Code-switching in Martha Lamont's "Little Diver Was the Wife of Heron"[1]

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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 mo re 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).[2] 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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[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 dis tinction 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 (sbəq̓ʷaʔ) and his wife, x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ '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.[3]

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[3] Abbreviations employed in the morpheme glosses include the following. 1 (first person); 2 (second person); 3 (third person); ADD(itive); ADV(erb); APPL(icative); DET(erminer); DIR(ectional prefix); CAUS(ative); CL (negative clitic); CONJ(unction); COS (change of state); EMPH(atic); F(eminine); FUT(ure); FOC(us); HAB(itual); INTERJ(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); REFL(exive); S(ubject); s(ingular); SFX (unanalyzed suffix); ST(ative); SUBJUNCT(ive); TR(ransitivizing 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.

(7)   ʔu-/[ʔə]x̌id   kʷi   dəxʷ-/x̌əɫ   tsiʔəʔ   x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ.
       PUNCT-/how   DET   NOM-/sick   DET-F   red1+diver
       'How did Little Diver get sick?'

(8)   huy   gʷəl   ʔu-/ʔagəq-əxʷ   tsiʔəʔ   x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ.
       ADV   CONJ   PUNCT-/groan-COS   DET-F   red1+diver
       'And then Little Diver groaned.'

(9)   ʔu-/ʔagəq-əxʷ.
       PUNCT-/groan-COS
       'She groaned.'

(10)   "x̌ʷʔa•ʔ   x̌ʷʔa•ʔ.
       INTERJ   INTERJ

       di•ɫ   d²əɫ   kʷi   [s-]x̌ʷiʔ+/x̌ʷədiʔ.
       FOC   ADV   DET   NOM-RED1+/bullhead

       ʔəgəgəgəgə.   ha•ʔ ha•ʔ."
       ONOMATOPOEIA INTERJ

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

(11)   She's saying she's pretty sick and she
       likes to eat some little, little bullhead, x̌ʷiʔ+/x̌ʷədiʔ.
       'She's saying she's pretty sick and she
       likes to eat some little, little bullhead, little bullhead.'

(12)   cu(t)+/cut-əxʷ   tsiʔəʔ   <tsiʔəʔ stəb>   x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ.
       RED2+/say-COS   DET   RED1+diver
       ˙'[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 Thom 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.

(13) huy   cut(-t-)əb-əxʷ   [ʔə]   tiʔəʔ   s-/bəq̓ʷaʔ.
      ADV   speak-TR-PASS-COS   P   DET   NOM-/heron
      'Then Heron said,'

(14) "ʔu· ,   ʔu-/x̌əɬ   tsiʔəʔ   d-/čəg̓ʷas.
      INTERJ   PUNCT-/sick   DET(F)   1.S.POSS-/wife
      '"Oh, my wife has fallen sick.'

(15) x̌ub   čəd   ɬu-(u-)/p̓aʔ-cut   [čəda]   ʔu-/x̌ʷiʔx̌ʷiʔ."
      good   1sS   FUT-PUNCT-/try-REFL   1sS-CONJ   PUNCT-/hunt
      'I should try and fish.'

(16) qʷibi-d-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ   ʃəsəd-s,   tiʔiɬ   s-/bəq̓ʷaʔ.
      fix-tr-cos   DET   leg-3POSS   DET   NOM-/heron
      'He prepared his legs, Heron did.'

(17) He's got some kind of...   huy   sax̌a-d-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ
                                  ADV   scrape-TR-COS   DET

      ʃəsəd-s.
      leg-3POSS
      'He's got some kind of... He scraped his legs.'

Mrs. Lamont doesn't return to finish the initial thought in line 17.
        Line 18 is the first example of intrasentential code-switching in the
text. Mrs. Lamont switches to English at the sentence boundary at the start of
line 18, but she ends the sentence with a Lushootseed adverbial prepositional
phrase that contains a nominalized clause. MacSwan's analysis of
intrasentential code-switching holds for the switch back to Lushootseed in line
18; both English and Lushootseed allow sentence-final prepositional phrases as
adjunct modifiers.

