'umi'num' sentence initial particles are *?i*, *ni?*, *ni? səw*, *ni? wulh*, *?i səw* and the like, which may be translated respectively as: *and*, *then*, *then so*, *then already*, *and so*. SENĆOTEN sentences often begin with some combination of the aspectual markers *?i?*, *əw*, *səw*, *kʷɫ*, *?i? səw*, which are translated respectively as: *and*, *so*, *then*,

already, and *so then*. For Hymes, sentence initial particles are essential cues to structure in Chinookan orality.

Ultimately stanzas are combined into scenes within the narrative and scenes are grouped into acts. Hymes finds the overall structure of the narratives to more closely parallel that of plays than poetry or prose. For this reason large episodes, or groups of scenes are labeled as *acts*.

Although Hymes' line breaks are grammatically justified, Kinkade (1987) finds that two thirds (66%) of the line breaks in his Chinook translations were supported by pauses in the original recordings. In examining Dr. Sam's tellings, I have found that for the most part, Dr. Sam pauses for approximately one and a half seconds between lines. He seems to use pauses of longer than two seconds to indicate boundaries between what I have hypothesized to be verses. Overall, the percentage of times the longer pauses are followed by spatial and temporal markers, such as *ni? səw*, is approximately 60%, which is close to Kinkade's finding of 66% concurrence between pauses and sentence initial auxiliary markers. In the recordings of Dr. Sam, pauses not followed by such markers occurred 21% of the time, and the presence of such markers not preceded by pauses occurred 18% of the time. In the Flood story alone, this occurred only 6% of the time. Kinkade (1987) also notes that where there was no supporting pause, there was often plot related rising tension. I have found that when Dr. Sam speaks long strings without pause it is also for dramatic effect. For example, In the Autobiographical telling, there is an instance when the generosity of a niece has rescued the children from extreme hunger. The verse that tells of his children's eating is presented without a single pause. In fact Dr. Sam ran out of breath when speaking it. The effect seems to capture the children's ravenous eating without stopping to breathe.

(1) Hul'q'umi'num'

7:08 məy t^hənə cas nə-sʔəliqəʔ
 (6.7) My! the-my poor my-children

My, my poor children

ʔim ʔəw həy ʔal hiθ k^w ʔiitən-s
 very then finish just long.time that eating-they
 took a really long time before they finally finished eating,
 ʔiiʔ yeʔ sis sməq^w
 and before and full
 before they were full.

Dr. Sam's texts of Chapter 5 are excerpts from much longer recordings. The Flood story was chosen for this project because it is a complete story within the recording. As such, it is analyzable into discrete sections that appear to be acts. It may be worth noting that each of these acts is marked by noticeable shifts into or out of the story, or narrative frame. These are separated as follows. The numbers are time registers from the original recording.

- Act one: (preparation for the flood) line 1:50 to 2:58 contains five stanzas and followed by a 7.3 second pause
- Act two: (events of the flood) line 3:08 to 5:02 contains six stanzas and followed by a 7.75 second pause
- Act three: (finding the stored artifacts and preparation of the self) line 5:14 to 6:06 contains four stanzas and followed by a 6.56 second pause
- Act four: (recapitulation of the events of the flood) 6:16 to 7:41 contains five stanzas and followed by a 4.14 second pause
- Act five: (the meaning of the mountain) line 7:47 to 9:33 contains five stanzas

The autobiographical telling in 5.2 is the first part, or act, of a much longer story. This act begins with Dr. Sam and his wife at their

home in Tsartlip when his uncle comes to offer them work harvesting in Washington State. The rest of the act consists of scenes containing anecdotes. Throughout it is mentioned that the children are growing up, indicating the passage of many years. Finally the act terminates with summer's harvesting finished and the family's return home. The overall structure is that of a single summer excursion.

The theme of returning home is repeated again much later on. The excerpt transcribed in 5.2 ends with coming home from traveling through Washington. The story never brings us back to Washington, and so it provides a natural shift, herein interpreted as the boundary of an act. After each mention of *home*, the story shifts dramatically in either time or setting. It appears that Dr. Sam's mention of *home*, is a cue to the listener that such shift is about to take place. By using *home* as a structural cue, i.e. to mark important changes in the structure of the tale, the word is given added salience.

Other consistent cues to indicate shifts between scenes is the repeated arrival of a person offering work, the generosity of women, and the repayment of debts. These appear to mark beginnings and endings of episodes. They also appear to be thematically important.

Both of Dr. Sam's tellings are presented in broken line form in this thesis. Shifts in subject and theme, as well as cues of pauses naturally group lines into what Hymes refers to as verses. These are indicated with tabbed lines; with new verses beginning on the left edge of the page. Stanzas also begin on the left edge but are further separated with a solid line between them. In this thesis the stanzas have not been visually arranged on the page into the higher order of scenes and acts.

Given that each line of narrative is represented four times (phonemic transcription, morphological gloss, orthographic transcription, and English translation), it would have been too

cumbersome to manipulate lines more than I have done by using indentations to show embedded clauses and parallel relationships (these will both be discussed further on in chapter 4).

3.3.2 Motivation for Breaking the Line

The verse-like arrangement of the tellings presented in this thesis largely follow the syntactically motivated tradition of Hymes and Kinkade. However, in an attempt to reflect elements of manner of the delivery, line breaks also occur where there are pauses of longer than one second. I have noticed that Dr. Sam often paused within grammatical sentences and clauses. In fact he also paused, at times, within phrases. For example, he would separate determiners from nouns (see Brown and Thompson (2006) for discussion of this phenomenon in Halkomelem and Cook (1999) in Lushootseed). Conversely, he would occasionally speak strings of clauses without pauses so long that he ran out of breath by their end. When he did this, otherwise simply analyzable structures become obscured.

Each line is indicated with a time register indicating its location on the original recording. Below this register is second time register indicating the length of pause in seconds between the end of the current string and the next time register. This representation is represented with a SENĆOTEN example below.

(2) (SENĆOTEN)

6:45	tx ^w ay	sk ^w iwəl	t ^θ ə
(1.1)	only	visible	the
	Only the only visible thing was the		
6:50	sɲenət	ʔə	t ^θ ə
(3.3)	mountain	above	the
	mountain above the		
6:54		q ^w aʔ	
(1.98)		water	
		...water	

I have chosen to reflect the pauses longer than one second as line breaks because I have interpreted the pauses to be of equal importance to the structurally elemental clausal unit. To have ignored them, or represented them graphically with commas, in my view, would have maintained the integrity of the clause, and simplified analysis, but would have undermined the esthetic and structural intention behind the pauses.

Breaking lines and arranging them into verses and stanzas helps reveal the internal structures. Laying out text in the form of verse facilitates perception and analysis of patterns of the delivery that would otherwise go unnoticed. Not only are This realization is central to the work of Dell Hymes who finds that rhetorical devices such as repetition “and their import are hardly to be seen except after analysis has liberated a narrative into verses and lines. In consequence, the artistry cannot be perceived, nor the element of personal voice discerned” (Hymes 1985: 401).

With regards to the most appropriate representation of the orality of narratives, one needs to consider which of the following motivations will dominate:

1. syntax, breaking lines after each clause,
2. semantics and morphology; breaking lines so as to highlight and preserve semantic content,

3. paralinguistic features; breaking lines to reflect pauses
4. or aim to reveal patterns and parallelisms.

The following two examples demonstrate the concerns involved in establishing the most appropriate representation. Ultimately, these will provide evidence for a representational form that incorporates both syntax and pauses in speech.

One of the benefits of verse over prose form is the obviating of internal rhetorical structure. It will be found in chapter 4 that much of Coast Salish, indeed West Coast rhetorical structure is based on the repetition of elements. Repetition can be based on any level of language; phonetic, syntactic, morphological, or semantic. Therefore analysis of internal structures leads to improved understanding of the form and intent of the narrative. Facility of analysis is contingent on typological issues, such as where to break the line.

Example (3) contains two subjects or themes. In the column on the extreme left, A's represent movement and B's represent various harvest work. Time registers indicate the location of lines in the recording. The smaller time register in parentheses indicates the length of pause between the end of the current string and the starting point of the next large time register. Lines are broken to reflect these pauses; line 3:10 contains a pause of less than 2 seconds, and therefore is broken, but does get a separate time register. (This example is taken from the Career and Adult Life recording 3:06 to 3:27 inclusive.)

(3) (Hul'q'umi'num')

A/B	3:06	ʔəw həyeʔ nem ct cciyə
	(2.2)	Then we left to go strawberry-picking
A ₁	3:10	siʔ-ct ʔəw
	(3.2)	and then we
		təyqəl
		moved
B ₁	3:16	ʔəmç = els ʔə t ^θ ə
	(1.6)	to pick the
B ₂	3:19	sq ^w iilməx ^w
	(2.5)	blackberries.
B ₃ /A ₂	3:26	hay t ^θ ə s-q ^w iilməx ^w si-ct ʔəw həyeʔ nem ʔə t ^θ ə
	(1.4)	Finished the blackberries and so we left to go to
B ₄	3:27	ʔemç = els ʔə t ^θ ə haps
	(5.5)	pick the hops

Line 3:06 contains two themes: movement represented by (A), and picking represented by (B). These are paralleled in the subsequent two lines, and indeed in the rest of the example. Similarly, line 3:26 also combines elements of both B and A, only in reverse order from that of 3:06. This inverted parallel structure is a common technique used to frame a core element, as in *A/B core B/A* (Langen1996) and will be discussed in section 4.2.4 below.

Note how there are four lines between A/B and B₃/A₂: two belonging to A and two belonging to B themes. Both A₁ and B₁/B₂ contain a single predicate each, but the lines have been halved by pauses. The A/B, B/A lines are also much longer than the simple A and B lines. The overall result is a distinct rhythm that is retained on the page.

In terms of parallel elements; however, the minor similarities and distinctions paralleling (i.e. repeating or contrasting) between couplet lines are difficult to pick out due to their being placed together with other couplets as with the A/B, and B/A compounds.

For example, A_2 contains elements of both A and A_1 . It begins the same way as A_1 , [siʔ-ct ʔəw̃]; however it concludes with the same verb and auxiliary as A, [həyeʔ nem̃]. A_1 employs the verb [teʔqəʔ] to describe translocation, which distinguishes it from A and A_2 which employ the verb [həyeʔ]. The result then, is that A_2 parallels A_1 in use of particles, but A in choice of verb. The parallels are not immediately noticable due their occuring in different locations within lines in each instance.

The analysis is simplified; however, if syntactical concerns are forefronted over subject matter and rhetorical pauses. Lines would be separated according to clausal boundaries, and the alternative textual representation would produce a much cleaner parallel elements and structures: (an interlaced couplet structure ABA_1B_1 followed by a circular $B_2A_2B_3$ —these will be discussed further in chapter 4).

(4) (Hul'q'umi'num')

A	3:06	ʔəw̃ həyeʔ nem̃ ct	
		Then we left to go	
B		cciyə	
		strawberry-picking	
A_1	3:10	siʔ-ct ʔəw̃ təyqəʔ	
		and then we moved	
B_1	3:16 /3:19	ʔəmc̣ = els ʔə t̃ə ṣq̣ ^w iilməx ^w	
		to pickthe blackberries.	
B_2	3:26	hay t̃ə ṣq̣ ^w iilməx ^w	
		Finished the blackberries	
A_2		si-ct ʔəw̃ həyeʔ nem̃	
		and so we left to go to	
B_3	3:27	ʔə t̃ə ʔəmc̣ = els ʔə t̃ə haps	
		pick the hops	

In (4) the reader can quickly pick out the commonalities and contrasts between line A₁ and A₂, and B₁ and B₃.

As (3) and (4) show, though simple structures may exist underlyingly, as it were, in oral narratives, surface realizations confound analysis by providing variation in syntax, morphology and non-lexical elements such as pauses.

(3) foregrounds the syntactic structure at the cost of omitting other rhetorical elements, namely pauses in speech and resulting rhythm. Though the structure is more visible, this is precisely the kind of textual representation Tedlock warns against, seemingly insinuating the structure is imposed upon the text: “If the text is segmented into lines and stanzas, these may be determined by scanning the already-transcribed words for quantifiable patterns of parallelism, rhyme, or meter, rather than by listening to contours and silences” (1990:136).

Ultimately the decision as to the most appropriate manner of representing oral narrative textually, is subjectively decided. Each solution has merits and limitations. Where one highlights internal patterns and form, another stays true to the speaker’s original stylings.

Any artist works both within and against formal structures. “The mind and the body take great pleasure from repetition in all its variations. I say variations because a steady, plodding movement of sound can dull the mind and the body” (*ibid*:1). Variation within such structures “need not, however, have any function apart from making the task of [...] composition less confining, and providing relief from the monotony which would arise from a too rigid adherence” (Leech

1969:122) to a given pattern³. Pauses are important to relaying structure to the listener, however, they appear to also be tools for undermining those same structures

3.4 Conclusion

In summary, contextualism explores how narratives frame people, and how people frame narratives (Hufford 1995). Narrative performances are a kind of discourse, and as such, result from the communicative and perceptive needs of both the speaker and the listener. In order for the speaker to be understood she or he needs to speak to and be aware of the level of the understanding and interests of the listener. In turn, in order for the listener to understand what is being *meant* by the speaker, she or he must understand the subject, context, motivations and manner of the speaker. Manner, in this case includes genre. The genre of West Coast tellings includes the ability to traverse the narrative frame and either step out of the story proper (as in the Flood telling) or bring the listener into the telling (as Skaay may have been doing in the telling of the Haida myth). The same concerns that confront the speaker and listener are present in the case of textualized narratives.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 discussed how elements of oratory can best be represented on the page. For the reasons given above, this thesis will represent Dr. Sam's tellings in verse rather than prose form. It is found that verse-like, as opposed to prose style form is a preferable

³ Leech, quoted here was writing about English poets' variation of metrical patterns. I have applied his position to the case of storytellers' variation of rhetorical patterns.

solution to the problem of visually representing pauses in speech and structural elements of the narrative as a whole.

The preceding pages have raised topics which may seem better suited to philosophy and literary criticism than to linguistics. However, I feel it important to mention them here, to acknowledge the limitations of any attempt to a) transcribe, b) translate, and c) understand the intention, meaning and esthetic behind the narratives of a person speaking a language that belongs to an idiom and culture foreign to one's own tradition.

4.0 Analysis

This chapter will explore various stylistic features of West Coast narrative performance as they pertain to the two tellings translated in Chapter 5. This list of features originally stems from Melville Jacobs' (1972) research of northwest U.S. oral narratives, and Toby Langen's (1996) classification of parallelistic structures found in Lushootseed texts.

Jacobs' work focuses on elements he found recurring in all of the documented Northwest American texts he surveyed. These stylistic features are also visible in the works of Dr. Sam.

Section 3.3 above presented issues around representing oral media textually, specifically arguments for verse form. Following Hymes, this thesis takes the termination of a clause as a cue to breaking the line. Evidence for clausal lines is found by Kinkade (1987) when he correlates line ends with pauses in speech. Lines are then grouped according to the presence of sentence initial particles and extended pauses, to form verses and stanzas.

The versical arrangement of texts makes it possible for the reader to see more subtle elements of West Coast oratory, most especially that of parallelism. This chapter explores the work of Langen (1996) who categorizes applications of various complex parallel structures in Lushootseed texts. These same structures can be found in Dr. Sam's texts. This chapter also looks at other stylistic features specific to West Coast oratory, found mostly in the work of Melville Jacobs (1972).

In the interest of conserving space, the examples below do not include the languages' orthographies, only the phonetic transcription, morphological glosses, and English translation. By the same token, larger examples forego the morphological glosses.

4.1 Stylistic Features

Artistic expression in every culture contains features that are recognizable and appreciated by its audience. For example, Western poetry (that is, poetry of European origin and influence) contains such devices as metaphor, rhythm, rhyme, allusion, and so on. East Indian classical singers are appreciated for their melodies and ability to improvise. The application and arrangement of stylistic features are the tools employed by artists for the enjoyment and edification of their audiences.

