

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY, LANGUAGE AND THE LAND

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Language is
our unique relationship to the Creator,
our attitudes, beliefs, values, and
fundamental notions of what is truth.
Our languages are the cornerstone of
who we are as a People.
Without our languages,
our cultures cannot survive.

Principles for Revitalization of First Nations Languages,
Towards Linguistic Justice for First Nations,
Assembly of First Nations, Education Secretariat. 1990.

FEW CANADIANS WHO ARE NATIVE SPEAKERS of English would so passionately value their language as such an integral part of their identity. English may be a *vehicle* for the expression of spirituality, of attitudes, beliefs, values, and perceptions of truth, of culture, of self-identification, but English is seldom considered by its speakers to be the *essence* of either their individual or collective identity. Many native English speakers would value its accumulated wealth of literature, its expressive flexibility, its extensive vocabulary (indebted to dozens of other languages from



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which it has extensively borrowed). However, in this era of globalization, the over-riding value attributed to English is undeniably its world-wide dominance in socio-economic spheres of influence. Both locally and globally, the utility and hegemony of English is, for the vast majority of its speakers, its prime virtue. Certainly, many independent physical, social, economic, cultural, and ideological attributes would rank high above Language itself in a native English speaker's definition of his or her identity.

How then does the dominant English-speaking population of Canada¹ comprehend statements like that quoted above in the 'Principles for Revitalization'? Steeped in a fundamentally different ideology and value system, how is the impassioned First Nations discourse on the profound impact of language loss to be understood within mainstream society? How can the Principles which underlie 'Linguistic Justice for First Nations' be appropriately recognized within the predominantly English-speaking classrooms of British Columbia in which First Nations children are being educated, within the English-speaking courts through which First Nations land claims are being negotiated, and – even more ironically – within the increasingly English-speaking First Nations households where parents are struggling with immensely difficult language choices on how best to raise their children?

Many different voices spoke to these issues in the course of our travels on this *BC Studies* field trip. Some of those voices spoke directly from the landscape, reinforcing the First Nations' people's inalienable identification of language with the land. Other voices spoke articulately and powerfully in English from the hearts of individuals dispossessed of their ancestral language, as of their ancestral lands. Yet other voices spoke to us with honour in their native tongues, the sheer strength and emotion of their voices communicating the intensity of their commitment to reverse the precipitous loss of their linguistic and cultural heritage.

Our journey starts at UBC. There, in the Sty-Wet-Tan Great Hall of the First Nations House of Learning Longhouse, a trio of human figures ringing the top of Chief Walter Harris and his son Rodney Harris's housepost reminds us – in the silent visual communicative power of carved cedar images, transcending the words of any indi-

¹ Assumed in this terminology is the recognition, as noted by Harris (2001: 205) that "The term 'English Canada' now has little ethnic meaning... They are speakers of an official and the dominant language in Canada, and of the most aggressively dominant language in the world today."

vidual human language – of an elemental truth embodied in the quiet wisdom of First Nations elders. Appropriately, it is the mouths of these images that communicate the voice of oral tradition. Only the mouth of the figure in the middle is open; the mouths of the two on either side are closed. The message: it is twice as important to listen as it is to speak.² Let us listen, then, to the several and varied voices that speak to the issues of language and identity within the physical and mental territories we traversed.

Our starting point, UBC, is situated within the traditional territory of the Musqueam peoples. The Musqueam speak to these issues in a single voice. Not a single, unified voice: the community, like many others in the conflicted wake of the oppression of native language and culture by the residential school system in BC, is quite factionalized on language issues. Rather, a single, solitary voice: there is, within the oldest generation of elders at Musqueam, only one fluent speaker of the language left. The spectre of language extinction is a starkly imminent possibility.

How did this happen? The current seriously endangered status of First Nations languages throughout BC is, uncontroversially, largely the consequence of the systematic repression and denigration of these languages that were perpetrated historically through Canada's political, social, and educational institutions. What is perhaps less commonly recognized, however, is the devastating internalized impact that the former deplorable practices continue to have on individual, family, and collective motivation *within* First Nations communities to value and perpetuate their linguistic heritage. The relentless external message – that these languages are worthless, futile, inconsequential, and undoubtedly detrimental to one's children's potential for success in life³ – has, over the past three generations, successfully infiltrated the belief system of many parents in many First Nations communities. The profoundly ironic consequence is that many communities are deeply split by conflicting ideologies regarding language maintenance and revitalization, with this internal divisiveness having evolved into one of the major factors precipitating language loss. It is not at all uncommon that the best intentioned individuals within First Nations communities believe language shift to monolingual English to be in the better interest of their children.

