

SALMON NAMES IN TSAMOSAN SALISH

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Assembled here are the various names for salmon in the four Tsamosan languages, including those from some sub-dialects. The purpose of providing this information is that much of it is difficult to find (since much of it exists only in manuscript form) and often difficult to interpret (because of transcriptions that are sometimes unreliable). All the essential information is found in the accompanying table; a few explanatory comments are called for, as well as a little background information.

The table gives names for all five types of salmon, as well as Steelhead. The latter is included because it is often classified by native speakers as a variety of salmon. Thus the Upper Chehalis speak of five types of salmon and five salmon runs, yet the Coho does not ascend the Chehalis River into their territory, and thus cannot be one of their five salmon. Five is a very dominant pattern number in Upper Chehalis, occurring repeatedly in traditional stories; hence it is not surprising that five salmon runs are counted. In this case the five is misleading, however; Coho does not occur there, and Steelhead is counted, although not necessarily in place of the Coho. The Humpback is not counted either, although it does occur, while two separate runs of Chinook salmon are counted, one from the spring (called the Chinook), the other from a little later in the season (called the Black Salmon). In addition, there was yet another anadromous fish in the area, locally called Salmon Trout; this is a sea-run Cutthroat Trout, but is not counted among the salmon runs. Other areas may also lack certain salmon runs, although I have no information on this.

A few additional forms are also relevant. Some of these are general words for salmon (often meaning "fish" or "food" in general as well), and some simply cannot be identified as to which type of salmon is intended.

Cowlitz s-c'in' CV,DK - Steelhead CV, Silver/Sockeye/Humpback DK
 T.Chehalis *sq'ul' CV - salmon
 O.Chehalis c'am'c's DK - Salmon Trout
 O.Chehalis *s-can=anx' CV,FB - salmon
 Lower Chehalis q'omq' DK - salmon, fish
 Lower Chehalis [q'omq'an] CS - fish
 Lower Chehalis *q'omq' JH - fish
 Lower Chehalis c'it' NW - salmon
 Lower Chehalis [c'et'] CS - fall salmon
 Lower Chehalis [q'olop] CS - comeback salmon, Humpback salmon
 Quinalt q'omq'an CV,RO,RM,SS/K - salmon, fish
 Quinalt q'omq'an BB/K - fish, food
 Quinalt q'omq'am CC/K - salmon, fish
 Quinalt [k'emk'an] CS - fish, food

Each salmon name in the table is identified as to the source of the information, given as initials following the name. Glosses as given by these sources follow. Often these salmon names are local usages, but several misidentifications are also apparent. Some of the information is from tape recordings made in the 1950s by Leon Metcalf; transcriptions of these forms are mine. Square brackets are used for transcriptions that I consider reliable, namely those of John P. Harrington and James A. Gibbs. Angle braces are used for transcriptions that I do not consider reliable, but which I am unable to reinterpret; this notation is used for some transcriptions from the Comparative Vocabularies and from Ronald L. Olson, and for one form that George Gibbs obtained from Ulysses G. Warbass. Stars are used for forms I have reinterpreted from original sources based on cognates in languages for which I have direct information; an open star indicates that I am

	Oncorhynchus tshawytscha	O. kisutch	O. keta	O. netka	O. gorbuscha	Salmo gairdnerii
Quinalt	c'awt CV, JG Spring CV, JG King CV *aqic' HO/K Spring HO/K <sake'c> RO Black, Chinook RO large Black RO *k'ali? RO <muk'la'a'c> RO f. Black RO	s-cag'at CV, RO, RM, SM/K Coho CV, RO, RM Silver CV, SM/K <la'ci> RO f. Coho RO	*q'at'at'at' CV, RO, RM Dog RO, RM <axal> CV, RO Dog CV, RO [sc'at'] JG f. Chum JG	*t'et'inas CV, JG Sockeye CV, JG (s)jilas RO, RM, SM/K, HO/K Blueback " <lo'it> RO Blueback after spawning RO <swa'tna'k'> RO Blueback after spawning RO	*han'k'w CV Humpback CV	x'atnut CV, RO, JG, SS/K, CS Steelhead CV, RO, JG (after spawning RO) Humpback SS/K, CS s-qiw'x RO, RM, SS/K, CC/K, CS Steelhead RO, RM, SS/K, CC/K, CS *ktujaloc RO, RM Steelhead RO, RM [x'uhax'ut] JG Steelhead JG
Lower Chehalis	c'awt CV, RO, JH, DK, CS King CV, DK Chinook JH, RO Blueback NW *k'walé.? CV, JH King, Spring CV Black JH	*s-é'am't CV, JH Coho, Silver CV Silver CV, JH Coho RO Silver CV, JH	*q'at'at'at' CV, RO, JH Dog CV, RO, JH Chum RO, JH	yul'as CV, JH, DK Blueback JH, DK Sockeye CV	*han'k'w CV Humpback CV	s-qiw'x CV, JH, DK Steelhead CV, JH, DK
Satsop	c'awt CV, TA Spring, King CV Chinook TA	s-é'am't CV, AJ/K Silver CV, AJ/K Coho CV	*q'at'at'at' CV Dog, Chum CV	*é'el'at'at' AJ/K Blueback AJ/K *s-qam'x' CV Sockeye CV	*pan'k'w CV Humpback CV	s-qiw'x CV, AJ/K Steelhead CV, AJ/K
Oakville Chehalis	c'awt CV, TA, FB, DK Chinook TA, DK Spring CV, FB k'walé.? TA, DK Black TA, DK		s-nunx' CV, TA, DK Dog, Chum CV, TA, DK	saw'anx' CV, DK Red DK Coho, Silver CV	c'iq=ups DK Dog DK Calico-Fish DK	s-qiw'x TA, DK Steelhead TA, DK
Tenino Chehalis	c'awt GG, CV, TA Spring GG, CV, TA King CV *k'walé.? CV, TA Black TA Spring, King CV		*s-nunx' CV, TA Dog, Chum CV, TA	*saw'anx' CV, TA Silver, Coho CV Red TA Silver TA	*pan'k'w CV Humpback CV *x'am=é'en CV Humpback CV	*s-qiw'x CV, TA Steelhead CV, TA
Cowlitz	c'awt CV, DK Chinook DK Spring, King CV k'walé.? CV, DK Red DK Spring, King CV	[s'axw'] JH Silver JH	*s-nunx' CV Dog CV Dog DK <pu'match> UW, GG Dog UH, GG	q'w'é'qa?i'icm DK Blueback DK saw'ax' CV, RM/K *saw'ax' JH Chinook EM/K Coho, Silver CV Silver TA, JH	*pan'k'w CV Humpback CV	[s-k'awéw] JH Steelhead JH