Because these features are specific to particular cultures, creative media and genres within those cultures, they are easily overlooked by foreign audiences. Melville Jacobs' (1972) inventory of 21 distinct oral genre stylistic features was derived by looking at accurate translations of oral genres from Indigenous cultures of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. The features included were those used stylistically and not containing "expressive content". These included use of loan words, variations in voice quality and pattern, use of quoted speech, repetition, and others.

In the process of translating Dr. Sam's tellings, I have come across many instances of his application of these features. Though he himself did not belong to any of the cultures researched by Jacobs (1972), the North Straits culture to which Dr. Sam did belong shares historical, linguistic, religious, artistic, and even blood ties with the western United States cultures Jacobs discusses. In the following subsections of this chapter, six stylistic features pertaining to Dr. Sam's tellings will be explored. Though parallelism, or repetition, is a

rhetorical feature, it is provided its own section here to allow room for more in-depth analysis.

4.1.1 Word lengthening

Generally stated, word lengthening, or rhetorical lengthening, provides emphasis. Many other examples are present in the texts in chapter 5 than are presented in this section. They are indicated, as in the above examples, with repeated phonemes and italicized font.

There does not appear to be any restriction to the kinds of words (grammatical or lexical) that can be lengthened. Dr. Sam applies word lengthening to verbs (see also Autobiographical text lines 7:08 and 8:15 and line 6:03 of the Flood text.)

(1) (SENĆOTEN)

4:33 (1.59)	ʔəw̄	q ^w aaq ^w əl-s	t ^θ eʔə	sk ^w taʔ
	then	talking.3rd	that	raven
	Then Raven was <i>taalking</i> away,			

and lengthening of quantifier (see also the line 5:17 of the Flood story).

(2) (SENĆOTEN)

2:00 (1.58)	ʒim	t ^θ ə	ʔəwə	k ^w s	hay-s
	very	the	not	that	stop-its
	It never stopped;				
	<i>mmmək^w</i>	sk ^w eyčəl	ʔi	ʔəw̄	
	every	day	and	then	
	<i>eeevery</i> day, and				

When lengthening is applied to particles, the emphasis seems to be on the connective contribution, linking the temporal relationship between the previous sentence and that of the sentence the auxiliary

introduces. (For more examples see autobiographical text lines 2:28, 5:30, 5:40, and 8:55.)

(3) (Hul'q'umi'num')

3:41 ʔiii hiθ k^wə ct sniʔ
 (1.1) and long.time that we visit
Aaand it was a long time we were there.

There is also an example of lengthening to an interjection (in (4) the interjection is used to indicate that a new speaker is speaking (Suttles 2004:472)), (See Autobiographical text line 4:11 for a contrasting example.)

(4) (Hul'q'umi'num')

7:52 səw q^wal t^oəwniʔ siʔem
 (1.1) then speak he boss
 Then that boss spoke up,
ʔaaa k^weyəl ʔiʔ wəʔ
 oh/well day and already
welll "At the first break of day

There also appear to be no restrictions on which parts of words can be lengthened. The SENĆOTEN story contains examples of both the consonantal word onset lengthening of the same word, as in (2) above and internal vowel elongation as in (5) below. I have encountered no word-final elongations.

(5) (SENĆOTEN)

3:43 səw ɬəŋeʔə-s tiʔə
 (1.17) then flood-it here
 So it flooded here,
məək^w ʔəʃin ʔə tiʔə
 every where OBL here
aaall over here.

Word lengthening seems capable of not only emphasizing meaning, but even of contributing new semantic information to the sentence. There is an interesting instance of word lengthening in line 8:19 of the Career story, in which Dr. Sam provides a very long elongation of an *mmm* before the verb. It may be argued that this vocalization is not, strictly speaking, word lengthening since it is not part of the root verb, nor does it appear to be a prefix. Nevertheless, during our translation session, Dr. Sam provided a lexical translation to it—that of “keeping on”.

(6) (Hul’q’umi’num’)

8:19 (0.96)	nəs	ʔəw	čewə-t	tə	nə-staləs-ət
	I	then	help·s.o	the(fem)	my-spouse-PAST
	I then started to help my wife				
		<u>mmm</u> təmc’-els			
		keep.on pick-ACT			
		keep on pickin’			

Following this line, is a fairly detailed account of how diligently and promptly the two of them worked every day. The “keeping on” seems to emphasize the amount of work and continual effort put in by both Dr. Sam and his wife.

4.1.2 Loan Words

In loan words, both meaning and form are borrowed or assimilated with some adaptation to the phonological system.

Dr. Sam was a trilingual speaker. His mother came from Nanaimo and spoke Hul’q’umi’num’. His father was from Tsartlip and spoke SENĆOŦEN. He learned English in school and from the general environment outside his home. He also had some knowledge of Lekwungen, a Straits Salish dialect sister to SENĆOŦEN.

Both the Hul'q'umi'num' and SENĆOTEN tellings contain words and grammatical elements from the other language (for example the Hul'q'umi'num' prepredicate particle *ni'* makes an appearance in the SENĆOTEN, telling). These seem to be less consciously applied and most likely cases of code switching, which is common among bilingual speakers (see Bates2005). However, it seemed the English loans were most evidently consciously employed. That Dr. Sam used loans purposefully, and stylistically is hypothesized due to the fact that they are paralleled in some way.

One example is taken from Dr. Sam's Flood story. Here two different loans parallel one another by their near homophony. *pipə* and *pipəl*, refer to newspapers (articles) and to people respectively. The words appear quite near to one another, separated by two short lines, composed of a single subordinate clause to the first line.

(7) (SENĆOTEN)

8:13	ʔi	ʔəw	s-ʃ ^w əneŋ	t ^ə eʔə	staləw	<u>pipəl</u>	k ^w s	
(1.03)	and	also	NOM-how/like.this	those.ones	River	People	that	
	And it was also the same way for those Sta:lo People too,							
8:17		k ^w ʔ	ʔəne	s-θeʔə				
(1.83)		already	come	NOM-that-there				
	when that started to happen,							
8:20			s-ʃəlqəymə-sət	t ^ə ə	q ^w aʔ			
(6.59)			STAT-fierce-self	the	water			
	the water grew fierce.							
8:28	niʔ	ʔəw	s-ʃel-ət-t-əŋ	ʔə	t ^ə ə	<u>pipə</u>		
(17.16)	then	also	NOM-write-DUR-TR-PASS	in	the	paper		
	That got written in the paper too							
		ʔə	t ^ə ə	x ^w ənitəm				
		by	the	White				
		by the Whites						

Earlier in the same verse, he speaks of people again, only this time using the Saanich word for people, STÁLNEW [stəlɲəx^w]. Perhaps

this is a semantic parallelism with the English loans, making them appear more prominent.

In Dr. Sam's autobiographical telling, he appears to juxtapose loan words against their counterparts within the language. Among Hul'q'umi'num' speakers, the loan [təwwik^{ws}] is often used.

(8) (Hul'q'umi'num')

6:19 (1.1)	<u>təwwik^{ws}</u>	ʔi	yeɬs	yaay-stewət	tə-nə	staləs
	two.weeks	and	before	work-CAUS.her	the-my	spouse
	It's two weeks before they put my wife to work.					

Interestingly, the telling refers to the same two week wait when the boss tells of the delay a little earlier in the tale. Only here, the borrowing is not used.

(9) (Hul'q'umi'num')

4:46 (2.5)	<u>yəselə</u>					
	two					
	two					
4:50 (3.6)		<u>siwəɬnet</u>	ʔiʔ	yeɬ	syaays	
		week	and	only.now	work	
		weeks before work (starts).				

The only other reference to *weeks* in the story comes further on. Again, the English is used.

(10) (Hul'q'umi'num')

11:20 yə-nəcə

(1.6) first-one

The very first

11:22 wik k^wənəs yaays

(1.8) week that.I work

week that I worked

ʔi wəł s-telə-namət ct

and already NOM-money-a.few we

and we already had a few dollars

And again it is attached to a numerical element and connected to *working*. Whether these were conscious parallels, only Dr. Sam could answer. Unfortunately, I was not aware of the stylistic feature during the time we worked together and did not ask him.

4.1.3 Quoted Speech

Direct speech from characters within a narrative in West Coast oratory is a means of strengthening narrative themes. It also plays an important structural role.

The themes of preparation and of the importance of naming the land and people whom it saves, are central to the Flood story. The first act focuses on preparation for the flood. This theme is taken up again in the fourth act citing the need to clean and prepare oneself in order to be allowed to find the cave where the artifacts from the flood are stored. The second act tells of the events of the flood and the naming of the land and people by Raven. The fifth act describes the loss of acknowledgement of the sacredness of the name WSÁNEĆ, stemming, in part, from its anglicization to *Saanich*.

In Dr. Sam's Flood story, there are only two instances of quoted speech: the prophet warning of the impending flood, telling the people they need to prepare (2:11-2:15); and the Raven, naming the land as it emerges from the water (4:47-4:53). Both of these quotes appear near

junctures between acts. The first occurs in the beginning of the first act, and the second appears at the end of the second.

Only the first act of Dr. Sam's autobiographical story is presented in this thesis. Within that act, quoted speech appears several times. Each instance seems also to correspond with the major themes of work, travel, and generosity. Two of these instances seem particularly structurally relevant (1:01-1:31 and 4:03-4:11). The quotes parallel one another in that both are dialogues between Dr. Sam and his wife; both are similar in content; and both are anteceded by a job offer from a man hiring from a distant farm. They are structurally important in that both speech acts introduce a new "scene" within the act.

4.1.4 Laconicism

Laconicism refers to the absence of descriptive information, or sparseness of detail. In this case, the clearest example of laconicism is the minimal information provided about Dr. Sam and his wife's seemingly constant travel. In most cases, nothing more is said beyond "we went" and "we left". Jacobs writes that the West Coast narratives he studied presented "an extreme of laconicism in depiction of action, movement, travel, feelings, relationships, and personalities, with great speed in plot action" (1972:16).

Dr. Sam's autobiographical story contains many instances of travel. The story itself seems like a summary of years of travel and work, work and travel, with children in tow. Overall, there is a forward chronology witnessed by the progressive aging of the children, however, time is not depicted at a consistent rate. Within the first stanza, for example, the children are born and grow to an age where they begin to help with the work of picking.

In the midst of the coursing years, the number of which is never overtly stated, there is an anecdote depicting a particular incident with one of his sons. The anecdote gives a name, face, and humour (another of Jacobs' (1972) stylistic features) to an otherwise monotonous summation of years, perhaps decades of moving and working, working and moving.

The lack of discussion of emotional content is another characteristic of laconicism. A character's emotions are left to be "deduced from plot action" (Jacobs 1972:15). This aspect is also reflected in the autobiographical piece as well. Specifically, the fatigue of the constant work and travel is never expressed, however, it can be deduced mostly through repeated statement of the facts. Two exceptions to this feature in the autobiographical telling are 5:30 where Dr. Sam's wife is hurt at witnessing her children's hunger, and 6:40 where she is glad at being able to buy them food.

4.1.5 Inclusive *You*

Inclusive *you* is when the speaker refers to the listener in the second person (*you*) within the frame of the narrative. The stylistic feature of using the second person as a means of engaging and perhaps implicating the listener, is well documented along much of the West Coast (c.f. Jacobs 1972, Sercombe 2001, Bringhurst 2000) and cross linguistically (Gerdt's P.C.). In Dr. Sam's Flood story the strategy appears to be applied in three distinct ways.

The first example below, while referring to *you*, is not an example of inclusive *you*, because the referents are other characters in the story. This example occurs in the quoted speech of the prophet who warns the people to begin preparations for the coming flood. The

second person is directed by the prophet to other characters within the narrative frame.

(11) (SENĆOTEN)

2:11	ʔi	k ^w ʔ	s-q ^w el	t ^θ ə	siʔawə-s	t ^θ ə	x ^w ilŋəx ^w
(1.14)	and	already	NOM-said	the	prophet-their	the	people
	And their prophet told the people						
2:15	ʔəy	k ^w ənsk ^w əns-sat	helə				
(1.28)	good	be.careful/alert/ready-self	you-all				
	“you all better ready yourselves,						
		ʔələq	səʔ	tiʔe	təŋəx ^w	ʔelə	
		soaked/flooded	FUT	this	land	here	
	all this land here will flood						
2:20		ʔəy	k ^w əns	leeʔ-sat			
(6.87)		good	ready	make/prepare-self			
	You better get things ready”						

It is clear in the above example that the prophet is speaking to the characters within the story, and not the audience outside the narrative frame. This example was included because it is the only other instance of the second person in the story, and is thereby arguably in a parallel relationship with those that follow.

The second use of inclusive you is more clearly directed at the audience.

(12) (SENĆOTEN)

5:31	haʔ	čə	sx ^w	ʔəw	slelə	ʔi	
(1.59)	if	they.say	you	then	clean	and	
	if, they say, when you are clean, then						
5:35	ʔə	x ^w -leʔə	k ^w sə	sŋenət	ʔi	yəw	
(1.37)	OBL	where-there	that	mountain	and	may.(allow)	
	at that place on the mountain, (you) may						

The intention behind the use of inclusive you was made more evident during our translation session, when Dr. Sam explained the meaning of the word for *clean* in 5:31.

If you're mentally clean you have no bad thoughts, no bad words. If you're physically clean then you've been bathing all the time in cold water. And if you're spiritually clean your spirit is clean, there's nothing bothering you: No bad spirit in you. "*ha? čə sx^w ?əw slelə?*" and that's what it's referring to.

And if you're *slelə?*, if you're clean from all these things I mentioned, they will allow you to see that place, where, all those things that you used at the flood times, that were stored; the rope, the anchors; are stored in that cave up there in that mountain someplace.

But they have a, protector also which is the wolf, *stəqeyə?* . They said when he sees you approach he'll lead you away, from, that entrance.

(Samuel Sam, 4:30 Flood: 20:46)

Notice, in the second paragraph of the above quote, the mention of *all those things that you used at the flood times*. This illustrates the intention behind the inclusive you, as a means, not only of making general or universal statements, as indicated by the English use of *one* (e.g. *one needs to be clean*), but of actually referring directly to the audience (i.e. *You need to be clean*). By attributing the actions of the flood survivors to the audience, the audience is made a character within the narrative. Lushootseed raconteuse, Emma Edwards is noted for employing inclusive you "to convey a sense of experience" (Sercombe 2001:76) with the characters being described.

In the third inclusion of the audience into the story, Dr. Sam includes himself.

(13) (SENĆOTEN)

5:58	haʔ	tsəs	təw	ʔniŋəl		
(1.56)	if	get.close	then/so	us		
	So if we get close					
	ʔi	sk ^w il	teʔə	stəqeyəʔ	səw	
	and	appear	there	wolf	so.then	
	the wolf shows up there, and					

To summarize then, inclusive *you* shows up in three parts of the story: in the beginning when the flood is prophesied (spoken to the other characters in the story), in the middle, in reference to seeking the sacred cave where the rope and anchor are kept, and finally by including himself in the dangers associated with seeking the sacred cave.

4.2 Parallelism in Dr. Sam's Tellings

The term parallelism refers to a relationship of equivalence between two or more spoken or written linguistic units (Berlin 1985). All levels of language are potential sources of equivalence, the phonetic and phonemic, syntactic and metrical, and semantic and psycholinguistic. For example, rhyming and alliteration are examples of parallelism on the phonetic level; refrains in music are larger parallel structures; syntactic parallels often contribute to metrical parallels between clauses; and so on.

Patterned stories can also fall under the rubric of parallelism. Stories where whole episodes of the narrative plot are repeated are often referred to as patterned stories. Kinkade (1987) finds such a structure in Silus Heck's Upper Chehalis story, *Blue Jay and His Sister*. In the story Blue Jay is given baskets of water to put out fires he will encounter on his journey home. The description of each one of

the five fires he encounters, and the actions he takes each time are described almost identically each time.

The term parallelism is more accurate than repetition, because relationships of equivalence are not necessarily repetitions. Repetition is at least superficially semantically redundant. I say superficially because restatement can also lead to disambiguation. Kugel (who questions the equating of parallelism with poetry—see Berlin 1985: 3-7 for overview of this discussion) describes parallelism as “A and what’s more B”.

