What If? Speculations about an Old Neighbour, the North Wind Wolf

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> We must by indirections find directions out.
> Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age*, 2009

> Of course it's true; our stories have always told of it.
>   Gitksan Chief, 2001

Some Stories

In January of 1939, William Beynon sent to Franz Boas three texts he had collected, written down and translated some time before. He was at this time working with Amelia Sussman, a Boas-trained linguist, re-transcribing materials he had collected earlier. William Beynon (1888-1958), whose royal Wolf Clan name is *Gwis K'aayn*, through much of his life collected Tsimshian ethnographic and oral narrative materials for nearly every anthropologist and linguist who researched the Tsimshian in the first half of the 20th century (Winter 1984). In the group of three texts he sent to Boas in January of 1939, the third was the 227th of the Tsimshian oral narrative texts Boas had received to date from Beynon. It is a story told him by John Nelson and James Lewis of Gitxaała. It is entitled "About the Wolf Clan at Kitkatla." Some excerpts from Beynon's translation follow.

> The Wolf phratry was very powerful ... ages ago ... And it was these people who really governed this country as they were so many and they were the first on the coast. It was after the Deluge that the other phratries came down to the coast from the head-waters of the Skeena and they came upon the other encampments. [94]

The Wolf clan had no respect for any strangers, instead whenever they saw any strangers they would at once kill them. [95]

All the other phratries were weak as they were all separated when they came to the coast, and it was this that made it impossible for them to protect themselves. After many years of this, these different phratries started to unite as one body, and it was then they were able to overcome the Wolf Clan in fighting. And it was then that the powers of the Wolf Clan began to go back. [96]

The Wolf clan ... went to strange countries and there they made new villages and lived there and whoever was the leader or headman of the group became the chief of the newly made village. [99]

And although *Gwis K'aayn* had returned back to the Stikine as he was now really defeated in battle with the Tsimshians ... many of this people stayed behind and now lived in the direction of the Kitkatlas. [102]

The Wolf clan of the Stikine River lived very close by a Kitkatla chief who was *Ts'ibasaa* ... One day while canoeing about the Wolf Clan suddenly met with the Kitkatla ... Now there was peace between the two tribes and they invited each other to each others feasts. And it was then the house of *Ts'ibasaa* took in marriage women from the house of the Wolf Clan chief and the Wolf Clan chief did the same from the house of the Kitkatla chief. [103]

The next text Beynon sent to Boas, in February of 1939 (text 228), is a corroborating companion story, this time told by Heber Clifton of Hartley Bay. It is entitled "The Power of the Wolf Clan at Gitk'a'ata." Excerpts follow.

All the country around here on the coast was governed by the Wolf Clan, as they were really so numerous, and they came from the *Gida-Ga-niits-k* '[people] of the Northwest Wind. [1]

And where the Gitk'a'ata live now was the real village of the Wolf Clan, and it was from here their authority began and ended away up to Kitamat. [2]

When the Gitk'a'ata came to Kitamat Arm, they came over from the headwaters of the Oxtal River when they escaped when the great cold winter came upon the Skeena River. A great many people died of starvation on the Skeena River. It was then that the deep snow came and buried the village, as the snow was so deep. Then the Gitk'a'ata left the Skeena River and went over the headwaters of the Oxtal River. Then they found the headwaters of one river. Then they followed this river down and found the mouth of it. Here they made a village at the mouth,

and this is now known as Old Town. When the Gitk'a'ata had made their village here, it was then they knew that people lived down below at the mouth of Kitamat Arm. And there were a great many of them and only a few Gitk'a'ata. The people who lived below them were very warlike, and they knew the ways of war ... and the people knew that their chief was of the Wolf Clan. [3-5]

The Wolf Clan went away up to the head of Kitamat Arm and raided them. The Wolf Clan now had many Kitamat captives. And all the tribes that would go to Kitamat were always watched by the Wolf Clan, and now there were many Wutsda, Gitlop, Kitamats, and Gitk'a'ata who were killed by the Wolf Clan. [6]

All of these tribes were now worn out at what the Wolf Clan had done to them, and they were really afraid to go anywhere close to the Wolf Clan village. Then *Nta Wii Walp*, chief of the Gitk'a'ata called for help. He visited all of the chiefs of the Wutsda, Gitlop, and Kitamat, and they discussed the thing that they will do to the Wolf Clan who were about to destroy them. [7]

William Barton told Beynon another Wolf Clan story (text 211) given the title "The Snow Feast of the Wolf Clan at Kinkolith." In it he retells the legend of the origin of the Stikine Wolf Phratry among the Tsimshian. An excerpt follows.

