NOOKSACK PLACE NAMES: AN ETHNOHISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC APPROACH

by Brent Galloway and Allan Richardson

1. Introduction. In 1974 Allan Richardson began research on Nooksack traditional villages and fishing sites for the Nooksack Tribe. He interviewed a number of elders and made two field trips in this work. In December 1974 he completed a report on his research, published by the tribe. In 1975 and 1976 he did research for the tribe on Nooksack Indian homesteading and completed a detailed report on it in 1976. (A much abbreviated version of this is Richardson 1979). The homesteading research showed a continuity of occupation from the traditional villages of the early 19th century to the present day. Under a treaty of 1859 the Nooksacks were supposed to move to the current Lummi Reservation. In 1873 and 1874 attempts were made to move the Nooksacks to the reservation but failed. Following this Nooksacks began to claim portions of their traditional lands, including many of the village sites, by filing homestead claims on them. The Indian Homestead Act of 1884 put these homesteads (and later ones) under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as trust lands. In 1971 the Nooksack Tribe bought land from the State of Washington (at Deming) which the B.I.A. then recognized as a tribal reservation. A tribal center has been built on this reservation.

In 1974 Brent Galloway began weekly linguistic research with a group of Nooksack elders at the request of the tribe. This group had decided to concentrate on the Halkomelem language (as the Indian language spoken by most members) and called itself the Halkomelem Workshop. Galloway recorded some Nooksack place names and words when remembered but concentrated on Halkomelem until May 1979. In May he began working on eliciting Nooksack place names from the group (stimulated by field notes of earlier researchers: Suttles, Jeffcott, and Richardson). In August 1979 Richardson and Galloway designed a joint research project on Nooksack place names combining ethnohistorical and linguistic approaches. It was approved by the Nooksack Tribe and funded by the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund. We gratefully acknowledge the support of both organizations as well as the support of the Nooksack elders and the Canada Council.[1]

One of the goals of the research was to visit each place name site with the tribal elders and to locate and photograph the sites with both slides and black and white prints. We made 21 field trips to sites between November 1979 and October 1981. Altogether we visited and photographed about 135 out of 142 sites. We were able to utilize manuscript material and maps from the 1857-1861 International Boundary Survey which included the entire Nooksack territory; we visited and photographed these sites and tried to re-elicit the Nooksack names. We also utilized ethnographic and linguistic field notes of Paul Fetzer and Wayne Suttles as well

as manuscript materials of P. R. Jeffcott and tapes of Oliver Wells, Barbara Efrat, Laurence Thompson, and Pamela Amoss. We also made tape recordings of all the place names we could still elicit. Copies of all our field notes, tapes and photos will be on file with the Jacobs Fund Collection and the Nooksack Tribe. Yet to be completed are detailed maps and a final report.

The Nooksack language is called [ɬóčælosəm] /ɬóčælusəm/ (see 3.1, #29 below). The ethnographic name for the people is Nooksack [nUxʷsǽʔæq ~ nuxʷsǽʔæq] /nuxʷsǽʔæq/ (see 3.1, #78 below). /ɬóčælosəm/ (which could be spelled Lhéchalosem) has the following phonemes: /p, t, (k), kʷ, q, qʷ, ʔ, p', t', k'ʷ, q', q'ʷ, c, č, (θ'), c', č', ƛ', (θ), s, š, (xʸ), ɬ, xʷ, x̣, x̣ʷ, h, m, n, y, l, w, i, æ, ə, (a), u, '/ (see Galloway 1983). Symbols in parentheses in the list are in borrowings or Halkomelem-influenced pronunciations. In the broad phonetic transcriptions quoted aspiration of obstruents (predictable) is omitted. Neighboring and influential Upriver Halkomelem is called [hǽlq'əméyləm] /hɛlq'əméyləm/ by its speakers. The ethnographic name for Halkomelem speakers (of both Upriver and Downriver dialects) is Stalo (/stá·lo/ or as the people themselves now orthographically prefer, Stó:lō).

The sections to follow will discuss the sources and their interpretation, a list of the place names with discussions of their linguistic form, meaning, and location, a look at semantic naming patterns, features named and typical problems in locating the sites, and finally a brief discussion of Nooksack linguistic boundaries.

2. Major Sources and Their Interpretation.

2.1. International Boundary Survey, 1857-1861. We used four manuscripts and Baker 1900. One manuscript source was a large topographical map extending from 123° 10' to 121° W and from 49° 25' to 48° 40' N, roughly bounded by the Fraser River (on the north, to Hope), Skagit River (on the east), Mt. Baker and Lake Whatcom (on the south), and the mainland shore (on the west). This map (National Archives of the United States, International Boundary Commission, Record Group 76, Series 68, Folder 1, Map 1) shows 244 Indian place names, of which about 55 are Nooksack. The map has some distortions, especially on the southern end, but in general is fairly accurate. And it shows numerous Indian trails. The place names on it were recorded by George Gibbs, a superior linguist of his day. We worked from high-quality copies and Galloway examined the original at the National Archives in Washington, D. C. in 1980.

We obtained another document through the courtesy of Randy Bouchard and then realized that it coordinated directly with the map. This document in the handwriting of George Gibbs is entitled "Indian Nomenclature" (National Archives of the United States, International Boundary Commission, Record Group 76, Entry 223, "Indian Names"). It lists 248 Indian place names on the first nine pages, of which 63 are additional to the map; the rest are identical with a few

minor variants to the names on the map. The map also has 54 place names which are not on the list. The advantage of the list is that it begins with a phonetic key to the orthography Gibbs used and it gives in words the location of each place name and characteristics of most as to whether river, village, mountain, bay, bluff, etc.

Baker 1900 gives a small selection of the place names but adds elevations, latitudes and longitudes and adds a few names not in the previous manuscripts but obtained from Gibbs' notes. The total of distinct place names in the three documents (up through page nine of the "Indian Nomenclature" manuscript) is about 310. 179 of those are B. C. names, all in Halkomelem.

The third manuscript source was a group of maps drawn by Teosaluk, a Samana Indian (National Archives of the United States, International Boundary Commission, Record Group 76, Series 69, Maps 26 and 27, titled by the Archives "Fraser-Chilliwack-Skagit-Nooksack Area"). Galloway examined the originals at the National Archives in 1980. These maps, with 66 Indian names, have some details and spellings which the first map lacks, though the scale and placement are badly off in places. Gibbs labelled features on the map in Halkomelem, Nooksack and probably Thompson. Teosaluk's tribal and linguistic affiliation is probably Thompson; Samana is the Nooksack and Halkomelem name for the Thompson people (Nooksack [sʔámɛnɛ][WS, GS, see 2.3 below]/sʔámənæ/, Upriver Halkomelem /sʔámɛ́l·ɛ/). Teosaluk's main information was provided on the eastern boundaries of Stalo and Nooksack territory, the mountainous inland areas, especially east of Mt. Baker. Baker 1900:45 reports a Samana village on the Chilliwack River, 24 mi. above (upriver from) the Chilliwack Depot and 2 mi. above the mouth of Senehsay (Slesse) Creek. This is 12 3/4 mi. east of the nearest Stalo village (Soowahlie /ə'əwɛ́lí/) and quite isolated. Teosaluk might have come from this group. Henry Custer wrote of him (spellings his, from page 4 of a 49-page report to Archibald Campbell, dated May 1866, U. S. National Archives, Record Group 76, B196):

> One of the Indians in my employ (Jhiusoloc) a Samona Chief, had the most extended geographical knowledge of any Indian ever had to deal with. By request he made me a map of the extend of country he was well aquainted with, it was bounded by the Fraser River to the North, by the Skagit River to the East, by some tributary of this river to the South, end by the Nookhsahk + Chiloweyeuk Rivers to the West. Within these limits his knowledge of the country was most minute + reliable. The map he made of it, although in the most primitive style, was remarkable for its oreitness [?] + completeness. In this way we gained most of our first knowledge of the country as also many of the names of its mountains, smaller streams + lakes.

Some of the names on this map clearly appear to be Thompson ("Wil-la-kul-sa-háist", "Nuch-nái-cheen", "N'mes-tɛ́h-tam", "Hoz-a-mɛ́en"), but further study by those knowledgeable in Thompson is necessary to sort out the details and crucial in discovering the eastern boundaries of Stalo, Nooksack, and Skagit territories and southern and western boundaries of Thompson territory in B. C. and Washington.

Comparing the four documents with topographical maps

of Washington and British Columbia it has been possible to locate most of the named items fairly precisely. Comparing the spellings of Gibbs with transcriptions in the other sources, well over 100 so far have been identified with modern attestations of Nooksack names (15) and Halkomelem names (88) and half a dozen with modern attestations of Semiahmoo or Lummi names. This provides a key to aid in the phonetic interpretation of the remaining names.

Gibbs does not show glottalization nor glottal stop, but glottal stop and semivowels between vowels can sometimes be inferred from his syllabification by hyphens in each word. Labialization is usually shown, by various means such as kw, wh, hw, qu, hoo, ko, ku, etc. Stress is shown for most names, either on the map or the list, or on both. Postvelars are not shown directly, but k followed by a consonant or a non-rounded vowel (in absence of /k/ and /k'/ in Halkomelem and Nooksack) indicates /q/, /q'/, or /x̣/. Further, because /i/ is [i°] before postvelars in Halkomelem and Nooksack, combinations like "éh-a-kw" or "éh-u-kw" often indicate [i°qʷ] or [i°q'ʷ] or [i°x̣ʷ]. /x̣ʸ/ is shown for Halkomelem by "sh" and rarely by "ch"; /x̣/ is shown also by "ch" or "h"; /č/ or /č'/ is shown by "tch"; /ƛ/ or /ƛ'/ are shown by "kl" and "tl", while /ł/ is shown also by "lh" or sometimes "sh". Vowels are indicated fairly accurately by eight symbols or digraphs, and diphthongs (vowel + semivowel) are shown by five digraphs. More discussion will be found under section 3 below. Names from the Boundary Survey materials will be

cited in double quotes.

2.2. Materials by Percival R. Jeffcott. Three sources by Jeffcott were helpful: Nooksack Tales and Trails (1949, published by the author; cited as Jeffcott 1949), "The Nooksack Indians, A Brief History of the Tribe" (1964, unpublished manuscript, 95 pp. with map, cited as Jeffcott 1964), and Interview with P. R. Jeffcott by Oliver N. Wells, July 12, 1965 (this exists on tape in the B. C. Provincial Museum, Linguistics Division, Victoria, B. C., copies of which remain with the family as well, and in a manuscript transcription, pp. 587-604g of Maud, Galloway and Weeden forthcoming)(cited as Wells—Jeffcott 1965).

Jeffcott 1949 gives lots of ethnographic and historical information about Nooksack places, and on pp. 54-57 he lists 37 Nooksack place names, eight Lummi place names, seven Halkomelem place names and four Semiahmoo place names. All are largely from August Martin, Mrs. Lottie Tom, and Boundary Survey records. Jeffcott's transcription is far worse than that of Gibbs (for example, "Tom-whik-sen" [Boundary Survey], "Clam-quis-ksun -- gooseberries; the Lummi's name for Gooseberry Point" [Jeffcott 1949], /t'émxʷiqsən/ [Suttles 1951]). However, Jeffcott's chief virtue is in the literal meanings he provides for most of the names, as well as the ethnohistorical background and seven place names not attested anywhere else. Wells--Jeffcott 1965 somewhat aids the interpretation of these names phonetically as Wells has Jeffcott read pp. 54-57 entirely and pronounce his version of each name; Jeffcott's

pronunciations, though not close to the Nooksack pronunciations, are transcribed phonetically in Maud, Galloway and Weeden forthcoming and give details, like stress, which are not indicated in his spelled versions. This transcription together with Jeffcott 1949 and modern transcriptions of some of the same names provide a partial key to the names only in Jeffcott 1949. Nooksack forms written by Jeffcott will be cited in double quotes as syllabified by him.

Jeffcott 1964, especially pp. 1-10 (Chapter I, "The Nooksack's Habitat"), amplifies Jeffcott 1949, providing some new information and two new place names. The spelling and translations of names given in Jeffcott 1949 remain the same.

2.3. Field Notes. Through Wayne Suttles and Pamela Amoss we have copies of both Paul Fetzer's ethnographic and linguistic field notes on the Nooksack from 1950 and 1951. Fetzer worked with Mrs. Lottie Tom (then 81, of Nooksack and Sumas parentage), George Swanaset (79, Nooksack - Langley), Josephine George (73, Nooksack - Sumas, wife of Louis George), Louis George (73 or 74, Nooksack - Matsqui), and Mrs. Agnes (Antone) James (77, Nooksack - Matsqui). (Sumas, Matsqui, and Langley are adjacent Halkomelem-speaking areas in B. C.). Place names from identified people are cited with their initials plus the initials of the field worker. Fetzer's field notes are also cited as Fetzer 1950-1951. Fetzer was trained in linguistics and anthropology at the University of Washington, and his transcriptions are in the IPA. Unfortunately he died

in 1951 or 1952. His transcriptions and ethnographic information are quite helpful, though variable as early field work often is. He usually heard velars rather than postvelars and wrote vowel clusters and long lax vowels, neither of which are likely present in Nooksack.

Wayne Suttles has provided us with parts of his field notes containing Nooksack place names, work dating from 1949 to 1952 and 1958. This includes material from interviews with August Martin in 1949 and 1951 (who later moved to Lummi), George Swanaset in 1950 and 1958, and Agnes James in 1952. In one case Suttles re-elicited many of Fetzer's place names with George Swanaset, using Fetzer's notes. The material with George Swanaset and Agnes James is especially good and more accurate than Fetzer's. This, for example, will be cited as Suttles 1950, 1952, or 1958, or where the speaker is more important than the individual interview, initials such as GS, WS will stand for George Swanaset (Wayne Suttles' transcription).

