

**Wind from the North:
Hul'q'umi'num' speakers in Saanich**

**by
Ivy Seward**

Grad. Certificate (Linguistics of a First Nations Language), Simon Fraser University, 2018

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

in the
Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Ivy Seward 2019

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Fall 2019

Copyright in this work rests with the author. Please ensure that any reproduction or re-use is done in accordance with the relevant national copyright legislation.

Approval

Name: **tultelumat (Ivy Jane Seward)**

Degree: **Master of Arts in Linguistics**

Title: **Wind from the North: Hul'q'umi'num' speakers in
Saanich**

Examining Committee: **Chair: Nancy Hedberg**
Professor

Donna B. Gerdts
Senior Supervisor
Professor

Ruby Peter – Sti'tum'at
Second Reader
Hul'q'umi'num' Elder

Date Approved: December 2, 2019

Ethics Statement

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

- a. human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics

or

- b. advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University

or has conducted the research

- c. as a co-investigator, collaborator, or research assistant in a research project approved in advance.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed with the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Update Spring 2016

Abstract

Among the First Nations peoples are the Coast Salish tribes that live along the shores of the Salish Sea. The Hul'q'umi'num' and the Sunchathun are members of two of the ten Coast Salish groups and reside on neighboring territories in southwestern Vancouver Island. They speak two different, but closely-related languages. My research studied Hul'q'umi'num' speakers who live among the Sunchathun, posing the question: do these speakers talk like each other or different from each other? My finding is that there is no uniform dialect, but rather each speaker uses a form of Hul'q'umi'num' based on their family connections and personal history. Speakers differed in how much influence Sunchathun had on the way they spoke Hul'q'umi'num'—from none to much—depending on various factors including where they were raised and whether they could speak Sunchathun.

Keywords: Coast Salish; Hul'q'umi'num'; Sunchathun; bilingualism; contact linguistics; speech variation

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this project to the Hul'q'umi'num' elders and ancestors, to my late parents who gave me the drive to complete this project—even though they are in the spirit world, to the new and up-coming children of the Hul'q'umi'num' nation, to all learners who seek to understand the language as spoken by their families, and to my children Joseph and Rose Seward, with all love and respect.

Acknowledgements

I wish to first thank all of the Hul'q'umi'num' speakers for being interviewed—Elmer Henry, Sandy Morris, Al Sam, Danny Sam, Lila Sam, May Sam, Rose Smith, Simon Smith, Geraldine Underwood. Thank you to the research team who participated in interviewing, recording, transcribing, and translating the words of the Elders: Donna Gerdts, Thomas Jones, Janet Leonard, Delores Louie, and Ruby Peter.

Funding for this project was provided by SSHRC and Jacobs Research Fund. I thank Lauren Schneider for editorial assistance.

My experience as an SFU student has been very rewarding in gaining more fluency in my language. I thank the Delores Louie, Ruby Peter, Donna Gerdts, and the other instructors, and all of my fellow students for this opportunity to be part of a program that bring forward the language. We all dearly love and respect them for their continued hard work with the many students and their wisdom in the language and culture.

Thank you to all the administration and staff at SFU and to Linda Gladstone of WSanec School Board, for making my studies possible. Thank you by friends and family for encouragement and support through the intense time of being a graduate student.

Table of Contents

Approval	ii
Ethics Statement	iii
Abstract	iv
Dedication	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Table of Contents	vii
Preface	viii
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1. My language context	1
1.2. Research questions and methodology.....	2
Chapter 2. Speakers' profiles	4
2.1. Elmer Henry syalukwuthut	4
2.2. Sandy Morris hwilumqun	5
2.3. Al Sam hwutkwamthut	6
2.4. Daniel Sam xumximuluq	7
2.5. Lila Sam kwulihwulwut.....	7
2.6. May Sam swutth'tisiye'	8
2.7. Rose Smith kwul'lhilumat	9
2.8. Simon Smith luschiim.....	9
2.9. Geraldine Underwood thiwanumaat	10
Chapter 3. Findings and conclusions	11
References	14
Appendix Stories	15
Elmer Henry "Training for canoe pulling"	15
Sandy Morris "Sasquatch sightings"	18
Al Sam "Starting out as a longhouse speaker"	25
Danny Sam "Power of prayer"	30
Lila Sam "Going for water"	32
May Sam "First time at school"	35
Rose Smith "Arranged marriages"	38
Simon Smith "Feeding the people on Christmas Day"	40
Geraldine Underwood "Boat explosion"	42

Preface

My name is TELTÁLEMOT [Tultelumot], Ivy Seward. I am from the Saanich First Nations at the south end of Vancouver Island. My roots are with the Sunchathun and also with the Hul'q'umi'num'. My father is from *hwsenuts* and my late mother is from p'aqwutsun (Pauquachin), a village that used more Hul'q'umi'num' than the other Saanich villages. I visited family up and down the island as I grew up and my late parents were both fluent in the language. My late father was fluent in Hul'q'umi'num', Sunchathun, Chinook and English. My late mother spoke fluent Hul'q'umi'num' and English.

As a child growing up, my whole extended family and community worked together, being great role models. As the saying goes, “to raise a child is to raise as a child as a community.” Some examples are such as gatherings at our longhouse traditions and ceremonies to show traditional identity and respect for one another and sharing language and the culture that lies inside the traditions. This is where I had begun my journey with learning the language and culture, which is a very important part of my life.

As a child, I was taken to visit Hul'q'umi'num' family where I loved to hear the beautiful intonation of the language. As an adult I'd began taking a Sunchathun Program where I thought I knew nothing but began noticing that I did know some and recognized language sounds and words (that is shared in both language groups). It has been quite the path for me as I continue my journey of learning more of Hul'q'umi'num'.

Later in life, I expanded on that journey by taking the SENĆOTEN Language Instructors' Program, which permitted me to advance into teaching the children at Pre-school, Primary and Middle School. I was very successful student in that program, and I felt quite fortunate to be chosen as a language teacher as soon as I had completed the program. I am a person who is very well aware of the past and the impact on our language and culture of the Residential School experience. I have numerous relatives who had been tortured in that school system. My late parents were traumatized by those experiences that had taken place at Kuper Island Residential School. Moreover, I am aware of what my husband's late parents had experienced there too. In turn, although we

have come some way and time now, we still need healing and understanding. Furthermore, we need to educate the public about First Nations people in order to make new paths together, First Nations and non-First Nations.

I am also a person who has lived a life of learning the First Nations tradition and non-First Nations culture. I am a person who enjoys working with youth, the First Nations elders and non-First Nations; moreover, I have learned that it is quite imperative to initiate to a better extent at sharing our language and culture to bridge new relationships in the community as a whole. I have engaged in working with many of the local elders. However, many of them have now passed on to the spirit world and continue to use their handed down knowledge and wisdom in my field of employment (as those elders are/were the ones who had lived this language and culture to the fullest extent—living in the longhouse, fishing and hunting for food, gathering plants for medicines, and speaking the SENĆOŦEN language as their first language. This has always been the best part of life—learning from the elders and passing it on to the younger generation.

I worked with the LAUWELNEW Tribal School from 1992 to 1997 and School District 63 2002 to 2017. I current work at Songhees Wellness Center as a Lukw’ungi’nung language instructor. I have done all educational levels of curriculum development for the SENĆOŦEN language.

I got my first exposure to linguistics through my teacher training with Earl Claxton, Yulqweth’e’. I thank my friend Janet Leonard for helping me gain valuable experience in fieldwork and analysis. When I heard that an MA program was being offered entirely on the Hul’q’umi’num’ language, I was eager to sign up. My experience in Linguistics through SFU had broadened my language knowledge. It helped me to be able to begin to use the Hul’q’umi’num’ language in addition to understanding it. Our Elders provided an opportunity to hear authentic language and studying legacy materials help connect me to my culture.

“Learning is for a lifetime” has always been my motto. This path I intend to pursue the rest of my life because my language and culture is my identity and it is my destiny to share it with our up-and-coming children and they in turn will do the same across the generations. Learning together at any level is a positive move where we help

one another become more fluent in our language. New paths and relationships shall begin.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. My language context

'een'thu tultelumat tun'ni' tsun 'utl' shts'alhulhp. I'm tultelumat from xwsenuts. I was raised by my late parents thqalhuchtun (Ivan Morris) and tth'iximulwut (Madeline Morris). My father is from shts'alhulh (Tsartlip) and my late mother is from another p'aqwutsun (Pauquachin). The Saanich villages was originally comprised of six communities, but it is now down to four which are [given in Sunchathun, Hul'q'umi'num', English spelling, and semantic meaning]:

- WJOĒĒLP | shts'alhulh | Tsartlip, Place of Maple
- STÁUTW | sth'ew't-hw | Tsawout, Houses on Top
- BOKÉCĒN|p'aqwutsun | Pauquachin, Place of Earth Bluffs (aka Cole Bay & Cole's Bay)
- WSIKEM| hwsuyq'um | Tseycum, Place of Clay (aka Pat Bay & Patricia Bay)

The last two villages use more Hul'q'umi'num' than the other Saanich villages because they tied with meluxulh (Malahat) which is a village close to quw'utsun' (Cowichan).

