Martha Lamont, an extremely talented Lushootseed storyteller whose work has been examined in numerous papers in this series, sometimes briefly switched to English in the course of telling a Lushootseed story. This paper examines a text from Mrs. Lamont, detailing her use of English and categorizing each instance according to some of the literature on code-switching.

Code-switching, the use of more than one language within a single conversational event, is now being recognized in the linguistic literature as a language-based skill in its own right. Bilingual communities may value or not value code-switching (cf., the epithet “Spanglish,” heard in the US southwest to describe Spanish-English code-switching), but a considerable body of research indicates that code-switching patterns reveal interesting points about the linguistic structure of each of the two languages in contact. MacSwan (1999) is representative of much recent research on the topic, arguing that code-switching occurs at the confluence of syntactic boundaries in the matrix language (the primary language of the discourse in question) and the embedded language (the other language the interlocutors share). That is, the switches from Spanish to English (and vice versa) within a sentence do not appear at random word boundaries, but at the edges of major syntactic constituents that are similar in the two languages. In addition, the rhetorical, literary, and sociolinguistic functions of code-switching have enjoyed quite a lot of attention in a broad range of scholarly research (cf. Milroy and Muysken, 1995). At least in the linguistics literature, no longer is it assumed that code-switching is a sign of incomplete acquisition of one of the languages in contact; the reasons a speaker might choose to employ two languages in a single discourse might be many and complex. To my knowledge, there have been no published studies on code-switching in Salish languages. The present paper examines the occasional use of English within a Lushootseed narrative from Hess (In Prep). Thom Hess recorded Mrs. Martha Lamont telling this story on March 30, 1966, at the home

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1 Many thanks to Thom Hess for providing me a copy of his manuscript of the third volume of his Lushootseed Reader and for years of fruitful collaboration. As part of early work on the materials that would eventually comprise Volume 3, I have worked on this story with Vi tə̃dəblu Hilbert and also with Toby Langen; I thank each of them. The morpheme analysis is mine, and all the mistakes.

2 MacSwan’s (1999:234) analysis is based on his claim that “nothing constrains code switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars,” within the Minimalist framework. Also note that my references to the code-switching literature are not meant to be exhaustive; but MacSwan has a very nice review of the literature.
of Mrs. Lamont and her husband Levi Lamont. Hess and Mr. Lamont comprised the audience for the performance.

The transcription used here corresponds in line numbers and many other respects to the one in Hess (In Prep). I have removed some of Hess’s editorial changes to the transcription; in particular, where he marks English as being outside of the Lushootseed transcription, and provides the Lushootseed translation for any words/phrases/sentences in English. I have tried to represent clearly the phonetic properties of this particular telling, including those lines in which Mrs. Lamont chose to express herself in English.

For each instance of English in this Lushootseed text, I analyze the switch according to some of the most common categories from the code-switching literature. The distinction between INTRASENTENTIAL and INTERSENTENTIAL code-switching is the most basic categorization, describing whether the switch occurs at a sentence boundary (intersentential switch) or within a sentence (intrasentential switch). As mentioned above, the syntactic literature on code-switching is particularly detailed about intrasentential switches, because switches tend to occur at the edges of major syntactic boundaries, especially those syntactic boundaries that are similar in form in the matrix and embedded languages. The use of a single lexical item from the embedded language (here, English) within a sentence in the matrix language (here, Lushootseed) is sometimes referred to as NONCE BORROWING (cf. Sankoff and Poplack, 1981); the discussion here will note cases of nonce borrowing. Lexical switches are the only examples of code-switching that need not be at the edge of a major syntactic boundary.

I present below all of the lines in the story in which Mrs. Lamont chose to speak English; 28 out of 247 lines of text include some English. The excerpts are ordered here according to their sequence in the narrative and they are numbered according to Hess’s manuscript. I give a few lines of the preceding and following context, where that appears to be helpful to the description.