Through repetition, parallelism creates layers of meaning, each contributing to the intended meaning.

Parallelism is constituted by redundancy and polysemy, disambiguation and ambiguity, contrast within equivalence [...] Like human [binocular] vision it superimposes two slightly different views of the same object and from their convergence it produces a sense of depth.

Berlin 1985 : 99

The most obvious examples of contrast as defined above, are found in examples of contradiction. When a statement contradicts a previous statement, the two still share a relationship of equivalence, however, meaning is augmented in the process. Langen discusses this point in describing weighted circular figures in which “A₂—though it may on its surface be no more than a repetition of A₁—[is made] more or differently meaningful from A₁” (1996:56). At the close of Dr. Sam’s Flood story, there is an example wherein the second line of a couplet contrasts with the first.

(14) (SENĆOTEN)

9:07 (9.33)	tiʔe this	ǰ ^w əneŋ-ət way.it.is	
	The way it is now,		
		tew̄t ʔəwə-nal ǰ-x ^w -leʔəs mean nothing-just NOM-there-that.place	
	that place there means nothing		
9:19 (1.42)	niʔ it.is	ʔəw̄ s-ǰ ^w əneŋ now NOM-how/like.this	
	And so the way it is now,		
		k ^w ʔ k ^w s nənəw̄ already that(SUB) very	
	that still is very much (believed).		

- (A) The way it is now,
 (B) that place there means nothing
 (A) And so the way it is now,
 (B) that still is very much (believed)

In (14), both 9:07 and 9:19 have the verb [ǰ^wəneŋ] in the first part of the sentence. The second halves contrast one another, with one referring to the loss of meaning, and the second, to its retention (through adherence to belief). In this sense, parallelism can be seen as a system whereby likes are contrasted, and by their opposition they gain in meaning.

It is the idea of *contrast*, perceptible opposition, that is important in the poetic function. For it is not only that parallelism involves equivalence, but that within that equivalence there is an opposition...In a text where the generation of such contrasts is the constructive principle, we have poetry.

(Berlin 1985: 11)

Parallelism is a feature of prose as well as poetry, however in

prose, it is not used systematically and does not “constitute the constructive device of the text as they do in poetry” (Waugh 1980 quoted in Berlin 1985 :11). The constitutive device is “the formal device upon which the poem is constructed” (Berlin 1985: 11). The constitutive device of prose is termed *referential*, whereas that of poetry is *equivalence*. The nineteenth century poet (and linguist) Gerard Manley Hopkins wrote that “The artifice of poetry ‘reduces itself to the principle of parallelism’ “ (G.M. Hopkins quoted in Jakobson 1966: 423)

The arrangement of text into verse form has the effect of isolating semantic and syntactic elements. By setting them out sequentially, the lines are juxtaposed. Their isolation heightens their contrastive relationship. Berlin (1985: 12) provides the following example of the varying effects of prose versus verse forms of the same biblical passage.

(15)

a)

*He said to her. “Please give me a little drink of water, for I am thirsty.”
And she opened the milk container and gave him a drink, and covered him.*

b)

*Water he asked,
Milk she gave;
In a princely bowl she offered curds.*

Note that the information in both (15a) and (15b) is essentially the same, though in (15a) the contrast of *water/milk*, and *he asked/she gave* is subordinate to the referential and chronological flow of information. In (15b) the syntactic parallels between the lines reinforces the contrasts between them.

In the same way, the arrangement of oral performances on the page in verse, as opposed to prose form, has brought to light much more of the structural components of West Coast Indigenous oratory.

Traditionally (at least until the rise of Modernism) Western poetry was largely dominated by meter. Metrical elements such as syllables and feet are counted or arranged according to often predetermined quantities per line. However, Hymes (1977) finds that Chinookan orators do not measure lines according to meter. “[V]erses are recognized, not by counting parts, but by recognizing repetition within a frame” (Hymes 1977: 438).

Kinkade (1987) also finds an example of repetition on the level of the verse in an ABA structure. The structure occurs between ‘verses’ within what he groups as a single stanza. In this scene Blue Jay had already previously come to visit his sister in the land of the dead. On his first visit little skulls kept rolling up to him and he kicked them away. His sister equipped him with what he needed to return home. He tried to return but died in the process. Dead, he now returns to her and finds her surrounded by children. She explains to him that the skulls he had kicked away earlier were her children, which he now perceives as actual children (Kinkade 1987: 278).

(16)

- (a) Blue Jay says,
 “How can I just be dead,
 when there are people here?
 Are these nice ones your children?”
- (b) “Those are the ones
 that you didn’t want—
 nothing but skulls.
 Those there.”
- (c) “How can skulls be children?
 Your children are nice.”

In this example (a) and (c) parallel one another. They are both spoken by Blue Jay ((b) is spoken by his sister). In (a), he asks “are the nice ones your children,” and in (c) he states “your children are nice”. Note the syntactic contrast between (a) as a question, and (c) as a statement.

Langen (1996) takes a similar approach to analysis, but focuses her search for parallelism more on individual lines within Lushootseed texts.

Pairs of paralleled lines are called couplets. These are the elemental building blocks of more complex parallel structures (see Maxwell 1987 and Bright 1990 for discussion of couplet structures in Mayan oratory). In West Coast oratory, the application of couplets is complicated by introducing lines between them, forming an A₁XA₂ structure. ((17) is taken from the SENĆOTEN Flood story).

(17)

A	2:15	ʔəy	k ^w ənsk ^w əns-sat	helə			
		good	be.careful/alert/ready-self	you-all			
		“you all better ready yourselves,					
X			ʔələq	səʔ	tiʔe	təŋəx ^w	ʔelə
			soaked/flooded	FUT	this	land	here
		all this land here will flood					
A	2:20	ʔəy	k ^w əns	leeʔ-sat			
		good	ready	make/prepare-self			
		You better get things ready”					

In (17) the A lines both refer to getting things ready. The first refers to getting oneself ready while the second refers to readying things in general. However the line in the middle is not repeated and is termed a *core*. Core material refers to a line or lines that do not bear relationships of equivalence with any other line or lines. Considering

the informational redundancy of repetition, core material often introduces some new piece of information (Langen 1996).

The subsequent sections of this chapter will describe and provide examples for the increasingly complex applications of parallel structures found in Dr. Sam's stories. The definitions of the various structures come from Langen (1996).

4.2.1 Circular Organization

A circular figure (Langen 1996:55) is a rhetorical structure wherein a line or sentence is stated and then repeated or paralleled (in syntax and/or meaning) after some interceding line(s) or sentence(s), creating an $A_1 X A_2$ structure as was seen in (17). The A's circumvent, or frame, the X core. This is an elemental structure in West Coast narrative, and the primary building block for more elaborate parallel structures.

The following example shows a circular organization. A circular figure has A lines that directly parallel one another. In the following example the A elements parallel one another in meaning, but not in syntax nor morphology. This example is therefore more accurately classified as *circular organization*.

(18) (Hul'q'umi'num')

	10:35	q ^w əlq ^w əlmət nəsilə ʔə	I was telling my grandmother
A ₁		peʔ nəʃniʔ mi lemistamə	“that's why we came to see you
X	10:39	ʔəwəte stem telə ct ʔəwətəl	We have no money; nothing at all.
A ₂	10:42	k ^w ətistal t ⁰ ə ʃnis	That's why we're here.”

Circularity is very often used as a framing device. Repeated elements bookend a core of new or important information. The core may pertain to the theme, moral, or plot of the narrative. The following longer example shows a two part (AB X AB) frame around quotative speech.

(19) (Hul'q'umi'num')

	4:33	təs ct pɛʔ ʔiʔ	We finally arrived and
		x ^w -əweteʔ stem s-yaays	
A		there were no jobs,	
		ʔiʔ ʔəwəteʔ telə	
B		and there was no money,	
		ct spəʔpəx ^w	
B		<i>we were broke.</i>	
		ʔəwə-te sʔəʔtən ct	
C		We had no food.	
C	4:39	k ^w ek ^w i ʔal t ^θ ə-nə meməñə	My children were just hungry
	4:43	θət-stəx ^w x ^w ənitam joj-tx ^w	The white man George said
	4:46	yəsələ	two
X	4:50	siwəʔnet ʔiʔ yeʔ syaay-s	weeks before work (starts).
(A)	4:56	həy nəs ʔəw	After he finished then I
	4:59	ʃct-amət yəx ^w ct ʔalə	wondered what are we going to do.
		ʔəwəteʔ telə ct	We had no money;
B		ʔəwəteʔ	
		no	
C	5:05	sʔəʔtən ct	food.

In the above example, the A's pertain to work, the B's to money, and the C's to food. Note that the core material is related to the theme of A. The X core is bookended above by a two couplet BBCC pattern which is then reflected in the closing of the stanza with a simple BC.

4.2.2 Interlace

Interlace is the overlapping of two parallel structures, producing an A₁ B₁ (X) A₂ B₂ pattern, wherein the parallel A's are separated by the first line of the subsequent B₁ B₂ couplet.

The following example (20) is taken from the Autobiographical text. Here, the A's refer to moving or translocation, and the B's refer to harvesting crops.

(20) (SENĆOTEN)

A	3:06	ṭəw həyeʔ nem ct
		Then we left to go
B		cciʔə
		strawberry-picking
A ₁	3:10	siʔ-ct ʔəw təyqəl
		and then we moved
B ₁	3:16 /3:19	ṭəməc = els ʔə t ^θ ə sḳ ^w iilməx ^w
		to pick the blackberries.

(21) shows a more complex figure. The A lines mention their son's sneaking out of doing work. The B lines refer to looking for him. (Again, time registers have been omitted, however are reflected in extra spaces between lines. This section is taken from the Career and Adult Life recording 2:20—2:39).

(21) (Hul'q'umi'num')

A ₁	2:20	yaθ	ʔəʔ	ʔəw	ʔ i w	ʔə θət-staləx ^w -əs	
		He'd often sneak off, telling us					
		nem	cən	ceʔ	təni		
		"I'll go there					
X		ʔə	təs	snəqeen			
		and arrive from the other end					
		k ^w ənəs	mi	ʃ ^w -teʔ	ʔə	tiʔə	
		when I come, working my way back here."					
	2:28	ʔiiiʔ	təw	qpas	ʔal		
		Aaand so then we were just bending down					
		s-yaays ct					
		working.					
B ₁		k ^w aʔəsəm mi səwq ^w t rik					
		<i>We looked up to look for Rick</i>					
A ₂			ʔiʔ	ʔəwəte			
		and he wasn't there.					
A ₃	2:35	niʔ	yəwx ^w	nem	ʔ i w		
		He must have snuck off.					
B ₂	2:39	ʔəwə	ct	niʔət	le-ləm-ət		
		We didn't see him					
A ₄		ʔi	niʔ	həyeʔ	ʃ ^w nčənəm		
		and he must have ran off.					

(21) appears on the surface to be two circular figures (ABA/ABA). The *niʔ* sentence initial auxiliary in (2:35) indicates the beginning of a new stanza, however the lines of both stanzas parallel one another, binding all the lines into a single large structure. They are collectively analyzed here as an interlaced structure. Essentially, this example shows two circular figures that interlacing one another, a form I have not come across in the existing literature.

Note the interstitial X material is quoted speech. The term interstitial material refers to an element within a couplet structure,

but is not framed by it, such as (A BXB A) exhibiting core X material, as opposed to (AB BXA) exhibiting interstitial X material.

4.2.3 Concentric Circles

Concentric circles are a complex of circular figure wherein parallel couplets couch within other parallel couplets. Most elementally these form (A BB A) sequences rather than (AB BA) sequences. This sequence is very similar to the circular figure AXA. The critical difference is that the B elements share a relationship of equivalence, where interstitial material has no parallel. In Dr. Sam's autobiographical story, there is an instance of concentric circles bearing three tiers, forming an $A_1B_1C_1C_2B_2A_2$ structure. In this complex structure the A's refer to work, the B's refer to borrowed money, and the C's refer to specific amounts. Because the couplets are conceptually related and not surface repetitions of one another, they are said to be "concentrically organized rather than strictly figured" (Langen 1996:57).

The following structure is also taken from the Career and Adult Life recording 1:27—1:44.

(22) (Hul'q'umi'num')

		walə ʔəy-əs k ^w s nem ct
		“we better go now
	A ₁	ʔəwəteʔ peʔ məʔ nə-syaays
		because I have no work at all”
	B ₂	səw wəʔ q ^w iməls ct ʔal ʔə θə telə
		so then we borrowed some money.
	C ₁	nəcex ^w ʔiʔ nəcə nəcəwəc
	Maybe one hundred dollars	
C ₂	ʔix ^w nəcəwəc	
	or three hundred dollars,	
B ₂	θə sq ^w iməl ct	
	we borrowed.	
X	wəʔ nəwnəc ct ceʔ	
	We’re gonna pay back right away	
A ₂	səw niif ce wəʔ ʔiʔ yaays	
	as soon as we start to work.	

4.2.4 Inverted structures

Hysteron-proteron, meaning last first (Langen 1996:58), is an inverted parallelism. In its simplest form, this construction consists of two parts A/B and B/A wherein the first sequence is inverted in its parallel. The structure is very similar to a simple circular figure with an AB/BA form. Langen distinguishes between the two as: “if a figure were static or rhetorical only, it was called hysteron-proteron [in her Lushootseed analyses]; if it were reiterative in the service of the development of characterization, plot, or point of view, it was called circular” (Langen 1996: 58). She gives the following example from the Lushootseed text.

(23) (Lushootseed)

q^wiq^wq^wistaybix^w mamad ?acit**tal**bix^w
 mamad ?ac?acit**tal**bix^w ti?it q^wiq^wq^wistaybix^w

The little people are dwarfs.
 The dwarfs are a lot of little people.

Analyzed as follows:

- (A) q^wiq^wq^wistaybix^w
- (B) mamad ?acit**tal**bix^w
- (B) mamad ?ac?acit**tal**bix^w
- (A) ti?it q^wiq^wq^wistaybix^w

I have found no examples of this phenomenon in the present texts, however there are many examples of a similar kind of inversion which Langen describes as Circular Figures. These figures contain two elements which are inverted in their paralleled couplet, creating an AB, X, BA form.

In their basic form they are used as “simple framing devices” (Langen 1996:57), framing core material or speech. One example was presented in example (19) of this chapter. Example (24) below comes from the Flood text, lines 6:45 to 7:00 inclusive.

