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LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY:  
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE  
IN TWO K<sup>w</sup>AK<sup>w</sup>ALA-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

by

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation is the product of research on the current usage of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʷ</sup>ala, a language of the northern branch of the Wakashan language family spoken in British Columbia on the northern part of Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland. The focus of research is the context of indigenous language use and the importance of language as a marker of cultural identity. I also examine whether English has had any significant influence on the structure and vocabulary of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʷ</sup>ala after prolonged contact between the two languages. I conclude that, although K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʷ</sup>ala is being replaced by English in most contexts of communication, it has been strategically maintained in certain contexts as a marker of cultural identity.

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**Gilakas'la!**

Anne Goodfellow

Language, Culture, and Identity:  
Social and Cultural Aspects of Language Change in  
Two K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-Speaking Communities

**CHAPTER ONE**

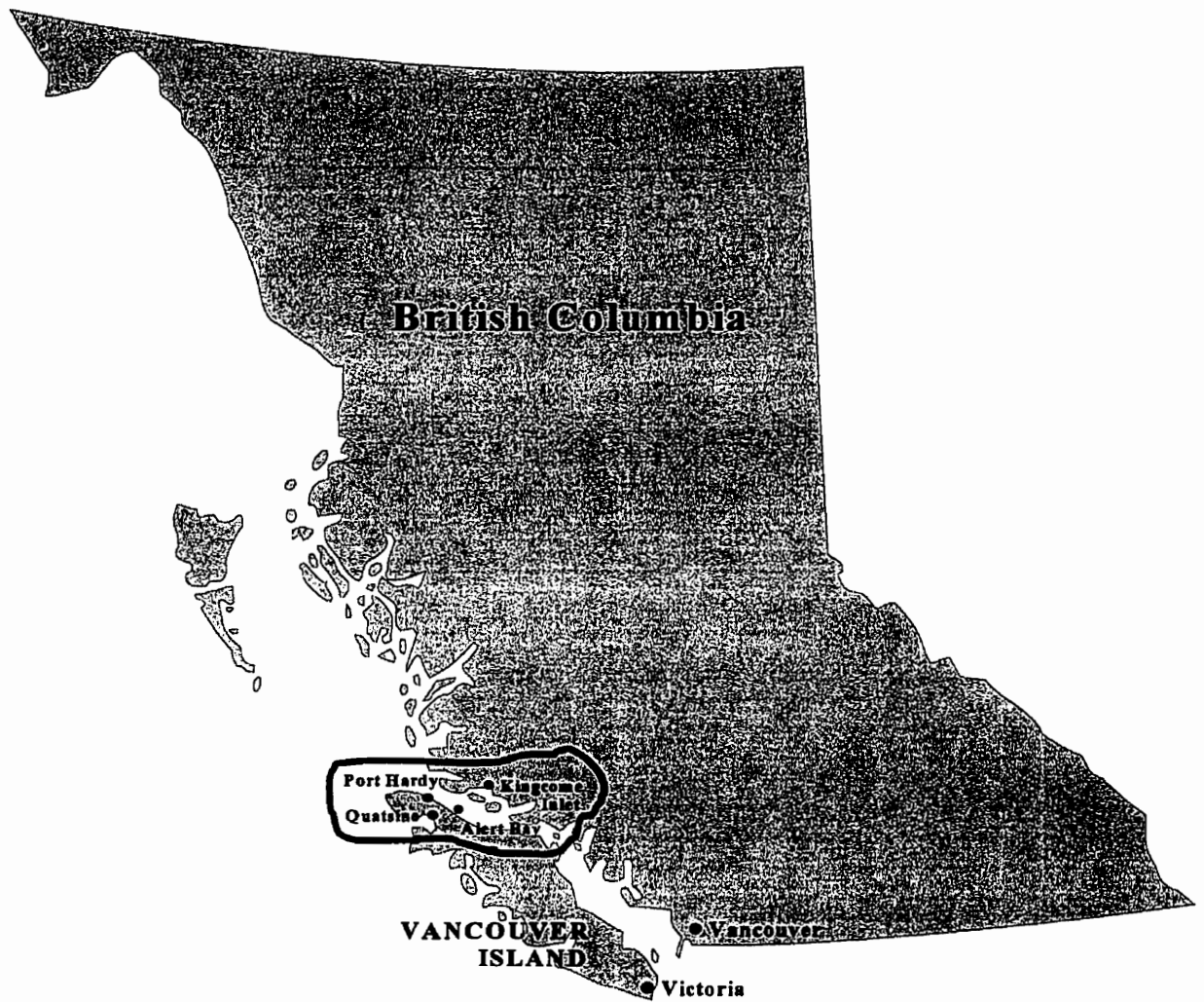
***Introduction: Language Use and Identity***

This dissertation is the product of research on the current usage of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, a language of the northern branch of the Wakashan language family spoken in British Columbia on the northern part of Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland (see map page 2). The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, literally “K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-speaking people,” and their language have been commonly referred to as Kwakiutl in anthropological and linguistic literature, but now prefer these new terms to designate their culture and language.<sup>1</sup>

The focus of research is the context of indigenous language use and the importance of language as a marker of cultural identity. I also examine whether English has had any significant influence on the vocabulary and structure of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala after prolonged contact between the two languages.

In investigating contemporary patterns of usage, and changes which may have occurred to the language during the period of contact with a colonial language, I addressed some focal questions, which include: What are the contexts of current speech events in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala? Why has the language continued to be used or come to be used in





**Figure 1. Map of K'ak'aka'wak' Territory (approximate boundaries)**

those situations, and not others? Are there changes in the vocabulary, phonology, and grammatical structures that can be linked clearly to the influence of English? Can one compare these changes with trends noted in other languages which have had prolonged contact with colonial idioms? How may cultural factors and social history have influenced the language? Recorded interviews and field observations focus on these and related questions, both of which provide the data on which this investigation of language change is based.

My approach to some issues profits from the work of Kroskrity (1993:6) in his study of Arizona Tewa. When applied to K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-speakers, these issues include K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> cultural beliefs about their own language; changes in language and language use over time due to social factors; language as a vehicle for claiming cultural identity; and the choice of language (K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala or English) to demonstrate one identity among a repertoire of available identities.

### **Theoretical Approach to the Study of Language, Culture, and Identity**

Language is usually thought of as a system of communication used to express ideas between members of a speech community. Culture, in an ideational perspective, is the shared norms and beliefs of a social community: "culture . . . is the meanings which people create, and which create people, as members of societies" (Hannerz 1992:3). Language and culture are both transmitted from older to younger generations, and are related in that language contains relevant cultural knowledge and the elements of world

view held by members of a culture. In this way, cultural identity is expressed through the use of the language associated with that culture.

In the social sciences, the terms *language*, *culture*, and *identity* suggest three distinct analytical categories. However, for many First Nations people, these terms are interconnected in such a way that one cannot discuss them in isolation (Kroskrity 1993:3). In this dissertation, the relationship between language and cultural identity is examined. I contend that language is used as a marker of cultural identity, even, and sometimes especially, in the context of a language which is undergoing a reduction in function.

Frameworks for the study of language and identity have been presented by various researchers on the subject. Fitzgerald claims that “[l]anguage is a vital part of the social identity of any group” (1993:61). He defines identity as: “the academic metaphor for self-in-context” (1993:3). The idea of “self-in-context” relates to the notion that it is difficult to discuss identity “apart from its cultural, social, and situational contexts” (1993:69). This is because “identities cannot be separated from their performative contexts” (1993:66). Jourdan states: “an analysis of language shift based on ethnicity alone would miss the fact that conception of self and identity is highly contextual, situational, and multilayered” (1991:202). Other studies of language as symbolic of cultural identity also provide a useful framework for how K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is used as an indicator of membership in a particular group: “The general assumption is that in some sense speakers use language variation, consciously or unconsciously, to signal various kinds of social identity and social aspirations” (Milroy 1987:105). Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz

(1982:7) assert that “social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language.”

Language also has the power to “make and unmake groups” (Bourdieu 1991:221). The act of naming unifies ethnic groups and defines their identity (1991:221). Ethnic regions are divided not by an objective reality, but by delimitations imposed by such social categories as “language, habit, cultural forms, etc.” (1991:222). Marginalized groups use language to assert a legitimate identity which differentiates them from the dominant political group: “Regionalist discourse is a *performative discourse* which aims to impose as legitimate a new definition of the frontiers and to get people to know and recognize the *region* that is thus delimited in opposition to the dominant definition” (1991:223, emphasis in original).

The use of language as a marker of either social or cultural identity appears to be pervasive in many, if not all societies, whether conscious or unconscious. The study of indigenous languages that have come into contact with a colonial language in the context of language as a marker of identity poses questions that are unique to a perception of the speakers that their language, and often their culture, is endangered because of the encroaching colonial language. The linguistic behaviour of speakers in this situation differs from that of speakers of languages and cultures that are not threatened. Indeed, in such colonial situations, speakers are very conscious of their use of the indigenous language. Therefore, the theoretical approach that I am using in this dissertation is that an indigenous language in the process of dying may be retained in certain contexts as a

marker of cultural identity. These contexts are identified as ritual contexts, solidarity contexts, and contexts of outside encounters. In these contexts, the language will be used by fluent speakers, semi-speakers, passive speakers, and even non-speakers<sup>2</sup> to assert this identity. The following sections provide additional support for the theoretical approach of viewing language as a marker of cultural identity: the relationship between identity and ethnicity; the importance of viewing language in social context; a review of the literature on language death; some of the cultural, socioeconomic, and political factors of language use; the effects of education policies on language use; language shift in social context; the process of language shift; changes in grammar, phonology, and lexicon due to language shift; the implications of English language learning for Native communities; changes in language use; generations of speakers; shared symbols of identity; paralinguistic uses of language; and the importance of agency.

### **Identity and Ethnicity**

Most scholars of language and culture studies agree that all languages and cultures are worthy of preservation<sup>3</sup>. Johann Herder (1744-1803), a “German philosopher, poet, and literary scholar,” claimed “that no people could retain its creativity, spirit, individuality, and genius unless it maintained its linguistic and ethnic authenticity” (Fishman 1983:135). The relationship of language to ethnicity is expressed by Fishman in the following:

Ethnicity is a bond (self-perceived and/or ascribed by others, with or without objective justification) to a historically continuous authenticity collectivity. Thus, ethnicity assists individuals in coping with the existential question of “Who am I?” and “What is special about me?” by contextualizing these questions in terms of putative ancestral [*sic*] origins and characteristics. These questions are therefore illuminated in terms of “Who are my own kind of people?” and “What is special about us?” and come to be answered at the level of peopleness *being* (biological continuity and, therefore, physical triumph over death), peopleness *doing* (behavioral fealty even in the course of behavioral change) and peopleness *knowing* (i.e., ethnicity includes not only native philosophy but historiosophy and cosmology: a *Weltanschauung* or world view. Language is a central component in all three of the above experiential components (1983:128, emphasis in original).

Indigenous languages are often used as markers of ethnicity, of a perceived cultural identity. Kroskrity (1993:43) describes Arizona Tewa as “the language of ethnicity. It is the preferred language of communication in Tewa households and the ceremonial language spoken in the kiva . . . Most members of the Arizona Tewa speech community regard their language as their unique and self-defining possession.”

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is also a language of ethnicity. It is so closely tied to the image of what constitutes being K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> that there is a folk model within their communities that equates language with culture. Based on my analysis of the patterns of change and use, I conclude that speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, even a few words of it, is the most powerful symbol of being K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>.

## **Language in Social Context**

In my fieldwork among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, I observed contexts in which K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is spoken and by whom in two small communities where K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is the ancestral language. Scollon and Scollon, in their study of the convergence of languages spoken at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, claim that "any linguistic study, however narrowly focused, must take into account patterns of use in the speech community of the study" (1979:8). In the attempt to go beyond description to explanation, I have looked closely at historical data on social, educational, economic, and political effects of colonialism on the culture and language in order to place the current language situation in context. This is done by researching the history of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> and their settlement areas since first contact with European explorers and traders slightly more than two hundred years ago, through early colonial times up to the present day.

Various things can occur when languages come into contact over an extended period of time, depending on the circumstances of the contact. For example, speakers of language A may learn language B, or speakers of B may learn A. In a bilingual context, speakers will tend to use one of these languages in a particular situation, and the alternate in others (*c.f.* Rubin 1968). Borrowing may occur, affecting the semantic, grammatical and phonological structures of one or both of the languages. This may also lead to the process of pidginization, which entails a "consistent reduction of the functions of language both in its grammar and its use" (Samarin 1971:126). Pidginization may in time lead to the development of a pidgin language, or the creolization of a new language,

although the path from the former to the latter differs depending on particular social, historical, and linguistic factors (Jourdan 1991). Another possible outcome for languages in contact is that, following a period of bilingualism, one language may cease to exist because of social factors (Bright 1976:210), where the subordinate language undergoes a process similar to what Samarin (1971) describes for pidgins, that is, a reduction in functions. The result is language death, which is, unfortunately, the apparent trend with K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, as it is with many other North American indigenous languages.

Why is this so, when it is clear that in pre-contact times people who spoke various North American indigenous languages were in contact, but without this result (*e.g.* see Kroskrity 1982)? Bright suggests that the explanation may be the following: “The distinction . . . is founded not on differences of linguistic structure, but on the sociological differences in contact situations: only the European contact was accompanied by massive forcible conquest, exploitation, and genocide” (Bright 1976:212). Although the Northwest Coast area of Canada where the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> are located was never taken over by Eurocanadians through war, as was the case in some other parts of North America, from the time of European and Eurocanadian settlement in the area, the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> have been subjected to colonial rule through government legislation which governed almost every aspect of their lives, including location of village sites and types of living accommodations; subsistence, whether it be through fishing, hunting, employment for wages, or welfare; spirituality; and the education of children. Every aspect of aboriginal K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> culture, including the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, was



denigrated by Christian missionaries and educators, with the result that many K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> themselves questioned the validity of their cultural practices. This type of insidious attack upon a people's cultural traditions and language is often more successful at eradicating them than physical warfare.

Investigating the result of languages in contact, and the social and cultural effects of that contact for the people who speak them, focused the research for this dissertation in two ways: 1) I investigated the indigenous language structure in the speech of individuals of different generations in two K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> communities (the Quatsino First Nation of Quatsino and the Tsawatainuk First Nation of Kingcome Inlet), which is the focus of chapter four; and 2) I compiled a profile of language use in these two communities, the focus of chapter five.

In the context of studying language as a marker of cultural identity, it is useful to review the literature on the phenomenon known as "language death" or "shift" in order to juxtapose this with the less fatalistic view of language change, and the relationship between language use and identity.

## Language Death

*Predictions and dictums have maintained that the Irish, Scots, and Welsh were dead or dying; that the Bretons, Occitans, and Alsatians were gone or going fast; that the Catalans, Basques, and Gallegos were no more than relics of a bygone age; and that the Frisians were a figment of necromancers. And when these dead nationalities, these so-called peoples without histories . . . insisted that the rumors of their deaths were highly exaggerated, the intellectual and ideological heads of Western civilization replied, . . . "But who needs all those little people and funny languages out there? They simply impede the wheels of progress; they are anachronisms" (Fishman 1983:135).*

The growing literature on language death reports that most indigenous languages of Canada have been undergoing a process of shift to one of the mainstream languages, most often English. This has been happening at different times over the past three hundred years throughout North America depending upon the region:

Language obsolescence and death are not new phenomena in the Americas. The successful colonization of this hemisphere by Europeans and others has guaranteed that a great many, very possibly eventually all, of the native societies and languages will eventually disappear (Taylor 1992:5).

Although not new, language death has only relatively recently been studied (*e.g.* Hill 1978, 1989; Dorian 1981, 1989; Bavin 1989; Campbell and Muntzel 1989; Watson 1989; Hindley 1990; Pye 1992), and language revival and revitalization efforts have also begun but recently. The lag in interest in dying languages has been attributed to a "climate of social Darwinism" in regard to languages where it was believed natural in the stream of social progress for only the healthy and strong to survive (Taylor 1992:5). This view is also related to the notion in nineteenth century anthropology that all cultures must go through stages of progress in order to arrive at the highest level of civilization. It follows

that a civilized culture must speak a civilized language. However, this view does not take into account the concerted efforts of governments in previous decades, which often met with resistance, to assimilate Canadian First Nations people into mainstream society where everyone speaks either English or French.

These efforts have been largely successful. Krauss estimates that of 187 indigenous North American languages, 149 are not being learned as the mother-tongue, therefore approximately 80% are moribund. He lists various general reasons for this phenomenon:

The circumstances that have led to the present language mortality known to us range from outright genocide, social or economic or habitat destruction, displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation or assimilatory education, to electronic media bombardment, especially television, an incalculably lethal new weapon (1992:6).

North America is not the only area of the world in which studies attribute indigenous language loss to the imposition of English. For example, it is also reported for Australia (*e.g.* Bavin 1989), Scotland (*e.g.* Dorian 1981; Watson 1989), and Ireland (*e.g.* Hindley 1990). These studies reveal similarities in historical circumstances of language loss due to colonization, regardless of where this is taking place, with similar outcomes for the indigenous languages:

As regards the view which the native community as a whole has of the language, there is no doubt that both Irish and Scottish Gaelic suffer from a traditional lack of prestige as languages, *e.g.* they have not been the medium of important public institutions and personages, nor have they been perceived as the languages of education or as having a strong written tradition, but are associated rather with an unsophisticated, nonlearned folk culture (Watson 1989:50).

In discussing how indigenous languages change in similar culture contact situations, previous researchers have remarked processes of simplification evident in bilinguals and semi-speakers of the indigenous language. The main process appears to be one of analogy which reflects structures in the other language.

Through the use of linguistic data analyzed in chapter four, I claim that this is also the case for K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. However, consistent with the theoretical approach of language as a marker of identity, along with the simplification of the language through analogy with English, and the possible eventual demise of the language as an everyday vehicle of communication, I contend that the language continues to be used in certain contexts and in various forms to mark membership in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> society.

### **Cultural, Socioeconomic, and Political Factors of Language Use**

Cultural, socioeconomic, and political factors all appear to have a role in language shift. The literature clearly indicates that mere language contact is not sufficient for a language to be replaced. The shift to another language comes with adaptation to the culture of what is considered the mainstream or dominant language, the language of prestige, wealth, and status. In Gramsci's discussion of linguistic hegemony, linguistic domination is related to cultural domination: "For Gramsci, linguistic relations are not only representations and historical traces of past and present power relations but are also paradigms for other relations of cultural influence and prestige" (Forgacs and Nowell-

Smith 1985:165). Silver and Miller, in their overview of the results possible for languages in contact, state:

Prestige acts as an important factor [for languages in contact]: If the societies in question -- and by extension, the languages -- are of equal prestige, influence is more apt to be mutual. If there is inequality, the borrowing is more apt to be one way, flowing from the more prestigious language and society to the one(s) with lower prestige (1997:264).

Other research also upholds the general rule that people will readily adopt a language that is politically and economically more powerful (*e.g.* Bavin 1989; Watson 1989; Liddicoat 1990).<sup>4</sup> For example, Kroskrity discusses Hopi and Tewa, two other North American indigenous languages, in terms of the acculturative effects that a dominant language may have on indigenous languages:

[T]he speech of younger members of the speech community exhibits considerable linguistic acculturation, or what may be better termed, following Weinreich (1953:1), *linguistic interference*. Most of these younger speakers, in contrast to their elders, employ English as the dominant language and exhibit what is perceived by the older speakers as an impaired proficiency in Tewa and often little or no proficiency in Hopi, except for some kin terms and polite expressions (Kroskrity 1982:52-53, his italics).

Interference, according to Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, is “the tendency of second language learners to transfer patterns from their first language to the second language” (1982:16). In the case of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, I would attribute this interference to a prolonged period of exposure to the English language and Eurocanadian culture, since English has become the mother tongue of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> children; thus most people today of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> ancestry are anglophones. Therefore, when K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is learned as a

second language (usually in the context of elementary school), it is influenced by the English vocabulary and structure which has already been established in the cognitive schemata of the child's linguistic structure.

The modern-day situation just described varies significantly from what is reported by Kroskrity to have happened in language contact situations of the past. He reports that, according to the older generation of Tewa speakers, in earlier contact times Tewa speakers would develop a neologism in their own language for an item newly introduced into the culture, rather than using a loan word from the contact language. Kroskrity provides the example of the old word for automobile, *wa-te ge*, which literally means 'wind wagon' in Tewa. This term is used by the oldest speakers. An intermediate term, *athu*, from 'auto,' is used by middle generations, and those under 30 years of age who still speak Tewa use the direct lexical borrowing *kar*, resulting in a new phonemic distinction, since [r] did not occur in the phonological inventory of older speakers of Tewa.

Through his work with Tewa speakers of different generations, Kroskrity describes language change in the context of the gradual replacement of Arizona Tewa with English. In this dissertation, I provide evidence that this is occurring among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>: K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is gradually being replaced with English, but remains in certain contexts where the display and maintenance of cultural identity is of paramount importance.

## **Effects of Education Policies on Language Use**

The cultural, socioeconomic, and political factors introduced in the discussion above may become embedded in the system of education, where the tutorial language is prescribed by law. This in turn becomes part of the social stigma of a non-mainstream language, as the dominant language comes to be seen as the one of the educated, and therefore upper class (Brown 1993). The language of education becomes the dominant language within the community.

The severe repression of the native language in education meant that other traditional forms of education were disrupted. Fowler, in her study of the recent history of the Arapahoe of Wyoming, says: “Government policy in the reservation schools had been to eradicate Indian culture, and students were punished for speaking the native language or exhibiting other forms of Indian culture” (Fowler 1982:282). Scollon and Scollon, who worked in a mixed-language (Chipewyan, Cree, French, and English) community in northern Alberta, found that “[t]he chain of passing traditional narrative from older to younger generation appears to have been broken by the period of residence in the mission school” (1979:30). According to the Scollons, when opportunities arose for children to hear traditional stories, either in a native language or in English, the children would be more interested in their own games or what was on television. Now, when the importance of regaining cultural and linguistic knowledge from one’s ancestral background is recognized by parents and grandparents, the onus is on schools to imbue

students with this type of knowledge, rather than on family members: “The narrative lineage appears to have been fully severed” (1979:31-36).

In Pye’s study of Chilcotin, he notes that language shift is also a case of language acquisition, *i.e.* of what is perceived to be the dominant language (Pye 1992). Although older people speak Chilcotin among themselves, they tend to use English with young children. In this way, English is now the first language learned. Then, when they enter school, it is felt that they have to be taught Chilcotin: “For reasons I have yet to understand fully, Chilcotin parents seem to have come to view their own children as native speakers of English who must be ‘taught’ Chilcotin” (1992:77). One reason Pye puts forth for this situation is the tendency for children to be quiet listeners rather than active participants in conversations. Among the Chilcotin, this behaviour is seen as being a sign of respect. Therefore, if very young children are spoken to and respond in English, this circumvents the Chilcotin tradition, since the same method of showing respect is not part of the culture of English-speakers.

Within the system of education, the shift from Chilcotin to English is usually associated with the stigmatization of one language when confronted by a prestigious dominant language: “Even the Chilcotins who have jobs teaching the daily 20-minute classes in Chilcotin speak English, both in and outside the classroom. In fact, the more ‘successful’ Chilcotins speak English; Chilcotin has been left to those families who have not made it” (1992:79). Educational systems and government policies throughout the



Americas forbade the use of indigenous languages (Kroskrity 1982; Garzon 1992) until recently, when they have begun to be taught as second languages in some areas.

Even though prestige attaches to knowing the indigenous language in native communities today (*e.g.* Taylor 1989), the literature on language death claims that English has gained an increasing importance in Native American communities because of the history of colonialism, and the loss of domains where the indigenous language is employed (Hill 1978). Often, indigenous languages continue to be “used now mainly for demonstration or ritual purposes” (Taylor 1989:171), and in other traditional domains of the language, such as religion, traditional medicine, and pastimes like storytelling and singing (Watson 1989). As early as the 1950s, among the Lummi in northwestern Washington State, “English [was] the language of most homes, especially those without old people. Most children probably learn something of the native language through association with persons of their grandparents’ generation and by being present at gatherings where speeches in the native language are made” (Suttles 1954:91). But even those participating in traditional sacred ceremonies were, even then, not expected to be proficient in the language. Suttles notes that “the two young men who were new [spirit] dancers in the winter of 1952-53 are said to know very little of the native language” (1954:92). Although this statement appears to reflect an attitude that cultural knowledge is not contingent upon linguistic knowledge, *i.e.* knowledge of the indigenous language, the fact that this is mentioned at all reveals that this is considered a marked situation. This however appears to be becoming the norm in many First Nations communities. For

example, among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, a knowledge of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is not requisite to becoming a *hama'ca*, which is a member of a Secret Society open only to high-ranking families.

The situation reflecting a brief stage where elders spoke the language in family, community, and ceremonial life, often passes in as short a period of time as a generation, leaving a speech community where many of the young people have little or no opportunity to hear the language spoken at all. As we will see in chapter four, there is a distinct difference in the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala language proficiency between the middle generation (those 25 to 50 years of age) and the young generation (those under 25 years of age). The same is not true in a comparison of the oldest and middle generations. That the language has survived at all after its severe repression attests to its importance as a cultural icon.

### Language Shift in Social Context

[T]he study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other (Fishman 1964:32).

Language shift may be defined as “the gradual replacement of one language by another” (Weinreich 1953 in Brown 1993:67). Brown distinguishes between language shift and language evolution as following different processes. Language shift occurs when two or more languages are in contact, whereas language evolution may not be influenced by contact with another language. One must be careful in distinguishing

between different forces driving language change, as noted by Kinkade (n.d.a:1): “A distinction is not always made [in studies of language death and decline] . . . between those changes that are a result of language contact or bilingualism and those changes which began before contact or might well have occurred without it.” From the data I collected from K<sup>w</sup>a<sup>k</sup><sup>w</sup>ala speakers, it appears that changes are due to the influence of English phonology, grammar, and syntax, and that the almost complete loss of the language in the young generation is from the imposition of English.

Studies of language shift often focus on “social causes and correlates”; however, “most research fails to show *how* language shift happens” (Brown 1993:69). The process involved in language shift must be examined (Samarin 1971). This sentiment is similarly expressed by Kroskrity when he calls for studies of the process of language diffusion: “[T]he treatment of language contact has been characterized by a preoccupation with the ‘products’ of diffusion, rather than with the diffusion ‘process’ itself.” He believes his approach is “holistic,” which he defines as

one in which contact is examined from the complementary perspectives of language structure (autonomous linguistics) and language use (the ethnography of communication and sociolinguistics). Within such an approach, the former perspective supplies information concerning code-internal factors which may facilitate or inhibit borrowing. The latter provides information as to the degree of awareness, nature of social evaluation, and situated meaning with which members of a particular speech community may have endowed a particular linguistic trait.

One of the consequences of the failure to examine language contact in its sociocultural context is a dearth of insight into the sociocultural concomitants of linguistic diffusion (1982:51-52).

Taking Kroskrity's suggestion, I examine K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in terms of both autonomous linguistics and sociolinguistics. I believe this provides for a more well-rounded (or "holistic") discussion of language change and persistence in colonial situations, since the combination of approaches supports the theoretical assumption that in cases of language shift the indigenous language can be and is used as a marker of cultural identity.

### **The Process of Language Shift**

The steps that occur during language shift which lead to a language dying are:

1. An extended period of limited language contact culminating in a period of language shift. . . .
2. A shrinkage of domains for the subordinate language. . . .
3. Use of the dominant language by parents with their children. . . .
4. Failure by young people to gain proficiency in the subordinate language (Garzon 1992:61-64) .

The intense repression of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala began in the 1800s with traders, British settlement, and residential schooling, when the language was used in progressively fewer and fewer domains. The generations that attended residential schools, although they spoke the indigenous language themselves, and maintained it, did not pass it on to their children. The reason for this break in language transmission was that the indigenous language had become stigmatized, and residential school students had been punished, often severely, for using their language while attending school, even with brothers and sisters who might be there. Pye describes this situation for Chilcotin as well:

Most [parents] have stories to tell about the difficulties that they faced in schools where all instruction was in English and they were punished for

speaking their own language. Chilcotin parents are extremely concerned for their children's future and view the English language as an important means of insuring success for them (1992:79).

This results in Garzon's fourth step in the process, where young people fail to gain proficiency in the indigenous language. This is the situation among the young generation of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>. After achieving this level, it is very difficult to re-introduce the language into the community as a mother-tongue, as it has been attempted through the education system. A reversal of the process in order to effect this would take several generations of sustained effort. However, aspects of the language may be retained in order to identify with the cultural group, even when speaking English.

## **Grammar, Phonology, and Lexicon**

### *Grammar*

In a language that is being replaced by another,

certain changes may indeed take place within the language itself, as well as in the social context in which the language functions, and . . . dying languages may be rather different from 'healthy' languages. . . . [T]hese changes which take place work with the social factors in language replacement to make it extremely difficult to revive dying languages, because the dying language may actually become a less efficient communicative medium. Samarin (1971) has pointed out that change processes in dying languages may be closely related to the kinds of language change which have been recognized in other situations where languages underwent a narrowing of functional range under contact (Hill 1978:46).

Thus, not only do languages change in their social contexts, but they undergo internal structural changes as well in the process of dying. In chapter four, we look at some

structures of present-day K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala. “The most obvious prediction one can make about dying languages is that their structure is very likely to undergo a certain amount of change, and in all components at that: phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and lexical” (Campbell and Muntzel 1989:186). Bright claims that “the effects of contact between Europeans and Indians are more apparent in the Indian languages than in the European” (1976:218), which appears to be borne out in the contact situation between English and K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala. Taylor remarks:

Most of the examples of what I believe to be obsolescence in the speech of semi-speakers I have worked with are the loss and/or replacement of structures, often through the operation of analogy. There are, nevertheless, several examples of phonological and syntactic change which also appear to be the result of obsolescence (1989:174).

Hill tells us that “the decrease in the frequency of complex sentences in favor of simple sentences might be one aspect of a more general process of simplification taking place in a dying language, due to imperfect acquisition” (1989:152). Taylor notes his Gros Ventre informants’ “frequent gaps in knowledge, their hesitancy in many cases about the correctness of forms supplied by themselves or others, and . . . that they occasionally produce competing or pseudoforms” (1989:170). By pseudoforms he is referring to the substitution of “analytic constructions for synthetic ones”(1989:170). Taylor, speaking of a possible informant, states: “One in particular would probably be a very good source of obsolescent Gros Ventre, since he told me that other speakers ridicule his efforts to speak the language” (1989:170 and 179). These processes of simplification are evident in the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala data I collected as well. I also noticed the same attitude of some fluent speakers

towards semi-speakers and non-speakers of the language who attempt to use it, in that the former sometimes criticize the latter's efforts to speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. This issue will be discussed further in chapter six.

### *Phonology*

There are also predictable phonological changes in a dying language:

- (1) The bilingual speaker of a threatened language . . . will make fewer phonological distinctions in his or her use of the language than a fully competent (dominant or monolingual) speaker of the same language would.
- (2) However, he or she will preserve distinctions common to both his/her languages even while making fewer of the distinctions found only in the threatened language.
- (3) Distinctions with a functional load which is high (in terms of phonology and/or morphology) will survive longer in the speaker's use of his/her weaker language than distinctions which have a low functional load (Campbell and Muntzel 1989:186).

For example, one would expect that in the gradual shift to English, the unvoiced uvular stop *q* (along with its ejective counterpart *q'*) and the voiced uvular *g*, which exist in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, would assimilate to the velars *k* and *g* respectively, since uvulars do not exist in English. This change was borne out during fieldwork, especially with younger generations. The same was true for glottalization of consonants; the younger speakers did not consistently use glottalization where the older speakers did. On the other hand, another possible trait of imperfect speakers of dying languages is "overgeneralization of marked features," when these speakers try to compensate by putting in marked features where they really do not belong: "[N]ot knowing exactly where they belong, these speakers sometimes go hog-wild, as it were, employing the 'exotic' version with great

frequency in ways inappropriate for the healthy version of the same language.” In this way, sometimes rules are lost by overgeneralization. For example, Campbell and Muntzel report that one speaker “failed to learn the rule of glottalization in various phonological and morphological environments and through overgeneralization (glottalizing all possible consonants) in his language the rule is lost” (1989:189-190). None of the speakers I worked with demonstrated overgeneralization of marked features.

### *Lexicon*

Other research indicates that most borrowed lexical items tend to be “members of the ‘open’ classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives)” rather than those of “‘closed’ classes (pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions)” (Bynon 1977:231; see also Kroskrity 1982:59-63, 69)<sup>5</sup>, and are often non-traditional items (Bavin 1989) and new technological terms (Watson 1989).

Further to this, native speakers often only perceive lexical borrowings as infiltrating the indigenous language, whereas the demise of a language comes more readily from structural than from vocabulary changes:

In contrast to linguists, who tend to equate a language with its grammar (Bolinger 1973:8), nonlinguist members of speech communities appear to regard a language as consubstantial with its lexicon. The significance of this observation resides in its implications for diffusion: If grammatical phenomena are less subject to the awareness of members of a speech community, and therefore less subject to the evaluation which such awareness would permit, then we, as analysts, must be prepared for difference in both pattern and rate of change in lexical and grammatical diffusion (Kroskrity 1982:58).



Often in a dying language, many of the old structures are known by speakers, but are no longer used, as Hill notes for her informants (1978:46). The loss of old words and structures is also noted by the linguist John A. Dunn. He compares native calendars in Tsimshian, a language of the northern British Columbia coast, that have “food-moon names” for the months. He uses the Tate calendar of 1908, the Beynon calendar of 1937, the Vickers calendar of 1968, and the Hudson, Booth, and Guthrie calendars of 1975. Dunn finds that “[t]here has been through time a decrease in the number of names for the months and a simplification in their morphological structure” (1992:30). I obtained similar findings when I asked older K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-speakers if they recognized season names in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala collected by Boas. These findings will be presented in chapter four.

Kinship terminology, as a subset of the lexicon, is one aspect of lexical change discussed in this dissertation. The use of kinship terminology may change because of a restructuring of relationships between members of kin groups. As kin terms refer to and distinguish the members of semantic domains, these domains may be restructured according to the influence of English. Friedrich claims that kinship vocabulary may reflect social realities:

First, vocabulary significantly reflects ways of categorizing experience in a given culture. In other words, a semantic structure underlies the overt material. Second, semantic structures share certain formal properties irrespective of the content or of the overall complexity of the culture in question (1964:131-132).

Therefore, terminological systems may change to reflect new social realities:

[S]ignificant interrelationships, while neither perfect nor total, are widely present and highly systematic between the semantic structure underlying any fairly complex terminological field and the associated social structure underlying the behavioral field in any culture that has evolved with reasonable stability over two or more centuries. The semantic network symbolizes and is generated by the social network (1964:132).

Friedrich (1967:48) refers to “cognitive confusion and realignment” in his study on changes to Russian kinship terminology, a confusion stemming from the social reality not being reflected in the use of kin terms, making a realignment necessary. In the case of European colonialism, the kinship structure of the indigenous inhabitants may be undermined by the imposition of European family structures. Consequently, the kin relations as expressed in the colonial language will accurately reflect the new social reality. If children grow up in these imposed arrangements, speaking the imposed language, they will cognitively struggle to learn the relationships of the indigenous language if it is taught in schools. Further, since the former relationships expressed by the indigenous kin terms will not be a part of their social reality, these kin terms will not be relevant to the child’s everyday experience in their family and community. Even if the kin terms from the indigenous language survive, the relationships that they refer to will be those of the imposed system.

Similarly, McKellin (1991) argues that a change in the system of land tenure among the Managalase of Papua New Guinea led to changes in social organization and how people spoke about their kin. He refers to this process as “pidginization,” using the analogy of the pidginization of languages. The result is a hybrid of the old and new:

Subtle changes in the scope and internal structure of the Managalase system of land rights slowly generated a selected, pidginized version of Managalase social organization. The pidginized regulations gave land a new social meaning, redefined social relations and reduced the concept of kinship . . . The new system alienated matrilocally related kin who were formerly co-owners of gardening and hunting land (1991:321).

Although these two examples of changes in kinship terminology do not attribute the change to language contact, they are both instances of change in social organization, either due to a changed political system as in the former case, or culture contact as in the latter, that is reflected in the way kin terms are used. Kin terms continue to be used in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, but the relationships that they express have changed to reflect the imposition of European family structures and the different way English has of organizing one's relatives in relation to ego. Changes in the use of kinship terminology in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala will be discussed in chapter four.

