

“And he knew our language”
Missionary Linguistics
on the Pacific Northwest Coast

Marcus Tomalin

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“AND HE KNEW OUR LANGUAGE”

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Volume 116

Marcus Tomalin

*“And he knew our language”
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“AND HE KNEW
OUR LANGUAGE”

MISSIONARY LINGUISTICS
ON THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST COAST

MARCUS TOMALIN
University of Cambridge

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So there certainly is no lack of activity in our little boat, but is there any purpose? Is the tall figure who may or may not be the Spirit of the Haida Gwaii leading us – for we are all in the same boat – to a sheltered beach beyond the rim of the world, as he seems to be, or is he lost in a dream of his own dreaming? The boat goes on, forever anchored in the same place.

Bill Reid, “The Spirit of Haida Gwaii”,
in *Solitary Raven: The Essential Writings of Bill Reid*,
ed. by Robert Bringhurst (Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 2009), p. 246

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Some of the topics discussed in the following chapters were given a preliminary airing in articles which appeared in *Historiographia Linguistica*, *BC Studies*, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, and *The Journal of Religious History* (see bibliography for details). They have been reworked here with permission.

This book is dedicated to my extended family in Canada, and especially to Bob, Di, Sarah, Jeremy, Simon, and James. Thank you all for introducing me to the wonders of the Pacific Northwest Coast.

Marcus Tomalin
Cambridge, March 2011

Abbreviations

Linguistic:

1p	first person	INTRANS	intransitive
2p	second person	M	Masset (dialect)
3p	third person	NP	noun phrase
ABS	absolutive	OBJ	grammatical object
CAUS	causative	PA	past tense marker
CL	classifier	POSS	possessive marker
DEF	definite marker	PRES	present tense marker
DEM	demonstrative marker	PRO	pronoun
ERG	ergative	REFL	reflexive
FOC	focus marker	RELPR	relative present
FREQ	frequentative marker	S	Skidegate (dialect)
IMMPR	immediate present marker	SUBJ	grammatical subject
IMP	imperative marker	TEMP	temporal designator
INDEF	indefinite marker	TRANS	transitive
INF	infinitive marker	VCMP	verb compound
INS	instrumental	VP	verb phrase

Miscellaneous:

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History (N.Y.)
ANLC	Alaska Native Language Center
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
BC	British Columbia
BC Archives	British Columbia Archives (Victoria, B.C.)
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CMS Archive	CMS Archive (Birmingham, U.K.)
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
KJV	King James Version (of the Bible)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
RV	Revised Version (of the Bible)

Introduction

1.1 Missionary linguistics

Although the extensive language-focused studies produced by missionaries over the centuries have often been (and are frequently still) dismissed as being unworthy of serious consideration, missionary linguistics has gradually emerged over the past few decades as an independent area of academic enquiry. The main purpose of this research is to explore the linguistic analyses devised by successive generations of missionaries based in many different countries around the world from the 16th to the 20th centuries. While there is a lingering belief that missionary linguists simply adopted some kind of Graeco-Roman grammatical framework, and mindlessly attempted to fit the indigenous languages they encountered into this pre-existing format, this view is largely inaccurate, as many recent studies have demonstrated.¹ Marianne Mithun offered the following sympathetic summary of this work in her important monograph *The Languages of Native North America* (2001):

The early missionary grammarians were faced with challenges for which they could not have been fully prepared. The best equipped were trained in classical languages, and they naturally sought to understand the structures of the new languages they encountered in terms of those they already knew. Nevertheless, many did remarkably well, recognising phonetic and grammatical distinctions not present in European languages. [...] Missionary work has continued throughout North America to the present and resulted in valuable records of the languages, not only vocabularies and liturgical materials, but also grammars, dictionaries, and sometimes texts. (Mithun 2001:5)

So far, the main studies of these materials have focused on the work of missionaries based in New Spain, South America, Asia, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

1. Some of the most influential recent studies include Nowak (1999), Gray & Fiering (2000), Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen (2003), Zwartjes & Altman (2004), Tomalin (2006), Zwartjes, James, & Ridruejo's (2006), Tomalin (2007), Zwartjes, Marín, & Smith-Stark's (2009), and Tomalin (2009). An excellent collection of articles about missionary linguistics appeared in *Historiographia Linguistica* 36: 2/3 (2009).

Also, the various Catholic denominations – and especially the Jesuits and the Oblates – have received particular attention. By contrast, the languages spoken on the Pacific Northwest Coast have been comparatively neglected, and this is unfortunate since the socio-political implications of the (Protestant) missionary activity in this region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has been extensively reassessed. Texts such as Susan Neylan's *'The Heavens Are Changing': Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (2003) and the collection of essays in Alwyn Austin and Jamie Scott's *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* (2005) have raised many questions about the distinctive complexities that characterised missions in Western Canada, exploring such intricate issues as the role of women in missionary communities, the hybrid nature of aboriginal Christianity, and the impact of residential schools. However, although broad cultural topics such as these have received considerable attention, there has been no attempt to relate these issues specifically to the linguistic analyses that were produced by the Pacific Northwest Coast missionaries, and (obviously) this leaves an unfortunate gap which this book seeks to fill. In particular, this book will explore the linguistic writings of the missionaries based on Haida Gwaii. These missionaries produced detailed studies of the Haida language long before professional anthropologists arrived on the islands, and the analytical frameworks they used were often intriguingly heterogeneous, being composed of different approaches derived from a range of distinct grammatical traditions.

At this point, it is probably wise to clarify exactly what the phrase 'missionary linguistics' entails in the context of this book. Personally, I do not believe that the sole purpose of this research is to assess the validity of the missionaries' language-focused studies merely by comparing them to modern analyses. If this were taken to be the central purpose in all other branches of linguistic historiography, then even a profoundly influential text such as Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957) would be deemed unworthy of consideration, since, when compared to more recent analyses, the theoretical claims it makes about (say) passives and auxiliary verbs are utterly risible. On the contrary, though, *Syntactic Structures* is (quite rightly) still essential historical reading for aspiring syntacticians, despite its many glaring inadequacies. Examples such as this indicate that linguistic studies from earlier periods have an intrinsic worth since even their inaccuracies and limitations illuminate the cultural moment in which they were produced. An approach that seeks to establish adequacy exclusively by examining conformity to recent contemporary analyses is absurdly stunted. That said, it would be foolish to claim that there is a single 'correct' way of studying missionary linguistics. Indeed, of the many sub-branches of the language

sciences, this field is perhaps characterised by the greatest interdisciplinary richness: it provides a meeting ground for experts in many different disciplines (e.g., linguists, historians, theologians, anthropologists, philosophers). While this is potentially advantageous, the contrasting cultures of the academic disciplines ensure that it is difficult to write a text which convinces and contents all interested parties: a particular classification of the verbs in an indigenous language may provide radical insights to an historian of linguistics, but a theologian may consider the same analysis to be simply a trivial incidental detail. Such diverse responses are inevitable, and (ultimately) they can be useful – but patience is certainly required.

1.2 The languages of the Pacific Northwest Coast

Although the main sections of this monograph will focus specifically (and often exclusively) upon the Haida language, it is important to situate Haida in the broader context of the other native languages spoken on the Pacific Northwest Coast. Indeed, several other languages – especially Kwak’wala and Tsimshian – will be discussed at some length here, primarily because they were familiar to the missionaries who analysed Haida. It is difficult, though, to provide even a moderately detailed overview of the linguistic constitution of this particular region of North America, since a remarkably diverse range of languages is spoken in such a small geographical area.

The languages of the Pacific Northwest Coast, shown in Figure 1.1, can be grouped into ‘families’. Each family consists of all the languages that are believed to have evolved from a common ancestral language. For instance, Kwak’wala is a member of the Wakashan language family, and this group can be divided into two subgroups: North Wakashan and South Wakashan. The languages associated with the former are Haisla, Heiltsuk-Oowekyala (a.k.a. Bella Bella), and Kwak’wala (a.k.a. Kwakiutl), while the languages associated with the latter include Nuu-Chah-Nulth (i.e., Nootka). The Wakashan family is primarily found on Vancouver Island, though there are groups of speakers on the mainland. To give another example of a different grouping, Tsimshian is a member of the Tsimshianic family, and it is still sometimes referred to as Coast Tsimshian. The Tsimshianic family spreads from south-eastern Alaska along the coast of British Columbia and also into the interior where the identifiable varieties include Nisga’a and Gitksan.

By contrast with Kwak’wala and Tsimshian, Haida’s place in the linguistic family groupings is rather more controversial. The so-called ‘Na-Dene Hypothesis’ is

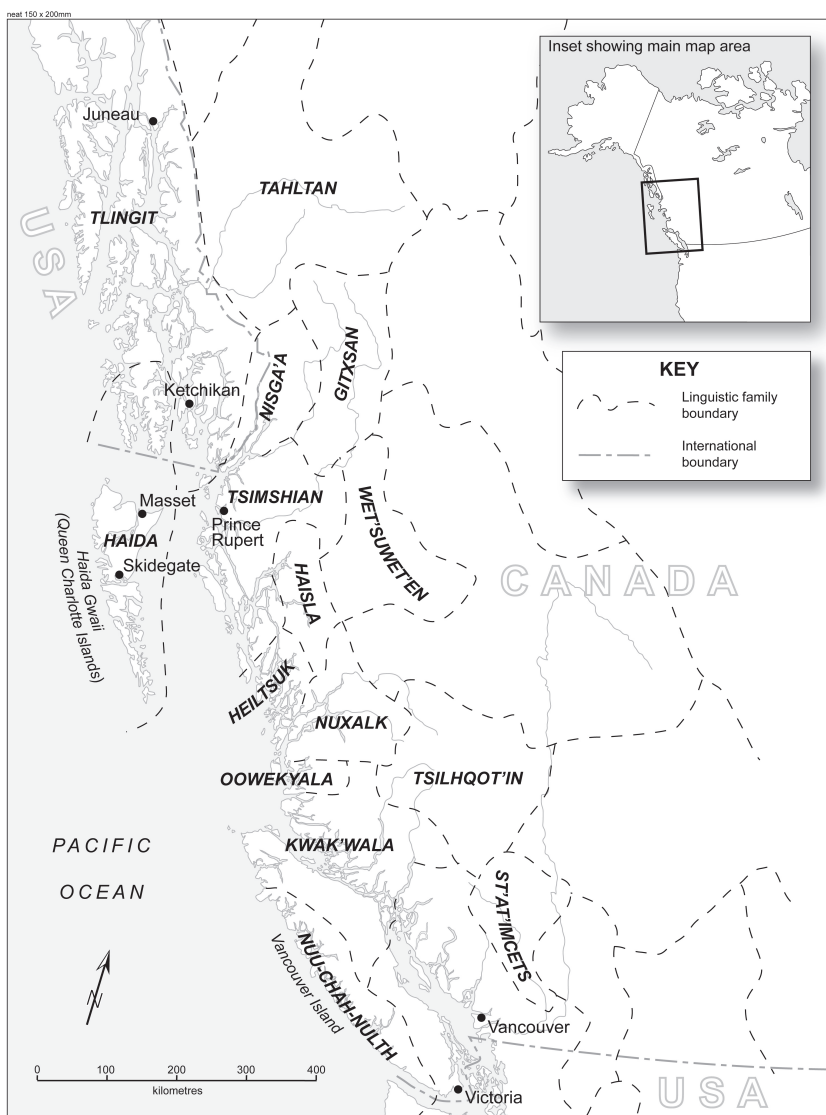


Figure 1.1 The languages of the Pacific Northwest Coast

the proposal that the many Athabaskan languages, as well as Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida, are all genetically related. Although this possibility had been mooted since the late 18th century, the idea gained prominence in 1915 when Edward Sapir (1884–1939) defined the Na-Dene stock. Sapir's proposal has been discussed at length by linguists and while some still maintain that the hypothesis is plausible, others have concluded that Haida is better classified as a language isolate – in

other words, they claim that it has no demonstrable genetic connection to any proximal languages. If the latter position is adopted, then those linguistic characteristics which Haida shares with other languages in the region (e.g., the rarity of labials, OV order, agent/patient categories, as well as number and possessive constructions) must be classified as areal phenomena.²

In the following subsections, some of the most distinctive linguistic features of Haida, Kwak'wala, and Tsimshian will be summarised. The discussion will emphasise how these languages differ, and this will enable the linguistic work of the missionaries to be discussed in greater depth in later chapters.

1.3 The Haida language

Haida is the ancestral language spoken by the indigenous peoples from the Haida Gwaii archipelago, and the Prince of Wales and Dall Islands in south-east Alaska (see Figure 1.1). It is currently classified as being endangered: only a handful of people now speak it as their mother tongue, and it is likely to be approaching extinction.³ Partly as a result of its precarious position in modern North America, during the past forty years or so there has been a resurgence of interest both in the language itself and in the traditional oral literature associated with it. This renewal has been largely inspired by the work of several significant individuals. Since the 1960s, linguists such as Michael Krauss, Robert Levine, Jeff Leer, Carol Eastman, Elizabeth Edwards, and John Enrico have studied many aspects of Haida phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, and recent authoritative publications such as Enrico's monumental *Haida Syntax* (2003) and *Haida Dictionary* (2005) have provided an unprecedentedly detailed analysis of the language. In addition, several recent texts, such as Robert Bringhurst's various Haida-related publications, have sought to elucidate the power and artistry of Haida literature, emphasising in particular the distinctive linguistic structures that were deployed in oral

2. For a brief discussion of the Na-Dene Hypothesis, see Mithun (2001:307–308). For more detail, see Manaster Ramer (1996) and Enrico (2004). Significantly, when Joseph Greenberg argued for greatly expanded phyla for the languages of North America – essentially, the three groups Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dene, and Amerind – he classified Haida as a Na-Dene language and he left this phylum unconnected to any other. For details, see Greenberg (1987), especially Chapter 6. Recently, Edward Vajda has explored connections between the Na-Dene and Yeniseian language families, and he has argued convincingly that Haida should not be classified as a Na-Dene language (Vajda 2010).

3. The existing studies provided by the Canadian government's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs are rather out of date. For the most recent study, see http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/ra/fgg/via_e.html.

renderings of mythological narratives by master 19th-century myth-tellers such as Ghandl (c.1851–c.1920) and Skaay (c.1827–c.1905).⁴

Despite this sustained work, many of the existing studies of Haida have largely dismissed (or, worse, simply ignored) the earliest European attempts to provide detailed analyses of the language. For instance, although the linguistic studies produced by Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries such as William Henry Collison (1847–1922), Charles Harrison (d. 1926), and John Henry Keen (c.1851–1950) are sometimes mentioned (briefly), it is usually assumed that such work is vastly inferior to the research produced subsequently by professional anthropologists such as Franz Boas (1858–1942) and John Swanton (1873–1958). For example, although Enrico mentions Collison, Harrison, and Keen in the Introduction to his *Haida Syntax*, he later states that ‘[t]he first description of Haida by a trained linguist is that by John R. Swanton’ (Enrico 2003:8). Unfortunately, Enrico does not specify the various ways in which Swanton’s training as a linguist differed from that received by the missionaries at institutions such as Islington College, and yet without a detailed understanding of such differences, comments such as this are unhelpfully imprecise. Similarly, although Bringhurst briefly mentions Harrison and Keen in his 1999 volume *A Story as Sharp as a Knife: the Classical Haida Mythtellers and their World*, he states that ‘Franz Boas and John Swanton were the first literate outsiders to listen to the language and its literature as subjects of serious interest in their own right’, adding (incorrectly) that ‘Swanton was the first who tried to write and analyze the language in a systematic way’ (Bringhurst 1999a:418).

While the importance and influence of the anthropological studies that Boas and Swanton produced are beyond doubt, the linguistic contributions made by the early missionaries to the Haida-speaking communities have been unfairly neglected. This is partly due to modern sensitivities concerning the cultural impact of colonial activity in Canada (and elsewhere). Nevertheless, while their work should certainly be approached with delicacy and care, it is misleading to imply that Harrison and Keen (and perhaps Collison) failed to study Haida in a ‘systematic’ manner. Although the pioneering analyses they produced were inevitably riddled with numerous inaccuracies and errors, they certainly identified many

4. Bringhurst’s most recent Haida-related works are Bringhurst (1999a, 2000, 2001). Intriguingly, these publications prompted a largely negative response from the Haida community, and Bringhurst was accused of appropriating and misunderstanding indigenous culture. For an insight into this important and complex debate, see Enrico’s largely negative review of Bringhurst (1999), which was originally published on www.bringhurst.net (subsequently removed, but now archived at web.archive.org/web/20010124034300/http://www.bringhurst.net), and Bringhurst (1999b).

properties of the language that were later incorporated into the work of anthropologists, and this circumstance alone should prompt a careful reconsideration of their contribution. To take just one prominent example, it is often asserted that the missionary and anthropological traditions existed in such isolation from each other that (as Michael Krauss has recently put it) ‘there was no connection or cooperation between the two types of work’ (Krauss 2005: vi). However, this statement is simply untrue: the two groups connected and co-operated in a range of different ways, and a focused assessment of these interactions is long overdue. For this reason, the surviving letters, grammatical studies, and contemporaneous journal articles written by people such as Collison, Harrison, Keen, Boas, and Swanton will be reassessed in this book in order (amongst other things) to examine in more detail the form and purpose of the various grammatical frameworks and analytical methodologies that they adopted.⁵

In addition to expository linguistic analyses, though, the Haida Gwaii missionaries (especially Harrison and Keen) also produced translations of liturgical and scriptural texts. Indeed, until John Swanton published his collections of transcribed Haida oral narratives in the early 20th century, these translations were the most substantial printed Haida texts in existence. Unfortunately, despite their considerable historical importance, they have never been adequately discussed, partly because previous research into Haida literature has (quite rightly) focused on the various indigenous narrative traditions. However, given their status as translations, Harrison’s and Keen’s renderings of liturgical and scriptural texts inevitably provide profound insights into the cultural complexities that were encountered by the early missionaries. For example, in his *Saint Matthew Gié Giatlan Las: St. Matthew, Haida* (1891), Harrison translates the phrase *Holy Spirit* (or *Pneyma Hagion* in the Greek) as *Hants Las* (literally, *Good Spirit*). Given the richness of the traditional Haida understanding of the spirit-world, it is revealing to consider why he chose *Hants* (or *xanj* in modern orthography, a word which usually refers specifically to a re-incarnated spirit) rather than any of the other existing Haida words for different kinds of spirit.⁶ Despite the obvious importance of such matters, though, the Haida scripture translations produced by the CMS missionaries have never been studied carefully.

Prompted by this intriguing conflux of contemporary concerns, the main chapters of this book seek to explore in some detail the linguistic studies produced by the CMS missionaries based on Haida Gwaii from the 1870s onwards.

5. It is important to emphasise that this book will focus primarily upon the Haida-speaking communities that were based on Haida Gwaii, and particularly in Masset. Therefore the Alaskan Haida dialect will not be the main focus of attention.

6. This particular example (and others) are discussed at much greater length in Chapter 5.

In order to provide a context for the ensuing discussion, the following sections will offer both a brief overview of the Haida language, and a summary of some of the main contributions to Haida linguistics that have appeared since the early 20th century. The main Haida word classes are nouns, verbs, postpositions, demonstratives, quantifiers, adverbs, clitics, exclamations, replies, classifiers, and instrumentals – and some of these will be discussed at greater length. Given the emphasis of this book, it is impossible to offer an exhaustive account of the language, and the selective topics addressed below have been chosen primarily because they are important in the context of the missionaries' linguistic studies.

1.3.1 Dialects

Three dialects of Haida are now conventionally recognised: Masset, Skidegate, and Alaskan. Their names are derived from the areas where they were spoken (see Figure 1.1). The Masset and Alaskan dialects are quite similar, and they differ from Skidegate mainly in vocabulary and pronunciation. In the 19th century, other regional varieties were still in existence, including the Ninstints dialect spoken on Haida Gwaii south of Lyell Island. Indeed, the surviving historical evidence suggests that each village on the islands may have been associated with a distinct dialect. However, the smallpox epidemics of the 1860s forced the indigenous communities on Haida Gwaii to settle either in Skidegate or in Masset, while others travelled to Alaska. One consequence of these settlement patterns was that all other dialects of Haida lost their characteristic properties and were subsumed by one of the three dominant varieties.

1.3.2 Orthography

Since the late 19th century, several different writing systems have been proposed for Haida. In recent years, Enrico has sought to develop a single orthography for the three surviving dialects, and this is the system that he uses in his *Haida Dictionary*. For convenience, Enrico's orthography is generally used in this monograph (with a few exceptions), but it should be acknowledged that this is a controversial choice. The Alaskan Haidas have largely rejected Enrico's system, and they continue to favour the orthography that was designed in the 1970s by linguists from the Alaska Native Language Center (ANLC), including Michael Krauss and Jeff Leer. With this proviso, the phonemic inventory of Haida is given in Table 1.1 (consonants) and Table 1.2 (vowels).

Table 1.1 The Haida consonants for Masset, Alaskan, and Skidegate dialects
(Enrico 2005: xi–xii)

Labials	
unaspirated stop	<i>b</i>
aspirated stop	<i>p</i>
glottalised stop	<i>p'</i>
nasal sonorant	<i>m</i>
glottalised nasal	<i>'m</i>
Alveolars	
unaspirated stop	<i>d</i>
aspirated stop	<i>t</i>
glottalised stop	<i>t'</i>
plain nasal sonorant	<i>n</i>
glottalised nasal	<i>'n</i>
unaspirated non-lateral affricate	<i>j</i>
aspirated affricate	<i>ts</i>
glottalised affricate	<i>ts'</i>
non-lateral fricative	<i>s</i>
unaspirated lateral affricate	<i>dl</i>
aspirated affricate	<i>tl</i>
glottalised affricate	<i>tl'</i>
lateral fricative	<i>hl</i>
plain lateral sonorant	<i>l</i>
glottalised lateral sonorant	<i>'l</i>
Velars	
unaspirated stop	<i>g</i>
aspirated stop	<i>k</i>
glottalised stop	<i>k'</i>
nasal sonorant	<i>ng</i>
fricative	<i>c</i>
Uvulars and pharyngeals	
uvular unaspirated stop	<i>r</i> [Skidegate]
pharyngealised glottal stop	<i>r</i> [Masset, Alaskan]
uvular unaspirated stop	<i>G</i> [Masset, Alaskan]
uvular aspirated stop	<i>q</i>
uvular glottalised stop	<i>q'</i>
uvular fricative	<i>x</i> [Skidegate]
pharyngeal fricative	<i>x</i> [Masset, Alaskan]
uvular fricative	<i>X</i> [Masset, Alaskan]
Glottals	
stop	<i>ʔ</i>
glide	<i>h</i>
Vocalic glides	
high front	<i>y</i>
high back rounded	<i>w</i>

Table 1.2 The Haida vowels for Masset, Alaskan, and Skidegate dialects (Enrico 2005: xii)

Type	Masset, Alaskan	Skidegate
low	<i>a, aa, ah</i>	<i>a, i, l, @, aa</i>
high front	<i>i, ii</i>	<i>i, ii</i>
high back	<i>u, uu</i>	<i>u, uu</i>
mid front	<i>e, ee</i>	<i>ee</i>
mid back	<i>oo</i>	<i>oo</i>
long lateral	–	<i>ll</i>

Table 1.3 The Haida personal pronouns (non-clitic forms) (Enrico 2005: xxvii)

Type	Agentive	Objective
Skidegate		
1p sg	<i>hlaa</i>	<i>dii</i>
2p sg	<i>daa</i>	<i>dang</i>
3p sg	<i>'laa</i>	<i>'laa</i>
1p pl	<i>t'allng</i>	<i>7iitl'</i>
2p pl	<i>dallng</i>	<i>dallng</i>
3p pl	<i>'laa</i>	<i>'laa</i>
Masset		
1p sg	<i>hlaa</i>	<i>dii</i>
2p sg	<i>dang</i>	<i>dang</i>
3p sg	<i>'la</i>	<i>'la</i>
1p pl	<i>t'all/t'alang</i>	<i>7iitl'</i>
2p pl	<i>dalang</i>	<i>dalang</i>
3p pl	<i>'laa</i>	<i>'laa</i>

1.3.3 Personal pronouns

Most of the personal pronouns in Haida have clitic and non-clitic forms, and some of these are distinct. Clitics are morphemes which are syntactically independent, but phonologically dependent upon another lexical item. Therefore they have a functional status somewhere between that of words and affixes. In Haida, bare pronouns are cliticised to verbs and they occur as complements. The Haida personal pronouns have two cases: agentive and objective. The agentives appear as subjects of particular transitive and intransitive verbs, and the objectives appear everywhere else. The non-clitic forms of the personal pronouns are given in Table 1.3 (cf. Enrico 2005: xxvii). The 3p pronouns are unmarked for number, and they have potency and proximate/obviate contrasts which are discussed at length in Enrico (2003: 388–446).

Some verbs can take a grammatical subject that is either agentive or objective, and this can produce subtly different semantic connotations. For instance, when the verb *gwaawa* takes an agentive subject, it means “refuse”. When it takes an objective subject, it means “not want” (Enrico 2003:96). Crucially, the intransitive verbs divide into two broad classes: those that take agentive subjects and those that take objective subjects. Verbs such as *rad* (“run”) and *srayhla* (“cry”) are intransitives which takes agentive subjects, while *skaak’ahlda* (“hiccup”) and *sk’al’aaw* (“have diarrhoea”) are intransitives which take objective subjects. Consequently, Haida can be classified as a split intransitive language, or, more specifically, as an active-stative language (Enrico 2003:92–109). Split intransitivity is common to the Na-Dene languages, and Enrico estimates that 69.4% of Haida verbs take subjects in the agentive case (Enrico 2003:95).

The clitic forms of the personal pronouns occur (either optionally or obligatorily, depending on the pronoun) in specific grammatical environments. For instance, one of the available clitic forms of the agentive 1p sg pronoun (in both the Skidegate and Masset dialects) is *hll*, while one high potency clitic form of the agentive and objective 3p pronouns (in Skidegate) is *’ll*. These forms can be used in principled ways – for example, when the pronoun is immediately adjacent to a verb of which it is a complement. They are also required when the pronoun is immediately adjacent to a postposition (in Skidegate). In these examples, the standard convention of using ‘*’ to mean “ungrammatical sentence” has been adopted:

<i>hawxan</i>	<i>’ll</i>	<i>gaw-gang</i>	
* <i>hawxan</i>	<i>’la</i>	<i>gaw-gang</i>	
still	3p	be.absent-PRES	
‘He is still away’			(Enrico 2003: 21)

<i>’ll</i>	<i>k’yaawra</i>	<i>hll</i>	<i>riid-a</i>
* <i>’la</i>	<i>k’yaawra</i>	<i>hll</i>	<i>riid-a</i>
3p	for	I	wait-IMMPR
‘I’m waiting for him’			(Enrico 2003: 22)

1.3.4 Numeral classifiers

Many indigenous North American languages make extensive use of classifier systems. In other words, the numbers and/or verbs usually take different morphological forms depending upon the shape, consistency, or animacy of the objects with which they are associated. In Haida, there are about 470 numeral classifiers which occur as prefixes in verb phrases. They are meaningful elements which

Table 1.4 Haida classifiers

<i>t'a</i>	relatively short piece of I-dimensional extended flexible object
<i>t'aw</i>	object extended in I-dimension broadening out at one end
<i>hl'qa</i>	object consisting of a straight rigid member with smaller straight parts sticking off perpendicular and in parallel
<i>sk'a</i>	I-dimensional extended cylindrical object (solid or hollow)

provide specialised information; they are not semantically vacuous. For example, in the Masset sentence

súgaa sllaagwaal t'aw+sdang xaw-rii 'la 7isda-gan
 sugar spoon CL+two coffee-into 3p put-PA
 'He put two spoons of sugar in the coffee' (Enrico 2003:785)

t'aw is a classifier that is used when spatulate-like objects (in particular) are referred to. The specific classifier required in any given context varies depending upon the nature of the object with which it is associated. Rings, spheres, flattened shapes, cylindrical entities (and so on) require different classifiers. A few of these are given in Table 1.4. Number-based shape distinctions are also found in the Wakashan language family (which includes Kwak'wala), while classificatory numerals and verbs are common in the Athabaskan languages (see Mithun 2001:105–117).

1.3.5 Verb morphology

The Haida verbs are subclassified for the aspectual categories stative, durative, and punctual. Syntactic aspect is usually indicated morphologically, by means of inflections. Specifically, verbal suffixes are used to convey tense, mood, emphasis, negation, and so on. In the following example, *hlanggulaa* is the main verb (the head of the verb phrase), *7awyaa* is an intensifier, *jiingaa* is an adverb denoting duration, *sansdla* is a non-initial head, and *hlaa* is an imperative clitic:

hlanggulaa 7awyaa jiingaa sansdla-hlaa
 work hard for.long.time try-IMP
 'Try to work hard for a long time' (M) (Enrico 2003:1191)

A few of the many suffixes that specify modal, aspectual, and temporal information (amongst many other things) are given in Table 1.5. The Haida clause is verb-final, and the head verb is followed by an optional string of auxiliaries and suffixes. In finite clauses, the last morpheme in the sequence is a tense suffix:

Table 1.5 Haida verb suffixes (from Enrico 2003:28–30)

Progressive			
- <i>di</i> (S), - <i>da</i> (M)	=	progressive	PROG
Frequentative			
-(<i>g</i>) <i>ang</i>	=	‘usually, often, sometimes’	FREQ
Modal			
- <i>ʔahlging</i> (S), - <i>ʔahlang</i> (M)	=	‘must’	MOD
Tense			
-(<i>g</i>) <i>an</i>	=	past	PA
-(<i>g</i>) <i>ang</i>	=	present	PRES
-(<i>g</i>) <i>a</i>	=	immediate present	IMMPR
-(<i>a</i>) <i>s</i>	=	relative present	RELPR

ʔll kʔaawra hll riid-a
 3p for I wait-IMMPR
 ‘I’m waiting for him’ (Enrico 2003:22)

Here the immediate present tense (IMMPR) is conveyed by the suffix *-a*. If this suffix changes, then the tense changes:

ʔll kʔaawra hll riid-an
 3p for I wait-PA
 ‘I waited for him’

1.3.6 Word order

Haida word order has received a considerable attention from linguists over the decades. The basic pattern is SOV:

ʔadàahl.uu Mary Bill qing-gan
 yesterday.FOC Mary Bill see-PA
 ‘Mary saw Bill yesterday’ (Enrico 2003:74)

In this example, *uu* is a clitic which indicates focus – that is, it identifies the adverb (*ʔadaahl*) as having semantic prominence. The inclusion of this element removes the possibility that *Mary* is the focused element.

Grammatical roles are partly determined by a ‘potency’ hierarchy. For instance, a human has higher potency than an animal, and an animal has higher potency than an inanimate object. In Haida, therefore, grammatical functions depend partly on potency and not only on thematic roles (Enrico 2003:74–75). Crucially, the normal order of grammatical roles when pronouns are used is OSV:

dii 'la gu'laa-gang
 me 3p like-PRES
 'He likes me' [* 'I like him'] (Enrico 2003:79)

There are complexities, though, since certain pronouns enforce different orderings:

ginn dii q'usgiid-an
 something me bite-PA
 'Something bit me' (M) [* *dii ginn q'usgiid-an*] (Enrico 2003:388)

In this case, the indefinite *ginn* (which behaves morphologically like a noun, but which functions grammatically like the indefinite pronouns *nang* and *ga*) cannot appear in the normal subject position, so the object-subject word order is reversed.

1.3.7 Haida linguistics: 1911–present

As mentioned earlier, Swanton's work on Haida linguistics dominated academic research in the field until the 1960s. In 1905 and 1908 he published important transcriptions of Haida texts in the Skidegate and Masset dialects respectively, and these constituted an invaluable corpus of source material. In addition, although he wrote several short analyses of Haida during this period, it was his entry in Boas' *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (1911) which offered the most detailed account of the language and which therefore had the greatest impact upon his successors. Despite its influence, though, Swanton's discussion is curiously restricted and limited in various ways. For instance, he focuses primarily on morphology, the bulk of his analysis being devoted to a presentation of the 'Formation of Word-Complexes' (Swanton 1911:218). Since Haida is a highly polysynthetic language, this focus is reasonable enough, but it means that other parts of the language system receive only scant attention. As a result of this, the issue of analysing word complexes in Haida became a popular topic with later linguists, and therefore it is important to understand the kind of framework that Swanton proposed. Specifically, he states that the predicate in Haida sentences is usually constructed from elements that can be associated with four distinct groups (Swanton 1911:218):

- **1st group:** 'describing an incidental state or activity, particularly instrumentality'
- **2nd group:** 'indicating the nominal object of transitive, the subject of intransitive, verbs'

- **3rd group:** ‘expressing the principal predicative term’
- **4th group:** ‘expressing the local relations and modalities’

The assumption is that these groups, or classes, are sufficient to enable the various affixes that appear in the word complexes to be classified correctly. In order to provide a particular example, Swanton considers the structure ‘*dAñgīdālL!xasga*’ (which he translates as *canoe-being-hauled-seaward*), and he breaks this complex down into its constituent elements as follows:

- **1st group:** *dAñ*, by pulling
- **2nd group:** *gī*, canoe-shaped object
- **3rd group:** *dāl*, to move
- **4th group:** *L!xa*, toward something; *sga*, seaward

Having indicated why it is important to understand the underlying morphological structure of complexes such as these, Swanton proceeds to discuss the morphemes that are associated with each of these four groups, and he devotes roughly half his essay to this topic, providing examples of ‘Instrumental Verbal Prefixes’ (e.g., *da-*, indicates ‘by pushing’), ‘Classifying Nominal Prefixes’ (e.g., *tcl!s-* is used with ‘cubic objects such as boxes’), ‘Principal Predicative Terms’ (e.g., *gai-* refers to ‘any object floating on the water’), ‘Temporal Suffixes’ (e.g., *-(a)sañ* indicates an ‘infallible future occurrence’), ‘Modal Suffixes’ (e.g., *-gAn* indicates ‘negation’), and ‘Unclassified Suffixes’ (e.g., *-u* is used ‘to form the names of instruments, manufactured and store articles’) (Swanton 1911:247–256).

The final sections of Swanton’s analysis focus on such topics as personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns, connectives, adverbs, and word order. Although these parts of his discussion are rather fragmentary, they nonetheless raise a number of issues which, in subsequent decades, became controversial topics in Haida linguistics. For instance, when discussing ‘Syntax’, he observes that

[t]he verb almost always stands at the end of the sentence or clause; but where the speaker wishes to supplement some thought to what he has just said, he may do so by introducing the essential part of it, and adding *a* [...] When the subject and object of the verb are nouns, the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the order is reversed. A third pronominal object is followed by one of the connectives, and it is placed before the other personal pronouns. When nouns and pronouns are both used as subjects or objects, the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb, and exceptions to this are usually for emphasis [...].

(Swanton 1911:267)

In effect, Swanton is claiming here that Haida word order varies depending upon the type of lexical items that are functioning as the grammatical subject and

object: the SOV order is preferred if nouns take on the grammatical roles of subject and object, but OSV is preferred if pronouns take on these roles (see the discussion in 1.3.6). As shown later, the problems posed by word order in Haida troubled linguists for many decades after Swanton's work had been published.

Swanton's analysis of Haida provided the main reference point for subsequent research until the 1960s, and, since Boas' *Handbook of American Indian Languages* became a standard work during this period, other linguists who were interested in Haida were effectively compelled to confront Swanton's essay. Most notably, in 1915 Edward Sapir published a short article, 'The Na-dene Languages, a Preliminary Report', in which he argued that Athabaskan, Tlingit, and Haida shared a 'genetic relationship' (Sapir 1915:534). In order to substantiate this claim, Sapir considered a range of linguistic phenomena including morphological features (e.g., stem and word forms, noun and verb structures, postpositions), comparative vocabulary, and phonology; and, inevitably, he relied heavily on Swanton's 1911 analysis of Haida data, stating explicitly in an elliptical footnote 'all Haida and Tlingit forms, from Swanton' (Sapir 1915:537). However, even though Sapir was convinced that Haida belongs to the same language family, or stock, as Athabaskan and Tlingit, he believed that it was characterised by a number of distinctive properties. When discussing verb structure, he observed that '[i]n all Na-dene languages the verb consists of a series of elements, which may be grouped into certain classes that have fixed position in the complex relatively to each other; the verb stem gravitates towards the end of the complex' (Sapir 1915:540), and he illustrated this more specifically with reference to Athabaskan and Tlingit, by identifying sequences of constituents such as

pronominal object (best considered as proclitic to the verb form) + nominal prefix of instrumental significance + "first modal" prefix + pronominal subject + "second modal" prefix + "third modal" prefix + verb stem + quasi-temporal suffix + syntactic suffix. (Sapir 1915:540–541)⁷

Although these affix classes are similar to the groups that Swanton had proposed for Haida, Sapir recognised that there were a number of crucial differences. Having identified sequences such as the above for Athabaskan and Tlingit, he commented as follows:

Differing more widely from the Athabaskan pattern of verb structure is that of Haida. In Haida the pronominal subject and object are not as closely welded into the verbal framework as in Athabaskan and Tlingit and are best considered as independent elements of speech. (Sapir 1915:541)

7. This is the sequence of constituents that Sapir specifies for Tlingit.

Significantly, this claim is derived ultimately from Swanton's analysis, in which pronouns are classified as being independent lexical items.⁸ This is not the only difference between the languages that Sapir noted, though. When discussing the classes involved in the creation of word complexes, he catalogues additional discrepancies:

Peculiar to Haida are the development of a large class of nominal classifiers, a great exuberance of composition of verb stems, the development of a set of local suffixes in the verb, and greater looseness in the treatment of pronominal elements and postpositions. (Sapir 1915:550)

This list suggests that if Haida is to be identified as a member of the Na-Dene group, then it should certainly not be viewed as being proto-typical, which in turn suggests that Sapir realised that Haida was (in some sense) anomalous. He also knew that, since he was forced to rely heavily on Swanton's analysis, his own discussion of the language was only as trustworthy as his source material – and the accuracy of Swanton's work was repeatedly challenged as the 20th century progressed.

A few publications concerning Haida appeared in the 1920s which provided new data and new analyses. 1923 was a particularly fruitful year, since Haida-related articles by Sapir and Herman Haeberlin (1890–1918) were published in the same volume of the *International Journal of American Linguistics*. This time Sapir focused on Haida phonology (with particular reference to the Skidegate dialect), and rather than relying solely upon Swanton's research, he used material which he had obtained from 'Peter R. Kelly, a well educated Haida Indian who is at present engaged in missionary work among the Indians at Nanaimo, Vancouver Island' (Sapir 1923:143). As a result, he sometimes sought to destabilise some of Swanton's conclusions. For instance, although Swanton had identified '28 organically distinct consonants in Haida', Sapir suggested that 'his table errs in two respects' (Sapir 1923:144). The two errors that Sapir identified were (i) the classification of certain phonemes as being merely allophones (e.g., anterior palatals, labialised gutturals and velars), and (ii) the failure to recognise the existence of certain phonemes (e.g., glottalised nasals and semi-vowels).

While Sapir reassessed Haida phonology, Haeberlin, in his posthumous article, returned to the problem of analysing the internal structure of the Haida verb complex. Predictably, he began with Swanton's overview, summarising the 'four different groups of elements' that the latter had identified (e.g., instrumental prefixes, classifying prefixes, predicative terms, and locative and modal

8. See Swanton's short discussion of 'Personal Pronouns' and 'Demonstrative Pronouns' in Swanton (1911:217).

suffixes). However, Haerberlin then asked: '[d]o these grammatical principles explain the complexity of the phenomena?' (Haerberlin 1923: 159). Using Swanton's own transcriptions of Skidegate texts as his source material, Haerberlin responded to this query in the negative by identifying several discrepancies (involving nominal stems, noun-incorporation, and so on) which, he was persuaded, could not be adequately explained using Swanton's framework. It is clear, then, that, by the early 1920s, there were already doubts as to the accuracy and validity of Swanton's influential work.

Unfortunately, and surprisingly, rather than prompting a flurry of revisionist analyses of Haida phonology, morphology, and syntax, Sapir's and Haerberlin's work was received with indifference by the wider linguistics community. Few studies of the language were published from 1923 to 1965, and those that did appear, such as Emile Benveniste's 'Les traits caractéristiques de la langue des indiens Haida' (1953), were largely derivative. Indeed, it was not until Michael Krauss began to study the Na-Dene languages in the early 1960s that interest in Haida revived. Krauss joined the faculty of the University of Alaska Fairbanks in 1960, and he swiftly established himself as an expert in Athabaskan comparative linguistics, becoming the founding director of the Alaska Native Language Center in 1972. Although he concentrated particularly upon Eyak, Krauss returned frequently to Haida in an attempt to determine the extent to which it could be associated with the other Na-Dene languages. However, as he regretfully acknowledged in 1968, '[f]or Haida we must still reply on John R. Swanton's sketch 'Haida' in the Handbook of American Indian Languages' (Krauss 1968: 194). Crucially, then, Krauss recognised that it was difficult, perhaps impossible, to reach any firm conclusions concerning the prevalence and status of certain linguistic structures that may or may not manifest themselves in Haida, mainly because the available data was 'extremely deficient' (Krauss 1968: 202). Despite these problems, though, he began to challenge Sapir's claim that Haida belonged to the Na-Dene group. Specifically, having considered the role of noun classifiers in the Haida verb complex, Krauss concluded that

[...] Haida exhibits a very elaborately developed (but relatively transparent and recent?) system of noun classification in one prefix position of the verb. This Haida system does not seem to bear any great resemblance to either of the (differing) Tlingitor Athapaskan-Eyak (double) systems, as far as can be seen with the presently available Haida materials [...]. (Krauss 1968: 203)

Consequently, his research revived a range of questions concerning Haida which had not been addressed seriously since the 1920s, and it was not long before a new generation of linguists was trying to resolve some of the difficulties that he had identified. Most provocatively, in a 1979 article, Robert Levine explicitly rejected

the still widely-accepted idea that Haida belonged to the Na-Dene group. Basing his findings on his own fieldwork rather than solely on Swanton's data, Levine came to the controversial conclusion that

[...] the “classical” Na-dene hypothesis (i.e., as set up by Sapir in his 1915 statement) is spurious, and that there is currently no empirical basis for including Haida in the Na-dene grouping. (Levine 1979: 157)⁹

Levine had collated his Skidegate materials while preparing his 1977 PhD thesis *The Skidegate Dialect of Haida*, so he was able to draw upon this new data while making his case, and his trenchant attack upon Sapir's Na-Dene classification was part of a broader resurgence of interest in Haida linguistics. In particular, from the mid 1970s onwards, Carol Eastman and Elizabeth Edwards explored Haida from a range of perspectives, considering such issues as spatial and temporal boundedness, subordination, pragmatic factors, and topicalisation; and, as a result of this sustained examination, a more modern analysis of the language began to emerge. For instance, in a 1979 article, Eastman returned to the thorny subject of Haida word order, and, once again, her research was prompted by the troublesome Na-Dene classification. She acknowledged that ‘the ordering of the subject and object with respect to the verb was considered significant’ when determining a given language's typological status, and she summarised the generally accepted belief that the Na-Dene languages follow an OSV pattern (Eastman 1979: 141). However, by examining a range of newly acquired data (much of which was provided by the Kaigani elder, Lillian Pettviel), Eastman argued that topicalisation plays a more fundamental role in determining Haida word order than either Swanton or Sapir had recognised. Drawing upon work by Edwards, Eastman claimed that ‘[i]n Haida, whatever is topicalised in a sentence is preposed to sentence-initial position’, and she contrasted examples such as the following which give Haida equivalents of ‘the man likes to eat bread’ (Eastman 1979: 143):

<i>nang</i>	<i>ihlingaas</i>	<i>sablii</i>	<i>taagaayk</i>	<i>guulaagank</i>	
the	man	bread	to eat+DEF	like+PRES+DEF	
S		O		V	
<i>sablii.uu</i>	<i>taagaayk</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>ihlingaas</i>	<i>guulaagank</i>	
bread.FOC	to eat+DEF	the	man	like+PRES+DEF	
O		S		V	

9. For dispassionate reassessments of the tricky Na-Dene question, see Manaster Ramer (1996), Enrico (2004), and Vajda (2010).

Through a close analysis of examples such as these, Eastman reached a provocative conclusion:

It has been shown that whenever a constituent of a sentence is topicalized in Haida – regardless of the syntactic function of that constituent as subject or object – that constituent occurs in sentence-initial position. When topicalization does not occur, the object generally precedes the verb, that is, OSV order is the “rule”. Despite a clear tendency for subjects to be near the verb, it may be the case that the distinction of subject and object is not useful in considering constituent typology in the language. Since not only grammatical objects are topicalized in Haida and since other constituents can appear in initial position, it is not sufficient to conclude that OSV is the basic order typology. To do so implies a predominance of object-initial utterances in the language and this is plainly not the case. Nor can SOV be considered basic since, though subjects can occur initially when topicalized or when nominal and accompanied by pronominal objects, one cannot say that an SOV constituent order prevails. (Eastman 1979: 145–146)

If viewed in this way, Haida appears to be a ‘topic-prominent’ language – that is, one in which the basic sentence structure can be analysed as ‘(Topic) + Comment’ (Eastman 1979: 147). Studies of this kind helped to move the linguistic analysis of Haida away from a Swantonese framework towards a more contemporary formulation, and, by undermining the centrality of traditional notions such as ‘subject’ and ‘object’, Eastman and others began to view Haida from fresh perspectives.

As the 1980s began, the main research into Haida linguistics was still being produced by the specialists who had emerged during the 1970s, especially Edwards and Eastman, and the pattern of revisionist reanalysis continued. For instance, in 1985, Edwards revisited the contentious issue of constituent ordering in Haida. Having summarised both Swanton’s view that Haida is generally SOV, and the claim that Haida is a topic-prominent language, she presented a range of data which suggests that the ordering of the constituents in Haida sentences is partly determined by an animacy hierarchy which she specified as follows (Edwards 1985: 400):

1. [+human]
2. [+animate]
3. [+concrete]
4. [+intangible]

In this schema the features are presented in a descending order of potency, and Edwards argued that this helps to account for the constituent orderings that are encountered in structures such as (Edwards 1985: 399)

tl' xyAAhl qaOduu tAAwaay is Gllhl giisdluu tl'
 they danced while food there prepared when they
 hldanUUidaangaan
 feast start

This sentence can be rendered into idiomatic English as ‘after dancing quite a while and when the food was all prepared they started to eat’, and since ‘dancing’ is [+animate] while ‘food’ is [+concrete], these semantic features account for the surface word order. Although the notion of an animacy hierarchy draws upon ideas that had been introduced in earlier studies of other languages, it was given renewed emphasis in Haida linguistics.

From 1975 to 1985, a range of new analyses were proposed, and it was during this crucial decade that John Enrico began to make his work on Haida more widely available. Although his first Haida-related publication dates from 1983, Enrico had started studying the Masset dialect in 1975, focusing initially on phonology, and he obtained new data directly from native speakers because, for a period of twelve years (1975–1978, 1980–1987), he lodged with Florence Davidson, the daughter of the artist Charles Edenshaw (1839?–1920; a.k.a. Daxhiigang). Consequently, Enrico learnt Haida from a generation of speakers for whom the language had once been a primary means of communication.¹⁰

Over the past twenty-five years, Enrico’s work on Haida has addressed a remarkably broad range of topics, and he has repeatedly revised and modified approaches that had been suggested by other researchers. For instance, he took Edwards’ and Eastman’s ideas concerning topicalisation and word order as a starting point for his 1986 article on ‘Word Order, Focus, and Topic in Haida.’ After presenting a brief overview of previous analyses, he rejects the claim that Haida should be classified as being fundamentally an OSV language. In addition, he questions the validity of the data that Edwards and Eastman had presented, noting that ‘nine out of the 27 examples in Eastman’s [1979] paper are wrong’, while ‘fifteen of the 29 sentences in Edwards (1979) are wrong’ (Enrico 1986: 92). Accordingly, he tried to rectify this state of affairs by offering a range of new data which provided clearer insights into the way in which topic, focus, and topicalisation manifest themselves in Haida. In addition to this kind of purely linguistic research, Enrico has also produced revised versions of the Haida narratives that Swanton had collected in the early years of the 20th century. Enrico refers to this process of re-working as ‘re-elicitation’, and texts such as *Skidegate Haida Myths & Histories* (1995) and *Haida Songs* (1996; with Wendy Bross Stuart) present these texts in a more accurate and consistent orthography.

10. For a discussion of Davidson’s life, in the context of Haida culture, see Blackman (1982).

As mentioned previously, Enrico's rigorous research has recently culminated in two extremely important publications – his two-volume works *Haida Syntax* (2003) and *Haida Dictionary* (2005). These texts provide an analysis of Haida (in its Skidegate, Masset, and Alaskan dialects) that is unparalleled in its detail and exhaustiveness. Although there had been previous attempts to create a Haida dictionary – most notably that produced by Erma Lawrence (1904–1988) and Jeff Leer for the Alaska Native Language Center in 1977 – Enrico's is by far the most comprehensive. He states that the dictionary is 'based on the knowledge' of forty-four consultants, and the entries are substantiated by examples drawn from extant written sources, including re-elicited versions of Swanton's oral narrative transcriptions (Enrico 2005: ix).

