NOTES ON BOAS-HUNT'S NORTH WAKASHAN TEXT MATERIALS

John C. Rath

Saskatchewan Indian Federated College

1. Introduction.   Franz Boas and George Hunt have left us a large body of data on North Wakashan (i.e., Kwakwala, Oowekyala, Heiltsuk, Haisla); the major publications include Kwakwala texts and translations, a Kwakwala grammar, an (unpublished) Kwakwala dictionary and a bundle of Heiltsuk and Oowekyala stories with translations and a word list. Subsequent Wakashanists have benefitted from these data inasmuch as the availability of grammatical paradigms and lists of morphemes and words facilitates the elicitation of data. However, the wealth of texts has been less useful as a resource because they are hard to re-elicit.

Most of the Boas-Hunt text materials are in Kwakwala and, as Judith Berman points out in her recent masterful study (1991: 2, 17), have almost all been composed — not taken down as dictated by an informant — by George Hunt, Boas's role being that of off-site director of what she aptly calls the pair's "epistolary ethnography" (ib.: 8). Ralph Maud (1989: 161) used an equally applicable term, "fieldwork by mail," when describing Boas's cooperation with Henry Tate on Tsimshian mythology. Maud in fact suggested as early as (1982: 95) that Hunt might be more important as an ethnographer than is generally believed; Berman confirms it and discusses the matter of Hunt's fluency in Kwakwala language and culture. Regarding the fact that Hunt's Kwakwala presents problems to today's Kwakwala speakers, she argues that this is due to several circumstances. Hunt's Kwakwala may possibly not have been completely perfect but more important, he uses literary styles and genres which in his days only an elite had access to and no one today knows any more (ib.: 10-14). It is a convincing argument, I believe, particularly in light of her detailed studies of the stylistic devices ("discourse marking") employed by Hunt and Boas's few other Kwakwala informants (Berman 1982, 1983). One caveat is however called for, I think: the final word on the nature of Hunt's Kwakwala cannot be spoken until we

(1)

can judge it by the standard of a sufficiently extensive systematic study of contemporary Kwakwala syntax.

Berman's *Formgeschichte* of the Boas-Hunt Kwakwala texts also raises the issues of the production director, Boas, (1) failing almost completely to provide exegetically relevant comment, (2) not being truthful when it comes to an informant's ethnic origin, social status and representativeness of local ways and thought, and (3) producing questionable translations of cultural and cosmological terms. I refer the reader to Berman's detailed arguments which, along with Maud (1989), should be compulsory reading for anyone interested in using Boas's supposed field data from the Pacific Northwest coast. What I shall do in this paper is present additional evidence bearing on points (2) and (3). This means widening Berman's perspective and talking not only about the Boas-Hunt Kwakwala materials but also about the much less abundant materials they produced for Heiltsuk and Oowekyala — Haisla never seems to have been in their purview.

2. The Ethnic Origin of Informant *Ō'dzéstālis*.[1]   In the 1-page Preface of Bella Bella Texts (1928: IX) Boas says that he was in Rivers Inlet in 1897 but under unfavourable conditions "because the majority of the people were away and only two sickly men could be found who were able to dictate [texts]. Since they did not know English and only a very short time was available at Rivers Inlet, the texts were laid aside" (ib.). As Boas goes on to say, he had his Oowekyala texts with him when much later, in 1923, he visited the village of Bella Bella further north: "It was remarkably difficult to obtain any kind of connected texts and for this reason it seemed advantageous to read to the natives the Rivers Inlet texts previously referred to, which were then repeated by the Bella Bella. Most of this work was done with one informant, Willy [should be Willie] Gladstone. The differences between the two dialects are very slight. No attempt has been made to make the

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[1] Words from the Boas-Hunt materials are quoted in italics. I have taken care to render their transcriptions exactly. Transcriptions for which I take phonetic responsibility are placed between slants (/ /).

(2)

spelling uniform." Boas does not really say if there was also retran-
scribing of what was repeated (in Heiltsuk, one would think), but there
probably was because in some of the stories Heiltsuk expressions between
parentheses occur side by side with Oowekyala ones between square
brackets, the latter apparently being what was prompted and the former
how it was repeated. The following example is from the bundle's first
story entitled "The Mink" (page 4 line 10-11),

> [la´oyîlsᶜla] (laō´lsᶜla) [amā´yînxaya] (hau´laɫɛnxaᶜyas)
> sā´sɛmasē L!îx·sîwā´layaxē

In isolation these words, which neatly show some characteristic differ-
ences between Heiltsuk and Oowekyala, would mean this,

> [la´oyîlsᶜla] (laō´lsᶜla) "go out the door"
> [amā´yînxaya] (hau´laɫɛnxaᶜyas) "youngest"
> sā´sɛmasē "his children"
> L!îx·sîwā´layaxē "the sun"

