Some Questions about Northern Straits

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The purpose of this paper is to correct some statements made about Straits, to raise some questions about two of the dialects of the language now known as Northern Straits, and to emphasize the need for as full information as possible on our sources. But first let me say something about the name "Straits" and the early recognition of Straits as a linguistic entity.

1 The Name "Straits"

In the summer of 1946 I began work, under the direction of Erna Gunther, on the ethnography of the peoples whose territories had included the San Juan Islands. Talking with people on San Juan Island led me to the Saanich and Songhees reserves on Vancouver Island and the Lummi and Swinomish reservations on the mainland, and I learned that the Saanich, Songhees, Lummi, and Samish had all once occupied parts of the islands and that they and the Semiahmoo, the Sooke, and the Becher Bay Clallam used the same major fishing technique, the reef net, and that they spoke what seemed to be the same language.

In 1951 as I wrote up my material for my dissertation, I felt it would better not to go on referring to the language by the Native name or an anglicization of the Native name (of which more in a moment). And so with encouragement from Bill Elmendorf, I decided to call it "Straits." It had been my intention to write simply "Straits," like "Lakes" in the Interior. But when I first used the term I wrote "Straits Salish," and this seems to have stuck. Both Elmendorf and I had been told by Native people that Clallam and Lummi, Songhees, etc. were mutually intelligible. Believing this was so, I included Clallam within "Straits." More recently, work by Larry and Terry Thompson and Timothy Montler, among others, indicates that Clallam and the northern dialects are not (or are no longer?) mutually intelligible and it is best to consider them two languages.

2 The Early Recognition of Straits as a Linguistic Unit

In a paper presented at the 31st Salish Conference (in Vancouver in 1996) Tim Montler said that Charles Hill-Tout, in his 1907 report on the Songhees, was "the first to lump all of Straits Salishan together as one language." But Hill-Tout was not the first.

The recognition of Straits as a linguistic unit may in fact go back to the early years of European occupation. In 1854, W. C. Grant, the first colonist permitted by the Hudson's Bay Company to settle on Vancouver Island, wrote a general description of the island (Grant 1857). In it he stated that four "distinct languages" were spoken on the island, each "divided into a variety of dialects." These were, to use modern spellings: Kwakiutl, from Cape Scott to Johnstone Strait; Cowichan, from Johnstone Strait to Saanich

Inlet; Clallam, from Saanich to Sooke; and Makaw, from Pachina to Clayoqot.

I suspect that this usage of "Clallam" (spelled variously) for the entity now called "Straits" was current among Hudson's Bay Company people. Paul Kane, the Canadian artist who visited Fort Victoria in 1847 referred to all of the Natives of the surrounding region as "Clallams." There was indeed a Clallam settlement near the fort at that time, and Kane sketched it. But it is clear from his notes regarding his sketches that he was aware that some of his subjects were Songhees and some Saanich. He even identified as "Clallam" the headman *čəyéɬəq*, called "Fraser" or "King Freezie," regarded by the company as the Songhees head chief (Harper 1971:306, IV552, 553, 554, 566). I have this man in Songhees and in Lummi genealogy as Songhees.

At any rate, the first linguist to lump all dialects of Straits into one unit was Franz Boas. In his earliest major work, *The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl*, published in 1897, Boas listed (1897:320-321) all of the Salish languages on the coast from Bella Coola to Tillamook, and of the "Lku´ngEn on the southeastern part of Vancouver Island," he wrote: "This dialect is nearly identical with the S'a´mic, SEmia´mo, Xlu´mi, and La´lam, the last of which is spoken south of Fuca Strait, while the others are spoken east of the Gulf of Georgia." What he meant by "dialect" is clear from one of his earliest papers. In 1887, after his first trip to British Columbia, Boas published in a German geographical journal, an article, with an excellent map, on tribal distribution in the province from the Bella Coola south. He listed all of the Coast Salish of British Columbia under the name "Cowichan," indicating that this was the proper name of Skinner Bluffs on Cowichan Bay. This "language group," he said (1887:130) was composed of a number of mutually unintelligible "dialects," but "since the elements of grammar and the roots of the greater number of words are common to all, they must then be designated as one language [translation mine]." In his tabulation of these "dialects" (pp. 131-133) he listed Comox, Sechelt, Pentlatch, Squamish, Cowichan, and Lqúngen (that is, Songhees), and under the last he distinguished Saanich, Lqúngen (that is, Songhees proper), Sooke, Clallam, which he said was "closely related to Lqúngen," and Semiahmoo. Presumably he did not mention Lummi and Samish here simply because they were not in British Columbia. And in another earlier paper, his report on the Songhees for the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Boas (1891:563) wrote: "Their language is called Lkuñge´nEn. The same language, with very slight dialectic peculiarities, is spoken by the Qsá nitc (Sanitch) of Sanitch Peninsula and on the mainland south of Fraser River; the Sa´ok of Sooke Inlet, and the Tla´lam on the south side of Juan de Fuca Straits."

3 The Name *lək̓ʷəŋínəŋ*

Boas did not make it clear whether the language was called "Lkunge´nEn by the Songhees only or by all its speakers. However, Hill-Tout (1907:306) was explicit:

"The LEkúñEn, together with the cognate tribes of the Saanich, the Clallam, and the Sooke, form a division apart from the rest of the Salish of

British Columbia, and belong rather to that portion of the Stock whose habitat lies immediately to the south of the International Boundary; and just as the various Cowichin tribes speak of themselves collectively as the HalkomélEm, or 'speakers of the same language,' so do the tribes of this division call themselves by the term LEkoñénEñ, which means the same thing."