When the Wolf Clan left *Lax Wii Yip* at the headwaters of the Stikine River, they were pursued by the Raven Clan who attacked them. They very nearly overtook all of the Wolf Clan when they came to a huge glacier across the Stikine River. The Wolf Clan People found an opening under the glacier. Though it seemed dangerous, there was nothing else they could do as those that would attack them were close by. They escaped by going under the glacier. When they got through, it was then that the Wolf Clan chief *Gwis K'aayn* took the glacier to be his own crest as this was how they escaped. [2f]

This same legend appears in another text, Beynon 93, "The Narrative of How the Wolf Clan Came to the Tsimshians," told by Joseph Bradley.

Abel Derrick, of the house of *Wii Xaa*, Wolf Clan of Kitwankool, told Beynon yet another story about the origins of the Wolf Clan among the Tsimshian (text 203).

And this the Wolf Clan *saw*, so then they scattered and took flight. Some of the Wolf Clan went down the river and some went up into the hills and were going over the other side of the mountains towards the south wind, and *Gwis K'aayn* led those that traveled down the Stikine. [68]

The Tsimshian Wolf Clan indeed traces its origins to the Stikine River in upper British Columbia and Alaska. The many Tsimshian Wolf Clan oral narratives tell

of a beleaguered people driven from place to place along the Stikine River (Beynon 93 cited above). There was always trouble between the Wolf Clan and the Raven Clan, the young men of the Wolf Clan being violent and 'hot-headed', but badly out-numbered (Beynon 203.67). The most salient factor in the Wolf People's troubled relations is the fact that they are more proficient in hunting and fishing (Beynon texts 93, 227, 234). The other factor is the Tsimshian common motif of the Wolf prince who is the secret (unnatural, animal, foreigner) lover of a chieftainess, wife of a Raven Lord. In the context of this theme running through the vast body of greater Tsimshian oral narrative, the subtext is not one of intra-phratral incest so much as it is that the Wolf paramour is foreign, outside ordinary society, terrifying.

In the following version the people who murder the Wolf prince, take possession of his paraphernalia, forcing the Wolf People to adopt them (Beynon text 143 "Myth of the Prince of Wolves" told by Fred Ross, *Niis Gwaana, Giludzaaü*):

And when it came night the tribeswoman of her husband saw a young man come in and go to where the chief's wife slept, and slept with her and staid there all night. And now every night when all of the people of the house were asleep, the man came in and slept with the chief's wife.

... And his tribeswoman said "Yes, every night she co-habits with one who is a stranger. Nobody knows who he is. And it is with him she now sleeps." Then the chief quietly approached where his wife slept and saw that a stranger slept beside her, and he killed him by cutting off his head. It was then that he saw the strange dress of this man. He wore an armour of leather which was all covered with hoof of mountain goat and deer. And his helmet was a wolf [lit. and the hat this helmet-wolf]. This the young chief saw and he at once took possession of this, but he never spoke of the acts of his wife, because it had brought valuable things to him. Well it was now daylight and then he gathered together all of his shamans, to know who this man was, whom he had killed. And then an aged man said "What you have done is not good. Our master has killed the Prince of the Wolves and it will be well that we build a large palisade around the village. The wolves will attack us, when they know what has happened [to] their Prince." And that very same night the people heard a woman weeping in the hills. "Oh my child, Oh! Oh my child! Only give me the garments of your brother, dear man. Oh! What has happened to *Giyam Waan*." And this the woman kept saying throughout the night. No one in the village made any noise. When it came day, the people were afraid that the Wolves would now retaliate, so they at once built a large palisade around the village. All of the men made timbers and the women gathered stones to use as weapons when the Wolves would attack the village. Well when it was night, the people heard the yelping of a great many Wolves, opposite the village, and then the voice of a woman came crying out, "Give me the garments of your

