W7éyle – The Moon's Wife (Wala)*

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1 Introduction

Secwépemc oral narratives consist of two genres: First, <code>slexéyem</code> are tellings of events personally remembered by the storyteller, or in some cases handed down from a member of a known previous generation who experienced the event. By contrast, <code>stsptekwll</code> are stories set in the ancient times of transformers. The essential transformers are Coyote, Tlli7sa and his brothers, and Qweqwile see Ignace and Ignace (2017). In addition, <code>stsptekwll</code> include many narratives about other animals with supernatural powers and shape-shifting abilities, and many of these <code>stsptekwll</code> include contests between such protagonists. An essential feature of these <code>stsptekwll</code> is that characters shape-shift between animal and human shape and in the course of the events of the story create the status quo of the physical, ecological, astronomical, and geological characteristics of the beings described as sentient in the story. Of course, they also entail moral-educational messages of the consequences of human action, and in that sense they are parables that serve to point out issues of present relevance.

R. Ignace (2008) and M. and R. Ignace (2017) have pointed out how *stsptek-wll* embody Secwépemc Indigenous law by providing a moral-educational code of conduct and speaking to an environmental ethic (Armstrong, 2009), but also expressing the *deeds* of ancestors by commemorating ancient ancestors' experiences and actions, which are in turn marked on the land and thus express the legitimate ownership of Secwépemc people of the Secwépemc homeland. This complex sense is expressed in the term *stsqey*, which means "deeds" in the double sense of the English meaning of action and experience, combined with deeds being legitimate evidence of the ownership of land as evidenced in markings like pictographs, rock formations and other markers which in turn harken back to place names that commemorate them and stories that both bear witness to them and elaborate on them:

Our Secwépemc *stsptékwle* or *tellqelmúcw* (ancestors) left us a legacy of experience and knowledge handed down through countless generations that, if we connect the dots meticulously, provides the moral and spiritual foundation of our society and the *stsqey* (laws) that show

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us how to act toward one another and with respect for all the living beings on the land that give us life (Ignace and Ignace 2017: 63).¹

Recordings of Secwépemc stsptekwll began with Dawson (1891)'s retellings, in his own prose, of narratives of places and mythical beings he learned from his (unnamed) Secwépemc guides while in Secwépemc territory during his geological survey of Canada between between 1877 and the late 1880s. In 1888-89, at the near beginning of his anthropological career, Franz Boas spent a short period in the Tkemlúps (Kamloops) area, recording ethnographic information and a remarkably detailed version of the eastern and southern portion of the Secwépemc Tllí7sa epic from an anonymous storyteller, likely through the medium of the Chinook Jargon. Between 1900 and 1904, James A. Teit, hired by Boas under the auspices of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, added a significant body of stsptekwll recorded with Secwépemc storytellers Sxwéylecken from Big Bar and Dog Creek, and Sisyúlecw from Simpcw (North Thompson). Unlike the body of work left by Boas' associates Henry Tate (see Boas 1912, 1916), George Hunt (Boas & Hunt, 1905, 1906), John Swanton (1905, 1908), and later William Beynon (Anderson and Halpin, 2000), the stsptekwll recorded with the above narrators by Teit do not involve verbatim transcriptions of what the narrators dictated in the original Indigenous languages, but are instead Teit's renderings in his own 1900-ish prose, which are based on his notes and memories of the tellings. Plot-wise, they are remarkably detailed. Language-wise, they leave us only guessing how the storytellers told these stsptekwll or how they knew them.²

In the 1960s–1980s, linguist Aert Kuipers recorded a set of texts from Secwépemc speakers as part of his 1974 *The Shuswap Language*, and subsequently, the 1989

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According to the late Dr. Mary Thomas and other elders, the term tellqelmúcw (the root tell for shape-shift, change appearance plus qelmúcw for people) references ancient ancestors, more precisely the ancient transformers or shapeshifters who lived a long time ago. Teit (1909: 595) uses the term spetakuł (stsptékwll or possible stsptekwle) to refer to the people who inhabited the earth during [the mythological age and] partook of the characteristics of both men and animals, whereas Aert Kuiperss (1983) Secwépemc dictionary glosses stsptékwll as myth, legend, to tell a myth – although the verb usually adds the intransitive suffix, producing the term (ts)ptékwllem. Since Secwépemc morphology in personal names suggests that the suffix -(e)le is a person suffix, often used in names that honour the deeds of a person, with -ll acting as a perpetual marker for nonhuman life forms, we use stsptékwll for story or oral history and stsptékwle for the ancient storied beings, or the transformers. We use tellqelmúcw and stsptékwle interchangeably to refer to the ancient people as transformers who developed the skills of visioning and shapeshifting through the étsxem (spirit guardian quest) and through being doctored by their own elders.

