

θə stqaye? ʔə ʔ səlilwətaʔi ʔi? tə neç sʰwixʰəyəm:
She-Wolf and other Tsleil-Waututh narratives

by
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Declaration of Committee

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She-Wolf and other Tsleil-Waututh narratives

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Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

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Abstract

The ancestors of the hə́nqəmínəm speaking people lived along the lower Fraser River and all around the shores of neighbouring Burrard Inlet in British Columbia. The Central Coast Salish people living here today are their descendants. Throughout the time that we've lived here, our elders shared oral narratives that conveyed history, life skills, and the legal and moral code by which our people lived. In the present work, I have restored three oral narratives of the people from the village of sə́lilwətaʔ (Tsleil-Waututh), originally related by Tsleil-Waututh elders in English. First, the narratives were translated by Dr. Ruby Peter into her hə́lqəmínəm dialect (Vancouver Island). Once translated, I converted the narratives into the hə́nqəmínəm dialect. My hope is that these narratives will inspire and inform our younger generation who are working to gain fluency in our language.

Keywords: First Nations narratives; Coast Salish; hə́lqəmínəm; hə́nqəmínəm; Tsleil-Waututh

Dedication

I dedicate this project to my Mom, Frances Guerin, who was my earliest influence in developing a sense of the import of our language and culture. In my early years, I was deeply colonized and adhered to the western viewpoint that our language and culture were inferior and should be abandoned. My mother's viewpoint was the polar opposite to that. Although I exhibited an apparent inherent talent, my participation in the earliest classroom instructional program in our language was an exercise in going through the motions due to my recognition that it was important to her.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my Aunt Ruby Peter. As a native (L1) speaker of our language, her contribution in translation to Hul'q'umi'num' was both the first step toward my completing transliterations into the APA-based orthography adopted by the hənq̓əminəm people and the basis for dialectic comparison in the present work.

David L. Rozen – While I'd seen David at many of our funeral gatherings supporting my late Uncle Able Joe of Duncan with Hul'q'umi'num' prayers, I didn't formally meet him until I worked with him on a summer employment project at the UBC Museum of Anthropology. The project was entitled the 'Coast Salish Research Project' where my cohort and I were to be trained as archival researchers and tour guides. We were to research archival/library records to find data relevant to Central Coast Salish Culture and develop the material into tours of the UBC Museum of Anthropology, the City of Vancouver as well as a slide presentation about Metro Vancouver as Central Coast Salish territory in a cultural context. However, the influence that David exerted on me emerged from the fact that he is a fluent speaker of Hul'q'umi'num' (the Vancouver Island Dialect of our language). This triggered the competitive aspect in my personality inspiring me to pursue our language and culture where other influences, including peer pressure while attending residential school, did not overcome my conditioned resistance to learning our traditions.

Coast Salish Elders – The primary influences on my development among our elders include maternal great grandfather James Point, my paternal grandfather and namesake Victor Guerin, my paternal grand uncles Edward Guerin and Arnold Guerin, my maternal grand uncle Dominic Point and my maternal great-grand-aunt Josephine Good. I list them not in order of importance, but in the order of a time sequence when I began working with each of them. The exception to that timeline is Uncle Arnold Guerin who worked with our first cohort of Musqueam children in classroom language instruction and who made time for me off and on throughout my life until his passing in 1987.

I'd also like to acknowledge the contribution of Prof. Donna Gerdts, my colleague in the hənqəmínəm research. Thanks as well to Lauren Schneider and many other members of the SFU Linguistics and First Nations Languages Program administrative team. Their assistance in proof-reading my work, helping to format the final draft and so many other important tasks has played a big part of bringing this work to its fruition.

There were many, many others that contributed to my research in various ways and their contribution was invaluable. Any errors that remain in the present work are entirely my responsibility.

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Preface

My earliest formal exposure to our language/culture as my memory serves me came during the early 1970s. At that time, by my own estimation, there were approximately 35-40 native speakers of Halkomelem at Musqueam Village. These included perhaps 13 speakers of hə́nq̓əmin̓ə́m (the Musqueam dialect) with a smaller contingent of Halqemeylem (Upriver dialect) speakers and the balance that were hə́lq̓əmin̓ə́m (Vancouver Island dialect) speakers. This is part of a social dynamic, recognized by linguists in other works, where hə́lq̓əmin̓ə́m has become the most prevalent of the three dialects of Halkomelem.

I was part of a cohort of school-age children that participated in a short-lived revitalization program sponsored by the Musqueam Administration through Government of Canada and BC Provincial Government grants and developed by my late grand uncle, Arnold Guerin and UBC linguist Jay Powell. That classroom program didn't survive into my teen years though there were ensuing iterations of it in the public schools. In 1983, at the age of 20, I took a summer job at the UBC Museum of Anthropology on a project called the Coast Salish Research Project. The project objective was for us to develop employment skills as archival researchers, develop tours and a slide presentation focusing on Central Coast Salish Culture and be trained as tour guides to present the finished product.

The project leader was ethnobotanist David L. Rozen whom I'd seen frequently at funeral gatherings in our communities assisting late Uncle Able Joe with Christian prayers that they'd translated into Hul'q'umi'num'. The fact that David is a fluent speaker of Hul'q'umi'num' triggered the competitive aspect of my personality. It inspired me to pursue the learning of my language where no other influence, including encouragement from my mother and peer pressure while attending residential school, had overcome my resistance due to conditioning that led me to regard our language and culture as inferior and not worthy of pursuit.

Before the summer project had even run its course, I began working with my late grandfather's elder brother Edward Guerin to learn more about our language using the phonetic orthography I had learned in the 1970s to document the information he was sharing with me. I would have worked with my late grandfather except that he was a residential school survivor and had become a staunch Catholic through that experience even though hə́nq̓əminə́m was his first language. His brother Uncle Ed, however, had been sickly as a child which resulted in his being kept home from residential school. This meant that he hadn't been subjected to formal indoctrination against our language and culture.

I worked with Uncle Ed for several months, but his language use had been dormant for so long that he struggled to remember words to share with me for my documentation.

One day, after working together for some time, Grandpa Vic came by to see his brother about something. Once he found out what we were doing, he joined us. With the two of them together they began to speak the language with each other and at that point, I couldn't write fast enough to keep up with them. I continued work with Uncle Ed and Grandpa Vic until they both passed on.

In 1985, Musqueam was approached about participation in the opening ceremonies for the upcoming World Exposition in 1986 (Expo 86). Most of Central Coast Salish Culture is very private and personal in nature or confined to very strict rules for its use. However, my maternal grand uncle, Dominic Point, was knowledgeable of a few songs and performances that were not subject to those restrictions. A group of us were trained to perform the warrior dance attributed to the great warrior qeyəpəlenəx^w (Capilano in its Anglicized form). The performance at the opening ceremonies was a huge hit and after Expo 86 our dance group was in high demand. I had learned the words to the song that the elders sang to accompany the dance and was the only one that sang along with the elders as I danced.

With the drumming and singing of the elders and the war whoops emanating from us as dancers, I was under the impression that no one was aware of my singing along as I danced. However, as the years passed Uncle Dominic's voice began to weaken until one

day he took me aside and asked me to stand beside him to support him in singing the song. I had graduated from a dancer to singing alongside the elders!

Whenever we did warrior dance performances, the organizers would call upon the group to put someone forth to speak on behalf of the group. Uncle Dominic always took the initiative in performing this duty on behalf of the group.

Backtracking a little bit, the work I'd started with elders at the time of the Coast Salish Research Project was fruitful, but I was really only documenting isolated words and phrases in our language as well as learning to make the unique sounds that don't occur in English. I wasn't learning to speak the language per se although I was laying the foundations for doing so. In the 1990s, Musqueam entered a partnership with UBC to offer a linguistics-based instructional program for learning hənqəmínəm. I enrolled in the course and began formally learning to speak the language. I continued the program through to year 4 which solidified my journey toward becoming a speaker of hənqəmínəm.

Returning to the narrative on the warrior dance group, on one occasion when the group was called upon to put forth someone to speak to the assembly, Uncle Dominic put his hand on the small of my back and quietly said to me "You go do it." I protested "But Uncle! I only know a few words in the language." "Doesn't matter." He chided me. "You'll never learn if you don't just do it."

From that time forward I began writing prepared speeches when we were invited to performances. Uncle didn't always send me forward, but I was prepared when he did. In the beginning, my speeches were mostly in English with a few hənqəmínəm words sprinkled here and there. Gradually, the hənqəmínəm content increased until finally I was giving fully hənqəmínəm speeches followed by an English translation.

Chapter 1. Introduction

The earliest contact between the hənqəmínəm people and Europeans occurred around 1800. Specifically, Captain Vancouver sailed into the Salish Sea under British sponsorship in June of 1792 to find Spanish ships anchored off of sʔəlqsən (what is now known as Point Grey). Sixteen years later, in July of 1808, Simon Fraser arrived, by way of the river that now bears his name, under sponsorship from the Northwest Company.

In that early contact period, indigenous people here on the Northwest Coast outnumbered first explorers and subsequently settlers by a substantial margin. The cultural status quo that had held sway in our territory for millennia remained relatively stable due to the power balance attributable to the demographics of the day.

In the short time between first contact and the third quarter of the 19th century, the power balance had shifted considerably. The two crown colonies on the mainland and Vancouver Island had amalgamated in 1858 after gold was discovered in the area and joined the Canadian Confederation by 1871. The settler population vastly outnumbered the indigenous population due both to the sheer number of people immigrating from other provinces as well as from outside of Canada and to introduced disease to which the indigenous population had no immunity.

The drastic reduction in indigenous population resulting from these influences coupled with the enactment of the Potlach Law in 1885 and imposition of residential schools in the 1890s, started a long, but swift decline of indigenous language and culture in BC and, in fact, across the country and the continent!

By the 1970s, the tally of hənqəmínəm speakers at Musqueam Village had been reduced to perhaps 35-40 speakers by my own estimation. That count is not based on official records. In fact, I don't believe official records include a count of indigenous language speakers up to that time period.

Many people at Musqueam didn't perceive that low count as a crisis and, to this day, our people tend to be complacent about our loss of language and culture. We reached a point in the latter part of the 1990s when we had only two remaining native

speakers of hənqəminəm at Musqueam Village and three proficient second language speakers. This situation was mirrored in other villages in the hənqəminəm dialect area.

In August of 2012, I began a nearly six-year stretch working in the Language and Culture Program of the Tsleil-Waututh First Nation. During that time, we became aware of another native hənqəminəm speaker living on Vancouver Island in Nanaimo. We were put in contact with Aunty Josephine Good (nee Cunningham), originally from Coquitlam, through my colleague, linguist Dr. Donna Gerdts. After periodic sessions working with Aunty Josephine, she sadly passed away in December of 2014. Her passing left us with no remaining native speakers except her brother who resides in Mt. Vernon, Washington and with whom we've never had any contact.

Also, while working with Tsleil-Waututh First Nation, I was made aware of several oral history narratives left by the late Chief Dan George as well as other Tsleil-Waututh elders. These interviews had been conducted with various journalists and authors over a number of years and these narratives had been documented by them in English (MacDonald et al. 1998 and Thornton 1966). The manager for the Tsleil-Waututh Language and Culture Program, Mr. Gabe George, wished for them to be translated into hənqəminəm. Dr. Donna Gerdts suggested that the most effective way to get a reliable translation would be to work with an L1 speaker of Hul'q'umi'num' (the Vancouver Island dialect) and then convert the Hul'q'umi'num' translations into hənqəminəm. Compared to hənqəminəm, the həlqəminəm dialect has many speakers remaining, with current estimates at 30 fluent L1 speakers (Donna Gerdts, p.c.).

Working with native Hul'q'umi'num' speaker Dr. Ruby Peter (Sti'tum'at) of Duncan, BC, and linguist Donna Gerdts, I prepared several stories related by Tsleil-Waututh elders for translation from English into həlqəminəm, transcribing them in the practical orthography utilized by our Vancouver Island relatives. Subsequently I returned home and proceeded to first complete the inter-dialectic conversion to hənqəminəm and then transliterate them into the International Phonetic Alphabet-based orthography (i.e. IPA, the version adapted for North American indigenous languages). This is the representation we have adopted here on the mainland for our hənqəminəm language materials. In converting the narratives from one dialect to another, my work has been informed by my life-long study of hənqəminəm, and I especially made reference to

Suttles' (2004) grammar of Musqueam and Gerds' (in preparation) dictionary of hə̀nqə̀mihə̀m based on Suttles' field notes as well as her own work with Musqueam and Katzie speakers.

In the ensuing chapters you'll find the hə̀nqə̀mihə̀m versions of three narratives as well as some details of the dialectical differences that informed my work.

Chapter 2. She-Wolf

This narrative was shared, in English, by the late Chief Dan George. Chief George was born in 1899 and was at one time the elected chief of the Tsleil-Waututh Community.

θə stqaye? ʔə ʔ səlilwət

The She-Wolf at Tsleil-Waututh

- (1) ʔə kʷəna::: wəl hiθ ni? tə xʷəlməxʷ ʔə ʔ sʔəθnəc, ni? ʔə tə cəwmən.
Long, long ago, there were First Nations people who lived on the shores at the east end of Burrard inlet.
- (2) təna xʷəlməxʷ ʔi? ʔa tənni? ʔə ʔ stqaye?, ʔa hay ʔəl cəyʔiyel xʷəlməxʷ.
These First Nations people were very proud to be from the Wolf clan.
- (3) məkʷ tə ni? ʔə tə leləms ʔi? niw stqaye? tə sʔtekʷs
ʔi? təw məkʷ stem tə ni? hakʷəxəs ʔi? ʔəw stqaye? tə stiʔamstxʷəs.
Everything in their house had the wolf emblem carved on it—everything they used had the wolf emblem on it.
- (4) we? tə šxʷʔiʔtəns ʔi? ʔəw sʔteʔkʷ θə stqaye? tə ʔeləw kʷənsteməns tə lectən,
səcəcən ʔəw məkʷ hakʷəxəs ʔi? nəw stiʔamstxʷəs tə stqaye? sʔtekʷstxʷəs.
Even their dishes were carved with wolves, their spoons, knives—everything they used had wolves carved on them.
- (5) ʔa ni? θətstəm ni? ʔə kʷəna::: wəl hiθ kʷəsəl məkʷ ni? xʷəqəqəy tə xʷəlməxʷ.
It was said that long ago, a terrible sickness came to the village.

- (6) x^wəmnəc tə x^wəlməx^w ni? ʔə tʰe? sʔəθnəc.
All the people of that inlet perished.
- (7) ʔəwk^w, ʔəwk^w tə x^wəlməx^w ʔi? tx^way tə ʔəx^wi:n qeqələ, swəyqə? qeqələ tx^way ni?
həli.
Everyone died, all except one tiny baby boy, who was the only one to survive.
- (8) mək^w k^wə šx^wəwələy^s mək^w k^wə məsteyəx^w nəw qay.
All of his family, all of the people died.
- (9) nanəʔ ʔəw x^wən ʔəx^wi:n, ʔəw x^wən qeqələ ʔəwəte? sk^wixs.
He was too young even to have a name.
- (10) sisəw ne:::təs... ne:::təm ʔə k^w ʔəwəte? sk^wixs.
So he was called “No-name”.
- (11) mə:::k^w tə məsteyəx^w niw x^wəmnəc, tx^wʔəwəte?, ʔəwəte? wet xələmət tə ʔəwəte?
sk^wixs.
All the people perished, so there was no one left to care for No-name.
- (12) ni? wəʔ ma:nəʔət təw^ʔlə qeqələ, nən ʔəw x^wəme:n k^wəs ʔəwəte? sʔəltəns,
šx^wtewənimətəm k^ws ʔəwəs ce? həlis.
The baby became very weak due to a lack of food, and it was doubtful that he could survive.
- (13) x^wən ʔətə ʔi? wəʔ təs θə stqaye?
Eventually a she-wolf came to that place.
- (14) ʔi::: səw ʔiməx ni? ʔə tə šx^wniʔs, haʔq^wəls ʔə təw mək^w stem.
And she walked around sniffing everything.

- (15) səw šx^wte:wəns θəw^la stqaye?, “ni::x^w walə ʔənəcə k^w məsteyəx^w? ʔəwəte? məsteyəx^w.
And She-Wolf wondered, “Where is everybody? There are no people.
- (16) nəcim yəx^w ʔalə šx^wʔəw semc ʔal təna?
Why is it so quiet here?
- (17) nəcim šx^wʔəwəte?, ʔəwəte? k^wl ʔi? k^wəyχθət?
Why is there nobody moving around?
- (18) nəcim yəx^w ʔalə šx^wsemc təna?
How come it’s so quiet here?
- (19) ʔəwəte? k^wl ʔi k^wəyχθət?”
Why is there no movement?”
- (20) ni? xwi:yneṁ θəw^la stqaye?.
She-Wolf listened.
- (21) ʔi? ʔəwəte? k^wl ni? cələmətəs steʔəx^wət hiwələṁ.
She didn’t hear any sounds of children playing.
- (22) ʔəw semc ʔal tə ni? šx^wniʔs, ʔəwəte? k^wl ni? cələmətəs ya:yəs.
The place was silent, with no sound of anybody working.
- (23) ʔəwəte? slənlenəy ni? q^wəli:lq^wəltəl.
There were no women talking.
- (24) ʔəwəte? k^wl wet ni? ya:yəs, ʔəwəte? k^wl wet ni? təw k^wəyχθət.
There was nobody working and there was nobody moving around.