(18) Scraped his legs and scraped it so it wouldn't make

      noise   ʔal   kʷi   s-ə-/t̓iči-b-s   <ʔal kʷə>
               P   DET   NOM-PUNCT-/wade-INTR-3S

      ʔal   kʷi   ʔil=gʷiɬ   ʔə   kʷi   x̌ʷəlč.
      P   DET   side=waterway   P   DET   sound

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

(19) bə-s-/x̌ʷiʔx̌ʷiʔ-əxʷ.
      ADD-nom-/hunt-COS

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'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-əxʷ   tiʔił   šuX̣̌.
                                  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   ʔuX̣ʷ-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ   čatX̣̌.
        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-/bəqʷ̓aʔ,   tsiʔəʔ
        P   DET   NOM-/heron   DET-F

        X̣̌ʷuʔX̣̌ʷəyʔ, Little Diver.
        RED1+diver

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

(45)   qəd-əb-tu-b-əxʷ   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   xʷiʔ
        have.sex-INTR-CAUS-PASS-COS   P   DET   NEG

        lə-/haʔł   čatX̣̌   ʔal   tə   s-/xʷiʔ
        CL-/good   kingfisher   P   DET   NOM-/NEG

        ʔə   tiʔił   cədił.
        P   DET   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; tsi?ə? x̌ʷu?x̌ʷəy? is an appositive modifier of the previous DP tsi?ə? čəgʷas ?ə ti?ə?s/bəq̓ʷa? ; 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) diɫ-əxʷ   ti?iɫ   dəxʷ-əs-/luu-t-əb-s   tsi?iɫ
     FOC-COS   DET   NOM-ST-/hear-TR-PASS-3S DET-F

     cədiɫ   diver,   x̌ʷu?x̌ʷəy?.
     DET   RED1+/diver

'That is how those divers, little divers are heard'

(58) ƛ̓u-(u-)/cu(t)cut-əxʷ   ?al   ti?ə?
     HAB-PUNCT-RED2-/say-cos   P   DET

     s-/?il=gʷiɫ.
     NOM-/side=waterway
     '[when] they talk by the shore.'

(59a.) <?ə tə luutəb ?ə>   ƛ̓(u-)as-/luu-t-əb
                                    HAB-ST-/hear-TR-PASS

        ?ə   ti?ə?   s-u-/?ul+ul+uɫ
        P   DET   NOM-PUNCT-/paddle+RED

        ?ə   ti?ə?   bəǩʷ   gʷat   <gʷəl ƛ̓(u)asluutəb>
        P   DET   all   who

        ?al   kʷi   s-ə-/ɫax̌il[-s].
        P   DET   NOM-ST-/evening

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

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(59b)   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 tsiʔił cədił *diver,* x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ, where x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ is either a full DP modifier of the DP tsiʔił cədił *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 x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ 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:

(62)   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.

(63)   ʔa·   tiʔəʔ   s-/bəq̓ʷaʔ.
        P   DET   NOM-/heron
       'There was Heron.'

(64)   cick̓ʷ-əxʷ   ʔu-/worry-əxʷ   dxʷ-/ʔal
        ADV-COS   PUNCT-/worry-COS   P

        tsiʔił   čəgʷas(-s),   x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ.
        DET   wife-3.POSS   RED1+diver
        'He was very worried about his wife, Little Diver.'

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.[4] The English form in 67 contains /r/ in an onset cluster. The phonology of ʔuworryəxʷ indicates that *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.[5]

(65) bə-/qʷibi-d   ti7ił   ʃəsəd-s.
      ADD-/fix-TR   DET   leg-3POSS
      'He fixed his legs.'

(66) bə-sax̌+/sax̌a-d.
      ADD-RED2+/scrape-TR
      'He scraped and scraped them some more.'

(67) bə-trim+/trim   ti7ə7   ʃəsəd-s
      ADD-RED2+/trim   DET   leg-3POSS

      dxʷ/7al   kʷi   gʷə-s-xʷi7[-s   kʷi
      p   det   subjunct-nom-neg-3S det

      gʷə-s-əs-si7+/sx̌ʷi-cut-s]
      SUBJUNCT-NOM-ST-RED1+/swish-REFL-3S

      7al   ti   s-ə-/gʷəc-i-s(-s)   ti7ił   7i
      P   DET   NOM-ST-/wade-intr-tr-3S   DET   CONJ

      s-/x̌ʷədi7   ti7ił   p̓i7+/p̓uay̓
      NOM-/bullhead DET   RED1+/flounder

      on the beach,   lił-/7il=gʷił.
                         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 *trim* contains /r/ and a bilabial nasal; neither sound is adjusted to fit Lushootseed phonology. But *trim* participates in distributive

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[4] Cf. the nativization of the initial phoneme in *lab* 'rum' , borrowed from English via Chinook Jargon (Bates, Hess, Hilbert, 1994).

