

niniḡe ʔəkʷ χʷεḡay, ḡaḡəm, hega ḡəlkæle, niniḡe ḡʷaḡʷθəms təsqaḡaməs
‘Mountain goats, salt, and bullets’: A historical narrative told by late Freddie Louie*

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Abstract: In this paper, we present a fully transcribed, translated, and glossed historical narrative told by the late Freddie Louie in ʔayʔaḡuθəm (a.k.a. Comox-Sliammon; ISO 639-3: coo), a Central Salish language spoken along the northern Strait of Georgia.

Keywords: Salish, Central Salish, Comox-Sliammon (ʔayʔaḡuθəm), narrative, stories

1 In Memory of Freddie Louie (1936–2025)

In ʔayʔaḡuθəm, there are two words that always make us think of Freddie: ḡʷuṣoθenəm and ḡəḡʰḡəḡʰ. ḡʷuṣoθenəm refers to making people happy, often through teasing and making people laugh, and includes comforting others in low spirits. ḡəḡʰḡəḡʰ describes someone as being a good-humoured tease. Freddie’s teasing was always like that; it was how he showed his friendship, let you know you were part of the family, and made sure you were doing ok.

Freddie was one of the most generous people we have met. He was always spreading cheer, giving people rides, and taking care of the people around him. Throughout all of these activities, as well as his day-to-day life, he was always sharing his language. It was very important to him that his language was documented so that there would be a good record for future generations. He worked with us linguists for several hours every week; he always kept that time available. We documented thousands of words and example sentences working with Freddie, with a special focus on the in-progress e-dictionary (hosted on FirstVoices). He had an amazing memory, coming up with new words to record at incredible rates. There are many words and sentence types that would not be recorded if it were not for Freddie. Freddie leaves a huge legacy of linguistic work that will benefit future work on the language and be felt by language learners now and in the future.

If you listen to any recording of a session with Freddie, you will hear laughter from everyone present. It was impossible to leave a session with Freddie without smiling or laughing because he always brought joy and humour. In addition to sharing words and sentences needed for documentation, he would always provide a little extra, such as a playful nickname (e.g., *kəpo* ‘coat’ for Daniel and *lalyem* ‘little devil’ for Gloria) or a delightful narrative in the language (e.g., a whimsical art critique of the “legless” cats in our illustrations). We loved every moment working with Freddie.

* Thank you to Elsie Paul for her help verifying the translation and the title.
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He was also very good to us in many ways, giving us rides back and forth from the airport or ferry, making sure we had a ride into town to go for groceries when we came to stay, bringing us fish from his freezer to have for dinner, and spending time with us sharing his memories and the history of the nation (often over a slice of lemon meringue pie).

He will be dearly missed by all of us and everyone involved in the language work; we will always remember him, and honour all he has done for the present and future of the language.

2 Mountain goats, salt, and bullets

This narrative was recorded May 17, 2016 in Tla'amin. In this narrative, Freddie starts by explaining the process for salting fish, and then explains how two men found a salt deposit — and lead as well — up Toba Inlet when hunting for mountain goats. For this interview, Elsie Paul, another Elder from the Tla'amin Nation, was also present, and interjects at a few points. The two Elders are identified by their first initials (F = Freddie, E = Elsie) in the text that follows. The narrative is rich in both linguistic and historical content, exemplifying the importance of Freddie's contributions to documentation. This narrative also features code-switching across the narrative between ʔayʔa-juθəm and English. Freddie's use of code-switching in this narrative is representative of how he used language throughout his life.¹

In what follows, we present the narrative first in ʔayʔa-juθəm (with code-switching into English) in Section 2.1, and then an English translation in Section 2.2. Finally, in Section 2.3, we include a fully glossed version.

2.1 ʔayʔa-juθəm Text

Preceding the start of this narrative, Freddie recounts these memories in English. Marianne asks him to tell the story in ʔayʔa-juθəm, and he begins by describing the process of salting fish.

F: ʔeqətəm kʷa giʔe. hoy naʔatəm tinε kʷ na...

E: čεʔamtəm.

F: čεʔamtəm kʷ na...

E: sayʔe.

F: *No, xʷaʔ, ʔišna... Cedar shakes...*

E: *Oh, how do you say 'cedar shakes' now... səsʔom.*

F: səsʔom, *yeah, cedar.*

E: čεʔamtəm kʷa kʷ səsʔom.

F: *And then they, uh, put, layered it down with... naʔatəm kʷ na ʔakʷu, leaves, sayʔes. hoy nəpʔəm kʷ na ʔoxʷay or whatever ʔɛnɬ kʷ na nəpʔəm. And then they put about ten.*

E: ʔopən.

F: ʔopanos, natčxʷ nigi! ʔopən, ʔopən kʷ naʔategɬ, *or more. And they put the... naʔatəm qəʔi na...*

E: xʷipostəm kʷ ʔaʔəm.