- (25) x^wi:yneṁ θəw^la stqayeʔ, ʔəwəteʔ k^wl wet niʔ člemətəs.
She-Wolf listened, and she couldn't hear anybody.
- (26) ʔəwəteʔ k^wl stem niʔ člemətəs ʔəw hay θə q^wəlitəq, ʔəw hay θə q^wəlitəq niʔ
čičlemətəs.
She didn't hear anything except seagulls—seagulls were all that she heard.
- (27) k^wəs lələk^w θə spa:l, sel^t θə tə niʔ šx^wniʔs.
A raven was flying around, circling the place.
- (28) ni:: cək^wcək^w θə qaʔ ʔiʔ ʔəwəteʔ wet niʔ cecəw tət^xwaʔəl.
The tide was far out but nobody was at the beach digging clams.
- (29) ʔəwəteʔ s^leyəqəm niʔ wiwəl tənⁿiʔ ʔə tə s^he:wtx^w.
No smoke appeared from the longhouse.
- (30) niʔ ʔiməx θəw^la stqayeʔ təw sewq, ʔəwəteʔ k^wl mi welət səw ʔəwəs ni:s si:ʔsiʔ.
She-Wolf nosed around to make sure there was no threat.
- (31) x^wən xətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl k^wət^xiləm θəw^la stqayeʔ ʔə θə leləm.
Then She-Wolf entered the house.
- (32) ʔiʔ ^la niʔ šx^wniʔs tə ʔəwəteʔ sk^wixs k^wəs ʔiʔtət.
And that was the place where No-name was sleeping.
- (33) səs neṁ ʔəw tsətəs tə šx^wniʔs tə pət^həs, šx^wniʔ ʔə ^l ʔəwəteʔ sk^wixs.
She wandered up to No-name's wooden cradle and peered in.
- (34) niʔ t^həy^kθət k^wəs k^wəcnəx^wəs tə qeqələ.
She was startled when she saw the baby boy.

- (35) “həʔa:!!”
“Oh!”
- (36) səniw̄ niʔ slələq̄, slələləq̄ təw̄la ʔəwəteʔ skʷixs, stitəx̄ tə meqəns.
No-name was lying inside the cradle and his hair was sticking up around his head.
- (37) xʷən̄ x̄ətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl xʷay tə ʔəwəteʔ skʷixs sisəw yəx̄e:m̄.
No-name woke up and he began to cry.
- (38) həkʷmeʔtəs θəw̄la stqayeʔ kʷθə sweʔs memən̄əs stqayeʔal̄, niʔ ʔə kʷθə šxʷəliwən̄ sweʔs leləms̄.
She-Wolf was reminded of her own cubs that she had left in her den home.
- (39) sisəw xʷəʔl̄əʔl̄əlmətəs θəw̄la stqayeʔ tə slələq̄ qeqələ.
And She-Wolf checked out the babe lying in the cradle.
- (40) lələcaləs tə qələms̄ θəw̄la stqayeʔ.
She-Wolf's eyes were yellow.
- (41) wəl siʔsiʔ təw̄la qeqələ səw xʷqʷapəsəm̄ təw̄la qeqələ.
The baby got frightened and wrinkled up his face.
- (42) səw šxʷte:wən̄ θəw̄la stqayeʔ, “ni:xʷ ʔalə ʔənəcə kʷs tens tə qeqələ?”
And She-Wolf thought, “Where is this baby's mother?”
- (43) səw xʷəʔənnexʷ θəw̄la stqayeʔ, ʔəl̄əlmətəs tə qeqələ, ʔeʔət ʔəw hi:n̄ənəcəʔ ʔal̄ tə qeqələ.
She-Wolf hesitated, inspecting the baby that was all alone.

- (44) n̄an ʔəw ʔeʔəx^wi:n̄ ʔiʔ ʔeʔət ʔəw hay ʔaí.
He is too tiny to be by himself.
- (45) sisəw x^wθitiwən θəw^la k^wəs ʔəw hay ʔaí tə qeɣələ sisəw hayeʔstx^wəs θəw^la tə qeɣələ.
She decided that he shouldn't be alone and so she took the baby away with her.
- (46) sisəw k^wənətəs c̄əmətəs θəw^la stqayeʔ tə ʔat^θəs.
She took his cradle in her teeth.
- (47) sisəw hayeʔstx^wəs tək^wstx^wəs nem̄ hayeʔstx^wəs tək^wstx^wəs k^wəs wəl hən̄əmət θəw^la stqayeʔ ʔə tə sweʔs šx^wniʔs.
She took him home with her to her own den.
- (48) ʔiʔ wəl k^weləy tə sweʔs tə stəlitqayeʔ mem̄ən̄əs.
Her wolf cubs were hungry.
- (49) səw laqəθət θəw^la stqayeʔ qəmaʔstx^wəs tə mem̄ən̄əs.
So she lay down to feed her cubs.
- (50) nəw x̄ectəs θəw^la stqayeʔ k^wəs ʔəwəl k^weý tə məsteyəx^w qeɣələ.
She knew that the man-cub must be hungry too.
- (51) səs m̄əw x^wk^watəs mi x^wk^wastəs qaʔtəs tə mem̄ən̄əs nem̄əstx^wəs ʔə tə k^waləs səs ʔəw qəmaʔt tə qeɣələ.
And she dragged him in with her cubs to warm him up as she breast-fed him.
- (52) stʔe: ʔəw ni:s ʔəw ʔəl ʔa ʔaí sisəw melq tə qeɣələ ʔə tə niʔ šx^wtəna:ltəns šx^wəwələys.
And the baby soon forgot his family's heritage.

- (53) stʔe: ʔəw ni:s ʔəw wəl ʔa ʔaɪ sisəw xʷəšxʷte:wəh kʷs ʔa səw šxʷtəhəltəns θə stqayeʔ.
And soon he felt as if the wolves were his family.
- (54) ʃʷəm kʷs yəciːcəsəh təwʔa sʔiʔqəl kʷəs ʔiʔhəhəstəm ʔə θə stqayeʔ ʔə tə sməyəθ,
qəyiyəc ʔə təw məkʷ niʔ sʔəltəns θə stqayeʔ.
The child grew up fast on the raw red meat of deer and elk that She-Wolf fed him.
- (55) nəcəʔ sweyəl kʷəs wəl təw xʷəswiwləs səs nem ʔəw ʔiməx nem ʔiməxasəh
kʷecətəs tə təməxʷ.
One day, when No-name was a teenager, he went around exploring the territory.
- (56) kʷəs ʔiməxasəh ʔiməx kʷecətəs tə niʔ šxʷniʔs ʔiʔ niʔ wəl təs ʔə kʷθə ʔa: yəxʷ
šxʷniʔs kʷəs xʷəhə kʷan.
When he was out exploring, he discovered the place where he was born.
- (57) scəcəq təwʔa swiwləs, nem kʷecətəs tə hələləh ʔəwəteʔ wet səhiw ʔə tə ʔa yəxʷ
šxʷniʔs tə sweʔs məsteyəxʷs.
The young man was amazed at the houses that belonged to his own people.
- (58) səw šxʷte:wəh təwʔa swiwləs kʷəs yəxʷ ʔəw hələləh.
That young man thought that these must be someone's home.
- (59) niʔs ʔəl yəxʷ ʔəw niʔ kʷə səhiw ʔiʔ txʷʔəwəteʔ.
And somebody must have dwelt here, but now there was nobody.
- (60) ʔiʔ niw ʃectəs kʷs ʔəwəs stqayeʔəs kʷθə ʔa səhiw ʔə kʷθeʔ.
He figured that it was certainly not wolves who lived there.

- (61) x^wən ǰətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl k^wəcnəx^wəs təw^la swiwləs tə təx^waʔc.
The young man noticed a bow and arrow.
- (62) ʔiʔ nəw ǰectəs təw^la ʔiʔ nəw təlⁿəx^wəs ʔal tə stʔe:s hak^wəxewət tə təx^waʔc.
He experimented with them and figured out how to use them.
- (63) x^wən ǰətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl stʔe: ʔəw wəywəynəx^wəs k^ws hak^wəxs.
Before long he was an expert on how to use them.
- (64) haʔ niʔ hak^wəxəs ʔiʔ niw... yəθəθek^w tə t^θəme:n k^wəs nem k^wələx.
He could shoot an arrow straight and true.
- (65) nəw yəsθəθek^w tə t^θəme:n k^wəs hak^wəxəs tə təx^waʔc.
The arrow was straight and true when he shot it with the bow,
- (66) k^wəs wəl qəlet weyəl, yək^wənatəl ʔə tə stəlqayeʔ sisəw qə:ytəs k^wθə sməyəθ.
The next day, he went hunting with the wolves, and he killed a deer.
- (67) ʔa tə təx^waʔc niʔ hak^wəxəs.
He used his bow and arrow.
- (68) cəq tə stəlqayeʔ ʔə tə niʔ saləθəts.
The wolves were astonished by what he could do.
- (69) niʔ ʔəw ʔəy šx^wq^weləwəns təw^la swiwləs ʔə tə niʔ stʔe:s tə niʔ šx^wniʔs.
Time passed, and the young man was very happy to be there in that place.
- (70) ʔiʔ yaθəl nəw šx^wte:wəni, “ni:x^w ʔalə ʔənəcə k^wənəs k^wəcnəx^w k^w ʔəw stʔe ʔə ʔe:nθə.”
But he was always thinking, “I wonder where I find beings who are like me?”

- (71) ʔiʔ šx^wte:wəñ, “ni:x^w ʔalə ʔənəcə k^wə niʔ šx^wniʔs, k^wəñə c̣lx^wəlməx^w c̣twaʔ?”
And he thought, “Where do my own people live?”
- (72) niʔ wəl stʔe: ʔəw ni:s x^wəsi:l̥səl̥q^wmeʔtəs x^wəs̥liʔs k^ws k^wəcnəx^w k^w c̣lməsteyəx^ws.
And he became heartsick with desire to find his tribe.
- (73) x^wən ʃətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl ʃcəθət təw̥la swiwləs k^ws nem̥ səw̥qtəs k^w niʔ stʔe ʔə tə niʔ
 šx^wte:s məsteyəx^w.
At last, the young man decided that he must go search for men like him.
- (74) k^wəs wəl hayeʔ təw̥la ʔiʔ niʔ θətstx^wəs tə niʔ x^wəstʔe: k^w tens stqayeʔ θətstx^wəs
 k^wəs sk^wey k^ws mel̥qt θə stqayeʔ tens.
Before he left, he promised his wolf mother that he would never forget her.
- (75) yaθ ceʔ ʔəw heʔk^wmətəs.
He would always remember her.
- (76) wəl hayeʔ təw̥la swiwləs nem̥ cam ʔə tə smənme:nt.
He set out on a long journey which took him far up the mountains.
- (77) sis nem̥ ʔəw c̣aləc ʔə tə smənme:nt wəl nem̥ ʔə tə θiθə spəłx̥ən, k^wəs wəl təs ʔə tə
 niʔ šx^wtəs məsteyəx^w niʔ ʔə tθeʔ θiθə təməx^w.
*He went through the mountain wilderness until he came to the plains, and he
 arrived at the home of the plains people.*
- (78) səw θətstəm k^wəs ceʔ ʔəw x^wʔəw̥cəstəm nəw ʔəy̥stəm təw̥la swiwləs ʔə tə niʔ
 šx^wtəs šx^wəw̥cəstewət ʔə təw mək^w stem.
They told him they would teach the young man all of their ways.
- (79) niʔ stʔe: ʔəw ni:s həñəmət təw̥la swiwləs.
And it was as if the young man had come home.

- (80) x^wən ǰətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl k^wacətəl ʔə θə ǰeməy̆, sisəw ctaləs, x^wək^wənətəl ʔə θə ǰeməy̆.
Before long, he encountered a girl and he took her as his wife.
- (81) yəθəstəs təw^la swiwləs tə ǰeʔis staləss, ǰ^wiʔaməstəs ʔə tə niʔ ǰx^wtənniʔs.
The young man told his new bride stories about the beautiful country he had come from.
- (82) ǰx^wte:s k^ws hays ʔal ʔəy̆əymət tə ʔa ǰx^wniʔs.
It was such a beautiful place there.
- (83) həyθəstəs ʔə tə niʔ ǰx^wte:s, tə smənme:nt x^wθəθiqət, ʔiʔ tə k^waʔk^wə.
He was telling her about the mountains, the forests, and the sea.
- (84) ǰ^wiʔǰ^wiʔaməstəs θə staləss ʔə tə niʔ hay ʔal ʔəy̆əymət ǰx^wtəna:ltəns tə smənme:nt, tə ǰǰte:s tə k^waʔk^wə, ʔiʔ təw mək^w stem.
He was telling her about the beautiful mountains, the ocean, and everything.
- (85) x^wən ǰətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl x^wtəlqən təw^la k^ws nem̄s ʔəw nem̄.
Eventually he asked if they could go there.
- (86) niʔ wəl ʔa:n̄l k^ws nem̄s nem̄ ʔə tə sweʔs ʔa: ǰx^wniʔs.
And she agreed that they could go to his territory.
- (87) hay ʔal hiθ k^wəs wəl mi hayeʔ ʔiməx.
They traveled for a very long time.
- (88) k^win səǰəlnet k^wəs ʔiməx ʔiʔ yelsəs təs ʔə tə leləms, təs ʔə tə cəwmən ʔə ʔ səlilwət.
After many weeks of travel, they arrived at the shores of Tsleil-Waututh.

- (89) səs nəw x^wələləms tθe? səlilwət, λa nəw x^wəšx^wni?s.
And this became the home of the Tsleil-Waututh people.
- (90) hay ʔal qəx memənəs, ʔəmiməθs, sčaləməq^ws, ʔək^wʔik^wiyaʔq^ws, hay ʔal x^wəqəx məsteyəx^w ni? ʔə tθe? niw x^wələləms.
The couple had lots of children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren until their homeland was populated with many people.
- (91) sis λəw x^wəhay ʔal ʔəw x^wəʔiyəs məsteyəx^w k^wəs hay ʔəw x^wəqəx.
The village was filled with many happy people.
- (92) sisəw x^wəʔiyəs məsteyəx^w ni? ʔə tθe? səlilwət.
And the Tsleil-Waututh people were very content.
- (93) ʔi? yaθ nəw hek^wmeʔtəs θə ni? k^wəmət, θe? stqaye? λa tens.
The man kept his promise to his foster mother, the She-Wolf.
- (94) sisəw λa ni? yaθ ʔəw x^wəxətək^wtəs tə ni? ʔə tə leləms ʔi? təw mək^w stem ʔəw hak^wəxəs ʔi? ʔəw λa θe? stqaye? λa ni? sčəxilstx^wəs.
And he made carvings on the house and everything in it, marking them with the emblem of the wolf.
- (95) yaθ ʔəw sheʔk^ws, yaθ ʔəw heʔk^wmeʔtəs ʔi? yaθ ʔəw sq^wi:lq^wəls.
He always remembered and related this history.
- (96) x^wiʔx^wiʔaməstəs tə steʔəx^wəl, ʔi? hay ʔal ʔəy^wstx^wəs tə steʔəx^wəl k^ws čičləməts tθe? sč^wəyəm sq^wəlq^wəls təwλa swiwləs.
The young people loved to hear the story about the young man.

Chapter 3. The sea serpent

This narrative was shared, in English, by the late Annie George. Ms. George was a woman of Squamish descent who married into the Tsleil-Waututh Community. The other two elders that were involved with other two narratives were Ms. George's eldest son Chief Dan George and her youngest son Chief John L. George.

sʔeləqəm ʔiʔ tə swiwləs

The fierce creature and the young man

By Annie George

- (1) ʔiʔ ʔa tə yəwen məsteyəx^w cweʔ cə^wəlq^wəl ʔə k^wəna wəl hiθ.
This is a story that belongs to the first peoples from long ago.
- (2) k^wəs wəl hay ʔi:l hay ʔal θi k^wəs lələlq̄ təna təməx^w, k^wəs wəl hay tə niʔ lələlq̄,
When the big flood was all finished, when the water receded,
- (3) ʔiʔ wil tə hay ʔal θi sʔeləqəm, sʔi:lqəȳ niʔ ʔəʔ səliwətaʔl.
a fierce creature appeared, a two-headed serpent, at Indian Arm.
- (4) səw ne:c̄ tə x^wəlməx^w k^wixətəs ʔə k^w sʔi:lqəȳ.
The First Nations people there called it sʔi:lqəȳ.
- (5) niʔ stʔe ʔə k^w ʔiselə smənme:nt tə niʔ šx^wniʔs k^wəs x^wəsʔaʔk^wəs təwʔa sʔeləqəm,
k^wənel̄s niʔ ʔə tə šx^wlqəʔθ.
The place where that monster was hanging from was like two mountains and the snake was draped across them.