The running translation on the next page reads "The youngest one of the
children of Sun came out" which is correct if we delete the e at the end
of sā´sɛmasē because sā´sɛmas L!îx·sîwā´layaxē does indeed mean
"children-of Sun." Presumably the informant pronounced sā´sɛmasē the
first time around which Boas copied down but forgot to correct after
sā´sɛmas L!îx·sîwā´layaxē had finally been elicited. I should point out
that the Boas-Hunt transcriptions I reproduce here are phonetically
imperfect; to mention only one thing, the erroneous ē of sā´sɛmasē in
reality sounds identical to the î in L!îx·sîwā´layaxē, namely as the
tense high front vowel [i] phonetically, both in Oowekyala and Heiltsuk,
whereas the ē at the end of L!îx·sîwā´layaxē sounds [e] in Oowekyala and
as a diphthong [ɑI, ɛI] in Heiltsuk. There is however no ground to com-
plain loudly as the transcriptions are usually easily recognizable for
one experienced with the languages concerned.

One wonders, though, if it really was Boas who did the transcribing.
George Hunt was with him in Bella Bella; Boas does not say a word about
this in Bella Bella Texts, but we read the following in the Preface to

another work, Bella Bella Tales, which was published a few years later
and contains English summaries of Heiltsuk and Oowekyala stories. He
says (1932: VI), "The material here presented was collected in the fall
of 1923. I was accompanied by Mr. George Hunt who, I thought, could
serve as interpreter." To establish the identity of the transcriber it
would be necessary to examine the handwriting of the drafts of the Bella
Bella Texts, if still existent.

In this same Preface to the Bella Bella Tales, Boas goes on to say that
Hunt did not gain enough understanding of Heiltsuk to be able to "serve
as interpreter" (ib.), by which latter Boas may mean more than just
translator. He may be referring to Hunt's usual role of "engaging
people in conversation or joining groups where stories are being told,
storing the narratives in his memory and writing them down when he got
home" (Maud, 1982: 99). That Hunt could not perform as hoped may be due
to cultural as much as linguistic factors for to this day Bella Bella
remembers the loss it suffered when Kwakwala raiders killed a group of
travelling Heiltsuk chiefs thereby acquiring title to their spiritual
property. It does not sound like a good idea in 1923 to have a Kwakwala
person try to make Heiltsuks tell their stories. Be that as it may,
Hunt seems to have had at least some success in his mission. Here is
how Boas states it (1932: VII),

> A number of tales embodied in this material were collected by
> him. He also obtained material from Ō´dzēᶜstālis, a Bella Bella
> living for many years in Fort Rupert.

Ō´dzēᶜstālis. The Indian name is all the information on this informant
Boas cares to give us. Ō´dzēᶜstālis is however still remembered in Bella
Bella and his ethnic identity is not quite as Boas says. Here are the
pertinent testimonies I collected in 1975.

1. According to Bella Bella Chief John Humchitt, Ō´dzēᶜstālis was a man
   from Alert Bay who, through marriage to a Bella Bella woman,

imported the English family name of Houstee to Bella Bella.[2] He was known for his "theft" of Heiltsuk songs and stories when returning to Alert Bay after his wife's death.

2. Elder William Freeman of Klemtu, the village of the northernmost Heiltsuk speaking group, was also interested and as far as I can tell knowledgeable in the who-is-who of Bella Bella but did not give specifics on the ethnic origin of Ō'dzēᶜstālis. He did however repeat the accusation that this person had illegitimately taken songs and stories to Alert Bay.

3. Bella Bella Chief Angus Campbell said that Ō'dzēᶜstālis was "half Fort Rupert and half /w̓úyalitX̌ᵒ/." Fort Rupert is a Kwakwala and more particularly Kwakiutl settlement on northern Vancouver Island close to Alert Bay. It is George Hunt's home. /w̓úyalitX̌ᵒ/, phonetically [ʔᵒúhˡàlìtʰX̌ᵒ], is the name of the major Heiltsuk subdivision Mr. Campbell descends from; it can be glossed as "People and

