θə stqayəʔ ʔə l̓ səl̓ ilwəʔəl ʔiʔ tə neč sxʷišʷəyəm:
She-Wolf and other Tsleil-Waututh narratives

by
Victor Guerin

Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

in the
Department of Linguistics
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**Declaration of Committee**

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Ethics Statement

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Abstract

The ancestors of the hən̓q̓əmi̊n̓əm 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 səl̓ilwətaʔɬ (Tsleil-Waututh), originally related by Tsleil-Waututh elders in English. First, the narratives were translated by Dr. Ruby Peter into her həl̓q̓əmən̓əm dialect (Vancouver Island). Once translated, I converted the narratives into the hən̓q̓əmən̓əm 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; həl̓q̓əmən̓əm; hən̓q̓əmən̓əm; 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 hən̓q̍əmin̓əm 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 hən̓q̓əmin̓əm 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.

I would like to acknowledge funding from Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) research grants for my visits to Josephine Good and Ruby Peter on Vancouver Island as well as an RAship for myself. Thank you to Tsleil-Waututh Nation whose funding from First Peoples’ Cultural Council supported my work as language specialist. Lastly, thank you to the Musqueam Indian Band for providing funds for my post-secondary education.
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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 hən̓q̓əmin̓əm (the Musqueam dialect) with a smaller contingent of Halq̓emeylem (Upriver dialect) speakers and the balance that were həl̓q̓əmin̓əm (Vancouver Island dialect) speakers. This is part of a social dynamic, recognized by linguists in other works, where həl̓q̓əmin̓əm 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 hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ 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 qeyəpəlenəxʷ (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 hən̓q̓ə mín̓̓̑m̓. 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 hən̓q̓ə mín̓̓̑m̓.

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 hən̓q̓ə mín̓̓̑m̓ words sprinkled here and there. Gradually, the hən̓q̓ə mín̓̓̑m̓ content increased until finally I was giving fully hən̓q̓ə mín̓̓̑m̓ speeches followed by an English translation.
Chapter 1. Introduction

The earliest contact between the hən̓q̓əmin̓əm 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 hən̓q̓əmin̓əm 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 hən̓q̓əmiʔəm at Musqueam Village and three proficient second language speakers. This situation was mirrored in other villages in the hən̓q̓əmiʔəm 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 hən̓q̓əmiʔəm 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 hən̓q̓əmiʔəm. 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 hən̓q̓əmiʔəm. Compared to hən̓q̓əmiʔəm, the həl̓q̓əmiʔəm 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 həl̓q̓əmiʔəm, 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 hən̓q̓əmiʔəm and then transliterate them into the International Phonetic Alphabet-based orthography (i.e. APA, the version adapted for North American indigenous languages). This is the representation we have adopted here on the mainland for our hən̓q̓əmiʔəm language materials. In converting the narratives from one dialect to another, my work has been informed by my life-long study of hən̓q̓əmiʔəm, and I especially made reference to
Suttles’ (2004) grammar of Musqueam and Gerdts’ (in preparation) dictionary of hən̓q̓əmíθəm based on Suttles’ field notes as well as her own work with Musqueam and Katzie speakers.

In the ensuing chapters you’ll find the hən̓q̓əmíθəm 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 stqayeʔ? ʔə ƛəsʔilwət

The She-Wolf at Tsleil-Waututh

(1) ʔə kʷənɬa:: wəɬ hiθ niʔ to xʷəłməxʷ? ʔə ƛəsʔəθənəc, niʔ? ə to cəwmən.
Long, long ago, there were First Nations people who lived on the shores at the east end of Burrard inlet.

These First Nations people were very proud to be from the Wolf clan.

(3) məkʷ to niʔ? ə to leləɬs?iʔ? niʔw stqayeʔ? to səx̌tekʷs
Everything in their house had the wolf emblem carved on it—everything they used had the wolf emblem on it.

(4) weʔ to sxʷʔiʔtəns?iʔ? ʔəw səx̌teʔkʷʔə stqayeʔ? to əxələw kʷən̓steʔmənʔs to ləcʔən,
Even their dishes where carved with wolves, their spoons, knives—everything they used had wolves carved on them.

(5) ƛə niʔ? əɬtəsm niʔ? ə kʷənɬa:: wəɬ hiθ kʷəsəɬ məkʷ niʔ xʷəqəqəq to xʷəłməxʷ.
It was said that long ago, a terrible sickness came to the village.
All the people of that inlet perished.

Everyone died, all except one tiny baby boy, who was the only one to survive.

All of his family, all of the people died.

He was too young even to have a name.

So he was called “No-name”.

All the people perished, so there was no one left to care for No-name.

The baby became very weak due to a lack of food, and it was doubtful that he could survive.

Eventually a she-wolf came to that place.

And she walked around sniffing everything.
And She-Wolf wondered, "Where is everybody? There are no people."

Why is it so quiet here?

Why is there nobody moving around?

How come it's so quiet here?

Why is there no movement?"

She-Wolf listened.

She didn't hear any sounds of children playing.

The place was silent, with no sound of anybody working.

There were no women talking.

There was nobody working and there was nobody moving around.
    She-Wolf listened, and she couldn’t hear anybody.

    She didn’t hear anything except seagulls—seagulls were all that she heard.

(27) kʷəs ɬələkʷ ʔə spaːl, seliʔ ʔə to niʔ ʔəxʷniʔs.
    A raven was flying around, circling the place.

(28) niː cəcʷcəkʷ ʔə qaʔ ʔiʔ? ʔəwəteʔ? wet niʔ cəcəw tətxʷəʔəl.
    The tide was far out but nobody was at the beach digging clams.

    No smoke appeared from the longhouse.

(30) niʔ ʔiməx ʔəwƛ̓a stqayeʔ təw sewq, ?əwəteʔ? kʷəl mi welət səw ʔəwəs niːs səʔsiʔ.
    She-Wolf nosed around to make sure there was no threat.

(31) xʷən ʔət niʔ wiə kʷətxʷələm ʔəwƛ̓a stqayeʔ? ʔə ʔə leləm.
    Then She-Wolf entered the house.

(32) ʔiʔ ʔə niʔ ʔəxʷniʔs tə ʔəwəteʔ? skʷixs kʷəs ʔiʔtət.
    And that was the place where No-name was sleeping.

(33) sos neim ʔəw təətəs tə ʔəxʷniʔs tə patəʔəs, ʔəxʷniʔ? ʔə ʔə ʔəwəteʔ? skʷixs.
    She wandered up to No-name’s wooden cradle and peered in.

(34) niʔ Ḵʷəyəʔkʷət kʷəs kʷəcənəxʷəs tə qeqələ.
    She was startled when she saw the baby boy.
(35)  “hoʔa:::!”
      “Oh!”

(36)  sən̓ i w niʔ sələq, sələqə təwƛ̓ a ʔəwəcə? skʷixs, stítx qə meqwəns.
      No-name was lying inside the cradle and his hair was sticking up around his
      head.

(37)  xʷən ʃə̓ nəʔ ʔiʔ niʔ wəl xʷə̑ay tə ʔəwəcə? skʷixs sisəw yoxe:m.
      No-name woke up and he began to cry.

(38)  həkʷmeʔtəs ʔəwƛ̓ a stqayeʔ kʷə sweʔs memənəs stqayeʔəll, niʔ ʔə kʷə ƛ*xʷələwən
      sweʔs leləm.
      She-Wolf was reminded of her own cubs that she had left in her den home.

(39)  sisəw xʷəłələləmətəs ʔəwƛ̓ a stqayeʔ tə sələq qeqələ.
      And She-Wolf checked out the babe lying in the cradle.

(40)  lələcələs tə qəleʔm ʔəwƛ̓ a stqayeʔ.
      She-Wolf’s eyes were yellow.

(41)  wəl siʔsìʔ təwƛ̓ a qeqələ saw xʷəqʷarpəsəm təwƛ̓ a qeqələ.
      The baby got frightened and wrinkled up his face.

(42)  saw šxʷieʔənəʔ ʔəwƛ̓ a stqayeʔ, “niʔə ʔaʔəcə kʷəs tens tə qeqələ?”
      And She-Wolf thought, “Where is this baby’s mother?”

(43)  saw xʷəʔənnexʷ ʔəwƛ̓ a stqayeʔ, ʔələlələmətəs tə qeqələ, ʔəʔət ʔəw hiʔənəcəʔ ʔəl tə
      qeqələ.
      She-Wolf hesitated, inspecting the baby that was all alone.
(44) ʼnan ṣaw ᵖeʔəxʷi:n ṣiʔ ᵖeʔət ᵖeʔəw ᵖeʔəl.

He is too tiny to be by himself.

(45) sisəw xʷʔətənəʔəʔəƛ̓a kʷəs ᵖeʔəw ᵖeʔəl ᵖeʔəl ᵖeʔəl sisəw ᵖeʔələʔət ᵖeʔələʔət sisəw ᵖeʔələʔət.
She decided that he shouldn’t be alone and so she took the baby away with her.

(46) sisəw kʷənəʔətəz kémətəs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs.

She took his cradle in her teeth.

(47) sisəw ᵖeʔələʔətəs xʷəs neʔmətəs xʷəs neʔmətəs xʷəs neʔmətəs kʷəs ᵖələəmət ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs.
She took him home with her to her own den.

