

**Constructing Indigeneity:
Sylx Okanagan Oraliture and tmix^wcentrism**

**Inauguraldissertation
zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades
eines Doktors der Philosophie
der Philosophischen Fakultät der
Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität Greifswald**

vorgelegt von

Jeannette Christine Armstrong

Greifswald, im Dezember 2009

Name des Dekans:	Prof. Dr. Matthias Schneider
Name des Erstgutachters:	Prof. Dr. Hartmut Lutz
Name des Zweitgutachters:	Prof. Dr. Konrad Ott
Datum der Disputation:	30 März, 2010

Preface/ *Vorbemerkung*

In this dissertation I have not adhered to the use of the standard font for MLA style. I have used a Lucida Sans Unicode font throughout the work. The Lucida Sans Unicode font has been modified for the Okanagan Nsyilxcen alphabet. Nsyilxcen words, phrases and sentences are a necessary component of the work. The Lucida Sans Unicode font is modified to accommodate Nsyilxcen sounds on the English Standard keyboard. Some letters on the Okanagan Keyboard displaces some of the upper case font letters. As a result, for consistency Nsyilxcen is not capitalized as a standard. Except where ms word had the ability to autocorrect, Nsyilxcen words are in lower case.

I have not adhered to the usual style of English grammar. Nsyilxcen is my primary language and English is a second language. Also important to me was the ability to maintain the structural qualities of the “transition” English prevalent in Okanagan Syilx communities to allow greater accessibility to my community peers. The prose is closer to the structural qualities of Nsyilxcen.

Table of Contents

Preface	iii
1. Introduction	
1.1 Thesis statement	1
1.2 Personal History/Interest	5
1.3 Research Report	9
1.4 Methodology	22
1.5 Selection of Materials: Research Approach	36
2. The Syilx Okanagan	
2.1 Syilx: Historical Land Use	48
2.2 Syilx Knowledge: Indigeneity as Social Paradigm	67
2.3 Nsyilxcen Language and Meaning	74
3. Syilx Captik ^w †	
3.1 Syilx Categories of Story	90
3.1.1 World–Before–Humans	93
3.1.2 Coyote–Was–Traveling	96
3.1.3 There–Were–People–Living	99
3.1.4 Sacred Text – ʔaʔʔaʔ tə <i>captik^w†</i>	102
3.1.5 Historical Accounts or <i>Smaʔmayʔ</i>	103
3.1.6 Found By–Divine–Means or <i>Smipnumpt</i>	105
3.2 Captik ^w † and Collective Memory	106
3.3 Captik ^w † Scripts	109
3.4 Captik ^w † Story Grammars and Genre	114
3.4.1 Story Grammar in “Coyote Traveling” Story	116
3.4.2 Story Grammar and “People–Living” Story	121
3.5 Captik ^w † and Associative Networks	125
3.5.1 Associative Networks in “Before Human” Story	126
3.6 Captik ^w † and Animistic Imagery as Analog System	130
3.6.1 Imagery Analog as Captik ^w † Analogy	131
3.6.2 Imagery Analog as Captik ^w † loci	134
3.7. Captik ^w † Selected for Analysis	138
3.7.1 Transliterationization of Martin Louie Story	138

3.7.2 Children's Book Version	140
4. Analysis of Four Chiefs Captik ^w †	
4.1 Introduction	143
4.2 Culture Complex Concepts	145
4.2.1 Nsyilxcen as Syilx Mentalese	147
4.2.1.1 Concept of tmix ^w	148
4.2.1.2 Concept of tmx ^w ulax ^w	149
4.2.1.3 Concept of k'ʔəlalq ^w aʔ	150
4.2.1.4 Concept of k ^w ulncutn	151
4.2.1.5 Concept of yilyalmix ^w m	153
4.2.1.6 Concept of -nʔawqnxwix ^w	154
4.2.1.7 Concept of tʔk ^w ntis iʔ sqilts	154
4.2.2 Communing with the tmix ^w	155
4.2.2.1 The Initiative to Lead by Communing with tmix ^w	156
4.3 Syilx Philosophy of Existence	156
4.3.1 Twining/Coiling: Sustainability	160
4.4 "Chief" as Associative Network	162
4.5 Enowkinwixw as Governance Approach	164
4.6 Four Parts Repetition as Captik ^w † Tautology	165
4.7 Time Delineations in Captik ^w †	166
4.7.1 Timeframe as story script in the Four Chiefs	170
4.8 Nsyilxcen and "Active Presence" Imagery	171
4.9 Analog Imagery: Principles in Enowkinwixw	172
4.9.1 The Four Chiefs Teach Enowkinwixw	175
4.9.2 Enowkinwixw: The Syilx Dialogic Construct	178
4.9.3 Enowkinwixw: Contemporary Applications	187
4.9.3.1 Traditions: Elder Voice	190
4.9.3.2 Relations: Mother Voice	191
4.9.3.3 Applications: Father Voice	191
4.9.3.4 Innovations: Youth Voice	192
4.10 Conclusion: The Four Chiefs Story: Tutelage in Ecological Sustainability	192
5. Syilx Literature Written in English	
5.1 Introduction	194

5.2 Mourning Dove: Cogewea: The Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range	195
5.3 Eliza Jane Swalwell: Girlhood Days in the Okanagan	207
5.4 Gerry William: The Woman in the Trees	212
5.5 Catherine Jameson: Zoe and The Fawn	217
5.6 conclusion	219
6. <i>tmix^w</i> centrism: The Syilx Environmental Ethic	
6.1 The Syilx Social Paradigm	220
6.2 Comparisons of Syilx Ethics to Western Views on Environmental Ethics	221
6.2.1 Comparison to Ecocentrism as Proposed by J. Baird Callicott	221
6.2.2 Comparison to Biocentrism as Proposed by Paul Taylor	242
6.2.3 Comparison to Ethics of Place as Proposed by Daniel Berthold-Bond	256
6.2.4 Comparison to Herman Daly's Economics of Sustainable Development	262
6.2.4.1 Daly's Requirements and Syilx Traditions of Observance	274
6.2.4.2 Qualitative Improvement Requirements	277
6.2.4.3 Philosophical Clarifications on Alternative Strategies	281
6.3 <i>tmix^w</i> centrism: The Syilx Environmental Ethic	
6.3.1 Abstract	291
6.3.2 Universalisability of Syilx <i>tmix^w</i> centrism	292
6.3.3 System of Rights: Basic Social Institutions	296
6.3.4 Normative Presuppositions of Good Practice	300
6.3.5 Scope of Moral Community	303
6.3.6 Inherent Limits	306
6.3.6 Conclusion	307
7. Conclusions	
7.1 Conclusions on Syilx Oraliture	308
7.1.1 Indigenous Language as a Medium	

Conveying Indigeneity	310
7.1.2 Oral Story as Documentation System	311
7.1.3 Oraliture as Its Own Aesthetic	313
7.1.4 Indigeneity in Story Voice as Ecomimicry	314
7.1.5 Indigenous Oraliture as Environmental Ethnic Lexicon	315
7.2 tmix ^w centrism as Indigeneity	317
7.3 Relevance of tmix ^w centrism as Contemporary Environmental Ethnic	321
7.3.1 Contemporary relevance of Indigeneity as Social Paradigm	322
7.3.2 Relevance of tmix ^w centrism as a Global Force	324
7.3.3 Sustainability and Global Re-Indigenization	325
7.3.4 Implications for Indigeneity Scholars	328
7.4 Concluding Statements	329
7.4.1 Concluding Statement on Contribution to Literature	330
7.4.2 Concluding Statement on Contribution to Environmental Ethnic Discourse	332
Research Bibliography	335
Appendix 1 Bilingual Versions Four Chiefs Story	358
Appendix 2 Eliza Jane Swalwell-Out of Print Source	367
Appendix 3 Glossary of Significant Nsyilxcen Terms	375
Figure 1. Salishan Territory Map	49
Figure 2. Enowkinwixw Nested System Model	174
Figure 3. Enowkinwixw Oppositional Dynamics Model	181
Figure 4. Tmix ^w Economics of Place Model	290

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Thesis Statement

The Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic is a philosophy expressed in the practice of Indigeneity as a social paradigm. Indigeneity as a social paradigm is identified by an inter-reliant experience in the land as demonstrated in their land-use practice and shaped in the way the land's realities are observed, learned and communicated to succeeding generations. Indigeneity from that perspective is not a delineation of human ethnicity but an attainment of knowledge and wisdom as a part of the scheme of perfect self-perpetuation that nature is. Syilx Okanagan Indigeneity reflects an epistemology that optimum human self-perpetuation is not human centered but must be consistent with the optimum ability for the environment to regenerate itself.

Nsyilxcen, the Syilx Okanagan language, communicates through an "Indigenous" construction of meanings reflecting interaction in the Syilx Okanagan territory as a knowledgeable interdependent facet of the land as a self-perpetuating system. Syilx Okanagan stories, in Nsyilxcen, convey the social experience of Indigeneity as a documentation system to preserve and maintain the experience of the land. The unique qualities of Syilx oral stories, or *cap̓tik*^{w4} in the Syilx Okanagan language, evolved as a scheme addressing the concerns of memorization and communication in an oral format.

Syilx Okanagan oral story, on one level, contains essential specific environmental knowledge as an oral documentation method, while on another level, as literature, *captik^wʔ* reconstructs the ethos of interdependency specific to the ecology of the Syilx Okanagan territory through reenactment of nature's interactions. Syilx Okanagan *captik^wʔ* in the Nsyilxcen language mimics the dynamic aspects of nature's required regenerative principles. *captik^wʔ*, when communicated to each succeeding generation, acts as a feed-back loop reconstructing the social paradigm as an environmental ethic. *captik^wʔ* might be seen as a distinctly Indigenous human adaptive response scheme within a natural system. The way *captik^wʔ*, as social instruction, constructs the Syilx Okanagan world, results in behavior with a direct sustainable outcome in the environment.

Syilx Okanagan *captik^wʔ* is a distinct oral artistry utilizing a layering of meanings from within a Syilx Okanagan Indigenous context that must be read through a literary framework cognizant of Syilx Okanagan oral memory device and structure. Syilx Okanagan *captik^wʔ* device and structure articulates and mimics the Syilx Okanagan *tmx^wulax^w* or land animated by *tmix^w* – the land's life forms, referred to as “relatives”, embodying the dynamics of the interrelationship between the flora and fauna of the Okanagan land. *captik^wʔ* expresses and demonstrates a concept of *tmix^w* which translates better as *life-force*. The concept extends to the Syilx Okanagan understanding of the land as

the *tmx^wulax^w*, which translates better as a *life-force-place*, rather than of land as location or ecology type. The *tmix^w* are understood to be many strands which are continuously being bound with each other to form one strong thread coiling year after year always creating a living future.

Syilx society demonstrates an “ecological conscience” maintained as the common text of the Syilx Okanagan through *captik^w* and enacted in their social institutions in the manner theorized by respected American conservationist, Aldo Leopold, as desirable to achieve within society. The Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic, willingly practiced as an unmitigated interdependence in the reciprocity of nature, expressed an egalitarianism which held in reverence the right of each *tmix^w* to be an on-going life form in the interdependency making up the life-force of a place. The Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic places a priority value on the ability for each *tmix^w* to fully regenerate, as a moral standard to guide their behavior toward other life forms. In particular, attention to a high level of respect by the Syilx Okanagan in their interdependent utility of other life forms is understood to be necessary in order for the environment to maintain its robustness and thus provide on-going requirements for continuance. The Syilx environmental ethic, rather than a disengaged but sustainable human ethic of utility, is an unqualified willingness to live within a strict imperative to continuously sustain a unity of existence through societal knowledge and reverent

individual practice of respect toward all life-forms. The Syilx environmental ethic diverges from ecocentrism in recognizing a fundamental distinction between non-life forms and life forms in their ability for self-regeneration through interreliance with each other, as significant in delineating moral considerability between life form and place. The Syilx environmental ethic differs from biocentrism in recognizing moral considerability as resting with *tmix*^w as an on-going life form capable of regeneration within its ecology, rather than the singular biological unit. While each biological unit embodies a good to its own end in its individual life, and within that a good to the on-going regeneration of its kind, they are also a necessary good to the ends of others in the framework of interdependency. The Syilx environmental ethic also differs from the concept of the ethics of place characterized as ethical bioregional human utility of a location. *tmix*^w as *life-force* makes up the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w or *life-force-place* and the human can be “placed” as *life-force* as *tmix*^w themselves through Indigeneity as a social paradigm within a criteria of cooperating fully in the regeneration of all the life forms of a place. The Syilx environmental ethic also differs from the ethic of sustainability proposed as a steady state economic model of human utilitarianism, in the positioning of nature to be treated as capital to be prudently developed in a way that off-sets depletions of renewable and non-renewable resources focused toward meeting present and future human requirements. The Syilx Okanagan view of

economy while structurally a sustainability model, does not construct value based on human utility as the defining line in the decision-making as to which life forms will be conserved and therefore which are to be devalued and displaced.

The Syilx Okanagan relationship to land, viewed as a social paradigm and characterized as *Indigeneity* is an unqualified regenerative relationship arising out of an ethos carried in the *captik*^w and maintained through the dialogic practice of *enowkinwixw* which institutes a process of decision-making that includes living within the requirements of the land to fully regenerate. The Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic is not accidental but the result of the Syilx Okanagan view of life and way of life. The concept of Indigeneity as social paradigm frames an environmental ethic from a *tmix*^wcentric position and offers a model proposing an ethic of re-indigenization as a path to sustainability. The thesis situates the idea of a common text for human society in the form of literatures which demonstrate, imbed and advocate a regenerative land ethic toward re-indigenization of place which is widely accessible through human discourse, dialogic and story, to open a viable path toward sustainability.

1.2 Personal History and Interest:

I have the good fortune to be a fluent speaker of the Nsyilxcen language of the Syilx Okanagan people. I have lived all my life on the Penticton

Indian Reserve, one of the eight reservations of the *nsyilxcin* speaking peoples in Canada and the United States. (Mattina “Dic” 122) *nsyilxcin* is now commonly written as Nsyilxcen. I am an interpreter and translator of Nsyilxcen which is now classified as one of the critically endangered languages in North America with less than fifteen hundred speakers. I am one of very few speakers of high Nsyilxcen, which is a form of academic Nsyilxcen spoken by Chiefs, knowledge keepers and *captik*^w keepers. I have studied, practiced and professed in the Nsyilxcen knowledge systems within each of the Okanagan communities in a wide variety of capacities. I am also fortunate to have been trained as plant-medicine knowledge keeper within the Syilx knowledge system which utilizes *captik*^w, to maintain the protocols and respect required for that practice. As a result, I am a keeper of Syilx traditions and a cultural protocols teacher with formal recognition by the Chiefs and Elders in being an interpreter at the formal rites of the Syilx and in the laws of the Syilx as a *sux*^w*q*^w*aq*^w*alulax*^w–*speaker for the land* and as such I hold the highest qualification within the knowledge structure of the Syilx Okanagan.

The primary interest for the scholarly significance of my research is in the interests of the Syilx communities, toward contributing and assisting in the revitalization of the Syilx knowledge, language and traditions. Of central interest to me, as a Syilx scholar is the Syilx knowledge tradition related to environment, as contained in Syilx oral

literatures. I have dedicated my lifework to community-based research interests toward mobilizing Syilx Indigenous knowledge for the purpose of informing and revitalizing contemporary Syilx epistemology through my role at the En'owkin Centre, the Institute of Higher Learning of the Okanagan Syilx Nation. I have a formal scholarly research interest through my role as Assistant Professor in Indigenous Studies at the University of British Columbia Okanagan, to continue to expand the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge into academic study for the wider community of learners. My focus has been on the literatures and recovered environmental knowledge systems of the Syilx Okanagan People. In addition, my research interests include finding a better methodology for research related to Syilx oral literatures, as they require an approach which positions them as literary text and at the same time as historical document text sets, with applications to other academic fields. Developing a methodology that will provide greater access to the interpretation of Syilx knowledge is of scholarly research interest as well as the opportunity to contribute to a viable method for other scholars to follow. The opportunity to contribute to a wider diversity of academic disciplines associated with Indigenous Peoples provided by an interdisciplinary approach is also a scholarly objective as a result of an existing gap in similar research by other Indigenous scholars. I have established links to a wide variety of discussions on environmental concerns in my academic role, as well as in my formal

role as one of twelve ministerial appointments on the Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge subcommittee to Canada's Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC). I have an on-going interest to contribute to that dialogue. I have a scholarly and professional interest in indigenous literatures and indigenous language revitalization and a desire to contribute support, through my research, to that work. I am committed to the pursuit of an alternative in academic approach to Indigenous environmental knowledge. I am committed to the development of better access to Indigenous knowledge through Indigenous oral literatures situated as documentation systems, by constructing an approach through which to access information, data sets and unique methodologies that may assist in the struggle of Indigenous Peoples for the academic inclusion of their knowledge systems. As an example, the oral literatures of the Nsyilxcen People represent a wealth of ecology-specific and related land-knowledge that could provide meaningful contributions to local restorative and sustainability measures. In particular, greater access to Indigenous knowledge systems would expand the dialogue toward changes in perspectives and values related to the environment, to initiatives related to climate change, as well as to other discussions on the social dimension of human caused stresses to the environment.

My literary interest is also focused on the Indigenous literatures of our times that provide direction toward finding new ways in which the

old earth “story” might be reconstructed. My particular interest is focused on oral literature a vehicle conveying an environmental ethic framed as an on-going dialogic process. At the same time, I have a scholarly interest in the study of Syilx indigenous literatures as oral texts directed toward deconstructing the narrow framing of literature. In doing so, my desire is take part in the dialogue related to the task of transforming the story we tell to the people-to-be. My interest in environmental ethics arises, both from experience as insider within an Indigenous social paradigm, and from within the wider sphere of concern that contemporary society needs to develop a better environmental ethic.

1.3 Research Report

Research for this dissertation is focused, at the outset, on a literature search for documentation on the Salishan Peoples with a specific focus on the Syilx Okanagan group. Primary research centered on the customs and traditions of the Nsyilxcen speaking language group who refer to themselves as the Syilx and who are commonly referred to as the Okanagan or the Colville–Okanagan. Central to the research was to provide documented information on Syilx customs to support theory that Syilx oral story, known as *captikʷt*, is a documentation system that transfers, through its specific literary form, an indigenous environmental

ethic and as such forms the common text of the Syilx and serves to continuously construct Indigeneity as a social paradigm.

The research revealed an almost complete absence of ethnographic or other scholarly works which focused on the study of oral literatures of the Syilx Okanagan. Ethnographies that are in existence were researched and documented by other scholars from an anthropological approach and simply provide collected and summarized versions of the oral stories in English translation. While the anthropological collections provide substantial information on the occupancy, customs and practices of the Okanagan Syilx peoples, and provide a valuable resource to my thesis topic, they provide little focus on the oral stories. The stories are commonly classified as collected examples of mythology under the social norm categories of belief or religious custom. Regardless of the lack of focus on the meanings of the oral stories of the Syilx Okanagan, various anthropological collections of Syilx *cap̓tikʷ* assisted my work to differentiate categories of story and to select a story for analysis.

Charles Hill-Tout, in his ethnology of the Northern Okanagan, provided two bilingual examples in his collection of Okanagan oral stories, with the rest of his collection being summarized English versions. (Hill-Tout "Report" 130–161) Similarly, oral stories of the Okanagan, summarized in English, are also included in the ethnographical work of James Teit, in collaboration with anthropologist Frans Boas in their publication on the Salishan Peoples. (Teit 65–113) By far the most

valuable to my research are the Coyote Stories collected and translated into English, with introductory notes by Okanagan writer, Humishuma, Mourning Dove. (Dove "Coyote" 5-228) A significant body of additional stories is summarized in English versions that are available in the anthropological collection by Walter Cline, Rachel S. Commons, May Mandelbaum, Richard H. Post and L.V.W Walters edited by Leslie Spier. (Spier 197-248) A variety of stories have also been published by the Okanagan Historical Society as local anecdotal history. "Okanagan Stories and Legends" told by Josephine Shuttleworth, translated by her daughter Louise and edited by Isabel Christie, were published in individual form up to the 1940's and later were compiled by Isabel Christie, are now held in the Penticton Museum archives. (Christie yg602) A collection of Okanagan stories collected by the Colville Confederated Tribe and published by St. Mary's Mission as *Coyote and the Colville* in 1971 is also an important collected volume of stories (Yanan 4-75). The Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy collection of unpublished Okanagan stories, transcribed from the taped recordings into English by Martin Louie during the late 1960's and early 1970's, are a valuable collection. (Bouchard "Okanagan" 1-96) The Okanagan Tribal Council trilogy of Okanagan legends, first published in 1984 and republished subsequently in bilingual form was central to my thesis. (Okanagan Tribal Council 7-87) The collection of stories of Dora Noyes DeSautel, transcribed and edited by Anthony Mattina and Madeline DeSautel, proved to be a most

valuable resource to the research as a result of the linguist interlinear notes provided by Mattina. (Mattina & DeSautel 3–178)

Primary materials researched on the ethnography of Syilx Okanagan peoples, as a part of a larger Salishan Plateau and Columbia Basin grouping, provided published documentation to support oral historical information, as well as to further contextualize the customs and practice of the Syilx Okanagan people within a larger Salishan context. Journal narratives of early expeditions into Salishan speaking territories provided mostly anecdotal information of the Columbia River tribes. As an example, although the journal of Ross Cox, published in 1832, recounted his encounters with a wide variety of Plateau tribes in the region of the Columbia River, the information was insufficient for my purpose.

The historical narrative of Alexander Ross, employed from 1813 to 1825 at one of the earliest trade forts established in the Syilx Okanagan territory, was valuable. Ross married an Okanagan woman and was a speaker of the Nsyilxcen language. He provided a personalized and informative perspective of Okanagan customs and practices at early contact. (Ross 3–388)

The historical journals of George Gibbs, reporting on the Indian tribes of Washington Territory, first published in 1855, although sparse, provided historical information on a variety of the Salishan Tribes. (Gibbs 5–56) Charles Hill Tout’s report on the ethnology of the Okanagan of

British Columbia, in which the Okanagan are presented as an interior division of the Salishan, provided a valuable ethnographical perspective and excellent geographical information on the Syilx Okanagan land occupancy. (Hill Tout 5–161) James Teit, who married a Thompson Salishan woman, collected and published detailed descriptions on several of the Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau, including a valuable ethnography on the Northern Okanagan. Teit's information, which included a wealth of Nsyilxcen terms as well as information on the genealogy and kinship system of the Salishan Chiefs, was of particular value, as he was a fluent speaker of the Thompson Salish dialect and was also conversant in the Okanagan Nsyilxcen language. (Teit 198–294) Verne Ray's research on inter-areal relations among the Salishan and Columbia Basin groups was extremely valuable for supporting information on Syilx land use and occupancy as an integrated part of a larger regional Salishan peaceful confederation. (Ray 99–153) Leslie Spier edited a comprehensive collected volume by Cline, Commons, Mandelbaum, Post and Walters, obtained through Okanagan informants who were identified in the report and who provided detailed information on Okanagan worldview and practice. (Spier 9–250)

Norman Lerman's unpublished 1952–1954 field notes of his work with the Northern Okanagan held in the University of Washington was largely ethno-botanical in content and listed a variety of species in the ecology of the Okanagan in British Columbia. However, the field notes

were too general for the purposes in this thesis. With the exception of one publication on Okanagan ethnobotany by botanist Nancy Turner (Turner 1–171) in which Turner specifically refers to the practice of respect and observance toward plants, none of the sources deal specifically with dimensions of environmental ethics in any authoritative way.

In addition to primary sources on Syilx Okanagan ethnography, research in other primary sources was also critical toward providing support for context and meaning in the Nsyilxcen language. The primary research of linguists, in the documentation of an Nsyilxcen lexicon, its analysis for grammatical structure, as well as analysis and theories related to the origins of the Salishan languages, was instrumental in providing a way to corroborate meaning. The comprehensive work of linguist Aert Kuipers provided an etymological dictionary of proto-salish roots that proved an important source in documenting a long-term association of the Syilx Okanagan people to the land in the contextualizing of Syilx Indigeneity as well as in the corroboration of language and meaning. (Kuipers 3–240) The comprehensive works of linguist Anthony Mattina provided a dictionary of Okanagan–Colville language as well as to provide, in his dissertation, an analysis of the grammatical structure of the Okanagan–Colville (Nsyilxcen) language (Mattina 1–154). Mattina also provided one of the most valuable, and one of the few published collections of *cap̓tik*^w taped and transcribed

from the original teller, Dora Desautel. The stories are published in the original telling in the Nsyilxcen language and accompanied by translations into English with linguistic interlinear texts and accompanying audio CD. Mattina's introductory notes include valuable insight into translation methods as well as grammatical notes in which he discusses some of the analytical problems associated with the translation of the Nsyilxcen language into English. (Mattina, Desautel 3-178)

Primary sources researched were memoirs, historical narratives, published non-fiction and contemporary works written in English by Syilx Okanagan individuals. A primary focus was on the outstanding works of Christine Quintasket, better known as Mourning Dove. Her collection of Okanagan stories, her novel, journalist publications as well as her letters to her editor and her autobiography provided valuable insight into the way she approached *cap tik*^{w4}.

Other significant primary sources researched were directly related to analysis of oral literatures. The research included a literature search in published oral stories of the Salishan Peoples. The most informative of these included a collection of Salish myth and legend edited by Thompson and Egesdal that was informed by indigenous storytellers and linguists and spanned collections from the whole of the Interior and Coastal Salishan Territory and their various tribes. (Thompson & Egesdal 1-401). Introductory and accompanying notes in the Thompson and Egesdal collection were an excellent resource.

The literatures research also included collections of the oral stories of other language groups, in which the introductory and accompanying notes provided valuable information on critical approaches to the stories. A historical overview of myth collecting in British Columbia and an evaluation of the methods of collecting in the work of Boas, Teit, Hill-Tout and others, by Ralph Maud provided insight into varying approaches to collecting, translating and documenting. (Maud 9–209) A collection of Navajo Myth retold by Margaret Schevill Link provided a commentary by Joseph L Henderson applying a Jungian psychological method of interpretation as a way to access the mythology as hero cycles. (Link 3–201) The collection of nine Haida narrative myths by the storyteller Ghandl, which originally had been dictated and transcribed by linguist John Reed and Henry Moody, a Haida, which was later translated with extensive notes to the text by Robert Bringhurst, was extremely informative. He approached the narratives from a structural critique as narrative poetry that provided excellent examples related to oral memory devices. (Bringhurst 7–216) John C. Mohawk, a Seneca scholar, re-edited for contemporary audience a 19th century version of the Iroquois creation story dictated by Onondaga Chief John Arthur Gibson. It included an extensive forward, contextualizing the myth from both a scholarly and an insider-to-the-culture view, and was essential as a method to establish a “way of thinking”. (Mohawk i–98) The work of psychologist David C. Rubin on the way oral traditions, mostly of European origin, in ballads,

epic and rhymes are structured to serve memory, was a crucial resource in providing structural methods of analysis for oral literatures in general. (Rubin 3–328)

Secondary sources of significance to oral literatures, which were important to the research, related to perspectives that differed in view, as well as to those that offered different critical approaches to Indigenous oral literatures. Helen Jaskoski's collection of critical essays about Indigenous literatures collected in English from the period between 1630 to 1940, provided an overview of different perspectives that included an important critical essay by Martha Viehman on Mourning Dove's novel *Cogewea*. (Jaskoski vii–238) Karl Kroeber compiled and edited a collection of indigenous oral literature texts and interpretive essays which provided a variety of literary critical methods, including an approach to the narrative form as a "grammar of experience". (Kroeber 1–149)

Primary sources researched for the development of an approach to assist in bridging the disciplines of language, literature and environmental ethics, provided few sources directly linking the fields of study. The collaborative research between anthropologist Gregory Bateson and psychiatrist Jurgen Ruesch on the subject of culture and the conventions of communication and information codification, as a social matrix in operation, provided a valuable supporting perspective to the topic. (Ruesch vii–289) The views put forward by David Abram on human immersion in the world through the senses and the relation to

language, provided another approach to the link between environment and experience through the language of the senses. Abram's views, founded on recognizing the "intersubjective experience of lifeworld" which was conceptualized earlier as "phenomenology" by Edmund Husserl, and the views put forward by Maurice Merleau-Ponty situating the experiencing of *self* as the body and its senses diverging from argument which separated the two, were helpful. In particular Abram's chapters on "Animism and the Alphabet" and "Coda: Turning Inside Out" informed my approach. (Abram 1-274) Calvin Martin's research which connected the way humans speak and teach about nature to the historical changes in societal attitudes and values, added another perspective as well as to provide a useful bibliographical essay outlining his research approach. (Martin 1-152) Native American author Marilou Awiakta, in linking the modern role of Indigenous literatures to human environmental values, provided a valuable insight into an indigenous approach to environment literatures. (Awiakta 9-326)

Secondary sources, related to discussions connecting the fields of literature and environmental ethics, which could provide significant contribution to my topic were few. An excellent resource was an anthology of ideas and arguments compiled by J.J. Clark conveying the range of discussions on humans and thought related to the treatment of the natural world. Clark provided a valuable survey of source readings on the subject, from ancient traditions, to the classical period, to Judeo-

Christian–Islamic times, to the renaissance, through the age of enlightenment and the romantic period to the age of science and materialism and the twentieth century. (Clark 1–185) Another was a collection of science and nature writing in a series of arguments, essays and literature, compiled by Jerome Groopman, which provided a survey of source readings and information intended to create connections between a variety of science fields and nature, through writing. (Groopman 1–322)

Other primary research undertaken was related to examinations of different approaches to mythology that could provide a way to identify *Syilx captik* as a method of documentation and communication through mimicking nature imagery. Ernst Cassirer's research on the philosophy of symbolic forms originally published in German in 1925, and translated into English, contained three volumes on language, mythical thought and phenomenology of knowledge. The second volume, *Mythical Thought* provided distinctions of form in the conceptual language of myth. (Cassirer "Mythical" 1–261) Cassirer positioned myth as an essential modality of human thought–function in the world of the empirical reality of phenomena and in *The Phenomenology of Knowledge* situated symbolic form more toward a Kantian philosophical direction than others before him. (Cassirer "Phenomenology" 1–479) The role of mythology, generalized into the hero monomyth, as put forward by Joseph Campbell, as a prime coping function of the human psyche in the mediation of life,

provided a method of comparison essential to my research. (Campbell 3–391) His views provided a way to develop argument differentiating Syilx *captik'* outside of this field of discussion. The research of psychologist Carl G. Jung into the subconscious mind, in the theorizing of myth, symbolism and the totemism of archetypes as spontaneous productions of the psyche, also provided an important juncture of clarification and differentiation to my argument on what Syilx *captik'* is not. (Jung “Man” 9–310) The research of anthropologist Claude Levi–Strauss situating the function of myth in primitive thought as totemic classification, characterized as a system of relationship–making with nature, provided another way to differentiate and thereby clarify my argument on the role of Syilx *captik'*. (Levi–Strauss 1–269) Anthropologist Gregory Bateson’s views on mind and nature put forward that the process of mentally relating pieces of information to obtain patterns which could be characterized as “ecological tautology” was essential in framing a conceptual approach to *captik'*. (Bateson “Mind” 3–223) Mari Womack’s introduction to the anthropology of symbolism, which surveyed the variety of modern theoretical ideas in the development of the subject, is anchored in ethnographic examples which are characterized as “markers of identity”, proved of assistance in defining different ways of approaching symbol making. (Womack 1–140)

The literature search, in primary and secondary sources to assist in the construction of a framework to argue for a Syilx environmental ethic,

included research on theoretical approaches to human and environmental ethics. A collection of writing on ethics compiled by Steven M. Cahn and Peter Markie provided a selection of historical classic thought, by Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus and Epictetus, through to the medieval views of Augustine, and Aquinas, to the modern theories of Hobbs, Butler, Hume, Kant, Bentham and Mill. The collection included essential discussions of modern ethical theory including Utilitarianism, Kantianism, Egoism and Relativism, Rawls concept of justice and Feinberg's concept of rights, as well as a section of discussions on present current ethical debate including the question of animal rights. (Cahn 1-877)

An analysis provided by Daniel Berthold-Bond, regarding Hegel's arguments toward a philosophical synthesis between thought and being provided a necessary clarity within which to approach my topic. In particular his discussion in the sections "Hegel and Heidegger: The Anthropocentric Interpretation of Truth" and "Hegel's Attempted Synthesis of Anthropomorphism and Panlogism" on the concept of a *Weltgeist* or "world mind" helped to set out the parameters within which to approach the topic. (Berthold-Bond 1-161) A secondary resource in the form of a collection of essays by an international team of scholars on Kantianism edited by Paul Guyer greatly assisted my research by providing clarity on the justifications put forward by Kant for his argument that the basic principles of natural science are imposed on reality by human understanding and sensibility, and this being the case,

humans can impose their free and rational agency on the world. (Guyer 1–441) A background of principles, concepts and arguments in the fundamental questions of ethics, organized by Paul Taylor, provided essential definitions and assisted in the defining of a framework within which to situate the Syilx environmental ethic as deontological in nature. (Taylor 3–313) The collection of essays edited by Konrad Ott and Philipp Pratap Thapa outlining Greifswald’s environmental ethics provided an essential focus and foundation for my literature search in environmental ethics. (Ott 7–94) A collection of essays on ethical issues edited by Eldon Soifer, included sections on the moral status of non-human animals as well as a section on ethics and the environment, which was valuable in outlining differing perspectives related to the issue. (Soifer ix–475)

1.4 Methodology

The core of research was focused on one Indigenous group, the Syilx, from an insider position of research advantage and privilege which is available to any scholar researching materials in their own country’s language and culture rather than from an external anthropological gaze. The methodology included research to provide an overview and background on the Syilx Okanagan as a sub-group of a larger group of Salishan Peoples who share a common ancestry and indigeneity to the area of Western North America which they occupy.

The methodology included an examination of the way an orality-conscious language schema might operate within Syilx story structure. Analysis included examining root and affix morphemes for the “images” making up Nsyilxcen words, for their highly connotative content displayed through implying and associating meaning to active images or processes in nature. The methodology included situating the Okanagan Nsyilxcen Language, as an example of an “Indigenous” language that is fixed in orality and thus offers a unique way to “read” through it as a foundation to the literatures in that language. The scholarly works of Anthony Mattina on the Nsyilxcen language as well as the extensive research conducted by Aert Kuipers, on Salishan language cognates, including the Colville/Okanagan (Nsyilxcen) language were a valuable source to reinforce my assertions on the etymology of root and affix morphemes of the Nsyilxcen language.

Syilx oral story, in its primary form of orality and its correlation to oral literatures, provides a method to examine the way in which the Syilx Okanagan as an *Indigenous* society speaks *nature*. The methodology included positioning the concept of *Indigeneity* as social paradigm toward contextualizing the Syilx oral literatures. Gregory Bateson, in *Mind and Nature*, said “...Context is linked to another undefined notion called “meaning”. Without context, words and actions have no meaning at all.” (Bateson “Mind” 14–18) The context within which a Syilx environmental ethic must be viewed is from the

perspective of *Indigeneity* as the foundation to meaning in their literatures. Consequently the methodology includes an examination of the concept of *Indigeneity*. The patterns and sequences which were rooted in the speaker of pre-Columbian Nsyilxcen, and the stories which surrounded and permeated that persons being were transferred through language and *captik^wʔ*. The methodology relies on Bateson's meaning regarding context and therefore the word *captik^wʔ* is used to classify Syilx stories, because of the limitations imposed by the terms myth and legend. To examine *captik^wʔ* in the context of the Okanagan environment as the framework of an *Indigenous* oral literature, the Nsyilxcen language is positioned as *animation in the mind*, arguing that a type of *oral animation* underpins Syilx literatures.

The approach to the analysis of *captik^wʔ* was to theorize a way to access the different layers of meaning by utilizing a comprehensive methodology for critical analysis which would allow an outsider understanding by positioning arguments utilizing parallels in Western academic theory and method. The goal was to clarify how the Syilx oral texts may be approached, first, for an understanding of the texts, and second, to present how that understanding would support thesis statements on a Syilx environmental ethic. A more unified analysis method was therefore required to bridge the separate disciplines of Literature and Environmental Ethics as the guiding framework for this inquiry, rather than to create two separate research approaches.

The reasoning to use a unified approach, reflected in the decision to approach the thesis as an interdisciplinary literatures focused study, was essential to find a way to avoid limitations in research and argument if approached solely through one of the disciplines. The interdisciplinary approach also provided a way to avoid constrictions in current academia resulting from the way in which the variety of aspects related to “living systems” are splintered off for study in separate and distinct methodological specialties and fields.

Selected *cap̓tik̓* were used to focus research which would support claims in identifying Syilx *cap̓tik̓* as a method to document specific environmental dynamics and Syilx response to its requirements through literature that served as a vessel to transport forward societal attitudes toward the environment. *cap̓tik̓* in original Nsyilxcen language provided the opportunity to focus research on Syilx Okanagan concepts, attitudes and praxis in order to contextualize the experience of *Indigeneity* as a social paradigm in practice prior to contact with European cultures. The *cap̓tik̓* selected for primary reference and analysis were required to meet a criterion of reliability and authenticity. The *cap̓tik̓* would necessarily be ones that originated in oral memory prior to European contact and would also have survived into contemporary oral transmission. The stories selected would necessarily have been translated at various decades into English or into a bilingual form from the original oral Nsyilxcen and have remained an active

element of use in the normative practice of contemporary Syilx experience.

The *captik*^w selected for analysis were chosen to provide the best content on the Syilx cultural perspective and philosophy as well as on attitudes toward human utility of the environment. The primary *captik*^w for analysis was chosen for its ability to meet the criteria of reliability. It was also selected because it is a story which is central in demonstrating the dialogic template, for the contemporary practice referred to as the *enowkinwixw* process. The *enowkinwixw* dialogue process continues, in modern times, to be utilized as a process by which the Syilx perspective and philosophy can be continuously mediated into societal practice. Research is concentrated on the analysis of the Syilx *captik*^w, informally referred to as the ‘Four Chiefs story’ or ‘How Food Was Given’. *captik*^w do not have formal titles. The Four Chiefs story exists in several bilingual and English versions which provide access to the subtle differences in focus and therefore in language, provided by each version.

The analysis procedure engaged included situating the notion that the traditional Syilx everyday lifeworld demonstrated a living–systems approach to social order that could be described as a “deep ecology” practice, constructed through the on–going *enowkinwixw* societal dialogue process formulated and demonstrated in the Four Chiefs story. In using the term “deep ecology”, we apply Eldon Soifer’s characterization that “People who advocate attributing intrinsic moral value to things

independently of their impact on human lives are sometimes known as ‘deep ecologists’” (Soifer 211). To examine any aspect of Syilx Okanagan customs and traditions, in this case their oral literatures, is to be cognitive of an existing parallel between aspects of a “deep ecology” paradigm and the Syilx perspective, in particular of the concepts regarding interrelatedness with environment as an epistemology of “ecological egalitarianism” being a process mediated through societal dialogue to achieve that end.

The enowkinwixw model demonstrated in the story of the Four Chiefs, as the process for formal social dialogue, is essentially an inquiry model relying on a “natural systems” schematic of relationships. Enowkinwixw is structured in a way which requires viewing the human system as a subset of “relatedness” within the larger sphere of nature. The enowkinwixw model positions the human as having *equality of rights within nature* as a necessary value to guide decision-making thereby differentiating the model from the concept of the *equality of nature to the rights of humans*.

Ecologists Allen and Hoekstra, in their search for a unified ecology, commented that “The folk wisdom of ecology that says everything is connected to everything else, is only true in an uninteresting way, for the whole reason for doing ecological research is to find which connections are stronger and more significant than others.” (Allen 284)

A similar position is taken in the idea of Syilx oral story reflecting interrelatedness in nature, as being true only in an uninteresting way to the arguments herein, for the whole reason for research on Syilx story is to theorize that specific aspects of relatedness are significant in the Syilx environmental practice and important, therefore, to justification as an ethic. To view the process of enowkinwixw, demonstrated in the story only as a schematic of relatedness would be to ignore the main reason for enowkinwixw. The enowkinwixw dialogue process is a methodology for “deep questioning” by procedurally clarifying human connections of significance within the larger sphere of environment. As a “deep questioning” methodology it is in alignment with the perspective of the deep ecology approach described by Harold Glasser in his essay “Demystifying the Critiques of Deep Ecology”, in that the deep ecology process “should be viewed as a Gestalt where not only is the whole more than the sum of its parts, but the parts, as coevolving entities themselves, are more than *mere* parts.” (Zimmerman 2nd, 218) It is essential to the thesis that the methodology utilized, includes analyzing the story of the Four Chiefs as text with the compound function of being literature and an instructive template demonstrating the dialogic process of the Syilx as a way to insure the story’s desired ethical outcome. The methodology also considers the multiple layers of the Syilx lifeworld in terms of governance, economy, customs and traditions, to support the argument for a Syilx societal ethic. The enowkinwixw process, organized

as a natural systems dialogic model also provided a clarification and consensus building methodology foundational to the approach taken in the enquiry. Entering the broader discussion on the concept of “deep ecology” is not an intended objective in this thesis, although the model Arnie Naes advocated as a process of “deep ecological questioning” resonates with the enowkinwixw style of interdisciplinary clarification and consensus-building as an approach taken to bridge two different disciplines. (Zimmerman “Environment” 206) The enowkinwixw approach was essential in the analysis of *captik* as the oral literary expressions of a people deeply embedded in their natural world.

The modern social dialogue identified as “deep ecology” challenges fields of academic dialogue on the relationship of human society to nature, as does current science dialogue seeking a unified approach in the study of “living systems”. Physicist, Fritjof Capra views a “systems approach” as one which sees relationships and principles of organization instead of basic building blocks. As an example, from this view, he describes “wilderness” as not just comprising single trees or organisms, but as “a complex web of relationships between them”. Capra also pointed out that dissecting a system into isolated elements “either physically or theoretically” renders invisible its systemic properties. (Capra “Turning” 266) The systems view illuminated the approach required in the analysis of Syilx oral story of the Four Chiefs and the demonstration of enowkinwixw as a systems model.

Positioning *captikʷt* as a *systems view* is essential to my examination of Syilx *captikʷt* as receptacle and documentation of the Syilx knowledge of being an essential part of a living system and the basis of the resultant Syilx environmental ethic. The construction of a literary analysis methodology was required which could frame an examination of Syilx *captikʷt*, from the view that the *captikʷt* are a method to engage enowkinwixw as an on-going process of whole-society dialogue necessary to the clarification and consensus building regarding relationship to the environment. The thesis positions *captikʷt* as a process of social dialogue accomplishing the transfer of the philosophy and practices of the Syilx. The convention of *captikʷt* is a method for humans to continuously learn, understand and be guided in ways to implement the life principles required to sustain a regenerative environmental ethos in their uniqueness as an aspect of nature itself. As expressed in the Syilx language, they are a *tmixʷ-life-force*, themselves.

The methodology is constructed to provide confirmation that the Syilx environmental ethic is not based in anthropocentrism, in that it is not conditioned on Syilx utilitarian requirement, but is based on the needs of the whole “living system” of the *tmixʷ* with the Syilx seeing themselves as *tmixʷ*. The methodology required the development of a schematic template to guide examination of the existence of this understanding and its basis in Syilx oral literature. Two clarifying views are provided to model the schematic template: first, a four-part “nested-

systems model” as a view of enowkinwixw and second an equilibrium seeking “dynamic–systems model” as a view of enowkinwixw. The two models assisted in demonstrating and situating the *captik^w* as reflecting a dynamic of relationships; first, from a nested parts–to–whole view and second as an active state of equilibrium resulting from a constant flux between oppositional dynamics. The two models provide schematized representations of, first the Syilx philosophical view, and second the Syilx epistemology as a structural dialogic process necessary to “equalize” human influence in nature as a part of the *tmix^w* as environment. The first model expresses three general subsets of human influence; first *cəwilx–community* as within and part of environment, second *snaqsilx^w–extended–family* as the knowledge and education institution foundational to social organization, and third the *individual*, as the source of family and community response. The second model expresses the dialogic method of the Syilx nature tautology; that to be a *life–force*, the human must be in a process of a constant maintenance of balance through a continuous mediation of oppositional dynamics with other life forms.

To situate the Syilx environmental ethic, the methodology uses comparisons of Syilx thought with current streams of dialogue on environmental ethics. Comparisons are made to the positions representative of four distinct perspectives on environmental ethics. First, a comparison of Syilx environmental ethics with the approach put forward by J. Baird Callicott as *Ecocentrism* is undertaken. The second

comparison to the Syilx environmental ethic is with the approach to *Biocentrism* put forward by Paul Taylor. The third comparison to Syilx environmental ethics is with the concept of *Ethics of Place* put forward by Daniel Berthold-Bond. The fourth comparison to Syilx environmental ethics is with the approach to *Sustainability* put forward by Herman Daly as *Steady State Economics*. The four comparisons examine similarity and difference to the Syilx Okanagan perspective and draws conclusions about the Syilx environmental ethic in terms of articulation within contemporary ethics discourse.

The methodology included, wherever necessary, elucidation of unfamiliar aspects of Syilx culture through the general framework of accepted anthropological culture-complex features. Culture-complex features include normative identifying aspects of social structure, political organization, economic approach, religious traditions, educational practice, material resource-use customs as well as law and order procedures. The reasoning for the inclusion of information on culture-complex features in the critical analysis of *captik*^{wł} is based on agreement with Rubin that “larger units in an oral tradition are not to be understood in terms of the text in which they appear, but in terms of the entire tradition to which that text belongs.” (Rubin 24)

However, in applying the term culture-complex, the difficulties are acknowledged in the use of the term “culture” to characterize the living-system out of which *captik*^{wł} arises. Battiste and Henderson point out

that, in the field of anthropology, “defining culture as a set of shared meanings”, in the compartmentalizing and categorizing of different aspects of everyday life along patterns identified by the “classic norms of anthropological analysis” makes it extremely difficult to stand outside those visible categories “to study zones of difference within and between cultures.” (Battiste 31) For the purpose of this thesis the difficulty with the use of the term “culture” is non-problematic in that the method of analysis requires a discussion of Syilx aspects of culture—complex features unfamiliar outside of the Syilx social milieu. Employing terms such as “subsistence quest”, “religious practice”, “social structure” and “political organization”, was a necessary way to construct differentiation.

In a similar way, the concept of modern literature is steeped in a tradition that isolates methods of expression as *art* in a valuation process to determine desirability by audience more related to the ability to commoditize it. Terry Eagleton speaks about how “products of culture”, once isolated from the social function they traditionally served, to become “commodities in a market place”, begin to exist for nothing and nobody in particular” and could be rationalized as “existing entirely and consequently for themselves.” (Eagleton 8) The concept of modern literature, as constructed from the perspective of *l’art pour l’art*, shapes and influences accepted critical analysis methodologies and impacts the survival of expressions untainted by such valuation rendering largely invisible, the features of literary expression outside the confines of

criteria established to meet requirements of what constitutes literature as art. It is imperative to put forward an alternative analysis approach which does not to deconstruct modern literary critical methods, but goes beyond its conventions to add new critical methodology to reconstruct Syilx oral literatures as both a highly artistic and successful literary tradition, which is in reality a knowledge documentation system utilizing literary schemata and device to convey a deeply ecological life style.

The examination of Syilx oral literature must also reach beyond the constraints that literacy and the written text have imposed upon the idea of literature. Such an examination is required to include in its methodology, a way to examine oral literature as more than literature and instead unique as oral literature. A new term for literary conventions unique to oral transmission is put forward in order that such works can be examined in its convention of combining the dual purposes of literary artistry and as an oral knowledge documentation schema. Examination of unique aspects as Syilx oral literature is therefore central to an analysis of its messages. The thesis develops theory for the examination of Syilx oraliture which positions the use of nature mimicry as the basis for the knowledge documentation system. The utilization of memory devices such as the typecasting of nature mimicry organized as an *analog system* and the use of nature imagery as story *loci* is central to its literary artistry. The analysis framework also includes the examination of oraliture in its the use of *associative networks*, *culture scripts* and the use

of *story grammars*, as put forward by David C. Rubin, in addition to the use of more accepted literary critical analysis tools. (Rubin 23) The analysis methodology constructed for the purpose of the examination of Syilx oraliture serves both purposes of theorizing a more appropriate literary analysis process for Syilx oral literature and to achieve clarifications to support argument for a Syilx environmental ethic.

The methodology included the need to differentiate between different categories of *captik'wł*. Differentiation proposes that *captik'wł* could be categorized into four genres, albeit some stories overlap and move from one genre to another seamlessly as well as some containing aspects of two or more genre. Most *captik'wł* stories serve varying audience levels in the same delivery; however, it is different genres which serve different purposes. The purpose of outlining differences between genres of *captik'wł* is to provide a method to focus research on *captik'wł* selected from the genre specifically related to the topic of Syilx environmental ethics. Differentiation of genre is based on separating intent for the listener in the way the story works as an oral knowledge maintenance system. Differentiation of *captik'wł* by its social intent also assisted in establishing that Syilx oral literature requires reading beyond the commonly accepted casting of myth either as naïve folklore or as primitive attempts to explain the unexplainable. The argument contests the standard of defining Syilx oral literature as mythology from an

anthropological approach and instead argues for their value as being uniquely *capitak* without a suitable parallel in modern context.

The methodology included the examination of Syilx Okanagan writing, written and published in English. The selected works were examined, first for genre, approach and device unique to Syilx story method and second for the presence of the Syilx environmental ethic. Included are an analysis of the 19th century early settlement girlhood memoirs of Eliza Jane Swallow (OHS 8th 34–40) published by the Okanagan Historical Society; the novel *Cogewea*, by Mourning Dove, published at the start of the 20th century; (Dove “Cogewea” 9–302) the contemporary novel *Woman In The Trees* by Gerry William; (William 1–240) and a recent children’s book *Zoe And The Fawn* by Catherine Jamieson. (Jamieson 2–31)

1.5 Research Approach

The interdisciplinary approach taken was required to establish theory necessary to situate argument that a Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic is imparted in Syilx oral literature. The interdisciplinary approach provided a way to access the Syilx Okanagan oral literature as a feature of *Indigeneity*. Indigeneity is characterized as a social paradigm associated with a depth of lifeworld experience in nature, particularly in the way the land’s realities are communicated as the basis of societal values. Theory is developed with regard to Syilx

cap̓tik̓, as a distinct oral artistry possessing a complex layering of meanings that must be read through a particular type of literary framework. For want of a word free of assumptions associated with the term “myth”, such stories are referred to as *oraliture*. The unique literary qualities of Syilx *cap̓tik̓* are positioned as having evolved as orality-centered and as a reflection of a long-term societal knowledgeable experience of the land.

Nsyilxcen is positioned as an orality-based schema, organized in a way that facilitates collective memory transmitted through Syilx story. In *Memory in Oral Traditions* David C. Rubin examines how themes, scripts, story grammars and associative networks function in oral traditions and provides clarity regarding the necessity of understanding their use in oral tradition in his example about songs. He makes the point that, “In terms of oral traditions, a listener does not hear a song in isolation but in relation to past events, especially but not exclusively, in terms of the songs heard from that tradition.” He contends that the meanings of words and larger units in an oral tradition are to be understood in terms of the entire oral tradition to which that text belongs.” (Rubin 23–24) The same can be said of the stories of an oral tradition.

The thesis argues that the Syilx Okanagan language, as an orality-based schema, expresses the Indigenous cultural paradigm as an ethic, based in a long term association with one place. The approach taken

reflects on the way in which Nsyilxcen engenders an Indigenous construction of meanings accumulated as knowledge through millennium of judicious human interaction with one place, as an interdependent facet of it as a self-perpetuating system. *Indigeneity* is theorized, not as a delineation of human ethnicity, but rather is defined by the achievement of human knowledge and wisdom to flourish as a part-of-place in the larger scheme of perfect self-perpetuation that nature is. The knowledge contained in the Nsyilxcen language is central to the meaning-making in Syilx *cap̓tik*^{wɛ}.

The Nsyilxcen language reflects the hard won wisdom within the harshness of nature. At its core is the land knowledge that optimum human self-perpetuation is not human-centered but is expansive systemically and is conditioned by the ability for all things to regenerate as the basis for sustainability. The Syilx concept of sustainability, thus approached through *indigeneity* is not valued as occurring for or at the expense of affluence thus casting *indigeneity* as either socially tenable or untenable. In antithesis to common belief that indigenous “primitives” spent every waking moment struggling to survive, contemporary anthropologists like Marshall Sahlins, as well as historians like Calvin Martin and others have reversed this view and positioned them as the “original affluent society” of full physical health, free of anxiety and with an abundance of leisure activities. (Sahlins, 1–39) (Martin 15–20)

The argument put forward is that Syilx *captik*™ in the Nsyilxcen language mimics the dynamics of nature and embodies its universally requisite regenerative principles and communicates them to each succeeding generation. In that way *captik*™ acts as a feed-back loop reconstructing a knowledgeable regenerative ethos as social paradigm expressed as an environmental ethic in each succeeding generation. In his essay “Speaking Natures Language: Principles for Sustainability”, Fritjof Capra, describes “feed-back loops” as one of several core concepts or “principles” in general systems theory of organization which insures sustainability by maintaining “dynamic balance” through the ability of a system “to continually regulate and organize itself”. (Stone 28) In that sense, Syilx *captik*™ might be seen as a distinctly human *species-adaptive* response scheme within a natural system.

The approach taken is supportive of the assertions that indigenous oraliture of the America’s represent “those voices that speak for all the land and all the people” as Simon Ortiz outlines through his collection of essays in *Speaking for the Generations; Natives on Writing*. (Ortiz xviii) The approach calls on the extensive research by J.J. Clarke, on writing traditions across a wide variety of disciplines, cultures and time periods, representing examples of *Voices of the Earth*, as his title asserts. He suggests that “...in a very important sense, we do not *discover* the natural world but rather *construct* it...we do not experience reality direct, but rather in a form which is filtered through the lenses of

our conceptual and symbolic creations – our mythologies, sciences, philosophies, theologies, through language itself.” (Clark 3–4)

The focus of the thesis is on the way *captik*ʷʹ constructs the Syilx world. The core argument is that *captik*ʷʹ, as Syilx oraliture, on one level, moves essential specific environmental knowledge to each new generation through its role as an oral information documentation method. On another intrinsic level, through reenactments of nature’s interactions as story, *captik*ʷʹ constructs a societal ethos specific to the ecology of the Syilx territory. The intimate relationships required between all the life forms of the land, including humans, mimicked in the active images of oraliture, are transferred as a Syilx environmental ethic common to the Syilx people. Encouragement and concurrence is taken in the perspective outlined in the critique of Edward Wilson’s *Biophilia* (1984), by Katcher and Wilkens, who maintain that if biophilia is real, it is probably a “disposition to attend to the form and motion of living things” and that “cultural instruction” may be the crucial “determinant of how that general disposition is incorporated into behavior and effects the environment”. (Kellert “Biophilia”193)

The argument maintains a focus on discussions regarding *captik*ʷʹ literary text and the way story performs as an expression of the land’s requirements to shape human thought migrations over generations to speak its realities. The approach refrains from engaging

in dialogue providing justifying arguments for or against the formal term *environmental ethic* as differentiated from *human ethic*.

The approach finds reinforcement in the scholarly work of Native American writer, N. Scott Momaday, in his well-known essay, "Man Made of Words", asking the question "What is oral tradition?" In the course of answering, Momaday observes that "oral tradition suggests certain peculiarities of art and reality. Moreover, myth, legend, and lore according to our definitions of these terms, imply a separate and distinct order of reality". His view of storytelling as "a process in which man invests and preserves himself in the context of ideas" and that "the state of the human *being* is an idea, an idea which man has of himself" provides support to the approach taken. In particular, the approach agrees with Momaday's view that "literature is itself a moral view, and it is a view of morality." (Hobson 168)

The use of the word "mythology" as a way to approach and to categorize Syilx oral story is avoided in order to argue for the adoption of a better term to contextualize the oraliture of the Okanagan Syilx as a container for the transmission of the knowledge of good relationship by the human to exist as an integral part of the natural world. The position taken is that Syilx oraliture is a literary expression of ethics shaping and guiding their behavior and their interrelationship with the environment rather than being simplistic folkloric tales in the way that myth is defined, or similarly as primitive attempts to explain the unknown.

The approach finds problematic, however sympathetic, the view that defines the role of myth, as “totemic classifications” as outlined by anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. In particular the defining of such “totemics” as a “homology between two systems of differences” referring to difference between human culture and nature (Strauss “Savage” 115) in which he theorizes the metaphysical role of animals as not just a vague reverence but as procedure and narrative which acknowledges kinship and the necessity of eating. Equally contested from the Syilx perspective is the defining of myth as displaying primordial archetypes as representations of “collective thought patterns,” outlined by psychologist CG Jung, (Jung et al “Man” 75). Not as clearly argued as Strauss or Jung, Joseph Campbell’s casting of mythology and symbols as “spontaneous productions of the psyche” (Campbell 4) which posits an internally constructed response arising from the subconscious need for order, coherence or comprehension to counteract a mysterious, fearful and dangerous world, is also problematic as applying to Syilx oral story.

The approach is to construct the Syilx perspective of *captik* in the context of the role of myth for one specific group from the within their context of Indigeneity. The thesis cannot present argument to deconstruct the perspectives forwarded by each of these scholars on the role of myth as a result of the generalist approach to culture taken by each, instead of basing their assumptions on expected in-depth studies

of myth and meaning in any specific one of the many groups they liberally draw example from.

The argument is for Syilx oraliture to be read as the articulation of an in-depth knowledge of the natural world that the Syilx are a part of, as a *mimicking* of the life forms they interact with in nature. As such, the stories are animated by *relatives* embodying the land's flora and fauna, providing information and data on the dynamics and features of its ecology and terrain. The stories are preferred to remain in their Syilx definition as *captik*^w as the Syilx Okanagan definition of *captik*^w is imaged in the word as a live ember being splintered off as each storyteller carries the knowledge forward to ignite a new fire that will light up the dark.

For the Syilx, the living *tmix*^w, as the *life-force* of the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w as the *tmix*^w *place*, are also the characters that people the oral stories. The argument made is that *captik*^w expresses conceptual images of the *life-force* of the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w as many strands which are continuously being bound with others to form one strong thread coiling year after year into the future as the life force of the land. The Syilx view is that as humans, we are responsible to understand this perspective as a social and cultural imperative through *captik*^w. A Syilx *captik*^w word *k'ttə'ar*, describing the continuing motion of an unwinding bond-thread, is used to describe the unwinding of story through time as the

foundation for Syilx thought and in being within the laws of Syilx existence.

captik^w story, positioned in the context of a continuum of knowledge bound to its origins in the living things of the land illustrates how *captik*^w acts as tongue and so as organ of speech of the *tmix*^w from which it springs forward into the mouths of its human tellers. The position taken is of Syilx oraliture as being *Indigenous* as a voice of the land and a record of the way land itself established how the human, over the generations, is to speak the land's required realities. The Syilx relationship to land as a social paradigm, characterized as *Indigeneity*, is an unqualified regenerative relationship arising out of an ethos carried in the *captik*^w. The thesis argues that the Syilx society's relationship to environment communicates an "ecological conscience" (Leopold "A Sand" 243) in the manner theorized by Leopold as an "ethical obligation" (Leopold "A Sand" 251) desirable to achieve within society. Further, the relationship characterizes an unmitigated interdependence and reciprocity to nature, rather than a disengaged though sustainable human utility of resources. The thesis puts forward that to be Syilx is to live within an unqualified regenerative intent within a strict imperative to continuously sustain a unity of existence with the *tmix*^w from generation to generation, year to year, season to season, in a knowledgeable and principled way through maintaining an intimate knowledge of the land. The unique

environmental ethic of the Syilx peoples, in the particular unqualified regenerative way they occupied the Okanagan landscape for countless generations, was not accidental but the result of the language and the literatures of the Syilx, shaping the way of life which evolved both within and as a result of the ecology of the Okanagan. The environmental ethic as an indigenous identity in being Syilx was intrinsically shaped by land through stories of the land continuously residing in and informing their collective memory. The ethic practiced by the Syilx contained in the record of their knowledge of the land as *captik*^{wł} is also a means of transfer for the necessary principles and practices to understand the life-force of the land and therefore to respect all of its life-forms. The valuable imperatives embedded within Syilx *Indigeneity*, as an environmental ethic offers a way toward re-indigenization as one path to sustainability.

