Negotiating Meaning in X̱aad Kíl (Northern Haida)

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores strategies for negotiating meaning in X̱aad Kíl (Northern Haida) through transcription and translation of approximately one-and-one half hours of audio and audio-video recorded interactive talk between fluent L1 speakers. To contribute to a fuller understanding of the practices of turn-taking and repair in X̱aad Kíl, I use Conversation Analysis (CA) to analyze two mainly dyadic conversations, a recording of speech interaction during a dyadic storytelling session, and a set of archived recordings of Massett Haida speeches from the early 1970s. Intensive work with the last male fluent speaker of X̱aad Kíl, Lawrence Bell, provides important ethnographic, relational, and cultural context for the conversations and speeches, and brings to light important structural features, such as the use of response tokens and interjections. In addition to contributing to the documentation of previously unstudied conversation practices, the thesis also provides a resource for teachers and learners who are seeking to create conversation-based curriculum to develop language proficiency and work toward revitalization efforts.

Keywords: X̱aad Kíl; Haida; Conversation Analysis (CA); Massett; Hydaburg; language revitalization

To Lawrence Bell

Acknowledgements

Although the actual thesis writing process is often a solitary one, many people were involved in bringing this thesis to completion.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Lawrence Bell for the countless hours you gladly spent with me, listening and re-listening to the same few recordings. In addition to the invaluable assistance with transcription and translation, you also provided a great deal of wisdom and insight in our discussions. While I may not have figured out the intended lesson the first (or second, or third…) time you told me, these repeated tellings stayed with me, and gave me time to learn the lessons when I was ready. Lawrence, you are a wonderful colleague and friend, and a much-needed refuge from academia. I always look forward to our visits, especially when they come at the end of a difficult day. Thank you, Lawrence, for your patience and generosity, as well as your footnotes and asides. I look forward to the next one hundred years of working together!

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Thank you, thank you to the many members of the Haida community that I had the opportunity to meet while working on this project. I appreciate your patience, kindness, and advice as I worked to make this project a useful one. Thank you to the

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List of Abbreviations

General

CA	Conversation analysis
CER	Community-engaged research
LHR	Linguistic human right
TCU	Turn constructional unit
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Committee
TRP	Turn relevance place
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Glossing

1	1st person	**INS**	Instrumental	**USIT**	Usitative (usual or customary action)
2	2nd person	**IPST**	Inexperienced past	**VOC**	Vocative
3	3rd person	**NEG**	Negative		
AREA	Areal suffix	**OBJ**	Object		
AUX	Auxiliary	**PL**	Plural		
CAUS	Causative	**POSS**	Possessive		
CLF	Classifier	**PP**	Postposition		
CMD	Command marker	**PROB**	Probable		
DEF	Definite	**PRS**	Present		
DPST	Experienced past	**PRT**	Particle		
EMPH	Emphatic	**PTCP**	Participle		
EVID	Evidential	**Q**	Question marker		
FOC	Focus marker	**REFL**	Reflexive		
FRAG	Fragment	**SG**	Singular		
FREQ	Frequentative	**STAT**	Stative		
FUT	Future	**TOP**	Topic		
HAB	Habitual	**UNSP**	Unspecified		
IMPF	Imperfect				

Conversation Analysis Transcription Conventions[1]

Temporal and sequential relationships

Overlapping or simultaneous talk

[Left brackets on two successive lines of utterances of different speakers indicate the beginning of a speaker overlap

]   Right brackets indicate the end of speaker overlap

(0.5)   Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, represented in tenths of a second. Depending on the context, sometimes these are noted within an utterance (pauses) and sometimes between utterances (gaps)

(.)   A dot in parentheses indicates a pause lasting less than one-tenth of a second

=   An equals sign indicates latching of one speaker's utterance to another speaker's utterance (i.e. there is no gap between the utterances). If the two lines connected by the equals sign are by the same speaker, this indicates that the speaker had no break between lines, but room has been made for overlapping talk that occurs between the two lines.

Speech delivery

Intonation
Punctuation marks are used to indicate intonation. They are not used grammatically.

.   A period indicates falling or final intonation contour

?   A question mark indicates rising intonation

!   An exclamation point indicates an animated tone of voice

,   A comma indicates continuing intonation

:   A colon indicates the stretching of the sound just preceding. The more colons, the longer the stretching.

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[1] Adapted from Jefferson (2004)

Intonational contours
Combinations of underlining and colons are used to note intonational contours

<u>m</u>:	If the letter(s) preceding a colon is underlined there is a falling intonational contour (high to low)
<u>:</u>	If the colon itself is underlined then there is a rising intonational contour (low to high)
↑↓	Up and down arrows mark sharper rises and falls in intonation than colons and underlining.

Emphasis and loudness

<u>wo</u>rd	Underlining indicates stress or emphasis, either increased loudness or higher pitch
WORD	Uppercase indicates a word is louder than the surrounding talk
°word°	Talk between degree signs indicates that the talk between them is noticeably softer than the talk preceding or following it
-	A hyphen after a word or part of word indicates an abrupt cut-off of speech or a self-interruption

Rhythm

>word<	Inward arrows indicate the talk between them is rushed or compressed
<word>	Outward arrows indicate talk that is slowed down
.h	A dot followed by an 'h' indicates a noticeable in-breath. The more hs, the longer the in-breath
h	An 'h' without a preceding dot indicates a noticeable out-breath. The more hs, the longer the out-breath
hah/heh/hih/huh	All of these indicate laughter
$word$	Dollar signs enclosing an utterance indicate that the utterance was produced with a smile voice

Other

((word))	Words in double parentheses mark the transcriber's descriptions of events ((cough)) ((sniff)) or transcriber's comments on events ((sounds like speaker is stifling a laugh))
(word)	An entire utterance enclosed in parentheses or a speaker name in parentheses indicates uncertainty of the part of the transcriber

Preface

My past self would have turned a cynical eye to prefacing my dissertation. The oft-repeated advice, "don't preface yourself! Let your writing speak for itself!" rings in my ears even as I write these words. Yet, the more I read and learned about self-positioning and about the importance of relationality and reciprocity, and the more times I was faced with daunting questions like "where are you from" and "why are you interested in your topic", the more I realized I needed to preface the work to tell you a bit of my story, of who I am and how I come to this work, by way of relational accountability (see, e.g., Wilson, 2008, p. 10). The explanation is rather circuitous, but I hope that you'll bear with me, as these few pages help to contextualize the scholarly work that follows, as well as provide crucial self-positioning for the work and for purposes of reflexivity (Kovach, 2009, ch. 6)

How did I get here?

When I began my PhD work and would visualize my finished dissertation, I imagined a clean, empirical work with no trace of me, either as a researcher or as a person. Neutrality and objectivity were skills that I prided myself on and that Western academia praised me for. As an undergraduate, I excelled in preparing analysis papers and struggled with writing reflective pieces, often receiving lower marks for journal assignments or personal reflections. I was further frustrated by critique from peers in a creative nonfiction class that I came across as cold and distant in my writing and that there wasn't enough of me; this, despite feeling that I had made myself quite vulnerable in a piece that would be shared with relative strangers. While annoyed at the time, I put aside these comments. After all, it was just an elective course, and if I received a lower grade for keeping my feelings to myself, so be it.

However, I soon realized that my clinical vision was at odds with the work I was drawn to. I was interested in less-studied languages, at first because many of these pushed the boundaries of often English-driven theories. While purely theoretical work held little interest, the idea of challenging theory did. However, as with many linguistics students before and since, what changed my focus was a sociolinguistics course. Taken

as an elective in the last year of my undergraduate studies, this class focused on reading journal articles rather than a textbook and showed me that there was more to linguistics than theory and TESOL. I still wasn't convinced, though—the statistics made me uncomfortable, mostly because of my math anxiety.

When faced with choosing a topic for my undergraduate capstone project, I struggled, and, in typical anxious, perfectionistic fashion, procrastinated. I knew that my paper had to deal with something to do with linguistics and Europe, since my degree was housed in European Studies. Inspired by a personal interest in Irish, furthered by a study abroad trip to Ireland and reading Milroy and Milroy's (1992) "Belfast study", I decided to do something related to Irish. I don't recall how, but I came across Irish poet Nuala Ni Dhomhnaill's piece "Why I Choose to Write in Irish, the Corpse that Sits up and Talks Back", and read the following words, which then, and now, still give me goosebumps:

> I had chosen my language, or more rightly, perhaps, at some very deep level, the language had chosen me. If there is a level to our being that for want of any other word for it I might call "soul" (and I believe there is), then for some reason that I can never understand, the language that my soul speaks, and the place it comes from, is Irish. (Ni Dhomhnaill, 1995, para. 10)

This idea became the basis of my capstone paper. More reading led to learning bits and pieces about how Irish was minoritized and speakers marginalized, punished, and discriminated against. Eventually, I would learn that such a situation was not uncommon.

Who am I?

Early awareness about the ownership of the land I lived on (western Washington state) came from signs observed when riding in the car with my parents: Port Gamble S'klallam Tribe, Suquamish and signs for Chief Sealth's grave, and, on trips to visit my grandparents, signs for Puyallup and Issaquah. I'm ashamed to admit that all I knew about reserve lands outside of these signs was that they were places that had cheap gas, casinos, and fireworks that were illegal off reserve. My connection to the places, the land, was merely a fleeting impression, familiar yet distant, out of touch (Stewart, 2007 24-27).

Attending elementary school in a time when the emphasis was on cultural diversity meant a unit dedicated to learning about Native American culture. As with other efforts, this centred around arts and crafts. However, I have strong memories of these times, perhaps merely because we got to do something different. One day we had a Makah guest speaker come. He instructed us in making replica dance masks out of cardstock and crepe paper streamers. He explained how we needed to draw the design just so and that we needed to colour in the different areas correctly. He also told us how real masks have power and must be treated with respect. Although our masks were replicas, he stressed that they were not toys. He told us a story as we coloured in the masks with our red and black markers. I don't remember the story, but I do remember his emphasis on the need to do things properly. The emotion with which he spoke as he told us this is something that I still occasionally think of when I read about the need for proper protocol.

Knowledge of First Nations languages came much later from a course I took in the first semester of my first try at an MA, when I stumbled into graduate school still heady from a semester study tour of Europe, unsure of what I wanted to do with my life, only knowing that I was good at school, comfortable in the confines of academia. During Mizuki Miyashita's Blackfoot Linguistics seminar, however, Don Frantz, the author of *Blackfoot Grammar*, came to visit. As he told us about his experiences learning about the language through talking with community members, I remember thinking that this was the kind of linguistics I wanted to do. Something hands-on, practical, and working with heterogenous speakers in community—the real, messy language of everyday interactions. While Chomsky's (1965 p. 3) carefully-constructed examples from ideal speakers have a place in linguistic work, I was more interested in seeing how "…work motivated by practical needs may help build the theory that we need" (Hymes, 1972 p. 269). Thinking back to my undergraduate work, language-in-use was also what I enjoyed most—examining how people used language to perform their different identities.

I eventually continued my MA work at the SIL-University of North Dakota summer program, excited about the chance to work with scholars who were doing fieldwork around the world. Still naïve to the checkered past of fieldwork with Indigenous languages and the Western-dominated research agenda, I got my first small taste of fieldwork in a Language Survey course, meeting with a speaker of Sudanese and recording a wordlist, short sentences, and a brief text. I envisioned my fieldwork-based

thesis, focusing on literacy. However, by the time I wrote my thesis I had taken a break to work and pursue my teacher certification and decided to connect my thesis work to education. I put aside thoughts about fieldwork: I was going to be a teacher. A short yet exhausting semester followed, where I realized teaching high school was not my strength. I struggled with wanting to get to know the students yet feeling the need to ensure distance, with trying to find ways to make district-prescribed British Literature relevant to the Mexican students in my class while trying to find ways to demonstrate small bits of common ground in our experiences. Idle observations about their language use made me think back to my undergraduate sociolinguistics course and wonder what my life would be like had I continued in academia.

Why this topic?

Shortly after, I began the process of applying to PhD programs. I decided to revisit fieldwork, and, shortly after entering the Linguistics PhD program Marianne Ignace introduced me to HlG̱awangdlii skilaa, Lawrence Bell, now the last remaining male Elder speaker of X̱aad Kíl (Northern Haida).[2] I took an immediate liking to him, appreciative of his no-nonsense approach to life and language work, his dry wit, and his broad knowledge. When it came time to choose a topic for this project, then, I knew I wanted to work with Lawrence. Thus, my choice of topic came about mostly because of a relationship. Thankfully, he agreed to work with me. I thus came to my study of X̱aad Kíl through this relationship, which has slowly developed over the past five years. As well, I appreciated the difficulty of the work—I wanted a challenge.

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[2] At the time of writing (late 2021), only Lawrence remains as a fully fluent first language speaker, along with Ilsxyaalee Delores (Adams) Churchill, now 91, whose conversations are cited in this work. Sadly, her older sister K'ujúuhl Nánii (grandma) Jane (Adams) Kristovich, also cited in the conversation examples, passed away at the age of 93 in August 2021, as it is said, joining her ancestors. See http://www.sitnews.us/0921News/090221/090221_Jane_Kristovich.html

There are several other Elders who were raised with a good amount of X̱aad Kíl in their upbringing, and although I do not know them all, or know them all well, I would like to acknowledge Joan Hart, Dúuna Red (Victoria Edgars), Leona Clow Davidson, Norma Adams, Merle Davidson Anderson and Lena Edgars. Doubtlessly there are others who well understand and to some degree speak X̱aad Kíl, despite the challenges of language loss from having X̱aad Kíl taken from them in childhood by the Residential School system and the social and symbolic dominance of English in work, education, and social life. During my visits to Old Massett (2016, 2017), Hydaburg (2018, 2020) and Juneau (2021), participants at our meetings expressed their grief about the loss of nearly the last speakers. I can only imagine what this means for Lawrence and the remaining speakers, others raised with the language, and of course the learners of X̱aad Kíl.

Although I enjoy the work, I am still conscious of my lack of family ties to the community and, despite my reading and study, I am still ignorant of much of the social fabric, of what it means to do "being Haida" (to adapt Sacks', 1984 expression). Ethnically, I am from mixed Western European descent, with relatives from Northwestern Europe (Halmstad, Sweden; Bergen, Norway; and at least six or seven other countries) and Southern Europe (Palermo, Sicily). I don't have family ties to the Haida community, or to any other First Nations community. Idle curiosity at one point led me to an oft-maligned DNA test, wondering if family stories would be reflected in science, or if I too, had unwittingly purchased a new identity. Spoiler alert: the test confirmed what I already knew. Despite the lack of ties to the community, I think of how much I have learned and continue to learn from listening to the experiences of community members. Of how the person I am now is different from the one I was when I began this journey, and how the very distance that stands in for neutrality and objectivity (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012 p. 114) was part of what made my attempt at teaching so difficult and would have made this dissertation impossible. Thus, while not part of the community, I am hopeful that I am less of an outsider than when I began.

I have also come to realize that the insider-outsider distinction is perhaps a false dichotomy (Narayan, 1993). If language is a situated social practice, with each interaction involving careful performance of identity, along with a negotiation of heteroglossic resources (Bakhtin, 1981[1975]), should it be a surprise that the researcher is also situated within their work? After all, "…we can only interpret the world from the place of our experience" (Kovach, 2009 p. 110).

While there is much more I could say, and many more details that I could give you, you are here for an academic work, and not my autobiography. Thus, I'll thank you for taking the time to read this contextualizing preface, whenever you chose to read it. As you turn, now, to the body of the thesis I would ask you all to please be patient with the little that I know and see this as the beginning of a conversation. Further, and most importantly, note that the work presented here, while informed by conversations with community members and seeking to augment community goals, is not work that speaks for or on behalf of either individual community members or the community as a whole. As well, note that, while transcriptions provide interlinear morphemic glosses, this is done for documentary purposes (and because this thesis is for a linguistics degree) and is not intended to reflect that language must or should be "dissected".

Chapter 1.

Introduction

One of the most successful ways of gaining fluency in a language is through both necessity of using it and relationship with a speaker of the language (Gardner, 1985, p. 39-61). However, in the case of most First Nations languages of Canada, often there are limited or no fluent Elder speakers and few communicative contexts in which to use the language. Thus, learners seeking to build their fluency and achieve communicative competence (Hymes, 1966, 1972) in the language must often rely on recordings and documentary works. Yet, taking the view that speaking is "above all a social activity involving always more than linguistic expressions" (Duranti, 1997, p. 20) and that it thus "…has an inherently social, collective, and participatory quality" (Duranti, 1997, p. 46), attempting to gain communicative competence from such works is extremely difficult.

While some learners may, with considerable effort and motivation, use documentary materials to build their grammatical competence, mastering sociolinguistic competence is often not possible.[3] For example, mastering the intricacies of conversation in the language, or the appropriate way to tell a given story, is not possible from such materials. This is partly because "a language is itself a set of practices that impl[ies] not only a particular system of words and grammatical rules, but also an often forgotten or hidden struggle over the symbolic power of a particular way of communicating…" (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 31, as cited in Duranti, 1997, p. 45) and thus requires more than memorization and regurgitation. As well, the nature of many available materials, which may be limited to the "Boasian trilogy" of grammar, dictionary, and texts (Boas, 1917), are not designed as teaching materials. While the materials themselves may be helpful for developing learning materials and can provide valuable grammatical information, most early anthropological and ethnographic work was carried out from a salvage mindset (Duranti, 2003; Gruber, 1970). More than this, the work was largely conducted by white Europeans "accord[ing] with the imperatives of Empire" as a way "to obtain space and resources…knowing and representing people within those

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[3] There are, of course, exceptions, such as Daryl Baldwin's efforts to revitalize the sleeping Myaamia language (See Baldwin & Costa, 2018 and Hinton, 2013 ch.1)

places" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 96). As well, these ethnographers, no matter their intentions, lacked technological resources to record language in use, and, in many cases, also lacked communicative ability to record more than wordlists or texts (Duranti, 1997, p. 122).

Early language works are not the only ones that demonstrate such a gap, however. As is well-known, when intergenerational transmission of a language ceases and the language becomes restricted to limited domains, the opportunities for conversational use decrease (e.g., Fishman, 1991, 2001). Because of this, even those seeking to study language within a community context may find that the language is restricted to use in, for example, ceremonial functions or used by only limited older speakers (Fishman, 1991, 2001; UNESCO, 2003, p.10). Thus, the body of materials available often lacks documentation of language-in-use. This results in limited resources that model authentic linguistic practice across a wide range of cultural settings (Hinton, 2001). At the same time, Hinton (2009, p. 8) mentions that conversation "may be the most important speech event to document," given that it can provide important information about prosody and intonation, among other features. As well, as Basso (1970, p. 215) points out, communication is not just a matter of knowing how to "formulate messages intelligibly." Rather, one must know when to speak and in what ways to speak based on a variety of societal factors.

X̱aad Kíl is one such language with limited opportunities for conversational language use and limited models for what such language looks like.[4] There are no monolingual speakers of the language and perhaps around two to five fluent speakers of the northern dialect (See footnote 2), the youngest of whom, Lawrence Bell, is in his seventies. Furthermore, learners are, in most cases, geographically distant from fluent speakers, making focused language learning sessions, or, as learners progress, conversations, challenging. Use of X̱aad Kíl, then, mostly occurs during organized events or in classroom settings, although sporadic use of phrases, endearment terms, and exclamations continues among Elders and adults, who pass this repertoire onto their children. However, as the exposure to and experience of the language in such settings increases, so too has the interest among learners. As learners are increasing in

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[4] The linguistic and sociolinguistic particulars of the language will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

proficiency, however, they are finding that there are limited available resources for those moving from a beginner level. Listening to, let alone participating in, spontaneous, or what might be termed authentic, conversation led by fluent speakers is increasingly rare.[5]

Thus, in a situation where there are a number of motivated intermediate-to advanced-proficiency speakers, some remaining Elder speakers, and conversational recordings, it is imperative to bring all these facets together. The current project does just this, examining recordings of X̱aad Kíl (Northern Haida) conversations and speeches. These recordings are especially important, as it is unlikely that new conversation materials between fluent speakers can be recorded for X̱aad Kíl (M. Ignace, personal communication, October 12, 2021) given the limited number of Elder speakers and their distance from one another.

The project arises out of discussions with members of X̱aad Kihlga hl Guusu.uu Society (personal communication, October 2016), X̱aad Kíl Née representative Jasḵwaan Amanda Bedard (personal communication, October 2016) and X̱aadas Kíl Ḵuyaas Foundation (personal communication, 2017) who all expressed a desire for a project that would 1) result in materials useful to and usable by language learners and 2) provide tools for intermediate and advanced Haida language learners to increase their fluency. More recent discussions with teachers and learners during a workshop on X̱aad Kíl transcription and translation, during a meeting of X̱aad Kíl specialists from Massett and Alaskan communities held at Sealaska Heritage Foundation (SHI), in Juneau, Alaska in September 2021, further emphasized the urgency and importance of transcribing and analyzing conversation recordings. As well, X̱aad Kíl was chosen as the language of focus due to an ongoing positive working relationship with the last remaining male Elder fluent speaker, Lawrence Bell.

A brief pause is in order here to provide a more detailed introduction of HlGwangdlii skilaa, Lawrence Bell. In addition to being fluent in X̱aad Kíl and having many years of experience working with transcription and translation, he is one of the few

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[5] During the time I was finishing writing, however, K'uyaang (Benjamin Young) had begun working intensively with Ilsxyaalaas (Delores Churchill) and, before she passed, Jane Adams Kristovich, to record conversational materials. Although this has not yet been written about, it has been documented in recording. K'uyaang was part of the Juneau workshop in September 2021, and we look forward to working together.

members of his generation to grow up acquiring X̱aad Kíl in the home. In a unique setting, he grew up in an entirely Haida speaking household. His father, 'Laanáas Sdang (Adam Bell) and his mother T'áaw Gud Nang Ḵáas, Ruth, were in their mid-forties. Both were raised entirely in X̱aad Kíl and used it with each other in everyday communication. At the time Lawrence was born in 1946, his older brothers were out of the house, and he was thus raised in a setting where not only X̱aad Kíl was the first language, but where he also benefitted from Elders of his parents' generation and before. These individuals came to visit and share memories and stories and gave Lawrence an awareness and appreciation of the nuances of speech he heard from Elders as he interacted with them in X̱aad Kíl. Thus, Lawrence was raised into X̱aad Kíl and was nourished in it as his first language until at least age 10-12, although he attended day school in Old Massett. (M. Ignace and Lawrence Bell, personal communication, December 3, 2021). Marianne Ignace introduced me to Lawrence Bell in Fall 2015, and I began more focused work with him in Spring 2016 as a Teaching Assistant for an undergraduate field methods course. Lawrence and I have been working together since then and have been meeting weekly since early 2018.

Thus, exploring documented language-in-use with the aid of fluent Elder speakers such as Lawrence can provide a valuable arena for learners to build language skills. He, and speakers like him, are knowledge keepers of not only the words of the language, but the sociolinguistic practices, or to borrow from Sacks' (1984b) idea, how to do "being Haida."

1.1. Discussion Organization

The remainder of this chapter introduces the research questions and goals of the study, defines key terms, situates the project within the field of linguistic anthropology, and introduces the approach to language as a social activity and situated practice. It closes with additional remarks motivating the project as one informed by the aims of language revitalization. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the Haida language and provides ethnographic context while Chapter 3 provides theoretical background on Conversation Analysis (CA). The data explored for this project is presented in Chapter 4 as well as details of the methods used for data collection and analysis. Findings from the analysis of the conversations and speeches are detailed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6; conversational turn-taking and repair are the focus of Chapter 5, while Chapter 6

examines the structure and function of rhetorical devices in a series of speeches and briefly examines the patterns of turn-taking and repair in these speeches. Continuing the examination of other forms of interactive communicative exchange, Chapter 7 explores interactive practices in a storying exchange. Narrowing the focus to a syntactic category of importance in conversation that is still in use today, even by community members who are not fluent speakers of X̲aad Kíl, Chapter 8 explores the function and meaning of interjections. Finally, Chapter 9 explores implications of the research and proposes next steps based on initial workshopping sessions with teachers and learners; it also discusses limitations of the work.

1.2. Study Overview

Having examined the reasons for carrying out the work, this section introduces the research questions of the study and the project goals. The broad goal of the project is to examine linguistic strategies used by X̲aad Kíl speakers to negotiate meaning in conversation. This involves a thorough analysis of conversational data, focusing on the stylistic features employed by speakers as they navigate turn-taking and repair. An accompanying goal is analyzing how explicit knowledge of such strategies and norms might support and benefit learners of X̲aad Kíl. To summarize, the research addresses the following questions:

1) What strategies do and did X̲aad Kíl speakers employ in conversations and speeches to negotiate meaning?

    a. What norms characterize turn-taking and repair in these?

        i. How do the norms vary based on the topic, participants, and register?

        ii. How is communicative competence demonstrated by knowledge of such strategies?

2) How might explicit knowledge of conversational norms support and benefit X̲aad Kíl language learners?

These questions will be explored by analyzing and transcribing approximately one hour of X̲aad Kíl conversation and speech data using the Conversation Analysis (CA) method (Sacks et al., 1974). CA allows for a "thick" transcription that accounts for both linguistic

and sociocultural elements of conversation (see, e.g., Geertz, 1973). Section 3.2 examines CA in detail, discussing the development and evolution of the method.

Given the relatively small sample of recorded speech data analysed for this study, the work is best viewed as an example of what Hutchby & Wooffitt (2008, p. 114) term a *single case analysis*. That is, rather than an examination of a large corpus of data aimed at producing generalizations about a particular structure, this thesis provides detailed examination of two conversations, about one-and-one-half hours total, along with about 60 minutes of archived speeches and another 60 minutes of narrative discourse embedded in verbal interaction between two speakers. In addition, the thesis represents around three hundred hours of review and transcription of these speech data with one of the last speakers of X̱aad Kíl. The study is exploratory in nature (Stebbins, 2008, p. 328) as almost no work exists that examines Haida conversation. However, given the fruitful use of CA methodology in exploring a wide range of languages, including Halq'eméylem (Phillips et al., 2017; Russell, 2009), it is thought that applying such analysis to Haida will also prove useful. This thesis makes preliminary remarks about noteworthy structural and stylistic features in light of language teaching and learning. Further research will be aimed at building the corpus of Haida conversation data via transcription of existing recordings, and, when possible, recordings between teachers and learners.

The transcription and analysis of the conversations and speeches adds to the body of materials available to learners and teachers of X̱aad Kíl and provides documentation of previously undocumented aspects of the language, such as norms of turn-taking. While some audio recordings are available to learners, such as those in the Alaska Native Language Archive (ANLA, n.d.), these are of varying quality and may lack transcriptions or translations.

In addition to providing a documentary record of some conversational norms, this study also extends Boelscher Ignace's (1991) work on Haida oratory. As she notes, "oratory should not be considered as an isolated form of speech; indeed, many of the features of oratory also occur in informal conversation…" (Boelscher Ignace, p. 115). Thus, the analysis also examines approximately one hour of Haida speeches given by various individuals during a planning meeting for a headstone moving. Examining both

the conversations and speeches demonstrates the use of similar norms across two different modes of communication.

The study is a qualitative one. As Denzin and Lincoln note, "qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (2003, p. 13). Such relationship to the research has already been addressed in the preface and situational constraints (or the research context) will be returned to throughout the work.

1.3. Definitions

Many of the terms used in this dissertation have multiple meanings, both within academia and in colloquial use. It is thus important to spend some time discussing the terms as they are used in this project. The work is situated broadly in the field of linguistic anthropology, with special attention paid to Duranti's (1997, p. 2) idea that, "language is a cultural resource and speaking is a cultural practice". The definitions following, in addition to providing a broad overview of linguistic anthropology, describe what is meant by culture, context, and language as social interaction.

1.3.1. Linguistic Anthropology

As noted, the project is situated in the field of linguistic anthropology as described by Duranti (1997). Further details as relate to the field of study will be provided in Chapter 3. Briefly, however, linguistic anthropology draws from linguistic and ethnographic work such as that done by Boas, work on linguistic relativity such as that summarized in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, work done by Gumperz and Hymes on the ethnography of speaking (e.g.,1972) and work on language in social life such as that exemplified by Bourdieu (1977). Some, such as Enfield et al. (2014) stress a distinction between *linguistic anthropology* and *anthropology of language*, noting that the former has a narrower sense bringing together, "Jakobson-inspired understandings of the importance of reflexivity, practice theory-inspired notions of the dialectical relations between language practice…language structure…and language ideology, and a principled, and often relatively conservative view of the social sciences" (p. 3). The latter, *anthropology of language,* has a broader sense, examining the diversity and uniqueness

of humankind via examining how languages are structured and used (Enfield et al., 2014, p. 3). Given this, the current work fits better in the broader frame of *anthropology of language*, where the structure of the language, here X̱aad Kíl, is examined to answer questions about language embedded in a social frame.

Further, while examining formal and stylistic features of X̱aad Kíl, this work does so from the view that these features are situated in a specific context that includes cultural, relational, and "of the moment" layers. That is, a given conversation or speech takes place not only in a broad cultural context (e.g., in the preparation for a headstone moving, in the case of the speeches) but also in a defined relational context (e.g., a conversation between a younger and older sister) and in a narrower situational context that addresses the essential question of conversation analysis: "Why that, in that way, right now?" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 299; Seedhouse, 2005, p. 167). Before exploring the idea of context, the discussion turns to an examination of the pragmatic function of language.

1.3.2. Language as Social Interaction

This work, in its contribution to language documentation and revitalization, takes the view that language is a means of social interaction and involves the joint production of meaning between participants. This idea is one that, again, has nuanced expressions tied to particular theoretical conceptions. However, despite such differences, in the main the ideas of social interaction and joint production underscore the thought that, "in saying something we are always doing something" (Duranti, 1997, p. 222). A few ideas from which the study draws are mentioned here; more details will be provided in Chapter 3.

What seems, or should seem, at this point to be a common-sense understanding of language is the *ethnographic theory of language*. British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1923, p. 319), for example, notes that "the study of any language, spoken by a people who live under conditions different from our own and possess a different culture, must be carried out in conjunction with the study of their culture and of their environment." While this statement reflects an outdated view of ethnography where an

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outside expert goes into a community, it also stresses the necessity of examining language in the light of cultural context.[6]

In the field of linguistics, perhaps two of the subfields most associated with language-in-use are those of pragmatics and sociolinguistics. A pragmatic view of language, as that expressed by, for example Austin, is one stressing that "language is used for doing things". In his distinction among *locutionary*, *illocutionary*, and *perlocutionary* acts, Austin (1962) sets out the general types of things people can do with language; these were later redefined by Searle (1976) in his Speech Act Theory. However, while Austin and Searle provide valuable information about the knowledge that speakers and hearers employ in producing and interpreting utterances, they do so without examining the potential larger cultural context and mostly do not examine language in use.[7] Ochs (1979b) further notes that in pragmatics it is common to rely on intuition data rather than data from language in use.

Sociolinguistics, which does draw data from language in use, has much in common with linguistic anthropology. Duranti (1997, p. 13) notes that a portion of the distinction between the two fields comes down to their history, with sociolinguistics arising from urban dialectology (see Chambers & Trudgill, 1998, Ch. 4 for an overview) and linguistic anthropology being one of the four fields defined by the American Ethnological Society and later the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences.[8] Some, recognizing the similarities, made efforts to merge the two fields. Hymes (1964), in a themed issue of *American Anthropologist*, for example, stresses the importance of bringing together similar types of work under the term *ethnography of communication*, stressing that, "It is rather that it is not linguistics, but ethnography—not language, but communication—which must provide the frame of reference within which

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[6] In this article Malinowski also expresses the outdated and incorrect view that there is a distinction between "primitive" and "civilized" languages, with the former having more restricted functions.

[7] Sacks, as noted by Silverman (1998, p. 31), raised this as a critique of Searle and Austin's work: "One cannot invent new sequences of conversation and feel happy with them. You may be able to take 'a question and an answer', but if we have to extend it very far, then the issue of whether somebody would really say that, after, say, the fifth utterance, is one which we could not confidently argue. One doesn't have a strong intuition for sequencing in conversation." (Sacks, 1992/1995, Vol. 2, p.5)

[8] This is a purposeful oversimplification. The dissertation recognizes contributions from both sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology.

the place of language in culture and society is to be described." (p. 3). The importance of focusing on communication reflects the need to consider the context of language; it is to this topic that the discussion now turns.

1.3.3. Context and Culture

The idea of context is one that, on its face, seems deceptively simple. However, as Goodwin and Duranti (1992) point out, the term is a complex one with a rich and varied meaning depending on the framework in which it is used. In this dissertation, the term is broadly used, appealing to various definitions from a range of fields. Two main principles guide this view of context, one being the Malinowskian (1923) sense of *context of situation* and the other being the principles in Ochs (1979b). The broader notion of *context of situation* goes beyond examining linguistic structures to include the social and cultural setting in which any exchange takes place. Notably, this rejects the practice of strict formal linguistics where constructed sentences are studied in isolation from a contextual context, focused on grammaticality judgements of abstract *I-Language* (Chomsky, 1986). Rather, it examines spoken language that is used by individuals for specific purposes, the *E-Language*. Malinowski (1923) proposes the principle of *context of situation* through an example from his work with the people of the Trobriand Islands, noting that someone unversed in the culture but familiar with the language would be unable to make sense of a word-for-word translation to English. Rather, ethnographic knowledge, such as that regarding customs and government organization, would be necessary to understand the meaning of the utterance.

The principles laid out in Ochs (1979b) and summarized in Goodwin and Duranti (1992, p. 6-9) provide four main types of context to consider in examining data. These include the *setting*, *behavioural environment*, *language as context*, and *extrasituational context*. *Setting* refers to both the physical (e.g., location of the conversation, the accompanying environment) and social setting (e.g., relationship between participants, role of the participants within the community). *Behavioural environment* deals with how "participants use their bodies and behavior as a resource for framing and organizing their talk" (Duranti, 1992, p. 7). This includes, for example, gestures, eye contact, and

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body positioning. *Language as context* deals with interlocutors'[9] consideration of the utterance type (e.g., whether it is a joke or set of instructions) and calls to mind the principle of Conversation Analysis where conversational input is "context-shaping and context-renewing" (Heritage, 1984b). Finally, *extrasituational context* refers to the ethnographic or cultural information guiding language use; this is the type of background that Malinowski (1923) references as well in his *context of situation*.

As with context, there are various ways for interpreting the term *culture*.[10] It can have negative connotations, especially when it is used in the sense of *high culture* or to differentiate between *cultured* and *uncultured*. Duranti (1997) also notes that culture was, and is still sometimes, used from a deficit mindset, with Western Europeans using it to explain the lives of those they came to colonize. Tuhiwai Smith (2012, p. 122) expands on this theme, citing James Clifford's (1988) comments on ethnography as "culture collecting," with Western individuals operating from a salvage mindset.

The importance of language in theories of culture varies; Duranti (1997) gives an overview of several views in which language is significant, including cognitive, semiotic, and mediated views of culture. More discussion about each of these views will be provided in Chapter 3. This dissertation opts for a broad definition of culture as "shared understandings that characterize larger or smaller groups of people" (Kockelman, 2007, p.178). Culture is further viewed as performative, where language is both a product and tool of culture (Duranti, 1997, p. 50). The discussion draws from various views of culture, especially the idea of culture being a *system of practices* and a *system of participation*.

1.3.4. Linguistic Relativity

Any discussion involving language and culture would be remiss without a mention of the linguistic relativity hypothesis. Commonly referred to as the *Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis* for two of the major scholars who examined the interplay between language and culture, it refers to the idea that "…certain properties of a given *language* have consequences for patterns of *thought* about *reality*" (Lucy, 1997, p.294, italics in

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[9] In this thesis *interlocutor* and *participant* are used interchangeably to refer generally to those taking part in a conversation. *Speaker* and *hearer* are also used to clarify the general role of a participant at a given point in a conversation. However, speakers and hearers are both viewed as having active roles in the conversation.

[10] For numerous definitions of culture, see Baldwin et al. (2006, p. 139-226)

original). Views of the hypothesis traditionally range from a belief that language, specifically language structure, determines thought (*linguistic determinism*) to a belief that, while language influences thought, it does not determine it.[11] However, as others, such as Leavitt (2014, p. 19) point out, while the idea of determinism has come to be associated with a particular language "limit[ing] what it is possible for you to think", this was not the intent of Sapir and Whorf's hypothesis. Rather, according to Leavitt, they drew from Albert Einstein's theory of relativity.[12] As Leavitt explains it, this amounts to "…maintaining that differences between the languages of speaker and analyst…ha[ve] to be taken explicitly in account in any analysis of social and cultural life" (p. 18). Or, as Fishman (2001, p. 3, italics mine) writes, "specific languages are related to specific cultures and to their attendant cultural identities at the level of *doing*, at the level of *knowing* and at the level of *being*".

What is, perhaps, most important for the present work is the situating of linguistic relativity in linguistic diversity. Again, to borrow from Leavitt, this means that, when doing linguistic examination, "such differences [in language] are real, are potentially important, and deserve to be attended to" (2014, p. 18). That such diversity is present, especially in terms of how speakers organize concepts, has been demonstrated experimentally. For example, studies by Bowerman and Choi (e.g., 2001, 2003) as cited in Evans (2010), examined how children acquiring English and Korean, respectively, also acquired semantic categories for placing and removing objects. While the English term *put* focusses on spatial relationship (e.g., putting in a container, putting on a table), the relationship in Korean focuses on tightness or looseness of fit. Bowerman and Choi (2001, 2003) found that by 18-23 months children were attuned to the relevant concept in their language, although they could not yet verbalize it. Younger infants, 9-14 months old, were still open to either possibility. By 36 months old, however, English-speaking children had mostly lost sensitivity to the concept of tightness and looseness of fit when classifying objects.

Thus, there is, indeed, a connection between linguistic diversity and diversity of thought. However, as Evans (2010) cautions, this is not of a deterministic nature, with

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[11] While the relativity hypothesis is attributed to Sapir (1949) and Whorf (1956), Lucy (1997) and Bussman (1996) note that it also shows similarity to von Humboldt's (1836/1988) view based on his work with Java's Kawi language

[12] See, for example Einstein (1920)

speakers of a particular language predetermined to think in a certain way. Rather, ways of organizing the world, what Evans (2010) terms a "thought world", are learned, or acquired, with the language. Recognition of such diversity is especially important in the case of critically endangered languages such as X̱aad Kíl. For, as Nettle and Romaine (2000, p. 69) note, accompanying a loss of linguistic diversity is "…a severely reduced conception of what is possible in human languages." Coupled with this, the loss of a language also means a loss of cultural knowledge and knowledge about the natural world. Harrison (2007, p. 15) mentions, for example, that "87% of the world's living plant and animal species have not yet been identified, named, described or classified by modern science". However, languages spoken in the areas home to these species often have not only names for them but also cultural knowledge that does not easily translate to other languages. Harrison (2007, p. 16) argues that this, in part, is due to how the knowledge is structured. Losing a language, then, means losing a way the world is thought about along with knowledge about the world.

1.3.5. Reconciliation

As with other terms discussed so far, *reconciliation* is a complex one. Reconciliation involves accounting for and mending broken relationships, which requires building trust among the parties involved. Borrows and Tully (2018) note that specifying reconciliation as *transformative reconciliation* or coupling it with the idea of *resurgence* is necessary to counter ideas of reconciliation that "…perpetuate unjust relationships of dispossession, domination, exploitation, and patriarchy" and "reconcile Indigenous people and settlers to the status quo" (p. 5). The type of reconciliation of which they speak, and which this dissertation embraces, is one that recognizes complexity and the importance of relationality, further noting that "relationships are horizontal, vertical, twisted, and three-dimensional. Layers of meaning and ambiguity reside in any system of instruction and practice, and they embrace the social as well as the physical activity of construction" (Borrows & Tully, 2018, p. 10).

Given this, any type of work that attempts to contribute to reconciliation must be rooted in relationality and carried out not only with the community but at the request of the community and be driven by the goals of the community. This is, perhaps, especially the case with research work. Tuhiwai Smith (2012) notes that "the word itself [research] is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. 30),

bringing to mind earlier work with Indigenous languages that was envisioned as work done *on* Indigenous languages *by* academics, often white Europeans (see, e.g., Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Early linguistic work, for example, was often motivated by a desire to preserve a record of a culture prior to its being assimilated (see, e.g., Gruber, 1970), including such "salvage ethnography" work conducted by Franz Boas and his students. As documentation strives to produce "a lasting, multipurpose record of a language" (Himmelmann, 2006; see also Himmelmann, 1998), such a vision often results in the language being viewed as an object for study, rather than a vehicle for communication that encodes and informs the cultural and social organization of a community. Moreover, research in general was undertaken mainly by community outsiders, often by those with self-proclaimed power, and the agenda was one of "imperial expansionism and colonization" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 21). Further, Kovach (2009, p. 27) notes that early ethnographic studies "were responsible for extractive research approaches that left those they studied disenfranchised from the knowledge they shared."

Other past linguistic work was carried out by Christian missionaries, whose study and documentation of a language was similarly motivated by the goals of outsiders, namely to "civilize" Indigenous people with European culture and religion (for examples of such work from the Northwest coast see Tomalin, 2011). Much past linguistic work, then, while providing information useful for revitalization, is, at its core linguistic appropriation. This too, is the case with some present-day work with Indigenous languages; most notable for this project is the work of Robert Bringhurst (e.g., 2011) on Haida. Bringhurst's (2011) discussion of Haida myths, based on the texts recorded by Swanton (1905, 1908), and work with Swanton's manuscripts, did not include consultation with members of the Haida community. Further, he neither obtained approval from the Haida community to complete the work, nor collaborated with Haida speakers and knowledge keepers on his interpretations of "classic" Haida myths, drawn from Swanton's recordings (Bradley, 2007), feeling that his own knowledge of the language and culture was sufficient to provide an accurate discussion. In contrast, the current project aims to be an example of work *with* the members of an Indigenous community, *for the purpose of* language revitalization, *in response to* community goals.

1.3.6. Language Revitalization

The term *language revitalization* is one that has received increased attention since the 1990s (Hinton, 2003). Moving from a simple desire to record a language and culture in the event of its anticipated "disappearance", to a preservation of the language in certain domains in the face of *language shift*, as is the case of *language maintenance* (Pauwels, 2004), *language revitalization* aims to both increase the number of speakers of a given language and to increase the number of domains wherein the language is used (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 3). However, as each language community is unique, so too is each revitalization effort. Hinton (2001) notes that what revitalization looks like depends on the situation of those in the speech community and the situation of the language itself, including the number of speakers and learners, the goals of these individuals, the geography of the population (e.g., a large group living in one area or a dispersed group), and many other factors. Thus, revitalization of a language might for one group mean that the target language is used across numerous domains and contexts, while for another group it might refer simply to the use and teaching of the language to a small group of speakers.

This can also be seen in the revitalization efforts profiled in Hinton (2013) and Fishman (2001). For example, Hinton (2013) includes examples of individuals learning their sleeping languages from documented works and then teaching the language in community, as well as adult learners who sought out Elders to learn their language when it was no longer spoken in the community. She also includes accounts of families who are using their languages at home, supported by community resources such as immersion schools. The chapters collected in Fishman (2001) present a more academic examination of the situation of languages in different settings, from a Reversing Language Shift (RLS) perspective. In the case of Haida, Ignace notes that the approach taken is one of "all hands on deck" to work toward revitalizing the language, given the urgency of doing so (M. Ignace, personal communication, May 2017).

The field of language revitalization has seen rapid growth in the recent past, and, as such, there is a broad body of work on the topic. This falls into two main categories: works discussing the general concept of language revitalization, including how it differs from language documentation and language maintenance, and works providing case studies of specific language revitalization projects. Many works contain a combination of

both, providing a general introduction to language revitalization followed by a selection of case studies.

Since language revitalization as a field is fairly new, many general works exist that both define the field and highlight how it differs from language documentation and language maintenance. Some works, although having a different focus, provide impetus for pursuing language revitalization, such as Nettle and Romaine's (2000) volume *Vanishing Voices*, and Maffi's (2001) edited volume *On Biocultural Diversity*. In many ways, these works serve as a bridge between works like Crystal's (2002) *Language Death*, which, as the name suggests, focusses minimally on how to revitalize languages and more on the plight of endangered languages, and those on language revitalization. Other works, such as Hale's (1992) article, introduce a series of revitalization efforts via the background of endangerment.

Other seminal works move from language maintenance to language revitalization, such as Fishman's (1991) volume, which introduces his scale (the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, GIDS) for measuring intensity of a threat to a language and provides a series of case studies that apply his model. Fishman (2001) revisits and expands on the Reversing Language Shift (RLS) framework and the GIDS; the volume also provides updates on the case studies presented in Fishman (1991). Several new case studies are also included. For example, Fishman's chapter revisits the situation of Yiddish in New York City, and the chapter by Lee and McLaughlin re-examines that of Navajo.

Notable works on language revitalization include that of Hinton and Hale (2001), which provides an introductory chapter defining language revitalization and differentiating it from language maintenance and language documentation. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) similarly provide general background on language revitalization and then move to discussing various models for language revitalization, issues to consider in a revitalization program, and several case studies.

Works such as Hinton's (2013) edited volume underscore an important shift in language revitalization. This volume provides a series of case studies written by and for families working to revitalize their languages. Such volumes illustrate the move from academically-focused revitalization, where an outsider "expert" comes in to document

the language to community-led revitalization. As mentioned previously, the volume includes stories of families working to use their language at home, with the support of community resources such as immersion programs. It also includes examples of those who, through focused sessions with an Elder speaker, used a Mentor-Apprentice (MAP, see Hinton, 2001) approach to learn their language, with the goal of passing it on to others in the community. No matter the type of revitalization work, it, like any type of transformative reconciliation (or other type of transformative research), is by its very nature political. Often, communities are in a position of revitalizing their languages due to continued oppression by either another community or a government, or both. In many cases, individuals were, or are, severely punished for speaking their own language and made to feel ashamed of their language (see, e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2017). This is especially true for speakers of First Nations languages; loss of language is often, for example, a result of the residential school system (Assembly of First Nations, 2007). Where a non-Indigenous individual seeks to undertake language revitalization research, then, there can often be many questions regarding their motivations and intentions. In general, there are two main avenues that such a researcher can take. This is articulated by Mayan speaker Cojtí Cuxil (1990, p. 19, in England, 1992) who says that,

> ...In this country [Guatemala], the linguist who works on Mayan languages only has two options: either active complicity in the prevailing colonialism and linguistic assimilationism, or activism in favor of a new linguistic order in which equality of the rights of all the language [*sic*] is made concrete, something that also implies equal rights for the nationalities and communities.

While Cojtí Cuxil (1990) speaks specifically from a Mayan and Guatemalan view, the parallels between this context and that of the First Nations context of Canada are clear, as are the implications for research work that follow. Inspired by points made in England (1992, p. 34-35) and UNDRIP (United Nations, 2007), this underscores the view that language revitalization:

1) is a human rights issue
2) is inherently political
3) should be undertaken only at the request of a community
4) must be driven by community goals
5) must actively involve the community throughout the project
6) should result in materials that are useful to and usable by the community.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994, p. 2-3) embody language revitalization as a human rights issue in their discussion of linguistic human rights (LHRs). They note that such LHRs involve both individual and collective levels. At the level of the individual, it means "positive identification" with the mother tongue irrespective of its status, as well as the right to access education in the mother tongue and the right to use the mother tongue in official contexts. At the collective level, observation of LHRs involves official recognition of minority groups, including self-governance and control of school, curriculum, and the language of instruction, as well as guaranteed representation in political matters (for further discussion see, e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994 and Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2017). Further evidence for this is found in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada's *Calls to Action* (2015). In addressing Indigenous language rights, the recommendations "…call upon the federal government to acknowledge that Aboriginal rights include Aboriginal language rights" (Language & Culture, point 13). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, or UNDRIP, (United Nations, 2007) also supports the principles outlined by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994), specifically noting the right for Indigenous peoples to "establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning" (Article 14.1).

1.3.7. Community-Engaged Research

This project draws from principles of community-engaged research (CER) (University of Victoria, 2017; Wiebe & Taylor, 2014). CER is "a collaborative process between researchers and community partners" (University of Victoria, 2017, p. 1) that ensures research is relevant to the community, including in terms of research design and ways of knowing, and emphasizes work that focuses on social change (Wiebe & Taylor, 2014). CER can include many approaches[13], including participatory-action research (PAR), Citizen Science[14], and Arts-informed Research[15]. Some also classify Indigenous methodologies as one type of CER (University of Victoria, 2017, p. 3)

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[13] See https://www.uvic.ca/cue/assets/docs/CER_KeyAspectsvV1.1.pdf for a glossary of many approaches to Community-Engaged Research.

[14] See Robinson et al. (2018) for a framework of Citizen Science

While Indigenous methodologies embrace some of the same concepts as CER, it is important to distinguish the two. Situating the project specifically within Indigenous methodologies recognizes not only the necessity of community collaboration and relevance but also the different "philosophical underpinnings" (Chilisa, 2019, p. 40) of the work. As Kovach (2009, p. 30) points out, "Indigenous methodologies are guided by tribal epistemologies, and tribal knowledge is not Western knowledge". Indigenous methodologies also stress the principles of *relationality*, *reciprocity*, *protocol*, and *reflexivity*. While CER may include some of these aspects, again, the conception of these within Indigenous methodologies is unique. For example, while both frameworks stress the importance of authentic relationship, Indigenous methodologies go further, with some, such as Wilson noting that the principle of relationality means that "relationships do not merely shape reality, they *are* reality" (2008, p. 7, italics in original). Thus, while this work uses some tools of qualitive methodology and CER, this is inspired by the lens of Indigenous methodologies.

At the beginning of this project, work with the community took place face to face during focused X̱aad Kíl learning and teaching sessions. Generally, these occurred over an extended weekend, either in Massett or Hydaburg. These were organized by the community and facilitated by Marianne Ignace. During such sessions, community members provided valuable feedback on my work, such as contextualizing information about the individuals in the conversations. Initially, I planned that workshopping the transcribed conversations and speeches would take place in the same way. However, the time at which materials were in a workable state for doing so coincided with the advent of COVID-19. Thus, initial meetings took place via Zoom, which allowed for cross-community participation. During these sessions, which mostly involved general discussion, community members provided advice on topics of interest for curriculum (e.g., endearment terms and interjections), and cautioned about dissecting the language.

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[15] See Wiebe (2015) for an example of collaborative filmmaking with Indigenous youth from Aamjiwnaang First Nation in Ontario

Chapter 2.