In his 1996 paper, Montler asserted that Hill-Tout was wrong; the term *lək̓ʷəŋínəŋ* applied to the speech of the *lək̓ʷə́ŋən* only and not to all dialects. However, in 1947, my principal Samish source, Charley Edwards, identified (25/9/47) the language spoken by the Samish, Lummi, Saanich, and Songhees as *lək̓ʷəŋínəŋ*. Clallam, he said, was not *lək̓ʷəŋínəŋ* but was intelligible. Patrick George, a Lummi, identified (20/2/48) the language he spoke as *lək̓ʷəŋínəŋ*. Tommy Bobb, who identified himself as Samish, also used (24/11/49) the term. (Others may also have done so; these are the three I find in my early field notes.) I do not have such a statement from Saanich or Sooke sources, but I see no reason to expect otherwise. Montler himself says that the Clallam refer to both Songhees and Saanich dialects as *yək̓ʷəŋínəŋ*. I have no doubt the term refers to Northern Straits.

Hill-Tout was also correct in pointing to the parallel with the usage of "Halkomelem." Both terms are based on the name of a local group, perhaps originally a place name. "Halkomelem" is said to be from *ləq̓éməl* (Nicomen) on the Fraser, and it appears to be a progressive form meaning something like 'be Nicomening', i.e. 'be speaking like Nicomen' (see my forthcoming grammar of Musqueam). And, of course, *lək̓ʷəŋínəŋ* is derived from *lək̓ʷə́ŋən* with cognate suffixes, though apparently not a progressive form. Moreover, the speech of different Halkomelem-speaking groups can be designated with the lexical suffix *-qən* 'throat', e. g., the speech of the Musqueam (*xʷməθkʷəyəm*) is *xʷməθkʷəyəmqən*. Likewise the dialects of Northern Straits can be designated with the suffix *-ásən, -áθən* 'mouth', e. g., the speech of the Lummi (*xʷlə́məy*) is *xʷləməčásən* and that of the Saanich (*sénəč*) is *sənčáθən*.

4 Some Questions about Dialects

Northern Straits is or recently was spoken by six groups, the Sooke, Songhees, Saanich, Semiahmoo, Lummi, and Samish that have been given a kind of "tribal" status in both official and anthropological views. And it has been generally assumed that there were six dialects of Northern Straits. But as Montler shows with data from "the Samishes," this is a questionable assumption. In section 5 I will present my view of the Samish question and in 6 I will raise a question about Sooke.

5 "The Problem of the Samishes"

The Samish are the southeasternmost Northern Straits group. They have been confused with a Lushootseed-speaking group, the Nuwhaha, also known as the "Upper Samish" or "Stick Samish." Like other groups in the region the Samish were greatly reduced in numbers by epidemics and raids. In the early 19th century there were two major Samish villages, on Samish and Guemes Islands. Some time after mid-century the remaining Guemes families joined the others on Samish Island. According to the treaty signed

in 1855, the Samish were to move onto the Lummi Reservation, but many refused to do so. Around 1875, because of White pressure, the people of the Samish Island village abandoned it, most of them settling in a new village on homesteaded land on Guemes. This village was occupied until early in the 20th century, when the land was sold and the people moved to the Swinomish Reservation or elsewhere.

What Montler (1996:253-254) quite properly calls "the problem of the Samishes" is that we have material from four alleged speakers of the Samish dialect, and these show considerable differences. He labels these $Sm_{?}$, Sm_{VU}, Sm_{LD}, and Sm_{TB}. The first consists of a few words I supplied. They were recorded from Charley Edwards and might better have been designated Sm_{CE}. The other three designate the "Samishes" of Victor Underwood, Lena Daniels, and Tommy Bobb. I will offer comments on each of these.

5.1 Charley Edwards

In 1947 and '48 I interviewed two people on the Swinomish Reservation, Charley Edwards and Annie Lyons, who were identified as the oldest Samish then living. Mr. Edwards was born about 1866, probably on Samish Island. His father was Samish, originally from the old village on Guemes, and his mother Swinomish. He was one of the founders of the new Guemes village, and he lived there until about the time it was abandoned. He later lived on the Swinomish Reservation. His first wife and the mother of his children was Lummi; his second wife was Upper Skagit. Mr. Edwards spoke fair English, he probably usually spoke Lushootseed at Swinomish, and he must have known Lummi as well.

In the course of my ethnographic work with Mr. Edwards I recorded some 220 Samish words as pronounced by him, mostly "culture" terms rather than basic vocabulary, and many recorded imperfectly (see Appendix 1). I also recorded some 45 place names. It is pretty clear from my field notes (and my memory) that his Samish was rusty. He had forgotten some of the terms for body parts. In giving terms for kin and life statuses, twice he gave a term and then corrected himself, identifying it as the Lummi term, and then giving the proper Samish term. In at least one session, probably at my request, he gave Lushootseed as well as Samish terms.

It was my impression that Charley Edwards was the last speaker of the Samish dialect. My other Samish source, Mrs. Annie Lyons, ordinarily spoke Lushootseed and apologized that she had forgotten "her own language." Mr. Edwards's son Alfred spoke Lushootseed, and when I first raised the matter of language with him, he seemed unaware that Samish was a different language. I knew that Mr. Edwards's nephew Tommy Bobb spoke Straits but I was told that it was Saanich (see below).

A conspicuous feature of Mr. Edwards's Samish is that, like Clallam, it generally has *c* where other dialects of Northern Straits have *s* (or *θ* in some Saanich words) as the reflex of Proto-Salish **k* (as in *cǽləs* 'hand', cf Songhees séləs; *s?ɔ́c* [*s?ɔ́cs?*] 'face', cf. Sg s?ásəs; *?íŋəc* 'grandchild', cf Sg ?íŋəs; cǽčc 'parent's sibling' cf. Sg séčs; but contrast *č* in *čɔ́cən* 'mouth', cf. Sg sásən).

One exception was the 1st person subject particle, which occurred in two short sentences in which I recorded *sən*. This could have been a mistake on my part, but I certainly had no trouble hearing the difference between *s* and *c*. It is also possible that Mr. Edwards had simply slipped into Lummi. (In Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat 1978:185 I am credited with giving the Samish as *cen*; this must have been my error.)

In one word, that for 'sockeye', I recorded a dental *s*, not exactly a *θ* but something close to it. Mr. Edwards's low vowels were similar to those of Lummi, generally *æ* and *ɔ*. And occasionally I recorded a *g* following or in place of a *ŋ*.