²As is evidenced in Teit's renderings of Secwépemc personal names, place names and other terms (Teit, 1909) he knew Secwepemctsín well, although he occasionally struggled with certain phonemes. Historical documents from the time of the McKenna-McBride commission and Delegation visits of chiefs to Ottawa attest to his ability to translate and interpret Secwépemc chiefs' presentations to commissioners and government representatives. Wendy Wickwire (1994, 1998, 2001) has also reflected on the accuracy, lack of male-bias and sincerity of his ethnographic work.

Studies on Shuswap. These include several short Coyote stories, but also much longer, epic tellings by storytellers remembered among the present generation of elders and Secwepemctsín speakers Seymour Pitel, Charlie Draney, Edward Stobie Billy, and Lena Bell. In the 1970s, Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy recorded further stories in Secwepemctsín with various storytellers, notably Ike Willard, Aimee August and Charlie Draney, but their subsequent publication (1979) provides but poor, summarized, English-only versions of the Secwépemc narrators' stories. Marianne Ignace and Ron Ignace recorded further stories with various storytellers, including Sisyúlecw's grand-daughter Ida William and Stuxtéws storyteller Louisa Basil in Secwepemctsín, subsequently transcribed and translated in interlinear versions (see R. Ignace, 2008; M. and R. Ignace, 2017). A small number of the English-only stsptekwll told by Sxwéylecken and Sisyúlecw in the early 1900s were thus voice-recorded with elders born during the late 1800s and early 1900s, and were subsequently transcribed, often involving some differences of plot in comparison with the Teit versions.

For present and future generations of Secwépemc storytellers and story-learners, the dilemma is that the vast majority of Sxweylecken's and Sisyúlecw's stories do not exist in Secwepemctsín, despite the fact that we have renditions of these *stsptekwll* in English prose provided principally by James Teit. How can we add to the body of Secwépemc *stsptekwll* by re-creating them in Secwepemctsín?

Between 2013 and 2017, Marianne and Ron Ignace set out with a group of 6 elders-speakers of the Western dialect of Secwepemetsín in their home community of Skeetchestn to translate these stories back into Secwepemctsín, and in the process, reclaim and re-literature them for present and future generations. The elders in our group are between their late 60s and mid 80s. All went to Residential School, and thus never had a chance to train in the art of storytelling, but most were still raised with Secwepemctsín as their first language. Our method was this: we would agree on a story we wanted to work on, and then review the English version of the story as rendered by Teit (1909), discussing – often in a mixture of Secwepemctsín and English the sequence of events, and sometimes with the help of Google Earth, Wikipedia, and other bits of knowledge, also discussing the role of animal and plant characters and characteristics, place-names and other natural phenomena, as well as vocabulary, phrases and knowledge expressed in Secwepemctsín that contribute to understanding plot, message, context and significance of what the storyteller's intent may have been. We would then, usually led by our three or four most eloquent speakers, write the text out in Secwepemctsín with the help of a digital projector, one sentence at a time, slowly repeating it for all to hear, and making improvements to vocabulary, grammar, and flow of sentence. Following this, Marianne Ignace re-read the story, one sentence at a time, to the group of elders, also making a print-out, and we subsequently reviewed it. In addition, Marianne and Ron Ignace proof-read each story work, making further slight revisions to spellings and morphology. For some of the stsptekwll, in August 2016, Bridget Dan, Cecilia DeRose (Eskét) and Clara Camille (Dog Creek) provided additional feed-back and proof-reading.

At this point in our project (May 2017), we have re-translated, transcribed

and re-claimed, in Secwepemctsín, the 18-episode epic story of Tllí7sa and his Brothers, along with reviewing Charlie Draney's detailed Trout Children epic. We have also translated twelve additional *stspekwll* of varying length. The *stsptekwll* we present here is one of the shorter ones of our work to date.