People, Place, and Language

Language, as Duranti (1997, p. 4-5) notes, is "a set of practices" that "bring about particular ways of being-in-the-world". As discussed in Chapter 1, language is contextualized in cultural and social settings. It is further mediated by the physical environment in which it is spoken. Thus, this chapter continues the process of situating the work begun in Chapter 1, moving to a focused exploration of X̱aad Kíl's physical, social, and linguistic context. The chapter also presents an overview of previous work with the Haida language, including grammatical, anthropological, and ethnographic works.

2.1. Haida People and Place

Numerous ethnographic sketches, of varying quality and acceptability to communities, are available (see, for example, Swanton, 1905; Stearns, 1981; Boelscher, 1989; Blackman, 1992). Similarly, information about the geography of the islands is available (e.g., Fedje & Mathewes, 2005), as is ethnobotany (Turner, 2004). As this dissertation is not intended to be an ethnography, this section, rather than an exhaustive treatment of the topic, instead provides a brief overview of the organization of Haida society and discusses the physical landscape of the traditional Haida communities.

2.1.1. Physical Landscape

X̱aadaas Gwáayaay (Haida Gwaii, 'islands of the people') is an island chain with two main islands, Graham Island to the north and Moresby Island to the south, as well as approximately 150 smaller islands (Boelscher, 1989, p. 19). Two main communities are currently present on the islands. G̱aw (Masset, Massett, or Old Massett)[16] is on the

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[16] Masset is also often spelled as Massett or referred to as Old Massett to distinguish it from (New) Masset, the settler townsite, where the post-office and postal code is situated. Originally, the settler community was called Graham City; however, as Dalzell (1993/1973, p. 380-381) explains, the settlers "pirated" the name "to more easily obtain rights to a post office". As the postmaster of Old Massett had left, settlers in Graham City applied for the post office permit

north coast of Graham Island, and Skidegate is on the southern coast. Across Dixon Entrance from G̱aw on Prince of Wales Island, Alaska, is the third main community, Hydaburg. The Haida of Alaska (Kaigani[17]) migrated from Haida Gwaii and are commonly referred to as *Ḵ'iis X̱aadee* 'Straits people' for the area of Haida Gwaii from which they migrated (Boelscher, 1989, p. 19).[18] The map in Figure 1 shows the geographic relationship among the three communities and their relationship to mainland British Columbia, Canada. Given the location, 60 kilometers south of the southeastern islands of Alaska, and 80 kilometers west of the coast of British Columbia, the landscape and the culture are characterized by the proximity to the ocean (Boelscher, 1989, p. 19-20). The winds, embodied by supernatural beings, govern the weather patterns, and, as such have importance for travel and navigation. Two winds, the Southeast wind, bringing extremely stormy weather, and the North wind, bringing clear weather, also figure in Haida story (Boelscher, 1989, p. 21). Given the traditional reliance of the Haida on the ocean for travel and sustenance, and the physical location of the islands in an area known for rough weather, it is not surprising that the Haida were expert at weather forecasting (Boelscher, 1989, p. 21),[19] as is attested by detailed expressions of cloud formations and wind patterns that that predict calm weather and storms (M. Ignace, personal communication, September 11, 2021, see also Swanton, 1908).

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under the name of Masset, and, as government officials were unaware of the attempted coup by the settler town, they granted the permit. Scott (2011, p.11) notes that the second 't' was eventually dropped due to supposed confusion with the town of Merritt.

[17] According to Eastman & Edwards (1991, p. 11), the name Kaigani comes from the name of a Tlingit village at Cape Muzon (not indicated in the map in Figure 1; however, this is at the southern tip of Dall Island, which is the large island to the west of Prince of Wales Island)

[18] Eastman and Edwards (1991, p. 13-18) present a narrative account (in English) of the migration, as related by Lillian Pettviel.

[19] This perception figures in a joke related by Jane Adams in one of the conversations examined in this project, in which some white folks ask Chief Willie Matthews what the weather is supposed to be like. He responds that he doesn't know, as he hasn't heard the weather report. The white folks are surprised, given the Haida reputation for weather forecasting. He responds that he's doing just what the white folks do, listening to the radio.
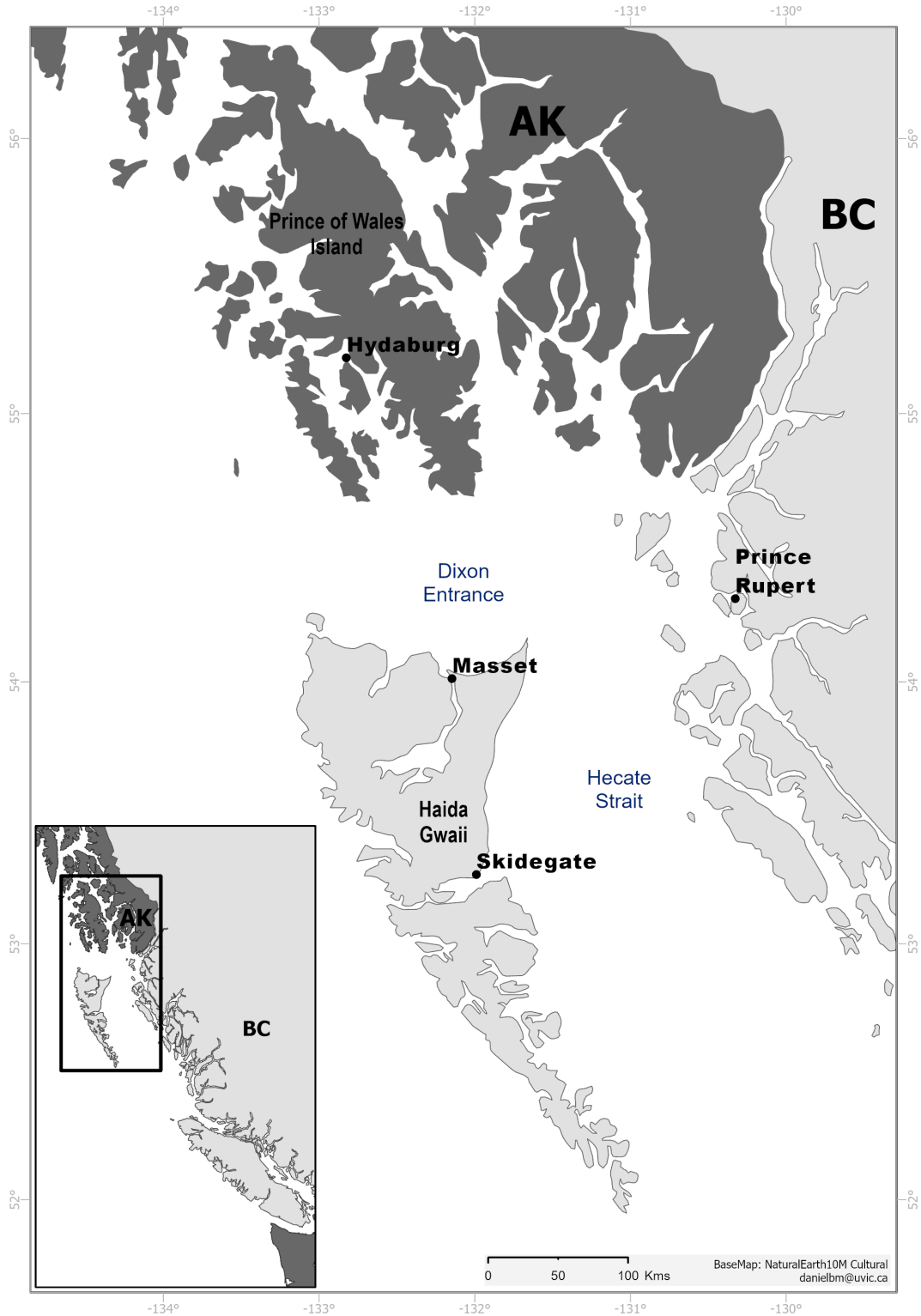
Figure 1: Three main Haida communities

Note: Map created by Daniel Brendle-Moczuk, Librarian, University of Victoria, 2021.
https://www.uvic.ca/library/help/librarians/danielbm/index.php

2.1.2. Cultural Organization

The Haida classify themselves based on the location in which they currently live (e.g., Masset, Alaskan, or Skidegate), but genealogically based on the villages from where their ancestors come (Boelscher, 1989 p. 17-19).[20] Haida society is further organized via moieties (*clans* or *ḵ'waalaa*) and matri-clans (*tribes* or *gwáayk'aang*) (Boelscher, 1989, p. 27). The two moieties, as called by the Northern Haida, are Ravens (Yáahl) and Eagles (Ḡúud). Membership is determined at birth by the moiety of the mother (i.e., it is matrilineal). Boelscher (1989, p. 29) notes that moieties are used as a means of social regulation. For example, a Haida must marry someone of the opposite moiety (i.e., someone from the Eagle moiety must marry a Raven, and vice versa). The situation is similar in certain rituals, where those involving reciprocity are conducted between the moieties (Boelscher, 1989, p. 29). Each moiety has its own origin story (or stories, in the case of the Eagle moiety; Boelscher, 1989, p. 31), which involves a particular supernatural ancestress: Foam Woman in the case of the Ravens, and, in the case of many Eagle clans, Djilaqons (Boelscher, 1989, p. 31), although the Eagles' origin is more diverse.

Moieties are further divided into matrilineal clans, or *gwáayk'aang*. As with moieties, gwáayk'aang membership is determined by that of the mother. According to the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN), approximately thirty-three gwáayk'aang are present (Council of the Haida Nation, 2013). Traditionally, each clan has a hereditary chief; however, some clans do not currently have a chief in place. Each clan is associated with one or more ancestral villages (Boelscher, 1989, p. 19). Today, although many no longer live in the traditional villages year-round, clan membership and members' ties to these places and to their clans is still very apparent. It is not uncommon for conversation among Haida to involve mentioning of shared clan relatives and ancestors and reminding one another of the clan membership of specific individuals, their relatives, and the places where their relatives originally lived, often by way of

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[20] Boelscher (1989), Blackman (1982) and Stearns (1982) used the term "lineage" for gwáayk'aang. Haida Elders alive in the 1970s and 1980s commonly called them "tribes" in English, and most contemporary Haida describe them as "clans" in English. An in-depth discussion of the various names and locations of the clans is beyond the scope of this discussion; Boelscher (1989, p. 17-19; 33-47) provides a summary of such information.

reciting their ancestral Haida names. This again underscores the importance of both kinship relationships and connection to land.[21]

2.2. Language Background

Haida is a critically endangered language (Fishman, 1991) with two main dialects: Northern Haida and Southern Haida.[22] Northern Haida (X̲aad Kíl) is identified with the community of Massett, on Northern Graham Island, Haida Gwaii, and with Hydaburg, Alaska, across Dixon Entrance. Slight differences exist between Massett and Alaskan Haida although they have "almost complete mutual intelligibility" (Enrico, 2003, p.1). According to present and past speakers, (M. Ignace, personal communication, October 2021) slight variations in speech existed among Massett Haida speakers. This is likely because the ancestors of X̲aad Kíl speakers moved to Massett from their ancestral villages on the north and west coast of Graham Island and from various locations along Masset Inlet in the 1860s-1880s following a devastating smallpox epidemic in 1862-63 (see, e.g., Duff, 1964/1997).

Southern Haida (Skidegate Haida or X̲aaydaa Kíl) is spoken in the community of Skidegate (Boelscher, 1989, p. 17; Enrico, 2003; Lewis et al., 2016). Enrico (2005, p. viii) notes that it was also previously spoken in the ancestral Haida villages on Moresby Island and on the southern and eastern coasts of Graham Island. In 2018, First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) noted 19 fluent speakers across both Northern and Southern Haida and an additional 20 semi-speakers or silent speakers. A further 265 individuals identified as language learners (Dunlop et al, 2018). Aside from the small number of speakers remaining on Haida Gwaii, learners, semi-speakers and fluent speakers live in the urban centres of Prince Rupert, the Vancouver area, and in Seattle, Ketchikan, and Juneau.

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[21] One of the many rewarding parts about working with Lawrence has been starting to be able to weave together some of these kinship threads. A mention of a name almost always brings about a concise account of how that individual is related to others as well as where they lived or what role they had in the community.

[22] A third dialect, Ninstints, now extinct, was previously spoken in the southern portion of Moresby Island (Swanton, 1911). Enrico (2003, p. 1) refers to this as a subdialect of Southern Haida.

2.2.1. Genetic Relationship

Haida is commonly viewed as a language isolate (Boelscher, 1989 p. 17; Krauss, 1973; Levine, 1979; Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2016). However, Swanton (2013/1911, p. 164, 209), noting some resemblance between Tlingit and Haida, proposed a historical genetic relationship. Other analyses, no longer widely accepted (e.g., Pinnow, 1968; Sapir, 1915), included Haida as part of the Na-Dene family, which consists of the Athabascan[23] languages as well as Eyak (now extinct), and Tlingit.[24] The present discussion treats Haida as an isolate; the interested reader is referred to the discussions in Swanton (1911), Sapir (1915), and Pinnow (1968) for consideration of the case for including Haida as part of the Na-Dene family.[25]

2.3. Grammatical Overview

Documentation of Haida grammar began in late 1700s with the arrival of European maritime fur traders who compiled some initial word lists (see Enrico, 2005, p. vi). Boas (1916) presents a brief Haida vocabulary list that he reports was collected by an unknown individual in 1791; it is accompanied by his own re-transcription. White (2018) also notes an early vocabulary list by well-known geological surveyors George Dawson and Fraser Tolmie, published in 1884. In terms of grammatical work, several dictionaries are extant, including Lachler's Alaskan Haida Dictionary (2010), Enrico's extensive 2000-plus page dictionary of all three dialects (2005), and Lawrence (1977). Also available are several grammars and grammar sketches of varying quality, including those prepared by Enrico (1989, 2003), early grammatical sketches by Boas (1889) and Swanton (1911), and late nineteenth to early twentieth century missionary works (Harrison, 1895; Keen, 1906). Boas (1889) focuses on Skidegate Haida, as does Levine's (1977) dissertation. In addition to a grammar and dictionary, Enrico has also

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[23] The spelling Athabascan is adopted here per the preference stated by ANLC following from a 1997 resolution of the Tanana Chiefs Council (ANLC, n.d.). However, in academic and linguistic literature the name is widely spelled with a *k* instead of a *c* (see Krauss, 1987).

[24] Enrico's (2004) re-examination of cognates with Tlingit and Eyak, and of linguistic borrowing, points to a complex web of linguistic contact among Tlingit, Haida, and Eyak. Swanton (1911, p. 209), who worked on both Haida and Tlingit, "suspected" a genetic relationship between Haida and Tlingit, due to similarities in both morphology and lexicon. Swanton (1911, p. 209) also notes morphological similarities between Haida and interior Athabascan.

[25] Manaster-Ramer (1996) also provides an overview of the main views in the discussion regarding inclusion of Haida in the Na-Dene family

written an extensive two-volume work on syntax (Enrico, 2003), and numerous papers and articles covering topics such as syllable structure (Enrico, 1986a), word order (Enrico, 1986b), and phonology (Enrico, 1981; 1982; 1983a), as well as several language lessons (Enrico, 1983b).[26] White's (2001) work, which focuses on the way students learning Haida interact and participate in a classroom setting, also includes transcripts of lessons conducted in 1994 and 1998. These are from lessons conducted in both Skidegate and Massett, and include such topics as vocabulary review (numbers) and English songs (e.g., "Itsy Bitsy Spider") translated into Haida; all of the transcripts include a mix of English and Haida.

More recent curriculum includes Nursery-Kindergarten to Grade Six language curricula prepared by Ignace (2008-2020) in collaboration with Rhonda Bell and Elders Nina Williams, Claude Jones, Stephen Brown, and Gertie White for Chief Matthews school in Old Massett (M. Ignace, personal communication, August 8, 2018). These resources include an overview of different methods for language teaching, materials for conducting recurring classroom activities (e.g., circle time activities such as weather and calendar). There are also thematic units for a typical school year organized around the Haida seasonal round, all produced with Haida vocabulary, phrases, constructed narratives, and stories.

Other work provides valuable ethnographic and anthropologic discussion of Haida culture but does not focus on detailed linguistic analysis. A seminal text is Swanton's (1905) *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, which gives a thorough and detailed ethnographic overview, discussing customs and cultures. Among more recent works, Boelscher (1989) is a detailed discussion of Haida social organization, political structure, and discourse, written more from an anthropological perspective than a linguistic one. Having now examined some of the written and recorded Haida language works, the discussion turns to an overview of the phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax of Haida.[27]

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[26] The references cited here do not constitute an exhaustive list of all the work done on Haida. The Alaska Native Language Archive (ANLC) at University of Alaska, Fairbanks, is a good starting point for additional resources (https://www.uaf.edu/anla/)

[27] In addition to the works mentioned here, there is also an extensive and well-researched (at the time of writing) Wikipedia article on the Haida language ("Haida Language," 2021)

2.3.1. Phonetics and Phonology

Northern Haida has 30 consonant phonemes (Enrico, 2003, p.10-12) and ten vowel phonemes. Consonant phonemes include a series of plain, aspirated, and ejective stops, including uvular and pharyngealized stops and fricatives. Vowels can be short or long; vowel length is contrastive. Table 1 provides the consonant and vowel phonemes according to standard IPA conventions.

Table 1:   X̱aad Kíl Phonemes

	Place of articulation									
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	pʰ b			tʰ d			kʰ g	qʰ ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m				n		ŋ			
Fricative					s		x	χ	ħ	h
Lateral fricative					ɬ					
Approximant						j				
Lateral approximant					l					

Ejectives	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Uvular
	t'	ts' tɬ'	k'	q'

Affricates	Alveopalatal		**Approximants**	Labiovelar
	t͡ʃ d͡ʒ tɬ dl			w
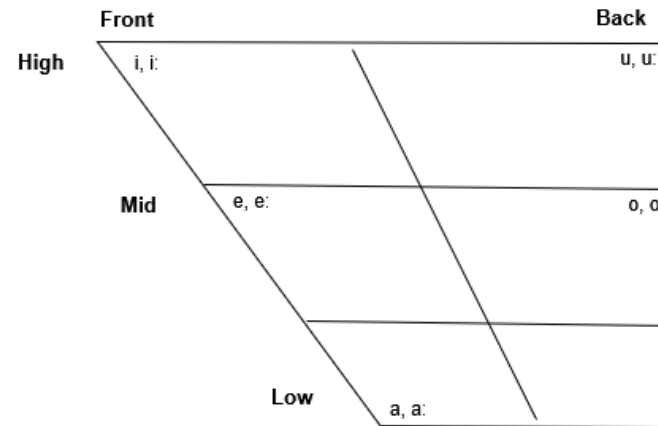
As the main goal of this thesis is to provide usable materials for X̱aad Kíl

teachers and learners, however, examples are presented using currently accepted

orthographic conventions rather than IPA. Such conventions were developed by Massett

learners in conjunction with Marianne Ignace and Jordan Lachler; they are based on the

orthographic conventions developed for Alaskan Haida by Alaskan speakers and linguist

Jeff Leer in the 1970s and are those presented in Lachler's (2010) Alaskan Haida

dictionary. The current practical orthography with corresponding IPA symbols is provided

in Table 2. Appendix A also includes an expanded version of this table that includes

sample words and a pronunciation guide.

Table 2: **Haida practical orthography (adapted from Ignace, 2019)**

Orthographic symbol	IPA	Orthographic symbol	IPA	Orthographic symbol	IPA
a	[ʌ]	j	[dʒ]	tl	[tɬ]
aa	[ɑ]	k	[kʰ]	ts	[tʃ]
aw	[ow]	k'	[k']	ts'	[tʃ']
ay	[ej]	k̲	[q]	u	[ʊ]
b	[b]	l	[l]	uu	[u]
(ch)	[tʃ]	'l	[ʔl]	w	[w]
d	[d]	('ll)		'w	[ʔw]
dl	[dʒ]	m	[m]	x	[x]
ee	[ej]	n	[n]	x̱	[ħ]
g	[g]	ng	[ŋ]	x̂	[χ]
g̲	[ʕ]	p	[pʰ]	y	[j]
h	[h]	p'	[p']	'y	[ʔy]
hl	[ɬ]	s	[s]	'(7)	[ʔ]
i	[ɪ]	t	[tʰ]		
ii	[i]	t'	[t']		

Moving to phonology, while an in-depth analysis of Haida phonology is beyond

the scope of this discussion, some general principles are worth mentioning, the first

being syllable structure.[28] According to Enrico (1991, p. 58), Haida words can be

described by the following syllable template: C(C(C)) V(V) (C(C)). That is, syllables must

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[28] Enrico (1991) provides an exhaustive discussion of Massett phonology; Leer (1977, p.24-49) provides a more accessible introduction to Haida phonology focusing on Alaskan Haida, whose phonology is similar to that of Massett Haida.

minimally consist of CV. Vowel-initial syllables are not permitted, and codas are optional.[29]

Haida is a register tone language, with phonemic high and low tone (Leer, 1977, p.49-53). In the Haida practical orthography, initially developed by Jeff Leer, Erma Lawrence, and others for Alaskan Haida, and used with modifications in Massett at present, only high tone is marked (M. Ignace, personal communication, September 21, 2016). An *accent aigú* over the first vowel in a syllable indicates high tone, when it is marked. Enrico (2003, p.13), however, maintains that marking tone is unnecessary, as tone is predictable based on syllable structure.[30] Heavy syllables, those with two sonorant segments, have high tone, while light syllables have low tone. Enrico (2003, p.13) notes that exceptional cases which do not follow this pattern drive the need to mark tone. In his earlier discussion, he traces these exceptional low-tone heavy syllables to historical processes, further motivating the redundancy of tone marking (Enrico, 1991, p, 109-110).

While, in some languages, tone can be used to determine word boundaries, doing so in Haida is less straightforward. For example, in Haida writing, Leer (1977, p.53) notes that prefixes or suffixes are sometimes written as joined to base words and other times written as free-standing. Enrico (2003, 2005) for the most part directly affixes postpositions. In the present discussion, the same general conventions regarding tone marking are followed as in Leer's (1977) discussion; namely, that only one high tone is marked in a word. There is much more to be said regarding tone, and it plays an important role in discourse. For example, Enrico (1991, p.107) notes the relationship between tone and the processes of *emphatic lengthening* and *emphatic devoicing*. Emphatic lengthening, as the name suggests, is when a sound, usually a vowel sound, is stretched to provide emphasis. For example, in the recording of ʻLáanas Sdang and Henry Geddes, discussed in detail in Chapter 7, ʻLáanas Sdang often uses this device.

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[29] Enrico (1991, p.54-102) provides an extensive discussion of syllable structure, including restrictions on onset and coda consonants from a framework of Lexical Phonology.

[30] However, Marianne Ignace's experience in co-teaching a Haida language course with Lawrence Bell suggests that marking tone is helpful for learners. The omission of tone marking has led to second-language learners not "hearing" tone. When tone was once again marked, learners produced much more acceptable speech (M. Ignace, personal communication, September 21, 2016).

Consider, for instance, the following sentence from 'Láanas Sdang's telling of the
Copper Salmon story:

K'aalée	áa	sḵ'il táw	isis
container-DEF	this	blackcod oil	to be

'll	xu-xudl-a::::ngaan
3.SG.SBJ	small-to sip-HAB.IPST

'In this container was blackcod oil, and he drank it in small sips for a long period of time.'

Example 1:   Emphatic lengthening in Copper Salmon Story

This sentence occurs near the middle of the story in a description of the actions of the
younger brother, who has gone off into the woods after becoming upset that his older
brother was receiving better food than him. Here, 'Láanas Sdang draws out the
penultimate vowel of the verb to indicate the long period of time for which the younger
brother was drinking small sips of blackcod oil (Lawrence Bell, personal communication,
August 12, 2021).

2.3.2. Syntax

Both pragmatic and syntactic considerations determine Haida word order. For
example, word order in Haida sentences varies based on whether the subject and object
are nouns or bound pronouns (M. Ignace, personal communication, August 30, 2016).
Enrico (2003, p.74) notes that word order further depends on the potency of subjects
and objects. Potency is related to animacy, in that it imposes restrictions on who can act
on an object. Animate beings can act on other animate beings, as well as inanimate
beings, but inanimate beings are less likely to act on animate beings (M. Ignace,
personal communication September 21, 2016).[31] However, according to Enrico's
analysis, the potency system is more complex, as factors such as social rank, number,
and acquaintance also figure into the determination of potency (Enrico, 2003, p. 76).
Additionally, Enrico (2003, p. 75) notes that potency also considers the volitionality and

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[31] Enrico (2003, p. 75-76) provides a finer-grain distinction of potency, noting that animate beings
are also ranked in terms of potency as follows: "known single adult free humans > non-adult
and/or enslaved and/or unknown and/or ungrouped humans > non-human higher animals >
inanimate and lower organisms (fish and lower)."

control (or lack thereof) of an argument; verbs also have restrictions on the potency of the arguments that they can take.

Eastman & Edwards (1983) classify Haida as a topic prominent language, rather than a subject prominent one. They note that Haida word order, "'looks' OSV, but behaves by ordering constituents pragmatically" (Eastman & Edwards, 1983, p. 62). Thus, in cases when the word order prompts ambiguity about participant roles, reference to the discourse context is necessary for disambiguation. Keeping these analyses in mind, the following examples provide sentences showing common word orders. While it is perhaps more correct to term *subjects* as *agents* the examples below use *subject* as this is what is more commonly found in the literature.

As shown in Example 2, sentences follow SOV order when the subject and object are both common or proper nouns of equal potency.

'adáahl-uu	Bill	nang	jaadáa-s	kíng-gan
yesterday-FOC	Bill	certain one	woman-DEF	see-DPST
S	**O**			**V**

'Bill saw the woman yesterday'/ *'The woman saw Bill yesterday'

Example 2:   SOV word order with equal potency noun (adapted from Enrico, 2003, p. 76)

Here, as both 'Bill' and *nang jaadáa*, 'the woman' are individual adult humans, the subject precedes the object. The sentence would not have the reading 'The woman saw Bill yesterday.'

Example 3 demonstrates the word order when the subject and object differ in potency. Here, the single human 'Bill' has higher potency than *xáee*, 'the dog'.

yaank'ii.an-uu	Bill	xa-ee	gu'laa-gang
truly-FOC		dog-DEF	like-PRS
	S	**O**	**V**

'Truly Bill likes the dog/*Truly the dog likes Bill'

Example 3:   SOV order with nouns of differing potency (adapted from Enrico, 2003, p. 75)

As 'Bill' has higher potency, the sentence can only have the reading with Bill as subject.

Sentences also follow SOV order when the subject is a common or proper noun and the object is a pronoun, as shown in Example 4.

díi	gid-'aláng	díi	ḵíntl'aa-gan
1.SG.POSS	child-PL	1.SG.OBJ	come and see-DPST
S		**O**	**V**

'My children came to see me.

Example 4: SOV order with a noun and pronoun (from Lachler, 2010, p. 162)

Here, the subject is a common noun, *gid'aláng*, 'children' and the object is the first-person pronoun *díi*, which can mean I, me, or my depending on the syntactic context. Thus, once again the sentence has SOV order.

However, when both the object and subject are pronouns, OSV order is found. This is shown in Example 5

díi	'll	gu'láa-gang
1.SG	3.SG	like-PRS
O	**S**	**V**

'He likes me'/ * 'I like him'

Example 5: OSV order with two pronouns (adapted from Enrico, 2003, p. 79)

Sentences also follow OSV order when the object is a common or proper noun and the subject is a bound (clitic) pronoun, as shown in Example 6. Here, there is a proper noun, *X̱aadas Kíl*, Haida language, and the first-person plural clitic pronoun *t'aláng*.

Áajii salíid	uu	X̱aadas Kíl	t'aláng	sḵ'at'-gán
Afterwards	FOC	Haida language	1.PL.SBJ	learn-DPST
		O	**S**	**V**

'Afterwards we learned the Haida language'

Example 6: OSV order with noun and clitic pronoun (from Lachler, 2010, p. 3)

Thus, the object precedes the subject. The form of the first-person plural pronoun is also an indication that it is the subject as it appears in subject form. Had it been serving as an object it would take the form *íitl'*

2.3.3. Morphology

According to Enrico (2003, p. 21), Haida words can be divided into eleven classes: nouns, verbs, postpositions, demonstratives, quantifiers, adverbs, clitics, exclamations, replies, classifiers, and instrumentals. Pronouns (which Enrico identifies as a special type of noun, 2003, p. 389), exist in both bound (clitic) and free (full) forms; these are given in Table 3.

Table 3:   Massett Haida pronouns (adapted from Enrico, 2005: xxvii)

Type and grammatical meaning	Agent	Object
1SG clitic	Hl	díi
1SG non-clitic	Hlaa	díi
1PL clitic	t'all/t'aláng	íitl'
1PL non-clitic	t'aláng	íitl'
2SG clitic	dáng	dáng
2SG non-clitic	dáa	dáng
2PL clitic	dall/daláng	dall/daláng
2PL non-clitic	daláng	daláng
3 high potency clitic	'l, hal	'laa
3 high potency non-clitic	'láa	'láa
3 low potency proximate	Ø	Ø
3 low potency obviative clitic	--	'wa
3 low potency obviative non-clitic	--	'wáa

Note that, in some cases, the agent form and object form of the pronoun are the same; for example, the clitic second-person singular agent form and object form are both *dáng*. It is also often the case that the clitic and non-clitic forms are the same; see, for example, the first-person singular object forms, both of which are *díi*. Note that the distinction among third-person forms is based both on the potency of the referent as well as the relationship between the agent and object.

Enrico (2003, p. 406) introduces an interesting distinction related to low-potency postposition objects. However, the use of these pronoun forms has to do with focusing attention. At a basic level, Enrico notes that the null third-person pronoun will be used as the object of the postposition when the phrase is "relevant for a high-potency entity in the discourse." (2003, p. 412). If this is not the case, the pronoun *'waa* is used as the

postposition object. Compare, for example, the pair of sentences in Example 7, both included in Enrico (2003, p. 406).[32]

(a) 'wáagyaan Ø-gu tl'aa-ga sáandlaan-gaang-aa-n
     and then 3.SG-at INDF-PP be.dawn-FREQ-EVID-DPST

     'Then dawn came on them there'

(b) 'wáagyaan hawáan 'wáa-sd 'láa G̲ayuu-gaang-aa-n
     and then still 3SG-from 3SG.POSS smoke-FREQ-EVID-DPST

     'Smoke continued to come from his (house)'

Example 7: (a) Third-person null postposition object marking (from Swanton, 1908, p, 799) (b) Third-person spelled-out postposition object marking (from Swanton, 1908, p. 595)

Here, in sentence (a) the third singular pronoun that is the postposition object is not marked, as it is relevant to 'them', some unnamed group of humans. In sentence (b), however, this is not the case, as the topic of the discourse has to do with an individual's house, which is not a high-potency object. Thus, the pronoun 'waa is employed.

Morphological Type

Haida morphology is polysynthetic agglutinative and tends to be mostly suffixing (Enrico, 2003, p.19-20). However, two of the most important affixes, instrumentals and shape classifiers, are prefixed. Table 4 provides examples of instrumental prefixes affixed to the stem -*dáng*, 'strike repeatedly'

Table 4: Some instrumental prefixes affixed to -dáng, 'strike repeatedly' (from Leer, 1977)

Instrumental prefix	Meaning	Affixed to Stem	Resulting meaning
sk̲u-	with hands applied endwise	sk̲udáng	punch repeatedly with fists
sda-	with feet applied lengthwise	sdadáng	kick repeatedly
ki-	with sticklike object applied endwise	kidang	poke repeatedly with stick
k'a-	with compact object	k'adáng	pound

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[32] Examples have been adapted to reflect the orthographic system in use at the time of writing.

As is evident from these examples, instrumental prefixes are a way of expanding the verb stem and express causative modality. For example, when used with the verb stem -*dáng*, 'strike repeatedly', as shown in Table 4, instrumental prefixes explain how the striking is caused (Leer, 1977, p. 92-93). In the first instance, when the instrumental prefix *sḵu*- is affixed to the stem -*dáng*, the resulting meaning of *sḵudáng* is 'punch repeatedly with fists.' Similarly, in the last example, when the prefix *ḵ'a*- is affixed to the stem -*dáng*, the resulting word is *ḵ'adáng* and means 'to pound'.

In addition to instrumental prefixes, *shape classifier* prefixes are used to classify objects. Objects can take different shape classifiers, depending on various factors, such as the size of the object, arrangement of the object (e.g., in a pile, in a group of other similar objects), the part of the object being discussed (Leer, 1977, p. 97), or what is perceived as the most salient part of the object. Some common shape prefixes include *xa*-, 'small object', *ḵ'íi*-, 'solid heavy object', and *dla*-, 'animal or person' (Leer, 1977, p. 98-99).

Other shape prefixes show unique perceptual ways of grouping. For example, *sǴa*- is glossed by Leer (1977, p. 101) as "extendable" and is used to refer to both "long, thin, and flexible" items as well as "extended natural features and natural phenomena." For example, this grouping includes such items as ribbon, waves in a body of water, songs, blood vessels, and the octopus. Another interesting shape classifier prefix is *hlḵ'uhl*, which refers to items "composed of many flexible parts" (Leer, 1977, p. 102). For example, this grouping includes mustaches and beards, a clump of roots, and a coil of rope.

X̱aad Kíl has both derivational and inflectional suffixes. Derivational suffixes can be divided into a small number of categories. They include suffixes expressing directionality, a state or condition, a transitional process, or a repeated action. As well, they include suffixes that are used with positional verbs (e.g., sitting, standing), ones that are used to derive categoric verbs from nouns, and ones used to form causatives. An example of each of these types of derivational suffixes is presented in Table 5.

Table 5: **Haida derivational suffixes (adapted from Leer, 1977)**[33]

Class	Function	Example suffix	Example	English translation
Directional	Specify direction of motion	-hlaa	yáanggwhlaan	'straight up'
Positional	To distinguish being in a position from getting into a position	--	dii ḵ'aaw'aang hl ḵ'aawgang	'I am sitting down' (i.e. in a sitting position) 'I am sitting down' (i.e. in the act of assuming a sitting position)
Categoric	To derive verbs expressing categoricity from nouns (e.g. 'be a __')	-(g)aa	náagaa (from *na*, 'house')	to be a (type of) house
Stative	Denote a state or condition	-aa	ts'aslang-aa 'to boil' -STAT	to be boiled
Causative	Derive verb stems with a 'cause to __' meaning	-daa	isdaa (from *is*, 'to be')	do (lit. 'cause to be')
Repetitive plural	Refer to repeated actions	-ang	gwíiuhldaa (blink once) + -ang gwíiwuldang	blink repeatedly

In addition to derivational suffixes, Haida has a variety of auxiliaries, which, when present, come immediately after the root form of the verb. These convey a variety of meanings, including what is referred to in English as conditional mood ('might'), frequentative adverbs (e.g., 'always'), and qualifiers (e.g., 'very'). An example of the frequentative auxiliary is shown in Example 8.

'll   'laa-gang
3.SG.SBJ   to be good-PRS

'he's good'

'll   'láa   gíi-gang-gang
3.SG.SBJ   to be good   to always do something-HAB-PRS

'he's always good'

Example 8: **Use of frequentative auxiliary gíi with the verb 'láa**

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[33] Note that the meanings of these classifiers seem to indicate aspect (T. Perry, personal communication, November 17, 2016). How these map to aspect, and how they are employed in discourse, is a topic that merits exploration and will be considered in further research.

Here, notice that in the first sentence the verb stem is inflected for tense. However, in the second sentence, which includes the frequentative auxiliary *gíi*, this auxiliary is inflected for both tense and habitual aspect.

Turning now to inflectional suffixes, these form a larger class serving more functions than do the derivational suffixes. Any inflectional suffixes that are present in the verb complex follow the last auxiliary element, as was demonstrated in Example 8, and occur in a specific order. Each of the classes of inflectional suffixes is provided in Table 6 with a description of the function of the class and the usual form of the suffix.

Table 6: **Haida inflectional suffixes (adapted from Leer, 1977)**

Class	Function	Suffix
Habitual	Expresses action done as habit or recurring over a given time span	-gang
Negative	Along with the negative marker *gam*, which precedes the verb, expresses negation	-'ang
Plural	Used with 3rd person pronoun to express either plural subject or plural object	'waa
Future	Used to express future action, only occurs with present tense	-saa
Potential (Probability)	Used to express uncertainty (e.g., maybe, might, could)	-hang
Tense	Occurs in present, past (experienced), and past (inexperienced; also sometimes inferential)	-(g)ang (PRS) -(g)an (DPST) -(g)aan (IPST)

Verb Construction

As has been made evident in the discussion of affixes so far, much of the information in a Haida sentence is contained in the verb. Verb stems, or roots, are expanded with both prefixes, as has been demonstrated with the instrumentals and shape classifiers, as well as both derivational and inflectional suffixes. Prefixes serve derivational functions and are either shape classifiers or instrumentals. However, suffixes are more varied in function, as has been shown previously in Table 5 and Table 6 (Leer, 1977, p. 122).

Generally, verbs follow a template where the various prefixes and suffixes are slotted in. Note that all verbs will not contain all elements; the number of prefixes and suffixes employed depends on both the meaning the speaker wishes to convey as well as the speaker's proficiency. As the language has become less commonly used, the complexity of verbs (i.e., the number of suffixes employed) has tended to decrease (M. Ignace, personal communication, August 30, 2016). Figure 2 provides a verb template, showing all potential affix slots in the Haida verb.

Prefix		Root	Derivational suffix	Inflectional Suffix					
INS	CLF			AUX	HAB	NEG	FUT	PROB	TENSE

Figure 2:   Haida verb template

Examining data from various sources shows how the template can be applied. Example 9 presents an analysis of the verb *xyáahlgíigang'ang'waasaahánggang,* 'probably won't be dancing all the time' (plural subject) from Erma Lawrence and Jeff Leer's (1977) Haida dictionary. The verb is divided into its component morphemes and each of these is labelled with its function.[34]

		INS	CLF	ROOT	DERIV. SUFF.	AUX	HAB	NEG	PL	FUT	PROB	TENSE
gám	hal			xyáahl		gíi	gang	'ang	'waa	saa	háng	gang
NEG	3.PL.SBJ			dance								PRS
'They probably won't be dancing all the time'												

Example 9:   Illustration of verb formation from Leer (1977, p. 122)

As is evident, this verb shows a nearly full application of suffixes, including negation, plural, and future. However, it does not include a derivational suffix. Such application is shown in Example 10, from Swanton (1911). However, note here that this is a Skidegate example. The second line adds the Masset equivalent and an interpretation by Lawrence Bell, while the first line of the example sentence presents Swanton's original transcription.[35]

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[34] This is an Alaskan example. Lawrence Bell (personal communication to M. Igance, December 3, 2021) notes that the potential suffix -hang is not used in Massett. He provided the equivalent sentence *'ll xyaahl gayaaytsaang*.

[35] See Swanton (1911, p. 210-211) for a description of his phonetic conventions.

au'ñ	*gi*		*lA*	*xagaL!'xagî'lgAñasi*
awáng	gwii	gin	'll	xa-gahl-gang-sii
mother.REFL	towards	things	3.SG.SBJ	INS-toward shoreward-HAB-PTCP

'he was bringing up things to his own mother'

Example 10: Illustration of verb formation adapted from Swanton (1911, p. 250)

This sentence also illustrates use of an instrumental prefix, *xa-*, 'by grasping', and a participle-forming suffix, *-asi*.

Other examples from Haida-in-use, roughly contemporaneous with Lawrence and Leer's (1977) work, demonstrate a somewhat full verb template. Example 11 provides one such sentence from Emma Matthews' (1979) telling of the *lhldiinii* story as recounted to Marianne Ignace (personal communication, January 31, 2016.[36] [37]

tl'	t'aahla-gaayaanee-da-gaang-gaan		tajuwée
3.PL.SBJ	INS.with an anchor like fixture-hold in position-STAT-CAUS-HAB-IPST		wind-DEF

tlaats'ga-sii	gyaan	hak'un uu	G̱iidaan-ii	ahluu
strong-AREA	and	that's how it used to be	that's how it was-TOP	that's why

'(Stone) anchors would hold strong in the wind, and that's how it used to be…that's how it was…in a strong wind'

Example 11: Verb formation from Emma Matthews' telling of *lhldiinii*

Here, the verb root *gaayaany*, 'hold in position' is expanded with an instrumental prefix as well as four suffixes to reflect aspect, and tense.

These examples demonstrate the complexity possible in Haida verbs. However, limited opportunities for using the language means that finding such examples now is uncommon. In the conversation and speech data examined here, verbs like the following, having one or two suffixes, are more common. Example 12 shows the verb *k'ajúuganggan*, "sang (habitually)" as used in the conversation between Jane Adams and Delores Churchill'.

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[36] I transcribed and translated this version of the story with Lawrence Bell for an unpublished project in 2016-2017.

[37] A published version of the story, which presents a slightly different interpretation of events, appears in Swanton (1908, p. 774-79)

1	DC	=Ǥaag-ée- to be small-DEF	xajúu-s 1.PL.OBJ	íitl' for	an 	'll 3.PL.UNSP
		k'ajúu-gang-gan sing-HAB-PST	an for	dáng 2.SG.OBJ	únsad to know	

'Remember when they (the old folks) sang for us when we were small?'

Example 12: Haida verb formation from JA and DC

The verb here has only the habitual aspect suffix -*gang* and experienced past tense suffix -*gan*. Likewise, most of the verbs used in the conversation between Jane and Delores employ only one or two suffixes, often those of negation and tense. Language attrition may be one explanation; as Dorian (1978) notes, for example, such morphological simplification is one result of this process. Both Lawrence Bell and Marianne Ignace (personal communications, 2018-2021) have also remarked on the notable decrease in complexity of verbs from older recordings to more recent ones.

The situation is similar in the conversation between Gertie White and Dorothy Bell, where the verb includes only a small number of suffixes. One such instance is shown in Example 13:

1	DB	'wáayaad Even now	uu FOC	gwaayk'a Indian Hellebore	t'aláng 1.PL.SBJ	gya'ánd-agang-gang use-HAB-PRS

'Even now we use Indian Hellebore.'

Example 13: Verb formation from GW and DB

Here, the verb again carries only two suffixes, marking habitual aspect and present tense.

The preceding discussion of grammatical features is not exhaustive but rather provides general information about notable topics. The interested reader is referred to Leer (1977) and Swanton (1911) for further discussion of the verb complex and the various prefixes and suffixes. Enrico (1986b) includes more information regarding word order. Enrico (2003) is a thorough discussion of syntax, although learners of X̱aad Kíl find Jeff Leer's introduction to the 1977 dictionary (Lawrence 1977) extremely useful. Lachler also (2015) developed a *Haida Bootcamp Grammar Guide* for a four-month immersion project carried out in Old Massett in spring 2015 with intermediate learners.

2.3.4. Discourse and Pragmatics

Limited published work on Haida discourse and pragmatics is available; it is the aim of this thesis to explore these topics more fully. However, there are some notable exceptions found in examples of Haida stories and speeches. First, there are a good number of examples of Haida stories, both in written and audio forms. As many of these stories are *gyaahlangée*, or historical accounts, it is possible to compare linguistic features and structure between accounts. Additionally, some audio recordings of stories, such as that explored in Chapter 7, demonstrate interactive features between the storyteller and participants.

The most noteworthy written documentary resource of Haida stories is Swanton's (1905, 1908) extensive collection of texts from both Skidegate (1905) and Masset (1908). These provide a high-quality anthology of two hundred or so texts, with parallel Haida and English versions of the stories. However, aside from one text in each volume, Swanton's work does not include linguistic analysis of the stories; that is, it does not include interlinear translations or morphemic glossing. Later audio recordings of stories, both historical and personal, are also available. The Alaska Native Language Archive (ANLA) provides access to some such recordings; however, many of these do not include English translations or transcriptions. For example, Tlingit and Haida recordings, set one (n.d.), has nearly three hours of Haida stories and songs from seven different speakers, recorded in the early-mid nineteen seventies, but no English translations. Given the small number of fluent speakers, this can result in these resources being less useful for learners.[38]

Other work on Haida stories consists of discussions based on English. For example, Bringhurst (2011) provides an extensive discussion of Haida myths based on the texts recorded by Swanton (1905, 1908), and his work with Swanton's manuscripts. However, this examination is largely based on Bringhurst's own English literary re-translation of the texts, prompting some to question the linguistic validity and reliability of

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[38] Since beginning this project, Sealaska Heritage Foundation (SHI) in Juneau, AK, has obtained a National Science Foundation grant to work on transcribing and translating these recordings.

his translation.[39] More problematic is that Bringhurst (2011) neither obtained approval from the Haida community to complete this, nor collaborated with Haida speakers and knowledge keepers on his interpretations of "classic" Haida myths, drawn from Swanton's recording (Bradley, 2007), feeling that his own knowledge of the language and culture was sufficient to provide an accurate discussion. Collison's (2017) work, while drawing on personal experience and insider knowledge, includes little in the way of actual texts and relies almost exclusively on English.

Another body of work fills this gap in the literature by presenting stories in Haida. However, much of this serves mainly to document and preserve the stories (e.g., CBC, 2007). Thus, while it is valuable in the regard of providing an archive of material, it does not include analysis. Other work, such as Lawrence (1974) provides a Haida text with English translation; however, linguistic analysis is not the intent of such work; it is, rather, designed for learners of Haida. Similarly, Enrico's (1995) re-elicitation of Skidegate Haida texts provides no analysis of the Haida discourse conventions used in storytelling, nor does it provide morpheme-by morpheme glossing or linguistic and ethnographic commentary on form, context, or meaning. Eastman and Edwards (1991) provide a series of stories that are interlinear English and Haida. These include some level of morphological glossing; however, this is manly restricted to lexical meanings.

In addition to these bodies of published works, Lawrence Bell and Marianne Ignace have completed translations and transcriptions of about 20 narratives in X̲aad Kíl recorded with Adam Bell and Emma Matthews between 1979 and 1987, and these are currently being prepared for publication with the support of X̲aad Kihlga hl Guusu.uu and X̲aad Kíl Nee organizations. They have been edited with the help of the late Claude Jones and workshopped with Massett and Alaskan learners of X̲aad Kíl (M. Ignace, personal communication, September 2021).

Formal speeches, or oratory, also provide(s) important information about Haida discourse. For example, Boelscher's (1989) work examines rhetorical features found in Haida oratory (p. 83-89), following from earlier mention by Swanton (1905a, 1905b, 1911, and 1912). Notably, Swanton (1912), which presents text and analysis of several

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39 See Leer (2000) for a thoughtful and well-presented review of the first edition of Bringhurst's work, which, despite this, drew criticism from the journal that published it. An apology was subsequently issued by the journal (IJAL, 2001).

different genres of Haida songs, includes many endearment terms and metaphors for high-ranking people. An expanded discussion of such songs is found in Enrico and Stuart (1996), accompanied by interlinear glossed examples comparing speech and song. Additionally, Edwards & Eastman (1983) and Eastman & Edwards (1984) provide some preliminary comments about Alaskan Haida narrative, including mention of narrative construction in conversation.[40]

More recent work includes that of Frederick White, a Haida individual who grew up off-island. As mentioned previously, his doctoral dissertation (White, 2001) examined language practices among young learners of Haida in school classrooms in both Massett and Skidegate. Later work, such as a short article by White (2004) similarly discusses language strategies as Haida teenage and adult learners worked with Elder fluent speakers at a Haida immersion camp held at T'aalan Stl'ang during 1993. This work also includes some transcripts of talk and examination of clarification strategies used as apprentice learners and Elders interact. It also includes some discussion of politeness strategies following Brown and Levinson (1987). White (2014) explores a range of topics. Most relevant for the present discussion are those in the second section of the book, which explores issues related to language revitalization and revisits some of the discussion from White (2004). It also includes discussion of how technology might be used in language revitalization efforts.

Valuable information about pragmatics also comes from conversations with Elder Lawrence Bell who has mentioned the pragmatic importance of non-verbal features in speeches and conversation, such as eye contact, gesture, and silence (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, 2018-2020). Such details will be explored throughout the discussion in Chapter 8 in the context of the conversations, speeches, and interactive story features.

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[40] Edwards (1983) also examines Haida conversation, specifically looking at aspect. This paper, presented at a University of Washington seminar, does not appear to be published or widely available. The University of Washington library, which holds archives of Edwards' work, was contacted to locate this paper (not on the accession list); however, these efforts were unsuccessful.

Chapter 3.

Theoretical Background

The current work is an interdisciplinary one, synthesizing literature from linguistic anthropology, Conversation Analysis (CA), Haida linguistics, and ethnography. Linguistic anthropology has already been briefly discussed in Chapter 1; however, a few additional comments are useful in the context of theoretical background. Regarding works dealing with Haida language, specifically Haida grammar, speeches and stories, and ethnography, such were discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, this chapter focuses on providing a brief history of the development of CA methodology, including relevant scholars and works, and notes the absence of CA work examining Indigenous languages.

3.1. Linguistic Anthropology

As mentioned previously, the study views language as being socially and culturally situated. Language in such a framework is a "set of symbolic resources" used to display or "perform" identities or aspects of culture (Duranti, 1997, p. 3). This is similar to the view of Conversation Analysis (CA), where "grammar and lexical choices [are treated] as sets of resources which participants deploy, monitor, interpret, and manipulate to perform…social acts" (Schegloff et al., 2002, p. 15). Despite this, conversations were generally not the focus of anthropological studies, as Duranti (1997, p. 245) notes. Rather, anthropological studies of language examined specific classes of language, such as kin terms or body parts, or focused on compiling a corpus of stories from selected storytellers (p. 245-246).

Thus, for example, there are corpora of Haida stories, such as those recorded by Swanton (1908) through dictation from several Haida story tellers alive in 1900-1901, when he conducted his field research in Haida Gwaii. These are drawn from five speakers, with the majority, seventy-four of the ninety-one stories, coming from two speakers, Walter Kingaagwaaw, who Swanton (1908) refers to as Walter from the Rear-Town-People of Yaan, and Isaac Haayaas, who he refers to as Isaac from Those-born-at Ł̱ĩ́êlʌñ (Hl'yaalan G̱andlée near Tow Hill).

Other Haida language information represents knowledge from a focused area; for example, Enrico & Stuart's (1996) extensive analysis of songs in Northern Haida, which draws from Swanton's (1912) work on Haida songs. Some available audio recordings, such as those digitized in the Alaska Native Language Archive (ANLA), include some examples of conversation. However, this is often not the focus of the recording, but rather discussion among speakers or the recorder and speaker in the background that may, additionally, be difficult to hear. As well, quite often audio recordings also recount stories or wordlists recorded at the prompting of an interviewer; for example, one available recording is a recounting of Massett Haida plant names by Emma Matthews and Chief Willie Matthews during an interview by Nancy Turner (1971).