It is possible that Mr. Edwards's Samish was influenced by other languages. At the new Guemes village Mr. Edwards would have heard several. In 1948 he identified the people who lived there when he was young as he remembered it. This memory census totaled 55 persons, of which only 18 were Samish, two were Lummi, one was Saanich, and one Songhees, totaling 22 speakers of Northern Straits. Three persons spoke Clallam, 16 spoke Lushootseed, and three spoke Halkomelem. He did not remember the origins of 11 persons, but it is likely that several spoke Northern Straits or Clallam (Suttles 1951:284). The 1881 U. S. census of this village corresponds fairly well to Mr. Edwards's memory census. (I will discuss this elsewhere as an example of the reliability of "oral tradition.") There were also temporary residents and guests for ceremonial occasions. Because the village was not on a reservation, its people were freer from the interference of officials and missionaries, and it was a center for winter ceremonial activities. Also, during the summer reef-netting season, the Samish location owners often engage crew members from other tribes speaking other languages. Both of these activities required some familiarity with several languages.

5. The Vancouver Island Samish

In 1983, Ken Hansen, the chairman of the Samish Tribe, sought the services of a linguist to do research on the speech of Victor Underwood of the Tsawout (East Saanich) Reserve on Vancouver Island, who reportedly spoke Samish. In 1984 Brent Galloway began research with Mr. Underwood and soon discovered that his aunt, Lena Daniels of the Malahat Reserve, also spoke what was identified as Samish. The result of this work was a monograph (Galloway 1990). In contrast to Charley Edwards, both Victor Underwood and Lena Daniels used the usual Northern Straits *s* as the reflex of **k*, hence one of the "problems of the Samishes."

Victor Underwood was born about 1914 on Orcas Island, where he was raised by his grandparents David Tom and Cecilia Sam Tom. He was said to have learned Samish from his grandfather and Saanich from his grandmother. He moved to Anacortes about 1928 and then to East Saanich about 1930, where he married Ethel, a Cowichan speaker (Galloway 1990:vii). Lena Daniels was born about 1912-14, at Malahat. Her father was Harry Steel (1858-1949) a Cowichan speaker, and her mother was Cecilia Tom Steel (1866-1949), sister of David Tom (1850/56-1940), said to be fluent in Samish (Galloway 1990:viii. See also Galloway 1992).

From my own research I can add to this genealogy. David Tom and his sister Cecilia were the children of Boston Tom, who was the son of "King Jack," a Lummi who lived at The Portage on the Lummi Reservation and was said to have potlatched along with Chowitsoot and others in the 1850s. Boston Tom's mother was Samish, the sister of a Samish man who settled on the Lummi Reservation, and relative of the Edwards family. Boston Tom must have settled on Orcas Island some time before 1881, because he is listed in the Tenth Census of the United States as a Lummi residing there. His wife is listed as "Hul-wha-lis" or Monica. I don't know what her origin was. Conceivably it was Samish, but no one has mentioned this.

Thus it appears that Lena and Victor (unless Boston Tom's wife was Samish) were three generations removed from their Samish ancestor (actually four for Victor, but we should not count his parents' generation, as he was raised by grandparents). The Samish ancestor from whom the language came was Lena's grandmother (mother's father's mother) and Victor's great-grandmother (mother's father's father's mother). Probably over the years and generations this line had contact with other Samish speakers. Until the beginning of the twentieth century they may have stayed at times in the Samish village on Guemes, and after Cecilia married at Malahat she and her husband visited her brother on Orcas (judging from the statement of a White man who knew Boston Tom). But on Orcas Victor and Lena were closer to Lummi speakers, and on Vancouver Island to Saanich and Cowichan speakers. To maintain Samish as the language of the home, Boston Tom must have spoken his mother's Samish rather than his father's Lummi, and his children David and Cecilia must have spoken his (Boston Tom's) rather than their mother's dialect or language. And they must have retained Samish in the midst of another dialect (Saanich) and another language (Halkomelem). Under these conditions, it seems unlikely that Samish would have been preserved without modification.

After Galloway's work, Montler was also able to work with Victor Underwood and Lena Daniels. His judgement of Mr. Underwood's speech is that "he was basically speaking Saanich, but making a few inconsistent dialect adjustments." Mrs. Daniels, he determined, was certainly not speaking Saanich.

Two other matters should be considered in evaluating the claim that Victor and Lena spoke Samish. First, there was a strong political motive to have it so. At the time that the Samish tribe asked Brent Galloway to work with Victor, they were engaged in a legal struggle for recognition and they were eager to expand their enrollment and add members from Vancouver Island. Demonstrating that there were still speakers of Samish there seemed important to their case. In his report on Samish, Galloway says that when I heard Victor and Lena's speech I "confirmed that it sounded like the true Samish" that I had heard years before. But Galloway must have misunderstood me. Their speech was not the same. I was acutely aware of the political nature of the situation, having already done work for the tribe, and so I probably tried to make some non-committal statement.

Second, I am not sure that Lena ever claimed to speak Samish. Montler reported that she said what she spoke was *ləkʼʷəŋínəŋ*, which was

quite right but not the same as saying she spoke Samish. Furthermore, several years ago she visited Lummi, and when a Lummi friend of mine asked her what language she spoke, she said it was Lummi, which was why she was there to look up Lummi relatives. Identifying oneself as of one tribe in one context and as of another tribe in another context is perfectly consistent with the nature of Coast Salish social organization. You may have inherited a different tribal identity from each of your four grandparents. But I am not aware of instances of a person identifying his language as one thing in one context and another in different context.

