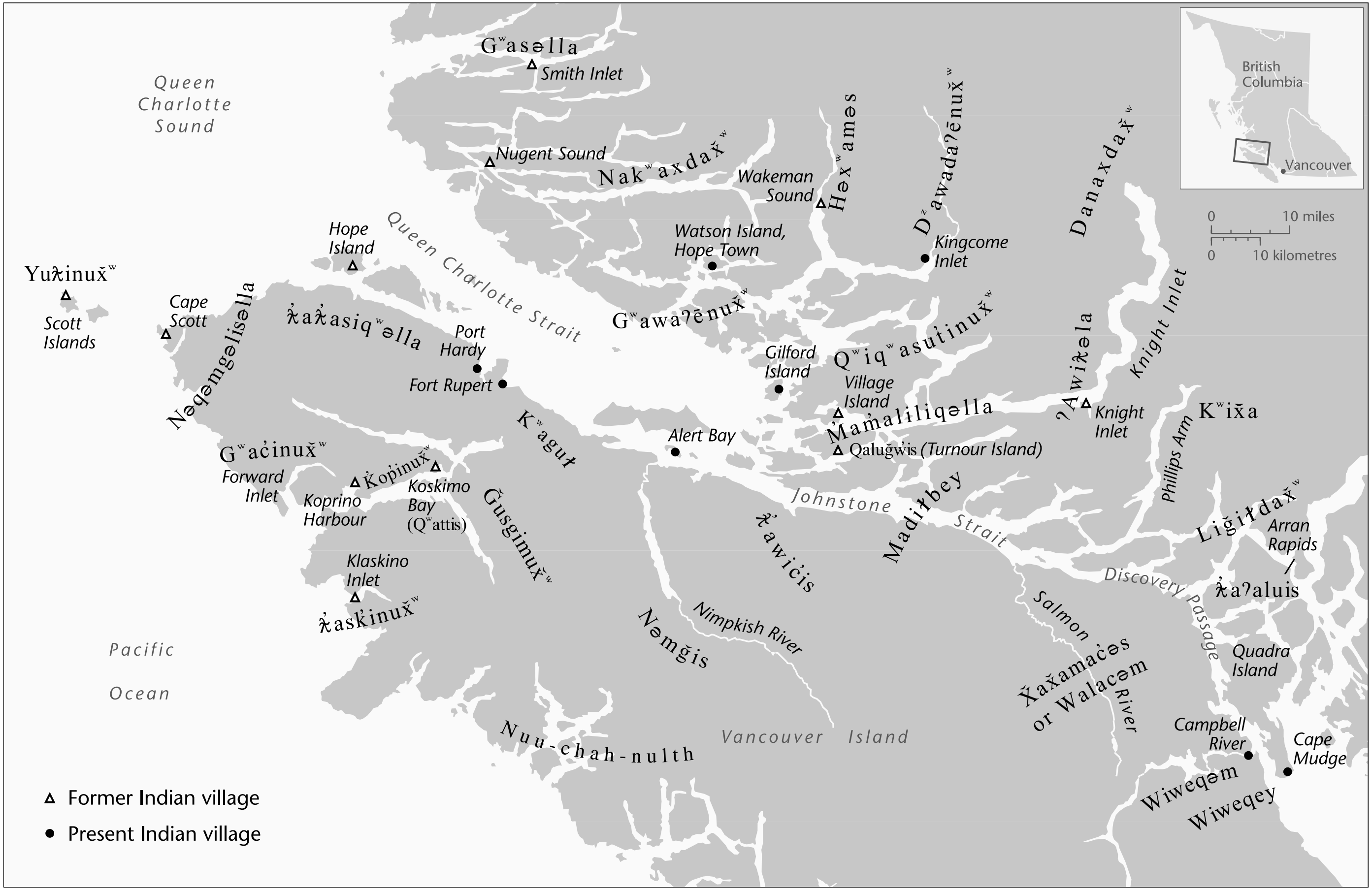
Introduction

In recent years autobiography as a genre has come under a good deal of scrutiny. Is an autobiography a fiction of the self (Mandel 1968; Heilbrun 1988)? A story of a story? "A novel that dares not speak its name" (Barthes 1994)? North American First Nations autobiographical material, especially, has been the subject of much discussion in anthropological literature. Even treated as "a culturally specific narrative genre" (Cruikshank 1990: x), autobiographies still raise many issues, as we shall see in this book, which attempts a new way of writing down (textualizing) the verbal art of a non-literate First Nations individual.[1]

Autobiography

There are several ways to record a person's life. The subject may tell it and write it, in a self-written first-person narrative, an autobiography. A biographer may write a person's life from direct or indirect sources in what is called a biography. Pre-literate North American First Nations individuals have narrated their lives (or episodes of their lives) through such intermediaries as ethnographers, missionaries, ethnologists, historians, and doctors, and these life-history narratives form another category of writings, known as "as-told-to autobiographies." Georg Misch (1951) and Karl Weintraub (1975; 1978) have described their histories of Western autobiography "as the history of the rise of the idea of the individual in the West" (David Brumble III 1988: 4). Although the history of Western autobiography spans some 4,500 years, starting with the ancient Greeks,[2] this genre, as we know it in its most popular form, is relatively recent and began to be common only after the eighteenth century.[3] Since then, it has become so well entrenched, so structured by convention, that Western readers now consider it to be a "natural" genre not requiring explanation. The familiar model comes from written autobiography, a first-person narrative that purports to describe the narrator's life or episodes in that life, customarily with some chronological reflections about individual growth and development.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Hope Island
Queen Charlotte Strait
Watson Island, Hope Town
Kingcome Inlet
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Port Hardy
Fort Rupert
Gilford Island
Qʷiqʷasutinux̌ʷ
ʔAwiƛ̓əla
Knight Inlet
Nəqəmgəlisəlla
Village Island
Mamaliliqəlla
Kʷix̌a
Kʷaguł
Alert Bay
Qaluğwis (Turnour Island)
Gʷaċinux̌ʷ
Forward Inlet
Ḱopinux̌ʷ
Koprino Harbour
Koskimo Bay (Qʷattis)
Ğusgimux̌ʷ
Johnstone Strait
Madiłbey
Phillips Arm
Ligiłdax̌ʷ
Arran Rapids
ƛ̓awiċis
Discovery Passage
ƛ̓aʔaluis
Klaskino Inlet
ƛ̓asḱinux̌ʷ
Nəmğis
Nimpkish River
Salmon River
X̌ax̌amaċəs or Walacəm
Quadra Island
Pacific Ocean
Vancouver Island
Nuu-chah-nulth
Campbell River
Cape Mudge
Wiweqəm
Wiweqey
Former Indian village
Present Indian village