(24) (SENĆOTEN)

A/B	tx ^w ay	sk ^w iwəl	t ^θ ə	sɲenət			
	only	visible	the	mountain			
	The only visible things were the mountains						
		ʔə	t ^θ ə	q ^w aʔ			
		OBL/above	the	water			
	above the water						
X		ʔi	ʔəw	neetəs	tɬe	sʔələləx ^w	k ^w sə
		And	then	name.them	the	Elders	those
	And it was then the Elders named those						
B/A	sɲenənɲenət	ʔə	sk ^w iwəl				
	mountains	OBL	visible				
	lands (mountain tops) that were visible						

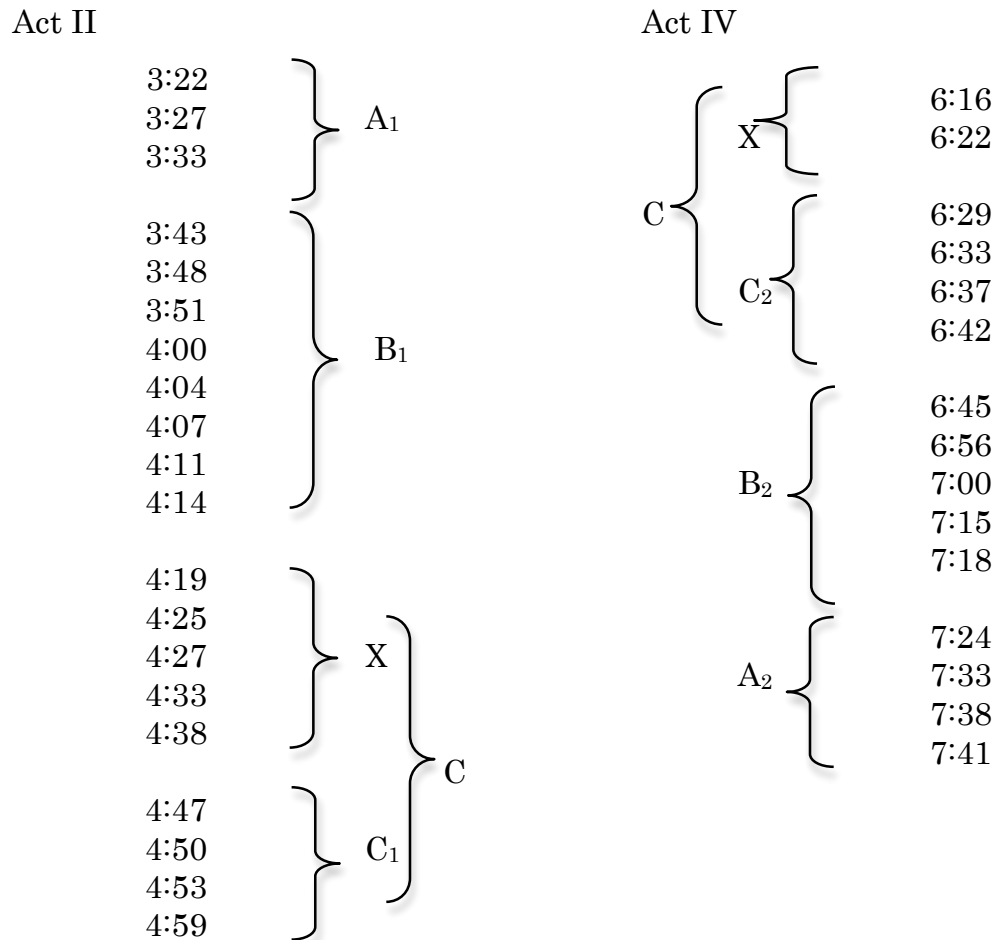
In (24) A represents [sk^wiwəl] and B represents [sɲenət]. The AB is inverted in the bottom line, and serves to frame the core element which mentions the ancestors that named the lands.

There is present in Dr. Sam's tellings another example of what appears to be a large inverted parallel structure. When the story is sectioned into distinct acts, one of them appears as a mirror image of the other. The structure takes up acts II and IV, in effect framing act III of the Flood story.

When sectioned, the telling of the Flood reveals five distinct acts. The first, running from line 1:50 to 3:08 (followed by a 7.3 second pause) concerns preparation for the flood. The second, from line 3:16 to 5:02 (followed by a 7.7 second pause), reveals the events of the flood itself, including the tsunami that flooded the land, and Raven's naming of the emerging land. The third, line 5:14 to 6:06 (followed by a 6.6 second pause) concerns the end of the flood and storage of important articles in a cave in the mountain. The fourth, line 6:16 to 7:41 (followed by a 4.1 second pause) provides a restatement of the

events of the flood. And lastly, line 7:47 to 9:33 concerns the appreciation of the meaningfulness of the Flood in a modern context.

(25)



Acts two and four tell, then repeat in reverse order, the events of the flood. In the summary shown in (25), stanzas labeled A talk about the flooding waters. B stanzas talk about the land being flooded with only the mountain tops visible. C stanzas talk about Raven and the naming of the land. And X represents interstitial material which is not paralleled between the two structures.

The X stanzas do not immediately appear to be situated in the same position in act II as in act IV. If they did, then the sequence of act IV would

be CXBA instead of XCBA. However, if X is taken as an introduction to, or part of, C, then the sequence would be correct: AB(XC)/(XC)BA.

In act II, the X material presents Raven babbling incoherently on the bow of the flood survivors' canoe, and C presents his first utterance of the name WSÁNEĆ. In act IV, X presents the loss of the meaning of the name through its anglicization into *Saanich*, and C reiterates the naming of the territory by Raven. Taken together then, the two stanzas X and C juxtapose the absence of meaning with the instantiation of meaning. For this reason I believe it is arguable that they be accepted as a unit.

In Kinkade's analysis of the structure of an Upper Chehalis Blue Jay story (1987), he finds two series of parallel stanzas occurring at the end of Act I and at the beginning of Act III. In this way the parallelisms bookend the whole of Act II.

4.3 Conclusion

Given the long list of structural and stylistic elements presented in this chapter, it appears that performing a telling entails much more than stating the events of the story. As with the myriad of literary devices at the disposal of a writer, story-tellers have a tool box at their disposal. Their tools have been developed according to cultural preferences and esthetics. The co-occurrence of esthetic features throughout the West coast region of North America into Central America may suggest either a common cultural source, or widespread sharing.

The oral genre features explored in this chapter were taken from the work of Jacobs (1972) and Langen (1996). Jacobs finds 21 common features among narratives documented in the north-western United States. Many of these features can be identified in Dr. Sam's tellings, such as use of loan

words, inclusive *you*, word lengthening, laconicism, and explanatory elements.

The innovation of verse-like formatting of textualized oral performances has made the analyses of internal structures possible. Langen (1996), working with Lushootseed (geographic, cultural, and linguistic neighbour to the WSÁNEĆ) finds that the oral genre feature of parallelism is variously applied to create complex multilevel structures. This chapter showed that Dr. Sam applied parallelism to build many of the same structures found by Langen, from the simple to the large and complex. These include circular organization, interlace, concentric circles, and inverted framing devices. That Dr. Sam's rhetorical devices are shared in neighbouring Lushootseed territory is to be expected, and lends evidence to a theory of oral genre esthetic shared between Central Coast Salish cultures.

5.0 Dr. Sam's Tellings Transcribed

The texts presented in this chapter appear in four lines. The first is a phonemic transcription. The second line is a morphemic gloss which avoids the use of technical terms as much as possible, providing the English equivalents instead, such as *the* rather than DETERMINER, *my* rather than 1st POSSESSIVE, and so on. The reason being that the purpose of the gloss is to stand as an intermediary between the original language and the English translation, accessible to readers with minimal formal linguistic training.

For the most part, affixes have been separated from the root with hyphens in the phonetic transcription. The grammatical and lexical contribution of each is presented in the morphological gloss. Example (1) shows the word for flood with a third person subject marker, meaning “it flooded”.

(1)

ne-t
name-it

However this approach to glossing creates ambiguity when roots take a transitivizing suffix, as with (2).

(2)

q̣p-ət
cut-it

Since verbs are so frequently associated with transitivity, and since the transitive suffix immediately follows the root, the -ət is not separated from

the root by a hyphen in the phonetic transcription. However, it is reflected in the gloss as part of the meaning of the root, as shown in (3).

(3)

qəmət-əŋ-s
cut.it·PASS·it

As seen in (3), some abbreviation of syntactic information is unavoidable. The following list provides the meaning of the abbreviations used.

ACT	Activity	PART	Partake, Experience
CAUS	Causative	PASS	Passive
CNTRL	Control	PL	Plural
CMDL	Control Middle	POSS	Possessive
DIM	Diminutive	PROG	Progressive
DUR	Durative	PST	Past tense marker
EFF	Effort	PAST	a deceased person
EMPH	Emphatic	QUOT	Quotative
FUT	Future	REC	Recipient
LOC	Locative	s.o	someone
MID	Middle	s.t	something
NOM	Nominalizer	STAT	Stative
OBL	Oblique marker	TR	Transitive
OBREL	Oblique Relater	VRB	Verbalizer

The third line of the texts is a straight transcription of the text in the appropriate language's orthography. In the language orthographies I attempt to follow spellings that are becoming increasingly standardized in each language. These spellings generally follow those found in dictionaries and word lists. To further represent Dr. Sam's manner of speech, italics and

repeated phonemes are employed to indicate emphasized words or parts of words.

The fourth line is a translation into English. As discussed in the above chapters, this translation was originally provided by Dr. Sam, and has been adapted to more closely follow some of the syntax and literal glosses of the original language.

The numbering of each line corresponds with time registers in the original recording. As discussed above, pauses of longer than one second have been deemed to signal the beginning of a new line, though lines may still be segmented into individual embedded clauses following Hymes (1977). Below each time register is another numerical notice in parentheses which indicates the length of pause in seconds between the end of the current string of words (usually a single sentence but sometimes more) and the following line marked with a time register. Lines are indented to help the reader see connections between them. Indented lines are usually embedded clauses of the above line. Lines appearing on the same level of indentation usually bear some parallel or semantic relationship.

A _____
 B _____
 C _____
 B _____
 C _____

However, this system of indicating relationships between lines is often hampered by the right-hand edge of the page. For this reason indentation should only be seen as a general guide to the relationship between lines. Also, single solid lines between lines of text indicate stanza boundaries, which are determined by the presence of long pauses followed by sentence initial particles such as *ni?*, *ʔi*, and *səw*, and so on, and usually involve a shift in plot, scene or frame, as described in section 3.2 and 3.3 above.

Footnotes within the texts are marked with Arabic numerals and discuss issues related to language such as pertain to translation and questionable glosses. Where Dr. Sam's information relates to translation issues, they have been included in the footnotes. Embedded within Dr. Sam's quotes, information within square brackets are clarifications or extraneous information in my own words.

Endnotes, marked throughout the texts with lower case Roman numerals provide background information associated with particular lines. This information was largely provided by Dr. Sam during our translation sessions. However, for the purposes of clarification, I have also included some background from my own research. For example, where Dr. Sam mentions that Whites have written about the Flood, I have cited geological research on evidence for a catastrophic flood that emanated from the Fraser River valley. The bracketed information at the start of each endnote and some footnotes is reference information of the location of the transcribed discussion on our recordings.

Translation sessions covered roughly a minute or two worth of original narrative translation. Each recording was given a title that indicates the time register in the original text where we began translating on that day. The time register is followed by the title of the telling. For example, 2:11 Flood, indicating the session began translating at 2 minutes and 11 seconds into the Flood story. Citation information also includes the time register of the point in the recording from where a particular transcription was taken. For example, (2:11 Flood 19:50) indicates the transcribed quote can be found 19 minutes and 50 seconds into the translation session.

5.1 Dr. Sam's Flood Telling (SENĆOŦEN)

1:50 k^whiʔə k^wɬ hiiθ waʔačə teʔi
 there already long.time.ago I.guess here
 ʕɛɪ,E ʕɛ HIIʔ WO,OĆE TÁ,I

There was here, a long time ago, I guess,

1:55 ʔəy
 (2.33) good
 IY,
 well...

1:57 ɬəməx^w
 (1.76) rain
 ɬEMEŦ
 it rained

2:00 ʒim t^ə ʔəwə k^ws hay-s
 (1.58) very the not that stop-its
 ʒIM TFE EWE ʕS Hís

It never stopped;

mmmək^w sk^weyčəl ʔi ʔəw
 every day and then
 MMMEQ SĆÁĆEL I U

*ee*every day, and

2:06 ʒəm k^w s-ɬəməx^w-s
 (4.09) heavy that NOM-rain-its
 XEM ʕS SɬEMEŦs

it was heavy rain at that time⁴

⁴ "at that time" is placed at the end of this line even though it appears at the end of the previous line in the original, because in English "and then..." means subsequently. However, [ʔiʔ ʔəw] connects the two clauses. Montler (1986:196) points out ʔiʔ indicates an accompanying situation, while ʔəw indicates a contemporaneous or contrasting situation, and their co-occurrence is usually translated as "but". However, Dr. Sam

2:11 ʔi kʷɪ s-qʷel tʰə siʔawə-s tʰə xʷilŋəxʷ
 (1.14) and already NOM-said the prophet-their the people
 I Øɛ SKÁL TFE SI,O,WES TFE WILNEW
 And their prophet told the people

2:15 ʔəy kʷənskʷəns-sat helə
 (1.28) good be.careful/alert/ready-self you-all
 ÍY, ØENSØEN,SSOT HÁLE
 “you all better ready yourselves,
 ɬələq səʔ tɪʔe təŋəxʷ ʔelə
 soaked/flooded FUT this land here
 ɛEL,EK SE TI,Á TENEW ILE
 all this land here will flood

2:20 ʔəy kʷəns leeʔ-sat
 (6.87) good ready make/prepare-self
 ÍY, ØEN,s LÁ,SOT
 You better get things ready”

2:28 ʔəw kʷəyʼəǰ-sət θə slən-ɬeni
 (1.51) then move⁵-self the(fem) PL-women
 U ØÍYEXSOT FE SLENĚÁNI
 So the ladies started to move;
 ɬ-ǰpət-əŋ sθeʔə
 PART-gather.it-PASS those(fem)
 ɛKPETEN SFA,E
 those materialsⁱ were gathered

2:33 sçeʔ-s ʔə θəwŋənɪʔə tʰə ʃʷiləm
 (2.10) working-they OBL/on they (fem) the rope
 SČA,s E FUNENIɪ,E TFE XI,LEM
 they were working them into a rope.

translated their co-occurrence as “and at that time”, seemingly emphasizing the contemporaneous contribution over the contrastive emphasized with “but” (c.f. line 4:00).

⁵ Indicating a rocking, repetitive motion.

sx^w-leet-əŋ-sət t^oə λaqt ʃ^wiləm
 how-make.it-PASS-self the long rope
 SWLÁTENSET TFE TAKT XI,LEM
 That's how the rope was made long,

2:40 s-əw̃⁶ yeʔ-s t^oə swəyqəʔ
 (3.27) NOM-so.then went-they the men
 SU YÁ,s TFE SWEY,KE
 so then the men go,
 s-əw̃ qəmət-əŋ-s ceʔ
 NOM-then cut.it-PASS-it that.one
 SEW KEM,ETENS ʔÁ
 so then that (rope) was cut.

2:46 ʃ^wəniŋ k^wəʔ
 (3.8) like.that INF⁷
 XENIN ØE
 That's the way

2:50 †qəneʔ səʔ təwnəniʔə
 (3.66) anchor FUT they
 †KENÁ SE TUNENI,IE
 they'll anchor
 k^wə †ik^wət-əŋ-əs leʔə t^oə sŋənət
 the hook.it-PASS-they there the rock
 ØE †IQETENEs LÁ,E TFE SNÁNET.
 by hooking the rocks down below.⁸

⁶ ʔəw̃ often indicates a contrastive and contemporaneous situation. When found within a sentence, introducing a subordinate clause and so bearing a nominalizing s- prefix it is usually translated as "and", "and so", "so", "so then" (Montler 1986:197).

⁷ “[k^wəʔ] informative is used when the speaker is offering the propositional content of the sentence as new or particularly salient information to the addressee” (Montler 1986:215). Monter also points out this particle is rare in narratives, however Dr. Sam uses it several times in this telling.

⁸ This translation follows Dr. Sam's. A more literal alternative would be “hook the rocks there”.

3:22 təs yəx^w ʔə k^ws š-təs¹² ʔi ʔəne k^wəʔl'ləq^w
 (1.8) arrive about¹³ OBL/at that there-arrive and come¹⁴ explode
 TES YEW E ØS ŠTES I ENÁ ØEȚLEK
 It reached about that time when the explosion came,^{iv}

3:27 səw̄ ʔəne t^əə q^waʔ¹⁵
 (4.59) so.then come the water
 SU ENÁ TFE KO
 and so the water *surged*¹⁶.

3:33 mək^wsteŋ ləqəʔ
 (6.9) everything in.the.way
 MEQSTÁN LEKÁĚ
 Everything that was in the way

¹² This final phonemic transcription of this sentence was provided with the help of Ruby Peter. However it proved quite difficult to gloss with certainty. Several elements within it sound quite different from those listed in the available documentation. In case it is helpful to future readers, I will provide a more phonetic transcription here (spaces may not accurately reflect word/particle boundaries):

/təs ʔi x^wəw k^wʃi štəs/ .Dr. Sam translated it as “it’s reached that *time*”.

¹³ This particle is called *Conjectural* in Montler (1986) and *Dubative* in Suttles (2004). It contributes an element of doubt to the statement.