(48) ṣiʔ ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs neʔmətəs neʔmətəs neʔmətəs neʔmətəs.
Her wolf cubs were hungry.

(49) səw ɬəqəʔətəs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs səs ᵖəwələs səs ᵖəwələs səs ᵖəwələs.
So she lay down to feed her cubs.

(50) ᵖəwəx̌ectəs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs ᵖəwələs.
She knew that the man-cub must be hungry too.

(51) səs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs.
And she dragged him in with her cubs to warm him up as she breast-fed him.

(52) stʔe: ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs ᵖəʔələʔətəs.
And the baby soon forgot his family’s heritage.
stʔe? ʔəw ni:s ʔəw wəɬ ʔaʔa sisəw xʷəxʷə:waʔən kʷs ʔə səw šxʷtənəlʔəns ə stqayeʔ.
And soon he felt as if the wolves were his family.

xʷəm kʷs yačičəsqən təwələ səxɬəqəl kʷəs ?iʔltənəstəm ə ə stqayeʔ? ə te sməyəʔən, ḍəqəyəcəʔə ə təw məkʷ nəʔ səʔətəm ə stqayeʔ?
The child grew up fast on the raw red meat of deer and elk that She-Wolf fed him.

nəcəʔ sweyəl kʷəs wəɬ təw xʷəswiʔəs səs neʔ əw ʔiməx neʔ ʔiməxasəm kʷecətəs ə təməxʷ.
One day, when No-name was a teenager, he went around exploring the territory.

kʷəs ʔiməxasəm ʔiməx kʷecətəs ə niʔ ƛxʷniʔs əʔə ə əkəłəkəł ə ə əxə: əkəłə kʷəm.
When he was out exploring, he discovered the place where he was born.

səw šxʷie:waʔən təwələ swiʔəs kʷəs yəxʷ əw həleləm.
The young man was amazed at the houses that belonged to his own people.

ʔiʔ niʔs əʔə xətəs kʷəs əwəs stqayeʔəs kʷəʔə əsə əkəłə ə xətəs.
That young man thought that these must be someone’s home.

niʔs əʔə yəxʷ əw niʔ kʷə səniʔ əʔə txʷʔəwəteʔ.
And somebody must have dwelt here, but now there was nobody.

ʔiʔ niʔ əxətəs kʷs əwəs stqayeʔəs kʷəʔə əsə əkəłə ə xətəs.
He figured that it was certainly not wolves who lived there.
The young man noticed a bow and arrow.

He experimented with them and figured out how to use them.

Before long he was an expert on how to use them.

He could shoot an arrow straight and true.

The arrow was straight and true when he shot it with the bow.

The next day, he went hunting with the wolves, and he killed a deer.

He used his bow and arrow.

The wolves were astonished by what he could do.

Time passed, and the young man was very happy to be there in that place.

But he was always thinking, “I wonder where I find beings who are like me?”
(71) And he thought, “Where do my own people live?”

(72) And he became heartsick with desire to find his tribe.

(73) At last, the young man decided that he must go search for men like him.

(74) Before he left, he promised his wolf mother that he would never forget her.

(75) He would always remember her.

(76) He set out on a long journey which took him far up the mountains.

(77) He went through the mountain wilderness until he came to the plains, and he arrived at the home of the plains people.

(78) They told him they would teach the young man all of their ways.

(79) And it was as if the young man had come home.
Before long, he encountered a girl and he took her as his wife.

The young man told his new bride stories about the beautiful country he had come from.

It was such a beautiful place there.

He was telling her about the mountains, the forests, and the sea.

He was telling her about the beautiful mountains, the ocean, and everything.

Eventually he asked if they could go there.

And she agreed that they could go to his territory.

They traveled for a very long time.

After many weeks of travel, they arrived at the shores of Tsleil-Waututh.
And this became the home of the Tsleil-Waututh people.

The couple had lots of children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren until their homeland was populated with many people.

The village was filled with many happy people.

And the Tsleil-Waututh people were very content.

The man kept his promise to his foster mother, the She-Wolf.

And he made carvings on the house and everything in it, marking them with the emblem of the wolf.

He always remembered and related this history.

The young people loved to hear the story about the young man.
And they were happy to be part of this clan.

And they always remembered about how the man was saved, and in their hearts, they held the memory of the She-Wolf who raised him.

They always held her in their hearts and minds.

And this is the story of the origin of the Tsleil-Waututh people.

And this is the story that is passed down by the Tsleil-Waututh people.

And that’s the end of the story.

The end.
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.

sḵeləqəm ʔiʔ tə swiʔləs

The fierce creature and the young man

By Annie George

(1) ?iʔ ƛ̓a ɬə yəʔən məsteyəxʷ cweʔ cqwɬʔəqəxʷ ʔə kʷə̓ʔə na əłə hiθ.
This is a story that belongs to the first peoples from long ago.

(2) kʷəς wəł hayʔi:ɬ hayʔa ləʔələqəʔ təŋə təməxʷ, kʷəς wəł hay tə niʔ ɬələq̓əq,
When the big flood was all finished, when the water receded,

(3) ?iʔ wił tə hayʔa ləʔə sḵeləqəm, sʔi:ɬqəʔ niʔ ʔəɬə ɬələk̓tən,
A fierce creature appeared, a two-headed serpent, at Indian Arm.

(4) səw ne:ʔə xʷəłməxʷ kʷixətəs ʔə kʷ sʔi:ɬq̓ə.
The First Nations people there called it sʔi:ɬq̓ə.

(5) niʔ stʔe ʔə kʷʔisəłə smənme:t tə niʔ šxʷniʔs kʷəς xʷəςʔəʔkʷəς təwəłə sḵeləqəm,
The place where that monster was hanging from was like two mountains and the
kʷə̓ʔələs niʔ ʔə tə šxʷəlq̓əʔθ.
snake was draped across them.
(6) ʔiʔ neʔm ʔəw cəɬaqʷ ʔə stəl̓əw niʔ ʔəɬ təmtəmɪxʷtən.

It's at the place where the river comes through, at a place called Belcarra.

(7) šxʷənənəstəqʷ ʔə qəyəmən ʔiʔ ʔəw małkʷ ʔəɬ stem niːl niʔ šxʷnìʔs.

This is where they brought shells and other things.

(8) təʔən hay ʔəl xışə şəɬəqəm, ʔiʔ cəłəʔəs.

And this was a very fierce beast and it had two heads.

(9) ʔiʔ stʔən qəː nìːs ʔəxʷxələtɛ̋c Ɂəʔ, ʔiʔ ʔəxʷxəʔəs təʔ Ɂəw xəʔəss.

It didn't seem to have any tail because at both ends it was a head.

(10) ʔəɬək teʔ niʔ xəʔəs.

It had no feet.

(11) ʔəɬək teʔ kʷl stem nəm təʔat, niʔ kʷθə nəm təʔat ?iʔ nəw qəy ʔəl.

Nothing would ever go close to it, the ones that went close, they would still be approaching, and they would die.

(12) ʔəɬək niːs ɬəʔəs ʔiʔ niʔ qəy.

If anyone approached, they would die.

(13) nəw stʔən ʔən niːs ʔən yəqʷ ʔəl ʔən səcəkʷəłəs.

It was like that—they would just burn up, even the ones that just went by.

(14) kʷθə niʔ nəm həɬəʔələ ʔiʔ niʔ nəm səɬə.

The ones that passed this monster had to walk far way around it to get past it.

(15) ʔəɬək kʷs nəm ɬəqʷʔə kʷθəʔ ʔiʔ šxʷnìʔs kʷθə ɬəɬəqəm.

They couldn’t pass through the place of that fierce creature.
They would circle way around in order to pass by.

All the native people were very afraid of it.

It was a very evil thing, this fierce creature.

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.

Those that went close to it would just burn up so everyone was afraid and kept a distance from it.

The ones that lived in the forest would never go close.

They would circle way around it.

Even the birds would stop singing and sneak past and not approach it.

When bad weather came, stormy weather, the people were so afraid.
It was like that fierce creature was speaking and something would happen.

The people were afraid.

Even the eyes of that monster were so fierce, like fire.

Its eyes were very fierce.

And that's how it was—there were no other parts, just heads and eyes.

And the great bald eagle was the only one that would fly by at a distance.

And only the eagle was able to see what that fierce creature looked like.

The eagle would give a loud scream and quickly pass staying high up above it.

He would fly by really fast high up above.

All the people were so afraid.
They were always very pitiful.

The people kept wondering, “How long will this go on? Will this monster ever go away?”

Nobody would get close to it and nobody knew how to kill it.

They very afraid of this fierce beast.

The people kept thinking if they got close to it then something would happen to their family.

There were two siblings that lived there at Belcarra.

The eldest was a girl.

The sister was always bathing her little brother every day.

Then the day came when that boy started swimming by himself.
Then one day her brother was swimming and he dove down.

And the sister started worrying because he didn’t surface.

She called all the people and told them that he never came up.

She called out to the people, “Come help me! Come help me! My brother!”

And then the people got in their canoes and went to the place that they were bathing.

Then one of them saw him in a place that was really deep.

He was swimming and diving down in that place.

They chased the young boy who had left them.

They couldn’t catch him.