The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers that I worked with demonstrate most of the features of language change discussed in this section. What these previous studies stop short of is providing evidence for the continued use of an obsolescent language in certain contexts as a marker of cultural identity.

### **English Language Learning -- Implications for Native Communities**

The popular view is that as soon as English is introduced in native communities, the native language will be lost, and the people will be well on their way to cultural assimilation (*e.g.* Taylor 1992). However, this is not necessarily so. All indigenous

languages of Canada that are still spoken have come into contact with a colonial language, most often English. In some cases, the colonial language has become the one adopted by the indigenous inhabitants, and the native language may fall into disuse. Some researchers contend that language and culture are so closely related that, if a language ceases to be spoken, the culture associated with that language may also cease to exist. First Nations people use this claim rhetorically and appear to believe it.

I assert, however, that although some native languages may no longer be used, this does not mean that native societies will “disappear” (Kwachka n.d.). Research on language, culture, and identity indicates that there is no direct link between language and culture, therefore, losing one’s language does not mean that one’s culture is also lost. “The equation ‘a race = a culture = a language’ is quite patently misleading, both in terms of real biological criteria and in terms of popular stereotypes” (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:234). Contact between languages and cultures does not mean that one or the other will necessarily disappear.

On the contrary, contact between ethnic groups may actually reinforce the differences between them, as members assert their cultural identity through opposition to the group with whom they are interacting:

People have always tended to divide themselves into groups of various kinds for various reasons. Some of those reasons have been for defense or aggression, but some have been for definition as well. One of the themes that has run through many recent studies of ethnicity is the role that differentiation plays in formulating our individual identities, not because individuals are weak and require a group identity to support them, but rather

because there is a commonality in the group experience that is valued and deemed worthy of preservation (McCready 1983: xvii).

For example, even if some First Nations people are not fluent in their indigenous language, they may use particular words or phrases from the language to identify themselves as being First Nations. Gumperz (1982) provides similar examples of this among minority populations in England.

Further, Bourdieu acknowledges that language creates distinctive identities which by the very act of their creation legitimizes that identity:

The almost magical power of words comes from the fact that the objectification and *de facto* officialization brought about by the public act of naming, in front of everyone, has the effect of freeing the particularity (which lies at the source of all sense of identity) from the unthought, and even unthinkable. . . . And officialization finds its fulfilment in *demonstration*, the typically magical act through which the practical group -- virtual, ignored, denied, or repressed -- makes itself visible and manifest, for other groups and *for itself*, and attests to its existence as a group that is known and recognized, laying a claim to institutionalization (1991:224, emphasis in original).

Similarly, Barth (1969) claims that interaction between groups actually highlights ethnic distinctions or boundaries rather than diminishes them. This is particularly true when members of one of the ethnic groups feel that their culture and/or language may be threatened by another ethnic group in a situation of contact, particularly in the case of colonialism:

[E]thnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation;

cultural difference can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence (Barth 1969:10).

I contend that culture and language *change* through this interaction does not necessarily mean that cultures and languages will *disappear*. All cultures and languages change over time due to various forces at play, whether internal or external. In some situations, such as those where extinction occurs (*e.g.* the Beothuk of Newfoundland; see McMillan 1988:41-44), cultures and languages do cease to exist. The more common outcome for languages and cultures in contact in a colonial situation, however, is that the colonized people will adopt cultural and linguistic features of the colonizers, either willingly or through the use of force. The resultant cultural and linguistic configurations will contain elements of each culture and language to a greater or lesser extent. McCready (1983) uses a biological model in his discussion of cultural change, since the previously used constructs of assimilation and acculturation, which imply a totality of conversion to another culture, do not account for those elements from the indigenous culture that either change somewhat without disappearing, or that remain intact:

[W]e need to begin to construct new models for the ways in which ethnicity and culture change over time within a pluralistic population. In many ways, neither assimilation nor acculturation is a sufficient paradigm. Perhaps the notion of a mutation, taken from the biological sciences, would be more descriptive. Ethnic and cultural identity mutates over generations, losing some of its elements and refocusing on others, while still others lie dormant for a time only to spring up again when we least expect them (McCready 1983:xxi).

At the same time, it is important to remember that external influences will not be parallel in both culture and language. For example, more cultural and less linguistic

elements may be retained from the indigenous society. Nonetheless, elements of indigenous cultures and cultural identity can continue to be expressed through any language. It is often the case today that members of an indigenous society who do not speak their ancestral language continue to behave in ways appropriate to the indigenous culture:

[R]eplacement languages, rather than extinguishing indigenous cultural perspectives, may in fact serve as vehicles to express and maintain salient social values during periods of rapid culture change. This position contrasts sharply with the traditional view held by anthropologists and linguists alike: that language shift and cultural assimilation are synonymous; or, as more usually stated, “If you lose your language you lose your culture.” The literature is replete with statements suggesting inevitable and irrevocable culture loss concomitant with first language or mother tongue (L1) loss (Kwachka n.d:1).

And although the folk model exists of language being essential to the maintenance of culture, a sense of cultural identity can be and is maintained in other ways:

[F]eelings of ethnic identity, certainly when buttressed by religion or by any institutional maintenance of political or cultural traditions, . . . can survive total language loss, as we see among various immigrant groups in different parts of the world. The East Indians in the Caribbean have very largely given up their Indian languages except for ritual purposes . . . in favour of Creole, but nevertheless identify themselves and are identified, within the wider ‘West Indian’ identity, as East Indians (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:239-240).

Unlike commonly held Western views, and legislation defining who is and who is not an aboriginal person, cultural identity among native North Americans is defined “not in terms of ‘blood,’ but rather in terms of social behavior” (Fowler 1982:144). Part of this social behaviour is use of the native language in some form or another. Among the

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, as among other Native American people, the sense of “group identity (their ideas about their culture and history)” is defined by their relations with ‘others.’ In other words, identity comes from differences perceived between themselves and those who surround them. Fowler claims that, among the Gros Ventre, “a person views himself as a member of both a tribe and a community, and both identities may be symbolized in the same social act” (1987:5-7).

### **Changes in Language Use**

Although cultures do not cease to exist simply because the language associated with that culture ceases to be spoken at the community level, the current situation of indigenous languages in North America forces those interested in language maintenance and/or revival to examine circumstances of language survival and shift in various parts of the world.

The following factors for dialect survival have been identified by Galloway (1992:41) in his discussion of the Samish dialect of Straits Salish:

1. Living speakers were raised speaking only Samish (or Samish and a mutually intelligible dialect) until at least 12 years of age.
2. There has been continual contact between Samish speakers up to the present.



3. Where speakers had to leave Samish-speaking areas they moved to reservations where reinforcement of the language was possible through speakers of mutually intelligible dialects.

It was noted in the previous section that the indigenous culture in a colonial contact situation will adopt some cultural traits of the colonizers. Along with such borrowings as technical innovations, one can include the colonial language as an 'outside resource' that may be used for the benefit of the community. For example, among the Gros Ventre of Montana,

"Progressive" activities -- such as a ranching economy, an agricultural fair, allotment of reservation lands, fluency in English -- suggested a commitment to assimilation in the [Indian] agents' view. But to the Gros Ventres, such activities offered the means to perpetuate cultural traditions and behavioral ideals. . . . Gros Ventre leadership of the early twentieth century was bilingual and boarding-school educated. They were perceived as progressive by federal officials. Among the Gros Ventres, they were known as prominent men active in ritual life and tenacious advocates of primacy and self-determination (Fowler 1987:74).

Particularly in colonial situations, the continued use of the indigenous language may not seem relevant because of the association between the colonial language and progress and economic stability. Because of this, the indigenous language may continue to play a symbolic role as part of the indigenous cultural identity. Fowler notes the importance of symbolic activities that differentiate the indigenous culture from the colonial one among the Arapahoe:

In the reorganization of their political life the Arapahoes have shown great creativity in developing innovative strategies and accommodating these innovations to cultural orientations so that they retained a sense of

continuity with their past. In a repressive colonial experience, this continuity was articulated largely through symbolic processes (Fowler 1982:299).

However, one must be cautious in attributing assertions of cultural identity purely to a response to contact with Europeans. It would appear that demarcation of ethnic identity was also important in the Americas long before colonialism. In the case of Mesoamerica: “In pre-Hispanic times, despite profound similarities among the cultures of Mesoamerica, ethnic identification was all-important” (Sandstrom 1991:100). This may be true for the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup>, if not all Northwest Coast peoples, as they are quick to distinguish themselves from other indigenous groups, not only from non-natives, and one of the most used distinguishing feature is their language.

Changes in language use can be discerned through an investigation of social processes at work at various times during contact. These changes are most noticeable through observation of different generations of speakers.

### **Generations of Speakers**

As a language changes due to contact with another language in a colonial situation, there are noticeable differences in the choice of language used in different contexts. Further, a comparison of the speech of individuals from different generations will demonstrate the nature of the changes to the indigenous language itself. This varies from society to society depending on the relative prestige associated with the two languages in contact. Most research in this area reports that the introduced colonial language usually

takes the upper hand in being associated with the dominant culture which is deemed superior to the indigenous one economically, and even morally. Fowler, in speaking of Gros Ventre people she worked with who were born between 1895 and 1929, claims:

Most spoke the Gros Ventre language when they entered school, and although their parents encouraged them to speak English, other Gros Ventres addressed them by their Gros Ventre names, which they probably received from an elderly relative. They often interpreted for elderly Gros Ventre, who could not speak English fluently. Their concept of Gros Ventre cultural identity, particularly its ritual expression, was forged in these early childhood experiences (1987:42).

Although the mother tongue of members of this bilingual generation was the ancestral language, they were nonetheless encouraged to speak English, because their parents believed that in order to succeed in the larger American society English was essential. The parents of this generation on the whole believed that their culture was being replaced by the dominant American culture, and their language by English. Elsewhere Fowler states:

Children of the early twentieth century were not allowed or encouraged to pursue an interest in native Gros Ventre religion or to take on major responsibilities in secular ritual life. Instead, they were urged to learn English and to acquire the educational, vocational, and domestic skills that would enable them to compete successfully with whites and to avoid exploitation and abuse as much as possible. One seventy-one-year-old woman remarked to me that her mother's mother would become angry if she spoke the Gros Ventre language: "She would say I had to compete with whites now -- what good is speaking Indian?" (1987:142).

Because of the relative lack of prestige perceived by the Gros Ventre themselves of their language, this generation was not encouraged to perpetuate native rituals or language:

In short, when they were children, in the early twentieth century, the elder generation of today was expected to attend and enjoy Gros Ventre rituals yet they were not encouraged to perpetuate them (1987:142).

As the cycle continues, because of this generation's upbringing, the succeeding generation did not learn the language at all:

Persons in the youth generation, born between 1930 and 1955, . . . [a]s children . . . attended no Gros Ventre pipe-bundle ceremonies, hand games, sweats, curing ceremonies; they saw no sham battles and no crow belt ceremonies . . . They did not speak Gros Ventre; many were not given a Gros Ventre name. In short, they had little understanding of Gros Ventre ritual tradition from firsthand experience (1987:144).

As we will see in chapter four, the case of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala appears to be similar. The most noticeable break in transmission of the indigenous language occurs between the bilingual middle generation, who learned K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as a mother tongue, and their children. Most members of this middle generation attended residential schools where the language was suppressed, and so they thought it in the best social and economic interests of their children not to teach them K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. The best hope for their children's success in the modern world was to learn English.

### **Shared Symbols of Identity**

Sometimes a knowledge of the language limited to a few lexical elements, or even certain pronunciations, may be used even when not speaking the native language (see Kwachka n.d.). The use of certain elements of the native language establishes the identity of the speaker as belonging to a particular group:

Even where the original native language is lost the new discourse conventions tend to persist and to be taken over into the group's use of the majority language. In fact these conventions come to reflect the identity of the group itself and can act as powerful instruments of persuasion in everyday communicative situations for participants who share its values (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:6).

A person of native ancestry who does not speak the language fluently may retain some words from the indigenous language when speaking English, especially for those things that English has no words for:

[Speakers] will probably keep their own native-language words only for things the TL [target language] has no words for: foods and other culture items, and . . . names for local animals, plants and so forth (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:39).

Findings from research presented in this dissertation will show that, from the language and culture contact situation over the past two hundred years, similar processes and outcomes to those presented here have occurred in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> society. However, Thomason and Kaufman's utilitarian view of language use (see quote above) does not account for instances where speakers use K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala when an English term does exist. This fact supports the theory that language is not simply a tool of communication, but also a strong symbol of cultural identity.

Indigenous North American languages serve as a symbol of community and individual identity (see Fowler 1982; Sandstrom 1991; Kroskrity 1993): "In most parts of the Americas, to speak an indigenous language is to be an Indian" (Silver and Miller 1997:219-220). Fowler includes language as part of a list of examples of shared symbols of identity among Arapahoes:

[R]itual objects, personal names, clothing and body decoration, language, and such ceremonies as the 'giveaway' are a few among many symbolic vehicles that articulate concepts about authority and its legitimization and instill an emotional commitment to the shared interpretations that order political life (1982:4).

Kroskrity's study of the Arizona Tewa concludes that the

language continues to be spoken . . . and has become the most powerful symbol of their still discrete ethnic identity, as well as the means for transmitting their unique history to new generations (1993:3-4).

Although K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as an everyday means of communication is no longer being passed on to new generations, it remains an important symbol of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup> culture in its use in various contexts. This use may be limited to a few words of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in the speech of monolingual speakers of English, but it still carries with it the identification of the individual with his or her cultural ancestry.

### **Paralinguistic Uses of Language**

Part of social behaviour is which language one chooses to use in which context.

Among the Arapahoe, elders use the indigenous language in particular contexts, and English in others. It is important to consider

the *meaning* of the use of Arapahoe as opposed to English in particular social contexts: in the Arapahoe view, Arapahoe was becoming culturally appropriate only in particular social contexts and most appropriate for speakers of particular age categories (Fowler 1982:5, emphasis in original).

Language in some contexts is used to display identity and assert authority:

The elders' influence was also bolstered by their role as orators at tribal ceremonies and by the Arapahoes' perception that they spoke the native

language 'better' than the younger people. Although most elders were bilingual by this time, they refrained from speaking English in certain contexts (for example at tribal gatherings, at religious ceremonies, and even sometimes at Business Council meetings). . . . Ceremonial elders were considered to be not only particularly proficient in the Arapahoe language, but, because of their wisdom and training, less likely to make errors of speech that could be disastrous in a sacred context. . . . In crisis situations, elders broke into the native language, which worked to intimidate opposition, discredit disruptive individuals, and reduce anxiety and fear (1982:215).

Another instance related by Fowler where the language was used by elders as a symbol of authority was one in which some Arapahoes had been invited by some Gros Ventre youths to undertake a pipe ceremony, and the elders did not want this to happen because, according to the elders, the youths did not know what they were doing. The youths had not learned how to perform ceremonies as they were growing up, and improper procedure could be detrimental to the entire community (this belief is widely held among Native American peoples). The elders intervened during the preparation of the ceremony, and convinced the Arapahoes not to continue:

The elders were pleased and relieved -- pleased that they had defeated the youth, whom they considered disrespectful of their elders, and relieved to have averted a potential disaster. Elders were particularly gratified that some among them had influenced the Arapahoes by speaking to them in Gros Ventre [a dialect of Arapahoe], thus demonstrating their command of Gros Ventre cultural tradition, in contrast to the youths, none of whom spoke Gros Ventre (1982:153).

Public naming ceremonies are also important to Gros Ventre, since there is always a history attached to a name:

The name symbolizes the Gros Ventre cultural identity of the person named, for it establishes a link between him and his namesake . . . Several namings

have been conducted by youths (who, not able to speak the Gros Ventre language, ask an elder how to pronounce the name to be given) (Fowler 1987:183).

Youths today, particularly since they do not speak the language, want a name as a symbol of Gros Ventre identity. However, elders feel that this is an inappropriate use of names:

Elders often remark that there is no practical, meaningful use for a Gros Ventre name today. One elder noted that recently he named three of his grandchildren but then refused to name any more because "they don't use the names for anything today." No youths can communicate in the Gros Ventre language (1987:181).

Among the Gros Ventre, indigenous language use is also a necessary component for spiritual power:

[M]any [youths] express ambivalence about medicine power . . . Some youths . . . wonder . . . if an elder was right when she reputedly said, "You don't speak Gros Ventre so how can Gros Ventre power come to you? Whoever heard of spirits speaking English?" (1987:156).

Among many North American native communities, the indigenous language today has cultural significance and so is used, among bilinguals, in contexts where speakers wish to demonstrate their identification with their cultural group. Often there is a shift to English for business purposes, it too a symbol of identity as a bicultural person able to manage successfully in the modern world:

Both the Arapahoe and the Shoshone business councils sought to present to their constituents an image of assertive, "educated" leadership. . . . Almost all of the Arapahoe councilmen -- in fact, almost all of the Arapahoes -- were bilingual. Gradually English came to be used exclusively during business council meetings, although outside the council meetings Arapahoes often conversed in the native language (Fowler 1982: 212).



What Fowler reports for the Gros Ventre is largely true for the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup> as well. English has gradually come to replace K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, particularly in non-traditional contexts, but K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is maintained in other contexts as a symbol of identity. The fact that it is used in specific contexts demonstrates a choice made by individuals whether to use English or K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, therefore agency in language choice is important.

## Agency

An element often missing from approaches to changes in language and culture is that of agency. Agency in this context means that the choices of the speakers, and the meaning those choices have for speakers within society, must be taken into account. According to Barth (1969), members of an ethnic group will choose to use their language in a particular context as a boundary marker between themselves and other ethnic groups: “[E]thnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people” (Barth 1969:10). Fitzgerald, in a discussion of identity, claims that “self is not a passive agent but actively selects, potentially constructs, its own realities -- hence the metaphorical notion of *constructed identities*” (1993:59, emphasis in original):

[T]he link between intentions and communications [is] . . . affected by three facilitating conditions: *knowledge*, *motivation*, and *ability* to perform appropriate roles. . . . Individual choice becomes a significant factor in this theoretical perspective. People do make conscious decisions about the importance of self and the relevance of their social and cultural backgrounds (Fitzgerald 1993:74, emphasis in original).

Sandstrom (1991:67) agrees: “Ethnicity is often situational in that people decide when and how to assert their identity using different strategies at different times.”

The importance given to agency in more recent studies of code-switching suggests that it must be taken into account:

Recent theory in the social sciences . . . has supported an agentive view of cultural actors that acknowledges their creative work in producing and reproducing structures . . . In understanding code-switching we must appreciate the history of language contact relations and how this has permeated the social meanings of the associated languages (Kroskrity 1993:223-224).

Any study of languages in contact must take into account the choices of the speakers, and the meaning those choices have for them within society. Among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>, people choose to use either English or K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala depending on the context, and their ability to speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. This will be discussed further in chapter five.

Chapter two presents a brief overview of the conduct of the research. Chapter three discusses pre-contact K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> society, and the changing relationship between Europeans (and those of European descent) and K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> from the time of first contact to the present day. The results reported on in chapters four and five relate particulars of modern-day K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> community and language situations, in that the data represent both the state of the language itself as spoken by some community members and the context of indigenous language usage in the communities. The dissertation concludes with chapter six, which is a summary of the implications of

language contact for issues of language continuity and change among colonialized populations.

The research for this dissertation proceeded from the theoretical approach of language as a marker of cultural identity. Members of an indigenous cultural group whose language is dying due to the imposition of a colonial language will maintain their ancestral language in certain contexts in order to assert affiliation with their cultural group.

To demonstrate this, I will use fieldwork data from two K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>a'wak<sup>w</sup> communities. Although the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>a'wak<sup>w</sup> view their language and culture as inextricably linked, and that the loss of language may lead to a loss of their culture, I observed many instances where the language continues to be used, fluently or in fragments, as a symbol of what it means to be K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>a'wak<sup>w</sup>.

## Notes to Chapter One

1. Throughout the dissertation, I refer to the First Nations groups by terms that they use themselves. The Quatsino and Tsawatainuk use characters from the English alphabet in their names. The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> use characters developed by the U'mista Cultural Society in 1979. The orthography that I use throughout the dissertation, particularly in the data analysis in chapter four, is an Americanist modification of IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). Here are the correspondences between the orthography developed by the U'mista, and the one I use, where they differ:

| <i>U'mista</i> | <i>Goodfellow</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|
| a              | ə                 |
| dɬ             | λ                 |
| dz             | ʒ                 |
| gw             | g <sup>w</sup> *  |
| g              | g̊                |
| k              | q                 |
| ts             | c                 |
| tʰs            | c̣                |
| tɬ             | λ                 |
| tɬ             | λ'                |
| x              | x̣                |
| ,              | ʔ                 |

\*all labialized consonants are indicated by a superscripted "w"

2. Throughout this dissertation, I refer to speakers who have various levels of competence in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. These should be viewed as being on a continuum, with the following general characteristics:

- *fluent speakers* are those who are capable of extended discourse in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala with little or no influence of English;
- *semi-speakers* can carry on limited discourse in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala with more interference of English than a fluent speaker (*i.e.* English words, sentences, and phrases occur frequently in discourse);
- *passive speakers* generally do not engage in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala discourse, other than for a few words or phrases, but they are capable of understanding the discourse of others speaking in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala;
- *non-speakers* cannot speak or understand K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in connected discourse, but they may use isolated K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words in otherwise English discourse.

3. However, Ladefoged (1992) counters the notion that linguists know what is best for endangered languages, and believes that a responsible linguist should not meddle in language maintenance, unless he or she is expressly asked to do so by the people themselves. According to him, the duty of the linguist is to provide data and material to groups who request it, but it is up to the group to decide whether or not an attempt should be made at language retention. For example, in some African countries where he has worked, the promotion of tribalism is not viewed as beneficial by many people, particularly those who are trying to unify populations through the use of a single language.

Dorian (1994:801) responds to Ladefoged's argument with the following:

In response to the . . . notion of 'free choice' for minority groups, I would argue that choices that may be 'free' in favorable circumstances are frequently less so in unfavorable circumstances. If dissociation from a disfavored group is the only route to economic betterment that's currently available, then going over wholly to the language of the dominant group may be less a wish to jettison the home language than a wish to jettison economic and social discrimination. It's crucial to note in this connection that bilingual environments are not necessarily static: a language that was socially and economically disadvantageous for one generation may not remain so for succeeding generations. . . . In favorable circumstances people can sustain multiple allegiances and maintain identities that do not fully overlap across various reference groups; assimilation in some spheres need not require complete abandonment of all prior identities. If circumstances are too seldom favorable, perhaps it's that which requires our intervention and not 'euthanatoglossia'.

4. An exception to this has occurred in Paraguay, with contact between Spanish, a colonial language; and Guaraní, an indigenous language. Historical circumstances in this language contact situation were very different from what usually happened in other areas colonized by European states. Guaraní has been maintained here in a bilingual context. See Silver and Miller (1997:219-221) for a discussion of this.

5. Although this is generally the case, some Mesoamerican languages have borrowed lexical items such as prepositions, conjunctions, and other function words from Spanish (e.g. Suárez 1983:136).

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Research Methods and Data Collection*

As stated in chapter one, this dissertation focuses on the investigation of contemporary patterns of usage of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, and changes which appear to have occurred to the language during the period of contact with English (see chapter one, page 1).

In treating this topic, I attempted to combine issues of theoretical linguistics and sociolinguistics, the former in the analysis of linguistic data, the latter in the compilation of community language profiles. Theoretical linguistics examines the structure of languages, for example the grammar and phonology, with little, if any, consideration of speakers as social actors, or even of language usage. On the other hand, sociolinguistics focuses on how language is used in everyday speech to communicate not only information but things such as relationships between people, status, social class, etc. In this dissertation I have combined these two approaches in looking at the shift from K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to English as the dominant language among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>. The three focal issues in this dissertation, then, are:

- 1) what historical factors are relevant to the processes involved in language replacement?
- 2) what happens to the internal structure of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala itself when it is being replaced by English?
- 3) what happens to the social life of the language in this same context?

The first issue is the subject of chapter three. In this chapter, I discuss considerations in the collection of data used to address the latter two issues, and briefly introduce findings. Further elaboration on the second issue above is the focus of chapter four, and the third issue is discussed in chapter five.

### **Data Collection**

My initial introduction to K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> society came in 1991 when I was hired by the Nimpkish Board of Education to work on a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala Language Immersion Programme for the nursery class at T<sup>l</sup>isalagi'lakw School in Alert Bay, which is located on Cormorant Island near the north end of Vancouver Island. I lived and worked in Alert Bay for three months (June, July, and August) in order to complete this work, which resulted in a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala language reader and teachers' guide. This was done while I was still a Master's student.

In October 1993 I began working with an elder who is a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speaker from Kingcome Inlet then living in Vancouver. This work continued until February 1995. In May 1995, I accompanied the elder to Kingcome Inlet for an Elders' Gathering and spent a week there. In August 1995, I spent two weeks in the Quatsino area, and returned to Kingcome Inlet for two weeks in August 1996.

## **Timetable**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| June - August 1991    | Alert Bay, Language Consultant  |
| Oct. 1993 - Feb. 1995 | Collection of linguistic data in Vancouver                              |
| May 1995              | Collection of language profile data in Kingcome Inlet                   |
| August 1995           | Collection of linguistic and language profile data in Quatsino          |
| August 1996           | Collection of linguistic and language profile data in<br>Kingcome Inlet |

## **Language Data**

I located a fluent K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala speaker living in Vancouver who enthusiastically agreed to work with me. She is an elder from Kingcome Inlet, and a well-known person of high status in her community. I worked with her over a period of two years.

I was invited to Quatsino by her brother, who also served as an informant, and helped me locate other fluent or semi-fluent K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala speakers in the village who were willing to work with me. This started a “snowball” form of sampling, where people recommended other speakers with whom I could work. I was given names of speakers of all ages to contact. My work in the village was approved by the Band council. At the council offices, I was told that out of an on-reserve population of 215, there were 55 K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala speakers, or about 26% of the population.

In Kingcome Inlet, after making a request to do fieldwork there, I was invited by the cultural society to do so. Some fluent speakers of the middle and oldest generations



agreed to work with me. I asked some members of the young generation, who were considered to be fluent or semi-fluent, if they wished to work with me. Although I did receive some favourable responses from the young people, in the end they were all unavailable at the times we had arranged to meet.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say what percentage of the population speaks K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in Kingcome Inlet. My work in the community was also announced in the *Gwa Yee Newsletter*.

### **Guidelines for Collection of Linguistic Data**

In order to ensure accuracy and clarity in the presentation of linguistic data, the following considerations are taken into account.

According to Hill (1978), different variables need to be controlled to obtain an accurate picture of whether a language has changed, and how. These variables are:

1. age of speaker
2. individual informant [*i.e.* background of informant]
3. style of delivery
4. recording technique

Hill also provides examples of ways to ensure that the results of language analysis are not idiosyncrasies of the informant:

1. Each speaker should be designated separately.
2. The data should be grouped according to the style in which they were presented.

3. The age of the informant must be taken into account.
4. Contact that the informant has with other speakers of the language should be noted.
5. The sex of the informant should be noted.

In addition to these guidelines, other variables are taken into account in this particular case, for example family background, affinal relations, and social status. These are important among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, as it is a socially stratified society (see Codere 1990:366-368).

I organized the research in terms of an investigation of structural, phonological, and lexical differences between individual speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>wala from three different generations, and profiles of language use in two K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>wala-speaking communities (*i.e.* where and when K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>wala is spoken by whom, and the level of competence of the speaker). My prior experience living and working in a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> community for three months in 1991 exposed me to observations of contexts of language use and social norms. Milroy advises: "Community norms need to be studied if patterns of normal communicative behaviour are to be properly understood; it cannot be assumed that they are the same as the researcher's" (Milroy 1987:67). In fact, social norms in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> communities are very different from those that I am accustomed to from growing up and living most of my life in large urban centres.

The collection of linguistic data progressed as follows: I worked with three generations of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>wala-speakers in Vancouver, Quatsino, and Kingcome Inlet. The

oldest generation includes speakers over 50 years of age, the middle generation 25 to 50 years of age, and the young generation under 25 years of age. Most members of the oldest generation today are bilingual in English and K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, although I have met a few elderly people who cannot speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala other than for a few common words or expressions. I know of no monolingual K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers.

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is a polysynthetic language. Polysynthetic languages express in one term, by the addition of affixes to a stem, what analytic languages such as English express in a sentence with separate words. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala uses suffixation. During elicitation, I asked individuals how they would say something in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. I used as my starting point terms and expressions from an extensive list of suffixes written down by Franz Boas and George Hunt and published in 1910. I would then compare what had been recorded by Boas and Hunt with the answer I received. If the person I was working with could not immediately think of how to say a particular thing in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, I would then supply the term from Boas and Hunt. Sometimes this elicited a response, particularly from members of the oldest generation. Often members of the young generation would not recognize the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala term.

The Boas and Hunt material was taken from connected discourse in stories collected by them. This differed from my process of elicitation, where I asked for K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala translations of specific English terms and phrases. There were two reasons for this variation in approach:

1. I was attempting to elicit from the speakers the suffixes in question, whereas Boas extracted these suffixes from existing material. If I had asked the speakers to tell me stories, there would have been less possibility that the suffixes I was specifically attempting to elicit would appear in the material. Therefore, the method of eliciting single items as opposed to asking for connected discourse was more efficient for my purposes.
2. Since I was investigating diachronic language change with different generations of speakers, I elicited material from semi-speakers as well as fluent speakers. Semi-speakers for the most part were not capable of producing connected discourse, and certainly not in the context of storytelling.

It was also not possible to record naturally-occurring speech, as I was required to receive permission from individuals for any recording of data. In these communities, it is frowned upon to record public ritual activity, other than by family members of the hosts.

In my work with speakers from different generations, I compared the number of analytic and polysynthetic structures present to ascertain what influence English has had on individuals' K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speech, if any. I also looked at phonological and lexical influences that English may be having on K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. In previous investigations of changes in indigenous languages, researchers have found that these languages have been influenced by English in various ways, for example in phonology and grammatical structures (see chapter one). The analysis of the linguistic data is the focus of chapter four.

## Methodology in the Investigation of Language and Identity

Fowler (1987:3-4) distinguishes these interrelated issues of identity:

1. the role of people's interpretation of events and relationships in the development of their identity, how symbols of identity change, and how they affect social relations;
2. the role of "intrasocietal variability" (*e.g.* based on age and community) in culture change and adaptation.

Similarly to Fowler, this dissertation takes "an approach, or rather a combination of approaches (ethnohistory, participant-observation fieldwork, the analysis of folk history, and cohort analysis [here using a generation as a cohort, as Fowler does]), to explore the relationship between the past and the present" in terms of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> identity in the two communities where fieldwork was conducted, Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet; and "to discover how outside factors, such as contacts with other peoples and their institutions, and internal variation in the experience and interpretation of these factors precipitate particular kinds of changes and differential kinds of adaptations."

All communities experience internal and external influences on change, where borrowings and innovations become part of the culture. Although anthropologists no longer focus their studies on acculturation, there is often nonetheless a folk perception that introduced items are detrimental or damaging to the 'traditional' culture. Past and present are juxtaposed as being 'different' rather than two realities on a continuum of change:

Most studies of contemporary Native Americans fail to examine carefully the relationship between past and present. Often a brief, ethnographic-present description of precontact or early-contact lifeways or a sketch of major events in Indian-white relations is given, but how contemporary culture and society are affected by a particular history is ignored (Fowler 1987:7).

For this reason, chapter three is devoted to an investigation of the changing nature of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>-European relations over the approximately two hundred years of contact between them. In this way, history, culture, and language are all interrelated, and each influences the others. In like fashion, each contributes to a people's sense of identity.

The history of a people, their culture, and their language give people their sense of identity as members of a particular cultural group (Fitzgerald 1993:59). "Culture . . . forms the interpretive frame in which people organize and direct their behavior through subjectively, contextually based, identifications." Within culture: "Language is a vital part of the social identity of any group . . . Styles of speaking are believed to reflect the overall values of a culture" (1993:70 and 61).

Fitzgerald notes that "[p]eople typically respond to the *meaning* of the social situations rather than simply to situations themselves . . ." (1993:71). In this sense, I believe that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is used in a socially meaningful way to convey K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> identity among all generations. Those people who do not speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala fluently continue to use the language in certain ceremonial contexts such as potlatches, where they may have learned particular speeches or songs in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, or in everyday conversations certain K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words may be used while speaking English. Also, styles of speaking

may be reflected in the difference between typical English and K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speech patterns, *i.e.* K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala patterns may be used while speaking English.

Conclusions drawn based on the linguistic analysis and profile of language use support the theoretical assumption upon which this dissertation is based: although an indigenous language may change in a colonial situation, and often so drastically that it ceases to be a language of everyday communication, it may continue to be used in certain contexts, by fluent speakers, semi-speakers, passive speakers, or even non-speakers of the language, as a marker of cultural identity.

### **Profile of Language Use**

The profile of language use presented in chapter five is based on information collected from informal discussions with community members about numbers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers in the community, and personal observations of language use that were made while in the field. Both sources are particularly useful in evaluating how language is used as a marker of cultural identity. Milroy writes: “Several studies have depended upon careful prior observation of local norms and values . . . particularly studies of code-switching patterns, which need to specify social context carefully and to be aware of the social symbolism of various kinds of language choice” (1987:66).

The profile of language use in the two communities includes the following information:

- Contexts where K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is spoken, by whom, and for what purpose.
- The reasons K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is spoken in certain situations, and not others.
- The difference between contexts where K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words, phrases, and discourse are used.
- The status of the language in terms of prestige, past and present.
- The relationship between residential schooling and language transmission.
- Information on different registers in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.

The data for the profile of language use were collected mostly in informal conversations with members of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> communities, and observations made by me in these communities since my initial introduction in 1991.

I began my research with the idea of studying the situation of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as an obsolescing language, that is, one which “still serves as a vehicle for social interaction, but the settings in which it is used become more and more restricted” (Silver and Miller 1997:252). I wanted to see what was happening to the language, and the society, in the course of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala's apparent demise. Certainly, the linguistic data confirm that indeed there has been an abrupt break in the indigenous language transmission between the middle and young generations of today. However, during fieldwork I also heard the language used in various contexts and in varying degrees of proficiency, almost on a daily basis. I then realized that in certain contexts, the language was being used as a marker of cultural identity. This became clearer as I noticed it was spoken more often when outsiders, such as myself, were present. For this reason, in the dissertation I have tried to



combine the issues of what happens to the internal structure of a language in an obsolescing situation, and how such a language may yet continue to be used by virtually every member of the indigenous population to denote cultural identity. These two issues are addressed in the remaining chapters.

## **Notes to Chapter Two**

1. This issue is discussed further in the language profiles section in chapter five (see page 212).

### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### ***History of Contact in the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> Region***

Any study of how language and culture are related to identity in a colonial situation must take into account historical relationships between the colonizers and the colonized (see quote from Fowler in chapter two, page 55). An historical perspective is included in the dissertation to provide an interesting insight into interactions between different groups of people. These interactions affect how people perceive their own identities, and those of others. Barth's claim that intercultural contact can heighten and even define "ethnic distinctions" or cultural identities (see chapter one, page 30) is relevant to the investigation of historical contacts between K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> and those of European descent. During the course of time, those from the dominant European society attempted to assimilate native North Americans into the dominant culture. The result, to the contrary, is that native North Americans have maintained their distinct cultural identities, and one mechanism for them to do so is through the use of language. Here we look at the specific case of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>.

#### **Change in Control of Economic Base**

European contact in the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> area first brought mercantile trade, followed by a capitalist economic system. The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> had no problem adjusting

to the mercantile system: through their existing exchange network, they used the new trade to their advantage in order to accumulate goods for potlatching purposes. Duff, commenting on northwest coast populations in general, claims that the “new wealth strengthened the existing social and economic systems rather than weakening them” (1969:57). In some cases, the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> demonstrated what has been described as “their business astuteness” (Codere 1950:20) in adapting to the trade of the contact culture: “[I]n the 1830's, Kwakiutl traders travelled along the coast, buying furs at higher prices than the Hudson's Bay Company was paying, and selling them to Yankee ships” (Duff 1969:58). This meant that the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> expanded their aboriginal trade network to include more foreign tribes as well as Europeans and Euroamericans. Since this trade was similar to that of pre-contact times, there was little effect on the social organization of the people.