Syilx oraliture represents the voice of the Okanagan land and constructs in each new generation, an ethic arising out of an intimate connection between land and people. The focus of the thesis is on Syilx Okanagan oral literary text and the way Okanagan story performs as an expression of the land's requirements and shapes human thought over many generations to speak its realities. The approach asserts that Syilx culture and identity are continuously and intrinsically informed through an ethos constantly occurring in story and situated as the common text of the culture. The common text continues to

imbed a regenerative land ethic so long as the stories are told and read through the lens of the ways in which the Syilx Okanagan language is constructed.

The interdisciplinary approach taken is framed to contribute to discourse ethics by opening up another view of environmental ethics and at the same time position the assertion that *captik^wł*, as a literature for our times, is of contemporary value and significance. Through Syilx-story eyes, losing an intimate, long-term, natural relationship with the land results in an effect that silences the internal voice of the land in the particular ways nature claims and embraces its human inhabitants in its vast scheme of reciprocity and interdependence. The traditional Okanagan storyteller understands *captik^wł* to be a powerful voice, calling those within its hearing to knowledge and thereby transforming them.

An objective in taking an interdisciplinary approach is also to provide further insight into the unique features of Nsyilxcen, as an indigenous oral land-knowledge language, in the particular ways in which its oraliture is constructed to transmit an ethos of reciprocity with the land. In understanding this, the recovery and revitalization of the Nsyilxcen language and therefore the *captik^wł*, might also be valued in the reconstruction of a renewed environmental ethic among the Syilx Okanagan and others. An objective in the approach taken is also to encourage and assist in the reclaiming of other indigenous

literatures of the land, toward the theorizing and the shaping of a literature for our times based in environmental ethics.

Chapter 2: The Syilx Okanagan

2.1 Syilx: Historical Land–Use

The chapter lays foundation for understanding Syilx environmental ethics. Research presented puts forwards the argument that the Syilx environmental ethic was not a form of intuitive morality, or a form of social anthropomorphism, as is described by some as the core characteristic of hunting–gathering societies.

The social organization and subsequent land–use practices of the Syilx made them successful as a highly structured society. The Syilx society reflected an environmental ethic that institutionalized esoteric and practical methods to transfer and maintain the values associated with the egalitarian ethic which permeated their society. Examination of the social organization required to secure sustenance, security and the capacity to thrive, supports argument that the Syilx developed a highly successful model of social and environmental sustainability that resulted in a one hundred percent land regenerative model.

At contact, Salishan language speaking peoples, of which the Syilx Okanagan are one group, occupied a large territory covering vast areas of the coast of BC, the straits Islands of Southern BC stretching into the interior over the Coastal, Cascade and Selkirk mountain ranges in the south central interior plateau region of BC, and reaching down to cover

most of Washington State, all of Northern Idaho, and parts of Northern Montana. (Map, Kuipers viii)

SALISH AND NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES



figure 1

The specific Salishan language group which the thesis is focused on, the Nsyilxcen (linguistically referred as Colville–Okanagan), is associated with a vast territory of occupation which includes the Upper Nicola/Douglas lake area of the Thompson River system, the Okanagan lakes and river system, the Similkameen river valley system, the East and

West Kettle river valley systems, the Granby river system and the Arrow Lakes and Slocan river systems. In Canada, the Nsyilxcen speaking people occupy a territory covering the vast drainage area between two major mountain ranges in what is now Southern British Columbia. In the United States of America, the Nsyilxcen language speaking group also occupies vast areas extending down into what is now Northern Washington State. It includes the Methow river valley and the Sanpoil river valley systems, all draining into the Great Columbia River.

Anthony Mattina, who has focused his research on Nsyilxcen agrees with Kuipers that the

Colville–Okanagan is a language complex of the Southern Interior, flanked to the west by Columbian, and to the south and east by Spokane–Kalispel–Flathead. Further south and east is Coeur d’Alene. All of these languages belong to the Southern Interior branch of Salishan languages. Generally North of the Colville–Okanagan speaking territory are found roughly from east to west– Shuswap, Thompson, and Lillooet, forming the Northern Interior branch. (Mattina “Colville” 3)

Ethnographers in general concur through information collected, that the Salishan peoples of the Interior Plateau region, including the Nsyilxcen speaking people, at the time of early contact were a peacefully

organized people. Verne Ray, an ethnographer of the Sanpoil and Nespelem areas of the Syilx people, in his study, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America*, mentions that what is remarkable and impressive and stands out boldly over all, is the emphasis upon pacifism characterizing the central region. He also mentions that this is a very different picture than the intensive Plains type conflicts seen in the south which are not typical of the Plateau groups. (Ray 35) Ray draws from one of the earliest visitors to the Syilx territory to explain that the “historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor.” (Ray 79)(Cox 253) Walters, in his study of the social structure of the Southern Okanagan of the Syilx points out, the Syilx had evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. (Spier et al, 79) Clearly, a stable pacifist social order signifies a stable distributed system of economy and authority.

Perhaps the result of Salishan speaking peoples of the Western Plateau region of North America having originated from one ancestral culture is a high similarity in customs and traditions is shared by all. Charles Hill Tout, among other ethnographers commented that careful inquiry reveals the fact that the cultures followed so closely that of neighboring divisions that “a description of one is virtually a description of another.” (Hill Tout 133) Although ethnographers disagree on exactly how to characterize the social organization of the Salishan speaking peoples, they find commonality among all groups. Ray offers that while

units larger than the village do exist, the larger unit is invariably social or linguistic in nature through bonds of common habitat and common interests like customs, values, religion and language and insists it is never political. However, he does observe that the feeling “of unity” that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often striking. (Ray 9)

Walters ventures that since the political bond is very loose, the greatest factor in maintaining an attitude of tribal unity might probably be that of blood relationship. He rationalizes that due to the constant intermarriage and practice of polygyny, most Southern Okanagan Syilx had blood relatives in each band. (Spier 84) Ray also offers an observation that the political unit was the village since no term existed for any larger political aggregation other than a term for the more inclusive dialectic division. He observed that the members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others and that the chief of one village never answered to the chief of any other village. He goes on to identify collectives of villages acting together as bands and maintains that such a group is looked upon in the same light as a large village and is essentially “a union of domestic and peacetime order.” He cites the Southern Okanagan as an example of an expanded autonomous local group with four independent bands each with its chief and small local territory. (Ray 7–15) Walter’s study of the Southern Okanagan area of the Syilx people rationalizes that since each band is autonomous it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagan as a tribe. (Spier et al 73–87)

Ray in his attempt to present a clear picture of what he terms the “atomistic nature of political organization in the west” asserts that it is also not a passive recognition or acceptance of village autonomy, because it is strongly defended and is considered “right and proper”. (Ray 4)

Walter offers that individuals or families might fish, hunt and establish themselves in any one of the village sites belonging to an immediate band or a friendly band but must recognize the chief of that area as leader. (Spier et al 73–87)

A. L. Kroeber in his study of the Tribes of the Pacific Coast of North America made the observation that although there didn’t appear to be a political unit other than the village, that it is clear that the villages exist in a state of neutrality toward each other linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other’s ceremonies and festivals. Kroeber characterized that linking of villages, in a state of suspense of irreconcilable units, to be “like nations of the civilized world”. (Kroeber 396)

Obvious from a less biased view of the nature of political organization, is the reality that there being apparently no war culture and no constant open hostilities, the political structure of the Salishan peoples would not reflect the hierarchical, centralized authority models characteristic of conquest or defense cultures. The only available models used as the standard of comparison would be those models familiar to the anthropologist’s European social order. Political organization in any other template would simply be undervalued, misunderstood or

overlooked. Allowing that political structure does not necessarily have to be a top-down decision-making model, what becomes obvious from an analysis of the same ethnographic information, is the presence of a political structure maintaining a social order different from conquest, defense or capitalist societies. It becomes obvious that the Salishan peoples enjoyed a social order in what may be one of the largest known peacefully structured political units of cooperation, encompassing over twenty-five Salishan language groups covering a vast geographic area.

Viewed simply as cultural interaction, what is made clear is that intermarriage and inter-areal-trade formed the basis of a vast structural concord between member communities centered on the chiefs facilitating peaceful lateral cooperation between culturally diverse autonomous local units. The reinforcing of a high level of constant inter-areal trade, inter-marriage and inter-cultural exchange is observed by virtually every scholar of Salishan peoples.

Considering the type of leadership which evolved within this form of structural concord also provides insight into the type of governance required for maintaining peace in this large system of interdependent units. Verne Ray mentions that "Nowhere in the Plateau is chieftainship based upon wealth." He provides an insightful description of chieftainship among the Syilx of the Sanpoil, one of the Nsyilxcen districts, in which it is clear that the normal order of hereditary succession is son, brother or brother's son, however there is no priority

held by one son over the other. Most significant is that in the case of vacancy, the assembly selects one of those eligible by community standards of honesty, sound judgment, even temperament, and, most important of all, “skill in arbitration”. (Ray 19–20)

Ray also provides solid evidence that women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau tribes and that female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanagan and the Lakes who are both Nsyilxcen speaking. He goes on to comment, “it is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.” (Ray 24)

David Chance, whose historical research was focused primarily on the Colville–Okanagan of the Kettle Falls, documented Chieftainship as associated with inter–areal peaceful resource allocation. Chance provided a chart from 1830/31 of visiting tribes showing seven Salish tribes and two non–Salish Plateau tribes at Kettle Falls. He also provided valuable detail, on the Salmon Chief and the methods of distributions of salmon resources among his own and the great many different tribes that assembled at Kettle Falls. (Chance 18–19)

John Allan Ross, examining historical factors underpinning contemporary issues, in his study, *Factionalism on the Colville Reservation*, quotes Angelo Anastasio’s earlier extensive doctoral research, *Intergroup Relations in the Southern Plateau*, , that such peace relied on “intertribal mechanisms.” (Anastasio 91) Anastasio’s work

demonstrated that formal intertribal mechanisms regulated intergroup relations which permitted the peaceful settlement of disputes, the co-utilization of resource sites and the peaceful congregation of large multi-ethnic groups. Ross pointed out that it was the responsibility of the whole that guaranteed the welfare of persons and allowed property and gift exchange between groups and which extended kinship between ethnic groups. Ross quotes Anastasio directly in pointing out that the political structure “was not disorganized and understandable only in the perspective of each local group; rather...it had an areal organization which was flexible and shifting within a certain range of variability” (Anastasio 4) (Ross 19)

From that perspective, the political organization expressed an opposite intent to the type of political organization than that required for an imperialistic intent. The highest level of responsibility was always placed at the local level, to maintain the peaceful, cooperative order with other autonomous units of local authority in one language group progressing in a wider circle outward encompassing surrounding Salishan groups. The result was a high level of local resource control and therefore sustainability, in terms of the products and their exchange generating and requiring a wide spectrum of cultural and political diplomacy. Constant deference to local authority as the main level of governance created an intelligent structure which relied on and placed the highest value on localized specificity of resource knowledge and

responsibility as the basis of good political, economic and social interchange between neighboring units. Such a structure would necessarily be required to sustain an order in which units do not compete for the same resources but must be cooperating units. Where resources are scarce and fragile, they operate out of the *knowledge* that local autonomy is an absolute requirement for successful regeneration of local resources critical to sustain the mutual needs and benefits of each unit. The fact that an ethnographer's views are colored by imperialist political structures as the standard to be measured against does not change what their studies reveal.

To support argument that the Syilx practiced a sophisticated model of regenerative conservation practice as a result of an environmental ethic based on *ecological knowledge*, situated as comprehensive and society-wide, it is important to show that the Syilx were not a nomadic culture. Contemporary anthropology as well as past ethnographer studies characterize the Salish as semi-migratory formulated out of observations that their winter villages were permanent, while the rest of the year they were migratory. However, from a view less influenced by European perspectives, it becomes clear from examination of ethnographical information that the Syilx and indeed Salishan peoples, did not wander or rove around seasonally searching for food in the manner that is defined as a characteristic of being migratory.

Walters among other ethnographers concurs that the Syilx maintained permanent resource areas and sites which were harvested each year. The harvest areas, being in different locations were ready in different seasons, requiring dwelling-sites at each of the different harvest sites in their appropriate season. The winter village sites, located in the warmest areas of the valley floor for the winter season, were occupied about the same amount of time as each of the spring digging/gathering, summer picking/fishing and fall gathering/ hunting sites. Walters reported that at all seasons of the year, some families lived in the hills and that single families moved throughout the year at all times and that villages along the rivers had the densest populations in winter. He went on to report that the chief was always aware of the whereabouts of villagers and that four or five sites were inhabited simultaneously by one band. (Walters 87) Winter dwellings seem to be categorized as being permanent only by the criteria of having immovable structures. The fact that other dwellings were seasonally appropriate and transportable from one harvest dwelling-site to the next does not make the people migratory. People of each autonomous village knew exactly where each site was and exactly when each was ready for harvest and occupied the site for that time.

Ethnobotanist, Nancy Turner, mentions that in any given village area, the Okanagan-Colville had easy access to at least one, and more often, two or three of the major vegetation zones, and to numerous

habitats such as swamps, meadows, talus slopes, river banks and rocky outcrops. (Turner, "ethno", 5) Richard Post reported that each family went to the same general vicinity each year for hunting, fishing, or digging and almost always wintered at the same site, changing only if wood were scarce. He went on to explain that most families would go to the same hunting ground every fall and their sons would continue to do so after their fathers died. He also reported that women gathered plant foods as a group and went to much the same places year after year. (Spier et al 11–22) In a real sense, each village of the Syilx utilized and maintained permanent occupation in a huge seasonal natural garden. The garden could be thought of as being vertical, rather than flat. Harvest begins in the spring on the valley floor, then in the summer moves up to bench land and by fall up to the alpine forest level.

An undeniable fact in Okanagan Syilx territory is that many of the plant foods have extremely short harvest windows as a result of the dry interior summer heat. As a result, exact knowledge of location, when and at which altitude levels different harvests are ready is an absolute essential when travel by foot or horse is the only means available. In the same way, exact knowledge of migrating bird and fish spawning cycles in different locations at different seasons is critical. The grazing, calving and mating movement patterns of deer, moose and elk and the hibernating and life–cycles of other mammals is a crucial local knowledge resulting from long–term interaction with a specific area.

Animals, fish, roots and berries were not simply gathered without regard to their own right to exist. One of the social institutions was the requirement of observance of gratitude rituals. Ceremonial observances of gratitude maintained a system of ethical respect toward the lives of the animals, the fish, the roots and the berries in their own right. Charles Hill Tout documented that the Okanagan observed first-fruits ceremonies through prayers offered to those spirits who were supposed to preside over the operations of nature and no one would think of picking a berry or digging a root until after such a feast was held. (Hill-Tout 134) Post also reported of the Southern Okanagan that first fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot with most of the band gathered at the chief's house where he stood and spoke. (Spier et al 32) Teit reported that the Northern Okanagan "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band before berries or roots were to be picked. He reported that an offering on a bark tray was made by the chief in the band. (Teit 291) Post reported that at the first hunt the first deer brought in by each man was distributed among the people of the camp and that this was an analog of the first fruits rites for other products. (Spier et al 22) Post also reported that first-salmon ceremonies were carried on during the first four days each year that salmon were taken at a weir. (Spier et al 15).

Other more informal practice of rituals of recognition, of relatedness or animals being on the same level as humans, is a common

practice of the Syilx. Teit related a story in the Similkameen of a hunting chief, who taking off his cap, waved it toward the cliffs where the sheep were and spoke to them asking for their pity. He further reports that animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of differentially and that when a bear was killed, a mourning song was sung, called the “bear song” (Teit 291). Ethnobotanist Nancy Turner reported that medicines of all types are still treated with reverence and respect and plants are spoken to and their help requested as they are being gathered and prepared. (Turner “Ethnobotany” 150) While these practices might be attributed to an unsophisticated animistic belief system, the fact that they remain a prevailing, common and contemporary practice of Syilx harvesters, hunters and fishermen, suggests that the nature of the practice was of a deeper social purpose than ancient mysticism.

The Syilx knowledge of the requirements of system regeneration can be seen as underpinned by socially and individually institutionalized practices of respect. Ethnographic studies of the Syilx reveal evidence, visible and recognizable to European eyes, of forms of conservation practice and regulation exercised by fisheries and hunting Chiefs and village Sub-Chiefs. Their regulatory powers were law. David Chance refers to Sub-Chiefs as “subsistence governors” and makes specific explanatory reference to the Salmon Chief who supervised the distribution of fish from the main trap, and possibly the other traps, to

the women at sundown of each day. He speculates that only then would the extent of the day's catch have been known. (Chance 20)

Less visible and recognizable were other regulators like local Head Men and Head Women who determined or regulated harvest takes and decided on which harvest areas were open for roots, berries, fresh fish, birds and small mammals and decided which sites were to be left to another year. Richard Post in his research on the Southern Okanagan Syilx explained that in every village other than the village in which the chief is residing, there is a Head Man, not appointed by the chief, who directed the communal hunting and fishing of the village. (Spier et al 98) Head Men or Head Women directed local salmon harvests. Post reported that a salmon weir could be built at only a few places on the Okanagan River, with the first step being an announcement by a man or a woman, at a winter dance. From there the news was spread by speakers of the chief, whose permission had to be obtained by this Head Person, but that the trap was communal. (Spier et al 14)

Even a cursory search of oral and written records reveals similar common practices in every village and in every area of the Okanagan Syilx. Almost invisible to external eyes, however, are the many best-practice schemes as harvest practices and regulations. One of the more recently understood best-practice schemes being considered by ecologists is the use of fire for regenerative purposes. Post, among others, reported this practice among the Colville-Okanagan who were

reported to have set fire to the underbrush in the late fall which was repeated over the same territory every three years, to prevent the dead logs and underbrush from accumulating. (Spier et al 19) Contemporary oral knowledge expands the reason further. From personal observation in the Armstrong family, the grandmother, Christine Armstrong, directed the men to set forest fires in specific areas close to the Penticton village. Her clear explanation was that the importance of taking care of the land by burning was in order to feed the soil, so new growth would be provided for the deer and also increase the berries for the birds and the bears.

Common Syilx folk knowledge and lore, as well as anecdotal information on plant harvesting methods, include information on common regulatory practices which have yet to be collected, studied and analyzed for success from a scholarly view. However, observed living practices confirm that the utmost respect for plants and plant communities is a core foundational element in Syilx gathering practice. Turner, who included the Armstrong's family parents, an aunt and two uncles among her expert informants in her research, *Ethnobotany of the Okanagan*, commented that all plants, particularly those important as foods and medicines, were regarded with the utmost respect and reverence. She reported that many Okanagan-Colville legends "refer to plants in their original state and describe the circumstances of their transformation to their present form." She reports that about 130 of the

260 species of plants known to the Okanagan-Colville were used as medicines. (Turner 152-3)

Personal observations and experience of best-practices included, carrying out common field harvest practices. In the same way that European gardening wisdom is more common-folk practice, Syilx field harvest-practices are simply passed on in the field as the *best way* to do it. Without published research documenting and analyzing such practice for the purpose of opening up areas where further research on Syilx traditional knowledge is required, listed following are some of the most common best-practice methods known to most Syilx harvesters. The existence of such methods is not central to the thesis arguments.

Some general best-practice methods observed informally for different plant harvest include: counting how many to take from within a measured standing radius; measuring distances between plants to harvest; discriminating in what size they must be for harvest; measuring how big a patch must be left between patches or plots harvested; alternating one field or slope or draw from year to year; fallowing sections by poking sporadic dig holes for seeds but not taking any plants; broadcast reseeding of discarded damaged berries; ritual bush beating or shaking after harvest; seed pod beating ceremonially; protecting newly producing areas from harvest in order to strengthen growth; and selecting specific varieties and leaving other varieties in berries.

The long-term planning knowledge utilized in the practice of annual harvesting at very specific dwelling sites, as well as the indigenous gardening practices at such sites, are definitely not features of nomadic or even semi-nomadic cultures following herds or crops over vast areas to gather by chance. The argument is that these are informal and formal knowledgeable practices of local sustainability expressed through long-term occupancies and formal local authorities as regulatory measures which identify a Syilx land-use ethic.

The Syilx culture, as well as all Plateau Salish Cultures, requires a new and more informed definition clearly differentiating them from agricultural, marine, nomadic and semi-nomadic cultures. The thesis proposes that a new definition is needed to describe the political organization of a people who strongly defended local authority as a responsibility and a right to steward the environment with strong adherence to environmental law, which also provided great opportunity for individual freedoms in the philosophical expectations of self-imposed best-practices. Such a personalized level of stewardship resulting in the Syilx ethic reflected in social institutions, in political leadership and governance, is possible only through an accessible localized knowledge of the requirements of every resource on the whole territory.

The perspective of the Syilx on environment may add academic clarity to the contemporary Syilx efforts to continue to assert a strong intervention role in the assertion and exercise of stewardship within

their territory. The work to assert a stewardship role as a political jurisdiction is an expression of the on-going Syilx environmental ethic. The current state of the environment in the Okanagan is clearly in desperate need of a better human ethic. The Okanagan River is listed as the third most endangered river in Canada. The South Okanagan Similkameen is listed as a hot-spot in Canada, having an extremely high number of endangered species. The right to be Syilx is an Aboriginal right defined and guaranteed in Section 35 of the Canada Act, and is to be fully legally recognized. One desired outcome of the arguments put forward is to support the concept that the Syilx ethic expresses environmental responsibility as a right. In Nsyilxcen the idea of a right is expressed as *steʔteʔtet* –*truthway* as a freely-held rights exercised as *skc'x̣ẉx̣ẉiplatet* –*binding laws originating from the captiḳẉ* and is imposed by societal will as a responsibility of the Syilx. The responsibility is upheld as a covenant in the discipline required in holding title or entitlement within good relationship to *tmix̣ẉ* which is the environment. The *skc'x̣ẉx̣ẉiplatet* are a guide of societal laws with an expectation of an on-going knowledgeable adherence to be exercised by all Syilx. In Nsyilxcen this is what is referred to earlier as the *snter'us* –*unwinding of the continuing bond-thread* or which in the contemporary can be referred to as *inherent Indigeneity* which expresses continuous living in a way that maintains the Syilx ethic. The Syilx ethic is expressed literally by the word *snter'us* as the *bond-*

thread of lived discipline in being one of the indigenous life forms in the life-force which is environment, continuously unraveling to lead, unbroken to the future through a long-term knowledge relationship to the land. The long-term knowledge is what connects the past to the present and the present to the future in a Syilx societal ethic, so long as the Syilx assert indigeneity in their relationship with the land. The long-term knowledge is what is framed and transferred in *cap tik*^w oraliture as the Syilx perspective on environment.

2.2 Syilx Knowledge: Indigeneity as Social Paradigm

Argument in this chapter presents clarification regarding Syilx ecological knowledge and establishes a general framework through which to position *Indigeneity* as a social paradigm rather than a cultural or political differentiation. Positioning *Indigeneity* as a philosophy of a deeply ecological human relationship to the environment provides opportunity to better situate discussions on the issue of a Syilx environment ethic as being central to their knowledge transmission systems. Advancing a concept of *Indigeneity* as a social paradigm also provides a way to enter the dialogue about the paradigm shift required to arrest current trends destructive to environment. The general framework for *indigeneity* establishes a guide to the relevant aspects of Okanagan Syilx knowledge which are cognizant of the ethos and therefore an epistemology focused on regenerative land-use.

In order to clarify discussion related to the implications of *Indigeneity* as not only foundational to Syilx environmental ethics, but as an essential element of being environmentally ethical, distinction in the use of the term *Indigenous* is important. Director General of UNESCO, Fredrico Mayor defined *Indigenous* as peoples having “An immense knowledge of their environment, based on centuries of living close to nature.” (Henderson 408). Daryl Posey, instrumental in work to include maintenance of Indigenous life ways and the incorporation of their knowledge in conservation measures in the UN Convention on Biodiversity, in his essay “Indigenous Ecological Knowledge”, characterized *indigenous* as a “merger between Nature and culture so complete it is impossible to separate the two.” (Mander 27)

Well known Native American author, Paula Gunn Allen, also provides clarity in her description of the land not being the “ever-present other” which supplies the Indigenous person with a sense of I, but rather is a part of their being. As she puts it “It is ourselves” and not a matter of being close to nature. (Henderson 409) Melissa Nelson, in the introduction of *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*, states, “In this sense, our biological and psychological space is a communal ground, is a commons...we cannot be separated from these places... we become one, literally and metaphorically, with our homelands and territories.” (Nelson 10)

In 1992, at a parallel forum organized by David Suzuki in Rio de Janeiro during the Earth Summit (UNCED), I had the privilege of being on a panel with other Indigenous speakers and heard similar words spoken by Chief of the Yannomami, who had requested a few minutes to speak. In one part of his statement, translated from his Indigenous language into Spanish and then into English and paraphrased in my 1992 personal journal notes, said “You are here speaking about the damage to the jungle. Here I am. I am the jungle. I AM THE JUNGLE. It is I who you need to speak to.” (Armstrong Journal15)

Chief Yannomami’s words expressed meaning in the way the term *Indigeneity* is used for the purpose of speaking about a Syilx environmental ethic in the context of *tmix^w – life–force* of the land. Syilx *Indigeneity* describes a relationship of being in nature as *tmix^w*. The term *Indigeneity* is framed to discuss a whole–system approach to environment in order to come close to the meaning of environment in Syilx thought. The concept of *tmx^wulax^w* as *this tmix^w place* as a concept of Syilx *Indigeneity* includes the physical, psychological and philosophical dimensions of being part of a larger whole. The preciseness of images from the Okanagan ecology, formed by the nsyilxcen language, which constructs Syilx meaning in being a part of the *tmix^w*, is a direct demonstration of *Indigeneity* as a way of seeing and also a way to access Syilx thought.

For the purpose of this thesis it is important to contest and deconstruct the current and mostly political definitions of the term *Indigenous* which emerge out of the oppressive framework of systemic struggle against colonization and includes the loss of Indigenous customs, laws, jurisdiction and tenures. The various political measures used to define Indigenous peoples in order to facilitate the unfettering of resources and lands for capitalization, effectively renders invisible, the diversity and uniqueness of each Indigenous nation, just as they serve to arrest the practice of *Indigeneity*. An objective is to also thwart an anthropological designation of the term *indigenous* in correlation to delineations made through cultural profiling. Respected Indigenous scholars, Henderson and Battiste provide a crucial distinction in their statement that “We reject the concept of culture for Indigenous knowledge, heritage, and consciousness, and instead connect each Indigenous manifestation as part of a particular ecological order.” (Battiste 34)

The thesis positions *indigeneity* as a system of thought and practice and within that the concept of Syilx knowledge is framed as the basis of Okanagan *Indigeneity*. Syilx *indigeneity* is situated through a lens by which knowledge constructs a right human relationship within being *tmixʷ*.

Syilx knowledge is known as *acmistim-truths-verified/known-by-us*. The word *acmistim* is broken down from the root morpheme *mi* –

an absolute, unquestionable fact. To be classified as *acmistim* a truth is verifiable through the collective and is recognized as such by the Syilx only when proven through accurate observation. A knowledge keeper is known as *acmiscut-truth keeper*, which is a formal designation for a person who maintains concrete specific knowledge as a lifelong expertise. Persons who qualify as *acmiscut* are keepers or protectors of the integrity of what is known through strict societal procedures of acceptance as knowledge holders. An *acmiscut* practitioner of ecological knowledge of the *tmx^wulax^w* requires a sophisticated ecological knowledge combined with expert practice skills in application. The following simplified and general list of *acmiscut* related to *tmx^wulax^w* knowledge provides example and insight into Syilx *Indigeneity* as social paradigm. Areas of *acmiscut* regarding societal stratagem and religious practice are not included.

sux^wmir'rim' (*sux^w*–person *mir'im*–administers healing) is a person who knows, collects, prepares, prescribes and administers medicines derived from nature's resources as well as having human body diagnosis knowledge. A life long apprenticeship beginning in childhood and sustained over many years under a master doctor until the doctor releases the apprentice is the only way to acquire *sux^wmir'rim* or *doctor*– knowledge.

sux^wk'ʔaʃc'm –*person-looks-underneath* is one who has knowledge to interpret what cannot be seen on the surface. They can

accurately forecast short-term weather changes and seasonal anomalies as well as long-term climatic pattern shifts by *feeling* the land internally. The knowledge includes a learned mind-focus technique based on a practice of heightened sensory perception in a type of meditative state, to synthesize the multi-layered immediate sensory information over the historical information they have accumulated. One demonstrates in childhood a specific innate ability in order to be selected to learn this area of knowledge, followed by years of life practice and direct evidence of accuracy before being formally consulted as such.

sux^wacx^wl'ax^w-person-looks-at the land is a person who interprets the land as a whole in the variety of its physical features, as terrain, habitat zones and water drainage systems at any given altitude, any time of year, in any area, known or unknown, to accurately assesses the state of its resources. Most are harvester *xatus-head of* for hunting, fishing, root and berry harvests and are trained from puberty by direct relatives who are also *sux^wacx^wl'ax^w* and specialized in the way they see the land. They demonstrate ability to identify exactly what they are looking at to accurately project expected populations, yields and states of readiness.

sux^wq^waq^walulax^w-speaker-of-the land is a person whose responsibility is to voice the lands requirements and rights to the people. The land speaker is recognized to be memory-gifted from

birth and is educated by other land-speakers through accompanying them when they speak. They learn by listening to human knowledge of the land being interpreted in its variety of relationship as a process to learn how to speak for the land. They are keepers of all genre of *captik^w* including land-stories, origin-stories, and sacred-stories as well as *sma?may?-folk stories* of historical, community and individuals as well as genealogies and geographic specific information. They serve to interpret the voices of the land and its requirements through interpretation of laws, customs, protocols and required ceremonies and harvest practices. The land speakers provide the voice of *tmix^w* to all levels and sectors of village and community where land is under discussion for decisions that would affect it over the long-term.

The everyday lifeworld of the Syilx Okanagan imbeds the concept of the relationship of specific ecological knowledge to *right* behavior within society. Clear parallels to areas of western science expertise are also obvious. The importance of the integrity of information and expertise was as critical for Syilx society, as it is for any society. The highest standards possible for expert and accurate information is a fundamental necessity of any society since lives are always at stake in utilizing knowledge. The depth of interface within a specific ecology at the level of an *indigenous* environmental knowledge is a lived experience through a long-term *in-situ* relationship of people and land. The depth of specialization and knowledge qualification made

possible by living within a deeply knowledgeable and constant nature interaction is what defines the experience of *Indigeneity*.

2.3 Nsyilxcen Language and Meaning.

Nsyilxcen is an oral language indigenous to the Syilx territory and as such reflects knowledge of the nature ecology of that area. Although the thesis utilizes personal experience of being a fluent mother-tongue speaker of Nsyilxcen and teacher of the Nsyilxcen language, the thesis relies on the comprehensive research of linguists Anthony Mattina and Aert H. Kuipers, to support arguments requiring analysis of Nsyilxcen words for meaning. The Nsyilxcen language offers a unique view into the relationship that Syilx peoples maintained with nature. The words of the Nsyilxcen language can be viewed in much the same way as an artifact might be viewed. Words provide a window into the story of the *relationships* between the people and nature which in turn can be read as foundational to meaning in the orature of the Syilx language. Quality research is absent in the study of indigenous languages as a form of nature mimicry or in the study of unique aspects of orality from a systems theory analysis. Although, such study is not the objective of this thesis, the argument put forward is that because Nsyilxcen is fixed in orality, understanding the way in which meaning is being constructed and transferred, provides insight into the codification system of meanings in

the Nsyilxcen language and therefore provides insight into the Syilx worldview as constructed in Syilx oral story.

Linguistic study has established that the Nsyilxcen language emerged from a division of the family of languages known as Salishan. In his extensive work, linguist Aert H. Kuipers developed a lexicon or etymological dictionary of proto-salishan roots and affixes as morpheme cognates that occur in most Salishan languages including the Colville/Okanagan language known as Nsyilxcen. According to data collected and presented in a categorization chart of Salishan languages, an original older Salishan language is theorized to have separated into the two main divisions that over time developed into nine branches containing over twenty-five separate languages. Kuipers categorizes Okanagan-Colville (Nsyilxcen) as associated with the Interior Division and under the Southern Interior branch of Salishan languages. (Kuipers viii-2) his work assisted in the validation of a long term association by the Nsyilxcen speaking people with one area, in addition to reliance on his analysis of how Salishan words construct meaning.

At contact, Salishan language speaking peoples occupied a large territory covering vast areas of the coast of BC, the straits Islands of Southern BC stretching into the interior over the Coastal, Cascade and Selkirk mountain ranges in the south central interior plateau region of BC reaching down to cover most of Washington State, all of Northern Idaho, and parts of Northern Montana.

The Nsyilxcen language speaking group is associated with a vast territory of occupation which includes the Upper Nicola/Douglas lake area of the Thompson River System, the Okanagan lakes and river system, the Similkameen river valley system, the East and West Kettle river valley systems, the Granby river system and the Arrow Lakes and Slocan river systems. The group known in Canada as the Syilx peoples covered the vast drainage systems between two mountain ranges in what is now Southern British Columbia. The Nsyilxcen language speaking group also occupied vast areas down into what is now Northern Washington State that included the Methow river valley and the Sanpoil river valley systems draining into the Great Columbia River.

Anthony Mattina, who has focused his research on the Nsyilxcen language, agrees with Kuipers that the Colville–Okanagan people who speak Nsyilxcen is a language complex of the Southern Interior, flanked to the west by Columbian and to the south and east by the Spokane, Kalispel and Flathead languages. All of these languages belong to the Southern Interior branch of Salishan languages. Generally, north of the Colville–Okanagan (Nsyilxcen) speaking territory are found, from east to west, the Shuswap, Thompson, and Lillooet, forming the Northern Interior Salishan branch. (Mattina “Colville” 3)

Archaeological research in the Okanagan provides evidence of consistent occupation dating back approximately 12,000 BP years through successive cultural phases from the earliest post-glacial

occupation to the late prehistoric period. The archeological sequences are identified as: 8,000–12,000 BP as the Early Cultural Traditions; 6,000–8,000 BP as the Okanagan Phase; 3,000–6,000 BP as the Indian Dan Phase; 3,000–1000 as the Chilliwist Phase; 1000–Historic Period: as the Cassimer Bar Phase. Ewonus in *Okanagan Geology* described the ancient peoples of the Okanagan as the earliest occupiers of this Interior Plateau region. (Ewonus et al, 76) In a survey report of the Upper and Lower Okanagan Valley, archaeologist Garland F. Grabert provides empirical data that indicates “a convergence of traits suggesting a greater commonality of language and culture” through a “continuous thread” of traits persisting through the earlier Okanagan Phase to the later phases. Grabert also cites research presented by Robert B. Butler in a 1961 report on the Early Cultural Tradition phase in the Pacific Northwest suggesting evidence of a common origin for the regions early post glacial cultural phase as an old “Cordilleran Culture”. (Grabert 70) (Butler 1961) From characteristics of the earliest known occupation of the Okanagan valley, Grabert supports the idea that the Okanagan culture is a development of the much older Cordilleran Culture which has survived to the late prehistoric period. (Grabert 70)

The interpretation of the archaeological data appears to correspond generally to linguistic study of Salishan languages that a “branching” outward of the Salishan peoples into separate families occurred over millennia, originating from one older cultural origin. Oral tradition cited

by the Okanagan Rights Committee seems to concur. In *We Get Our Living Like Milk From the Land*, oral research specialist for the Okanagan Indian Educational Resources Society, Derickson provides the Syilx view of those changes. She explains that:

They (the Syilx) became changed through learning to live on the land. The cəpcaptik^w tell of four stages of learning that they went through..." The four stages being

"1) st'lsqilx^w, (torn from the earth...)

2) xatmaʔsqilx^w, (in front of us...)

3) sqilx^w (dreaming ones, bound together...)

4) ʔawtmasqilx^w (to struggle and/or come after...)

(Derickson 3)

It is from within this timeline and linguistic framework that the word *indigenous* is used to situate the language of the Syilx people, as a language that emerged from within and rooted in a specific place. The use of the word, *indigenous*, rather than a political designation, refers to an environmentally undistruptive association with one place, developed over many millennia by a people who shared that place as an *adaptive member* of its flora and fauna.

In seeking an approach to distinguish the methodology associated with oral documentation as a way to construct better access to meaning in the Nsyilxcen language, the process must begin by looking at aspects

of the Nsyilxcen language. Without question, the primary purpose of language is “communication” between people speaking to each other to navigate the world they are immersed in. However, a language can also be thought of as a self-contained record of the experiences of generations of its past speakers creating the most efficient ways to communicate knowledge of their learned experience within their environment. The editors of *An Introduction to Language* state that if language is to be defined only as a system of communication, then language is not unique to humans. They point out that a basic property of human language is its creative aspects as a characteristic not found in the communication systems of any other species. For the human, creating ways to convey meanings that “relate” aspects of interaction important to each other becomes “constructed into the language.” (Fromkin 5) Language in that sense is more a matter of the “structuring” of relationships. From the distinct perspective of the human, social interaction is a way to create meaning to “identify” what the human must “know”. As S.I. Hayakawa stated in *Language In Thought and Action: Language and Survival*, language is an “indispensable mechanism of human life” and is made possible by the accumulated past experiences of our species. Hayakawa spoke about the effect language has, in what he called the “Niagara of words”. He stated that a person is influenced not only by the words they hear and use but they are also influenced by their unconscious assumptions about language in the way it is used and the

way it is understood when spoken by others. These unconscious assumptions shape beliefs, prejudices, and ideals and aspirations constituting the moral and intellectual atmosphere or “semantic environment” in which the person lives. (Hayakawa 11)

In his chapter, “Information and Codification: A Philosophical Approach” presenting collaborative theory on the science of communication, anthropologist Gregory Bateson states that humans are able to categorize large areas of what they see as a *gestalten* process in human thinking that makes us believe that we are able to think about concrete objects instead of relationships. He puts forward that this belief is further fortified by the use of the language. Bateson points out that *gestalten* is dependent on identifying formal relations among external events, and that thinking in terms of “things” is “an epiphenomenon” which conceals the deeper truth that we actually only think in terms of relationships because “all knowledge of external events is derived from the relationships between them.” (Bateson 173)

In the same collaboration between anthropologist and clinical psychiatrist, in the chapter “Values, Communication, and Culture”, Jurgen Ruesch states that *communication* does not refer to verbal, explicit, and intentional transmission of messages alone, but includes all the processes in which interpersonal events take place by which people influence one another as a social matrix. He explains that the repetitive and consistent stimuli perceived and chosen by humans gradually

become stylized to shape response. He puts forward that once the response has been learned, the individual is conditioned to seek those stimuli which will elicit their learned responses and therefore he maintains that values are simply preferred channels of communication about relatedness. (Ruesch 8)

While, the perspectives taken by Hayakawa, Bateson and Ruesch are put forward for other fields of study, these points serve my purpose to develop argument for the way Nsyilxcen, as an indigenous oral language shapes and reflects values in the specific relatedness to the environment surrounding the Syilx. Presenting some aspects of the way Nsyilxcen language constructs meaning, is critical to the development of theory about the Syilx people's values, based on the *relationships* within which they are immersed and which ultimately underpin their oraliture. In undertaking the analysis of some examples of words, argument is put forward that meanings in the Nsyilxcen language are made sense of, through what could be described as an *active-image-provoking* lexicon of root and affix morphemes. Morphemes are described by linguists as the smallest unit of language that carries meaning or information about the functions which form words or are parts of a word. (O'Grady 99) The argument put forward is that the Nsyilxcen morphemes replicate active *relationships* from within the environment which underpin meanings in Syilx words and which simulate or mimic the dynamics of actual relationships in the environment, as active images in the mind. The

linguistic research by Mattina and Kuipers was a key element in supporting argument for the purpose of this thesis. The position taken is to discuss the Nsyilxcen language, from a literary scrutiny rather than to present any arguments in the etymological study of the morphology of Nsyilxcen words from a formal structural linguistic perspective.

Nsyilxcen should also be thought of as a system which displays societal techniques developed specifically for a *telling-live* transfer of knowledge as differentiated from groups that have devised writing systems to transfer knowledge to succeeding generations. Ruesch, in his chapter “Values, Communication and Culture”, puts forward research that the individual is “conditioned” through the ways in which communication works within the framework of a larger societal system. As such, he maintains that communication forms a “social matrix” resulting from the environment of the speakers in terms of the social behavior related to the environment they are immersed in. Communication as “social matrix” forms individual-to-individual links, and so links individuals to the group and the group to the wider social order directly relative to the whole of their mutual environment and thereby mutually influencing all of their behaviour. (Reusch 8) *Telling-live* communication related to Indigenous land-use, as a system of communication, can be put into the framework of a “social matrix” formed by an oral-only culture. Following the concept put forward by Reusch, the *telling-live* techniques would then be directly related to the environment and would be central to forming the

social behaviour in such a culture. Nsyilxcen as a system of *telling-live*, in the specific way it works, would necessarily reflect the social matrix of the practice of Indigeneity by the Syilx within their environment. All meaning would necessarily have reference to things and interactions within their mutual society connected with their specific environment.

Nsyilxcen, like any other language, in addition to grammar and morphology, employs structural oral communicative devices which utilize intonation, pacing, spatial indicators as well as facial and body gesture and other ways in everyday speech communication to indicate meaning in the immediate. For the purpose of this argument it is necessary to distinguish between the interactive oral functions of daily life communications between people and the overarching aspects of Nsyilxcen as a *telling-live* scheme confronted with the challenges of an oral method to hold and accurately transfer the societal knowledge critical for survival in their specific environment. Situating the characteristics of Nsyilxcen, as a *telling-live* documentation system which is organized to serve social memory assists in providing a foundational underpinning to accessing meaning and the function of their oral stories.

For the purpose of this thesis the term *orality* is used to refer to the verbal communicative devices in spoken language to differentiate it from the language's deeper structural aspects as a *telling-live* schema. Put into that framework, Nsyilxcen could also be thought of as an oral-only-conscious *grammar* in the *telling-live* function of documentation and

knowledge transfer in that all information transfer occurs in a spoken context. As such, the *telling-live* aspect of constructing meaning as it relates to the morphology of Nsyilxcen is of interest here for the purpose of research in Syilx oraliture in the way in which Nsyilxcen words *mimic* the natural world as immediate referents for meaning.

The Okanagan environment provides a commonly shared experience and a stable reliable reference bank, readily accessible to all. The society's mutual land-use interactions would illustrate sensory meaning through the use of reference imagery tied directly to that ecology and would form the basis for all forms of analogy in order to speak metaphorically and symbolically. As such, as a language, indigenous to the Okanagan, the particular ways Nsyilxcen morphology *mimics* that specific environment also informs the way that oral story is to be understood and in particular the reason oral story cannot simply be translated into English words without the *indigenous* contextualization. In that way it can be argued that Nsyilxcen employs a schema for the oral documentation of Syilx-specific observations of the environment shaped by their practices and their mutual views of their relatedness within it. From that perspective it can be seen that the Nsyilxcen language is foundational to the stimulation of Syilx *learned* values developed through the long-term evolution of a social matrix of communication specialized for response to a specific place. In that sense it is a language which speaks societal values in images and meanings necessary to that *place*.

To the Indigenous Syilx person, the Nsyilxcen language stimulates active images through root and affix morphemes, to provoke meanings containing a Syilx understanding of interactions in their surrounding environment. When spoken, Nsyilxcen words conjure up internalized fragment image references to the Okanagan environment, founded on the way the Syilx interacted with and observed it. From morphemes to words to phrases to sentences and on to stories, the spoken reflection of the relationships the Syilx selected to frame and convey meanings about, features their long-term in-depth mutual knowledge of that place and situates the mutual attitude “required” by the conditions of that environment as *learned* meanings.

In this section the main purpose is to discuss unique meaning in Syilx words as being fundamental to access Syilx oraliture, in that they must be approached through the lens of the Syilx land in active image semantics provoked by the Nsyilxcen language. To provide example, the deeper layer of meanings in several terms which are used extensively throughout this thesis, assists to demonstrate the way Nsyilxcen operates.

The word for the Okanagan/Colville language, Nsyilxcen has as its main root *syilx*. Nsyilxcen is one linguistic group identity of which *Okanagan* is actually a geographic district. The term Nsyilxcen contains a unique view of what the word indigenous might mean, when spoken in Nsyilxcen. The term demonstrates the way that Nsyilxcen constructs

meaning as a spoken-only method of communicated meaning. Nsyilxcen is made up of foundational root and affix morphemes that make up the words. It is at the morpheme level that meanings are formed of active images expressing aspects of the natural world. Root morphemes can be combined in multiple ways connecting several reference root images to make up Syilx words. In that way Syilx words seem to the speaker of Nsyilxcen to be more like short sentences. Single words are experienced in the mind like animation images when spoken, since the reference roots are based in real images in nature. It is an experience that is akin to the spoken word experience of some English words that are onomatopoeic in origin. For example the word *bubbling* conjures the image of semi round glassy shapes in motion because it has been seen and understood to be that image. Personal experience in being a bilingual speaker, allows a way to discuss the experience of Nsyilxcen words as a differentiation from the experience of words in English. Nsyilxcen words seem to instantly visually conjure a three dimensional active image as an experience of one word while most words in English seem to remain visually flat until put into a sentence form to create an active image.

The word, *Syilx*, is a root word identifying those who speak Nsyilxcen and is commonly used to identity and differentiate them from other language groups. The word itself displays a smaller active image in its root morpheme, *Yil*. That root morpheme images an action of twining or coiling like a rope, as exemplified in *kyilus—to coil as in a rope*.

Together with the prefix *s* and suffix *x*, indicating *those who*, the active image is of people who coil or twine as in a rope. The meaning could be dismissed as a self-identification as hemp-rope makers, were it not for many other words having the morpheme *yil* carrying unmistakable social references. For example, *yilmix^wm*, the Syilx word for *Chief*, has the same root morpheme *yil* combined with the root morpheme *mix^w*. The obvious connection of the Syilx word for *Chief contains* the root in the ancient word *tmix^w* which itself is used in the word *tmx^wulax^w*. The root morpheme *mix^w* is an image of many strands spreading outward from one source, for example as used in describing hair loosened from a braid in *kmix^wqn*, or as in fringing a hide in *k'^htmix^w*. The word *yilmix^wm* then becomes an active image out of the two root images.

Obvious in the word Nsyilxcen is the word *Syilx* connected to the suffix *cen*—*in the mouth*. Imaged in its parts, it should be translated as having *Syilx* in the mouth or *Syilx* emanating from the mouth. Nsyilxcen is the spoken manifestation of being *Syilx*. The implied meaning is the language of *ones who coil (something) continuously*.

From within the diminutive scope of this single word and its meaning, a perspective begins to emerge about the *Syilx*. The way Nsyilxcen words form and carry concepts can be accessed in the words *syilx* and *yilmix^wm—chief*. What is it that is being coiled? What are the many strands spreading outward to be coiled? Implied is an understating of continuous cycles, probably of nature, from person to person, season

to season, year to year and generation-to-generation as a unified movement forward. The images display an indigenous perspective of the human role within the concrete, observable and reliable patterns of nature. The words *syilx* and *yilmix^{wm}* imply the presence of the societal and the governance role in their self-identity as ones who must continuously coil many strands into a continuing unity.

In conclusion, Nsyilxcen as a *telling-live* scheme provides active images that mimic nature in communicating in the human-to-human context of work, celebration, teaching and decision-making. As the vehicle for the transfer of knowledge, Nsyilxcen also opens a way to look at what the Syilx worldview speaks, teaches and requires in human behavior and thus provides a way to contextualize their oraliture in the way they express a land ethic. As Gregory Bateson said in speaking about story in *Mind and Nature*, "Without context, words and actions have no meaning at all." (Bateson "Mind" 13)

Bateson's perspective on context provides support for the preference to use the word *captik^{wł}* to classify Syilx stories in order to avoid the limitations imposed by the terms *myth* and *legend*. *captik^{wł}* must be viewed in the context of their specialized role in communication. *captik^{wł}* are an essential part of the Syilx social matrix which formed as an Indigenous response to the land and resulted in the meaning and concept contained in words like *tmx^{włax^{wm}}* which is essential to understanding the *tmix^w* as the *life-*

force and who appear as animal characters of the stories. The land/nature images of Nsyilxcen built into the speaker of pre-Columbian Nsyilxcen and the stories which permeated that persons being were highly developed to influence social pattern and behavior as they were transferred from speaker to speaker in each generation. From this perspective, Nsyilxcen is the communication framework of the social matrix which underpins the oraliture that are examined. Nsyilxcen provides contextualization of the meanings displayed in the animism that occurs as a trope of the Syilx oraliture. The Nsyilxcen language in the same sense acts as a mechanism of reference animation in the form of images of the Syilx land which summons the characters that people the Syilx oral stories. The animated images in the stories could be understood as the thread being continuously twined with others to form one strong line of observations and understanding coiling year after year into the future as a view of the land and the indigenous human role within it. The animated images form the *snter'us-unwinding of the continuing bond-thread* which the Syilx, as human beings, are responsible to maintain into the future.

The examination of context presented by the foundational root meanings imbedded in each word in examples used provides a more informed insight into the way the Syilx communicate in relation to the environment. Nsyilxcen, from this perspective can be seen as a method to indicate exactness of meaning using direct nature referents

that are stable and provide a reliable source of constancy utterly familiar to those experiencing living in that way in that environment. . The meanings in Nsyilxcen *captik*^{wɬ} must then be examined from within that wider context that the Nsyilxcen language offers as a *telling-live* scheme. To examine the stories from within the social matrix which Nsyilxcen constructs is to glimpse the way nature informs the Syilx as animal characters which spring forward out of the mouths of the storytellers and act to inform and influence Syilx society.

Chapter 3: Syilx *captik*^{wɬ}

3.1 Syilx Categories of Story

captik^{wɬ} can be categorized into four general genres. Categorizing the stories into the general categories put forward here, is done with the understanding that the open-endedness of the oral story method allows for overlap and seamless movement from one genre to another with some stories containing aspects of two or more genre. As well, *captik*^{wɬ} are multilayered in meaning and serve different levels of audience in the same telling. The Syilx custom of storytelling is cognizant that *captik*^{wɬ} are told with all ages present and information delivered is accessed depending on the level of “knowledge” of the listener to interpret different layers of meaning. Interpretation of a story never takes place in

the telling. Interpretation and discussion on the meaning of a *captik*ʷʰ takes place only when the application of its information is being solicited for a specific purpose. Different genres of *captik*ʷʰ serve different purposes based on intent of delivery to different societal milieu. Analysis in this section is concerned with providing differentiation of *captik*ʷʰ and categorization by the purpose of the message for different social situations, rather than concern with the devices internal to each story which separate different layers of audience appreciation.

A living elder and storyteller, Andrew Joseph Sr. recently spoke at a public *captik*ʷʰ session at En'owkin Centre in February of 2007. In his introductory talk in the language, which was interpreted for the audience, he reiterated the general Syilx storytelling custom to preface the telling with the information that he preferred to tell *animal captik*ʷʰ, rather than *coyote captik*ʷʰ. He explained that this was both because of being a public occasion as well as to suit his personal role in the community. The occasion was a formal community gathering convened Nation-wide to feature Syilx storytellers. His personal role in the Syilx territory is as a traditional holder of Syilx knowledge related to the land rather than as a leader concerned with social interaction. The example illustrates the way *captik*ʷʰ are usually selected to match the conventions of Syilx social protocols. The Syilx protocols for storytelling are practiced as custom to observe the purpose of (a) formal or public gatherings; (b) informal social

occasions; (c) informal family centered gatherings; and (d) for individuals or select audience situations.

As a general rule what could be called *world-before-humans captik^w* and *sacred text captik^w* are selected to align with more formal social and ceremonial occasions. *People-were-living captik^w* and *people-were-traveling captik^w* and sometimes *coyote-traveling captik^w* are generally selected to align with the local area and local topics of informal social occasions. Family centered occasions, either out on the land or in the home, are more open to selections of *people-were-traveling captik^w* and *coyote-traveling captik^w* in which the attention to accurate detail and specific land knowledge transfers teaching results in much longer story versions and thus requires the rich entertainment value of humor, pathos and informality of subject. The selection of stories for individual or select audiences includes the selection of stories appropriate for age, gender, or specialized interests. Selection of story for individuals generally aligns with either *coyote-traveling captik^w*, as moral reminders to individuals by relating the *up-to-no-good* aspects of people that *coyote-traveling captik^w* focus on, as well as *sacred text captik^w* relating specific conventions in ceremonial rites as tutorial occasions. A condensed delineation of the general categories or genre of *captik^w* utilizing selection conventions related to social purpose is provided only for the purpose of assisting the analysis methodology required for this thesis.

3.1.1 World-Before-Humans

World-before-humans-*iluti? t̥ə t̥əlxwilx i? st̥lsqilxʷ captikʷt̥* could be loosely termed *origin* stories and are characterized by the sole presence of *captikʷt̥* beings in the world before this world, determining how things must be for humans in the-world-to-be. This genre of the *captikʷt̥* focuses the story events around a challenge that the *captikʷt̥* people must resolve through philosophical means to determine the-way-things-must-be for the coming people.

World-before-humans *captikʷt̥* are characterized by featuring specific *tmixʷ* in the form of animal, bird, plant, fish, insect or reptile as characters who people the story. Characters are never actual animals but animanized people in a time before this one. At the same time they are not humans but humanized *tmixʷ* in a world of all *tmixʷ*. As Mourning Dove explained it “They were somewhat in the form of humans, but were able to turn themselves into animals at will.” (Dove, Hines, 13) It is characteristic for storytellers to acknowledge that they are *captikʷt̥ tmixʷ* and not the individual specific animal, bird, fish or insect we see out on the land. There are no portrayals of actual birds, animals, fish or insects since *captikʷt̥* are understood to be set in a time of *captikʷt̥ tmixʷ*.

Deconstructing the Nsyilxcen terminology used to describe the time the stories refer to is extremely critical to developing a *captikʷt̥* theoretical framework for contextualizing the story world. Examinations of the

stories prefaced by the category designation, *iluti? ʔə təlaxwilx i?*
stlsqilx^w—before being severed from the earth into human form, reveal
 that these *tmix^w* are not magical or mystical deities, but exist in *captik^wʔ*
 in the true state of being *tmix^w* as a whole system. As soon as they are
 viewed in their physical or biologically separate states, their actual
 indivisible state is rendered invisible because that can be perceived only
 through a state of knowledge. Quite clearly, the *captik^wʔ* world or time is
 NATURE, in its indivisible and universal sense. The true indivisible state
 of *tmix^w* existence can only be perceived through the dynamics played
 out in physical nature as environment with its diversity of flora and fauna,
 although of course the biological entities are an aspect. From this Syilx
 point of view the idea of NATURE is that it transcends the mechanics of
 its workings, where the concept of different species disappears and all
 life forms are in one state of being, that is in a state of indivisible
 dynamics as *captik^wʔ tmix^w*. We know they are not human, but they
 speak and act as people as that is the way Syilx humans could
 understand and view *tmix^w*. As *tmix^w* they appear in *captik^wʔ* as visible
 within the human *k'ʔpaǎ—conscious thought*. *k'ʔpaǎ* from the root
 images literally means from-the-underside-of-sparking (as if creating
 flashes which makes things visible like sparking flint in the dark). In the
k'ʔpaǎ level, the human does not see *tmix^w* because humans only see
 concrete things by differentiating between things. In that severing or
 dividing the indivisible aspect of *tmix^w* into separate visible or definable

things, *tmix*^w disappears from what is perceived as concrete although through knowledge *tmix*^w is ever present although unseen.

captik^w are characterized by features of language and structure that serve to move the listener between past, present and future time as well as universal time. The words of a Syilx medicine man which were interpreted for him at a winter ceremony in which he wished to remind others of *captik*^w provide some measure of clarity here. Marylou Awiakta, author of *Selu: Seeking the Corn Mother's Wisdom* published the quotation following a keynote address titled "Entering the Canons: Our Place in World Literatures" given at the *Returning The Gift Conference* in 1993 which brought together Indigenous writers from across North America. She quoted words in my paraphrased and translated version of Syilx medicine man and elder, John Kruger who said, "We have made a mistake in saying these stories (*captik*^w) are coming from the past. We are the stories. What the story does is speak in the present and bring the past forward, so we can have a future." (Awiakta 208) If the stories are understood to be speaking in the present and we are the *captik*^w, the characters are definitely not to be viewed as magical or mystical.

The world-before-humans-*iluti? ʔə t'əlxwilx i? stlsqilx^w captik^w* is the genre from which a story was selected for analysis. Such stories require expansion on the aspect of *captik*^w time. Although, this genre is characterized as the most complex and multilayered in meaning from all other genre, they are the most studied of all other genre because these

stories are also the most well-told and well-known among all *captikʷt* genres. Most Syilx children learn these stories either in original language or in a contemporary children's book style of English. They have been translated into English, made into plays, represented in artwork, quoted by elders and are honored by being told annually in ceremonies. These *captikʷt* usually feature benevolent and lofty characters and do not contain explicit sexuality or violence. The characters are wise, serious, strong, and pure of heart and inspire higher principles. These *captikʷt* invariably portray philosophical resolve as physical triumph over the problem and set in place a way for the-people-to-be.

3.1.2 Coyote-Was-Traveling

Coyote-was-traveling-*snkʷlip* əcxʷuy tə *captikʷt*, are sharply differentiated from world-before-humans stories, in style, organization and subject. They are sometimes referred to as transformation stories, trickster stories or in Nsyilxcen as *nkʷalpayaʔ-imitator* stories. They are characterized by the dominating presence of *snkʷlip* ʔəʔ kʷisəs -*coyote transforming* the *captikʷt* world, ridding it of *nəʔnasqilxʷtn-people eaters*, by *kčʷiplaʔtn-subjecting them to law*. In doing so, *snkʷlip* turns the people eaters into harmless forms, in an individual-against-individual tension or dynamic. *snkʷlip* first appears in the world-before-humans *captikʷt* where he acquires his name and his role and is sent on his way to travel continuously to find the people-eaters.

Some *snk'lip* stories transform land into visible land *marks*, where these stories are set in, that form *captik'* landmarks. Prominent or anomalous land features serve both to portray an aspect of the story as prominent natural-world reminders to the people-to-be of the dangers to the world that individual moral weakness causes, as well as to serve as mnemonic device imbedding memory of geographical importance.

snk'lip captik' are characterized by the exaggeration of all the possible human weaknesses into one character. *snk'lip* can be expected to be foolish, cunning, greedy, egotistical, lazy, lustful, a liar, an imitator, without scruples, prone to jealousy and unreliable as well as skinny, weak, dirty, homely and mean to those weaker than he. *snk'lip* is not evil and never commits murder or commits hate violence. He just is no good, immoral, sly and devious in ways that are problematic to family, society and the environment. *snk'lip captik'* are usually extremely humorous on one level and at the same time very disturbing on a deeper level. The images of his follies are so over-dramatized that it is clear they are constructed to stick in the memory in the same mnemonic way as the geographic markers. The action of any individual doing something similar instantly triggers social recognition of the action as an *nk'alpaya?-imitator* type of action. The reminder acts to mediate social behavior through a predictable social response and consequence.

snk'lip stories invariably serve the individual to knowledgeably choose a higher moral ground through subduing their base desires, and

conducting themselves in a principled way with other individuals, family, community and the environment. All Syilx who know the *captik*^w can easily recognize all the twists and turns of being up-to-no-good in anyone as a result of this genre of *captik*^w. The result, as described by Delphine Derickson, was good government which meant “that we carry the laws inside of us...that we know how to live and act right without someone having to force us.” (Armstrong et al, 16)

snk'lip captik^w are organized in a straightforward fashion, with *snk'lip* chancing upon or deliberately going up against an *nəʔnasqilx*^w*tn-people-eating monster*. *snk'lip*'s destiny is to confront the monster, be humiliated or killed by the monster and after a long, long while, be found by Fox, his twin, to be brought back to life, and then to go on to vanquish the *st'lsqilx*^w*-people-to-be* by transforming the people-eating monster.

snk'lip isn't a hero complex figure in the classic sense, although he is highly respected in the teaching role of individual morality. *snk'lip* is revered in his Chief role for making laws for the people through exposing his follies as human weaknesses that lead to consequences. Once the folly is exposed in *snk'lip*, he then is expected to rise up to transform the evil and *kc'x'wipla?**-bind it by law* through the knowledge of its nature. Most times in the *captik*^w, the power of the monster is already manifest and already among the people. The point of the story being both the exposing of *snk'lip*'s own actions, which eventually lead to his extreme

humiliation or to his demise, as well as to situate a known evil or “monster” which is also exposed, defeated and transformed by *snk’lip*. *snk’lip* is always to be resuscitated by his good twin, admonished and sent on to pursue the monster armed with knowledge of the nature of that particular evil, as well as the knowledge of his own areas of weakness which could thwart success.