² Jo-ann Archibald, p.c.

³ If not also primitive, ugly, savage, heathen, and the incarnate work of the devil – lingering beliefs effectively imprinted on many vulnerable young minds through the residential school system.

Reflecting back on a childhood in the late '40s through the 50s, one Musqueam parent deeply dedicated to language revitalization recounts:

The language before I went to school was English. We never got taught the [Indian] language... They all spoke to us in English. It mainly had to do with boarding school. They chose not to teach us Indian, the Indian language. Because they got punished so severely for speaking the language, they didn't want us to go through the same punishment. So my Mother said she chose not to teach us any Indian language, so that there was no way we were going to get punished at all.

And then, later on as time went by, she thought it was going to be too hard to teach because we were all getting older and that. And by the time we got out of boarding school, and started going to a public school, we were ...ten, eleven, twelve. So, we lost. We lost the language because of that... So, I lost out on the early teachings. As well as my brothers and sisters, we lost out on that as well.

Just how does deeply does such language loss impact on identity? Underscoring the opening citation from the AFN's Principles, this woman concluded, with profound sadness:

"You're really no one You can't claim a title to yourself, if you don't have your language, and some practices of your culture, and spiritual goings on."

This Musqueam voice is not unique. Voices in virtually every First Nations community throughout the province, across the nation, indeed around the globe,⁴ reverberate with this same message. These voices, speaking to the multifaceted issues of language and identity, surfaced repeatedly throughout our *BC Studies* journey.

The very place names plotted on the landscape of our itinerary spoke to us of the interface of pre-colonial and post-colonial identities. The place name 'Musqueam' is itself an anglicization of the indigenous designation $x^w m\theta k^w \acute{y}\acute{a}m$, which refers to the place (indicated by the locative prefix x^w -) where the $m\theta k^w \acute{y}\acute{a}$, a plant which was plentiful along the shoreline, used to grow. Surrounding the current Musqueam Indian Reserve most of the names reflect the dominant colonial language, commemorating (Captain) Vancouver, (Lord) Stanley Park, English Bay, Richmond (transplanted from

⁴ See, for example, Crystal (2000).

Australia),⁵ Steveston (after William H. Steves whose father settled there from New Brunswick), New Westminster (harkening to London, England), Surrey (southwest of London), with scattered reminders, like Spanish Banks, of other colonial incursions. Nonetheless, several other place names that mark signposts on our journey from Point (Lord) Grey up the (Simon) Fraser river valley are derived from indigenous names, and stand in testimony of this territory having been the traditional land use area of the Musqueam and other Coast Salish peoples for literally thousands of years⁶ before the white man's arrival. A sample of these follows, with each anglicized name paired with its pronunciation in *hənqəmínəm*, the ancestral language of the Musqueam people:

Anglicized name:	<i>hənqəmínəm</i> designation ⁷ :
Kwantlen	q ^w a:n̓x̓ən̓
Tsawwassen	scəw̓aθən
Katzie	q̓ic̓əy̓
Matsqui	məθx ^w əy̓
Sumas	səmeθ
Chilliwack	sc̓əlx ^w iʔq ^w

One immediately striking feature of this list is that the *hənqəmínəm* spelling of these names relies on many symbols not used in the familiar English/Roman alphabet (though readers familiar with Greek will recognize θ as theta). The sound systems of Salish languages are significantly more complex than English: for example, *hənqəmínəm* itself has a total of 36 consonants in its inventory of sounds (see Appendix A), 22 of which are not found in English! Consequently, the English spelling of native place names often (as above) represents a considerable simplification of their indigenous pronunciation. Language here speaks in one of its most ironic tongues. Whereas colonial documentation is replete with deprecating judgments of the 'Indian' languages being simplistic and primitive, these adapted anglicized place names reveal that it is in fact English which has a much smaller inventory of consonant sounds, and which simplifies a broad range of contrasts and complexities inherent in the appropriate

⁵ See G.P.V. & Helen Ackrigg (1986) for the origins of this (p.256) and the other non-native place names cited here.