Linguistic field notes and tapes of the Nooksack language made by Pamela Amoss, Laurence Thompson, and Barbara Efrat have been made available to Galloway, who is currently analyzing them.[2] These materials and on-going analysis will prove increasingly helpful in interpreting the Nooksack place names and their etymologies. The Nooksacks who provided this information were George Swanaset, Sindick Jimmy, and Mrs. Louisa (Johnson) George. Only rudimentary use of this material can be made here at present; a more complete linguistic analysis

of some of the place names may be possible later. One tape in particular, an interview with Sindick Jimmy, Nov. 24, 1970, by Barbara Efrat, contains a valuable discussion and texts on a number of Nooksack place names.

In the course of the project and before it both Richardson and Galloway have taken ethnographic and linguistic field notes (Richardson's more ethnohistorical, Galloway's more linguistic), and of course these are the basis for any transcriptions not cited as from the Boundary Survey, Jeffcott, Suttles, Fetzer, etc. Richardson has also done several papers on Nooksack ethnohistory and ethnogeography which include information on place names, and those are listed in the References Cited.

2.4. Papers by Paul Fetzer. Through Wayne Suttles and Pamela Amoss we have copies of two unpublished graduate papers of Paul Fetzer: "The First Draft of Some Preliminary Considerations on the Subject of Territory and Sovereignty Among the Nooksack and Their Neighbors" (Mar. 7, 1951)(cited as Fetzer 1951a) and "Nooksack Enculturation: A Preliminary Consideration" (1951b). The former includes a discussion of Nooksack boundaries as perceived by the Nooksacks and their neighbors. The latter contains, among other things, a list of 30 Nooksack villages and camps, a discussion of how these grouped into bands, and a discussion of the genealogies and biographies of Fetzer's main Nooksack informants, Mrs. Lottie Tom, Mrs. Agnes James, Mrs. Josephine George, and Mr. George Swanaset.

2.5. Tapes of Oliver Wells. In addition to Wells--Jeffcott 1965, Oliver Wells made another tape which is relevant to our project, a tape of his interview, Sept. 11, 1966, with Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Kelleher and their daughter, Irene. This tape was discovered recently and is not yet in the B. C. Provincial Museum Linguistics Division. Mr. Kelleher, then 94, was the son of a white man and Madeline Jobe, a Nooksack. Kelleher was raised at Mission, B. C. and lived most of his life in the Sumas-Mission-Abbotsford area of B. C. Wells brought Jeffcott 1949 to the interview and went through pp. 54-57 discussing each place name. Mr. Kelleher pronounces and discusses each name that he can read or remember; in fact he pronounces several of the names correctly and comes closer than Jeffcott does with a number of others. Kelleher also gives a number of Halkomelem words and several Nooksack words correctly (including glottalization). The full transcript is pp. 850-900 in Maud, Galloway and Weeden forthcoming.
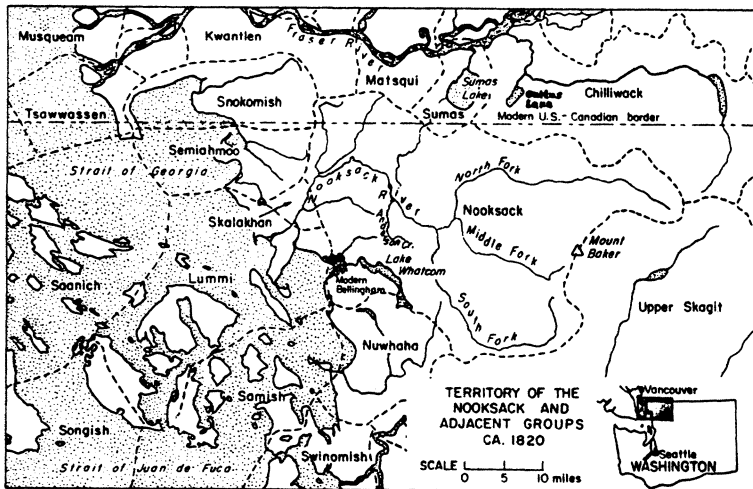
2.6. Topographic Maps and Other Sources. Complete sets of topographic maps on both sides of the border of course were invaluable, in B. C. both 1:100,000 and 1:50,000 sets and in Washington both 1:62,500 (15') and 1:24,000 (7') sets. We also used a number of commercial maps such as the Official Road Map of Western Whatcom County by the Whatcom County Engineering Department and the Road Map of the Fraser Valley, Vancouver to Hope, by Dominion Map Ltd.

Territory of the Nooksack and adjacent groups, ca. 1820 (after Richardson 1977)

Figure 1.

from Pamela Amoss: Coast Salish Spirit Dancing (1978)

3. Nooksack Place Names.

3.0. Introduction. The Nooksacks basically inhabited
western Whatcom County, Washington, the areas drained by the
Nooksack River and its tributaries, the North Fork, Middle
Fork and South Fork. The list to follow starts at Barrett
and Tennant Lakes, proceeds to Ferndale, then NE and E up
the Nooksack River, with side trips up tributaries and trails
to other sites but always back to Nooksack River and continu-
ing upriver. Every effort has been made to list associated
places together. A major excursion after Everson heads NE
through the town of Nooksack then NE on Sumas River (down-
river) to Sumas Lake. It returns then to sites on the Nook-
sack River, again heading upriver, now SE. Reaching the
Deming area it touches the South Fork of Nooksack River and
a tributary, then Middle Fork and a tributary, then heads up
the North Fork. It goes up North Fork and its tributaries
and mountains to Mt. Shuksan then breaks to return to Acme
and proceed up the South Fork, with side trips up its tribu-
taries to the Twin Sisters Range. Then it leaves the Nook-
sack River north of Wickersham to hit Whatcom Lake, nearby
places, the lake's outlet in Bellingham and several places
within Bellingham. It concludes with three attested place
names whose general locations are unknown and three which
may show a Nooksack substratum in Chilliwack territory.

After a reference number, each place name is given in
standardized phonetic orthography, where attested, then the
initials of the linguist and those of the native speaker.

Phonetic transcriptions without initials are by Galloway
where there was agreement in pronunciation by all native
speakers available, Sindick Jimmy (SJ), Louisa George (LG)
and Esther Fidele (EF). Variant transcriptions are given
only where they may be correct; where our transcription is
confirmed by all other transcriptions the others are omitted.
If no phonetic transcription is available, the place name is
given in double quotes (as syllabified) in the only other
orthographies it is attested in (Boundary Survey = BS,
Jeffcott 1949 and 1964 = PJ, and one name transcribed by
Jeffcott and quoted at the Hovander Homestead Park at Lake
Terrell = PJ-HHP). This is followed by the segmented phon-
emic form or probable phonemic form where this can be ascer-
tained. Then the location is given (our final detailed
report will specify locations more exactly). This is fol-
lowed by a gloss of the meanings of each segment, where
possible, underlined, then by comments on the phonetic or
phonemic form of the name. More general comments on phono-
logical interpretation follow in 3.2. Additional abbrevia-
tions include: R. = river; L. = lake; Cr. = creek; N = north,
E = east, NE = northeast, etc.; bet. = between; vill. = vil-
lage; poss. = possibly; prob. = probably; ~ = varies with.

3.1. Nooksack Place Names Analyzed.

1. [sq'eláxən]/s-q'eláxən/. Prairie on SE bank of Nooksack R.
bet. Tennant and Barrett Lakes; also the tribe (prob. non-
Nooksack) that lived there. Fence.

2. "Si-lats-its" (PJ-HHP). Vill. at N end of Tennant L.,
last vill. or camp of the /sq'eláxən/ people, abandoned 1850's.
Poss. a /sq'eláxən/ name.

3. "Ta-tas-um" (PJ), [teytásəm](OW-PJ), prob. /tíyt-ǽs-əm/.
The easy crossing of Nooksack R. at Ferndale. PJ says it
means above us; it may in a sense because the root means
upriver. Poss. a Lummi name as this was the furthest they
went upriver.

4. [xʷxǽctəm](WS,AJ), /xʷ-xǽct-əm/ or prob. /xʷ-xǽč'-t-əm/.
Location at or near Ferndale on NW bank of Nooksack R., also
camp 1.5 - 2 mi. upriver on same bank. Always-fireweed-
place to get from Nooksack [xǽcət] fireweed (WS,AJ); peeled
fireweed shoots were eaten in spring. The meaning of Nook-
sack -əm here is not certain yet, prob. (as in Halkomelem)
get or (verbalizer) and secondarily place to get. Prob./č'/
rather than /c/ because other Salish cognates of fireweed
all have glottalized reflexes of Nooksack č'; Nooksack speakers
influenced by Halkomelem, like AJ here, often have [c' ~ č']
and [c ~ č] as in Halkomelem.

5. [nIkiyéy](WS,AJ). Ten-Mile Cr. and especially a settle-
ment where it crossed the Whatcom Trail (Telegraph Rd.).
[ey] may be (-iy ~ -əy) place but [k] is rare or non-existant
in Nooksack.

6. "Nu-klus-kum" (PJ), [nukléskəm] (OW-PJ). Barrett L. and
(sic?) Ten-Mile Cr. (PJ). Silver salmon [coho] says PJ
because they spawned there, but Nooksack /kʷúxʷəc/ coho sal-
mon doesn't look much like this, nor does a hypothetical
*/nuxʷ-kʷúxʷəc-əm/ always-coho-place to get.

7. [ʔíletxᵂe] (WS,AJ), /ʔíletxᵂ-iy/. A big bend on the SE
bank of Nooksack R. about 3 mi. above /sqʼeléxen/. Plank-
place, from /ʔíletxᵂ/(WS,AJ) or /s-ʔílæltxᵂ/ (BG,LG) plank;
so called because a projecting plank underwater moved up and
down and caused canoe accidents here. PJ calls it "La-plash",
Chinook Jargon for board, plank.

8. [cxᵂílmIn](WS,AJ), prob. /cxᵂ-íl-minʔ/. Lake Terrell;
where the last elk was killed.

9. "Klukʼh" (BS). California Cr.; the Nooksacks gathered
cranberries, Labrador tea and blueberries in the headwater
bogs. Gibbs' apostrophe usually indicates clusters (not
digraphs) and not glottalization. This name could be Semi-
ahmoo.

10. "Kwuh-láh-hoom" (BS), poss. /kʼᵂúlʔuxᵂ-em/ or Halkomelem-
influenced /kʼᵂeláxᵂ-em/ dog salmon-place to get. Dakota
Cr.; the Nooksack fished its upper reaches, the Semiahmoo
(a Straits people) its lower reaches.

11. "Tuch-tuch-hum" (BS), prob. /tʼextʼéxem/ many forks (of
a creek). North Fork tributary of Dakota Cr.; it joins
Dakota Cr. where it crosses Custer School Rd.; the tributary
itself has three tributaries nearby. Compare Nooksack
[stʼéxes] (LT,LG) fork of tree, Halkomelem /s-tʼéx/ fork of
creek, fork of tree, Nooksack C₁V₁C₂- plural (many).

12. "Ka-láh-wul-leh" (BS), poss. /qel(ʔ)éwʔ-el-iy/ beaver-
come, get-place. Upper NE tributary to Dakota Cr. Poss.
from (say LG, EF) beaver [sqeléˑwʔ] (BG,GS) ~ [sqelʔéwʔ]
(BG,LG; LT,SJ and LG).

13. [łełák'ᵂe] (WS,AJ), [łełóq'ᵂe] (WS,AM), respectively
/łełák'ᵂ-ey/ and prob. /łełúk'ᵂ-ey/. Old vill. site on S
bank of Nooksack R., opposite mouth of Fishtrap Cr. or poss.
at mouth of cr. draining Wiser L. since Wiser L. shares the
name too. (Many-)flying-place from Nooksack [łúk'ᵂ] /łúk'ᵂ/
to fly (LT,LG) (cf. Halkomelem /łáˑk'ᵂ/ to fly, /łáłek'ᵂ/
flying). [ɔ] is an allophone of /u/ in Nooksack (and an
allophone of /a/ in Halkomelem); [a] is prob. borrowed from
Halkomelem here.

14. [łełák'ᵂay] ([ay] is sometimes heard for /ey/),
/łe-łák'ᵂ-ey/. Wiser L., so named because lots of birds
land there. Many-flying-place. EF, who pronounced this for
us on several occasions, gave it with prob. Halkomelem /a/.

15. [cʼíkᵂemɛʔxʸ] (WS,AJ) ~ [cíˑkᵂemIxʸ] (WS,GS),
/cʼíkᵂe-mæʔxʸ/ ~ prob. /cʼíkᵂe-mixʸ/. Bertrand Cr. and old
vill. site on W side of mouth; before 1900 this was also the
mouth of Fishtrap Cr. The root could be from /cʼíkᵂe/ left
side several elders thought (EF, LG). /xʸ/ is prob. from
Halkomelem influence, replacing Nooksack /š/ here; the suffix
could be /-mixʸ ~ -mixᵂ/ people or /-úmíš/ appearing, -looking.

16. "Kál-kalk-ku" (BS). Prob. first W tributary of Bertrand ·
Cr. (less likely: cr. at end of Harksell Rd.). The root
could be cognate with Halkomelem /qélq/ rose hip.

17. "Tsáh-nung" (BS). Prob. small E tributary to Bertrand Cr.
(entering near Birch Bay--Lynden Rd.). Though within Nooksack
territory, a Straits name or Straits pronunciation of a Nook-
sack name (with ŋ for m).

