Linguistic Evidence for Burrard Inlet
as Former Halkomelem Territory

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When one people enters a region already occupied by another, the newcomers often adopt some of the earlier people's names for places. Place names of Celtic origin persist in English-speaking Britain, place names of Native North American origin in English- and French-speaking North America, and place names of Australian Aboriginal origin in English-speaking Australia. In all of these regions, place names provide linguistic evidence that new peoples have entered territory once occupied by others.

Linguistic evidence for the movements of peoples can also be found in Native place names in parts of northwestern North America. One of these is the region between the northern end of the Strait of Georgia and the mid-section of Johnstone Strait. According to Native traditions and historic documents, the Kwakwala-speaking Lekwiltok, who have occupied this whole region since the mid-19th century, replaced or absorbed Salish-speaking Comox, who were its earlier inhabitants. While the majority of Lekwiltok place names in their present territory are clearly of Kwakwala origin, a good many, including those referring to important village sites, can be analysed as of Salishan origin, adapted to the sounds of Kwakwala. Even if we did not have the Native traditions and historic documents indicating the expansion of the Lekwiltok into Salish territory, we would have to infer the movement from the evidence of place names.

Another region where Native place names give evidence of the movement of people is Burrard Inlet. Here too, both Native traditions and historic documents indicate that region was once occupied by speakers of Halkomelem—the Musqueam and Saleelwat (Burrard) people, and that Squamish speakers moved from their homeland in the Squamish Valley and settled in the region in the 19th century, although the question remains open whether they had seasonally occupied sites on Burrard Inlet at an earlier time. Here too, an analysis of place names supports the presence of speakers of Halkomelem on Burrard Inlet before the arrival of Squamish speakers. Kuipers (1969:32-38) gives some of the evidence. I will try here to give more.

To identify a place name (or any other term, for that matter) as having come from one language rather than another, we can examine it to see if it shows features that normally appear in the one language rather than the other. These can be features of phonology, lexicology, or morphology. Not all names will be identifiable of one source or another. Some will not be identifiable as to source simply because they have been in use so long that changes in the source language make no longer possible to identify their components. Others may not be identifiable because two possible source languages do not differ in the features they display. But even two closely related languages will be different in some features. Thus the first step in sorting out place names is to consider the differences between the languages that may have been their source.

Halkomelem and Squamish

The Halkomelem language is spoken by the Native peoples on Vancouver Island from Nanoose to Malahat and on the Fraser River its mouth upstream as far as Yale. Within the Halkomelem area differences in pronunciation and vocabulary distinguish three major groups of dialects: Island, Downriver, and Upriver. Downriver dialects are (or were) spoken by the Musqueam, Tsawwassen, Coquitlam, Katzie, and Kwintlen (Langley) peoples, as well as, according to traditions, the ancestors of the Burrard people. The Squamish speak the Squamish language. Sq (Squamish) and Hal (Halkomelem) are related languages, members of the Central division of the Salishan language family. Hal and Sq are generally similar in phonology, lexicology, and grammar, but they show some easily identified differences. My statements about Hal are based on my work with the Ms (Musqueam) dialect that began in the late 1950s (Suttles 1984); my statements about Sq are based on my reading of Kuipers 1967 and 1969.

Phonology. Both languages use a small number of vowel phonemes and a large number of consonant phonemes. Consonants include glottalized (ejective) stops and affricates (h, k, k etc.) voiceless laterals (l, r), uvulars (q, q, x etc.), labialized velars and uvulars (k*, k*, q*, q*, etc.). Hal differs from Sq in having a vowel e, lacking in Sq, in having few occurrences of u, common in Sq, and in contrasting long and short vowels other than a, a contrast lacking in Sq. Sq has no phonemes that are wholly absent from Hal, but the Ms dialect of Hal has only a few words with d, which is common in Sq. On the other hand, Hal has two interdental consonants ð and ð (phonetically [θ]) that do not occur in Sq, and the Ms dialect has a palatal fricative x (phonetically [ʃ]) that does not occur in Sq, though it sounds very similar to Sq ʃ. In my analysis, Hal has glottalized resonants (rh, h, l, y, and w) and in I have assumed this for Sq. In Ms these are not always easy to hear, and they seem to have disappeared in Upriver dialects (Galloway 1993).

When speakers of one language borrow words from another, they are likely to use the sound system of their own language. Since the Hal inventory of phonemes includes all of those of Sq, Hal speakers would presumably have no difficulty pronouncing a Sq place name. On the other hand, since Sq lacks four of the phonemes of Ms Hal, speakers of Sq
would be likely to modify these in the direction of Sq, probably replacing Ms e with a, \( \theta \) with s, æ with e and a with î. (A Sq substitution of ê for Hal ë is seen in No. 56.)

Comparative evidence indicates that historically Hal has generally been more innovative than Sq. The Hal vowels e and a were earlier á and a respectively, corresponding to the present Sq vowels. The Hal consonants \( \theta \) and ñ were earlier c and ñ, while Hal c and ã were earlier ñ and ê (and may still vary in this direction for some speakers), again corresponding to present Sq consonants. Ms is conservative in having x in place of the ñ in Island dialects of Hal and in Sq. Sq has innovated in shifting a number of instances of l and l to y and j.

Lexicon. In both Hal and Sq many words consist of a single root, but many more consist of a root with affixes. Both languages have only a small number of prefixes but a large number of suffixes. As in other Salishan languages, there is an extensive set of "lexical suffixes," suffixes with meanings usually expressed by nouns. For example, the lexical suffix for 'nose' may be added to a root meaning 'long' to produce a word meaning 'get-hit-on-the-nose', etc. Some lexical suffixes referring to body parts are extended in meaning to refer to features of the environment; the one for 'nose' can also refer to a point of land. A number of place names consist of a root plus a lexical suffix used in this fashion. Hal and Sq vocabularies run closely parallel; a word in one language is likely to have its equivalent in the other, a word with the same meaning and composition. But this does not mean that these words are indistinguishable.