I have Hul'q'umi'num' ancestry on both sides of my family. My late mother's mother, Hazel Henry (nee Paige), was from xinupsum (Green Point)¹ and my late father's mother, Esther Morris (nee Tom), was from kwa'mutsun (Quamichan)². I visited family up and down the island as I grew up and my late parents were both fluent in Hul'q'umi'num'. My late father was fluent in Hul'q'umi'num', Sunchathun, Chinook and English. My late mother spoke fluent Hul'q'umi'num' and English. She didn't go to school, but she was very smart. She learned math on her own and was very good at it and she learned English by listening to the radio. She helped her late sister and her now late brother Elmer learn how to speak English.

¹ Her mother was Annie was from sqxwa'mush.

² Her mother was Annie O'shan from snuneymuhw .

My first language is English and second was Hul'q'umi'num', but I never spoke it growing up; I could understand but not speak. My speaking ability and literacy in Hul'q'umi'num' developed through SFU courses and through cultural work. In 1991, I began a Sunchathun language program, and today I am conversant and literate in this language.

1.2. Research questions and methodology

Many of us with Hul'q'umi'num' heritage that live in Saanich are interested in the Hul'q'umi'num' language. I ventured to Saanich to visit and then later did some audio recording of some of the fluent Saanich Hul'q'umi'num' speakers. My research questions are:

- What are the differences and/or similarities between the fluent Hul'q'umi'num' speakers who live in Saanich in contrast to the Hul'q'umi'num' speakers who live in quw'utsun' (Cowichan)?
- Do they Sunchathun-ize their speech when they speak Hul'q'umi'num'?
- Or do they sound like the other speakers in their extended family?

To answer these questions, our project team interviewed nine fluent Hul'q'umi'num' speaking Elders living in Saanich:

- late Elmer Henry
- Sandy Morris, Sr.
- Al Sam
- Dan Sam
- Lila Sam
- May Sam
- Rose Smith
- Simon Smith
- Geraldine Underwood

The research team included: Thomas Jones, Janet Leonard, elder Delores Louie, and myself. During 2015, we made a series of visits to record Elders, asking them some questions about their backgrounds and for short stories about events in their lives. Speakers spoke for an average of one hour each. The tapes were translated by Delores Louie and Ruby Peter and preliminary transcriptions were made by Donna Gerdt and Ivy Seward with help of Delores Louie and Ruby Peter. I made heavy use of the electronic version of the Hul'q'umi'num' dictionary (Hukari & Peter 1985). Overall there were 120 pages of materials. For this project, I have selected and edited one story from each speaker, given in the Appendix.

Chapter 2 of this project provides biographical information of all of the elders who were interviewed for this project. This provides the language context for each speaker. Also, I give some details about the interview and an assessment of Hul'q'umi'num' as it is spoken by the Elder. Chapter 3 provides a summary of the conclusions I was able to draw from our research. In the appendix you one story from each of the Elders. These stories were used to analyze the speech of these elders in order to determine the differences between their speech.

Chapter 2. Speakers' profiles

In this chapter, I give a brief biography of each of the Elders interviewed for the project, and in particular talk about their family ties and where they learned their Hul'q'umi'num' language, based on questions asked during the interviews. I also give an assessment of their Hul'q'umi'num' language use based on studying the story recorded from each Elder. Elders are presented in alphabetical order.

2.1. Elmer Henry | syalukwuthut

Elmer Henry is from p'aqwutsun (Paquachin) First Nations, which is one of the four villages of the Saanich People. His *hwulmuhw* name is syalukwuthut, which comes from Malahat and he was born on July 28, 1933, and he passed away on July 24, 2019. His late wife was Margaret Henry from Saanich who speak Sunchathun. His late parents were Moody Henry of p'aqwutsun and Hazel Page who is originally from xinupsum in quw'utsun'.³ Elmer was a Shaker Faith member who believed strongly in the power of prayer. He was raised by his late parents, but he was quite young when his father passed, so he learned only Hul'q'umi'num' since his late mother was from quw'utsun'. His late father was from meluxulh and his late mother is from xinupsum in which he'd learned Hul'q'umi'num' as his first language. He spoke fluent Hul'q'umi'num' all his life. He didn't go to residential school and he explained that he and his late mother lived a very anxious life as they had to watch very closely for the "Indian Agents" to come search for more children in the territory to take away to school.

Elmer Henry was interviewed by Janet Leonard, Thomas Jones, and Ivy Seward at his home for about an hour on March 17, 2015. He shared one story about training and participating in the traditional canoe races. In the story he talks about how it is different today and speaks of teachings about exercise and restrictions on diet and the importance of spiritual strength for paddlers.

³ These are my grandparents, my mother's parents. Elmer Henry is my late uncle.

For the most part, his Hul'q'umi'num' sounds typical of quw'utsun' speakers. He used the full range of determiners, including *tthu* masculine in view and *kwthu* masculine out of view. However, I did notice that he used Sunchathun *'unun* twice instead Hul'q'umi'num' *nan* for “very”, which he also used twice. He used the Sunchathun word for wife *stallus* instead of Hul'q'umi'num' *sta'lus*.

2.2. Sandy Morris | hwilumqun

Sandy Morris from shts'alhulhp (Tsartlip) First Nation, which is one of the four villages of the Saanich people. He was born December 24, 1938, in Sidney, BC. His *hwulmuhw* name is hwilumqun, which comes from Tsartlip. The name belonged to Gus Morris, his father's brother. Sandy's late parents were William Morris and Esther Morris and he was raised by them.⁴ His late mother, Esther Morris was from kwa'mutsun (Quamichan) of the Tom family which is where he'd learned to speak Hul'q'umi'num' as his first language. His parents both spoke Hul'q'umi'num' but his late father's first language was Sunchathun. He recalls that his father would speak in Sunchathun and his mother would reply to him in Hul'q'umi'num'. Sandy learned to speak Sunchathun and then in the latter years during Residential School he was forced to learn *hwunitum'qun* “white man's speech.”

The late mother of Ray Peter who is from Cowichan was Sandy's father's older sister who was from Saanich. Other members of Sandy's family who are from Cowichan include Manson George, who is the brother to Sandy's late mother Esther Tom. Sandy shares the same concerns as other elders that many fluent speakers have now passed on. He is very thankful to all who participate in learning teaching, reviving and giving life to the Hul'q'umi'num' language.

Sandy Morris was interviewed at the research centre in Duncan on July 30, 2015. Present were Delores Louie, Thomas Jones, Donna Gerds, Ivy Seward. Sandy shared a word list that he had prepared and also three stories of sasquatch sightings. First, his son and three friends saw a sasquatch at sulukw'tulh “Goldstream.” It was fishing for spring

⁴ Sandy Morris is my uncle: my father, Ivan Morris, is Sandy's older brother.

and dog salmon in the stream. Second, his grandson saw two young sasquatches on Prospect Lake Road. Last, his late father went deer hunting at *sa'ukw* (Sooke) mountain and saw sasquatch. His late father and the sasquatch just stared until it walked away. He also shared a variety of words, phrases, and his concern for our language.

2.3. Al Sam | hwutkwamthut

Al Sam, whose *hwulmuhw* name is hwutkwamthut, is from shts'alhulhp (Tsartlip) First Nation, which is one of the four villages of the Saanich people. Al is in his mid-60's now. He was raised by his late parents. His late parents were Samuel (Sammy) Sam from shts'alhulhp (Tsartlip) and Julia Fraser from snuneymuxw (Nanaimo). He speaks Hul'q'umi'num' as a second language. In the territory of Saanich, he was one of the survivors of the Indian Day School, so English was his first language. He learned Hul'q'umi'num' on his own with support of some elders in the early 1980's. He was initiated in the longhouse in 1973. He became a carpenter in 1985 where his supervisor would speak Hul'q'umi'num' on a daily basis, constantly asking Alec "What is your name?" This prompted Alec to learn the language so that he would be able to understand what his elders said to him. Alec became very happy to be learning Hul'q'umi'num'. He began by learning the names of friends and family with some support from his mother-in-law, Dorothy Henry who is originally from Cowichan. He then travelled to many other communities to learn more names. He began working with his elders: quyutsqinum, ts'ets'um'tun, and siyuletse'. In time the knowledge he was gaining was noticed by community members and he was later asked to be a ceremonial speaker in traditional longhouse work.

We interviewed Al on March 9, 2015, in Tsartlip. Al tells the story of how he began learning Hul'q'umi'num' in 1973 in suyq'um (Pat Bay). He began by learning *hwulmuhwa'lh* names for the witnessing part of ceremonies. He initially learned only Saanich and then later expanded on further. Elder speakers took notice of him began to call on him to help with the work. He's humbly proud that he'd learned what he has and all his help with any family that comes to his door for help.