18. [mámuk^{w}əm] (WS,AJ), [mámokəm ~ má·maq^{w}əm] (PF,GS), "Máh-moo-koom" (BS), [mámeq^{w}əm] (WS,AJ), prob. /mámuq^{w}əm/. Bertrand Prairie (flanking Bertrand Cr. from near Guide Meridian border crossing thence SW .5 to 1.5 mi.) and vill. there. Cranberry marsh. [á] /á/ replacing [ɔ] /u/ may be by influence of Halkomelem /máq^{w}əm/ and Lushootseed /báq^{w}əb/ cranberry marsh, sphagnum bog, but if so goes back at least to 1858 (as in BS spelling); /ə/ instead of /u/ in AJ's (and poss. GS's) pronunciation shows Halkomelem influence (she quotes [máq^{w}əm] cranberry marsh as the root; -C$_1$ə- is a Halkomelem reduplication pattern (-C$_1$V$_1$- in Nooksack); unstressed Proto-Central Salish *u > Nooksack u, Halkomelem and Straits ə normally (see Galloway 1982).

19. "So-sái" (BS). Swampy area at head of Campbell R., B.C., poss. a Semiahmoo name but only .5 mi. W of Bertrand Cr., 2.5 mi. from /mámuq^{w}əm/ vill. Compare /susx̣éy/ #81 below.

20. "Koh-kwun-nés-tum" (BS). Howes Cr., an E tributary of Bertrand Cr. in B.C.

21. [méqsən] /méqsən/. Nooksack vill. site in B.C., E of Aldergrove, B.C., Matsqui Indian Reserve #4 since June 1880; the Canadian Indian Reserve Commission agreed to let Stick Peter and family (Nooksacks) remain in exchange for the land becoming a Canadian Indian Reserve. Nose because of a story

    after the time of /x̣é·ls/, the Transformer, about a man sneezing as a sign of coming disaster (WS,AJ).

22. "Hoo-kutch-uk-sun" (BS). Double-Ditch Cr. in Washington, Pepin Cr. in B.C. This name poss. relates to the story in

/méqsən/ above, since "uk-sun" here is clearly the Nooksack /-əqsən/ nose; point, and this creek just N of the border flows within .25 mi. of /méqsən/ vill.

23. "Noo-kope" (BS). Either the lowermost part of Fishtrap Cr. above its former mouth into Bertrand Cr., or another name for "Hoo-kutch-uk-sun", or the tributary of Fishtrap Cr. W of Guide Meridian road. Poss. has /nux^w-/ prefix, always.

24. "Yo-kit Mux-in" (PJ), [yókɨt méksən] (OW-PJ). A great ox-bow bend in the Nooksack R., a short distance above Bertrand Cr. (PJ), hard to navigate due to its swift water. Long nose (PJ). Jeffcott may be trying to spell Nooksack /ƛ'æqt/ long or another word; "Mux-in" is /méqsən/ nose alright, but the whole expression is "broken" Nooksack since /méqsən/ does not mean point of land; place names use a root plus /-əqsən ~ -əleqs/ nose; point of land, see #26 and Galloway 1977:177, 182, 537, 632.

25. "Le-om Mux-in" (PJ), [liy?á·m méksən] (OW-PJ). Devil's Bend, a bend in Nooksack R. formerly with rapids and many snags causing many canoe and riverboat accidents, located .25 mi. W of the Guide Meridian bridge. Again "broken" Nooksack; /liy(?)ám/ devil is borrowed from Chinook Jargon.

26. [sčúk^{w}əleqs] (WS,AJ), /s-čúk^w-əleqs/. An old cut-off river bend or point (formerly) on the S side of Nooksack R. bet. /ƛ̓əƛúk'^{w}əy/ and Lynden; poss. the same as #24 and/or #25. (Nominal)-distant, far-point from root /čúk^w/ far, distant.

27. [sq^{w}əhælič ~ sq^{w}əhǽlič] /s-q^{w}əhǽ-lič/. A big vill. formerly on the N bank of Nooksack R. across from Lynden, prob.

occupied in 1850's after abandonment of #28 and #29 below;
site now on S bank of Stickney Island due to new channel.
(Nominal)-go through an opening-(at bottom?/ at back?) since
it was by an opening through a log jam on the bend that is
now Stickney Island; the suffix could be /-ič/ on the back
or /-nič/ on the bottom (cf. Halkomelem /-ləc/ on the bottom).
28. [čmáqʷəm] (WS,AJ;BG), [čəmɔ́·kʷəm ~ čəmá·kʷəm] (WS,GS),
[čəmá·qʷəm] (PF,LG), /č-máqʷəm/ (poss. /č-múqʷəm/ for GS var-
iant with [ɔ́·]). A major traditional vill., the site is in
W downtown business district of Lynden, near Front St., on a
hill above a marsh on N bank of Nooksack R. (Verbal prefix)-
marsh because semi-cultivated plant foods grew here in the
marsh: camas, chocolate lily, and [c'θθələ] (a plant with
white flowers and white roots like big buttons).
29. [ɫčǽ·los] (PF;BG), [ɫčélosəm ~ ɫəčélosəm] (WS,AJ),
/ɫčǽlus/. A traditional settlement, just E of /čmáqʷəm/, on
hill at foot of gravel road continuing from end of Alder St.;
according to AJ the ordinary class of people lived here, the
high-born people in /čmáqʷəm/. Etymology unknown so far
(though /-ǽlus/ may be eye as in [sq'əyʌ'ǽlos] (BG,LG)
squint-eyed person, cf. Halkomelem /s-q'éyʌ'/ a scar, some-
thing healed but puckered and /q'éyʌ'-θət/ to heal). The
name is the source of the language name /ɫɔ́čǽlosəm/. The
language name (in Halkomelem) /hɛlq'əméyləm/ Halkomelem lang-
uage; to speak Halkomelem has a similar etymology, from
{hɛ-ləq'éməl-íl-əm} (continuative)-Nicomen Island-go/come to-
(verbal suffix).

30. [xʷkʷəlɛ́·m] (WS,AJ), [xʷuxʸk'ʷəlɛ́m] (WS,GS), prob.
/xʷk'ʷəlǽ-m/ ~ /xʷi-xʷk'ʷəlǽ-m/. Fishtrap Cr. and a fishtrap
location on it now 400 yds. upstream from Lynden City Park.
Scouring rush-place to get and diminutive-scouring rush-place
to get; AJ says the first form means rushes; GS says
[xʷuxʸk'ʷélə] is scouring rush; /k'ʷ/ in both may be /q'ʷ/
instead as in Halkomelem /xʷəq'ʷélɛ/ scouring rush.
31. [sɛʔécnəc] (WS,AJ). A shallow lake E of /ɫčǽlus/ (#29)
and W of /k'ʷəlǽstəmʔ-əy/ (#34), formerly extending for .5
to .75 mi. W of Northwood Rd., now bisected by the railroad
and dry except in winter. If the final [c] were Halkomelem-
ized by AJ to [c ~ č] from [č] /-nəč/ (on the) bottom could
be involved; [é] may be [ǽ] in line with normal Nooksack
allophony.
32. [yúməči] /yúməč-iy/₁. A creek NE of Lynden, flowing SE
from the corner of Line Rd. and Kamm Rd. past the pit-house
site of /sp'ətús/ (#33) and into [sɛʔécnəc] (#31).
Spring salmon-place as spring salmon ran in this creek; the
first of three such place names.
33. [sp'ətó·s] (WS,GS;PF), /s-p'ətús/. Vill. NE of Lynden,
with pit-houses on hill just W of /yúməčiy/, (NE of corner
of Line Rd. and Northwood Rd.), and a plank longhouse at base
of hill .5 mi. ENE (just SW of corner of Kamm Rd. and North-
wood Rd.). EF and LG compare Nooksack [pətó·s] suddenly broke
through (brush, anything requiring struggle to get through)
and Skagit [p'ət'ósəb] brush hair back away from one's face.
34. [k'ʷəlɛ́·stəmʔθ] (WS,AJ), /k'ʷəlǽstəmʔ-əy/ or poss.

/k'ʷulǽstəm?-əy/. Prairie E of [sɛ?ɛ́cnəc] lake, poss. also
vill. or house of Sumas George (both vill. and man nicknamed
/čítmixʷ/ horned owl); the house was on a small hill 1/3 mi.
E of Northwood Rd. and 1/5 mi. N of railroad tracks. Saska-
toon berry, service berry-place because they gathered the
[k'ʷəlǽ·stəm] saskatoon or service berry (BG,LG) there and
camas [spǽnənxʷ] (BG,SJ); LG first remembered the Skagit cog-
nate [k'ʷolá·stəb] (BG,LG), [q'ʷə̓lástəb] (LT,LG) service berry.
35. [smɛ́·tɛnθot] (PF), [smɛ́·tənθot] (WS,GS), [smɛ́təncut]
(WS,AJ), /s-mǽtən-cut/. Worthen Cr. (which fed [sɛ?ɛ́cnəc]
and hosted cohos), now rerouted and called Kamm Ditch, poss.
a traditional vill. or poss. just used for farm homesteads
of Jobe /čúm/ and Tenas George nearby. Root unknown but /s-/
(nominalizer) and /-cut/ reflexive are affixes in the name.
36. "Ka-nak-na-hi" or "Knak-ni-hi" (both PJ), [kənǽkənəhay]
(OW-PJ). Pit-house site used seasonally, near and poss.
including the more recent Tenas George smokehouse near the
Worthen Cr. "Jobe" Cemetery. Prob. has /-əy ~ -iy/ place.
37. [pɛ́?ɛctəl] (PF,LG), [pɛ́?θtəl] (WS,AJ), [pǽ?æθtəl] (BG,
EF), /pǽ?æc-təl/. Vill. last occupied ca 1820's, exact loca-
tion uncertain, poss. NW corner of Jobe homestead, N of cem-
etery, E of Northwood Rd. and S of E. Badger Rd. (Jobe's
descendants include grandson Louis George [LG of PF's notes]).
AJ notes the name is from /spɛ́·θ/ black bear, using the Hal-
komelem form for Nooksack /spǽ?æc/ black bear; /-təl/ resem-
bles Halkomelem /-təl/ device, thing for, but Nooksack has
/-tən/ as in /łǽč'-tən/ knife.

38. [čá·qʷil ~ čá·kʷIl ~ čxʸá·kʷIl] (PF), [čxʸá·kʷIl] (WS,
GS), [čyákʷIl] (WS,AJ;BG,EF), [čáqʷil] (BG,SJ), /čáqʷ-il/
or prob. /čǽqʷ-il/. Place about .2 to .25 mi. S of border
where trail from villages around Lynden, Wash. going to
Matsqui, B.C. crossed Fishtrap Cr., also a fishing site by
the crossing with drying sheds and a small prairie, later
homestead of Dick Harry (Hawley) about 100 ft. N of the cr.
and 100 ft. W of Northwood Rd. Crossing (of water) or
cross (water)-go, come, get from Nooksack [čǽqʷiˇl] go across
(LT,LG), cf. also [čxʷčǽ·ˇqʷil] bridge, something one goes
across on (LT,LG); Skagit has /čáqʷil/ cross a river or lake
and Halkomelem /xʸ/ corresponds to Nooksack /č/ here; the
Nooksack forms appear influenced by both Halkomelem and Skagit.
39. [kʷakʷəhɛ́wən] (WS,AJ). Area (now Peardonville, B.C.) on
trail to Matsqui, on W bank of Fishtrap Cr. N of corner of
Huntingdon Rd. and Peardonville Rd. Cut ravine. Halkomelem
has cognate [qʷɔqʷəhíwəl] /qʷaqʷəh-íwəl/ also cut ravine,
prob. from /qʷəhɛ́/ go through an opening (as in Nooksack also,
see #27 above) and /-íwəl/ on the inside; this suggests Nook-
sack /qʷaqʷəh-íwən/ or, if [a] is really [ɔ] then /qʷuqʷəh-íwən/.
40. "Set-sóh-no-wa" ~ "Seet-seh-no-wa" (BS). First NW tribu-
tary of Fishtrap Cr. N of Peardonville, B.C., mouth now prob.
on W near corner of Echo St. (which crosses it) and Peardon-
ville Rd.; this stream has changed course several times on
the maps.
41. "Ko-kwa-ahm" (BS), [kʷakʷə?ɛ́m ~ kʷəkʷə?ɛ́m] (WS,AJ),
[kʷuk'ʷəlɛ́·m] (PF,LG), prob. /kʷukʷə?ǽm/. Second NW tributary

of Fishtrap Cr. (N of "Se(e)t-séh-no-wa"); current location is problematic; BG believes it flows by 1850 and 1831 Peardonville Rd., AR believes it crosses under Mt. Lehman Rd. N of Peardonville Rd.; it had a fish drying house on it.

42. "Pehp-she" (BS), prob. /pípš-iy/ or /p'íp'š-iy/. Third tributary of Fishtrap Cr. above Peardonville, B.C., location again problematic because of changing drainages on maps; BG believes this crosses under Mt. Lehman Rd. N of Peardonville Rd.; AR believes the location is undetermined.

43. "Seet-le-wheetsh" (BS), [yɪɬ́ə́x̌ʷɪč] (WS,AJ), prob. /yəɬíx̌ʷ-ič/, poss. /yi-ɬíx̌ʷ-ič ~ s(y)i-ɬíx̌ʷ-ič/. Uppermost N and NE tributaries of Fishtrap Cr., "last place going up Fishtrap Cr. on the way to Matsqui" (WS,AJ); a N tributary joins a NE one just S of the Trans-Canada Highway and itself has two branches 1/3 mi. upstream S of Old Yale Rd. near Townline Rd. Creek-in back from Nooksack [yəɬíx̌ʷ] (LT,LG)(/yəlíx̌ʷ/ or /yiɬíx̌ʷ/) creek (cf. Skagit /jɬíx̌ʷ/ creek); poss. alternative is three creeks-in back, suggested by a similar Halkomelem place name /sí-ɬíx̌ʷ/ Mahood Cr., which has three branches from Deer L., near Harrison L.