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[2] The Heiltsuk pronunciation of "Haustee" is [ʔàʊstí], phonemicized as /ʰusdí/, for technical details see Rath (1981). The name Ō'dzēᶜstālis is in Heiltsuk pronounced [ʔáʊtsʰìstʰàʔlìs], phonemicized as /ʰúcistalìs/. Boas's spelling Ō'dzēᶜstālis is closer to the name's Oowekyala pronunciation, viz. [ʔᵒotsistʰalis] → /ʰuzistalis/ (with plain /l/ and not /c/ but /z/). The internal structure of /ʰusdí/, /ʰúcistalìs/, /ʰuzistalis/ presents a problem. If /ʰus/, /ʰúc/, /ʰuz/ are allomorphs of the same root, the latter's form is most likely {ʰwc-} but I cannot proffer a gloss. /ist/ or /ista/ could be an allomorph of a suffix glossable as "around, in a circle," however, if regular morphophonemic rules applied we should have had Heiltsuk */ʰúcíst.../, with two high tones, and Oowekyala */ʰucist.../, with /c/. Then again, there are more examples of this suffix having irregular allomorphs, e.g. /iast/ in Oowekyala /ʰaasiastala/ "reversible." The name /ʰusdí/ also defies the morphophonemic rules because clitics attached to it can only have low tones. For example, "the late /ʰusdí/" is /ʰusdí‿gᵒuł/ whereas the expected form is */ʰusdí‿gᵒáuł/, with a high tone /á/ in the clitic. English loans are treated that way (e.g. /bút‿gᵒuł/ "used to be a boat" instead of */bút‿gᵒáuł/) so /ʰusdí/ is probably a foreign loan too. I cannot tell if it is specifically a Kwakwala one. In case the reader wonders about the glottal stop after ē in the Boas-Hunt transcription Ō'dzēᶜstālis, it is correct if the name is a Kwakwala one and if ēᶜst(a) is the just mentioned suffix referring to circularity.

(5)

land outside the inlets." Mr. Campbell also said that Ō'dzēᶜstālis was "his father's closest relative in Fort Rupert." Years later, in a meeting of Bella Bella elders, he repeated this same statement. Regrettably I had other priorities at the time than finding out how exactly Mr. Campbell thought Ō'dzēᶜstālis fitted into his family tree.

4. Bella Bella elder Willie Gladstone —the same person Boas contends helped him with his Rivers Inlet texts —said Ō'dzēᶜstālis had been born in Fort Rupert from a mother belonging to another major Heiltsuk subdivision, the /ẏísdáitX̌ᵒ/ ~ [ʔˡístɑ́ItˡX̌ᵒ]. This name is glossable as "People and land of /ẏísda/," the latter referring to a village in the east of Heiltsuk territory. Mr. Gladstone contradicted that this woman was /w̓úyalitX̌ᵒ/. How this bears on Mr. Campbell's claim of being related to Ō'dzēᶜstālis is impossible to tell without much more information on who married whom on the coast around the turn of the century. There have been efforts to get this information, for instance by the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre in Bella Bella and by the former director of the Oowekyala Language Programme, Mr. David Stevenson (n.d.). Mr. Gladstone furthermore said he had personally met Ō'dzēᶜstālis in Fort Rupert and had some quarrel with him over a potlatch matter. According to him Ō'dzēᶜstālis would now reside in Bella Bella, now in Fort Rupert and Alert Bay. He spoke both Kwakwala and Heiltsuk.

5. Bella Bella elder Willie Brown stated that Ō'dzēᶜstālis had lived in Bella Bella for a couple of years only and that he spoke Heiltsuk in a peculiar manner. He could give a detail, namely that he would pronounce his name with a high tone at the end (Heiltsuk has a phonemic tones). Mr. Brown gave the additional unsolicited information that Ō'dzēᶜstālis had been in the habit of telling other people's stories.

6. Possibly as much as 10 years later I questioned Mr. Brown's widow, Chieftainess Beatrice Brown, on the identity of Ō'dzēᶜstālis. She confirmed he was from the Kwakwala area and gave a very positive character reference. She said that when she went to Elementary

(6)

School in Bella Bella, it was he who taught the school children Indian dancing. She gave the Paddle Dance for an example, which at the time she herself was teaching to the children at school and which she said she had learned from him. She also said he used to organize social events with an Indian flavour (not her exact words) for the children, such as canoe races. Asked about Ō´dzɛˤstālis' wife she said she was not aware he had one: "he went from girl to girl."

These testimonies partially contradict each other but what does one expect. The witnesses, all of whom have passed away in the meantime, were elderly people whom I asked to remember things that happened 50 or more years back and at that time may not have been of particularly interest to them. I think we can safely assume that Ō´dzɛˤstālis was born and raised somewhere in Kwakwala territory, spoke Kwakwala as his first language, but had for some reason moved to Bella Bella. He may already have known Heiltsuk, if only passively, before immigrating into Bella Bella, perhaps thanks to a Heiltsuk mother. Maybe also he did not know Heiltsuk but was gifted and motivated to learn and use Heiltsuk — using Chinook or English must have been an option for him too. That he was gifted is suggested by his involvement in teaching Indian traditions at a time when Bella Bella was trying hard to look and act like a white British colonial village. His apparent interest in local oral traditions fits well into this picture.

If Boas is truthful when saying that George Hunt could not catch on to Heiltsuk (see above), he implicitly admits to knowing that Ō´dzɛˤstālis was not Heiltsuk but Kwakwala in two sentences from the Preface to Bella Bella Texts (1928: IX). He says here that the book's last text ("tale") is given with an interlinear Kwakwala translation but that "there are a number of places in which the Kwakiutl informant misunderstood the Rivers Inlet words." If this informant was not Hunt, it is unlikely it was another person but Ō´dzɛˤstālis. Somebody should therefore check all published and unpublished Boas-Hunt materials for indications that one or both knew Ō´dzɛˤstālis and his talents prior to coming to Bella Bella. If they did, it is possible that they only bothered to come to Bella Bella because they had got wind of his presence there and saw an oppor-

(7)

tunity to get materials without having to do much fieldwork in the usual sense of the word.