Lines 1-6 of “Little Diver Was the Wife of Heron” contain preliminary talk and give the setting for the story. Heron (sbaqʷaʔ) and his wife, xʷuʔxʷoyʔ ‘Little Diver’, are introduced; no English appears in these lines. The first instance of English occurs in line 11, in the middle of a scene-setting episode. Mrs. Lamont gives a narrator’s comment in an English sentence; this is an instance of intersentential code-switching.

Abbreviations employed in the morpheme glosses include the following. 1 (first person); 2 (second person); 3 (third person); ADD(itive); ADV(erb); APPL(licative); DET(eminizer); DIR(ecntional prefix); CAUS(ative); CL (negative clitic); CONJ(unction); COS (change of state); EMPH(atic); F(eminine); Fut(ure); FOC(us); HAB(itual); INTER(ection); INTR (detransitivizing suffix); LOC(ative); NEG(ative); NOM(inalizing prefix); O(bject); PART(itive); P(reposition); PASS(ive); PL(ural); POSS(essive, possessor); PST (past); PUNCT(ual); Q(uantifier); RED(uplication—1 diminutive, 2, distributive); REFEL(exive); S UBJECT; S(ingular); SFX (unanalyzed suffix); ST(ative); SUBJUNCT(ive); TR(ansitivizing suffix). Boundaries: / root; - (affix); = (lexical suffix); + (reduplication); angled brackets enclose false starts and square brackets enclose Hess’s editorial additions, made during his work with Mr. Levi Lamont transcribing and translating the original recording.
How did Little Diver get sick?

And then Little Diver groaned.

She groaned.

"Dh,Dh. It must be little bullhead are [lacking from my diet]. (groan). Uh. Uh."

She's saying she's pretty sick and she likes to eat some little, little bullhead, little bullhead. 'She's saying she's pretty sick and she likes to eat some little, little bullhead, little bullhead.'

[That is what] Little Diver was saying.'

Line 11 interrupts a pattern found in lines 8-10, which is picked up again in 12. The reference to groaning is made in lines 8 and 9, while 10 is a direct quote of the chanted groan, and line 12 uses another verb of speaking to refer to the groaning. The line in English might be for Thorn Hess's benefit, to orient him to the story, after the chant in 10. But Hess (1998) notes that Mrs. Lamont did not accommodate to his level of Lushootseed proficiency, but seemed more to direct her narrative to her bilingual husband. I suspect that Mrs. Lamont employed English in line 11 to vary the repetition structure.

The next English in the story is also intersentential code-switching. Mrs. Lamont starts line 17 with an incomplete comment in English. The Lushootseed in line 17 comprises a full sentence.
'Then Heron said,'

"Oh, my wife has fallen sick.

'I should try and fish.'

He scraped his legs so he wouldn't make noise as he waded along the shore of the sound.'
‘He fishes.’

Mrs. Lamont caps this scene-setting episode with an English sentence followed by its translation, another instance of intersentential code-switching. Note that in each of the examples of intersentential code-switching described thus far, Mrs. Lamont chooses English for the penultimate sentence before a narrative boundary and switches back to Lushootseed to end the paragraph or episode.

(20) Tide is out. čagʷ-axʷ tiʔiʔ ʔuʔx.
    seaward-COS DET tide

‘Tide is out. The tide was way out.’

Line 20 marks the end of a paragraph and the end of the narrator’s scene-setting comments. Subsequent paragraphs move narrative time and describe Heron’s fishing. In line 43, a new episode begins at home while Heron is away.

(43) gʷəl (h)uy uʔxʷ-axʷ tiʔaʔ čətəx.
    CONJ ADV go-COS DET kingfisher

‘And then Kingfisher went.’

(44) gʷəl (h)uy qəd-əb-txʷ-axʷ tsiʔəʔ čəgʷas
    CONJ ADV have.sex-INTR-CAUS-COS DET-F wife

ʔə tiʔəʔ s-/bəqʷaʔ, tsiʔəʔ
P DET NOM-/heron

xʷuʔxʷəʔ, Little Diver.
RED1+diver

‘And then he had sex with Heron’s wife, Little Diver.’

