Uncovering Historical Sequences in Central Coast Salish Oral Narratives

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Introduction

The goal of this paper is the exploration of the manner in which transcribed Salishan oral narratives provide insights into the sequence of human history in the Fraser River region of southwestern British Columbia. Drawing upon six different sources of transcribed oral narratives, I discovered that these orators used several different methods of sequential ordering of historical events. These methods include consensual remembering, genealogical referencing, and use of sequencing references within a given narrative to connect it temporally with another narrative. The resulting sequences are traced and tabulated for each individual source and then compared to the other sources by creating a time-space chart. Such charts are employed in other studies of the past including palaeoecological, geological, and archeological inquiries. The oral historical space-time sequence presents an interesting perspective on the human past in the Fraser Valley that both contrasts with and complements the archaeological sequence for the same region.

The Study Area

The study area used in this survey includes the valleys of the Fraser Drainage from Yale, at the lower end of the Fraser Canyon, to the Gulf of Georgia at the mouth of this mighty river. Many of the First Nations people that now inhabit the area identify themselves with the overarching political identity of the Stó:lo Nation. Stó:lo translates as 'river' (Galloway 1993) and identifies the close relationship of the people with the river. The Stó:lo Nation includes an amalgamation of numerous different groups located along the course of the Fraser River from Yale to the mouth of the Fraser at Musqeum. Several sources list traditional village sites, present reserves, or political jurisdictions of the various Sto:lo groups (Duff 1952, Suttles 1990, M. Carlson et al. 1997).

The language of the Stó:lo is referred to as Halkomelem, a language community of the greater Coast Salish language stock. There are several dialects of Halkomelem that are referred to as Upriver Halkomelem, Downriver Halkomelem, and Island Halkomelem (Galloway 1993). These dialects can be further subdivided. For example, Galloway (1993) divides Upriver Halkomelem into the Chilliwack dialect, the Chehalis dialect, the Tait dialect, and the Sumas/Kilgard dialect.

Transcribed oral narratives from the region traditionally occupied by Mainland Halkomelem speakers (Upriver and Downriver dialects) are reviewed in this paper. Two of the sources are from the close neighbours of the Stó:lo: the Squamish (a separate Salishan language community related to Nooksack), and Lummi (a Straits Salish dialect).

One factor that links all of these groups and dialects together and differentiates them from most other Northwest Coast peoples is the legendary transformer figure(s), $Xexá'ls$, who appears as the protagonist and sometimes the antagonist in many narratives. $Xexá'ls$ is "the collective name for the powerful transformer sibling – three sons and one daughter of black bear and red-headed woodpecker" and is often referred to in the plural and sometimes in the singular. The relationship of the people of the study area covered in this paper is based on a common history as relayed through mutual references to $Xexá'ls$.

History through Language

Language is a means through which the social memory of a particular group of people is conveyed, shared, transmitted, and remembered. Certainly the use of any language conveys

through it a learning of what has gone before. However, language is also used to describe and explain events of the past. Many different types of speech events can be used to convey the past through language. Speech events are particularly important in terms of conveying information about the past: "speech events are where communities are formed and held together" (Duranti 1997:289). Oral-historical narratives are particularly powerful social bonding mechanisms. They provide means through which commonly shared notions of time and space can be expressed. When "we remember, we represent ourselves to ourselves and to those around us. To the extent that our 'nature' – that which we truly are – can be revealed in articulation, we are what we remember" (Fentress and Wickham 1992:7).

The use of chronological references to order such remembrances enables them to be articulated linguistically, and hence re-remembered. Thus, rendering of the past as a sequence of events in the past is in and of itself an important means through which communities are bonded. All speech and narration has some inherent temporal properties. Duranti (1997:336) suggests that there is a temporality of speaking, where

> details are slowly revealed one at a time, giving different participants a chance – although by no means assuming the same authority or linguistic ability – to affect the construction of a story and the moral identities of its character.

Where details are slowly revealed one at a time a sequence of events is cast. This sequence may involve cyclical patterns, blurring the beginning back in the end, much as the sequence of seasons change but repeat themselves annually, or repeating the same themes over and over again. The sequence does not necessarily have to end at the beginning, although it might be said that at the end of every sequence there is, by necessity, a new beginning.

Galloway (1993:613-614) identifies linguistic devices that work to aid in building the temporality of Halkomelem narratives. He found that many narratives and stories that he collected and analyzed feature sentences that began with coordinating conjunctions:

> sometimes conjunction-intial sentences follow one another for a page or more. These indicate subsequent events and serve to carry on and structure the narrative.

Here the sequence of events in the narrative does not rely on the temporality of language alone, but is aided by the employment of sentences beginning with coordinating conjunctions. In this manner, various passages of a particular narrative are ordered relative to the temporality of each other.

Two different narratives may share common references to particular events that occurred in the past. The shared references are often a link (conjunction of sorts) between narratives forming a sequential relationship between the different narratives. Alternatively, one narrative may have a reference that relates it temporally to all narratives. For example, "in the beginning" is a statement that suggests that there are no narratives that come before this narrative. These types of references are referred to in this paper as sequencing references. A narrator's use of a sequencing reference demonstrates consciousness of the temporal order of events within and between narratives.

Sources

All of the sources of transcribed oral narratives reviewed for this paper have been recorded in the last 125 years.

The relevance of particular references to the tasks at hand was found to be variable. A rough categorization of sources enabled me to choose those that were most relevant to the stated goals of this project. Several sources were found to be in amalgamations of transcribed oral narratives from across North America (Morgan 1974; MacFarlan 1974; Mélancon 1967; Jenness 1960) or from the Northwestern North America (Teit 1917). Rarely is there any contextual information given in these sources as to the informants or the process of translation. In most cases little could be accomplished with these sources, as there was not enough material provided or information included to draw conclusions in regards to the relative chronology of the stories written.