⁶ As documented by archeological evidence in the MOA exhibit 'Written in the Earth,' UBC (1996). See also Carlson, ed. (2001).

⁷ The spellings here are adapted from Suttles (to appear) following the orthographic conventions of Shaw et al. (2001).

həŋqəmiŋəŋ pronunciation in order to have it conform to the much narrower set of options in English.

Much less conspicuous than either the First Nations or the English identities marked on the BC landscape is the French. Our *BC Studies* caravan had not been on the road long, however, when we passed by the turn-off to Maillardville. It is clear that francophone Canadians understand the relationship between language and identity embodied in the opening statement of Principles for 'Linguistic Justice for First Nations' much better than most anglophones do. To cite just one example, Mme. Lysianne Gagnon in her identification of the several factors which divide the francophone Quebecois from the rest of Canadian society, states⁸:

Language goes much deeper than skin colour, or ethnic origin. Skin colour is superficial. Language is not. Language calls for a different set of cultural references, a different school system, another literature

Language is more than a passing difference in a democratic and pluralist society like Canada. It might even be the major one.

Despite the ardent francophone voices which have throughout Canada's history as a nation affirmed the fundamental importance of language and identity, and despite Canada's avowed commitments in many political, social, and educational spheres to multilingualism and multiculturalism, the public discourse and practice seldom embrace the First Nations languages of our land.⁹ Aside from the familiar hyperboles about how many words there are for snow in Inuktitut,¹⁰ and with the exception of the highly profiled musical successes of First Nations Canadians like Kashtin or Susan Aglukark, who have given voice to the beautiful sounds of their languages in the pop culture scene, where does a recognition of First Nations languages stand within the average Canadian's awareness of our multilingual society?

How many First Nations languages can the average non-native person identify by name? How many BC First Nations languages are on the provincial ballot? How many of our post-secondary educational institutions recognize *any* First Nations languages as a

⁸ Vancouver Institute Lecture, January 1996.

⁹ With the exception of official First Nations and Inuit language legislation in the northern territories.

¹⁰ For a lucid disassemblage of the frequently exaggerated claims in this regard, the reader is referred to Pullum (1991).

serious and worthy domain of focussed study? In contrast, how many *other* world languages (Spanish, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Punjabi, etc.) are represented in and hence validated by these institutions?

The irony here is that despite our national sensitivities to multi-lingualism, the vast majority of Canadians are simply not aware of the exceptional linguistic legacy in our midst. Most people - including many of the most highly educated and politically influential - are largely ignorant of the sheer diversity, the complexity, the cognitive and cultural richness of the native languages of the First Nations peoples. At the time of European colonial contact, there were within what are now the political borders of British Columbia alone, over 30 different aboriginal languages,¹¹ these belonging to 8 distinct, genetically unrelated families (see Appendix B). If you consider, by way of comparison, that language groups as patently diverse in sound, in structure, and in cultures as English, Russian, and Hindi are, in fact, all genetically related to each other within a single family, the Indo-European family, then the diversity of 8 genetically distinct families of First Nations languages within BC perhaps brings the wealth of this linguistic heritage into sharper focus. Although most are represented by a very small number of extant speakers, there remain 26 different First Nations languages spoken within BC.

Not merely from a provincial or national perspective is this quantitative and qualitative diversity significant; from a global perspective, the highly complex and typologically unusual properties of these languages and their sophisticated oral traditions are extraordinary. Although largely ignored by the general populace, these languages have attracted the focussed interest of linguists and cognitive scientists, anthropologists, cultural historians, literary scholars and writers from around the world. Compounding the general lack of awareness of the existence and extraordinary properties of these languages is a general lack of awareness of how imminent their potential extinction is.