When they reached the place they call q’umq’umunulhp,
(54) ʔiʔ ḳa tə sh̓aʔəq̓s niʔ ʃxʷʔe: kʷəw sləmnəwət kʷəs yəʔiʔəq̓əm.
they could see him swimming on the big waves.

(55) niʔ ƛ̓eʔ wəl nəʔqəm səs ƛ̓eʔ wəł qəlet təw̓əəa ʃxʷn̓iʔs ʔiʔ ʔəwə kʷəs ƛ̓eʔ wəł.  
And then he dove again, and they never saw him again for a long time.

(56) səw ʃxʷʔe:ʔən̓omatəm səs wəł kʷənəm ?ə kʷəʔeʔ sʔełəq̓əm sʔi:lqəʔ.  
So the people thought that the fierce two-headed serpent got ahold of him.

(57) háy ?aɬ tsəs ʔə ʔən̓əɬəxs sən̓leʔ, təʔasəʕənəmat kʷəs txʷhiʔənəʔaʔ ʔəl n̓iʔ ʔə təʔeʔ kʷəs yaʔəs. 
The sister was so very sad, wallowing in sorrow, working all alone.

(58) ʔiʔ yaʔ ʔəw xʷʔətəʔən̓əɬəs slən̓əɬəs kʷəs nəʔcaʔ ʔə ʔən̓əɬəs ʔə kʷəs nəʔcaʔ ʔə sweyl ʔiʔ ʔiʔ ʔiʔ ʔaʔnex. 
But the sister always thought that maybe one day her little brother would come home.

(59) məkʷ snət ?iʔ ʔəw ʔəyatəs tə ʃxʷʔəʔəʔəməʔtə səqəʔəqs, sqʷəqʷəɬstxʷəs n̓iʔ həʔəq̓əməʔ. 
Every evening she always prepared her brother’s bed for him, waiting for him to come home.

(60) yaʔ ʔəw xʷʔi:yən̓əmʔəʔə tə ʔəw ʔiːɬ ʔiːɬ yaʔʔəʔiʔəməx, sqʷəqʷəɬ həʔəq̓əməʔtə səqəʔəqs.  
She would always listen for her little brother’s footsteps, waiting for him to come home.

(61) nəʔ təs ʔaɬ nəʔcaʔ səʕənəm kʷəs sqʷəqʷəɬstxʷəs, ʔiʔ ʔəwə ʔaɬ kʷəs həʔəq̓əməʔ tə səqəʔəqs. 
She waited for one whole year, but her younger brother never came home.
Then one day, the young man did return home.

He acted as if nothing had happened.

It was as if he had never disappeared.

He just went right to his bed and went to sleep.

His older sister was so happy to see her little brother.

That lady was very happy.

The next day, when they got up, he told his sister about the different places that he had traveled to while he was gone.

He told her about the different faraway places that he had traveled to in different parts of the world.

There were many different nations that he had seen.
(71) qəx kʷəs hay ?āl nəctəl tə niʔ yəxʷtətəss kʷəs yəʔiməx, yəkʷełəʔətəs tə məsteyəxʷ.
There were many different nations that he had traveled through, encountering many people.

(72) sow əts towkə, “ʔi cən mə ʔənθət ƛa kʷəʔəs qə:yt kʷəʔə sʔi:ɫəqə’y.
Then he told his sister, “I came back because I will kill the two-headed serpent.

(73) həlit cən tə nə məsteyəxʷ kʷəs hay ?āl təstəsas.
I am going to save our people because they are so pitiful.

(74) qə:yt cən kʷəʔel.”
So I am going to kill him.”

(75) wəl nəm cam ʔə tə sme:nt, smənme:nt sow yəʔələxəts tə təxʷəʔəcəłp.
So he went walking up the mountain and he found a yew tree.

(76) ƛa hay ?āl kʷənəkʷəm tə təxʷəʔəcəłp.
Yew trees are very strong.

(77) sow əʔyəts ƛa niʔ xʷəʔəʔəkəns.
So they can be used for weapons.

(78) yeł səs nem nəmənəsəs kʷəʔə skələqəm.
And then he went to see the monster.

(79) yəqʷəʔəpʷəʔələwələ swələs kʷəs wəl təs.
He was talking to the monster when he got there.

(80) “nəm čxʷ xʷəʔeyə! nəm čxʷ haye?!”
“You had better leave!”
(81) ʔəwə čxʷ ɬi łeʔ qənθət!”
    *Never come back!*

(82) ʔəł niʔ yəsqʷaʔqʷəʔ l̓ ʔiʔ niʔ welxəs tə šxʷmətəłəns, təșʷacəłp.
    *Then he aimed at the monster with his weapon.*

(83) hay ᵃł kʷaʔiłkʷəm tə teləws ʔiʔənəʔəłəm tə niʔ yəłəqəm tə niʔ slaʔətəs kʷəς wəł welxəs tə mətəłəns.
    *His arm was very strong, and he threw his spear at the monster, and his aim was perfect.*

(84) wəłəʔit niʔ yəʔətəs tə həẏəłəns mətəłəns ʔə tə niʔ yəłxəςəʔəłəmətəxʷəς.
    *He aimed his spear at a certain spot.*

(85) kʷəς wəł qə:ytəs ʔeʔ səłəqəm, niʔ wəł təs ʔə kʷəθə təqəs həẏəłəns mətəłəns kʷəς welxəs.
    *When he killed the fierce creature, it was the eighth weapon that he threw that struck it.*

(86) ʔiʔ taxʷ nəw łəqəm kʷəθə niʔ šxʷtəsəł.
    *It landed right at the right place where he aimed.*

(87) sis ʔəxʷ kʷəʔtəs kʷəθə sʔi:łqəʔ y kʷəς kʷəʔəməς sə tə səmənme:nt.
    *That two-headed serpent let go of the mountains it was holding onto.*

(88) ni:: nełəm ʔəw xʷkʷəʔət təwəłə sʔi:łqəʔ nełəm xʷkʷəʔət nełəm həyeʔ.
    *That two-headed serpent dragged itself off.*

(89) niʔ nełəm ʔəxʷ ɬələc təθə sʔi:łqəʔ səłəqəm.
    *And the fierce two-headed creature went up into the wilderness.*
He went into the water at a lake.  

That’s the place where he disappeared.

And he was never seen again.

The native people can show you where that mountain is that it was hanging onto.

The place where he was hanging onto can still be seen today.

Where he crawled over the mountain when he almost died can still be seen.

Nothing ever grows there, no kind of vegetation.

Nothing will grow on the path where he dragged himself along.

Even the moss will not grow on the trail where the monster went through.

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) Ḵa ḥxʷnʔs ṣʔ ṣʔ niʔ hay.

That’s where it finishes.

(100) niʔ ḥʔsep tə sḵʷəyəm.

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.

kʷəsəɬ teqəňəq tə xʷəlməxʷ

When the First People vanquished the enemy

By John L. George

(1)  tənə sqʷəɬqʷəɬ tənini? ʔə tə yəwen məsteyəxʷ ʔə kʷənə wəl hiθ.
    This story is from the First People of long ago.

(2)  hay ?əl qəx məsteyəxʷ niʔ? ʔə tə sqʷəxʷənəx, əxʷəstəm cəwəms tə skʷəyəwəs.
    There were many people here in Lower Mainland at the beach called skʷəyəwəs
    living on the shore at Kitsilano.

(3) ʔiʔ niʔ ƛ̓əw niʔ kʷθə načamat ni:ɬ  sxʷniʔs əxʷəstəm təmtəmixinxʷtən.
    And there was another place they lived called təmtəmixinxʷtən (Belcarra).

(4) ƛ̓ a sxʷniʔs kʷəs stʔe:kʷ əxəqətəl tə sʔəncəc ʔiʔ tə səl̓ ilwətəɬ.
    This is the place that divides Burrard Inlet from Indian Arm.

(5)  hay ?əl qəx xʷəlməxʷ niʔ? ʔə təʔe.
    There were a lot of First Nations people there.

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2 Also known as šxclałaxʷ. The hən̓q̸əməʔ in̓ʔəm placename skʷəyəwəs 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 təmtəmixinxʷtən. Dr. Suttles conjectures that the name comes from the Squamish word təmixinxʷ 'earth/land/soil.’ Suttles cites Musqueam elder Mr. Arnold Guerin as interpreting the un-reduplicated form təmixinxʷ as meaning ‘crossed logs filled with earth to prevent erosion.’
This is the story about our ancestors long ago.

It was summertime and it was nighttime, and everyone was still sleeping.

It was still dark—the sky was just starting to brighten a little.

And some people from a northern tribe arrived.

These were the Haida, from the north, from what's called Queen Charlotte Islands.

It was still dark, and these strangers arrived, the enemy of our people.

When they arrived, the people were still sleeping having not yet woken up.

They arrived, coming to make war and conquer.

They were a very fierce people.

And they killed all the people there.


Everyone was killed, except for just two children who fled.


The two children were a fourteen-year old girl and her little brother who was just six.

(18) niʔ neʔ ɬəwənəmət neʔ leʔ.

They managed to flee.

(19) sisəw ɬəwənəmət.

They succeeded in escaping.

(20) sisəw kʷe:l ʔə:tən ʔə xəməns niʔ ʔəxələx.

They hid from the warring enemy.

(21) nəw kʷəxənəxʷəs kʷəs ʔəwə:yəs tə səkʷəwələyəs tə məsteyəxʷəs.