All other sources included narratives exclusively from the Stó:lo region or neighbouring areas. Some of these sources were found to be more useful than others in terms of the analysis being conducted. In many instances these sources provided over-arching temporal sequences related by the narrator (Jenness 1955; Hill-Tout 1897; Hill-Tout 1902, reprinted 1978), or there were enough common references between narratives to place them in a type of sequence (Stern 1934; The Optimist 1961; Street 1974). These sources form the backbone of the present analysis.

Several other sources were found to be collections of narratives, but little was found to connect the tales due to a lack of an overarching temporal framework, a lack of internal reference, or a lack of adequate review undertaken before the preparation of this manuscript (Lerman 1976; Wells 1970; Wells 1987).

Based on direct interviews on the subject or on impressions gained from the study of Salishan culture, several anthropologists have relayed general scenerios of historical sequences. Hill-Tout (1978) seems to have been very interested in ensuring that culture chronologies were explained to him and he recorded them thus. Suttles (1990), Miller (1999), M. Carlson et al. (1997), and Bierwert (1999) all provide some general inferences about the sequence of Sto:lo or Coast Salish mythological cycles, but it is not clear if their inferences are drawn directly from informants.

Six sources from the above were chosen to conduct the analysis of relative chronologies as sequenced in transcribed oral narratives. These six sources are Hill-Tout (1897), Hill-Tout (1902, reprinted 1978), Stern (1934), Jenness (1955), Street (1974), and the Optimist (1961). The sequences devised and discussed by various anthropologists have also been included in this analysis. These include Suttles (1990), Miller (1999), Carlson et al. (1999), and Bierwert (1999). Other sources are referred to throughout the course of this paper, but are not used in constructing the final mosaic for reasons that are discussed above.

Transcription and Translation

All of the materials reviewed have been translated into English. Certainly there are many difficulties in the process of translation (see Duranti 1997:154).

There are many ways in which the sources used have undergone translation and transformation into English and transcribed forms. Often there is little information given on the actual process of translation as, for example, in many of the narratives recorded in Hill-Tout (1902, reprint 1978), but also in Teit (1917) and Stern (1934). In Hill-Tout (1897) a translator is known to have been used and to have been, at least in Hill-Tout's eyes, problematic. Hill-Tout's lack of knowledge of the Squamish language necessitated the use of an interpreter. Limitations of this process are described in the following quote from (Hill-Tout 1897:85-86):

> ...he began his recital in a loud high pitched key, as if he were addressing a large audience in the open

air. He went on without pause for about ten minutes, and then the interpreter took up the story. The story was either beyond the interpreters power to render into English, or there was much in it he did not want to relate to the white man, for I did not unfortunately get a fifth of what the old man had uttered from him, and it was only by dint of questioning and cross-questioning that I was enabled to get anything like a connected narrative from him at all.

Stories told to Lerman (1976:6) were also translated by an interpreter, but with very different results:

> Harry Uslick was then seventy-nine, totally blind and partially deaf. He had been born at Sardis and had been a trained woodcrafter. He spoke little English, and the stories he told were interpreted to me by his wife. She was three years younger than he, and had also been born at Sardis.

Lerman (1976:6) suggests that Mrs. Uslick's translation added to the substance of the tales being told and that the stories became "both her own and those of her husband". The narratives told to Eloise Street by Chief *K'HHalserten* Sepass were translated by her mother Sophia Street (1974:12):

> ... I was surprised when a tall Indian appeared suddenly through the trees and sat on the other end of the log. Without a glance at me, he began to speak in a musical flow that continued for some minutes. He stopped and turned to look full at me. It was Chief Sepass. In scanty English, he asked me to take his songs and put them in a book. I agreed, and at our home during the next four years, my mother translated the songs ... During the four years, speaking mostly in Salish, the Chief gave various pieces of information.

Similarly, Old Simon Pierre's stories were translated by Simon Pierre Jr. while Diamond Jenness (1955) transcribed (Suttles 1955).

Stories collected by Galloway (1993) were transcribed in Halkomelem phonetically from tapes. Galloway then translated each sentence word for word, and then reorganized the sentences so that they follow English rules of grammar. Each stage of this translation is presented to the reader with the phonetic transcription provided above the direct translation and then the finished translation below that. This traditional Boasian approach to recording and transcribing is intended to provide the reader with many insights into the process of translation and the decisions made by the translator. The onus of translation was often undertaken by

the narrators themselves. This would appear to be the case of three different informants whose stories were recorded by Norman Lerman (1976), including Bob Joe, Agnes James, Mrs. Reid, and Louis George. The stories of Agnes James and Mrs. Reid seem to have been recorded during sessions with both informants and translations were often worked out in dialogic fashion (Leman 1976:6).

The process of transcribing, rewriting, and editing various stories that were collected during interview-like sessions also plays a part in the process of translation. For this reason, the transcribers of these works also put their fingers in the realms of translation: from oral recitation to scripted format. Often decisions that were made in modes of transcription are not clear, and the 'artistic' license that is employed by some authors may distort or change important aspects of various narratives. For example, Chief Sepass was particular about the form that the English transcriptions of his tales took. Thus, he ensured that Street recorded the lines of his tales using appropriate rhythm (Bierwert 1999:94).