5.3 Tommy Bobb

During the late 1940s and after, I also talked at one time or another with Tommy Bobb, who was the son of Mr. Edwards's older brother and a Saanich mother. He too had lived in the new Guemes village and later on the Swinomish Reservation. I don't know the identity of his first wife; his second wife was Nuwhaha. He spoke good English and probably Lushootseed. I heard him, a number of times, give a speech in Northern Straits in the smokehouse. He did this at the beginning of a winter dance when he brought out his "skwedilich" boards to purify the house. ("Skwedilich," from Lussootseed, was the usual English for the power that animates the boards. Diamond Jenness identified the Saanich cognate *skʷəníləč* as the name of a "fish spirit.") Although I did not understand much of the speech, I had the impression that it was pretty much the same each time. The statement "*nəskʷé nəčiléŋən, nəskʷé nəsiʔém̓*" ('This is my heritage/inherited privilege; this is my master') seemed always repeated, referring to the "power" that animated the boards. I was told that what he spoke was not Samish, but Saanich, his mother's language. His use of *θ* and *tᶿ* would suggest this to any listener, but this does not mean his speech was mainly Saanich. At Lummi I was told that the daughter of a Lummi friend spoke Saanich "like her mother." But this lady had lived for a long time with her father off the reservation. She had no interdentals in her speech, and I suspect the statement was simply a typical put-down implying the person making it was a more genuine Lummi. Tommy Bobb's recorded speech, which I have not heard, might be compared for vocabulary to his uncle's words given in Appendix 1.

6. Sooke

The Sooke are the westernmost Northern Straits people. At least since the 1850s they have occupied the area around Sooke Harbour, separated from the Songhees by an enclave of Clallam at Becher Bay. In May of 1949 I visited Sooke and talked briefly with Francis Lazar and interviewed Mrs. Mary George, with her niece Mrs. Agnes George acting as interpreter, and in July of 1952 I returned to interview Mary George again. In May of 1949 I also interviewed Mr. Henry Charles at Becher Bay, and I talked with him again on three occasions during 1952 and '53 at Esquimalt. From these sources I got conflicting traditions about Sooke history. According to Mary George, about 1918 her family had dramatized at a potlatch a tradition of the origin of the Sooke at Sooke Harbour. But according to Mr. Charles, my Becher Bay Clallam source, the Sooke had

originally lived at Pedder Bay while another tribe called *skʷaʔáŋəs* had lived at Sooke Harbour, but not long before the Whites came the Sooke attacked this tribe and acquired the Sooke River. Both Mrs. George and Mr. Charles said that Becher Bay had been Sooke territory before the Clallam settled there, which was perhaps in the 1840s. According to Mr. Charles, the Clallam learned reef-netting from a Sooke-speaking group with whom they intermarried. (Around 1967 Mrs. George's youngest son gave roughly the same account I got from Henry Charles. Carrie George. p.c.)

In 1962-1966 the Sooke dialect was the subject of research by Barbara Efrat resulting in her PhD dissertation (Efrat 1969). Her principal source was Cecelia Joe (Mrs. Edward Joe) who was then living at Sooke. Additional information was provided by Josephine Hall, Mrs. Joe's cousin, and by Ida Planes. As she describes Sooke, it resembles Clallam in having *y* in place of the *l* of the other dialects of Northern Straits.

I was aware of this but hadn't though much about it until recently when I reviewed my Sooke notes. There I discovered a number of words, including place names, with *l*. (In Appendix 2 I give all the words that I recorded.) What do we make of this? Whose Sooke is the "real Sooke"? Or was there one "real Sooke"?

Mary George was born about 1860. Her father was Sooke and her mother Nitinaht. She married a man of Songhees and Sooke descent and lived for a time on the Songhees reserve on Discovery Island. According to her youngest son, after her husband was lost on the sealing schooner *Walter Earl* in 1895, she worked in canneries on the Fraser and at various jobs in Victoria before returning to Sooke. Her daughter-in-law Agnes George was a generation younger, and she too had a Sooke father and Nitinaht mother. Mary George was Agnes's great aunt on their Nitinaht side. The two spoke both Nitinaht and Northern Straits and gave me Nitinaht equivalents of Sooke terms including place names. Mary was the primary source of information, generally speaking in Nitinaht to Agnes, who interpreted and added information from her own experience.

We might suppose that because Mary George was married to a Songhees that she may have picked up Songhees, an *l*-dialect, and abandoned Sooke, a putative *y*-dialect. However, it does not seem likely, to me, that upon returning to Sooke she would have converted place names to her new *l*-dialect. Mrs. George also had a remarkable knowledge of Sooke history and culture, and it seems hard to imagine that it too was all converted into a new *l*-dialect.

I talked with Francis Lazar for no more than an hour at the most. I know that he was Sooke on his father's side for several generations, but I do not know anything about where he had lived and I do not know what his age was. The few words I recorded showed both consonants. I recorded one place name with an *l*; *ši·ŋolqʷɬ* ('bleeding point') Beechey Head, at the edge of Sooke territory, and one with a *y*, probably *x̌ʷə́yəŋ* Race Rock, a Clallam name in Becher Bay Clallam country. And I recorded one term with a *y*, *sx̌ʷó́ yə* 'reef net' (cf. Mary George's *sx̌ʷálə),* but he may have used the Clallam form because he was familiar with it as used by the Becher Bay Clallam.

Cecelia Joe, Efrat's principal source, was born in 1890 on Vashon Island in Puget Sound, she was brought up at Sooke. She was in fact Mary George's niece, her brother's daughter. She went to school at Kuper Island in Island Halkomelem country. After marrying she lived at Esquimalt. She spoke Clallam as well as Northern Straits. Efrat's other two sources had also spent much time of their adult lives away from Sooke (Efrat 1969:x). Is it possible that these people were speaking a Clallam-influenced Sooke?

Or was it simply that some Sooke used *y* and others *l*. Such a situation is not unknown. It is said that in the Halkomelem-speaking village of Musqueam at one time a part of the village used *n* in place of *l* (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:7), and even now some Musqueam people use *n* in some words where others used *l*. Families also differ in how they form the second- person possessive with s- 'nominalizer'. In 1850 there were three groups of Sooke. Perhaps they differed in speech.

7 Conclusions

If there is anything to conclude from this it is first that we ought to record and publish as much information as we can recover about the family connections and life histories of our sources. And second, we must consider the possibility that homogeneous dialects are rare or non-existent.

