Lillooet bird terminology

Henry Davis
University of British Columbia

Jan P. van Eijk
First Nations University of Canada

This paper contains an annotated list of all bird names recorded in the Lillooet language, compiled from separate lists composed by the authors over the course of many years of fieldwork in Lillooet territory. Although in most cases we have been able to identify the bird species referred to by the Lillooet terms with some confidence, in a few cases it has not yet been possible to match a particular term with the bird it refers to. This is due to a number of factors, which include problems with using standard field guides to prompt identification, the use of local English vernacular terms, and the decline of specialized ethno-ornithological knowledge amongst the remaining fluent Lillooet speakers. We suggest that ethno-zoological training of linguistic field workers and use of internet resources might help to alleviate some of these problems in the future.

1 Introduction

Field work on Lillooet as carried out by Davis and Van Eijk over a number of years has yielded a large number of names for birds that occur in the Lillooet homeland. In this article we present these names, with background information on their semantic, formal, ecological and cultural aspects, under the following sections: (2) Lists of bird names, (3) Sundry beliefs concerning birds, (4) Ecology of the Lillooet bird habitat, (5) Problems in recording bird names, (6) Conclusions and acknowledgements.

2 List of bird names

In this section we list the birds for which Lillooet names were recorded, under the following rubrics: 'Generic Terms', 'Waterbirds', 'Birds of Prey (other than Owls)', 'Owls', 'Upland Game Birds', 'Domesticated Fowl',

'Woodpeckers', 'Crows and their Allies', and 'Remaining Types' ('Non-Passerine' and 'Passerine'). Information on semantics (such as different meanings recorded for the same bird name), and on traditional beliefs concerning the bird in question, follow each entry. A pipe, ||, introduces information on the formal aspects of each term, such as its morphological structure and/or its etymological background.

Typographical devices indicating morphological structure are the following: a period (.) follows a prefix, as in **s.x̌iq** 'duck,' while angular brackets <..> enclasp a consonant that results from interior (diminutive) reduplication, as in **s.pzú<za>ʔ** 'any bird' (also with epenthetic **a** breaking up a non-permissible final cluster **Cʔ**); a colon (:) follows an augment resulting from 'total' (CVC) reduplication, as in **ʕít:ʕit** 'common snipe,' while a hyphen (-) precedes a suffix, as in **s.x̌iq-ʔúl** 'mallard.'

Etymological information is from Kuipers (2002), who uses the following abbreviations: PS = Proto-Salish, PIS = Proto-Interior-Salish, and CSLT = Local Coast Salish Lillooet/Thompson elements.

The Lillooet language can be broadly divided into two dialects: an upper or northern one, spoken from Pavilion (Ts'k'wáylacw) southward to D'Arcy (Nk'wwátqwa7), and a lower or southern one, ranging from Mount Currie (Lil'wat7úl) southward to Port Douglas (Xáxtsa7). There is, quite naturally, considerable overlap between the two dialects around their shared internal border. Also, mutual borrowing, due to intermarriage and improved travel conditions, has blended the dialects further. Nevertheless, words that can be clearly identified as northern are indicated as 'F' (for Fountain/Cácl'ep, one of the larger northern communities), while southern words are indicated as 'M' (for Mount Currie). For the physical differences between the two dialect areas, see section 4.

Generic Terms

s.pzú<za>ʔ 'any bird'. || Reduplication of **s.pzuʔ** 'any animal.' PS *s.pyu/aʔ 'bird' (Kuipers 2002:78).

pa̓zísnak, s.pa̓zísnak M 'young bird of any kind'. || Since this word was recorded only in M, and since in M the opposition between **a** and **a̓** is neutralized before **z**, it is possible that the underlying form is **pazísnak**, and that in F we might have this form. Recorded as **s.pzíza̓nək** by Davis from Sebastian Peter of Fountain.

s.pzíza̓nək: see preceding item.

s.pzúʕʷəʕʷ 'unidentified large bird.'

Waterbirds

ʔíswaɬ '(Common) Loon', *Gavia immer*. || PIS ***ʔiswaɬ** 'loon' (Kuipers

2002:159)

s.məq̓ʷaʔ ‘Great Blue Heron’, *Ardea Herodias*. Often referred to as “(blue) crane” in local English vernacular. This bird is the emblem of the tsal’álhmec (‘Lake people’), who traditionally occupy territory along the shore of Seton Lake. Cf. **s.twa** ‘Sandhill Crane’. || PS ***s.məq̓ʷ-aʔ** ‘crane, heron’ (Kuipers 2002:69).

s.pəq-m̓íx F ‘swan’. Likely the Trumpeter Swan, *Cygnus buccinator*, which is a regular passage migrant on lakes in Lillooet territory. || Derived from **pəq** ‘white’ (< PS ***pəq** ‘white,’ Kuipers 2002:75) and **-m̓íx** ‘all the time, excessively.’ Shuswap **s.pəq-míx** ‘swan’ (Kuipers 1974:142). See also next item.

qəp-m̓íx, s.qəp-m̓íx M ‘swan, snowgoose’. Most likely the Trumpeter Swan *Cygnus buccinator* (see previous); the Snow Goose (*Chen caerulescens*) does not occur regularly in Lillooet territory. || The root **qəp** is a metathesized form of **pəq** (see also preceding item).

k̓ʷsixʷ ‘(Canada) Goose’. *Branta canadensis*, the only goose commonly seen in Lillooet territory. || PIS ***k̓ʷsixʷ** ‘goose’ (Kuipers 2002:169).

s.x̌iq ‘duck’. || Thompson **s.x̌iq** ‘duck (gen.), various birds of the family Anatidae’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:793).

x̓ʔum (A) ‘young waterbird’; (B) ‘young of large bird (eagle, etc.);’ (C) ‘waterfowl (old or young).’ All meanings recorded from Charlie Mack of Mount Currie by Van Eijk on different occasions. || Montana Salish **ses.x̓ʷum̓** ‘duck, female mallard’ (Pete 2010:192).

