

Rhetorical Structure of a Lushootseed (Salish) Narrative

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1994

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Linguistics

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University of Victoria

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0-612-45356-1

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ABSTRACT

This thesis represents an attempt to draw attention to the rhetorical structure inherent in a traditional Lushootseed oral narrative. Until recently, elements of narrative style have been neglected in favor of attention to accuracy in transcription and gloss (Hess 1996:139). Among the few researchers who have examined Lushootseed narrative structure are Langen and Bierwert (1996), who have analyzed the literary content and form of Lushootseed texts, and Beck (1996, 1998), who has focused on the formal prosodic organization of a number of stories told by Martha Lamont. The present study attends to the discourse structure of Lushootseed narrative using Woodbury's (1985, 1987) model of rhetorical structure, which treats all natural discourse as composed of five modular systems that shape the text each in their own way. These include prosodic phrasing, pause phrasing, syntactic constituency, adverbial-particle phrasing and global form-content parallelism. This thesis applies Woodbury's model to discover these types of rhetorical organization and examine their interrelationships in Suzie Sampson Peter's narrative, *Nobility at Ursaladdy*.

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INVOCATION

The shift from spoken to written narrative is nowhere complete; there is always a voice, and in the case of exemplary novelists there is *only* the voice, coaxing us on to another page. . . . When we turn, however, to works markedly nearer the beginnings of writing . . . we experience a dismay, a disorientation, for which the lucid epics of Homer and the oft-retold chronicles of the Bible have not quite prepared us. We do not know the language, the code of mythology and tradition, and feel oppressively confused, as when we look at the Tibetan pantheon arrayed on a *thank-ka*, while an equally populous mural of say, the Last Judgment or the Battle of Waterloo, quickly sorts itself out. There is always a code, and oral narrative disconcertingly assumes that we know it.

(John Updike 1989:119)

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to uncover the rhetorical structure of a Lushootseed oral narrative by following a discourse-based approach to the analysis of the prosodic and morphosyntactic components. It represents an attempt to draw attention to the rhetorical structure inherent in a traditional Lushootseed oral narrative, which until recently, has been neglected in favor of attention to accuracy in transcription and gloss (Hess 1995:139).

Among the few researchers who have examined Lushootseed narrative structure are Langen and Bierwert (1996), who have analyzed the literary content and form of Lushootseed texts, and Beck (1996, 1998), who has focused on the formal prosodic organization of a number of stories told by Martha Lamont.

The present study attends to the discourse structure of Lushootseed narrative using Woodbury's (1985, 1987) model of rhetorical structure, which treats all natural discourse as composed of modular systems of organization, prosodic phrasing, pause phrasing, syntactic constituency, adverbial-particle phrasing and global form-content parallelism, which shape the text each in their own way.

The inspiration for the attempt has been the tireless efforts of the linguistic and cultural anthropologists who study the disappearing literatures of Native American languages. The situation in which many of them find themselves is elegantly summarized by Hymes:

The mode of cultural interpretation most actively pursued today is the interpretation of texts . . . Much more remains to be disclosed: structure and meaning that can only be found through close control of the language in

texts . . . Although most of the poetics have been lost, much remains to be recaptured. Such work is a prime example of service both to scholarship and to Native American communities themselves. Often the narrative tradition has been disrupted, and scholarship is necessary to bring to life again the oral artistry hidden in old print. (Hymes 1965. Cited in Chafe 1976:19)

1.1 Methodology

The analysis follows the framework of Woodbury (1987), who argues for the modularity of five rhetorical components: intonational phrasing, pause phrasing, syntactic constituency, adverbial-particle phrasing, and global form-content parallelism. These components carry out major communicative functions as modular organizations in their own right.

Moreover, their interaction is communicatively significant. For example, whereas Hymes (1980) argues that the prime organizing principle of Native American narratives is global form-content parallelism, he notes that pause and adverbial-particle phrasing creates a further expressive dimension when it operates in counterpoint to global parallelism. Tedlock (1972), who considers pause phrasing as the fundamental organizing principle in Zuni and Quiche oral narratives, nevertheless points out the value of the interaction of all five types of rhetorical components mentioned.

If interaction is meaningful, then it does not make sense to concentrate on one type of organization at the expense of the others, as some researchers have done. As Woodbury (1987: 178) points out, "Interaction presupposes communicative unity among formally distinct and logically separate types of organization." Therefore, in order to fully appreciate the organization of natural discourse in general, and traditional narratives in particular, one needs to approach the analysis with the following assumptions.

1. There are at least five potentially independent types of organization on which the representation of verbal artistry of narrative performance can be based: pause phrasing, prosodic phrasing, syntactic constituency, global form-content parallelism, and adverbial-particle phrasing.
2. Each of the hierarchic organizations is recurrent.
3. They do not necessarily have to coincide with one another. In many oral texts one type of organization may predominate; in other cases the researcher may be forced by the medium to choose one type of organization over the other. For example, when there are no audio recordings of the narrative(s) one has to rely on syntactic constituency and form-content parallelism to organize the text.
4. Each type of organization carries out major communicative functions. For example, pause phrasing and pitch movement can provide texture and ambience for the performance. Intonational phrasing and syntactic constituency introduce cohesion and disjunction. Pause phrasing can also function to regulate interactive discourse, and global form-content parallelism functions on the level of the logic of narrative action.
5. These different organizations can interact with one another to create further expressive dimensions.

This thesis accepts these assumptions and attempts to analyze these types of rhetorical organization and their interrelationships in *Nobility at Utsaladdy*.

1.2 Background on Lushootseed

Lushootseed Salish was chosen as a research language because its structure has been exhaustively described and an extensive collection of traditional material exists both in recorded and written form.

Lushootseed, a Coast Salish language represented by a number of dialects spoken in the beginning (aboriginally) by people living in the eastern coastal regions of Puget Sound and its adjacent river valleys, is one of 23 distinct Salish languages. Swinomish-Skagit, the dialect of the speaker who contributed the text analyzed in this work, is one of the northern varieties of Lushootseed.

1.3 Data Collection

The text is one of a large corpus of stories provided by Suzie Sampson Peter (SSP) to Leon Metcalf in 1951. Suzie Sampson Peter was monolingual and the oldest recorded speaker of Lushootseed. Blind during her last decades, she kept telling herself the old stories so as not to forget them.

From the recording it is apparent that Lushootseed speakers were present and reacting to the story. Thus the setting in which the recording was taken was not completely unnatural. Metcalf's recording of the text was transcribed years later by Vi Hilbert, another Skagit speaker trained by Thom Hess to write her native language using a phonetically based writing system. Hess has carried out research on Lushootseed dialects since 1962 and his extensive work is the source for the grammatical description in this thesis.

1.4 Data Analysis

Identifying *lines* is the starting point for any analysis of the rhetorical structure of discourse. But the process is problematic, because there are several criteria on which to define a line. As Carleton points out, "ideally an analysis of a text . . . should be able to recognize a categorical distinction between the smallest unit in a variety of organizational modules" (1996:24). Here a line is based on prosodic criteria, specifically terminal intonation contours.

The audio recording was transferred or *captured* to a digitized format using the Multispeech program with a frame length set at 20-25,000 samples per second. The unit of capture was based on the pause; segments of the text divided by pauses were captured digitally and copied to diskettes. However, because the computer system had a limited capacity for capturing long strands of continuous speech, units sometimes had to be defined by syntactic criteria (sentence breaks). The digitized text was analyzed for pause durations.

Next, a pitch analysis was carried out on each *pausal* unit by identifying distinctive terminal pitch contours which break the text into lines. At this point, the "lines" were examined for their characteristic rise/fall patterns, leading to the distinction of A lead (high/high falling) and B core (low/low falling) contour end points (Woodbury 1987).

As far as I am aware, this is the third attempt to analyze a Salish text using prosodic criteria.¹ The first was that of David Beck, who attributed the prosodic organization of Lushootseed narratives to the pause (1996). Subsequently, Beck (1998) examined the

¹There have been a number of studies of Salish texts considering rhetorical structure using other criteria, in particular morphosyntactic and content-form parallelism. See Mattina (1985) for Colville, Kinkade (1983, 1984, 1987) for Upper Chehalis, Kroeber (1995) for Kalispel, and Langen (1996) and Bierwert (1996) for Lushootseed.

intonational structure of a number Lushootseed narratives for its organizational role in rhetorical structure. In this thesis I examine both intonational phrasing and pause phrasing for their independent contributions to the organization of the text, and for the ways in which they interact with each other. This approach is consistent with the current view of Woodbury, who stresses the interrelationships of components in narrative:

Investigators should study each prosodic element . . . on its own terms to see what determines its patterning, rather than to attempt to discover 'the' prosodic hierarchy for a new language . . . If a prosodic hierarchy exists for a given language the above methods would be likely to lead to a convincing proof, since they would allow for the interdependences among prosodic elements to be established. (Woodbury, n.d.)²

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis begins with an overview of two major rhetorical components: prosodic phrasing and syntactic constituency. Chapter 2 will examine two subcomponents of the prosodic component: intonational phrasing and pause phrasing. The two components will be examined in isolation, and then for their interaction with each other. Chapter 3 will investigate syntactic constituency, determine its role in the organization of rhetorical structure, and examine its interaction with the prosodic component. Subsections 3.2 and 3.3 will consider two other components: adverbial-particle phrasing and form-content parallelism, respectively. The conclusion will consider the findings, and suggest future directions for this research.

²The prosodic hierarchy theory (Hayes 1989; Nespor and Vogel 1986) treats prosodic elements as coordinated by a single, formal hierarchy which consists of discrete, categorically distinct levels, that is, phonological word, (clitic group), phonological phrase, intonational phrase, utterance, (paragraph).

2. PROSODIC COMPONENT

Prosody is a term that refers to "patterns of sound that range more or less freely and independently over individual sounds and individual words" (Bolinger 1986:37). Pitch, stress, rhythm, and silence are some of the vocal effects that extend over an utterance. Others include duration and tempo (for a full description of prosodic features, see Crystal 1969:128-131). In some recent approaches to phonology, the term *sentence prosody* is used to group these and other more general features of prosodic phrasing within a larger prosodic component (Crystal 1997:314).

The prosodic component is viewed here as an independent system within which is subsumed a cluster of distinct prosodic systems with their own formal and functional characteristics. Features within some of these prosodic sub-systems are categorically distinct, a finding that has propelled extensive research in intonation and advanced the relatively new theory of intonational phonology (Pierrehumbert 1980). Thirty years ago Crystal (1969) argued for a system-within-system theory to describe the independence of prosodic features and their interaction with each other. In his framework pitch direction, pitch range, and pause are among several prosodic systems; the others are tempo, duration, loudness, and rhythm (1969:131).

Woodbury exploits this notion of systems in his rhetorical model, pointing out that

Rhetorical structure consists of *linguistically significant units and systems*, often aggregates of disparate formal features. . . . [A] single meaningful affective contour can involve difference in pitch, voice quality, and loudness all at once; a line can involve contour sequence, final lengthening, or "clear" intonation breaks. Where such aggregates are at issue, Tedlock's system may fail to put together all of what is linguistically significant from among the infinite range of acoustic values perceptible in any sample speech. (1985:165)

Each of these prosodic features plays an important role in the organization of discourse. However, the present study will concentrate on the form and function of intonation and pause phrasing only. There are two reasons for this: (1) they are two rhetorical components that vie for special status as the central organizing feature of Native American Indian narratives; and (2) it is assumed that these two prosodic features organize speech into prosodic units that are autonomous from, but explicitly relatable to, surface syntactic constituency (Hayes 1989; Selkirk 1984). In the next sections intonation and pause will be examined separately in order to determine their independent status within the prosodic component. To avoid confusion, the term *intonational phrasing* will be used to refer to the intonation system and *prosodic phrasing* will be used to refer to both intonational and pause phrasing.

2.1 Intonational Phrasing

Intonation plays an important role in communication, marking portions of speech "as being coherent according to criteria other than purely syntactic, these criteria being of a more semantic and pragmatic nature" (Bruce 1982:274, cited in Carleton 1996:89). Strictly speaking, the term refers to the mere fact of there being one or more pitch accents in a stretch of speech. Generally, however, the term is used to refer to the overall landscape, the wider ups and downs from one accented syllable to the next. This rise and fall, fall and rise of the landscape creates its own impression; it is the final pitch movement (rise or fall) however, that is of particular interest, because it conveys the moods, emotions, and attitudes of the speaker (Bolinger 1986:10-11).

Another significant feature of terminal pitch movements is that they signal breaks in the stream of speech. Bolinger (1978) refers to these as *horizontal breaks*, as opposed to

vertical breaks, his (1958, 1986) term for prominence-lending accent peaks. Other terms for terminal pitch movement are *tail* (Crystal 1969) and *boundary tone* (Pierrehumbert 1980). All these terms imply that the major function of intonation is to partition discourse into intonationally marked chunks—intonation phrases (Pierrehumbert 1980), tone groups (Halliday 1970), and other related terms.³ This intonational unit is the epicentre of all intonational research (experimental or theoretical); it is also the starting point for this analysis of SSP's intonational phrasing.

This section attempts to provide a means for encoding the organization of terminal pitch events into layers of representation. The procedure involves Woodbury's approach of identifying the horizontal breaks in the intonation contours of utterances, using these breaks to cue a hierarchy of prosodic units according to terminal pitch sequences. Such a procedure has advantages over the approach that uses pausing as a cue to narrative segmentation, because often boundaries of prosodic units are not always marked by pauses.

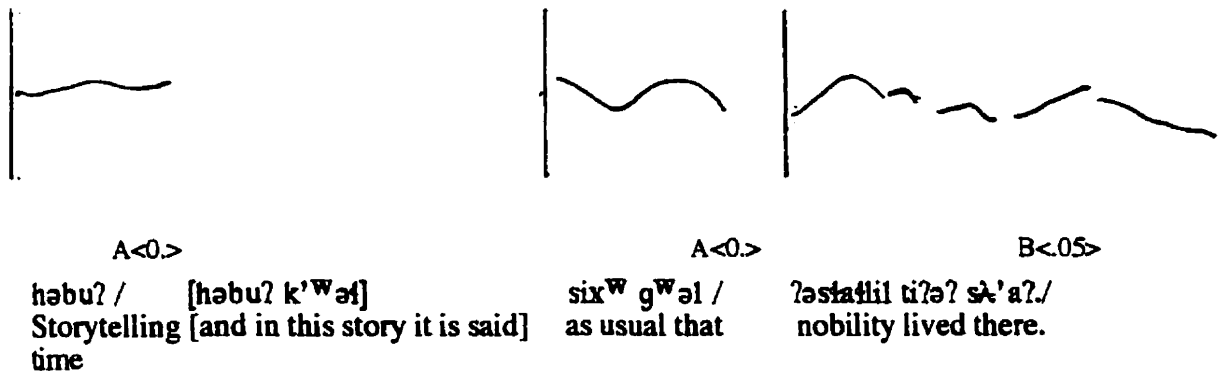
Using terminal pitch contours as his guide, Woodbury (1985) has identified at least four different levels of representation in Central Alaskan Yupik (CAY) discourse: the line, (sub)group, complex group, and section. These levels have also been identified in Lushootseed by Beck (1998), although his terminology and his interpretation of these units differs from Woodbury's. Although Beck's analysis provides important insights into the rhetorical structure of Lushootseed narrative, I use Woodbury's model because it is a more general, less theoretically constrained framework, and is more effective as a discovery procedure. In the following sections, narrative levels of representation are defined and illustrated with examples from the Lushootseed narrative.