The *snk’lip* stories are typified by the use of the profane, the grotesque, the macabre, and heavily rely on indigenous equivalents of burlesque, ribaldry, exaggeration and melodrama. They are directed toward an individual’s psychology and values. Every person has experienced and struggles with any one of *snk’lip*’s weaknesses. Society is continually confronted with the manifestation of evil arising through the individual’s inability to overcome distorted and amplified forms of these weaknesses.

3.1.3 There–Were–People–Living

There–were–people–living–k^wəliwt i? sqilx^w captik^wʔ, are stories characterized by the subject of identifying overarching social principles. Human individuals in family situations within a community characterize these stories. Alternatively animals dwelling together like a human family within a human type of community are also typically engaged in a family tension or dynamic as a central theme in these stories. There–were–people–living stories are typically played out in a home setting or a

village setting where a challenge causing conflict, social disorder or danger detrimental to the group dynamic has arisen. The *kʷəliwt iʔ sqilxʷ* stories are characterized by *captikʷ* features which situate the characters as timeless and have a stereotypical quality rather than rounded or developed characters. These stories are not contextualized as having historically taken place, and are similar to contemporary fiction in that way and are differentiated from non-fiction historical stories. These stories could be categorized as morality-centered stories, which display and outline principles of appropriate social behavior in relation to family and community. These stories are straightforward in their intent to expose inappropriate social behavior and often punish the characters with severe consequences.

A sub-category of there-were-people-living stories is *there-were-people-traveling-əcxʷuy iʔ sqilxʷ captikʷ* are usually set in activities in conjunction with the hunt/fish/root/berry harvest or in traveling from one community to another to trade. The *əcxʷuy iʔ sqilxʷ captikʷ* contain a marked difference in that the organization of the stories are situated as linear accounts which are quite convoluted related to episodes on the trails between places that the characters are traveling to. The subject matter of the *əcxʷuy iʔ sqilxʷ captikʷ* varies from the mundane to the magical as the people encounter strange phenomena, challenges associated with subsistence, natural calamity, disease and different tribes. The people-were-travelling stories are unlike the

people–were–living *captik*^w, in that they contain very detailed descriptions related to specific geographic reference markers called *captk^wlulax^w* or *story marked land*. The markers act as mnemonic loci as described by Rubin, whose clinical studies demonstrate this aspect of memory device in oral traditions. The markers, which are easily identifiable as prominent physical land features, transform material to be learned into physical images in which the “items to be remembered interact with their loci.” (Rubin. 47) One simply has to conjure images of the landmarks to recall the *captik*^w and to follow a real path in which the landmarks occur to recount the story or to utilize the story as a map. Thus, these *captik*^w locations are never interchangeable from teller–to–teller to construct a colloquialism by using local geographic references in which to set a story for the region that the teller is visiting, as is the norm in other genre of *captik*^w. The paths detail maps in the mind with critical physical geographic information on weather patterns, subsistence areas associated to the places on the traveled path, occupancy sites by others, as well as methods to harvest plant foods, hunt or fish in that particular area. As well, they impart the moral principle the story is developed around. People–were–traveling *captik*^w are told over and over to children in a repetitive pattern to assist them to commit into memory detailed information on the physical geography and critical information related to the land, enfolded within interesting twists and turns of plot for moral lessons.

3.1.4 Sacred Text: *ǰaǰaǰ tǎ captikʷǵ*

Sacred text–*ǰaǰaǰ tǎ captikʷǵ* contain what could be termed *encoded* as well as *explicit* prescriptive guidelines for religious practice and their protocols. The sacred text category overlaps with, and sometimes are a cycle episode incorporated into the world–before–humans *captikʷǵ*.

These long texts are characterized by marked differences in subject and organization which require knowledge of Syilx ritual to comprehend. The *ǰaǰaǰ tǎ captikʷǵ* are dominated by the occurrence of the *tmixʷ* animal beings from the world–before–humans stories with some stories containing human beings as well as animal beings. The focuses of the stories demonstrate or originate rituals, rites and ceremonies of the Syilx, like the sweat lodge, the winter dance, or the puberty rites. They imbed specific guidelines in the use, purpose, appropriate timing and protocols of various religious accoutrements like the pipe, rattles, drums, staffs and different medicines.

The *ǰaǰaǰ tǎ captikʷǵ* do not interpret, explain or demonstrate how humans should relate to nature, but provide guidelines for religious customs and traditions of the Syilx. The guidelines in the stories are referred as the best way for the human to maintain connection to the *tmixʷ* and the best way to observe and celebrate that relationship, as *tmixʷ* themselves. The sacred text *captikʷǵ* are esoteric to the Syilx, in that practitioners of Syilx rites are required to understand their focus,

their information and their meaning. They are never recounted or discussed in any authoritative way outside of Syilx society, and do not form any part of argumentation to inform this thesis.

3.1.5 Historical Accounts or *sma?may?*

Historical accounts or *sma?may?* are differentiated entirely from *captik^{w4}* and never referred to as *captik^{w4}*. They form a separate genre of non-fiction stories which fall loosely into the following three types: Epic stories, which are usually centered on a heroic figure; accounts of significant historical events, like disaster, war, disease; and anecdotal witness events about mysterious or out-of-the-ordinary occurrences. These stories are always introduced with the word *q'sapi?*—long-ago or *pni?ci?*—at-that-time, followed by a timeframe, and is identified at the outset as *sma?may?*. The meaning is that ordinary folk are *scmayam?* *recounting, person-to-person*, a story which has become commonly known in folkloric fashion. *sma?may?* are not relied upon as fully accurate, as they are accounts passed through countless unknown persons and most times are of unknown origin or location and are about unexplainable incidents, extraordinary or heroic feats or tragic or disastrous events, and are therefore subject to exaggeration or interpretation. Sometimes they are used as a teaching tool or they are simply thought of as interesting to take note of or as something important to pass on as information. The following example of

sma?may? is from personal experience heard many times as a child from my grandmother, Christine Joseph.

This sma?may? is of a day in what is now Penticton, in the Saskatoon berry month. There were many people out in the early morning ready to go picking. They heard a sound like distant thunder which grew so loud it became deafening like a great waterfall. From the North, they saw seven objects appear and move straight across the sky and disappear over the horizon to the South in as short a time as it takes an eagle to cross the sky. They sparkled like stars though it was day and left a fog or smoke behind, that turned the sky a rose color. They were not seen since. (Armstrong memory bank)

The *sma?may?* story was one that my father had heard as a child, and that his mother had heard as a child and that her teller had heard as a child. My father was born in 1906, in the same decade the Wright brothers flew for the first time. My grandmother died in 1970 at the age of 106 years. She saw the first settlers move into our village area as a young woman. She would have been a child in the late 1860's when she was told this story by her aunt who had heard it from her parents. How long the story goes back in time is not at issue, as it is meant to

document an unexplained event and to pass it on in case it was observed again and a pattern could begin to be established for such occurrences.

3.1.6 Found By-Divine-Means or *smipnumpt*.

Smipnumpt -found-by-divine-means stories are a category of their own, sometimes referred to as prophesy or dream trance visions. However, they are not limited to foretelling the future but include recounting information or instructions received in dreams. These stories are always prefaced with exactly who it originated with, under what circumstances, and are never interchanged with any of the other categories.

The *smipnumpt* stories are highly respected and retold in as exact detail and wording as possible and are not commonly told in public. They are usually told only by spiritual leaders in select settings and are prefaced with a disclaimer by the teller that this is not something known by the teller but is *smipnumpt* and is left open to question and left to the individual to interpret as they choose.

The *smipnumpt* stories are characterized by metaphoric, symbolic as well as allegorical devices that differ substantially from all other genre. The *smipnumpt* stories are esoteric to the Syilx, and not pertinent to this thesis, except to differentiate that this category exists separate from *captik*^{w4}.

3.2 *captikʷt* and Collective Memory

A critical framework by which to analyze *captikʷt* as literature is necessary as a result of, rather than in spite of, being a documentation vessel for the collective memory of the Syilx Okanagan people. Central to the thesis is argument that Syilx collective memory, transferred through *captikʷt* is central to the Syilx social paradigm. The term *oraliture* is used to differentiate oral literature from written literatures. *captikʷt* conveys the Syilx people's inextricable connection to the natural world and is fundamental to the dissemination of the Syilx environmental ethic. Excerpts from several *captikʷt* are analyzed in this chapter to display literary structure and device characteristic of Syilx oraliture. The selected *captikʷt* excerpts are from works published in English translation or published as bilingual text in Nsyilxcen and English translation.

The approach taken is that *captikʷt* operates as a *telling-live* schema. Telling a story to live audience requires an approach considerate of the obvious human limitations for retention, cohesion, coherence and interest. A *telling-live* schema to overcome such limitations makes use of scripts, story grammars and associative networks as outlined by psychologist David C. Rubin in *Memory in Oral Traditions and the Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads and Counting Rhymes*. Rubin's view that meanings of words and larger units in an oral tradition cannot be understood solely in terms of the text in which they appear but in terms of the entire tradition to which that text belongs is

supported by his research. Rubin provides empirical study, that structural schema are utilized through several different mechanisms, including “scripts, story grammars and associative networks” as an aid to the transmission of oral memory. He also provides clarity that such schema includes their use in the entirety of the literate works of a people. (Rubin 23–24)

Analysis for scripts, story grammars and associative networks as developed by Rubin in the chapter “The Representation of Themes in Memory” (Rubin 15) provide a much needed approach in the critical analysis of *captik*^{w4} as literature and most importantly to assist analysis that *captik*^{w4} imbed specific intentions directed at the listeners. His research related to the unique properties in the use of imagery, as an orality-conscious memory aid, outlined in his chapter “Imagery and Memory” also proved valuable. (Rubin 4) In particular his concept related to imagery as analog system in the creation of analogy contained in intact scenarios, which he describes as “a movie created in the head”. (Rubin 41) In addition, the concept he outlines as a “method of loci” in which “an imaginary path of travel” referencing easy-to-image locations constructed to aid memory in the “story path” also provided a valuable critical guide. (Rubin 46–47) Rubin's study into the use of these concepts as they relate to memory in the oral traditions assists in developing theory about structure and devise in Syilx oral story as an approach

toward a more appropriate literary analysis of Syilx Okanagan and perhaps other oral literatures.

The approach taken examines Syilx oraliture for genre based on story–intent to add strength to the argument that *captikʷ* are thematically and structurally concerned with social ethics and an environmental ethic. Argument does not include a position on whether *captikʷ* are deliberately constructed for intent. Subject and content of *captikʷ* are not part of the argument related to intent. Syilx oraliture, as with any literature, contains subject and content related to all aspects of the lived experience of the Syilx Okanagan. Even a cursory analysis of content would quickly reveal a proliferation of pragmatic, as well as, pure entertainment oraliture in all areas under various themes, including geography, material culture and social custom, imbedded in the subject and content of different stories. While subject and content may be of high interest for other literary purpose, the concern was to develop theory with regard to structural and thematic literary features which assist argument that *captikʷ* is a literary method of transfer for knowledge essential to the Syilx environmental ethic. Brief analysis of samples and excerpts of *captikʷ* are given to distinguish different genre as well as to identify characteristics and types of different *captikʷ* to differentiate genre thematically concerned with environmental ethic, from other texts typical of *captikʷ*. In particular, differentiation from those thematically concerned with human social interaction and its required

ethics was essential in creating a framework of analysis of *captikʷt* for a Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic.

3.3 *captikʷt* Scripts

According to Rubin, “scripts” convey to members of that culture “a sequence of stereotypical actions that define a well known situation” which arises out of many different kinds of routine daily activities. Scripts rely on the use of common knowledge of well known situations to make inferences and set expectations in telling a story or in explaining a situation. (Rubin 24)

A sample “script” familiar to any Syilx, is that on entering a fellow Syilx member’s home, guests are always to be greeted and then to be seated politely. Food will be shared with them, and then conversation or business takes place. The sequence of actions can be counted on, as simply what takes place, even in today’s Syilx traditional homes. In traditional Syilx culture, a person simply entered a home, without waiting to be asked in, as a “home” was simply “shelter” rather than an individual “possession”. Read as a “script”, it reveals the presence of a social ethic resulting in the good sense and obligation to “share” shelter from the elements. To provide an analysis sample, the following version of a scenario from a well known *captikʷt*, excerpted from *Myth of Sinkelep the Coyote* collected by Charles Hill Tout illustrates such a script.

“Coyote was once on his travels and come at the close of day to the house of a giant, whose name was Swanaitem. He determined to spend the night here. He went in and found the giant lying on his back. He did not speak or take notice of Coyote... Presently Swanaitem got up and took two round boulders that lay at his right side and knocked them together. Immediately they began to burn like fire. He now told his people to prepare supper for their uncle, meaning Coyote...” (Hill Tout Report 140)

In this scenario, Coyote simply enters Swanaitem's home, as is the Syilx custom. That would be the expected thing to do. It needs no explanation. The expectation of this “script” is that Coyote will be politely given food and acknowledged as a relative, no matter that he is a stranger or simply a visitor entering. However, the fact that he is not “greeted” sets in place an immediate response by the audience that something is amiss and sets an introductory theme for the story to come. Individual storytellers might interchange or add elaborate or simple details by adding comments by Coyote in the attempt for acknowledgment by Swanaitem. Any extra details related to entering, being seated, given acknowledgment as a relative and being offered food could be in greater or lesser detail, or simply inferred or left out. As an example, different kinds of food items might be detailed into the story by

the storyteller. What could not be interchanged is the foundational sequence of actions of Coyote entering Swanaitem's home uninvited and Swanaitem treating him within the required politeness of a relative and giving him/her food and not "greeting" him as protocol requires. Such protocols required for visitors entering someone's home are well-known to Syilx people and are therefore "script" elements that can be used to infer or set expectations of entering without invitation and expecting a formal greeting and the sharing of food.

Rubin refers to such an expected sequence of actions as "causal chains" (Rubin 25), in that individual actions in a "script" depend on a set of actions triggered by a key starting action. In this case, it is Coyote deciding to spend the night at Swanaitem's home that sets in motion expected subsequent actions of the entering-homes "script". All the storyteller has to recall in the story is that Coyote went to Swanaitem's house. In that way oral storytellers can call up in their own fashion everyday details to richly animate the story, perhaps even reconstructing from a bare skeleton of story events, a familiar local setting. In this way, many "scripts" familiar to any human in any society, as well as those that would be unique but familiar to anyone of Syilx culture, are used as essential structural components of Syilx story to colloquialize story for that audience and to convey required elements in fewer words.

"Scripts" are valued as a device in *cap̓tik*^{W4} to set in place believable and familiar animated settings through cultural inference. In Syilx story

the use of scripts are sometimes highly oblique and require cultural literacy to read. Scripts are also widely used as devices that can be manipulated to reveal character, or to include other kinds of essential story information. The following is an example from another story which utilizes expectations generated by the entering-homes script to develop the character of both Coyote and the old man and to foreshadow that something out of the ordinary is to be expected in the story. The scenario is excerpted from *How Coyote Lost His Deer Meat and Created a Thirst*, told by Josephine Shuttleworth of the Syilx Okanagan and contained in the compiled and unpublished volume of collected newspaper and historical journal articles by Isabel Christie and held in the Penticton Museum.

“Coyote was walking along, on his way he saw a teepee smoke rising...When he went inside he saw an old man sitting with his back to the fire, making rope... ‘Ahem! Ahem!’” went Coyote. He coughed so that the old man would know he was there...then he picked up the poker and began to fix the fire, but still the old man paid no attention to him...as if he was not in the room at all the man arose from his work, took a piece of fat deer meat from one of the racks and roasted it over the fire...” Surly that is for me” thought Coyote. But the old man ate most of the meat himself, and

when he had finished he put the meat away and sat down to work again."(Christie yg602)

In this *captik*^{w4}, the use of the entering-homes script clearly relies on the audience expectation that Coyote will be acknowledged and given food. Also, as this is an English version, the teller explains Coyote's cough. The story utilizes the entering-homes script to generate two smaller cultural scripts. First, the cough infers the observance of the Syilx cultural protocol that one does not speak "at" a person, which in this case is "at" the old man's back. A person is required to signal by a cough that you are behind them and wish the person to face you and make eye contact so you may speak "to" the person once that person has acknowledged you by eye contact. The signaling-for-attention script is found in a variety of forms in many stories. Second, because the man is "old" and his back is turned, the story implies that Coyote provides for the instance that the old man may be hard-of-hearing. The Syilx cultural protocol of respect around old persons requires socially polite and unobtrusive ways to anticipate deafness, blindness, frailty and so on. This heed-for-elders script is a prominent script found in a variety of forms in *captik*^{w4} and is used in this story to reinforce Coyotes character.

The over-all result of developing Coyote's character, as an impeccably polite visitor who is observant of all possible protocols, sets a tone and an expectation of reciprocal politeness, that can then be

juxtaposed with the rude out-of-script character behavior of the old man, implying that he is not of-the-people.

The use of “scripts” as memory triggers are to be seen in their elegance as a device of few words to imply or infer expected and predictable actions and outcomes and to manipulate and set the stage for the audience in a variety of ways. “Scripts” are essential structural elements and are required to be interpreted correctly to fully understand *captik*^{wł}. Appreciating “scripts” assists in providing an intimate view of the values related to the social customs of the Syilx people. Consequently, fluency in contextualizing Syilx cultural norms is a requirement for the critical analysis and full appreciation of *captik*^{wł}.

3.4 *captik*^{wł} Story Grammars and Genre

“Story grammars”, as Rubin outlines, “divide the world into...stories and non-stories”. He defines story grammars as “global structures that operate on the story as a whole”, in that they are forms of organization in oral traditions, including thematic organization which operate to organize the story through its serial process. (Rubin 29–31) In terms of the teller and the audience, it is a given that oral story scenarios are “serial” in nature. However, maintaining coherence through the heuristic act of *listening* to the content while at the same time *realizing the intent* is a central challenge in oral story structure. The listener must build the story on actions, images and script-inferences being offered one after the

other and must be able to appreciate and incorporate each, in terms of over-all coherent content in order to be brought to the story intent.

Story grammars could be called rules or decisions which demarcate the order, placement and type of content that best achieves the intent.

For the purpose of arguing for an orality-conscious schema within which *captik*^{w4} operates, it is necessary to differentiate overarching intent from topic, subject and content. For example, stories, by structure and thematic selection of content, may generate humor, pathos or suspense to achieve that story's intent for the audience response. The manner in which the structural thematic organization achieves the intent across different topics, subject and content results in an expected approach that is recognized as genre. Hypothetically, an analysis of re-occurring structural thematic organization, which produces a recognizable approach to story, should yield an understanding of the story-grammar involved. Mystery stories for example, in the title, structure and content reveal a specific intent for the reader in the pattern that is to be anticipated in other stories of that genre. For the listener of an oral story, such "story grammar" devices provide an expectation and insight into the intent.

In examination of the story-grammars related to *captik*^{w4}, there appears to be three or perhaps four genres. Traditional oral Syilx storytellers introduce the intent or genre as an expectation for a type of

captik^w that is to follow with a simple statement that immediately identifies its intent to the listener.

The introductory statement at the beginning of a *captik*^w typically begins in the following ways:

1. “*iluti? ʔə? tʔaxwilx i? stʔsqilx*”–*not yet come out of earth those severed-people*. Such stories are commonly referred to as the world-before-humans or people-to-be stories.
2. “*k^wəliwt i? sqilx*”–*there were people living*. Such stories are in reference to human community but also do include animal people living as human community.
3. “*əcx^wu·y snkʔlip*”–*Coyote was traveling along*. Such stories are commonly referred to as Coyote Stories.
4. “*axa? ʔaʔʔa? tə captik^w*”–*this is sacred type of story*. Such stories are commonly referred to as sacred text.

The opening statements, besides setting the stage for beginning the story, acts as an opening cue for the story-grammar, leading the listener to determine which story intent to expect.

3.4.1 Story Grammar in Coyote-Traveling Stories

Typically coyote-traveling stories share a straightforward structure and theme. They are the most commonly known and told *captik*^w, and therefore most commonly appear in English collected versions. The following text with the dog-monster episode provides an example of a

typical coyote-traveling story, excerpted from "Coyote Subdues the Man-Eating Monsters", in which this scenario follows a similar episode about a horse-monster.

"Coyote continued on his journey. He had not gone far when he saw monster-dog (kika-waupa)...saw the sharp teeth...ready to eat him...Coyote ran...to a mole hole...thought of his faithful wife mole...told her to dig many underground holes...monster-dog soon uncovered Coyote...Coyote begged for time to smoke his pipe...monster dog agreed...Coyote smoked and called on his squ-stenk' powers...large stones were given him... began striking monster-dog...as he (dog) jumped over the trenches of mole, he would lose his balance and fall. Struck until he killed him (dog). From the remains...ran a small dog...Coyote...said to it...after this...you will never kill unless ill-treated...you will be the most faithful of animals that man can have...you will be owned by old men and old women whom you will fear."

(Dove "Tales" 137)

Coyote-traveling stories are referred to simply as "Coyote myths" by ethnographers. The stories typically center on Coyote as main character encountering some kind of challenge in the form of a monster, a mystery or an impossible feat. Always, the encounter will expose

undesirable personality traits of Coyote and his bold but foolish actions will lead to him being humbled. Coyote will use his special magic to gain an advantage beyond everyday ability. In some instances he succeeds and sets in place a new law and then he continues on his journey. In others, his actions inevitably lead to his demise, however, he always revives to finish the challenge, and thus he never actually is ever defeated, although he continuously loses his fights or goes amiss. In all instances of his demise, the story grammar includes that Fox, his twin, will revive Coyote, scold him for his foolishness and then Coyote will go on to take vengeance and transform his foe into a less formidable form and the future for the people-to-be is thereby secured.

As has been discussed, contrary to appearance, coyote-traveling stories do not fit the hero-complex profile in terms of triumph by good over evil. It is Coyote who is foolish, suffers defeat, humiliation and sometimes dies, precisely because of his errant ways. Coyote, as well as his foe, can be typically both good and evil and if cast simply as hero-complex, the double-sided complexity and seemingly contradictory nature of his character will lead to confusing and problematic cultural interpretations. Rather than the defeat of evil, coyote-traveling stories, act as story grammar for the transformation of mystical would-be hazards, called *nəʔnasqilx^wtn-eaters-of-people*, for the people-to-be revealing knowledge regarding human nature. The intent of the story grammar is to identify, clarify and expose behavior associated with

socially negative human traits through characteristics focused on the actions of Coyote. Societal defeat of the monsters is through knowledge and thus the transformation of those traits in the people-to-be will ensure the survival of the people-to-be. Coyote is given the unique work to travel and find the people-eaters that would be harmful to the coming humans. Coyote-traveling *captik*⁴ are therefore all referred to as the *sntr'us* –the unwinding of one string which can be sourced back to the “In the time before-humans” stories.

Thematically, coyote-traveling stories focus on and utilize Coyote's character to dramatize and carry the story forward. Central to the story are story scripts which characterize Coyote's flaws, his foolishness and his copycat ways. He brags, eats too much and is overtly sexual and totally without scruples. He is selfish, lazy and abusive to his wife and children. Because he is homely, weak and an opportunist he is always jealous of others' appearance, stature and achievements. His four magic powers, usually the only reason Coyote gains advantage, are actually his own excrement which becomes alive when he calls them out. They can become anything he imagines to assist him against his foe. Although, his imagination/excrement power gives him an advantage, he inevitably must suffer great humiliation or death for his ways before he can “transform” his foe. Coyote's wise twin, Fox, has to rescue and revive him continuously, for which he is never grateful. Coyote is the most familiar

and the best known, in terms of his character, of all the animal people of the stories.

Nobody wants to be like Coyote. However, Coyote is revered by the Syilx for having made the laws for the *xatmaʔsqilx*—*first people*. Coyote is known as Chief of all the animal people and is considered the great teacher of the Syilx people. The level of foible seen in the stories can only lead to reverence if the *captik* are received and understood in a way which results in establishing ethics observed by the Okanagan Syilx. Analysis of the story–grammar associated with Coyote–traveling stories provides insight into the role that *captik* holds within the Syilx Okanagan society. In analyzing the thematic and structural components of Coyote–traveling stories through the story–grammar, we can anticipate the utilization of satire, paradox, ribaldry as well as the macabre, as devices which powerfully deliver the “intent” to transfer knowledge of required Syilx Okanagan behavior. In the excerpted dog–monster episode, among other aspects, the ethic required for domesticated animals is visited.

Syilx ethics are referred to as *sntr’us*—*the unwinding* of the laws which are expressed in *captik*. Each story is seen by the Syilx as a string leading back to the larger story of nature upon which Syilx values are founded. Clarke in *Voices of the Earth*, examining ancient and contemporary writings about human relationship to nature, offers the perspective that “we do not discover the natural world but rather

construct it.” (Clarke 3) Conversely, the perspective that coyote–traveling *capitk* continuously “constructs” Syilx relationship to each other in each new generation is based in the Syilx knowledge of and immersion in the natural world.

3.4.2 Story Grammar and People–Were–living Stories

People–were–living stories are more complex than coyote–traveling stories in thematic and structural components. People–were–living stories, not surprisingly, are about people in life–world situations. The example provided in the following excerpt is from a typical people–were–living story collected by Marian Gould, published in an abstracted English version titled “Timtimenee; or The Island of the Dead”

“There was once a camp by a river...A handsome man...a great hunter...two children...wife was beautiful...met a very plain maiden...attracted him...took her for his wife, and put her in another tent...took most of his meat to her...first wife and children grew hungry...mother sent her son to his father...was sent back without food, and the new wife laughed...mother listened...took three deer antlers...killed children while they were asleep...last one drove into her own breast...grandmother...found them dead...then the father grieved...left the camp...came to a river in which was a large island...canoes and camps on it, but he did not see any signs

of life...became sleepy...one tent was open...woman came out...paddled across...recognized his first wife, who took him across...took him into the large tent...inside...his children's skeletons...wife too was a skeleton...looked at himself, and saw that he had no flesh. He had crossed the River of Death." (Teit 112–113)

Many people–were–living stories are long and typically contain a number of episodes or events which branch off from the main theme of the story. As expected of a people–were–living story, the example pivots around a central theme related to people in their everyday lives. In this case the theme revolves around the psychology of polygamous relationships, which were common to Syilx culture. The story–grammar intent is focused on ethical behavior required in such relationships. Although the story provides room for the storyteller to insert other story scripts, the script related to, or imbedded in polygamous relationships revolves around the tensions which are inevitable. Several other oral versions of this *captik* construct and details other expected pitfalls.

The people–were–living stories can be expected to center on the delivery of a social ethic through real–life characters and a real–life scenario. Some people–were–living stories also interchange human central characters with animal–people as central characters, including Coyote, and in rare occasions, both will appear in the same story. Sometimes the stories are very complex and long, meandering over many

landscapes and many interesting episodes while following a thematic thread through the central characters. Clearly, there are different streams imbedded in such stories related to ethics, customs and rituals, as well as instructive practical knowledge and geographic information, without concern about the line between actual reality and the story reality, since accurate historicity is not the intent. Personal experience of such storytelling provides insight. In the delivery of such people–were–living stories containing outrageous supernatural events, the storyteller usually stops and mentions, in an aside to the audience, “aḥi? axa? *captik*” – *for this is a captik*.

Many of the people–were–living stories also utilize animal–people as characters. They typically embody and combine the well–known characteristic nature of specific animals, birds and insects with the different personality types of humans, to achieve “scripts” which can infer and imply different kinds of human action and interaction. Some of these well–known story figures, including Coyote, reappear in many stories and can be thought of as a parallel to western literary archetype figures. The following example is excerpted from the story *Chipmunk and Owl Woman*. Chipmunk is the vulnerable child, Rabbit is the fearful grandmother and Meadowlark is the eternal untrustworthy exploiter of misfortune.

“Kots–se–we–ah–Chipmunk was a little girl. Lived with her grandmother... Chipmunk picked berries. Standing under

the bush was Owl Woman... cunning...said... "Kots-se-we-ah, your father wants you" ... "I have no father"... "Your mother wants you"... My mother died many snows ago"... "Your grandma wants you"... "I will not come down unless you hide your eyes"... Owl Woman pretended but she left a small space... Chipmunk... jumped over Owl Woman's head... Owl Woman reached for her... clawed down Chipmunk's back... Chipmunk ran and ran... reached home... grandmother... tried to hide her... then they heard a voice... the voice of Wy-wetz-kula-the tattler— Meadowlark... "Two little oyster shells hide her in"... knowing Meadowlark was a tattler, she took off her necklace and threw it to the singer. Owl Woman came along... "where is the child"... looked everywhere... turned to leave... just then Meadowlark... sang... "I will tell you if you pay me"... Owl Woman hurried outside and threw a bright yellow vest to the Tattler, who put it on and sang "Two little oyster shells, take her out". (Dove "Coyote" 49-59)

In discussing another similar story, by Dora Noyes Desautel, in her version of "Two Girls and Their Uncle" in his collection of eight of her *captik* published in Nsyilxcen and English, editor and linguist Anthony Mattina comments that this is a story which comes close to what scholars

have called “a cycle or a complex of myths” found in a particular culture. He further suggests that typical of such complexes is that “episodes have neither a fixed order nor specific endings or beginnings” although one can recognize a number of well-known such episodes that are “cognate with various other Colville Okanagan narratives.” (Mattina & DeSautel 22) Whether similarities between different episodes are referred to as a “cycle or a complex” which appear across a variety of stories, the point is that the expected characteristic nature of the animal characters form a constant within the story-grammar.

3.5 *capṭikʷt* and Associative Networks

Another level of complexity can be displayed related to story-grammars in *capṭikʷt* through the use of “associative networks” as outlined by Rubin. Supported by empirical study in the use of “associations” in developing “schema”, Rubin describes a process of learning prototypes by recognizing a whole from only a subset of its parts. Rubin explains that oral story traditions utilize such “schema” to “account for stability of meaning” and not so much for the stability of wording although there is also considerable stability in form and in the exact words. It is a way to allow flexibility within a system that maintains stability.” (Rubin 33–35). This is true of the way Syilx utilize “associative networks” to employ a stability of meaning which then can deliver the appropriate intent.

3.5.1 Associative networks in “Before Human” Stories

Typically, before-humans stories differ in intent and therefore theme from people-were-living stories. The best known *iluti? ʔəʔ tʔlaxwilx i? stʔsqilxʷ*—before People-to-be captikʷʔ, is the “The Great Spirit Names the Animal People: How Coyote Came by His Power” told by Mourning Dove and edited by Donald Hines. (Dove “Tales” 61) In that version the animals are “named” by the Great Spirit and given “jobs” and Coyote is specifically selected to take the role of “transforming” monsters” so that the *stʔsqilxʷ* could survive. Sometimes these stories are referred to as origin-stories by historians and ethnographers. Before people-to-be” stories are as highly complex in terms of structure and thematic intent as the “People-living” stories.

An example of this is provided in examining the characters of Raven and Magpie from the following story excerpt from, Dora Noyes DeSautel’s version of *Two Girls and Their Uncle*. (Bracketed identifiers are inserted to provide prior context)

Nobody (in the village) can kill deer. No. Little rabbit killed a little one, but the others nothing. They are starving. They (little rabbit family) dried deer, fat, anything, the fat on the rump...And then Magpie came. She said “he (little rabbit) is wheeling something made of tallow. She pecked it and then his (little rabbit) mother ran over there and whacked her on the head...Said to her (Magpie) “don’t hide out there I might

hurt you...come in, I will feed you. She (little rabbit's mother) gave her (Magpie) some meat. Magpie went back...she has four children...she puts in their hands something to eat. And one of them said, "Yours is black, mine is white." My and they cried... Raven ran in and took it from them. Then he went away and fed his children...The mother told them "be quiet, don't holler, and eat...She put it in their hands. "Oh mine is white and yours is black!" Raven ran back in, took it away from them and left again." (Mattina & DeSautel 17).

The noisy scavenger Raven is easily used to "characterize" those who are always watching and waiting for opportunities to boldly grab "food" away from others for themselves. "Raveness" could then be easily called on to illustrate that kind of despised and self-centered behavior in a society which has learned that the best approach to survival might be to place value on the equality of access and distribution of resources and to devalue "Raveness" characteristics within community. The many possibilities of "Raveness" *in situ*, in common human interaction, conjures the need for a story-raven. The subsequent associative cues related to Raven-behavior in the natural world are a recognizable template for adopting associations that would be instantly discerned and known by all Syilx. Nature itself provides the stability of characteristics as a template of ready-made associations through its animal "people's"

expected interactions. Humans in society display a variety of complex motivations, responses and confusing behaviors in different kinds of instances. Animals on the other hand have a stable set of recognizable expected behaviors in a recognizable set of given circumstances. Raven will always grab food from magpie and magpie will always be intimidated by Raven. Magpies always raise excited noisy ruckus over food instead of being quiet. Nature provides a rich source of different but dependable behavioral motivations in different situations from within the different dynamics in nature. Syilx *captikʷ* situations or interactions should be seen in the context of entire associative units of expected motivation, actions and the responses of its story characters which have been lifted directly out of the actual dynamics that exist in nature. The intended specificity of meaning in *captikʷ* is then accessed through the display and differentiation of different categories of possible human behaviors revealing similar motivations and responses in given analogous situations without having to explain or provide verbalized detailing in the oral delivery while achieving a high-level of active imagery and coherence. In the story rendered as an example above, the whole unit of nature in which ravens and magpies interact, becomes easily transportable and recognizable through cues in oral story in the character of Raven as an “associative network”. As such, *raveness* assists in maintaining the stability of meaning and richness of active detail within the story framework for the Syilx Okanagan person who would have a storehouse

of the necessary built-in active images that would immediately spring up as a result of their sensory immersion in nature. *Ravenness* needs Raven as character, fashioned from the dynamics available in natural world actions and events which display that *ravenness*. Just as Raven or Magpie cannot be replaced by a Chickadee, the actions and events in which *ravenness* or *magpieness* is possible, cannot be replaced with actions or events which are out of character in nature. The whole of *ravenness* is implied when Raven appears and is placed like a computer icon in the story. An icon, behind which, there is the knowledge that Raven behavior displayed in the actions of the story are also displayed in human behaviors. For the Syilx Okanagan society such behaviors are important to know about and to be vigilant for in human conduct and are to be seen in its relation to the social ethic. In *captik*^{w4} some qualities of *ravenness* do overlap with other general scavenger qualities, for example *turkey buzzardness* and as a result some *captik*^{w4} storytellers do interchange characters from region to region. However, while there is some flexibility to interchange characters because of general similar characteristics, the choice depends on the thematic structure of the story and the intent of the story, overall. The storyteller may sensibly insert appropriate characters more familiar to those in different areas of the vast territory of the Syilx Okanagan.

In this excerpt *ravenness* is central to this episode's theme; however other qualities for a different story circumstance required in the story

could interchange *raveness* with other necessary “story-animals” in a similar episode. Imbedded imagery directly from nature is called up through the characters cast in iconic expression which depends on a deep association with and observation of living nature. In this way *captikʷt* require a specific indigenous ecological knowledge to fully and accurately associate the characters and therefore to access the meaning. The point is that each of the animal characters in *captikʷt* is intimately known in their specific characteristics in nature by the Syilx. The ability of *captikʷt* to transport larger meaning through intact units of active dynamics in nature as associative networks is also a way to transport intact sets of ecological knowledge specific to the Syilx land base. The use of associative networks is an essential component in providing argument in other chapters relative to the construct of an environmental ethic by the Syilx people.

3.6 *captikʷt* and Animistic Imagery as Analog System

Thomas King, in his discussion, *The Truth About Stories*, said “We know enough about the complexities of cultures to avoid the error of imagining animism and polytheism to be no more than primitive versions of monotheism. Don’t we? Nonetheless, the talking animals are a problem.” (King 23)

Characterizing the literary nature of *captikʷt* in order to discuss the concept of “talking animals” is central to my analysis approach. Outlining

the literary schemata and devices of *captikʷt* allows an examination of *Indigeneity* as an environmental ethic in Syilx thought. Rubin describes *imagery* as differing from verbal meaning and “directly related to the transmission of oral traditions.” He provides empirical evidence that “imagery is an analog system with many similarities to perception.”

Rubin clarifies that the term “analog” as used in psychological literature, first means *continuous* and second means *analogous*, in that verbal *imagery* and actual *perception* of an object or a scene share properties with each other. He explains that his studies show that verbal imagery is viewed and experienced like a “picture or movie—created in the head”. Things like size, distance, color, shape, location and movement of objects operate in the brain much as they would in perception. (Rubin 39–44)

Rubin’s findings provide support for theory that the way the Nsyilxcen language is experienced is through perception of active–image fragments to construct meaning. Active–image fragments in the language enhancing the effects of and compounding the way *captikʷt* constructs “movies in the head” rely on the use of imagery analog.

3.6.1 Imagery Analog as *captikʷt* Analogy

The well-known story “How Turtle Set the Animals Free” which was selected by the Okanagan elders as one of three stories essential for Syilx study was published in a bilingual format by the Okanagan Tribal

Council. To provide example of its “movie-in-the-head” aspects the story of turtle is abbreviated to the essential imagery components making up the analogy. The story in the long oral version, of course, is also richly detailed by description as well as embellished by other active-image aspects of the Nsyilxcen language.

“In the world before, all the tmix^w were asked to decide how the world would be for the people-to-be. Nobody had any ideas. Eagle challenged everyone to race him and if they lost then they would have to work for him and he would decide that was how the world was going to be. One by one they all lost except for turtle. Turtle felt sorry for all the other creatures that now worked for eagle and could not just be themselves. Turtle had a dream and decided to race eagle if eagle would set everyone free. Eagle agreed. In his dream he was shown how he could beat eagle. Eagle told turtle that he could decide where they would race. They met in the morning at the big meeting tree. Turtle told eagle to hoist him unto his back and fly to the top of the tree and they would race to the ground. Turtle fell faster than eagle could fly. Turtle set all the creatures free.” (Okanagan Tribal Council 63–87)

Through analogy this story provides a view of the Syilx perspective of equality of “rights”. As a “Before Humans” category of *captik*^w an expectation of intent directed at Syilx society would set the context for the story as one which will teach. The story provides strong analogy to human society that the embracing of diversity speaks of the Syilx views on the civil liberties of individuals as well as to the rights of all creatures. It is a story expressing through analogous imagery, a philosophy of selflessness, of inclusiveness and egalitarianism. It is a story which speaks to the wisdom of utilizing non-aggressive methods to defend community, and speaks through analogy of the ability to “dream” to find innovative methods and to take calculated risks as one’s courage to act on it. The story underpins the requirement of Syilx principles in leadership. It is also obvious, even in the English telling, the story relies on imagery to carry the analogy as allegory, utilizing symbolism and metaphor as well as the use of literary archetypes embedded in character and plot. Imagery provided by tellers in long versions of the story could portray specific images expressing oppression or the compassion of the turtle and the joy of liberation. None of these devices are unique or new, however, the layers or levels of meaning are to be appreciated in terms of the way imagery as analogy creates an inter-play of information.

The meanings in the Turtle story as a “Before People-to-be” story is a Syilx view of how *captik*^w constructs meaning through

analogy and is the same reason the word *captik*Ꞇ for story, expressed in imagery means “a slice (of reality) which provides the spark of knowledge”. The *captik*Ꞇ story is made up of a world “peopled” by animals of the natural world surrounding the Syilx as aspects of the land. The imagery superimposes analogy through the story characters over the stories of creating a world for the People-to-be in preparation of the world to come. As, indeed, this story does. For the Syilx, it is *captik*Ꞇ which continuously, in each new generation, outlines the laws and principles of society, always directed to the time in front of the people.

3.6.2 Imagery Analog as *captik*Ꞇ Loci

Rubin outlines how oral traditions utilize the mind’s ability for holding concrete images as dynamic interactive scenes to assist memory. He uses the term *loci*, best identified in the Greek mnemonic method developed from ancient times to improve memory, to characterize an oral method of creating a real or imaginary path of travel to take advantage of the minds spatial ability, to serve oral memory. He points out that a whole interactive scene serves memory in much the same way that spatial memory allows one to recall the contents of their living room all at once by imaging the location of things in relation to each other rather than recalling them sequentially as objects. (Rubin 49) In the following

excerpt from the *captik* “The Camas Woman” by Mourning Dove, the story as *loci* provides a method with multiple purposes.

“There were three brothers, all great warriors. Pa’cum-kin (Mt Mckinney, B.C.) was the oldest. Choo’pahk (Mt. Chopaka, Wash.) was the second brother, while N’wel-quilt-tum (Big Moses Mt. Wash.) was the youngest. The three brothers wished to marry the same girl, the daughter of the big Kalispel Chief. Her name was Camas-Woman. But her father would not consent. One sun, Camas-Woman filled her basket with camas roots and started for the land of the Okanagan. She went to meet her lovers. As she drew near their home, the brothers, who were all powerful men, saw her coming in their dreams. The three set out to meet the virgin of the Kalispel. As they all took the same trail, there was soon bad trouble. They met the maiden at Moch’chin (near Molsen, Wash.) where they fought over her. Choo’pahk the strongest of the brothers cut off the head of Pa’kum-kin, smashing his body almost flat. He threw it towards the snow-land. The youngest brother, of cowardly nature, and whom Camas-Woman loved best, ran away towards the warm-land. This angered Camas-Woman. Taking the Camas from her basket she threw it back to her people the Kalispel tribe. Then, transforming all of her lovers into mountains,

*she changed herself into a rock. She sits there this day at
Mock'chin*" (Dove "Tales" 16–17)

Enfolded into the imaginary path of the story, actual locations named are a way for the specific "path" of the story to be easily imaged, recalled and "followed" while delivering the theme in a "People living/traveling" *captik'*. The *captik'* casts focus on several areas of protocol in Okanagan Syilx social practice. The most obvious focus is on courting protocols between brothers. The Syilx social ethic disapproves of any type of competition between relatives. A Less obvious focus is related to the inter-tribal protocols that underpin political unions through Salishan Chief's lineages. The Salishan inter-tribal marriage protocols require a Chief to arrange the marriage of their daughter to a Chief in other tribal areas or to their sons, in order to secure peaceful relations and resource trading arrangements. In this case, blue camas is the extremely valued commodity which the Northern Okanagan people do not have access to. In the story they are denied as a result of the actions of the three suitor brothers. Well-known geographic features are used as story *loci* to provide a story path imaging three of the most prominent mountains in the territory, each one well-known and located in a separate district of the Syilx territory from the North Okanagan through the South Okanagan. The use of actual locations well-known to most Syilx as story locations assists in providing practical geographic story

maps of trails overland leading to external tribal centers significant for access to specific resources. The story is a map to the Kalispel, a Salishan sister tribe, with which the Syilx Okanagan share friendly inter-areal ties, and which identifies the protocols for the eastern boundary of the Syilx territory. Utilizing special land features as image memory landmarks also provides other territorial land-use identifiers in the land of the Syilx.

The importance of establishing a literary framework by which to analyze *captik'w* as a vessel for different aspects of the collective knowledge of the Syilx Okanagan people provides a way to penetrate meaning for those not indigenous to the Syilx Okanagan society and territory. Central to the thesis is the argument that the Syilx knowledge, as collective memory, is transferred through *captik'w* and constructs the Syilx social paradigm. The literary framework established will assist in examination of the Syilx people's knowledge and relationship to the natural world as an environmental ethic.

The approach taken is that *captik'w* operates as literature, utilizing literary conventions unique to oral story to imbed specific intentions for the listeners. The use of imagery and device unique to the Syilx Okanagan does not exclude the use of literary device familiar in contemporary written literatures. Syilx oralitures are organized into different genre expressing intent for the listener as stories thematically and structurally separated into types which contain different kinds of

social interactions and which reflect their society's ethics in relation to each other and in relation to the environment. The concern was to establish theory with regard to structural and thematic literary features of *captik*^{w4} that would assist in the analysis of a *captik*^{w4} for criteria essential to establish the framework of a Syilx environmental ethic.

3.7 *captik*^{w4} Selected For Analysis

3.7.1 English Transliteration: Martin Louie

Living, the people at Roaring-Falls. The Chiefs, Four Chiefs, and already many days they were meeting. They met and said "When ripped-from-earth-they-come-to-be. (come alive) The Ripped-from-earth-people-to-be, and what will they live by? That, here, now, we are thinking about." This chief Black Bear, and this one chief of fish, of trout, Chinook Salmon. This one chief Beautiful Flower that is the root. This one Chief Ripened Fruits. They said "so it is, go ahead Black Bear, you are of all, the Chief. It is you will speak." (he) Said "so it is. This I lay down for reasons of the people, the ripped-from-earth-people-to-be. All the head-between-forelegs, that will be as stored-up-food for those people, the hunted-food, all things head-between-forelegs, these I will lay down." (he) Said to his brother/friend "And you Chinook

Salmon what will you lay down?" (he) Said "So it is, I will lay down all in water, in underwater that swim, all, this I will lay down, when-the- ripped-from-earth-to-be are, the-ripped-from-earth-people-to-be, that will be as stored-up-food."
Said to the one Chief "And you what will you lay down?" This Chief's name Bitterroot, Beautiful Flower, said "I am all the roots here in this land, this I lay down". Said to this one "And you, what will you lay down?" said "I am I, I am (Adept) Berry. All the ripened fruits beyond just me, all this I lay down on this tmix^wland". Four of them and four, the people's foods now, these heads-between-forelegs, these swimming, these roots, and these ripened fruits. And from-underneath-limitless these, on this tmix^wland. So it is, then they stopped meeting. And said Black Bear "So it is. I will now lay down my body", laid down its body, and for certain, of course died. So it is then, did Enowkinwixw, all the people. Did, sing-leading-it, they. When whomever gets it right for (Black Bear), his way-of-song, he once again will be ripped from-earth-people-to-be. (come alive) And then, so it is. It will happen so. All, so it is, already they sing, those magpie people, those whomever people, all. Did not move for them. Landed on him, Fly, these big ones. Then it sang, sing-leading-it, his brother/friend. Said "you laid down your

body, in time the ripped-from-earth-people-to-be, when they stand over you they will (grief sing) there by singing this. (sings). Then lifted its head, Black Bear, said “so it is right” And from there beyond, all, I forget those sacred songs, the sing-leading-it of them. All, for certain, have sing-leading-it, the things, here on this land. Now this is being lost by us, all. This the Chinook Salmon, and this the Bitterroot, and this the Ripened Fruits, all have power song. Those, all, I forget, only one left, Black Bear. There it skinny’s up the hind end. (it ends). (Louie, Bouchard rec 1966 translit Armstrong 2006)

3.7.2 Children’s Book Version: Okanagan Tribal Council

How Foods Were Given

In the world before this world, all creation talked about the coming changes to their world. Now they had to decide how the People- to-be would live and what they would eat. There were four Chiefs. The four Chiefs are:

Black Bear, Chief for all creatures on the land

Spring Salmon, Chief for all creatures in the water

Bitterroot, Chief for things under the ground

Saskatoon Berry, Chief for things growing on land

They held many meetings. They asked one another. Finally, the three other Chiefs said to Black Bear, "You are the oldest and wisest among us. You tell us what you are going to do." He thought for a long time and finally he said, "I will give myself, and all the animals that I am Chief over, to be food for the People-To-Be." Then he said to Salmon "What will you do?" Salmon answered, I will also give myself and all the things that live in the water for food for the People-To-Be." Bitterroot said, "I will do the same." Saskatoon Berry said, "I will do the same. All the good things growing above the ground will be food for the People-to-Be."

Chief Black Bear said "Now I will lay my life down to make these things happen." All of Creation gathered and sang songs to bring him back to life. That was how they helped heal each other in that world. They all took turns singing, but he did not come back to life.

Finally, Fly came along. He sang, "You laid your life down." His song was powerful. Black Bear came back to life then Fly told the four Chiefs, "When the People-To-Be are here and they take your body for food, they will sing this song. They will cry their thanks with this song." Black Bear spoke for all

the Chiefs, "From now on when the People-To-Be come, everything will have its own song." The People-To-Be will use these songs to help each other as you have helped me.

That is how food was given to our people. That is how songs were given to our people. That is how giving and helping one another was taught to our people. That is why we respect even the smallest and weakest for what they can contribute. That is why we give thanks and honor to all the things on the land. (Okanagan Tribal Council 1982)

Chapter 4: Analysis of Four Chiefs *cap̓tikʷt̓*

4.1 Introduction

Analysis of the Four Chiefs *cap̓tikʷt̓* provides the approach critical to arguments central to the development of an understanding of the Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic. The two versions provided are appended in bilingual format and presented here in English only format. The first version is a transliteration of the original Nsyilxcen of Martin Louie's *kmúsməs iʔ yəlyílmixʷm–There Were Four Chiefs*, recorded at my parent's home in 1966, by ethnologist, Randy Bouchard. The recorded version was given to me by storyteller Martin Louie, who was one of my teachers of Syilx traditions as my maternal uncle. As well, I had the opportunity to hear the story many times, as a child and into adulthood. Martin Louie held a high profile throughout the Syilx territory as a medicine knowledge keeper. The second version is a translation, edited and approved for print publication by the Okanagan Tribal Council of elders in 1982, for the Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project. They selected this story as one of three stories that they recommended as the most important ones for children to know. The children's book version is titled *How Foods Were Given*. Many other oral versions, abbreviated or more complex, survive in current oral Nsyilxcen, as well as in English and in print. The two versions were selected as the most succinct versions. As well, the combination of a translation and a transliteration, together better

reflects all of the essential narrative elements of the *captik*^w and together contain all of the pertinent imagery information intended for delivery.

The *Four Chiefs*, as *captik*^w established a basis for understanding the worldview of the Syilx in regard to environment. The story works to both underpin the cosmology of the Syilx in regard to their view of creation or the environment, as well as to delineate the epistemology of the Syilx with regard to the relationship of humans to nature. It outlines the values the Syilx ought to have related to environment and natural resources and the reasoning for such values as well as the underlying social process by which to achieve societal realization through individual free will.

The *Four Chiefs captik*^w theme poses the central environmental ethics question to its barest essential element: How can there be a Syilx environmental ethic if the Syilx eat their relatives of the land? It is a question that lies at the center of constructing an environmental ethic of any sort. Whether we eat them or saw them or exterminate them, or package them, the demarcation question surfaces at the most fundamental level. The Syilx answered the question in a profoundly knowledgeable way. They employed a society-wide environmental ethic that continues to be practiced today by those who have maintained the language and the stories. The hope is to open another path that will assist towards understanding how that question may be approached in

contemporary times. Certainly, contribution to the environmental ethics discourse from an insider indigenous perspective will have value. The *Four Chiefs captikʷt* carries knowledge of the Syilx approach in answering that question.

4.2 Culture Complex Concepts

The *Four Chiefs* narrative text features a number of culture-complex elements, typical and of general familiarity to Syilx people and Syilx scholars, which however, are not general knowledge to scholars from other cultures. The narrative contains a number of concepts of significance to the analysis of the story as a whole and critical to accessing the context of the *Four Chiefs captikʷt*. Some phrases and words utilized in the text, although taken for granted from within Syilx society, require contextualization from within an orality conscious society, to more fully appreciate the meaning. As Karl Kroeber, Native American folklorist comments, “Perhaps nothing is harder for us to appreciate, in our hyper visual, print oriented society, than the experience of language by peoples without writing.” (Kroeber et al 7)

Discussion is provided on how meanings may be restructured for phrases and words, difficult to access or penetrate, in order to provide insight to meaning closer to a Syilx oral context. Without losing sight of the fundamental aspects of orality in terms of its immediacy as a spoken art form, analysis is focused on structure and device to access meaning.

Verbalized devices such as enunciation devices and elocution conventions which serve to signify distance, size, time and gravity of situation, with the rise or lowering of volume or pitch or the lengthening of vowels, while providing an added experiential immediacy of action, do not affect at the level of story meaning.

In oral story the teller moves the audience through the story meanings, utilizing a complexity of devices. However, the full depth of meaning cannot be transferred without the lived experience of being of an oral society enmeshed in the landscape out of which the language emerged.

David Abram, in *Spell of the Sensuous*, discussed aspects of entwinement within a place in what he terms “perceptual reciprocity”. He speaks of it this way, “In multiple and diverse ways, taking a unique form in each indigenous culture, spoken language seems to give voice to, and thus to enhance and accentuate, the sensorial affinity between humans and the environing earth.” (Abram 71)

Although Abram’s elaborations on various aspects of that “sensorial affinity” provides a welcomed and much appreciated perspective, the issue of translating ideas from within such a language outward to a society disassociated from that level of land-shaped affinity is the challenge faced in the development of arguments in this analysis. It is rather like trying to give directions to a lost foreigner who only understands a vocabulary of the ten essential *touristese* phrases.

4.2.1 Nsyilxcen as Syilx Mentalese

As Brown and Vibert, discuss in *Reading Beyond Words* “Language is, of course, one of the main vehicles which conveys cultural meanings in text and context. It is not a neutral medium: the language of any cultural or societal group, of any epoch, reflects and helps to constitute that group’s view of the world.” (Brown, xv) Fortunately, the mind doesn’t use words, phrases and sentences to comprehend, as is commonly believed, according to Steve Pinker, a leading expert on language. The mind uses its own language of thought which is comprised of a system of symbols for concepts and arrangements of symbols that translate into words and sentences, which Pinker, the world’s expert on language, has termed “mentalese”. (Pinker 72–73)

Words, phrases and idioms occur throughout the *Four Chiefs* narrative, which in their word-to-word English translations, cannot be fully appreciated in their fullest meaning without providing culture context through Nsyilxcen mentalese. Chapter 2 “Language and Meaning”, discusses the characteristics of constructing meaning in the Nsyilxcen language. For want of a better word, the term “transliterated” is used to reconstruct the meanings arising from the literal images that the root morphemes mimic in order to come closer to the Syilx meaning in an attempt to avoid the heavy influence of European languages on translated meanings. Examples of transliterated word meanings are provided below to illustrate the complexity of Syilx cultural complex.

4.2.1.1 Concept of *tmix*^w

The most challenging “mentalese” translated into the Syilx language that requires contextualizing is the word *tmix*^w. The concept of *tmix*^w is central to understanding all aspects of the Syilx environmental ethic.

The meaning that underpins the idea of *tmix*^w is understood to be constructed as a way of speaking in concrete terms about something which is not concrete but which is part of reality. To the Syilx culture, it is understood that thought about *tmix*^w is based in human knowledge and is therefore limited only by human knowledge and the ability to perceive its extent, rather than being a concept constructed out of belief.

tmix^w is translated from Nsyilxcen into English most often as “all of creation” or as the “spirit animals” or simply as “everything in nature”. Linguist Aert Kuipers, Salishan languages expert, has identified this word as a “Proto-Salish root” word. His research demonstrates its appearance in differing pronunciations, dialects and derivations throughout the many surviving Salishan language groups, in various translated meanings as “world, nature, earth, animal spirit, river, land, soul, power, any animal.” (Kuipers 105)

The Syilx Okanagan continue to utilize the word interchangeably to refer to any or all of the above, including themselves, as *tmix*^w–*soul*, *spirit*, *power*, *any animal* (Mattina “Dic” 201). They recognize the word as *nwíst tə scq^wəlq^wlt*–*high speak* or *captik^w† tan q^wəlq^wltən*–*captik^w† way of*

speak. High speak or high Nsyilxcen, are words and language-use to discuss highly definitive or abstract ideas not in common or pedestrian usage. Historically, knowledge keepers, ceremonial leaders, traditional Chiefs, and accepted interpreters of Nsyilxcen must have high Nsyilxcen in their vocabulary to be considered knowledgeable. *captik^w* way of speak, combines knowledge of specialized words that occur in *captik^w*. Some of the words are referred to as from the old *sɬa'ix* language, the Nsyilxcen word for the ancient language, now referred to as proto-salishan.

The meaning seen as speakers of Nsyilxcen, in the transliterated root images expresses *tmix^w* as: *təʔ-a quantity (prefix) and mix^w spreading-outward-in-many-strands*. The main image is of *mix^w*, like in *kmix^wqnm*-loosened-hair-fanning-out-from-the-head. The experience of this image meaning must be appreciated within the cultural-complex of how Nsyilxcen is experienced, in order to analyze any of the stories in which *tmix^w* appear.

4.2.1.2 Concept of *tmx^wulax^w*

tmx^wulax^w is usually translated into English as *country, land or world* (Mattina "Dic" 202). However, transliteration of the root morphemes in terms of images seen by a fluent speaker are the images that *tmix^w* displays as has been explained, followed by *ul'* imaging a cyclic repeating action, as in the word *x^wul'k^wp*-fire drill. (Mattina "Dic" 243) When put

together with *lax^w*, *ulax^w* images the land in its physical form. A further image results from the root *laʔ*–a locative, (Mattina “Dic” 67). There is also an implied indication by *laʔ* that *tmx^wulax^w* is to be thought of as something happening here now, rather than as objects in a space, in that *laʔ* or *alaʔ* is used by a speaker in an immediate time frame, (that particular present time) when speaking to indicate a specific place. If seen from a Syilx mentalese transliteration the word *tmx^wulax^w* might translate as *things–spreading–outward–in cycles–as the here/now*. The argument is that this Syilx view of land is an ecological or a dynamic systems view rather than a mental picture of the geography with its plants and animals.

4.2.1.3 Concept of *kʔʔəl·ʃal·q^waʔ*

In high–speak, the limits of *tmx^wulax^w* –*tmix^w place* is referred to as *kʔʔəl·ʃal·q^waʔ* –*the underside to whatever encloses*. The recognizable root morpheme in common Nsyilxcen, *kʔʃal* refers to an enclosure like a fence. In referring to a limiting thing from its underside, the reference becomes a reference to an invisible or unknown limit. Personal knowledge as an accepted high–speaker and official interpreter of Nsyilxcen, provided by ceremonial leaders is that the word *kʔʔəl·ʃal·q^waʔ* is from the old language and interpretation of the word *kʔʔəl·ʃal·q^waʔ* is *as–far–as–the–mind–can–go*, or *to–the–limits–of–whatever exists*. Clearly, knowledge is really the only limit in *kʔʔəl·ʃal·q^waʔ*. The fullest

concept of *tmix^w* is associated with the underlying cultural complex concept of reality reaching outward as far as the mind can reach is perhaps the most significant aspect of historical Syilx philosophy.

