

**How What Was Said Was Said:
Quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' Narrative Performance**

**by
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Abstract

This thesis describes the use of quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives. Hul'q'umi'num' is the Island dialect of Halkomelem spoken on the southeastern coast of Vancouver Island in British Columbia, Canada. Quotation varies in form throughout Hul'q'umi'num' narratives, occurring as indirect quotation or as direct quotation in varying strength of theatricality marked by prosody and style. The variation in form is based on how the representation of the instance of speech contrasts with the surrounding narrative, where markedly different and theatrical quotation signals high points in the discourse.

Keywords: Salish; Halkomelem; prosody; discourse; pragmatics

dedicated to HG and the sleeping giants

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Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Declaration of Committee | ii |
| Ethics Statement..... | iii |
| Abstract | iv |
| Dedication | v |
| Acknowledgements | vi |
| Table of Contents | viii |
| List of Tables | x |
| List of Figures | xi |
| List of Abbreviations | xii |
| Chapter 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1. Materials | 3 |
| 1.2. Discourse roles..... | 5 |
| 1.3. Defining direct and indirect quotation | 6 |
| 1.4. What’s the point? | 9 |
| 1.5. Common forms of direct quotation..... | 11 |
| 1.5.1. Verbs in the reporting clause | 11 |
| 1.5.2. Order of reporting clause and direct quotation | 13 |
| 1.6. Roadmap | 18 |
| Chapter 2. Prosody | 20 |
| 2.1. Preliminaries on prosody and narrative structure | 20 |
| 2.2. Measurement of prosody..... | 24 |
| 2.2.1. Procedure | 24 |
| 2.2.2. Examples of prosodic prominence..... | 26 |
| 2.2.3. Stage-direction speech, de-emphasizing, and relative prominence | 33 |
| 2.3. Conclusion | 37 |
| Chapter 3. Performance features within direct quotation..... | 39 |
| 3.1. Preliminaries on deixis..... | 39 |
| 3.2. Pronominal and spatio-temporal deixis | 41 |
| 3.3. Illocutionary function and ‘hallmark’ forms..... | 43 |
| 3.3.1. Command..... | 43 |
| 3.3.2. Conjecture..... | 45 |
| 3.3.3. Discourse receipt | 45 |
| 3.3.4. Co-occurrence..... | 46 |
| 3.4. Summary | 47 |
| Chapter 4. Interpretation of quotation in discourse | 48 |

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| Chapter 5. | Conclusion..... | 56 |
| References | | 58 |
| Appendix A. | Practical orthography | 64 |
| Appendix B. | Corpus bibliography | 67 |
| Appendix C. | Intonation measurements | 71 |

List of Tables

| | | |
|----------|---|----|
| Table 1: | Participant roles in oral narratives with quotation | 5 |
| Table 2: | Summary of intonation measurement results | 33 |
| Table 3: | Summary of measurements for instance of quotation with perceived 'stage-direction' speech for DB ₃ , DB ₄ , and DB ₅ from DB 3435-3438..... | 36 |
| Table 4: | Basic deictic determiners | 42 |

List of Figures

| | | |
|-----------|---|----|
| Figure 1: | Prosodic Hierarchy..... | 22 |
| Figure 2: | Pitch track with oral paragraphs marked with corresponding events in the discourse from a Lushootseed narrative..... | 23 |
| Figure 3: | Pitch track for Sy ₁ from Sy 19293–19294, shown in (22), with intonational curve overlaid as dotted line | 25 |
| Figure 4: | Pitch track of DB 3502-3510, shown in (21) | 28 |
| Figure 5: | Pitch track of excerpt DB ₁ from DB 3502-3503, shown in (21)..... | 28 |
| Figure 6: | Pitch track of excerpt DB ₂ from DB 3502-3503, shown in (21)..... | 30 |
| Figure 7: | Pitch track for Sy ₁ from Sy 19293–19294, shown in (22)..... | 32 |
| Figure 8: | Pitch track and intensity track overlaid for DB ₃ , DB ₄ , and DB ₅ from DB 3435–3438..... | 35 |
| Figure 9: | Continuum of correlation between surface form, notional peak, and performativity in reporting speech | 51 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|------|------------------------|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| ADV | adversative |
| APPL | applicative |
| AUX | auxiliary |
| CERT | certainty |
| COM | command |
| CN | clause-linking element |
| CNJ | conjunction |
| CS | causative |
| DM | demonstrative |
| DIM | diminutive |
| DT | determiner |
| DYN | dynamic |
| EMPH | emphatic focus, topic |
| EXCL | exclamation |
| FOC | contrastive focus |
| FUT | future |
| IMPF | imperfective |
| INF | inferential |
| INQU | inquisitive |
| LC | limited control |
| LOC | locative |
| MID | middle |
| MIT | mitigative |
| MOT | motional |
| N | nominalizer |
| NE | non-existential |
| OB | oblique |
| OBJ | object |
| PAS | passive |
| PERF | perfect |
| PST | past |
| PL | plural |
| POS | possessive |
| PRO | independent pronoun |
| Q | yes/no question |
| QUOT | quotative, hearsay |
| REAS | reassurance |
| REFL | reflexive |
| RSLT | resultative |

| | |
|------|---|
| RL | rhetorical lengthening |
| SG | singular |
| SOBJ | subordinate object |
| SSUB | subordinate subject |
| ST | stative |
| SUB | subject |
| TR | transitive |
| = | punctuation between morphemes |
| - | disambiguating punctuation between non-digraph characters |

Chapter 1. Introduction

Storytelling is the basis of oral culture in all the languages of the world. A common storytelling device, one of the many indispensable idiosyncratic and expressive uses of language, is to give voice to the characters in the story by constructing dialogue in the form of quotations. This thesis is an analysis of the *form* and *function* of quotation as it is used in Hul'q'umi'num' oral narratives. Hul'q'umi'num' is a dialect of *Halkomelem*, a Central Salish language spoken in southwestern British Columbia, Canada.¹ Although Hul'q'umi'num' is endangered², there has been much documentation and analysis over the last fifty years, including dictionaries (Hukari and Peter 1995), grammars (Gerds 2016, Gerds and Hukari to appear), and texts (Gerds and Hukari 2003, Gerds and Hukari 2004).

The work shown in this thesis is part of a larger project headed by linguist Donna Gerds and Elder Ruby Peter on performances of stories in Hul'q'umi'num'.³ This research focuses on how Elders speak Hul'q'umi'num', making use of legacy materials, and how pragmatic and prosodic analysis of stories can be useful to the second language speakers in their efforts to become fluent storytellers.

Work on stories that have arisen from this research include MA projects by Hul'q'umi'num' students in the Masters of Linguistics of a First Nations Language program. Carol Louie (2019) and George Seymour (2018) detail how to construct new stories with authentic traditional structures. Laura Antoine (2019), Sonya Charlie (2019),

¹ Halkomelem is made of three major dialects corresponding with three adjacent regions: the region around the upper part of the Fraser River (*Halq'eméylem* or *Upriver Dialect*), the region around the lower Fraser River (*hənqəmínəm*, *Musqueam*, or *Downriver Dialect*), and the region on southeastern Vancouver Island (*Hul'q'umi'num'* or *Island Dialect*) (Suttles 1990:475; Gerds 1974).

² According to a 2018 survey, there are 93 reported fluent speakers of Halkomelem (First Peoples' Cultural Council 2018) most of whom are Elders, and the number of them is diminishing. Donna Gerds (p.c.) estimates currently that there are around thirty first language speakers remaining, over 100 fluent second language speakers, and over 1000 children and adults currently studying the language.

³ The work presented in this thesis was funded by SSHRC Insight Grant (Gerds PI) "Hul'q'umi'num' stories: The prosodics and pragmatics of performance", SSHRC Partnership Development Grant (Hedberg PI) "Coast Salish ways of speaking: Documenting discourse as a path to fluency," SSHRC Partnership Development Grant, and funding from the Simon Fraser University Department of Linguistics.

Harvey George (2019), Thomas Jones (2019), Verna Jones (2019), Colleen Manson (2018), Gina Salazar (2020), Bernadette Sam (2019), Regena Seward-Wilson (2019), and Margaret Seymour (2019) show how stories are important for conveying history, cultural traditions, and life lessons.

Other research that have arisen from this project has centered around the analysis of frequent constructions used by Hul'q'umi'num' storytellers as observed in the legacy materials. These include an analysis of the pragmatics and prosodics of lists (Gerdtz and Gilkison 2018), the use of repetition for stylistic and rhetorical purposes (Gerdtz 2018), and the use of vocatives to implicitly describe relationships between characters and their individual characteristics (Gerdtz 2017a; Gerdtz 2019).

My thesis focuses on another construction, quotation, as it is used by Hul'q'umi'num' storytellers. Quotation is ubiquitous—it is found in some form in all languages (Li 1986) and is pervasive throughout oral narratives—and it is thus a major component of culture and human cognition. However, it differs enough cross-linguistically to be a topic of typological inquiry (Buchstaller & Alphen 2012). I study the form of quotation, detailing how quotation is produced in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives, and in particular, showing variations in prosody and stylistic features that characterize quotation use in storytelling by fluent speakers. I also study the function of quotation, describing the discourse-pragmatic factors that determine how the speaker chooses which form of quotation to use. The content of this thesis is ideally a record of an important facet of Hul'q'umi'num' use which can be shared with current and future learners of the language, and the theoretical questions that arise ideally contribute to various other linguistic disciplines.

The guiding questions for this thesis are:

1. How is quotation understood by the audience in Hul'q'umi'num narratives?
2. How do Elders use quotation in stories to make them comprehensible, enjoyable, and meaningful?

3. What theoretical or empirical linguistic methodologies provide insight to how native speakers use quotation in their stories?

1.1. Materials

The texts that were analyzed for this thesis come from the corpus of Donna Gerdts and Thomas Hukari. They are based on audio recordings of native speakers made in 1962 through 2016, which were transcribed and translated with the help of native speakers Arnold Guerin, Delores Louie, Ruby Peter, and Theresa Thorne.⁴ They were originally collected in multiple documents, usually by speaker, and so Donna Gerdts and I combined them into one single text corpus. They were transliterated from APA into the practical orthography as needed; a guide to the practical orthography and how Hul'q'umi'num' is shown in text in this thesis may be found in Appendix A. The text corpus has been used for some of the works mentioned above on these idiosyncratic constructions: vocatives (Gerdts 2017a; Gerdts 2019), lists (Gerdts and Gilkison 2018), repetition (Gerdts 2018), as well as deixis in determiners and demonstratives as they are used in stories (Gerdts, Gilkison, and Hedberg 2018; Gerdts and Hedberg 2018; Gerdts and Hedberg 2020). For this thesis, I have provided data from 16 stories and have provided interlinear glosses; bibliographic information about these stories and other notes on the form of the corpus may be found in Appendix B.⁵

Example (1) is a strong representative of the examples of quotation that I present:

⁴ Thank you to the Hul'q'umi'num' speakers who shared their stories in order for the younger generations of speakers to know their language and culture. This material is to be treated with proper respect and is not to be reproduced, published, or used for further analysis without permission.

⁵ Much of the information on individual words seen in these glosses, especially morphological breakdown, is gathered from Hukari and Peters (1995) and Gerdts and Hukari (to appear).

(1) “’i tse’ ’u tu’i, ’i tse’ ’u tu’i,” xut’u.
 AUX FUT OB DM AUX FUT OB DM say.IMPF

“It will be here, it will be here,” he said.

“nilh ts’u tse’ ’un’ sh=ts’e’=t kw’un’
 3PRO QUOT FUT 2SG.POS N.OB=on.top=TR DT.2SG.POS

s’ulhtun.”

food

“This is where you will put your food.”

(SSS 12675–12678)

We see here much of what I will be discussing in this thesis: the overall formatting for glosses, theatrical pacing, and the many stylistic elements during the direct quotation that make the stories vivid and entertaining.

1.2. Discourse roles

In Table 1, I list the terms that I use to refer to various roles that arise in a discourse:

Table 1: Participant roles in oral narratives with quotation

| Interlocutors | |
|------------------------|---|
| Role | Definition |
| speaker | person giving the oral performance |
| audience | the people present in the place where the speaker is performing |
| Discourse perspectives | |
| Role | Definition |
| narrator | the perspective that describes the actions of the characters such that the narrative proceeds from it; the perspective in the ‘narrative mode’; the voice whose opinions and epistemological perspective can be ascribed to the speaker |
| origo ⁶ | the deictic center in direct quotation, or, the source of quoted material within a narrative |
| recipient ⁷ | the entity to whom the quotation is directed within the narrative |

Each of these roles clearly has a different function in the building of a discourse. It is more obvious what the speaker and audience do in an oral narrative: the speaker gives the performance and the audience receives it, and, in some cases the audience gives appropriate cues of receipt. However, the speaker may inhabit different perspectives in the oral narrative who have different knowledge, beliefs, and opinions from one another

⁶ The term *origo* has often been used specifically in the literature (traditionally by Bühler, as early as 1934 (Bühler, Goodwin, & Eschbach, 2011)) to represent the target of deictic shift, or rather, a new deictic center to which deictic projection occurs. It is also used in discussing the source of quotation when deictic shift does not occur. The other common term, *source*, seems to have a broader scope, but is more ambiguous as to which “source” it refers to. For sake of specificity, I will continue to use *origo*.

⁷ Levinson (1983:68) gives alternative terms for *speaker*, *audience*, and *recipient*, which are *spokesman*, *target*, and *addressee*, respectively.

(e.g. the narrator and origo), and the speaker may also set up an interlocution that takes place within the context of the characters in the narrative.

1.3. Defining direct and indirect quotation

As I discuss further later, there are many different analyses of quotation as well as many different variants in form, but I will give a brief definition and some examples now.

Direct quotation in text is often surrounded by quotation marks, as shown in (2):

(2) Heather said, “I’ll be back soon.”

To compare, an example of direct quotation in Hul’q’umi’num’ is seen in (3):

(3) suw’ thut=s tthuw’nilh, “nem’ tsun
 N.CN say=3POS DT.CN.PRO go 1SG.SUB
 shahwukw’=um’ tsakwum’.”
 bathe.IMPF=MID go.uphill.IMPF

One day he said, “I am going up the mountain for my bath.”

(DB 3402–3403)

Direct quotation (demarcated by double quotation marks) is usually introduced by a clause with a speech verb, or the *reporting clause*. Within the direct quotation, the speaker assumes the role of the origo and speaks as them, which is most obviously evidenced in form by deictic shift, or the use of deictic terms from the perspective (the *deictic center*) of the origo instead of the perspective of the speaker. In (2), this is seen in the use of the 1st person pronoun in the direct quotation which is centered on the origo instead of the speaker, and in (3), the same is seen in the 1st person subject clitic *tsun*. These, and what I will call other *internal* elements of direct quotation, will be described in more detail in Chapter 3.