They saw all their family get killed.

(22) ?əwə ʔəl niʔ kʷəxənəm.

But the Haida didn’t find them.

(23) səxənəs kʷəs kʷəs ʔə:tən ʔəwə kʷəs kʷəxələtə.

They really hid and they didn’t move.

(24) səxənəs kʷəs ʔəxənəs kʷəs səxənəs ʔəl ʔə:tən.

They stayed still and silent.
(25) kʷəs wəʔ hay tə x̌iəɬəx ?iʔ niʔ ?iʔəsm təwƛələm,
When the warring people were celebrating.

(26) ?iʔ ƛə sx̌niʔ sʔiʔ niʔ niʔ nəm qəlet kəwəłamət əxʷəłət tə steʔəxʷəł.
those children concealed themselves and managed to escape.

(27) niʔ nəm xičəʔət kʷəs nəm kʷe:l.
They went into the bushes to hide.

(28) yəxəstxʷəs əxə Ɂəməy tə sqəʔəqs kʷəs nəm wəł yəxixəčəʔət.
The young lady was carrying her little brother going through the bushes.

(29) hay ʔał plet kʷəs yəxixəčəʔət niʔ ʔə tənəc.
The bushes were very thick, the bushes there on the shores of Burrard Inlet.

(30) hay ʔał qəq Ɂeqəʔəʔət? iʔ niʔ nəm yəxixəčəʔəts yəxəłəqʷəłət əxə Ɂəməy yəkʷəłəcəʔət
tə sqəʔəqs.
There were many salal bushes and the young lady pushed through them carrying
her younger brother.

(31) hay ʔał ʔayəm kʷəs nəm yəxixəčəʔət? iʔ niʔ nəm ʔəw əłəqʷəłəm.
It was very slow going but she kept pushing through.

(32) hay ʔał ʔi sya:yəss əxə Ɂəmək kʷəs nəm əxəłəqʷəłət.
It was very hard work pushing her way through.

Sometimes she got tired, and then she would stop and rest.
(34) ʔiʔ ʔəw yəkʷəʔetəs təʔ sqeʔəqs.
She was carrying her little brother.

(35) haʔ ni łciʔəs ʔəwəłə qəməʔ kʷəs ṭəʔəs ʔəʔ qəməʔ kʷəs ʔə tə qʷleʔ kʷəs qəʔəqəməʔ.
When she got tired of walking, they would sit on a log to rest.

(36) hay ?əł ʔəw siʔsiʔ təwəłə sqeʔəqs.
Her little brother was very scared.

(37) yaʔ ʔəw yəxəʔəstəxʷəs, “ʔəwə čxʷ mə siʔsiʔəxʷ, ḥənaʔ qəʔəq, ʔəwə čxʷ siʔsiʔəxʷ.”
But she kept telling him, “Don’t be afraid, dear little brother. Don’t be afraid.”

(38) yaʔ ʔəw yəl̓iʔl̓ipətsə tə sqeʔəqs.
She was calming her brother down.

(39) hay ?əł siʔsiʔ təwəłə sqeʔəqs.
He was very afraid.

(40) hay ?əł qəx niʔ kʷəcənəxʷəs tə niʔ slaʔətəs kʷəθə nəʔcəwəməxʷ.
He had seen what the strangers had done.

(41) hay ?əł cəkʷ kʷəsəs yəʔiʔəx, yəxəʔətəs tə sqeʔəqs.
She walked very far, carrying her little brother on her hip.

(42) hay ?əł hiʔ kʷəs yəʔiʔəx stə: ʔə kʷəxəʔəθən sweyəl kʷəs ʔiʔəx.
For a long time, they walked—it must have been around four days.

(43) hay ?əł cəkʷ niʔ ɬxʷnəʔəms nəʔm təʔ ʔə kʷəθə ʔəxəʔəstəm təʔmənixʷtəʔ kʷəs yəʔiʔəx.
It was far to where they were going, and they got to Belcarra.
It was really far to where the First Nations people lived at Belcarra.

The people saw her arriving together with her little brother.

The young girl was totally exhausted.

The people got busy and gave them water and food.

And her little brother fell asleep right away. He was so very tired.

Her relatives asked her, “What happened? Why are you here all by yourselves?”

So she spoke, “All of my family was killed. There is nobody left.”
34

(54) ƛ̓ə kʷə xʷələməxʷ tənniʔ? ʔə tə cəłəqʷ, ƛ̓ə niʔ? ƛ̓ə:yə.

It’s the people from the north that killed them.

(55) ʔi ct ʔiʔtət ʔiʔ niʔ xʷəniʔəsaləm.

We were sleeping when they swarmed us.

(56) məkʷ now xʷə:yəm təw məkʷ wet si:yəʔə ct šxʷəwələq ct.

They killed everyone, all our friends and family.

(57) ʔi ct ?əw txʷəy ʔəl ʔiʔ təna səqʔəq.

There’s only me and my little brother.

(58) niʔ ct kʷə:l sict ?əw ƛəwənəmət.”

We hid and then we escaped.”

(59) səw ptemətas to hiʷaq”, “xʷəm ʔə čxʷ ʔiʔ ćewətal̓xʷ?

So they asked the chief, “Can you help us?

(60) skəxəm kʷs šiλəxstəxʷs kʷə tənniʔ? ʔə tə cəłəqʷ məstəyəxʷ.

We’d better attack the people from the north.

(61) məƛ̓ət ct ʔə kʷəᵀə niʔ slaʔəts kʷəsəs xʷəmənc tə sʔəʔəl məstəyəxʷ.”

We need to take revenge for how they wiped out our people.”

(62) səw əʔəs kʷəšxʷsiʔəns, “skʷey, skʷey kʷs neʔm ct šiλəx.

So the chief said, “We can’t. It’s impossible for us to war with them.

(63) təʔə məstəyəxʷ ʔiʔ ʔənən? əw ƛ̓əqəłəc.

There are too many of those people.
There are not so many of us.

The young lady pleaded again, “Please! Please!

We must take revenge on our enemy.

It’s better if we take action against those northern people.

We’d better take revenge for what they did to our people.”

Say to your men folk, “Go and attack the northern people.”

Please.”

But the chief said, “We can’t fight them because there are too many.”

She was very disappointed.
“We really can’t go.

There are too many of those people from the north.

And they are too fierce.

We can’t make war on them.

We can’t fight them.

They will wipe us out.

There are too many of them.”

The girl pleaded and pleaded again and again.

But he didn’t want to make war on them.

The young lady was very sad.
All of her family had been wiped and there were none left.

But he still refused to go to war.

He didn’t want to go take revenge.

The young lady was very tired.

She had walked very far.

And finally, that young lady fell asleep.

In her sleep she had a very curious dream.

In her dream, she and her little brother were down on the beach.

She was dreaming that when they were on the beach a big wave rolled in.
And on it was a fierce creature, a two-headed serpent.

The young lady was terrified, she grabbed her little brother, and she carried him away running.

She fled.

The creature who had come up to the beach spoke to her.

He spoke to her very softly.

"Don’t be frightened of me.

I’m not going to do anything to you.

I didn’t come here to scare you.

I came here to help you.

Listen to what I am going to tell you.
(103) ?iʔ ƛ̓ a ceʔ kʷəʔəs čewəʔamə.
And it will be to help you.

(104) ƛ̓ a ceʔ yəʔxʷətes kʷəʔəns yəkʷekʷəcət təʔ qəʔəq.
This is how you are going to look after your brother.

(105) ƛ̓ a hay ?əʔəʔəw əʔiʔ təʔ qəʔəq.
Your young brother is a very important person.

(106) sččən čxʷ qəʔəcət təʔ qəʔəq.
You will really have to look after your little brother.

(107) niʔ ceʔ xʷəʔəm šxʷneʔəm qəʔəcət təʔ qəʔəq.
He will become a very strong shaman one day.

(108) haʔ čxʷ kʷəʔəl kʷəcət ?iʔ telʔə tə niʔ nə sweʔ nə sqʷeʔqʷəl əm tə šxʷətes kʷəʔəns
kʷəcət,
If you follow what I am suggesting and look after him the way I am instructing you,

something special will come of it,

(110) ?iʔ məkʷ ceʔ wet qəʔəxʷiʔənēʔəm qə tə sweʔs sqʷəls.
and everyone will listen to what he will say.

(111) niʔ čxʷ taʔəʔəm qə tə niʔ nəsqʷeʔqʷəʔə?
Do you understand what I am saying?
ni: čxʷ ceʔ tel ?ə to niʔ nə sqʷeʔqʷəʔ?
Are you going to follow my instructions?

ni: čxʷ ceʔ xʷi:yne:mʔ?”
Are you going to listen?”

“ʔəy̓, niʔ can ceʔ tel ?ə to niʔ ?əʔ qʷeʔqʷəʔ.
“Okay, I will follow your instructions.

makʷ to niʔ ?əʔ qʷel ?iʔ ōa ceʔ ?əw tələmeʔn.”
Everything that you have said, I will follow.”

And the girl was thinking, “This monster is the one that is going to help us.