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Appendix 1. Samish Vocabulary

These words were recorded in the course of ethnographic work. At the insistence of Prof. Melville Jacobs, I used the Boas orthography (with c for š and tc for č). Here I have converted these symbols into the modern orthography, and I have converted instances of alpha to schwa. Otherwise I have left the spelling as written. This was early in my work, and there are numerous errors. For some words I have added, in square brackets, what I assume to be a more correct transcription.

Persons

person	ɬtǽ·ɬŋux^{w} [ɬté́ɬŋəx^{w}]
people [tribe?]	á·kmux^{w}
man, husband	swe?kə [swə́ýqə]
many men	ŋən su?we?kə
little boy	swé?ƛ̓a·ɬ
pl.	su?ue?ka·ɬ
woman	słǽni
many women	ŋən słənłǽni
little girl	słənəčə́·ɬ (no pl.)
child	k^{w}ə́qsi (or q^{w}ə́qsi?), sƛ̓é́ƛ̓qəƛ̓ [sƛ̓íƛ̓qəɬ]
children	k^{w}ələ?qsi, sƛ̓əlé·ƛ̓qəƛ̓
old person	ƛ̓əlélɪŋ [q̓əlíləŋ]
pl.	ƛ̓əlƛ̓əlé·lɪŋ
middle-aged person	č̓əlǽl i ƛ̓əlélɪŋ
'chief', rich person	siǽm
boss (as of reef net	?əčx^{w}siǽm
poor man	q̓oimət
slave	sk^{w}éyɪc [sƛ̓^{w}ə́yəc]
pl	sk^{w}k^{w}éyɪc

Body Parts

head	sq̓ʷɔ́ŋi
hair (of head)	siʔǽtən
ear	k̓ʷə́ləŋ
face, cheek	sʔɔ́c [sʔocs ?]
eye	k̓ə́ləŋ [q̓ə́ləŋ]
nose	ŋə́qsən
mouth	čɔ́·cən
tongue	téxʷɬc [təxʷcɬ ?]
teeth	čə́nəs
beard, moustache	kʷoyíncɪn
chin	(s)x̌cɔ́cən
throat	xʷɔ́ŋən
back of neck	tǽčsɪŋ
back	stǽ·ckʷɬ
chest	sʔíʔnəs
belly	k̓ʷə́lə
navel	mə́x̌ʷəyə
arm	t̓ǽlu
hand	cǽləs
left hand	c̓íkʷə
leg (hip to foot)	sx̌ə́n·ə
rump	x̌əwəq̓ʷ
anus	xʷq̓ǽ·ʔæŋən
penis	šílə
testicles	ŋǽcən
vulva	sə́wə

Kinship Terms

mother	tæn
father	mæn
daughter, son	ŋə́nə
older sibling	šéɪɬ
younger sibling	sǽ·ičən
parent's sibling	cǽčc
sibling's child	stíkʷən
my niece	sə słǽni nəstíkʷən
deceased parent's sibling	xʷqsəčǽɬ
deceased sibling's. child	sqʷəngíčx̌ [skʷənŋičɬ ?]
grandparent	séləʔ, sélə
grandchild	ʔíŋɪc [ʔíŋəc]
great grandparent, grt grandchild	c̓ɔ́ʔməqʷ
grt grt grandparent, grt grt grch	ʔáqʷiyəqʷ
wife	stɔ́ləs
spouse's parent	słǽ·ɬ
child's spouse	sčutǽ·ɬ
grandchild's spouse	nɪxʷču?ɪŋəc

grandparent'spouse	nɪxʷčusélə?
parent's sibling's spouse	nɪxʷčucæčc
sibling-in-law of opposite sex	sŋætxʷən
woman's sister-in-law	nɪxʷæləs [nəxʷ?éləs]
spouse's sibling's spouse	slnčílnəq
child's spouse's parent	sq̓ʷƍlwus
deceased relative's spouse, deceased spouse's relative	c̓æ·yə
to marry a	čæ·yə c̓ei·æŋ
deceased spouse's relative	čɪƛxʷƍ·ŋ [čəɬx̌ʷá·ŋ]
[no, probably child's spouse's relative after the death of one of the couple]	
to have two wives (as through the levirate	xʷc̓æ?sə [xʷčé?sə]
to take a brother or cousin's wife while he is still alive anticipating the levirate	
(a cause of trouble)	c̓é·lit
step-parent	šwƍqʷɬ, nəxʷsƍk̓ʷɬ [?]
step-child	sŋənǽ·ŋ
half-sibling, same father	čɬmǽn
half-sibling, same mother	čɬtǽn

Animals

deer	smƍyɪc
elk	kʷá·wač
mountain goat	sx̌ʷéƛ̓i (cf Sw sx̌ʷéƛ̓ai)
wolf	stəqáyə
seal	æsxʷ
porpoise	qsiá (cf Sw qsiu)
orca	qəlɬálməčən
whale	qʷƍnəs
snake	sƍɬqə [s?ƍɬqə]
"alligator"	sénɪɬqi
dogfish	sk̓ʷá·c
sturgeon	skʷƍ?wəč
salmon	ščænuxʷ [ščénəxʷ]
chum ("dog") salmon	qʷɔləxʷ [k̓ʷáləxʷ]
chinook ("spring") salmon	ya·məč (cf Sw yubəč)
pink ("humpback") salmon	hanəṅ
coho ("silver") salmon	sq̓ƍcəqs
sockeye salmon	sƍqai (θƍqai?)
steelhead	qeiwəx̌ət ?
trout	čk̓ʷač, čkʷač
trout	kʷəspɬ
smelt	kʷəƛ̓s
herring	sɬƍ?əŋət
lingcod [probably]	a·it
red-snapper [prob.]	tƍqʷtəqʷ