A number of roots and suffixes have different origins and so are not at all alike in form, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Hal} & \text{Sq} & \text{English} \\
\text{æk*} & \text{mæk} & \text{get washed} \\
\text{třp} & \text{hí} & \text{big} \\
\text{s-lp} & \text{e-gy} & \text{tree, vegetation} \\
\end{array}
\]

Thus a name with the suffix -lp is clearly Hal, and one with -gySq.

However, most roots and suffixes in the two languages are cognates, that is, they have a common origin. But because of changes in pronunciation that have occurred over the course of the centuries, they are different, but different in a fairly regular fashion. This makes it possible to tell whether a root or suffix properly belongs to one language or the other.

A comparison of Hal and Sq cognates shows fairly regular correspondences of sounds. Usually Hal e corresponds to Sq a, Hal a to Sq u, Hal i to Sq i and Hal a to Sq a. In Hal unstressed vowels are often usually a, while in Sq they are often full vowels. Hal ñ and ã correspond regularly to Sq c and ñ, Hal c and ã to Sq è and ê, and Ms Hal x to Sq ñ.

Often, but not always, Hal l corresponds to Sq y. These correspondences are illustrated in the following words and suffixes:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Hal} & \text{Sq} & \text{E} \\
\text{snât} & \text{snât} & \text{‘night’} \\
\text{hây} & \text{hây} & \text{finish’} \\
\text{hæ} & \text{hæ} & \text{‘sleep’} \\
\text{cæcin} & \text{cæcin} & \text{‘mouth} \\
\text{cæ} & \text{cæ} & \text{‘oneself} \\
\text{cæl} & \text{cæl} & \text{‘get dressed’} \\
\text{cil} & \text{cil} & \text{‘above’} \\
\text{cæ} & \text{cæ} & \text{‘different’} \\
\text{æmæn} & \text{æmæn} & \text{‘enemy’} \\
\text{æmæ} & \text{æmæ} & \text{‘foott’ (suf.)} \\
\text{qæ} & \text{qæ} & \text{‘bad’} \\
\text{æ-æ-æ} & \text{æ} & \text{‘rock’ ‘round object’} \\
\end{array}
\]

Thus the form of a root or affix may tell us whether the word is Hal or Sq. For example, the name ñaqac ‘white rock’ (No. 29 below) must be Hal in origin, even though it was recorded from a Sq source, because the suffix is the Hal rather than the Sq form.

A problem arises when we find a name like the Sq cæp ‘Skitka spruce’ (from cæp ‘get pierced’) but the initial consonant is Sq. Is this a loan from Hal at an earlier stage before ê had become c, or, as seems more likely, simply the result of a Sq perception of the Hal sound?

In both languages, lexical suffixes often do not follow the root directly but are linked to it with a connective element. In Hal the connectives are most commonly -al- and -al-, but also -aw-, -aw-, and -aw. In Sq they are -ay- and -i-. The presence of an l in a connective (as in Nos. 41 and 52 below) is probably good evidence that the term is Hal in origin rather than Sq.

Grammar. In both languages, roots undergo internal modification to express certain grammatical categories. The most common modification is reduplication, that is, the repetition of the first consonant and vowel or the first consonant, vowel, and second consonant. Reduplication is used to express plurals and diminutives in nouns and progressive and other aspects in verbs, and often the process is parallel in the two languages, e.g.
However, in Hal, there is a form of reduplication that appears to be rare or absent in Sq. This occurs in roots that have an initial resonant (m, n, l, y, or w) followed by a or e? The reduplicated form has an initial h instead of the expected resonant. Compare the following simple and progressive forms of verbs:

- Hal: m~q 'get full'
- Sq: m~q 'be full'

A Hal noun of the same form may be reduplicated for plural in the same way except that the vowel i appears in the second syllable, e.g.,

- Hal: s~yf'it 'eagles'
- Sq: s~yf'it 'eagles'

Verbs also have resultative (also called stative or participial) forms. In Hal these are composed of a prefix s- and a reduplicated form of the root. Those with an initial resonant followed by the vowel a are formed like the plurals of nouns in the previous examples, e.g., compare m~q 'eat it'; s~q 'eaten on'; l~k* 'break'; s~lk* 'broken'.

Squares resultatives are formed with ?as- prefixed to both simple and reduplicated roots. Kuipers does not describe a form of reduplication in Sq like that just described for Hal, but he lists two words that appear to be formed like their Hal equivalents, cf.

- Hal: m~q 'get full (eating)'
- Sq: m~q 'full, filled up'

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Names recorded by persons with linguistic training are given in the phonetic symbols that are standard among linguists working with Salishan languages. The Sq names recorded by Kuipers (K) and in the Bouchard orthography (B) have been transliterated from their systems into the standard system. Names known by other spellings only, as those recorded by Hill-Tout (HT) or Matthews (M), are given as originally spelled. A blank means that no name has been recorded.

No name has been recorded for Burrard Inlet as a whole, and it is likely that there never was one. In the Native languages names were usually given to prominent features of the landscape and narrowly conceived sites.

1. **Ms ______**  
   **Sq ssh'kicut (K) (DC)**, Point Atkinson  
   “Skay-wit-sat” (M)  
   Kuipers (1969:37) translates the name ‘turning around’. It must be composed of the noun-forming prefix s-, the root q'w ‘go around’, and the suffix -cut ‘oneself’. Hal has the same prefix (s-), root (qiw), and suffix (-cut). The Sq name has nothing to suggest a Hal origin, but a close Hal counterpart is possible.

2. **Ms ______**  
   **Sq st'j'l (K)**, Cypress Creek  
   “St'j'q' T” (HT), “Stuck-ale” (M)  
   Kuipers indicates the Sq may mean ‘bad smell’, from ts'q “to break wind”. Kuipers does not list any Sq suffix -il. Hal has an identical root and a suffix -il ‘become, move toward’. The Sq counterpart of this suffix is -il ‘inchoative’. The name is thus more likely Hal in origin.

3. **Ms ______**  
   **Sq smalak's (K)**, West Bay  
   “SmUm' l'k'a” (HT), “Smul-la-qua” (M)  
   Kuipers gives no translation of the Sq name. However, the root may be Hal m'al-'t ‘accompany (especially as a mourner), hold a funeral’, with the Hal infixed -l- for plural. Sq has a cognate root m'al-', which Kuipers found in a word meaning ‘share someone’s fate’, but Sq does not have the infixed -l-. The name is more likely Hal in origin.