(45) qəd-əb-tu-b-axʷ
    have.sex-INTR-CAUS-PASS-COS P DET NEG

lə-/haʔəł čətəx ʔəl tə s-/xʷiʔ
CL-/good kingfisher P DET NOM-/NEG

ʔə tiʔiʔ cədiʔ.
P DET

‘This no good so and so, Kingfisher, had sex with her while that one [Heron] was not [at home].’

Lines 43-45 introduce the main problem of the narrative. Line 44 names the patient object Little Diver with three DPs in sequence: first with
Lushootseed ‘this wife of Heron’, then with her Lushootseed name, and then with a translation of her name into English at the end of the sentence. Little Diver becomes the topic in line 45, where she bears the unexpressed patient role the passive.

The syntax of the code-switching in line 44 is fairly straightforward; tsiʔaʔ xʷuʔxʷəʔ is an appositive modifier of the previous DP tsiʔaʔ čagʷəs ʔə tiʔəs/bəʔʷəʔ; the English DP is an appositive modifier of the modifier it follows. Both English and Lushootseed allow DP appositive post-modifiers of DP, so MacSwan’s generalization holds here as well. The literary device of repetition in line 44 may help clearly reestablish Little Diver as the discourse topic, especially since the introduction of a new character, the womanizing Kingfisher, occurs in line 43 and establishes him as the covert subject of the transitive clause in line 44.

Lines 50-56 go through Little Diver’s song again. In the excerpt below, Mrs. Lamont makes a narrator’s comment; she shifts out of the timeframe of the narrative and into the timeframe of the storytelling event.

(57) diʔ-əxʷ tiʔəl dəxʷ-as-/luu-t-əb-s tsiʔəl FOC-COS DET NOM-ST-/hear-TR-PASS-3S DET-F

ccdəl diver, xʷuʔxʷəʔ.

DET RED1+/diver

‘That is how those divers, little divers are heard’

(58) xʷu-(u-)/cu(t)cət-əxʷ ?əl tiʔə?

HAB-PUNCT -RED2-/say-cos P DET

s-ʔəl=gʷəl.

NOM-/side=waterway ‘[when] they talk by the shore.’

(59a.) <ʔə tə luutəb ʔə> xʷ( u-)as-/luu-t-əb

HAB-ST-/hear-T-TR-PASS

ʔə tiʔə? s-ʔu-/ʔuul+ul+ul P DET NOM-PUNCT /paddle+RED

ʔə tiʔə? bəʔkʷ gʷat <gʷəl xʷ( u)asluutəb>

P DET all who

ʔəl kʷi s-ə-/laʔil[-s].

P DET NOM-ST-/evening

‘They are heard by everyone as they paddle about in the evening.’

37
Some evening, you can hear the diver like that.

The switch in line 57 is the first example of nonce borrowing in the text. The noun *diver* appears in the DP *tsiʔiʔ cədiʔ diver, xʷuʔxʷəyʔ*, where *xʷuʔxʷəyʔ* is either a full DP modifier of the DP *tsiʔiʔ cədiʔ diver*, or it is a noun appositive modifying and translating *diver* alone. Mrs. Lamont is probably using the word *diver* to name a class of waterfowl, and the Lushootseed word *xʷuʔxʷəyʔ* as the species name of a member of that class.

In line 59b, Mrs. Lamont effects intersentential code-switching to loosely translate (and thereby repeat) line 59a. Lines 60 and 61 repeat Little Diver’s song and Mrs. Lamont ends this paragraph with a comment in English:

Pretty sick.

Lines 60-62 serve as a bridge back to the time of the narrative. Line 62 is another example of intersentential code-switching, the first example in the text in which Mrs. Lamont uses English as the final sentence before a narrative boundary.

The next paragraph in the text describes again the way Heron prepares his legs so they won’t make noise in the water.