Then there is the question if it was really one or more native speakers of Heiltsuk such as Mr. Willie Gladstone who did the repeating of texts. Heiltsuk and Oowekyala, and Haisla too for that matter, are mutually intelligible so the reading and re-recording procedure is technically feasible. If, that is, you can find somebody willing to cooperate with the scheme, which in my experience is not likely. On the North Pacific coast you tell a story if it is either your family's property or a public domain one; you don't get involved with what is or could be someone else's spiritual property. One of my Heiltsuk informants, Mr. Angus Campbell, would be willing to give English translations and the occasional criticism ("That's not how it's supposed to be said") when I read one of the Bella Bella Texts line by line, but declined firmly to repeat it in Heiltsuk and explained to me why. I have had this experience with other informants as well, including Haisla speaker George Paul Wilson who lived in Bella Bella. I tried to have him repeat a text on the Rivers Inlet origin of the Kitimaat people; the text's Heiltsuk version was from William Freeman of Klemtu and its Haisla version from Jeff Legayk of Kitimaat, both of whom were related to Mr. Wilson. Yet Mr. Wilson, who obviously recognized the story and once in a while prompted the right word as I read on, would not repeat sentences after me and also said he could not tell the story himself from beginning to end. Conceivably therefore frustration with local attitudes regarding story-telling underlies Boas's cited statement that most of his re-recording was done with just one person, Willie Gladstone.

In 1974-1975 I had myself the pleasure of working with Mr. Gladstone who was then still in fair health; he is the same person as the Mr. Gladstone I consulted regarding Ō´dzɛˤstālis. A number of Boas's Bella Bella Texts are marked "Told by Willie Gladstone" and I succeeded in their sentence by sentence reelicitations, not unfortunately in having Mr. Gladstone retell them unprompted. Mr. Gladstone was in any event less reluctant than other informants to repeat prompted sentences and I therefore also tried sentence by sentence reelicitation of several more of the Bella Bella Texts. The project was tedious and time-consuming

(8)

66

and I suspected that the reelicited sentences did not together constitute coherent and grammatically correct Heiltsuk. I abandoned the project when I could get live texts. Although my own experience thus confirms that Mr. Gladstone may have cooperated with Boas in the way the latter says he did, it is nevertheless surprising that all that he remembered was having helped somebody with the (Heiltsuk) language but that he could not tell anything more specific when I questioned him on the point. I do not think, however, that Ō´dzə⁵stȧlis did much or any repeating of Rivers Inlet texts because, as I have pointed out, the transcriptions in Bella Bella texts are of reasonably good quality whereas Boas has left us with specimens of what must be Ō´dzə⁵stȧlis' Heiltsuk pronunciation, which is not exactly perfect. The specimens can be found in Bella Bella Tales, which work unlike Bella Bella Texts contains only English except for the transcriptions of the names of people and places. The following two examples occur in the Preface (1932: V),

Bella Bella Tales:	ʻI´sta.ɪdex⁴
Heiltsuk:	/ẏísdáitX˙/, phonetically [ʔˡístáɪt¹X˙]
Oowekyala:	/ẏisditX˙/, phonetically [ʔˡˈistit¹X˙]

Bella Bella Tales:	X̌wɪk·ꞌenox⁴
Heiltsuk:	/w̌uíkinuX˙/, phonetically [ʔˑuwík̓ˡinuX˙],
	[ʔwík̓ˡinuX˙]
Oowekyala:	/w̌uikinuX˙/, phonetically [ʔˑˈuik̓ˡinuX˙]
Haisla:	/ĥuikinuX˙/, phonetically [ʔαwiˈk̓ˡinuX˙]³

The meaning of ʻI´sta.ɪdex⁴ has been discussed previously, the second term refers to Rivers Inlet. The *e* in the transcription ʻI´sta.ɪdex⁴ is no doubt a typographic error and should have been *ɛ*. There is however in reality never a phonetic schwa between obstruents in Heiltsuk or Oowekyala, only in Haisla and Kwakwala (which are close phonetically) does this occur. This, together with distinct Kwakwalisms such as the final *ə⁵* in many proper names, points to the names in Bella Bella Tales

having been supplied by an informant with a Kwakwala inflection, probably Ō´dzə⁵stȧlis.