Indirect quotation is when the speaker externally reports what is said by the origo. An English example of indirect quotation is shown in (4), and a Hul’q’umi’num’ example is shown in (5):

(4) Heather *said* [(that) she'll be back soon].

Unlike direct quotation, indirect quotation does not feature deictic shift, and deictic content within the indirect quotation is thus attributable to the speaker and not the origo. In English, it also differs in that it is most often in an embedded clause and, in cases like (4), may have an optional complementizer. Indirect quotation is predicted to generally be syntactically embedded cross-linguistically (Buchstaller 2014:58), and this appears to be true in Hul'q'umi'num' as well. There are two primary types of subordinate clauses in Hul'q'umi'num', and both of these types of subordinate clause are used for indirect quotation (Gerds and Hukari to appear). The first form of subordinate clause follows 'uw', a "complementizing connective" (i.e. complementizer), and takes dependent clause verb marking (Bätscher 2014; Gerds 2017b). In non-quotation example (5) and indirect quotation example (6), the complementizer 'uw' can be seen in bold and the dependent clause in brackets:

(5) 'aa=tum [**'uw'** nem'=us lhuw'=unuq].
call=TR.3PAS CN go=3SUB cure=people

He was called to do some healing.

(GE 22849–22850)

- (6) suw' ptem'=s ['uw' tstamut=us 'a'lu tthu
 N.CN ask=3POS CN do.what=3SUB INQU DT
 s=q'uq'ip].
 ST=gather.RSLT

He asked what the ones gathered were doing.

(SMTz 4428–4429)

In (5), the verb in the main clause (just the word *'aatum*) is marked with main clause passive subject marking, and subordinate clause subject marking (= *'us*) is seen on the verb *nem'us* in the clause following *'uw'*. In (6), the main clause verb is *ptem'*, and the indirect quotation is found in the subordinate clause with the 3rd person subject =*us* marking on the verb *tstamut*.⁸

The other type of subordinate clause in Hul'q'umi'num' is the nominalized form, where the subordinate clause appears as a nominalized clause, with subject marking appearing as possessive marking (Gerds 2017b; Thompson 2012). An example of a nominalized subordinate clause with the possessive in bold and the nominalized clause in brackets can be seen in (7), and an indirect quotation can be seen in (8):

- (7) "i' s=t'e tse' 'uw' tuw' ts'imul' 'u kwthunu
 CNJ N=be.like FUT CN MIT close OB DT.1SG.POS
 lelum', nilh [**nu=suw'** 'unuhw]."
 house 3PRO 1SG.POS=N.CN stop

"And when I am closer to my house, I will stop."

(GE 21724–21725)

- (8) 'i' yaw'=that tsun [kwunus stsuw'et
 CNJ go.foward=REFL 1SG.SUB DT.1SG.POS=N adept
 kw'unu=s tsnuhwulh].
 DT.1SG.POS=N make.canoe

...and I was boasting that I was very adept at making canoes.

(MFC 9738–9739)

⁸ Dependent clause structure in Hul'q'umi'num' and the use of the marker *'uw'* are each more complex than what I show here. The examples I present here are exemplary and should not be considered exhaustive.

In (7), *nusuw'*, which has a 1st person singular possessive marker *nu*, marks the subject for the short subordinate clause *nusuw' unuhw*. In (8), the word *kwunus* also has the 1st person singular possessive marker *nu* for the subordinate clause in brackets.

What I have just shown is just a few examples of some direct and indirect quotation and a brief introduction to Hul'q'umi'num' clausal syntax, but it is enough to get started for now. I will not discuss indirect quotation much more in this thesis because indirect quotation is, as we just saw, embedded in the syntax and thus in the narrative style, and so it does not host as many features for quotation-like performance as direct quotation does.

1.4. What's the point?

Analyses abound on the exact nature, behavior, and meaning of of quotation, whether structural or functional.⁹ Since this thesis is stemming from a body of projects focused on describing performance features in Hul'q'umi'num', I want to show *what it is about quotation* that suits the purpose that it fulfills in oral performances.

We can start by seeing that quotation varies in its form considerably throughout Hul'q'umi'num' narratives. Each of these variations is the result of a choice that the speaker makes while performing the narrative. For example, the first variation that I describe is the difference between direct and indirect quotation; next, given the choice of direct quotation, the speaker must choose which verb should be used in the reporting clause and the ordering of the reporting clause relative to the direct quotation. For this reason, and following the above point, I want to show *what the characterization of these variants are* and especially *why a speaker would choose one variant over the other*. To do this, I will continue to show more features of variance in quotation and characterize them as they are used for performances.

⁹ See Noh (2000:7–60) and Buchstaller (2014:2–54) for general reviews of the literature about quotation, and see Buchstaller (2014:55–64) in the same volume for analyses about the difference between direct and indirect quotation. One might be able to see from the length of these page ranges that a proper reckoning of all of these analyses would not fit in this thesis!

A useful working distinction that has previously arisen for distinguishing between direct and indirect quotation is that direct quotation is often theatrical or performative where indirect quotation is not. Wierzbicka (1974:273–274) considers an underlying structure for direct and indirect quotation and concludes that the best way to distinguish between direct and indirect quotation is by illocutionary purpose. She posits that the illocutionary purpose of indirect quotation is this:

- “I want to cause you to know what this person said”.

The illocutionary purpose of direct quotation, on the other hand, is “double”. It is (with my emphasis):

- “I want to cause you to know what this person said”, and
- “I want to cause you to know *how he said it*”.

The fact that there are so many variations in form are thus a result of finding a way to satisfactorily fulfill these illocutionary purposes. In particular, we see that the speaker has many choices that they can make in how they form direct quotation in order to fulfill the illocutionary purpose of “I want to cause you to know how he said it”. For this reason, much of what I continue to describe about the form of direct quotation is described in reference to “how it was said”.

In this thesis, I mainly discuss direct quotation, as it not only appears to vary the most, but it is the only real site for performance features in quotation. This is not to say that indirect quotation does not have its own interesting sorts of variation and does not have an effect in building the discourse. For example, while there might be a direct quotation that shows an example of what the characters are saying, this is an individual example of how the interaction may go. The use of a generalized reference to an instance of speech, like in indirect quotation, makes it clear that there are possibly many different ways the conversation would go with different interlocutors. For this reason, we can assume that the use of indirect quotation is for when the exact details of each interaction are not as important for the story, as the speaker does not seek to show “how it was said”, and so indirect quotation is fully anchored in the narrative and does not get ‘swept away’ into performance. This immersion into performance is a primary way in which

theatricality has an effect in building the discourse, which I will show in Chapter 4, and in the next section, I will begin to describe aspects of direct quotation in narratives as they may be used to facilitate it.

1.5. Common forms of direct quotation

First, before we look at the truly theatrical features of direct quotation, we should see its general structure and how it fits into the surrounding narrative. In this section, I show how direct quotation commonly appears, and in particular, all of the components that occur *externally* to the direct quotation. Most commonly, the external part of the direct quotation is a reporting clause, or, in terms of formal discourse-building devices, a *quotation formula* (Longacre 1996:88–89).

As for the external structure of the direct quotation, there are two major components that the speaker has to make a choice about. The first component of the external structure of direct quotation that I show here is the kind of verb used in the reporting clause. The second component that I show is how the reporting clause is ordered relative to the direct quotation, and whether the reporting clause appears at all.

1.5.1. Verbs in the reporting clause

Many different verbs can be used in the reporting clause for direct quotation. Plain verbs of speech are most common, like *thut* ('say') in (9); *qwal* ('say, speak') in (10); or *xut'u* ('do, say') in (10):

- (9) suw' thut=s tthu sa'suqwt, "uy' kws t'qw'a=t tst
 N.CN say=3POS DT younger.sibling good DT.N cut=TR 1PL.POS
 tthu sts'tishum'."
 DT cedar.rope

Then the younger sister said, "We'd better cut the cedar rope."

(SHD 3100–3101)

- (10) suw' qwal=s, "nem' tsun kwu'elh t'akw'."
 N.CN say=3POS go 1SG.SUB then go.home

And then he said, "I guess I'd better go home."

(SCHS 4000–4001)

- (11) xut'u tthuw'nilh, "'uw' thuthi' tseep 'ul'."
 say.IMPF DT.CN.PRO CN ready.ST 1PL.SUB just

He said, "You all be ready."

(ES 236-237)

These three verbs are the most common verbs used for reported speech, and many other examples of their use can be seen throughout this thesis.

There are also other verbs of speech that have additional semantic meaning to them, like *teem*, translated as *yell* or *holler*, which can be seen in (12):

- (12) wulh si'si' tthuw'ne'lulh,
 PERF afraid DT.CN.PRO.PL

The young men became scared,

[suw'] **teem=s**, "'uy'=us kws nem' tst kwu'elh!"
 CN holler=3POS good=3SUB DT.N go 1PL.POS then

and hollered, "We had better let go!"

(ES 103–106)

Just like in English and other languages, verbs of cognition like *sht'eewun'*, which is translated as *think* or *wonder*, are also used in the reporting clause with direct quotation to externalize the thoughts of the person being quoted, seen in (13):

- (13) suw' **sht'eehun'** thu slheni', "ni' wa'lu q'ay kwu=nu
 CN think DT woman AUX maybe die DT=1SG.POS
 sta'lus."
 husband

So the wife thought, "I guess my husband is dead."

(YMS 412–413)

Finally, verbs that are neither conventional verbs of speech (like *thut*, *qwal*, or *teem*) nor verbs that commonly introduce a thought in direct speech (like *sht'eehun'*) may be used in a clause that behaves similarly to a reporting clause. In these cases, the verbs do not signal that direct quotation is occurring, but instead describe the action of the origo and *frame* how the direct quotation is being performed and how it should be interpreted. An example of a non-speech verb, *t'eyuq'*, translated as *to become angry*, used in this position is seen in (14):

- (14) suw' **t'eyuq'=s** tthuw'ne'ullh. "'uy' kws xway=t tst.
 N.CN angry=3POS DT.CN.PRO.PL good DT.N die.group=TR 1PL.POS
 'uy' kws xway=t tst tthu tth'amuq'wus."
 good DT.N die.group=TR 1PL.POS DT sasquatch

And they got angry. "We'd better kill them all. We'd better kill all these Sasquatches."

(FL 2914–2915)

In this instance, the use of a verb like *t'eyuq'* may not signal that speech is occurring, but instead describes the quality of the instance of speech in the direct quotation that follows it. As I show later, this is a common theme for direct quotation in oral narratives: much of the information that is supplied by the speaker is contextual information that arises in the performance of direct quotation.

1.5.2. Order of reporting clause and direct quotation

There are various positions that the reporting clause can appear in relative to its direct quotation. Each of these possible layouts appears frequently enough such that none are exceptional, though, as I describe later, they all are used to different ends.

The reporting clause occurs in an initial position most commonly. Most of the examples throughout this thesis (e.g. (8) and (9)) feature a reporting clause in an initial position, and a short example can be seen in (15):

- (15) **suw'** **qwal=s** **tthu** **sun'tl'e'**, "uy".
 N.CN speak=3POS DT older.sibling good

And the older brother said, "Good."

(YMS 1016–1017)

The reporting clause can also follow the direct quotation. An example of the reporting clause in final position can be seen in (16):

- (16) "o.o.o 'uw' nets' tse' p'e' 'ul' kw' sh=nem' tst,"
 EXCL CN different FUT CERT just DT N.OB=go 1PL.POS
thut tthu sun'tl'e'
 say DT older.sibling

"Oh, we'll go somewhere else," the older brother said.

(YMS 1190–1191)

The reporting clause can be inserted between two lines of speech from the same character, or in a medial position. This can be seen in (17):

- (17) "yix! yix!" **suw'** **xut'u=s** **tthu spaal'**,
 yix yix N.CN say.IMPF=3POS DT raven
 "uwu ch 'uw' hw'i'unt=uhw 'uwu."
 NEG 2SG.SUB CN say.what.IMPF=2SSUB NEG

"Yi-i-ix! Yi-i-ix!" Raven said, "don't say anything."

(SCHS 4121–4122)

The reporting clause may also be omitted altogether. This most commonly happens in instances of dialogue between two characters, or in *closed conversation* (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:50), where the reporting clause is omitted between lines of dialogue coming from separate speakers. A short example of this can be seen in (18):

- (18) **wulh** **tl'e'u=shu=tum'** **tthu** **sum'shathut.**
 PERF invite.IMPF=foot=TR.3PAS DT sun

Then he invited the sun.

“‘uy’ kw’un’=s m’i ’ewu ’u tu’i
 good DT.2SG.POS=N come come.here OB DM
 si’em’ nu men.
 respected 1SG.POS father

“You had better come over here, my respected father.

’e’ut wulh s=qw’uqw’il’ tthu=nu sqw’ulum nu
 here PERF ST=barbecue.RSLT DT=1SG.POS barbecue 1SG.POS
 s=xlhas=thaam.”
 N=feed=TR.2SG.PAS

My barbecue is cooked, that I am to feed you.”

“‘a.a.a, wa’lu ’uy’=us,” xut’u.
 EXCL maybe good=3SUB say.IMPF

“Oh, all right,” he said.

(SSS 12649–12654)

While this example shows only one line from one character following another line from another character, closed conversation can go on for a while with no interruption. A longer example of closed conversation with no reporting clause can be seen in (19):

(19) suw’ qwul=stuhw=s ’i.i.i’ nem’ t-su=thut “t! t! t! t! t! t!”
 N.CN say=CS=3POS CNJ.RL go go.near=REFL t! t! t! t! t!

He [wren] went closer and said, “t! t! t! t! t! t!”

“‘a.a.a! ha’ ch tse’ m’i t-su=thut ’i’ nilh
 EXCL if 2SG.SUB FUT come go.near=REFL CNJ 3PRO
 tse’ nu=suw’ lhup’tth’=amu.”
 FUT 1SG.POS=N.CN slurp=2SG.OBJ

[moose] “Ah! If you come closer, I will slurp you up as my food.”

“‘a.a.a! xwum ’u ch ’i’ lhup’tth’=tham’sh?”
 EXCL can Q 2SG.SUB CNJ slurp=1SG.OBJ

[wren] “Ah! Can you slurp me up?”

“xwum tsun!”
 can 1SG.SUB

[moose] “I can!”