The English stem *worry* in line 64 is the second example of nonce borrowing in the text. Note that the stem is preceded and followed by Lushootseed bound morphemes expressing aspect. At least some of the literature on nonce borrowing suggests that lexical switches resist hosting affixes or clitics from the matrix language; that behavior is more common for widespread borrowings that have adopted phonological and morphological traits from the matrix (borrowing) language. Sankoff and Poplack’s (1981) free morpheme constraint states that a switch between a lexical item and a bound morpheme is not possible unless the lexical item is phonologically integrated into the language. But note that the English word *worry* contains the bunched approximant /r/, a consonant
that is not a member of the Lushootseed consonant inventory.\textsuperscript{4} The English form in 67 contains /r/ in an onset cluster. The phonology of
\texttt{worry}'\textsuperscript{w} indicates that \textit{worry} is not nativized into Lushootseed, while its
morphology suggests it is. A similar case of a nonce borrowing showing more
integration into Lushootseed morphology than into Lushootseed phonology
appears in the first word of line 67; Heron is the topic in lines 65-67.\textsuperscript{5}

\begin{verbatim}
(65)  bə-\texttt{-q}\textsuperscript{w}ibi-d   tiʔiː   jəsəd-s.
ADD-\texttt{-fix-TR}   DET   leg-3POSS
‘He fixed his legs.’

(66)  bə-saX+/saXa-d.
ADD-RED2+/scrape-TR
‘He scraped and scraped them some more.’

(67)  bə-trim+/trim      tiʔəʔ   jəsəd-s
ADD-RED2+/trim      DET   leg-3POSS

dx\textsuperscript{w}/\texttt{al}   k\textsuperscript{w}i   g\textsuperscript{w}-s-x\textsuperscript{w}i[-s   k\textsuperscript{w}i
p   det   subjunct-nom-neg-3S det

\texttt{g}-s-s-\texttt{as}-si\textsuperscript{w}+/s\textsuperscript{w}i-cut-s]
SUBJUNCT-NOM-ST-RED1+/swish-REFL-3S

\texttt{g}-s-s-\texttt{ac}-i-s(-s)   tiʔiː   ʔi
P   DET   NOM-ST-/wade-intr-tr-3S DET   CONJ

s-/\texttt{x}\textsuperscript{w}ædiʔ        tiʔiː   ʔiʔ+/\texttt{puay}
NOM-/bullhead DET   RED1+/flounder

on the beach, l\texttt{i}-/\texttt{g}\textsuperscript{w}iː
\texttt{dir-/side=waterway

‘He trimmed his legs so that they wouldn’t make [even] a little
swishing sound as he waded in the shallows after bullhead and little
flounder on the beach, along the shore.’

The nonce borrowing \textit{trim} contains /r/ and a bilabial nasal; neither sound is
adjusted to fit Lushootseed phonology. But \textit{trim} participates in distributive
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{4} Cf. the nativization of the initial phoneme in \textit{lab ‘rum’}, borrowed from English via
Chinook Jargon (Bates, Hess, Hilbert, 1994).

\textsuperscript{5} See also Myers-Scotton (1993) for counterexamples to the free morpheme constraint.
reduplication just like the native root in line 66. Trimtrim also accepts the aspectual prefix ba-.

Line 67 also contains an example of intrasentential codeswitching very similar to the one in line 18. The English prepositional phrase adjunct adverbial on the beach is followed by its translation in line 67. The directional stem liɨ-/ʔiɨ=gʷiɨ, like directional adverbs in English, can function as an adjunct adverbial in sentence-final position.

After several repetitions of Kingfisher’s dalliances during Heron’s fishing trips, Heron begins to suspect the affair. Mrs. Lamont narrates Heron’s realization and his efforts to confirm his suspicions. To end this scene, Mrs. Lamont uses an English phrasal verb in predicate position and attaches to the English verb the Lushootseed aspectual clitic that Bates and Hess (2001) classify as CHANGE OF STATE. The Lushootseed subject phrase follows the predicate in the normal word order for an intransitive clause.