While stories and wordlists provide valuable examples of language, they do not include information about the everyday use of language, such as that used in the home between parents and children or that used when out gathering seaweed.[41] Examining conversation data provides an opportunity for exploring how the exchange of language takes place in a particular macro- and micro- context. Such examination became the focus of the work of a group of sociologists in the 1970s with the development of Conversation Analysis (CA).

3.2. Conversation Analysis (CA)

The framework of Conversation Analysis, as Hutchby & Wooffitt (2008, p. 12) note, "…is the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction." In such study, CA aims to demonstrate the structure and order of this talk. This includes not only the surface, grammatical structure, or the mechanics of the conversation, but also the underlying "and often tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies" of the talk (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 12). CA examines various components of conversation including turn-taking (Sacks et al., 1974), repair (Schegloff et al., 1977), openings (Schegloff, 1967; 1968), and closings (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), to demonstrate the systematicity of naturally occurring interactional speech. It is an "inductive qualitative method" (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013, section 2). That is, rather than approaching the data with a pre-determined problem (for example, one might think of

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[41] There are, however, some exceptions. For example, a recording of Adam Bell and Henry Geddes where Adam Bell recounts two stories demonstrates the use of response tokens (*ee*) and interaction between teller and participants.

formal linguistic problems, such as how a given language forms closed questions),

Sacks (1984a, p. 27) urged an 'unmotivated examination' of data. However, this does

not indicate that researchers approach data with no assumptions of any kind. Rather, an

underlying principle of "order at all points" (Sacks, 1984a, p. 22) suggests that, no matter

the piece of data observed, the interaction will provide an indication of the social order

that guides the conversation as well as other forms of structural order displayed in the

conversation.

Keeping this underlying principle in mind, the following sections briefly trace the

development of CA methodology and examine its norms. Some relevant examples of

types of work within CA are also discussed, as is the motivation for using CA in the

current project.

3.2.1. Development of CA

Conversation Analysis developed from the work of University of California

sociologist Harvey Sacks during the mid 1960s-1970s.[42] Radical in its simplicity, the idea

that Sacks proposed, and that came to be one of the underlying tenets of CA, is that

everyday conversations are "intrinsically stable" (Sacks, 1984a, p. 21). In a period when

much of linguistics centered on structuralist analysis (e.g., Chomsky, 1965) and

emphasized a distinction between linguistic competence and performance, CA

highlighted the importance of studying language drawn from daily life. This is not to say

that CA ignores the structural aspects of language. It still focuses on the details of

language, including the use of specific grammatical structures, particles (see, e.g.,

Heritage, 1984a), and other linguistic features. However, it also examines other,

interactive aspects of talk, such as how conversation participants negotiate taking turns

and addressing trouble spots in their talk.

Thus, it could be said that CA demonstrates a way of merging structuralist

approaches with sociolinguistic ones such as Gumperz and Hymes' (1964) ethnography

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[42] In the introduction to the first volume of Sacks' lectures, Schegloff recounts an anecdote of what he views as one of the main precursors of the development of CA. Sacks is musing to Schegloff about the transcripts he is studying from the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center, where he was conducting fieldwork for his doctoral dissertation. He wonders whether a caller's professed inability to hear, in response to a greeting of "This is Mr. Smith, may I help you?", is instead a strategy used by the caller to avoid providing their name, and, resultingly, if talk could be organized in that detailed of a way (Sacks, 1992/1995, p. xvi-xvii).

of communication, and sociological approaches like Garfinkel's (1967) ethnomethodology and Goffman's (1963) study of naturally occurring behavior. However, CA is distinct from these approaches in some important ways. First, it assumes that conversation is orderly even to a "minute level of detail" (Stivers & Sidnell, 2013, Section 2). As well, analytical goals of CA are focused on describing conversational structure.

One of the first ways that Sacks, with key collaborators Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, demonstrated the stability and order of naturally occurring conversation was through an examination of turn-taking. In their seminal *Language* article (Sacks et al., 1974), they showed not only that conversation is orderly, but also that participants in the conversation construct this order. That is, participants do not come to a conversation with a pre-constructed structural template that they fill in during the conversation; rather, the structure evolves depending on the participants. Schegloff and Jefferson also brought unique contributions to the creation of the field. Jefferson developed a detailed transcription system that aimed to document the nuances of conversational exchanges, including pauses, overlaps, and breath (Maynard, 2013, Introduction, para. 4). Schegloff extended the examination of conversation data by looking at corpora rather than single cases as Sacks did (Maynard, 2013, Introduction, para. 3).

As CA views talk as "context-shaped and context renewing" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 166), participants in an interaction are constantly weighing situational and social factors as they move through a conversation. Conversation, "…always comes out of, and is part of, some real sets of circumstances of its participants," (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 699), and thus cannot be thoroughly examined without consideration of this larger context. It is surprising, then, that a criticism of CA is that it neglects contextual factors (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999, p. 70). However, more in-depth examination of this issue, such as that undertaken by ten Have (1990), suggests that the type of contextual factors that are lacking are more those driven by "preconceptions of properties, relationships and occasions that are used as taken-for-granted realities in other branches of the social sciences" (p. 36). This reflects the importance in CA of unmotivated looking, rather than looking for expected patterns based on, for example, some particular group membership of the speakers.

The lectures presented by Sacks in 1964-1972, transcribed, compiled, and published posthumously in Sacks (1992/1995), provide an overview of some of the main concerns of CA. In addition to presenting methodological foundations, the work also shows the range of topics Sacks dealt with, such as co-production of utterances (lecture 4, p. 647), pre-sequences and how they function (lecture 8, p. 685), and membership categorization (lecture 21, p. 417).

Much early work using CA was with recorded telephone data in North American English; Sacks' (1961) dissertation is based on telephone recordings collected during his work at the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Centre. Schegloff (1967) also examined telephone data in his dissertation, focusing on openings in calls to police. Such recordings were used partly because of accessibility; however, they also provided an environment where audio resources were the only ones being used by participants. With audio recordings of an in-person interaction, participants have access to the non-verbal resources (e.g., gaze, gesture, body positioning) of other interactants during the conversation. Such access is not available to researchers during analysis of these audio recordings. However, with telephone conversations, participants and researchers share a similar lack of access to these non-verbal resources, allowing for focused study on talk.

However, many analysts recognized the importance of such embodied resources in conversation. Charles and Marjorie Goodwin, a Communications scholar[43] and anthropologist, respectively[44], made early use of video recordings, which allowed for examining the relationship between turn-taking and gaze, for example (C. Goodwin, 1981). Others, such as the psychologist Starkey Duncan, Jr. also examined the coordination of verbal and nonverbal behaviours in face-to-face interactions, looking at, for example, the use of turn-yielding cues such as intonation and body movement (Duncan, 1972). The related field of kinesics, developed by Birdwhistell, (see, e.g., 1955) includes a sophisticated notation system for accounting for non-verbal behaviours.

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[43] Emphasizing the interdisciplinarity of CA work, C. Goodwin, while completing a PhD in the field of Communications, also worked as a professor in Anthropology and Applied Linguistics (http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/clic/cgoodwin/ChuckGoodwinVita2019.pdf)

[44] Also spouses.

3.2.2. Norms of CA

Data Sources

In addition to viewing conversation as inherently ordered, CA also sets itself apart from other ways of studying language-in-use through the type of data it examines. Rather than constructed sentences, for example, the data used is naturally-occurring. Mondada (2013) provides an overview of how the data collection process of CA differs from that of several other fields. While traditional structural linguistics relies on the researcher's grammaticality judgments, and ethnography often relies on field notes prepared from participant observation, these are avoided in CA, according to ten Have (1990, p. 25) because they are viewed as being too prone to reconstruction or selection. As well, interviews and experiments, commonly used in the social and cognitive sciences, are not used in CA, due to the limited and constructed nature of these methods (see, e.g., Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 2-3; ten Have,1990, p. 25).

The rigour of CA methods, which rely on recordings of conversation, has been critiqued because of the *observers' paradox*, which Labov (1992, p. 209) discusses. Labov, in speaking of the paradox of interviewing participants, notes that the goal "of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed." However, what results in the paradox is that such data must be gathered via such observation. Similarly, there is some level of the observers' paradox in recording conversations, in that if participants are too focused on being recorded, the conversation may not be as natural as it would were it not being recorded.

However, others have noted that the recording of material is not problematic, as participants are not constantly aware of the camera or recorder, and such moments of orientation can be fruitful for study (see, for example, Heath, 1986; Laurier & Philo, 2006; Speer & Hutchby, 2003). Moreover, Mondada (2013, Section 2, para. 7) notes that Sacks' conception of *naturally-occurring* can be better conceptualized as per Lynch (2002, p. 534) as " '…an ordering of activity that is spontaneous, local, autochthonous, temporal, embodied, endogenously produced and performed as a matter of course.'" Goodwin (1981), citing Birdwhistell (1970), gives a similar description of the methodological orientation of CA, viewing his work as using the "natural history approach." Of this approach, Birdwhistell, speaking of his work with kinesics, notes,

"…we look at phenomena to trace what is happening, rather than attempt to control the variables and make something happen in an artificial situation.'" (1970, p.18) Thus, while prompted video-recorded conversation, is not, in the strictest sense, naturally-occurring, it can still provide details about one type of local and embodied language use. This is especially the case for languages such as X̲aad Kíl, where few situations are available where non-prompted conversations would occur.

Transcription System

Transcription of collected data is not only a means of preparing it for analysis; rather, it forms part of the analysis (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Psathas & Anderson, 1990). As Bird (2005) discusses, while some (e.g., Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) conceptualize transcription as a means of data collection, others (e.g., Green et al., 1997) stress its interpretative nature and highlight that it is the audio or video recordings, rather than the transcripts, that are the data (Psathas & Anderson, 1990). Given this, the choice of a transcription system and the process of transcription require reflexivity (Lapadat & Lindsay; 1999 Poland, 1995), as well as repeated listening (Sacks, 1992/1995, p. 27). As well, Lapadat & Lindsay (1999, p. 76) stress, among other factors, the importance of researcher and participant positionality when preparing transcripts.

Thus, Conversation Analysis is further differentiated from other similar studies of language in context by its distinct transcription system and the accompanying methodological implications of the system. Such a system strives to make the sequence and order of the conversation being analyzed apparent from the transcription (ten Have, 1990). It seeks not only to indicate *what* was said, but also *how* it was said. Thus, CA transcription uses special notation to indicate features such as pauses, intonation, overlaps, and relative loudness. In general, as CA seeks to approach data from a place of "unmotivated looking" (Sacks, 1992/1995, p. 27); the practice is to prepare a "thick transcription", drawing from the ethnographic practice of providing "thick descriptions" (Geertz,1973) that indicate as many details as possible. The idea of *unmotivated looking* reflects that, when approaching data and transcription, this is done with an open mind, without any preconceived ideas of what might be interesting or of merit to study. As Sacks (1992/1995, p. 27) notes, "when we start out with a piece of data, the question of what we are going to end up with, what kind of findings it will give, should not be a

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consideration. We sit down with a piece of data, make a bunch of observations, and see where they will go."

Some have critiqued the CA transcription system for both utility (see ten Have, 2002, p. 33-39 for an overview of some of these critiques) and accuracy, especially in the case of prosodic features (see, e.g., Kelly & Local, 1989). Perhaps anticipating such critiques of prosodic feature representation, Sacks et al. (1974, p. 734) note that the goal in transcribing such features is "to get as much of the actual sound as possible into [the] transcripts, while still making them accessible to linguistically unsophisticated readers," rather than to use specialized phonetic techniques.

In the case of utility, the level of detail can make transcripts overwhelming without training in how to interpret them. However, as the way in which features are represented in CA is standardized (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999, p. 68), and most discussions using CA present a catalogue of transcription conventions, learning to interpret this is usually just a matter of practice. As well, keeping the principle of unmotivated looking in mind, Jefferson (2004) writes, "What good are they [these sorts of features]? I suppose that could be argued in principle, but it seems to me that one cannot know what one will find until one finds it…'" (p. 15). That is, as transcription proceeds, certain features start to emerge that prove to be interesting and worth examination; these may not have been found without engaging in thorough transcription.

A review of the body of work of CA shows the evolution of the transcription system; currently the most widely used is that attributed to Gail Jefferson (Maynard, 2013, Section 1; Psathas, 1995, p. 12, 70). Jefferson (2004) gives a clear overview of CA transcription notation, which is employed in this thesis.

CA: Difference from Other Types of Studies of Language-in-Use

CA shares an interest in language-in-use with several other fields, most notably those of Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), discourse analysis (see, for example, Schiffrin et al., 2015; see also Wooffitt, 2005 for a comparative account of CA and discourse analysis and Tannen, 1986/2011 for one of many examples of general-audience work), sociolinguistics (Labov, 1972), and pragmatics (see Levinson, 1983 for a definitional overview). However, while Speech Act Theory arises from a philosophical and linguistic basis (see, e.g., Duranti, 1997, p. 218) and the other fields mentioned arise

from a linguistic one, CA is grounded in sociology (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008).[45] As well, the methodological approaches of the fields are different. For example, Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) use invented examples and draw on their own intuitions in analyzing these. However, Sacks (1992/1995, p. 5) notes that this falls short for conversation, saying:

> One cannot invent new sequences of conversation and feel happy with them. You may be able to take 'a question and an answer', but if we have to extend it very far, then the issue of whether somebody would really say that, after, say, the fifth utterance, is one which we could not confidently argue. One doesn't have a strong intuition for sequencing in conversation.

Sidnell (2009, p. 8) identifies another notable difference between CA and other types of studies of language-in-use. Rather than focusing on *language* in its analysis, it instead focuses on "…the practical activities in which language (along with gesture, gaze, and other aspects of bodily comportment) is deployed, that is, talk-in-interaction. This is by no means to suggest that language is not important in CA. Instead, an examination of how talk is embedded within larger structures can bring to light linguistic features of importance as participants negotiate a conversational exchange.

3.2.3. CA Studies: Some Examples

There is a broad body of work employing CA. Some work examines a particular type of talk-in-interaction (e.g., institutional talk, phone conversations, dinner-table conversations) while other work focuses on a specific feature of conversation (e.g., the use of laughter, pauses, or overlap). Other work follows from the seminal work of Sacks, et al. (1974), examining parts of the conversational order, such as turn taking and repair. Numerous volumes and articles are available that provide an overview of CA methodology. Noteworthy examples include Psathas (1995), Goodwin and Heritage (1990), Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), and Liddicoat (2007).

Another body of work is that of a comparative nature. For example, in the comparative work compiled in Sidnell (2009), work with a range of distinct languages brings out the language-specific ways that speakers use to enact cross-linguistic

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[45] While methodologically distinct, the fields show significant overlap. For example, Schiffrin came to work on discourse analysis through direct work with Goffman and exposure to Labov's sociolinguistic work (Schiffrin et al., 2003, p. 3).

behaviours such as turn-taking and repair. For example, Fox et al. (2009) examines the relationship between word length and repair sites in instances of self-repair in seven different languages (Bikol, Sochiapam Chinantec, English, Finnish, Indonesian, Japanese, and Mandarin).[46]

3.2.4. Cross-Linguistic CA Work

While, as mentioned previously, CA research began first with the examination of North American English, and later, British English (Sidnell, 2007), subsequent work has extended to many other languages. As much of Sacks' early work centred on tape-recorded phone conversations, numerous studies extend this body of work by examining phone conversations cross-linguistically (Sidnell, 2009). For example, Luke & Pavlidou (2002), present a collection of work on telephone calls in a variety of languages, allowing for a cross-linguistic comparison of the structure of such exchanges. Their volume provides an overview of the study of telephone conversations in CA and includes work on the topic by a range of authors.

Other such studies are also of a comparative nature. Godard (1977), for example, compares telephone openings in conversations in France and the US, finding that these differ in specific ways which seem to be guided by sociocultural norms. For instance, in France (at the time of writing of Godard's article) it was common for the caller to provide their name as early as possible in the exchange; this was not the case in telephone calls in the US.[47] Hopper et. al (1990) conducted comparative work to examine how telephone openings in, for example, French and Arabic, were similar to or different from the patterns that Schegloff (1986) laid out for North American English. Later work, such as that of So'o & Liddicoat (2000) examines telephone conversation openings in Samoan. They find that, while some of the same types of conversational structures are used as those discussed by Schegloff (1986) these vary in how often they are used and when they are used within the opening.

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[46] Bikol is an Austronesian language spoken in the Philippines, and Sochiapam Chinantec is an Oto-Manguean language spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico (Fox et al., 2009, p. 61)

[47] Luke and Pavlidou (2002, p. 10), however, while noting that Godard (1977) "succeeded in putting cultural variation on the research agenda" question the reliability of her findings as her limited data was not based on recordings but on memory of telephone conversations.

Work using CA in other languages extends beyond just examining telephone conversations. Some notable examples include that of Fox et al. (1996), which looks at the relationship between syntax and repair, especially same-turn self-repairs, in conversation in each of Japanese and English. They found that the syntactic resources available in each of these languages did influence the types of repairs employed. Also taking a comparative approach is the work of Rossano et al. (2009) who explored the use of gaze in the Italian of northern Italy, Tenejapan Tzeltal, a Mayan language spoken in southern Mexico, and Yélî Dnye, a language isolate spoken on Rossel Island. They found that the use of gaze in conversation does show culturally-specific patterns. Other recent work expands the application of CA, such as that of Rüsch (2020), who examines the interplay between features of the structure of Acholi[48] conversation and cultural features.

3.2.5. CA Work with Indigenous Languages

While much CA work is available for major world languages, there is minimal Indigenous-language CA work. Furthermore, the body of CA work on languages of the Americas is even smaller. A notable exception is Russell's (2009) PhD thesis examining Halq'eméylem[49] classroom procedural talk using a CA framework and later work by Siyamiyateliyot Elizabet Phillips, Xwiyalemot Tillie Gutierrez, and Russell (2017/2021) that examines a conversation between the two fluent speakers (and co-authors). In focus, Russell's (2009) work is a step beyond the type of work done in this dissertation: she examines how learners and teachers use Halq'eméylem in a classroom setting (Russell, 2009, p.3). More similar in scope is Phillips et al. (2017/2021), which is a case study of one conversation.

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[48] Acholi is a Nilotic language spoken in Uganda, and one of Uganda's seven major languages (NALRC, n.d.)

[49] This is the traditional language of the Stó:lo people in the Fraser Valley of Southern BC, also known as Upriver Halkomelem or Stó:lō Halq'eméylem. It is one of three mutually intelligible varieties of Halkomelem (Burton, 2021, p. 223). According to First People's Cultural Council (FPCC), there are 93 fluent speakers across varieties, as well as 767 individuals with some knowledge of the language and 1238 learners (Dunlop et al., 2018, p.46; First Peoples' Map of BC). The majority of these speak the Island Halkomelem (Hul'q'umi'num') dialect. Downriver Halkomelem no longer has first language speakers, although a few proficient and fluent second language speakers, and Upriver Halkomelem (Halq'emeylem) has a single first language speaker remaining, although it also has some proficient and fluent second language speakers-learners.

Additionally, there is a small body of work applying a CA framework to some Australian Aboriginal languages; several examples of such work are found in a special issue of the *Australian Journal of Linguistics*. For instance, Gardner (2010) looks at question and answer sequences in Garrwa, an endangered language[50] spoken in Australia's Northern Territory (Mushin, 2011). Besnier (1989) examines gossip in the Nukulaelae dialect of the Polynesian language Tuvaluan, and Duranti & Ochs (1982) look at repair in Samoan.

Other extant work is comparative in nature, such as Dingemanse, Rossi, and Floyd (2017), which examines story beginnings in Cha'palaa (A Barbacoan language spoken in Ecuador), Siwu (a Kwa language of Ghana), and Northern Italian. A series of articles in Ochs et al.'s (1996) volume, *Interaction and Grammar*, further examines the intersection of conversation analysis and grammar.

A larger body of work is extant that examines the structure of conversation in different Indigenous languages; however, it does not employ a CA framework. For example, Sherzer (1983, p. 154-184) in his work with the Kuna language spoken in San Blas, Panama[51] dedicates a chapter to discussing everyday talk. He also includes an extensive comparison of features of talk that occur in both everyday talk and ritual speech.

Other works examining the structure of conversation are more focused on a particular feature of speech. For example, Field (2007) discusses Navajo increments, which are pragmatic units added to a complete turn unit, and Basso (1970) examines the use of silence in Western Apache. Returning to comparative studies, Darnell (1979) provides a comparative study of Cree and American English "interactional etiquette" in the school classroom, drawing upon features of conversation such as differing pause length and use of silence.

Returning to the work of White (2001), while not a detailed CA study, it does employ some CA notation in the transcriptions of lessons. As well, White (2001, p. 44) specifically mentions that his work draws from such work as that of Schegloff et al.

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[50] In 2006, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census there were only about 60 individuals who reported speaking Garrwa at home (Mushin 2011, p. 4).

[51] Kuna is a Chibchan language. Sherzer (1983, p. 3) notes that San Blas is approximately one hour north of Panama City.

(1974) as well as Duranti's (1985) work on sociocultural factors in discourse and Ochs' (1979a) work on transcription as theory. Thus, the transcripts do include details such as pauses, overlaps, and emphasis. However, since these transcripts are of Haida language lessons, which are being taught to students whose first language is English, much of the instructional data is in English.

Having reviewed work relevant to the current project, focusing on the development and practices of Conversation Analysis, the discussion now turns to details of the methods used in the project. This is the topic of Chapter 4.

Chapter 4.

Methodology

This chapter introduces in detail the data examined for the study. Data choice and rationale are discussed, as are the methods used for analyzing the conversations and speeches. The chapter begins by looking at the type of data examined during this project.

4.1. Data Source

I compiled data from four sources, each of which is detailed below. Due to the limited number of fluent speakers, their ages, and their geographical distance from one another, I did not collect new conversational data at this time. Thus, rather than gathering data expressly for the purpose of studying conversation, recordings that had been created previously were selected and treated as data. Mondada (2013, Section 4.1, para. 2) notes recordings produced as data are those that, for example, are collected by a researcher or trained participants for study (e.g., if participants were asked to record their dinner table conversations, knowing that these would then be examined by a researcher, this would be producing a recording as data. The researcher could also provide, for example, specific instructions for collecting the recordings.). The recordings explored in this project, however, were prepared for documentary purposes, rather than for the purpose of analyzing conversational practices. However, it is hoped that additional data, which presents conversations between X̱aad Kíl teacher-learners and fluent speakers, can be collected at a later time.

The first source of data is a video recording provided to me by Marianne Ignace. It is a digitized recording of a VHS tape prepared for BC Knowledge Network in September 2002 and facilitated by Bruce Mohun, the producer-director.This recording is a prompted conversation between two now deceased Haida Elders from Massett, Gertie White and Dorothy Bell. Gertie White was a member of the Ts'aahl 'Láanaas-janaas Eagle clan, and Dorothy Bell, a few years her senior, was a member of the Tsiij Git'ans Eagle clan. These two Elders were asked to make conversation on topics of their choice in Haida by the producer. As they had recently returned from a visit to New York to

repatriate remains, much of the conversation centres on this, although the producer-director confessed to Marianne Ignace that he had hoped they would focus on more "traditional" topics of life on Haida Gwaii (M. Ignace, personal communication, September 2018).

The second data source is also a video recording of a prompted conversation, which was provided to me by K'uyáang Benjamin Young, a teacher and advanced learner of X̱aad Kíl.[52] This recording is between two Elder fluent speakers, Jane Adams Kristovich (hereafter Jane Adams) and Delores Churchill. These two sisters were participants at the May 2018 Alaska Native Language Revitalization Institute (ANLRI) at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. Facilitated by K'uyáang Benjamin Young, the two sisters discuss a range of topics, including several personal stories and their participation in the recent Haida language film, *SG̱aawaay Ḵ'uuna* /*The Edge of the Knife* (Edenshaw & Haig-Brown, 2018).

This conversation is notable as it is between two sisters, Jane, who passed away in summer 2021, being the older sister, and Delores being the younger sister. Such sibling interactions have been shown to differ in marked ways from other types of interactions (see Friedland & Mahon, 2018, p. 343 for more discussion and other studies on the topic); however, such work examining talk between siblings focuses on children. For example, Friedland and Mahon (2018), examine how an older sister (age 6 years, 11 months) responds to a younger (age 3 years, 3 months) to determine how siblings negotiate the competing goals of collaboration in play with the higher level of disagreement that appears to characterize sibling relationships (see, e.g., Howe et al., 2002). Friedland and Mahon (2018) find that the older sister uses a range of strategies, including extended digressions, to avoid conflict; these strategies also allow the older sister to deflect challenges made by her younger sister.

While the conversations selected for this thesis were chosen partly based on availability, they do share features that make them good candidates for examining together. For example, both conversations take place between two female Elders and

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[52] Since this 2018 recording there have many numerous other videos made of the sisters that are, as of the time of writing, hosted on YouTube. For example, there is a short conversation in X̱aad Kíl, which took place in 2020, posted by a non-profit organization called Haida Roots Language Program. This organization has also posted around twenty or so short video clips categorized as "Jane's Haida Phrases".

are prompted conversations. In addition, they both also follow a similar format. In each, the Elders alternate between Haida and English throughout the conversation, sometimes providing an English translation for the Haida, other times taking a break from Haida and speaking in English, and at other times doing 'word searches' for a Haida word. As well, both conversations take place in two parts with a short break between each portion.[53]

The third data source is an audio recorded series of speeches made during one of the planning meetings for Peter Hill's stonemoving feast in 1971[54]. These were recorded by anthropologist Mary Lee Stearns and are briefly discussed in Stearns (1981, p. 272-274). The stonemoving and portions of the feast are documented in *Those Born at Masset*, a film produced by Mary Lee Stearns and her daughter, Eileen Stearns (Stearns & Stearns, 1978). While brief excerpts from some of the speeches are included in the film, these are minimal. As well, often the X̱aad Kíl is obscured by an English voice-over translation.

While at first an examination of speeches may seem an unexpected data source, upon further consideration they fit well with the larger discussion around negotiating meaning. First, speeches have clear social importance for asserting and solidifying one's rank within the Haida community (Boelscher, 1989, p. 49). For example, as Boelscher Ignace notes, "oratory should not be considered as an isolated form of speech; indeed, many of the features of oratory also *occur in informal conversation*…" (1991, emphasis mine). Thus, especially in a case where there is limited conversational data available, this suggests that examining speeches can also valuable insights into social norms of Haida pragmatics. Further, the Conversation Analysis (CA) framework has proven useful in analyzing speeches. For example, Atkinson's (1984) work employs CA to analyze a range of political speeches, looking at topics such as techniques used to prompt applause and engage the audience. As the speeches serve a comparative function in this project, all of these were transcribed and translated, but only selected examples were glossed and transcribed using CA conventions. Section 6.1.2 discusses the context of the speeches in more detail.

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[53] The length of the break in each case is unknown. However, the occurrence of a break is clear. In GWDB, this is evident from background conversation between the producer-director and crew, and a resetting of the scene. In JKDC, the break is seen by a resetting of the scene and a move by Ben Young from behind the camera to on-camera with Jane and Delores.

[54] Section 6.1.1 provides more information about the structure and social importance of a stonemoving feast.

There are twelve speeches, ranging in length from 01:14 (mm:ss) to 09:58, with an average length of 05:46. The length indicated in Table 7 is that of the full recording, or full set of recordings, in the case of the speeches. However, all recordings, especially the two conversations, contain both Haida and English. The ABHG recording contains the least English, with, for the most part, only a few phrases integrated with the Haida talk.[55] The approximate total length of the Haida data is 13 minutes for GWDB and 24 minutes for JADC, not including pauses. For the speeches, approximately 37 minutes is in Haida. The length of the Haida data was approximated by adding the lengths of all Haida segments in each recording and then subtracting the sum of the pauses[56] within the Haida segments in each recording. All times were rounded to the nearest minute. Subtracting pauses and English data results in just over one-and-a-half hours of Haida data.

To further augment the body of data, this thesis also examines an audio recording between 'Láanas Sdang (Adam Bell) and Henry Geddes. In this recording, 'Láanas Sdang, a Chief of the Yahgu 'láanaas, relates two *gyaahlangée*, historical stories. These stories are bookended by comments about the Haida 'land question'. Although the main content is the two stories, verbal interaction between 'Láanas Sdang and Henry Geddes occurs throughout the recording, illustrating that storying is an interactive practice. As with the speeches, this recording demonstrates features consistent with those found in casual conversation and, as such, extends the examination of the conversation recordings. Table 7 summarizes the body of data, including the type, length, and the identifier by which it will occasionally be referred.

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[55] There is also one short portion of the recording in English. This is about 24 minutes into the conversation and lasts for about 23 seconds.

[56] Pauses were marked manually with the aid of repeated listening and observation of the spectrograms and accompanying pitch tracks in Praat. While a script can be used to automatically mark pauses, due to amount of background noise, especially in the speech recordings, manual marking was deemed preferrable.

Table 7:   **Sources of conversation data**

Data Source	Identifier	Type	Total Length (min:sec)	Haida data (min:sec)
Knowledge network interview (2002)	GWDB	Video recording	29:22	12:46
ANLRI interview (2018)	JADC	Video recording	54:00	24:17
Speeches from a planning meeting for Peter Hill's stonemoving (1971)	PHSM	Audio recordings	67:38	36:52
Interactive story exchange between 'Láanas Sdang (Adam Bell) and Henry Geddes	ABHG	Audio recording	33:46	21:33
			184:46	95:28

As mentioned previously, a small body of data such as this lends itself to a *single case analysis* (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p.114). Rather than posing generalizations about the nature of Haida conversations, which would be inappropriate given the small amount of data, the goal of this study is "to track in detail the various conversational strategies and devices which inform and drive its production" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p.114). As well, given that almost no work exists on the topic of Haida conversation, examining first a small data sample to identify phenomena worth further exploration is an important first step that can lead to studies of larger corpora of Haida conversation and speech data. Further, it should be noted that the process of transcribing each of the conversations and speeches, from initial rough transcription to CA analysis, including nonverbal behaviours, to interlinear glossing and thorough checking with Marianne and Lawrence was a lengthy one. The level of detail employed in CA transcription, and the use of unmotivated looking (Sacks, 1984a, p. 27) is also intensive.[57]

In addition to the small body of data and the time-consuming process of CA transcription and analysis, the nature of the two conversations also poses a special challenge which makes positing generalizations problematic. All four of the women in the

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[57] For comparison, Duncan (1972, p. 285) notes that transcribing two 19-minute English conversations involved "the better part of two academic years". Thus, given that I am not a Haida speaker, and the body of data I worked with is longer than Duncan's it would be unremarkable for the transcription process involved in completing this thesis to take longer than this. In a related vein, Goodwin (1981, p. 51) notes that McQuown et al. (1971) spent over twenty years completing in-depth examination of a short text; this shows the level of detail possible in CA transcription.

conversations are, or were, fluent speakers of X̱aad Kíl; however, at the time of filming, as now, there were few daily opportunities to interact in the language, and few "naturally-occurring" settings (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 4; Mondada, 2013, Section 2, para. 3) where conversations in X̱aad Kíl might take place. Thus, on the one hand, the prompted conversations analyzed here take place in what Ignace calls "open the mike and make talk" situations (Personal communication, February 11, 2021) and may not seem to fit the criteria of naturally occurring talk.

However, as there are so few X̱aad Kíl speakers, and use of the language is largely in ceremonial or instructional settings, it could also be argued that these prompted video recordings are currently one of the few settings where X̱aad Kíl would be spoken, and where two speakers would interact with one another for an extended time. Thus, a recorded conversation is one of few available domains where conversational X̱aad Kíl would be used. While this is far from ideal, examining such recordings can still provide valuable information about how speakers interact with one another and structure these interactions. For example, Goodwin (1981, p. 44) raises one point of interest, noting that "the issue is, not what participants do when they're unobserved, but whether the techniques they use to deal with observation by a camera are different from those used to deal with observation by coparticipants."

However, that is not to say that such data is unproblematic. For example, being prompted to speak in front of the camera can make the participants hyper-aware that the conversation is being recorded, which, in turn, can result in interactions different from those which might occur in an unobserved setting. This is evident especially in the case of the conversation between Gertie White and Dorothy Bell, for whom a good portion of their exchange focuses on asking each other what they should talk about.

4.2. Data Analysis

Data was prepared for analysis by, in the case of the video files, extracting the audio track as a .wav file and importing it into Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2020). The stonemoving speeches were provided by Marianne Ignace in individual .AIFF files and then were each imported into Praat. Data analysis took place in three stages: Transcription and translation, glossing, and annotation. This section details the methods used in each of these stages.

4.2.1. Transcription

I transcribed the recordings with Lawrence Bell, the only remaining male fluent speaker of X̱aad Kíl. We completed this transcription working in weekly two-hour blocks at his residence during spring 2018-fall 2021. I played each video or audio track in its entirety prior to beginning transcription. During transcription sessions, I played back a sentence or clause at a time in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2020); such units were initially selected based on examination of spectrograms and pitch tracks displayed in Praat and refined with guidance from Lawrence. Each individual sentence or clause was repeated as many times as Lawrence requested; he would then generally repeat the sentence or clause back or provide an English translation. Each sentence or clause was transcribed into the Haida practical orthography by hand and the time stamp noted. English translations were provided by Lawrence after playing back each sentence or clause in Haida. We transcribed the Knowledge Network interview (hereafter GWDB) first, followed by the Alaska Native Language Revitalization Institute conversation (hereafter JADC), the stonemoving speeches, and the recording of 'Láanas Sdang (Adam Bell) and Henry Geddes. Lawrence and Marianne had previously worked with the stonemoving speeches and the recording between 'Láanas Sdang and Henry Geddes

A few days following each session, I prepared typed transcripts from the handwritten ones. Spelling errors and missing tone markings were corrected by consulting Lachler (2010) and Enrico (2005) and via extensive discussion with Marianne Ignace (personal communications, spring 2018-fall 2021). Remaining areas needing clarification (for example, missing words, words that I still could not puzzle out) were marked for follow-up at later sessions with Lawrence. These follow-up sessions were completed during weekly one to one-and-a-half-hour-long telephone sessions in summer-fall 2020[58].

After the Haida and English transcripts were completed, I glossed the sentences according to the Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie et al., 2015). Transcripts were then

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[58] Work could not be completed in person due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This posed a notable constraint for transcription and translation. Lawrence and I worked via phone during the pandemic, which was less than ideal, as the quality of the audio recordings was negatively impacted by playing these back through the phone. When there were difficulties in puzzling out a particular piece of an exchange, Lawrence would always mention how he looked forward to when we were once again able to sit down face to face and work.

further expanded using Conversation Analysis (CA) notation, marking such elements as emphasis, latching, and overlap according to the conventions in Jefferson (2004). I identified pauses manually in Praat and rounded the times to the nearest hundredth of a second.

While the goal of CA is to represent both the language spoken and how it is spoken (e.g., representing actual pronunciations in the transcription, as in indicating the reduced vowel in *or* by transcribing it as *er*), given that the main goal of this research is to provide usable language-learning resources for X̱aad Kíl, I made the decision to, in most cases, represent Haida speech using standardized spellings (e.g., maintaining the full form of * G̱usdla*, 'a lot' rather than indicating the shortened form *G̱usla*). Exceptions were occasionally made, however, for those forms already thoroughly documented as being frequently reduced, for example, the reduction of *t'aláng*, 'we', to *tl'áng* (See Lachler, 2010, p. 289)

4.2.2. Annotation

I annotated both verbal and non-verbal behaviours in the conversations, specifically focusing on the fundamental aspects of turn-taking and repair (Sacks, et al., 1974; Schegloff et al., 1977). Only verbal behaviours were annotated in the speeches, as video recordings of these were not available. I used CA transcription, as described in § 4.2.1, and the transcription conventions in the front matter (p. ii) to annotate verbal behaviours, such as self-repairs and overlaps.

Non-verbal cues for turn-taking and repair were also of interest, as Lawrence Bell noted that these play an important role in Haida conversation (personal communications, spring 2018-spring 2020). I marked these cues via examination of the video recordings. I first imported the .mp4 file of each video into ELAN (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, 2020) and then annotated for the categories proposed by Wiemann & Knapp (1975) for those behaviours thought to play a role in turn-taking; these are shown in Table 8.

Table 8:   **Non-verbal behaviours analysed with regard to turn-taking (adapted from Wiemann & Knapp, 1975)**

Behaviour	Description
Other-directed gazes	Amount of time spent looking at facial area around the eyes of the other person
Smiles	Positive facial expression marked by upturned corners of the mouth (as opposed to a straight or down-turned mouth)
Reclining angle	When that place defined by a line from the communicator's shoulders to their hips is away from the vertical plane, such that the communicator is leaning forward to some degree
Forward-leading angle	When that plane defined by a line from the communicator's shoulders to his hips is away from the vertical plane, such that the communicator is bending forward at the waist
Gesticulations	Head and arm movements (excluding self-manipulations), including side-to-side, forward-back, and up-and-down movements (e.g., an up-raised and pointed index finger).
Head nods	Cyclical up-and-down movements of the head

These non-verbal behaviours, although examined by Wiemann & Knapp (1975) in the context of turn-taking, are also implicated in repair.

To annotate these behaviours, I created a separate tier in ELAN for each participant for each behaviour identified in Table 8. The segmentation mode was used to mark each behaviour using the "two keystrokes per annotation" option. Each video was viewed once per behaviour per participant. In cases where the camera angle made it unclear as to the start or end of the behaviour, I adopted the convention where the camera cut away marked the end of the behaviour, and camera pan to the participant marked the start of the behaviour. For example, when participant one begins a gesture and then the camera pans to participant two, the beginning of the gesture would be marked as usual and the start of the camera pan would be marked as the end of participant one's gesture. Any gesture the second participant made was marked as starting at the beginning of the camera pan.

Following this initial analysis of the data, the CA transcripts and ELAN-annotated videos were further examined for strategies employed in collaborative meaning-making via turn-taking and repair. It is to this examination that the thesis now turns.

Chapter 5.

Prompted Conversation

This chapter examines two prompted X̱aad Kíl conversations in detail, focusing on examination of two fundamental aspects of conversation organization, turn-taking and repair. First, each of the conversations and the participants are introduced to provide context for the examples that follow. The discussion then moves to an exploration of turn-taking, starting with an introduction to the phenomenon itself and continuing by considering types of turns used in X̱aad Kíl, including examination of structural composition and turn-allocation. From here, the discussion moves to consideration of turn-taking in the extended structure of storytelling, as this figures prominently in the two conversations. As will be further explored in Chapter 7, storying is also an important practice in X̱aad Kíl.

An examination of repair in the two conversations is the next area of focus. This portion of the discussion examines instances of repair in each of the conversations, looking at the repair types employed and the frequency of these types. It also makes some comments about the perceived preference and dispreference of particular types of repair.

5.1. Conversation Overview

As mentioned in Chapter 4, each of the two conversations is a prompted exchange, and each takes place between two female Elder fluent speaker participants. The first conversation is that between Gertie White and Dorothy Bell. While much of the discussion focuses on either trying to determine a topic of conversation or their recent trip to New York, other topics are also dealt with briefly. An overview of the topics is as follows:

1. use of traditional medicines [*xil ḵagan* (Hudson's Bay Tea), *ts'iihlants'aaw* (Devil's Club), and *gwaayk'a* (Indian Hellebore)]
   a. as preventatives during flu season
   b. brief comments about the 1918-19 great flu pandemic
2. visit to New York to repatriate remains
   a. feelings upon visiting the museum

      b.   topic of prayers said during the visit
      c.   the bus driver who toured them around and the places they visited.
  3.   Gertie: her relatives buried in G̲awgyaan (Howkan), Alaska
  4.   Dorothy: fleet of canoes visiting from Yaan that got sucked into a whirlpool off the coast of Massett

The second conversation is between two sisters, Jane Adams and Delores Churchill. As this conversation is facilitated by an advanced learner of X̲aad Kíl, with whom the two sisters have a good relationship, there is less time spent searching for topics. Ben, the facilitator, will suggest possible topics he thinks may be of interest when it seems that the sisters have no more to say on the current subject This conversation covers a range of topics, as follows:

1. older people staying with their parents; lessons from the old folks
     a.   Gaa'láa, one individual who stayed with them
         i.   Jane: how he carved silver spoons
        ii.   Delores: "Haida heaven" and a fight he had with a Tsimshian man
2. importance of respect:
     a.   Delores: chasing crabs
     b.   Delores: laughing at halibut
3. reminiscences about Uncle Willie (Chief Wiiaa IV)
4. boat building (brief mention of building boats by the slough)
5. drying halibut
6. participation in SG̲aawaa K̲'uuna
     a.   Jane talks about the pipe she was given
     b.   experiences at Yaan
     c.   experience making the movie; potential benefits of it for language learning
     d.   brief comments about new word formation in X̲aad Kíl (at prompting of interviewer)

These lists give an idea of the main topics discussed in each of the conversations. As the following discussion focuses on turn-taking and repair, I have selected illustrative examples from the conversations. However, in an effort to situate the reader, I have provided contextualizing information about the topics being discussed as much as possible.

5.2. Turn-Taking

Turn-taking is one of the most fundamental aspects of conversation organization, as described in the work of Sacks et al. (1974). Rather than being a fixed or pre-arranged structure that is applied to a conversation, turn-taking is a socially-constructed behaviour that is performed by participants (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 51), evolving as the conversation progresses. Turns are viewed by Sacks et al. (1974) as resources that

should be allocated among speakers over the course of a conversation.[59] Despite this real-time creation of structure, however, turn-taking displays certain regularities in terms of turn distribution among speakers, ordering of turns, and limited appearance of overlap (Sacks et al.,1974). For example, Sacks et al. (1974, p. 700-701), in examining English, note such regularities as recurring speaker change, latched transitions between turns, varied turn order, conversation length, and number of participants, and use of turn-allocation techniques. While much early work on turn-taking focuses on English, there is some evidence to suggest that these regularities are universally applicable. For example, Stivers et al. (2009) examine turn transition time in ten languages (‡Ākhoe Haillom[60], Danish, Dutch, English, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Tzeltal, and Yélî Dnye[61]). Taking a quantitative approach, they find that there is an average of only a half-second of overlap in turns or delay in replying to a previous turn. They thus posit that their findings "argue for an interactional foundation for language that is relatively stable and relatively separable from the specific language and cultural practices that instantiate it" (Stivers et al., 2009, p. 10591). This further supports the "systematics" underlying turn-taking proposed by Sacks et al. (1974).

Such systematicity is also as demonstrated in the X̱aad Kíl conversation. Before turning to look at examples from these conversations, it is necessary to first consider some of the fundamentals of turn-taking. Thus, the discussion now turns to examine what constitutes a turn and general ways in which turns are allocated in conversation.

5.2.1. Defining a Turn at Talk

While analysis of conversation data demonstrates that speakers have an intuition of what constitutes a turn, it is challenging in practice to define a turn at talk. As noted by Edelsky (1981), in general the definitions either focus on interactional aspects (see, e.g., Yngve, 1970) or technical aspects of the turn. For example, Ochs (1979b) defines turns based on pause boundaries, while Duncan (1973) examines conversation for signals

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[59] The idea of turns as resources suggests a small-scale display of Bourdieu's (1977) idea of *linguistic capital.* Potter (2014) provides an accessible introduction to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and capital.

[60] ‡Ākhoe Haillom is a Khoe language with that is part of the Khoisan family. It is mainly spoken in Northern Namibia (Hoymann, 2010).

[61] Yélî Dnye is a Papuan language. A language isolate with around 5,000 speakers, it is spoken on an island 450km offshore of Papua New Guinea (Levinson & Majid, 2013)

that indicate turn-taking. Taboada (2006, p. 331) notes that for technical definitions of the turn the focus is on "talk with an end boundary"; social context is not considered. For interactional conceptions, such as that of Yngve (1970), the turn is determined by conversation participants themselves. Who holds the turn is conceptualized by Yngve's observation that participants act differently when they think they have the turn in the conversation. The difficulty with such definition is that they rely on the participants' conception of what is or is not a turn.

Other conceptions of the turn are more concerned with how the turn works in conversation, via, for example, the mechanics of turn-taking. This is the case in Sacks, et al.'s (1974) work. While they stress that turn-taking, and, by extension, the turn, is a means of organizing a range of activities, they present a model that emphasizes the construction of turns via the *turn-constructional component* and *turn-allocation component*. They also introduce the idea that "…a characterization of turn-taking organization for conversation could be developed which would have the important twin features of being *context-free* and capable of extraordinary *context sensitivity*" (Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 699, italics mine). This notion recognizes that the underlying ways in which turns are organized (e.g., ways of speaker allocation, varied turn size and turn order) is potentially generalizable while the specifics of a conversation are subject to social context. However, while this provides a broad conception of what a turn is and how it functions, this does not make identifying turns any more clear-cut.

However, while turn identification may be difficult, it is also necessary to have some way of conceptualizing what a turn is to discuss how turn-taking is negotiated. While, for simplicity, it is tempting to take a more clear-cut and quantitative approach to doing so (for example, considering one's speaker's uninterrupted stretch of talk as a turn), this is not a satisfying solution. Especially as this thesis stresses the importance of examining the interactive nature of conversation, to do so seems to not adequately account for this. Thus, following Ford et al.'s (1996, p. 431) discussion, the thesis focuses not on counting turns and turn constructional units, but on "…the entire range of relevant practices for constructing conversational co-participation." That is, the focus is

on examining how participants interact with one another throughout the conversation and on identifying patterns in the strategies used for such interactions.[62]

5.2.2. Units Composing Turns

As definitions of turns vary, so too does the identification of units that make up these turns. This section extends the discussion of the turn by looking at several different ways that turn units have been classified and how such conceptions play out in relation to the X̲aad Kíl conversations.

Turn Composition: TCUs and TRPs

Sacks et al.'s (1974) conception of turn composition is constructed in relation to their turn-constructional component, which reflects the idea that turns are composed of different types of units. These are what Sacks et al. (1974) refer to as *turn-constructional units* (TCUs). Turn-constructional units (TCUs) are thus the chunks of speech that make up a turn. As with the definition of the turn, the definition of TCU is complex and context-dependant. For example, TCUs are defined by Sacks et al. (1974) with reference to syntactic units. They note that, in English, for example, full sentences, clauses, phrases, and single lexical items can be TCUs. Psathas (1995, p. 37) also notes that "any audible sound" can be a TCU. The length of the turn is thus based on the amount of time necessary to complete the production of the TCU(s) involved.

Schegloff (1996), however, stresses that the TCU is not a linguistic unit. Additionally, Ford et al. (1996. p. 429) advise, "Rather than a static set of resources to be deployed, TCUs are best understood as epiphenomena resulting from practices." As well, while Sacks et al. (1974, p. 721-722) view syntax as the primary means that conversation participants use in determining the ends of turns, they also recognize the importance of phonological and intonational resources in turn assessment.

To see how the interaction of syntax and prosodic resources plays out in X̲aad Kíl consider, for example, two instances of a single lexical item as a TCU shown in Example 14 and Example 15. Example 14 shows a question-answer sequence where

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[62] During the beginning stages of the analysis, however, turns were counted in a more mechanical way by viewing each uninterrupted spate of talk as a turn. This information is included in Appendix B for the interested reader.

Jane is searching for a particular word. This sequence takes place partway through a story that Delores is telling about Gaa'láa, a man who stayed with their family. At one point, he got into a fight with a Tsimshian man who cut off the end of his nose. To remedy this, Gaa'láa would, apparently, make a poultice of flour and bits of brown paper bag to put on the end of his nose. Prior to the turn shown in Example 14, Delores had asked Jane how to say *brown paper bag* in Haida. Given that Jane then returns the question to Delores, this provides a humorous result. Here, Delores's turn, the answer, in line two consists of the single lexical item *Áyaa*, 'I don't know' (here, as elsewhere, an arrow to the left of a line number indicates the element of focus in the example). This utterance, from its conversational context, being the second-pair part of the question-answer sequence, as well as from prosodic cues, contributes to its identification as a complete turn.

	1	**JA**	Gasán	uu	Xaad Kihlga	Hl	súuda	hlangaa (.)
			how	FOC	in Haida	1.SG.SBJ	to say	AUX should

                     'How could I say it in Haida?'

→   2 **DC**   Áy↑aa↓. (0.45)

                     'I don't know'

Example 14: Lexical item as turn

The pitch of *áyaa* has a rise-fall patten, which also contributes to its being recognized as a complete turn. Work by Couper Kuhlen (2011, p. 494-495) and Selting (2000) has demonstrated that prosody is one of the cues that conversation participants orient to in assessing turn completion; this supports the initial statements made in this regard by Sacks et al. (1974).

In Example 15, however, there is a single lexical item that does not function as a complete turn, but rather one TCU in an extended turn. Again, this is demonstrated by both the continuing intonation following *híik'waan*, 'but' and the presence of an in-breath after the word. Prior to this section, which occurs shortly after self-introductions at the beginning of the conversation, Delores has suggested that Jane talk about the older people who stayed with them when they were children. Jane has then attempted to select Delores as the next speaker. When she does not take the turn, Jane then starts a new TCU and continues speaking; the beginning of this new TCU is shown in line one.

| $\rightarrow$ | 1 | **JA** | Híik'waan, .hh eh- |
| | | | But |

| | 2 | | Damáan-uu | | | ḵ'ayáa | aw-ii |
| | | | well, properly-FOC | | | to be old | mother-TOP |

                    ḵuyáada   Ǥusdla-gan (0.98)
                    to love   a lot-DPST

                    'Mother loved old people a lot'

Example 15: Lexical item not functioning as turn

An in-breath, such as the one which follows *híik'waan*, can be one way, according to Schegloff (1996), of indicating that the speaker is not finished with their turn. Such an in-breath, which Schegloff (1996, p. 92-93) classifies as a *pre-beginning element*, is one way conversation participants can potentially project that the current speaker has not yet completed their turn. As well, from the video of this segment, shown in Figure 3, it is apparent that Delores is still orienting to Jane as speaker.