4. **Ms ______**  
   **Sq ch'lam (B)**, Navvy Jack Point (R)  
   “K-'tca m” (HT), “Chut-aum” (M)  
   Kuipers identifies the name as that of a slough (shown west of Capilano River on his map) said to form one settlement with that on Capilano River, and he suggests the name is related to the Sq w'at y ‘reveal, make public’. In Hal the cognate root is w't ‘be exposed, revealed’, and its reduplicated form w'atw'at or w'atwi means ‘be found out’. The reason for such a name is unclear.

5. **Ms ______**  
   **Sq sw'swi (K)**, A bay W of Capilano  
   “Swai’wi” (HT), “Swy-sey” (M)  
   Kuipers identifies the name as that of a slough (shown west of Capilano River on his map) said to form one settlement with that on Capilano River, and he suggests the name is related to the Sq w'at y ‘reveal, make public’. In Hal the cognate root is w't ‘be exposed, revealed’, and its reduplicated form w'atw'at or w'atwi means ‘be found out’. The reason for such a name is unclear.

6. **Ms x'malakstan (AC),**  
   **Sq x'malacstan, x'malacstan (K)**, Capilano River  
   x'malacstan (AG, R), x'malacstan (AJ),  
   “Hlu'malcnicion” (HT), “Ho-mul-che-sun” (M)  
   Andrew Charles (Ms) said the name was from m'alac ‘horsefly’, because these were numerous there. Arnold Guerin (Ms) believed the root to be m'al ‘roll’, which appears in m'alat (-yat is the reflexive suffix) ‘roll (as salmon when spawning) and the suffix -yat ‘mouth’, ‘lip’, margin’. The Ms name thus may mean ‘horseflies at the mouth’ or ‘where they [presumably salmon] roll at the mouth’. Kuipers offers no translation of the Sq. The Sq name is more likely Hal in origin than vice versa.

Simon Pierre of Katzie, a Halkomelem-speaking group a short distance up the Fraser, gave the name of the Capilano River as x'malakstan (probably more accurately transcribed x'malacstan) meaning ‘[river] of the Musqueam’.

7. **Ms x'llam’l’k (R)**  
   **Sq x'llam’l’k (K)**, Mackay Creek  
   “TlntEmauq” (HT), “Tlnt-muh-ul” (M)  
   Hill-Tout identified the Sq name as ‘Saltwater Creek’. The root is clearly Sq x'llam’ or Hal x’llam ‘salt’. Kuipers translates it ‘salt water’ (presumably his informant’s translation), adding that the suffix contains the formative -k* found in words connected with the sea, but the name “is otherwise not quite clear...” perhaps referring to the -l- in the connective, not normal in Sq. Hal does not have a suffix -k* relating to water, and I cannot identify the suffix in the Ms name given by Rozen (unless it is an error for -al- ‘water’). If one language borrowed the name from the other, as probably happened, there is no way of telling which was the source.
8. Ms     Sq sāʔqəʔə (K) (AJ), Mission Reserve
          "qəəʔə (DC), "S'liʔa'nu (HT).
          "Ust-lawn (M)

Kuipers translates the Sq name 'head of bay', without identifying the components.
It may be from the Sq root 'laʔ' 'approach, touch' and suffix -an 'cheek ('side')?.

9. Ms     Sq səča:ts (B) A creek E of
          "Est-ahl-tehkh (M)
          "Lonsdale (R)

Andy Paull said the name means "a pretty house is built there." The suffix is no
doubt 'house', -tx or -wtx in Sq, -̓təx, -ctaus in Hal. It is -atx in some
other Salishan languages (e.g., Lushootseed, spoken on Puget Sound), which suggests the
name is in origin neither Sq nor Hal in its recent state. Kuipers does not list any root of the
shape ca- or cal-. Conceivably the name could be the counterpart of Hal -ətx, or
identifIes the name as that of no. 59.

10. Ms     Sq səfliʔəs (K), Moodyville (R)
           "Sahix" (M)

           The name is Sq 'point'. The Hal equivalent is səfliʔəs (see no. 59).

11. Ms     Sq səc̕uləs (K) hill E of Moodyville

August Jack (Sq) translated the name as 'high bank'. (It recorded it səc̕uləs,
certainly an error for the above.) Kuipers gives c̕uləs as the term for 'hill', composed of
c̕ul 'high, above', and the suffix -us 'face'. The Ms equivalent is c̕uləs 'bank with exposed
earth'. The place name has the common s- prefix. (The name is identical with that of no.
35.)

12. Ms     Sq səlsəjəm (K), "3rd St/ Kenward area"
          "Qotliskaim" (HT), "Uth-kymə (M)

From Sq səlsəjəm 'snake' and the suffix -əm. Hill-Tout spelling indicates the prefix
ə-, and he identifies the name as "Serpent Pond." The Ms for 'snake' is səlsəjəm, a Ms
form of this name would be the same as the Nanaimo xəsəłəjəm 'Snake Island'.

13. Ms     Sq səłə:mə (K), Lynn Creek
          "Qāləmə (HT)

Kuipers offers no Sq translation. The name closely resembles Hal sələ:laʔə 'lakes',
the plural of sələ:laʔə 'lake' formed with an infixed -ə. The Sq for 'lake' is sələ:u. Rozen
quotes a manuscript by Nelson (1927) that identified the name as that of "Lynn Creek
and Lynn Lake". More likely Hal in origin.

14. Ms     Sq təʔxəʔə (K), E of creek mouth
          təʔxəʔə (B)

Kuipers translates the Sq name 'small copy of mask'. It appears to be the
diminutive form of no. 33, named for the Sxwayswey mask. The Ms form would be
nearly identical.

15. Ms     Sq səc̕əlaʔxəq (K) (DC), Seymour Creek
          səc̕əlaʔxəq (AJ), Təs̕čiʔQ̕ək (HT),
          "Chay-chul-wuk" (M)

Kuipers offers no translation for the Sq name; he identifies the root as səc̕əlaʔxə,
otherwise unknown except in the name səc̕əlaʔxəq 'Chilliwack'. The root of 'Chilliwack'
and of this name may be Hal səc̕əlaʔxə 'go/come upstream'; the suffix is probably -aq 'head'.
More likely Hal in origin.