F: xʷipostəm ʔaʔəm, hoy naʔatəm kʷ na ʔakʷu qəʔi na *leaves.* hoy na...

E: ʔaʔanʔəm.

¹ Skill in code-switching is a hallmark of bilingual proficiency, as speakers must be very proficient in both languages in order to switch smoothly between languages (Yim and Bialystock 2012).

F: hoy ?ot yeyεθotet na na?a nəpišəs, q^wayɪn *ten layers* k^wa. *And then...* taqεpatəm k^wa k^w na *on top*. *That* χak^wu, ?i na?atəm giʝε k^wεtəms. pən?əm qəʝi. ?ot ga na q^wol na *wintertime* ?i yeq[?]əm k^wa ga. ho ga θeqetəm hoy ma?am k^w na λaʔém na θahan *or whatever...*

E: λaʔém jən^w.

F: ...jən^w. *And then later on* na... q^wol təs šε na χatk^wut — χatk^wuk^wt, nam^a?

E: χatk^wuk^wt, ?ə?.

F: *That's what they... they used that for cover after.*

E: hek^wčε ga x^w tuwas, tuwas k^w λaʔəm?

F: tat k^wa θo mataməʔ k^w na... *Toby Inlet*. nə? šε na tumɪš šin na, jolowε nans *and then there was another guy, his name was* sənpoliyan. tuwa tišosəm tinε. payε nə?oʔ k^wšin λəməs. toχ^wnex^wəs θos na... payε k^w na i[?]εi[?]εy[?]əm k^w na χ^wεʔay. ?uk^w tam yiqaʝitoʔ k^w na qaymɪx^w k^w na χ^wεʔay na... k^w na... θapaχ^wos hega k^w na... *What do you call them?* mɪʝiθs. *And then how do you say it?*

E: λaʔnuk^ws.

F: *No, uh...*

E: ?i k^w λaʔnuk^ws.

F: χ^wastənayəs. *What do you call it, 'fat part'?*

E: *Oh yeah, χ^wastən.*

F: *They made, you know, lard out of it, you know... That part, I guess they boil it and then they, you know, made...* jεχ^watəm čikɪt, yeqašəs ga ?axti. *And they used everything in there.* ?uk^w tam yeq[?]əm k^w na χ^wεʔay. he k^wšin tuwas ?aju k^w na hahitəm na takɪnuk^wt ?aju k^w na...

E: λaʔnuk^ws.

F: *No, maqəns...*

E: maqəns, *yeah.*

F: *How do you say it? 'Wool', χ^wεʔay.*

E: hiʔ ?it maqəns.

F: *Yeah, maqəns, ?ə?.* *They make a wool out of it, they spin it. And that's where you get your vest or your sweater, eh? Or your socks, or whatever you needed; they made it, and they...* x^wa? k^wa toχ^wnex^wəs k^wonəs čɪm payəs nə?əw k^w na χ^wεʔay k^w *one place* tεʔε. *So they...* ho::: šεšə?əw k^w na ʔaɖat. ho k^wutegəs ?i na i[?]εi[?]εy[?]aməʔ k^wot k^w na χ^wεʔay. q^wol q^wεtsx^wegɪs, yeqašegɪs k^w na ?εʔtənεt. *And* θo təs ?i k^wonux^wegəs k^w na... məmk^wtəsegiʔ k^w λaʔəm. yiqašigɪs. *How do you say 'lick'?* ʔaʔaq^wategɪs k^wa.

E: mm, ʔaʔaq^watəs.

F: *I guess when the salt came from way up above, it came and formed down below, and then it got hardened in the crevice. You know. Uh, and so that's where they were licking like... like what the cows or horses do that, they got a, what do you call it, 'cow lick'? You know, big square things, red or whatever it is. But that's what they uh, that's what they found there.* toχ^wox^wəs na čɪpx^wategəs na pis. qajεtegɪs ?i jεqa k^wot λaʔəm! *So that's where they were getting their λaʔəm from. And then later they went on to this other part of uh...* θo tayqaθot, hoy k^wonux^wəs tinε na... *I don't know how you say 'cave.'*

E: ʔapas.

F: ʔapas, ʔapas?

E: ʔapas.

F: ʔapas. θo k^wa ga na... ?εmegɪš qəʝi na hosx^wəs k^w na χ^wεʔay k^w na ʔapas. *I guess they were going to clean it. You know, one flat place, anyway, I guess there's a steep side though, eh? So they went there, and they found the...* k^wonux^wegəs k^w na χaxye nam na χajis na nə?. *And that*

was the lead they found there, and they uh... it was kind of shiny in some spots. So they looked at it and uh, what's his name, ʒolowɛ found out that it was a lead; he knew right away. So that's where it came from, where they used to go get their lead for their guns, you know, bullets, or whatever you call it. And uh...

E: ʔɒlkæɫɛ.

F: ʔɒlkæɫɛs, *yeah, and then they made your other one.*

E: ɔ̌ɔ̌tmaʔamɛn.