- (6) ʔiʔ nem ʔəw cələq^w tə staləw niʔ ʔəʔ təmtəmix^wtən.
It's at the place where the river comes through, at a place called Belcarra.
- (7) šx^wəhəməstəwət tə ɔəyemən ʔiʔ təw mək^w ʔal stem ni:ʔ niʔ šx^wniʔs.
This is where they brought shells and other things.
- (8) tθeʔ hay ʔal ʔisəl sʔeləqəm, ʔiʔ cʔəyəs.
And this was a very fierce beast and it had two heads.
- (9) ʔiʔ stʔe ʔəw ni:s ʔəw šx^wʔəpəlləc ʔeʔ, ʔiʔ ʔəw sʔəyəs tθeʔ ʔəw sʔəyəs.
It didn't seem to have any tail because at both ends it was a head.
- (10) ʔəwə teʔ niʔ sʔəhəs.
It had no feet.
- (11) ʔəwə teʔ k^wʔ stem nem tsət, niʔ k^wθə nem tsət ʔiʔ nəw ɔay ʔal.
Nothing would ever go close to it, the ones that went close, they would still be approaching, and they would die.
- (12) ʔəwə ni:s yətəs ʔiʔ niʔ ɔay.
If anyone approached, they would die.
- (13) nəw stʔe: ʔəw ni:s ʔəw yəq^w ʔal ʔəw scekwələs.
It was like that—they would just burn up, even the ones that just went by.
- (14) k^wθə niʔ nem hayləwəl ʔiʔ niʔ nem səlc.
The ones that passed this monster had to walk far way around it to get past it.
- (15) ʔəwə k^ws nem s cəq^w ʔə k^wθeʔ niʔ šx^wniʔs k^wθə sʔeləqəm.
They couldn't pass through the place of that fierce creature.

- (16) ni:: nem̄ səlc̄ yəcak^w k^{wəs} nem̄ yələwəl yels nem̄ yələwəl.
They would circle way around in order to pass by.
- (17) hay ʔal̄ ʔəw səli:ʔsiʔ təw mək^w x^{wəlməx^w} məsteyəx^w.
All the native people were very afraid of it.
- (18) ni:ɬ hay ʔal̄ qəl, ʔisəl̄ k^wθeʔ.
It was a very evil thing, this fierce creature.
- (19) mək^w k^{wə}ʔeɬ tə ʔim̄əx məsteyəx^w təw stem ʔal̄ niʔ niʔ ʔim̄əx ʔəwə k^ws nem̄s tsəθət
ʔə k^wθeʔ tə niʔ ʃx^wt̄e:s k^ws hays ʔal̄ ʔisəl̄.
*All the people who travelled by were so afraid of it they would never go close to
that place because the monster was so fierce.*
- (20) stʔe: ʔəw ni:s stʔe: ʔə k^w həyq^w k^{wəs} nəw yəq^w ʔal̄ tə məsteyəx^w k^{wəs} nem̄ tsəθət.
*Those that went close to it would just burn up so everyone was afraid and kept a
distance from it.*
- (21) weʔ tə niʔ ʔim̄əx ʔə tə xixəc̄ ʔə tə x^wθəθiqət, ʔiʔ ʔəwə k^ws nem̄s tsəθət.
The ones that lived in the forest would never go close.
- (22) ni:x^w yəcak^{wəl} ʔə k^{wəs} nem̄ səlc̄əm.
They would circle way around it.
- (23) weʔ tə sq^{wəlq^wələx} ʔiʔ niʔ ʔəw hay k^ws tit̄ələm̄s, ʔənnex^ws k^{wəs} ʔic̄əθət niʔ ʔə tθeʔ
ʔəwə k^ws nem̄s tsəθət.
Even the birds would stop singing and sneak past and not approach it.
- (24) ʔə k^wsəs tecəl̄ tə qəl̄ sweyəl̄, ʔaȳʔ, ʔiʔ yaθ nəw si:ʔsiʔ tə məsteyəx^w.
When bad weather came, stormy weather, the people were so afraid.

- (25) stʔe: ʔə kʷəw sɔ̌waqʷəɫ kʷs ctaməts ʔə kʷθə ʧisəl.
It was like that fierce creature was speaking and something would happen.
- (26) txʷsəli:ʔsiʔ ʔəl tə məsteyəxʷ.
The people were afraid.
- (27) weʔ tə qələm təwʎa sʎeləqəm ʔiʔ ʎa ɲan ʔəw stʔé kʷəw həyqʷ.
Even the eyes of that monster were so fierce, like fire.
- (28) hay ʔəl ʧisəl tə qəqiləms.
Its eyes were very fierce.
- (29) ʔi ʎa kʷəs stʔe: ʔə tθeʔ nəw lq̄e:ntəl kʷəs cʧəyəs cqələm.
And that's how it was—there were no other parts, just heads and eyes.
- (30) ʔəw hay tə ʔaq̄əs kʷəs yəkakʷ kʷəs yələləkʷ.
And the great bald eagle was the only one that would fly by at a distance.
- (31) ʔəw hay niʔ stʔe: kʷəw sc̄ec̄ən ʔəw təw kʷekʷəcət, kʷekʷəc̄nəxʷ tə niʔ ʧxʷte: tθeʔ ʧisəl sʎeləqəm.
And only the eagle was able to see what that fierce creature looked like.
- (32) tə ʔaq̄əs ʔiʔ niʔ təw xʷθiqən kʷəs yəkʷəkʷec̄m ʔiʔ ʧʷəm kʷs nem yələwəl ʔə kʷəs yələləkʷ ʔiʔ niʔ cakʷ yəcicəl.
The eagle would give a loud scream and quickly pass staying high up above it.
- (33) ʔiʔ ʧʷəm kʷs nem yələwəl ʔə kʷəs yələləkʷ ʔiʔ niʔ cakʷ yəcicəl.
He would fly by really fast high up above.
- (34) hay ʔəl ʔəw səli:ʔsiʔ tə məsteyəxʷ.
All the people were so afraid.

- (35) yaθ ʔəw tx^wtəstəsa:s ʔaɪ tə šx^wq^weləwəns.
They were always very pitiful.
- (36) šx^wtʔe:wəñ tə məsteyəx^w, “nix^w ct ʔalə scekwəl k^ws həyeʔs k^wθeʔ ʔisəl sʔeləqəm.”
The people kept wondering, “How long will this go on? Will this monster ever go away?”
- (37) ʔi ʔəwə teʔ k^wɪ we:t nem tsəθət, ʔəwəteʔ k^wɪ wet nem x^wθiwən k^ws ɔayts.
Nobody would get close to it and nobody knew how to kill it.
- (38) ñan ʔəw ʔisəl səsəw si:ʔsimeʔtəm.
They very afraid of this fierce beast.
- (39) x^wθiwən tə məsteyəx^w haʔs nem tsət^wəs ʔe:ɪtən ʔiʔ ʔ^wəm ʔiʔ ʔəw ctamət ʔaɪ tə cɪx^wəlməx^ws.
The people kept thinking if they got close to it then something would happen to their family.
- (40) ɔ^wəq^witəl tə niʔ stətes cleləm niʔ ʔə tθeʔ təmtəmix^wtən.
There were two siblings that lived there at Belcarra.
- (41) ʔa sənʔeʔ θə slənəy.
The eldest was a girl.
- (42) mək^w sweyəl ʔiʔ ʔəw xax^wək^wətəs k^wək^wəcətəs tə sqeʔəqs.
The sister was always bathing her little brother every day.
- (43) x^wən ʔəte ʔiʔ niʔ wəl təs k^wsəw ʔa səw xax^wək^wəm.
Then the day came when that boy started swimming by himself.

- (44) ʎa wəl təs tə silanəms kʷsəw hay ʎaɪ niʔ títəcəm xaxʷəkʷəm.
Then one day her brother was swimming and he dove down.
- (45) nəcəxʷ kʷsəs xiʔxkʷəm ʎiʔ niʔ niʔ wəl təw niʔ nəqəm.
And the sister started worrying because he didn't surface.
- (46) wəl tʰeyəkʷ θəwʎa slənəy sənʎeʔ.
She called all the people and told them that he never came up.
- (47) wəl temətəs tə si:yeyəs, “mi cəwəθ! mi cəwəθ! kʷθə nə sqeʔəq!”
She called out to the people, “Come help me! Come help me! My brother!”
- (48) kʷəyχθət tə məsteyəxʷ sis nem ʎəw ʎa:ɪ ʎə tə snəxʷəl kʷəs nem nem ʎə kʷθə niʔ
šxʷniʔs kʷəsəl xiʔxkʷəm.
*And then the people got in their canoes and went to the place that they were
bathing.*
- (49) niʔ ʎəw kʷəcnəxʷəs kʷθə niʔ kʷəcnəxʷ kʷəs niʔ niʔ ʎə tə ʎəp.
Then one of them saw him in a place that was really deep.
- (50) kʷəs títəcəm niʔ niʔ ʎə tə niʔ šxʷniʔs kʷəs nəqəm.
He was swimming and diving down in that place.
- (51) niʔ nem ce:ltəm təwʎa swiwləs ʎiʔ nəw ta:ntəm ʎaɪ.
They chased the young boy who had left them.
- (52) ʎəwə ni:s yəkʷənnəxʷəs ʎe:ltən.
They couldn't catch him.
- (53) kʷəs wəl təs ʎə ʎ qəm̩qəm̩ələp, ʎiʔ niʔ ʎeʔ wəl kʷəcnəm təwʎa swiwləs,
When they reached the place they call q'umq'umunulhp,

- (54) ʔiʔ ʔa tə shayə́ləqs niʔ šxʷte: kʷəw sləmnewət kʷəs yətítəcəm.
they could see him swimming on the big waves.
- (55) niʔ ʔeʔ wəl nəqəm səs ʔeʔ wəl qəlet təwʔa šxʷniʔs ʔiʔ ʔəwə kʷəs ʔeʔ wíl.
And then he dove again, and they never saw him again for a long time.
- (56) səw šxʷte:wə́nəmətəm səs wəl kʷənnəm ʔə kʷθeʔ sʔeləqəm sʔi:lqəy̆.
So the people thought that the fierce two-headed serpent got ahold of him.
- (57) hay ʔaɫ tsas θə ʔeləxs sənʔeʔ, təssəsstə́nmət kʷəs txʷhínanə́caʔ ʔaɫ niʔ ʔə tθeʔ kʷs
yay̆əs.
The sister was so very sad, wallowing in sorrow, working all alone.
- (58) ʔiʔ yaθ ʔəw xʷθiwə́n θəwʔa slənəy̆ sənʔeʔ kʷs nə́caʔ ceʔ sweyəl ʔiʔ mi ceʔ
hə́nəmət tə sqeʔəqs.
*But the sister always thought that maybe one day her little brother would come
home.*
- (59) məkʷ snet ʔiʔ ʔəw θeytəs tə šxʷʔaʔməts tə sqeʔəqs, sʔʷaʔʷəlstxʷəs mís hə́nəmət.
*Every evening she always prepared her brother's bed for him, waiting for him to
come home.*
- (60) yaθ ʔəw xʷi:yne:m ʔə tə ʔəw ʔi:s mi yəʔiməx, sʔʷaʔʷəl hə́nəməts tə sqeʔəqs.
*She would always listen for her little brother's footsteps, waiting for him to come
home.*
- (61) nəw təs ʔaɫ nə́caʔ silənəm kʷəs sʔʷaʔʷəlstxʷəs, ʔiʔ ʔəwə ʔaɫ kʷəs hə́nəmət tə
sqeʔəqs.
She waited for one whole year, but her younger brother never came home.

- (62) nəca? snet ʔi? x^wi hənəmət təw^la swiwləs.
Then one day, the young man did return home.
- (63) stʔe: ʔəw ni:s ʔəw ʔəwəte? ʔal.
He acted as if nothing had happened.
- (64) ʔəwə ʔal ʔəw ni:s ʔəl sθəθix^w.
It was as if he had never disappeared.
- (65) ʔəw nem ʔal ʔə tə šx^wʔaʔməts ʔi? ni? ʔiʔtət.
He just went right to his bed and went to sleep.
- (66) hay ʔal si:lək^w θə sən^ləʔ k^wəs wəl k^wəcnəx^wəs tə sqeʔəqs.
His older sister was so happy to see her little brother.
- (67) səs ʔəw hay ʔal hi:lək^w θəw^la slənəy.
That lady was very happy.
- (68) ʔi? wəl x^way ʔə tə netəl k^wəs wəl ʔamət q^wəlq^wəlstx^wəs tə šx^wʔaq^waʔs.
The next day, when they got up, he told his sister about the different places that he had traveled to while he was gone.
- (69) səw həy^θəsts k^wsəs ʔal, “mək^w ʔənəcə ni? štəs, haysəl ni? x^wəcak^w, k^wθə ni štəsθ, tənə ʔəw mək^w θi təməx^w.
He told her about the different faraway places that he had traveled to in different parts of the world.
- (70) həy ʔal qəš nec təməx^w ni? k^wəcnəx^wəs.
There were many different nations that he had seen.

- (71) qəǰ kʷəs hay ʔal nəctəl tə niʔ yəǰxʷtətəss kʷəs yəʔiməx, yəkʷekʷəcətəs tə məsteyəxʷ.
There were many different nations that he had traveled through, encountering many people.
- (72) səw θəts təwʎa, “ʔi cən mə ɸanθət ʎa kʷənəs ɸa:yt kʷθə sʔi:lqəy.
Then he told his sister, “I came back because I will kill the two-headed serpent.
- (73) həlit cən tə nə məsteyəxʷ kʷəs hay ʔal təstəsas.
I am going to save our people because they are so pitiful.
- (74) ɸa:yt cən kʷəʔel.”
So I am going to kill him.”
- (75) wəl nem cam ʔə tə sme:nt, smənme:nt səw yəʔaləǰəts tə təǰʷaʔcəʔp.
So he went walking up the mountain and he found a yew tree.
- (76) ʎa hay ʔal kʷamkʷəm tə təǰʷaʔcəʔp.
Yew trees are very strong.
- (77) səw θəyʔtəs ʎa niʔ xʷəhəyʔtəns.
So they can be used for weapons.
- (78) yeʔ səs nem nəmnəsəs kʷθə sʎeləqəm.
And then he went to see the monster.
- (79) yəqʷaʔqʷəl təwʎa swiʷləs kʷəs wəl təs.
He was talking to the monster when he got there.
- (80) “nem čxʷ xʷəʔeyəl! nem čxʷ həyeʔ!
“You had better leave!

- (81) ʔəwə ʧx^w mi ʕeʔ ɔanθət!”
Never come back!”
- (82) ʕa niʔ yəsq^waʔq^wəls ʔiʔ niʔ welxəs tə ʃx^wmatəstəns, təʃ^wacəlp.
Then he aimed at the monster with his weapon.
- (83) hay ʔal k^wamk^wəm tə teləws ʔiʔ ʔəw θəʔit niʔ yəʕəlim tə niʔ slaʔθəts k^wəs wəl
welxəs tə matəstəns.
*His arm was very strong, and he threw his spear at the monster, and his aim was
perfect.*
- (84) wə θəʔit niʔ yətətəs tə həytəns matəstəns ʔə tə niʔ yəʃx^wəhəməstəx^{ws}.
He aimed his spear at a certain spot.
- (85) k^wəs wəl ɔa:ytəs θeʔ sʕələqəm, niʔ wəl təs ʔə k^wθə tqecəs həytəns matəstəns k^wəs
welxəs.
*When he killed the fierce creature, it was the eighth weapon that he threw that
struck it.*
- (86) ʔiʔ tax^w nəw ʕəlim k^wθə niʔ ʃx^wtəsθ.
It landed right at the right place where he aimed.
- (87) sis ʔəw k^weʔtəs k^wθə sʔi:lqəy k^wəs k^wəhəls ʔə tə smənme:nt.
That two-headed serpent let go of the mountains it was holding onto.
- (88) ni:: nem ʔəw x^wk^waθət təwʕa sʔi:lqəy nem x^wk^waθət nem həyeʔ.
That two-headed serpent dragged itself off.
- (89) niʔ nem ʔəw ʕaləc tθeʔ sʔi:lqəy sʕələqəm.
And the fierce two-headed creature went up into the wilderness.