This changed during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, when the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> lost control of the means of production to capitalists of European descent. The new settlers built industries around the natural resources of the area, such as fishing, logging, and mining, which employed large numbers of native people (Codere 1950:24-42). With this influx of European money and industry came European morals, values, and attitudes which affected not only the social organization of the indigenous groups, but the way that the latter were perceived, and ultimately, how they came to view their cultures.

The change of economic control from the hands of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> to the newcomers and its effects have been well documented elsewhere (Codere 1950:8-61, 1990:363-364; Galois 1994:27-63). Here I will take a slightly different perspective on how this change affected the perceptions of the newcomers towards the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>, which in turn altered the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'s own perceptions of their language, culture, and identity.

More specifically, the first explorers and traders of European descent on the northwest coast had little effect on K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> society. This changed drastically over the next 150 years with the advent of land-based trade and non-native settlement, during which K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> culture was denigrated to the point where there was no prestige in being part of the culture, or in knowing the language. As we will see in chapters four and five, the greatest break in culture and language transmission from one generation to the next occurs during the residential school era. Then from about the 1970s to the present, there was a resurgence of pride in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> culture and language, and today K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is used as a marker of this cultural identity by fluent speakers, semi-speakers and non-speakers in certain contexts.

### **Change in Social Relations Between K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> and Non-Native Newcomers**

To investigate how society in the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> region has changed over time, I have researched early texts of Europeans and Euroamericans who visited the area, including descriptions by explorers, traders, and settlers. For example, Robin Fisher

looks at various writings of Europeans as they describe native people, from the early explorers, through fur traders, missionaries, and settlers: “There were, of course, as many images of the Indian as there were Europeans in British Columbia” (Fisher 1988:167). It does seem that the motives of the Europeans often coloured their descriptions of native people. These writings, probably more than being accurate descriptions, help us understand the point of view of the Europeans. Early explorers were interested in what and whom they would find here, and the impressions their descriptions would make in their countries; traders were trying to make profits in their exchanges with native people; and settlers wanted to live in this part of the new world and exploit the natural resources of the area. I researched several descriptions of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> people and their villages in an attempt to make sense of how their society has changed over time, and how they were perceived by various non-native newcomers. This research will contribute to historical studies of indigenous language use by attempting to determine how a language, in this case, may decline in use. This not only affects the sociocultural aspects of language use, but also the internal structure of the language through prolonged contact with a colonial language.

This chapter looks at historical relations between the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> and people of European descent through a discussion of the following:

- a) precontact society (pp. 64 to 70);
- b) views of early explorers and traders vis-à-vis K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> (pp. 70 to 78);

- c) the influence of land-based trade on K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>-European relations (pp. 78 to 81);
- d) the development of a patronizing sentiment of Europeans towards K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> (pp. 81 to 83);
- e) descriptions of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> from the early non-native settlement era (pp. 83 to 85);
- f) an historian's view in general of native-non-native relations in British Columbia (pp. 85 to 86);
- g) juxtaposition and analysis of the changing nature of relationships between K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and people of European descent (pp. 86 to 89);
- h) sections on the particular histories of Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet (pp. 89 to 106);
- i) a discussion of how history influences identity (pp. 107 to 108).

The sections on the histories of Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet also include descriptions of the villages from the author's field notes between 1995 and 1996. These are included to give a perspective of how the histories recounted here affect the current perceptions that non-natives have of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>, and perceptions that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> have about their own identities based on this history.

### **Pre-contact K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> Society**

From the time of European contact to the present, the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>'s neighbours to the north have been the Oowekeeno, whose language, Oowekyala, is of the northern

Wakashan branch, as is K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. To the west and south-west are the Nuu-chah-nulth, whose language, Nootka, belongs to the southern Wakashan branch. To the east, south, and southeast are Salishan speaking groups (Suttles 1990).

Evidence of human settlement in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> territory dates back to at least 8,000 years B.P. (Macnair 1995:587). Archaeological evidence suggests that, around 500 B.C., the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> moved from what is now the north west Vancouver Island area into most of the territories they occupied at the time of contact, replacing Tsimshian-speaking peoples to the north, and Salishan-speakers to the south, except for the Nuxalk (Bella Coola) Salish (Mitchell 1990:357). In the mid-nineteenth century, the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> expanded their territory further south to occupy the former Salish areas of Campbell River and Cape Mudge (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:36; Mitchell 1990:357-358).

As with other Northwest Coast groups, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> subsistence was based largely upon salmon. Other sea resources were important, such as halibut, herring, shellfish, and seals. Whales, although abundant in the area, were not hunted. In some areas, such as Kingcome Inlet, olachen or 'candlefish' were an important source of food, as was their oil, which was rendered in large pits, and eaten with dried salmon. Roots and berries were also gathered. Resource sites, particularly those where salmon and olachen were harvested, were owned and controlled by hereditary chiefs and their families. Animals were hunted inland, but were not as important to the diet as sea resources.



The relative abundance of food meant that a surplus could be dried and stored for winter use, which allowed the building of permanent villages that were usually occupied during the winter months. Members of related nuclear families lived in large cedar houses that were elaborately designed with crests belonging to the families who dwelled there. Cedar was also used for different kinds of storage boxes, bowls, and utensils, and its bark used for clothing, baskets, and mats.

At the time of European contact, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> society was ranked, and had chiefs, nobles, commoners, and slaves. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> social organization was based upon the *numayma* [nəméma], which, according to Boas, means “one kind” (Boas 1966:37). (One of my oldest K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-speaking consultants translated this term into the English “male cousins.”) Members of the same *numayma* share a mythical ancestor. Several *numayma* made up the village group, or tribe<sup>1</sup> (see Boas 1966:38-41 for a list of tribes and *numayma*). Rights pertaining to *numayma* and individuals were validated through the potlatch. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was not a written language prior to European contact, and the potlatch served as a record of any number of transactions within K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> society, such as the passing on of names associated with certain rights, and marriages.

### **Pre-European Contact External Relations**

Linguistic evidence suggests contact between K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and the Salishan-speakers to the south and east. For example, two northern Salishan languages, Sechelt and Nuxalk (Bella Coola), have loanwords from K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala (Thompson and Kinkade

1990:37; Turner and Loewen 1998:62): “[T]he Nuxalk use Wakashan names for edible seaweed and giant kelp, species which do not occur in Nuxalk territory and thus were probably acquired by trade” (1998:62).

Archaeological evidence, and stories told in oral traditions, indicate that most external relations between the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and their neighbours before European contact were for purposes of war, ceremony, marriage, and trade. Archaeologists have uncovered many fortified sites in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> territory, which suggest conflict (Mitchell 1990:355). Most warfare and raiding occurred between the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and non-Wakashan speaking peoples, such as the Salishan-speaking Comox and Nuxalk (Boas 1966:110-111; Codere 1990:359; Codere 1950:102), but there are also accounts of such conflict with the Nuuchah-nulth (Nootka) (Curtis 1915:120-121 in Codere 1950:101) and Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) (Curtis 1915:118-119 in Codere 1950:102; Boas 1895 in Codere 1950:103; Codere 1950:104). In some accounts, captives were taken surreptitiously and forced by the attacking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> to indicate the locations of villages in strange territories, and to call out in the local language upon their approach so as not to alarm the villagers (Curtis 1915:115, 118, 119 in Codere 1950:100-101). There were also war alliances between the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and the Nuuchah-nulth. Boas tells of one such alliance where two Nuuchah-nulth tribes are at war:

[T]he [Nootka] tribe who had lost their chief [in a dispute with another Nootka tribe] sent to a friendly Nootka tribe and to the Nimkish [a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> tribe], to whom they were related by marriage, to ask their help in a general war against the tribe of the murderers. The Nimkish followed their call, and a party in two canoes went up the Nimkish River.

They cut up their canoes and carried the pieces over the divide to the navigable river running down to the West Coast [of Vancouver Island] (1966:117-118).

Each local village was autonomous in decisions regarding warfare, and participation was voluntary (Drucker 1983:88). Reasons cited for warfare are revenge, loot, or territory (Codere 1990:359-360), and sometimes food. For example, McIlwraith states that “[t]he Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola” (1948:II:339).

Contact between different groups is also evidenced by ceremony and art styles. Holm states: “Many of the most striking aspects of Kwakiutl mythology and drama were acquired from the Bella Bella and the Oowekeeno by marriage and capture, so it is not unexpected that there would be similarities in the arts”; and, “[t]he Kwakiutl have had a long contact with the northern Nootkan people, and the mutual influences on the arts of the two groups are apparent” (1990:604).

Family histories reported in Boas (1921:836-1277) “show a network of intermarriage and ceremonial relations extending from the Oowekeeno to the Comox (Northern Coast Salish)” (Suttles 1990:12-13). For the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>, as for other Northwest Coast indigenous societies, marriage was part of a network of exchange between different groups, rather than an alliance of a man and a woman (Goodfellow n.d.). Marriages were arranged between families often when the future spouses were infants, when the boy’s family would begin making “marriage security investment payment[s]” to secure the future wife (Sewid-Smith 1979:11). Performances during

modern-day marriage ceremonies validated through the potlatch provide evidence of how alliances were often created in aboriginal times between warring tribes. This was done to achieve peace and carry on economic activities that were mutually beneficial:

When the marriage is performed each tribe will act out the first marriage that took place after the great flood. The groom's family will hire all the tribes (except the tribe of the bride) to assist them in getting their bride . . . They will pretend to "make war" with the bride's tribe and to make peace between the tribes[;] they will give the daughter as a bride to the son of the invader. They do this because it is said that our first Clan brides were obtained in this manner. . . . [The bride's family] will also announce at this time, the dowry that is to go with the bride. The groom's family then will act out the part in their marriage legend that tells how they carried the bride off to their village (1979:13).

Chinook Jargon is a *lingua franca* that was used for trade purposes from present-day southern Oregon to Alaska (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:41). "*Chinook Jargon* or *Wawa* was based lexically upon Chinukan, Nootka, Salish, Kwakiutl [K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>'wala], and (later) French and English, with smaller contributions from Hawaiian, Chinese, and other languages" (Hancock 1996:15). That it was used by the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> is evidenced by loanwords from it in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>'wala such as *pálač* (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:50) (*pálač* in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>'wala). Whether it was used in pre-European contact times is a matter of debate (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:41; Samarin 1996:332-334; Hancock 1996:15). Bilingualism was also a factor in contact between groups speaking different languages, evidenced by some K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> people understanding and speaking a southern Wakashan language of the Nuuchahnulth at the time of first European contact (Boit 1969:403; Vancouver 1798:345).

It is clear that interaction in aboriginal times between groups speaking different languages necessitated bilingualism among some members of society, or the use of a pidginized language. Archaeological, historical, and ethnographic records show that there were extensive networks of exchange in northwestern North America between and among coastal and interior groups prior to European contact (Turner and Loewen 1998). For example, Indian celery (*Lomatium nudicaule*) was traded from Salish groups to the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and the Nuu-chah-nulth (1998:54). In the different languages, this plant is called by a variant of *q'eXmin*<sup>2</sup>. (Two K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words for Indian celery are *gístəm* and *kúmaqí* [Grubb 1977:90]). K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> traded red paint to the Nuu-chah-nulth (Turner and Loewen 1998:57), other groups on the northwest coast traded with both the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and Nuu-chah-nulth for yellow cedar bark robes (1998:60), and “[s]ome ethnologists suggest that the technique of making twined baskets was learned by the Coast Salish from the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and Nuu-Chah-Nulth” (1998:61).

This evidence clearly indicates the existence of inter-group contact in this area for purposes of warfare, ceremony, marriage, and trade prior to European contact. Whether this contact was facilitated through bilingualism or the use of a *lingua franca* is less clear.

### **Early Explorers and Traders on the Northwest Coast**

The first recorded direct contact between Europeans and the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> was made by the British voyage of James Strange in 1786 (Codere 1990:363). The organizers of the voyage “were committed to scientific research, discovery, and a permanent trading

post” to be established on the Northwest Coast (Fisher and Bumsted 1982:10). During the brief direct encounter with the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>, Alexander Walker, a military man who accompanied Strange's voyage as a commander, writes that they “appeared to know very little about Europeans, and I think it is probable, that we were the first they had ever seen” (Walker 1982:131). This was in Queen Charlotte Sound (between northern Vancouver Island and the British Columbia mainland), where a small trade of natives' furs for British trinkets was conducted from alongside the ship. Strange's crew, being somewhat familiar with the Nuu-chah-nulth language from having spent time in Nootka Sound, noticed that they could understand with difficulty some words spoken by the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>, and that the “ornaments and garments of these People were like those, we had seen at Nootka” (1982:131). From Walker's account, it does not appear that Strange's crew visited any villages, but they saw some that were uninhabited (1982:132-133). It is also reported that Strange noticed some fishing weirs in the San Josef River area (near the north east tip of Vancouver Island), which at the time was inhabited by either a Quatsino or Nakomgilisala tribe, before his ship reached the Strait (Galois 1994:377). Walker writes that “[n]o Inhabitants were seen, but it was evident, that they had lately been there: as our Gentlemen found recent marks of Fire, burnt Shells, and some fishing wears in the Creek”<sup>3</sup> (Walker 1982:130). Presumably these uninhabited villages were seasonal fishing sites.

This initial encounter was followed by the American Captain Robert Gray in the spring of 1792 on the *Columbia*, sailing from Boston on a trade voyage. Gray also sailed

northward up the west coast of Vancouver Island, and then around the northern tip of the island into Queen Charlotte Sound. On the north west coast of Vancouver Island, he encountered some K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>, possibly near Quatsino Sound in San Josef Bay (Boit 1969:400). The situation at this time seemed tense between the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup> and the Americans, although some trade was conducted:

Many Canoes came along side, full of *Indians*. they was all dress'd in War *Armour*, and completely arm'd with Bows, arrows, and Spears, and had altogether quite a savage appearance. I beleive they was fearfull we shou'd rob their village, which was at no great distance as they appear'd much agitated. however soon began a brisk trade for Otter furs. We landed with the boats and Got Wood and Broom Stuff, but the Indians wishing to be troublesome, soon give over this business (Boit 1969:400).

There is no indication of why the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup> would react in this way. Perhaps they had heard from the Nuuchahnulth down the coast that there had been trouble in the past with Euroamericans, or perhaps they were simply fearful of the unknown. The trouble does not begin until after the boats land, so Boit may be correct when he states that "they was fearfull we shou'd rob their village."

Gray and his crew proceeded northward and then eastward around the northern tip of Vancouver Island, where they again conducted some trade and had some confrontations with the local people. It appears that they may have reached as far as the mouth of the Nimpkish River, at the village of Whulk, or thereabouts, as they were told by the locals who spoke the Nuuchahnulth language (presumably from trade with them) that from there they could walk through the woods to Nootka Sound in two days:

Got under way, bound farther up the Straits and towards evening luff'd into a small bend of the land, and came too in 17 fathom close to the shore. a few canoes with Indians came off, who talk'd the Nootka language. they informed us that in two days through the *woods* they cou'd reach Nootka Sound and indeed the Ship was at Anchor near to a Mountain which is plainly in view at Freindly Cove (Nootka Sound) (Boit 1969:403-404).

This is probably the trade route between the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> and the Nuu-chah-nulth mentioned by Mayne: "There is an Indian trail from Nimpkish to Nootka, by which Mr. Moffat, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, crossed in 1852" (Mayne 1862:178). This may mean that Captain George Vancouver was not the first non-native to land at Whulk, or "Cheslakees' Village," as it is generally believed.

George Vancouver, the well-known British captain after whom an island and two cities were named, visited the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> region during the summer of 1792. Rather than coming around the northern end of Vancouver Island, as previous explorers and traders had, Vancouver reached the area by sailing north via the Strait of Georgia (between south east Vancouver Island and the British Columbia mainland) and through Johnstone Strait (Vancouver 1798:343-353). Vancouver gives a very detailed description of Cheslakees' Village, or Whulk, at the mouth of the Nimpkish River, and the drawing of it included in his journal has become famous (see Figure 2 page 74):

The houses were constructed after the manner at Nootka, but appeared rather less filthy, and the inhabitants were undoubtedly of the same nation, differing little in their dress, or general deportment. Several families lived under the same roof; but their sleeping apartments were separated, and more decency seemed to be observed in their domestic economy, than I recollected to be the practice at Nootka. The women, who in proportion appeared numerous, were variously employed; some in their different household affairs, others in the manufacture of their garments from bark and





**Figure 2. Cheslakees' Village in Johnstone Strait, 1792 (drawn by John Sykes, from Galois 1994:20)**

other materials; though no one was engaged in making their woollen apparel, which I much regretted. The fabrication of mats for a variety of purposes, and a kind of basket, wrought so curiously close, as to contain water like an earthen vessel without the least leakage or drip, comprehended the general employment of the women, who were not less industrious than ingenious (1798:346).

As Boit mentioned above, Vancouver too notes that in the village

[m]ost of these people understood the language of Nootka, though it did not appear to be generally spoken . . . [I]t was a journey of four days across the land to Nootka sound, which from hence towards the S.S.W. is about 20 leagues distant (Vancouver 1798:345).

The difference in the number of days attributed to the trip by Boit and Vancouver may be a matter of some misunderstanding. We must remember that the explorers'

mother tongue was English, and the locals' Kwakwaka, and that they were most likely communicating with a combination of Nuu-chah-nulth and sign language. From Mayne's description (see below), it appears that it took two days to get from the mouth of the Nimpkish River to Nootka Sound (1862:178-180).

### **Nature of Early Encounters**

Most of these first encounters between the Kwakwaka'wakw and the explorers and traders are not marked by violence, nor are there disparaging remarks (*e.g.* Walker 1982; Vancouver 1798). The exception to this may be Gray's dealings with the locals, but it is interesting to note that they were there for the sole purpose of trade, and not exploration. Strange's crew does not feel threatened in any way by the native people, as later land-based traders and settlers are, and Vancouver has only kind words for the people he meets along the coast. Vancouver often refers to them as "the friendly Indians," and "these friendly people," who conduct trade<sup>4</sup> "in a very fair and honest manner," "with every appearance of civility and friendship." These phrases are used again and again in the description of the people Vancouver encounters along the coast, including the Kwakwaka'wakw (Vancouver 1798). However, at the same time he still considers the members of his race to be far superior to the locals, as the following passage about a book purloined from Vancouver by Cheslakees illustrates:

Stealing a book, incapable of being in the least degree serviceable to him, or useful to any other person than the owner, strongly marked that natural inordinate propensity to theiving, which, with few exceptions, influences

the whole of the uncivilized world, preventing them, as if impelled by mere instinct, and destitute of reason, to restrain such inclinations (1798:353).

Vancouver also had no regard whatsoever for the locals when he named places en route during his voyage (except maybe Cheslakees' Village!):

Indeed, it were well for one coveting easy immortality to be a friend of Captain Vancouver's about this time, the aboriginal owners and occupants being, like earlier Spanish navigators, wholly ignored in this naming (Bancroft 1887:20).

It is interesting to note that the tone of the language in the explorers' accounts is quite different from that of traders' descriptions. As noted above, the American ship the *Columbia* under John Gray visited the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> area of British Columbia at about the same time as Vancouver in 1792, but his descriptions of the inhabitants are very different from both Strange's and Vancouver's. This may be because Gray's voyage was one of trade for profit rather than one of exploration. His crew seems to have had a difficult time with the people he encountered: "[I]ndeed I was obliged to knock one of them down with my Musket" (Boit 1969:400); and: "these fellows soon grew saucy, and threw a number of *stones* at our people, but as we did not wish (if possible) to avoid it for to shoot the poor mistaken savages, we bore off to the Northward" (1969:402).

Another sea-based trader, John Work, writing in the 1830s, demonstrates the frustration of dealing with the natives who are very experienced in trade, and characterizes them as "very difficult to deal with. This is always the case when Indians are very poor and these appear to be so in their clothing and they appear wretched" (Dee 1944:236). He complains that "[t]hey appear to have but few furs of any kind, and

demand very high prices for them" (1944:36). What appears to be most frustrating for Work is that, in addition to not being able to exploit the natives, the latter also know very well how to drive a hard bargain when two trading ships are in the area at the same time:

When the American vessel arrived, they stopped trade at once . . . It is a pity that we could not make some arrangement as to the scale of trade so as to prevent the Indians from playing so much upon us and bring them down in their demands, but the difference in the quality of Capt. Allan's goods from ours render such a thing difficult" (1944:236-237).

And in a section titled "Fickleness of the Natives," Bancroft writes:

The Indians were often so extravagant in their demands, particularly when they had been visited by many vessels, that no traffic was possible -- that is, without paying nearly half the value of the furs, which was not to be thought of. Thus at one point where furs were plentiful, nothing but muskets would be taken; while at another place the Indians would exchange their peltries for great-coats only, demanding, moreover, two great-coats for each sea-otter skin (1884:371).

Why were the perceptions of the explorers so different from those of the traders?

There are no direct indications in the writings explaining why the natives would react to these newcomers in different ways. The only explanation for this difference that seems plausible to me is that the natives were not treated with respect by the traders, who were there only for profit, and who felt they could take advantage of the locals. Howay writes:

Haswell records in his first log the method adopted . . . by Meares to obtain sea-otter skins from the Indians through force and fear. . . . The traders had no hesitation in acknowledging that they themselves had resorted to such practices, though, of course, they always had some plausible excuse. In such high handed acts lay the root of the so-called unprovoked attacks by the natives upon the trading vessels. Force breeds force (1969:xxvi-xxvii).

It is evident from the types of writings from this period that relations between natives and non-natives on the Northwest Coast changed. The early explorers, while feeling superior to the natives, nonetheless have fairly cordial interactions with them. Then, as the contact began to be one for trade rather than exploration, remarks made by Europeans are more and more derogatory towards natives. This may be because the traders wanted to take advantage of the people on the coast, and were frustrated when they were unable to do so. Here we see that the motivations of the Europeans greatly influence their perceptions of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>. Also, at this time there is no attempt by the Europeans to assimilate the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>, and the latter at this time feel no need to accentuate their cultural identity because it has not yet been threatened, nor has their language.

### **Land-based Trade -- Historical Background**

As trade continued through the nineteenth century, much of it began to be land-rather than sea-based. At this time, European interest in exploiting resources that could be extracted from the natural environment begins to become apparent in contemporary writings.

The area that had been previously referred to as the Oregon Territory, which stretched north from California to the northern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and west from the Rockies to the Pacific, was divided between Britain and the United States at the 49th parallel in 1846 with the Oregon Treaty. The Hudson's Bay Company's

operations had already moved northward in 1843, it being a British company, in anticipation of this boundary being established (Bancroft 1887; Peterson 1974:17). The influx of American settlers from south of the 49th parallel, where the boundary was drawn, was inimical to the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. This was because the company wished to continue trading with the native inhabitants for furs without interference from the new settlers, since the company anticipated tension between settlers and natives which might interfere with this trade (Bancroft 1887).

In 1849 the Hudson's Bay Company was granted a license to govern all of Vancouver Island for the purpose of trade and colonization by British subjects<sup>5</sup>:

It was not at this time deemed advisable by the government to include the Mainland in this colonization scheme. There was work enough to do for the present upon the Island, and until a secure footing should be established here, it was folly attempting more difficult tasks. Upon the Island the native could be easily controlled; upon the adjacent coasts colonists would be at their mercy. When all goes well with the savage, he is independent and arrogant. With a plentiful supply of fish for food, with fire-arms and occasional copious supplies of spirituous liquors, the native of the Mainland would prove very difficult of management by colonists. The fur-hunters if left to themselves could manage them. They alone understood them and were accustomed to their ways. It would be time enough to take the country out of their hands when it was actually needed for settlement . . . [B]ecause it would conduce to the maintenance of justice and good order, and the encouragement of trade and the protection of the natives, it was determined to vest in the [Hudson's Bay] company the property in the land of Vancouver Island for purposes of colonization, and on the 13th of January 1849 the grant was consummated (Bancroft 1887:217-219).

Although the task of colonization was given over to the Hudson's Bay Company, in Bancroft's view, the company really wanted to keep the land as free of settlers as possible:

Savagism is essential to a game-preserve a thousand miles square, and settlement of any kind is directly antagonistic to savagism. In a word, it was against the company's interests to have their forests cleared, and their Indian hunters demoralized by drink and civilized diseases. This they had well known from the first, and had managed their business accordingly. Nor are they to be specially blamed for adopting a self-protective policy, which is no less the first law of corporations than of governments and individuals.

Notwithstanding the very natural desire to postpone the day of their downfall as far as possible, the Hudson's Bay Company were not blind to the fact that the ultimate destiny, indeed, the near destiny of their Pacific coast, was colonization. It would soon prove as vitally important to them as to the British nation at large, in or out of British America. Their very existence, the preservation of their hunting-grounds to the northward, and between the ocean and the mountains, would soon depend upon their ability to guard their coast against the inroads of foreign traders, who had always caused them much annoyance, and were now becoming more troublesome. By these lawless traders, many of whom were from New England ports, the accursed taste for strong drink was kept alive among the natives (1887:206-207).

In 1858, the grant to the Hudson's Bay Company was revoked, and Vancouver Island became a Crown Colony in its own right:

As long as the country was under the rule of the Fur Companies the Indians lived much as did their forefathers, and beyond performing certain occasional services for the Posts, they were free to come and go when, and live where, they pleased. But when, in 1858, the Home Government revoked the grant which it had made to the Hudson's Bay Company twenty years before -- by which the Company was given control of the lands west of the Rocky Mountains and the rights of exclusive trading and dealing with the natives -- and the country became a Crown Colony, the Indians naturally came under the jurisdiction of the Crown officers; and when the colony was opened up for settlement certain lands and localities were set aside for their exclusive use and occupancy (Howay and Scholefield 1914 vol I:576).

In 1866 Vancouver Island became part of the Crown Colony of British Columbia. Before this, they had been separate colonies. In 1871, British Columbia joined Confederation, and became a province of Canada (Peterson 1974:17-19).

### **Patronizing Sentiment Towards Natives**

The first half of the nineteenth century is the era when an increasingly patronizing attitude continues to take shape, where native people are viewed as being somewhat childlike in their level of sophistication.

Some examples of writing from the nineteenth century help illustrate this attitude. John Dunn, a trader with the Hudson's Bay Company, describes how the natives at Fort Rupert were exploited in the extraction of the newly-found coal deposits.<sup>6</sup> He also describes them as being superstitious and childlike:

The natives were anxious that we should employ them to work the coal; to this we consented, and agreed to give them a certain sum for each large box. The natives being so numerous, and labour so cheap, for us to attempt to work the coal would have been madness. They were greatly surprised when they first saw the steam boat, saying she could do anything but speak; and the white man must have been assisted in the work by the Great Spirit (1844:241).

This description of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> around Fort Rupert as superstitious and heathen continued through the nineteenth century:

Amongst their many missionary activities, the Roman Catholics had in 1863 established a station near Fort Rupert. But after years of patient toil [the priests] confessed themselves fairly beaten by the medicine man's rattle, and abandoned the Kwakiutl to their heathenism (Howay and Scholefield 1914 vol. 2:625).



The patronizing sentiment towards the natives is also expressed in writings about the period in the nineteenth century when settlers were lured by the prospects of exploiting natural resources. For example, R.C. Mayne, a British Commander of a surveying ship under Captain George H. Richards, wrote his journal in 1862, and uses a very patronizing tone when describing native people, as though they are children to be scolded:

[T]he time had come when it would not do for them [the natives] to take the law into their own hands; that Mr. Douglas [the governor of the colony], who had been informed of their conduct, was very angry with them, and was determined to punish them if they did not behave better (Mayne 1862:209).

Mayne's descriptions of the physical attributes of the people are value-laden and derogatory, for example: "The process of flattening the head is effected while they are infants, and is very disgusting. I once made a woman uncover a baby's head, and its squashed elongated appearance nearly made me sick" (1862:277). His attitude towards women, especially native women, reflects the inferior position that European women had in the nineteenth century:

There is no accounting for tastes, of course; but it was fortunate for Hu-saw-i that her husband esteemed her more than we did, or I fear she would have been left to the tender mercies of her captors. She was one of the ugliest, dirtiest specimens of an old squaw I have ever had the pleasure of meeting (1862:212).

And: "Among some of the tribes pretty women may be seen: nearly all have good eyes and hair, but the state of filth in which they live generally neutralises any natural charms

they may possess" (1862:277). Mayne's general attitude towards all natives of Vancouver Island is that they are savage and barbaric.

The period of land-based trade in the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> area is marked by the patronizing attitude of those of European background towards the natives. This may be due to the attempts of the Europeans to exploit the latter's labour and in so doing belittle their cultural practices. At this point in history, there is still no effort to assimilate the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> into Eurocanadian society; therefore their identity remains intact, as does their language.

### Early Non-native Settlement

The comments above are similar to 1865 descriptions of Matthew Macfie, who wrote for an audience of merchants and immigrants. Macfie's style of writing illustrates an example of the settlement period's 'lumpers,' that is, newcomers who have preconceived ideas about what the native people of the area are like, and who feel that natives from the same region are all basically the same. The descriptions of the native people of Vancouver Island presented by Macfie include one that was prevalent at the time, that of the difference between the coastal fishing tribes and the interior hunting tribes. Hunting was seen as a more valorous means of food-getting than was fishing<sup>7</sup>:

*The fishing tribes*, who inhabit the coast . . . are marked by a *physique* inferior to that possessed by the *hunting tribes* of the interior. The former are stunted and move with a lazy waddling gait; and this peculiarity is acquired by the sitting posture to which they are habituated in their canoes,

while the active life cultivated by the later in the chase imparts to them an erect bearing (Macfie 1865:428, emphasis in original).

Not only do the “fishing tribes” have an inferior physique, according to Macfie they also have inferior morals and intellect:

The religious beliefs of the fishing tribes can be but indistinctly deciphered, owing to the state of moral and intellectual degradation to which they are reduced. No temples or forms of worship exist among them to mark exalted reverence for a Supreme Being (1865:457).

Macfie also makes derogatory remarks about the widespread practice of head deformation, similar to those made by Mayne above. The following example describes women from the Quatsino area, where this practice was prevalent:

Their ideas of personal beauty receive an odd illustration in the flattening of the head . . . Indian women are sometimes to be met with in the Quatsino district with skulls of a tapering or conical form, produced by artificial means, similarly disgusting with those already mentioned (1865:441).

Clearly, anyone considering settlement in what is now coastal British Columbia would be influenced by reading this book, and arrive with preconceived notions about the native peoples there.

In the 1880s, the native people are described with a mixture of contempt and amusement: one writer describes them as “living in canvas tents and huts, dressed in every conceivable mixture of barbarous and civilized costume, one of the most interesting collections of human creatures ever seen on the earth” (Chittenden 1984:31); and the houses at Alert Bay as “covered with grotesque paintings [having] tall cedar outposts with hideous carvings” (1984:72). These sentiments continue into the twentieth century, when

descriptions of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> are based entirely on comparisons between traits considered superior, that is, European, and those of the natives:

They [the natives] are good workers, but only work by fits and starts, and seem entirely to lack that form of mind that produces the plodder with patience and staying power. . . . They are capable of great bursts of speed, but seem to be unable to keep it up (Halliday 1935:214).

And: "The Indians seldom show very much initiative in any particular respect, but are very quick to copy, and in many instances are able to improve on the copy" (1935:214).

During the non-native settlement period, the remarks of some people of European descent towards the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> became even more derogatory than those of the period of land-based trade. In this time of foreign settlement, active efforts were underway to assimilate K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> into Eurocanadian society, because the patronizing sentiment of the earlier period had by then turned into downright contempt, as evidenced by such phrases as "moral and intellectual degradation."

## **Native-Non-native Relations During the Early Period --**

### **An Historian's View**

Bancroft describes what happened to relations between Europeans and natives over the years thus:

The frequent hostility of the Indian does not originate in savage malignity or natural blood-thirstiness, but in righteous retaliation for endless provocations. "Many a night," writes one by no means sentimental in such matters, "have I sat at the camp-fire and listened to the recital of bloody and ferocious scenes, in which the narrators were the actors and the poor Indians the victims; and I have felt my blood tingle with shame and boil

with indignation to hear the diabolical acts applauded by those for whose amusement they were related.”

Unfortunately for the poor savage, in his divinely preordained extinction, it was ordered that he should be often brought into contact with those who sought to save his soul and those who destroyed his body. How much better for him would it have been if the missionaries had directed their efforts toward improving the hearts and morals of the desperate and brutal border men, the knaves and vagabonds who spend their lives in informing upon and insulting the natives, and on the first slight appearance of defence or retaliation on the part of the Indian, in slaughtering him. Better a thousand times had the missionaries spent their lives in converting these men, for they needed regeneration far more than did the savage.

Wherever the officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay company had the country entirely to themselves, there was little trouble with the natives. Their management of them was perfect. They treated them, first of all, as human creatures, not as wild beasts. They were to them the children, not the enemy of civilization. In their intercourse they were humane, in their dealings, honest. Offences were followed by justice, not by revenge. No attempt was made to fasten upon them the religions or moralities of civilization; though gross cruelty and inhumanity among themselves were severely frowned upon, they were left to marry *ad libitum* or not to marry at all, and to worship the gods of their creation after their own fashion.

But the moment competitive traders came in, all this happy state of things was changed. Fiery draughts of intoxication were placed to the lips of the savages, no less by the benevolent and dignified adventurers of England than by the heedless Yankee skipper and the border desperado. Commerce levels all moralities. Whenever even the most bitter rivalry was confined to large and responsible companies, the savage was not much the sufferer; indeed, his importance was often thereby greatly magnified, and the artless aboriginal was by no means slow to make avail of this increased purchasing power of his peltries. But in sections where free trappers and irresponsible border men obtained permanent foothold, rapine, murder, and exterminating war were sure to follow (1887:46-48).

These few examples illustrate the differing perceptions of people of European descent towards the native people from the time of first contact to the early twentieth century. The chart on page 87 contains examples of some of these statements made about

**Table 1. Examples of Types of Statements Made by Newcomers to the Northwest Coast of British Columbia**

| <u>Early explorers</u>  | <u>Sea-based trade</u>            | <u>Land-based trade</u>   | <u>Non-native Settlement</u>             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| ■ late 18th century     | ■ late 18th to early 19th century | ■ early to mid 19th century   | ■ mid 19th to early 20th century         |
| the friendly Indians    | these fellows grew saucy          | labour so cheap   | lazy waddling gait                       |
| these friendly people   | the poor mistaken savages         | Mr. Douglas was very angry with them, and was determined to punish them if they did not behave better | disgusting                               |
| very fair and honest    | very difficult to deal with       |   | moral and intellectual degradation       |
| civility and friendship | they appear wretched              | ugliest, dirtiest specimen of an old squaw  | grotesque paintings                      |
|                         |                                   | pretty women may be seen, but the state of filth in which they live neutralises any natural charms    | Indians seldom show very much initiative |

native people on the Northwest Coast, in order to juxtapose the varying attitudes from different eras of non-natives towards native people.

How is this related to language loss and/or change? The early explorers and the sea-based traders really had no interest in changing the native people. On the contrary, both Strange and Vancouver tried to communicate with the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> in Nootka, of which they knew some words. Recall the quotation above on page 74 where Vancouver notes that the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> in Cheslakees' Village at the mouth of the Nimpkish River "understood the language of Nootka, though it did not appear to be generally spoken." Then from about the time of the land-based traders, which continued through the missionary and residential schooling eras, the culture and language of native people were considered inferior to those of Europeans.

The way in which this is related to language is that, over time, attitudes towards the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> and their culture changed, forcing K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> to employ cultural items as outward manifestations to demonstrate that their culture is still alive and well, to maintain Barth's "ethnic distinctions." Language is closely associated with culture, and is a powerful tool to demonstrate membership in a specific cultural group. If we take the theoretical approach of language as a marker of cultural identity, it leads one to make the assumption that the structure of the language and its contexts of use were also eventually affected by these changes in attitude. This assumption is shown to be accurate from the data analysis presented in chapters four and five.

The following example of early writing by a linguist on the reason for widespread polysynthesis in native North American languages illustrates early attitudes held by linguists as well.<sup>8</sup> Daniel Brinton, writing in 1890, attributes this complex linguistic phenomenon to a rather uninspired intellect. He writes:

I think there is no doubt but that it points unmistakably to that very ancient, to that primordial period of human utterance when men had not yet learned to connect words into sentences, when their utmost efforts at articulate speech did not go beyond single words, which, aided by gestures and signs, served to convey their limited intellectual converse. Such single vocables did not belong to any particular part of speech. There was no grammar to that antique tongue. Its disconnected exclamations mean whole sentences in themselves (1890:322).

The following sections give more detailed information about the two communities of Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet.