Figure 3:   Delores orienting to Jane's continuing turn
(UAF Department of Theater/Film and FRAME Film Productions, 2018, 01:36)
Delores maintains her gaze toward Jane, leaning slightly toward her. Goodwin's (1981, p. 75) work on gaze finds that, in general, hearers spend more time gazing at speakers than speakers spend looking at hearers. Careful examination shows that at the end of Jane's production of *híik'waan* she also maintains an open mouth, signalling that she wishes to continue her turn (Yngve, 1970, p. 575). Jane also seems to use such a

gesture to hold the floor. Discussion of the distinction between turn and floor is the focus of §5.3.2.

The comparison of Example 14 and Example 15 further underscores the relationship between syntactic and prosodic resources in turn determination. Example 14 shows a complete turn consisting of the interjection *áyaa*, while Example 15 contains the conjunctive adverb *híik'waan*. Even from these two brief examples, the richness and complexity of conversation and the many resources that participants draw from as they carry out a conversation are evident. This will be further illustrated as different types of turns at talk are explored.

As mentioned previously, turn-constructional units are those units that make up a turn at talk. A TCU is followed by a *Turn-relevance place* (TRP) that presents options for who will take the next turn and produce the next TCU. In other words, TRPs can be thought of as the places where speaker change can occur (Psathas, 1995). Conversation participants project these TRPs based on their knowledge of the type of TCU in play and the amount of time needed to complete such a TCU.

Signaling the End of a Turn

While Sacks et al. (1974) provide these two key compositional pieces of the turn, they do not specify the signals used in turn-taking, as Taboada (2006) notes. However, the systematicity of turn-taking that Sacks et al. (1974) bring to light leads itself to further consideration of these signals. Recognizing this, others have made efforts to identify such cues and define turns via the presence or absence of these. Duncan and Niederehe (1974), for example, define a turn at talk via perceived turn-yielding signals, observed through analysis of the first nineteen minutes of two dyadic interviews. As summarized in Goodwin (1981, p. 24), these signals include the ending of a hand gesture used during a turn, the end of a grammatical clause, and a rising or falling in pitch at the end of an utterance.

Adjacency Pairs

In addition to TCUs and TRPs, turns are further organized into adjacency pairs. Such pairs are ordered turns at talk demonstrating a clear difference between the first and second parts of the pair (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 42-43). Schegloff and Sacks (1973) characterize adjacency pairs as meeting the following criteria:

1) Two utterance length

2) Adjacent positioning of component utterances

3) Different speakers producing each utterance

(From Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 295)

Thus, it is not the case that any two adjacent utterances form an adjacency pair. Rather, such pairs as greetings, complaints and rejections, and accusations and denials, which meet the listed criteria, are classed together as adjacency pairs (Goodwin, 1981, p. 22). Perhaps the most recognizable type of adjacency pair is a question-and-answer sequence, such as that shown in Example 16.

In this excerpt from the conversation between Gertie White and Dorothy Bell, the two have come to a break in their previous conversation where Dorothy has been explaining how using traditional medicine helped people to stay healthy during the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919 (which they refer to as the great flu).[63] The director, trying to keep the pair talking, has asked them if they want to talk about their time in New York. Gertie tells Dorothy that the director wants them to talk to one another in Haida, to which she replies only with the acknowledgement token *mm-hm*. Clearly, Gertie is expecting a more substantive response than this, and thus begins to prompt Dorothy in line one. The question-answer adjacency pair begins in line four.

	1	**GW**	áa[dáng ḵ'aw]gée Ḡahl (0.43) Ḡahl. ((cough)) (0.44)
			talk, converse, discuss (PL.) with it with it
			.hh (4.09)
	2	**DB**	[ah]
	3	**GW**	[gi-]
→	4	**DB**	[gúus-uu] daláng ḵ'awgá-saang=
			what-FOC 1.PL.OBJ talk, converse, discuss-FUT
			'what are we going to talk about?'

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[63] According to Parks Canada (2021), the Spanish flu killed around 50,000 people between 1918 and 1920, many of whom were young to middle-aged adults.

5	**GW**	=New York	Ḵadéed	ḵ'aawgée! (1.19)
		New York	about	talk, converse, discuss (PL.)

'Talk about New York'

6		[dlaa]sii dluu	íitl'	guu 'láa-gang. (0.33)
		while	1.PL.SBJ	to be happy-DPST

'When we were happy'

7	**DB**	[huh HUH]

Example 16: Question and answer adjacency pair from GWDB

As demonstrated in line four, Dorothy poses a question to Gertie in the first pair part, inquiring as to what the conversation topic should be. Gertie responds in lines five and six. She first poses a topic in line five in the second pair part, the answer to the question, and, after pausing at the end of this TCU, continues her turn in line six.

Although the parts of such pairs do often occur adjacent to one another, it is not a requirement that they do so (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 43). In some cases, there is an insertion sequence intervening between the first and second pair part of an adjacency pair. This is demonstrated in an extract from the conversation between Jane and Delores. The portion of the exchange shown in Example 17 takes place during the story Delores tells about one time when she and her cousin Betty went out halibut fishing with their uncle Lalli. During the following exchange, Delores has forgotten the word for boat and asks Jane.

1	**DC**	Áajii (4.14)	$gasán	uu	boat'
		this	how	FOC	

		kyaa [huh huh] -gán (0.93)
		to be called-DPST

'How do you say 'boat'?'

→	2	**JA**	Gw<u>aa</u> (0.32)
			FOC.Q

'What?'

3	**DC**	Boat? (1.14)

4	**DC**	Not the boot [but the boat] huh HUH

5	**BY**	[°huh huh°]
6	**JA**	Tlúu gwáa (0.23)
		boat on (vehicle)
		'On a boat'

Example 17: Insertion sequence intervening in an adjacency pair from JADC

Here, Delores opens the question-answer sequence with the first pair part of the adjacency pair in line one, asking Jane for the X̱aad Kíl word for 'boat'. Rather than an answer to this question, the expected second pair part, in line two, Jane responds with the interjection *gwaa,* 'what (did you say)', indicating perhaps a mishearing of Delores' question. This begins an insertion sequence, which continues through line five. However, given that Delores has opened with the first pair part, the question, in line one, the second pair part, the answer, is still relevant even though it does not occur immediately following the first pair part. Despite the second pair part not occurring until several turns after the first pair part, it is clear the speakers have oriented to the idea of an adjacency pair. That is, that an answer is expected to a question. Thus, following the completion of the insertion sequence, the second pair part of the adjacency pair occurs in line six.

5.2.3. Turn Allocation

In general, there are three main ways of allocating a turn, defined based on speaker selection: 1) The current speaker can select the next speaker, 2) A speaker can self-select, or 3) The current speaker may continue, unless another speaker self-selects (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 704). Most preferential, according to Nosfinger (1991), the current speaker can select the next speaker, which takes place prior to a TRP. Such selection can be accomplished by signalling the selectee with eye contact, direct address, or another means. The current data shows examples of all three ways of ensuring that turns are equally distributed. Prior to examining examples illustrating each of these types of turns, it is helpful to have some idea of the size of the body of data. As the focus is on a qualitative examination of turns rather than a quantitative one, tabulation of the total number of turns by each speaker and turn length is provided in Appendix B.

Although in each case the total number of turns differs, the distribution of these turns is relatively equal among the participants. For example, in the conversation

between Gertie and Dorothy, the difference in turns is only twelve. Similarly, in the conversation between Jane and Delores, not including Ben's turns, the difference in turns between speakers is sixteen. Interestingly, although Nosfinger (1991) cites type one turns, where the current speaker selects the next, as being most preferrable, in these two conversations type one turns are found less frequently than type two turns, where a speaker self-selects.[64]

As well, the average length of each speaker's turns is similar in each conversation. For example, in Jane and Delores's conversation, despite the sixteen-turn difference between the two main participants, and a fifty-turn difference between Ben and Delores, the average length of a turn for Delores is just over six-and-one-half seconds while that for Ben is just under six seconds. This demonstrates the participants orienting to one another as they move through the interaction; it moreover underscores the systematicity of the conversations as discussed by Sacks et al, (1974). The systematic nature of each of the conversations will be further demonstrated by examination of specific examples of the three ways turns are allocated.

Current Speaker Selects Next

When they are nearing the end of their turn and approaching a TRP, the current speaker may directly select the next speaker using a variety of strategies; these often include a combination of verbal and non-verbal strategies. In both the conversation between Jane and Delores and that between Gertie and Dorothy, such linguistic indicators as directives, question words, and question particles are frequently employed to select the next speaker. Suprasegmental cues, such as intonation, are also used. As well, the speakers use non-verbal cues, such as eye gaze and gesture. In the conversation between Jane and Delores, for example, at the beginning of the conversation, Jane directly selects Delores as the next speaker with a directive; this is shown in line six of Example 18.

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[64] It is not clear why this is the case. It may have to do with unintentional inconsistency in counting turns. Another possible explanation could be that this occurs as the conversation takes place in a language that the speakers use infrequently, and can thus be attributed to effects of language attrition.

1	**BY**	So, let's start out by introducing ourselves? (1.07)				

2	**JA**	Gw<u>aa</u> (0.38)				
		FOC.Q				
		'What did you say?'				

3	**BY**	u::: (0.20)	íitl'	agán	t'aláng	súudaa-ng?
		Uh,	1.PL.SBJ	oneself	1.PL.SBJ	tell-PRS
		(0.39)				
		'Uh, we (should) tell about ourselves?'				

4	**JA**	[uh] ((nods agreement and turns it over to Delores))[65]				

5	**BY**	[Sán	uu-]	sán	uu	dáng	kya'áa-ng? (0.89)
		How	FOC	How	FOC	2.SG.OBJ	to be named-PRS
		'What is—what is your name?'					

→

6	**JA**	K̲'abaslee[66]	dáa	hl	súu! (0.66)	
		K̲aabaslee	2.SG.SBJ	PRT.CMD	speak	
		'K̲aabaslee, you speak.'				

7	**DC**	Ilsyxáalas	hak'un	uu	díi	kya'áang, .hh (0.70)
		Ilsxyáalas	thus	FOC	1.SG.POSS	name
		'My name is Ilsxyáalas.'				

Example 18: Jane selects Delores for next turn

Here, a series of question-answer pairs builds up to Jane selecting Delores as the next speaker in line six. After obtaining clarification from BY in line 3, Jane seems to be processing this information, demonstrating this by her production of the discourse particle 'uh'. However, BY appears to interpret this as a request for clarification, demonstrated by his restatement of the question in line 5, which overlaps with Jane's production of 'uh'. Following BY's restated question, Jane poses the directive in line 6, selecting Delores as the next speaker. This is demonstrated via both the use of the command particle *hl* and the animated intonation at the end of the line. Lawrence Bell

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[65] Lawrence Bell remembered that among X̲aad Kíl speakers of past generations, such selection of the next speaker in a conversation was enforced by the first speaker saying, *háay, dáa hl súu*, similar to how Delores prompts Jane. The first speaker would accompany this verbal prompt by a little gesture with their hands or fingers. People would avoid pointing, especially anything that might resemble the the "five-finger pointing" *kúuda*, a deep insult.

[66] K̲'abaslee was Delores' "pet name" or nickname, an endearment term for someone being "cute."

(personal communications, March, 2020, August 2020) on several occasions drew attention to the fact that such a direct statement was only possible because of the relationship that Jane and Delores had. As Delores' older sister, Jane could take such a directive role. Lawrence noted that using a construction like *dáa hl súu in* other social situations would be uncommon or inappropriate (However, see note 65).

Jane further underscores her selection of Delores as the next speaker with a downward gaze movement to Delores and repeated swift elbow nudging; this is shown in Figure 4. Such eye contact, accompanied sometimes by a nod, was noted by Lawrence Bell (personal communication, February 19, 2020) to be an important indicator in identifying the next speaker in a public setting.

Figure 4:   Jane selecting Delores as next speaker via gaze and elbow nudge (UAF Department of Theater/Film and FRAME Film Productions, 2018, 00:25)

Notable here as well is Delores's attuning to Jane's selection of her as next speaker; this is demonstrated here via the movement of Delores's gaze from front-facing in lines 1-3, attending to Ben's turn at talk, up and to her left, when Jane begins the utterance in line 3, and then down to the left at the beginning of Jane's elbow nudge.

After a 0.66 second pause, Delores accepts the selection as next speaker and responds by rapidly redirecting her gaze to the front, thereby re-orienting to the camera and to BY's question, and states her name in line 7.

Jane again uses these same strategies a short time later in the conversation, during the extract shown in Example 19. She directs her gaze at Delores, asking her how *xajúus*, her Haida name, would be said in English. Delores, instead of accepting the turn, smiles and laughs, directing her gaze at Jane. Jane continues her attempt to select Delores, latching onto her prior turn by telling her *dáa asán súu,* 'you speak now', in line four, accompanied by nudging Delores with her elbow.

1	**JA**	$Yeah…xajúus=you <u>know</u> it$! .hh hh (2.49)

2   X̱aad- Yáats' X̱aadée   <kíl tl'
      Haida- English   language

      guusuu- su- suu-gii[nii]>=
      say-USIT

      'How would it be said in Haida- English?'

3	**DC**	[uh huh huh]

→ 4 **JA** =dáa asán   súu! (0.78) .hhh
      2.SG.SBJ too,also   speak

      'You speak too.'

5   Hláa sG̱un sáawang   ga   díi   gwáawaa-ng(0.88)
      1.SG.SBJ only one's own words some 1.SG to not want to-PRS

      'I don't want to be the only one speaking here'

6	**BY**	°hih hih hih°

7 **JA** Gam súugee ga   díi   guudá-'ang-gang
      NEG talk some 1.SG.SBJ   speak-NEG-PRS

      ts'úud'a-ang-gang (0.47)
      to be small-NEG-PRS

      'I'm not even going to talk a little bit'

8   Dáa hl   súu. (1.92)
      2SG.SBJ CMD.PRT say

      "You speak"

9 **DC** tl'agw—a::h (0.81)   dáng G̱aa xajúu-s   dluu (0.54)
      how   2.SG.OBJ to it to be small-DEF when

      tl'agw a:h (0.63) ga   k̲'ayáa   íitl'
      how   some to be old 1.PL.OBJ

      kuhlnáangs (0.46)gin:: íitl'   ga
            things 1.PL.OBJ some

súuda-giinii	t'íij, (0.81)	íitl'	ga	suud-ii (0.24)
to say-USIT	part of	1.PL.SBJ	some	tell-IMP

'What they used to tell us, when you were a child, tell about what the old folks talked about, tell us about it.'

10   **JA**   Áang .hh hh (1.32)
           Yes

→   11

Dáa	asán	súu, (0.32)
2.SG.SBJ	too, also	to say, tell

dáa	asán	an	dáng	únsiid-ang (1.01)
2.SG.SBJ	too, also	for	2.SG.OBJ	to know-PRS

'You tell (talk) now. You know what it is'

Example 19: Jane selects Delores as next speaker

She again uses variations of this directive in lines eight and eleven. The use of the expression *dáa asán súu*, 'you speak too', is of interest here. While, as mentioned previously, Jane uses this without hesitation to her younger sister, Delores, the expression is one that would not be used with others not having a close relationship. This is the case even when it is not accompanied by the command marker *hl*. (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, January 8, 2020). Thus, it seems that it is the direct nature of the construction that gives this tone.

While Jane and Delores display frequent use of obvious directives, this is not the case in the conversation between Gertie and Dorothy. Instead, these two speakers use less forceful directives and gentle chiding to redirect one another. For example, after the initial discussion about the use of traditional medicine for prevention of influenza, the two are considering their next conversation topic.[67] In the question-and-answer sequence in Example 20, Gertie provides direction to Dorothy in line two; however, the command particle and second-person pronoun are absent.

1   **DB**

[gúus-uu]	t'(a)láng	ḵ'aawga-saang=
what-FOC	1.PL.OBJ	talk, converse, discuss-FUT

'what are we going to talk about?'

---

[67] An expanded version of this example was previously discussed in Example 16

→	2	**GW**	=$New York	G̲adée			k̲'aawgee(saang)$! (1.19)
			New York	about			talk, converse, discuss (PL.)

	3	**DB**	[huh HUH!]				
	4	**GW**	[isii]	dluu	íitl'	guu	'láa-gang (0.33)
			to be	while	1.PL.SBJ	mind	to be happy-DPST

'Talk about New York, when we were happy.

Example 20: Gertie selects Dorothy for next turn

In this example, Gertie uses vocal emphasis on the word *G̲adée*, as well as a slight intonational rise at the end of the first TCU to imply that Dorothy should talk about the suggested topic. As well, Gertie's use of "smile voice", indicated with $, conveys a gentle reminder, as the interviewer has, some 20 seconds earlier, specifically asked Dorothy if she wants to talk about New York and not received a response.[68]

In this excerpt Gertie also employs non-verbal cues to select Dorothy as next speaker. Figure 5, for example, shows Gertie shortly after she starts her turn in line two. Here, she is replying to Dorothy's question about a potential conversation topic. The image shows Gertie with her head turned slightly toward Dorothy and looking toward Dorothy's face. Prior to this, Gertie has been gazing in Dorothy's direction, but off into the distance. However, after Dorothy poses her question in line one, Gertie shifts her body and reorients her gaze to Dorothy.

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[68] Throughout the conversation Dorothy appears to selectively orient to the interviewer, showing a preference for conversing with Gertie. It is unclear if she is purposely doing this or if it is due to not hearing the interviewer and relying on Gertie to repeat what he has said.

Figure 5: **Gertie selecting Dorothy as next speaker via gaze (Knowledge Network, 2002)**

The combination of the question-answer adjacency pair, body position and gaze, and intonation pattern in the speech all serve to select Dorothy as the next speaker.

Speaker Self-Selects as Next Speaker

If the current speaker does not choose the next speaker, at a TRP any other speaker may self-select as the next speaker. This strategy appears to be the most frequently used in the two conversations examined here, accounting for approximately 55% of the turns in GWDB and 39% of those in JADC. One such turn from the conversation between Gertie and Dorothy is illustrated in Example 21, provided with the preceding context. Here, Gertie self-selects in line six. Prior to this excerpt, Dorothy has taken an extended turn in English talking about the loss of her son, to which both the director and Gertie have responded; in lines three and four, respectively . Following this, there is talk in the background by the cameraman to individuals off-screen about technical arrangements.

1	**GW**	ee:::=

2 **DB** =Never got over it. But I had to lose (0.98) Billy[69] (1.33) that was (.) rea::lly sad. (0.74) I didn't want to go to New York. (0.19) °But I had to.° (0.98) The younger, (2.09) .HHH hh (0.31) l- ladies: (0.60) ((swallow)) said uh, (0.26) they can't do without me so I went.(0.78) .hh (1.16)

3 **BM** °Yeah, that was sad.° (0.34)

4 **GW** sA:::d (0.24) hh (1.13) ((swallow)) (0.66)

5 **BM** (in background) ((okay)),

→ 6 **GW**

TV-gee	aa	íitl'	iijaa-sii	dluu (0.25)
TV-BOR	at	1.PL.SBJ	to be-	when

gin	iitl'	guu	'láagan	aa (0.30)
thing	1.PL.SBJ	mind	to be happy-DPST	about

'When we were on TV, we were happy about it' (referring to the repatriation)'

7 **BM** (in background)((just shut down the motor and take the framing))

8 **GW**

Íitl'	kihldaa, (0.56)
1.PL.SBJ	talk about

'what we talked about'

9 **DB** mm-hm (.)

Example 21: Type 2 turn from Gertie and Dorothy

While the director is coordinating these arrangements, Gertie self-selects in line six, reminding Dorothy that the cameraman is looking for them to discuss something happier. She continues with her turn in line eight, providing further prompting to Dorothy. It is also evident that she is using this self-selection to further the conversation by directly selecting Dorothy as the next speaker.

Non-verbal cues also demonstrate Gertie's self-selection as speaker. For example, as shown in Figure 6, Gertie re-orients her upper body toward Dorothy at the start of her self-selection.

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[69] Billy (Bell) was Dorothy's son, who had passed away not long before she travelled to New York (M. Ignace, personal communication, December 1, 2021).

Figure 6: **Gertie self-selects (Knowledge Network, 2002)**

As well, Gertie re-orients her gaze at the start of her self-selection as speaker. Previously, she has been facing front and gazing toward the camera. However, when she self-selects, she moves her gaze to Dorothy.

Many examples of Type 2 turns are also found in the conversation between Delores and Jane. On such exchange is shown in Example 22. Prior to this excerpt, Delores has been recounting a story about what happened when she and her cousin Betty laughed at the halibut flopping around on the boat after their uncle Lalli[70] had caught it. As Lawrence mentioned (personal communication, September 2020), and as Delores also notes in her telling of the story, such behaviour was disrespectful. Following the completion of Delores' extended turn, Ben thanks her and then suggests a new topic in line one, to which Jane responds with a clarification question in line two. Then, after Delores's response token TCU (Gardner, 2001), *ee*[71], in line three, Jane self-selects in line four.

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[70] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, December 4, 2021) notes that Lalli refers to Lawrence Stanley; "Lalli" was his nickname.

[71] *Ee* is used frequently in both conversations as well as in some of the speeches. The discussion of this response token will be returned to in Chapter 8 when interjections are explored.

1	**BY**	'láa to be good	Ǧáwyaagang[72] .hh °uh° (1.16) to be very *v*		asíisan u:h (1.73) also

		Gáagii maternal uncle	uh	Chief Wiia (0.87) u::h (1.03)		daláng 2.PL.OBJ

		hat'án ináa to be young	dluu (0.53) when	gúus what	uu:: (0.25) FOC	'láa 3.SG.SBJ

		daláng (0.39) 2.PL.OBJ	gúus what	uu FOC	daláng 2.PL.OBJ	gin (0.33) things

sk_'at'ada-yaan (1.19)
to teach-IPST

'That's very good. Uh, also, Uncle, uh, Chief Wiia, uh, when you all were young, what did he teach you/what other lessons did he give you?'[73]

2	**JA**	Gáagii Timbo[74]- maternal uncle	Gáagii (0.27) Willy maternal uncle	aa FRAG (was it?)

'Uncle Timbo- Uncle Willy?'

3	**DC**	ee:: (2.95)

→	4	**JA**	Nang- one	nang one	k_'ayáas to be old-DEF	an REFL	díi 1.SG.SBJ

			únsiid-ang hlangaan (0.41) to know-DPST for a little while		gam NEG	'láa 3.SG.OBJ	an for

			díi 1.sg.a	únsad to know	Gusdlaang-'ang-gan to be very *v*-neg-dpst	'láa 3.SG.OBJ

			Hl 1.SG.SBJ	k_'ing-gan (0.63) see-DPST

'The old man, I knew him a little bit…I didn't know him very well, but I saw him'

Example 22: Type 2 turn from Jane and Delores

In this example, what begins as Delores's pause in line three following her completed TCU, and evolves into a gap of nearly three seconds, indicates a TRP, allowing Jane to self-select in line four. Jane, orienting to this, begins by relating her

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[72]*Gawyaa* is the Alaskan Haida equivalent of *Ǧus(d)la*, "very much so", a superlative.

[73] When Jane and Delores were children, their parents' (Selina and Alfred Adams) place was just across the road from Chief Wiiaa's house, Willie Matthews, his wife Emma Matthews and their children (Lawrence Bell, personal communication Dec. 3, 2021).

[74] According to Lawrence Bell (personal communication, October 26, 2020), 'Timbo' probably refers to Reuben (Jimmy) Harris, who stayed with Jane and Delores's parents, Selina and Alfred Adams, for some time. He was an Eagle chief whose nickname was Jim-o or Jimbo.

experience of Gáagii Willie, noting that, although she did not know him well, she had seen him. Lawrence Bell (personal communication, January 14, 2020) notes that this is distinct from just remembering someone; Jane has a personal experience of Gáagii Willie.

Current Speaker Continues Turn

Finally, if neither of these two methods is employed, the current speaker may continue their turn. This continuation can result from either additional TCUs or via a specialized extended turn, such through the telling of a story. In Example 23, Jane's turn shows the use of multiple TCUs. Responding to Delores, Jane poses a question, to which Delores responds with the response token *ee*, followed by a pause.

1	**DC**	°gasán-uu	X̲aad-°	gasán-uu, .hh ahh,
		how-FOC	Haida-	how-FOC

		xíidee tl' (0.31)	gin	dáa	asáa [huh huh]
		3.PL.USPC	thing	2.SG.OBJ	up above

'…how do you say 'something up above' in Haida?'

2	**JA**	Siigee? (0.51) Siigee	gwaa? (0.23)
			FOC.Q

'Siigee? What about Siigee?'

3	**DC**	Ee:::, (1.75)

Example 23: Type 3 turn from JADC

After the first TCU, Delores begins her second TCU with a word search, asking Jane for the Haida for 'something up above'. Following this is an apparent mishearing on Jane's part: when Delores says *xíidee*, Jane thinks Delores has mentioned Siigee, interpreting this as a request for information about Siigee, a former chief at Massett (personal communication, Lawrence Bell, January 8, 2020). Siigee was a former Skidaa k̲aw Raven chief at Massett, whose ancestor namesake had been the father of Jane and Delores' maternal uncle, Willie Matthews' (Chief Wiiaa's) great-great-uncle (see Boelscher, 1989). However, rather than calling Jane's attention to this, Delores instead responds in line three with the agreement token *ee* followed by a pause. As Jane takes Delores's *ee* to indicate agreement, she then goes on, not shown here, to self-select and provide more information about Chief Siigee in her following turn. As the younger

participant in the conversation, by saying *ee*, Delores thus politely moves past Jane's mishearing, leading to a follow up with a switch of topic to Siigee.

Having illustrated the basic turn-taking mechanisms used in these conversations, the discussion now moves to how turn-taking functions in extended structures.

5.3. Turn-Taking in Extended Structures

Both conversations feature stories recounted by the participants. Stories, and other types of larger projects that take more than one utterance to complete, pose an interesting challenge for the mechanics of turn-taking. Sacks (1992/1995, p. 223) equates an utterance with a turn, and later identifies "sentences as the building blocks of utterances" (1992/1995, p. 224). This notion, which suggests that a TCU can be defined partly in relationship to its syntactic structure, is refined[75] in Sacks et al. (1974) to include other types of units (e.g., phrases and single words); however, the strong tie between TCUs and various grammatical units remains clear.

Stories are examined here as they play a prominent role in the conversations and in the speeches. Further, Boelscher Ignace (1991) notes that extended metaphorical stories often appear in speeches, making them a noteworthy feature of these two types of X̱aad Kíl verbal interaction. As well, it is interesting to examine stories told in different contexts, as there is some evidence to suggest that personal stories told in conversations exhibit some structural differences to those in, for example, *gyaahlangáay*, or historical accounts (Eastman & Edwards, 1984, p. 53). Some of these features will be examined in Chapter 7 in the discussion of the stories recounted by 'Láanas Sdang to Henry Geddes.

5.3.1. The Notions of *Turn* and *Floor*

Prior to examining turn-taking in extended structures, a few comments about the notions of *turn* and *floor* are useful. The discussion has already established that conversation participants, in assessing potential turns at talk, draw on both grammatical

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[75] The original lecture occurred in 1970, four years prior to publication of the seminal Sacks et al. (1974) article. However, the version of the lecture cited is that published posthumously in the collected *Lectures on Conversation*.

and prosodic resources. As well, participants draw on interactional resources such as situational context and relationship. However, how do participants know when they have the floor? Further, are *floor* and *turn* interchangeable notions or related, yet different parts of the conversation mechanism?

As with the turn, defining *floor* is more complex than it seems on its face. Edelsky (1981), in a study that started out looking at gender differences in communication at committee meetings, provides an overview of several ways in which the term has been defined, indicating that it could be either synonymous with turn or refer to control of a portion of the interaction. For example, Goffman (1976, p. 271) classifies a turn as a chance to hold the floor. Yngve (1970) similarly distinguishes between *turn* and *floor*, observing that, based on his interview data, these are "two different levels of turn variables" (p. 575). Others, however, seem to conflate *turn* and *floor*. Duncan (1972. p. 286-288), for instance, lists a series of turn-yielding signals which he, two pages later, refers to as floor-yielding signals. Similarly, Sacks (1972/1986), in his examination of children's stories, speaks of "gaining the right to talk" (p. 345) by way of using a particular type of turn; for example, by posing a question indicative of a story opening.

For the purposes of this discussion, Edelsky's (1981) distinction is followed. Thus, *floor* is understood as the larger situating context, what Edelsky (1981, p. 405) defines as "the acknowledged what's-going-on within a psychological time/space". This type of definition is one that has been frequently adopted, with others such as Erickson (1982) viewing the ideas of *topic* and *floor* as being quite similar. Further, Erickson (1982, p. 47) notes that there can be more than one floor at a time, and that maintaining a floor requires social interaction between speakers and hearers. Hayashi (1991), in comparing videorecorded conversations between English speakers and Japanese speakers, determines that floor is a locally-managed "community competence" (p. 28). Socio-cultural context is also key for structuring the floor. Hayashi (1991, p. 7) notes that such cultural considerations as power and cooperation are all accounted for in negotiations of floor.

5.3.2. Holding the Floor: Story Prefaces

One such structure where floor can be clearly recognized is in stories embedded in conversation. It is recognized that stories and other extended structures require a

single speaker to take a longer than usual turn, and thus need to clearly establish their intention of doing so, so that they can control the topic, or hold the floor, for an extended period. Thus, as Goodwin (1981) notes, this requires that the rules of Sacks et al.'s (1974) turn-taking system, specifically the rule whereby a speaker can self-select, be suspended during the telling of the story. And, if the speaker self-selection rule is to be suspended, there must be a way that all those involved in the conversation come to agreement about this. Thus, while at first glance stories may seem to be the work of one person, it is more appropriate to view them as "…a joint or collaborative achievement of conversational participants" (Nosfinger, 1991, p. 160). Indeed, projecting that telling a story will require the speaker to hold the floor, or to think of it in Edelsky's terms, control the main topic, for longer than would normally be the case is common. (Goodwin, 1981, p. 22) Furthermore, examination of stories shows that speakers use specific means for gaining the floor. Gaining the floor for a longer than an expected turn is accomplished via what Sacks (1992/1995, p. 226,) calls a *story preface* and Jefferson (1978) refers to as a *pre-sequence*. Use of such a strategy allows the speaker to continue for more than one TCU, and thus more than one turn, effectively holding the floor until the story is complete.

While both conversations show the use of story prefaces, these are deployed in a slightly different manner than the "canonical" one which Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008, p. 126) describe. For them, the story preface structure is the following:

Teller: Story preface

Recipient: Request to hear story

Teller: Story

They provide the exchange shown in Example 24 to illustrate this structure. The extract provided is part of a telephone conversation between A and B, an employee of Bullock's[76]. Participant A is the teller and participant B is the recipient.

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[76] Bullock's was a regional department store chain based in Los Angeles, California, that operated from the early 1900s until 1995 ("Bullock's," 2021)

Story	1	**A**	Well, I thought I'd jus' re- better report
Preface	2		to you what's happened at Bullocks today
	3	**B**	What in the world's happened?
	4	**A**	Did you have the day off?
	5		(.)
	6	**B**	Yah?
Story	7	**A**	Well I:- (.) got outta my car at fi:ve thirty… ((Story continues))

Example 24: Canonical story preface (adapted from Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 126)

In this instance, A, the teller, calls to report to B on a newsworthy occurrence at B's workplace. A gives a preface in line one that cues B to A's desire to take an extended turn. B's question in line two signals their acceptance of this, and A begins their extended turn in line seven.

The story prefaces found in the two X̱aad Kíl conversations have a different structure, however. For example, consider lines one and two in Example 25. Prior to this, Ben has requested that Delores retell in X̱aad Kíl the story she has previously related in English; where she has been explaining the consequences she faced for picking up little crabs on the beach and making them race. As she was being disrespectful of them, she had to go and collect *t'uuswaal*, small pieces of smooth driftwood used as toilet paper, for the older people. Rather than respond to Ben's request with the beginning of the story, Delores responds with a pre-sequence in line one searching for the word to describe the little crabs that she was chasing.

→ 1   **DC**

Gasán	uu a- a- áajii		k̲'aad (0.45) k'u	ts'úudala
how	FOC	this	shark	to be small (PL)

an-	tl'	kyáadaa-giinii
for	3.PL.USPC	to call-USIT

gasán	uu	k'yaada-gán-gaan? (0.37)
how	FOC	to call-HAB-IPST

'What did they used to call these little sharks, what did they call them?''

2

An	díi	k̲'iisgii-dang-gwaa	dáa
REFL	1.SG.SBJ	forget-PRS-EMPH	2.SG.OBJ

tl'áa	uu	únsiid-ang	dáa	díi
but	FOC	know-PRES	2.SG.SBJ	1.SG.OBJ

gud an	súud-gan awáahl (0.50)
to	tell-DPST long time ago

'I forgot what they call it, but you know what they call it. You told me a long time ago.'

3	**JA**	((swallows))	gaa! gee!	gin, (0.56) things		díi 1.SG	ḵ'aj head	aa in

is-sG̱waanang'-ang-gang (0.91)
stay-AUX.keep on-NEG-PRES

'Things don't stay in my head for long anymore'

4	**DC**	Dáa 2.SG.SBJ	uu FOC	díi 1.SG.OBJ		ga any	súuda-gan! to tell-DPST

		Dáng 2.SG.SBJ	ga any	súudas tell-PTCP	dluu when	áa! PP

'It's you who told me! You told me!'

5	**JA**	ḵ'aad shark	giid-ii child-TOP	(0.46)	tl'aa but	uu FOC	ga PP (to)

		díi 1.SG.SBJ		ḵ'iisgii-dang-gwaa! forget-PRS-EMPH		

		Gasán how	uu FOC	ky'áaaga to call		ahl with

'Dogfish! ((laugh)) But I forget what it's called.'

6	**DC**	An REFL	dáng 2.SG.SBJ		unsíid-ang-gwaa to know-PRES-EMPH

'You know it!'

7		ḵ'aad shark	giid-ii (0.46) child-TOP	Hl 1.SG.SBJ		ḵíi-yaa-gan.giinii to find O-DPST.USIT

		ahl with	náang-gan (0.81) play-DPST			

'So I found these small dogfish and was playing with them'

Example 25: Delores uses a story preface to hold the floor

While this exchange may not display the pattern described by Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008), it seems that this word search sequence is indeed functioning as a preface. Delores' use of the word search seems to indicate to Jane that she will be taking an extended turn in the telling of the story and thus wants to prepare for this by ensuring that she has the linguistic resources available to do so. Here, it is also clear that Delores is deferring to her older sister. Although both Jane and Delores know that *ḵ'aad giidii* is not quite the term they are looking for, Delores accepts the suggestion provided by her older sister and continues using the term in line seven.

A similar pattern is also found in the second story that Delores tells. Example 26 provides the story preface and beginning of the story for an exchange about the experience that Delores had while out on her uncle Lalli's fishing boat with her cousin, Betty. Once again, a word search preface takes place, this time in lines two through four.

1   **BY**

Asíisan (0.24) uh, (0.48)	x̲agw- (0.32)	x̲agw	uu
also	halibut	halibut	FOC

(0.20) uh-	daláng	x̲áw	dluu.
	2.PL.SBJ	to fish with hook	with

hh uh- (0.89)	gíisd	ahl	uu	dáng (0.56)
	who	with	FOC	2.SG.SBJ

Betty? (1.37)	Áyaa (0.23)
	I don't know

'Also about the halibut fishing with, with who? Betty? I don't know'

2   **DC**

Gasán	uu	Betty	kyaa-gán?
how	FOC		to be named-DPST

X̲aad Kíl	aa (0.98)
Haida	FRAG

'What was Betty's Haida name?'[77]

3   **DC**

Gaa	'láa	díi	k̲'íisgad- =
Gee!	3.SG.OBJ	1.SG.SBJ	to forget X

'I forget it…'

4   **JA**   I don't remember either .hh hh (4.12)

((5.12 seconds omitted where someone in the background asks Jane about throwing away a tissue she is holding))

5   **BY**   Oh (1.33)

6   **DC**

Lalli	ahl	uu	t'álang
	with	FOC	1.PL.SBJ

x̲áw	ín.gan (0.98)
fish with hook	to go and V-DPST

'We went fishing with Lalli'

7	**DC**	Betty	isgyáan uh- eh- and	
		Betty uh- (0.50)	isgyáan and	Hlaa(0.95) 1.SG.SBJ
		'Betty and myself'		

Example 26: Story preface for 'Fishing with Lalli' story

However, unlike in Delores's previous story about chasing crabs on the beach, this story has an additional preface in line one, this time by Ben. In line one, Ben directly requests that Delores tell the story. It is perhaps not surprising that the story prefaces in this conversation function differently than those that might be observed in more naturalistic conversations. This conversation, being prompted and facilitated, and requesting Jane and Delores to speak X̲aad Kíl on-demand for the purposes of documenting the language, is different from a conversation that might occur between these speakers in an informal setting where they are not being recorded.

In addition to being a prompted conversation, it is also a conversation in a language that Jane and Delores have limited opportunities for speaking. While they are both fluent speakers of X̲aad Kíl, as they lived in different places (Delores lives in Alaska and Jane lived in Washington state) and in English-dominant environments, there would be few opportunities to naturally speak X̲aad Kíl (and limited conversation partners). Thus, here, as elsewhere in the conversation, it is likely that some features can be attributed to the effects of language attrition. Paradis (2007, p. 125) refers to attrition as being "the result of long-term lack of stimulation" in the target language. Frequent word searches and increased used of fillers may indicate attrition. (Schmid, 2011), as words become less easily accessible due to lack of use.

Another possibility is that the actual story preface occurs much earlier in the conversation, prior to the English tellings of the two stories. Delores has already related these two stories earlier in the conversation, and, in the excerpts shown in Example 25 and Example 26, is now retelling the stories in X̲aad Kíl at the request of Ben. Thus, it is possible that the prefaces to each of the English stories, shown in Example 27 and Example 28, are also long-distance prefaces to the X̲aad Kíl retellings. In Example 27, Delores prefaces the English story in line one, indicating a lesson that she learned growing up; "they really had (0.63) taught us respect".

1	**DC**	But, (0.98) umm (0.66) I think that one of the things that (0.77) I <u>really</u> (0.43) remember (0.21) about (0.63) growing up (0.88) was:: that (1.03) they really had (0.63) taught us respect (0.56) even (0.76) not just running in front of people but (0.42)
2		I remember one time I was (.) down on the beach (0.60) and I was picking (0.36) these little (0.88) f- fiddler crabs and I was making them race (0.59) .hh and this guy came along and he said "what are you doing?" (1.08)

Example 27:   Story preface to English telling of "Chasing Crabs" story

This, then, sets the stage for the beginning of Delores' extended turn in line two. The expression, "I remember one time…" at the beginning of this line cues other participants that Delores is about to begin an extended turn. This is a variation of what Jefferson (1978, p. 222) terms the "once upon a time" format, where the teller temporally situates the story.

A similar structure is observed in the preface to the English telling of Delores' second story; this is shown in Example 28. Again, note Delores' citing of the story's theme in line one. This also serves to tie this story to the previous one, as both stories relate instances where Delores learned about the right way to behave toward other living creatures; fiddler crabs in the first instance and halibut in the second. It also signals that Delores is maintaining the floor, by reminding listeners of the topic at hand, namely, stories about the theme of respect.

1	**DC**	So (0.12)they really (0.76) they really taught us (0.28) respect (.) .hh (0.13)
2		Uh, (.) one time, (0.43) we were in a boat with um, (0.47) my Uncle Lalli .hh (0.15) and my cousin Betty and I we were down .hh at Shag Rock (.) 'cause we were- they were fishing for halibut (0.19) 'n .hh

Example 28:   Story preface to English telling of "Fishing with Lalli" Story

As with the first story that Delores tells, in the second story she also follows her preface citing the theme with an expression to cue the beginning of the story proper: "Uh, (.) one time, (0.43)". The parallel structure of both the preface and story introduction with a variation on the "once upon a time" format and the thematic situating also demonstrate the coherence of the two stories with the surrounding talk.

The use of story prefaces is also found in the conversation between Gertie and Dorothy. However, their composition is different from those in the conversation between Jane and Delores. The prefaces here are more similar to the canonical ones identified in Hutchby and Wooffit (2008). For instance, in the extract shown in Example 29 there is a longer pre-sequence that functions as a way of introducing the story and allows the two speakers to collaboratively negotiate allocating the floor to Dorothy. This allows her to take an extended turn. Examining the exchange in light of Hutchby and Wooffitt's (2008) characterization of prefaces suggests that it can be viewed as two iterations of the story preface sequence, as labelled here.

Story preface	1	**DB**	mm↓ (0.14) hm (1.05) .hh (0.43) mm::: a::::, (3.11) hm, (0.33) wa- (0.35)

'talk about Yaan, eh? (0.20)'

Request to hear story	2	**GW**	Ee-ee　Yaan　aa　Hl, Yes　　Yaan　about　1.SG.SBJ

Yaan　aa　Hl　ḵaawgaanga (1.03)
Yaan　about　1.SG.SBJ　talk about

'Yes, talk about Yaan'

Story begins	3	**DB**	Yaan::: (0.22)　　tla[gee] Yaan　　　　　country

Request to hear story	4	**GW**	[Yaan　ahl]　díi-,(0.18)　díi-, (0.21) .hh (0.23) Yaan　with　1.SG.OBJ　　1.SG.OBJ

díi- (0.17)　díi ga, (0.75)　ahl　ḵ'iigaang(0.55)
1.SG.OBJ　1.SG.OBJ　　with　story-tell

.hh hh　díi-díi (0.11) ga (.)dang　gúusuu .hh (0.49)
　　　1.SG.OBJ　　2.SG.SUBJ　to talk

(clears throat) (0.49) .hh　an　unsadee (0.15)
　　　　　　　REFL　know

díi　　　gudang..hh(1.57) .hh
1.SG.OBJ　want

'I want to know about your words'

Yaan　Ḡadée　díi　ga　dáa　aa
Yaan　about　1.SG.OBJ　to　2SG.OBJ　FRAG

'Tell me about Yaan'

97

Story preface	5	DB	Yaan	tlagaa	uu (0.99)		xyaa!
			Yaan	country	FOC		EMPH.INTJ

Xaad kíl HI   gúusuu?(0.94)
Haida   1.SG.SBJ   talk

'About Yaan, should I talk Haida?'

Request to hear story	6	GW	Ee,	Xaad kihlga ((hl suu)),	Xaa[d] kihlga!
			Yes	Haida	Haida

'Yes, talk Haida, Haida'

Story begins	7	DB	[(clears throat)] .hh hh	Yaan tlagaa, (0.30)	Yaan tlagaa (0.27)
				Yaan town (land),	Yaan village

inggusd	uu (0.97)	tlagaa	ii'waan	is (0.77)	(throat catch)
across	FOC	village	big	to be	

°'wáagyaan°(0.54)		wáagyaan,		gyáa'aang
and		and		totem pole

uu (0.71)		kwaan	uu	gu	íij-an (3.17)
FOC		lots	FOC	EMPH	there are-DPST

hm:: (2.45) .hh		tlagaa	ii'waan	uu
		village	big	FOC

is-gee	kilgang [(1.92)]
be-DEF	supposed to

'Yaan was a big village across (the inlet), a big village, and there were many totem poles there'

Example 29: Collaborative story preface from Gertie and Dorothy

The pre-sequence begins in line one with Dorothy confirming with Gertie about the next topic. It continues in lines two through six with additional clarification questions and responses. This sequence also functions as a way for Dorothy to hold the floor for an extended time. Gertie, although taking several turns in this excerpt, seems to orient to Dorothy as holding the floor from line one of the pre-sequence, suggesting that this is simply an extended story preface. For example, rather than attempting to secure the floor in line two, she confirms that Dorothy should talk about the topic proposed in line one (Yaan), thereby requesting that Dorothy tell the story. Likewise, Gertie's turn in line six is not used as a means of securing the floor. This turn is the second part of a question-answer adjacency pair where she responds to a direct selection by Dorothy. After answering Dorothy's question, she then ends her turn without attempting to hold the floor and Dorothy restarts the story in line seven. Again, this suggests that Gertie's turn in line six is an additional request for Dorothy to tell the story that she seemed to begin initially in line three.

Earlier in the conversation between Gertie and Dorothy, yet another type of story preface is employed. The excerpt in Example 30 takes place during the second half of the conversation. Here, the two women have just come back on camera after a presumed break and have begun considering what they should discuss next.[78]

Request to hear story	1	**DB**	HHH waa (0.69) talk about, ah::, (0.24)
Story preface	2	**GW**	OH! (0.26) gin, (0.35) .hh

Request to hear story (cont.)	3	**DB**	ah, (0.68) your gaagii or, chinii or whatever, (1.19)
			         uncle grandfather
			
			…about those…. (0.73) buried in:: Ḵawgyaan?=
			                                   Howkan
			'your uncle or your grandfather or whatever…about those buried in Howkan?'

	4	**GW**	OH↑↓! yeah! (0.53)
Request to hear story	5	**DB**	°Go ahead.° (1.05)
Story begins + self-repair	6	**GW**	I always want to talk a-…oh! xyaa! EMPH.INTJ >Yaa'áts Xaadee kíl.< .hh (0.46) English
	7	**DB**	(cough) (1.65)
Story begins (restart)	8	**GW**	u:m, (0.75) (swallow) (1.59) d-díi Naan (0.46) s-(0.30) .hh hh (0.82) .hh díi- díi- aw naan (0.21) ks, 1.SG.POSS 1.SG.POSS mother grandmother (0.41) gyaaḵ'ad dluu, .hhh sometimes when 'My naanii, My mother's naanii, sometimes when' [79],
	9	**DB**	(??)

| 10 | **GW** | yes::, (0.94) | 'láa | | uu | sG̱ay, |
| | | | 3.PL.USPC | | FOC | to cry |

G̱ay-gaan-gaan (0.96)
to cry(pl.)-HAB-IPST

'll   kihljuḵagaan-gaan, (0.35)
3.PL.USPC   mourning song-IPST

'They used to cry, sing these mourning songs.'

Example 30:   Story preface with disjunct token from Gertie and Dorothy

In this story pre-sequence, rather than beginning with the story preface, the story recipient, Dorothy, begins with the start of a topic proposal in line one. It appears that just after this Gertie has thought of a topic, demonstrated by the use of *oh* delivered louder than the surrounding talk and with an animated pitch. Jefferson (1978, p. 221-222) identifies *oh* as a disjunct marker associated with a sudden recall of information. Heritage (1984a) identifies uses of *oh* like those in lines two, four, and six in Example 30 as *change of state tokens*. In line four, Gertie uses such a token to indicate a move from, perhaps, not remembering to remembering a particular story of interest. In line six, she uses *oh* to indicate that she has realized that she has begun telling the story in English rather than in X̱aad Kíl.

5.3.3. Storytelling as Collaborative Practice

While storytelling allows one speaker to hold the floor for an extended period via a suspension of the application of Sacks et al.'s (1974) turn allocational rules for speaker selection, other conversation participants are also engaged during the telling of a story. This has already been observed in the examples of story prefaces, where the participants engage in some back-and-forth negotiation that sets the stage for the telling of the story. Additionally, throughout the telling of stories the use of reply tokens and talk in the backchannel by story recipients affirms both that they are tracking with the story and that the storyteller continues to have license to hold the floor.

This is demonstrated in the exchange in Example 31.This extract is from the beginning of the story that Dorothy tells about Yaan, whose preface was discussed in Example 29. Dorothy, as storyteller, begins in line one by introducing the topic of the story, a large group of canoes that came over to Massett for a feast of some kind.

1 **DB** 'Wáagyaan,(3.40) hahlgwii (0.99) gin ga tl'
and then this way things to 3.PL.USPC

hálaan[gḵa-saang] (gin ga hálaa = have a feast, have a "doing")
have feast-FUT

'and then they were going to come this way to a big doing'

2 **GW** [°ee↓::°] (0.63)

3 **DB** uh, 'láa ganang ii'waan iijang-ḵasaagaas (.) dluu (1.63)
feast big be-going to be while

'there was going to be a big feast'

4 **GW** °mmm°

5 **DB** Yaan X̱aadée hahlgwii (0.34) k-, canoe, (1.30)
Yaan people this way

xaad tluwáa gwaa uu, (0.34) ((throat clearing)) (0.50)
Haida canoe aboard FOC

hahl gwii 'll (0.79) tluu ḵaaydan. (1.31) uh,
this way 3.PL.AN by canoe set out

'They set out by canoe this way'

6 'wáagyaan átl'an- átl'an t'aagwaa, (1.30)
and then over here at the mouth of Masset Inlet

kwah ḵ'iilagang hin uu tl'
whirlpool thus FOC 3.PL.USPC

[kya'áadang] (0.26) kya', (0.39) whirlpool (0.57)
name-caus-PRS name

'There were, they call them whirlpools'

7 **GW** [Ee,]

8 **DB** .hh (0.67) ahljii, (0.90) gu tl' (0.29)
there at 3.PL.USPC

Ḡidatl'aas dluu, (3.60) kúnahlgan uu
arrive when front end of canoe FOC

ahljii xaad tluwée aajii kwah ḵ'iilagangtl'aa-sii Ḡii (2.50)
this Haida canoe this whirlpool -AREA in

'when they arrived there, into this whirlpool

9 Yaan x̱aadée tlii sk'uulaas gyaan uu, (2.79)
Yaan people there lots and then FOC

'there were lots of Yaan people'

10	Áajii, (0.80)	kwah ḵ'iilagangtl'aa-sii	G̲ii (1.64)	G̲ii	tl' (2.18)
	this	whirlpool-AREA	in	in	3.PL.USPC

kúnahlgang	uu	G̲ii (0.83)	Guntl'aats'a-gangs		gingaan uu, (0.58)
bow	FOC	in	swallow-PRES		like FOC

tlii	sk'uulaas	gyaan. (0.86)	tl'aa (0.59)	'wáagyaan
there	lots	and then	3.PL.USPC	and then

'waa[dluuwaan]	aḵ'iit.uu-gan (.)
all	drown-IPST

'their bow first, as though being swallowed. There were lots of them. And they all drowned.'

11   **GW**   [°ee°] (1.19) mm:::↑ ↓ ↑

Example 31: Participant interaction in storytelling

This story excerpt shows Dorothy holding the floor while Gertie orients to her telling with responses in the backchannel. For example, consider the use of the response token *ee* in lines two and seven, and *mm* in line four. In both instances of *ee*, Gertie's speech overlaps with Dorothy's. However, in neither instance is Gertie attempting to gain the floor. Rather, she is using *ee* to indicate agreement with what Dorothy is saying (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, November 2018). That she is not trying to gain the floor is evident in line two with an utterance production notably quieter than the surrounding talk. As well, throughout this exchange Gertie is orienting to Dorothy as the storyteller. This is demonstrated in Figure 7, which shows Gertie just after the overlapped production of *ee* shown in line two of Example 31.[80]

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[80] Note that during this portion of the conversation the camera angle has been changed so that only Gertie is visible; however, Dorothy is speaking during the excerpt illustrated.