“o.o.o! hay’ tsun p’e’, xwum tsun p’e’ nem’!
 EXCL very 1SG.SUB CERT can 1SG.SUB CERT go

[wren] “O-o-oh! Me, I can go!

’uw’ xwum tsun p’e’ nem’ ’uw’ nem’ ’utl’ nuwu
 CN can 1SG.SUB CERT go CN go OB.DT 2SG.PRO
 ’i’ ’uw’ q’ay=thamu tsun.”
 CNJ CN kill=TR.2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB

[wren cont.] I can really go over to you and kill you.”

“a.a.a! tsu=stam’sh ch kweelh?”
 EXCL do.what=CS.1SG.OBJ 2SG.SUB then

[moose] “A-a-ah! Now what are you going to do to me?”

“i’ kw’ ’uw’ hw=nuw’nuw’illum=thamu tsun p’e’.”
 CNJ DT CN LOC=enter.PL=TR.2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB CERT

[wren] “I’ll go into you and all over your innards, of course.”

“hw=tsu=thut ch?”
 LOC=go.where=REFL 2SG.SUB

[moose] “Which way will you go?”

“nem’ tsun p’e’ xwte’ ’u tthun’ thathun
 go 1SG.SUB CERT go.toward OB DT.2SG.POS mouth
 nu=suw’ ’utl’qul xwte’ ’u tthun’
 1SG.POS=N.CN go.out go.toward OB DT.2SG.POS
 slhulnuts.
 rear.end

[wren] “Through your mouth, of course, and I’ll come out your back-end.

hay ’i’ m’i hwu’alum tsun ’i’ hwi’
 finished CNJ come return 1SG.SUB CNJ next
 xwte’ ’u tthun’ qw’oon’, tslhaqw=thut.”
 go.direction OB DT.2SG.POS ear go.through=REFL

[wren cont.] After I will come back again, I will come out of your ear.”

“m.m.m hey’ lhu kwiye’.”
 m.m.m well COM carry.on

[moose] “Hmmm, okay, let’s see you try it.”

(LW 19085–19108)

This is a particularly long example of switching origo in closed conversation, and it is ostensibly the many performance features present in each line that allow it to go on so long without the use of a reporting clause. Examples of these are prosody, which I discuss in Chapter 2, and the discourse marker *a.a.a* (cf. Gerdts 2017a), which I discuss further in Chapter 3.¹⁰

Finally, the reporting clause may be omitted while not in closed conversation, as can be seen in (20):

(20) m'i.i.i wulh tetsul 'u tnanulh wulh put=nuhw=us,
 come.RL PERF arrive OB DM.PRO PERF recognize=LC.TR=3SUB

As they reached a certain area, they recognized it.

“‘a.a.a’ nilh p'e' kwthu 'iilh, yu=shlhun'e tst
 EXCL 3FOC CERT DT AUX.PST DYN=trail.LOC 1PL.POS

tun'a",
 DM

“Ah, this is where we came from.”

suw' 'ulh tim=uthut 'ul' 'ushul tthuw'ne'lulh wulh
 N.CN PST try.hard=REFL just paddle DT.CN.PRO.PL PERF

m'i t'akw'.
 come go.home

And they started paddling faster, heading for home.

(ES 296-30)

In this case, the parts of the narrative that precede and follow the direct quotation describe the circumstances of the instance of speech without using an overt reporting clause. The description of the scene, along with other features of performance in the direct quotation, gives enough context for the listener to attribute the line of quotation in the middle to the origo and not to the narrator. It is likely that instances like (14), where the ‘reporting clause’ has a verb that is not a verb of speech is an abbreviated version of

¹⁰ Gesture is another aspect of story performance which deserves further study and likely is a considerable component of keeping track of characters in closed conversation. Elder Ruby Peter can be seen using gesture when telling the story of Little Wren here: <http://saalhsqwal.hwulmuhwqun.ca/ruby-peter-wren/>

an instance like (20), where the preceding clause describes all of the action in which the direct quotation occurs.

1.6. Roadmap

The way this thesis is organized roughly follows the experience of an audience member perceiving a direct quotation in a narrative.

The first thing that the audience may hear is the noticeable acoustic prominence of the direct quotation before they even know what the sentence says, and so in Chapter 2, I show the prosodic properties of direct quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives. First, I give a brief review of some of the work that has previously been done on Salish prosody, especially with respect to prosody in narrative texts. Direct quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' texts host a number of prosodic alterations that deviate from the regular narrative prosody, and so I show examples of direct quotations with their acoustic measurements. I conclude that prosodic alteration of direct quotation occurs mostly in two ways: the speaker may choose to make direct quotation overall more prominent, and the speaker may also choose to emulate the style of speech of the person being quoted.

The next thing that the audience may notice is that the style of speech is considerably different from the rest of the narrative. In Chapter 3, I discuss other possible performance features that the speaker uses to emulate the style of speech in the context of the direct quotation. These are features that all stem from the deictic center of the origo, whether that is plain deixis, things that the origo would say about their thoughts, opinions, and beliefs, or words and constructions appropriate to the origo's context.

In Chapter 4, I discuss how theatrical features function to structure the discourse of the entire narrative text as the speaker desires. In particular, direct quotation is used to highlight a narrative peak, and the more perceivably different the form of the direct quotation is from the usual narrative style, the greater the corresponding peak in the discourse structure should be.

In Chapter 5, I conclude and briefly touch on how the work in this thesis fits in with other studies of the texts of Indigenous languages and the ultimate goal of recording and performing linguistic analysis of these texts.

Chapter 2. Prosody

In this chapter, I look at the prosodic form of quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives. First, I review some preliminary assumptions about prosody in Salish regarding information and discourse structure. Then, I show measurements of prosody in direct quotation that show acoustic prominence being used to structure discourse, as Beck and Bennett (2007) demonstrate for Lushootseed, another Central Salish language. Finally, I discuss the use of prosody in direct quotation for structuring discourse.

2.1. Preliminaries on prosody and narrative structure

Salish prosody has often been a puzzle. Much of the work on Salish prosody has been focused on information structure at the sentence level, as many of the commonly accepted generalizations about the functions of prosody cross-linguistically appear to not apply to Salish languages. One example of this is the function of intonation in questions. Ladd (1981) describes a potential *Strong Universalist Hypothesis* that claims that intonational rises indicate questions and intonational falls indicate declaratives. Jacobs (2007) shows evidence against this hypothesis in Skwxw7mesh, another Central Salish language, where the pitch declines in both declaratives and polar questions, though polar questions do not decline as much.

Another example of a cross-linguistic claim about prosody is that prosodic stress and semantic focus are necessarily tied together. Davis (2007) discusses evidence contrary to this claim, later presented by Koch (2008), for Nl̓eʔkepmxcin, an Interior Salish language. They observe that the observation of semantic focus and prosodic stress occurring in the same place does not appear to apply in Salish languages. Semantic focus is associated with the left edge of the sentence/intonation phrase, but the nuclear pitch peak is consistently associated with the right edge: [summarizing Koch (2008)], “Crucially, neither focus nor givenness has any effect on duration, pitch, amplitude, or topline declination...In other words, whatever the information structure of the sentence, the nuclear accent *still* falls on the rightmost prosodic word” (Davis 2012:3). This observation and many others (including the above for Skwxw7mesh) led Davis (2007) to

make the strong claim that Salish languages do not mark information structure by intonation.

However, Caldecott (2016) shows acoustic evidence between these two extremes in St'át'imcets, an Interior Salish language: she shows that Davis' (2007) claims about focus appear to be borne out in elicitation, and though the observation about the lack of a final rise in pitch still holds, the interrogatives that she elicits often have overall higher pitch in St'át'imcets. This observation is in line with another proposed universal hypothesis, which Ladd (1986:113–115) describes as “the use of higher pitch in questions, since in questions the speaker expresses interest, and since the exchange is incomplete until the addressee answers.”

Despite prosody posing puzzles for information structure at the sentence level, observing and measuring its use is a useful method for determining the structure of discourse cross-linguistically, especially for oral narratives in Indigenous languages of the Americas (which includes Salish languages). There are many levels of discourse above the sentence level in oral narratives which have been categorized and organized into nested hierarchies according to their surface features. Because of the oral nature of the texts that have been studied, these surface features should naturally include prosody (Beck & Bennett 2007:12–14).

Prosody may be used by the speaker to control the stream of discourse from one piece of information to the next. This is shown in Salish languages by Barthmaier (2004) for Okanagan, an Interior Salish language. He shows that Intonational Units, defined by pauses and “pitch resets”, are used by the speaker to demarcate and “chunk” the speech stream to “meter the type and amount of information that is added to a discourse at one time... helping speakers achieve the appropriate cognitive load” (Barthmaier 2004:36).¹¹

Beck and Bennett (2007) present a comprehensive analysis of prosody in the structure of oral narratives in Lushootseed, another Central Salish language. A major

¹¹ Although pauses are often seen “chunking” the speech stream in Hul'q'umi'num', they do not seem to consistently demarcate the narration from direct quotation. Pitch resets, however, do clearly demarcate constituents in lists (Gerdts and Gilkison 2018) and direct quotation, as seen below.

component of their analysis is that high pitch marks the beginning and high point of *discourse episodes* or *paragraphs* (or, as I will continue to refer to them, *oral paragraphs*). Oral paragraphs have been systematically delineated before by “thematic unity” in content i.e. related events in one narrative ‘episode’, and “presentational features” i.e. by matching up morphosyntactic and discourse particles with specific places in these narrative episodes (Beck & Bennett 2007:13). Beck and Bennett “extend” the Prosodic Hierarchy (Nespor and Vogel 1986) to include oral paragraphs as correlating with *phonological paragraphs* (¶). The Prosodic Hierarchy is originally defined with a particular set of relatively discrete constituents which are “associated with various phonological rules and declination domains whose environments are predictable vis-à-vis the boundaries of prosodic, rather than syntactic, constituents” (Beck & Bennett 2007:1). Nespor & Vogel’s original Prosodic Hierarchy can be seen in Figure 1:

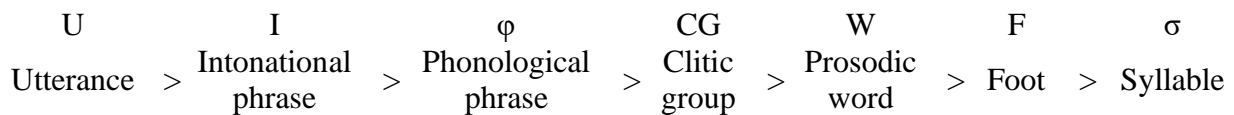


Figure 1: Prosodic Hierarchy
(Nespor & Vogel 1986)

They explain that phonological paragraphing is consistent across the entire text that they present (and, presumably, many other texts), and they demonstrate that they always coincide with each of these major components of narrative structure: “the [narrative] episode, direct speech, narrative highlighting, circular figures, and narrative interjections and transitions” (Beck & Bennett 2007:32). They conclude that the Phonological Paragraph should be included above the level of the Utterance, saying that the “inherent predictability of [pitch] declination boundaries... are rule-governed and constitute a regular portion of the [Prosodic Hierarchy]... which serves as a prosodic marker of the discourse and narrative structure of a language” (Beck & Bennett 2007:14), with such consistency that it “must be considered an integral part of the grammar” (Beck & Bennett 2007:32).

To show the predictability of pitch declination boundaries with narrative episodes, Beck and Bennett give an example of a Lushootseed narrative text with the phonological and oral paragraphs delineated by comparing the episodic structure of a portion of a text

with the trend of declining and resetting the maximum F0 frequency (the frequency of the pitch of the voice) over multiple utterances. An excerpt of consecutive oral paragraphs from a Lushootseed text with a pitch track, annotated with a synopsis of each utterance, is seen in Figure 2:

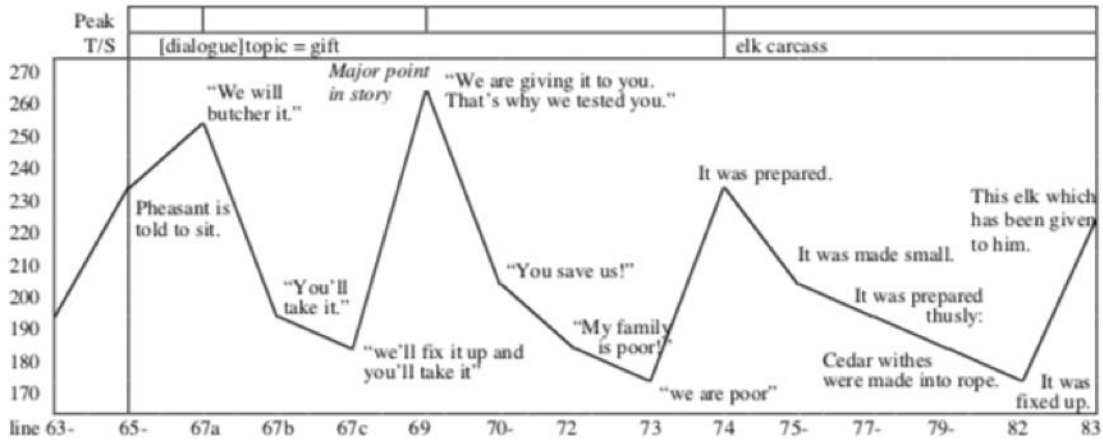


Figure 2: Pitch track with oral paragraphs marked with corresponding events in the discourse from a Lushootseed narrative
(Beck & Bennett 2007:27, fig. 7)

They describe that there are many motives for a pitch reset to one of these peaks. For example, the “most obvious and least surprising” (Beck & Bennett 2007:23) is a trivial coinciding of pitch peak with the boundaries of narrative episodes, but among the motives they describe for a pitch reset is the beginning of direct speech (Beck & Bennett 2007:25). This can be seen in Figure 2, where their annotations are specifically concerned with narrative peaks i.e. a “major point in the story”; two of the three synopses of peaks in the narrative are instances of direct quotation.

Hul’q’umi’num’ and Lushootseed are closely related and share innumerable features. They both share a similar tradition of oral narrative; they also both show morphosyntactic evidence of oral paragraphs, for example, overt reiteration of topic NPs that were previously zero at the end of oral paragraphs (Gerds and Hukari 2003) and use of sentence-initial *suw’* for temporal sequencing of related events in a discourse (Hukari 1982); finally, they both also have declining pitch intonation throughout utterances and oral paragraphs (Donna Gerds p.c.). Because Hul’q’umi’num’ and Lushootseed are similar in so many ways, and because of the strong claim that Phonological Paragraphs

are part of grammar, I will assume that measuring pitch in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives reveals narrative structure, especially that of the oral paragraph, just as Beck & Bennett show for Lushootseed.