ʔəʔa ceʔ małəqət ?ə kʷʔə niʔ xʷəmnəcəm nə čłxʷəlməxʷ.”
He will be the one to take revenge for the genocide of my people.”

wəɬ ni stʔe:kʷəw ɬx̌iləx təwəla šələqəm, ōa kʷs čłəmətəwət.
And it was like the monster was standing up so he could be heard.

sisəwʔa x̌ʷəstəm ʔəwəla qəməyʔ ?ə to sqʷel yəxʷte:s ceʔ.
And he gave the young lady his instructions.

neʔm čxʷ neʔm ?ə kʷʔə hiwəqʷ ?əʔs ʔəw ʔəstəxʷ ʔəw neʔməs cəmstəxʷəs kʷkʷi:nə
səwəqəʔ neʔm ?ə to caʔəqʷ.
Go to the chief and tell him to take so many men and go up to the north.

ʔiʔ ōa ceʔ ʔəyt kʷəʔ qələcəs.
And they are going to build a shelter.
   And that is going to be the shelter for you and your little brother.

(123) ?iʔ ḥa šxʷʔəy̓ s kʷənʔ səcəʔən ceʔ ?əw hayʔaʔł?ʔiʔ təθ qəʔəq.
   It’s going to be best that you live alone with your little brother.

(124) ḥa ceʔ ?əθ šxʷniʔ.
   That will be your place.

   No one must ever be allowed to see him.

(126) səcəʔən čxʷ ?əw hayʔaʔəl niʔ? ə ḥənəʔə.
   It really will be just you alone.

(127) šəkəʔəm kʷʔs ?əwəʔʔeʔs wet kʷəcəʔəxʷ
   It’s best if no one ever sees him

(128) hay ceʔ ?əw niʔs wəʔ ćisəm, wəʔ təʔ kʷəsə səlanəms.
   until he reaches a certain age.

(129) təʔstəxʷ čxʷ ʔeʔłətən ?əw nenəʔs ceʔ hənəməstəm kʷ sʔətən ?ə ḥənəʔə.
   You tell them to bring food for you to eat.

(130) məʔ kʷ xʷneʔənt ?iʔ nenəʔs čxʷ leləʔətsəkʷ sʔətən.
   Every evening they will lay down your food.

(131) ʔəwə nənəʔs səčəʔən ʔəw təʔ ə wə cələʔə.
   They will not go all the way up the mountain.
They will only go halfway.

And you will be the one to go get it and bring it to your dwelling.

(134) məkʷ netəɬ kʷsəs mis wəl wiʔ ʔə syaqʷəm? iʔ mə čxʷ ʔələxʷstəxʷ təʔ qeʔəq kʷs xakʷəms? iʔ ʔə tənə.
Every morning at sunrise, bring your brother down to this shore to bathe.

(135) ʔən̓ ʔəw ʔətstəxʷ kʷʔə hiʔaqʷ, “ʔəwətəʔs čxʷ wet niʔ ʔəwəʔə ʔə tənə.”
And you will tell the chief, “Nobody is to come here.”

(136) wə hay kʷs wəl mis xʷəcicəɬ ʔə syaqʷəm, yels nəms? ə tə cəcəw.
When the sun is high, you will leave the beach.

And when you bring your brother to bathe, make sure you are all alone.

(138) ʔən̓ səʔm ʔəw? ʔiʔməxstəxʷ təʔ qeʔəq, nəm čxʷ? ʔiʔməxstəxʷ ʔə tə cəʔəqʷ, ḵə kʷs xʷəkʷəmənəkʷəms, kʷəʔənəkʷəms kʷʔə ᵇxʷ’kʷəmənəkʷəms.
Take your brother for long walks in the forests so that he becomes strong and gets his powers.

The diet you will feed him will be only deer meat and salmon.

You will gather herbs in the woods to mix into a drink for him.
(141) ʔiʔ ʔəw čxʷ kʷθəθ qəʔaq, ʔałəʔał kʷθəθ yał ceʔ kʷθəθ həʔyʷ.
You will have your younger brother get wood for your fire.

(142) məkʷ sweyəl ʔiʔ ʔəw həʔəxʷ čxʷ kʷ qəčəʔ ʔə tən ləχənəʔən.
You must put moss on the floor of your shelter every day."

(143) ʔiʔ yaθ čxʷ ʔəw heʔ kʷ sčəčəns ʔəw šəws ʔə tə məkʷ sweyəl ʔə kʷθə qəčəʔ ni ʔałəʔałəxʷ.
And always remember that the moss must be freshly gathered every day.

(144) ʔiʔ wəɬ ni tecə kʷθə hay ʔaɬ ʔi ʃəχəq.
And a really big wave arrived.

(145) sisəw kʷəyʔət ʔiʔ niʔ hayəʔ tə səʔεləqəm, yəsqəqəʔ ʔə kʷθə ʃəχəqəq.
And that fierce creature got upon the wave and departed.

(146) wəɬ xʷay ʔəwəl əqəməy, ʔiʔ ʔəw heʔ kʷəyʔətəs tə niʔ səqələqəʔən.
When the girl woke up, she remembered her dream.

(147) ʔiʔ ʔəw səleeʔəsq ʔə sqeʔəqs, stəʔənəm niʔ ʔə tə šəxʷniʔs kʷəs ʔiʔtət.
Her little brother was lying down where she was sleeping.

(148) kʷεkʷəcətəsq tə sqeʔəqs, sčəčəq ʔə tə niʔ šəxʷte:s tə sqeʔəqs.
She was looking at her little brother, astonished by his situation.

(149) ʔəw ʃəcətət ʔəwələ qəməy, "hay ʔəl qəx ʔə səya:ys ceʔ.
The girl was planning, “It’s really going to be a lot of work for me.

(150) ʔiʔ əɬ tə nə sqeʔəq əɬ ceʔ? hay ʔəl ʔəw sčəčən əɬn ceʔ? ʔəw kʷεkʷəcət.”
I will have to really watch over my little brother.
(151) kʷənətəs sisəw seʔəs nem̓ ťi̓məxstəxʷəs tə sqəʔəqs.
    She picked up her little brother and walked off with him.

(152) sisəw nem̓ astəxʷəs ʔə tə təw xʷθəʔiqət, ɬəqətəs, šἰtən̓.
    Then she carried him into the bushes where there was covering, and she laid him down.

(153) xʷay təw̓ƛ̓a saʔsəqʷt kʷəs wəł ɬəqətom.
    The little brother woke up as she laid him down.

(154) səw ʔəstəm ʔə ʔə sxəyəɬs, “ʔəw sələqʷ čxʷ ʔə tə tən̓a.
    And the older sister said, “Lie there, and keep quiet.

(155) ʔəwə čxʷ kʷəyxʔətəxʷ. ʔəwə čxʷ m̓iːxʷ ʔəmat.
    Don’t move or sit up.

(156) ʔən̓ nexʷ čxʷ ʔəl.”
    Just keep still.”

(157) xʷənxəməm ʔəw̓ƛ̓ə qaʔəyə sisəw nem̓ ʔə tə hiwaqʷ.
    She went running down the beach where the chief was.

(158) nem̓ yəʔəstəs ʔə tə niʔ sq̓əlqəɬəʔəns.
    She told him about her dream.

(159) hay ʔəl xʷəsəčeq.
    The chief was deeply impressed by what he heard.
The chief knew about the fierce two-headed sea monster.

It was greatly feared by the tribe.

The Chief summoned his men together.

He told the men, "Build them a shelter according to the girl's directions."

And they in fact built that shelter.

They prepared that shelter up in the woods.

Then he called the ladies together.

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

You will follow the girl's instructions.

You will go only half-way up the mountain."
(170) sisəw məkʷ wet niʔ yəθəstəs, qʷəƛ̓əʔəl̓, “skʷey kʷən̓s nəm nəʔ tə niʔ ʔətstxʷə:nil. 
And he told everyone, “You’re prohibited from going to where I’ve told you.

(171) niʔ xʷəʔəwə sʔəʔɬəxsʔa:ʔɬəs kʷəʔəstə nəm̓ nətəs, qʷəł̓qʷəł̓, “skʷey kʷən̓s ne nəm nəʔ tə caʔəqʷ.”
Those woods are going to be off limits for us.”

(172) niʔ xeʔxeʔstəm kʷəs nəm̓ nəm. 
And they were forbidden to go there.

(173) yaθ nəw sa:ʔ, yaθ nəw sθəʔiʔstxʷəs tə šxʷp̓eləwənəns. 
They were always prepared, and they set their minds ...

So she was looking after her brother in the woods.

(175) niʔ nəm̓ hənəməstxʷəs tə sʔəltən, hənəməstxʷəs ?ə tə sqeʔəqs. 
She kept bringing food to her little brother.

(176) kʷəs ?əltənəstxʷəs, nəw kʷən̓əʔətəl kʷəs ?iʔəltən. 
When she fed him, they would eat together.

The first night they went to sleep up there in the woods.

(178) niʔ niʔ ?ə tə təw skʷəkʷəlt kʷəs ?itət. 
They hid themselves and went to sleep.

(179) kʷəs wəl qaʔət weyləʔ ?iʔ niʔ wəl nəm nəʔ tə ?əw sweʔs šxʷqəłəsəss. 
The next day, he went to his own shelter.
(180) hiθ, tu:xʷ s'ilənam tətə̓l hənəməstə ləs to niʔ stəʔəstewət ʔə kʷələ ʔələqəm.
For a long time they followed what they had been told by the fierce creature.