F: ɔ̌ɔ̌tmaʔamɛn, sna θəθiʔəm. *End of story.*

2.2 Direct English Translation

F: They dug into the ground. And they did that...

E: They lined it.

F: They lined it with...

E: leaves.

F: *No, no, ʔišna... cedar shakes...*

E: *Oh, how do you say 'cedar shakes' now... cedar shakes (sɛsʔom).*

F: Cedar shakes (sɛsʔom), *yeah, cedar.*

E: They lined it with cedar shakes.

F: *And then they, uh, put, layered it down with... they did... skunk cabbage leaves. They put in the chum or whatever fish. And then they put about ten.*

E: Ten (ʔopən).

F: Ten dollars, says you! Ten, they did ten, or more. *And then they put the... and then they put...*

E: They sprinkled salt.

F: They sprinkled salt, and they put skunk cabbage leaves again. And then...

E: They stacked it.

F: That's all they did, they put them in, I think *10 layers. And then... they cover it on top... that skunk cabbage, and they put earth on top of it. They buried it again. When it was wintertime, they use it. They dig it up and get out some salted fish or whatever...*

E: Salted fish.

F: ...fish. *And then later on came mill canvas, right?*

E: Mill canvas, yes.

F: *That's what they... they used that for cover after.*

E: Where did the salt come from?

F: They used to go up to *Toby Inlet* to get it. There was a man there, ʒolowɛ was his name, *and then... there was another guy, his name was sɛnpoliyan. He was from Tla'amin. They were always staying there. They knew where to go... they were always searching for mountain goats. People back then had many uses for the mountain goat... the horns and the... what do you call them? Its meat. And then how do you say it?*

E: Its hide (ʔaʔnukʷs).

F: *No, uh...*

E: And its hide.

F: Mountain goat tallow. *What do you call it, 'fat part?'*

E: *Oh yeah, mountain goat tallow (χʷastən).*

F: *They made lard out of it, you know... that part, I guess they boil it and then they, you know,*

made... they render it. And then they use it. *And they used everything in there.* They used everything in there; they used every part of it (the mountain goat). They also made sweaters from...

E: Its hide.

F: *No*, its hair...

E: Its hair, *yeah*.

F: *How do you say it?* 'Wool', mountain goat.

E: That's its hair (maqens).

F: *Yeah*, its hair (maqens), yes. *They make a wool out of it, they spin it. And that's where you get your vest or your sweater, eh? Or your socks, or whatever you needed, they made it, and they...* they didn't know why the mountain goats were always in one place here. *So they...* they went climbing up the mountain. They went to look for them, they were searching for mountain goats. They would bring them down, they were using them for their food. *And they got there and they saw...* they were eating the salt. That's what they used. *How do you say 'lick'?* They were licking it (ʔaʔaʔaʔategɪs).

E: Mm, they were licking it (ʔaʔaʔaʔatəs).

F: *I guess when the salt came from way up above, it came and formed down below, and then it got hardened in the crevice. You know, uh, and that's where they were licking, like... like what the cows or horses do that, they got a, what do you call it, 'cow lick'? You know, big square things, red or whatever it is. But that's what they uh, that's what they found there.* That's how they discovered (it), they broke a piece off. They tried it, and here it was, salt! *So that's where they were getting their salt from. And then later on they went to this other part of uh... they moved and went to see the... I don't know how you say 'cave.'*

E: Cave (ʔapas).

F: Cave, cave (ʔapas, ʔapas)?

E: Cave (ʔapas).

F: Cave (ʔapas). They walked further. They brought a mountain goat to the cave. *I guess they were going to clean it. You know, one flat place, anyway, I guess there's a steep side though, eh? So they went there, and they found the...* they discovered a strange thing, like a rock, there. *And that was the lead they found there, and they uh... it was kind of shiny in some spots. So they looked at it and uh, what's his name, ʔolowɛ found out that it was a lead; he knew right away. So that's where it came from, where they used to go get their lead for their guns, you know, bullets, or whatever you call it. And uh...*

E: Bullets (ʔəlkæɛ).

F: Bullets (ʔəlkæɛ), *yeah*. *And then they made your other one.*

E: Weight (ʔəɪmaʔamɛn).

F: Weight for jiggling. *End of story.*

2.3 Glossed version

- (1) F: ʔɛqɛtəm kʷa gɪʃɛ.²
 ʔiq-it-əm=kʷa gəʃa
 dig-CTR-PASS=RPT ground³
 'They dug into the ground.'⁴

00:01.100

- (2) F: hoy naʔatəm tɪnɛ k^w na...
 huy naʔ-at-əm tini k^w=na
 CONJ do-CTR-PASS DEM DET=FILL.PRT...
 ‘And they did that...’
 00:03.576
- (3) E: čɛʔamtəm.
 čaʔam-t-əm
 line-CTR-PASS
 ‘They lined it.’
 00:06.413
- (4) F: čɛʔamtəm k^w na...
 čaʔam-t-əm k^w=na
 line-CTR-PASS DET=FILL.PRT
 ‘They lined it with...’
 00:07.358
- (5) E: sayʃɛ.
 sayʃa
 leaf
 ‘leaves.’
 00:08.996
- (6) F: No, x^waʔ, ʔɪʃna...⁵
 x^waʔ ʔɪʃna
 NEG ???
 ‘No, no...’
 00:10.278

² We expect both an oblique marker and determiner before *gɪʃɛ* ‘ground’, but neither are pronounced. This elision is characteristic of Freddie’s speech and, with varying frequency, typical of all ʔayʔaʃuθəm speakers we have worked with. Similar elisions are found throughout this narrative.