tommycod [prob]	c̓au(n)
perch	x̌áaq̓ (c. Sw x̌oyuq̓)
sculpin ("bullhead")	skʷənáxʷ
flounder	p̓ə́wi
halibut	s?atx̌, scátx̌
salmon eggs	qə́ləx̌
salmon milt (?)	p̓ənæ (?) (cf Sw p̓ədæ?)
dried salmon (any sp)	sḵélə [sq̓ílə or sq̓íl̓ə]
split spring salmon	st̓əlɔ·m
dried spring salmon head	t̓á·ləs
salmon backbone	cəmáɬən [c̓əm̓áɬən ?]
salmon skin filled with roe	nəwá?ɪs (cf Sw dəwáyəs)
small beach crabs	kʷəkʷə́nəwə
octopus	sqémuqʷ
Plants	
kelp	q̓ʷɔ?ɔŋ
cattail	sc̓ǽ?qən
yew	x̌ɪŋq̓ałč
willow	sxʷəleɪɬč [sx̌ʷəleəɬč]
oceanspray	q̓æ·cɪɬč
wild cherry bark	skʷc̓əŋ
syringa? (used for combs)	c̓íŋɪbɪɬč
hogfennel (*Lomatum nudicaule*)	q̓x̌mín
camas	qʷɬɔ?ɔl
potato	sqǽwəc
Natural Features	
land	t̓əŋuxʷ [tə́ŋəxʷ]
rock, high island	sŋǽ·nt
pl.	sŋəlǽ·nt
dim.	sŋəŋə?ǽ·nt
dim. pl.	sŋələŋǽ·nt
sand (on beach)	pəkʷə́čən
river	stá?lo
pl.	stətá?lo
little river	x̌ux̌ stá?lo
bay	xʷnæčc, xʷnæčɪc
island	skʷca?
dim.	skʷkʷɔcə
dim. pl.	skʷələkʷɔ́·cə
salt water	x̌ɬɔ́lc, x̌əɬɔ́ɬɪc
water (fresh)	qʷa, qʷə
moon	ɬqalč
"west wind"	sc̓ís
"north wind"	sc̓áyəm
"south wind", "east wind"	sqǽŋət
"north northwest wind"	tənčɔ́luqʷ

It's cloudy	(ču)xʷnáʔwəs
It's raining	łəmuxʷ
cold and clear	c̓exʷuŋ
It's snowing.	čí·yəq
It's foggy.	spǽʔxʷəŋ
Technology	
house	ælәŋ
house plank	se·ltxʷ
house post	q̓ǽqən
wall (of house)	t̓ɔ́ŋən
bed platform	læ·ləwəsən
shelf over bed	hé?šən
bed mat	słǽ·wən
house mat	sɔ́·læč
overnight camp	xʷq̓ɔ́lɪŋ
mat house	sɔlæčáutxʷ
fort	x̌alax̌áu
wall of fort	sx̌əlǽ·s
stone maul	xʷk̓ʷeƛtən
elk antler wedge	čx̌æls
adz	šcc̓ɔ́mən
water bucket	xʷqʷɔ́ʔtən
cedar-limb rope	sténkʷən
canoe (common type)	snɔ́xʷəɬ
shovelnose canoe	x̌̓lai
Squamish-style canoe	stíwatɬ
West-coast style canoe	otqs
war canoe with broad bow	kʷiní·ɬ
thwart of canoe	tx̌ɔ́lwəɬtən
paddle	łəŋkʷá?sən
woman's paddle	čusɬæ̀ni łəŋkʷǽsən [čxʷsɬénəy]
man's paddle	čuswe?kə łəŋkʷásən [čxʷswɔ́y̓qə]
cedar-bark bailer	c̓æŋtən
cedar-limb canoe mat	x̌̓əŋəɬ
cattail canoe mat	sq̓qəs
blanket (native made)	swoq̓ʷəɬ
tump line	c̓əŋətən
netting needle	č̓ǽ·cən
bow	č̓ɔcəcən
short war spear, club	qʷetɬəm [?] [cf Sw qʷetɬəb]
overhead duck net	təqəm
underwater duck net	x̌̓pɔ́lyən
multi-pronged dusk spear	stéəxʷ
gill net for trout	kx̌̓čílyən
gill net (for salmon)	hayəq
drag seine	áx̌ʷəyən

stiletto for killing salmon	cqáč
basketry trap	qó·ləč
weir	stəqə́lə
gaff hook	ɬíḵʷən
herring rake	ƛə́təmən [ɬə́ṯəmən]
halibut hook	yə́wəs
seal-gut float	c̓sə́ʔ
reef net	sx̌ʷə́lo
mouth (lead?) of net	kʷɬéyəqsən
breast line	xʷqoičən
watchman (on reef net)	kʷəntáé
octopus spear, "pole"	sxʷə́qʷən [sx̌w..]
tatooing	x̌ix̌čɪŋ
abalone shell?	sx̌ə́wən

Ceremonial Life

give him/her a name	nǽt
wealth (money, blankets, canoes, guns)	auḵʷ [ʔewḵʷ]
wealth (term used at potlatch)	mə́st
potlatch	sx̌ǽ·nəq
potlatch house	x̌æ·nqautxʷ
feast, winter dance	sx̌ǽ·šən, qalqəb
bone game	slæhél
go on vision quest	(ie) qʷčə́ct
layman's vision power	séliə [sʔə́lyə]
shaman's tutelary	nuxʷnǽ·m [nəxʷné·m], xʷnǽ·m
shaman	tuxʷná·m [?]
spell words	siwín
"bad" [holy, taboo]	x̌áʔx̌a
the Transformer	x̌ǽ·ls
the secret society	x̌əx̌ənítəl
deer-hoof rattles	kučumín [kʷəčəmín]

Miscellaneous

one	nəc̓ə
two	čəsə
want [value]	sx̌i
possession, own	skʷæʔ
die	q̓ʷai
go	ie [ye]
good	ai [ʔəy̓ ʔ]
bad	sx̌æ·s
many	ŋən
big	heyí, hayí [həyí]
little	x̌ux̌
truly	čəqén
cook it	q̓ʷə́lət

dry it, smoke it ẋaċt
deaf əsq̓ʷlæ·n
blind ẋ̌ælıč
ənsẋ̌i kʷən siæ ə cə nə æ·ləŋ, ẋ̌æ·nəq sən
'I call you to go over to my house; I'm going to have a big potlatch.'
probably [nəsẋ̌í]
ié tɬ [ɬ] sə qʷelıŋ ə cə sčó?ŋəs.
'We'll go out through Deception Pass.'
čəqén sənú čæ·lıč.
'I'm blind.'
skʷǽ?s ŋə́nəs.
'It's his child.'
ia nu?ueliŋ cə čæ·yə.
'The springs are going in.' [using substitute for spring salmon]
ẋačt ti ščǽ·nuxʷ.
'Smoke the fish.'
kʷəl ẋáčıŋ cə ščǽ·nuxʷ.
'The salmon is dry now.'