Additional list snehtsh
 Kahamkt salmon trout - p. res. coho.
 swun-nelsh brook trout
 Stupid large - large (tail) - collected by? not identifiable
 Gibbs

reasonably sure of the reinterpretation, and a filled star indicates that I have some doubt about my reinterpretation, and the transcription should be treated with some caution.

The following list identifies my sources. I give first, in alphabetical order, the initials used on the table. Some identification of this person follows.

AJ - Alice Johns, Satsop speaker (recorded in 1952 by Leon Metcalf)
 BB - Beatrice Black, Quileute speaker (recorded with SS in 1968 by Charles Snow)
 CC - Clyde Chenoise, Lower Chehalis and Quinault speaker (recorded in 1978 by Kinkade)
 CS - Charles Snow, who recorded Lower Chehalis material from Nina Bumgarner and some Quinault material from Sarah Sotomish in 1968)
 CV - Comparative Vocabularies (located in the Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society Library; Tsamosan data are probably by James Teit)
 DK - Kinkade field notes on various languages 1960-1980
 Cowlitz data from Lucy James and Emma Mesplie (collected in 1967)
 Lower Chehalis data from Irene Shale, Nina Bumgarner, and Clyde Chenoise (collected in 1978)
 Upper Chehalis data from Silas Heck (collected in 1960 and 1961)
 EM - Emma Mesplie, Cowlitz speaker (recorded in 1967 by Kinkade)
 FB - Franz Boas, 1927 field notes on Upper Chehalis (in the Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society Library)
 GG - George Gibbs (from UW)
 HO - Hayes Otook, Quinault speaker (recorded in 1953 by Leon Metcalf)
 JG - James A. Gibson field notes (from Hanna Bowchop, Quinault speaker in 1963)
 JH - John P. Harrington field notes (from Emma Luscier, speaker of Cowlitz and Lower Chehalis, in 1942)
 NW - Nellie Walker, Lower Chehalis speaker (recorded in 1952 by Leon Metcalf)
 RM - Ruth Modrow Quinault dictionary
 RO - Ronald L. Olson, *The Quinault Indians* (collected in 1925-1927; Lower Chehalis forms collected in 1926 from Howard Cultee)
 SM - Sarah Sotomish, Quinault speaker (recorded in 1952 by Leon Metcalf)
 SS - Sarah Sotomish, Quinault speaker (recorded in 1968 by Charles Snow)
 TA - Thelma Adamson, *Folk-tales of the Coast Salish* (data collected in 1926 and 1927)
 UW - Ulysses G. Warbass, early settler at Toledo, and the source of George Gibbs' Cowlitz data (1858)
 /K - as transcribed by Kinkade

Not all these salmon names have recognizable cognates outside the Tsamosan area, and, obviously not all occur even throughout this area. c'áwʔ 'Chinook Salmon' occurs throughout Tsamosan, but not elsewhere in Salish. Similar forms do occur in Makah and Nitinaht, however. The word for Coho Salmon in Cowlitz is almost certainly a loan from Sahaptin, and must have spread from east of the Cascades down the Cowlitz River. Quinault *scáɣ^oət* is probably borrowed from the north, where similar forms occur throughout Wakashan. This in turn may have been borrowed from (or loaned into) Comox, Cowichan, Saanich, Squamish, and Lillooet. The Cowlitz form I recorded for Dog Salmon, *ʔx^oá y'*, has cognates in Nisqually, Snohomish, Clallam, Comox-Sliammon, and Tillamook. This distribution suggests that this is an old word in Salish. The Lower Chehalis word for Blueback Salmon and its Quinault congener may be loans from Quileute, where a similar form occurs. The Lower Chehalis and Quinault words for Pink Salmon have cognates in all Central Salish languages as far north as Halkomelem, and in Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap. Columbian also has the form, but the fish is not native there. Similar forms also occur in Makah, Nitinaht, and Kwak'waka. The Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms look related, and must have been reshaped. The cognate forms for Steelhead in Quinault, Lower Chehalis, and Upper Chehalis also have relatives much of Central Salish: Northern Lushootseed, Samish, Lummi, Mainland Halkomelem, Squamish, Sechelt, Comox-Sliammon, and Lillooet (note the gaps: Nisqually, Twana, Clallam, Island Straits, Island Halkomelem). Nootka and Nitinaht also have forms similar to the widespread Salishan form. Beyond these, none of the Tsamosan salmon names appear to have cognates outside this branch of Salish. Several of the words are clearly derived, in a few cases notably with the lexical suffix for salmon, -anx^o.

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