Accessing dialect diversity through multi-media documentation of traditional ecological knowledge

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Goal: Document dialect diversity

• Describe systematic lexical, phonological and morphosyntactic differences between dialects of kʷaʔkʷala

• Improve documentary resources on dialect diversity for community and academic researchers and teachers

• Support efforts to maintain dialect diversity as part of language revitalization
Overview

- kwak’wala dialect diversity in context
  - Geographic
  - Historical
  - Cultural
- Scope and method
- Findings on 2(~3) dialects:
  - kwak’wala and gw’asəla-ňak’wala
  - Lexical
  - Phonological
  - Phonotactic constraints/Syllabification
- Summary
- Next Steps
$k^wak^wala$: Wakashan Family Tree

Shaw 2011
Dialect diversity: today

5 dialects

kʷáḵʷala
  gʷá́yasdəms
  (Gilford Island),
  dʔáwadi
  (Knight Inlet),
  gʷáyí
  (Kingcome Inlet),
  caχis (Fort Rupert)

ńákʷala
  Tsulquate (gʷáʔsəla-
     ŋákʷaxdaʔxʷ) Reserve

Gúča
  Quatsino Reserve

ƛáƛ̓asiʔwala
  χʷómdasbiʔ?
  (Hope Island)

líʔwala
  wíwʔaχəm
  (Cape Mudge)
Dialect diversity and documentation: historical
George Hunt and Franz Boas co-authors 1893-1947
GH spoke kʷaḵʷala dialect (Fort Rupert)
GH 1ˢᵗ wife: Lucy Homkanis, spoke Ḹaḵasǐḵʷəla (Hope Island)
GH 2ⁿᵈ wife: cukʷani (Francine Hunt), spoke Ňakʷala (Blunden Harbor)
## Dialect diversity: historical

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boas 1921:40</th>
<th>3 sub-dialects of Kwakiutl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Koskimo’</td>
<td>= Guća                     (Quatsino)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Nawitti’</td>
<td>= ʕaʕasiqʷala              (Hope Island)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Kwakiutl’</td>
<td>= kʷaʔala                  (Gilford Island to Campbell River)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boas 1947:202</th>
<th>5 dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Kos)</td>
<td>= Guća     (Quatsino)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nak)</td>
<td>= ʔakʷala  (Blunden Harbor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gwas)</td>
<td>= Gʷaʔsəla (Smith Inlet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(New)</td>
<td>= ʕaʔasiqʷala (Hope Island)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= kʷaʔala  (Gilford Island to Campbell)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“There are slight dialect differences in the language spoken by this group; a northern dialect spoken in the villages of the most northern part of Vancouver Island as far south as Newettee (Nahwittee) and in the most northern inlets of the mainland; a southern one spoken in the area from Fort Rupert south, and on the small islands at the entrance to Johnson Strait. This dialect, spoken by the Kwakiutl proper, the Nimkish, Tlawitsis and Mamaleleqala has encroached considerably upon the other dialects and is the basis of the present grammar.” (1947:205)
Then and now: ńákʷaxdaʔxʷ and gʷáʔsəla peoples
ńákʷaxdaʔxʷ
təłúus (Smiths Inlet), 1905
Photo: CF Newcombe (AMNH)
təʔás (Blunden Harbor), 1901
Photo: CF Newcombe (Royal BC Museum)
Tsulquate: Gʷa’sala’-Nakwaxda’xw Reserve
Photos: Courtesy of Gwa-Nak Band

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Then and now: kʷágut?̓ (Fort Rupert)

cáxís (Fort Rupert) 1894
Photo: Hastings (AMNH)

Women’s Potlatch, Fort Rupert 1898
Photo: Harlan Smith (AMNH)
Dialect diversity: Maintenance and revitalization

- Speaker awareness
  “Although we have a common language which we call Kwaḵʷala, our speakers and Elders recognize and respect small differences in speech by our communities.” (Compton & Pasco: 1998)


  “To honor all Kwaḵʷala dialects, this IRP does not prescribe particular words, phrases, or spellings. No dialect is considered more “correct” than another, and the Kwaḵʷala language examples in the IRP represent various dialects. The Kwaḵʷala words, phrases, and sentences are simply examples, and teachers are encouraged to modify them to reflect local pronunciation, spelling conventions, and usage. Thus, the IRP can be used in any system that desires to teach Kwaḵʷala without imposing the dialect of one area on another” (SD85 2010: 8)

- Applied awareness of dialect diversity in developing and implementing curriculum. (Liz Cadwallader)

  DIALECT DIVERSITY | CONTEXT | METHOD | DATA | DISCUSSION | CONCLUSION

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Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and dialect