ʔíʔ<ʔ>pikʷ ‘duckling, any young waterfowl.’ || Also the basis for **ʔiʔ<ʔ>pikʷ-áż** ‘young bulrush.’ Sechelt **ʔipíkʷ** ‘sawbill duck’ (possibly ‘any small duck’), Timmers (1977:11).

s.x̌iq-ʔúl ‘Mallard’, *Anas platyrynchus*. || **s.x̌iq** ‘duck,’ **-ʔúl** ‘real, original, *par excellence*.’

q̓ʷṣáɬnaɬ ‘Mallard’, *Anas platyrynchus*.

x̌íy:x̌iy ‘unidentified bird, possibly American Widgeon (“baldpate”)’, *Anas americana*. || Probably an onomatopoeia, based on the Widgeon’s characteristic whistling call.

lúləl ‘type of small duck; makes whistling sound with its wings when flying.’ Probably refers collectively to the three species of Goldeneye which inhabit Lillooet territory (Bufflehead *Bucephala albeola*, Common Goldeneye *Bucephala clangula* and Barrow’s Goldeneye *Bucephala islandica*). All goldeneyes

make a noticeable whistle when they fly. All three species winter on ice-free rivers and lakes, and Barrow's Goldeneye is also a common lakeside breeder. || The sequence əl may result from final reduplication.

s.x̌ʷuʔqʷ 'sawbill duck'. Probably Common Merganser, *Mergus merganser*, which, like other mergansers, has a toothed bill (see Carl 1971:67), and is a common breeder in Lillooet territory. Might also refer to Hooded Merganser, *Lophodytes cuculatus*, which occurs less commonly but regularly in Southern Lillooet territory (e.g., on the Birkenhead River). || CSLT *x̌ʷuʔqʷ 'sawbill duck' (Kuipers 2002:230).

s.ʔaʔú '(American) Coot', *Fulica americana*. Called "mudhen" in local English vernacular.

s.twa '(Sandhill) Crane', *Grus canadensis*. This bird is very rare in Lillooet territory, at least in modern times. It is much more common on the Cariboo Plateau, e.g., around Williams lake. || Possibly derived from PIS *s.ʔatwn 'Sandhill Crane' (Kuipers 2002:159).

l̓il̓uya 'gull'. In a story recorded from Charlie Mack, a copy of which was kindly provided by Marie Abraham to Henry Davis, Seagull tricks Raven into letting go of daylight (which has been jealously guarded by Raven) by leaving thorns on the top of Raven's s.ʔístkən (winter dwelling). When Raven leaves the s.ʔístkən (through the opening at the top) to relieve himself, he steps onto the thorns, causing him great pain. Seagull offers to remove the thorns, but makes matters worse, claiming he does not have enough light to see what he is doing. When Raven lets out more light, Seagull steals it and runs off with it. (In other versions of this story, like the Halkomelem one in Hukari, Peter and White 1977, it is Seagull who is tricked by Raven.)

qʷliχ̓ 'unidentified small white seagull'.

lík:lik 'unidentified little swamp bird'. The name imitates the bird's call. Perhaps Wilson's Snipe *Gallinago delicata*, for which however ʕít:ʕit was also recorded, but more probably one of the other sandpipers that occur in Lillooet territory, with the Spotted Sandpiper *Actitis macularia* being much the most likely candidate. The water is said to come up when this bird's call is heard, which fits with the arrival of the Spotted Sandpiper on its breeding territory, at about the same time as the spring runoff begins.

ʕít:ʕit '(Wilson's) Snipe', *Gallinago delicata*. || Onomatopoeia. The root of this word is also the basis for the man's name ʕit-ásqət, which is the name of one of the great chiefs at the beginning of the last

century, commemorated today in the place name Retasket.

ċə̓ḷs '(Belted) Kingfisher' *Ceryle alcyon*. || PS *ċə̓ḷ(s) 'shiny, oily, wet' (Kuipers 2002:30, who also lists etyma meaning 'kingfisher' in Upper Chehalis, Thompson, Shuswap, Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene; one might add Squamish ċčəl 'kingfisher' (Kuipers 1967:277), with consonantism resembling Upper Chehalis ċalíčn 'swallow, sparrow' (Kuipers 2002:30).

x̌ʷəċ̓q̓ʷ '(American) Dipper', *Cinclus mexicanus*. || PS *x̌ʷəċ̓q̓ʷ 'dipper' (Kuipers 2002:128).

xʷíʔxʷ>l̓ət '(American) Dipper', *Cinclus mexicanus*. Recorded by Davis from Carl Alexander, who was raised in Sqém'qem' (the upper Bridge River valley).

Birds of prey (other than owls)

kʷu<kʷ>səmtáx̌an (as recorded by Van Eijk) 'unidentified large bird; mountain habitat.' Perhaps Red-tailed Hawk *Buteo jamaicensis*, but see also next item and s.q̓əż below. || Probably contains the suffix -ax̌an 'arm'. Kuipers 2002:168 suggests a tentative link to PIS *kʷus 'to gather up (as curtain), pull close.' Cf. next item.

kʷusəmtáx̌an 'Golden Eagle', *Aquila chrysaetos*. Recorded by Davis from Morgan Wells.

haláẇ (A) 'Golden Eagle' *Aquila chrysaetos* (as recorded by Van Eijk), (B) 'eagle (any)' (as recorded by Davis). According to Teit (1906[1975]:274), 'Death, daylight, and fire were first introduced into the world by the Raven. It is also related that fire was first obtained by the Eagle and the Beaver.' It is not clear from Teit's description whether the eagle mentioned here is the golden eagle or the bald eagle. For the role of Golden Eagle as a guardian spirit to shamans see xl̓a̓ʔ 'raven' (under "Crows and their Allies") below. || Thompson heléẇ 'prob. golden eagle', Thompson and Thompson (1996:797).

pqʷ-us 'Bald Eagle' *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*. || Derived from pəq 'white' and -us 'face, head', with secondary labialization of [q]. Cf. Squamish s.p̓áq̓ʷ-us 'Bald Eagle' (with labialization also probably secondary, cf. p̓əq̓ 'white'), Cowichan p̓áq̓əs *id*. (Kuipers 1969:56). See also parallel forms in Shuswap (Enderby dialect) pəq-qiṅ 'bald eagle' (-qin 'head'), Kuipers (1989:151) (which also lists t.pəq-qiṅ (Enderby dialect) as 'seagull (?)'), and Montana Salish pq-l-qin 'bald eagle' (piq 'white', -l-qin 'top'), Pete (2010:40).

s.k̓ʷalx̌ (A) 'young Bald Eagle' *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*, (B) 'Bald Eagle (young or mature)'. (Different meanings recorded from different consultants; in meaning (B), s.k̓ʷalx̌ is synonymous with pqʷ-us.) ||

Upriver Halkomelem s.k̓ʷɛlx̌ ‘immature bald eagle’, Galloway (2009:1213), possibly meaning ‘having head feathers skinned off’, Galloway (2009:170).

s.pəlkʷáqs ‘Bald Eagle’, *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*. || Probably borrowed from (Western) Shuswap s.pl̓qʷ-eqs *id*. (Kuipers 1974:141). Cf. s.plqʷ-eqs (Enderby dialect of Shuswap) ‘Golden Eagle’, Kuipers (1989:150).

yoxələ́ (sic) ‘eagle.’ || Given in this form in Boas (1925), as quoted in Kuipers (2002:218) which lists the Central Salish form (from which the Lillooet form is obviously a direct or indirect borrowing) as *yəx̌ʷəlaʔ.

c̓íxʷ:c̓ixʷ ‘Osprey’, “fish hawk”, *Pandion haliaetus*. || *PS c̓íxʷ:c̓ixʷ ‘Osprey, fishhawk’ (Kuipers 2002:33).

s.q̓əż (A) ‘chicken hawk’ (as recorded by Van Eijk), (B) ‘hawk, harrier’ (as recorded by Davis). Probably refers to a range of raptors, including Northern Goshawk *Accipter gentilis*, Cooper’s Hawk *Accipiter cooperii*, and Sharp-shinned Hawk *Accipiter striatus* (all in the genus *Accipiter*), Northern Harrier *Circus cyaneus*, as well as Red-tailed Hawk *Buteo jamaicensis* and possibly Northern Rough-legged Hawk *Buteo lagopus* of the genus *Buteo*. Any of these could potentially prey on domestic chickens (or more likely, their chicks) and thus be described as a ‘chicken hawk’. || Thompson s.q̓aċ, s.q̓əċ ‘hawk [‘chicken hawk’]’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:908), Montana Salish s.q<q>i ‘chicken hawk’ (Pete 2010:113).