While Enrico's linguistic research is of considerable interest to academics specialising in the languages of North America, particularly those spoken on the Pacific Northwest Coast, it is certainly not aimed at a wide readership of non-specialists. However, as disquiet concerning the dwindling number of native Haida speakers has grown during the last few decades, several practical initiatives have developed which explicitly encourage the younger Haida generations to reclaim their language. The Sealaska Heritage Institute (SHI), for example, was established in 1981, and it organises a range of cultural and educational programmes many of which focus on the learning of indigenous Alaskan languages, including Haida.¹¹ Significantly, in early 2008, SHI began to offer web-based Haida classes that were designed by the linguist Jordan Lachler, and which were specifically intended to provide a basic, practical introduction to the language.¹² Obviously, it is far too early yet to determine whether initiatives of this kind will have a lasting impact, but, at the very least, they certainly make Haida-related educational materials more easily accessible.

Another comparatively recent venture which has a similar focus, is the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program (SHIP) which was established in the 1990s. During the past decade, Haida elders have sought to preserve their language using modern recording facilities to produce a digital archive. In addition to the task of accumulating recordings of fluent speakers, SHIP also provides lessons for members of the Skidegate Haida community who want to improve their knowledge of the language. Once again, although it is impossible to determine whether any of these more recent projects will prevent Haida slowly drifting towards extinction,

11. Up-to-date information about SHI current activities can be obtained from its website: <http://www.sealaskaheritage.org>.

12. For information about this course, see http://www.sealaskaheritage.org/news/news_article_haida_web_instruction_2008_empire.htm.

the substantial audio archives will ensure that the language survives in recorded form (at least), even if the day should come when there are no speakers left.

1.4 The Kwak'wala language

As mentioned above, Kwak'wala is a member of the Wakashan language family – specifically, the Northern Wakashan subgrouping – which is associated with the region around Vancouver Island (see Figure 1.1). This means that it is closely related to Haisla and Heiltsuk-Oowekyala. Specifically, Kwak'wala is spoken by groups living around Alert Bay, Port Hardy, and Fort Rupert. There are two main dialect clusters, though the existing varieties appear to have become more homogenous during the post-contact period (Goodfellow 2005:37–39). Unlike Haida, Kwak'wala is a verb initial language, and the basic clause structure can be represented schematically as follows:¹³

V – SUBJ(–*x*–OBJ)(–*s*–OBJ)(–PP)

Here *x* and *s* are clitics which mark the direct object and the instrumental respectively. Sometimes the V slot can be occupied by a semantically empty auxiliary verb.

The following sentence reveals several characteristic features of Kwak'wala syntax:

yalk'amas.ida bəgʷanəma.x.a 'watsi.s.a gʷax'luxʷ
 cause hurt.DEM man.OBJ.DEM dog.INST.DEM stick
 'The man hurt the dog with the stick' (Anderson 2005: 16)

In Kwak'wala, the case markers (e.g., OBJ) and determiners such as demonstratives and articles (e.g., DEM) appear as affixes attached to the *preceding* word in the sentence. Specifically, in the above example, the accusative marker *x* and the definiteness marker *a* (which are both attached to *bəgʷanəma* (“man”)) indicate respectively that the noun *'watsi* (“dog”) is the direct object and that it is marked for definiteness. As this demonstrates, these clitics are grammatically associated with the nouns that follow them, but they are phonologically attached to the nouns that precede them. This kind of affixation pattern is not found in Haida.

Like the other Wakashan languages, Kwak'wala is highly polysynthetic. While there is some reduplication and infixation, suffixation is used most extensively, and both derivational and inflectional suffixes are prevalent. The lexicon consists of root words which can be modified in different ways by means of the application

13. For a detailed discussion, see Anderson (2005: 15).

Table 1.6 Kwak'wala suffixes to numerals (from Berman 1990: 38–40)

-uk ^w	human
-sgəm	bulky
-čaq	long
-xχa	hollow
-χsa	flat
-zaq	hole

Table 1.7 Kwak'wala stems of location (from Berman 1990: 52–56)

kat-	horizontal long object is somewhere
hən-	hollow object is somewhere rightside up
məx-	hollow objects are somewhere rightside up
qəp-	hollow object is somewhere upside down

of over 200 suffixes. For instance, *ʔnəmōk* (“one person”) becomes *ʔnəmōk.us* (“one person on the ground”) via the application of the suffix *-us* (Campbell 2000: 1244). Some verbal suffixes modify predicates, while clitics are attached to nominals.

Like Haida, Kwak'wala makes extensive use of numeral classifiers. There are about 20 in total and some of these are given in Table 1.6 (Mithun 2001: 109).¹⁴ For example, the suffix *sgəm* is used in structures such as

<i>musgəmi</i>	<i>mig^wat</i>	
four-bulky-DEM	seal	
‘four seals’		(Mithun 2001: 110)

However, if four humans were being referred to (rather than seals), then the numeral would become *muk^wi* (that is, ‘four-human-DEM’). In addition, the language has stems for location and handling. These distinguish between different shapes and they are always followed by a locative suffix (see Table 1.7).

The Kwak'wala pronoun system is subtle and intricate. Three persons are used, and inclusive and exclusive pronominal forms are distinguished for 1p. Further, different demonstrative markers indicate whether the entity referred to is visible or invisible (Campbell 2000: 1246). The pronouns are given in Table 1.8. The base forms on the left are extended by the demonstrative markers on the right in order to give the visible/invisible distinction. Further contrasts can be made based on the distance between the speaker, the addressee, and the referent (i.e., 3p). None of these pronominal options are found in Haida.

14. For more information about this topic, see Berman (1990:37–60) and Grinevald (2006:40–41).

Table 1.8 Kwak'wala pronouns (from Campbell 2000: 1246)

	Pronoun	Visible	Invisible
1p	<i>ən(t)</i>	<i>-k'</i>	<i>-g'a</i>
<i>incl.</i>	<i>əns</i>		
<i>excl.</i>	<i>ənu'xu</i>		
2p	<i>əs</i>	<i>-ōx</i>	<i>-ō</i>
3p	<i>-</i>	<i>-ēq</i>	<i>-ē'</i>

Table 1.9 Tsimshian absolutive pronouns (from Dunn 1995: 62)

1p sg	<i>-u</i>
2p sg	<i>-n</i>
3p sg	<i>-t</i>
1p pl	<i>-m</i>
2p pl	<i>-sm</i>
3p pl	<i>-t</i>

1.5 The Tsimshian language

As previously noted, Tsimshian is a member of the Tsimshianic language family which itself may constitute a branch of the Penutian family (see Mulder 1994; Tarpent 1997; and Dunn 1995). It is spoken along the lower Skeena River in Northwestern British Columbia, on some neighbouring islands, and in New Metlakatla, Alaska (see Figure 1.1). It is an ergative-absolutive language, which means that the main grammatical arguments are either ergatives (i.e., agent-like participants in a transitive clause) or absolutes (i.e., either a non-ergative argument in a transitive clause, or else the single argument of an intransitive clause) (Mithun 2001: 209). The pronouns are dependent morphemes, and the absolutive objective pronouns are manifest as verbal suffixes (see Table 1.9):

ta wila diduuls-u

PA be alive-1p.sg.ABS

'I am still alive'

(Mulder 1994: 51)¹⁵

The ergative pronouns are clitics and their forms are given in Table 1.10.

15. In this example, it may be better to analyse *wila* as a subordinator that is modified by *ta*. I am grateful to Marie-Lucie Tarpent for proposing this analysis (p.c.).

Table 1.10 Tsimshian proclitic ergative pronouns (from Dunn 1995: 64)

1p sg	- <i>n</i> -
2p sg	- <i>m</i> -
3p sg	- <i>t</i> -
1p pl	- <i>dip</i> -
2p pl	- <i>m-sm</i> -
3p pl	- <i>t</i> -

Absolutives and ergatives are both used in the following sentence:

n-dm *man-gad-n*
 1p.sg.ERG-FUT up-take-2p.sg.ABS
 'I will take you up' (Mulder 1994: 51)

Here the ergative and absolutive arguments are used in a transitive structure: the ergative 1p suffix precedes the tense marker (TEMP) *dm*, which indicates futurity, while the 2p absolutive suffix is attached to the verb. According to Dunn and Mulder, the case of full noun phrases (NPs) is conveyed by clitics which precede the NP but which are phonologically associated with the previous word. This is essentially the same pattern as that found in the Northern Wakashan languages (and specifically in Kwak'wala, as discussed in Section 1.4). Since Kwak'wala and Tsimshian are genetically unrelated, but geographically close, these similarities are usually assumed to be areal. As mentioned earlier, Haida does not share this property.

Reduplication is sometimes used to create plurals: *duus* ("cat") becomes *dik-duus* ("cats"). In this instance, the first consonant of the noun is reduplicated and prefixed to the sequence *ik* to create the plural. Other nouns form their plurals by means of prefixed distributives: *aak* ("mouth") becomes *ga'aak* ("mouths"). There are ten grammatical suffixes which can change such things as the role of a noun, or the grammatical category of a given lexical item. For example, the suffix *-t* enables a noun to denote the person or thing using the entity referred to: *gyemk* ("sun") becomes *gyemgat* ("astronomer") (Dunn 1995: 13–33). In addition, there is an extensive set of modifiers which can express locative, aspectual, modal, case-related, and lexical meanings. The modifier *sm-*, for instance, indicates "real, genuine". According to Dunn and Mulder, the main word order patterns involving nouns in Tsimshian can be summarised as follows:

TEMP – TRANS – ERG NP – ABS NP
 TEMP – INTRANS – ABS NP

As mentioned above, the temporal designators include things such as *nah* (i.e., completed or perfect), *dm* (i.e., future and progressive), and *wil* (i.e., subsequent to another action or event) (Dunn 1995:59).¹⁶

1.6 Summary

As this brief and selective overview has attempted to show, although the Haida language has been analysed in many different ways during the past century, the linguistic work of the Haida Gwaii missionaries has never been extensively evaluated. Indeed, few researchers have ever ventured back beyond Swanton's publications. This book will provide an initial reassessment of this neglected aspect of Haida linguistics, and the main areas covered by each chapter can be briefly summarised as follows.

Chapter 1 provides the geographical and historical background. The contact between Haidas and non-natives from 1774 to 1876 is assessed, and this requires some discussion of the voyages of discovery to the Pacific Northwest Coast, as well as the advent of the maritime fur trade. It is shown that several explorers and traders who visited the waters around Haida Gwaii became interested in the language spoken there, recording Haida words, phrases, and sentences in journals, logbooks, and memoirs. These humble attempts at initial linguistic analysis pre-date the main period of missionary activity, and therefore they provide a context for the more sustained studies of the language that were produced during the 19th century.

Chapter 2 focuses predominantly on the linguistic studies that were produced by the earliest known missionaries to Haida Gwaii. The work of Jonathan Green is considered initially, and such topics as the complex sociolinguistic relationship between Haida and Chinook Jargon are examined. However, the core of the chapter is devoted to the work of William Henry Collison, the first CMS missionary to Haida Gwaii, and the topics explored include the linguistic training that he received at Islington College, the techniques that he used in order to acquire a working knowledge of Haida, and the various surviving documents that he produced which contain linguistic analyses.

Collison's understanding of the Haida language provides a frame of reference for a detailed consideration of his missionary-linguist successors. Therefore, in Chapter 3, the focus falls upon Charles Harrison's *Haida Grammar* (1895). It is shown that Harrison's work is closely related to (indeed, largely derived from)

16. Like *wila*, *wil* is perhaps more correctly classified as being a subordinator (Marie-Lucie Tarpent p.c.).

Alfred Hall's (1853–1918) *A Grammar of the Kwagiutl Language* (1888). Consequently, the main issues considered include the manner in which Hall and Harrison acquired a working knowledge of Kwak'wala and Haida respectively, the similarities between their respective syntactic analyses, and the way in which they made use of contemporaneous studies of languages (such as Japanese) which belonged neither to the North American families nor to the broad Indo-European group. Interconnections such as these are important since they reveal the extent to which missionary linguists on the Pacific Northwest Coast were familiar with non-Graeco-Roman grammatical frameworks.

In Chapters 2 and 3, the grammatical studies produced by the missionaries receive most attention. By contrast, Chapter 4 explores some of the cultural complexities that are manifest in the scriptural translations they produced. Specifically, Harrison's 1891 translation of *St Matthew's Gospel* and Keen's translations of *The Acts of the Apostles*, *St Luke's Gospel*, and *St John's Gospel* (which appeared in 1898, 1899, and 1899 respectively) are considered in some detail. The main topics addressed include the missionaries' training as translators, their general practice, and the manner in which they attempted to convey certain notions strongly associated with a Judaeo-Christian world-view.

Finally, having considered the less well-known missionary linguistic work in some detail, the final chapter probes and destabilises the conventional assumption that there were no significant connections between the language-based research accomplished by the missionaries and anthropologists working on the Pacific Northwest Coast in the late 19th century. The basic intention is to re-examine the published and unpublished writings of anthropologists such as Boas and Swanton in order to determine the extent to which they were aware of the linguistic work produced by missionaries such as Collison, Harrison, and Keen (and vice versa).

Before commencing the exploration outlined in the previous paragraphs, it is worth emphasising exactly what this book is attempting to accomplish. Crucially, the following chapters do *not* attempt to recreate and evaluate a 19th-century Haida worldview. Rather, the intention is primarily to examine 19th-century European linguistic convictions concerning the Haida language. Consequently, the voices that are heard are mainly European ones, even though they are often talking about Haida. In the current climate, this approach is controversial, and it is certainly not the only way of proceeding. Indeed, there are three obvious ways of tackling this broad subject: (i) a Haida perspective could be adopted, (ii) a European perspective could be adopted, (iii) a dialogic integration of Haida-European perspectives could be attempted. These are all valuable approaches, and I feel obliged to justify the particular one that I have chosen (that is, (ii)). My reservations about (i) can be simply stated: I am not myself a member of the Haida communities, therefore I have no right to speak on their behalf. Besides,

they have no need of me: they are quite capable of speaking for themselves. That leaves options (ii) and (iii). Since the various topics that I address in this book are largely undiscussed in the existing literature, I am treading on new territory. Given this, I am convinced that a collaborative, dialogic approach would be too ambitious at this stage, which rules out option (iii). Accordingly, my preference has been to focus on approach (ii), at least initially. In other words, I have attempted to clarify what the Europeans thought they were doing when they analysed Haida, and I have viewed the subject primarily from a European perspective. I am persuaded that, when approaches (i) and (ii) have been explored in sufficient detail, then it may become possible to adopt approach (iii). At present, however, the primary materials are so fragmentary and the interpretative complexities are so forbidding that a serious dialogic analysis would inevitably lead towards ungrounded assertion and pure conjecture. Since there are currently so many doubts and uncertainties concerning the European linguistic analyses alone, how can these problematical frameworks be usefully compared and contrasted with equally indistinct contemporaneous Haida perspectives? If the European and Haida viewpoints can be clarified, though, then this may well facilitate more collaborative work in the future. Some readers may feel that my view of the matter is unduly pessimistic. If so, then they are welcome to attempt something more complex. Personally, I prefer a more cautious approach.

Culture and contact

2.1 Haida Gwaii

Haida Gwaii is an archipelago that is situated off the Northwest Coast of British Columbia, about 240km north of Vancouver Island. The two largest islands in the chain are Graham Island, to the north, and Moresby Island, to the south, and these are surrounded by about 150 smaller islands, including Langara, Louise, Lyell, Burnaby, and Kunghit. The total land-mass of the chain is estimated to be around 10,000 km², making it twice the size of Prince Edward Island, Canada's smallest province. The archipelago is separated from the mainland by the notorious Hecate Strait, a dangerous inshore channel that has been responsible for countless maritime disasters. The route by sea from the north of the islands leads across Dixon Entrance towards Alaska. Indeed, the proximity of Alaska enabled several Haida groups (including some from the village of Dadens on Langara Island) to invade southern Alaska during the early 18th century. They managed to drive the Tlingit natives from parts of the land, and they established Haida villages on the Prince of Wales and Dall Islands, on the southern tip of Alaska.¹

Haida Gwaii's climate is oceanic; the mean annual, summer, and winter temperatures are about 7.5 °C, 11.5 °C, and 3.5 °C respectively, and the annual precipitation ranges from 800 mm (in eastern areas) and 4,000 mm (in western areas) per annum. Largely as a result of their location, the islands constitute a distinctive ecoregion that is characterised by considerable biological diversity. The vegetation is dominated by open-growing western red cedar, yellow cypress, shore pine, western hemlock, and Sitka spruce, and these form some of the most remarkable examples of Pacific temperate rainforests. Not surprisingly, this diversity of habitat sustains a wide range of wildlife, and the geographical isolation of the islands has had an appreciable impact on the development of the species that live there.

1. The migration of the Haida to Alaska had certainly occurred before the 1790s, since numerous references in the journals and logbooks kept by various mariners refer to a Haida community based in this region. For instance, writing in July 1792, Joseph Ingraham, the Captain of the *Hope*, noted that the Haida chief known to the Europeans as 'Cow' or 'Kowe', 'had withdrawn his tribe from Cunneyah's and lived on the main at a place they called Kywannee' (Kaplanoff 1971: 196).

For instance, there are several endemic sub-species of birds on the islands – including the northern saw-whet owl, the hairy woodpecker, and Steller’s jay – and certain land mammals are similarly distinctive: the Haida Gwaii black bear is the largest of its kind in North America, and the ermine and sea-otter are also sub-species that are unique to the islands.² It has been estimated that, in the 18th century, there were only about eleven species of land mammal and amphibians on the islands, but this number has increased considerably since the first period of extended contact with European culture in the 1770s. In recognition of the uniqueness and importance of Haida Gwaii as a natural environment, an agreement was reached in 1988 between the federal and B.C. provincial governments permitting the creation of a park area on the islands. As a result, the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site was established in 1993, and it is run jointly by the Canadian Government and the Council of the Haida Nation.³

While geographical and ecological facts of this kind can be collated and summarised fairly easily, it is much harder adequately to convey the historical and cultural complexity of Haida Gwaii and the indigenous communities that dwell there. Even the name of the archipelago has caused difficulties and disagreements throughout the centuries, and these problems have often been due to the socio-political implications of the assigned labels. The modern phrase ‘Haida Gwaii’, which is standardly translated as ‘Islands of the People’, may have originated in the 19th century, but it has only been in common usage in official documents since the 1980s. Significantly, though, it is the name that has been adopted by the Council of the Haida Nation and therefore it seems destined to become the standard name for the foreseeable future. The earliest known Haida name for the islands, though, is ‘xàaydlaa gwaayaay’, which can be roughly translated as ‘Home Islands’ (Enrico 2005: 885; Enrico 2005: 1597–1598), but for most of the 19th and 20th centuries the archipelago was referred to as ‘The Queen Charlotte Islands’. The history and significance of this particular name will be discussed later in this chapter, but it is only one of the non-native names that have been proposed since the late 18th

2. A brief summary of the wildlife found on Haida Gwaii can be found in Horwood & Parkin (2006: 23–45). More detailed accounts can be found in Douglas (1991), Shackleton (1999), and Scudder & Gessler (1989).

3. The Council of the Haida Nation was formed in 1974, and information concerning its activities can be obtained from <http://www.haidanation.ca>. Similarly, information about the Gwaii Haanas project can be obtained from the official website: http://pc.gc.ca/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/index_e.asp. The name ‘Gwaii Haanas’ is an unfortunate one, when viewed from a purely linguistic perspective. It is supposed to mean “Islands of Beauty”, but, in Haida, the verb *haana* (“to be handsome”) cannot be applied to islands or to places in general, therefore the name of the park is grammatically incorrect. For a detailed discussion of this, see Enrico (2005: 1736).

century.⁴ At certain times, Haida Gwaii has been called ‘Santa Margarita’, ‘Great Island’, and ‘The Washington Islands’, and no doubt there have been many other names which were never recorded and which therefore have subsequently been forgotten. The historian Kathleen Dalzell has emphasised the fact that the renaming of certain geographical areas has been a characteristic aspect of Haida Gwaii culture since the late 18th century at least, noting that ‘[a]lthough early visitors named so many places, they did not publicise the fact and consequently there was much renaming’ (Dalzell 1968: 19). In a similar manner, in the preface to his collaborative rendering of certain Haida myths, Robert Bringhurst commented that

[o]n the white man’s maps, where every islet and scrap of land, inhabited or otherwise, sits now in the shadow of somebody’s national flag, and is named for preference after a monarch or a politician, Haida Gwaii are shown as the westernmost extremity of Canada, and they are named not for the Haida, who have always lived there, nor for the Raven, who somewhat inadvertently put them there, but for a woman who never saw them. Her name was Sophie Charlotte von Mecklenburg-Strelitz, but the British called her simply Queen Charlotte, for she was the wife of the Mad King of England, George III.

So the Raven, who often likes to call a rose a skunk cabbage, just to see what trouble he can cause, has tricked us again, Haidas and outsiders alike, with this one. He has us trained now to point to Haida Gwaii and say “Queen Charlotte Islands.”
(Reid & Bringhurst 1996: 15)

In fact, the situation is rather more complex than Bringhurst acknowledges since, while ‘Queen Charlotte’ did indeed denote a specific individual – namely, Sophie Charlotte von Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744–1818) – it was also the name of a particular ship, and both entities motivated the use of this phrase. These intricacies are typical since, whenever new names have been proposed – either for Haida Gwaii in its totality or else for particular islands, bays, and coves that form part of the archipelago – they have usually come with potent socio-political connotations.

In the whimsical passage quoted above, Bringhurst refers to ‘the Haida who have always lived’ on Haida Gwaii. In truth, it is not known when the early ancestors of the modern Haidas first arrived on the islands, though recent estimates suggest that they have lived there for around 12,000 years (Fisher 1996: 117). Despite extensive anthropological studies, though, little is known for certain about Haida culture and society much before the late 18th century, but some

4. From time to time throughout this book, the term ‘non-native’ will be used to refer, rather heterogeneously, to Europeans, Americans, and Canadians – that is, to denote either residents or visitors to Haida Gwaii who were not of Haida descent.

characteristic features of the pre-contact period can be hypothetically reconstructed (Carlson 1983:22–23). Like other communities along the Pacific coast, the Haidas may have originally migrated from the interior, and swiftly adapting to the maritime environment in which they found themselves, they adopted a seasonal lifestyle which enabled them to make the most effective use of the available material resources. No doubt partly as a result of this, they developed a distinctive and complex social organisation that involved elaborate rituals, such as the potlatch (a ceremonial distribution of gifts), which often marked rites-of-passage and significant events in the history of their communities. Predictably, these are the aspects of Haida culture that have stimulated the interest of anthropologists and historians most frequently, and authoritative publications such as George Murdock's *Rank and Potlatch Among the Haida* (1970), Jacob van der Brink's *The Haida Indians: Cultural Change Mainly Between 1876–1970* (1974), and Marianne Boelscher's *The Curtain Within: Haida Social and Mythical Discourse* (1989) have presented a range of approaches and perspectives.

The Haida villages were divided into two exogamous clans, associated with the Eagle and Raven respectively, and these were both characterised by matrilineal kinship structures. In addition, the Haidas were skilled craftsmen and magnificent seafarers who could design, build, and manoeuvre canoes around the intricate waters of the Haida Gwaii archipelago, as well as to further destinations such as the mainland or Vancouver Island. The mythological narratives that were either transcribed or paraphrased in the 19th and 20th centuries drew upon oral story-telling traditions that stretched far back into the prehistorical centuries of Haida cultural development. However, since they were not written down at the time, the earlier versions of the stories can only be partially reconstructed. Indeed, it was certainly during the period before European contact that a distinctive Haida culture developed, presumably constantly evolving and changing as the communities developed and adapted.⁵

The various topics mentioned in the above paragraphs are all of the greatest interest and importance. However, since the main chapters of this book are primarily concerned with early attempts on the part of Europeans to analyse the Haida language, the origins and social structure of the Haida communities cannot be a central concern here. Indeed, I have nothing especially new to say about these subjects. Rather, it is necessary now to provide an overview of the earliest European-Haida encounters in order to ensure that the particular interactions discussed in later chapters can be viewed in the context of these initial exchanges.

5. For a range of perspectives concerning Haida culture, see Murdock (1938, 1970), Van Den Brink (1974), Drew (1982), Steltzer (1984), and Boelscher (1989).

2.2 Discovery and exploration

Although it has become conventional to claim that the first contact between Haidas and Europeans occurred when Juan José Pérez Hernández (a.k.a. Juan Pérez, c.1725–1775) anchored off the coast of Haida Gwaii in July 1774, it is highly likely that this encounter had been preceded by others. For instance, a 1566 map produced by the cartographer Bolognino Zaltieri (fl. 1550–1580) shows three islands in the location where the Haida Gwaii archipelago is situated, suggesting that its existence was known about in 16th-century Europe. Also, in 1708, a letter was published in *The Monthly Miscellany or Memoirs for the Curious* which purported to describe a voyage by a Spanish admiral called ‘Bartholomew de Fonté’ that had been undertaken in 1640. Although it is now generally accepted that this voyage never occurred and that the letter is in fact a droll spoof, some of the physical descriptions and names are eerily reminiscent of specific locations on Haida Gwaii, and certainly several noted 18th-century explorers, and their patrons, believed that the letter proved the existence of a passage to the Pacific (White 2006; Mathes 1999). Nonetheless, even if these curiosities do indeed suggest that Europeans had encountered Haida Gwaii (in one way or another) before the late 18th century, Juan Pérez’s journey along the Pacific Northwest Coast in 1774 certainly marked the beginning of a sustained period of contact. Consequently, even if it lacked primacy, Pérez’s voyage marked a pivotal moment in the history of the Haida peoples, and therefore merits careful consideration.

The purpose of the voyage was clear. Pérez was required by the Viceroy of New Spain to sail the *Santiago* north along the Pacific coast from San Blas, in order to claim additional land for Spain. From the outset, the journey was arduous, and the many difficulties were dutifully recorded by two Catholic priests who were on-board, Father Juan Crespi (1721–1782) and Father Tomás de la Peña (1742–?). Mist and bad weather impeded progress from the very beginning, and forced Pérez to remain a good distance away from the mainland, but, on July 18th 1774, land was sighted (unexpectedly) to the northeast. And so Pérez and his crew first saw Haida Gwaii. Initially, there was no sign of life on the islands, which Pérez assumed to be part of the mainland, so he sailed in as close as he could to obtain a better view. On July 20th, Haida canoes were observed sailing towards the ship, and Father Tomás de la Peña described the encounter that followed:

[...] presently there came to us a canoe with nine men in it. This canoe drew near to the vessel, the pagans in it singing; but they would not come near enough for us to communicate by means of signs. Having followed us for some time, they returned to the land. About five o’clock this canoe, and another in which there were six pagans, caught up with us, both drawing up to our stern. The Captain made

them a present of some strings of beads and they gave us some dried fish. But they would not come on board the ship. These persons are well-built, white, with long hair; and they were clothed in pelts and skins, some of them were bearded. They had some iron implements in their canoes, but we were unable to inquire where they obtained them, for presently they went back to land, inviting us thither, and offering to give us water on the following day. (Cutter 1969: 159)

This passage emphasises the extent to which both the Europeans and the Haidas relied upon improvised sign-language in order to communicate during these early encounters. More significantly, though, the presence of ‘iron implements’ in the canoes suggests that there had been prior contact (of some kind) between Haidas and non-natives, possibly involving the Russians who sporadically moved down the Pacific Northwest Coast from the Bering Strait during the 18th century. It is significant that white men were already being referred to as *yaats’ xa7idaraay* in 18th-century Haida: this can be translated literally as ‘Iron People’, suggesting that the first encounters with non-natives had involved the exchanging of goods for iron implements (Enrico 2005: 1596).

The day after this initial meeting, twenty-one canoes came alongside the *Santiago*, and eventually the Spanish sailors were able to persuade two of their visitors to come on-board. Father Crespi offers the most detailed account:

Although we invited these Indians to come aboard ship they did not venture to do so, except two of them, who were shown everything and who were astonished at all they saw in the vessel. They entered the cabin and we showed them the image of Our Lady. After looking at it with astonishment, they touched it with the hand and we understood that they were examining it in order to learn whether it were alive. (Cutter 1969: 237–238)

In many respects, this brief tableau constitutes a prototype of many subsequent encounters that occurred between the Haidas and later generations of missionaries who would arrive on Haida Gwaii in order to offer the indigenous peoples both physical and spiritual succour. In July 1774, though, the exchanges were fleeting: after trading with his Haida visitors, Pérez was forced by the bad weather to move further away from the land, and therefore he and his men never actually went ashore. It was Pérez, though, who decided that the islands should be known as ‘Santa Margarita’, since the first sighting of the canoes had taken place on the 20th July, the Saint’s Day of ‘that glorious lady’, Margaret of Antioch (Cutter 1969: 157).

If Pérez’s voyage had effectively put the Haida Gwaii islands (back?) on contemporaneous European maps, it was Captain James Cook’s (1728–1779) fleeting visit to the area in 1778 that initiated a flurry of trading activity which lasted well into the 19th century, and which indirectly caused tremendous hardships

for the indigenous Haida communities. During his third and final voyage of discovery (1776–1779), Cook explored the Pacific Coast; he sailed north, mapping the area from California to the Bering Strait, and, significantly, he passed most of April 1778 at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island, repairing and re-rigging his two ships, *Resolution* and *Discovery*. While based in this location, Cook and his crewmen traded with the indigenous peoples, exchanging metal objects of various kinds (buttons, handles, kettles) mainly for sea-otter pelts which were subsequently sold for a vast amount of money in China.⁶ Although Cook did not actually land on Haida Gwaii itself during his voyage, when an account of his journey was published in 1784, the detailed information given about the abundance and value of the sea-otter skins that had been acquired at Nootka Sound brought a large number of trading vessels to the area – and Haida Gwaii rapidly became a popular destination (Cook & King 1784). In effect, then, it was Cook’s journey which gave impetus to the nascent maritime fur trade, and, despite the fact that the Pacific Northwest Coast was still relatively untouched by colonial expansion in the 1780s, the new trading possibilities were fully exploited both by enterprising individuals and by existing organisations such as the South Sea Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC).⁷ Although the former had been established in 1711 and had been granted exclusive rights to trade with Spanish South America, by the late 18th century it was in decline, and the fur trade boom only temporarily delayed its demise. By contrast, the HBC benefited greatly from the new opportunities. Having received its royal charter from Charles II in 1670, it had established itself in North America during the 18th century, and, in 1821, it merged with the North West Company of Montreal, which meant that it now had access to territory which reached to the Arctic Ocean in the north and to the Pacific Ocean in the west.⁸ Consequently, the fur trade proved to be a profitable business, and it certainly brought a wide-range of visitors to the Pacific Northwest Coast, both by sea and by land.

It would be wrong to claim, though, that all non-natives who came to the region during the late 18th and early 19th centuries were exclusively obsessed

6. It is well known that Cook never completed his third voyage. He was killed by natives at Kealakekua Bay on the Big Island of the Hawaiian chain. More information about this can be found in Hough (1994).

7. Carswell (1960) provides an overview of the South Sea Company, and Fisher (1996: 125–135) examines various aspects of the fur trade. The maritime and land-based fur trades differed in significant ways. For more information, see Fisher (1992) and Howay (1941).

8. For further information about the origins and development of the HBC, see Mackay (1966), Galbraith (1976), and Newman (2002). Useful original documents and images are available from <http://www.canadiana.org/hbc>.

with the task of making as much money as possible as quickly as possible. Indeed, Mary Malloy has recently shown that a surprisingly large number of the traders were generally intrigued by the indigenous cultures that they encountered, to the extent that they acquired numerous artefacts such as labrets, masks, jewellery, and other objects produced by native craftsmen. Although the majority of these were initially obtained merely as ethnic *curios*, souvenirs that would enable friends and family to glimpse the unfamiliar cultures of the 'Indians', many of them ended up in anthropological collections as the 19th century progressed. Malloy cogently summarises the situation as follows:

Sailors had been collecting souvenirs on their voyages for well over a thousand years when the American vessels first travelled to the Northwest Coast, but the artifacts that returned to New England on Yankee ships in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries met a different sort of reception than had existed previously. For the first time, public-spirited institutions waited to receive them. There had been both private collectors and royal collections in Europe for several centuries, but the simultaneous expansion of international commerce and the creation of learned societies in Boston after the American Revolution made it a unique and important center for the collecting of "curiosities". Native American artifacts were particularly welcome, as many of these institutions were self-consciously attempting to define a uniquely American history and culture and came to regard the New World's native people as a potential counterpart to the ancients of the Old World. (Malloy 2000:31)

Consequently, as a result of this coincidental conflux of circumstances, many of the artifacts obtained by the maritime traders during the period 1780 to 1840 provided a starting point for the larger anthropological collections that began to emerge later in the century.

As more ships began to arrive in the waters around Haida Gwaii from the 1780s onwards, lured by the possibility of substantial profits, it was inevitable that the islands should be mapped more accurately; and more detailed charts necessitated a proliferation of names. It was during this period that 'The Queen Charlotte Islands' was used for the first time. Captain George Dixon (1745–1795), the commander of the *Queen Charlotte*, was the person who chose it. Having sailed to the Pacific Northwest Coast mainly for purposes of trade, Dixon anchored his vessel at Cloak Bay, between Langara Island and Graham Island, at the north end of the archipelago, on July 1st 1787. Two days later, he moved on, passing by Hippah Island, and collecting many sea-otter pelts as he went. Having reached Cape St James on July 25th, he rounded the point, and began to sail northwards up the east coast. In the published account of the voyage, which consists mainly of descriptive letters written by William Beresford (fl. 1789), the naming of the islands is mentioned as follows:

There is every reason to suppose, not only from the number of inlets we met in coasting along the shore, but from our meeting the same inhabitants on the opposite sides of the coast, that this is not one continual land, but rather forms a group of islands; and as such, we distinguished them by the name of Queen Charlotte's Islands [...] The land, in some places, is considerably elevated, but not mountainous, and is totally covered with pines, which in many places offered a pleasing contrast to the snow that perpetually covers the higher ground.

(Dixon & Beresford 1789:223–224)

Like the great French navigator Jean François de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse (1741–1788?), who had sailed alongside Haida Gwaii in 1786, Dixon and his crew recognised that they were encountering ‘a group of islands’ rather than a single land-mass, and the fact that Beresford was able to recognise specific Haida individuals who had obviously travelled along passage-ways between the islands, certainly indicates the closeness of the contact that was sustained between the Europeans and the natives. Most importantly, though, despite the fact that the main parts of Beresford's descriptions of Haida culture focus on details such as particular items of clothing and the use of labrets, he does note that he had found it extremely difficult to master even the basics of the language:

I often endeavoured to gain some knowledge of their language, but I never could so much as learn the numerals: every attempt I made of this kind either caused a sarcastic laugh amongst the Indians; or was treated by them with silent contempt; indeed many of the tribes who visited us, were busied in trading the moment they came along side, and hurried away as soon as their traffic was over: others, again, who staid with us for any length of time, were never of a communicative disposition, but certainly skulked about the vessel for some evil purpose [...] If these circumstances are duly considered, I trust thou wilt not accuse me of inattention, though it is not in my power to give thee any specimen of the language spoken by these people; however, from what observations I was able to make, it seems something similar to that of the inhabitants of Norfolk Sound.

(Dixon & Beresford 1789:228)

As crude as they are, these comments at least provide an insight into the practical difficulties that confronted sailors on the voyages of discovery who were intrigued by the languages that they encountered. While it is obviously unfair to attribute a lack of co-operation on the part of the Haidas to such things as ‘sarcasm’ and ‘contempt’, Beresford's account at least indicates that the periods of contact were often short, and mainly taken up with the business of trade. Indeed, trade was the main purpose of Dixon's voyage, and no doubt the crew of the *Queen Charlotte* were generally far more interested in the acquisition of sea-otter pelts than the acquisition of indigenous languages – hence the superficial,

speculative suggestion that Haida is similar to the language spoken by ‘the inhabitants of Norfolk Sound’. Since ‘Norfolk Sound’ was Cook’s name for the part of Alaska which is now referred to as Sitka Sound, this means that Beresford believed that Haida bore similarities to Tlingit (one of the Na-Dene languages). However, given his primary preoccupation with trade, it is appropriate that he should conclude his account of Haida Gwaii by noting that 1,821 sea-otter skins had been ‘purchased’: ‘[t]hus in one fortunate month, has our success been much greater than that probably of both vessels during the rest of the voyage, – So uncertain is the fur trade on this inhospitable coast’ (Dixon & Beresford 1789: 229). Passages such as these were largely responsible for alerting others to the fact that the maritime fur trade could develop into a lucrative business, and that Haida Gwaii was a particularly profitable location.

Partly as a result of the Dixon-Beresford panegyrics concerning the furs to be found at Cloak Bay, a larger number of ships began to pass by Haida Gwaii with greater frequency during the early years of the 19th century, and, occasionally, some of the Europeans who found themselves coming into contact with the Haidas became interested particularly in their language. One such person was John Box Hoskins (1768–1824?), who sailed aboard the *Columbia* during its second voyage to the Pacific Northwest Coast in 1790–1793. In his ‘Narrative’ of the journey, Hoskins is clear that financial gain provided the motivation for the visit. As he puts it,

[t]he principal tribes for skins reside at the three following villages Tooschcondolth, Masheet or Hancock’s River, and Cloak Bay. This latter is the most famous it affording more skins than any other tribe we have yet known or heard of [...].
(Howay 1969: 233)

The three places that Hoskins has in mind here seem to be Cumshewa Inlet, Masset Sound, and (obviously) Cloak Bay. However, having reached Haida Gwaii in August 1791, he developed a sincere interest in Haida culture, and he certainly seems to have wanted to learn more about the language and customs of the people who lived on the islands:

The manners, customs, dress, canoes, etc. etc. of these people are all similar their language differs only in a few words in the termination of some words They have or make a long quivering which gives them a most savage disagreeable sound but to convey a better idea I here subjoin a list of words I was able to procure which are spelt as near to their pronunciation as my ear would direct which I am conscious is far from being right.
(Howay 1969: 235–236)

Conveniently, Hoskins lists over 100 Haida words, written in a rough phonetic script with corresponding English translations, and, although wordlists of this

Table 2.1 Selected vocabulary from Hoskins' list

Haida	English
Hongi	eyes
Tsing	teeth
King	to see
Quden	I understand
Nah	village or house
Kite	shall I go?
Enah	a woman
Kong	moon
Khah	dog, cat, etc.
Nukky	a Sea Otter skin
Huun	large
Tschnoo	fire
Peeshuck or Peesuck	bad

kind were collected throughout the 19th century, Hoskins' is a particularly early example. Such documents are often extremely revealing, providing insights both into contemporaneous Haida society and, of course, into the cultural contexts and presuppositions that characterised the list compilers themselves. In this case, in addition to the names of the months and a few numerals, Hoskins includes words such as those given in Table 2.1.

Despite the inevitably inexact orthography, many of these words are recognisable (e.g., 'Hongi' is *xang7a*, 'Tsing' is *ts'ing*, 'Nah' is *na*, and so on). It is of interest that Hoskins included 'Peesuck or Peeshuck'. In 1916, Boas suggested that this word came from the Nuu-Chah-Nulth word *p'icaq* (where <c> denotes the affricate /ts/), and (if this is correct) the fact that Hoskins encountered it on Haida Gwaii indicates that it had passed into the Haida lexicon during the 18th century, as a result of trade and contact with native communities on the mainland (Enrico 2005: 1788). Typically, although he included this linguistic information in his 'Narrative', Hoskins ended his discussion of the language with the words '[b]ut to return from this digression if so it may be called' (Howay 1969: 237). He knew that most of his readers were more concerned with sea-otter pelts than with participles. Nonetheless, his brief notes are useful, mainly because, as Enrico has rather ruefully observed, '[l]anguage use by the Haidas in contact situations in the 19th century has not been a focus of investigation' (Enrico 2003: 4). Therefore, a careful reading of the existing journals and log-books produced by the explorers and traders who came into contact with the Haidas during the period 1770 to 1870, provides many fragmentary insights into various communication strategies.

Hoskins certainly provided rather more information about the Haida language than many of his contemporaries. For instance, in stark contrast, John Boit (1774–1829), who sailed as fifth mate on the *Columbia's* second voyage, merely noted laconically in his log that '[t]he Nations on the Main speak a language different from those on the Islands' (Howay 1969: 374). Parsimonious asides like these are more typical than Hoskins' carefully prepared tables. However, as the 19th century progressed, visitors to Haida Gwaii became increasingly intrigued by the language they found there, and, to appreciate why this shift occurred, it is necessary to say something about two other groups that gradually came into more constant and sustained contact with the Haidas during this period – namely, the missionaries and the anthropologists.

2.3 The arrival of the missionaries

A sustained period of contact may have begun in the 18th century as a result of European exploration, and it may have continued in the 19th century mainly due to trade, but it was not long before missionaries of various denominations became interested in the communities on Haida Gwaii. While it is extremely difficult to determine who was the first missionary to spend time on the islands, it is clear that Jonathan Green (1796–1878) was one of the earliest to travel there motivated by spiritual, rather than financial, considerations. Although Green's work will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 3, a few details will be given here. Born in Lebanon, Connecticut, Green had been ordained into the American Congregational Church in 1827, and, in the same year, he sailed from Boston to Hawaii to begin working for the non-denominational 'American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions'. After only a few months in Hawaii he travelled to the Pacific Northwest Coast, and he spent several weeks living with the Haida communities both on Haida Gwaii and in Alaska. Fortunately, he recorded his experiences in a detailed journal, and therefore it is possible partially to reconstruct both his route round the islands and his reactions to the various people he encountered there. He quickly became interested in 'the Queen Charlotte's Island language', and, like Hoskins and others before him, he compiled a wordlist, and wrote down a number of phrases and sentences in a broadly phonetic notation of his own devising (Green 1915). Green was probably the first churchman of any kind to spend time with the Haidas and to attempt to master the rudiments of their language. However, he only remained on Haida Gwaii for a short time, after which he returned to Hawaii. Although he suggested to the Board that the Pacific Northwest Coast would provide an excellent location for important missionary work, his employers chose not to act upon his recommendations. Consequently, despite his initial

approaches towards some kind of linguistic analysis, his time on the islands did not establish a lasting legacy of missionary contact.

When Green left Haida Gwaii in August 1829, there followed a period of about fifty years during which there was minimal missionary contact. However, the missionary infrastructure at various locations along the Pacific Coast became more stable and elaborate as the 19th century progressed, a development that would eventually have profound consequences for the Haida communities – and the CMS was one of the dominant organisations that established an influential Anglican presence in the region. Having been founded in 1799 by a small group of people that included Henry Thornton (1760–1815) and William Wilberforce (1759–1833), the ‘Society for Missions to Africa and the East’, which later became the ‘Church Missionary Society’, expanded rapidly. By the 1850s, it had been able to send missionaries to West Africa, South Africa, India, Malta, Australia, China, and Palestine, to name just a few of the overseas locations in which it had stations. The first CMS missionaries to Canada were sent in 1822, and, by the middle of the 19th century, there was a wide-spread conviction within the Society that missionaries were urgently needed on the Pacific Northwest Coast. This led to the establishment of the North Pacific Mission, and William Duncan (1832–1918) played a crucial role in its development. Born in Yorkshire, the illegitimate child of a servant, Duncan had been raised by his mother’s parents, and he was strongly influenced by the evangelicals, such as Anthony Thomas Carr (1796–1854), whom he had encountered while singing as a treble at Beverley Minster and, later, while working as a Sunday School teacher. Accordingly, he joined the CMS in 1854, at the age of twenty-two, and was admitted as a trainee missionary at Highbury College. In 1856, Duncan was sent to the Pacific Northwest Coast. Staying initially on Vancouver Island (as the guest of the HBC chaplain), he eventually arrived at Fort Simpson (Lax Kw’alaams) on October 1st 1857.

Despite the arduous nature of his work, Duncan was tireless, and he set about the task of learning Tsimshian with the help of Arthur Wellington Clah (1831–1916), a Tsimshian who had converted to Christianity.⁹ From the very beginning, Duncan advocated a distinctive variety of low-church Anglicanism, and he consistently refused ordination, preferring to work as a lay minister. Partly motivated by a desire not to become dependent upon the HBC for support, he founded a Christian settlement at Metlakatla in 1861, near to the present-day town of Prince Rupert. Initially, sixty Tsimshians travelled there with him, but, after only a few months, the community had increased to several hundred. In

9. The techniques that Duncan used in order to learn Tsimshian will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Clah’s remarkable life and work are discussed in Neylan (2003: 161–174), and Neylan (2005: 88–108).

the early years of the settlement, the CMS were inclined to view Metlakatla as a Christian utopia, a compelling example of what missionary work could accomplish. As the community continued to expand, more missionaries were required, and, in 1873, Duncan was joined by William Collison, a man who was to have a pivotal role in establishing a CMS mission station on Haida Gwaii.

The history of the CMS's involvement in Haida Gwaii was helpfully summarised by Eugene Stock in his *Metlakahtla and the North Pacific Mission* (1880). By the 1870s, the two main population centres on the islands were both on Graham Island – Masset (a.k.a. Ghadaghaaxhiwaas; usually referred to now as 'Old Masset'), to the north, and Skidegate (a.k.a. Hlghagilda) to the south-east (see Figure 1.1). In 1869, the HBC had established a trading post at Masset. Partly for this reason, it was chosen as the location for the CMS station on Haida Gwaii, and the task of establishing the station fell to William Collison, who arrived in Masset in November 1876. Obtaining his information from documents that were preserved in the CMS archive, Stock refers to Masset as 'the principal trading post'; he describes the station there as one of the 'outlying missions', and his description of the Haidas is typical of its period in emphasising both their physical prowess, their (perceived) cruelty, and the profound social problems that had been caused by alcohol and disease:

On the group of islands named after George the Third's Queen, dwell the finest and the fiercest of the coast tribes. The Hydahs are a manly, tall, handsome people, and comparatively fair in their complexion; but they are a cruel and vindictive race, and were long the terror of the North Pacific coast. They even ventured to attack English ships, and in 1854 they plundered an American vessel, detaining the captain and crew in captivity until they were ransomed by the Hudson's Bay Company. No tribe, moreover, has been more fearfully demoralised by the proximity of the white man's "civilization." Drunkenness and the grossest vices have spread disease and death among them. (Stock 1880: 76)

The disastrous consequences which resulted from contact between European 'civilization' and indigenous culture along the Pacific Northwest Coast have been well documented: traditional customs were marginalised, alcohol caused extensive suffering, disease was rampant, and the subsequent establishment of Church-run and government-funded residential schools unwittingly provided an environment in which physical, psychological, and sexual abuse could flourish. Stock's reference to attacks upon 'English ships' no doubt alludes to incidents such as the capture of the *Eleanora* in 1794, while the plundering of the 'American vessel' most likely refers to the taking of the *Susan Sturgis* in 1852, a notorious event that resulted in an official enquiry. Although precise details are hard to establish, a group of Haidas (possibly led by Chief Wiah of Masset) took the crew of the

Susan Sturgis hostage and looted the ship. The captives were eventually rescued by Albert Edward Edenshaw (one of the most prominent Haida chiefs of the 19th century), though his innocence in the matter has been repeatedly questioned.¹⁰ Incidents such as these profoundly influenced perceptions of the Haida peoples, causing them to be regularly portrayed in European accounts as cruel, vindictive, and fierce. However, Stock was keen to emphasise that, by the early 1870s, the Haidas had started to respond to the influence of Christianity, as it had been communicated to them by the missionaries:

[...] the Hydahs have not failed to recognise the advantages that Christianity has conferred upon their neighbours on the mainland. Trading expeditions up the coast took them occasionally to Metlakahtla, and the peace and prosperity they saw there deeply impressed their minds. A striking instance of the moral influence of the Christian settlement occurred in 1873. Many years before, a young Tsimshian woman had been captured by a party of Hydahs, and carried as a slave to Queen Charlotte Islands, where, after a while, a son was born to her. Five and twenty years passed away, and then she was restored by her owner, for a consideration, to her relatives at Fort Simpson. The Hydahs seem to have thought this a good opportunity to make friends with their old enemies, and they sent a deputation to Metlakahtla with her son, now a grown man, to give him up as a voluntary peace-offering. (Stock 1880:76)

It is not clear why Stock felt that this story concerning the restoration ('for a consideration') of the 'young Tsimshian woman' and her son demonstrated the new morality that Christianity had brought to the Haidas. Indeed, when he was writing (in the late 1870s) the Masset mission station was still comparatively new, and, in many respects, it was too soon to determine the impact it would have. However, quoting extensively from Collison's letters, Stock summarises Collison's time as a missionary:

Patiently and prayerfully for the next two years and a half, with one or two intervals for visits to Metlakahtla, did Mr. Collison labour among the Hydahs, on the same lines as Mr. Duncan had done originally among the Tsimshians; first, diligently trying to pick up their language, and making himself known as their friend; then opening a school; then seeking to win them from some of their most degrading customs. Very quickly he gained a remarkable influence over them, and though the medicine-men were, of course, bitterly hostile, greater was He who was with the Missionary than those that were with his opponents; and the

10. Various attacks upon trading vessels are discussed in Acheson & Delgado (2004). For a reassessment specifically of the *Susan Sturgis* affair, see Gough (1982).

tokens of the working of the Holy Ghost were manifested sooner than even an ardent faith might have anticipated. (Stock 1880:78)

Stock explicitly mentions Collison's attempts to 'pick up their language', and this was certainly one aspect of the latter's ministry that merits close attention.¹¹ Indeed, he seems to have been the first European to have attained conversational fluency in Haida, and therefore the linguistic notes that he produced (some of which have been preserved in the CMS archive) are of considerable interest and importance. In effect, they provide the first detailed information about Haida lexis, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Compared to the simple wordlists and collections of phrases and sentences that had been gathered by explorers and traders who had come into contact with the Haidas for only a few days or weeks, Collison's analyses of the language, which he produced during a period of two years, were inevitably far more comprehensive. Also, since he was partly concerned with the task of translating liturgical and scriptural texts, he was the first person seriously to attempt to find a way of conveying Christian notions in Haida, and, consequently, he was one of the creators of what could be referred to as a Haida missionary sociolect.