- (90) sis nem ʔəw qʷsəθət ʔə kʷθə ʃacaʔ.
He went into the water at a lake.¹
- (91) ʔiʔ ʃa ʃxʷniʔs ʔiʔ ʔəwə kʷəs ʃeʔ wil.
That's the place where he disappeared.
- (92) ʔəwə teʔ kʷl wet ʃeʔ kʷəcnəxʷ.
And he was never seen again.
- (93) ʃʷəm ʔiʔ ʔəw kʷəcstam ʔə tə xʷəlməxʷ ʔə tə niʔ ʃxʷte:s kʷθə niʔ ʃxʷniʔs kʷəs
sqəqip̄.
The native people can show you where that mountain is that it was hanging onto.
- (94) nəw xʷən swiwəl kʷθə ni:l ʃxʷniʔs kʷəs kʷənəls kʷθeʔ sʔi:lqəȳ niʔ ʔə θə sme:nt.
The place where he was hanging onto can still be seen today.
- (95) kʷθə niʔ yəslənes kʷsəs yəxʷakʷθət wəl cələl ʔiʔ qay, nem ča:ləc ʔə θə sme:nt.
Where he crawled over the mountain when he almost died can still be seen.
- (96) ʔiʔ ʔəwə teʔ kʷl ʃeʔ stem čisəm, ʔəwə teʔ stem sqəlweȳ.
Nothing ever grows there, no kind of vegetation.
- (97) ʔəwə teʔ stem čisəm ʃa yəsləneʔs kʷəs yəxʷakʷθət.
Nothing will grow on the path where he dragged himself along.
- (98) weʔ tə qəčəȳ ʔiʔ ʔəw ʔəwə kʷəs čisəm niʔ ʔə tθeʔ yəsləneʔs.
Even the moss will not grow on the trail where the monster went through.

¹ In discussing this narrative with Jesse Morin, I received information about the surrounding place names from him. We do not have a place name for Buntzen Lake itself, but he was familiar with the story and had place names for nearby land features.

(99) ʕa ʕx^wniʔs ʔiʔ niʔ hay.

That's where it finishes.

(100) niʔ ʔəsep tə sʕ^wəyəm.

That's the end of the story.

(101) niʔ hay.

The end.

Chapter 4. The big serpent

This narrative was shared, in English, by Ms. Annie George and her youngest son Chief John L. George of the Tsleil-Waututh Community.

k^wəsəl teqəⁿəq tə x^wəlməx^w

When the First People vanquished the enemy

By John L. George

- (1) tən̄a sq^wəlq^wəl̄ tən̄ni? ʔə tə yəw̄en məsteyəx^w ʔə k^wən̄a wəl hiθ.
This story is from the First People of long ago.
- (2) hay ʔəl qəḥ məsteyəx^w ni? ʔə tə sq^wḥ^waməx, ḥətəstəm̄ cəwməns tə sk^wəyəw̄s.²
There were many people here in Lower Mainland at the beach called sk^wəyəw̄s living on the shore at Kitsilano.
- (3) ʔi? ni? λ̄əw̄ ni? k^wθə nəcamat ni:ł šx^wni?s ḥətəstəm̄ təmtəmix^wtən.
And there was another place they lived called təmtəmix^wtən (Belcarra).³
- (4) λ̄a šx^wni?s k^wəs stʔe:k^w θələqtəl tə sʔəθnəc ʔi? tə səliłwətaʔ.
This is the place that divides Burrard Inlet from Indian Arm.
- (5) hay ʔəl qəḥ x^wəlməx^w ni? ʔə tθeʔ.
There were a lot of First Nations people there.

² Also known as *ḥaclanəx^w*. The hən̄qəmin̄əm̄ placename *sk^wəyəw̄s* references the area in the City of Vancouver known today as Kitsilano Beach.

³ The placename for the village at the location known today as Belcarra Park was documented by Dr. Wayne Suttles as *təmtəmix^wtən*. Dr. Suttles conjectures that the name comes from the Squamish word *təmix^w* ‘earth/land/soil.’ Suttles cites Musqueam elder Mr. Arnold Guerin as interpreting the un-reduplicated form *təmix^wtən* as meaning ‘crossed logs filled with earth to prevent erosion.’

- (6) λ k^wəʔeɫ təni sq^wəlq^wəl ʔə k^wθə wəl hiθ niʔ ʔə k^wθəw tət məsteyəx^w.
This is the story about our ancestors long ago.
- (7) wəl təm k^wak^wəs ʔiʔ ʔəw x^wən snet, ʔəw x^wən ʔətʔitət tə məsteyəx^w.
It was summertime and it was nighttime, and everyone was still sleeping.
- (8) niʔ ʔəw x^wən lec ʔəw yeɫ sis mi stʔe ʔəw mi:s səq̣ tə sweyəl.
It was still dark—the sky was just starting to brighten a little.
- (9) wəl mi tecəl tə məsteyəx^w tənmi ʔə tə təncałəq^w.
And some people from a northern tribe arrived.
- (10) λ a ʔətəstəm haytə λ a tənmiʔ ʔə tə całəq^w, ʔətəstəm Queen Charlotte Islands,
sk^wiʔk^wθə.
*These were the Haida, from the north, from what's called Queen Charlotte
Islands.*
- (11) niʔ ʔəw x^wən lec ʔiʔ niʔ wəl təs tθeʔ nəcəw̄məx^w ʔiʔ λ a xəmens tə sʔa:ɫ
məsteyəx^w.
It was still dark, and these strangers arrived, the enemy of our people.
- (12) k^wəs wəl tecəl ʔe:ɫtən ʔiʔ ʔəw x^wən ʔətʔitət tə məsteyəx^w, x^wəw̄e teʔ niʔ x^wəy.
When they arrived, the people were still sleeping having not yet woken up.
- (13) ʔiʔ k^wəs nem̄ təs təw λ aləm ʔiʔ λ a k^wəs ʔiləxs ʔə xəs nem̄ yəteqəhəq.
They arrived, coming to make war and conquer.
- (14) hay ʔal ʔeləsəl ʔe:ɫtən.
They were a very fierce people.

- (15) səs mək^w ʔəw ʃ^wa:ytəs tə məsteyəx^w niʔ ʔə tθeʔ.
And they killed all the people there.
- (16) mək^w nəw ʃ^wa:ytəm tə məsteyəx^w ʔiʔ yəysələ tə steʔəx^wəl niʔ ləw^wnamət.
Everyone was killed, except for just two children who fled.
- (17) tə yəysələ steʔəx^wəl, ʔapən ʔiʔ k^w ʃəʔaθən silanəm θə qeməy, ʔiʔ tə sqeʔəqs tʃəm
silanəm, swəyqeʔall.
*The two children were a fourteen-year old girl and her little brother who was just
six.*
- (18) niʔ nem^w ʃəw^wnamət nem^w lew^w.
They managed to flee.
- (19) sisəw ʃəw^wnamət.
They succeeded in escaping.
- (20) sisəw k^we:l ʔe:ltən ʔə tə xəmens niʔ ʃiʃələʃ.
They hid from the warring enemy.
- (21) nəw k^wəcnəx^wəs k^wəs ʃ^wa:ytəm tə ʃx^wəwələy^s tə məsteyəx^ws.
They saw all their family get killed.
- (22) ʔəwə ʔal^w ni:s k^wənnəm.
But the Haida didn't find them.
- (23) sčecəñ nəw k^we:l ʔe:ltən ʔəwə k^wəs k^wayʃθəts.
They really hid and they didn't move.
- (24) sčecəñ nəw ʔənnex^w nəw sčecəx^w ʔal^w ʔe:ltən.
They stayed still and silent.

- (25) kʷəs wəl hay tə ʃiʃələʃ ʔiʔ niʔ ʔiyasəm təwʌləm,
When the warring people were celebrating,
- (26) ʔiʔ ʌa ʃxʷniʔs ʔiʔ niʔ nem qəlet ʌəwʌnamət θxʷaθət tə steʔəxʷəl.
those children concealed themselves and managed to escape.
- (27) niʔ nem xicəθət kʷəs nem kʷe:l.
They went into the bushes to hide.
- (28) yəsəseʔstxʷəs θəwʌ qəməy tə sqeʔəqs kʷəs nem wəl yəxixəcəθət.
The young lady was carrying her little brother going through the bushes.
- (29) hay ʔal plet kʷəs yəxixəcəθət niʔ ʔə tθeʔ sʔəθnəc.
The bushes were very thick, the bushes there on the shores of Burrard Inlet.
- (30) hay ʔal qəʃ teqeʔ ʔiʔ niʔ nem yəxixəcəθəts yəcələqʷθət θəwʌ qəməy yəkʷənətəs
tə sqeʔəqs.
*There were many salal bushes and the young lady pushed through them carrying
her younger brother.*
- (31) hay ʔal ʔayəm kʷəs nem yəxixəcəθət ʔiʔ niʔ nem ʔəw cələqʷnamət.
It was very slow going but she kept pushing through.
- (32) hay ʔal θi sya:yss θəwʌ kʷsəs nem yəcələqʷθət.
It was very hard work pushing her way through.
- (33) cəxʷələʔ ʔiʔ niʔ scəcən ʔəw ʌciwʌ θəwʌ qəməy ʔiʔ nəw ʔənəxʷ ʔiʔ təw qewəm.
Sometimes she got tired, and then she would stop and rest.

- (34) ʔiʔ ʔəw yəkʷənetəs tʰeʔ sqeʔəqs.
She was carrying her little brother.
- (35) haʔ ni ʔciwəs θəwʎa qeməy kʷəs ʔiməx ʔiʔ niʔ xʷceŋəcəm ʔə tə qʷley kʷəs
qeʔəwəm.
When she got tired of walking, they would sit on a log to rest.
- (36) hay ʔal ʔəw si:ʔsiʔ təwʎa sqeʔəqs.
Her little brother was very scared.
- (37) yaθ ʔəw yəχətəstxʷəs, “ʔəwə čxʷ mə si:ʔsiʔəxʷ, qanəq qeʔəq. ʔəwə čxʷ
si:ʔsiʔəxʷ.”
But she kept telling him, “Don’t be afraid, dear little brother. Don’t be afraid.”
- (38) yaθ ʔəw yətʰitʰpetəs tə sqeʔəqs.
She was calming her brother down.
- (39) hay ʔal si:ʔsiʔ təwʎa sqeʔəqs.
He was very afraid.
- (40) hay ʔal qəχ niʔ kʷəcneʔxʷəs tə niʔ slaθəts kʷθə nəlcəwməxʷ.
He had seen what the strangers had done.
- (41) hay ʔal cakʷ kʷsəs yəʔiməx, yəxəʔetəs tə sqeʔəqs.
She walked very far, carrying her little brother on her hip.
- (42) hay ʔal hiθ kʷəs yəʔiməx ste: ʔə kʷ χəʔaθən sweyəl kʷəs ʔiməx.
For a long time, they walked—it must have been around four days.
- (43) hay ʔal cakʷ niʔ šxʷnəms nem təs ʔə kʷθə χətəstəm təmtəmixʷtən kʷəs yəʔiməx.
It was far to where they were going, and they got to Belcarra.

- (44) hay ʔaɫ cak^w ʔiʔ niʔ θəɫ ʔəw niʔ k^wθə x^wəɫməx^w ʔə k^wθeʔ ʃətəstəm təmtəmɪx^wtən.
It was really far to where the First Nations people lived at Belcarra.
- (45) nəw k^wəcnəm ʔə tθeʔ məsteyəx^w k^wəs wəl nem təs yək^wənətəl ʔə tə sqeʔəqs.
The people saw her arriving together with her little brother.
- (46) səcəcən hay ʔaɫ ʔəw ʔəl yəsɫciws θəwɫa qeməy.
The young girl was totally exhausted.
- (47) tiyaʃ^w təwɫaləm məsteyəx^w sisəw ʔaʃ^wəstəm ʔə tə qaʔ, qaʔqaʔstəm ʔə tə qaʔ ʔiʔ
ʃɫastəm.
The people got busy and gave them water and food.
- (48) wəl ɫa ʔaɫ sisəw nəq^w tə sqeʔəqs k^wəs hay ʔaɫ ʔəw ɫciws.
And her little brother fell asleep right away. He was so very tired.
- (49) ptemətəm ʔə tə si:yeyəs, “niʔ ʃx^w ʔalə ctamət?
Her relatives asked her, “What happened?”
- (50) nəcim ʔalə ʔənʃx^wʔəw yəhi:nənəcaʔ ʔaɫ?
Why are you here all by yourselves?
- (51) niʔ ʔənəc k^wθən ʃɫx^wəɫməx^w?”
Where is your family?”
- (52) q^wəlq^wəl θəwɫa, “mək^w nəw ʃ^wa:ytəm k^wθə ʃɫx^wəɫməx^w ct.
So she spoke, “All of my family was killed.
- (53) tx^wʔəwəteʔ.
There is nobody left.

- (54) λa k^wθə x^wəlməx^w tən̄ni? ʔə tə caləq^w, λa ni? ʃ^wa:yt.
It's the people from the north that killed them.
- (55) ʔi ct ʔiʔtət ʔi? ni? x^wənīnsaləm.
We were sleeping when they swarmed us.
- (56) mək^w nəw ʃ^wa:ytəm təw mək^w wet si:yeyə ct ʃx^wəwələy ct.
They killed everyone, all our friends and family.
- (57) ʔi ct ʔəw tx^way ʔal ʔi? tənə sqeʔəq.
There's only me and my little brother.
- (58) ni? ct k^we:l sict ʔəw λəw̄namət.”
We hid and then we escaped.”
- (59) səw ptemətəs tə hiw̄aq^w, “ʃ^wəm ʔə ʃx^w ʔi? ʃewətəlx^w?
So they asked the chief, “Can you help us?”
- (60) s̄laλəm̄ k^ws ʃiləʃstəx^ws k^wθə tən̄ni? ʔə tə caləq^w məsteyəx^w.
We'd better attack the people from the north.
- (61) maλəθət ct ʔə k^wθə ni? slaʔθəts k^wsəs x^wəmnəc tə sʔa:ʔl məsteyəx^w.”
We need to take revenge for how they wiped out our people.”
- (62) səw θəts k^wθə ʃx^wsiʔəms, “sk^wey, sk^wey k^ws nem̄ ct ʃiləʃ.
So the chief said, “We can't. It's impossible for us to war with them.
- (63) tθeʔ məsteyəx^w ʔi? n̄an ʔəw ʃqeləc.
There are too many of those people.

- (64) təna ɪnimət ʔiʔ ʔi ct ʔəw kʷi:nə ʔaɪ.
There are not so many of us.
- (65) ʎeʔ wət iʰixʷəθət θəwʎa ɟeməy, “iʰixʷəm ɪə, iʰixʷəm ɪeʔ!
The young lady pleaded again, “Please! Please!
- (66) nem ct maʎəθət ʔə kʷθə xəmen ct.
We must take revenge on our enemy.
- (67) ʂxʷʔəys kʷəns nem ʔəw kʷintəlstəxʷ kʷθeʔ təncaɪəqʷ məsteyəxʷ.
It’s better if we take action against those northern people.
- (68) sʎaʎəm kʷs maʎəθət ct ʔə kʷθə niʔ sleʔtewət kʷθə sʔa:ʔɪ məsteyəxʷ.”
We’d better take revenge for what they did to our people.”
- (69) ʎeʔ wət iʰixʷəθət θəwʎa ɟeməy, “iʰixʷəm! iʰixʷəm!
The young lady pleaded again, “Please! Please!
- (70) qʷəlstəxʷ tə səwəyqəʔ, “nem ce:p kʷintəlstəxʷ kʷθə təncaɪəqʷ məsteyəxʷ.”
Say to your men folk, “Go and attack the northern people.”
- (71) iʰixʷəm.”
Please.”
- (72) ʎeʔ wət θət tə hiwəqʷ, “skʷey kʷs nem ct ʂiləxtəl ʔə kʷθeʔ, nan ʔəw qʂeləc.”
But the chief said, “We can’t fight them because there are too many.”
- (73) hay ʔaɪ ʔəw sʂleɪcl θəwʎa.
She was very disappointed.

- (74) “n̄an ʔəw sk̄wey k̄ws nem̄ ct.
“We really can’t go.
- (75) n̄an ʔəw q̄xel̄əc k̄wθeʔ t̄ənni ʔə k̄wθeʔ cal̄əq̄w.
There are too many of those people from the north.
- (76) ʔiʔ n̄an ʔəw x̄el̄əsəl̄.
And they are too fierce.
- (77) sk̄wey k̄ws nem̄ ct x̄il̄əx̄.
We can’t make war on them.
- (78) sk̄wey k̄ws nem̄ ct x̄il̄əxt̄əl̄.
We can’t fight them.
- (79) x̄wəmn̄əctal̄əm x̄w̄əm ct ʔiʔ ʔəw̄k̄wtal̄əm.
They will wipe us out.
- (80) n̄an ʔəw q̄xel̄əc.”
There are too many of them.”
- (81) λ̄eʔ wəl̄ t̄īt̄īθ̄əx̄w̄əθət θəw̄λ̄a q̄em̄əȳ, t̄īt̄īθ̄əx̄w̄əθət, t̄īt̄īθ̄əx̄w̄əθət.
The girl pleaded and pleaded again and again.
- (82) ʔiʔ ʔəwə s̄liʔəs k̄ws nem̄s x̄il̄əxt̄əl̄.
But he didn’t want to make war on them.
- (83) hay ʔal̄ tsas t̄ə šx̄w̄q̄wel̄əwəns θəw̄λ̄a q̄em̄əȳ.
The young lady was very sad.