[5] See also Myers-Scotton (1993) for counterexamples to the free morpheme constraint.

reduplication just like the native root in line 66.[6] *Trimtrim* also accepts the aspectual prefix *bə-*.

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 liɬ-/ʔil=gʷiɬ, 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   tiʔiɬ   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 -axʷ 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', x̌i-/čəc; she employs the root čəc in lines 102 and 104.

(100)   ʔah-əxʷ   tiʔiɬ   čətx̌.
        LOC-COS   D   kingfisher
        'Kingfisher was there.'

(101)   ləs-ɗix̌ƛ̓+/ɗix̌ƛ̓
        CONT-RED2+/wound

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[6] Also interesting is the CCVC shape of the distributive reduplicant in *bə-trim+/trim*; native $C_1C_2VC_3$ roots display a C_1C_2 reduplicant under distributive reduplication (cf. Urbanczyk, 2001).

'He was wounded.'

(102) ʔu· ,   diɬ-əxʷ tiʔəʔ   dəxʷ-əs-/čc-il-s-əxʷ.
       INTERJ FOC-COS DET   NOM-ST-/red-INTR-3S-COS
       'Oh, that is why he is red now.'

(103) ʔə-bid   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   ʔal   tə   x̌ʷu-(s-)/saq̓ʷ
       LOC-LOC P   DET   P   DET   HAB-NOM-/fly

       <ʔə tiʔəʔ cədi□>   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   cədiɬ   čətx̌.
                          P   DET   DET   kingfisher

       'It is right there when Kingfisher flies.'[7]

(104) diɬ-əxʷ   dəxʷ-əs-/čc-il-s.
       FOC-COS   NOM-ST-/red-INTR-3S
       'That is why he is red.'

(105) x̌əɬti   x̌(u-)as-/cɬ−il   tiʔəʔ   ʔal   ti.
       ADV   HAB-ST-/bleed-INTR   D   P   DEM
       'Just as though he were bleeding right there.'

(106) Red.

(107) təš   tiʔiɬ   tu-s-/caḍa-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 tiʔəʔ; the resulting DP gives new information in the discourse.

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

       tu-/čəgʷas(-s),   x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ.
       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.

(113) tu-/kʷatač-txʷ-əxʷ   dxʷ-/ʔal   tiʔəʔ old tree, cedar tree.
     PAST-/climb-CAUS-COS   P   DET
     'And he took her up an old cedar tree.'

In the next line, a recast of line 113, Mrs. Lamont gives the Lushootseed distal
determiner tiʔił 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.

(114) huy   kʷatač-txʷ-əxʷ   li· l   tiʔił this old tree.
     ADV   climb-CAUS-COS   ADV   DET
     'He took her way up that old cedar tree.'

     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.

(115) xʷiʔ-əxʷ   gʷə-/stab
     NEG-COS   SUBJUNCT-/what
     'There was nothing.'

(116) It's all dried, no leaves, nothing. Old dead cedar tree.

     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*).

(117) ʔuxʷ-txʷ-əxʷ   dxʷ-/ʔal   kʷədi·   diʔiʔ   šəq.
     go-CAUS-COS   P   ADV   ADV   top
     'He took her way up to the very top.'

(118) gʷəl   (h)uy,   ʔah-əd-əxʷ   tsiʔił   čəgʷas(-s), xʷuʔxʷəyʔ.
     CONJ   ADV   LOC-TR-COS   DET-F   wife-3POSS, RED1+diver
     'And then he put his wife, Little Diver, there.'

(119) punish-di-d-əxʷ   ʔal   tiʔił   šəq.
     punish-APPL-TR-COS   P   DET   top
     'He punished her up there.'

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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　　　tsiʔił　　　x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ,　　　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-/bəq̓ʷaʔ　　　went.　　<č̓ətx̌ went down.>

(123)　　And purt' near killed this s-/ʔušəbabdxʷ　　č̓ətx̌.
　　　　'And he nearly killed this unfortunate Kingfisher.'

Line 122 gives *s-/bəq̓ʷaʔ* '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 sʔušəbabdxʷ č̓ətx̌ '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 *stiqayuʔ* '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 əẃə. 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*.