Simon Pierre of Katzie gave the name of Seymour Creek as səc̕əlaʔxə, meaning
'lazy people'. The usual Halkomelem for 'lazy person' is səc̕ənaʔ, plural səc̕ənaʔə.
(It might be tempting to suppose that this is the source of "Sasamat," but see note 4.)

16. Ms     Sq səc̕əma (B)
           "Steets-e-mah" (M)

I can find no likely source in either language.

17. [Ms təmstəlàtxʷən (CC)] Sq səc̕ənaʔ or səc̕ənaʔ (K) Burrardview
          səc̕ənaʔ (B) "Haasts-nich" (M)

           The name is Sq səc̕ənaʔ 'bay' without the s- prefix. The Ms for 'bay' is səc̕ənaʔcorresponding precisely to the Sq. For the Ms name listed here see No. 21.

18. Ms     Sq "K-ləken" (HT)

Hill-Tout identifies the name as "palisade, fenced village". Kuipers gives qələkan as
the Sq word for 'fence', 'stockade', 'fortification'. The Hal equivalent is qələkan 'fence',
'stockade', which is the Ms name of a place just south of Point Grey. Hill-Tout is the only
source for this Sq name. His list implies that it is east of Seymour Creek. Rozen suggests
it was near the entrance to Indian Arm.
19. Ms ______  Sq  "Spucka-nay", White Rock, entrance  
    "Spuka-nah-a" (M) to Indian Arm

    August Jack told Matthews that the name means "white rock". The root must be  
    ꩖赣州 "white" in both Sq and Hal, but the suffix is not identifiable.

20. Ms s̕ałlíwətəمل (JP),  Sq  s̕ałlíwətə/ml (K),  Indian Arm  
    s̕ałlíwətə/ml (AG)  s̕ałlíwətə/ml (DC), s̕ałlíwətə/ml (AJ) and River

    This is also said to be the name of the Burrardview people, whose earlier home was  
    at Belcarra and whose salmon stream was Indian River, which was also used by the  
    Musqueam. According to Musqueam and Katzie sources they formerly spoke  
    Halkomelem.

    The name is probably derived from that of the group identified by Boas (1887:132)  
    as the "Lel'elot" (in modern symbols probably 1ałł1ut) the Squamish "family" on Burrard  
    Inlet. The suffix -ə/I in Ms (-u1 in Sq), usually with the prefix s̕, means 'belonging to,  
    pertaining to'. The form s̕ałlíwətə/ml must be the product of the type of reduplication  
    in which an initial resonant followed by ə becomes h, which then becomes silent after s̕-  
    (see under Grammar above). Since this type of reduplication is usual in Halkomelem but  
    rare if present at all in Sq, the name is probably Hal in origin.

21. Ms tə̓məmfxʷən  Sq  tə̓məmfxʷən (B).  Belcarra  
    tə̓məmfxʷən (DC)  Bedwell Bay

    The name is from Sq tə̓məfxʷ "earth, land", reduplicated, probably for plural, with the  
    suffix -ən 'instrument'. The Hal for 'earth' is tə̓mxʷ. Rozen reports the gloss "lots of  
    land." However, Arnold Guerin (Ms) identified tə̓məmfxʷ, the unreduplicated form as  
    referring to crossed logs filled with earth to prevent erosion. The similar name tə̓məmfxʷ  
    is the name in the Nooksack language of a Nooksack village near Sumas, Washington,  
    said to have consisted of semi-subterranean houses (pit houses). The name suggests this  
    use, but it is not the term for 'pit-house', which is s̕ə̓qməl in Nooksack and in Squamish  
    (so given by Hill-Tout 1900:485), s̕ə̓qməl in Halkomelem.  

    The village at Belcarra is said to have been the earlier home of the Burrardview  
    people. Probably for this reason my Ms source CC identified the name with the  
    Burrardview reserve.

    August Jack told Matthews that Bidwell Bay was called "Chul-wah-ulch",  
    indentified as the same name as that of Coal Harbour, i.e., ꪴə̓lxʷə̓ləl (see No. 30).

22. Ms ______  Sq  tə̓kalə̓mən (B)  Kyle Creek  
    tə̓kalə̓mən (DC)  Port Moody

    The only root that this may be derived from is Sq and Ms tə̓məmfxʷ 'stretch, tighten',  
    'exert'. The suffix could be Sq -ə/m 'mouth with an undifferentiable -ən (cf. Hal -dən  
    'lip', 'margin').

23. Ms ______  Sq  bə̓qə̓lə̓qə̓məyən (B)  Gosse Point

    The name is probably from Sq bə̓qə̓lə̓qə̓məyən 'arbutus tree'.

24. Ms ______  Sq "Kanahmoo" (M)

    I cannot say what this might be, but there is a Sq suffix -əm 'separate piece',  
    which may appear here. In any case, the vowel "oo" makes the name more likely Sq.

25. Ms ḥə̓qə̓məl (R)  Sq  hə̓kə̓məyə (B)  Cedar Cove  
    "Hup-hah-pai" (M)

    The Sq appears to be the plural of ḥə̓kə̓məyə 'young cedar' (given by Kuipers).  
    The Ms form recorded by Rozen is not one I have recorded for Ms, but it looks like a  
    possible plural.

26. Ms ______  Sq  bə̓ckə̓li̓mən (B)  Rogers Sugar  
    bə̓ckə̓li̓mən (HT)  "Ctech'limen" (HT), "Chet-chal-ruen" (M)  Refinery (R)

    The place is said have been at the foot of Raymur Avenue. It is said to be a place  
    where seals hauled out. The name may be derived from Hal ciłəm 'climb (a mountain),  
    mount (a horse)', with the suffix -mən 'instrument', which seems appropriate for a place  
    that allows climbing. Kuipers does not give a Sq cognate of the root, but the suffix  
    exists in Sq. The form looks Sq but the sense is Hal.