In *Le Pacte autobiographique* Phillippe Lejeune (1975: 14) defines autobiography as a "retrospective account that an actual person makes in prose of his own existence, stressing his individual life and particularly the history of his/her personality." In her narratives, ʔAx̌uẇ, the subject of *Paddling to Where I Stand*, was not explicit about the history of her personality. Nevertheless, her telling of her life and social roles offers an unparalleled insight into her personality and how she saw herself. Roy Pascal (1960) insists that in "true" autobiography we must find some "coherent shaping of the past." This presupposes a clear understanding of the subject's notion of time and how it is experienced, lived, and expressed. How did ʔAx̌uẇ's concepts of time compare with those of individuals who do not share her culture? It seems that ʔAx̌uẇ's sense of time and temporal flow had something to do with her personal experiences. For example, she told us that she "was baptized not long ago," or that her "father had died not long ago." Both events, which she witnessed, had actually taken place some fifty or sixty years earlier, during a period of time that Westerners would refer to as the past. For ʔAx̌uẇ, however, this time belonged to her present, her lived reality. What ʔAx̌uẇ had not witnessed and had not experienced personally was referred to as happening "long ago" and did not belong to her field of lived experiences. Such events may have taken place in mythical times (e.g., before or after the Flood) or in historical time (e.g., with reference to a type of food she did not eat because it was no longer prepared, or to events of which she had heard but had not experienced).[4]

Life histories provide a method of assessing the individual in society and the relationship between self and community. The use of First Nations life histories as ethnographic documents can be traced back to Franz Boas, the putative founder of modern scientific anthropology in North America, whose intensive relationship with the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ and emphasis upon the collection of Native texts and their personal interpretations led him to regard descriptions cast in the imagery of the people themselves as the "true" and "authentic" rendering of culture (Blackman 1981: 65; Goldman 1975: xi). Scholars who followed Boas's intellectual path continued to value the life-history document. One example among many is Paul Radin's (1983 [1926]) *Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of an American Indian*, perhaps one of the most popular narrated Indian autobiographies presented by an anthropologist.[5]

The methods and theories of the personal narrative have been applied and debated in anthropology for some time. North American literature on the subject is vast, and we offer only a brief review. Some anthropologists recorded life stories either to "salvage" elements of "disappearing races" (see Krupat 1985; Brumble III 1988) or to add a "human" dimension to anthropological science by presenting the individual "informant's" perspectives on his/her "worldview" or

"culture" (see Langness 1965: 8). By the middle of the twentieth century, the debates in anthropology centred primarily on the verification of the life story or on the validity of an individual's perspective vis-à-vis the ethnographer's "objective" observations from a range of other sources (Kluckhohn 1945; L. Langness 1965). In *For Those Who Came After* Arnold Krupat (1985) points out that, if they are going to begin to understand the nature and consequence of their work, then collaborators in any cross-cultural project must see themselves as individuals existing in a particular time and place. At the boundary of the discipline, First Nations women involved in personal narrative groups "have found that personal narratives provide insights into culture and society not afforded by conventional anthropological methods" (Howard-Bobiwash 1999: 117-18).[6]

The past twenty years have seen an upsurge in the use of autobiographical material, while, at the same time, "anthropology's claim to provide authoritative interpretations of culture is being challenged from both inside and outside the discipline" (Cruikshank 1990: 1).[7] Audiences for ethnological writings are changing and have become multiple as members of the described cultures have, increasingly, become critical readers of ethnography. Debates about how to represent cultural experience may be partly responsible for recent scholarly attention to orally narrated life stories; however, there may also be other reasons for the recent proliferation of such documents. For example, some "ethnic biographers have produced brilliant explorations aimed at rediscovering the sources of language, and thereby also the nature of modern reality" (Fisher 1986: 199). Also, renewed anthropological interest in life histories coincides with increasing attention to analysis of symbolism, meaning, and text. Much of the contemporary philosophical mood (in literary criticism and anthropology as well as in philosophy)[8] involves inquiring into what is hidden in language, what is conveyed by signs, what is pointed out, what is repressed, implied, or mediated. What initially seem to be individualistic autobiographical accounts are often considered to be revelations of traditions and recollections of disseminated identities (Fisher 1986).

In "Ethnicity and the Post-Modern Arts of Memory," Fisher (1986: 197) discusses the phenomenon of contemporary reinvention, or re-creation of ethnic identity through remembering, as a reaction to globalization and the fear of becoming levelled into identical "hominids." Furthermore, if First Nations (and especially those who are literate) are going to be portrayed in the anthropological literature, then they want to be the ones doing the portraying.

The debate about autobiography as fiction is not new, and it comes down to this: who writes what, about whom, and how?

Why is autobiography a fiction? Many factors are at play. In the case of a literate person, her/his autobiography is a self-written fiction, a construction of

the self. Of course, no autobiography can be a "true" representation of the self in any absolute sense, but self-written autobiography is at least the subject's own fiction. With the as-told-to autobiographies of non-literate First Nations persons, on the other hand, it is the recorder-editor who decides what is to be the final shape of the subject's "autobiography." Therefore, the roles of the editors must be disclosed. As-told-to autobiographies should be considered "bicultural documents, texts in which the assumptions of Indian autobiographers *and* Anglo editors are at work" (Brumble III 1988: 11).

Various authors have noted the natural human tendency for an autobiographer to select those experiences and events from his/her life that conform to or substantiate a fictional or mythic view of the self. We agree on this point of selection when we see that ʔAx̌uẇ has on several occasions consciously omitted some relevant information. In one particular instance, at the end of a Raven myth (M 18), she said: "I have discreetly removed an episode that I consider inappropriate."[9] Some silences may indicate the witholding of information that she considered embarrassing to herself or her kin, that was a "guarded truth," or that properly brought-up people simply "did not talk about."[10] ʔAx̌uẇ has, consciously or unconsciously, deleted some elements of her narratives. Knowledge is power and consequently, she may have decided not to reveal all of what she knew (e.g., sacred notions or taboos, which can be harmful if revealed). That intentional withholding of information would have been consistent with her view of what her life story was or should have been. There are always some silences that are inherent to a particular life in a particular culture. ʔAx̌uẇ's tellings as well as her silences will have to be interpreted accordingly. This brings up a question of ethics. Do we reveal, if we happen to know from other sources, what the narrator, for whatever reasons, chose not to tell? Do we or do we not respect these forms of silence?

Writing Down As-Told-To Autobiographies

Writing down another culture has its problems: a recorder-editor records, transcribes, and translates what the First Nations subject gives orally. Sally McClusky (1972), in her critique of John Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* (1932), is the first North American literary scholar to draw attention to the problem of editor-narrator relationships. David Brumble III (1988), Greg Sarris (1993), and many other life-history critics have concurred with her.

We are all aware of the problems of life history. Ethnologists have approached informants to relate their life histories, asking questions along the way to guide them and to ensure adequate details. Ethnologists then edit these great bundles

of material (now usually in translation) into something like chronological order, selecting content and making other changes necessary to transform a collection of transcripts of individual oral performances into a single, more or less continuous, narrative, often editing out repetitions that are, in fact, important stylistic and rhetorical features (Dauenhauer 1999). The new imposed chronology distorts the narrator's sense of time. As David Brumble III (1988: 66) points out, "the whole process is a construction of the Western mind with Western habits of mind." According to him, the published version of an Aboriginal autobiography that does not include the hand of a non-Aboriginal editor is very rare. Of the 600 published American Indian texts that are autobiographical, more than 83 percent were narrated. Of these, 43 percent were collected and edited by anthropologists, and the other 40 percent were collected and edited by non-Aboriginals from other disciplines.