ʕát:ʕət ‘large, unidentified mountain bird.’ || PIS *ʕat (red.) ‘unidentified bird of prey’ (Kuipers 2002:201).

Upland game birds

s.mú<m̓>təm̓ ‘Dusky Grouse’ *Dendragapus obscurus,* and ‘Sooty Grouse’, *Dendragapus fuliginosus*. These two very closely related species have been recently split off from the ‘Blue Grouse’ complex: they are found east and west of the coastal divide, respectively.|| Related to mu:mu:mú, the sound made by this bird in courtship, as described in Guiguet (1970b:7). Squamish mú:mʔt-m ‘blue grouse’ (Kuipers 1967:256), Thompson s.mú<m̓>tm̓ ‘blue grouse’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:895).

takʷxʷaʔ F ‘Ruffed Grouse’ *Bonasa umbellus*. “Willow grouse” in local English vernacular: see next item for further comments. || Onomatopoeic, describing the “drumming” sound (təkʷ:təkʷ:tákʷ) made by the Ruffed Grouse during courtship display: see Guiguet (1970b:15). For the relation between the Ruffed Grouse and thunder see Section 3 below. The M gloss is m̓ə́ṣ:m̓əṣ (next item). Cf.

Thompson **tékʷxʷeʔ** 'Ruffed Grouse' (Thompson and Thompson 1996:895).

ṁə́ṣ:ṁəṣ M 'Ruffed Grouse' ("willow grouse"). The English vernacular term "willow grouse" for both **tákxʷaʔ** and **ṁə́ṣ:ṁəṣ** is a misnomer since the Willow Grouse or Willow Ptarmigan *Lagopus lagopus* is a bird of the tundra closely related to the White-tailed Ptarmigan.‖ The F gloss for 'Ruffed Grouse' is **tákʷxʷaʔ** (previous item).

cáq:cq-ət (recorded as **cá<c>q-ət** by Davis). 'Spruce Grouse' *Dendragapus canadensis*, often referred to as "foolhen" because they are easily caught, a fact recognized by the Lillooet term, which is derived from **√caq** 'tame'. For details on the ease with which they are caught see Guiguet (1970b:9-13). ‖ Thompson **cáq:cəq-t** 'Spruce Grouse, foolhen' (Thompson and Thompson 1996:895).

n.s.ʔə́q̓ʷyəq̓ʷ 'Sharp-tailed Grouse' *Tympanuchus phasianellus* ("prairie chicken"). Not currently found in Lillooet territory, though probably occurred historically; it still (tenuously) inhabits dry benchlands in the Merritt area, to the east.

kəl̓:kl̓ə́kik '(White-tailed) Ptarmigan', *Lagopus leucurus*. ‖ Possibly onomatopoeic, from the bird's call. See also **l̓ək:l̓ə́kik** (next item). Thompson **kəl:klákək** 'White-tailed ptarmigan' (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1113).

l̓ək:l̓ə́kik '(White-tailed) Ptarmigan', *Lagopus leucurus*. ‖ Rejected by some speakers in favour of **kəl̓:kl̓ə́kik.** The form **l̓ək:l̓ə́kik** was recorded only in F, but it is possible that it is also used by some M speakers.

Domesticated fowl

cíkən 'chicken'. ‖ Borrowing from English.

cə́<c>kəṅ 'chick'. ‖ Diminutive reduplication of **cíkən**.

qəl:qál̓xʷ, s.qəl:qál̓xʷ 'rooster'. ‖ Possibly related to **s.qayxʷ** 'man.' According to some of Van Eijk's consultants, **qəl:qál̓xʷ** is used in isolation, but **s.qəl:qál̓xʷ** in sentences, making this the only lexical item where this distinction is made.

ɬə́p̓-l-əqs 'turkey' (also 'elephant' (!)), literally 'floppy (**ɬə́p̓-**) nose (**-l-əqs**)'. For the relation between the turkey and thunder see Section 3 below.

Owls

s.kalú<la>ʔ 'Great Horned Owl', *Bubo virginianus*. Within traditional Lillooet culture, the Great Horned Owl functions as a bogey man, often used to quieten rowdy children at night. In a story recorded by Van Eijk from Martina LaRochelle of Sek'welwás (Cayoose Creek), a girl who is crying constantly is given to this bird who keeps her as his wife until

she has learned to become self-reliant and not cry for everyone's attention. She then outwits him and escapes from him (Van Eijk and Williams 1981:19-31). In 'Coyote and the Owl,' as recorded from Rosie Joseph (Van Eijk and Williams 1981:10-13), s.kalú<la>ʔ tricks Coyote into sticking pitch into his eyes, telling Coyote that that will allow him to see at night, just like Owl. Coyote falls asleep, and the pitch hardens, gluing his eyes shut, so he is temporarily unable to see. See also xl̓a̓ʔ 'raven' (under 'Crows and their Allies') below for Owl (probably Great Horned Owl) as a guardian sprit to shamans. ‖ Thompson kəːkel-ulеʔ, s.kel-úleʔ (√ʼkel 'to follow,' -uleʔ 'deer (?)'), Thompson and Thompson (1996:1063). While the Lillooet form suggest reduplication (from an otherwise unattested root *kaluʔ), it may also have been borrowed in its full form from Thompson.

s.qə<q>k̓ʷ (A) 'unidentified type of owl, possibly Barn Owl (*Tyto alba*) or Western Screech Owl (*Otus kennicottii*)' (as recorded by Van Eijk), (B) 'middle-sized owl, seen in barns, snaps bill, hisses' (as recorded by Davis from Morgan Wells). This bird is a bit of a puzzle, since the descriptions certainly fit the Barn Owl, but that species in B.C. is currently confined to the lower Fraser Valley and southern Vancouver Island, where it is at the extreme northern limit of its overall distribution; it has certainly not been found regularly anywhere in Lillooet territory in modern times. Screech Owls are not found in barns, and are small (only slightly bigger than Saw-whet Owls). ‖ Cf. Thompson s.q̓áq̓ekʷ, s.q̓áq̓akʷ 'Western Screech Owl' (probably also including other types), Thompson and Thompson 1996:1063; Montana Salish s.qq̓éxʷʔe 'Northern Saw-whet Owl' (Pete 2010:419).