Before presenting the story itself (§4), we discuss the Secwépemc astronomical and ecological knowledge conveyed by the story as it connects to the idiom of social interaction and family (§2), followed by a brief discussion of the linguistic conventions used in our presentation of the story (§3).

2 Astronomical and Ecological Knowledge

The following *stsptekwll* is the first of twelve stories in Chapter XIV of the myths section of Teit's (1909: 653) *The Shuswap*. We assume that Sxwéylecken was the storyteller.

Teit's rendition of the female protagonist's name is Wala (see also Secwépemc Cultural Education Society, 1993), but in Secwepemctsín the name is actually W7éyle, consisting of the root wey- "be visible" followed by the glottal stop 7, here indicating the inchoative coming to be", and the personal name suffix -le. The story references the moon's travel through the night sky and the 13 lunar months: hence the many children, as elders thought, should number 13, representing the 13 lunar months of the year as the moon travels through the sky. The moon is conceived of as "making a house or camp" (pelltsitcwem³) each night as the lunar phases progress from crescent moon to full moon, and then waning again. Thus, pelltsitcwem is the lunar ring around the moon, and represents his family's camping ground.

In the social realm, the story reflects on the woman's wish for security about where the next camp might be, as opposed to supporting her children and likely carrying the familys gear. With the husband in front scouting things out, he is thinking of her as a nuisance (yéwyut) for pressing him concerning where the next camp will be, then eventually lashes out at her.

The story also has an interesting ethnobotanical message about birchbark buckets which of course are water-tight birchbark baskets, and the snow shovel of birch-bark in her hands (Teit, ibid.). While we were trying to imagine what birch-bark shovels might be, elder Christine Simon reminded us that when she was a child in the 1930s, she saw her own elders making and using birch-bark shovels that were made by gathering up and charring one end of a sheet of birchbark, thus producing a handle. These implements were used to scoop up earth, snow or other substances.⁴

In the end, the Secwépemc perception of the image on the moon's surface is not that of a man in the moon but that of a woman sitting sideways with a

³ *Pelltsitcwem* consists morphologically of *pell* "have" + *tsitcw* "house" + middle suffix -*em*. ⁴ See Nicholas, Bonneau, and Westfall (2017), an article on charred charred birch-bark in old archaeological sites. A footnote contributed by M. Ignace to the article citing the information from Christine Simon throws light on the mystery of charred rolls of birchbark found in Interior Plateau archaeological sites.



Figure 1: Outline of W7éyle on the Moon (by Braden Hallett, 2016)

birch-bark basket on her back and holding up her birch-bark shovel (see Figure 1 below). Her children are imagined as the visible craters surrounding her.

3 Interlinear Format

This *stsptekwll* is presented in an interlinear format, consisting of a series of stanzas, each stanza consisting of one or more sentences.

For each stanza, we first give the unbroken Secwepemctsín form in the practical orthography used by the language community. This is followed by a series of cascading pairs of lines. The first line in each cascading pair shows the Secwepemctsín forms divided into morphemes: The equal symbol ('=') indicates a clitic boundary, and the hyphen ('-') indicates an affixal boundary.⁵ Infixing is indicated by use of angle brackets ('<', '>'). Square brackets around a sound or morpheme indicate unpronounced but underlying morphology. Where practical, forms are parsed down to the root-level, however in cases where a root-level analysis overly obscures the meaning of a form, we do not analyze down to the root-level (e.g. mégcen "moon", rather than még-cen "[?]-foot"). In the second cascading line, directly below each individual morpheme, is a lexical or a grammatical gloss. Grammatical glosses are abbreviations shown in small caps (see the key for the meanings of these abbreviations). Lastly, we give an English

⁵The actual clitic vs. affixal status of some of the morphemes here is tentative, and requires further work.

translation for the stanza. Noteworthy grammatical phenomena are discussed in footnotes.

The general format is similar to that used in Alexander et al. (2016) and other UBCOPL publications. Our approach here differs, however, since we include an unbroken, practical orthographic line. This line partially fulfills the need to have a separate, Secwepemetsín-only section.

4 W7éyle: The Secwépemc Woman in the Moon

(1) Le q7éses-ekwe m-lecélqwem te sqélemcw lu7 re mégcen. Le istkmes, tikwemtús re scwesét.s, xwexwéyt te sítest m-sixelcúlecwes, m-nékenses re cyisténs.