The use of pitch and volume for constructing discourse has also been attested in general terms: Himmelmann and Primus (2015) note that speakers may increase duration, pitch, and intensity to make certain units “stand out” in the discourse so as to make these same units the “attentional center”, where duration, pitch, and intensity are commonly assumed to be the main acoustic and phonetic correlates of “prominence” in prosody (Féry 2017). For this reason, I find it productive to discuss the relationship between points of differing pitch in terms of prominence relative to one another.

As I show in the remainder of this chapter, measuring the pitch (and intensity) of direct quotation shows that direct quotation often appears to be more acoustically prominent than the narrative that precedes it, suggesting that acoustic prominence in Hul'q'umi'num' evokes cognitive prominence in the terms of Himmelmann & Primus (2015) and marks “high points” in the discourse structure as described by Beck & Bennett (2007).

2.2. Measurement of prosody

In this section, I describe how I took the measurements of a few examples of direct quotation. First, I describe the motivation for the measurements that I show and the procedure for obtaining those measurements. Then, I provide examples of direct quotation with the narrative preceding them and their measurements. I conclude by discussing the implications for this observed “prominence” for building the structure of the discourse.

2.2.1. Procedure

Following what appears to be universal norm (Pierrehumbert 1979), Hul'q'umi'num' has been observed to predominately feature declining intonation with

few exceptions across sentences/intonation units (Donna Gerds p.c.).¹² As discussed in 2.1 above, Hul’q’umi’num’ also appears to not change this intonational curve according to informational structure, as also seen in other Salish languages. The declination in pitch is reflected in the pitch tracks seen in this chapter, where the intonational contour of a sentence exhibits highest pitch on an initial intonational constituent and declines throughout.¹³ An example of a pitch track discussed further later in this chapter informally depicting an intonational curve with pitch declination is seen in Figure 3:

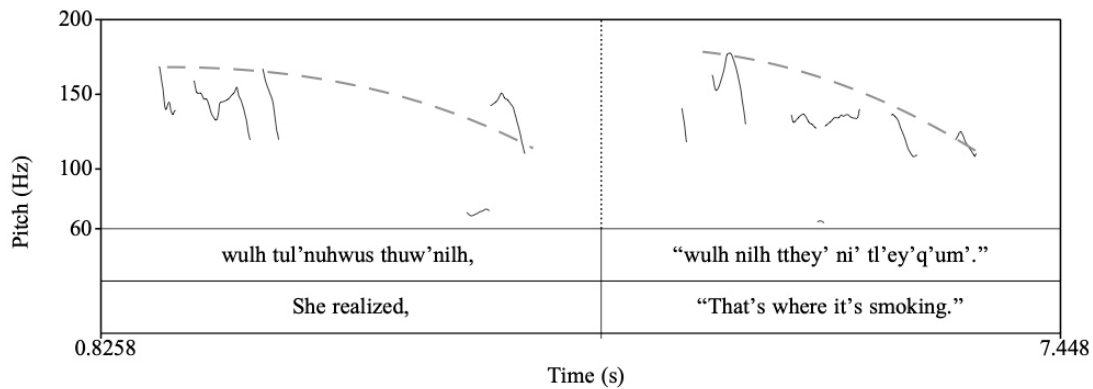


Figure 3: Pitch track for Sy₁ from Sy 19293–19294, shown in (22), with intonational curve overlaid as dotted line

With this in mind, there are two types of contrasts in prominence that I want to show. The first is to see whether there is a “pitch reset” from the preceding narration (i.e. reporting clause) into the direct quotation, which would indicate the formation of a new prosodic unit giving rise to a new discourse unit, following Barthaier (2004) and Beck & Bennett (2007). To show a pitch reset, I measure the final pitch of the reporting clause and the initial pitch of the direct quotation. If the initial pitch of the direct quotation is higher than the final pitch of the reporting clause, then there is a pitch reset, indicating that there are two separate prosodic units.

¹² Some exceptional constructions that might give rise to non-declining intonation within a text are vocatives, songs, or affectations of speech (e.g. caricatures of a character’s speech common across multiple stories).

¹³ Identification of the exact level of the prosodic hierarchy of such intonational constituents is beyond the scope of this thesis. What matters here is that the highest pitch occurs somewhere near the beginning of the sentence, and that pitch falls steadily throughout.

The second meaningful contrast in prominence that I want to show is whether the direct quotation is more acoustically prominent as a prosodic unit than the reporting clause that precedes it. Because of the tendency for pitch to decline throughout utterances and oral paragraphs in Hul'q'umi'num', the initial pitch of a sentence should exhibit the highest frequency. Hence, I measure the initial pitch of the reporting clause and contrast this with the initial pitch of the direct quotation. If the initial pitch of the direct quotation is higher than the initial pitch of the reporting clause, then it can be predicted that the direct quotation will be perceived as more prominent than the reporting clause.¹⁴

The excerpts below were chosen because they clearly illustrate the above contrasts quantitatively and visually via their pitch track and also appear to not have any other alterations to their prosody at the points of measurement. Each portion of each excerpt was first clipped from the longer recording, and then a noise reduction filter was used to reduce tape hiss and electrical mains hum with Audacity (Audacity Team 2018). Praat 6.4.40-6.4.46 (Boersma & Weenink 2018) was used to measure the maximum and minimum pitch of F0 in each targeted portion of the excerpt. The pitch range for each pitch track figure was determined by selecting a range that contained the entire contour of the excerpted speech, and so the pitch track of each is displayed relative only to that excerpt and not across all of the examples. Table 2 gives a summary of the measurements of the examples discussed in this chapter, and Appendix C gives all pitch measurements in three stories by Mrs. Jimmy Joe, including the stories discussed here.

2.2.2. Examples of prosodic prominence

The first example comes from Mrs. Jimmy Joe's *Deserted Boy*. In *Deserted Boy*, a grandson who has been deserted from his family asks Crow to share a message with his

¹⁴ Intensity is not as reliable as pitch when it comes to measuring acoustic prominence. There may be a number of reasons for this, but one that is very relevant to the discussion here is that intensity may change dramatically depending on the speaker's position to the microphone. I do not know the exact recording circumstances of this story, but it is possible that the storyteller may have moved around a bit as part of the performance. Pitch, however, will not change much if the speaker's position changes.

grandmother, seen in (21), with two portions with quotations bracketed and labelled with subscript 1 and 2 (called *DB₁* and *DB₂*):

(21) [suw' qwal=s tthuw'nilh, "ha' ch tus=namut q'anuq,
 N.CN say=3POS DT.CN.PRO if 2SG.SUB arrive=LC.REFL dear
 'uw' tus=namut=uhw,]₁
 CN arrive=LC.REFL=2SG.SUB

[He told the crow, "My dear one, if you should make it there,]₁

['i' xut'u ch 'u tu'i,
 CNJ say.IMPF 2SG.SUB OB DM

[I want you to relay a message.

“qw'ulaam, qw'ulaam tthu 'um mum mi tthu s'ukw'ukw'uli,
 barbecue barbecue DT 'um mum mi DT lost.DIM

qw'ulaam qw'ulaam tthun' s'ukw'ukw'uli
 barbecue barbecue DT.2SG.POS lost.DIM

'un' 'imuth.”]₂
 2SG.POS grandchild

“Barbecue, barbecue, from your cast away grandson.”]₂

xut'u ch 'i' nilh 'un'=suw' ye'ut.”
 say.IMPF 2SG.SUB CNJ 3PRO 2SG.POS=N.CN vomit

Then throw up the herring.”

(DB 3502–3510)

The pitch track for the entirety of (21) is seen in Figure 4, and the pitch track for the first segment with quotation in this excerpt *DB₁* can be seen in Figure 5:

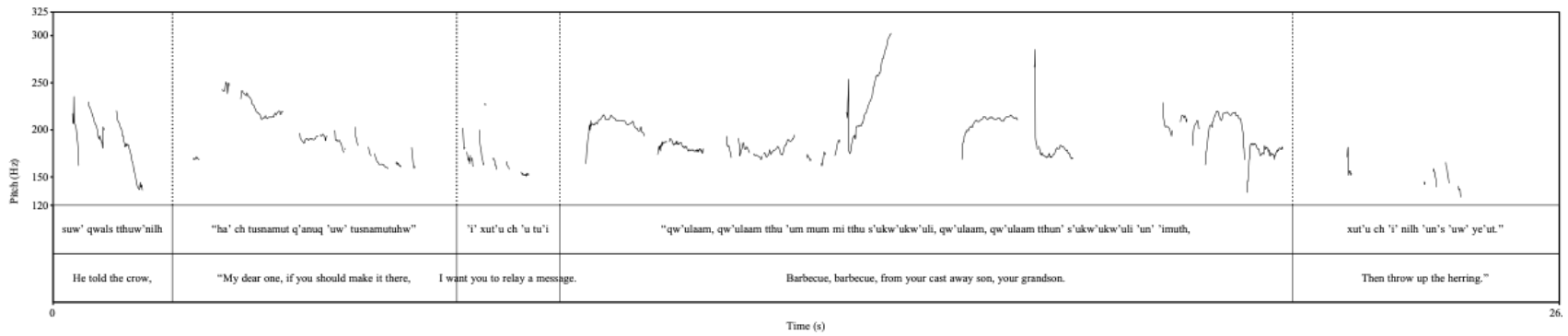


Figure 4: Pitch track of DB 3502-3510, shown in (21)

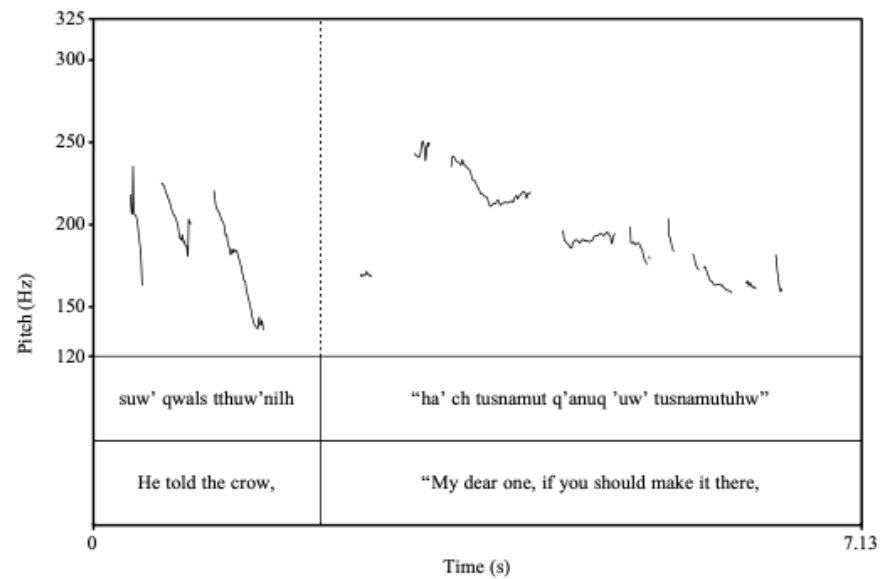


Figure 5: Pitch track of excerpt DB₁ from DB 3502-3503, shown in (21)

The final pitch of the reporting clause that precedes the quotation in DB₁ is 136 Hz, and the initial pitch of the quotation is 251 Hz. The difference between these two pitches is 115 Hz, indicating a pitch reset and thus two different Intonation Units.

The initial pitch of the reporting clause that precedes the quotation in DB₁ is 235 Hz, and the initial pitch of the quotation is 251 Hz. The difference between these two pitches is 16 Hz, indicating that the direct quotation is more acoustically prominent than the reporting clause.

The pitch track for DB₂ can be seen in Figure 6:

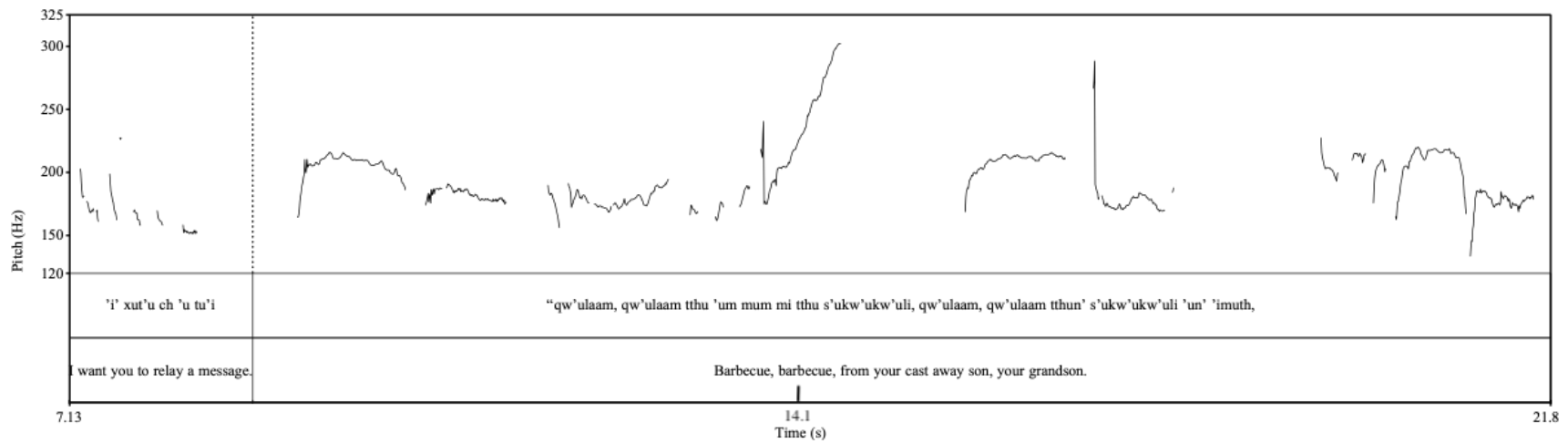


Figure 6: Pitch track of excerpt DB₂ from DB 3502-3503, shown in (21)

The final pitch of the reporting clause that precedes the quotation in DB₂ is 150 Hz, and the initial pitch of the quotation is 216 Hz. The difference between these two pitches is 66 Hz, indicating a pitch reset and thus two different prosodic units.

The initial pitch of the reporting clause that precedes the quotation in DB₂ is 202 Hz, and the initial pitch of the quotation is 216 Hz. The difference between these two pitches is 14 Hz, indicating that the direct quotation is more acoustically prominent than the reporting clause.