brother, my dear man. Oh! My son! Oh! My son! Oh my son! Oh! What has happened *Giyam Waan*? Oh! Give me only the garment of your brother, my dear man. If you do not do so, we will attack you." The Wolves had now surrounded the palisades of the people. Then the young chief spoke and said to the mother of the Prince of Wolves, "I will not do as you say. I have taken possession of the garments of my brother. Then the mother of the Prince of Wolves wept and said, "Give me only the body of your brother." But the young chief would not do so. And it was then that the many Wolves attacked the palisades of the people. And then the people of the village used the stones and killed many Wolves. It now seemed as if the people would lose and the Mother of the Prince of Wolves said, "Give me the body of my child, *Giyam Waan*, the body of your brother. The young chief replied, "I will not do so as I have finished putting the body of my brother away. And all his possessions I will take and will keep them as my own crests." Then the mother of the Prince of Wolves again wept and then she started in to sing a dirge. It was then that the people heard the Dirge of the Armour of the Prince of Wolves and of the Wolf Hat. And then the great many Wolves stopt attacking the village. And then one of the large Wolves stood and said, "Well, dear man, you will now take *Giyam Waan's* place, and you shall be related to us … and they now knew that their chief was related to the Wolves and it was now that the Wolf Phratry started. [65-77]

Eventually this man, adopted as the brother heir of the Prince of the Wolves, receives two Wolf Women to be his adopted sisters. It is the descendants of these two clan-founder women who are the matrilineal Stikine Wolf Phratry among the Tsimshian. Beynon text 147, "When the Wolves helped Gwis K'aayn," told by Ethel Musgrave, also speaks of the adoption of the Gwis K'aayn as brother to the Prince of Wolves and his concomitant/resultant elevation to lordship of the Wolf Phratry.

All these stories comprise a widely and firmly held tradition about the origin and history of the Wolf People among the Tsimshian.

The Archaeological Correlative

Andrew Martindale and Susan Marsden have developed a splendid synthesis and integration of the vast archaeological work done in the Tsimshian territory by a large group of distinguished scholars, most notably Kenneth Ames, David Archer, Jerome Cybulski, Richard Inglis, and George MacDonald (Martindale and Marsden 2003, Martindale 2006). The Tsimshian Wolf People tradition speaks of events that are similar to archaeological events dating from 500 BC to AD 500 and reviewed in Martindale and Marsden 2003:30-32. Martindale and Marsden, among others, have already made these connections. This paper focuses on specific details in the Wolf People stories.

The Chronology
1. after 500 BC
   evidence of status differentiation, differentiation in grave goods, restricted use of copper beads and sheets may indicate a northern connection
2. 500 BC – AD 100
   abandonment of egalitarian villages
3. up to 0 BC
   growing communities, new artifacts, practices of social distinction
4. after AD 1
   regional warfare
5. AD 1-500
   warfare intensifies, northern Tsimshian communities retreat from coastal villages, substantial log construction (perhaps indicating fortification), settlement shift to defensible village locations, large percentage of skeletal remains show injuries due to inter-personal violence, significant settlement shifts, including a period of complete abandonment of sites in Metlakatla Pass
6. AD 200
   body armor made of copper-wrapped sticks
7. AD 100-400
   re-occupation of sites by settlers with greater hierarchical organization

Is there evidence here of the coming of the Wolf Clan from the north and their establishment of a dominant political presence? Does the presence of warfare and copper herald the coming of the Wolf Clan into Tsimshian territory? Does the abandonment of old sites and founding of new ones indicate the 'military' ascendancy of the Wolf Clan on the coast and the displacement of some of the ancestral Tsimshian? Does the re-occupation of old sites represent the Tsimshian recovery from Wolf hegemony and the incorporation of the Wolf remnant into Tsimshian society as indicated in the texts above from Gitxaała and Hartley Bay? What if the Tsimshian Wolf narratives are indeed about events so remote in time? What if, furthermore, the Wolf People who came down from the Stikine included not just Tlingit, but others more foreign?