¹⁴ If this analysis is correct, Dr. Sam very often pronounce the word documented (Montler 1992) [ʔəne] as [ne] (for another example, see line 3:27).

¹⁵ The parsing of this phrase is the most straight forward option (suggested by Janet Leonard and Claire Turner: PC); however, given Dr. Sam’s pronunciation it might more closely be represented as [səq^waʔ]. Note his translation of *flowing water*, combined with Monter’s (1991) entry of the phonetically similar [šəʔk^wiʔsəŋ] meaning “free flowing water”, leads to the possibility of [səq^waʔ] being an undocumented form.

¹⁶ Dr. Sam’s translation was “The water started to flow down then; full force.” A literal translation would be closer to “so the water came.” Note how emphasis on [(ʔə)ne] changes the intended meaning from *come*, to *flow full force*. I have chosen to reflect this with the single word *surge*.

ʔi ʔəw̃ laaǰəw¹⁷ x^waləǰ^wt-əŋ ʔal
 and then tumbled drift.it-PASS just
 I U LOKU WOLEKTEN OL
 then was tumbled over, just washed away^v

3:43 səw̃ ǰəŋeʔə-s tiʔə
 (1.17) then flood-it here
 SEW KENÁ,Es TI,E
 So it flooded here,

məǰ^w ʔəǰin ʔə tiʔə
 every where OBL here
 MEEQ EXIN E TI,E
aaall over here.

3:48 tx^wəy čəʔ ʔal t^ə sŋəŋŋenət
 (1.25) see they.say just the mountains
 TWÍ JE OL TFE SNENNÁNET
 All you could see, they say, was the mountains

3:51 ʔiθəʔ sŋəŋŋenət sk^wiwəl
 (6.56) tops mountatins are.visible
 ʔIFEŁ SNENNÁNET SŌI,WEL
 tops of the mountain are (all that's) visible.

4:00 ʔi ʔəw̃ ʔəl al' əʔ t^ə sx^wilŋəx^w ʔeʔə t^əeʔ
 (1.02) and then aboard.(a canoe) the people there that
 I U EL,OL,EŁ TFE SWILNEW LÁ,E TFA
 And all the while the people that were there aboard their canoes

4:04 ʔə-net-əs t^ə
 (1.65) VRB?-name.it-their the
 XENÁTES TFE
 named their

4:07 ʔə təŋəx^w tiʔə ʔewəl-ŋəx^w
 (2.11) OBL land here refuge-(place of)
 ,E TENEW TI,E ŁÁUWELNEW
 land here the *Place-of-Refuge*.

¹⁷ Dr. Sam has most likely used a Hul'qumi'num word here, meaning *wrapped up*, *tumbling*, or *rolled over*.

4:11 təw̄ š-ne-s t^əə š-leʔəs k^ws
 (1.45) then/there NOM-name-its the NOM-this.place.where that
 TEW ŠNÁS TFE ŠLÁ,ES ØS
 Then that was the name of the place where

4:14 ʔqəneʔs t^əə snə-nix^wəʔ
 (3.58) anchor-their the PL-canoes
 ŁKENÁ,S TFE SNENIWĒŁ
 their canoes were anchored.

4:19 ʔi š-t^əəʔəw̄ec ʔə t^əə
 (3.7) and NOM-sitting OBL/of the
 I ŠTEŦE,WÁC E TFE
 And the sitting of the

4:25 sk^wtaʔ
 (1.64) raven
 SQTO
 Raven

4:27 ʔə t^əə s-hiiəw snəx^wəʔ
 (4.0) OBL/on the NOM-bow canoe
 E TFE SHIU SNEWĒŁ
 on the bow of the canoe.

4:33 ʔəw̄ q^waaq^wəʔ t^əeʔə sk^wtaʔ
 (1.59) then talking that raven
 U KOOKEL TŦÁ,E SQTO
 And Raven *taalking* away.

4:38 məy ʔi ʔəw̄ ʔəl-əʔ t^əə mək^w ʔəʔin
 (6.7) oh.my and then looking.for.s.t.-DUR the all/every where
 MÍ I U ŦELEŁ TFE MEQ EXIN
 oh, and all the while looking all around.¹⁸

¹⁸ Dr. Sam's fluid translation of this verse was "Raven taalkin' away; still talking and...he sees all this water. Nothing but water."(Flood 4:30 2:24)

5:14 ʔi yeʔ tsəw hiθs kʷs
 (1.38) and go then long.time that (SUB)
 I YÁ TSEW HIʔS ØS
 And it took a long time then, that

5:17 ɣeɲə tʰə təŋəxʷ
 (1.12) submerged the land
 KÁ,ŊE TʔE TENEW
 the land was submerged,
 ʔi ʔiʔeee(?) čə
 and very they.say
 I ʔI,ÁÁ JE
 and *really* far, they say
 5:21 šem
 (7.14) (water)level.to.fall
 ŠAM
 the water dropped

5:29 ʔi haʔ čə
 (1.51) and if they.say
 I HO JE
 and, “if,” they say,

5:31 haʔ čə sxʷ ʔəw slelə ʔi
 (1.59) if they.say you then clean²² and
 HO JE SW U SLÁLEI
 if, they say, when you are clean^{vi}, then

²²(4:30 Flood: 20:09) "*slelə* could refer to physically clean, to mentally clean, to spiritually clean." The word can also be interpreted as “free from evil” (RP: PC)

- 5:35 ʔə x^w-leʔə k^wsə sʃenət ʔi yəw̄
 (1.37) OBL/at where:there that mountain and may.(allow)²³
 E WLÁ,E ØSE SNÁNET I YU
 at that place on the mountain, (you) may
- 5:38 k^wəyči k^wən-nəx^w səʔ x^wleʔəs k^ws
 (1.6) you can see-LCTR.it FUT put.away that
 ØÍČI QENNEW SE, WLÁ,ES Øs
 be able to see those things that were put away
- 5:42 ʔeʃeʔs
 (1.17) out.of.sight
 ÁTÁ,s
 out of sight
- 5:44 s-θʔeyəl-t-əŋ²⁴ k^wə²⁵ x^wiləm̄ ləʔ t^θeʔə
 (1.41) NOM-storage.place-TR-CTRLMID that rope PST that.one
 SF,ÁELTEN ØE WI,LEM LE TƒÁ,E
 They stored them there, those ropes.
- 5:48 ʔi ʔəw̄ leʔə čə t^θə ʔqəneʔ-əs ləʔ
 (4.05) and so this.placethey.say the anchor-it PST
 I U LÁ,E JE TƒE ƎKENÁ,ES LE
 And so here, they say, was the anchor (too).

²³ The translation provided by Dr. Sam for this word is "may allow". It most closely resembles what Montler documents as the conjunctural second position post preposition particle yəx^w. As Dr. Sam says the word it might be parsed as ʔiyəw or ʔi yəw. Either way, the final phoneme most definitely surfaces as a /w/ and not a /x^w/.

²⁴ This word may be a cognate with Hul'qumi'num θeyq^w meaning: dig a hole. The Saanich word for *dig a pit* is θeyq^wt. This may be semantically related (in intention) to the kind of cold storage caves that Dr. Sam described having seen in use as a child, dug into the river's edge.

²⁵ This is a somewhat questionable spelling of this morpheme which sounds like the vowel is somewhat higher /kweʔ/

5:53 ʔi nił čə tʰə stəqeyəʔ kʷənt
 (1.17) and he they.say the wolf look.after.it
 I NIŁ ĆE TFE STEKÁYE ØEN,T
 And he, they say, is the wolf, the one who looks after it.²⁶

5:58 haʔ tsəs təw ɫniŋəl
 (1.56) if get.close then/so us
 HO TSES TU ɫNINEL
 So if we get close
 ʔi skʷil tɛʔə stəqeyəʔ səw
 and appear there wolf so.then
 I SØIL TÁ,E STEKÁYE SU
 the wolf shows up there, and

6:03 yeee səw
 (1.36) go then
 YÁÁÁ, SEW
 he goes oon and

6:06 xʷənənəč ʔal ʔi ʃəneʔ ɫʰəw
 (6.56) distraction²⁷ just and bark? howl?
 WENÁNEĆ ,OL I XENÁ ɫEW
 just distracts and barks, howling;
 xʷ-xʷil ʔal kʷsə ʃleʔəs
 where-lose just the place
 WWIL, OL ØSE ŚLÁ,ES
 just to (make you) lose that
 place where it is.

²⁶ the emphasis conveyed by the construction "he, ...the wolf" reflects the placement of the agent ahead of the predicate in the original.

²⁷ [xʷəneneč - distract] (6:06 Flood) "means just a distraction; just doing other things than what a wolf should be doing" [uncharacteristic behaviour]. Interestingly, Elliott (1990) and Montler (1991) provide this word as the name for Saltspring Island.

6:16 nił k^w čəs
 (1.48) it.is²⁸ that just.now²⁹
 NIŁ Ø ČES

That, what I was just talking about,

net-əŋ-s θeʔə
 name.it-PASS-its this.place
 NÁTEŋS ʔÁ,E

is what this place was named,

6:19 θeʔə
 (1.90) this.place
 ʔÁ,E
 this place.

6:22 ʔəw̄ sx^w-x^w-senəč ʔal ʔə t^θə x^wələnítəm
 (4.53) so why³⁰-where-lift just OBL/to the white.people
 U SŴŴSÁNEĆ OL E ʔFE WĒLENITEM
 Because it's just Saanich now to the White men^{vii}.

6:29 čəlee t^θə x^wənaaʔ waʔačə təwələ təw̄
 (1.12) first the start.of.saying³¹ I.guess the.begining then
 ČELÁÁ ʔFE WĒNOO WO,OĆE TU,ELE TU
 That first *utterance*, I guess, was the beginning with

6:33 sq^wel-s θeʔə sk^wtaʔ
 (1.73) word-of-his that.one raven
 SKÁLS ʔÁ,E SQTO
 that Raven's word

6:37 x^w-senəč
 (1.94) where-raise=bottom
 WŚÁNEĆ
 "Saanich (Where the bottom rises)"

²⁸ Dr. Sam stated this word referred to "what I was talking about" the.afore.mentioned

²⁹ Immediate Past. c.f. Montler 1986:198

³⁰ Timothy Montler translates this prefix as "reason for", or "means to", and says it is usually translated as "that's why" (1986:50).

³¹ Although the English translation looks like a verb, the SENĆOFEN word is a noun.

6:39 (1.73)	t ^ə the TʔE	sx ^w -x ^w -senəč why-where-Saanich SŪWSÁNEČ	ʔi and I			
		So it's Saanich, and				
6:42 (1.06)	ʔi and I	čəʔ they.say JE,	k ^w s that ØS	s-ne-s NOM-name-its SNÁs		
		and, they say, that sound's its name ³²				
6:45 (1.1)	tx ^w ay only TŪOY	sk ^w iw'əl visible SØI,WEL	t ^ə the TʔE			
		The only visible thing was the				
6:50 (3.3)	sɲenət mountain SŅANET	ʔə OBL/above E	t ^ə the TʔE			
		mountain above the				
6:54 (1.98)		q ^w aʔ water KÓ,				
		...water				
6:56 (1.02)	ʔi and I	ʔəw then U	neetəs name.them NÁÁTES	tə ³³ the TʔE	səleləx ^w Elders SELÁLEW	k ^w sə those ØSE
		And it was then the Elders named those				
7:00 (13.33)	sɲenənɲenət mountains SŅANENANET	ʔə OBL E	sk ^w iw'əl visible SØI,WEL			
		lands (mountain tops) that were visible ^{viii}				

³² (6:06 Oct 27 Flood cont'd:9:39) Dr. Sam translates this sentence as: "That name, or that *sound* is going to be the name of that place." Note the presence of the remote determiner *k^w* heading *snes* in 6:42. The *name* referred to here is the *x^wəna* in 6:29. The intension here is that before *x^wsenəč* was understood as a name, it was a sound expressed by Raven. What is being witnessed here is the moment when the name became meaningful.

³³ The demonstrative *ʔə* indicates "'at, toward, from, or on a particular near place'" (Montler 1986:228).

7:15³⁴ čən-t⁰əw x^weləq ʔi k^wələ-sət = ek^wɪ
 (1.01) TIME.OF?-disappear/perish almost and capsize-self=CANOE
 ČENTĚW WÁLEK I ČE,LESETÁČĚ
 the canoes almost perished when they were nearly capsized.

7:18³⁵ qłəns ʔə k^wɪ ʔəne-s waʔačə k^wɪ
 (1.71) incoming.wave OBL already come-it I.guess already
 KŁENS E ČĚ ENÁS WO,ÓČE ČĚ
 That incoming flow^{ix} really came in, I guess, when

7:22 tə-s t⁰ə
 (1.80) hit-it³⁶ the
 DES TFE
 it hit, the

7:24 neχʔ čələl t⁰ə
 (1.10) wave? almost the
 NÁX ČELÁLTFE
 the wave was almost a

7:27 čəq staləw t⁰ə neχ q^waʔ qəŋeʔ-s
 (3.71) big river the wave water soak/flood-them
 ČEK STO,LEW TFE NÁX ÍO KENÁ,s
 big river, the wave of water flooding them.^x

³⁴ (6:06 Oct 27 Flood cont'd:15:39) During the translation session, Dr. Sam provided the following alternative to this line: čən-t⁰əw čələl ʔi? k^wələʔ. Montler (1991) documents čələl and x^weləq as meaning *almost*.

³⁵ (6:06 Oct 27 Flood cont'd:19:46) Dr. Sam provided an alternative version of this sentence: niʔ waʔačə k^wɪ təs ʔe čələʔə tə čəq staʔləw (*It almost hit them then, I guess, the big river [tsunami]*)

³⁶ Translation of this word is uncertain, given Sam's loose translation and lack of found documentation. Montler (1986) lists *hit* as [təm]. Hukari & Peter (1995) list the same root meaning *pound* or *beat*.

7:33 te nəw̄ x^wəneŋ k^ws staləw ɬəŋeʔ-s
 (1.93) ? then just.like that river soak/flood.them
 TÁ NEW WENÁN ØS STO,LEW KENÁ,S
 At that time, it was just like a river that flooded them,

7:38 x^weləq ʔi k^wəl-t snənix^wəl-s haʔ
 (1.17) almost and capsize-it canoes-thier if
 WALEK I ØELT SNENIWELs HO
 almost capsizing their canoes but for

7:41 ʔəʔtelŋəx^w ʔə ʔəw̄ lənaŋət
 (4.14) people OBL then able.to.control.it^{xi}
 EĒTÁLNEW E U LENONET
 people who could control them.

7:47 hey ʔal k^w təw̄t ʔəwə-nal šx^w-leʔə-ʔəŋ³⁷ ʔeʔə sŋenət
 (1.69) wistless³⁸;just that mean³⁹ nothing why⁴⁰-this...here-? that.one mountain
 HÁ OL Ø TU,T EWENOL ŠWLÁ,ETEN TÁ,E SNÁNET
 Just because of their inattention's why this mountain means nothing

³⁷ This is a questionable parsing. According to this analysis, [leʔə] appears to be a predicate taking an Oblique nominalizer š- with a transitive-passive suffix -təŋ. An alternative analysis would be that təŋ is actually a root, but I have found no such word in the documentation. Dr. Sam provides an alternative phrasing (after admitting to not be able to precisely hear the recording) in (6:06 Oct 27 Flood cont'd: 33:41) ʔəwətal šxleʔəs teʔə sŋenət. "that mountain didn't really mean anything to anybody...wistless"

³⁸ Considering Dr. Sam's translation of *wistless* (inattentive, unobservant) in for HÁY, it may be helpful to point out the Hul'qumi'num word *hey'*, meaning attention. I have found no documented Saanich equivalent for this word.