4.2.1.4 Concept of *k^wulncutn*

k^wulncutn is not explicitly referred to in the Four Chiefs Story, however, the presence of *k^wulncutn* is implied. It is *k^wulncutn* who sets out the tasks for the *tmix^w* in preceding *captik^w*. Mourning Dove used the English term “Great Spirit” to refer to *k^wulncutn* in the origin story *The Great Spirit Names the Animal People: How Coyote Came by His Power*. (Dove “Tales” 16) Contemporary speakers use the word *k^wulncutn* to refer to Creator or God and is usually the word-to-word-translation to English by linguists. (Mattina “Dic” 62) However, the meaning of the word *k^wulncutn* provides access to a perspective that has relevance to the Syilx concept of *tmix^w–as the life–force* and to *tmx^wulax^w–as the life–force–place* and has relevance to the moral duty of humans to other living things. In transliteralisation the images of the morphemes in *k^wulncutn* are *turn–oneself–into* or *making–itself*. The root word “*k^wul*–to become; to do, to make, to fix”, is found in the proto–interior–salish (Kuipers 168) as it is common to all, including Nsyilxcen as “*k^wul*–to turn into” (Mattina “Dic” 61) is to transform or become and *k^wul*–*to fix–or to make or to do* is in common use. *cut* listed as a “reflexive”, (Mattina “Dic” 11) is an affix that images the undertaking of an action involving oneself by ones own

power. For example *t'uk''wncut* is to *lay oneself down*. The root images in the word *k''wulncutn* together, form an enigmatic concept as an active state of being, in which either form; *becoming-by-ones-own-power*, or *making/creating itself*, points to the concept of being in perpetual self-formation or in a self-regenerating state. Another feature of the word is that the *tn* forming the end of the word signifies that it is also *a means in and of itself* to accomplish the action of making-oneself. An example is in the use of *tn* in *tkikstn* which translates commonly as *a cane* but in fact the images refer to *the hand propped up, by a means*. The Syilx view the word *k''wulncutn* as essentially a cosmological view. However, it is also a view which can be seen to parallel aspects of the physics view of interrelated energy patterns in an on-going dynamic process. An overview for non-physicists provided by Zukav, forwards David Bohm's quantum physics assertion of an "implicate order" in that at the most fundamental level there is an unbroken wholeness of "that-which-is". Zukav quotes Bohm as saying, "All things, including space, time, and matter are forms of that-which-is. There is nothing which is not that-which-is." (Zukav 339-341) The Syilx concept could be seen as parallel in that everything which exists is *k''wulncutn*. However, *k''wulncutn* is also a concept of the *dynamics* of a perpetually generating existence which is itself, rather than simply the concept of *things which are*. *k''wulncutn* is a continual making of itself and everything new including us as a part of the continual making of itself. The Syilx view of *k''wulncutn* could also be

seen to be parallel with aspects of the humanized view of a Supreme Being as “everything that ever was and everything that ever will be”. The Syilx perspective of *kʷulncutn* is of intelligence of a kind; in the making of self as existence, in being a life–force maker; in being both the source and the life–force; in being the means of self–perpetuation and in being all–encompassing as “life” itself. To the Syilx, the concept of *kʷulncutn* rests on both the explicit knowledge of the existence of the physical force continuing to regenerate itself in new ways as well as on the acceptance of the implicit mystery of existence in *kʷulncutn* being the origin and continuation of existence. In Syilx philosophy, *kʷulncutn* is the active *happening* in the regeneration of each life form in each life–force place and the truth that all of existence is part of that. The concept of *kʷulncutn* is fundamental to *tmixʷ*, *tmxʷulaxʷ* and *captikʷt*.

4.2.1.5 Concept of *yilyalmixʷm*

As discussed in chapter 2 the simple translation into English of *yilmixʷm* is *Chief*. (Mattina “Dic” 262) However, transliteralisation interprets the images as one whom *coils–the–spreading–outward*. The Nsyilxcen root *yil*–to twist together (Mattina “Dic” 262) and the proto–salish root *yəl*–to roll, turn over: round (Kuipers 130) and suffix *mixʷ*–spreading out and in the same proto–salish root (Kuipers 205) the meaning obvious in the Nsyilxcen word *tmixʷ* is also obvious in the word *yilmixʷm*. *yilyalmixʷm* in translation to English means *chieftainships*, referring to the position,

role or duty, rather than to Chiefs plural, which would be *yilyilmix^wm*. In transliteralisation the *captik^w* word *yilyalmix^wm*, means *the role responsible to twine/coil–this way and that way (in different directions or different levels) the–tmix^w*. The meaning seen by a fluent speaker is *the ones who twine the tmix^w, coil-on-coil, into one strand through different directions or methods*. The concept of *yilyalmix^wm* is foundational to the analysis of aspects the Four Chiefs story.

4.2.1.6 Concept of nṣawqñwix^w

nṣawqñwix^w–is a high–speak word and does not appear in Mattina’s Okanagan Colville dictionary, however the roots *ṣawap–drip* (Mattina “Dic” 270) and *qin–head* or top of (Mattina “Dic” 152) and the suffix *wix^w–reciprocal* (Mattina “Dic” 223) are each defined. In its contemporary word–to–word translation to English, it is usually translated as “consensus building” or “meetings using Syilx rules of order”. Transliteration is *in–seeping–the head–with–each–other*. The meaning seen is a number of heads together, filling each other, drop by drop with a composite view.

4.2.1.7 Concept of *tuk^wntis i? sqiltks*

tuk^wntis i? sqiltks; the usual word–to–word translation into English is *laid down its life* or to lay down the body. The phrase refers to death in the flesh–body or physical sense when taken in literal translation. However in

transliteration, the word *sqiltk-body* (Mattina “Dic” 298), is constructed of a root that images a layering of meanings over each other, beginning with the strong first layering as *qi*-root of *qi’s-to dream* – (Mattina “Dic” 307) and or the root of *qilt-go over the top*, (Mattina “Dic” 147) and or root of *qəl-fresh meat* (Mattina “Dic” 147).

The proto-salish root word for person, ghost, soul, shadow, man, husband, is *qalmix^w* (Kuipers 82) and in Nsyilxcen, the word for male, man, husband is *sqəltmix^w*. (Mattina “Dic” 183) in which the *qəl* and the *tmix^w* are quite visibly placed together to mean *in-the-flesh-tmix^w* or as some fluent speakers have transliterated *sqiltk as the-dreaming-flesh-tmix^w*.

4.2.2 Communing With the *tmix^w*

q^wəylm –sing-medicine songs (Mattina “Dic” 160). The root *q^weyl* appears in proto-salish root as “*q^wal-to speak, think*”. (Kuipers 91) The culture-complex of the Syilx is that the only ones who can sing *q^wəylm* are “medicine” people, who sing at winter dance ceremony and who, when singing, are interpreters for the *tmix^w* and express the Syilx concept of communing as *tmix^w*. The *q^wəylm* songs are differentiated from all other formal and informal song categories, of which there are many. The *q^wəylm* songs are said to belong to *tmix^w* as is expressed in the Four Chiefs narrative.

4.2.2.1 The Initiative to Lead by Communing with *tmix*^w

kənk^winplaʔs or *nk^winplaʔs*–*sing-leading*–it is a high-speak term that is not in common use and does not appear in Mattina’s Colville Okanagan dictionary, however, the high word is used by Louie in his original Nsyilxcen version. The root word “*k^winplaʔ*–*take-the-lead*” (Mattina “Dic” 57) is identified as being usually used to refer to heading up or leading a ceremony, a talk or a give-away. It literally means to lead something by a rope, and in common Nsyilxcen refers to leading an animal. The image seen is taking the reins of an animal and leading it forward. The addition of the prefix *kən*–*take-in-hand*, as in *kənkənskənwiʔ^w*–*assisting and leading each other by holding hands* constructs an image of help-leading, The high-speak term *kənk^winplaʔs* refers to assisting one by leading their singing of *q^wəylm* when they can’t. It also refers to taking the initiative to lead by ceremonial means through communing as *tmix^w*. The concept of reviving or helping the singer by a friend leading the singing of a *q^wəylm* remains in the culture complex of the winter dance practice.

4.3 Syilx Philosophy of Existence

The word *tmix^w* has been in the vocabulary of the Salish throughout the thousands of years of evolution into different branches and dialects of the same language group in a particular landscape. The argument is that Syilx philosophy is founded on the concept that Nsyilxcen language is

what allows the perception of *tmix^w* as corporeal while at the same time understanding that *tmix^w* is actually a system of relationships being reconstructed limitlessly and which is actually the *life-force* of the place. It is understood that *tmix^w* is the cyclic spiral of regeneration experienced as *tmx^wulax^w* or the *tmix^w-place*. It also clarifies that the translation of the idea of *tmix^w* as creation is both correct and incorrect. Constructed meanings of the word creation at this time in history, is heavily influenced by the ontologies of a fundamentally creationist-belief society in the throes of grappling with the inherent difficulties of coming into scientific knowledge. Perhaps, at the heart of the discord is the concept of the “severance between thought and being” that concerned Hegel in his *Philosophy of History*. (Hegel 160.) The idea of creation bears the burden of thinking of the state of being as the intent of a Supreme Deity. The Syilx, unhampered until recently by the idea of a Supreme Deity, perceive *k^wulncutn* as a *dynamic* regenerative force, only requiring the form of a being when in human thought. In most *captik^w†*, *k^wulncutn* appears only in the form of a voice. Although occasionally *k^wulncutn* appears in the form of an old, old one, it is a form that is perceived only as a convenience for the sake of *captik^w†*. The Syilx perspective is that while the origin of *k^wulncutn* is a mystery, the always present regenerative nature of *k^wulncutn* is not, as that is fully evident in all that exists and in the incredible diversity of life forms that continue to regenerate themselves in ways which are to be understood and

respected. For that reason each life form is to be cherished and held in reverence because *k'wul'ncutn* is life itself and like ourselves are the visible aspects of *k'wul'ncutn*. W.O. Wilson, in theorizing a unity of knowledge in *Consilience* strove to reconcile the concept of existence focused on his greatest concern that, "Which worldview prevails, religious transcendentalism or scientific empiricism, will make a great difference in the way humanity claims the future." (Wilson 265) The concepts in the words *creation* and *evolution* may both be understood to be parallel in the meaning of the word *tmix'* and are reconciled in the Syilx concept of *k'wul'ncutn-creator of oneself* as a state of high intelligence in its perpetually new self-regeneration of the life-force in all things and which is a mystery and is sacred.

Similarly, while it is clear that the *tmix'* appear as people in animal form they are not in the form of a literary personification of animals. The argument put forward is that the conceptualization of *tmix'* is a systems view of nature. Evident from elements in the Martin Louie version of the story in transliterated English is that the *tmix'* are Chiefs in the Syilx meaning of the word- that is they represent a role-in being duty-bound to twining/coiling the many strands. They are meeting to find a collectively agreed-upon way for the "People-to-be" to survive and at the same time to maintain the grand imperative of twining/coiling the many strands into a unity of direction and existence. Asking the meaning of twining/coiling the many stands from the Syilx perspective allows access

to the Syilx view of human existence within nature as life–force. The image of twisting many stands into one as in a rope and coiling it around and around invokes the concept of nature. It invokes the image of the animals, plants, fish, birds, reptiles and insects, being pulled from the fanning outward around the human being into a single cord with the human, coiled year upon year. The image, rather than meaning to tame, to control or to own, means to bring the strands together, through human knowledge. The human duty is to perceive how they are regenerating themselves and how therefore the human must move forward in unity with them. The human is to perceive that the state of humans being intertwined and bound with the *tmix*^w as one unified strand is that which will allow the regeneration of the many single strands. Sustaining, strengthening and protecting each *tmix*^w in an equality of existence through the cycles of days, seasons and years in a knowledge that all is *k^wuľncutn*, is a human responsibility.

The meaning of the word *tmix*^w in the Nsyilxcen language has retained the complexity of meaning, thorough antiquity to the present, of (a) Nature as life–force being *tmix*^w in an all–encompassing sense beyond the physicality of things. (b) the life forms which form the environment in being *tmix*^w as a system of *relations* within a natural order of regeneration (c) each individual life form being *tmix*^w as both a physical entity and as a relationship or *a relative* in a system of relatives. (d) humans at all the fundamental levels of a, b, and c are *tmix*^w.

From the transliteration of the word *tmix^w* we can see that existence is thought of through a perception of *tmix^w* as life-force. *tmix^w* is perceived as strands fanning continually outward from a source not physically visible and refers to each life form including the human. Nature as life-force is *tmix^w*. Each life form is nature as life-force and therefore is *tmix^w*; conclusion: humans are life forms and are therefore *tmix^w*. The Syilx syllogistic logic does not escape notice. In examination, although this is a profound systems view, that view isn't enough to argue that the Syilx enjoyed an environmental ethic. However, the view of Syilx being *tmix^w* is a necessary element in the development of a philosophy of egalitarianism toward all life forms. The systems view is also an essential element in the development of argument that this view is constructed from a knowledgeable *tmix^w*centric position rather than an intuitive anthropocentrism. The systems view is also an essential element in the Syilx egalitarian approach in governance.

4.3.1 Twining/Coiling: Sustainability

Examining the Syilx conceptualization of *tmix^w* as an abstract idea through the literary tradition allows access to the Syilx concept of the human duty to nature. Examination of the *Four Chiefs captik^wʔ*, in either version, clearly shows that the *tmix^w* are *captik^wʔ tmix^w*. They are not the black bear, the chinook salmon, the saskatoon berry and the bitterroot plant in physical form. Elements in the Louie version of the Four Chiefs

story allow in transliteration that *tmix*^w in this story represent Chieftainships. In the Syilx meaning of the word *yilyalmix*^w *m* is the role outlining a responsibility to originate or produce an ethic in human society which would sustain the practice of twining together, coil upon coil, the many strands represented by the Four as a reconciliation with the people-to-be. The duty of the Four Chiefs is no different from any Chief, to twine and to coil the many strands of *tmix*^w in a unified direction toward the future. On one level, the narrative seems straightforward until we choose to ask why four Chiefs? The answer could be that they represent the four food groups available to the Syilx people. However, the idea of chieftainship is the concept of the social task of one who maintains and sustains a human unity within the continual regeneration of nature. The question in the story asks how that is to be done. The story provides insight into the leadership required that will insure that the people-to-be will be part of the many strands spreading outward as strong life force, protected in their combined but unified movement forward. The leadership required is focused on the human duty in the understanding that no matter which of the four ways the Syilx use in the subsistence quest, that it is a relative that they eat. Whether they pick ripened fruits, dig roots, hunt meat or pull fish out of the water, there is a responsibility in humans taking the life of a *tmix*^w. Humans have the ability to kill *tmix*^w as a life-force and so they are duty bound to respect all life forms equally within the concept of k' *uľncutn*. They also have a

natural duty, like all life forms, to survive within nature's law that they have nothing else to eat but *tmix*^w. From this perspective, we can argue that governance through human knowledge, about how sustainability might be achieved, is the main focus of the *Four Foods* story and is central to the resolution which resides in the Enowkinwixw governance process.

4.4 Chief as Associative Network

The concept of Chief is a key association to Syilx social structure in the story of the four Chiefs. To read the story intent correctly, the concept of Chief from a Syilx perspective is relevant to the analysis of the story. The English word Chief, as understood by Western terminology as decision-maker is incorrect when applied as the Syilx concept. The Chief unifies the whole into one mind through asking the unit to seek out everything it can know about any choices it must make. The governance procedure the Syilx Chief uses to do that is called Enowkinwixw. Enowkinwixw is a dialogic process which sets in place an order of discussion designed to systematically build a composite view from all available pieces of information and perspectives at different levels of association, represented by the collective. The Syilx Chief's duty, expressed through Enowkinwixw, is to insure that the needs of individuals, family units, the community as a whole and the land/environment, have equality of consideration by everyone deliberating an issue. The Syilx Chief's duty is

to insure the process includes a way for dissent or opposing views to strengthen the clarity of information in the dialogue, by requesting the most opposite views be solicited and brought forward for clarification for everyone. The expectation and responsibility is that all choices must reconcile the needs of human existence and so diversity of opinion is not to be seen as conflict but as a way to provide different perspectives necessary to compose a fuller view. Because strong differing views elicit strong feelings, the Chiefs duty through Enowkinwixw is to provide a practical process of equality of voice through calling on opposing dynamic aspects of community for their views, to be heard and incorporated without discrimination. A Syilx Chiefs duty, once everyone, including the Chief, has been heard, is to insure that clarification and elucidation is complete and only then are recommendations appropriate to be solicited, as all information from all aspects have been voiced and clarified. Recommendations are required which will incorporate the mandated considerations for each perspective equally and which therefore require creativity, sacrifice, accommodation and compromise based on full knowledge of the necessity to do so. Once all recommendations are given equal opportunity to be put forward, the Syilx Chiefs duty is to finalize the dialogue by articulating the will of the people expressed by their knowledgeable composite view of the problem and the possible courses of action. The Chief articulates the course of action to be taken, which then becomes law as the will of the people. In

the story, through associative network, the *Four Chiefs* represent duty or responsibility as the knowledgeable will of the people coming from opposing community dynamics.

4.5 Enowkinwixw as Governance Approach

The process of enowkinwixw is the Syilx method of insuring that leadership is foremost a responsibility to *tmix^w*, as the human in all its different aspects is also *tmix^w*.

From the Syilx perspective, one individual human cannot kill *tmix^w* as *life-force*, one family cannot kill *tmix^w* as *life-force*, and a single community cannot kill *tmix^w* as *life-force*. Humans, through many families in many communities in many landscapes, who live values of disrespect for the life-force of each environment, can kill *tmix^w*, beginning with choices made only for individual families or communities in the places they occupy.

Human knowledge, through a systems view of being responsible as *tmix^w* themselves is fundamental to the Syilx environmental ethic. In that way we can view the Syilx environmental ethic, as being founded in the knowledge of universal applicability of being *tmix^w*, to be achieved through societal choice-making as individual free will.

The process of enowkinwixw situates human choice-making in the larger context of the knowledge of the human being themselves *tmix^w*.

4.6 Four Parts Repetition as *captik*^w Tautology

The Four Chiefs story occurs in the World-before-Humans genre of stories. The story grammar sets expectation that the story is set in the time without human beings. The category of story sets in place an ontology that prior to human existence all other life forms preceded them and prepared the world for their existence. For that reason this category of *captik*^w are sometimes referred to as origin stories. On a deeper level it sets the story in the world in the concept of *tmix*^w, which is a world of animanized people rather than as is naively read, in a world of personified animals.

Examination of the organization of the overall narrative provides insight into the text. Syilx *captik*^w are organized in at least two ways. The first and most common is a kind of linear organization, in that the narrative follows the characters through a series of events. The events may be very complex and convoluted to include many side-bar events all relating in some way to the characters central to the theme. The second type is structured to follow a four-part type of repetition of the culture script that forms the main focus, achieved through situating the central characters in several slightly different modes or episodes, toward a final outcome. The four-part repetition, while tedious when featured in written literature, provides a memory focus device to call attention to a particular point and to assist in imbedding the desired episode as an intact culture script image into memory.

The repetition of the challenge to each of the four Chiefs, asking them what they intend “to give” sets in motion a tautology that these are Chiefs. They are cast in the characters of the four different types of foods harvested by the Syilx. The story could have asked just one Chief of the *tmix*“the question rather than four, as commonly Syilx communities have only one Chief, however, a crucial point is being emphasized in the story. The point being focused on is sustenance for the coming humans and asks how the Chiefs must respond in all they represent.

The responses are also in four-part repetition. Each Chief in turn is asked what they will give, and each in turn gives its “body and the “bodies” of all they represent. The four-part repetition is a coded directive, in the social cultural complex of Syilx formal conduct in oral communication. A thing is repeated in different ways four times to confirm either its validity or its formal recognition, rather like sealing a document in triplicate. The result is the formal declaration and societal recognition of the directive embedded as a philosophical resolution of the dilemma the humans and the *tmix*“face together on the *tmx*“*ulax*“.

4.7 Time Delineations in *captik*“

captik“time can be thought of in several ways. The time that *captik*“ is set in, is perceived by speakers of Syilx to be timeless and is not associated with physical-earth time, in years, seasons, months or days.

The Syilx concept of physical–earth time is conceived of as cyclic, as in a spiral. Day becomes night and returns to day but never to the same day. Full moon becomes hiding–moon and then returns to full moon. Four seasons pass and begin over again each year in the same order. Within that stable spiraling from one year to the next, it is the physical–earth things that are constantly changing as they are born, grow, reproduce and die. Day and night always follows the same order. Moon cycles always follow the same order as do seasons and years. Cyclic time doesn't change. Weather and climatic changes shorten or lengthen seasons and forests spread and lakes lower, and mountains slowly wear down, however, days and nights, and the moons cycles in each season and the seasons in a year will proceed in their expected order. The cyclic pattern is the only thing that can be counted on to be stable. Continuous physical changes are always happening, despite the rising and setting of the sun, the phasing of the moons and the warming and cooling of seasons, over and over in years. Change relative to other things is what is marked in oral tradition rather than time as a specific date. For example, instead of referring to the year 1919, my father referred to it in our language as *iʔ sʔistk ʔəʔaxʷt iʔ sqilxʷ* –the–winter–people–died. The great flu epidemic killed over two–thirds of our population, when my father was in his puberty. That change was what happened, not the number of years counted from some point one thousand nine hundred and nineteen years past. The count of years is irrelevant. It is

importance of knowing the reasons for and therefore the order of great change events that take place.

In the Four Chiefs *captik^wʔ*, less attention is paid to the idea of time other than that of a timeframe being set within the story. The importance of the concept of a timeframe being set within the story provides insight into the narrative in that it is the “changes” that are important to know about rather than the time it took to happen. In *captik^wʔ*, things happen as a consequence, in relation to other things happening. Only a loose adherence to earth’s timeframes are kept and usually only as incidental to the event. A child being born one day in the story and in the next day be at puberty isn’t construed as magical or mystical it just means nothing important happened between. *Aʔiʔ captik^wʔ – for the reason of captik^wʔ*, is a phrase often engaged by the teller when time anomalies turn up in a story, since they are simply for efficiency or an economy of detail in the *telling-live* schema.

In the Four Chiefs narrative, three important timeframes are set. The first timeframe is the phrase “before there were humans”. This sets in place an order-of-things timeframe, rather than a physical earth timeframe. The initial time frame sets apart a second time frame that the *tmix^w* were “meeting” for a very long time and finally the time had come for them to find a “way” that the people-to-be would live. The “very long time” sets in place a physical earth time reference in relation to the

physical *tmix* interacting with each other as a way to establish an order over a very long period of real time.

Mattina, Nsyilxcen linguist and collector of stories by Dora Desautel, introduces one of her stories as “a cycle”, that is, the story is a portion from a complex of stories. The point is that it is a recognizable segment of story which is woven in and out of a number of different *captik*. He goes on to explain that “typical of such complexes is that episodes have neither a fixed order nor specific endings or beginnings.” (Mattina & Desautel 22) Personal knowledge of such “cycles” which re-occur in a variety of different *captik* is that they serve to move a timeframe from one *captik* timeframe to another *captik* timeframe. Like familiar touchstones they organize a density of *captik* time surrounding the Syilx, spanning through and connecting a vast variety of stories in the minds of those who have heard the stories throughout their lives. The effect is the experience of *captik* happening as it is spoken or that *captik* is going on all the time around the people. The effect of erasing the concept of rigid earth-physical time by making an elastic *captik* time, adds a further dimension to the active imaging sensibility of the Syilx stories and sets in place a sense of timelessness and produces the effect of happening in a universal time as present-past-future rather than the linear past-to-present-to future orientation of English.

4.7.1 Timeframe as story script in the Four Chiefs

In the Four Chiefs narrative, a story-script that re-occurs in a number of the-world-before-humans genre, is the reference to “meeting for a long time” or “discussing for a long time”. The use of the word *q^waʔq^waʔəl* – *meeting or having a discussion* provides a layered coded image as story-script. The surface meaning of *q^waʔq^waʔəl* does image people talking or having a discussion, however, the traditional and contemporary meaning of the word is *trial* or formal *judgment* being deliberated. In the Syilx culture-complex, only Chiefs are qualified to pass judgment. In the Four Chiefs story, the unstated judgment being deliberated is judgment for the people-to-be by the Chiefs of the *tmix^w* who will be giving the-people-to-be the bodies of the *tmix^w* for sustenance. The fact that the “meeting” or trial has been going on for a very long time sets in place both a reference to the real earth-time of nature organizing itself, as well as, to the *captik^w* on-going universal time. In most versions of Before-People *captik^w* the *tmix^w* are requested by *k^wuʔncutn* for the *yilyalmix^wm* as chieftainship roles to “deliberate” and find “a way” for the people-to-be. They must construct “law” by which the humans have a way become *tmix^w* and be a life-force rather than a destructive force. A “way” that is found is through a governance process which insures knowledge and respect in the use of the *tmix^w* for sustenance by utilizing decision-making that situates the human needs in equality with all *tmix^w* in the rights to regeneration.

4.8 Nsyilxcen and “Active Presence” Imagery

As mentioned elsewhere in the essay *Land Speaking*, “In the Okanagan language, perception of the way reality occurs is very different from that solicited by the English language...it is very much like a story: it is easily changeable and transformative with each speaker.” (Ortiz 191) Nsyilxcen words, in the way they make meaning as “active images” increases the sense of “timelessness”. As an example, the key introductory sentence *əcx^wuy Snk^lip* in Coyote-traveling stories, followed by an introduction to the main topic, like *uʔ wiks acpak^w iʔ sʔaqt*, through accommodation of English conventions, would translate as “Coyote was traveling along and saw a pile of berries”. Nsyilxcen meaning is closer to “Coyote going (along) and seeing a pile of berries” as a state of being rather than as past or present tense, as we are in the “present oral tense” as teller and audience, while Coyote is in another state of active being in that story moment.

In the Four Foods narrative, in addition to the timeframes that set the narrative in a time before humans, there is also an implied connection to a long line of time leading to the *now* present timeframe of the audience and teller. The effect is achieved through a complex layering of the timeframes in the narrative and through the way the Nsyilxcen language triggers active states of being. Much like watching television,

while the oral story is happening in the immediate moment, the timeframes in the story are happening in the context of the story.

4.9 Analog Imagery: Principles in Enowkinwixw

The concept of *n̄sawq̄nwixʷ* or enowkinwixw as it is currently spelled in contemporary use, as analog imagery is central to the methodology for this thesis. The analog imagery provides a guide in a way to examine different perspectives using a consensus-building dialectic to assist in constructing argument through a distinct Syilx enquiry method. As a construct elucidating a living systems view, reflected in Syilx epistemology, enowkinwixw's core principles displayed in the analog imagery are crucial and foundational, to establishing confirmation of a Syilx environmental ethic.

The principles of enowkinwixw foundational to *sq̄ilxʷt̄cawt̄* – Syilx-way are essential in clarifying argument that the Syilx ethic is not based in anthropocentrism. The Syilx principles are not focused solely on Syilx utilitarianism but focused on the needs of the whole living system of *tmixʷ*. The *enowkinwixw process* provides a method for the Syilx to see human practice as being directly relational to the *tmixʷ*. The central concept of enowkinwixw, that society is a living system and is a dynamic process of give-and-take, guides the principles of sustainability inherent in enowkinwixw's fundamental organizational tenets.

Enowkinwixw is the Syilx protocol exercised as a practical code of behavior resulting in a dependable system of principled coexistence with the *tmix*^w. The terms *respect* and *coexistence* are used with the understanding that those concepts are perceived in the context of a society mostly disconnected from nature in which its members are no longer long-term residents of one place as community. Outlining the fundamentals of the enowkinwixw concept cannot adequately describe a living process of cultural interaction with place in which the words *reverence* and *to cherish* more closely describe interactions which seek reciprocity and collaboration rather than competition and objectivity. . The enowkinwixw protocol seeks collaboration as a societal imperative implemented through the individual, family and community, in a framework for generating robustness, enrichment and sustainability. As a code of behavior it is an expectation to include and empower each other and is central to accomplishing a full respectful dialogue.

The figurative template provided in figure 2 outlining both enowkinwixw principles and methodology was developed to assist the inquiry. Figure 2 should be viewed as a four-part “nested-systems” model as put forward by Fritjof Capra in “Principles of Ecology”. The model assists to structure the analysis by situating the analog in the *captik*^w as reflecting relational dynamics, in a “parts-to-whole” as well as a “dynamic-flow” of inseparability. (Capra “Principles” 36)

Enowkinwixw: Four Parts Nested View:

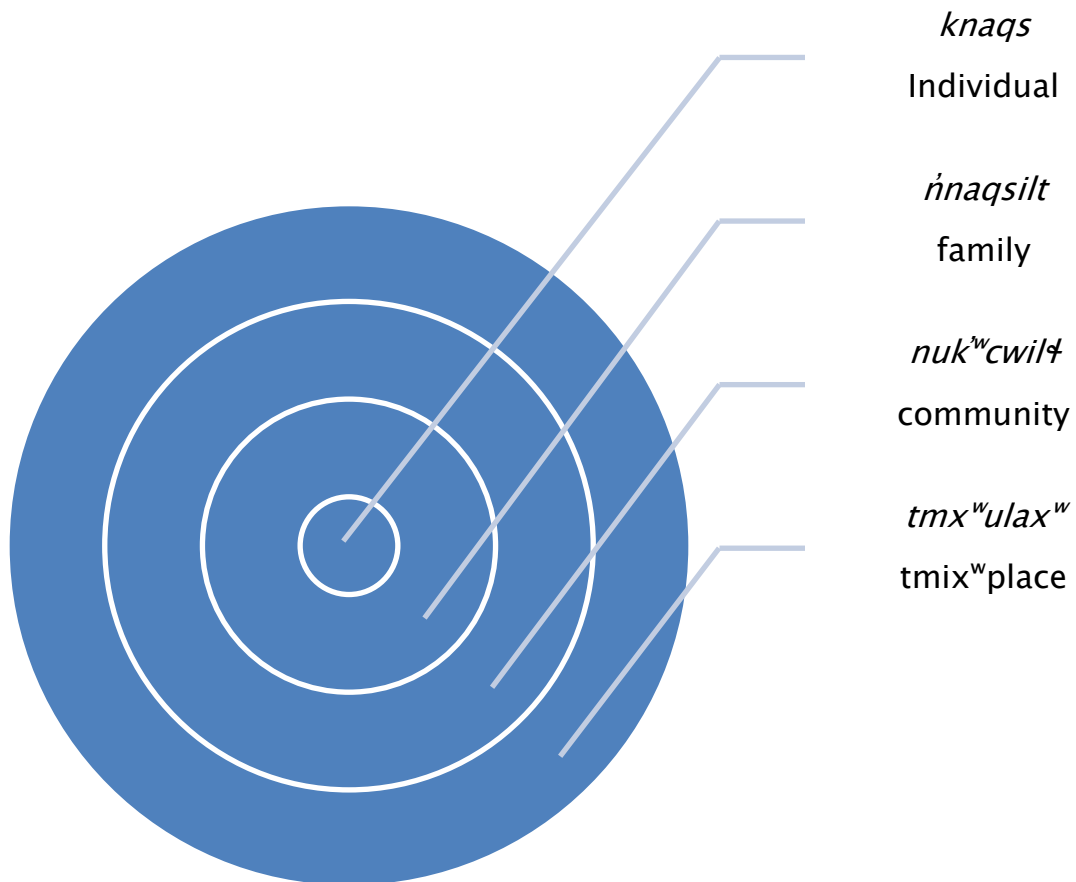


Figure 2.

The central concept in enowkinwixw expresses the Syilx epistemology that humans should live and function as inseparable from *tmix^w*, although in their own specific and unique identity. It is their specialized identity which must be reconciled within the larger ecosystem in its various levels of human social organization as *nuk^wcawilx* – village

community as place-based, through *inaqsilt* – *extended family* as an intergenerational social institution, as well as to the individual as the source of social will at the center of all human interactions. As a nested-system model, the concentric circles make cognizant and visible different levels of interaction occurring simultaneously. For the purpose of this thesis the concentric circles represent distinct societal levels of ethics maintenance within Syilx society which operate within the larger ecosystem. Community as cultural process exerts social imperatives which are transferred and maintained through extended family systems and are enacted through individual will. Individuals make up the trans-generation continuum of extended family, constituting the non-transient village populations as Syilx cultural units interfacing with the ecosystem. The construct manifests, as a nested system, a view that emphasizes the place-based character of Syilx interaction with the ecosystem, as unbroken generations of extended families making up villages transferring an ethic of regenerative land-use.

4.9.1 The Four Chiefs Teach na^wq^wnwix^w

Enowkinwixw is both demonstrated and spoken about in the Four Chiefs *captik^w4*. The Chiefs, “meeting for a long time” enact a construct in physical space. They are sitting facing each other. In this formation they create an analogous representation of a set of invisible relations or dynamics by the forming of an axis in a four cardinal point circle.

Because they are “Chiefs”, they are automatically to be seen as representatives of others who cannot be seen, but are nonetheless made present by the Chiefs which represent them. The construct of four chiefs facing each other brings forward the relational aspect of the full circle of the *tmix^w* as those governed by the Four Chiefs who represent all life forms stretching outward in the four directions.

As Chiefs engaged in a meeting, the implication is that another invisible relation is made visible in this construct in that there is a problem they all “face” forming the center point between them. The construct can be interpreted as representing *iʔ scxəlakəks iʔ tmx^wulax^w* – *the full circle of tmix^w as land* and at the same time *iʔ sc’aymiwsc iʔ tmx^wulax^w* – *the cross-point axis forming a center between the four directions*. Together these two concepts form the symbol which sets in place the four requirements of the formal enowkinwixw dialogue. An actual dialogue is usually organized in a circle around things placed in the center which represent the reason that brings the circle together.

In the Four Chiefs story the human represents a new problem. The problem placed at the center is posed as paradoxical. A new person is going to join them as *tmix^w*; however, while this new person will be part of them, it will not be like them. The new person will need to eat but will not be a food source to any of them, so the flaw, in terms of the effect on the established order, becomes the issue. If the *tmix^w* are to offer their own bodies for the lives of the new ones, how will the old ones survive in

perpetuity to keep the new ones living in the way they were meant to? The new ones are not the problem, but how the new ones come to understand about being *tmix*^w and what they must do as a result of being human, is the problem. They must find a human centered solution to insure that the *tmix*^w are able to “revive” from the human taking of their bodies.

The Chiefs sitting facing the problem at their center represent a wider circle expanding around the full circumference to fill the gaps between each Chief identifying the boundary of *tmix*^w that will be directly affected. The clear demarcation represented by the Chiefs includes all land creatures including birds, all underwater creatures and all trees and all ground growth. Outside of the demarcation of *tmix*^w directly to be affected by the new person, is the unknown that will be indirectly affected. The demarcation sets out the principle that any *tmix*^w in those four categories that will be directly affected in any direct way by the human are to be included in the resolve.

As well, four quadrants demarcated in the boundary of the circle and the center point, outline the dynamics which occur between *tmix*^w and human interaction. Outside of the boundary of the circle, the quadrants project an invisible broadening outward to indicate the fields of indirect dynamics that are ever present as a result of human interaction with *tmix*^w.

4.9. 2 Enowkinwixw: The Syilx Dialogic Construct

The construct seen in this abstracted form, is like a written formula and is instructive in the essential requirements of a specific style of a meeting of human minds to reach consensus or resolve. The process central to the concept of *naʔ^wqnwix^w*, toward building a composite view of a problem, is a process of empowerment through a positive inclusion of all dynamics related to opposing views resulting in an unbiased method of soliciting qualitative information.

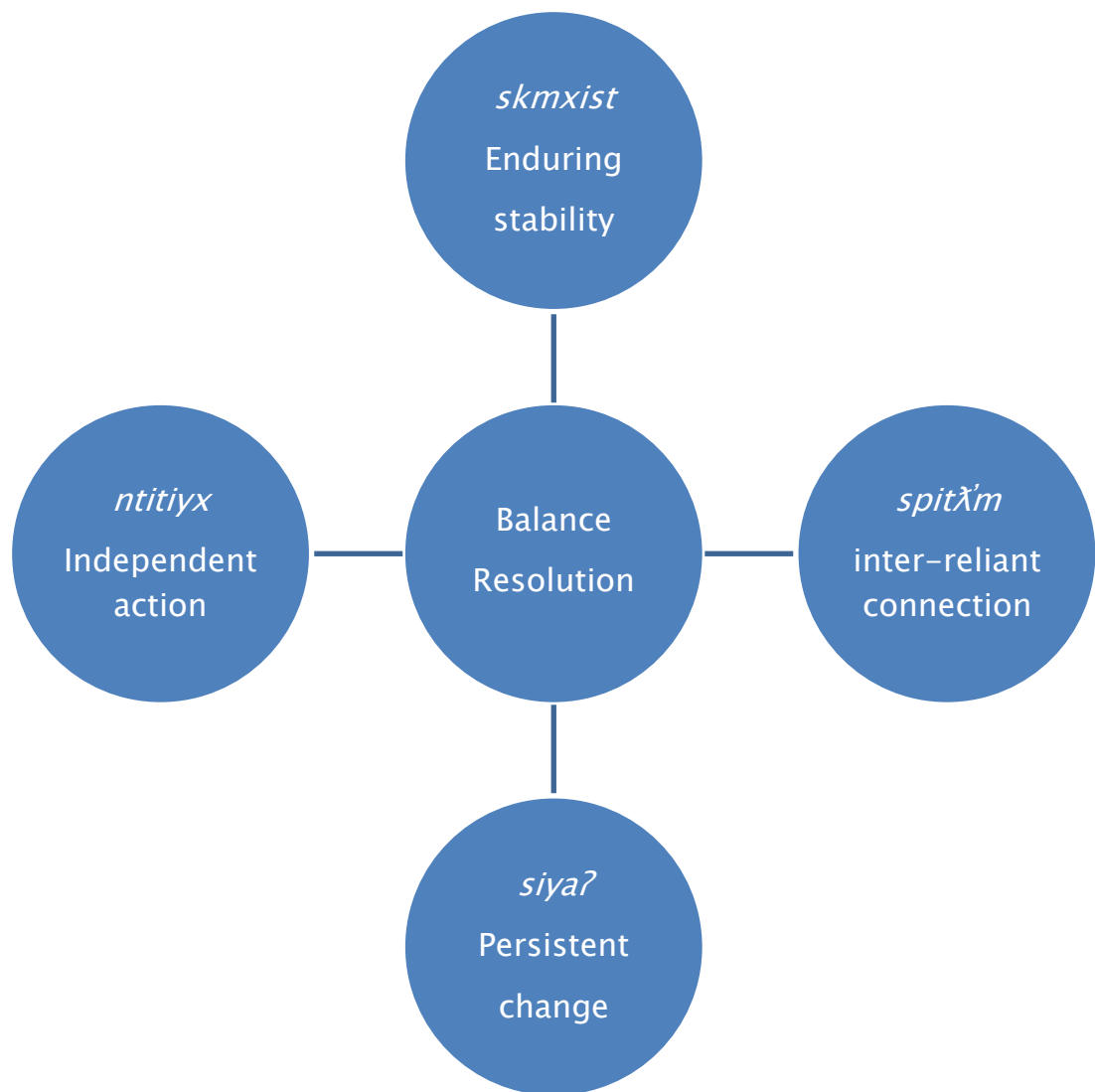
The morphemes *naʔ^w–drip into*, and *qn–the head*, and *wix^w–reciprocally* provides clear symbolic imagery that the participants should fill each other’s minds drop by drop, suggesting a gentle process of absorbing information without resistance. An essential requirement of enowkinwixw decision–making is to begin from an unbiased position. The construct sets in place the principles which can be relied on to provide a coherent and non–threatening order. The construct assists in providing a reasoned and practical method for identifying and clarifying issues within the given parameters defined by the problem itself by illuminating specific details related to the problem and by providing focus toward resolve. The construct identifies required procedures which must be applied in order to actualize its inherent principles.

The first requirement or principle of the dialogue is that in forming a circle of resolve, the Syilx employ the imperative to include, with equal value, to the best ability of those present, all “relations” who will be

effected. Just as in the story, that all of the *tmix*^w will be impacted by the coming of the humans among them, there is an overriding Syilx awareness that social discord has interconnected and therefore indirect and unseen effects to the larger ecosystem. This awareness is made explicit in the principle of including the *tmix*^w as “persons” in enowkinwixw dialogue procedures through *sux^wq^wa?q^wa?lulax^w-speakers for the land*.

The second requirement or principle is that just as in the four “Chiefs” facing each other, a formal enowkinwixw dialogue is representative of opposing dynamics. The four different but equally important “Chiefs” represent different human dynamics present in any community. They represent different viewpoints that must be reconciled before the problem, which impacts all and forms the center of their dialogue, can be resolved. Elders in Syilx society represent being around the longest and so could be considered most stable. Figuratively, as a dynamic, Chief *skmxist* might be thought of as representing dependability or stableness. Stableness can be seen as powerful and desirable. The natural opposing force could then be thought of as “change” which could be represented by *siya?* saskatoon berry as the seed and represents inevitable disruption which is also natural and desirable. Bitterroot or *spí?χm*, a root, figuratively represents an interdependent anchoring in place as a positive adaptive and nurturing process. The natural opposing dynamic is represented by Spring Salmon *ntity?ix* as

independent action, mobility and application of advantage representing a positive force of advancement. The number four as such, in the construct, rather than a number in its numeric sequential function identifies the principle of opposing forces held in place by positive counterbalance to each other. Each counterbalance can be visualized as moving both toward and outward from the center as an aspect of the dynamics within the circle. All points between the problem at the center and each of the four dynamic extremes set out the boundary for the level of clarity required in the formal dialogue. It is crucial to see the dialogue construct as having at a minimum four main oppositional forces, straining away from each other but pulled into place by the problem that has compelled their coming together.



Enowkinwixw Oppositional Dynamics Model

figure 3

The problem at the center of each dialogue also identifies the extremity of opposing points that are required to be identified. The problem could be thought of as the only common ground shared by each opposing point. If clarification and resolve is to happen, in a formal enowkinwixw dialogue, soliciting the most powerful opposing points related to the question to be resolved is vital. The requirement of calling on the most opposite points of view to inform the issues related to the problem at the center provides opportunity for as complete a clarification as is possible towards the resolution mutually desired by all affected and represented by each opposing view.

For clarification to occur, opposing points must first be given and be heard without presuming how the problem should be resolved. An unbiased clarification of the problem and its effects is the only goal at the first stage of the formal dialogue and therefore no debate, devaluing or discarding or lobbying of any view is permitted. Instead, the building upon and filling in of information gaps leading to an amendment of every participants view, without loss of face or power, is expected and required to take place. The requirement is for as unbiased and as complete a clarification of the problem as is possible by the participants. A fuller understanding assists in amending each participants view with information on how and why others view the problem differently and provides a view of different effects the problem has on others.

The third requirement or principle of formal dialogue is to collectively project and envision what would be there without the problem and to construct strategies toward that vision rather than to engage in debate. Just as the “Chiefs” forecast the vision of a future in which they have resolved the problem by the offering of their bodies and only then work out the strategies to awaken Chief *skmxist*, the construct displays a procedural requirement. The construct provides insight into the principle that opposing forces are actually two extremes seeking stability and as such are actually one continuum in which the only point at which no opposition occurs is the center. The four directional cross pinpoints the problem around which opposing points can become visible and at the same time, the center or meeting point between oppositional forces is the point at which they balance each other off. The fully clarified problem is the only point at which solution can be envisioned and thus undertaken.

The process of creating a common vision arising out of the position taken by each dynamic is a necessary requirement in finding resolve by creating a composite view of what is desired as the solution prior to stating the obstacles in the way of resolve. Chief Bear offered a resolve and each of the other Chiefs offered the equivalent coming from their position. The construct displays how formal dialogue must situate opposing forces to relate only to the goal of resolve at their center by the offering of strategies that are desirable and feasible. The strategies

offered are actions that each is prepared to contribute to move them all toward the common vision, rather than a reaction to oppositional forces and asking others to change while they maintain a position without change.

Once the vision has been established and approved the requirement is to strategize to identify, clarify and remove specific obstacles which stand in the way of each “Chief”, moving as a self-adjustment toward that vision. The analogy is that a process of self-offered steps leading toward resolve is undertaken as offerings to the center, which is the problem. This step in the process immediately shifts the dynamics of oppositional strategies. Obstacles that require reciprocal steps from each opposing side are approached through proposed self-sacrifice offerings. Such offerings are identified that have intentional value to oppositional dynamics opening opportunity for an exchange of mutual benefit to take place. The procedure takes longer and requires careful acceptance protocols at each stage before they are approved and dispatched. The participants are challenged to self amend their own dynamics toward resolve thus “giving” of themselves and in turn shifting the dynamics of opposition. Movement toward the vision as a way toward resolve for the center goal provides positive and achievable objectives and each oppositional view moves closer together until resolve at the center is reached as the agreed-upon steps toward resolve are accomplished.

The requirement of enowkinwixw is to take the responsibility to be informed by differing views and to change as a result of a more informed view and shift accordingly. It encourages opportunities for others to change through shifts intended solely to compel a reciprocally desired move toward resolve. A clear requirement is to be willing to take the lead as a “Chief”, by taking the greatest risk to step forward to do what everyone concludes must be done in order to move toward the common goal. Agreeing to take the essential first step also compels agreement that each must be willing to do likewise to move toward the same goal to neutralize imbalances and provide counterbalance. The requirement translates to the concept that those in the strongest positions of power must take the lead in the difficult task of setting the tone and level of “sacrifice”. They cannot ask others to step up because their position of oppositional power will only increase imbalance. Leadership for the Syilx is to set example, to lead through a willingness to give up personal bias and to find a way for others to act responsibly through setting the example to follow. The result is to self-adjust and thereby compel others to self-adjust by decreasing oppositional force to them and making possible their offerings until the goal of mutual resolve is reached and interdependence is re-established to all in the circle.

The fourth requirement or principle of the enowkinwixw dialogue is to achieve the final goal of full social responsibility as an “awakening” through the power of every “song”. The “songs” or individual voices of

the many that are represented are brought forward in the final stage of the enowkinwixw to achieve the full circle of actualization and the completion by the whole system. The requirement is for all of those who are represented by the “Chiefs” to actualize the resolve. The redistribution to all, of the responsibility of sustaining the new way, must take place for it to become the accepted practice. In the enowkinwixw dialogue the final requirement is that each one that benefits from the sacrifices which provided a solution is to come forward to “revive” those who have sacrificed to make it so. In a wider societal imperative, the concept of the Syilx “giving” or traditions for community and oblations for the *tmix*™ in the form of ritualized gratitude observances through “feasting” gift distributions, is a visible demonstration of adherence to this principle. Required formal sharing of wealth and work and strict regenerative practices are ways of maintaining the individual, family and community responsibility of “singing” or giving back to the *tmix*™. To discover the primal joy and fulfillment released by selfless giving is a principle of practice for sustained reciprocity. In that sense, Chief Bear’s willingness to lay down his life provides a model for the rest to follow, demonstrating the concept for human understanding of the need to willingly practice *offertorium* or *oblation*, which Ott referred to as the principle of giving in reverence. (Ott, V&K 3) The willingness is central in the concept of respect or gratitude to all *tmix*™ including to each other as a necessary human ethos of sustainability. The concept of such “singing”

to continually restore “life” is considered by the Syilx to be the main gift of the *tmixw* to the human. The human practice of “offering” or giving by finding ways to continue coiling a unity through knowledge of the many strands of *tmixw*, who sacrifice their lives for the human, is a critical component in sustaining social responsibility to the environment. Achieving an individual conscience in the need for the willingness to cherish and respect all *tmixw* is accomplished through the process of enowkinwixw as the way one ought to do things and the way one ought to be.

4.9.3 Enowkinwixw in Contemporary Applications

The construct points to the requirements of Syilx governance dialogue as formal discussion, however, the principles of enowkinwixw empower and inform at an informal everyday level, in the way one ought to strive to be in all interactions. enowkinwixw is utilized in a wide variety of ways in contemporary Syilx Okanagan society. In the contemporary consensus making technique, the concept of four “Chiefs” is translated into insuring the core opposing dynamics which trigger conflict in a functioning whole community between preservationists and innovators and between integrationists and segregationists, are represented in the development of solutions by incorporating their needs. As a psychological application, the concept of four “Chiefs” is translated into four oppositional aspects between intellect and emotion and between physical impulse and

ethical/spiritual restraint, within an individual, which can result in imbalance internally. In use as a traditional law instrument, the concept of four “Chiefs” is translated into four opposing aspects of equity arising as tensions between the collective and the individual and between the status quo and changed conditions which can trigger injustice and result in conflict. In conflict resolution, clarification from four counter viewpoints rather than only two entrenched polarized views is engaged as a necessity in procedural responsibility to assist in diffusing deep hostility and in negotiating a resolve organized to diminish immovable bias. Engaging four counter viewpoints is also a way to position and utilize oppositional dynamics to establish a comprehensive understanding of what fuels the conflict from different perspectives toward establishing a strategic achievable negotiation process toward resolve. Each of these uses represents a different way of constructing procedurally, the dynamic principles demonstrated by the Four Chiefs. The variety of ways in which the enowkinwixw concept can be employed by the Syilx in the contemporary revival of this “consensus” process is unlimited.

In the past, the most common form of use perhaps would now appear as quite informal because the required underlying procedural principles would have been overtly in practice and present as a philosophy internally within each individual. The requirement of formality procedures to be constructed and consented to in modern

enowkinwixw process would not have been a necessity. The Chief would simply ask for those he had assembled to *naŋ^wqñwix^w* and the sectors of community in which identifiable dynamics are present would automatically be recognized as having representative voice in one of the four primary segments of Syilx community. In contemporary Syilx community, now formally structured under democratically elected Chief and Council leadership the four segment voices continue to influence informally the process of decision-making in addition to the revival of engaging formal enowkinwixw dialogue.

The protocols of enowkinwixw are based on the recognition that in any circle of people there are different perspectives as a result of particular sensitivities, expertise and concerns and the recognition that diversity is necessary. Protocols are based on the idea that “community” as a whole unit actually functions like a living organism with different but vitally necessary parts. For the Syilx the concept of community, as well as extended family, is analogous to a living person with brains, muscles, heart and spirit which is perceived as the body of community “awakening” each time they gather. The awakening of group-mind and collective will, through the individual personalities becoming its parts and doing its best work in four like-minded segments is a procedural requirement of enowkinwixw, to empower and suffuse each part with power and voice. The protocol is meant to bring all voices of a group to the discussion in a positive awareness of the necessary part in bringing balance to the whole.

The different voices of community contribute views through four like-minded groups represented in the circle to discuss the topic from their own unique skills and voice. The like-minded groups representative of the four primal “Chief” segments of Syilx community are seen as Elder Voice, Youth Voice, Mother Voice and Father Voice. The descriptions do not actually refer to the aged, teens or men and women, but to a dynamic of oppositional interactions present in community which can be called on as a positive force of community sustainability rather than cast as being in competitive opposition. The following four primary community segments provide representative voice in Syilx society.

4.9.3.1 Traditions: Elder Voice

Elder voice is not about chronological age although more people who are older are concerned with the importance of the past and traditions.

“Elders” are like-minded in understanding that strong traditions are a primary element in maintaining community sustainability as a part of a healthy and vibrant land. No matter what the issue is, in discussions, the duty of Syilx elders are to stand up and ask if the decision is going to impact the land and therefore the food and water and therefore have long-term effects. Syilx elders instruct that all life forms are sacred and relay precisely how traditions are an essential factor in continuously safeguarding an understanding of this.

4.9.3.2 Relations: Mother Voice

Mother voice refers to the voice of those grounded in the interconnectedness of community and the concerns, needs and issues related to the on-going well-being of community. Those who know how to organize people, usually are the ones who can give the best advice on what people need and why. Understanding community relations is a skill usually held by mature women of a community and men who are healers and leaders. Guarding the rights of individuals to be taken care of without unfairness and safeguarding the wellness of the entire community whenever decisions are undertaken, is the duty of Mother Voice is to ask how the outcome will affect on-going security and wellbeing of community members. The development of standards by which the community interacts is a responsibility of the Mother Voice.

4.9.3.3 Applications: Father Voice

Father Voice refers to those who have skill and expertise in analyzing, planning and constructing ways and means to accomplish and actualize the things necessary for security, sustenance, and shelter. The role is one that bears the weight of responsibility to produce what is needed. Although men are more likely to have mobility and skills in maintaining physical human needs, women with expert practice skills also take lead to contribute in this role. They contribute expert practical strategy, logistics, and action and express reliability and strength. They teach

practical information and instruct on specifics. In any undertaking it is their duty to stand and inquire on exact specifics of logistics, cost, efficiency, practicality and capacity based on expertise.

4.9.3.4 Innovations: Youth Voice

Youth Voice refers to those who are like-minded in creative energy. They push us to make room for newness and come up with innovations, new approaches, and new ways to look at things. Collectively this role refers to those who advocate and understand that change is healthy and invigorates all levels of human life. Most in this role are young in age, however, some people retain the exuberance and energy required to be visionaries all their lives. The collective role is one that bears hope. In the face of adversity and hardship the duty of those in this role is to stand and ask for alternative perspectives and to find ways to meet the creative challenges faced by community.

4.10 Conclusion: Fours Chiefs Story: Tutelage in Ecological Sustainability

The thesis arguments rest on constructing theory that the underlying philosophy is continuously imbedded through the traditional cultural protocol of the Syilx people. Enowkinwixw provides a method to reach understanding that sustainability is sourced by ecological principles of sustainability. The Four Chiefs story demonstrates sound principles of

reciprocity, gives procedural direction and provides guidance in governance, consensus building and decision-making. It provides principles toward maintaining a balance between equity for the collective and liberty for the individual. The result produces security, well-being and wealth of spirit and body. It dissuades the concept of competing interests that result in defensive disparities, inefficiencies, oppression and hostilities, any of which inevitably manifest as negative impacts on environment. The result is the Syilx view, that community can be aligned in a sustainable cohesion of harmony and reverence within the larger ecosystem only when society, in its deliberations and decisions, situates natural oppositional dynamics within community and extended family into counterbalance to include the lands requirements. In contemporary society, negative impacts are compounded as a result of disconnection from long-term community and family and its natural cherishing of place. For the contemporary Syilx, the requirements or principles of enowkinwixw provide an on-going active process and guide in revitalizing practices of reverence and spirituality foundational to sustainable living. Enowkinwixw, as an ecological sustainability model, provides a practical procedural process toward a societal set of principles and a method to insure an environmentally centered ethic which will constantly mediate harmful interactions between individuals, families and communities in the direct or indirect effects on the places and the other life forms they interact with.

Chapter 5: Syilx Literature Written in English

5.1 Introduction

The transition of storytelling, from a direct teller-to-audience format, into written form, creates its own difficulties in relation to the structural requirements of oral literatures. One of the central requirements for oral telling is for the story to be narrated in a string of dramatic story-moments linked together by sparsely detailed and summarized narrative information to assist retention in the memory bank, thus forming an efficient mnemonic reference pathway to be followed in the telling. The use of recognizable story character types from *captik^w*, in their natural patterns of behavior to provide inferred detail is a requirement of *captik^w* story. The natural patterns of behaviour allow for a coded imbedding of dramatic story-moments as story script and associative network is critical to Syilx knowledge transfer. Story character types are necessary to the layering of meaning related to the various roles of *tmix^w* in ceremony, law and land use practice. Another requirement is for story-moments to use vignettes set in active, detailed land or nature imagery in the fewest of power words. In both *captik^w* and *sma?may?*, such vignettes provide clarity of information by insuring an enhanced access to visually descriptive images already imbedded in Syilx words.

The use of these structural requirements together with the use of devices parallel to Western literary traditions presents challenges and difficulties in contemporary Syilx literature in terms of pacing, grammar and language usage.

For the purpose of this thesis the analysis of each of the four examples of Syilx literature written in English is to provide focus and evidence of the presence of the Syilx oraliture approach as well as to demonstrate evidence of the continuing Syilx perspective on environment. The selections include four published works of Syilx literature written in English, two of which are written in the earlier part of the twentieth century and two of which are written in this past decade.

5.2 Mourning Dove: Cogewea: The Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range.

Mourning Dove's knowledge of the use of *captik*^{wł} is more than evident in the novel *Cogewea: The Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range*, in terms of its success to "show the Indian viewpoint". (Dove "Tales" 12-14). Drawing masterfully on *captik*^{wł}, in the novel, Dove allows access to a layering of the levels of meaning revealing the tensions and impacts of colonization on the Syilx Okanagan people and on their land during that time of deep cultural transition.

The novel *Cogewea: The Half-Blood*, published in 1927, was written and set in what was for her, a contemporary timeframe, in the

first decades of the twentieth century. The novel has been described by Fisher, in the introduction of the novel's 1981 reprint by University of Nebraska Press, as a "collaboration" between Mourning Dove and Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, her editor. (Dove v-xxvi) As Martha Viehmann has discussed, the collaboration is one way, among others more obvious in the text, that Dove's novel represents divergent sympathies and "divergent choices". (Viehmann 205) Gerald Visnor as well as Fisher each discussed the novel as representing a transformation of literary tradition, from the oral to the written, through mixed-blood writing. (Fisher 173-177) Susan Bernardin forwards the view that the novel enacts the conditions of early Native American literary production as the "competing visions of narrative authority and Native authenticity". She writes that Dove's novel manages to intercede in the prevailing views of Indian identity, while at the same time validating Okanagan literature in a way that makes it "accessible to an outside reader". (Bernardin 489-490)

Brown, on the other hand, has characterized Dove's writing as "a legacy" of the Okanagan, and the novel as a "splintered work" in which McWhorter became "a constant interruptive voice" upon the "rich sense of her own oral tradition and innate storytelling skill". Brown puts forward the view that Dove wrote to create "a space for Indian consciousness in the midst of a suffocating dominant cultural obtuseness". (Brown 51-58)

The liberal insertion of McWhorter's views in the writing and the "editing" of the novel, as Brown has argued, do not keep Mourning Dove's

Syilx voice silent. (Brown 2–15) The strength of her Syilx perspective is more than clear in this novel, as it is in all of her works. In 1933, Twenty-seven of her Okanagan stories that were highly edited by Dean Guie were published as a juvenile collection. Evidence of such interference is clear, as is Dove's response to it. In a letter to McWhorter in 1930, Dove explains that in "recasting" her stories for Guie, she has omitted many things, but that "an Indian that knows the story can read between the lines just the same." (Dove "letters" 69; 526) Similarly, in 1976 Donald Hines published a retrieved original manuscript of the thirty-eight Okanagan stories provided by Dove. Dove's comments in the preface to that collection by Hines reveal her clarity of view about the purpose of her writing. She explains that her primary interest was "in writing novels showing the Indian viewpoint" and that she had been reluctant to collect and write the Okanagan stories in English. However, she adds that in the work of writing them, she had found "a rich field that had hardly been touched by the hand of the white man" and adds that the "...white man cannot understand what an Indian will see, and he cannot know that which comes from the heart and not only from the voice." She writes that the stories are of great importance to the younger generations of Indians and says with conviction "I will feel well rewarded if I have preserved for the future generations the folklore of my ancestors." (Dove "Tales" 12–14)

The novel frames the story of Cogewea over the template of a well known *captikʷt*, the story of *qʷəqʷcʷiyaʔ*– chipmunk and *sninaʔ*–owl monster. The novel’s storyline is centered on Cogewea, a half-breed Indian girl and two men competing over her attentions. One is a treacherous English easterner named Alfred Densmore, who wants her for the money he thinks she has, and the other is a respectful half-breed cowboy named Jim LaGrinder. The title “Cogewea” is her Anglicized version of the word *qʷəqʷcʷiyaʔ*–chipmunk. The following very brief synopsis of the *captikʷt* of *qʷəqʷcʷiyaʔ* naʔ *sninaʔ*–chipmunk and owl monster is a story known by virtually all Syilx people even into contemporary times.

Chipmunk lived with her frail grandmother, who sends her to pick berries and instructs her not to waste time eating them but to hurry back because owl monster might find her.

Chipmunk eats berries anyway and Owl monster finds her and tricks her, convincing her to come down from the bush.

Chipmunk is suspicious so she leaps away quickly and owl monster rakes deep scratches down her back. Chipmunk rushes home and grandmother tries to hide her.

Meadowlark, up on top of the tipi tells grandmother to pay him to help and she does. He tells grandmother to hide chipmunk in a clamshell. Owl monster arrives and searches for chipmunk. Meadowlark makes Owl monster pay him, and

he tells where the little girl is. Owl monster looks in the clamshell and rips the little girl's heart out, eats it and leaves the grieving grandmother. Meadowlark reappears and tells the grandmother to put a berry in her heart. Grandmother does and chipmunk awakens. (Armstrong, oral memory bank)

Fisher in her introductory comments to the reprinted novel points out that the novel is “inspired” by the Okanagan story of chipmunk and owl woman. (Dove “Cogewea” xi) Viehmann in her essay offers that Cogewea’s character is also familiar in the foolishness and antics of chipmunk in another Okanagan story in which chipmunk is sent by grandmother to visit fisher and skunk, to show herself off to fisher that he might choose her for a wife. She laughs at skunk because he smells and gets into trouble. (Viehmann 210)

From a Syilx perspective, the formal structural devices and intent inherent in *captik^{wł}*, as discussed in the core premise of this dissertation, are clearly foundational to her approach. The argument put forward contends that Mourning Dove as Okanagan storyteller, purposely selected the familiar *tmix^w* character of *q^{wł}əq^{wł}c’wiya?* who appears in many Okanagan *captik^{wł}*, because Dove had a masterful knowledge of what Okanagan oral story is and how it works. She employs the *captik^{wł}* method of reflecting and thereby speaking to societal issues through a *captik^{wł}* lens to clarify and give direction. The novel reflects Dove’s view

of those times presented through a Syilx *captik* story method in order to explore tensions confronting the new generation of Syilx Okanagan in cultural transition and the choices before them.