It is worth mentioning that, in addition to quotation in DB₂ being more prominent than the reporting clause, there is an extremely prominent affectual feature in the middle of the quotation in DB₂: the speaker sings a sort of song on the word *s'ukw'ukw'uli*, which can be seen in the conspicuous rise in pitch in the pitch track marked at 14.1 seconds in Figure 6.

Depending on the speaker and the particular instance of telling a story, the acoustic prominence of the direct quotation might not be as substantial. For example, in Basil Alphonse's *syalutsa'*, one character has a realization that she is near somebody that she is looking for when she sees smoke from far off:

- (22) wulh tul'=nuhw=us thuw'nilh, "wulh nilh tthey' ni'
 PERF learn=LC=3POS DT.CN.PRO PERF 3PRO DM AUX
 tl'ey'q'=um'."
 smoke.IMPF=MID

She realized, "That's where it's smoking."

(Sy 19293–19294)

The pitch track for this segment called (Sy₁) is seen in Figure 7:

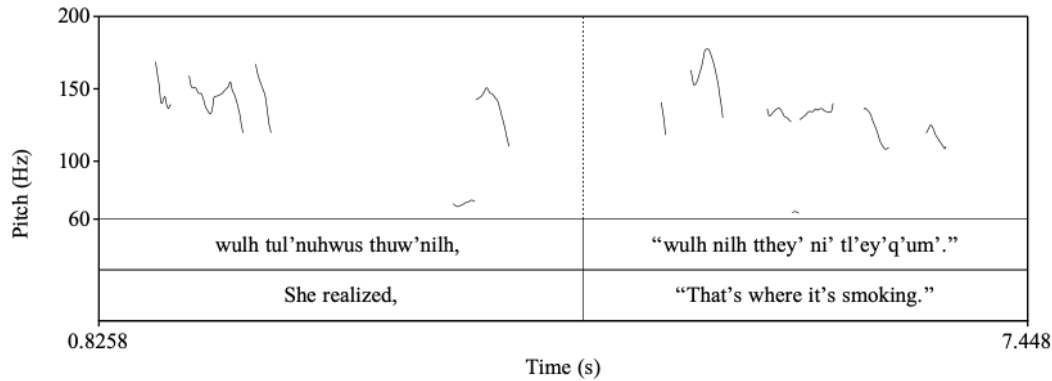


Figure 7: Pitch track for Sy₁ from Sy 19293–19294, shown in (22)

The final pitch of the reporting clause that precedes the quotation in Sy₁ is 139 Hz and the highest initial pitch of the quotation (seen on the predicate *nilh* and not on the proclitic *wulh*) is 177 Hz. The difference between these two pitches is 38 Hz, indicating a pitch reset.

The initial pitch of the reporting clause that precedes the quotation in Sy₁ is 167 Hz and the initial pitch of the quotation is 177 Hz. The difference between these two pitches is 14 Hz, indicating that the direct quotation is more acoustically prominent than the reporting clause.

Though the difference between the pitch of the reporting clause and the following direct quotation is numerically small, the acoustic prominence is, to my ears, very perceptible. Additionally, Pierrehumbert (1979:365–366) notes that, for English speakers, when two pitch accents are in sequence within a prosodic unit over which declination applies and the second accent is 10 Hz *lower*, the second accent is often perceived as having equal or greater prominence. Because the trend in an oral paragraph is for declination in pitch in every sentence, I assume that a quote which is at a higher pitch at all will likely be perceived by Hul’q’umi’num’ listeners as being more acoustically prominent, even when the difference appears to be numerically small.

A summary of the results can be seen in Table 2:

Table 2: Summary of intonation measurement results

| Narrative excerpt | Beginning of direct quotation (DQ) | Beginning of preceding reporting clause (R ₁) | ΔF_0 DQ, R ₁ | End of preceding reporting clause (R ₂) | ΔF_0 DQ, R ₂ |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| DB ₁ (Figure 5) | 251 Hz | 235 Hz | +16 Hz | 136 Hz | +115 Hz |
| DB ₂ (Figure 6) | 216 Hz | 202 Hz | +14 Hz | 150 Hz | +66 Hz |
| Sy ₁ (Figure 7) | 177 Hz | 167 Hz | +10 Hz | 139 Hz | +38 Hz |

The results above support the hypothesis that direct quotation is a target for increased acoustic prominence within a narrative, suggesting in turn that increasing prosodic prominence of direct quotation in Hul’q’umi’num’ narratives is used for building the narrative structure similarly to what is done in Lushootseed. Beck & Bennett (2007:25–27) observe that, in fact, “direct speech” is “another common motive for F₀ reset, commonly corresponding to a new paragraph”, and they directly compare the F₀ reset of direct speech to the F₀ reset used for a new narrative episode. In the absence of a more complete analysis of narrative and prosodic structure in Hul’q’umi’num’, the results shown here are a promising contribution to future work on prosody in Hul’q’umi’num’ narrative structures.

2.2.3. Stage-direction speech, de-emphasizing, and relative prominence

The above examples appear to show a single alteration in prosody where the speaker makes the direct quotation more prominent than the preceding narrative. Up to this point, I have discussed the measurement of acoustic prominence in terms of an *absolute* “pitch reset” which corresponds to the high point of a paragraph and a new discourse unit. I want to suggest that, although the above may be true, the immediate perception of acoustic prominence from one prosodic unit *relative* to the next prosodic unit is a major component of how the speaker uses prosody for structuring a narrative. This would explain why, in the context of direct quotation, the direct quotation itself is not the only part that can see an alteration in prosody, and that the reporting clause that comes before often appears to be considerably more diminished than usual. Beck and Bennett (2007:26–27) note a phenomenon they call “stage direction speech” from

Lushootseed texts, where the speaker produces an utterance at a lower pitch to “de-emphasize” that content. An example of this in Hul’q’umi’num’ can be seen in the following excerpt (23) from *Deserted Boy*, where the grandmother tells the dog that gets left behind about the fire that she leaves for her grandson, with specific portions bracketed and subscripted with 3, 4, and 5 (called *DB*₃, *DB*₄, and *DB*₅, respectively):

(23) [suw’ tan=tewut thu sqwiiqwmi’,]₃ [suw’ ’aa=t thu sqwiiqwmi’
 N.CN left=3SPAS DT dog.DIM N.CN call=TR DT dog.DIM
 thu s’eluhw,]₄
 DT elder

[And they left behind a little dog,]₃ [but the old woman called on the little dog,]₄

[“yuth=us=t ch kwthun’ sh=qwumey’, q’anuq, ’u
 tell=APPL=TR 2SG.SUB DT.2SG.POS N.OB=dog dear OB
 tu’i slhulnuts huy’qw, yuth=us=t ch.”]₅
 DM rear.end fire tell=APPL=TR 2SG.SUB

[“Will you please tell your master, dear, about this last bit of fire, tell him.”]₅
 (DB 3435–3438)

The pitch track and intensity track for the excerpt (23) can be seen in Figure 8. The three delineated sections in Figure 8 correspond with the three portions above: the first delineated section is *DB*₃, the second is *DB*₄, and the last is *DB*₅:

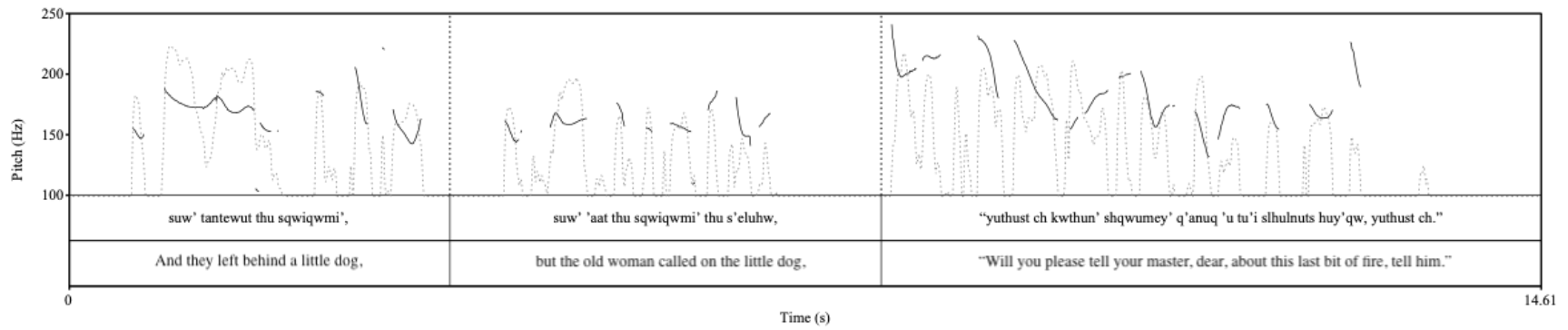


Figure 8: Pitch track and intensity track overlaid for DB₃, DB₄, and DB₅ from DB 3435–3438

In the first segment DB₃ of (23), which is part of the preceding narration before the reporting clause, the maximum initial pitch is 188 Hz and the maximum initial intensity is 87dB. In the reporting clause DB₄, the maximum initial pitch is 165 Hz and the maximum initial intensity is 81dB. In the last segment DB₅ with the direct quotation, the maximum pitch is 219 Hz and the maximum intensity is 86dB.

The reporting clause DB₄ is thus 23 Hz lower-pitched and 6dB quieter than the narrative DB₃ that precedes it, indicating that the reporting clause is less prominent than the narrative that precedes it. The direct quotation DB₅ is 54 Hz higher pitched and 5dB louder than the reporting clause, indicating that the direct quotation is much more prominent than the reporting clause.

A summary of these results, along with the maximum pitch and intensity for each excerpt, are seen in Table 3:

Table 3: Summary of measurements for instance of quotation with perceived ‘stage-direction’ speech for DB₃, DB₄, and DB₅ from DB 3435-3438

| | First segment DB ₃ (N) | Second segment DB ₄ (R) | Third segment DB ₅ (DQ) | $\Delta F0$ N, R | $\Delta F0$ R, DQ | $\Delta F0$ N, DQ |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Pitch | 188 Hz | 165 Hz | 219 Hz | -23 Hz | +54 Hz | +31 Hz |
| Intensity | 87dB | 81dB | 86dB | -6dB | +5dB | -1dB |

What we here is that the reporting clause is less acoustically prominent: the direct quotation is 54 Hz higher in pitch and 5dB louder than the reporting clause, as depicted in the column labelled $\Delta F0$ R, DQ. These measurements suggest that the speaker has de-emphasized the reporting clause.

This point may be made clearer by considering a plausible case where the speaker had not de-emphasized the reporting clause, and instead let the speech preceding the direct quotation (in whatever form) be as acoustically prominent as the preceding narrative. Then, the direct quotation would be 31 Hz higher in pitch but would also be 1dB *quieter* relative to the preceding speech, and so the direct quotation may not be as

prominent as the speaker desires. This scenario is depicted in the column labelled $\Delta F0 N$, DQ in Table 3.

2.3. Conclusion

I have shown a few examples of how speakers prosodically alter direct quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives, which is a performance device that commonly occurs throughout the narratives in the corpus. Speakers not only make the direct quotation more acoustically prominent (higher-pitched and often recorded as louder), but the narration around the direct quotation, especially the reporting clause, may be acoustically diminished as well. I hypothesize that a primary purpose to these alterations is to let the direct quotation be more acoustically prominent relative to the surrounding narration.

I would like to suggest a point for future research which would be valuable both for learning authentic Hul'q'umi'num' storytelling style as well as a point of departure for Hul'q'umi'num' learners who want to learn more ways Hul'q'umi'num' is used and the different ways it can sound. Recall the working assumption that direct quotation is an illocutionary act that causes the audience to know *how* the origo said what they said, and that the speaker performs the direct quotation in order to do this. In order to sound like the origo, the speaker might include not only certain constructions and lexical features (which I show in Chapter 3), but the prosody of their speech. Even a relatively naïve listener like myself can pick up the prosody of strongly affected or stylized speech in direct quotation, like the speech of someone deferring to another person, the speech of an elder talking to a young person, or the idiosyncratic speech of a common character who appears in many stories. These kinds of speech are those that would be appropriate in the characters' context and can sound noticeably different than the speech used by the speaker while they are speaking as the narrator. As well, as I have shown in Chapter 1, direct quotation can occur without a reporting clause, and prosody—not only noticeable acoustic prominence, but the contrast in prosodic affect—is possibly one of the first major clues that the audience receives for when the speaker is switching between origo and narrator, or in long closed conversation, switching from one character to another. Thus, I believe that there is much to gather by studying the prosody of the characters with

respect to the contexts they are in, both for learning to structure a story in Hul'q'umi'num' style as well as learning how people would speak in those contexts, even if those contexts portrayed in stories are theatrically performed and simulated by the speaker telling the story.

In the next chapter, I will show some of the other non-prosodic performance features of direct quotation which are similarly employed to theatrically emulate the speech of the origo in context. In Chapter 4, I will discuss how direct quotation which contrasts with the narrative by virtue of its theatricality is used by the speaker in order to increase vividness, to make the story more compelling, and to build the overall shape of the story.

Chapter 3. Performance features within direct quotation

In Chapter 1, I described how direct quotation is embedded in the rest of the narrative, or in other words, the external form of direct quotation. These variations serve to allow the speaker to properly frame the direct quotation as desired. They let the speaker give the right amount of context so the audience can easily understand the direct quotation, but as I will further describe in Chapter 4, they also serve to let the speaker ‘surprise’ the audience with a theatrical performance. In this chapter, I will describe some of the performance features that may be present within (or during) direct quotation, or the *internal* form of direct quotation. Just like the prosodic augmentations I showed in Chapter 2, these are performance features that sound characteristically like direct quotation in a narrative, especially in contrast to the narrative style itself.

3.1. Preliminaries on deixis

One of the most recognizable features of direct quotation is deictic shift, where, in the simplest case, speakers ‘displace’ their deictic center and speak from another perspective spatially and temporally. It has been observed before that both deixis and “epistemological stance” are tied together (Mushin 2001), where epistemological stance is the “expression of subjectivity in language” (Mushin 2001:1), or, in other words, the set of knowledge, desires, and beliefs of a given person. All speakers of human language are able to “displace” this subjectivity as they “displace” the deictic center (Mushin 2001:11–15), and so not only does the use of direct quotation mean that the speaker is speaking from the spatial and temporal point of the origo, anything they say concerning thoughts or feelings is also attributable to the origo. It has similarly been observed that spatio-temporal deixis and epistemological stance are not the only things that are also displaced in deictic shift and that ‘social deixis’ is displaced as well, as deictic shift can display a “use of language particular to a culturally determined social relationship” (Mushin 2001:6). Thus, any kind of language use that consistently appears to be particular to a certain deictic center is likely language use that is characteristic to that context. Put in simpler terms: anytime a speaker uses direct quotation, everything about

their speech that can possibly be changed to make it sound like the ‘style’ of speech of the person they’re quoting is fair game.