The current ignorance about First Nations languages on the part of non-native Canadians is, patently, not at all on a par with the persistent

¹¹ The indeterminacy of just how many languages there were, or are, entails the classic sociolinguistic dilemma of how to categorize dialect as opposed to language distinctions. That is, different dialects range along a continuum of evolutionary change in several different dimensions of the grammar (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics), and it is therefore often difficult (and often contentious in terms of a variety of socio-political factors) to make a clear decision as to when divergence is substantial enough to consider two genetically related speech forms different languages or not.

subjugation and unconscionable deprecation of these languages in the past. Nonetheless, the effects of this present ignorance, although seemingly subtle, are not at all benign. To be ignorant of X is to not be aware of the existence of X. Non-awareness of the existence of X is, simply by narrowing the scope of negation, all too readily re-interpretable as the non-existence of X. Mainstream society's ignorance, therefore, profoundly impacts on the core of a people's identity, their sense of who they are and where they came from, who their ancestors were and how the continuity of their lives and their ways of being in the world - of interpreting the world - are linked most elementally through their ancestral languages and their ancestral lands. In *not* according recognition, let alone respect, to the distinctive linguistic and cultural identities that have shaped First Nations peoples, the majority culture continues to exert a significantly negative influence on identity, on self-esteem, on pride in one's cultural heritage, and on one's sense of self and of place in the broader society. This in turn can insidiously erode the motivation of First Nations individuals, families, and communities to value and perpetuate that heritage.

Our *BC Studies* van continued up the valley past New Westminster, where an ad posted by a local car dealership¹² proudly declared that they had "Multi Lingual Sales Staff." They listed 9 languages, specifically:

French, Spanish, Italian,
Mandarin, Cantonese,
Hindi, Punjabi,
Fijian, and First Nations

The first thing that struck me as very interesting here is that Mandarin and Cantonese are listed as separate languages. The ad does not simply state "Chinese": rather, Mandarin and Cantonese are recognized, quite appropriately, as distinct linguistic identities. Similarly, Hindi and Punjabi are differentiated. So, this ad represents really quite an informed understanding of linguistic diversity in the world, of its socio-political underpinnings, and, clearly, of the market value of catering to a recognition of distinct linguistic and cultural identities not only on a global scale, but particularly in the very local BC context.

But then the final language identified in the ad is "First Nations." Their sales staff speak French, Mandarin, Punjabi, . . . and "First Nations." Linguistically, of course, this makes no sense: aside from

¹² Web site www.keywestford.com, May 2001.

the 26 different First Nations languages simply in BC, there are over 50 in Canada, yet more across the border in the United States. From one perspective, there is a conspicuous irony here, in that to talk about speaking "First Nations" reflects an *ascendancy* of political correctness with respect to the appropriately sanctioned term of reference for this portion of the Canadian population. Just a couple of decades ago, people would have talked about speaking "Indian." So, the term of reference to the collectivity of linguistic heritages has shifted, following the received canons of political correctness, from "Indian" to "First Nations."

But inherent in both these terms of reference, there remains a grievous continuity in the profound lack of recognition of the distinct identities of these peoples. To homogenize these vital, complex, diverse languages and traditions into a single pan-cultural terminology constitutes nothing less than a denial of distinct heritage, a denial of independent cultural and linguistic identity. Not to be recognized in terms of one's very identity, one's unique ancestry, one's sacred cultural canons, and, most significantly, in terms of the language which has transmitted the integrity and spirituality of this knowledge through millenia is devastatingly destructive to an individual's sense of self and to a community's cultural coherence.

When our *BC Studies* group arrived in Nlaka'pmx territory, in the vicinity of Merritt, just a few hours later, Shirley Sterling, her brother Austin and cousin Tim Voght, warmly welcomed us, both into the sacred space of their family's sweatlodge, and into the generous hospitality of Shirley's home where we shared very special traditional foods and the delight of many stories. Shirley's own words (1992: 16-17) about her arrival as a child at Indian Residential School recount the systematic negation of identity through prohibition of language at a profoundly personal level:

... Sister Maura asked me what my name was. I said, my name is Seepetza. Then she got really mad like I did something terrible. She said never to say that word again... I went to the intermediate rec and found Dorothy... I asked her what my name was. She said that it was Martha Stone. I said it over and over. Then I ran back and told Sister Maura.