The way that Dove relies on Okanagan *captik* literary tradition as a framework to characterize the dynamics of frontier relationships becomes obvious when analyzed from a Syilx oral story-script and associative-network lens. Dove selects the story-script of the parentless *q'əq'c'wiya?*, embodied in the character of Cogewea as a way to portray the a greater pressure faced by so tiny a population of Okanagan remaining after smallpox that she referred to them in her autobiography published in 1990 as “fast vanishing” and in “a pathetic state of turmoil”. Through the expectations set by the easterner character of Densmore, Dove provides just such a view in the novel to contest to the common “easterner” views. She writes that upon his arrival, “he had expected to see the painted and blanketed aborigine of history and romance; but instead he had only encountered this miniature group of half-bloods and one ancient squaw.” (Dove “Cogewea” 43–44)

It is important to note that Dove would have been aware of the enigmatic role of *q'əq'c'wiya?* in Okanagan story as the tragically innocent orphaned child forced to go out alone to pick berries, with only her old and helpless grandmother’s warnings to protect her. In this particular story-script, she is preyed upon by the monster who eats little girl’s hearts. Central to the intent of the story-script in this genre of

There-Were-People-Living captikʷt, is to identify and characterize malevolence that is a threat to the people. In the *captikʷt*, chipmunk escapes at first but is betrayed for “payment” and she still loses her heart. The grandmother is helpless to protect her and the monster finds her and eats her heart and the child dies. However, she is restored to life and to her grandmother through the spirit power of replacing her missing heart with a berry. The replacing of her ripped out heart, by grandmother with the Chief *Siyaʔ Berry*, who, from the Four Chiefs story, represents the coming generations and necessary change which must be reconciled with the security of traditions, is not an accidental choice. The choice provides a way toward the critical resolve and its underlying meaning through the character and metaphor framed by Cogewea. Dove was very much aware of the underlying “associative” connection that she establishes through *qʷəqʷcʷiyaʔ* and the *nəʔnasqilxʷtn-people-eating monster*. Cast in the character of Densmore is an oblique and inferred reference to the well-known devious monster character is a reference to the colonizing culture consuming the Okanagan people and their lands.

In the preface to *Tales of the Okanagan*, Dove who grew up immersed in *captikʷt*, described *captikʷt* as “ancient stories of the Animal World” that were told from generation to generation to both old and young. She clarifies that the tale telling and impersonations were a part of education. She describes the story characters as “somewhat in the form of humans” who could transform into animal form at will and that

the stories came from “a time when the animals and men combined to rule the world.” (Dove “Tales” 13)

A deeper tension becomes available to the reader as an underlying text of the “divergent choices” as discussed by Viehmann between the world of the Syilx and the world of the “shoyapee” through the story of the half-blood Cogewea and her two suitors. (Viehmann 204–222) The life of *qʷəqʷcʷiyaʔ* is bargained for, by owl monster who wants to rip her heart out and consume it, and by grandmother who wants her to live. Cogewea, as metaphor for the cultural transformation her people are undergoing, is a “half-blood” caught between the grandmother’s world and “being lured to a shadowy trail of sorrow by the deceiving shoyapee.” (Dove “Cogewea” 244) Just as Cogewea’s trusting heart is ripped apart by the thieving treachery of Densmore, the *nəʔnasqilxʷtn- monster* that rips the heart out of the remnants of the vulnerable Okanagan people after smallpox is the “soulless creatures who have ever preyed upon us.” (Dove “Cogewea” 283) What also becomes clear in the meaning of Chipmunk’s return to life by spirit power is the metaphor of Dove’s resolve in the “return” of Cogewea and Jim to live in the ways of grandmother, as half-bloods in the corral “built round us by the Shoyapee.” The reference may refer to both being corralled in culturally as well as to the establishment of reservations. Either way, Dove provides clarity that although the transformation to living half-and-half of each culture cannot be avoided, because the Shoyapee culture surrounds their everyday lives, that for the

Okanagan, the best choice is to remain insulated within the teachings of their ancestors.

Dove obliquely explores another less clear metaphor of unwanted acculturation within the novel through the use of a story-script template of *captik*^{w4} seen in the tension between the characters of the unyielding and perceptive Stimteema and that of Densmore. A reference to the character of the Swah-lah-kin or frog woman is featured as a chapter title in the novel. The following is a very brief synopsis of the well-known frog woman story as it told.

Frog woman is a malicious ugly old maid who pursues the sun. He despises and ignores her. His younger brother, the night sun (the moon) while hungry and traveling long comes upon her tipi and enters and addresses her respectfully as a relative, as is the custom for a man to speak to a woman stranger. First he calls her sister, then auntie and then grandmother, with no response. Finally, frustrated by her disrespect in ignoring his proper approach, he sarcastically says that if she isn't any of those she must be his lover, as that is the only other alternative relationship. She immediately leaps up and attaches herself to his beautiful face, marring it forever and sealing an unwanted relationship for all time, having taken calculated advantage of his situation. (Armstrong, oral memory bank)

Stimteema, in the novel ignores the attentions of Densmore, the Shoyapee, to win her over as a way to secure his position with Cogewea. Gender is not at issue in many *cap tik'w* of the Okanagan, rather, it is the role that provided a focus and is embodied in a relationship and is acts to reference the characteristics represented in the *cap tik'w*. Offensive arrogant forwardness, taking liberties without invitation in the aggressive land seizures, characteristic of the overarching circumstances of colonization, casts the Shoyapee in the role of the unwanted ugly creature. Grandmother, thus cast as ancestral culture, is the source of respectful principles sustaining life, who would not be willingly enjoined with such a culture. In the *cap tik'w*, younger brother Night Sun, who casts light in the absence of the sun, is angered by the creature's refusal to respond as "a relative" as societal custom requires, as a way to maintain familial boundaries of being respectful. His crossing of that boundary invites the disrespectful and aggressive actions by which he is immediately claimed and encumbered forever by the unwanted ugly creature. Through association, we can establish that the unlucky night sun might be Dove's metaphor for the land of the Okanagan and its people who will be forever marked by the Shoyapee. Neither is this a "racial" casting of Indian hatred of the Shoyapee by Dove, who casts Cogewea's older sister in a contented and accepted settler marriage, but rather a metaphor for the revulsion toward the malevolent greed and

arrogance which characterized the colonial process. In the final pages of the novel, Dove closes Cogewea's story with these words; "The moon sailing over the embattled Rockies, appeared to smile down on the dusky lovers, despite the ugly Swah-lah-kin clinging to his face." (Dove "Cogewea" 284)

In the first chapter of her autobiography, Dove comments on the devastating changes already taking place at that time. She speaks of the scarcity of game, which was being over-hunted to supply the fur trade, as well as the devastation to forests and the land which lay in ruins "from white invasion". (Dove "Salishan" 3) In the novel, in the chapter, "The Dead Mans Vision", Dove provides a view of Okanagan life before contact, through Stimteema's voice, as a time of great abundance when they observed the "Great Spirit" through long winter dance rituals of giving and gratitude. Somahowatqhu, daughter of the great Kettle Falls Chief Seewhelhken, was Dove's own stimteema in real life and would have related the stories of times that her parents had experienced before and after the arrival of the fur traders. In Cogewea's stimteema's voice, Dove explains that in the time before the White man, they danced so that "that the trees, the grass and herbs be perpetual; that the deer and all the game be plentiful...and the red salmon again swim up the river." (Dove Cogewea 123) Stimteema goes on to say that with the arrival of the White man, the people died from the pestilences brought by them, and were gone just like the huge herds of buffalo that had disappeared from

the land. Stimteema was only waiting her time to follow them to “where the pale face can not dispossess us, for he will not be there. He will no longer lure our children from us with his smooth tongue and books, which here serves to make them bad by imitating the destroyers of our race.” (Dove “Cogewea” 123)

Neither is the tension only about cultural loss but at the most fundamental level reflects the Syilx Okanagan environmental ethic inherent in the question of the “divergent choices” represented by Cogewea. In the following excerpt which is quoted at length from a letter written in 1915 to McWhorter, in words deeply reminiscent of words expressed years later by Aldo Leopold, Dove expresses her choice.

...Let me live among my people a little bit longer. I love nature. I love my hills and mountains who's voice I seem to understand. Every moan of the wind and the ripple of the brook, has his own music that my nature can answer, which no human hand dare to imitate...I heard the voice, which seemed but a whisper at first till it sounded so loud to me till it reached the mountaintops. Then, I could not resist. And I threw all civilized life, to the four winds, and I roamed back to my own kind, to live among the golden Race, who I would lay my life for...A Life that no real Indian dare lead and leave his dear life of nature which God gave him, as his own. (Dove “letters” 15-17; 395)

5.3 Eliza Jane Swalwell: Girlhood Days in Okanagan

Eliza Jane Swalwell was born Eliza Jane Simpson, in 1868 and published her short memoir in 1939 in the eighth report of the Okanagan Historical Society. She was the daughter of village Chief Pantherhead's sister who had married rancher George W. Simpson, the son of a Presbyterian minister originally from Philadelphia.

In the first reading of this memoir in the early 1980's as an undergraduate researcher, it was immediately recognizable as being written by a Syilx woman, even if she had not provided that information. Several things stood out. The first was the way she approached the narrative style which was clearly a blend of the oral historical narrative genre, described in chapter three, called *sma?may?*. The Okanagan style of *sma?may?* dominated the dry writing style of narrative common to folk historical journaling during that period. Easily recognizable, is the way that the Syilx style of narrative meanders through the memoir linking dry information with personal view and commentary adding descriptive asides that provide rich detail and description, along the way. As an example, a point form outline of her journalistic historical narrative is provided.

- Life before roads when girls were good horsewomen
- Aside tip on buying a good saddle horse
- Cattle ranching as first industry, round-up and handling horses
- Asides on range idioms, explanations, brand symbols

- View on incorrect movie images and the genuine cowboy
- Aside on Lewisa Redvia-Spetlam plant, descriptions and feelings
- Views on reverence for things and mystical experience
- Views on Great Spirit and God, and subconscious harmony
- Aside on heathenism and animism being nearer to God
- Views on two races and intellectual equality
- Indian Agent and revival of full co-operation
- Aside on father as son of a minister and his bible
- Views on failure of whites to understand Indians
- Example of Indian underage marriage and the law
- BC Consolidated Land Act 1874
- Pre-emptions and the making of reserves
- Federal and Provincial differences
- Sir Wilfred Laurier's move to take BC to court
- Views on treatment of Indians
- Aside on sleeping out in the open and the mysterious night wind
- Science article explaining rising air masses
- Okanagan Valley climate and rising air masses
- Identification of Indian grandparents' ancestry
- Identification of herself and her marriages

Swalwell structures the narrative the way any Syilx oral teller would in telling a *sma?may?*. Providing vignettes of detailed richly active

description and personalized views, interspersed between summarized historical accounts all of which serve to bring the listener to the teller's view. Swalwell ends the narrative in the classic requirement of a Syilx oral teller, by identifying her grandparents and their ancestry and identifying her names.

Second is the reason for an immediate familiarity with the Syilx story voice i in the way Swalwell organized the information to be transferred. The Syilx *sma?may?* is topic driven, in that the primary purpose of *sma?may?* is to transfer information of specific kinds related to one or more of the following: a) historic occurrence; b) noteworthy changes; c) mysterious phenomenon; and d) conflict. Most *sma?may?* are understood to have a historic origin and a teller is therefore required to identify who related the story to the teller. If the *sma?may?* is the teller's own personalized recollection of a particular event or time, the teller adds an identification statement of self and ancestry. Swalwell's narrative makes use of all four primary purpose topics and adds the required identification of ancestry and self.

Swalwell opens the narrative in the classical Syilx personal *sma?may?* account manner, identifying it as a personal memory this way, "I remember this valley when everything was in a wild state, before there was any wagon road and everything had to be brought in by packtrain..." (Swalwell 34) The narrative, intended for local public historical interest, provides historical information on early settler living, changes in life

practices, values and attitudes as well as detailed asides on the Okanagan landscape and wind phenomenon and Indian and White relations. The narrative does not try to mask her highly personalized commentary and views on Indian closeness to nature, white cultural strictures and government politics and injustices.

Another area which stood out as typical of a Syilx Okanagan view of particular interest to this thesis are the several highly descriptive segments which stand quite out of sync with the historical commentary and the narrative's linearity. In two short segments, Swalwell provides the reader with a glimpse of the way a Syilx person perceives and experiences the Okanagan landscape.

Swalwell describes the range in the early morning as an "exquisite pleasure... to ride over this green and gracious land". She provides descriptive images of the bunch grass growing "so high it waved in the wind like a field of wheat" with "sunflowers and lupines, springing up".

Swalwell gives special focus to the *sp̓iʔx̓m*, the plant identified in *captik* as one of the Four Chiefs. She refers to the "beautiful flower growing so close to the ground without leaves" that they seemed to be flowers recently picked and strewn on the ground, stretching ahead of her into the hills. "Spetlam" is the only Nsyilxcen word she uses in the narrative, explaining that the roots are used by the Indians as food. Her words that "on such occasions I have sometimes seen things, or rather sensed something, so serene and beautiful that it left me weak and

weeping as I sat in the saddle” convey a Syilx sensibility of the land. She attributed this “responsiveness to certain beautiful aspects of nature” as coming from her Indian mother. (Swalwell 36)

In another equally beautifully written aside near the end of her memoir, she comments on a phenomenon that had always interested her about a particular Okanagan night wind, which starts in the early, early morning hours. She describes how, sleeping out in the open, everything would be perfectly quiet and calm and then about two in the morning, in the distance you would hear the wind starting up, rustling the dried grass and sunflower leaves. The rustling would go on for some time and then die down completely and then start up again in another place, seeming to rise from the ground in spots and blow with considerable force for a short time and then die away without going anywhere. Her vivid description of this wind touching her is memorable and worth quoting in full.

When it did reach you it stole across your cheek and around your neck and through your hair, oh, so gently. It was so warm and soft and searching. I did not understand it.

(Swalwell 39)

The selection of Swalwell’s memoir was to provide an example of a typical Syilx *sma?may?* written in English. Her explanation also provides insight into the egalitarian views she held as a result of her “standing

between two races". The narrative reveals a response to a very specific aspect of nature as though to a person. She identifies the response as originating with her Syilx mother which "places" her as Syilx.

5.4 Gerry William: The Woman In the Trees

The Woman in the Trees, published in 2004 by Gerry William, an Okanagan, is a story about early contact told through a complex framework of combining Okanagan storytelling narrative called *sma?may?* with elements characteristic of *captik^w*. The novel is separated into three storytelling sections and two historical fiction sections dramatized by the characters, Wolverine and Walking Grizzly (Chief Inqala) and the mystical character of Enid, the woman in the trees. Nicolas Hwistesmetxe'qen—walking grizzly bear or *Nk^wala?* was a well known historical figure and the high Chief of the Okanagan. He was born around 1780–85, before the arrival of the first explorers in 1811, and died in 1865 after their arrival. (Teit 267) The character of Wolverine is a series of different fictional characters with the same name and persona appearing throughout the novel like red beads spaced at even intervals among random others, making obvious a pattern where otherwise none would occur. In the same way, Coyote as a character, appears at different intervals throughout the novel drawing the essence of a Syilx *captik^w* thread through the episodes which meander back and forth in time and story, as the "the voice of storytelling...the Syilx voice." (William 115).

Enid, the woman in the trees, who also appears at different intervals throughout the novel is patterned after *c̣ʕatləmxʷ*, a *captikʷ* female character who travels eternally through the tree tops, crooning to the moaning child she is carrying, coming down only to take life. In *captikʷ* she represents a form of *nəʕnasqilxʷtn*—a *people eating monster* and is analogous to societal genocide. William utilizes the classic form of *captikʷ* to embody in the larger than human character, Enid, the dispassion of colonial changes brought on by aggression, turmoil and disease in the first encounters of the Syilx with the colonizer.

The novel is loosely focused on the time period spanning Walking Grizzly's life. The story weaves in and out of fictionalized historical accounts and mythical episodes set in pre-contact times through to fictionalized historical episodes during the fur brigade, the smallpox epidemic and early Christian influence and finally into the early ranch and orchard settlement timeframe. The novel's structure is non-linear, moving between fictional timeframes as references to historic events and a type of *captikʷ* timeframe in an actions-based storytelling method common to the genre of oral history lore of the Syilx Okanagan people called *smaʔmayʔ*. As has been discussed in chapter three, outlining this Syilx genre of story, *smaʔmayʔ* are historical in origin, however are understood to have been passed around so much that it is clear that historical accuracy is not the point of *smaʔmayʔ* story. The focal occurrence or phenomenon of interest and the impact it may have had, is

the essential aspect of the story to be noted and learned from, or passed on to the future to make sense of. Harry Robinson, widely known elder storyteller of the Okanagan, recorded in the 1980's by Wendy Wickwire, is a published example of a teller of such *sma?may?*. (Robinson & Wickwire "Write" 11–315) Most Syilx elders in any Okanagan community are *sma?may?* tellers.

William would have had direct access to such *sma?may?* around the kitchen table and at any Syilx gathering occasion, such as funerals and community feasts. Contemporary Syilx are comfortable, at ease and adept at this popular oral narrative style. The non-linearity of *sma?may?*, presents some difficulty in the written form of a novel which is intended to be read front to back. In a teller-to-audience oral presentation, *sma?may?* overlays a concentration of actions intentionally focused on story-moments of significance surrounding a focal occurrence. While *sma?may?* are never conflict driven, a tension is purposefully drawn between the story and the audience in the telling. As William has drawn attention to, in the chapter "Storytelling Part One", the character Horse is telling his grandson Blue Dreams, stories to become his as Horse's successor. Horse explains "each story has its own heart, and stories could not be told unless the teller knew and understood the heart, and could use the heart to tell different listeners the same story using different words." (William 102)

A *sma?may?* is never told in isolation of the context of the particular audience as the setting within which it is told. The audience context determines the *sma?may?* topically. If the gathering is a funeral, a feast, a political convening, a gathering of friends, co-workers or family, the topics of the *sma?may?* are selected accordingly. Although the *sma?may?* format is utilized by William in the novel, most of it is intentional fiction, with a lesser amount of historical *sma?may?* content. Clearly William has offered early Okanagan history as the topic of this *sma?may?*.

In traditional *sma?may?* narrative, a similarity to *cap tik^w* is that no separation exists between audience and storyteller, in that they are open to conjecture, explanations, additions and asides by the teller and by the audience. In *sma?may?* open-ended forays into other parallel *sma?may?*, are expected during the telling, by the teller or by others present. Some *sma?may?* are told and retold as a way to connect history to the present and to carry the story of those long deceased forward to the future. In the section “Coyote Must Speak”, Coyote explains that “It’s all the same story. The past is the present is the future” and speaks about stories as “other truths” which in the end are only one story. (William 120) Like a puzzle that one has the significant pieces to, while others in-between are left blank, the *sma?may?* spreads pieces of the story around the listener, for the listener to stitch together as they choose. Some *sma?may?* have more pieces intact, others less, because they have been lost over time or

there are gaps in understanding the phenomenon being recounted.

Neither situation stops the story from continuing to be told and retold, as is explained, through Coyote's voice in the prologue, "I will tell you many stories. None of them end, but you will know the story from the mark I give it." (William 4)

From the first chapter, "The Father of British Columbia", to the end chapter, William shapes the story of Walking Grizzly as a tension between the two Peoples, to tell the story of the Syilx since contact. Coyote's reminder to Walking Grizzly before the meeting with Major Robinson, "the future of your people and the future of the sha-mas who begin to fill these valleys will come from what you say and do tomorrow" opens the Syilx story. (William 13) The historical decisions made by Walking Grizzly Bear, sets in motion the events in this *sma?may?*. The novel draws a tension around the listener held between the two narratives, which William points out in an aside, that the one in a "straight line one" is about the sha-mas (non-Syilx) and "the one that moves like a rabbit" is the Syilx story. The two stories in the novel "don't really meet because they haven't met in our world. They may never meet." (William 39) In true *sma?may?* fashion, there is no expectation for a character driven conflict seeking a resolve as a deeper encoded message. William simply leaves the Syilx story in 1959 with the installing of a headstone one hundred years after Walking Grizzly Bear's passing. As Mourning Dove reiterates in the section in which her character steps in and adds "Stories are

stories. Like history, they aren't the real thing, so why pretend? But they can teach us a lot, entertain us a lot, and tell us who we are more than the white man's science can".

William's novel is told in the form of a classic Syilx *sma?may?* utilizing elements of *captik*^{w4} characteristic in the time delineations, character and plot layering of analogy imagery, moving sometimes uneasily on paper, but always forward toward a point beyond the last page.

5.5 Catherine Jameson: Zoe and The Fawn

Zoe and The Fawn, written by Catherine Jameson, an Okanagan/Shuswap, is a first children's book. The story is targeted for children six years and under. *Zoe and the Fawn* is written in English with nouns and descriptions translated into the Nsyilxcen Okanagan language. The structured repetition of the Nsyilxcen words assists in learning words in the language as well as to provide a particular Syilx story telling rhythm and pacing reminiscent of the *sma?may?* genre of oral narrative storytelling. The following is a synopsis of the story. The story is set on a farm. Zoe and her dad are going out to feed the horses and to take a picture of the new foal beside its mother. They see a fawn under a tree. Her dad tells her not to go too close. Zoe and the fawn look at each other and Zoe wonders where the fawn's mother is. They walk around looking for it and see a bird, a rabbit and a trout in the creek and each

time Zoe asks if that is the fawn's mother and her father says no. As they walk back they see the same bird, the rabbit and the trout and Zoe mentions each time that it is not the mother deer. They get back to the fawn and the mother is there with it and her dad takes a picture and they return to their chore of feeding the horses that whinny with delight at their return.

The walk to see if they can find the mother and the return provides a cycle format familiar to the Syilx narrative, in which the names of each creature is repeated to aid memory. Image forming land descriptions, present in the Nsyilxcen words, are reinforced in descriptive English as well as in the illustrations. Images of the land and its beauty are contained in short vivid phrases describing the tall green grass, a small brown rabbit, a hill covered with flowers, a rainbow trout jumping and swimming in deep water, a beautiful red flicker and a little spotted fawn. In this very, very brief story, the writer manages to bring a Syilx view of *tmix*^w forward, in the Nsyilxcen words, in the English descriptions and in the illustrations. Without question, the Syilx perspective of the appropriate relationship to the land is an influence in this book. This tender little story is about the land's babies and mothers, its hills covered with flowers, its trout jumping in the creek and its beautiful birds in the trees. In the brief journey from the mother horse and foal, to the creek and back, the writer opens the door to the Syilx worldview. It is a way to see the land. It is a loving view of a cherished land but with respect to

not get so close as to disrupt the regeneration of life. The storyline is simple and uncluttered. The images of the land are strong and carry the story through a Syilx view of the landscape, complete with grasses, flowers, trees, bird, creek, fish, deer, rabbit, horses and people. The story was selected as Bronze Medal Winner 2007, Moonbeam Children's Book Awards.

5.6 Conclusion

Each of these works is a valuable contribution to indigenous literatures in English. The stories are valuable in providing greater access to the Syilx oral storytelling method as well as contributions of literatures in transitions to English. Each of the writers provide a perspective of the Syilx view of the land and its people and reveal a continued Syilx Indigeneity. The process utilized by the four writers incorporates sensitivity to Syilx oraliture as well as to utilize innovative ways to achieve the desired outcomes in English. Other works by Indigenous Peoples may benefit from an oraliture analysis template.

Chapter 6: Tmix^wcentrism: The Syilx Environmental Ethic

6.1 The Syilx Social Paradigm

Fundamental to the Syilx social paradigm is the importance of ecological knowledge. The Syilx social paradigm has its origin in the ecological knowledge of a specific place and functions sustainably as an example of Indigeneity. The general framework in which Syilx *Indigeneity* is positioned as a social paradigm in chapter two is a necessary foundation to argue for a Syilx environmental ethic. Positioning *Indigeneity* as a social paradigm characterized by a philosophy of deep ecological relationship to the environment provides opportunity to situate argument that the Syilx environment ethic is a central element of their knowledge transmission system. Advancing a concept of *Indigeneity* as a social paradigm also provides a way to enter the dialogue about the paradigm shift required to arrest current trends destructive to environment. The general framework relates to relevant aspects of Okanagan Syilx knowledge cognizant of an ethos and therefore epistemology focused on regenerative land-use. As stated in chapter two, in order to clarify points regarding the implications of *Indigeneity* as the social paradigm foundational to the Syilx environmental ethic, a distinction in the use of the term *Indigenous* is essential.

6.2. Comparisons of Syilx Ethics to Western Views on Environmental Ethics

Comparison to current streams of dialogue on environmental ethics assists in situating the Syilx environmental ethic. Comparisons to positions which represent four distinct perspectives on environmental ethics is a way to characterize the Syilx environmental ethic. The first comparison to Syilx environmental ethics is with the approach put forward by J. Baird Callicott as *ecocentrism*. The second comparison to the Syilx environmental ethic is with the approach put forward by Paul Taylor as *biocentrism*. The third comparison to Syilx environmental ethics is with the approach put forward by Danial Berthold-Bond, as *ethics of place*. The fourth comparison to Syilx environmental ethics is with the approach put forward by Herman Daly as *sustainability* through what he terms steady state economics. The comparisons provide conclusions of similarity and difference to the Syilx Okanagan perspective toward constructing a framework for the Syilx environmental ethic in terms of its articulation in contemporary ethics discourse.

6.2.1 Comparison to Ecocentrism as proposed by J. Baird Callicott

In his essay “Elements of an Environmental Ethic: Moral Considerability and Biotic Community” Baird Callicott opens his views on “ecocentrism” as the basis for an environmental ethic by stating that “an environmental

ethic is supposed to govern human relations with nonhuman natural entities.” (Callicott “Defense” 63)

Callicott outlines the elements of an environmental ethic by providing an overview of Aldo Leopold’s environmental ethic. He draws out the concept that all ethics, so far evolved, rest upon the premise that:

- (i) The individual is a member of a community of interdependent parts.
- (ii) That ethics, ecologically, is a limitation on freedom of action in the struggle for existence.” (Callicott, Defense, 64)

He positions ethics as the “differentiation of social from antisocial conduct.” He goes on to say that ethics has its origin in the tendency of interdependent individuals or groups to evolve “modes of cooperation” that are to be thought of as a way of pointing out “more or less voluntary systems of behavioral inhibition or restraint” (Callicott “Defense” 64) He outlines argument that being a member of a community means that one is subject to ethical limitations, or a system of moral restraints, or other limitations on individual behavior, “sufficient for social organization to be maintained.” (Callicott “Defense” 66) He takes a positive position to Leopold’s views regarding environmental ethics from the standpoint of Leopold’s “sociobiological” interpretations originating in the *Sand County Almanac*. He positions Leopold’s view that the land–ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include the land. However, Callicott

also cautions that doing so does not mean that the land is subject to “reciprocal ethical limitations”.

Callicott argues that Leopold desires us to understand that:

- (i) *As members of the human community we have evolved ethical limitations upon our conduct*
- (ii) *We are also members of a biotic, land, or ecological community.*
- (iii) *Accordingly we should evolve or assume environmental ethical limitations upon our conduct.*

(Callicott “Defense” 67)

Callicott refers to a biotic community as an “ecological community” including all living things and non-living things like soil and water. He characterizes biotic communities as an “economic system” or the “economy of nature”. He goes on to explain that each thing has a “role or function” in the “natural economy” as “producers, consumers and decomposers” each with a niche in the ecosystem. He concludes that to be members of a “land community” is to say that we are dependent upon others in that community. (Callicott “Defense” 72)

In his essay “Animal Liberation: A Triangular Affair”, Callicott adds further interpretation of Leopold’s land ethic, that hunting and eating meat is a form of human-to-animal behavior coherent with the land ethic in the way Leopold conceived it.

Callicott explains that within the concept of animal liberation the term “ethical humanism” characterizes a perspective that nonhuman animals are not worthy of moral standing because they lack the qualifications of rationality, self-awareness, linguistic ability and cannot represent the future, each of which is outlined as crucial for ethical considerability, however, they should be treated “humanely”. Callicott argues that such a position, taken by animal liberationists as “humane moralists”, leads to the hypocritical situation of humans such as infants or severely retarded individuals, who also lack those qualifications, having moral considerability only because they are human. Callicott concludes that such an argument amounts to “*specieism*” and is a philosophically indefensible prejudice. Callicott explains further that the term “moral humanist” might be used to characterize the position that sentience is the relevant capacity required to enjoy full moral standing. He explains that this view perceives that as conscious beings, animals are capable of suffering and therefore their suffering should be as much a matter of ethical concern as the suffering of humans. Callicott points out that the axiom that follows would conclude that “pain is pain” and outlines the arguments of philosophers Bentham and Mill that pain is evil. As *moral agents*, humans would be morally obliged to consider animal suffering as much an evil as human suffering and actions such as hunting, butchering, eating or experimenting on animals would be morally reprehensible. Callicott argues that the humane moralists and

the moral humanists are alike, in that each position draws a firm distinction between those beings worthy of moral consideration and those not, while only using a different cut-off point. (Callicott "Animal" 311–318)

Callicott finds no serious challenges from the ethical humanist perspective to the basics of the utilitarian humane movement. He puts forward the argument that a third view presents a coherent moral theory to the animal liberation debate which includes animals, plants, soils and waters in the same class as people as beings to whom ethical consideration is owed and which does not object to some of them being hunted, trapped, slaughtered and eaten. Callicott refers to Leopold's statement that "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise" as a principal precept of the land ethic. (Leopold 224–225)

Callicott expands the idea to identify effects on ecological systems as the decisive factor in determining human ethical quality of actions. Callicott adds that there is logical coherence in demanding moral consideration for plants as well as animals and yet permit eating and using plants and animals. (Callicott "Animal" 111)

Callicott puts forward the view that the land ethic's conceptual foundation is in the meaning of the term *ecology*. Callicott states that a strong connection appears to exist between the way the world is imagined or conceived and the way rightness or wrongness is positioned

to determine the obligations of humans as moral agents. He argues that an *ecological* view puts a focus on the relationships “between and among things” and that rather than seeing the landscape as an atomistic representation and an aggregate of separate individuals, that it can be viewed as a unified system of integrally related parts in a “third-order organic whole.” The parts of the biotic community depend on one another in specific ways which form *systems* that acquire distinct characteristics. As such, *ecology* characterizes various biomes, such as deserts, wetland and tundra, as *communities*, each with its own role, requiring a moral conscience toward the whole as “a functioning organic system”. Callicott argues strongly that just as the interests of a society as a whole cannot be reduced simply to the sum interests of the individual, under the same rubric, the interests of individuals in an ecological community do not conscionably address the requirements of the whole. (Callicott “Animal” 315–322)

Callicott refers to *ethical holism* as an environmental ethic which takes the biotic community, as a whole, as the standard in assessing the relative value and ordering of its functions as a way to adjudicate the often contradictory requirements of its parts when measured separately and in so doing confers equality in consideration. Rare and endangered species or those that function in critically important roles would be granted greater claim for preferential moral consideration than those that are abundant and robust. From this view the ultimate value of the land

ethic is human dependent. Callicott clarifies that his argument that while things have value only because we value them, they may nonetheless be valued for themselves as well as for the contribution they make to the realization of the interests of their entire biotic community's constituents. Callicott maintains that if it is possible to value people for "the sake of themselves", then it is equally possible to value land for the sake of itself, in the same way. Callicott outlines that an ethic from this perspective would not exempt humans from the same moral evaluations in relation to the well-being of the community of nature taken as a whole. Such an exemption would pit human populations and human existence against the requirements of the economy of nature, as not only permitting, but *requiring* preferential consideration.

Callicott argues that the moral worth of each individual including the human must necessarily be *a relative value* within the ecological entity called "land". Callicott argues that the same logic is foundational in Plato's outline of moral philosophy in developing ethical formal systems between public and private justice considerations. (Callicott "Animal" 323-28)

Callicott aligns with Leopold in regard to the ethical concern with what humans eat. He also takes the approach that natural biological laws, principles and limitations in the human personal and social spheres, from the view of "land ethic" values, must be reappraised in regard to humanly bred and domesticated species as a result of their effects on

ecological communities. His view is that domestic animals are unnatural competitors to ecosystems which require vast areas of cleared land for their feed and range. For the same reasons, from the perspective of the land ethic, humans becoming wholly vegetarian and removing themselves from eating animals, similarly increases the human-to-nature inefficiencies and is as ecologically catastrophic in the vast dislocation of natural systems to accommodate crop growing. Callicott suggests that if nature as a whole is good, then pain and death are also *good* as a part of the natural system. Humans should therefore affirm natural biological laws, principles and limitations in an ethos of a viable and mutually beneficial relationship with nature in modern ways, abstracted from and similar to tribal cultures. He argues that environmental ethics in general requires people to “play fair in the natural system” and not exempt themselves from the life and death reciprocities of natural processes and insulate themselves from the rigor and challenges of the natural environment. The shift of values would require resisting factory farming in all its manifestations. Within such an ethic, eating wild meats and foods may be more ecologically responsible than eating wholly vegetarian. Second best may be eating home grown organic meats, vegetables and fruits as they may have less ecological consequences. (Callicott “Animal” 329–336)

The Syilx position comes into alignment on some points with Callicott’s proposed view of an ecocentric land ethic and much of its

general principles, however, the Syilx view differs in areas essential to the central precepts of ecocentrism. In order to compare the Syilx environmental ethic to Callicott's ecocentric land ethic, the specific aspects of the Four Chiefs story, which speak to the notion of how the land is viewed and what constitutes "a person" and which forms the basis of an ethical basis of "honor" or respect, best illuminates the Syilx view.

In the Four Chiefs narrative, as well as all other *captik^w*, the Syilx provide a view of a fundamental separation between life forms and non-life forms. The *tmix^w* are *tmix^w* because they have the capacity for *spreading outward in many strands*. As each life form, they are identified clearly as "the people" of that world while the land with all of its physical features of climate, geography and topography is characterized as the *tmx^wulax^w* which is imaged as the cyclical here/now. The Syilx view clearly perceives that, while the existence of life forms are indigenous to place by being tied to its cycles, their existence as an individual life form is dependent on their collective ability to "revive" through the laying down of their lives for each other. The Syilx view is that the *tmix^w* each became "a person" in that place as the result of "meeting for a long time" or "negotiation" of their rights. In western terminology, their existence is a result of having established an order of reciprocity based on interdependent adaption to each others requirements in the specific conditions of that place. The Syilx perspective is clear from the view of the story that each life form is a *tmix^w* and that the human being is caste

as “the-people-to-be”. In Syilx terminology the human being is not “a person” however can become a *tmix*” or “a person” in the life-force place if they actively “honor” the lives of the other *tmix*”. In western terminology, the human can become part of the efficient sustainability organized by adaption of the species to each other in that place through human knowledge of the requirements of the life forms in that place for each to regenerate and to be available in sufficient amounts for the regeneration of each other. The Syilx view differs from Callicott’s view in that the Syilx view separates out the life form in its total ability for “self-regeneration” and the ability of each to constitute itself to a level required for “interdependent regeneration” with other life forms as significant in delineating moral considerability between life form and place.

The Syilx view also differs from Callicott’s view in the existence of a fundamental differentiation between the human being and other beings. The term *being* is used to differentiate the concept of inclusion of the state of being of each life form, from the concept of biological process situated as criteria of delineation between life form and place. In the Syilx *captik*” definition of the human’s individual identity in the *tmx*”*ulax*”, the human is characterized as *st/sqilx*” which literally translated is *human torn away*. The word is formed from the Nsyilxcen root *til*” which in translation means the *action of tearing* and the Nsyilxcen root *sqilx*” which in translation means person or people. (Mattina “Dic” 149) However, the word *sqilx*” for human in

transliteration conjures an image of something wrapped inside something else. This image is derived as a result of the suffix */x^w* which can be traced to the root *ylx^w*–*wrap something, body covering*. (Mattina “Dic” 263) The root *qil* is also seen in the word *sqiltk* which translated means *a body*. (Mattina “Dic” 147) Obvious in that word is the root in the word *qilt* as in the Nsyilxcen word meaning *reach the top of*, and the word *sqiltk* *the surface of or the outside of something*. (Mattina “Dic” 147) The implied transliteration of the word *person* is of the body as a surface wrapped around something. Another implied image is conjured through the layering of root morpheme sound bites and the implied transliteration of the word *sqilx^w* which is *qi* the root of the word *qis*–*in the act of dreaming* as in *cnitc qis*–*he/she dreamed*. Either way, the word *sqilx^w* refers to a state in which the physical body contains something else which is unseen.

In the word *stlsqilx^w*–*torn away human*, commonly translated as the *living human* or *the transformed people*, clearly the image conjured is *to tear away* the human from something. The common introduction of *captik^w* set in a timeframe of “before humans” is *ʔəʔ tllaxwilx iʔ stlsqilx^w*–*when they become the ones who are torn away from the land come to be* is commonly translated as *when the humans come alive* or *when they transform*. Clearly the action imaged is to be torn from the *tmx^wulax^w*–*the tmix^w place* or the land. The meaning of being torn away from the *tmx^wulax^w* is an important Syilx delineation that separates out

the human from all others in the *tmx^wulax^w*. There are two possible ways to read the way that humans are separated out from the larger collective unity of beings in the *tmx^wulax^w*. The first concept is that the human is separate from other beings as a result of the human ability to use its unique survival mechanism of analytic ability and memory. From this perspective, to be human is to be a being with the unique ability to discern, categorize and remember things and that characteristic is what makes them separate. The second way the concept could be read is that each generation of Syilx from the *captik^w* world of being, are to be transformed into *st^lsqilx^w* –*people torn away* through becoming human beings. In the *captik^w* of the Four Chiefs, the humans are a “new People”. All the rest are of an older type of “people.” They are different from what the “new” person is to be. They are not the same in one significant way. The “new” person” is “torn” from the rest of the *tmix^w*. The image *t^lil*–is *to tear or rip apart* a piece from the whole, as in a small piece torn off a whole sheet of paper. The piece is still clearly a part of the whole sheet, with the only difference from the rest of the sheet is that it has been detached from the whole. While the human is to be seen a part of the *tmx^wulax^w* or the land, it is also to be seen as separate. From the *captik^w* perspective, the *tmix^w* have been “meeting a long–time” and have “Chiefs”. In western terminology they have “organized” themselves over time into an order by which they are all governed and each is subject to the laws of that order. The human is different in that they are not

bound by the laws of that order. From the Syilx perspective it is not the unique ability of logic and memory that makes them different, although that is the source of their difference. Not being bound by the laws that the rest of the *tmix*^w have organized over a long, long period is what makes them different. To be able to be a “person” they require “knowledge” to be brought into the “order” in place in the world of the *tmix*^w *because* they don’t automatically have that “old knowledge”. They must learn everything in a new way. The *captik*^w are there to guide the “new people” and thereby secure the order and survival of all the *tmix*^w including the human.

captik^w transfers the nature world of the *tmix*^w–*life–force* into Syilx human language as the “world before humans,” or in other words, before being separated out. Through the *captik*^w they are being “re–placed” on the land as one of its “people” to inhabit the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w as a *tmix*^w. They will inhabit the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w, in a specifically human way, different from all others inhabitants, in that they are always in the position of having to “become” one of its people rather than automatically being one of them. All the other inhabitants emerge as *tmix*^w. They are already one of the people and only the human must continuously “become” one of the people as a *tmix*^w instead of being a people–eating monster. They are differentiated as the people of *tmx*^w*ulax*^w who can only become one of the *tmix*^w people through instruction and living that knowledge as an appropriate respect of the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w.

Translated into Callicott's land ethic perspective, the *tmx^wulax^w*, is made up of "people" and are thus to be viewed as belonging to a community. A community in which the human can only become one of the people through learned knowledge transferred to them from the community of "animal people" and lived in a way which preserves the *tmix^w* people. From the Syilx view, humans have been torn away from nature in that they do not survive automatically within that community like the rest that have been there for a long long time. The automatic survival tools the *tmix^w* have are absent in the newcomer human because they have a tool different from the rest.

Humans are also differentiated from the others, because they are dependent on the bodies of those who "people" the land, while none of them require human bodies for existence. Survival for the Syilx means, to have specific place knowledge for immediate resources, but for the long term they require the necessary social institutions to exist within the lands requirements for the regeneration of itself because full regeneration if the land is the only security from scarcity in the long term for the Syilx human. A question central to this comparison is whether or not the Syilx view themselves, as human, as being a member of the biotic, land or ecological community. The comparison must also include the idea of being Syilx, as central to the concept of being themselves a *tmix^w of the land*, and only in being a life-force, can they be a "person" or member of that *tmx^wulax^w*. Syilx, as transliterated from its root

syllables, means those-who-twine\coil-(many) into-one. As has been analyzed, the Syilx, as a people, are only those who continuously must twine\coil the threads that are the *tmix*^w, together into one strong strand into the future, because of the “knowledge” that they are *tmix*^w themselves. The Syilx knowledge allows them to continuously see that they are and must continue to be one.

As analyzed in the Four Chiefs *captik*^wʔ, the “people-to-be” on one level refers to the humans of each generation yet to be born, who will be receiving the *captik*^wʔ to guide their behavior. The humans not yet born, through each generation of relaying the stories, are who the *captik*^wʔ is being passed on to, so they will always have the ability to become “persons” themselves within that place or that “world”. They will be able to survive and the other “persons” will always be able to “revive” as “persons” even though they lay their lives down for each other, if the human can continuously achieve becoming “a person” within that “world.” Without the ability for the human in each generation to be fully sustained, their future well-being and continuance would be compromised. Without the knowledge of the *tmix*^w as a way to become “a person” among the animal “persons” as humans in each new generation, the human could become a serious problem to the other “persons”.

On another level, in the Four Chiefs narrative, the overriding theme is that a new “person” will be joining the “community”. The community has been “meeting” for a very long time over the coming “changes” to

their “world”. Quite clearly, from the Four Chiefs narrative, Syilx view the existence of the *tmix*” as a long history, prior to humans joining their physical community. This view is confirmed in the commonly held notion prevalent throughout historical and contemporary Syilx thought that the physical *tmix*” is our *xaʔxʔit*–*those-who-came-ahead* in a long line, unbroken, finally to us. We have been a part of them for a long, long time, even before we became *stʼsqilx*”–*torn-away-people*. The word *xaʔxʔit* does not refer to human ancestral lineage, although sometimes the word is translated to “ancestors”. Another high word for human ancestors, *sʔasʔaws*–*those-beyond-the-horizon*, is commonly used referring to humans who are no longer “visible” because they have receded into a distance away from our experience and direct knowledge.

The Four Chiefs narrative, organized in the classical world before humans *captik*”~~ʔ~~, features as its required central philosophical challenge the need to “prepare” the future for the “human” in their world. In giving their *sqiltk*–*physical-bodies* to the people-to-be for sustenance, they risk a consequence of inevitable demise because none will themselves be “eating” the humans. It is a problem which must be averted. This view is coherent with the perspective of Callicott’s land ethic, in that humans must be principled and fair in the rights of existence of plants and animals in the biotic communities of nature.

The story script, that each *tmix*” has its own power “song”, speaks to the necessity of understanding that each of the *tmix*” in each unique

way is necessary for regeneration to occur. This perspective appears to be parallel with Callicott's view that the moral worth of each individual, including the human, has a relative value, in its own way, within the ecological entity called "land". Each is equal in adding their power, however different each of their powers may be.

The fundamental difference between the Syilx environmental ethic and Callicott's land ethic arises in the interpretation that a "member" of the land community, for Callicott, refers to every single organism in the physical biotic community, which is to be adjudicated for human moral consideration based on its *relative worth* within a specific ecosystem. For the Syilx, the "people" of the *tmix*^w community that the *captik*^w refers to is that it is each separate species which have equality in value in their part of being the life-force of the land. The *tmix*^w give their bodies as food to the human but their collective requirement is that they must each be able to always come back to life. To the Syilx, the individual organisms of a species are understood to be the *sqiltk-flesh bodies* which have been laid down to be eaten. They are the same as berries on a tree, to be picked and eaten, always insuring no harm to the tree, and always leaving some for others and enough to grow new berry trees. Each *tmix*^w-life-force is old on that land and has been meeting with the others for a long, long time. In Callicott's land ethic, human effects on the ecological system is the deciding factor for the quality of human actions in demanding consideration for organisms, while in the Syilx ethic

the acceptance of *kc'ǎǎiplaʔ*– laws leading or directing them, determines a quality of action which demands continuous consideration toward each “person” of the *tmix*” community. This is what the Syilx call *iʔ stəʔtaʔt* – *the-truth- way*, which commonly translates into “duty-right” or “responsibility” or simply “rights”.

In Callicott’s chapter on the conceptual foundations of an environmental ethic based in ecocentrism, he takes the position that “nature is *not* amoral” and that “intelligent moral behavior is natural behavior, and hence we are moral beings, not in spite of, but in accordance with nature.” He goes further to define this by saying that from the “lived, felt point of the community member with evolved moral sensibilities, it is deontological.” (Callicott Defense, 99) He notes that the “function of a land ethic is one thing, its form and method quite another.” He proposes that “a proper ethic, a distinctly environmental ethic...may be the only effective way, to reestablish harmony between people and the biotic community as a whole to which people also belong.” (Callicott “Defense” 70)

Callicott takes the position that we are to “include nonhuman natural entities as beneficiaries of moral obligations, but without imposing upon them mutual or reciprocal obligations, duties, or moral limitations, which it would be impossible for them to bear and absurd for us to suppose that they might.” Callicott proposes a criterion that limits ethical obligations and duties to those beings that could assume them,

“expressed in a general way that leaves open, as an empirical question what it includes or excludes” and produces criterion that “if he is a member of the land community *and* he is subject to (other) ethical limitations, then he is subject to environmental ethical limitations.” He is critical of philosophers who hold that no animal would meet those conditions because humans are the ones “subject to ethical limitations”, and in being so they are “not members of a biotic community” and those that argue that “beasts” are not subject to such limitations since those are prerequisites of humans. (Callicott “Defense” 68)

The Syilx perspective aligns with Callicott’s views on the *tmix*” as “beneficiaries” of human moral conduct. As has been analyzed in the Four Chiefs narrative, the central theme is to find a philosophical “way” for the people-to-be, to provide the respect that is to be accorded to the *tmix*” as *tmix*”, that is both as the *tmx*”*ulax*” or land-ecology as a system, and includes the species-ecologies of the land. The whole of the *captik*” is a philosophical statement, in literary format, presenting a critical way to think about the human’s “place” in the *tmx*”*ulax*”. More than that, it also presents way to look at what “nature” is. From the standpoint of the story, the *tmx*”*ulax*” contains a necessary diversity and order-of-life represented by the *tmix*”, who have their own natural or moral “duty” to insure the “life” and “survival” of the human, by being food for the humans, in the same way that they have a natural moral “duty” to each other. That is, they have moral obligations to be just what

they are to themselves in their “reciprocal relatedness” to each other. Finding a “way” for the people means finding a way for humans, in turn, to have a reciprocal obligation, since they do not have to be “food” for the rest of the *tmix*”, by virtue of the moral duty to being human which separates them from being “food”. There is also agreement that the “obligation” or “moral duty” on the part of the human to always allow *tmix*” regeneration is the only way that the human can reciprocate and be part of the egalitarianism enjoyed by the *tmix*”. From this perspective the Syilx environmental ethic is in agreement with Callicott’s view that an environmental ethic is not distinguishable from a human-oriented ethic.

Callicott, in the introduction to *Earth’s Insights* comments that with emerging new sciences, such as ecology, it has become more apparent “that human actions which have deleterious effects on the environment often also have indirect deleterious effects on human beings.” (Callicott “Earth’s” 9) He maintains that as a result, environmental ethics that resonate with these new sciences also resonates with most of the traditional and indigenous environmental ethics of pre-industrial cultures. He defines an ecocentric environmental ethic as “one that takes into account the direct impact of human actions on nonhuman entities and nature as a whole and which conforms not only to the evolutionary, ecological, physical and cosmological foundations of the evolving postmodern scientific worldview...but also to most indigenous and traditional environmental ethics.” He adds that there should be more

“cross-cultural” comparisons of concepts on “nature” and relationships of people to nature which would result in a wider variety of academic cross-cultural comparisons between traditional and contemporary concepts on what nature is and on human society and nature.

Callicott’s views environmental ethics as a concept to be revived and “validated by their affinity with the most exciting new ideas in contemporary science” in the hope that the result will be new expressions of ecology and new physics in the “rich vocabulary of metaphor, simile, and analogy developed in the traditional sacred and philosophical literature of the world’s diverse cultures.” (Callicott “Earth’s” 11–12)

While the perspective of the necessity of cross-cultural dialogue is not specific to his views on ecocentrism, his view that a culturally inclusive dialogue is necessary, has relevance to the Syilx environmental ethic. Cross-cultural dialogue on environmental ethics requires a framework through which to contribute. For the Syilx, understanding that *captik* is required to maintain the human “relationship” to *tmx^wulax^w* as a “process” for future people to maintain an approach of always “becoming” environmentally ethical in each generation. The “process” is put forward in the Four Chiefs narrative as a directive to conduct Enowkinwixw so that each Chief and each person maintains an ethos of being *tmix^w-centric* and always moves it forward to the-people-to-be. Developing a framework by which to access Syilx *captik*, in this dissertation is a way to contribute to the cross-cultural dialogue on the

human relationship to nature and to “the people” toward their “becoming” environmentally ethical.

6.2.2 Comparison of Syilx Environmental Ethic to Respect for Nature as Proposed by Paul Taylor

Paul Taylor’s view of Biocentrism proposed four beliefs which form the core of the biocentric outlook that could meet the four point test of proposing the moral standing for an environmental ethic. The four beliefs proposed by Taylor are as follows:

- a) The belief that humans are members of the earth’s community of life in the same sense and on the same terms in which other living things are members of that community.*
- b) The belief that the human species, along with all other species, are integral elements in a system of interdependence such that the survival of each living thing, as well as its chances of faring well or poorly, is determined not only by the physical conditions of its environment but also by its relations to other living things.*
- c) The belief that all organisms are teleological centers of life in the sense that each is a unique individual pursuing its own good in its own way.*

d) *The belief that humans are not inherently superior to other living things.* (Taylor 99–100)

The approach taken in comparing the Syilx environmental ethic with that of a biocentric outlook, as proposed by Taylor, examines the four core beliefs against the Syilx view to situate Biocentrism from a Syilx perspective following Taylor's criteria. The approach is not to critique Taylor's Biocentrism view and the proposed environmental ethic, but to utilize that view to assist in developing an understanding of the Syilx environmental ethic.

Taylor argues in (a) "that humans are members of the earth's community of life in the same sense and on the same terms in which other living things are members of that community." (Taylor 99) His rationalization for this is based on the fundamental feature of being "members of a biological species". He describes this "belonging" as being a member of "a one species population" among many such populations. He explains that the reality of being a member of earth's community is that each member is embedded in the following five realities:

- (1) that each member species face biological and physical requirements for survival.*
- (2) that each has a "good" of their own.*
- (3) that each holds an equal sense of freedom.*
- (4) that as a species we are newcomers.*

(5) that other species can do without us but we cannot do without them. (Taylor, 101–102)

While the Syilx view, as analyzed in the Four Chiefs captik^{w4}, appears to be parallel with the concept put forth by Taylor, of humans being “members of earths community of life” a fundamental difference sets it apart. The five realities that Taylor bases his concept on, provides a way to compare his concept with the Syilx perspective.

Taylor outlines the first reality, as the reality that we all face physical and biological requirements for survival. The Syilx view is consistent. The theme of the Four Food Chiefs narrative is organized to focus on the necessity for people-to-be to meet their physical biological body requirements to survive.

Taylor’s outlines the second reality as the reality that each “member” has a good of its own. Taylor’s argues that being one of many “members” of “earth’s community” is a reality and references the “biological species” as foundational to that concept. However, he does not provide argument to clarity if he means that the biological species is the “member” of “earth’s community” or that each individual biological organism is. The Syilx view is clear that it is each of the *tmix*^w that is a member of the “earth’s community”. The existence of the concept of earth with all of its creatures as a “community” in the Four Chiefs story is constructed through the associated network device which manifests the

idea that there is a community because there are Chiefs. Only “communities” have Chiefs. In this case the community is made up of all the *tmix*”, who are “people”. In cultural contextualization based on the Four Chiefs story, the parallel is clear between the concept of being members of the “people” in the *tmx*”*ulax*” and that of being members of “earth’s community”. The Syilx view of reality is that each different life form is one *tmix*” and as such holds “personhood”. This view is a clear distinction from the concept that the “human” alone holds “personhood.”

From the Syilx perspective, there is no question that each individual biological organism has its own life and as such is a good unto its own, however the Syilx reality also sees that each individual entity is also a being of necessary utility to others in the scheme “giving of themselves” as nature’s reciprocity required to sustain each other’s continuance and regeneration. From the Syilx view, the individual biological organisms are of reciprocal utility to each other, rather than the life form, which is the entire *tmix*” as a life-force and which is recognized as the “person”. The individual biological organism is a minute part of the entire “person” or *tmix*” from the aspect of the many generations of that life-force’s existence, and from the aspect of its entire existing physical living population at any given time. Each such “person” must be able to “revive” when individual organisms are “eaten” whether by each other or by the human. From the Syilx view the edict proposed in the Four Chiefs narrative is to allow the human to join the “community” of “persons” who

already “had been meeting a long time” and had therefore each found their own ways to be “persons” within a “community” established as a sustainable system of reciprocal give and take. A fundamental difference from Taylor’s perspective is the question of the rights holders or “persons” within the scheme of “earth’s community”. The question of what constitutes “personhood” and therefore enjoys the full rights of “protection” from the human is at the center of the difference, from the Syilx view. It is clear in the Syilx paradigm that *tmix*” is not defined as the individual organism but as the life form which “lives” a continuous thread of existence through its countless necessary manifestations as individual entities, and only “dies” if it cannot regenerate its life form continuously. For the purpose of differentiating the Syilx environmental ethic, an important distinction is that the concept of *tmix*” is inclusive of its sum capacity for regeneration in its specific relationships and that this aspect is recognized as its “life-force” to be protected from harm by the human. It is also useful to add further contextualization from the Syilx perspective, that each biological entity “enjoys its own life” and therefore must be honored and respected in its own individual right as a “teleological center” to its own end, however, that does not exempt its reciprocal value as “food” or require protection from other life forms who require the biological organism as food in order to live. While the Syilx refer to the entire “life form” in its systemic and continued capacity to regenerate as *tmix*”, an important concept is that the “idea” of the

biological organism as the fundamental basis of personhood, to the Syilx is equivalent to identifying one cell in the body as the fundamental basis of being. Without cells the body cannot be a body as it is the cells collectively working together which make new ones and which live and die continuously in brief moments to make up the living body and yet it is the whole body and not the cells which is the living being. The criteria to recognize the reality of what it is that constitutes the capability for one life form to exist is the requirement by which the Syilx must make knowledgeable decisions. The Syilx imperative requires understanding to expand outward to include as complete and therefore as knowledgeable a view as possible of the capacity of the life form to regenerate, as a guide by which to make ethical decisions in the relationship to it. The life of one biological organism being the moral holder of rights from this view is a reductionist view of the life form. It is a scope which seriously limits the idea of “harm” or “disrespect” to the whole of a life form’s rights to its own end as it does not include that the entire life form has the right to be and is in fact the individual biological organism’s end, in that each individual organism exists in order that the life form exists.

The third reality, that each holds an equal sense of freedom, must hold as well as for human. In comparison, the Syilx view conceptualizes all *tmix*™ as having the freedom to be as they are, in having “met for a long time” and adapted to each other in a system of inter-reliance. The very concept of being both the larger concept of *tmix*™ as the physical

inter-reliant system of being as a *life-force* and in being *tmix*^w as each individual life form, translates into the knowledge that each has a certain freedom to be itself, unique in being and purpose. Even the human with its unique capacity for “thought” underlying the capacity to create disturbance (change) to the natural order has the freedom to be that. Being capable of “thought” does not make moral prisoners of the human, in the freedom to sustain and fulfill the essence of their being as they also possess the same freedom as the rest of *tmix*^w to “eat”.

In the fourth reality, that humans are recent newcomers, the Syilx view is self-evident in the Four Chiefs *captik*^w. Throughout the narrative the central concept is that all the rest of the *tmix*^w preceded the human. In the *captik*^w they “prepared” the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w for the humans through a long “meeting” among themselves. As has been analyzed, the Syilx view is consistent with this view. The Syilx knowledge is that their human “body” or biology originated out of the “body” of all the *tmix*^w that preceded them and they are in fact torn out of the pattern of the entire “body” of the *tmx*^w*ulax*^w.

The fifth reality, from Taylor’s view is that they can do without us but we cannot do without them is in alignment with the Syilx view. The Syilx view is made clear in the *captik*^w. They are not dependent on us to be *stik’l*-future food but that we need them to be *stik’l* for us. The idea of *stik’l* is not just being there for human utility, but contained in the concept is that as *tmix*^w they are a purpose unto each other. We as

humans are dependent on having access to them for survival in the same way that they are dependent on each other to be *stik'* – *future food*, in the way that berries are *stik'* for the bear. Being *stik'* is a way to conceptualize the natural dynamic of the process of reciprocity in the *tmx'ulax'*. The Four Chiefs story situates the core philosophical question around their being a gift to the humans.

Taylor argues in (b) that the human species, along with all other species, are integral elements in a system of interdependence such that the survival of each living thing, as well as its chances of faring well or poorly, “is determined not only by the physical conditions of its environment but also by its relations to other living things.” (Taylor 100)

Taylor bases his rationalization for this as a core criterion on an outlook which accepts that the “realm of life is understood to exemplify a vast complex of relationships of interdependence.” He also rationalizes that the biocentric perspective on human life is that we should see ourselves as “an integral part of the system of nature”. He cautions that the biocentric outlook doesn’t describe that there exists a “superorganism” of some kind which “gives no place to the good of individual organisms”. From the biocentrism view, the good of all individual organisms must be respected. The Syilx knowledge that *tmix'* is a vast system of interdependence is fundamental to the Syilx environmental ethic. There is agreement with Taylor that being a vast system of interdependence does not mean that it is a superorganism.

The Syilx perceive the interdependence as a life-force *place*, without which the life forms in their individuality could not exist

Taylor argues in (c) that “all organisms are teleological centers of life in the sense that each is a unique individual pursuing its own good in its own way.” (Taylor 100) Taylor’s rationalization is that biocentrism sets a framework for seeing the lives of individual organisms as each having a “good of their own” purpose. Accepting that each is “goal-oriented” in the unique way that it strives “to preserve itself and realize its good in its own way in both its “internal and external functioning” is a way to view each as having “a single, unique point of view”. Although “consciousness” may not be present, we comprehend the organism “as it is in itself” and thus seeing them as we see ourselves, we then have the “capacity for the moral commitment” of respect toward it. (Taylor 129)

The Syilx perspective doesn’t diverge from the view of each biological organism as a good to itself. The Syilx view is that each individual entity is indeed an end to itself in its own lifespan. However, the reality is that it is much more in that each biological organism in one aspect is also an end in the regeneration of its entire life form. The Syilx view differs with Taylor on this major point and as a consequence differs in the reasoning for an environmental ethic based on a biocentrism view as essential criterion. The Syilx perspective, as has been analyzed through the Four Chiefs narrative establishes that it is *tmix* as the *life form* and not the biological organism which is an essential member of the

tmix^w*ulax*^w and therefore proposes criterion which requires that each *life form* be respected in its reality of being part of a regenerative system of physical sustenance requirements. The Syilx view is that the *tmix*^w “get along” through *enowkinwixw*, which is by “meeting”, that is by interacting, to accomplish “mutual contribution” to each other. As *tmix*^w humans will not be contributing in the same process of “eat” and “be eaten” as the interactions of the rest of that world. So the challenge for the human is to have the constant “knowledge” of how to be *tmix*^w in the places they occupy. For the human the means by which they find a “way” to “eat” the living things of the land in the freedom of their own need for sustenance is to always allow full regeneration. Like all *tmix*^w they must also be part of insuring that other *tmix*^w “revive” to “come back to life” and be fully alive in its natural state. Does the story mean that if individual biological organisms could not by magic somehow come back to life once eaten, that it should not be eaten? Such an idea to any Syilx living in nature is absolutely, ridiculous. It means that the when humans utilize any part of nature, including any biological individual *tmix*^w, that we are duty bound to utilize the system in a way that the *tmix*^w as a life form can regenerate one-hundred percent in that place.