44. [sk'ákayəq] (WS,AJ), [skə́qayəq] (WS,GS), prob. /s-q'ə́-q'æyəx̣/. Vill. site and fishing spot on S bank of Nooksack R., across from and bet. the S ends of Northwood Rd. and Notter Rd. (on N bank). Whirlpool (WS,AJ), so called because the fast narrow stretch of water with whirlpools and eddies was and still is a good fishing spot (inherited). Cf. Halkomelem /q'éyə́x̣-əm ~ q'ə́yə́x̣-əm/ and Squamish /s-q'yáx̣-atq̌ʷúʔm/ both whirlpool.

45. [ʔə́·yʔx̌ʸɪl] (BG), a Matsqui Halkomelem version of a Nooksack name. A trading place near the mouth of Timon Cr. where the Lummi and Nooksack brought loads of food by canoe for trading; Timon Cr. has been ditched and disrupted so the former mouth is hard to find; a 1908 map showed the cr. crossing Timon Rd. .1 mi. W of Notter Rd. close to its mouth. The Halkomelem means bring(ing) a load of food (by canoe) for trade; Upriver Halkomelem also has /ʔí·x̌ʸəl/ paddling a canoe; Nooksack has [ʔíšilʔ] /ʔíšilʔ/ paddle a canoe and /ʔəy ʔíšilʔ/ paddling a canoe (BG,SJ).

46. [kʷəckʷəc'á·y] (PF,LG), [kʷəθ'kʷəθ'áy] (WS,GS), [kʷaθ'kʷəθ'áy] (WS,AJ), poss. /kʷəc'kʷəc'-áy ~ kʷac'kʷac'-áy/. Timon Prairie, an area 100 yds. S of the corner of Timon Rd. and Slotemaker Rd.; its open ground had wild vegetables and its brush section was good for deer and willow (ruffed) grouse /kʷə́c'kʷəc'/ (Halkomelem /skʷə́θ'kʷəθ' ~ skʷə́θ'/, both /kʷ/ ~ /qʷ/). Willow grouse-place.

47. "Mat-cha-ni" (PJ), [mə́tčənə] (OW-PJ), prob. /mə́č'æn-əy/. A place 4 mi. E of Lynden where black hawthorn berries were plentiful, poss. extending NE from near corner of Hampton Rd. and Trapline Rd. to Johnson Cr. where a 1908 map shows a swampy area, the appropriate habitat for black hawthorn. Black hawthorn berry-place, cf. Halkomelem /mə́c'əl/ black hawthorn berry.

48. [šp'áp'qʷos] (WS,AJ), poss. /š(xʷ)-p'áp'qʷ-us/. Place on S bank of Nooksack R. above /kʷəc'kʷəc'áy/ and about 1 to

2.5 mi. below Everson. <u>Clear bank</u> (WS,AJ) with /-us/ being
<u>face; face of bank or cliff</u>; Louisa George also compares
Nooksack [p'ap'qᵂós] <u>brush hair back away from face</u>.
49. [k'ᵂéixʸIlwɛɬ] (WS,GS). Fountain L., used by the
/sqᵂəhǽlič/ people; wild cranberries and Labrador tea used
to grow in a bog off the E side of the lake. It is unclear
so far how to phonemicize and segment, poss. /k'ᵂíyš-ilwæɬ/,
/k'ᵂíš-il-wæɬ/, /k'ᵂíy-xʸil-wæɬ/, etc. Various Halkomelem
elements might be compared, /k'ᵂíy/ <u>climb</u>, /k'ᵂəxʸ/ <u>count</u>,
/xʸəl/ (Nooksack /-šən/) <u>foot, leg</u>, /-ílwəɬ/ <u>side</u>, /-wəɬ/
<u>canoe</u>. [xʸ] is Halkomelem influenced for /š/.
50. [sqəlǽw?] (BG,EF), /sqəl(?)ǽw?/. Green L., at end of
Lunde Rd.; beaver workings are still visible in the swampy
border of the lake. <u>Beaver</u> from [sqəl?ǽw?](LT,LG,SJ;BG,LG),
[sqəlǽw?] (BG,SJ,EF) <u>beaver</u>; Upriver Halkomelem has cognate
/sqəlǽ·w/ <u>beaver</u>.
51. [nIkiyéy] (WS,AJ). Some say this is the name of Ten-Mile
Prairie. See #5 above also.
52. "Pop-a-ho-my" (PJ), [papəhomiy] (OW-PJ), [papᵃhó·may]
(WS,AJ), [papəhomay] (BG,EF), /papəhóm-ay/. Place on S bank
of Nooksack R. at former Nooksack Crossing, bet. .2 and .4 mi.
below and W of present Everson highway bridge. <u>Frog, toad-</u>
<u>place</u> from Nooksack /pipəhóm?/ (LT,LG,SJ).
53. [sx̣ᵂéyƛ'] or [sx̣ᵂé·ƛ'], /sx̣ᵂíƛ'/. Small vill. or farm
settlement of Captain John and associated prairie, across the
Nooksack R. from /kᵂǽnəč/ (Everson). Apparently named after
Captain John's nickname, /sx̣ᵂíƛ'/, which in turn means

bush robin (varied thrush) in Nooksack; cf. Halkomelem /sx̣ᵂíƛ'/
<u>bush robin, varied thrush</u>.
54. [kᵂǽ·nəč], /kᵂǽnəč/. A major traditional vill. includ-
ing most of Everson, on E bank of Nooksack R., especially at
site of Kale Cannery. EF derives it from Nooksack /kᵂǽ/
<u>lots</u> and /-nəč/ <u>at the bottom</u> because of two fish traps at
/papəhómay/; LG (in LT) thinks it refers to a shallow-water
stretch at Everson, which people had to pull their canoes
over instead of poling.
55. "Kwil-tel-lum-un" (BS). Prairie bet. Nooksack R. and
Sumas R., centered about .5 mi. E of the Everson city center.
56. [noxᵂsú·t] (PF), prob. /nuxᵂ-sút/. Homestead of Charlie
[læwíčtən] /læwíčtən/ (anglicized to Charlie Lewiston), E of
railroad tracks in town of Nooksack, W of Sumas R., S of
Breckenridge Rd.; not a traditional vill. but poss. named
before Charlie homesteaded in 1874.
57. [čəƛ'əhǽləwəm], prob. /čəƛ'ə-hǽləw-əm/ or
/č'əƛ'əhǽ-ləw-əm/. Breckenridge Cr., traditionally fished
for cohoes; Antone homesteaded here. <u>Rocky bottom creek</u>
from root [čƛ'ǽ] (BG,LG) ~ [č'íⁿƛ'æ] (LT,LG) <u>rock</u> (cf.
N. Lushootseed /č'ƛ'á?/, S. Lushootseed /č'əƛ'ə?/ <u>rock</u>).
58. "Koh-yotl" (BS), poss. [kᵂəyúɬ] (BG,LG). A cr. tributary
to Sumas R., in the town of Nooksack, prob. developed new
channels several times since 1857-1861 Boundary Survey, now
crosses Nooksack Ave. (Highway 9) N of Lincoln St. and has
mouth near Gillies Rd., .5 mi. N of Breckenridge Rd.
59. "Hoo-mal-so-melp" (BS), [mǽ·lsəmət] (PF,LG), [mǽlsəməɬp]

(PF,JG), prob. /xʷ-málsəm-eɬp ~ málsəm-eɬp/. Marshes on W
side of Sumas R. near corner of Telegraph Rd. and North Pass
Rd., 2 mi. S of Sumas, Wash.; tall marsh blueberries and
cranberries grew here, and red face paint clay, /tɵmeɬ/ was
also gathered here. <u>Always-tall marsh blueberry-bush</u>.

60. "Yuch-wun-neh-ukw" (BS). Prairie E of Sumas R., 1 mi.
SE of Sumas, Wash., .5 to .75 mi. wide and 1 to 1.5 mi. long
by Sumas R., centered near corner of Rock Rd. and Sumas Rd.
Poss. /yuxʷ(-)un-íqʷ/ or /yəxʷ(-)ən-íqʷ/ but /qʷ/ could be
/q'ʷ/ or /x̣ʷ/ instead.

61. [təmí·xʷtən] (PF;WS,AJ,GS;BG,LG), /təmíxʷ-tən/. An old
vill. (archaeological site 45WH5) at mouth of Johnson Cr.
with pit-houses inhabited till about 1825 (due to flood)
and then longhouses; later a descendant and her husband home-
steaded the site, at N end of Victoria St. at E edge of the
town of Sumas. <u>Earth-device</u>, not the usual word for pit-house
in Nooksack which is /sqəmín/ (Halkomelem /sqə́məl/).

62. "Tum-mehw-tan" (BS), certainly /təmíxʷ-tæn/. Johnson Cr.;
name prob. located incorrectly on Boundary Survey map (as just
downstream from and nearly across from where "Koh-yotl" enters
Sumas R., poss. as Kinney Cr.) but listed correctly in the
Indian Nomenclature pages; confirmed by the fact that a creek
and the vill. at its mouth usually have the same name.

63. "Ne-see-sa-áhk" (BS). Small prairie just above mouth of
Johnson Cr., near the corner of Mitchell St. and Gough St.
in Sumas, extending NE toward the cr. mouth. Poss.
/nu(xʷ)-si-sæ?áq/ <u>always-little-bracken fern root</u>.

64. "Ne-óh-ku-nóoh-tan" (BS). A wet prairie just N of Clear-
brook and 1 mi. W of Sumas, includes Pangborn L. and on the
Boundary Survey map may also be the name of the cr. which
drains the lake E into Johnson Cr.; "Ne-óh-ku-nóoh-tan" Cr.
crosses Van Buren Rd.

65. [c'ə?á·ləsəm] (PF,LG), [c'ə?áləsəm] (WS,GS), Nooksack
[č'ə?áləsəm] (WS,AJ) vs. Halkomelem [c'ə?áləsəm] (WS,AJ),
/č'ə?áləs-əm/. Vill. and fishtrap site at Clearbrook, Wash.
(the modern town is on Clearbrook Rd. on top of a hill at
the crossing of former Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul + Pacific
Railroad tracks); there were one or two Indian houses here
and a vegetable patch where chocolate lily, camas, and
/c'óɵələ/ were raised. <u>Resting place</u> (WS,GS), cf. Halkomelem
/c'á·lə́s-əm/ <u>turn around</u>, with /c'/ corresponding to Nooksack
/č'/; further support for /č'/ in #66 next.

66. "Cháh-á-la-sum" ("corrected" to "Cháh-la-sum")(BS),
/č'ə?áləs-əm/. Prairie at foot of Clearbrook hill, extend-
ing up to 1 mi. S of Clearbrook, prob. included the vegetable
grounds.

67. [pɛ́?ɛctəl] (WS,LG), /pǽ?æc-təl/. Creek going to [drain-
ing?] Pangborn L. (PF,LG), though this may be in doubt since
it is so far from /pǽ?æctəl/ vill. (#37).

68. "Sháhs-ma-koom" (BS). Large marsh-like prairie N of
Huntingdon, B.C., extends N from Vye Rd. to Lonzo Cr. about
2 mi., the E edge is within .5 mi. of the part Nooksack/part
Stalo (Sumas Halkomelem) vill. at "Upper Sumas" (now Sumas
Indian Reserve #7). "Sháhs-" is unclear (unless /šxʷ-/

(nominalizer)), but "ma-koom" is /máq^{w}əm/ marsh, sphagnum bog;
Labrador tea; this is the kind of bog that grows Labrador tea,
cranberries and tall marsh blueberries; blueberries are still
grown in the area commercially.

69. "Tah-ta-lá-o" (BS), prob. /tatelé·w/ (Halkomelem), poss.
/tatelǽw/ (Nooksack). Upper Sumas R. which drained into
former Sumas L. This name resembles Halkomelem /s-tátəlo(w)/
creek and not Nooksack /s-tútəlo(w)/ creek and may be a Sumas
dialect Halkomelem name; Upper Sumas vill. (Sumas I.R. #7),
otherwise unnamed, might be expected to have this name, being
so close to the mouth of upper Sumas R.

70. "Klǎa-lum" (BS). Saar Cr., formerly flowed into Sumas L.
on its SW shore about 2 mi. S of Kilgard, B.C., originates
5 mi. E of Nooksack, Wash., name shown on map close to mouth
on Sumas L., could be Halkomelem or Nooksack. Poss.
[x'ǽləm] or [ɫǽləm] (meanings uncertain but Nooksack
/ɫǽl-il/ is land a canoe).

71. "Kwul-stǎnn" (BS). Creek formerly entering Sumas L. (in
B.C.) on its S shore, hard to locate now due to draining of
the lake and ditching of most of its tributaries; could be
a) creek E or b) creek W of Powerhouse Rd. by Vedder Mt., or
c) Arnold Slough leading SW and NE from Vye Rd. crossing.
Prob. a Nooksack name due to prob. final /-ǽn/ (transitivizer)
or /-tǽn/ device (Halkomelem downriver has /-tən/).

72. [semǽc xǽčoʔ]/semǽc xǽču?/ ([semǽc] [LT,LG] may point
toward a variant /sem?ǽc xǽču?/), Halkomelem [semǽ·θ xá·cɛ]
/semǽ·θ xá·cɛ/. Sumas L., a huge shallow lake NE of Hunting-
don, B.C., bounded by Sumas Mt. on NW and Vedder Mt. on SE,
drained 1920-1923. Level place lake (Wells-Kelleher 1966;
the same source gives the literal meaning of [mǽθəx^{w}i]
/mǽθəx^{w}i/ Matsqui as a rising ground). Since no dialect of
Halkomelem has /c/ corresponding to Upriver /θ/ but Nooksack
has, it seems /semǽc/ or /sem?ǽc/, as given by Nooksack eld-
ers, is a true Nooksack version of this name; the Nooksacks
used the W and S shores to fish, hunt birds, and dig wapatos
(arrowleaf tubers) though the lake name was prob. Halkomelem
in origin.