³ There are other phonetic cues to the division of speech. As Ladd points out, "Prosodic constituents have various phonetic properties, both segmental and suprasegmental. . . . Intonation has no privileged status in signalling prosodic structure" (1996: 10).

2.1.1 Lines

The line is the starting point in any analysis of the rhetorical structure of discourse. I follow Woodbury, who uses terminal intonation contours to segment oral narrative into a hierarchy of prosodic units: lines, subgroups, complex groups and sections. As mentioned above, lines are stretches of speech demarcated by *horizontal breaks*, characteristic pitch sequences which are usually, but not always, followed by pauses (Woodbury, 1987:182). Lines may consist of one or a few words but rarely, if ever, contain a full sentence. Lines do not pertain to any one level of syntactic constituency. This is illustrated in SSP's Subgroup (1) which consists of three lines. Pause length between lines is given within angled brackets.

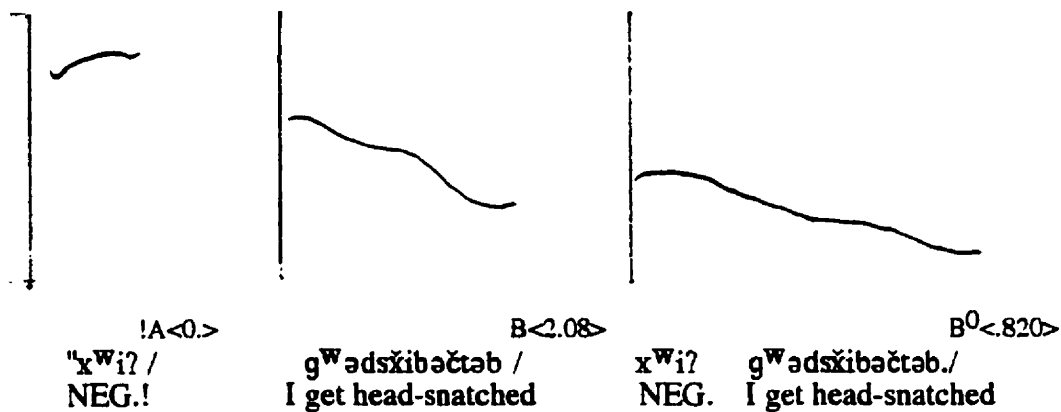
(1) (= Subgroup 1)



In Example (1) the three lines display intonational contours that rise and fall, terminating in either a high (A) contour or a low (B) contour. The former type is called a *lead* contour, indicating that the speaker has more to say, whereas the latter type is referred to as a *core* contour, indicating that nothing more need follow in the line. Woodbury (1985,1987) symbolizes lead and core contours as A and B, respectively.

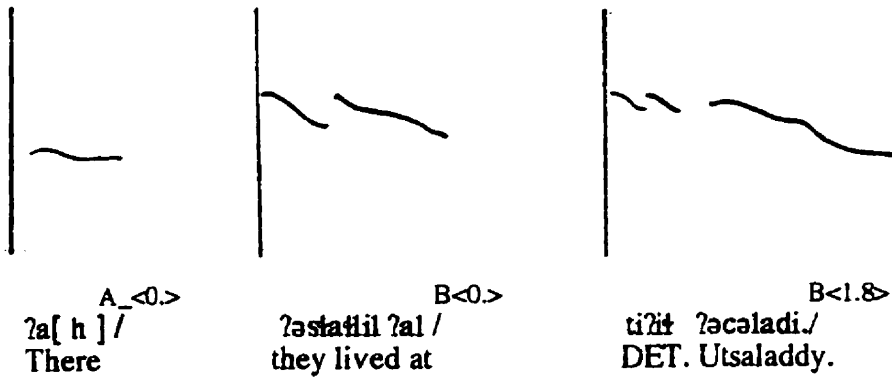
Lead and core contours may have the additional feature of attenuation. Attenuated contours display diminished pitch and loudness over the entire contour, and mark supplemental information and constituents that have been postposed by syntactic movement. In Woodbury's framework, attenuated core contours are symbolized as B⁰. An example is in Subgroup 46, repeated in Example (2).

(2) (= Subgroup 46)



There are two further types of contours: low leads (A₋) and emphatic cores (B₊). Low lead (A₋) contours also display a diminished pitch over the contour. Although they may be confused with B contours, "low leads are A-type contours which introduce shifts in time or action, and often occur with initial adverbial and expressive particles" (Woodbury 1987:183). Example (3) illustrates a low (A₋) contour.

(3) (= Subgroup 2)



Emphatic core (B+) contours occur at the end of the group. In comparison with plain B cores they display a steeper fall in pitch and are preceded by a larger than ordinary rise. They serve to signal the closure of the group (or larger unit) or introduce direct speech.

(4) (= Subgroup 11)



2.1.2 Groups

In all these examples, lines with these four intonation contours obey an ordering condition put forward by Woodbury (1987:183):

(A_↓) A* - B(+)* - B⁰*

(* indicates any number of instances, including zero, of contour X).

This condition states that a well-formed group will consist of "any number of lead lines followed by core lines and attenuated core lines" (Woodbury 1987: 158). Terminal pitch is higher on earlier lines than it is on later ones, reflecting *down-drift*, the successive lowering of pitch and decay in amplitude and pitch range.

Groups are of two types: simple and complex. *Simple groups* (henceforth called *subgroups*) comprise lines ordered according to the well-formedness condition. They usually correspond to one sentence, but may correspond to two or three. Examples of subgroups have already been illustrated above.

Complex groups contain two or more subgroups groups that are bound together by intonational parallelism, rhythm, and down-drift (Woodbury 1987:184). A new complex group is signaled by a high *pitch reset*.⁴ Consider SSP's Complex Groups 3 and 4, repeated in Example (5). The pitch reset occurs at line 18.

⁴ Pitch reset involves an "upward shift of the pitch register to the register of the preceding initial pitch peak, and in addition interrupts a normal downward trend" (Carleton 1996:89).

(5) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

3: 6:14 ʔa:: g ^w əl tusʔubədi	A <0.>	Now, then, was a hunter
:15 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	B <0.>	Bobcat.
: 7:16 λ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ	B <0.>	He would hunt.
:17 λ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ	B ⁰ <1.09>	He would hunt.
4: 8:18 g ^w əl λ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ	A <0.>	And would talk
:19 tsiʔəʔ kay'kay'	B <0.>	Steller's Jay.
:9:20 λ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ	B <1.06>	She would talk.
:21 λ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ	B ⁰ <.667>	She would talk.

2.1.3 Sections

Above the level of the complex group is the *section*. The section is comprised of groups of lines, the last of which typically terminating in a very long pause. Section boundaries may be introduced by an initial low level (A₋) lead contour, marked by a final emphatic (B₊) contour, a sudden slowing in tempo (or lengthening), or comprise groups of short lines that terminate in intonationally attenuated (B⁰) contours. Functionally, the section displays a unity of content comprising short episodes that are frequently introduced by sentential (adverbial) particles, e.g., (*and*)*then*, *now* (*then*), etc. The following excerpt illustrates the division of a portion of the text, showing where one section ends and the next begins. Note the longer pauses between complex groups, and the extremely long pause at the end of the section.

(6) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[8]	15:42:91	hu:y tu-- ⁵	A <beat> ⁶	Then, IRR.-- ⁷
	:92	tuyabəx ^W ti?ə? tubšədə	A <0.>	the warriors were terrorized.
	:93	huy q'ilag ^W iləx ^W	B <0.>	Then they got into their canoes.
	:94	huy ?ulutəx	B <.577>	Then they travelled away.
	:43:95	x ^W i?əx ^W g ^W əsq'ildubs ti? ti?ə? ?išəds	B <.514>	Their people did not get put on board.
	16:44:96	huy cuucəx ^W	B <0.>	Then she said to
	:97	tsi?ə? ?adəd	B<1.01>	Magpie,
	:45:98	"?uhaydx ^W čəx ^W ?u	A <0.>	"Did you find out
	:99	?adəd	B <1.34>	Magpie?
	17:46:100	x ^W i?	!A <0.>	I didn't
	:101	g ^W ədsšibəčtəb	B <2.08>	get headsnaatched.
	:102	x ^W i? g ^W ədsšibəčtəb	B ⁰ <.820>	I didn't get headsnaatched.
	:47:103	š ^W ul'ul' čəd		I just
		?uq ^W əbq ^W əbaycut š ^W ul'	B <.410>	pretended to be a dog, just
	:104	g ^W əl ?ušəc ti	B+ <0.>	and scared the
	:105	tubšədə[d]."	B ⁰ <beat>	the warriors."
	18:48:106	?u:: tsi s?ušəbəbtəx ^W	Baff <.980>	Oh,the poor thing.
	:49:107	?udahahubut	B <2.02>	She sure helped us out.
[9]	19:50:108	"x ^W i?əx ^W k ^W i ?udsug ^W atubid kay'kay' x ^W i?əx ^W "	A <.745>	"I won't scold you anymore Steller's Jay no more,"
	:109	cutəb	B <0>	she said to
	:110	k ^W si kay'kay'	B <.733>	this so-called Steller's Jay.

⁵ The double dash here represents a false start, due to an interruption by one of the listeners. SSP pauses before continuing. Bierwert considers such false starts as "valuable performance markers . . . , contributing to the narrative rhythm" (1996:40). Moreover, she believes that their distribution may be indicative of "not only structures but driving powers of language, growth points of the storytelling" (1996:40).

⁶ <beat> indicates a very brief interruption in the stream of speech.

⁷ IRR.represents the irrealis prefix tu-.

In sum, the foregoing represents a beginning in the analysis of the prosodic component of the Lushootseed narrative. Thus far, I have identified the levels of intonational phrasing discussed in Woodbury (1985, 1987). It remains to be seen if this framework is adequate for other Lushootseed narratives, and whether there might be other aspects of Lushootseed rhetorical structure that would expand Woodbury's framework. A comparison of two versions of the same narrative by two different Lushootseed speakers might provide further insights.

Pausing behaves similarly to intonation by dividing discourse into units, in addition to its attitudinal and grammatical function. The next section we examine pause phrasing and its organizational role in rhetorical structure of *Nobility at Utsaladdy*.

2.2 Pause Phrasing

Pause is usually treated as a prosodic feature (Fónagy and Magdics 1963: 323) although it is in a sense segmental, working in sequence with segmental units (consonants, vowels). It has traditionally been studied along with other suprasegmental elements such as intonational features, loudness, and lengthening. Attempts to give a precise account of the distribution of pauses and to draw conclusions about their function in discourse point out that the pause plays an important role in organizing speech (Goldman-Eisler 1961, 1968, 1972). Not surprisingly, research on the structure of oral narratives (Chafe 1980; Scollon & Scollon 1981; Gee & Grosjean 1984; Gee & Kegl 1983; Rosenfield 1987) has found that pausing marks the boundaries of narrative units. And some ethnopoetic approaches regard pauses as a key feature signalling the basic poetic structure of Native American narratives (e.g., Tedlock , 1972, 1977, 1983).

The tendency has been to categorize pause phrases as either short or long. Brown and Yule (1983:160-4), for example, argue that in English very short pauses (less than 1sec.) tend to be hesitations, whereas medium and long pauses indicate successively larger prosodic units. However, as Woodbury points out, the problem with this conclusion is that pause phrasing tends to reinforce higher level prosodic units Brown and Yule were testing (Woodbury 1987:235, fn. 7). Woodbury has found that in CAY narratives, pauses both offset and cross-cut intonation phrasing at lower levels of prosodic phrasing.

More importantly, Woodbury found that pause length is gradient, arguing against a discrete hierarchy of pause phrasing which, at the lowest level consists of pause phrases separated by short pauses, and at higher levels groups of pause phrases separated by long pauses (Woodbury 1987:186). Rather, he found that pause phrasing is a *nondiscrete*

hierarchy involving "a rather loose clustering of pause phrases" with internal organization, but "well defined to a greater or lesser degree in every discourse" (Woodbury 1987:186).

Moreover, pause phrasing varies from culture to culture, and may thus be an artefact of the raconteur and his listeners' expectations. For example, Woodbury found that CAY speakers typically use pauses "that are long by English standards, giving English listeners an impression of slowness" (Woodbury 1985:186). It would be not be surprising to find that Lushootseed narratives have unique pause phrasing as well. Pause phrasing in SSP's narrative is examined, and attempts are made to analyze its interaction with intonational phrasing. Before turning to the analysis, a summary of Woodbury's pause default criteria for CAY narrative is given below, which will provide the starting point for the analysis of the Lushootseed narrative.

Woodbury has developed a model of rhetorical structure using texts from CAY. For this language he proposes default criteria (1987:186-7) as the basis on which to interpret the organizational role of pause phrasing and its interaction with intonation.

1. In the default case, line and pause will correspond to one-to-one; when more than one line occurs in a pause it will create an impression of rapidity, leading to a variety of special interpretations in context.
2. In the default case, subgroups and well-defined pause-phrase clusters will correspond one-to-one; that is, the pauses between lines within a subgroup will be roughly equal to each other but shorter than the pauses at the subgroups' edges. In non-default cases, unusually short pauses will create cohesion while unusually long pauses will convey disjunction or, in connection with A [terminal] contours, dramatic anticipation (especially section initially).

These defaults imply that certain pause-prosody alignments will correspond one-to-one, making the information unit neutral or expected by the audience. Thus, nondefault cases are marked, motivated, and communicatively significant (Woodbury 1987:187).

Woodbury's defaults need to be revised for Lushootseed. He bases his defaults on CAY narrative which shows, for the most part, pauses at the ends of each line. Lushootseed pause phrasing is different. Most often lines within subgroups do not end in a pause. For this text, at least, a revised default statement would have to say that,

3. in the default case lines within subgroups will not end in pauses. When pauses occur after lines within a subgroup, special communicative effect is conveyed.
4. Subgroups and well-defined pause phrase clusters will correspond one to one. This default might be expected to extend beyond subgroups to higher levels. The pause at the end will be longer than the pauses within.

This revised default criteria makes it possible to account for both the continuity and disjunction in *Nobility at Utsaladdy*. The introductory section of SSP's narrative (Subgroups 1-13) contains examples of defaults 3 and 4. A section of that introduction is given below.

(9) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

1: 1:1 həbu::?	A <0.>	Story-telling time ⁸
:2 [həbu? k'wəf] six ^w g ^w əl	A <0.>	[and in this story it is said] as usual that
:3 ?əstafil ti?ə? sʌ'a?	B <.05>	nobility lived there.
: 2:4 ?a	A_<0.>	There
:5 ?əstafil ?al	A <0.>	they lived at
:6 ti?it ?əcəladi	B <1.8>	Utsaladdy.
2: 3:7 ?əstafil ti?ə? sʌ'a?	A <.798>	Nobility lived there.
:8 ?əstafil ti?ə? p'əč'əb	A <.855>	Bobcat lived there.
:9 ?əstafil ti?ə? kay'kay'	B <1.46>	Steller's Jay lived there.
: 4:10 ?ibac ?a	B <0.>	Grandson
:11 tsi?ə? adəd	B <0.>	of Magpie
:12 ti?ə? p'əč'əb	B <.982>	(was) Bobcat.
: 5:13 ?ibacs.	B <2.08>	Her grandson.