Gradually, Collison's successors extended the linguistic work that he had begun, though there were certainly periods of inactivity. When Collison left Haida Gwaii in 1878, he was followed by George Sneath (1857-?), who proved to be a poor choice. Despite starting with great enthusiasm, he became dissatisfied with the kind of churchmanship practised by the CMS missionaries. In particular, like Duncan, he was opposed to ordination, and expressed his dissatisfaction openly in a rather pompous letter to the CMS:

Ordination I cannot accept. Ritual and robes to me are nothing more than man-made nonsense and especially when introduced among the heathen. Both Jesus and his noble servant Paul did without them and I will.

(CMS Archive G1C2/01882/35)

Given the contemporaneous difficulties at Metlakatla that began to manifest themselves in the 1870s (discussed below), the CMS was never going to tolerate this kind of stubbornness, and, not surprisingly, Sneath resigned soon afterwards. He was followed first by Charles Harrison, and then by John Henry Keen, both of whom produced important linguistic work that will be assessed at length in the following chapters. When Keen left Masset in 1898, Collison's son, Henry A. Collison (1877-?), took charge of the mission station, which was appropriate since

11. The task of exploring the way in which Collison acquired this knowledge will provide the main focus for Chapter 3.

he had been born in Masset. However, the station entered a period of gradual decline. William Hogan (1852–1914), Rev. Creary (dates unknown), and Alfred Price (1863–1931) were all based there, but the latter was the last of the Haida Gwaii missionaries. When Price left in 1920, he was not replaced.

Although the establishment of the mission station on Haida Gwaii suggested that the CMS North Pacific Mission was flourishing in the 1870s, the next few years were traumatic since there were acrimonious divisions and disputes between William Duncan and the CMS authorities. One of the main problems was that Duncan refused to allow the members of his Metlakatla community to receive Communion since he feared that this would have an adverse affect upon indigenous groups who he was convinced had an historical tendency towards anthropophagism (at least as part of some of their secret society rites).¹² Not unreasonably, the CMS authorities were troubled by this, and a lengthy process of attempted negotiation ended when Duncan was expelled from the Church of England in 1881. Undaunted, he simply continued his missionary activities as a non-denominational endeavour, and, in 1887, he and around eight hundred Tsimshians travelled to Annette Island in Alaska to establish a settlement known as ‘New Metlakahtla’. Duncan remained on the island for the rest of his life, and his controversial legacy is still fiercely disputed.¹³

The above summary has focused upon the activities of the CMS missionaries, mainly because the linguistic work produced by the members of this group will be explored in the core chapters of this book. However, it is certainly not the case that the Anglicans were the only denomination to establish a mission station on Haida Gwaii. Indeed, as the 19th century progressed, many different kinds of missionaries began to arrive on the Pacific Coast, and another prominent and influential group were the Methodists. Thomas Crosby (1840–1914) provided robust leadership, working tirelessly amongst various indigenous peoples, and he was responsible for determining when the time was right for the Methodists to establish themselves on Haida Gwaii. Like Duncan, Crosby was a Yorkshireman. He had been born to Methodist parents, and the family had emigrated to Ontario in 1856. In 1861, he had answered an advertisement in a Methodist newspaper that was seeking missionaries for work on the Pacific Northwest Coast, and, keen to participate, he travelled to British Columbia, eventually arriving there in 1863. Initially he taught in a native school in Nanaimo, but in the late 1860s he became an itinerant preacher, moving around Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, as

12. For a probing reanalysis of various accounts of cannibalism, see McDowell (1997).

13. Contrasting overviews of Duncan’s life and work can be found in Arctander (1909), Usher (1974), and Murray (1985).

well as on the mainland.¹⁴ He was ordained in 1871, and soon after this he came into direct contact with members of the Masset Haida community. At least according to the version of events that appeared in Crosby's memoir *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast By Canoe and Mission Ship* (1914), the Masset Haidas had initially sought a Methodist rather than a CMS missionary:

In 1876 a large party came over from Masset, Queen Charlotte Islands, most of them painted and in their blankets. They wanted to take me back with them to see their people, most of whom, they said, wished to have a Missionary. It was impossible for me to leave my work at that time, and we thought that the Church Missionary Society, who had Missionaries along the Coast, should take that part of the Island, so we urged them to make application to that Society. The Church Missionary Society afterwards took up successful work at Masset.

(Crosby 1914:263)

It is impossible to determine whether this account is accurate or not, but, if it can be trusted, then it suggests that there was a certain amount of interaction (and even co-operation) between the various missionary groups: if one organisation felt that another was better able to minister to a particular community, then the work was allocated accordingly, sometimes via consultation. However, despite the fact that Crosby did not send a missionary to the Masset Haida in 1876, the connections between the Methodists and certain Haida communities were soon strengthened. Specifically, after the establishment of the CMS mission station in Masset, several members of the Haida community in Skidegate began to petition for a similar station. In response to these requests, Collison visited Skidegate in 1877, but, although he was personally sympathetic to the wishes of the nascent Christian community there, he was unable to help since the CMS could not fund another mission station on the islands. Undaunted, the Skidegate Haidas petitioned the Methodist mission at Fort Simpson, Crosby recalled the occasion clearly:

[...] an urgent call came from the Skidegate and other peoples in the south. These Indians made regular visits in the summer to Fort Simpson for business purposes, both with furs for the Company and to trade off their large canoes among the Indians for fish-grease and other food. On these occasions they generally spent one Sabbath or more with us; and we would have weekly evening services especially for them and also special services in Chinook in the Church on the Lord's Day. When they saw how the Tsimpshian people were improving and how many of their children were beginning to read and write, they began to urge for a

14. A good biographical study of Crosby can be found in Bolt (1992). The often neglected work of Crosby's wife, Emma, has recently been examined in some detail in Hare & Barman (2006).

teacher at Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands. The leader in this movement was Gedanst (Amos Russ) [...]. (Crosby 1914:262–263)¹⁵

The native convert mentioned here, Gedanst (c.1850–1934, a.k.a. Amos Russ), often claimed to be the first Haida to have been baptised, and he seems to have been one of the leaders of the movement to acquire a mission station for Skidegate. As a direct result of this plea, a station was established in Skidegate by George Robinson (fl. 1883–1885), a lay Methodist minister, in 1883.¹⁶ During the next few years, a (largely tacit) understanding was reached between the CMS and Methodist mission stations: the former would oversee activities in the north of Haida Gwaii, while the latter would concentrate on the southern areas. However, despite this co-ordinated division of labour, the Anglicans and the Methodists approached their work in different ways, and they laboured largely independently. Like the CMS missionaries, though, the Methodists devoted a considerable amount of time to the learning of Haida, despite the fact that they did not publish grammatical studies and translations of liturgical and scriptural texts. There is no doubt, however, that Crosby encouraged his fellow Methodists to master the indigenous languages that they encountered. Concerning his experiences of learning Tsimshian at Fort Simpson,¹⁷ he later recalled that

[m]ost of our services had to be carried on through an interpreter. We felt that every effort must be made to get hold of this new tongue. In this Mr. Dudoward, our interpreter, was a great help. We had many a struggle before we were able to preach and teach the people in their own tongue, but every missionary should master the language the very first thing. (Crosby 1914:41)

Although their linguistic intentions were good, one problem that plagued the Skidegate mission was the quick succession of missionaries who were based there, the rapid changes of personnel preventing sustained linguistic research. Crosby's summary of the early years is telling:

Mr. Robinson remained at Skidegate for nearly two years. In the summer of 1885, he was succeeded by Rev. G. F. Hopkins. Three years later this Missionary was compelled, by the decline of his wife's health, to seek a change from this isolated

15. 'Chinook' here means "Chinook Jargon".

16. For an overview of the establishment of this mission station, see Crosby (1914:264–265).

17. There are various complexities concerning the names that are used to refer to the languages spoken on the Pacific Rim. The practice here will be to use the contemporary names in the main body of the text, but to retain the names (and spellings) used by the authors of the documents that are quoted as source material. Although this convention introduces a few seeming inconsistencies, the context of the discussion should usually prevent any confusion.

appointment. In 1888 he was succeeded by Rev. A. N. Miller, who in four years likewise found a change necessary. An interim of a year followed, during part of which a lay teacher, Mr. S. Lazier, supplied the work. (Crosby 1914:265)

Although mainly a list of names and dates, this short extract effectively conveys the difficulty of sustaining any kind of continuity: if each missionary only remained in post at Skidegate for a few years or so, then it was hard to accomplish any long-term projects. No doubt this partly explains why the CMS and Methodists alike were keen to make use of native converts in order to spread the ‘good news’ of the Gospel. While the case of Gedanst has already been mentioned, Crosby provides another example:

Another of our “Home family” was a young woman who came from the streets of Victoria. She was converted and became a very happy Christian. She was a good singer, and quite a help to us when we opened up the Mission at Queen Charlotte Islands, as she was a Hyda by birth. She would often go on evangelistic trips with the Missionary and his party. (Crosby 1914:90–91)

So, fairly soon after the missionaries first arrived on Haida Gwaii, a tradition of native evangelism was initiated, and, as a direct consequence of this, a diverse mixture of Christianities emerged, many of which drew upon indigenous rituals, beliefs, and customs as well as more conventional Christian traditions. The various kinds of theological syncretism that occurred along the Pacific Northwest Coast when the Christian message was taken up by native evangelists are forbiddingly complex and they have only just started to be explored in any detail. For example, with a particular focus on Tsimshian Christianity, Susan Neylan distinguishes carefully between ‘syncretism, convergence, and dualism’, and she puts it

[s]yncretism is a concept that refers to the blending of Native and Christian beliefs, symbols, rituals, and cultural expressions. Christianity, according to this idea, is not accepted as a comprehensive package. Rather, it is incorporated selectively into, even altering, pre-existing spiritual practices. The borders between the two religious systems become so blurred that they effectively combine, although rarely equally, into new beliefs, practices, or systems. (Neylan 2003: 15)

Understanding these interactions is an important part of trying to elucidate the broader cultural impact that the missionaries had upon the indigenous communities of the Pacific Northwest Coast.

2.4 Disease and demography

If the missionaries brought Christianity (of various sorts) to Haida Gwaii, then they also brought modern medicines and (often) a sincere humanitarian concern for the well-being of the indigenous peoples. As the 19th century advanced, these resources became increasingly beneficial, since the Haida communities suffered terribly as a result of certain diseases and damaging social customs that had been introduced by the non-natives who passed through the region. From the late 18th century onwards, smallpox and alcoholism (in particular) began to undermine the traditional Haida way of life, and a rapid decline in population effectively destroyed many well-established Haida communities. Although it is of course extremely difficult to estimate the number of Haidas who were living on Haida Gwaii at various points during the 19th century, there is general agreement that the population, which had been around 15,000 in the late 18th century, had fallen to around 1,700 by the 1860s, and may have reached a low of around 600 in 1915.¹⁸ Aware of these shocking reductions, the missionaries tried to relieve the physical sufferings that afflicted the members of the local communities. For instance, it is known that Collison vaccinated the Masset Haidas against smallpox during the 1870s, and, as a result, the disease, which had been carried to the islands from the mainland, did not claim an inordinate number of victims there:

Having at length succeeded in procuring a supply of vaccine lymph from the Indian Department of the Canadian Government, I invited a number of the Haidas to meet me in the Mission-room. I informed them of the danger in which they stood should the Kali-koustla (smallpox) again attack them, and the advantage to be gained by vaccination. I informed them of how the Iron people had suffered from its ravages in the past, until this remedy had been discovered. I endeavoured by every means in my power to induce some of them to submit to the operation, but in vain. They shrunk from it, evidently fearing that there was some thing mysterious in it. At length I resolved on trying the force and influence of example. Casting off my coat, I bared my arm, and vaccinated myself before them all. (Collison 1915:203)

Although Collison had received extensive training in preparation for his work as a missionary, his medical knowledge was limited. He realised, therefore, that he was taking a significant risk in attempting to vaccinate the Masset Haidas himself, and, as his account of these events continues, it becomes clear that the process did not go as smoothly as he had initially hoped:

18. Population estimates can be found in Duff (1997: 52–71), and Boyd (1990: 135–148).

I completed the operation, took up my vaccine and lance, and turning to them said: "Now since none of you would consent to be vaccinated, I have placed the medicine on myself. Should the Kali-koustla come now, probably numbers of you will die, as when it came formerly, but I shall escape." I was just leaving the room when a stalwart Haida who was a sub-chief sprang to his feet and exclaimed: "Etlagida lagging di ishin, tung kiwunsit alzeil kum di quothal ashang" ("Chief, it is good that you should place the mark on me also that I may not die"). I accordingly at once vaccinated him. His example was promptly followed by the others who were present. The rumour soon sped throughout the camps of the wonderful remedy; the scianawa of the Iron man which could effect what all their medicine men had failed to do, even to save them from the evil spirit of the Kali-koustla, and men, women, and children came crowding in upon me, so that for several days I could scarce find time to eat, so great was the rush for vaccination. But alas for the results. Though I had taken the precaution of warning them that it would probably become painful and swollen in a few days, yet I was not prepared for the storm of indignation which arose. Some of them became very unwell; not only the arm but in several cases the shoulder and neck became inflamed and swollen, and as the effect followed the cause so quickly they feared the worst, and threatened to shoot me, should the symptoms increase. I was now as fully engaged in endeavouring to soothe and allay the symptoms which had arisen, as I had been before in vaccinating. (Collison 1915:203–204)

Collison's frank description certainly captures something of the fear and horror that the smallpox epidemics caused in the 1870s, and it is typical of his writing that he should try to include certain words, phrases, and sentences in Haida in order to make his summary as linguistically accurate as possible. Consequently, it is clear that 'Kali-koustla' was the word that the Haidas used to refer to the smallpox, and it was a compound formed from *q̄al* (*skin*) and *q̄awsdla* (*to make stick out*) (Enrico 2005: 1495, 1512). Also, the word 'scianawa' could be a truncated form of the Masset phrase *skayaanaa cyaal* which specifically indicated 'a certain medicine for discovering a witch who is causing sickness' (Enrico 2005: 1201). In this way, Collison provides an insight into the contemporaneous Haida understanding of disease and medicine, and this reveals the way in which the Haida had begun to find ways of referring to comparatively recent phenomena such as new illnesses and cures. However, these sorts of details aside, there is no doubt that the lives of many of the Masset Haidas were saved as a direct result of the basic medical treatment that he was able to offer.

One unavoidable consequence of the smallpox epidemics was that many Haidas left Haida Gwaii and travelled to other places on the Pacific Northwest Coast that were perceived to be safer, and these migrants often ended up in larger centres such as Victoria and Vancouver. Displacements of this kind only contributed to the general problem of de-population, though, and, as a result, the Haidas who

remained on Haida Gwaii relocated from outlying villages to larger settlements such as Masset and Skidegate, leaving their ancestral territories deserted. A similar development occurred during this period amongst the Haida communities on the Prince of Wales Island and Dall Island in Alaska: the Alaskan Haidas had initially dwelt in a number of villages including Howkan, Koinglas, Klinquan, and Sukkwan. However, when the smallpox epidemics began to strike, the surviving communities relocated to larger centres such as Hydaburg and Kasaan.¹⁹

In addition, it is crucial to emphasise the fact that the first extensive period of missionary activity on Haida Gwaii, which began with the arrival of Collison, happened to coincide with a number of profound political changes which ultimately had a dramatic impact upon native culture all along the Pacific Northwest Coast. In particular, in 1876, the Canadian Government enacted legislation which attempted to define and determine 'Indian' status and band membership. Essentially, various laws were modified and consolidated to form a body of legislative measures which became known as the 'Indian Act'. In effect, this Act allowed the Government almost complete control over the First Nations. For instance, it stated criteria for determining membership of the category 'Indian', and specified the rights and protections that could be expected by individuals so classified. Most notoriously, though, the Act forbade traditional ceremonies such as the potlatch and the sun dance (Bartlett 1980). Other significant developments included the establishment of residential schools and the encroachment of Euro-Canadians upon land which had been reserved for the First Nations (Scholtz 2006, esp. Chapter 3). Needless to say, these highly contentious developments had a deep and lasting impact on many aspects of native culture within Canada. However, it was not until 1910 that the Queen Charlotte Agency was established at Masset, with the result that the Government took control over the remnants of the Haida community who still resided in the old missionary outpost.

19. For a clear discussion of the impact of missionary activity upon the traditional Haida way of life, see Henderson (1974: 303–316).

Initial encounters

3.1 Explorations

This chapter will begin the process of demonstrating that many valuable insights can be gleaned from the missionary linguistics texts that were produced on the Pacific Northwest Coast, and the main emphasis will fall upon William Henry Collison, the first CMS missionary to Haida Gwaii. Although Collison's linguistic research has never been published in its entirety, it nonetheless provides a wealth of information concerning Haida language and culture in the late 19th century. In order to position Collison's work in its full cultural and historical context, it is helpful briefly to explore some of the linguistic encounters between missionaries and the Haida that took place before he arrived on the islands in 1876.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Jonathan Green was one of the first churchmen to travel to Haida Gwaii specifically to introduce Christianity to the indigenous communities. Conveniently, his journal provides important insights into some of the linguistic difficulties he encountered while travelling around the islands.¹ On one occasion, for instance, he attempted to classify the communities in the region, basing his analysis primarily on crude linguistic criteria:

[...] I have classed them into three grand divisions. The Sitka, the Nass, and the Skidegass or the Queen Charlotte's Island Indians. Each of these divisions has a distinct language. At Nass, I have seen a native of Queen Charlotte's Island, and have witnessed his want of a medium through which to communicate his ideas. Each of these languages is guttural. The Sitka I think is particularly soft and musical. The Nass to my ear is harsh and disagreeable. Traders have uniformly chosen the Queen Charlotte's Island language as a medium of intercourse with the natives of different tribes, and this ship dialect is now tolerably well understood by all who do business with foreigners. (Lillard 1984: 34)

It is of interest that Green associated the 'Queen Charlotte's Island language' with a 'ship dialect', since (as will be discussed later) a Haida-based pidgin was used in the region before Chinook Jargon became the dominant medium of communication in the 19th century. Although his descriptions of the languages spoken by the

1. Extracts from Green's journal are most easily accessible in Lillard (1984).

‘Sitka’, the ‘Nass’, and the ‘Skidegass’ peoples (presumably, Tlingit, Nisga’a, and a Haida-based pidgin respectively) are typically subjective, he was at least impressionistically aware of distinct phonological and perhaps intonational differences, and he was clearly keen to reflect upon these differences. Indeed, there is no doubt that he sought to acquire a basic knowledge of Haida (in particular) during his brief visit:

Soon after my arrival on the coast I obtained the words in common use, and with the assistance of several intelligent natives, I increased my vocabulary as I had opportunity. I thus obtained nearly 700 words of the Queen Charlotte’s Island language. Though my object was rather to acquire enough of their language to communicate a few ideas, than to obtain a correct knowledge of it, yet I did not entirely neglect the latter. In the ship dialect there is no distinction of mood and tense, nor is there any uniformity in the structure of the sentences. Such a distinction and uniformity the Indians are careful to preserve. For example, a trader would say, *kaigan stuttle king Hawaii*. “I desire to see Hawaii”. An Indian would say, – *hawaii kanghi te gudunk*. “Hawaii to see I desire”. A trader, – *Kaigan cluto Nass sit down*. “I have been to Nass”. An Indian, – *Nass sit down to cluto kegone*. “Nass there I have been”. The letters here used have the English sounds.

(Lillard 1984: 34)

Despite the rough orthography, Green’s Haida sentences are recognisable. In modern transcription, his first example appears to be something like the following:

<i>hawaii kanghi te gudunk</i>	[Green’s transcription]
<i>hawaii qing-gee dii guda.ang</i>	
Hawaii see-INF 1p want.PRES	
‘I want to see Hawaii’	

The infinitival suffix used here (-*gee*) suggests that this sentence is in the Masset dialect (the usual Skidegate suffix being -(*g,y*)*aay*) (Enrico 2003: 31). Also, Green had obviously noted that the verb-complex element *guda* (“want”) takes an objective subject (i.e., *dii* rather than the agentive *hlaa*). No doubt as a result of his familiarity with such details, he realised that, unlike a ‘ship dialect’, Haida was characterised by regular grammatical rules. Importantly, he considered Haida to be a valid language in its own right. Although his simple comments lack detail, Green’s observations are of interest since many later missionaries reflected at length upon Chinook Jargon and Haida, deliberating as to the advantages or disadvantages of using the former as a linguistic medium for missionary evangelising.

Other passages in Green’s journal provide glimpses of his interactions with the Haida. For example, when he reached the mainland, he encountered the Kai-gani Haida in Cordova Bay, Alaska, and he found that some of the Masset Haida were present at the bay ‘on business’:

I visited both the Masset and Kiganee Indians, called at several of their houses, and laboured to interest them in my object. They were hospitable, and heard me with attention. Though I can but stammer in their language, yet I can tell them distinctly that trade is no part of my object that I came hither to see and talk with them to persuade them to receive instruction, to abandon their vices, to become good and happy. I told them of Jehovah, the great and good Chief above, who made the sea, and land, whites, and the Indians. (Lillard 1984: 49)

It would certainly be wonderful to know the exact sentences that Green uttered in Haida, and exactly what his audience made of his stammering accounts of ‘the great and good Chief above’. Nonetheless, even though his knowledge of the language was minimal, he was keen to convey some of the central concepts of Christianity, adapting and simplifying his message accordingly. Halting conversations such as these caused Green to feel dissatisfied with his own limited mastery of Haida, and, two days later, he recorded that ‘I have been fully employed in the study of Indian character and language’ (Lillard 1984: 50). In a later entry, he notes that he met a native, ‘Kowe, a Kiganee chief’, who ‘affords me great assistance in studying the language’ (Lillard 1984: 51). Green’s interactions with Kowe had prompted him to seek adequate words in Haida with which to convey the message of the Gospel. For instance, on May 3rd, he writes as follows:

Sabbath evening. Kowe has been with me part of the day, and I have tried to do him good. To explain the design of prayer, I offered up, in his hearing, a few broken petitions in his language. I told him something of Jesus Christ, and endeavoured to explain to him the nature of Christian forgiveness. Had I a few words to express moral ideas, I could preach to them of Jesus. (Lillard 1984: 52)

This is a tantalising passage since it is not immediately clear whether Green was convinced that Haida itself lacked words for ‘moral ideas’, or whether (as a novice speaker) he himself simply did not yet know the relevant vocabulary. Unfortunately, such matters were never clarified since, although Green had clearly made a focused attempt to learn Haida, he did not remain on the islands long enough to prepare a detailed analysis. Also, because the list of 700 words that he compiled no longer exists, it cannot be determined whether he ever succeeded in eliciting any words for ‘moral ideas’. It is generally the case, though, that the early Haida vocabulary lists compiled by various non-native traders, explorers, and missionaries in the mid-19th century highlight perceived limitations in the indigenous languages being studied. For instance, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it was not uncommon for visitors to Haida Gwaii to collate Haida-English wordlists, and these could be devised in two ways. The first way required English translations to be elicited for Haida vocabulary that had been encountered. The second way involved starting with a list of English words and obtaining the Haida equivalents.

When the latter approach was adopted, it was standardly assumed that, if no corresponding lexical item could be found, then the relevant concept could not be conveyed in Haida. This was the method used by vocabulary compilers such as George Gibbs (1815–1873), William Fraser Tolmie (1812–1886), and George Mercer Dawson (1849–1901). To consider just one example, in the Haida wordlist that Gibbs produced in 1857, a list of numbered English terms was used which included such items as ‘God’, ‘Devil’, ‘Angel’, and ‘Heaven’, and Gibbs was unable to find Haida words which conveyed either these concepts, or comparable ideas. Indeed, in a note concerning the word ‘Virgin’, he commented that

[i]t must be evident that, if there be no equivalent for this word, as contradistinguished from No. 7 [i.e., the word *girl*, or *maid*], there can be no translation of Matt.i.18, and the parallel passages of Luke, etc., which will convey to the Indian mind the doctrine of the mystery of the incarnation. (Gibbs 1857)

Examples such as this indicate the explicitly Christian emphasis of the early wordlists, suggesting that the possibility of eventual Biblical translation was a concern from the outset, even for those visitors who were not themselves seeking to convert the indigenous peoples. As will be discussed at length in Chapter 4, when subsequent missionaries eventually began to translate the Gospels into Haida, they were required to respond, in a range of ways, to the various lexical complexities that necessarily complicated the task of conveying (as accurately as possible) ideas that were central to Christian doctrine.

3.2 Comparing and contrasting Tsimshian and Haida

When Green left Haida Gwaii in 1829, there was a lull in missionary activity there until November 1876 when William Collison arrived in Masset. Collison had been born in Ireland (County Armagh) in 1847, and he entered the Islington Church Missionary College in 1872. Since his linguistic studies there influenced his view of the languages that he encountered on the Pacific Northwest Coast, it is useful briefly to summarise his training.

Islington College was created in the early 1820s because there was a widespread perception that existing conventions for preparing CMS missionaries had become unworkably impractical. As Eugene Stock put it in his centenary history of the CMS, ‘the arrangements for training men at home were at this time occupying much of the Committee’s attention’ (Stock 1899: 244). Significantly, even before it was created, some people explicitly opposed the plans because they felt that future missionaries should be taught at the existing universities:

The Committee began to feel that a regular Training Institution for the Society was becoming an urgent need. Some of their friends opposed this idea, and urged that accepted candidates should be sent to the Universities [i.e., Oxford and Cambridge]; but it was ultimately agreed that while men educated independently at the Universities, and then coming forward for missionary work, should be earnestly sought for, it was desirable, in the case of men of humbler station, requiring to be trained at the Society's expense, that they should be under the more immediate supervision of the Society's representatives. Hence the scheme [...] for establishing an Institution at Islington. (Stock 1899, Vol. 1:244)

Accordingly, a suitable piece of land was purchased in 1823, and the College was inaugurated in 1825, with the twelve initial students making use of a house that happened to be on the site. The first Principal, John Norman Pearson (1787–1865), oversaw the drafting of plans for a purpose-built structure that would accommodate fifty students, and which would enable the teaching at the College to take place with greater ease. The foundation stone was laid on July 31st 1826, and the building was completed soon afterwards.

Appropriately enough, the study of languages was given especial prominence in the syllabus from the very beginning. Predictably, Latin and Greek were taught with rigour, along with other traditional subjects such as Divinity, Logic, and Mathematics. However, there was also time in the syllabus for less traditional linguistic instruction:

The languages of the Mission-field were then regarded as an important part of the studies, and three months later, another Examination took place of the Oriental Classes conducted by Professor S. Lee, in Hebrew, Aramaic, Sanscrit, and Bengali. (Stock 1899, Vol. 1:266)

So, the CMS students were required to confront a surprisingly diverse range of languages, mainly from the Indo-European group, and the centrality of their linguistic studies is clear. The 'Professor S. Lee' referred to here is Samuel Lee (1783–1852), the celebrated Orientalist, who taught regularly at Islington College, and who was closely involved with some of the linguistic research that was published under the auspices of the CMS. For example, he had supervised the publication of the first Maori grammar textbook in 1820, the data for which had been collected by Thomas Kendall (1778–1832), and in this kind of advisory capacity Lee was primarily responsible for guiding early 19th-century research into previously unknown languages. Regrettably, his influence upon missionary linguistics in the 19th century has never been explored in detail.²

2. For more information about early attempts to analyse Maori, see Binney (2005) and Tomalin (2006).

Islington College may have been inaugurated with great enthusiasm and conviction, but its prestige had waned rather by the time Collison joined in the early 1870s. Indeed, as Stock notes, the College was ‘very far from full’ during these years, with the consequence that 1876 marked ‘a low-water mark’ in the number of recruits (Stock 1899, Vol. 3:45). Nonetheless, Collison’s generation seems partly to have revived the College, and the teaching that the students encountered there was still linguistically-focused, following the same basic pattern that Lee (and others) had established in the early days. In his memoirs, *In the Wake of the War Canoe* (1915), Collison’s remarks concerning his time at Islington College are unexpectedly brief. He mainly catalogues the various future missionaries that he encountered there, including some of the men with whom he later worked as part of the CMS North Pacific Mission:

After due examinations I was accepted, and entered the Church Missionary College at Islington. Here I made the acquaintance of the students, many of whom have since become well known through their labours in the mission field. Among them [was ...] Keen, who went out first to the North-West America Mission, where he laboured for some seven years, and then, when compelled to return to England on account of his health, took up duty in London for some years. He afterwards volunteered again for the mission field, and, having been appointed to the North Pacific Mission, laboured among the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands for some eight years, and then at Metlakahtla among the Tsimshians, where in recognition of his services, he was appointed a Canon. Hall also, who joined the North Pacific Mission in 1877 and laboured among the Quagulth tribes for some thirty-two years, reducing their language to writing and making translations. (Collison 1915:36–37)

While accounts such as this indicate that complex social networks were firmly established at Islington, they provide no detailed information concerning the kind of linguistic tuition that the students encountered. Consequently the latter has to be reconstructed from other sources. Although the particular syllabi seem to have varied from year to year, depending upon the interests of the different teachers, it is highly likely that Collison would have encountered standard Greek and Latin textbooks such as G. N. Wright’s *The Eton Greek Grammar* (London, 1830), and John William Donaldson’s *A Complete Latin Grammar for the Use of Learners* (London, 1852) and *A Complete Greek Grammar for the Use of Students* (Cambridge, 1862). In addition, given Lee’s connection with the College, it is certainly possible that his 1827 *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language* was still in use in the 1870s. Texts such as these would have provided Collison and his peers with traditional analytical frameworks (e.g., parts of speech, case systems, verb paradigms, tense and mood categories) with which they could approach the

languages that they encountered in their parishes in the ‘mission field’. It should be noted, though, that, as soon as they began their work abroad, the opportunities for extensive linguistic study of classical and scriptural texts were comparatively limited, and certainly Collison found that he required his knowledge of Greek and Latin only intermittently. In 1879, when he was ordained by William Carpenter Bompas (1834–1906), the Bishop of Athabasca, he felt ill prepared:

[...] after an examination which lasted a week, I was ordained to priest’s orders by the Bishop. He must have found my Latin and Greek rather rusty, as I had read but little of either since leaving the examination halls of my Alma Mater. [...] I realised that an examination of the Tsimshian and Haida languages would have been more in line with my work just then. However, the Bishop expressed himself as highly pleased with the result, which was more than I had expected. [...] It was greatly to his own credit that, notwithstanding the many long years of his wilderness life in the several dioceses of which he was the pioneer bishop, he continued to keep up his study of the classical and Eastern languages; and was one of the best Sanscrit scholars of his time. (Collison 1915:231–232)

Collison reproached himself for neglecting the classical languages while he had been involved with the North Pacific Mission, and he seems to have valued such studies highly. He certainly admired the manner in which Bompas had managed to indulge his interest in a range of Indo-European languages, despite the arduous nature of his work as a pioneer Bishop. However, such exertions were exceptional, rather than typical.

Having completed his studies at Islington College, and having married Marion Goodwin, Collison was initially sent to Metlakatla where he worked closely with William Duncan. Duncan encouraged his new recruit to obtain a working knowledge of Tsimshian, and it is revealing briefly to reflect upon the manner in which Duncan himself had become fluent in the language. When he arrived at Fort Simpson in October 1857, he began language lessons with the Tsimshian Arthur Wellington Clah (1831–1916), and, drawing upon Duncan’s journals, Peter Murray has provided the following summary of their interactions:

Clah started coming to his [Duncan’s] room for four hours each day. Duncan paid him \$15 a month. Their sessions became mutual learning experiences, with each picking up the other’s language. The lessons resembled a game of charades. When Duncan wanted the Tsimshian word for “cry” he would mimic crying. The same for “laugh”. Other meanings were harder to convey, such as “try”. Duncan described their routine: “I wrote his name on a slate. I said ‘you try’ and he shook his head. So I took hold of his hand with the pencil in it and I shoved his hand along, and I had quite a job getting his big hard fist to make the outlines, ‘C-l-a-h.’ ‘Now’, I said ‘you try’ and I gave the pencil to him. ‘Tumpahluh!

Tumpahluh! 'Oighack! Oighack!' he cried, which means 'right'. So I knew I had it. 'Pahl' is try. 'Tumpahuluh' is 'I will try'". Advancing in this laborious way, Duncan learned 1,500 words in the first month, which he combined into 1,100 sentences. (Murray 1985:39)

Clah says 'Tumpahluh' (*dm baalu* = "I'll try it"), where *-u* is the first person singular suffix, and *dm* is a anteposed particle indicating the future (Dunn 1995:59). His 'Oighack' is recognisably *hoygyax* ("right, correct"). Duncan already knows the structure 'Tum ... uh', so he understands that 'pahl' must mean "try". The learning process must have been slow and cumbrous, and it is not clear how Duncan managed to determine the functions of the individual morphemes using this method. Nonetheless, Clah's responses gradually enabled Duncan to become sufficiently familiar with the language system that he was able to preach fluently. The practical techniques for language learning that he developed were adapted by other missionaries in the region, with varying degrees of success.

Given his hard-won fluency in Tsimshian, Duncan was able to offer Collison sound advice when the latter arrived at Metlakatla twenty-five years later. Not surprisingly, Collison needed some assistance since (seemingly) he had been unable to learn any Tsimshian before he settled on the Northwest Coast. Describing his arrival in November 1873, he recorded the way in which Duncan greeted him, surrounded by 'hundreds of the Indians', and he offers his impressions of the evening service that he attended:

The language sounded strangely in our ears, and the responses were repeated by all as with one voice. There were no books in the native language, but the hymns and responses were sung or repeated from memory in their own tongue. Many of the Indians possessed English Bibles, and were able to find the text when given out. This was read by the preacher in English, and then translated into the Tsimshian. Though ignorant of the language, the day following our arrival found me hard at work. (Collison 1915:44-45)

It is intriguing that, even though Duncan had been at Metlakatla for eleven years when Collison arrived, there were 'no books' written in Tsimshian that could be used during the service. Therefore the liturgy (including hymns and responses) had to be learned by rote and repeated from memory by the clergy and the congregation alike. This practice, as well as the fact that the lessons were translated (impromptu, presumably) from English into Tsimshian, indicates the distinctively multilingual nature of the services. The hard work that Collison began on the following day was related to his position as a teacher in the day school that Duncan had established, and it was a position that benefited him:³

3. For a brief description of the schools at Metlakatla, see Usher (1991:311-313).

It was this educational work which enabled me to acquire the language quickly, with the correct pronunciation. At first, the calling of the school roll was always accompanied with considerable merriment at the teacher's expense. The majority of the pupils were as yet unbaptized, and were consequently enrolled by their own old heathen names. As I endeavoured to call these out, "Wenaloluk," "Adda-ashkaksh," "Tka-ashkakash," "Weyumiyetsk," and scores of other names even longer and more difficult, peal after peal of laughter arose from my pupils. But I did not mind. It served to show me my deficiency, which I made haste to correct. Gradually, this hilarity subsided, and I knew I was overcoming the difficulties of the pronunciation of the language. (Collison 1915: 45)

Even the comparatively humdrum task of taking a daily register could provide opportunities for linguistic study, at least until the adoption of Western names (as a result of baptism) became widespread. At the very least, these occasions enabled Collison to familiarise himself with the phonological structure of Tsimshian quite rapidly. In this environment, he was able rapidly to acquire a working knowledge of the language, and the speed at which he mastered the rudiments can be gauged from the reports that were sent back to the CMS and which were subsequently published (in an edited form) in the *CMS Intelligencer and Record* (from henceforth *Intelligencer*). For instance, the June 1876 volume contains the following summary:

Of the week-day education Mr W. H. Collison writes, "We can report progress in every respect". A spacious new school-room was completed in October. Mr Collison is now able to take his full share of preaching, teaching, and visiting, "all the difficulties with the Tsimshian tongue having vanished".

(*Intelligencer*, June 1876, 1: 6, 375)⁴

The bold declaration that 'all the difficulties' had vanished was surely an exaggeration, and similarly overstated summaries of progress feature frequently in the *Intelligencer*. In this case, the embedded quotation is taken from one of Collison's letters to the CMS, and more detailed extracts were published in the following month's edition:

Respecting the language, I am happy to state that all difficulties have vanished, and I am now enabled to speak freely in the Tsimshian tongue; consequently I alternate with Brother Duncan in conducting the service, and in preaching.

(*Intelligencer*, July 1876, 1: 7, 433)

4. In the cases where Collison's letters to the CMS have survived, the more accessible printed versions will be used, unless there are significant differences between the published extracts and the MSs.

Whatever the exact extent of his mastery, though, this short summary suggests that he had concentrated seriously upon the task of acquiring the language during the three years that he had been at Metlakatla.

Despite his sustained interest in Tsimshian, it was while ministering to the Tsimshians at Metlakatla that Collison first encountered the Haida traders who sporadically visited the mission station. He admired their maritime prowess and was intrigued by their reputation for fierceness. Conversely, the Haidas were interested in the missionary work which they observed during their trading visits to Metlakatla, and the CMS noted in 1876 that '[t]he Hydah Indians of Queen Charlotte's Island have been asking for teachers' (*Intelligencer*, July 1876, 1:7, 429). Duncan was convinced that this extension of the North Pacific Mission was urgent, and a plan for the establishment of an outpost on Haida Gwaii was announced. Importantly, it eventually emerged that Collison had asked to be entrusted with this onerous task, and his humble explanation emphasises his conviction that his linguistic skills would prove to be of considerable use:

I consider it an honour of which I am unworthy to be the messenger of God to the Queen Charlotte Islanders, and although we would have to surrender many of the comforts of life in leaving Metlakatla, yet we are prepared to do so willingly, yea, joyfully; and if it be the will of our Divine Lord to send us, I doubt not, but feel assured that He will prepare us for the work, and may he also be pleased to prepare the hearts of the people to receive the truth. [...] I have gained a slight knowledge of this language and have written down some 300 words, and am glad to find that I can master the pronunciation to the satisfaction of a Hydah ear, as I have tested with several from different tribes. It is, perhaps, more difficult than the Tsimshian, and is made largely of nasal sounds, a "ng," "ang," in *king* and *rang* at the end of words, and a "tsl" sound at the beginning of nouns, the "sl" having the same sound as in "slay," with the distinctive "T" sound prefixed.

(*Intelligencer*, July 1876, 1:7, 429)

Even before he arrived on Haida Gwaii, then, Collison knew something about the social organisation of the native communities there. At the very least, he was aware of the existence of distinct subgroups – 'different tribes' – and he made use of this diversity when starting to compile a Haida wordlist. In addition, he had started to reflect upon the Haida phonemic inventory, and he sought to associate the Haida phonemes with their closest English equivalents. The sequences <ng> and <ang> are likened to the velar nasals in '*king*' and '*rang*' respectively, and the fact that Collison presents these as 'nasal sounds' suggests either some uncertainty concerning phonological and morphological boundaries or perhaps simply a lack of technical vocabulary to describe the pronunciation accurately. Presumably, his graphemic sequence <tsl> denotes one of the affricates that he

had encountered (possibly the unvoiced alveolar lateral affricate that is now usually written as <tl>). It is not clear, though, why he should claim that such affricates occur ‘at the beginning of nouns’, implying (erroneously) that they do not appear in any other contexts.

Convinced of his seriousness, the CMS consented to Collison’s request. He was given permission to leave Metlakatla and to travel to Haida Gwaii. Intriguingly, the CMS’s decision to allow Collison to establish a new mission base prompted a spontaneous protest from some of the Metlakatla Tsimshians to whom he ministered. Specifically, members of the Tsimshian community were disturbed by the news that Collison was leaving, and some of his students appended their names to a letter that was sent to the CMS authorities. The signatories requested that someone else be sent to Haida Gwaii so that Collison could remain with them. While this remarkable document praises many aspects of the latter’s work, his linguistic skills are particularly emphasised:

We are so down hearted at the thought of Mr Collison leaving us as he has got acquainted into our ways he can talk our language so well now that when he preaches to us in our own language the oldest [^] and youngest people are able to understand him in the church. (CMS Archive CMS/B/OMS/CC204/22)

This short passage raises various complexities. It is possible (indeed likely) that the letter was written with some assistance from a local (unknown) English speaker. The idiomatic expressions – ‘down hearted’ and ‘got acquainted’ – were common in colloquial Canadian English at the time. This suggests that the Tsimshians of Metlakatla regularly encountered different varieties of English which were associated with different sociolinguistic registers. Whatever the issues concerning authorship, the stress placed on Collison’s linguistic ability confirms that his knowledge of Tsimshian was impressively secure by the time he departed for Haida Gwaii in November 1876. The superscript fragment ‘and youngest’, which was inserted as an afterthought, was presumably intended to clarify that it was not only the older members of the community that were able to understand Collison when he preached. If true, then the claim that old and young alike could follow his words with equivalent ease, suggests that he spoke a reasonably standard form of the language that was not exclusively associated with one particular sociolinguistic group.

Despite this poignant plea, Collison travelled to Masset later that year, and a knowledge of Haida was an essential requirement for the work that he had to perform there. Indeed, in his ‘First Letter from Queen Charlotte’s Islands’ he particularly emphasised the importance of his language studies. Having recorded the fact that he had been able to obtain for living quarters a screened-off area of a large room that was ‘10 feet by 12’, he goes on to note that the Masset Haidas,

who were understandably keen to meet their new residents, would often arrive in large numbers and remain for most of the day (*Intelligencer*, June 1877, 2: 6, 374). Collison was well-aware of the delicate complexity of these situations:

Of course this, with many other difficulties, will be overcome by a command of their language; but any attempt to carry out orders without a fair knowledge of their tongue might only insult and estrange them.

(*Intelligencer*, June 1877, 2: 6, 374)

With becoming sensitivity, he knew that his ignorance of Haida prevented him from behaving appropriately in difficult social situations; he therefore felt obliged to act with discretion, and the hardship caused by this state of affairs compelled him to study the language with especial urgency. He considered his inability to speak Haida to be an impediment in other respects too. For instance, he later described the building that he had prepared for religious services and school lessons, and he noted that '[i]t will meet our need *pro tem* until I know the language thoroughly, and understand the wants of the community better in every respect' (*Intelligencer*, June 1877, 2: 6, 376). So, Collison knowingly created ephemeral structures (both physical and logistical) which would allow initial work to continue while he focused upon the task of mastering the language. Indeed, in the same letter, he refers specifically to 'my close application to the language' (*Intelligencer*, June 1877, 2: 6, 375), a phrase that certainly implies careful diligence.

Despite his attempts at attentive preparation, some of the members of his nascent parish were reluctant to allow him to postpone all significant aspects of his work there until he had become fluent in Haida. Although he had determined not to arrange 'a meeting for instruction or worship' until he could speak the language with confidence, he was soon forced to alter his plans:

[...] at the end of three weeks I was induced to change my mind, as many who understood the Chinook jargon, or trading language of the North Pacific (as it is sometimes termed), earnestly requested that I should instruct them through this medium until I could speak to them in their own tongue. This I agreed to do through an interpreter, as I did not know the Chinook sufficiently to speak it myself; but several of them understood sufficient Tsimshian; and although this Chinook jargon is miserably defective in conveying Gospel truth, and very many do not understand it, yet some good has been done. A stronger spirit of inquiry has been stirred up, a greater longing to hear the Gospel in their own tongue excited [...].

(*Intelligencer*, June 1877, 2: 6, 375)⁵

5. As noted in Section 3.1, 'the Chinook jargon' was a pidgin that was used extensively up and down the Northwest Coast. For more information, see Holm (1989: 595–597), Holton (2004), Fettes (2007: 201–214), and Lang (2008).

One problem raised by this passage concerns the extent to which the Chinook Jargon was known to the Haidas. Collison claims that he acceded to the request for instruction in the trade pidgin because ‘many’ members of his parish understood it. However, only a few sentences later, he states that Chinook Jargon is ‘miserably defective’, partly because ‘very many do not understand it’. Should one conclude from this that the majority of the Masset Haidas were fluent in it, or should one conclude the opposite? Such matters are complicated partly by the low prestige status that was accorded to the pidgin during this period. Elsewhere in *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, Collison elaborates on these issues as follows when writing about the CMS mission in the Upper Nass:

By his translational work, the Rev. J. B. M’Cullagh has done much to enlarge and inform the minds of his Indian converts, many of whom can both read and write in their own tongue. But the great ambition of all the tribes is to know the English language; the Chinook jargon, which was formerly their only medium of inter-communication, is falling into disuse, whilst English is being freely used, both orally and by letter. They realise that a knowledge of English will open up to them a boundless field of information, both sacred and secular, and will also tend to unite them yet closer as Christians. (Collison 1915:86–87)

This seems to outline an overview of the situation that is more representative of the early 20th century (when *In the Wake of the War Canoe* was published) than of the 1870s. The gradual dwindling of the trade pidgin was already noticeable in the late 19th century, both on the mainland and on Haida Gwaii, and it was largely due to the contact with traders and missionaries which resulted in a greater familiarity with European culture. In 1884, Willis Eugene Everette claimed that Chinook Jargon was based on the language that had been spoken by an extinct tribe that was ‘allied in language to the ‘Haïdä’ and he noted that, although the pidgin was vanishing, ‘it is yet used as a sort of Vóläpuk between all of the *Pacific Coast Indians and the Coast Range Indians*, from the Klamath River in California, up along the sea coast to Alaska territory’ (Everette 1884). The implication here is that, although Chinook Jargon had once been used extensively up and down the West Coast, from California to Alaska, Everette perceived it to be in decline, and this view was widely shared. Consequently, to return specifically to the Haidas, it may have been the case that while older members of the Masset community were familiar with Chinook Jargon (to differing extents), the younger generations were largely ignorant of it. At this distance, though, such conclusions can only be tentative.

In the above quotation from the *Intelligencer* Collison observes that Chinook Jargon is ‘miserably defective in conveying Gospel truth’, and it is worth briefly exploring this description since, as noted earlier, in his first months on Haida Gwaii,

he was required to use the pidgin extensively as part of the translation process deployed during services (and, presumably, other types of interaction too). Since translations of The Lord's Prayer into Tsimshian and Haida will be discussed later, it is helpful to focus on a rendering of the same text into Chinook Jargon in order to identify some of the ways in which this particular medium could be deemed 'defective'. Conveniently, a translation of this specific text has survived, and it is roughly contemporaneous with Collison's ministry, since Everette wrote it down in 1884. In Everette's version, the first few lines are as follows (and his version of the text in English is also given, line by line; Everette 1884):

Nesáikā pápā klalsta mǐtlait
 Our father who [sits]
Kópā sáqāli, kloc kópā nesáikā
 in high-up, good in our
túmtúm maikā nēm
 heart you name
kloc maikā taiyí, kopa
 good you chief in
kǎnawe tǐlíkúm. kloc
 all people. Good
maikā túmtúm kópa éláhi,
 you heart in country
kákwā kópā sáqāli.
 as in high-up

These few lines provide some insights into the kinds of problems that Collison necessarily confronted when trying to use Chinook Jargon as a medium for religious discourse. The pidgin certainly does not provide a convenient set of lexical items for talking about several central doctrinal aspects of Christianity: 'heaven' is simply given as *sáqāli* which, as Everette's English version indicates, has the indeterminate sense merely of 'high-up'. George Gibbs' 1863 *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon* has the following entry for this word:

Ságh-a-lie, or Saí-ha-lie, adj. Chinook, SAKHALI; Clatsop, UKHSHAKHALI. *Up; above; high.* Saghálie tyee (literally, *the chief above*), God. A term invented by the missionaries for want of a native one. (Gibbs 1863)

So, for Gibbs, the adjective *sáqāli* (i.e., Gibbs' 'ságh-a-lie') was already being used by missionaries in the 1860s to refer to heaven. Seemingly, by the 1880s, the same lexical item could be used as a substantival adjective. Other words cause problems

too. ‘Kingdom’ appears as *kāñawe tīlīkūm* (i.e., ‘all people’), a paraphrase which has neither regal nor national connotations. There are syntactic difficulties as well. The mandative subjunctives of the source text (e.g., ‘hallowed be thy name’, ‘thy kingdom come’) are rendered without overt verbal elements, and therefore they lack cohortative force. No doubt these are just a few of the things which prompted Collison to bewail the deficiencies of the pidgin.