Figure 7: Gertie orienting to Dorothy during storytelling (Knowledge Network, 2002)

Gertie has her head turned slightly toward Dorothy and has her gaze slightly down and to the left, thereby demonstrating that she is engaged in Dorothy's telling of the story.

The collaborative nature of storytelling is also demonstrated in the conversation between Jane and Delores. Here, however, this occurs via the two sisters relating a shared experience about an individual who stayed with them when they were children. Jane begins by introducing the topic in line one, *Ga ḵ'ayáas iitl' ḵ'uhl íijiinii*, "the old ones who used to stay with us." As she begins her extended turn, it becomes apparent that she is speaking about one individual whose name she cannot recall; in line three she has remembered his name, Gaa'láa.[81] After relating some particular memories about this individual, she directly selects Delores in line six, who continues the story with her own recollections of Gaa'láa. A portion of this collaborative exchange is provided in Example 32.

---

[81] Gaa'láa is a hereditary chief name. While Jane and Delores' brother, Oliver Adams, also held this name, here they are speaking not of him but of a Git'ans chief known as one of their mother Selina's maternal ancestors ("uncles").

1	**JA**	Ga ḵ'ayáas	iitl'	ḵ'uhl	íij-iinii
		old ones	1.PL	with	to be-USIT

'The old ones that used to stay with us'

((15.75 seconds omitted where Jane describes the house having a large downstairs kitchen))

2		Gasán	uu	'll		kyaa-gán	.hh
		how	FOC	3.SG.OBJ		to be named-DPST	

	gam aa-	gam	X̱aad	kihlg-
	NEG	NEG	Haida	in the language of

	X̱aad	kihlg		kyaa-gán .hh
	Haida	in the language of		to be named-DPST

	an	díi	únsiid-ang	gam	díi	k'- (0.60) .hh
	REFL	1.SG.SBJ	to know-PRS	NEG	1.SG.SBJ	

	gam	díi	ḵaj	aa	isan
	NEG	1.SG.POSS	head	in	to be

'I know what his name is but it's not in my head'

((19.87 seconds omitted where Jane talks about the spoons with Eagle designs that the individual carved for them))

3		Gaa'láa	díi-	Gaa'láa	díi
			1.SG.SBJ		1.SG.SBJ

	guláa	G̱usdlagan (0.80)
	to like	a lot

'I liked Gaa'láa very much'

4		Hal, g- g-, accordion		'll	stl'akingáang[82]
		3.SG.SBJ		3.SG.SBJ	play by plucking-PRES

	'll		stl'akingáan-giinii	.hhh
	3.SG.SBJ		play by plucking-USIT	

'he plays—he used to play the accordion'

5		isgyáan	k'ajúu-guugangaang-agiinii
		and	sing bass voice-with-USIT

'and would sing with a loud baritone voice'

((7.03 seconds omitted where Jane summarizes her portion of the story, saying that their mother loved old folks a lot))

---

[82] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, January 8, 2020) notes that the word Jane uses here, s*tl'akingáang*, would normally be used for turning on a radio or record player. *Dángkingaang*, however, refers to pushing or pulling and would be descriptive of how an accordion is played. (the same word is also used for rowing canoes).

6		Dáa	uu,	dáa		hl		súu (2.25)
		2.SG.SBJ	FOC	2.SG.SBJ		PRT.CMD		speak

'You speak'

7	**DC**	Gaa'láa (0.74)	'láa	dláay 'láa		dluu (0.72)
			3.SG.SBJ	to be young		when

		nang ah- (0.53)	Tsimshian		G̲aayhldáa-yaan (0.47)
		one			to fight-IPST

'Gaa'láa got into a fight with another man from Tsimshian country as a young man'[83]

Example 32: Collaborative story told by Jane and Delores

In this co-created story, Jane and Delores share their personal recollections of Gaa'láa in a way that allows them to demonstrate a shared experience. In addition, this collaborative story also shows the interplay between Sacks et al.'s (1974) systematics of turn-taking and an extended structure. In lines one through five, the turn allocational component has been suspended, allowing Jane to take an extended turn. During this time, Delores is oriented to Jane as the speaker, as shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Delores orients to Jane as speaker during collaborative story (UAF Department of Theater/Film and FRAME Film Productions, 2018, 05:56)

Delores has turned her head toward Jane and is gazing toward the upper portion of Jane's face, orienting to her as having the turn and the floor. However, once Jane finishes her extended turn, she returns to the usual mechanics of speaker selection in line six, directly selecting Delores with the expression *dáa hl súu*, "you speak". Following this, the two sisters change roles, as shown in Figure 9.

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[83] This story is related by Swanton (1905) who tells of Gaa'láa leading a raid on the Tsimshian

Figure 9: Jane orients to Delores as speaker following direct selection (UAF Department of Theater/Film and FRAME Film Productions, 2018, 06:16)

This image captures the time immediately following Jane's direct selection of Delores in line six of Example 32. Here, Delores has reoriented her gaze away from Jane's face and has turned her body more toward the camera. As well, Jane, after selecting Delores, has reclined her body slightly and turned her head toward Delores. This demonstrates the switch in roles that has taken place at this point in the collaborative telling.

Having examined some of the ways in which speaker change occurs during these two X̱aad Kíl conversations and how the participants interact to collaboratively build meaning, the discussion now turns to a second key element of conversation: repair.

5.4. Repair

Another fundamental aspect in the study of conversation is *repair*. In Conversation Analysis (CA), the term extends beyond correction of, for example, factual errors, to attending to troubles that arise during the conversation (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 363). Sidnell (2007, p. 237) further explains that repair is "an organized set of practices" that conversation participants use to attend to these problems. As with turn-taking, there are general ways in which speakers initiate repair; this is the focus of Schegloff et al.'s (1977) paper. Thus, as with the systematics of turn-taking (Sacks et al., 1974) those of repair can be thought of as being context-free and context-sensitive.

The following sections provide an overview of some of the work done on repair, introduce the notions of self- and other- initiated repair, and examine the various repair strategies used in the conversations between Jane and Delores and Gertie and Dorothy.

5.4.1. Previous Work on Repair

Early studies of repair deal mostly with English (e.g., Schegloff, et al., 1977, Schegloff, 1979, 1992). Kitzinger (2013, Introduction section, para. 2), however, provides an overview of more recent studies examining repair in a broader range of languages, including Indonesian (Wouk, 2005), Korean (Kim, 2001), and a comparative study of English, Hebrew, and German (Fox et al., 2010). Further extending the body of work on repair, Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) highlight context-sensitive aspects of other-directed repair. Their work, part of a larger comparative project examining cross-linguistic other-directed repair processes, explores strategies employed in Siwu and Lao. Other languages explored include Cha'palaa (Floyd, 2015), Murrinh-Patha (Blythe, 2015), and Yélî Dnye (Levinson, 2015)[84]. Relevant findings from Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) will be examined further in §5.4.4 .

5.4.2. Characterizing Repair

Schegloff et al. (1977) note that both self- and other- repairs are found in conversation. Further, such repairs can be self-initiated or other-initiated. Thus, in general, four broad patterns of repair can be found in conversation. In a *self-initiated self-repair*, the current speaker may both identify a trouble source during their speaking and complete the repair. *Self-initiated other repair* is another option, where the speaker may identify a trouble source that another conversation participant repairs. In *other-initiated self-repair*, a recipient identifies a trouble source in the speaker's utterance which is then repaired by the speaker. Finally, in *other-initiated other-repair*, a recipient both identifies and repairs the trouble source (note that, in conversations involving more than two participants, the repair initiation and repair both need not be completed by the same recipient). Each of these repair types will now be examined in turn.

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[84] **Siwu** is a Kwa (Niger-Congo) language spoken in the Volta Region of eastern Ghana with approximately 15,000 speakers. **Lao** (Laotian) is a Tai language spoken in Laos, Northeast and Central Thailand, and Ratanakiri Province of northeast Cambodia with approximately 20 million speakers. **Cha'palaa** is a Barbacoan language spoken in Ecuador with approximately 10,000 speakers. **Murrinh-Patha** is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken in Wadeye, Nganmarriyanga, Northern Territory, Australia, with approximately 2,700 speakers. **Yélî Dnye** is an East Papuan language spoken on Rossel Island, Papua New Guinea with approximately 5,000 speakers. Language information is from the respective articles cited in the text corresponding to this note.

5.4.3. Self-Initiated Repairs

A self-initiated repair occurs when the speaker identifies a trouble source in their own talk. Schegloff et al. (1977) find that such initiations of repair typically occur in three positions. First, they can occur in the same turn as the trouble source. Consider line three of Example 33, where Jane indicates that one of her X̱aad Kíl names has slipped her mind.

| 1 | **JA** | Delores | | gingaan | | uu | díi | |
| | | Delores | | just | | FOC | 1.SG.POSS | |

as[an]   G̱iidang. hh hh .hh (4.15)
3.SG.SBJ be

'I'm like Delores, I have a Haida name'

| 2 | | Ilsxilee | hin | uu | díi | | kya'áang. .hh (0.72) |
| | | Ilsxilee | thus | FOC | 1SG.POSS | | name |

'My name is Ilsxilee'

→ 3
| | | Nang | | k̲'álaad | da'as-gyaan | | uu | gam- | gam a::h |
| | | Certain one | | different | have-DPST | | FOC | NEG | NEG |

Áa   Hl   Remember-da'ang. (0.47)
This   1SG.SBJ Remember-CAUS-NEG

'I do have another one, but I don't remember…'

Example 33: Self-initiated repair in same turn as trouble source

Here, after introducing herself in line two, Jane mentions in line three that she has another name that she does not recall, thereby self-initiating a repair in the same turn as the trouble source (the name).

Self-initiated repairs can additionally be found in the transition space of the turn containing the trouble source. Schegloff et al. (1977. p. 366) define this as the "…'beat' that potentially follows the possible completion point of a turn." This way of self-initiating a repair is illustrated in Example 34. Here, Delores has been relating a story about Gaa'láa, an older man who used to stay with their family. In line one, she describes how Gaa'láa would use a poultice to patch up his nose so that he would be able to enter heaven, which, he believed, he would be unable to do if missing part of his nose. Following this, she self-initiates a repair in line two.

| 1 | DC | Ahljíihl | | uu, (0.59) ah, (0.41) | | wáak'uus, (1.22) flour |
| | | thus | | FOC | | those things |

| | | ahl | mixedas-gan | uu (1.67) | | wáak'uus, (0.50) |
| | | with | mixed-PRES | FOC | | those things |

| | | gin (0.57) eh, | gin | gu | G̱angáa | 'll | isda-giinii |
| | | things | things | there | himself | 3.SG.SBJ | to put-USIT |

| | | 'wáa (1.16) | X̱aad he- uhh, (0.27) | | tlagée | | ahl |
| | | to do that | Haida | | injured | | with |

| | | 'isgee ah- | | Sáa Tlagée |
| | | To move in direction | | heaven |

| | | ahl | 'isgée | | an aa | | (0.67) |
| | | with | to move in direction | | in order to, so |

'He used to put together a poultice of flour and other things ((and applied it to his injured nose)) so he can go up to heaven'

| → | 2 | Gasán | uu | 'wáajii? | kyee- - ah, (1.03) |
| | | how | FOC | that (far away) | be called |

'What's that called?'

Example 34: Self-initiated repair in turn transition space

Unlike in Example 33, where Jane's self-initiation of repair occurred in the same turn as the trouble source, in Example 34 Delores's self-initiation takes place following her completed turn in line one, following a pause of 0.67 seconds. Such a pause is a potential transition space.

In addition to taking place in the same turn or in a transition space, a self-initiation of repair can also occur in turn following that containing the trouble source. For instance, in Example 35 Delores identifies the trouble source in line one: the word that she cannot recall. However, as she is performing a word search, she is waiting for Jane to complete the repair that she has initiated. However, she does not receive the anticipated response. Thus, in the turn following the trouble source, line two, she re-initiates her repair, by prompting Jane for a response.

1	**DC:**	It's little pieces that the old people used to .hh use .hh t- as:: toilet paper when they had a bowel movement .hh so it was a piece of wood without any um,

		Gasán	uu	kyaadáa-ng?
		What	FOC	to call O (by some name)-PRES

		Áyaa	(0.39) .hh (0.23)
		I don't know	

'What is that called? I don't know'

→ 2

		mm- d-	t'uuswaal[85]		gyáa? (0.21)
			small pieces of driftwood		PART

'T'uuswaal?'

3	**JA:**	T'uuswaal? (0.54)	$stl'áanjaaw!$
		small pieces of driftwood	toilet paper

'T'uuswaal? Toilet paper!'

Example 35: Self-initiation of repair following turn with trouble source

In general, self-initiated repair is preferred over other-initiated repair as noted by Schegloff et al. (1977). Further, Kitzinger (2013, Section 3, para. 1) suggests that this is the case because participants not only initiate repair to "fix" an error but also do so "to 'fine-tune' the turn with reference to the action the speaker means to be doing and to the recipient of that action." This seems to be the case with Delores' turn in Example 35. The word she has asked about, *t'uuswaal*, is the correct word. However, in perhaps an attempt to fine-tune her talk, she initiates a repair.

While Schegloff et al. (1977) examine repair in English, and the majority of Kitzinger's (2013) examples are drawn from English, the preference for self-initiated repair has also been demonstrated in other languages. For example, Moerman (1977, p. 875) in his study of a corpus of Tai[86] data, found that self-initiated repair sequences were preferred, as were self-repairs. However, it is important to note that preference or dispreference for repair types depends on both the social context as well as the

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[85] While Enrico (2005, p. 191) defines *t'uuswaal* as 'small pieces of driftwood', Lawrence Bell (personal communication, December 4, 2021) notes that the *t'uuswaal* Delores refers to here would be small smooth pieces of cedar that would be cleaned by the seawater and then ready for re-use when washed back to shore.

[86] The conversations from which Moerman's corpus are compiled are from northern Thailand and include Lue, Yuan (Myang) and Siamese (Central Thai) dialects of Tai Moerman 1977, p. 872).

relationship between speakers (see, e.g., Norrick, 1991). For example, Friedland and Mahon (2018) note that it is more common for speakers to initiate repair when they share a closer relationship. Thus, it is unsurprising to find many instances of repair in the conversations examined here, given the close relationships between each pair of speakers.

Self-Initiated Self-Repair

In this type of repair, a speaker both initiates and completes a repair in their own talk. Kitzinger (2013, Section 2, para. 1) notes that such repair type is the most common. Further, she notes that this repair usually occurs in the same turn as the trouble source (as was illustrated in Example 33). Consider the excerpt below from the conversation between Gertie and Dorothy. Here, Gertie begins her turn in line two in English. She then initiates a self-repair with the interjection *xyaa* and calls attention to the fact that she is speaking in English.

	1	**DB**	°Go ahead.° (1.05)			
→	2	**GW**	I always want to talk a-…oh!	xyaa! INTJ	>Ya'áts' X̱aadée white person	kíl.< .hh (0.46) language
	3	**DB**	(cough) (1.65)			
	4	**GW**	u:m, (0.75) (swallow) (1.59) d-díi 1.SG.POSS		<u>NAAN</u> (0.46) s-(0.30) mother's grandmother	

              hh hh (0.82) .hh   díi-   díi-   aw <u>naan</u> (0.21)
                              1.SG.POSS   1.SG.POSS   mother's grandmother

              ga, (0.41)   gyaak̲'aad   dluu, .hhh
              some of   some of them   while

              'My naani, My mother's naani,'

Example 36: Gertie self-initiates a self-repair

She then uses the particle *um* to re-orient herself and continues her turn in X̱aad Kíl in line four.

Self-Initiated Other-Repair

This type of repair occurs when the current speaker identifies a trouble in their own talk but does not provide the repair. Rather, another participant supplies the repair. One situation where this occurs frequently in the two conversations is in *word searches*.

In the conversation between Delores and Jane, these word searches often take the form of *side sequences* embedded in extended turns. Consider the extract in Example 37. In line one, Delores initiates a repair by searching for a word. This begins with a series of restarts consisting of two words that are phonologically similar to that which she is looking for, *táa*, "to eat" and *táan*, "black bear". She orients to the fact that neither of these is quite right and asks Jane for clarification.

1	**DC**	Táa-	táan-	táa-		gasán	uu (0.58) uh-
		to eat-	bear-	to eat-		how	FOC
		k'- aa- (0.72) k'-		kya'áang?=			
				to be named-PRS			
		'What is it called?'					

2	**JA**	=gúus	uu? (1.43)				
		what	FOC				
		'What?'					

3 **DC**   T'-(1.41) °sand° huh huh

4 **JA**   s- s- sand? Táas? (0.32)

Example 37: Delores self-initiates a repair completed by Jane

In line three, Delores responds to Jane's request for clarification of the word that she is searching for, identifying it as 'sand'. Jane then supplies the word, *táas*, in line four, providing the repair to address Delores's trouble in line one.

5.4.4. Other-Initiated Repairs

While self-initiated repairs are the most common, other-initiated repairs also occur. As was done with self-initiated repairs, Schegloff et al. (1977) further subcategorize other-initiated repairs into two types: other-initiated self-repairs, and other-initiated other-repairs. They identify some *repair initiation techniques* that are frequently observed in other-initiated repairs in American English. These include interrogative interjections such as *huh?* and *what?*, question words such as *who?* and *where?* and partial repetitions of the turn with the trouble source. Extending this examination through comparative work, Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) catalogue common other-directed repair indicators found in ten languages. They divide these indicators into two classes, where *open* indicators of repair draw attention to a trouble source, but do not pinpoint

the specific trouble, and *restricted* indicators more precisely identify a trouble. As many of these general indicators are also observed in the X̱aad Kíl conversations, they are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9:   General indicators of other-initiated repair (adapted from Dingemanse & Enfield, 2015, p. 106)

Open Indicators	
Requests indicating some problem with the prior talk; specific identification of the trouble left open	
Interjection	Interjection with interrogative intonation
Question word	Interrogative from the available question words in the language
Formulaic	Expressions that do not use interjections or question words; often demonstrate politeness or social relationship management
Restricted Indicators	
More specifically identify the trouble source	
Request for specification or clarification	Use content-question words, often with partial repetition
Request for confirmation	Often features repetition or rephrasing of all or part of the turn having the trouble
Alternative question	Gives a selection of proposed repairs

While it has been observed that self-initiated repairs occur in three positions (in the same turn as the trouble source, in the transition space following the turn with the trouble, and in a subsequent turn from the turn with the trouble source), Schegloff et al. (1977) note that, in English, other-initiated repairs predominantly occur in the turn following the one with the trouble and, following initiation, can take more than one turn to resolve. This also seems to be the case in the two X̱aad Kíl conversations.

Consider the extract in Example 38. Here, Delores has been encouraging Jane to speak about songs that their mother used to sing to her. Prior to this extract, Delores has already suggested that Jane talk about the songs that that older people who stayed with them used to sing, and Jane has said she does not remember any of these. Now, Delores has selected Jane as next speaker in line one with a revision to this possible topic. Later, in line four, Jane directly selects Delores as next speaker. Delores responds in line five with an other-initiation of repair.

1	**DC**	aw-ii	nang-		dáng	an-	dáang	an-
		mother-FOC	certain one		2.SG	for	2.SG	for

		G̱aa xadlee	an	'll		k'ajúu-giinii		
		little children	for	3SG.SBJ		sing-USIT		

'When you were little, mother used to sing songs for you'

2	**JA**	Gam- gam	an	díi		únsada'-ang-g'ang-gwa	
		NEG- NEG-	for	1.SG.SBJ		to know-NEG-PRES-EMPH	

		weed	áa (1.90)	
		now	at	

'I don't remember now what she used to sing'

3	**DC**	Oh, (1.48)

4	**JA**	Dáa	hl	súu (2.89)
		2.SG.SBJ	PRT.CMD	speak

'You speak now'

→	5	**DC**	Gwaa=
			FOC.Q

'What?'

Example 38: Other-initiated repair in turn subsequent to trouble source

It appears that the turn with the trouble source is Jane's turn in line four. Rather than continuing with a topic or proposing a new one, Delores instead produces an other-initiated repair with the interjection *gwaa*[87]. Enrico (2005, p. 880) indicates that *gwaa* in this context translates to 'What (did you say)?' It identifies some trouble with Jane's prior talk but does not specify the trouble. That is, it is not clear whether the source of the trouble is not hearing the question, not understanding what Jane has said, or something else.

Other-Initiated Self-Repair

As mentioned, other-initiated repairs can be classified into two categories based on who completes the repair. The first type illustrated is that where someone other than the current speaker initiates the repair, but then the current speaker completes the repair. The extract in Example 39 occurs the beginning of the conversation between

[87] Note that X̱aad Kíl sentences using *gwaa* as a question marker generally do not have rising pitch (Lachler 2011, p. 23). However, when used on its own as an interjection, *gwaa* exhibits a high falling pitch (p. 24); this is the case with the example of *gwaa* in this excerpt.

Jane and Delores. Here, Ben has proposed a topic in line one. Jane then initiates a repair in line two with *gwaa*, 'what (did you say)?'

| 1 | **BY** | So, let's start out by introducing ourselves? (1.07) | | | |

| → | 2 | **JA** | GW<u>AA</u> (0.38) |
FOC.Q
'What did you say?'

| 3 | **BY** | u::: (0.20) | íitl' | agán | tl' | <u>súuda</u>, (0.39) |
| | | Uh, | 1PL.SBJ | oneself | 3.PL.USPC | tell |

Uh, we (should) tell about ourselves?

Example 39: Jane initiates a repair that Ben completes

Upon Jane's initiation of the repair in line two, Ben then orients to the trouble and self-repairs in line three by restating his question.

Other-initiated Other-Repair

In this final type of repair, someone other than the current speaker both initiates and completes a repair. This is the case with the extract in Example 40. Prior to this example, Gertie and Dorothy have come to a long lull in their conversation and are attempting to determine a new topic while the director and crew seem to be resetting the scene. Gertie has been reminding Dorothy that the director wants them to talk about something happier than what they've been discussing previously (the death of one of Dorothy's sons and the sadness they felt during their visit to the museum.) In this extract, Gertie is clarifying that the director wants them to speak in Haida. Here, Gertie initiates and completes a repair in line five.

| 1 | **GW** | Ee↑↓ (crinkling noise) | [ahljíihl] | uu | X̱aad kihl ga |
| | | | Therefore | FOC | in Haida.PP |

| | | dáng | ahl | gúusuu-gang, (2.02) |
| | | 2.SG.OBJ | with | to speak-PRS |

'This is why I'm speaking Haida to you'

| 2 | **DB** | [oh,] |

| 3 | **GW** | gud- gud | t'aláng (0.62) | tladluu | 'll |
| | | together | 1.PL.OBJ | long ago | 3.SG.SBJ |

| | | gudang-gang | aa gud- (0.73) .hh (0.42) | ahl | t'aláng (0.42) |
| | | want-PRS | together | with | 1.PL.OBJ |

| | | k'aawgée | ga | 'll | gudáng-gang= |
| | | to talk about | PP | 3.SG.SBJ | to want-PRS |

'He wants us to talk about how things were in the olden days…he wants us to talk about the olden times.

4   **DB**   =mm-hm (1.78) mm:: (swallow) .hh hh °huh°. (1.13) .hh

| | | Tladluu (0.22) | Tladluu xáadee |
| | | = long ago | long ago people |

'People from way back when (long ago people)'

→   5   **GW**   =Ee:: (1.06)   íitl'   kuníisii (0.81)

                                 1.PL.POSS   ancestor

     'Our ancestors'

6   **DB**   ye:ah (0.34) uh, (0.19) gu, (clears throat)=

Example 40: Gertie initiates and completes a repair of Dorothy's utterance

Here, it is evident that what is happening is the fine-tuning of which Kitzinger (2013) speaks. Gertie, rather than seeking a clarification or correcting some type of misunderstanding, provides what she seems to see as a more descriptive term for what Dorothy is talking about.

Another type of other-initiated other-repair is shown in Example 41. In line one, Jane is responding to an earlier request by Ben (not shown) to talk about some of the lessons that they learned from Chief Wiiaa when they were young. She begins by seeking clarification as to which Chief Wiiaa he is referring. As *Wiiaa* is a chief name, it would be passed on formally along with the role (see Boelscher, 1989, p. 156-157). Both Harry, whom Jane references in line one, and Willie, whom she references following this excerpt (not shown) held the name *Wiiaa*. Jane is trying to work out the relationship of Harry Wiiaa (Wiiaa III; Boelscher, 1989, p.133) to her mother, Selina Adams Peratrovich (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, January 8, 2019). Delores, in line two, initiates a repair by quietly suggesting the relationship, *k̲áa*, maternal uncle.[88] Jane, however,

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[88] Jane and Delores' mother Selina Peratrovich considered Harry (Wiiaa III) as her k̲áa (maternal uncle), since they were from two closely related gwaayk'aangee (Git'ans and SG̲ajuugahl

either does not hear the suggested repair or hears it and disagrees, and continues in line three to try to work through the relationship.

	1	**JA**	I uh- a::h (1.22) Harry? (1.37) Harry Wiiaa? (2.01) hh			

			díi	aw (1.11)	díi	aw (2.12)
			1.SG.POSS	one's mother	1.SG.POSS	one's mother

'Harry? Harry Wiiaa? my mother's…my mother's…'

→	2	**DC**	°ḵáa°	(0.49)
			one's maternal uncle	

'Maternal uncle'

	3	**JA**	díi	aw,(.)
			1.SG.POSS	one's mother

"My mother's…"

	4	**DC**	ḵáa	(2.37)
			one's maternal uncle	

'Maternal uncle'

Example 41: Delores initiates and proposes a repair to Jane's utterance

From line four, it appears that Delores attributes Jane's self-selection in line three to not hearing her prior suggested repair in line two, and she reiterates her repair more definitively in line four. This type of strengthening of repair efforts has also been noted by Kitzinger (2013, Section five, para. four), where, if more than one repair initiation is used, the second is stronger than the first. While Kitzinger (2013) gives an example of the content of the repair changing when employing more than one initiation, in Example 41 Delores does not alter the content, but only increases the loudness and definitiveness of the repair.

Interaction of Repair Types

The four subcategories of repair are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they can also interact with one another during the conversation. Consider the excerpt in Example 42, which occurs just after Delores has begun recounting the X̱aad Kíl telling of the "Fishing with Lalli" story. This excerpt illustrates the interaction of both self-initiated other-repair

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'láanaas, respectively (see Boelscher 1989). Jane and Delores considered Harry Wiiaa's maternal nephew Willie Matthews (Wiiaa IV) as their ḵáa, maternal uncle.

and other-initiated other-repair. In line two (identified as TS 1, trouble source 1), Delores self-initiates a repair by requesting assistance from Jane in recalling the X̲aad Kíl word for *boat.*

	1	**DC**	'Wáagyaan	uu (0.80) a:h (1.81)	akyáa	x̲áw	
			and then	FOC	outside	fish w/hook	

x̲agw (0.56) Lalli   gijgíihldaa-yaan[89] (1.96)
halibut   to catch, grab, snag-IPST

'And then when out halibut fishing, Lalli grabbed the halibut with his hands'

→   **TS1**   2   Áajii (4.14) $Gasán   uu   boat'
                       this   how   FOC

kyaa[huh huh huh] -gán (0.93)
to be called-DPST

'How do you say 'boat'?'

→   **TS 2**   3   **JA**   Gwaa? (0.32)
                       FOC.Q

'What?'

4   **DC**   Boat? (1.14)

5   Not the boot [but the boat] huh huh HUH

6   **BY**   [°huh huh°]

7   **JA**   Tlúu   gwaa (0.23)
               boat   on (vehicle)

---

[89] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, January 11, 2020) notes that this word (*gitsgihldaayaan*) isn't usually used for fishing, but for grabbing something (e.g., clams) with one's hands. *x̲áwaan* would usually be used to talk about fishing

8	DC	Tlúu	gwaa! (0.38)		tlúu	gwaa (0.37)	
		boat	on (vehicle)		boat	on (vehicle)	
		áajii	x̱agw-ée	'll		isdas(0.16)	
		this	halibut-DEF	3.SG.SBJ		get	
		agán	uu (1.14) ah- (1.01)			x̱agw-ée (1.01)	agán (1.02)
		REFL	FOC			halibut-DEF	REFL
		áa- t'[an]		'll	k'ut'ahl	st'a	hlúu
		there		3.SG.SBJ	to die	tail	body
		agan	'll		hihldang		
		REFL	3.SG.SBJ		move		

'When Lalli hooked on to a halibut, he brought it on the boat and it was still flopping around'

Example 42: Word search from Delores's "Fishing with Lalli" story

However, rather than supplying the requested term, and repairing the trouble, in line three Jane identifies an additional trouble source (TS 2) from Delores's prior turn, again using the interjection *gwaa*. In line four, Delores provides the repair by repeating what she identifies as the trouble source, 'boat?' Having addressed this trouble, Jane then supplies the requested word, *tlúu gwaa*, 'on a boat', in line seven, repairing the trouble source identified in line two. Delores then continues with her story in line eight.

5.4.5. Interactive Uses of Repair

Prior to moving to discussion of speeches, a final point about the nature of repair is of interest. As Kitzinger (2013, section 3.3., para. 2) notes, sometimes repair serves an interactional purpose, where it is "used in the service of the action the speaker means to be doing with the talk." One way of looking at this is with another variation of Seedhouse's (2007, p. 157) question of "why this, in this way, right now?" Thinking of repair, the question is now, "why this *type of repair*, in this way, right now?" While Kitzinger (2013, section 3.3.) provides ten general examples of interactive repair, only one will be discussed here, namely, managing issues of epistemic authority and responsibility

Managing Epistemic Authority

Prior to looking at how repair is implicated in managing epistemic authority, it is first necessary to describe what is meant by *epistemic authority*. In part, this relates to

how someone comes to know given information, which relates to San Roque's (2019) idea of *source monitoring*, defined as "our ability to tie things we know to originating experiences" (San Roque, 2019, p. 354). One way of grammatically encoding such information is via evidential markers, which per Aikhenvald (2018, §1.5) are a means of "allow[ing] speakers to state the information source of what they are talking about".

In X̱aad Kíl, one frequent encoding of evidentiality is in the past tense via a choice of either *direct (experienced) past* or *inexperienced past*. The former is used to discuss past events that the speaker has experienced while the latter is used for events that the speaker has, for example, heard about but not witnessed. The inexperienced past tense is often used in relating stories that have been passed down, but not experienced directly by the speaker, and is thus also sometimes referred to as the *story past*. Example 43 show Delores's use of experienced past while relating a story. Here, she is telling about how, when she was young, she was reprimanded for picking up little crabs on the beach and making them race one another.

| 1 | **DC** | Jáa!(0.40). | Gasánuu | tl'aa | dáng |
| | | Hey! | why | 3.PL.USPC | 2.SG.OBJ |

| | | 'wáa-gang | | hín | uu |
| | | to do that-PRES | | like that | FOC |

| | | díi | 'll | | súuda-gan(0.79) |
| | | 1.SG.OBJ | 3.SG.SBJ | | say-DPST |

'Hey! Why are you doing this? he said to me'

Example 43: Delores uses experienced (direct) past to relate a personal story

At the end of the episode, she uses the direct past suffix *-gan* on the verb *súuda*, 'to say', thereby conveying that this was an event she directly experienced in the past.

The extract in Example 44, from the conversation between Gertie and Dorothy, however, involves the telling of a story that Dorothy has not experienced, but only heard about. In the story, she is describing how a group of Haida from Yaan came over to Massett for an event of some type but were caught up in a whirlpool just off the coast from Massett inlet.

| 1 | Yaan | x̱aadée | tlii | sk'uulaas | gyaan | uu, (2.79) |
| | Yaan | people | there | lots | and then | FOC |

'there were lots of Yaan people'

2	Aajii, (0.80)	kwah k̲'iilagangtl'aa-sii	G̲ii (1.64)	G̲ii	tl' (2.18)
	this	whirlpool-AREA	in	in	3.PL.USPC

kúnahlgang	uu	G̲ii (0.83)	Guntl'aats'a-gangs	gingaan	uu, (0.58)
bow	FOC	in	swallow-PRES	like	FOC

tlii	sk'uulaas	gyaan. (0.86)	tl'aa (0.59)	'wáagyaan
there	lots	and then	3.PL.USPC	and then

'waa[dluuwaan]	G̲ak̲'iit.uuga-an (.)
all	drown-IPST

'In this whirlpool, their bow first, as though being swallowed. There were lots of them. And they all drowned.'

Example 44: Dorothy uses inexperienced (indirect) past to relate a story

At the end of the extract, Dorothy uses the verb *G̲ak̲'iit.uugaan*, 'to drown', with the inexperienced past tense ending *-(a)an*. This indicates that she is recounting a story that she did not personally experience, but one that she has perhaps only heard about.

Returning to how repair can be a resource for managing epistemic authority, consider the exchange between Jane and Delores in Example 45. In line one, Delores is continuing the English telling of a personal story from when she was young, where she, because of forcing small crabs to race, had to go and collect *t'uuswaal* for the old people. She pauses her story at the end of line one to ask Jane, in Haida, for clarification of a term. In line two Delores continues her turn by elaborating on the trouble source, the word *t'uuswaal*.

1	**DC**	It's little pieces that the old people used to .hh use .hh t- as:: toilet paper when they had a bowel movement .hh so it was a piece of wood without any um,

		Gasán	uu	kyaadáa-ng
		What	FOC	to call O (by some name)-PRES

Áyaa	(0.39) .hh (0.23)
I don't know	

'What is that called? I don't know'

2	**DC**	mm- d-	t'uuswaal	gyáa? (0.21)
			small pieces of driftwood	PART

'T'uuswaal?'

3	**JA**	°T'uuswaal?° (0.54)		$stl'áanjaaw!
		small pieces of driftwood		toilet paper

'T'uuswaal? Toilet paper!' [uh huh HUH HUH]

| 4 | **DC** | [HUH heh heh he]h heh .HHH $So anyway, (0.27) he made me go pick a whole bunch of those little t'uuswaal out .hh |

Example 45: Repair to manage epistemic authority

The source of the trouble is likely that there is no direct English translation for *t'uuswaal* in the sense Delores is using it. According to Enrico (2005, p. 191), the term refers to a small piece of driftwood. However, Delores is using it more specifically, to refer to a small piece of driftwood that the old people used as toilet paper. Jane, however, reinforces their shared knowledge, namely, that there isn't a direct translation for *t'uuswaal*, in line three, by providing the X̱aad Kíl word for the modern equivalent, *stl'áanjaaw*, toilet paper. This produces a humorous effect, provoking laughter from both Jane and Delores. In turn, Delores, when she continues her turn in line four, confirms this knowledge by using *t'uuswaal* in her English telling of the story. Again here, as seen previously, it is evident that Delores is taking advice from her older sister.

5.4.6. Conversation as Collaborative Meaning-Making

This chapter has outlined some of the resources that four X̱aad Kíl speakers use for taking turns and for repairing trouble in conversation. In this discussion, the complexity of classification has been touched on, including, for example, definitional difficulties of such notions as *turn* and *floor*. Despite such difficulties, however, what has been apparent throughout the discussion is the interactional nature of conversation, whether it be in short exchanges or extended cases such as stories. In both instances, it has been demonstrated that conversation is a collaborative process, focused on meaning negotiation among speakers. Further, it has been shown that conversation is also relational work, where speakers design their talk according to the relationship they share and the relational ties that they want to emphasize. Having examined turn-taking and repair in these two conversations, the discussion now moves to explore how interactive resources are employed in another prominent type of communicative exchange: that of speechmaking.

Chapter 6.

Speechmaking

While at first it may seem that the discussion of speechmaking is a departure from the previous exploration of conversation, such examination provides both important comparative data and a richer characterization of meaning negotiation in X̱aad Kíl. On a practical level, there is also a broader body of data available for speeches. Such data includes older recordings of speakers who used X̱aad Kíl more regularly (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, December 2019). This allows for a richer description of both the types and forms of language that are used. Examining varied examples of language in interaction is commonplace in larger ethnographic works (e.g., Sherzer, 1983; Hymes, 1981), and, indeed, is vital to the scientific study of language.[90] As well, examination of these examples also reinforces Boelscher Ignace's (1991, p. 129) conclusion that "oratory should not be considered as an isolated form of speech" in that "many of the features of [Haida] oratory also occur in informal conversation."

Conceptually, speeches, especially those that take place in the context of an event, such as those examined here, can be thought of as a conversation between the speaker and the larger community, especially those present for the speech. Through highly formalized ways of speaking, orators can persuade an audience, negotiate sensitive topics, and gain and keep the respect of a large body of people. While different strategies are used, depending on, for example, the cultural context, audiences can identify good orators, even if they cannot enumerate the strategies used (Atkinson, 1984, p. 6-7). In X̱aad Kíl, as in other cultures, speeches have important social and political functions (Boelscher Ignace, 1991). To explore the roles that oratory plays in X̱aad Kíl community, this chapter discusses one series of X̱aad Kíl speeches, first contextualizing these and then examining important structural and rhetorical features, and finally focusing on the negotiation of one important social decision, the choice of location for a stonemoving feast.

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[90] Caution is necessary in such pursuit, however, especially when working with First Nations languages. The intent is not to dissect the language to divorce it from the culture or community. Rather, the goal is to make explicit those ways of communicating and negotiating meaning which are implicit to native speakers and hearers (Hymes, 1981, p. 6)

6.1. Background

The body of speeches examined here take place as part of a planning meeting for Peter Hill's stonemoving feast. Peter Hill was a member of the Kún 'Láanaas, born in 1890 (Stearns, 1981, p. 271) who worked extensively with anthropologist Mary Lee Stearns. Upon his passing in 1971, Stearns notes that she "felt a keen sense of personal loss" and "regretted that [she] had never been able to afford the equipment to record the voices and to make films of the old people" (Stearns, 1981, p. 271). Thus, the stonemoving and memorial feast for Peter Hill arose out of a desire by Stearns to honour his memory as well as an anthropological impetus and curiosity to recreate and document such an event (Stearns, 1981, p. 272), which, in the 1970s was no longer common.[91]

Additionally, Stearns notes that, as she had previously been given a Haida name "from Peter Hill's lineage" and had not yet given a feast, giving a feast in honour of Peter Hill would also serve the purpose of " 'making [her] name good'" (Stearns, 1981, p. 272).[92] Examples are also drawn from the speech given by Chief Wiiaa, Willie Matthews, at the stonemoving feast for Peter Hill, small excerpts of which are documented in *Those Born at Masset* (Stearns & Stearns, 1978).

6.1.1. Origin of Stonemoving Ceremony

According to Boelscher (1989, p. 66), the stonemoving ceremony itself and accompanying practices evolved from the earlier funeral potlaches, *sak'aa*, (as described by Murdock, 1936, p. 13). While previously this may have included the raising of a memorial pole, if the deceased were high-ranking (Blackman, 1973, p. 48) it now involves moving the headstone from the house in front of which it has been stored while raising the necessary money, to the cemetery.

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[91] While it seems that there was some interest in reviving the "old ways" of doing a stonemoving (e.g., pulling the headstone to the cemetery on a sled rather than hauling it in a pickup truck) Stearns (1981, p. 277) notes that this did not happen. Further, Lawrence Bell (personal communication, April 12, 2021) commented that he thought that Peter Hill's stonemoving was the last one to take place in such a fashion.

[92] This ties in with the idea of *yahgudaang*, or being fit for respect (Boelscher, 1989, p. 71). This idea will be returned to in §6.2.

Blackman (1973) traces the shift from the pole raising to the headstone moving, attributing this to the introduction of Christianity in the early 1870s. Prior to this, funerary practices included a period to pay respects to the deceased and, for those in the deceased's *gwaayk'aang*, or lineage, an opportunity to offer gifts to help offset the funerary costs. Following this, the remains were either interred in a grave house or in a space in a grave post. The shift to in-ground burial, Blackman (1973, p. 49) notes, would have meant a reconceptualizing of Haida thought. She points out that vertical ordering of space was important, with rank and status associated with higher positions in space. Thus, only those of lower rank were buried at ground level.

Another important change was from a communal marker, such as a grave post, to a headstone. Memorial poles were previously a way to indicate a person's high status, and further, usually contained remains of more than one person. However, a headstone became a way to demonstrate material wealth[93] and became a greater expense than the carving of a pole had been (Blackman, 1973, p. 51). What did not change, however, was the importance of remembering the deceased; this is evident from the planning meeting speeches.

6.1.2. Context of Speeches

This planning meeting was one of several[94] leading up to the stonemoving, held in 1971. Such a meeting was important for not only the success of the feast and for discussing practical concerns, such as who would provide and prepare the necessary food, but also for establishing community approval for the event (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 117). The planning meeting took place at Rose and Alfred Davidson's home, the daughter and son-in-law of Peter Hill. Stearns (1981, p. 274) notes that around two dozen attendees were present at the planning meeting and that fourteen of these individuals gave speeches. However, according to the list provided by Marianne Ignace (personal communication, March 26, 2021), presented in Table 10, there were only twelve speakers, or perhaps only twelve that were recorded. Along with the names of the

[93] During one of our sessions Lawrence Bell (personal communication, February 26, 2019) remarked on one individual whose grave is marked with two headstones, as the family decided that the initial stone was too small and had an additional one made.

[94] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, July 5, 2020) noted that it was not uncommon to have more than one meeting to plan a stonemoving; such meetings could be of differing levels of formality.

speakers at the planning meeting, relational context important for the following discussion is presented in Table 10, indicating the relationship of the orators to Peter Hill in the order in which they spoke at the planning meeting.

Table 10: Orators and relationship to Peter Hill

Name	Relationship or Role	*K̲'waalaa* (Moiety/Clan)	*Gwaayk'aang* (Lineage/Tribe)
Alfred Davidson	Daughter's husband	Yáahl (Raven)	Daadans Yahgu 'láanaas
Ethel Jones	Niece (wife's brother's daughter)	Yáahl	Kún 'láanaas
Florence Davidson	Advisor	Yáahl	Daadans Yahgu 'láanaas
Willie Russ, Sr.	"younger brother" (lineage mate of husband of wife's brother's daughter)	Yáahl	Stl'ang 'láanaas
Adam Bell	Head of G̲aw Yahgu 'láanaas	Yáahl	G̲aw Yahgu 'láanaas
Percy Brown	Advisor	Yáahl	Yáahl naas Yahgu 'láanaas
Eddie Jones	Advisor; speak directly to ethnographer	G̲úud (Eagle)	Tsiij Git'ans
Charlotte Marks	Advisor	Yáahl	Kún 'láanaas (janáas)
Peter Jones	Husband of wife's brother's daughter (Ethel Jones)	Yáahl	Stl'ang 'láanaas
Amanda Edgars	Advisor	G̲úud	Ts'aa.ahl 'láanaas
Mary Lee Stearns[95]	Ethnographer	--	--
Rose Davidson	Daughter	G̲úud	K'aawas

Information from Marianne Ignace (personal communication, March 26, 2021; May 11, 2021), Lawrence Bell (personal communications, April 12, 2021; May 10, 2021), and Stearns (1981, p. 272)

While some of these individuals spoke in their capacity as co-hosts (Rose and Alfred Davidson and Mary Lee Stearns), others spoke in an advisory capacity as members of the older generation (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, April 12, 2021). Typically, it would fall to the Kún 'Láanaas, as members of Peter Hill's *gwaayk'aang*, or tribe, to contribute goods and money to plan the stonemoving feast

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[95] I did not have a recording of this speech and, as such, it was not transcribed for this project

(Stearns, 1981, p. 267). However, at the time of the planning, there were few members of the Kún 'Láanaas, so it fell to family members to host (Stearns & Stearns, 1978; Boelscher, 1989, p. 56). However, as Rose was of the opposite moiety, it was necessary to find other Yáahl representatives to assist. As Alfred Davidson notes (Stearns & Stearns, 1978), Rose reaches out to Emily Abrahams and Ethel Jones for advice. Both of them also happen to be Ravens; Emily is Kyanuusilee, and Ethel is Kún 'Láanaas (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, May 10, 2021). At the time, both Ethel and Emily were viewed as the respective Elders of their clans (Boelscher, 1989, p. 57); as Stearns (1981) and Boelscher (1989, p. 56) note, age was a determining factor in being appointed to this role, given the paucity of clan members at this time. As well, members of other Raven gwaayk'aang stepped in to assist with the planning.

6.2. Speech Structure

Speechmaking, as a public form of discourse with social and political import, demonstrates careful word choice on the part of the orators as well as use of formulae and a specific structure. In the speeches that take place at this planning meeting, as well as that given by Chief Wiiaa at the stonemoving feast, the structure identified by Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 121) is evident. Examples of each of the nine structural elements which she identifies will now be discussed.[96] An examination of these elements considering their social and political functions follows.

6.2.1. Thanking the Host and Audience

Present in all the speeches examined here are expressions of thanks on the part of the speaker. As Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 122) notes, such thanking is often expressed using formulaic expressions. These naturally include the word *háw'aa*, 'thank you', but are also more complex.

In addition to general thanks, it is also common for hosts to thank guests for attending, including expressing thanks for the number of guests (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 122). Such is seen in several of the speeches. For example, Alfred Davidson, one of the hosts of the stonemoving, opens his speech in this way, as shown in Example

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[96] Two of these, 'thanking the host and audience' and 'reiterating thanks' are combined

46. He first expresses thanks on behalf of Mary Lee Stearns in lines one and two, perhaps doing some face-saving work on her part.

1 k̲'angguudaang, (0.26) d(a)láng (0.75) DA'AS an
  kindness   2.PL.OBJ   have for

  'll   únsad-s-ii   k̲yáan uu, (0.19)
  3.SG.SBJ   know-PR-INV however FOC

  'She knows that you have kindness, but still'

2 Ga uu ahl daláng   skúulang-saang
  NEG FOC with 2.PL.OBJ   to be gathered in a crowd-FUT

  'll   xunda-gan. (0.95)
  3.SG.SBJ   presume-NEG

  'She didn't think so many of you would turn out (at this gathering)'

3 'wáagyaan, tliisdluu[97] ahl an
  and then   how much   with for

  x̲angalaa-s-ii   uu sG̲awdga >daláangaa,<[98] (1.48)
  to be pleased with-PR-INV FOC for   2.PL.OBJ

  díi   gudáng-ee kíilagaa >G̲usláang.< (1.06)
  1.SG.SBJ   mind-DEF   to thank very

  'I am feeling very thankful that so many have turned out (for this planning meeting), and in my mind I'm still thankful'

Example 46: Alfred Davidson thanks guests

Following this, he goes on to express his thanks for how many people have come to the planning meeting in line three. Such recognitions also serve to do face-saving work. As Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 122) notes, "in order to not lose face, the host will usually pretend to count on few people to turn up and then express surprise when the feast hall, in fact, is full."

Such references at the planning meeting also serve to set up this face-saving for the later feast. This is seen in Adam Bell's speech, excerpted in Example 47. In lines one through three, he cautions that the hosts should prepare for not all invitees to attend.

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[97] Expressing degree of happiness and thankfulness

[98] Feeling very thankful

1	'Wáagyaan		gin	sG̱wansan,		ga	sG̱wansang
	and then		things	one		some	one

	asán	uu	an	tla G̱iihlgiidaa		kilaagang.aa.gang (1.57)
	also	FOC	for	to prepare oneself		need to be

'And we should prepare for the no shows.'[99]

2	Asgée	time-gee	>gud	ga.< (0.21)	gin	tl'
	these	time-DEF	one another	some	things	3.PL.OBJ

	hálaa-s-ii		dluu, (1.43)	
	to give a feast-PR-INV		so then, when, if	

'During these kinds of feasting occasions'

3	Tliisdluu	tl'aa	an	hlG̱aayan	dluu,
	how much	but	for	be called, invited	so then, when, if

	'wáadluwaan	gam	asan	istl'a'a-ng-gang-gwaa. (2.43)
	all	NEG	also	to arrive-NEG-PRES-EMPH

'Not all that are invited also show up/attend.'

Example 47: Adam Bell does preparatory face-saving work

Remarks of this type allow for thankfulness to be expressed later, at the feast, when many people do attend. The statement in line three also underscores the importance of being present when one is expected to. On several occasions, Lawrence Bell (personal communications, 2019-2021) mentioned how strong a statement it was for someone to not show up when they were expected. Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 121) further notes that not being present when one's attendance is expected conveys "withdrawal of support for the host" of the event.

Other speeches from the planning meeting provide additional ways in which orators thank those in attendance. For example, Ethel Jones, the second speaker of the evening, echoes her thanks to attendees and extends this by saying that those who have attended have demonstrated their respectable character by doing so; this is seen in lines one through three of Example 48.

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[99] Referring to people preparing for empty chairs, which is not a good sign when you have empty chairs. (Lawrence Bell, personal communication to M. Ignace, March 2021)

1   Ladies and gentlemans, (0.33)   Hlaa   hánsan (.)

                                                1.SG.SBJ   also

      daláng   aa   kil'láa-saang. (1.30)

      2.PL.OBJ   to   to thank-FUT

      'Ladies and gentlemans, I too would like to thank you'

2   Tlagw uu   díi   'll   <u>káa</u>   gid   áayaad, (.)

      how   FOC   1.SG.POSS   3.SG.OBJ maternal uncle child   today

      daláng gin   <u>x</u>ajuus   kihl   gingáan

      2.PL.OBJ thing requesting   in the language of   like

      daláng <u>x</u>ajuus   aa   guu   daláng

      2.PL.OBJ requesting   for   this   2.PL.OBJ

      aa   HI   kil 'láa-gang (0.89)

      PP   1.SG.SBJ   to give thanks-PRES

      'That my uncle's child[100] asked you all to be here, and I thank you all for that'

3   Anáa   daláng is   daláng   'wáadluwaan

      inside a building 2.PL.SBJ to be 2.PL.SBJ   all of you

      gu   gudgadáa-ng. (0.53)

      there be respectable-PRS

      'All of you who are here tonight, you are all respectable'

4   'Wáagyaan   áasgee sangee (.)   gud,   (0.50)   daláng t'alang

      and then   this   evening   one another   2.PL.OBJ 1.PL.SBJ

      kil isdaal-gang-s   gingaan daláng istl'aa-s

      to walk.pl-PRES-PTCP   like   2.PL.OBJ to arrive.PL-PTCP

      Hlaa   hánsan, (0.39)

      1.SG.SBJ also

      'And this evening, for making you walk around and about as we asked you all to do, (you all are busy going about what we asked you to do). I also want to thank you for this.'