Whether narrated or written, autobiography is not someone's life but, rather, an account or story of his/her life. ʔAx̌uẇ's narrated life story is an account of an account, a story of a story. As Greg Sarris (1993: 85) points out elsewhere, ʔAx̌uẇ's story would be, as it were, doubly edited: first during the encounter between herself, as narrator, and us, as recorder-editors; and second during the literary reencounter of the translation and editing process.[11] In the encounter between ʔAx̌uẇ and us, it is important to remember that, for whatever personal or cultural reasons, she may have edited and shaped her oral narrative in certain ways.[12] Her memory may have been intentionally selective.

All autobiography is shaped by narrative convention, and, in many ways, the history of American Indian autobiography parallels the history of Western literary tradition (Brumble III 1988: 4-5). Among those researchers who followed Boas to the Northwest Coast and who valued the utility of life-history documents were Edward Sapir (1921), whose studies focused on a Nootka man; Diamond Jenness (1955), whose studies focused on a Katzie man; and Marius Barbeau (1957), whose studies focused on Haida carvers. Four Northwest Coast life-history documents span four successive generations of Southern Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ cultural history and are particularly valuable for their documentation of cultural continuity and change. In 1940 Kʷaguł chief Charlie Nowell dictated his life to Clellan Ford (1941) and, following him, Qʷiqʷasuṯinux̌ʷ chief James Sewid, the father of Daisy Sewid-Smith, related his personal history to, and with the editorial assistance of, anthropologist James Spradley (1969). Finally, in the 1980s, Gʷaciṅux̌ʷ chief James Wallas told Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ legends to Pamela Whitaker (1981), whose book includes a very short portrait of this elderly man; and Liğiłdax̌ʷ chief Harry Assu (1989) of Cape Mudge collaborated on his life history with anthropologist Joy Inglis. With the exception of the important life history of Haida elder Florence Davidson by Margaret Blackman (1982), the recent works by Julie Cruikshank

(1990, 1998), and the life histories of First Nations women from the Yukon by Nora Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer (1994), most other documents of the lives of Northwest Coast Aboriginals concern male individuals. As Marc Augé (1982: 6) writes, "anthropology is produced and received by men of a particular epoch and society, in a determinate intellectual political conjuncture."

Some twenty years ago Margaret Blackman (1982: 65) pointed out that there has been a familiar pattern of shortcomings in ethnographic accounts. Male ethnographers who were interested in life histories focused upon the roles and activities of First Nations men, while similar data on women were incidental and incomplete, limited to discussions of the crises of a normal life cycle: birth, puberty, marriage, and death. As we mentioned in our Preface, anthropological literature on Aboriginal North Americans includes only a few examples of women's biographical accounts; through the early 1970s, when we began our research, very few First Nations women had written their own autobiographies. (Maria Campbell [1973] and Jane Willis [1973] were among the exceptions.) Northwest Coast ethnology, which is relatively rich in accounts of men's lives, was still deficient in accounts of women's lives.

Aware of this deficit in the anthropological literature and the pressing need for biographical material on women, as well as for more personal reasons, Daisy and I began to work with her grandmother, Mrs. Agnes Alfred, known as ʔAx̌uẇ, a non-literate elderly Qʷiqʷasuƚinux̌ʷ woman of Alert Bay. She was in her eighties when we started our work in 1978, and she died in 1992 at the approximate age of 98 to 102.

What were our objectives and methods? Our primary objective was also ʔAx̌uẇ's primary objective – that is, to fulfill her desire to record everything she was willing to tell for the written record. ʔAx̌uẇ was acutely aware that the younger generations of Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people needed her help, as well as that of other elders, to ensure the continuity of cultural identity and traditions. We wanted to capture her verbal art in her native tongue, Kʷaƛʷala, and ensure the accuracy of the transcripts by having them translated by someone fluent in her language and culture. That person was her granddaughter Daisy (Mayaniɬ: Precious One), the daughter of Chief Jimmy Sewid and Flora Alfred, ʔAx̌uẇ's second offspring. Given the growing interest of younger Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people in reclaiming their native language, we intend to transcribe phonetically the unedited original recordings at a later time.[13]

We wanted to hear from ʔAx̌uẇ what it was like to live the life of a Qʷiqʷasuƚinux̌ʷ woman who had seen the end of the nineteenth century. We wanted to render the portrait of this five-times great-grandmother, who happened to be one of the last great storytellers of the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people, as she would like to be remembered – in terms of her knowledge and life

experiences, through the workings of her memory, and by mounting a memorial in words. Thus our work is an homage to ʔAx̌uẇ and to all the talented Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ storytellers for whom remembering meant not just drawing on rote or fossilized memory but engaging in an awesome creative activity. *Paddling to Where I Stand* represents our endeavour to capture, as accurately as possible, both ʔAx̌uẇ's sparkling verbal waves and her equally intense moments of deep creative silence.

Our objective was *not* to write another anthropological interpretation of Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ culture but, rather, to privilege ʔAx̌uẇ's voice and ways of seeing, thereby providing a route to Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ meaning. Through her words we also gain a better understanding of her awareness of the world. Our less immediate objective was to examine ʔAx̌uẇ's sense of self, her identity. We know from previous studies in this field that pre-literate autobiographies put before us conceptions of the self that are often foreign to modern, individualistic societies. At a later date, in another publication, we will piece together a sense of who ʔAx̌uẇ was, the substance of her self, both from her stories and from her narrative style.

In *Paddling to Where I Stand*, ʔAx̌uẇ's narratives mean much more than "the course of a lifetime," and therefore we prefer the term "memoirs," her remberings (to remember: *ṁəlqʷəla;* memory: *ṁəlg̓ʷəɬ*). Her narratives allow us to see the remarkable complexity of Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ life from the point of view of a Qʷiqʷasuƚinux̌ʷ woman and an accomplished storyteller – a life told through myth (*ṅuẏəm*), chants, tribal and personal history, and episodes from other people's lives. The *ṅuẏəm* include several versions of the Baxʷbakʷalanuxʷsiwēẏ (Man-Eating Spirit) paradigm[14] and several other myths, some of which could be considered as educational narratives (*gliχsʔalayuẇ*) routinely told to young boys and girls (see Chapter 1). Historical accounts or news of particular events (*ć̓əƙ̓aləm*) include, for example, the last deadly raid by the Bella Coola on the Qʷiqʷasuƚinux̌ʷ, which took place around 1850 at G̃ʷayasdəms on Gilford Island – a raid for which, ʔAx̌uẇ confessed (thereby breaking decades of silence), her great-aunt might have been responsible. The consequences of the raid for the Ḿaṁaliliqəlla, Gʷawaʔēnux̌ʷ, Dž̓awadaʔēnux̌ʷ, and Qʷiqʷasuƚinux̌ʷ continue to this day (see Chapter 2).

ʔAx̌uẇ related intricate genealogies, making sure we understood the complex kinship relationships of the people about whom she talked. She recounted personal and tribal collective life experiences, such as her arrest (along with her husband Moses) for illegally participating in the notorious 1921 Village Island potlatch (see Appendix B). She shared her knowledge of culturally specific traits surrounding the complexity of the potlatch (see Chapter 7). Although ʔAx̌uẇ spoke some Chinook,[15] she never used the word "potlatch" in her narratives as

a "single named taxonomy category" (Berman 1996: 246), although this is common usage nowadays not only among K^{w}ak^{w}akəẇak^{w} people but also among the peoples of all other Northwest Coast cultures. Instead she used a variety of terms that referred to specific events that took place at specific times and for specific audiences. Examples of these include *ṗəsa* (to invest within your own tribal group), *ẏaq^{w}a* (to give upon witnessing rites of passage), and *maǩ^{w}a* (to invest among several tribal groups). She also told of the practice of witchcraft, its effects, and remedies.