kxʷans (as recorded by Davis for the Lower (M) dialect), n.kxʷans (as recorded by Van Eijk and Davis for the Upper (F) dialect) 'unidentified type of small owl, announces an imminent death' ("ghost owl"). This is probably the Saw-whet Owl *Aegoliuis acadicus*, which is the most common small owl around Lillooet and Mount Currie. In a story told by Martina LaRochelle, one of her relatives shoots a n.kxʷans after an encounter with it, but this does not prevent a death from a hunting accident shortly afterwards.

c̓əx̌ːc̓əx̌yaɬkʷúʔ 'unidentified hornless owl'.

kʷətxʷlúʔc 'very small owl, unidentified'. Either Saw-whet Owl, or possibly Northern Pygmy Owl, *Glaucidium gnoma*, which is also widespread in Lillooet territory.

s.kʷákʷakʷ 'unidentified nocturnal bird; said to have white spots, makes much noise, about as big as a Great Horned Owl, lives up in the mountains, also around Duffy Lake.' Perhaps the Spotted Owl *Strix occidentalis*,

which formerly inhabited most of Lillooet territory. || Possibly an onomatopoeia and/or a reduplication of a root *kʷakʷ.

Woodpeckers

ɬiqʷiqʷíl̓qʷəṅ (recorded by Davis from Morgan Wells) 'any woodpecker'.

ċəxʷyáqs (recorded by Davis from Billy Louie of Pavilion) 'any woodpecker'. || Composed of the root ċəxʷ 'sharp, pointed,' and -y-əqs 'nose, point,' the entire combination meaning 'sharp bill(ed)'. Cf. next item.

ċáḵʷ-z-əqs, ċáḵʷ-y-əqs 'Downy Woodpecker', *Picoides pubescens*. || PS *ċyaqʷ/*ċqʷay/*ċḵʷəy 'sapsucker, flicker, woodpecker' (Kuipers 2002:34).

x̌əlxʷúm 'Hairy Woodpecker' *Picoides vilosus*. || Montana Salish s.t'lx̌ʷú 'Downy Woodpecker' (Pete 2010:709).

cəkʷlátən F 'Pileated Woodpecker' *Dryocopus pileatus.* || One F consultant, Desmond Peters Sr., who is originally from Tsal'álh, identified this bird as the Northern Flicker *Colaptes auratus* (see below); cf. Montana Salish kʷlkʷle 'Northern (Red-shafted) Flicker' (Pete 2010:243). See also next item.

kʷlátən, s.kʷlátən 'Pileated Woodpecker' *Dryocopus pileatus*. || This term seems to be more common in M, while cəkʷlátən is preferred in F. s.kʷlátən appears as the elder of two brothers in the story of Kayám, as recorded by Charles Hill-Tout from the M speaker 'Captain Paul' (Maud 1978:134-139, in English translation only) and retranscribed with full analysis and translation in Davis (2001).

s.x̌niq 'Northern (Red-shafted) Flicker' *Colaptes auratus.* According to information provided to Davis by Desmond Peters Sr., flicker tail feathers were preferred when making arrows. || Cf. Thompson ʔes.n.x̌ín-uʔs-qn tək ċéḵʷ-ə́ż-aqs 'pileated woodpecker' (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1401).

Crows and their allies

s.ʔáʕaʔxən F (Pavilion subdialect) '(American) Crow' *Corvus brachyrynchos*. (The other subdialects in F have s.cicáʔ.) || Shuswap s.ʔéʕeʔxn 'crow' (Kuipers 1974:279, which also suggests a possible connection to Coeur d'Alene aɬ.x̌áx̌ax̌ 'crow').

s.cicáʔ F '(American) Crow' *Corvus brachyrynchos*. Also the basis for the diminutive formation (with consonant reduplication) s.cicá<ca>ʔ 'blackbird.' s.cicáʔ also serves as a messenger to the girl kept by the Great Horned Owl (see s.kalú<la>ʔ under 'Owls' above) informing the girl's relatives that she is planning to escape from the owl. || PIS *s.caʔ

(red.) ‘crow’ (Kuipers 2002:160).

s.ʔáʔaʔ M ‘(American) crow’ *Corvus brachyrynchos*. ‖ Thompson **s.ʔéʕʔeɁ** ‘American crow’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:740).

s.ʕíʔiʔ ‘(Black-billed) Magpie’ *Pica pica*. Found only on the eastern side of the Coast Mountains. In a story recorded by Van Eijk from Martina LaRochelle, a coat made out of magpie skins has magical powers in that it ensures a rich fish catch (Van Eijk and Williams 1981:45-52). ‖ Cf. Thompson **ʕíṅ̓ːʕəṅ̓** ‘Black-billed Magpie’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1003).

xl̓ạʔ, xʷl̓ạʔ, yəxʷl̓ạ́ʔ ‘(Common) Raven’ *Corvus corax*. Traditional Lillooet cosmology teaches that earth, daylight and fire were introduced to the world by Raven (Teit 1906[1975]:274). Raven is also ‘believed to possess mysterious powers, and to be able to predict the future’ (Teit 1906[1975]:281), and ‘Persons who had him as their guardian had prophetic gifts, especially they could foretell death and the weather’ (Teit 1906[1975]381, who adds that the Lillooet used Raven quite frequently as their guardian spirit). He is also, together with the dead, Golden Eagle, Mink and Owl, one of the most potent guardian spirits for shamans (Teit 1906[1975]:283). In addition, ‘The raven was considered to be a bird of great mystery and evil omen, for he predicted the death of people in a surer way even than the owl’ (Teit 1906[1975]:290), and ‘Changes in the weather were predicted from certain cries and actions of the raven’ (Teit 1906[1975]:290). ‖ Thompson **s.xlá́ʕ̓** ‘Common Raven’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1130).

s.qʷáz-aż ‘Steller’s Jay’, *Cyanocitta stelleri* (often erroneously referred to as “blue jay”: see Guiguet 1970a:39). For the relation between thunder and Steller’s Jay within the traditional Lillooet belief system see section 3 below. ‖ **√qʷaz** ‘(sky)blue’, **-aż** unclear, although possibly related to the connective **-aż-** or to the suffix **-aż** ‘playingly, for fun.’ Cf. PIS ***qʷasqʷaẏ̓** ‘bluejay’ (Kuipers 2002:183, which does not list the Lillooet item as a descendant of this root).