### **History of Contact in the Quatsino Area**

A lot of strange beings were gathered at the low peninsula we know as Cape Scott. At the beginning it was very dark, the sun right down against the water, when a big man with many hundred teeth came among them, went out and, caught four whales, and gave a potlatch. Then he made them sing and while they sang he went out and pushed the sun up to where it is now. It was now light, and he could see those queer people well. Some had long hair over their bodies, some were walking with their hands on the ground, others had just two long teeth. At-Tu [the Great Spirit] . . . felt sorry for them and those that were bent over he set up straight. He took the hair off their body, and gave each person thirty-two teeth. He then showed them how to take the bark of the cedar and make clothing, and how to make fire.

The word Quatsino means the people of the outside or 'out around the cape' bestowed upon them by At-Tu (Leeson 1933:25-27).



At the end of the nineteenth century, the old village of Quatsino on the Quatsino peninsula, the origin of which is described above, became the main village for all the Quatsino Sound and Cape Scott K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup> tribes. The spelling of the village name (which has no relation to the word Quatsino) appears in various writings as Hwates, Hwutis, and Quattishe (Galois 1994:370). Boas lists it as an old Koskimo village (Boas 1934:37; Galois 1994:370). The Quatsino now use the term Quattishe to refer to their feast hall in their new location near Coal Harbour, and Quatsino for the village name.

According to Galois, Quatsino became the winter village of the Koskimo after they had taken it over from another K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup> tribe, the Hoyalas, sometime between 1750 and 1880. Within the village, “the high-ranking members of the tribe occupied the west end and ‘the commoners’ the east end” (Landale, *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 26, 1863, quoted in Galois 1994:370).

In Walbran’s *British Columbia Coast Names* (1971), the name Quatsino is an adaptation of the name of the Koskimo tribe. Its name first appears on the Admiralty chart of 1849, rendered “Quatsinough harbour” (1971:409). However, according to Galois, the Koskimo and the Quatsino in aboriginal times were the names of two different tribes. Around 1750, the Koskimo shared territory in the present-day Cape Scott area on the north west tip of Vancouver Island with the Nakomgilisala, while the Quatsino were south of this:

The Nakomgilisala shared common origins with the Quatsino and the Koskimo. Accounts differ as to the details of the process by which the separation took place, but it probably began about, or slightly before,

contact and was completed by the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Chief Wallas . . . , those moving to Quatsino Sound took on their present names, while those remaining became “known by a name which means ‘always stay in the same place,’” that is, Nakomgilisala (Galois 1994:285).

In 1867, there were fifteen houses at Quatsino, with a population of about 400 (1994:370). The number of houses increased to twenty in 1885, and twenty-one in 1889 (1994:370). Burial grounds were located in a cave near the village, and on adjacent islands (1994:370). When I visited the old village in 1995, there was a fenced burial ground at the east end of the village.

By 1880 the Koskimo had taken over Hoyalas territory further south and east, while the Quatsino enlarged its territory to the north and south. According to maps in Galois, the extent of Koskimo territory in aboriginal times was much larger than today, reaching as far as San Josef Bay (1994:277-283, 347-354, 370). Another map, this one from an exhibit in the University of British Columbia’s Museum of Anthropology, and adapted from Malin (n.d.) and Hawthorn (1979), labels the Quatsino and Koskimo “traditional territories” as Gwatsinuxw and Gusgimukw respectively (Road n.d.:5). The written description of this exhibit states:

The people of Quattishe . . . were at the turn of the century the descendants of five dynamic populations that had previously inhabited the entire Quatsino Sound region. These were the Klaskino, Quatsino, Gopino, Koskimo, and Hoyalas. Today the collective descendants of these groups are called the Quatsino . . . The largest tribal group, the Koskimo, had established Quattishe as their village site . . . [T]he Hoyalas . . . were the original owners of the Quattishe village site and all the Koskimo territory. Historical records tell how the Koskimo warred with the Hoyalas and took over their territory (Road n.d.:4-6).

Codere (1990) also lists the Quatsino and Koskimo separately, but locates the village of Quatsino within Koskimo territory. In the 1920s the Quatsino and Koskimo merged into one tribe (1990:360-361).

As mentioned previously, tribes in the Quatsino Sound area were known for their practice of elongating the heads of noble persons. An acquaintance of mine from Kingcome Inlet, now in her fifties, recalls from her childhood knowing a Quatsino woman who had such a head. Knowledge of this practice also appears in early reports of Europeans in the area. For example, in the late 1800s, a Danish settlement was attempted in the vicinity of Cape Scott. One of the early Danish settlers writes:

The Koskimos, or Kwisskaynohs, now known as the Quatsinos, so-called from the fact that their aristocrats bound the heads of the baby girls to a rounded taper, were a powerful people when the first fur-traders appeared on the Pacific coast. In 1909, when my grandfather took his family to the northern end of Vancouver Island, they spent a winter near a very small village at Half Way River, on Holberg Inlet -- where lived the last permanent aboriginal inhabitants of that water. . . . My grand-uncle, when he settled on the banks of the San Josef River in 1904, found a shell-midden which, so he was told, designated a homesite once called Nohm by the Quatsinos. I myself, as a boy, on a voyage by skiff to a portion of San Josef Bay known to the settlers as Little South Bay, saw a skeleton, with an amazingly tapered skull, in a skilfully sewn cedar box, on one of the wooded islands there. But of the people who might have told stories of this great open bay, called Kah-cheen-ah by the Quatsinos, with its beautiful white sand beaches and its river rich in fish and wild geese, not a soul remained (Peterson 1974:16-17).

The chroniclers Howay and Scholefield write:

When we first came into contact with the native tribes of the province we found that some of them, notably the coastal Salish and the Vancouver Island Kwakiutl, had a curious habit of deforming their heads; the effect of which was at times to give them a very singular appearance. Each division

had its own type of cranial contortion. The Kwakiutl type was found in its most characteristic form among the Koskeeno, who live about Kwatzino Sound on the northwest portion of Vancouver's Island. Here the head was elongated backward to an extraordinary and unsightly degree (1914, vol. 1:579).

Like all the K'ak'waka'wak', those in the Quatsino Sound area relied on fish as a major source of food. For example, in the Cape Scott area, halibut was abundant, and was harvested in May and June. Any surplus was dried for winter use (Peterson 1974:31).

Resource sites were owned and maintained by particular families:

Salmon streams, berry patches, sea lion rocks and other resource areas were owned by individual families and harvested on a seasonal basis. Though other tribal members might obtain permission to utilize these areas, outsiders could be killed if caught doing so (Road n.d.:6).

The native inhabitants of Quatsino Sound fought battles with the Cape Scott people to the north, probably the Nakomgilisala (see Galois [1994]:280), as evidenced by the following two passages:

Many a royal battle between Cape Scott and Quatsino Indians has been fought here, as human bones still found here bear witness. As far as the Indians are concerned, the Sandneck [of Cape Scott] is a haunted place. The tale goes that close to a hundred years ago, the Indians from Quatsino made a raid on the Cape Scott Indians, with the result that the latter were almost exterminated, the only survivor being a woman with a boy of four. They managed to escape in a canoe. About fifteen years ago, the author knew this boy, then a very old man, known as "old Chief George". His real name was "Keketi". I can see him yet, a small, light-built man, cap cocked on one ear; small, dark, sparkling eyes, and a tremendous hooked eagle beak of a nose, the latter not common among Vancouver Island Indians (Peterson 1974:72).

The earliest Danish settlers [at Cape Scott], around the turn of the century, met one very old native of Cape Scott, whose "white" name, "Chief George", would indicate, if accurate, a life-span dating back to before 1830. This ancient told the European pioneers that he had been the sole survivor, as a very young boy, of an attack on his people by raiders from another tribe. His grandmother had taken him to Nahwitti from his home village, just north of Erasmus Hansen Bay, leaving the site of the massacre forever desolate. In the early 1900's, a few Nahwitti natives made a last visit to this spot to retrieve whatever bones of their ancestors they could find for burial elsewhere. Today, a slowly-decaying shell-heap remains as the only marker of this aboriginal Cape Scott settlement (Peterson 1974:17).

There also seems to have been territorial disputes with the Chickliset, the most northerly tribe of the Nuu-chah-nulth, up to recent times. The following is a declaration now posted in the Quatsino Band office:

Cheik'tles?et'h' and Quatsino First Nations  
Treaty Declaration

We affirm the Peace Treaty as agreed upon by our ancestors at Ho'pukthne, Bunsby Islands, generations ago, that there shall be everlasting peace between our nations and that our shared boundary extends from Solander Island, along the height of land of Brooks Peninsula, to the shared boundary with the Namgis nation. Signed January 11, 1995.

There was also trouble between the native inhabitants and non-native newcomers to the area:

In the early part of the [eighteen] 'eighties, word came to Victoria to the effect that the Indians camped on the Sandneck at Cape Scott had murdered a White prospector. A gunboat departed to investigate, eventually capture and bring to justice the perpetrator. Upon arriving off the Sandneck, a boat was sent ashore, demanding the deliverance of the murderer. After some "pow-wow", it was refused and the boat compelled to leave, hooted and jeered at by the infuriated savages. Three shells were then fired from the ship. One was blank; another fell short; and the third went home with such effect that the redskins never forgot it. The next boat ashore took the murderer on board the ship, and a few minutes later, he was seen hanging from the mast. The body was afterwards taken ashore and left to the terror-

stricken friends. After this, the Sandneck was deserted for many years (Peterson 1974:72-73).

Another European settlement, this one inhabited by Norwegians, was built close to the native settlement of Quatsino in 1891, and took the name Quatsino for their settlement as well (Peterson 1974:20). Quatsino is “the oldest white settlement on Northern Vancouver Island” (Williams et al. n.d.:19). The white village remains in its original location today, while the native settlement has been moved.

At the non-native Quatsino village, the first school began in 1896 with a classroom in a resident’s living room with eight to nine students (Williams et al. n.d.:3). From photographs of the students, it appears that they were only of European descent. There is no mention of local schooling at this time for the native children of Quatsino in Williams et al.; however people I worked with in the relocated village said they had attended school in the old native village site.

The structure which now houses St. Olaf’s Anglican Church was the original schoolhouse, which was constructed from 1896 to 1897 (Williams et al. n.d.:19; see photo page 96). As school enrolment increased, a two-storey building was erected and opened in 1930. The school closed in 1972 due to lack of enrolment. It was used as an “outdoor school” for special outdoor and nature studies until 1978 when it re-opened.

Today there is an elementary school at Coal Harbour, which the native children of the relocated Quatsino village attend. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is taught as a second language there by a teacher from Quatsino. An elder of the village also teaches language classes in his home,



**Figure 3. St. Olaf's Anglican Church, Quatsino**

along with traditional dancing and singing. This instruction is given mostly to adults of the village. His philosophy, as he told me, is that the language should not and cannot be taught solely at school. Children should learn the language in the home. He wants to teach adults to speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala so that they can speak it to their children. He also teaches songs to his sons. This elder expressed to me that he had recently realized that when

he was teaching dancing, for example, he could not teach "just dancing." Through teaching dancing, he also has to teach language, for there are certain terms associated with dances, and with principles of potlatching, government, and singing. They all must be taught together -- they cannot be separated. This is one indication of how

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> people strongly associate their language with their culture, and why they choose to express their unique identities through the use of their language.

### **The Relocation of Quatsino**

As is the case with many native reserves, Quatsino was relocated. Its present site is about one mile east of Coal Harbour on northern Vancouver Island. During fieldwork in 1995, I was told various stories about why this relocation occurred.

One elder, originally from Kingcome Inlet but married to a Quatsino woman, who has lived at the Quatsino village most of his adult life, told me that the native village of Quatsino was moved “about 20 years ago.” He was not sure of the reason for the move, but said that it was a unilateral decision of the Department of Indian Affairs. He also stated: “It feels strange not living by the water.” The water is now about one mile away from the village. All the houses in the old village have been torn down, except for one, because the family that owns it does not want it torn down, according to this elder (see photo page 98). He also told me that community members were discussing whether to build a “longhouse” (his term, as K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> usually refer to their ceremonial buildings as “bighouses”) at the new village near Coal Harbour. Currently, Quattishe Hall is used for all large social functions. The Quatsino also want to build a museum, but again must decide on a site.

Another elder from Quatsino told me that the Band Council decided to move the village to be close to a school, hospital, and stores. From the old village, access to these





**Figure 4. Old Village of Quatsino**

amenities was limited to what was available in the white Quatsino settlement, or to those in Port Hardy, accessible only by boat and then car.

One resident of the white

settlement of Quatsino whom I met on the water-taxi ride from Coal Harbour to the old village complained that the natives should not have taken the name of their village with them when they were moved over near Coal Harbour, saying: “I don’t know why they had to keep the name Quatsino when they moved over here. It’s confusing. Quatsino isn’t even an Indian name, it’s an anglicized version of one.” She seemed to feel that the white inhabitants had more right to the name. She also complained that, in newspaper reports, when there was a “wife-beating” or “murder” reported in Quatsino, readers might think it was her village. Obviously, according to her, these things would happen only in the native village. She and the driver of the water-taxi seemed to concur that the Quatsino will probably change the name of their village someday, “or they’ll change

something!” They were very sarcastic, and I detected some racism against the Quatsino people, but I assume they thought they were safe talking to me because I am white. When I told the woman that I was working on K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, she didn’t know that that was the name of the language. She thought it was Kwakiutl. I explained about nomenclature. Then she said, “Are they going to get it [the language] all written down soon?”

On the return trip from the old village, I was the sole passenger on the water-taxi, and the driver offered his explanation of why the village was moved: “Eight of ’em used to drown every year, going over to the liquor store. If they didn’t move there’d be none of ’em left.”

For the past hundred years or so, the Quatsino have lived adjacent to European settlements, and have lost socio-economic power because of the imposed reserve system. It also appears that elements of the patronizing attitude of the land-based trade era, and the derogatory statements of the non-native settlement period made about the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>, have survived into the late twentieth century.

### **History of Contact in Kingcome Inlet**

The native village in Kingcome Inlet is today called “Gwa-yi Village” by the locals. This is the name also used in the mailing address. According to Galois, “Kwae was the name of the Kingcome River, but it was often used for the village.” Mungo Martin called the village Okwunalis (Galois 1994:129).

Kingcome Inlet is quite an isolated village, accessible only by sea or air. It is occupied by the Tsawatainuk tribe, and is one of the few K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup> villages that has not been relocated by the government. When I asked one elder whom I worked with the meaning of the name Tsawatainuk, he said it means “people living at the place having olachen,” as Boas suggests (1934:22). He also mentioned the legend that someone told at the Elders’ Gathering in 1995, and that I heard from another elder in 1996. This is the story of the two wolf brothers. The elder said that this was the story that his grandfather had told him. Since he did not allow me to record the story (saying he was afraid he might not tell it accurately), I will provide the published version told by Jim King (Galois 1994:108-109):

Haxwa’mis and Dzawada’enuxw

When daylight first came to our world, my old people said, there were two wolves. The one called Kawadilikala came out of his wolf self and became a man. He was Dzawada’enuxw. Then the other one, Kwalili, did the same. He was Haxwa’mis. It was a long time after what happened at Gwa’yi, at the north end of the river. The number of people had increased. The brothers were shamans and were playing with their quartz crystal. Kawadilikala said to his children, “Do not look out from the house.” One of his daughters was menstruating. “Do not peer out from the house when I go to play with my brother.” “I will not,” said the girl who was menstruating. The brothers were playing, throwing and catching their quartz crystal when the disobedient girl looked through a knothole in the wall of the house. Kawadilikala missed catching the quartz crystal, which flew up and landed on the mountain called Quartz Place upriver from Gwa’yi. It is said that it can be seen in the sunshine. Kawadilikala was angry, seized his daughter, killed her, and tore her body to pieces, which turned into eagle down. He cried, “Hai, hai, hai, hai,” four times, turning around. “You will not be understood around the world.” That was what happened. Kawadilikala lost to his younger brother. Their numbers continued to increase. It was coming to the time of the flood. The two

brothers began to build canoes. They had many wolf headdresses. Those were the treasures of the two. They had the ghost dance from heaven, the dog dance from heaven, the wolf dance from heaven, and the nunlam from heaven. These are our privileges from the Haxwa'mis. All of them are great privileges. They built large canoes and anchored them on top of what is called K'axsidza'yi, a great mountain not far upriver. The two brothers went with their people. One of the canoes broke loose. The rope which tied up their canoes could be seen by the old people, coiled up on a rock. The water was boiling, all kinds of things were floating around. The brothers were very afraid that they would die. The one canoe which was lost was the one full of all the treasures. The water began to subside. For some days, it was like that. Then Kawadilikala began to call, howling in the four directions of the world. He turned to the west and was answered by the Gusgimukw. Kawadilikala said to Kawalili, "Ah, so you are all well, members of our family." Those were the Kuyalas. Those are members of our family, although the brothers had not yet seen them. Then, they began to prosper again. "I am going now to find myself a river. It is not good that we share this river." Kwalili said to his older brother. "Go," Kawadilikala answered. The canoe of Kwalili moved by itself. It had no paddles, it just moved. Our old people were not ordinary [*i.e.* they were supernatural beings]. Then Kwalili went to Ałaxu. He was there for a long time. His tribe increased and became four tribes. Then, he thought he would visit his older brother. He stepped into his self-propelled canoe. Halfway between Ałaxu and Gwa'yi is a place called A'wagawe'. It was there the brothers met. There came a sea otter, diving. Kawadilikala tried to spear it, but missed. Then, Kwalili took his harpoon and really hit it. "Where can we go, older brother?" he said, treating his brother with respect. That was what he did. "I was worried about you until I saw you. Come, let us go to Gwa'yi for a while. I missed you." Kawadilikala said to his younger brother. "I had better go to invite the rest of our people." Kwalili said. Then, he went to Ałaxu and then took his people to Gwa'yi. When they got there, Kwalili saw what looked like worms in the river. "What are these worms in your river?" he asked Kawadilikala. "That is what satiates me -- eulachon." answered Kawadilikala. "I will not have this kind of thing in my river, so that the banks of my river will not smell bad." Kwalili said. They were happy together and everything was good. When they were finished, Kwalili went home to Ałaxu.

C.E.H. Williams estimates the entire K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> population in 1750 to have been between 5,000 and 6,000. The local tribe at Kingcome Inlet is "Tsawatainuk" (n.d.:1):

One of the most isolated points visited by the C.C.M. [Columbia Coast Mission] is the Indian village on Kingcome Inlet. This has now a maximum population of 240 Indians, but it varies considerably because the men are often away on employment in the logging or fishing Industries which form the main occupations of the coast (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:14).

Williams lists the four Kingcome tribes as:

1. ZAWADAINUK LAWAGILA KKAWADILIKKALA
2. KWEKWASUNINUK ZEKAMAYI
3. GAWAINUK QUNQUNHILIGI
4. HAKWAMISH QWALILI

(C.E.H. Williams n.d.:16).

An elder from the village gave me the names of the four tribes as follows, which correspond to the names given above:

1. Dzawadəʔenux<sup>w</sup> [Tsawatainuk] (from Kingcome Inlet)
2. K<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>asutenux<sup>w</sup> (from Gilford)
3. G<sup>w</sup>awaʔenux<sup>w</sup> (from Hopetown)
4. Hak<sup>w</sup>amis (from Wakeman Sound)

## **The Anglican Church and Schooling**

At the head of Kingcome Inlet, and three miles up the river you come to the Kingcome Indian Village. It consists of three bands of the Quagutl (KWAKIUTL), tribe, numbering about 200 in all, who formerly lived in separate villages, but late years have settled in Kingcome, probably for convenience in fishing the Ooligan and Fall salmon. Some years ago the Diocese of New Westminster, within the borders of which the village is situated, deputed to the Columbia Coast Mission the medical and spiritual care of these isolated people. The first necessity was some sort of a building . . . We are hoping to finish this building before the end of the year. To complete the school and dwelling [for the deaconesses] for the work among the Indians (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:8).

Much of the written history of Kingcome Inlet is contained in journals of the Anglican Church, which was a strong force in the education and attempted assimilation of the village inhabitants. Although an Anglican church building still stands in the village, it does not appear to be used for services any more. It was not used during the time I was there. The first school in Kingcome Inlet was operated by deaconesses of the Anglican Church:

When the Columbia Coast Mission built a school at Kingcome, three bands of the Kwakiutl tribe lived there, fishing for oolichan and salmon. The Reverend W. Govier baptized the village chief, but much of the Kingcome mission work was done by deaconesses. Two were Margaret Solomon, a nurse, and Edith Adams, a teacher, who were ordered deaconesses at Christ Church in 1931. 'We were really going to live at Kingcome Indian Reserve all winter,' they wrote breathlessly in the *Log of the Columbia*. 'Kingcome is one of Nature's beauty spots. The river winds in and out the valleys between the mountains until Kingcome Indian Reserve is encircled by mountains' (Grove 1979:103).

Work at converting the natives to Christianity, and educating them in English, began in 1889, with the arrival of a lay missionary, Mr. Arthur William Corker. The first

teacher arrived five years later, in 1894. At this time, there were “only one or two” natives at Kingcome Inlet who spoke English (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:1). Missionaries would alternate from Kingcome Inlet in summer, and Gilford Island (Gwayasdums) in winter, following the seasonal round of the natives.

In 1927, there were about 300 native inhabitants at Kingcome Inlet village. An old cottage was bought from the Powell River Logging Co. to serve as a mission house (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:7). The erection of buildings was seen as a major move towards civilization and Christianity. On Thursday, May 12, 1938, ceremonies were held for “[t]he opening of the new Mission Church [and] the opening of the Community Hall” (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:15). The Powell River Logging Company operated from 1910 to 1925 at Kingcome Inlet (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:5), and the building used as a hospital there was also purchased from it.

During the stay of the Columbia Coast Mission, the focus was on converting the natives to Christianity in the Anglican Church, and teaching English and other elements of British culture:

This has been an eventful month for the Indian village of Kingcome. The most important event was the baptism service which took place. There were in all twenty-four baptized, including men, women, and children. Several Indian chiefs were among the number, and we hope that their accepting Christ may influence other members of the tribes (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:10).

The work of the Mission was so successful that it was decided by community members to build a church, which still stands today. The church was built beside a totem pole which had been erected in honour of King George V (see photo page 106).

Although in the early days church services were conducted in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:14), the missionaries strove to teach the natives English for their own benefit. Some of the local natives at Kingcome Inlet became Anglican priests (Grove 1979:143). It was seen as a milestone to have the native priests conduct services in English: "For the third time in his life, Rev. Christopher N. Yazawa celebrated the Holy Communion in English, in St. George's Church, Kingcome Inlet, B.C. (Summer, 1958)" (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:28).

The village was no longer under the administration of the Columbia Coast Mission as of 1963. The continuation of the Anglican religion in the village became the jurisdiction of the Diocese of New Westminster (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:34).

The first time I visited Kingcome Inlet was during an Elders' Gathering in the spring of 1995. During this gathering, there was much reminiscing about the building of the hall, the church, and the soccer field in 1938. The chiefs sang a song that was written for this event. They also sang a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala version of "O Canada" which was written for Expo '86, which was held in Vancouver. From what I heard in the bighouse during the Elders' Gathering, this pole does in fact represent the four tribes of the Musgamag<sup>w</sup>.





**Figure 5. Anglican Church at Kingcome Inlet**

From  
remarks that I  
heard during the  
Elders' Gathering,  
there appears to be  
some resentment  
towards the  
Anglican church's  
role in attempting  
to assimilate the

natives to the colonizers' religion, language, and culture. One elder was quite openly angry not only at anything or anyone non-native, but also at all things non-Musgamag<sup>w</sup>. She complained of white people attending gatherings such as this, and potlatches at Alert Bay<sup>9</sup>, where "no one asks them for their card," an obvious allusion to the fact that native people at one time had to show their identification cards to the authorities in order to leave and return to their reserves. She had some very strong and negative words for missionaries and the church who had come into the village and attempted to assimilate the people to Christianity and European ways through religion and the English language.

## **History and Identity**

How does the history of a people relate to their identity, particularly in the context of language use? As one can see from the preceding discussion, European perceptions of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> people changed over time. In a contact situation where one group is considered dominant, there are ramifications in how the dominated people use language as a marker of cultural identity.

In early contact times, as with explorers such as Vancouver, there was no identity crisis for the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>. They were distinctly K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>, and had no need to struggle to maintain their cultural distinctions from Europeans. Then, during the early trade and non-native settlement eras, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> were disparaged by most Europeans as being somehow lower human beings by the fact of their distinct culture. This attitude continued right through until the mid-twentieth century, through missionary and residential school eras, when speaking the language was indeed a display of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> culture, and one that the newcomers diligently attempted to eradicate. The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> themselves, after constantly being told that their language and culture were inferior to those of Europeans, began to believe this, and a break occurred in the transmission of language, and therefore culture, particularly during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. Then, during the 1970s and 1980s, a resurgence of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> pride in their language and culture occurred, as was the case with many other North American indigenous societies. The new prestige in cultural display

provoked a renewed interest in learning K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as a second language for anglophones of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> ancestry.

### Notes to Chapter Three

1. In current anthropological literature, K'ak'aka'wak' groups are referred to as "tribes," while the designation "band" is a legal one imposed by the *Indian Act*. "Band member" refers to anyone who is legally registered as a member of the band.
2. Turner and Loewen do not provide a linguistic key, but I assume that "X" indicates a voiceless uvular fricative, "x".
3. For citations from old texts, I have left the spelling and grammar as they appear in the original and will not use [sic] in these cases since, as one will shortly see, some passages would be liberally sprinkled with [sic].
4. Although Vancouver conducted some trade with the native people, the aim of his voyage was not to make a profit. This trade was to establish relationships with and obtain food from the local people.
5. In the *House of Commons Report on Hudson's Bay Company* printed in 1857, Fort Victoria, Fort Rupert, and Nanaimo posts, all on Vancouver Island, have 5,000, 4,000, and 3,000 "Indians frequenting" them respectively. The numbers are much lower for the posts further south in Washington and Oregon Territories, from 100 to 800 (reported in Bancroft 1884:448).
6. Tolmie describes how the coal deposits were found on Vancouver Island, that is, from information supplied by native people who came to trade near what is now Bella Bella, the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort McLoughlin. The natives "were greatly amused" that coal was being shipped to the fort all the way from Wales, and told the Europeans that there was an abundance of it on Vancouver Island. Tolmie "notified Dr. McLoughlin, at Fort Vancouver, who ordered the steamer *Beaver* to stop on her next voyage to see if the Indians were telling the truth. The result was the discovery of the coalfield at Beaver Harbour and the founding of Fort Rupert [near the northeast tip of Vancouver Island] some years later" (S.F. Tolmie 1937:239).
7. There are vestiges of this in modern-day society as well. For example, on a recent visit to Washington State, I stopped off in a little town to see the local museum. When I remarked on the beauty of some of the Interior Salish basketry that was in the collections, the woman in attendance remarked that yes, the interior Indians were much more hard-working than those of the coast. They had to hunt for their food. Why, the coastal people just had to go out and hook a fish!

8. For those unfamiliar with the term “polysynthesis,” very simply it is when one can say an entire sentence in one word through affixation, that is, the addition of prefixes, suffixes, and infixes to a stem.
9. Alert Bay was the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> centre for potlatching because of its relatively easy accessibility and spacious bighouse. In an unfortunate incident, the bighouse at Alert Bay was deliberately burned to the ground in September 1997 by a disgruntled man from Latin America who was having problems in the community. A new bighouse is currently under construction.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### ***Grammatical, Phonological, and Lexical Changes to K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala***

In the last chapter, I discussed the historical context of indigenous language change in a colonial situation. It is clear that, as the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> lost control of their economic base, and had their language and culture relegated to an inferior position in relation to English language and culture, there was a concomitant loss of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala's functional utility within the community. What effect do these social dynamics have on the internal structure of a language?

In this chapter, I present linguistic data from three different generations of speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, with an analysis of how the language may be changing due to the influence from English, in grammatical structure, phonology, and lexicon. Findings from this analysis support the claim that the language is not only changing, but it is being replaced by English, as speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala from the young generation have difficulty with the language, and K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is not generally used as a means of everyday communication among members of this generation. Conclusions drawn from an analysis of the data indicate that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is undergoing the process of language death, factors of which were discussed in chapter one. The loss of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala's functional utility within communities is leading to a loss of structures in the language, which may eventually lead

to its demise except in certain contexts of identity assertion. These contexts are a focus of chapter five.

As noted in chapter one (see page 19), the greatest difference in fluency between the three generations of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers appears to be between the middle and young generations. The linguistic data presented here will demonstrate that this in fact is the case. Speakers of the middle generation still retain many elements of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala grammar, phonology, and lexicon, but the real break in transmission of these aspects of the language seems to have happened between 25 and 50 years ago. It appears that those who attended residential school retained the language (and of course those who did not), but the succeeding generation seems to have the most influence from English when speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. This may be attributed to the diminishing use of the language as a means of communication in the community and in the home. It is interesting to note that the two members of the young generation from whom I collected linguistic data both report that they learned K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala before they learned English, but through lack of use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in school and in the larger community, they have difficulty reproducing elements of the language, although they would be considered somewhere on the fluency continuum between passive and semi-speakers. It is also interesting to note that these two young people are considered outstanding in their community for their knowledge of the language and culture -- they do not represent the typical young K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> person of today. I worked with them because they did have some knowledge of the language.

The data in this chapter are presented according to generation. This has been done in an attempt to see how K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala may be changing over time. The speakers with whom I worked do not represent the entire generation of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers to which they belong. However, persons within the same generation, from the same village, may be viewed as community cohorts, representing a certain level of community language competence at a given historical period. Children in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> communities may have various caregivers -- parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and older brothers and sisters. The language(s) that they learn in the context of the home are influenced by these different caregivers. Because of this, in this dissertation I have focussed on diachronic language change, and not synchronic language variation within the community at a given time.

### **Background of Informants**

I worked with ten speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to collect linguistic data. In all, 1,193 English terms were elicited (see chapter two, page 51), however since I received more than one response for some elicitations, there are over 1,200 entries. 52% of the data were received from Dara Samuel<sup>1</sup>, 9% from Frieda West, 8% from Gertrude Robertson, 6% from Ruth Seaweed, 6% from Sonny Wallas, 5% from James Dawson, 5% from Dawn Williams, 4% from Tim Sanders, 3% from Gloria Nicolson, and 2% from Spruce Wamiss.



The data are presented according to village of origin, either Kingcome Inlet or Quatsino, and generation. I include in the older generation all those 50 years of age and older, the middle generation those 25 to 50 years of age, and the young generation those under 25 years of age. The background of each informant will be given below, followed by an examination of the data in a comparison of the three generations. First I will present the backgrounds of those from Kingcome Inlet, from oldest to youngest, and then in like fashion those from Quatsino.<sup>2</sup> A table of speakers by generation is on page 122 following the background descriptions.

James Dawson (JD)

James Dawson was born in Alert Bay in 1926. His father was Tsawatainuk from Kingcome Inlet, and his mother K̓ik̓asutenux̓ from Gilford Island. James grew up in Kingcome Inlet, and attended St. Michael's residential school in Alert Bay beginning at age eleven for four or five years (he could not recall exactly how many years he was there). Then he moved back to Kingcome Inlet, and worked as a commercial fisherman and a logger. He now lives in Kingcome Inlet with his wife, but also spends a lot of time in Port Hardy on Vancouver Island.

Dara Samuel (DS), née Williams

I worked with Dara Samuel over a two-year period, which is the reason that over half the data are from her. Dara was born in 1932, and is Tsawatainuk of Kingcome Inlet, as were both her parents. As a child, she followed the seasonal round of her tribe, spending summers in Kingcome Inlet and winters on Gilford Island. She is of noble heritage, her father having been a hereditary chief, who owned four coppers, or ‘λ’ áq<sup>w</sup>a’. (Coppers are sheets of copper in a particular shape that are considered valuable, gaining value each time they are passed on.) Her husband was a ‘hámac’ a’ seven times. (‘Hámac’ a’ are members of the highest ranking secret society.)

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> names are given at birth and at potlatches, and are passed on through the paternal side of the family. A person can have up to four names. One of Dara’s names is ‘λ’ ák<sup>w</sup>aʔil,’ which means ‘copper on the floor.’ Dara told me that this name is usually given to the first born, but her father bypassed her older brother and gave it to her. It was the name of her paternal great grandmother. Another name given to her by her father is ‘xámʒidi,’ meaning ‘potlatch gifts.’ Still another K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> name of Dara is ‘áλ utəmdalagilis,’ which, according to Dara, has something to do with being in the bushes, ‘áλ u’ being the word for ‘bush.’ This name came from one of her father’s first cousins.

Dara did not attend school in Kingcome Inlet, nor did she go to residential school, as did her siblings. She was taught by her grandmothers, and only learned to speak

English as an adult in the 1950s because of her children going to school. She can neither read nor write English. Her three oldest children are passive speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. Dara now lives in Alert Bay with relatives. She would like to move back to Kingcome Inlet, but she says that the trip in and out is too difficult for her, since she is in a wheelchair, and access to health facilities is difficult from Kingcome Inlet.

Tim Sanders (TS)

Tim was born in 1934 in Kingcome Inlet. His father was Tsawatainuk from Kingcome Inlet, and his mother G<sup>w</sup>awaʔenux<sup>w</sup> from Hopetown. He went to St. Michael's residential school at age five or six, and ran away from there when he was thirteen, returning to Kingcome Inlet. He told me one of his K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> names is 'gixkanis,' a chief's name that he received from his father.

Tim is from a high-ranking family that owns much territory. When I first met him, he jokingly told me that he owned "the whole valley" at Kingcome Inlet.

Gloria Nicolson (GN), née Willie

Gloria was born in 1937, and lived on Gilford Island and Kingcome Inlet until she was eight years old. Her mother was K<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>asutenux<sup>w</sup>, and her father Tsawatainuk. At age eight, she began attending St. Michael's residential school in Alert Bay. After grade ten, she left school, and stayed with relatives in Alert Bay. At age 24, she moved to

Vancouver, and attended night school to finish high school. Then she returned to Alert Bay and worked for three years as a supervisor in the residential school. She married a Scottish man who worked for the Canadian Department of Transport. She lived in Comox on Vancouver Island for five years, and again in Vancouver for twelve years, where she was the executive director of the Native Professional Women's Association. When I interviewed her in 1996, she had been living back in Kingcome Inlet for one and a half years, and said that she "felt I had to come home." She has five daughters, and two step-children.

In 1996, Gloria was working as a teacher's aide at the school, teaching K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. She said that she tries to integrate the language into other subject areas, and the students get K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala every day. She would like to see an immersion model at the school, as she feels the language is essential to their culture.

### Spruce Wamiss (SpW)

Spruce was born in 1938 at Gilford Island. In 1949 he moved with his family to Kingcome Inlet. Spruce told me he spent a lot of time with his father when he was young, and would accompany him to log, trap, and dig clams in Hopetown in winter, and to fish in Rivers Inlet in summer.

From 1948 to 1957 he attended St. Michael's residential school in Alert Bay, and the school at Kingcome Inlet intermittently for about two years. After grade three he had

to go to St. Michael's full time. In 1957 he contracted tuberculosis there, and went to hospital in Nanaimo for a year until he was cured.

Spruce said that shortly after arriving at St. Michael's, he was given the strap for speaking Kʷakʷala. He didn't understand English, and when he was asked if he wanted the strap again, he nodded his head, not understanding what was said, so he kept getting hit with the strap. Apparently his brother was there too, and told him to say no. So he did and they stopped strapping him. He also said that girls and boys were not allowed to associate with each other, even brothers and sisters. So one day his sister got him some girl's clothes and he put them on in order to be with his sister. He also said that he was often hungry as he could not get enough to eat, so he would get potatoes that were left out and cook them in the incinerator.

Spruce married a Quatsino woman and moved to her village, the old village on the Quatsino peninsula. His first wife died, and he has since remarried. He now lives in the relocated Quatsino village.

While I was working with Spruce, he would write words down in Kʷakʷala, using his own orthography based on the English alphabet. For example, for an ejective 't' (t'), he writes 'td.' He explained to me that this was because it sounds "sort of like a 't' and a 'd' together."

Gertrude Robertson (GR), née Willie

Gertrude was born in 1941 in Glendale Cove, which is in the Knight's Inlet area. Her mother and father were both from Kingcome Inlet, but they were in Glendale Cove when Gertrude was born because her father was working in a cannery there at the time. The family would live in Kingcome Inlet during the summer for fishing, Gilford Island being the winter village. She married William Robertson from Kingcome Inlet and Hopetown, and they had four children, three boys and one girl.