Marriages took a prominent place in ʔAǩuẇ's narratives, with their complex formalities involving dowry and bride-price, as well as the usage of Coppers (see Chapters 5 and 6). Several types of marriages were described, such as the pre-arranged marriage performed for her future husband, Moses, when, as a child, he was married to a dead girl from the west coast of Vancouver Island (see Chapter 5). She related several episodes of other lives, including those pertaining to her two close relatives, one of whom was taken captive by the Bella Coola and later escaped and returned among her people, while the other was ransomed back immediately after her capture (see Chapter 2). ʔAǩuẇ's own life was revealed in her telling of important events, such as how she was married before having menstruated and how she had thirteen children (see Chapter 5). She revealed her intimate knowledge of the land and place-names of the Q^{w}iq^{w}asuṯinuǩ^{w} (with their fishing sites, digging gardens, and hunting grounds) as well as her daily activities, her personal fears, joys, and emotions (see Chapter 3).

Who Was ʔAǩuẇ and Why Was She the Subject of Our Collaboration?

We do not know precisely when ʔAǩuẇ was born as there were no birth certificates for any First Nations children born in the late 1800s (i.e., before the arrival of a federal agency for the administration of Indian affairs). However, we do know that she gave birth to her first child, Alvin, in 1910, several years after her marriage to Moses Alfred, a union that occurred a few years before she had menstruated. Assuming that she married at the age of twelve or thirteen and gave birth to Alvin perhaps three years later, as she guessed, her birthdate might have been around 1894.[16] ʔAǩuẇ's father, Č^{w}uɬəlas, was a Ḿaṁaliliqəlla (both his parents were from Ḿiṁk^{w}əmlis, Village Island); her mother, Puʟas, was part Nəmǧis (from Yəlis, or Alert Bay) and part Q^{w}iq^{w}asuṯinuǩ^{w} (on her mother's side; from Č^{w}ayasdəms, Gilford Island) (see Plates 1 and 2). She married Moses Alfred, Kodiẏ, a K^{w}aguɬ from Fort Rupert, conferring upon her what she referred to as the fourth component of her identity. ʔAǩuẇ identified herself as a Q^{w}iq^{w}asuṯinuǩ^{w} rather than a Ḿaṁaliliqəlla, thus stressing her matrilineage.[17]

Most of what we know about the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ comes from Boas and his disciples. His contribution to Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ ethnography and ethnology is enormous, but he was also responsible for making a huge, somewhat confusing, generalization.[18] The people whom he visited on the northern tip and western corner of Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland, and on the many islands situated in between, belonged to about twenty-eight well-defined local groups that he referred to as "tribes" (see map). They all spoke a common language: Kʷakʼʷala. As a nation, they called themselves then, as now, the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ; that is, the Kʷakʼʷala speakers. Because Boas worked mostly with the Kʷaguł of Fort Rupert[19] (home of the Kʷaguł proper) through his informant-interpreter George Hunt,[20] the whole nation became known as the "Kwakiutl" ("ancient smoke that brought people together at Qaluğʷis"),[21] after the most common Anglophone spelling. But many of Boas's publications on the ethnology and ethnography of the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people pertained not only to the Kʷaguł of Fort Rupert but also to the Nəmğis of Alert Bay, the ƛawiċis of Turnour Island, the Qʷiqʷasuṫinuxʷ of Gilford Island, the Nakʷaxdaxʷ of Blunden Harbour, and so on. This also clarifies why ʔAxuẇ called herself a Qʷiqʷasuṫinuxʷ and not a Kʷaguł. Whenever ʔAxuẇ spoke about the Kʷaguł people as a tribe, she was referring specifically to the Fort Rupert people. In *Paddling to Where I Stand*, unless otherwise stated, we follow ʔAxuẇ's use of the term Kʷaguł.

As so much anthropological literature on the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ originated from and revolved around the Kʷaguł and derived mainly from George Hunt and his close relatives,[22] and also because knowledge is highly localized and often private property, we thought that it would be enlightening to hear about the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people from a different source. Although ʔAxuẇ was in some ways remotely related to the Hunts, she made clear her tribal affiliation and her personal identity. Furthermore, she had not been "trained" as a professional informant and therefore was not anticipating the random questions from us.

The most important reason for selecting ʔAxuẇ was her willingness to speak out. Although ʔAxuẇ did not know how to read, she grew to know the power of the written word.[23] She had been made aware of George Hunt's writings, which were conducted in collaboration with Boas; and she had seen and learned to sing Christian hymns translated into Kʷakʼʷala. Furthermore, all of her children's Christian names seem to have been selected from "a book" (see Chapter 4); and, finally, she had contributed information to some of her granddaughter's (i.e., Daisy's) publications, which she acknowledged. ʔAxuẇ was eager to pass on her life experiences and knowledge to her descendants, and we thought that her story could be used in some applied strategies for cultural continuity among the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people. Through the teaching of tribal names and affiliations,

kinship ties and relationships, respect for proper etiquette and behaviour in social and ritual circumstances, and through storytelling, ʔAx̌uẇ informed her descendants and generations to come on how to behave, how to survive, and how to adapt in a changing world white retaining their Native identity.

Upon closer examination we found that, besides wanting to pass on her knowledge to younger generations, ʔAx̌uẇ, whether consciously or not, took the opportunity to clear up community rumours and set the record straight about certain facts and their consequences. She conveyed her feelings about what happened to others, and she demonstrated, particularly to the lower class (*x̌amala:* commoners, lower class), how knowledgeable she was about her cultural and personal history. In other words, she was putting forth "the last word" on several controversial subjects, and she was doing so in a format that would outlast her.

Paddling to Where I Stand is ʔAx̌uẇ's book. She titled it after one of her favourite names, Six̌ʷasuẇ, a potlatch name meaning, "Many People Are Paddling towards Me," which implies that many guests attended many potlatches that were given by family members who passed the name on to her.[24] And she added, "Today when I am old, people are still coming towards me, but this time they are seeking my knowledge about my people."

Except for Chapter 7 ("Fragments of Recollections"), for which Daisy did not hesitate to ask a series of direct questions having to do with her "modern, new" life, our questions to ʔAx̌uẇ were few. Some questions remained unanswered. We wanted her memoirs to be her own, with us interfering and suggesting as little as possible. ʔAx̌uẇ told only what she wanted to tell. Sometimes reflective, she often commented on specific points, making sure that we understood them. Whether ʔAx̌uẇ discussed genealogy, marriage, or potlatch "rules," her intention was to inform, to reveal, to educate. Her silences were respected. Her sense of humour, her laughter, and her wit were recorded.