In Complex Groups 1 and 2 both defaults are obeyed by the lack of pauses between lines in Subgroups 1, 2, and 4, and the presence of pauses at the ends of each subgroup. As well, the pauses within the complex groups are shorter than the pauses at the ends of the groups. A significant change in the narrative pace occurs in Subgroup 3, violating default 3 by pauses between lines. The pause creates disjunction, isolating each character for highlighting purposes. The original pace resumes in Subgroup 4 in which default pausing returns. The very long pause at the end of Subgroup 5 signals the boundary of a larger unit, the Section.

Consider next Example (10), which continues to describe the main characters.

Complex Groups 3 and 4 display significant structural parallelism. The intonation contours

⁸ This is a rough translation of the word used in this context. həbu? is encouragement that listeners call out to the storyteller. It is used here as a discourse marker announcing that the story has begun. It could also be translated as "traditional story begins now" or "gather 'round."

are identical (i.e., A B B B⁰) and each shows a default violation (a lack of pause between subgroups).

(10) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

3: 6:14 ʔa:: g ^w əl tusʔubadi	A <0.>	Now then,was a hunter Bobcat.
:15 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	B <0.>	
: 7:16 ʔ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ	B <0.>	He would hunt. He would hunt.
:17 ʔ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ	B ⁰ <1.09>	
4:8:18 g ^w əl ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ	A <0.>	And would talk Steller's Jay.
:19 tsiʔəʔ kay'kay'	B <0.>	
:9:20 ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ	B <1.06>	She would talk. She would talk.
:21 ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ	B ⁰ <.667>	

In this excerpt, the intonational parallelism is disrupted by the pause at the end of line 20, which is not matched by a pause at the end of line 16. The impression of rapidity created by the lack of pause between Subgroups 6 and 7, and 8 and 9 may express a variety of communicative effects. In this excerpt it seems to convey the characters' obsessive behaviour—Bobcat's tireless diligence and Steller's Jay's incessant chatter.

Subgroup 9 violates the default in 4 with different effect: it emphasizes how tedious Steller's Jay's chatter really is.⁹ Notice also that the pause phrasing in Subgroup 9 further violates the default in 3 by containing a pause that is longer than the pause at the end of the subgroup. The shorter pause occurring at line 21 may be linking Subgroups 9 and 10.

⁹ This interpretation takes its cue from Lushootseed (and other Native American cultures) rules of appropriate social conduct. That is, hunting is worthwhile but chattering is not.

In Section 3 Steller's Jay's chattering gives rise to Magpie's following admonition. It contains only a single default violation: lack of pause after line 25 in Subgroup 11.

(11) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[3]	5:10:22	g ^w əl λ' uqəl dʊb ʔə	B <0.>	And cautioned her to stop it
	:23	tsiʔəʔ adəd	B <.724>	this Magpie.
	:11:24	λ' uhuyəx ^w	!A <0.>	Stop it
	:25	kay'kay'	B <0.>	Steller's Jay!
	:12:26	λ' uhuyəx ^w	B+<1.8>	Stop it!!
	:13:27	ti dæg ^w i g ^w əl əsxiβəčəb ʔə	A <0.>	You're the one who would be kidnapped by
	:28	k ^w i tubšədə[d]	B <0.>	the warriors,
	:29	g ^w ək ^w ədibitəx ^w "	B <2.40>	if they get hold of you."

Whereas the lack of pause in the previous examples communicated diligence and tediousness, the lack of pause between subgroups 11 and 12 in this example seems to communicate Magpie's exasperation with Steller's Jay. The pause at the end of Magpie's warning is the longest encountered thus far. Functionally, it not only links the subgroups into a larger unit, but may serve to signal a major narrative division.

Another violation of the default in 3 occurs in the following subgroup, repressed in Example (7), in which there is a pause at the end of line 47. The pause provides emphasis: "she would be like that."

(7) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

9:22:45	ʔacəs	A <0.>	Indeed
:46	g ^W əsʔistəʔ	A<0.>	she would be
:47	tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ	B <1.49>	like that,
:48	g ^W ədəx ^W sudaʔəbəs	B <0.>	if she were called
:49	g ^W ətux̣ilcəbəs	B<0.>	if she were headsnaatched
:50	ʔə k ^W i tubšədə[d]	B <beat>	by the warriors.

Default 3 is also overturned within Subgroup 31 by the pause at the end of line 67.

(8) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

:31:66	ʔahəx ^W	!A <0.>	There now
:67	ʔəsg ^W ədiltub tiʔʔəʔ	A <1.2>	they had them sitting,
:68	ʔəsg ^W ədiltubəx ^W tiʔəʔ stutudəq	B <1.16>	sitting now as slaves.

Under Woodbury's default 1, pause phrasing in the example above would not be communicatively significant and we would miss the irony of the situation: nobility sitting as slaves. Here, the pause adds dramatic effect by creating a disjunction between lines 67 and 68, placing emphasis on "sitting now as slaves."

In the body of the narrative (Subgroups 14-end) the manipulation of pause phrasing changes the pace of the narrative over a complex range or scale. Longacre (1996) has emphasized the significance of unit size in a narrative. Pause phrasing is used creatively to regulate the pace of the narrative. For example, frequent pausing chops up the narrative into smaller, crisp units, as in the example below.

(12) ([Section]: Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[6] 12:32:69	huy	!A <0.>	Now
:70	sax ^w əbax ^w tsiʔəʔ	B <.59>	ran away this
:71	kay'kay'	B <.661>	Steller's Jay.
:33:72	ʔig ^w ətəx ^w	!B <.844>	(She) climbed ₁
:73	dx ^w šəq	!B <.386>	up high!
:34:74	tudəx ^w əsʔistaʔsəx ^w	B <1.42>	That's why she is the way she is now.
[7] 13:35:75	huy	!A <0.>	Now
:76	g ^w uubəx ^w :::::10	B <1.8>	she barked.
36:77	saq' ^w	!B <.554>	Flew ₁
:78	liq ^w ədag ^w ap	B <0.>	among the trees down low
:79	g ^w əl bələguub	B <.47>	and again she barked.

BARK— BARK

Suspending pauses between lines and larger units creates a run-on effect. This is demonstrated in the following example where pauses are suspended between lines 59 and 60.

(13) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[5] 10:28:58	huy	!A_ <0.>	Then
:59	k ^w ədabitəb	B <0.>	they were kidnapped!
:29:60	ʔəisəbəx ^w [h]əlg ^w əʔ ʔə	B <0.>	Came now (to kidnap) them AGT.
:61	tiʔəʔ tubšədə[d]	B <beat>11	the warriors,
:62	ʔal tiʔitʔal ʔəcaladi	B <1.80>	to Utsaladdy.

¹⁰ The extreme rhetorical lengthening occurring here is represented by a string of lengthening marks (::). Rhetorical lengthening is also accompanied by a creaky voice.

¹¹ The speaker is interrupted by a listener at this juncture.

This rapid-fire delivery created by the suspension of pauses serves to heighten the surprise attack. Contrast this with the following example, which violates the default in 3 by slowing the pace to accentuate the individual victims.

(14) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

11:30:63	k ^w ədə:bitəbəx ^w tsi?ə? stə?--	A <1.75>	They took this uh--,
:64	sk' ^w ək' ^w əqiq	!A <beat>	Robin!
:65	k ^w ədabitəb tsi?ə? yay'qa?	B <2.47>	They took this yay'qa? ¹²

Finally, a significant violation to achieve a special communicative effect is demonstrated by the extremely long pause occurring within Subgroup 46 (line 101). In conjunction with the repetition in the following line and accompanying pause, this may foreshadow the supernatural nature of Steller's Jay's power song.¹³

(15) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

17:46:100	x ^w i?	!A <0>	I didn't
:101	g ^w ədsxibəčtəb	B <2.08>	get headsnatched.
:102	x ^w i? g ^w ədsxibəčtəb	B ⁰ <.820>	I didn't get- headsnaatched.
:47:103	š ^w ul'ul' čəd ʔuq ^w əbq ^w əbaycut š ^w ul'	B <.410>	I just pretended to be a dog, just
:104	g ^w əl ʔuxəc ti	B+ <0.>	and scared the
:105	tubšədə[d]."	B ⁰ <beat>	warriors."

¹² Today no one knows what kind of bird this is.

¹³ Barry Carlson (personal communication, 1999) says that the Jay is important in Salish cultures throughout British Columbia and Washington State. Certain members of Salish communities, especially in the Interior, were considered to be human embodiments of Jay. Because they possessed magical powers and a knowledge of medicine, they were treated with caution and respect.

The examples above show that special cohesive and disjunctive effects are created by the alignment and misalignment patterns of pause and intonational phrasing. This supports the predictions of Woodbury's framework by showing that the interaction of rhetorical components is communicatively significant. Not explicitly stated in Woodbury (1985, 1987) is that contour patterns themselves may create cohesion and disjunction and that pause phrasing reinforces this. In the following section this interaction is examined, showing that repeated contour patterns display a cohesive function, while divergence from the established pattern displays a disjunctive function.

2.3 Interaction of Prosodic Components

Turning back to Section 1, we see the AAB pattern repeated three times. Once in Subgroup 1, a second time in Subgroup 2, and a third time in Subgroup 3.

([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[1]	1: 1:1 həbu:ʔ	A <0.>	Story-telling time
	:2 [həbuʔ k'wəʔ] six ^w g ^w əl	A <0.>	[and in this story it is said] as usual that
	:3 ʔəstafliil tiʔəʔ sʌ'aʔ	B <.05>	nobility lived there.
	: 2:4 ʔa	A_<0.>	There
	:5 ʔəstafliil ʔal	A <0.>	they lived at
	:6 tiʔit ʔəcaladi	B <1.8>	Utsaladdy.
	2: 3:7 ʔəstafliil tiʔəʔ sʌ'aʔ	A <.798>	Nobility lived there.
	:8 ʔəstafliil tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	A <.855>	Bobcat lived there.
	:9 ʔəstafliil tiʔəʔ kay'kay'	B <1.46>	Steller's Jay lived there.
	: 4:10 ʔibac ʔə	B <0.>	Grandson
	:11 tsiʔəʔ adəp	B <0.>	of Magpie
	:12 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	B <.982>	(was) Bobcat.
	: 5:13 ʔibacs.	B <2.08>	Her grandson.

The first two AAB patterns are contained within Complex Group 1, the third in Complex Group 2. Although the content represented by identical contour patterns are also repetitions (with some elaboration), these contour patterns spread across two complex groups, which are disjunctive units if we consider that a high pitch reset creates disjunction between prosodic units. On the content side, we see that lines 7, 8, and 9 expand on what is said in the previous three lines: introducing the main characters. Thus the unity of the topic of nobility, although carried across two complex groups, is preserved by maintaining the AAB contour pattern.

Disjunction is created by a shift from the expected AAB pattern to a BBB pattern in Subgroup 4, even though Subgroup 4 is linked with Subgroup 3 within Complex Group 2. Keeping these two subgroups together is desirable, because the narrator is still introducing the main characters. However, she is also focusing on Bobcat's relationship to Magpie. As mentioned earlier, divergence from expected patterns is communicatively significant. And shift in focus is disjunctive. Figure 1. illustrates narrative cohesion and disjunction reflected by contour patterns, which are offset and cross-cut by pause phrasing. The connecting bar on the right of the Lushootseed text indicates the point at which cohesion is sustained by the contour pattern across two complex groups.

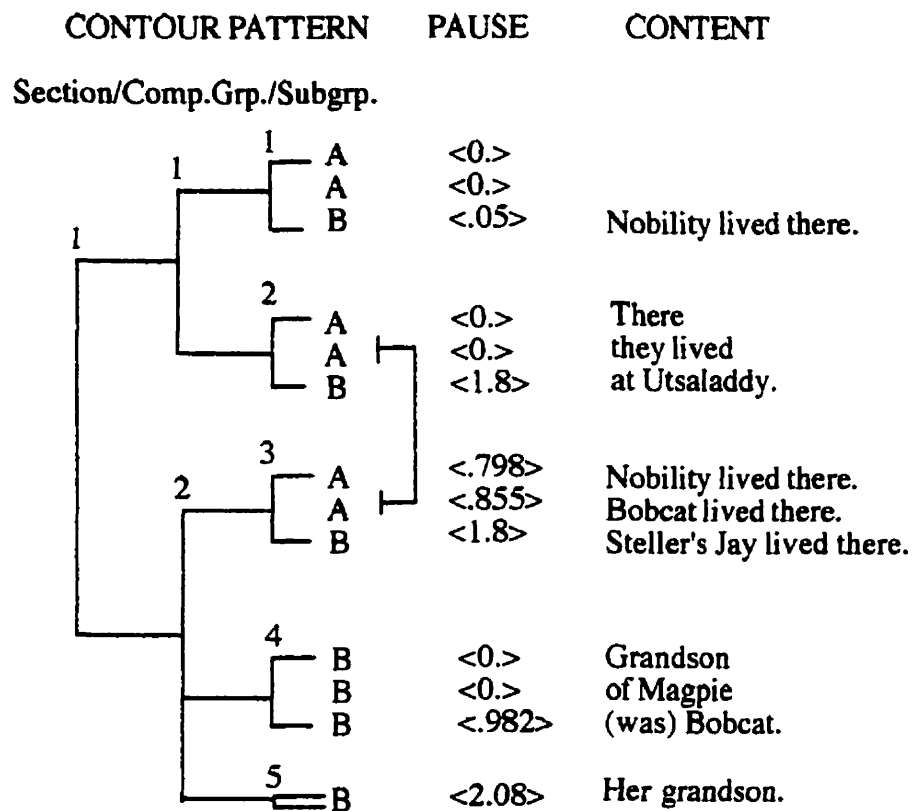


Figure 1. Contour-Pause Interaction

Reinforcing the disjunction created by the shift in contour pattern in Subgroup 3 is the violation of the intonation-pause default in Subgroup 3. As mentioned earlier, the disjunction that pausing creates isolates the information contained within the pause phrase, serving to focus on each named character. The return to the default case in Subgroup 4, however, cross-cuts the unexpected BBBB contour pattern. In this case, the contour pattern is communicatively significant whereas in the former case, pause phrasing is communicatively significant.

The foregoing has demonstrated the interaction of prosodic elements. In this narrative, intonation and pause phrasing are autonomous components that organize the structure of the discourse in their own ways. Pauses do not necessarily require intonational breaks, and intonational breaks do not require pauses. Moreover, the parallelism between

content and prosodic form seems to support Hymes's claim argument for form-content parallelism in Native American narrative. There are other patterns in the narrative, those I have examined serve to illustrate some of the possibilities. A more comprehensive analysis of form-content parallelism operating in *Nobility at Utsaladdy* is provided in Section 3.3.

3. MORPHOSYNTACTIC COMPONENTS

3.1 Syntactic Constituency

Exploring the relationship between syntactic/semantic and prosodic structure has been a major area of research in prosody for at least two or three decades (e.g., Chen 1987; Croft 1995; Downing 1970; Halliday 1967; Langendoen 1975; Nespor and Vogel 1982, 1983, 1986; Selkirk 1981, 1984, 1986; Steedman 1991). Researchers are primarily concerned with the existence of a broadly grammatical system underlying prosodic phrasing, and thus attempt to explain, or explain away, any misalignments of prosodic and syntactic constituents. But a theory of rhetorical structure, like Woodbury's, tries to account for the misalignments by treating prosody and syntax as separate systems that organize the narrative in different ways with different communicative effects.