Appendix 2. Sooke Vocabulary

The comes from two sources, Mr. Francis Lazar, whom I interviewed briefly on 24 May 1949, and from Mrs. Mary George and her daughter-in-law Mrs. Agnes George, whom I interviewed on 25 May 1949 and again on 3 and 4 July 1952. Mrs. Agnes George generally acted as interpreter for her mother-in-law. These two ladies generally conversed in Nitinat and gave the Nitinat equivalent of the Northern Straits terms. Words given by Mr. Lazar are marked (FL), those given by Mrs. George are unmarked. The *o* has the value [ɔ].

Place Names

sẋ̌ənẋ̌ə́nəp Jordan River (west of here are West Coast names) (FL)
[This name or its unreduplicated form is used elsewhere in Northern Straits and Halkomelem country and has been glossed 'homestead' , 'old home'. Its application to Jordan River suggests that it was once seen as an old Sooke village site.]

ċáy̓qšn Point No Point (Glacier Point) (FL)
kʷa?áxʷa ('little swells', cf. kʷáxʷkʷaxʷ 'splashing') (Nit. kʷa?úxʷa) "Coal Creek" [Kirby Creek?]
stčéŋən (Nit, tiá·ba) Muir Creek.
həm̓ósən ('no mouth') (Nit. bušaksusidɬ) Tugwell Creek
nəxʷsťáwəqʷəŋ ('feathers on the head') a rock (just beyond Otter Point?) with moss on it
ẋ̌éwəq ('rump') Otter Point (FL), ẋ̌éwəq a Rock just east of Otter Point, so called "because it looks just like one" (MG 49), ẋ̌éwəq Otter Point (MG 52)

təqáyə ('wolf') Otter Point (MG 49), stəqáyə a sandy beach between the army camp and Otter Point. It is a wolf mother and child, as told in a sx̌ʷəyém (MG 52)

səlósəŋ (Nit. ʔaʔɬadax̌tiʔis) Sooke Bay (MG 52). (This is the the "Syusung" or "sy yousung" of the Douglas treaty of 1850, but the treaty appears to identify it with Sooke Inlet. Henry Charles of Becher Bay gave it as səyósəŋ.)

sóʔokʷ Sooke I. R., Milne's Landing (FL), sáʔakʷ 'stickleback' (Nit. šuʔuktx̌ [probably the people]) Milne's Landing (MG 52)

kʷiʔíčən a falls up the Sooke River

kʷɬóʔoləŋ (< qʷɬóʔol 'camas') a mountain above Milne's Landing

qəltésəŋ ("< qəltés 'steam', as camas in a pit) Billings Spit

qelŋəxʷáx̌ən a duck net location, on Billings Spit?

sisiʔóʔtəl a duck net location

xʷəxʷáčəɬ a duck net location

sʔíl̓əqsən duck net location

nəxʷʔiʔčósən ('small mouth') a duck net location Roche Cove

c̓ákʷačəŋ a duck net location [where?]

šəsínəs Saseenos (FL), səsí·n̓əs ('slopes down')

čixʷíyəč Cooper's Cove

x̌čés (island) Deadman's Island, Sooke Basin

nəxʷčéʔəxʷəŋ a Rock across Sooke Harbor from the reserve. A man was sitting here with a nosebleed. x̌é·ls changed him into a rock and plugged his nose with grass. Now you can see the blood on the rock and the grass coming out of two holes.

səṅéčən A place across Sooke Harbour where x̌é·ls rested and left an impression.

pq̓á·ls ('white rock') a big white rock, near the Sooke Harbour Hotel. He was a watchman, with a bow and arrow, watching for the poison that gets into clams. That's why Sooke Harbour is free of poisoned clams.

titiwətósən (< stíwət 'east wind') East Sooke out to Secretary Island

čó·qʷən Secretary Island (FL), čókʷən Donaldson Island

sx̌ʷáyx̌ʷəy {?] four faces that look like masks on the rocks somewhere on the outside {east of O'Brien Point?]

smə́y̓əs ('deer') a rock that looks like a deer, two or three miles east of sx̌ʷáyx̌ʷəy, west of Beechey Head

ši·ŋolqʷɬ ('bleeding point') Beechey Head (FL)

čiénəxʷ Becher Bay

c̓əwx̌éləč ('the basket ogress') a rock in the middle of the shore of Bentink Island. "That's why she is not around here."

xʷáɛŋ [probably x̌ʷə́yəŋ] Race Rocks, the point where the light is. (FL)

x̌ʷə́ləŋ ("pass") the end of Rocky Point Road. [Race Passage?] (MG)

nəxʷyíʔəč ("way inside") Pedder Inlet.

x̌ipát William Head (FL)

šc̓áŋi Albert Head (FL)

Technology

xʷóʔasən (FL) deer net

šwámʔaʼntən (FL), šxʷʔámatən (N. bústit) bow

yékšt (FL), cəmé·n, N. hadłi·k) arrow

X̌í·ŋən deer sinew for bowstring

réčə. pitfall for deer [MG used the word; AG agreed it sounded like an /r/ to her too]

c̓X̌ə́ŋən (FL) double-headed harpoon

téʔeł (N. biłis, c̓əxáik) same [probably harpoon head only]