This exactitude can be contrasted with the rambling and dictation style transcription of Old Pierre's narratives recorded by Jenness (1955). The order in which tales are placed has an effect on how they may be read. Stern (1934) seems to have attempted a chronological ordering of the tales that he recorded among the Lummi, but it is not clear whether the tales were narrated in that order. Duanti (1997:161) suggests:

> Transcription is a selective process, aimed at highlighting certain aspects of the interaction for specific research goals

Certainly the research goals of the translator may be particularly different from those of the narrator. Sequencing references noted in transcriptions may have been highlighted in narration and downplayed in transcription or visa-versa. Any sequences that are apparent then, must be highlighted as resulting from the performative and transcriptional processes.

Many researchers note that there are Christian influences in many Coast Salish transcribed oral narratives (Suttles 1987; Bierwert 1999). Some may be concerned that such influences may take away from the 'traditional form' that these histories would have at one time had. Such distinctions are considered irrelevant to the following analysis. The conventionalisation of elements or new ways of perceiving the past into old stories would seem to be a common and ongoing character of oral histories (Fentress and Wickham 1992).

The Narrators of Six Sources Analyzed

The names of the narrators are often provided by the ethnographer or transcriber. Unfortunately, it is by convention that the ethnographer or transcriber of the story is cited rather than the narrators themselves. For this reason a clarification of the particular narrators of the materials analyzed is given. The transcribers are also discussed. The purpose of this section is to provide some insight into the process by which oral/aural transmitted information is textualized and to re-empower the narrator as having a great deal of influence in the authorship of the text. It is without a doubt that the context of performance and the relationship of the narrator and the transcriber (listener) helped to shape the overall sequences presented in the narratives. This section may also help to orient the reader to a better understanding of the nature of the sources analyzed for this project.

Mul'ks

Perhaps the clearest description of the performative context in which the narration and transcription of stories told comes from Hill-Tout's (1897:85) *Notes on the Cosmogony and History of the Squamish* that divulges the background of *Mul'ks* the narrator:

> I received a cordial reception at the hands of the chief men of the tribe, and on learning what I wanted they brought out of retirement the old historian of the tribe. He was a decrepit creature, stone-blind from old age, whose existence until then had been unknown to the good bishop, who himself has this tribe in charge. I am disposed, therefore, to think that this account has not been put into English before. I first sought to learn his age, but this he could only approximately give by informing me that his mother was a girl on the verge of womanhood when Vancouver sailed up Howe Sound at the close of last century. He would therefore be about 100 years old. His native name, as near as I could get it, is "Mul'ks." He could not understand any English, and his archaic Squamish was beyond my poor knowledge of the language, it was necessary to have resort to the tribal interpreter. This account, as a result will be less full and literal.

Sqtcten et al.

Another of Hill-Tout's (1902, reprinted 1978:67) ethnographic works, *The Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halkomelem, A Division*

of the Salish of British Columbia, includes a section on the Kwantlen. Very little is provided regarding the context of narration or ethnographic interview and only the following description of the narrators is provided:

> In my studies of the Kwantlen I was assisted by a native named August *Sqtcten*, of the Fort Langley Reservation, an intelligent and thoughtful Indian, who had been trained in his younger days in the mission school of the Oblate Fathers, and who had a very tolerable knowledge of English; by Jason Allard, a fairly educated half-breed; and to a less extent be an elderly Indian women named Mrs. Elkins.

Sepas

Of Chief *K'HHalserten* Sepass, the narrator of many songs and tales, much is known and described. The transcription of Chief Sepass's tales occurred over a four-year period beginning in 1911 (Street 1974:12-13), the performances taking place at Street's house. Sepass was born in the Kettle Falls region of Washington State in 1847 and moved to the Sardis region of the Chilliwack Valley after small-pox decimated the Colville peoples of the Kettle Falls region.

> The Chief said that his family group were connected to with the Nooksaaks in the state of Washington, that in British Columbia they married Cowichan or Thompson tribes people, and that they could "talk to the Susquatches" – Hairy Giants said to range the Coast Mountains. He had seen a giant skeleton in Chilliwack ... In the days of the Sun ceremonies, still celebrated every four years at the beginning of white penetration and settlement (later inevitably to be overridden by the pressure of the new regime), Chief Sepass was host to a large gathering from Pacific Coastal settlements. This was the occasion for particular rites, songs and dances, and parleys on matters of administrative concern. Two songs were sung each taking four days, *The Song of Nations*, a history, and *The Song of Generations*, a genealogy..

Hillaire et al.

The only information provided on the informant for Stern's (1934:9) monograph on the Lummi Indians of Northwest Washington is in the Introduction:

> The author is especially indebted to Joseph Hillaire, a Lummi Indian whose sincere interest in preserving the traditions of his people made him and eager and intelligent informant. Among other members of the tribe who served as informants were

> August Martin, Matt Paul, and Mrs. Matt Paul, William McClusky, Timothy Jefferson, and Frank Hillaire.

It is not clear whether one individual narrated the various stories in the monograph to Stern or whether several of the informants provided these stories.

Old Pierre

Anthropologist Diamond Jenness visited Katzie in February of 1936 (Jenness 1955). In the introduction to Faith of a Coast Salish Indian (Jenness 1955:5), it is remarked that:

> Nowhere did he find the religious beliefs of the Indians so well integrated, or the rites so well interpreted, as by Old Pierre, a man about 75 years of age who enjoyed a wide and honourable reputation as medicine man both on Vancouver Island and on the Mainland.

The work of Jenness and Old Pierre is one of the most often cited works of traditional Coast Salish society (e.g. Suttles 1955, 1987, 1990; Miller 1999; Bierwert 1999).

Splockton

Tsawwassen Legends is a collection of narratives that were originally published in The Optimist Newspaper of Ladner B.C. between 1946 and 1947. These stories were then printed in a collection by The Optimist (1961). The stories were collected by Geraldine McGreer Appleby, the editor of the Optimist. The narrator of most of the stories was Joe Splockton a resident on the Tsawwassen reserve.