27. Ms ḥə̓qə̓məl (R)  Sq  ḥə̓mələ̓ (B)  Hastings Mill

    The name means 'bigleaf maple trees' (literally 'paddle trees') in both Ms and Sq.

28. Ms ______  Sq  la̓qə̓lə̓ (B)  Old Gastown
    "Lack-lacky" (M)

    Matthews's Sq sources identify the name as meaning 'a grove of beautiful trees'.  
    If this is correct, the final -i may be a reduced form of the Sq suffix -ə 'tree'. The root
may possibly be a Sq counterpart of the Hal lāq ‘even, equal’, the whole referring to a stand of trees of equal height. But Kuipers gives no such root.

29. Ms ḩqâls (R) 
Sq ḩqâlis (B) 
Foot of Granville

“Puck-ahls” (M) 
Street

This is no doubt Hal ḩqâls ‘white rock’, composed of ḩq ‘white’ and -âls ‘rock’. In Sq ‘white’ is likewise ḩq but the suffix for ‘rock’ is -uys. No doubt Hal.

30. Ms _____ 
Sq ċlax*ǔx (B), (DC) 
Lost Lagoon,

TeÈkod’ałt (H), “Chul-whah-ulch” (M) 
Coal Harbour

Matthews’s Sq sources said the name means ‘dry’ or ‘gets dry at times’. If this is correct, it may be from the root ḩt*x* or ḩt*x* ‘dry’ in Sq or ḩty* ‘dry’ in Hal. If this is the root, there is an infixed -1-, which would be possible in Hal but not in Sq. Alternatively, the root could be the Hal ċlax* ‘go upstream’. The -uł may be a Sq suffix -uł, the meaning of which is unclear, that Kuipers (1969:15) found in a single word. I cannot identify it with a Hal suffix. The two l’s make it slightly more likely that the name is Hal in origin.

31. Ms ṣk*’əw* 
Sq ṣk*čəs (B) 
Deadman’s Island

The name in both Hal and Sq means ‘island’.

32. Ms _____ 
Sq pâpiqaq (K) 
pâpiyaq (B) 
Brockton Point

pâ piyaq (DC) “Pâpiük” (H) 
“Pa-pee-uk” (M)

Kuipers offers no translation of the Sq name. DC translated it ‘floating point’. Kuipers lists a Sq root pâ ‘be in the water’, which could be the root of this name. But the name could also be from the Ms root pâ ‘be bent’ and mean ‘bent at the end’. Kuipers lists no cognate Sq root.

33. Ms ṟ*dyx*ay 
Sq ẓ*dyx*ay (K), 
Lumberman’s Arch

“QolQol” (H), “Whoi-whoi” (M)

This is clearly ṟ*dyx*ay (Ms) or ṟ*dyx*at (Sq), the term for the Sxwaysxwey performance by masked dancers, without the s- prefix. (See nos. 18 and 59 for the same loss of the prefix.)
40. Ms slil'úwáq* (R)  
  Sq slil'úwáq* (B),  
  Second Beach  
  "Stēfč'uk" (HT), "Stāl-wóuk" (M)  

The Ms name is a properly formed diminutive of Hal slil'úwáq* ‘fuller’s earth’ (cf. sqʷaméy ‘dog’, sqʷamay ‘puppy’). The Sq for ‘fuller’s earth is, slilwáq* with a different second vowel. Kuipers gives no diminutive for this word. More likely Hal.

41. Ms ?hýə'a:xən (R)  
  Sq ?hýə'a:xən (B),  
  English Bay  
  "Ay-yul-shun" (HT)  
  "Ay-yul-shun" (M)  
  "Ay-yul-shun" (AJ)  
  Second Beach  

Hill-Tout identified the name as “sandy beach, verbatime, soft to the foot.” Andy Paull (Sq) translated the name ‘good under feet’. The root is ?hý-, ?hî-, or ?hîy- ‘good’ in both Hal and Sq, and the suffix Hal-əxn and Sq -lon ‘foot’. The presence of the connective -əlx suggests the name is Hal in origin.

42. Ms ____  
  Sq ?l?l'í:llən (B),  
  "Ay-ay-yul-shun" (M)  

The name appears to be a diminutive of No. 42. Andy Paull identified the site as on English Bay at Broughton and Nicola streets. Like No. 41, the name is more likely Hal.

43. Ms ____  
  Sq sma:̱lchəs (B),  
  islet opposite No. 48  
  "Snam-chuze" (M)  

Matthew’s sources gave no translation of the name. I cannot identify the root. The suffix is probably Sq. -us ‘face’.

44. Ms ____  
  Sq sqʷa:yə̱s (K, B),  
  Head of False Creek  
  "Sk-xätxai’s (HT), Skwa-chice" (M)  

Hill-Tout identified the name as “deep hole in water.” Two of Matthews’s sources said the name refers to a spring at the bottom. Another said it was an underground stream flowing from Coquitlam Lake. The root may be Sq sqʷa: “perforated” (corresponding to Hal sqʷe ‘hole’) with Sq -e ‘back, surface’, or it is possible that the root is that of Sq qʷeːt ‘vomit’ (cf. Hal qʷeːt ‘vomit’, qʷécət ‘belch’). Kuipers suggests the final -əʃs may be the suffix for ‘rock’ with a Hal vowel, but I do not see ‘rock’ making sense here.

45. Ms ____  
  Sq ḥaxwagʷəsqə  
  Narrow in False Creek  
  or h̕iwaʔəsqə (B),  
  "Ki-wah-uskw" (M)  

Andy Paull (Sq) translated the name as ‘two points exactly opposite’. The name may be composed of the Sq root ḥi ‘stop from fighting, separate’ with the Sq suffixes -way ‘each other’, -s ‘cause to do’, and -qs ‘point’ with the meaning ‘points pulled apart (as in a quarrel)’. A Hal counterpart would be look rather different.

46. Ms ____  
  Sq ḥaːmənəcít (B),  
  S shore of False Creek  
  "Aun-mayt-sur" (HT, M)  
  “Aun-mayt-sur” (M)

The name is clearly Sq for ‘commit suicide’. Kuipers gives *əmnəcít ‘commit suicide’. This form may be a plural. A Hal counterpart would look quite different.