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le=q7és=es=ekwe
                           m=lec-élqwem
COMP=long.ago=3SBJV=QUOT PAST=good-appearance
   te=sqélemcw lu7 re=mégcen. le=7istkm=es,
   OBL=man
               then DET=moon COMP=be.winter=3SBJV
       tikwemtús re=s=cwesét=s.
                                         xwexwéyt
                 DET=NMLZ=travel=3POSS all
       always
                   m=six-elc-úlecw=es.
           DET=night PAST=move-AUT-land=3SBJV
               m=nék-en-s=es
               PAST=change-DIR-3ERG=3SBJV
                  re=c-yist-[t]én-s.
                  DET=LOC-camp-INS-3POSS
```

A long time ago the moon was a handsome man, they say. When it was winter, he always travelled, and changed camp every night.

(2) Pellsem7é7em te skwest.s W7éyle, ell cw7it re stsmelt.s.

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pell-sem7é7em te=skwest-s w7éyle, ell cw7it
have-wife OBL=name-3POSS W7eyle and.then many
re=stsmelt-s.
DET=children-3POSS
```

He had a wife called W7eyle and they had many children.

(3) Le cwesétes, tikwemtús ne sxetéqst.s re mégcen, es tsewéllcwct.s re kwséltkten te syisténs.

le=cwesét=es, tikwemtús ne=s-xetéqs-ts
COMP=travel=3SBJV always at=NMLZ-ahead-3POSS
re=mégcen, es=tsew-éllcw-ct-s re=kwséltkten
DET=moon DET+NMLZ=build-house-IND-3ERG DET=relative
te=s-yist-[t]en-s.
OBL=NMLZ-camp-INS-3POSS

When they were travelling, the moon always was ahead so that he could make a house for his wife and children to camp overnight.

(4) Re W7éyle tikwemtús re stécknems te xyum te mimcs, ell m-tskwenstéses re qwllin te cllúqwke7tens.

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re=w7éyle tikwemtús re=stéckn-em-s
DET=W7eyle always DET=pack.carried.on.back-MID-3POSS
te=xyum te=mimc-s, ell
OBL=large OBL=large.basket-3POSS and.then
m=ts-kwen-st-és=es re=qwllin
PAST=CUST-take-CAUS-3ERG=3SBJV OBL=birch.bark
te=c-llúqw-ke7-ten-s.
OBL=LOC-bail-implement-INS-3POSS
```

W7eyle always carried her big birch bark basket on her back and she held her birch bark scooper (shovel).

(5) M-tskwenstés re cllúqwke7tens es cllémens re mimcs te swucwt wel re m-qwetst, m-tsímenses re swucwt es kúlems te séwllkwe.

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m=ts-kwen-st-és re=c-llúqw-ke7-ten-s

PAST=CUST-take-CAUS-3ERG DET=LOC-bail-implement-INS-3POSS
es=c-llém-en-s re=mimc-s

DET+NMLZ=LOC-put.into-DIR-3ERG DET=large.basket-3POSS
te=swucwt wel re=m=qwetst, m=tsím-en-s=es
OBL=snow until DET=PAST=full PAST=melt-DIR-3ERG=3SBJV
re=swucwt es=kúl-em=s te=séwllkwe.
DET=snow DET+NMLZ=make-MID=3POSS OBL=water
```

She always used her scooper to fill up her basket with snow and then she melted it for water.

(6) Tsukw re tsímllkwe re stskwenwéllens e ste7s ne s7istk.

tsukw re=tsím-llkwe re=s=ts-kwen-[n]wéllen=s
only DET=melt-water DET=NMLZ=CUST-take-LC.INTR=3POSS
e=ste7s ne=s7istk.
DET=drink at=winter

In winter all they had for to drink was melted snow.

(7) W7e....c-ekwe, le cwénwenes lu7 m-séwens re W7éyle re sxélwes, Thé7en me7 tskúlctc-kucw te cyisténs e r7áleses, thé7en me7 tsewéllcwctcwes re7 stsmelt?