The Chronological Ordering of Oral Narratives

In this section examples of relative ordering and sequencing references that were employed either in the context of a performance or in the narrative itself are given. This discussion is specific to the six collections of transcribed narratives that were analyzed specifically for this purpose.

The Chronological Consensus of Mul'ks Narration

Hill-Tout (1897:85) provides information regarding the means through which the ordering of Mul'ks Narration of Squamish stories was to unfold:

> Before the old man could begin his recital, some preparations were deemed necessary by the other elderly men of the tribe. These consisted in making a

bundle of short sticks, each about six inches long. These played the part of tallies, each stick representing to the reciter a particular paragraph or chapter in his story. They apologized for making these, and were at pains to explain to me that these were to them what books were to the white man. These sticks were now placed at intervals along a table round which we sat, and after some animated discussion between the interpreter, who acted as master of ceremonies, and the other older men as to the relative order and names of the tallies, we were ready to begin.

This is the only reference to this means of ordering the narrative flow. It is particularly noteworthy that this sequencing appears to have been agreed upon consensually. For this reason, the means of order narratives in this example demonstrates the importance of creating a sequence that listeners agree upon and sanction.

Kwantlen Genealogy

Kwantlen genealogy is related in Hill-Tout (1902, reprinted 1978) as being a means of ordering events of the past. This is done by the linking of a remembered sequence of ancestors with various epics. A lineage of ancestor is a means through which narrative sequences are remembered and the sequence of narratives can be used to remember the lineage. Both provide means for diachronic oriented examinations and explanations of the past. Following Hill-Tout's (1902, reprinted 1978:69) explanation:

> Of their origin they give various mythical accounts. Among the Kwantlen proper the first man was called Swaniset, meaning "to appear or come in a mysterious manner." He was *ten sweyil* 'descendent of the sky', who suddenly appeared on the Fraser River. Another account makes the first man a *ten tumah* 'descendent of the earth'. This latter is possibly an adaptation of the Mosaic account of the first man. With him were created all the tools and utensils, and also the Coquitlam tribe as his slaves. His name is given as *Swkelselem*. The *siam*-Kwantlen [chiefly family] have a genealogical record of their chiefs for nine generations: (1) *Skwelselem* I (2) *Skelselem* II (3) *Skwelselem* III (4) *Ctalsitet*, afterwards changed to *Skwelselem* IV (5) *Sqtcten* I (*Skwelselem* IV dying without male issue the *siam*-ship passed to his sisters son; hence the change of name.) (6) *Sqtcten* II, afterwards changed to *Stltimten*, Which has reference to thunder (The story in connection with the change of name was forgotten. The name is a *sulia* name.) (7) *Sqtcten* III (8) *Sqtcten* IV (9) *Sqtcten* V, who is the present chief.

The original signification of these names seems to be forgotten.

Many events that took place during the course of the existence of various ancestors are remembered in reference to this lineage. When "*Skwelselem* II was chief there was a mighty conflagration spread all over the whole earth, from which few people and animals escaped" (Hill-Tout 1902 reprint 1978:70). Hill-Tout goes on to suggest that this event refers to "some volcanic phenomenon". During the time of *Skwelselem* III the flood occurs and the Nooksack tribe becomes separated from the Squamish. During the time of *Skwelselem* IV a large snow storm of long duration occurs and many people starve.

The direct lineage approach to temporal ordering may or may not have a direct relationship to the temporality of average human generations. Fentress and Wickham (1992:80) note:

> These lineages and genealogies function not only as a source of information about 'real' ancestors, but also to situate a group as a clan or kinship group in relation to other such groups. In other words, lineages and genealogies also situate a group within a system of symbolic classification represented by totemic and mythological figures.

Unfortunately, Hill-Tout (1902) only published two Kwantlen narratives in full. Neither narrative was presented in relationship to the *siam*-genealogy nor contains references to other stories. In fact, the first narrative begins: "Once upon a time". Regardless, enough information is given in the section on genealogy to construct a relative sequence of historical events.

The Sequence in Sepass's Tales

Many of tales told by Chief Sepass use sequencing references. Such references operate to connect the temporality of one narrative by making temporally oriented references to other stories. These types of references are important and their usage suggests that Sepass intentionally sought to order his narratives in a cohesive and understandable sequence. It is of importance to note that not all of the narratives relayed by Sepass were found to have sequencing references. The following are some examples. From *The Beginning of the World*, the sequencing reference related to all other narratives as it implies a beginning (Street 1974:30):

> Long, long ago
> Before anything was,
> Saving only the Heavens,

From the seat of his golden throne
The Sun God looked out on the Moon Goddess
And found her Beautiful.

From *The Slollicum, Lake Mystery*, the sequencing reference occurs relative to a particular event by employing foreshadowing (Street 1974:49):

Many years ago
Before the first thought
Of the oldest man ...

From *K'Hhalls, the Sun God,* the sequencing reference is connected to the order of creation and relates this narrative back to the beginning (Street 1974:55):

K'Hhalls made Tsee-ah-khum, the sun,
And Thuh-galtz, the white moon.
K'Hhalls made Kwah-sil, the stars,
And Tsu h-khil-ghil-um, the coloured rainbow

From *Tsee-o-hil, Mankind,* here the flow continues in relation to human action and the actions of K'Hhalls (Street 1974: 57):

And K'Hhalls said:
"Let him have the earth for a while.
Let him see what he can do.
Let him build a great people on earth.
I will come back."
And K'Hhalls slept.