The following presents the interaction of intonation structure, pause structure and syntactic constituency in SSP's narrative. It will show that prosody and syntax often diverge from expected one-to-one alignment, displaying other types of (mis)alignment, such as many-to-one alignment (in which different clauses, or parts thereof, occur in the same prosodic subgroup), and one-to-many alignment (in which the same clause occurs over more than one prosodic subgroup). Their divergence from the default case (one-to-one alignment) signals special cohesion and disjunction.

The current discussion is organized as follows. First, a general description of Lushootseed syntax will be presented. This will be followed by (1) examples showing the interaction of prosodic features at clause boundaries, and (2) instances within sentences

where prosodic phrasing overrides syntax, where it reinforces syntax, and where it is overridden by syntax.

3.1.1 Lushootseed Grammar

Lushootseed is a verb-initial language. Like other Amerind languages, Lushootseed builds sentences by linking morphemes around a predicate nucleus. Its complicated morphology allows for simple syntax. In the *Lushootseed Reader Vol. I* (hereafter LRI), Hess (1995:82) points out, "Good Lushootseed style prefers fairly simple syntax, packing complexities into the verb morphology."

The grammar comprises a hierarchy of syntactic constituents from lexical categories (nouns, demonstratives, verbs, and so on) to maximal phrasal projections (VP, NP, etc.) to clauses. Clauses comprise the predicate and optional complement(s); unlike in English and many other languages, a well-formed sentence need only consist of the predicate. The following describes each major constituent.

3.1.1.1 Constituents of the Clause

Predicate. A sentence may consist only of a verb, or, to be more precise, a predicate. Lushootseed sentences are often verbless.¹⁵ Other word classes, such as adverbs or nouns, may occupy the position normally assumed by the verb. For this reason, the term predicate is used to refer to the position itself, and will be used throughout

¹⁵ I adopt Hess's (1995:81) definition of a verb, which is a stem to which (a subset of) aspectual prefixes may be attached.

this discussion, except where the focus is on VP. Examples of verbless predicates (underlined) are provided below.

- (16) tudi? tə duk^wibəʔ. "Way off there is Charger."
ti?ə? tə č'TL'aʔ. "This is the rock."
tusi?ab ti tudsč'istx^w. "My former husband was a man of rank."
(LRI:81).

Any remaining item in the clause is either a complement, adjunct, or augment.

Complements. There are two types of complements in Lushootseed: the direct complement and the oblique complement. The direct complement is a noun phrase consisting of a demonstrative and a noun. In the examples above, the portion not underlined is the direct complement. The direct complement may also be the agent or the patient of the clause, depending upon the particular ending that the predicate bears: If the predicate ends in -b the direct complement is the agent, whereas if it ends in -d or -tx^w, the direct complement is the patient.¹⁶ Finally, direct complements may also be a wh-word or a demonstrative, e.g.,

- (17) č^wul' čəd g^wəcut ?ə ti?ə? "I would just sound like this."
DEM.

or

- (18) tətsus g^wəsʔista? tsi?ə? "She would truly do this."
DEM/fem.
(Nobility at Utsaladdy)

Nominalized subordinate clauses function as patients, e.g.,

- (19) ?ulačdx^wəx^w ti?ət tushuy ?ə ti?ət c'ixc'ix "[He] remembered what Fish Hawk
patient had done"
(LRI:111)

¹⁶ When a personal pronoun is the direct complement, it is always the agent, regardless of whether the predicate ends in -d, -tx^w or -b.

When the direct complement occurs, it accompanies the predicate in forming the core of the Lushootseed clause.

Peripheral to the predicate and the direct complement are the oblique complement, the adjunct, and the augment. The oblique complement expresses the agent of a predicate. It differs from the direct complement in that it expresses the agent of predicates ending in -tub, -təb, -dub, -cəb, and -səb, which mark a change in voice of the predication which is somewhat similar to the passive of English. ?ə-, an all-purpose preposition,¹⁷ is used to introduce the agent, as in the following example.

- (20) ?uk^wədətəb ?ə ti?ə? pišpiš ti sʔuladx^w Lit: "The salmon was taken by the
agent cat"
(LRI:82)

Not all ?ə-phrases function as oblique complements, however. Noun phrases introduced by ?ə- may serve other semantic roles, such as instrument and patient. Examples where ?ə indicates the two roles are provided in Examples (21) and (22).

- (21) ?upusutəb ?ə ti č'ač'as ti?ə? sʔ^wəbay? ?ə tə č'TL'a? 'The boy threw at the
instrument dog with a rock.'
(LRI:84)

- (22) ?u?əfəd ?ə tə biac. "[Someone] ate the meat."
patient
(LRI:85)

?ə-phrases may also function as adverbials, as in

- (23) ?uyayus ?ə tətib "[Someone] worked hard."
adverbial
(LRI:85)

¹⁷ See fn.3 in Bates 1997, "Person Marking in Lushootseed Subordinate Clauses" the unrevised version of a paper presented at 32nd ICSNL, Port Angeles, WA., August 7-9.

Finally, ʔə-phrases mark possessive relations, e.g.,

- (24) ʔibac ʔə tsiʔəʔ adəd tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb "Bobcat was the grandson of Maggie."
 possessor possessed
 (Nobility at Utsaladdy)

Adjunct. The adjunct comprises any material left in the clause, that is, material other than the predicate, direct and oblique complements, or augment. The adjunct may be a single word or a prepositional phrase introduced by either ʔə or ʔal. For example, in the following two sentences, the first underlined adjunct is a single word, whereas the second underlined is the *ʔal*-phrase, e.g.,

- (25) ʔutəxtəb dxwt'əq't [pp dx^wʔal tudiʔ ʔalʔal.] "It was spread up [PP toward
 adjunct ʔal-phrase yonder house.]"
 (LRI:82)

According to Hess (LRI) ʔal—and its derivatives, tul'ʔal *from*, dx^wal *toward*, until, *in order to* and lifʔal *by way of*, *by means of*—are lexical items that are free with respect to their position in the sentence (LRI:84).

In short, ʔə-phrases and ʔal-phrases are integral syntactic constituents, like English prepositional phrases, which cannot be parsed into smaller syntactic constituents.

Augment. The augment is a single word that expresses locative or temporal notions that are not part of any other constituent, e.g.,

- (26) tulaʔibaš tiʔit bəščab lifəlg^wʔ "Mink was travelling along the shore."
 (LRI:82)

3.1.1.2 The Clause

A Lushootseed sentence is composed of at least one independent, or matrix clause. Sentences with more than one clause are either compound or complex sentences. The former contains two (or more) main clauses conjoined by an a-vowel suffixed to a čad-word (described below), when first or second persons are involved (LRI:114). The latter contains at least one subordinate (embedded) clause. Subordinate clauses express the motivation or reason for an act or state conveyed in the main clause; they express a range of attitudes including tentativeness, vagueness, uncertainty, and, in the case of relative clauses, they modify particular nouns.

Distinguishing the independent and subordinate clauses in Lushootseed involves identifying certain morpho-syntactic forms that the subordinate clauses assume. One feature that identifies a subordinate clause is the presence of a complementizer preceding the predicate of the embedded clause. Complementizers are lexical items that head an embedded sentence. They include interrogative words, such as *stab* *what*, *g^wat* *who*, *čad* *where*, *čal* *how*. The subjunctive prefix *g^wə-* /*g^w-* is used in subordinate clauses that express doubt or denial, or question something.

In addition to complementizers, there are other morphosyntactic patterns involved in subordinate clauses. The most salient of these is the occurrence of the type of person marker the clause has in its predicate. There are three different sets of subject person marking patterns: čad-words (or person particles), person clitics, and nominalized person markers (LRI:108). The first set comprises free standing pronouns. These patterns occur in main clauses, and in one type of relative clause (LRI:110). The second and third set of person markers are used to form subordinate clauses. The person clitic pattern is used to form conditional, habitual, or jussive clauses (LRI:110). The third set of person markers is

3.1.2 Interaction of Syntax and Prosodic Phrasing

Prosodic phrasing is an independent component of the rhetorical structure of SSP's narrative. It is also partly predictable from syntactic constituency. Furthermore, there are cases where prosodic phrasing is overridden by the syntax, suggesting that syntactic constituency may also comprise an independent component in the organization of the narrative. Woodbury (1985:189-90) made two generalizations about the interaction between prosody and syntax.

1. In the default case, a sentence and a prosodic subgroup will correspond one-to-one;
2. In non default cases,
 - (i) different sentences (or parts thereof) will occur within the same subgroup, showing a many-to-one alignment giving rise to special cohesion;
 - (ii) the same sentence will span more than one subgroup, showing a one-to-many alignment that creates special disjunction.

3.1.2.1 One-to-One Alignment

Most subgroups in SSP's narrative adhere to the default rule. Some examples are provided below.

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

(28)	1: 1 : 1 həbu:ʔ	A <0.>	Storytelling time [and in this story it is said] as usual that, nobility lived there.
	: 2 [həbuʔ k'wəʔ] six ^w g ^w əl	A <0.>	
	: 3 ʔəstəʔil tiʔəʔ sTL'aʔ	B <.05>	

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| (29) | : 2 : 4 ?a
: 5 ?astafilil ?al
: 6 ti?it ?acaladi | A <0.>
A <0.>
B <1.8> | There
they lived at
Utsaladdy. |
| (30) | : 4 :10 ?ibac ?a
:11 tsi?a? adad
:12 ti?a? p'ač'ab | B <0.>
B <0.>
B <.982> | Grandson
of Magpie
(was) Bobcat. |
| (31) | :5 :13 ?ibacs. | B <2.08> | Her grandson. |
| (32) | 3: 6 :14 ?a:: g ^w al tus?ubadi
:15 ti?a? p'ač'ab | A <0.>
B <0.> | Now then, was a hunter
Bobcat. |
| (33) | 4: 9 :18 g ^w al λ'ug ^w adg ^w a?
:19 tsi?a? kay'kay' | A <0.>
B <0.> | And would talk
Steller's Jay. |
| (34) | :12:22 g ^w al λ'uqaldub ?a
:23 tsi?a? adad | B <0.>
B <.724> | And cautioned her to stop it
this Magpie. |

These passages above are good examples of a clear one-to-one correspondence between sentence and subgroup. But one-to-one alignment does not always occur, as seen when the default is overturned by the alignment of more than one sentence with one subgroup.

3.1.2.2. Many-to-One Alignment.

Examples of a many-to-one alignment which creates cohesion follow.

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| (35) | 2:3: 7 ?astafilil ti?a? λ'a?
: 8 ?astafilil ti?a? p'ač'ab | A <.798>
B <.855> | Nobility lived there.
Bobcat lived there. |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------|

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (36) | 3:6:14 ʔa: g ^w əl tusʔubədi
:15 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb
:7:16 ʔ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ
:17 ʔ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ | A <0.>
B <0.>
B <0.>
B ⁰ <1.09> | Now then, was a hunter
this Bobcat.
He would hunt.
He would hunt. |
| (37) | :9:18 ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ
:19 ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ | B <1.06>
B ⁰ <.667> | She would talk.
She would talk. |
| (38) | 13:30:63 k ^w əda:bitəbəx ^w
tsiʔəʔ stəʔ--
:64 sk' ^w ək' ^w əqiq
:65 k ^w ədabitəb tsiʔəʔ
yay'qaʔ | A <1.75>
!A <beat>
B <2.47> | They took
this uh--,
Robin!
They took this
yay'qaʔ |
| (39) | 17:42:91 hu:y tu--
:92 ʔuyabəx ^w tiʔəʔ
tubšəda
:93 huy q'ilag ^w iləx ^w
:94 huy ʔulutəx ^w | A <beat>
A <0.>
A <0.>
B <.577> | Then IRR--
the warriors were
terrorized.
They got into their
canoes.
Then they
travelled away. |
| (40) | 19:46:100 x ^w iʔ
:101 g ^w ədsʔibəčtəb
:102 x ^w iʔ g ^w ədsʔibəčtəb | !A <0.>
B <2.08>
B ⁰ <.820> | I didn't
get head-snatched.
I didn't get
head-snatched. |

In Example (41) below, many-to-one alignment is used to create non-default *enjambment*, a process of incorporating different sentences within a single line. This occurs in line (116), which contains an entire sentence and the last part of the previous sentence.

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

(41)	23:53:115	qəlalitutsəx ^w tiʔəʔ cədit	A<0.>	Now it is the very spirit- power song
	:116	ʔuʔli:d. qəlalitutsəx. ^w	Aaff<.664>	she sings. Her spirit- power song.
	:54:117	qəlalitutsəx ^w ʔə tsiʔəʔ kay'kay' tiʔit	A <0.>	The spirit power of this Steller's Jay
	:118	də[x ^w]x ^w al'dx ^w s	A<0.>	was what she used to overpower
	:119	di tubšədə[d]	B<1.27>	the warriors.

Another interesting aspect of Example (41) is that the pause occurring at line 116 disrupts the prosodic cohesion created by the succession of A contours. The insertion of a pause here violates the default in 4, which states that subgroups and well-defined pause-phrase clusters will correspond one to one. The insertion of a pause here not only creates disjunction, but, in connection with an A contour, creates dramatic anticipation (Woodbury 1987:187).

3.1.2.3 One-to-Many Alignment

Disjunction is also created by spreading a single sentence over more than one subgroup. There are no examples of this type of alignment in this narrative, however.

3.1.3 Alignment of Prosodic Phrasing and Sentence-Internal Constituents

This section looks at the interaction between prosodic phrasing and syntactic constituents within the sentence. The sentence is composed of a hierarchy of syntactic constituents which can be decomposed into increasingly smaller components, e.g., sentence → subject + predicate, predicate → verb phrase + noun phrase, noun phrase → determiner + noun, etc. Syntactic dependency refers to the relationships holding between

minor elements that comprise a syntactic constituent. These are represented in dependency trees, "sets of nodes whose interconnections specify structural relations" (Crystal 1997:109), e.g., preposition + noun form a prepositional phrase (PP), determiner + noun form a determiner phrase (DP), modifier + noun form an adjective phrase (AP), and so on.

Within the Lushootseed sentence there are some fairly rigidly observed rules of prosodic phrasing. In prosodic phrase formation, prosodic (W)ords and adjacent (C)litics group together to form (C W) sequences. In sequences with two clitics (W C C W), the first clitic will incorporate with the preceding word becoming a suffix, while the second clitic will join the word to its immediate right. The result of this process yields two prosodic phrases (W+C) (C W). In cases where the grammar creates three successive clitics (W C C C), phonological processes segment the string into (W+C) (C C+W) (Beck 1996, 1998).

Prosodic phrasing in Lushootseed appears to be largely independent of syntactic constituency. However, there are cases where intonational phrasing and pause phrasing coincide with syntactic boundaries, and other instances where prosodic phrasing is overridden by syntax and discourse (see also Beck 1996:51). The next three sections present examples of the alignment patterns involving intonational phrasing, pause phrasing, and syntactic constituency.