c̓ə̓k-aːc̓ə́̓k-a ‘Steller’s Jay’, *Cyanocitta stelleri*. ‖ Onomatopoeic term, referring to the bird’s call when bringing bad news, e.g., when announcing a person’s impending death. Thompson **cə́̓kə, cə́̓kə, cə́̓kə** ‘call of Steller’s Jay [bluejay] foretelling bad weather, unsuccessful gathering’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:955). Cf. next two items.

káy:kay ‘Steller’s Jay (*Cyanocitta stelleri*) when bringing good news’. ‖ Synonymous with **q̓áy:q̓ay** (next item). Cf. Thompson **qʷáy, qʷáy, qʷáy** ‘call of Steller’s Jay [foretells success in gathering, harvesting]’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:955).

q̓áy:q̓ay ‘Steller’s Jay *Cyanocitta stelleri* (when bringing good news).’ ‖ Synonymous with káy:kay (preceding item).

kawáy (recorded by Davis) ‘Steller’s Jay’, *Cyanocitta stelleri*. ‖ Cf. Upriver Halkomelem kʷɛ·y ‘Steller’s jay’ (Galloway 2009:148), Shuswap s.kʷwey ‘Steller’s Jay’ (Kuipers 1974:220).

n.xʷíp̓-la-qiṅ ‘Steller’s Jay’, *Cyanocitta stelleri.* || √xʷip̓ ‘to tie a rope to a tree and pull it down’, -la-qiṅ ‘head’ (often in combination with n- ‘in, on, at’), the whole combination n.xʷíp̓-la-qiṅ referring to the shape of the jay’s crest.

s.xíxix, s.xíxi? ‘Gray Jay’ *Perisoreus canadensis,* also known by various English vernacular names including “whisky-jack”, “camp robber”, “Canada jay”, “Oregon jay,” “Hudson Bay bird”). ‖ The variant s.xíxix was recorded in F only. The variant s.xíxi? is derived from xíxi? ‘curious, to see what is going on, to have a look.’ Cf. Thompson s.hi:híhe? tək s.pżú<żu>? ‘prob. grey or Canada jay [whisky jack, camprobber]’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1388), and Thompson s.xíxix ‘‘spring bluebird,’ prob. Mountain Bluebird and (or) Western bluebird’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:641).

nq̓ɬq̓ʷ ‘Clark’s Nutcracker’, *Nucifraga columbiana* (“Clark crow”). ‖ PIS *s.nəɬəkʷ ‘Clark’s nutcracker, grey jay’ (Kuipers 2002:174).

Remaining types: non-passerines

s.hamíwəż (as recorded by Van Eijk), hámiważ (as recorded by Davis) ‘wild pigeon.’ ‖ This term has a wide distribution along the northwest coast (Seaburg 1985): in Lillooet territory it might refer either to the Band-tailed Pigeon *Columba fasciata* (west of the coastal divide) or the Mourning Dove *Zenaida macroura* (east of the divide). Cf. Montana Salish hemíshm̓ ‘Mourning Dove’ (Pete 2010:401).

c̓it ‘unidentified bird’, recorded as (A) ‘whistle hawk’ by Van Eijk, and as (B) ‘nightbird’ by Davis).

s.p̓iq̓ʷ ‘(Common) Nighthawk’, *Chordeiles minor*. Also known in the local English vernacular as ‘nightingale,’ and tentatively (as reported by Davis) as ‘killdeer.’ ‖ Probably onomatopoeic, from the bird’s distinctive call, often heard at night when the bird itself cannot be seen. Thompson s.p̓iq̓ʷ ‘common nighthawk’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1041). Cf. Upriver Halkomelem piq̓ ‘common nighthawk’ (Galloway 2009:386), Squamish piq̓ ‘nighthawk,’ and identical form and meaning in Cowichan (Kuipers 1969:43).

p̓ǫ́ṣḵa? ‘hummingbird’, including Rufous Hummingbird *Selasphorus rufus* (both sides of the coastal divide) and Calliope Hummingbird *Stellula calliope* (eastern side only). For the relation between the hummingbird and

thunder see section 3 below. || The component **ṗəṣ** may be related to the root of **s.ṗəṣ-qs** 'nose,' through a possible shared meaning 'sharp, protruding.' CSLT ***ṗəsḵa** 'hummingbird' (Kuipers 2002:226, who adds that this item may be a borrowing from a non-Salish language).

Remaining types: passerines

qí<q>ċqəṅ (also recorded **qíqċkən**) 'swallow'. Probably refers to either the Barn Swallow *Hirundo rustica* or the Cliff Swallow *Hirundo pyrrhonota*, both of which build mud nests close to or on human habitations. || May contain the suffix **-qən/-qəṅ** 'head' or **-kən** 'back.' A relation to **√qiċ** 'to chew (gum)' is also possible, because swallows build their nests from mud, which they carry in their beaks and mix with saliva. Thompson **qíqeċkṅ** 'prob. barn swallow' (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1298).

qʷəz:qʷaz-í<ż>kən 'bluebird'. Probably refers to the Mountain Bluebird *Sialia currucoides*, which is relatively common in the north-eastern part of Lillooet territory; the Western Bluebird *Sialia mexicana* is rare to absent, though it may have been formerly more widespread. || **qʷəz:qʷaz** 'blue,' **-ikən** 'back.'

s.ḵʷíqəq '(American) Robin' *Turdus migratorius*. || The sequence **əq** may result from final reduplication, although the CSLT form (as reconstructed by Kuipers 2002:221) is ***s.ḵʷiqaq** 'robin'.

s.x̌ʷiḵ 'Varied Thrush' *Ixoreus naevius* ("bush robin"). || Said to make a **x̌ʷíḵən**-like sound (**x̌ʷíḵən** 'to make a certain sound in the throat'): this fits with the hauntingly atonal qualities of the Varied Thrush's song.

ċaċú 'wren'. Probably the Pacific Wren *Troglodytes pacificus,* recently split off from the Winter Wren complex, and by far the commonest wren in Lillooet territory, particularly west of the coastal divide. Possibly also used for the House Wren *Troglodytes aedon* and the Rock Wren *Salpinctes obsoletus*, both found sparingly on the east side of the coast mountains. || Thompson **s.ċe:ċúw** 'small, brown bird, prob. winter wren and perhaps also house wren and (or) Bewick's wren' (Thompson and Thompson 1996:1405). Cf. Squamish **ċú:ċumʔam** '(prob.) snowbird,' with a reference to 'snow, winter' possibly shared with the wren (cf. Dutch *winterkoning*, literally "winter king," for 'wren').