³⁹ This word does not appear in the available documentation. Dr. Sam uses it again in line 9:07

⁴⁰ c.f. 6:22

7:53 məəək^w ʔal ʔəw steŋ ʔəw
 (3.43) all just then thing then
 MEEEEQ OL U STAN̩ U
 Land⁴¹— *every* single thing from that time

7:59 leʔə k^wsə
 (2.67) there that
 LÁ,E ØSE
 is there at that place

8:03 šətəŋ ʔal t^hə ʔətəlɣəx^{w42}
 (8.36) walk just the people
 SETEN OL TFE EETÁLN̩EW
 the people^{xii} just tramping all over it

8:13 ʔi ʔəw s-x^wəneŋ t^heʔə staləw pipəl k^ws
 (1.03) and also⁴³ NOM-how/like.this those.ones River People⁴⁴ that
 I ʔU SxENÁN̩ TFA,E STO,LEW PIPEL ØS
 And it was also the same way for those Sta:lo People too,

8:17 k^wɪ ʔəne s-θeʔə
 (1.83) already come NOM-that-there
 Øɛ ENÁ SFÁ,E
 when that started to happen,

⁴¹ Though there is no explicit mention of *land* in this sentence, in Dr. Sam's translation of it, he stated it this way in the English, employing the same intonation as the SENĆOFEN məək^w.

⁴² Although this ws word has been rendered with this spelling, Dr. Sam's pronunciation drops the initial phoneme, sounding more like /təlɣəx^w/. This is probably due to an assimilation of schwas between the noun and the determiner.

⁴³ Dr. Sam used the Hul'qumi'num [ʔəw], meaning: too, again, additionally. It's SENĆOFEN cognate is [ʔeʔ].

⁴⁴ Dr. Sam intentionally used the borrowed version of the English word "people". Interesting rhyme with the use of the borrowed for paper, *pipə*, in 8:21.

8:20 s-ʎəlqəymə-sət t^θə q^waʔ
 (6.59) STAT-fierce-self the water
 STELKEYMESET TFE KO,
 the water grew fierce.

8:28 niʔ ʎəw s-ʎel-ət-t-əŋ ʔə t^θə pipə
 (17.16) then also NOM-write-DUR-TR-PASS in the paper
 NI TEW SXÁLESTEN ,E TFE PIPE
 That got written in the paper too

ʔə t^θə x^wənitəm⁴⁵
 by the White
 E TFE WENITEM
 by the Whites^{xiii}

8:49 səw net-əŋ θeʔə sŋenət t^θə ɬew = əŋəx^w
 (1.84) so.then nam.it-PASS there mountain the run.away=being⁴⁶
 SEW NÁTEN ʔÁ,E SNÁNET TFE ŁÁUWELNEW
 So they named that mountain Place-of-Refuge then,

8:54 ɬeʔə k^ws ʎew sθeʔə ʔəʔtelŋəx^{w47}
 (6.90) that.place which escape those.ones people
 ŁA,E ØS TÁW, SFE EŁTÁLNEW
 where the people escaped to.^{xiv}

⁴⁵ This word appears to have Hul’qumi’num morphology, especially the suffix. However it is pronounced the same in Hul’qumi’num and SENĆOŦEN, and means White person. It appears to be made up of a LOCATIVE prefix x^w- (there is also the homophonous “come to be” verbalizing prefix) attaching to a non-proximal (clitic) stem niʔ-, and bears a third person passive object suffix -təm. The gloss points to a meaning of something like “comes from away”

⁴⁶ Ruby Peter (PC) points out that [ɬew] means *run-away*, while [ʎew] means *escape*.

⁴⁷ Here again, the spelling differs slightly from Dr. Sam’s pronunciation which was closer to /stelŋəx^w/. c.f. 8:03

9:03 nənčələw̄ ʃeʔʃə-t-əŋ ʔə tʰə ʔew-ʃiʔ
 (1.00) held.very-PL(?)⁴⁸ sacred.place-STAT-PASS by the run.away-people
 NENČELU ʃÁ,XETEN E TʃE ʔÁWʦI

It was believed a sacred place by the refugees (of the flood).

9:07 tiʔe ʃ^wəneŋ-ət
 (9.33) this way.it.is
 TI,Á ʃENÁNET
 The way it is now,
 tewt ʔəwə-nal ʃ-x^w-leʔəs
 mean⁴⁹ nothing-just NOM-there-that.place
 TÁWT EWENOL ʃWLA,ES
 that place there means nothing^{xv}

9:19 niʔ ʔəw̄ s-ʃ^wəneŋ
 (1.42) it.is now NOM-how/like.this
 NIʔ U SʃENÁN
 And so the way it is now,
 k^wʔ k^ws nənəw̄
 already that(SUB) very⁵⁰
 Øʔ ØS NENEW,
 that still is very much (believed).

9:22 mək^w steŋ ʔəwə neč ləʔ qəleyt
 (3.60) every thing not different PAST more
 KEQ STÁN EWE NÁTS LE KELÁYT
 Nothing is as it was anymore

⁴⁸ It appears here that [nənəw̄ʔ] (c.f. 9:18) has been infixed with -čəl-(perhaps a pluralizing infix, due either to the extent of the sacredness, or the plurality of those who held it so). Dr. Sam translates both instances with reference to belief (see footnote 52 below). This may be a different word from [nənəw̄ʔ] documented as meaning *very* (Montler (1986) and Greg Sam (PC)).

⁴⁹ c.f. 7:47

⁵⁰ (7:53 Flood: 26:55) “The only way I can put it is *its hard to re-enforce* what the people believed in, one time. *nanʔəw*”.

9:28 tx^wəneʔətəs tiʔə sq^wilq^wel-s t^θə
 (1.91) what.is.being.said⁵¹ that story-their the
 TWENÁ,ETES TI,E SKILKELS TFE
 That is the story that's told⁵² by the

9:33 x^w-seʔnəč ʔətɛlɥəx^w
 (1.19) LOC:Saanich people
 WSÁ,NEĆ EETÁLNEW
 people of Saanich

⁵¹ Montler (1991) glosses *tš^wəniəč^w* as "Say what you know".

⁵² Dr. Sam also translates this as "that is the word that is said by the Saanich People."

Endnotes for Flood Telling

ⁱ (2:11 Flood 19:50) One [of the materials they used] was willow bark and cedar root... My grandmother used to make rope for my grandfather's canoe, and that's what it was made out of. Made out of that willow bark and cedar root. If you dig out cedar root and you pound it, it becomes a *fine* pieces of string. They twine that all up inside, and they wrap the willow twine around it, to keep it tight. Cedar is what gives it strength.

ⁱⁱ (2:11 Flood 30:45) $\acute{K}\acute{E}\acute{K}\acute{E}\acute{E}$ [q^wəq^wəʔ] is shit-um bark... It makes you shit. It cleans you out. They boil that and then you drink. One cup boy, and away you go.

ⁱⁱⁱ (2:11 Flood 38:10) I read this story in the news paper, about the flood, of how it happened eh. About this build up of waste; trees and mud and sand, were building up. Way up the river someplace. And once that released, like a dam. And it released all that water down; just swept everything out of the way. That's when it hit; (*inaudible*) the water just rose...The mighty Fraser River. They got their own stories of how long they've been up there; and how much land that they claim up there. But they don't have it anymore. There was this big protest when the railroads came through their place, eh. And they try to stop it. "You can't come across our land". But CN just come across anyway, didn't matter.

^{iv} (2:11 Flood: 43:45) I was just talkin about that dam that formed. It just exploded wide open and then the water started to flow down.

^v Houses, people, and debris.

^{vi} (4:30 Flood: 20:46) If you're mentally clean you have no bad thoughts, no bad words. If you're physically clean then you've been bathing all the time in cold water. And if you're spiritually clean your spirit is clean, there's nothing bothering you: No bad spirit in you. "*haʔ čə sx^w ʔəw^ʔ slelə*" and that's what it's referring to.

And if you're *slelə*, if you're clean from all these things I mentioned, they will allow you to see that place, where, all those things that you used at the flood times, that were stored; the rope, the anchors; are stored in that cave up there in that mountain someplace.

But they have a, protector also which is the wolf, *stəqeyəʔ*. They said when he sees you approach he'll lead you away, from, that entrance.

^{vii} (6:06 Flood: 9:29) There was no North Saanich, West Saanich, South Saanich, Central Saanich.

^{viii} Not only *ləwəlhəx*^w received its name during this flood time, but all the visible mountains/islands.

^{ix} (6:06 Flood cont'd: 18:04) That river that I was talking about, that blew open the dam like, and all the water come rushing out. And created a huge, kind of like a tsunami. And it almost tipped the canoes over that were tied to the mountain.

^x (6:06 Flood cont'd: 19:59) That drift that came out. It created huge waves; almost tipped the canoes over.

^{xi} (6:06 Flood cont'd: 26:35) "LENONET : They were able to control their canoes and right it eh. ... LENONET means control, or it means they were very fortunate that they were able to keep their canoes upright." (After discussing the meaning further, Dr. Sam agreed with the clarification that the *good fortune* was such that comes about as a result of a person's skill, ability, and preparedness.)

^{xii} (7:53 Flood: 2:30) "It means people, not just Indian people, but White people... Sightseeing tour busses up there. They take them off and they're walking *aaall* over the place, those kids. ...[I mentioned an article where John Elliott was arguing for establishing Mt. Newton as a registered place of worship so that appropriate use of the place was enforceable by law. Dr. Sam agreed vehemently, saying "That's right. That's right. He's right."] (7:53 Flood: 6:23) I guess that's why people are just tramping all over. There's no...policing or whatever, up there."

^{xiii} (the following is not a quote from Dr. Sam) I was not able to locate the precise newspaper article referred to by Dr. Sam; however, I did locate "Evidence for a Late Quaternary Outburst Flood Event in the Georgia Basin, British Columbia" which provides geological evidence for a flood originating "in the Fraser Valley or the British Columbia interior during deglaciation when an ice-dammed lake or lakes drained catastrophically" (Conway et.al 2001). See also two stories of Yukon Elders in

Cruikshank et.al. (1990) *Life Lived Like a Story*, p. 205-208 and 331-336 that describe similar floods caused by the sudden release of glacial lakes.

^{xiv} (7:53 Flood: 16:08) Where the people escaped, or ran to, to escape the disaster

^{xv} (7:53 Flood: 20:16) Like now they don't give a hoot. They don't give a darn what they do up there. They fall trees, and they dig stuff all around there; people are walking all over the place. At this time now, nobody cares, about the story of the people. Or like they say 'the heritage' of the people.

5.2 Dr. Sam's Autobiographical Telling (Hul'q'umi'num')

0:18 x^wənaʔ

(1.6) beginning

hwun'a'

In the beginning

0:21

(1.5)

niʔ çə wəʔ k^win silanəm

then QUOT about how.many year

ni' ts'u wulh kw'in sil'anum

I don't know how many years ago

0:24

(7.7)

k^wənəs k^wəna-təl

that.I together-each.other

kwunus kwun'atul

I got together

ʔə ʔə-nə sqaʔ-əʔ čulia

with the-my mate-PAST Julia

'u lhunu sq'a'ulh, Choolia.

with my wife, Julia.

0:36

(1.8)

ʔiʔ ʔə ct

and OBL our

i' 'u tst

And our

0:39

(4.7)

nanəcaʔ t^əə mənə ct

one the son our

nan'uts'a' tthu mun'u tst

our one son

o həy sʔeləx^w nə-mənə

oh most old/elder my-son

'o' huy s'eluhw numun'u

oh, he was my eldest son

steʔ ʔə tʰey ʃaan
 still⁵³ OBL/at that (one) John
st'e' 'u tthey, Chaan
 at that time, that was John

0:50 mək^w silanəm ʔi wəʔ θəy-θət k^ws nem ct
 (4.5) every year and now prepare-selves that go our
mukw' sil'anum 'i wulh thuythat kws nem' tst

Every year back then, we prepared ourselves to go

0:57 ʔəmc'els ʔə tʰə sciyə
 (1.5) pick-ACT OBL/of the strawberry
lhum'ts'els 'u tthu stsiy'u
 pick the strawberries

1:01 ʔeʔ ʔəwə ʔal k^ws
 (1.5) Oh not just that
'e' 'uwu 'al' kws

Oh, not very

hiθ ʔiʔ wəʔ təs tʰə s-yeyək^w
 long.time.ago and already arrive the NOM-person.hiring
hi'th 'i' wulh tus tthu ye'yukw'

long ago, and then a person hiring (for that work) gets there

1:06 niʔ ʔat k^wənə ʃ-x^wəmnik^w-əʔ
 (3.34) then (of).old that-my NOM-uncle-PAST
ni' t'at kw'unu shhwum'nikwulh
 that was my old uncle.

1:11 sandi jəwnz ste ʔəw
 (1.0) Sandi Jones? still then
Sandi Juwnst ste 'uw'
 Sandi Jones, at that time

1:14 ʃ-siʔem̩-s tʰə ʃəpəni
 (4.41) NOM-boss-his the Japanese
shsi'em's tthu chupuni
 his boss was Japanese.

⁵³ Dr. Sam translated this word as "right as of now", with *now* referring to the time within the narrative.

-
- 1:20
(1.2) wəʔ mii yeməʃ
 already come PROG-walking(from door to door)
wulh mii yemush
At that time⁵⁴ he was traveling around
- 1:23
(1.7) yə ʔeʔək^w k^w nem̩ yaays
 go hiring.PROG that go work
ye ye'yukw' kw nem' yaays
and hiring people to go work.
- 1:27
(1.1) səw̩ θət-stəx^w ʔə-nə sqɑʔ-əʔ
 so say-to the-my mate.late
suw' thutstuhw lhunu sq'a'ulh
So I said to my late wife,
- 1:31
(1.7) wəʔə ʔəʔ-əs k^ws nem̩ ct
 I.guess better-its that go we
wa'lu 'uy'us kws nem' tst
“we better go now
 ʔəwəteʔ p̩eʔ m̩əʔ nə-syaays
 nothing indeed certainly my-work
'uwute' p'e' m'u' nusyaays
because I have no work at all”⁵⁵
- 1:34
(2.2) səw̩ wəʔ ʔ^wiməls ct ʔal ʔə θə telə
 so already lend-us we just OBL the money
suw' wulh ʔw'imuls tst 'al' 'u' thu telu
So then we borrowed some money.
- 1:39
(1.1) nəcəx^w ʔiʔ nəcaʔ nəcəwəc
 one.time and one hundred-
nuts'ehw 'i' nuts'a' nets'uwuts
Maybe one hundred dollars
-

⁵⁴ "At that time" was Dr. Sam's preferred translation for *wulh*.

⁵⁵ The translation provided by Dr. Sam includes the “at all”. This element looks to be what Suttles refers to as *certian* "This indicates there is no doubt about the statement" (2004:382).

ʃix^w nečewəc
 three hundred
lhihw nets'ewuts
 or three hundred dollars,
 θə sɔ̃^wiməl ct
 the borrow our
thu sqw'imul tst
 we borrowed.

1:45 wəʃ nəw̃nəc ct ce?
 (4.5) now/then pay.s.o we FUT
wulh nuw'nuts tst tse'
 We're gonna pay back⁵⁶ right away
 səw̃ niif ce? wəʃ ʔi? yaays
 so.then when FUT already and work
suw niilh tse' wulh 'i' yaays
 as soon as we start to work.

1:52 mək^w silanəm ʔi? wəʃ
 (1.6) every year and already(at that time)
mukw' sil'anum 'i' wulh
 Every year back then
 ʔi wəʃ θəy-θat k^ws nem̃ ct
 now already prepared-selves that go we
'i wulh thuythat kws nem' tst
 at that time we prepared ourselves to go.

1:57 ʔəw̃ yə-čiičəs-əmə ʔal t^θə mem̃əñə ct
 (1.8) then along⁵⁷-grow-ing-Pass just the children our
'uw yuts'iits'usum' 'al' tthu mem'un'u tst
 And now our children are starting to grow

⁵⁶ Dr. Sam translated this verb as an intransitive, not mentioning who or what would be repaid.

⁵⁷ Suttles (2004:258) describes this prefix (often occurring with progressives) as providing the sense of something occurring while moving along, as with yə-čəỹwən (singing while walking).