3.1.3.1 Prosody Ignores Syntactic Boundaries

Prosodic phrasing frequently ignores the boundaries of syntactic constituents. This is most evident in lower level phrasal constituents and syntactic dependencies. Prosodic phrasing seems particularly insensitive to ʔə- and ʔal- phrase constructions, inserting an intonational break (A or B terminal contour) and occasionally a pause between the phrasal

particle (ʔə-, ʔal- and the head.) In Examples (42) and (43) the prosodic phrasing intervenes between the particle marking the agent and the noun phrase.

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| (42) | 8:17:35 | x ^w i:ʔ | | NEG. |
| | | g ^w ədsk ^w ədabyitəb ʔə | B <0.> | would be kidnapped <u>by</u> |
| | :36 | <u>k^wi tubšədə[d]</u> | B <0.> | <u>the warriors.</u> |
| (43) | :29:60 | fəisəbəx ^w | B <0.> | Came now (to kidnap) |
| | :61 | [h]əlg ^w əʔ ʔə | B <0.> | them <u>AGT.</u> ¹⁸ |
| | :62 | <u>tɪʔəʔ tubšədə[d]</u> | B <beat> | <u>the warriors</u> |

Prosodic phrasing may override the boundaries within other ʔə- phrases that express a variety of other relationships, such as that which relates possessor to possessed item in Example (44), and that which designates the patient of a subclass of agent-oriented verbs in Example (45).

(44) Possessor and possessed item (Subgroup: Line)

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|
| 4: 10 | ʔibac ʔə | B <0.> | Grandson <u>of</u> |
| : 11 | <u>tɪʔəʔ adəd</u> | B <0.> | <u>Maggie</u> |

(45) Patient (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

- | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 9:20:41 | "x ^w ul' čəd | A <0.> | "I would just |
| :42 | g ^w əcut ʔə | B <0.> | sound <u>like</u> |
| :43 | <u>tɪʔəʔ</u> | B+ <0.> | <u>this!"</u> |

The boundaries of ʔal-phrase constituents are also regularly interrupted by prosodic phrasing, as in (46).

¹⁸ AGT. represents ʔə the preposition used to mark the oblique agent.

(Subgroup: Line)

(46)	: 2 : 4 ʔa	A <0>	There
	: 5 ʔəstafil ʔal	A <0>	they lived at
	: 6 tiʔit ʔəcaladi	B <1.8>	Utsaladdy

Elements within the DP are also frequently separated by intonation breaks and pauses, as the following examples illustrate.

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

(47)	13:30:63 k ^w ada:bitəbəx ^w		They took
	<u>tsiʔəʔ</u> stəʔ	A <1.75>	<u>this</u> uh--,
	:64 sk ^w ək ^w əqiq	!A <?>	<u>Robin!</u>
(48)	14:32:69 huy	!A <0>	Now
	:70 sax ^w əbəx ^w <u>tsiʔəʔ</u>	B <.59>	ran away <u>this</u> ,
	:71 <u>kay'kay'</u>	B <.661>	<u>Stellar Jay.</u>
(49)	:41:89 ʔiw'aacəx ^w <u>tiʔəʔ</u>	B <0>	She whistled at <u>the</u>
	:90 <u>tubšədə[d]</u>	B ⁰ <.679>	<u>warriors.</u>

In all the examples above, prosodic phrasing appears to be oblivious to the boundaries of syntactic constituents. The junctures that the intonational breaks create within the constituents also seem to violate Selkirk's (1984) *sense unit*.¹⁹ There also does not appear to be any special communicative effect conveyed by the prosodic-phasal patterns here, and this weakens Woodbury's argument that misalignment among rhetorical components creates special cohesion or disjunction in the narrative.

Furthermore, the lack of incorporation of the demonstrative (tiʔəʔ/tiʔit) with the preceding word violates the prosodic patterning of words and clitics described above. Beck (1996) has also noted and suggested two possible explanations: (1) there is no phonological process which allows demonstratives to incorporate with a preceding word; and (2) this construction allows the demonstrative itself to function as a (phonological)

¹⁹ Selkirk proposes a *sense unit condition* on intonational phrasing which states that prosodic phrasing is ultimately to be attributed to the requirement that it makes a certain kind of semantic sense (1984:286).

word. Beck says that "This might be expected for demonstratives based on their status as potential predicates" (1996:58). The pauses occurring in Subgroups 30 and 32 above serve to reinforce the separation of the two elements. Section (3.1.3.3) includes a discussion of the possibility that these constructions have a topic-setting function.

3.1.3.2 Prosody Reinforces Syntactic Boundaries

Prosodic phrasing may reinforce higher level syntactic constituent boundaries. For example, in (50) and (51) the boundary between the predicate and its complement is reinforced by an intonation break (A contour.)

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

(50)	3:6:14 ?a: g ^w əl tusʔubədi :15 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	A <0.> B <0.>	Now then, was a hunter Bobcat.
(51)	4:8:18 g ^w əl ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w əʔ :19 tsiʔəʔ kay'kay'	A <0.> B <0.>	And would talk this Steller's Jay.

Prosodic phrasing may also reinforce the boundaries between the verbal predicate and adverb, as illustrated in Examples (52) and (53).

(Subgroup: Line)

(52)	:33:72 ʔig ^w əʔəx ^w :73 dx ^w šəq	B <.844> !B <.386>	Climbed, up high!
(53)	:36:77 saq' ^w :78 liq ^w ədag ^w ap	!B <.554> B <beat>	Flew, among the trees down low.

Finally, the prosodic-syntactic alignments in (54) demonstrate the reinforcement of a subjunctive clause (line 46) and two subordinate clauses (one beginning at line 48, and the other at line 49.)

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

(54)	10:22:45	ʔacəs	A <0.>	Indeed
	:46	g ^W əsʔistəʔ	A<0.>	she would be
	:47	tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ	B <1.49>	like that,
	:48	g ^W ədəx ^W sudaʔəbəs	B <0.>	if she were caught by the toe
	:49	g ^W ətuxilcəbəs ʔə	B<0.>	if she were head-snatched by
	:50	k ^W i tubšədə[d]	B <beat>	the warriors.

3.1.3.3 Syntax Ignores Prosody

Prosodic (intonational) phrase boundaries may also be overridden by syntax and discourse, as in vocative expressions. In the examples below I use Beck's notational method, W = Word C= Clitic. Here discourse overrides prosodic phrasing by forcing an intonational break (indicated by a double slash) between the second clitic and word, resulting in the disruption of the expected prosodic pattern (W + C) (C W).²⁰

(55)	(W	C	C)	//	(W)
		ʔuhaydx ^W	čəx ^W	ʔu		ʔadəd		
		find out	you	INT. ²¹		Magpie		
		Did you find out, Magpie?						

²⁰ Hess (personal communication, 1999) points out that this particular sequence would always be W+ C + C; both Cs incorporate.

²¹ INT. represents the interrogative marker ʔu.

As mentioned earlier, demonstratives are frequently separated from their noun heads by intonational breaks (and sometimes pauses). It was suggested that the lack of the incorporation of the demonstrative with the adjacent word may have either a phonological or syntactic /pragmatic explanation. The result of this construction is to emphasize the following noun and make the demonstrative word act as a resumptive pronoun or the left-branching equivalent (Beck 1996:58), e.g., "Mary, I know *her*" (Crystal 1997:332). Consider the following example which is recast using a different notation to show the change in the syntactic status of the components. (The notation includes intonational breaks (//) and intonational contour type (A) followed by pause duration, indicated within angled (< >) brackets).

(56) a. Input (from Example 47)

(W C) // (^{A<1.75>} W ^{!A <bea>})
 k^wəda:bitəbəx^w tsi?ə? sk'^wək'^wəqig
 They took this Robin

b. Change

(W) (W) // (W)
 k^wəda:bitəbəx^w tsi?ə? sk'^wək'^wəqig
 They took this (one), Robin

The examples in this section have shown that the interaction of syntactic structure with pause phrasing and intonational phrasing creates a network of alignments (or default relationships) and misalignments which establish the stylistic flow of the narrative. The narrator uses the relationship between these rhetorical components to move the story along, always manipulating the cohesive and disjunctive possibilities in creative ways. The following section considers a fourth component available to the narrator, adverbial particle phrasing.

3.2 Adverbial Particle Phrasing

Dell Hymes is a pioneer in the field of ethnography, especially in the subdiscipline of the ethnography of speaking. His analyses of Native American oral performances have laid the foundation for countless linguistic and anthropological investigations into the structure of Native American narratives. He has long appreciated the inherent poetic nature of Native American oral performances. His analyses of Chinookan narratives revealed recurrent patterns that organized the texts into verses and lines, the division of which he found to be conditioned by repetitions and relationships among words and grammatical features. He noted the frequency with which sentential particles introduced lines and verses and marked the passage of time and turns at speaking.

The main function of *sentential particles* (SAPs)²² is to introduce shifts in the narrative, creating disjunction between narrative units. They interact with the prosodic and syntactic components, and their role in the rhetorical organization of SSP's narrative will be investigated. I will examine the system of sentential particles and demonstrate that their distribution is partly conditioned by intonation and pause phrasing, and partly conditioned by syntax. Woodbury found this to be the case in CAY narratives and concluded that: "... adverbial particles are by nature syntactic, yet serve to introduce prosodic units in addition to syntactic ones" (Woodbury 1987:192). The most common sentential particles are translated as *and*, *then*, and *next*, but others include *but*, *however*, *so it happened*, *well*, *now then*, *as time passed*, *it is said*, *indeed*, and interjections such as *Oh!*, *My!*

²² These particles are also referred to as *sentential adverbials* and *adverbial particles*. To avoid confusion, I refer to them as SAPs.

3.2.1 Sentential Adverbial Particles (SAPs)

Lushootseed uses a small set of SAPs. The most common are $g^w\text{əl}$ ($g^w\text{a}?$) *and, but, or, huy then, next*, and *hay next*. These particles are often combined into the sequences, $huy\ g^w\text{əl}$, $g^w\text{əl}$ (h)*uy*, *hay g^wəl*, which all roughly mean *and then*. Another SAP used by some speakers is $\text{ʔa}?\text{ay}$ (variant of *hay*) *located, be (there)*, which may also be used in combination with one of the others (LRI:122). There are also adverbial predicates in this narrative which function in the same way as SAPs by introducing the sentence or cueing the direction of the narrative. These include: $k^w(\text{ə})\text{l}$, *it is said*, $\text{t}i\text{ləb}$ *instantly* and ʔasus *indeed*.²³ These last two convey an evaluation the speaker makes of the narrative's subject matter. Table 1 shows SAPs frequently used in this narrative. For the most part they introduce syntactic sentences and higher level prosodic units, i.e., sections and complex groups.

As the pattern in Table 1 indicates, syntactic constituency conditions the placement of SAPs. In this data all the SAPs occur clause or sentence initially. Since the beginnings of sentences usually coincide with the beginnings of prosodic units, they too are introduced with SAPs. Although separate from either the syntactic or the prosodic component, SAPs nevertheless tend to reinforce constituent boundaries, providing the cue that a shift has occurred in the narrative.

3.2.2 The Enclitic -əx^w

The enclitic -əx^w *now* has a special function within discourse. It designates a change in the situation, indicating that a new act or condition is now in effect (LRI: 68). It

²³ ʔasus may be a variant of $\text{ʔá}\text{c}\text{ə}\text{c}$ *be located right there* (Hess 1976:639) and the sentential adverb ʔah (LRI:122).

also organizes the narrative, either independently or in combination with SAPs and predications. Usually, but not always, it signals larger prosodic units (i.e., groups and sections), creating disjunction within the narrative. To see how $-əx^w$ organizes the narrative, consider its distribution in the excerpt below. It appears to organize the narrative by reinforcing the function of SAPs. It may do this by attaching directly to predicative words or to SAPs. In either case, it reinforces the disjunction.

(57) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [5] | 10:28:58 | huy | Then |
| | :59 | k ^w ədabitəb | they were kidnapped! |
| | :29:60 | fɛisəbəx ^w [h]əlg ^w ə? | Came now (to kidnap) them |
| | | ʔə | AGT. |
| | :61 | tɪʔəʔ tubšədə[d] | the warriors, |
| | :62 | ʔal tɪʔit ʔal ʔəcaladi | there at Utsaladdy. |
| | 11:30:63 | k ^w ədə:bitəbəx ^w | They took |
| | | tsiʔəʔ stəʔ-- | this uh--, |
| | :64 | sk ^w ək ^w əqɪq | Robin! |
| | :65 | k ^w ədabitəb tsiʔəʔ | Another bird was taken. |
| | | yay ^w qaʔ | |
| | :31:66 | ʔahəx ^w | There now |
| | :67 | ʔəsg ^w ədiltub tɪʔəʔ | they had them sitting, |
| | :68 | ʔəsg ^w ədiltubəx ^w | sitting now as slaves. |
| | | tɪʔəʔ stutudəq | |
| [6] | 12:32:69 | huy | Now |
| | :70 | sax ^w əbəx ^w tsiʔəʔ | ran away this |
| | :71 | kay ^w kay ^w | Steller's Jay. |
| | :33:72 | ʔig ^w ətəx ^w | (She) climbed, |
| | :73 | dx ^w šəq | up high! |
| | :34:74 | tudəx ^w əsʔistaʔsəx ^w | That's why she is the way she is. |
| [7] | 13:35:75 | huy | Now |
| | :76 | g ^w uubəx ^w : : : : : | she barked. |
| | 14:38:84 | huy | Then |
| | :85 | ʃ ^w iw ^w ədəx ^w | she whistled! |
| | :39:86 | huy | Then |
| | :87 | ʃ ^w iw ^w ədəx ^w | she whistled. |
| | :40:88 | huy ʃ ^w iw ^w ədəx ^w - | Then Steller's Jay whistled. |
| | | tsiʔəʔ kay ^w kay ^w | |

([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[8]	15:42:91	hu:y tu--	Then, IRR.--
	:92	tuyabəx ^W tiʔəʔ tubšədə	the warriors were terrorized.
	:93	huy q'ilag ^W iləx ^W	Then they got into their canoes.
	:94	huy ʔulutəx ^W	Then they travelled away.
	:43:95	x ^W iʔəx ^W g ^W əsq'ildubs tiʔ tiʔəʔ ʔiʔsəds	Their people did not get put on board.
	16:44:96	huy cuucəx ^W	Then she said to
	:97	tsiʔəʔ ʔadəd	Magpie,

As Woodbury (1985:172-3) has pointed out syntax, prosody, and particles create linguistically significant units which a narrator can use to reinforce discourse units or to create special patterns of cohesion and disjunction. Lushootseed particles have been shown to introduce or reinforce prosodic units, such as sections and complex groups, which align, in most cases, with syntactic units. Their disjunctive function is to show shifts in action, place, or time. A fifth component, considered next, is form-content parallelism.