Significantly, in the late 19th century, missionaries associated with other denominations concluded that Chinook Jargon could facilitate interaction and, ultimately, evangelisation. The Catholic missionary Jean-Marie Raphaël Le Jeune (1855–1930), who was based at Kamloops, enthusiastically adopted the pidgin as a primary means of communication. Specifically, he developed a shorthand notation which he used extensively both in his teaching materials and in the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper which he founded. Le Jeune published a number of texts such as *Chinook and Shorthand Rudiments* (1898) in which he explained his methods, and he valued Chinook Jargon primarily because it provided a common linguistic ground (of sorts). Indeed, it is likely that this reflected long-standing Protestant-Catholic differences concerning the role of language in Church ministry. From the Reformation onwards, Protestant groups had tended to favour the use of indigenous languages, while the Catholic Church continued to advocate common Latin scriptural and liturgical texts. Although Latin was no longer spoken as a first language, it acquired a desirable universality since many (European) cultures could gain access to the Latin texts as part of their heritage – and it may be that Le Jeune and his colleagues viewed Chinook Jargon in the same way. Whether this was so or not, Le Jeune openly acknowledged that it was not always possible to find Chinook Jargon equivalents for words and sentences that were unproblematic in various European languages. Indeed, he stated bluntly that ‘[w]henver the Chinook vocabulary is not sufficient to express one idea, an English word must be used – the simplest and most common that can be found’ (Le Jeune 1898:4). So, even though missionaries associated with the different denominations working in British Columbia came to opposing conclusions concerning the utility of Chinook Jargon, there seems to have been general agreement that the comparatively impoverished lexicon and the reduced syntax of the pidgin created difficulties that had to be overcome.

If, as discussed earlier, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the Masset Haida were familiar with Chinook Jargon, then another problem concerns their knowledge of Tsimshian. In the extract quoted above, Collison acknowledges that he did not know enough of the trade pidgin to be able to preach in it unaided, and therefore he needed an interpreter to render his words into Chinook Jargon. Seemingly, the communicative chain was as follows: Collison would speak in Tsimshian, and a translator would convert his sentences into

their closest Chinook Jargon equivalents (as far as this was possible). It is likely that Albert Edenshaw frequently fulfilled this role, since Collison refers to him functioning in this capacity several times in *In the Wake of the War Canoe*. This arrangement suggests that Chinook Jargon was (at least) better known than Tsimshian. Whatever the exact linguistic mixture that characterised these early meetings, Collison clearly felt himself to be severely impeded by his comparative ignorance of Haida.

Seemingly, Collison made impressive progress in his study of Haida since (by his own account) he was able to preach in the language (tentatively) only a few months after arriving on the islands. Indeed, in October 1877, he noted that he had ‘mastered the difficulties of the language’, and he finally felt able to institute a regular ‘weekly prayer-meeting’ (*Intelligencer*, September 1879, 4:9, 564). Conveniently, like Green, he recorded the manner in which he started to acquire the rudiments of Haida, and, quite reasonably, he made use of the same sorts of techniques that he had utilised while learning Tsimshian:

Remembering my success in acquiring the Tsimshian from the method I had used, I determined to adopt the same method for the Haida, and consequently succeeded in obtaining a translation of my key, which, it will be remembered, was “What is the Tsimshian name for this?” or “Gaulth sha wada Tsimshian qua?” This in the Haida is “Gushino Haadis adshi kiadagung-gung?” or “How do the Haida cause this to be named?” Such of my visitors as could understand, I now kept busy while improving my own time, and the more indolent, not willing to be continually plied with my inquiries, soon took their departure, and thus I gained a double benefit. (Collison 1915:124)

In modern transcription, Collison’s question here is most likely

gasan.uu xàadas 7aajii kya.a.gang-gang
how.FOC Haidas this.thing be.named-FREQ-PRES

Even this simple interrogative reveals glimpses of his knowledge of the specific variety he encountered. His spelling ‘Haadis’ does not suggest the presence of a medial glide, and this is typical of the Masset dialect: this noun is *xàaydas* in Skidegate, and *xàadas* in Masset, and Collison’s orthography is closer to the latter.

While Collison’s interrogative ‘key’ was no doubt helpful for eliciting nouns, he must have used other techniques to obtain information about other parts of the language system, and the unavoidable need to consult informants caused problems when he progressed to phrases and sentences:

I proceeded well in the compiling of my vocabularies, but in my endeavour to form sentences and phrases I met with a serious drawback. Having framed a

sentence with the aid of one of them, I set it aside and awaited an opportunity to confirm or correct it with the aid of another Haida. But I was invariably met with the assertion that what I had written was incorrect. I was at length quite discouraged, and began to consider where the fault lay. I had noticed that on reading or repeating my sentence to any of them, their first inquiry always was “Who helped you to know that?” and that on my informing them, the rendering was at once disputed. I determined therefore not to enlighten them for the future as to who had told me. I found the trouble arose from a desire on the part of each to be accounted more clever than others, and from this time forward I made satisfactory progress. (Collison 1915: 124–125)

This anecdote amusingly encapsulates a primary sociolinguistic fact which unavoidably bedevils language study of any kind – namely, that no information concerning linguistic forms and structures is extracted in a cultural vacuum, and therefore informants often have complex agendas of their own which can impede the task of supposedly objective analysis. With specific reference to sociolinguistics, Lesley Milroy and Matthew Gordon refer to the desire to observe ‘the spontaneous, everyday usage of vernacular speakers’, but add that ‘the status of researchers as community outsiders inevitably challenges their ability to gain access to such data’ (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 49). The fact that the very act of observing speech alters the nature of the speech observed is often referred to (rather loosely) as ‘The Observer’s Paradox’. Clearly, Collison had to overcome these sorts of difficulties in order to acquire a secure knowledge of Haida. By refusing to reveal his sources, he was able to diminish the more competitive tendency of his informants. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the extent to which some of the disagreements amongst his informants were the result of genuine dialect differences rather than mere contrariness and opportunism. Since he was based in Masset, the Masset dialect would have prevailed in the speech community, but an informant more familiar with one of the other dialects could easily have provided contrasting information, and it is important to emphasise the existence of this diversity.

The passages quoted above provide a few insights into the manner in which Collison learnt Haida. However, from the very beginning he did not consider the language in isolation. On the contrary, he consistently adopted a comparative perspective, and his proficiency in Tsimshian enabled him to contrast the two languages. He repeatedly observed that he had been surprised to find few obvious similarities:

It might be supposed that a knowledge of the Tsimshian, the language of the tribes of this name on the coast of the mainland, only a little over one hundred miles distant, would have been helpful in the acquirement of the Haida. It would

have been so were there any similarity between the two languages. But there is no similarity whatever in either nomenclature, construction, or idea.

(Collison 1915:125)

By ‘nomenclature’ Collison presumably meant “vocabulary”, so he recognised that Haida and Tsimshian did not share an extensive lexicon. By ‘construction’ he presumably meant “syntax”, while ‘ideas’ seemingly refers to idioms in the two languages. As a specific example of these comparisons, Collison noted that Tsimshian verbs could be analysed using a basic Graeco-Roman analytical framework more successfully than their Haida equivalents. He stated unambiguously that ‘[o]ne peculiarity of the Tsimshian is that it somewhat resembles the Latin in the person endings of the verbs’, and in order to illustrate this point he includes the following example (Collison 1915:125):

	<i>Didolshu</i>	= I live.
	<i>Didolshun</i>	= You live.
	<i>Didolshuga</i>	= He lives.
Pl.	<i>Didolshim</i>	= We live.
	<i>Didolshashim</i>	= Ye or you live.
	<i>Didolshiga</i>	= They live.

The verb here is *diduuls*, an intransitive which means *to be alive*, and Collison simply provides the relevant pronominal suffixes (e.g., first person singular = *-u*, second person singular = *-n*, and so on; see Section 1.5).⁶ Paradigms such as this convinced him that Tsimshian verbs manifested person and number in a manner that was reminiscent of the Classical languages. For instance, the Latin verb *habito* (“I live (in a place)”) is conjugated as follows:

	<i>habito</i>	= I live.
	<i>habitas</i>	= You live.
	<i>habitat</i>	= He lives.
Pl.	<i>habitamus</i>	= We live.
	<i>habitatis</i>	= You live.
	<i>habitant</i>	= They live.

Collison quickly realised that Haida verb forms did not make such extensive use of inflectional morphology, and, to demonstrate the difference, he juxtaposed the

6. In the 3p forms, the word-final <ga> is a postclitic which indicates distance.

conjugation paradigms for ‘henung-agung’ (from the root *xiinangaa*, ‘be alive’ or ‘live’) (Collison 1915:126):⁷

	<i>De</i>	<i>henung-agung</i>	= I live.
	<i>Dung</i>	“ “	= You live.
	<i>Il</i>	“ “	= He lives.
Pl.	<i>Itil</i>	“ “	= We live.
	<i>Dalung</i>	“ “	= Ye or you live.
	<i>Il</i>	“ “	= They (many) live.
	<i>Il</i>	“ “ <i>anong</i>	= They (few) live.

The minimal use of inflectional affixes led Collison to conclude that Haida could not be adequately analysed using the same general patterns as the traditional Graeco-Roman paradigms. Indeed, the alternative forms of the third person plural indicate that Collison recognised the necessity of avoiding conventional analyses. Some of his successors in the Haida mission were less willing to deviate from the traditional models. In his 1895 *Haida Grammar*, Charles Harrison presented full conjugation tables, even though the verb forms were often invariant. When introducing the ‘Past Imperfect Tense’, for instance, he included the following table for the verb ‘kwōyāda’ (i.e., *quyaada*; ‘to love’) (Harrison 1895:159):

	<i>Tlao</i>	<i>kwōyādaḡigīni</i>	= I was loving
	<i>Dahou</i>	“	= You were loving
	<i>Laou</i>	“	= He was loving
	<i>Talung</i>	“	= We were loving
	<i>Dalung</i>	“	= Ye were loving
	<i>Ltha</i>	“	= They were loving
	<i>Laou</i>	“	= They were loving

Tables such as these are profoundly inefficient. However, it is likely that the Graeco-Roman conjugation pattern was retained primarily for pedagogical reasons: Harrison knew that most of the missionaries who would use his text would be most familiar with Latin and Greek, and therefore it was helpful to retain Classical categories whenever possible, even if they were strictly redundant. By contrast, Collison appears to have been less inclined to force Haida into pre-determined patterns merely because they were well-known.

So, Haida and Tsimshian differed in terms of the ‘nomenclature’ and ‘construction’, and (as noted earlier) Collison also claimed that they differed in terms

7. Some of the examples that Collison provides, especially the use of ‘anong’, are not well attested in other sources.

of ‘idea’. While this expression remains somewhat opaque, he is probably referring to the fact that, when broken down into their constituent components, certain idioms in the respective languages reveal fundamental conceptual differences. For instance, Collison noted that the Tsimshian phrase ‘Ashee Giamk’ (*Asii gyamk* = “sunbeam”) literally means “leg [of] sun” and this phrase is created from *asii* (“shin bone, tibia, foot”; Dunn 1995: 89) and *gyamk* (“sun, hot”). The equivalent Haida expression ‘Juie hunglth dagwuts’ means “the eyelash of the sun” (Collison 1915: 126). The most similar attested version of this phrase is *juuyee xang hlt’aaguj* which means (literally) “sun’s eyelash” or “the sun’s rays coming through the cloud” (Enrico 2005: 733). Collison stressed the importance of these ideational contrasts: ‘[i]n Tsimshian the idea is that the sun is as a great body, the limbs of which extend to the earth; while the Haida conception is that the sun is a great eye, of which the rays are the eyelashes’ (Collison 1915: 126). This quasi-anthropological approach is intended to substantiate Collison’s thesis that Tsimshian and Haida are fundamentally distinct. In the same way, he notes that the word for echo in Haida is ‘hants kil’ (*xanj kihl*) or ‘the spirit voice’, while the corresponding term in Tsimshian is ‘gwul aght’ (*gwilaax*) or ‘the reverberations of the lips’ (Collison 1915: 126). Having reflected upon a few examples of this kind, he concludes:

That the Haida is the more difficult of the two languages is evident from the fact that, whereas I have known several Haidas who understood and could speak Tsimshian, yet I have never found any Tsimshians who could speak the Haida, except several who had been captured by the Haidas and retained for many years in slavery. Indeed the Haida term for the Tsimshians is “Kil-las haada,” or “the people of the good language,” which is significant. (Collison 1915: 126)⁸

Collison may have known few Haida-speaking Tsimshians, but this is far from conclusive evidence that Haida is (in some sense) the ‘harder’ language. Presumably, the fact that the Haidas frequently travelled to the mainland for trade or warfare, while the Tsimshians rarely ventured out to Haida Gwaii, is enough to account for the perceived asymmetry. Nonetheless, Collison was clearly interested in the various connections and disconnections that distinguished the two cultures.

8. The structure ‘Kil-las haada’ actually functions as an unanalysable name. It is a rough literal translation of ‘Sm’algayax’ (“real/best/ideal language”) which can refer to the Coast Tsimshian, which is one of the two varieties of Tsimshian (the other being Southern Tsimshian). Tsimshian, Nisga’a, and Gitksan are all varieties of the Tsimshianic language family. ‘Sm’algayax’ does not uniquely identify Coast Tsimshian, though, since Nisga’a and Gitksan speakers use the almost identical ‘sim’algax’ to refer to their own languages.

3.3 The Lord's prayer

Although Collison contrasted the languages in *In The Wake of the War Canoe*, his most detailed comparative study was included in a letter which he sent to the CMS on July 3rd 1877. Having bewailed the fact that he had been unable to devote enough time to the learning of Haida, he was confident that he would make 'rapid progress' during the winter (*CMS Archive* CMS/B/OMS/CC204/10A). Despite this, he reflected upon the difference between the two languages:

I beg to enclose a specimen of the two languages Hydah and Tsimshean in which you will see the complete difference in construction, sound, etc.. As I am of opinion that the Hydahs are of Chinese or Japanese origin or possibly indirect[ly ?] connected with the Ainos of Japan (though from the illustrations which lately appeared in *The Gleaner* of those people I am led to doubt it) I would like to pursue some work bearing upon the language and customs of those Races in order to ascertain more clearly. (*CMS Archive* CMS/B/OMS/CC204/10A)

Collison introduces his comparative study of Tsimshian and Haida by reflecting upon the (conjectured) migratory origins of the Haida people. Although he was initially inclined to assume some kind of Sino-Japanese origin, he was becoming less convinced of the accuracy of this hypothesis. Such speculations were common at the time, but there was no consensus. In 1906, John Henry Keen considered the relationship between Haida and Japanese in his *Grammar of the Haida Language*:

After having carefully examined a grammar of the Japanese language, and also corresponded with a clergyman in Japan on the subject, I am unable to trace any resemblance between that language and Haida, though the Haida type of countenance seems to me to suggest a Japanese origin. (Keen 1906: 1)

Around the same time, William Ridley (c.1836–1911), the Bishop of Caledonia, stated that:

Haida and Japanese have the same mode of using post rather than pre-position; the same kind of case relations; indeclinability of nouns, whose number the context alone indicates; the infrequency of personal pronouns; the almost suppression of passive verbs; and the decimal system of numeration. (Ridley [n.d.])

While Keen was 'unable to trace any resemblance' between Haida and Japanese, Ridley found numerous similarities, and given the prevalence of such disagreements in the early 20th century, it is not surprising that Collison should have expressed uncertainty about the relationship between the two languages in the 1870s. Indeed, this is a subject that has continued to attract attention. As recently as 2003, Enrico acknowledged that 'there are many structural resemblances

between Japanese and Haida' (Enrico 2003:90). Collison's parenthetical reference to an article that had appeared in *The Gleaner* (a missionary periodical) is also of interest, though, since this shows that such publications enabled the CMS missionaries to contextualise their own work by considering contemporaneous accounts of other missions elsewhere in the world.

Perhaps partly because he was still undecided as to the origins of the Haida people, Collison devoted time to rudimentary comparative linguistics. Fortunately, the 'specimen' that he sent to the CMS still exists and it provides the most extensive early evidence of his attempts to familiarise himself with the linguistic structures of Haida. More importantly, it is the earliest known comparative study of the two languages that is still extant (other than simple wordlists), and for this reason alone it merits close attention.

In his comparative study, Collison juxtaposed the text of the Lord's Prayer in Tsimshian with a version of the same lines in Haida on the same side of a single sheet of paper. He also provided a reasonably detailed analysis of the first few lines of each text in the form of accompanying notes at the bottom of the page. There are a few minor anomalies concerning this text which should be mentioned. For instance, the handwriting is not Collison's. Also, the spelling 'Tsimpshean' is used throughout while Collison generally preferred 'Tsimshean'. These small inconsistencies suggest that the document was prepared by someone other than Collison himself, and, given the fact that it is unlikely any of the Haida would have been able to write in such a confident hand by 1877, it seems likely that Marion Collison wrote out the comparison, presumably at her husband's direction.

As an example of the manner in which Collison presents his analysis, the first line of the Tsimshian text is given as follows (*CMS Archive CMS/B/OMS/CC204/10B*):

Wee Nagwahd-um noo tsim lach-hagga
 (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f)

The alphabetical codes refer to the accompanying notes:

1st Petition, literally Our great Father (a) great, (b) father, (c) our, (d) who, (e) in (or art in) (f) heaven. The possessive pronoun 'Our' is translated by the 'um' ending of the noun 'nagwahd' = father, nearly similar to the Latin person endings.

(*CMS Archive CMS/B/OMS/CC204/10B*)

The sentence analysed here appears to be

wii-nagwaad-m naa ts'mlaxa-ga
 great-father-our who in.sky-DISTANT

Collison's rough parse specifies the grammatical role of the constituent morphemes. Sometimes, if the association between the Tsimshian and the English is obvious, he does not provide additional details. However, he occasionally elaborates upon a particular point when he wishes to clarify the translation. The comment that likens the use of the 1p plural suffix '-um' (-*m*) to 'the Latin person endings' suggests that he was still intrigued by the nature of the relationship between the grammatical structures that he observed in the North American languages and Graeco-Roman inflectional morphology.

Given Collison's well-established familiarity with Tsimshian, it is not surprising that his analysis of Haida is less detailed. The first line of his Haida translation is given as follows:

Eetl Aung uan sha ish-is
 (a) (b) (c) (d) (e)

In the accompanying notes, Collison again provides a literal parse: '1st Petition, literally our great Father (a) Our, (b) father, (c) great, (d) heaven, (e) in, or literally dwelling in, existing in' (*CMS Archive* CMS/ OMS/B/CC204/10B). Although these comments provide minimal detail, a modern rendering would be:

7iitl' rungng 7iw.aan saa 7is-as
 our father big above be.RELPR

Unlike the equivalent line in the Tsimshian translation, this sentence does not contain an overt relativizer, which is more in keeping with conventional Haida syntax (Enrico 2003: 564–656).⁹ Also, Collison's lexical choices are of interest. He deviates from both the English and the Greek text by including the verb *7iw.aan* ('be big'). Presumably, the intention is to emphasise that the person addressed is a very particular *rungng*. In addition, he asserts an equivalence between *saa* and 'heaven', noting that this word also functions as a modifier in phrases such as 'sha lana Eehlagadas' (*saa 'laanaa 7iitl'aaagadaa.as*) which he translates as 'chief of the city on high', and which he refers to as being the 'Hydah appellation for God' (*CMS Archive* CMS/OMS/B/CC204/10B). This treatment of *saa* became common-place: Charles Harrison lists 'sha' as being an 'Adverb of Place' in his *Haida Grammar* (Harrison 1895: 147), though he uses the compound 'shalana' for 'God' (Harrison 1895: 132; see Enrico 2005: 604). The problem here is that, if *saa* standardly functioned in pre-contact Haida primarily as a generic place noun with

9. In fact, the overt relativizer 'noo' (*naa*) in the Tsimshian example is unidiomatic too, and therefore a feature of the Tsimshian missionary sociolect. The word is usually an indefinite pronoun; it can function as an interrogative, but relativization does not involve a separate pronoun. I am grateful to Marrie-Lucie Tarpent for clarifying this (p.c.).

connotations such as ‘up’, ‘high’, and ‘in the sky’, then the first line of Collison’s Haida Lord’s Prayer literally means “our great father above” (Enrico 2005:603–604). Obviously, it was the missionary appropriation of *saa* which caused it to acquire specifically Judeo-Christian celestial associations. This approach seems to have been adopted via analogy with the use of the Chinook Jargon word *sáqäli* (discussed in Section 3.2). Indeed, the similarities are striking: phrases such as *saa ’laanaa 7iitl’áagadaa.as* are plausibly modelled on Chinook Jargon expressions such as *sáqäli tyee* (“the chief above”). These connections suggest that the influence of Chinook Jargon upon the missionary linguistics of the Pacific Northwest Coast was often significant: if a near synonym were not available in the indigenous language, then Chinook Jargon provided an intermediary point of reference. Certainly this seems to have influenced the lexical and syntactic conventions of the Haida missionary sociolect that emerged in Masset after the CMS mission station had been established there.

The text of Collison’s 1876 Haida Lord’s Prayer can be usefully juxtaposed with the version that Charles Harrison included in his 1891 translation of St Matthew’s Gospel, *Saint Matthew Gié Giatlan Las: St. Matthew, Haida* (from henceforth *Matthew*). For ease of comparison, the first lines from both texts are given below, clause by clause, where ‘CN’ means “Collison, line N”, and ‘HN’ means “Harrison, line N”:¹⁰

C1: Eetl Aung uan sha ish-is
 7iitl’ rungng 7iw.aan saa 7is-as
 our father big above be.RELPR
 ‘Our Father who art in heaven’

H1: Ítil Aung shā dung isis:
 7iitl’ rungng saa dang 7is-as
 our father above you be.RELPR
 ‘Our Father who art in heaven’

C2: Nung Hayee l quo-ya-dass
 Nang k’wii [?] ’la quyaad-as
 INDEF name 3p love.RELPR
 ‘Hallowed be thy name’

H2: agwan lth keyi unga kwoyada:
 hak’waanhl k’wii 7aangaa quyaadadaa
 just-ADV name REFL.POSS let.love
 ‘Hallowed be thy name’

10. Collison’s text can be found in *CMS Archive CMS/OMS/B/CC204/10B*, while Harrison’s can be found in Harrison (1891:23).

C3: Aqun l tow lung quandey
hak'un 'la taww- lang qwaandii
 Thus 3p clan.mates let.be.many
 ‘Thy kingdom come’

H3: agwan lth kingdom althgwi unga ista
hak'waanhl kingdom hahlgwii 7aangaa 7isda
 just-ADV kingdom this.way REFL.POSS let.come
 ‘Thy kingdom come’

Collison’s and Harrison’s respective orthographies reveal the continuing problem of trying to find a stable phonetic notation for Haida. In line C1/H1, the affricates create predictable problems: Collison’s <tl> (a glottalized alveolar affricate) is written as <til> by Harrison. Such differences suggest that during the period 1870 to 1895 (at least) there was no fixed notation for these phonemes. In a similar manner, in C1/H1, Collison’s <ish> in *7is-as* contrasts with Harrison’s <is>, suggesting that, although the former perceived a post-alveolar fricative here, the latter heard an alveolar fricative.

While these orthographical details reveal something about the phonological analyses adopted, the lexical items and syntactic structures are of equal importance. Unlike Collison, Harrison does not provide additional information about the particular *rungng* (“father”) referred to in the prayer. Presumably, by the 1890s, the Masset Haidas were sufficiently familiar with the Christian message for there to be any confusion about this. It is significant also that Harrison elects to retain the noun ‘kingdom’ (or *vasileia* in the Greek) in H3, rather than attempting to find a rough Haida synonym (as Collison had tried to do with *tawwlang*).¹¹ Harrison is effectively claiming that the notion of kingship is a culturally specific idea which cannot be rendered from the source language (English/Greek) into the target language (Haida). However, this means that the text would have been opaque to the uninitiated. No doubt, as a result of regular liturgical usage, ‘kingdom’ functioned as a loanword in the Haida sociolect that was spoken by the groups most closely connected to the CMS Masset mission. Collison’s *tawwlang* avoids comprehension gaps, but it creates problems of a different kind. Strictly, this word denotes a clan member beyond a certain degree of closeness. Originally the word was not used to refer to a mother or sisters, and it was never applied to non-Haidas. However, in the post-contact period, it began to acquire the sense of ‘friend’ and it became possible to use it with reference to non-Haidas (Enrico 2005: 115–116). Given these semantic complexities, it is difficult to reconstruct the range of connotations this word implied in the 1870s. Collison adds in

11. All Greek transliterations use the ISO 843:1997 Type 2 system.

a note that ‘as the Indians are unacquainted with kingly government the word used in both the Tsimpshean and Hydah languages is more akin to the scotch term “class,” or the word “tribe”’ (*CMS Archive CMS/OMS/B/CC204/10B*). This suggests that, for Collison, *tawwlang* denoted the totality of one’s clan (though this usage seems to have been unusual at the time). Linguistic and cultural intricacies of this kind were typical: the missionaries repeatedly struggled to associate Haida matrilineal lineages with European social structures, and there was an ongoing dialogue in which cultural compromises were reached between indigenous practices and Euro-Canadian conventions. Such exchanges also brought into prominence the troubling distinctions between nationhood and ethnicity. As Adrian Hastings put it in *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (1997), ‘[a] nation is a far more self-conscious community than an ethnicity [...] it possesses or claims the right to political identity and autonomy as a people’ (Hastings 1997: 3).¹² Obviously, this is a characteristically Western view, but these are precisely the notions that Collison and Harrison were seeking to communicate in Haida. It is no surprise, then, that the connections between *taawlang* and the kind of socio-political power hierarchy denoted by ‘kingdom’ are tenuous.

In addition to these problems, the archaic participle ‘hallowed’ in The Lord’s Prayer caused difficulties. This translates the Greek word *hagiasthító*, which is derived from the verb *hagizo*, meaning (essentially) “to make sacred”. However, Collison and Harrison both use verb forms that are derived from *quyaada* which means “love; esteem; not want to part with [...]; be tight with [...]; take good care of; be careful with” (Enrico 2005: 1475). Collison’s C2 has the sense ‘Your name is loved’, while Harrison’s H2 implies something like ‘Let your name be loved’. While ‘loved’ and ‘esteemed’ are not semantically equivalent to ‘hallowed’ or ‘sanctified’, both men were apparently convinced that *quyaada* was sufficiently close in meaning to provide the best rendering. In the same way, *saa* appears for ‘heaven’ in lines C1 and H1, suggesting that this had become a standard part of the missionary sociolect by the early 1890s (as discussed above).

As for syntax, both texts reveal the extent of the translators’ familiarity with clause types, internal NP structure, verb complexes, and so on. Clearly, the mandative subjunctives of the English text (‘hallowed be thy name’, ‘thy kingdom come’) required Collison and Harrison to think quite carefully. The former uses the relative present – *quyaad-as* – in C2, but, like Harrison, he includes the adverb *hak’waanhl* with the imperative in C3. In effect, *hak’waanhl* softens the force of a command, making it an imploring request rather than a bold order. In his

12. These and related issues are discussed at length (with reference to languages other than Haida) in texts such as Chidester (1996).

1895 *Haida Grammar*, Harrison associates structures of the form *hak'waanhl PRO VCMP* with passive imperatives (Harrison 1895:173). In such constructions, he uses the verb form 'kwōyādada' (presumably, *quyaada* with the causative suffix *-daa*), though in H2 he has merely 'kwoyada' (that is, the uninflected form *quyaada*). Harrison's repeated inclusion of the *hak'waanhl PRO VCMP* structure suggests that he was generally more procedural than Collison in his approach to translation: once he had established an equivalence between an underlying syntactic structure in English and a corresponding structure in Haida, he tended to maintain this correspondence in all cases. In other words, he seems to have identified a set of formal mappings which he deployed fairly consistently. By contrast, Collison was much less mechanical.

3.4 The acquirement of the tongue

It is known that Collison wrote 'several handbooks' (Collison 1915:241) concerning Haida. These were compiled expressly to assist his successor, George Sneath, 'in the acquirement of the tongue' (Collison 1915:241) – and his grammatical expositions were available (at least initially) to the next generation of missionaries. Indeed, he amassed a wealth of linguistically informative texts during the years that he passed in Masset, but the vast majority of these have not survived. In one of his letters, Collison provided the following tantalising summary:

In the development of the work I am rejoiced to report that I have succeeded beyond my expectation, and we have now portions of scripture, a catechism, the commandments and the Lord's prayer, a general confession and thanksgiving, several collects and other short passages and ten Hymns besides a series of "Short Addresses on Great Subjects" all translated into or composed in the Hydah language. The short addresses are on the principal doctrines of the Xtian faith as the Fall, the Atonement, the Resurrection etc. etc. As the last hymn which I have composed is a great favourite and is in rhythm without in the least injuring the force or meaning, I beg to enclose a copy of it. We sing it to the tune of "Jesus of Nazareth passeth by".
(CMS Archive CMS/OMS /B/CC204/18)

In the texts considered so far, Collison was usually attempting to translate an existing English (or Greek) text into Haida, and, if they still existed, his catechism, commandments, general confession and thanksgiving would all be works of this kind. A different perspective, though, is provided by the aforementioned hymn which Collison wrote as an original Haida poem and subsequently translated into English. He sent it to the CMS on July 2nd 1878, and it has been preserved in the archive. By this time, Collison had been living in Masset for almost two years, and

he claimed (at least) to have a fluent knowledge of the language. For these reasons, his hymn is an intriguing source text. It consists of four verses with a repeated refrain, and the fact that the words are set to a known tune, ‘Jesus of Nazareth passeth by’, enables his understanding of Haida syllabification to be partly reconstructed. As with his Tsimshian and Haida translations, he offers a brief parse for each sentence. The refrain is given below in the following versions (in descending order): Collison’s Haida text, his English translation, a modern Haida version, and a modern translation. The code ‘r:N’ means “Refrain, line N” (*CMS Archive CMS/OMS/B/CC204/18*):

- r:1 Geahtlan lah geahtlan lah
 tidings glad tidings glad
gi7ahlaang 'laa gi7ahlaang 'laa
 news good news good
 ‘Good news, good news’
- r:2 Talung kahtlagan Shagay-staka
 to us has come heaven-from
t'alang qaatl'a-gan saagee-sdagaa
 1p pl come.to-PA above.DEM-descended.from
 ‘has come to us from heaven’
- r:3 Jesus Christ ll keel sha nung etlageda
 Jesus Christ the son of God
Jesus Christ 'la gid [?] saa nang 7iitl'aaagiid.a
 Jesus Christ 3p son above INDEF chief
 ‘Jesus Christ the son of God’
- r:4 Highth kahtlagan ahl eelt kaginda
 down has come to us save
xiid qaatl'a-gan -rahl 7iitl' qaganda
 down come.to-PA by-means-of us be.saved
 ‘has saved us by having come down’

Collison’s parse does not provide much analytical detail. However, it is important to recall that this hymn was included in a letter which he sent to the CMS headquarters in the UK: it would have been pointless for him to include an exhaustive linguistic analysis. Presumably, he simply wanted to present his employers with a rough idea of the sort of thing the Haida congregation were singing in the Masset church. This may also explain some of the syntactic oddities that seem to be present in these lines. For example, in line r:2 one would expect a postposition to be attached to the 1p pl pronoun, and there also appears to be a postposition missing in r:4. Also, <keel> in r:3 may be a transcription error for <keed>, and a schetic

suffix is missing from the verb. In addition, ‘Shagay-staka’ in r:2 may be some form of *sahguusdaagee* which can be used in structures such as ‘NP *sahguusdaagee*’ to mean “the one in the part above NP” (Enrico 2005:605), though the syntax here would be strange in this context. Despite these vagaries (which may be unintended slips), the text reveals the extent to which Collison was familiar with basic syntactic phenomena such as the role of the tense suffixes (e.g., *-gan* in r:2), and the arguments required by certain verbs (e.g., *qaganda* in r:4 takes the objective subject *7iitl’* rather than the agentive *t’alang*). His use of the postposition *-rahl* is of particular interest. This postposition can convey a range of meanings including “with” (instrumental and comitative), “by means of”, “because”, “and/or”, “as soon as”, and “at” (Enrico 2005:1624–1628). In r:4 it appears to convey an instrumental, or even a resultative, connotation. The same postposition occurs elsewhere in the hymn – specifically in the second line of first verse (v1:2), and the first line second verse (v2:1):

v1:2 Kin da aungash ahl telt kahalay
 sin had caused our loss
ginn darangas -rahl t’all qaa.ahl.ee
 this.thing bad by-means-of we be.lost
 ‘Sin caused our loss’

v2:1 Eetl dah-angash ahl Shalana kahtlagihldung
 our sins have made God angry
7iitl’ darangas -rahl saa ’laanaa qaahlii hidang
 our sins because-of God be.angry
 ‘God is angry because of our sins’

The role of the postposition is subtly different in these examples. In r:4 the underlying structure is *CLAUSE-rahl CLAUSE*, while in v1:2 and v2:1 the structure is *NP-rahl CLAUSE*. Specifically, in v2:1, it forms a postpositional phrase with *ginn darangas*, and Collison provides a note to clarify this (*CMS Archive CMS/OMS/B/CC204/18*):

thing sinful
 kin dah aungach = the evil thing

Apparently, in order to convey the Judaeo-Christian notion of ‘sin’, he formed the periphrastic structure *ginn darangas* which consists of an indefinite noun and the verb *daranga* (“be bad”). His note shows that, by July 1878, he had not yet settled on a fixed orthographical system: <da aungash> in v1:1 becomes <dah aungach> in the marginal note. There are other contrasts too. In his Haida version of the Lord’s Prayer, he had translated ‘God’ as ‘sha lana Eehlagadass’. In v2:1 of the 1878

hymn, he uses the phrase ‘sha nung Etlagedass’ instead, translating this as ‘the Chief of Heaven.’ Seemingly, he was still striving to find a standard representation for certain Haida consonants, especially the lateral affricates. Such variations may simply be the result of carelessness or inattentiveness, but, to emphasise the complexity of these matters, it is worth quoting Enrico’s remarks concerning the orthographical system that he himself had used in his 2005 *Haida Dictionary*:

The author used a revised version of the 1972 Alaskan alphabet as recently as the early 1980s, and taught it to both Masset and Skidegate Haidas. But as work on the sound system progressed, changes in the alphabet became necessary. Such gradual revision is a perfectly natural part of linguistic research, which is not an overnight activity. [...] The author apologizes to those Haidas who would prefer to continue using one of the older Haida orthographies. The change was motivated by the greater simplicity and clarity described above and called for by the typing of hundreds of pages of text and thousands of pages of dictionary. It was motivated as well by the scientific orientation of the work. That is, using one orthography for all three dialects makes it easy to see how they are historically related to one another. Haidas too should appreciate this. Using one orthography for all dialects might also increase language solidarity and facilitate cooperation among the three groups in matters of language retention. (Enrico 2005:xii–xiii)

Orthographical modifications and revisions are inevitable, and since the practical orthography of the Haida language was still in a state of flux as recently as 2005, it is not surprising that Collison should have altered his own spelling conventions during his years on Haida Gwaii.

In addition to the orthographical and phonological details discussed above, the Haida hymn also reveals the extent of Collison’s familiarity with the Haida verb complex (*CMS Archive CMS/OMS/B/CC204/18*):

- v3:3 [...] Wyegen eetl qutungay til squnegain
 [...] and our hearts will cleanse
 [...] *gyaan 7iitl’ gutungay tla skun.a.ang* [?]
 [...] and our hearts INS.CAUS be.clean
 ‘[...] and will clean our hearts’
- v4:3 [...] Wyegen eelt gutungay til ladaka-shang
 [...] And our hearts strengthen
 [...] *gyaan 7iitl’ gudangee tla tlaajgahl-sa-ang* [?]
 [...] and our hearts INS.CAUS be.strong-FUT-PR
 ‘[...] and make our hearts strong’

In these lines, Collison uses the instrumental ‘til’ (*tla*). This lexical item is derived from the noun *tla* (“hands”) and it forms part of a causative instrumental-verb

compound. Causatives in Haida can be created in different ways: by means of suffixation (e.g., *-da*, “make, have, let”; *-hahl* (M), “order that”), verb-verb compounds, or instrumental-verb compounds (Enrico 2003:1107–1163). Causative instrumental-verb compounds are more common than non-causative ones. This is partly because several instrumentals are semantically compatible with a large number of verbs. In his accompanying notes, Collison refers to the instrumental ‘til’ as follows:

The prefix “Til” gives force to the word which comes after it, in fact gives it a verbal signification as for instance in the 3rd line of the last verse “ladska shaug” is an adjective but the prefix “til” makes it a verb, strengthens or makes strong.

(CMS Archive CMS/OMS/B/CC204/18)

The fact that Collison refers to ‘til’ as being a ‘prefix’ while clearly writing it as a separate word partially reveals some of the analytical difficulties that he had not yet managed to resolve. Seemingly he was still struggling to specify the manner in which Haida could be accommodated to the standard grammatical categories (e.g., parts of speech, affixes) that he had inherited from the Graeco-Roman tradition. Nonetheless, despite this, he recognised that *tla* could impart causative force to a following lexical item and this suggests that he understood the way in which instrumentals functioned in Haida verb compounds. His brief comments certainly constitute the first known attempt to provide an analytical account of causative instrumental-verb compounds in Haida, and (significantly) his discussion predates Swanton’s by over thirty years.

3.5 Preparing the ground

As this chapter has shown, Collison’s linguistic work is of particular interest. Since he was the first missionary to be stationed for a period of years on Haida Gwaii, he was unable to draw upon existing language studies of Haida, and therefore he had to start from scratch. His education at Islington College provided him with lexical categories and verb paradigms (amongst other things) in relation to which he could assess the various languages that he encountered on the Northwest Coast. In addition, his fluency in Tsimshian ensured that, from the outset, he was inclined to explore his interest in comparative linguistics. This prompted him to study the Haida language in a systematic manner. Significantly, unlike some of his contemporaries, he felt that Haida could not easily be made to fit into a Graeco-Roman analytical framework, and he knew that it could not be grouped with Tsimshian and other languages that were spoken on the Northwest Coast. The importance

of his views concerning such matters lies partly in his primacy: he prepared the ground for the generations of missionaries (and anthropologists) that followed him. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know exactly how his linguistic research was conveyed to later generations. Although Collison interacted closely with David Leask and George Sneath, neither of these men was able to sustain the missionary work on Haida Gwaii for a protracted period of time. Therefore it was not until Charles Harrison arrived in 1882 that the mission in Masset entered another phase of comparative stability. Accordingly, Harrison's linguistic work must now be explored in detail.

Analysing and assessing

4.1 Language and mission

The chapter will focus predominantly upon the language-based research of Alfred Hall and Charles Harrison. Hall and Harrison are two especially intriguing figures who lived for many years amongst various indigenous communities on the Pacific Northwest Coast, and who published grammatical accounts of Kwak'wala and Haida respectively, as well as translations of scriptural texts.¹ Hall was primarily responsible for establishing the CMS outpost in Alert Bay, remaining there for most of his career, while Harrison succeeded George Sneath as the CMS missionary to Haida Gwaii in 1882, a position he held until 1890. Both men acquired a fluent working knowledge of the languages they analysed. Since the work of these missionary-linguists is not well known, this chapter will summarise their main contributions, and it will become clear that their accounts of Kwak'wala and Haida are closely connected. These striking similarities prompt a reconsideration of the manner in which missionary linguists approached the task of language study on the Pacific Northwest Coast in the late 19th century. The intertextual connections between Hall's and Harrison's linguistic studies demonstrate that Graeco-Roman and European grammatical models were not always dominant. As Otto Zwartjes and Even Hovdhaugen put it:

Almost without exception grammars and dictionaries were composed by missionaries for missionaries. It has been argued that this pioneer work is not interesting from a linguistic point of view, since the missionaries always follow strictly the Greco-Roman grammatical model, even imposing this system on languages which are typologically completely different. However in recent studies linguists and historians of linguistics began to pay more attention to these work [sic] and the results of recent research demonstrate that the opposite may be closer to the truth: many works are written 'in dialogue' with their predecessors, many missionaries, if not the most [sic], had an excellent command of these 'exotic' languages. These pioneers not only adopted but also in many

1. Although Hall used the name 'Kwāgiult' in his writings, the name 'Kwak'wala' has become standard in contemporary work. Therefore, although the older name will be retained whenever extracts are quoted from primary sources, 'Kwak'wala' will be used when appropriate.

cases adapted, or even partially abandoned the Greco-Latin model in a ‘revolutionary’ way, focusing on the idiosyncratic features of the native languages themselves. (Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen 2004:2)

If this account is valid, then it is desirable to reveal the extent to which texts published by different missionary linguists were ‘in dialogue’ with each other, focusing especially on any ‘revolutionary’ features that are manifest in the analyses concerned. Given this, Hall’s and Harrison’s texts certainly merit close attention mainly because, rather than taking either Graeco-Roman or European grammatical models as a primary starting point for his analysis, Harrison took Hall’s grammatical study of Kwak’wala as the basic template for his own account of Haida, despite the fact that the languages are not closely related.

4.2 Hall and Kwak’wala

Hall’s ministry as part of the CMS North Pacific Mission was characterised by remarkable longevity. Initially he was based at Fort Rupert and remained there from 1878–1880, when he relocated to Alert Bay. Under the auspices of the CMS, Hall’s task was to minister to the indigenous people who lived towards the north of Vancouver Island, and from the start of his time there he seems to have been keen to try to understand the communities amongst which he lived and worked, an approach that prompted him to reconsider linguistic matters from the very start of his residency. For instance, one of his earliest reassessments involved altering the romanised form of the name that was used to refer to his new parishioners. As the *Intelligencer* put it, in December 1882, under a section titled “The Kwagutl Mission, Vancouver’s Island”;

[h]itherto the Indians among whom this Mission is established have been called the *Quoquolt* tribe. The Rev. A. J. Hall now, however, calls them *Kwagutl* or *Kwagiulth*, and we adopt the same spelling. (*Intelligencer*, December 1882, 7:84, 747)

The fact that the *Intelligencer* presents two new possible names – *Kwagutl* and *Kwagiulth* – suggests that Hall had not settled upon a final form. As mentioned earlier, in recent years, yet more names have been proposed, but Hall’s recommended change suggests that he considered previous alternatives to be inaccurate and inadequate. This sense of renewed purpose and attentiveness was emphasised later in the same article when the readers of the *Intelligencer* were informed that Hall had now moved from Fort Rupert to Alert Bay, though no precise geographical information about the new mission station was provided. This is not surprising since Alert Bay was not close to any of the main centres, such as Metlakatla and

Victoria, that were starting to flourish and which were therefore becoming familiar names to regular readers of the *Intelligencer*. Situated on Cormorant Island (off the north-eastern coast of Vancouver Island,), across from Port McNeill, Alert Bay was recommended by Bishop Ridley as a preferable place for a CMS outpost, but the process of relocation caused unavoidable complexities. When Hall arrived there, he felt obliged to continue overseeing the nascent Christian community that he had established at Fort Rupert, and, significantly, the latter was the place where he had begun his linguistic studies. Revealingly, in 1882, he was still inclined to refer to 'kwāgiūth' as 'the Fort Rupert language', thereby emphasising the close association between the language and the initial site of his mission (*Intelligencer*, December 1882, 7: 84, 748). Indeed, even after moving to Alert Bay, he continued to study with the same 'Native teacher' (William Brotchie) that he had employed in Fort Rupert, and there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the two men worked closely together (*Intelligencer*, December 1882, 7: 84, 748). For instance, on 14th April 1882 they collaborated in order to translate the hymn 'Lo! He comes with clouds descending', despite the fact that, by this date, they lived in separate places (*Intelligencer*, December 1882, 7: 84, 748).²

Hall's early encounters with 'the Fort Rupert language' seemingly enabled him to begin to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of one particular dialect. However, some of his letters from around this time indicate the full complexity of the linguistic environment in which he worked – a complexity that was familiar to the majority of his fellow missionaries working on the Pacific Northwest Coast. For instance, when one of his parishioners, 'Wāmīs', died, Hall led the service that took place on the following Sunday morning. It was a significant event since Wāmīs had been the first convert to be baptised:

Sunday, July 23rd. – This was a busy day, yet a happy day. I felt unable to do the day's work, and asked the Lord to assist me, and He did. Service at 11 a.m. Subject: – "Penitent Thief?" – Several Tsimshians present, and spoke in Chinook and Kwāgiūth after. (*Intelligencer*, December 1882, 7: 84, 749)

Like Collison, Hall used Chinook Jargon as well as the dominant indigenous languages, and this reveals the inherent heterogeneity of the sociolinguistic groups that had to be accommodated during the religious services. In this specific case, the fact that Hall notes the presence of '[s]everal Tsimshians' suggests that they did not usually attend his church, and yet he clearly felt obliged to ensure that the service was linguistically accessible for them, hence his decision not to preach exclusively in one language. In oral cultures, the personal witnessing of important

2. It is worth noting that Hall's teacher is the same William Brotchie who helped Franz Boas and George Hunt to revise their *Kwakiutl Texts* (Boas & Hunt 1905).

events is a crucial part of ‘recording’ the details. Also, in addition to family and friends, burials were attended by people of similar rank to the deceased from other tribes, especially if there were social connections due to marriage. Circumstances and conventions such as these may explain why Hall’s congregation at the funeral was so diverse.

Given this diversity, it is not surprising that he devoted a considerable amount of time specifically to linguistic matters, and certainly he focused on the task of studying Kwak’wala with remarkable intensity. This is attested partly by his prolific translation output. Working in conjunction with William Brochie, he produced a Kwak’wala version of *St Matthew’s Gospel* in 1882, and subsequent publications included *St John’s Gospel* (1884), portions of the *Book of Common Prayer* (1891), *St Luke’s Gospel* (1894), *Acts of the Apostles* (1897), and *St Mark’s Gospel* (1900). In addition, *A Grammar of the Kwagiutl Language* was published in 1888, and Hall’s attempt to provide a detailed analysis of the language certainly attracted the attention of academics with related interests.³ For instance, when Franz Boas published (in 1889) the grammatical notes he had amassed for the various languages that he had encountered on the Northwest Coast during his 1886–1887 field trip, he purposely chose to withhold his account of the ‘Kwagiutl’ language, and he accounted for this apparent omission as follows:

The present report contains the principal results of the author’s investigations on the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Kutonaqa (Kootonie). His limited time and the preparations for a new journey to British Columbia, undertaken under the auspices of the Committee, did not permit him time to study exhaustively the extensive osteological material collected on the previous journeys. For the same reason the linguistic material collected among the Nootka and Kwagiutl is kept back. Besides this it seemed desirable to await the publication of the grammar of the latter language by the Rev. A. J. Hall in the ‘Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada’ before publishing the linguistic notes on the same stock, which are necessarily fragmentary when compared to a grammar drawn up by a student who has lived for many years among the Indians speaking that language.

(Boas 1889: 5–6)

Although this explanation does not indicate whether Boas had actually seen a copy of Hall’s text or not, it confirms that he was aware of its existence by 1889. It is not surprising, though, that Hall’s work should have been known to ethnologists in the late 1880s (even if only by name) since his *Grammar* had been in preparation at that point for about a decade. Indeed, the origins of the text can

3. From henceforth the title of Hall’s text will be abbreviated to *Grammar*. This should cause no confusion since Harrison’s publication will always be referred to as *Haida Grammar*.

be traced in some detail because it is known that the geologist George Dawson (1849–1901) had actively encouraged him to publish his research when the two men had met in 1878. In that year, Dawson travelled up the Northwest Coast, and he first encountered Hall in Fort Rupert in early October 1878, by which time the latter had been stationed there for less than a year. Dawson's journal records their meeting somewhat laconically:

Oct. 1. Indians living at Fort Rupert, or Calling it home probably do not exceed 200 in number, according to Messrs Hunt (HB Co [Hudson's Bay Company]) & Rev. Hall. They appear to be a dirty, ugly, & degraded lot, not better than those of Koskimo, & infinitely worse looking than the Haidas, Chinseyans, or any of the Northern Indians we have seen. [...]

Oct. 2. Morning examined roucks [sic] about harbour, collected fossils etc. Afternoon took a couple of photos. Had a talk with Mr Hunt and Mr Hall, the latter a missionary here, but not yet well acquainted with the Indians of this locality.

(Dawson 1878: 86–87)

Unfortunately, Dawson does not provide specific details concerning the particular subjects that were addressed in his 'talk' with 'Mr Hall', and therefore it is difficult to determine the manner in which the latter's unfamiliarity with the 'Indians' manifested itself. Although Dawson does not explicitly refer to Hall's grammatical research, the latter subsequently indicated, in the Preface to his *Grammar*, that Dawson had been the person who had advised him to publish his linguistic research which, in 1878, was at an early stage:

This grammar was not originally compiled for publication, but to assist those missionaries and teachers who should succeed me, to acquire a knowledge of the Kwāgiutl language. When I first came amongst these Indians in 1878, I experienced great difficulty in obtaining a knowledge of the idiom of this language, and much that was then learned had subsequently to be unlearned. I had perhaps finished ninety pages of manuscript when Dr G. M. Dawson, of the Geological Survey, visited our neighbourhood. Finding that he took a great interest in Indian, I spoke of the work upon which I was then engaged. He strongly advised me to complete the grammar, and suggested the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada as a medium of publication.