73. [sčá^{w}x^{w}x^{y}In - cčá·^{w}wIšx^{y}In] (PF), [čáu?x^{y}In - cčáu?x^{y}In]
(WS,GS), [ščáu?^{i}šen] (WS,AJ), prob. /s-čǽw?-šən/ or /s-čǽw?-šin/,
poss. /č-čǽw?-šən/. Vill. on E bank of Nooksack R. about 2 mi.
upriver from Everson, .5 mi. W of Nooksack Rd. (Highway 9) and
2/3 mi. S of Massey Rd., vill. of Jim Kelly /leq^{w}əlqínəm/
who homesteaded here; a trail from Fraser R. came out here
(poss. now gravel rd. at end of left turn past barn from
Massey Rd.); when no one was home travellers shouted across
the river to /xəlxǽl?æltx^w/ to be taken across. Trail coming
to river/beach from /s-/ (nominalizer), /čǽw?/ down to/on the
beach, /-šən/ or /-šin/ on the foot or leg; if [cč] is genuine
it is prob. a Halkomelemization of Nooksack [čč] (preconsonan-
tal /c/ → [c] in Halkomelem), and Nooksack /č-/ is attested
elsewhere, for example in #28.

74. [xəlxéleltx^w] (WS,GS,AJ), [xəlxel'éltx^w] (WS,GS;PF minus [']),
/xəl-xǽl?-æltx^w ~ xəl-xæl?-ǽltx^w/. Vill. on W bank with fish-
trap and big smokehouse/longhouse painted with stripes of

/témeł/ red ochre to ward off disease, later on homestead of Long Johnny /səq'qínəm/ (also called Johnny Suckanon), present access from Mission Rd. via the DeJaeger farm road. Painted up house, literally many times-paint, mark, write-house, cf. /x̣él?-ən?/ write or mark something.

75. [x̣ʷc'élsus] (WS,GS), prob. /x̣ʷ-c'él-cut/, poss. /x̣ʷ-c'élsus/. Lake back of /x̣əlx̣él?æltx̣ʷ/, prob. Fazon L. which is 2.25 mi. SW of (and closest to) /x̣əlx̣él?æltx̣ʷ/; Fazon L. is said to have its Indian name because it is bottomless with a hole going out to sea (BG,EF,LG); LG compares Nooksack /č'él-cut/ whirlwind-like water or hole that people sink through; cf. also Hess 1976 Lushootseed /ʔu-c'él-cut/ hide oneself with root /c'él-/ obstruct the view.

76. [c'úc'um'εls] (WS,AJ), [c'úc'um?εls] (BG,EF,LG), /c'úc'um?-æls/. A big rock hill with outcroppings of sandstone, on the Coffee Johnson homestead, W of railroad tracks W of Roberts Rd., .5 mi. N of Martin Rd. File because sandstone slabs from here were used to file things; cf. Halkomelem /θ'ámels/ to file (with /-els/ do as an activity).

77. [təmíx̣ʷtən] /təmíx̣ʷ-tən/. A place near /c'úc'um?æls/ where some Nooksacks got /témeł/ red ochre clay, near or on Coffee Johnson's homestead. Earth, dirt-device, thing for.

78. [x̣ʷsǽ·q ~ x̣ʷsέ?εq ~ nəx̣ʷsǽ·q] (WS,GS), [x̣ʷsέ?εq'] (PF), [nŮx̣ʷsǽ?æq ~ nŮx̣ʷsǽ·q] (BG, various elders), [nux̣ʷsǽ?æq ~ nux̣ʷsǽ·q] (BG,SJ), /nux̣ʷ-sǽ?æq ~ x̣ʷ-sǽ?æq/. Anderson Cr. and especially the area at its mouth. Always-bracken fern root; cf. Halkomelem [nŮx̣ʷ] /nəx̣ʷ-/ ~ /x̣ʷ-/ always and [sǽ·q] /sέ·q/

bracken fern root; this place name is the source of the name for the people, Nooksack; the creek mouth formerly had many bracken ferns growing by it whose roots could be harvested for food.

79. "St-yhaw-yhau-yhan" (PJ 1964). Vegetable patch with big smokehouse in the area of Anderson Creek, see #80. Poss. /č-x̣ʸæw-x̣ʸǽwq-æn/ (verbalizer)-plural (many)-wild carrot-(transitivizer), /x̣ʸ/ Halkomelem-influenced for /š/, Nooksack /šǽwəq/ wild carrot (prob. wild caraway, Perideridia gairdneri), and C₁V₁C₂- plural (many); PJ uses "St-" for preconsonantal /č-/ elsewhere, i.e., "St-sew-hal" for #73, presumably to show [cčǽw?x̣ʸIl] (Halkomelemized) for /č-čǽw?-šən/.

80. [spǽ·łx̣ən] /spǽłx̣ən/. A major traditional vill. on Johnson Island opposite mouth of Anderson Cr., it had a big smokehouse (longhouse), also a prairie W of the 19th century mouth where /šǽwəq/ wild carrot (prob. wild caraway) was harvested in marked family plots. Prairie, meadow, open land (which is what is meant by "prairie" throughout this paper). The carrot patch was prob. named as in #79.

81. [susx̣ǽ·y], poss. /susx̣-ǽy/ or /susx̣-óy/. An area near (but not in) Anderson Cr., about 2.5 mi. above its mouth, near the corner of Sand Rd. and Smith Rd., poss. a bog (shown on an 1884 map) E of Anderson Cr. and extending from this corner N for about .5 mi.; the name is similar or identical to "So-sai" (BS) (#19 above) which is the swampy head of Campbell R.; this name attested only from a non-speaker of Nooksack but the wife of SJ.

82. [ləleʔáʔay] (WS,AJ), [ləleʔáʔiy] (BG,EF), prob. /ləleʔáʔay/
or better /ləleʔǽʔæy/. Place on the N bank of Nooksack R.
where Old Bill Soce /cʼús/ homesteaded; there is no record
of an earlier vill.; now washed away by the river, the /cʼús/
house site was .5 mi. S of a later house (built ca. 1900) now
on the present bank and about .2 mi. W of the end of George
Rd. (on the Indian trust road); some old Douglas firs and
fruit trees remain. <u>Douglas fir trees</u> from [ləʔǽyʔæy ~
ləʔǽyʔey] (BG,SJ), [lɛʔǽyʼɛyʼ] (LT,LG), [slǽyʔæyʔ] (BG,LG)
<u>Douglas fir tree</u> (itself with /-(ʔ)æy/ <u>tree</u> or <u>bark</u>) plus
/-lə-/ infix <u>plural</u>.

83. [łóqʼqɛn] (BG,SJ), prob. /łóqʼ-qæn/. Place on Nooksack R.
just below where Smith Cr. now enters Nooksack R.

84. [yəχsá·y] (PF;WS,GS), [yəχsǽ·y] (WS,GS;BG,SJ,LG), /yəχsáy
~ yəχsǽy/. Smith Cr. and vill. at its mouth; the vill. was
on E bank of the river, N of the mouth, and was homesteaded
by Sampson Santla /sǽƛʼə/; the vill. site, /sǽƛʼə/ house site,
and creek mouth were all washed away by the Nooksack R. (the
sites are now on the W bank) but were about .2 mi. W of the
home of the granddaughter of /sǽƛʼə/ (Tillie Sampson) on High-
way 9, .25 mi. W of Lawrence.

85. [θí·θiχ] (PF,GS), [θí·θIχ ~ cícɪəχ] (WS,GS), /cí-ciχ/.
Vill. site variously located "just above Lawrence", "above
the river", and "1/4 mi. upriver from" /yəχsǽy/ (Smith Cr.);
if these are accurate the vill. was poss. in the area SW of
the Lind Rd. bridge over Smith Cr. and NW of the end of "Back
Acre" rd.; if the locations are inaccurate poss. on Rutsatz
Slough. <u>Little-spring</u>.

86. "Dep-dap-y" (PJ), [tʼəpʼtʼɛ́·pʼe] (PF), [tʼəptʼǽpiy] (BG,
EF), /tʼəp-tʼǽp-iy/, poss. /tʼæp-tʼǽp-iy/. Vill. site on
Nooksack R. at or slightly below Nugent's bridge of Mt. Baker
Highway; also a large smokehouse there pre-contact. <u>Many
dead trees</u>, literally <u>plural (many)-die (of tree or plant)-
tree</u> (cf. Halkomelem /tʼɛ́p-iy-θət/ <u>to die (of tree, plant)</u>,
/s-tʼɛ́p-iy/ <u>dead (of tree, plant)</u>; so named because /χǽls/
the Transformer turned some trees to stone there; EF had some
and it was petrified wood; PJ says it was so named because a
forest fire had deadened many trees there.

87. [kʼʷikʼʷəqácut] (BG,LG), /kʼʷi-kʼʷəq-ácut/ (a Skagit name
but prob. very close to the Nooksack also). A big rock in
Nooksack R. on SW side, just above (upriver from) Nugent's
bridge and below /kʷikʷəqʼús/ (#88); nothing grows on this
rock which looks like a person lying on his back rocking back
and forth. <u>(Diminutive)-fall or lie on one's back (reflexive)</u>,
cf. Hess 1976 Lushootseed /kʼʷóq/ <u>fall or lie on one's back</u>.

88. [kʷí·kʷixʸos] (PF), [qʷóqʷəºχos] (WS,GS), [qʼʷəqʼʷχʷós ~
qʼʷəqʼʷqʷós ~ qʷqʼʷós] (BG,LG)(latter set prob. Skagit),
prob. Nooksack /qʷíqʷixʷ-us/ ~ /kʷíkʷəqʼ-us/ ~ Skagit
/qʷəqʷqʼʷ-ús ~ qʷqʼʷ-ús/. Vill., plant-gathering site and
fishing site on N bank of Nooksack R. opposite the blue clay
"white face" slide about 2.5 mi. upriver from Nugent's bridge,
prob. S of Williams Rd. near home of Mrs. Gus Compton (SW cor-
ner on Williams Rd.); roots of a plant like the sand rush,
prob. horsetail, were dug for food (root nodules eaten like
hazelnuts). <u>Little-white-face</u> from Nooksack /kʷóqʼ/ <u>white</u>,

Skagit /qʷeqʼʷ-/ white, Skagit /(xʷ-)qʷqʼʷús/ bluff of clay
or sand (not of rock) (Skagit from Hess 1976), (diminutive)
reduplication; the etymology of /qʷíqʷixʷ-us/ is similar,
but the root /qʷíxʷ-/ is so far uncertain; PJ says the name
means the place for digging roots.

89. "Le-ma-oth" (PJ), [ləməó·θ] (PF,GS), [ləmə?óɬ] (BG,LG),
poss. /ləmə?-úc/ or /ləmə?-úɬ/. Fishing rock for dip-nets
and set-nets on the E bank of the Nooksack R. .5 mi. upriver
from Deming, due W of N edge of Mud L., in NW corner of the
Skookum George /xʷáxʷələč/ homestead. PJ says it means
taking the salt water away from a legend about when salt
water extended inland to this point; LG and EF say it may be
related to Nooksack /ləmə?-úɬ/ kicking (BG,EF), also cf.
Nooksack [ləmə?-ǽ·n] kick something; poss. /-úc ~ -íʔc/
edge; (perhaps) mouth, though mouth is usually /-úcin/; poss.
/-úɬ/ (past tense).

90. "Kisk-a-wel" (PJ), [kískəwél] (OW-PJ), [kʷí·ɬqawɛ·lʔ]
(PF,GS), [qʼéɬkowɛ·l] (PF,AM), [kɛɬkəwél] (WS,AM). A fishing
rock (dip-net and eddy set-net) on the E bank of the Nooksack
R. .25 mi. downriver from the mouth of the South Fork, on S
end of Skookum George homestead by present Almajaro place.
EF says the word means underwater eddy that leads out under-
ground to somewhere else; Nooksack /kʼʷóɬ/ flow, spill (BG,LG)
could be related.

91. "Ag-a-thot" (PJ), [?ǽygəθat] (OW-PJ). Cooper's Rock,
part of a rocky cliff on W bank of Nooksack R., immediately
downstream from the mouth of South Fork, on the John Whichtalum

/xʷičtʼíləm/ place; PJ says it is the reach of rapids here
and means swift waters. Jeffcott's pronunciation sheds some
light on the possible form of this name: the word may begin
(as OW-PJ has it) with ?æy- (continuative); there is no [g]
in Nooksack but GS has [xáƛʼθot] (BG,GS), /xáƛʼ-cut/ get
rough-flowing (of wind, water), and LG has [xǽƛʼ] blowing
hard (of wind); so the name may be /?æy-xǽƛʼ-cut/ getting
turbulent.

92. [no?xʷí·əm ~ ?xʷí·əm] (PF,GS,AM), [nəxʷ?óəm ~ xʷ?óəm ~
nəxʷ?ím] (WS,GS), [xʷ?eʔyʼəm] (LT,LG), [nUxʷ?óyəm ~ nUxʷ?íyəm ~
xʷ?íyəm] (BG,LG,EF,others), [šxʷ?óy?ɨm] (BG,SJ), /nuxʷ-?íy(?)-əm
~ xʷ-?íy(?)-əm/. South Fork (tributary) of Nooksack R. and
the major vill. at its mouth, with longhouses on both sides
of the mouth (one on the Charlie Adass place, .25 mi. S of
the Highway 9 bridge W of the railroad tracks; another prob.
across the South Fork on the John Whichtalum place [now washed
away]; a third .25 mi. S on the Tom Hyladdis place); this vill.
was home of Humptlalum /xəmƛʼíləm/, an important 19th century
Nooksack leader. (Always) clear water because the water is
non-glacial and clear, in contrast to the other Forks.