TABLE 1. Patterning of Sentential Adverbial Particles (includes adverbs and particles)

([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[1]	1: 1:1	{	
	:2	(k'wət)	it is said
	:3	}	
	3: 6:14	{ʔa::gʷəl	now:: then
	:15	}	
[2]	4: 8:18	{gʷəl	and
	:19	}	
[3]	5:10:22	{gʷəl	and
	:23	}	
[4]	6:14:30	{tɪləb	instantly
	:31		
	:32	}	
	9:22:45	{ʔasus	indeed
	:46		
	:47		
	:48		
	:49		
	:50	}	
[5]	10:28:58	{huy	then
	:59	}	
	:29:60		
	12:32:69	{huy	now
	:70		
	:71	}	
[7]	13:35:75	{huy	now
	:76	}	
	14:38:84	{huy	then
	:85	}	
	:39:86	{huy	then
	:87	}	
	:40:88:88	{huy	then
	:89	}	
[8]	15:42:91	{huy	now
	:92		
	:93		
	:94	}	
	16:44:96	{huy	then
	:97	}	
	18:48:106	{ʔu::	oh::
	:49:107	}	

Note: [] = sentence boundaries; items in parentheses () = translator's insertions

3.3 Form-Content Parallelism

The analysis of the rhetorical structure of this Lushootseed narrative has thus far, uncovered an organization based on lines, groups of lines, and sections. These divisions were found to be defined by intonational phrasing, and frequently reinforced by pause phrasing, particularly at higher levels of prosodic organization. Syntactic constituency also tended to reinforce intonational phrasing, but just as often it could be cross-cut by intonational phrasing. In very few cases did syntactic constituency override either intonational or pause phrasing; when it did, it served a discourse purpose. Finally, SAPs, although these are not strictly part of either the prosodic or syntactic components, consistently reinforced these junctures.

This section examines another component, which Hymes believes to be at the core of narrative verse in Native American languages. It lies deeper than either pause phrasing or particles, depending upon "a conception of narrative action as fulfilling a recurrent formal pattern" (1981: 8). He calls this pattern *form-content parallelism*. It follows from a very simple premise.

... sequences of action will satisfy one or another of two basic types of formal pattern. In Zuni, Karok, Takelma, and Tonkawa, the formal pattern is built up of pairs and fours. In the Chinookan languages, and in the neighboring Sahaptin and Kalapuyan languages, the formal pattern is built up of threes and fives. (1980: 8-9)

For Hymes, studying the covariation of form and meaning, which relates nonphonological linguistic units to a recurrent cultural number pattern, leads to the discovery of a hierarchy of rhetorical units that correspond with poetic divisions, *viz.*, line, verse, stanza, and so on.

Some researchers of Native American languages (e.g., Mattina 1987) criticize Hymes' method as being too subjective, raising the methodological question as to whether one can be sure that the recurrent patterns are present in the text and not a construct of one's own mind. Other researchers have had mixed results with Hymes's analysis. Bright (1982) found that Northern California Karok narratives displayed the requisite kinds of numerical patterning but that those of some Southern California groups (specifically, Cahuilla and Diegueno) did not. Woodbury found discrepancies even within a single language. CAY displayed patterning based on the cultural pattern five in a few traditional tales and dance performances, but this was absent in other genres (1985:168-169).

3.3.1 Form-Content Parallelism in Lushootseed

Hymes's numerical pattern does emerge in our Lushootseed narrative. It coincides with and reinforces levels of organization that have been forged by the prosodic and syntactic components. For example, in Section 2 of the Lushootseed narrative, repeated in (58) below, lines referring to activities (16 and 17; 20 and 21) repeat in their Subgroups. Moreover, there is a larger pairing: two characters, two activities.

(58) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[2]	3: 6 :14 ʔa:: g ^w əl tusʔubədi :15 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	A <0.> B <0.>	Now then, was a hunter Bobcat.
	: 7 :16 λ' ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ :17 λ' ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ	B <0.> B ⁰ <1.09>	He would hunt. He would hunt.
	4: 8 :18 g ^w əl λ' ug ^w adg ^w əʔ :19 tsiʔəʔ kay'kay'	A <0.> B <0.>	And would talk Steller's Jay.
	: 9 :20 λ' ug ^w adg ^w əʔ :21 λ' ug ^w adg ^w əʔ	B <1.06> B ⁰ <.667>	She would talk. She would talk.

Another passage repeated in Example (59) demonstrates uniform repetitions of four, showing identical intonational contours and nearly identical pause phrasing as well, thus illustrating the congruence of form-content parallelism and the prosodic component. SSP makes use of a repetition of three to heighten expectation for the listener and to focus attention on the activity, before stating its purpose. The fourth iteration expands the predication.²⁴

(59) (Subgroup: Line)

:22:47	"x ^w ul' čəd g ^w ə?u ^w x ^w iw'	B <.229>	"I would just whistle.
:23:48	x ^w ul' čəd g ^w ə?u ^w x ^w iw'	B <.272>	I would just whistle.
:24:49	x ^w ul' čəd g ^w ə?u ^w x ^w iw'	B <.335>	I would just whistle.
:25:50	g ^w əhuyud čəd- x ^w iw'x ^w iw'ayk ^w ɪ'	B <1.75>	I would make them (think they (were) hearing a whistler."

Woodbury points out that Hymes's theory has both a specific and a general claim (1985:167). The general claim is that there will be all kinds of recurrent patterning, not just those according to even or odd numbering. SSP's narrative typically displays patterning of twos and fours, but it frequently organizes the text in threes. An example is provided in (60), where the predication is repeated three times.

(60) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

2:3:7	?əstəfɪl ti?ə? sʌ'a?	A <.798>	Nobility lived there.
:8	?əstəfɪl ti?ə? p'əč'əb	A <.855>	Bobcat lived there.
:9	?əstəfɪl ti?ə? kay'kay'	B <1.46>	Steller's Jay lived there.

²⁴ Bierwert (1996:40) refers to this narrative strategy as *elaboration*. It also corresponds to the boundary of a weighted *circular figure* described by Langen (1996:55-56). See fn. 4, pg. 51 for definition of this device.

Although the expected cultural pattern is four in Lushootseed, the narrative often displays a combination of different numerical patterns, especially at the level of the line.²⁵ In Example (61) below, Subgroup 34 is organized into twos, Subgroup 35 is organized into threes, and Subgroup 36 is organized into fours. Moreover, Complex Group 15 is organized into two subgroups and Complex Group 16 is organized into three subgroups.

61) (Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

15:31:67	huy	!A <0.>	Now
:68	sax ^w əbəx ^w tsiʔəʔ	B <.59>	ran away this
:69	kay'kay'	B <.661>	Steller's Jay.
:32:70	ŋig ^w ələx ^w	!B <.844>	(She) climbed ₂
:71	dx ^w šəq	!B <.386>	up high!
16:34:73	huy	!A <0.>	Now
:74	g ^w uubəx ^w	B <1.8>	she barked.
:35:75	saq' ^w	!B <.554>	Flew ₂
:76	liŋ ^w ədag ^w ap	B <0.>	along the bottom,
:77	g ^w əl bələguub	B <.47>	and again she barked.
BARK— BARK			
:36:78	ʔux ^w	!A<0.>	(She) went
:79	dx ^w əl tiʔəʔ	A<0.>	to DEM. ²⁶
:80	dadč'uʔ swətix ^w təd	B <0.>	yet another tree
:81	g ^w əl bəʔa[h] k ^w i		and there she
	bəsug ^w uubs	B <.862>	barked some more.

Further research must be done with Lushootseed texts and different narrators before deciding on the preferred traditional patterning and determining its scope in different genres.

²⁵ Kim has noted the use of threes instead of the Lushootseed culture number four in another traditional narrative. He suggests that "the raconteur has made a small adaptation to the dominant Anglo culture" (1995:89, fn.2). However, this cannot be the case for SSP, because she did not speak English.

²⁶ DEM. refers to demonstrative, which in this case is tiʔəʔ *this*.

3.3.2 Interaction of Prosody and Form-Content Parallelism

Whereas Hymes's method deals almost exclusively with higher level narrative units, such as acts and episodes, Woodbury extends the analysis to lower levels (prosodically defined units: sections, groups, lines). This analysis, focusing on these lower levels, illustrates form-content parallelism occurring there.

Woodbury (1987:209) posits a working hypothesis which suggests that there will be one-to-one alignments between units of form-content parallelism and prosodic units. He clearly believes this to be a rule with few exceptions, at least at higher levels (i.e. the section). He goes on to say that, "At a lower level, prosodic grouping operates within a rather broadly defined default relative to units of form-content parallelism, conveying special meaning with nondefault alignments" (1987:214). In other words, we expect to see form-content parallelism reflected in groupings of lines, subgroups, and complex groups.

The following represents a partial analysis of form-content parallelism operating at several levels of prosodic organization in *Nobility at Utsaladdy*. A thorough examination will have to be put aside for the present. In Example (62), the two subgroups repeat the A-A-B intonational pattern.

(62) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[1]	1: 1 : 1	həbu:ʔ	A <0.>	Story-telling time
	: 2	[həbuʔ k'wətʃ] six ^w g ^w əl	A <0.>	[and in this story it is said] as usual that
	: 3	ʔəstəfɪl tiʔəʔ sʌ'aʔ	B <.05>	nobility lived there.
	: 2 : 4	ʔa	A_ <0.>	There
	: 5	ʔəstəfɪl ʔal	A <0.>	they lived at
	: 6	tiʔit ʔəcəladi	B <1.8>	Utsaladdy.

The predication *ʔəstəlil they lived there* expressed in the first subgroup is repeated in the second subgroup, creating cohesion by linking the two subgroups within a larger unit. Pause phrasing reinforces form-content parallelism by the lack of pauses between lines, and by the long pause at the end of line 6, adding closure to the complex group.

Example (63) below shows correspondence between form-content parallelism and prosody at the level of the subgroup.

(63) (Subgroup: Line)

: 4 :10	ʔibac ʔə	B <0.>	Grandson
:11	tsiʔəʔ adəd	B <0.>	of Magpie
:12	tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	B <.982>	(was) Bobcat.
:5 :13	ʔibacs.	B <2.08>	Her grandson.

ʔibac grandson introduces subgroups 4 and 5, its recurrence within a short span links the two groups, creating a cohesive unit.²⁷ This cohesion is reflected in the intonation phrasing as well by displaying a sequence of four B contours. The extremely long pause at the end of line 13 reinforces the cohesion by adding closure to Section 1 repeated in Example (64).

(64) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[1]	1:1 : 1	həbu:ʔ	A <0.>	Story-telling time
	: 2	[həbuʔ k'wəʔ] six ^w g ^w əl	A <0.>	[and in this story it is said] as usual that
	: 3	ʔəstəlil tiʔəʔ sə'aʔ	B <.05>	nobility lived there.

²⁷ I believe that Langen (1996) would refer to this type of Lushootseed narrative configuration as a *circular figure*, wherein the first line of the first subgroup and the first line of the second subgroup (also constituting the last line of the complex group) are statements that echo each other (1996:55).

([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

	:2 : 4 ʔa	A <0.>	There
	: 5 ʔəstafil ʔal	A <0.>	they lived at
	: 6 tiʔit ʔəcaladi	B <1.8>	Utsaladdy.
2:3	: 7 ʔəstafil tiʔəʔ sʔ'aʔ	A <.798>	Nobility lived there.
	: 8 ʔəstafil tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	A <.855>	Bobcat lived there.
	: 9 ʔəstafil tiʔəʔ kay'kay'	B <1.46>	Steller's Jay lived there.
	:4 :10 ʔibac ʔə	B <0.>	Grandson
	:11 tsiʔəʔ adəd	B <0.>	of Magpie
	:12 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	B <.982>	(was) Bobcat.
	:5 :13 ʔibacs.	B <2.08>	Her grandson.
[2]	3:6 :14 ʔa:: gʷəl tusʔubədi	A <0.>	Now then, was a hunter
	:15 tiʔəʔ p'əč'əb	B <0.>	Bobcat.

There are several other instances where form-content parallelism and prosody align at the level of the subgroup. One has already been provided and other examples are found in Appendix 2 (Subgroups 1-2; 11-12; 15-16; 17-18; 22-27; 35-37).

Alignments between form-content parallelism and prosody also occur at the level of the line. One example has already been given, and two more are given in Examples (65) and (66) below.

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

(65)	:7:16 ʔ'uxʷiʔxʷiʔ	B <0.>	He would hunt.
	:17 ʔ'uxʷiʔxʷiʔ	B ⁰ <1.09>	He would hunt.
	:9:20 ʔ'ugʷadgʷəʔ	B <1.06>	She would talk.
	:21 ʔ'ugʷadgʷəʔ	B ⁰ <.667>	She would talk.
(66)	7:17:35 xʷi:ʔ		I wouldn't be
	gʷədskʷədabyitab ʔə	B <0.>	kidnapped by
	:36 kʷi tubšədə[d]	B <0.>	the warriors,
	:37 xʷiʔ	!B <1.19>	nope!

(Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

:18:38	x ^w i::ʔ ʃ ^w ul': čəd g ^w əq ^w iq ^w əbq ^w əbaycut ʃ ^w ul'ʔ"	B <1.0>	Nooo I just would sound like a dog just.
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In Example (66) Steller's Jay's protestations are iterated twice within the same Subgroup (lines 35 and 37). The cohesion of Subgroup 17 is further reinforced by the lack of pauses between lines and the long pause at the end of the group (line 37). Disjunction between Subgroups 17 and 18 is created by the pause occurring at line 37. The emphatic !B contour here further reinforces the boundary. Functionally, Subgroup 18 seems to elaborate the denial.²⁸

3.3.2.1 Numerical Patterning of Content

An example of the scope of form-content parallelism is illustrated in Section 4, repeated in Example (67) below. Additional notations indicate turn taking, and hence disjunction in the monologue of each character. The single arrow indicates Steller's Jay's direct quote and the double arrow Magpie's inner thoughts (or the narrator's asides). Each "aside" interrupts the rhythm of Steller's Jay's speech, but comes at regular intervals.

²⁸ According to Bierwert (1996:40), elaboration is one of four common Lushootseed narrative configurations; the others include repeating and carrying on, rephrasing, and throwing a word in the gap.

(67) ([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[4]	6:14:30	ti:ləb	A <0.>	Instantly
	:31	ʔucut k ^w si	A<0.>	replied this so-called
	:32	kay'kay'	B <.559>	Steller's Jay,
>	:15:33	"ʔ'u	B+ <.997>	"No.
	:16:34	ʔ'u	!B+ <2.04>	No!
	7:17:35	"x ^w i:ʔ		I wouldn't be
		g ^w ədsk ^w əɖabyitəb ʔə	B <0.>	kidnapped by
	:36	k ^w i tubšəɖə[d]	B <0.>	the warriors,
	:37	x ^w iʔ	!B <1.19>	nope!
	:18:38	"x ^w i:ʔ ʔ ^w ul': čəɖ		"Nooo I just
		g ^w əq ^w iq ^w əbq ^w əbaycut		would sound like a dog
		ʔ ^w ul'"	B <1.0>	just."
>>	:19:39	ʔ ^w ul'		She would
		ʔubəq ^w ayq ^w əbq ^w aybicut		just sound like a dog
		g ^w əʔəʔ'as	B <0.>	if came
	:40	k ^w i tubšəɖə[d]	B <.469>	the warriors.
>	8:20:41	"ʔ ^w ul' čəɖ	A <0.>	"I would just
	:42	g ^w əcut ʔə	B <0.>	sound like
	:43	tiʔəʔ	B+ <0.>	this!"
	:21:44			BARK — BARK — BARK
			B<beat>	BARK — BARK — BARK
				BARK
>>	9:22:45	ʔacəs	A <0.>	Indeed
	:46	g ^w əsʔistəʔ	A<0.>	she would be
	:47	tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ	B <1.49>	like that,
	:48	g ^w əɖəx ^w sudaʔəbəs	B <0.>	if she were caught by
				the toe
	:49	g ^w ətuxilcəbəs	B<0.>	if she were
				head-snatched
	:50	ʔə k ^w i tubšəɖə[d]	B <beat>	by the warriors.