I have no explanation for Boas, in Bella Bella Tales, using the non-Oowekyala name X̌wɪk·ꞌenox⁴ for Rivers Inlet. In the other book, Bella Bella Texts, he uses ⁵wɪ´k·ꞌ ɵnox⁴, which is the name's Heiltsuk version (more particularly its form in the Bella Bella dialects of Heiltsuk, where /w̌u/ is phonetically the same as just /w̌/); see e.g. the table of contents (1928: VII). Nor can I explain his using a distinctly Kwakwala name, Bax̌⁴bakwȧ´lanux̌⁴sɪwə⁵, in his titles for some of the Bella Bella Tales and Texts. He started this practice long ago in his German translations of Oowekyala and Heiltsuk texts (Boas 1895: 444-477).

The preceding confirms that one cannot trust Boas's statements about his informants and that one cannot take for granted the authenticity of Bella Bella Texts and Bella Bella Tales.

3. Boas's Interpretation of the Name of Bax̌⁴bakwȧ´lanux̌⁴sɪwə⁵.

Boas interfered with George Hunt's English translations but not always felicitously; Berman (1991: 27-31) gives several examples of Boas having particular problems with cultural terms including proper names such as for example Kwakwala Bax̌⁴bakwȧ´lanux̌⁴sɪwə⁵.[4] She proposes (p. 31) replacing Boas's gloss for this name, "Cannibal at the rivermouth," by "[the spirit who] eats humans at the river's end."

Hilton and Rath (1982), to which Berman refers, objects to any gloss for this name which mentions or implies eating of the down-to-earth kind one practices for example at breakfast. What follows is an updated version of the 1982 argument.

Boas looked at not one but two names, Bax̌⁴bakwȧ´lanux̌⁴sɪwə⁵ and Bax̌⁴bakwȧ´lanuk⁴ (cf. 1935: 141, 143), and identified *nuk⁴ ~ nux̌⁴* as the well-attested morpheme which in his Kwakwala grammar he — mistakenly, see

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³ For the full range of phonetic variation of vowels and tones/accents in Heiltsuk, Oowekyala, Haisla the interested reader is referred to Lincoln and Rath (1980, 1986) and Rath (1981, 1985).

⁴ I shall ignore Boas-Hunt's many slightly different spellings for this same name and use only this one.

(9)

(10)

below — glosses as just "having" (cf. 1924-1925: 128, 1947: 242, 348). Medial *ā´la* he must have interpreted as an allomorph of the continuative suffix (1947: 306); I am not aware of Boas having semantic concerns about its occurrence here. Initial *baxˡbakw* seems to be an irregular variant of Kwakwala /bx̌·bak·/ "to eat human flesh" (Lincoln and Rath 1980: 56). To Boas the irregularity must have been explained sufficiently by the supposed Oowekyala origin of the name about which I shall say more below; in Oowekyala and Heiltsuk the form *baxˡbakw*, if the complete reduplication of a root *bakw* meaning "human," could indeed mean "to eat humans." We can therefore understand why he tells us that *Baxˡ-bakwā´lanuk̓* means "having the quality of eating human flesh" (Boas n.d.: 143). As long as we keep in mind that Boas looked only at Kwakwala evidence, we can also understand, then, that he glossed the longer name, *Baxˡbakwā´lanux̌ˡsīwě*, as "having the quality of eating human flesh at mouth of river" (n.d.: 114) and "having man eating at the mouth of the river" (1935: 141). For *Baxˡbakwā´lanux̌ˡsīwě* ends in *sīw* meaning "at the river mouth" (in Kwakwala) followed by an unglossable filler morpheme *ě*.

In 1935 Boas published the last of his Heiltsuk and Oowekyala materials so he could have known that his morphological analysis of the name *Baxˡ-bakwā´lanux̌ˡsīwě* would not work for its Heiltsuk and Oowkeyala counterparts which I list here along with other morphologically relevant data.

1. Oowekyala /bax·bak·alan̓usiwa/   ~ /[bax·]bak·-ala-n̓u-siwa/[5]
    Heiltsuk   /báx·bak·álánusiwa/   ~ /[báx·]bak·-ala-nu-siwa/
    Haisla   /bàx·bak·alanusiwa/   ~ /[bàx·]bak·-ala-nu-siwa/

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[5] For the purposes of this paper there is no need to extend the morphophonemic analysis beyond just indicating morpheme boundaries. In the Heiltsuk transcriptions /´/ indicates high tone, in the Haisla transcriptions /`/ indicates accent. Oowekyala and Kwakwala have predictable accent which is not indicated. /:/, /h/ and /ʔ/ are morpheme boundary markers; augments to a morpheme are placed within [ ]. See also note 3.

2. Oowekyala /ǧ·ax̌·ǧ·aq·alan̓usiwa/ ~ /[ǧ·ax̌·]ǧ·aq·-ala-nu-siwa/
    Oowekyala /ǧ·ax̌·ǧ·ax̌·alan̓usiwa/ ~ /[ǧ·ax̌·]ǧ·ax̌·-.../
    One of Raven's lofty names in myths.