93. [sqʼʷəxáqən] /s-qʼʷəxáqən/, (Skagit [qʼxʷáxad] [BG,LG]).
Billy Williams' place bet. Rutsatz Slough (#94) and the main
channel of the North Fork, within .25 mi. W and NW of a pre-
sent Nooksack tribal fish dam on Rutsatz Slough; Billy Williams
[wIl?íməltxʷ] (later known as [wíləmat] Willemot, then Williams)
built three houses here bet. 1875 and 1900 on his homestead.

94. [cícix̌] /cí-cix̌/. Tom Williams' Cr., also called

Rutsatz Slough, flowing beside Rutsatz Rd. for about 1 mi.,
fished aboriginally for dog salmon. Little-spring from the
many small springs along it even today.

95. [nuxʷtéqʼum ~ xʷtíqʷəm] (WS,GS), [nŮxʷtʼíqʷəm ~
nŮxʷtʼíqʼʷəm] (BG,LG), [xʷtʼí·qʼʷəm] (LT,LG), prob.
/nuxʷ-tʼíqʼʷəm ~ xʷ-tʼíqʼʷəm/. Middle Fork of Nooksack R.
and vill. at its mouth on the flat on the S side (prob. last
occupied before 1820); the fork was a major route to Mt.
Baker; only steelhead run here. Always-murky water due to
its turbulent glacial water. The root is prob. /tʼíqʼʷəm/
muddy or murky water (BG,LG), the variability in glottali-
zation prob. being due to influence of Skagit /tʼíqʼʷəb/
murky, Halkomelem /tʼókʷtʼəkʷ/ muddy, /tʼókʷ/ mired, and poss.
/səʼí·qəl/ mud, cf. also Squamish /tíqʷ/ muddy and
/tʼókʷtʼəkʷ/ very muddy.

96. [yúməči] /yúməč-iy/₂. Poss. name for Canyon Cr. on the
Middle Fork, although there is no evidence that spring salmon
run here; poss. another creek in the area. Spring salmon-
place.

97. [čuɛlǏc ~ čuʼɛlǏc̦] (WS,GS), [čuwʼɛ́lič] (BG,LG),
[xʷčəwʼɛ́·lʼič] (LT,LG), /čuwʼɛ́-lič/. North Fork of Nooksack
R., important fishing river and access to mountain areas for
hunting (mountain goats, etc.) and berrying; no permanent
villages. LG compares Skagit [čgʷáʼlič] the next point and
Halkomelem [čəwɛ́] /čəwɛ́/ neighboring.

98. "Koo-la-wheh" ~ "Ko-la-wheh" (BS), [kʼʷúləxʷey ~ kʼʷúlʼŮxʷey]
(BG,SJ), /kʼʷúləxʷ-iy ~ kʼʷúlʼux̌ʷ-iy/, /kʼʷ/ poss.~/qʼʷ/.

Alternate name for North Fork. Dog salmon-place from
/kʼʷúləxʷ ~ kʼʷúlʼux̌ʷ/ sometimes ~ /qʼʷúlʼux̌ʷ/ dog salmon.

99. Halkomelem [x̌ʷqólóm] /x̌ʷ-qól-óm/. Alternate name (poss.
also Nooksack) for North Fork, used by some elders. Always-
dirty water from root /qól/ bad, dirty because of its water
from snow melt and glaciers.

100. [xʷkʼʷólʼəx̌ʷɛm] (WS,GS), [xʷkʼʷólʼəx̌ʷi] (BG), [kʼʷólʼux̌ʷʼay]
(BG,LG), [kʼʷólʼəx̌ʷi] (BG,EF), prob. /xʷ-kʼʷúlʼəx̌ʷ-æm/ ~
/(xʷ-)kʼʷúlʼux̌ʷ-iy/. Kendall Cr. and seasonal vill. at its
mouth; many people camped here to catch and smoke-dry dog
salmon. Always-dog salmon-place to get (with /-æm/) and
always-dog salmon-place (with /-iy/).

101. "Koh-yooth" (BS). Vill. at mouth of Kendall Cr. on W
bank, now within the grounds of Washington State Salmon
Hatchery; shown only on Boundary Survey map; the same vill.
as in #100.

102. "Pekosie" (BS-Baker 1900). Maple Cr.; the Nooksack
fished for dog salmon at the falls of this creek, near the
town of Maple Falls. See #104.

103. "Pekosie" (BS). Silver L. (the source of Maple Cr.),
on the main travel route through Columbia Valley to Cultus L.,
B.C. and the Chilliwack area. See #104.

104. "Pe-ko-sie" (BS). Red Mt., W of Silver L. and extending
5 mi. SW to near Kendall, Wash. There are several active
lime quarries on Red Mt.; this suggests a poss. etymology:
/pʼɛqʼ-ús-iy/ white-face-place after natural exposures of
white limestone on the mountain; it would require a mixture

of Halkomelem (/p'óq'/ white vs. Nooksack /kʷóq'/ white) and Nooksack ([ós]/-ús/ face vs. Halkomelem /-á·s ~ -əs/ face, and Nooksack /-iy/ place), but both languages were spoken at Cultus L. not 4 mi. N of Silver L.; indeed, the two roots are very close in shape. Just such a place name is attested already in Halkomelem, /ləxʷ-p'ó-p'əq'-əs/ always-many little-white-face, a mountain bet. Yale and Hope, on the W bank of Fraser R., so named because it has white mineral deposits visible in many places (some are mined). Lakes and rivers are often named after the largest nearby mountain in Halkomelem and prob. also in Nooksack, thus #102 and #103.

105. "Kaisoots" (BS), "Kaisootst" (BS-Baker 1900). Bald Mt., N of Canyon Cr. on North Fork, 2 mi. S of the border. Poss. has Nooksack /-ú?c/ edge (cf. /-á·θ/ in Halkomelem).

106. "Cowap" (BS). Canyon Cr. on North Fork. Prob. one syllable since not syllabified, poss. /qʷǽp/ comparable to the Halkomelem place name /s-qʷǽ·-p/ (nominalizer)-get hole-in dirt, ground, the name for a moraine lake near summit of Cheam Peak (on its S side) and also for Chipmunk Cr. which has its source in the lake; Canyon Cr. has three to four such moraine lakes as sources (for tributaries Kidney Cr. and Whistler Cr. on Church Mt. and Canyon L., the first source of Canyon Cr. near Excelsior Peak).

107. "Na-e-wha-quam" (PJ). A stopping place at the mouth of Canyon Cr. (on North Fork) for mountain goat hunters.

108. "Show-ak" (BS). Church Mt.; the Nooksacks used to get mountain goats here.

109. "Noo-tóh-akwoom" (BS), certainly /nuxʷ-t'íq'ʷəm/ as in #95. Shown as Glacier Cr. on the Boundary Survey map, always-murky as a glacial creek from Mt. Baker; however in the Indian Nomenclature manuscript it is identified only as "branch of Nooksack", and on the map the Middle Fork (which should have this name as in #95) is entirely missing. In Baker 1900 this name for Glacier Cr. is replaced by "Noochsakatsu" (#110).

110. "Noochsakatsu" (BS-Baker 1900). Glacier Cr., the first direct route to Mt. Baker from the North Fork and thus prob. well-known to the Nooksack people. Prob. has /nuxʷ-/ prefix.

111. "Tchahko" (BS). A creek entering the North Fork from the S bet. Glacier Cr. and Nooksack Falls; the Boundary Survey sources locate it 3 mi. above (E of) Glacier Cr., but no creek currently enters the North Fork there; poss. Thompson Cr. if its mouth was there previously, otherwise poss. Deadhorse Cr. 5.5 mi. above Glacier Cr. Apparently the word is a single syllable with labialized velar or postvelar.

112. [spəɬpǽɬxən] (WS,GS), /s-pəɬ-pǽɬxən/. Meadows (4500 to 5500 ft.) at the foot of Mt. Baker; Nooksacks, especially from Middle Fork, camped here, and each family had its own camp where it dried meat and berries. (Nominalizer)-plural (many)-prairie, meadow.

113. [kʷəlžǽ·n] (WS,GS;BG,LG,EF), /kʷəlž-ǽn/. The high open slopes of Mt. Baker clear of underbrush where the Nooksacks hunted (WS,GS). Shooting place (WS,GS) or shoot (with bow and arrow)-(transitivizer) from Nooksack /kʷóɬž/ to shoot (with bow and arrow)(later with gun); this is likely the

source of the names for Mt. Baker in the neighboring lang-
uages: Halkomelem /k^{w}əlx^y-ɛ́·lx^w/ (Halkomelem /k^{w}ə́lɛx^y/ to
shoot [with bow and arrow, later with gun]) and Lummi
/k^{w}əlɛ̌ɛ́n/. The U.S. Forest Service and other non-Indian
sources often cite the Indian name or Nooksack name for Mt.
Baker as "Koma Kulshan"; this may be Nooksack [k^{w}ə́mæ k^{w}əlɛ̌ǽ·n]
/k^{w}úmæ k^{w}əlɛ̌ǽn/ go up high or way back in mountains shooting
(place) from [k^{w}ə́mæ] /k^{w}úmæ/ go up high or way back in moun-
tains (BG,GS,LG), prob. a phrase rather than the proper name.
114. [k^{w}ə́q' smǽ·nIt] (WS,GS;BG,LG), /k^{w}ə́q' smǽnit/. Mt. Baker,
especially the glacier-covered top (above 7000 ft.). White
plus mountain.
115. "Te-kó-meh" (BS), Lushootseed /təq^{w}úbə?/ any snow-capped
mountain (Hess 1976:424, root /q^{w}ú/ water). Given in the
Boundary Survey materials as the name for Mt. Baker; also
used by Lushootseed speakers for Mt. Rainier (thus the name
Tacoma). "Tuk-we-sallie" (BS) is another alternate name for
Mt. Baker, pencilled on the main map; the Teosaluk map
(always referred to as such in this paper) has "Tuk-wesállie"
which could be Nooksack with /-ǽli/ container of or it could
be Thompson.
116. "Pút-lush-go-hap" (BS-Baker 1900). American Border Peak
and/or Mt. Larrabee which are connected by a high ridge and
are immediately NE of Tomyhoi L. (#117); Baker 1900 gives the
summit elevation of Mt. Larrabee and the location of American
Border Peak, thus implying the name applies to both.
117. "Put-lush-go-hap" (BS), poss. "Páp-loshe-ko" (BS-Teosaluk).

Tomyhoi L., at the head of Tomyhoi Cr. (U.S.) or Tamihi Cr.
(B.C.); the creek is a tributary of Chilliwack R. and is
named in Halkomelem /t'ɛmiyɛ-hǽ·y stǽtələw/ deformed human,
hermaphrodite-finish creek from the name for adjacent Mt.
McGuire, /t'ɛmiyɛhǽ·y/ where deformed babies were left to
die; the spelling in the U.S., Tomyhoi, prob. reflects the
Nooksack pronunciation, not attested but prob. ending in the
cognate Nooksack [hoy?] or [húy?] to finish, end, which is
attested.
118. "Yeh-mann" (BS), "E-maan" (BS-Teosaluk). Goat Mt., N
of North Fork and E of Swamp Cr.
119. "Spespaas" (BS). Swamp Cr. and/or Twin Lakes (which are
drained by Swamp Cr.), the creek is a N tributary of North
Fork, entering 1/3 mi. above the last Mt. Baker Highway bridge.
Prob. has (nominalizer) and plural (many) reduplication.
120. "Nuquoichum" (BS-Baker 1900). Swamp Cr. (alternate name
in Baker 1900). Poss. /nux^w-húčəm/ always-water.
121. "Nuks-hah-sum" (BS), "Noots-háh-tsum" (BS-Teosaluk).
North Fork above Swamp Cr.; here the North Fork has many
sloughs and swampy areas or small lakes; one of the Teosaluk
maps shows the name on a larger fast cr. draining the N side
of Mt. Baker (poss. Wells Cr.-Bar Cr.), but the name seems
likely to be /nux^w-s-x̣ǽ(x̣)cɛ-m/ or /nux^w-s-x̣ǽ(x̣)ču?-m/
always-(nominalizer)-(little) lake-place to get from Nooksack
/x̣ǽču?/ (Halkomelem /x̣ácɛ/) lake or Halkomelem /x̣ǽx̣cɛ/ little
lake.
122. "Nach-hahk-tsehn" (BS). Skagit Range (actually a ridge),

bet. upper Ruth Cr. (Nooksack drainage) and Selisia/Slesse
Cr. (Chilliwack drainage) and extending N.

123. "Smámt-lek" (BS), "Smám-at-lehk" (BS-Teosaluk). Nooksack
Ridge, extending from Mt. Sefrit 4 mi. SE to Ruth Mt., drain-
ing into the upper reaches of Nooksack R. on SW slopes.

124. "T'shuskan" (BS), "Tchús-kan" (BS-Teosaluk), "Shuk-san"
(PJ), prob. /šóq-sæn/ ~ /šóq-sən/. Mt. Shuksan. PJ says it
means steep and rugged; compare Lushootseed /šəq/ high, up
and /-səd ~ -šəd ~ -ša(·)d/ foot, entire leg and foot
(/-sən, -šən, -ša(·)n/ in the 1850's before the sound shift
of n to d)(Hess 1976); the Nooksack cognate would be similar,
/šóq-šən ~ šóq-šæn/; /-šən/ could refer to trail (on foot)
as in #73 above; the Boundary Survey forms are intriguing but
prob. wrong.