(Hall 1888: 59)

Despite Dawson's reticence, he was surely interested to hear of Hall's grammatical research since he himself was actively compiling vocabularies for the various languages that he encountered on his journey up the Pacific Northwest Coast. These would eventually be incorporated into the 1884 publication *Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia* that he wrote jointly with William Fraser Tolmie. However, Hall's explanation indicates that his *Grammar*

(or at least 90 pages of it) was initially written as a practical teaching aid, until Dawson persuaded him that the text had a much broader significance.

4.3 Harrison and Haida

Having provided a brief overview of the genesis of Hall's *Grammar*, it is necessary to explore the context in which Harrison began to draft his *Haida Grammar*, which was eventually published in 1895. Harrison was selected to revive the Haida Gwaii mission in 1882, but, due to the difficulty of travelling across Hecate Strait during the winter months, he and his wife were forced to remain at Metlakatla until March 1883. While based there, they experienced the aftermath of the 'riotous outbreak' attributed to William Duncan's supporters which resulted in the destruction of the Mission Store and Mission House (CMS Archive G1C2O/1883/12). The *Intelligencer* recorded that he arrived at Masset on March 31st (after an horrifically arduous journey in canoes), noting in particular that he was 'cordially welcomed by the Hydahs' (*Intelligencer*, August 1883, 8:92, 508). The extent of his knowledge of Haida at this early point in his ministry can be partly reconstructed, since it is known that he had begun to learn the language before he arrived on Haida Gwaii. Collison noted in his memoirs that the Harrisons' enforced delay at Metlakatla 'enabled me to assist them in acquiring the rudiments of the language' (Collison 1915:175), and therefore it seems certain that Harrison (and his wife) first encountered Haida under Collison's tutelage, though no doubt only practical and elementary topics were addressed. Harrison himself confirms Collison's recollections in a letter that he sent to the CMS and which was printed in January 1884. Recording the details of his arrival on Haida Gwaii, he notes there that

[a]ll day Saturday and Monday the people came and inspected us, and we gave each an invitation, in their own language, to come to the church and listen to God's Word. This astonished them very much, because they did not know that we had been three months at Metlakatla, striving to gain a knowledge of the Hydah language. They said they were very pleased to see us, and we, on the other side, returned the compliment. (*Intelligencer*, January 1884, 9:97, 55)

Harrison does not mention Collison by name, but there can be no doubt that the latter had provided linguistic instruction at Metlakatla since (apart from Marion Collison, William Collison's wife), he was the only person based at Metlakatla who was fluent in both English and Haida. However, despite this helpful initial preparation, Harrison's knowledge of the language was necessarily scant, and, when he began his work in Masset, the limitations of his learning were soon

revealed. He himself recorded this fact while detailing the demanding schedule that he adopted in order to ensure that he could minister to his new parish:

My daily routine at present is as follows: – Morning prayers at half-past 7; attend on patients in the medicine-room, half-past 9 to 10; school, 10 to 12 a.m., and 2 to 4 p.m.; visit the sick, 5 to 6 p.m.; study of language, 6 to 9 p.m.; evening prayers at 10 p.m. I have gained a little knowledge of Hydah, and have preached and read the Prayer-book service in Hydah as far as I was able; many times, as I now know, making many blunders. However, I hope soon to be master of the language, and be able to speak in their own tongue and reveal unto them the great love where-with Christ loved them, in that he gave Himself to die for their sins. The main difficulty in the way of gaining a knowledge of Hydah seems to be the very many dialects spoken. Each house seems to have a characteristic dialect of its own.

(*Intelligencer*, January 1884, 9:97, 56)

It is significant that Harrison was willing to devote three hours a day to the study of Haida, an onerous time commitment which indicates the value that he placed upon the task of mastering the language.⁴ His endearing readiness to acknowledge the fact that, during his early attempts to preach in Haida, he had been responsible for numerous ‘blunders’ suggests that he was gradually deepening his knowledge of the language, and that, through the feedback he received from members of the Masset community, he was able to augment his understanding so as to rectify lingering errors. Indeed, in a letter dated May 7th 1883, he describes how he and his wife tried to acquire a knowledge of Haida from one particular local resident:

At 1/2 past 6 to 10 we work at the language with a woman to whom we have to translate our words into the Chinook Jargon before we get the Hydah. Thus you see it is very difficult to gain a knowledge of the language from one whose knowledge of English is extremely small.

(*CMS Archive G1C2O/1883/40*)

As usual in such accounts, the ‘woman’ concerned remains nameless, yet her role here is of considerable importance. Chinook Jargon appears to have been still an essential part of the communication chain (e.g., English → Chinook Jargon → Haida, and vice versa). In addition, it is worth noting his emphasis on the problems caused by ‘the very many dialects’ (mentioned in his January 1884 letter

4. The schedule outlined in this extract was intended to be adopted during the summer months. When the winter arrived, Harrison planned to focus on linguistic study only on Monday and Thursday evenings (*Intelligencer*, January 1884, 9:97, 56). These seasonal difference simply reflect the fact that, during the summer months, the Haida tended to travel to their traditional hunting grounds, while, during the winter, they usually returned to Masset. Therefore, Harrison had to minister to a larger number of parishioners during the winter, and so there was less time for linguistic study.

quoted above). Since, in contemporary studies of Haida (such as Enrico 2003 and Enrico 2005), only three dialects are standardly recognised – Masset, Skidegate, and Alaskan – this remark seems peculiar, especially since Harrison asserts that each ‘house’ (perhaps, each moiety lineage?) is characterised by a distinct dialect. Harrison probably did not mean that the speech associated with each ‘house’ was characterised by distinctive grammatical structures and lexical items. It is more likely that he had encountered sociolectal differences, or perhaps different accents. Either way, he initially struggled to cope with the linguistic diversity that he found amongst the members of the Masset community. Given this, it is strange that, in his *Haida Grammar*, he does not mention the existence of ‘dialects’, even though he acknowledged the recent geographical diversity of the Haida communities by carefully listing the thirty-nine villages that used to be inhabited (Harrison 1895: 124–125). In general, he presents Haida as if it were an entirely homogeneous language, devoid of different regional varieties, and when he does include passages about alternative forms, these are never associated with specific geographical regions or social groups. For instance, before he begins his detailed discussion of the verb phrase, he provides a table of pronouns (compare the forms given in Section 1.3; Harrison 1895: 158):

Tlaou,	I.	Talung,	We.
Dahou,	Thou.	Dalung,	Ye.
Laou,	He.	Ltha,	They.

and immediately after this, he supplies another set, merely stating that ‘the following pronouns may also be used’:

Lth,	I.	Ītil,	We.
Dung,	Thou.	Dalung,	Ye.
Il,	He.	Ltha,	They.

There is no attempt to indicate whether these alternatives are dialect variants, clitics, polite forms, part of a potency hierarchy, and so on. Harrison merely comments that ‘*lth*, *dung*, and *il* are interchangeable with *tlaou*, *dahou* and *laou* and either may correctly and at any time be used’ (Harrison 1895: 159). This reluctance (or inability) to explore and account for linguistic variation is not atypical of the missionary grammars, despite the fact that (like Harrison) the missionaries were often initially perplexed by different accents, dialects, and sociolects.⁵ Despite this, they generally sought a single ‘standard’ version of the languages

5. For a discussion of some of these problems in relation to Maori, see Tomalin (2006: 309–311).

they encountered and they presented this version in the linguistic studies they prepared. Intriguingly, their letters and unpublished documents frequently reveal a much broader awareness of the pervasive linguistic diversity.

Nonetheless, although their grammars were often artificially simplified, the missionaries were responsible for numerous real discoveries about the North American languages – discoveries which are now inaccurately ascribed to the professional anthropologists who came after them. For example, Harrison's discussion of Haida demonstrates unambiguously that he knew it to be a split intransitive language (though he does not use this exact terminology, of course). Having discussed active forms such as 'Tlao kwōyādung' ("I love", which is *hlaa quyaadaa.ang* in modern orthography; Harrison 1895:159), he then introduces 'deponent verbs' which he describes as being 'chiefly passive in form, but active in sense' (Harrison 1895:88). As an example, he considers 'Dī stīgung' ("I am ill", *dii st'i.gang*; Harrison 1895:88). In using this terminology, Harrison was drawing explicitly upon the conventional classifications that were common in standard Greek and Latin grammars of the period: in the Classical languages, a deponent verb is active in meaning, but takes the form of another voice (most frequently the middle or passive). Harrison clearly recognised that intransitive verbs such as *st'i* take an objective (rather than agentive) subject, and therefore he knew that the Haida intransitives were split into different subgroups determined by the kind of subject required. In fact, Harrison was not the first person to recognise this: as the examples discussed in Section 3.2 indicate, Collison had noted this pattern in the 1870s. Specifically, he knew that verbs such as *xiinangaa* ("be alive") require objective subjects. Importantly, Keen adopted the same analysis as Harrison in his *A Grammar of the Haida Language* (see Keen 1906:10), a text which Swanton knew well. So although from a modern linguistic perspective, the missionary grammars have many failings, they also contain numerous perspicacious insights, many of which are now routinely attributed to the subsequent work of professional anthropologists.

As the years passed, Harrison's mastery of Haida became more secure, and, as early as 1885, he was able to produce written Haida texts which served more than merely transitory educational purposes. By the 15th September 1885, he felt capable of undertaking a range of tasks:

This winter I have written a Manual in Hydah on the Old Testament characters. I have also ready a translation of the Morning and Evening Service with part of the Communion Service, an[d] I hope that they will be in print in time for the coming winter. I have used the service of the morning and evening prayers during the past six months, and all the people are acquainted with it.

(*Intelligencer*, March 1886, 11:123, 184–185)

While the task of translating scriptural and liturgical texts into indigenous languages was a common labour for many missionaries, it was not standard practice to write studies of characters from the Old Testament, therefore it is unfortunate that Harrison did not record his motivation for writing this particular text. One other detail merits comment here. It is known that, while based on Haida Gwaii, Collison had also translated some of the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP) services into Haida, and, given this, it is not clear why Harrison felt the need to retranslate these texts. Had Collison's versions been lost in the years since 1878, or did Harrison simply feel that they were inadequate (for some unstated reason) and therefore needed to be updated or replaced? Once underway, though, Harrison continued with his linguistic studies throughout the time that he was living in Masset. To mention just one example, in April 1887 it was noted in the *Intelligencer* that 'Mr. Harrison has compiled a Hydah vocabulary, written some easy Old Testament lessons, and translated large portions of the Prayer-book' (*Intelligencer*, April 1887, 12: 136, 245). Unfortunately it is not clear which particular 'portions' of the BCP are being referred to here.

After seven turbulent years, Harrison was forced to resign from the CMS Haida Gwaii mission in 1890, ostensibly for health-related reasons. Officially, it was stated that he had struggled to adjust to the climate on the Pacific Northwest Coast, but this is surely untrue since he returned to live in Masset only a year or so later. Indeed, subsequent comments from his contemporaries suggest that an adulterous wife and alcoholism had caused him to resign.⁶ However, apart from a few short absences, he remained on the islands until 1919, publishing his Haida translation of St Matthew's Gospel in 1891 and his *Haida Grammar* in 1895; but even after he had returned to London he continued to maintain his interest in the Haida people. In 1925 he published his remarkable monograph *Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific: the Haidas, their Laws, Customs and Legends, with some Historical Account of the Queen Charlotte Islands*, and intended to write a further volume that focused more specifically upon his own personal experiences as a missionary amongst the Haida. Unfortunately, this planned volume never appeared, and Harrison died in January 1926.⁷

Having provided a brisk overview of Hall's and Harrison's linguistic endeavours, it is important to emphasise that the two men came into regular contact with each other while they were based on the Pacific Northwest Coast. The existing minutes of the Annual Conferences of the North Pacific Mission, reveal that they

6. Although it is difficult to establish the facts of the case, Hall refers to Mrs Harrison's adultery in *CMS Archive G2C1O/1899/47*, while Keen mentions Harrison's alcohol problems in *CMS Archive G2C1O/1893/43*.

7. For a short summary of Harrison's life, see Dalzell (1968: 89–92).

both participated fully in the discussions concerning the future of the various stations. Such occasions would also have enabled them to meet informally and share ideas and advice. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that Hall was impressed by Harrison's energy and effectiveness. For instance, in 1899, when Harrison was petitioning the CMS, requesting to be re-instated as a missionary, Hall wrote a letter of support in which he praised (amongst other things) his friend's 'great administrative ability' (though he recommended that Harrison should probably not be returned to Masset) (*CMS Archive G2C1O/1899/47*). This context of mutual respect and periodic interaction should be borne in mind during the following discussion, since it underlies the intriguing interconnections that exist between the grammatical studies that Hall and Harrison produced.

4.4 Phonological associations

Appropriately enough, Harrison begins his *Haida Grammar* with an 'Historical and Ethnographical Introduction', and, towards the end of this prefatory section, he reflects as follows upon the linguistic analysis that he is about to present:

There are doubtless many inaccuracies in the present grammar, as it is a first attempt to reduce the language to writing. I hope, however, there may be something in it that will afford pleasure and be of interest both to the student and the philologist. The principal object in writing this grammar is to afford assistance to my successors in mission work amongst the Haidas, and to those who may desire to gain a knowledge of the language in order to benefit these Indians both temporally and spiritually. (Harrison 1895:126)

Harrison states explicitly that his *Haida Grammar* constitutes 'a first attempt' to produce a written grammatical analysis, and this is an ambiguous claim. If the publication marks his own first attempt to produce an account of Haida, then his statement is reasonable. However, if the implication is that no one had ever previously analysed Haida, then his comment is misleading. More significant intricacies are revealed, though, when his remarks are juxtaposed with the following passage from Hall's *Grammar* (1888):

There are doubtless many inaccuracies which are open to correction, but I trust there is something in my work which will afford pleasure to the philologist, and I earnestly hope it may prove to be an assistance to those who wish to gain a knowledge of Kwāgiult in order that they may ameliorate the condition of those Indians. (Hall 1888:59)

These two extracts are sufficiently similar to arouse suspicion: in both, it is ‘doubtless’ the case that there are ‘many inaccuracies’ in the grammatical descriptions provided, and it is hoped that the respective texts will ‘afford pleasure’ to the ‘philologist’ while providing ‘assistance’ to students who wish to improve the lives of the ‘Indians’. Since self-deprecating passages of this kind were conventional in grammar textbooks produced during the 18th and 19th centuries, these similarities may be merely coincidental, arising from prevalent genre-specific conventions. While this may be so, the basic structure and content of these extracts is unusually close. It is especially intriguing that they both identify ‘philologists’ as being part of their target audience: apparently the studies were intended to be enjoyed by those with a general interest in languages, as well as by Pacific Northwest Coast missionaries who needed to acquire the indigenous languages for practical reasons.

Hall and Harrison both begin their textbooks with a discussion of ‘Phonology’. Hall states that there are ‘twenty letters in the Kwāgiutl alphabet, five vowels and fifteen consonants’ (Hall 1888: 60), and since four of the vowels come in short and long varieties, the ‘letters’ that he specifies are as follows (Hall 1888: 60):

consonants	b d g h k l m n p s t w x y z
vowels	a ā e ē i ī o u ū
diphthongs	ou au ia iu ii

By contrast, the Haida graphemic/phonological system that Harrison presents contains ten vowels – <a>, <e>, <i>, <o>, <u>, in both short and long forms. In addition, though, he notes of the vowels that there are ‘five “imperfect” ones, and every letter which has no proper vowel of its own has an “imperfect” one, either expressed or understood’ (Harrison 1895: 128). This rather opaque passage seems to indicate that (in Harrison’s system) there are five distinct forms of schwa (/ə/), and that the ‘imperfect’ forms are reduced vowels. This small detail suggests that he may have encountered the idea of ‘imperfect’ vowels in other grammatical treatises, though it is difficult to identify any particular sources. Further, he specifies four diphthongs and eighteen consonants (two of which – /p/ and /b/ – are, he claims, only encountered in borrowed words) and therefore the complete system that he presents can be tabulated as (Harrison 1895: 128):

consonants	d g h j k ch K KH l m n s t w y z (p b)
vowels	a e i o u ā ē i ō ū
imperfect vowels	ă ě ě ō ŭ
diphthongs	ai au oi ou

Although Hall's and Harrison's orthographic systems differ in many respects (as one would expect), both men allude to the difficulties encountered by 'Indians' who are attempting to speak English. According to Hall,

[t]here are six consonants that are often difficult to distinguish as pronounced by the Indians, viz., b and p; d and t; g and k. Even when they write letters in their own language they themselves confound these letters. However, after the ear has grown accustomed to their sound they are distinguishable [...] As a rule, the consonants pronounced by Europeans p, t, k, are pronounced by the Indians b, d, g. [...] K is of very frequent occurrence in Kwägiutl. If occurring in Roman character in an Italic word, or in Italic in a Roman word, it is equivalent to *ch* in "Loch". If in heavy type (K) it has the sharp clicking sound of the raven.

(Hall 1888: 60–61)

So, Hall was keen to identify certain areas of Kwak'wala pronunciation that posed problems for Europeans, as well as specifying certain phonemes commonly found in Indo-European languages which created problems for Kwak'wala speakers. Broadly, he identifies voiced and unvoiced phoneme pairs as being consistently troublesome. In particular, he suggests that members of the Alert Bay community who were learning English generally voiced bilabial dental and velar plosives which should have been unvoiced. These ideas were studied carefully by other researchers who were interested in the Kwakwak'waka people. For instance, in 1890, when Boas finally published his linguistic notes concerning 'Kwakiutl', he explained his decision to use a different orthographical convention in order to represent Hall's consonant K, and he noted especially that 'I spell here *ku* in preference to *ky*, as this sound – the anterior linguo-palatal sound – is almost always strongly exploded', adding that '[i]t is the sound described by Mr Hall as 'the croaking of the raven' (Boas 1890: 104). The fact that Boas (mis)quoted from Hall's text suggests that he deemed the latter's description to be apposite, possibly due to the cultural importance of the raven to the Kwakwak'waka people.

Harrison adopted an approach to Haida phonology that was similar to Hall's. For instance, he too placed considerable emphasis on English phonemes that caused problems for Haida speakers:

The letter B is very difficult for the Haidas to pronounce. If they wish to say "big," they invariably say "pig." The Indians are unable to pronounce F and V correctly. When they wish to say Victoria, vinegar, flute, flour, found, they distinctly pronounce "Bictoria, binegar, plute, plour and pound". [...] The old people always pronounce the letter R as L. Thus they say "labbit, liver, lice, lum, lifle", for "rabbit, river, rice, rum and rifle". The young who attend school are

correct in the pronunciation of our English words commencing with R. The letter K is of frequent occurrence in the Haida language, yet when reading the English class books they frequently pronounce K as G, and thus they say “gelp” for “kelp,” “geep” for “keep,” and “gind” for “kind.” (Harrison 1895: 129)

If the Haidas were inclined to articulate unvoiced rather than voiced bilabial plosives, then this was the opposite problem to the one that Hall identified for the Kwak'wala speakers. Further, Harrison notes a tendency to replace voiced labio-dental fricatives with voiced bilabial plosives, and unvoiced labio-dental fricatives with unvoiced bilabial plosives. This seems rather odd: if the Haidas did indeed struggle to articulate /b/, then why did they frequently substitute this particular phoneme for /v/? It is possible that the differences between the phonemic voice oppositions in English and Haida may have prompted underdifferentiation of the /p/ versus /b/ contrast, and this in turn may have been misinterpreted by Hall. It is of interest also that, when the confusion of <R> and <L> is discussed, Harrison claims that the young Haidas who have been to school are ‘correct in the pronunciation of our English words commencing with R.’ The rather crude socio-political point here is clear: accurate pronunciation demonstrates the advantages of acculturation. Despite these specific details, when he came to write his overview of Haida phonology, Harrison was as concerned as Hall had been to identify particular problems that were standardly encountered when the indigenous peoples attempted to learn English.

4.5 The noun phrase domain

Although the similarities mentioned above are intriguing, further parallels emerge as Harrison's text progresses, and several of the most conspicuous intertextual connections appear in those sections of Hall's and Harrison's *Grammars* which consider the internal structure of NPs. To begin with nouns as a distinct part of speech, it is immediately apparent that the analytical scheme that Harrison adopts is largely derived from Hall's. Hall defines a noun as ‘the name of any person, place, or thing’, and Harrison modifies this only slightly by making the definition plural: ‘nouns are the names of places, persons, and things’ (Hall 1888: 61; Harrison 1895: 133). Although highly generic definitions such as this are closely related to those given in several common sources (for instance, popular textbooks like Robert Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) and Lindley

Murray's *English Grammar* (1795)),⁸ further similarities between the texts suggest that Harrison was indeed using Hall's *Grammar* as an expository template. Hall discusses the 'Formation of Nouns' in Kwak'wala, and he describes how nouns can be created from verbal forms. He notes particularly that the suffix *-inuk* can be affixed to a verbal stem in order to create a 'Skill Noun', while the suffix *-as* enables 'Place Nouns' to be formed (Hall 1888:64). In total, he presents eleven different kinds of suffix, all of which convert verbal stems into nominals, and he provides specific instances in order to exemplify the main types. In a comparable manner, Harrison includes a section in his *Haida Grammar* called 'Derivations of Nouns' in which he states that '[a] few of the Haida nouns are formed from verbs' before presenting a list of eleven examples (Harrison 1895:134). Intriguingly, de-verbal nominals in Haida are actually compounds which consist of a nominalised verb and the associated nouns, and Harrison's apparent misanalysis of this reinforces the suggestion that he based his classification primarily on Hall's. In addition, he also provides instances of nouns that are derived from other nouns by means of affixes, and (once again) there are a number of similarities to Hall's account. For instance, Table 4.1 contains examples of nouns and related verbs which Hall and Harrison include when discussing noun morphology (Hall 1888:63–64; Harrison 1895:134). In these cases, particular subtypes of suffix are identified, and example words and sentences are included. Over and above presentational similarities, there seems to be a close semantic correspondence between the lexical items used to exemplify the various formation processes in both texts. The fact that measuring, chopping (with an axe), and learning should figure prominently in the two accounts once again implies that Harrison was crafting his analysis in partial accordance with the basic framework that Hall had specified several years previously. Indeed, in this and other cases, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Harrison was working with Hall's *Grammar* open on the desk before him, taking the latter's Kwak'wala examples as a starting point and effectively translating them (selectively, with modifications and adaptations here and there) into Haida. Obviously, this kind of derivative methodology is riddled with linguistic and cultural problems (some of which will be explored later).

Further parallels emerge when grammatical gender and case are considered. The former is defined in both texts as being 'the distinction of nouns with regard to sex' (Hall 1888:62; Harrison 1895:132), while the latter is described as follows:

8. Specifically, Lowth defines a noun as the 'Name of a thing', and 'Proper Nouns' as 'the names of persons and places' (Lowth 1762:21), while Murray uses the phrase 'the name of any thing that exists' (Murray 1795:63). The influence of Lowth's and Murray's textbooks was felt well into the 19th century. For a discussion of the impact that these works had upon missionary grammars from this period, see Tomalin (2006).

Case shows the relation of a noun to other parts of the sentence. There are but two cases, viz., (1) a case that stands for Nominative, the subject, and Objective, the object of the sentence; (2) the Possessive Case, denoting the relation of property or possession. This is formed by the preposition of, e.g., “This is Henry’s house” is literally in Kwagiutl, “this is the house of Henry,” *gia um giukw’s Henry*. The apostrophe shows that a letter has been elided: written fully it would be *giukw as Henry*. (Hall 1888:63)

In Haida nouns the case endings are two, the nominative and genitive, which express, however, three relations, those of the nominative, accusative, and genitive. The nominative and accusative are the subject and object of the sentence, and the genitive denotes possession. The nominative or subjective case, is used when the noun or pronoun refers to the source or author of an act, as: *Shā stātā delgūgung, it rains from heaven*. *Shā* is the nominative and denotes the source from which the rain comes. (Harrison 1895: 131–132)

These descriptions merit juxtaposition primarily because, while they posit the existence of only two overt morphological cases (i.e., nominative / objective / accusative and genitive), they both imply that three case ‘relations’ can be identified. In Hall’s analysis, Kwak’wala has a single case which can indicate that a given

Table 4.1 Noun and verb pairing in Hall’s and Harrison’s analyses

Hall’s examples:

-AYU or tool nouns:

<i>munyāyū</i> , measure	<i>munsin</i> , I measure
<i>sūbāyū</i> , axe	<i>sūpun</i> , I chop

-UT or fellow-agent nouns:

<i>kākūklūt</i> , fellow scholar	<i>kākūklin</i> , I learn
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-AZI or house nouns:

hawāk-ulazī, prayer house, church

Harrison’s examples:

Nouns formed from verbs:

<i>Tlaou kwīdung</i> , I measure	<i>Kwidoulē</i> , a measurer
<i>Tlaou skadang</i> , I learn	<i>Skadalē</i> , Scholar

Nouns formed from other nouns

by the suffix -le:

<i>Kūtiljou</i> , axe	<i>Kūtiljoulē</i> , axeman
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Nouns formed from other nouns

by the suffix -ne:

<i>Singelthkanggūshou</i> , prayer	<i>Singelthkanggūshounē</i> , Church
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noun is functioning as either the subject or object of a sentence, and another case which indicates that a given noun is a genitive. When the above definitions are compared, it becomes apparent that Harrison has attempted to use a similar classificatory system when presenting his analysis of Haida nouns, since (like Hall) he identifies only two morphological cases, while claiming in addition that they represent three grammatical ‘relations’. In Harrison’s account, nominative and accusative case are not associated with distinct morphological forms and therefore (presumably) these grammatical relations have to be inferred from the immediate context. For instance, although he states that ‘the accusative or objective case marks the object of a verb distinctly’, when he considers Haida sentences such as

Tlao	stlik’u	tigun	
<i>hlaa</i>	<i>sdlngu</i>	<i>tiya.gan</i>	
I	land-otter	kill.PA	
‘I killed the land otter’			[Harrison’s translation; Harrison (1895: 132)]

he comments that nouns such as *sdlngu* are ‘the objects referred to distinctly by the verbs, and are in the accusative case’ (Harrison 1895: 132). However, this account is somewhat incomplete since he fails to note that, in Haida, word order and the case of the pronouns often indicate the grammatical role of the NPs in a given syntactic context. For example, in the sentence given above, it is the fact that an agentive pronoun is used, rather than an objective, which effectively disambiguates the grammatical role of *sdlngu*. In such instances, Harrison’s analysis is partly (and unhelpfully) determined by his decision to utilise the basic classificatory framework that Hall had deployed in his *Grammar*. At the very least, the discussion of case that Harrison presents reveals a marked reluctance to move away from a three case system, which recognises nominative, accusative, and genitive, and which had been adapted for English by influential 18th-century grammarians such as Lowth and Murray.⁹

If Hall’s and Harrison’s analyses of case and gender merit comparison, then so do their respective accounts of adjectives. Hall offers a tripartite division of adjectives into the following groups: ‘Adjectives of Quality’ (e.g., ‘large’), ‘Adjectives of Quantity’ (e.g., ‘ten’), and ‘Distinguishing Adjectives’ (e.g., ‘the’, ‘this’). In a

9. Lowth recognises the existence of two cases for nouns and three cases for pronouns: ‘Pronouns have Three Cases; the Nominative; the Genitive; or Possessive; like Nouns; and moreover a Case, which follows the Verb Active, or the Preposition expressing the Object of an action, or of a relation. It answers the Oblique Cases in Latin; and may be properly enough called the Objective Case’ (Lowth 1762: 31–32). Murray summarises the situation as follows: ‘In English, substantives have three cases, the nominative, the possessive, and the objective’ (Murray 1795: 83).

comparable manner, Harrison divides adjectives into the three groups ‘definitive, qualitative, and quantitative’, yet his acceptance of this classificatory scheme causes non-trivial problems for his analysis (Harrison 1895: 138). In Hall’s *Grammar*, for example, articles are not recognised as a distinct part of speech, and therefore the definite article is simply classified as a ‘distinguishing’ adjective. By contrast, Harrison lists articles as a distinct category, and both definite and indefinite subtypes are discussed (Harrison 1895: 130). Despite this, he discusses articles again when he presents his analysis of adjectives, and he claims (somewhat perplexingly) that ‘[d]efinite adjectives denote a thing from its class, and thus the indefinite and definite articles are also called adjectives’ (Harrison 1895: 138). So, articles are both a separate part of speech and a subtype of a different part of speech. Minor involutions such as this show that Harrison was sometimes trapped between several different traditions of grammatical analysis, and that he failed to integrate them convincingly into a single coherent system. Particularly, in this case, he seems to have accepted both the standard English grammatical tradition, which identified articles as a distinct class, and Hall’s more radical analysis in which articles are a kind of adjective. Since these classifications are mutually exclusive, it is not possible to adopt both simultaneously without creating an inconsistent grammatical framework.

In order to provide a few more examples of this kind of dependency, the following sentences have been selected virtually at random from Hall’s and Harrison’s discussions of the NP domain. During his account of possessive pronouns, for example, Hall provides a list of sixty-three sentences which demonstrate the manner in which the Kwak’wala pronouns vary, and this list includes English-Kwak’wala pairs such as (Hall 1888: 75):

Bring your hat	kīla tsis klatuml-ūs
Where is your axe?	wīdis sūbāyūs
I will go to my father	la mun lā-kl lā kun ūmpa

When Harrison addresses the same topic, he provides many fewer examples (thirty-two rather than sixty-three), but a substantial number of them are apparently derived from Hall’s list (Harrison 1895: 137–138):

Get your hat	Tatjingē lth unga ista
Bring your own axe	Kūtiljou althgwi unga lth ista
I will go unto my father	Aung unga ā lth kautshang

In this case, the vocabulary and syntax of the English sentences suggest that, once again, Harrison was drafting his *Haida Grammar* with full awareness of Hall’s text. Of course, some of the similarities can be accounted for by claiming that, since both men were involved with the task of translating scripture,

they necessarily encountered the same kinds of expressions and phrases – and certainly, in the case of the last example given above, the English sentence ‘I will go unto my father’ (Luke 15: 18), appears as the ninth sentence specified in the *BCP* at the start of the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. Therefore Hall and Harrison would have spoken these words regularly during church services. However, examples such as ‘Get/Bring your hat’ do not originate from scriptural sources, which suggests that Harrison was indeed following Hall’s analysis closely, using it as a basis for his own account, both in terms of the classificatory categories adopted and the specific words, phrases, and sentences used to exemplify the structures being considered.

So, Harrison appears to have based his analysis of various components of the Haida NP domain closely upon Hall’s corresponding exploration of Kwak’wala NPs. Inevitably, though, the framework Hall used was itself derived from other sources, and some of his most distinctive classificatory approaches can be associated with contemporaneous grammatical studies of non-European languages. With reference to the NP domain, these sorts of connections are perhaps most clearly visible in his analysis of Kwak’wala numerals. Hall stresses the fact that the underlying conventions of the Kwak’wala number system differ greatly from those that are familiar from the Graeco-Roman and (more broadly) European traditions, and having introduced the cardinal numbers, he notes that ‘[t]he terminations of their numerals vary according to the shape of the article referred to’ (Hall 1888: 68). To clarify this, he identifies five distinct subtypes (Hall 1888: 68–69):

1. Persons
2. Dollars, or anything Round, such as Fruit or Barrels
3. Logs, Canoes, Pencils, etc.
4. Cups or any Vessels containing Liquids
5. Days, or anything square such as Blankets or Tobacco-Plugs

Although such things as ‘Dollars, or anything Round’ appear to share certain identifiable properties (e.g., geometrical shape, assuming that dollar coins, rather than paper notes, are indicated), the heterogeneity of the class for ‘Days, or anything square such as Blankets or Tobacco-Plugs’ is conspicuous, and it is not clear that specific reductive principles could be devised that would account for the existence of these categories in a convincing manner.¹⁰ It is worth emphasising at this point that many North American languages make use of classificatory numerals (Mithun 2001: 104–106). For example, some of the Athabaskan languages (e.g.,

10. For a classic discussion of these kinds of classificatory problems, see Lakoff (1985: 92–104). Hall’s use of the word ‘Round’ is ambiguous. It does not specify the dimensionality of the shape.

Carrier) and Algic languages (e.g., Wiyot, Yurok) use them to differing extents. Also, the languages of the Wakashan family (of which Kwak'wala is a member) contain suffixes which can be applied to a numeral stem, and some of these indicate the shape of the objects being counted (Mithun 2001: 106).

In a similar way, Harrison identified different classes of numerals which refer to different entities in Haida. Specifically, having introduced the 'Definite Numerals', he considers what he refers to as 'Numeral Prefixes', noting that

[e]ach numeral has a prefix or middle word. This prefix varies according to the noun with which it is connected, and distinguishes the articles referred to as square, thick, round, etc. In point of fact it is used to denote the quality of the noun to which it is attached. (Harrison 1895:143)

In total, Harrison identifies fifteen prefixes and these can be enumerated as follows (Harrison 1895: 143–145):

1. *Ki* is used to denote "anything round,"
2. *Sa* refers to "hymns, whips," etc.
3. *Ti* refers to "houses, brushes, and waves."
4. *Saasgud* refers to "time" only.
5. *Saaskwan* refers to "land, lumber," etc.
6. *Tliskwan* refers to "the body, clothes," etc.
7. *Ta* refers to "ropes" only
8. *Chi* refers to "the hands, feet," etc.
9. *Skā* refers to "the eyes, eggs, boots," etc.
10. *Gu* refers to "hats, buttons," etc.
11. *Tu* refers to "spoons and fans."
12. *Ā* refers to "villages, plates," etc.
13. *Sis* refers to "boxes, shirts," etc.
14. *Tla* refers to "breeches, stockings," etc.
15. *Lth'ka* refers to "beds, tables," etc.

This is a remarkable list. It is curious how often Western entities appear in the catalogues that are associated with each prefix. 'Hymns', 'boots', 'hats', 'buttons', 'spoons', 'breeches', and 'stockings' are all presented as being representative types, yet these are primarily associated with Western, rather than Haida, culture – though, of course, by the late 19th century, such things had become familiar to the Haidas too. It is also strange that 'plates' and 'buttons', for example, are excluded from the set of entities that is broadly described as containing 'anything round'. However, it can't be claimed that Harrison's complete set for the prefix '*Ki*' (*q'ii*) is coherent because it only contains words for round entities that derive from Haida (as opposed to Western) culture, since the examples that he offers include

‘Dāla’ (i.e., ‘dollar’) (Harrison 1895:143).¹¹ Unfortunately, Harrison does not reflect upon such things; he simply offers the list without further comment, and, despite his silence, there are some apparent connections here with Hall’s overview of the Kwak’wala system. Both men suggest that the numerals vary morphologically according to the type of entity with which they are being associated, and this basic similarity re-enforces the idea that Harrison was constructing his *Haida Grammar* with explicit knowledge of Hall’s work.

However, there is scope for probing more deeply into the origins of the kind of numeral analysis that both men offer. Such an exploration is of considerable interest since it indicates that missionary linguists working on the Pacific Northwest Coast were aware of analytical frameworks that were outside the narrow limits of standard European analyses. By the 1880s, comparable uses of numeral classifiers had been observed in other North American languages. For instance, in his *Some Account of the Tahkaht Language* (1868), C. Knipe had noted that, in Nuuchah-Nulth (a.k.a., Nootka), ‘the numeral is only used with a particular suffix’ (Knipe 1868:13). He notes that the classificatory suffix (‘*kamilh*’, or *-qiml* in modern orthography) ‘is the most numerous class, including all sorts of money, clothing, birds, and beasts, as well as houses, stones, guns, paddles, months, and many more’ (Knipe 1868:13). By contrast, the suffix ‘*sok* or *sokko*’ (*-ciq*) ‘is added when trees, masts, canoes, boats, or ships are spoken of’ (Knipe 1868:13). However, it is possible that the Pacific Northwest Coast missionaries were not familiar with such phenomena solely due to their (often limited) knowledge of other North American languages from the same broad geographical region. In the 1860s and 1870s, a number of Japanese grammars appeared (for example), and these presented analyses of Japanese numerals which adopted a framework that is not dissimilar to that used by Hall and Harrison. Specifically, in his 1861 *Elements of Japanese Grammar*, Rutherford Alcock (1809–1897) introduced the numerals and ordinals, before indicating that different numerals were used in Japanese depending upon the kinds of entities that were being enumerated. In his analysis, he posits classes such as the following (Alcock 1861:30–36):

1. Class of numerals for the human race
2. Class for all Animals, except the Flying or Swimming species and all Insects
3. A class for Birds, Hares, and Rabbits
4. A class for Ships, Junks, and Boats of all kinds
5. Liquids drunk with a Glass, as Water, Tea, Decoctions, etc. [...]

11. The classifier *q’ii* actually denotes a spherical object, not a flat one, and therefore its use for ‘Dollars’ is primarily metaphorical or figurative.

Having presented fourteen distinct classes of numeral in total (one fewer than Harrison identified for Haida thirty-four years later), Alcock notes rather dejectedly, that

[...] the Japanese from whom these seemingly interminable classes were obtained, added the comfortable assurance that these were only a few of the many actually existing and in use! Not wishing to fill a book with numerals, believing also that students during the first few months may employ their time better than in the attempt to master such nice distinctions, the rest have been omitted.

(Alcock 1861:36)

Alcock, then, was unable to enumerate all the classes of numeral that native speakers of Japanese used and recognised. As the 19th century progressed, though, more detailed analyses appeared that were generally less pessimistic. In 1872, for instance, William Aston (1841–1911) referred to numeral classifiers as ‘auxiliary numerals’ (Aston 1972:71), and this terminology became standard for a while (at least), since, writing in 1886 (just two years before Hall’s *Grammar* was published), Basil Chamberlain (1850–1935) presented the following list of ‘auxiliary numerals’ in his *A Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language (Modern Written Style)* (Chamberlain 1886:20):

1. *chō*, for various things with handles, such as tools, muskets, and jinrikishes
2. *fū*, for letters
3. *fuku*, for scrolls, sips of tea, and whiffs of tobacco
4. *hai*, for cupfuls and glassfuls

Some of these categories share semantic properties with those identified by Hall for Kwak’wala (e.g., his ‘Cups or any Vessels containing Liquids’ is similar to Chamberlain’s ‘cupfuls and glassfuls’). The main point, though, is not to argue that Hall and Harrison simply adapted specific subclasses of numerals that they had encountered in particular contemporaneous Japanese grammars textbooks, rather it is merely to highlight the analytical similarities; and, since several missionaries hypothesised that the Haidas (at least) were descended from the Japanese people, it is certainly possible that linguistic accounts of Japanese were considered to be of some relevance to the task of devising grammars of the languages spoken along the Pacific Northwest Coast. As mentioned earlier, William Collison had conjectured in 1877 that ‘the Hydahs are of Chinese or Japanese origin or possibly indirect[ly ?] connected with the Ainos of Japan’ (*CMS Archive*, CC2/04/10A), and Harrison himself suggested a similar origin:

Many of the visitors to the Queen Charlotte Islands are of the opinion that the ancestors of the Haida nation were blown out to sea from some of the harbours of Japan, and having lost all baggage were eventually driven across to the islands. Quite recently Japanese junks have been found on the west coast dashed to pieces against the rocks. If their junks have been washed across to our shores there is no reason why junks manned by Japanese may not at an earlier date than the white man's knowledge of the Haida's have been successfully sailed or blown across by stormy winds. This has a tendency to confirm the opinions of those who believe that the Haidas originally came from Japan. (Harrison 1892:27–28)

Seemingly, Harrison later changed his mind about this matter. In 1925 he commented, rather acerbically, with reference to the inhabitants of Japan that '[f]anciful theories have been enunciated to the effect that their ancestors were swept in their canoes Eastward from Japan by the great North Pacific current, but such a theory although superficially attractive will hardly survive serious consideration' (Harrison 1925:38). Despite such reservations, he believed that a theory which associates the Haida peoples with Japanese forebears is worthy of serious consideration – and this is a view that persisted. Indeed, (as noted earlier) as late as the early 20th century, William Ridley was able to state that

Haida and Japanese have the same mode of using post rather than pre-position; the same kind of case relations; indeclinability of nouns, whose number the context alone indicates; the infrequency of personal pronouns; the almost suppression of passive verbs; and the decimal system of numeration.

(Ridley [n.d.]: 13–14)

Clearly, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, missionaries based on the Pacific Northwest Coast were keen to determine whether there were any connections between the indigenous languages that they encountered and the (Sino-) Japanese languages that were spoken across the Pacific Ocean. Given this ongoing preoccupation, it would not be at all surprising if those individuals who were obliged to construct grammatical accounts of languages such as Kwak'wala and Haida should acquaint themselves with the classificatory approaches that were standardly adopted in contemporaneous Japanese grammars. Certainly it would have been easy enough for Hall and Harrison to find out about these sorts of textbooks, since publications such as the *Intelligencer* regularly contained articles about the CMS activities in Japan and grammatical studies produced by CMS missionaries were often reviewed. Accessibility would not necessarily have been a problem either, since, although it is less likely that such texts made their way to Alert Bay and Haida Gwaii, they may well have been available at Metlakatla.

Despite textual and methodological connections such as those discussed above, these aspects of missionary linguistics on the Pacific Northwest Coast have been largely neglected in the past. Consequently, there are many details that await focused attention. Specifically, in the case of the Hall and Harrison texts, any conclusions about the influence of the late 19th century Japanese grammar textbook tradition are complicated by Harrison's apparent dependence on Hall's research. For instance, it may be that Hall had knowingly adopted an analysis of the Kwak'wala numerals that was similar in spirit to comparable analyses that he had encountered in Japanese grammars, and that, as a result, Harrison had simply modified Hall's system without realising that it had been partly derived from these particular sources. Alternatively, given both the existence (and plausible accessibility) of the published Japanese grammars, and the elaborate conjectures concerning the Japanese origins of the Haida people, it is possible that Harrison had direct access to these texts and that, therefore, the classificatory schemes found in Hall and Harrison are similar because they are derived from a common ancestor (or ancestors). Needless to say, these alternatives are not mutually exclusive: Harrison could have been familiar both with Hall's account of numerals and with the accounts presented in the Japanese grammar textbooks. Indeed, it may have been that the similarity of the treatment of the numerals in the various sources that he used convinced Harrison that this was the best analytical approach to adopt for Haida.

4.6 The verb phrase domain

Since Harrison's analysis of the Haida NP domain is clearly based on Hall's discussion of NPs in Kwak'wala, it is not too surprising to find further similarities in his account of Haida VPs. Indeed, his reliance upon Hall's work seems to be even more acute in these parts of his *Haida Grammar*. To start with a couple of obvious points of correspondence, voice and the 'conditional mood' are defined as follows in both *Grammars*:

If we consider an action on the one hand as expressing what anything does or on the other hand as expressing what is done to it, we indicate these differences by the Active and Passive voices [...] (Hall 1888:77; Harrison 1895:153)

This [i.e., the conditional mood] implies the possibility of an action under a certain condition expressed by another verb in the subjunctive.

(Hall 1888:77; Harrison 1895:154)

In these examples, Harrison even follows Hall's punctuation and capitalisation conventions exactly. Although the definitions that he offers are not always taken verbatim from Hall, his wording is often sufficiently similar to suggest conscious borrowing and adaptation. For instance, mood (general and subjunctive), number, and person are described as follows (those sections that are taken directly from Hall's text are given in italics):

Definition of mood in general:

If we consider the mode or manner in which an action is done, we may consider it either as an actual reality, or as a possibility, or as a command. The expression of these different circumstances gives rise to what are called 'moods'.

(Hall 1888:77)

An action or state may be asserted of a subject in different modes, *as an actual reality, or as a possibility, or as a command*. The forms appropriate to each are called the modes or moods of a verb.

(Harrison 1895: 153, italics added)

Definition of subjunctive mood:

Verbs in this mood form part of a dependent sentence and are preceded by a conjunction such as "in order that," "that," "if"; they are preceded or followed by another verb not in the subjunctive.

(Hall 1888:77)

If uncertainty or dependence on something else is expressed we use the Subjunctive Mood. Verbs in this mood are preceded by a conjunction such as: *in order that, that, if, etc.* They are also preceded or followed by another verb not in the subjunctive.

(Harrison 1895: 153, italics added)

Definition of number and person:

The numbers are two in every tense and mood, the Singular and the Plural. Each number has three persons; the 1st person is the person speaking; the 2nd is the person spoken to; and the 3rd is the person spoken of. The subjects of the verbs are nouns or pronouns. Most of the personal pronouns are affixed to the verb. They sometimes both precede and follow the verb, but then they form separate words.

(Hall 1888:78)

There are two numbers in every tense and mood; they are called *the singular and the plural*. Each number has three persons; the first is the person who speaks; the second is the person spoken to, and the third is the person spoken of. The subjects of verbs are always nouns and pronouns. They form separate words and always precede the verb.

(Harrison 1895: 156, italics added)

These examples reveal remarkably close expository associations, and sometimes Harrison seems to be attempting to clarify Hall's slightly cumbersome wording.

Significantly, as for the NP domain, it was not only Hall's expository terminology that Harrison incorporated into his own text. He also often used illustrative sentences that were based on Hall's. For example, when the latter introduces the subjunctive in Kwak'wala, he offers these sentences (Hall 1888: 77):

That I may believe it	kun ūkwisik
That you may believe me	kās ūkwisa ūs giakun
If I go there	kunklū lā lāk

The sentences that Harrison presents when discussing the subjunctive in his *Haida Grammar* include the following (Harrison 1895: 154):

That I may believe	Il kil lth yetiēan
If you do not believe, you will be lost	Kum dalung yetānstlo dalung gūashang
If I go	Tlao kaiitstlo

Once again, therefore, although the English examples in these lists are not identical, the semantic and syntactic similarities suggest that Harrison's versions were concocted with Hall's in mind. Harrison certainly appears to be translating (or at least partially translating) several of Hall's Kwak'wala examples into Haida, allowing the latter's presentation to determine both the form and content of his own.

The above discussion has highlighted a few points of comparatively trivial similarity, but the most significant correspondence between those sections of both texts that deal with the VP domain occurs when the respective presentations include tables of verbs that have been 'CLASSIFIED BY MEANING' (Hall 1888: 96; Harrison 1895: 216). In truth, this section heading is rather misleading since semantic considerations do not always provide a primary and exclusive classificatory basis. Several of the groupings offered depend upon such things as the number of required grammatical roles. The full set of Hall's subcategories is given in Table 4.2 (Hall 1888: 96–100). Clearly, the membership of some of these categories is determined primarily by syntactic (rather than purely semantic) concerns, and subcategories such as 'Intransitive Verbs' and 'Transitive Verbs' are obviously and uncontroversially derived from traditional grammatical expositions. In other cases, though, Hall departs from the types of verbal categories that he would have encountered in either the English or Graeco-Roman traditions. Many of the subclasses indicate the manner in which Kwak'wala verbs can be derived from other parts of speech by means of affixation. 'Verbs of Feeling' (to take one example) are formed by adding the suffix '-kula' to an existing root stem, while 'Verbs of Gradation' are created by adding the suffix '-ākwila'. In the latter case, the stem to which the affix is added is usually a main verb of some kind, and, as Hall notes

Table 4.2 The ‘Meaning Categories’ specified in Hall’s *Grammar*

‘Meaning’ Categories
Transitive Verbs
Intransitive Verbs
Verbal Propositions
Verbs of Contact
Verbs of Feeling
Verbs of Gradation
Verbs of Location
Verb to Fall
Possessive Verb
Endeavouring Verbs
Pretending Verbs
Causing Verbs (mas)
Causing Verbs (ila)
Verbs Expressing Doubt
Communicative Verbs (pa)
Desiring Verbs (ika)
Adjective Verbs

‘*Nākwila* adds the idea of incompleteness to the verb: the action is still going on’ (Hall 1888:97). It is not always the case that suffixes (particularly) are used to create different types of verbs. The prefix ‘mas-’ for instance, endows a given verb stem with causative force, enabling ‘Causing Verbs’ to be created.

While Hall’s analysis of Kwak’wala VP semantics and morphology is of importance in its own right, it is of especial interest here that Harrison incorporated many of the same categories into his analysis of Haida, as seen in Table 4.3 (Harrison 1895: 216–224). Indeed, the only exceptions (apart from one instance of minor renaming, when Hall’s ‘Endeavouring Verbs’ become ‘Attempting Verbs’ in Harrison’s account) are the addition of the rather elaborately named ‘Verbs That Have Their Noun Formed from the Root of the Verb with *le* or *lelung* Affixed’, ‘These Nouns with the verb ‘to be’ are conjugated’, and ‘Naming Verbs’. The first of these subcategories is out of place in Harrison’s discussion: whereas all the other ‘Meaning’ categories focus on the semantic and syntactic properties of nominal affixation, the morphological processes identified here enable nouns to be generated from verbs via suffixation. In general, though, he appears to have borrowed Hall’s analytical scheme, inserting Haida examples where Hall had presented Kwak’wala sentences. Yet again, therefore, Harrison imposes an existing analytical framework upon Haida, but, rather than taking a Graeco-Roman template, he has

Table 4.3 The ‘Meaning Categories’ specified in Harrison’s *Haida Grammar*.
The categories not used by Hall are given in bold

‘Meaning’ Categories

Transitive Verbs

Intransitive Verbs

Verbal Propositions

Verbs of Contact (Inku)

Verbs of Feeling (Kwutungē)

Verbs of Gradation

Verbs of Location

Verb to Fall

Possessive Verb

Attempting Verbs

Pretending Verbs

Causing Verbs

Verbs Expressing Doubt

Communicative or **Reciprocal Verbs** (Gwu)

Desiring Verbs (Da kwudung)

Verbs That Have Their Noun Formed from the Root of the Verb with le or lelung Affixed

These Nouns with the verb “to be” are conjugated

Adjectival Verbs

Naming Verbs

adopted Hall’s Kwak’wala scheme. This kind of borrowing has significant implications for the study of missionary linguistics on the Pacific Northwest Coast.