Since ʔAx̌uẇ's granddaughter, Daisy, was the primary translator, we greatly reduced the risk of producing a fictional character. We were very much aware of the fact that "all translation involves the cognitive and semantic categories of another language and culture" (Berman 1996: 248; see also Rubel and Rosman 2003). With Daisy as principal translator we greatly reduced the risk of distortion. Daisy grew up immersed in her culture and speaking her grandmother's tongue; she has witnessed and "lived" oral performances and has experimented extensively in oral rendition. We were both aware of the implicit and explicit knowledge inherent in Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ texts. Daisy had recorded several elderly relatives in the past, and this led her to write and publish several articles as well as the well known *Prosecution or Persecution* (Sewid-Smith 1979), which deals with the anti-potlatch law and its consequences for the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people. Having been a

First Nations instructor for twenty years in School District 72 in Campbell River, Daisy researched and wrote a grammar book in order to aid the teaching of Kʷakʼʷala (Sewid-Smith 1988).[25]

As for me, the ethnographic qualifications I brought to the collaboration combined graduate training in anthropology received at the Paris École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and the University of British Columbia, followed by several long sojourns among Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people (beginning in 1976), some rudiments of Kʷakʼʷala and international phonetics, and considerable enthusiasm for recording oral tradition, which I did with ʔAxuẇ and other elderly Kʷakʼʷala speakers prior to meeting Daisy.[26] As our friendship grew deeper, the three of us decided to collaborate on ʔAxuẇ's memoirs.

Paddling to Where I Stand is neither a classic ethnography nor a literary autobiography, as documented by Bataille and Sands (1984) in *American Women: Telling Their Lives*. It is not organized according to Western literary conventions, which usually entail ordering material in a linear, chronological sequence. ʔAxuẇ did not present her stories in this way; rather, she had them move in and out of different time frames, having Daisy, other family members, and/or me as captivated listeners.

The chronology presented in *Paddling to Where I Stand* unfolds according to how ʔAxuẇ saw herself and her life. ʔAxuẇ lived to be about 100 years old. This means that, preceding her own memory (which spanned at least four generations)[27] and the memory of her immediate ancestors (which spanned another few generations) was myth time. Then, all animals, birds, fish, monsters, and humans spoke a common tongue, lived in great houses, and were honoured as the forebears of the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ Nation, lending their iconic images to the crests of the great human families. As ʔAxuẇ grew from childhood to womanhood as the wife of a Kʷaguł nobleman, myth time slipped even further into the background, but the bond that secured her to her past and formed a pattern for her present was never broken. Until the end, from her home in the small fishing village of Alert Bay, her connection to her mythic past and to her people remained strong.

When ʔAxuẇ spoke, we confronted an awesome compression of time. She was born one generation after the practice of slavery had ended and two generations before storytellers came to rely upon the written word. She made a very clear distinction between the times of myth (*ʼnuɣəm*) (see Chapter 1); the times she had heard about but not experienced (*ćəkʼaləm*) (see Chapter 2), and the times she had lived and known personally (see Chapters 3 to 7). This sequence formed the basic chronology of her memoirs, but her stories often wove the three time periods together in a non-linear way.

Because this is ʔAx̌uẇ's book, we did not interrupt her voice in the body of the text. Our comments are restricted to each chapter's introduction and endnotes, which establish the context and explain obscure or untranslatable concepts to non-Kʷaƛ̓ʷala readers.

Style and Translation

Translation is far from being an absolute and accurate process. Given that perfect translation is impossible and that all translation is at best relative and disputable, our duty was to be as faithful as possible to ʔAx̌uẇ's original words and intended meaning. Our task was to represent clearly and accurately ʔAx̌uẇ's voice and views by making her text accessible without drastically altering the cultural framework within which she existed.[28]

Converting oral narratives to written text raises many questions related to content and form. ʔAx̌uẇ spoke with at least two voices. (Chanting could be considered a third voice.) In her formal voice she followed the tradition of pure oral literature, the classic style of oral myths, legends, and historical accounts. We have tried our best to retain as much of ʔAx̌uẇ's formal voice as is possible in the context of translations. By "context of translations," and in agreement with Bauman (1984: 10), we mean a context "in which the words spoken are to be interpreted as the equivalent of the words originally spoken [in Kʷaƛ̓ʷala]." A question remained: How should ʔAx̌uẇ's narratives be put on the page, what kind of format should we employ? Several scholars have devised experimental written forms that attempt to capture a sense of the actual performance (Hymes 1977; 1990: 85). Some linguists have used literal, word-by-word translation, a kind of strict morphemic gloss, a procedure that "tends to cast its light entirely on language and leave literature in the dark" (Bringhurst 1999: 19). We have retained the format and presentation of the text that Westerners normally associate with prose or autobiographical accounts, that is, with sentences in paragraph style rather than in the form of a continuous narrative.

ʔAx̌uẇ's classical style of speech, as opposed to her everyday style of speech, was marked by certain stylistic features, such as repetitions and quotative markers, whose functions range from the aesthetic and structural to the emotional (Hendricks 1993: 78-9). For this reason we have not edited out repetitions, even though some readers may find them tedious. As Nora and Richard Dauenhauer (1987: 15-16) have pointed out with regard to Tlingit oral literature, good oral composition involves the constant use of repetition. This is because repetition emphasizes main ideas, lends the story a musical rhythm and balance, and/or

simply gives listeners a break so that they need not receive too much new information all at once. ʔAx̌uẇ also used repetitions to aid her in oral composition, to give her time to think, and to enable her to formulate what was to come next. She often repeated the name of a place or person or certain anecdote in order to underscore a theme or idea. Some names were repeated over and over again in order to achieve a certain response from us or simply because it was integral to the story as she understood it and remembered it.

ʔAx̌uẇ often made use of the quotative markers *la laʔi*, or *laʔum laʔi*, which can be translated as "they," "they say," "so they say it goes."[29] These often occur at the beginning or the end of her story. As Robert Bringhurst (1999: 113) points out, "the quotative casts a statement into narrative relief. It can suggest that what is said has been tested by tradition and found true, or warn that it bears no guarantee because it lies outside the speaker's own experience." And, sometimes, in order to add weight to her statement (or to abolish whatever doubt that could still exist as to its veracity), she would mention the name of a person/witness who had been involved in, or somehow related to, what she was saying.[30]

ʔAx̌uẇ's daily speech was informal, that is, it did not require the conventional style with its oratorical qualities and the use of sacred names, as in the context of myth. In this voice she told us where she was born, where she grew up, and what she did during her childhood and adulthood (Chapter 3). At times the more formal style overlapped with the informal style. For example, once we asked her if an individual could be reincarnated in a descent group (*ṅəmaẏəm*) different from her/his own. After a long, reflective pause, she said she did not think so and immediately started telling a myth to prove her point. (ʔAx̌uẇ would often respond to questions with a myth or, sometimes, with a chant.)

We hope that no colloquialisms[31] appear in ʔAx̌uẇ's memoirs. Unfortunately, some readers have become accustomed to reading impoverished and/or clumsily translated Aboriginal stories. Such translations tend to reflect the childish level of English spoken by early First Nations storytellers. There was nothing childish in ʔAx̌uẇ's speech. We are convinced that her grasp of K^{w}aƛ^{w}ala was no less strong than was Shakespeare's grasp of English and that her tellings of the old tales would have resonated in the K^{w}ak^{w}akəẇak^{w} consciousness much as Homer's tellings would have resonated in the pre-literate Greek consciousness. Indeed, at times some of her language was ancient, revealing concepts and words no longer used by contemporary K^{w}aƛ^{w}ala speakers. On numerous occasions we had to check and cross-check with other K^{w}ak^{w}akəẇak^{w} elders in order to determine the exact meaning of her archaic expressions.