(181) məkʷ sweyəl ʔiʔ neʔm xaxʷəkʷəm.
Every day he went bathing.

(182) ?əwə kʷs ʔələps kʷ nəčəʔ sweyəl, yaθ ʔəw məkʷ sweyəl ʔiʔ neʔm xaxʷəm ʔə to ʔəxəʔ qaʔ.
He didn’t skip even one day; each day he bathed in the cold water.

(183) neʔm ʔiʔməx ʔə to całəqʷ, čəkʷ to niʔ ʔəxʷənəm kʷs neʔm ʔiʔməx.
He went walking in the woods, going long distances.

(184) yaθ ʔəw yaʔəptəs to səl̓əqən niʔ ʔə to całəqʷ.
They always gathered medicinal herbs up where they walked.

(185) ʔiʔ to ʔəqəʔ sweʔətəxʷs to leləm̓s.
And they used moss for their dwelling.

(186) tu:xʷ s'ilənam kʷs ʔəw haləy ʔəl ʔiʔ to sqeʔəqs niʔ ʔə točə čałəqʷ.
For nine years, she and her younger brother were all alone in the woods.

(187) nəčəʔ sweyəl ʔiʔ neʔm xaxʷəkʷəm niʔ ʔə to cəwmən.
One morning he was bathing down at the beach.

(188) niʔ ʔə točə cəcwə kʷəs x̌iʔx̌əʔəm, hi:waləm kʷənətal ʔə to sqeʔəqs.
She and her little brother were down at the beach swimming and playing together.

(189) ʔəx ʔəl to niʔ səʔəʔəts kʷəs ʔənəqsəm hi:waləmtəl.
They were doing various things, diving and playing together.
(190) xʷən ʔəqəʔ ᵁʔ? niʔ ᵁʔəqəʔ tə sʔiʔɬəqəʔ ƛ̓əɬəqəʔ, niʔ ʷəɬ tə? ᵁʔəqəʔ niʔ ᵁʔəqəʔ.
Suddenly the fierce two-headed serpent appeared close to where they were.

(191) sosəw ṭəɬəmətəs tə sʔiʔɬəqəʔ tə sʔeʔəqə kʷənətəmsəs neʔ?əɬ ʷəɬ ʷənəqəʔ.
Then the serpent jumped for her little brother and grabbed him and swam with him, diving under the waves.

(192) te:m ʔəwələqəɬ, ʔətəxʷəs tə ƛ̓əɬəqəʔ, “niʔ ᵁʔəqəɬ ʷəɬ tə sʔeʔəqəʔ?”
The girl called out and said to the monster, “What did you do to my little brother?”

(193) ƛ̓əɬəqəɬ ʷəɬ təwəqəʔ.
The girl was crying and wailing.

(194) šxʷte:wən kʷs sʔeʔəqə.
She thought her little brother was drowned.

(195) niʔ kʷənətəs kʷθəʔ ƛ̓əɬəqəʔ kʷθəʔ ʷəɬəqə.
The creature took the boy away.

(196) sisəw stʔe:kʷ xʷələkʷəs səs neʔ?əɬ ᵁʔəwəʔstəxʷəs.
He coiled around him and took him away.

(197) ᵁʔ? niʔ ʰəʔ ʷəɬ ʷəɬ təwələqəʔ, niʔ?əɬ tə təw xəxəm kʷəs qəlet wiʔ.
But the Serpent reappeared, coming into the shallow water.

(198) ʔətəxʷəs ʔəwələqəɬ, “ʔəwəɬ ᵁʔəqəɬ ʷəɬ təsʔiʔəxʷ.
He told the girl, “Don’t be afraid.

(199) niʔ ceʔ ʔəw ʷəɬəqəɬ kʷθəʔ qəʔəq.
Your brother will return.
Don’t ever let anyone enter your shelter.”

The big monster kept circling around the big waves that were coming in.

Then there was a really big surge from the in-coming tide.

That was when the monster departed.

The girl was shocked.

She just sat still.

She thought about what the serpent had just said.

She remembered his initial instructions from her first dream.

She climbed back up the mountain.

The girl was sad about being all alone.
She wondered, “How long will it be before my little brother returns?”

Quite a while later, she was returning from a walk.

Her arms were full of herbs that she had gathered.

When she got to the shelter and reached the door, she saw a man.

That man was lying on her little brother’s bed.

She scolded that man for invading her privacy.

The man woke up and turned over.

And he was smiling, and it was her little brother.

He’d grown so tall that she could hardly recognize him.
(220) ḡa kʷəs wəł qʷel ?iʔ yelsəs pənəxʷəs kʷəs ḡas tə sqeʔəqs.

But when he spoke, she realized that it was her little brother.

(221) ʔəw xʷiʔeʔ ʔa təwəxə swiʔəxəs kʷəs ñəxəxətəm ʔəwəxə sənəʔeʔ? ʔə tə niʔ? šxʷtes kʷəs hay ʔəl siʔəxələqʷmeʔətəm kʷəsəɬ ʔəwətəm?

He listened to his elder sibling sobbing about how much she missed him when he was gone.

(222) xʷən ḡəʔ ìʔ wəł ʔətstəm ʔə tə sqeʔəqs, “ʔəw təw siʔəsəɬ ?əl ɛɬə.”

Her little brother told her, “Calm down and stop crying.”

(223) səw yəsəɬəs ʔə sxəyəɬs ʔə tə šxʷtes kʷəs niʔ? šklʔəs kʷəs sləʔətəs ʔə sxəyəɬs.

Then he told his sister what she needed to do.

(224) kʷəs wəł qʷel təʔeʔ ʔətstəxʷsqeʔəqs ʔiʔ hay ʔəl ʔəw yəstq̕iʔ, yəsəɬəʔəy tə sqʷels.

When her young brother spoke, his words were very clear and proper.


The way he was speaking was in the tone of an important person.

(226) nem ċxʷ ceʔ Ɂʷecət kʷəʔə hiʔəqʷ.

“You must go see the Chief.


Tell him to choose eleven of his men.

(228) ʔətstəxʷ ċxʷ ʔəw ʔətəqəʔəməʔəς ʔə kʷ ʔəʔənəʔə? kʷ ʔisəɬə məstətən təʔnəʔə? ʔə tə təxʷəɬəp.

Tell them to make twelve spears out of yew wood.
And make the yew wood have a very sharp point.

Get the canoes ready, the ones that they will use.

They must practice paddling until they can paddle swiftly.

They have twelve days to prepare.

And that will be when I will go down to the shore.

I intend to take them up Indian Arm.

So his sister asked, “Are you going to kill the two-headed monster?”

“Yes, we will kill the monster.

Our good fishing ground is lost to us, where we go to gather our salmon.
For a very long time, the people have been afraid to go there to gather food.

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

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

“Tranquil, my sister. First, I must win the men’s confidence.

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

When we kill that monster, the others will realize that they are very powerful.

And that way they will follow what I say.
Then we can go fight the Haida.

We will become really fierce and strong and they will never come attack us anymore.”

This was startling to the young woman.

She didn’t know what the outcome would be.

But she loved her brother and wanted to listen to him.

The young lady went down to see the Chief.

When she got to the beach, the men arrived.

They were astonished to find out about her little brother.

They thought that he had drowned.
And now he had reappeared.

The girl hadn’t told his relatives about him being carried off.

He disappeared for a long time.

And it was the monster who had taken him.

She had never informed her relatives and let them think he had drowned in a big wave.

When he reappeared, just showing up like he did, they thought the young man had gained very special powers.

They quickly followed the young man’s instructions and started preparing.

Then the day came when they were all set and ready.
(265) ?əpe:ləʔeʔ kʷ naʔəčəʔ swaw̓ləs, kʷələm kʷən̕əm swaw̓ləs, kʷən̕əm ?ə to máʔəstən, kʷən̕əʔəcəʔəm to máʔəstən.

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

(266) niʔ?ə to cəwmən kʷəs lałəx̌iłəxʔəm?əłmətsəʔ.

And they were standing down at the beach waiting.

(267) hayʔaʔ niʔ wəɬ xʷə̱tə, əl skʷixs təʔ swiw̓ləsall kʷəs xʷəsw̓ayqeʔ?

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

(268) ʔiʔ niʔ hayʔaɬ xʷəstʔeʔ ʔə w ni:s xʷəxʷneʔəm.

He seemed to have become a shaman.


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

(270) səw əl əit nəw qəpetəs təw̓xələm swaw̓ləs to smənme:nt sisəwəʔəs?ə to snəx̌əl.

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

(271) sisəw hay sisəw xʷəʔəłmətsəʔ niʔs ceʔəleʔ wəɬ tssetəm?ə kʷəw stem?əl.

And then they stood waiting for further orders.

(272) kʷənətsəʔ təw̓xə swiw̓ləs to səlxən̕əsisəwəʔəx̌əstəs to swaw̓ləs.

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

(273) tssetəs?əw ləy̌ə̱təs təʔeʔ səlxən̕ə.

He told them to eat that medicine.
And the young man knew what would happen when they ate that medicine.

This gave the young men courage so they would not be afraid.

And they got on board the canoe.

And the young man went to the bow—that was his place.

And he told the men, “Paddle really hard.

You will paddle to where the monster is.

You will go past that place.