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w7ec=ekwe le=c.wénwen=es lu7 m=séw-en-s
IPFV=QUOT COMP=next.morning=3SBJV then PAST=ask-DIR-3ERG
re=w7éyle re=sxélwe-s, thé7en
DET=W7eyle DET=husband-3POSS to+where
me7=ts-kúl-ct-c=kucw
FUT=CUST-make-IND-2SG.ERG=1PL.EXCL
te=c-yist-[t]én-s e=r7áles=es,
OBL=LOC-camp-INS-3POSS COMP=evening=3SBJV
thé7en me7=tsew-éllcw-ct-c=wes
to.where FUT=build-house-IND-2SG.ERG=3SBJV
re7=stsmelt?
DET+2SG.POSS=children
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They say they lived like that for a long time, and one morning W7eyle asked her husband, Where are you going to make a camp tonight, where are you going to make a camp for your children?

(8) K'wincwes-enke k sewséwentem re mégcen, ta7 k s7éytsens re sem7é7ems.

kwinc=wes=enke k=sew•séwe-nt-em re=mégcen, ta7 how.many=3SBJV=PERC DET=TRED•ask-DIR-PASS DET=moon NEG k=s=7éy-tsen-[n]-s re=sem7é7em-s. DET=NMLZ=in.return-mouth-DIR-3ERG DET=wife-3POSS She asked the moon several times but he never answered his wife. (9) Yéwsentem, m-geyeptsínmentmes, tsúntmes, me7 yist-k nen skwtuts!

yéws-ent-em, m=geyep-tsín-men-[n]t-m=es,
fed.up-DIR-PASS PAST=angry-mouth-REL-DIR-PASS=3SBJV
tsún-[n]t-m=es, me7=yist=k
say-DIR-PASS=3SBJV FUT=camp=2SG.SBJ
nen=skw•t•uis!
at+DET+1SG.POSS=face•CRED•

He found her a nuisance, and getting angry, he said, Camp on my face, then!

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(10) Necwentém te sequlút.s re mégcen, m-cllgwelctúsentmes.

necw-ent-ém te=seqwlút-s re=mégcen, believe-DIR-PASS OBL=talk-3POSS DET=moon

m=c-llgw-elc-t-ús-ent-m=es.

PAST=LOC-jump-AUT-STAT[?]-face-DIR-PASS=3SBJV

She took him by his word, and jumped on his face.

(11) Yerí7 re stspaqemí7s re sem7é7ems, ta7mí7 k stsklleps.

yerí7 re=s=ts-paq-emí7=s
COP+that.VIS DET=NMLZ=STAT-get.stuck-all.the.time=3POSS
re=sem7é7em-s, ta7-mí7
DET=wife-3POSS NEG-all.the.time
k=s=ts-k[i]ll-ep=s.
DET=NMLZ=STAT-take.off-INCH=3POSS

And his wife got stuck there for good, she never came off.

⁶The stative suffix -t (Kuipers 1974: 62) in *llgw-ilc-t-ús-ent-m* is unexpected following the suffix -ilc "autonomous", since it normally attaches directly to a root (cf. examples in Kuipers (1974: 55–56)). Daniel Calhoun emphatically pronounced the term with -t, whereas Ron Ignace also accepts *llgw-ilc-ús-entm*. The fluent speakers we consulted with think of status forms ending in -t as involving a "through and through" or "entirely" meaning. The verb *cllegwelctúsentmes* thus implies that W7éyle jumped on her husband's face entirely covering it.

(12) Ta7 pyin k slecúst.s re mégcen wel tspaqtu7smi7 nerí7 re sem7é7ems.

ta7 pyin k=s=lec-ús=ts re=mégcen wel

NEG now DET=NMLZ=good-face=3POSS DET=moon until

ts-paq-t-ews-mi7 nerí7

STAT-get.stuck-STAT-surface-all.the.time at+that.VIS

re=sem7é7em-s.

DET=wife-3POSS

The moon no longer has a handsome face, because his wife sat on it for good.

(13) M-n7ék lu7 re mégcen, wel ta7 put k stsekwtsekw7úwis te tspaqtu7semi7⁷ re sem7é7ems.

m=n<7>ék lu7 re=mégcen, wel ta7
PAST=change<INCH> then DET=moon until NEG
put k=s=tsekw•tsekw-7úwi=s
exactly DET=NMLZ=TRED•bright-too=3POSS
te=ts-paq-t-ews-emi7 re=sem7é7em-s.
OBL=STAT-get.stuck-STAT-surface-all.the.time DET=wife-3POSS

He was changed into how the moon looks nowadays, and he is not so bright anymore where his wife sits on his face.