Example 48: Ethel Jones thanks guests

She also offers additional thanks in line four, noting the work that everyone in attendance has been doing for the upcoming stonemoving and feast. This excerpt also demonstrates two other important features of oratory: reference to kinship relations, in line two, and drawing attention to the respectability of the guests for their attendance in line three. Such elements will be discussed further in subsequent sections.

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[100] Here she is referring to Rose Davidson, per Lawrence Bell (personal communication, September 13, 2019).

Other speakers include more elaborate thanks. For example, in the closing of her speech Florence Davidson thanks Mary Lee Stearns directly, as shown in Example 49. Here, Florence Davidson uses the term of endearment, *guudee*[101], as well as the Haida name that was given to Mary Lee Stearns, *Jaad gu Sáandlaans*, 'the woman of the dawn'.

1	Háw'aa	guudée, (0.20)	háw'aa, (0.83)	Jaad gu Sáandlaans.
	thank you	dear one	thank you	

'Thank you, dear one, thank you, Jaad gu Sáandlaans'

Example 49: Florence Davidson thanks Mary Lee Stearns

Here, the repetition of thanks reinforces the respect for her as a host and serves to elevate her status (Boelscher, 1989, p. 86).

Amanda Edgars' speech also illustrates the use of thanks to demonstrate respect, this time to the guests at the planning meeting. She opens her speech by thanking both the guests and one of the hosts, Rose Davidson. In line one of Example 50, her use of the phrase *xaadaa 'laasii*, 'good people', is notable. As Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 122) notes, this phrase is a formulaic expression used to show respect.

1		Díi	hánsan	daláng	aa	(.)	<u>kílag-ee</u>
		1.SG.SBJ	too, also	2.PL.OBJ	to, in		to give thanks
		gudánggang		xaadaa	'láa-sii (0.28)		
		to want to		people	to be good-DEF		

'I, too, would like to thank you, you good people'

2	[Alfred Davidson]	Háw'aa (0.68)
		'Thank you'

Example 50: Amanda Edgars thanks guests and Rose Davidson

In addition to the use of this formulaic expression, the response in line two is noteworthy. While relatively infrequent in the speeches discussed here, Lawrence Bell notes that such a response would have been the norm, as acknowledging a speaker's words is important, more so than any perceived interruption (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, February 20, 2020). Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 122) also calls attention

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[101] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, March 1, 2021) notes that this is an endearment term that older people would use with adult children

to this acknowledgement of thanks by the host (recall that Alfred Davidson is a co-host of this gathering), also mentioning that the rest of the audience members would nod to indicate their approval of the speaker's words.

Amanda Edgars also reiterates her thanks throughout the speech, as is expected (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 122). As shown in Example 51, she again uses the formulaic expression x̲aadaa 'láasii, and then extends this with the use of *díi t'awlangsii*, 'my good and dear friends'.

1 Tl'a   X̲aadaa k̲uyaa   is-ii   'láa   is-ii
   3.PL.OBJ people   precious   to be-TOP   3.PL.OBJ to be-TOP

   díi   tawlang   is-ii (0.85)
   1.SG.POSS   friend, relative.PL   to be-tOP

   'those precious people, my kinfolk and close friends'

Example 51: Amanda Edgars reiterates thanks

The term *tawáa* (or *tawíi*, plural *tawlang*, *tuulang*), in addition to being used to reference close friends, can also be used to address clan relatives. By using this expression, Amanda Edgars emphasizes the close relationship she has with those in attendance. Here, and throughout her speech, Lawrence Bell (personal communication, February 20, 2020) notes that she uses many endearment terms.

6.2.2. Showing Respect to Host and Audience by Indicating their High Status

In addition to thanking guests for their attendance, it is also expected that orators will indicate the high status of guests and publicly demonstrate their respectable character. While in some cases, as in Ethel Jones's statement in Example 48, the character of guests is more directly referenced, it is more common for this to be more subtly conveyed. Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 123), for example, notes that this is often accomplished via rhetorical devices such as inversion of the speaker's own status; formulaic expressions can also be used to demonstrate respect. One such expression has already been seen in Amanda Edgar's use of x̲aadaa 'láasii, 'good people' in Example 50.

Inversion of one's own status requires subtle negotiation. Care must be taken not to "overdo it" by putting oneself down too much in the attempt to elevate guests and hosts. Otherwise, the speaker risks losing face (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, January 27, 2020; Boelscher Ignace, 1989, p. 71). Such elevation of the host's status is demonstrated in Example 52, where Alfred Davidson references Mary Lee Stearns. In lines one and two, he defers to her regarding the choice of a design for Peter Hill's headstone.

1	'wáadluu,		'láa		Hl		súud(a)-gan,	
	then		3.SG.OBJ		1.SG.SBJ		say, tell-DPST	

dáng	uu	ahljíi	an	unsad-jahlii-gaa. (0.39)	an
2.SG.SBJ	foc	that	for, to	to know-exceedingly-	for, to

díi unsad-sii t'algan	uu
1.SG.OBJ to know-more than	FOC

an	dáng	unsiid-ang. (0.42)
for, to	2.SG.SBJ	to know-PRES

'And that is what I said to her, you know it the best, more about this than I do'

2	Tlagw	an	dáng	gudang-sii	gingáan
	how	for, to	2.SG.SBJ	understand-	like

tlagw	>gin	is-dii<. (1.56)
how	things	do-IMP

'You know more about this than I do – you choose the design'
(he is placing his trust in her)

'Do exactly how you feel about it (how you feel it should be done)'

Example 52: Alfred Davidson elevates Mary Lee Stearns's status

However, that Mary Lee Stearns really does know more about an appropriate headstone design is debatable. While she may have more book knowledge of such designs, it is likely that Alfred Davidson has a good deal of insider knowledge. Thus, a deferential statement like the one Alfred Davidson makes serves to elevate Mary Lee Stearns's status and demonstrate his respect for her, by indicating that he trusts her judgement with such an important matter as that of a headstone design.

This type of subtle negotiation is also at work in excerpts like that from Ethel Jones in Example 53. In line one she elevates Alfred Davidson's status by mentioning his "big words" as compared to her "little words".

1	Alfred	gyaa	Hlaa	asan	gyáagan		
		POSS	1.SG.SBJ	also	1.SG.POSS		

da-xasgiidang°[102] (1.41)
CAUS-CL.put in place

I'm putting my little words up against Alfred's big words

2	DAMÁAN	UU	GUDÁANG	'láa		isgyaan (0.39)
	well, properly	foc	one's mind	to be happy		and

gudáang	xideed	(0.78)	gud	káajgiid	dang
one's mind	under		each other	meet.PRS	2.SG.OBJ

an	suus	uu	t'aláng	áandang-°gang° (0.28)
REFL	say	FOC	1.PL.SBJ	feel-PRES

'We are having happiness and humility coming together (that is what we're feeling tonight)'

Example 53: Inversion of status by Ethel Jones

In elevating Alfred's status, Ethel is also subtly working to gain respect and show that she is *yahgudangáa*, or deserving of respect (Boelscher Ignace, 1989, p. 70-71). Being yahgudaangáa means both knowing what high-status behaviours are and appropriately demonstrating such behaviours (Boelscher Ignace, 1989, p. 71). In addition to inversion of status, establishing kinship links is an important way to demonstrate yahgudáng, to respect someone, think highly of someone; it is to this topic that the discussion now turns.

6.2.3. Establishing Kinship Links with Host

Referring to kinship relationships is important in the context of oratory as it legitimizes the speaker and their words and indicates their social status (Boelscher, 1989, p. 86; Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 123). Such reference to kinship ties is also strategic and carefully negotiated to demonstrate such legitimacy. This is aided by the Haida kinship system being a classificatory[103] one, which allows for more than one person to be referred to by the same kin term. Thus, when someone refers to their *gáagee*, mother's brother, they can be using this term in a literal sense or in a

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[102] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, September 13, 2019) noted that this was an interesting choice of words.

[103] The categorization of the two broad types of kinship systems, descriptive and classificatory, is attributed to anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1871). While the underpinnings of his analysis are problematic (e.g., taking the view that such kinship terminology reflects an evolution from "barbarism" to "civilization"; pp. vi-vii), the distinction between descriptive and classificatory kinship systems is still found to be generally accurate.

classificatory sense to reference a more indirect connection. For example, consider the extract in Example 54. Here, Ethel Jones, Peter Hill's niece, references her relationship to Rose Davidson, one of the hosts, in line one.

1	Tlagw	uu	díi	<u>k̲áa</u>	gid	áayaad, (.)
	but	FOC	1.SG.POSS	maternal uncle	child	today

	daláng	gin	x̲aadjuus	kihl	gingáan
	2.PL.OBJ	thing	requesting	speak	like

	daláng	x̲aadjuus	aa	gu	daláng
	2.PL.OBJ	requesting	this	there	2.PL.OBJ

	aa	Hl	kil 'láa-gang (0.89)
	FOR	1.SG.SBJ	to give thanks-PRS

'That my uncle's child[104] asked you all to be here, and I thank you all for that'

→	2	Anáa	daláng	is	daláng	'wáadluwaan
		inside a building	2.PL.SBJ	to be	2.PL.SBJ	all of you

	gu	gudgadáa-ng. (0.53)
	there	be respectable-PRS

'All of you who are here tonight, you are all respectable'

Example 54: Kinship terms referenced in Ethel Jones's speech

However, note that Ethel not only refers to the co-host, Rose, but also ties in her relationship, and Rose's relationship, to Peter Hill. In her thanks, she refers to Rose as *díi k̲áa gid*, 'my uncle's child'. In doing so, she strategically chooses the most appropriate kinship reference for the situation.

This strategic negotiation of possible kinship terms is a common feature of the speeches. Consider, for example, the extract from Charlotte Marks in Example 55. Charlotte Marks, a member of the Kún 'Láanaas, refers to Rose as *díi dáa gid*, "my brother's child".

→	1	Aanaa	díi, (1.21)	dáa[105]	gid	(0.18)
		next door	1.SG.POSS	one's brother	child	

	daláng	an	Hl	hlG̲aay (.)-gan (call). (0.62)
	2.PL.OBJ	for, to	1.SG.SBJ	to call-DPST

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[104] Here she is referring to Rose Davidson, per Lawrence Bell (personal communication, September 13, 2019).

[105] Lachler (2010, p. 44) notes that *dáa* is only used to refer to a female's relatives.

'And so I thank you all for heeding my brother's daughter's call [by coming here to the house].'

2	gu (.)	daláng	istl'aaG̱ujuusii	sG̱awd (0.15) ga	kil'laa-sii (0.47)
	there	2.PL.OBJ	to arrive (PL.)	in exchange for	to thank-FOC

'I thank you all for attending (for being here).'

saa nang íitl'aagadaas	hansan sang	Hl	kil(.)'láa-gang. (1.41)
God	also	1.SG.SBJ	to thank-PRS

'And I also thank the Lord.'

Example 55: Charlotte Marks kinship reference

Here, she is making such a reference to Peter Hill being her brother in a classificatory sense, rather than a biological one, as he is also a member of the Kún 'Láanaas, but not a child of the same parents. This stresses her relationship to Peter Hill and serves to legitimize her words. As well, note how she also uses such a reference to strategically tie in her relationship to one of the hosts, Rose Davidson.

Further ways that kinship links can also be established via reference to one's relationship to the person being honoured are shown in Wille Russ, Sr.'s speech. Here, he refers to Peter Hill as *díi k'wáay*, 'my elder brother'. This is shown in line four in Example 56.

1	Haay	hak'wan áa	díi	k'wáay,[106] (0.45)
	intj	anyway one's own	1.SG.POSS	one's older same-sex sibling

k'utal-ee	gu	G̱iida-ng. (1.47)
death-DEF	there	to be thus-PRS

And so it's the same situation with my older brother's passing (his death)

2	'wáagyaan	ÁAYAAD	uu,	(1.11)
	and then	today	FOC	

tliisiidluu, (0.31)	'láa	G̱adee
up to this point	3.SG.OBJ	about

daláng, (0.43)	k̲awgée	uu
2.PL.OBJ	talk	FOC

'And so today, up to this point, this is not the last time for you folks to talk about him'

---

[106] Can also refer to one's older same-sex cousin (Lachler, 2010, p. 216)

3	>áa	wéed	sang-ee	asan	‘láa	an
	this	now	day-DEF	also	3.SG.OBJ	for

‘láa	gudaa	tl'a	isis,<
3.SG.OBJ	each other	3.PL.OBJ	be

this is the time we say anything we have to say

→ 4

díi	k'wáay,	(0.44)
1.SG.POSS	one's older same-sex sibling	

díi	dúun	na-waas
1.SG.POSS	one's younger same-sex sibling	live

aa, (0.84)	gudaa	tl'aa	isis, (0.39)
at	each other	3.PL.SBJ	be

'We are gathered at my younger brother's house to honour my older brother.'

Example 56: Willie Russ, Sr. kinship reference to Peter Hill

Such reference also demonstrates the potentially complex and intricate nature of kinship links. Marianne Ignace (personal communication, May 11, 2021), for example, notes that Wille Russ Sr. likely refers to Peter Hill as being his older brother because both his father and Peter Hill's father were members of the same clan. Such a relationship further has a particular term, *Gud ahl ḵiiwaa*, 'born together'.

In addition to referencing the hosts and honoured person via kin terms, speakers also frequently refer to one another using kin terms. For example, references to what an "elder brother" has already said or what a "younger brother" will speak about next are common. Consider the extract in Example 57, which occurs at the beginning of Adam Bell's speech. As was noted in Table 10, Willie Russ, Sr. spoke immediately prior to Adam Bell. Thus, this is who Adam Bell references in line two when he mentions *díi k'wáay*, 'my elder brother.' [107] Here, according to Lawrence Bell, one of Adam Bell's sons, the term is used based on the age difference between Adam Bell and Willie Russ (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, April 12, 2021; May 10, 2021) and thus demonstrates respect. When there are few clan members remaining, age can be a determining factor in selecting a kinship term (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

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[107] More precisely, the term references an older, same-sex sibling or certain cousins. When a male uses the term, it can, in addition to an elder brother, refer to an elder cousin who is son of the speaker's mother's sister or son of the speaker's father's brother. However, if a female were to use this term, it would refer to either an elder sister or an elder cousin that is either daughter of the speaker's mother's sister or of the speaker's father's brother (Lachler, 2010, p. 94).

	1	Hlaa	hánsan	wéed (0.27)		
		1.SG.SBJ	too, also	now		

I too would like to-

→	2	Áajii	tlaguu	díi		
		this	how	1.SG.POSS		

		k'waay		súudaa-s-ii	uu, (1.83)
		one's older same-sex sibling		say-PTCP-TOP	FOC

'What my elder brother is saying about this'

	3	Áa	uu	tlagw	uu	hánsan
		this	FOC	how	FOC	too, also

		aa	kihl'láa-gang	áa, (1.64)
		for	to say-PRS	PP

'And it could also be said this way'

Example 57: Adam Bell kinship reference

As has been demonstrated, relational mentions are frequent in the speeches discussed here, with all but one of the speakers referring to such relationships. Such absence of reference is potentially notable, as not saying something that is expected carries meaning as well (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 121).

As the stonemoving is being co-hosted by Mary Lee Stearns, Rose Davidson, and Alfred Davidson, it would be expected that the relationships mentioned would be those to one of these individuals. The exception, being, of course, Mary Lee Stearns, as a white woman. While she does not have any kinship relationships that speakers can mention, care is also taken to acknowledge her role as a co-host. For example, Eddie Jones, whose speech is delivered mainly in English, refers to Mary Lee Stearns's having received a name from the Kún 'Láanaas; this extract is provided in Example 58. Here, Eddie Jones refers to the translation of Mary Lee Stearns's name, "woman of the dawn" in lines two and three.

1   You belong to my wife's family in that you are in the tribe
2   You're the woman of the dawn, which describes it
3   This is your name-woman of the dawn-which I think is a very
    fine name which you do respect

Example 58: Including Mary Lee Stearns in host recognition

Prior to this, he has attempted to include Mary Lee Stearns in the larger kinship network by referencing in line one that she "…belong[s] to [his] wife's family in that [she] is in the tribe". While the specifics of such a reference are unclear (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, May 17, 2021), the strategic motivation for such a mention is clear. Again, this serves to legitimize Mary Lee Stearns's participation as a host of Peter Hill's stonemoving feast.

6.2.4. Citing Accomplishments of Host or Person Honoured

Another feature common in speeches, especially at a memorial feast such as the one being planned for Peter Hill, is referring to accomplishments (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 125). Indeed, care is taken by orators to acknowledge Peter Hill's contributions to the community. Lawrence Bell (personal communication, Jun 14, 2021) mentioned that Peter Hill, indeed, dedicated many years to various types of community work. Willie Russ, Sr. discusses these types of work in general terms, as shown in Example 59. Here, he describes how Peter Hill played an active role in bettering the community by helping to guide the community.

1	Áajii	'Ilngée,	(1.09)	dlaa	'll	ḵaga lagée
	this	village		behind	3.SG.SBJ	guide along

	uu,	(0.53)	Gin	ga	'll	hál-daal-giinii[108] (1.34)
	FOC		thing	any	3.SG.OBJ	feast-in formation-USIT

'And so in this village (community) he helped try to make the village run smoothly (better)'

Example 59: Wille Russ, Sr. Recognizes Peter Hill's Contributions

Later in his speech, after describing the memorial doing in Prince Rupert for a high-ranking individual, he returns to summarize Peter Hill's accomplishments, as shown in Example 60, mentioning that Peter Hill was a leader in the community. Lawrence Bell (personal communication, March 2021) elaborated on this, noting that Peter Hill was more of a moral compass for people, as opposed to being an elected official.

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[108] *háldaal* = guiding community events (feasts and potlatches). Lawrence Bell (personal communication, 2021) explained the context as follows: Peter Hill was acknowledged for being a pillar of the community by guiding and giving direction for how events should be conducted. He was not necessarily in a formal leadership position on council or in the hereditary sense, but as Willie Russ, Sr., explained in his speech, he was an important leader behind the scenes.

1 | Gin | 'wáadluwaan (.) | áajii | lngée… | k'wáay, (0.36)
thing | all | | this | village | one's older same-sex sibling

díi | k'wáay | (0.87) | iij-an,
1.SG.POSS | one's older same-sex sibling | | to be-DPST

k̲aa-isdadáalgan | sda | uu, (0.27) | iitl' | sda | homegaagan. (0.39)
to go, guided along | from | FOC | 1.PL.OBJ | from | went home

'Everything in this village, he was my older brother. He guided that movement along' (as opposed to being chief, he was our leader right up to the end and then he went home away from us.)

Example 60: Willie Russ, Sr. summarizes Peter Hill's accomplishments

That this summary comes after the description of another memorial doing, that of a high-ranking person, also serves to draw a parallel between Peter Hill's status in the community and this person of high rank. While he made many contributions to the community, Peter Hill was not high-ranking; that is, he was not in line for any titles or high names (Stearns, 1981, p. 271). However, as seen in Example 61, Willie Russ, Senior's statements, made earlier in his speech, allude to Peter Hill's status.

1 | Láa | an | daláng | unsad-G̲ujuu-waa-ng, (0.52) Chester Nelson
| 3.SG.OBJ | REFL | 2.PL.SBJ | know-AUX.very-PL-PRS

hin | uu | 'láa | tl' | kya'áadaang. (0.61) ((cough))
thus | FOC | 3.SG.OBJ | 3.PL.SBJ | to be named-

'And you all know who he is, Chester Nelson was his name'

2 | Nang | x̲aadaa | saa G̲id | uu | 'll | iij-an. (1.59)
one | person | high ranking | FOC | 3.SG.SBJ | to be-DPST

'He was a high-ranking person'

3 | K̲'AADEED | gin | ga | tl' | hálaa-s
Seawards | thing | PP | 3.PL.SBJ | feast-PTCP

'wáadluwan, | (2.06) | gú | 'll | isda-giinii.
all | | there | 3.SG.SBJ | to be-USIT

'All the events that are happening out there on the mainland, (Prince Rupert) he attended them there.'

4 | St. Andrew Cathedral | AA | UU | 'll (0.77)
| | at | FOC | 3.SG.SBJ

stlakingaan-x̲ansgiid-an (1.82)
piano-to V for a long time-DPST

'He played the keyboard at St. Andrew Cathedral for a long time (for different events)'

5	'wáagyaan	uu	gee sda, (0.90) hál…	gin ga tl' háldaasii
	and then	FOC	then from	he guided public events

'WAADLUUWAN ÁA	(0.36)	nang	xaadaas	an	'll
all		one	person	for, to	3.sg.sbj

gin	stlakingaang	gwa:::-nggan, (1.66)
thing	piano (organ)	around-DPST

'And from then on, this man played the organ for all his different public events, he went <u>everywhere</u>'

Example 61: Willie Russ, Sr. alludes to Peter Hill's high status

For example, just as Chester Nelson contributed by playing keyboard in the church and organ for public events, Peter Hill contributed by serving as a lay reader and choir member in the church and as a member of the Church Army (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 125-126; Lawrence Bell, personal communication, June 14, 2021).

Other speakers, including Amanda Edgars, Peter Jones, and Eddie Jones, refer to Peter Hill's role as a teacher. Example 62, while indicating that Peter Hill served as a teacher, also subtly demonstrates inversion. After stating that Peter Hill was a teacher in line one, Amanda Edgars goes on to note that she would be happier had she gone to school longer in line two.

1	Peter Jones		hat'an	súu-gan	gingáan
			lately	to speak-DPST	like

hat'an	iitl'	gyaa	teacher-gee	uu	íij-an. (1.09)
lately	1.PL.OBJ	POSS	teacher-DEF	FOC	to be-DPST

'As Peter Jones said lately, he [Peter Hill] was our teacher'

2	Áajii	dii-	sch-	school-gaa	jingaagaa-sii	dluu. (0.24)	áayaad
	this	1.SG.SBJ		school-to	a long time-AREA	while	today

uu (.)	áatlan	díi	>gudan-gee<	°'láa-	hlangaa-gang°(0.88)
FOC	here	1.SG.OBJ	mind, feelings-DEF	to be happy	to be able to-PRS

'If I had gone to school here longer, I would be happy with myself today'

3	'Wáagyaan	gin (0.46)	sḵ'aadee	áatlan	iitl'
	and then	thing	learn	here	1.PL.OBJ

sG̱únaan	uu	one week	°aa	Hl	school-gaa-gan° (0.71)
only	FOC		for, to	1.SG.SBJ	school-DPST

'And so I went to school here only for one week'

4	Wáagyaan	tliisiidluu, (0.60)	AN	'll	isdaa-gudang-gan (0.51)
	and then	up to this point	REFL	3.SG.SBJ	to do-try-DPST

	yank'yan	tl'a	sdáng	uu, (1.49)
	really	but	two	FOC

'And so he really tried hard (making effort to be in a leadership role), really there was only two'

5	Gyaas	uu	'll	dla-tis[109]	tl'
	POSS	FOC		INST.body	3.SG.SBJ

	sdang	uu	sda	xiinangaa-gang (1.90)
	two	FOC	from	be alive-PRS

'There were only two that he was amongst, and only two are left'

Example 62: Amanda Edgars uses inversion when mentioning Peter Hill's accomplishments

Note how, in the first two lines, she elevates Peter Hill by speaking low of herself. These lines suggest that, as Peter Hill was a teacher, he was more educated than Amanda Edgars, who, as she notes in line three, only went to school for a week. As well, she employs careful word choice in line two to avoid seeming like she is bragging. Rather than saying that she would be smarter had she attended school longer, she says that she would be happy with herself (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, February 10, 2020).

6.2.5. Citing Host's (or Honoured Person's) Entitlements via Hereditary Names

While not found in the speeches given at the planning meeting, such mentioning of hereditary names is demonstrated in the speech given by Chief Wiiaa, Willie Matthews, at the stonemoving feast. As shown in line one of Example 63, he first notes that Peter Hill came from a long line of Kún 'láanas.

1	'Wáagyaan	gwaayk'aang	i'waan
	and then	clan	big

	salii	uu	'll	GYA'AANG-gan. (1.51)
	memory	FOC	3.SG.SBJ	stand-DPST

'His memory stands behind a big clan,'

---

[109] amongst a small group dla=body

2   ‘KUN LAANAS (1.68)   ‘ll   kee
                                  3.SG.SBJ   name.DEF

kwaan-gan,   Peter Hill.
to be plentiful-DPST

((140.2 seconds intervening where Peter Hill's roles in the village are discussed))

3   Kugiis   hin   ‘ll   kya'áagan Peter Hill (1.18)
                thus   3.SG.POSS   name
     ‚His name was Kugiis, Peter Hill.'

4   SKIL KAYAAS   hin   uu,   ‘ll   kya'áagan! (1.82)
                    thus   FOC   3.SG.POSS   named
     'His name was Skil k'aayaas'

5   TLAJÁANG   hin   uu,   ll   kya'áagan (1.82)
                         thus   FOC   3.SG.POSS   named
     'Tlajáang was his name'

6   S'AAKS   hin   uu   ‘ll   kya'áagan! (1.73)
                  thus   FOC   3.SG.POSS   named
     'S'aaks was his name'

7   ‘wáajii   ‘ll   káalang   sk'uul-gan. (0.36)
              that   3.SG.SBJ   maternal uncle.PL   many-DPST
     'He had many uncles.'

8   kée,   (0.46)   ‘ll   skil   inggu   ‘láa   iij-an
     name.DEF   3.SG.POSS   feast hat   on   well   to be-DPST

     dánghl   ahl   uu   ‘ll   KAAYD-AN! (1.47)
     together with   with   FOC   3.SG.SBJ to leave, depart, go-DPST

     'And with these names on his feast hat, he walked away.' (refers to him passing on while he rightfully had those names, no one could challenge them on these names)

Example 63: Chief Wiiaa cites Kún 'Láanaas names to reflect high status of Peter Hill

After referencing that Peter Hill held many names, Chief Wiiaa goes on to discuss the varied roles that Peter Hill had within the community, including serving on the band council and participating in the church choir. Such discussion stresses the high regard in which Peter Hill is held in the community. This sets up the following mentions of the clan names that Peter Hill would have been able eligible to hold. As Lawrence Bell notes, these names are not ones that Peter Hill held. Rather, based on his character, and the high regard in which he was held in the community, he could have rightfully worn these

names (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, June 14, 2021). Here, Willie Matthews is reinforcing that Peter Hill had the right to use these names. These names have social and political importance, and in some cases, serve a function more like titles than personal names (Boelscher, 1989, p. 152).

Subtle negotiation is also at work in this speech. As Lawrence Bell notes, Willie Matthews had to take care not to overdo his praise of Peter Hill, as doing so might undermine his position as Chief by causing others to view Peter Hill more highly than him (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, June 14, 2021). His ability to elevate Peter Hill while not downgrading his position demonstrates his diplomacy and illustrates his oratorical skill, which is an important ability for a Chief (Boelscher, 1989, p. 81).

6.2.6. Telling a "story" as a parable or metaphor

Boelscher Ignace (1991, p. 127) comments that speeches may include parables or stories as another way to illustrate the achievements and character of the honoured individual. These either come from stories built on shared experiences or, as is sometimes the case now, Christian parables. Such an instance is seen in Percy Brown's speech at Peter Hill's stonemoving planning, where Percy Brown adapts a Christian parable to illustrate Peter Hill's significant contributions to the community.[110] In Example 64, lines 1-5, Percy Brown describes the differing distribution of water that would occur if water were poured over a large grouping of bottles. This, as he notes in line 6, is a lesson from the Christian Bible.

1	Áajii	kalg (.)	ts'uud-alaa-s	hundred(.)-gee	isiidluu	áa, (0.89)
	this	bottle	small-PL-PTCP		be when	this

'If you put bottles together, maybe 100 or so'

2	G̱an	G̱ándl	tl'aga-sdlaa-s	dlúu	áa, (1.20)
	bucket	water	soak -PTCP	same as	this

'And if you were to pour the same as a bucket of water over that'

---

[110] Even following repeated listening with Lawrence and Marianne, parts of this passage were difficult to make out. Here, Lawrence's translation was relied on rather than morphological glosses.

3   Sk'a   giisdlúu   áa, (.)   Ǥandl   >giisdluu   hlangaang
    CLS.bottle   how much   this   water   how much   AUX.would be

    hin   'll   suu-gan<(1.22)
    thus   3.SG.SBJ say-DPST

    'How much water do you think would go into each of these bottles? He said'

4   Húu tl'iigang   HÚU tlagwii   Ǥandl tl'aǵaas dlaas   dluu   áa, (0.81)
    there   there   water soak

    'That there are so many bottles that you pour water over'

5   Gam   sǤ'un áatl'an uu (0.28)   gam   >k'un aa giihl
    NEG   one   here   FOC   NEG

    xagang hlangaang waaduu< (0.46) sk'a   sǤwanSANGAA, (.)
            AUX   or   CLS.cup one
    tliigan gahl xaganglangaa (0.96)

    'There wouldn't be too much water in each bottle or one may contain more water than all the others'

    6   Hak'uun uu   aajii   gin, (1.01)   Bible-gee   Ǥids
    like that FOC   this   thing   Bible-DEF   be like that

    sk'aadee   aadanggwa   >hin   'll   suu-gan.< (0.75)
    lesson   thus   so   3.SG.   say-DPST

    'This is a lesson that we see in the Bible'

7   Xutliigan aa,   tl'   gyuulang (.)   sk'úula   uu, (0.91)
                 for   3.PL.USPC listen   to be gathered in a crowd FOC

    'There are so many people listening to all this'

8   Gam   aa   daláng gudanggaa   aadawaanggang. (1.52)
    NEG   this   2.PL.SBJ listen

    'Not all of you are listening to what this lesson is saying (not all of you are paying serious attention)'

9   Tl'aa gwii   Ǥandl' gyahsdlaas   gingaan-uu, (0.64)
    soak   water to pour   like-FOC

    'It's like pouring water over you'

10 Ǥidsii gyaanaan   uu   gam, (.) tliigin k'yaa   uu xaaylang
    Be like and then   FOC   NEG
    gam agan   gin kyang'anggang (1.36)
    NEG
    'There's so many little bottle necks, so many bottles don't get a drop of water in them'

11	'Wáagyaan	(0.55)	iitl'	ḵáa	G̱iidang (1.84)
	and then		1.PL.POSS	maternal uncle	be like

'And this is how our uncle was'

Example 64: Percy Brown illustrates Peter Hill's contributions via a parable

Indeed, this story, which Percy Brown has earlier mentioned he heard from "the preacher", suggests the Christian parable of the sower, where Jesus, in teaching a crowd of people, talks about the differing impact his message will have on those who hear it (*New Revised Standard Version Bible*, 1989, Matthew 12:1-9). Here, the parable is meant to show that Peter Hill, a longtime lay reader in the church (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, January 13, 2020), was someone on whom the message had an impact, evidenced by his service to the community.

6.2.7. Telling an anecdote or joke

Including jokes or personal stories serves the function of lightening the mood of a memorial service. Such jokes, however, are always at the expense of the speaker (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 127; Boelscher, 1989, p. 87). This is highlighted in Charlotte Marks' speech. As shown in Example 65, she pokes fun at herself for getting up too early. In lines two through four, she relates the humorous incident.

1	Jáa,	Wáagyaan	adaahl (0.36)	sahgwii	Hl	x̱anjuu-hla-gan (laugh)
	say!	and then	yesterday	north	1.SG.SBJ	to travel-DPST

huh huh hih HIH hih HIH hih hih hih hih hih .hhh hh

'I went uptown yesterday'

2	$Jáa,	hawaan	five-gaagan	daan	uu	asan	uu
	say!	still	five-be.DPST	while	FOC	also	FOC

Hl   ḵ'áahlaaw-aan!$ hih hih hih hih HIH HIH hih hih hih .hh huh huh HUH
1.SG.SBJ to get up from a rest-IPST
$five-gaagan daan   uu   Hl   ḵ'aahlaaw-aan
five-to be.DPST   FOC   1.SG.SBJ   to get up from a rest-IPST
And yesterday morning, it wasn't even 5am when I went uptown[111] and I got out of bed before 5 (laughing)

---

[111] Misspeaks, according to Lawrence Bell (personal communication, January 15, 2020); she means to say that she got up early, not that she went uptown.

3　　>$Jáa,　aawáa　gas-　　gasáantl'aa　　　uu　　　tlii　　　tl'　　　sang-ée
　　　say!　　mother　how　　　　　　　　　FOC　　so very　　　　　day-DEF

　　　gw　　daa　　　　　dáng　　k'aahlaawaa,< (0.39)
　　　Q　　　2.SG.SBJ　　2.SG.SBJ　to get up

　　　Húu　　tlasnuud　　　five-gaagaa! hih hih hih (0.32)
　　　that　　only　　　　　five-be.DPST

　　　'And her mother says, why are you up so early? It's not even five-o-clock!'

4　　$'Wáag .hh yaan, (.)　　háwsan Hl (.)　　tiis　　　gyaan
　　　and then　　　　　　　　again　　1.SG.SBJ lie down　and

　　　hih hih hih hih hih hih hih HIH! .hhh hih hih hih hih hih HIH HUH! (0.37) .HHHH hhh

　　　huh huh HUH! (.) hih .HHH (.) huh huh (0.12)

　　　'And so I went back to bed in the bedroom'

5　　$Gaawaan, (.)　　tlii　　asan,　　tl'　　　　　　kuunangaa HUH HUH!$ (.)
　　　not yet　　　　　how　　again　　3.sg.uspc　　foolish

　　　'How can one be so foolish!'

6　　$Tliidsguu　　　　sda　　an　　　Hl　　　　　　sangaa-ng$ (0.48)
　　　so very　　　　　from　　REFL　　1.SG.SBJ　　get up early-DPST

　　　'And I got up so early.'

7　　NINE>-gaas　　　dluu　　áa　　dii　　　　　tlii'sangkasaas, (0.83)
　　　nine-be.DPST　　when　　here　　1.SG.OBJ　inform

　　　Gaalgwaa,　　　díi　　　　　　　　an
　　　last night　　　1.SG.OBJ　　　　　REFL

　　　kihlGiihldaa-yaan　　　ilaa　　　uu　　　tl'　　　$five-gaagan　　　　　daan　　uu$
　　　make plans-IPST　　　　different　FOC　　3.PL.SBJ　five-be.DPST　　　　when　　FOC

　　　HIH hih HIH hih hih hih hih hih hih

8　　$Há'waa (.)　　daláng　　　　'waadluuwan
　　　thank you　　　2.PL.OBJ　　　all

　　　uu　　　Hl　　　　　　kil'laagan.　　daláng
　　　FOC　　1.SG.SBJ　　to say-PRS　　2.PL.OBJ

　　　daláng　　kilk'ahgee　　an　　　uu　　　Hl　　　　　　súu hih -gang!$ .hh
　　　2.PL.OBJ　voice-laugh　　for　　FOC　　1.SG.SBJ　　to say-PRS

　　　Thank you.

　　　'Thank you all. I say this to make you laugh. Thank you.'

Example 65: Self-deprecating humour in Charlotte Marks's speech

Following the anecdote, she ends in line five by saying that her intent in the telling was to make others laugh, thereby lightening the mood.

Percy Brown also employs self-deprecating humour in his speech by drawing attention to how he walks, as shown in line two of Example 66.

<table>
<tr><td>1</td><td>Gin</td><td>tliisdluuwaan,(0.50)</td><td></td><td>san-gée</td><td>ḵaatl'áa-sii</td><td>dluu, (0.79)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Thing</td><td>finally</td><td></td><td>day-DEF</td><td>to arrive-PTCP-TOP</td><td>so then</td></tr>
</table>

'So whenever the day arrives'

→ 2 >Tliisdluuwaan   ki-guuyuuwang   da.waan
finally   INST.by poking-flop around CAUS.PST

Hlaa   asan   Gii   agan   ki-guuyuuwang-sang< (0.48)
1.SG.SBJ   also   REFL   INST.by poking-flop around-FUT

'However I'm hobbling along with my cane[112], I'll be there'

Example 66: Percy Brown uses self-deprecating humour

He humorously refers to himself as "flopping around" using his cane but notes that he will be at the memorial feast, whenever it might be held. This stresses his support for the doing, especially since not attending an event where one is expected is a way of signaling disapproval (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 121).

6.2.8. Acknowledgement of the Speech by the Host and Audience

Support for the speaker's words, either verbal or non-verbal, is conveyed by the audience and host throughout the oration. In the stonemoving planning speeches there are fewer verbal instances of such agreement than would likely be present in speeches from an earlier era (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, September 2, 2021), and, unfortunately, as only audio recordings are available, no observations can be made about non-verbal instances.[113]

However, the instances present in the speeches do provide some indication of how such acknowledgement works. As well, certain speakers employ verbal agreement

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[112] The instrumental ki- "with a poking motion of hand" here expresses him using a cane.

[113] While there are only audio recordings of the speeches available, Lawrence Bell (personal communications, 2018-2021) noted on several occasions that he had seen some of Mary Lee Stearns' notes regarding different nonverbal behaviours and their functions.

more than others. For example, Alfred Davidson often uses such agreement; Lawrence Bell notes that he would remember how older speakers did so (personal communication, September 2, 2021). One such instance of verbal acknowledgement is demonstrated in Example 67. Here, Alfred Davidson recognizes Amanda Edgars' thanks in line two.

1		Díi hánsan 1.SG.SBJ too, also	daláng aa (.) 2.PL.OBJ to, in		kílag-ee to give thanks-
		gudánggang one's own mind	xaadaa 'láa-sii (0.28) people to be good-DEF		
→ 2	**Alfred** **Davidson**	Háw'aa (0.68) Thank you			

Example 67: Alfred Davidson acknowledges Amanda Edgars's thanks

Following Amanda Edgars' words of thanks in line one, Alfred Davidson expresses his thanks to her, thereby accepting and acknowledging her words.

Another way that words are acknowledged is via use of the response token *eh*. Addressees use this particle to indicate agreement. For example, consider the extract in Example 68 from Adam Bell's speech. Here, he has been explaining that Mary Lee Stearns wants the stonemoving to take place in the manner that such an event would have taken place when such events were common. In line two, he seeks confirmation from addresses that this is the case.

1		'Wáagyaan tladluu and then long ago	Gagwii uu tladluu very FOC long ago	
		gin ga tl' things people 3.PL.SBJ	ga halaagang-gan do feasting-PST	
		'And so, how they did things long time ago'		
2		'Wáadluu tl'aa uu and then however FOC	tlagw tl' but 3.PL.SBJ	
		tlaahla-giinii 'll gudáng-gang make-USIT 3.SG.SBJ want-PRS		
		'And so she wants things done as how they did them back then (this is what she wants)'		
3	Alfred Davidson	[Ee:=		
4	Adam Bell	((ginaans=))		

5	Alfred Davidson	=YEAH (0.27)					
6	Ethel Jones	°Ee°					
7		'Wáagyaan	tl'aa	uu	tlagw	díi	gudang-gang
		and then	but	FOC	however	1.SG.SBJ	to wish-PRS
		'And so these are my thoughts'					

Example 68: Use of *ee* to indicate agreement

To acknowledge Adam Bell's words and show their agreement, Alfred Davidson and Ethel Jones respond in lines three, five, and six (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, September 2, 2021). In line three, Alfred Davidson overlaps the end of Adam Bell's utterance in line two with the particle *ee*. Adam Bell continues his talk in line four and Alfred Davidson re-iterates his agreement by latching on to this talk with an emphatic 'yeah' in line five. Others also express their agreement, including Ethel Jones in line six.

As Lawrence Bell (personal communication, February 10, 2020) mentions, acknowledging the speaker's words is more important than concerns about interrupting. Rather, this sort of acknowledgement is expected and lack of such could be taken to signify disapproval or lack of support. As well, non-verbal behaviours also indicate approval or disapproval.[114] Some of these, for instance, lack of eye contact, which can indicate disagreement, are subtle. Others are more evident, such as nodding to indicate approval. Relative body position is also important: Turning toward someone is perceived positively, while turning away from someone is perceived negatively (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, January 13, 2020).

6.3. Social and Political Functions

As has been demonstrated, orators carefully negotiate their word choice to achieve specific social and political ends. The following sections examine two themes that exemplify such practices. First, is the deceptively straightforward discussion of selecting a venue for the feast, which features political and social undercurrents and shows careful weighing of words to demonstrate politeness, as conceptualized by Brown

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[114] As only audio recordings of the speeches are available, it is not known if such non-verbal agreement markers are present.

& Levinson (1978/1987). Following this is an examination of the kinship terms used to demonstrate social roles and belonging.

6.3.1. Negotiation at Work: Selecting a Feast Venue

One recurring topic that is addressed in four of the speeches is choosing an appropriate location for the feast. Normally, the community hall would be the venue of choice for such an event. However, at the time it was apparently in a state of disrepair and a nearby school was proposed as an alternative venue. Examining the discussion interwoven in the speeches reveals a subtle negotiation in choosing the location, with discussion about the appropriateness of each location balanced with face-saving work.

Per Brown & Levinson (1978/1987, p. 61), *face* refers to a person's "public self-image" and two desires that a given "model speaker" has, namely 1) the desire to be unrestricted in their speech and action and 2) the desire to gain approval or be accepted by others. These desires, then, are tied to two types of face, respectively: negative and positive. In choosing a particular way of speaking or speech act (e.g., as described by Searle, 1969), a person carefully weighs these two desires. Simplifying the intermediate steps in Brown & Levinson's (1978/1987, p. 60) process, the speaker's choice of how to act results in either positive politeness or negative politeness. Positive politeness is geared toward the feelings of the hearer and focuses on minimizing the distance between speaker and hearer, for example, by emphasizing solidarity or attending to the hearer's wants or needs (Brown & Levinson, 1978/1987, p.101). Negative politeness, on the other hand, recognizes possible distance between participants and respects the desire of the hearer to not have their rights infringed on (Brown & Levinson, 1978/1987, p. 129).[115] Participants use various strategies to accomplish these ends, as will be seen in the following discussion.

Four speakers discuss the use of the school during their speeches: Ethel Jones, Willie Russ, Sr., Peter Jones, and Adam Bell. Ethel Jones, the second to speak at the planning meeting, is the first speaker to introduce the school as a possible venue, as

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[115] Brown and Levinson (1978/1987, p. 55) argue that both types of politeness are cross-culturally similar ways of departing from "some highly rational maximally efficient mode of communication", such as that described by Grice (1967). An examination of whether this argument holds up when looking at X̲aad Kíl is beyond the scope of this discussion; however, it is certainly a matter worth further study.

seen in Example 69. Line one makes it evident that she has proposed the use of the school, advising that she has already arranged with Eugene, the Chief Councilor, to rent it. As one of the few Kún 'Láanaas representatives, and Peter Hill's niece, it is unsurprising that she would take an active role in planning the feast. As well, it appears that she had a take-charge personality, and would not hesitate to take initiative when given the opportunity (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, June 14, 2021; July 5, 2021).

1   WÁJII   SCHOOL   NA-GÉE   uu,   Eugene ahl
       that one (over there)   house-DEF   FOC   with

      (1.37) *the other day*   salda-gan-°gwaa° (0.68)
                             borrow (from NP)-DPST-REFL.Q

      'The other day I asked Eugene to rent it, the school'

2   'Waa   room-gee   tii-hlGunahl-sii (0.73)
       That   room-DEF   IOBJ-three-AREA

      'And there's three rooms in this building'

3   Ná   aa   t'aláng   waahlangaa-s   nee
       house   IOBJ   1.PL.SBJ   to be able-PTCP   house-DEF

      iitl'aangaa   ts'uudala-s   (0.27)
      1.PL.POSS   to be small (PL)-DEF

      ts'uudalaa-sii   Gaganaan (0.57)
      to be small (PL)-AREA   very

      'We could do it in our homes, but our homes are all too small, that's why'

      'Wáagyaan   hall (.) na-gee   asan   (0.15)   tiiwdá(.)-ng (1.25)
      and then   hall-house-DEF   again   to be situated (as a house)-PRS

      'And then there's the hall'

((5.66 seconds omitted, which advise that Mary Lee Stearns has set aside rent money, and that to both pay the rent for the venue and cover other expenses is not a problem))

5   Ahljii   Gaganaan   uu   iitl'   daláng   (0.14)
       that's why   because of   FOC   1.PL.SBJ 2.PL.OBJ

      kiluuhlee (0.17) iitl'   uu   daláng   (0.14)   kiluuhlee (.)
      advice   1.PL.SBJ FOC   2.PL.OBJ   advice

      ga   iitl' (0.35)   kilagang-gang (0.65)
      PP   1.PL.SBJ   need to-PRS
      'And so that's why we need to have your advice on how we should go about this'

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Example 69: Ethel Jones proposes use of school

        Lines two through four provide additional support for the use of the school. In line two, she first introduces one of the features of the school, while line three further expands on the rationale for using the school. Her preference for using the school is further demonstrated in line four, by her lack of comments on the features or merits of the hall, suggesting that she does not view it as a viable option. However, she then broadens the discussion in line five, and three other speakers return to the topic during the planning meeting.

        The next speaker to address the topic is the fourth speaker of the evening, Willie Russ Sr. As someone who has a close relationship to Ethel Jones, via being a lineage mate of her husband, Peter Jones, it is not surprising that he weighs in on this discussion. In his initial remarks about the school, Willie Russ, Sr. demonstrates the use of positive politeness by displaying solidarity with Ethel. Consider line four of Example 71, where Willie Russ, Sr. considers one of the attributes of the school building, namely the larger rooms. Here, Willie Russ orients to Ethel's positive face by subtly indicating that he shares at least some of Ethel's wants (Brown & Levinson, 1978/1987, p. 70).

1		'wáagyaan	gíisgee,	school na-gée	uu (0.39)	tl'
		and then	which	school house-DEF	FOC	3.PL.USPC
		suuda-ng-waa		>t'aagwaa		
		say, tell, mention-PRS-PL		down inlet a short way from ref. point[116]		
		lan	'wáagwaa=<			
		over there				

'And which school are we talking about? The one down at the end?'

2	Rose	°=t'aagwaa	'laa'lg	'wáagwaa°
		down there	3.SG.POSS	over there

		(2.13)
3		.hhh ((cough)) (2.51)

4		Gwaahlang.an	áasgee	room-gee (1.13)
		Correctly, truly	this, these	room-DEF
		ii'waan-gang		t'aagwaag	'wáagwaa. (0.73)
		to be big-PRS		down there	over there

'Indeed, the rooms are larger in the school building down there'

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[116] Hereafter "down there"

Example 70: Willie Russ, Sr. considers the use of the school

However, his support is not unequivocal, as seen in the continuation of his remarks in lines five and seven, shown in Example 71. These two lines express uncertainty about the use of the school, thus potentially threatening Ethel Jones's negative face with a suggestion that the school may not be a better location for the feast than the hall. However, this face threatening act is done off-record, as he aims to minimize the threat to Ethel's negative face.

| 5 | 'wáagyaan | áajii | *hall*-gee | | uu, | (0.59) |
| | and then | this | hall-DEF | | FOC | |

| | gam | tlagw | Gidgee | | | |
| | NEG | however | be like (condition it is in) | | | |

| | an | (.) | díi | | unsiid-ang-gang | |
| | for | | 1.SG.SBJ | | to know-NEG-PRS | |

'And so this hall, I'm not sure what condition it's in.' (I don't know about this hall)

| 6 | **Rose** | ((unclear speech in 158.87-162.47)) (0.6) |

| 7 | Ahljii | uu | 'wáa | gingaan (1.06) | >gam | 'láa'ang< |
| | that one | FOC | that | like | NEG | 3.SG.OBJ.POSS |

| | 'wáagwaa | t'aagwa-sii | school | na-gée | | híik'waan (0.86) |
| | over there | down south-AREA | | building-DEF | | but |

'And so the school building down there may not be better'[117]

| 8 | School | na-gée | 'láa | >jahlii-gang, |
| | | building-DEF | to be good | exceedingly-PRS |

| | 'wáagyaan< (0.29) | | áasgee | tl'aa | uu |
| | and then | | these | 3.PL.SBJ | FOC |

| | dámaan tl' | kihlguulaas (0.54) | gud ga | 'll | kil | gudánggaa (4.39) |
| | well 3.PL | talk | one another | 3.PL.SBJ. | voice hear (understand) |

'The school building is the best, and it's because when they make their speeches they can hear each other.'

| 9 | Yeah, áasgee uu | 'láahlang.aagaa, t'aagwaagee aa (1.45) |

'Yeah, this one would be good, the one at the end of the village.'

Example 71: Willie Russ, Sr. continues discussion of use of the school

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[117] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, October 24, 2019) notes that as the school had three separate rooms, it was not appropriate for a feast.

As well, as Willie Russ continues his remarks in lines five through six, it is clear that he is working to show deference to Ethel by avoiding disagreement. While Brown and Levinson (1978/1987, p. 178) tie deference to the speaker's recognition that the hearer is of a higher social status, here what is shown is a broader deference and a subtle communication that, since Ethel is Peter Hill's niece and a member of the K'un 'laanas, she has more say over where the feast is held than he does.

Adam Bell, the fifth speaker, and the third to mention the school, is the only person who weighs in on the discussion that does not have a close relationship to Ethel. He opens his comments in lines one through three with a demonstration of negative politeness. Rather than openly express clear support or disapproval for using the school, he, like Willie Russ, Sr. before him, begins by hedging. He avoids disagreeing with Ethel's proposal, acknowledging in lines one and two that the school is a good place.

1   Gyáa   gu   tl'   'láa-daa-sii. (2.04)
        where   there   3.PL.SBJ to be good-CAUS-AREA

'Where they're approving it (the site)'

2   'Wáagyaan,   'láa-sii   an   unsadgaa-gang
        and then   to be good-AREA for   to be known-PRES

        T'aagwaa   school na-gée   iitl' áangaa   tíiwada-as, (0.90)
        down inlet   building-DEF   1.PL.POSS   to be situated

                                                            short way from
                                                            ref. point
        'And it's a good place, no question about it, down at the old school'[118] [that it's a good site for the feast]

3   T'aagwaa   yángk'yaan   tl'   'láa-daa-sii. (1.74)
        down there   really   3.PL.USPC   to be good-CAUS-AREA

'That everyone's agreeing that the school down there is good'

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[118] Despite these comments, Lawrence Bell (personal communication, July 2020) notes that he is sensing that the school is not really suitable from his dad's comments.