The most salient aspect of ʔAx̌uẇ's tellings was that they were not dead and buried somewhere in what we call the past. On the contrary, her oral testimonies were alive for her in her immediate present, and they seemed to have a life of

their own that, in the form of guiding principles/experiences, simultaneously reflected the continuity of past, present, and future. Consider, for example, the closing of the myth given to her by Ǧʷəmǧəmlilas:

This is the myth [*ṁuy̓əm*] that Ǧʷəmǧəmlilas passed on to me. She told it to me when Cuxʷc̓aʔesa, Duda's brother, brought out this *haṁac̓a* pole at his potlatch. They gave it as a dowry to Peter Smith. This was a dowry for Duda, the *haṁac̓a* pole called Səmsəmsid. That is how the *haṁac̓a* pole came to his [Peter Smith's] family. This pole is now owned by Lorne Smith, as it was given to him by his uncle as a dowry. This is all I know. This is what Ǧʷəmǧəmlilas told me. (M12)[32]

We have tried to preserve much of the flavour of ʔAx̌uẇ's storytelling as it moved back and forth from tribal history, to myth, and to personal reminiscences; consequently, the written text became the story of our hearing her stories. We very much want our readers to be able to share something of what it was like for us to listen to ʔAx̌uẇ telling stories. In light of the constitutive features of narrated North American Indian autobiography and of critical work surrounding the genre, we hope that our holistically oriented approach will result in a portrait of ʔAx̌uẇ that mirrors her life as she saw it. Of course we should ask ourselves, to what extent have we, like others, created a fictional portrait? And if, indeed, we have created a fictional portrait, then we hope that it is as close to ʔAx̌uẇ's reality as we could possibly have made it. Finally, we hope that *Paddling to Where I Stand* will contribute to preserving and transforming Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ culture and that ʔAx̌uẇ's memoirs will attest to the endurance of First Nations storytelling, even as it is transformed into a new literary form that, in its turn, enlarges our sense of life's possibilities.

Historical Context

ʔAx̌uẇ was born at a time of great change for her people, and *Paddling to Where I Stand* should be understood against this background. Contact with the Whites[33] (*ṁaṁałṁa*) was minimal before 1849, a time that marks the beginning of the colonial period (1849-71). It had been preceded by the maritime fur trade period, which started in the late 1700s.[34] The Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ took an active part in the trade.[35] Fur traders were not interested in radically altering First Nations ways of life but, rather, in conducting the business of trading. As both "Europeans and Natives shared a mutually beneficial economic system," that period brought prosperity to First Nations, "an increase in wealth in a society already organized around wealth" (Duff 1964: 57). Historians have described this period as one

that involved few disruptive cultural consequences for First Nations as they could easily control and adapt to the changes (Fisher 1977: xiv; Cole and Darling 1990: 119-34).

The colonial period was of a different nature from the fur trade period, however. It saw the encroachment of settlements and the establishment of the basic features of Indian administration – a series of major cultural changes that were profoundly disruptive because they took place so rapidly that First Nations "began to lose control of their situation. Gold miners, settlers, missionaries, and government officials," all in their own different ways, "required the Natives to make major cultural changes, and the Whites now had the power to force change" (Fisher 1977: xv).

The date of 1849 is important to the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ for several political and socio-economic reasons. "As Vancouver Island and British Columbia were British colonies quite separate from Canada, the imperial government saw the necessity of colonizing Vancouver Island in order to confirm British Sovereignty in the area" (Duff 1964: 60). The government entrusted this task to the Hudson's Bay Company[36] (whose chief factor was James Douglas), temporarily granting title of Vancouver Island to the company. James Douglas was governor from 1851 until 1864. In 1866 the two colonies were united into one, which, in 1871, entered Confederation as the province of British Columbia. It was during these two important decades that the basic features of Indian administration were established. By the time Douglas retired (1864), he had negotiated fourteen treaties with First Nations living around Victoria, Nanaimo, and Fort Rupert, and he had set aside a large number of reserves on Vancouver Island. In the late 1880s "Commissioner P. O'Reilly established several reserves for some bands of the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ and in effect formalized the Crown's claim to the rest of their aboriginal territory" (Codere 1990: 363).[37]

In 1849 coal (*dᶻəǧʷət*) was discovered at the company's post at Beaver Harbour. Fort Rupert was established there and was maintained until the late 1870s, when it was sold[38] to its last factor, Robert Hunt, the father of George Hunt, Boas's collaborator (Healey 1958: 19). When the fort was established, four tribes – later known as the Kʷaguł Confederation – moved back to their original site, forming the largest Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ settlement at that time. Before long, this group constituted the centre of ceremonial activity. Fort Rupert maintained its central position until about 1900, when Alert Bay superseded it as the centre for the people of Queen Charlotte Strait. Alert Bay had its start as a White settlement in 1870, when two Europeans, Huson and Spencer, established a salmon cannery there and sought First Nations labour.

Pre-contact Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ society consisted of what amounted to a ranked noble minority with hereditary titles, a commoner majority, and a small group of

slaves (who were war captives). Slavery ceased to be practised in the 1860s, concomitant with the decrease of inter-tribal warfare. Although many rules brought by the Whites conflicted with the old customs, ʔAx̌uẇ sighed with relief at one particular change – peace instead of war. In her own words: "Our people used to always have wars in the early days and to enslave their captives. We are so fortunate to be a peaceful people now. *Ayoho!* Peace, is good!" (see Chapter 2).

Inhabiting in remote places such as Village Island and Gilford Island, ʔAx̌uẇ's ancestors lived according to the rhythm of the seasons and the accompanying salmon migrations, staying in large, permanent houses in the winter and seasonal camps in the summer. Summer was a time for fishing, gathering, and preserving food; winter was a time for "winter dances," where initiations and numerous other ceremonies would take place. The all-encompassing social, economic, political, and religious institution was the potlatch (a word derived from the Chinook trade language, meaning "to give") – a complex and long-lasting ceremony that celebrated important events in their lives (e.g., naming of children, marriage, transfer of rights and privileges, and mourning the dead). Large amounts of food were consumed and gifts were given to the guests who had come to witness these events. In each tribe there was a graded series of ranked positions, which determined the standings of individuals within the potlatch system.

During the 1850s and 1860s several disasters struck the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ. One of them that occupies a significant place in ʔAx̌uẇ's memoirs related to the dramatic events that occurred around 1857 or 1858 when the village of Ǧʷayasdəms was destroyed and its inhabitants massacred by a Bella Coola raiding party (see Chapter 2). Another disaster of dramatic proportions for the entire First Nations Coastal population took place shortly after, in 1862, when the entire region was devastated by smallpox brought north from Victoria. Other introduced European diseases resulted in a population decline from nearly 10,000 to less than 3,000 by 1880 (Codere 1961: 439).[39] As Helen Codere (1990: 363) has shown, potlatching decreased in importance and frequency during these depressing years, resulting in the significant alteration of the complex hierarchical social structure. The population decline led to confusion around inheritance patterns and competition for many vacant high-ranking positions.