An important notion to consider here is that, in the telling of an oral narrative, most of the time when the speaker describes the action of the story, they are speaking as the *narrator*, who has an outside perspective and has some degree of omniscience about the events of the story, since the narrator should ostensibly know facts about the setting, the actions of the characters, and what the arc of the story has been so far and will be. In the terms of *Deictic Centre Theory*, this is the deictic center “window” that “establishes a [particular] deictic perspective in the narrated world” (Mushin 2001:14). This deictic center is often distinct from the actual deictic center in the present time and place. On occasion, the speaker may break out of the perspective of narrator and speak as themselves. They may give their own evaluation of something that has happened in the story or will describe it relative to the present time and place where the story is being told (e.g. “this event happened over there, on the other side of that mountain that we’re looking at”.) When the speaker performs a direct quotation, they are inhabiting and ‘speaking as’ the person being quoted in the story, or the *origo*, and so their deictic center will be displaced to the *origo*. Thus, there are at least three different deictic centers possible: the *speaker-as-speaker*, the *speaker-as-narrator*, and *speaker-as-origo*.

To bring this all back to the distinguishing property of theatricality in direct quotation, which is that direct quotation has the special illocutionary purpose of “I want to cause you to know how he said it”, an intuitively effective way to show how someone said something is to actually demonstrate how the *origo* speaks in the moment, and so to *perform* that instance of speech. Since the *origo* is speaking in a style that is contextually appropriate to that moment, and the *origo* is speaking from their deictic center and epistemological stance, it follows that the elements that emulate the *origo*’s speech are the performance features in that direct quotation. For this reason, the features that we will look for in direct quotation are words and constructions that are plainly deictic, and those which communicate something about the *origo*’s epistemological stance in appropriate contexts.

3.2. Pronominal and spatio-temporal deixis

In Hul’q’umi’num’, many of the most common functional elements encode some kind of deixis, and these elements are found throughout oral narratives. Recent work has revealed how some of these deictic functional elements are crucial in structuring oral narratives, and how this deixis shifts according to a stage in the discourse (Gerdt, Gilkison, and Hedberg 2018; Gerdt and Hedberg 2018; Gerdt and Hedberg 2020). Importantly for this thesis, deictic functional elements are sites of deictic shift from the speaker to the origo in direct quotation, and this deictic shift is one component that is used to emulate speech from the origo’s perspective. Example (18), repeated here as (24), has all of the functional elements in a direct quotation that have undergone deictic shift in bold:

- (24) (a) wulh tl’e’u=shu=tum’ tthu sum’shathut.
 PERF invite.IMPF=TR=3PAS DT sun
 Then he invited the sun.
- (b) “’uy’ kw’un’s m’i ’ewu ’u tu’i,
 good DT.2SG.POS.N come come.here OB DM
 si’em’ nu men.
 respected 1SG.POS father
 “You had better come over here, my respected father.
- (c) ’e’ut wulh s=qw’uqw’il’ tthu=nu sqw’ulum nu
 here PERF ST=barbecue.RSLT DT=1SG.POS barbecue 1SG.POS
 s=xlhas=**thaam**.”
 N=feed=TR.2SG.PAS
 My barbecue is cooked, what I am to feed you.”
- (d) “’a.a.a, wa’lu ’uy’=us,” xut’u.
 EXCL maybe good=3SUB say.IMPF
 “Oh, all right,” he said.
- (SSS 12649–12654)

One of the first and most obvious sites of deictic shift can be seen in the use of verb agreement and other types of pronominal marking. For example, in (24c), there is

2nd person object marking =*thaam* on the verb, and in (24b), there are 1st and 2nd possessive affixes *nu* and '*un*'; *nu* is used in (24c) as well.

In Hul'q'umi'num', deixis is also encoded in many other different kinds of words like determiners and demonstratives. One set of functional elements that is rich in deixis are the deictic determiners¹⁵, which obligatorily encode gender, but also viewpoint from the perspective of the origo (Gerds 2013). Table 4 shows some of the basic deictic determiners:

Table 4: Basic deictic determiners

| | in-view | out-of-view | remote/deceased |
|------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| masculine | tthu | kwthu | kw'u |
| feminine | thu | lhu | kwsu |

For example, a masculine nominal that is in-view to a speaker has the determiner *tthu*, while a masculine nominal that is out-of-view of the speaker will have *kwthu*¹⁶. An example of a deictic determiner in use can be seen in (24c) in the word *tthunu*.

Demonstratives may also encode viewpoint deixis like deictic determiners, but also encode some spatio-temporal information: in (24) the demonstrative *tu'i* is used, which has both spatial and possibly temporal deictic readings. Another one of these words which combines content from deictic determiners as well as auxiliaries is the distinctly spatial word '*e'ut*, meaning 'here' (Gerds 2010a).¹⁷

These examples give just a brief overview of how deixis is used in oral narratives. As I mentioned before, deixis is obligatorily encoded in most determiners and demonstratives, and these words are ubiquitous. As well, deixis in Hul'q'umi'num' is

¹⁵ The term *deictic determiner* is used here because there are non-deictic determiners in Hul'q'umi'num' which have their own particular use not relevant to the discussion at hand.

¹⁶ The perspective of the origo doesn't only reflect viewpoint deixis: the sex of the speaker (and so the origo) also correlates with the tendency to refer to some inanimates with one grammatical gender over the other, as female speakers are more likely to use feminine gender to refer to feminine inanimates (Gerds 2013).

¹⁷ Auxiliaries, such as the common auxiliaries '*i* and '*ni*', also have deictic spatial and temporal information, but their "deictic centers" shift all over for discourse deictic purposes and thus are not so clear-cut as to detail here. An example to consider in (24b) is the auxiliary *m'i*, often translated as 'come'.

extraordinarily complex, and the details of how deictic terms are used in discourse are still being sorted out. However, we can see here that there are clear shifts in deixis between the narration and direct quotation that the speaker may utilize to demonstrate the viewpoint of the origo.

3.3. Illocutionary function and ‘hallmark’ forms

One of the things that is most apparent about the kind of language used in direct quotation is that it often clearly has an illocutionary function distinct from the illocutionary functions of the narrative. Each utterance that comes from the narrator generally serves to describe what’s happening and to move the story along. However, in direct quotation, the origo may be asking another character a question or telling somebody what to do, or something else that comes from the origo’s deictic center and epistemological stance. Another illocutionary function found in direct quotation is that the origo may outwardly describe their cognition or feelings, which comports with the Hul’q’umi’num’ literary tendency to not have the narrator describe the inner world of the characters (Donna Gerds p.c.).

In each of these illocutionary functions, there are certain words and constructions that are used specifically to fulfill that purpose, and so these words and constructions are characteristic of that kind of speech. In other words, these are the ‘hallmark forms’ of different kinds of contextually appropriate speech, and their status as hallmark forms are utilized by the speaker to realistically perform speech that would be contextually appropriate in the origo’s situation and from the origo’s epistemological stance. Three illocutionary functions that seem to be particularly characteristic of speech between people that I highlight here are *commands*, *conjecture*, and *discourse receipt*, and below, I show some examples of hallmark forms in direct quotation that fulfill each of these illocutionary functions.

3.3.1. Command

A common occurrence in narratives is for one character to tell another character to do something, and so the many forms that commands may take in Hul’q’umi’num’ are

often seen as ‘hallmark forms’ in direct quotation. One form of command is the modal construction used for suggestion: ‘uy’ (*nominalized subordinate clause*), where the thing that is commanded to be done is found in the nominalized subordinate clause. A literal translation might be “it would be good if *x*” or “one had better *x*” (Gerdtz & Hukari 2012, Suttles 2004:459–460), and it commonly appears as starting with ‘uy’ *kws*, as seen in bold in (25):

- (25) suw’ qwal=s tthu na’nuts’a’, “**uy** [kws nem’
 N.CN say=3POS DT one.person good DT.N go
 tst tuw’ qul’et tuw’ tl’pil].”
 1PL.POS MIT again MIT go.down

So one of the young men says to the other, “We had better move and again go to a little lower elevation.”

(GE 21132–21133)

It is worth noting that this sort of choice in direct quotation does not only simulate the use of an illocutionary function, which is in doing so already vivid enough for performance, but it also richly manifests other contextual information. Like I mentioned above, Hul’q’umi’num’ story style tends to not describe the inner world of the characters via narration, and this is a construction that is used to express the thoughts and beliefs of a character without resorting to an explicit narrative statement (e.g. *the young man felt that they should go down the mountain.*) The choice to use this expression as a command over another also demonstrates the dynamics of the relationship between the young man and his best friend, because “use of language particular to a culturally determined social relationship” (Mushin 2001:6) is determined at one’s epistemological stance. It would be semantically viable to use a syntactically imperative statement (“*Go down the mountain with me!*”) or a hortative statement (“*Let’s go down the mountain!*”), but the deictic shift that occurs with direct quotation licenses the speaker to perform what the social relationship between these two characters in this context would actually look like.

3.3.2. Conjecture

Continuing with the trend of simulating cognition, the speaker may want to show the origo’s thoughts or beliefs about what they’re saying. One way to do this in Hul’q’umi’num’ is to use the proclitic *wa’lu*, used in (26):

- (26) suw’ hw=tht=iwun=s tthu smuyuth, “**wa’lu**
 N.CN LOC=say=inside=3POS DT deer maybe
 ’uy’=us. ’ilhe kwu’elh, ’ilhe.”
 good=3SUB let’s then let’s

So deer thought, “Perhaps it’d be good to go. Let’s go then, let’s go.”
 (SCHS 4067–4070)

This proclitic, as seen in the gloss, is often translated as *maybe* or *perhaps*. In this example, the origo is outwardly conjecturing about the decision that they are making, and so the speaker shows that there may have been some apprehension in making that decision which, in the end, turns out to be pivotal to the story.

3.3.3. Discourse receipt

Another example of outward cognition shows up in dialogue. There are many discourse particles that show up in naturalistic dialogue that are used to show that some kind of cognition is happening in response to what has just been heard. An example of these in Hul’q’umi’num’ are the particles *’a* or *’o*:

- (27) suw’ thut=s, “**’a.a.a**, ’uy’, ’ehwe’=t ch tthu=nu
 N.CN say=3POS EXCL good give=TR 2SG.SUB DT.1SG.POS
 me’mun’u.”
 child.PL

And he said, “Oh, good. Give some to my children.”
 (RC 19184–19185)

Like *wa’lu*, these two discourse markers give an outward representation of the cognition of the origo, but whereas *wa’lu* intentionally shows that the statement is not known for certain but is conjectured, *’a* shows simply that there has been some receipt of information, and is used commonly to show that the origo has shifted from one character to another in closed dialogue.

The discourse-receipt *'a/'o* in Hul'q'umi'num' appears to be used similarly to the discourse particle *oh* in English. Saxton (1992:46) defines English *oh* in the context of many other discourse particles: “at the time *oh* is uttered, the speaker indicates that the orientation of her state of knowledge is changed, either by recognition of familiar information, by receipt of new information, or by a shift in subjective orientation.” An example of the particle *oh* in English can be seen in (28):

(28) Ishmael asked Beatrice if she brought her ticket, and she replied, “**Oh**, I thought you had both of ours.”

Like in English, the Hul'q'umi'num' *'a* and *'o* are used in narratives to show the speaker is outwardly demonstrating their thinking in reaction to something, like how Raven reacts to somebody showing him some fish in (27). Hul'q'umi'num' oral narratives are not special in the frequent use of these sorts of discourse markers in direct quotation. Saxton (1992:69) shows evidence from a recorded spontaneous conversation that discourse markers like the English *oh* are used much more often in constructed dialogue than in the rest of the natural conversation. She explains that the use of discourse markers assists in a sense of “immediacy” in contextualizing the utterance by simulating the instance of cognition in real time, and so are used to emulate the origo’s outward expression of cognition and thus of epistemological stance.

3.3.4. Co-occurrence

Often, the speaker wants to evoke as much contextually appropriate speech as possible, and so multiple hallmark forms of speech tend to co-occur in direct quotation. An example of direct quotation with multiple hallmark expressions (*yuhw*, *wa'lu*, *q'u*, and *'uy' kws*) in bold is seen in (29):

(29) suw' thut=s tthuw'ne'ullh, “'uwu **yuhw** **q'u** 'iis
 N.CN say=3POS DT.CN.PRO.PL NEG INF EMPH AUX.3SUB
 'um'i.
 come.down

Then they said to each other, “Maybe he didn’t come down.

wa'lu **'uy'=us** **kws** nem' tst t'akw'."
 maybe good=3SUB DT.N go 1PL.POS go.home
 Maybe we should just go home."

(CW 1689–1692)

With regard to epistemological stance, in this example we see the modal construction *'uy'* *kws* is used, so the origo is suggesting what should be done, again implying the social relationship between the characters by the use of that construction. The predicate particle for conjecture *wa'lu* is used as well, so the speaker is softening any possible assertive force that's left in using *'uy'* *kws* by mentioning that the suggestion is simply the speaker's conjecture as opposed to stating a fact.

3.4. Summary

We see here that all of the different phenomena that occur in direct quotation are used in an additive fashion. First, the direct quotation is particularly similar to the speech appropriate in whatever context the narration is taking place, thus contributing to the demonstration and theatrical aspect of direct quotation. Secondly, because a direct quotation can contain so many different expressions that are all indicative of the style of speech in that context, it may end up seeming particularly *unlike* the style of speech used in narration. In the next chapter, I will show that dissimilarity in the style of speech is a primary driver for why theatricality in direct quotation is effective in narratives.

Chapter 4. Interpretation of quotation in discourse

To recap: here are the following main points I have made in this thesis about the form of quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives:

- Direct quotation and indirect quotation each vary in narratives, and direct quotation varies considerably.
- Many kinds of verbs can be used in the reporting clause to properly “frame” the performance of direct quotation.
- The reporting clause can be put before, in the middle, or after direct quotation.
- The speaker may alter their prosody to make direct quotation seem more acoustically prominent by raising the pitch of the direct quotation or even lowering the pitch of the preceding narration.
- The speaker may alter their prosody to sound how the origo would sound.
- Inside the direct quotation, the speaker has many options to choose from to simulate the speech of the origo.
- Some of these options are the use of plainly deictic terminology, but the speaker may also let the origo express how they think or feel, or have them respond naturally to parts of the dialogue they're in.
- All of these performance features cause the speech of the speaker to sound like the origo—and noticeably “unlike” the speech of the narrator.