Gertrude told me she is from a noble family of hereditary chiefs. She did not go to residential school. To avoid losing her granddaughter for most of the year, her grandmother, with whom she lived until she was fourteen years of age, had hidden her when the authorities came to get children for the residential school. She went to live with her mother at age fourteen when her grandmother died. This was also when she first attended school; however the school was in her own village. She describes the teacher at the time as "really mean." A few months before my second visit to the village in the summer of 1996, her mother died at age 99. The family was in a state of mourning for one year, at which time her brother was to hold a memorial potlatch. During this year, family members may not participate in singing or dancing at potlatches.

Ruth Seaweed (RS), née Wallas

Ruth was born in 1950 in Alert Bay. She lived and went to school at the old village of Quatsino till grade seven, going then to St. Michael's residential school in Alert Bay for high school. After completing high school, she went back to live in the old village until it was moved in the 1970s. She now lives in the new Quatsino village near Coal Harbour. Ruth told me that although she speaks K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, she does not speak it at home.

Frieda West (FW)

Frieda was born in 1953 in Port Alice, and was raised in the old Quatsino village until it was moved in the 1970s. She went to school in the old village, but she told me all the teachers were non-native. She never married, and lives in Quatsino with her mother and nephew. Frieda told me that her family speaks K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala at home most of the time.

Dawn Williams (DW), née Willie

Dawn was born in 1972 in Port Hardy, and was raised in the present-day Quatsino village, where she now resides with her husband and child. She attended school at Coal Harbour from grades one through six, and Kindergarten, grade seven, and high school in Port Hardy. According to Dawn, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was the first language she learned as a child,

but she stopped speaking it regularly at age three. Now she has difficulty speaking it fluently because of the dominance of English in school and the community.

Dawn received post-secondary education at Nicola Valley Institute, and has won a Native Role Model award. (This is a national competition with one winner from each province.)

### Sonny Wallas (SW)

Sonny was born in 1977 in Port Hardy. His legal name is David Hanuse, but he uses the name Sonny Wallas because Sonny is a nickname given to him when he was very young, and he lives with his mother's side of the family, named Wallas. He also has the native name Ye-ku-kla-sa-me, which means, 'getting ready to give a potlatch.' Sonny became a hamač'a on June 24, 1995.

Sonny grew up in the present-day Quatsino village, went to elementary school in Coal Harbour, and then high school in Port Hardy. He lives with his maternal grandmother and aunt, and speaks Kʷakʷala with them at home. Sonny is involved with several committees for the Quatsino Band Council, including one concerning treaty-making. For a young person (he was seventeen at the time), he is very mature and responsible. He told me his friends call him "Grampa" because he acts older than they do.



**Table 2. Generations of Speakers**

|   |                                  |                                 |                                  |                                     |                                   |  |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Oldest Generation -</i><br>(50 years of age and older) | James Dawson<br>(Kingcome Inlet) | Dara Samuel<br>(Kingcome Inlet) | Tim Saunders<br>(Kingcome Inlet) | Gloria Nicolson<br>(Kingcome Inlet) | Spruce Wamiss<br>(Kingcome Inlet) | Gertrude Robertson<br>(Kingcome Inlet) |
| <i>Middle Generation -</i><br>(25 to 50 years of age)     | Ruth Seaweed<br>(Quatsino)       | Frieda West<br>(Quatsino)       |                                  |                                     |                                   |  |
| <i>Young Generation -</i><br>(under 25 years of age)      | Dawn Williams<br>(Quatsino)      | Sonny Wallas<br>(Quatsino)      |                                  |                                     |                                   |  |

### Grammatical Changes

With the use of data elicited from these K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers, the following sections examine whether there have been diachronic grammatical, phonological, and lexical changes in the language through comparing the speech of different generations of speakers to early texts collected by Boas. This type of research will help ascertain what the current state of the spoken language is among individuals of various generations, and provide information on what happens to a language when it no longer is learned as a mother tongue.

It has been noted in studies of languages with diminishing numbers of speakers that in the process of decline the language changes in significant ways. This is often due to influence from an invading language that becomes dominant (*e.g.* Dorian 1981). In current spoken K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, there appears to be a gradual shift from synthetic structures to

more analytic ones, a process which may be attributed to structures of the dominant English language. One such area that can be investigated to determine if and how this process is occurring is that of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala lexical suffixes.

“Lexical suffixes are a group of suffixes found in Salish, Chemakuan, and Wakashan which have semantic content analogous to specific nouns, but lack phonological similarity to them” (Kinkade n.d.b:266). A lexical suffix is defined as “one which reflects the semantic content of lexical items . . . [and] copies a portion of the semantic content of some term in construction with the form to which it is affixed” (Saunders and Davis 1975:154). “Lexical suffixes are distinguished from other derivational affixes in having specific lexical referents” (Kinkade 1975:424). Thompson and Thompson, working with Nlakapmxčín (Thompson), a Salishan language, which also uses lexical suffixes, have noted:

The tendency to favor . . . syntactic constructions over the morphological ones with lexical suffixes is one of the characteristics of current usage [of Nlakapmxčín], reflecting the influence of English and a general decline in the exploitation of the rich synthetic resources of the language (Thompson and Thompson 1992:112).

And:

[A]ll the [Salish] languages are rapidly approaching a state of, at best, limited use. An important characteristic of their late evolution, as they have declined from rich vehicles of communication in a cultural pattern now totally altered, is the disappearance of precisely these elements -- the lexical suffixes -- from the complex morphological constructions that were formerly common, replaced by full words in syntactic strings more similar to the English that is now dominant through the whole area (M. T. Thompson 1974:220).

From my data, it appears that this is also the case for K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. I have also included other suffixes (*i.e.* non-lexical suffixes) in the analysis in order to provide further evidence of language change. Lexical suffixes are indicated by an equal sign “=” preceding the suffix. No other researcher, to my knowledge, has published any findings on this subject for K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.

What follows are examples from the data collected that support the claim that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala has changed significantly over the past 100 years or so, as evidenced through the differences in the responses from generations of speakers. There is a drastic change between the middle and young generations of speakers, which I attribute to social factors in these communities, including residential schooling, displacement from original village site (in the case of Quatsino), and the infiltration of Eurocanadian media in the English language, all of which occurred during the transmission of language and culture from the middle to the young generation.

### **Key to Suffix Lists**

Observations will be presented by suffix, with lexical suffixes followed by grammatical suffixes. Terms supplied by informants appear in the left column with an English gloss. Terms from Boas (1910) appear in the right column. If no English gloss is given for the term from Boas, it has the same gloss as the term directly to the left of it in the informants' column.

The terms from Boas give examples of the suffix in question. Terms that I elicited from informants that contain the suffix with the same stem as in Boas are on the left. Sometimes forms that do not contain the suffix, which may or may not be analytic forms, have been included to highlight the lack of the suffix, especially as this most often occurs in the young generation. Often there is no form corresponding to one found in Boas's material, as the informants would supply terms related to those that were elicited.

To illustrate how to read the lists, the first suffix =ʔstu (eye, door, round opening) (see page 130) is from Boas, who provides 'deʔstúd' (to wipe eye) as an example of a term which contains this suffix. To the left of this appear terms I elicited from informants, which have the same stem and some form of the suffix, *e.g.* diʔstú (wipe your eye). The informant from whom the term was elicited is indicated by his or her initials (see section on Background of Informants, pages 114 to 121).

The first category of suffixes includes those present in all three generations from my fieldwork data, the second category those in the oldest and middle generations, and finally those found only in the data from the oldest generation. In all, there are 38 suffixes included for comparative purposes. Many more suffixes exist in the data, but these were chosen because I attempted to elicit forms with these 38 suffixes from all three generations of speakers. A list of suffixes alphabetized according to their English meaning has been included in an appendix on page 254.

The orthography used is an Americanist modification of the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), with the following consonants:

**Table 3. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala Consonants**

|                         | Labial | Dental | Alveolar | Lateral | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Labialized<br>Velar | Labialized<br>Uvular | Glottal |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|----------|---------|---------|-------|--------|---------------------|----------------------|---------|
| Unvoiced stop           | p      | t      |          |         |         | k     | q      | k <sup>w</sup>      | q <sup>w</sup>       | ʔ       |
| Glottalized stop        | p̚     | t̚     |          |         |         | k̚    | q̚     | k̚ <sup>w</sup>     | q̚ <sup>w</sup>      |         |
| Voiced stop             | b      | d      |          |         |         | g     | ɣ      | g <sup>w</sup>      | ɣ <sup>w</sup>       |         |
| Unvoiced affricate      |        |        | c        | ɬ       |         |       |        |                     |                      |         |
| Glottalized affricate   |        |        | c̚       | ɬ̚      |         |       |        |                     |                      |         |
| Voiced affricate        |        |        | ʒ        | ɮ       |         |       |        |                     |                      |         |
| Fricative               |        |        | s        | ʃ       |         | x     | χ      | x <sup>w</sup>      | χ <sup>w</sup>       | h       |
| Approximant             | w      |        |          | l       | y       |       |        |                     |                      |         |
| Glottalized approximant | w̚     |        |          | l̚      | y̚      |       |        |                     |                      |         |
| Nasal                   | m      | n      |          |         |         |       |        |                     |                      |         |
| Glottalized nasal       | m̚     | n̚     |          |         |         |       |        |                     |                      |         |

Vowels in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala are /a/, /e/, /ə/, /i/, /o/, and /u/. The focus on change between generations in the phonology section is on consonants, since vowels are more susceptible to variation between speakers and dialects. Also, vowels typically undergo change between generations in communities with no apparent influence from outside the

linguistic group (*c.f.* Labov et al. 1972). Therefore, the best indicator of phonological change between generations due to outside influences is demonstrated through a comparison of consonant pronunciation.

To facilitate comparison between texts written by Boas in 1910 and the writing system I am using, Boas's writing system has been modified to associate the following characters:

| <i>Boas</i>  | <i>Goodfellow</i> | <i>Remarks</i>  |
|--------------|-------------------|---|
| k, k'; g, g' | k; g              | Boas distinguishes between "anterior palatal" and "palatal," which are palatalized velars. Velars are regularly palatalized when preceding a vowel, and thus I have not indicated palatalization in the transcriptions (see page 180). What he refers to on his chart (1910:429) as "velar" are uvular. |

kw, qw, gw; xw, x<sup>u</sup>

k<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, g<sup>w</sup>; x<sup>w</sup>

Boas marks labialization with a regular “w”, or with a raised “u” with velar fricatives occurring in final position.

ɛ

ʔ

Boas uses a raised epsilon to represent a glottal stop that occurs between two phonemes or at the end of a word.

p!, t!, k!, etc.

p̰, t̰, k̰, etc.

Boas marks glottalization with “!” following the character, referring to these as “fortis.” This is also true for labialized consonants which are glottalized (*i.e.* k̰<sup>w</sup> and q̰<sup>w</sup>).

ts, dz

c, ʒ

I have substituted IPA characters for these phonemes that Boas writes with two characters.

x; x

x; x̥

This is where Boas's orthography gets somewhat confusing, since he writes uvular "g" as "g̊", but uvular "x" as "x̥". I write both uvulars with a subscripted period.

L, l̥

λ, λ̥

Boas represents unvoiced and voiced lateral affricates with capital "l", the voiced version having a subscripted period. I use Americanist symbols.



## Suffixes Present in All Generations

*suffix* =ʔstu (eye, door, round opening)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

### Oldest generation

diʔstú (wipe your eye) DS

deʔstúd (to wipe eye)

ʒiʒikstó (to rub your eyes) DS

ʒəʒəxstúxwíd (to rub eyes)

didəʔstó (to wipe your eyes) DS

ʒiɬáɬa ɬayáɬas (to wipe your eyes) DS

dídaʔəstu (wipe your eyes) GR

dídaʔstudaga (wipe your eyes now) GN

deʔstúd (to wipe eye) DS

kʷístu (spit in someone's eye) GR

kʷístud

aʔstúdaxʷa təxəlax (to open the door) DS

aʔstúd (to open door)

aʔstúda (to open the door) GR

ləxstuda (close the door) GR

əxstúdas (open the door) GN

ləstudas (close the door) GN

məxastú (knock at the door) GR

məxəltúwi (to knock at door)

məxístóy (knock at the door) GR

məxəltóyodaʔax (somebody's knocking at the door) DS

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

díʔstú (wipe your eye) FW

ʒiʒikstó (to rub your eyes) FW

didəʔstó (to wipe your eyes) FW

láksto (to go through) FW

aʔstúdoʔud təxá (to open the door) FW

məxiłtóʔ (knocking at the door) FW

Young generation

díx<sup>w</sup>stu (wipe your eyes) DW

díxidasus gégasus (wipe your eyes) SW (no =ʔstu suffix)

díxidasus gégasus (wipe your eyes) SW (no =ʔstu suffix)

ixstúxidaxa təxá (to open the door) SW

astúdax dəxá (to open the door) DW

áʔuʔani təxá (behind the door) SW

*Discussion*

The suffix =ʔstu is very common in the data, even among the young generation. Note the two analytic forms from the young generation that do not have the suffix in the translation of “wipe your eyes.” Although the suffix is used by speakers of the young generation, all but one example adds the word for “door” in the elicitations about a door,

which only occurs once in the data from the middle generation, and once in the data from the oldest generation. The form for “behind the door” from Sonny Wallas does not have this suffix, but as this phrase was not elicited with the other generations, and a suffixed form for it does not occur in Boas, it is difficult to say whether it would be used in this context. Frieda West from Quatsino also uses the independent word for “door.” One of the oldest informants from Kingcome Inlet said that this usage is “situational,” *i.e.* the forms for “open/close the door” could be used for opening anything, and not necessarily a door, and the addition of the independent word, although not necessary, could clarify an ambiguous statement. A better translation for the suffix might be “open something such as an eye or door,” but not limited to these.

Dara Samuel first provided a synthetic construction for “to wipe your eyes,” followed by an analytic construction, saying that both were correct.

Also note the reduplication of the stem to indicate plural in *ʒiʒikstó*, *didəʔstó*, *didaʔəstu*, and *didaʔstudaga* (Gloria Nicolson said that *-daga* means “do it now”), which occurs only in the oldest and middle generations. Boas claims that the use of reduplication for indicating plurality was frowned upon by older speakers in the early twentieth century. He writes:

The idea of plurality is not clearly developed [in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala]. Reduplication of a noun expresses rather the occurrence of an object here and there, or of different kinds of a particular object, than plurality. It is therefore rather a distributive than a true plural. It seems that this form is gradually assuming a purely plural significance. In many cases in which it is thus applied in my texts, the older generation criticises its use as inaccurate (1947:206).

It is also possible that the reduplication above may be used to indicate the repeated action of rubbing or wiping, rather than a plural of “eyes.”

*suffix* =gəm (face)

“After p, s, t, ɬ, λ, and k sounds, -əm; after l, n, m, and fortis [glottalized stops], -gəm” (Boas 1910:475)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

mʰəlgəm (white face) GN/GR/DS

mʰəlgəm

mélλ ogəm (mountain-goat mask) GR

qʷáxameʔ (cedar or hemlock headband) GN

qʷáxameʔ (hemlock on face, around head)

həpém (beard) GR

hapém (hairy face)

həpémɬ (beard or hairy face) GN

gúgəmeʔ (face) GR

λʰəqʷəm (red face) GR

λʰəpém(da) (cover your face) GR

qʰəlɬəm(eʔ) (wrinkles on face) GR

líxəm (wide face) TS

únugameʔ (side of face) GN (compare “temple” below, page 154)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

gógamaʔ (face) FW

m̓ élgəmaʔ (white face) FW

Young generation

m̓ élgəm (white face) DW

həbəstá (beard and moustache) SW (no -gəm suffix)

*Discussion*

This suffix is present in all three generations, although many more forms of it exist in the oldest and middle generations than in the young generation, where only one instance of it was recorded in *m̓ élgəm*.

Gertrude Robertson may be confusing this suffix with the suffix for “mask” -gəmt below (see page 153), as she uses it for “mountain goat mask.” The “mask” suffix is, however, also part of her repertoire. Gloria Nicolson uses the “mask” suffix here in her word for “beard or hairy face.” These two suffixes are related etymologically.

**suffix** =əxst(a) (opening; mouth of animal; to eat, meal; to talk about)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

tʰogʷəxsta (small mouth) DS

tʰuguxsta (with small mouth)

gəʔáqstala (breakfast) DS

gəʔáxstala

gəʔáxstala (breakfast) GR

ʒəqʷaxstala (dinner) DS

ʒəqʷasaləʔənɣ (dinner) GR

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

aməʔixsta (small mouth) FW

nəqələsta (lunch) FW

cəqʷasta (dinner) FW

Young generation

aməʔi səms (small mouth) DW

səmsbidu (small mouth) DW

gələsta (breakfast) DW

nəqələsta (lunch) DW

ʒəkʷasta (dinner) DW

### Discussion

This suffix occurs in all generations of speakers. It is a lexical suffix, evidenced by the use of the independent word in some cases, for example in “small mouth,” *amáʔi sáms*, where *sáms* is the independent word. It also occurs in words designating meals, which would be difficult to break down into an analytic construction. Meals in English are designated by one term; in this sense, then, this suffix was only used by the younger generation when there was no analytic construction available to them. Dawn Williams does supply a synthetic form for “small mouth” using another suffix, *=bidu*, with the meaning “small” (see Boas 1910:493).

The suffix in *záqʼasaləʔənχ* from Gertrude Robertson seems unusual here. It looks like the suffix for “season” (see page 190).

**suffix** = *iλʼxu* (in mouth)

Boas states that this suffix is a combination of *-eλ* “into house” and *-λxu* “neck” (1910:23; 1934:330).

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

#### Oldest generation

*qódeʔλəxo* (my mouth is full) DS

*hiliλʼxawiʔ* (mouthful)

*qótəʔ səməs* (my mouth is full) DS

*əwíλʼəxawe* (mouth, inside) GR

*xúdiʔaλəxola* (full mouth) GR

ɣúdiλəɣola (full mouth) GR

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

qútiλ'əɣo (mouthful) FW

Young generation

qódeλəɣo (my mouth is full) DW

*Discussion*

This suffix appears in all generations, with only one occurrence in the young and middle generations. Two different translations were provided by Dara Samuel for “my mouth is full,” one synthetic, *qódeλəɣo*, the other analytic, *qót'ən səm's*. Dara provided the synthetic form during the first part of the elicitation when the tape recorder was turned off, and the analytic form when we were reviewing the entries and recording them.

**suffix** -ɣsa (through)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

lákso (to go through) DS

laɣsá

láɣso (to go through) SPW

láɣsewas (an opening) SPW

ləʔəm lákso (it went through) TS

qáʔcola (to walk through) DS

qáca



qáco (to walk through) TS/SPW

pəłsó (to fly through) DS

pəlcá

pəłsó (to fly through) TS

pəlcó (to fly through) SPW

níxsu (to pull through) DS

níxsud

níxso (to pull through) SPW

níx<sup>w</sup>su (to pull through) TS

níxsola (to pull through) DS SPW

níxsala

čəlq<sup>w</sup>sola (hot right through) DS

čəlqəmxsala

čəl<sup>w</sup>xso (hot all the way through) SPW

k<sup>w</sup>ák<sup>w</sup>so (hole) DS

k<sup>w</sup>áxsa

k<sup>w</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>so (hole) SPW

k<sup>w</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>a (hole) TS

x<sup>w</sup>əpsó (name of Noisy Mountain, lit. “hole in mountain”) TS

ɣíx<sup>w</sup>so (to burn through) TS

kuməlɣsa

ɣíxso (to burn through, *e.g.* through wall, with flame) SPW

k<sup>w</sup>əməlɣso (to smolder through, *e.g.* cigarette, iron, no flame) SPW

síx<sup>w</sup>so (to paddle through) TS

síx<sup>w</sup>sa

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

láksto (to go through) FW

qáco (to walk through) FW

pəłcó (to fly through) FW

níxso (to pull through) FW

čəlqʷisola (hot all the way through) FW

Young generation

qáʔcu (to walk through) DW

níxʷsu (to pull through) DW

kʷáxʷsu (hole) DW

kʷákłsu (hole) SW

láksu (to go through) SW

*Discussion*

The suffix -xsa is very common in the speech of all generations. No analytic constructions were offered, even among the young generation. This is probably because it is an adverbial rather than a lexical suffix, since no form of an independent word could be found in any reference.

**suffix -iʔst(a) and -siʔst(a) (around)**

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

gəlsiʔstala (swim around) DS

gəlqəmeʔstala (several people swimming around) JD      gəlqamiʔstala (to swim around, pl)

múpəniʔsta (four times around) DS

múpəniʔsta

múpinista (four times around) JD

múpəna léʔstala (four times around) DS

qáciʔstala (to walk around) DS

qáciʔstala

qáciʔstala (to walk around) JD

məxsiʔstála (to punch around) DS

məxsiʔstala (to strike around [no stress assigned])

dəxʷsiʔstála (to jump around) DS

dəxʷsiʔstala

dəxʷsistala (to jump around) JD

xílpsiʔstala (to spin around) DS

xəlpsiʔstala

xílpsistala (turning around) JD

əwíʔsta (around something on the outside) JD

awíʔsta (circumference)

lənísta (lost your way) JD

ləníʔsta (to forget)

dúxʷsista(la) (to look around) TS

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

mélsiʔsta (to turn your head around) FW

q̣ʷísiʔsta (I'm squeezing it all over) FW

čásiʔsta (to drift) FW

gəlsiʔsta (swim around) FW

múpínista (turn around four times) FW

xíłpsista (to spin around) FW

Young generation

qásistala (to walk around) DW

dəxʷsistála (to jump around) DW

xəłpsistala (to spin around) DW

xíłpsistala (to spin around) SW

*Discussion*

This suffix is very common in all generations. Only one analytic construction was received from Dara Samuel, *múpəna léʔstala*, but even this construction contains the suffix. Although it is sometimes used synonymously with the suffix *-iʔə(la)* by the oldest and middle generations (see page 163), *-siʔsta* is the only one of the two employed by the young generation.

**suffix -aq(a)** (past, to go in a certain direction)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

gwág<sup>w</sup>aʔaqa (north) DS

g<sup>w</sup>ág<sup>w</sup>aʔaqa (to move northward)

g<sup>w</sup>ág<sup>w</sup>əʔaqa (to go down, or go up north) JD

ńáńaləʔaqa (go up the river) DS

nánalaʔaqa (to go south, up valley, or up river) JD

x<sup>w</sup>ílaqa (to go back) DS

x<sup>w</sup>ílaqa

x<sup>w</sup>ílaqa (to come back) JD

g<sup>w</sup>ágwəyʔaqa (turning) DS

g<sup>w</sup>ágawayayaqa (to turn around)

aʔédəʔaqa (to go back) DS

aʔídaʔaqa

édəʔaqa (go back into house) DS

əʔédaqa (to come back) JD

əʔúʔzəʔaqa (to go to the opposite side) DS

óʔəʔaqa (to turn the wrong way) DS

gálaqa (sending somebody) JD

gálaqa (to go past first [=to forestall])

ʔ'áʔ'asaʔaqa (go out, when you're outside) JD    ʔ'áʔ'asaʔaqa (to move seaward)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

ídəqa (to go back) FW

ḡʷágʷəyaqa (to feel like crying) FW

úʒəqa (to go the wrong way) FW

úʒəʔaqa (to turn the wrong way) RS

Young generation

xéka (past somebody) SW

xílaʎa/xílaka (to go back) SW

aʔédaʎa (to return) SW

*Discussion*

This suffix is common, occurring in all generations in various forms. This is probably because it is an adverbial rather than lexical suffix. The young generation produced no analytic forms.

**suffix -il** (in house, on the floor of the house)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

λ'əbɪɫ (mat) DS

ləɣ<sup>w</sup>ɪɫ (in house) DS

ləɣ<sup>w</sup>ɪɫ

(haŋáyu) hanɪɫ (kettle on the floor) DS

haʔnɪɫ

láwɪɫ (stand on the floor) DS

láwɪɫ (to stand on floor)

k<sup>w</sup>əʔlɪɫ (lying in the house) DS

kuʔlɪɫ (to lie down in house)

xəŋgaʔalɪɫ (put something on the floor) DS

əxʔálɪɫa (put something on the floor) DS

əxʔálɪɫ (to put on floor)

λəpálɪɫa (spread something on the floor) DS

λəpálɪɫ (to spread on floor)

tɪɣɪɫ (lie on the floor on your back) DS

tɛxʔálɪɫ (to lie down on back in house)

tɪɣɪzɔlɪɫ (lie on a bed) DS

tɪɣəzɔlɪɫ (to lie on back on flat thing in house)

láxalɪɫ (going down) DS

láxalɪɫ (going down in house)

hɪɫkudəniʔɣ<sup>w</sup>ɪɫ (right hand side of house) DS

hɪɫkudniɣ<sup>w</sup>ɪɫ (right hand corner in house)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

íɪɪɫ (to go back into house) FW

láɣagəlɪɫ (to re-enter house)

ɣagɪɪɫ (breakfast) FW

ɣaʔáxstala (does not have this suffix)

g<sup>w</sup>ágaʔlɪɫ (to sit down) RS

k<sup>w</sup>águstalɪɫ (to sit up in house)

gʷaʔəl (to sit in the house) RS

nəgúyulɪʔ (middle of the house) RS

gúkʷoʔyo

Young generation

lávɪʔ (to go out) DW

əʔúzaliʔ (to sit uncomfortably) DW

kʷaʔəl (sitting down) SW

*Discussion*

This suffix is very common in the data. Note that in the translation for “kettle on the floor,” Dara Samuel told me that the independent word for “kettle” *haṇáyu* is optional.

*suffix* -aɣ(a) (down)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

wáxəla (river runs down) DS

wáxəla

ṗəláɣa (to fly down) DS

ṗəláɣa

lóxʷaɣa (to roll [something] down) DS

líxaxəla ”

lóxʷaxəla ”

lóxʷəmaɣa (they’re rolling down) DS

lúxumaɣa (to roll down, pl.)

lóxʷəmaɣala (they’re rolling down) DS

ʒəlɣʷaɣa(la) (to run down) DS

ʒəlɣʷaɣa



láxaliṭ (going down) DS

láxaliṭ (going down in house)

čəqáxo (to throw down) DS

čəqáxyu (to be thrown)

nəpáxo (to throw down) DS

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

pəláxa (to fly down) RS

líxaxala (to roll something down) RS

ʒəlɣʷaxala (to run down) RS

láxala (going down) RS

nəpáxa (to throw down) RS

Young generation

čəxá (to throw) SW

ǰəxé (to throw) SW

*Discussion*

This suffix occurs in all generations, although it is not common in the data from the young generation. The two examples here are from the same speaker, with different pronunciations. During elicitation, I would first go over the terms with the tape recorder off, and then record the entries. The first was given in the initial elicitation, and the second when we were recording. No analytic constructions occurred in any of the generations. Again, this is probably because this is an adverbial suffix.

**suffix** -gusta (up)

This suffix “loses *g* after *s*, and *k* and *ʎ* [lateral affricate] sounds” (Boas 1910:463).

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

gəʔgústo (get up early) DS

gaʔgustá (to rise early)

dúkʷustola (to look up) DS

dúqustala

dəxʷústo (to jump up) DS

dəxústa

níxustud (to pull up [a person]) DS

níxustud (to pull up)

qásusto(la) (to walk up) DS

qásustala

pəʎústo (to fly up) DS

pəʎústa

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

gaʔgústo (get up early) RS

dúkʷustola (to look up) RS

dəxústola (to jump up) RS

níxʷustola (to pull someone up) RS

qásusto (to walk up) RS

pəʎústola (to fly up) RS

Young generation

gagúxʷsta (to get up early) SW

*Discussion*

This suffix occurs in all generations, although only one form of it could be elicited from the young generation. No analytic constructions were given.

*suffix* -əs (capable of)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

dúdəqʷəs(u) (good seer) DS

dúdəqʷus (with good power of seeing)

mím̐ cəs (good smeller) DS

mím̐cəs (with good power of smelling)

mím̐cəs(u) (good smeller) DS

húləqʷəs(u) (good listener) DS

húləqʷus (with good power of hearing)

líkʷəs(u) (liar)

lílkʷus

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

dúdəqʷəs (good seer) FW

mím̐cəs (good smeller) FW

húləqʷəs (good listener) FW

q́íqʷəs (liar) FW

Young generation

mím̐ cəs (good smeller) DW

húləqʷəs (good listener) DW

gíqʷəs (liar) SW

### *Discussion*

This suffix is very common in the data, occurring in all generations. No analytic constructions were provided. Boas narrows the meaning of this suffix in 1934 to “excelling in the use of senses, always in some bodily or mental condition” (1934:304). This appears to be borne out in the data, with the possible exception of “liar” (unless this can be related to excelling in a mental condition).

*suffix* -bəš (fond of, devoted to)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

#### Oldest generation

qʷém̥pəs(u) (smoker) DS

wáɣbəš

*Quatsino speakers*

#### Middle generation

qʷémpəs (smoker) FW

qʷémpəsu (someone who smokes too much) FW

náɣpəs (drinker) FW

nágəlkʷ (drunkard, listed under the suffix -əlkʷ, “doing repeatedly”)

#### Young generation

náɣpəs (drinker, likes to drink) DW

néɣpəs (heavy drinker) SW

mím̥spəs (someone with good sense of smell) SW

mím̥cəs (with good power of smelling)

húlabəs (good listener) SW

húlaq̣us (with good power of hearing)

*Discussion*

This suffix occurs in all generations, and there are several examples of it in the young generation. Note that Sonny Wallas uses *-bəs* for terms for which older speakers use *-əs* (see previous suffix above). He may be confusing the two suffixes, so that in the future both may be collapsed into one suffix, *-bəs*.

*suffix -mp (relationship)**Kingcome speakers**form in Boas*Oldest generation

úmp (father) DS

ump

əbəmp (mother) DS

abəmp

gágəmp (grandfather) DS

gagəmp

p̥əlwəmp (husband's sister) DS

p̥əlwump

*Quatsino speakers*Middle generation

úmp (father) FW

əbəmp (mother) FW

gágəmp (grandfather) FW

ǫ́élwəmp (sister or brother-in-law) FW

Young generation

úmp (father) DW/SW

əbəmp (mother) DW/SW

ǵágəmp (grandfather) DW

ǵágəmp (grandfather) SW

*Discussion*

This suffix is very common, occurring in all generations. Although this is not a lexical suffix, it is similar to the suffix above for “mouth” (see page 135), in that it would be difficult to break these terms down into an analytic construction. Most close relatives in English are designated by one term, so an analogy would not result in an analytic construction.

**suffix** -nukʷ (having)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

čədáqən xʷənúkʷə (daughter) DS

sásəmnukʷ (having children)

bəǵʷánəməən xʷənúkʷə (son) DS

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

čədáxən xʷənúxʷ (daughter) FW

bəgʷánəmən xʷənúkʷə (son) FW

sásəmnuxʷ (having children) FW (see *-ad* page 169)

Young generation

čədáxən xʷənúxʷə (daughter) DW

bəgʷánəm xʷənúxʷ (son) DW

xʷənúxʷən (one's child, boy or girl) SW

*Discussion*

The form from Boas for “having children” was only recognized by one speaker of the middle generation. However, this suffix is used in all generations in the word for “child.”

## Suffixes Present in Oldest and Middle Generations

*suffix* =gəmł (mask) (morphophonemics similar to -gəm suffix, see above page 133)

*Kingcome Speakers*

*form in Boas*

### Oldest generation

mélgəmł/məlkémł (mountain-goat mask) GN      m'égəmł/m'əlqəmł

uʔlígəngəmł (wolf mask) GR

ɣ<sup>w</sup>énɣ<sup>w</sup>əmł (thunderbird mask) GR      kúnxumł

*Quatsino Speakers*

### Middle generation

ɣémsəmł (thunderbird mask) FW

### *Discussion*

This suffix appears only once in the middle generation. This may be because masks are not everyday, common items, and many masks today are referred to by an English term if the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is easily translated. It is a lexical suffix because the independent word for mask exists, *yəɣ<sup>w</sup>əmł* (Grubb 1977:101), which also has the suffix. This suffix is very similar to the one for “face” above (page 133), and some speakers use these two suffixes interchangeably.



*suffix* =nuλəm (temples)

Boas states that this suffix is a “compound of -*nu* side . . . and -*gəm* face ” (1910:476).

*Kingcome Speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

tólǵʷənuλəmeʔ (temples) DS

únuλəmiʔ

únuʔλəmeʔ (temples) GR

híłkutənuλəmeʔ (right side of face) GR

híłkutułameʔ (right side of house front) GN

híłkudənúλəmeʔ

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

tólǵʷənuλəmeʔ (temples) FW

*Discussion*

This suffix does not appear in the data from the young generation. Interestingly, the term supplied by Gertrude Robertson for “right side of face” is almost identical to Boas’s term for “right side of house front.”

*suffix* =giʔu, =giyu (forehead)

This suffix “loses initial *g* . . . Before vocalic suffixes the terminal *u* becomes *w*” (Boas 1910:476).

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

xísixeʔ (wolf head mask/headdress) DS/GR

xəsíwiʔ

xífiweʔ (wolf headdress) GR

kʰísiweʔ (wolf head piece) GN

qʰélxayu (wrinkles on forehead) DS

qʰélxiwiʔ

qʰélxəyu (wrinkles on forehead) GR

úgʷiweʔ (forehead) GN/GR

úgʷiweʔ

gíltayu (wide forehead) GR

wázugʷiyu (with broad forehead)

čəlíqʷo úgʷiweʔlas GR

qísiʔu (shining forehead)

čəlqəyu (shiny forehead) GR

úksiweʔ (head of inlet) GN

ógiweʔ (bow of canoe) GR

ágiweʔ

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

qʰélxiweʔ (wrinkles on forehead) FW

## Discussion

This suffix does not appear in the data from the young generation, and the independent word for “forehead” was not known by either speaker from this generation. It is interesting to note that Gertrude Robertson, when first asked, supplied an analytic construction for “shining forehead,” employing the independent word for “forehead,” *úgʷiwe ʔlas*, rather than the stem for “shiny” and the suffix for “forehead.” The form with the suffix was given only after she was asked if she recognized the term from Boas. Although the two synthetic forms, the one from Boas and hers, use different stems for “shiny,” *qis-* (Boas 1910:476) and *ʔəliq-* (Boas n.d.:213), I believe she recognized the suffix when given the term from Boas, and applied it to a stem more familiar to her.

**suffix** =atu (ear)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

gəmxúdatʔoyi (left ear) DS

gəmxúdataʔiʔ

hílkudatʔoyi (right ear) DS

gíldaxtu (long head) GN

gáldatu (long-eared)

hílkutame ʔəspəyú (right ear) GR

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

gəmxúdaʔto (left ear) FW

hílkutaʔto (right ear) FW

Young generation

pəspəyú (ears) DW (no =atu suffix)

pəspəyús (ears) SW (no =atu suffix)

*Discussion*

This suffix does not appear in the data from the young generation. Dawn Williams and Sonny Wallas supply the independent word for “ears.” Sonny has added an “s” to his form. This could possibly be an analogy with how English plurals are formed.

Note the different form of the suffix between the Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet speakers, other than the form for “long head” provided by Gloria Nicolson. The suffix listed by Boas appears more similar to that of Quatsino speakers, and could be a dialectal difference. Gertrude Robertson uses an analytic form for right ear, using independent words for “right side” and “ear,” while the others use the synthetic form with the suffix.

**suffix** =xsd (behind, hind end, tail end)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

čəqʷəxst (short person) DS

čəkʷəxsd

íkaxsdała (upside down) DS

íkaxsdała (to have hind end up)

uxsdé? (hind end of canoe or animal) DS

úxsi?

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

kláqəstənd (slap someone's behind) RS

ləqəxsd

zigʷəsté (short person) RS

kəgástala (upside down) RS

uʔsdi? (hind end of animal) RS

Young generation

caqʷəstbidu (short person) SW (no =xsd suffix)

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the oldest and middle generations. Sonny Wallas of the young generation used the suffix for “small” rather than “short” in his translation of “short person.” The independent word for the hind end of a canoe or animal is given above, *uxsdé*, and the same anatomical feature on a human is *məngas* (Grubb 1977:44).