([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

>	:23:51 "x̣wul' čəd g ^w əʔu ^w x̣iw'	B <.229>	"I would just whistle.
	:24:52 x̣wul' čəd g ^w əʔu ^w x̣iw'	B <.272>	I would just whistle.
	:25:53 x̣wul' čəd g ^w əʔu ^w x̣iw'	B <.335>	I would just whistle.
	:26:54 g ^w əhuyud čəd x̣iw'x̣iw'ayk ^w ʔ'	B<1.75>	I would make them (think they were) hearing a whistler."
>>	:27:55 tətsus	A <0.>	Truly
	:56 g ^w əsʔistaʔ	B <0.>	(she) would do
	:57 tsiʔəʔ	B ⁰ <.586>	this.
[5]	10:28:58 huy	!A_ <0.>	Then
	:59 k ^w ədabitəb	B <0.>	they were kidnapped!

This Lushootseed narrative consistently displays the form-content parallelism described by Hymes. It organizes the narrative at both lower and higher levels. Furthermore, the organization that form-content parallelism creates corresponds with prosodic phrasing. Figure 3 shows alignment of form-content parallelism and prosodic phrasing in Section (4). The content of the section is divided into eight predications, which can be distilled into four basic types: protestation, repetition/expansion, elaboration, and synopsis. Each speaker has three turns and a basic pattern is established through a back-and-forth dialogue that involves Steller's Jay's comments (repeated and elaborated) and Magpie's repetition and synopsis of Steller's Jay's comments.

In addition, Steller's Jay voices two strategies to scare the warriors, barking and whistling. Her first strategy of escape comprises a set of four narrative "moves": protest (the possibility of capture), repeat/expand the protest, elaborate, and a further elaboration

by demonstration (she barks). She presents her second strategy, whistling, in three identical statements and a fourth, expanded form of the previous ones. Magpie volleys three asides: the first coming between Steller's Jay's first and second elaboration; the second coming at the end of her second elaboration; and the third at the end.

Finally, the organization of Steller's Jay's speech is more in accord with the Lushootseed traditional number four. Magpie's single statement links with Steller's Jay's repeated protests and elaboration, providing a fourth part (Figure 2).

Content	protest	repeat/expand protest	elaboration "I would bark"	repeat "She would bark"
Speaker	Steller's Jay			Magpie

Figure 2. Numerical Patterning in the Dialogue of Steller's Jay and Magpie

3.3.2.2 Alignment patterns of Numerical Form-Content and Prosody

Section 4 is divided into four complex groups which are, in turn, divided into one, two, or three subgroups. Numerical patterning occurs in twos and fours (or three and one) at the level of the line. Speaker turns also show a numerical pattern: Steller's Jay and Magpie each have three turns. The dialogue chunks display patterning of threes and ones. Steller's Jay's first turn is divided into a group of three statements, the content of which has been described here as: (1) protestation; (2) repeat and expand (protestation); and (3) elaborate ("she will bark like a dog"). Magpie's repetition of Steller's Jay's statement adds a fourth unit. Steller's Jay's first statement aligns with four subgroups. Her statement aligns with two subgroups and four lines. Her final statement aligns with four subgroups and four lines.

Magpie's first response aligns with one subgroup and two lines. Her second comment aligns with one subgroup and five lines (in one sentence). Her last aligns with one subgroup with three lines.

In conclusion, the analysis presented thus far has demonstrated evidence for form-content parallelism in *Nobility at Utsaladdy*. Although a full treatment of the alignment patterns and variants of form-content parallelism and prosody is well beyond the scope of this thesis, the results of the analysis are sufficient enough to show that numerical form-content parallelism is a significant feature in this Lushootseed narrative. It was also found that the Lushootseed culture number *four* is not the only pattern—three and five are other numerical patterns organizing the text. Not examined is the independent role of form-content parallelism, which should show misalignments with the prosodic components investigated in this study. This awaits future analysis, which should extend beyond this portion of the text to include the entire tale of *Nobility at Utsaladdy*.

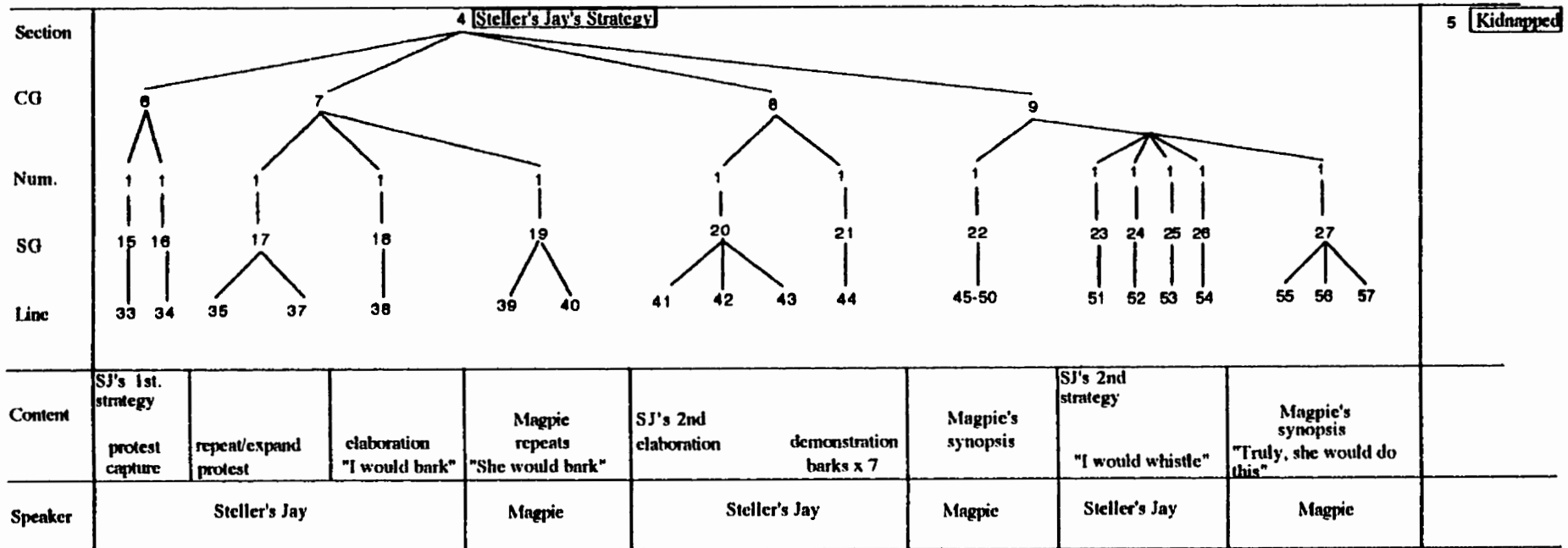


Figure 3. Interaction of Form-Content Parallelism and Prosodic Units

Key:
 CG Complex Group
 SG Subgroup
 Num. Numerical repetitions

4. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The notion that language is a system of systems was promulgated by Jakobson (1960, 1981). This sentiment is echoed in Woodbury's (1985, 1987) rhetorical theory, which attempts to isolate and describe the interaction of rhetorical components used to organize traditional narratives. Woodbury's rhetorical model is currently a preferred approach, differing from those of other ethnographers and linguists who argue for a single driving force in the organization of text, whether it be syntactic, form-content, or prosodic.

The objective in this thesis is to avoid preconceptions regarding structure and approach the Lushootseed narrative as a multifaceted entity. I do not impose a predetermined structure on the narrative that might constrain the emergence of covert structures. As such, this analysis of SSP's narrative diverges from others by attempting to get past the unit-based approach to narrative analysis, concentrating instead on the interdependencies among prosodic and syntactic elements and their role in the organization of the narrative.

Woodbury's approach made it possible to uncover distinct rhetorical components in Suzie Sampson Peter's narrative. Each rhetorical component studied—intonation, pause, and syntactic constituency—contributed to the structure of the narrative either independently or interactively, enhancing meaning and giving texture to the story. What remains to be done is to see how different speakers make use of these components creatively, thus capturing the range of styles of Lushootseed traditional narrative.

Although Beck (1998) made the first attempt to describe prosodic levels in Lushootseed, his data, like mine, was gathered from only one speaker. Also, he

approached his analyses with the assumption that the prosodic hierarchy is valid for Lushootseed. Given this, there may be patterns that exist that were overlooked in his analysis simply because they were not amenable to the theory. Moreover, there are other features in the prosodic component, such as rhythm, tempo, and loudness, that have yet to be examined for the ways in which they may interact and align. Finally, it would be interesting to know how this model can be used to analyze other discourse genres like oratory and conversation. Unfortunately this cannot be done in Lushootseed because it is a moribund language. There are other Salish languages, however, which are still spoken today, i.e., Halkomelem, Okanagan, and Secwepemctsin (Shuswap), and they may allow broader discourse analyses. The model may also be tested on other indigenous languages of the Northwest such as Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka), Tsimshian, Chilcotin, and Carrier.

In addition, there are several important issues involved in the characterization of prosody in natural discourse that have not been settled. Carleton says, "These issues involve both functional [and] formal characteristics of prosody . . . Issues of quantitative modeling in several languages require more controlled data than what is currently available" (1996:88). Future developments in these areas will also be relevant for Lushootseed. Subsequent analyses of Lushootseed narratives will have to be refined, incorporating methods of laboratory phonology and phonologically-based theories of intonation. I agree with Woodbury (n.d) who points out the need for more careful analysis of tone placement, tone scaling, and intonational phenomena such as boundary tone and F₀ reset, in order to see what determines their patterning. This research may lead to a convincing proof of the existence of a prosodic hierarchy, one that would allow for interdependencies among prosodic elements to be established.

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APPENDIX 1

Nobility at Utsaladdy: An Intralinear Prosodic Segmentation¹

- A<0> A<0> B<.05>
1. həbu? [həbu? k'wəʔ/ six^w g^wəl / ʔəstəʔlil tiʔə? s'əʔa?./
Storytelling time, [in this story it is said] as usual that nobility lived there.
- A<0> B<0.> B<1.8>
2. ʔa[h] / ʔəstəʔlil ʔal / tiʔit ʔəcəladi./
There they lived there at Utsaladdy.
- A<.798>
3. ʔəstəʔlil tiʔə? s'əʔa?./
Nobility lived there.
- B<.855>
4. ʔəstəʔlil tiʔə? p'əč'əb./
Bobcat lived there.
- B<1.86>
5. ʔəstəʔlil tsiʔə? kay' kay'./
Steller's Jay lived there.
- B<0.> B<0.> B<.982> B<2.08>
6. ʔibac ʔə/ tsiʔə? adəd / tiʔə? p'əč'əb./ ʔibacs. /
Bobcat was the grandson of Magpie, her grandson.
- A<0> B<0.>
7. ʔá g^wəl tusʔubədíd / tiʔə? p'əč'əb./
Now, Bobcat was a hunter.
- B<0.> B<1.09>
8. ʔ'ux^wiʔx^wiʔ / ʔ'ux^wiʔx^wiʔ./
He would hunt, he would hunt.
- A<0> B<0.>
9. g^wəl ʔ'g^wadg^wəd / tsiʔə? kay' kay'./
And would talk this Steller's Jay
- B<1.06>
10. ʔ'g^wadg^wəd./
She would talk.

¹Letters mark intonation contours, pause duration noted within angled brackets, and slashes indicate prosodic boundaries.

B<.667>

11. ʎ'gʷadgʷəd./
She would talk.

B<0.> B<.724>

12. gʷəl ʎ'uqəldub ʔə / tsiʔəʔ ʔədəd./
And Magpie cautioned her to stop it.

!A<0.> B<0.> B+<1.8>

13. "ʎ'uhuyəxʷ / kay' kay' / ʎ'uhuyəxʷ./
"Stop that Steller's Jay, stop it!"

A<0.> B<0.> B<2.4>

14. ti dəgʷi gʷəl əsʰicəçtəb ʔə / kʷi tubšədə[d] / gʷəkʷədyibitəxʷ-./
You're the one headsnatched by the warriors if they come here to kidnap you."

A<0.> B<0.> B<.559>

15. tɪləb / ʔucut kʷsi / kay'kay' /
Instantly replied this Steller's Jay

B+<.997> B<2.08> B<0.> B<0.> !B<1.19>

16. "ʎ'u. / ʎ'u. / xʷiʔ gʷədskʷədabyitəb ʔə / kʷi tubšədə[d] , / xʷiʔ"/
"No. No. I wouldn't be kidnapped by the warriors, no!"

B<1.0>

17. "xʷiʔ, ʃʷul' čəd gʷəqʷiqʷəbqʷəbaycut, ʃʷul'./
"No, I would just sound like a dog, I would."

B<0.> B<.469>

18. ʃʷul' ʔubəqʷayqʷəbqʷəybicut gʷəʔəʎ'a[h]s / kʷi tubšədə[d] /
She would just sound like a dog if the warriors came.

A<0.> B<0.> B+<1.49>

19. ʃʷul' čəd / gʷəcut ʔə / tiʔəʔ./
"I would just sound like this,"

bark bark bark bark bark

A<0.> A<0.> B<1.49> B<0.>

20. ʔacəs / gʷəsʰistaʔ / tsiʔəʔ diəʔ //gʷədəxʷsudaʔəbəs, / gʷətuxʰibilcəbəs
She would indeed be like that, if she were headsnatched

B<0.> B<beat>

- ʔə / kʷi tubšədə[d] /
by the warriors.

B<.229>

21. ʃ^wul' čəd g^wəʎuʃ^wiw'./
"I would just whistle.

B<.272>

22. ʃ^wul' čəd g^wəʎuʃ^wiw'./
I would just whistle.

B<.335>

23. ʃ^wul' čəd g^wəʎuʃ^wiw'./
I would just whistle.

B<1.75>

24. g^wəhuyud čəd ʃ^wiw'ʃ^wiw'ayk^wʎ./
I would make them think that they were hearing a whistler."

B<.586>

25. tətsus g^wəsʎistaʎ tsiʎəʎ./
She would truly do this!

A<0.> B<0.>

26. huy / k^wədabitəb./
Then they were kidnapped.

B<0.>

B<beat>

B<1.8>

27. ʎisəbəx^w əlg^wəʎ ʎə / tiʎəʎ tubšədə[d] / ʎal tiʎit ʎal ʎəcaladi./
The warriors came to kidnap them there at Utsaladdy.

A<1.75>

A<beat>

28. k^wədabitəbəx^w tsiʎəʎ stəʎ / sk^wək^wəqiq./
Robin was taken.

B<2.47>

29. k^wədabitəb tsiʎəʎ yay'qaʎ./
They took this yay'qaʎ.²

A<beat>

A<1.2>

B<1.16>

30. ʎahəx^w / ʎəsq^wədiltub tiʎiʎaʎ / ʎəsq^wədiltubəx^w tiʎəʎ stutudəq./
They had them sitting, sitting as slaves.

!A<0.>

B<.59>

B<.661>

!B<.844>

!B<.386>

31. huy / sax^wəbəx^w tsiʎəʎ / kay'kay' / ʎig^wəʎəx^w / dx^wšəq./
Now Steller's Jay ran away, she climbed up high.

B<1.42>

32. tudəx^wəsʎistaʎsəx^w /
That's why she's the way she is now.

²Today, no one knows what kind of bird this is.