4	>'Wáagyaan	xaahlgwaa[119]	'laa	naa-sii	gam	tl'
	and then	closer	well	building-AREA	NEG	3.PL.USPC

	tla-skunee'-angan-sii<		uu	díi	gu
	to be clean-NEG-AREA		FOC	1.SG.SBJ	there

	daa guu >wéed	'll	súu-gan.< (2.18)
	now	3.PL.OBJ	to say-PRS

'And the community hall is not cleaned up, so they're agreeing to use the school, and I'm all in favour of it'

Example 72: Adam Bell discusses use of the school

In lines three and four, he simultaneously asserts common ground with those wanting to use the school and subtly distances himself from the proposal. For example, in line three he uses *tl'*, the third person plural unspecified pronoun. This pronoun refers to 'they' or 'people' in a general sense. Thus, it is left open to interpretation whether he is in favour of using the school. In line four, he again uses *tl'*, suggesting that 'they' have already come to an agreement, and he then expresses his approval. However, this approval is conditional: As the hall is in disrepair, he is in favour of using the school. Noticeable in line four due to its absence is the lack of agreement in the background, which would be expected from others at the meeting (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, July 29, 2020).

Perhaps sensing this, he expands his case beginning in line five, shown in Example 73, commenting on the rundown nature of the community hall. Here, he employs English to state that the hall is condemned. As Adam Bell was more fluent in Haida than in English, he likely did this as a way of using 'fancy words' in his speech (Boelscher Ignace, 1991, p. 119, Lawrence Bell, personal communications, 2019-2021)

5	Gam	gin	an	tl'	'láa'-ang-gang (.)	gin
	NEG	thing	REFL	3.PL.USPC	to be good-NEG-PRS	thing

	'láa-sii	dluu	tl'	>*condemned*-aa-ganggaa
	to be good	if	3.PL.USPC	condemned-CAUS-AUX.HAB

	húu	council-gee	ll'	*condemned*-ii-yaagan<
	there near you	council-DEF	3.SG.OBJ	condemned-PST

'It's good for nothing. If it was good for anything, would they condemn it? The council has condemned it [the old hall]'

(0.53)

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[119] Closer by the bearing he is using from Alfred's house

6		'Wáa	k'yaanaan	'láa	tl'
		to do so	however	3.PL.SBJ	3.SG.OBJ

	sG̱aw-hlangaas	dluu	tlasgudiyaa-G̱usdlaang-gwaa=
	to pay rent	if	to do something wrong-very-EXCL

'And if they were to pay rent on it (the hall) that also is very wrong'

7	Alfred Davidson	=mm-mm

(1.25)

8		'Ll	dáang-g̱ang	hín	uu	ahl	kildla'lan-g̱ang. (1.44)
		3.SG.SBJ	throw away-IPST	thus	FOC	with	advise-PRS

'It's thrown away (the hall), they advise us' (as though people are throwing that hall away.)

Example 73: Adam Bell discusses use of the school

In line six, he continues this expansion, noting that it would be wrong to pay money to rent the hall when it was in such poor condition. This, unlike his earlier statements in line four, prompts agreement from Alfred Davidson, shown in line seven.

Adam Bell continues with his remarks about the school in lines nine through thirteen, shown in Example 74. Note that, while Adam Bell is an Elder for another Yaahl lineage (Boelscher, 1989, p. 57), this has little to do with his mentioning of the school (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, July 5, 2021). Rather, he likely addresses the topic for practical reasons. The school proposed as a venue had no kitchen facilities, which would make the preparation and serving of food, a key part of a doing, inconvenient (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, July 5, 2021). However, as Adam Bell's family's home is located close to the school, he advises that his wife, who is Rose's lineage mate (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, July 29, 2020), could provide use of their kitchen, as seen in lines eleven through thirteen.

9		'Wáagyaan, (0.88) .hh		t'aagwaa		'láanaa	áa	isii	dluu, (1.15)
		and then		down there		village	here	to be so	then

'And if you're to use the one (the school) at the end (of the village)'

10		Hín	uu	dáng	g̱a	súudaa	díi	gudang-g̱a, Rose (1.43)
		like that	FOC	2.SG.OBJ	any	to tell	1.SG.SBJ	want-PRS

'I would wish to tell you, Rose'

11	DÁNG	TUUW-II	UU, (0.24)	Ḵ'aad gu áanaa
	2.SG.	relative-PL	FOC	seawards neighbour

tl'aa	uu, (0.60)	t'(a)láng	naahang	dáanggang. (1.44)
but	foc	1.PL.SBJ	live in house.REFL	AUX.PRS

'We are your kinfolk, we just live nearby' (seawards from the school building)

12	'Wáagyaan	gin	an, (1.21)	gyaandee
	and then	thing	for	use

dáng	gudangsii	dluu, (1.33)
2.SG.SBJ	want-PTCP-TOP	if

And whatever you need to use,

13	Dáng	an	ll'	Ḡajuudaa'-sang.=
	2.SG.OBJ	PP	3.SG.SBJ	CLS.keep open-FUT

'She's got it open for your use (kitchen, etc.)' ((referring to his wife, Ruth))

14   Rose   =°Há'waa° (0.42)
                'Thank you'

15   Alfred   Há'waa (0.36)
                'Thank you'

Example 74: Adam Bell continues discussion of school use

Following his offer of kitchen facilities, Rose, and Alfred, in turn, acknowledge Adam Bell's offer by thanking him. This acknowledgement suggests their approval of his offer. Especially given that he directly addresses these remarks to Rose, it would be a clear sign of disapproval were they not to acknowledge his words.

The final speaker who addresses the possibility of using the school is Peter Jones, who is the ninth to speak at the planning meeting. Given that he is Ethel's husband, it is unsurprising that he is supportive of her idea to use the school rather than the hall for the feast. In Example 75, Peter Jones begins by referencing Adam Bell's remarks. However, his interpretation of Adam Bell's support does not reflect the equivocality shown in Example 72. Rather, line one of Example 75 draws on Adam Bell's conclusion in Example 73, line four: '*Wáagyaan x̱aahlgwaa 'laa naasii gam tl' tlaskunee'angansii uu díi gu daaguu wéed ll' súugan*. 'And the community hall is not cleaned up, so they're agreeing to use the school, and I'm all in favour of it.' It is interesting that he chooses to reference Adam Bell's remarks, rather than those of his

wife. Perhaps this is because of Adam Bell's status as a Chief, or perhaps it is matter of recency, as Adam Bell spoke more recently than Ethel Jones.

1   And Mr. Bell, [1.85] like to have it in the (.) sch̲ool. I (0.23) fully agree with it. (1.55)

2   The ha̲ll (0.3) is not fi̲t to use (0.9) for any kind of ban̲quet. (5.5, throat clearing or agreement in background)

3   No matter what it is, (0.55) I don't think we should us̲e the hall for an̲y kind of banquet. (2.72)

4   So I'm glad (1.43) that Eugene Samuels (1.55) told us to go ahead (0.39) and use the school. (1.5)

5   I'd like to thank Mr. Samuels(.) for that. (1.55)

Example 75: Peter Jones discusses use of the hall

It is unclear if there is verbalized agreement with Peter Jones's remarks. Following line two, during the 5.5 second pause that is indicated, there is noise in the background that could either be quiet throat clearing or an 'uhm-uh' uttered by a male speaker. If the latter, this could be conveying agreement with Peter Jones's remarks. As well, during the 2.72 second pause at the end of line three and the 1.43 second pause shortly after the beginning of line four there is unintelligible background talking by a female voice. Again, as the content cannot be determined, the function of these remarks is uncertain. However, given where these snippets of talk occur related to Peter Jones's talk, it is possible that these either express agreement with his words or add commentary on his remarks.

Such examination of excerpts from the speeches of the four orators who address the topic of using the school demonstrates the careful negotiation of politeness, opinion, and social roles and responsibilities even in a seemingly innocuous topic. A discussion like this, then, is about more than the topic at hand. Again, the importance of context, both social and situational, is demonstrated, as speakers must balance their wants with community expectations.

6.3.2. Demonstrating Social Roles and Belonging: Kinship Terms

As was mentioned in §6.2, establishing kinship links is an important part of Haida speeches. Doing so not only reinforces the orator's social relationship to the person being honoured (in the case of a stonemoving feast) but also legitimizes the orator's

words and status (Boelscher, 1989, pp. 91-93). Care is taken to demonstrate connection to those in attendance as well, much as is done during storytelling (M. Ignace, personal communication, September 12, 2021). For example, consider the words from Percy Brown's speech in Example 76. Prior to this, he has been indicating how Peter Hill was a person of integrity. In line one, note that Percy Brown not only refers to Peter Hill with the kin term *ḵáa*, 'uncle' but also using the first person plural *iitl'*.

1	íitl'	ḵáa	iij-ang	uu, (1.00)
	1.PL.POSS	maternal uncle	to be-PRS	foc

'This our uncle'

2	Áajii	gyaahlangee, (.)	gospel-gee	'wáadluwaan
	this	history, story-DEF	gospel-DEF	all
	uu	'll	yahgudang-gan. (1.01)	
	FOC	3.SG.SBJ	respect-DPST	

'He believed in the written word, and he respected all of it.'

Example 76: Use of kinship terms to connect to audience

In this way, Percy Brown ties in the audience with his words: He is speaking not just of *his* uncle but also acknowledging the relatives of Peter Hill who are co-participants at the planning meeting.

Willie Russ, Sr. uses a similar strategy in his speech, an excerpt of which is provided in Example 77. In line one he has been discussing Mary Lee Stearns's plans to honour Peter Hill by hosting a stonemoving. He then moves on to thank Rose and Alfred in line two. In line three, the focus for this discussion, he uses the first-person plural pronoun, *íitl'* to refer to Peter Hill.

1 'láa sáa   uu   'll   kihl xadlaayaan uu, (0.74)
   3.SG.SBJ up above   FOC   3.SG.OBJ headstone   FOC

   'She wants to put up a little marker above him,

   Tlagw G̲iid hlanggee   G̲adee k̲éenggaang
   how be like could   about to be visible

   'How we should handle this matter'

   Gudaa íitl'   daláng isis sG̲awtga
   together 1.PL.POSS   2.PL.OBJ be   for

   daláng aa Hl   k̲ilagaa-gang. (1.72)
   2.PL.OBJ PP (to) 1.SG.SBJ to thank-PRS

   'I thank you for bringing people together (directed at Rose and Alfred).' (1.14)

2 'Wáagyaan ahl gudang 'laa-gaagang,
   and then   with mind to be happy-PRS

   'It's something to be happy about'

   áa tliisiidluu,   íitl'   K'WÁAY
   here finally   1.PL.POSS   older same-sex sibling

   íitl'   sda k̲áydanii, (0.70) sang-ée
   1.PL.POSS from leave-FOC   day-DEF

   tlagw uu nang   jáadaa (2.47)
   how FOC a certain woman

   'and now our older brother has left us, on this day a woman'

   k̲'anggudangaa danghl   is. (1.33)
   be kind   together with to be

   'is marking the occasion with kindness'

Example 77: Willie Russ, Sr. ties speech to audience

As with Percy Brown's use, Willie Russ, Sr. uses *íitl'* along with a kin term to refer to Peter Hill. Here, he refers to him as *íitl' k'wáay*, 'our older brother'. As a reminder, Willie Russ is a lineage mate of the husband of the wife's brother's daughter. Thus, in using *íitl'* he acknowledges the relationship that he and others share with Peter Hill.

6.4. Speeches: A Community Conversation

  As was mentioned previously, speeches are not an isolated form of discourse. Rather, many parallels are evident given careful examination of conversations and speeches. While various features of the language used in speeches are also found in

conversation, the similarities are also evident at a broader level. For example, regular processes of turn-taking are demonstrated, via both insertion sequences in the speeches and addressee responses to the orator. These will be discussed in §6.4.1. As well, a more complex form of turn-taking is illustrated through the continued discussion of a topic by different orators. For example, this is the case with the discussion of the use of the school explored in §6.3.1. Processes of self-repair are also seen as orators move through their speeches; these will be examined in §6.4.2.

6.4.1. Turn-taking

While a speech centres on the words of one individual, this does not mean that there is no involvement from those to whom the speech is addressed. Atkinson (1984/1989, p. 9-12), in his examination of strategies used in political speeches, suggests that such involvement is not uncommon. As he notes, such involvement is important for orators to keep the attention of those in the audience as well as gauge the effectiveness of their message and delivery. While Atkinson (1984/1989) focuses his analysis on the speeches of Western world leaders, his general observations about addressee involvement can also be observed in the X̱aad Kíl context. For example, there is response and interaction from addressees in some of the speeches from the stonemoving planning meeting. Consider the extract from Charlotte Marks's speech in Example 78. Prior to this exchange, Charlotte Marks has been discussing how she feels badly about not remembering people's names, specifically referencing not knowing the X̱aad Kíl names of Mary Lee Stearns and her daughter, Eileen Stearns. In line one, she summarizes this discussion and then, in line two, moves on to thank those who have attended the planning meeting. Following a short pause at the end of line two, another speaker contributes to the discussion by self-selecting for a turn in line three.

1		Ahljii	uu	ahl	áayaad	díi
		that	FOC	with	today	1.SG.SBJ

		gudangée	sti'-gang. (0.58)
		someone's mind	to be sad-PRS

'And today I feel bad about it (not remembering names)'

2		'Wáagyaan, (0.24)		iitl'	an	daláng	istl'aa-G̱ujuusii
		and then		1.PL.OBJ	REFL	2.PL.OBJ	to arrive

	uu, (0.69)	íitl'	gudangée		gin	'láa-°gang°
	FOC	1.PL.OBJ	one's mind		INST	to be happy-PRS

'And so that you all showed up for us, we are very happy for this'

Jaad ahl k̲'iganaa (in background)	°X̲ahlduung,	hin	'll	kya'áadii°
		thus	3.SG.OBJ	to name-

'Name her X̲ahlduung'

4		Jáa	haku:::n uu	ahl	$gudáng-ang,
		INTJ	like that FOC	with	think-DPST

	hin	uu	hih hih hih hih HIH!
	thus	FOC	

	'll	kyaadaa-sii	dluu
		to call-PTCP-TOP	while

'That's exactly what I was thinking'

5		>Ahl	áanaas		uu
		the room next door			FOC

	ahl	áanaas		uu,	ahl áanaa
	with	room next door		FOC	room next door
	an	Hl	k̲áas	gyaan	dluu,< .hh
	REFL	1SG.SBJ	walk	and	when

'As I walked into the room next door (i.e., the kitchen)'

	Hl	gudang-gan,	t'alang	gyaanda-hlangaang,
	1.SG.SBJ	to think-DPST	1.PL.SBJ	use-AUX.should

	G̲adúu	gu	Hl	G̲ahlan dluu
	about		1.SG.SBJ	with	while

'As I was thinking about it,

	X̲ahlduung	gin,	'láa	t'aláng	kyá'adaas
		INST	3.SG.OBJ	1.PL.SBJ	to name-CAUS

	dluu,	'láa::-hlangaas		hin	san
	when	good-AUX.wouuld		thus	

	uu	Hl	$gudang-gan.$
	FOC	1.SG.SBJ	to think-DPST

'I thought about this, we should name her X̲ahlduung.'

AA::::NG

Ye:::::s

Example 78: Turn-taking in Charlotte Marks's speech

        In line three, this speaker supplies the information, X̱ahlduung, the X̱aad Kíl name for Eileen Stearns, that Charlotte Marks was unable to remember. Charlotte Marks then self-selects in line four and performs face-saving work in lines four and five by saying that she was thinking of the same name as the speaker. This is accompanied by laughter from both Charlotte Marks and those being addressed. After some more discussion about the name, Charlotte Marks continues with her speech.

        What is interesting about this segment of talk is that, although it takes place in the more formal context of a speech, albeit at a more informal occasion than the stonemoving feast being planned, it is very much part of the speech. Charlotte Marks skillfully intertwines the more informal exchange with the larger context of the speech, making it feel natural. She does not appear to find such an exchange unexpected or unwelcome; this further underscores the idea that a speech, at least in this context, is viewed as a conversation with the community. As well, it demonstrates the importance of addressee response to the orator's words.

        Other speeches also display turn-taking that follows the patterns examined in §5.2. Like the case in Charlotte Marks's speech, these turns are often type two turns, where the next speaker self-selects. In the extract from Percy Brown's speech, provided in Example 79, he begins in line one by mentioning that he has forgotten the X̱aad Kíl name given to Mary Lee Stearns.

1		Gasánuu	'laa	tl'	kyá'áda-gang-gang-s
		how.FOC	3.SG.OBJ	3.PL.SBJ	named-CAUS-HAB-PRS
		háwsan	díi	k'iisgiid-ang. (0.30)	
		again	1.SG.SBJ	to forget-DPST	
		'And so I forgot the name they gave to her'			
2	second voice	°Jáad Gu S-°=			
3	third voice	=Jáad Gu [Sáandlaans=			
4	second voice	>°[Jáad Gu Sáandlaans]°<			
5		=Jáad Gu Sáandlaans	ahl	KIL'láa-gang. (0.92)	
			with	to thank-PRS	
		'And I thank Jáad Gu Sáandlaans'			

6	Díi	k'yaa	asan tl'aa hlan hl kil gin k̲'aalangaan. (0.89)
	1.SG.POSS	name	also

'She included my name in tonight's 'doing'

Example 79: Turn-taking in Percy Brown's speech

As in Charlotte Marks's speech, addressees self-select to provide the missing information. In line two, an additional speaker begins by quietly starting to mention Stearns's X̲aad Kíl name. A second speaker then latches on to this speaker's words and reiterates the name, Jáad Gu Sáandlaans. Percy Brown then incorporates this new information into his speech, by latching on to the second speaker's words and reiterating, in lines five and six, his thanks to Jáad Gu Sáandlaans for including him as a speaker in the planning meeting.

In both Charlotte Marks's speech and Percy Brown's speech, collaborative meaning making is demonstrated through turn-taking. Such instances demonstrate that speechmaking, while being a distinct mode of communication, is not disparate from conversation. As Sacks et al. (1974, p. 729) note, while the types of organization and particulars of turn-taking may be different in a speech and an informal conversation, both are interactional forms of communication that exist on a continuum.

6.4.2. Repair

In addition to turn-taking, repair is also a central aspect of conversation that was discussed in §5.4. As was mentioned, repair is not restricted to correcting factual errors, but also to attending to a range of trouble sources. Such repair is also demonstrated in the speeches. Given the nature of the speeches, where one person is mainly addressing others, it is not surprising that most of the repairs are self-initiated self-repairs. These often take the form of stop-restart sequences, where a speaker begins to say something but then restarts their utterance to address an anticipated trouble source. Such a sequence is seen in at the beginning of Percy Brown's speech; the relevant extract is shown in Example 80. Here, he is beginning to relate an episode in which several women, his mother and either Peter Hill's mother or the mothers of others at the planning meeting, had put an unexpected sum of money in the church collection plate. He begins in line one with the first-person plural pronoun *íitl'*. However, instead of

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continuing with his utterance, he restarts and utters *íitl'* for a second time before continuing.

1   íitl'-   (0.50)   íitl'   gyaa   awaLANGaa (1.22)
        1.PL.POSS 1.PL.POSS   POSS   mother-PL

        Our- our mothers

2   >Stánsang   áa   isdaal-gang-gan uu,> (0.33)
        four   here   to go-HAB-DPST FOC

        'Four of them came in (were here)'

3   Collection   ga gyaanaan   uu   HL   ts'aagan. (0.87)
                PP and then   FOC   1.SG.SBJ take up DPST
        'I took the collection plate up'

4   Nang   >lableedgaas<   Ḵing-gan, (2.01)
        one   preacher   to look at-DPST

        'And the preacher looked at it'

5   Áajii   ḵiihlgaa áa   gw   iijaa. (0.40)
        this   plate   at   Q   to be

        'Was <u>this</u> (money) in the plate?'

Example 80: Self-repair via stop and restart in Percy Brown's speech

Here, the reason for the repair is unclear; it could be the case that he is thinking through what he wants to say. Or, perhaps he is thinking through the relationship between the women he is thinking of and those he is referring to.

6.5. Implications

As has been demonstrated, speeches provide valuable information about the norms of communication in X̲aad Kíl and can augment conversation data. While speeches are distinct from conversation in that they, for example, employ more formalized ways of speaking and mainly involve an extended turn by one person, they also demonstrate similarities. For example, regular processes of turn-taking are demonstrated, although to a lesser degree, as addressees acknowledge the words of an orator. As well, strategies of self-repair are also evident as orators progress through their talk. That such features are evident in speeches suggests that such recordings can make important contributions to understanding how meaning is negotiated in X̲aad Kíl.

The following chapter continues this discussion by examining another type of interactive talk which illustrates communicative practices in X̱aad Kíl, namely that of conversation through storying.

Chapter 7.

Storying as Conversation

As has been demonstrated in the discussion of the speeches, conversation encompasses more diverse forms of interaction than two-party dialogues. Rather, conversation can flow from a community-centred context where, for example, one speech serves to introduce a topic and others expand on this discussion over the course of the series of speeches. A similar practice can be seen in another context as well: that of storying. This chapter begins by briefly introducing the practice of storying and its functions. It then moves to examine interactive practices in storying in X̱aad Kíl.

7.1. Storying and Story Types

The practice of teaching through story is one that is often used in various Indigenous cultures (Wilson, 2008, p. 17). As Wilson notes, such a practice "allow[s] listeners to draw their own conclusions and to gain life lessons from a more personal perspective" (p. 17). Archibald (2008, p. 83) further explains that "each Aboriginal nation has particular traditions, protocols, and rules concerning stories and the way that stories are to be told for teaching and learning purposes." In discussing the principles of storying, Phillips et al. (2018, Ch. 3)[120] identify storying as 'embodied relational meaning making' that "…intersects the past and present as living oral archives".

Kovach (2009, p. 95) notes that there tend to be two main genres of stories in Indigenous ways of knowing: ones with mythical elements and others that are personal narratives. . This is the case for Haida narrative as well. For example, there are personal stories, such as those from the conversation between Jane and Delores discussed in §5.3, and historical stories, which are one type of *gyáahlang*; examples of which are explored in the sections that follow. There are also what the Enrico (2005) and the Alaskan Haida dictionary (Lachler, 2010, p. 275) term clan history stories, *ḵ'iyáagaang*.

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[120] This work represents perspective on storying from both an Aboriginal Australian perspective, that of author Tracey Bunda, a Ngugi/Wakka Wakka professor at the University of Queensland and a white Australian perspective, that of author Louise Phillips, an Honorary Senior Lecturer at the University of Queensland.

Boelscher (1989, p. 169) notes that such stories "…have the acknowledged function of legitimating rights to particular places which are mapped out in them, and to names and crests whose origins are narrated in them." She further notes that Elders at the time of writing described ḵ'iigangaa as 'like a parable in the Bible', suggesting the role that allegory plays in the stories as well as the social and moral lessons that can be drawn.

Having presented some general information about stories and storying, the discussion now moves to consider the stories related in the recording between 'Láanas Sdang and Henry Geddes. First, the general context of the exchange is presented in §7.2, followed by more specific context in §7.3. Specific storying practices are then explored in §7.4, looking at how the stories are tied to participants and at two rhetorical devices.

7.2. Context of the Exchange

The recording examined here is an approximately half-hour long audio recording between Chief 'Láanas Sdang (Adam Bell, Lawrence Bell's father) and Henry Geddes. Recorded by an anonymous interviewer, this recording opens with a brief discussion about the Haida land question that emphasizes the importance of knowing the Haida language and unity between the communities of Skidegate and Massett. This is followed by the telling of two stories by Chief 'Láanas Sdang: that of the Copper Salmon and the Port Simpson Story. Rather than being a monologue, the recounting of these stories is an interactive process, with Henry Geddes demonstrating engagement via response tokens and laughter. As the stories unfold, 'Láanas Sdang ties Henry Geddes to these stories with mentions of kin relations, like what was seen in the speeches. Careful examination of the stories further shows their importance for and connection to the more general topic at hand, the Haida land question, that bookends the stories.

7.3. Introducing the Stories

7.3.1. Xaal Tsíina: The Copper Salmon Story

This story is an example of gyáahlang. Such stories have been passed down through generations and retain the same content and structure. Two early accounts of this story are presented in Swanton (1908, p.689-701, 701-702). Swanton (1908, p. 273)

notes that the first, more detailed, of the two accounts was told by 'Walter, who belonged to the Rear-Town-People of Yan'. According to Marianne Ignace (personal communication, September 8, 2021), this was Walter Kingáagwaaw, a member of the Stl'ang 'láanaas clan who lived at Yáan, a village located across the Masset inlet from Massett.

The version of the story related by 'Láanas Sdang begins with him first tying in the story to a notable geographical feature by remarking on a landmark on Hippah Island,[121] a stone that looks like a carving of a human head. This leads into a historical account of the events that occurred when a younger brother went off into the woods after believing that his older brother was being given preferential treatment.

7.3.2. Port Simpson Gyáahlangee

This story, another historical account, or *gyáahlang*, tells of the consequences faced by a village after a woman pokes the eyes out of a mouse who has eaten her winter food reserves. As a result of her lack of respect for the mouse, thousands of mice overrun the village until an old man from the village sings a song that expresses humility and remorse on the part of the villagers. The story is set in Lax Kw'alaams, or Port Simpson, a Tsimshian village near the present-day city of Prince Rupert, British Columbia.

7.4. Storying practices

7.4.1. Tying the story to participants

The discussion of the speeches demonstrated how orators took care to tie themselves to the person being honoured, and other participants, by citing kinship ties (see §6.2). In the Copper Salmon story, 'Láanas Sdang skillfully ties the story content to Henry Geddes by demonstrating the ties that Henry Geddes has to the places and people. In this story, 'Láanas Sdang begins by providing physical and relational context, as shown in Example 81.

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[121] Hippa Island is off the west coast of Graham Island, located north of Rennell Sound

1	Hippa Island	gu, (0.67)		áasgee	X̱aadée	uu, (0.52)
		there		these	people	FOC
	Hippa Island	inggu, (1.17)				
		on				
	G̱at'anáas	'Ilngée	>hin	uu	kya'áang.< (1.40)	
	Bile-water	town	thus	FOC	to call	

'At Hippah Island, these people at Hippah Island, their village was called G̱at'anáas.'

2	Dúu		X̱aadée	hin	is. (0.85)
	West coast ((of Graham Island))		people	thus	be

'They were West Coast people.'

3	Andrew Brown	uu, (0.33)		hin	kya'a-as	gyaan,
		FOC		thus	to be named-	and
	TLAAN	'll	G̱iil-gan,		'll	híiluu-gan.
	that's all		to become depleted-DPST			to vanish-DPST

'Andrew Brown was his name, that was the end of them, they had got wiped out.'

4	Gam s- (0.34)	saliiyaa	nang	tl'aa	uu (no one afterwards) (0.75)
	NEG	after	one		FOC

'After that no one lived there.'

5	'Wáagyaan Ed Russ	hánsan	>isdagang-ee-gaang-aan.< (0.85)
	and then	also	to take-DEF-HAB-IPST

'Afterwards Ed Russ took the position.'

Example 81: Situating story in physical and relational context

He first notes the name of the village on Hippah Island, or Nasduu, G̱at'aanaas 'Ilngee in line one. In lines three through five, he then mentions that, in his lifetime, only Andrew Brown and Ed Russ remained as descendants of the people from G̱at'aanaas. Marianne Ignace (personal communication, September 8, 2021) further explains that Andrew Brown was the son of Walter Kingáagwaaw, who related a version of the story to Swanton (1908, p. 689-701).

The tying to Henry Geddes becomes more specific as the telling progresses, tying first to Henry Geddes' familiarity with the landscape and then moving to kinship ties. As mentioned previously, the story tells of a younger brother leaving his family after becoming upset that his brother is receiving preferential treatment, in the form of better food. He goes off into the woods, building himself a small shelter and surviving on devil's club and blackcod oil. In beginning the story, 'Láanas Sdang has mentioned a particular

point, Ḵuu'ung Ḵún, where there is a stone that looks like the head of a human being; this is where the action of the story begins. Later, in relating the search for the younger brother, 'Láanas Sdang returns to the geographic setting, in describing a cliff that would have been familiar to both Henry Geddes and him. This insertion sequence is shown in Example 82.

1   AB   'wáadluu   ya'a   tl'adaawee, (1.44) Hippa Island, (1.26)
            then   straight   mountain

            Kyaa   nang   kúnjuu-s   >dáng
            to know a certain point of land   2.SG.SBJ

            áandang   unsiid-ang.< (0.38)
            feel   to know-PRS

            'And that mountain, outside of Hippah Island, you know where the outer point is'

2   HG   Mm-hm

Example 82: Situating events in the landscape

Here, 'Láanas Sdang is tying the story to Henry Geddes via shared geographical knowledge by referencing a particular feature of the landscape. Lawrence Bell (personal communication, October 13, 2021) mentioned that both his father and Henry Geddes were fishermen. As areas off the West coast of Haida Gwaii, where Nasduu, Hippa Island is located, would have been a common place to fish, the two men would be knowledgeable about the geography and various landmarks of the area (M. Ignace, personal communication, October 14, 2021).

As the story progresses, 'Láanas Sdang's tying of the story to Henry Geddes continues. In the story, the younger brother's family continues looking for him, and his uncle's nephews are sent out to continue the search. This is related in the episode shown in lines one and two of Example 83, which occurs toward the end of the story.

1	AB	G̱ung	náadlang-ang [122],		kil-	gyáax̱ahláal'waa
		one's uncle	one's sister's child (PL)-POSS		INS voice	order around.PL

		hin	gin	tl' (0.20)	kya'adas	uu,
		thus	thing	3.PL.USPC	be named	FOC

'The uncle bossed the nephews (kil gii x̱ahláalwaa = order to
(household members that he can be ordered around like servants)

2		X̱áldaang-dá	uu	tl'	kya'ad[a]gang,
		to ask to do-CAUS	FOC	3.PL.USPC	to name.CAUS

They call that "asking someone to do something"

3	HG	[o:h↑,	áak'uus gu	uu↓	>tl'	kya'áadang!<[123]
			thus	FOC	3.PL.USPC	to be called

Oh, these, that is what they call it!

4	AB	X̱aldaangda	hin	tl'	°kya'adaang°. (1.97)
		To order around	thus	3.PL.USPC	to be called

5		Áa	uu	díi	ḵáa	sáa	nang	nawg-an,
		this	FOC	1.sg.poss	uncle	above	a certain one	to live-DPST

		áa	uu	dáng	tsan	iij-ang-gwaa (1.95)
		this	FOC	2.SG.POSS	grandfather	to be-PRES-EMPH

'This uncle of mine on the hill, he was your chinnii'[124]

Example 83: Tying story directly to Henry Geddes

Note here how 'Láanas Sdang skillfully weaves kinship in with the events of the story in line five. He moves from the telling of the story, speaking in general terms of *G̱ung náadlang* 'the uncle's nephews' in line one, to an insertion sequence in line five where he directly connects the individuals in the story to himself and Henry Geddes by referring to *áa uu díi ḵaa*, 'this uncle of mine' and noting that this individual was Henry Geddes' chinnii, or grandfather. This clearly shows what Kovach (2009, p. 94) mentions, namely that "Oral stories are born of connections within the world, and thus are recounted relationality. They tie us with our past and provide a basis for continuity with

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[122] Boelscher (1989, p. 95), as well as Enrico (2005) and Lachler (2010, p. 288) note that this term is only used to refer to a male's relatives.

[123] 'Láanaas sdang here implicitly points out to Henry the relationship between the terms x̱aldaangda "tell or ask someone to work on something," and x̱áldaang, a highly stigmatized term for a "slave" taken as a captive in a war expedition and being at the mercy of their owners as labourers and in all aspects of life.

[124] Linking Henry to the story and to his own kin

future generations." This relational location in the stories also demonstrates their historicity and ties the present story participants to their kin.

7.4.2. Use of Response Tokens

Another practice that comes out in the stories that illustrates the interactive nature of the tellings is the use of response tokens. As has been seen before, such response tokens are a feature of conversational exchanges. Gardner (2001, p. 13) describes these expressions as ways that a listener acknowledges talk. Such tokens can be used, as Gardner (2001, p. 13) further explains, to indicate that the speaker can continue (e.g., expressions such as *mm-hm*) or to demonstrate the receipt of a newsworthy piece of information (E.g., *oh*). Response tokens used to acknowledge information have also been variously described as *continuers* (Schegloff, 1982), *acknowledgement tokens* (Jefferson, 1984), and *news markers*. They have also been subsumed under the larger category of backchannel expressions, which, for Yngve (1970) refer to any expression that indicates receipt of information. In the exchanges looked at here, *ee* is the most frequently used response token; however, the news receipt token *oh* is also used.

Ee

One X̱aad Kíl response token found in the telling of the stories, and that has been discussed in the exploration of the speeches and conversations is *ee*[125]. As a reminder, this word indicates agreement with what is being said and is an expected part of the proceedings of a conversation (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, September 2, 2021). It is perhaps best classified as an interjection, as will be explored in §8.2.2.

Ee is consistently employed by Henry Geddes during 'Láanas Sdang's telling of the two stories, often in response to interrogatives. For example, towards the middle of the story 'Láanas Sdang tells of how, at one point when the father's nephews are searching for the younger brother, he hears salmon in the stream. He tries to catch one on several occasions, but it escapes from him because it is too big. After one attempt,

after he returns to the shelter he has constructed, he notices that his hands smell like copper. This, and the exchange that follows, is provided in Example 84.

1   AB   'Ll   stláang   aa   xaal   'll   sgunaa-sii. (2.56)
         3.SG.SBJ one's own hand   PP   copper   3.SG.OBJ   to smell-DEF

         'He smelled copper on his hands'

2   Dáng   gw   xaal   sgunáa   an   unsad=
         2sg.obj Q   copper   to smell   for   to know

         Do you know the smell of copper?

3   HG   =<u>EE</u>::

4   AB   Copper-gee   áa
         copper-BOR   this

         [xaal]   sgunaas,   ahljii   'll   sG̱un.gan"
         copper   to smell-   that   3.SG.SBJ   to smell-DPST

         'It smells like copper, that is what he smelled.'

5   HG   [xaal-ée] ((throat clearing))
         copper-DEF

Example 84:   Ee used in response to question

Here, 'Láanas Sdang pauses in line two in his telling of the story to see whether or not Henry Geddes is familiar with the smell of copper. Henry Geddes indicates that he is by responding with *ee*, and 'Láanas Sdang continues with the story. Note by the overlap in line five that Henry Geddes further confirms that he is tracking with what 'Láanas Sdang is referring to by overlapping with his talk, restating *xaalée*, the copper.

'Láanas Sdang also uses *ee* to respond to interrogatives. In the telling of the Port Simpson story, he has been describing how the attack of the villagers by the mice came to an end following the singing of a song of humility. He has just finished the song, and Henry Geddes has demonstrated his appreciation via laughter. There is then a nearly two second pause before Henry Geddes poses a question. This is followed by a request for clarification by 'Láanas Sdang and a repetition of the question; 'Láanas Sdang then responds with *ee* to indicate agreement. This exchange is provided in Example 85.

| 1 | HG | 'Wáagyaan | gw, | 'wáajii | kaganée |
| | | and then | Q | that | mouse-DEF |

| | | 'laa | 'wáagyaan | daang'awaa (0.16) | |
| | | 3.PL.SBJ | and then | recede.PL | |

'And did the mice all recede back into the woods?'

| 2 | AB | Gwaa (0.33) |
| | | what? |

| 3 | HG | 'WÁAGYAAN | GW | kaganée | DLAAS | iijaa (0.30) |
| | | and then | Q | mouse-DEF | after | be |

| 4 | AB | Ee (.) |

| 5 | HG | oh: (0.20) |

Example 85: Another instance of *ee* as response to interrogative

Here, in line four, 'Láanas Sdang employs the response token *ee* to indicate an affirmative response to Henry Geddes' question in line three. It is also notable that the beginning of this exchange, the question in line one, follows a long pause. Thus, it could be the case that this exchange serves the purpose of both indicating that Henry Geddes has been paying attention to the events of the story and prompting 'Láanas Sdang to continue with the telling.

Oh

Another response token that is used in the stories is *oh*. For English, this has been characterized as having various functions (see Heritage, 1984), one of which is as a change of state token (Heritage, 1984). For Heritage, this indicates that a conversation participant knows something they did not know prior to receiving the information. However, others, such as Jefferson (1978, 221-222) view it as indicative of a 'sudden remembering' of information. Thus, rather than receiving new information, it is as if they have recalled information. While it is not speculated here whether X̱aad Kíl *oh* is distinct from English *oh*, it seems to serve some of the same functions.

For example, *oh* seems to be used to indicate either information recall or receipt of information in the stories discussed here. In the Copper Salmon story, for instance, Henry Geddes employs *oh* when 'Láanas Sdang is discussing the number of nephews who his uncle, and Henry Geddes' chinni, would have had as servants. The portion

presented in Example 86 follows directly from that shown in Example 83 in the discussion of tying the story to Henry Geddes via kinship references. The first sentence is reprinted here for context. Following the tying in of Henry Geddes in line one, 'Láanas Sdang returns to the telling of the story in line two.

1	AB	Áa	uu	díi	<u>kaa</u>	sáa	nang	naw-gan,
		this	FOC	1.SG.POSS	maternal uncle	above	a certain one	live-DPST

		áa	uu	dáng	<u>tsan</u>	iij-án-gwa (1.95)		
		this	FOC	2.SG.POSS	grandfather	to be-DPST-EMPH		

'This uncle of mine on the hill, he was your chinnii'

2		'Wáagyaan	dáng	<u>kaa</u>[126] xa- (0.34)		gyaa	kil
		and then	2.SG.POSS	maternal uncle		POSS	INS.voice

		gyaa<u>x</u>ahlaal'wee	uu	<u>ten</u>-gaa-gan.	
		boss around (PL)	FOC	ten-to be	

'And your uncle's (chinni's) servants[127] were ten.'

3	HG	°O::h:° (2.29)

Example 86: *Oh* **to indicate recall or receipt of information**

Following 'Láanas Sdang's remarks in line two, where he indicates that Henry Geddes' chinni had ten nephews that he could order around (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, August 26, 2021), Henry Geddes responds with an extended *oh* with an upward intonation in line three. A closer examination at the information in line two suggests what prompts this response. First, it may be the case that he is orienting to new information, if, for example, he was not previously aware that his chinni had these ten 'servants'. It could also be the case that he is recalling information, perhaps orienting to the fact that there were ten servants. Ten is a significant number in Haida culture, and often features in stories (see Swanton, 1905).

Laughter

In working through these stories with Lawrence Bell, he mentioned on several occasions the functions of laughter in responding to a story (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, September 8, 2021; October 13, 2021). Laughter, like other types of

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[126] Should be *díi ḵaa*, 'my uncle' or *dáng chin*, 'your grandfather'

[127] Ten nephews he could order around.

conversational exchanges, is an interactive process that demonstrates order and serves a variety of purposes. For example, in writing about laughter in the context of English conversations, Jefferson et al. (1977) show that laughter is an orderly process, and a specific type of turn, rather than an uncontrolled behaviour. It also does not always denote humour (Such also seems to be the case in the instances of laughter produced in the X̲aad Kíl exchange between 'Láanas Sdang and Henry Geddes).

In X̲aad Kíl, there are many terms to describe different types of laughter (M. Ignace, personal communication, October 21, 2021). This can be situation-based (e.g., depending on how someone is laughing at a particular time) or characteristic of the way an individual usually laughs. For example, Lawrence Bell, in discussion with Marianne Ignace (February 3, 2020), used the term *tiiyahluu*, which refers to a deep throaty laugh, to describe Dorothy Bell's laugh. He used the term *gamahluu* to refer to Charlotte Mark's high-pitched laugh.[128] Other words are formed from the root 'to laugh' *k'ah* followed by a classifier and *s(d)la* (M. Ignace, personal communication, October 21, 2021). For example, *k'ah káas(d)luu* refers to a short and stubby laugh, and *k'ah jah'ahluu* refers to a loud, sloppy laugh.

In addition to their being different types of laughter, laughter can be used for a variety of purposes. Of relevance here is the function of indicating engagement with the telling of a story and expressing appreciation. For example, in the telling of the Port Simpson Story, 'Láanas Sdang includes the performance of the song that the old man sang to the mice express humility and contrition on behalf of the villagers. For 'Láanas Sdang, singing was not a common occurrence; Lawrence Bell remarked on how surprised he was upon hearing this recording for the first time and hearing his dad sing (personal communication, August 5, 2021; September 8, 2021). However, it is a vital part of the story, as the song is what prompts the mice to stop their siege on the village. The excerpt in Example 87 first presents the last two lines of the song in lines one and two. This is followed by an exchange of laughter in lines three through six, accompanied by an expression of further appreciation in line five.

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[128] The specificity with which laughter is described in X̲aad Kíl raises an important question regarding transcription conventions. I followed the English-based Jeffersonian (2004) notation of using such indicators as 'huh' and 'heh', as the goal was to examine higher-level features of conversations and interactive exchanges. However, in the future it may be beneficial to revisit these transcription conventions to see if the different types of laughter in X̲aad Kíl can be more accurately distinguished.

1	AB	((singing))	Dáng	áa	Hlaa	uu		
			2.SG.OBJ	PP(to)	1.SG.SBJ	FOC		

kil-tl'at'iijang,   kilsdlaay (0.62)
voice-surrender   chief

'Here I am, I surrender myself to you (humble myself)'

2		Dáng	áa	uu	k'ajuu'-saang	kiihlganggaa(2.63)
		2.SG.OBJ to		FOC	to sing-FUT	apologize

'Here I apologize to you by singing'

3   HG   huh HUH (0.23)

4   AB   uh huh hih hih [huh HUH]

5   HG   [$hih heh YE::AH,] >that   [was good!<$]

6   AB   [°huh HUH heh°] (1.25)

Example 87: Laughter as an interactive process

Lawrence Bell mentioned that Henry Geddes' laughter as response, in line three, not only showed appreciation to 'Láanas Sdang for this story telling but also indicated that he was fully engaged in the telling of the story (personal communication, September 8, 2021). 'Láanas Sdang responds to Henry Geddes' laughter with laughter of his own in line four, and Henry Geddes orients to this response by overlapping his laughter in line five and elaborating with a statement of appreciation. Importantly, the laughter here is not a marker of humour. The topic of the song is a serious one, with the man in the story singing it to express contrition for the villager's disrespect of the mouse and to humble the villagers to the mice so that they would stop their attack. The laughter, thus, is in appreciation for 'Láanas Sdang's performance of the song.

This same type of collaborative meaning-making and engagement with the story through laughter is seen in the Copper Salmon story. At the end of the story, after the younger brother is reunited with his family, there is an episode where he distributes the coppers that he has acquired from his encounter with the copper salmon. He is organizing the coppers, indicative of his wealth, by size and advising who will receive each of them. When he reaches his mother and older brother, he gives them the smallest two coppers. As a reminder, the older brother had received the best food at the beginning of the story. Thus, by giving his mother and brother the smallest coppers, he

puts them to shame (M. Ignace, personal communication, September 8, 2021). This episode is related in Example 88

1	AB	'll	k'wáayang		uu,	"nang	ii'waans		uu	dlúu
		3.SG.OBJ	older brother.POSS		FOC	certain one	big		FOC	even with

		nang		is	uu	gwaayanggee	áa	k'iihlshlaa=
		certain one		to be	FOC	next to	at	CLS.set heavy object

He [tells] the older brother, "Put the big one next to the other one!"
(the one he is giving to older brother is next to the biggest copper)

2   HG   HUH!
(1.66)

3	AB	'Wáagyaan	awang	ga	nang	ts'úujuu
		and then	mother	to	certain one	small one

		'll	isdaa-yaan. (0.34)
		3.SG.SBJ	give-IPST

'And he gave his mother the small one.'

4		Díi	dáa	táada'a-ng	ahluu	nang
		1.SG.POSS	2.SG.SBJ	to feed-PRS	that's why	a certain one

		ts'uujuu-s	dáng	$HI	isdaa-ng$
		to be small-DEF	2.SG.OBJ	1.SG.SBJ	to give-PRS

'Because you only gave food to older brother), I give you the little one.'

5   HG   huh huh huh huh (0.74)

Example 88: Use of laughter to respond to story

Following the relating of this sequence of events, Henry Geddes responds with laughter in line five. Such a response is prompted by 'Láanas Sdang's use of smile voice at the end of line four. Both Henry Geddes and 'Láanas Sdang recognize the intent of the younger brother's actions. Since the older brother has already received so much choice food earlier, he is given the smallest copper.

7.5. Connecting Language and Land

As has been discussed previously, the stories do much more than recount events. Rather, they demonstrate the relational connections between past and present kin and the land. This situating of stories in relation to the landscape has already been

mentioned (see Example 82). However, this goes beyond just setting the scene to demonstrate that these accounts are oral histories.

For example, 'Láanas Sdang draws attention to this in relation to the Copper Salmon story in an insertion sequence that talks about his experience in visiting the area where the story took place. In lines two through three of this episode, shown in Example 89, he begins by tying Henry Geddes to relatives with whom he visited Hippah Island. He then moves connect the place to the story in lines four through seven. As he continues, he even more directly ties the events of the story to the land, noting that one of the places he visited is where the younger brother was loading the copper shields, shown in line nine.

1   **AB**   G̱aťaanáas 'llngee   sda, Hippa Island
    Bilge water town   from
    ing.gu   jahlii   nang   íihlangaas.
    on top of   to V exceedingly   one   man-DEF

    'This one was from Bilge-Water town, on the very top of Hippa Island, this certain man'

2   Dáng   ḵáa   ahl   gud   ťaláng
    2.SG.POSS   one's maternal uncle   with   RECIP   1.PL.SBJ

    iij-an,   Lucy   x̱aad   ahl.
    to go-DPST   father of a female   with

    'We went there with your uncle (referring to Henry White) and Lucy's father'

3   **HG**   Ee,

4   Guy Edgars   juunáan   áa   is,
                        one's husband's mother   PP   to be

    Ed Russ isgyaanaan Edward Swanson (1.19)
            and

    'She is Guy Edgars' mother-in-law, and Ed Russ and Edward Swanson' (connection to Emily Swanson-Abrahams first husband)

5   Ee   íitl'   G̱al isdáalgan (2.36)
                  1.PL.OBJ

    He took us around in that area. Not making up this story, you are connected to the people who are in this area.)We were walking around there with him.

6   Áa   uu   'llngée   G̱awdaa-yaan
           This   FOC   village-DEF   CLS.be situated-IPST

    'There was a village there.'

7		<u>G̲at'anaas</u> 'llngee	hin	uu	tl'	kya'áadan.
			thus	FOC	3.PL.USPC	to call-CAUS

'Bilge-water town, this is what they called it.'

8	**HG**	°ee° (0.73)

9		'wáadluu	'laa		tl'	<u>táan</u>
		then	3.PL.SBJ		3.SG.OBJ	go to get

		hlaas-ii	dluu (0.28)
		DIR.up-TOP	while

'And they came up to get him, opposite them'

10		x̲anhlaa G̲a	iiwaan-s,	k̲waa	hin	nang	kya'aas (2.72)
		facing	big-DEF	rock	thus	certain one	be named

'The rock is called big rock'

11		Áajii	t'áaw-ee	'láangaa	'll
		This	copper-DEF	3.SG.POSS	3.SG.SBJ

		k̲'ii-hlang	isii (2.27)
		CLS-piled up	to be

He piled up (stacked up) his coppers (loading freight) bringing them down

12		Áa	uu	k̲iidiis	dluu	áajii, (0.37)
		here	FOC	look	while	this

		t'aaw	hin	gin	tl'	kya'aadaa-s
		copper	thus	things	3.PL.SBJ	be called-PTCP

When you look in that direction, these copper-shields, that is what they call them

Example 89: Connection between story and land

Such clear intertwining of the story events with natural features shows that this is a historical account. Rather than taking place in a decontextualized setting, it references and explains important landmarks. Having now examined examples of interactive meaning-making in X̲aad Kíl conversation, speechmaking, and story the next chapter turns to look at one lexical class of interest found in all of these: that of interjections.

Chapter 8.

Interjections

Having examined the conversations and speeches in some detail, the discussion now turns to one feature with particular interactional importance. This is the important, yet understudied, category of terms known as interjections. This chapter first provides a general overview of various definitions of the term, moves to a discussion of the importance of examining these in endangered languages, and then focuses on the use of specific interjections in X̱aad Kíl.

8.1. Definition and Function

Although definitions vary considerably, some principles do seem to characterize interjections as a class. As summarized by Ameka (1992, p. 106), who examines both semantic functions and structural criteria in proposing a definition, interjections typically do not take inflectional or derivational morphology and are linguistic gestures used to "express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation"[129]. They are further recognized as being context-bound (Wilkins, 1992; Kockelman, 2003) in that they "encode speaker attitudes and communicative intentions" (Ameka, 1992, p. 107). Norrick (2017) also mentions some similarities among definitions, noting, for example, that interjections are generally classified as marginal parts of language and having a strong tie to emotion. Sapir (1921/2014, p. 5), for example, classed them as "among the least important of speech elements" and a "decorative edging" to language. Some, However, as has been shown in the discussion of *gwaa* as a signal of other-initiated repair in §5.4.4 and will be further demonstrated in this chapter, interjections, far from being unimportant, have clear interactional functions in X̱aad Kíl.

8.1.1. Classifying Interjections

Interjections, in addition to being defined in various ways, have also been further subclassified in different ways. For example, Ameka (1992) divides interjections into two

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[129] See Goffman (1978) for a discussion of interjections as "response cries"

main classes: *primary* and *secondary*. He defines primary interjections as those lexical items that only function as interjections (e.g., wow!) and secondary interjections as those items that are members of other lexical categories but can be used as interjections to convey a particular attitude (e.g., help!). He notes that this differs from Bloomfield's (1935, p. 176) conception of secondary interjections. Bloomfield (1935) classifies as primary interjections single lexical items; he also terms these as "minor sentences". This in in keeping with Ameka's (1992) classification. However, Bloomfield's (1935) secondary interjections are phrases "often of peculiar construction." These include expressions such as "dear me" and "goodness gracious" as well as formulaic expressions such as "thank you" and "good-bye."[130] Ameka, however, distinguishes these formulae from interjections, noting that formulaic expressions convey "socially-expected reactions" while interjections convey spontaneous ones.

Ameka (1992, p. 113) further refines the characterization of interjections by moving from classification based on grammar to one based on their communicative functions. One such functional classification relevant to this discussion is what he terms *phatic interjections*. Such interjections, which can include backchanneling and feedback signals (e.g., mm-hm and uh-huh), serve to display and sustain "communicative contact" (Ameka, 1992, p. 114).