In terms of dialect, Al Sam seems to have no influence in his Hul'q'umi'num' speech from Sunchathun except in how he pronounces place names in the Saanich territory. Because he is a second language speaker, sometimes he uses forms typical of fluent younger speakers that differ from the way older speakers use Hul'q'umi'num'. You will see in the transcript of his story, which was transcribed by me, but then proofread by Ruby Peter and Donna Gerds, comparison to Ruby's speech. The notation () means something was added that Ruby would not have used and the notation [] means something was left out in Al's speech that Ruby would have used. Many of these features are hallmarks of younger fluent speakers.

2.4. Daniel Sam | xumximuluq

Danny Sam, whose *hwulmuhw* name is xumximuluq, is from shts'alhulhp (Tsartlip) First Nation, which is one of the four villages of the Saanich people. He was raised by his late parents, Moses (?) Sam and the late Agnes Smith. His father was from *hwsenuts* and his late mother was from quw'utsun'. Hul'q'umi'num' is his first language as it is the language of his late mother. Danny is now in his late 80's. He is a long-time member of the Shaker Faith.

Danny Sam was interviewed by Thomas Jones, Janet Leonard and Ivy Seward on March 9 and July 14, 2015, at his home in Tsartlip. We recorded one short story from him talking about prayers as used in the Shaker church. His use of Hul'q'umi'num' is standard quw'utsun', including using *tthu* for the masculine article. At the very beginning of the talk he used Sunchathun *hay s-hw q'u* "thank you" but immediately added *hay ch q'a* "thank you" in Hul'q'umi'num'. Also, he used Sunchathun forms of some place names.

2.5. Lila Sam | kwulihwulwut

Lila Sam is Danny Sam's wife and is originally from lhumlhumuluts' (Clemclem); Lila Sam is originally from the George family of quw'utsun'. Her *hwulmuhw* name is kwulihwulwut which comes from her late granduncle who was from quw'utsun'. She has

been married to Danny Sam for fifty years. She raised her six children until they all had graduated. Hul'q'umi'num' is Lila's first language. She is a residential school survivor; she attended the Kamloops residential school when she was ten years old. She has been a Shaker Faith member for fifty-seven years.

Lila Sam was interviewed by Janet Leonard, Thomas Jones and Ivy Seward, March 9, 2019, at her home in Tsartlip. She shared several stories, and in the appendix you will find her story about having to get water from the river to wash laundry as a child. It was strenuous labour and was a lot of work for her and her late mother. She describes the buckets, fire, washboard, and large tubs used. Lila speaks fluent Hul'q'umi'num' with a quw'utsun' accent.

2.6. May Sam | swutth'tisiye'

May Sam, born May 1, 1944, is originally from lhumlhumuluts' (Clemclem) and meluxulh (Malahat). Her mother was from lhumlhumuluts' (Clemclem) and her father was from meluxulh (Malahat). Her *hwulmuhw* name is swutth'tisiye' which was the name of her late grandmother. She was raised by her father Everest Tommy, whose *hwulmuhw* name was xtl'athut from meluxulh (Malahat).⁵ Her mother, Saraphine Canute, from quw'utsun', passed away when she was little. She was raised by her father until age 14 years when she was "Indian married" to her husband, Gabriel Sam. May is a very famous traditional knitter of the Coast Salish people. She is well known for sharing her spiritual guidance and teachings.

May Sam was interviewed by Janet Leonard and Ivy Seward on July 13, 2015, at her home in Tsartlip. She shared her story of going to school. She was six years old when she taken to Residential School and she didn't speak any *hwunitum'qun* "white man's language". Later, Mary George began to help her learn. She attended for two years, which was enough time for her to learn English. May speaks fluent Hul'q'umi'num' with a quw'utsun' accent.

⁵ May's father and my mother were second cousins.

2.7. Rose Smith | kwul'lhilumat

Rose Smith, kwul'lhilumat, was born August 8, 1936. She is originally from p'aqwutsun (Pauquachin) and her first language was Hul'q'umi'num'. Rose's late father, Chris Tom, was from p'aqwutsun and her late mother, Mary Tom, was from quw'utsun'. Mary is a sister to Ben Canute of quw'utsun'. That generation only spoke mostly in their own native tongue growing up. Rose is a residential school survivor who kept her language and cultural traditions strong.

Delores Louie, Janet Leonard, Thomas Jones and Ivy Seward interviewed Rose on March 9, 2015, at her home in Tsartlip. During her interview Rose told the story of how her parents informed her of the tradition of arranged marriage and how a person's daughter could be taken without their consent. Rose speaks fluent Hul'q'umi'num' with a quw'utsun' accent.

2.8. Simon Smith | luschiim

Simon Smith is Rose's husband. He was born December 20, 1938, in Saanich, where he grew up. He is bilingual in Sunchathun and Hul'q'umi'num'. He is from shts'alhulhp (Tsartlip) where he gets his first language Sunchathun. Hul'q'umi'num' is his second language. His late father, Henry Smith, is from shts'alhulhp and his late mother, Elizabeth Jim, is quw'utsun'. Her father was Jimmy Jim.

Simon Smith was interviewed by Janet Leonard, Thomas Jones and Ivy Seward on March 9, 2015, at his home in Tsartlip. as he shared a story about fishing to provide food for visitors at the Shaker Church. In transcribing his story, I noticed that he frequently used Sunchathun lexicon and particles when speaking Hul'q'umi'num'. I have provided color coding in the transcript for Sunchathun. I have supplied the Hul'q'umi'num' equivalent of what he is saying in notes to each line.

2.9. Geraldine Underwood | thiwanumaat

Geraldine Underwood, whose *hwulmuhw* name is thiwanumaat, is originally from quw'utsun' and snuneymuxw, and was raised speaking Hul'q'umi'num' as her first language. She was born December 7, 1928. Mary Jane Peters and Jenny Wyse are her grandmothers. She was married in stth'ew't-hw (Tsawout).

Geraldine Underwood was interviewed by Janet Leonard, Delores Louie and Ivy Seward on July 22, 2015, at her home in stth'ew't-hw. She shared a story about a boat explosion that they saw from their kitchen window involving a relative. Geraldine speaks fluent Hul'q'umi'num' with a quw'utsun' accent.

Chapter 3. Findings and conclusions

I return now to the original research questions that inspired my study.

- What are the differences and/or similarities between the fluent Hul'q'umi'num' speakers who live in Saanich in contrast to the Hul'q'umi'num' speakers who live in quw'utsun' (Cowichan)?
- Do they Sunchathun-ize their speech when they speak Hul'q'umi'num'?
- Or do they sound like the other speakers in their extended family?

I did not find was any uniformity in the way Elders who live in Sunchathun speak Hul'q'umi'num'. Based on my assessment of the stories told by each Elder, I propose that we can divide the speakers into three groups:

- a group that have strong Hul'q'umi'num' speech,
- a group that have a small amount of Sunchathun *sqwel* in their Hul'q'umi'num' *sqwal*,
- a group that mix their Sunchathun *sqwel* with their Hul'q'umi'num' *sqwal*.

Al Sam, Danny Sam, Lila Sam, May Sam, Rose Smith, and Geraldine Underwood are clearly in the first group, speaking Hul'q'umi'num' with no interference from Sunchathun. The only thing noticeably Sunchathun in the speech Al Sam and Danny Sam were their use of Sunchathun language for Sunchathun place names. Two speakers, Elmer Henry and Sandy Morris had a slight amount of influence from Sunchathun in their speech. For example, Elmer Henry used Sunchathun *'unun* twice instead Hul'q'umi'num' *nan* for “very” and the Sunchathun word for wife *stallus* instead of Hul'q'umi'num' *sta'lus*. And Sandy Morris several times used the Sunchathun past tense *la'* instead of Hul'q'umi'num' *=ulh*. Simon Smith was in the third group, speaking in a style that reflects his native language of Sunchathun in the way he speaks Hul'q'umi'num'.

This raises the question of what factors help determine the way Elders speak Hul'q'umi'num'. The first factor seems to be if they were raised in Hul'q'umi'num' speaking territory. The ladies, who were raised speaking Hul'q'umi'num' and then married and moved Saanich, all speak like their quw'utsun' families. Elmer Henry,

Sandy Morris, Al Sam, Danny Sam, and Simon Smith were raised in Saanich with at least one Hul'q'umi'num'-speaking parent.

Another factor, of course, is whether or not the Elder is fluent in Sunchathun. Sandy Morris and Simon Smith are also speakers of Sunchathun. In Sandy Morris' case, he is bilingual and keeps the language separate, and in Simon Smith's case, Sunchathun is his predominant language so it influences his Hul'q'umi'num' heavily. Al Sam is the only second language speaker who we interviewed, and he learned the language as an adult, and has only recently began using Sunchathun, as a third language, and so he also showed no interference from Sunchathun in his Hul'q'umi'num' speech.