When he sees us paddling by, he will come to us.

Then you will all grab the rocks and throw them into the water.

That will create a spray.
(284) ḣa ceʔ stʔe: ʔəw ni:s kʷe:lxləm.
   That will conceal us.

   And we will paddle in a different direction than he expects.

(286) ?iʔ ḣa ceʔ səw θqət ct, ḣa tə mətəstən ḣa ceʔ həkʷəxət.
   Then we’ll pierce him with our spears.

(287) qəyt ct ceʔ kʷəθə škəłəqəm.
   We will kill the monster.

(288) məkʷ ct ceʔ ʔəw θqət səw qa:yəs.”
   We’ll all stab him, and he will die.”

(289) kʷəs wəł kʷənətəs to sqəməls, səs nemʔəw xʷəm kʷəs nemʔəxʷteʔ əə to sʔəθnəc.
   Seizing their paddles, they paddled hard going up Burrard Inlet.

(290) nemʔəsəm ə ḥə səłəłwətaʔl.
   They headed up Indian Arm.

(291) ?iʔ wəł mi wíł mi yəʔewə təθεʔ škəłəqəm.
   And the monster appeared coming towards them.

(292) səs nemʔəw qʰəθət əə tə kʷəłkʷə.
   And he slithered into the water.

(293) sisəw θʔəʔit əə tel əə kʷəθə niʔ sqʷəłmətəčə.
   And he indeed followed, just as they had been told.
They all started throwing the rocks into the water.

The young man’s plan was very good.

The monster was in fact blinded by the spray.

The young man stood in the bow of the canoe.

He used his great strength to spear the two-headed serpent.

And they managed to kill it.

All of the men used their spears to stab the monster.

And the monster finally died.

He was speared many times.

When they returned to Belcarra, all their relatives were overjoyed to see them.
The chief had been very worried.

He thought that he had made a mistake to allow them to go attack the two-headed monster.

But they really had managed to kill it and drag it home with them.

All their relatives were happy to see them.

A feast was quickly prepared to celebrate what they had done.

They gave the young man a lot of gifts.

They were all very happy.

That young man had become a powerful shaman.

His family held him in high esteem.

When he sat down to eat, he ate only a little bit of food.
(314)  ḥəcəʔət təƛ̓ə swiʔləs ʔə to sqʷel ceʔ.
The young man thought about what he would say.

(315)  kʷəs ha:yənə tə məsteyəxʷ, ƛ̓iłəx təƛ̓ə swiʔləs saw qʷeqʷəl.
When the people had eaten, he stood up and spoke.

He said to the ones that were with him, “Ah, you men who underwent the training.

(317)  niʔ ceːp wəł xʷəstəməx.
You have now become warriors.

(318)  niʔ ceːp wəł xʷəsa:y kʷəʔs niʔ? nem ceʔ? kʷəʔel ƛ̓iłəx nemʔə tə təncałəqʷ məsteyəxʷ.
Now you are ready to go to fight the people from the north.

(319)  nem̓ ct ceʔ məɬəʔət kʷəs hays ʔəl̓ qaʔ niʔ? qa:yəs ʔə to siʔyeʔə ct, ɬiłxʷəłəməxʷ ctəl.
We will take revenge for all our relatives who they killed, our fellow tribesmen.

(320)  nəcəʔ ɬqəlc kʷəs ʔəyət, hay ʔəl̓ qaʔ niʔ? səɬəʔəts kʷəs ʔəyət, yeɬ səs xʷəsa:y kʷəs nem̓ s ʔənəq.
They prepared themselves for one month, doing many different things to prepare before they were ready to go challenge them.

(321)  sis nemʔ ʔəw nemʔ ʔə təeʔ təncələqʷ məsteyəxʷ, sisəw xʷə:yəs, məɬəʔət.
And they went to those northern people and they killed them and got their revenge.

(322)  niʔ xʷə:yəs.
They killed them all.
They really took their revenge for the slaughter of their tribesmen.

All the people from the north were killed.

His big sister was overjoyed.

She was happy to get the revenge that she desired.

They had managed to get revenge for her tribesmen and her parents who had been slaughtered.

She was very happy.

And that’s the way the story ends.

The young man grew up to be a fierce warrior.

He was held in very high esteem by his relatives.
(332) ʔiʔəsepətəna sxʷəyəm.

And that’s the end of the story.

(333) níʔ hay.

The end.
Chapter 5. Differences between hən̓q̓əmíňəm and həl̓q̓əmíňəm

It is generally recognized that our language has three main dialects: Halq̓emeyləm (Upriver Halkomelem), spoken from Sumas inland along the Fraser River to Yale, hən̓q̓əmíňəm (Mainland Halkomelem), spoken along the lower Fraser River and its delta and the shores of Burrard Inlet, and həl̓q̓əmíňəm (Island Halkomelem), spoken on southeastern Vancouver Island from Nanoose to Malahat. Comparison of these dialects can be found in Elmendorf and Sutlles (1960) and Gerdts (1977). The extent of the language and the First Nations villages within it are detailed in Sutlles (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 hən̓q̓əmíňəm (Mainland) and həl̓q̓əmíňəm (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 hən̓q̓əmíňəm dialect, in the first column, and the həl̓q̓əmíňəm dialect in the second column. The third column provides an English gloss approximation for each.
### Table 1 | Lexical differences between ʔənq̓ən̓miʔəm and ʔəl̓q̓əmin̓əm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ʔənq̓ən̓miʔəm</th>
<th>ʔəl̓q̓əmin̓əm</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>məsteyəxʷ</td>
<td>məstiməxʷ</td>
<td>person, people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stəʔəxʷəɬ</td>
<td>sƛəliqəɬ</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skʷix</td>
<td>sne</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷi:xət</td>
<td>neːt</td>
<td>name it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meqən</td>
<td>šeʔiʔən</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬeʔtən</td>
<td>sʔəptən</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷətxʷɨəɬº̓m</td>
<td>ənwɨəɬ</td>
<td>enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qənθət</td>
<td>xʷəʔałəm</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təʔəxʷəɬ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷeʔcət</td>
<td>leləmat</td>
<td>look at it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷeʔkʷəcət</td>
<td>leləmat</td>
<td>looking at it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷəcənəxʷ</td>
<td>ləmnaxʷ</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷeʔkʷəcənəxʷ</td>
<td>leləmnaxʷ</td>
<td>seeing it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>statəlstəxʷ, ʔəq̓əlləxʷ</td>
<td>štatələxʷ</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səcəʔən</td>
<td>ələm̓í</td>
<td>really</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əm</td>
<td>peʔ</td>
<td>certain (2nd position clitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syaqʷəm</td>
<td>səm̓əʔət syaqʷəm</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 1 is the term in each dialect that references a person/human being. 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 (məsteyəxʷ and məstiməxʷ respectively). The term referencing a child (in the sense of ‘young in age’ and not ‘offspring’) is nearly identical in both dialects: sƛəliqəɬ and sƛəliqəɬ respectively. In example 2 the ʔəl̓q̓əmin̓əm plural form uses an /l/ pluralizing infix to generate a plural sƛəliqəɬ from the singular while the ʔənq̓ən̓miʔəm form is entirely suppletive: stəʔəxʷəɬ. Examples 6 and 17 are instances where words are present in both dialects but have different interpretations. In example 6 ɬeʔtən is the ʔənq̓ən̓miʔəm term referencing a knife while ʔəl̓q̓əmin̓əm uses the term sʔəptən. The term ɬeʔtən occurs

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4 An interesting point here is the word final syllable for each. For ʔənq̓ən̓miʔəm it is =yəxʷ while for ʔəl̓q̓əmin̓əm it is =maxʷ. The lexical suffix =maxʷ references people, land or place, so it makes sense for it to appear in the ʔəl̓q̓əmin̓əm term for ‘person.’ My information on the =yəxʷ ending to the ʔənq̓ən̓miʔəm form is too limited to comment here.
in the həl̓qəməníəm 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 həl̓qəməníəm verb root √šip- appears in hən̓qəməníəm 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 hən̓qəməníəm and as ‘heat from the sun’ in həl̓qəməníəm. həl̓qəməníəm uses the term səmšət 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hən̓qəməníəm</th>
<th>həl̓qəməníəm</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. qeqələ / qeq</td>
<td>qeq</td>
<td>baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. xʷənxənəm</td>
<td>xʷčənəm</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 1 is the term referencing a baby. həl̓qəməníəm uses the shorter term qeq accompanied by one or more modifiers to indicate masculine or feminine gender or other information about the baby. In hən̓qəməníəm there are two terms qeq as in həl̓qəməníəm 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 hən̓qəməníəm speaker, he is the eldest source for the hən̓qəməníəm 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 /ʃ/. For example, (1) in Table 3 is the term referencing a door, road or path; in hən̓qəməníəm the term is xeɬ while in həl̓qəməníəm it is šeɬ.