³ The abbreviations used in this paper follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with the following additions: ACT.INTR = active intransitive, CLF.PRT = cleft particle, CONJ = conjunction, CTR = control transitive, DPRT = discourse particle, EXCLAM = exclamative, FILL.PRT = filler particle, HAB = habitual, INDPRO = independent pronoun, MD = middle, NCTR = non-control transitive, RPT = reportative, STAT = stative. Affixes are marked by a hyphen ‘-’, clitics by an equal sign ‘=’, contractions and portmanteau morphemes are connected by a ‘+’, and infixes by angled brackets ‘< >’.

⁴ *θeqetəm* is passive, taking only a direct object argument. However, it is understood as describing the actions of unspecified individuals and translated with impersonal ‘they’. Such impersonal passives are common in the language (Watanabe 2003:285) and found in the following lines as well.

⁵ We are not familiar with the expression *ʔiʃna* Freddie uses here. Sechelt uses the word *ʔɪʃ* as an exclamation of disbelief (Beaumont 2011:972), and this may be something similar. It is possible that this is the same exclamation followed by a filler *na*.

- (7) F: ‘*Cedar shakes...*’ 00:12.653
- (8) E: ‘*Oh, how do you say cedar shakes now... səsʔom.*’ 00:19.864
- (9) F: səsʔom, *yeah, cedar.*
 sisʔum
 cedar.shakes
 ‘Cedar shakes, yeah, cedar.’ 00:30.279
- (10) E: čəʔamtəm k^wa k^w səsʔom.
 čəʔam-t-əm=k^wa k^w=sisʔum
 line-CTR-PASS=RPT DET=cedar.shakes
 ‘They lined it with cedar shakes.’ 00:33.192
- (11) F: ‘*And then they, uh, put, layered it down with...*’ 00:35.530
- (12) F: na—⁶ naʔatəm k^w na.... ʒak^wu, *leaves, sayjəs.*⁷
 naʔ-at-əm k^w=na ʒak^wu sayja-s
 do-CTR-PASS DET=FILL.PRT skunk.cabbage.leaves leaf-3POSS
 ‘They did.... skunk cabbage leaves.’ 00:38.265
- (13) F: hoy nəpʔəm k^w na ʔox^way *or whatever* jən^wx^w k^w na
 huy nəp-ʔəm k^w=na ʔux^way jan^wx^w k^w=na
 CONJ put-ACT.INTR DET=FILL.PRT chum fish DET=FILL.PRT
 nəpʔəm.
 nəp-ʔəm
 put-ACT.INTR
 ‘They put in the chum or whatever fish.’ 00:54.912
- (14) F: ‘*And then they put about ten.*’ 01:02.676
- (15) E: ʔopən.
 ʔupan
 ten
 ‘Ten.’ 01:08.185

⁶ There is a false start here.

⁷ Because Freddie is code-switching here, it is not clear if the -s suffix on *sayjəs* is the English plural added to the ʔayʔajuθəm word or the ʔayʔajuθəm third-person possessive (as is currently in the gloss).

- (16) F: ?opanós, natčx^w nɪgi!⁸
 ?upan-us na-t=čx^w nəgi
 ten-face say-CTR=2SG.SBJ 2SG.INDPRO
 ‘Ten dollars, says you!’ 01:08.830
- (17) F: ?opən, ?opən k^w na?ategɪs, *or more.*
 ?upan ?upan k^w=na?-at-ig-as
 ten ten DET=do-CTR-PL-3ERG
 ‘Ten, they did ten, or more.’ 01:11.411
- (18) F: *‘And then they put the...’* 01:17.040
- (19) F: na?atəm qəʃɪ na...
 na?-at-əm qəʃi na
 do-CTR-PASS again FILL.PRT
 ‘And then they did it again...’ 01:18.216
- (20) E: x^wipostəm k^w ʔaɬəm.
 x^wip-us-t-əm k^w=ʔaɬəm
 dust-face-CTR-PASS DET=salt
 ‘They sprinkled salt.’ 01:19.382
- (21) F: x^wipostəm ʔaɬəm, hoy na?atəm k^w na ʒak^wu
 x^wip-us-t-əm ʔaɬəm huy na?-at-əm k^w=na ʒak^wu
 dust-face-CTR-PASS salt CONJ do-CTR-PASS DET=FILL.PRT skunk.cabbage.leaves
 qəʃɪ na *leaves.*
 qəʃi na
 again FILL.PRT
 ‘They sprinkled salt, and they put skunk cabbage leaves again.’ 01:20.946
- (22) F: hoy na...
 huy na
 finish FILL.PRT
 ‘And then...’ 01:27.000

⁸ *natčx^w* is a frequent tag in casual speech, often used humorously, as here. Freddie used to tease about charging five or ten bucks for the words he shared, so this is likely a reference to that. He is teasing Elsie in response to her prompting him to return to ?ay?əʃuθəm.