łíkʷən (FL) (MG) gaff hook

só·yəq, (Nit. su·yəq) gill net

ščəl̓éčč (N. uyubisáʔa) salmon trap, long with wide mouth, facing upstream

sX̌ʷó·ye (FL), sX̌ʷá·lə (MG) reef net

čəčóʔs (N. pəX̌ə́sid) method of spearing salmon in channel in kelp

səmóʼnəʼn (FL), səmóʼnə (N. čibó·d) (MG) halibut hook

tə́qəm (FL, MG) overhead duck net

kʷé·čxʷən (N. didibesəčk) crab trap

məhóy (N. buxoy) openwork basket

X̌pát (N. X̌pat). alder-bark basket for picking berries

Mammals

ʔésxʷ (N. ḵašču) 'hair seal'

sc̓áya (N. kełedús) 'fur seal'

šxʷmahínəs (N. hicuwád) 'porpoise'

qəłáməčən (N. kokáwəd) 'blackfish' [killer whale, orca]

kʷə́nəłp [?] (N. čitə́pkʷ) 'whale'

ʔešés (N. akuwádiš) 'sea lion'

smə́y̓əs 'deer'

bear sčə́txʷən (N. búcubuX̌, Kl. ščkʷáyič)

Marine Invertebrates

sʔáxʷa (N. č̓iʔic) large clam [butter clam].

kʷłéy̓ (N. hiʔči·n) little clam {littleneck clam].

swé·m (N. ʔiʔbi·q [eʔbi·q]) horse clam.

šxʷX̌əláʔum (N. X̌əláʔub) cockle.

sḵʷxʷə́ŋən (N. X̌učáb) sea mussel (M. calif.).

łéẇqəm (N, ku·c̓ip) bay mussel.

kaméne [prob. qaméne] (N. hóbhob) moon snail.

c̓imá·ya barnacle. The big ones were eaten.

c̓isétən (N. maxəmó [m] not [b]) purple.

---- (N. kukuʔaik) rock scallop (Hinnites)

---- (N. apuxsiʔi) abalone.

łəkéq̓s (N. ʔaʔatábš) limpet.

sʔéʔeyu (N. híʔida) big abalone, from California.

łíčč̓ən (N. c̓iti·dəkʷ) dentalia.

skʷəné·mən (N. X̌iX̌iye) big scallop.

ʔákʷs (N. paʔáb) big chiton.
tiŋsiwíč (N. c̓i·dəxt) small chiton.
nukʷsíʔi (N. c̓iʔidaw) china slipper, rubber skin (Cryptochiton ?)
skʷíc̓i (N. šəčkapx̌) white [green] sea urchin.
x̌íxʷ (N. t̓ucip) big purple sea urchin.
x̌ɔ́x̌ʷx̌əx̌ʷ (N. x̌úx̌x̌ux̌) oyster
ʔéʔčx̌ (N. hasábs) crab.
sqíməq̓ʷ (N tiłúp) octopus.

Fish

smelt kʷɔ́łs (N. ba·du)

Plants

q̓ʷóʔoŋ kelp
skʷíy̓uxʷ [skʷíy̓əxʷ] (Nt. šix̌é) brake fern root
x̌esíp (Nt. x̌éʔesip) licorice-fern root.
Sg sx̌éləm. Nt ícipt "buck fern" [sword fern?]
x̌əŋq̓ałč [probably] yew
ʼkʷłóʔol (Nt kʷá·dis) camas
šc̓é·ne (Nt. x̌ísəp [stress?]) A plant with leaves like clover and white roots. It grows on the flats. It is dug with a q̓ú·k [?] (Nt. x̌əpé·k), a stick made of hard wood with a knob at the end. The roots were boiled.
sékʷcən (Nt. x̌əkɔ́b) A lily with an orange flower and roots forming a double bulb, white, and as big as a St. Joseph's lily. It grows about foot high. The Whites have it now. [Tiger lily?] The roots were boiled, not long.
st̓ést̓ (Nt. q̓éyeq̓eyé) An onion, stronger than the Whites' onions. They come in pairs and multiply; the he-one has the flower, the she-one doesn't. They are found in the mountains.
? (Nt. kʷəxəpx̌) A plant like x̌icɔ́p but smaller. It has round bulbs and small, white flowers. It is dug at the same time as x̌icɔ́p.
séʔsqəy (Nt. šišičqadł) "Sprouts" [presumably thimble-berry and salmon-berry sprouts].
sáʔaq̓ʷ "Indian rhubarb" [no doubt cow parsnip] yólə is the male of the same plant; it bears the flower.
t̓íʔələkʷ short-stemmed strawberry (also the Whites' strawberry)
sícət long-stemmed strawberry.
čiyíčsən probably service-berry. Dried and mixed with soap-berries.
sx̌ʷésəm soap-berry.
skʷəlélələŋəxʷ [probably sq̓ʷəlélələŋəxʷ] (Nt. kakaúšək) blackberries.
t̓éqə (Nt. q̓eyicəpx̌ bluish) salal berries.
pípxʷ red huckleberries ("wineberries").
? (Nt. bísəp) the blueberry that grows on tall bushes, larger than a huckleberry.
yéyəx̌əm (Nt. sidbux̌séc) The blueberry that grows on short bushes.
ʔəlílə (Nt. káwaiʔ) salmon berries.
tɔ́qʷəm thimble berries.

kéʔexʷ [prob. qéʔexʷ] Crabapples.
kə́ləq [prob. qə́ləq] Wild rose [hip]. [prob. Rosa nutkana].
t̓ə́məxʷ the smaller species of gooseberry.
tə́muqʷ [tə́məqʷ] the larger gooseberry, red and furry [?].
sé·kʷq (Nit. χiχčəkʷkʷ) carrot. Not here before.
sqé·ws (Nit. qá·wəc) potatoes.
šxʷʔiláqo (Nit. ʔilawo) turnips.
šx̌íkʷən peas.
x̌əlkʷsítəŋ (Nit. wəwəc̓qkʷkʷ 'skin busted') beans.
láys (Nit. sísicəkʷkʷ 'looks like maggots' < sícibəb maggots) rice.