Less than twenty years prior to ʔAx̌uẇ's birth, the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ had been exposed to Christianity. In 1877 the Anglican missionary, the Reverend Alfred James Hall, began work at Fort Rupert, although he soon moved to Alert Bay (in 1879) (Plate 18). ʔAx̌uẇ's husband, Moses Alfred, went to the school founded by Reverend Hall some time after its creation in 1881. (Moses was, in fact, named after the reverend). Hall's home was large enough to accommodate several young girls, one of whom was ʔAx̌uẇ; Mrs. Hall taught these children

"domestic duties." In Chapter 7, ʔAx̌uẇ recounts her impressions of Reverend Hall, particularly how good he seemed to have been to the Nəmğis. She also recalls the feast song based on a Christian hymn that he had composed and had taught to them in Kʷakʷala, in an attempt to convert them. He baptized ʔAx̌uẇ quite some time after her marriage to Moses. By 1888 Reverend Hall had built a sawmill to provide employment and lumber for single-family houses; ʔAx̌uẇ, along with many of her relatives, worked there. In 1881 the federal government established a Kwawkewlth[40] Agency at Fort Rupert, but this too soon moved to Alert Bay. In 1894 the Department of Indian Affairs opened an industrial school for boys at Alert Bay. Meanwhile, Mrs. Hall's program had grown into a residential school for girls, which ʔAx̌uẇ attended for a very short time (Healy 1958: 24-31; Halliday 1935: 229-32; Canada 1882: 171; Canada 1883: 161; Canada 1895: 158, 160; Codere 1990: 363).

As the frequency and intensity of contact with non–First Nations increased, many changes took place in Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ ways of life. With the conversion of many Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ to Christianity, First Nations religious beliefs began to change. Initially, the main effect of the early contacts and trading with Whites was to stimulate potlatching to even greater vigour. It brought increased material wealth, which increased the size of potlatches and, to some degree, altered the functions of this cultural institution. For many years the missionaries and the Indian Agents saw the potlatch as an evil institution, and in 1876 it was suppressed under Section 149 of the Indian Act, which forbade potlatching and winter dancing (Canada 1876). But the potlatch continued to be practised "underground" in the form of simulated Christmas events. This is made very clear in ʔAx̌uẇ's narratives when she tells us that, shortly after her marriage to Moses and once they were established at Alert Bay, potlatch presents were hidden under the mattress or in the bathroom under the guise of being "Christmas presents" (see Chapter 6). Cultural conflict appears to have reached a peak in 1921 with renewed enforcement of the law against First Nations ceremonies, along with a deepening economic depression. As a result of this, forty-five Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people, among them ʔAx̌uẇ and Moses, were arrested for attending and participating at a potlatch that was held at Village Island in December 1921 (see Appendix C). In spite of the repeated attempts of the dominant culture, however, potlatching and winter dancing never died.[41]

Many features of White technology were adopted by Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ peoples. In 1911 power boats began to replace carved dugout canoes; modern single-family houses replaced many large multi-family houses. Emphasis upon the traditional social structure (e.g., the descent group [*ṅəmaẏəm:* one blood; of the same blood]) began to change to emphasis on the nuclear family, and children were sent to non-Aboriginal schools to learn new ways. In 1867 an ordinance

was passed that forbade First Nations people from using liquor. In 1919 Indian Agent Halliday (see Plate 17) mentioned that Moses Alfred was known to have sold liquor. Despite ʔAx̌uẇ's disapproval, Moses started a small business that consisted of selling hard or fermented cider; later, to ʔAx̌uẇ's delight, the business collapsed (see Chapter 5). In 1951 the Indian Act was revised and no longer forbade potlatching and winter dancing. Also in 1951 First Nations gained the right to purchase liquor and to vote in elections.

Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ material and economic life changed rapidly and continuously after contact. Iron and steel replaced stone, shell, and sinew; animal skins and woven red cedar-bark and mountain-goat wool robes were replaced by the Hudson's Bay Company blankets, which were acquired in great numbers for potlatching. By the time ʔAx̌uẇ was born in her father's traditional big house at Village Island, European clothing was in general use, although ʔAx̌uẇ admitted that as a child she was always barefoot and took quite a long time to adjust to wearing shoes (see Chapters 5 and 7). The Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ also became involved in the Canadian economy and thus more dependent on money income. Moses, along with a few partners, engaged in a series of personal businesses, first working in a logging camp and later acquiring a fishing licence to operate his own fishing boat. ʔAx̌uẇ herself worked in several canneries.[42] This development led to a period of great prosperity for the Alfreds and other Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ who were involved in a cash economy between 1900 and the mid-1920s. ʔAx̌uẇ very proudly told us that one component of her dowry consisted of $1,000 in gold coins (in Chinook jargon, *gildala:* gold dollars). "Wealth became widespread, primarily because the old organization of production, knowledge of local resources, and industrious habits fit the new opportunities offered, particularly those of the commercial fishing industry, which needed seasonal labor" (Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson 1958: 109-10, qtd. in Codere 1990: 363). The high incomes that resulted purchased more Euro-Canadian goods, many in quantities that were used in potlatching. Examples of items that ʔAx̌uẇ mentioned as being given away as potlatch goods included tables, pool tables, gramophones, dressers, and beds (see Chapter 6). However, Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ prosperity suffered a setback in the 1920s, with the difficulty of financing powerboats. Difficulties lasted through the Depression, but the boom in the fishing industry during the Second World War restored prosperity (Codere 1990: 364; Kew 1990: 164).

During the 1950s, through the Canadian government, the Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ were permitted to elect their own political leader and representatives, thereby starting to manage their own affairs through the implementation of economic programs within their own bands. (This in turn created some tension between elderly hereditary chiefs and "modern" elected chief councillors.) At present there are fifteen bands, each of which functions as an independent political unit

committed to community and economic development (Cranmer-Webster 1990: 387). Potlatches are held mainly in Alert Bay, Campbell River, Comox, and sometimes in the remote villages of Kingcome Inlet and at Ǧ̌ayasdəms (Gilford Island).

Another Canadian government policy of that time emphasized the paternal line of descent and therefore had a direct impact on women: those who married non-Indian men would lose their membership in their band. Such women were removed from official records and lost their claim to what they were entitled to, such as land, resources, and funds. This policy was rescinded in 1986, leaving the bands to decide how these women and their families should be reintegrated and their rights returned to them.

The political and economic upheaval of the mid-twentieth century had a dramatic impact on the population. In 1962, 75 percent of the K̓ak̓akəẇak̓ were under the age of thirty-two, the majority of these youths having regrouped to Alert Bay, Fort Rupert, Kingcome Inlet, and Cape Mudge.

In 1978, the National Museum of Man in Ottawa returned the ceremonial paraphernalia that had been surrendered by the K̓ak̓akəẇak̓ in 1922 in a bargain to obtain reduced sentences for the forty-five people who had been arrested at the 1921 Village Island potlatch (see Appendix C). The collection was divided and housed in two museums, the Kwagiulth Museum at Cape Mudge and the U'mista Cultural Centre at Alert Bay. These institutions "provided a locus for systematic community attempts to document and revitalize cultural life by recording oral histories, producing language and culture curricula, preparing exhibits, organizing and administering classes on cultural projects" (Cranmer-Webster 1990: 389).