**suffix** =xʔan(a) (hand)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

hɪ́kʷulʔana (right hand) DS

hélkʷulʔana

hɪ́kʷulʔaneʔ (right hand and arm) GR

ɣəmɣúlʔana (left hand) DS

ɣəmɣúlʔaneʔ (left hand and arm) GR

ɣəmɣúzɪcani (left hand and arm) GR

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

hɪ́kʷulʔəna (right hand) FW

ɣəmɣúlʔana (left hand) FW

Young generation

díxidasus asú (to wipe your hands) SW  
(no =xʔana suffix)

lémləmxʷʔanaxʔid (to dry hands)

*Discussion*

This suffix is quite common among the oldest and middle generations, and elicitation produced no analytic constructions from these two groups. However, the only example in the data from the young generation is an analytic construction with the independent word for “hands” *asú*. (Grubb lists *ayáʔsú* as the independent word [1977:83]). This construction is an analogy from the English construction, and is exactly

parallel to the analytic construction supplied by this generation, and this particular speaker, for “wipe your eyes” (see page 131).

*suffix* =uʔyu (middle)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

múg<sup>w</sup>uʔyu (tie around the waist) DS

múg<sup>w</sup>oʔyu (to tie in the middle)

nəgúyoyi (middle) DS

kəbúyʔu (grasp someone around the waist) DS      kəbúyud

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

múguʔyu (tie around the waist) RS

nəgúyʔu (middle) RS

gəbuʔyu (grab someone around the waist) RS

nəgúyulit (middle of the house) RS

gúk<sup>w</sup>oʔyo

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the data from the oldest and middle generations. Elicitation produced no analytic constructions. Forms other than the one supplied by Dara Samuel for the independent word include *úyayé* (Boas 1934:332) and *nəgúyʔu* (Grubb 1977:102).

**suffix** =inuxʷ (a person who does an action habitually, professionally; an habitual action)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

yʔəqəntalenuxʷ (good talker) DS

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

dútinuxʷ (good speaker) FW

húʔilaʔinuxʷ (good listener) FW

nəmúxʷ (friend or one person) FW

Young generation

olakaʔix dútaya (good talker) SW (no =inuxʷ suffix)

*Discussion*

None of the forms provided by Boas that use this suffix with the meaning “a person who does an action professionally” could be replicated by the speakers, although some other forms using this suffix occur in the data with the meaning “a person who does something habitually [or well].” Only the oldest and middle generations provided forms with this suffix, with one member of the young generation giving an analytic construction with the independent words for “good” and “talker.”



**suffix** = xsiap̓ (shoulder; arm above elbow)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

úxsiap̓eʔ (shoulder)

úxʷsiap̓eʔ (shoulder and humerus)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

úksaʔbi (shoulder) FW

*Discussion*

This suffix does not occur in the young generation, and only occurs in the data in the word for “shoulder.” It may be losing its significance as a suffix.

**suffix** -k̓ut (opposite)

“[A]fter *s* the initial *k* disappears” (Boas 1910:461).

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

qʷísut (far opposite side) DS

qʷísut (far opposite side)

gʷákut (opposite side down river) DS

gʷákut (opposite side down river)

hílkustóyeʔ (right hand side) DS

hílkudeniʔgʷíł (right hand side of house) DS

hílkudniʔgʷíł (right hand corner in house)

híłkulčana (right hand) DS

híłkulčana (right hand)

híłkutulameʔ (right side of house front) GN

hɪ́kʷutənuλəmeʔ (right side of face) GR

hɪ́kʷudənúλəmeʔ (right side of house front)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

kʷísu (opposite side) RS

qʷísut (far opposite side)

hɪ́kʷudəniʔgʷil (right side of house inside) RS

hɪ́kʷudniʔgʷil (right hand corner in house)

hɪ́kʷudəniʔgʷas (right side of house outside) RS

hɪ́kʷulčəna (right hand) RS

hɪ́kʷulčana

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the data from the oldest and middle generations, and no analytic constructions were provided.

*suffix* -iʔlə(la) (about, here and there)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

dúdəqʷiʔləla (looking around) DS

dúdəqʷiʔləla

dúdəqʷeləla (to look around to check for something) TS

dúqʷilela (to look around to check for something) TS

máltiʔstala (looking around) DS

čáxciʔstala (to drift around) DS

páxʷiʔləla

páxʷilela (drifting up and down with the tide) TS

q̣ʷísilela (to squeeze all over) TS

q̣ʷísiʔləla

*Quatsino speakers*Middle generation

dúqʷaʔləla (looking around) FW

qásiʔləla (to walk around) FW

qáciʔstala

mixálela (to punch around) FW

məxsiʔstala (to strike around)

dəxʷálela (to jump around) FW

*Discussion*

This suffix occurs in the data from the oldest and middle generations only. Some of the forms elicited, and some from Boas, use this suffix and *-iʔst(a)* synonymously (see above page 140).

***suffix*** -nu (side)*Kingcome speakers**form in Boas*Oldest generation

áʎańuʔi ṭəxilá (back door) DS

ṭəńnuʔiʔ (side door)

qáyəńuʔeʔ (walk beside someone) DS

qánuʔʔəndala (to walk alongside)

qáʔənuʔəndala (walk beside someone) DS

qáʔənuʔʔəndala (to walk alongside)

qáyəńuʔəndala (catch up to someone to walk beside them) DS

ʔəʎwəńuʔəndala (running beside) DS

ʔəʎxunúʔeʔ (running alongside)

ʔəʎwəńuʔeʔ (running beside) DS

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

láwənwaʔlas (stand beside something) RS      lánulis (to stand by the side)

áʔa təxá (back door) RS

qásanuce (walk beside someone) RS

zélwənucəndala (to run beside someone) RS

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the data from the oldest and middle generations.

Although the forms that have to do with “door” are both analytic constructions with the addition of the independent word for “door,” Dara Samuel of the oldest generation includes the suffix in her construction, whereas Ruth Seaweed does not.

*suffix* -gamiʔ (among others, first of its kind)

Boas includes this suffix as a derivation of -gəm “face” (see above page 133), stating that it “is probably literally ‘standing in front of the face’” (1934:360).

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

ix xʷákʷəna (best canoe) DS (no -gamiʔ suffix) xʷákənagamiʔ (excellent canoe)

núlaʔstaʔgameʔ (oldest) DS

núlastəgamiʔ

núlastəgameʔ (oldest brother) JD

gʷəlyaxstaʔgameʔ (oldest) DS

łáxʷəmeʔ (eldest) DS

gígameʔ (chief) JD

gígamiʔ (head chief)

*Quatsino speakers*

.

### Middle generation

ikaqi xʷákʷəna (best canoe) FW (no -gamiʔ suffix)

ǵʷəlyágoǵe (oldest in family) FW (no -gamiʔ suffix)

### *Discussion*

This suffix does not occur in the data from the young generation, and seems to have become specialized to be used only to refer to family members and chiefs (who are heads of families). Attempts at eliciting this suffix with “excellent canoe” as in Boas resulted in an analytic construction from both oldest and middle generations. The final entry, from Frieda West, does not contain this suffix, but I have included it because it is semantically related to the other forms. She recognized the form given by Dara Samuel, *núlaʔstaʔgameʔ*, saying that this was from the “Fort Rupert language,” meaning it is of the Kwagwł dialect. According to Frieda, the form she gave is from Quatsino, so this must include the Quatsino version of the suffix, since its stem is very similar to one used by Dara Samuel.

**suffix -n̄cis** (down to beach)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

láxa λ'əməʔis DS

lān̄cis (going down to the beach) DS

lān̄cis (to go to beach)

qása láxa λ'əməʔis (walking down to the beach) DS      qásən̄cis (to walk to beach)

λilən̄cisəla (to call down to the beach) DS      λilən̄cisəla

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

lálən láxi da lāsagʷis (I'm going down to the beach) RS

qása láxi lāsagʷis (to walk down to the beach) RS

qásən̄cis (walking on the beach) RS

*Discussion*

This suffix was recognized and reproduced by the oldest and middle generations, but does not appear in the data from the young generation. However, the analytic constructions given above were always the spontaneous replies. The terms from Boas which use the suffix were given and reproduced after the analytic constructions were given.

**suffix -ns(a)** (under water)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

ídənsa (under water again) DS

ídənsa (again under water)

nəǵənsa/nəǵənsəla (straight under water) DS

nəǵənsəla

kʷála láxa wáp (sit in the water) DS

kʷənsa (to sit in water) DS

kúnsa

wənsʔid (to sink) DS

wúnsʔid

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

gʷaʔstála (to sit in water) RS

wənsi (to sink) RS

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the data of the oldest and middle generations. Dara Samuel provided two responses for “sit in the water.” The first, which was given spontaneously, is an analytic construction analogous to the English expression. The synthetic form was only given after I gave her the form from Boas.

**suffix -ad** (having)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

łáwadaʔmuxʷ (she has a husband) DS

łáwad (having a husband)

ḡəḡádaʔmuxʷ (he has a wife) DS

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

łáwaduxʷ (she has a husband) FW

ḡəḡáduxʷ (he has a wife) FW

xʷéngʷadən (having children) FW (see -nukʷ page 151)

*Discussion*

Boas states that this suffix is synonymous with -nukʷ above (see page 151), and they are sometimes interchangeable (1934:316, 348). In these examples from the data, it appears that both suffixes are used at the same time. The form in Boas was not recognized by the young generation, and I was unable to elicit it in other forms.



**suffix -aʔwiʔ (across)**

Boas states that “[t]his suffix contains the element *-iʔ* [see page 144], on the floor of the house, although it is used as an equivalent for across, without relation to place” (1934:313).

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

mówiʔa (canoe carrying a load across) DS      m̥áʔwiʔ

móʔwiʔida xʷákʷəna (canoe carrying a load across)

gəqaʔwiʔəla (swimming across) DS      gəlqaʔwiʔəla

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

gəlqawʔiʔ (swimming across) RS

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the data of the oldest and middle generations, and with only a few forms. Dara Samuel provided two constructions for “canoe carrying a load across” both of which contain the suffix. No analytic constructions were provided.

*suffix* -čũ (in)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

m̐élčo (white inside) DS

m̐élču

q̐óʔču (to get dressed) DS

q̐úxčud (to dress in, to put on garment)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

m̐élco (white inside) RS

q̐óču (to get dressed) RS

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the data of the oldest and middle generations, and I received no analytic constructions for the English expressions.

*suffix* -ut (fellow)

Boas states that “after fricatives and *k* sounds it takes the form -*wut*” (1934:335).

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

émłwət (play-mate) DS

am̐álalut (play-fellow)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

émłwət (play-mate) FW

### Discussion

I was only able to elicit one form with this suffix with the oldest and middle generations.

#### *suffix* -əṃ (instrument)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

##### Oldest generation

kíləṃ (net) DS

kíləṃ

*Quatsino speakers*

##### Middle generation

kíləṃ (net) FW

### Discussion

This suffix occurs twice in the data in one form, from the oldest and middle generations.

#### *suffix* -bət(a) (in, into hole)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

##### Oldest generation

dəxʷbətá (to jump into a boat) DS

dəxʷbətá (to jump into)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

dəx<sup>w</sup>bətá (to jump into a boat) RS

*Discussion*

This suffix only occurs in the data of the oldest and middle generations, however in only one phrase. No analytic constructions were provided.

*suffix -i?* (nominal ending)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

Oldest generation

úxstiʔe (stern of canoe) DS

úxli?

úxstaʔi (stern of canoe) DS

éʔaxəla (work) DS (no -i? suffix)

axáʔi?

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

uxstíʔ (stern of canoe) FW

íʔaxa (work) FW (no -i? suffix)

Young generation

íʔaxa (work) SW (no -i? suffix)

## Discussion

This suffix occurs in the data from the oldest and middle generations only, and only for “stern of canoe.” Interestingly, the forms given for “work” appear to reverse the stem and suffix given by Boas.

### Suffixes Present in the Oldest Generation Only

**suffix** =bu (chest)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

#### Oldest generation

qábabu (when something hits your chest) GR      qáp̣bu (to hit chest)

naqabóx<sup>w</sup> (when something hits your chest) GR

mixáxən úsgəmaʔe (I’m hitting my chest) DS

*Quatsino speakers*

#### Middle generation

mixáxən úsgama (I’m hitting my chest) FW (no =bu suffix)

#### Young generation

mixáqən úsgama (I’m hitting my chest) DW (no =bu suffix)

## Discussion

This suffix only occurs in the data among the oldest generation. No speaker from the middle or young generations recognized the forms in Boas, but they were able to supply analytic constructions with the independent word for “chest.”

**suffix** -xsʔa, -xsʔənd (in two parts, off from fire, off from the sea [*i.e.* landward]; with reduplication: in pieces)

*Kingcome speakers*

*form in Boas*

### Oldest generation

háñiksənd (take kettle off) DS

hánxsənd (to take [kettle] off [from fire])

həmáxʒaxsa (to go away ashamed) DS

máxʒaxsa (to go away for shame)

čəčáxse (to drift around) DS

tútəčala (to cut something up, meat or fish) TS

tútəčən (cut up entirely) SPW

wíwəlksem (it's all cut up, wood, etc.) TS

wíwəlxʂ (cut up entirely)

wíwəlxsa (all apart, to pieces, eg. motor, jigsaw puzzle; also, something that breaks into pieces) SPW

wíwəlkʂa (it's all cut up, wood, etc.) TS

lóxstis (to come ashore) TS

gáxʂa

súsəpsən (to chop up) TS

súpsʔənd (to chop across)

súpsʔən (chop into two pieces, in half) SPW

kəwáxsən (split firewood in half)

λémλəmxsənd (to split up with sledge hammer) TS      λémtəmxsʔənd (to split across, plural)

*Quatsino speakers*

Middle generation

láwidaʒo həńá (to take kettle off) FW (no -xsʔa suffix)

*Discussion*

This suffix is common only in the speech of the oldest generation, as it could not be elicited from speakers of the middle and young generations. The example from Frieda West is an analytic construction.

**Observations on Use of Suffixes**

Of the 38 suffixes elicited, all 38 (100%) occur in the data elicited from the speakers of the oldest generation; 36 (95%) occur in the data from the middle generation; and 14 (37%) in the data from the young generation. These figures show the greatest difference between the middle and young generations, indicating a marked break in transmission of the language between these generations.

The most common occurrences of suffixes among the data of the young generation are of three types: adverbial (*e.g.* -ʒsa “through”; -iʔsta “around”; -aqa “go past, in a certain direction”; -il “in house”; -aʒa “down”; -gusta “up”); those designating meals with the suffix -əʒsta “to eat, meal”; and those designating relationships with the suffix -mp “relationship.” For the constructions containing the adverbial suffixes, it appears that

members of the young generation had no recourse to an independent word, and so used the suffixes. The constructions designating meals and relatives would be difficult to break into analytic constructions based on English, since English uses single words for these.

There were few constructions with suffixes for body parts in the data of the young generation, an analytic construction being the preferred form. The only suffixes used in this context were =ʔstu “eye, door” and =gəm “face.” The suffixes =nuλəm “temples”, =giʔu “forehead”, =atu “ear”, =xsd “hind end”, =xcana “hand”, =uʔyu “middle”, =xsiap “shoulder”, and =bu “chest” do not occur in the data of the young generation. The “chest” suffix does not occur in the data of the middle generation either.

A comparison of suffix use in the three generations indicates that members of the young generation use far fewer suffixes than those of the oldest and middle generations. The young generation tends to prefer analytic constructions based on English. The following sections on phonological and lexical changes also demonstrate that English is having a profound effect on the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala by members of the young generation.

### **Phonological Changes**

In comparing how members of each generation pronounced K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala consonants, there appears to be a general tendency for members of the young generation to employ fewer phonological distinctions that exist in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, and more consonants based on English distinctions. That is, members of the young generation seem to be speaking



K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala with an “English accent.” There are many K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala consonants that are reproduced accurately by members of the young generation, but this is usually not consistent. Even members of the middle and oldest generations are not entirely consistent in their pronunciation of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala consonants.

In chapter one, I reported that Campbell and Muntzel (1989) claim that overgeneralization of an “exotic” rule, such as glottalization, of a language is sometimes used incorrectly by some speakers, resulting in the loss of a rule (see page 24). This does not appear to be a marked trait among the young speakers with whom I worked, although there are a few instances of this in the data, which are noted below.

The following sections provide examples of what I believe to be phonological change in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, due to the influence of English.

### *Loss of Glottal Stop*

| <u>Oldest generation</u>      | <u>Middle generation</u> | <u>Young generation</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| xílpsiʔstala (to spin around) | xílpsista                | xílpsistala             |

In this example, the glottal stop has been omitted by both the middle and young generations.

*Loss of Glottalization*

| <u>Oldest generation</u>    | <u>Middle generation</u>      | <u>Young generation</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| t̚xəlá (door)               | t̚xá                          | təxá/dəxá               |
| p̚əsp̚ay̚u (ears)           | p̚əsp̚ay̚u                    | pəspəyu(s)              |
| sém̚s (mouth)               | sém̚s                         | səms                    |
| w̚ap (water)                | wap                           | wap                     |
| p̚əlá (to fly) <sup>3</sup> | p̚əłcó (to fly through)/p̚əlá | pəlá                    |
| kʷáxid (to sit)             | kʷáxi                         | gʷáxida                 |
|                             | q̚íq̚əs (liar)                | gíqʷəs                  |

These are all examples of the loss of glottalization, sometimes by speakers of both middle and young generations, other times by only the young generation. In the final two examples, not only has the speaker from the young generation omitted the glottalization, he has also voiced the initial consonant. Interestingly, he uses a uvular fricative where the older speakers use a velar. This may be due to overcompensation on his part, or simply inconsistency between *x* and *χ*.

*Loss of Uvulars*

Here the alternation between *g/g* and *k/q* shows evidence of English pronunciation influences. In K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, velars are palatalized when preceding a vowel. (In the transcriptions, I have not indicated this palatalization as it is a general rule.) Members of the young generation continue to palatalize velars in this environment. However, when a word contains a uvular segment, pronounced as a velar by the young generation, they do not palatalize it. The palatalization may become the only distinctive feature then between *g/g* and *k/q* in the future if this is passed on to the next generation. Thus, *g* will continue to be pronounced [gʲ], while *ḡ* will be pronounced [g] as a velar, the only remaining distinction being palatalization. The same process is happening to the pair *k/q*.

Velar and uvular fricatives, written as *x* and *ḡ* respectively, do not occur in English. The young generation inconsistently uses uvular fricatives, often replacing them with velars which they do not palatalize in this situation (*i.e.* where there should be a uvular). Thus, I believe we can attribute this to an influence of English, because although velar and uvular fricatives do not occur in English, this pattern is similar to the process that is occurring with the pairs *g/g* and *k/q* discussed above.

| <u>Oldest generation</u> | <u>Middle generation</u> | <u>Young generation</u>              |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ḡayáḡas (eyes)           | ḡəʔégəs                  | égas/égasus (no palatalization of g) |
| ḡélqa (to swim)          | ḡélqa                    | ḡélqa/ḡélka (no palatalization of g) |

|                     |       |                                      |
|---------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| ǵǵəmp (grandfather) | ǵǵəmp | ǵǵəmp/ǵǵəmp (no palatalization of g) |
| qása (to walk)      | qása  | qása/kása (no palatalization of k)   |

In these examples, the older member of the young generation used uvulars, while the younger one used velars. The one who used the velars rather than the uvulars did not palatalize them.

|                            |          |  |
|----------------------------|----------|--|
| ǵəʔǵústo (to get up early) | ǵəʔǵústo | gagúxʷsta (no palatalization of initial g) |
|----------------------------|----------|--|

This is an interesting example. The young generation has replaced the uvular with an unpalatalized velar, dropped the glottal stop (see other examples above), but has added a labialized velar fricative. The form in Boas, *ǵəʔǵustá*, does not have this velar fricative either (1910:463).

|                            |                  |              |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| aḫstúda (to open the door) | aḫstúdoḫud t'əxá | astúdax dəxá |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------|

In this example, the young generation drops the uvular ɣ, and does not replace it with a velar x. This is common in this generation when either of these fricatives is followed by another fricative.

|                      |          |          |
|----------------------|----------|----------|
| ʒéqʷaḫstala (dinner) | cáqʷasta | ʒákʷasta |
|----------------------|----------|----------|

In this example, in the young generation, one uvular has been replaced with a velar, and another has been dropped; qʷ is replaced with kʷ, and ɣ has been omitted entirely. The middle generation has also dropped the ɣ.

xʷilaqa (to come back)

xilaka

In this example, both uvulars are replaced by unpalatalized velars, and the labialization of the first is lost in the young generation (there is no example of this word in the data from the middle generation).

čəlqʷa (hot)

čəlqʷisola (hot all the way through)

cəlkwʷa (hot)

nəqéla (lunch)

nəqélasta

nəqélasta/nəkéla

In these two examples, in addition to the loss of glottalization on the initial consonant, the uvular has been replaced by a velar by the younger speaker of the young generation.

kʷáxso (hole)

kʷáxʷsu/kʷáklsu

The first example from the young generation has replaced the uvular fricative with a labialized velar fricative, the second a velar stop plus a lateral fricative. Perhaps this speaker knew there was a fricative sound in this word, and compensated for it by the addition of the lateral.

*Loss of Velar Fricative*

| <u>Oldest generation</u> | <u>Middle generation</u> | <u>Young generation</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| həbəxstéʔ (beard)        | həbəxstá                 | xəbəstá/həbəstá         |

In this example, the middle generation omits the final glottal stop, and the young generation does this as well as omits the velar fricative before the alveolar fricative. The older speaker of the young generation probably tries to overcompensate by using the initial velar fricative rather than the glottal fricative.

*Loss of Lateral Affricate*

|                    |      |              |
|--------------------|------|--------------|
| λ'íwəʔ (to forget) | líwa | glíwə/gəlíwa |
|--------------------|------|--------------|

The glottalization of two consonants has been lost by the middle generation, but the glottalization of the second has been retained by one member of the young generation. Both examples from the young generation replace the initial lateral affricate with a voiced velar stop combined with a lateral approximant. The schwa in the second example is epenthetic.

|                      |       |                |
|----------------------|-------|----------------|
| láxʷid (to stand up) | láxʷi | gláxʷa/láxʷəme |
|----------------------|-------|----------------|

In the first example from the young generation, the lateral affricate has again been replaced by a voiced velar stop combined with a lateral approximant. I attribute this to an influence of English. In early texts by European anglophones, this voiced lateral affricate was often written “gl,” and the unvoiced lateral affricate λ either “tl” or “kl.”

## **Lexical Changes**

In chapter one, I reported that borrowed lexical items are usually from open classes of words (Bynon 1977), are often non-traditional items (Bavin 1989), and new technological terms (Watson 1989) (see page 25). This is often the case for K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as well. For example, one day when I was eliciting data with a health care worker, we were interrupted by a telephone call. She spoke to the caller in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, but used the English “water bottle” several times during the conversation. When I was at an Elders’ Gathering in Kingcome Inlet, English was used for terms designating new technology such as “tape recorder.”

### *Kinship Terminology*

A change in use of kin terms may be taking place to some degree in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. One factor in this may be that living arrangements among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> have changed from large houses, where several related nuclear families would live, to single nuclear family dwellings. Today when children begin attending school, they are already using English kin terms, since the first language they learn is English, which has a different way of organizing kin relations. When they are given instruction in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as a second language, it is very difficult to teach them to ‘think about’ kin relations in a different way. The indigenous system, known and used by the older generations (considered the ‘correct one’ by their standards), of designating siblings according to

whether they are older or younger and of the same sex as ego (see diagram page 187) has been replaced by terms that parallel the English system of *sister* and *brother*, which neither specify the sex of ego nor differentiate between older or younger siblings.

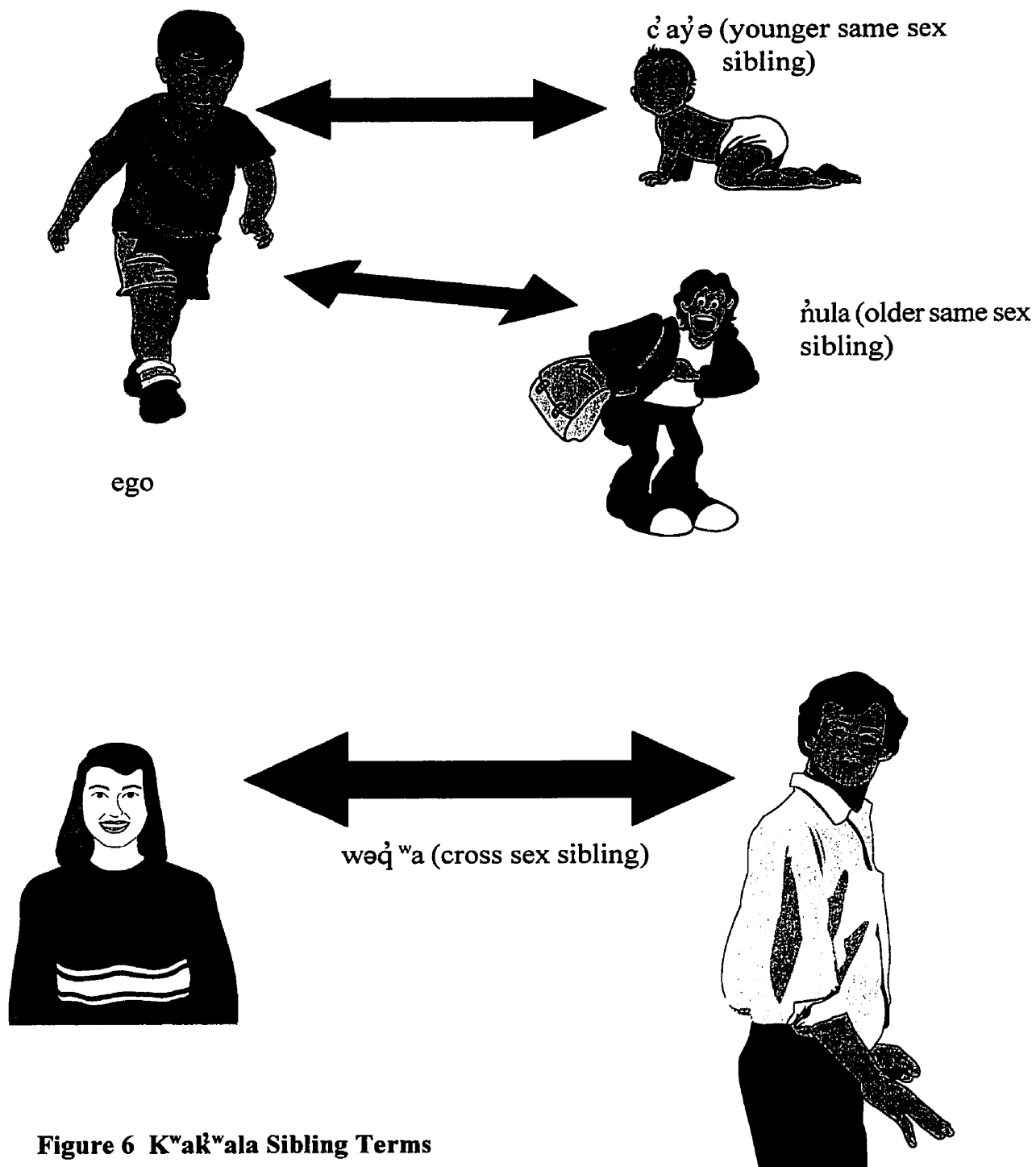
Siblings are designated according to whether they are older or younger and of the same sex as ego. A younger same sex sibling (male or female) is *cáy'ə*, and an older same sex sibling (male or female) *núla*. Cross sex siblings, either younger or older, are referred to as *wəq'á*. In English, the sex of ego does not matter -- girls and boys both have sisters, who are female siblings; and they both have brothers, who are male siblings. In K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, it is the age of the siblings in relation to ego that determines what kin term to use. In addition, the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala sibling terms also extend to first cousins. How then does one teach English-speaking children that if you are a girl, all your female siblings who are older than you, and first cousins (who probably do not live with you), are called by one term, and it is the same term that boys use for their older male siblings? This results in Friedrich's (1967) "cognitive confusion" (see chapter one, page 27).

Although the indigenous system is the one outlined in the *Learning Kwakwala* series (Book 2, "My Family, My Friends" [1981]), it was related to me by a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala language teacher that it is very difficult to teach children who have learned English as a mother tongue the proper use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala kinship terminology. This was made clear to me one day when I was visiting a school where K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is taught as a second language. One of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala language teachers invited me into her classroom to show me the



kinds of resources she was using to teach the language. I noticed a chart of kin terms that had direct equivalents in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala for English kin terms. For example, *čáy̓ə* was glossed as ‘sister’, when it should refer only to a younger same sex sibling. In this we can see a change in the language that is “realigned” to English, and the new social reality. I was also unable to elicit some K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala kin terms when eliciting common relationships from the oldest informants.

Many “in-law” terms seem to be no longer used in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala; perhaps they have been forgotten. I had a difficult time eliciting terms from speakers, and at the Elders’ Gathering in Kingcome Inlet, when people were speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala they would use the English in-law terms.



**Figure 6 Kʷakʷala Sibling Terms**

### *Names of Seasons*

I also attempted to elicit names of seasons, as listed by Boas (1909:412-413), from the oldest speakers. As reported in chapter one (see page 26), the loss of old words and structures in relation to “food-moon names” is also noted by the linguist John A. Dunn (1992).

Even the oldest speakers with whom I worked had trouble recalling the seasonal names reported by Boas, although some (not all) were recognized and understood when given. These names are no longer used, having been replaced by the months of the Gregorian calendar.

Boas lists seasons in Kʷakʷala that refer to activities performed during these seasons and to astrological phenomena. The chart on pages 190 to 191 summarizes results from eliciting these names from five different Kʷakʷala speakers from Kingcome Inlet, all elders. First the term from Boas was given to see if the speaker recognized it. If it was recognized, the speaker was asked to replicate it. If it was not recognized, the speaker was asked to supply an alternate term.

Here are some general observations on the data:

1. The persons consulted did not recognize most of the terms as being seasons, if they recognized them at all. For example the forms *waʔənɣ*, *wulicʰənɣ* and *čátapá* were not recognized by anyone.

2. In some cases, the term was recognized, but not as being the name of a season. For example, everyone knew the term *lɪxəm* as meaning “wide face,” but no one could connect it to a month or season.

| <u>Table 4. Boas's Seasonal Names</u>              | <u>1</u>                                    | <u>2</u>                                 | <u>3</u>                                   | <u>4</u>                                     | <u>5</u>  |
|--|---|--|--|--|---|
| waʔénx<br>(spawning season)                        | not known                                   | not known                                | not known                                  | not known                                    | not known   |
| cux <sup>w</sup> sém<br>(first olachen run)        | ʒáʒəwənɬ<br>(olachen run)                   | cáx <sup>w</sup> ən<br>(olachen fish)    | ʒáʒəwənɬ<br>(olachen run)                  | ʒáʒəwənɬ<br>(olachen time)                   | not known   |
| q <sup>w</sup> aʔlénx (raspberry sprouting season) | not known                                   | q <sup>w</sup> alénx<br>(growing season) | q <sup>w</sup> alénx<br>(sprouting season) | q <sup>w</sup> além<br>(salmonberry sprouts) | q <sup>w</sup> əlénx (salmonberry sprouting season)       |
| máwaʔiʔ'ənɬ<br>(olachen fishing season)            | not known                                   | maʔəʔénʌnɬ<br>(gathering in)             | not known                                  | not known                                    | máwiʔʕ'ənɬ (time to move to river)                        |
| qémʒək'únx<br>(raspberry season)                   | qémqəmʒək <sup>w</sup> ənɬ<br>(salmonberry) | qémʒək'ənɬ<br>(salmonberry)              | qémʒək <sup>w</sup> ənɬ<br>(salmonberry)   | not known                                    | qémʒək <sup>w</sup> ənɬ<br>(when salmon-berries are ripe) |
| g <sup>w</sup> áténx<br>(huckleberry season)       | g <sup>w</sup> ág <sup>w</sup> əténx        | g <sup>w</sup> ádəm'kənɬ                 | g <sup>w</sup> ág <sup>w</sup> adénx       | g <sup>w</sup> ádəm (berries)                | g <sup>w</sup> áténx                                      |
| nək'únx (salalberry season)                        | nínək <sup>w</sup> ənɬ                      | nəg <sup>w</sup> át (salalberries)       | nək <sup>w</sup> ət (salalberries)         | nək'énx                                      | nək <sup>w</sup> énx                                      |
| wulícənɬ<br>(? season)                             | not known                                   | not known                                | not known                                  | not known                                    | not known   |

Boas season (cont)

|  |  |   |  |   |  |
|--|--|---|--|---|--|
| ḡémsḡémsdi (past, [that is empty] boxes?)                                | not known  | not known                                 | ḡémyač'i (throw smoked fish into box)  | not known                                     | ḡémzis (something lying empty at beach)                                      |
| líḡəm (wide face)  | léḡəm  | líḡəm                                     | líḡəm  | líḡəm   | líḡəm  |
| məḡ <sup>w</sup> ábaʔi (round one underneath, ie moon after "wide face") | not known  | lúḡ <sup>w</sup> səm (full moon)          | not known  | məḡ <sup>w</sup> áboyi (something underneath) | məḡ <sup>w</sup> áboyi (round thing underneath something)                    |
| ḡ <sup>w</sup> áḡsəm (dog salmon season)                                 | ḡ <sup>w</sup> ág <sup>w</sup> əxʔənḡ                | not known                                 | ḡ <sup>w</sup> áḡniḡsən (dog fish)   | ḡ <sup>w</sup> ág <sup>w</sup> əʔənḡ          | not known  |
| q̣ <sup>w</sup> áḡʔala (cleaned, that is of leaves)                      | q̣ <sup>w</sup> áḡʔəla (season when leaves come out) | q̣ <sup>w</sup> áḡəla (leaves coming out) | q̣ <sup>w</sup> áq̣ <sup>w</sup> axəla (when things are growing from the rain) | not known                                     | q̣ <sup>w</sup> áq̣ <sup>w</sup> əʔənḡ (when things start growing in spring) |
| čátapa (split both ways [the winter solstice])                           | not known  | not known                                 | not known  | not known                                     | not known  |

## Conclusions

From an examination of the data in terms of suffixation, phonology, and lexicon, it seems clear that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is gradually being replaced by English. It was often the case that the younger speakers with whom I worked could *understand* some older structures, but could not produce them without having been given the forms. However, there are still some suffixes in the data used by the young generation.

Lexical suffixes were rarely used by speakers of the young generation, where other options exist (*i.e.* independent words), but they use other grammatical suffixes to a greater extent. When there is an analogous analytic construction in English, this tends to be used by the young generation rather than the lexical suffix. That is why a comparison of lexical and non-lexical suffixes is useful in studies of changing languages in contact, as we can attribute this difference in usage directly to the influence of English, and not something else, such as internal changes to a language.

In language revival efforts, children do not learn the older synthetic structures with suffixes because they are not widely used. At the same time, it is impossible to confirm some forms that were collected early in the century since they are no longer known at all, even by members of the oldest generation. But even young people who are not fluent speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala use features of the language as a symbol of their K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> identity, and enjoy hearing it, even if they do not understand fully. Fluent speakers of

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala are very proud of this aspect of their distinctive culture, and attain recognition and respect for their language abilities.

The profile of language use in the two communities, the focus of chapter five, provides evidence for the continued use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala by speakers with varying degrees of fluency.



### **Notes to Chapter Four**

1. Some informants did not want me to use their real names, and for these people I have used pseudonyms. Others allowed me to use their names, which I have done. There is no way for the reader to know which names are pseudonyms.
2. As you will see, I received much more background information from women than from men. The men also seemed a little bit more hesitant to speak with me, a female. From my time spent in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> villages, it appears that men and women tend to frequent different social circles. For example, one evening I was looking for a woman who had agreed to work with me, and at her house there were men playing cards. They told me that she had gone over to another woman's house to visit. The only times I would see men and women together socially were at cultural events. But even at potlatches, there are certain roles and dances for men and women. I saw a female hamač'a once, but was told that that was "something new."
3. This term, *p̓əłá*, now also means "airplane."

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### ***Language Use in Context***

One of the main premises of this dissertation is that language is used as a marker of cultural identity. In the first part of this chapter, I further discuss issues relevant to language as a symbol of identity that were presented in chapter one, with examples from K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> society highlighting these issues. I discern five different (but often overlapping) levels of identity among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>. This is followed by profiles of current language use in the two communities in which I worked, Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet, followed by a discussion of contexts of speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, with examples cited from fieldwork. Finally, I present insiders' perceptions of why most contexts in modern-day K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> society have been re-identified as English language speaking situations.