3. Oowekyala /zaɖ·alanusiwa/ & /zaɖ·alan̓usiwa/
    Heiltsuk   /záɖ·álánusiwa/ & /záɖ·álán̓usiwa/

    Name of a kind of wind called Oowekyala /zaɖ·ala/, Heiltsuk /záɖ·álá/ in daily life.

4. Oowekyala /m̓as:m̓asalan̓ua/   ~ /[m̓as]m̓as-ala-n̓u-a/
    Oowekyala /m̓as:m̓asalanuha/   ~ /[m̓as]m̓as-ala-nu-ha/
    Heiltsuk   /m̓ás:m̓asálán̓ua/   ~ /[m̓ás]m̓as-álá-n̓u-a/
    Heiltsuk   /m̓ás:m̓asálánuha/   ~ /[m̓ás]m̓as-álá-nu-ha/
    Haisla   /màs:masalanusiwa/   ~ /[màs]mas-ala-nu-siwa/

    Informants state this is the name of the creator. We have a genuine Oowekyala text on this being, see Walkus (1982: 157-162).

5. Haisla   /ḣubàsiwa/   ~ /ḣu-bà-siwa/

    Name of a rock pointing downriver at the mouth of Kitlope River. Compare Haisla /ḣubà/, Oowekyala /ẇuba/, Heiltsuk /ẇúbá/ "point, tip, end of long thing."

6. Haisla   /ɖ̓lbàsiwa/   ~ /ɖ̓l-bà-siwa/

    Said to be the name of any long point that looms up bigger as one gets closer. Some other derivates from the same root are Haisla /ɖ̓lbà/ "gun or bow with a long range," /ɖ̓lbàiḷa/ "long point of land," /ɖ̓ỉàla/ "far away"; the root itself can be glossed as "far away, remote, close to the limit."

7. Haisla   /giglànuḣis/   ~ /[gi]gl-à-nu-ḣis/

    Glossed as "dwarf(s)" and "Chinese people." The root also occurs in e.g. Haisla /gḷa/ "to go on all fours, to crawl." The root augment /gi/ (i.e. root-initial consonant plus /i/) is of a type that is usually used for pluralization but not here as this word can have singular meaning too.

Let us first look at /-siwa/. The items under 4, 5 and 6 together point to its being in effect a semantic unit in its own right. It is attested only in the above words, as far as Oowekyala, Heiltsuk and Haisla are concerned, and seems to be a morphophonemically irregular variant of a spatial suffix that occurs throughout North Wakashan including Kwakwala and whose central meaning is "through a passage, opening or surface; to emerge" in Oowekyala, Heiltsuk, Haisla but "at the river mouth" in Kwakwala. Its morphophonemic irregularity consists in *not* being separated from a preceding vowel by an epenthetic velar obstruent, as illustrated by /xˑ/ and /x/ in, respectively, Oowekyala /w̓ú-xˑsiwa/ "small or narrow passage" and Oowekyala /sá-xsiwa/ "to sober up, gain self-control, become accountable for one's acts" (lit. "wise-through"). Glosses for /-siwa/ that come to mind are "revelation," "manifestation," "incarnation," "epiphany."[6]

A more difficult case is presented by /-nu/ and its variant /-ńu/. There could be a relationship with a set of spatial suffixes all containing /n/ or /ń/ plus /u/, and all meaning basically "(at the) side." Examples are Oowekyala /ħag-ṇu-ħala/ "all (= /ħag-/) on the side of something," Heiltsuk /túnúsbut/ ~ /tú-nús-b-ud/ "to walk (= /tú-/) around a point of land (= /b/)," Haisla /ẏàg-ńus-ḷa/ "bad (= /ẏag-/) on the side," Oowekyala /t̓úxˑ-aańus-ḷa/ "(to have) pain in the side." From "side" it a small semantic step to "aspect" and "disclosure" (think of "There is a side to him we did not know yet") so the /-nu/ and /-ńu/ of /...nusiwa/, /...ńusiwa/ could mean about the same as /-siwa/. The *nux̌*[l] ~ *nuk*[l] in Kwakwala *Bax̌ᵗbakwā´lanux̌ᵗsīwē*[6] and *Bax̌ᵗbakwā´lanuk*[l] also belongs

to this set of morphemes meaning "(at the) side" and, by extension, "aspect, disclosure." *nux̌*[l] ~ *nuk*[l] occurs in all of North Wakashan, among others as an enclitic glossable as "to have." It is Boas's only gloss, see (1924-1925: 128, 1947: 348). Other appropriate glosses are "to exhibit, be characterized by, be a symptom of," compare Haisla /kùkˑ-sda‿nukˑ/ "any place where a hot spring (=/kùkˑsda/) comes out" and also the following example from Boas's own Kwakwala grammar, *g·ɛ´lnuk*[l] "belonging to ancient times, ancestors," in which *g·ɛ´l* means "first" (1947: 348). Finally, there could also be a relationship between /nu/ ~ /ńu/ with the very productive suffix meaning "expert at" and "doing or suffering from something habitually" in everyday language but, in a small number of names, "manifestation, incarnation, personification" and "belonging to a certain tribal or crest group." Examples: Oowekyala /x̌awi-ʔinux̌ˑ/ (name of Loon (= /x̌awi/) in myths), Haisla (Kitlope dialect) /m̓aaẏ-inix̌ˑ/ "what crest?" (the Kitimaat dialect has /-inux̌ˑ/), Oowekyala /w̓u-ik̓-inux̌ˑ/ "people and area of Rivers Inlet."