ċáka? (recorded by Davis) 'chickadee' (also name of a person in D'Arcy). All four species of Canadian chickadee are found in Lillooet territory: the Black-capped Chickadee *Parus atricapillus* (widespread), the Chestnut-backed Chickadee *Parus rufescens* (west of the coastal divide), the Mountain Chickadee *Parus gambeli* (east of the divide), and the Boreal Chickadee *Parus hudsonicus* (spruce-fir zone in the

mountains). Apparently, the Lillooet did not distinguish between these species. ‖ Cf. Shuswap (Enderby dialect) ċqíqe?, cəċqíq?e ‘chickadee’ (ċkíkse? in Western Shuswap), Kuipers 1989:174, with ċkíkse? possibly related to Thompson ċəṣkíkik ‘Black-capped Chickadee’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:692); also Montana Salish ċípana? ‘Black-capped Chickadee’, ċsqáṅe? ‘Mountain Chickadee’, ċsqaṅí? ‘Chestnut-backed Chickadee’ (Pete 2010:113). See also ċúqʷuṁ (next item).

ċúqʷuṁ ‘chickadee (various species)’. See previous entry. Within traditional Lillooet culture, chickadees function as messengers: their chirping announces visitors, and one will also meet as many people as one meets chickadees on one’s way. In a story recorded by Van Eijk from Bill Edwards of Pavilion, Chickadee outwits Coyote in a hunting contest (Van Eijk and Williams 1981:7-9).

s.kʷáˀ<kʷəˀ>l̓, also recorded s.kʷíˀ<kʷəˀ>l̓, ‘unidentified bird with yellow chest and black back’. Most likely Western Tanager *Piranga ludoviciana*. ‖ From √kʷəˀl̓ ‘green, yellow’.

n.wác-əc ‘Dark-eyed Junco’ *Junco hyemalis* (“winter bird”). The ‘Oregon Junco’ is the subspecies of Dark-eyed Junco commonly found in Lillooet territory and probably the only referent of n.wác-əc. ‖ The Lillooet term is derived from √wac ‘excrement,’ with -əc ‘mouth’ (and epenthetic schwa) or, less likely, -əc resulting from final reduplication, the entire term referring to the bird’s habit of picking out undigested kernels of grain from manure. CSLT *wac ‘to defecate’ (Kuipers 2002:229).

xʷəxʷlí ‘(Western) Meadowlark’ *Sturnella neglecta*. According to information given to Davis by Julia Michell of Fountain, the meadowlark song goes ka<kə>z?úɬ kʷuˌq̓ʷəq̓ʷíla ‘the desert parsley is a liar.’ The song is also rendered by Lillooet Elders as zúqʷˌtu? kʷˌs.Jizi Kri ‘Jesus Christ has died.’ Rose Whitley (originally from Fountain) told Davis that one day she heard a meadowlark singing xʷp-ilx ʔiˌʔuxʷalmíxʷˌa ‘the people stand up,’ which motivated her to return to her cultural and linguistic roots. The meadowlark is obviously a significant figure in Lillooet mythology: in Charlie Mack’s telling of the “Copper Hoop” story (Bouchard and Kennedy 1977:24-26), it is Meadowlark who shoots Coyote in the throat (the only place where his mountain goat disguise does not protect him) and kills him (but not for long, of course). ‖ PIS *xʷəli/aʔ ‘meadowlark’ (Kuipers 2002:195).

s.cicá<ca>? ‘blackbird.’ Probably refers both to Red-winged Blackbird *Agelaius phoenicius* and Brewer’s Blackbird *Euphagus cyanocephalus*, and also possibly to Brown-headed Cowbird

Molothrus ater. || Consonant (diminutive) reduplication of s.cicá? 'crow.' See there for etymological information.

míkːmik 'unidentified little black bird with yellow beak, smaller than a blackbird.'

kʷúɬc̓-a? '(Red) Crossbill', *Loxia curvirostra*. Probably also White-winged Crossbill *Loxia leucoptera*, though the latter is far less common in Lillooet territory. ǁ kʷuɬc̓ 'bent, crooked,' -a? formative. PS *kʷəl(c̓), *kʷəc̓ 'to bend, twist' (Kuipers 2002:48).

3 Sundry beliefs concerning birds

As the above sections illustrate, birds play an important role in traditional Lillooet cosmology, with Raven, Steller's Jay, and various types of owl seemingly the most powerful when it comes to making various predictions (death, good or bad weather, etc.) or functioning as guardian spirits. In addition, there are certain beliefs that do not center around a particular bird, but around a certain natural phenomenon or traditional ceremony, in which birds play a role. These beliefs are discussed here.

In the first place, with regard to thunder, which can manifest itself as a bird, Teit 1906[1975]:275 writes, 'Some describe the thunder-bird as being the ruby-throated humming-bird [actually, the Rufous or Calliope Hummingbirds: the Ruby-throated Hummingbird is not found west of the Rocky Mountains—HD], and of about the same size. Others describe the thunder as a bird about one metre in length. On its head it has a large crest like that of the bluejay [Steller's Jay—HD], but standing far backward. Its body is blue, and its throat is red. It raises its feathers up and down like a ruffled [sic—JvE] grouse or a turkey. When it turns its head from side to side, as it does when angry, fire darts from its eyes, which is the lightning. When it alights on earth, a gale begins to blow. The Indians claim that it was seen in the mountains near Pemberton during a heavy wind some years ago. The humming-bird is the friend of the thunder.'

Teit (1906[1975]280-281) has a detailed description of the First Salmon ceremony which includes (on p. 280) the following reference to birds: 'Just before the people were ready to catch the first salmon, the tops of the poles of weirs were decorated with feathers of owl, hawk, red-winged flicker and eagle. At fishing-places where there were no weirs, poles were stuck up, and the feathers were attached to their tops. I did not learn the explanation for this custom.'

4 Ecology of the Lillooet bird habitat

Lillooet territory encompasses a triangular area in south western interior British Columbia, roughly bounded by the headwaters of the Bridge and Lillooet Rivers to the west, a stretch of the Fraser River to the northeast, and the head of Harrison Lake to the south. It is the most mountainous territory of any of the interior Salishan peoples, since it straddles the Coast Mountains and encompasses a number of neighbouring ranges. Most of the territory, with the exception of the high alpine zone and the more precipitous mountain slopes, is heavily forested. Traditionally, villages were concentrated around navigable waterways, including Seton, Anderson, Lillooet, Lower Lillooet and Harrison Lakes, as well as at major fishing stations, particularly along the Fraser River.

Differences in altitude from near sea level in the Fraser Canyon to nearly 10,000 feet in the high alpine, as well as drastic differences in rainfall between the moist west facing slopes of the Coast Mountains and the arid rain shadow to the east make for a diversity of vegetation zones, each with a distinctive bird population.[1] The following zones are well-represented in Lillooet territory: the Coastal Western Hemlock Zone (lower westerns slopes of the Coast Mountains), the Mountain Hemlock Zone (wetter subalpine areas of the Coast Mountains), the Engelmann Spruce-Subalpine Fir Zone (widespread in subalpine areas), the Alpine Zone (mountaintops above the tree line), the Interior Douglas Fir Zone (dominant at mid-elevations east of the coastal divide), and the Ponderosa Pine Zone (characteristic of the dry benchlands above the Fraser and its tributaries).