The result of the research, showing that the Hul'q'umi'num' speakers in Saanich do not form a coherent dialect of that language, is not surprising for several reasons. First, in other regions of the Hul'q'umi'num' territory we see similar evidence that speakers tend to sound like their family members, wherever they might live, than their neighbors. Because travel from Saanich to Hul'q'umi'num' territory is easy, speakers probably have opportunity to hear their family members speaking Hul'q'umi'num'. A quote from elder Tom Sampson that I really love and believe is, "Growing up with our families practicing our culture [longhouse tradition], I can tell what family the speaker is from." Because he himself is a fluent Hul'q'umi'num' and Sunchathun speaker, he can hear the dialect from the different families and he can figure which family this speaker comes from. Second, English has become the language in common among the Coast Salish people, so communication is possible without speaking Hul'q'umi'num' (or Sunchathun) to each other.

Even though all of the Elders we interviewed live in Sunchathun, their Hul'q'umi'num' language remains very strong. For some, it is the language of the home as their spouse speaks Hul'q'umi'num', or understands it. For some couples they each speak their own language to each other (just as some of their parents did). Also, Hul'q'umi'num' is an important part of their spiritual practices, in the longhouse or in the Shaker Church.

I have found doing this research that it is an eye-opener to realize how important the Hul'q'umi'num' language is to the Elders we interviewed. Personally, I believe it is

important to my own identity, as a Sunchathun person with Hul'q'umi'num' heritage, to continue on my path to fluency in Hul'q'umi'num', parallel to my path of mastering Sunchathun. This means my goal is to be bilingual in both languages. My own children have so far focused on acquiring the Sunchathun language. But going forward, I will encourage them also to embrace their Hul'q'umi'num' linguistic heritage. It is going to be important to involve our Elders that are Hul'q'umi'num' speakers as language teachers and mentors, and we need their help to develop curriculum for our children. As our Elders say, we should not be so concerned about differences in the way we speak Hul'q'umi'num', and learners should do their best to imitate the Elders that teach them, and their relatives can help them "fix up" their dialect later.

To conclude, I really enjoyed the interviews and hearing the Elders speak in Hul'q'umi'num'. I found the various ways that the Elders spoke to be very interesting regardless if the Saanich people do not have what may be called the Saanich-Hul'q'umi'num' dialect. Listening to our elders as it brought back memories as a child when my late mother would take me to quw'utsun' to visit family where they spoke only fluent Hul'q'umi'num'. They would always do their visits around the table where we all know the teaching: "When we eat or drink while our elders speak, their words are being swallowed." We are rich with language yet, and we, as Coast Salish people, shall continue to strive to keep our language alive as we have been doing since time immemorial.

References

Hukari, Thomas E., (ed.) and Ruby Peter (assoc. ed.). (1995). *The Cowichan Dictionary of the Hul'q'umi'num' Dialect of the Coast Salish People*. Duncan: Cowichan Tribes.

Appendix Stories

Elmer Henry “Training for canoe pulling”

1. tthu shni’s tthu teti’ulh ’u kw’un’a wulh hithulh.
This is how they used to have canoe races long time ago.
2. ’uy’ulh suw’a’lum ’u kw’un’a wulh hith.
It was a good sport long time ago.
3. tus ’u tun’a kweyul ’i’ ’i tst hwu shum’aan’tul’ ’i’ ’uw’ nem’ ’a’ulh ’u tthu
 snuhwulh, tthu tl’eqt snuhwulh st’e ’u tthey’.
But today we are opponents when we are on the canoe, the long canoes.
4. ’unun⁶ ’uw’ ’iyus ’i ’uw huw’a’lum tst ’ul’.
It was a lot of fun.
5. ’uwus ni’ ch kwikwun’tul’ ni’ ’u tthu tsuw’tsuw’ ni’ ’u tthu qa’ ’u tun’a
 kweyul.
But it’s now fighting with each other when we are out in the canoe today.
6. tthu nan ’uw’ hwu qux ni’ haliyu⁷ ’u tthu stl’ul’iqulh, kws teti’sulh ’i’shul’.
Many of the children quit paddling.
7. ’uw’ hayulh sq’uqa’ tthey’ ’i’ teti’ ’u kwthey’ ’i’ ’uwu kwun’s
 hwqul’qe’lumuhw kwun’s tuw’ ’almustst tthey’ ’u tthey’.
*When you are paddling with the group on the canoe, sometimes you run into
 problems.*
8. ’iyus ’ul’ suw’a’lum’sulh tthu s’ul’e’luhw tthu st’e ’u tthey’.
It was a good sport for the people a long time ago.

⁶ ’unun is Sunchathun for the Hul’q’umi’num’ nan.

⁷ Expected Hul’q’umi’num’ form is *huliye* ‘leave plural’.

9. tun'a kweyul ni' kwu'elh hwu nets' tthu sht'es tun'aalhtun st'e 'u tthey' ni' hwu kwikwun'tul' 'u kwun's tuw' 'aalh 'u tthu snuhwulh.
Today it's different, it's not like the way it used to be. They get into physical fights now.
10. 'uwu kwun's qaaqa't 'u tthu pap puyu kwun's teti', 'uwu kwun's lhpatl'um.
You don't drink pop, beer, or smoke cigarettes.
11. 'uwu kwun's 'itut kwun's stallus⁸; 'uwu niis kwun's swe' 'un' shhw'a'mut tthu st'e 'u tthey'.
You don't sleep with your wife; you have your own separate bed.
12. sht'esulh kw' s'ul'eluhw tstulh, kwus hay kw'us ni' qw'imut tthu snuhwulh st'e 'u tthey'.
The way it was with the Elders, after you take the canoe out of the water and put it away,
13. ni' ch hwi' xwchenum tsa.a.akw kwun's shhwunum' kwun's hqxhwnum kwun's t'ut'a'thut.
Then you go for a run. You run for a long ways to exercise.
14. nilh sht'es kwunus niilh yula'ulh.
And that's the way it was when I was on the canoe.
15. 'uwu tst niit tl'hwunuq tl'e' 'uw' 'iyus 'ul' suw'a'lum' stu'e 'u tthey'.
We didn't win again, but we enjoyed participating in the games like that.
16. nilh sqwaqwul's kwthu s'ul'eluhw tstulh, ni' tst 'uw' ... kwutst 'aalh... hey' q'u kwu sht'esulh 'u kwun'aa kwthey'sulh sht'e 'ul' tthey' haysulh 'u tthey' kwunus t'ut'i'wi'ulhulh kwus st'e 'u tthey'.
What the old people used to say, how you have to be when you are in this, indeed you have to really concentrate your prayers when you do that.

⁸ Sunchathun *stallus* "wife" is sta'lus in Hul'q'umi'num'.

17. suw' le'lum'ut 'ul' kwus teti' hay hwun's 'uw' 'imush nem' ... nem' tse'
kwun's tey' tse'.
*And you watch what has been done, and you look over where you are going to
be canoe pulling.*
18. ni' tst 'uw' 'i.i.iyus 'ul' sq'uq'ip, 'iyusum ... qwaqwul' 'ul' tthuw'ne'ullh. ...
We used to just have fun be together, and they would be talking.
19. kwus 'uw' st'e tse' 'ul' 'u tthey'.
And that's the way it is.
20. 'uwu nanus 'uw' tl'eqt tthu ni' nu sqwaqwul' tthey' 'u tthu snuhwulh.
This story isn't very long, as I didn't tell everything about the canoe.
21. niilh shhwul'a'ulh tst, 'u kwutst t'ut'a'thut thulh teti'sulh tthu s'ul'elhuw tstulh.
*There was one canoe that we were on, an old canoe that we were allowed to
use from the old people.*
22. 'u kw'un'a wulh hithulh ni' tst 'uw' huw'a'lum 'ul' ... 'uwu ch niihw... tl'lim'
ch nuw' le'lum'ut.
*It's just like we were playing, and we used to watch what we had to do.
That's finished.*
23. st'e 'u tthey'.
That's finished.

Sandy Morris “Sasquatch sightings”

1. hay ch q’u, si’em’ shuyulh, hay ch q’u, nuwu, nu stiwun.
Thank you, respected older cousin, thank you, niece.
2. hwilumqun kwunu sne.
My name is hwilumqun.
3. ’i tsun nuw’ ch’isum⁹ ni’ ’utl’ xut’ustum’ hwch’asulhp¹⁰.
I grew up in Tsarlip.
4. nu men William Morris, kwu snes kw’unu men.
My father was William Morris, that’s the name of my father.
5. Ester Morris, yuw’en’ sne Ester Tom, tun’ni’ ’utl’ kwa’mutsun thuw’nilh, nu
ten.
Ester Morris, whose first name was Ester Tom, from Quamichan, is my mother.
6. yas¹¹ ’uw’ qwal ’utl’ ’unthu ’u kwu quw’utsun’ sqwal, Hul’q’umi’num’, st’e ’u
tthey’.
They always spoke to me in the Cowichan language, Hul’q’umi’num’, like that.
7. yas sun¹² nuw’ ts’elhum’ nu ... kwunu ten ’i’ kw’unu men ’u kw’ qwal.
I always heard my mother and my father talking.
8. yas ’uw’ hakwush kw’unu ten kwu Hul’q’umi’num’ ’i’ hwtulqun kw’unu men
ni’ hakwush kwu sunchathun sqwel¹³.
*My mother always used Hul’q’umi’num’ and my father would answer back
using the Sunchathun language.*

⁹ *ts’itsum* in Hul’q’umi’num’.