The Indo-European Connection
The fact is that the Tsimshian language (TS) has a systematic and extensive sound-meaning relationship with the reconstructed pre/proto-Indo-European language (PIE). The similarities between the two are of such a magnitude that they cannot be coincidental. PIE *p,*b,*bh = TS p~b; PIE *t,*d,*dh = TS t~d; PIE *k,*g,*gh = TS q~~; PIE *r,*s = TS *s; TS tends to move word-final elements, esp. laryngeals, toward the beginning of the word, a process which has a parallel in a PIE phenomenon

called by some *Schwebeablaut* or 'floating ablaut.' The similarities are quite conservative, i.e., archaic. TS is directly relatable to the reconstructed ancestral PIE and only very remotely similar to the modern intrusive European languages in British Columbia in the current (17th through 21st centuries) colonial period. The PIE-TS connection cannot be due to loan words from the recent period. There must have been an older interaction between the ancient Tsimshian community and some archaic Indo-European group. The purpose of this paper is not to prove the linguistic relationship (see Dunn 2002 for that argument), but rather to speculate as to the real time and place event that might account for it. There follow some especially significant illustrations of the relationship between PIE and TS (there is not the space in this brief paper for a full description of the relationship).

The pre-IE a-colouring reconstructed laryngeal, often written *H2*, in word initial position relates consistently to the attested laryngeal /*h*/ in TS. Pre-IE word initial **H2e* became in proto-IE **a*. The pre-IE laryngeal was lost as such in all the known IE languages except Hittite where it is still phonetic [h]. TS is like Hittite in that it maintains this [h]; TS thus has pre-IE features that are most archaic, even as archaic as those found in Hittite. Sources for pre-IE and proto-IE are Watkins (W) 2000, Pokorny (P) 1959, and Beekes (Be) 1995, for TS Dunn (D) 1978 [1995], Boas (Bo) 1908, and Nisga'a Dictionary (N) 2001; all source numbers are page numbers, except for D where they are dictionary entry numbers.

pre-IE **H2e* 'not' = TS *ha-* in *ha-baal-t* 'despair, lit. 'not trying', and in *ha-saa-k-l* (*saa < tsaay*) 'long for', lit. 'not satisfied, not full, not burping' W57, P756, D662, D762

pre-IE **H2egh* 'depressed, afraid' = TS *haa-k* 'be in misery, overburdened' W1, P7, D655, Bo261

pre-IE **H2el* 'beyond > other of more than two' = TS *hel-t* 'many' W2f, P1.24,2.37, D800, Bo262

pre-IE **H2eldh* 'get well' = TS *haldaaw* 'cure' and TS *hald-m-oot* 'savior < oolachen' W3, P2.26, D706, D707, Bo261

pre-IE **H2elu-t* 'words relating to sorcery, magic, possession' = TS *haleyt* 'shaman' W3, P33, D709, Bo261

pre-IE **H2engh* 'tight, constricted' = TS Nass Dialect *hanx* 'be thin'; TS Coast Dialect *hani.* W4, P42, D758, N68

pre-IE **H2erku* 'bow and arrow' = TS *hakw-dak* 'bow' W5, P67, D702, Bo275

pre-IE **H2es* 'burn, glow' = TS *haas* 'fireweed' W5, P68, D647

pre-IE * *H2et* 'go' = TS *haʔat-ks* 'swim', lit. 'go in water', -ks < aks 'water' W5, P69, D666, Bo261

pre-IE * *H2et-al* 'mother, race, family, noble fostering' = TS *Gan-hada* 'Raven phratry (matrilineal)' W5, P71, D 391, Bo279

pre-IE * *H2eyes* 'a metal, copper or bronze' = TS *hayets-k* 'a copper, i.e., copper feast medallion' W6, P15, D790, Bo260

pre-IE * *H2eyu* 'vital force, life' = TS *hayu-k* 'soul, spirit' W2, P17, D660, Bo260

After a stop consonant and at the ends of words PIE *r* relates consistently to TS *s*.

PIE *bher* 'cut, pierce, bore, cleft' = TS *bas-a-Gan* 'divide, split, separate' W10, P3.133, D139, Bo262

PIE *dhragh*, *dhreg* 'draw, drag, pull, glide' with derivatives meanings 'drench, drown' = TS *dzo-a* 'across'; *dza-m, dzo-m* 'ashore, in (moving from water to land)'; TS *gi-tsʔoy* 'bow of a canoe' W20, P257,273, D267, D268, D469, Bo270, Bo277

PIE *g(e)r* 'bend, curl, a round object, vessel, container' = TS *Goos* 'a basket, finish a basket' W27, P3.385, D483

PIE *gerH* 'cry hoarseley, shriek, crane = TS *qʔas-qʔoos* 'sandhill crane, heron, stork W27, P2.383, D416, D886, Bo279