125. [c'ók] (Smith 1950), [c'óq] (BG,SJ), /c'óq/. A creek
from the mountains that entered South Fork of the Nooksack R.
at Acme, Wash.; the mouth there was washed away and now
enters above Acme (BG,SJ); many fish ran up it, and it gave
its name to the fish camp there (Smith calls it a vill.);
poss. Hutchinson Cr. or the cr. just S of Jones Cr.

126. [nóxʷaymɛltxʷ] (WS,GS), prob. /nóxʷæy-m-æltxʷ/
{nuxʷ-xʷæy-əm-æltxʷ}. A hunting camp of the South Fork people,
poss. at the mouth of Skookum Cr. on South Fork. Slaughter-
house from /nuxʷ-/ always, /xʷæy/ die together, /-əm/
(intransitivizer), /-æltxʷ/ building, house (the root also
appears in /xʷæy-t/ slaughter them [kill a group]. The
mouth of Skookum Cr. was definitely an important camp for

fishing and drying spring salmon; WS (GS) reports the loca-
tion as "toward Wickersham" which may or may not support the
Skookum Cr. location; Smith 1950 reports it as a vill., Skagit
[daxʷəbáltxʷ] (Smith 1950),where both Nooksacks and Skagits
lived, above Acme (cf. Lushootseed /ʔu-xʷája-t-əb/ several
families were slaughtered,however, with root [xʷádᶻ(a)]
/xʷáj(a)-/).

127. [leyx̣óyuk'] (AR, Tom Williams). Camp area and fishing
site on South Fork, formerly used by large numbers of Nook-
sacks in summer, NE bank from .5 to 1.25 mi. above Skookum Cr.,
also Dye's Canyon 1.75 mi. above Skookum Cr.; spring salmon
were caught in the canyon with dip-nets and spears and taken
downstream to family camps for butchering and drying.

128. [yúmeči] /yúmeč-iy/ᵧ. Dye's Canyon on South Fork, the
most important fishing site for spring salmon; the "Mother
Salmon" lived in a cave here and was seen by SJ's grandfather
(AR,SJ). Spring salmon-place.

129. "Quik-quek Sman-ik" (PJ), [kʷóƛ' smǽnit](BG,LG or EF),
Halkomelem [ckʷím smǽ·lt], Nooksack poss. /kʷóƛ' smǽnit/
or prob. /kʷəƛ'kʷíƛ' smǽnit/. Twin Sisters Mt., a six-mile-
long ridge with two prominent peaks at its W end, often hunted
for bear, deer, elk and mountain goat (like Mt. Baker); said
to be the wife of Mt. Baker. Red mountain (in both languages)
because of its red appearance in summer when the snow is gone;
from Nooksack /kʷəƛ'kʷíƛ'/ red, brown.

130. [x̣ɛču᷄·mIxʸ] (PF), [x̣ačuʔǽmIxʸ] (WS,GS;BG,LG), Skagit
[sx̣ačuʔábš] (BG,LG), Nooksack prob. /x̣æčuʔ-ǽmiš/. Vill. at

SE end of Lake Whatcom, near the site of the town of Park,
prob. at the mouth of the creek draining Mirror L., deserted
about 1860, affiliated also with the Nuwhaha (Samish R.) peo-
ple; Nooksacks from other villages often left canoes here to
use crossing to the W end of the lake en route to the salt
water. Lake-people from /x̣éču?/ lake; [x̣émixʸ] resembles
Halkomelem /-á·mexʸ/ in appearance, but the latter is cognate
with Nooksack /-úmiš/ as in [qələłó·mIš] /qəl-əł-úmiš/ ugly,
bad-looking; Skagit /-ábš/ people corresponds to Nooksack
/-émiš/, though Nooksack also has /-mixʷ/ people, person.

131. [č'ínUk'ʷ] (BG,EF), /č'ínuk'ʷ/. Toad L., also called
Emerald L., 1.5 mi. N of the NW end of Lake Whatcom, drains
into Squallicum Cr. Thunderbird from [č'ínUk'ʷ] thunderbird
(BG,EF); also cf. Skagit [sč'ídek'ʷ] thunderbird (BG,LG).

132. [čə́kʷənəc'] (PF), [čúkʷənət] (BG,SJ), poss. ~ [čúkʷənəc]
(BG,SJ), prob. /čúkʷ-ənət/, poss. /čúkʷ-ənəč/. Chuckanut Cr.
and camp at its mouth on Chuckanut Bay (the N end); the most
important Nooksack site for clams and seafood, prob. on the
N side of the creek where a shell midden also exists; Nook-
sacks abandoned traditional use of the bay about 1900.
Beach or tide goes way out from Nooksack /čúkʷ/ be distant,
far away; /-ənəč/, if correct, would be (at the) bottom.

133. [x̣ʷá·tkʷəm] (PF), [xʷá·tqʷəm ~ x̣ʷá·tqʷəm] (BG,LG,EF,
others), /xʷátqʷəm ~ x̣ʷátqʷəm/. Whatcom Cr. and camp at its
mouth (NW side) on Bellingham Bay, camp-site at or near the
Maritime Heritage Center near C St. below DuPont St. in Bel-
lingham; the creek drains Lake Whatcom; Nooksacks camped here
to gather seafood. Sound of water splashing or dripping
fast and hard (= Nooksack [xʷá·tqʷəm ~ x̣ʷá·tqʷəm]) from the
sound of the lower falls bet. Prospect and W. Holly Streets;
the falls prob. plunged right into the ocean where now there
is land fill for .25 mi.; cf. also Halkomelem /xʷátqʷəm/
sound of water splashing or dripping fast (loud waterfall or
hard rain).

134. "No-cal-la-chum" (BS), "Squall-i-cum" (PJ), Lummi
[xʷk'ʷál?əxʷəm] (Suttles 1951:39), poss. Nooksack
/(nu)xʷ-k'ʷúl?əxʷ-əm ~ s-k'ʷúl?əxʷ-əm/. Squalicum Cr. (1.5
mi. NW of Whatcom Cr.), fished for dog salmon by the Nook-
sacks, especially at the crossing at falls now in Cornwall
Park E of Meridian St., Bellingham. Dog salmon-place to get
in both Nooksack and Lummi; the Lummi is poss. borrowed from
the Nooksack name because aboriginally the Lummis did not
occupy the mainland.

135. "Klik-a-téh-nus" (BS). Prairie at Ft. Bellingham, close
to bluff overlooking Bellingham Bay, 3.5 mi. N of Whatcom Cr.
mouth, now occupied by the Smith Nursery. The root could be
/ƛ'éqt/ long, but the etymology is uncertain.

136. [k'ʷó·loxʷIł] (PF,LG), poss. /k'ʷúl?uxʷ-ił/ or
/k'ʷúl?uxʷ-əł/. Four or five smokehouses for drying dog sal-
mon, belonging to Sumas and Nooksack people (perhaps others)
(PF); location uncertain. The root means dog salmon.

137. [má·qʷəm] (PF;WS,GS), /máqʷəm/. Listed as a bog poss.
(in proximity on a list to /čítmixʷ/ [#34] and /smétəncut/
[#35]), poss. the same prairie as /k'ʷəléstəm?iy/ (#34).

Sphagnum bog, poss. a Halkomelem word, /má·q^{w}əm/ sphagnum bog;
Labrador tea, used instead of place name #34.

138. [núx^{w}ilmət] (BG,EF). A place name of unknown location,
said to mean clear water; it has /nux^w-/ always, but the root
and suffix(es) are unclear at present.

The following are three probable Nooksack place names
attested only by Halkomelem speakers in B.C. but attested by
one of them as Nooksack names.

139. [stútəlo] /stútələw/. Hatchery Cr., in B.C., tributary
of Sweltzer Cr. which drains Cultus L., also the vill. at the
mouth of Hatchery Cr.; this vill. had both Nooksacks and Stalo
there and was bilingual. Little creek from Nooksack /stútələw/
little creek, not from Halkomelem /státəlo(w)/ little creek,
though given by Mrs. Amy Cooper (AC), a Halkomelem speaker;
Mrs. Ella Reid, a Nooksack, also confirmed that Nooksack was
spoken in a vill. at Cultus L., and this is the only attested
vill.

140.-141. Speakers of Nooksack or of a language midway bet.
Nooksack and Halkomelem, called [č'íləx^{w}ɔq^{w}əm] by Dan Milo,
lived in the Chilliwack R. valley above Vedder Crossing
before Halkomelem speakers from the Fraser R. came to the
area. AC reported that several place names survive from the
pre-Halkomelem period which she said were in /łóčələsəm/:
140. [st'əpt'ó·p]. Ryder L. and Ryder Cr., N tributary to
Chilliwack R. with mouth about 4.2 mi. E of Vedder Crossing
bridge. Poss. (nominalizer)-plural (many)-dead tree but AC

reported that it may mean sand flea ridge (cf. Nooksack
and Skagit /č'út'əp'/ flea).

141. "Sen-éh-sai" ~ "Sen-eh-say" (BS) ~ "Selacee" (Baker 1900:
37), Halkomelem and/or Nooksack [səlísi] /səlís-iy/, poss.
Nooksack /s-yənís-iy/. Mt. Slesse and Slesse or Silesia Cr.
Said by AC to mean fang in /łóčələsəm/ (compare Nooksack
/yənís/ tooth, teeth, Upriver Halkomelem [yíl·ls] /yəl·ós/
tooth, teeth. Said by Gibbs (Indian Nomenclature ms.) to
mean leaning mountains; if so then poss. [sḷlísi] /sləlís-iy/
leaning-place (cf. Halkomelem /s-lalís/ leaning). Both des-
criptions fang and leaning place are quite apt for the tilted
jagged range. Ryder L. is surrounded by Halkomelem-named
places and would have to be a pocket survival; Mt. Slesse has
Halkomelem-named places E and W but is on the S border bet.
Halkomelem and Nooksack; it could have names in both.

3.2. A Few Phonological Comments. As work with Nooksack
proceeds it should be possible to add more phonemic inter-
pretations and corrections and more etymologies to the Nook-
sack place names. So far some Halkomelem and Lushootseed
influences can be seen, such as Lushootseed /a/ for Nooksack
/æ/ in places, Halkomelem /á/ for Nooksack /ú/ in places;
both sporadically fill in a gap in the Nooksack vowel system
left by the historical shift of Proto-Central Salish */á/ to
Nooksack /ǽ/. Other Halkomelem influences are /ə/ for unstres-
sed Nooksack /æ/ and /u/ in some cases (see Galloway 1982,
Galloway 1983), /θ/ for Nooksack /c/, /θ'/ for Nooksack /c'/,

/c ~ č/ for Nooksack /č/, /c' ~ č'/ for Nooksack /č'/, loss of /ʔ/ before consonants and after resonants. These shifts are verifiable because of attested variation and correction to the Nooksack versions (either attested in the place name citations or in their etymological roots and affixes where etymologies are certain). In cases where this variation is not verifiable we have phonemicized with /ə/, /a/, etc. As more Nooksack vocabulary in modern transcription is brought to bear, /ʔ/ will probably be added adjacent to consonants in a number of words; with the loss of knowledge of how to pronounce Nooksack place names this has been a loss that will sometimes be impossible to recover: one cannot be certain whether some place names may have really dropped the /ʔ/ present in some roots or affixes.

4. Semantic Naming Patterns. Nooksack place names with identified meanings (89) are named mostly after geographical features (from 37 to 42 are such—four of these have a root meaning swamp, bog, marsh; Labrador tea (a plant) and one is a rock resembling a person turned to stone). Ten are named after salmon, four after animals (beaver and black bear), three after birds, one after frogs, a total of 18 after fauna. 11 to 15 are named after plants (four of these perhaps after bog rather than Labrador tea). Seven are named after man-made items (fence, plank, pit-house, slaughter-house, trail to beach, etc.). Five are named after activities of the Nooksack people (crossing, trading, resting, shooting).

Four to five are named after occurrences in legends (although thunderbird may have been regarded as a real bird). Two are places named after people (an individual and a group).

Most of the geographical features named are river features (about 20 out of 37 to 42), reflecting the river orientation of the people. Mt. Baker was important enough to have at least three different names for the features at different elevations. It is interesting that no names have been identified so far after fish other than salmon (unlike in Halkomelem). All of the names after flora and fauna involve food resources known to have been so used (except for dead tree).

As in Halkomelem, a creek and a village at its mouth often share the same name (eight cases here plus two of a creek and a camp at its mouth). There are also at least five cases of a village and a prairie sharing the same name (very rare in Upriver Halkomelem due to the lack of grass-lands or prairies). In a few cases it can be shown that a village gave its name to its creek; in one case each a village took its name from a lake or a creek. In one case it can be shown that a mountain gave its name to a lake and a creek (a common Upriver Halkomelem occurrence because of the many mountains upriver); in some cases it is unclear which was named after which. The Nooksack ethnographic name comes from a creek name (not a village name); the Nooksack language name comes from a village name.

5. Discussion of the Locations.

5.1. Geographic Features Named.
The most frequently named geographic features are streams (creeks or rivers). Of 85 place names confirmed through linguistic work with Nooksack elders 24 refer to streams (eight of which also name villages). Of 53 unconfirmed place names, primarily from the Boundary Survey materials, 23 refer to streams. A second frequently named geographic feature is the prairie, including seven confirmed names (five of which also name villages) and seven unconfirmed names. A total of 18 confirmed and three unconfirmed names refer to villages without also naming any significant geographic features. Additional named features include 11 lakes, 11 mountains, and 34 others such as fishing rocks, marshes, and mountain meadows.

5.2. Determination of Modern Locations of Named Places.

An important aspect of the Nooksack Place Names study was to locate and photograph the named places. This was generally easier for obvious geographic features such as streams, lakes and mountains, and also easier for places known to living elders. Even so, minor creeks and small lakes can be confused or misplaced, and over the long life-spans of the elders the sites of well-known villages can change drastically through river washouts, farming activity, and regrowth of forest and brush.