¹⁰ *shts’alhulhp* in Hul’q’umi’num’.

¹¹ He sometimes uses /yas/ instead of /yath/ for “always”.

¹² He uses Sunchathun *sun* instead of Hul’q’umi’num’ *tsun* for “I”.

¹³ He uses Sunchathun *sqwel* instead of quw’utsun’ *sqwal* for “language”.

9. nusuw' ch'itsum, kw'unus 'uw' ch'itsum yuse'lu sqwal yas sun 'uw' hwiine'¹⁴
 nu men 'i' kw'unu ten.
I grew up with two languages, always listening to my father and my mother.
10. hwilumqun kwunu sne.
My name is hwilumqun.
11. nilh sne kw'unu shhwum'nikw, shuyulh 'u kw'unu men, tun'ni' 'utl'
 hwch'alhulhp sne.
That's the name of my uncle, the old sibling of my father, the name comes from Tsartlip.
12. ni' mulyitul kw'u nuts'a' shuyulh¹⁵ 'u kw'unu men 'i' 'u tun'a quw'utsun', ten
 'utl' Ray Peters.
One of my father's older sisters was married here in Cowichan, the mother of Ray Peters.
13. shuyulh 'u kw'unu men, Gus Morris, kw'u sne kw'unu ...nilh nu swe' nu sne
 hwilumqun, nilh snes 'u kw'unu shhwum'nikwulh.
The older sibling of my father. Gus Morris is his name, my own name hwilumqun was the name of my late uncle.
14. tun'ni' 'utl' hwch'alhulhp sne tthey'.
That name comes from Tsartlip.
15. sii'em' mukw', hay ch q'u, hay ch q'u kwun's....
All you respected people, thank you. Thank you.
16. *I want to thank everybody for trying to keep the native language going. Our young ones don't understand anymore. I try to talk to my own children*

¹⁴ In some words, he pronounces /hw/ to sound more like /kw/.

¹⁵ The final consonant in this word sounds more like /th/ to my ear.

and my grandchildren, but they don't really understand anymore, it's all...

17. nuts'a' skweyul 'i' tl'lim' 'uw' 'ikw' tthunu sqwal.
One day and my language will be really lost.
18. *I say one day it's going to be really lost because there is no more that really understand the language. And I feel bad about that. Same back home Sunchathun language.*
19. ni' 'uw'kw' kw'u s'ul'eluhw tst la'¹⁶ yas 'uw' qwal, hakwush kwu sunchathun sqwal 'i' kwu quw'utsun' sqwal.
The Elders are gone that always spoke, using the Sunchathun language and the Cowichan language.
20. *I grew up listening to my aunties, mom's two sisters were Cowichan.*
21. nuts'a' shuyulhs thuw'nilh 'i' mulyitul 'utl' 'u'eluk¹⁷ Johnny 'i' Manson George kw'u nuts'a', Manson George, Melson kwus snes.
One of her older siblings was married to Alec Johnny, and one was married to Manson George. Nelson was his name.
22. *That's my uncles married to my aunts.*
23. *I thank everyone who's trying to keep the language alive, you know. It's hard, it's hard to keep it going. If I use any language and talk to anybody, nobody understands anymore. It's dying out. Someday it's going to be really lost, I think. Got no more back home that really understands the language. The ones I used to speak our language with are all gone now. They are gone.*

¹⁶ He uses the Sunchathun *la'* "past" on *s'ul'eluhw la'* "old people of the past" instead of Hul'q'umi'num' =*ulh*, as in *s'ul'eluhwulh*.

¹⁷ This is a nickname formed by making a Hul'q'umi'num' diminutive of an English name.

24. ni' 'uw'kw' s'ul'eluhw tst la'¹⁸.
Our elders are all gone.

Goldstream sasquatch

1. ni' lumnuhwus kwunu mun'u tthu xut'ustum' tth'amuqwus¹⁹ (suskwach)
sasquatch.
My son saw what they call the Sasquatch.
2. 'i' ni' utl' Goldstream kwunu mun'u.
My son was at Goldstream.
3. xuthiinu nu mun'u 'i' lhhwelu ni' q'ushintul' 'u kwunu mun'u.
There were four of them, his three buddies and my son.
4. ni' lumnuhwus kwu tth'amuqwus... lhwet 'a'lu kwu snes.
And they saw that...whatever its name....sasquatch.
5. ni' kwunnuhwus kwthu stth'aqwi', kw'a'luhw,
They got some spring salmon, dog salmon,
6. 'i.i.i' xwchenum sun'iw' 'ukw' qa',
and they were running in the water,
7. *running in the creek chasing the salmon.*
8. he' hith lule'lum'ut kwunu mun'u 'i' kwu *three of his friends* q'ushintul' 'u
kwthuw'nilh.
My son was watching for a long time, with three of his friends.

¹⁸ Here as well he uses *la'* for past.

¹⁹ Delores Louie supplied the quw'utsun' (Cowichan) name of sasquatch "tth'amuqw'us", but Sandy didn't recognize this word and used the English word *seskwach* or *suskwach* instead.

9. hay 'ul' hith kws lule'lumut tthey' lhamuxwus....'uwu.
They were watching that bigfoot a long time.
10. stem 'a'lu kwu snes?
What's its name?
11. skw'ey kwunus he'kw' kwu snes tthey' ...
I can't remember its name....
12. seskwach ni' utl' Goldstream
Sasquatch, there at Goldstream.

Prospect Lake Road sasquatch

1. 'i' ni' lumnuhwus kwunu 'imuth
Then my grandson saw it
2. just last week ni' 'utl' Prospect Lake Road.
just last week at Prospect Lake Road.
3. yuse'lu ni' lumnuhwus.
There were two of them, what they saw.
4. yuse'lu nu imuth 'i' lumnuhwus, yuse'lu xut'ustum' seskwach.
And it two of my grandchildren who saw those two Sasquatch.
5. 'i' stl'i'tl'qulh 'ul' seskwach ni' lumnuhwus,
It was just a child sasquatch that they saw,
6. 'uwuwu this 'uhwin' 'ul', stl'i'tl'qulh kwthey' seskwach ni' lumnuhwus.
it wasn't big, just a child, what they saw.
7. yuse'lu kwunu 'um'imuth ni' lumnuhwus Prospect Lake Road xut'ustum'.
There were two of my grandchildren who saw that at Prospect Lake Road.

8. 'uhwin' 'e'uhwin' stl'i'tl'qulh seskwach.
It was a small, tiny little child sasquatch.
9. oo hee qux tsq'ix tthu she'ituns, qu.u.ux she'ituns
It had a lot of black hair, lots of hair.
10. hay 'ul' thi kwu qulum's, thi tthu qulum's.
And it had great big eyes.
11. 'uwu muqsuns 'utl' tthu'nilh.
It had no nose.
12. *Just had holes where their nose is supposed to be.*
13. xe'lush²⁰ 'ul' xe'lush 'ul'.
Standing up.
14. *They were just standing on the road, two of them. Young ones, young ones they said because they were small, not full grown.*

Sooke sasquatch

1. yath 'uw qwal kw'unu men—
My father used to always say—
2. yath 'uw' nem' kwulush thuw'nilh 'u kwu smuyuth.
he used to always hunt deer.
3. suw' 'i'mush tthu'nilh ni' 'u kwu xut'ustum' sa'ukw,
He went walking around Sooke mountain,

²⁰ Expected form for standing would be *lhxi'lush*.

4. sa'ukw smeents, sa'ukw *mountain*.
Sooke mountain.
5. 'i'mush tthuw'nilh suw' m'is wi'wul' 'u tthey', hay 'ul' hith.
He was walking around and (a sasquatch) appeared, and for a long time.
6. *They were just looking at each other for a long time before they turned around and walked away.*

Al Sam “Starting out as a longhouse speaker”

1. 'a si'em', hwutkwamthut tthunu sne, suw' tun'ni' ['utl'] shch'alhulhp.
Oh sir, hwutkwamthut is my name, from Tsartlip.
2. [nu] suw' qwul'qwul' tthu sqwels ni' tsun tse' suw' qwi'qwal'.
I'm talking about language when I'm doing public speaking.
3. nusuw' hwun'a' nu syuw'en' nu shhwuw'weli tstulh tthuw' ni' hwnaw'ustewut
'u tthunu sqe'uq tthuw' 'i' 'een'thu tthu shhw'i tthunu shuyulh.
*From before about my family, when my younger brother and I were here with
my elder brother,*
4. tthu ni' naw'ustum 'u tthu thi lelum' in 1973.
They put him in the longhouse in 1973.
5. suw' tusth 'uw' wa'lu 1985, 86, ni' tsun yaayustewut tthu suyq'um
And then in 1985, 1986, they put me to work at Pat Bay.
6. shhw'al'uqw'a's yaayustewut tthu suyq'um, carpenters.
They put me to work as a carpenter.
7. shsi'em' 'u tthu na'nuts'a' sun'iw' ['u] tthu band office, suw' qwul'qwul' tse'.
One of the head workers at the band office, and they would be talking.
8. lhq'etsusum 'u lhhwutus 'i 'u tthu band office
All five of those workers at the band office
9. suw' tatul'ut tthu hwulmuhwqun.
were speaking First Nations language.
10. tthuw' ni' ts'elum'ut tthu s'ul-hweens, s'ul-hweens susuw' qwul'qwul' 'u tthu
hwulmuhwqun tthuw' hul'q'umi'num'.
They had heard the language from their elders, speaking Hul'q'umi'num'.