The text displays no code-switching for the next several lines, during which we are treated to multiple iterations of fishing along the shore and cheating at home. Around line 79, Heron begins to suspect something and Mrs. Lamont gives the nonce borrowing in 83 to restate his revelation.

(83) Catch on-əxʷ tiʔiɨ s-ʔušəbabdxʷ.
catch.on-COS D nom-unfortunate
‘The poor fellow caught on.’

The nonce borrowing in 83 is interesting because English catch on is a phrasal verb. The Lushootseed aspectual enclitic -əxʷ attaches to the particle on.

Heron comes home early and catches Kingfisher in bed with Little Diver. There’s no English during the next scene, in which Kingfisher flees and Heron stabs him with his spear. Blood pours from Kingfisher’s side. Lines 100-107 wrap up the portion of the narrative dealing with Heron’s revenge on Kingfisher; narration time stops and Mrs. Lamont inserts a narrator’s comment about the lasting effects of Heron’s attack on Kingfisher’s physical appearance. The English word Mrs. Lamont uses in this circular figure is red, in line 106. Her use of the English word is clearly not because she has forgotten the Lushootseed word for ‘red’, ʔiɨ-ʔəc; she employs the root ʔəc in lines 102 and 104.

(100) ʔah-əxʷ tiʔiɨ ʔətəx.
LOC-COS D kingfisher
‘Kingfisher was there.’

(101) ʔəs-dɨxʷ+/dɨxʷ
CONT-RED2+/wound

6 Also interesting is the CCVC shape of the distributive reduplicant in ba-ʔiɨn+ba-ʔiɨn; native C₁C₂VC₃ roots display a C₁C₂ reduplicant under distributive reduplication (cf. Urbanczyk, 2001).
'He was wounded.'

(102) ṭu. , dił-oxʷ tiʔə? dəxʷ-əs-/čc-il-s-əxʷ.
INTERJ FOC-COS DET NOM-ST-/red-INTR-3S-COS

'The old one, that is why he is red now.'

(103) ṭə-bid ṭə tiʔə? ṭə al ta ḡu-(s-)/saqʷ
LOC-LOC P DET P DET HAB-NOM-/fly

<ʔə tiʔə cədi> ṭə tiʔə cədił ʔətX.
P DET DET kingfisher

'It is right there when Kingfisher flies.'

(104) dił-oxʷ dəxʷ-əs-/čc-il-s.
FOC-COS NOM-ST-/red-INTR-3S

'That is why he is red.'

(105) ḡəti ʔə(u-)as-/čl-il tiʔə? ṭə ti.
ADV HAB-ST-/bleed-INTR D P DEM

'Just as though he were bleeding right there.'

(106) Red.

(107) taš tiʔət tu-s-/caqə-t-əb-s <ʔah>.
ADV DET PAST-NOM-/spear-TR-PASS-3S

'On account of his having been speared.'

A major narrative shift occurs just after line 107; lines 108-111 detail Heron's revenge on Kingfisher. The next English appears in line 113, which is the second line of an episode that details Heron's revenge on Little Diver. He impales her on a dead cedar tree. That episode starts at line 112, wherein Mrs. Lamont reintroduces Little Diver. In the next line she gives the English noun phrase old tree, cedar tree after the Lushootseed proximal determiner tiʔə?; the resulting DP gives new information in the discourse.

(112) gʷəl (h)uy tu-/kʷəda-d-əxʷ tsiʔət
CONJ ADV PAST-/take-TR-COS DET-F

tu-/čəgʷas(-s), ʔxʷuʔxʷəyə.
PAST-/wife-3POSS RED1+diver

'And then he took his wife, Little Diver.'