- (23) E: p̄aʔanʔəm.
p̄aʔan-ʔəm
stack-ACT.INTR
‘They stacked it.’ 01:29.741
- (24) F: hoy ʔot yeyəθotət na naʔa nəpišəs, qʷayɪn
huy=ʔut ya~ya-θut=it na naʔa nəp-iš-as qʷayɪn
only=EXCL PROG~do-CTR+REFL=3PL.POSS FILL.PRT FILL.PRT put-TR-3ERG maybe
ten layers k̄ʷa.
=k̄ʷa
=RPT
‘That’s all they did, they put them in, I think 10 layers.’ 01:30.506
- (25) F: *And then...* taqəpatəm k̄ʷa kʷ na *on top...*
təq-ipa[n]-t-əm=k̄ʷa kʷ=na
close-lid-CTR-PASS=RPT DET=FILL.PRT
‘And then... they cover it on top...’ 01:35.507
- (26) F: *That* xakʷu, ʔi naʔatəm guʃe k̄ʷetəms.
xakʷuʔ ʔiy naʔ-at-əm guʃa k̄ʷit-əm-s
skunk.cabbage.leaves CONJ put-CTR-PASS earth on.top-MD-3POSS
‘That skunk cabbage, and they put earth on top of it.’ 01:42.100
- (27) F: pənʔəm qəʃi.
pən-ʔəm qəʃi
bury-ACT.INTR again
‘They buried it again.’ 01:47.063
- (28) F: ʔot ga na qʷol na *wintertime* ʔi yeqʔəm k̄ʷa ga.
ʔut=ga na qʷəl na ʔiy yiʔ-ʔəm=k̄ʷa=ga
if=DPRT FILL.PRT COME FILL.PRT CONJ use-ACT.INTR=RPT=DPRT
‘When it was wintertime, they use it.’ 01:50.095
- (29) F: ho ga θeqetəm hoy maʔam kʷ na ʔaʔém na
hu=ga θiq-it-əm huy maʔ-am kʷ=na ʔaʔ<i>m na
go=DPRT dig-CTR-PASS CONJ take-MD DET=FILL.PRT salt<STAT> FILL.PRT
θahan⁹ *or whatever...*
θahan
coho.salmon
‘They dig it up and get out some salted fish or whatever...’ 01:54.020

- (30) E: ʎaɬém jɛnxʷ.
 ʎaɬ-<i>m jɛnxʷ
 salt-MD<STAT> FILL.PRT
 ‘Salted fish.’ 02:01.641
- (31) F: ...jɛnxʷ.
 jɛnxʷ
 fish
 ‘...fish.’ 02:02.728
- (32) F: *And then later on* na... hiɬ-¹⁰ qʷol təs šɛ na ɣatkʷut— ɣatkʷukʷt,
 na hiɬ qʷəl təs šə=na ʃatkʷukʷt
 FILL.PRT CLF.PRT come reach DET=FILL.PRT mill.canvas
 naɱa?¹¹
 naɱ=a
 be.like=Q
 ‘And then later on came mill canvas, right?’ 02:06.126
- (33) E: ɣatkʷukʷt, ?æ?
 ʃatkʷukʷt ?i?
 mill.canvas yes
 ‘Mill canvas, yes.’ 02:12.920
- (34) F: *That’s what they... they used that for cover after.* 02:14.590
- (35) E: hɛkʷɕɛ ga ?əxʷ tuwas, tuwas kʷ ʎaɬəm?
 hiɬ+kʷ=ɕa=ga ?ə=xʷ=tuwa=s tuwa=s kʷ=ʎaɬəm
 COP+DET=where=DPR T OBL=OBL.NMLZ=from=3POSS from=3POSS DET=salt
 ‘Where did the salt come from?’ 02:20.333

⁹ Freddie's intended reference with *θahan* here is not clear. Blake (2000:22) records *θaʔən* as referring to coho salmon (late run), but we have also recorded Freddie using this to refer to male chum salmon. We checked with several other *ʔayʔaʃuθəm* speakers from Tla'amin, but *θahan* was not familiar to them. *χeytʰeqw* is the term for coho salmon found in the Tla'amin FirstVoices site.

¹⁰ There are two false starts here.

¹¹ This marker *nama* is a tag question used to indicate confirmation with listeners, similar to “right?” or “eh?” in English.