11. nu syuw'en'tus 'u lutem kwus 'i qwul'qwul', "stem 'a'lu kw'un' sne?"
And first they sat around the table and said, "What is your name."
12. 'i' 'uwu [nu] te' statul'stuhw tthu hwulmuhw.
And I didn't understand those native people.
13. "stem 'a'lu kw'un' sne?"
"What's your name?"
14. *I had to learn what they were saying asking our name.*
15. suw' hwutkwamthut tthunu sne.
And so I said hwutkwamthut is my name.
16. suw' mukw' lhwetus 'i' qwul'qwul' [tthu] swe's sne.
Everyone had to tell their names.
17. suw' tun'ni'.... hwutkwamthut tthunu sne tun'ni' ['utl'] shch'aalhulp.
I'm hwutkamthut from Tsartlip.
18. suw' mukw' lhwetus suw' qwul'qwul'.
Everyone had to tell.
19. tthey' skweyul suw' tl'lim' 'uw' hiil'ukw tthunu shqwaluwun(s) 'u tthu 'imush
tatul' 'u tu hwulmuhwqun, tu hul'q'umi'num'.
*That day I was very happy 'imush, learning the native language,
Hul'q'umi'num'.*
20. nus yuw'en' tu suw' tatul'ut tthu nuts'umut tthunu siyaay'us, shhw'a'luqw'a's,
stutiwun, shhwuw'weli, shhwum'ne'lukw, sul'sil'u, suw' tun'ni'
shch'aalhulp.
*That was the first time that I was learning /working as one with my
friends/relatives, relatives, nephews, siblings, uncles, grandparents, all
from Tsartlip.*

21. ni' tsun tatul' 'u tu...ni' tsun he(w)kw' tthu swe's sne 'u tthunu siyaay'us.
I learned to remember all the names of my relatives.
22. suw' tus tthu siyaay'us 'u[tl'] p'aqwutsun, shkw'e'ullhuw'.
And my in-laws from Cole Bay arrived.
23. statul'stuhw tthu swe's snes tthu shkw'e'ullhuw', tthu suw'wuyqu(s) 'u[tl']
p'aqwutsun, tatul'ut suw' tus statul'stuhw tthu he(w)kw' 'u kwu swe's
sne.
*And I learned my in-laws' names, the men of Cole Bay, I learned to remember
their own names.*
24. suw' tus tthu ['utl'] Victoria, shhwimelhulh, lukwungun, swe' sne's nusuw'
hekw'.
So I went to Victoria, Esquimalt, Lukw'umun, I remember their names.
25. suw' tus 'u[tl'] me'luxelh, suyq'um.
So I arrived at Malahat and Pat Bay.
26. tl'lim' 'uw' 'iyus tthunu shqwaluwun(s) he(w)kw' tthu snes 'u tthu
suw'wuy'qu(s).
I was really happy that I could remember all the men's names.
27. suw' 'imush 'u [tthu] thi lelum's, 'u tthu'i thi lelum's, 'u tl'e'shun.
So I walked around the bighouse where the potlatch was.
28. suw' nuts'a' skweyul nu shhwum'ne'lukw, tl'eyutth'qinum, ts'ets'um'tun,
siyuletse',
So one day my uncle, quyutsqinum, ts'ets'um'tun, siyuletse'
29. suw' 'aatham'shus 'u ts'ewulh 'u tthu swe's syaay'us.
they hired me to work.

30. “hwutkwamthut, tth’ihwum ’i’ m’i ch hwiwul.
 “Hwutkwamthut, please, you will come forward.
31. ts’uts’ew’utham’sh ’u tthu sne.
 Help me with the names.
32. ’iyus tthunu shqwaluwuns ts’uts’ew’ut tthunu shhwum’ne’lukw, thi lelum’s.
 I was very happy to be able to help my uncles.
33. suw’ ’imush syuw’en’ tus tthu sch’iyenuhw tthu sway’qus tthu ’aatus tthu
 swe’s sne kws “hwiyunem’staam”.
 So I walked over to Beecher Bay and called out his name to witness.
34. suw’ tus ‘u[tl’] shhwimelhulh, lukwangun, hwstth’ew’t-hw, hwch’aalhup,
 p’aqwutsun, suyq’um, (s)me’luxelh,
 *I got to Esquimalt, lukw’umun, East Saanich, Tsartlip, Cole Bay, Pat Bay, Mill
 Bay,*
35. qux tthu snes ni’ tsun he(w)kw’, ts’ewulhtun tthu ... shhwum’ne’lukw ’u kwthu
 swe’s yaay’us ’u shqwi’qwul’.
 I remember a lot of names, helping my uncles for their work as their speaker.
36. suw’ qule’tus tl’eshun, thi lelum’.
 And then again invited me to the big house.
37. ’i’ ’aat hwutkwamthut, ’aatum, “m’i hwish, m’i hwish, hwutkwamtut.”
 And they called hwutkwamthut to come forward.
38. suw’ tus ’u hwshnaw’us tthu luxwtun, tthu ’ikchum.
 When I got there, they put a blanket and a kerchief on me.
39. “hwutkwamthut, nuwu tse’ tthu shqwi’qwal’.
 “Kwut-hwamthut, you are going to be the speaker.

40. 'aaa, nan 'uw' tl'lim' 'uw' qux tthu sne. he(w)kw'."
There are a lot of native names. Remember."
41. 'i' 'uwu te' tthu qwul'qwul' tthu hwulmuwqun.
We can't find anyone who has learned the native tongue."
42. suw' tus 'u tatul'ut tthu hwulmuhwqun.
We are looking for someone who can speak the native tongue.
43. tuna' kweyul ['i] ts'ewulhtun 'u tthu siyaay'us.
Today, I helped my relatives with the work.
44. chukwshe' [??] tthu sil'anum ts'ewulhtun tthu siyaa'yus, ti'tiyuxw, thi lelum',
*Twenty years was my age and I'm helping with this work, they were busy in this
longhouse,*
45. 'aalhut swe's shqwaluwun.
supporting them of the work that they are doing.
46. snuw'uyulh 'u sq'uq'a' tthu thi lelum'.
This is the teaching of the longhouse.
47. skweyul 'i' 'i tsun yaay'us 'i' 'uwu te' statul'stuhw.
And I was working during the day and I didn't know what to do.
48. 'i' stem 'a'lu qul'et sus 'uw' 'aalhut tthu ...tun'a kweyul s'aalhut tthu protocol.
And I support everything today doing protocol.

Danny Sam “Power of prayer”

1. 'a-a-a si'em'. hay s-hw q'u, hay ch q'a²¹ tun'a kweyul tus 'u tthunu lelum'
kwulihwulwut 'i' xumximuluq.
Thank you for today, arriving to my house of kwulihwulwut and xumximuluq.
2. xumximuluq tthunu sne, hwsenuch, hwsenuch mustimuhw.
My names is xumximuluq of Saanich.
3. tus 'u tthu sqwal nu ... hul'q'umi'num', st'iw'i'ulh tthunu sqwal.
*Getting to the other side, Hul'q'umi'num', I'm going to use Hul'q'umi'num' to
say the prayers.*
4. 'i tus 'i' nan 'uw' xe'xe' sts'ewulhtun hwunem' 'u tthu mustimuhw.
What I am going to talk about is really sacred for the people.
5. ni' qwulstuhw tthu tsitsulh si'em'.
You speak to the lord and you actually talk to him.
6. qwulstuhw, 'e'hwut tthunu mustimuhw, 'uy' slhexun'.
And you give to the people good medicine.
7. me'sh, ha' 'uwu 'uy'us tus 'u tthu mustimuhw, 'i' 'ikw'ut.
Take off what is not good that's on the person.
8. 'i' le'lum'utal'hw 'u tthu mukw' skweyul 'u tthu 'uy' huy'qwoon'.
looking after us the light every day.
9. le'lum'ut tthu stl'ul'iqulh stiwwun, 'umimulh, shhw'a'luqw'a', 'imush [u] tu'i
tumuhw.
We look after the children, nephews, all the relatives.

²¹ He first says, “thank you” in Sunchathun and then in Hul'q'umi'num'.