From *Miktzal the Painter,* the sequencing references refer to the actions of K'Hhalls (Street 1974:59):

Miktzal laughed loud and long
As he looked at the bird folk,
Eager and waiting.
His painter's eye glinted with mischief.
He said:
"K'Hhalls is asleep; Why may I not be K'Hhalls
For a little while?"
He turned to his paint bowls.

Several Narratives follow which relate transformations undertaken by an awakened K'Hhalls including the flood in which humans are buried in the mud. The following narratives make indirect or direct reference to this event suggesting that they occur after the flood (Street 1974:75):

From *Quait-Tzal Spahtz, the Grizzly Bear*

Tsee-o-hil
Lay buried in the mud...

From *Khwat-Say-Lum*, the Salmon Baby (Street 1974:84):

When the flood was gone
And the banks of the streams
Rose out of the mud ...

Together there is a consistent flow of a large narrative cycle within these narratives presented in *Sepass Tales*. The narratives of Chief Sepass demonstrate that there are many different ways in which sequencing references can be employed.

Linking Lummi Narratives

There are also sequencing references in the Lummi narratives recorded by Stern (1934) These are not as clearly defined as those in the Sepass Tales (Street 1974). Again different types of sequencing references were found including references to the relative position of a narrative in relation to all other narratives, cross-referenced characters, and the movement of peoples from one location to another.

From *In the Beginning* (Stern 1934:107):

Two Brothers were placed upon this earth. They first landed in the vicinity of Somane. There they discussed the problem of getting a livelihood. They concluded that salmon would not come to this place so they moved south ... to both brothers, *Xelas*, the Transformer had given some important gifts – the salmon, the reef-net, the spear, *suin* and fire.

From *The Origin of Fire Making* (Stern 1934:108) The sequencing reference foreshadows the coming of Xelas:

While the Indians were assembled at *Xanetan* they heard of the coming of *Xelas*, the transformer. They prepared to welcome him with a feast.

Another story relating how *Xelas* created deer follows. Other sequencing references occur in this collection of narratives, but these are difficult to cross-reference with those from other stories due to a lack of context and the small number of stories. The story of *How the Lummi Came to Their Present Abode* is a good example of where a sequencing reference appears to be used, but there is not enough information provided to adequately form a sequential relationship. In addition, this particular narrative has specific names given to an individual actor: *Whtathum* who becomes *Skalaxt*. This figure may have specific hereditary meaning and significance much like the genealogy of the Kwantlen (Hill-Tout 1902, reprint 1978).

Old Pierre's Katzie Genesis

The Katzie Book of Genesis, as Jenness (1955) calls Old Pierre's historical narrative of the Katzie people, is one of the most clearly and concisely ordered sequence of events of all the material reviewed. The Katzie book of Genesis includes the succession of many intertwined narratives all arranged in historical sequence. It is unlikely that Jenness had much influence in the ordering of these stories or in guiding the performative context along these lines. This ordering is attributed to the genius of Old Pierre himself (Jenness 1955:5) who uses a combination of genealogy, the presentation of the history as a single narrative, and many sequencing references as guides. The Genesis is described by Old Pierre as "not a mere fairy-tale, but the true history of my people, as it was taught to me in my childhood by three old men whom my mother hired to instruct me" (Jenness 1955:10). The following are some examples demonstrating the use of sequencing references. The first is the commonly used opening sequence reference that is related to the sequence of all narratives by introducing the first human beings (Jenness 1955:10):

> When the Lord Above created these first human beings, the land was strangely different from what it is now ... in the waters of the sea and the rivers there were clams and mussels, but no salmon, eulachon, or sturgeon, no seals, and no sea-lions.

Another sequencing reference involves the tracing of environmental changes such as the introduction of certain animals into the area (Jenness 1955:12):

> He then led her to the water's edge and said: 'My daughter, you are enamoured of the water. For the benefit of generations to come I shall now change you into the Sturgeon".

Pierre also directly links the sequence of characters in his narratives by foreshadowing (Jenness 1955:21).

> Thus *Swaneset* accomplished two great deeds for the benefit of mankind: he brought eulachon down from the sky, and he brought the sockeye salmon from a far-away country ... A rumour now reached the Indians on the Lower Fraser that three brothers, accompanied by twelve servants, were coming from the west to finish *Swaneset*'s work.

Another example of a type of sequencing reference is the means through which Old Pierre links human activities to catastrophic events.

> Slowly the Indians multiplied again after the great flood, and the Lord Above who was watching them saw once more they were too numerous in the land (Jenness 1955: 33).

It is clear that there are many types of sequencing references that Old Pierre draws upon, and the examples used are by no means exhaustive. These sequencing references act much in the same manner as the coordinating conjunctions that Galloway (1993) noted in many Upriver Halkomelem narrative speech events: as devices and tools used to connect the narrative into an integral and temporal structure. The sequencing references employed by Pierre seem to have much in common with those used by Sepass (Street 1974) and in the Lummi Narrative recorded by Stern (1934).

Certainly Old Simon Pierre's recounting of the Katzie Book of Genesis to Diamond Jenness is of great value in terms of understanding the relative chronology of historical event that occurred in the region. Suttles (1955:6) suggests:

> ...the integration of the myths themselves into a coherent cycle is rare, if not unique among the Coast Salish. The plots and incidents exist in other bodies of myths but remain separate elements. And the coherent explanation of the social and the ceremonial in light of this cycle of myths is so unusual that Jenness asks whether it is the normal expression of Katzie culture or the expression of the genius of a single man, Old Pierre. Regardless of the answer, the expression itself has intrinsic value. It reveals at least one possible interpretation of Katzie myth and Katzie life.