With these points in mind, I can finally begin to address the original question: How do Elders use quotation, a ubiquitous rhetorical feature, in order to make their stories comprehensible and meaningful? To respond to this question, there are two new lines of inquiry that arise. The first is this: what is the purpose of the different choices in form, why are there variants available to a speaker, and why would a speaker choose a certain form of quotation over another (e.g. direct quotation which deviates slightly from the narration vs. a full performance)? The second question is: how do the choices in form of direct quotation help build the discourse structure of the story?

We should consider why, in the most basic communicative sense, direct quotation and indirect quotation exist separately in the first place. Let us assume that direct quotation, being distinguished as deviating from the common trend for speech style in a

narrative discourse, is a ‘marked’ and non-canonical type of speech. It can negatively affect processing: for example, one experiment shows that pronouns under deictic shift with insufficient contextual clues take additional on-line processing time and that such pronouns are more likely to be misunderstood (Köder, Maier, and Hendriks 2015). On the other hand, the use of direct quotation, especially when theatrical, can make a story altogether easier to understand; another set of experiments show that speakers both with and without aphasia answer questions about a narrative more accurately when the narrative has theatrical direct quotation than when it only has indirect quotation (Groenewold et al. 2015; Groenewold et al. 2014).

Moreover, we can also point to the common incidence of direct quotation in narratives as proof alone that it contributes some sort of useful meaning in building the discourse structure despite any possible communicative detriment. I have already pointed out parts of Beck & Bennett's (2007) extensive description of direct quotation and how it occurs in Lushootseed narratives with such regularity that its common correlate, prominent pitch, should be considered part of the phonological grammar of Lushootseed. Schiffrin (1981) shows that “tense variation” from past to present tense at moments of high action is extremely common in English narratives, and, incidentally, this shift often occurs with direct quotation and with features of performance. Following Longacre (1996), Margetts (2015) shows that, similarly, person shifting from 3rd to 2nd or 1st person appears at narrative peaks cross-linguistically, perhaps most commonly in direct quotation (Margetts 2015:798), and that person shifting is one of many facets of “surface peak” marking via “‘surprising’ or arresting” rhetorical features (Margetts 2015:765; Polanyi 1985:14–15) that are used by speakers to mark “surface peaks” as part of building the discourse. These ‘surprising or arresting’ rhetorical features are, in other words, relatively prominent features of the speaker’s speech that contrast greatly with the style of speech in the narration.

We can see the use of direct quotation as a ‘surface peak’ by considering how surface peaks fit into a whole approach to describing discourse structure. Longacre (1996:33–35) describes all proper narrative texts as having *notional structure*. Briefly, the notional structure of a text consists of the *exposition*, where the context of the text is laid

out; *peaks*, where climactic content occurs; and the *conclusion*, where the narrative is resolved. Each peak comprises an episode of events: *inciting moment*, where conflict is established, *developing conflict*; a *climax*, where the conflict reaches its greatest state and the implications of the conflict are fully realized, and a *denouement*, where the climactic state is relieved, possibly leading into another peak. Each of these peaks in the notional structure contains some bit of information that the speaker most wants the audience to remember.

Longacre contends that the notional structure is not figured out by the listener solely by interpreting the events in the narrative. Consistently, each part of the notional structure has a correlate in the *surface structure*, where notional peaks are marked by *surface peaks*. Surface peaks are marked by a noticeably different use of language, or, in the terms used above, features that are perceived as ‘surprising’ or ‘arresting’. It is by virtue of ‘surprise’ and the consequent need for the audience to perform extra processing that surface peaks have their power in building the discourse structure: “routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at [surface] peak” and “marking of such features takes precedence over the marking of the mainline, so that ... analytical difficulties can be a clue that we are at the peak of a discourse” (Longacre 1996:38). In simpler terms: when the story sounds different, the audience notices it, must figure out why it’s different, and in turn, this strange moment is something that is remembered best.

One of the many contrastive surface peaks that Longacre describes is *heightened vividness* of reported speech. He gives four names for graded values according to performativity, which can be seen in Figure 9; Longacre’s values are on top, and I have annotated with the two correlating dimensions underneath:

| | | | | |
|---|------------------|--|-------------|---|
| Surface peak form | Narrative | < Pseudo-dialogue | < Dialogue | < Drama |
| Interpretation in notional structure | Non-surface peak | ... | ... | Unambiguous, important, distinct surface peak |
| Performativity | Non-performance | Brief performance; aside, short vignette | Performance | Extreme, possibly 'bombastic' performance |

Figure 9: Continuum of correlation between surface form, notional peak, and performativity in reporting speech

(Longacre 1996:42)

The values of heightened vividness are described as the following: *narrative* forms are representations of the story that are described externally from a narrative perspective and are the least vivid; *pseudo-dialogue* forms are those such as rhetorical question or apostrophe¹⁸, where there is no person in particular that is actually addressed; *dialogue* forms feature structured direct speech with reporting clauses (or quotation formulas) (e.g. ‘x said, y said’); *drama* forms are entirely direct speech and feature no external structure such that “we are not told that B said so-and-so to A or that A said so-and-so to B. The various characters simply speak out one to the other. Only what they say gives a clue as to who might have spoken it” (Longacre 1996:43).

These observations about the correlation between form, relative prominence, perception, and discourse structure make an effective explanation for why we see all of the variations in form that I have shown throughout this thesis. The reason why there is a variant of direct quotation where the reporting clause does not precede the quotation is to facilitate the ‘shock’ that comes from jumping right into an instance of direct quotation. Verbs other than verbs of speech can be used to introduce direct quotation, thus not just reporting that speech is occurring, but introducing a context with which to interpret the performance of direct quotation. Inside the quotation, the use of words and prosody that

¹⁸ *Apostrophe* is when the origo speaks to an abstract or non-present entity, e.g. Juliet, distraught over Romeo’s death, speaks to the dagger before she takes her own life: “O happy dagger! / This is thy sheath; there rust and let me die.”

are characteristic of informal speech—especially when the quotation is at a much higher pitch and is more perceptually prominent than the preceding narration—is surprising compared to the regular current of style and prosody used throughout the narration. The jump from the omniscient narrator who can see everything in the story into the sensory deictic world of the origo is a jump from the expected language of the described world into the unexpected language of an immersive and vivid one.

Importantly, the scale of performativity explains why there is so much variation. In all of the features I have described above, there is always the caveat that the speaker *may choose* to include one variant or another. As the speaker wants to highlight certain information in the story, they choose how much they want to immerse the audience in a more vivid world. When there is a brief direct quotation from time to time, this might be akin to a brief vignette, but when the speaker invests time and attention to the direct quotation, this may be a climactic peak with content the speaker wants the audience to remember.

To sum this up: there are a number of ways to depart from the narrative form and style. When there is a departure from narrative form and style, the audience perceives the contrast between the narrative form and style and the noticeably different speech content such that the speech content is altogether more perceptibly prominent than the narrative. Consequently, the audience will remember the details from this perceptibly prominent part most of all, and the speaker can use this fact to their advantage when building the discourse and trying to get their message across.

We can apply these observations to see how direct quotation may inform our understanding of the structure of a story in Elwood Modeste's telling of *Tzouhalem* as seen in (30) and (31). In this telling, Tzouhalem is diving around in the sea for a source of more power when he comes across a cave with something that might be useful for him. He goes inside and encounters a group of women sitting around:

(30) suw' tsse=tum thu naan'ts'a' 'uw' nem'=us,
 N.CN tell=TR.3PAS DT one.person CN go=3SUB
 mi.i.is t-su=tum
 come.RL.3SUB go.near=TR.3PAS

So one of the women was told to go approach him

'i' 'aa=tum 'uw'... 'uw' nem'=us nuw'=ilum.
 CNJ call=TR.3PAS CN CN go=3SUB inside=MOT

and call him to come inside.

sis nem' 'uw' nem' tthuw'nilh ts'uw'xilum.
 N.AUX.3POS go CN go DT.CN.PRO Tzouhalem

And Tzouhalem went.

suw' tus hwuni' 'u tthu sh=ni'=s tthu slhunlheni'
 N.CN arrive get.there OB DT OB.N=be.there=3POS DT woman.PL

suw' ptem'=ut=um 'uw' stem=us kws stl'i'=s.
 N.CN ask=TR=3PAS CN what=3SUB DT.N want=3POS

And he arrived to where the women were and they asked him what it is that he wanted.

'i' 'uwu te' sh=tatul'=stuhw=s, 'uw' thut 'ul' kws
 CNJ NEG NE N.OB=know=CS=3POS CN say just DT.N

stl'i'=s kws kwun=nuhw=s kw' sh=kw'am'kw'um'=s.
 want=3POS DT.N get=LC.TR=3POS DT N.OB=strong=3POS

But he didn't know, he just said that he wanted to get something that would be his power.

(EMTz 34842–34859)

In a traditional Western story, we might expect this portion to be the point of high action and perhaps the greatest tension: Tzouhalem is sneaking around a cave and suddenly encounters a group of women whom he does not know, which is especially tense given his infamously violent behavior. However, in (30), all of the speech is in the

form of indirect quotation until the immediate next passage shown in (31), where Tzouhalem is given his explicit prophecy:

(31) suw' kwuyx=thut thu naan'ts'a' slheni' suw' kwun=ut=us
 N.CN move=REFL DT one.person woman N.CN take=TR=3SUB
 thu yasa'qw=s,
 DT hat=3POS

One woman got up and took her hat,

'uw' tuw' nets' 'ul' tthu yasa'qw=s, sisuw'
 CN MIT different just DT hat=3POS N.AUX.N.CN
 hukw=um=ustum.
 put.on=MID=CS.3PAS

it was a rather strange hat, and put it on him.

suw' yuth=us=tum 'u they' slheni', "nilh kwelh
 N.CN tell=APPL=TR.3PAS OB DM woman 3PRO then
 'un' sh=kw'am'kw'um' tse' tthey'.
 2SG.POS N.OB=strong FUT DM

And that woman told him, "That will be your power.

'uwu te' tse' na.a.an'tsa' swuy'qe' q'aay=thamu.
 NEG NE FUT one.person.RL man die=TR.2SG.OBJ

No man will ever kill you.

'uwu te' naan'ts'a' q'aay=thamu.
NEG NE one.person die=TR.2SG.OBJ

No man will ever kill you.

tl'uhwla'us 'uw' stl'eluqum'=us 'i' skw'ey kws
no.matter CN fierce=3SUB CNJ impossible DT.N
q'aay=thamut."
die=2SG.PAS

Even if he is fierce, he won't be able to kill you."

suw' thut=stewut, "i'... 'i' slheni' tse' thulh kws
N.CN say=CS.3PAS CNJ CNJ woman FUT ADV DT.N
q'aay=thamu
die=TR.2SG.OBJ

and he was told, "But it will be a woman that kills you

'u kwthuw' tum'tem tse' skweyul."
OB DT.CN when FUT day

at some future time."

sisuw' tsse=tum, "nem' ch kwelh, nem'
N.AUX.N.CN tell=TR.3PAS go 2SG.SUB then go
ch kwelh t'akw'."
2SG.SUB then go.home

And he was told, "You go now, you go on home."

suw' tsse=tum, "nem' ch xwte' 'u
CN tell=TR.3PAS go 2SG.SUB go.toward OB
tu'inulh."
DM.PRO

And he was told, "You go this way."

(EMTz 34860–34879)

Here we see that (30) was not a peak and, in fact, was creating context and increasing tension for the payoff at the very dramatic peak in (31). The switch from indirect to direct quotation in (31) is arresting and full of emotional tension as the woman speaks directly and assertively to the terrible and powerful man who had been spreading ruin everywhere he went. This telling of this story is relatively short, and there are no peaks in the story that are as significant as this one, except possibly for near the end where he is finally killed, as prophesized, by a woman.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have provided some analysis of the form and function of quotation as it is used in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives. In Chapter 1, I laid out some of the groundwork for the discussion of this thesis and explained why analysis of quotation is worthwhile for fluency and learning how to tell stories in Hul'q'umi'num'. I gave examples of quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' showing how these forms are determined and how direct quotation is embedded in the narrative.

In Chapter 2, I showed some of the variants in prosody of direct quotation in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives to demonstrate how Elders alter their prosody to structure the discourse. I discussed two main prosodic components. One component is the quantitatively observable one—direct quotation is often made more prosodically prominent than the surrounding narrative, and, in some cases, the narrative directly preceding the direct quotation is often subdued to make the direct quotation itself be perceived as more prominent. The other component, which I discuss briefly, is immeasurable—the prosody that the speaker uses often mimics the style of speech that is contextually appropriate to the origo.

In Chapter 3, I showed some of the other performance features that may be present in direct quotation. One set of features that the storyteller may pay special attention to for their performance are the many deictic terms present in Hul'q'umi'num'. They may also use words and constructions to fulfill illocutionary functions that are unique to the origo's context, like words that show discourse receipt (i.e. words that the origo uses to show that they are listening to somebody). Essentially, the storyteller uses features that are used to simulate how the origo would actually speak in context.

In Chapter 4, I described how the different variations in form contribute to crafting an oral narrative and describe the factors that go into making the choice of one variant over another. The function of these variants is to help the audience follow along as the speaker switches from narrator to dialogue. One thing I have noted is that storytellers often exaggerate the style of speech in direct quotation to entertain and

‘surprise’ the audience with a vivid and noticeably theatrical way of performing a character’s speech. The ‘surprise’ marks these moments as a peak in the structure of the story. In other words, the theatrical and vivid performance of direct quotation briefly immerses the audience in the story world, and the audience remembers this immersion best.

This study, by detailing one type of construction used by Hul’q’umi’num’ storytellers, makes a unique contribution. Although there has been quite a lot of work done on storytelling style and performance in Indigenous languages (including in Hul’q’umi’num’), and although there has been quite a lot of work on quotation (including its use as a theatrical device), to date I believe there are no other studies that synthesize these two approaches to analyze quotation in oral narratives in an Indigenous language. As well, even though there has been some foray into studying prosody in Indigenous languages, there is far less work in prosody than there has been in other linguistic disciplines, like syntax, phonology, morphology, and semantics.