10. 'uwu te' ste-e-em qulaan ni' tus 'u tthu shelh, hay 'ul' kw'am'kw'um'
 shqwaluwun mukw' skweyul tus 'u tthu st'iwi'ulh.
*There will be no evil blocking our way, and we will have very strong thoughts
 every day through prayer.*
11. ts'iit tsitsulh si'em', 'imush, 'imush le'lum'ut, skweyul 'i' ptem'
 le'lum'utal'hw, le'lum'utal'hw, 'umut.
*We are thanking God for walking with us, looking after us; today we ask you to
 look after us, come sit with us.*
12. 'uy' skweyul 'uy' huy'qwoon', 'uy' tintun, 'uy' luk-win.
It is the blessed day and the light that we use, the bell and the crucifix.
13. tthun' st'i'wi'ulh ha'kwush 'i' hay ch q'a. 'uhwin' 'ul' sqwal tus 'u tthu
 hul'q'umi'num'.
That's the power of prayer, and thank you,
14. 'uhwin' 'ul' sqwal tus 'u tthu hul'q'umi'num'. hay ch q'a.
That's just a few words that I give in the Hul'q'umi'num' language. Thank you.

Lila Sam “Going for water”

1. tthunu sne kwulihwulwut tun’ni’ tsun ’utl’ lhumlhumuluts’ tthu nu swe’ nu sne.
I am kwulihwulwut, Clemclem, that’s where my name is from.
2. tthunu swe’ nu sne tthunu shhwuw’weli mukw’ ’uw’ tun’ni’ ’utl’
lhumlhumuluts’.
My name and my parents are all from Clemclem.
3. lhunu si’lu tun’ni’ ’utl’ si’she’lh tun’ni’ ’u lhunu ten.
My grandmother was from Seshelt, on my mother’s side.
4. ’i’ m’i ’ewu ’utl’ [xwulqw’selu] kwus tth’hwimutum ’u tthu swe’s sta’luss.
My grandmother was married to a person from Koksilah
5. ’i’ kwelh qux me’mun’us tun’ni’ ’u kwthey’.
And she had a lot of children from that marriage.
6. kwulihwulwut tthu sne tun’ni’ ’u kwthunu men nilh swe’sulh shhwum’nikws.
kwulihwulwut is my name, it’s from my fathers, it was from his uncle’s name.
7. nilh kwu’elh shtun’ni’s tthunu sne.
That’s where my name came from.
8. nilh kwu’elh nu stl’i’ kwunus ’a-a yuthustalu ’u tun’a kweyul.
And this is what I want to tell you today.
9. nu stl’i’ kwu’elh kwunus tl’uw’ yuthusthamu ’u tun’a kweyul ’u kwthu ni’
lumnuhwun’.
And this is what I want to tell you today what I saw.
10. mu-u-ukw’ulh skweyul ’i’ nem’ tst qa’lum ’u tthu ... ni’ ’u tthu sta’luw’.
Everyday, we went to get water at the river.

11. 'oooo tl'lim' tsitsulh kwthu ni' ...kws nem' tst wulh t'ahw, tl'upqenum.
Ooo, it was quite steep where we went down that steep slope.
12. mu-u-ukw' skweyul 'i' ni' tst kwun'um 'u tthu qa'.... 'uw' hay ... 'uw' hay.
Everyday, we would go for some water.
13. tl'e' kwelh tsakwulh hmm skw'a ... qux skw'a'wus tthu nem!
And it was quite a ways, and we had to use a lot of buckets.
14. 'o-o-o tl'lim' 'i' tl'e' tst kwelh nilh tl'uw' shhwunum' tst kws nem' tst wulh
tth'xwulwutum.
And that was the same place where we used to go to wash our clothes.
15. ni.i.i' tst ...nilh tthu *sheet* [thi'le'lhtun] tl'lim' ni' 'uw' xte' nem'ustuhw tthu
towel tthu *towels* 'i' tthu s'itth'um tst nem' tst wulh tth'xwulwutum.
The sheets, the towel, and the clothes is what we went to wash.
16. q'eput 'i' nem' tst wulh huye' 'een'thu yu kwun'et.
gather them up and then we would leave, I was the one carrying them
17. nem' tl'e' wulh nem' 'u kwthu sta'luw'.
and we'd go to the river.
18. ni' tst kwelh tus 'u tthu sta'luw' 'i' nem' tst suw'q' 'u tthe qu-u-ux 'i' wulh nilh
tthu qa'.
When we got to the river we would look for where there
19. nem' tst yu ... nem' tst pek'ut nilh kwelh ...tthu ni' tst wulh yuqwul'tsup.
And we would head it up and we would build a fire
20. nem' tst suw'q' 'u tthu ... kw'esut ... mmm nilh lhu t'umuw'luch tl'lim' 'uw'
ulh hay 'ul' wulh thi tthu t'umuw'luch, ni' wulh hakwushut.
And we would look...heat it up, the tub, the really big tub that we would use.

21. nilh kwelh tthu... 'uwu hithus 'i' ni' wulh kw'asthut tthu t'umuw'luch qa' ...
 nuw'ush 'u tthu t'umuw'luch 'i' yelh ... nilh tthu p'e'.
*It doesn't take very long and then the water would be hot enough and then we
 would put it in the water.*
22. DL: ni' tsun mel'qt kwthu snes niilh tst 'uw' hun'ut.
I forgot what that was called.
23. 'iilh tst 'uw' hun'ut washboard shhwuykw'ut tthu swe' tst s'itth'um tst.
We would use the washboard on our clothes.
24. yelh kws ne-e-m' tst nem' 'u tthu clothesline, yu 'a'kw'ust tthu s'itth'um.
And then we'd bring it to the clothesline and hang up the clothes.
25. 'uwu q'u hithus 'i' ni' ts'uy'hw.
And it doesn't take long until they are dry.
26. 'i' tl'e' tst wulh huye'stuhwulh tl'e' wulh tsum'ut.
And then we would carry them out.
27. mukw'ulh kwelh stem 'uw' sul'uthut-s lhunu ten.
My mother used to do everything.

May Sam “First time at school”

1. 'uy' netulh.
Good morning.
2. hay ch q'u 'i tseep ts'ets'uw'utham'sh 'u tun'a kweyul.
Thank you for helping me today.
3. swutth'tisiye' tthunu sne tun'ni' 'utl' me'luxulh; swutth'tisiye' thunu si'lu,
si'lu sne, tens kwthunu men xtl'athut.
*swutth'tisiye' from Malahat; swutth'tisiye' is my grandmother's name, the
mother of my father.*
4. ni' tsun ni' 'utl' me'luxulh kwunus ni' kwan.
I was born in Malahat.
5. ni' yaay'us tthunu men ni' 'utl' me'luxulh, *booming ground is there.*
My father was working at Malahat where the booming ground is there.
6. *There's a gravel pit there, little house.*
7. 'i' ni' tst m'i t'akw' 'i 'u tthu lhumlhumuluts'. shtun'ni's tthunu si'lu.
Then we went came home to Clemclem, to her grandfather's place,
8. 'uwu tsun niihw 'uw' ... 'uw' nilh 'uw' snes tthunu si'lu skwoukum Tommy.
Skookum Tommy. He didn't have another name,
9. DL: nilh mens kwthun' men, 'un' si'lu?
Was that your father's father, your grandfather?
10. MS: *That was her dad's father. Oh I don't know how to say auntie, DL:*
shhwum'nikw. MS: Hannah, Josephine, Dad's sister.

11. DL: sa'suqwt, sun'tl'e'?
older, younger?
12. MS: *Oh I don't know. My uncle was William Tommy. My older sister, Dad's first wife, my older sister is Madeline. And then Julia, our mother is Seraphine Canute, and Julia and then me.*
13. 'uw' yuse'lu 'ul', 'i' ni' taantal'hwus thu ten tst.
Just the two of us, and our mother left us.
14. *And I think I was six 'i' nem' ... yuthustham'shs kw'unus nem' skoul.*
And I think I was when I was told I have to go to school.
15. 'i tsun 'uw' sii'si' kwunus nem' skoul *on the bus.*
I was scared to go to school on the bus.
16. mukw' lhwet 'uw' 'i.i.iyus 'ul' tthuw' mukw' stl'ul'iqulh 'uw' 'iyus kwus m'i
'e'wu.
All the children were happy to come there.
17. 'i tsun 'uw' le'lum'ut 'ul' tthu mukw' kwunus 'i' 'uw' sii'si' 'ul' kwunus
nem' skoul.
I just watched and I was so afraid to go to school.
18. 'i' nan 'uw' hwquluwun tthu *teachers.*
The teachers were very cruel.
19. DL: hwunitum'?
Were they White people?
20. MS: 'i' sqi'qul' kw'unus qwal 'u tthu hwunitum' sqwal.
And I couldn't speak English.