Since none of the illustrative examples were included in the Tables 4.2 and 4.3, the extent to which Harrison’s sentences correspond to Hall’s is not sufficiently apparent. However, the full range of similarities becomes obvious when examples from the corresponding subcategories are compared directly. For instance, the specific structures used by Hall to illustrate ‘Verbs of Contact’ include the following (Hall 1888: 97):

Ukā-klila	On it
Glapā-klila	Nailed on to
Klapā-klila	As a sail when spread on a log or fence to dry
Hunālā-klila	A clock or anything tall on a shelf

These can be compared to the examples of ‘Verbs of Contact’ which appear in Harrison’s tables (Harrison 1895: 219):

Wau inku īching	On it.
Inku īching	On it.
Sihinē inku lth katsang	I nail on to.
Tablegē inku gioungwē īching	The sail is on the table.
Kēlthka douwē inku īching	On a shelf.

The same phrases are given in Kwak'wala/Haida and English, and the semantic fields are closely related (e.g., nail, sail, shelf). In a similar manner, the examples used to illustrate the 'Verbs of Location' also contain lexical and syntactic correspondences. For instance, Hall gives distinct verb forms in Kwak'wala which indicate whether a given action occurs 'in doors', 'out of doors', 'on the beach', or 'on board a vessel' and these distinctions are all conveyed by spatial suffixes (e.g., 'sit indoors' is 'kwaītl' (*k^wa-itl*), 'sit out of doors' is 'kwās' (*k^wa's*) (see Hall 1888: 97; Mithun 2001: 149). Harrison also groups together 'Verbs of Location', but since Haida does not indicate such spatial distinction via suffixes, he merely provides sentences containing the appropriate adverbial material: 'I sit indoors' is given as 'Annā lth kouwang' (*ʔanna hl q'aw.ang* ['inside I sit.PR']), while 'I sit out of doors' is 'Kiā lth kouwang' (*kyaa hl q'aw.ang* ['outside I sit.PR']) (Harrison 1895: 220). Clearly these are not distinct verbal forms, and therefore it is odd to cluster them together in this way. Once again, Harrison has simply devised sentences which can occupy a place in a predetermined analytical framework. Given this, it is to be expected that his analysis should be more problematical than Hall's: he does not only import some of the latter's analytical difficulties directly into his *Haida Grammar*, but, by adopting such a deeply derivative approach, he creates further complexities of his own devising. In the case of the 'Verbs of Contact', Harrison's English renderings 'On it' and 'On a shelf' do not indicate the verbal content of these sentences. Also, his presentation of the 'preposition' 'inku' (*ʔing-gu*) reveals its own limitations when he states (correctly) that this lexical item actually functions as a postposition (Harrison 1895: 151; see Enrico 2005: 1722).

Hall's and Harrison's closely related attempts to identify and classify the verbs of Kwak'wala and Haida (respectively) help to destabilise entrenched, though overly simplistic, assumptions concerning missionary linguistics. As was mentioned in the Introduction, until comparatively recently it was conventional to assume that grammatical treatises produced by missionaries were not of particular interest primarily because the analyses offered simply utilised the kind of derived Graeco-Roman grammatical frameworks that had become the standard model during the 18th and 19th centuries. However, as the discussion in this chapter has shown, this was not always the case. It is absolutely clear that some of the Pacific Northwest Coast missionaries realised that they had to reject traditional grammatical analyses. For instance, none of the standard Greek and Latin grammar

textbooks that were published in the 19th century attempted to sub-classify verbs in terms of ‘meaning’, so the system that Hall used (and which Harrison largely borrowed) suggests that he was responding to the linguistic properties that he encountered in Kwak’wala, and that he was willing to introduce an innovative scheme of classification if existing frameworks proved to be inadequate. The fact that Harrison considered Hall’s scheme to provide a valid classificatory system for Haida verbs demonstrates that radically new grammatical analyses could spread rapidly throughout the region.

It is worth emphasising at this point, that Hall’s and Harrison’s rejection of the Graeco-Roman tradition was selective, not absolute. Indeed, the grammatical studies that both men produced are highly eclectic, drawing upon a range of source material from Graeco-Roman, English, and, possibly, Oriental traditions (to name just three; there may be more). Various extracts have been explored which suggest an avoidance of Graeco-Roman classifications. However, it is easy enough to find other passages which indicate a close adherence to this very tradition. When Harrison introduces the ‘past tense’ in Haida, for example, he notes that ‘[t]he past is used as the Aorist in Greek, and is used in conversation of something recently said or done’ (Harrison 1895:138). Here the Haida tense is explained via analogy with the Greek Aorist. It is this heterogeneity, this willingness to pick and choose those categories and analytical perspectives that are deemed to be most useful for a given task, that is so distinctive. Like the vast majority of 19th-century missionary grammars, the texts produced by Hall and Harrison are ‘in dialogue’ with a range of different grammatical studies, and although Harrison’s reliance upon Hall’s work has been particularly highlighted in this chapter, there are many other connections that await detailed consideration. In effect, Hall’s *Grammar* and Harrison’s *Haida Grammar* are mosaics, constructed from many small fragments of grammatical theory, most of which have been gleaned from other places, and, in order to appreciate the full cultural (and specifically linguistic) significance of these texts, it is essential both to reveal the origins of these fragments, and to explore the manner in which they have been combined. This enables us to understand in greater detail the way in which Protestant, CMS-trained missionaries based in North America approached the complex task of devising grammatical analyses of the indigenous languages that they encountered as part of their daily work.

In the literature about Haida linguistics, it is often claimed that there were no serious attempts to analyse the language until Harrison began to study the language in the 1880s. While this is not strictly true (as indicated in Chapter 3), it is certainly the case that Harrison’s *Haida Grammar* was the most elaborate study of the language that had appeared in print at that time. However, Michael Krauss has observed that

[d]uring 1800–1885, over a dozen more Haida vocabularies, mostly Skidegate and Alaskan, were collected by Canadians and Americans, but there was no sustained language work. [...] In 1885, however, two types of sustained efforts began, American academic anthropological linguistic field research by none other than the “father” of American anthropology, Franz Boas, on the one hand and Anglican resident missionary work of Charles Harrison on the other.

(Krauss 2005: vi)

For Krauss, Harrison’s study, along with the work of the contemporaneous anthropologists (notably Boas), marks the start of a sustained and serious effort to analyse Haida which culminated in the authoritative work of Swanton, though it is not clear why Krauss picks 1885 as a key date for Harrison’s analysis of Haida since, by that time, he had been in Masset for three years. Given its important historical status, then, it is surely essential to attempt to understand the form, structure, and content of Harrison’s text, since an accurate appreciation of such things enables us to reflect more carefully upon the origin and import of the various categories and analytical perspectives that were introduced in this seminal work. As this chapter has shown, Harrison’s text is (to use Zwartjes and Hovdhaugen’s expression again) ‘in dialogue’ with Hall’s. And Harrison borrowed Hall’s basic framework even though he knew that Haida and Kwak’wala were not closely related languages. In 1892, he had noted of the Haida that ‘[...] they are a distinct race of people’, adding that ‘their language, also, is quite distinct and has no resemblance whatever to the languages spoken by the neighbouring tribes on the mainland’ (Harrison 1892: 27–28). Nonetheless, despite this, he seems to have been convinced that a particular grammatical study of a different North American language provided a convenient framework for his own analysis of Haida.

Translating scripture

5.1 Mission and translation

In many respects, the recent interest in missionary sermons, commentaries, and scripture translations has been motivated by a desire to challenge the conviction that missionary activity crudely and invariably advocated a form of cultural supremacy, and certain researchers have attempted to undermine these assumptions by revealing the true complexity and diversity of the movement. For instance, David Bebbington has repeatedly discouraged a passive acceptance of the rather naïve belief that missions were merely ‘the ideological arm of territorial expansion’, noting in particular that (during the 19th century)

[...] there was no simple correlation between missions and empire. Sometimes, as in northern Nigeria at the end of the century, the British authorities discouraged evangelistic effort since it might cause public disorder. Missionaries themselves were often wary of the colonial authorities because they might do as much to corrupt the peoples under their care as to protect them. Within British territory, the advance of evangelical bodies usually owed little or nothing to government patronage, which in a formal sense had all but disappeared by the middle of the century. [...] Consequently, the relationship between missions and empire is much more ambiguous than it is usually supposed to be. Evangelicals were by no means consistent apologists for painting the map red.

(Bebbington 2005: 106–107)

Since ambiguities of this kind permeated the socio-political contexts in which many missionaries lived and worked, it is no surprise that the written texts they produced are often characterised by a beguiling indeterminacy. Recognising this, publications such as Brian Stanley’s *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1990), Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton’s (eds) *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues* (1996), David Chidester’s *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa* (1996), and R. S. Sugirtharajah’s *The Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Explorations* (2005) have forced cultural historians and theologians alike to reconsider the nature of the relationship between mission and empire by destabilising previously conventional beliefs.

Prompted in part by this conflux of academic concerns, the current chapter explores the scripture translations that were produced by the CMS Masset missionaries – and therefore the work of Collison, Harrison, and Keen will again provide the main focus for the discussion. Curiously, although these translations have sometimes been briefly mentioned in previous studies of Haida, they have never been carefully examined. For instance, Krauss has observed tersely that ‘[t]he missionary work was poorly spelled and did little to strengthen the position of the language’ (Krauss 2005:vi), while Enrico does not include sentences from the Haida translations as examples of attested usage in either his *Haida Syntax* or his *Haida Dictionary*.

This apparent neglect has arisen mainly because, as discussed in the Introduction, modern work in Haida linguistics is generally understood to have begun in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when Boas and Swanton began to probe the language for anthropological purposes. However, while it is certainly the case that Swanton’s work (in particular) provided an unprecedentedly detailed account of Haida, it is important to remember that the scripture translations published by the CMS missionaries were the first substantial printed texts to be written in the language. Indeed, although the translations cannot and should not be treated in the same way as (say) the elicited renderings of oral narratives that Swanton transcribed, they are valuable documents nonetheless, especially when viewed from an historiographical perspective in the context of North American missionary activity. For instance, as will be shown in this chapter, rather than being produced in isolation by proselytising Europeans, the translations emerged as a result of extensive consultation with native speakers, and therefore they help to elucidate some of the cultural interactions that characterised missionary contact along the Pacific Northwest Coast. Accordingly, it is worthwhile to try to reconstruct the translation practices used, and this process can involve such basic considerations as determining whether a given missionary took the Greek text, the King James Version (KJV), or the newly available Revised Version (RV) as the primary source material – or whether a number of different sources were used. Similarly, it is helpful to establish whether a single Haida speaker assisted the missionaries, or whether groups of native speakers were consulted while the translations were being prepared. In addition to practical concerns such as these, it is possible also to examine the way in which specific vocabulary items were rendered into Haida, especially those words and phrases that are inextricably rooted in a Judaeo-Christian socio-political and religious worldview (e.g., master, servant, angel, spirit). When topics such as these are considered, it soon becomes apparent that the Haida scripture translations inevitably illuminate the manner in which Western ideas were converted into a form that was intended to

make them accessible to the indigenous communities living on Haida Gwaii. As Paul Landau has observed with reference to missionary translations in general, '[t]he commonness and consistency of Christian texts in newly alphabetic languages helped produce national identifications from the inside, among readers' (Landau 2005: 195). Complex issues such as these await extensive consideration, especially with particular reference to the communities along the Pacific Northwest Coast. Accordingly, the current chapter will seek to initiate an exploration, and, as previously, Collison's work provides a convenient starting point.

5.2 The Haida scriptures

It is clear that as soon as Collison was able to speak Haida with some ease, he began to produce translations of scriptural and liturgical texts. Although these were sometimes carefully prepared, occasionally they were impromptu. In his 1915 autobiography, *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, he describes how the Haida chief George Cowhoe (?–1890) unexpectedly produced a copy of the New Testament (NT) that he had been given eighteen years earlier by James Prevost (1810–1891), the captain of *H.M.S. Satellite*. Collison continues:

I took it out of his hand again, and turned to a text I had just been teaching them. It was St. John's Gospel, the third chapter, and the sixteenth verse. This I read to him first in English, and then in Haida, "Alzeil Sha Nung Etlagedas hahada wautliwan il quoyada uan, alzeil Laou' l Keet an swanshung tlak Laou' l ishthian alzeil wautliwan kestho Laou' l yetang, kum l goowangshang waigen hininga et shwanung shang laou' l keyiyen." "Are these words really there?" he asked; "I have had it so long, and yet did not know it, but now I shall learn to read it myself." And as he carried away his prize with a face beaming with satisfaction. I was reminded of another passage from the inspired word, "Thy words were found, and I did eat them, and Thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." From that time he became one of my most attentive and persevering pupils. (Collison 1915: 173–174)¹

The lines that are translated into Haida here are given in the KJV as

John 3:16

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

1. The passages from scripture cited here are John 3:16 and Jeremiah 15:16.

Although it will not be discussed in detail here, Collison's translation certainly merits careful reading. For instance, he uses the phrase 'Sha Nung Etlagedas' (literally, *the Chief above*, as discussed in Section 3.4) to translate 'God' while 'loved' is translated using *quyaada* ('quoyada' in Collison's spelling), a verb which can convey a range of meaning including 'love; esteem; not want to part with' (Enrico 2005:1475). Details such as these indicate the way in which Collison sought to find points of contact between the source and target languages that he was obliged to utilise, and these sorts of correspondences will be discussed at greater length later.

Obviously, though, Collison was not always able simply to associate English words and phrases directly with Haida counterparts, and this problem was especially prominent when scriptural translation was required. As an example, he describes the events surrounding the death of 'Makai', a Tlingit who had married a Haida woman, thereby becoming part of the Masset community. While attempting to indicate some of the difficulties he faced, Collison also mentions certain techniques he used in order to convey concepts that are central to the Christian faith:

The idea of resurrection was new and strange to them. I had succeeded in forming an equivalent for the term in the Haida language, and with the aid of illustrations from the books of Nature and of Revelation they were enabled to understand it. The "corn of wheat" of the gospel and the "bare grain of wheat" of St. Paul's grand illustration of resurrection in Corinthians, carried the truth to more than one standing around Makai's remains. (Collison 1915:202)

Unfortunately, he does not record the specific word or words that he used when attempting to convey the notion of the resurrection, but it is clear that he made use of existing vocabulary (in this case, presumably drawn from semantic groups associated with processes of regeneration in the natural world) in order to ensure that the Masset Haidas understood the message of the Gospel. A comparable extract provides another example of the same methodology:

I found also that it was not unusual amongst them to cast offerings of food into the fire to supply the wants of the souls of departed friends. From the terms used to denote this custom, and also that of seeking to propitiate the spirits which they associated with the forces of nature, we derived the terms both in the Haida and in the Tsimshean languages by which to render the word "sacrifice." (Collison 1915:205)

So, Haida vocabulary associated with traditional rituals (the burning of food offerings) is adapted so that it can be used in specifically Christian contexts, and, in

doing this, Collison was simply using techniques that he had learnt while working with Duncan at Metlakatla.

Although Collison produced numerous Haida translations of scriptural and liturgical texts (both improvised and prepared) during his time on Haida Gwaii, they all remained unpublished. Consequently, the first printed translation that appeared under the auspices of the CMS's North Pacific Mission involved the Kwak'wala language rather than Haida, and once again Alfred Hall took the initiative. Specifically, in 1882, he published *The Gospel According to St. Matthew, Translated into the Qā-gūtl (or Quoquols Language)*, and this text set the standard for all similar projects in the region. Crucially, Bishop Ridley was convinced that the venture was of considerable importance; he actively encouraged Hall to complete the work, and he became personally involved during the final stages, requesting a copy of the proofs (CMS Archive G2C1O/1881/18). Indeed, Ridley's close involvement also established a precedent: all subsequent translations prepared by individuals involved with the North Pacific Mission were submitted to the Bishop before potential publishers were contacted. Since Hall's work was so influential, it is of interest to examine the way in which he created his translation. For instance, although he was directly assisted by 'our native teacher' (i.e., William Brotchie), there were subsequent stages of more extensive consultation:

Several months have elapsed since I have finished my translation and many hours since have been spent in reading it to the natives and re-vising and re-writing the whole. I believe it to be now a very fair translation.

(CMS Archive G2C1O/1881/17)

Rather than being a product of disconnected isolation, then, the final text of the translation emerged from an elaborate process of interaction and revision. If the above account is trustworthy, then Hall's and Brotchie's initial draft was 'read' to indigenous Kwak'wala speakers who gave feedback concerning the language of the text, and Hall (assisted by Brotchie?) subsequently modified the translation in the light of the comments that had been received. Consequently, in some sense, the final text was produced by the Alert Bay community as a whole rather than by Hall working independently, and this is an important point. As noted earlier, it is sometimes implied that missionaries crudely forced linguistic and ideological structures upon the indigenous peoples they encountered. While this kind of imposition certainly occurred from time to time, it was perhaps not the most prevalent form of interaction, and, as this chapter will demonstrate, collaboration of the kind detailed in Hall's letters was much more typical, at least in the context of the CMS North Pacific Mission.

Far from being merely academic exercises, it is clear that the published Kwak'wala translations provided a practical means of instruction for Hall's parishioners – a fact that highlights the evangelical conviction, wide-spread at the time, that scripture should be accessible to native speakers in their own language. In a letter written on March 19th 1883, for example, Hall noted that

[b]y post we received 10 copies of St Matthew and already several children in our school are partially able to read it. It is pleasing to see the children in our house take up this book in their leisure and spell out the word.

(*CMS Archive G1C2O/1883/24*)

So, Hall's translations were read during 'leisure' periods, and, at this stage of his mission, he was still encouraging children to read texts in Kwak'wala. This was a convention that would alter later in the century when English became the dominant language of education, especially with the advent of the controversial residential schools.² Indeed, Hall went on to publish several further scripture translations in Kwak'wala, and his industry inspired other missionaries working along the Pacific Rim. In particular, the CMS agents based on Haida Gwaii were keen to ensure that the Haida communities were able to have similar access to the Bible, and the various translation projects for which they were responsible can be seen to have been directly inspired by Hall's labours.

The importance accorded to the task of translation by the Masset missionaries is apparent in the numerous documents preserved in the CMS Archive. For instance, when Harrison arrived on Haida Gwaii in March 1883, he started to focus on various translation projects almost as soon as he had acquired a working knowledge of the language. Consequently, by March 6th 1885, he had produced 'a manual in Hidah on the O.T. [Old Testament] characters' as well as 'a translation of the Morning and Evening Service with part of the Communion Service' (*CMS Archive G2C1O/1885/25*). Despite the turmoil caused by the accidental burning down of the Masset Mission House in 1885 (the fire was attributed to a faulty stove), he continued with his programme of translations, and therefore, by January 1886, he could present an even longer list of texts that now existed in Haida:

This winter I have written some short lessons on the O.T. characters, also a Dictionary and easy lessons in the Haidā language. I have also translated into the Haidā language

Morning Prayer

Evening Prayer

2. This shift away from indigenous languages towards English is briefly discussed in Enrico (2003:6–7).

Litany
 Prayer for all conditions of men
 General Thanksgiving
 Communion Service
 Publick Baptism of Infants
 Baptism of such as are of Riper years
 Order of Confirmation
 Solemnization of Matrimony
 The Burial of the Dead
 The Churching of Women. (*CMS Archive G1G2/01886/33*)

Harrison sent copies of all these translations to the CMS for publication, and started to tackle the more onerous task of translating the Gospels. When he received no reply, though, he wrote again, asking the CMS for an update, and mentioning that ‘I hope to send you the translations of the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Mark’ (*CMS Archive G2C1O/1887/66*). This suggests that he was planning to produce translations of the Gospels in their canonical order (i.e., Matthew, Mark, Luke, John).

Although the CMS made no immediate moves to publish his existing Haida translations, Harrison went ahead with his plan to produce a version of Matthew, and his working method can (to an extent) be reconstructed. Significantly, like Hall before him, he wisely ensured that his translations were subjected to extensive consideration involving a range of native speakers. Indeed, he seems to have worked even more closely with Haida informants than Hall did with native speakers of Kwak’wala. An 1889 ‘Annual Letter’ to the CMS sets the scene:

During the past winter I have conducted daily Bible-class for the young men and the women, and we have read the first fourteen chapters of St. Matthew’s Gospel, and translated the whole into the Hydah language. The members of this class were then allowed to make comments on any passage read, and to ask questions.³

So, a translation of the first fourteen chapters (at least) of Matthew’s Gospel was produced in conjunction with the (male and female) members of the daily Bible-class. It is likely that the participants began by considering a verse (in English, from the KJV?), before translating it into Haida, with one person proposing an initial rendering and other people commenting and correcting, and (presumably) with Harrison writing down the final agreed text in order eventually to accumulate a complete translation. Alternatively, though, following Hall’s approach,

3. *Church Missionary Society Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missions for 1889–1990* (London: Seeley & Co. Ltd.), 79.

Harrison may have prepared an initial Haida version that was then discussed by the group. Either way, the members of the Bible-class appear to have had a considerable influence over the content of the translation, and this is an important point since it indicates that Harrison did not work in isolation. Although it is impossible to determine the extent to which the translation that emerged from the class differed from the Haida version of Matthew's Gospel that Harrison finally published in 1891, it is hard to believe that the two versions were vastly different.⁴

As mentioned in Section 2.3, Harrison's remarkable period as a CMS missionary came to an abrupt end in 1890, and when he left the mission station in Masset, the CMS determined that his translations should appear in print:

[...] the committee much regret that it has become necessary for the Rev. Chas Harrison to tender his resignation which they have no alternative but to accept. [...] They instruct the Secretaries to receive from Mr Harrison any manuscripts bearing on the Hydah language, and any translations which he may have compiled, and to communicate with him with a view to his seeing through the press such portions of his literary work as it may be determined to print.⁵

So, despite entirely neglecting Harrison's translations during the period 1885 to 1890, the CMS now seemed eager to publish them – and this is where some of the intriguing internal divisions with the organisation start to manifest themselves, since his successor at Masset, John Henry Keen, argued strongly that Harrison's work should never appear in print. Since these particular conflicts have never been discussed previously, it is necessary to explore them briefly, before considering the translations themselves in greater detail.

Keen was swiftly chosen to be Harrison's replacement, and he was already in Metlakatla by August 1st 1890. From the outset, it was clear that he was rather proud of his own abilities as a linguist. He was somewhat patronisingly impressed, for instance, by James McCullagh, a soldier-cum-missionary, referring approvingly to the latter's interest in 'comparative philology' (*CMS Archive G2C10/1890/47*). While still on the mainland, Keen met with Harrison; the latter kindly allowed Keen to make copies of 'his Hydah MSS', and later documents make it clear that Keen was specifically in possession of a draft of Harrison's *Haida Grammar* and his *Matthew* (*CMS Archive G2C10/1890/48*). During his time at Metlakatla, then, Keen was able to begin his study of the Haida language,

4. From henceforth, in order to avoid any ambiguities, Harrison's Haida version of Matthew will be referred to as '*Matthew*' (i.e., in italics) while general references to this Gospel will be written as 'Matthew'. When necessary it will be indicated in the main text if the Greek, KJV, or RV version of the Gospel is being referred to.

5. *British Columbia Precis Book*, Vol. 1, 1881–April 1892, entry for November 18th 1890.

partly using Harrison's materials, and partly benefiting from the guidance of an unnamed Haida-speaking Metlakatla resident: '[o]ne of the B[isho]p's students is a Hydah, & from him I am learning the elements of the language' (*CMS Archive G2C1O/1890/48*).

When he eventually arrived at Masset in September 1890, Keen immediately began (like Collison and Harrison before him) to concentrate on improving his knowledge of the language. At first, he was rather over-confident, stating in one letter that 'the language [...], as far as I can judge of it from Mr Harrison's little M.S. grammar, is not difficult' (*CMS Archive G2C1O/1890/75*). Despite this assurance, though, it was not until August 1891 (almost a year later) that he was able to preach his first improvised sermon in the language, and, more pertinently, it was later that same year that he began to advise the CMS not to print any of the translations that Harrison had prepared. Initially, he offered his remarks in a reasonably polite and cautious manner:

I hoped to have heard from you before this what arrangements if any, you had made in regard to printing Harrison's translations. [...] If I may be allowed a suggestion, I w^d advise that, if you have not yet begun to print any of Harrison's translations, it w^d be well not to do [sic] begin them at all. [...] This is the only station where they will be used; & as they stand, they are simply unintelligible to me, owing to the peculiar system of spelling he adopts – which is neither that in use at the other missions on the mainland, nor, as far as I can make out, any of the recognised philological treatises. I had to transcribe the whole of his prayer book, with the help of my teacher, before I could read it.

(*CMS Archive G2C1O/1891/67*)

This passage is remarkably dismissive. Clearly, Keen was convinced that Harrison's work was irretrievably flawed due to his use of an inadequate transcription system which was too idiosyncratic to be useful. Incidentally, this passage contains one of the few references in Keen's letters to his 'teacher'. This unnamed individual was probably Charles Edenshaw's cousin, Henry Edenshaw (a.k.a. Kihlguulins), who also assisted Keen when he came to produce his translations of the Gospels (Newcombe 1906: 149).

If Keen began his campaign against Harrison's translations with robust yet discreet advice, he soon became more explicit and more condemnatory when he received no response from the CMS:

The translations themselves I consider being faulty, but the spelling is still more so. [...] To give one example of the defects in translation: – throughout St Matthew's Gospel the word "man", which of course [^]usually means "one", or "person", is rendered by the Haida word meaning man as opposed to woman,

though the language has an exact equivalent to our English “person”, or Lat. “homo”. And, to make matters worse, the expression ‘Son of man’ is rendered ‘son of a man’!!
(CMS Archive G2C1O/1895/17)

Conveniently, this passage prompts an initial exploration of the actual translations, rather than merely the context in which they were produced. The Haida word to which Keen takes exception here is ‘Ītlinga’ (that is, ‘man’; *7iuhllng* in modern Haida), which Harrison uses in the phrase ‘nung Ītlinga kit’ (“the Son of man”; see *Matthew* 8:20, 9:6, 10:23, etc.). By contrast, in his own translations, Keen consistently uses the phrase ‘nung haade Git’, where ‘haade’ means “people” or “humans” (*xàada* in modern transcription; see *Luke* 5:24, 6:5, 6:22, etc.).⁶ Keen’s contention was that *7iuhllng* indicated merely biological sex, and lacked the more inclusive generic implications of words such as ‘person’, or the Latin noun *homo* in the Vulgate phrase *Filius hominis*. Given this, it is of interest that Harrison did use the word *xàada* in his translation of *Matthew*, and he seems to have been fully aware of its generic implications. For example, *Matthew* 8:16 is given in the KJV as follows:

Matthew 8:16

When the even was come, they brought unto him many [Greek = *polloús*] that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick.

In this case, Harrison renders ‘many’ (i.e., *polloús*) as ‘hāada’ (his spelling of *xàada*), presumably in order to convey the sense that the possessed individuals were not all necessarily male. In a similar manner, the noun phrase ‘the whole city’ (*Matthew* 8:34; *pāsa hi pólis* in the Greek text) is translated as ‘lana asku hāade’, once again avoiding all unambiguous indications of gender. However, it is not always the case that Harrison uses ‘hāade’ when the KJV or Greek texts use a word or phrase that refers to an individual or to a group without specifying biological sex. One example occurs in *Matthew* 9:17 when the noun ‘men’ in the clause ‘Neither do men put new wine into old bottles’ is translated as ‘hāade’. Significantly, the Greek text contains a verb *vállousin* (i.e., ‘they put’) which does not take an explicit subject, and this may be why Harrison has chosen to adopt a less specific interpretation here. Given his awareness of the generic nature of *xàada*, it is curious that, when translating the phrase ‘the Son of man’, he should have invariably preferred to deploy gender-specific vocabulary. This may simply indicate the extent to which he allowed himself to be guided primarily by the wording of the KJV.

6. Keeping with the convention adopted earlier in this chapter, Keen’s Haida NT translations will henceforth be referred to as ‘*Luke*’, ‘*John*’, and ‘*Acts*’ (i.e., in italics).

Despite Keen's advice, Harrison's *Matthew* was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1891, and, seven years later, Keen published his own Haida version of *Acts*, while his *Luke* and *John* appeared in the following year. A glimpse into Keen's working practices can be gleaned from a remarkable 1969 interview with the Haida chief William Matthews that was recorded by the Canadian broadcaster Imbert Orchard (1909–1991). Orchard asks Matthews specifically about the church services that were held at Masset in the early 20th century, and Matthews mentions that the service book was in Haida:

We got that translated by Reverend Keen, J. H. Keen, who was here when I was a boy. And he knew our language, just like I could speak it myself. He preached in the church in our language. Of course, Henry Edenshaw helped him [...] And they translated the New Testament, all the Gospels, and a portion of the English prayer book. But my people could not read that, as it is written in Haida. They can't read that. Some of the spellings are about 30 letters. And I am the only one, and my cousin Elijah Jones, just the two of us can read that if we look at it. But sometimes it is wrong – not correct. Then we have to take the Bible and we correct it. Of course, Henry Edenshaw didn't have a lot of education, so some of, a lot of, the translation is not correct. (BC Archives T1156:0002)

These comments identify some of the practical linguistic problems that confronted the translators, and they raise doubts about the quality and reliability of the texts produced (doubts that the missionaries rarely articulated). Given this, it is not surprising that Keen's texts marked the end of a movement, rather than the beginning of one. In the early 20th century, the Pacific Northwest missionaries became aware of a cultural shift that was being prompted and sustained by the indigenous communities themselves. At one point in *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, Collison notes that the Haida community at Masset preferred reading the Bible in English:

Mr Keen's knowledge of the language enabled him to confer a great benefit to the Mission by his translations. He succeeded in translating the Gospels of St Mark, St Luke, and St John, together with the Acts of the Apostles, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians from the New Testament, and the books of Genesis and Psalms from the Old Testament; as also portions of the Book of Common Prayer and hymns. But his experience of the unpopularity of translations of the hymns and canticles for the service of praise in public worship was identical with that of the other missionaries amongst the languages of the mainland. The native Christians all prefer the hymns and chants in English, and all hold to their English Bibles and prayer books. Nevertheless, the translations are of great value to the Mission teachers in imparting religious instruction, and also

to the native Christians in enabling them to grasp the true meaning of the English version. (Collison 1915:262)⁷

Although the CMS missionaries generally maintained an insistent belief in the importance of translated texts, the communities along the Pacific Northwest Coast gradually began to demand that their church services were conducted in English, an alteration in practice that certainly contributed to the gradual marginalisation of the native languages during the first half of the 20th century. This was partly the result of the extensive process of acculturation that was inflicted upon the native peoples by both the Federal and Provincial governments from the late 1880s onwards.

Given these concerns, the following sections will explore a number of related themes concerning the Haida scripture translations, and the main purpose is simply to reflect upon the way in which the Haida Gwaii missionaries attempted to present the Gospels in the context of the Haida culture they encountered. Obviously, there are many possible beginnings to an investigation of this kind, and the following analysis will start by considering the missionaries' rendering of notions associated with the spirit world.

5.3 Souls and spirits

In the NT, angels convey messages to startled recipients, while devils and evil spirits delude and sometimes possess their unfortunate victims – and the descriptions of these encounters, which necessarily articulate a first-century Judaeo-Christian worldview, inevitably present difficulties when they are translated from one language, and from one culture, into another. Obviously, the Haida scriptures are no exception to this. Therefore, in order fully to understand the manner in which the Masset missionaries approached this task, it is helpful to determine the extent to which they believed that the modern world was riven by the battle between supernatural forces of Good and Evil.⁸ Certainly there are numerous passages in the surviving documents which insinuate convictions of this kind. For instance, while discussing the Lachkaltap Mission on the Nass river, Collison recalls a

7. This passage contains the only known reference to a translation of Mark's Gospel by Keen. If this text ever existed, it was never published, and it is not mentioned in any of the documents in the CMS Archive.

8. For a collection of essays that explores various aspects of this broad topic from a range of theological perspectives, see Lane (1996).

potlatch in the dwelling of a certain chief; he refers to the dwelling as ‘that citadel of heathenism’, and he comments that

[...] around this custom and accessory to it were the “halied” or Indian devilry, which in its hydra-headed divisions of cannibalistic, destructive, and necromantic practices kept the Indian camps in a continual turmoil, and made the medicine men a terror to their own tribes as well as to those outside.

(Collison 1915:342)

Here ‘halied’ is most likely a rendering of the Nisga’a word *halayt* which may be a borrowing of the Coast Tsimshian word *haleyit/halaayt* which means “(to be a) shaman, medicine man”. Although this description does not refer specifically to a Haida shaman, the phrase ‘Indian devilry’ and the adjective ‘necromantic’ imply that the practices of the Pacific Northwest ‘medicine men’ were considered to be of satanic origin. Or is this interpretation too simplistic? In the 1980s, the Nigerian theologian Osadolor Imasogie (b.1928) argued that, although most 19th-century missionaries were content to use words and phrases which appear to acknowledge the existence of supernatural beings, the majority did not in fact believe that angels, devils, and spirits were anything other than metaphorical conveniences. Viewed from this still provocative perspective, Collison’s references to ‘devilry’ may simply provide religious clothing for convictions which approach more closely towards physicalism than is immediately apparent – a use of language which reflects merely ‘the afterglow of the biblical worldview’ (Imasogie 1983:51–53). If it is indeed true that many missionaries (including those based in Masset) would refer to supernatural beings without accepting their ontic validity, then these ambiguities only complicate an already dauntingly complex interpretative task.

Another difficulty is caused by the paucity of historical evidence relating to 19th-century Haida views concerning supernatural beings, and the standard sources provide only limited assistance. For instance, Swanton published the first detailed discussion of what he termed Haida ‘spirit-theory’ in his *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (1905), and he noted that there were a large number of ‘supernatural beings’ whom the Haida believed inhabited ‘the atmosphere, the ocean, the woods, lakes, and streams’ (Swanton 1905a:13). Crucially, according to Swanton ‘every animal was, or might be, the embodiment of a being who, at his own pleasure, could appear in the human form’, and this shifting polymorphism problematises any attempt to construct an ontological hierarchy based merely on identifiable physical qualities (Swanton 1905a:16). In another important passage, Swanton considered the specific Haida vocabulary that could be used with reference to the spiritual realm:

There are three words for ‘soul,’ or ‘spirit,’ in Haida. Two of these are applied to the soul in the living body, and one to the soul after its separation. The former xAndj and $\text{g\ddot{a}'tanda-i}$, are said to be two words for the same thing. The Haida denied that there are two souls. When any one dies, they say “the soul flies away” ($\text{g\ddot{a}'tanda-i xidA\ddot{n}}$); and when a man was thought to be born again, they said that his xAndj was born again, but they meant to include both. After death the disembodied soul was called *giet*, and the land that most of the souls inhabit was called the Land of Souls ($\text{Gi\ddot{a}'Lga-i}$ [*Giet Lga-i*]). (Swanton 1905a: 34)

In this account, there are three words for ‘soul’ or ‘spirit’; two of these are synonymous (xAndj and $\text{g\ddot{a}'tanda-i}$), referring to ‘the soul in the living body’, while the third, ‘*giet*’, denotes the disembodied soul as it is manifest after death. This indicates that reincarnation was a dominant notion in Haida spirit-theory: it was widely believed that the soul of an ancestor could be reincarnated in the body of a child born within the same moiety, and this belief seems to have persisted long after the missionaries had established themselves on Haida Gwaii.⁹

Although for a long time Swanton’s account was accepted as being largely accurate, in recent years it has been challenged, and Enrico, in particular, has proposed a modified system. In Enrico’s version, the Haida supernatural realm is populated by beings called *sraana* (i.e., spirits), and he identifies several sub-realms that are associated with the sea, the forest, and the sky. With specific reference to the *sraana*, he notes that

Their spiritual aspect consisted in their *raahlaandaay* or ‘soul’, their earthly aspect being their ‘skins’. Humans also had *raahlaandaay*, best translated as ‘conscious spirit’, contrasting with ‘reincarnated spirit’ [...] The souls or spiritual aspects of both humans and animals had the appearance of humans, so at this level humans and animals were identical in form. The shaman traveled to the spirit realms in *raahlaandaay* form, leaving his body behind. (Enrico 1995: 7)

The Haida word which means roughly “reincarnated spirit” (which Enrico mentions in the above passage) is *xanj* – a retranscription of the noun Swanton wrote as xAndj . In his *Haida Dictionary*, Enrico comments that the kind of spirit indicated by this word ‘was not conscious, nor did it ever leave the body while the owner was alive (compare *raahlaandaay*)’ (Enrico 2005: 1554). The contention is

9. Swanton suggests that reincarnation could occur within the lineage rather than the moiety. Florence Davidson, who was born in 1896 and baptised by Keen, recalled that “[m]y dad used to favour me because I used to tell him, “Hada, ding awu di ijing,” “Dad, I’m your mother.” They used to believe in second-birth’ (Blackman 1982: 78). Swanton’s existing letters suggest that he obtained most of his information about these matters from Henry Moody in 1903. For a discussion of this, see Bringhurst (1999a: 188–189).

that (*contra* Swanton), in 19th-century Haida spirit-theory, the words *xanj* and *raahlaandaay* referred to *distinct* notions and therefore were far from being interchangeable. A Haida perspective on this word can be gleaned from the aforementioned 1969 interview with William Matthews. Prompted by Orchard's questions, Matthews reflects upon the Haida view of the afterlife:

My people believe in hereafter. They call it "people alive" because they've got something in them which keep them alive which they call 'althandai', the spirit which keep them alive, and when they die this spirit goes to a beyond, to a ghost-land, and our people strongly believe that. (BC Archives T1156:0002)

Although it is impossible to determine whether Matthews' recollections and Enrico's revised account of the spirit-realm accurately present a belief-system that was familiar to the Masset Haida who helped Collison, Harrison, and Keen prepare their translations, they certainly provide a plausible frame-of-reference in relation to which the missionaries' writings can be considered – and there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the missionaries understood something of indigenous Haida beliefs concerning the spirit world. Collison, for instance, noted that the Haida identified several different kinds of spirits. He records that a young man was once forced by the 'medicine men' to drink salt water in order to determine whether he was loyal or not, noting that '[i]t is believed and asserted by the necromancers that the saltwater will kill and expel the evil spirit which is causing trouble in the camp' (Collison 1915: 117). The noun 'necromancers' implies that an act of supernatural summoning took place, and, although (unfortunately) Collison does not give the actual Haida vocabulary that he has translated here as 'evil spirit', his terminology suggests that his Haida informants believed in the existence of malicious non-corporeal beings.

Since this kind of evidence is imprecise and rather high-level, it is of particular interest to examine the manner in which the Haida Gwaii missionaries translated scriptural passages concerning supernatural phenomena into Haida. Not surprisingly, given the difficulty of the task, they adopted a range of approaches, sometimes simply realising that translation of any kind was essentially impossible, sometimes constructing periphrastic expressions in order to convey notions associated with single lexical items in their source text(s), sometimes using existing Haida words if they felt that these were sufficiently close in meaning – and these various approaches will be briefly considered in turn.

During the 20th century, the task of translating from one language into another was assessed from a wide range of linguistic and philosophical perspectives, and 'translation studies' emerged as a vibrant interdisciplinary field (Venuti 2005). Eugene Nida (b.1914), in particular, was a dominant theorist who, in a series of publications from the 1940s onwards, attempted to outline 'a scientific

approach to translation’ (Nida & Taber 1969: vii). Significantly, Nida was especially concerned with the task of scriptural translation, and he introduced the notion of ‘dynamic equivalence’ in 1964 (Nida 1964: 159). This method seeks to establish a dynamic, culturally-informed relationship between the source and target languages, and it prioritises this over the search for formal and structural word-for-word or sentence-for-sentence correspondences. Consequently, words and phrases in the source language which are deemed untranslatable from the perspective of the target language merit close and careful contextualised scrutiny. As a result, in contemporary translation theory, the decision to leave references to ‘culture-specific items’ (CSIs) untranslated is sometimes called ‘repetition’, and untranslated elements invariably pose intricate problems.¹⁰ As Javier Franco Aixelá has observed:

Paradoxically, this ‘respectful’ strategy involves in many cases an increase in the exotic or archaic character of the CSI, which is felt to be more alien by the target language reader because of its linguistic form and cultural distance.

(Aixelá 1996: 61)

Significantly, in the Haida scriptures, there are only a few nouns associated with supernatural beings and phenomena that are *not* converted into Haida. These include *àngelos* (“angel” in the KJV) which is simply left untouched, apart from necessary morphological modifications. Consequently, in *Matthew* 1:20, the phrase ‘angel of the Lord’ (KJV) is given as ‘shālānā giē Angelgē’, and, in 4:11 the ‘angels’ that came and ministered to Jesus in the wilderness are referred to as ‘ga angelgas ge’, where ‘ga ... ge’ indicate plurality (with *ga* being a plural indefinite pronoun).¹¹ By contrast, the periphrastic approach to the task of translating certain lexical items manifests itself in phrases such as ‘shā tligē’ (“heaven”; *Matthew* 6:20), which literally means “the land above”, while ‘hētle tligē’ (*earth*; *Matthew* 6:19) means “the land below”.

Although these details are revealing, there is no doubt that the word-for-word English-Haida, or Greek-Haida, translations provide the richest instances, and the phrase *Pneyma Hagion* (which is variously rendered in the KJV as ‘the Holy Ghost’ or ‘the Holy Spirit’) provides a convenient starting point. To begin with a non-scriptural example, in one of the Haida hymns that he wrote in 1878, Collison uses the line (CMS/OMS/B/CC204/18)

10. For a detailed theoretical discussion of this aspect of translation theory, see Aixelá (1996).

11. For a contemporaneous discussion of these plurals, see Harrison (1895: 135).

Neung Hants Lass eelt git isthang
 Nung xanj 'láas 7iittl'- gi 7isda.ang
 INDEF Spirit Holy us to give.IMP
 'Give to us thy Holy Spirit'

[Collison's translation]

Collison's 'git' is odd here. The standard Masset postposition is *-ga*, while the Skidegate form is *-gi*, and it is not clear why he appears to use the latter here. Also the word-final consonant, <t>, in 'git' is unexpected and it may simply be a misanalysis of the word-initial glottal stop in *7isda.ang*. Despite these problems, it is clear that the phrase 'Holy Spirit' corresponds to the Haida phrase 'Hants Lass' – that is, *xanj 'láas* in modern transcription, where *'láas* functions adjectivally and means (roughly) "good". Since *xanj 'láas* does not appear in any of the existing transcriptions of traditional 19th-century (non-Christian) Haida myths and songs, it seems likely that Collison introduced this phrase himself. If so, then presumably his intention was to convey this distinctly Christian concept by combining existing Haida lexical items in an unconventional manner. In particular, the aim was no doubt to devise a phrase that was not already present in existing Haida belief-systems, but which could be comprehended (to a certain extent) by people familiar with those systems. Given the meaning of the two words concerned, Collison's contemporaneous (Haida) audience would most probably have understood the phrase to mean something like "Benign Reincarnated-Spirit", and the proposed distinction between *xanj* and *raahlaandaay* ensures that there are a number of difficulties here. For instance, if Enrico is correct when he claims that *xanj* referred to a reincarnated spirit that 'was not conscious', and which did not 'leave the body while the owner was alive' (Enrico 2005: 1554), then Collison's usage would have suggested that the *xanj 'láas* either has, or used to have, a corporeal manifestation of some kind, since (unlike *raahlaandaay*) *xanj* specifically denotes a spirit that is inseparable from its associated body while the latter is living. Therefore (seemingly) the noun could not simply indicate a purely disembodied spiritual being. Inevitably, Collison's lexical choices present 'the Holy Spirit' in a startlingly unconventional manner, specifically introducing implications that are certainly not associated with standard Christian pneumatological theories.

Whether he was responsible for devising it or not, Collison's use of the phrase ensured that it was adopted by his successors. In his *Matthew*, for instance, Harrison follows Collison's lead: the second half of verse 1:18 ('she was found with child of the Holy Ghost', KJV) contains the phrase 'Hānts Las', which differs only as a result of minor orthographical discrepancies. Keen also uses this phrase extensively (e.g., *Luke* 1:35, 1:41, 1:67, 2:26, 3:16, 3:22, and so on), which suggests that, by the 1880s, it had become a standard part of the Haida missionary sociolect.

Although *xanj 'láas* had already become a familiar phrase by the time Keen started to produce his translations in the 1880s, there are several passages which suggest that the missionaries were certainly not translating the scriptural texts in a mindless, algorithmic fashion. For example, in Luke 4:14, Jesus is described as returning to Galilee in 'the power of the Spirit [Greek = *Pneýματος*]' (KJV), and, in this particular instance, the adjective 'Holy' (Greek = *Hagion*) is not present. Significantly, though, Keen translates this phrase as 'Hants Las gia dugwĩgai', where the noun 'dugwĩgai' (*dagwi.ig*) means (roughly) "power" and 'gia' (*gyaa*) indicates possession. In using 'Hants Las' rather than just 'Hants', Keen is apparently trying to eliminate all possible ambiguity by clarifying the precise nature of the spirit, and this kind of elucidatory zeal is a characteristic feature of his general approach to translation. In this instance, his desire for clarity could have been prompted by his awareness of the richness of the Haida spirit-world: given a culture that standardly recognises a vast array of supernatural beings, it is surely imperative that no ambiguities predominate when a specific being is mentioned, since this would obfuscate the message of the Gospel. Therefore, from Keen's perspective, it must be absolutely clear that 'Spirit' in Luke 4:14 means "Holy Spirit", even if this requires a minor deviation from his source materials.

The phrase 'Hants Las gia dugwĩgai' raises other issues, though. It is revealing, for instance, that Keen should have chosen *dugwĩgai* when translating 'power' (*dynámei* in the Greek). In modern spelling, this noun is *dagwi.ig* (in the Maset dialect), and it can refer to a shamanic spirit or (more generally) a shamanic power (Enrico 2005: 34). It is highly likely, therefore, that his Haida parishioners would have recognised the implied spiritual connotations here, and, indeed, Keen may be intentionally trying to suggest that certain capacities that were traditionally associated with the Haida shamans should be associated instead with the Holy Spirit, thereby encouraging a re-assessment of indigenous notions of spiritual potency in an explicitly Christian framework. Whether this is so or not, the use of the noun surely reveals something of Keen's knowledge of shamanic customs, since it demonstrates that he was familiar with certain pieces of technical vocabulary associated with the work of these individuals. Significantly, Enrico notes that, as a direct result of 'missionary usage', the word *dagwi.ig* eventually came to mean "Holy Spirit" (Enrico 2005: 34). While this semantic shift certainly took place, the change must have occurred after the 1880s (at the earliest), otherwise phrases such as 'Hants Las gia dugwĩgai' would have been needlessly tautological. If this mooted chronology is even broadly correct, then it provides an illustrative instance of the way in which the Haida Gwaii missionaries succeeded in redefining and delimiting the range of meanings that were associated with particular Haida words, a process of readjustment that involved the re-interpretation of shamanic vocabulary in the context of Judeo-Christian culture.

While the phrase ‘the Holy Spirit’ merits being discussed in detail, there are many other references to spirits and souls in the NT, and, recalling the contrasting spirit-theories propounded by Swanton and Enrico, the vocabulary used by the missionaries in these contexts is invariably informative. In general, three basic usage patterns can be identified. These can be represented schematically as follows:

Greek	English	Haida
<i>pneuma</i>	→ <i>spirit</i>	→ <i>xanj</i>
<i>psychi</i>	→ <i>soul</i>	→ <i>raahlaandaay</i>

In the majority of cases, then, when the noun *pneuma* (and cognate forms) appears in the Greek text, it is translated as ‘spirit’ in the KJV, and as *xanj* in the Haida scriptures. By contrast, the noun *psychi* (and cognate forms) in the Greek is usually rendered as ‘soul’ in the KJV and as *raahlaandaay* in the Haida texts. Consequently (to be explicit), *pneuma* is presented in the Haida scriptures as a reincarnated spiritual entity that cannot leave its associated body, while *psychi* is presented as a spiritual entity that can leave its associated body. Needless-to-say, this distinction is not one that is manifest in either the Greek or KJV versions of the NT.

Although this basic mapping is followed in the majority of cases, there are a number of intriguing exceptions. For example, in the pericope that occurs towards the end of Luke 8, Jesus revives a dead girl, and verses 52–55 appear as follows in the KJV:

Luke 8:52

And all wept, and bewailed her: but he said, Weep not; she is not dead, but sleepeth.

Luke 8:53

And they laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead.

Luke 8:54

And he put them all out, and took her by the hand, and called, saying, Maid, arise.

Luke 8:55

And her spirit [Greek = *pneuma*] came again, and she arose straightway: and he commanded to give her meat.