Taylor also argues in (d) that “humans are not inherently superior to other living things.” (Taylor 100) He provides rationalization to argue against the conceptualization of “lower” forms of life based on valuation of “capacities” that each may or may not have. He takes the position that

such valuations are a human point of view, and would be rejected from a nonhuman standpoint. He argues that it would only make sense to judge the merits of nonhumans by “standards from *their* good”. He proposes the denial of human superiority by rejecting the validity of, first, the classical Greek essentialist view and second the idea of the *Great Chain of Being* in Christian monotheism within René Descartes dualistic theory that humans possess minds while animals do not, as classical arguments establishing that humans are superior. He also dismisses a contemporary defense that plants and animals have less “inherent worth” than humans simply because they can be categorized into different ranges of capacities. However, he adds that to claim that there are “no good reasons to claim superiority” does not mean there are “good reasons for denying it”. He argues that if we accept that the first three points are a biocentric view, then the idea of human superiority is unreasonable and an “irrational bias in our own favor”. Denying human superiority along with acknowledging “species–impartiality” is how the biocentric outlook links to “respect for nature.”

Taylor proposes that when these elements are considered as a whole, that they exemplify “a set of properties that satisfy certain classical well–established criteria for judging the acceptability of philosophical worldview.” He establishes that four types of duty, in a biocentric outlook of respect for nature would therefore include;

(1) the Rule of Nonmaleficence (not to do harm),

- (2) *the Rule of Noninterference*, (freedom of organisms)
- (3) *the Rule of Fidelity* (not to break trusts placed on us by the biocentric view)
- (4) *the Rule of Restitutive Justice* (restore balance of justice when a moral subject has been wronged) (Taylor 172)

Taylor clarifies that animals and plants are not moral “rights-holders” because they cannot press their claims, cannot regard their own inherent worth, are not choice-makers and cannot exercise entitlement to have ones rights supported publicly. (Taylor 246) As a result, Taylor has proposed an alternative modified concept of moral rights based on the soundness of the biocentric view of inherent worth for all wild organisms. He proposes that “rational persons will judge them to be deserving of moral concern and consideration and commit themselves to the moral principle that the good of wild living things is to be preserved and protected as ends in itself and for their sake.” (Taylor 252)

The Syilx view of the “rights” of *tmix*^w is the Syilx ethic that humans have a moral duty to *tmix*^w as holders in collaboration with the *tmix*^w of *tmix*^w rights to regenerate on an equal basis within the larger interdependency of *tmix*^w*ulax*^w. The concept that we are somehow grantors or sole holders of *tmix*^w “rights” to regenerate goes against the Syilx concept of being themselves *tmix*^w, both in the physical body form as well in the philosophical conceptualization of *tmix*^w as a *life-force*. The idea of

humans somehow being “superior” because of their capacity for “thought” also goes against the Syilx concept of *tmix*^w. As a newcomer, the human is dependent on everything else to survive. The Four Chiefs narrative is clear in the directive that the Four Chiefs and each *tmix*^w they represent must be equally respected in the opportunity to regenerate to their fullest capacity. The Syilx ethical reasoning is that *tmix*^w must be seen in their full “capacity” to regenerate. They must be able to constitute their *tmix*^w being in the form of their multitude of individual physical *sqiltk*-bodies, which are also *tmix*^w, regardless of each being only a tiny part of the whole *tmix*^w they each are holders of a part of the regenerative capability of the whole. One individual *sqiltk* or body can not regenerate by itself. To expect that one body or organism can do that and to place the weight of moral standing there is not to have a realistic view or knowledge of truth in nature. As “environmental” ethic, the concept would constitute a neutralization of the principle of reproduction as a fundamental biological reality. If the requirement of “universal” applicability was placed on the biological entity they would each be rationalized to be moral agents and would be duty bound to not eat each other. Taylor admits they cannot be and so that leaves moral agency to human “applicability.” (Taylor 247, 248)

The Syilx perspective on that standpoint, as has been portrayed in the Four Chiefs narrative, is that humans could not be moral agents to the full extent that the biocentric view requires, to hold up, and that

humans would all have to starve to death to accomplish that goal. An equivalent would be tantamount to allowing that humans should not eat other organisms because they are human but for the sole reason of being humans they can. As sole moral agent, they can kill other organisms to eat since they alone apply morality but must apply some moral line to exclude those they cannot eat, other humans as an example.

The Syilx perspective is the overarching ethic that humans are moral agents because they are bound by the unique human capability which allows them alone to be outside of nature's order and be capable of "killing" other *tmix*^w by depleting a life form to extinction.

In their human manifestation as a *tmix*^w person, they alone must have human knowledge instead of adaptive reciprocity to always be able to insure the revival of the *tmix*^w when taking their "bodies." Consequently the human alone is duty bound to act in a human way which respects the right of each *tmix*^w, to be able to give its individual bodies to be food and at the same time to be able to regenerate itself. As the human is itself *tmix*^w its *tmix*^w right is to be able to "eat" the bodies of other *tmix*^w while being bound by the human knowledge that they alone have a unique ability which limits the rights of other *tmix*^w to reciprocally eat their bodies and which therefore requires *them alone* as humans to be moral agents in their human behavior toward other *tmix*^w.

6.2.3 Comparison of the Four Chiefs *Captik*⁴ and the Daniel Berthold–Bond Concept of the Ethics of Place

In the *Ethics of Place: Reflections on Bioregionalism*, Berthold–Bond examines the idea of “place” from the position that it has become a topic of growing interest in environmental ethics literature. He explores issues surrounding the conceptualization of place as “bioregional”. He explains the vagueness in proposed definitions regarding “region” and “place” because as concepts they elude purely objective, geographically literal categorization. Berthold–Bond argues a “great merit” comes out of this vagueness, which calls attention to the need for a more essential subjective and experiential geography of place. (Berthold–Bond 11)

Berthold–Bond introduces the idea of bioregional theory as it began with the idea of “living-in-place” with the goal to inhabit local places and become “native” to it through becoming aware of the relationships in nature in that place. within the field of environmental ethics, Bioregionalism, as Berthold–Bond presents it, within the field of environmental ethics, is “initiating an inherently subversive philosophy of space”. He adds that environmental ethics extends the concept of place into the consideration of the actual “placement” of humans. Beyond the concepts of geographic location an environmental ethic develops into a “new geography of place” in terms of what it means to the people as “place.” The concept provides a more complex view of the interrelationship between humans and places. The Bioregionalism view

relates to the idea of space as a way to “resituate the orientation of human beings with respect to nature”. Berthold–Bond calls on the Aldo Leopold’s view on land as “enlarging the boundaries of community” which will bring in other members of which we are one independent part. (Berthold–Bond11)

The first obvious comparison is that the Syilx do not see the land as being made up of “independent” pieces, each with its own unique quality. The Syilx sees land as being an extension of ones self. The idea of biological units as “individuals” is seen as an “idea” in the human mind alone which manifests only because we “isolate” the biological unit from everything else by perceiving it as a *tmix*^w, naming it and remembering it and its characteristics and interactions. As has been explained the idea of *tmix*^w, is all forms, and *tmx^wulax^w* extends as far as one can perceive or think because “place” is a human idea. The Syilx concept is that the land is oneself in human thought as well as an extension of ones own flesh and blood in a real physical sense. We become “human” only when and because we “isolate” ourselves in our unique ability of “thought”. We are actually always in a state of being *tmix*^w. Just as fish having gills as a unique ability does not set them apart from being *tmix*^w, humans having “thought” ability does not set them apart from being *tmix*^w,

Berthold–Bond positions environmental ethics as a bioregional perspective in that it asks us to imagine extending the boundaries of moral standing. He asks us to “raise the stakes” by moving the lines of

moral standing beyond reform environmentalism to a “re-placing of the politics of ecology” given that the current system is one of an economics that destroys the planet and its people. He discusses bioregionalism as a cultural movement that “celebrates the particular and unique features of place” and that the character of governing should reflect “values and customs rooted in the particularity of that place”. The difference is “living placelessly” according to borders imposed by Nation States and to place that cuts “across biotic and ethnic zones”. (Berthold-Bond 11) The Syilx perspective comes into alignment with this point raised by Berthold-Bond as is demonstrated in their social organization as one of the groups in a vast inter-areal Salishan model of locally autonomous villages and tribal groups. The concept of Indigeneity, as raised in other chapters, “places” different groups through the long-term sustainable land-use practices expressing their “culture” or behavior in a place.

However, Berthold-Bond holds that there are no such things as natural “regions” and that land is put into geographic regions only as “human intelligence constructs”. Place is actually about “meanings” that exist only with reference to people, in terms of a human living framework. Berthold-Bond holds that places and people are inseparable and that places and subjects experiencing them are inseparable. He argues that without an experiencing subject there is no place, there are only objects located in space. He takes the position that bioregionalism is the “integrity of natural systems and culture, with the function of

culture being the mediation of the self and the ecosystem.” He says that environmental ethics asks us to “reconceive nature as no longer a morally empty space” but a place of “reciprocal and mutual interaction and transformation”. He quotes N. Scott Momaday saying that “reciprocal appropriation” is “an appropriation in which man invests himself in the landscape, and at the same time incorporates the landscape into his own most fundamental experience” in that the “boundary line” between self and place are blurred. We become “placed” beyond “ontological border of subject and object and self and other.” (Berthold–Bond 18)

Berthold–Bond’s view is consistent in this aspect with the Syilx view of place. As has been explored in the concepts related to the central meaning of Four Chiefs *captik*’⁴, a “reciprocity” of human thought toward the *sqiltk*–physical bodies of the *tmix*’ is a necessary “way” for the “people–to–be”. The concept of the laying down of their *sqiltk* for us is critical to understanding that the practice of a “reciprocal and mutual interaction” for the human is not about utilitarianism, but about the necessity to maintain full knowledge of the idea that the “physical bodies” from the land are *tmix*’ and so require the capability to fully regenerate. At the same time humans are to be able to sustain themselves in the same “reciprocal and mutual interaction” by providing a human form of reciprocity through a human social ethic which allows the *tmix*’ to fully regenerate. The Four Chiefs *captik*’⁴ is a guideline in understanding that we are *tmix*’ and that as such we are in a state of dependence on the

Four Chiefs. It means that all *tmix*^w, in being *tmix*^w, must also be seen as *stik'*-future food, by the human capacity to access all *tmix*^w for sustenance. They are not dependent on humans in the way that humans are dependent on them. In seeing *tmix*^w that way, we can see that humans are "severed" from the *tmix*^w in that they for the most part are not *stik'* for the other *tmix*^w as a result of the unique capacity of being human and thereby do not have the constant understanding that they are *tmix*^w themselves. We can see that the human is severed from the *tmix*^w through its requirement for a human social ethic to construct its reciprocity in that system.

Berthold-Bond outlines that attachment to place is "insufficient" and "any philosophy of place must *place itself* within an ethics which enables us to take seriously the often conflicting interests and/or rights, depending on the ethics of all who dwell in that place" (Berthold-Bond 19) He quotes Aldo Leopold in a call to supplement the "scientific understanding of a place with a yet more essential spiritual understanding" in that for the "music in these hills" to be heard a person must live in a place for a long time. He holds that for a "radical change of perceptual habitats: place must be *experienced* differently" (Berthold-Bond, 21) He positions the communal social practice with effective alternatives proposed by bioregionalism as the process that "within such practice that spiritual discovery can emerge." This calls for a "fundamental paradigm change, a fundamental alteration of the

perspective through which we actually perceive and experience nature”
(Berthold–Bond 23)

Berthold–Bonds view of bioregionalism is that it is not merely a “transgressive theory of place but an invitation actually to experience our place, in its sheer physicality.” He goes on to describe it as a way that in our “everyday practice and perception” changes the experiencing of place as external space to “purely internal space of our consciousness and self enclosed identity”. In the end he says that bioregionalism asks that “we “dig out” of our self–enclosure and “dig–in” to the work of discovering and nurturing our place.” (Berthold–Bond 24)

The Four Chiefs *captik^w* underlines the fact that as *tmix^w* we have “equality” with other animals in accessing sustenance to survive. As humans we as *tmix^w* are not moral “prisoners” in the “eating” of *tmix^w* but that we should be moral in that the human must understand that “death” to *tmix^w* takes place, if the *tmix^w* do not have the opportunity to have all the other *tmix^w* to the last one, “sing” to them so that they can “revive fully”, That is to fully regenerate themselves within their natural ecology in the way that it does as a natural process of “eat” and be “eaten”.

A danger of “death” for *tmix^w* is only possible when the–people–to–be in their unique human abilities are not bound by principles constructed to insure they are willing to do only the things that allows *tmix^w* to “revive” on their own within that place. The position is different from an un–natural “imperative” to refrain from “utilizing” their bodies as

sustenance, in being a part of nature's reciprocity and in being a part of the "life-force" of a place. The concept might be better viewed from the perspective that when people are not "placed" through a knowledgeable relationship of "reciprocity" with the boundary between self and place indistinct, they can become "killers" of *tmix*^w. In other words it is when humans are not *tmix*^w but detached literally and philosophically from *tmix*^w*ulax*^w that they become *nəʔnasqilx*^w*tn-consumers-of-people* that other genre of *captik*^w in the Coyote stories use to develop social ethics guidelines.

6.2.4 Comparison of Syilx Environmental Ethics to Herman Daly's Economics of Sustainable Development

Herman Daly's perspective on the current use of the term "sustainable development" in economic circles, is that the term may be purposely kept vague in meaning because the "stakes are very high" in what it should mean. (Daly 3) His concern is focused on the very real situation that economics is fundamentally tied to activities in an "ecosystem which is finite, non-growing and materially closed". He argues that the stress which economic activities make, as "raw materials in-puts" and "waste absorption outputs", must be kept at ecologically sustainable levels as required criteria, if the term "sustainable development" is to be ascribed. (Daly 8-9) Daly uses the term "steady

state economics” to refer to a contemporary model which will move economics beyond quantitative or growth development to qualitative improvement. In his definition, a steady state economics model would be guided by sustainability values in which there is sufficient per capita wealth allocated equitably for as many people as could be maintained and sustained over time. (Daly 166–167) Daly’s clarifications on public discussions on alternative strategies for integrating the economy and the ecosystem, sets a foundation for characterizing his model of a steady state economic system. A comparison of Daly’s perspective of these alternative strategies to a Syilx perspective will assist in establishing comparison to Daly’s perspective on sustainable development in which he separates the discussion among economists into three constructs.

The first strategy he calls “economic imperialism” in which the idea of “economy” is to be understood as an ever expanding “subsystem” that grows until everything can be seen as having a price. Daly’s concern with this model is that the consequences of seeing the whole ecosystem as having only instrumental value is where the current economic system is taking us. (Daly 11–12)

In the Syilx *cap̓tik*^{w̓} genre classified as *Coyote Travels the Land*, Coyote’s role is to find the *nə̓ʔnasqilx*^{w̓tn}—*people-eating monsters* and to subdue and transform them and so the *tmix*^{w̓} and in particular the humans will be able to live. Although an analysis of what the *nə̓ʔnasqilx*^{w̓tn} represent in society is not a focus of this dissertation, it is

overtly obvious on one level that people-eating monsters in the larger ecosystem or *tmix*^w world figuratively represent a capacity to cast all living things into the category of something-to-consume, without restriction or limitation. The outcome of everything being a consumer item in a world of unrestricted consuming is also a predictable outcome in the Four Chiefs story seen through the lens of *captik*^wʔ. The world has to be rid of them. The *nəʔnasqilx*^wtn will grow fat and powerful and the *tmix*^w weaken, diminish and disappear, leaving only *nəʔnasqilx*^wtn to battle and consume each other. As has been explained in the chapter on Syilx story genre, Coyote's role, as the transformer, is to change *nəʔnasqilx*^wtn into forms which will not be a threat to the world of the people-to-be. As has been put forward, different characters in *captik*^wʔ, on one level represent and characterize different dynamics in ways of relating. The teaching role of Coyote's character can be seen as a way, through mirroring behavior to transform dangerous ways of relating. To view the *tmix*^w as having only one value related to consumption, from the Syilx view is to construct the world from the same point of view as the *nəʔnasqilx*^wtn and will lead to the one predictable outcome. The Syilx view agrees with Daly's analysis that economic imperialism has highly undesirable consequences for the larger ecosystem.

Daly calls the second strategy "ecological reductionism" in which everything is ecosystem, and different economies are to be understood to be governed by relative values in material form in the same way that

ecosystems are governed by values relative to survival. In this analogy, just as in nature, all economies that have economic energy content value will survive, and those that do not have an economic energy content value will not. Daly's concludes that pursuing this economic logic would lead to a conclusion that human extinction would be no different from other species extinctions. Daly disagrees with the logic of this model in that while human economy is not exempt from natural laws it cannot be fully reduced to explanation by natural laws alone. (Daly 11)

Seen through Syilx lens, from the *captik*^w view of this strategy, Daly's conclusion about this strategy is the similar to the implied conclusion reached by the *tmix*^w Chiefs. They can be seen as having economic value to each other in a give-and-take system with each other in their relative strengths of survival value. Humans, however, do not have the same strength of value to the *tmix*^w. A similar logic to Daly's analysis emerges in *captik*^w in the implied consequence of a world with no humans as a result of the Chiefs not being able to find a way to institute the law of "regeneration" in a way to which humans can conform and so eventually will be dealt with by Nature's economy of eliminating them as out-of-balance people-eaters. The Syilx view from the *captik*^w strategy is that the human in the world of *tmix*^w requires its own unique way, different from the rest of the *tmix*^w to live and to participate within the required reciprocity laws of the *tmix*^w. The way must be achievable both within their unique character as human, as well as, in line with

humans being *tmix* themselves. The Syilx perspective would agree with Daly that too many critical distinctions are lost by trying to reduce everything in human economy to nature's economy.

The third strategy, which Daly adopts for his views on steady state economics, is to see that the human economy is actually a subsystem of the ecosystem and not free of natural laws. In the steady state strategy, Daly reasons that a properly defined "boundary" is necessary to keep in check the human economic subsystem within the larger ecosystem "So that we include and exclude the right things." Daly includes the notion that strong values or perhaps a spiritual awakening is necessary if society is to practice the resolve necessary to sustain natural capital in a steady state economy. (Daly 12)

A model is provided for the purpose of comparison to the third strategy, and Daly's subsequent clarifications and recommendations, to demonstrate the Enowkinwixw economy model represented by the four Chiefs story. In that model we can think of the larger ecosystem as a dynamic strategy of economic reciprocity, regeneration and sustainability within which the human economy can be represented as a system nested in the larger ecosystem.

Deeper analysis of the Four Chiefs story provides a way to view the ecosystem as an Enowkinwixw model of economy. Beginning with the implied questions in the story, we can ask why four Chiefs and not one, two or ten? The Four Chiefs represent an abstract Syilx construct in the

analogy of Four Chiefs *sqʷaʔqʷaʔəl-meeting*. The “meeting” for a long, long time has established a give-and-take order, through the identification and elimination of the people-eaters, which is now to be disturbed by a newcomer.

The Four Chiefs, establish and demonstrate Enowkinwixw as a set of principles or dynamics, and in doing so determine how the newcomer is to “eat” to “live”. The question they are challenged with is twofold: If the *tmixʷ* are to be eaten as the solution, how will they be able to “revive” and how will the human be included in nature’s established order of give-and-take, if the human will be taking and not giving anything? As has been explained in previous chapters on *captikʷ* genre, a familiar device in the genre categorized as *The World Before Humans* is that a philosophical challenge requiring resolve is a core feature. In this case Four Chiefs are engaged in a *sqʷaʔqʷaʔəl* which can be translated as either a formally structured enowkinwixw meeting, or a formal convening of law enforcement. Their challenge is to resolve the problem of the human.

The abstract construct of enowkinwixw problem-solving immediately surfaces, and would be familiar to most Syilx. The construct can be imaged into a stylized graphic of the Chiefs sitting facing each other, forming a four cardinal point circle with something placed in the middle representing the problem at the center of their dialogue. In this story the human is the problem is at the center. The construct of four

chiefs facing each other brings forward the abstract concept of the whole circle of the land and what governs and represents *i? scxəlakəks i?* *tmx^wulax^w*– the full circle of *tmix^w* as land and at the same time *i?* *sc’aymiwsc i?* *tmx^wulax^w*–four directional axis of the land pointing to what is in the center, which together set in place the four requirements of a formal Enowkinwixw process. The construct sets in place the Enowkinwixw dynamic principles which can be relied on to assist in a deeper clarification of the problem and an identification of where focus must be concentrated toward resolve.

As discussed in chapter four “Principles and applications of Enowkinwixw” the first priority requirement in forming a circle, the Syilx automatically express the imperative to include with equal value, to the best ability of those present, all relations who will be effected. In this case all the *tmix^w* will be impacted by the coming of the humans among them and the circle represents all of them. The circle represents the larger ecosystem.

The second dialogue requirement is that the main oppositional points necessary to form the dialogue circle must be the representative voices and must have equal power to be heard. Four “Chiefs” placed diametrically opposite each other in dialogue represent four different but equally powerful oppositional dynamics relating to the problem in the center. Characterizing the representative oppositional dynamics as they relate to the human economy presents a way to understand the

characteristics of the human dynamics directly related to the human problem through a lens of opposing forces. Opposing forces are actually the extremes of each other as a continuum and therefore if situated in correct oppositional construct reveal the goal point at which both extremes cease to be oppositional.

Applying the third requirement of formal Enowkinwixw dialogue requires each oppositional dynamic to identify the adjustments along their continuum that they must make within to move to the balance goal point and to initiate adjustment, starting with the most stable dynamic.

The fourth requirement of the Enowkinwixw dialogue is to translate the adjustments back into the responsibility of the full circle in order to support and sustain the resolve through identifying the central core principle as the method that each uses from that point forward.

Daly provides a view of the current state of economics by extending the analogy of economist Georgescu-Roegen termed “The Entropy Law and Economic Process” to display the ecological issue in the context of human economy. Daly uses an hour-glass to represent a closed system in which the amount of sand stays the same. In the hour-glass the *solar flow* of energy constantly available is represented as sand running at a fixed entropic rate, as in the first law of thermodynamics. The rate of entropy or “used-upness” represents the through-put of matter/energy by which economy depends on the natural environment. The sand accumulating has “used up” its potential to run down and is not

accessible, as in the second law of thermodynamics, and is *high entropy* or an ever increasing “used-upness”. (Daly 28) To show the ecological issue in this analogy, some sand has slid along the inside of the glass and is stuck on the upper inside once it has run through the middle. This accumulation represents a *terrestrial stock* of energy which could be accessed as an alternative to the natural available *solar flow* of energy, by drilling and releasing it and using it at whatever rate is possible. The result of mining the terrestrial stock of energy in economic terms always increases the “used-upness”. (Daly 29–30)

Technology greatly increases rates of production and “uses” of terrestrial stocks and increases expansion or growth in accessing *terrestrial stocks* but only to the point of it being used up. Whether it is depleted slowly or quickly, either case results in a societal dependence on the uses as well as the technologies related to the higher *rate* of energy use and higher waste accumulations while accelerating the rate of entropy toward depletion. Depletion back to the original solar rate is inevitable sooner or later, depending on how equitable the terrestrial stock is left reserved to future users. Daly’s economic concern is not with technology itself, but with growth economy associated with accessing and increasing through-puts, of finite terrestrial sources, resulting in the insatiable economic need for further increases that he calls “growth mania.” Daly, like Georgescu-Roegen, points out that peasant societies adapted life to a natural energy flow as well as natural

population levels, while industrial societies although increasingly dependent on human-made energy flows also increase survivability and are adapting life to dependence on technological invention. The result is the economic crisis situation that Daly describes as a “dependence beginning with depletion and ending with pollution”. (Daly 27–28)

Daly’s position is that growth economies continually increase physical through-put to sustain economic activities as though the ecosystem were limitless instead of finite. He analyzes growth economy as having two kinds of economic limits that are resolved by a steady-state economics. The first limit is biophysical, in terms of costs, in the loss of the “life-support services” rendered by nature to the economy. Daly explains that man-made capital creates greater and greater demand as we move away from a world full of natural capital to a world full of man-made capital. The condition set by biophysical limitations as depletions in natural capital, results in raising the relative values of natural capital in response to scarcity. Scarcity temporarily props up the value of man-made capital, and at the same time results in greater and greater demands on natural capital. (Daly 33)

Second are ethicosocial limits created by habitat takeover and the extinction of species; objection to costs imposed on future generations; self-canceling effects on human welfare; and the corrosive effects on moral standards generating societal processes that normalize negative self-interest, ignore inequities and excuse resulting injustices. Current

societal morality in that climate fosters the attitude that increased poverty is normal and even condones preying upon the human disadvantage of struggling economies and characterizes it as development. (Daly 35) The concept of predator development is consistent with the Syilx concept of people eaters.

Daly expands on economist Jan Pen's metaphor of current income disparity as a parade of dwarfs and giants, representing the inequalities. Starting with the lowest as matchstick sized gnomes, leading up to the longest part of the parade of many, many dwarfs around three feet tall, then shifting to a lot fewer of average human size and suddenly diminishing rapidly to a small percent at 20 feet tall to end with several giants reaching ten miles tall. It is a metaphor which clarifies the necessity of a process defining ethical principles and "right action" in the world. (Daly 211)

Daly explains that the connection between sustainability and international trade is the current critical situation of nation efforts to put into effect sustainability policies being undercut in a number of ways by the outward leaking of capital and the evasion of transnational corporations from local social responsibility. A result of setting in place strong social and environmental measures at the nation level is that relative costs of production are made higher. Nations control internal social responsibility and environmental policy but their borders are porous to the movement of goods and capital. Externalizing costs to

countries with lower social and environmental measures in place lowers production costs. A standards-lowering competition is triggered in which a higher standards working-class in one country is forced to compete with lower standards working-classes of other countries with higher populations, weaker labor laws and poor environmental standards. Countries exercising higher standards are faced with a reduced range of occupational choice, with wages being competed down, with an escalating poverty margin and with increased welfare costs. The consequences of the greater share of world production moving to those countries with the lowest of social and environmental standards are dangerous changes in the balance of economic and political power, the lowering of standards at home and abroad and more rapid increases in natural capital depletions and wastes. (Daly 146–147)

Daly is clear in his view that international trade without a world government, does not serve human welfare or sustainability efforts, it diminishes both and may even pose the greatest threat to the world's economy. Daly's position is that in the model of current nation state governments, free trade isn't economically feasible. (Daly 157)

The Syilx view on interareal or inter-nation trade is described in more specific detail on the chapter outlining Syilx organization as a model of mutual peacefully cooperating economies. The model of economy could be characterized in economic terms as cooperating local governments that support, defend and enforce local authority in

economic regulation, accumulation and distribution for maximum local sustainability and uphold stringent protocols of inter-nation cooperation for exchange and trade. Rather than lip service to nations united in competition and aggression for depleting resources, the Syilx view is for nations to be united in governance and defense of maximum local sustainability.

Daly suggests that because of the enormous forces of denial aligned against a shift in vision, not only are deep philosophical clarifications necessary, but he boldly puts forward the notion that the core features of an economics of sustainable development are naturally and crucially sustained by a religious view of the world. (Daly 205–206)

6.2.4.1 Daly's Requirements and Syilx Traditions of Observance

Examining Daly's clarifications about the societal ethos and economic practice required to attain his definition of sustainable development provides a way to compare his recommendations on qualitative improvement requirements, with that of Syilx environmental ethics views on *i? kəchaʔs i? tmx^wulax^w – requirements of deference or respect to tmix^wplace*. Without focusing comment related to his views on religious process, the Syilx view aligns with his concept of the necessity of a deep form of collective social will, such as is solicited by “religion” to serve the institutionalizing of ethical practice. Analysis of the Syilx environmental ethic related to sustainable practice does not include aspects of study of the religion of the Syilx.

The concept of Syilx “religion” includes traditions of Syilx “observance” that emerged through an intimacy established in a successful strategy and long-term experience of being a sentient fragment within the intricacy of nature’s requirements. As is portrayed in the Four Chiefs story, each living being in nature has its own “power song” or unique ability. From the Syilx perspective, the kind of uniqueness which sets apart being human, is one of nature’s many expressions of different kinds of uniqueness. Whether the achievement of “being” human, in the unique ability to grasp, remember and communicate the complex information allowing it to best thrive, is divine intent or not, lies outside an inquiry into how a society might approach living in a world of finite resources. However, the distinctive capacity of the human, that compels it to reason and to understand as a means of survival, is also the capacity which compels it to “sing” calling attention to the idea that “reverence” may be one of the human’s unique survival essentials and in that light casts enough relevance in discussing a Syilx environmental ethos of sustainability to add comment in that direction.

Thought related to Syilx religion rests on the notion that to fathom the arcane aspect of nature as a powerful and invisible web of reciprocity sustaining life, is also to discern the rightness of reverent conduct within it. The central argument in this thesis is to forward the concept that the mirroring of dynamic principles, indispensable to nature’s sustainability and the conscious communication of those principles into social

imperative, is what is figuratively displayed for human understanding in *captik*^{wɛ} and becomes something equivalent to the concept of religion in what is termed *snunx*^{winaʔ} – *what one knows and adheres to*. The various forms of ritual communing, verbal and nonverbal celebration and gratitude ceremonies guiding everyday life–practice are referred to in Nsyilxcen as *snunx*^{winaʔ}, a word closer in interpretation in meaning to a *covenant* or *agreement with* rather than a belief. Classified by various ethnographers as “religious observance” and by Indigenous peoples as “spirituality”, to the Syilx, *snunx*^{winaʔ} observances are classified as essential for the continuance of the life of the land. The *snunx*^{winaʔ} ceremonies and rituals of the Syilx continuously translate into human experience the active interconnection of the Syilx with environment reinforced by *captik*^{wɛ} demonstrating and interpreting the dynamic principles of nature. The *captik*^{wɛ} also provide proofs of the soundness of such observance in human concepts and translate their applicability into human behavior. Ritual, custom and practice arising out of the *captik*^{wɛ} deliver both the philosophical basis of Syilx obligation as well as an intergeneration epistemology significant to maintaining the deepest kind of respectful practice within nature. In this as yet un–researched area of Syilx practice, the Syilx perspective seems to contest western notions dividing science and knowledge from what is dismissed as metaphysics.

The focus of this dissertation includes the view that the deepest connection and therefore the comprehension of nature wisdom is precisely what is essential to ingrain human “reverence” for nature as foundational to a human knowledgeable willingness to be guided in life practice to refrain from the abuse of it. Whether or not such practice is to be classified as “religion” and defined as a “belief” or something else is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The Syilx perspective, emerging out of the story of the Four Chiefs, resonates with Daly’s perspective that clarity on principles resulting in practice which will constitute sustainability is essential for contemporary society as an impetus to change its economic practice toward a sound foundation for the required societal ethic that will maintain sustainability. Daly’s view, that implementing sustainability requires the depth of passion which is awakened by religion as significant in the delineation of human ethics, is therefore not at issue with the Syilx perspective of a required reverence.

6.2.4.2 Qualitative Improvement Requirements

Daly’s argument for a steady-state economy, centers on a differentiation between a “steady-state economy” and a “growth economy”. Daly explains that man-made capital creates greater and greater demands on natural capital as we move away from a world full of natural capital to a world full of man-made capital. Daly forwards theory that natural capital and man-made capital are compliments rather than substitutes for each

other because the productivity of one does not depend on the availability of the other. The one in the shortest supply then is the limiting factor in an economic equation. Economic logic requires that you economize on the limiting factor. He disagrees with the belief that man-made capital is still the limiting factor in the economic equation and so must be continuously increased through higher production and escalating accumulations. He advocates the understanding that natural capital is now the limiting factor in the economic equation and that the current policy of maximizing productivity and accumulations of man-made capital is therefore no longer economic. (Daly 78)

We have moved from a world where inputs to and outputs from the economy were unconstrained to a world in which they are increasingly constrained by the depletion and pollution of a finite environment. Reversing this will require an enormous shift to change the thinking from “traditional value added to that to which value is added” (Daly 70) Daly projects that the restraints and sacrifices which will be required by governments to set and agree to one constant rate of depletion will also require just distributions because the increasing tensions caused by restraints will generate risks for conflict. He suggests that governments of industrial societies, being the largest internal resource owners, are structured and constituted to keep their resources cheap through policy calculating a balance of industrial peace between labor and capital growth. As a result, higher resource prices transfer to decreases in labor

benefits rather than restraining production or decreasing accumulations of man-made capital. In economic terms, lowering benefit-flow to labor, whether in direct labor benefits or in government social programs or wage-lowering through free trade sets in motion an ever-widening sphere of diminishing ability to buy. At the same time, the cost of disparity and social injustice expands and results in a direct increase in poverty levels. Daly reasons that a more equitable distribution is a stronger economic solution by implementing limits on production and accumulations and in reserving and conserving natural capital to avoid the economic pitfall of diminishing returns cycled through labor in the form of less buying. The problem that Daly exposes is that the raising of relative prices of natural capital creates “political inconvenience” and cites the problem of the abdication of government’s role as “trustee” for current and future public, in continuing the charade that the world is full of natural capital, as the central concern for environmentalists in the twenty-first century. (Daly 149)

Daly points to the idea of shifting investment from man-made capital to investment in the maintenance of natural capital as the way to begin operating a sustainable development economy. Quoting J.R. Hicks, *Value and Capital*, Daly reminds that any measurement of income imposes the condition that capital must remain intact and so a proper contemporary measurement of income must insure that nature-capital remain intact. Daly’s views the necessity of maximizing returns to and

investment in natural capital as behavior consistent with the wisdom of an older economics model which clearly underlines that capital at all costs must be preserved or added to. (Daly 79)

In this comparison, we can think of each of the “Chiefs” as establishing an axis of dynamics in human economy within the larger ecology, the outer limit of which is defined by what is affected in the larger ecology by the human. Establishing this construct allows for the identification of human dynamics creating imbalance as well as to clarify its effects. The point at which opposing dynamics reach equilibrium is where resolve is to be found. Each cardinal point then would represent a different dynamic in human economic activity, that perceived within the required dynamics of the larger ecology, must be kept in balance as a counterpoint to its oppositional dynamic.

The problem placed at the center is posed by the paradox, that if the *tmix*^w are to be sacrificed, or in economic terms, if they are to be capitalized on to feed the humans and humans will not be regular food for them, humans can cause both the demise of the *tmix*^w and by default the eventual demise of humans. They will be consumed one by one by the humans until there are no more of any of them. Therefore they must find a way to be able to “revive” each time the humans take their lives. The economic model they are trying to avoid is easily identifiable in Daly’s clarifications. Daly’s clarifications are parallel with the Four Chiefs answer to the long-term problem of the human, in that the human in

their own capacity must understand the principle of one hundred percent regeneration or one hundred percent protection of capital.

6.4.2.3 Philosophical Clarifications on Alternative Strategies

Daly argues for a steady-state economy in which through-put would be set at one constant rate, although allocations among competing users might vary through market response. He explains that development represents qualitative improvements in how through-put is used because of better technology or because of a greater comprehension of purpose. He makes the point that although development increases benefits or increases the distribution base through better means, it does not change how much is being used. In a steady-state, the economy is allowed to develop but is not allowed to grow and increase use. Daly explains that a continuous cycle of economic renewal would result. A steady-state would meet the criteria that the level of through-put must be “ecologically sustainable for a long future.” Daly outlines that the ecological criteria of sustainability, is not defined or served by markets but measured in “cumulative person-years ever to be lived at a standard of resource-use sufficient for a good life.” Daly clarifies that it is human life that must be optimized by a steady-state economy in the long term, but contends it would also go a long way toward maximizing life for all species. (Daly 31–32)

The weakness that Daly exposes is the current scientific materialist view in that what government and law-making are directed toward has to do with human morality, although the effect is on natural capital including the effect on human beings as capital. Replenishing the system in this economic equation requires only better human choice making, because it can be justified economically and does not require abandoning contemporary lifestyle. From the purely economic logic, while the Syilx view of economy is structured the same as Daly's view, the Enowkinwixw rigor would ask where the line is to be drawn in the decision-making about what is to be maintained. Is the sustainable development ethic to be universally applicable to nature or just to what is of utility in the human economy? Daly's sustainable development model is silent on that question.

The Enowkinwixw construct allows us to view the human, as human, in the context of being nested within the larger ecological economy. The focus lens of oppositional forces identifies the broader general human oppositional dynamics indicated by and represented by the Four Chiefs. While there are numerous specific ways to translate the Four Chiefs into four oppositional human dynamics, in general they can be characterized as various manifestations of these familiar four dynamics; tradition/preservation dynamics (elders/bear); innovation/change dynamics (youth/berry); forceful action dynamics (fathers/salmon); collaborative interaction dynamics (mothers/root).

Instability caused by innovations or rapid change has serious human economy consequences. Providing economic clarity regarding factors that stabilizes or slows change provides clearness in what should be retained and what may change, in order to mediate consequences identified by the problem. The implementation of such a requirement in the Enowkinwixw economy model would serve as a guide to the principles necessary for clarification related to overbalances or imbalances associated with each human dynamic. The process could be seen within the context of economics as a way to identify sustainability criteria.

In the comparison to Daly's model, each "Chief" represents a human economic dynamic. Clarification on those forces and how the story identifies them as such is necessary. Why a bear, a salmon, a berry and a root? What do they represent in an economic model besides the obvious as foods of the Okanagan?

The most prominent Chief from the story is obvious to anyone as the one deemed "eldest". "Elders" in Syilx society represent having the longest experience to draw on and so could be considered most stable. Figuratively, as a dynamic, Chief Skmxist might be thought of as representing dependability or stableness. Stableness can be seen as powerful and desirable. The opposing force could then be thought of as "change" which could be represented by the many seeded Saskatoon berry. From the view of stability, Saskatoon represents inevitable change and disturbance. Change can be seen as desirable if stability has turned

into stagnation. Without constant interchange between stagnation and disturbance to establish stabilization and renewal, either dynamic unchecked predicts collapse. In nature's economy model, stableness and change are just different stages of the same natural process. When the human is placed at the center of the ecology as the problem, the view is made clear that human caused imbalance by far too rapid change predicts an inevitable collapse.

The principles of Enowkinwixw, for the human to adhere to, revealed in the Four Chiefs story, are to insure that regeneration can take place for each thing they take from the environment. In general, the Syilx view is consistent with Daly's view of steady state maintenance investment in natural capital.

Another obvious Chief is bitterroot. Figuratively a root represents an interdependent anchoring in place. The opposing point represented by Salmon, as independent movement through place, also presents the idea of disconnection as a result of mobility. Although mobility and independence represents advantage from salmon's view, the opposing point represented by bitterroot could be thought of as representing limits or containment in a location. In nature's economy model, taking root and adapting to specific conditions over time in specific locations allows for an efficient interdependence or balance allowing mobility by alien components to become indigenous over time restoring interdependence. In placing the human at the center of the model as the problem, two

issues are made clear. The first is that human mobility separates and disengages interdependence with a specific place. The second is that displacement of indigenous life by human industry creates imbalance and collapse is predictable. The Enowkinwixw principle is grounded in the requirement for the human to take-root in an interdependent way in specific location by reliance on local resources and labor while allowing or enhancing regeneration of the natural economy. This view is consistent with Daly's recommendation to set in place an economic governance system which would exercise internal controls and limitations to access and provide for a just distribution of benefits.

Enowkinwixw as an economic model provides a way to focus on and provide clarification on the forces of human dynamics in the context of overbalances and imbalances to nature's economy and the effects and causes of each and the consequences to human economy. At the same time the same clarifications reveal the economic counterbalances that are necessary and how economic adjustments can be achieved within the context of the human dynamic that the economic imbalance occurs in moving toward the economic vision of an absence of the problem by contextualizing it from the view of achievable adjustments made clear from within each human dynamic, rather than continued reaction to oppositional forces, facilitates realistic steps in the actualization of change. The requirement to be willing to lead in stepping forward with the first offer of sacrifice in order to move toward the goal of resolve can

be translated in images from the four Chiefs story. The first step is to see the vision of the absence of the problem in the context of old and reliable economics and through the lens of the effects and causes of the problem's consequences, in relation to the problem as a way to offer self-achievable adjustments. By doing so, is to example self-achievable adjustments that must be made in the other three areas of human dynamic. Compelling the move forward involves understanding what will neutralize imbalance and what will provide counterbalance.

The requirement to make the first move translates to the concept that those in the position of the dynamics of older established economics must take the lead to actualize the first move. Thereby to set the tone and levels of economic change and "sacrifice" that will affect the dynamics within new emerging economics. The effects on international economics and the effect in local economics must be enough to compel their action to change toward resolving the crisis. The goal of mutual resolve is more probable through economic transformations that compel assurance of follow-through in each sector.

In the Enowkinwixw economy model, the human economy is the problem and the dynamics related to the problem are human dynamics. Human dynamics must be situated on the model as oppositional relative to the problem centered on the human within the larger context of the world of the *tmix*". As nature's "economic" model the four points of the model represent a constant overarching dynamic interchange. The Four

Chiefs represent an overarching dynamic interchange between the migrant and the sedentary components of nature and between the stabilizing and the stochastic chaotic forces of nature. As dynamics, they keep each other in check and together represent a continuum of sustainability.

In the story, the Chiefs dialogue and agree as a group, that they will give themselves and all that they are Chiefs over, to the-people-to-be, if they are able to “revive” each time from doing so. The principles of balance in which the ecosystem is intact at one hundred percent is possible only if the human is made aware of and responsible in understanding the dynamics of the reciprocity of whole system and the importance of total regeneration. In the four chiefs’ story, death is forever if some way cannot be found for the one who has laid his life down to come back to life. Coming back to life is understood to mean to have the ability to regenerate if their bodies are to be a resource for the human. In the story, fly is the key that insures that there will be “revival”. In the story Fly comes along and sings and bear wakes up. Fly’s song is the one to awaken bear. Fly transforms dead rotting flesh and cleans up waste. Fly’s powerful song allows bear to awaken. The power of intentional action and reverence for life makes it possible for *tmix*^w to be “consumed” by humans and at the same time to always “revive” to continue on. Songs are an intentional action, specific and intended not as words but as the raising of sound in reverence. Song to the Syilx is

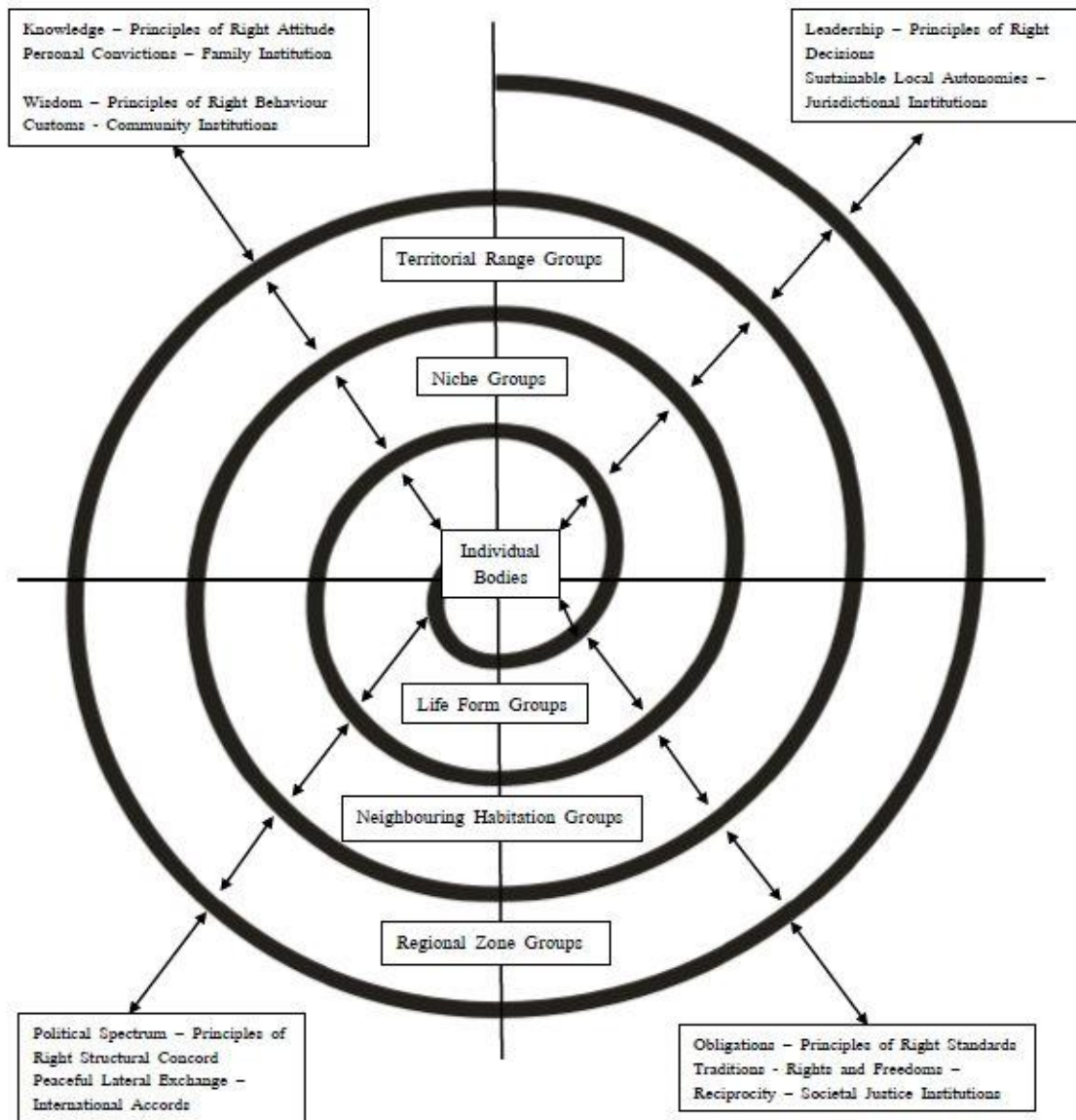
the expression of reverence and therefore expression of right thought and of right action. Right action is required to be directed at “reviving” and must be enacted intentionally in reverence directed at “continuing all life”. When the Syilx sing, they are sounding reverence as a promise to reawaken and to rejuvenate the *tmix*^w. Reverence toward continuing the life form is the meaning of the song of fly, the user of every unwanted crumb and excretion, the recycler of wastes, excising gangrened tissue. The “elder” in the story hears the song and that brings him back to life. It is only the power of “right” action that will awaken bear. Translated it means that regeneration can happen only if every morsel taken is revered and every excretion is used in reverence.

The approval and the embracing of this principle is necessary as a core social philosophy in the responsibility of adherence to the principle of regeneration based in reciprocity and the economy of giving-back by all who benefit, modeled in the story as the Four Chiefs calling on all to sing their songs of power to give life back. As an economic model, the concept translates to mean that virtually every person who has benefited from human economy within the ecosystem must be actively responsible to give-back tangible “revival” power to the *tmix*^w. Once the process of balancing opposing forces providing resolve has been agreed to and acted upon, all persons must be compelled to act to achieve the resolve. The Enowkinwixw model of economy agrees with and parallels Daly’s model of the human economy as a subsystem to the larger ecosystem

and agrees in general with the recommendations forwarded by him as qualitative improvements and with it his call for deep philosophical clarification and religious reawakening.

The idea of activities or a boundary to keep in check the human economic subsystem outside of human economic activity seems to present more of a paradigmatic problem than disagreement with the Enowkinwixw model. The problem might be characterized as the separation, disassociation or abstraction from nature's realities which occurs when alienation from Nature takes place as a result of human economic activities. In Daly's model humans must decide what should be included or excluded as a part of the decision-making for sustainability activities such as substitute investments in renewable natural capital and therefore which parts of nature are to be restored. The paradigm is characteristic of an anthropocentric and utilitarian view of the *tmix*^w as capital thereby delineating the concept of sustainability. In the Enowkinwixw model the human economy is seen as being responsible to a natural system of economy by being inextricably nested in the larger ecological economy and as a result there is no escape from the consequences to human economic activity. The human has a real and tangible grounding in the *tmx^wulax^w* economy as *tmix^w* themselves.

Tmix^W Economics of Place
A Spiral Dynamics Model
Expanding Levels of Human Respect



Note: Tmix^W includes Humans
 Figure 4.

6.3 *Tmix^wcentrism*: The Syilx Environmental Ethic

6.3.1 Abstract

The arguments are organized to forward the concept of a Syilx environmental ethic as expressed within a social paradigm which is characterized as *Indigeneity*. Central to the approach is to define the concept of *Indigeneity* as a social process that is successful in maintaining the integration of human community into a specific ecological system in such a way that the system sustains the regeneration of itself without compromise.

The Syilx Environmental ethic provides an alternative environmental theory and subsequent practical epistemology. The term *tmix^wcentric* is used, as no term exists which contextualizes the perspective grounded in the practice of *Indigeneity* that is characteristic of an egalitarianism exercised toward *tmix^w* represented in the life forms of the *tmx^wulax^w*. The argument put forward is that the Syilx practiced a society-wide ethic directed at the intentional regeneration of the *tmix^w–life–force* as a foundational principle of the Syilx environmental ethic.

The Syilx environmental ethic expresses deontological binding obligations, duties, permissions, prohibitions and rights which are moral in scope and constitute norms of action in terms of convictions, attitudes and principles. The theory put forward is that *tmix^wcentrism* is in equilibrium with presuppositions forming the core of environmental discourse ethics and that *tmix^wcentric* theory converges to create a

framework which contributes to discourse ethics with a focus on sustainable practice.

6.3.2 Universalisability of Syilx *Tmix^wcentrism*

Syilx *tmix^wcentrism*, as an environmental ethic, is expressed in Syilx norms of action as a moral duty by the whole of human society to each individual *tmix^w*. The concept embedded in being Syilx is to be obligated to continuously twine and coil, as one strand, a unity of human actions compatible with the full regenerative capacity of each *tmix^w* to move forward into the future as the *life-force* of the place they inhabit.

Perceived through *captik^w –oral story*, humans are continuously torn away from being *tmix^w*, because in possessing the unique survival tool of thought, they are no longer bound to most aspects of the fixed order of relationships within each *life-force-place*. It is precisely the ability for thought and memory that is the factor in human behavior which indicates whether or not humans do measure up to the behaviors required in the *life-force-place* for its full regeneration. The imperative implied in the term *Syilx-must twine/coil the many into one*, which is made more specific and explicit in the Four Chiefs and other *captik^w* is a construct in Syilx philosophy guiding behavior through human reason, to live in a way which continuously supports the regeneration of the *life-force-place* they inhabit.

The imperative is conceptualized by the Syilx as an obligation for them to be *tmix^w* and a *life-force* within *tmx^wulax^w* or *life-force-place*. The reasoning for behavior that maintains and sustains the life-force of the places they inhabit requires that each *tmix^w* be equally valued in the norms of human behavior. In Syilx reasoning, within the system that is *tmx^wulax^w*, each *tmix^w* has been dynamically regenerating the system through its life-force, in a collaborative, stable and knowable design to cumulatively produce the system. In Syilx terminology the *tmix^w* have been “meeting” in Enowkinwixw for a long time. It is not just that each *tmix^w* is essential in the life-force of the environment and as such must be saved from harm or death in the interests of the environment for that end alone, but that each *tmix^w* in its uniqueness is also the fundamental basis of being a life form and an end to itself. In that reasoning each *tmix^w* as one life form, is irreplaceable and is unique and an end to itself, as shown by the example of the fly in the Four Chiefs story. In the Syilx reasoning it is important to see each *tmix^w* as an individual self-regenerating life form, many of which reciprocate to make up and make possible a life-force-place. The aliveness of each *tmix^w* is the only way environment can be.

From the Syilx view, the many individual biological entities which make up one *tmix^w* are viewed as the sustained and continuous being of the individual life form. The biological entities are like cells transporting the life-force of that *tmix^w* forward. *tmix^w* are the same in this way, in

that their numbers required for continuance in a place are essential to their identity as one life-force. That number differs in each life-force-place as part of an established order which is perfectly and uniquely regenerating each *tmix*^w. Individual biological units are not seen individually, each as one unique entity, but as the same *one in the form of many*. While each is an essential component unit of *tmix*^w they are not its life-force. They are *tmix*^w in a state of continuance in the specific place they are part of. The general number of that *tmix*^w changes from place to place, taking into account how many are required by other *tmix*^w and how many do not survive other conditions of that specific life-force-place, to occur in a perfect level of abundance to insure regeneration. The numbers they constitute are fundamental to their identity as *tmix*^w. The ability to continue self-regeneration is only possible in relation to the presence of others of its family and the other *tmix*^w which support its existence. Continuance as a life form is impossible in a single biological entity and therefore from the Syilx reasoning *tmix*^w is the sanctity of its *life-force* manifest in its self-regenerative identity in a specific place. The use of the English term *life-force* may be inadequate in translating that the biological functioning of each entity is not the *tmix*^w however each biological entity is a temporary expression of the actual *tmix*^w which is gigantic, as an old, old life form. *tmix*^w refers to the whole life-force of the life form including the capacity to generate enough single entities required to regenerate itself as well as to provide for the needs of other

tmix^w as a part of their life-force. The *captik*^w & *tmix*^w display and represent that concept in the *captik*^w characters as Chief Bear, Salmon, Berry and Root in their various roles and dynamics.

It is also important to note the Syilx reasoning that humans, as *tmix*^w have the same value and are *tmix*^w themselves in that framework. Moral consideration in the larger framework of being *tmix*^w emanates from each *life-force* having both an irreplaceable individual identity and a unique role as a part of the *life-force-place*. From the Syilx view, the unique ability of each human being as an individual biological entity results in the situation in which each human being needs to continuously construct and communicate social norms and prohibitions of behavior, as individuals, instead of inheriting such norms in their collective blueprint the way the *tmix*^w do. In that reasoning therefore, humans, as individuals, are each of unique value within the human social norms of morality constructed for relating to each other. Required morality in interactions among humans does not diminish required social norms of morality toward *tmix*^w. In the larger *tmix*^wcentric framework of principles, each individual human is unique and an end in a human way to his or her own good, being liberated from the collective *tmix*^w end to which each biological entity is tied. Each biological entity is an end to the entire *tmix*^w collective. The concept of *tmix*^w is therefore central to the Syilx social paradigm and forms the core of the Syilx environmental ethic

as an attitude of rightness parallel with the rightness of human centric morality.

6.3.3 System of Rights: Basic Social Institutions

The Syilx perceive that to be a life-regenerative force rather than life-depletion force, human society must somehow be in equilibrium as a part of the essential parts-to-whole relationship of a place. The Syilx perceive that as essential components of being the life-force, each *tmix^w* is bound to others in a given environment in very specific ways which sustains their life-force. The ways in which life-force is sustained is termed a *stəʔtaʔt* which is commonly interpreted in a contemporary context as a right or as a justice principle. However, the word is transliterated as being a *truthright*. Every life form has a *stəʔtaʔt*, and in order for the human to act in a way which preserves and saves each life-force from harm or death, each human has obligations. The human is obligated to understand and include in their actions, the specific conditions or *stəʔtaʔt* that each life-force requires for continuance irrespective of utilitarian or value and regardless of how insignificant or powerless they may be considered within the context of the specific place they inhabit together.

Each *tmix^w* differs in empirically identifiable profiles of regeneration in the established order of *stəʔtəʔt-truthrights* in securing

reciprocity within that order. Verifiable truths as relationships between things are the basis of a *stəʔtaʔt*. For example the Syilx see the *stəʔtaʔt* of the deer as its relationship to quantities of certain plants in a place; while for wolves it is its relationship to quantities of animals like deer. Both the plants and the deer must be able to regenerate fully in order that the wolf continues to regenerate. The natural order requires the wolf not to eat all the deer or the deer not to eat all the plants. The *stəʔtaʔt* of each operates as a dynamic constantly seeking the equilibrium that each *tmix^w* has established over a very long time in order for them to be alive in that place. The real meaning of the word *tmix^wulax^w* is a system of *stəʔtaʔt* rather than a location as geography or place as species or biota.

The *stəʔtaʔt* state or relationship necessary for the dynamic of regeneration of each *tmix^w* in each specific place is ontological and not changeable. Cascading or cumulative effects with cruel and repugnant results to many *tmix^w*, including humans, take place when the life-forces of any *tmix^w* are compromised in the specific place they inhabit. For that reason, in the Syilx system of prohibitions the *stəʔtaʔt* or *truthright* of each *tmix^w* is protected as being unique and of equal value in a *tmix^wplace*. The principle is to be applied as good practice for even that which seems to be without obvious *tmix^w* regenerative value. In Syilx *captik^wʔ*, fly, with the least obvious power in reviving Chief Bear, is identified as having a necessary role in Chief Bear's revival. Fly and Chief

Bear are both strands emanating forward out of the same source, they are of equal importance as *tmix*^w.

Each *tmix*^w is an expression of a specific *stəʔtaʔt-truthright* that constitutes its unique efficiencies and tools for regeneration. The unique *stəʔtaʔt* of the human, to observe, analyze, remember and communicate information which gives the human efficiency and advantage, is a risk for other *tmix*^w in the shorter-term, but ultimately over the long-term, it is a risk for the human. The pack skills of wolves are a *stəʔtaʔt* unique to their advantage, however, if wolves deplete their food sources they sicken, kill off their young and each other until there is a right relationship re-established.

From the Syilx view the concept of *stəʔtaʔt* is between law and moral responsibility, in that it is a concept of *knowledge* expressed as a *responsibility* to hold to a system of *truths* in what is known and verifiable and has consequence. The idea of a *truth* is to know a consequence, and therefore *truths* hold the responsibility to act accordingly. To have a *truthright* is to have the rights accorded by the truth of knowledge. A *stəʔtaʔt* means that the specificity of significance, based in knowledge or fact of reality, is to be considered in actions, responses or decisions. The concept of *stəʔtaʔt* as a knowledgeable responsibility is founded on the Syilx idea of *təʔtaʔt* defined in the Colville-Okanagan dictionary as *honest, straight, true, sure, factual*, made up of the roots *tiʔ a straight line* and *taʔ exact*. (Mattina, 201) In

contemporary Nsyilxcen, it means that a response is not to be warped or biased by self-interest but must reflect the true and exact facts and therefore must include the truthright of all involved or affected.

The response to the *tmix^w* is to be *stəʔtaʔt* in the knowledge of consequences and therefore to be *stəʔtaʔt* in actions or decisions that affect them. Therefore a *right relationship* is required by the human toward the capacity for regeneration of the *tmix^w* of a specific life-force-place.

The *stəʔtaʔt truthright* of the human is that they have exactly what they need in memory and analytical ability for the knowledge and therefore the reasoning to choose to be ethical toward each *tmix^w*. From the Syilx view, humans are not innocent or unaccountable to *tmix^w*, exactly because they have thought and logic. The knowledge of each *tmix^w* in their abundance and regenerative ability, whether they are roots, berries, fish or wildlife is both a knowable and verifiable requirement related to human utility. To be Syilx means to choose live within the requirements of each *tmix^w* through knowledge, as applied in land use practice which protects the regeneration of *tmix^w*. The Syilx ethic requires humans to practice the appropriate prohibitions and actions to insure that the truthright of each *tmix^w* is instituted in everyday life practice.