21. 'uw' le'lum'ut 'ul' tthu thathuns kws ni' 'im' 'uw' qwaqwulstam'sh 'i' 'uwu
tsun [ta'ulthun].
*I just watched their mouth's moving but I didn't know what they were saying
to me.*
22. nilh thu *Mary George* ts'ets'uwutham'sh.
It was Mary George who was helping me.
23. qwaqwul'stam'sh, "yuthust tthun' sne."
She spoke to me and said tell your name.
24. kwus nem' lemut tthu 'uwu te' qwlhey'shuns 'i' 'uwu te' tthu tseluish 'uwu te'
she'ituns.
I saw she didn't have any shoes nor hands nor hair.
25. *I didn't know a nun, a teacher.*
26. tl'lim' tsun 'uw' siisi' 'ul'.
I was really afraid.
27. *Mary, right there, helping me. I don't know how many years, two years,*

Rose Smith “Arranged marriages”

1. nu s-hwulmuhwa’lh sne **kwullhilumat**, tun’ni’ tsun ’utl’ p’aqwutsun.
My native name is kwullhilumat; I’m from Pauquachin (Cole Bay).
2. nu menulh kwthu nuw’amut ’i’ hunu ten Mary.
My father was nuwamut and my mother was Mary.
3. nilh ’uw’ huy’thusthe’lum’ ’ul’ ’u kwthunu shhwuw’weli kws st’es kws nem’s
huye’stum tthu slheni’ kws mulyituls.
My parents were telling me how they used to marry off their young women.
4. ’uw’ ’uwu ’ul’ yuthustewut tthu slheni’ ’uw’ ’imush ’ul’ tthu swuy’qe’ ’i’ tthu
shhwuw’weys kws tl’u’astum thu slheni’ snem’s ’uw’ huye’stum.
*The young woman would never be told about what is going on; the young man
and his parents would just come propose to the woman and take her
away.*
5. skw’ey kws thut-s thu q’e’mi’ “’uwu, ’uwu nu stl’i’us kwunus nem’ ’uw’
huye’stum ’ul’.”
And the woman couldn’t say, “No, I don’t want to be taken away.”
6. huy’thusthe’lum’ ’u thunu ten kws skw’ey kws thut-s thu q’e’mi’ ’uwu, nuw’
huye’stum ’ul’ suw’ mulyituls.
*My mother was telling me that the girl can’t say no; they just take her and
marry her off.*
7. ts’uhwle’ ’i’ hakwushum tthu sxwayxwi, ts’uhwle’ ’i’ hakwushum tthu stemus
kws kwun’els tthu w’ne’ullh.
*Sometimes they would use the mask dance for marriage or whatever they hold
to show that they are getting married.*
8. *It must have been really hard. But I begged my parents...*

9. ni' tsun 'uw' yuthust thunu ten 'i' tthunu men, "'uwu ch xut'ustal'hwuhw 'u
tthey'.
I told my mother and father, "Don't do that.
10. 'uwu nu st'i'us kw. st'e 'u tey' mulyiltul."
I don't want this happening to just be married off."
11. *I think that's all. But I did beg them not to do that. But they did anyways*

Simon Smith “Feeding the people on Christmas Day”

1. *I don't know how I say this.*
2. wulh hith 'u[l'] ye' 'i' qwal tiu tu le'u tu shiku'ew't-hw 'u tiu stl'ul'iqulh...
This is from a long time ago, this concerns the Shaker Church children.

ye' = nem' “go”; tiu = tu'i “this here”; le'u = na'ut “there”;
sheku = shikus “Shakers”

3. ye' skw'ouyukw 'uxwute suluqw'te'lh kwunut tu kw'a'luhw, qux
kw'a'luhw, kwunnuhw.
We went to fishing at Goldstream and we were catching dog salmon, lots of dog salmon.

'uxwute = xwte' “go towards”

4. ye'stung le'u tu nuts'a' 'i' nutsa' skwechul slhe lhtu kw'oukwi'ukw suw
ch'eyngs tu 'uxwutu tu shiku'ew't-hw.
One day we were fishing Shaker Church.

lhtu = tst “we, our”; skwechul = skweyul “day”, ch'eyng = “going home”

5. 'i' qwal su le'u tu sheku'ew't-hw, “'uwu s-hw 'uw t'at'ukw'. 'uw 'elhu s-hw
'ul' kwus 'i'tut.
And the ones coming from the Shaker Church said, “Don't go home. You'll just sleep here.”

s-hw = ch “you”; 'elhu = 'ewu “be here”

6. suw kwuchil 'i' ye' s-hw thuyt tu kw'a'luhw, 'ilhun tse' tiu nuts'uwmuhw.
Tomorrow you'll go and catch some dog salmon to feed the strangers.

'ilhun = 'ulhtun “eat”

7. 'une su techul tie 'enukw, suw' laas kwu thuyt tu kw'a'luhw.
When they went down to catch the dog salmon, they were praying to catch it.

8. 'i ts'ii'tum s-hw tu shikus tu le'u tu shiku' 'ew't-hw.

Thank you for bringing some fish to them.

That was our day, Christmas day, that we feed the people chum salmon, etc...

9. hay ch q'a' tu si'em' 'un' shqwelukwun kwun's laukwu kwunnuhw tu s'ilhun
lhtu tiu 'e nuhw.

Thank you, Lord, for you thoughts in bring our food today.

shqwelukwun = shqwaluwun “hearts and mind”
--

Geraldine Underwood “Boat explosion”

1. kwutst hwun’a’ ’ul’ ts’elhum’ut kwus wutl’ul’uqw kwthu pout, ’i’ ni’ tst
sht’eehun’ nilh tthu *James Island*.
*When we first heard an explosion from the boat, and we thought it was James
Island.*
2. mukw’ skweyul ’i’ ’usup’ tthu hiiyaay’us, suw’ ...*what’s the word for whistle?*
*The whistle goes.... anyways, ’i’ ni’ tst ’uw’ sht’eehun’ ’ul’ nilh tthu
James Island.*²²
*Everyday when the workers finished working, and what’s the word for whistle,
anyway, we thought it was James Island.*
3. ’i’ nem’ustum ’utl’ George tthu la’thun, nem’ustuhwus ’u tthu *sink*.
George was bringing his plate to the sink.
4. ’i’ wulh lumnuhwus kwus huy’qw kwthu “*Hey, that’s Pop’s boat.*”
and he saw fire, “Hey, that’s Pop’s boat.”
5. suw’ nem’ xwchenum susuw’ ti’ya’xw.
And he ran, rushing out, running.
6. tahw ’ul’ ’uw’ tahw ’ul’ ’uw’ nem’ nem’, Joe and Doug, yey’sul’u nem’
kw’ouyukw.
And they met with Joe and Doug who was going trolling.
7. ’i’ hay kwthu Joe yu ’i’ mush ’ul’ suw’ yuthust kwthu sqe’uqs, “nem’ ch
ts’ewut tthun’...nem’ ts’ewut tthun’ si’lu.”
*Joe was just walking and he told his younger sibling, “Go and help your
grandfather.”*

²² The word for whistle is *shapus*.

8. susuw' nem' huye' tthu Doug, yu thexutum' 'u kwthu si'lu.
So Doug went over there, and his grandfather kept pushing him.
9. "eli! 'eli!
"Get out the way, get out the way.
10. 'uwu nu stl'i'us kws me'kwulh kwthunu 'imuth."
I don't want my grandson to get hurt."
11. 'i' sht'eewun' kwthunu shkw'ilhuw' kws xwum suw' ni' (inaudible) 'i' skw'ey.
He thought that my father-in-law could be helped, but he couldn't.
12. 'e'ut 'i wulh kwus yuqw 'i' nilh tthu Doug kwunut kwu si'lu susuw'
'aalhstuhwus 'u tthu pout-s.
The fire was too intense. It was Doug that grabbed his grandfather and put him on his boat.
13. 'ewustuhwus 'u kwthu shni' 'utl' Gabe Pelkey, ni' tus 'i' tsum'utum 'utl'
George kwthu mens.
And they brought him to Gabe Pelkey's, they arrived and George carried his father on his back.
14. sus nem' 'uw' 'aalhstuhwus 'u kwu truck 'i' hay kwthu stl'i'tl'qulh nilh kwthu
Gabe ni' kwunut susuw' nem'ustuhwus sus tl'uw' 'aalh 'u tthu truck.
And he took the child that was there and put him on the truck also.
15. ni' kwelh wulh yu titiya'xw kws nem's nemustum 'u tthu q'a'q'i'ew't-hw 'i'
wulh yu 'e'wu tthu ambulance.
They were rushing him to the hospital and they met up with the ambulance.
16. susuw' 'unuhw tthu George susuw' teyqtum tthu ...nem'ustum 'utl' Rest
Haven.
George flagged down the ambulance and moved his grandmother, he was brought to Rest Haven.

17. 'i' hith kwus ni' ...
He was at Rest Haven for a long time.
18. 'i' hay kwthu swiw'lus nuw' hwun' hun'umut pestun.
And the young man who was with him, got better and went home to the States.
19. DL: nii' hunum' 'utl' pestun?
Did he go to the States?
20. GU: hee' ni' hwu pestun ni 'utl' Oregon.
Yes, he arrived there in the States, in Oregon.
21. *But the boat ni' wa'lu kw'ulh tthu kesulin INAUDIBLE, all over.*
But the boat it was the gasoline that spilled and exploded, all over.