In this example, verses 52–53 emphasise the fact that the young girl was dead, and therefore it is important that verse 55 should begin with the deceptively simple clause ‘And her spirit came again’. If Keen were following the standard schema given above, then he would have translated *spirit* here as *xanj*. Significantly, though, he uses the noun ‘althandai’ (i.e., his spelling of *raahlaandaay*). It is possible, of

course, that this is simply a mistake, and that Keen has erroneously selected the wrong word. There are, however, comparable examples which suggest that this choice was indeed intentional. One such example occurs in Luke 23:46:

Luke 23:46

And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit [Greek = *pneyma*]: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost [Greek = *èxépneysen*].

In this example, the verb *èxépneysen* (the aorist of *èkpnéo*, which means “to breathe out; to breathe one’s last”) is translated as ‘gave up the ghost’ in the KJV. Once again, despite the fact that this verb is derived from the root *pneyma*, Keen uses *raahlaandaay* rather than *xanj* in his Haida text. This example is particularly intriguing since ‘hants’ had been used to translate *spirit-pneyma* earlier in the very same verse. To give just one more example of the same phenomenon, Acts 7:59 appears as follows in the KJV:

Acts 7:59

And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit [Greek = *pneyma*].

Yet again, the *spirit-pneyma* pairing is translated here as *raahlaandaay*, and therefore it is worth considering whether these examples have any common characteristics that can account for this pattern. Obviously, Luke 8:55, Luke 23:46, and Acts 7:59 all refer to incidents in which an individual’s soul/spirit separates from its associated body. In Luke 8:55 the young woman’s soul departs from and then returns to its body; in Luke 23:46 Jesus’ soul is breathed out at the point of death, while in Acts 7:59 Stephen’s soul leaves his body as he is killed by stoning. Presumably the similarity of the situations described in these passages provides the explanation for Keen’s lexical choices in his translation. Seemingly, he had been advised by the Haidas who helped him to prepare his translation (including his ‘teacher’, Henry Edenshaw) to use the word *raahlaandaay* when referring particularly to the soul as it separates from the body at the point of death, thereby distinguishing clearly between the corporeal and the incorporeal, emphasising the spiritual nature of the individual *in extremis*, as opposed to the body which merely provides a covering. At least, Keen’s standard practice suggests that he believed that this usage convention was appropriate. Certainly, his translation of passages such as these insinuates his conviction that it would have been inappropriate to use the word *xanj* when referring to the moment when the spirit separates from its associated body as death approaches. Given this, it is important to try to determine whether Keen’s use of these particular vocabulary items provides

insights into the 19th-century Haida understanding of the spirit-world which are not found in discursive anthropological overviews such as Swanton's.

As ever, though, there are further complications. The following lines are from Matthew 12:18:

Matthew 12:18

Behold my servant, whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom my soul [Greek = *psychi*] is well pleased: I will put my spirit [Greek = *pneyma*] upon him, and he shall shew judgement to the Gentiles.

As expected, the *spirit-pneyma* pairing appears as *xanj* in Harrison's Haida version, and this is entirely in keeping with the general pattern of lexical associations discussed above. However, rather than translating *soul-psychi* as *raahlaandaay* (or even as *xanj*), he renders it as 'kwutungē', thereby introducing a new term into the semantic group associated with spirits and souls. In modern notation, this word is *gudaang*, and it usually indicates 'feelings, heart, mind, thoughts' (Enrico 2005: 1023). In this particular verse from Matthew, emotional properties are being explicitly associated with the soul, and seemingly Harrison hesitated when he was required to attribute such qualities to *raahlaandaay* (or *xanj*). Rather than being a unique occurrence, though, this hesitation was systematic, and Christ's words in Matthew 26:38 provide another example:

Matthew 26:38

Then saith he unto them, My soul [Greek = *psychi*, Haida = *kwutungē*] is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.

Once again, an emotional state (i.e., sorrow) is being attributed to the *soul-psychi*, and Harrison again substitutes *gudaang* in his translation of the verse. Intriguingly (and revealingly), Keen also followed this practice:

Luke 1:46–47

And Mary said, My soul [Greek = *psychi*, Haida = *althandai*] doth magnify the Lord, And my spirit [Greek = *pneyma*, Haida = *gudung*] hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.

John 11:33

When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the spirit [Greek = *psychi*, Haida = *gudung*], and was troubled.

John 13:26

When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit [Greek = *psychi*, Haida = *gudung*], and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.

Acts 17:16

Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit [Greek = *psychi*, Haida = *gudung*] was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry.

Acts 18:5

And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in the spirit [Greek = *psychi*, Haida = *gudung*], and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ.

Despite the usual superficial orthographical differences, Keen's *gudung* is merely *gudaang*, and it should be clear that these examples again involve situations in which some kind of strong emotional state is associated with the soul concerned. In essence, whenever this occurred in their source material, both Harrison and Keen chose to deviate from the *psychi-soul-raahlaandaay* pattern by using the word *gudaang* instead. It is not clear why this convention was followed, but the fact that both men adopted this approach, while working largely independently, suggests that their Haida informants were convinced that it was inappropriate to associate emotional states with *raahlaandaay*, and that such qualities were more correctly attributed to the *gudaang* – that is, to the heart or mind rather than to the soul. Assuming that the lexical choices manifest in the missionary translations are sufficiently accurate to be representative of wider practice, then they certainly seem to offer important glimpses into the 19th-century Haida understanding of the spirit realm.

5.4 Social hierarchies and power structures

It was not only supernatural phenomena that caused translation difficulties for the Masset missionaries. Socio-political power structures are another area that required careful treatment. Specifically, in the context of 19th-century evangelical missionary activity, attitudes towards servitude and slavery (of various kinds) were especially resonant since, from the last decades of the 18th century onwards, numerous evangelical groups had argued vehemently for the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade.¹² As Herbert Klein has stressed, the abolitionist movement was prompted by a combination of economic, political, and theological concerns:

[...] in the late eighteenth century, writer after writer began to view slavery as antithetical to a modern market economy, or considered it a fundamental challenge

12. Detailed recent analyses of the slave trade can be found in Eltis & Richardson (1997), McMillan (2002), and Klein (2010).

to the newly emerging concept of equality of all men, or held it to be basically anti-Christian, no matter what the Bible had decreed. (Klein 2010: 189)

Consequently, many texts appeared in which the examples of servitude found in the Bible were re-evaluated. As a result, during the period 1830 to 1870, an extensive debate was sustained concerning the legitimacy of slavery, and scriptural evidence was standardly adduced in order to bolster arguments both for and against the practice. Pro-slavery justifications were promulgated in works such as Josiah Priest's *Bible Defence of Slavery, and Origin, Fortunes, and History of the Negro Race* (1852) and Morris Raphall's *Bible View of Slavery in Fast Day Sermons: or, The Pulpit on the State of the Country* (1861), while the alternative position was outlined in publications such as Richard Fuller and Francis Wayland's *Domestic Slavery Considered as a Scriptural Institution* (1845) and Reuben Hatch's *Biblical Servitude Re-examined* (1862). While it is neither possible nor desirable to explore these complex texts exhaustively here, it is worth briefly indicating some of the concerns they raised.¹³ For instance, Hatch claimed that 'it is a part of the mission of the present age to settle the question of human liberty' (Hatch 1862:8), thereby explicitly associating the abolition of the slave trade with broader socio-political ideologies. Accordingly, he offered a detailed exploration of servitude in both the OT and NT, identifying different sub-types, and discussing pertinent linguistic difficulties posed by the Hebrew and Greek texts. At various points in his discussion, he argued specifically that the prevailing understanding of such topics was inaccurate, and that this inaccuracy had arisen partly as a result of the translation practice adopted in the KJV:

One of the greatest and most ruinous mistakes of modern literature is the pro-slavery coloring which the venerable translators gave to certain passages in our English Bible. That these passages have a pro-slavery cast, can not be denied: that they ought not to have, is equally certain. Readers of our English Bible almost universally get the impression that there was chattel slavery in the Patriarchal households, and that some sort of provision was made for its continued existence among the Jews. The translation is calculated to produce that impression. Whether this was designed, on the part of the translators, we do not pretend to say. True to the original Hebrew, which had no single word for "slave" or "slavery" in it – they never use these words in the translation. But the translation itself looks just as if the translators did understand that slavery existed in the Patriarchal families, and was the subject of legislative regulation and sanction in the Mosaic code. In numerous passages they make an apparent distinction between "servant" and "bond-servant," when no such distinction exists in the original Hebrew. (Hatch 1862: 261–262)

13. For a more detailed discussion of these issues, see Harrill (2000).

This passage, and others like it, explicitly foregrounds the responsibilities of translators in seeking to delineate correctly the precise nature of culturally-specific social power hierarchies, and, as a result of such analyses, those scholars who were tasked with the job of translating the NT in the late 19th century were certainly obliged to confront these issues directly. In this context, it is intriguing to compare the KJV and RV translations of the NT, since the latter, which first appeared in 1881, was produced at a time when arguments about slavery were still particularly prominent. To take one specific passage, 1 Corinthians 7:20–21 is translated as follows in the two versions:

KJV:

1 Corinthians 7:20

Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.

1 Corinthians 7:21

Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.

RV:

1 Corinthians 7:20

Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was called.

1 Corinthians 7:21

Wast thou called being a bondservant? care not for it: but if thou canst become free, use it rather.

These lines contain the very words that Hatch had identified as implying a distinction that was not present in the Judaic tradition. Although the Greek (rather than the Hebrew) provides the source material here, the KJV's generic use of 'servant' for the Greek *doûlos* was deemed to be inadequate by the RV translators. In this case, they have selected the noun 'bondservant' instead, presumably explicitly to identify the particular sub-type of servitude that is implied in verse 21. Small details of this kind are important, since they insinuate that the RV is (in this sense) more discriminating than the KJV, and, in this way, the authority of the latter was gradually destabilised in the late 19th century. This is a point that is often neglected, and it is frequently claimed that the KJV remained dominant until the early 20th century. Rasiah Sugirtharajah, for instance, has described the KJV as being 'a landmark text', noting that

Before the First World War, this translation reigned supreme. This provincial and vernacular text of the English people became a cultural and colonial icon and eventually emerged as a key text of the empire, playing a prominent role in colonial expansion. It was more than a religious text, for its influence extended to the

social, political, and economic spheres. The King James Version became not only the arbiter of other people's texts and cultures but also set the pattern for vernacular translations and even acted as a role model for the printing and dissemination of other sacred texts. (Sugirtharajah 2005:2)

While this summary is generally convincing, it surely overstates the case for the period 1880 to 1915, since it was during these years that revised versions of the Bible began to appear, challenging the hegemony of the KJV – and the consequences of this were considerable. As will be shown below, although the Masset missionaries were, of course, entirely familiar with the KJV, they did not adopt it unquestioningly as a template for their Haida translations, and, at times, their rendering of the NT texts seem to exist in dialogue with the KJV, probing and querying it.

Since the Europeans and non-native North Americans agonised throughout the 19th century over the social and scriptural implications of slavery in a Judeo-Christian context, it was inevitable that they should have reacted in a complex manner to the various forms of slavery that they encountered amongst the First Nations. In recent years, native slavery traditions have received more attention from social historians and anthropologists, and Leland Donald's detailed study *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America* (1997) has demonstrated the full range and scope of the practice in this region. Before exploring particular details concerning slavery and servitude in the Haida scriptures, though, it is worth briefly summarising the kinds of hierarchical social power structures that Collison, Harrison, and Keen are likely to have encountered when they arrived in Masset. Yet again, Swanton is a useful roughly contemporaneous source of information. He notes that '[a] chief's house-hold' was composed of 'those of his immediate family who had no places for themselves, his nephews, his retainers or servants, and the slaves' (Swanton 1905a: 70), and this certainly suggests that servants and slaves were distinct, identifiable social groups in 19th-century Haida culture. Indeed, Swanton describes these two groups as follows: '[t]he servants seem generally to have been taken from *ā'lgA* families; the slaves were captives taken in war', where '*ā'lgA* families' were extremely impoverished (Swanton 1905a:70). Swanton does not discuss the vocabulary that was used to refer to servants and slaves, yet it is clear that 19th-century Haida contained both nouns and verbs that were associated with different kinds of servitude. For instance, *ji7inra* meant (roughly) "maidservant", while *giits'aad* indicated a young kinsman or kinswoman who acted as a servant during a special event of some kind (e.g., a ceremonial feast). By contrast, a low-status, low-prestige person who worked as a slave for a rich person (primarily out of idleness) was called a *ginra*, while a person who was in servitude because blood money could not be paid

was an *7aalgu*. Two further nouns are relevant here: *xaldaang* and *q'uhlraaw*. These were used to refer to a first-generation slave and a second-generation slave respectively. As for verbs, *kidxaaw* meant something like “to serve to ceremonially”, while *daaying* meant merely “to serve a meal”.

Given the range of available lexical items, it is helpful to identify those that were used most frequently by the Masset missionaries. Conveniently, Collison, Harrison, and Keen usually deployed a stable vocabulary when seeking to convey notions associated with masters, servants, and slaves. The authors of the KJV had (with only a few exceptions) consistently translated the Greek nouns *doûlos*, *paîs*, and *oikitis* as ‘servant’, and, in the Haida scriptures, this many-to-one mapping is adopted as the basic model. In *Matthew*, for instance, Harrison standardly uses the noun ‘kitzadalung’ for ‘servant’ (e.g., *Matthew* 8:6, 8:8, 8:9, etc.), while in *Luke*, *John*, and *Acts*, Keen uses ‘gitsadang’ (e.g., *Luke* 1:54, 1:69, 2:69, *John* 12:26, 13:16, 15:15, *Acts* 2:18, 4:25, 4:29, etc.). These are both merely variants of the Haida noun *giitsaad*. At this point, it is worth emphasising that, although in Classical Greek *doûlos* could only mean “slave”, in Koine Greek it could convey several distinct types of servitude depending upon the context in which it was used. In particular, as will be shown below, it could indicate ‘servant’ rather than ‘slave’, and determining which meaning is intended is sometimes an intricate and nuanced task. In a similar fashion, the Greek nouns *didáskalos* and *èpistátis* usually appear as ‘master’ in the KJV and as ‘itlagidas’ (Harrison) or ‘itlagadas’ (Keen) in the Haida versions. Once again, these are simply different spellings of the same Haida noun *7iitl'xagiid* (i.e., ‘chief’). Consequently, at the most basic level, in the conceptual space circumscribed by the Haida scriptures, *7iitl'xagiid* and *giitsaad* define two distinct roles that can function in accordance in order to establish a precise relation of social subordination: a *giitsaad* is inferior and subservient to his or her *7iitl'xagiid*. Seemingly, then, in the Haida missionary sociolect, these two words were used in a distinctive manner, and so came to acquire specific connotations in addition to those they possessed in the standard 19th-century Haida dialects.

Predictably, though, the situation is more complex than this. While the conventional lexical mappings described above determined the standard pattern, it is again the exceptional cases that illuminate the manner in which the Masset missionaries attempted to convey core notions in Haida. For instance, one passage that deserves close attention is John 8:34–35:

John 8:34

Jesus answered them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the servant [Greek = *doûlos*] of sin.

John 8:35

And the servant [Greek = *doûlos*] abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever.

As expected, *doûlos* has been standardly translated as ‘servant’ in the KJV. However, it is clear from the broader context that, in this passage, slavery specifically is implied: in committing sin one becomes enslaved to sin. Recognising this, the RV distinguishes itself from the KJV by translating *doûlos* in verses 34–35 as ‘bond-servant’, explicitly emphasising that this particular type of relationship differs from that associated with being a servant. It is revealing, therefore, that, in Keen’s Haida text, the standard *doûlos-servant-giits’aad* convention is rejected, and vocabulary derived from the root *haldung* (i.e., *xaldaang*, the noun that means “first generation slave”) is used instead. It seems clear that, in passages such as this, Keen is seeking to draw a clear distinction between the lexical items *giits’aad* and *xaldaang*. Specifically, while the former can be associated with positive connotations (e.g., Matthew 25:21 ‘Well done, thou good and faithful servant [Greek = *doûle*, Haida = *giits’aad*]), the latter appears exclusively in contexts in which negative connotations accrue. This seems to be in accordance with the missionaries’ abhorrence for the tradition of slavery that they encountered amongst the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast. For instance, Collison’s *In the Wake of the War Canoe* contains numerous passages such as the following:

I found a number of these [people] enslaved amongst the Haidas, who had been sold in exchange for food when young. They had grown up in slavery, and knew nothing of their own people or of their own tongue. Under the teachings of Christianity the Haidas granted them their freedom. Some of them returned to their own people, but the majority preferred to remain where they had been brought up under the improved conditions. (Collison 1915:66)

[...]

I conducted a service, Edenshaw interpreting for me, as he had promised, but I saw that he hesitated and failed to convey much of what I said to his people. I found that he was averse to my proposed Mission, as he had a number of slaves, and feared that it might lead to their obtaining freedom, and his consequent loss. He had heard that those of the Tsimshean chiefs who had embraced Christianity had freed their slaves or had adopted them into their families.

(Collison 1915:111)

These extracts certainly suggest that Collison was opposed to the traditional use of slaves in Haida society, and this basic stance was shared by the other Masset missionaries. Given this, it is no surprise that, in their translations, they presented slavery in negative ways in order to demonstrate that enforced servitude was

not compatible with the message of the Gospel. Harrison also wrote about such things. In *Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific*, he noted that slaves were sometimes treated with considerable cruelty: when a ‘totem pole’ was raised slaves were sometimes ‘bound hand and foot and placed in the hole alive’ (Harrison 1925:69). Although Collison claims that, as a result of the influence of Christianity, ‘[s]lavery has been abolished’ (Collison 1915:140), Harrison associates its eradication primarily with the intervention of a particular politician:

Lieutenant-Colonel Powell, when Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia, could not break down all at once the custom of slavery, but he issued an order that all the slaves had not to be called slaves but tenas men and tenas kloodchmen, i.e., little men and little women. [...] The Haida word for slave is hal-dung-ā, and the Chinook word is e-lait-e. From the day the Colonel’s order was received, slavery began to decline. (Harrison 1925:69–70)

It seems highly unlikely that Israel Wood Powell’s (1836–1915) recommendations concerning nomenclature effected an abrupt reduction of slave trading amongst the Haida communities. Nonetheless, Harrison’s somewhat opaque account at least suggests that the missionaries and politicians alike laboured to try to discourage such practices amongst the indigenous peoples.

To return to the Haida scriptures, examples such as those discussed above suggest that the noun *xaldaang* was mainly used in contexts in which a reprehensible dependency of some sort is involved (e.g., a sinner is shamefully enslaved by sin), yet of course there is no reason why these implications should reveal themselves only in the NP domain. Indeed, it is equally fascinating to explore the manner in which Harrison and Keen selected Haida verbs in order to convey ideas concerning Judaeo-Christian social hierarchies. Once again, a few specific examples should help to indicate the nature of the particular difficulties encountered. In the KJV, Matthew 6:24 begins with the clause ‘[n]o man can serve [Greek = *douleýein*] two masters’. In his translation, Harrison uses the verb ‘lthāngwile’ and it is possible to determine precisely what Harrison understood this to mean since, in his *Haida Grammar*, he associates it explicitly with the verb ‘to work’ (Harrison 1895:155, 211). Guided by these details, it seems most likely that Harrison is using the Haida verb *hrranggula*. Generally, *hrranggula* means “to work (on NP)” (Enrico 2005:814), and, given the implications of the verbs in the source texts, *hrranggula* seems to be an odd choice. Surprisingly, rather than being an exception, the *douleýo-serve-hrranggula* grouping is the standard convention for both Harrison and Keen: servants work for their masters, and the nature of their servitude is conveyed by cognate forms of *hrranggula* (e.g., *Matthew* 5:16, 11:23, *Luke* 10:13, 13:14, *John* 5:17, 9:4, *Acts* 14:26, 18:3).

Since *hrranggula* is used consistently in the Haida scriptures to convey the basic idea of serving a master, it is important to determine which particular Haida verb is selected when notions associated with the generic Greek and English verbs such as *èrgázouai* and ‘work’ must be translated, since neither of these necessarily implies some kind of subordination. Is a different verb used to indicate this kind of activity? The following examples provide the answer to this question:

Matthew 21:28

[...] A certain man had two sons; and he came to the first, and said, Son, go work [Greek = *èrgázou*, Haida = *lthāangwila*] to day in my vineyard.

Acts 18:3

And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought [Greek = *ìrgázonto*, Haida = *lthong-gwilawon*]: for by their occupation they were tentmakers.

In both these cases, the Greek verb *èrgázouai* (which indicates some kind of employment that is not necessarily characterised by a subordinate relationship) has been translated using the corresponding form of *hrranggula*. This choice has profound consequences for the manner in which the Haida scriptures convey an understanding of certain actions associated with power hierarchies in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. For instance, one direct consequence is that the hierarchical structures implied by verbs such as *doúleo* and ‘serve’ become much more opaque in the Haida translations: since *hrranggula* does not unambiguously imply subordination, and since it is explicitly used in contexts where no such relationship is conspicuously signalled, it becomes impossible to distinguish between these two distinct usages. The following verse from John 5:17 is useful here:

John 5:17

But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh [Greek = *èrgázetai*] hitherto, and I work [Greek = *èrgázouai*].

In this verse no implications of servitude are present. Indeed, how could they be? By definition, an omnipotent deity cannot exist in a subordinate relationship to a superordinate power. Therefore, the working of God must be a self-determining activity. Similarly, if Jesus were merely God’s servant, simply following commands, then this would have profound consequences for standard Christological theories. In Keen’s Haida version of this verse, the verb ‘lthong-gwilung-gung’ is used, which (in his grammatical system) is the present progressive form of *hrranggula*. Clearly, the verb cannot accrue connotations of servitude in such contexts.

It is possible, of course, that the above conventions may have arisen as a result of sloppiness, inconsistency, and/or ignorance. It is much more likely, though, that they were adopted knowingly, prompted by a desire to present the message of the Gospel (as least as this was understood by the Masset missionaries) as accurately as possible. As noted earlier, the Haida scripture translations manifest a strong tendency to equate the act of serving with mere employment, and an inevitable result of this is that the hierarchical aspects of servitude are effectively destabilised. Indeed, if ‘serving’ is provocatively conflated with the more general notion of ‘working’, then this suggests that the vision promulgated in the Haida scriptures is more egalitarian than that presented in, say, the KJV. The power hierarchies that existed in the Judaeo-Christian world of the NT are rendered largely indistinct: servitude becomes synonymous with mere activity, implying the possibility of a new social order. At this point it should be remembered that the Masset missionaries sought insistently to discourage the practice of slavery amongst the Haida, and therefore it is certainly possible that their reforming agendas, which became a characteristic feature of many missions along the Pacific Northwest Coast during the late 19th century, were knowingly insinuated in the translations they produced. It is needless to add that such practices severely complicate the task of determining how a contemporaneous audience would have interpreted words such as *hlanggula* when they were used in the Haida scriptures, yet such considerations are essential if the influence of the Haida missionary sociolect upon the Haida language more generally is ever to be understood.

5.5 Ideology and dialogue

Translation necessarily reveals the fault lines that separate different cultures, and scripture translations provide distinctive challenges. In the mid 1990s, Román Alvarez and M. Carmen-Africa Vidal offered the following observation:

If we are aware that translating is not merely passing from one text to another, transferring words from one container to another, but rather transporting one entire culture to another with all that this entails, we realize just how important it is to be conscious of the ideology that underlies a translation.

(Alvarez & Vidal 1996:5)

This may well be excellent advice. The difficulty is sometimes that the underlying ideologies are hard to identify with assurance – and the Haida scriptures exemplify this difficulty particularly aptly. The Masset missionaries attempted to translate the scriptures from a range of source languages (Greek, Latin, English)

into a target language that they spoke (initially, at least) with only partial fluency. In order to accomplish this, they had to seek assistance from indigenous communities. Therefore, to some extent, the Haida scriptures can be viewed primarily as works of integration rather than imposition: the books themselves may have been published under the names of certain non-native missionaries, but the language of the texts enables us to hear, albeit faintly, the voices of their Haida parishioners. This type of collaborative venture is not atypical of missionary linguistic research in the late 19th and early 20th centuries – indeed in many areas it seems to have been the norm. Towards the end of his discussion of two Gikuyu dictionaries, for instance, Derek Peterson refers to the interactions that involved missionaries and native interlocutors in Eastern Africa in the early 20th century, and he comments that ‘this long conversation was a hybrid, sitting uneasily at the intersection of coercive missionary discourse and Bakhtinian dialogue’ (Peterson 1999: 50). This description applies equally to the interactions involving the Masset missionaries and the Haida communities. While the indigenous Haida were certainly closely involved in the various acts of translation, there were undoubtedly aspects of coercion also. For instance, as shown in this chapter, new meanings were sometimes associated with existing lexical items, and this seems often to have occurred for overt reasons – to undermine the social influence of the shamans, or to eradicate institutionalised slavery.

It is clear, then, that the Haida scriptures embody the complexity of the social interactions which occurred between non-native and indigenous peoples along the Northwest Pacific Coast during the 19th century. Therefore they shed light upon the nature of these cultural exchanges. And this illumination is certainly needed, since the history of language-related missionary activity in North America has received far less critical attention than, say, similar contemporaneous endeavours in Africa, Asia, or South America. As mentioned in the Introduction, this neglect seems to be partly due to the fact that, by the time that the missionaries had begun to concentrate on the task of analysing the various indigenous languages they encountered, linguistics had started to become a more professional discipline, a development that is sometimes associated with the founding of the American Anthropological Association in 1879 and with the emergence of the type of research broadly associated with Boas and Swanton – and the relationship between the missionaries and the anthropologists will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter. However, it should at least be clear that the translations produced by the former can provide tantalising insights into particular theological and sociological convictions which cannot always be detected in the English-language letters and reports which have been preserved in the CMS archives. In summary, although they present many interpretative

challenges, the Haida scriptures certainly deserve to receive more attention than they have done in the past: they are an important part of the story of the establishment of the Anglican Church in Western Canada, and this astonishingly complex story is one that merits being told in its entirety.

Anthropological approaches

6.1 A strange relationship

In recent years, the many connections between the missionaries and anthropologists who worked along the Pacific Northwest Coast during the period 1876 to 1925 have started to be scrutinised more carefully. In particular, modern anthropologists have started to recognise that useful insights into other cultures can be gleaned from an attentive reading of missionary texts. For instance, if treated with care, the considerable information contained in various missionary archives can elucidate different aspects of native culture. In his persuasive essay 'Problems and Opportunities in an Anthropologist's Use of a Missionary Archive', John Peel has stated explicitly that these source materials can often supplement the evidence gained directly by anthropological field-work. Understandably, though, his analysis and conclusions are complicated. He notes that missionaries often wrote extensively about indigenous practices (especially religious and social rituals) and that they frequently provided accounts of secret societies, oral traditions and so on, producing descriptions which often pre-date the period of intensive modern acculturation. In addition, Peel acknowledges (correctly) that '[l]ong-serving missionaries have often attained a standard of competence in the local language that an anthropologist can only envy', and, as he readily admits, there are benefits that follow from this (Peel 1996: 71). He concludes by observing that

[...] since anthropologists developed from the 1920s a sharper sense of themselves as having a distinct professional practice (based on "scientific" fieldwork), they have often disparaged and neglected the accounts of missionaries – now seen as professional rivals – on the grounds that they must be prejudiced. The relations between anthropologists and missionaries continue ambivalent: often close but strained. (Peel 1996: 71)

Given the long-standing tradition of mistrust to which Peel alludes, it is not surprising that, during most of the 20th century, anthropologists largely neglected the materials collected by missionaries. Nevertheless, Peel seeks to convince his colleagues that, contrary to this conventional practice, these materials actually deserve closer scrutiny.

While contemporary developments such as these are of considerable interest, it is even more important to reflect upon the various professional and personal relationships that existed between contemporaneous missionaries and anthropologists who were often studying similar phenomena in the same place at the same time, though admittedly from contrasting perspectives. Unfortunately, this rich topic has often been disregarded in the past mainly because studies of the history of anthropology have frequently avoided addressing these sorts of issues. For instance, in his monumental *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (1968, revised 2001), Marvin Harris presents a detailed overview of the gradual emergence of anthropology as an independent discipline, and he offers an insightful discussion of Boas and his legacy. Despite this, though, since Harris' emphasis is consistently upon the task of evaluating different theoretical approaches, more practical matters, such as determining the specific sources from which Boas and his colleagues obtained their data, are given less attention. Consequently, although Boas' rejection of physicalism, materialism, and geographical determinism is explored at some length, his extensive interactions with missionaries are never mentioned (Harris 2001[1968]:261–265). Even studies that are less explicitly concerned with theoretical methodologies, though, generally fail to recognise the true complexity of the origins of anthropological research. There are no detailed considerations of encounters with missionaries in influential works such as Alan Barnard's *History and Theory in Anthropology* (2000) and Peter Pels' and Oscar Salemink's (eds.) *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (2000). In some cases, this is no doubt prompted (in part) by the conviction that the religious bias of the missionaries' work prevents it from being treated as 'objective' scientific research. By contrast, while texts such as Neil Judd's *The Bureau of American Ethnology: A Partial History* (1967) and Curtis Hinsley's *Savages and Scientists: the Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846–1910* (1981) freely acknowledge that missionaries frequently worked closely with anthropologists in order to provide reports for organisations such as the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Smithsonian Institution, they do not provide a detailed analysis of this research.¹

In direct response to this prevalent historical myopia, academics such as Regna Darnell and Carol Higham have started to reassess the development of anthropology during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Over many years,

1. For instance, Judd discusses John Wesley Powell's reliance on the missionary Owen Dorsey for his knowledge of the Ponca language (Judd 1967: 54–55), while Curtis Hinsley states openly that the missionaries were responsible for producing 'major work' and refers to individuals such as Stephen Return Riggs and Dorsey (Hinsley 1981: 50, 171–177). However, these topics are not explored at length.

Darnell has sustained a probing exploration of the influence of Boas' work (in particular), and she has consistently emphasised the fact that invisible intellectual genealogies connect many modern anthropologists with Boasian methodologies. She identifies 'the Americanist tradition', which emerged as a result of the focused research into native North American culture, and she states that it was 'associated with the historical particularism of Franz Boas and his students, which dominated the discipline in North America until after World War II' (Darnell 2001: xvii). Her research evinces a profound anxiety concerning the way in which the history of anthropological thought has been misrepresented and therefore misunderstood during the past fifty years. Indeed, she states bluntly that she wants 'to reclaim the history of anthropology' (Darnell 2001: 1). Her revisionist account of Boas' influence positions itself in direct opposition to the ahistoricism of conventional contemporary anthropological research:

Frustration with anthropology's habitual unreflexive presentation has goaded me into tracing the groundedness of our present "experimental moment" [...] in terms of continuity or persistence rather than of disjunction and innovation.

(Darnell 2001: 2)

These sorts of concerns have certainly highlighted the fact that, at present, historical accounts of the development of anthropology during the period 1876 to 1925 are alarmingly partial and fragmentary: there are a few topics that have been discussed at length (e.g., the advent of historical particularism), while others (e.g., interactions with missionaries) remain largely unexplored. It is no surprise, therefore, that, in recent years, this neglect has become the focus of provocative re-appraisals. In particular, Carol Higham has emphasised the fact that missionaries were often closely involved in anthropological research of many different kinds (Higham 2000, 2003). They produced detailed linguistic analyses, they presented artifacts to museums, they speculated on the origins of given indigenous peoples, and they sometimes benefited from the economic opportunities that anthropological research offered. In particular, Higham's claim that '[t]he language studies written in the nineteenth century by Protestant missionaries laid the groundwork for future investigations by anthropologists and linguists' (Higham 2000: 81) is one that will be explored at some length in this chapter in the context of the Pacific Northwest Coast CMS missions. Specifically, though, Higham has shown that there was a wide range of economic, cultural, and ideological reasons which prompted missionaries and anthropologists to collaborate, and these sorts of interconnections have recently become an area of sustained enquiry. As a result, accounts of the development of anthropology which ignore such topics have come under increasingly probing scrutiny. In their 2007 article 'Some Reflections on Anthropology's Missionary Positions', John and Orsolya Burton meditated upon

the conventional tendency within anthropology either to ignore or else to dismiss the work of missionaries, a stance which ensures that 'a highly critical attitude towards missionaries of all devotions' has become a kind of 'moral imperative' (Burton & Burton 2007:209). In response to this conventional claim, the Burtons are prompted to suggest that

[...] future historians of anthropology, in revisiting its embryonic transformation from evolutionism to synchrony between the 1870s and the 1920s, would do well to make it clearer how missionary writings and research deeply influenced the more recent 'tradition' of anthropological authority in the form of professional ethnography. (Burton & Burton 2007:210)

The implication here is that the distinctive narrowness, which causes some anthropologists to assume that missionary contributions to ethnographical research are necessarily flawed, is profoundly misguided, not least because (in practice) the dividing line between missionaries and anthropologists during the late 19th century was extremely indistinct.²

Thankfully, partly in response to such concerns, a few researchers have started to probe these and related topics in greater detail. In his authoritative study of anthropology from 1888 to 1951, *After Tylor* (1998), George W. Stocking repeatedly acknowledges the co-operative attitudes of the missionaries, while Patrick Harries has examined at length the anthropological, ecological, and linguistic studies produced by the Swiss missionary Henri-Alexandre Junod, who worked in South-East Africa from the 1880s onwards (Harries 2007). With specific reference to the Pacific Northwest Coast, John Barker has written extensively about the 'missionary ethnography' undertaken in the region, and he has emphasised that '[d]uring the 19th century, the modern missionary movement produced outstanding ethnographers and played a direct role in the creation of anthropology as a discipline' (Barker 2007:20).

Unfortunately, though, despite such studies, the view that the missionary and anthropological communities were separate and largely disconnected has been unhelpfully reinforced by the lazy apathy of researchers who are too swift to accept the more parsimonious accounts of these interactions. Linguists, in particular, have often been quick to offer a caricatured version of events. As mentioned in Section 1.3, Michael Krauss has asserted that 'there was no connection or cooperation' between the missionaries and anthropologists who worked with the Haidas (Krauss 2005:vi). Although neatly succinct, this claim is completely incorrect, and the prevalence of similarly misleading accounts has obfuscated

2. Examples of research which tends to downplay the extent of the missionaries' contribution to anthropology include Cole (1973) and Francis (1998).

our understanding of the many different kinds of exchange that occurred between missionaries and anthropologists during this period. In order to rectify this situation, the present chapter will explore in detail several connections between the Masset missionaries (especially Harrison and Keen) and those anthropologists who were interested in the Haida peoples. The basic task is to show that, far from being separate and uncooperative (as Krauss suggests), these two groups actually collaborated in a range of ways. Significantly, it will be argued that the collaborative work was guided in both directions: sometimes the anthropologists made use of materials that the missionaries had gathered, while, on other occasions, the missionaries presented their own observations about native culture in a format that made them explicitly amenable to anthropologists. When these sorts of interactions are considered at length it becomes clear that, although there was certainly suspicion and mistrust between these two rather heterogeneous groups, there was nonetheless a substantial amount of co-operation, and, if this is not acknowledged, then our understanding of the practical methodologies deployed by the anthropologists and missionaries alike inevitably remains stunted and partial.

6.2 The influence of the missionaries

The CMS missionary activity on Haida Gwaii was occurring at precisely the time when sociocultural anthropology was emerging as a distinct discipline. In North America, work of this kind was pioneered by numerous individuals associated with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). In particular, John Wesley Powell (1834–1902) and Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857–1900) were dominant and influential figures. The former had undertaken expeditions to the Green and Colorado rivers in the 1860s and 1870s, eventually becoming director of the BAE, while the latter was known for his work as curator of the Ethnological Department of the National Museum in Washington, D.C.³ In addition, the establishment of such institutions as the American Ethnological Society (1842), the Anthropological Society of Washington (1879), and the American Anthropological Association (1902) fostered the increasing professionalism of the field and facilitated the emergence of modern research practices. Obviously, Boas was one of the most important figures to work in this area, and he is especially significant in the present context since he was the first professional anthropologist to study Haida culture attentively. Specifically, he

3. A good biography of Powell can be found in Worster (2000), while Green (2000) offers a useful survey of Cushing's work.

was able to arrange a research trip to the Pacific Northwest Coast, arriving in Victoria B.C. in September 1886 and he collected data about the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Nuxalk, Kwak'wala, and Salish languages. Although during his sojourn on Vancouver Island he visited such places as Newitti (a Kwak'walan village), Alert Bay (where Hall had established his mission station), Quamichan, Comox, and Nanaimo, his expedition lasted only a few months: his travelling passes expired on January 1st 1887, and he was unable to remain beyond this date.⁴ Typically, though, standard accounts of Boas' time on the West Coast remain largely silent about the extent to which he relied upon materials that were supplied to him by missionaries. For instance, in his detailed description of Boas' first research expedition, Douglas Cole notes that Boas 'collected vocabularies and texts, and sought to penetrate at least the essentials of the grammar of several languages and numerous dialects,' but he does not indicate the specific sources from which Boas derived much of this information (Cole 1999: 101). In other places, Cole does sometimes refer in passing to a few of Boas' encounters with missionaries. He notes that, during his 1888 trip to Victoria B.C., Boas had 'learned something [...] of the Nootka from Father J. Nicolai of Kyoquot' (Cole 1999: 111). What this kind of summary does not make clear is that, when obtaining linguistic information, Boas relied heavily upon the language-related notes that he managed to procure from missionaries of different denominations, and the details of his methodology will be explored in the following sections. Importantly, his sympathy with the methodologies of 'salvage ethnology' are likely to have ensured that he was at ease making use of data collected by missionaries.⁵

Boas returned to the Pacific Northwest Coast several times, and he was able to collect more data concerning native culture, including a considerable amount of information about indigenous languages. Significantly, while working amongst the Kwakwaka'wakw in Alert Bay (during his third visit to the area), he used Hall's study as a workroom, and this provided him with a convenient base for a short period while he explored the connections between Nuu-Chah-Nulth and Kwak'wala. Boas presented the results of these research trips in various publications, and he was keen to emphasise the fact that he viewed his findings more as fragmentary sketches rather than as comprehensive authoritative accounts. However, it was not until Swanton (one of Boas' students) travelled to Haida Gwaii in September 1900, as part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897–1902), that a more systematic survey of Haida culture was attempted.

4. For a more detailed overview of this research trip, see Cole (1999: 99–103).

5. For some discussion of this aspect of Boas' work, see Cole & Long (1999).

Even a cursory familiarity with the basic patterns of data collection used by Boas and his students reveals that the anthropologists working in the region were fully aware of the local missionary activities. Indeed, in his 'Introductory Note' to the 'First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia' (1889), Boas provides the following overview of the current status of the missions:

The Indians of the interior have almost entirely given up their ancient customs. They are mostly Roman Catholics, but there are a few Protestants. Of course a considerable amount of paganism is still lurking under the Christianity of these natives. [...] The coast Indians are well off up to this day. While the efforts of missionaries among the Haida have so far not been very successful, the Tsimshian proper have become Christianised. They have given up all their old customs except those referring to their social organisation. [...] The Hëiltsuk have been Protestants for many years, while the Bilqula are still uninfluenced by contact with the missionaries. The same is true to a large extent, among the Kwakiutl, only a few individuals of the Nimkic tribe adhering to the Episcopalian Church. The Coast Salish belong in part to the Roman Catholic Church; but notwithstanding their allegations paganism still prevails to a great extent. [...] Among the Nootka the Roman Catholics have gained considerable influence.

(Boas 1889: 11)

Passages such as this indicate the extent of Boas' familiarity with the denominational diversity that characterised the missionary presence in the region, and this knowledge was often acquired as a result of direct contact with specific individuals involved in these activities. However, other extracts demonstrate the depth of his familiarity with the broader cultural research (especially linguistic studies) that certain missionaries were producing. As mentioned earlier, while identifying the topics that were to be addressed in his own study he noted that

The present report contains the principal results of the author's investigations on the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Kutonaqa (Kootanie). His limited time and the preparations for a new journey to British Columbia [...] did not permit him to study exhaustively the extensive osteological material collected on the previous journeys. For the same reason the linguistic material collected among the Nootka and Kwakiutl is kept back. Besides this it seemed desirable to await the publication of the grammar of the latter language by the Rev. A. J. Hall in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada' before publishing the linguistic notes on the same stock, which are necessarily fragmentary when compared to a grammar drawn up by a student who has lived many years among the Indians speaking that language.

(Boas 1889: 5–6)

These remarks raise a number of intriguing issues. For Boas, the need to wait until a particular missionary grammar textbook has been published was as pressing as the need fully to analyse osteological specimens, and this is in keeping with the culture of missionary-anthropologist collaboration that Carol Higham (in particular) has attempted to delineate. Clearly Boas felt that both sources of information were of considerable importance and therefore that he could not complete his own work until these other topics had been more extensively explored. In addition, his comments support Peel's claim that anthropologists often envied the linguistic skills of the missionaries. By 1889, Hall had become fluent in Kwak'wala; Boas knew this since he had visited Alert Bay on several occasions, and he was well aware of the fact that his own practical knowledge of the language was vastly less secure. Indeed, later in the same paragraph he notes, almost ruefully, that the longest period of time he had been able to spend with 'any single tribe' was 'a fortnight' (Boas 1889:6). However, in case the above summary implies that Boas was surprisingly subservient to the missionary linguists that he encountered, it should be added that the private letters and diaries which he wrote during his trips to the Pacific Northwest Coast reveal a greater ambivalence. In a letter written on October 19th 1886, for example, he was critical of the fact that Hall (in particular) seemed not to be especially interested in ethnography:

[...] we spent a few profitable hours. But Mr. Hall has no conception of the methods and aims of ethnological work. I hope I opened up some viewpoints to him. I certainly know more about the people than he does. I have learned a great deal in these two weeks, although not as much as I should like.

(Rohner 1969: 45)

Although Boas mainly focuses here upon Hall's ignorance of the broader purposes of anthropological research, criticising him for his lack of interest in such things, in other letters Boas comments specifically on the limitations of Hall's linguistic knowledge. On October 23rd 1886 he recorded that

Yesterday morning at nine o'clock I again went to Mr. Hall to give him my texts. He will translate them, but I have discovered that he does not know the language well enough. It may be that he will be able to do something with the help of the natives. At any rate it is clear that I transcribed the texts quite well, because the Indians always understand when I read them.

(Rohner 1969: 46)

Since there is plenty of evidence in the CMS archives to suggest that Hall spoke Kwak'wala fluently by 1886, it is intriguing that Boas should question his knowledge of the language. One difficulty is that it is impossible from Boas' brief account to recreate the nature of the interaction that took place on that particular

morning. Perhaps Boas simply presented Hall with the Kwak'wala manuscripts, which were written in phonetic script, and perhaps Hall understandably struggled to make sense of the notation, hence giving the impression of linguistic incompetence. Whatever the truth of this, it is revealing that, despite such concerns, Boas was still willing to entrust Hall with the task of translating the texts. Even if Boas had reservations both about Hall's anthropological sensibilities and his linguistic competence, he had little choice but to make use of him in order to further his research. Who else could Boas have asked for assistance while producing his translations? Since he doubted Hall's abilities, though, it is not surprising that his concerns manifested themselves in subsequent discussions of Kwak'wala and Kwak'walan culture. Indeed, most conspicuously, when he finally published his own notes on the language in 1890, he adopted a noticeably ambiguous stance in relation to Hall's work. Specifically (as mentioned in Section 4.4) while describing the Kwak'wala phoneme set, Hall had noted that

K is of very frequent occurrence in Kwāgiutl. If occurring in Roman character in an Italic word, or in Italic in a Roman word, it is equivalent to *ch* in "Loch". If in heavy type (K) it has the sharp clicking sound of the raven.

(Hall 1888:60–61)

In his own notes, Boas felt obliged to motivate his decision to use a different orthographical convention when representing Hall's consonant K, observing that '[i]t is the sound described by Mr Hall as 'the croaking of the raven' (Boas 1890: 104). He may have adopted a different notation to Hall, but his misquotation suggests that he considered the latter's corvine description to be apposite. In a similar manner, when describing the use of numerals, Boas observes that Kwak'wala makes use of 'suffixes' which change depending upon the kind of object being counted. Rather than repeating the information that Hall had presented concerning this phenomenon, though, Boas merely states that '[t]he Rev. A. J. Hall has given a few classes in the Kwakiutl dialect on pp. 68 and 69 of his grammar' (Boas 1890: 106). Presumably, then, the reader of Boas' notes is expected also to have access to Hall's work, since the former cites specific passages in the latter, thereby establishing an intricate set of associations between the two texts.

Crucially, though, Boas did not only offer positive and supportive acknowledgements of this kind. When discussing 'tense', he commented as follows:

I do not enter into the tenses of the verb, as the material at my disposal is not sufficient to bring out clearly the nice distinctions between the numerous tenses (see Hall *l.c.* p. 79ff.). I turn at once to the transitive verb with incorporated object, which has been treated very fragmentarily by Mr. Hall. (Boas 1890: 110)

In this case, Hall's account is criticised for being fragmentary and therefore lacking in comprehensiveness. In a similar manner, when he discussed the 'Formation of Words', Boas suggests that 'Mr. Hall does not enter into this subject very fully, and the following notes will, for this reason, be welcome' (Boas 1890: 113). Once again, this criticism can be related to observations contained in Boas' private letters and diaries. For example, during his 1889 trip to the Pacific Northwest Coast, he was deprived of the services of an interpreter for several days, an unforeseen development which provoked his ire, and which caused him to offer a rather blunt assessment:

Today I am more than angry [...] I have to completely give up the work on grammar. It is too bad; I could have learned so much more during these three days. Hall, the missionary here, was unfortunately very ..., a thing I could have guessed from his so-called grammar. I have stumbled upon a few problems which were very obvious but which he did not recognize during all the twelve years he has been here. But he is very friendly and helps whenever he can.

(Rohner 1969: 112)

So, once again Hall is condemned (partly in ellipsis) for the limitations of his linguistic knowledge, and Boas was so annoyed by the circumstances in which he found himself that he was prompted to refer dismissively to Hall's 'so-called grammar'. As in 1886, though, despite these irritations and reservations, Boas clearly made extensive use of Hall's knowledge and linguistic ability during his visits to Alert Bay, and therefore it is clear that the latter greatly facilitated the former's research into Kwak'wala. Indeed, as the examples discussed above indicate, Boas' own analysis of the language was devised with direct reference to the topics that Hall had discussed in his *Grammar*: if Boas felt that Hall had provided accurate information (e.g., concerning numeral suffixes), then he simply referred the reader to Hall's text and refrained from repeating the analysis in exhaustive detail. However, whenever he felt that Hall's account was inaccurate, he took it upon himself to augment and extend the presentation, providing a wider range of examples, and trying to determine more specific sub-classifications. Consequently, Boas' notes in Kwak'wala cannot be read in isolation from Hall's account: his text exists in a self-professed symbiotic relationship with Hall's, to the extent that, if considered separately, it remains fragmentary.

Did Boas simply make an exception in Hall's case, though? Was his tempered respect for the latter's linguistic work anomalous? On the contrary, other passages in Boas' writings suggest that he responded to other missionary linguists in exactly the same way. Indeed, it was his standard practice to make use of material that had been collated by missionaries who were living and working in the places

that he visited. For instance, in his 1890 notes, he begins his account of Nuu-Chah-Nulth by acknowledging the sources from whence he derived some of his information:

The following notes have been derived from material collected in 1888 in Victoria from two Tlaō'kath, from other material collected in 1889 in Port Alberni, principally from a half-blood Indian Wa'tē. Bishop N. J. Lemmens, of Victoria, B.C., had the great kindness to give me the pronouns and the inflection of the verb in the Tlaō'kath dialect. A number of suffixes were obtained from a manuscript of the Rev. Father Brabant, who is said to be thoroughly conversant with the language. (Boas 1890: 116)

Bishop N. J. Lemmens (1850–1897) had been born in Schimmert, Holland, and was ordained in the American College of Louvain, Belgium, before moving to Vancouver Island in 1876. He was a prominent Catholic missionary who oversaw the construction of St Andrew's Cathedral in Victoria B.C. He had worked closely with the Nuu-Chah-Nulth peoples for a protracted period, and clearly Boas recognised the importance of his linguistic research, especially the data that he had gathered concerning the pronominal system and verb inflections. The 'Father Brabant' to whom he refers is Auguste-Joseph Brabant (1845–1912), another influential Catholic missionary who had acquired a fluent knowledge of Nuu-Chah-Nulth. Helpfully, like so many of his contemporaries, Brabant published a memoir, and his writings certainly provide insights into his attitudes towards language and linguistic analysis. For example, he explicitly acknowledged the centrality of language study to his own ministry:

I soon discovered [in 1886] that the work before me was an uphill undertaking, and, to mention one fact only, there was not one Indian in Hesquiatic who could act as an interpreter. However, I managed to teach the tribe the "Catholic Ladder," and I made up my mind to study the language which I found no easy matter, as I had no books to consult and there was no one who could give me any information about it. (Brabant 1900: 23)

The situation described here recalls Collison's experiences in Masset in the 1870s, and it would have been familiar to many other Northwest Coast missionaries in the late 19th century. In short, Brabant had to acquire a working knowledge of Nuu-Chah-Nulth without being able to make use of existing grammatical studies or even the assistance of a translator, hence the need to collect rudimentary information concerning different parts of the language system (e.g., pronouns, verb inflections, suffixation patterns). Presumably, if Boas had felt that the linguistic information gathered by Pacific Northwest missionaries such as Lemmens and Brabant was entirely worthless, then he would not have incorporated it into his

own analyses. Therefore, since he did make extensive and overt use of such material, it is reasonable to interpret this as some kind of validation. To re-emphasise the main point, though, it indicates that Boas knew of, and made use of, the linguistic work that was being accomplished by contemporaneous missionaries of different denominations.