2:02 niʔ cə wəʔ xʷə-kʷənelə ʔiʔ wəʔ
 (1.5) then still already becoming-a.few.of.them and already
niʔ tsʔu wulh hwukwʔunelu, iʔ wulh
 Then a few of them became old enough and already

2:05 niʔ wəʔ xʷə-ʔemc-əls
 (2.1) then already become-picking-ACT
niʔ wulh hwulhemtsʔuls
 then already started picking.

2:08 ʔəw kʷənətəl
 (4.2) and together
ʔuwʔ kwunʔatulʔ
 We were all together now,
 ʔə tʰə sʰələqəʔ kʷs ʔemc-əls ct
 OBL the children that. pick-ACT us
ʔu tthu stʔulʔequlh kws lhemsʔuls tst
 the children are picking with us.

2:16 ʔiyəsəʔ kʷθə nañəcaʔ nə-məñə rik
 (1.7) fun that.he one.person my-child Rick
ʔiyusulh kwulhu nanʔutsʔaʔ numʔunʔu, Rick
 It used to be fun with my one son, Rick.

2:20 yaθ ʔəʔ ʔəw ʰi iw ʔə θət-stalxʷ-əs
 (3.6) always ? and sneak.off OBL telling-to.us-he
yath ʔulh ʔuwʔ tʔiwʔ ʔu sutstalhwus
 He'd often sneak off, telling us

nəm cən ceʔ təni
 go I FUT there
nemʔ tsun tseʔ tunʔi
 "I'll go there

ʔə təs snəqeen
 OBL/from arrive other.end
ʔu tus snuqʔeen
 and arrive from the other end

kʷənəs m̩i ʰxʷ-teyʔ ʔə tiʔə
 when.I arrive become-upstream OBL here
kwunus mʔi xwtyeyʔ ʔu tiʔu
 when I come, working my way back here."

2:28 ʔiiiʔ təw̄ q̄pas ʔal
 (1.4) and NOM-then bend.over just
 ʔii' *stuw'* *q'pas* *'al'*
 Aaand so then we were just bending down

s-yaays ct
 NOM-work we
syaays *tst*
 working.

k^waʔəsəm m̄i səwq̄t r̄ik
 look.up come seek.it Rick
kw'a'usum *m'i* *sewq't* *Rick*
 We looked up to look for Rick

ʔiʔ ʔəwəte
 and nothing
'i' *'uwute*
 and he wasn't there.

2:35 niʔ yəwx^w nem̄ ʔ' iw̄
 (1.7) then must go run away
ni' *yuwhw* *nem'* *tl'iw'*
 He must have snuck off.

2:39 ʔəwə ct niʔət le-ləm̄ət
 (11.7) NEG we us PROG-seeing.him
'uwu *tst* *ni'ut* *le'lum'ut*
 We didn't see him⁵⁸

ʔi niʔ həyeʔ ʃ^w-čənəm
 and then leave become-run
'i *ni'* *huye'* *xwchenum*
 and he must have ran off.

⁵⁸ A more literal translation would be “We weren't seeing him”.

2:54 nəça? silanəm k^ws
 (1.4) one year that
nuts'a' *sil'anum* *kws*
 One year when,

2:56 niʔ-s wəʔ čel-əsəm ʔəw həy ʔal k^wse
 (1.1) then-NOM already follow-directionless⁵⁹ then end just that
ni's *wulh* *ts'e'l-usum* *'uw* *huy* *'al'* *kwse*
 then when we'd returned (the following year), it was only

3:00 yeysələ nə-meməñə
 (1.2) two my-sons
yey'sulu *nu-me'm'un'u*,
 my two sons,

3:03 čan ʔiʔ grek
 (2.5) John and Greg
John *i'* *Greg*
 John and Greg.

3:06 ʔəw həyeʔ nem ct cciyə
 (2.2) then leave go we berry-picking
t'uw *huye'* *nem'* *tst* *ttsi'yu*
 Then we left to go strawberry-picking

3:10 siʔ-ct ʔəw
 (3.2) and-we then
si'tst *'uw*
 and then we
 təyqəl
 moved
 tuyqul
 moved

⁵⁹ The analysis of this suffix is hypothesized to be a cognate of the SENĆOŦEN *directionless* as described in Montler (1986)

3:16 ɬəmç-els ʔə tʰə
 (1.6) pick-ACT OBL/of the
 lhumts'els 'u *tthu*
 to pick the

3:19 s-ɬʷiilməxʷ
 (2.5) NOM·blackberries
 sqw'iilmuhw
 blackberries.

3:26 həy tʰə s-ɬʷiilməxʷ
 (1.4) finish the NOM·blackberry
 huy tthu sqw'iilmuhw
 Finished the blackberries

 si-ct ʔəw həyeʔ nem ʔə tʰə
 and-we then leave go OBL/to the
 sitst 'uw huye' nem' 'u tthu
 and so we left to go to

3:27 ɬemc-els ʔə tʰə haps
 (5.5) pick-ACT OBL/of the hops
 lhumtsels 'u *tthu haps*
 pick the hops

3:34 həy tʰey
 (4.5) finish that
 huy tthey
 Finished that,

 sə ct ʔəw həyeʔ ʕiʔ ye-m yakəmaʔ
 then we then⁶⁰ left again go-MID Yakima
 su tst 'uw huye' tli' yem Yakama
 then we continued on again, taken to Yakama

3:41 *ʔiii* hiθ kʷə ct sniʔ
 (1.1) and long.time that we visit
 'iii hith kwu tst sni'
 Aaand it was a long time we were there.

⁶⁰ siʔ ct ʔuw, often pronounced səʔ ct ʔəw by Dr. Sam can be translated as "then continued" (Ruby Peter:PC)

3:45 həy čə ʔə həps səw̃ x^{wi}?
 (1.0) finished QUOT⁶¹ OBL hops then now/next

huy ts'u 'u həps suw' hwi'

Finished the hops, and then next

təyqəl ct nem̃ ʔə t^əe
 move.toward we go OBL/to the

tuyqul tst nem' 'u tthu

we move onward to the

3:49 łəmc-els ʔə t^əə ʔeypls⁶²
 (2.5) pick-it-ACT OBL/of the apples

lhumtsels 'u tthu 'eypls

picking of apples.

3:54 ʔi šaq-θət ʔi?
 (1.7) and finishing.off-ourselves and

'i' šaqthut 'i'

And we're done and

3:57 wəł say k^ws mi ct ʔak^w
 (4.1) already ready that approach we go.home

wulh say kws m'i tst t'akw'

right away we're ready to come home.

4:03 ʔi? wəł təs
 (1.6) and already arrived

'i' wulh tus

And just then a person arrived,

ʔi? yəyeyək^w ʔəw̃ k^{wə} nem̃
 and hiring-PROG then that.they go

'i' yuye'yukw' 'uw kwu nem'

and he was hiring (people) to go

⁶¹ Although this appears to be a Quotative particle, the translation “they say” (Suttles 2004:136-7) seems very unlikely given the context of the sentence.

⁶² This spelling reveals a Saanich accent. The Cowichan pronunciation is /apəls/ (Ruby Peter:PC).

4:07 yaays ʔə tʰə sqewθ niʔ ʔəʎ orəgən
 (1.5) work Obl the potatoes there at Oregon
yaays 'u tthu sqews ni' 'utl' Orugun
 work on the potatoes (farm) there at Oregon

4:11 səw ptem-ət ʔə nə-staləs
 (3.4) and.so ask-s.o the(fem) my-spouse
suw' pte'mut lhu nusta'lus
 And so I asked my wife

ʔəwee ct nem-ət
 aren't we go.TR
'uwee tst nem'ut
 “shouldn't we go along?”

ʔaaa niʔ ʔal səw wəʔ saays kʷθə
 oh! then⁶³ just so.then already ready that
'aaa nilh 'al' suw' wulh saays kwthu
 “Oh, we're already ready

si ct ʔəw cʎəw ʔaaʔ ʔə tʰə
 continue we then jump on.board OBL the
si' tst 'uw tstl'uw 'aalh 'u tthu
 and we can jump right on.”

4:21 səy
 (1.7) then⁶⁴
suy
 Then

4:23 ʔaaʔst-əm tʰə ʔewkʷ ct ʔə tʰə trək
 (3.3) give.a.ride/lift.to-PASS the goods our OBL/on the truck
'aalhstum tthu 'ewkw' tst 'u tthu truk
 they laid our belongings on the truck.

⁶³ This word may be the *s-* nominalized auxiliary *ni'* along with the third person possessive *-s* and the 'established' aspect prefix *w;-* (Suttles 2004:553)

⁶⁴ Dr. Sam says this particle “refers to what you're going to do next”.

4:29 səw̃ həyeʔ
 (2.4) so.then leave
suw' huye'
 So (we) left.

4:33 təs ct peʔ ʔiʔ
 (1.3) arrive we indeed and
tus tst p'e' i'
 We finally arrived and
 x^w-əw̃eteʔ stem syaays
 become-none thing work
hwuw'ete' stem syaays
 there were no jobs,
 ʔiʔ ʔəw̃eteʔ telə
 and none money
i' 'uwute telu
 and there was no money,
 ct spəʔpəx^w
 we STAT-being.broke-PROG⁶⁵
tst spu'puhw
we were broke.

ʔəw̃ete sʔəʔtən ct
 none food our
'uwute s'ulhtun tst
 We had no food.

4:39 k^wek^wi⁶⁶ ʔal t⁰ə-nə mem̃əñə
 (1.7) hungry just the-my children
kw'ekw'i 'al' tthunu me'mun'u
 My children were just hungry

⁶⁵ This appears to be a SENĆOFEN cognate of the Hul'qumi'num *spəq̃^w*; being broke (Ruby Peter:PC). Interestingly Monter's SENĆOFEN word list (1991) defines *spəx^w* as *tripe* (under the heading of body parts).

⁶⁶ To improve perception of the connotation of this root of this word, which on its own refers to being hungry, *kw'ey*, it may help to know it also combines to form an interesting array of other words, including *hwuskw'ey*, weak from hunger; *skw'ey*, wrong; *skw'eynuc*, limp (from a permanent injury).

- 4:43 θət-stəx^w x^wənitəm joj-tx^w
 (1.7) told-to.them⁶⁷ white.man George
thutstuhw hwunitum Jojt-hw
 The white man George said
- 4:46 yəselə
 (2.5) two
 yuse'lu
 two
- 4:50 siwə~~t~~net ʔiʔ yet syaays
 (3.6) week and only.now work
 siwulhnet i' yelh yaays
 weeks before work (starts).
- 4:56 həy nəs ʔəw
 (2.0) finish I then
 huy nus 'uw'
 After he finished then I
- 4:59 ʔct-amət yəx^w ct ʔalə
 (2.5) wonder.s.t-self doubt/unsure we anyway
 xtstamut yehw tst 'a'lu
 wondered what are we going to do.
- ʔəwəte? telə ct
 none money our
 'uwute' telu tst
 We had no money;
 ʔəwəte?
 none
 'uwute'
 no
- 5:05 sʔəltən ct
 (2.3) food our
 s'ulhtun tst
 food.
-

⁶⁷ This is the Comitative suffix, homophonous with Causative, but expresses meaning of *with, for, to*.

5:08 *ʔiii* ct nem ʔəw̄ nem ʔə *teʔə*
 (3.1) and we go then go OBL/to that
 'iii *tst nem' 'uw nem' 'u te'u*

Aand we went on and on, to *that*

stəw̄ ta-twən stətes səw̄ yə-ʔiməš
 so.then DIM.city near then along-walk
stuw' tatwun stutes suw' yu'imush
 little city (town) that drew near as we walked.

5:16 *mək^w* štə-s ʔə t^əə šnis ʔəltən = ewtx^w
 (1.0) every how/when-they OBL the because restaurant⁶⁸
mukw' sht'us 'u tthu shnis 'ulhtunewt-hw

It was the same every time we passed a restaurant.

ʔiʔ wəʔ
 next.thing already
i' wulh

The next thing

5:20 t^əi-t^əəx̄əs k^wə nə-meməñə
 (1.4) look-ing.through that my-children
tthitthuxus kwu nume'mun'u
 my children are peeking in (the window),
 sʔiʔ-s nələ-wiləm-s ʔiʔ ʔəltən
 wanted-they PL-enter-they and eat
st'ih nuluw'ilums i' 'ulhtun
 because they wanted to go in and eat.

5:25 sk^wey k^ws x^wʔiʔənt-stəx^w
 (1.3) can't that hear.them-CAUS
skw'ey kws hw'i'untstuhw
 Can't bring ourselves to hear them,
 skwey k^ws θət-stəx^w
 can't that tell-CAUS
skw'ey kws thutstuhw
 can't bring ourselves to tell them

ʔəwəteʔ pəʔ telə ct
 none indeed money we
'uwute' p'e' telu tst
 we have no money at all.

⁶⁸ The word for restaurant is made up of the word for *eat* with the lexical suffix for *building* or *house*.

5:50 ʔəw̄ xʷən cakʷ wəʔ
 (1.0) then(at that time) still/already far.away already
 'uw' hwun tsakw wulh

While at distance yet,

ʔi yə-xʷəyanəməs tθəwneʔəʔ
 and along-smiling they
 'i yuhwya'numus ttho'ne'ulh
 they were already smiling as they

5:54
 (2.1) ɕiməl
 get.close
 ts'imul.
 drew near,

ʔi wəʔ mi ʃʷnçen-əm⁷⁰
 and already come run-MID
 'i wulh m'i xwnchenum.
 and suddenly they ran towards us.

5:58 qʷəmçəst-əm ʔə-nə staləs-ʔəʔ
 (1.8) hugged.her.PASS the(fem)-my spouse-PAST
 qwumtsustum lhunu sta'lus'ulh;
 They hugged my late wife.

6:02 ni-ʔ stətiwən ct
 (1.8) then-PST nieces we
 nilh stutiwun tst
 They were our nieces
 təniʔ snəneyməxʷ
 from Nanaimo
 tun'ni' snunuyмуhw
 from Nanaimo, xvi

6:06 səw̄ ptem̄-ətewət ʔə-nə staləs
 (1.0) then ask-them the(fem)-my spouse
 suw' ptem'utewut lhunu sta'lus
 Then my wife asked them

⁷⁰ This form is historically derived from the root [xʷəm] meaning *fast* with a lexical suffix [çen] meaning *foot* (Hukari and Peter (1995))

ceep ʔal ʔə cək^w-stamət ʔən-ʃiʔi təna
 you.PL just Q do-self your-doing here
 “tseep ’al’ ’u tsukwstamut ’unshi’i tun’a?
 “What are you doing up here?”

6:11 ʔəwə ct ʔeʔ yaays-iit
 (1.6) no we indeed work-arranged
 ‘uwu tst p’e’ yaaysiilh
 We came to work but there’s no work,
 ʔi x^wweteʔ stem
 and nothing’s.happening thing
 ’i hwuwete’ stem
 and nothing’s happening

6:16 ...s-yaays
 (2.2) NOM-work
 ...syaas
 work.”⁷¹

6:19 təwwik^ws ʔi yeʔs yaay-stewət ʔə-nə staləs
 (1.1) two.weeks and before work-CAUS.her the-my spouse
 Tuwwikws ’i yelhs yaaystewut lhunu sta’lus.
 It’s two weeks before they put my wife to work.

6:23 ʔəwəteʔ telə ct
 (2.1) none money our
 ‘uwute’ telu tst.
 We have no money.

6:27 ʔəwəteʔ sʔəʔtən-s t^ə sʔəliqəʔ
 (2.1) none food-their the children
 ‘uwute s’ulhtuns tthu stl’ul’iqulh
 The children have no food.

⁷¹ This line seems disconnected from the surrounding lines. This may be a stylistic feature, as used in 4:46 and perhaps again in 5:54, although less separated by a pause. The same feature may be being used in line 6:52, where after saying his wife bought everything, he mentions potatoes.