The study of Indigenous languages of the Americas has traditionally centered on the collection and analysis of texts (cf. Epps, Webster, and Woodbury 2017, and references therein). Texts are not only a good source of information for grammatical analysis but are also repositories of performances, which give us a window into the virtuosity of language speakers including the verbal artistry of storytellers. This is especially true when the texts are in audio form or even video form, the latter being easier now than ever to watch and produce. Studying the performances of the Elders is one way that the second language learners are becoming more fluent and developing their own storytelling style. I hope I have contributed to this enterprise by studying closely what the Elders said and how they said what was said. I conclude with profound thanks to the storytellers for laying down their stories on behalf of the future generations of Hul’q’umi’num’ speakers.

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Appendix A.

Practical orthography

The Hul'q'umi'num' materials are given in the practical orthography as used by the Hul'q'umi'num' Language Academy instead of the APA (Americanist Phonetic Alphabet) system often used by Salishanists, including for past studies on Hul'q'umi'num' by Donna Gerdtts and Tom Hukari. One of the audiences of this project is the Hul'q'umi'num' community, and therefore I use the orthography currently used in the community for writing Hul'q'umi'num'. In the case of some character sequences that may be potentially ambiguous, a hyphen is inserted (e.g. the digraph *ts* is phonetically different from *t* followed by *s*, so the latter is written *t-s*).¹⁹ The charts in Table 2 and Table 3 can be used to convert between the orthography characters and the APA characters:

¹⁹ For a demonstration of the Hul'q'umi'num' sounds, please see the following link: <http://sqwal.hwulmuhwqun.ca/learn/learning-the-sounds/>

Table A1: Hul'q'umi'num' practical orthography with APA phonetic values for Hul'q'umi'num' consonants

| | | | Bilabial | Inter-dental | Alveolar | Alveo-palatal | Palatal | Velar | | Uvular | | Glottal |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Stop | Voiceless | Plain | p / [p] | | t / [t] | | | unrounded | k / [k] | unrounded | q / [q] | ' / [ʔ] |
| | | | | | | | rounded | kw / [k ^w] | rounded | qw / [q ^w] | | |
| | Glottalized | | p' / [p̰] | | t' / [t̰] | | | rounded | kw' / [k ^w ̰] | unrounded | q' / [q̰] | |
| | | | | | | rounded | qw' / [q̰ ^w] | | | | | |
| Affricate | Voiceless | Plain | | tth / [tʰ] | ts / [c] | ch / [č] | | | | | | |
| | | Glottalized | | tth' / [tʰ̰] | ts' / [c̰] | ch' / [č̰] | | | | | | |
| Lateral affricate | Voiceless | Glottalized | | | tl' / [ʎ̰] | | | | | | | |
| Fricative | Voiceless | | | th / [θ] | s / [s] | sh / [š] | | unrounded | h / [x] | unrounded | x / [χ] | |
| | | | | | | | rounded | hw / [x ^w] | rounded | xw / [χ ^w] | | |
| Lateral fricative | Voiceless | | | | lh / [ɬ] | | | | | | | |
| Nasal | Voiced | Plain | m / [m] | | n / [n] | | | | | | | |
| | | Glottalized | m' / [m̰] | | n' / [n̰] | | | | | | | |
| Approximant | Voiced | Plain | w / [w] | | | | y / [y] | | | | | |
| | | Glottalized | w' / [w̰] | | | | y' / [y̰] | | | | | |
| Lateral Approximant | Voiced | Plain | | | l / [l] | | | | | | | |
| | | Glottalized | | | l' / [l̰] | | | | | | | |

Table A2: Hul'q'umi'num' practical orthography with APA phonetic values for Hul'q'umi'num' vowels

| | Front | | Mid | | Back | |
|-------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| High | short | i / [i] | u / [ə] | | short | ou / [u] |
| | long | ii / [i:] | | | long | oo / [u:] |
| Mid | short | e / [e] | | | | |
| | long | ee / [e:] | | | | |
| Low | | | short | a / [a] | | |
| | | | long | aa / [a:] | | |

Because the hyphen character is already used for the practical orthography, it cannot be used as the character for morpheme affixation as is standard in interlinear gloss. For this reason, the character = is used to demarcate affixes in both the line of Hul'q'umi'num' and the gloss. Similarly, double quotation marks are always used around direct quotation because of the potential ambiguity with the glottal stop character '.

Appendix B.

Corpus bibliography

Here are some additional details about the form of the corpus: all of the texts as they were provided were already segmented into lines with a line of Hul'q'umi'num' followed by its translation into English, and were also already punctuated, including double quotation marks. I have preserved the line breaks in the examples that I present as they were originally found in the corpus. After collecting the texts into one file, the single corpus was also numbered by line, which is the number seen in the citations throughout. The reader may also notice that the interlinear glosses that I provide are somewhat more detailed than usual compared with past papers on Hul'q'umi'num' (e.g. more detail in deictic determiners and demonstratives). Because this information is relevant for the discussion here, extra care was taken to provide these details.

The stories in the table on the following page were used as examples. A value in the column labelled *Code* is the shorthand form of the title that is used to cite the examples as they appear. The rest of the columns are self-explanatory.

Table B1: Stories cited as examples

| Author | Title | Code | Date of recording | Recorder | Transcriber | Translator | Editor |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|------|-------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Andrew Misheal | Spaal' Copies His Siblings | SCHS | January 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Ruby Peter, Donna Gerdts | Ruby Peter | Donna Gerdts, Sarah Kell |
| Basil Alphonse | syalutsa' | Sy | June 1975 | Ruby Peter and Thomas Hukari | Ruby Peter | Ruby Peter | Tom Hukari, Donna Gerdts |
| Cecelia Leo Alphonse | Little Wren | LW | April 1975 | Ruby Peter and Thomas Hukari | Ruby Peter | Ruby Peter | Donna Gerdts, Tom Hukari |
| Cecelia Leo Alphonse | Raven and his Children | RC | April 1975 | Ruby Peter and Thomas Hukari | Ruby Peter | Ruby Peter | Donna Gerdts, Tom Hukari |
| Elwood Modeste | Tzouhalem | EMTz | 1980 | Donna Gerdts | Donna Gerdts | Arnold Guerin, | Donna Gerdts, Ruby Peter |
| Ellen Rice (Mrs. Jimmy Joe) | Deserted Boy | DB | March 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Ruby Peter, Donna Gerdts | Theresa Thorne | Donna Gerdts, Sarah Kell |
| Ellen Rice (Mrs. Jimmy Joe) | The Sea Hunters and the Dwarves | SHD | March 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Ruby Peter and Donna Gerdts | Theresa Thorne | Donna Gerdts, Sarah Kell |
| Ellen Rice (Mrs. Jimmy Joe) | Snake Island | SI | March 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Ruby Peter, Donna Gerdts | Theresa Thorne | Donna Gerdts, Sarah Kell |

| Author | Title | Code | Date of recording | Recorder | Transcriber | Translator | Editor |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Ellen White | Seagull Steals the Sun | SSS | May 1977 | Thomas Hukari | Ruby Peter, Ellen White | Ellen White | Thomas Hukari |
| Manson George | Fighting the Likwultook | FL | 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Ruby Peter | Arnold, Guerin, Ruby Peter | Donna Gerdts, Sarah Kell |
| Manson George | The Coming of the Whites | CW | 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Ruby Peter | Ruby Peter | Donna Gerdts, Sarah Kell |
| Sophie Misheal | Tzouhalem | SMTz | January 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Ruby Peter | Ruby Peter | Donna Gerdts, Sarah Kell |
| Samuel Tom | Making First Canoe | MFC | March 1962 | Wayne Suttles | Arnold Guerin, Donna Gerdts | Arnold Guerin | Donna Gerdts, Carrie Gillon, Sarah Kell, Ruby Peter |
| Wilfred Sampson | The Elder and the Sealion | ES | March 1976 | Thomas Hukari | Ruby Peter | Ruby Peter | Tom Hukari, Sarah Kell, Donna Gerdts |
| Wilfred Sampson | Golden Eagle (ts'usqun') | GE | August 1977 | Thomas Hukari | Ruby Peter | Delores Louie, Ruby Peter | Tom Hukari, Sarah Kell, Donna Gerdts |

| Author | Title | Code | Date of recording | Recorder | Transcriber | Translator | Editor |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Wilfred Sampson | The Young Man that Turned into a Seal | YMS | March 1976 | Thomas Hukari | Ruby Peter | Delores Louie, Ruby Peter, Thomas Hukari | Tom Hukari, Sarah Kell, Donna Gerds |

Appendix C.

Intonation measurements

The following table gives the pitch measurements of all direct quotations from three stories by Mrs. Jimmy Joe: *Deserted Boy* by Mrs. Jimmy Joe, *The Sea Hunters and the Dwarves*, and *Snake Island*. Some of the direct quotations in this table were used as examples and explained further in Chapter 2. All numeric values are in Hertz (Hz), and a positive value in the column $\Delta F0$ *RI*, *DI* indicates that the direct quotation features greater acoustic prominence.

A few notes: if there is a value in the columns that mention a *dialogue reply* (DR1 or DR2), then that instance of direct quotation features an immediate reply from the receiver described in the story, and the measurements there are for that instance of direct quotation. If there is a value in the *Comments* that says *Dialogue*, then the example is from a continuous open dialogue between two characters continuing from the row directly above. If the comment mentions *rhetorical lengthening*, then the described part of the direct quotation features rhetorical lengthening. Rhetorical lengthening is a feature that has not been extensively studied and deserves its own attention, but it frequently appears in oral stories. Roughly, it is when a syllable is held and uttered at a much higher pitch. For this reason, the pitch measurement may not be accurate compared to examples with no rhetorical lengthening.

Table C1: Pitch measurements of direct quotation from three stories

| Code | Initial F0 of preceding narration (PN1) | Final F0 of preceding narration (PN2) | Initial F0 of preceding reporting clause (R1) | Final F0 of preceding reporting clause (R2) | Initial F0 of direct quotation (D1) | Final F0 of direct quotation (D2) | $\Delta F0$ R1, D1 | $\Delta F0$ R2, D1 | Initial F0 of dialogue reply (DR1) | Final F0 of dialogue reply (DR2) | $\Delta F0$ D1,DR1 | Comments |
|------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| DB 3400- 3406.1 | 281.47 | 122.8 | 258.9 | 251.85 | 268.18 | 195.92 | 9.28 | 16.33 | 185.43 | 158.54 | -82.75 | |
| DB 3463- 3475.1 | 220.23 | 175.85 | 179.52 | 179.52 | 211.53 | 183.87 | 32.01 | 32.01 | 195.64 | 174.27 | -15.89 | Dialogue |
| DB 3463- 3475.2 | | | | | 259.97 | 214.95 | | | 191.28 | 176.25 | -68.69 | Dialogue |
| DB 3463- 3475.3 | | | | | 226.73 | 188.34 | | | 213.68 | 189.09 | -13.05 | Dialogue |
| DB 3502- 3509.1 | | | 225.35 | 186.33 | 248.69 | 161.98 | 23.34 | 62.36 | | | | |
| DB 3516- 3518.1 | 152.75 | 143.7 | 156.59 | 151.67 | 199.86 | 151.71 | 43.27 | 48.19 | | | | |
| DB 3524- 3528.1 | | | 179.8 | 176.81 | 209.75 | 180.29 | 29.95 | 32.94 | | | | |
| DB 3524- 3528.2 | | | 205.57 | 193.63 | 183.11 | 177.64 | -22.46 | -10.52 | | | | Reportin g clause reiterated |
| SHD 3046- 3054.1 | 242.78 | 156.2 | 196.41 | 173.06 | 210.86 | 169.15 | 14.45 | 37.8 | 181.46 | 181.46 | -29.4 | Dialogue |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---|
| SHD 3070- 3082.1 | 271.05 | 205.92 | 243.6 | 243.6 | 261.57 | 193.35 | 17.97 | 17.97 | | | | |
| SHD 3084- 3088.1 | 278 | 193.23 | | | 212.23 | 173.14 | | | 180.53 | 172 | -31.7 | Dialogue |
| SHD 3100- 3108.1 | 225.4 | 156.2 | 259.84 | 192.26 | 222.59 | 154.96 | -37.25 | 30.33 | | | | |
| SHD 3100- 3108.2 | | | 227.15 | 252.09 | 259.59 | 164.62 | 32.44 | 7.5 | | | | |
| SHD 3141- 3145.1 | | | | | 231.18 | 175.32 | | | 208.56 | 154.58 | -22.62 | Dialogue |
| SHD 3141- 3145.2 | | | | | 208.56 | 154.58 | | | 201.95 | 149.51 | -6.61 | Dialogue |
| SHD 3151.1 | | | 162.28 | 143.88 | 160.76 | 157.44 | -1.52 | 16.88 | | | | |
| SHD 3165- 3171.1 | 263.83 | 175.88 | 208.75 | 184.26 | 244.91 | 164.64 | 36.16 | 60.65 | | | | |
| SI 3286- 3288.1 | | | | | 249.84 | 208.02 | | | 208.93 | 190.08 | -40.91 | Dialogue |
| SI 3254- 3258.1 | 245.4 | 193.75 | 247.57 | 226.52 | 244.69 | 193.83 | -2.88 | 18.17 | | | | Narrative has rhetorical lengtheni ng |
| SI 3264- 3268.1 | 232.23 | 173.54 | 201.34 | 175.57 | 209 | 156.38 | 7.66 | 33.43 | | | | Narrative followin g has rhetorical lengtheni ng |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--|--|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|------|--|--|--|--|
| SI 3270-3274.1 | | | 187.26 | 212.78 | 216.41 | 132.1 | 29.15 | 3.63 | | | | Narrative following has rhetorical lengthening |
|----------------|--|--|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|------|--|--|--|--|

The following table represents the one instance of direct quotation with a medial reporting clause which has been excerpted from the above table in the interest of space.

Table C2: Pitch measurements of medial direct quotation

| Code | Initial F0 of preceding narration (PN1) | Final F0 of preceding narration (PN2) | Initial F0 of preceding reporting clause (R1) | Final F0 of preceding reporting clause (R2) | Initial F0 of direct quotation (D1) | Final F0 of direct quotation (D2) | $\Delta F0$ R1, D1 | $\Delta F0$ R2, D1 | Initial F0 of following reporting clause (FR1) | Final F0 of following reporting clause (FR2) | Comments |
|----------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|--|--|
| DB 3483-3487.1 | 268.07 | 235.52 | | | 265.05 | 181.85 | | | 200.18 | 173.91 | Rhetorical lengthening on direct quotation, reporting clause follows (in medial position with DB 3483.2) |
| DB 3483-3487.2 | | | 200.18 | 173.91 | 217 | 158.4 | 16.82 | 43.09 | | | Same reporting clause as DB 3483-3487.1 except reporting clause is preceding |