- !A<0> B<1.42>
33. huy / g^wubəx^w/ /
Now she barked.
- !B<.554>
34. saq^w/ /
Flew.
- B<0>
35. liŋ^wədag^wap./ /
Among the trees down low.
- B<.47>
36. g^wəl bələg^wuub./ /
Again she barked. —bark bark —
- !A<0> A<0> B<0> B<.862>
37. ʔuχ^w / dx^wal tiʔəʔ / dadč'uʔswətix^wtəd / g^wəl bəʔa [h]k^wi bəsug^wuubs/ /
She went to yet another tree and there she barked some more.
- !A<0> B<0>
38. huy / χ^wiw'ədəx^w/ /
Then she whistled.
- B<0> B<0>
39. huy / χ^wiw'ədəx^w/ /
Then she whistled.
- B<.974>
40. huy χ^wiw'ədəx^w tsiʔəʔ kay'kay'./ /
Then this Steller's Jay whistled.
- B<0> B⁰<.679>
41. χiʔwaacəx^w tiʔəʔ / tubšədə[d] / /
She whistled at the warriors.
- A<beat> A<0>
42. huy / ʔuyabəx^w tiʔəʔ tubšədə[d] / /
The warriors were terrorized.
- B<0>
43. huy q'ilag^wiləx^w/ /
They got in their canoes.
- B<.577>
44. huy ʔuluʔəx^w/ /
They travelled away.

B<.514>

45. x^wiʔəx^w g^wəsq'ildubs tiʔ tiʔəʔ ʔiʃəds./
Their people didn't get put on board.

B<0.> B<1.01>

46. huy cuucəx^w / tsiʔəʔ ʔadəd./
Then she said to Magpie,

A<0.> B<1.34>

47. ʔuhaydx^w čəx^w ʔu / ʔadəd."/
"Did you find out Magpie?"

!A<0.> B<2.08> B⁰<.820>

48. "x^wiʔ / g^wədsx̣ibəčtəb / x^wiʔ g^wədsx̣ibəčtəb./
"I didn't get headsnaatched!"

B<.410>

49. ʃ^wul'ul'čəd ʔuq^wəbq^wəbaycut, ʃ^wul'../
I just pretended to be a dog, just.

B+<0.> B⁰<beat>

50. g^wəl ʔuʃəc / ti tubšədə[d]."/
And scared the warriors."

Baff.3<.980>

51. ʔu tsi sʔuʃəbabdx^w /
Oh, the poor thing.

B<2.02>

52. ʔudahahubut./
She sure helped us out.

53. "x^wiʔəx^w k^wi ʔudsug^watubicid kay'kay'.
"I won't scold you anymore, Steller's Jay.

A<.745>

54. x^wiʔəx^w./
No more."

B<0.> B<.733>

55. cutəb / k^wsi kay'kay'./
She said to Steller's Jay.

!B<beat>

56. "x^wiʔəx^w k^wi ʔudsug^wəg^watubicid."/
"I won't scold you anymore.

³Aff. represents an affective feature added to the contour.

(singing)

57. "ŋ^wul' čəd g^wəq^wiq^wəbq^wəbaycut, g^wəl tuxəc k^wi tutubšədə.[d]."
 "I would just pretend to be a dog and the warriors would be frightened.
 — bark—bark—bark—bark—bark—"

A<0.>

58. qəlalitutsəx^w tiʔəʔ cədit / ʔuʔilid.
 Now it is her spirit power song that she sings.

A<.664>

59. qəlalitutsəx^w /
 Her power song.

A<0.>

A<0.>

B<1.27>

60. qəlalitutsəx^w ʔə tsiʔəʔ kay'kay' tiʔit / dəx^w ŋ^wal'dx^ws / di tubšədəd./
 The spirit power song of Steller's Jay was what she used to overpower
 the warriors.

(singing)

61. "ŋ^wul' čəd g^wəq^wiq^wəbq^wəbaycut, g^wəl tuxəc k^wi tubšədə.[d] "
 "I would just pretend to be a dog and the warriors would be frightened.

62. bark.bark.bark.

63. qətłə. qətłə. qətłə.

APPENDIX 2

Nobility at Utsaladdy: A Prosodic Transcription¹

([Section] Complex Group: Subgroup: Line)

[1]	1: 1:1 həbu::?	A <0.>	Story-telling time
	:2 [həbu? k'wət] six ^w g ^w əl	A <0.>	[and in this story it is said] as usual that
	:3 ʔəstafil tiʔə? sʔ'a?	B <.05>	nobility lived there.
	: 2:4 ʔa	A_<0.>	There
	:5 ʔəstafil ʔal	A <0.>	they lived at
	:6 tiʔit ʔəcaladi	B <1.8>	Utsaladdy.
	2: 3:7 ʔəstafil tiʔə? sʔ'a?	A <.798>	Nobility lived there.
	:8 ʔəstafil tiʔə? p'əč'əb	A <.855>	Bobcat lived there.
	:9 ʔəstafil tiʔə? kay'kay'	B <1.46>	Steller's Jay lived there.
	: 4:10 ʔibac ʔa	B <0.>	Grandson
	:11 tsiʔə? adəd	B <0.>	of Magpie
	:12 tiʔə? p'əč'əb	B <.982>	(was) Bobcat.
	: 5:13 ʔibacs.	B <2.08>	Her grandson.
[2]	3: 6:14 ʔa:: g ^w əl tusʔubadi	A <0.>	Now then, was a hunter
	:15 tiʔə? p'əč'əb	B <0.>	Bobcat.
	: 7:16 ʔ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ	B <0.>	He would hunt.
	:17 ʔ'ux ^w iʔx ^w iʔ	B ⁰ <1.09>	He would hunt.
	4: 8:18 g ^w əl ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w ə?	A <0.>	And would talk
	:19 tsiʔə? kay'kay'	B <0.>	Steller's Jay.
	: 9:20 ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w ə?	B <1.06>	She would talk.
	:21 ʔ'ug ^w adg ^w ə?	B ⁰ <.667>	She would talk.

¹The text is transcribed morphophonemically. Rhetorical lengthening is marked by (::).

[3]	5:10:22 g ^w əl λ' uqəldub ʔə :23 tsiʔəʔ adəd	B <0.> B <.724>	And cautioned her to stop it this Maggie.
	:11:24 λ'uhuyəx ^w :25 kay'kay'	!A <0.> B <0.>	Stop it Steller's Jay!
	:12:26 λ'uhuyəx ^w	B+ <1.8>	Stop it!!
	:13:27 ti dəg ^w i g ^w əl əsxibəčəb ʔə :28 k ^w i tubšədə[d] :29 g ^w ək ^w ədyibitəx ^w "	A <0.> B <0.> B <2.40>	You're the one who would be headnatched by the warriors, if they get hold of you.
	6:14:30 ti:ləb :31 ʔucut k ^w si :32 kay'kay'	A <0.> A <0.> B <.559>	Instantly replied this so called Steller's Jay,
	:15:33 λ'u	B+ <.997>	No.
	:16:34 λ'u	!B+ <2.04>	No!
	7:17:35 "x ^w i:ʔ g ^w ədsk ^w ədabyitəb ʔə :36 k ^w i tubšədə[d] :37 x ^w iʔ	B <0.> B <0.> !B <1.19>	I wouldn't be kidnapped by the warriors, nope!
	:18:38 x ^w i:ʔ x ^w ul': čəd g ^w əq ^w i q ^w əbq ^w əbaycut x ^w ul'"	B <1.0>	Nooo I just would sound like a dog just.
	:19:39 x ^w ul' tubəq ^w ayq ^w əbq ^w aybicut g ^w əʔəλ'as :40 k ^w i tubšədə[d]	B <0.> B <.469>	She would just sound like a dog if came the warriors.
	8:20:41 x ^w ul' čəd :42 g ^w əcut ʔə :43 tiʔəʔ	A <0.> B <0.> B+ <0.>	I would just sound like this!
	:21:44	B <beat>	BARK — BARK — BARK — BARK — BARK — BARK — BARK.

	9:22:45	ʔacəs	A <0.>	Indeed
	:46	g ^w əsʔistaʔ	A<0.>	she would be
	:47	tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ	B <1.49>	like that,
	:48	g ^w ədəx ^w sudaʔəbəs	B <0.>	if she were called
	:49	g ^w ətuχilcəbəs	B<0.>	if she were headsnatched
	:50	ʔə k ^w i tubšədə[d]	B <beat>	by the warriors.
	:23:51	χ ^w ul' čəd g ^w əʔuχ ^w iw'	B <.229>	I would just whistle.
	:24:52	χ ^w ul' čəd g ^w əʔuχ ^w iw'	B <.272>	I would just whistle.
	:25:53	χ ^w ul' čəd g ^w əʔuχ ^w iw'	B <.335>	I would just whistle.
	:26:54	g ^w əhuyud čəd- χ ^w iw'χ ^w iw'ayk ^w ʔ	B<1.75>	I would make them (think they were) hearing a whistler. ²
	:27:55	tətsus	A <0.>	Truly
	:56	g ^w əsʔistaʔ	B <0.>	(she) would do
	:57	tsiʔəʔ	B ⁰ <.586>	this.
[5]	10:28:58	huy	!A_ <0.>	Then
	:59	k ^w ədabitəb	B <0.>	they were kidnapped!
	:29:60	fəisəbəx ^w [h]əlg ^w əʔ ʔə	B <0.>	Came now (to kidnap) them AGT.
	:61	tiʔəʔ tubšədə[d]	B <beat>	the warriors,
	:62	ʔal tiʔiʔ ʔal ʔəcəladi	B <1.80>	there (at) Utsaladdy.
	11:30:63	k ^w ədə:bitəbəx ^w - tsiʔəʔ stəʔ--	A <1.75>	They took- this uh--,
	:64	sk' ^w ək' ^w əqiq	!A <beat>	Robin!
	:65	k ^w ədabitəb tsiʔəʔ- yay'qaʔ	B <2.47>	They took this yay'qaʔ.

²There is some indeterminacy in the clarity of the intonational break between the personal pronoun čəd and }^wiw'χ^wiw'ayk^wʔ I have grouped them together to correspond to the C W pattern of the Lushootseed phonological phrase described by Beck (1996, 1998).

- :31:66 ʔahəx^W !A <0.> There now
 :67 ʔəsg^Wədiltub tiʔaʔ A <1.2> they had them sitting,
 :68 ʔəsg^Wədiltubəx^W B <1.16> sitting now
 tiʔaʔ stutudəq as slaves.
- [6] 12:32:69 huy !A <0.> Now
 :70 sax^Wəbəx^W tsiʔaʔ B <.59> ran away this
 :71 kay'kay' B <.661> Steller's Jay.
- :33:72 ʔig^Wəfəx^W !B <.844> (She) climbed₁
 :73 dx^Wʕəq !B <.386> up high!
- :34:74 tudəx^Wəsʔistaʔsəx^W B <1.42> That's why she is the way
 she is now.
- [7] 13:35:75 huy !A <0.> Now
 :76 g^Wuubəx^W..... B <1.8> she barked.
- 36:77 saq'^W !B <.554> Flew₁
 :78 liq^Wədag^Wap B <0.> among the trees down low
 :79 g^Wəl bələguub B <.47> and again she barked.
- BARK— BARK
- :37:80 ʔuʕ^W !A <0.> (She) went
 :81 dx^Wəl tiʔaʔ A <0.> to DEM.
 :82 dadč'uʔ swətix^Wtəd B <0.> yet another tree
 :83 . g^Wəl bəʔa[h] k^Wi- B <.862> and there she
 bəsug^Wuubs barked some more.
- 14:38:84 huy !A <0.> Then
 :85 ʕ^Wiw'ədəx^W B <0.> she whistled!
- :39:86 huy B <0.> Then
 :87 ʕ^Wiw'ədəx^W B <0.> she whistled.
- :40:88 huy ʕ^Wiw'ədəx^W B <.974> Then Steller's Jay whistled.
 tsiʔaʔ kay'kay'
- :41:89 ʕiw'aacəx^W tiʔaʔ B <0.> She whistled at the
 :90 tubšədə[d] B⁰ <.679> warriors.

- [8] 15:42:91 hu:y tu-- A <bea> Then IRR.--
:92 tuyabəx^W tiʔəʔ- A <0.> the warriors were
tubšədə terrorized.
:93 huy q'ilag^Wiləx^W B <0.> Then they got into their
canoes.
:94 huy ʔulutəx B <.577> Then they travelled
away.
- :43:95 x^Wiʔəx^W g^Wəsq'ildubs- B <.514> Their people did not
tiʔ tiʔəʔ ʔiʔsəds get put on board.
- 16:44:96 huy cuucəx^W B <0.> Then she said to
:97 tsiʔəʔ ʔadəd B<1.01> Magpie,
:45:98 ʔuhaydx^W čəx^W ʔu A <0.> Did you find out
:99 ʔadəd B <1.34> Magpie?
- 17:46:100 x^Wi? !A <0.> I didn't
:101 g^Wadsčibəčəb B <2.08> get headsnatched.
:102 x^Wi? g^Wadsčibəčəb B⁰ <.820> I didn't get
headsnatched.
- :47:103 č^Wul'ul' čəd I just
ʔuq^Wəbq^Wəbaycut č^Wul' B <.410> pretended to be a dog, just
:104 g^Wəl ʔučəc ti B+ <0.> and scared the
:105 tubšədə[d]. B⁰ <beat> the warriors.
- 18:48:106 ʔu:: tsi sʔušəbətɔx^W Baff <.980> Oh,the poor thing.
:49:107 ʔudahahubut^W B <2.02> She sure helped us out.
- [9] 19:50:108 x^Wiʔəx^W k^Wi I won't scold you anymore
tudsug^Watubicid kay'kay' Steller's Jay
x^Wiʔəx^W A <.745> no more,
:109 cutəb B <0> she said to
:110 k^Wsi kay'kay' B <.733> this so-called Steller's Jay.

- :51:111 x^wiʔəx^w k^wi
 ʔudsug^wəg^watubid !B <beat> I won't scold you
 anymore!
- (singing)
- 20:52:112 ʃ^wul' čəd
 g^wəq^wiq^wəbq^wəbaycut A <0.> I would just pretend to be
 a dog
 :113 g^wəl ʔuxəc k^wi A <0.> and the warriors would be
 frightened.
 :114 tutubšədə[d] A <0.> BARK—BARK—
 BARK — BARK —
 BARK.
- [10]21:53:115 qəla::litutsəx^w tiʔə? cadit A<0.> Now it is the very spirit
 power song
 :116 ʔuʔli:d. qəlalitutsəx^w Aaff.<.664> she sings. Her spirit
 power song.
 :117 qəlalitutsəx^w ʔə
 tsiʔə? kay'kay' tiʔit A <0.> The spirit power of
 this Steller's Jay
 :118 də[x^w]ʃ^wal'dx^ws A<0.> was what she used
 to overpower
 :119 di tubšədə[d] B<1.27> the warriors.
- (singing)
- :54:120 ʃ^wul' čəd I just
 :121 g^wəq^wiq^wəbq^wəbaycut would pretend to be a dog
 :122 g^wəl ʔuxəc k^wi tubšəd[d] and frighten the
 warriors.
- :55:123 qətə. qətə. qətə. Bark. Bark. Bark.
- :56:124 WOOF. WOOF. WOOF. WOOF. WOOF. WOOF.