Now for the complete root reduplication in *Bax̌ᵗbakwā´lanux̌ᵗsīwē*[6] and other items. If in the items under no. 1 the complete reduplication refers to eating the matter denoted by /bakˑ-/, as Boas suggests, it should refer to eating the matter denoted by /ǧˑaqˑ-/ and /ǧˑax̌ˑ-/ in the case of item no. 2. But it doesn't; whatever is referred to by these latter roots, it does not seem likely that Raven would be called a name referring to the eating of something. What could /ǧˑaqˑ-/ and /ǧˑax̌ˑ-/ refer to? According to Lincoln and Rath (1980: 320) it is ravens and the croaking of ravens. An additional meaning is revealed in an Oowekyala sacred song (Walkus 1982: 194) in which a stem /[ǧˑi]ǧˑax̌ˑ-/, plural-type expansion of the root /ǧˑax̌ˑ-/, occurs several times in the meaning "down feathers." Raven won't eat ravens, croaking or feathers. Therefore the items under 1 cannot refer to eating in the sense of consuming a food either. Complete root reduplication may however also refer to the repeated occurrence of something, as it possibly does in the names under discussion. Mrs. Evelyn Windsor, a native speaker of Oowekyala and a very experienced translator, has indicated that the stem /baxˑ-bakˑala-/ makes her think of assuming human form ever more perfectly. This testimony concords with complete reduplication indicating repetition.

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[6] I am simplifying matters somewhat here since there is still the possibility of the /s/ of /-siwa/ being a suffix in its own right. Let it suffice to point to the recurrence of /iwa/ in (1) /-giwa/ ~ /-giw/ "in front, ahead" and "in one's ancestry", compare Oowekyala /gala-giwa/ "ancestors," Haisla /ɖakˑu-giw-ala/ "having slaves as ancestors"; (2) the compound suffix /-sust-iwa/ "upward," compare Oowekyala /tṁ-sust-iwa/ "to climb up." Also to be considered is the etymological relationship between /-siwa/ and the suffix /-su/ (plus phonologically predictable alternants) which occurs in all North Wakashan isolects including Kwakwala and means "through a passage, opening, or surface" and "to emerge, become manifest."

(13)

(14)

tion but there nevertheless remain a number of issues I should like to see clarified.

First, the complete root reduplication might have an honorific function. After all, the plural-type reduplication in Oowekyala /[ǧ·i]ǧ·aX̣·-/ is used to honor the sacred being talk is about, not to emphasize the plurality of the feathers. Similarly, Heiltsuk and Oowekyala names of sacred beings may feature enclitic /ᴗkasʔu/ that simply serves to pluralize in everyday language but now has an obviously honorific function, e.g. Oowekyala /galǧmᴗkasʔu/ "Magnificent (= /ᴗkasʔu/) Primeval One" (Walkus 1982: 36). *Second*, the morphological evidence that the root /bak·-/ means "human" is weak, that is, there is no paradigm of obvious derivates from a root with this form and this meaning.[7] I can at best point to the possibility that /bak·-/ is related to /bk·-/ "human" (which occurs in all North Wakashan) in the same way as /ǧ·aX̣·-/ (attested independently in e.g. Oowekyala /ǧ·aX̣·-la/ "to croak") is to /ǧ·X̣·-/, which latter *may* underlie /ǧ·ǔ-/ in Oowekyala /ǧ·ǔi/ "raven" (everyday term).[8] *Third*, there is also morphological evidence against /bak·-/ meaning "human." Oowekyala /bax·bak·a/ "to stay filled" and Kwakwala /bax·bak·laċi/ "mythical box (/-aċi/) that always stays filled" contain a fully reduplicated root /bak·-/ that must refer to a hollow filling up and is no doubt related to /bax·-/ "to rise, swell up (as e.g. dough), to rise up from the bottom (like the house that, in a Heiltsuk story, rises up from the sea bottom)." That this is also the

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[7] An example could be Haisla /bàk·alaX̣X̣iɫla/ "to think aloud." The glottalization in the root allomorph /bak·-/ is here due to /-ala/ "to speak a language," compare Haisla /bk·-ala/ "to talk" (from /bk·-/ "human"). The problem with this example is that the second suffix, /-X̣ɫ-/, causes inexplicable root augmentation in a few other examples as well, e.g. Oowekyala /tuyuʔlX̣ɫsla/ "to walk among the trees, hike in the woods" (with /tuyu-/ deriving from /tu-/ "to walk").