- (36) F: tat k^wa θo matamoɬ k^w na... *Toby Inlet*
 taʔat=k^wa θu məʔ-t-əm-uɬ k^w=na Toba Inlet¹²
 HAB=RPT go obtain-CTR-PASS-PST DET=FILL.PRT Toba Inlet
 ‘They used to go up to Toby Inlet to get it.’ 02:24.920
- (37) F: nəʔ šɛ na tumɬš šɪn̩ na, ʝolowɛ nans *and then...*
 niʔ šə=na tumiʃ šɪn̩ na ʝolowɛ nan-s
 be.there DET=FILL.PRT man DEM FILL.PRT ʝolowɛ name-3POSS
 ‘There was a man there, ʝolowɛ was his name, and then...’ 02:30.646
- (38) F: ‘*There was another guy, his name was sənpoliyan.*’¹³ 02:35.740
- (39) F: tuwa tišosəm tine.
 tuwa tišusəm tini.
 from Tla’amin DEM
 ‘He was from Tla’amin.’ 02:38.380
- (40) F: payɛ nəʔoɬ k^wšɪn̩ ʔəmɛs.
 payaʔ niʔ-uɬ k^wšɪn̩ ʔəm<i>s
 always be.there-PST DEM dwell<STAT>
 ‘They were always staying there.’ 02:40.560
- (41) F: toχ^wnɛx^wəs θos na... payɛ k^w na
 təχ^w-n<i>x^w-as θu=s na payaʔ k^w=na
 know-NCTR<STAT>-3ERG go=3POSS FILL.PRT always DET=FILL.PRT
 t^hɛt^hɛyʔəm k^w na χ^wɛʔay.
 t^hi~t^hiy-ʔəm k^w=na ʃ^wiʔay
 PROG~search-ACT.INTR DET=FILL.PRT mountain.goats
 ‘They knew where to go... They were always searching for mountain goats.’ 02:44.823

¹² The inlet Freddie refers to as Toby Inlet here is known as Toba Inlet.

¹³ sənpoliyan is Sam August, who was originally from Sechelt but married into Tla’amin.

- (42) F: ʔuk^w tam yiǰaǰitoǰ k^w na qaymɪx^w k^w na
 ʔəwǰ^w tam yə~yǰ-aǰ-it-uǰ k^w=na qaymix^w k^w=na
 all things PROG~USE-TR-PASS-PST DET=FILL.PRT people DET=FILL.PRT
 χ^wεǰay na...
 ǰ^wiǰay na
 mountain.goat FILL.PRT
 ‘People back then had many uses for the mountain goat...’ 02:54.425
- (43) F: k^w na... θapaχ^wos hega k^w na...
 k^w=na θapaǰ^wus higa k^w=na
 DET=FILL.PRT horn CONJ DET=FILL.PRT
 ‘The horns and the...’ 02:59.297
- (44) F: ‘What do you call them?’ 03:05.980
- (45) F: mɪǰuθs.
 mǰjaθ-s
 meat-3POSS
 ‘Its meat.’ 03:07.186
- (46) F: ‘And then how do you say it?’ 03:08.670
- (47) E: ǰaʔnuk^ws.
 ǰaʔnuk^w-s
 hide-3POSS
 ‘Its hide.’ 03:10.299
- (48) F: ‘No, uh...’ 03:11.440
- (49) E: ʔi k^w ǰaʔnuk^ws.
 ʔiy k^w=ǰaʔnuk^w-s
 CONJ DET=hide-3POSS
 ‘And its hide.’ 03:12.140
- (50) F: χ^wastənayəs.
 ǰ^wəstən-aya-s
 mountain.goat.tallow-container-3POSS
 ‘Mountain goat tallow.’ 03:16.085

- (51) F: *‘What do you call it, fat part?’* 03:17.420
- (52) E: *Oh yeah, χ^wastən.*
 χ^wəstən
 mountain.goat.tallow
 ‘Oh yeah, mountain goat tallow.’ 03:19.958
- (53) F: *‘They made, you know, lard out of it, you know...’* 03:21.546
- (54) F: *‘That part, I guess they boil it and then they, you know, made...’* 03:26.381
- (55) F: jεχ^watəm č̣ikít. yεq̣ašəs ga ?axti.
 jaχ^w-at-əm č̣əyk-ít, yəq̣-aš-as=ga ?əxtəy
 melt-CTR-PASS fry-STAT, use-TR-3ERG=DPRT like.that
 ‘They render it. Then they use it.’ 03:31.484
- (56) F: *‘And they used everything in there.’*
- (57) F: ?uk^w tam yεq̣?əm k^w na χ^wε̣lay.
 ?əwḳ tam yəq̣-?əm k^w=na χ^wịlay
 all thing use-ACT.INTR DET=FILL.PRT mountain.goat
 ‘They used everything in there; they used every part of it (the mountain goat).’ 03:38.280
- (58) F: hε k^wṣ̌iṇ tuwas ?aju k^w na hahitəm na
 hiɬ k^wṣ̌iṇ tuwa-s ?aju k^w=na hə~həy-t-əm na
 CLF.PRT DEM from-3POSS also DET=FILL.PRT PROG~build-CTR-PASS FILL.PRT
 takɪnuk^wt¹⁴ ?aju k^w na...
 takin-uk^wt ?aju k^w=na
 sock-clothes also DET=FILL.PRT
 ‘They also made sweaters from...’ 03:44.381
- (59) E: ɬa?nuk^ws.
 ɬa?nuk^w-s
 hide-3POSS
 ‘Its hide.’ 03:51.515