Certainly in terms of a cohesive sequence of historical events, Old Pierre's narratives are extremely detailed in their relative chronological ordering. However, as is the premise of this paper, and unlike Suttles (1955) ruminations above, the integration of the stories into " a coherent cycle" is not necessarily rare or unique.

Joe Splockon's Orderings

Joe Splockton ordered his narratives much in the same manner as many other narrators, by using sequencing references. Splockton's narratives are not as specific to other stories in all cases. Temporal references are made to all other narratives such as "the beginning", the first Tsawwassen settler, the collapse of one village or another. From the Legend of the First Tsawwassen Settler the sequencing reference refers to the first man (The Optimist 1961:21):

Tsaatzen is the man in the Delta totem. He was the first man to discover and live in this part of the country. He came from up in the hills.

From the Legend of the Cranberry Bog the sequencing reference refers to the first white man (The Optimist 1961:37):

> This legend of long ago begins with a story about a man it is said was the first white man to arrive in this neighbourhood. Some claim that the first white man was called Portugee Joe.

From The Legend of the Dancing Fisherboy the sequencing reference relates to the age of the first man at Tsawwassen (The Optimist 1961:51):

> The first man at Tsawwassen was an old man. Now, according to stories of olden times – and some believe them still – there were three persons going around the world: three brothers, who could change anyone into anything they wished.

Anthropological Orderings of Salishan Narratives

Several researchers note that there are two different narrative types recognized by Halkomelem speakers. The *sxwoxwiyám* is a narrative that relays events of the distant past, often described or conveyed as the mythological past (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1990; M. Carlson et al. 1997; Bierwert 1999). Alternatively, the *sqwélqwel* is a narrative that is an "historical narrative, narrative of recent events, or news" (Galloway 1993:613). As with the mixing of types of speech events, the *sxwoxwiyám* and the *sqwélqwel* are often found together in a single narrative, and it is often not possible to classify a narrative as being either one or another (M. Carlson et al. 1997:193):

> This stems primarily from the fact that both types of narratives illustrate various realities that often exist simultaneously. The narratives shared by the Stó:lo often do not make a distinction between a distant history that was and a contemporary history that is, or a distant history that is unreal and a contemporary history that is real. There is no line drawn between the mythical/ supernatural/ spiritual and the natural/ordinary that cannot be bent. Even the inferred difference between the past and the present, or a supernatural versus a natural experience, can be blurred (yet the distinction between a *sxwoxwiyám* and a *sqwélqwel* are clear to Stó:lo elders).

M. Carlson et al. (1997) struggle to identify exactly where the distinction between these two narrative types lies. The basis of M. Carlson et al. (1997) and Galloway's (1993) differentiation seem to be based on the dichotomy of real versus unreal or mythical versus historical, which, as is apparent from the quote above seems to be a difficult realm to explore in regards of differentiating these types of narratives. While the emic differentiation may be blurry or complex in identifying one type from another, a review of these two different types of narratives presented in contrasting form in Galloway (1993) and M. Carlson et al. (1997) provides insight into the some of the differentiating features. Thus, rather than struggling with the real/unreal dichotomy, I would argue that the placement of the narrator in the narrative is in some cases a defining feature. Whereas the *sqwélqwel* often includes the narrator in the narrative, for example using personal pronouns such as "I" or "my cousin", personal signifiers of the narrator tend to be absent from *sxwoxwiyáms*. A further distinction is that *sxwoxwiyám* tend to be set in a past that occurred before the life history of the narrator or an immediate ancestor thereof, and the sqwélqwel occurs in the more recent past.

Suttles (1990:466) discussion of Central Coast Salish mythology is limited to a division of the historical sequence into two distinct eras:

> In the myths there was an age when the world was different, its people were like both humans and animals of the present age, and it was full of dangerous monsters. The myth age ended when *xé'ls* the Transformer came through the world, transforming monsters and other myth-age beings into rocks and animals, and setting things in order for people of the present age.

Discussion

The results of the temporal analysis of oral historic sources from the study area are presented in Table 14:1 which is organized by placing the sequences of the narrators in columns. Different eras of the sequences are then identified by the rows. Only episodes that were temporally linked by the narrators are included. The occurrences of common events are linked across rows of the table where possible. The last column I have added to provide a means of delineating each era of the created sequence. A careful review of the constructed table will reveal to the reader how the sequences of these different historical narratives share much in common

when they are cross-referenced in this manner. It is clear that chronological sequences between narratives can be pieced together. The orators themselves pieced these sequences together for the listener (reader). Certainly themes reappear and repeat themselves frequently through the course of these sequences, particularly, reoccurrences. The destruction and reconstruction of human communities often reoccur. Such repeated themes contribute to the classification of the narratives as cycles (e.g. Suttles 1955). There is also a linear trajectory of the related narratives. Researchers have often dichotomized cyclical and linear chronologies into non-Western (or subordinate) and Western (or dominant) modes of temporal classification (eg. Connerton 1989:19-20). Hymes 1990) description of temporality in Northwest Coast mythology attempts to clarify (muddle) this dichotomization:

> It would be a mistake to think of a strict linear sequence, one age wholly replacing another. It would be more useful to think of a center and a periphery. There is indeed the great divide of transformation, when beings that are humanlike in voice and action became entirely animal, being overcome and diminished or simply choosing to take on their later characteristics and habitats ... the established world is the center, which the events and beings of the narratives encircle at a distance. One can go out to the periphery, as on a quest for spiritual power. The periphery can come closer, as in the winter season, when power may be displayed in dramatic dance and song, and myths brought to life in words. Especially when the myths are travels of a trickster or transformer, they bring within the confines of the winter house origins in a world of summer.