47. Ms sənáqʷ* (AC, JP,  
  R)  
  Sq sənáqʷ* (K),  
  sənáqʷ* (DC)  
  Kitsilano I. R.,  
  LR and False Creek  
  sənáqʷ* (AJ),  
  “Snauq” (HT, M)  
  False Creek  

Neither Ms nor Sq sources have offered a translation. Except for the quality of the stressed vowel, the name looks like a Halkomelem resultative form. As indicated under Grammar above, Hal has a rule that regularly produces forms with initial sən- or səb-, while Sq does not appear to have such a rule. The recorded resultative of səqʷ ‘fall asleep’ is sənqʷ *‘asleep’, but this may be another form. Another place name in the Hal area that looks like a resultative form with a vowel other than i is səmət ‘Samus’ (Galloway 1993:649). (The gloss ‘inside head’, which I have seen offered for this name, is probably based on the identification of the səb- with the initial part of səbíw ‘inside’ and the -aqw with the suffix for ‘head’. But səbíw is itself the resultative of the root naw- ‘enter’; its initial səb- is meaningless.) The name is more likely Halkomelem in origin.

48. Ms s̕ə*uyus or  
  Sq s̕ə*uyus(B),  
  Kits Beach  
  s̕ə*uyus (R),  
  s̕ə*uyus (DC), s̕ə*uyus (AJ),  
  "Sk-wai'us" (HT), "Skwa-yooos" (M)  

The sources offer no translation. The root may be s̕ə* ‘burn, scorch’ in both Sq and Ms with Sq suffix -us ‘face’ (which is -os or -us in Hal). Matthews indicates the site was on Kitsilano Beach at the foot of Yew Street. His Sq sources remembered a logging operation above it. ‘Burned face’ could refer to the hillside after the logging. But if Rozen’s transcription of the Ms name is correct, it could be composed of s̕ə* ‘disabled’ and the suffix -əws ‘body’.
49. Ms ḡamדmals (JP, R)  
Sq ḡamדmals (K), a creek at Bayswater ḡamדmals (DC), "Sim-sah-mals" (M) Street

The Ms name means 'grindstone'. The unreduplicated form ḡamals means 'file' (the modern steel tool), but the root is otherwise not attested. The suffix is probably the -als 'activity' suffix that appears with the progressive forms of verbs in terms for several tools and utensils (e.g., ḡlalals 'wreinger on a washing machine', from ḡlal 'squeeze it') or possibly -als 'rock'. The Sq name also means 'grindstone'. The root does not appear in Kuipers's lexicon; nor does his final-ale, which may be an error for -als (Kuipers 1967:39). A suffix -als of unclear meaning appears in a few Sq words; the Sq suffix for 'rock' is -uys. Probably of Hal origin.

50. Ms ______  
Sq ḡapapayam (B)

The Sq name may be a diminutive plural of 'red cedar' (cf. ḡapapay 'young cedar') with the suffix -am common in place names in both Sq and Ms. The Ms for 'red cedar' is ḡpēy. A similar Ms name is not impossible but has not been recorded.

51. Ms ______  
Sq ḡiy'amox (B) Jericho Beach East

The Sq name appears to be the diminutive form of No. 52. Probably Hal (see 52).

52. Ms ḡy'amox or  
Sq ḡy'amox (K), Jericho Beach ḡy'amox (AC, JP, R) ḡy'amuk (DC), ḡy'amux (AJ), "la'nuq" (HT), "Eyalmu" (M)

The Ms may mean 'good place', from ḡy- 'good', or ḡiy- 'good' with the connective-al- plus the suffix -mox 'earth, people' (which may also appear as -omox), or it may mean 'good spring' from the suffix -omox 'breast, milk, spring'. Andy Paull (Sq) identified no. 8, the diminutive of this, as 'good camping ground'. Sq has a combining form ḡy- or ḡy- 'good', a suffix mix or -mox 'earth, people', and a suffix -ayamix 'breast', but Kuipers gives no translation of the Sq name. August Jack (Sq) said the name of the place means 'good', "but it may be in the Musqueam language not Squamish." Because of the -i- in the connective, the name is probably Hal.

Ms sources AC and JP identified the name as 'Jericho'. Matthews or his sources identify the place as a "former park like Indian camping ground, west of [No. 51], approximately the western end of Jericho Beach, and at the foot of Imperial street." The Northern Straits version of the name refers to a place on San Juan Island that was a park-like prairie and also the site of a good spring.

53. Ms ḡqayapalp,  
Sq ḡqayapalp (B), a creek at Spanish ḡqayapalp (R) koqaypalp (DC), "Ko-koh-pai" (M) Banks

Both Ms and Sq names mean 'crabapple tree'. (My transcription of the name DC gave no doubt represents what appears above it.)

54. Ms p̄ȧq'scan,  
Sq ḡak'ca (B) a sand bar p̄ȧq'scan (R) "Pookcha" (M)

The Ms name was identified by Andy Paul (Sq) as meaning 'a back (as of a whale) floating up above the surface' and identified by several Squamish as referring to a high sand bar that appears at low tide at the western end of Spanish Banks (Matthews 1955:394). If the translation is correct, the root must be Sq ḡok* 'float' and -c- 'back' (but why -c-?). Rozen wrote, "Musqueam information is imprecise and uncertain to date," which suggests that he was not sure he had recorded a genuine name for the same place. I recorded p̄ȧq'scan as a Ms word (not as a place name) meaning 'sand on the beach' (literally 'broken surface' from p̄aq* 'be broken' and -scan 'back, surface') and "p̄pāq'scan" (no doubt an error for p̄pāq'scan, the diminutive of p̄q'scan) as the name of a place within the Musqueam village.

55. Ms ______  
Sq "Qapqapetl (HT)

Hill-Tout gives this as a Sq name identified as "place of cedar (Point Grey)." In linguistic orthography it is probably ḡapapayp̄alp. The name has the Sq reduplication seen in the plural of 'cedar' (cf. Nos. 25 and 50), but it has the Hal suffix -ap 'tree, plant'. (The Ms for 'cedar tree' is ḡap̄'ap̄.) The name may be a Sq adaptation of a Hal name.