#### **Language as Symbol of Identity**

Language is one of the key ways that all people assert their identity, whether it be identification with a particular linguistic or cultural group, or with a certain portion of the society in which one lives. The latter usually involves different "registers" of the same language, and is not the focus of this study. The former, however, is one of the salient features of the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala today, since it is being used by a decreasing number of

people in fewer and fewer domains. One reason for its persistence in non-fluent speakers is language's capacity to serve as a marker of being a member of a particular cultural group:

The processes of projection, of focussing or diffusion are very similar for all kinds of social behaviour through which we define ourselves, and a similar model is needed for social behaviour of all kinds, including language. Language however has the extra dimension in that we can symbolize in a coded way all the other concepts which we use to define ourselves and our society. . . . In language . . . we are offered, by the society we enter, and we offer to others, a very overt symbolization of ourselves and of our universe, not only in the various grammars and lexicons and prosodies we can create for various domains of that universe, but also *through the social marking which each occasion of use carries*. Language is . . . the focal centre of our acts of identity (LePage and Tabouret Keller 1985:247-248, emphasis added).

As we saw in chapter one, studies of language as symbolic of cultural identity provide a useful framework for how K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is used as an indicator of membership in a particular group. Recall the quote from Milroy (see page 4): "The general assumption is that in some sense speakers use language variation, consciously or unconsciously, to signal various kinds of social identity and social aspirations" (Milroy 1987:105).

Issues of identity for minority populations in large urban centres of industrial society (*e.g.* Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982) parallel those presented here. Although the fieldwork for this dissertation was done in rural communities, the contributing authors in Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz provide some useful approaches to examining language as a marker of social identity relevant to the case of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. For instance, as I noted

earlier (see page 5), Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz assert that “social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language” (1982:7).

Gumperz’s aim in his volume “is to show how ideology enters into face-to-face speaking practices to create an interactional space in which the subconscious and automatic sociolinguistic processes of interpretation and inference can generate a variety of outcomes” (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:3). One of those outcomes is to assert one’s identity through the use of language. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz distinguish between an “old” and “new” ethnicity:

The term ‘ethnicity’ has traditionally been used to refer to relationships based on the linkage of similar people, whose social identity was formed by influences from outside the society in which they now live; but increasingly it has come to indicate relationships based on differences distinguishing one, new, indigenous group from another . . . The new ethnicity depends less upon geographic proximity and shared occupations and more upon the highlighting of key differences separating one group from another. . . . [This is a] *reactive* group formation whereby an ethnic group reasserts its historically established distinctions from other groups within a common national polity. The new ethnicity . . . is defined more as a need for political and social support in the pursuit of common interest than as regional similarity or sharedness of occupational ties (1982:5, emphasis in original).

As I stated in chapter one, a person of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> ancestry who is not fluent in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala may still use words and conventions from the language to establish and assert cultural identity when speaking in English:

New communicative strategies are created based on the juxtaposition of the two sets of forms which symbolize not only group membership but adherence to a set of values. These communicative conventions are largely independent of the actual language, i.e., they may be used whether the minority or the majority language is spoken (1982:6).

One communication strategy that I noted while I was in Kingcome Inlet was in the context of a business meeting of the cultural society, conducted in English, at which I was present so that I could be introduced as a researcher in the village. The meeting started very slowly. After each person spoke, there was usually several moments of silence. This was very different from business meetings in Eurocanadian society in which I am used to participating. For example, the chairperson of the meeting would present an item, and then ask if anyone had any questions. If there were any questions, they would not be posed until at least two full minutes after the question had been asked. For a Eurocanadian, such as myself, this is an incredibly long period of silence, but no one else there seemed uncomfortable with it. Silence among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, from what I can surmise, is not an indication of not knowing, but of reflection. It is not necessary, as it is in most Eurocanadian settings, to fill the "dead air." They are very comfortable with silence, regardless of whether they are with strangers or people who are well-known. In fact, everyone at this meeting was related in some way, I being the only exception. They all knew each other very well.

In chapter one (see page 4), I also noted that it is difficult to discuss identity "apart from its cultural, social, and situational contexts" (Fitzgerald 1993:69). Fitzgerald also states: "[I]t is culture that usually gives people their sense of identity, whether at an individual or group level" (1993:59). "Culture . . . forms the interpretive frame in which people organize and direct their behavior through subjectively, contextually based, identifications" (1993:70). Within culture, "[l]anguage is a vital part of the social identity

of any group . . . Styles of speaking are believed to reflect the overall values of a culture” (1993:61).

Cultural identity is asserted not necessarily by ancestry, but through where one lives and how one behaves: “Arapahoe cultural identity was defined by social behavior, particularly by respectful attention to Arapahoe elders and by participation in community activities” (Fowler 1982:164). Fowler tells of several instances where individuals who had no Arapahoe ancestry were considered “half blood” Arapahoes either because they had married into the tribe, or had otherwise come to live and participate in the community (1982:164-166).

Part of social behaviour involves which language one chooses to use in which social context. Fowler notes that, among the Arapahoe, elders use the indigenous language in particular contexts, and English in others. The symbolic link between language and authority is very strong among the Arapahoes:

[T]he native language is used to symbolize sacred authority. All elders are bilingual and most people of the “younger generation” [persons in their mid-forties to late fifties, p. 268] speak fluent Arapahoe as well as English. Choice of language is determined by social context. The language of secular politics is English, and councilmen speak it fluently. But the language of religious ritual is Arapahoe . . . Elders are considered to have more control over the native language and to use it more correctly. Thus they are more effective in ritual acts of prayer. Younger people, whether or not they speak Arapahoe, must rely on elders to communicate and interpret in ritual contexts. In times of crisis, . . . elders augment their influence over others by speaking in the native language, although they are perfectly capable of articulate communication in English (1982:284).

It is not imperative that a language be known fluently in order for someone to use language as a symbol of cultural identity. Lexical elements of a language, or certain pronunciations, may be used even when not speaking the native language (see Kwachka 1992).

Some interesting issues related to how people actively construct identities are raised by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985), who call instances where this happens “acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles” (1985:14). The authors focus on the development of creoles and the use of pidgins, and how speakers use linguistic means to highlight which identity, from a repertoire of identities, they wish to portray. For example, people of Jamaican origin in England will speak a form of “Jamaican English,” from a knowledge of Jamaican creole learned from their parents, in certain contexts where they wish to identify themselves as belonging to this group, even if they have never lived in the Caribbean:

In London, . . . we are dealing apparently with an in-group argot invented and constantly renewed as a second language by each generation of teenagers as an act of Afro-Caribbean Londoner identity. . . . Three hypotheses are possible in this connection:

- (i) That each child has at least a passive competence, possibly a bilingual active competence, in the West Indian dialect of its parents which it draws upon when, in its 'teens, it wishes to join the Afro-Caribbean peer group; it has, in addition, full competence in the London English of its peer group.
- (ii) That each child has a passive competence in the teenage peer group 'Jamaican' but does not exercise this option until it becomes a teenager.
- (iii) That each child as it enters its 'teens takes part in a fresh creation of a linguistic system as part of an assertion of in-group identity, drawing on many available but *fragmentary resources to do so*.

These hypotheses are not mutually exclusive; indeed, it is our contention that all three reflect factors involved in the creation, not only of an argot like London Jamaican, but in the language of every social group in every society (1985:155-156, emphasis added).

The children LePage and Tabouret-Keller use as examples in their study have London English as their mother tongue, but, in certain contexts, attempt to assert their identity as “Afro-Caribbean children”:

As most of the children have native competence in London English they feel most comfortable using that in any public situation. It seems that only a minority of the London-born Afro-Caribbean children have a native-like command of Jamaican Creole. ‘London Jamaican’ is more a set of norms to be aimed at than an internally coherent and consistent system. Speakers behave as if there were a language called ‘Jamaican’, but often all they do (perhaps all they *know how* to do) is to make gestures in the direction of certain tokens associated with Jamaican Creole which have a stereotypical value (1985:180, emphasis in original).

In K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> villages there is a similar situation among young people. Their mother tongue is English and they, for the most part, are incapable of carrying on a conversation in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. However, when they are engaged in cultural activities, such as playing *lahal*, a bone game, in the bighouse, they sing songs in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala and use K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words and interjections while playing. Also, a teenage girl in Kingcome Inlet, who lives in Vancouver but comes to the village every summer, confided to me that in the village she often speaks of the legends of her people with her K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> friends, but if she speaks of them to her non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> friends in Vancouver, they laugh at her.

Maintaining a language that is closely connected to one’s identity is prevalent in many cultures, particularly when that language is threatened:



[M]any Sikhs in Britain are losing any command of Punjabi, but their religious leaders try by every means to preserve the identity of the group by teaching in Punjabi, by promoting endogamy, and by insisting on patterns of behaviour felt to be central to Sikhism including hair styles and the wearing of turbans (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:238).

A similar strategy is used in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> communities, where an attempt is made to teach the language to the children who have English as their mother tongue, and by having them engage in specifically K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> cultural activities, such as potlatching. Although most realize that the students will not become fluent in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, it is maintained as a subject taught in the schools because it is so important to their concept of the unique identity of being K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>.

### **Levels of Identity**

Among native North Americans, "a person views himself as a member of both a tribe and a community, and both identities may be symbolized in the same social act" (Fowler 1987:7), particularly through the use of the indigenous language. I would expand upon this from my own fieldwork experience. In the villages I visited, there appear to be (at least) five separate identities, listed below in order from the most general to the most specific:

1. indigenous;
2. North American native;
3. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>;
4. Quatsino or Tsawatainuk (tribe); and

5. family member.

In all these levels of identity, the importance of the potlatch as an institution of social organization is illustrated in the examples given below.

In the first instance, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> identify themselves as indigenous in contrast to persons whose ancestry is associated with colonialism. This is illustrated by the acceptance of members of other indigenous groups in cultural activities. For example, at a potlatch, I once witnessed an indigenous Hawaiian dance group's performance. Non-indigenous dance groups, to the best of my knowledge, are not asked to perform at potlatches. This, then, is an international identity, which allies the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> with all other indigenous groups of the world. This sense of commonality stems from the oppression of colonial governments experienced worldwide by indigenous groups.

At a second level, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> identify themselves as North American natives in contrast to non-natives. For example, at another potlatch, I once saw a Cree man put on a juggling performance, which is not a usual type of performance included in potlatch proceedings. Non-natives do participate in some dances, for example in the Peace Dance, or if one is given a name by a particular family. However, this is different from the example of the Cree juggler, since in these dances the non-native is symbolically adopted into K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> society, and performs only prescribed K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> dances. To illustrate the difference, a non-native person would not be asked to perform juggling during a potlatch. The Cree juggler is here identified as belonging to the same group as the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, *i.e.* North American native.

At the third level of identity, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> distinguish themselves from other North American native groups. This is best illustrated through art style, language, and ceremony. The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> have a traditional art style that is distinguishable from all other North American, and even neighbouring Northwest Coast, native groups. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> also use K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to distinguish themselves from non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> in various contexts discussed below. In ceremonial contexts, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> distinguish themselves from other North American native groups through their distinctive songs and dances used in the potlatch. For example, often at potlatches there will be visitors from Nuu-cha-nulth territory who perform their own songs and dances. The singing is accompanied by the beating of skin drums with the singers and drummers standing. In contrast, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> drumming at potlatches is performed by beating sticks against a hollowed-out log around which the singers and drummers sit. The languages used in the songs, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala and T<sup>ʔ</sup>aat<sup>ʔ</sup>aaqsapa (a Nootka language), are also different, although related through membership in the Wakashan language family.

A fourth level concerns differences at the village or tribal level. A K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> person is very aware of where he or she is from, usually based on the village membership of one's parents, and band membership. For example, a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> man I know identifies himself as Tsawatainuk, although he has never lived in Kingcome Inlet. He was raised in a suburb of Vancouver by his maternal aunt, and as an adult has lived in Vancouver, Victoria and Alert Bay. Another K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> man identifies himself as Fort Rupert Kwagwł, although he was raised in Prince George. He now lives in

Vancouver, and did spend some time in Fort Rupert where he is a band member. When one identifies oneself as K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, it is important to "be from" a specific K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> village, whether or not one has spent any time there. This is because tribal identity is based upon place, in this case, the village of the tribe. Sometimes village identity is also demonstrated through dialectal differences. For example, a "cougar" is *bədi* in Fort Rupert, *qísqəkən* in Quatsino, and *mámisa* in Kingcome Inlet (Grubb 1977:58).

A fifth level of identity, a family member, usually only becomes apparent within a village itself. For example, when I worked with various speakers and requested details of their backgrounds, invariably I would be given the names of the speaker's mother and father, including which village the latter were from. Also, each village has one or more large, powerful families, the members of which often dominate in local politics. Rivalries between families are often the cause of political in-fighting within a village. One always sides with one's own family in such disputes because of the importance of kin. Some feel the only way to avoid becoming involved in such family rivalries is to leave the village.

From the foregoing, it is clear that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> participate simultaneously in multiple levels of identity. The particular identity one chooses to highlight in a specific instance depends on the nature of the encounter, and the image that the person desires to present.

## Language Profiles

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is spoken in both Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet. Sometimes it is spoken in the home, depending upon the linguistic competence of the interlocutors.

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is also used in the *guk<sup>w</sup>dzi*, the bighouse (the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> ceremonial centre) or the community hall, where meals and ceremonial events occur, accompanied by speeches in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.

In the past, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was a language spoken throughout the community, but it has been gradually replaced by English over the past century. For example, C.E.H. Williams reports that a church service was held in 1889 in Kingcome Inlet through an interpreter because at that time in the community, “only one or two spoke English” (n.d.:1). The situation now has been almost completely reversed, where public speaking in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala needs to be translated into English for most community members to understand. For example, at the Elders’ Gathering in Kingcome Inlet in 1995, elders spoke in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala and had their speech translated into English for the benefit of the entire audience, many of whom were young people wanting to learn about their culture.

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is spoken in certain situations among those who are fluent in the language, usually members of the oldest generation, and in situations where people wish to claim their identity as being part of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> culture. These contexts are discussed in detail below. All other contexts of speaking have been re-identified as English language speaking situations.

## **Quatsino**

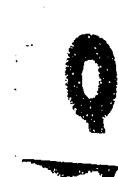
The relocated Quatsino village has about sixty houses along two main roads that slope upwards in a northerly direction from the main highway (see photos page 208). This highway connects Quatsino and Coal Harbour to Port Hardy, the major urban centre in the area. In addition to the housing, Quatsino has a band office, a community hall, and a fire hall. The total number of Quatsino band members in 1995 was 320, with an on-reserve population of 215. At that time, there were an estimated 55 K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-speakers (this figure includes semi-speakers and fluent speakers) living on reserve. No one could tell me how many off-reserve members spoke K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.

When requesting information about ages of speakers in the community from a worker in the band office, I was told that speakers there ranged in age from 17 to over 60. The younger people were recognized as speakers, and were encouraged to speak the language. This was very different from the experience in Kingcome Inlet, discussed below.

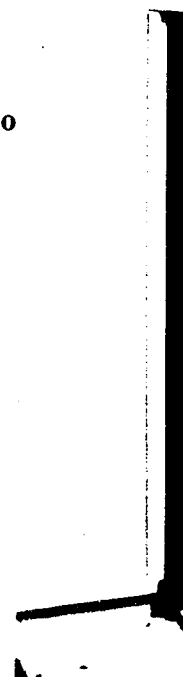
The evening I arrived in the northern area of Vancouver Island, I first went to the Tsulquate reserve in Port Hardy to meet an elderly woman whom I had previously worked with. Originally from Kingcome Inlet, she then lived on the Quatsino reserve, and was visiting relatives at Tsulquate. When I arrived she was at “the church,” which was the unfinished basement of someone’s house, with bare light bulbs, unpainted walls,



**Figure 7. View of Relocated Quatsino Village**



**Figure 8. Quattishe Hall, Quatsino**



and a little furnace at the side of the room. Taking place was a Christian fundamentalist-style meeting, with gospel songs accompanied by guitars. Although Christian fundamentalism is not my faith, I decided to stay and observe. A few interesting comments were made that relate to current language use in the community.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting was called to pray for a one-month-old baby who had suffocated. The preacher was related to the infant's grandfather. He stated that "cousins are just like brothers and sisters with us," which is reflected in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala kin terms, where bilateral first cousins are designated by the same term as brother or sister. Although many K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> do not use or even know K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala kin terms, there is a general understanding in the community that cousins are thus designated. Further, bilingual speakers will often refer to a relative as a "first cousin," whereas monolingual English speakers will simply use "cousin" to designate the same relationship. The emphasis on "first" among the former speakers indicates an awareness of the special relationship between brothers, sisters, and first cousins in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> kin relations.

The preacher also used the word *ławis*, which means "angry," in one of the anecdotes he told: "Leonard was *ławis*." Everyone present chuckled, including the children, so it appears to be a well-known term, and is used during English speech. No other K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was used during the evening.

When the meeting ended, I drove my friend and another elderly lady to the latter's home. When we arrived there, my friend asked the lady if I could park my camper at her house for the night, as it was late. This was done in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, the mother tongue of both.



In Quatsino, I was invited to an evening of singing in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala and drumming that lasted three hours. This was in the context of a man teaching his adult sons family songs for potlatching. Only the teacher of the songs was competent in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, and the sons learned the individual lines through repetition. Although the singing was in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, the meaning of the songs was explained by the father, and all speaking was done in English. Therefore, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was used only in the context of the songs, not in the speech of those present. None of the learners of the songs can carry on a conversation in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.

The Quatsino newsletter is written in English. Children and most adults speak to each other in English. In the band office, the language of communication was always English. The Declaration of Peace between the Quatsino and Cheik'tles7et'h' peoples (see chapter three, page 94) is also written in English.

I heard K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala spoken at one other time in Quatsino, while I was interviewing a speaker of the middle generation in the Health Centre, where she is employed. Our interview was interrupted by a telephone call, and the health worker spoke to the caller in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, except for a few English loan words that were used, for example “water bottle.” Otherwise the call was entirely in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. The health worker informed me that the caller was an older speaker of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. She also said that she does not speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala at home with her husband or children. In this instance, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was used to accommodate the caller, who felt more comfortable communicating in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.

One informant of the young generation told me that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was spoken in his home in Quatsino, where he lives with his aunt (another of my informants who is fluent in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala), and his grandmother.

To summarize, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala does not appear to be used frequently in the village. It is used by two or more fluent speakers in conversations. Single K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words that seem to be understood by all are used during English speech. Finally, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is used in teaching traditional potlatch songs. It appears that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala has secondary importance as a language of communication in Quatsino. Other than in the context of two fluent speakers, its use appears to be largely symbolic of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> identity.

### **Kingcome Inlet**

Kingcome Inlet is very small, with about 40 houses, and in my opinion is very beautiful. It is one of the few K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> villages that has not been relocated by the federal government. In addition to the houses, there is a store, a community hall, a church, a school building, and band offices, all surrounded by mountains. Because of its location, in spring and summer it is usually cloudy and foggy in the mornings, but by about noon it often clears.

The Kingcome Inlet band in 1996 had approximately 500 band members; however I was told that at any given time the on-reserve population is 150 at the most. Access to Kingcome Inlet is by air or water only. On one of my visits there, I asked a young woman in her twenties, who had grown up mostly in Vancouver but had returned to the village,

why there was no road access to the village. Everything has to be flown in, which makes food expensive to buy there, and a plane flight in or out between it and the two closest urban centres, Alert Bay and Port McNeill, costs \$85 one way. Some people fly to Alert Bay or Port McNeill just for the day to shop and/or visit, and pay the \$170 to do so. The young woman remarked that, although road access to the village would make things less expensive for the village inhabitants, it would change the nature of the village. She and many others, as I later found, want the village to remain isolated from the outside society. They cite the example of Alert Bay, where there are many tourists who come to see the museum at the U'mista Cultural Centre. Many of the villagers at Kingcome Inlet do not want this type of activity in their village. In spite of this relative isolation compared to some other K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> villages, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala is not widely spoken by members of the middle and young generations.

When trying to establish appropriate K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala-speaking members of the community with whom to work, I was always led to older speakers. My enquiries about younger speakers did eventually lead to some between the ages of 20 and 40. However, none of these younger speakers, in the end, worked with me. When contacted, they would either refer me to elders, say that they did not want to work with me, or simply not show up at the scheduled time if we had made arrangements to work together. One day, as I was taking a walk through the village, I passed a man who had been identified as one of the younger K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala-speakers and I said, "*wiksas?*" meaning, "How are you?" This greeting is well-known by virtually everyone in the village, regardless of their ability to

speaking K'wak'wala. He looked quite surprised (although everyone in the village knew I was there to work on the language), and replied, "All right," in English. He would not answer me in K'wak'wala.

This experience was very different from the one I had had in Quatsino, where the younger people are encouraged to speak the language. For example, one elder in Kingcome Inlet with whom I spoke over the telephone, but who was too busy to work with me because of renovations being done to her home, was adamant that she was fluent in K'wak'wala when most people in the village were not, according to her. We also spoke about various teachers in other K'wak'waka'wak' villages, and she stated that most of them are not fluent in K'wak'wala. One teacher was mentioned as being "about 50% [fluent]." In Kingcome Inlet there does not appear to be a lot of encouragement from some of the elders for those who speak K'wak'wala imperfectly.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has its CBC North affiliate on television in the village. Sometimes it would provide information, usually news items and forest fire alerts, in an Athabaskan language, but not in K'wak'wala. One day the young elected chief lamented the fact that the young people did not know how to speak K'wak'wala fluently, and related a story to me about some young Athabaskan-speakers from the north who had come to Kingcome Inlet for a soccer tournament. He was surprised that First Nations people in their early twenties could speak their language fluently. He asked me why this would be so, when no one of this age group that he knows of can speak K'wak'wala fluently, from any of the villages. I offered the suggestion that often the

more northerly villages and camps are “way out in the bush,” and they often have little contact with white communities. Children are often raised by their grandparents, and their first language will therefore be the language of their grandparents. Some of these children do not hear English until they go to school, other than on television and radio. Although Kingcome Inlet is quite isolated, nonetheless it has regular contact with non-native communities. The loss of the language may also be attributed to the overwhelming presence of the Anglican church in the community for so many years, and the residential schooling that most adults over the age of about 40 had. For the most part, the residential school students retained the language themselves, but did not pass it on to their children.

When we continued speaking about language revival efforts in Kingcome Inlet, I also suggested that the community think about different communications media in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala -- newsletters, radio, television, etc. Kingcome Inlet is a very isolated community, and if they took control of their communications, and ran an immersion program at the school, likely there would be more bilingualism there.

Many young people who were born in Kingcome Inlet, or whose parents are from there, are returning to the village after having lived in urban areas. These young people are interested in learning about their culture, and helping to keep it and the language alive.

For example, on my first visit, I was greeted by a young woman who had been told to look for me and take me to her mother’s house to stay. I learned later that she had a degree in photography from a school in Vancouver. Also, on the walk down the road, I

noticed a sign stapled to a pole to elect someone from the village for the position of chief. I had met this person, a young man in his late twenties, in Alert Bay several years before, and was surprised that he was now living in the village, and running for chief. Another woman, who had arranged for me to take the seine boat there, whom I had met years before in Vancouver when she was attending college, was now living in the village and was the director of the Nun'wa'kola Cultural Society. I asked, on an individual basis, all three of these young people, who were all under thirty at the time, why they had moved back to Kingcome Inlet. Each one told me that they had moved back to the village where their parents were from because they wanted to learn more about their culture. They have all lived elsewhere at different times -- Alert Bay, Port Hardy, Victoria, and Vancouver.

Another indication that the young people of the village are trying to learn more about their culture was that during the Elders' Gathering, several young people came forward and asked the elders for help in establishing their families' histories, as they did not know them and were eager to learn about their past. From speaking with a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> woman in her fifties, this is very different from when she was young. She confided in me that as a young person she was ashamed of her culture, particularly when she interacted with non-native people, although today she is considered an outspoken spokesperson for her community.

Kingcome Inlet has had an elementary school for many years. One of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-speakers I worked with there was a teacher's aide at the school, teaching K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as a second language. She said that she tries to integrate the language into other

subject areas, and the students receive instruction in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala every day. She would like to see an immersion model at the school, if possible, and said: “The language is so essential to our culture.” Most of the older people who went to school attended St. Michael’s residential school in Alert Bay at some time, usually after completing early grades in Kingcome Inlet.

In Kingcome Inlet, I heard K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala spoken in one home between family members of the oldest generation. However, when speech was directed towards members of the young generation, including an infant of about two years who was just beginning to learn to speak, English was used.

From my experience, it appears that the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in the home is very limited in both communities, and usually only occurs between speakers who are already competent in the language. I did not encounter an instance where K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was spoken in the home where one of the interlocutors was learning the language.

Discourse in both communities is used in conversations between fluent speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, for example between family members as noted above, and in ritual or ceremonial contexts where speeches are made (see below). Whenever there is a public meal, potlatch, or ceremony, speeches are made by elders and community leaders. These speeches are made in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala if the speaker is competent in the language. Otherwise, they are made in English. Speeches in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala are not normally translated. The exception to this that I observed was at the Elders’ Gathering in Kingcome Inlet

mentioned above, where elders' K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala was translated into English so that most audience members could understand.

In summary K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala does not appear to be widely spoken in either Quatsino or Kingcome Inlet. Most everyday activities are conducted in English, other than encounters that occur between two fluent, usually elderly speakers. Otherwise, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala is used for ritual purposes (*e.g.* singing and potlatches), and in schools during K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala language classes. K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala words are also used in English discourse. Contexts of speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala are discussed further below.

One difference in attitudes towards various levels of competence in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala between Kingcome Inlet and Quatsino is that in Quatsino young imperfect speakers tend to be encouraged to speak the language, whereas in Kingcome Inlet there appears to be more criticism of imperfect speech. The reasons for these differences are unclear. Insiders are very aware of the critical attitude of fluent K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala-speakers in Kingcome Inlet. This was one reason I was given for the unwillingness of younger speakers to work with me there. I was told that they were afraid of being criticized.

### **Contexts of Speaking**

In my research conducted with K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, there appear to be three social contexts where K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>ʔ</sup>wala is used, and all of these contexts are those in which identity as a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> person is being either established or maintained. These are in ritual contexts, solidarity contexts, and contexts of outside encounters.



1. ***ritual contexts*** -- Ritual is patterned activity in the form of public ceremonies which are related to one or more aspects of traditional culture. Among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, ritual contexts are those that usually occur in the bighouse or community hall, but also sometimes outside of these cultural venues, depending upon the nature of the ceremony. Ritual activity is accompanied by speeches, regalia, music, and dancing, and often a sacred style of language is used. An elder told me that there are two levels of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. The first level is one of everyday speech, which is used in most situations. The other is a ceremonial level used in potlatches. According to the elder, there are only a few people who know how to use the ceremonial language, and they are the ones who are chosen to be the speakers directing potlatches. They act as a type of "master of ceremonies" at potlatches, regardless of which family is putting up the potlatch, and are paid for their services.

The ceremonial language is understood by speakers of everyday K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. The main difference appears to be in intonation and style of delivery. The late Jim King of Wakeman Sound, another K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> community, said that ceremonial speech, such as that used during potlatches, employs sentence intonation as an elocutionary device, and some antiquated vocabulary that is no longer used in everyday speech, although Mr. King could not think of any specific examples (Jay Powell, p.c.).

A detailed description of oratory style in ceremonial contexts is provided by Boas:

In a low voice, the chief tells the speaker what he wishes to say, and the speaker puts it in oratorical form and delivers the speech. He stands quietly, resting the staff [the carved “talking stick” always held by a speaker] on the floor. At the end of an emphatic sentence he strikes the floor with his staff and bends his knees with an energetic movement. Most speakers begin every sentence or pause with the short syllable “ha”. In excited speech, particularly in quarrels between chiefs in which they dispense with speakers, the last word of every sentence is pronounced with great emphasis. If it has no accent, the diphthong *ai* is added at the end with high stress, and the staff is used like a lance, being pushed forward to the ground with both hands. . . .

On the whole, delivery of speech is rapid, with pauses at the end of each sentence. The more excited the speech, the more pronounced is this mannerism.

The style is highly formal, the same phrases being used over and over again. . . .

The style is exceedingly wordy and repetitious. Thus, in a speech welcoming guests the host does not only address them singly, but at the end repeats: “Ha, you have come, you have come. Ha, welcome tribes! Ha, welcome to you as you have come! Ha, you have come, you have come. Ha, be comfortable in the house, in the large house.” . . .

Repetition of formulas accompanying formal actions is also quite frequent. Thus when so-called “trifles” are to be given away, each one is named separately. The speaker will say: This is the wash basin of the princess of *Tl’ásotíwalis*, this is for you, so-and-so (naming the recipients of the gift). This is the mat of the princess of *Tl’ásotíwalis*, this is for you (naming the same recipients), and so on.

This is presumably in part due to a desire for emphasis. This is generally attained by the use of rhetorical questions: “Are we not going to be happy on account of the chief’s speech in the house?”; “Shall we not just go ahead according to the speech of the chief?”; “Am I not going to go, my chiefs?” (Boas 1925:145). All these except the last require an emphatic positive answer; the last demands an equally strong negative answer.

Another feature of formal speeches is the constant claim that the speech and actions are nothing newly invented, that it goes back to the time “when light came into our world” and that the right and duty to use these forms was inherited from their fathers, grandfathers, and remote ancestors.

. . .

Opening, concluding, and explanatory phrases are very common. “Welcome, indeed,” or phrases like “you have come, you have arrived here,” and similar ones are common openings of speeches. Explanatory

sentences begin with “I mean this”; closing phrases are “that is what I say” (literally, “and I say so”), followed by the names of those the speaker has addressed; or “I have finished in the house,” and similar ones (Boas 1966:353-354).

My own experience of oratory style at potlatches is very similar to this account of ritualized oratory by Boas. Therefore this ritual use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala appears to have changed little over the past century.

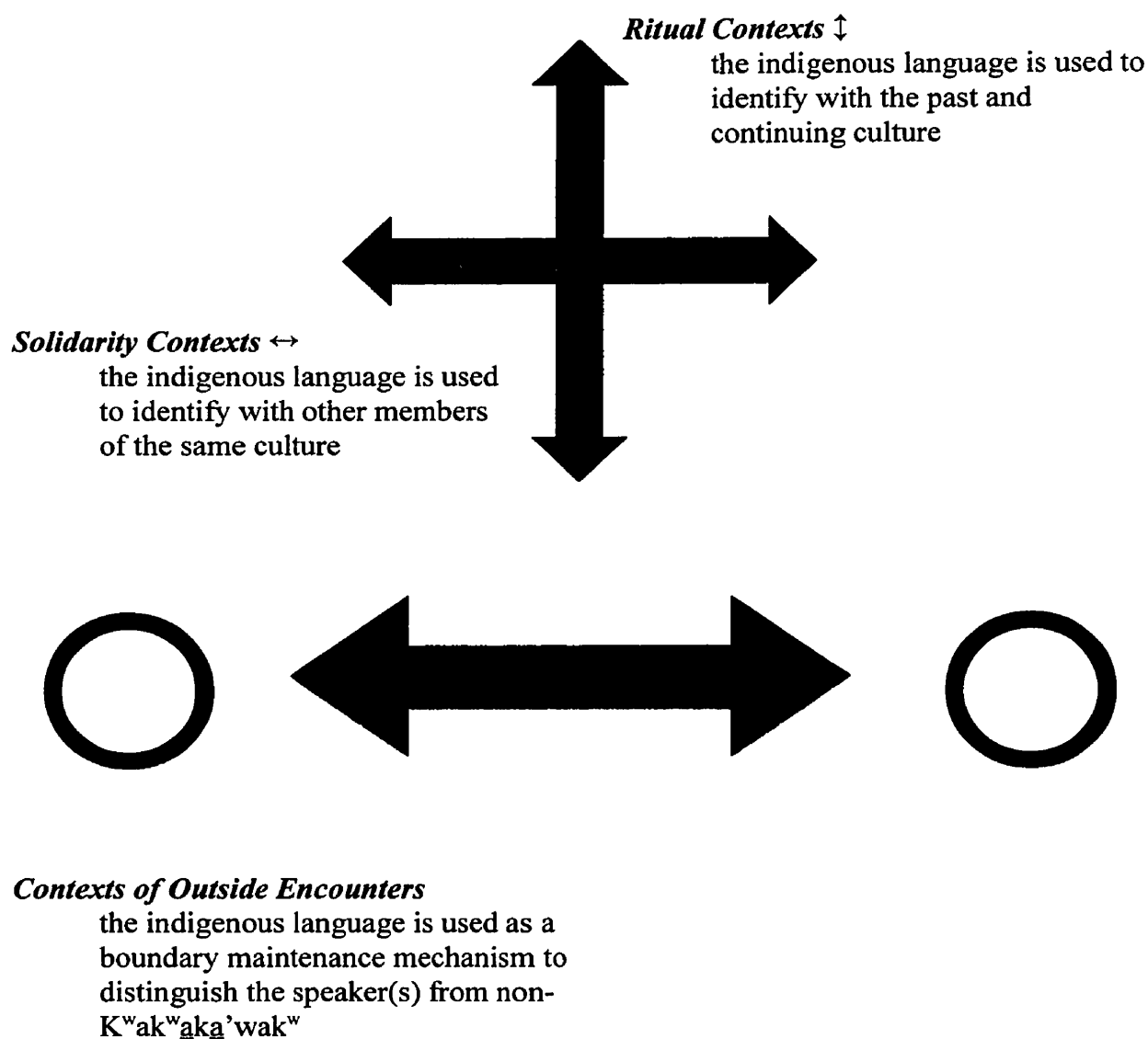
In ritual contexts, members of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> communities are identifying with their culture which has been passed down to them from their ancestors. Members use K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to reinforce and maintain their own particular cultural heritage, even if the language is understood by only a minority of those present at rituals, for example at potlatches and special events such as the opening of a new building or a canoe launching.

2.     **solidarity contexts** -- Solidarity is defined as a feeling of attachment to other members of one’s group. In these contexts, members wish to maintain their identity as K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> by exhibiting their common group membership. They are situations in which one is demonstrating member status to any identity group that one belongs to in the community, thus they may be considered examples of endocentric behaviour. This category includes contexts as diverse as conversing in the home (where two or more people present have the ability to carry on a conversation in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala), or teaching K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in the classroom, where teachers are attempting to establish the young people of their community as members in solidarity, even though the mother tongue of the students

may be English. Community members identify with other members of their community to maintain a feeling of kinship (usually literally, as most people in these communities are related by blood to each other in some way or another, or metaphorically related by stipulation through primordial ancestors in tribal origin stories).

3. *contexts of outside encounters* -- Outside encounters occur whenever one wishes to distinguish one's chosen identity from those with whom one is interacting. In contexts of outside encounters, community members again identify with their culture and other community members through the use of language, but in these cases the ancestral language is used as a boundary maintenance mechanism, to distinguish themselves from non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> people. In these contexts, members of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> communities are attempting to establish and/or maintain their sense of cultural *difference* from non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, particularly when outsiders are encountered in either K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> territory, or in a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> cultural context (*e.g.* a potlatch in Vancouver). This is the context referred to by Barth (1969) as that which establishes (and even possibly creates) cultural differences. The diagram on page 222 graphically illustrates these three contexts of speaking. In the upper diagram, the vertical arrow indicates diachronic continuity; the horizontal arrow indicates synchronic identification with other community members. In the lower diagram, the two circles represent different cultural communities separated by a boundary, indicated by the arrow between them.

**Figure 9. Contexts of Speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala**



One must remember that these three contexts are not mutually exclusive. Any particular instance of the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala may fall into one or more of these categories, but normally, each particular act of establishing or maintaining cultural identity for the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> is more influenced by one of these contexts than another.

### **Language Use in Ritual Contexts**

As noted above, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is used to identify with one's personal and tribal past and with continuing K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> culture. The following field observations support that claim.

My first trip to Kingcome Inlet was for an Elders' Gathering in 1995. Upon arrival, everyone was greeted at a welcoming ceremony by dancers, and people singing in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. Then the elders gathered in the community hall, and a dinner was hosted by the community for the visitors. During and after the dinner, speeches were made in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, although probably only a very few present at these ceremonial occasions could speak or even understand K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. Even I was greeted in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala upon my arrival.

On another visit to Kingcome Inlet, there was a canoe launch where other villages were invited to come and celebrate the carving and decorating of a new canoe. The village welcomed the G<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>sala-N<sup>?</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>axda<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>, who live on the Tsulquate Reserve adjacent to the city of Port Hardy on northern Vancouver Island, and who had come to the village in their own canoe and other boats. This welcome was in the form of songs in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. After this welcome, everyone went up beside the bighouse where the new canoe was

covered in cedar boughs. There were more songs and speeches. The older people spoke in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. In this context, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is used in public as a ceremonial language.