Even within European culture, one's name is a very personal marker of identity and heritage. However, within several First Nations traditions in the Northwest, one's name is a venerable legacy, and gives one's life profound meaning. A name is an inherited privilege, which carries

not only an ancestral lineage, but also a hereditary set of responsibilities and entitlements, including land use rights, the right to wear a particular mask or sing a particular song. Ownership of a name is often bestowed, renewed, and recognized by successive generations at feasts and potlatches, and is remembered and recounted in formalized oral traditions. Consequently, one's name entails many interconnected levels beyond one's personal individual identity. Disparagement or virtual annulment of one's inherited name undermines an extended and vitally significant network of familial and societal relationships which is integral to the effective and culturally coherent functioning of the traditional social order within First Nations communities. Once disrupted over the period of generations of residential schooling, the names themselves have been vulnerable to loss and naming traditions to significant restructuring. Thus, in yet another way, suppression of language - by pejoratively discountenancing every First Nations child's native name - has been a powerful agent of change profoundly affecting both individual and societal identity.

The next day our *BC Studies* group headed into the deep northeastern interior of traditional Salish territory, to Spaxomin where we were welcomed by members of the Upper Nicola Band. Interestingly, the discourse of the first part of our visit revolved primarily around land; that of the second part around language. Underlying both was a strikingly similar theme of disrupted unity, of broken continuity, of fractioned identity.

The Upper Nicola land claims researchers shared with us a riveting and highly informative history of the progressive diminution and partitioning of their traditional lands, of their commonage claim, of their physical disconnectedness from places that, since time immemorial, were reliable water sources; traditional hunting, fishing, or other food-gathering sites; sacred burial sites; and other spiritual landmarks linked to oral traditions of creation, of human identities and of transforming identities, of appropriate societal behaviour. Particularly insightful and poignantly moving was discussion couched in the methodology of the identification of these important sites on the carefully documented and researched maps. On the two-dimensional topographic representation of the terrain that they and their ancestors for centuries had traversed countless times, had lived in harmony and in hardship with, had sustained and been sustained by - on this intimately known landscape, their ancestral sites were defined as points, as dots, as disconnected isolates, with no representation of their relationship to each other, no representation of the

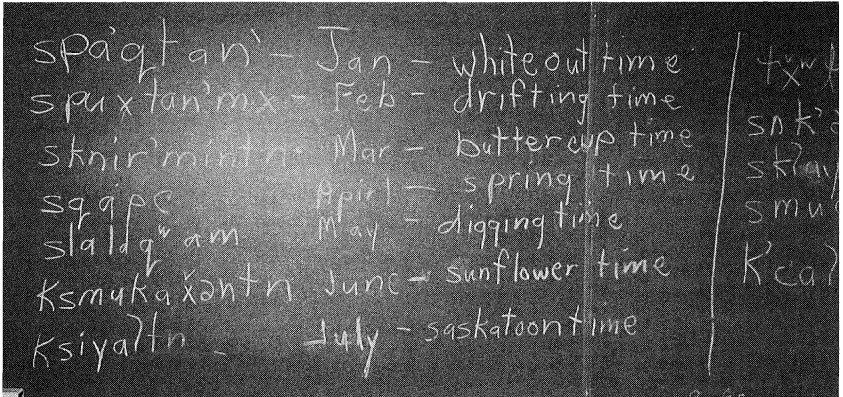
well-travelled paths that were traversed to arrive there, no representation of the traveler's interaction with and interpretation of the landscape as he travelled those paths. The journey itself was accorded no significance, only the destination. What was once a continuous terrain, a thoroughly familiar integrated landscape, was now a dispersed set of disjunct, separate, unique points isolated in space, time, and significance. The colonial and post-colonial land-tenure system in concert with the mapping process itself had effectively conspired to transform a seamless, tightly integrated, interactive symbiotic relationship between the people and the land into a micro-model of Cole Harris's (1987: 459) metaphor of the archipelago of Canada:

The political map of North America sustains the illusion that Canada is a continental giant ...; whereas on any long, clear-night flight, this Canada dissolves into an oceanic darkness spotted by occasional islands of light... an island archipelago spread over 7200 east-west kilometres.

The metaphor in the present context, however, represents a historical devolution which has occurred over post-contact time: the current demarcation of disconnected islands in the archipelago of mapped land-use sites derives from a once-connected land mass, a sociologically uninterrupted and undivided territory in the pre-contact era. The consequences entail not only physical dispossession and psychological disjunctivity however.