As a consequence, *tmix^wcentrism* is a human system to protect the rights or *stəʔtaʔt* of each *tmix^w* to full regeneration, full aliveness and

existence in their own identity through knowledgeable practice. It is a philosophy incorporated into practice in all Syilx social institutions, in all forms of education, law, political structure and material culture. The Syilx view is that the other *tmix*^w already are "wise" in that they are bound by their own process for full regeneration and already practice it to great efficiency and reciprocity, it is the human which does not. Whether *tmix*^w do not make logical or reasoned choices is not at issue, as they are not required to, they practice *stəʔtaʔt* in their every action. The key issue is that it is only the human who is duty bound to choose to come into alignment with the efficient sustainable economy that the *tmix*^w have organized.

6.3.4 Normative Presuppositions of Good Practice

The unique ability of the human to observe, analyze, remember and communicate, which provides humans with efficiency and advantage, is also an ability which allows the human to determine either to become aligned with the other life-forces in the life-force-place or to deplete the life-force-place. The inevitable extinction of a unique and irreplaceable *tmix*^w becomes a repugnant moral conclusion for the human because humans are not choiceless in the matter and not free of the obligation which *knowing* places on them. The *tmix*^w, in their relationships, can be observed, analyzed, remembered and talked about with regard to what

constitutes the right relationships required of the human within that order to be known and practiced by humans.

The Syilx *tmix*^w*centricity* as a principle binds the human as social beings to moral obligations towards all *tmix*^w in the duty to synchronize human behavior with the regenerative order of the physical environment, as good practice based first on moral reasoning. Obvious and consistent in ethnographical and current study of Syilx practice is the reverence for the *tmix*^w in the elaborate gratitude rituals observed when the lives of individual entities are taken for sustenance. The *stəʔtaʔt* unique to the human binds human society by human *thought* to an informed and therefore expected right behavior. It is also argued that in ability to discern that we are inseparable from the other life-forces which are required for a *life-force-place* to continue as such, the human is obliged to refrain from harming the life-forces in a way that would end the regeneration of life forms in that place. In Syilx *captik*^w*ʔ* terminology the challenge is that the *tmix*^w must be able to “revive each time they lay their lives down” for the human and the human is obliged to cry their thanks by “singing” the song that will revive that *tmix*^w.

The Syilx perspective reflects that being human means a responsibility to an empirical learning process characterized by observing, verifying and communicating the way things are bound together in an indissoluble system of life regeneration. As a science, like all sciences, developed to assist human understanding and human

advantage, the knowledge of how each life form is bound to others allows for a practical and sustainable approach to necessary sustenance so that depletions do not occur. Unlike a reductive science process, a most useful science in subsistence land–use is to seek to understand how things are interlocked in *relations* which support the whole system. As a science focused on associative dynamics, accurate information is gathered through long–term use, verification and documentation of the synergy between parts which together culminate in successful regeneration of the life–force–place.

In the Syilx perspective each capable human has a duty and obligation to *tmix^w*. The obligation of humans is also to themselves as *tmix^w*, to not deplete or damage the order of each place they inhabit and thereby effect the regenerative ability of each *tmix^w* in that place. The systems of moral norms and values of human society are where the obligations rest for humans, in relation to the rights of the *tmix^w* to their full regeneration. Therefore, there is obligation for humans to continuously teach, govern and manage the resource–use prohibitions and best practice techniques available to them. The governance and land–use practices of the Syilx (chapter 2) display an organizational structure, land use and epistemology supporting a society–wide expression of a *tmix^wcentric* environmental ethic. The oraliture, as educational institution, library, archive and encyclopedia is an efficient and portable vehicle to transmit, in the content and in the method of

nature image imbedding, a way to inform, shape and influence each succeeding generation's attitudes and behaviors toward the environment. The Enowkinwixw as a dialogic process incorporates the *stəʔtaʔt* – *truthrights* of individuals, family, society, *tmix*^w and *tmx^wulax^w* in decision making, at both a political governance–procedure level as well as constituting a societal mechanism to institute individual accountability to ethical duty as a responsibility fundamental to Syilx practice.

Enowkinwixw is expressed as a principle of human philosophy, thought and behavior. Through a system of rights for all *tmix*^w, humans can choose to align themselves as a life–force instituted through good practice in all human customs, laws and education. Ethnographers who have documented Syilx practices provide consistent information that land–use practices are regulated through social and political structures and basic institutions expressing the *tmix*^w*centric* ethic. The Syilx transmitted the ethic to succeeding generations through oraliture rooted in an ethos informed specifically as a record of attention to the land and as such a record of the Indigeneity inherent in the learning of a society inextricably interwoven with the land.

6.3.5 Scope of Moral Community

The Syilx concepts of *tmix*^w and *tmx^wulax^w* are constructed through observation and documentation. It is important to see the Syilx meaning

of each in order to understand the scope of the moral community from the Syilx perspective. A useful analogy to assist in understanding *tmix*^w as life–force and the *tmx^wulax^w* as the life–force–place is the human body itself. In this analogy the state of *aliveness* which is produced when the physical body is functioning is the body’s purpose. Aliveness, is understood here not only as the body’s biological or mechanical functioning of parts but the faculty to move, respond, reproduce and die. Aliveness isn’t just a construct of thought. Aliveness is a physical reality, although it seems to be intangible or even metaphysical because it is invisible as a dynamic. Although aliveness is a cumulative result of the physical functioning of the body, you could not isolate aliveness in any individual part of the functioning of the body as a system. Aliveness is not a flesh part of the body but since the body only in its functioning produces a state of aliveness, the body and its component parts are essential to the state of aliveness. Once the aliveness is gone, that which is to be preserved in the moral duty to the human is no longer present. However, since aliveness cannot be separated from body, but body can be separated from aliveness, the duty to protect the aliveness in the body is where moral duty actually rests. A human body in that state of aliveness constitutes a person, the whole of which must have dignity and be protected from harm. Moral considerability is thus tied to the aliveness present in the physical body.

Following the analogy, *tmix*^w is the *aliveness* of environment. In the analogy, the physical flesh body could be thought of as the *life-force-place* or the place within which aliveness is manifest through the functioning of its parts.

Essential in the analogy is the idea that the physical parts could not be in a state of aliveness without functioning together in a constant dynamic state of reciprocal support and benefit. A state of aliveness is the cumulative purpose of the whole functioning physical body and each thing that makes up a body is there in that larger purpose and yet the larger purpose is what allows each part to exist. Viewed from that perspective, it is that state of on-going *aliveness* of each *tmix*^w as the *life-force*, which is seen to be the actual reality or truth of the life form.

The Syilx perspective is that *tmix*^w although invisible is concretely real. *tmix*^w exist in physical reality but can only be concretized in the mind. The dynamics contingent on the cumulative physical state is that which allows each life form to be in a state of aliveness. Thus the Syilx view of environment is that of a *tmx^wulax^w*, or *life-force-place*, as the cumulative dynamic reality of the *aliveness* of each part functioning within the larger physical state which makes possible the continuing aliveness of each life form. Following the analogy of the aliveness of the human body as having moral significance, it is the *tmix*^w that has moral significance.

6.3.6 Inherent Limits

In establishing the principles to argue that a Syilx environment ethic meets the principles required of ethics discourse, two assumptions weigh on the arguments and conclusion. First and foremost is the assumption in the Syilx view that human morality is tied to standards set through the conceptualizing of a *life-force* and a *life-force-place*.

The limit to justification emanates out of the rightness or strength of the reason for holding a thing in significance as a result of its irreplaceability and the uniqueness of its role to its own end, within a larger purpose. Any attempt to justification beyond, only returns to the principle that once the existence of a life-force has been erased by the human, it has been erased forever after its long history of self-establishing rights through the reciprocity of its existence. A moral wrong has been done on the same principle, that when a human life is erased, this unique individual is irreplaceable, and a moral wrong has been done. Second to this is the limit to the justification of an environmental ethic as a *right* relationship required of humans alone, because their power of thought excludes them from the inherited blueprint of *right* behavior held by other *tmix*^w. *Right* relationship for the human then must be assumed to be weighed through human standards of valuation based on human knowledge of right behavior of *tmix*^w within their *tmx^wulax^w*.

6.3.7 Conclusion

The core argument is that the Syilx environmental ethic constitutes Indigeneity as a social paradigm. It is constituted by the way the Syilx construct and communicates the view that humans are *tmix^w-life-force* themselves as part of a *tmix^wulax^w-life-force-place*. Central to the argument is that the Syilx environmental ethic is grounded in judicious reasoning formulated through generations of in-depth natural science observations of the dynamics of interaction which most appropriately replicate living systems as an ecologically sound model of regeneration.

Syilx Indigeneity is put forward as a conscious deliberate social manifestation of a knowledgeable morality to be freely engaged toward all *tmix^w* within the wider system of a *tmix^wulax^w*. The argument is that the principles contained in the practice of Syilx *Indigeneity* are confirmed through the Syilx social paradigm in requiring moral consideration for *tmix^w* in all the ways in which human relations may have a consequence or effect on them. The justification includes that good practice be centered on the use of the Enowkinwixw dialogic process of decision-making to provide a procedural framework that structures moral consideration to *tmix^w* in an egalitarian governance model. Enowkinwixw as a governance procedure facilitates recognition of standards of rights for *tmix^w* to exist in a fully regenerative state in all spheres of human interface with *tmix^wulax^w* as *tmix^w* and to be incorporated into civil practice. The analysis provides clarity on, and situates the notion of

stəʔtaʔt–truth right of all *tmix*^w in specific *tmx*^w*ulax*^w of habitation by the Syilx. The position put forward is that *stəʔtaʔt* is a system of recognition, deference and respect through human practice in the specific requirements of *tmix*^w to their own end as a part of *tmx*^w*ulax*^w. Finally, in situating a Syilx environmental ethic, the commonly advanced suppositions of Indigeneity are contested as a simplistic primitive condition lacking capacity to accumulate and transmit knowledge outside of the immediate concrete information necessary for human survival.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Conclusions on Syilx Oraliture

Of dual central concern to the research in this thesis has been to examine Syilx oral story as an indigenous literature. The term oraliture is devised to better convey that as an indigenous oral communicative form there are essential differences between *captik*^w and written literatures, in artistry of form and use of language. The approach taken is to examine Syilx *captik*^w as an oraliture rooted in an ecologically regenerative philosophy organized over many generations of interaction with a specific place. The argument is that there are complex and unique literary features, beyond aesthetics and a structure conducive to oral presentation, which are specialized features of *captik*^w functioning as a knowledge

documentation system. Examination included identifying a process to assist in affirming *captik* as a means of oral transmission to succeeding generations. The approach included employing methodologies through which to comprehend the way the Nsyilxcen language constructs meaning, underlining its importance as an indigenous language and thereby illuminating story meaning and access to the societal principles and ethos concerned with an ecologically sustainable lifestyle.

The process employed has been to situate Syilx *captik* as an *indigenous* voice. *Indigenous* in that as text *captik* embodies, reflects and utilizes the in-depth understanding of the workings of nature in the place occupied by those whose literature it is, in the themes, elements and devices. Examinations provide argument to support the concept that, just as the literature of any society reflects displays and engages a deep social literacy that contextualizes its knowledge, lifestyle and philosophy as intrinsic elements, so an indigenous literature could be expected to reflect, display and engage a deep social literacy in *indigeneity*. Arguments have been organized to provide a critical approach through which to penetrate and appreciate the way Syilx *captik* constructs and transfers a philosophy articulating an *indigenous* ethic of sustainability. Defining *Indigeneity* as a specific kind of social paradigm characterized by an ethic necessitating practices that assure full ecological regeneration is a core precept to situating Syilx *captik* as an *indigenous* literature.

As a result of the research and theory developed, certain areas of examinations and critical approach will be of interest to scholars of literature. In particular those scholars concerned with *Indigeneity* in literature and those concerned with oraliture as a genre of literature, will find useful the methodologies in the critical approach. The analysis will be of specific interest to scholars of Salishan oraliture and to Salishan writing in English. Following, a summary is provided of the areas that may be of interest in the development and application of critical approaches to Indigenous literatures and oralitures.

7.1.1 Indigenous Language as a Medium Conveying Indigeneity

A language in its original meaning that has evolved over many generations within a comprehensively integrated interconnection with the ecology of one place, presents greater opportunity to access *Indigeneity* in literary voice. For those whose lives depend on the land, meaning which correlates to the specialized nature-perception required for survival is essential in as much exactness in sensorial and active detail as is possible. Research on the language of the Syilx indicates that it evolved over thousands of years of interaction of people in the same territory. Nsyilxcen, as a Salishan language, constructs meaning through a core lexicon of root morphemes and affixes which make up the words to speak about the Okanagan world. As a result of the manner in which words are comprised of smaller components of meaning, that can be

hooked and unhooked to express both verbs and nouns, words seem to replicate an active and sensory reality. Meanings emerge that are experienced by fluent speakers like active replays of physical moments. Nsyilxcen as a system of documentation and transmission of information transmits and documents in its words, the perceptions and experiences of the Syilx interdependence with nature. When combined into phrases, sentences and stories, the language produces a layering of meanings grounded in a sensorial awareness mimicking living nature. Translations of indigenous literatures from original language into English and other languages could be better served through careful attention by those fluent in the culture and language, to construct interpretations based on word morphology to capture the unique meanings and perspective they add.

7.1.2 Oral Story as Documentation System

Indigenous literature or oraliture as it is termed in this context, as a spoken literature, evolved unique approaches, styles and format to accommodate memory, ease of transmission and clarity of meaning. Nsyilxcen *cap̓tik*^{w4} utilize icon-like nature characters to act as mnemonic devices and establish figurative *loci* to guide audience memory through the story intent. Dramatic exaggeration, overt ribaldry and the macabre are used, both for entertainment value and as mnemonic device to aid memory recall in the story intent. The use of strategically placed story

scripts as device to supply content, information and detail through inference and implied scenario allows for the listener to enliven the story from within their own knowledge level. The method of using story scripts to trigger deliberate inference, allows listeners of different ages, gender, custom and esoteric practice, access to the layers of meaning hidden between the lines. Story grammars, which provide immediate direction to listeners on the genre and therefore the social intent of the story, are introduced through the lead-in line introducing the genre and its main characters, as well as through the structural and thematic template unique to each. Associative networks are used as device in *captik* to make accessible contextualization based on specific relational dynamics and behaviors in nature because they are easily recognizable and are dependable as familiar everyday constants to the Syilx. In particular Syilx *captik* rely on the listener making parallel societal behavioral associations through nature characters in their ordinary behavior or role in nature. As well, whole vignette's or episodes containing an interaction to deliver a point are transported intact to appear in a wide variety of different *captik*, with slightly different versions and characters but having the same behavioral characteristics, allowing another level of sophistication of audience, by creating an internal dense network of story reality and information. Related to associative networks is the occurrence of familiar episodes in a wide variety of story variants containing the same vignette set in different locations and circumstances creating a

cycle or a complex of stories linked by the same episode, creating a consistency of information to be transferred and a coherence of behavioral principles contained in each. Each of these unique devices, are silenced when read solely as a form of personification, animistic symbolism or metaphoric characterization.

7.1.3 Oraliture as Its Own Aesthetic

The *captik* style of narrated story, leading the listener to all manner of asides, cul-de-sacs, and from there to leap right back onto the original path and continue the main story, appears disjointed and lacking coherence in structure and in written form. The style and structure in which *captik* is delivered is suited to oral storytelling. The open-ended style of *captik* allows the teller to begin or end at different points and to provide emphasis and contextualization and connection to the contemporary place and time of the telling. The teller and the audience present at different times have different expectations of entertainment and delivery. Oraliture attends to and includes audience and resonates as collective story-voice by consciously adding in pieces of the *now* of audience and teller, to the main story through the layering of time and place, adding in the substance of local community. Regardless of whether spoken in indigenous language or written in English, oraliture consciously subverts linear organization and in written form seeks to deconstruct the rigidity of a set story the way text does on the page.

Finding a way to that orality on the written page creates a new aesthetic which provides an exciting contribution to all literatures. Appreciation of oraliture for its own aesthetic could prompt a revitalized interest in this art form and bring contemporary oral storytelling into formal literary focus. Access to the power and aesthetic of performed dramatic gesture, vocalization, pacing and audience dynamic all get silenced once on the page.

7.1.4 Indigeneity in Story Voice as Ecomimicry

Theory is put forward that Syilx *captik'w* is a form of ecological mimicry suited to the transmission of knowledge through oraliture as a feature of being Indigenous to a place. Access to *Indigeneity* in *captik'w* voice is through mimicking the ecology of the land in approach to format, style and devise. Principles of Okanagan social order emulating ecological principles and dynamics are delivered as story components which arise out of a knowledgeable, observed awareness of nature's workings. Founded in the observations and discoveries of its many past generations on that land, *captik'w* story utilizes the dynamics between nature's characters acting in their roles because they are easily recognizable to the human inhabitants. *captik'w* characters, rather than as commonly identified, are not a form of personification. Instead the reverse occurs in *captik'w* in that human centered characters are given the general behavioral traits of one of nature's cast of characters. Figures in nature

behave within a template of specific interactions with observable purpose while human behavior and purpose is less predictable. While they talk and act like humans, their interactions are based on reliable and unwavering dynamics within the Okanagan ecology. Rather than personification, for want of a term, a form of *animafication* magnifies specific dynamics in nature as having clear expected beneficial or destructive endings or effects and when superimposed over human behavior provides a way to inform and direct human interaction. In *captik*^{wł} these *animanized* humans act figuratively as agents to form core thematic intent for humans to choose behavior in coherence with the land and its workings, and so serve as a guide for human individual and social conduct. *captik*^{wł} are like a window into *Indigeneity* in that they provide access to the perspective of a people whose behaviors are intentionally being mediated through knowledge of relational dynamics in nature. A critical approach in the examination of the oral narratives of indigenous peoples should include situating them as a form ecomimicry as they could provide added dimension in terms of ecological insight and Indigeneity.

7.1.5 Indigenous Oraliture as Environmental Ethic Lexicon

Situating Syilx *captik*^{wł} as a vehicle for the interpretation and transmission of a Syilx philosophy and epistemology provided a way to situate Syilx *indigeneity* as foundational to the Syilx environmental ethic.

Examination of *captik^w* as an *Indigenous* literature opened a window into the Syilx moral standpoint and approach to nature in the way it was experienced, understood and treated by the Syilx. Analysis of one of the most prominent examples of *captik^w* oraliture containing foundational ecological concepts allowed access to the underpinnings of the Syilx requirements of respect to nature embedded in societal process and life practice. The philosophy and knowledge accessible through *captik^w* provided a contextualization of Syilx values as concepts and standards of practice to be exercised toward other living things. The social tenets couched in story form and constituted in the various roles of nature characters in Syilx *captik^w* outlines specific required moral behaviors in interaction between humans and other living things in nature as well as between each other in human society. Analysis of the way *captik^w* is structured and the purpose it serves provided access to the way the Syilx deciphered nature's intelligence as a judicious system of beneficial principles by which the human should be guided. *captik^w* can be seen as a system that provides a dictionary of meaning by utilizing dynamics available in nature as a guide to mediate harmful human behavior to the on-going full regeneration and renewal of the life forms that the Syilx were a part of as the *tmix^w-life-force* of the ecology of the Okanagan place. *captik^w* is a specific human method by which to comprehend and to place into the Syilx mind and Syilx behavior and therefore into Syilx society, the principles of economy and sustainability of that place to be

learned and adhered to willingly by the human as a result of that knowledge. The oralitures of indigenous peoples can provide insight into revitalization and the situating into contemporary practice the environmental ethics required by those places from which their oralitures arise.

7.2 Tmix^wcentrism as Syilx Environmental Ethic

The framework that argument is presented through to establish the Syilx environmental ethic as *tmix^wcentrism* is in general compliance with discourse ethics principles. The Syilx *tmix^wcentrism* as an environmental ethic is an alternative way of valuing nature and is articulated as a human moral duty critical in its universalisability to all *tmix^w*. The Syilx *tmix^wcentrism* as environmental ethic is constructed to from a human chain of responsibility continuously moving forward into each generation through *captik^w*. The Syilx *tmix^wcentrism* is clearly grounded in human philosophy, language and social construct, and constitutes on-going human consensus-making as response to the on-going moral issue of human utility of other life forms. The Syilx *tmix^wcentrism* utilizes *captik^w* as a form of Syilx discourse directed at human conduct in relation to environment. *tmix^wcentrism* is expressed as the human responsibility of being *st^l/sqilx^w* or the one torn away from the inherited state of being *tmix^w* as life-force, as an established equilibrium within the dynamic interdependence that is nature. Syilx *tmix^wcentrism* is focused

on the concept of the human being bringing themselves into equilibrium with the inhabitants of *tmx^wulax^w* through being continuously guided in a philosophy requiring them to re-constitute and engage thought to become indigenous. The Syilx social paradigm incorporates the knowledge of the requirements of the life forms affected by the human into everyday life practice as a choice. Indigeneity as a philosophy of sustaining a life-force-place is aptly imaged in the Nsyilxcen language as the *tmx^wulax^w*. *tmix^wcentrism* is situated as a framework of good practice in terms of attitude, lifestyle and land-use as an outcome to institute full regeneration of the whole life-force-place as a functioning order.

The perspective situating *tmix^wcentrism* as an ethos is expressed in the idea that to be Syilx, is to live within the imperative to continuously sustain a unity of existence within the generation-to-generation, year-to-year, season-to-season cycle of the life-force-place of *tmx^wulax^w* as one of the many strands which are continuously being bound with others to form one strong thread. The strong thread which, as humans, we are responsible to learn to move forward into the future is a social moral imperative. This concept is positioned as the fundamental meaning of being indigenous. It is the fundamental meaning of being Syilx. The science involved in acquiring that level of knowledge is based on long-term careful observation and a consistent documentation method

contesting common belief that oral documentation systems are not scientific.

tmix^wcentrism is described as an unqualified regenerative relationship and is established as characteristic of Indigeneity expressed as an epistemology which emulates the successful dynamics of the life-force-place as a regenerative ethos. The definition of a conservation land ethic or ecocentrism are inadequate in scope in terms of the idea of what constitutes *tmix^w* as a life-force of a life-force place. The analysis put forward is that *tmix^w* is the reality of a life form in its requirements of the conditions to be capable of regeneration. A *tmix^w* is the aliveness of a life form in its ability to move, respond and to regenerate, which is only possible in an appropriate dynamic with other *tmix^w*. The Syilx view of reality is asserted that no single biological entity is a life-force in the life-force-place. In concluding that the Syilx view is that each biological entity is not the *tmix^w* but an expression of the old, old life form which has exists as *tmix^w* on the *tmx^wulax^w* which is a continuance of that state, the conclusion is also reached that, the concept of biocentrism is inadequate.

Although underlying presuppositions of *tmix^wcentrism* seem to agree with the statement by Aldo Leopold that it is desirable to achieve within society an ecological conscience, as well as to agree with Herman Daly's call for a spiritual awakening related to sustainability, both

positions do not address the central reality of the unique end of their own reality of each life form as a life–force within a life–force place.

Although *tmix^wcentrism* is described as a relationship of unmitigated interdependence and reciprocity within nature, the outcome is clearly aligned as a practice of sustainable use. However, the concept of *tmix^wcentrism* as one form of a steady state economy of resources practiced by Indigenous Syilx is problematic in that the notion of sustainability is focused on sustaining a specific level of human utility as an end. *tmix^wcentrism* is focused on sustaining the *tmix^w* as life–force of a life–force place as good practice by which humans and other life forms are sustained together in the indigenous order of reciprocity.

To be Syilx, is to live within a social imperative to continuously sustain a unity of existence within nature from generation–to–generation, year–to–year, season–to–season, in a knowledgeable and principled way as result of knowledge of the land. It is to know, that like every other living thing humans are necessary in maintaining the health of the environment.

In conclusion, the Syilx constructed a *tmix^wcentric* philosophy based in *Indigeneity* as natural science knowledge to reconcile different requirements of respect for different *tmix^w* specific to their life–force place and so assert that *Indigeneity* is an expression of philosophy and epistemology.

7.3 Relevance of Indigeneity as Contemporary Environmental Ethic

The losses of the lived experience of *Indigeneity* in sustained in-situ relationships of people to land are directly accompanied by the massive global loss of living nature. Unbridled development in every form has unleashed escalating and compounding problems cumulatively producing environmental damage as a global crisis. David Suzuki writes “For the first time in the 3.8 billion years that life has existed on Earth, one species–humanity–is altering the biological, physical and chemical features of the planet on a geological scale.” (Suzuki, 1997, 11)

Deep ecologist writer, Jerry Mander writes that the truth is that “many environmentalists remain hesitant to identify economic growth, corporatism, capitalism, and ideologies of the global market and consumerism as the root causes of the grave environmental and social crises of our time.” (Mander “Paradigm” 197)

As solutions are sought and proposed to slow down, halt or reverse the massive degradations to environment, the elephant in the room that was carefully being avoided at the 1992 UN Agenda 21 Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) begins to loom larger as an inescapable truth. As Maurice Strong, Secretary General of UNCED has stated, “The environment isn’t just an issue, something to be fixed while everything else remains the same. Ecological destruction is a sign of the imbalance in the way our industrial civilization sets its priorities and governs itself.” (Strong 25)

7.3.1 Contemporary Relevance of Indigeneity as Social Paradigm

Mander's comments in *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples Resistance to Globalization* brings forward the view that the on-going struggles of Indigenous peoples to protect their lands and their way of life is actually a struggle between two radically different approaches to the environment. One in which globalization as a process is eating up the planets life forms, its basic resources and its peoples in the name of wealth accumulation and the other in which Indigenous Peoples struggle to find contemporary methods to protect their lands and their relationships with it. Theory that the concept of *Indigeneity* is fundamental to an environmental ethic is supported by his point, that it is Indigenous peoples who live in much of the planet's remaining natural wealth, and that this is a testament to the viability of their values and the practice of stewardship, reciprocity and integration with nature. Mander's positioning of Indigeneity as a philosophy confirming an advanced knowledge of how to be in the world, in terms of the rules limits and practices of sustainability concurs with the conclusion about Syilx Indigeneity. (Mander "Paradigm" 193)

Also important for future implications is to understand is that without the ability to maintain the vitality of their unique relationships to their lands through in-situ lived experiences, not only the social institutions and processes underpinning Indigenous political, legal and

customary practices are lost, but the very basis of Indigenous knowledge is eroded.

As Battiste and Henderson describe in the Introduction to *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge*, Indigenous knowledge disappears when Indigenous peoples are stripped of their lands, their languages and their lives. Their argument is that survival of Indigenous peoples is more than a question of physical existence. It is an issue of preserving Indigenous knowledge systems in the face of cognitive imperialism. They argue that maintaining Indigenous worldviews, languages, and environments is a global issue because it is a matter of humans sustaining spiritual links with the land. (Henderson 12)

David Suzuki, in interviewing Guudjaaw, a Haida artist who had led a highly public opposition to clear-cut logging of Haida homelands, asked how he could oppose logging when there was such high unemployment in their community. Guudjaaw answered that his people had determined that the area to be logged must be left in a natural condition so that the Haida keep their identity and pass it on to following generations, because the forests and the oceans, “are what keep us Haida people today”. Guudjaaw’s answer illuminates the critical link between ecological health and an environmental ethic governance system as a philosophy of indigeneity. (Suzuki 16)

7.3.2 Relevance of tmix^wcentrism As a Global Force

Mander puts forward the provocative idea that Indigenous peoples of the earth have the answers to many of the questions related to shifting a destructive paradigm. He forwards the view that while the work of dismantling the institutions that now lead the world has to take place, there is also a need to join forces to replace it with values and standards that serve the earth. (Mander “Paradigm” 7)

The renowned Seneca scholar John Mohawk gave a modern English presentation of a nineteenth– century collaboration between Six Nations Chief John Arthur Gibson and J.N.B Hewitt, translating from the Onondaga language, *The Iroquois Creation Story: The Myth of the Earth Grasper*. Mohawk speaks about how the times have changed since the first translation. He mentions that anthropologists now seek value in such works precisely because of the differences in view and their distinction in having elaborated lessons unknown in Western cultural values. (Mohawk iii).

The UN Convention on Biodiversity which concerns itself with living things besides human beings, in article 8 which deals with *in-situ* conservation methods, specifically in (j), comes close to proposing systemic change in its proposition that governments “respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of Indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles to the extent that it is relevant for conservation and sustainable use of biological

biodiversity". (UNCBD) In his essay, "Indigenous Ecological Knowledge", Daryl Posey, respected advisor to the technical and scientific work of the UNCBD, wrote that a reversal of the devastation of industrialized society will require relearning ecological knowledge as well as to earnestly deal with the question of harmonizing trade and increased consumption. He is clear that a global environmental ethic is a necessary issue in this change, and he mentions that while these undertakings will be difficult the wisdom of traditional and Indigenous peoples can assist and guide. (Mander "Paradigm" 27)

7.3.3 Sustainability and Global Re-Indigenization

The human shift in consciousness to a global environmental ethic that is required, hinges on coming to terms with what John Mohawk called "the tremendous reality of what we think of as globalization." Reminiscent of green economist Herman Daly's call for a spiritual renewal, Mohawk goes on to say "That's a huge job, but that's the called-upon spiritual call of the re-indigenization of the world." (Nelson 260) It is clear that society cannot shift simply because it learns that it must stop doing things in the way that it does. Although understanding its wrongness is the starting point, the process is much more complex as displayed in the dialogic model of Enowkinwixw. Society will always resist changes to familiar and known ways of doing things. Society shifts its values person-by-person, organization-by-organization, community-by-

community and country-by-country only when feasible opportunities for transformative experience is available in a way that reduces fear of change and provides strong incentives to normalize change as right and desirable. A steady state economy as proposed by Daly would decrease environmental damage and increase sustainability in terms of optimum human existence and by default might serve to maintain natural ecological systems. However, a societal change of values toward indigenous life forms as having an end unto themselves as the life-force of natural environment of which humans are only a part, cannot happen by simply limiting what humans are used to doing to the environment. Societal value-changes toward life forms necessary to the life-force of the ecologies of natural environment requires new thought constructs toward those life forms rather than a more severe limitation on what people in that society have been doing out of the same thought construct. As Daly has iterated, such limitations only change the degree to which it will continue to be done with the inevitable increase of pressures to raise the limitations toward a faster total depletion of natural capital because the values about doing it stays the same while scarcity increases its capital value. Inability of countries to reach an agreement on commitments for reducing greenhouse gasses provides an example. The tug-of-war of words between countries on “who must act first”, “by how much to make a difference” and “by when at the latest” ends in a weak plan, too late and too slow for changes that would

arrest the climate change already wrecking economic havoc on the planet. Governments that are leading a change of values toward environment are acting out of an understanding that change is actualized in the lives of people, in their work and recreation, in concrete new ways that supplant what must be stopped with what is being incorporated as socially viable better alternatives.

First steps in such a shift would require allying with Indigenous peoples currently living their Indigeneity *in-situ* as well as fostering those peoples re-indigenizing themselves through new customs, laws and languages in a contemporary context. The act of allying with Indigenous peoples to reinstate a contemporary form of *Indigeneity* would require new and different governance approaches and create radical shifts in social processes. It would produce a transformative shift from a framework of control and domination to one of collaboration, which in itself would institute new ways of being. Such a shift toward constructing such mechanisms would be a pronouncement of environmental justice for all peoples. As the late John Mohawk said, “I think that when we talk about re-indigenization, we need a much larger, bigger umbrella to understand it. It’s not necessarily about the Indigenous People’s of a specific place; *it’s about re-indigenizing the peoples of the planet*. It’s about us looking at the whole thing in the broadest of possible ways.” (Nelson 259) Whether the concept of re-indigenization is iterated into more scientific language in terms of caring for the overall resilience of

ecological forces specific to different places, or into more local cultural idiom, it can become an intrinsic part of a broad environmental ethos. The first steps toward re-indigenization would require beginning a dialogue on the very questions that modern society is confronted with. Questions related to the global mobility of populations and the resultant global monoculturing, for example, while providing challenges, could also provide new solutions. Re-indigenization is less about how long people are in one place but more about learning the specific requirements of *tmix*^w in each place and the therefore creating permanent institutions at local levels to meet those requirements.

7.3.4 Implications for Indigenous Scholars

Clearly, necessary towards *re-indigenization* is the need for Indigenous scholars to contribute the level of quality research and dialogue required to reconstruct into contemporary context the underlying precepts of Indigeneity which foster strong environmental ethics common to Indigenous peoples and now largely absent in non-Indigenous society. The restoration and development of Indigeneity is one path to knowledgeable alternative value systems specific to different places which have built-in best practice ecological principles and on-going practice. Indigenous scientist Gregory Cajete, in outlining fundamental ways to assist in conceptualizing Indigenous knowledge, pointed out that meanings which people attach to natural phenomena depend on the

conceptual structure of which they are a part, and he reminds us that conceptual structures are always conditioned by culture and systems of thought. (Cajete 123)

The conceptual restructuring being forced upon society as a result of environmental crisis and its effects, at all levels of social experience, is already creating changes in systems of thought and practice. The restoration of practices that foster *Indigeneity* requires changes in economic practices through a conceptual structure of environmental sustainability as a guiding standard. As Storm Cunningham, author of *The Restoration Economy* has stated, we are reaching a “tipping point” in that we are on the verge of a transition from an economy based on new development to one based on restorative development. (Cunningham 6)

7. 4 Concluding Statements

Daly and others have reached the conclusion that an environmental ethic in society will require a shift in values. Perhaps transforming the human story of values is where to begin that shift. What is described as disassociation or alienation of the human from nature is actually a disassociation and alienation from the logic of nature to guide the human in better values and better choices. Knowledgeable decisions based on preserving and sustaining the *regenerative* capacity of each place requires the human to see themselves as a significant factor in the

life-force of that place and to act in accordance with its requirements rather than in accordance with the desires of the human. The prevailing societal logic comprehends nature through a reductive science perspective founded largely in utility as a productive capacity of human economy. Non-indigenous societal association to the life forms of a place has been functionally reduced to either human economic objectification or a removed gaze for aesthetic or research value which construct the knowledge frames by which nature is accessed. The *lives* of the life forms in nature, in their own ends as the *tmix^w-life-force* of place, do not appear in the human story. Humans tend to no longer know that their fellow beings are beings. Societal logic grounds the prevailing human belief in the *rightness* of a human pre-eminence within a landscape of objectified and commoditized things rather than a landscape of living beings interacting to sustain and regenerate life. Without a society-wide access mechanism by which to access logic, fluency and feelings grounded in the *rightness* of a sustainable regenerative interaction within nature and a counteractive logic to the *wrongness* of a destructive utility of it, it will not happen.

7.4.1 Concluding Statement on Contributions to Literature

Science is the human ability to observe, understand and explain *nature*. Whether through the use of microscope, quantum or abstract theory, the fact remains that science is nature's intelligence being translated into the

human mind. Organizing what appears as chaos into cognizant patterns is no less critical to human intelligence whether through scientific formulae or through words. The fundamental difference between the two as method is that words constructed into story provide open access to societal members through intellectual and emotional intelligence while access to science is limited to those schooled in its languages. Human ethics are understood, endorsed and enacted by society through the common vernacular of that society. Humans must not only understand the logic of an ethic but also must understand and feel that it is *right* in order to follow the tenets of its delineations.

The simplicity of story, as community dialogue, is natural to the human and provides a ready-made societal mechanism. The reason books, drama, and the all-pervasive media are powerful mechanisms for quickly embedding growth economy values, is the insatiable human capacity for knowing the world. Deconstructing the model of the global monoculture story and constructing concepts, approaches and styles for environmental place-based story is a starting point. Revitalizing *Indigeneity* in literature through a place-based critical approach by calling on perspectives and insights evolved over thousands of years is a place to begin. Finding a way to recover the stories of the human continuously pulling the separate threads together into one strong thread moving ever forward together into the world-to-be, is a place to begin. The idea of story situating a

perspective of familiarizing humans with the concept of living places “peopled” by beings engaged in sustaining and regenerating the life-force of the land is a place to begin and a place already begun in Indigenous story. The mediation process of dialogue that stories are, as literature to community, contributes to shaping the values of its members and is already in place in academic literary forum. M. Scott Momaday in his essay, “Man Made of Words” commented on how Indigenous peoples reach back into history to re-story the things that matter to their identity and values to bring them forward into the contemporary context. Stories are a way for memories to be moved upward through time from the mouths of the ancestors who lived Indigeneity, through language, in the construct of words, thought and action on the land. Stories bring forward and sustain in human consciousness their collective will. What is transferred becomes an influence and mediates what from then on, what is told.

7.4.2 Tmix^wcentrism as a Contribution to Environmental Ethics

Discourse

As a result of the axiom, thesis, research and conclusions of this dissertation, it is my conviction that restoring *Indigeneity* in all peoples is one of the vitally necessary tools toward altering environmentally destructive living. The conclusion is that *Indigeneity* is actually a philosophy of ecological sustainability instituting the environmental

ethic that requires people to intersect with environment in a way which is fully restorative and regenerative to the ecology of each place they occupy.

The conclusion is that the desperate need for change in all people at this time requires a both a pathway to relearning *Indigeneity* through restory-ing the human relationship with nature and situating Indigeneity as a viable argument in environmental ethics discourse. As the late John Mohawk said about the Iroquois Creation Story, “Earth Grasper carries a fundamental and unchanging truth...humans exist in a context of nature, and not vice versa...that which created our world is not society, but the power of the universe. Nature, which is the context of our existence, is sacred” (Mohawk, iii)

The conclusion is that the process outlined as Enowkinwixw in the Four Chiefs story, requiring the human to continuously return to and weave the knowledge of being both *tmix^w–life–force of the land* and *tmx^wulax^w* is viable in the contemporary context as an environmental ethics practice. The process by which the specific knowledge of appropriate interactions with the ecology of a place is made available to all levels of society is a necessary component in society.

The conclusion is that new approaches are required, both for reading Indigenous text as well as through *indigenizing* stories for

contemporary society, whether in books, film or the common text of television.

The conclusion is that *indigeneity* is a viable tool toward transformation of the people-to-be into being part of the social order as *tmix^w* and to be a *life-force in a life-force place* rather than being part of the social order of depletion and destruction.

Research Bibliography

- Abram, David. *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than Human World*. New York: Vintage Books; 1997.
- Ackerman, Lillian A. "Gender Equality on the Colville Indian Reservation in Traditional and Contemporary Contexts", *Women in Pacific North West*. Ed. Karen J. Blair, University of Washington Press, Seattle, London, 2001. 237-254
- Adamson, Rebecca. "Investing in Indigenous Knowledge" *Indigenous Economics Toward A Natural World Order*. Akwe:kon 'All of Us' Journal. Vol. IX, number 2. Ithica NY: Cornell U. 1992.
- Alfred, Taiaiake. *Peace Power Righteousness: an Indigenous Manifesto*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press. 1999.
- Allen, Paula Gunn, ed. *Voice of the Turtle: American Indian Literature 1900-1970*. New York: Ballantine Books. 1994.
- Allen, Timothy, and Thomas Hoekstra. *Toward a Unified Ecology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Allison, S.L. "Ne-Hi-La-Kin: A Legend of the Okanagan Indians Written Fifty-Two Years Ago". *Okanagan Historical and Natural History Society*. Vernon, BC: Wayside Press. 1927. 6-8
- . "The Big Men of the Mountains: A Legend of the Okanagan Indians Written Fifty-Two Years Ago." *Okanagan Historical and Natural History Society*. Vernon, BC: Wayside Press. 1927
- Anastasio, Angelo. *Intergroup Relations in the Southern Plateau*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. 1955.
- Andrews, Jennifer, Renata Eigenbrod and Emma LaRocque. *Studies in Canadian Literature*. Vol. 31, Num. 1. Fredericton, NB: The University of New Brunswick. 2006.
- Apffel-Marglin, Frederique, PRATEC, ed. *The Spirit of Regeneration: Andean Culture Confronting Western Notions of Development*. New York: Zed Books Ltd. 1998.
- Archibald, Jo-ann Q'um Q'um Xiiem. *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2008

- Arlee, Johnny. *The Gift of the Bitterroot: A Salish and Pend d'Oreille Story*. Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Npustin Press. 2008.
- Armstrong, Jeannette, ed. *Looking at the Words of Our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books. 1993
- Awiakta, Marilou. *Selu: Seeking the Corn-Mother's Wisdom*. Golden: Fulcrum Publishing. 1993.
- Barreiro, Jose. *Indigenous Economics Toward a Natural World Order: Akwe:kon Journal*. Vol. IX, Number 2, Summer 1992. Ithica, New York: Akwe:Kon Press. 1992.
- . "Indigenous Peoples Are the 'Miner's Canary' of the Human Family" *Learning To Listen to the Land*. Ed. Bill Willers. Washington DC: Island Press. 1991. 199-201
- Barsh, H, et al. "Application of Landscape Ecology. 7.1 Landscape Ethics and Sustainability." *Development and Perspectives of Landscape Ecology*. Ed. Olaf Bastian and Uta Steinhardt. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 2002. 307-325
- Bateson, Gregory. *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. New York: E.P. Dutton. 1979
- . *Steps To An Ecology of Mind*. Chicago: U of Chicago Press. 1972
- Battiste, Marie and James (Sa'ke'j) Youngblood Henderson. *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge*. Saskatoon, SASK: Purich Publishing Ltd. 2000
- Bernadin, Susan K. "Mixed Messages: Authority and Authorship in Mourning Dove's Cogewea, The Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range" *American Literature*. Vol. 67, Number 3. Duke University Press. 1995.
- Berry, Wendell. "The Futility of Global Thinking" *Learning to Listen to The Land*. Ed. Bill Willers. Washington DC: Island Press. 1991. 150-156.
- Berthold-Bond, Daniel. "The Ethics of 'Place: Reflections on Bioregionalism", *Environmental Ethics: An Interdisciplinary Journal Dedicated to the Philosophical Aspects of Environmental Problems*. Vol. 22. Number, Denton, Texas; U of North Texas,. 2000.
- . *Hegel's Grand Synthesis: A Study of Being Thought and History*. Albany NY: State U of New York Press. 1989.

- Booss, Claire, ed. *A Treasury of Irish Myth, Legend: Folklore: Fairy and Folk Tales of Irish Peasantry: Edited and Selected by William Butler Yeats: The Story of the Men of the Red Branch of Ulster: Arranged and Put into English by Lady Isabella Augusta Gregory*. New York; Gramercy Books. 1986.
- Bradley, Nina Leopold, Willington Huffaker, Foreword. *Aldo Leopold and the Ecological Conscience*. Ed. Richard L. Knight and Suzanne Ridel. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. ix–xii.
- Brent, Mrs. William. "Okanagan legend of Shuswap Falls" *Okanagan Historical Society*. Vernon, BC: Wayside Press. 1948. 16–17
- . *My School Days*. Unpublished Memoir's. Brent collection. Vernon BC: Vernon Museum.
- . "The Indians of The Okanagan Valley", *Okanagan Historical Society*. Osoyoos, BC., 6th report. 122–130.
- . "My Life". *Okanagan Historical Society, 30th Report*. Ed. Major Hugh Porteous. Penticton, BC: Penticton Herald. 1966. 105–113.
- Breiler, Elizabeth, et al. *Colville Is: A Resource Supplement on Band History*. Omak, Wash: Paschal Sherman Indian School unpublished report. Circa 1980.
- Brown, Alanna Kathleen. "Looking Through The Glass Darkly: The Editorialized Mourning Dove", *New Voices In Native American Literary Criticism*. Ed. Arnold Krupat. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1993. 274–288.
- . "Legacy Profile: Mourning Dove (Humishuma) 1888–1936." *Legacy: A Journal of Nineteenth Century American Women Writers*. Ed. Ackmann, et al. Vol. 6. Number 1. Amherst: U of MA, Legacy. 1989. 51–58.
- Brown, Jennifer and Elizabeth Vibert, ed. 2nd ed. *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press Ltd. 2003.
- Brown, William Compton. *Early Okanagan History*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press. 1968
- Bruchac, Joseph and Diana Landau. *Singing of Earth: Native American Anthology*. Berkeley: The Nature Company. 1993.

- Bouchard, Randy. Collection. *Okanagan Legends*. Trans, Martin Louie, Transcribed, Dorothy Kennedy. Victoria, B.C: Unpub. Collection, BC Indian Language Project. 1975.
- Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy Kennedy. *Ethnogeography of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area*. Unpub. rep. Victoria, BC: British Columbia Indian Language Project. 1979
- . *Indian History and Knowledge of the Lower Similkameen River-Palmer Lake Area Okanagan County, Washington*. Unpub. rep. Victoria, BC: British Columbia Indian Language Project. 1984
- . *Lakes Indian Ethnography and History*. Unpub. Rep. Victoria, BC: British Columbia Indian Language Project. 1985
- . "Northern Okanagan, Lakes and Colville" *Plateau, Handbook of North American Indians Vol 12*. Deward E. Walker, Jr. Ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1998. 238-250.
- . *First Nations Ethnography and Ethnohistory in British Columbia's Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region*. Unpub. Rep. Victoria, BC: British Columbia Indian Language Project. 2000
- Cahn, Steven, and Peter Markie. *Ethics: History, Theory, and Contemporary Issues*. 2nd Ed. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2002.
- Cajete, Gregory, ed. *A People's Ecology: Explorations in Sustainable Living*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers. 1999.
- Callicott, J.Baird. *In Defense of the Land Ethic: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*. Albany, NY: State U of New York Press. 1989.
- . *Earth's Insights: A Survey of Ecological Ethics From the Mediterranean Basin to the Australian Outback*. Berkeley/LA/London: U of California Press. 1994.
- . "From the Balance of Nature to the Flux of Nature: The Land Ethic in a Time of Change". *Aldo Leopold and the Ecological Conscience*, Ed. Richard Knight and Suzanne Ridel. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 90-105.
- . "Animal Liberation: A Triangular Affair", *Environmental Ethics Vol. 23, No 2. June 1980 Symposium: Jon Elster's Logic and Society*. Ed. Alastair Hannay, Founding Ed. Arne Naess. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1980. 311-338.

- Callicott, J. Baird and E.T. Freyfogle, eds. *Aldo Leopold: For the Health of the Land Ethic: Previously Published Essays and Other Writings*. Journal of Forestry, Washington, D.C. Island Press 1999.
- Callicott, J. Baird and Michael P. Nelson. *American Indian Environmental Ethics: An Ojibwa Case Study*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson-Prentice Hall. 2004
- Campbell, Joseph. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Bollingen Ser. 17. 1949. New York: Princeton University Press; 1968. 1973.
- Capra, Fritjof. "Speaking Nature's Language: Principles For Sustainability." *Ecological Literacy: Educating Our Children for a Sustainable World*. Ed. Michael Stone. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 2005. 18-29.
- . "Principles of Ecology" *Ecoliteracy: Mapping the Terrain*. Ed. Zenobia Barlow. Berkeley, CA: Learning in the Real World imprint. 2000. 36-41.
- . *The Turning Point: Science Society and the Rising Culture*. New York: Simon and Shuster. 1982
- Carstens, Peter. *The Queen's People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press. 1991
- Cassirer, Ernst. Trans. Ralph Manheim. *Language. Vol. 1 of Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press. 1957.
- . *Mythical Thought. Vol. 2 of Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1957
- . *The Phenomenology of Knowledge. Vol. 3 of Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press. 1957
- Cajete, Gregory, ed. *A People's Ecology: Explorations in Sustainable Living: Health, Environment, Agriculture, Native Traditions*. Santa Fe. NM: Clear Light Publishers. 1999.
- Centre For Ecoliteracy. *Ecoliteracy: Mapping the Terrain*. Berkeley CA: Learning in the Real World-Centre For Ecoliteracy. 2000
- Chance, David H. *Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District. Northwest Anthropological*

- Research Notes. Memoir No. 2.* Ed. Roderick Sprague and Deward E. Walker. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho. 1973
- Chivian, Eric, Aaron Bernstein. *Sustaining Life: How Human Health Depends on Biodiversity.* CBD, UNDP, UNEP, IUCN. Oxford. New York: Oxford U. Press. 2008.
- Clark, Ella E. *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press. 1953.
- Clarke, J.J. *Voices of the Earth: An Anthology of Ideas and Arguments.* New York: George Braziller, Inc. 1994.
- Cline, Walter. "Religion and World View" *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagan of Washington.* Ed. Leslie Spier. Gen. Series in Anthropology, Number 6. Contributions Form The Laboratory of Anthropology, 2. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banting Publishing Co. Agent. 1938. 131–182.
- Cohen, Bill, Ed. *Stories and Images About What The Horse Has Done For Us: An Illustrated History of Okanagan Ranching and Rodeo.* Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd. 1938
- Commons, Rachel. "Diversions" *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagan of Washington.* Ed. Leslie Spier. Gen. Series in Anthropology, Number 6. Contributions Form The Laboratory of Anthropology, 2. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banting Publishing Co. Agent. 1938. 183–194.
- Cox, Doug. *Okanagan Roots: A Historic Look at the Southern Okanagan and Similkameen.* Ed. Elizabeth Prince. Penticton, BC: Skookum Publications. 1987
- Cox, Ross, *Adventures on the Columbia River.* New York J&J Harper, 1832.
- . *The Columbia River.* Edgar Irving Stewart and Jane Stewart, Eds. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957
- Creighton, David. *Deeds of Gods and Heroes.* Burlington, ON: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd. 1967.
- Cruikshank, Julie. "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography: Perspectives From the Yukon Territory, Canada." *Clearing a Path: Theorizing The Past In Native American Studies.* Ed. Nancy Shumaker. New York; Routledge. 2002. 3–27.

- Cunningham, Storm. *The Restoration Economy: The Greatest New Growth Frontier: Immediate & Emerging Opportunities for Businesses, Communities & Investors*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc. 2002.
- Daly, Herman E. *Beyond Growth: The Economics of Sustainable Development*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1996.
- . *Steady State Economics: 2nd ed.* Washington DC/Covelo CA: Island Press. 1991.
- . "Boundless Bull" *Learning to Listen to the Land*. Ed. Bill Willers. Washington DC: Island Press. 1991
- Delisle, Jennifer Bowering. "Nation, Indigenization, the Beothuk: A Newfoundland Myth of Origin in Patrick Kavanagh's Gaff Topsails" *SCL/ELC, Studies in Canadian Literature Etudes En Literature Canadienne*. Vol 31. Number 2. Fredricton, NB: U of New Brunswick. 2006. 23-45.
- Derickson, Delphine. "Original People", *We Get Our Living Like Milk From the Land*. Ed. L. Maracle, et al. Penticton BC; Theytus Books. 1993. 1-16.
- Devall, Bill, and George Sessions. *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books. 1985.
- Douglas, Sir James. *Journals of Sir James Douglas*. Transcribed from microfilm from The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, CA. 1835-1860.
- Dove, Mourning (Hum-ishu-ma). *Cogewea: The Half-Blood*. Lincoln/London: U of Nebraska Press. 1981.
- . *Coyote Stories*. Ed. Dean Guie. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers Ltd. 1933.
- . *Tales of the Okanagans*. Ed. Donald Hines. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1976.
- . *A Salishan Autobiography*. Ed. Jay Miller. Lincoln/London: U of Nebraska Press. 1990.
- . *Letters to McWhorter*. Holland Library, Washington State U. Pullman, Washington. 15-17; 395, 69; 526.
- Dryden, Cecil. *Up the Columbia for Furs*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1949

- Duff, Wilson. *The Indian History of British Columbia: The Impact of the White Man*. Victoria, BC: Royal British Columbia Museum. 1997
- Durham, William. *Co-Evolution: Genes, Culture and Human Diversity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992.
- Eigenbrod, Renate. *Traveling Knowledges: Positioning the Im/Migrant Reader of Aboriginal Literatures in Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press. 2005.
- Ellen, Roy, Peter Parkes and Alan Bicker, ed. *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives*. Series in Environmental Anthropology, Vol. 5. Canterbury, UK.: OPA–Harwood Academic Publishers–The Gordon and Breach Publishing Group, 2000.
- Ewonus, George, Paul Ewonus and James Baker. “Ancient Peoples of the Okanagan”. *Okanagan Geology*. Ed. Murray A. Roed and John D. Greenbough. Kelowna, BC: Kelowna Geology Committee. 1995. 71–83.
- Falk, Donald, Margaret Palmer and Joy Zedler, ed. *Foundations of Restoration Ecology*. Washington: Island Press. 2006.
- Fisher, Dexter. “The Transformation of Tradition: A Study of Zitkala Sa and Mourning Dove. Two Transitional American Indian Writer’s.” *Critical Essays on American Literature*. Ed Andrew Wiget. Boston: Hall, 1885. 202–11.
- Fisher, Robin, Kenneth Coates, ed. *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd. A Longman Co. 1988.
- Foley, J.M. *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1991.
- Francis, Lee, James Bruchac, ed. *Reclaiming the Vision: Past, Present and Future: Native Voices for the Eighth Generation*. Greenfield New York: Greenfield Review Press. 1996
- Froman, Creel. *Language and Power: Books III, IV and V*. New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Inc. 1993.
- Fromkin, Victoria, et al. *An Introduction to Language*. 2nd Canadian ed. Toronto: Harcourt Canada Ltd. 2001
- Gibbs, George. Journal Notes. *Report on, Indian Inhabitants of*

- Washington Territory*. Held as document 2356 in Washington Ethnology div. Olympia, Washington. 1854
- . *Indian Tribes of Washington Territory*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press. 1967
- Gold, Joseph. *The Story Species, Our Life Literature Connection*. Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 2002
- Goodall, Jane. *In the Shadow of Man*. Rev. ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1971.
- Gooding, Susan Staiger. "Place, Race, and Names: Layered Identities in United States v. Oregon, Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, Plaintiff-Intervener". *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 28, No. 5. Symposium: Community and Identity in Sociolegal Studies. 1994. 1181-1230
- Grabert, Garland F. *An Archaeological Survey of the Upper Okanagan Valley, British Columbia, 1967: Report to the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa*. Western Washington State College, Permit 1967-6. 1968
- Griffith, Brian. *The Garden of Their Dreams: Desertification and Culture In World History*. Halifax NS: Fernwood Publishing-Zed Books. 2001.
- Groopman, Jerome, ed. *The Best American Science and Nature Writing 2008*. Series Ed. Tim Folger. Boston/New York: Haughton Mifflin Company. 2008
- Guyer, Paul, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Kant*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge U. Press. 1992
- Haladay, Jane. "The Grandmother Language: Writing Community Process in Jeannette Armstrong's *Whispering in Shadows*" *SLC/ELC For The Love of Words Aboriginal Writing in Canada*. Ed. Jennifer Andrews, Renata Eigenbrod and Emma LaRocque. Vol. 31 Number 1. Fredricton, NB: U of New Brunswick. 2006. 32-48
- Hall, Calvin, Vernon Nordby. *A Primer of Jungian Psychology*. New York: New American Library, Inc. 1973.
- Hannah, Barbara. *Jung: His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir*. New York: Capricorn Books. 1976.
- Hannum, Hildegard, ed. *People Land and Community: Collected E.F.*

- Shumacher Society Lectures*. New Haven/London: Yale U Press. 1997
- Hawthorn, H.B., C.S Belshaw and S.M. Jamieson. *The Indians of British Columbia*. Berkeley & London: University of California Press. 1960
- Hayakawa, S.I. and Alan Hayakawa. *Language in Thought and Action*. 5th ed. San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Co. 1990
- Hayes, Susanna Adella. *The Resistance to Education for Assimilation by the Colville Indians 1872–1972*. Spokane, Wash: Unpublished Report–Spokane SD #81. Circa 1972.
- Herbert, Gary B. *Thomas Hobbes The Unity of Scientific and Moral Wisdom*. Vancouver: U of BC Press. 1989.
- Hillman, James and Michael Ventura. *We’ve Had a Hundred Years of Psychotherapy And the World’s Getting Worse*. San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers. 1992.
- Hill–Tout, Charles. “Report on the Ethnology of the Okanak’en of British Columbia, an Interior Division of the Salish Stock.” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 41. 1911
- Hill–Tout, Charles and Ralph Maud, ed. *The Salish People: The Local Contributions of Charles Hill–Tout. Vol 1. The Thompson and the Okanagan*. Vancouver, BC: Talonbooks. 1978.
- Hobson, Geary. *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature*. Albuquerque NM: U of New Mexico Press. 1979.
- Hoffman, Chris. *The Hoop and The Tree: A Compass For Finding A Deeper Relationship With All Life*. San Francisco/Tulsa: Council Oak Books. 2000
- Huck, Barbara, Heidi Henderson and Philip Torrens. *In Search of Ancient British Columbia*. Vol. 1. Winnipeg, MB: Heartland. Associates, Inc. 2006.
- Hudson, Douglas. “The Okanagan Indians”. *Natives Peoples: The Canadian Experience*. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, Eds. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart Inc. 1993. 445–466.
- . *Indigenous Use and Occupancy in the area of the Hudson’s Bay Brigade Trail (Tulameen Area): A Preliminary Report*. A paper

- prepared for the Merritt Forest District. Merritt, BC: Ministry of Forests. 1996. 1–44
- Ikeda, Daisaku. *Fighting for Peace*. Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Co. 2004.–Toward a New Era of Dialogue: Humanism Explored. Tokyo, Japan: Soka Gakkai Int. Office of Public Information. 2005.
- Isernhagen, Hartwig. *Momaday, Vizenor, Armstrong: Conversations on American Indian Writing*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 1999.
- Isaacson, Rupert. *The Healing Land: A Kalahari Journey*. London: Fourth Estate. 2001.
- Jacoby, Karl. *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: U of CA Press. 2001.
- Jameson, Catherine. *Zoe and the Fawn*. Penticton, B.C. 2006
- Jaskoski, Helen, ed. *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays*. Cambridge MA: Cambridge U Press. 1996.
- Jensen, Derrick. *A Language Older than Words*. New York: Context Books. 2000.
- Joe, Marina. *Senk'lip Juggles His Eyes*. Collected and translated from Okanagan for Kou–Skelowh–We Are the People. Penticton B.C: Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project. 1981
- Johnson, Oliver A. *Ethics: Selections from Classical and Contemporary Writers Sixth Edition*. Riverside. U of CA. 1989.
- Jung, Carl. *Symbols of Transformation: Volume Five of the Collected Works*. 2nd ed. Trans. R.D.C. Hull. Bollingen Series XX. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1956
- Jung, Carl and Aniela Faffe, ed. Richard and Clara Winston, trans. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. Rev. ed. New York: Vintage Books. 1963.
- Jung, Carl, et al. *Man and his Symbols*. New York: Doubleday & Co, Inc. 1964
- Kalland, Arne. “Indigenous Knowledge: Prospects and Limitations” *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives*. Roy Ellen et al. UK: U of Kent at Canterbury: The Gorden and Breach Publishing Group. 2000

- Katakis, Michael, ed. *Sacred Trusts: Essays on Stewardship and Responsibility*. San Francisco: Mercury House. 1993.
- Kearns, Laurel, Catherine Keller, ed. *Ecospirit: Religions and Philosophies for The Earth*. New York: Fordham U Press. 2007.
- Kellert, Stephen R. *Kinship to Mastery: Biophilia in Human Evolution and Development*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1997.
- . "Aldo Leopold and The Value of Nature" ". *Aldo Leopold and the Ecological Conscience*, Ed. Richard Knight and Suzanne Ridel. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 128–137.
- Kellert, Stephen R and Edward O. Wilson, ed. *The Biophilia Hypothesis*. Washington DC/ Covelo, CA: Island Press. 1993
- King, Thomas. *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative*. Toronto, ON: Dead DogCafé Prod. Inc. 2003.
- Knight, Richard L, Suzanne Ridel, ed. *Aldo Leopold and the Ecological Conscience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Knudtson, Peter, David Suzuki. *Wisdom of the Elders*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Ltd. 1992.
- Kroeber, Karl, ed. *Traditional Literatures of the American Indian: Texts and Interpretations. 2nd edition*. Lincoln and London. U of Nebraska Press. 1997
- Krupat, Arnold, ed. *New Voices In Native American Literary Criticism*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1993
- Kuipers, Aert H. *UM Occasional Papers in Linguistics No. 16, Salish Etymological Dictionary*. Missoula: University of Montana, 2002.
- LaDuke, Winona. *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press. 2005.
- . *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Cambridge: South End Press. 1999.
- LaDuke, Winona and Sarah Alexander. *Food is Medicine: Recovering Traditional Foods to Heal the People*. Minneapolis MN/Ponsford MN: An Honor the Earth and White Earth Land Recovery Project Production. Circa 2008.
- Leopold, Aldo. *A Sand County Almanac: With Essays on Conservation From Round River*. Random House Publishing/Oxford: Oxford U. Press. 1966

- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *Myth and Meaning*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press. 1978
- . *The Savage Mind*. London/Chicago: Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd. University of Chicago Press. 1966.
- . "Myth and Meaning", *More Lost Massey Lectures: Recovered from Five Great Thinkers*. Toronto, ON: House of Anansi Press Inc. 2008.
- Lewinske, Silke Von, ed. *Indigenous Heritage and Intellectual Property: Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore*. The Hague/London/NY: Kluwer Law International. 2004.
- Link, Margaret Schevill. *The Pollen Path: A Collection of Navajo Myths*. Walnut, CA: Kiva Publishing Inc. 1998
- Lopez, Barry. *The Future of Nature: Writing on A Human Ecology from Orion Magazine*. Minneapolis, Min: Milkweed Editions. 2007.
- Louis, Shirley. *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd. 2002
- Louie, Martin. *kmúsməs i? ylylmíx'wəm*. Recorded by Randy Bouchard, 1966. Recording gifted to Jeannette Armstrong by Martin Louie, Transliteration translation by Jeannette Armstrong, 2006.
- Love, Glen A. *Practical Ecocriticism*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003.
- Lovelock, James. *The Revenge of Gaia*. London, England: Penguin Books. 2007.
- Ludowicz, Deanna G. *Prehistoric and Historic Patterns of Resource Utilization in the Southcentral Interior Plateau*. B.C. Seminar paper prepared for the Regional Advisors Meeting, August 1980, Princeton: British Columbia. 1980
- Lutz, Hartmut, ed. And Thomas Rafico, ed. *What is Your Place? Indigeneity and Immigration in Canada*. Germany: WiBner-Verlag. 2007.
- Lyons, C.P. *Okanagan Valley*. Surrey, BC: Heritage House Publishing Company LTD. 1985
- Mandelbaum, May. "The Individual Life Cycle" *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagan of Washington*. Ed. Leslie Spier. Gen. Series in Anthropology, Number 6. Contributions Form The Laboratory of

- Anthropology, 2. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banting Publishing Co. Agent. 1938. 101–129.
- Mander, Jerry, Edward Goldsmith, Ed. *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology & the Survival of the Indian Nations*. San Francisco CA: Sierra Club Books. 1991.
- . *The Case Against the Global Economy and for a Turn Toward the Local*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 1996
- Mander, Jerry and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, International Forum on Globalization. *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 2006.
- Maracle, Lee, et al., ed. *We Get Our Living Like Milk from the Land*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd.
- Marquard, Odo translated by Robert M. Wallace et al. *Farewell to Matters of Principle: Philosophical Studies*. New York/Oxford. Oxford U Press. 1989.
- Martin, Calvin Luther. *In the Spirit of the Earth: Rethinking History and Time*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins U. Press. 1992.
- Mattina, Anthony. *Colville Grammatical Structure: A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Division of the University of Hawaii in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics*, May 1973.
- . *Colville–Okanagan Dictionary*. UMOPL. 5. University of Montana, 1987.
- Mattina, Anthony and Madeline DeSautel, ed. *Dora Noyes DeSautel ʔa? kʔcaptikʷʔ. In Occasional Papers In Linguistics, No.15*. Missoula, Montana: The University of Montana. 2002
- Maud, Ralph. *Guide to B.C. Indian Myth and Legend*. Vancouver: Talonbooks. 1982.
- McKibben, Bill. *The End of Nature*. New York: Random House Publishing Group. 1989.
- McLuhan, T.C. *The Way of the Earth: Encounters with Nature in Ancient and Contemporary Thought*. New York/London/Toronto: A Touchstone Book Published by Simon & Schuster. 1995
- Mead, Hirini Moko. *Tikanga Maori: Living by Maori Values*. Wellington NZ: Huia Publishers. 2003.