On my second trip to Kingcome Inlet, I heard no K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala spoken for several days after I had arrived. It appears that the only time it is used publicly is during ceremonies, and there had not been any yet. The first time I visited Kingcome Inlet, it was specifically for a ceremony, so there was much K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala being spoken.

In Quatsino, I attended no formal ceremonies. However, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was used in a ritual context at singing classes conducted in one man's home. Here, however, the words were translated into English to explain the meaning of the songs to those present who did not speak or understand K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala well. Although this was in itself not a ceremony, it was in preparation for one, therefore K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was used.

### **Language Use in Solidarity Contexts**

Culture and language give people their sense of identity as individuals and as members of a particular cultural group (see Fitzgerald 1993:59). At the Elders' Gathering in Kingcome Inlet, the older people from the village were all invited to attend and participate, including those who no longer lived there. There were some who lived in Kingcome Inlet, and others who had moved to Alert Bay, Quatsino, Port Hardy, Cape Mudge, Victoria, and Vancouver.

At the gathering, elders were asked to speak about some aspect of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> culture. One well-known member of the community arrived late and began speaking in

K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, and translating into English. When he had finished speaking, he designated another person to translate the words of the elders, for those who needed it. Most of those present did not speak or understand K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala well. The first elder to speak could not speak English very well, and the designated person translated his speech into English. However, the speakers who followed, all elders, could speak English quite well. In spite of this, every one of them who could speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, which was most of them, would speak completely or mostly in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, even though they possessed an excellent command of the English language. Although everyone in the bighouse spoke and understood English well, there was an insistence that the elders speak in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala and have their words translated into English. Sometimes the elders would even correct the English translation! At other times, elders would unconsciously slip into English, and audience members would cry, “Talk Indian!” This was an indication of the feeling of solidarity desired by all participants, young and old. It is also interesting that they would use the term “Indian” rather than “K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.” If one takes the perspective of language as an identity marker, then the audience members were using the term “Indian” to refer to their own identity (“We’re Indians”) rather than as a reference to the language itself.

Often K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words are used when speaking English, either when no equivalent word for the specific item or concept exists in English, or when the speaker is establishing his or her identity as K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup>. For example, one speaks of ‘*dancing the hámaća*’ since the idea of *hámaća* (a dance associated with the highest ranking secret society) cannot be conveyed in English in a single word, and the use and comprehension



of this word in English discourse clearly establishes the interlocutors as in-group members, or at least of people who have knowledge of the group's cultural activities. This usage is therefore a case of solidarity among speakers.

Another K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala word that was used when I was in Kingcome Inlet was “tlup-sa-u” (*ł'úpsay'o* “roasting tongs” in Boas n.d.:448). This term appeared on the community announcement television channel in written form, as well as in English discourse. These are sticks for barbequing salmon. The English phrase “sticks for barbequing salmon” could have been used, but everyone in the village knows what “tlup-sa-u's” are, and again this term refers to a material object specific to the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>. There is no ambiguity in the use of the term, and it establishes solidarity among community members.

An interesting use of a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala term when speaking English is the word *k<sup>w</sup>ák<sup>w</sup>ala* itself, in its use as an English verb. For example, an elder and a member of the middle generation, at different times, told me, “not many people know how to k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala anymore,” meaning “not many people know how to speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala anymore.” I have only heard this particular usage by those who are fluent in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. This is one instance where K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is influencing the English of speakers who learned English as a second language. Those K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> whose mother tongue is English use the term only as a noun referring to the language.

In Quatsino, the instance of language use in solidarity was in the telephone conversation between the health worker and the patient. The health worker was accommodating the patient and empathizing with her through the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala between them, thus establishing a sense of solidarity.

The chart on page 228 provides examples of common K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words used in English expressions among members of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> communities. These particular examples are from Alert Bay. The speakers ranged in age from teenagers to those in their fifties.

### **Language Use in Contexts of Outside Encounters**

The canoe launch at Kingcome Inlet mentioned above exemplifies the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in contexts where visitors to the community, either native or non-native, are designated as outsiders. There had not been a canoe in the community for several years, ceremonial or otherwise, and it was a very special event, with much preparation. Those who were to be the paddlers were teenagers, and since they were inexperienced, there were some paddling practice sessions before the main event. At one point during one of the practice sessions, some non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> kayakers came paddling up the river, apparently curious about what was going on. As they approached, but before they were within hearing range, one K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> woman who speaks K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala fluently, and who was instructing the canoe paddlers, announced to those on the shore, "We're being invaded by the white man!" Everyone on the shore laughed. Then as the kayakers got

**Table 5. Kʷaḱʷala Words Used in English Expressions**

| <i>Expression</i>                    | <i>English Gloss for Kʷaḱʷala</i>         |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| They went λ'íʔna-making.             | olachen fish oil, grease                  |
| It was time to gílaga hénλ.          | come and eat                              |
| It was wálas.                        | big                                       |
| He was óləḱala púsqa.                | really hungry                             |
| Everyone told him téłkʷali.          | pay up (said by potlatch singers to host) |
| They're up working on the gúkʷzi.    | bighouse (ceremonial building)            |
| He's an ik bəgʷánəm.                 | good man                                  |
| It's súλi.                           | your turn                                 |
| I'm going to the cídeq.              | ladies' (room)                            |
| He was wənáḱa.                       | drunk                                     |
| Not really, kind of dúsəḱa.          | tipsy                                     |
| A n̄əmgis guy.                       | Nimpkish (name of tribe)                  |
| She lives at mámaliqəḱa.             | Village Island (name of community)        |
| He's from wilaʔlayu.                 | (name of reserve at Alert Bay)            |
| The lálaʔwiḱəḱa is coming.           | ferry                                     |
| The nágelas is closed already.       | bar (drinking place)                      |
| He gave me a kʷəmdayu.               | cigarette                                 |
| He found a lot of λ'áqʷas at a dump. | copper sheets (ceremonial regalia)        |
| You are just a wáci.                 | dog                                       |

closer, the woman yelled out, “Yo!” which is a greeting in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. Then another K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> woman on the shore began speaking to the kayakers in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. The kayakers looked a little bewildered. This was recognized by insiders (and myself) as a joke, evidenced by the laughter of the onlookers. But it was also an assertion of the women’s identity. These two women both know how to speak English very well. In my view, by using K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, they were saying to the outsiders, the kayakers, “This is our territory.” It was an assertion of their ownership of the land, and of their identity as the owners.

### **Overlapping Contexts of Identity Assertions**

Anthropologists tend to categorize behaviour in the attempt to understand better, and illustrate more clearly, the functions of and meanings behind those behaviours. However, cultural life is integrated, and is rarely compartmentalized into these analytical categories. Mauss refers to these overlapping functions of behaviour as “total social phenomena” (Mauss 1925, in Rosman and Rubel 1995:25). This explains why these three contexts of asserting identity through the use of an ancestral language are not mutually exclusive.

An example is the use of exclusionary terms. A K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala term that is used during English discourse to distinguish K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> from non-natives is *mámaʔa*, literally “white person.” The use of this term clearly distinguishes the speaker from any *mámaʔa* that may be present, whether or not the latter understands what this term

means. For example, during the time I was in one of the villages, interviews were being conducted for the position of Band Manager. There were four applicants, all from outside the village. After the interviews, I was sitting on my porch, and heard one of the interviewers speaking to another village inhabitant. I have known this interviewer for several years, and I know that he does not speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. He said that two of the applicants were *mámała*. In terms of using language to claim an identity, one could view this usage of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala word as serving two purposes: one was to identify himself with his interlocutor, as both being members of the same community, an act of solidarity; the other was to distinguish himself and his interlocutor from myself, an outsider, as they both knew I was listening, and that I was familiar with the term. This, then, serves as an example of claiming identity in the contexts of (a) solidarity and (b) outside encounters.

### **Contexts of Language Use: Ritual, Solidarity, and Outside Encounters**

The foregoing discussion demonstrates that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is still being used purposefully on a regular basis by fluent speakers, semi-speakers, passive speakers, and non-speakers of the language. These findings contradict the notion that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is a moribund language that is no longer a useful means of communication. In fact, as a marker of cultural identity, the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is an important demonstration of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> heritage in the three contexts discussed. Within these contexts, functions can be fulfilled with less than perfect knowledge of the language. Because of this, I believe that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala will continue to be spoken in some form rather than giving way

completely to English. For example, it may be maintained by imperfect speakers in ritual contexts by using set formulae (*e.g.* openings and closings) during speeches, and through the use of songs; and in contexts of solidarity and outside encounters through the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala words during English speaking (*e.g.* the use of *mámała*).

### **Insiders' Perceptions of Language Use and Maintenance**

The following questions address the status of language use in Kingcome Inlet and Quatsino, insiders' perceptions of how the current situation has come about, and possible considerations for language maintenance.

- *Has the status of the language changed? Has it ever been considered as having low prestige in the past? Is it now considered prestigious to speak the language?*

This issue was directed to speakers of the middle generation (25 to 50 years of age) and oldest generation (50 years of age and older), since speakers from the younger generation (under 25 years old) have not lived long enough to see any significant changes to the relative prestige of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala and English. From interviews and discussions with persons of the oldest and middle generations, it appears that there has been a dramatic shift in how K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is viewed. For example, when a school was started in Alert Bay in 1881, Codere tells us that “literacy [in English] became valued” (1961:463). A school was opened in Quatsino in 1896 (Williams et al. n.d.:3), and 1891 in Kingcome Inlet (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:3). It seems that the school in Quatsino was mainly for children of the

Scandinavian settlers, since the old native village of Quatsino is several miles away from the white settlement, so it is not likely that it was attended by native children. Informants from the middle generation in Quatsino said they had attended school at the old village, where the teachers were non-native. The school at Kingcome Inlet was operated by the Anglican Church, and had the express purpose of Christianizing the native people and educating them in European ways, including teaching the English language (C.E.H. Williams n.d.:8). In Kingcome Inlet, there was (and still is) no white settlement nearby as was the case with the old village of Quatsino, so there was only one school there, and it had the sole purpose of educating of the local native children.

From discussions with people from Kingcome Inlet and Quatsino, as well as Alert Bay, it seems that as late as the 1960s, K<sup>w</sup>aḵ<sup>w</sup>ala was not seen as a language that would contribute to the intellectual and educational development of children. Therefore, almost all parents of the middle generation, and some of the older generation, made a conscious effort to speak English to their children at home, believing it would be detrimental to the latter's futures if they did not have a good command of English when they entered school.

This changed during the 1970s, when K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> people began to demand more control over their lives, including their children's education. Efforts were made to have potlatch items that were in the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa repatriated to

their owners in Alert Bay and Cape Mudge. At this time as well, work began on a K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala language program to teach K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as a second language, which culminated in the *Learning K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala* series, an elementary second language program. A band-operated school, called *T<sup>w</sup>is<sup>w</sup>alagi<sup>w</sup>lak<sup>w</sup>* (“son of mink”), was opened by the Nimpkish in the 1970s in Alert Bay, and the Tsawatainuk band took over the school in Kingcome Inlet. In both schools, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is taught as a second language. Quatsino does not now operate its own school. Elementary students attend school in Coal Harbour, the nearby white settlement, and learn K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as a second language there.

The number of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers has been steadily declining, especially since the beginning of the twentieth century. It is estimated that since European contact in the late 1700s, 95% of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers have been lost (U<sup>w</sup>mista n.d.). Before the twentieth century, this loss of speakers was due to a huge population decline, from an estimate of 19,125 in early contact times, to 1,039 in 1924 (U<sup>w</sup>mista n.d.). In 1977, there were about 1,000 speakers; by 1992, 228 K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers were counted north of Campbell River, the area where most K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> live. It is estimated that in 1999 there are about 200 K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers left, which is less than 4% of the population (U<sup>w</sup>mista n.d.).

All K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> adults to whom I have spoken who do not speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala lament the fact that they have not learned to speak the language. It seems clear that there definitely is prestige in knowing how to speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala today in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> communities.



- *Did most parents of today's young people attend residential school? Is this a factor in the language learning of their own children?*

Most of the people with whom I spoke over the age of 40 attended St. Michael's residential school in Alert Bay for part of their education. Two of my informants did not, and it is interesting to note that they are both considered to be excellent speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala.

It seems that residential schooling had the effect of inhibiting the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in the home long after St. Michael's was closed. Most members of the oldest and middle generations who attended residential school have retained the language, but, for social and economic reasons, the middle generation in particular did not pass it on to their children. Another factor influencing the home language is the bombardment of English-language media (radio, television, newspapers, advertisements) in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> homes, making English the dominant language in the community. One no longer needs a knowledge of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to function in any K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> community. In fact, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is rarely heard, or seen, other than on a few signs in Alert Bay, or in the contexts mentioned above where the establishment of identity is the reason for its use. The restricted function of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was made clear to me upon my second visit to Kingcome Inlet, when I heard no K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala spoken for several days after I had arrived, and then it was used in the context of an outside encounter (the kayakers).

Even the children of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala language teachers whom I know were spoken to in English, and English is the children's mother tongue, because English has become the

language of the home. The children of one of the informants who did not go to residential school do speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. This informant has also lived most of her life in Kingcome Inlet. The children of the other informant who did not go to residential school understand, but do not speak, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. One possible reason for this is that the children, now all over the age of forty, were raised primarily in a large English-dominant urban area (Vancouver), rather than in a small reserve village.

The reasons for the decline in use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala are complex, but it seems clear that residential schooling had some effect on the passing on of the language to the young generation. A more important factor seems to be the effect of urbanization and English media among K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> families.

### **The Continuation of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in Communities**

From the foregoing discussion on when, where, and why K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is now used in Quatsino and Kingcome Inlet, it is clear that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala has been replaced by English as an everyday means of communication. As we saw in chapter four, there appears to be a major break in language transmission between the middle and young generations of speakers. This break can be attributed to factors mentioned above: the experience of residential schooling, and the effects of English-language media in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup> homes in the mid-twentieth century.

Despite this shift from K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to English, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala has been strategically maintained in contexts of ritual activity, solidarity, and outside encounters as a marker of

cultural identity. Although the efforts of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala second-language programs may not produce fluent speakers, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala will probably remain the preferred language of use in these three contexts by fluent speakers, semi-speakers, and passive speakers. Whether or not it is inevitably true, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> feel strongly that if they lose their language, they will lose their culture. The use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, whether in connected everyday discourse, a ceremonial speech, or a word or two in English conversation, not only establishes identity; it also symbolically indicates to K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> as well as non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> that indeed the culture continues.

### **Notes to Chapter Five**

1. Although this is a profile of language use in Quatsino, and this meeting took place on another reserve, I believe the observations are still relevant to the discussion, as the two reserves are in close proximity (about 15 kilometres apart), and many people from Quatsino were at the meeting.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ***Conclusion: Continuity and Change in Language and Language Use***

At various points in the previous chapters, I have discussed how cultural identity is asserted and maintained through language. In the case of an endangered indigenous language, such as K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, that identity is inextricably linked to the people's ancestral cultural heritage. As was seen in chapter five, it is not necessary to speak a language fluently to use it as a marker of cultural identity. Among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, even the use of single words of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala while speaking English establishes the speaker as a member of his or her cultural group.

The stages in language shift listed by Garzon (1992:61-64) appear in the ongoing shift to English at the expense of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. These stages are: 1) a language contact situation which initiates the language shift (*e.g.* in a colonial context); 2) loss of domains for the indigenous language; 3) use of the dominant language in the home; and 4) the inability of the young generation to use the indigenous language proficiently. Contact between English and K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala began with the early explorers at the end of the 18th century, but, as was shown in chapter three, this contact had no effect on the indigenous language. The intense repression of the native language began later in the 1800s with traders, British settlement, and residential schooling, when K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala came to be used in progressively fewer and fewer social situations. I claim that this was due to its

stigmatization as a language of lower prestige than English, since English denoted British culture which was thought, by the British at least, to be superior to any North American indigenous culture.<sup>1</sup> The generations that attended residential schools, particularly the middle generation, did not pass the indigenous language on to their children, because they had been socialized to believe it was stigmatized. Members of these generations report being punished, often severely, for using their language while attending school. This punishment even occurred when they spoke K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala with brothers and sisters who might be there. Several older people with whom I spoke in Quatsino, Kingcome Inlet, and Alert Bay, told me that, although they spoke K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala fluently as young adults, they spoke English to their children because of their desire for their children to “make it” in the modern world. As parents, they reasoned that learning English would facilitate their children’s education.

Throughout the history of contact with persons of European background, except in the case of early explorers, attempts to assimilate the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> into the greater English-dominant society have resulted in a perceived need for them to re-assert their distinctive heritage. This is accomplished through various activities, including the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, particularly in contexts of ritual activity, of solidarity, and of outside encounters. This usage clearly demonstrates that the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> are actively resisting assimilation through the use of their ancestral language. Language use in these contexts is an example of Frake’s characterization of languages as “cognitive objects”:

“Languages are more than codes for use. They are also cultural objects for thought” (Frake 1980:233).

In this sense, the use of language is related to cultural perceptions: “[I]t has been reported that people from oral cultures -- societies that do not have a written language -- are inextricably bound to social context and are incapable of conceiving of spoken words as separate from objects or deeds” (Shuter 1994:213). One might characterize the shape of the language also as being linked to social phenomena in oral societies. For example, Northwest Coast cultures have been described as holistic in their approach to life and institutions -- basically, in their world view, everything is linked, and they are a part of and not apart from other entities in the world.

Part of language change, then, in this contact situation is not just a result of language contact, but of culture and world view contact. Not only are today’s K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> youth exposed to English as a mother tongue, they are also exposed to non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> society through television and the general pervasiveness of non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> society into every aspect of their life: hospital births, baby bottles, school, buying food and clothing, institutions such as marriage, religion, the economic system, and a foreign system of governance.

### **Change of Language Status**

The “low status” of indigenous languages is a social factor in language loss (Watson 1989; Garzon 1992). My interviews with K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> who attended

residential school indicate that many feel that this was the case with K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala until recently; thus we recognize a circle of causation. As noted earlier, when a school was started in Alert Bay in 1881, “literacy [in English] became valued” (Codere 1961:463), and speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala was no longer desirable, except in certain contexts, such as potlatches. Because of the previous low status of the indigenous language, it is now difficult for young people to learn it, since it has ceased to be spoken in many social contexts, due to the history of language suppression in the residential schools, and English-language media in the community. Furthermore, elders are no longer viewed as having the knowledge that will enable young people to be successful in the world, although they are highly respected as keepers and teachers of cultural knowledge. With increased modernization, urbanization, and the increased availability of post-secondary education for native people, young people have not been spending as much time with elders as they had in the past. This means that elders now pass less of their knowledge of cultural traditions on than before, and today no knowledge is passed on through the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, but rather through English. This was demonstrated by the translation of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala into English at the Elders’ Gathering in Kingcome Inlet referred to previously.

Residential schooling has also helped to sever K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala-speaking relationships between parents and children, replacing these with relationships where English is the language of communication. The parents of today’s young adults are mostly of the residential school generations, for whom speaking the indigenous language was suppressed. Therefore, these parents were either unable or unwilling to pass the language



on to their children. Those parents who could speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala would often would stop speaking it with their children in the home for various reasons:

1. Parents felt that their children would not be successful in society by learning K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala as a mother-tongue, and English only incompletely (*c.f.* Garzon 1992).
2. In mixed marriages between K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> and non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup>, communication would be in English because it was a language that both spouses could speak.
3. Media in the home such as radio, television, newspapers and magazines would establish the home as an English context.
4. Other caregivers would speak English to young children.

Once English is established as the language of the home, even if one or both parents speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to the child, the child may refuse to speak it because he or she recognizes that English is the family idiom of power.

Today people who have knowledge of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala and the ability to speak it are held in very high esteem. The prestige in knowing an indigenous language is reported elsewhere, including among the Gros Ventre: "[K]nowledge of Gros Ventre is respected in the community, and prestige accrues to persons who possess some ability with the language, especially when it is accompanied by cultural knowledge which is perceived to be correct" (Taylor 1989:171). Most K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka<sup>w</sup>'wak<sup>w</sup> who do not speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala lament that they did not learn the language, and active revival efforts have been underway for over twenty years. Other native language courses sponsored by federal and provincial grant programs appeared in several native communities in British Columbia (Thompson

and Kinkade 1990). With the *Learning Kʷakʷala* series, the language began to be taught like any other school subject, for one period every day or a few times per week. An immersion model was also attempted in Alert Bay in the early 1990s. The idea here was to begin teaching in Kʷakʷala only -- with no English -- in the nursery class, and then have these children move on to immersion in Kindergarten through to grade two. Materials were developed for the nursery class, but the teacher was unable to read Kʷakʷala, although she could speak it. Notes from classroom observations show that it was difficult for the teacher to refrain from using English when the children did not understand. Also, teachers' aides in the class were often unable to speak Kʷakʷala. The final obstacle was that there were not enough qualified teachers who spoke Kʷakʷala to continue the program into the higher grades. The materials continue to be used, but in the second-language program. There was also some resistance in the community from parents who opposed an immersion language programme in Kʷakʷala because they felt it would be detrimental to their children's futures.

In spite of increased prestige in knowing the language, and active efforts to re-introduce it into the communities, at times it appears that both those who try to learn Kʷakʷala as a second language and imperfect semi-speakers are not encouraged by fluent speakers when they attempt to speak Kʷakʷala. Of the three Kʷakʷaka'wakʷ communities where I have conducted fieldwork (Alert Bay, Quatsino, and Kingcome Inlet), in only one were imperfect semi-speakers encouraged in their use of Kʷakʷala. That community was

Quatsino.<sup>2</sup> The young semi-speakers in Quatsino were praised for their efforts, rather than belittled. Anonby notes:

It is likely Quatsino [among all K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> communities] that has the youngest speakers. There is one family that speaks Kwak'wala to their children. The youngest, who are in their early twenties, are fluent. Even outside of this family pocket, Kwak'wala is spoken fairly vigorously by people in their 40's (Anonby n.d.:5).

I discussed above possible reasons for parents not speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak'wala to their children (see page 242). Why would it be that in villages other than Quatsino, there is little encouragement for imperfect speakers to use the language? One possible explanation is that there are certain members of the community who speak what is considered to be a prestige dialect. There are interfamily rivalries at the political level, which may be reflected in language usage. For example, owing to the ranking system of the individual tribes, the Fort Rupert (K<sup>w</sup>agul) dialect is a very prestigious one because the K<sup>w</sup>agul are ranked among the highest of the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> tribes.

This brings up an interesting issue that has been and continues to be the subject of much debate. Franz Boas was the anthropologist who brought K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> ethnography into the forefront of anthropology, and there are those who question whether or not the designation "Kwakiutl," which he used for all K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> tribes, was a product of the fact that he worked most closely with the K<sup>w</sup>agul tribe at Fort Rupert. Prior to Boas's writings, the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> had no all-encompassing term that designated the tribes who spoke mutually intelligible dialects of K<sup>w</sup>ak'wala. Further to this, it is unclear whether the relative fixed ranking of the tribes existed prior to European

contact, or if this was a product of the increased wealth of individuals within the tribes due to the influx of European goods and money (see Codere 1950).

Whether or not the ranking of tribes is a construction invented and perpetuated by the ethnographic writings of Boas, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> today believe that the system of tribal ranking has always been there. So perhaps those speakers from the more prestigious dialects feel that their language is superior to others.

Many members of the K<sup>w</sup>agwł tribe now live in Alert Bay. One very well respected fluent speaker of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala of the K<sup>w</sup>agwł tribe expressed to me that the language teachers at the band-operated *Tł'isqłagi'lakw* school in Alert Bay should not be teaching the language. The reasons given were that the teachers either were not from that area, and dialectal differences existed, or simply that the teachers were not fluent speakers of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. My own feeling is that these opinions are held mostly because the usage of the teachers is not of a high prestige dialect. Although one's initial reaction may be of unfairness in these pronouncements, one must only compare this situation to that of teachers of English or French in Canada. High prestige dialects of English in Canada are those spoken by members of southern urban centres from Ontario to the west, such as those spoken in Toronto or Vancouver.<sup>3</sup> In French immersion schools in English-speaking Canada, many parents prefer their children to learn Parisian French rather than a Canadian dialect of French spoken in Québec.<sup>4</sup>

The sentiment of fluent speakers of endangered indigenous languages that their language is not being learned properly by the young generation is expressed elsewhere by

other researchers on indigenous language decline (*e.g.* Garzon 1992; Pye 1992). Thus, people may claim that they or others do not speak the language because they have been told by fluent speakers that their language skills are imperfect (Watson 1989; Kroskrity 1982). Sometimes this criticism stems from the fact that there are different dialects involved, as is the case noted above for K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala: “[M]any Chilcotin speakers criticize the speech of other Chilcotins who happen to speak a different dialect” (Pye 1992:80).

Even within the same dialect community however, sentiments such as the ones noted above among K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers are expressed by older speakers. They often complain that the language being taught in the school is not the ‘real’ K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. One woman expressed to me that even in the potlatch, people get up to make speeches in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, but “they don’t say it right.” There is certainly great prestige in knowing how to speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala well, in the old way. The irony is that, while the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> do not want their language to die out, many of those considered to be good speakers do not encourage others to use the language if the latter are not fluent speakers. Most do not speak the language with children. For example, one day when I was in Kingcome Inlet, I went with a friend of mine to visit some of her family members. There were several older people there who were all speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala. A younger woman, the daughter of the woman who lived in the house, was just leaving and she left her little daughter, probably about two years old, while she went to work. What was interesting was that the older people spoke in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala amongst themselves, but always in English when addressing the little girl. The next day, we went back to this house, and on the way we again saw this

little girl playing outside. My friend yelled out, “*Yo, wíksas*” (“Hello, how are you?”), and then proceeded to speak to the little girl in English. I tried to point out that perhaps the children should be spoken to in K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala so that they learn the language, particularly the ones who are living in the village. I mentioned the incident the day before when everyone was speaking K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in the house except when they spoke to the child. She told me that the parents don’t speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala to their children (most young adults are not able to speak the language fluently), and if the old people speak it to the children, the children don’t listen to them. So how does one get over this impasse?

Several attempts have been made to re-introduce K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala into communities, usually through K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala lessons taught at elementary schools, as noted above. One recent effort was attempted by Stan Anonby, who wrote his master’s thesis on language revitalization, focusing on the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> area (Anonby n.d.). Anonby himself, a non-K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup>, learned to speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala within a year of his arrival in Alert Bay. In his approach, he warns “against relying on education” (n.d.:34), claiming that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala must be taught and learned in the home (n.d.:37-39). However, his attempts at revitalizing K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in the community have not succeeded. In fact, he reports feelings of animosity directed towards him by other community members because of his suggestions for teaching K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala in the community (n.d.:52-54). Anonby feels that one of the problems is that he is not K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup>, and non-native. According to him, for any language revitalization effort to be successful, it must be initiated and run by the people themselves. In comparing his efforts to those of the Maori people, he writes:

The Maori language project has been a success that has defied all the experts' predictions. It has succeeded because of its unique immersion programs . . . It has also succeeded because it was a project that was conceived entirely by the Maori people (n.d.: 23).

It is clear that the difficulty of the language issue cannot be overcome simply by attempting to re-introduce the language into the community. Language issues, as one can see from the foregoing discussion, are political issues.

### **Language Survival**

The three factors for language survival (Galloway 1992:41) cited in chapter one (see page 33), are 1) living speakers have been raised speaking only the native language until at least the age of 12; 2) continual contact between native language speakers up to the present; and 3) when native language speakers move it is to a place where the native language (possibly another mutually intelligible dialect) is spoken. I will discuss the background of one of my older K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers in reference to these three factors. She did not learn English until she reached adulthood. She grew up in Kingcome Inlet, and lived for a time in Alert Bay. She told me that the only reason she learned English was to be able to understand what her children were doing at school. She had no formal education of her own, and she never attended any type of school. According to Galloway's factors, she fulfils the requirements for language survival; to be sure, in her case, her mother-tongue is very strong. Her example is a case of language survival in an *individual*; language survival on a community basis would entail the repetition of this

pattern with most individuals in the community. This is not happening today in Alert Bay, Quatsino or Kingcome Inlet because of the ever-encroaching English language. However, a Kwakwaka influenced by English vocabulary and structures is used in a limited way in the community (*e.g.* at school and during ceremonies), so perhaps the language will survive in this limited form, or elements of the language may survive as identity markers. In this sense, one needs to redefine the concept of “language death.” I contend that a language is not dead if it continues to be used, even in limited contexts.

Many people of the young generation of Kwakwaka speakers with whom I worked (*i.e.* those between the ages of about twenty and forty years, and one eighteen-year-old) had difficulty speaking Kwakwaka, but knew some words, and could understand much of the language when it was spoken to them. These people of the young generation are still referred to as “speakers” by other community members; it is clearly not necessary to know a language fluently to use that idiom as a symbol of cultural identity.

### **Identity and Agency**

The notion of agency was introduced in chapter one (see page 42). Agency is of central importance in research on how people assert and maintain identity. Heller, in a discussion of language choice in Montreal, explains that deciding whether to speak in English or in French takes on new meaning in the changing political environment, and that “[i]n the place of unconscious, or semi-conscious, use of language in everyday life is *an extreme awareness of language*, a new way of holding conversations that involves the



negotiation of language choice in every interaction” (1982:109, emphasis added). The choice is important because, according to Heller, the use of French with an anglophone, even when that anglophone is bilingual, may indicate that the speaker is using the language as a marker of his or her identity as a separatist. The use of English in such situations indicates a federalist. She recounts an incident in an automotive garage where she, an anglophone who speaks French with an English accent, was told by the attendant, ““You don’t have to speak French to me, madame. I’m not a separatist”” (Heller 1982:108). She states:

[The] awareness of language comes from the symbolic role it has in political life, and from the social value it has acquired as an obvious characteristic of the social groups involved in shifting relationships. Negotiation in conversation is a playing out of a negotiation for position in the community at large (1982:109).

The use of language for political purposes is evidenced by the use of K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, particularly in the context of outside encounters. In this way, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> are asserting their rights to their culture, language, and territory.

### **Cultural Continuity**

The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup> view their society as being unique, and maintain their cultural traditions and beliefs through ceremonies and storytelling. For example, the young people in Kingcome Inlet, who do not speak K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala, except for a few words, still feel very attached to their heritage as Tsawataineuk. In the house where I stayed in Kingcome Inlet, I was responsible for a 14-year-old girl while her uncle was away. She was there

for the summer from Vancouver, where she lived and went to school. She often talked about “our mountains.” The evening before she was to leave to go back to Vancouver, we had a discussion about her attachment to the village. She talked about how she loved it there, and was heartbroken that she had to leave. She said that she felt protected by “our mountains.” When she talks to her friends in Vancouver about animals talking, and legends, she said they laugh at her. We talked about ravens, and eagles, and bears, and how they were much more intelligent than most people think. The landscape, the language, whom one is related to, this is all part of their identity, and it is very strong. It seems clear that, based on her example, this culture is not dying, even among those who no longer speak the language, or who never did. This community, being as isolated as it is, and having been situated in the same place for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years, has a very strong sense of identity as Tsawataineuk.

Among the K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka’wak<sup>w</sup>, their language is an important part of their culture. Many have expressed to me their view that they believe their culture is dying because, according to them, their *language* is dying. At the Elders’ Gathering in Kingcome Inlet in 1995, most speech-makers ended up by lamenting that the culture is, in most of their opinions, in a state of disintegration. There were many references to such things as “going back to the old ways,” and that “losing our language means losing our culture.”

If one looks at language solely as a means of verbal communication, employed by fluent (or near-fluent) speakers, and not as a symbol of identity, one could claim that K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala is a dying language. For the former purpose, it is spoken among elders, and

during potlatches, but rarely at other times. However, language is not only for the communication of ideas. It is also for the communication of symbols.

The K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>ala speakers with whom I have worked believe strongly that their language, whether spoken fluently by an individual or not, is an intricate and even necessary part of their culture as K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup>, and a marker of their identity as K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> people. Although the language may be changing, and perhaps undergoing the process known in the literature as "language death," that is, declining in use as an everyday means of communication, different generations of speakers retain it in various degrees of competence as a marker of cultural identity.

## Notes to Chapter Six

1. This attitude is a direct outcome of contemporary thought in anthropology of the stages of cultural evolution, including savagery, barbarism, and civilization (see Tylor [1958]). According to the British at the time, K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> culture was at the lowest level of the continuum.
2. This is not to say that there are no other K<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aka'wak<sup>w</sup> communities in which learners of the language are encouraged. However, based on other reports on the subject in communities where an indigenous language is endangered, this attitude seems to be common.
3. It is interesting to note that radio and television broadcasters during their training are taught to speak a "CBC" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) style of English, regardless of the station at which they happen to end up working.
4. This information comes from my own personal experience as a mother with a child in a French immersion program. I have heard many complaints from parents about teachers who do not speak "proper" (*i.e.* Parisian) French. These differences are not only in pronunciation (*e.g.* Québec [tayt]/France [tɛt] for 'tête' *head*), but also in vocabulary (*e.g.* Québec 'patate'/France 'pomme de terre' *potato*). Further, the preference for vocabulary from France is not based on which is the more anglicized term, as evidenced by Québec 'fin de semaine'/France 'weekend' *weekend*.

**APPENDIX - LIST OF SUFFIXES**

| <i>English meaning</i> | <i>Suffix</i>       | <i>Page number</i> |
|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| about, here and there  | -iʔlə(la)           | 163                |
| across                 | -aʔwiʔ              | 170                |
| among others           | -gamiʔ              | 165                |
| arm above elbow        | =xsiap̣             | 162                |
| around                 | -iʔst(a), -siʔst(a) | 140                |
| beach, down to         | -n̄cis              | 167                |
| behind (n.)            | =x̣sd               | 158                |
| capable of             | -əs                 | 148                |
| chest                  | =bu                 | 174                |
| devoted to             | -bəəs               | 149                |
| door                   | =ʔstu               | 130                |
| down                   | -aʔ(a)              | 145                |
| ear                    | =atu                | 156                |
| eat                    | =əx̣st(a)           | 135                |
| eye                    | =ʔstu               | 130                |
| face                   | -gəm                | 133                |
| fellow                 | -ut                 | 171                |
| fire, off from         | -xsʔa, -xsʔənd      | 175                |
| first of its kind      | -gamiʔ              | 165                |

| <i>English meaning</i>       | <i>Suffix</i>     | <i>Page number</i> |
|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| fond of                      | -bəṣ              | 149                |
| forehead                     | =giʔu, =giyu      | 155                |
| go in a certain direction    | -aq(a)            | 142                |
| hand                         | =xḥan(a)          | 159                |
| having                       | -nuk <sup>w</sup> | 151                |
| having                       | -ad               | 169                |
| hind end                     | =xṣd              | 158                |
| house, in or on the floor of | -iḥ               | 144                |
| in                           | -ḥu               | 171                |
| instrument                   | -əm               | 172                |
| into hole                    | -bət(a)           | 172                |
| mask                         | =gəmiḥ            | 153                |
| meal                         | =əxst(a)          | 135                |
| middle                       | =uʔyu             | 160                |
| mouth, in                    | =iʎ'xu            | 136                |
| mouth of animal              | =əxst(a)          | 135                |
| (nominal ending)             | -iʔ               | 173                |
| opening                      | =əxst(a)          | 135                |
| opposite                     | -k'ut             | 162                |
| past (somebody)              | -aq(a)            | 142                |

| <i>English meaning</i>            | <i>Suffix</i>      | <i>Page number</i> |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| person who does action habitually | =inux <sup>w</sup> | 161                |
| relationship                      | -mp                | 150                |
| round opening                     | =ʔstu              | 130                |
| sea, off from                     | -xsʔa, -xsʔənd     | 175                |
| senses, excelling in the use of   | -əs                | 148                |
| shoulder                          | =xsiap̣            | 162                |
| side                              | -nu                | 164                |
| tail end                          | =x̣sd              | 158                |
| talk about                        | =əx̣st(a)          | 135                |
| temples                           | =nuλəm             | 154                |
| through                           | -x̣sa              | 137                |
| two parts/pieces, in              | -xsʔa, -xsʔənd     | 175                |
| up                                | -gusta             | 147                |
| water, under                      | -ns(a)             | 168                |

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