The findings of this analysis would suggest that elements of both temporal frameworks present themselves in many different ways in the narratives analyzed. Indeed, the temporality of language would preclude that any linguistically based communication can recognize both cyclical and linear time frameworks. Cyclical narratives may contain linear attributes, just as linear narratives can contain cyclical attributes. It must be stressed that one does not necessarily preclude the other.

An Historical Sequence of Transcribed Oral History

The basic premise of Table 14:1 is drawn from the same types of charts used in archaeology. The placing of oral narratives into this type of sequence has been undertaken before (Linklater 1993). One of the first charts of this sort used to order archaeological cultures is attributed to V. Gordon Child in 1932, whose charts detailed the archaeology of Europe "in terms of a complex mosaic of culture" (Trigger 1989:170) and became the prototypes for the format that archaeologists adopted to illustrate chronological and geographical relationships between archaeological cultures. Such charts are of particular use as they provide a means to visually display differences and similarities of contemporaneous archaeological cultures through time. These types of charts can also be useful in displaying the relative histories of transcribed oral narratives. The chart created from this analysis provides a visual means of displaying the mosaic and relative temporality of different narrator's sequences of past events.

Archaeology and Oral Sequences Compared

Both the archaeological and oral historical sequences for the study area provide insight into the human history of the region. However, there seems to be few similarities in regards to perceived phases or categories in these two types of sequences. For example, there seems to be no equivalent of the shift from the Locarno Beach to the Marpole culture type in the oral historical sequence. Whereas the phases of the archaeological sequence are based primarily on frequencies of artifact types and ascribed radiocarbon dates, the temporal markers of the oral historical sequence seem to be based on large-scale changes, both environmental and social.

Differing perspectives of the past are revealed when one considers the archaeological and oral historical sequences. Recent interpretations of the archaeological sequence are characterized by gradual change (Mitchell 1971, 1990; Matson and Coupland 1995). Environmental upheavals rarely figure into the archaeological sequence with the exception of the shift from the Milliken to Mazama Phases in the Fraser Canyon (Mitchell and Pokotylo 1996). These two phases are separated by a layer of Volcanic ash that represents the massive eruption of Mount Mazama 6600 years ago. Otherwise the archaeological sequence of the study area is interpreted as a slow and gradual process with change occurring and developing out of each antecedent phase. Few catastrophes or environmental factors are given for changes in the sequence, with the notable exception of a perceived 'stabilization' in salmon stocks around 5000 BP [5730 cal BP] (Fladmark 1975)..

Table 14:1. Space-Time Grid of Oral Historical Sequences, Central Coast Salish Region.

Mul'ks – Squamish 1897	Hillaire et al. Lummi 1928-29	Joe Splockton Tsawwassen 1946-47	Sqtcten et al. Kwantlen 1902	Simon Pierre – Katzie 1936	Chief K'Hhalserten Sepass – Chilliwack 1911.	Oral Historical Era
-In the beginning there is water everywhere and no land.					-K'HHalls creates the sky, thunder, lightening, fierce wind, sun, moon, stars, rainbow. -K'HHalls sees the first human from the sky.	-The beginning.
-The Great Spirit makes land appear, lakes and rivers, trees, animals and the first man.	-Two brothers placed on this earth.	-Tzaaten came to Tsawwassen from the hills. -Tsawwassen was an Island at this time.	-Swaniset is the first human to appear in the area. - Skwelselem I.	-Creation of groups of people (including Swaniset), leaders, and sun, moon, season's and rainbow. -Only clams and mussels for people to eat.	-Sun and moon's longings mingle and create the world. -Sun's letter of love to moon falls and creates land. -Moon's tears creates the water. -From thoughts, longings, and loving came trees and flowers. -Moon and Sun leap into the sky and their new love creates humans.	-The first humans.
			- Skwelselem II. - Possible Volcanic eruption (may be related to the shattering of Sheriden Hill described by Simon Pierre).	-Three white rocks created. -Creation of the north and west winds Sxwa'yxwey mask (and other masks) given to Musquem. -Creation of sturgeon and owl-like bird. -Pit meadows drained and sloughs created. -Swaniset climbs arrow ladder to the world above. -Swaniset shatters Sheriden Hill. -Seagulls created. -Eulachon created. -Swaniset plays lehal. -Many animals are human in form. -Swaniset marries sockeye daughter. -Swaniset brings salmon up the Fraser.	-K'HHalls sleeps. -Mankind walks the earth in defiance of K'HHalls. -Miktzal paints the birds.	-Before the tranformation.
	-Xelas grants gifts to the first people: the salmon, reef-net, spear, deer and fire. -Xelas convinces Mt. Baker's wife,Whateth, to lie down.	-The first man at Tsawwassen was an old man. -Three brothers arrive and begin to changes things. -Old man is changed into a deer.		-Khaals comes from the West. -Begins to transform people into rocks. -Prophesizes that Tsawwassen island will become joined to the mainland. -Changes people into animals (raven, mink, wolf, kingfisher, racoon, crane, supernatural beings, sucker fish, beaver, muskrat, sandhill, goats, cranes, geese, eagle, wolf, black bear, grizzly, deer, seals).	-K'HHalls awakes. Turns Sky-ak (the magician) into mink. -K'Hhalls creates the sucker from Gekt the boaster (similar to the creation of deer in Pierre). -Turns were-wolf into mosquitos.	The age of transformation

Table 14:1. Space-Time Grid of Oral Historical Sequences, Central Coast Salish Region. (cont'd)