[8] Here are more examples of a vowelless root having a match with /a/ inserted and a related meaning, /mɫ-/ "to stir" and /maɫ-/ "to swim (for pleasure)," /ḱp-/ "to hold by squeezing, to use tongs" and /ḱap-/ "to gnaw," /k·x·-/ "to blow out forcefully (smoke, steam, dust, hot air), to rise (said of same)" and /k·ax·-/ "bellows, belly, blow, air bag" and "hole, hollow, lungs." See also Compton and Rath (1988).

(15)

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meaning of /bak·-/ in /bax·bak·alaṅusiwa/ (to quote the Oowekyala form), is at least as likely as that it is "human." A fourth point that needs considering is the alleged Oowekyala origin of the Kwakwala name *Bax̣ᵗ-bakwā´lanux̣ᵗsīwēᶜ*. To be exact, Boas affirms only the Oowekyala origin of Kwakwala stories about the being so named; that the name came with the stories can however be inferred from his saying that "the whole *Bax̣ᵗ-bakwā´lanux̣ᵗsīwēᶜ* cycle of tales did not become part and parcel of Kwakiutl mythology until the first half of the 19th century" (1932: IX and see also Stevenson n.d.). I do not wish to question the Oowekyala origin of the kind of *Bax̣ᵗbakwā´lanux̣ᵗsīwēᶜ* stories Boas-Hunt have left us but I am not convinced the Kwakwala name *Bax̣ᵗbakwā´lanux̣ᵗsīwēᶜ* results from adding x̣ᵗ and ēᶜ to Oowekyala /bax·bak·alaṅusiwa/. The Kwakwala version of the name may well have occurred in original Kwakwala *Bax̣ᵗ-bakwā´lanux̣ᵗsīwēᶜ* stories that had a different plot than the imported version that supplanted them. Maybe there are still Kwakwala informants who have not read Boas-Hunt's materials and remember something about them. We have an example of what these original versions might have been like in the story told by Haisla (Kitlope) elder Gordon Robertson which contains no man-eating at all and combines themes that occur elsewhere on the B.C. coast in separate stories (Robertson e.a. 1990: 6). It does not seem we can close the file on the root and the reduplication in Boas-Hunt's *Bax̣ᵗbakwā´lanux̣ᵗsīwēᶜ* yet.

4. Boas and Morphology.

One must agree with Judith Berman, and Ralph Maud who first raised the issue, that determining the significance of text materials in which Boas has had a hand requires the full arsenal of exegetical methods that is known to students of literature, and I am thinking particularly of biblical scholars. I hope to have shown, in the preceding discussion of *Bax̣ᵗbakwā´lanux̣ᵗsīwēᶜ*, that among these methods has to be the study of North Wakashan morphology. Boas's own contributions in this field cannot be quoted as established truth for the following reasons. First, Boas focussed chiefly on just one particular form of North Wakashan, Kwakwala. Second, although the morphological analyses in his Kwakwala grammar (1947) are extensive and therefore still heuristically important, they are marred by phonetic unreliability (see Lincoln and Rath 1980: 5-6) and inability to separate concomitant

(16)

from relevant in the transcriptions. This makes it difficult to recognize the morphophonemic properties of, and the structural similaries between, morphemes. It is also easy to overlook or ignore semantic similarities between morphemes whose structural similarity goes unrecognized. Third, Boas divides Kwakwala suffixes in categories such as general locatives (which he often glosses as English prepositions), special locatives (e.g. "downriver," "mouth of river"), body parts, tenses, aspects, modes, nominalizers, verbalizers, adverbs and adjectives, to mention only these (1947: 205-206, 237). He says himself that these classifications are arbitrary and projections of the structure of European languages (ib.: 225-226) but his whole Kwakwala grammar nevertheless obviously relies heavily on the presumed semantic transparency of calling something "tense," "aspect," "nominal," and so on. As a result, morphemes end up in different categories that should be in the same one or at least cross-referred to each other as related in form and meaning, an example being his "temporal suffix" -oł ~ -wEł "remote past" (ib.: 240) and his "adverb/adjective" =oł "completely, exclusively" (ib.: 245). Boas's morphology insufficiently honors polysemy and metaphor, on which see also Berman (1991: 30).

Since Boas can no longer defend himself it is only appropriate to affirm that however justified the criticism of his work, without it the world would be a poorer place; the point has been argued eloquently by Maud (1989: 161). Boas has enabled Pacific Northwest coast people to produce a body of literature in their languages, which is an important achievement in itself even if we are dissatisfied with the tools he has given us to open its contents to modern readers.

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(17)

(18)

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(19)