¹⁴ The root *takin* ‘sock’ (from English *stocking*) is used in reference to knitted clothing in general, such as a *takinayuk^wt* ‘toque’ or *takinuk^wt* ‘sweater’.

- (60) F: *No*, maqɛns...
 maqin-s
 hair-3POSS
 ‘No, its hair...’03:53.041
- (61) E: maqɛns, *yeah*.
 maqin-s
 hair-3POSS
 ‘Its hair, yeah.’03:55.020
- (62) F: *How do you say it? Wool,*03:56.760
- (63) F: χ^wε^hlay.
 χ^wi^hlay
 mountain.goat
 ‘Mountain goat.’04:00.330
- (64) E: hiɬ ʔit maqɛns.
 hiɬ=ʔiyt maqin-s
 CLF.PRT=DPRT hair-3POSS
 ‘That’s its hair.’04:01.690
- (65) F: *Yeah*, maqɛns, ʔæʔ.
 maqin-s ʔiʔ
 hair-3poss yes
 ‘Yeah, its hair, yes.’04:02.958
- (66) F: *They make a wool out of it, they spin it.*04:04.484
- (67) F: *And that’s where you got your vest or your sweater, eh?*04:08.648
- (68) F: *Or your socks, or whatever you needed; they made it, and they...*04:14.566

- (69) F: x^wa? k^wa toχ^wnεx^wəs k^wonəs čım payes
 x^wa?=k^wa tɔχ^w-n<í>x^w=as k^wən=as čəm paya?=s
 NEG=RPT know-NCTR<STAT>=3SBJV AUX=3SBJV what.is.with always=3POSS
 nε?əw k^w na χ^wεłay k^w one place tε?ε.
 ni?-ig¹⁵ k^w=na ʃ^wiłay k^w= ti?i
 be.there-PL DET=FILL.PRT mountain.goat DET= DEM
 ‘They didn’t know why the mountain goats were always in one place here.’ 04:25.639

- (70) F: ‘So they...’ 04:31.938

- (71) F: ho::: šεšɛ?əw k^w na łaqat.
 hu šə~šə?-ig k^w=na ła?q[ɔ]t¹⁶
 go PROG~climb-PL DET=FILL.PRT mountain
 ‘They went climbing up the mountain.’ 04:32.990

- (72) F: ho k^wotegəs ?i na łəɛłey?amoł k^wot
 hu k^wən-t-ig-as ?iy na łəi~łəiy-?əm-uł=k^wa+?ut
 go see-CTR-PL-3ERG CONJ FILL.PRT PROG~search-ACT.INTR-PST=RPT+EXCL
 k^w na χ^wεłay.
 k^w=na ʃ^wiłay
 DET=FILL.PRT mountain.goat
 ‘They went to look for them, they were searching for mountain goats.’ 04:35.525

- (73) F: q^wol q^wetsx^wegɿs, yeqasɛgɿs k^w na ?ɛłtenet.
 q^wol q^wit-sx^w-ig-as yiq-aš-ig-as k^w=na ?ilən-it
 come shore-CAUS-PL-3ERG USE-TR-PL-3ERG DET=FILL.PRT food-3PL.POSS
 ‘They would bring them down, they were using them for their food.’ 04:37.309

- (74) F: And θo təs ?i k^wonux^wegəs k^w na... məmkw^wtəseɣł
 θu təs ?iy k^wən-əx^w-ig-as k^w=na mə~mk^w-t-as-ig-uł
 go arrive CONJ see-NCTR-PL-3ERG DET=FILL.PRT PROG~eat-CTR-3ERG-PL-PST
 k^w łatəm.
 k^w=łatəm.
 DET=salt
 ‘And they got there and they saw... they were eating the salt.’ 04:45.772

¹⁵ The plural marker may surface as either *-ig* or *-iw*. We represent the underlying form of the plural as *-ig*.

¹⁶ Blake (2000:330) gives /təqt/ and /ta?qt/ as underlying forms of mountain. We assume that [łaqat] comes from /ta?qt/ here.