Among the easy and obvious places is /nux^{w}sǽʔæq/ (#78), Anderson Creek and the prairie at its mouth, although the process by which this name was extended to the river and the geographic grouping of people is not clear. The name /nux^{w}ʔíy(ʔ)əm/ (#92) for the South Fork of the Nooksack River is also well-known, and with help from the elders we easily located the village site of the same name. Mt. Baker is a dominant geographic feature of the Nooksack area which should be an unquestionable location, yet untangling its many names has been difficult. The name /k^{w}əlšǽn/ (#113) is the Nooksack cognate of the names commonly used for Mt. Baker in Halkomelem and Straits, but to the Nooksack /k^{w}əlšǽn/ referred to the high snow- and brush-free meadows for hunting, while /k^{w}óqʼ smǽnit/ (#114) was used to refer to the snow-covered peak. The Boundary Survey materials include two additional names for Mt. Baker, "Te-kó-meh" (#115), a Lushootseed name (/təq^{w}úbeʔ/) and "Tuk-we-sállie" (#115), possibly a Thompson name, possibly Nooksack.

To locate many of the sites in the heavily modified lowland area was surprisingly difficult, especially near the Nooksack River which continually alters its course. Many traditional sites were directly on the river when they were last used and occupied in the 19th century. Most of these locations have either been washed away by the river or are no longer near the current river bed. The village of /yəxsǽy/ (#84) was located on the river at the mouth of a creek of the same name, now called Smith Creek. The village was occupied through the middle of the 19th century, and the location was claimed as an Indian homestead by a leader of the village. The granddaughter of this man lives at the

back corner of the property, away from the river which has continually eroded it. The location of the traditional village is now on the other side of the river in an area of frequently-flooded gravel bars, and the creek mouth is now at a considerable distance from the village site where it was shown on the Land Survey map of 1884.

The site of the village of /spə́ɫxən/ (#80) has also switched sides of the river, but without being washed away. This village, originally located on an island east of the main river channel, was the site of the last standing traditional plank longhouse. Early in the 20th century the river changed channels and left /spə́ɫxən/ isolated in the brush to the west of the river. Although it is difficult to reach, the site of the longhouse is marked by a clump of tall cedar trees, and nearby are the remains of an Indian homestead farm where living elders had lived some years ago.

Somewhat different, and unnatural, river modifications caused difficulties in locating the village site of /(xʷ)kʷíl?uxʷiy/ (#100) on the North Fork at the mouth of Kendall Creek. This village was permanently occupied early in the 19th century but was abandoned in the 1830's or 1840's following a small-pox epidemic. Intensive seasonal use continued to the end of the 19th century with one of the "huge smokehouses" still standing in 1905. This was just prior to the construction of a Washington State Salmon Hatchery, which has greatly modified the area, including extensive grading and filling and rip-rap of the river bank. The oral

tradition among the hatchery workers places the Indian smokehouse on the first high ground on the east side of the creek, about 500 feet upstream from its present mouth. In contrast, the 1857-1861 Boundary Survey map indicates a village nearer to the mouth on the west side. The Land Survey map of 1890 shows the river bank close to the spot described by the hatchery workers, and places the creek mouth to the east of this spot, thus bringing the two sources into agreement.

In the case of /sq'óq'æyəx/ (#44), Indian use at the present time (inherited) enabled us to resolve uncertainties about its location. /sq'óq'æyəx/ was the site of a village occupied perhaps 200 years ago and a fishing location in use in the 19th and 20th centuries. This usage is documented in historic sources, and the name, importance for fishing and general area were known to living elders. We were able only to determine the location to within a stretch of river between the end of Northwood Road and the Timon School site, until we saw a Nooksack fisherman heading toward the river in this area. He was fishing a known location and his nets were set near whirlpools or eddies which we assume to be the same ones for which the site is named.

The Nooksack people also made extensive use of areas away from the river, especially the so-called "natural prairies". One of the most important of these is in an upland area, including much of the present town of Lynden, which would not have stayed clear without regular burning. This area includes three archaeological sites of pit-houses,

one of which is recognized in the ethnographic record and named /sp'ətús/ (#33). The location of the /sp'ətús/ pit-houses was known to Jeffcott and illustrated in his book (Jeffcott 1949:34), but unfortunately the site was bulldozed in the 1950's to fill in the pits. These pit-houses were probably last occupied in the early 19th century, being replaced by a plank longhouse which was also called /sp'ətús/, although located nearly 1/2 mile away. This longhouse was occupied until the 1870's, and its remnants were still visible in the youth of living elders (Richardson 1974:59). In another extension of the name /sp'ətús/ is also applied to an Indian homestead established about 200 yards from the longhouse site.

The exact location of /məqsən/ (#21) was more difficult to find, although it had been familiar to the elders in earlier years. /məqsən/ is known to the elders as "Stick Peter's place", and its general location is clearly marked on maps as Matsqui Indian Reserve #4. /məqsən/ is one of many Nooksack place names in British Columbia but the only definite Nooksack village located in Canada. The Nooksack identity is emphasized by the elders and backed up with statements that Stick Peter spoke "real Nooksack". Our first attempt to locate the site of Stick Peter's house and the traditional village failed because the access road of 50 years ago had completely disappeared. On a later return visit we went first to the one house now on the south end of the reserve. The gracious Indian woman living there was able to

lead us to an abandoned orchard which was recognized by a Nooksack elder as adjoining Stick Peter's house.

Place names from the 1857-1861 Boundary Survey materials resulted in more puzzles, and usually the names not found elsewhere and even the locations were unfamiliar to the living elders. An area with still unsolved problems is the upper drainage of Fishtrap Creek in B.C. The Boundary Survey map clearly shows and names four source tributaries: "Se(e)t-səh-no-wa" (#40), "Ko-kwa-ahm" (/kʷukʷə?ǽm/, #41), "Pehp-she" (#42), and "Seet-le-wheetsh" (/(s)yəlíxʷič/, #43). Despite this information the modern locations for the first three of these is quite uncertain. The drainage patterns on the 1857-1861 map do not match up with the current stream locations, and neither are the same as that shown on a 1914 B.C. Department of Lands map. The area shows evidence of rechanneling of creeks and lack of water in locations that might have had creeks previously. At present we cannot agree even whether there are two or three creeks in the area the Boundary Survey map shows with three creeks, and those we agree are present do not correspond clearly to those on the maps. The fourth named creek matches a modern location and the description and name given by Agnes James to Wayne Suttles.

Another puzzle which began with the Boundary Survey map concerned "Kál-kalk-ku" (#16). This is a small creek shown on the map as flowing directly into the Nooksack River, but following a channel which defies the topography of the area. The mapping of this creek may have been based on the Indian

Nomenclature description of "Kál-kalk-ku" as "first creek running to Nooksack". This creek was named in a sequence following a trail from the Semiahmoo area (the trail is shown on the map), and it is the first creek that is within the Nooksack drainage. The modern creek at the location of the trail crossing is a tributary of Bertrand Creek when then flows to the Nooksack.

The Boundary Survey records contain much detailed information on the mountainous upper North Fork Nooksack drainage, including many names which would otherwise be unknown. Most of these names clearly correspond to known mountains and creeks, which can be verified by the longitude, latitude and elevations given in Baker 1900, although these have a consistent pattern of error when compared to recent U.S.G.S. maps. The name "Tchahko" (#111) is an unsolved puzzle. Both the 1857-1861 Boundary Survey map and the published list of elevations (Baker 1900:46) use this name for a small creek entering the North Fork three miles above Glacier Creek. Unfortunately, at or near this location there is no creek large enough to be placed on recent maps. Perhaps Deadhorse Creek was intended since it matches the pattern of creeks on the map and the listed elevation, yet it is 5.5 miles above Glacier Creek.

An opposite complication appears with Swamp Creek, which is given two names. This creek is named "Spespaas" (#119) on the 1857-1861 Boundary Survey map but is clearly named "Nuquoichum" (#120) in the published lists (Baker 1900:46).

On a sketch map by Teosaluk in the Boundary Survey records "Spes-paas" is placed next to a lake, near a second lake, draining toward the upper Nooksack River. These are probably Twin Lakes, which are drained by Swamp Creek. If "Spes-paas" were the name for these lakes the double naming might be eliminated. Although complete certainty will never be reached on the locations of many of the place names, continuing linguistic and ethnohistorical research should reduce the number of unsolved problems.

If the cases discussed in this section were plotted on a map it would begin to show the geographic extent of the use of the Nooksack language. A map with the locations of all the places in the list (3.1) would give an even more complete picture. The distribution of the Nooksack language is summarized in the next section and related to socially defined groups of people and the linguistic history of the area.

6. Nooksack Linguistic Boundaries. The Nooksack people with their distinct language were bounded by speakers of at least three other Salishan languages. In the mid-19th century speakers of Lushootseed occupied areas to the south of the Nooksack, Straits Salish speakers lived to the west, and speakers of Halkomelem lived to the north. The mountainous area to the east was used by speakers of various languages, including Thompson. The approximate 1820 territory (areas of settlement and primary resource exploitation relative to

other groups) of the Nooksack is shown in figure 1. This boundary also approximates the area of the Nooksack language, /ɬóčælosəm/, but with some clarification needed.

The Lake Whatcom basin was occupied by a group which was bilingual Nooksack--Lushootseed (cf. Suttles 1954:52) and only loosely associated with other Nooksack speakers. The area marked "Skalakhan" on the map (fig. 1) was occupied by the remnants of the /sq'eléxən/ group, which had previously had villages at both mouths of the Nooksack River and controlled the surrounding salt-water areas. The smaller upriver /sq'eléxən/ area was leter used by the Nooksack and includes several Nooksack place names, but the language spoken by the /sq'eléxən/ has not been determined.

In the upper Sumas River drainage near the present International Boundary was a bilingual Nooksack--Halkomelem community. This group, sometimes referred to as the "Nooksack--Sumas" (Fetzer 1950-1951), had strong ties with other Nooksack villages and with the Sumas Stalo. To the east of the upper Sumas and western Chilliwack areas is Cultus Lake, B.C., which also apparently had a bilingual Nooksack--Halkomelem village. There are various reports from both Nooksacks and Stalo people of /ɬóčælosəm/-speaking people and also a place name in /ɬóčælosəm/ at Cultus Lake. This should not be considered a social or political extension of the Nooksack, but rather an indication of an earlier wider spread of the /ɬóčælosəm/ language. There is evidence (cf. Duff 1952:43, Galloway 1977:xviii, Maud, Galloway and Weeden forthcoming)

of an earlier, more extensive use of /ɬóčælosəm/ in the upper Chilliwack River area in addition to that at Cultus Lake. Marian Smith (1950) hypothesized a much greater extent of /ɬóčælosəm/ in the prehistoric past, although this has not been supported by other researchers or convincing evidence.

What is clear is that by the mid-19th century /ɬóčælosəm/ was spoken almost exclusively within the Nooksack River drainage and by groups now known as the Nooksack. Bilingual groups occupied its northern and southern borders, and intermarriage with Upriver Halkomelem speakers had already made much, if not most, of Nooksack territory bilingual in Nooksack and Halkomelem. Intermarriage with Skagits had also introduced bilingualism in Nooksack and Skagit in southern parts of Nooksack territory. With the introduction of English, all three Indian languages lost ground proportionately till the last fluent speaker of Nooksack (Sindick Jimmy) died in 1977. Upriver Halkomelem is the Indian language now most remembered, with a few also remembering Skagit. At present only a few people understand any Nooksack and only two can speak some words and sentences. One still lives in the heart of Nooksack territory and one lives within Lummi territory.

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Corrections to Galloway & Richardson, 1983

p.133 l.6 cross out "and 1976" and "for the tribe"
l.7 after "homesteading" add "with support from the Institute for the Development of Indian Law and the Jacobs Fund."; replace "on it" with "for the tribe"
p.147 l.11-12 replace "Lake Terrell" with "Tennant Lake"
p.144 l.-6 (6 from bottom) replace 1:100,000 with 1:25,000
p.148 l.-7 underline to get
p.151 l.-8 after "B.C." add "Customs Station"
p.152 l.-1 change "N" to "S"
p.153 l.2 eliminate "S bank of"
p.154 l.-6 change "Northwood" to "Bradley"
p.156 l.-5 change St. to Rd.
p.162 l.1-5 elim. all after l.1 "prairie" except "1 mi. W of Sumas."
p.167 l.7 add between "(" and "on": "following a dirt rd."; elimin. "the"; change "road" to "land"
p.171 l.-5,-6 eliminate "no permanent villages"
p.191 l.6 change "when" to "which"
p.194 l.-2 change "One still lives" to "Both still live"
l.-1 eliminate "and ... territory"

Corrections to Galloway 1983 a

p.83 l.13 after "Susan," insert "from Katzie, B.C."
l.13 after "young" insert "had a son Ernie who died about age 10"
p.84 l.3 after "Skagit" insert "first"
l.5 after "Halkomelem" insert "and used it till he died"
l.6-7 eliminate
l.-7 change "Gus or Oscar" to "Sam"
l.-5 change "Oscar" to "Sam"
p.85 l.5 " " " "
l.-11 after "born" add "March 26,"
l.-10 after "daughter of" add "Mariah Johnson and"
l.-10 after "Suchanon" add ", Suchanon or Shuckanon"
l.-8 between "(" and "after" add "age 106,"
l.-5 after "well" add "Mariah was a daughter of John "Coffee" Johnson (a Skagit) and Eula George (of B.C.)."
l.-4 after "Nooksack." add "She learned to speak Halkomelem from her mother's sister at Gifford, B.C., a Matsqui Reserve, and some Skagit from her mother's father."