- Meine, Curt D. "Moving Mountains: Aldo Leopold and A Sand County Almanac ". *Aldo Leopold and the Ecological Conscience*. Ed. Richard Knight and Suzanne Ridel. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 15–31.
- Mellow, Carol Abernathy, "The Clash of Cultures ", *Okanagan Sources*, ed. Jean Webber, Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1990. 91–114.
- Miller, Jay, Ed. *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*. Lincoln & London: The University of Nebraska Press. 1990
- Mohawk, John C. *Iroquois Creation Story: John Arthur Gibson and J. N. B Hewitt's Myth of the Earth Grasper*. Buffalo, NY: Mohawk Publications. 2005.
- . "Indian Economic Development: The U.S. Experience and Evolving Indian Sovereignty." *Indigenous Economics: Toward a Natural World Order*. Akwe:kon 'All of Us' Journal. Vol. IX, number 2. Ithica NY: Cornell U. 1992.
- Momaday, N. Scott. "The Man Made of Words" *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature*. Ed. Geary Hobson. Albuquerque, NM: U of New Mexico Press. 1979.
- Morgan, Gareth. "Nature Intervenes: Organization as Organisms" *Images of Organization*. San Francisco: Berrett-Keohler Publishers. 1998. 35–68
- Mullett, G.M., ed. *Spider Woman Stories: Legends of the Hopi Indians*. Tuscon, Arizona: The U of Arizona Press. 1979
- Nash, Roderick Frazier. *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics*. Madison, Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin Press. 1989.
- Nelson, Melissa K, ed. *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*. Rochester, Vermont: Bear & Company. 2008.
- Norberg-Hodge, Helena. *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 1991.
- Northern and Regional Studies Committee. *Ayaangwaamizin: International Journal of Indigenous Philosophy*. Vol. 1 Number 2. Thunder Bay, ON: Lakehead U. 1997.
- O'Grady, William and John Archibald. *Contemporary Linguistic Analysis, Fifth Edition*. Toronto; Pearson Longman, 2004.
- Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project. *Winds of Change: Teacher/Student*

- Resource Guide*. Penticton, BC: Okanagan Tribal Council. 1982
- Okanagan Tribal Council. *Kou-Skelowh/We Are the People: A Trilogy of Okanagan Legends: How Food Was Given; How Names Were Given & How Turtle Set the Animals Free*. Penticton BC: Theytus Books 1984.
- Ortiz, Simon, ed. *Speaking for the Generations: Native Writers on Writing*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1998.
- Ormsby, Margaret A, ed. *A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison*. Vancouver, BC: The University of British Columbia. 1999
- Osburne, Brian S. "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place" *Canadian Ethnic Studies: Special Issue, Diversity and Identity. Vol XXXIII, NO. 3*. Calgary, Alberta: U of Calgary. 2001. 39–77
- Ott, Konrad. "Reflections on Discounting: Some Philosophical Remarks", *International Journal of Sustainable Development: Values, Knowledge, Environment, Economy, Production, Technology, Vol 6, No. 1*. United Kingdom: Inderscience Enterprises Ltd. 2003. 7–24.
- . "Environmental Values and Comprehensive Environmental Assessment" *Environment Across Cultures*. Ed. E. Ehlers, C.F. Gethmann. Berlin: Springer. 2003. 153–172
- . "On Taming Nietzsche For Environmental Ethics" *Nietzsche-Studien International Jahrbuch fur die Nietzsche-Forschung*. Band 34. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2005. 441–457
- Ott, Veronika, Konrad Ott. Letter to the Author. *Defining Offertorium Based on Theologian Walter Sparm's January, 2009 lecture*. February 9, 2009.
- Otto, Michael. *Greifswald's Environmental Ethics*. Konrad Ott and Philip Thapa, ed. Greifswald, Germany: Steinbecker Verlag. 2003.
- Pinker, Steven. *The Language Instinct: How the Mind Creates Language*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics. 1994.
- Province of British Columbia. "Our Native Peoples: Interior Salish". *British Columbia Heritage Series. Series 1, Volume 3*. Victoria, BC: Province of British Columbia. 1952
- Posey, Darrel Addison, Graham Dutfield. Ed. *Beyond Intellectual Property:*

- Toward Traditional Resource Rights For Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities.* Ottawa: International Development Research Centre. 1996
- Posey, Darrel Addison. "Ethnobiology and Ethnoecology in the context of National Laws, and International Agreements Affecting Indigenous and Local Knowledge, Traditional Resources and Intellectual Property Rights." *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives.* Ed. Roy Ellen, Peter Parkes, Alan Bicker. Series in Environmental Anthropology, Vol. 5. University of Kent at Canterbury, UK. The Gordon and Breach Publishing Group, 2000. 35–54
- Post, Richard H. "The Subsistence Quest" *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan of Washington.* Ed. Leslie Spier. Gen. Series in Anthropology, Number 6. Contributions Form The Laboratory of Anthropology, 2. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banting Publishing Co. Agent. 1938. 9–34.
- Post, Richard H. and Rachel S. Commons. "Material Culture" *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan of Washington.* Ed. Leslie Spier. Gen. Series in Anthropology, Number 6. Contributions Form The Laboratory of Anthropology, 2. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banting Publishing Co. Agent. 1938. 35–70.
- Potter, Van Rensseler. "from Global Bioethics Building on the Leopold Legacy" *Learning to Listen to the Land.* Ed. Bill Willers. Washington DC: Island Press. 1991. 157–162.
- Ray, Verne F. *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho.* Los Angeles, the Southwest Museum Administrator of the Fund. 1939.
- , "Native Village Groupings of the Columbia Basin", *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly: Continuing The Washington Historical Quarterly 1936, Vol. XXVII.* Seattle, Wash: The U of Washington. 1936. 99–152
- Raufer, Maria Ilma, *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontie.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1965.
- Richardson, Boyce, ed. *Drum Beat: Anger and Renewal in Indian Country.* Toronto, ON: Summerhill Press Ltd. 1989.

- Robinson, Harry. *Write it on Your Heart: The Epic World of an Okanagan Storyteller*. Ed. Wendy Wickwire, Ed. Vancouver: Talon/Theytus Books. 1989
- . *Nature Power: In the Spirit of an Okanagan Storyteller*. Comp. Ed. Wendy Wickwire. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, U of Washington Press. 1992.
- Rolston, Holmes. *Environmental Ethics: Duties to and Values in the Natural World*. Philadelphia: Temple U Press. 1988
- . *Genes Genesis and God: Values and Their Origins in Natural and Human History: The Gifford Lectures U of Edinburgh, 1997–1998*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge U Press. 1999
- Ross, Alexander. *Adventure of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. Edited by Milo Milton Quaife, 1849. New York: The Citadel Press, 1969.
- Roszak, Theodore. *Unfinished Animal: The Aquarian Frontier and the Evolution of Consciousness*. New York: Harper & Row. 1975.
- Roszak, Theodore, Mary Gomes and Allen Kanner, ed. *Ecopsychology: Restoring the Earth Healing the Mind*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 1995.
- Rothstein, Edward, Herbert Mushamp and Marin Marty. *Visions of Utopia*. New York: Oxford Press. 2003.
- Rubin, David C. *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rhymes*. New York, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995
- Ruby, Robert H, John A. Brown. *Dreamer–Prophets of the Columbia Plateau: Smohalla and Skolaskin*. Norman & London: University of Oklahoma Press. 1989
- Ruesch, Jurgen, MD and Gregory Bateson. *Communication The Social Matrix of Psychiatry*. New York, London; W.W. Norton & Company. 1987
- Russell, Emily W.B. *People and the Land Through Time: Linking Ecology and History*. New Haven/ London: Yale U. Press. 1997.
- Sagoff, Mark. *The Economy of the Earth: Philosophy Law, and Environment*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press. 1988.
- Saul, John Ralston. *The Collapse of Globalism and the Reinvention of the*

- World*. Toronto, ON: Penguin Books. 2005.
- Scholer, Bo, ed. "Introduction", "Oral Literatures", "Transitional Literatures" *To Live and To Notice It: An Introduction to Native American Studies in Denmark*. Engelsk Meddelelser No 32. Aarhus C, DK; 1985. 29–65.
- . *Coyote Was Here: Essays on Contemporary Native American Literary and Political Mobilization*. Aarhus C. DK. The Dolphin No. 9. 1984.
- Semali, Ladislaus M, Joe L. Kincheloe. Ed. *What is Indigenous Knowledge: Voices from the Academy*. New York/London: Falmer Press–Taylor & Francis Group. 1999
- Shackleton, Mark and Veera Supinen, ed. *First and Other Nations: Articles based on the Canada Seminar First Nations: Symbolic Representations*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. 2005.
- Shiva, Vandana. *Earth Democracy: Justice, Sustainability, and Peace*. Cambridge: South End Press. 2005.
- Shoemaker, Nancy, ed. *Clearing A Path: Theorizing The Past In Native American Studies*. New York/London: Routledge. 2002.
- Shuttleworth, Josephine. *Okanagan Legends Compiled by Isabel Christie*. Penticton, BC: Penticton Museum–24 xeroxed pages bound copy from newspapers. Yg 602.
- . "Folklore of the Days When Animal People Dwelt Here." *Okanagan Historical Society*. Ed. Margaret Ormsby. Vernon, BC: Wayside Press. 1951. 13–15
- Soifer, Eldon, ed. *Ethical Issues: Perspectives for Canadians*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, Ltd. 1992.
- Spier, Leslie, et al, ed. *The Sinkaitekw or Southern Okanagan of Washington*. Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology 2, General Series in Anthropology 6, Menasha , Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing 1938.
- Spier, Leslie, et al, ed. "Tales" *The Sinkaitekw or Southern Okanagan of Washington*. Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology 2, General Series in Anthropology 6, Menasha , Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing 1938. 195–260.
- St. Mary's Mission. *Coyote and the Colville*. Omak Washington. Omak School District # 19. 1971

- Steinberg, Stephen. *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1981.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York. London: W.W. Norton & Company. 2003.
- Stone, Michael and Zenobia Barlow, ed. *Ecological Literacy: Educating Our Children or a Sustainable World*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 2005.
- Strong, Maurice. *Where On Earth Are We Going?* Toronto, On: Vintage Canada Edition, Random House. 2001.
- Sugars, Roger John. *An Okanagan History: The Diaries of Roger John Sugars, 1905 to 1919*. Westbank, British Columbia: Sugars Publishing. 2005
- Suzuki, David, Amanda McConnell, Adrienne Mason. *The Sacred Balance: Rediscovering Our Place in Nature*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Publishing Group. 1997.
- Swalwell, Eliza Jane. "Girlhood Days in the Okanagan" *The Eighth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*. Vernon, BC: Wayside. 1939. 34-40
- Tarnas, Richard. *Cosmos and Psyche: Intimations of a New World View*. New York: Penguin Group. 2006.
- Taylor, Paul. *Principles of Ethics: An Introduction*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. 1975.
- . *Respect for Nature: A Theory of Environmental Ethics: Studies in Moral, Political and Legal Philosophy*. Ed. Marshall Cohen. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1986.
- Teit, James A, Frans Boas. *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus. An Extract from the 45th B. A. E. Annual Report 1927-28. Facsimile Reproduction 1973*. Seattle, Wash.: The Shorey Book Store, 1975.
- Thomson, Duncan Duane. *History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920*. PhD. Thesis for the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC. 1985
- . "Opportunity Lost: A History of Okanagan Indian Reserves in the Colonial Period". *Okanagan Historical Society, Forty-second Report*. Duane Thompson, Ed. Vernon, BC: Wayside Press Ltd. 1978
- Thompson, Terry and Steven Egesdal, ed. *Salish Myths and Legends:*

- One People's Stories*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008.
- Tobias, Michael and Kate Solisti-Mattelon, ed. *Kinship with the Animals*. Hillsboro: Beyond Words Publishing, Inc. 1998.
- Turner, Nancy. *The Earth's Blanket*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas McIntyre. 2005.
- Turner, Nancy, Randy Bouchard, Dorothy I.D. Kennedy. *Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville Indians of British Columbia and Washington. BC Provincial Museum No. 121, Occasional Papers*. Province of British Columbia, BC Provincial Museum. 1980.
- Turner, Peter, ed. *Nature and other Writings: Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Boston/London: Shambhala Publications, Inc. 1994.
- Twarog, Sophia, Promila Kapoor. Ed. *Protecting and Promoting Traditional Knowledge: Systems, National Experiences and International Dimensions*. New York: United Nations Publications Symbol No. UNCTAD/DITC/TED/10. 2004
- Van Kirk, Sylvia, *The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family, The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*. Ed, Jacqueline Peterson, Jennifer S. H. Brown, University of Manitoba Press. 1985.
- Vaughan, Genevieve, ed. *Women and the Gift of Economy: A Radically Different Worldview is Possible*. Toronto, ON: Inanna Publications and Education, Inc. 2007.
- Vedan, Adrienne. *Traditional Okanagan Environmental Knowledge and Fisheries Management*. Westbank, BC: Okanagan Nation Fisheries Commission. 2002
- Viehmann, Martha L, ed. "My People...My Kind": Mourning Dove's Cogewea, The Mixed-Blood as a Narrative of Mixed Descent." Helen Jaskoski. Ed. *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays*. Cambridge MA: Cambridge U Press. 1996.
- Vogt, William, *Road to Survival*. William Sloan Associates, 1948
- Walters, L.V. W. "Social Structure" *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan of Washington*. Ed. Leslie Spier. *Gen. Series in Anthropology, Number 6. Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology*, 2. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banting Publishing Co. Agent. 1938. 71-99

- Waters, Anne. Ed. *American Indian Thought. Philosophical Essays*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 2004
- Webber, Jean, and En'owkin Centre, ed. *Okanagan Sources*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd. 1990
- . *A Rich and Fruitful Land: The History of the Valleys of the Okanagan, Similkameen and Shuswap*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing. 1999
- Weeks, W. *Beyond the Ark: Tools for an Ecosystem Approach to Conservation*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1996
- Well, Eric. *Hegel and the State*. Trans. Mark A. Cohen. English Translation. Baltimore/London: John Hopkins U Press. 1998.
- Wells, Ronald Austin. *The Honor of Giving: Philanthropy in Native America*. Indianapolis IN: Indiana U Center on Philanthropy. 1998.
- Wheatley, Margaret and Myron Kellner- Rogers. *A Simpler Way*. San Francisco: Berrett_Koehler Publishers. 1996.
- Wickwire, Wendy. "On Evaluating Ethnographic Representations: The Case of the Okanagan of South Central British Columbia." *Canadian journal of Native Education*. Vol. 18 number 2. Vancouver: U of BC and U of Alberta. 1991. 233-244.
- Willers, Bill. *Learning to Listen to the Land*. Washington: Island Press. 1991.
- William, Gerry. *The Woman In the Trees*. Vancouver BC: New Star Books. 2004.
- Williams, Terry. *An Unspoken Hunger: Stories from the Field*. New York: Vintage Books. 1994.
- Williamson, Karla Jessen. "Celestial and Social Families of the Inuit" *Expression in Canadian Native Studies*. Ed. Ron F. Lalberte et al. Saskatoon Sask: U of Saskatchewan Extension Press. 2002. 125-144.
- Williamson, Marianne, ed. *Imagine What America Could be in the 21st Century*. New York: New American Library. 2000.
- Wilson, Bruce A. *Late Frontier: A History of Okanogan County, Washington (1800-1941)*. Okanogan, WA: Okanogan County Historical Society. 1990
- Wilson, Edward.O. *Biophilia: The Human Bond With Other Species*.

- Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1984
- . *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*. New York, Alfred Knopf, 1998.
- . *The Future of Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 2002.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Philosophical Investigations*. Translated by G. E. M. Anscombe. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell Ltd. 1958
- Womack, Mari. *Symbols and Meaning: A Concise Introduction*. New York: Altamara Press. 2005.
- Worster, Donald. *Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 1977.
- . *Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology*. 2nd ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1994
- Wright, Robin K., ed. *A Time of Gathering Native Heritage in Washington State*. Seattle: Burke Museum–University of Washington Press. 1991.
- Young, John. *Sustaining the Earth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1990
- Zavarazadeh, Mas'ud and Donald Morton. *Theory as Resistance: Politics and Culture after (Post)structuralism*. New York: The Guildford Press. 1994.
- Zimmerman, Michael. *Contesting Earth's Future: Radical Ecology and Postmodernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1994.
- Zimmerman, Michael, et al. ed. *Environmental Philosophy: From Animal Rights to Radical Ecology*. 2nd ed. New Jersey, Prentice Hall. 1993.
- Zukav, Gary. *The Dancing Wu Li Masters: An Overview of the New Physics*. Perennial Classics, Harper Collins, William Morrow and Co. 1979.

Appendix I: Bilingual Versions: Four Chiefs Story

How Foods Were Given

In the world before this world, before there were people,
il tæmx^wulax^w cəʔxʔitms axa iʔ tæmx^wulax^w, ilutiʔ ʔaksqilx^w

and before things were like they are now, everyone was alive and walking
around like we do.

uʔ ilutiʔ iʔ stim ʔac' ʔyʔ taʔpnaʔ, yaʔt æcx^wəfx^wəlt uʔ
əcaʔəlwisəs cʔiʔ ta_mnimʔtət.

All creation talked about the coming changes to their world.
yaʔt iʔ tmix^w tq^waq^walmis iʔ ksck'əʔisc itæmx^wulax^wsəlx.

They had been told that soon a new kind of people would be
living on this earth.

cuḡmaʔəlx cəm itliʔ lut ksq̄sapis cəm æctx^wəlm iʔ sqilx^w
kstəlxwilxax alaʔ il tæmx^wulax^w.

Even they, the Animal and Plant people would be changed.
uʔ nix^w minimʔcəlx, iʔ ackinusəs uʔ iʔ spəʔlulax^w cəm ksck'ʔisax.

Now they had to decide how the People-to-be would live
aʔpnaʔ kskc'ʔwiplaʔisəlx stimʔ iʔ stəʔsqilx^w ikʔnx^wəlx^wəltans

and what they would eat.

uʔ stimʔ iʔ kəcaʔisiscəlx

The four Chiefs of all Creation are:

iʔ kmusmæx iʔ yilyalmix^wms yaʔt iʔ tmix^w axaʔəlx:

Black Bear, Chief for all creatures on the land

skəmxist, yilmix^wm ʔəl yaʔt acaʔəlwis il tmx^wulax^w

Spring Salmon, Chief for all creatures in the water
ntiʔtyix, yilmix^wm ʃəl yaʃt ack^wu·wilx kʰanin^wtitk^w

Bitterroot, Chief for things under the ground
spitʰəm, yilmix^wm ʃəl yaʃt kʰanix^wtulax^w

Saskatoon Berry, Chief for things growing on land
siyaʔ, yilmix^wm ʃəl yaʃt iʔ spəlʰulax^w

They held many meetings and talked for a long time about what the
People–To–Be would need to live.

taʰt x^wʔit uʎʎusəl x uʰt tq^waq^waʎmisəl x taliʔ ɢsapiʔ
stimʔ iʔ stʰəʎsqilx^w iktʰnʃastans mi cx^wəʎx^waltəl x.

All of the Chiefs thought and thought.
yaʃt iʔ yilyalmix^wm ənʃawqɛnwix^w

“What can we give to the People–To–Be to eat that is already
here on earth?” they asked one another.

“stimʔ cak^w iʔ ksx^wicʰtm iʔ stʰəʎsqilx^w təksciʰnsəl x iʔ acwayʔ
alaʔ il tmx^wuʎax^w? ” su·nwix^wəl x.

“There seems to be no answer”
“humtiʔ lut k^wu·takʰ pʰəl kʰcin”

Finally, the three other Chiefs said to skəmxist, “You are the oldest and
wisest among us. ”

xu·y uʰt, iʔ tkakaʰis iʔ yilyalmix^wm cusəl x skəmxist “anwiʔ iʔ
k^w·misʰaʃʰaʃp uʰt iʔ k^w·mixpaʃpaʃt tlmənimʰtət.

You tell us what you are going to do.”
anwiʔ mi kw·cut k^w·səxkinax. ”

skəmxist said, "Since you have all placed your trust in me,
I will have to do the best I can."

skəmxist cut, "aʔi x^wəlka^m, yaʔyat k^wu^{tk}wilsmntəp, kn^{ks}q^wəʔmistax məʔ
taliʔ kn^{ks}witmist."

He thought for a long time and finally he said,
xiʔ sk^ʔpaʔams taliʔ tə^qəsa^{pi}ʔ x^wu^y uʔ cut,

"I will give myself, and all the animals that I am Chief over, to be food for
the People-To-Be."

"nu^s ʔuk^{wn}tin isc^wəlx^walt, məʔ nix^w yaʔt iʔ tmix^w ackyalmx^wiplastn,
ʔal ksciʔns iʔ stəlsqilx^w"

Then he said to ntiʔtyix, "What will you do?"
xiʔ uʔ cus ntiʔtyix, "stimʔ cə^m anwiʔ aksck^wuʔ?"

ntiʔtyix answered, "You are indeed the wisest among us.
ntiʔtyix cut, "anwiʔ tawnix^w iʔ k^wmispaʔpaʔt ktəlminimʔtət.

I will also give myself and all the things that live in the water
For food for the People-To-Be."
inca nix^w iʔ kstk^wam iʔ scx^wəlx^walt naʔ yaʔt ack^wuwilx il siwʔk^w
ʔal ksciʔns iʔ stəlsqilx^w.

spⁱʔə^m, who was Chief of all the roots under the
ground said, "I will do the same."
spⁱʔə^m, iʔ yilmix^wm ʔal yaʔt iʔ saʔʔ^wip il sk^ʔix^wutms iʔ tmx^wulax^w, cut
"inca nix^w kn^{ks}ticʔəylax"

Siyaʔ was last. Siyaʔ said, "I will do the same. All the good things
growing above the ground will be food for the People-To-Be."
siyaʔ aciwt. siyaʔ cut, "inca nix^w kn^{ks}tiʔylax. yaʔt iʔ ʔast
acpl^aʔ il tmx^wulax^w ksciʔns iʔ stəlsqilx^w."

Chief skəmxist was happy because there would be enough food for the People-To-Be.

iʔ yilmix^wm skəmxist taliʔ npiʔyils aʔiʔ wayʔ cəm put iʔ ksciʔns iʔ stəlsqilx^w.

skəmxist said, “Now, I will lay my life down to make these things happen.”

skəmxist cut, “aʔpnaʔ, iʔ kst^kʷam iʔ scx^wəlx^walt ixiʔ mi kʔtʔraʔ iʔ cawtət.”

Because the great Chief skəmxist had given his life, all of Creation gathered and sang songs to bring him back to life. aʔi təs silx^was təyilmix^wm skəmxist ʔəʔ tʔuk^wntis iʔ scx^wəlx^walts, yaʔt iʔ tmix^w ullus uʔ nq^wniməlx kswitsəlx kstəlsqilx^wax.

That was how they helped heal each other in that world. They all took turns singing, but skəmxist did not come back to life.

tackliʔ ki ackənəkəntwix^wəlx pniciʔ il tmx^wulax^w. yaʔyatəlx knanaqsmistəlx nq^wniməlx, naʔəmt skəmxist lut tʔaʔ tʔəlsqilx^w.

Finally, Fly came along. He sang, “You laid your body down. You laid your life down.”

x^wu·y kʔkicx kʔəl ʔaʔmaʔt. nq^wnim uʔ cut, “tʔk^wntix^w asqyltk. ascx^wəlx^walt tʔuk^wntix^w.”

His song was powerful. skəmxist came back to life iʔ q^wəylms taliʔ k^wəck^wact. xiʔ skəmxist aʔtəlsqilx^w.

Then Fly told the four Chiefs, “When the People-To-Be are here and they take your body for food, they will sing this song.

xiʔ ʔaʔmaʔt cus iʔ kmusməs iʔ yilyalmix^wm, “iʔ stəlsqilx^w ʔəʔcyaʔp uʔ ʔac k^wiscəlt asqyltk ʔəl sciʔn, ksəcnq^wiscəlx axaʔ iʔ q^wəylm.

they will cry their thanks with this song.”

cəm scʔq^waq^w anlimtnsəlx axaʔ tə q^wəylm”

Then skəmxist spoke for all the Chiefs, “From now on when the People–To–Be come, everything will have its own song.”

xiʔ skəmxist tqʷəlqʷəltiplas yaʔt iʔ yilyalmixʷm, “tlaʔpnaʔ ʔə cyaʔp iʔ stəlsqilxʷ, yaʔt stim cəm iktqʷəlm.”

“the People–to–Be will use these songs to help each other as you have helped me.”

“iʔ stəlsqilxʷ kəckʷulmscəl x iʔ qʷəylm məʔ kən kənxtwixʷəl x cəyʔ tamnimʔəmp iʔ kʷu_knxitntəp.”

That is how food was given to our people.
tackliʔ ki iʔ sciʔn ʃʷicʔtm iʔ cwilxtət.

That is how songs were given to our people.
tackliʔ ki iʔ qʷəylm ʃʷicʔtm iʔ cwilxtət.

That is how giving and helping one another was and still is taught to our people.
tackliʔ ki isʃʷicʔ x ʔt iskən kənxtwixʷ tlpniciʔ ʔt wayʔ aʔpnaʔ kac mamayaʔ kəl iʔ cwilxtət,

That is why we must respect even the smallest, weakest persons for what they can contribute.
səcʔʃaylx ki kəc haʔstim iwaʔ ʔə swiwat kəm ʔəʃupt iʔ sqilxʷ ʃəl iks ckən xits.

That is why we give thanks and honour to what is given to us.
səcʔʃaylx ki kʷu_kəclimtax ʔt kəcʃaʔʃaʔstim iʔ sxʷicəcxtət.

Okanagan Tribal Council. “How Food Was Given”. *Kou–Skelowh/We Are the People: A Trilogy of Okanagan Legends: How Food Was Given; How Names Were Given & How Turtle Set the Animals Free*. Penticton BC: Theytus Books. 1984.

kmúsməs iʔ ylylmíxʷəm
There were Four Chiefs

kʷlíwtəl x iʔ sqíl xʷ l· sxʷnít kʷ. iʔ ylmí xʷəm, kmúsəms ylylmí xʷəm.
Living, the people at Roaring–Falls. The Chiefs, Four Chiefs.

uʔ wáy xʷáʔasqət təl sqʷaqʷals. qʷaʔqʷáʔll x, uʔ cú təl x “cəm tálaʔxwíl x
And already many days they were meeting. They met and said “when
ripped–from–earth–they–come–to–be (come alive)

iʔ stəlsqíl xʷ uʔ stim mi cxʷəl xʷátəl x? Ixiʔ ʃapnáʔ əckəʔpaʔxstím aláʔ.”
the ripped–from–earth–people–to–be and what will they live by? That,
here, now, we are thinking about.

axáʔ ylylmí xʷəm skəmxíst, uʔ axáʔ iʔ knaqs yəʔ ylmí xʷəm qáq xʷəl x
xʷmínaʔ,
This Chief Black Bear, and this one Chief of fish, of trout, Chinook

ntytyí x, axáʔ iʔ knaqs ylmí xʷəm swínumtx scákʷ ixíʔ sʃaʃʷíps axáʔ iʔ
Salmon, this one Chief Beautiful Flower that is the root. This

knaqs iʔ ylmí xʷəm spíʔqaʔq. cú təl x “wáy hu–húy skəmxíst anwíʔ təl
one Chief Ripened Fruits. They said “so it is, go ahead Black Bear you are

yəyʃát iʔ kʷ yilmí xʷm. tanwíʔ mi kʷ qʷəl qʷílt” cú t “wáy. axá incá ikstákʷ
of all, the Chief. It is you will speak. (He) said “So it is. This I lay down

iʔ ʃəl sqíl xʷ iʔ tálaʔxwíl x, yəyʃát əckʷənúsəs ixíʔ kstíkəls iʔ sqíl xʷ,
for reasons of the people, the ripped–from–earth–people–to–be, all the
head–between–forelegs, they will be as stored–up–food for those people,

iʔ sʃaʔcínəm, yəyʃát stím əckəʔnʷúsəs, ixí incá ikscťákʷ, cú s iʔ sláʃts “uʔ
the hunted–food, all things head–between–forelegs, these I will lay down.
(He) said to his brother/friend “and

anwí? ntytyíx stím aksctákʷ?” cúntəm “wáy, incá? kən iksctákʷ yəyśát il
you Chinook Salmon what will you lay down? (He) said “So it is, I will lay
down all

síwʔkʷ, i? k’a nixʷtítʰkʷ i? actʔyíx yəyśát, ixí? incá? ikstʰkʷəttím ʔə?
t’əlaʔxwílʰəlx

in water, in underwater that swim all, this I will lay down, when-the-
ripped-from-earth-to-be are,

i? st’əlsqílʰxʷ, ixí? i? kstíʰk’əls.” cu’ntəm i? knáqs ye? ylmixʷəm “uʔ anwí?
stím

the-ripped-from-earth-people-to-be, that will be as stored-up-food.”
Said to the one Chief “And you. What

aksctákʷ?” ixí? ye ylmíxʷəm i? skʷísts spíʰʔəm, swiʔnúmtx i? scʔákʷs. cúť
will you lay down? This Chief’s name Bitterroot, Beautiful Flower said

“incá? yəyśát i? sʔaʰwíps axá? Itəmxʷúlaʔxʷ ixí? iksctákʷ.” cúntəm axá? i?
“I am all the roots here in this land, these I lay down”. Said to this

knáqs “uʔ anwí?, stím aksctákʷ?” cúť “incá? kən, kən síyaʔ. yaʔyśát i?
one “and you, what will you lay down?” said “I am I, I am (adept) Berry.
All the

spíʔqáʔq kʰsán təl incá?, yəyśát ixí? iksctákʷ axá? Itəmxʷúlaxʷ.”
Ripened fruits beyond just me, all these I lay down on this tmixʷland”

kmúsməs uʔ mús i? sqílʰxʷ ʔapná? i? sʔíʔəns axá? ckənúsəs axá? actʔyíx,
Four of them and four the peoples foods now, these heads-between-
forelegs, these swimming

axá? isʔaxʷíp, uʔ axá? i? spíʔqáʔq. uʔ kʰpúʰʔəm axá? il təmxʷúlaxʷ way
ixí?

these roots, and these ripened fruits. And from-underneath-limitless
these, on this tmixʷland, so it is, then

kʷápəlx. uʔ cúʔ skəmíxíst “wáy, tkʷəntín I sqíltk”. tkʷəntís iʔ sqíltkʷs, uʔ
they stopped meeting. And said Black Bear “So it is, I will now lay down
my body”. laid down its body, and

aʔíʔ kʷa ʔlál. wáy ixíʔ sənʔawqənwíxʷs yəyʔát iʔ sqílxʷ, kiʔ
for certain, of course died. So it is then, did Enowkinwixw, all the people,
did

n·kʷínplaʔsəlx. nínwíʔs t swít mi tʔəʔnúʔtəm iʔ ənaxʷkʷúntns miʔ
əʔtəʔsqílxʷ
sing-leading-it they. When whomever gets it right for (Black Bear), his
way-of-song, he will again be ripped from-earth-people-to-be (come
alive)

məʔ ixíʔ wáy kʷúl· yəyʔát wáy iʔ səcənkʷníc itíʔ həʔ ʔán, həʔswít, yəyʔát.
And then, so it is, it will happen so. All, so it is, already they sing, those
magpie people, those whomever people, all.

lut tə cyúmmist. kʔam·útət ʔəʔmíʔáʔ axaʔ iʔ písʔaʔt, ixíʔ sənʔkʷnims
Did not move for them. Landed on him, fly, these big ones. Then it sang

kənkʷínplaʔs iʔ sl·áʔts. cúʔ “tkʷəntítxʷ asqíltk. nínwíʔs iʔ stəʔsqílxʷ ʔ
sing-leading-it, his brother/friend. Said “you laid down your body, in
time the ripped-from-earth-people-to-be, when

ktíʔxmənts məʔ cʔúmmist ilíʔ mi tixʷkʷúnəm.” ixíʔ skítmísts skəmíxíst, cúʔ
they stand over you they will (grief sing) there by singing this. (sings).
Then lifted its head, Black Bear, said

“wáyʔ” pút. uʔ itlíʔ ta ckaʔʔáʔ yəyʔát nʔiptmən iʔ qʷíləm, iʔ
sckənkʷínplaʔs.
“so it is right” And from there beyond, all, I forget those sacred songs,
the sing-leading-it of them,

yəyʔát aʔíʔ əckənkʷinplaʔ iʔ stím axáʔ əl təmxʷúlaxʷ. ʕapnáʔ ixíʔ iʔ
all, for certain, have sing-leading-it, the things, here on this land. Now
this is

səl·míntəm yəyʔát. axáʔ iʔ ntytyíx, uʔ axáʔ iʔ spíʕəm, uʔ axáʔ iʔ spíqaʔq,
being lost by us, all. This the Chinook Salmon, and this the Bitterroot, and
this the Ripened Fruits,

yəyʔát kʔqʷíləm. ixíʔ yəyʔát nʔíptmən, kmáx kímʼ skəmxíst. Ixíʔ,
all have power song. Those, all, I forget, only one left, Black Bear. There

ncəyχʷʕəpəlqs
it skinny's up the hind end. (it ends).

Louie, Martin. *kmúsməs iʔ ylylmíxʷəm*. Recorded by Randy Bouchard,
1966. Recording gifted to Jeannette Armstrong by Martin Louie,
Transliterated translation by Jeannette Armstrong, 2006.

THE
EIGHTH REPORT
OF THE
Okanagan Historical Society
OF
Vernon, British Columbia
1939

ERRATA

Page 19. The date on line 20 should read "1860."

Page 22. The date on the footnote should read "1873."

Page 23. Line 26, read "apt," not "able."

Page 57. The 4th line of the second verse should read,
"For ever onward took his way,".

This Report is dated April 25, 1939.

(Founded 4th September, 1925)

Girlhood Days in Okanagan

ELIZA JANE SWALWELL

I REMEMBER this valley when everything was in a wild state, before there was any wagon road and everything had to be brought in by pack-train, and all our dishes were of tin, and we baked bread and pies and roasted meat in a Dutch oven. There was great rejoicing when the road was completed to the Mission. I was grown up and married before the first buggy arrived. It caused quite an excitement among us girls who had been born here and had never been out of the valley. It seemed to us to be the last word in luxury and a pleasant method of travelling, and we were all eager for our first ride in it.

Before the arrival of the wagon road every one had to learn to ride, as it was the only means of getting anywhere, and we girls were all proficient horsewomen. We could round up a band of horses, drive them into a corral, rope the one we wanted and saddle him up as expertly as a man could do it.

And here let me give any one who is contemplating buying a saddle horse a straight tip, although it is rather late in the day to mention it. If you want to know how big your horse is, throw a saddle on to him and see if it takes a long girth to go around him behind the shoulders. If it does and he is big there, he is a big horse, but if he is small behind the shoulders he is a small horse no matter how big he may look. If he is big behind the shoulders and his legs are sound, the rest of him does not matter much. The Okanagan range horses were noted for their large girth and their stamina and powers of endurance.

The first real industry of this country was cattle raising. Wherever you looked over the hills and ranges you saw cattle, and the sight of them coming out of the timber where they had been resting in the shade of the trees and scattering all over the ranges in droves to feed, with the little calves jumping and skipping wherever you looked, was a sight never to be forgotten. The two great events of the year were the coming of the cattle buyers in May and September. They usually sent word ahead to let us know they were coming, and then we all got busy, and everyone, girls as well as the men, assisted at the round-up.

On these occasions we girls felt that we were coming into our own.

We could handle a horse about as well as the men, and we could show them that we amounted to something more than a mere nuisance about the place, as they sometimes seemed to think we were.

The conversation sometimes around the supper table would sound rather strange today. Occasionally you would hear such remarks as: "That pinto of mine can turn on a four-point blanket." (This would be said boastfully) or "I saw a steer to-day with a wattle on the left jaw and a swallow-fork on the right ear, but the brand was blurred. I wonder who owns it." Now a four-point blanket was the largest blanket sold by the Hudson's Bay Company, and when a steer was being chased he sometimes bolted as quick as a flash to the right or left to get away from the horse, and if the horse could turn as quickly as the steer without losing time he was said to be able to turn on a four-point blanket. Some of the horses were very quick, and if the rider did not watch out he would find himself on the ground while the riderless horse still pursued the steer.

Sometimes in marking the calves in the spring, they made a half-moon shaped incision in the skin on the jaw, which caused the skin to sag, and when the wound healed over it left a lump which in after years was easily discernible. This was called a wattle on the jaw, but usually the wattle was made by nicking the dewlap and letting it hang down in front, a very good mark. Again, in marking the ear instead of slitting it, they sometimes cut out a V-shaped piece which left the two points wide apart and easy to see. This was a swallow-fork.

Everyone in those days had a brand, and everyone seemed to know everyone else's brand. In the selection of brands all sorts of combinations of the letters of the alphabet and the numerals were used. But a brand could not always be seen in winter when the hair was long, and sometimes the animal had to be thrown and the skin shaved before they were sure of the brand, hence the use of wattles and ear-marks.

Somehow it seems to me the men were better satisfied with the work they had to do when they were engaged in cattle and grain raising, before they became involved in this endless fussing over insect pests, corky core, etc., and the proper functioning of the single disk. They must get tired of it sometimes. In early days they were at least less vocal over their troubles, they did not shout so loudly when things went wrong.

It sometimes amuses me at the picture show to see how the cowboys disport themselves on the screen. They usually leave the yard or corral at the full gallop, and more than once I saw a cowboy mount his horse from the off side. If a cattle man saw a cowboy gallop his horse out of the corral or mount his horse from the off side, he would fire him on the spot. He would take it for granted the cowboy was locoed.

It was a matter of professional pride with a cowboy to take his horse from the corral to the range, where the serious work of the day began, as quietly as possible. A cowboy will always spare his horse whenever he can. If he can induce his horse on the way to work to jog along quietly, he will do so, and if he hears his horse softly champing his teeth as he jogs along, and hears the soft purr, purr of the horse rolling the wheel on the Mexican bit with his tongue, it is music to his ears. He knows then his horse is happy and contented and ready for anything.

When the people of Kelowna finish building the road to Naramata, and build a museum, an effort should be made to secure a complete cowboy's outfit and place it in the museum—long-legged boots with high heels, chaps, Mexican spurs, quirt, Mexican bit and pleated raw-hide bridle. The accoutrements of a cowboy will soon be rarities. How many living here have ever seen a genuine Bowie knife? Yet a few years ago they were not rare.

In the picture shows the cowboys are represented as loquacious men. This is not correct. The genuine cowboy had little to say for himself, and when he had anything to say he hinted it rather than made a direct statement which, I suppose, was his way of being polite. He softened down the bluntness and asperity of a positive and direct statement by indirect speech. A funny story is told of a clergyman who, in marrying a cowboy, had the greatest difficulty in getting him to say, "I do." "I ain't a-kickin." "Didn't say I wouldn't," "This goes for me," were some of the answers he gave. "Yes" and "No" seemed to them unnecessarily positive and direct, and therefore impolite, and when they used these terms in a discussion the altercation was getting pretty close to a fight.

Some of them were as vain as a schoolgirl, and when they were rigged out in full cowboy regalia with a silk handkerchief around their neck they rather fancied themselves. They thought they were "some spuds" all right. Most of them that I knew were rascals.

It was nice to ride over the range in the morning and see the bunch grass, sunflowers and lupins, springing up so abundantly and to feel your horse springing under you at every step as if he, too, were enjoying the promenade, as no doubt he was.

There were no fences in those days, and the bunch grass grew so high it waved in the wind like a field of wheat.

The *Lewisia Redivia* is a peculiar flower. It was named after Meriwether Lewis of the Lewis and Clarke expedition across the Rocky Mountains in 1804-6. It grows in the Okanagan on sandy and arid ridges where the moisture in the soil is not sufficient to support an ordinary growth of bunch grass. The blossoms, which vary in colour from pale pink to rose in different plants, are about the size of a tulip and appear on a stalk about an inch and a half long without leaves, the leaves coming later so that this beautiful flower growing so close to the ground without leaves has the appearance of a flower recently picked and thrown on the ground. The leaves when they come later are very short and narrow. The plant is very noticeable when it is in bloom, but when the bloom fades the plant apparently vanishes, only to revive again the following year, hence its second name. It is sometimes called the "Sand Rose," and sometimes the "Ground Rose." The Indians call it *spetlam*, and use the roots for food.

To me it was an exquisite pleasure as a girl to ride over this green and gracious pasture land in the mornings, and to see it stretching before me for miles with the Sand Rose lying scattered on the ground as if a fairy princess had passed that way at dawn and children had strewn flowers in her path, and to see the sunlight on the hills. On such occasions I have sometimes seen things, or rather sensed something, so serene and beautiful that it left me weak and weeping as I sat in the saddle.

I do not know whether this responsiveness to certain beautiful aspects of nature comes to me from my Indian mother or from my father's side of the house, but it probably comes from my mother's side. It seems to me the whites are too much bound and limited, too much enslaved by their written creeds and confessions of faith. The Indians are free of that, and consequently they are closer to nature and reality, and to the Creator, than the whites. You cannot argue about such things, you cannot clothe what is eternal and infinite in finite words. Any attempt to do so only leads to an impasse, and too often to a certain hardness of heart that has no reverence for anything and remains unmoved by mystical experiences.

I was taught by my mother to pray to the Great Spirit, my father told me to pray to God, and the priest at the Mission told us we should pray to the holy Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, and I still think the advice of all three was good. One can do more for himself, more in straightening out his mental kinks and twists and putting his inner or subconscious self in harmony with his surroundings by following the advice of any one of those three excellent persons than the most skilful and expensive psychiatrist can do for him, and that door is always open.

In this connection, let me here quote from Sir William Dawson's *Fossil Men*. On page 280 he says: "I by no means desire to unduly exalt prehistoric religions, but I wish distinctly to affirm that they and what we call the heathenism or animism of untaught tribes were nearer to God and truth than are either the ritualisms and idolatries or the materialistic scepticisms of more cultivated times," and again on page 337: "Paul perceived that the Athenians were 'very religious,' because they had an altar to the unknown God; and so in every human heart there is an altar to God as known or unknown, as a father and friend, or as an equitable ruler."

Elsewhere, after giving his reasons for so saying, he couches his conclusion in the following words: "How much happier than either are those

on whose last days shines the brighter hope of the light and immortality revealed by the Gospel." Perhaps he is right; I don't know. You can only live such things. The highest and best things in life cannot be clothed in words.

Standing as I do between the two races I could never see that intellectually the Indians are not the equals of the whites. The Indians are sadly lacking in culture; that is seen at a glance, but social grace and refinement are things which can be acquired. In Pope's well-known lines:

"Lo, the poor Indian with untutored mind
Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind."

The *non sequitur* is as obvious as the false rhyme. Why should any man, whether Indian or white, be commiserated because he sees in the workings of nature manifestations of the Creator? He would be a dolt if he did not.

James Coleman, the Indian Agent at Vernon, an intelligent man who has had a long and varied experience with the Okanagan Indians, had this to say of them in his letter to the local paper of the 4th November, 1937: "While the Indian Department might achieve much in this direction (in the direction of educating the Indians), despite public indifference, the shortest road to the best results will be via a return to the old-timer attitude on the part of the public, looking on the Indian as good timber in our Empire building activities, and surely there never was a time in the history of the Empire when the full co-operation of a good and loyal people was more urgently needed than at present.

"The Indian on the Reserve is a dignified and shrewd debater as a rule, and his seat in the Council of his white brother would not be a disadvantage to the white brother. May the day of mutual understanding and appreciation soon arrive."

The whites say, you should love your neighbour as yourself, and in one place the rule is laid down thus: "And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile with him go twain." Yet, in dealing with each other, they are hard. In a horse trade they would skin their neighbour out of his eye-teeth if they could.

I loved and respected my father, and I loved and respected my mother. Both were strict and conscientious in the discharge of their duty, each as they understood it.

My father was George William Simpson. He was born in Philadelphia, the son of a Scotch Presbyterian minister. He died on the 22nd February, 1902, aged eighty-five years.

He was a studious man, and all his life his Bible was his constant companion. He always took it with him when off on prospecting trips. The one he had when he died was printed in Oxford by the University Press in 1870. It contains the well-known dedication to King James, beginning with the words: "Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread Sovereign," etc. Dirty, ragged and thumb-worn, it is to-day my most precious possession. As it was so well known throughout the valley at one time (Simpson's Bible), it is now of some historic import and value. Some day I may bequeath it to a museum.

As illustrating the failure of the whites to understand the Indians something which happened in the County Court in Vernon may be mentioned. An Indian at the head of the lake had married a girl under fifteen. The parents of the boy and the parents of the girl had given their consent, and everything was quite correct and proper, according to Indian

customs and usages. The boy, however, had committed an offence under the Criminal Code in marrying a girl of that age without first obtaining an order of the Court permitting him to do so, something of which the boy probably knew nothing. The judge in sentencing him reminded him that the Government had been generous in the allotment of Indian Reserves, and that the least the Indians could do in return was to refrain from breaking the law and give no trouble. By similar reasoning all free miners should be careful to give no trouble and obey the law, because the Mining Act is just and equitable. If it is fair and reasonable in one case it is fair and reasonable in the other.

When the Consolidated Land Act of 1874 was passed, it was disallowed at Ottawa for the reason that the title of the Province of British Columbia to the public lands within the Province was clouded, the territorial title of the Indians had not been extinguished. In his letter of the 15th January, 1875, disallowing the Act, the Deputy Minister of Justice says, among other things: "There is not a shadow of doubt that from the earliest times, England has always felt it imperative to treat with the Indians in council and to obtain surrenders of tracts of Canada, as from time to time such were required for the purposes of settlement." And he concludes his letter in the following terms: "Considering, then, these several features of the case, that no surrender or session of their territorial rights, whether the same be of a legal or equitable nature, has ever been executed by the Indian tribes of the Province—that they allege that the reservations of land made by the Government for their use have been arbitrarily so made, and are totally inadequate to their support and requirements, and without their assent—that they are not adverse to hostilities in order to enforce rights which it is impossible to deny them, and that the Act under consideration not only ignores those rights, but expressly prohibits the Indians from enjoying the rights of recording or pre-empting land, except by consent of the Lieutenant-Governor—the undersigned feels that he cannot do otherwise than advise that the Act in question is objectionable, as tending to deal with lands which are assumed to be the absolute property of the Province, an assumption which completely ignores, as applicable to the Indians of British Columbia, the honour and good faith with which the Crown has, in all other cases, since its sovereignty of the territories of North America, dealt with their various Indian tribes."

The Dominion Government was always willing to recognize the territorial rights of the Indians, but the Province consistently refused recognition. At one time the Indians tried to get their case before the Privy Council, but failed.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier remarked to a deputation which waited on him at Ottawa on the 26th April, 1911: The matter for us to immediately consider is whether we can bring the Government of British Columbia into Court with us. We think it is our duty to have the matter inquired into. The Government of British Columbia may be right or wrong in their assertion that the Indians have no claims whatever. Courts of Law are just for that purpose—where a man asserts a claim and it is denied by another—but we do not know if we can force a Government into Court. If we can find a way I may say we shall surely do so, because everybody will agree it is a matter of good government to have no one resting under a grievance. The Indians will continue to believe they have a grievance until it has been settled by the Court that they have a claim or that they have no claim."

The Indians here have been treated with less consideration than in any other part of Canada, and it is a sore subject with them to-day. If the Judge did not know this, the Indian did. The incident in the County Court was thus reported in the local paper of the 5th April, 1934: "Judge Swan-

son was pointed in his remarks, reminding him that he and all other Indians were well treated by the Department, and given good reserves. The least they could do in return, he added, would be to try to live decently and give no trouble."

When for any reason we were sleeping out in the open in summer the night wind always interested me. It would start up every morning about two o'clock. Everything would be perfectly calm and quiet, and all at once in the distance you would hear it rustling the dried grass and sunflower leaves, apparently quite a breeze, and this would go on for about ten minutes or so and then it would die away, and everything would again be quiet and calm for awhile. And again it would start up in a totally different direction, never twice in the same place, with the same persistent rustling of dried grass and leaves. It never occurred on a side hill, only in the bottom of a valley. I could understand a wind blowing for a considerable time in one direction, but this wind seemed to rise from the ground in spots and blow with considerable force for a short time, and then die away without going anywhere. And when it did reach you it stole across your cheek and around your neck and through your hair, oh, so gently. It was so warm and soft and searching. I did not understand it. And now the modern aviators seem to have found the explanation of the occurrence of this mysterious wind which puzzled me so much when I was a girl.

Frederick G. Vosburgh, in the *Geographical Magazine* for July of this year (1938) in dealing with air conditions confronting those who ride in gliders and sailplanes, among other things, says: "The result was confirmation of the theory that the warm air rises in a succession of enormous bubble-like masses. Most astounding to me is this further fact; that apparently it is possible for mere man to shake one of these bubbles loose.

"A modern sailplane flight, in competition, is never over until the ship is actually on the ground, and stubborn pilots, fighting to the last for a breath of breeze that would keep them in the air, discovered something. They found that if a man dived his ship at high speed, seventy or so, above a promising source of thermal currents such as a corn field, banked sharply when only one or two hundred feet from the ground, and spiralled upward in tight, climbing turns, a surprising thing sometimes happened. A sudden thermal current caught the ship and carried it up, up, up to the neighbourhood of the clouds again. The swirling sweep of the fifty-foot wing-spread, travelling at seventy miles an hour and suddenly twisting upward in corkscrew fashion, had apparently dislodged a thermal bubble which had been trembling on the verge of rising.

"When the first report of this came from a pilot in Germany, most American soarers were sceptical. But they tried it, and found it often worked. Richard du Pont told me he had successfully used this manoeuvre several times. Meteorologists say it is entirely credible. One might use the analogy of a drop of water trembling on the tip of a faucet. If the drop is almost ready to fall, a surprisingly light tap on the faucet will dislodge it."

This seems to afford a reasonable explanation of this eerie and mysterious night wind which so aroused my curiosity when I was a girl. One can easily understand how it would work out. After the sun went down the air in the valley would cool off while the air close to the ground would remain at a higher temperature from the heat of the warm, dry earth. And as the night advanced the difference in temperature between the two strata would become more marked until the lighter air broke through, and then the ascending column would be fed from all sides by the light warm air near the surface of the earth until the supply became exhausted and

the movement ceased. This explosion or breaking through of the light, warm air would account for the night wind.

In our last Report, George W. Johnson explained why the Okanagan is a dry belt, and so from year to year we are learning more about the Okanagan Valley.

At one time there were two Indian Chiefs, one was Enoch who lived at Duck Lake, and the other Chief Pantherhead who lived at Westbank. Chief Pantherhead had two sisters, one was my mother who married G. W. Simpson, and died in 1901, one year before my father. The other sister married a Frenchman, named Boriot, who had a cattle ranch near Kamloops. He went on a visit to France, and while there was conscripted and killed in the Franco-Prussian war. His son, Victor Boriot, and his wife are now living on the Duck Lake Reserve. After her husband's death, my aunt came to live with her brother, Chief Pantherhead, and later she married Chief Enoch. These two Chiefs, Pantherhead and Enoch, were highly respected by both Indians and whites.

I was born on the 14th December, 1868, and married Thomas Jones on the 6th April, 1884. He died on the 30th July, 1888. On the 10th May, 1892, I married again, my second husband being William Pelissier Swallowell. He got his second name by being named after the French Marshal who commanded the French Army at the time of the Crimean war in 1854. This name was very popular about the time he was born. My husband was a cousin of the Postill brothers. He died on the 14th March, 1926.

Appendix 3. Glossary of Significant Nsyilxcen Terms

Word to Word Translations are in regular font while transliterated interpretations are presented in italics and hyphenated

acmiscut: one-who-can -verify. Expert or truth-keeper.
acmistim: verified and verifiable/by-us. Knowledge.
əcx^wuy i? sqilx^wcaptik^wʔ: There-Were-People-Traveling-Stories
aʔi? captik^wʔ: For the reason of *captik^wʔ*
ʃawtmasqilx^w: To-struggle-and- come after The contemporary Syilx. ,
captik^wʔ: Oral Stories.
captk^wlulax^w: Story marked land
captik^wʔ tan q^wəlq^wʔltən: *captik^wʔ* way of speaking
cəwilx: Community
ənəʔnasqilx^wtn: People eaters
i? kəchaʔs i? tmx^wulax^w: Requirements of respect to *tmix^wplace*
iluti? ʔə ʔəlxwilx i? stʔsqilx^w tə captik^wʔ: World Before Humans Stories
i? scxəlakəks i? tmx^wulax^w The full circle of *tmix^wplace*
i? scʔaymiwsc i? tmx^wulax^w: the axis center of the four directions
kənk^winplaʔs: Assist-by-leading-singing-(*q^wəylm*). Lead through ceremonial means. Communing with the *tmix^w*.
kčx^wiplaʔntm: subjecting it to law
kʔʔəlalq^waʔ kʔʔəlʔsalʔq^waʔ: underside-(not visible)-to-the-ends. To the limits of known existence.
kʔʔpaʃ: Conscious thought
k^wəliwt i? sqilx^w captik^wʔ: There-Were-People-Living-Stories
k^wulncutn: creator-of-oneself. Creator, God, Great Spirit
kyilus: Coil as in a rope
ḥnaqsilt: One extended family
nʃawqnwix^w: Consensus building or meetings using Syilx rules of order
nkʔalpayaʔ: coyote-as-imitator
nsyilxcin: The language of the Okanagan Syilx
nuk^wcəwilx: One village group as place-based
nwíst tə scq^wəlq^wʔlt: high-speak.
sʃalʔix: Old language, the Nsyilxcen word for the ancient language, Salishan
ntityʔix: Chief Spring Salmon
q^waʔq^wʔəl: A discussion or a formal meeting (modern-*sq^waʔq^wʔəl* -a trial)

q^wəq^wc^wiya?: Chipmunk
q^wəy^wlm: Spirit or medicine songs
siya?: Chief Saskatoon berry
snina?: Owl
sqiltk: *The body*
skc'ǰǰ^wiplatet: Binding laws
skəmxist: Chief Black Bear
sma?may?: folk stories of historical, community and individuals as well as genealogies and geographic specific information
smipnumpt: *found-by-divine-means* stories
snaqsilx^w: *one-covering*. blood relatives
snk'lip əcx^wuuy captik^wǰ: *coyote-Was-Traveling-Stories*
snk'lip ǰə? k'ǰisəs: coyote changing or transforming (the world)
sntər'us: *unwinding*. sourced from the time before humans
snunx^wina?: *agrees-with*. The belief system one adheres to.
Spǰiǰǰm: Chief bitterroot.
sq^wa?q^w?ǰ: a trial or a formal judgment being deliberated
sqilx^w: *dreaming ones-bound together*, humans
stəltəltət: *truthway*. Freely held rights
stik'ǰ: future or stored food
st'lsqilx^w: *ripped-from the earth-torn-away-beings*. Human. Commonly translated as living humans or the transformed people.
sux^wacx^wl'ax^w: *person-who-looks-at-the land*. Person who interprets the land as a whole in its physical features.
sux^wk'ǰaǰc'm: *person-underneath-looker*. Person with knowledge to interpret what cannot be seen on the surface
sux^wmirrim?: *person-who-administers-healing*. An herbalist doctor.
sux^wq^waq^walulax^w: *speaker-of-the land*. Person whose responsibility is to voice the lands requirements and rights.
syilx: The people who speak nsyilxcen
tmix^w: *life-force*. All life forms, all animals, the spirit of all living things
tmx^wulax^w: *lifeforce-place*. The land, earth.
tuk^wntis i? sqiltk: *laid-down-its-life*. Body death
ǰa?ǰa?tə captik^wǰ: Sacred text
xatma?sqilx^w: *in-front-of-us*. First people.
xa?tus-first-of. Head person for hunting, fishing, root and berry harvests
yilmix^wm: *one-who-coils-as-one-strand*. Chief
yilyalmix^wm: *ones-who-coil-in-different ways*. Chieftainships.