(129)

hay	gʷəl	(h)uy	cut-əxʷ		tiʔacəc
ADV	CONJ	ADV	speak-COS		DET-PL

ʔiišəd-s,	ʔal+al+š	ʔə <tsiʔacəc cədił čətx̌ ʔi>
relative-3POSS	brother+RED	P

tsiʔə?	gət,	x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷəyʔ,	ʔal+al+š
DET-F	guy	RED1+diver	brother+RED

tiʔ+iʔ+ił	ʔistaʔb,
DET+RED	ADV

stab	kʷi	s-/daʔ-s	ʔal	kʷi,
what	DET	NOM-/call-3S	P	DET

(LL: s-/tiqayuʔ)	no,	tiʔił stəb, stəb		divers
NOM-/wolf		DET HESITATION MARKERS		

əẃə	s-/wuq̓ad	ʔi	x̌əwawq̓,
EMPH	NOM-/loon	CONJ	big.diver

[sə+]saʔliʔ	tiʔił	brother	ʔə	tsiʔə?	cədił.
RED+/two	DET		P	DEM-F	DEM

'And then her relatives spoke, the brothers of this gal, Little Diver, her brothers, that, uh, what are the names 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)

"x̌ʷub	čəł	xʷuʔələʔ	ʔu-/q̓ʷuʔ-əd
good	1PLS	maybe	PUNCT-/gather-TR

kʷi	bək̓ʷ	stab	titčulbixʷ.
DET	all	what	small.animal

'"I guess we should gather all kinds of small animals.'

(160)

daẏ	tsi	tsiʔił <bəstəb stab>	titčul'bixʷ,
ADV	DET-F	DET-F	small.animal

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little   titčul'bixʷ."
           small.animal

'Only the little animals, the small, little animals."'

In line 160, Mrs. Lamont modifies titčulbixʷ 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."

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

        hay   ʔux̌ʷ-əxʷ   tiʔ+iʔ+iɫ.
        ADV   go-COS   DET+RED

        'So they went. They went.'

(181)   gʷi(h)i-t-əb   tiʔəʔ   cədiɫ   titčul'bixʷ.
        invite-TR-PASS   DET   DET   small.animal
        'The small animals were invited.'

(182)   ƛ̓u-/kʷatač   kʷi   ʔiɫ-/kʷələq. <ƛ̓upaʔacuts>
        HAB-/climb   DET   PART-/the.rest
        'Some of the others would climb up.'

(183)   gʷəl   x̌ʷul'   halfway
        CONJ   ADV
        'But they would just get halfway.'

(184)   gʷəl   ƛ̓u-bə-/xʷit̓-il.
        CONJ   HAB-ADD-/fall-INTR
        'And they would fall again.'

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)   ƛ̓u-/give up   əlgʷəʔ.
        HAB-   3PL
        'They would give up.'

(186)   ʔuxʷ   tiʔił   stabid-əxʷ   bird,
        go   DET   what-COS
        'Something, a bird, [would] go.'

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 titčulʼbixʷ;
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*.

(191)   But   xʷulʼ   halfway tiʔəʔ   cədił
                  ADV   DET   DEM
        'But that one could [go] only 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.

(193)   ʔuxʷ   tiʔəʔ   x̣ʼə+/x̣ʼiq̓=šəd.
        go   DET   RED1+/sticky=foot
        'Sapsucker went.'

(194)   ʔi·   all around   ʔal   tiʔəʔ   tree.
        gloss
        'Yes. He went around and around the base of the tree.'

(195)   lə-dʼəl+/dʼəl=al=ap.
        CONT-RED2+/go.around=LX=base
        'He went around and around the base of the tree.'

The episode continues without any English until line 204, which is after Little
Sticky-Foot pulls Little Diver off where she is impaled. Mrs. Lamont uses the
nonce borrowing *tree* again.

(203)   put-əxʷ   gʷa· l-dup   ti   s-/tuligʷəd
        ADV-COS   spread-LOC   DET   NOM-/blood

        ʔal   tiʔił   cədił   tree   ʔal   tudiʔ   gʷəd.
        P   DET   DET   P   LOC   DOWN

        'A great deal of blood on that tree gushed all the way down.'

The rescue continues without any more English.

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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,   ck̓ʷaqid   quick   kʷi   ƛ̓u-[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) gʷəl   tu-/huyu-d   tiʔəʔ   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) yəx̌i   xʷiʔ   kʷ[i]   tu-(s-)/šac̓   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   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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