Links between resources, place, band identity and dialect

- Some resources widely distributed: salmon, cedar bark
- Some resources traded: oolichan grease made in Kingcome Inlet (Dżawadəʔinuxʷ) and Knight Inlet (ʔəʷəʔiχəla) exchanged for seaweed from Rivers Inlet
TEK and dialect in the GN curriculum

Fishing

Smoking salmon

Cedar bark stripping

Catching crab

Clam-digging

Photos: Curtis

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Method

• Create short video stimuli of resource gathering and processing activities: Roasting salmon, gathering herring eggs, making oolichan grease.
• Show videos as elicitation stimuli for conversation between speakers of two different dialects
• Subsequent free translation, transcription, and discussion with both speakers present
• Encourage meta-dialectal reflection during both recording and transcription sessions
• Ongoing consultation with elders
Speakers

Spruce Wamiss
Gʷímoḥs: “Always Potlatching”

dʔawadəʔenuxʷ
From Kingcome Inlet (gʷayi)
kʷakʷala dialect

Lillian Johnny
náx̱nagim: “Born at the break of dawn”

gʷaʔsəla
From Takush Harbor (Təkus)
gʷaʔsəla-ňakʷala dialect
Collaborative Transcription

- Liz and Daisy: Collaborative transcription in ELAN via Skype
- Identify emergent questions and revisit them in elicitation with elders
- Identify and record with additional speakers of same dialect
- Remain agnostic about which way of saying a word should be considered original

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Analysis: Comparing kʷaḵʷala and Ɂaḵʷala

- High degree of metadialectal awareness among speakers
- Lexical contrasts
- Phonological contrasts
- Phonotactic contrasts
- Emergent questions
Metadialectal awareness

- Discussion about dialect before recording:

- Awareness of dialect difference throughout original session:

  LJ  \textit{Mas həʔésa-χe} \quad mɛ? ?

  Q \quad \text{know.a.language.well-OBJ.2} \quad \text{salmon}

  How do you say ‘mɛ?’?

- Awareness of dialect difference while transcribing

  “He’s saying \textit{hixəʔe}? but I say \textit{hixti}? ... Different dialect.”

  “I say \textit{mɛ}? and he says \textit{ktəla}. Halibut is \textit{ʔpoʔi} ... A little bit different dialect ....I say \textit{ʔpoʔi}, and he would say \textit{ʔpoʔe}.”

  “He’s talking in his dialect, so, I just want to finish what he’s talking, know what he’s talking about.”
# Lexical contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>kʷakʷala</th>
<th>gʷaʔsəla-ʔnakʷala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>traditional wooden spoon</td>
<td>kəkáʔəm</td>
<td>Łáxíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oar locks</td>
<td>ɁíkəsaGeʔ</td>
<td>ɁáləgaGeʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trying to get ones’ mind off the hurt</td>
<td>nánuyəma</td>
<td>ŁáləGuəma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>Gíwas</td>
<td>təkus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salmon</td>
<td>kútəla</td>
<td>məʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>ɬəgəm</td>
<td>kʷəbəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>ɬəkʷəlá</td>
<td>ɬəła</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red snapper</td>
<td>ɬáxʷəm</td>
<td>níčiʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingcod</td>
<td>ɬəxúʔ</td>
<td>náʔəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night time</td>
<td>Gánutł</td>
<td>nígəkʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full</td>
<td>púŁə</td>
<td>ɬənkəla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dig for clams</td>
<td>də́ika</td>
<td>yáŁə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salmon berry</td>
<td>ɬəmdəkoʔw</td>
<td>Góləle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>wáladʔi</td>
<td>?úmadʔi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonological differences

kʷaḵʷala phonological inventory

\[\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
\text{p} & \text{t} & \text{č} & \text{k} & \text{k}^w & \text{q} & \text{q}^w & \text{ʔ} & \text{i} & \text{u} \\
\text{b} & \text{d} & \text{ƛ} & \text{d}^z & \text{g} & \text{g}^w & \text{G} & \text{G}^w & [u] & [u] \\
\text{ʼp} & \text{ʼt} & \text{ʼč} & \text{ʼk} & \text{k}^w & \text{ʼq} & \text{ʼq}^w & [e] & [o] \\
\text{ʼp} & \text{ʼt} & \text{s} & \text{x} & \text{x}^w & \text{χ} & \text{χ}^w & \text{h} & [ɛ] & (ə) & [ɔ] \\
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{l} & \text{y} & \text{w} & & & [æ] \\
\text{ʼm} & \text{ʼn} & \text{ʼl} & \text{ʼy} & \text{ʼw} & & & a \\
\end{array}\]
Phonological differences