- (84) mək^w nəw x^wəmnəctəm k^wθə c̣ḷx^wəlməx^ws tx^w ʔəwəteʔ.
All of her family had been wiped and there were none left.
- (85) ʔiʔ ʔəw ʔəwə tə niʔ šx^wtəss ʔəwə ṣḷiʔəs k^ws nems ʃiləʃ.
But he still refused to go to war.
- (86) ʔəwə ṣḷiʔəs k^ws nems maʃəθət.
He didn't want to go take revenge.
- (87) hay ʔal ʔəw sḷciws θəwʃa qeməy̆.
The young lady was very tired.
- (88) hay ʔal cak^w ʔi mi šx^wʔiməxs.
She had walked very far.
- (89) x^wən ʃətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl ʔitət θəwʃa qeməy̆.
And finally, that young lady fell asleep.
- (90) k^wəs ʔitət θəwʃa qeməy̆, ʔiʔ wəl qəlqələθən ʔiʔ nəw təw ʃelə ʔal k^wθə niʔ
sqəlqələθəns.
In her sleep she had a very curious dream.
- (91) k^wθeʔ sqəlqələθəns ʔiʔ ʃa tə sqeʔəqs ʔiʔ θəwʃa niʔ niʔ ʔə tə cəwmən ʔə tə
k^waʃk^wə.
In her dream, she and her little brother were down on the beach.
- (92) k^wəs qəlqələθəns ʔiʔ niʔ niʔ ʔə tə cəwmən wəl mi tecəl tə shay̆ələq, hay ʔal θi:
shay̆ələq.
She was dreaming that when they were on the beach a big wave rolled in.

- (93) ʔiʔ yəsɔ́qəqəʔ tə sʎeləqəm, sʔi:lqəy̆.
And on it was a fierce creature, a two-headed serpent.
- (94) hay ʔal̆ ʔəw siʔsiɱeʔtəs θəwʎa qeməy̆ sisəw kʷənətəs tə sqeʔəqs ʔiʔ nem̆ cəmətəs
 sisəw ʃʷənxenəm.
*The young lady was terrified, she grabbed her little brother, and she carried him
 away running.*
- (95) nem̆ lew̆.
She fled.
- (96) wəl̆ qʷəlstəm ʔə tθeʔ sʎeləqəm niʔ təs ʔə tθeʔ cəwmən.
The creature who had come up to the beach spoke to her.
- (97) qʷəlstəm ʔiʔ hay ʔal̆ xʷsəwe:mqən̆ θəwʎa kʷəs̆ mi qʷəl̆qʷəl̆stəm θəwʎa qeməy̆.
He spoke to her very softly.
- (98) “ʔəwə ʃxʷ mə si:ʔsiɱeʔθam̆xəxʷ.
“Don’t be frightened of me.
- (99) ʔəwə cən cəstame:n̆.
I’m not going to do anything to you.
- (100) ʔəwə cən kʷənəs si:ʔsiʔstam̆.
I didn’t come here to scare you.
- (101) ʔi cən mi tecəl̆ kʷənəs cewəθamə.
I came here to help you.
- (102) xʷi:nem̆ ʃxʷ ʔə təna niʔ ceʔ nə syəθəsθamə.
Listen to what I am going to tell you.

- (103) ʔiʔ ʎa ceʔ kʷənəs ćewəθamə.
And it will be to help you.
- (104) ʎa ceʔ yəšxʷtes kʷəns yəkʷekʷəcət təθ qeʔəq.
This is how you are going to look after your brother.
- (105) ʎa hay ʔaɪ ʔəw wəl ʎiʔ təθ qeʔəq.
Your young brother is a very important person.
- (106) sćecəñ čxʷ ʔəw kʷekʷəcət təθ qeʔəq.
You will really have to look after your little brother.
- (107) niʔ ceʔ xʷəkʷamkʷəm šxʷneʔəm ʔəw ni:s ceʔ ʔə kʷ nəcaʔ sweyəl.
He will become a very strong shaman one day.
- (108) haʔ čxʷ kʷəʔeɪ kʷekʷəcət ʔiʔ tel ʔə tə niʔ nə sweʔ nə sqʷeʔqʷəl tə šxʷtes kʷəns
kʷekʷəcət,
*If you follow what I am suggesting and look after him the way I am instructing
you,*
- (109) ʔiʔ ʎa ceʔ səw wiɪ kʷ hay ʔaɪ ʔəw scekʷəl ʔaɪ,
something special will come of it,
- (110) ʔiʔ məkʷ ceʔ wet ʔəw xʷi:yne:m ʔə tə sweʔs sqʷels.
and everyone will listen to what he will say.
- (111) ni: čxʷ taʔəlθən ʔə tə niʔ nə sqʷeʔqʷəl?
Do you understand what I am saying?

- (112) ni: čx^w ce? tel ?ə tə ni? nə sq^we?q^wəl?
Are you going to follow my instructions?
- (113) ni: čx^w ce? x^wi:yⁿe:m?”
Are you going to listen?”
- (114) “?əy̌, ni? cən ce? tel ?ə tə ni? ?əθ q^we?q^wəl.
“Okay, I will follow your instructions.
- (115) mək^w tə ni? ?əθ q^wel ?i? ?a ce? ?əw təlməte:ň.”
Everything that you have said, I will follow.”
- (116) ?əw šx^wte:wən ?al θəw^la qeməy̌, “?a ce? mə təna s^leləqəm ?a ce? cewətəlx^w.
And the girl was thinking, “This monster is the one that is going to help us.
- (117) ?a ce? ma^ləθət ?ə k^wθə ni? x^wəmnəcəm nə člx^wəlməx^w.”
He will be the one to take revenge for the genocide of my people.”
- (118) wəl mi st?e: k^wəw l̄xiləx təw^la s^leləqəm, ?a k^ws čləmətewət.
And it was like the monster was standing up so he could be heard.
- (119) sisəw ?ax^wəstəm θəw^la qeməy̌ ?ə tə sq^wel yəšx^wte:s ce?
And he gave the young lady his instructions.
- (120) nem̌ čx^w nem̌ ?ə k^wθə hiwəq^w ?əns ?əw θətstəx^w ?əw nem̌əs cəmstx^wəs k^w k^wi:nə
səwəy̌qe? nem̌ ?ə tə caləq^w.
Go to the chief and tell him to take so many men and go up to the north.
- (121) ?i? ?a ce? θəyt k^wəθ qələcəs.
And they are going to build a shelter.

- (122) ǰa ce? ʔəθwe? ʔəθ qǽlacəs ʔi? təθ qeʔəq.
And that is going to be the shelter for you and your little brother.
- (123) ʔi? ǰa šxʷʔəys kʷəns scəcən ce? ʔəw hay ʔal ʔi? təθ qeʔəq.
It's going to be best that you live alone with your little brother.
- (124) ǰa ce? ʔəθ šxʷni?
That will be your place.
- (125) ʔi? kʷəs ce? yəcičəsəm ʔi? ʔəwəte? kʷl wet kʷəcnəxʷ.
No one must ever be allowed to see him.
- (126) scəcəns čxʷ ʔəw hay ʔal ni? ʔə ǰ nəwə.
It really will be just you alone.
- (127) sǰaǰəm kʷs ʔəwə teʔs wet kʷəcnəxʷ
It's best if no one ever sees him
- (128) hay ce? ʔəw ni:s wəl čisəm, wəl təs kʷθə silanəms.
until he reaches a certain age.
- (129) θəstəxʷ čxʷ ʔe:ltən ʔəw neməs ce? hənəməstəm kʷ sʔəltən ʔə ǰ nəwə.
You tell them to bring food for you to eat.
- (130) məkʷ xʷneʔənt ʔi? neməs čxʷ lələqətəs kʷ sʔəltən.
Every evening they will lay down your food.
- (131) ʔəwə neməs scəcən ʔəw təs ʔə tə caləqʷ.
They will not go all the way up the mountain.

- (132) nem̄ ʔəw niʔ ʔaɫ ʔə tə ʔənwəl.
They will only go halfway.
- (133) ʔiʔ nəwə nem̄ kʷəkʷənət ʔən̄ səw hənəm̄stəxʷ ʔə tən̄ leləm̄.
And you will be the one to go get it and bring it to your dwelling.
- (134) məkʷ netəl kʷsəs̄ mis̄ wəl̄ wil̄ θə syaqʷəm̄ ʔiʔ mī čxʷ ʔatəxʷstəxʷ təθ qeʔəq kʷs̄
xakʷəms̄ ʔi ʔə tən̄a.
Every morning at sunrise, bring your brother down to this shore to bathe.
- (135) ʔən̄ səw θətstəxʷ kʷθə hiw̄aqʷ, “ʔəwətəʔs̄ čxʷ wet̄ mī ʔew̄ə ʔə tən̄a.”
And you will tell the chief, “Nobody is to come here.”
- (136) wə hay kʷs̄ wəl̄ mis̄ xʷəcicəl̄ θə syaqʷəm̄, yeɫs̄ nem̄s̄ ʔə tə cecəw̄.
When the sun is high, you will leave the beach.
- (137) ʔiʔ haʔ čxʷ mī xakʷəm̄stəxʷ kʷəθ qeʔəq ʔiʔ sc̄əc̄ən̄ čxʷ ʔəw yəhay ʔaɫ
yəhi:n̄an̄əcaʔ čxʷ ʔaɫ.
And when you bring your brother to bathe, make sure you are all alone.
- (138) ʔəns̄ nem̄ ʔəw ʔim̄əxstəxʷ təθ qeʔəq, nem̄ čxʷ ʔim̄əxstəxʷ ʔə tə caləqʷ, ʔa kʷs̄
xʷəkʷam̄kʷəms̄, kʷənnəxʷs̄ kʷθə šxʷkʷam̄kʷəms̄.
*Take your brother for long walks in the forests so that he becomes strong and gets
his powers.*
- (139) təθ ʔəɫtən̄ ʔiʔ ʔəw hays̄ čxʷ tə sməyəθ ʔiʔ tə sc̄e:ɫtən̄, ʔəw hays̄ čxʷ ʔəθ
ʔəɫtən̄stəxʷ.
The diet you will feed him will be only deer meat and salmon.
- (140) ʔən̄ səw ʔaɫəχ̄ət ceʔ kʷ tən̄ni ʔə tə caləqʷ ʔəθ mam̄ələqʷət kʷθə qaʔqaʔtəs̄.
You will gather herbs in the woods to mix into a drink for him.

- (141) ʔiʔ ʔəw ʎas čx^w k^wθəθ qeʔəq, ʔaləχət k^wθəθ yał ceʔ k^wθəñ hayq^w.
You will have your younger brother get wood for your fire.
- (142) mək^w sweyəl ʔiʔ ʔəw hənəməstəx^w čx^w k^w qəcəy ʔə tən ləχənəptən.
You must put moss on the floor of your shelter every day.”
- (143) ʔiʔ yaθ čx^w ʔəw heʔk^w k^ws scəcəns ʔəw χəws ʔə tə mək^w sweyəl ʔə k^wθə qəcəy mi
 ʔaləχətəx^w.
And always remember that the moss must be freshly gathered every day.
- (144) ʔiʔ wəl mi tecəl k^wθə hay ʔal θi shayələq.
And a really big wave arrived.
- (145) sisəw k^wəyχətə ʔiʔ niʔ hayeʔ tə sʎeləqəm, yəsqəqəʔ ʔə k^wθə shayələq.
And that fierce creature got upon the wave and departed.
- (146) wəl x^way θəwʎa qeməy, ʔiʔ ʔəw heʔk^wmeʔtəs tə niʔ sqəlqələθəns.
When the girl woke up, she remembered her dream.
- (147) ʔiʔ ʔəw sʎeləq tə sqeʔəqs, stənəstəm niʔ ʔə tə šx^wniʔs k^wəs ʔiʔtət.
Her little brother was lying down where she was sleeping.
- (148) k^wek^wəcətəs tə sqeʔəqs, scəcəq ʔə tə niʔ šx^wte:s tə sqeʔəqs.
She was looking at her little brother, astonished by his situation.
- (149) səw χacθət θəwʎa qeməy, “hay ʔal qəχ nə sya:ys ceʔ.
The girl was planning, “It’s really going to be a lot of work for me.
- (150) ʔiʔ ʎa tə nə sqeʔəq ʎa ceʔ hay ʔal ʔəw scəcən cən ceʔ ʔəw k^wek^wəcət.”
I will have to really watch over my little brother.

- (151) k^wənətəs sisəw seʔtəs nem ʔiməxstx^wəs tə sqeʔəqs.
She picked up her little brother and walked off with him.
- (152) sisəw neməstx^wəs ʔə tə təw x^wθəθiqət, leqətəs, stətəñ.
Then she carried him into the bushes where there was covering, and she laid him down.
- (153) x^way təw^la saʔsəq^wt k^wəs wəl leqətəm.
The little brother woke up as she laid him down.
- (154) səw θəstəm ʔə θə sxəyəls, “ʔəw slələq čx^w ʔal ʔi ʔə təna.
And the older sister said, “Lie there, and keep quiet.
- (155) ʔəwə čx^w k^wəyχθətəx^w. ʔəwə čx^w mi:x^w ʔəmət.
Don't move or sit up.
- (156) ʔəñnex^w čx^w ʔal.”
Just keep still.”
- (157) x^wənxenəm θəw^la qeməy sisəw nem ʔə tə hiwəq^w.
She went running down the beach where the chief was.
- (158) nem yəθəstəs ʔə tə niʔ sqəlqələθəns.
She told him about her dream.
- (159) hay ʔal x^wəscəcéq.
The chief was deeply impressed by what he heard.

(160) ni? ʔəw statəlstx^{wəs} təw^λa hiwəq^w, nəw statəlstx^{wəs} k^{wəs} ni? k^wθə s^λeləqəm sʔi:lqəy̆.

The chief knew about the fierce two-headed sea monster.

(161) ʔi? λa nəw šx^wtē:s k^ws yaθs ʔəw si:ʔsiʔmeʔtəm ʔə tə məsteyəx^w ni? ʔə tθeʔ.

It was greatly feared by the tribe.

(162) sisəw ʔa:təs q̆pətəs tə məsteyəx^w səwəy̆q̆eʔ məsteyəx^ws.

The Chief summoned his men together.

(163) səw θətstəx^ws tə səwəy̆q̆eʔ, “θəyəwtx^{wəm} ce:p tə ni? sq^wels θə q̆eməy̆.”

He told the men, “Build them a shelter according to the girl’s directions.”

(164) sisəw θəʔit ʔəw θəytəm k^wθeʔ.

And they in fact built that shelter.

(165) θəyəwtx^{wəm} k^wθə sq̆ələcəs ni? ʔə tə caləq^w.

They prepared that shelter up in the woods.

(166) sisəw q̆pətəs tə slənlenəy̆.

Then he called the ladies together.

(167) səw θətstx^{wəs} tə slənlenəy̆, “nem̆ ce:p yaθ ʔəw niʔstəx^w k^wθə sʔəltən.

He told the ladies, “Go put food every day at the designated place.

(168) hənəmstəx^w ce:p ʔə k^wθə ni? šx^wniʔs k^wθə ni? sq^wels θə q̆eməy̆.

You will follow the girl’s instructions.

(169) nem̆ stʔe:k^w x^wəʔənwəl ʔə tə sme:nt.”

You will go only half-way up the mountain.”

- (170) sisəw mək^w wet ni? yəθəstəs, q^wəlq^wəl, “sk^wey k^wəns nem nem ?ə tə ni? θətstx^we:n.
And he told everyone, “You’re prohibited from going to where I’ve told you.
- (171) ni? x^wə?əwə s?a:ʔləs ʃ^wte? ?ə tə caləq^w.”
Those woods are going to be off limits for us.”
- (172) ni? ʃe?ʃe?stəm k^ws nem^s nem.
And they were forbidden to go there.
- (173) yaθ nəw sa:y, yaθ nəw sθəθi?stx^wəs tə ʃx^wq^weləwəns.
They were always prepared, and they set their minds ...
- (174) sis nem ?əw k^wek^wəcətəs tə sqe?əqs ni? ni? ?ə tə caləq^w.
So she was looking after her brother in the woods.
- (175) ni? nem hənəməstx^wəs tə s?əltən, hənəməstx^wəs ?ə tə sqe?əqs.
She kept bringing food to her little brother.
- (176) k^wəs ?əltənstx^wəs, nəw k^wənatəl k^wəs ?i?ʔtən.
When she fed him, they would eat together.
- (177) təw x^wəna x^wne?ənt, snet, ?i? ni? ni? ?ə tə caləq^w k^wəs ?itət.
The first night they went to sleep up there in the woods.
- (178) ni? ni? ?ə tə təw sk^wek^wəlt k^wəs ?itət.
They hid themselves and went to sleep.
- (179) k^wəs wəl qəlet weyəl ?i? ni? wəl nem ?ə tə ?əw swe?s ʃx^wq^wələscəss.
The next day, he went to his own shelter.