Orthography

The English word "Kwakiutl" for K̓aguł has its origin in the writings of anthropologist Franz Boas's "Census and Reservations of the Kwakiutl Nation" (1887) and is still in use today. According to Helen Codere (1990: 376), Boas used it to designate "four levels of classification":

1 The Kwakiutl group, those speaking the Kwakiutl language of the Kwakiutlan branch of the Wakashan family.[43]
2 The grouping of speakers of the Kwakiutl dialect (i.e., those who have been known to anthropology as the Southern Kwakiutl). See, for example, Wilson Duff 1964: 15.[44] The northern Kwakiutl are the Haisla, the Heiltsuk-speaking Haihais and Bella Bella, and the Owikeno. See Boas 1966: 37-41; Olson 1954.

3 The several groupings of the speakers of the Kwakiutl subdialect, which excluded the Nawitti and the Quatsino of the north and northwest of Vancouver Island.
4 The Kwakiutl tribe (Boas 1897: 330); that is, the four groupings of the speakers of the Kwakiutl subdialect, who had moved to Fort Rupert shortly after the Hudson's Bay Company established the fort in 1849.

To Boas's four classifications we should add a fifth: Kwakiutl also referred to the single subgrouping of those speakers of the Kwakiutl subdialect among the four groupings mentioned in 4 above, as their name was Walas Kwakiutl (the Great Kwakiutl). The name "Kwakiutl," for which, according to Helen Codere (1990: 376), there are more than twenty synonyms, has come to refer to more than it should; specifically, it has come to refer to the whole nation instead of to one subgroup. To avoid confusion, except when designating the Kʷaguł of Fort Rupert and the Walas Kʷaguł, the name Kʷaguł will be replaced by the term Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ, which means Kʷakʼʷala speakers.

Kʷakʼʷala language uses many sounds that do not occur in English. More than half of the consonant sounds of Kʷakʼʷala have no counterparts in English. However, as linguist Wayne Suttles (1991a: 15) points out, "these different sounds make the distinction between one word and another, and therefore if Kʷakʼʷala is to be written so it can be read, its different sounds must be differentiated and represented in a consistent system of spelling." There are several ways of spelling Kʷakʼʷala, depending on which phonemic system we choose. Throughout this book (except in quotes taken from previously published material), words and names in Kʷakʼʷala are spelled according to the system used by the language program at the Carihi Secondary School in Campbell River. The University of Victoria initiated this language program, and this is the system that translator Daisy Sewid-Smith (1988), a Kʷakʼʷala speaker and teacher of the fundamentals of this language, has used in her teaching.

The forty-eight distinct sounds (not counting the glottal stop ʔ) of the Kʷakʼʷala language are symbolically represented as follows:

b	c	c̓	d	dᶻ	g	gʷ	ǧ	ǧʷ
h	k	kʼ	kʷ	kʼʷ	l	l̓	ɬ	
ƛ	ƛ̓	ƛ̕	m	m̓	n	n̓		
p	p̓	q	qʷ	q̓	q̓ʷ	s	t	t̓
w	ẇ	x	xʷ	x̌	x̌ʷ	y	y̓	ʔ

The seven vowels are: a, e, i, o, u, ə, ē.

Appendix A presents a detailed linguistic key to the alphabet and to the Kʷakʼʷala spelling used in this book. It also describes some of the sounds of this language in order to help with pronunciation.

At times, *Paddling to Where I Stand* may be difficult to read because of the many Kʷakʼʷala names and words. This difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ people bear many names during their lives, depending on time and circumstances. These names are not mere tags but, rather, true epithets, which are descriptive of an individual's attributes and that offer revealing examples of how Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ individuals see themselves. Individuals take a series of names of higher and higher rank as they grow older,[45] and each one usually reveals the person's sex, age group, descent group, rank or status, and (sometimes) role (e.g., chief or successor to the chief). Furthermore, for each individual, ʔAx̌uẇ (Agnes Alfred's Kʷakʼʷala daily, or secular, name as opposed to her ceremonial names) often remembered at least two and sometimes more Kʷakʼʷala names in addition to her/his Christian name. As we wanted neither to dilute the flavour of the narratives nor to reduce the richness of ʔAx̌uẇ's knowledge, we have used the Kʷakʼʷala names for places and people as often as she did.

To enable the reader to follow ʔAx̌uẇ's narratives easily, especially when she mentions relatives and other relevant persons, we present a cast of characters in the form of kinship diagrams (see Appendix E). ʔAx̌uẇ's father, Ḡʷułəlas (People Coming towards His House for a Potlatch), was a full-blooded Ḿaṁaliliqəlla; her mother, Puλas (Place Where You Are Satiated), was part Nəmğis and part Qʷiqʷasuṯinux̌ʷ. ʔAx̌uẇ was married to Moses Alfred (Kodiẏ), a Kʷaguł from Fort Rupert whose mother was Nəmğis. The Ḿaṁaliliqəlla are indigenous to Ḿiṁkʷəmlis, Village Island; the Nəmğis are indigenous to Yəlis, Alert Bay; the Qʷiqʷasuṯinuxʷ are indigenous to Ḡʷayasdəms, Gilford Island; and the Kʷaguł are indigenous to Fort Rupert (see map).

Kʷakʷakəẇakʷ Peoples in the Nineteenth Century

Presented in geographical order from north to south (see map).

1	Gʷasəlla	Smith Inlet
2	Nakʷaxdaxʷ	Nugent Sound
3	Gʷawaʔēnuxʷ	Ẇatson Island, Hope Town
4	Həxʷaməs	Ẇakeman Sound
5	Dᶻawadaʔēnuxʷ	Kingcome Inlet
6	Qʷiqʷasuɬinuxʷ	Gilford Island
7	Danaxdaxʷ	Knight Inlet
8	ʔAwiƛəla	Knight Inlet
9	Mamaliliqəlla	Village Island
10	Madiłbey (or Maʔəmtagila)	Qaluğẇis (Turnour Island)
11	Nəmğis	Nimpkish River
12	ƛawiċis	Turnour Island

Kʷaguł from Fort Rupert

13	Gʷitəlla or Kʷixamut	
14	Qumuyoʔiy or Kʷixa	
15	Ẇalas Kʷaguł	
16	Qʷəmkuɬəs	

Nəwidiy People

17	ƛaƛasiqʷəlla	Hope Island
18	Nəqəmgəlisəlla	Cape Scott
19	Yuƛinuxʷ	Scott Islands (Cox and Lanz)

Gʷaċinuxʷ Sound People

20	Ğusgimuxʷ	Koskimo Bay (Qʷattis)
21	Gʷaċinuxʷ	Forward Inlet
22	Koṗinuxʷ	Koprino Harbour
23	ƛaskinuxʷ	Klaskino Inlet

Liğiłdaxʷ People: Cape Mudge and Campbell River

24	Ẇiweqey	Topaze Harbour (Cape Mudge)
25	Ẇiweqəm	Topaze Harbour (Campbell River)
26	Kʷixa	Phillips Arm
27	ƛaʔaluis	Arran Rapids
28	Xaxamaċəs	Salmon River

or

28	Ẇalacəm	Campbell River, Comox