6:31 səw̄ x^w-šəyqt⁷² θeʔəm-s t⁰ə qeləmi səw̄
 (1.1) so where-look.for two-they the girls then
suw' hwshuyqt the'ums, tthu q'elumi suw'.
 So they dug down, both the girls, then

6:35 x^w-tk^we = cəs-stewət ʔə-nə staləs-əʔ ʔə θə telə
 (2.0) ⁷³OBREL-give=hand-to.her the-my spouse-PAST OBL the money
hwt'kwetsusstewut lhunu sta'lusulh 'u thu telu.
 put some money into my late wife's hand.^{xvii}

6:40 məy ʔim qa ʔəy ʔal
 (1.9) My! very EMPH good just
Muy, tl'im q'a 'uy' 'al'
 Goodness, she was just so very happy
 x̄eem ʔənə staləs-əʔ
 cried the-my wife-PAST
xeem lhunu sta'lus'ulh.
 my late wife cried.

6:45 səw̄ lemət-əs
 (1.6) so.then look.it-she
suw' le'mutus
 When she looked at it
 ʔiʔ ʔəx^w=əʔšaʔəs
 and thirty=dollars
'i' lhuhwulhsha'us
 it was thirty dollars.

6:49 wəʔ ʔəl səw̄ nem ʔə t⁰ə
 (1.7) already just then go-to OBL/to the
wulh 'ul' suw' nem' 'u tthu
 And right away then, she went to the

⁷² The root of this verb, [šəyq], means *ransack*, or *look through for something* (Hukari & Peter 1995)

⁷³ c.f. Suttles (2004:266) on discussion of x^w- as Oblique Relater appearing with lexical suffixes contributing something of a locative meaning, as "place money *into* the hand".

- 6:52 š-niʔs k^wən-s ʔiləq-ət t^oə sʔəltən
 (3.4) NOM-place.where that-NOM buy-it(store) the food
 shnis *kwuns* *ʔiluqut* *tthu* *sʔulhtun*,
 where the place is that sells food,
 səw ʔiləq-ətewət t^oəw mək^w stem sqewθ
 so.then sell-to.it the (?) every thing potatoes
 suw *ʔiluqutewut* *tthuwʔmukwʔ* *stem* *sqewth*
 so then she bought everything, potatoes.

-
- 7:00 səw nem ʔə t^oə šx^wniʔ ct
 (1.6) so.then go OBL/to the that.place we
 suwʔ *nemʔ* *ʔu* *tthu* *shhwniʔ* *tst*
 So then we went back to that place,
 k^wə-ct ʔalməcən ʔiʔ
 that-we waiting and
 kwutst *ʔalmutsun* *ʔiʔ*
 where we were waiting, and

- 7:05 ʔ^wələt-əs t^oə mək^w stem
 (1.5) cook.it-them the every thing
 q^wʔulutus *tthu* *mukwʔ* *stem*
 she cooked everything.

- 7:08 məy t^oənə cas nə-sʔəliqəʔ
 (6.7) My! the-my poor my-children
 Muy, tthunu tsas nustlʔulʔiqulh
 My, my poor children
 ʔim ʔəw həy ʔal hiθ k^w ʔiitən-s
 very then finish just long.time that eating-they
 tʔim *ʔuw* *huy* *ʔal* *hith* *kw* *ʔiiltun*
 took a really long time before they finally finished eating,
 ʔiiʔ yeʔ sis sməq^w
 and before and full
 ʔii *yelh* *sis* *smuq^w*.
 before they were full.
-

7:19 tax^w ʔal ʔəw sʔa-ʔəm t^ə niʔ s-ʔamə-stewət ʔiʔ
 (1.2) fully just then RES-enough the then NOM-given-it and
tahw 'al' 'uw' stl'atl'um' tthu ni' s'amustewut. 'i'
 What (the money) she received was just enough and

7:24 ʔəwk^w θə s-ʔəhtən
 (1.5) finished.off the NOM-food
'uw'kw' thu s'ulhtun
 the food was finished,
 ʔiʔ wəʔ yaays ct
 and now work our/we
'i wulh yaays tst
 and right away we started to work.

7:27 x^wəna ʔal nəcaʔ sk^weyəl
 (1.4) first(time) just one day
hwun'a 'al' nuts'a' skwey'ul
 That very next day.

7:31 ʔix^w sk^weyəl
 (1.8) three days
lhihw skwey'ul
 Three days,

7:34 niʔ tsə wəʔ nem ʔə t^ə š-siʔem
 (1.0) then next already go OBL/to the our-boss
ni' tsu wulh nem 'u tthu shsi'em
 then the next thing I went to our boss,
 nəs ʔəw yə-θəst
 I then along-told.him
nus 'uw' yuthust
 I told him
 ʔəwəteʔ stem s-ʔəhtən ct
 none thing NOM-food we
'uwute' stem s'ulhtun tst
 we had no food at all.

7:39 sɬ iʔ kʷənəs xʷkʷa-t-əm ʔiʔ kʷ
 (1.0) want that.I pull/drag-it-MID and that.I
*stli' kwunus hwkw'atum*⁷⁴ i' kw
 I wanted to drag from what I

7:42 niʔ nəhəy
 (1.4) then made/earned
ni' nuhuy
 earned already.

7:44 səw ɬewəθ-eləm ʔiʔ ʔəw qəʃ
 (5.1) then pay.it-me and next a.lot
suw' q'ewuthelum i' 'uw' qux
 So he paid me, and it was quite a lot.

7:52 səw qʷal tʰəwniʔ siʔem
 (1.1) then speak he boss
suw' qwal tthuw'nilh si'em
 Then that boss spoke up
 ʔaaa kʷeyəl ʔiʔ wəʔ
 oh.well⁷⁵ day and already
'aaa 'kweyul i' wulh
Welll “At the first break of day⁷⁶”

7:57 θəy qʷel ct tʰə sqewθ
 (1.5) prepare dig we the potatoes
tse 'u qwel tst tthu sqewth
 we're gonna get ready to dig potatoes.

⁷⁴ Dr. Sam is referring to taking an advance on pay for work already done. The English term *drag* is a little used word for this. Dr. Sam has interestingly used a direct translation from the Hul'qumi'num for the word meaning to drag something, as along the ground.

⁷⁵ This element is most likely a elongated interjection meaning *ahhh*, *oh*, or *well*. “In narratives with dialogue, *ʔa* may serve primarily to indicate to the audience that a new speaker is speaking” (Suttles 2004:472).

⁷⁶ Dr. Sam translated [kʷəyəl ʔiʔwulʔ] as two words saying it meant *tomorrow*, however Hukari & Peter translate *kweyul* as tomorrow

8:00 ʔən-sʰ iʔ kʷs ʔ-ən staləs
 (1.1) your.want that the-your spouse
 ‘unstli’ kws lhun sta’lus
 If you want that your wife
 kʷs nem-s məkʷəm ʔəkʷ sqewθ ʔi
 that go-she pick(up) those potatoes and
 kws nem’s mukw’m ’ukw’ sqewth i
 goes picking potatoes, then

8:06 ʔi ʃʷəm
 (2.5) and can
 i xwum
 she can.

8:09 xʷəñ netəʔ ʔiʔ wəʔ
 (1.9) early morning and already
 hwun’ netulh i’ wulh
 It was early morning and right away

8:13 nem̩ ct
 (1.1) go we
 nem’ tst
 we went

8:15 ʔaal ʔə tʰə ʃniʔs seʔsəw
 (2.3) go.right/way.out OBL/to the place.where lift-(?)
 t’aal ’u tthu shni’s se’suw
 way out to the place (where they were digging)

8:19 nəs ʔəw̩ ʔewə-t ʔə nə-staləs-əʔ
 (0.96) I then help-s.o the(fem) my-spouse-PAST
 nus ’uw’ ts’ewut lhu nusta’lus’ulh
 I then started to help my wife
 mmm ʔəmc’els
 keep.on⁷⁷ picking-ACT
 mmm lhum’ts’els
 keep on pickin’

⁷⁷ This vocalization is most likely not a word, however Dr. Sam indicated it as referring to "continue/ keep on picking"

8:46 mək^w netəʃ ʔiʔ
 (1.1) every morning and
muukw' netulh i'

Every morning and,

netəʃ ʔiʔ
 morning and
netulh i'
 after morning

nəm cən wəʃ həmɪk^w-əm ʔə t^oə
 go I already picking.up-PASS⁷⁸ OBL the
nəm' tsun wulh hum'kw'um' u tthu
 I'm already gone picking the

8:50 sqewθ čəčəw-ət ʔə nə-stələs
 (2.2) potato helping-it the my-spouse
sqewth, ts'ets'uwut lhu nusta'lus
 potatoes, helping my wife

8:55 niiʔ wəʃ ʃəq
 (2.0) then already finished.(with work)
niii' wulh shuq
theeen finally it was done

8:58 ʔi ʔəw ʔən-θə ʔal
 (1.3) and then my-EMPH just
i' uw unthu al'
 And then just up to me
 niʔ nəwnəc ʔə θə niʔ sk^wənɛʃəyɛʃ ct
 then pay.back OBL the then owing we
ni' nuw'nuts u thu ni' skunelhts'uyelh tst
 to pay back that what we owed ^{xix}

⁷⁸ This is most likely a Progressive example of a the root mək^w showing metathesized core vowel and h- prefix, common to reduplicated resonant initial roots.

9:03 sis səw̃ ʃ̣^w-k^wat-əs t^ə sweʔs hays ʔiʔ niʔ
 (3.1) and then from-draw.out-she the earning finished and then
sis suw' xwkw'atus thu swe's hays 'i' ni'
 And so she drew out from her earnings (when) I wasn't there

9:09 siʔ liʔew
 (1.5) and a.lot
si' li'ew
 and it was a lot⁷⁹

9:11 ʔapən neçəwəc θə hays
 (5.2) ten hundred-dollars the finish⁸⁰
'apun nets'uwuts thu huys.
 It was a thousand dollars she earned.

9:18 mi ct ʔak^w
 (2.0) come we home
m'i tst t'akw'.
 We headed home.

⁷⁹ This translation comes from Dr. Sam. The documented word for *a lot* is [qəʃ̣], and I have not been able to find documentation for the word he uses here.

⁸⁰ Dr. Sam translated this word as “what she made.”

Endnotes for Autobiographical Telling

^{xvi} [These are Dr. Sam's wife's nieces. These were Ellen White and her sister. Today Ellen White is a respected elder in her community, a prolific writer, story teller, translator and historian.]

^{xvii} [To place gifts of money into the hand of the receiver is an action with many formal and ceremonial connotations in Coast Salish tradition. The gesture is discrete, looking like a handshake with the gift cupped in the palm.]

^{xviii} [At this time Dr. Sam had been promoted to truck driver. The other workers being referred to here were the loaders and stackers.]

^{xix} [Dr. Sam had taken on the responsibility to make sure that every one of the workers who had taken advances on their pay, or drags on what they had earned, repaid the employer.]

6.0 Conclusion

The tellings of Dr. Sam come out of a long tradition of Saanich oratory. He did not only learn the stories from his grandfather LEMEXES and other Elders, but also the moral and historical teachings they contain and the rhetorical artistry that is their vehicle. He was a traditionally trained Bighouse speaker, and professional counselor.

His orally delivered tellings are intended to be heard. They are a form of discourse. The inclusion of information pertaining to subjects surrounding the tellings, their teller, and the process of their textualization is intended to help retain some of their meaning. Since meaning is dependent on context, it logically follows that the more context is supplied, the more understandable the communication.

We collaborated on the recording and translation of the texts, each knowing the motivations and intentions of the other, and taking them on as a personal responsibility. In this way the work became a personal process, and mutually rewarding.

The translations that finally emerged came about after the production of a morphological gloss. The literal meanings of words and the syntax of the source language were then applied to Dr. Sam's fluid translations. The resulting English text reflects the words and where possible, the order of words in the original.

The task of transcribing and formatting the texts took into consideration their parallel structures and the retention of Dr. Sam's manner of speaking. Decisions made around the formatting of texts play an integral role in the subsequent analysis. Hymes and Kinkade follow the general rule that each line contains a single clause. When lines consistently contain a single clause analysis is greatly facilitated, as parallelisms become very obvious. Tedlock (1988), on the other hand, breaks lines to indicate the

speaker's pauses. Essentially, I have applied both approaches simultaneously as my purpose in presenting these texts is dual: analysis of the structure of the texts, and the retention of as many contextual elements as possible.

Overall, this project finds that parallelism is a fundamental component of the telling's structure. Almost every line in both stories is paralleled in some way. Those which are not, are set within larger structures. Beyond the single line, larger verse and plot level elements bear parallel relationships to elements elsewhere. The five act structure of the Flood story is one example of the parallelism applied at the broadest level. The first and third acts deal with preparation, initially warned by a prophet, then tested by a wolf; while the second and fourth acts tell the events of the flood (with the order of revelation of events reversed in the fourth act, creating a very large scale hysteron-proteron type structure). Finally, in the fifth act, the teller steps out of the narrative frame altogether and discusses the relevance of the story and the mountain to the WSÁNEĆ people.

Similarly, in the autobiographical telling in 5.2, anecdotes are told of his son who escapes work, the generous nieces who give money, and the hard work required to repay a debt to the boss. These anecdotes, appear thematically motivated and are nested within consistently paralleled lists of places traveled to and work performed.

The lines of Dr. Sam's texts are tabbed to reflect embedded elements (often clauses but sometimes smaller or larger units) within a verse structure. Extra spaces and solid lines indicate divisions between verses. The boundaries between lines are motivated by pauses in speech of longer than one second. Boundaries between verses and stanzas are motivated by a pauses of more than two seconds (with the longest being 12 seconds), shifts in subject matter, and grammatical cues such as sentence initial auxiliaries. In concurrence with Kinkade's (1987) findings, new verses were found to begin with sentence initial auxiliaries such as *ni'*, *i'*, *suw'*, and the like, roughly 60% of the time.

Secondary research of West Coast oratory shows the presence of parallelism from Meso-America (Bright 1990) through California among the Pima (Bahr 1987), Coast Salish and neighbouring territories in Canada and USA (Langen 1996; Jacobs 1972; and Hymes 1975, 1977, 1980) and north among the Haida (Bringhurst 2001). Hymes and Kinkade focused their analyses mostly on the overall arrangement of elements within scenes and acts, noting large scale or plot level repeated elements. Working from Lushootseed texts, Langen focused more closely on only parallelism within and between lines of text. She came up with consistent identifiable patterns.

Many of the patterns described by Langen can also be found in the present texts. The most elemental of these is the couplet, referred to as a circular figure. Such a couplet can contain core material, not paralleled elsewhere (A X A), or can contain another couplet (A BB A). Such concentric structures can have several layers. 4.2.3 shows an example with three levels of embedded paralleling lines. Some couplets intersect, or interlace one another in an (A B A B) structure.

The sharing of such couplet structures between the two Straits Salish cultures of Lushootseed and WSÁNEĆ is strong evidence that parallelism is a shared feature throughout Coast Salish territory. This is supported by the observation of the repetitive presentation of the line to whole scenes in narratives from Meso-America to Haida Gwaii.

Linguists, folklorists, and anthropologists have been recording stories for over a century from West Coast story tellers. They have analyzed them for various purposes, but rarely to uncover their structure. Future research in linguistics and especially in so-called Ethnopoetics, would be greatly benefitted were their recordings and transcriptions re-transcribed and arranged on the page so as to foreground their internal forms. That said, the stories as well as their audiences would greatly benefit from the inclusion of accompanying historical, social, and mythological information.

Oral tellings were originally performed according to a tradition of discourse, and not delivered as texts. Ultimately, Indigenous Elders and present day story tellers are the only ones who really understand the motivations, meanings, esthetics and structures behind their tellings. Unfortunately Dr. Sam passed away before I realized this, and I never asked him his thoughts about his own stories. Their knowledge needs to be sought by scholars, and the results of scholarly work need to be made available and accessible to Indigenous communities. My experience has taught that Elders are very willing to share knowledge; however, as Lee Maracle, noted Musqueam novelist points out, sharing requires that both parties contribute something. Collaboration requires that both parties benefit in meaningful ways. And what is meaningful to either cannot be known where there is no relationship of understanding and mutual responsibility.

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