- (180) hiθ, tu:x^w silanəm tetəl hənəməstx^{wəs} tə ni? syəsθəstewət ?ə k^wθə s^lələqəm.
For a long time they followed what they had been told by the fierce creature.
- (181) mək^w sweyəl ?i? nem xax^{wək^wəm}.
Every day he went bathing.
- (182) ?əwə k^{ws} ?əlep^s k^w nəca? sweyəl, yaθ ?əw mək^w sweyəl ?i? nem xak^wəm ?ə tə
xay^l qa?.
He didn't skip even one day; each day he bathed in the cold water.
- (183) nem ?iməx ?ə tə caləq^w, cak^w tə ni? šx^{wənəm} k^{ws} nem^s ?iməx.
He went walking in the woods, going long distances.
- (184) yaθ ?əw yəqəptəs tə sləxən ni? ?ə tə caləq^w.
They always gathered medicinal herbs up where they walked.
- (185) ?i? tə qəcəy swe?stəx^{ws} tə leləms.
And they used moss for their dwelling.
- (186) tu:x^w silanəm k^{ws} ?əw haləy ?al ?i? tə sqe?əqs ni? ?ə tθe? caləq^w.
For nine years, she and her younger brother were all alone in the woods.
- (187) nəca? sweyəl ?i? nem xax^{wək^wəm} ni? ?ə tə cəwmən.
One morning he was bathing down at the beach.
- (188) ni? ?ə tθe? cecəw k^{wəs} xi?xk^{wam}, hi:wələm k^{wənətəl} ?ə tə sqe?əqs.
She and her little brother were down at the beach swimming and playing together.
- (189) qəx ?al tə ni? sələθəts k^{wəs} hənqəm hi:wələmtəl.
They were doing various things, diving and playing together.

- (190) x^wən ǰətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl ǰiʔ tə sʔi:lqəy̆ sʔeləqəm, niʔ wił niʔ ʔə tθeʔ niʔ ǰx^wniʔs.
Suddenly the fierce two-headed serpent appeared close to where they were.
- (191) səsəw tsʔləmətəs tə sʔi:lqəy̆ tə sqeʔəqs k^wənətəmsəs nem̆ ʔəw ticəm nem̆ nəqəm.
Then the serpent jumped for her little brother and grabbed him and swam with him, diving under the waves.
- (192) te:m θəwʔla qeməy̆, θətsx^wəs tə sʔeləqəm, “niʔ ǰx^w ʔalə cəstəx^w k^wθə nə sqeʔəq?”
The girl called out and said to the monster, “What did you do to my little brother?”
- (193) ǰe:m̆ θəwʔla qeməy̆ k^wəs tewəqən̆.
The girl was crying and wailing.
- (194) ǰx^wte:wən̆ k^ws sq^wsiws k^wθə sqeʔəqs.
She thought her little brother was drowned.
- (195) niʔ k^wənətəs k^wθeʔ sʔeləqəm k^wθə sʔiʔqəl̆.
The creature took the boy away.
- (196) sisəw stʔe:k^w x^wələk^wtəs səs nem̆ ʔəw hayeʔstx^wəs.
He coiled around him and took him away.
- (197) ʔiʔ niʔ ʔeʔ wəl wił təwʔla sʔeləqəm, niʔ ʔə tə təw xexəm̆ k^wəs qəl̆et wił.
But the Serpent reappeared, coming into the shallow water.
- (198) θətstəm̆ θəwʔla qeməy̆, “ʔəwə ǰx^w m̆ə si:ʔsiʔəx^w.
He told the girl, “Don’t be afraid.
- (199) m̆i ceʔ ʔəw qanθət k^wθəθ qeʔəq.
Your brother will return.

- (200) ʔəwə čx^w təmteməx^w ʔiʔ ʔaʔənt k^w wet k^ws nems ʔə k^wθəθ qələcəs.”
Don't ever let anyone enter your shelter.”
- (201) nem selc təw^la ʔə tə shayələq, hay ʔal θi s^leləqəm.
The big monster kept circling around the big waves that were coming in.
- (202) k^wəs wəl mi hik^w tə hayələq, hay ʔal θi shayələq.
Then there was a really big surge from the in-coming tide.
- (203) ʔiʔ ^la niʔ šx^wniʔs ʔiʔ niʔ nem hayeʔ tθeʔ s^leləqəm.
That was when the monster departed.
- (204) stʔe: ʔə ni:s t^θəyk^w θəw^la qeməy.
The girl was shocked.
- (205) ʔəw tx^wʔənnex^w ʔal ʔamət.
She just sat still.
- (206) sisəw xəctəs k^wθə niʔ sq^wels k^wθə s^leləqəm.
She thought about what the serpent had just said.
- (207) sis ^ləw hək^wmeʔtəs k^wθə nəw x^wənaʔəl ni:ʔ sq^wels k^wəs x^wəna sqəlqələθəns.
She remembered his initial instructions from her first dream.
- (208) ni:: stʔe qanθət cam.
She climbed back up the mountain.
- (209) xələlcl θəw^la qeməy k^wəs scəcən ʔəw tx^whi:nənəcaʔ ʔal, ʔəw t^xay ʔal.
The girl was sad about being all alone.

- (210) səs šx^wte:wəns, “ni:x^w ce? ʔalə scek^wəl k^ws hiθs ʔi? yełs ce? smis qəlet ɟa:nθət k^wθə nə sqe?əq?”
She wondered, “How long will it be before my little brother returns?”
- (211) ni:: nem təw ʔəl hiθ ʔi? wəl mi yəqanθət k^wəs ʔəl nem ʔəmxasəm.
Quite a while later, she was returning from a walk.
- (212) yək^wənetəs tə sleləxən ni:ł qpetəs.
Her arms were full of herbs that she had gathered.
- (213) k^wəs wəl nem təs ʔə tə šx^wqələcs, təs ʔə tə xels, ʔi? wəl k^wəcnəx^wəs tə swəyqe?.
When she got to the shelter and reached the door, she saw a man.
- (214) ni? sleləq tə swəyqe?, scənewəs ni? ʔə tə šx^wʔaməts tə sqe?əqs.
That man was lying on her little brother’s bed.
- (215) k^weɽtəs tə ni? k^wənetəs, səs nem ʔəw tiya?x^w nem.
She dropped her bundle and rushed over to him.
- (216) səw qəlnəx^wəs tθe? swəyqe? ni? ni? səniw ʔə tə leləms.
She scolded that man for invading her privacy.
- (217) x^way tθe? swəyqe? sisəw cələwθət.
The man woke up and turned over.
- (218) səw x^wnayəməs ʔi? ʔa tə sqe?əqs.
And he was smiling, and it was her little brother.
- (219) hay yəx^w ʔal x^wəm k^wəs cisəm ʔa šx^wəs ʔəwə k^wł pətnəx^wəs.
He’d grown so tall that she could hardly recognize him.

- (220) *ḷa kʷəs wəl qʷel ʔiʔ yelsəs pətnəxʷəs kʷs ḷas tə sqeʔəqs.*
But when he spoke, she realized that it was her little brother.
- (221) *ʔəw xʷi:neʔ ʔal təwḷa swiwləs kʷəs ʃa:ʃəməθət θəwḷa sənl̥eʔ ʔə tə niʔ ʃxʷtes*
kʷəs hay ʔal si:lsəlqʷmeʔtəm kʷəsət ʔəwəteʔ.
He listened to his elder sibling sobbing about how much she missed him when he
was gone.
- (222) *xʷən ʃətə ʔiʔ wəl θətstəm ʔə tə sqeʔəqs, “ʔəw təw siʔamətəs ʔal cexʷəl.”*
Her little brother told her, “Calm down and stop crying.”
- (223) *səw yəsθəstəs θə sxəyəls ʔə tə ʃxʷtes kʷθə niʔ sḷiʔs kʷs slaʔθəts θə sxəyəls.*
Then he told his sister what she needed to do.
- (224) *kʷəs wəl qʷel tθeʔ sqeʔəqs ʔiʔ hay ʔal ʔəw yəsḷqil, yəsθəθəy tə sqʷels.*
When her young brother spoke, his words were very clear and proper.
- (225) *nəw stʔe:kʷ siʔem məsteyəxʷ kʷθə niʔ ʃxʷte:s kʷəs yəqʷeqʷəl.*
The way he was speaking was in the tone of an important person.
- (226) *nem ʃxʷ ceʔ kʷecət kʷθə hiwəqʷ.*
“You must go see the Chief.
- (227) *çet ʃxʷ ʔəw yəlqʷtəs kʷθə ʔəpe:lə ʔiʔ kʷ nanəcaʔ səwəyqəʔ.*
Tell him to choose eleven of his men.
- (228) *θətstəxʷ ʃxʷ ʔəw ʃteʔəməs ʔə kʷ ʔapən ʔiʔ kʷ ʔiselə matəstən tən̥niʔ ʔə tə*
təʃʷaʔcəlp.
Tell them to make twelve spears out of yew wood.

- (229) ʔiʔ s̥ečeə́n̄ čxʷ ʔəw ʔə́yaʔθ kʷθə t̥xʷaʔcəlp̄ niʔ ceʔ θəytəs.
And make the yew wood have a very sharp point .
- (230) sa:ýstəxʷs čxʷ kʷ sənixʷəls, hakʷəxəs ceʔ.
Get the canoes ready, the ones that they will use.
- (231) θayθət ceʔ kʷs ʔiʔxəls, ʔa kʷs ʃʷəʃʷəms kʷs ʔəxəls.
They must practice paddling until they can paddle swiftly.
- (232) niʔ ceʔ stʔe: ʔə kʷ ʔapən ʔiʔ kʷ ʔiseləs sweyəl kʷs θayθəts.
They have twelve days to prepare.
- (233) niʔ ceʔ kʷəʔel niʔ ʔə kʷθeʔ ʔiʔ nem̄ cən ʔaxʷ ʔə tə cecəw̄.
And that will be when I will go down to the shore.
- (234) ʔiʔ ʔəwə čxʷ θəl qʷi:lqʷələxʷ ʔə tə niʔ nə ʃacθət kʷθə niʔ ʃecte:n̄.
Do not tell them what I am planning.
- (235) ʔiʔ nem̄ cən ceʔ nem̄əstəxʷ ʔe:ltən ʔə ʔ səlilwətaʔl̄.
I intend to take them up Indian Arm.
- (236) səw ptem̄ θəwʔa slənə́y, “ni:: čxʷ ceʔ q̄a:yt kʷθə s̄lələqəm, sʔi:lqə́y?”
So his sister asked, “Are you going to kill the two-headed monster?”
- (237) “hee, nem̄ tst ceʔ q̄a:yt kʷθə s̄lələqəm.
“Yes, we will kill the monster.
- (238) ʔa hay ʔal̄ ʔə́y ʃxʷənəms kʷs cecələ́ltən̄ ct ʔiʔkʷs, nem̄ ct ʔiʔalə́wəθət ct ʔə tə
sʔə́ltən̄ ct.
Our good fishing ground is lost to us, where we go to gather our salmon.

(239) nan ʔəw ʔəl hiθ kʷs si:ʔsiʔ tə məsteyəxʷ ʔəwə kʷs neɪms neɪm ʃʷteʔ ʔə tθeʔ ʔə tə sʔəltəns.

For a very long time, the people have been afraid to go there to gather food.

(240) ʔa kʷəs si:ʔsiməʔtəm kʷθeʔ sʔi:lqəy, sʔələqəm.”

It's because they are afraid of that two-headed monster.”

(241) səw θəts θəwʔa slənəy, “ʔi cən ʃxʷte:wən kʷəns ʔa ceʔ kʷθə xəmen neɪm ʔən cʔkʷintəl.”

The girl said, “But I thought we were going to fight our enemy (the Haida).”

(242) “niʔ ceʔ ʔəw taxʷ ʔal, sxəyəl, kʷθeʔ.

“That will come later, sister.

(243) ʔa kʷs stʔe:s ʔə kʷəw qəlmeʔθe:lt ʔə kʷθə nə cʔsəwəyqəʔ.

First, I must win the men's confidence.

(244) nə sʔiʔ kʷs sčecən səw xʷəteʔtəl ʔə tə nə sqʷel kʷs yaθs ʔəw ʃʷi:neʔ ʔə kʷənəs niʔ qʷeqʷəl.

I want them to follow what I said and for them to listen to what I order.

(245) ʔa kʷəʔel nə sʔiʔ kʷs ʔəwəs si:ʔsiʔəs.

I need them to not be fearful.

(246) ʔiʔ haʔ ct qə:yt kʷθeʔ sʔələqəm sʔi:lqəy ʔiʔ ʔa ceʔ cəw stə:s ʔə tələnəxʷəs ʔe:ltən kʷs hay ʔal kʷaləmkʷəms sʔələqəm ʔe:ltən.

When we kill that monster, the sʔi:lqəy, then they will realize that they are very powerful.

(247) ʔiʔ ʔa ceʔ sisəw təl ʔə kʷθə nə sqʷeqʷəl ʔə kʷənəs nəw xʷʔi:nt ʔal.

And that way they will follow what I say.

- (248) ʔiʔ nem ceʔ kʷintəlstəxʷ kʷθə haytə.
Then we can go fight the Haida.
- (249) s̄ceçəñ ct ceʔ xʷəs̄lələqəmə xʷəkʷam̄kʷəm̄, ʔiʔ ʔəwə ceʔ ʔeʔ s̄cekʷələs ʔiʔ mi
 kʷiʔkʷəntəlstalxʷəs kʷθeʔ.”
*We will become really fierce and strong and they will never come attack us
 anymore.”*
- (250) stʔe: ʔə kʷə niʔ t̄θəȳkʷθət θəw̄lə s̄lenəȳ.
This was startling to the young woman.
- (251) ʔəwə teʔ ʃxʷtatəlstəxʷs ʔəw ni:s s̄cekʷəl̄.
She didn't know what the outcome would be.
- (252) ʔiʔ ʔa θəl kʷəs ʔəw s̄liʔs kʷθə sqeʔəqs, s̄liʔ kʷsəw yəx̄wi:neʔs ʔal̄.
But she loved her brother and wanted to listen to him.
- (253) səs nem ʔəw kʷəkʷəcətəs kʷθə hiwəqʷ θəw̄lə s̄lenəȳ.
The young lady went down to see the Chief.
- (254) kʷəs wəl̄ təs ʔə tə cecəw̄, təs ʔə tə məsteyəxʷ.
When she got to the beach, the men arrived.
- (255) çəq̄ təw̄lələm kʷəs təl̄nəxʷəs kʷəs niʔ tə sqeʔəqs θəw̄lə s̄lenəȳ.
They were astonished to find out about her little brother.
- (256) ni:l̄ ʃxʷte:wəñmətəs ʔe:l̄tən kʷəs sqʷsiws.
They thought that he had drowned.

- (257) ʔiʔ niʔ λe wəʔ wiʔ.
And now he had reappeared.
- (258) ʔiʔ ʔəwe:ʔ ni:s yəyəθəstəs tə si:yeyəs kʷəs wəʔ nem həyaʔstəm tə sqeʔəqs.
The girl hadn't told his relatives about him being carried off.
- (259) kʷəs sθəθixʷ ʔə kʷθə hay ʔal hiθ.
He disappeared for a long time.
- (260) ʔiʔ λa kʷθə sʔeləqəm niʔ hayeʔstəxʷ.
And it was the monster who had taken him.
- (261) stʔe: ʔəw ni:s ʔəw ʔa:ntəs ʔal tə si:yeyəs kʷəs šxʷte:wəñ kʷəs qʷsiws tə sqeʔəqs,
nem qʷsiws ʔə kʷθə hay ʔal θi hayələq.
She had never informed her relatives and let them think he had drowned in a big wave.
- (262) ʔiʔ xʷiʔ wiʔ təwλa swiwləs stʔe: ʔəw mi:s xiʔθət, səw šxʷte:wəñ təwλaləm hays
ʔal xelə tə niʔ xʷəšxʷtes kʷθeʔ swiwləsall.
When he reappeared, just showing up like he did, they thought the young man had gained very special powers.
- (263) hay ʔal xʷəm kʷəs yətətəlmeʔtəm tə niʔ šxʷqʷeqʷəls təwλa swiwləs ʔiʔ wəʔ θəyθət
təwλaləm.
They quickly followed the young man's instructions and started preparing.
- (264) niʔ wəʔ təs ʔə tə nəcaʔ sweyəl ʔiʔ niʔ wəʔ xʷəsa:y təwλaləm səwəyqəʔ.
Then the day came when they were all set and ready.

(265) ʔəpe:lə ʔiʔ kʷ nañəcaʔ swaw̄ləs, kʷaləmkʷəm swaw̄ləs, kʷənəm ʔə tə matəstən,
kʷənətəs ʔe:lən tə matəstən.

There were eleven strong young men that were wielding the spears.

(266) niʔ ʔə tə cəwmən kʷəs ləχləχiləχ ʔalmətsən.