Because of this variety of ecosystems, Lillooet territory supports a high diversity of birdlife. The avifauna of Lower Lillooet territory (which includes the Pemberton Valley, Lillooet and Lower Lillooet Lakes, the upper portion of Harrison Lake, and the Lillooet and Birkenhead Rivers) is transitional between that of the coastal rainforest and the drier interior. Several mainly coastal species (Turkey Vulture, Band-tailed Pigeon, Black-throated Gray Warbler, Black-headed Grosbeak, and Purple Finch) extend into the Pemberton Valley, where they meet other species more characteristic of the Interior, including American Kestrel, Eastern Kingbird, Veery, Gray Catbird, Nashville Warbler, and Lazuli Bunting. The Western Hemlock-Red Cedar-Douglas Fir forests at low to mid elevations in this area hold typical coastal rainforest birds such as Sooty Grouse, Red-Breasted Sapsucker, Pacific Slope Flycatcher, Pacific Wren, Chestnut-

[1] http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/library/documents/treebook/biogeo/biogeo.htm is a comprehensive map of the biogeoclimatic zones of British Columbia, with details on the dominant flora and fauna of each zone.

backed Chickadee and – at least until recently – the elusive and nearly-extirpated Spotted Owl.

Upper elevation forests are mostly dominated by Engelmann Spruce and Subalpine Fir, with Mountain Hemlock on western slopes where snowfall is heaviest. The avifauna of this zone is essentially a southern extension of the boreal forest, and includes such typical boreal species as Northern Goshawk, Spruce Grouse, Northern Three-toed Woodpecker, Olive-sided Flycatcher, Gray Jay, Boreal Chickadee, and Pine and Evening Grosbeaks.

At the tree line, the subalpine forest gives ways to areas of alpine meadow interspersed in suitable locations with tree 'islands', consisting of dwarf or prostrate stands of Mountain Hemlock, Spruce and Fir. This is typical habitat for Hermit Thrush and Fox Sparrow. Particularly on exposed sites east of the coastal divide, stands of Whitebark Pine grow near the tree line. Clark's Nutcracker is heavily dependent on Whitebark Pine seeds, but also feeds extensively on Ponderosa Pine seeds at low elevations, and thus makes considerable altitudinal migrations in order to exploit both crops.

Golden Crowned Sparrows and American Pipits breed in the alpine meadows, whose abundant wildflowers attract Rufous and Calliope Hummingbirds in season. Higher up still, Rosy Finches forage at the edge of glaciers, White-tailed Ptarmigan frequent rocky areas close to summits and ridges, and Golden Eagles patrol the skies.

East of the coastal divide and at mid-elevations below the subalpine zone, dry forests of Interior Douglas-Fir predominate. Common birds here include 'Oregon' Dark-eyed Junco, 'Audubon's' Yellow-rumped Warbler, Western Tanager, Townsend's Solitaire, Red-breasted Nuthatch and Mountain Chickadee.

Lower still, Douglas-Fir is gradually replaced by Ponderosa Pine. Ponderosa forests (which are ecologically adapted to periodic brush fires, and are thus more open and park-like than Douglas-Fir forests) support a distinct avifauna, including Flammulated Owl (rare), Pygmy and White-breasted Nuthatches, Cassin's Finch, and Clark's Nutcracker. Particularly at lower elevations, and where there has been extensive grazing, Ponderosa Pines are interspersed with open areas of sagebrush and bunch-grass, which provide habitat for American Kestrel, Common Nighthawk, Common Poorwill, Eastern and Western Kingbirds, Say's Phoebe, Lazuli Bunting, Vesper Sparrow, and Western Meadowlark.

Towards the north-eastern periphery of the territory, the terrain becomes less precipitous and gradually gives way to the rolling parkland of the Cariboo plateau, with a characteristic avifauna including Mountain Bluebird and Black-billed Magpie. In wetter areas where groves of Trembling Aspen are

present, Red-naped Sapsuckers drill wells which attract Rufous and Calliope Hummingbirds.

There are a variety of aquatic habitats in Lillooet territory, which — particularly in the dry interior — tend to support a higher density and diversity of species than in the surrounding forest. At high elevations, even quite small streams support American Dippers, which retreat in winter to lower-elevation creeks and river margins, reaching a very high population density in the Lillooet area. Also characteristic of rushing torrents is the Harlequin Duck, which breeds at both high and low elevations in the area.

The larger lakes, including Seton, Anderson, Lillooet, Lower Lillooet and Harrison Lakes, as well as a number of smaller but ecologically similar lakes are oligotrophic — that is, deep, cold, and relatively poor in nutrients, and thus able to support only a limited number of species. Nevertheless, Common Loons, Common Mergansers, Barrow's Goldeneyes, and Spotted Sandpipers all breed commonly beside lakes, and Kingfishers and Ospreys are regular visitors in season. A variety of waterfowl, including Trumpeter Swans, can be found regularly on both small and large lakes on migration.

Lower down, riparian habitats on both sides of the coastal divide support distinct assemblages of species. On the coastal side, where the Lillooet and Birkenhead Rivers flow into Lillooet Lake, there is an extensive floodplain, dominated by willows and Black Cottonwood (and mosquitoes, in season!), which attract Warbling Vireos, Orange-crowned, Yellow, Wilson's and Nashville Warblers, Black-headed Grosbeak, and other passerines. East of the mountains, riparian habitat is more or less limited to the seasonally-inundated shores of the Fraser River and its larger tributaries. Distinctive birds here include Western Wood Peewee, Gray Catbird, Veery, Warbling Vireo, and Bullock's Oriole. Spotted Sandpipers breed on the shingle and Bank Swallows form colonies in the eroded banks of the river. Common Mergansers, Canada Geese and Mallards are common, with other waterfowl mostly on passage. Osprey breed beside the river.

Breeding birds are joined in late summer through late fall by large concentrations of gulls (mostly Glaucous-winged), Bald Eagles, Common Mergansers and corvids (Ravens and American Crows), which gather to feed on spawned-out salmon carcasses along the Fraser, Seton, and Birkenhead Rivers.

5 Problems in recording bird names

As is pointed out in Kimball (1990), relying on non-native nomenclature (in this case, English) for collecting flora and fauna terms in the target language (in this case, Lillooet) can be hazardous. First of all, there is the problem of English misnomers or local vernacular terms for plant or animal

specimens, such as “willow grouse” for what is in fact the Ruffed Grouse, or “blue jay” for the Steller’s Jay, or the impossible “nightingale” for the Common Nighthawk. In the second place, the consultants may not know the correct (or incorrect) English term, while they know the Lillooet term and can easily identify the specimen in the wild, as in the case of, for example, míkːmik or ʔátːʔət, or the various types of owls listed in Section 2. A field guide may provide help in such cases, but in the case of bird identification, where flight patterns and whistles, calls or songs are as important for correct identification as size, shape and colour patterns, one has to go out on a nature walk with a fluent speaker in the hope of actually observing a certain specimen in the wild. However, unless one knows where such-and-such a bird is nesting or what its favourite hunting area is, it remains the luck of the draw whether one will encounter any specimens that will either add to one’s existing vocabulary or confirm a hitherto tentative identification. In this case it is of course a great help if the linguist is also an accomplished biologist. (As the observations in Section 2 should make clear, Davis’ knowledge of ornithology helped to identify a number of birds correctly where Van Eijk had been misled by erroneous English nomenclature.)