PIE *gher* 'scrape, pointed stake, sea bream'; PIE *kar* 'hard, keel of a ship' = TS *ees-k* 'anal fin' W30, P2.439,2.441, D461

PIE *ker* 'horn, head, horned animals, projecting parts' = TS *a-aws* 'horn, antler, stag' W40, P1.574, D320

PIE *kor*, o-grade of *(s)ker* 'leap, jump about' = TS *qʔos* 'jump, hop' W78, P3.935, D942, Bo280

PIE *ner* > *andr* 'man, vital energy, used in personal names in Latin and Greek' = TS *gyi-naas* 'boy, infant boy's name (address word)' W58, P1.765, D619, Bo277

PIE *pēr* 'fear' = TS *baas* 'fear' W66, P2.818, D128, Bo262

PIE *perk* 'tear out, dig, furrow' = TS *beʔaq* 'tear out, tear up', cf. TS Nass dialect *pis(t)* 'be torn' W66, P3.821, D151.2, Bo262, N21

PIE *terH* 'cross over, pass through, across, over, beyond' = TS *doʔos* 'opposite side' W91, P5.1075, D224, Bo265

PIE *tragh 'drag, draw, pull, glide = TS ts?oo[ts?a]X-t 'pull out of a skin' W93, P1089, D1968, Bo271

PIE *treb 'dwelling, village, hamlet' = TS ts?ap 'town, tribe, village' W93, P1090, D1922, Bo271

Numeral system.

The PIE words for *2* and *8* were inflected as duals. In Avestan and Sanskrit, e.g., the word for *8* means 'four fingers dual' (Beekes 1995:212f). The PIE word for *thumb* meant 'swollen finger' and was used in counting as a 'second-place-digit number.' In Germanic, *thus* 'thumb or swollen finger', is part of the word for *thousand*, i.e., *thus-hundi* 'thumb-hundred' (Watkins 2000:92). TS also had an old, now morhpologically submerged, counting system based on *four*, thus a finger counting system. The TS word for 'thumb' was also used in counting as a second-place-digit-number. These facts alone, while interesting, do not indicate a relationship between PIE and TS, as such finger counting systems must be widespread and relate to the nature of the human hand. What does indicate a PIE-TS relationship is the fact that three of the numeral root words, *one*, *four*, and *eight*, show a PIE-TS connection.

PIE *kwetuor 'four' = TS kwst, ksti (used only in morphologically complex number words) W45f, P642, Be 212,214

PIE * Hoi(H)nos 'one' = TS u?uns (used only in morphologically complex number words) Be212,214

TS kwst-uns, kst-u?uns 'five', literally 'four-one' D1026, Bo275

TS moos 'thumb' D1446, Bo264

TS ksti-moos 'nine', literally 'four-thumb' D980, Bo275

Then there is this amazing correspondence:

PIE * H3ekwteH3 'eight' = TS yukwdee-l-t, yiwkwde-l-t 'eight' Be214, D2236, Bo258

In addition there are some other possible relationships in the counting system.

PIE *du-plek 'duple' = TS t?apX-aat 'two' W21f, P228, D1828, Bo266

PIE *gleubh 'split, torn apart, cleft' = TS gu?pl 'two' W32, P401, D 498, Bo279

PIE *ghazdh-o 'measuring rod' = TS q?awts-Xan 'one (of long objects)' W28, P1.412, D891, Bo278

What if the PIE-TS relationship illustrated here is a real, non-coincidental connection? If so, is the event that accounts for it forever lost to us?

Who are the Wolf People?

In Beynon 93, Joseph Bradley makes a distinction between the Wolf People and the Tahltan:

> *Ada ʻniisga ʻGanhada diildit a Lax-wi-yip*
> *Ada ʻnii Te-t'a·n ʻwe·m Tsaps dipgwa'a*

> And it was *these*, the Raven People, they [the Wolf] mated with at *Lax-wi-yip*
> And it was *these* whose village name was Tahltan. [p1. Dunn's translation]

> The [Wolf] people knew he [Wolf Prince] had gone secretly to visit his paramour, who was the wife of the Tahltan Chief. [4]

The message of the language in these passages is clear: the Wolf People are not Tahltan.