And they were standing down at the beach waiting.

(267) hay ʔal niʔ wəl xʷəθi, θi skʷixs tθeʔ swiwləsall kʷəs xʷəs wəyqəʔ.

The boy who was now a man had gained a lot of respect from the people.

(268) ʔiʔ niʔ hay ʔal xʷəstʔe: ʔəw ni:s xʷəšxʷneʔəm.

He seemed to have become a shaman.

(269) kʷəs wəl mi tecəl ʔə tə cecəw̄ təw̄la swiwləs, səw tssets tə swaw̄ləs kʷənətəs kʷ
smənme:nt ʔiʔ ʔa:lstəxʷəs ʔə tə snəxʷəl.

*When they came down to the beach, he asked the young men to put some rocks
into the canoe.*

(270) səw θəʔit nəw ʔpətəs təw̄laləm swaw̄ləs tə smənme:nt sisəw ʔa:lstəxʷəs ʔə tə
snəxʷəl.

So the young men gathered up all the rocks and put them into the canoe.

(271) sisəw hay sisəw xʷəʔalmətsən niʔs ceʔ ʔeʔ wəl tssetəm ʔə kʷəw stem ʔal.

And then they stood waiting for further orders.

(272) kʷənətəs təw̄la swiwləs tə sləχən sisəw ʔaxʷəstəs tə swaw̄ləs.

The young man took the herbs and gave them to the young men.

(273) tssetəs ʔəw ləyxtəs tθeʔ sləχən.

He told them to eat that medicine.

- (274) nəw statəlstx^{wəs} təw^la swi^wləs k^{wəs} ha^ls ce[?] ni[?] ləy^xtəs t^he[?] slə^xəⁿ.
And the young man knew what would happen when they ate that medicine.
- (275) sisəw x^wək^wam^kwəm tə šx^wq^weləwəns təw^laləm swaw^ləs, ʔəwə te[?] ni[?]
x^wəšx^wsi:ʔsi[?]s.
This gave the young men courage so they would not be afraid.
- (276) ni[?] hay sisəw ʔəl ʔa:ʔ ʔal[?] ʔe:ltən ʔə tə q^hxhəw^l.
And they got on board the canoe.
- (277) səw nem təw^la swi^wləs nem ʔə tə q^lan k^{wəs} ʔa ni[?] šx^wni[?]s k^{wəs} ʔa:ʔ.
And the young man went to the bow—that was his place.
- (278) sisəw q^welstx^{wəs} tə səwəy^qe[?], “ʔəxəl ce:p ce[?] ʔə k^wə hay ʔal[?] š^wəm.
And he told the men, “Paddle really hard.
- (279) nem čx^w ce[?] š^wte[?] ʔə k^wθə šx^wni[?]s k^wθə s^leləqəm k^wəns nem ʔəxəl.
You will paddle to where the monster is.
- (280) nem čx^w ce[?] yələwəl ʔə k^wθe[?].
You will go past that place.
- (281) ha[?] ce[?] k^wəcnaləm k^wə ct yə[?]i[?]xəl[?] ʔi[?] ʔa ce[?] səs məw ʔewənasaləm.
When he sees us paddling by, he will come to us.
- (282) ʔa ce[?] ʔəⁿ səw k^wənət tə smənme:nt ʔəⁿ səw welx, q^wsət.
Then you will all grab the rocks and throw them into the water.
- (283) ʔa ce[?] sisəw pxəm.
That will create a spray.

- (284) ʔa ceʔ stʔe: ʔəw ni:s kʷe:lxləm.
That will conceal us.
- (285) ʔiʔ ʔa ceʔ səct ʔəw ʔxʷteʔ ʔə kʷθə nəcaʔ ʔiʔ ʔəwə ceʔ ʂxʷte:wənəs kʷs ʔas ʂxʷxʷteʔ
ct.
And we will paddle in a different direction than he expects.
- (286) ʔiʔ ʔa ceʔ səw θqət ct, ʔa tə matəstən ʔa ceʔ hakʷəxət.
Then we'll pierce him with our spears.
- (287) qa:yt ct ceʔ kʷθə sʔələqəm.
We will kill the monster.
- (288) məkʷ ct ceʔ ʔəw θqət səw qa:ys.”
We'll all stab him, and he will die.”
- (289) kʷəs wəl kʷənətəs tə sqəməls, səs nem ʔəw ʔxʷəm kʷəs nem ʔxʷteʔ ʔə tə sʔəθnəc.
Seizing their paddles, they paddled hard going up Burrard Inlet.
- (290) nem naʔəsəm ʔə ʔ səliwətaʔ.
They headed up Indian Arm.
- (291) ʔiʔ wəl mi wil mi yəʔewə tθeʔ sʔələqəm.
And the monster appeared coming towards them.
- (292) səs nem ʔəw qʷsəθət ʔə tə kʷaʔkʷə.
And he slithered into the water.
- (293) sisəw θəʔit ʔəw tel ʔə kʷθə niʔ sqʷəlmətewət.
And he indeed followed, just as they had been told.

- (294) welxəs mək^w ʔe:ltən tə smənme:nt, q^wsətəs.
They all started throwing the rocks into the water.
- (295) ʔiʔ ʔəw θəʔit niʔ ʔəw sčecən k^wθə niʔ yəsʔecs tə swiwləs.
The young man's plan was very good.
- (296) wə θəʔit niʔ x^wəx^wqiʔʔəna:ləs tə sʔeləqəm ʔə tə qaʔ.
The monster was in fact blinded by the spray.
- (297) ʔxiłəx təwʔa swiwləs niʔ ʔə tə qʔan ʔə tə snəx^wəl.
The young man stood in the bow of the canoe.
- (298) hay ʔal k^wamk^wəm k^wəs wəl θqətəs tθeʔ sʔeləqəm sʔi:lqəy.
He used his great strength to spear the two-headed serpent.
- (299) ʔəw ʔəl ʔa ʔal sisəw qaynəx^wəs.
And they managed to kill it.
- (300) mək^w təwʔaləlm səwəyqəʔ nəw θqət tə sʔeləqəm ʔə tə matəstəns.
All of the men used their spears to stab the monster.
- (301) x^wən ʔətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl θəʔit ʔəw qay tθeʔ sʔeləqəm.
And the monster finally died.
- (302) hays ʔal qəʔ niʔ ʔx^wθqətewət.
He was speared many times.
- (303) k^wəs wəl qəlet hənəmət ʔə ʔ təmtəmix^wtən ʔiʔ hay ʔal ʔəy ʔx^wq^weləwəns tə
si:yəyəs k^wəs wəl k^wəcnəm.
When they returned to Belcarra, all their relatives were overjoyed to see them.

- (304) ni:l hay ʔal tʰetʰəyʔəqʷ tə hiwəqʷ.
The chief had been very worried.
- (305) šxʷte:wəñ ʔəw ni:s sʔeyʔq kʷəs ʔa:ntəs kʷəs nem ɔa:yəls ʔə kʷθə θi sʔeləqəm
sʔi:lqəy.
*He thought that he had made a mistake to allow them to go attack the two-headed
monster.*
- (306) ʔiʔ ʔəw θəʔit niʔ ɔa:ynəxʷəs ʔe:lʔən səs məw yəxʷəkʷətəs, mi təkʷstxʷəs ʔe:lʔən.
But they really had managed to kill it and drag it home with them.
- (307) məkʷ tə si:yeyəs niw xʷəʔəy šxʷqʷeləwəns kʷəs kʷəcnəm ʔe:lʔən.
All their relatives were happy to see them.
- (308) šʷəm kʷəs ʔexən ʔe:lʔən, ʔexən kʷəs ʔəy šxʷqʷeləwəns ʔə tə niʔ hays.
A feast was quickly prepared to celebrate what they had done.
- (309) hay ʔal qəx niʔ syəxcaʔtewət təwʔa swiwləs.
They gave the young man a lot of gifts.
- (310) ʔəy šxʷqʷeləwəns tə məsteyəxʷ.
They were all very happy.
- (311) niʔ xʷəθiʔθə, xʷəsiʔem, xʷəθiʔθə təwʔa swiwləs.
That young man had become a powerful shaman.
- (312) hay ʔal niʔ xʷəʔiʔstəm ʔə tə si:yeyəs.
His family held him in high esteem.
- (313) kʷəs wəl ʔəmət ʔiʔ xʔas, ʔiʔ ʔəw yəʔəxʷi:n ʔal tə sʔəʔtən niʔ ʔəyxtəs.
When he sat down to eat, he ate only a little bit of food.

- (314) $\check{x}ac\theta\acute{e}t\ t\acute{e}w\lambda\acute{a}\ swi\acute{w}l\acute{e}s\ ?\acute{e}\ t\acute{e}\ sq^w\acute{e}l\ ce?$
The young man thought about what he would say.
- (315) $k^w\acute{e}s\ ha:y\theta\acute{e}n\ t\acute{e}\ m\acute{e}stey\acute{x}^w,\ \check{x}il\acute{e}x\ t\acute{e}w\lambda\acute{a}\ swi\acute{w}l\acute{e}s\ s\acute{e}w\ q^w\acute{e}q^w\acute{e}l.$
When the people had eaten, he stood up and spoke.
- (316) $\theta\acute{e}tstx^w\acute{e}s\ t\acute{e}\ ni:l\ sq\acute{a}q\acute{a}?\acute{s},\ "Aaa\dots\ t\acute{e}\ \acute{t}w\acute{e}l\acute{e}p\ swa\acute{w}l\acute{e}s\ ni?\ \acute{z}i:l\ \theta\acute{a}y\theta\acute{e}t.$
He said to the ones that were with him, "Ah, you men who underwent the training.
- (317) $ni?\ ce:p\ w\acute{e}l\ x^w\acute{e}stam\acute{x}.$
You have now become warriors.
- (318) $ni?\ ce:p\ w\acute{e}l\ x^w\acute{e}sa:y\ k^w\acute{e}n\acute{s}\ ni?\ nem\ ce?\ k^w\acute{e}?\acute{e}l\ \check{x}il\acute{e}\check{x}\ nem\ ?\acute{e}\ t\acute{e}\ t\acute{e}n\acute{c}al\acute{e}q^w\ m\acute{e}stey\acute{x}^w.$
Now you are ready to go to fight the people from the north.
- (319) $nem\ ct\ ce?\ ma\acute{\lambda}\acute{e}\theta\acute{e}t\ k^w\acute{e}s\ hays\ ?\acute{a}l\ q\acute{a}\check{x}\ ni?\ q\acute{a}:y\acute{t}\acute{e}s\ ?\acute{e}\ t\acute{e}\ si:y\acute{e}y\acute{e}\ ct,\ \acute{c}l\acute{x}^w\acute{e}l\acute{m}\acute{x}^w\ ct\acute{e}l.$
We will take revenge for all our relatives who they killed, our fellow tribesmen.
- (320) $n\acute{e}c\acute{a}?\ \acute{t}q\acute{e}l\acute{c}\ k^w\acute{e}s\ \theta\acute{a}y\theta\acute{e}t,\ hay\ ?\acute{a}l\ q\acute{a}\check{x}\ ni?\ s\acute{e}l\acute{e}\theta\acute{e}t\acute{s}\ k^w\acute{e}s\ \theta\acute{a}y\theta\acute{e}t,\ ye\acute{l}\ s\acute{e}s\ x^w\acute{e}sa:y\ k^w\acute{s}\ nem\acute{s}\ t\acute{q}en\acute{e}q.$
They prepared themselves for one month, doing many different things to prepare before they were ready to go challenge them.
- (321) $sis\ nem\ ?\acute{e}w\ nem\ ?\acute{e}\ t\theta\acute{e}?\ t\acute{e}n\acute{c}al\acute{e}q^w\ m\acute{e}stey\acute{x}^w,\ sis\acute{e}w\ \check{x}^w\acute{a}:y\acute{t}\acute{e}s,\ ma\acute{\lambda}\acute{e}\theta\acute{e}t.$
And they went to those northern people and they killed them and got their revenge.
- (322) $ni?\ \check{x}^w\acute{a}:y\acute{t}\acute{e}s.$
They killed them all.

- (323) ni? s̄c̄c̄c̄n̄ ʔəw maλ̄əθət ʔe:ltən λ̄a kʷsəs ʃʷa:ytəm kʷθə c̄lxʷəlməxʷsəl.
They really took their revenge for the slaughter of their tribesmen.
- (324) sisəw maλ̄əθət ʃʷa:ytəs tə məkʷ tθeʔ tən̄niʔ ʔə tə caləqʷ.
All the people from the north were killed.
- (325) hay ʔal̄ ʔəȳ ʃxʷqʷeləwəns θə sən̄ləʔ.
His big sister was overjoyed.
- (326) θəʔit niʔ wəl stʔe: kʷəw ləc̄ tə ʃxʷqʷeləwəns ʔə kʷθə ni:t̄ s̄liʔs kʷs maλ̄əθəts.
She was happy to get the revenge that she desired.
- (327) niʔ kʷəʔeł stʔe: kʷəw maλ̄əθət̄namət ʔə kʷθə c̄lxʷəlməxʷsəl ʃxʷəw̄eləysəl niʔ
xʷəmnəctəm.
*They had managed to get revenge for her tribesmen and her parents who had
been slaughtered.*
- (328) sisəw ʔəȳ ʃxʷqʷeləwəns.
She was very happy.
- (329) λ̄a kʷəʔeł niʔ ʃxʷte:s kʷəs ʔiʔ niʔ hay tə sqʷəlqʷəl̄.
And that's the way the story ends.
- (330) hay ʔal̄ niʔ xʷəkʷam̄kʷəm̄ xʷəθi staməx təw̄λa swiwləs.
The young man grew up to be a fierce warrior.
- (331) hay ʔal̄ niʔ xʷəλ̄iʔstəm ʔə tə si:yeȳəs.
He was held in very high esteem by his relatives.

(332) ʔi ʔəsep təna sʰəyəm.

And that's the end of the story.

(333) niʔ hay.

The end.

Chapter 5. Differences between hənqəminəm and həlqəminəm

It is generally recognized that our language has three main dialects: Halqemeylem (Upriver Halkomelem), spoken from Sumas inland along the Fraser River to Yale, hənqəminəm (Mainland Halkomelem), spoken along the lower Fraser River and its delta and the shores of Burrard Inlet, and həlqəminəm (Island Halkomelem), spoken on southeastern Vancouver Island from Nanoose to Malahat. Comparison of these dialects can be found in Elmendorf and Suttles (1960) and Gerdts (1977). The extent of the language and the First Nations villages within it are detailed in Suttles (1990: 453-456).

Although the three dialects of our language are mostly mutually intelligible to advanced speakers, there are marked differences that prove daunting to those of us that are L2 speakers endeavouring to reclaim the heritage of our ancestors' daily mode of communication. While the hənqəminəm (Mainland) and həlqəminəm (Vancouver Island) dialects are so similar to the ear as to be easily recognizable as the same language, there are some differences that though very minor to the fluent ear and sound very different to the novice ear. There are other differences that are significant even to the fully fluent speakers, including a number of words that are entirely different between the two dialects. Overall, there are enough differences to justify independent grammars, dictionaries and texts for each dialect.

The tables below set out some of these differences so that, as this all too rarely spoken dialect begins to be reintroduced to our cultural gatherings, those seeking to understand the spoken communication to which they're exposed will have some concrete resource to assist them in understanding the discourse.

Table 1 below sets out 17 lexical differences between the hənqəminəm dialect, in the first column, and the həlqəminəm dialect in the second column. The third column provides an English gloss approximation for each.