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⁷The root n7ek, which includes the inchoative infix <7>, means "he/she/it is changed". The distal deictic lu7 makes the event perfective, however: "he was changed".

(14) Telrí7 pyin me7 wiktc re W7éyle ne skwtust.s re mégcen, stécken te mímcs, ell stskwenstés re cllúqwke7tens. Me7 wiktc ell re stsmelt.s.

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telrí7
              pyin me7=wik-t-c
from+that.VIS now FUT=see-DIR-2SG.ERG
   re=w7éyle
                ne=skwtus-ts
                                  re=mégcen,
   DET=W7eyle at+DET=face-3POSS DET=moon
                           te=mímc-s.
       stécken
       pack.carried.on.back OBL=large.basket-3POSS
                    s-ts-kwen-st-és
           and.then NMLZ-CUST-take-CAUS-3ERG
               re=c-llúgw-ke7-ten-s.
               DET=LOC-bail-implement-INS-3POSS
                   me7=wik-t-c
                   FUT=see-DIR-2SG.ERG and.then
                       re=stsmelt-s.
                       DET=children-3POSS
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You can still see W7eyle sitting on his face with her basket on her back, and holding her birch bark scooper. You can also see his children.

5 Conclusion

Our project of re-claiming narratives by re-conceptualizing and translating *stsptek-wll* back into the language from which they originate shows that the Skeetchestn fluent speakers with whom we collaborate use morphology and lexicon that is in-line with Kuipers' research on Western Secwepemctsín (1974, 1989). This is no wonder, since the elders involved in the project acquired the language from the same generation of speakers who were Kuipers' consultants, or even from the parent generation of his consultants. In some instances, the particular forms used by the Skeetchestn speakers throw further light on grammatical forms only broadly explained and likely not fully understood by Kuipers, such as the use of status forms. Further analysis of the additional texts produced by our group will permit further investigation into these and other topics.

In addition, the project's focus on the production of narrative, rather than the deciphering thereof, has contributed to a better understanding of grammar-in-use, and of linguistic choices made by the last generation of first-language speakers of Secwepemctsín, including the use of evidentials, and the alternation between active and passive voice in discourse.

The choices made by speakers in the use of evidentials, 8 for example, clearly

⁸Secwepemctsín uses three evidential markers: "zero" marking of evidence implies that an event was personally experienced; the evidential suffix *ekwe* marks "hearsay" or quotative information; and the evidential suffix *enke* marks information based on physical evidence perceived by the senses (e.g. seeing, smelling). See relevant work for the neighbouring

show that in narration, the quotative *-ekwe* is used at the beginning of a new subject matter, or scene, but not in every stanza or line. By contrast, *-enke* is obligatory in each instance where information is characterized as based on evidence rather than personally experienced.

Salish languages are well known for their elaborate use of subordination in discourse (Kroeber 1999). The short W7éyle story illustrates the use of subordination (conjunctive) verb marking as a way of "talking in paragraphs," or topic tracking that identifies distinct scenes and sequences of events. In particular, stanzas 5, 9 and 10 illustrate how conjunctive pronoun marking involves temporal sequencing, beginning with the propositional statement in the first clause (non-conjunctive) and then moving on to one or more conjunctive clauses, whose clausal ordering reflects the temporal ordering of events.

The short story of W7éyle also shows how speakers intuitively switch back between active and passive voice in narrating different scenes, or events within scenes, from a particular protagonist's point of view, or as experienced by a particular character in the story. Kuipers (1974: 78–9) noticed this "focusing" and "switch-focus" function of the passive in Secwépemc narrative (see also Boelscher [Ignace], 1989). Further detailed analysis of the use of the passive in the body of narratives reconstructed by the Skeetchestn elders will shed additional light on the use of these and other narrative devices.

Last but not least, we hope that the short narrative of W7éyle and other stories produced by the group will enable learners of Secwepemctsín to increase the repertoire of stories that they can tell in the language, and we also hope that it will inspire them to learn more about form, style, plot and cultural context of these *stsptekwll*.

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