Given demonstrable connections such as these, it is important to consider whether such interactions occurred specifically on Haida Gwaii. This is crucial since it is certainly possible that, when positing the complete separation between the missionary and anthropological traditions, Krauss was speaking exclusively about the work that involved Haida culture – in other words, he may simply have meant that the missionaries and anthropologists who became involved with the Haida communities never collaborated. However, this claim is also incorrect, and the most conspicuous and important example of missionary-anthropologist interaction involving Haida is manifest in Harrison's *Haida Grammar*. Although there is absolutely no doubt that Harrison was responsible for writing the main sections of this study during the period 1883 to 1890, the final text was edited by Alexander Francis Chamberlain (1865–1914), who was Boas' first PhD student. Although Chamberlain was not a Haida specialist, he was familiar with several indigenous Pacific Northwest Coast cultures and had worked particularly closely with the Ktunaxa natives, publishing his *Report on the Kootenay Indians of South Eastern British Columbia* in 1893. The 'Prefatory Note' which Chamberlain appended to Harrison's *Haida Grammar* explicitly relates the latter's text to contemporaneous anthropological research:

Those who have occasion to use this Grammar of the Haida Language, may refer with advantage to the notes on this language published by Dr. Franz Boas, in his report to the committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1888, especially as regards the phonology of Haida speech, and to the Report on the Haidas, by Dr. G. M. Dawson, published by the Geological Survey of Canada in 1878. A Haida vocabulary has also been published by Dr. Boas in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1891, pp. 183–193.

(Harrison 1895:123)

It is possible to detect an air of dissatisfaction in this short passage, especially concerning Harrison's account of Haida phonology. Chamberlain implies that Boas provides a more accurate overview of that part of the language system. However, it is once again suggested that the missionary and anthropological texts cannot helpfully be considered in isolation from one another. In this particular case, Chamberlain recommends that Harrison's work be juxtaposed with Boas' Haida research, since (presumably) the two studies complement each other. So, the implication is that Harrison's discussion of phonology is inadequate and that

Boas' 1888 account is more comprehensive – and indeed Boas certainly did provide more detailed information about this topic. For instance, while Harrison's system contains 15 vowels (5 short, 5 long, and 5 'imperfect'), 4 diphthongs, 16 indigenous consonants (including 'K' and 'KH' where the latter is associated with 'Greek χ , German **ch**'), and 2 'borrowed' consonants, Boas provides extensive analytical and comparative details (Harrison 1895:128–129). While describing the nasal consonants, for example, he observes that 'the *m* is not the pure English *m*, but closely related to \bar{n} , from which it is distinguished with great difficulty, the lips being not perfectly closed' (Boas 1889: 71). This kind of articulatory information enables Boas to offer a more precise classification of the Haida phonemes. For this reason, Chamberlain referred to Boas' account of Haida phonology, but the fact that he was happy to edit Harrison's text, and to have his name associated with it, indicates that he considered the project to be of some importance. At the very least, this interaction undermines the claim that missionaries and anthropologists who came into contact with Haida culture worked in complete isolation from one another. Indeed, the contact between the two traditions seems to have been far more extensive than is usually supposed, and the Harrison-Chamberlain collaboration is not the only example of mutual awareness.⁶ In particular, as discussed at some length in the Introduction, it was during the early years of the 20th century that Swanton gradually established himself as the leading anthropological Haida expert, and his detailed account of Haida culture, which was published in 1905 as part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition volumes, was followed by his authoritative analysis of Haida in Boas' *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (1911). However, before Swanton's analysis appeared, the most detailed grammar textbook was Keen's *A Grammar of the Haida Language*. Keen had published his text in 1906, and it had superseded Harrison's since it did not try to analyse Haida by adopting a grammatical framework that had been devised for Kwak'wala. Although Swanton does not refer explicitly to Keen in his publications (significantly, perhaps), his letters reveal the extent to which he was familiar with his work. For example, in a letter to Boas that was written in November 1903, Swanton referred, with something approaching admiration, to Keen's 'very considerable ability' as a linguist, noting in particular 'his great superiority to other missionaries in the

6. Curiously, Harrison's work (in particular) has been strangely neglected even by those researchers who do acknowledge the extent of the missionaries' involvement in the development of anthropology. For instance, although Higham mentions Harrison in passing (Higham 2000: 79), she does not even supply his first name (he is simply 'Mr Harrison'), and while she refers to his meeting with Newton Chittenden, she does not mention his own anthropological interests.

Table 6.1 Verb suffixes in Keen (1906) and Swanton (1911)

Keen (1906)	
<i>tl</i> , with the hand,	e.g., <i>la lth tl-stigung</i> I hurt him with my hand
<i>kil</i> , with the voice,	e.g., <i>la lth kil-stigung</i> I hurt him with my voice
Swanton (1911)	
<i>sL!</i> -, with the fingers, this being the word for the hand	e.g., <i>la sL!sLá'ya</i> he moved the fire with his hands
<i>kil</i> , by means of the voice	e.g., <i>gai LA gi kilgadā'n</i> those shouted out to him

region when it comes to matters of this kind.⁷ Once again, as with the Hall-Boas association, Swanton's response to Keen's work was (seemingly) rather complex, and a few details must be considered briefly here.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the main sections of Swanton's 1911 analysis of Haida are devoted to the manner in which affixes combine in order to create word-complexes. Swanton identifies four main groups, and, in some cases, there are remarkable similarities between his and Keen's respective analyses. For example, Keen identifies 'verbal prefixes' as a specific type, distinguishing various sub-types (such as 'causatives') (Keen 1906: 17), and his presentation can be compared directly with Swanton's. Their respective analyses of the instrumentals *tla* and *kil* are juxtaposed in Table 6.1 (Keen 1906: 17; Swanton 1911: 222). In these and in similar examples, Swanton's analysis is very close to Keen's, and he certainly seems content to classify the elements involved in these structures in a comparable fashion. Keen may use hyphens in order to indicate morphological boundaries (e.g., *kil-stigung*) while Swanton simply presents an unhyphenated complex (e.g., *kilgadā'n*), but these are simply small orthographical details. There are further similarities too, though – other places where Swanton seems to have accepted Keen's analysis as being valid. When Keen discusses tenses, he includes (amongst others) the 'indefinite' and 'immediate' future and the 'first' and 'second' perfect, and a few examples are given in Table 6.2 (Keen 1906: 16). By comparison, although Swanton rejects a Graeco-Roman sub-classification of the Haida tenses, preferring instead to recognise the class of 'temporal suffixes' as being a sub-type of his fourth affix group, he nonetheless provides an analysis that is almost identical to Keen's, as indicated in Table 6.3 (Swanton 1911: 249).

7. AMNH, Swanton, Letter to Boas, November 1903.

Table 6.2 Tenses in Keen (1906)

Keen (1906)	
Future Indefinite	e.g., <i>il gūshū-ashang</i> he will speak
Future Immediate	e.g., <i>il gūshū-ung-kashang</i> he is just going to speak
First Perfect	e.g., <i>il gūshūgun</i> he spoke (in my presence)
Second Perfect	e.g., <i>il gūshū-ou-on</i> he spoke (in my absence)

Table 6.3 Temporal suffixes in Swanton (1911)

Swanton (1911)		
-sga –	simple futurity,	e.g., <i>dī gi sīnāgasga</i> no one is going to touch me
-qasañ –	immediate or imminent future occurrence	e.g., <i>gīt qāʼl!a!añqasañ</i> her child was about to come
-gAn –	indicates past events which the speaker has himself experienced	e.g., <i>ʼa nAn sʼʼdagAn</i> I borrowed one
-aḡAn –	past events known to the speaker only by report	e.g., <i>la ʼ sāʼwaḡAn</i> she spoke to him

Once again, Swanton's analysis of tense seems to correspond fairly closely to Keen's, despite the fact that both men adopted a fundamentally different analytical framework. As noted above, Keen essentially modified a Graeco-Roman system by introducing new sub-types of the 'Future' and 'Perfect' tenses, while Swanton rejected this approach, preferring to identify particular suffixes as serving a temporal function without seeking to associate them with particular tenses. Nonetheless, despite these contrasts, Keen and Swanton clearly agree that Haida uses suffixes in order to distinguish between different kinds of future and past events. For instance, Swanton's *-qasañ* is simply a different orthographical representation of Keen's *kashang* (i.e., a form of the compound anticipatory suffix *-.ang qasa.a-ang* ("-.going.to-PR"; Enrico 2003: 28)), and both analyses indicate that this suffix conveys the notion that the event described will take place imminently.

One final correspondence is also worth mentioning. In the survey of Haida linguistics in Section 1.3, it was shown that word order became a topic of particular interest to researchers during the last decades of the 20th century, and there were several attempts to explain why the various constituents in a Haida sentence appear in the orders they do. As discussed there, it has sometimes been claimed

that Haida is an OSV language, though other researchers have rejected this. Intriguingly, Keen and Swanton agree with each other concerning this matter. Keen discusses this subject as follows in his *Grammar*:

Order of Words in a Haida sentence – Subject, Object, Verb [...]

Exception: – when the subject happens to be a pronoun, the pronoun must always immediately precede its verb; in which case the order of words is, Object, Subject, Verb. (Keen 1906: 40)

So, Keen recognises two distinct ordering patterns: the SOV order is used if a noun functions as the subject of a given sentence, while the OSV order is used if the subject happens to be a pronoun. Unfortunately, he does not indicate what occurs when both the subject and the object are pronouns. As mentioned in Section 1.3, Swanton noted that ‘when the subject and object of the verb are nouns, the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the order is reversed’ (Swanton 1911: 267), and this analysis is almost identical to Keen’s: both men recognise the existence of two distinct order patterns which depend upon the parts-of-speech that take on particular grammatical roles. Examples such as these certainly suggest that, although Swanton drastically revised the analytical framework that Keen had deployed, he seems to have accepted many of Keen’s conclusions about such topics as affixation, tense, and word order in Haida. Indeed, when the two texts are juxtaposed, their similarities are more striking than their differences. It should be emphasised, though, that Swanton seems in no way to have pilfered Keen’s analysis and examples in the same way that Harrison had used Hall’s work as a template for his *Haida Grammar*. Nevertheless, it is clear that he reached conclusions about Haida syntax that are remarkably similar to Keen’s, and, at times, he even adopts analytical terminology that Keen had introduced (e.g., the ‘immediate’ future). None of these details should cause anxiety: as mentioned earlier, it is known that Swanton was familiar with and, to an extent, admired Keen’s linguistic work. Given this, it would presumably be more startling if the two texts differed profoundly.

6.3 The influence of the anthropologists

So, there is a wealth of evidence to suggest that the anthropologists who were interested in the cultures of the Pacific Northwest Coast (and particularly Southern and Northern Haida customs) were well aware of the data collected by several generations of missionaries. Importantly, though, as anthropology began to establish itself as an independent discipline in the early 20th century, the missionaries were in turn influenced by the work produced by influential authorities such

as Boas, Chamberlain, and Swanton. Once again, this is an aspect of the missionary-anthropologist relationship that deserves closer attention. In this context, one publication that merits careful consideration is Harrison's *Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific* (1925). Although written by a former CMS missionary, this text was clearly influenced by contemporaneous anthropological writings, as discussed in Barker (2007: 8–10). Indeed, Harrison explicitly sought to associate his work with the anthropological tradition from at least 1892 onwards, for in that year he published an article concerning 'Family Life of the Haidas, Queen Charlotte Islands' in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, and therefore it is no surprise that his later publications should manifest similar interests. However, a brief discussion of a few particular examples should clarify the precise nature of the positioning that he adopted in his 1925 monograph. At one point, for instance, he refers to his own project as follows:

This work claims to describe various aspects in the life of the Haidas [...] and the writer being a recognised authority on the language of this people believes that his observations may have considerable scientific value. It is not to be inferred that an intensive anthropological and ethnological survey by trained observers will not bring fresh facts to light [...], for as Professor Boas states 'there is much that has hitherto baffled complete interpretation.' (Harrison 1925: 37)

Harrison is obviously keen to emphasise the extent of his own linguistic prowess, since this distinguishes his research and endows it with authority: his information has been obtained directly, and not merely via interpreters. However, and more pertinently, he wants to associate his study closely with comparable 'anthropological and ethnological' research projects. Far from contemptuously rejecting these academic areas, he states openly that they may well 'bring fresh facts to light', and he quotes Boas directly in order to substantiate this claim. Further, he includes in an appendix a table of '[m]easurements on 18 male and 8 female crania from Queen Charlotte Islands, Canada' (Harrison 1925: 209), and osteological studies were usually associated with anthropological research rather than with missionary activity. Intriguingly, since these crania were located in 'the American Museum of Natural History', it is highly likely that they constitute some of the specimens that Boas himself had procured during his research trips to the Pacific Northwest Coast. Harrison does not claim to have analysed the crania himself. Indeed, he readily acknowledges that the detailed data he presents had been produced by 'Dr. Bruno Oettking'. Oettking (1871–1960), a specialist in physical anthropology, had been a colleague of Boas' in the Department of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, and it was during his time there that he had become involved with the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, analysing the

skeletal material that was sent back to New York.⁸ It is not clear how Harrison acquired Oetteking's findings (though he seems to have obtained permission to use the data), but it is odd that his inclusion of these measurements pre-dates the appearance of Oetteking's own detailed study, *Craniology of the North Pacific Coast*, which did not appear in print until 1930. Significantly, rather than merely presenting Oetteking's quantitative findings concerning the Haida crania without comment, Harrison relates this work to the theories of the Czech physical anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička (1869–1943). In a note that accompanies Oetteking's table, Harrison observes that

[r]egarding the similarity between the Haidas and the Japanese, Professor Hrdlička, Curator Div. Physical Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A., states: "the notion that the Haida may be identified with the Japanese is a rather dangerous one, and does not find substantiation in our studies, though the two groups belong to one race and are not far from each other."

(Harrison 1925:211)

As mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, the relationship between the Haida and Japanese peoples was one that preoccupied missionaries and anthropologists alike from the late 19th century onwards, and it is clear that (by 1925 at least) Harrison was convinced that osteological evidence could help to elucidate the discussion of this murky topic. This willingness on the part of a former missionary to utilise the anthropological research is certainly of considerable interest, and it suggests that the lines of influence were bidirectional: if the missionaries assisted and guided the anthropologists, then, at different times and in different ways, the anthropologists assisted and guided the missionaries.

Although these associations suggest that Harrison was unambiguously respectful towards the work of anthropologists such as Boas, Swanton, Oetteking, and Hrdlička, other extracts from *Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific* indicate that his appreciation was tempered by an awareness of the fragmentary nature of the anthropological and ethnographical research that had been completed by the mid-1920s:

Ethnological studies of the Haidas are not numerous, being mostly confined to brief sketches made by temporary visitors, or short articles written by missionaries; the most voluminous report is that of the Jesup expedition, yet the volume dealing with the Haida leaves much to be desired. (Harrison 1925:70)

Swanton may not be explicitly named here, but the reference to the 'voluminous [...] Jesup expedition' report eliminates all ambiguity: Harrison is referring

8. For a brief overview of Oetteking's career, see Weiant (1960).

specifically to Swanton's *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, which had already become the standard reference by the mid-1920s. Although Harrison does not pin-point the particular weaknesses that he perceives in Swanton's work, the nature of his dissatisfaction can be partly inferred from some of his subsequent comments (a few of these will be explored later). In addition to certain intellectual concerns, there are practical and economic considerations which no doubt motivate Harrison's critique: he knew that he needed to convince his readers that his text offered insights which could not be obtained simply by reading existing research carefully, and therefore he was keen to stress the incompleteness of Swanton's work. This is reminiscent of the way in which anthropologists such as Boas used missionary linguistic studies as a starting point for their own analyses: if deficiencies were identified in existing studies, then an alternative approach could be proposed which attempted to eradicate these problems.

Seemingly, then, Harrison felt that Swanton's account was incomplete or deficient in some way, but what exactly were his concerns? This question can best be answered by comparing the manner in which both men discussed certain aspects of Haida culture, and one topic that provides a revealing juxtaposition concerns the significance of the land-otter in Haida mythology. In his 1905 account, Swanton identifies 'Beings of the Land' as a distinct category, and he observes that the 'Land-Otter-People' 'play an important rôle in the beliefs of most of the coast tribes' (Swanton 1905a: 26). For the Haida, he claims, they are 'malevolent creatures', and it is the female land-otters that are considered to be especially dangerous:

When one of them came to anybody, it would assume the shape of whomever that person was in love with, to make him speak to her. If he did speak, he soon began to act strangely, faint, etc, and soon after died. When taking on human shape, they could not get rid of the hair between their fingers. The fingers, too, were short and round. Their voices are said to have been hoarse, as when one has a cold, in spite of which they were good singers. (Swanton 1905a: 26)

Swanton does not indicate where he obtained his information, but the details suggest that he had elicited this account from Haida informants. Given this, it is worth contrasting Swanton's description with Harrison's discussion of land-otters from his 1925 monograph. Harrison provides a more elaborate overview than Swanton, which, while supporting certain aspects of the latter's summary, offers additional details:

The female of the land-otter was credited with the power of transforming herself into a handsome woman who approached the hunting camps and sat at the foot of a tree nearby, awaiting any of the hunters as they returned from a long

day's toil. Anyone who noticed her would be invited to rest by her side, and if he acquiesced would soon become enraptured by the charms she would gently breathe over him [...], and immediately he became transformed into a male otter that would follow wheresoever she went. (Harrison 1925: 143)

There are several obvious differences between these two versions. In Swanton's summary, the female land-otter assumes the form of a lover, a person whom the victim knows well. By contrast, in Harrison's version, the land-otter simply transforms herself into a 'handsome woman', and does not necessarily take on the form of an acquaintance of the human who is being lured into the trap. Further, in Harrison's account, the transformed otter waits in the forest specifically for 'hunters' who are returning from a long and tiring day, and, significantly, she does not gain mastery over the human by prompting speech (as Swanton had claimed), but rather by breathing over her victims, causing them to be transformed into male land-otters who are compelled to follow her. There is no mention in Harrison's account of the inability of the land-otter to remove the hair between her fingers, but this detail is not incompatible with his version. Significantly, although Swanton mentions the fact that the transformed land-otters spoke in a distinctive manner, with perceptibly hoarse voices, Harrison provides further information about their ability to speak Haida:

A hunter who chanced to meet with one of these attractive women and took care to pay particular attention to the pronunciation of the words used by her would at once realise that no human voice was speaking. Her usual salutation was "you are weary and tired, come and sit with me for a short period". The words "come and sit with me" in Haida are *Alth-kwī, di kwulth kou-wē*. The land-otter, however, was unable to pronounce the word *kou-wē* distinctly and always said *ki-wē*, so a person alert enough to notice the lapse would be able to save himself by declining the invitation. (Harrison 1925: 143)

This small detail demonstrates the extent to which Harrison was capable of exploring the linguistic structures that the Haidas used when discussing their mythological beliefs. The verb referred to here is *q'aw.a* ("sitting"), and although it is not clear why the transformed land-otter should struggle to pronounce the medial <a>, replacing it with a high front vowel, it is certainly of interest that this small phonetic detail was identified by the Haida as being sufficient to determine whether one was in the presence of a transformed female land-otter or not.⁹ As mentioned above, Harrison is often especially attentive to the manner in which

9. It is possible that, in her idiolect, the land-otter substitutes a different consonant for *q'* (perhaps the velar plosive /k/), and this has an impact on the articulatory position of the following vowel.

the Haidas themselves expressed their beliefs, and he was capable of obtaining his information directly without the need of an intermediary stage of translation into either English or Chinook Jargon. Since Swanton could not speak Haida fluently, he was unable to work in this manner, and he had to rely upon a number of English-speaking informants (especially Henry Moody) for the data that he collected. Aware of the fact that anthropologists were often required to use translations, Harrison was critical of this approach, and he questioned the usefulness of such practices, claiming that '[n]ative interpreters, at the least, can only give garbled versions from the slight knowledge they have of the English language or through the medium of the Chinook jargon' (Harrison 1925: 7). Harrison clearly wanted to distinguish his own work from the existing anthropological research, to indicate its authoritative nature, and he repeatedly criticised the fact that anthropologists were forced to use (potentially 'garbled') English or Chinook Jargon translations of Haida myths. Importantly, this desire to demonstrate his own linguistic ability ensured that his study of Haida culture incorporated many linguistic details which were not included in earlier anthropological accounts.

6.4 Exploring shamanism

Shamanism is another topic that enables Swanton's and Harrison's respective studies of Haida culture to be helpfully compared and contrasted. In his 1905 account, Swanton devotes a whole section to 'Shamanism and Witchcraft,' and he focuses on a selection of topics which he considered to be 'the most important points' (Swanton 1905a: 38).¹⁰ At the start of his analysis, he offers the following general definition: '[a] shaman was one who had power from some supernatural being (*sgā'na*) who "possessed" him, or who chose him as the medium through which to make his existence felt in the world of men' (Swanton 1905a: 38). He then considers various aspects of shamanic beliefs and rituals, including discussions of xenoglossia, purification, war, clothing, characteristic powers, and burial practices. Consequently, it is to be expected that when Harrison wrote about shamanism in his 1925 monograph, he was compelled to take Swanton's text as his starting point. Indeed, Harrison's text is in constant dialogue with Swanton's (even if only implicitly), sometimes corroborating and affirming, sometimes debunking and rejecting. A few examples should help to clarify the nature of these interconnections.

10. The main discussion of shamanism is found in Swanton (1905a: 38–54).

To begin with several points of disagreement, Harrison was persuaded that some of the information with which Swanton had been supplied by his informants was simply erroneous. When discussing the process by which an individual became a shaman, for instance, Swanton had stated that ‘the calling of a shaman was generally hereditary in his family, the order being usually from maternal uncle to nephew’ (Swanton 1905a:38). In response, Harrison presents a strikingly different account:

The office of the Sā-ag-gā or medicine man was not hereditary, he was either chosen by certain indicators or omens at his birth, and elected by the fraternity of the medicine men to become finally one of their number. (Harrison 1925:99)

There seems to be no way of reconciling these two accounts.¹¹ In Swanton’s version, the title of shaman is inherited as a result of an individual’s position in a given dynastic structure, while, in Harrison’s summary, the title is conferred as a result of indicators, omens, and a formal election that involves only those who have already acquired shamanic powers. Far from being exceptional, these sorts of discrepancies are frequent and they often serve to destabilise both accounts. To take another example, when discussing the various duties of the shaman, Harrison states that they were standardly involved in the arrangement and administration of marriages. By contrast, Swanton makes no mention of shamanic involvement when he discusses Haida marriage rituals, emphasising instead the role of other family members (e.g., parents, siblings, uncles):

In Skidegate marriages were often arranged as soon as a child was born. If a woman wanted a certain boy to marry her daughter, she might give his mother a number of blankets while he was still quite young. (Swanton 1905a:50)

It is a characteristic feature of Swanton’s account that the centrality of dynastic structures in Haida society is stressed, and it is clear that he was convinced that kinship relationships provided the basis for the majority of Haida rituals. Conversely, Harrison was adamant that Haida marriage rituals (in particular) were in fact regulated by the shamans and not exclusively by close family members. Intriguingly, in an 1892 article Harrison had presented a description of Haida marriage rituals which made no mention of the role of the shamans. Rather he had

11. It is not particularly surprising that Swanton and Harrison elicited contrasting information concerning such a delicate subject. Some of the information offered by their Haida informants may well have been knowingly incorrect, designed to mislead missionaries and anthropologists. For instance, since it was common for anthropologists to collect crania of the indigenous peoples, the Haida may have chosen to keep the exact details of the location and customs of the burial ceremonies secret.

identified the future husband as being the main instigator.¹² Seemingly, therefore, during the intervening thirty-three years, he had changed his mind about this matter. Indeed, by 1925, he had come to see the influence of the shamans as being so pervasive that it could be viewed as troublesome and pernicious:

The influence of the Shaman in the family circle was also great; they tended to crush freedom of speech, freedom of expression, and individual initiative. When a man wished to marry he made his decision known to the Sā-ag-gā of his tribe, and if he were pleased with the proposed union would make known the young man's wishes to his mother, and then the young man and the doctor would go to the mother of the young girl he had chosen and arrange the match.

(Harrison 1925: 111)

Certainly Swanton's and Harrison's accounts differ significantly in the agency that they ascribe to the shamans during marriage rituals. In this case, it is possible that these versions are compatible. Swanton may simply be providing information about the way in which the preparation for a marriage was conducted if it had been initiated by an individual's mother, while Harrison may simply be summarising the process that was triggered if the marriage were initiated by one of individuals directly concerned. The problem is that it is almost impossible now to determine whether this hypothetical synthesis is correct or not. Consequently, the two accounts remain largely unreconciled.

One final example merits close attention simply because it presents a number of complexities, and it concerns the manner in which the Haida shamans were buried. Swanton provided a lengthy description of the rituals associated with the burial, and his account includes the following passages:

A shaman was stronger after death than anyone else. His body was "set up", like those of other people, for four days, and during that time they made a little house for it on some point of land apart from any one else. His father's sister made a strong mat for him, with strong cords at the corners [...] The dead man's friends pulled his body, seated on the mat, through the smoke-hole, by the use of the cords referred to [...] They let his body down over the side of the house, and took it to a canoe. They did this, even though the burial place could be reached much more easily by land [...] Then they took the body up and seated it bolt upright upon a block of cedar, facing the north end of the islands [...] because his supernatural power came from that quarter. His knees were put two finger-breadths apart, so that he could look between them unimpeded. The

12. Harrison's earlier discussion of the marriage rituals of the Haida can be found in Harrison (1892: 472).

bucket out of which he used to drink salt water was placed near him, and he was shut in. (Swanton 1905a: 53)

This painstaking description of the shamanic burial ritual should be compared directly with its counterpart in Harrison's 1925 monograph:

The Sā-ag-gā, before he died, generally took three or four chiefs with him and selected his own resting or burial place in the solitude of the forest, as his body was not disposed of in the same manner as ordinary mortals. No Sā-ag-gā's body was ever put into a box after death, but he was carried by the chiefs he had previously selected, to the exact spot where he had told them to place his corpse, and there he was laid dressed in all his doctor's attire and with all his charms around him. His successor sometimes accompanied the chiefs, and he and the chiefs were supposed to be cognizant of his resting place, as on the day of the funeral the rest of the people were compelled to remain indoors. A covering was usually made out of split cedar boards to protect the body from animals, birds and the elements, and there he was left to repose in peace. (Harrison 1925: 115)

Yet again, there are many points of association and disassociation between these accounts. Swanton identifies an initial period of four days, during which the shaman's body was 'set up'; he claims that the dead man's friends carried his body and chose a location for burial; he notes that the body was taken by canoe, even if this was less convenient; he states that the shaman was finally buried sitting upright – but none of these details appears in Harrison's version. Indeed, Harrison's account contradicts Swanton's in several places: he claims that the shaman himself chose his own burial site, that chiefs (rather than merely friends) carried his body, and that he was buried lying down. Despite this, some of the details do seem to match up: Swanton and Harrison agree that the shaman's body was buried in a wooden structure made of cedar. Of course, it may be that both men faithfully recorded the rituals associated with specific burials, as these had been described to them. Also it is likely that there was greater variation in shamanic burial customs than is standardly acknowledged: a shaman who died in Masset in 1880 may well not have been buried in the same way as a shaman who died in Skidegate in 1900. However, even if these sorts of complications are put to one side, there remain striking contrasts in the attitudes that Swanton and Harrison adopt. For example, the former remains appropriately objective, as befits a professional anthropologist. He seeks to describe (in a dispassionate manner) the various objects and behaviour patterns that were associated with the members of this group. In particular, he does not attempt to evaluate their practices and determine whether they were desirable or beneficial. By contrast, Harrison suggests that the shamans were 'merely jugglers' (Harrison 1925: 99) who sometimes deployed duplicitous

means in order to retain power over the communities with which they were associated (Harrison 1925: 99):

The Sā-ag-gā sometimes alleged that the evil influences in the patient were so powerful that they could only be safely dispersed of in a chasm in the earth's crust which he would produce. When this was announced the credulous spectators were filled with awe. At an appointed time, therefore, and at a pre-arranged signal a confederate outside the building would strike the wooden side of the house a resounding blow with a large stone hammer, and all inside cry out in fear: "Amī! Ā-chad-i-ā!" These two words are used when they are afraid of anything and correspond to Oh dear! and Oh my! I'm frightened. (Harrison 1925: 118)

Yet again it is clear that Harrison is keen to record the exact Haida words and phrases that he had encountered while obtaining information about these particular aspects of shamanic culture, and the inclusion of descriptions such as this is certainly provocative, since it indicates that the shamans sometimes maintained the respect of the Haida communities by means of trickery and deception. If this was indeed the case (and it is definitely a concern that is raised repeatedly in missionary accounts of shamanic rituals), then it is intriguing that Swanton does not mention it: if deception was prevalent, then an objective account should surely refer to it, at least.

In addition to these sorts of differences, Harrison also seeks to distinguish his text from Swanton's by including specific examples of rituals which he himself had witnessed at first hand. Presumably he felt that this endowed his work with greater authority by making it more than a catalogue of descriptions elicited from a small number of informants. A good example of this occurs when he describes an incident during which the absence of a shaman necessitated a delegation of his customary duties:

[...] our party had been windbound for several days and no Shaman was at hand to influence the elements. A raven, therefore, was shot and singed in the bonfire, and with this in hand, our head man ran quickly down to the low water mark and swung the raven swiftly to and fro several times in the direction from which it was desired that the wind should blow. (Harrison 1925: 110)

It is later made clear that the 'head man' was in fact a chief, and, after describing the manner in which both the dead raven was propped up and a spruce tree was felled so that it faced in the relevant direction, Harrison concludes that

[w]ind ceremonial should, however, really only be performed by the medicine men, but if they were well supported by their tribes they allowed the chief to occasionally operate magical ritual, so that they were allowed to officiate as deputies during the absence of the qualified practitioners. (Harrison 1925: 110)

So, while providing information about the power hierarchies that characterise Haida society, Harrison also emphasises the fact that he himself had witnessed this particular '[w]ind ceremonial', and presumably this is intended to validate and authenticate the description he provides. However, even when he does rely upon information that had been communicated to him by informants, unlike Swanton he is often keen to name the individuals concerned, possibly in an attempt to demonstrate the authoritative nature of his sources. After discussing certain shamanic rituals, he states openly that

[m]ost of this information was obtained from the last shaman Kū-tē, the last medicine man among the Haida at Massett, and even then it was very difficult to obtain, as he considered that it was outside a European's province to interfere with him and his spirits by inquiries as to his methods. (Harrison 1925: 105)

This short extract raises a number of interesting difficulties. It explicitly emphasises the complications that follow when informants were used, even if the non-native questioner was able to speak the indigenous language fluently. Harrison acknowledges that there was a profound reluctance on the part of Kū-tē to provide information concerning the 'methods' of the shamans. From his letters, it is clear that Swanton encountered similar resistance, yet he does not mention this overtly in his 1905 text.¹³ The above extract also demonstrates the extent to which Harrison saw himself as an ethnographer, consciously trying to elicit details about a specific aspect of Haida culture. Presumably, these are the same sorts of 'view-points' that Boas had attempted to introduce to Hall in October 1886 (Rohner 1969: 45). By contrast with Hall, though, Harrison appears to have been genuinely intrigued by these aspects of indigenous culture. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to give the impression that he was primarily and perhaps exclusively an ethnographer. Despite his well-attested interest in broader cultural concerns, he remained convinced that conversion to Christianity was a desirable development for the members of the Haida community. Indeed, during his discussion of shamanism, he refers particularly to the conversion of the shaman Kū-tē:

Perhaps the author's greatest triumph was the influence he attained over the Sā-ag-gā Kū-tē, and it was such that he abandoned his magical practice and handed over all his charms and his favourite rattle that were fittingly deposited in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford. In due course this important personage was baptized and later on confirmed as a member of the Church of England.

(Harrison 1925: 118)

13. The bulk of Swanton's correspondence concerning his time on Haida Gwaii is now in the AMNH archive.

This passage captures Harrison's complex attitude perfectly: he is delighted that Kū-tē eventually converted to Christianity, allowing himself to be baptised and confirmed, and relinquishing the various trapping of his former shamanic lifestyle. However, rather than merely burning or destroying Kū-tē's 'charms and his favourite rattle', Harrison ensured that they were sent to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, which had been established in 1884 when Lt-General Pitt Rivers (1827–1900) donated his collection of archaeological and ethnographic objects to the University. Consequently, while Harrison actively sought the abolition of indigenous customs, he was also keen to ensure that native artefacts were preserved in museums and collections associated with anthropological research. Once again, this places him in a curious position, somewhere between the stance of a stereotypical anthropologist and a stereotypical missionary. Yet, in this respect, he may have been more typical than is usually acknowledged.

6.5 Consequences

In their thought-provoking article, mentioned earlier, John and Orsolva Burton offer the following conclusion:

In the end, one wonders whether, if missionaries had never taken to the field, an ethnographically-based anthropology would ever have emerged. Surely it is clear that missionaries led and guided most of the famous anthropological ancestors in that direction. (Burton & Burton 2007:215)

As the preceding sections have hopefully demonstrated, this statement is rather too simplistic, since the claim that the missionaries 'led and guided' the anthropologists fails to acknowledge the true complexity of the situation (at least on the Pacific Northwest Coast). In fact, there was a range of sustained interactions between missionaries and anthropologists, and each group was (to some extent) influenced by the knowledge, methodologies, and convictions of the other. There is no doubt that leading anthropologists such as Boas, Chamberlain, and Swanton were familiar with the linguistic studies (at least) produced by the missionaries, and that they collaborated with these missionaries from time to time. Joint endeavours such as these have only recently begun to receive the focused historiographical attention they deserve, and the present chapter contributes to this ongoing revisionist research endeavour. In a similar development, some of the broader cultural studies produced by the missionaries were directly influenced (in a complex manner) by the methodologies and preoccupations that had come to characterise anthropology in the early 20th century, and these connections await further illumination.

Conclusion

The main chapters of this book have attempted to show that the linguistic studies of Haida that were produced by the CMS missionaries based in Masset during the late 19th century are fascinating texts which provide a wide range of insights into many complex cultural issues. Several topics have been explored – Collison's initial attempts to devise a phonetic notation and to provide preliminary syntactic descriptions of Haida, Harrison's distinctively and disconcertingly syncretic methodology, the unavoidable difficulties presented by the remarkable Haida scripture translations, the intricate and convoluted interactions between influential missionaries and anthropologists – and these related cultural exchanges all merit probing scrutiny. By focusing on the work of just a few individuals, this book has sought to demonstrate that a close reading of the linguistic research (specifically) produced by the missionaries facilitates a broader and deeper understanding of the relationship between Haidas and non-Haidas in the late 19th century. It should be obvious, though, that the issues discussed in the foregoing chapters are only a small part of a much more complicated picture, and that there is a significant amount of research that must yet be accomplished before a sufficiently comprehensive appreciation of the role(s) of the missionaries on the Pacific Northwest Coast begins to emerge. In order to elaborate this point in greater detail, the following paragraphs will seek to identify some of the most pertinent topics which currently await extensive consideration.

Chapter 2 attempted to provide a succinct overview of the contact history between the Haidas and non-natives from the late 18th century onwards. As shown, the source material offers glimpses of the kinds of linguistic exchanges that occurred when explorers and traders first encountered Haida-speaking communities. Despite this comparative wealth of information, there has to date been no serious and sustained academic research that has focused on such topics, and the linguistic fragments contained in the letters, journals, logbooks, and diaries kept by numerous visitors to Haida Gwaii remain uncollated and largely unexamined. For instance, how did the Haidas attempt to communicate with the Europeans and (later) with English-speaking Americans, at the beginning of the sustained period of contact? It is clear that improvised sign-language was common, but when did they start to use Chinook Jargon? In addition, do the wordlists and recorded

examples of Haida usage reveal anything substantial about contact patterns involving the Haidas and other groups along the Coast (e.g., the Tsimshian communities)? Further, is it possible to determine anything about the way in which the Haidas acquired a knowledge of English? When they were taught the language in formal contexts (e.g., in schools), did they use particular grammar textbooks, and, if so, which ones? Also, more work needs to be done on the earliest known examples of English language documents written by Haida speakers. The remarkable letter penned in colloquial English (possibly with some assistance) by the Tsimshians at Metlakatla, imploring Collison not to leave the settlement, was discussed in Section 3.2, and there are likely to be similar documents, produced by members of the indigenous communities, that are gathering dust in various archives around the world. So far, though, there have been no attempts to examine systematically early exchanges of this kind.

As emphasised repeatedly, this book has focused almost exclusively upon the CMS Masset mission station, and missionaries associated with other denominations have only been mentioned in passing. Obviously, though, there is no reason why the CMS deserves greater consideration than the other groups that worked with Haida communities during the same period. However, at present, the surviving letters and papers produced by the Methodists who were stationed at Skidegate from 1883 onwards remain in obscurity. While Crosby's endeavours have been discussed in various studies (especially, Bolt 1992), the labours of his colleagues have never received the attention they deserve.¹ Similarly, the efforts of the Presbyterian Church amongst the Haida-speaking communities in Alaska (especially at Howkan) have so far remained undiscussed, despite the fact that texts such as Sheldon Jackson's *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast* (1880) provide a convenient starting point. Typically, histories of the Presbyterian Church in Alaska do not focus on linguistic concerns, and this is unfortunate because the same sorts of questions that have been asked about the CMS missionaries in this book could be asked about the Methodists and Presbyterians.² What sorts of linguistic difficulties did they encounter while trying to learn Haida? How did they classify and analyse the language? Did they seek or recognise connections between Haida and other indigenous languages? Did they prefer the individuals in their parishes to use English? Did they attempt to provide translations of scripture? Did they interact with anthropologists who were working in the same area? There

1. The main Methodist missionaries in Skidegate (given here with the dates of their period of residence there) were A. N. Miller (1888), S. Lazier (1892–1893), B. C. Freeman (1893–1908), and John C. Spencer (1908–1916). For more details, see Henderson (1974).

2. Discussions of the work of the Presbyterian Church in Alaska can be found in Nichols (1924), Lazell (1960), and Hinckley (1966).

are many questions, most of which currently lack detailed answers. However, if it is considered worthwhile to try to obtain a more complete understanding of the Haida-related linguistic research that was accomplished by the full range of missionaries who laboured amongst the Haida communities on the Pacific Northwest Coast, then these topics must be explored.

At various points throughout this book, it has been suggested that when the missionaries began to communicate using Haida, a form of the language emerged that can be described as a missionary sociolect, and an initial attempt has been made to identify some of its characteristics. Collison's devising of new vocabulary items for ideas such as 'resurrection' and 'sacrifice' was discussed in Section 5.2, and it was also shown that, when translating scripture, Harrison and (particularly) Keen would seek to alter the semantic connotations of lexical items traditionally associated with shamanic practices so that they could be understood to refer instead to Christian notions (e.g., *dagwi.ig* ceased to indicate some kind of shamanic power and started to mean "Holy Spirit"). Clearly, it would be helpful to examine in much greater detail the most distinctive features of this particular variety of Haida, since it appears to have become a dominant form of the language during the 20th century (at least on Haida Gwaii, and especially in Masset). Consequently, the discussion of this topic that has been scattered throughout the main chapters of this book can only really be viewed as a preliminary account, and a more systematic attempt to identify the most distinctive properties of this sociolect would involve a careful assessment of all aspects of the language system. Further, it would be useful to establish whether this particular variety of Haida was influenced more conspicuously by English or Chinook Jargon, and to consider the extent to which the use of the language in liturgical contexts impacted upon conversational conventions.

Although other indigenous languages have been mentioned from time to time in this book, the recurrent focus has been on Haida. However, despite the fact that its disputed status as a language isolate makes it especially intriguing, there is no particular reason why Haida deserves more critical attention than languages such as Kwak'wala, Tsimshian, or Tlingit. Indeed, the surviving missionary archives contain a wide range of material concerning these languages too. If a comprehensive comparative account of the linguistic research produced by the missionaries in this region were ever to be attempted, then it would require a detailed exploration of the studies produced for all the languages spoken on the Pacific Northwest Coast. This would be a daunting project, yet it would certainly elucidate many areas which currently remain obscure, since (as shown in Chapter 4) there were sometimes unexpected connections between the analyses produced by missionaries studying languages from different family groupings. Since the missionaries met for annual conferences, there were frequent opportunities for exchanging

ideas and manuscripts concerning linguistic analysis, despite the large geographical distances that often separated their parishes, and a clearer understanding of these sorts of influences would certainly be welcome. In addition, there has so far been very little comparative research that juxtaposes linguistic studies produced by missionaries (and others) who worked with indigenous groups in different parts of North America.³ For instance, Edward Wilson (1844–1915) published his *The Ojebway Language, a Manual for Missionaries and Others Employed among the Ojebway Indians* in 1874, and therefore it predates Collison's, Hall's, and Harrison's work by over a decade. Nonetheless, even though Wilson was based in a completely different geographical region (he was mainly stationed at several locations around Lake Superior in Ontario), studying a language that belonged to a completely different language family (i.e., Algonquian), there are some surprising correspondences between the Ojibwe and Haida linguistic studies. To consider just one small example, in his 1874 account, Wilson described Ojibwe as being 'a language of verbs, of roots, and stems, to which particles are affixed or prefixed to modify the meaning of the word', adding specifically that '[a]s in the Hebrew, there is a causative (hiphil) form of the verb' (Wilson 1874: iv). Nineteen years later, when Harrison came to write his *Haida Grammar* he noted that '[w]e have also a Causative Form equalling in force the Hiphil in the Hebrew language' (Harrison 1895: 155). It is possible that these similarities are merely coincidences: both men knew some Hebrew, and when they identified causatives in Ojibwe and Haida respectively, they may independently have drawn this analogy. However, given the explicit connections that were discussed in Chapter 4 between the work of Hall and Harrison, it is unwise to assume that the Masset missionaries knew nothing about the existing linguistic studies of other North American languages. Consequently, it would be extremely beneficial to explore in greater detail the full range of missionary linguistic research that occurred along the Pacific Northwest Coast, and to situate this work in the broader context of missionary linguistics in North America, since only when this has been accomplished will it be possible to appreciate more subtly and accurately the full range of intricate associations.

In addition to the sorts of texts that have been considered in this book (e.g., linguistic notes, letters, journals, published grammatical studies, memoirs), there are several other related genres that have never really been examined. For instance, some of the Europeans who went to live in the region eventually published literary works that were based on their experiences. Perhaps the most conspicuous examples are Bishop William Ridley's two collections of poetry, *Not*

3. At present, the only available discussions are found in publications such as the excellent essays collected together in Gray & Fiering (2000) (which focus on pre-1800 contact), and Koerner (2004).

Myth but Miracle (1900) and *Camp Fire Light or Memories of Flood and Forest* (1906). No doubt these texts have been neglected in the past mainly because their literary worth is (to say the least) dubious. Nonetheless, these volumes provide yet another route into the cultural interactions that occurred during this period. Further, it is sometimes claimed by the authors that their texts are based on indigenous oral traditions, and therefore they can be viewed as some of the earliest attempts to combine Western and native literary conventions. For example, *Not Myth but Miracle* is written as a play, and it explores the tensions that existed between the indigenous peoples and the Christian missionaries during the 1880s. Ridley claims that the play is largely based on real events:

This is only a metrical description of one of the most remarkable scenes of modern missions [...] I have closely followed the actual phraseology of the Indians who addressed the assembly. Should any poetry be found, to them it is due; if missing, the fault is mine. (Ridley 1900: Preface)

The play presents the conversion of several natives to Christianity, though only after significant opposition to the missionaries has been expressed. To take just one example, at one point ‘The Chief’ declares, mournfully

The past is dead, I stand alone
Between the Christians and the groan
Of dying noknok. (Ridley 1900: 35)

Ridley explains in a footnote that ‘noknok’ denotes ‘witchcraft, sorcery, and all the arts of the shaman or medicine man’ (Ridley 1900: 6), and he is clearly attempting to ensure that his literary text is rendered exotic by the inclusion of such words. In this case, the particular word included is the Tsimshian noun *naxnox* which denotes a supernatural being (Dunn 1995: 79), and Ridley appears to be using it as an umbrella term for everything he disliked about shamanic customs. By contrast, his other literary work, *Camp Fire Light or Memories of Flood and Forest* is essentially a collection of poems, most of which were written while he was based on the Pacific Northwest Coast. The poems presented images of ‘adventure or Red Indian life’ (Ridley 1906: vii), and therefore they are intended to offer an exciting glimpse of life in what was considered to be a wild and remote part of the world. A few of the texts provide unexpectedly detailed descriptions of individuals and places that Ridley had encountered during his travels. For instance, the difficulty of reconstructing the practices of the shamans was discussed at some length in Section 6.4, and therefore it is of interest that he includes a few poems that refer to shamanic rituals. The first is simply a description of ‘The Medicine Man’, of whom Ridley writes that ‘[i]n him the leech and priest combine’ (Ridley 1906: 51):

Both first and last in counsel's deep
 In troublous times he may not sleep
 Strong swarthy locks approach his feet;
 Strung ermine tassels round him meet,
 He wears a coronet of claws
 To show the strength of tribal laws. (Ridley 1906: 51)

In addition to simple descriptive passages such as this, Ridley explores some of the consequences of contact with non-natives, and one of his other poems is called 'Holuk: The Medicine Man's Meditation on the Effect of Gunshots' (Ridley 1906: 91–92). Although literary descriptions and reflections of this kind are far from being professional anthropological studies, they nevertheless offer a particular assessment of the problems that characterised life on the Pacific Northwest Coast in the late 19th century, and therefore deserve attentive consideration.

In conclusion, then, it is fair to say that, although this book has provided a detailed account of various previously neglected aspects of 19th-century Haida linguistics, far more remains to be accomplished than has so far been achieved, and such research is of considerable importance since it enables us to appreciate more accurately the nature of the missionary activities that were undertaken during this period. The work of the missionaries who were based in North America has always been a controversial topic that has aroused passionate and conflicting responses. In the 1880s, Eugene Stock offered the following hymn of praise to the work of the North Pacific Mission:

[...] the great temple of living souls will stand forth in all its glory and beauty, and among the stones of that spiritual house will be many hewn from the quarry in the Far West. Tsimshean and Hydah, and many another Red Indian tribe, shall find a place in the building which, fitly framed together, shall then have grown into a holy temple unto the Lord. Happy indeed will those then be who have had a share, however humble, in the work of raising it, stone by stone, to His praise who will make it His dwelling for ever! (Stock 1880: 113)

During the 20th century, though, attitudes towards missionary activity changed drastically. Just over one hundred years after Stock's text was published, Robert Bringhurst referred to the smallpox outbreaks of the late 19th century and commented as follows:

[...] instead of being left then to rebuild their culture in peace, they were targeted by missionaries, government agents and traders who were certain, by and large, of the innate superiority of English customs, the Christian religion and the Anglo-Saxon race. [...] Cultural warfare is a practice of great antiquity, possibly as old as culture itself. But death and forced reeducation came to the Haida with

stunning force. Europeans, so far as we know, tasted cultural warfare in a similarly concentrated form only when Stalin and Hitler opened their camps.

(Bringinghurst 1999:70)

Provocative words – but it is deeply misleading to suggest that the missionaries (and others) were intentionally responsible for acts of mass genocide that were comparable to those perpetrated in the Nazi gas chambers and the Soviet death camps. Nonetheless, the above quotations indicate that the missionaries have sometimes been portrayed as heroic saints, and sometimes as brutal vandals, and these diametrically opposed perceptions persist even though they both fail to recognise the entangled intricacy of the cultural exchanges that occurred along the Pacific Northwest Coast. In a range of ways, therefore, the main chapters of this book have attempted to address just a few of these complexities, and if this slim volume has successfully identified several intriguing and neglected topics, if it has illustrated something of their range, scope, diversity, and importance, and if it encourages others to reflect upon these difficult subjects more deeply, then it will have more than served its purpose.

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This ambitious and ground-breaking book examines the linguistic studies produced by missionaries based on the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America (and particularly Haida Gwaii) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Making extensive use of unpublished archival materials, the author demonstrates that the missionaries were responsible for introducing many innovative and insightful grammatical analyses. Rather than merely adopting Graeco-Roman models, they drew extensively upon studies of non-European languages, and a careful exploration of their scripture translations reveal the origins of the Haida sociolect that emerged as a result of the missionary activity. The complex interactions between the missionaries and anthropologists are also discussed, and it is shown that the former sometimes anticipated linguistic analyses that are now incorrectly attributed to the latter. Since this book draws upon recent work in theoretical linguistics, religious history, translation studies, and anthropology, it emphasises the unavoidably interdisciplinary nature of Missionary Linguistics research.

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