- (75) F: yiq̄ašigɫs.
yə~yq̄-aš-ig-as
PROG~USE-TR-PL-3ERG
'That's what they used.'
04:50.253
- (76) F: *'How do you say 'lick'?''*
- (77) F: ɬaɬaq^wategɫs k^wa.
ɬa~ɬaq^w-at-ig-as=k^wa
PROG~lick-CTR-PL-3ERG=RPT
'They were licking it.'
05:05.952
- (78) E: mm ɬaɬaq^watəs.
mm ɬa~ɬaq^w-at-as
mm PROG~lick-CTR-3ERG
'Mm, they were licking it.'
05:07.317
- (79) F: *'I guess when the salt came from way up above, it came and formed down below, and then it got hardened in the crevice.'*
05:08.984
- (80) F: *'You know, uh, and so that's where they were licking, like... like what the cows or horses do that, they got a, what do you call it, cow lick? You know, big square things, red or whatever it is.'*
05:17.195
- (81) F: *'But that's what they uh, that's what they found there.'*
05:30.898
- (82) F: toχ^wox^wəs na čɫpx^wategəs na pis.
təχ^w-əx^w-as na čəpx^w-at-ig-as na pis
know-NCTR-3ERG FILL.PRT break.off-CTR-PL-3ERG FILL.PRT piece
'That's how they discovered it, they broke a piece off.'
05:34.529
- (83) F: qaʃetegɫs ?i jɛqa k^wot ɬaɬəm!
qaʃ-at-ig-as ?iy jaqa?=k^wa+?ut ɬaɬəm
try-CTR-PL-3ERG CONJ EXCLAM=RPT+EXCL salt
'They tried it, and here it was, salt!'
05:41.039
- (84) F: *'So, that's where they were getting their ɬaɬəm from.'*
05:43.538

- (85) F: *'And then later on they went to this other part of uh...'* 05:47.921
- (86) F: θo tayqaθot, hoy k^wonux^wəs tine na...
 θu tayq-aθut huy k^wən-əx^w-as tini na
 go move-CTR+REFL CONJ see-NCTR-3ERG DEM FILL.PRT
 'They moved and went to see the...' 05:51.450
- (87) F: *'I don't know how you say 'cave'.'* 05:54.830
- (88) E: ɿapas.
 ɿapas
 cave
 'Cave.' 05:56.411
- (89) F: ɿapas, ɿapas?
 ɿapas ɿapas
 cave cave
 'Cave, cave?' 05:57.470
- (90) E: ɿapas.
 ɿapas
 cave
 'Cave.' 05:59.169
- (91) F: ɿapas.
 ɿapas
 cave
 'Cave.' 05:59.999
- (92) F: θo k^wa ga na... ?ɛmegtš qəʃi na. hosx^wəs k^w na
 θu=k^wa=ga na ?im-ig-aš qəʃi na hu-sx^w-as k^w=na
 go=RPT=DPRT FILL.PRT walk-PL-INTR again FILL.PRT go-CAUS-3ERG DET=FILL.PRT
 χ^wɛɿay k^w na ɿapas.
 ʃ^wiɿay k^w=na ɿapas
 mountain.goat DET=FILL.PRT cave
 'They walked further. They brought a mountain goat to the cave.' 06:01.489

- (93) F: *I guess they were going to clean it.* 06:12.020
- (94) F: *You know, one flat place, anyway, I guess there's a steep side though, eh?* 06:14.157
- (95) F: *So they went there, and they found the...* 06:18.215
- (96) F: kʷonuxʷegəs kʷ na ɣaxɣe nam̩ na ɣajis na neʔ.
 kʷən-əxʷ-ig-as kʷ=na ɣaxɣa nam̩ na ɣajis na niʔ
 see-NCTR-PL-3ERG DET=FILL.PRT strange be.like FILL.PRT rock FILL.PRT be.there
 'They discovered a strange thing, like a rock, there.' 06:23.078
- (97) F: *And that was the lead they found there, and they uh... it was kind of shiny in some spots.* 06:29.147
- (98) F: *So they looked at it and, uh, what's his name, jolowe found out that it was a lead; he knew right away.* 06:36.902
- (99) F: *So that's where it came from, where they used to go get their lead for their guns, you know, bullets, or whatever you call it. And uh...* 06:45.549
- (100) E: ɬəlkæɬ.
 ɬəlkala
 bullet
 'Bullets.' 06:57.745
- (101) F: 'ɬəlkæɬs, yeah.'
 ɬəlkala-s¹⁷
 bullet-PL
 'Bullets, yeah.' 06:58.940
- (102) F: *And then they made your other one.* 06:59.970

¹⁷ The -s here is likely the English plural marker.

- (103) E: ǵǵmaʔamən.
 ǵǵm-aʔam-min
 weigh.down-ACT.INTR-INS
 ‘Weight.’ 07:02.680
- (104) F: ǵǵmaʔamən, sna θǵθtʰəm.
 ǵǵm-aʔam-min snaʔ θǵ~θtʰ-əm
 weigh.down-ACT.INTR-INS be.OWNER PROG~jig-MD
 ‘Weight for jigging.’ 07:03.580
- (105) F: ‘End of story.’ 07:09.235

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