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7 Hess (In Prep) notes that when Mrs. Lamont said this, she reached across to point to her left side just below the axilla.
In the next line, a recast of line 113, Mrs. Lamont gives the Lushootseed distal determiner ti?i?l and a full English DP this old tree. This instance of code-switching seems to overlap the embedded language DP with the matrix language DP, since both a Lushootseed and an English determiner appear in 114. Lushootseed allows double determiners in some cases; perhaps that pattern influences Mrs. Lamont's production in 114.

Line 115 is a short description of the tree entirely in Lushootseed; in line 116, Mrs. Lamont gives a translation of 115 and expands the description, repeating old dead cedar tree, with no determiner.

The description of the tree ends with 116 and two storyline clauses appear in sequence, in monolingual Lushootseed, in lines 117-118. A very interesting instance of nonce borrowing appears in line 119; Mrs. Lamont employs the English word punish with the Lushootseed applicative suffix -di- and the transitive suffix -d. The nasal in punish shows the same kind of lack of accommodation to Lushootseed phonology seen in the nonce borrowings discussed earlier (worry, trim, catch on).
Immediately after line 119, Mrs. Lamont employs an intersentential switch and gives more information about the impaling in an English passage several clauses in length. The delicate subject of this episode may be related to Mrs. Lamont's choice to use English; employing the embedded language can be a strategy for distancing a speaker from unpleasant information (cf. Milroy and Muysken, 1995):

(120) The highest, right in the highest place where he can put her around there, hang her on. He just make her sit down right there so she can stay, so she couldn't get out.8

The next line caps the impaling episode with a recast of the punish nonce borrowing, this time with the transitivizing suffix, but without the applicative suffix. Little Diver, the object of the transitive, is named in Lushootseed and in English.

(121) punish-d-əxʷ tsiʔiʔiʔ xʷuʔxʷəyʔ, Diver.
     punish-TR-COS DET-F RED1+diver
     'He punished Little Diver.'

The next paragraph returns to the discussion Heron's revenge on Kingfisher. Lines 122 and 123 are mostly in English.

(122) And this s-/bəqʷəʔ went. <čətx went down.>

(123) And purt′ near killed this s-/ʔuʃəbabdxʷ čətx.
     'And he nearly killed this unfortunate Kingfisher.'

Line 122 gives s-/bəqʷəʔ 'Heron' inside a full English DP headed by this. Line 123 uses this to begin a DP and then switches to Lushootseed with an Adjective-Noun combination sʔuʃəbabdxʷ čətx 'unfortunate Kingfisher'.

The next English appears in line 129, wherein Mrs. Lamont searches for the names of two waterfowl to name in the rescue of Little Diver. She asks in an aside in Lushootseed, 'What are the names of those, um?' Her husband, Levi Lamont, volunteers the word stiqaytʔ 'wolf' (perhaps because the Wolf Brothers are important in another story Mrs. Lamont might have recently told.) Mrs. Lamont responds to Mr. Lamont in English; she says no and uses Lushootseed hesitation markers stəb, stəb before she names the class of animal she seeks the name for. She uses the English word divers for the class of birds and then gives a Lushootseed emphatic marker əwə. The Lushootseed names come to her then, and she finishes the sentence (and circular figure) in Lushootseed, except she uses the English term brother to restate the familial relationship of Loon and Big Diver to Little Diver.

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8 Hess (In Prep) notes that Mrs. Lamont says she instead of he before just.
And then her relatives spoke, the brothers of this gal, Little Diver, her brothers, that, uh, what are thenames of those, uh, uh, (LL: ‘wolves’) no, those, uh, divers, Loon and Big Diver, two older brothers of this (female) one.

No English appears in lines 130-160, which describe how the brothers discover where their sister is impaled and they discuss strategies for bringing her down. One of them says line 159, which is the first instance of titčulbixʷ, a form that designates a class of small animals, including some birds; titčulbixʷ contains a frozen diminutive reduplication.