After the Wolf People have escaped under the glacier across the Stikine, they come to the Stigiin people at the coast. *Seks*, the Stigiin *Gisbuwudwada* 'Killerwhale' chief remarks of the Wolf people, they are

> *libaait n li ʻal'aolksgm gyeda*
> these drifting-in-from-nowhere people. [Beynon 93.10]

In his notes for this text, Beynon states of this passage, "This term is about as bitter a slur one can cast upon another. It is equivalent to 'person of unknown or obscure origin'" (Beynon 93.20). The equivalent present-day expression is *ʻwah noo* 'without a mother,' used as an insult to refer to persons, mostly Europeans, outside the matrilineal society.

The notion of the alien nature of the Wolf People is further expressed in the stories that include the 'secret lover' motif (Beynon 93 and 143). This pervasive Tsimshian motif consistently portrays the secret lover as foreign and of mysterious (often supernatural) origin. It speaks of a conjunction between ordinary human society and an outsider who brings with him [supernatural] benefits to the people. Coming into Tsimshian society, The Wolf People were foreigners. What if they were foreigners as well, coming into the Stikine? Foreigners constantly spurned and driven on.

The Wolf People coming from the Stikine into Tsimshian territory are called *Gida-a-niits-k* (Beynon 228.1). *Gida-a-niits* is the word for the northwest wind. The *–k* suffix gives the meaning '[those] of the northwest wind.' *Gida-a-niits* has no transparent TS etymology, though it appears to be a Tsimshian word; it might mean something like 'people each one looking about/watching.' The royal name of the paramount Wolf chief, *Gwis-k'aayn*, is likewise semantically opaque; it has no recognised TS etymology. But it does have a possible PIE etymology:

PIE *gwerH 'mountain, coming from the north, north wind' ... TS gwis 'meaning uncertain' W34, P3.477

PIE *genH 'beget, derivatives referring to familial and tribal groups' ... TS k?aayn 'meaning uncertain' W26, P1.373

TS Gwis-k'aayn perhaps 'Begotten of the North Wind / Mountain'.

The TS roots here are perfect correspondences of the PIE roots in terms of their systematic phonological relationships. This hypothetical meaning relates directly to *Gwis-k'aayn*'s crest: the great, mountainous glacier across the Stikine.

What if this is the etymology for the Wolf royal name? Then *Gidi-Ga-nii-t-s-k* and *Gwis-k'aayn* are almost equivalent in meaning: 'of the northwest wind', 'begotten of the north wind.' There is then a synecdochal relationship between the Wolf Prince and the People his name represents. The following passage in the story told by John Nelson and James Lewis of Kitkatla (Beynon 227) is transparent synecdoche:

And although *Gwis K'aayn* had returned back to the Stikine as he was now really defeated in battle with the Tsimshians ... many of this people stayed behind and now lived in the direction of the Kitkatlas. [102]

The poetics structure of the following passage then shows a lovely parallel and contrast, a parallelism of the type so characteristic of the word-crafting of Tsimshian poetry.

So then they [Wolf People] were scattered and took to flight down the river, and some went up into the hills, going over the other side of the *mountain* towards the *south wind,* and [he who was *Begotten of the North Wind / Mountain*] *Gwis K'aayn* led those that traveled down the Stikine. [Beynon 203.68]

In summary there are three things to consider, 1) the PIE-TS linguistic relationship, 2) the prehistory of the Tsimshian coastal territory, 3) the oral-narrative history of the Tsimshian people. What if they all tell the same story?

3500-2500 BC: the Afanasievo Culture, an Asian Indo-European outlier, developed in Siberia. Its descendants, the Tocharians, spoke a very archaic dialect of Indo-European. What if, in the same time frame, there were other, as yet undiscovered, Siberian Indo-European groups speaking very archaic dialects of Indo-European? The ancestors of the Tocharians later (1000 BC) moved from their Afanasievo homeland into China to the south and west. What if about the same time another group ventured out of one the Siberian Indo-European cultures, moving northeastward into the New World, moving down through Athapascan territories, unable to gain a foot-hold until they came into Tsimshian territory? What if these are antecedents of the North Wind Wolf People? What if they, among others, brought

to the Tsimshian warfare, copper-wrapped slat armour, a new village structure, and a new language? They disrupted Tsimshian southern coastal settlements for a while, but their hegemony was eventually overturned, and the North Wind Wolf People became a part of the Tsimshian community.

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