Control over resource management across the divided territory is dispersed and fractured, profoundly impacting on the accessibility and sustainability of food and water supplies. The hunt entails a journey for both the hunter and the animal. As our speaker, Scotty Homes, wryly commented, "deer don't fly" from the boundary of one demarcated land-use site to another. Water systems neither originate nor terminate in localized territory. Nor do pollution or global warming effects remain localized in the contexts which supply their drinking water, or which nourish their fish stocks. Traditional responsibility for sustainability of resources is no longer under local control for First Nations bands. It is not that such responsibility has been abrogated. It has been pre-empted across the archipelago of divided territories, different identities, and distinct ideologies.

The impact of this constructed archipelago of bounded lands on language was at the core of our subsequent discussion with the language teachers at the Upper Nicola School. The context was



Blackboard in the classroom at Spaxomin school.

equally as vibrant, informative, and graphic as that of our morning in the map research room. Here, it was backgrounded with a brightly coloured alphabet runner ringing the classroom, above blackboards filled with the current Okanagan language lesson on seasons and months of the year. A focal - and often highly controversial - issue in all First Nations language programs is dialect.

Traditionally, language diversity - across dialects, indeed across different languages - was an integral component of everyday life, actively nurtured through the social interactions of intermarriage, trade, potlatching, war, etc. People from one band or region readily recognized dialectal features from other locales. Dialect was, and continues to be, an important marker of distinct local identity. However, with the diminution in active use of the ancestral language in each individual community and with the concomitant ascendancy of English, opportunities for fluent familiarization with distinctive features of neighbouring dialects have decreased. The farther apart communities are, the more distinctive their dialects are likely to be. What is generally referred to as 'the' *nsilxcin* or Okanagan language is, more appropriately, a continuum of closely related dialects distributed along the length of the Arrow Lakes and throughout the Okanagan stretching south across the border into Colville territory in the United States. The Upper Nicola reserve is situated at the northern end of this dialect continuum.

Issues at the interface of literacy and dialect and identity were at the heart of challenges facing the language teachers at the Upper Nicola school at the time of our visit. With little documentation or teaching material available on their own dialect, they were drawing

on the considerable body of written materials (e.g. Mattina 1973, 1987, amongst others) developed for the southern Colville dialect. While an excellent resource and an invaluable asset in many ways, these materials nonetheless were based on a significantly different dialect, and therefore contained a number of unfamiliar words, systematically different pronunciations, and even different grammatical constructions.

These are all common aspects of dialect diversity in any language. For example, what Canadians call a 'truck,' the Brits call a 'lorry,' yet both words refer to the same set of objects; both words are simply part of the local flavour that the same language, English, embraces within its hundreds of different dialects. As well, different pronunciations (or "accents") abound, and are a clear indicator of local identity: Americans will pretty quickly identify a Canadian by their pronunciation of 'out' or 'about.' Human languages are complex cognitive systems which are never static. Diversity across a dialect continuum is a measure of evolution, vitality, and creativity within a language.

However, in the context of First Nations language revitalization programs within a community, the fact of dialect diversity constitutes a major pedagogical challenge. Individual communities seldom have the financial resources, time, or expertise to develop extensive language curriculum materials on their own, especially given the serious lack of basic documentation. A major motivation for language retention and revitalization is the deep-seated recognition that language is an integral part of identity. However, one's unique identity is intimately defined by one's own local dialect. Therefore, to teach a different dialect, a recognized marker of *another* group's distinctive identity, is fundamentally at odds with the vital affirmation of one's own identity that language constitutes.

At an earlier point in time, these dialect differences would have been more familiar to a broad base of people in each community across the dialect continuum. Diverse speech patterns were readily recognized, and accepted without value judgment (since there was no established prescriptive "standard" to measure different dialects against). They would simply have been identified in terms like 'oh, yes, that's the way they speak down in Colville.' However, the subsequent decline in language use in individual communities has entailed less familiarity with distinctive dialect properties. When diversity is encountered now, it is often simply not clear whether the different forms genuinely belong to different dialects, or whether maybe one of the forms is basically erroneous, a consequence of the

break in language transmission through and across the generations and the territories.