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 hən̓qəməníəm /ʔiməx/ is phonetically [ɪ].
Table 3 | /x/ shifted to /š/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḥənqəmɨnəm /x/</th>
<th>ḥəlqəmɨnəm /š/</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. xəɬ</td>
<td>šəɬ</td>
<td>door, road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. xəmen</td>
<td>šəmeñ</td>
<td>enemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. xixəč</td>
<td>šišəč</td>
<td>bushes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. xexəm</td>
<td>šešəm</td>
<td>shallow water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. xaxʷəkʷəm</td>
<td>šaxʷəkʷəm</td>
<td>bathing (progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. xaxʷəkʷət</td>
<td>šaxʷəkʷət</td>
<td>bathing him/her (progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. xikhəm</td>
<td>šikhəm</td>
<td>bathing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. sxəyəɬ</td>
<td>šəyəɬ</td>
<td>older sibling, cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ?əxəl</td>
<td>?əšəl</td>
<td>paddle (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ?iʔxəl</td>
<td>?iʔšəl</td>
<td>paddling (progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. stamaʔ</td>
<td>stamaš</td>
<td>warrior, brave (n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. səqʷəlqʷəlex</td>
<td>səqʷəlqʷəleš</td>
<td>birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ləxiləx</td>
<td>ləxilaš</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. ləxixiliʔəlx</td>
<td>ləxiləxiləš</td>
<td>standing (plural progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. ?iʔməx</td>
<td>?iʔmaš</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. ?iʔməx</td>
<td>?iʔmaš</td>
<td>walking (progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. ?əmxasəm</td>
<td>?əmšasəm</td>
<td>travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. ?iʔməxasəm</td>
<td>?iʔməšasəm</td>
<td>traveling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. welx</td>
<td>wenəx</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. hakʷəx</td>
<td>hakʷəš</td>
<td>use it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. haʔkʷəx</td>
<td>haʔkʷəš</td>
<td>using it (progressive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḥənqəmɨnəm</th>
<th>ḥəlqəmɨnəm</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wet</td>
<td>ləwet</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sweyəɬ</td>
<td>skʷeyəɬ</td>
<td>day, sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sʔi:ɬqə</td>
<td>sʔi:ʃəq</td>
<td>two-headed snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. sxəyəɬ</td>
<td>šəyəɬ</td>
<td>older sibling, cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Example 2 is the word referencing day or sky. In ḥənqəmɨnəm the second consonant is a
/w/ corresponding to the labialized velar stop /kʷ/ in həl̓qəmíʔəm. In both dialects the word often appears in its verb form absent the nominalizing /s/ prefix. weyəl ‘be day’ in hən̓qəmíʔəm and kʷeyəl ‘be day’ in həl̓qəmíʔəm.

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

**Table 5 | /šxʷ/ and /čxʷ/ shifts to /š/ and /č/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hən̓qəmíʔəm</th>
<th>həl̓qəmíʔəm</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. čxʷ</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>you; 2nd person singular subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. šxʷqʷeləwən</td>
<td>šqʷaləwən</td>
<td>thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. šxʷniʔ</td>
<td>šniiʔ</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. šxʷƛ̓əpəlləc</td>
<td>šƛ̓əpiʔsnəc</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. sxʷneʔəm</td>
<td>šneʔəm</td>
<td>spiritual healer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entry 1 shows that the 2nd-person subject clitic for ‘you’ is čxʷ in hən̓qəmíʔəm and č in həl̓qəmíʔəm. Looking to evidence within the language, the həl̓qəmíʔəm word is a reduction from the hən̓qəmíʔəm version of the word. Historically, the subject clitic (e.g. čew-ət čxʷ ceʔ ‘You’ll help him.’) is formed from a base /c/ and the subject suffix /-əxʷ/, (e.g. kʷθə [čew-ət-axʷ ceʔ] ‘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 həl̓qəmíʔəm dialect, the /xʷ/ disappears. In examples 2-5, we see the same effect on the prefix /s=\ which palatizes to /š=\ before /xʷ-\.

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hən̓qəmíʔəm /l/</th>
<th>həl̓qəmíʔəm /n/</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. qəllələməcən</td>
<td>qəllənəməcən</td>
<td>orca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. qəm̓ƛ̓ələləp</td>
<td>qəm̓ƛ̓əmənələp</td>
<td>maple trees (place name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. šxʷƛ̓əpələc</td>
<td>šƛ̓əpiʔnəc</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. welx</td>
<td>wenə</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ?əpe:lə</td>
<td>?əpe:ənə</td>
<td>ten people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hən̓q̓əmȋn̓əm.

Example 1 is an example that startled me when I first encountered it. It’s the term referencing an orca. In hən̓q̓əmȋn̓əm the term is q̓əlləlaməcən while in həl̓q̓əmȋn̓əm it is q̓əllənaməcən with an /l/ at the end of the second syllable in hən̓q̓əmȋn̓əm shifting to /n/ at the end of the same syllable in həl̓q̓əmȋn̓əm. Example 4 is an example where two consonant shifts co-occur within the same word. welx in hən̓q̓əmȋn̓əm is ‘to throw (s.t.)’. In həl̓q̓əmȋn̓əm, the lateral resonant /l/ shifts to the alveolar resonant /n/ and the velar fricative /x/ shifts to the palatal spirant /ʃ/ giving us wenʃ 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 (hən̓q̓əmȋn̓əm ~ həl̓q̓əmȋn̓əm)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i: ~ u:</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ~ a</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: ~ e:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ~ ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A vast majority of words have the same vowels in hən̓q̓əmȋn̓əm and həl̓q̓əmȋn̓əm, but in a few words are different, and I have shown the həl̓q̓əmȋn̓əm 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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>1. qwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. qʷeqʷə</td>
<td>qʷaqʷə</td>
<td>talking, speaking (progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sqwel</td>
<td>sqwal</td>
<td>word, speech, language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. sqʷe?qʷə</td>
<td>sqʷa?qʷə</td>
<td>wordings, speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. šxʷqʷeləwən</td>
<td>šqʷaləwən</td>
<td>thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>6. sʰiːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ɂʷiːn</td>
<td>Ɂʷuːn</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>8. haye?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. xʷay</td>
<td>xʷəy</td>
<td>wake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ?a</td>
<td>?ə</td>
<td>post-clitic: just, quite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>11. stqaye?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. stqaye?all</td>
<td>stqe:ye?all</td>
<td>wolf cub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples 2-5 are all derivatives of the root word shown in example 1. In ḥən̓q̓əmiʔəm the root word is the verb form qʷel ‘to speak/talk’ while in həl̓q̓əmiʔəm it is qʷal.

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.’ qʷiːn in ḥən̓q̓əmiʔəm and qʷuːn in həl̓q̓əmiʔəm.

Table 8 shows some examples of substantially different third-person focus forms between the two dialects.
Table 8 | Differences in 3rd person focus forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ƛ̓ə</td>
<td>tə</td>
<td>3rd person focus form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>təwƛ̓ə</td>
<td>tθəwnil</td>
<td>Gen in view pro-determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>θəwƛ̓ə</td>
<td>θəwnil</td>
<td>Fem in view pro-determiner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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,’ nil on the Island and ƛ̓ə 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: təwƛ̓ə in hən̓q̓əmən̓əm and tθəwnil in həl̓q̓əmən̓əm. Example 3 is the feminine form of the in-view pro-determiner: θəwƛ̓ə in hən̓q̓əmən̓əm and θəwnil in həl̓q̓əmən̓əm.

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

Table 9 | Determiner correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ʔə</td>
<td>tə</td>
<td>General in view article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>teʔ / tθəʔ</td>
<td>tθəyeʔ</td>
<td>In view demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>kʷθəʔ</td>
<td>kʷθəyeʔ</td>
<td>Out of view demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>təwƛ̓ə</td>
<td>tθəwnil</td>
<td>General in view pro-determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>θəwƛ̓ə</td>
<td>θəwnil</td>
<td>Feminine in view pro-determiner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 1 is the generic (non-feminine) determiner used to reference inanimate objects or the masculine gender. In hən̓q̓əmən̓əm it is ʔə while in həl̓q̓əmən̓əm it is tθə with the first consonant in the hən̓q̓əmən̓əm form being a plain /t/. In həl̓q̓əmən̓əm the initial consonant is a plain /t/ followed by a /θ/ theta release realized in one sound. This consonant is also found in the həl̓q̓əmən̓əm forms in examples 2 and 4. In contrast, one of the alternate forms of the hən̓q̓əmən̓əm 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 /tʰ/ 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 genereral demonstrative which is teʔ or tθeʔ in həʔqəməʔəm and tθeʔ in həʔɬəqəməʔəm.

Another phenomenon that occurs only in həʔqəməʔəm and not in either of the other dialects. When referencing an item that belongs to a second individual in həʔqəməʔəm where the item is described by a word that begins with an /s/ nominalizing prefix, the 2nd-person possessive manifests as a glottalized /ɬ/. In həʔqəməʔəm the glottalized /ɬ/ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>həʔqəməʔəm</th>
<th>həʔɬəqəməʔəm</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>?əθweʔ</td>
<td>ʔən sweʔ</td>
<td>your possession/property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>?əθ nəxʷəɬ</td>
<td>ʔən nəxʷəɬ</td>
<td>your canoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The differences illustrated by the tables above demonstrate distinctive differences between the həʔqəməʔəm and həʔɬəqəməʔəm dialects. As discussed previously, həʔqəməʔəm and həʔɬəqəməʔəm 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 hən̓q̓əmiʔəm̓ and həl̓q̓əmiʔəm̓ 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 hən̓q̓əmiʔəm̓ and həl̓q̓əmiʔəm̓. 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.
References


