

moting several programs — mothers' allowances and medical inspection of schools, to name but a few. Despite the apparent broad appeal of some of the eugenicists' ideas, McLaren concludes that they had limited success in implementing their agenda. He attributes this to the fact that they were "always too frightening and too elitist to garner mass support." (p. 169)

One wonders if there could be additional explanations for the impact of eugenicists' programs. Here the reader could be helped by a thorough analysis of those who actively opposed the eugenicists. Public opposition to eugenicists appears to be limited to representatives of the Roman Catholic church, some prominent French Canadians, and a few distinguished members of the medical profession, and it would be useful to know more about that particular opposition. Private opposition to the eugenicists isn't discussed, but it would help to examine the extent and rationale for any passive resistance. At the simplest level, a consideration of birth rates of those who did not share the class and cultural values of the eugenicists might tell us something about the private opposition. Greater analysis of public and private opposition would also enhance the discussion of the shift from eugenics to social welfare arguments and our perspective of the contemporary debate about alternatives to social welfare programs.

McLaren's study is a thought-provoking and disturbing examination of attempts to formula policy in response to fears about change. It serves as a timely reminder that what he calls the "new eugenics" of reproductive technology needs to be placed in the context of earlier times when scientifically trained experts assumed the right to decide who could reproduce. Then the poor and marginal were told not to reproduce; now they don't have access to reproductive technology.

My wish that McLaren could have told us more about some points and a quibble over the gratuitous information about Macklin's weight, height and health (p. 130) are minor objections to an otherwise valuable study of Canadian eugenicists' ideas during the interwar years.

*State University of New York*

SUZANN BUCKLEY

*Bax<sup>w</sup>bak<sup>w</sup>alanusiwa*. Un récit Haisla / a Haisla story, raconté par / as told by Gordon Robertson. Lincoln, Neville J., John C. Rath, Evelyn Windsor, 1990. *Amerindia*. No. 14. Supplément 3. Pp. xii, 119. \$8.00.

The population of Kitamaat Village, on the Kitimat Arm of the Douglas Channel, is an amalgamation of a number of villages, divided linguistically into two main groups. The majority are from villages near the present

location around the Kitimat Arm and the mouth of the Kitimat River and close areas such as Kildala Arm. Gordon Robertson is a member of the second group, from the Kitlope Valley and around present day Kemano. The people and the language of Kitamaat have come to be known under the cover term of Haisla. This word is an Anglicization of *ǂà'isla* ("down river"), which was strictly applied not to the present site of Kitamaat Village (which was known as *C'imàuc'a*) but to a site in the present-day company town of Kitimat. The current names for the village and the town reflect several linguistic layerings. Note that the village name is spelled officially "Kitamaat" (this is the usual form in early references to the place in English sources) and the town as "Kitimat." This name itself is Tsimshian and is said to mean "snow people." It incorporates the common morpheme *git- gyet, get-* etc. ("person, people") that lies behind the many place and people names in the area that are Anglicized with names beginning with "Kit-" or "Git-."

Mr. Robertson's people are properly referred to as *ǂnàksiala* and their language (using the common Northern Wakashan suffix for languages) as *Xnàksialak'ala*. Mr. Robertson spent only two years in the mission school at Kitamaat, after which he was removed by his grandfather, the chief *ǂpsǂàuleq*, and given a traditional training appropriate for a person of his high standing. He is one of the few remaining elders with an extensive knowledge of the traditions of his people. He is also acutely conscious of the fragility of the language and culture and has dedicated many hours to helping provide records of these treasures. (Mr. Robertson was one of the principal consultants for the Haisla dictionary [Lincoln and Rath, 1986]. I have had the privilege of working extensively with him in the last several years and wish to acknowledge his great help here.)

Given this background, we can only echo the characterization by the editors/translators (p. x) of the present publication as "a valuable addition to the corpus of published texts" [of North Wakashan languages] (cf. also the poignant ambiguity in their mention of "the precious few Haisla texts we have recorded," p. 5 f.). This is the first published Haisla text in the original language. It is to be hoped that more texts from Mr. Robertson will be published soon. As the authors note, there has been little work available on the Haisla language. The dictionary mentioned already is in fact the only other relatively accessible extensive source (see references) on the languages of Kitamaat. (I will henceforth defer to current usage and refer to the language of the text as Haisla.)

As can be gathered from the title, the publication under review is trilingual: the text in Haisla, everything else except the linguistic analysis and

notes on the text in French and English (the textual analysis and notes are in English). The booklet consists of an introduction, the text of the story followed by smooth translations into the two white people's languages. Then there is a brief linguistic introduction: notes on the transcription system, a list of abbreviations and notational devices, a sketch of Haisla syntax. The bulk of the pages are then taken up with linguistic analysis, set up like this: a line of text, a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis and glossing, then smooth translations of each line in French and English. There is a selected bibliography and a map.

The authors list as their three goals (pp. 1/5f.): "(1) to open to inspection the main one of the precious few Haisla texts we have recorded; (2) to illustrate the function of the first and second sentential connective moods in Haisla; (3) to support Franz Boas' thesis that, at least in the North Wakashan speaking area, there was a stock of relatively well-defined mythical themes but that it varied from one local group to another which themes combined into a story and in which order." Of these three goals, certainly the first and the third have been achieved. I am somewhat skeptical about the second, and I will return to it below.