Table 1 | Lexical differences between *hə̀nq̄əminəm* and *həlq̄əminəm*

	hə̀nq̄əminəm	həlq̄əminəm	Meaning
1.	məsteyəx ^w	məstiməx ^w	person, people
2.	steʔəx ^w əł	sʔəliqəł	children
3.	sk ^w ix	sne	name
4.	k ^w i:xət	ne:t	name it
5.	meqən	ʃeʔitən	hair
6.	ləctən	ʃəptən	knife
7.	k ^w ətɬx ^w iləm	nəw ^w iləm	enter
8.	q̄anθət	x ^w əʔaləm	return
9.	ʔax ^w əst	ʔaməst	give
10.	k ^w ecət	lemət	look at it
11.	k ^w ek ^w əcət	leləmət	looking at it
12.	k ^w əcənəx ^w	ləmnəx ^w	see
13.	k ^w ek ^w əcənəx ^w	leləmnəx ^w	seeing it
14.	statəlstəx ^w , ləq̄əlləx ^w	ʃtatəlstəx ^w	know
15.	səcəcən	ʔlim	really
16.	mə	peʔ	certain (2 nd position clitic)
17.	syaq ^w əm	səmʃaθət syaq ^w əm (heat of the sun)	sun

Example 1 is the term in each dialect that references a person/human being.⁴ I’ve also included ‘people’ as part of the gloss since many speakers use the terms interchangeably for singular and plural. However, some speakers use the pluralizing /l/ infix to generate a plural form (*məsteyəx^w* and *məstiməx^w* respectively). The term referencing a child (in the sense of ‘young in age’ and not ‘offspring’) is nearly identical in both dialects: *sʔəliqəł* and *sʔəliqəł* respectively. In example 2 the *həlq̄əminəm* plural form uses an /l/ pluralizing infix to generate a plural *sʔəliqəł* from the singular while the *hə̀nq̄əminəm* form is entirely suppletive: *steʔəx^wəł*. Examples 6 and 17 are instances where words are present in both dialects but have different interpretations. In example 6 *ləctən* is the *hə̀nq̄əminəm* term referencing a knife while *həlq̄əminəm* uses the term *ʃəptən*. The term *ləctən* occurs

⁴ An interesting point here is the word final syllable for each. For *hə̀nq̄əminəm* it is =yəx^w while for *həlq̄əminəm* it is =məx^w. The lexical suffix =məx^w references people, land or place, so it makes sense for it to appear in the *həlq̄əminəm* term for ‘person.’ My information on the =yəx^w ending to the *hə̀nq̄əminəm* form is too limited to comment here.

in the həlqəminəm dialect but is interpreted to mean ‘saw’ the implement used in woodcutting. Linguistic analysis of the term shows that it literally means a cutting implement. The root for the həlqəminəm verb root √sip- appears in hənqəminəm as √xip- and can be found in words such as xipət ‘to carve’ (a piece of wood, etc.). The word syaqwəm appears in both dialects, but example 17 shows that it’s glossed as ‘sun’ in hənqəminəm and as ‘heat from the sun’ in həlqəminəm. həlqəminəm uses the term səmsəθət in reference to the sun as a celestial body.

Table 2 provides some examples of words that are related, but the word is shorter in one dialect than in the other.

Table 2 | Shortened word

	hənqəminəm	həlqəminəm	Meaning
1.	qeqələ / qeq	qeq	baby
2.	ǰwənxenəm	ǰwəçenəm	run

Example 1 is the term referencing a baby. həlqəminəm uses the shorter term qeq accompanied by one or more modifiers to indicate masculine or feminine gender or other information about the baby. In hənqəminəm there are two terms qeq as in həlqəminəm and qeqələ. The shorter form references a female baby while the longer form references a male baby. Though the data for this assertion comes from only one hənqəminəm speaker, he is the eldest source for the hənqəminəm dialect on record, so I defer to his knowledge.

Probably one of the most well-known aspects of difference between the two dialects is the global shift between the velar fricative /x/ and the palatal spirant /š/. For example, (1) in Table 3 is the term referencing a door, road or path; in hənqəminəm the term is xet while in həlqəminəm it is šet.⁵

⁵ Though I’ve only indicated the differences in the consonants, there is an effect on nearby schwas as well. For example, the schwa in the hənqəminəm /ʔiməx/ is phonetically [ɪ].

Table 3 | /x/ shifted to /š/

	hə̀nq̣əmiṇə̀m /x/	həlq̣əmiṇə̀m /š/	Meaning
1.	xel	šel	door, road
2.	xəmen	šəmeṇ	enemy
3.	xixəc̣	šišəc̣	bushes
4.	xexəṁ	šəšəṁ	shallow water
5.	xax ^w ək ^w əṁ	šax ^w ək ^w əṁ	bathing (progressive)
6.	xax ^w ək ^w ət	šax ^w ək ^w ət	bathing him/her (progressive)
7.	xiʔxk ^w əṁ	šiʔšk ^w əṁ	bathing
8.	sxəyəl	šəyəl	older sibling, cousin
9.	ʔəxəl	ʔəšəl	paddle (v.)
10.	ʔiʔxəl	ʔiʔšəl	paddling (progressive)
11.	staməx	staməš	warrior, brave (n.)
12.	sq̣ ^w əlq̣ ^w ələx	sq̣ ^w əlq̣ ^w ələš	birds
13.	l̥x̥iləx	l̥x̥iləš	stand
14.	ləx̥ləx̥iʔləx	ləx̥ləx̥iʔləš	standing (plural progressive)
15.	ʔiməx	ʔiməš	walk
16.	ʔiməx	ʔiməš	walking (progressive)
17.	ʔəmxasəṁ	ʔəməšasəṁ	travel
18.	ʔiməxasəṁ	ʔiməšasəṁ	traveling
19.	welx	wenš	throw
20.	hak ^w əx	hak ^w əš	use it
21.	haʔk ^w əx	haʔk ^w əš	using it (progressive)

Table 4 provides a few examples of the occurrence of consonant shifts or instances where consonant clusters differ in words referencing the same object.

Table 4 | Consonant and cluster differences

	hə̀nq̣əmiṇə̀m	həlq̣əmiṇə̀m	Meaning
1.	wet	l̥wet	who
2.	sweyəl	sk ^w eyəl	day, sky
3.	sʔi:lq̣əy̆	si:n̥lq̣iʔ	two-headed snake
4.	sxəyəl	šəyəl	older sibling, cousin

Example 1 is the word glossed as ‘who’ in English. In hə̀lq̣əmiṇə̀m the word starts with an initial consonant cluster /l̥w/ that is absent in the hə̀nq̣əmiṇə̀m version of the word.

Example 2 is the word referencing day or sky. In hə̀nq̣əmiṇə̀m the second consonant is a

/w/ corresponding to the labialized velar stop /k^w/ in həlqəminəm. In both dialects the word often appears in its verb form absent the nominalizing /s/ prefix. *weyəl* ‘be day’ in hənqəminəm and *k^weyəl* ‘be day’ in həlqəminəm.

Table 5 lists some examples where certain consonant clusters shift between the two dialects.

Table 5 | /šx^w/ and /čx^w/ shifts to /š/ and /č/

	hənqəminəm	həlqəminəm	Meaning
1.	čx ^w	č	you; 2 nd person singular subject clitic
2.	šx ^w q ^w eləwən	šq ^w aləwən	thought
3.	šx ^w ni?	šni?	place
4.	šx ^w ləpəlləc	šləpi?snəc	tail
5.	sx ^w ne?əm	šne?əm	spiritual healer

Entry 1 shows that the 2nd-person subject clitic for ‘you’ is čx^w in hənqəminəm and č in həlqəminəm. Looking to evidence within the language, the həlqəminəm word is a reduction from the hənqəminəm version of the word. Historically, the subject clitic (e.g. *čəw-ət čx^w ce?* ‘You’ll help him.’) is formed from a base /c/ and the subject suffix /-əx^w/, (e.g. *k^wθə [čəw-ət-əx^w ce?]* ‘The one you will help’), as discussed in Suttles (2004: 322-323). In both dialects the suffix triggers palatalization of the /c/ to /č/, but in the həlqəminəm dialect, the /x^w/ disappears. In examples 2-5, we see the same effect on the prefix /s=/ which palatalizes to /š=/ before /x^w-/.

Table 6 provides examples in the two dialects where words that reference the same object exhibit a consonant shift between /l/ and /n/.

Table 6 | /n/ and /l/ correspondences

	hənqəminəm /l/	həlqəminəm /n/	Meaning
1.	qəl ^l aləməcən	qəl ⁿ anəməcən	orca
2.	qəm ^l qəmələp	qəm ⁿ qəmənəp	maple trees (place name)
3.	šx ^w ləpəlləc	šləpi?nəc	tail
4.	welx	wenš	throw
5.	?əpe:lə	?əpe:nə	ten people

In the Halkomelem dialect continuum, the best-known phenomenon of consonant shift is between /n/ and /l/. In the Halqemeylem (Upriver) dialect speakers have shifted all /n/

phonemes to /l/ phonemes. We have several examples showing shifts from /n/ to /l/ in hənqəminəm.

Example 1 is an example that startled me when I first encountered it. It's the term referencing an orca. In hənqəminəm the term is qəllaləməcən while in həlqəminəm it is qəllanəməcən with an /l/ at the end of the second syllable in hənqəminəm shifting to /n/ at the end of the same syllable in həlqəminəm. Example 4 is an example where two consonant shifts co-occur within the same word. *welx* in hənqəminəm is 'to throw (s.t.)'. In həlqəminəm, the lateral resonant /l/ shifts to the alveolar resonant /n/ and the velar fricative /x/ shifts to the palatal spirant /š/ giving us *wenš* referencing the same action.

Figure 1 gives a vowel chart in black for the vowels illustrating the points of articulation within the anatomy of the human mouth to show the location of the production of different vowel sounds.

Figure 1 Vowel correspondences (hənqəminəm ~ həlqəminəm)

Front	Back
i: ~ u:	u
e ~ a	ə
a: ~ e:	
a ~ ə	

A vast majority of words have the same vowels in hənqəminəm and həlqəminəm, but in a few words are different, and I have shown the həlqəminəm vowels equivalents in red in Figure 1. Examples where the two dialects employ different vowels in words referencing the same object are given in Table 7.

Table 7 | Vowel differences

	hə̀nq̣ə̀mĩ̀nə̀m̄	həḷq̣ə̀mĩ̀nə̀m̄	Meaning
	e	a	
1.	qwel	qwal	talk, speak
2.	q ^w eq ^w əḷ	q ^w aq ^w əḷ	talking, speaking (progressive)
3.	sqwel	sqwal	word, speech, language
4.	sq ^w eʔq ^w əḷ	sq ^w aʔq ^w əḷ	wordings, speech
5.	šx ^w q ^w eləwən	šq ^w aləwən	thought
	i:	u:	
6.	st ^θ i:m̄	st ^θ u:m̄	berry
7.	q̣ ^w i:n̄	q̣ ^w u:n̄	ear
	a	ə	
8.	hayəʔ	həyəʔ	leave
9.	x ^w ay	x ^w əy	wake
10.	ʔaḷ	ʔəḷ	post-clitic: just, quite
	a	e	
11.	stqayeʔ	stqe:yeʔ	wolf
12.	stəlqayeʔ	stəlqe:yeʔ	wolves
13.	stqayeʔalḷ	stqe:yeʔalḷ	wolf cub

Examples 2-5 are all derivatives of the root word shown in example 1. In hə̀nq̣ə̀mĩ̀nə̀m̄ the root word is the verb form *q^wel* ‘to speak/talk’ while in hə̀ḷq̣ə̀mĩ̀nə̀m̄ it is *q^wal*.

Example 3 gives us the nominalized form that we gloss as ‘word’, ‘speech’ or ‘language.’

We also see a shift between a long vowel /i:/ to a long vowel /u:/ in some instances as shown in example 6 the singular form for an ‘ear.’ *q̣^wi:n̄* in hə̀nq̣ə̀mĩ̀nə̀m̄ and *q̣^wu:n̄* in hə̀ḷq̣ə̀mĩ̀nə̀m̄.

Table 8 shows some examples of substantially different third-person focus forms between the two dialects.

Table 8 | Differences in 3rd person focus forms

	hə̀nqə̀mɪ̀nəm	həlqə̀mɪ̀nəm	Meaning
1.	ʎa	nił	3 rd person focus form
2.	təwʎa	t ^θ ə̀wnił	Gen in view pro-determiner
3.	θəwʎa	θə̀wnił	Fem in view pro-determiner

Suttles (2004: xxvi). comments that, “Lexically, the most immediately recognizable difference among the major divisions of the language is in the third-person personal word ‘He/she/it is the one,’ *nił* on the Island and *ʎa* on the Mainland, which occurs with great frequency and forms the basis for a set of frequently used demonstratives.” Example 2 is the generic or non-feminine form of the in-view pro-determiner: *təwʎa* in *hə̀nqə̀mɪ̀nəm* and *t^θə̀wnił* in *həlqə̀mɪ̀nəm*. Example 3 is the feminine form of the in-view pro-determiner: *θəwʎa* in *hə̀nqə̀mɪ̀nəm* and *θə̀wnił* in *həlqə̀mɪ̀nəm*.

Table 9 lists a number of general and feminine determiners and demonstratives as they occur in each dialect.

Table 9 | Determiner correspondences

	hə̀nqə̀mɪ̀nəm	həlqə̀mɪ̀nəm	Meaning
1.	tə	t ^θ ə	General in view article
2.	teʔ / tθeʔ	t ^θ eɻ	In view demonstrative
3.	k ^w θeʔ	k ^w θeɻ	Out of view demonstrative
4.	təwʎa	t ^θ ə̀wnił	General in view pro-determiner
5.	θəwʎa	θə̀wnił	Feminine in view pro-determiner

Example 1 is the generic (non-feminine) determiner used to reference inanimate objects or the masculine gender. In *hə̀nqə̀mɪ̀nəm* it is *tə* while in *həlqə̀mɪ̀nəm* it is *t^θə* with the first consonant in the *hə̀nqə̀mɪ̀nəm* form being a plain /t/. In *həlqə̀mɪ̀nəm* the initial consonant is a plain /t/ followed by a /^θ/ theta release realized in one sound. This consonant is also found in the *həlqə̀mɪ̀nəm* forms in examples 2 and 4. In contrast, one of the alternate forms of the *hə̀nqə̀mɪ̀nəm* determiner in example 2 begins with a plain /t/ followed with a separate /θ/ theta consonant. When pronounced by a proficient speaker a

listener can distinguish the difference between the single consonant represented by /t^θ/ and the two separate consonants represented by /t/ and /θ/. To be honest, when I first encountered spellings featuring these, I had difficulty figuring out how to pronounce the two different renderings. Over time they began to roll off the tongue more naturally. Example 2 is the in-view general demonstrative which is *te?* or *tθe?* in *hə̀nqə̀mìnəm* and *t^θey'* in *həlqə̀mìnəm*.

Another phenomenon that occurs only in *hə̀nqə̀mìnəm* and not in either of the other dialects. When referencing an item that belongs to a second individual in *həlqə̀mìnəm* where the item is described by a word that begins with an /s/ nominalizing prefix, the 2nd-person possessive manifests as a glottalized /n̥/. In *hə̀nqə̀mìnəm* the glottalized /n̥/ does appear as 2nd-person possessive, but in instances where it is immediately followed by a word beginning with the /s/ nominalizing prefix, the two coalesce and manifest as a /θ/ theta. To illustrate further, I'll give you the two examples in Table 10.

Table 10 | Determiner correspondences

	hə̀nqə̀mìnəm	həlqə̀mìnəm	Meaning
1.	ʔəθwe?	ʔə́n swe?	your possession/property
2.	ʔəθ nəx ^{wə} l	ʔə́n snəx ^{wə} l	your canoe

As discussed above, this is a phenomenon that occurs only in *hə̀nqə̀mìnəm* and not in either of the other two dialects.

The differences illustrated by the tables above demonstrate distinctive differences between the *hə̀nqə̀mìnəm* and *həlqə̀mìnəm* dialects. As discussed previously, *hə̀nqə̀mìnəm* and *həlqə̀mìnəm* sound the most alike within the Halkomelem dialect continuum, but not exactly alike. The consonant shifts give each dialect distinctive differences in the way they sound. The vowel shifts create subtle differences in the rhythm of the dialect. And of course, the different words also contribute to give each dialect distinguishing marks of identification. Some of these differences may be too subtle for anyone but the most proficient or fluent speakers of the language to distinguish.

To draw a comparison, it's possible to distinguish from what part of the world an English speaker hails by the manner of speech. It's rather easy to recognize that someone hails from New Zealand by the manner of their speech. If someone is from England it's easy to distinguish that and for those more knowledgeable it can even be distinguished from which part of England they hail. The same can be said of English speakers from the United States or Canada.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

As we move further toward full communities that speak our ancestral language, similar sorts of distinctions to those described above will likely develop so that our people will be able to simply listen to the manner of speech a speaker uses in order to distinguish the community where that speaker was raised. It's rather doubtful that our language will be restored to the same precise distinctions that existed in pre-contact time, but I believe we can restore our language to a robust level that will rival that level of prevalence. It will take a great deal of work, but someone once said that 'Nothing worth doing is ever easy.'

We've discussed somewhat the fact that *hənqəminəm* and *həlqəminəm* sound very much alike and that proficient and fluent speakers understand each other when either dialect is spoken. However, another of the distinctions that's been cursorily mentioned in the writings of Wayne Suttles is the fact that there are some minor syntactic differences between the two as well. One interesting project would be to examine archival transcriptions to draw analyses that identify the specifics of the syntactic differences between *hənqəminəm* and *həlqəminəm*. It's been noted that there were differences between Downriver speakers from different communities and even from neighbouring houses within the same community. These would be interesting to explore as well. A more immediate objective will be to produce a book together with audio recordings of the present work. Sound files will be invaluable for future learners so that they can check their pronunciation against that of a fully proficient speaker. While it's understood that robust languages change over time, it would be desirable in my opinion to first restore ours near as we possibly can to the status that existed at the time before it declined so drastically; then allow it to evolve as it will naturally.

There is so much more work that needs to be done to restore our communities to the strength they formerly had in speaking our languages. As I've said on many an occasion, I'll be long gone and there'll still be plenty of work remaining to be done in the analysis and restoration of our language. For now, I am pleased to share this work and

hope that it will inspire and inform our younger generation who are working to gain fluency in our language.

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