An important tool (and one that was not available to earlier generations of field workers) is the internet, which offers websites (often complete with video clips) of just about any bird that ever flew out of the Creator’s workshop, demonstrating flight patterns and calls, whistles and songs in a manner that would not be possible in a traditional field guide. Laptops or iPads could be a great help here and vastly reduce the frustration experienced by both field worker and consultant when word and bird have trouble meeting.

Finally, it is almost certainly the case that some of the more detailed ethno-ornithological knowledge of previous generations has been lost. Intimate knowledge of the avifauna of a region is usually the preserve of those who spend a lot of time quietly observing the natural world, and amongst the Interior Salish, this typically meant traditional hunters and trappers. The great changes wrought by the modern world on Lillooet society have led to the disappearance of these practices, and with them, the detailed ecological knowledge which accompanied them. It is notable that the bird names that we have managed to collect from the last two generations of fluent speakers tend to involve birds which are either (a) useful in some fashion (generally as food), (b) conspicuous by size, colour, or voice, (c) common commensals of humans, or (d) important in Lillooet cosmology and/or mythology. Thus grouse, for example, were traditionally an important source of food; herons, owls, eagles and ravens are large, conspicuous, and symbolically important; Mountain Bluebirds and Western Tanagers are strikingly coloured; Western Meadowlarks and Varied Thrushes are notable for their songs; and Dark-eyed Juncos, swallows and

chickadees are common around human habitations. Birds such as the Steller's Jay which combine many of these characteristics are particularly well-represented in our sample, and conversely, it is not unlikely that shyer, less conspicuous and less common species are under-represented, and had possibly already been forgotten by the time our fieldwork began.

For detailed, and appropriately melancholic, observations on the disappearance of traditional languages and their embedded cultural and ecological knowledge see Evans (2010) and Harrison (2007).

6 Conclusions and acknowledgements

Lillooet bird terminology is rich and detailed, and reflects the intimate knowledge that the Lillooet people have of their natural habitat. The important place of birds in traditional Lillooet cosmology and spiritual beliefs has fortunately also been documented, either through traditional legends in which birds play an important part or through ethnolinguistic fieldwork in question and answer sessions. With regard to this kind of research it is important to identify birds (or other fauna or flora specimens) in the field, without relying exclusively on terminology in English or any other contact language, which can be misleading, or on field guides which, although usually thoroughly researched and handsomely produced with accurate depictions of the birds, may still not give enough information to make a definitive identification. Nature walks with a fluent speaker are still the best, although the Internet may also be an important research tool in this respect.

Thanks are due to our Lillooet consultants of whose vast and profound knowledge of birds and so many other things we have hoped to give at least a partial reflection in this article, and to our home institutions (the University of British Columbia and First Nations University of Canada) for their over-all support of our research. Davis also acknowledges crucial support from SSHRC grants 410-95-1519, 410-98-1597, 410-2003-1138, and 410-2008-2535.

References

Bouchard, Randy, and Dorothy I.D. Kennedy. 1977. *Lillooet Stories*. Victoria, B.C.: Sound Heritage, vol. VII, no. I.

Carl, G. Clifford. 1971. *Guide to Marine Life of British Columbia*. Victoria, B.C.: British Columbia Provincial Museum Handbook No. 21.

Davis, Henry. 2001. 'Kayám: An Early St'át'imcets Text.' *Anthropological Linguistics* 43:288-347.

Evans, Nicholas. 2010. *Dying Words: Endangered Languages and What They*

Have To Tell Us. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
Galloway, Brent D. 2009. *Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem* (2 vols.). Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
Guiguet C. J. 1970a. *The Birds of British Columbia: (1) The Woodpeckers; (2) The crows and their Allies*. Victoria, B.C.: British Columbia Provincial Museum Handbook No. 6.
Guiguet C. J. 1970b. *The Birds of British Columbia: (4) Upland Game Birds*. Victoria, B.C.: British Columbia Provincial Museum Handbook No. 10.
Harrison, K. David. 2007. *When Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hukari, Thomas E., Ruby Peter, and Ellen White. 1977. 'Halkomelem.' Pp. 33-68 of Barry F. Carlson (ed.), *Northwest Coast Texts: Stealing Light*. International Journal of American Linguistics, Native American Text Series, vol. 2, no. 3.
Kimball, Geoffrey. 1990. 'On Gathering Vocabulary.' Paper read at SSILA Summer Meeting, Vancouver, B.C., August 15, 1990.
Kuipers, Aert H. 1967. *The Squamish Language: Grammar, Texts, Dictionary*. The Hague: Mouton.
—. 1969. *The Squamish Language, II*. The Hague: Mouton.
—. 1974. *The Shuswap Language: Grammar, Texts, Dictionary*. The Hague: Mouton.
—. 1989. *A Report on Shuswap with a Squamish Lexical Appendix*. Paris: Peeters/SELAF.
—. 2002. *Salish Etymological Dictionary*. University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics No. 16.
Maud, Ralph (ed.). 1978. *The Salish People: The Local Contribution of Charles Hill-Tout, vol. II: The Squamish and the Lillooet*. Vancouver, B.C.: Talonbooks.
Pete, Tachini. 2010. *seliš nyoʔnumtn: Medicine for the Salish Language. English to Salish Translation Dictionary (2nd Edition)*. Pablo, Montana and Lincoln, Nebraska: Salish Kootenai College Press and University of Nebraska Press.
Seaburg, William R. 1985. 'Stalking the Wild Pigeon: Diffusion of a Word for 'Pigeon' on the Northwest Coast.' Preprints to the 20th International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages, Vancouver, B.C.
Teit, James A. 1906. *The Lillooet Indians*. Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition), vol. II, part V. Reprinted by AMS 1975.
Thompson, Laurence C., and M. Terry Thompson. 1996. *Thompson River Salish*

Dictionary. University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics No. 12.

Timmers, Jan A. 1977. *A Classified English-Sechelt Word-List*. Lisse, The Netherlands: Peter de Ridder Press.

Van Eijk, Jan, and Lorna Williams (eds.). 1981. *Lillooet Legends and Stories*. Mount Currie, B.C.: The Ts'zil Publishing House.

<henry.davis@ubc.ca>
<jvaneijk@fnuniv.ca>