56. Ms ḡak̄atam (JP)  
Sq ḡak̄atam (B), a rock ḡak̄atam (R) "Tie'atun" (HT), "Tsa-atsun" (M)

James Point (Ms) identified the Ms as 'shivering': it is the progressive form of ḡatam 'feel cold'. Frank Charlie (Ms) and Andy Paul (Sq) translated the name 'cool place'. The Sq equivalent term is ḡetun (Kuipers 1967:280). The Sq place name, with the Ms vowels, must be a loan from Ms.

Identified by JP as a rock of white granite below UBC; an old lady was crying here [presumably when the Transformer came and transformed her]. Identified by Tim Moody (Sq) as a little ravine with a spring directly below the B. C. Tel cable hut (Matthews 1955:395)

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57. Ms ãéwam (JP)  

The Ms is 'howling', probably correctly ãéwam the progressive form of ãéwam 'howl'. The place was identified by JP as a rock that was a dog going to bite the Transformer.

58. Ms *kcaliqt* (AC), Sq *ékcalihtq* (B), rock at Point Grey, *kcaliqt* (JP), *ékcaliqt* (R)  

"Chin-chul-sy-ul" (M)

Judging from the order in which it appears in Hill-Tout's list and as given by AC, this place may be south of Point Grey. AC identified the name as that of a rock seen at low tide where people would poke the bottom and sing, "a' s to bring the west wind. JP identified the name as 'Point Grey', saying that the name implies that the point is stormy, always rough.

August Jack (Sq) identified this as a man who had intended to blow away "the great man" (presumably the Transformer, called *ká* in Hal, *káys* in Sq) but was instead transformed into a rock, the biggest on the shore at Point Grey (Matthews 1955:394).

59. Ms *uíqson* (AC)  

Sq *uíqson* (K), Point Grey  

*uíqson* (DC), "Ul'ks'n" (HT), "Ulksen" (M)

The Ms name is the ordinary Hal for 'point', *s*uíqson without the noun-forming prefix *s*, which is lost under some conditions (cf. Nos. 18 and 33). The Sq word for 'point' is *s*uíqson. The Sq must be a loan from Hal (Kuipers 1967:388).

Tim Moody (Sq) indicated the name applied to the whole peninsula from Point Grey eastward to False Creek (Matthews 1955:390).

Conclusions

Of the total 59 place names recorded at some time by someone, 23 were known to one or more of the Musqueam people interviewed, while one or more of the the Squamish knew all but one (No. 57). This difference is to be expected as a reflection of the greater Squamish use of Burrard Inlet in recent generations. (To some extent it may also reflect different eliciting methods used by different researchers. Ideally the data used in this kind of study ought to be collected by the same researcher.)

The question of recent and present knowledge of the names is, however, different from the question of origins. A Squamish person may know names that are not known to any Musqueam today but which go back to a Halkomelem origin. Because the question is whether the names reflect a replacement of Halkomelem speakers by Squamish speakers in Burrard Inlet, we must look at the Squamish names, that is, names used by the Squamish and ask whether there are any that we can show to be of Halkomelem origin.

Upon examining each of the 58 Squamish names, I have found that two (29 and 59) are clearly of Halkomelem origin and 18 (2, 3, 6, 13, 15, 20, 30, 39, 40, 41, 42, 47, 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, and 58) have features that cannot be fully accounted for as Squamish and that suggest a probable Halkomelem origin. This gives a total of 20 names--a little over a third of the 58.

The sites given names that may be of Halkomelem origin are not distributed randomly (see Map I). They include some of the more important village sites and resource sites. These include four streams on the north shore: Cypress Creek (3), Capilano River (6), Lynn Creek (13), and Seymour Creek (15) as well as Indian River (20), three of which (Capilano River and Lynn and Seymour creeks) were important village sites. They also include Second Beach (40), English Bay (41), the site of the Kitsilano Reserve (47), the creek at Bayswater Street (49), and Jericho (52), all of which were important resource sites and at least one of which (Jericho) was a major village site. Finally, they include three sites near Point Grey (55, 57, and 57) and Point Grey itself (59), in an important resource area. (Perhaps these last four names should have been removed from consideration because they are so near the principal Musqueam village, but Squamish people did use the area.)

Another major village site, Lumberman’s Arch (33) belongs to another set of names. These are the 11 Squamish names for which Musqueam equivalents were recorded (7, 21, 25, 27, 31, 33, 48, 49, 53, and 54). Some of these, like 33 (Ms *k’ayl’ay*, Sq *k’ayl’ay*), are so nearly identical in form that we might say they are the same name spoken with different accents. Others, like 37 (Ms *kám’šámphát*, Sq *kám’šámphát* 'bigleaf maple trees'), differ only in features (here the suffix) appropriate to the language. Such names could easily be adaptations from one language into the other. If this did happen, on a linguistic basis there is no way of knowing the direction of the borrowing. But the degree that other evidence suggests that Squamish people did indeed move into places that had been occupied by Halkomelem speakers, then it is reasonable to suppose that
Squamish borrowed from Halkomelem. The same is true of 10 or so more of the Squamish names (1, 5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 32, 35, 50, and perhaps 26, 27, and 38), the roots and affixes of which have Musqueam (Halkomelem) equivalents that would make for very similar forms.

The Lumberman's Arch site illustrates the point. Both the Musqueam and Squamish have a tradition that a sxwayxwey mask was obtained at this site. Historically, the sxwayxwey performance may have originated among the Halkomelem-speaking tribes. If so, this would provide ethnographic, though not linguistic, reasons for identifying the name as of Halkomelem origin.

Another ten Squamish names (8, 10, 19, 22, 23, 24, 34, 44, 45, and 46) are formed of Squamish elements (roots, suffixes, or both) that I cannot match with Halkomelem forms, and five (4, 9, 16, 36, and 37) are formed with elements that, at this time, cannot be identified as either Squamish or Halkomelem.

I conclude that Squamish place names on Burrard Inlet do provide evidence of an earlier Halkomelem presence.