8.1.2. Why Study Interjections?

While Ameka (1992, p. 116), in the introduction to the special issue of *Journal of Pragmatics* focusing on interjections, called for additional work on interjections, especially in languages other than English, cross-linguistic examination of interjections, especially that of lesser-spoken languages, remains scant nearly thirty years later. This is partly due to the definitional difficulty, partly to such conceptions as that of Givón (1984, p. 84), who views interjections as a language-specific "mixed bag" of items, and partly to the emphasis on the sentence rather than the utterance, which is where interjections are found, being the focus of much formal linguistic study. O'Connell et al. (2007) further support this view, noting that a "written language bias" may be one reason

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[130] In this regard, it seems that Bloomfield's classification is more grammatically focused rather than interactionally focused. For example, he classifies "hello" as a primary interjection but "good-bye" as a secondary one. Possibly this is because of the etymology of "goodbye" from "God be with ye" (Etymonline, n.d.).

why interjections have been overlooked or discounted. As Müller et al. (2014, p. 1983) mention, interjections primarily occur in spoken language; their use in written language is limited to emulating speech.

However, examination of interjections has shown that they, like other elements of conversation, are employed in an orderly way (Schegloff, 2007; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001) and can be categorized. This is far from the view that interjections are, as Kockelman (2003, p. 467) notes in his introduction to previous conceptions of interjections, "…a semiotic artifact of our natural origins and the most transparent index of our emotions. Further motivating the study of interjections in a variety of languages, work by Dingemanse (2017) and Dingemanse et al. (2013) suggests cross-linguistic similarities in the form that some types of interjections take. This is especially the case with those associated with repairs requesting repetition (e.g., English *huh?*), speaking delay signals (e.g., *uh*, *um*), and change-of-state tokens like English *oh*.

Such work provides some interesting motivation for examining interjections in a broad linguistic context, especially considering that, although Dingemanse et al. (2013) examined interjections in thirty-one languages, none of these are Indigenous languages spoken in Canada or the United States. Additional work on such languages adds to the coverage of the topic and allows for testing of such claims about potential universal language features. As well, having a broader range of materials focusing on language-in-use provides more content for developing conversation-focused curricula.

Further, interjections have been shown to play an important role in both turn-taking and repair in the X̲aad Kíl conversations, as discussed in Chapter 5. It is also notable that interjections are well-represented in the body of X̲aad Kíl words that community members still use, even among those who know minimal X̲aad Kíl (M. Ignace, personal communication, February 11, 2021).

8.2. Interjections in X̲aad Kíl

As with other less-spoken languages, interjections in X̲aad Kíl have been minimally studied. Enrico (2003, p. 299-302) provides some examples of interjections in use. As well, in his comprehensive dictionary, Enrico (2005) classifies around 85 entries

as either interjections or compound interjections.[131] In the introductory material to the dictionary, Enrico (2005, p.l11) defines interjections as "extra-sentential material" with "their own fixed intonation contours." What he catalogues as interjections include both expressive words such as '*waahaa*, 'enough', as well as what Ameka (1992, p. 110) calls *formulae*. These are such words as *Háw'aa*, 'thank you', and *áyaa*, 'I don't know.'

Lachler's (2010) Alaskan Haida dictionary includes 38 entries classified as interjections. While the count of interjections is notably smaller than that of Enrico's (2005) dictionary, the ratio of interjections is much higher. Lachler's (2010) dictionary has approximately 5500 entries, while Enrico's (2005) two-volume work has around 14,000 (Enrico, 1994). As well, many of the entries included in Enrico's dictionary represent interjections that are no longer used. For the interested reader, a table of entries classified as interjections from each of Lachler (2010) and Enrico (2005) is provided in Appendix C.

In addition to the dictionary materials, interjections were also discussed with Lawrence Bell and Marianne Ignace (personal communication, April 24, 2019). Working through entries from Lachler (2010) identified as interjections and interjections used in *SG̱aawaay K̲'uunaa*/*The Edge of the Knife*, definitions and examples of use were discussed with Lawrence Bell. These examples and accompanying notes are provided in Table 11.

Table 11:   Interjections and notes from discussion with Lawrence Bell

Interjection	Definition	Notes
ananiyáa	expression of pain, mourning	said by "old naaniis"
angaasgidsdaaya	expression of pain, mourning	similar to ananiyáa, usually said by males
angasgidée	poor thing!	
áajádíyáa	oh! dear me	used for an accidental, minor mishap (the longer the last vowel is extended, the more shameful or disgraceful)

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[131] These entries are drawn from several sources, including the early works of Swanton and discussions with 31 language consultants from Massett and Alaska. Enrico (2005) also worked with 13 language consultants from Skidegate; as the focus of this thesis is on Northern Haida, examples classified as only being found in Southern (Skidegate) Haida were not included in the count.

Interjection	Definition	Notes
ḵ'ahngáa	feel sorry for	less serious than ananiyáa or angaasgidsdaaya used by males or females of different ages
gíijiitl'aa	too bad, unfortunately	
ḵ'w!	chiding	used with a stern face parents to young children; expression only with adult children
íi	when somebody does something socially unacceptable	long and short variations
jáa	say! you there! hey!	Predominantly Alaskan
waahaa[132]	enough!	
waahaa háwsan	enough already!	When you've done something too many times (doing same mistake over and over)
'wáasdluwaanwahaa! or just 'wáasdluuan!	enough already, knock it off	
dlá		ridicule (e.g., someone came into the town hall drunk again for the umpteenth time, and someone responds in disgust)
dláxaanii		genuine admiration

Of these interjections, only *jáa* is found in the conversation and speech data. However, from personal observation, in addition to *jáa*, *waahaa* and *dlá* are also used in English conversations by members of the Haida community. As well, *jáa* has been adapted by many Alaskan Haida learners as an informal greeting. *Háwgsdaa*, 'come on!' or 'get going' is also used in daily interactions. The remaining sections in this chapter discuss the interjections observed in the conversations and speeches, including their use and interactional functions. The discussion begins by providing an overview of the interjections observed in the materials and then examines the interjections in-use.

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[132] Lawrence Bell (personal communication, November 10, 2021) related the following example employing *waahaa*: He recounted a story where he and another individual, who was having eye problems at the time, were in a cafeteria line. The other person asked Lawrence (in Haida), what a particular food on the cafeteria line was. Lawrence replied that it was *sgúusiid*, potato. However, the other person, used to boiled potatoes, still did not recognize the baked potatoes and again asked Lawrence what they were. Eventually, Lawrence replied *sgúusiid waahaa*, conveying that he'd already told the person the information and to stop asking about it.

8.2.1. Interjections in Conversations and Speeches

Just over a dozen lexical items fitting the criteria for interjections were observed in the recordings examined for this project; the number of occurrences for each varied considerably. These are summarized in Table 12, showing the interjection, number of occurrences, and data source. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given their more interactive nature, interjections are more commonly found in the conversations and the story responses than the speeches.

Table 12:   Interjections observed in data

Interjection		Data Source				
		JADC	GWDB	PHSM	ABHG	
ee	agreement	5	21	0	25	51
háw'aa[133]	thank you	5	0	10	0	15
áyaa	I don't know	9	3	0	0	12
gaa	gee!	2				2
gwaa	what?	11	0	0	1	12
háwsdluuwan	hat's all	5	0	0	0	5
jaa	hey!	1	0	3	1	5
háay	go ahead!	2	0	0	0	2
hágw	listen	0	0	0	1	1
hágwsda	come on, get going	0	0	0	1	1
jaa haku:::n		0	0	1		1
jaa awaa		0	0	1		1
gé'e/Gang[134]	No	0	1	0		1
gangaa hin		0	0	1		1
xyaa		0	2	0	0	2
		40	**26**	**16**	**29**	**112**

The most frequently occurring interjection is the pragmatic marker *ee* (Norrick, 2009), followed by the formulaic expression *háw'aa*, 'thank you,' and the expressive interjection

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[133] Classified as an interjection by Bloomfield (1933, p. 176) but as a formulae by Ameka (1992, p. 115)

[134] Classified as an interjection by Bloomfield (1933, p. 177) but as a formulae by Ameka (1992, p. 115)

áyaa, 'I don't know'. Following these in frequency is the interjection *gwaah*, 'what (did you say)?' Each of these four items will now be examined in turn, beginning with those classified as primary interjections. As well, although less frequent in the conversations, speeches, and story responses *jáa* will also be discussed as it is used by current, especially Alaskan, learners of X̱aad Kíl.

8.2.2. Primary Interjections

Here, *primary interjections*, following Ameka (1992) are lexical items used only as interjections, unlike *secondary interjections*, which have independent meaning and are not necessarily interjections (e.g., compare an utterance of '*fire!*' versus '*a fire*'). Primary interjections can be further classified by type as *phatic* or *expressive* (*conative*) (Ameka, 1992); examples of each type are explored in turn in the following sections.

Phatic interjections

Phatic interjections are more focused on maintaining an ongoing discourse, or what Ameka (1992, p. 114) calls "the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact" than on conveying a mental state or provoking an action. The following discussion explores the use of two phatic interjections found in the conversations and speeches.

Gwaa

As previously shown, *gwaa* plays an important role in repair initiations. In initiating such repairs, communicative maintenance can be seen at work. Consider the extract in Example 90. Here, Jane selects Delores in line one. Following this, Delores responds by initiating a turn with a series of false starts. Unsure of what Delores is trying to say, Jane prompts her with *gwaa*, 'what did you say?' in line three.

1	**JA**	Háay	K̲'abaslee. (0.95)
		go ahead	
		'Go ahead, K̲'aabaslee'	

2	**DC**	X̲aad Kihlga, (0.75)	Ǥaa-	xajúu- k'- u:h
		Haida language-DEF		be small
		'The Haida language… sm- to be small… uh,' (0.98)		

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| → | 3 | **JA** | Gwaa!= |
| | | | FOC.Q |

'What?'

| | 4 | **DC** | G̱aagée | xajúu-s | G̱an |
| | | | the children | be small-DEF | for/to |

| | | | tl' | k'ajúu-gang-gan | an | dáng | únsad (1.48) |
| | | | 3.PL.SBJ | SING-HAB-PST | for | 2.SG.OBJ | know X |

'Remember when they (the old folks) sang for us when we were small?'

Example 90: Use of the interjection *gwaa*

The use of *gwaa* here not only initiates Delores's repair in line four, but also, in its identification of trouble, aids in the interactional flow of the conversation.

Ee[135]

While *gwaa* is a lexical item classified as an interjection, the case of *ee*[136] is classified as a response token (Enrico, 2005, 1723-1724). Additionally, while this particle was frequently remarked on by Lawrence Bell, and is observed in the conversations, it is minimally discussed in the published works on Haida. As it is a particle that is characteristic of conversational X̱aad Kíl, however, and most published works deal with other genres, this absence of discussion is perhaps not surprising. Given this lack of documentation, however, more time will be spent here describing and discussing the particle itself prior to examining its function.

First, a note is in order about the phonetic realization of the particle. It is variably pronounced as [æ:], [ɛ:], and [ʌ:], among others, and displays variations in length as well as intraspeaker variation. In some cases, several short particles are uttered while in others one extended particle is uttered. These variations, looking at the data from only the two conversations, are summarized in Table 13.

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[135] Given that the most common realization is [ɛ:], the choice was made to write the particle as *ee*, as [ɛ:] and [æ] are not graphemes used in the Haida orthography. Further analysis and discussions with the community are required to determine the best way of representing this particle. Enrico (2005, p. 1723), who does not mark tone for Masset Haida, and unlike the Alaskan orthography, writes 7 (glottal stop) at the onset of words that start with a vowel, writes this word *7ee*. He notes that is "used to agree to a commanded or requested or proposed action or non-action" (Enrico, 2005, p. 1724)

Table 13: *Ee* particle utterances

Realization of particle	Number of tokens	Average length (s.)	Speaker
æ:	3	0.434	Delores
æʔæ	3	0.417	Gertie
æj	2	0.392	Delores
ɛ:	7	0.399	Dorothy, Delores
ʔɛ	1	0.608	Dorothy
ɛj	1	0.292	Delores
ɛʔɛ	1	0.451	Gertie
ɛʔæ	1	0.428	Gertie
ɛ:ʔʌ	1	0.428	Gertie
ʌ:	4	0.427	Dorothy
ʌʔʌ	2	0.439	Gertie
	26	0.429	

While the particle has different phonetic realizations, consistent intonation patterns are observed. Perceptually, upon repeated comparative listening in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2020), all instances displayed a rising-falling or a rising intonational contour. Of the twenty-six tokens, five had a rising contour while the remaining twenty-one had rising-falling contour.

Ee as agreement marker

Ee is often employed in the backchannel to indicate agreement with what the speaker is saying (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, November 6, 2020). Lawrence Bell likens this particle to have a similar functionality to saying 'hear, hear' in English (personal communication, September 2, 2021). In Example 91, Dorothy is relating the experience of viewing the bones of their Haida ancestors in the American Museum of Natural History during their visit to New York. As she relates this experience, Gertie expresses her agreement with *ee,* as seen in lines two, four, and seven.

1   **DB**   =Yaa (0.45) (throat clearing) (0.27)

        gyáagw (1.89)(.hh) uhhhh (0.64)   íitl'   kuníisii (0.71)
        there   1.PL.POSS   ancestors

→   2   **GW**   Ee:::=

| 3 | **DB** | =sku- (0.60) remain- (0.21) aahhh (0.76) |
| | | bon- |

| | | skuj | gyáagw | tl' | museum-gaay | âa | tl' | is-áan (0.56) |
| | | bones | there | 3.PL | museum | in | 3.PL | to be-DPST |

"…the old folks' bone-, remain-, the bones in the museum"

→ | 4 | **GW** | Ee:: (2.68) |

| 5 | **DB** | Sss- | sangée-ee(0.69) .hhh hh (0.65) uuhhh (0.30) |
| | | | day-DEF |

| | | dámaan | uu (.) | íitl' | gudangáay | st'i-gán (throat catch) |
| | | well | FOC | 1.PL.SBJ | One's mind | to be sad-DPST |

they showed us the bones and that's when we all had sad feelings.

| 6 | **GW** | [??] |

→ | 7 | | Ee:: (swallow) .hh hh |

Example 91: *Ee* used as agreement marker

Gertie's use of *ee* shows agreement, while also indicating that she is following Dorothy's unfolding remarks. Additionally, this use of backchanneling shows Gertie's continued allowance for Dorothy to hold the floor for more than one turn-construction unit (TCU).

Similar uses of *ee* are also observed in the conversation between Jane and Delores. In Example 92, Delores uses *ee* to indicate agreement with what Jane has said, namely, that she knew Uncle Willie. In line one, Jane attempts to select Delores for the next turn; when Delores follows this with laughter in line two, Jane, reiterates the request in line three. In line four, Delores seems to express agreement with Jane's words using *ee*.

| 1 | **JA** | Dáa | hl | súu |
| | | 2.SG.SBJ | PRT.CMD | speak |

| | | gáagii | Willie | Ģidéed | súu (1.41) |
| | | maternal uncle | | about | speak |

| | | dáa | uu | ['láa | an | únsiid-an] (3.47) |
| | | 2.SG.SBJ | FOC | 3.SG.OBJ | | know-DPST |

'You tell! You tell about Uncle Willie. You knew him'

| 2 | **DC** | [°huh huh huh huh](.) huh huh° .hh (2.07) |

3	**JA**	Gáagii		Willie		aa=
		maternal uncle.voc				FRAG
		'Uncle Willie'				

→   4   **DC**   =Ee,(2.22)

Example 92: *Ee* used by Delores

It could also be the case that Delores is using *ee* to indicate that she has heard what Jane has said, rather than to agree with what Jane has said. Given that Delores responds with laughter in line two, Jane may perceive this to mean that Delores has not heard her request, as she is not acknowledging Jane's selection of her to take the next turn. Thus, Delores's *ee* in line four may serve to confirm her hearing of what Jane has said.

In addition to finding *ee* in the two conversations, it is also found in the storying exchange between 'Láanas Sdang and Henry Geddes. Examples of such use were already seen in §7.4.2, however, one additional example is illustrative here. Prior to the exchange shown below, Henry Geddes has been explaining how the Chippewa people had videotaped some of their stories and is trying to pitch an idea to Adam Bell about doing the same and compiling it with those recorded by the Chippewa. Notable in this portion of the recording, until the prompted use shown in Example 93, is the lack of use of *ee*, suggesting that Adam Bell is not very interested in the proposed idea (Lawrence Bell, personal communication, October 6, 2021).

1	**HG**	'Wáagyaan	uu (0.27)		áajii	kinggangaay
		and then	FOC		this	news, lore
		gyaaganaa	uu	gaa gu, (0.70)		
			FOC			
		'And so, according to their local lore, they're going according to their own stories'				

2		Áajii	picture-gee	tl'aa	uu	hlaayanii (1.61)
		this	picture-DEF	3.PL	FOC	
		'So they made this documentary accordingly'				

3		Dámaan	uu	gu-sG̱anguuwaa		G̱usdlaang=
		well	FOC	interesting (amazing)		very much
		It's very interesting				

→   4   **AB**   =EE=

5	**HG**	=uh,	hak'un	uu	áajii, (0.60) u:h, (0.61)	táan-ee	suu
			like this	FOC	this	bear-DEF	

	nang	jáadaas	uu	tlaG̱eelaan	dluu,
	certain one	woman	FOC	to become	when

'So when this lady became one of the bear people,'

Example 93: Prompted use of *ee* for acknowledgement

While we were transcribing this section, Lawrence Bell mentioned several times that his dad was not saying anything in response to Henry Geddes' idea of compiling a video of Haida stories with those of the Chippewa (and perhaps other groups). Instead, the only time that 'Láanas Sdang responds is after Henry Geddes, having received no feedback, prompts him to respond by stating in line three, *damanuu guu sanguu ga G̱aslaang*, 'it is very interesting.' After this, 'Láanas Sdang responds emphatically with *ee*.

Comparison to Particle of Similar Graphemic Shape

X̱aad Kíl *ee*, although graphemically similar to particles in other languages, is distinct from these particles. Writing from a Canadian context, perhaps the first particle that comes to mind is Canadian *eh*, viewed as stereotypical of Canadian English. Denis (2020, p. 583), following Wiltschko and Heim (2016) notes that Canadian *eh* is a confirmational particle "that typically functions to seek addressee confirmation of the truth."[137] This is different from X̱aad Kíl *ee*, which is uttered by an addressee to respond with agreement with what the speaker has said.

This functional distinction is shown in Example 94. Data in part (a) is from the conversation between Jane and Delores. In line one, Jane asks Delores for clarification about the topic of the discussion which Ben has proposed previously. In line two, Delores provides confirmation with a lengthened utterance of the particle *ee*. In part (b), where data is drawn from a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews (Wiltschko et al., 2018, p. 577) Canadian English *eh* is uttered by the speaker (WT) as an interrogative tag in response to the interviewer's (INT) statements.

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[137] This is a broad characterization of the function. Gold (2004) identifies ten specific functions, some of which are based on earlier work by Gibson (1977).

(a)	1	JA:	Gáagii Timbo- maternal uncle	Gáagii (0.27) Willy maternal uncle	aa FRAG
			'Uncle Timbo- Uncle Willy?'		
	2	DC	Ee:: (2.95)		

(b)	1	WJ	I can remember the graders coming down and grading the gravel roads and dust everywhere of course, um so that would've been- that would've been what, late forties forty-six forty-seven forty-`five`, in there, yeah.
	2	INT	Wow, they'd grade the roads.
	3	WJ	They would grade the roads, yup. What a change, eh?
	4	INT	yeah

Example 94: Comparison of X̲aad Kíl *ee* and Canadian English *eh*
Note: Data in (b) is excerpted from an example in Wiltschko et al. (2018, p. 577) taken from the Synchronic Corpus of Victorian English. It is from a 69-year old male.

Thus, even from brief examination it is clear that the two particles, while graphemically the same, are functionally different.[138] X̲aad Kíl *ee* is a response token uttered by an addressee while Canadian English *eh* is a particle used by the speaker to prompt a response from the addressee.

Expressive (Conative) Interjections

Having examined the phatic interjection *ee*, the discussion now turns to examine expressive, or conative, interjections in X̲aad Kíl. Unlike phatic interjections, which are focused on discourse maintenance, expressive interjections are used to display the mental state of a speaker and attempt to provoke a reaction from a listener (Ameka, 1992). This is the case with *áyaa*, I don't know, and *jáa*, 'hey! you there!', each of which will now be explored in turn.

Áyaa

Áyaa, 'I don't know' is the second-most frequently used expressive interjection and is employed in both conversations. In Example 95, Delores uses this interjection in response to Jane's request for confirmation of what she has said prior to line one.

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[138] As well, X̲aad Kíl *ee* and Canadian English *eh* have different phonetic realizations. In the conversation data, X̲aad Kíl ee was most frequently realized as /ɛ:/ or /æ/. Canadian English *eh,* however, is normally realized as /eɪ/

Delores, however, responds with *áyaa* and laughter in line two, conveying her mental state; namely, that she is not able to provide the requested confirmation.

| | 1 | **JA** | hánggwaa (2.05) |
| | | | 'Right?' |

| → | 2 | **DC** | Áyaa   [uh huh huh huh] huh= |
| | | | 'I don't know' |

| | 3 | **BY** | [hh HUH] $=   [gin   ḵ'á]laad   Ḡaadaay |
| | | | thing   different   about |

uu   t'aláng gúusuu   hlangaa .hh [uh]
FOC   1.PL.SBJ to talk   can *v*

'We'll talk about something else (something different)'

| | 4 | **JA** | [°ha ha°] |

Example 95: *Áyaa* as used by Delores

Similarly, in the conversation between Gertie and Dorothy, Gertie uses *áyaa* in line three to indicate that she doesn't have the information that Dorothy requested, the X̱aad Kíl word for 'over twenty' or 'thirty'. This exchange is shown in Example 96.

| | 1 | **DB** | Dlasii   dlúu (0.63) over twenty? (1.31) |
| | | | Following   even with |

| | 2 | **GW** | a::: (0.42) thirty, thirty (1.25) |

(20.17 seconds omitted where DB discusses the bus driver who took them to the September 11 site when they visited New York)

| → | 3 | **GW** | .HHH   °Áyaa° |
| | | | I don't know |

Example 96: Áyaa as used by Gertie

Here, as with the exchange between Jane and Delores, *áyaa* is used as a response to a question. Notably, this expression is distinct from *gam an díi unsad'anggang*, although both are translated as 'I don't know'. Enrico (2005, p. 1675), beyond identifying *áyaa* as an interjection, also notes that it has level high-low intonation; this is the case with the examples observed in this data as well.

Jáa

The interjection *jáa* is an attention-getting word, conveying 'say! you there! hey!' (Lachler, 2010, p. 165; Enrico, 2005, p. 239). According to Enrico, it has level high intonation. This, along with context, helps to distinguish it from the homonymous classifier and noun. While there is only one instance of this interjection in the data, it is included here as it is a commonly-used expression by learners of X̱aad Kíl, especially Alaskan learners. Example 97 shows Delores's use of *jáa* during her recounting of one of the stories she tells during her conversation with Jane. Preceding this excerpt, Delores has been relating to her mother how her uncle Lalli put her and Betty off the boat because they laughed at the halibut flopping around. In line one, she recounts what her mother said to her when she related Lalli's actions.

1	DC:	Ahljíihl	uu	díi	aw (0.27)	súu
		therefore	FOC	1.SG.POSS	mother	to speak

"jáa	gasán tl'aa	(0.77)	'láa-	'laá
hey!	why		3.SG.SBJ	3.SG.SBJ

dlajáaw-aan(0.15)	gúusuu	daláng
behave(sg)-IPST	to speak	2.PL.OBJ

isdáa-yaan" (0.88)
to do-IPST

'And then my mother said, Hey! Why did he do that to you kids? Why did he behave this way?'

Example 97:   Use of *jáa* by Delores

Here, Delores has been telling her mother how Uncle Lalli had brought her and Betty ashore while they were out halibut fishing and had not given them the lunch that she had packed for them. Her mother questions why Lalli has behaved this way, using the interjection *jáa*.

8.2.3. Formulaic Expressions

As they occur frequently in the conversations and speeches, a brief discussion of one common formulaic expression, sometimes classified as an interjection, is also useful. Although Enrico (2005) classifies *háw'aa* as an interjection, Ameka (1992, p.108-111) classifies expressions like 'thank you' as *formulae*. Following Ameka's (1992)

discussion, *há'waa* does seem to function less like an interjection in the sense discussed above. For example, Ameka (1992, p. 109) notes that interjections are not addressed to specific participants, while formulae are; this is the case with há'waa. Even when the addressee of *há'waa* is not explicit, the context makes clear the addressee. For example, in the context of the speeches, when *há'waa* is used to end the speech, it is clear that the addressee is the group in attendance.

Háw'aa

Háw'aa, 'thank you,' is used in both the conversation between Jane and Delores and in several of the speeches. As mentioned previously, thanking is an integral part of Haida speechmaking. In the conversation among Jane, Delores, and Ben, *Há'waa* is used to indicate general thanks by Ben and Jane after their respective introductions. Jane's use of *há'waa* is shown in Example 98.

1	**JA**	K'ujuuhl	hín	uu	díi	kya'áang (1.38) .hh
			thus	FOC	1.SG.SBJ	one's own name

	díi	asán (0.80)		G̱aw	X̱aadaa-gang (0.44)
	1.SG.SBJ	too, also		Massett	Haida person-PRS

Háw'aa (1.72)
Thank you

'My name is K'ujuuhl. I'm also a Haida from Massett. Thank you.'

Example 98: Jane's use of *Há'waa* after her introduction

Here, this can be seen as, perhaps, an expression of thanks to those listening for receiving her introduction, or an expression of thanks for the opportunity to speak.

At the end of the conversation, thanks are offered by the facilitator and two of the three speakers in turn, as shown in lines four, five, and nine of Example 99.

1	**BY**	uh, oh I'm just encouraging (0.38) anyone who is out there that wanting- that are wanting to learn Xaad Kil (0.21) it is- it'll get (0.22) difficult at times but don't ever give up (0.49) u:m be determined u:m (0.23) you will learn it we'll save it together

	2	**DC**	One thing that's really important (0.76) is that- (0.27)to emphasize- is (0.98) the only thing that makes us different (0.47) from oth- from other Native people? (0.79) is our language (0.38) we share a lot of the artwork, (0.62) we share a lot of the culture, (0.43) different (0.22) um (0.44) our clan systems are very similar, (0.74) but uh-(0.61) our language is the one (0.52) that makes us Haida (4.02)

	3	**BY**	âa	uu	tláan
			this	FOC	no more, that's all

'That's all'

→	4	**??**	Háw'aa

'Thank you'

→	5	**BY**	Háw'aa (0.40)

'Thank you'

	6	**JA**	Húu guu	íitl'	G̲iihlgii ? (0.23)
				1.PL.SBJ	with

Are we finished ?

	7	**DC**	ee:,

	8	**BY**	Áang

'Yes'

→	9	**JA**	Háw'aa

'Thank you'

Example 99: *Háw'aa* used at end of conversation

In line five, *Háw'aa* is used by Ben as a response to the facilitator's thanks. After receiving confirmation that the conversation is finished from both Delores in line seven and Ben in line eight,[139] Jane then offers her thanks in line nine

In addition to the more complex thanking formulae included in the speeches, discussed in §6.2, *Háw'aa* is also used frequently. For example, Alfred Davidson (AD) uses it to acknowledge the thanks offered by Amanda Edgars (AE), as shown in line two of Example 100.

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[139] Also notable here are the two different ways in which agreement is expressed. In line seven, Delores used the particle *eh* to indicate agreement, while Ben, a learner, used *áang*, yes.

1		Díi	hánsan	daláng	aa	(.)	kílag-ee
		1.SG.SBJ	too, also	2.PL.OBJ	to, in		to give thanks-

	gudánggang	x̲aadaa	'láa-sii (0.28)
	one's own mind	people	to be good-DEF

→ 2 Alfred   Háw'aa (0.68)
     Davidson   Thank you

Example 100: *Há'waa* used to acknowledge thanks

Line one demonstrates a more complex thanking formula using the expression *xaadee 'laasii*, 'good people'. This is then acknowledged with *há'waa*, 'thank you' in line two.

Other speeches also show use of *há'waa* to close out the discussion of a topic. For example, in her speech, Charlotte Marks uses *há'waa* after she has expressed her thanks to those in attendance and to Mary Lee Stearns for the work she has done to make the stonemoving possible. This summary function of *há'waa* is demonstrated in Example 101.

→ 1   Áanaa   díi, (1.21)   dáa[140]   gid   (0.18)
     next door   1.SG.POSS   one's brother   child

    dalang   an   hl   hlG̲aay (.)-gan (call). (0.62)
    2.PL.OBJ   for, to   1.SG.SBJ   to call-DPST

    'And so I thank you all for heeding my brother's daughter's call [by coming here to the house].'

2   gu (.)   daláng   istl'aaG̲ujuusii   sG̲awd (0.15) ga   kil'laa-sii (0.47)
    there   2.PL.OBJ   to arrive (PL.)   in exchange for   to thank-

    'I thank you all for attending (for being here).'

3   'Wáagyaan   saa nang iitlaagaadaas   aa   kil.laa-gang
    and then   God   PP   to thank-PRS

    Áa   uu   tliisdluu   daláng   aa   kilagee   (dii)naa   G̲iid-ang.
    this   FOC   finally   2.PL.OBJ   PP   to thank   1.SG.POSS   to be thus-PRS

    háw'aa
    thank you

    'And so I thank you all for heeding my brother's daughter's call [by coming here to the house]. I thank you all for attending (for being here). And I also thank the lord. And so here ends my thanks to you all'

Example 101: Charlotte Marks uses *háw'aa* to summarize section

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[140] Lachler (2010, p. 44) notes that *dáa* is only used to refer to a female's relatives.

Here, Charlotte Marks is concluding a section before moving on to tell a humorous story. She begins by reiterating her thanks to everyone who has accepted the invitation to the planning meeting and ends by explicitly pointing out that these remarks conclude her thanks.

Chapter 9.

Discussion

The previous chapters have introduced some strategies that X̱aad Kíl speakers use to negotiate meaning in conversation and speeches. Examination of two conversations and twelve speeches, along with a storying exchange, while by no means enough to draw exhaustive conclusions, provides some initial comments about the structure of and strategies employed in two types of X̱aad Kíl discourse. This chapter briefly summarizes the findings from the previous chapters and then turns to discuss limitations of the present work and plans for future work.

9.1. Findings

The examination of approximately one-and-a-half hours of recorded X̱aad Kíl conversation and speeches set out to address the following research questions:

1) What strategies do and did X̱aad Kíl speakers employ in conversations and speeches to negotiate meaning?

   a. What norms characterize turn-taking and repair in conversations and speeches?

      i. How do the norms vary based on the topic, participants, and register?

      ii. How is communicative competence demonstrated by knowledge of such strategies?

2) How might explicit knowledge of conversational norms support and benefit X̱aad Kíl language learners?

The first question was explored via analysis of various interactive resources used in the conversations, speeches, and interactive storying exchange, beginning with an examination of turn-taking and repair strategies. It was found that the four speakers in the conversations employed a range of turn-taking strategies, categorizable under the three general types of speaker selection as identified by Sacks et al. (1974). Self-selection for next turn seems to be more preferred than the current speaker selecting the next speaker in these two conversations. However, this apparent departure from

previously observed preference for current speaker selecting next (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974; Nosfinger, 1991) may also result from the way in which turns were identified. If, indeed, self-selection is the preferred strategy, this could also be due to the nature of the two conversations. As each conversation is a facilitated one where participants are, in essence, tasked to talk for the camera in X̱aad Kíl, it could be that this environment prompts different turn-taking patterns than those that would be found in non-facilitated, non-filmed conversations.

Along with regularities in turn-taking, the discussion also examined how speakers employed story prefaces to gain the floor for a longer than normal speaking turn and how the other participant used backchannelling and non-verbal behaviours to indicate tracking during the telling of the story. Stories had a key role in both conversations and in many of the speeches. In the conversations, a good portion of the dialogue centred on story, with each of the speakers telling at least two stories. The manner in which the stories are told is also noteworthy in that they are closely integrated within the rest of the conversation.

Following turn-taking, repair, another fundamental aspect of conversation, was also examined. Here again, speakers negotiated a variety of repair strategies to address troubles in the conversation. These included repairs initiated by the speaker and by the other participant. Other-initiated repair-indicating cues, as described by Dingemanse & Enfield (2015, p. 106) were also explored in relation to the X̱aad Kíl data, such as the use of interrogative words and interjections to mark repair initiations. Preference for certain types of repair over others (e.g., self-repair over other repair), was not examined in detail. However, it was found that the use of repair extended not only to the conversations but to the speeches. In the speeches, self-initiated repairs were more common, with, for example, a speaker engaging in a stop and restart during their turn or specifically asking others for a missing piece of information.

In addition to turn-taking and repair, the thesis also explored the use of other interactive resources, such as response tokens and interjections. The prevalence of these, such as *ee* to express agreement and indicate that participants are tracking with the conversation and *gwaa* to cue a restatement of information, demonstrate their importance for conversational fluency. In addition, the notice such expressions were

afforded by Lawrence Bell during our sessions indicate the necessity of a command of these in X̱aad Kíl conversation.

At first, it seemed like the selected data came from three disparate genres of interactive talk. However, the notable similarities found in these in terms of the interactional resources used suggest that much can be learned about the structure of X̱aad Kíl conversation from speeches and storying exchanges. This also suggests a possible avenue for learning more about conversational structure in other languages for which there are limited conversation recordings but perhaps a body of other types of interactive talk.

9.2. Limitations

The primary limitation of this research is the researcher's lack of proficiency in X̱aad Kíl. Ideally, work analyzing language-in-use would be done by someone at an intermediate to advanced level of proficiency in the language and a member of the X̱aad Kíl community. Lack of proficiency in the language resulted in increased difficulty in transcribing the conversations and speeches. At the same time, however, there is an urgency to transcribe and translate materials while there are still Elder native speakers; this becomes more urgent with each passing day[141].

Other limitations are technical ones. For example, the lack of video recordings for the speeches meant that discussion of non-verbal behaviours was not possible. In some instances, both for the speeches and conversations, some segments of data remained unclear even after repeated listening. As well, the background noise of the recordings, including echoes of the speaker's words from the sound system, occasionally posed difficulties for transcription. Voices in the background, which may have served an important function in the speech, such as contributing a response to the speaker (e.g., indicating agreement) in many cases could not be identified. As well, given the amount of 'noise' in the recordings, marking of pauses and gaps had to be done manually rather than via a script in Praat.

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[141] For example, shortly after beginning my work with X̱aad Kil, speaker Claude Jones passed away, and while I was writing up the work, Jane Adams, whose conversation was explored in this thesis, also passed away.

As previously mentioned, the small amount of data analyzed for this project also limit the generalizability of the conclusions drawn. Thus, it is important to interpret the conclusions from this view. The project is a case study of these two conversations and twelve speeches. As such, comments can be made about what certain speakers do in these specific environments, which may suggest how other speakers may behave in other environments. Examining additional conversation and speechmaking data from a broader body of speakers would help to provide more generalizable conclusions.

9.3. Next Steps

At the outset of this project, the goal was to analyze conversation recordings and then workshop the resulting materials with teacher-learners of X̱aad Kíl. It was thought that, following such discussions, sample curriculum resources could be prepared and then field-tested with learners. However, while several discussions about the project took place with groups of community members during research and analysis, the actual workshopping sessions are yet to take place.[142] Introductory remarks about the project were received positively and helpful critique was provided about the proposed sessions and the rough drafts of the transcripts. Currently, rough drafts have been shared with some teacher-learners in both Massett and Hydaburg. A follow-up session, held in-person in Juneau, Alaska in September 2021 also provided helpful feedback for future work, especially the suggestion examining some of the response tokens in-depth, such as *ee*.

It is hoped that more focused workshopping sessions will include discussion of community goals for curriculum and the usefulness and application of the analyzed language materials for meeting these goals. Following testing of the materials with teachers and learners, these can be revised and refined. The hope is that materials developed from the analyzed conversations and speeches will be the first step toward building a collection of conversationally-focused materials that are geared especially toward intermediate and advanced learners.

In addition to workshopping the materials to develop curriculum, it would also be beneficial to augment the present data with additional conversation and speech data.

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[142] This is partly due to the length of time it took to complete the transcription of the materials and partly due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which restricted discussions to Zoom.

Recording conversations between learners, between teachers and learners, and between speakers at different levels (e.g., advanced learners and Elder fluent speakers) would allow for a fuller description of the strategies employed in X̲aad Kíl conversation. It would also further increase the available body of documented and analyzed conversations and would provide a comparative resource to examine the strategies used by learners and those used by fluent speakers in negotiating meaning in the language.

Coda: Further Thoughts

Writing this thesis is one of the most difficult tasks that I have undertaken, not only in an academic sense, but also in an emotional one. With each sentence I wrote, and rewrote, and rewrote, I considered not only the technical aspects of good writing—Does this make sense? Is it clear? Concise? Does it say what I want it to say? but also the relational implications of my writing. I kept in mind critiques of academic work that divorce Indigenous languages from their cultural and relational context or take an overly analytical or "clinical" approach to language.

I weighed word choice carefully, thinking how those reading my work might respond. I thought of specific teachers and learners of X̱aad Kíl whom I have been privileged to meet and listen to, and how this individual or that would perceive what I wrote. Would it be in a good way? Or would my work be added to chapters by Indigenous scholars of "what not to do"? At times, I felt confident, at many others, overwhelmed by feelings of "not measuring up" to the task at hand. Although Marianne and Lawrence, when I approached them with my hesitations, were more than positive about me doing this work, I was still unsure. At first, these feelings were self-centred and driven by my own insecurities. Was I the person to be doing this work? How would I be perceived? Was I yet another settler-colonizer who was doing more harm than good, despite my good intentions?

However, as the work evolved, so too did my perspective. While it would be arrogant, and untrue, to say that I became sure of my work, or how it would be perceived, I did become more aware of how I was approaching the work. As well, as I listened to recordings of the Elders, and talked with Lawrence, my motivation for doing the work in a good way became driven not by anxiety but by a desire to make Lawrence proud and to make a worthwhile contribution to the important work of revitalizing X̱aad Kíl.

While the work does not perfectly achieve these goals, it does make a first step at contributing to the conversation on X̱aad Kíl revitalization. And, indeed, as with any piece of writing, this is by no means the final word on the topic.

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Appendix A

Orthographic Conventions

Letter	IPA Symbol	Pronunciation	Sample Word	Translation
a	[ʌ]	Like the vowel in "sun"	adíitsii	woods
aa	[ɑ]	long a as in "father"	áal	paddle
aw	[ow]	"ow" as in "row"	táwii	friend
ay	[ej]	As in English "hey"	k'ay	apple
b	[b]	Like "b" in bread	sablíi	bread
(ch)	[tʃ]	Like "ch" in church	chíin	fish
d	[d]	like 'd' in 'dog'	dúus	cat
dl	[dʒ]	d and l combined	dláamaal	licorice fern
ee	[ej]	long ay like English 'may'	née	the house
g	[g]	"g" as in "good"	gawíid	bead
g̲	[ɢ]	a sound made deep in the throat; in Massett almost like a glottal stop	g̲ándl	water
h	[h]	like h in "hurry"	hawíid	hurry
hl	[ɬ]	combination of h + voiceless l	hldáan	blueberry
i	[ɪ]	short "i" like in "pin"	inúu	turnip
ii	[i]	as in "seen"	íinaang	herring
j	[dʒ]	like j in "John"	jaas	sister
k	[kʰ]	like English k but aspirated	kún	whale, nose
k'	[k']	pinched or glottalized k	k'ún	pants
k̲	[q]	"throat k"	k̲úng	moon
k̲'	[q']	pinched or glottalized throat k	k̲'amahl	razor clam

Letter	IPA Symbol	Pronunciation	Sample Word	Translation
l	[l]	like English l	lagúus	mat
'l	[ʔl]	like English l with a "pinch" before	'láanaa	village
('ll)				
m	[m]	like English "m"	masmúus	cow
n	[n]	like English n	núu	octopus
ng	[ŋ]	like English "ng" in "sing"	ngaal	broad kelp
p		like English p (rare)	páabaa	pepper
p'	[p']	pinched p	tap'ad	snap, break
s	[s̠]	between English s and sh	sáandlaan	dawn
t	[tʰ]	like English t but aspirated	táaw	food
t'	[t]	pinched t	t'aláng	we
tl	[tɬ]	t followed by l	tlúu	canoe
ts	[tʃ]	see ch like English ch in child	tsíin	fish
ts'	[tʃ']	pinched ts	ts'úujuu	small
u	[ʊ]	short u as in "put"	kún	whale, nose
uu	[u]	long u as in "moon"	lagúus	mat
w	[w]	like English w	wíid	Swainson's thrush
'w	l	like w with pinch before	'wáadaa née	store
x	[x]	gentle hissing sound; no English equivalent	xíl	medicine, leaf
x	[ħ]	throat friction sound	xángii	eye
x̂	[χ]	a throat sound made higher in the throat than x. Very rare in Massett	k'aláax̂an	fence
y	[j]	like English y	yáahl	raven
'y	[ʔy]	y with a pinch before (rare)	'yáangala	be easy
' or (7)	[ʔ]	glottal stop	gya'áangw	cloth

Appendix B

Quantitative Account of Conversation Turns

Depending on how turns are counted, there can be multiple ways of quantifying turns in any given stretch of conversation. Further, determining what constitutes a turn is often quite complex. Yet, for comparative purposes, it is useful to have an idea of the size of the body of data examined, as well as, more importantly, how the time at talk is shared among speakers. To give such an indication, Tables A.1 and A.2 provide an overview of the numbers of turns enacted by each speaker. As a reminder, turns types are categorized as follows: 1) Current speaker selects next, 2) Next speaker self-selects, 3) Current speaker continues. Although the focus of the analysis is how the participants interact in X̲aad Kíl, this is concentrated within a conversational context that includes both X̲aad Kíl and English. Thus, all turns are included in the count of turns, rather than only those constructed entirely of X̲aad Kíl.

Table A.1: Turn composition of conversation between Gertie White and Dorothy Bell, by speaker and turn type

Speaker	Turn Type	Turn Count	Shortest	Longest	Average Length
DB	1	18	0.21	12.95	3.82
	2	63	0.29	8.95	3.95
	3	46	0.47	161.15	5.15
		127			4.49
GW	1	19	0.48	12.67	3.86
	2	83	0.15	21.32	4.57
	3	37	0.31	16.4	4.52
		139			4.55

Table A.2: Turn composition of conversation between Jane Adams, Delores Churchill, and Ben Young, by speaker and turn type

Speaker	Turn Type	Turn Count	Shortest	Longest	Average Length
JA	1	48	0.30	23.84	6.99
	2	55	0.30	28.51	6.6
	3	52	0.31	90.72	6.44
		155			6.29
DC	1	57	0.14	56.09	6.59

	2	72	0.27	138.27	6.68
	3	42	0.45	177.38	5.68
		171			6.66
BY	1	20	0.11	20.38	5.07
	2	72	0.22	76.23	5.95
	3	29	0.65	28.82	6.13
		121			5.95

However, it is important to keep in mind that "counting and coding", to borrow Herring's (2004) term, is not the focus of this work. To take such an approach cannot fully account for the interactive nature of conversation; it also runs the risk of obscuring the complexity and richness of the conversations themselves.

Appendix C

Catalogue of Interjections

Table C.1: Interjections from Lachler (2010)

Interjection	English gloss
Áyaa	I don't know
Áa	Amazing, incredible
Aawáaay	Shame on you!
Áay	Yes? What?
Áayóo	The fish are jumping!
Amahl amahl	Don't do that
Amiyáa	Expression of fright
Dagwáang	Dear
Eh	Agreement marker
Gáa'anuu	No!
Gin isgyáan uu	My goodness!
Gá	Reaction to a strong smell
Gidanhl	No wonder!
Háaníisgwáa	How beautiful!
Háay	Go ahead! Start off!
Hadáaw	Dismay, displeasure
åHágw	Listen!
Hágwsdaa	Come on! Get going! Hurry! Go ahead! Get to it!
Haháayaa	Expression used to get someone's attention
Hálaa	Give it here! Give it to me!
Hawíid	Come here! (sg)
Hawíid'uu	Come here! (pl)
Háwsdluwaan	That's enough! quit it! stop!
Háw'aa	Thank you
Háw'aa'uu	Thank you (pl)
Híndaa	Scram! beat it! Let me see it!
Hínd hawíid	Come here!
Hóhóhó	Exclamation said of something unusual, e.g., exceptionally big; also used when tired or in pain
Ís	Dirty!
Ja háw'aa	Thank you very much
k'áangaa	Dear! (to younger females)
K'wáay	Wait!
Kádlaa	Go ahead! Go do it! Go on! Be on your way!
Sgusgusgusgúu	Call of the skasguyáng
Uláang	No! I refuse!
Úu	My! How nice!
Wáanang	Move it! Get out of my way!
'yáa	How strange! Weird!

Table C.2: Interjections from Enrico (2005)

Interjection	English gloss	Notes
'mah	I told you so!	Obsolete, level high intonation
Ja 'maay Jaa 'maayga]	I don't believe it; don't say that	obsolete
Mooy, 'amooy	Expression of disbelief	bsolete
Tilaayaas	Skinny thing	Low-high-high- intonation
Ss ss ss	Soothing sound to babies rocked in arms	Obsolete
Sah		Variant of 'aasah
Dlah	Delicious!	Level high intonation
Dlaanaa (hadlaan) Hatl'aan	Come here!	See dlaranaa
Tlaan, tláan	Stop!	
Gwaa	What (did you say)? What (do you want)? In response to someone calling speaker's name	Enrico glosses as a tag 'hey?' or what? In M it can occur directly after a question, where it conveys a desire for a quick answer (p. 880)
Gasaa(')isan	I wouldn't do such a thing!	Notes for usage in Enrico p.903
Hagasantl'aa.uu	Of course (in reply to a negative imperative)	
gaa		See kaa
Gus	Come here! (To dogs)	
gusgid	Guess! (used only as part of a guessing game in which another person is asked to guess what one is holding)	
Guustl'aas.an		See guustl'aas xan
Guuhéd	Go ahead!	From English, basis of a derived verb
Kaa gaa	Disappointment in or disapproval of someone's behaviour; I'm tired of it!	Level low intonation and extra-long phonetic length
K'waa		See k'waay
Ngaa	Look! Look at this	Also used in Masset to accompany the obscene gesture kaw taadaang
Cyah, cyaa	Dismay, especially at a mistake	
Cu-u-u, cu-u-uwi	I'm tired!	Stylized exhalation (all sonorants are devoiced), p. 1226
Ramm	Phew (it stinks!)	
Q'w	Anger, displeasure	Directed at either adults or children, but always by someone older and superior (unless by a peer in jest)
Q'uu	I don't believe it, you're lying!	
Xi, xa, xaww, xaa.aw	(jealous ridicule of someone who is proud or of something someone is proud of); what you say is impossible, I don't believe it!	

Interjection	English gloss	Notes
'yah	Now that you see that I was right, I told you so	Used by children only
'ya-a-a, 'yaah	surprise	
K'waay 'amts'uwaan	Wait a bit!	
'amas, 'amasg	Stop doing that! Stop saying that!	obsolete; used to adults or children
Amiyaa, 'amyu-u-u	I don't believe it; you're lying	
'angal	More!	Apparently babyalk
'ah 'ah	Don't! Stop!	Used to children or adults
'ahhuuh 'ahhuuh	That's right!	obsolete
'ayams; hams	It's secret, I can't tell you!	
Ja 'a-a-a	Oh! (surprise)	
'a-a-a	exasperation	
'aa	Hmm, let's see! Oh yes!	
'aasah	I made a mistake! (astonishment)	
Ja 'ayaa	I really don't know	
'aahwaayaa, 'aawaay, 'a-a-wa-ay	Dammit	
'utlaa ('utlaa'wa)	Let's go!	
'uh haa, 'uh ha-a-a, huuhaa	What a thing to do!	
'e-e-e	I wish I had some of that!	
'o-o-o'oo	Soothing	obsolete, to babies
'aay, 'a-a-ay, 'o-o-oy	Call to someone in woods, response to a call in woods	
Hahlgwaa, hahlgwáa	(come) closer!	
Hall, hal	Come, come here! please	
Halaa	Give it here!	
Haha-a-a		See haa
Waasdluu.an, hawsdluu.an, háwsdluu.an	That's enough, that's all	
Hawiid	Hurry! right now!	
Ja hawiid	Hurry!	
Haa, haha-a-a	Boohoo! (weeping)	
Haa	Vocable	obsolete
Haadiisgwa-a-a	Shame, disapproval	Used only when the shame or disapproval arises from the actions of a member of the speaker's family
Haandii	Fear	obsolete; Used by women only
Haaniigwa-a-a	Pretty! Delicious!	obsolete
Hahihi-i-i-I, hay'ihi-i-i	So long! Such a long time	
Hi-i-i	It's raining so hard!	
Hoh hoh hoh hoh	wearinesss	
He-e-e	On returning empty-handed from hunting, but not from other kinds of food gaahering; on seeing bad weather	

Interjection	English gloss	Notes
He-e-ehyaa', haahaayaa	Surprise, disbelief	Swanton; only from possessed shamans
Hoho-o-ohoo	Canoe coming!	obsolete
Hoob 'e-e-e	Heave!	obsolete, mostly used in tug-of-war contests
Yahdagwaayaa	There is no way I can help you	obsolete
Wahhaa	displeasure	
(raspberry sound)	I don't think much of you	
(repeated alveolar click)	Surprise, astonishment	obsolete
Q'a, q'aa, q'ah	Pretty!	Alaska
Kaa wahhaa	displeasure	
Ja k'waay	Hold on! Wait!	
'i-i-I cyaa ray	Very strong dismay	
Ja qadlaa	Go on, go do it!	
Xaww q'w	Jealous ridicule of someone who is proud or something someone is proud of	
Ja 'ya-a-a	surprise	
'aayaa hams	I don't know because it's a secret	
Ja 'a-a-a	Oh! (surprise)	
Ja 'ayaa, ja 'aya-a-a	I really don't know	
Ja 'aawaay	Strong displeasure	
Ja 'ic-c-c	dismay	
Xaww 'ic-c-c		
Ja 'i-i-i	Strong disgust	
Ja 'utlaa	Let's go!	
Ja halaa	Give it here!	
Ja hawiid	Hurry!	
Ja wahhaa	Strong displeasure	
Ja hindaa	Let me see it!	
Ja daayg	disapproval	