The main skeleton of the story concerns a blind man who is a skilful hunter and who has a magic arrow. We are told that he has been helped by the being whose name is given as the title of the story. In the story, the man kills a grizzly bear. His wife lies to him and tells him that he has missed it, but his youngest child reveals the truth to him, and he is able to take his revenge. He also creates coho salmon from alder wood, after several attempts with other woods that turn into different water dwellers. (The word for alder is built on the root for "red.") These thematic materials appear in a number of different stories from the region: the story was elicited by first reading a text from the volume of stories from the late Chief Simon Walkus (Hilton and Rath, 1982) and then having Mr. Robertson tell his own version, given to him by his grandparents. Besides the two other sources mentioned by the editors/translators, there is a similar story in Boas (1932: pp. 137-40, also a short summary from a different source, p. 140), also from Rivers Inlet, and Boas refers to Tsimshian texts in a footnote. In this text, and in the Kitamaat versions of the story, the man is helped by a loon, who cures his blindness.

For linguists and others interested in getting some idea about the nature of the Haisla language, the text and its analysis are extremely valuable. The Wakashan languages are famous for their rich resources in building complex words by means of some five hundred or so derivational suffixes and a

variety of stem extension operations. An example, chosen at random from the text (line 188):

piwàlislānug<sup>w</sup>a  
 piw – ala            – is –            – la    #nug<sup>w</sup>a  
 feel – upstream – near water – Cont #1SgSu  
 “*I was feeling my way upstream . . .*”

This “genius of the language” is nowhere more evident than in the creation of names, as in the name of the being of the title. The etymology of this name is a matter of some mystery: in some of the Boas and Hunt texts (of Kwakw’ala and other Northern Wakashan languages) the name appears as Bax<sup>w</sup>bak<sup>w</sup>a’lanux<sup>w</sup>si’wē’ or the like (thus in Boas, 1932, I have retranscribed the name to conform more or less to the system of the text in hand). Boas gives it the somewhat fanciful translation “Cannibal-of-the-North-End-of-the-World.” The details of this analysis have been (justly) criticized by Hilton and Rath (1982). All of these commentators connect the reduplicated first part of the word with the root  $\sqrt{\text{bk}^w}$ - “human.” Boas apparently understood the reduplication as analogous to a reduplicative pattern (usually with the suffix -ka) meaning “to eat” (whatever the reduplicated stem or root refers to), hence the meaning “cannibal.” Hilton and Rath and the present authors assign it the meaning: “becoming more and more human,” or the like. There is no doubt that the Kwakw’ala form of the name occurs in contexts that are associated with ritual (feigned) cannibalism and the so-called Tanis or Hamats’a dances (for example, in Boas, 1932: pp. 37 ff.). But Mr. Robertson (p.c.) contends that the name has nothing to do with eating and concurs with the present authors. (The name occurs in one of the texts that Mr. Robertson and the reviewer have been preparing, in a prayer within a description of a welcoming ceremony for the first salmon coming up the river, and there it is placed in apposition to the name Miauxwà(na), explained by Mr. Robertson as something like Spirit of the Salmon.) Both theories need to explain the expansion of the root vowel to /a/; the only root of this shape that I know of which already has /a/ in it is the root  $\sqrt{\text{bak}^w}$ - “gather and preserve salmon and meat.” (In the Haisla dictionary the name under discussion here is assigned to a separate root  $\sqrt{\text{bak}^w}$ - with the gloss “?”.)

These difficulties of analysis may serve to illustrate two general points. First, in languages of the type of Haisla, it is not only the linguists who may fluctuate in their analyses of words. Given the many variations that both roots and suffixes can show, it is often the case that alternative analyses of words can be equally plausible, even with the most careful attention to the laws of combination. When words drift around then, which is especially

the case with names, which form an important part of the cultural goods of the region, the process known to linguists as “folk-etymology” can easily contribute to reshaping and reanalyses of words. What then is the “real” analysis of a given complex word? (This question is the same as one asking whether the English word *greyhound* “really” contains the morpheme *grey*, or the German word *Hängematte* “hammock” the morpheme *hang*-.) Second, the example, and many others, raise the question of the line between etymology and (synchronically valid) analysis of complex words. This in turn raises the interesting general question of the status of the division between word-structure and sentence-structure in a language like Haisla.

This review is not the place to enter into an extended discussion of the many interesting linguistic questions, both general and special, raised by the publication under review. Let me just try to explain the skepticism mentioned above about the second of the three main goals listed by the authors, the existence of what are called “the first and second sentential connective moods” (pp. 6 and 43 f.). The problem is this: there are a number of different ways to weave together the main clausal units of a text in Haisla. The forms that are employed in these discourse functions include initial auxiliary or connective elements such as *g*-, *l(a)*-, and *w(a)*-, the last usually with *l(a)*-, and the presence or absence of certain affixes, most notably *-in(a)*, glossed by the authors as Perfective. Since these are strictly grammatical elements, part of the glue that binds together a text, it is not generally possible to ascertain their meaning by simply asking a consultant (try explaining when you do and don’t use the English progressive). The thesis of the authors is that there are two “moods,” which have to do with whether or not the main topic of the sentence is shifted in the clause in the connective moods. Now, I believe that the authors have thrown important light on the function of some of the devices just mentioned, but I believe it is a mistake to codify them into two “moods” of the sort suggested. This sounds altogether too rigid.

Let me emphasize, in conclusion, that the linguistic analysis contained in the main body of the booklet is extremely detailed, careful, and insightful. The editors have given themselves the task of accounting for every morpheme in the text. The results will be of great value not only to specialists in Wakashan linguistics, but also to anyone interested in the general problems of morphology, syntax, and semantics of polysynthetic languages. We must be grateful to all four of the producers of this text.