(159) "?ub čət xʷuʔəlcə? ?u/-qʷuʔ-əd
good IPLS maybe PUNCT-/gather-TR

kʷi bəkʷ stab titčulbixʷ.
DET all what small.animal

‘I guess we should gather all kinds of small animals.’
In line 160, Mrs. Lamont modifies titčul’bixʷ with English *little*; perhaps she employs the English to vary the lexical choices within the four repetitions of 'small animals' she deems appropriate for this passage. The small animals are the topic of the next episode.

No English appears in lines 161-179. Mr. Lamont gives an order in English to the family's dogs in line 180. That may have had an effect on Mrs. Lamont's code-switching subsequent in lines 183-185. Line 180 starts a new episode that Hess entitles “Potential Rescuers Are Called Upon.”

In line 183, Mrs. Lamont uses the nonce borrowing *halfway*. In line 185, she employs the phrasal verb *give up*, similar to her use of *catch on*.

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(180) hay, ?uxʷ-əxʷ. (LL: keep still now you)
 ADV  go-COS

hay ?uxʷ-əxʷ tiʔ+ʻ+iʔ.
 ADV  go-COS DET+RED

'So they went. They went.'

(181) gʷi(h)i-t-əb tiʔə? cədił titčul’bixʷ.
 invite-TR-PASS DET DET small.animal

'The small animals were invited.'

(182) ḥu-/kwatač kwį ʔiľ-/kwəɬąq. ɬupəʔacuts
 HAB-/climb DET PART-/the.rest

'Some of the others would climb up.'

(183) gʷəl xʷul' halfway
 CONJ  ADV

'But they would just get halfway.'

(184) gʷəl ḥu-bə-/xʷiʔ-il.
 CONJ  HAB-ADD-/fall-INTR

'And they would fall again.'

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In line 183, Mrs. Lamont uses the nonce borrowing *halfway*. In line 185, she employs the phrasal verb *give up*, similar to her use of *catch on*.

(185) ḥu-/give up əlgʷəʔ.
 HAB- 3PL

'They would give up.'
Another nonce borrowing appears in line 186. Hess (In Prep) notes that English *bird* lacks a close equivalent in Lushootseed. He notes that small birds, robins, wrens, and the like, are classed together with other small creatures as *tit'ul'bixʷ*; Mrs. Lamont's choice of English in line 186 could be semantically driven.

The next code-switching appears in line 191, which describes one of the birds attempting a rescue and failing to reach Little Diver. The line starts with English *but* and includes another use of the nonce borrowing *halfway*.

The next episode, entitled “Little Sticky-Foot Succeeds” by Hess, recounts the success of Sapsucker. In line 194, Mrs. Lamont describes his actions with a switched adverb phrase and a nonce borrowing *tree*. She immediately translates the *all around* reference.
The next episode, comprising lines 207-line 220, recounts the brothers’ revenge on Kingfisher, whom they can spear, but cannot catch. There is English in line 210.

(210) huy, crikʷaqid quick kʷi xu-[s-]/paɬ-s.
ADV ADV DET HAB-NOM-/flee-3S
‘But he would always flee quickly.’

Mrs. Lamont gives a traditional recap of the story in lines 229-247; lines 239-242 comprise a circular figure. Line 241 is entirely in English, and it is the third mention of Little Diver’s bad behavior. The fourth appears in line 242.

(241) And she done worse.

(242) guʔel tu-/huyu-d tiʔaʔ? saʔ.
CONJ PAST-/do-TR DET bad
‘She had done something bad.’

I believe that Mrs. Lamont employed switches to English at least partially in order provide syntactic and lexical variety in the highly patterned portions of the story.

The last English in the text is in (a twist on?) a formulaic ending in line 246, the second to the last line in the story. Mrs. Lamont uses the nonce borrowing story.

(246) yəxʔi xʷʔiʔ kʷʔ[i] tu-(s-)/saʔʔ tiʔaʔ? story.
because NEG DET PAST-NOM-/end P DET
‘Because this story does not end.’

The final line of the telling is all in Lushootseed and is a formulaic ending.

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