Thus, the once coherent and fluid integrity of a vibrant and tightly connected language continuum across a territory can devolve into an archipelago of fractured and disjoint dialects, parallel to the loss of connectivity across traditional lands. The diminution of language use both within and between communities has resulted in increasingly insular isolates, deeply conscious of local identity and aware of historical links, but disconnected from an integrated understanding of those relationships in current space and time. Throughout the province are individuals and communities who are acutely aware of a waterline that continues to rise, precipitously, around their archipelago, and who are passionately committed to stemming and reversing that tidal flow.

All languages, like geographical landscapes, change through time. However, it is not the natural evolution of change which the voices of our journey have spoken of. Their concern is extinction. They have framed this concern in the context of two realities: First, potential extinction of these languages is in fact imminent. Secondly, mainstream Canadian society has been and continues to be seriously complicit in this extraordinary loss.

Perhaps if we do listen well, perhaps if we listen with compassion and clarity, then perhaps there can continue to be the vital diversity of voices across the BC landscape speaking the First Nations languages of their heritage.

However, if we do not listen well and if we do not listen now, then these several voices – their amazing complexity, their expressive beauty, their embodied knowledge systems, their unique ways of structuring the world – will be silenced.

EPILOGUE

Bringing our journey full circle is one final voice, a voice which speaks across the landscapes of the Interior Salish and the post-colonial academy, a voice which directly addresses the relationship of language loss and identity. The voice is that of Nicola Campbell, author of the poem entitled “Nle7kepmxcin...” which follows. Nle7kepmxcin is the name of the language of the Nle7kepmx people. Nicola Campbell is of Nle7kepmx, Nsilx, and Metis ancestry, and is the daughter of Carol Michel who met with us at the Upper Nicola school. Nicola is currently a student at UBC.

APPENDIX A

*The Sounds of hənqəmiṇəm (Musqueam Salish)
compared with English*

The consonant sounds of English (25):

p	t		č	k	ʔ
b	d		ǰ	g	
f	θ	s	š		h
v	ð	z	ž		
m	n	l	r	y	[ŋ] w

The consonants of hənqəmiṇəm (36):

p	t	c		č	(k)	k ^w	q	q ^w	ʔ
p̣	ṭ ^θ	ṭ	c̣	č̣		ḳ ^w	q̣	q̣ ^w	
	θ	s	ʃ	š	x	x ^w	χ	χ ^w	h
m	n	l		y		w			
ṃ	ṇ	ḷ		ỵ		ẉ			

Consonants which occur in both hənqəmiṇəm and English (14):

p	t		č	k	ʔ
θ	s		š		h
m	n	l	y	w	

Consonants which occur in hənqəmiṇəm, but not in English (22):

p̣	ṭ ^θ	c̣		č̣		k ^w	q	q ^w	
		ṭ	c̣	č̣			ḳ ^w	q̣	q̣ ^w
		ʃ		š	x	x ^w	χ	χ ^w	
ṃ	ṇ	ḷ		ỵ		ẉ			

APPENDIX B

*Linguistic Diversity of First Nations Languages
Within British Columbia*¹³

LANGUAGE FAMILY (8)	LANGUAGES: DIALECTS († INDICATES NO LONGER SPOKEN)
Salish (11)	Pentlatch † Straits: Sooke †, Songish †, Semiahmoo † Saanich, Samish (Lummi) Comox †; Sliammon, Klahoose, Homalco Klallam Squamish Sechelt nsilxcin (Okanagan-Colville) Shuswap NLa'kapmx (Thompson) St'at'imcets (Lillooet) Nuxalk (Bella Coola) Halkomelem, həŋqəmiŋəm, Hulqumiñum
Athabaskan (8)	Tsetsaut † Nicola † Tagish Tahltan Kaska Sekani Beaver Babine/Witsuwit'en Chilcotin Carrier
Wakashan (6)	Ditidaht Oowek'yala Xa'isla'ala, Xenaksialak'ala (Haisla) Heiltsuk Kwak'wala Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)
Tsimshian (3)	Southern Tsimshian Coast Tsimshian Nisga'a, Gitxan
Algonquian (1)	Cree
Ktunaxa (Kootenay)	[Language Isolate]
Haida	[Language Isolate]
Tlingit	[Language Isolate]

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¹³ This table is adapted from more detailed tables in Shaw (1996) documenting the relative viability (on a scale ranging through Extinct, Near Extinct, Endangered, Marginally Viable, Viable) of the languages of British Columbia and of elsewhere in Canada.