Mul'ks – Squamish 1897	Hillaire et al. Lummi 1928-29	Joe Splockton Tsawwassen 1946-47	Sqtcten et al. Kwantlen 1902	Simon Pierre – Katzie 1936	Chief K'Hhalserten Sepass – Chilliwack 1911.	Oral Historical Era
				-Deer fence invented. -Deer fence forbidden. -Thunder controlled by sya'ykwel.		World transformed.
-Great spirit makes the waters rise and all are drowned except for Cheatmuh, son of the first man Ka-la'na, and his wife.			Skwelselem III. Great flood overwhelms the people and shatters the tribes.	Flood. Refuge on golden ears and Mt. Cheam.	-Flood. -Human's die. -K'HHalls watches from the sun. -K'HHalls calls human from the mud after the deluge. -K'HHalls sleeps again.	The great flood.
-The population re-establishes itself				-The population re-establishes itself.	-Grizzly awakes and remembers the days before the flood. -Hy-o-hah-lah takes Grizzly to the world above. -Squirrel, sunk, raccoon, mink, and grouse rescue Grizzly. -Different tribal groups are created. -Grizzly remembers salmon from the days before the flood. Beaver and friends travel to salmon village on the ocean. -Bring salmon up river.	After the flood.
-Cheatmuh dies and the Great Spirit sends a great snow-storm. -The snow covered everything. Starvation and cold.			-Skwelselem IV. -Great famine occurs caused by a prolonged snowstorm. -The Coquitlam are forced across the river from New Westminister.	-Cold and snow sent. -Starvation ensues.		The great snow.
-The population re-establishes itself			-Sqtcten I	-The population re-establishes itself		After the snow.
-Salmon become covered with sores and blotches. -A loathsome skin disease breaks out			-Sqtcten II -Sqtcten III	-News from the east of a great sickness.		The great sickness.
-Vancouver arrives		-Portugee Joe arrives and marries an Indian woman and lives of Reed Island.	-Sqtcten IV	-Europeans arrive on the Fraser.		The Arrival of Europeans.
			-Sqtcten V			

The oral historical sequence is much more concerned with profound environmental and large-scale social change the most profound of these being the Transformation, the Great Flood and the Long Snow. Indeed, these are the types of events that make stories interesting and thus, repeatable and memorable. Whereas the archaeological sequence of the study area is concerned with the gradual, the oral historical sequence focuses on the punctuation of catastrophe and upheaval.

Since the oral historical sequence includes reference to environmental upheaval there is some possibility for comparisons between palaeo-ecological and oral historical data. It is impossible to be certain about absolute dates for events in the oral historical sequence. Regardless, the relative temporality of events for the oral historical sequence has striking similarities with the sequence of events that occurred in the study area since the last glaciation at the narrative level (See Schaepe 2001.).

The oral historical sequence provides a relative temporal framework for the study area that suggests when the first people arrived here the land was unoccupied by other humans. Similarly, the palaeo-ecological model for the study area suggests that the area was likely uninhabitable before 13,000 [cal 15,600] BP as a result of the large-scale glaciation of the region (Armstrong 1981:12; Mathewes 1973; Clague et al. 1982). After the arrival of the first human, the local and presently identifiable fauna of the area begin to become established as related by the oral historical sequence. Along the same lines, this period is characterized by the establishment of species in formerly glaciated regions (e.g. Hebda and Frederick 1990). The coming of *Xals* brings about great transformation in terms of the landscape, people, and ecology (McHalsie et al. 2001). Similarly, the events that occur around deglaciation bring about serious environmental shifts that any animate being would have to contend with though profound change and adaptation (Armstrong 1981). The great flood brings about yet another catastrophe in the sequence of the oral histories. Similarly, The Pleistocene/Holocene transition in the lower Fraser River and adjacent Strait of Georgia is marked by a catastrophic flood event resulting from the sudden draining of a large ice dammed lake in the in the B.C. interior (Conway et al. 2001), This flood event occurred between 9800 and 9160 [cal 11,200-10,300] BP, deluged this part of the region, and deposited a thick layer of clay on the floor of Georgia Strait.

Following the flood, according to the oral-historical sequence, there was a period of relative stability during which populations recovered, salmon were reestablished, and people thrived. In comparison to the events of the late Pleistocene climatic conditions during the Holocene are relatively stable. The archaeological record of the Holocene reflects this stability in the interpretation of gradual change over several millennia. Few long terms and large-scale catastrophic events are related by the palaeo-ecological, oral historical, and archaeological data during this time (there are certainly short lived tectonic and volcanic episodes). The long-term stability of this period provides little upheaval for oral historical temporal references. Conversely, the stability of this period provides accumulations and centralization of human activity so as to provide highly visible and accessible concentration of archeological material of the type that archaeologists like to take advantage of, particularly since 4500 years BP [5200 cal BP] (Clague et al. 1982: 603). Some ecological change does occur during this period including the gradual rise of sea levels and the complimentary growth of the Fraser Delta (Williams and Hebda 1991). The growth of the Fraser delta is referred to in the oral historical sequence where Tsawwassen is said to have been an island before it became connected to the mainland. The next great change referred to by the oral historical data is the onset of the Great Snow. This may coincide with the Little Ice Age that may have increased hardships in the area by lowering average temperatures around 1350 BP [1220 cal BP]. Clearly there are many similarities in the sequences created by these diverse means of historical inquiry.

Conclusion

This analysis of transcribed oral narratives has sought to discover ways in which historical events are sequenced in narration. The results of this analysis found many different ways in which sequences can be produced including consensual remembering, genealogical referencing, and employing sequencing references during the course of relating a narrative. The resulting space-time chart of the sequences provides a coherent and clear unfolding of historical events for the region studied. Comparative efforts undertaken in this paper reveal that the oral historical sequence provides an overall narrative that is consistent with post-Wisconsin glaciation historical events described in palaeo-ecological, geological, and archaeological studies in the study area when all are considered in tandem.