As a test of this conclusion, I have considered the rest of the Sq names recorded by Kuipers. He introduces his list of Sq place-names (1969:32-38) with the statement that Burrard Inlet was former Hal territory and adds that names of Hal origin are found elsewhere in Sq territory. These too are not randomly distributed (see Map 2).

Kuipers lists three that cannot be questioned: his No. 67, ɬiqʷəs̓əyə (from ɬiqʷəs̓əm 'spruce' in Hal), a place near Gibson's Landing; No. 68, stələq̓əs (wolves' in Hal), another place near Gibson's; and No. 116, ʔələltsəm (from Hal ələltəsq 'seagull' cf. Sq ələltəq), Seagull Island. Another that seems certain to me is his No. 64, kʷələq̓əm ('little stockade' in Hal; cf. Hal kʷələq̓əm, Sq kʷələm 'fence', 'fort'), Port Mellon. These four are names of places within the outer (southern) part of Howe Sound and suggest that they were once occupied by Halkomelem speakers.

Kuipers lists five more names of places outside Burrard Inlet (his Nos. 80, 82, 120, 1, and 50) that he suggests may be of Halkomelem origin, the first three also for places in the outer part of Howe Sound. But I do not find the possibility strong enough to justify including them. I have checked through the rest of Kuipers's Squamish names for places outside of Burrard Inlet, and I have found only one seems possibly Halkomelem. This is his 52 skʷəl̓əm, LR. 22 at the mouth of the Squamish River. I cannot identify the root, but the suffix is a common Halkomelem one. The absence, otherwise, in the traditional Squamish homeland of names that by my reckoning seem of Halkomelem origin tends to support the priority of Halkomelem on Burrard Inlet and on parts of Howe Sound as well.

Footnotes

1 This statement is based on an analysis of Lekwiltok names that I recorded from Billy Assu and on work by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy with Comox speakers.
2 I am using "Burrard Inlet" to include all the waters east of a line drawn between Point Atkinson and Point Grey. (On some maps the name appears to refer to the waters east of the First Narrows only.)
3 Under the heading "The evidence of toponymy," Bynon (1977:273-274) writes in part...
   "...place names can be an important source of information regarding the people who have inhabited an area. This is the result of two main facts. The first of these is that the names attached to localities tend to be extremely persistent and to resist replacement even when the language spoken in the area is itself replaced...
   The second fact is that when a new name is given to a place it is naturally structured according to the synchronic rules of the language spoken by the persons who coined it. As a result, if a place-name is analysable in terms of the rules of a specific language state, this can be taken as a safe indication that persons speaking that language inhabited the region at the time when the rules were productive. By therefore dividing up the total corpus of place-names of a region into groups and attributing each of these to a specific language state, the historical linguist can to a large extent reconstruct the history of the region in terms of the languages spoken by its inhabitants."
4 It has long been supposed that the native name for Burrard Inlet was "Sasarnat." This supposition is based on a statement in the account of the Spanish exploration of 1793 by Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayento Valdés in the ships Sutil and Mexicana published in Spain in 1802, a translation of which appears in Wagner (1933:228-299). The passage in the translation (p. 265) reads "The North Arm [Indian Arm] of the channel [Burrard Inlet] which we called "Floridanblanca," and the natives name "Sasarnat," ends in a river..."
   The name "Canal de Sasarnat" also appears on a chart drawn after the voyage. However, Kendrick (1991: 24-33) discovered good reasons to infer that the 1802 publication was put together after the voyage and "contains distortions." He has discovered and translated what he identifies as the "definitive" account of the voyage. In this account, statements and whole paragraphs that appear in the 1802 publication are missing. These include the statement quoted above containing the name "Sasarnat." However, this name does appear in a vocabulary that the explorers collected at Neah Bay in a short list of place names (not reproduced in Kendrick, but in Wagner, pp. 243-44.). Some of these names are clearly those of Native groups, among them "Chlayamat" for "Puerto de Quadra" (Port
Discovery). This must be the Clallam nax’s ƛ̓ayx̣ “Clallam” plus the Makah suffix -atkt ‘people’. Several other names end with -at, -it, or -et, including "Quinicamet" for "Puerto de Nunez Gaona" (Neah Bay), probably an attempt to represent the Makah self designation kwidičcaʔ, it. It seems very likely, therefore, that “Sasamat” was a Makah name for some group to the east. In the list the name is identified as that of “Boca de Floridablanca,” which, at the time the expedition was at Neah Bay, referred to a bay that was believed to exist between Point Roberts and Point Grey, actually the delta of the Fraser River. If the Spaniards and Makah were communicating well, the Makah name recorded may have been that of the people of the Fraser River. At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that it was a Coast Salish name for Burrart Inlet.

5 Kuipers suggests that No. 80, ḥ̓qatsq̓an (‘wide point’), Long Point on the eastern shore of Howe Sound, is more likely from Hal ḥqats ‘wide’ than Sq ḥqats ‘wide’ (the suffix -qatsan ‘nose’ being the same in both languages), because of the vowel a. I have not recorded ‘wide nose’ in Hal, but with other lexical suffixes the stress pattern is not as in this name. He suggests that No. 82, q̕aʔcetan, has Hal q̕aʔl ‘bad’ instead of Sq q̕aʔl, but I cannot identify the rest of the name. And he suggests that No. 120, w̌aw̌q̓ʷ-w̌aw̌q̓ʷ, Woolridge Island (which sometimes appears to move), is from Hal because of the vowel a, which would correspond to Sq u in w̌aw̌q̓ʷ ‘go downstream’. But the Hal is w̌aw̌q̓ʷ ‘move downstream’ (progressive ȟw̌q̓ʷ, plural waw̌q̓ʷ-waw̌q̓ʷ); I have recorded no form like that of the place name. Kuipers lists three more, 1, 50, and 128 (which is my No. 44) with the suffix -aʔx̣, which he suggests may be the Sq -uʔx̣ ‘rock’ with a Hal vowel, but .

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Map 1b. Burrard Inlet, Eastern portion. Names of probable Halkomelem origin circled.

Map 1a. Burrard Inlet, Western portion. Names of probable Halkomelem origin circled.

MAP OF THE SQUAMISH AREA