- $k^wak^wala [\acute{y}] < > g^wa?sa-la-\acute{n}ak^wala [?]$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>$k^wak^wala$</th>
<th>$g^wa?sa-la-\acute{n}ak^wala$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>səʔə̑jə̑e</td>
<td>səʔə̑je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>GəʔyáGas</td>
<td>Gəʔə̑Gas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halibut</td>
<td>póʔi</td>
<td>póʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>kə̑jə̑s</td>
<td>kíʔus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish tail</td>
<td>tútə̑jə̑xə̑sde</td>
<td>tútə̑nxə̑sde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work(ing)</td>
<td>?éʔaxə̑x</td>
<td>?éʔaxa (əlaχ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonotactic differences

- \textit{gwa}s\textit{ela-\textit{nak}\textit{ala}} words often have an extra syllables,
- /\textit{ə}/ nucleus doesn’t change the lexical stress pattern
- We see this in stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>k\textit{wak}\textit{ala}</th>
<th>g\textit{wa}s\textit{ela-\textit{nak}\textit{ala}}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>\textit{\lambda o's}</td>
<td>\textit{\lambda w\dot{o}s}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>\textit{x\text{&quot;u\text{&quot;m}s} }</td>
<td>\textit{x\text{&quot;u\text{&quot;m}\dot{o}s} }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab</td>
<td>\textit{\text{&quot;q\text{&quot;u\text{&quot;m}is} } }</td>
<td>\textit{\text{&quot;q\text{&quot;u\text{&quot;m}\dot{o\dot{e}}s} } }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- But also in inflected predicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>k\textit{wak}\textit{ala}</th>
<th>g\textit{wa}s\textit{ela-\textit{nak}\textit{ala}}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isn’t it?</td>
<td>\textit{-\text{&quot;i\text{&quot;i\text{&quot;is\text{&quot;o\text{&quot;\text{&quot;a}}x} } } }</td>
<td>\textit{?\text{&quot;i\text{&quot;s\text{&quot;o\text{&quot;u\text{&quot;\text{&quot;\text{&quot;a}}x} } } }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ...they’re standing | \textit{\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\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Phonotactic differences

• But it is not necessarily a predictive tendency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>kʷaḵʷala</th>
<th>gʷaʔsəla- nâkʷala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fish head</td>
<td>híxəʔ'ε?</td>
<td>híxʔ'ʔ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Additional lexical contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>kʷaʔkʷala</th>
<th>gʷaʔsəʔla-ńaʔkʷala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>earthquake</td>
<td>nínini</td>
<td>nínine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seaweed</td>
<td>ñəkəstón</td>
<td>ñəkəsti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curtain</td>
<td>yáwapstəwiʔ</td>
<td>náwəpstəwəm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- According to the view that kʷaʔkʷala (lg.) has 3 full vowels, the last vowel of ‘earthquake’ would likely be considered the same phoneme, whether it is pronounced [i] or [e]. In this case, are these consistent and predictable contrasts between vowels in different dialects? What conditions them?
- ‘seaweed’ ends with a true contrast
- Note that lexical constrasts stay at the boundaries of the word, and they have not affected the stress pattern in any of the examples we have seen.
Summary

Patterns identified

• Correspondence between /ʔ/ in kʷaʔkʷala and /ʔ/ in gʷaʔsəla-ʔakʷala
• Expansion with epenthetic schwa in gʷaʔsəla-ʔakʷala (or contraction with loss of schwa in kʷakʷala)

In future work on these patterns:

• Focus on the phonetic quality of vowels preceding and following variable consonant
• Phonetic analysis (using Praat) of vowel qualities
Emergent questions

• Does a dialect difference persists between gʷaʔsəla and ńakʷəla despite the merger of the two communities at Tsulquate?

• Can we find speakers of ḵáḵəsiqʷəla? (Relocated to Quatsino in 1950’s.)

• What is the relationship between the dialects spoken at Tsulquate and the Guča dialect spoken at Quatsino?
Next Steps

• Assemble a list of diagnostic lexical items
• Create and distribute a survey among 5 communities about 3 (~4) dialects:
  Tsulquate Reserve,
  Quatsino Reserve,
  caχis (Fort Rupert),
  gʷaʔiyi (Kingcome Inlet),
  ʔyalis (Alert Bay)
• Use GIS to map isoglosses (www.gabmap.nl?)
• Further (improved!) video documentation of resource gathering, with GPS tracking:
  early spring > herring eggs,
  oolichan fishing and grease-making
  late spring > cedar bark stripping
  seaweed gathering
• Produce short videos and related language resources for G-N school curriculum
Acknowledgements

Speakers: Lillian Johnny, Beverly Lagis, Gertrude Robertson, Marion Wamiss, Spruce Wamiss

Patricia A. Shaw, Reed Allen, Michelle Hinatsu, Mikael Willie, Dee Nicolson

The Gwa’sala-’Nakwaxda’xw School

The Gwa’sala-’Nakwaxda’xw Band Office and Elder’s Center

The 2010 Maya’antl Youth Conference, g̓wa’yi (Kingcome Inlet)

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