An Idiolectal Secwepemctsín Ethnozoological Database

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Abstract

The zoological identifications of referents of a number of Secwepemctsín animal names were verified by a Secwépemc elder based on his examination of preserved, identified and labelled reference collection specimens at the Department of Zoology at The University of British Columbia. This exercise, which spanned the period of 10-12 December 1992, resulted in the validation of a number of previously proposed zoological identifications, the correction of other ambiguous or erroneous identifications, and the documentation of several previously unrecorded nomenclatural items and the identification of their referents. This paper consists of a record and discussion of those results, including Secwepemctsín terms for approximately 119 taxa. This work has demonstrated the value of a research methodology involving the consultation of previously collected and preserved zoological specimens as stimuli for the generation and verification of Secwepemctsín nomenclature and associated ethnozoological data.

Introduction

Ethnic and Linguistic Background

The Secwépemc (anglicized as Shuswap) are among the original inhabitants of the plateau region of British Columbia. The contemporary Secwépemc population numbers approximately 5000 individuals although it has been estimated that there may have been as many as 21,000 Secwépemc living prior to contact with Europeans and Euro-Canadians. Seventeen of the original 30 distinct Secwépemc communities, or bands, remain today (Siska 1988).

These people share a common language called Secwepemctsín, which is divided into eastern (referred to as Eastern Shuswap) and western (Western Shuswap) dialectal divisions, the former dialect being that represented in the results presented here.

The Secwépemc share many linguistic and cultural characteristics with other Interior Salish groups, with whom they are classed, namely the Lillooet, Thompson and Okanagan, whose territories lie to the west, southwest, and southeast of Secwépemc territory, respectively. Two Athapaskan-speaking groups, the Chilcotin and Carrier, share territorial boundaries with the Secwépemc to the northwest and north, respectively, while the Kootenai, whose language represents a linguistic isolate, live to the southeast of the Secwépemc at the eastern boundary of Okanagan territory. The homelands of other indigenous groups lie directly east of Secwépemc territory, in Alberta, Canada.

The Secwépemc Homelands: Geographical and Biological Features

The traditional Secwépemc homelands cover approximately 18 million hectares in south-central British Columbia, nearly 19% of the total land area of British Columbia (totalling approximately 95 million hectares). Variation in lifestyle and other cultural activities between Secwépemc subgroups is, in part, based on environmental variation within this vast area. Of the 14 biogeoclimatic zones described for British Columbia characterized essentially on the basis of their biological and climatic features (Skoda 1988), ten occur within Secwépemc territory: Alpine

Tundra (in high elevation regions along the eastern mountainous portion); Boreal White and Black Spruce (in isolated patches in the extreme eastern part of Secwépemc territory near the British Columbia-Alberta border); Sub-boreal Pine-Spruce (found in the central and northwestern areas on both sides of the Fraser River); Sub-boreal Spruce (in the north-central region); Engelmann Spruce-Subalpine Fir (distributed evenly along the eastern mountainous portion and occurring sporadically throughout Secwépemc territory); Montane Spruce (comprising a large contiguous area in the northeastern region); Bunchgrass (limited to the hot, dry, semi-arid valley areas of the Thompson and North Thompson Rivers, e.g., the Kamloops area); Ponderosa Pine (confined to areas in the semi-arid regions where it often borders on the Bunchgrass zone); Interior Douglas-fir (found in limited areas in the eastern mountainous region and also in the southwestern corner of Secwépemc territory); and Interior Cedar-Hemlock (distributed evenly along the eastern mountainous region). Glaciers and ice fields also occur within the Secwépemc territory, but only in extreme high elevation areas within the Alpine Tundra zone in the east and they are not regarded as one of the biogeoclimatic zones.

The biogeoclimatic zones listed above are distinguished by distinctive biological assemblages that contain, at least on a seasonal basis, some zoological species of significance to traditional or contemporary Secwépemc culture. For example, the Alpine Tundra zone provides habitat for caribou (Rangifer tarandus; Cervidae), mountain goats (Oreamnos americanus; Bovidae) and bighorn sheep (Ovis canadensis; Bovidae), all of which have been and continue to be utilized by the Secwépemc. Moose (Alces alces; Cervidae), are abundant in the Boreal White and Black Spruce zone. The Montane Spruce zone provides summer range for mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus; Cervidae) as does the Interior Douglas-fir zone which also is considered to be important habitat for elk (Cervus elaphus; Cervidae) (Skoda 1988).

Numerous other faunal species of varying degrees of cultural significance also occur in these and other biogeoclimatic zones. Foremost among the important fish are four salmon species (Oncorhynchus spp.; Salmonidae) that continue to be utilized as food by contemporary Secwépemc. In total there are 451 fish species in British Columbia (including 365 marine species, 64 freshwater species and 22 species that occur both in marine and freshwater bodies during different periods of their lives) There are 20 amphibians and 19 reptiles known to occur within British Columbia as well as 448 birds and 143 native mammals that have been recorded for the province (Cannings and Harcombe 1990). In addition, numerous other species of mollusks, insects and other invertebrate animals whose total species numbers are more difficult to ascertain, may be found in British Columbia.

Of these, at least 30 fish taxa representing species or subspecific taxa, one salamander, several frogs and a toad, one turtle, two lizards, six snakes, more than 75 bird taxa and approximately 40 species of mammals were recognized and named at some level of specificity by the Secwépemc. Several other invertebrate taxa, including crustaceans, insects, worms and other animals also were recognized and named.

Ethnographic and Linguistic Background

Much of the documentation of Secwépemc (Shuswap) knowledge and use of animal species has been presented in general ethnographic works such as those produced by George Dawson (1892) and James Teit (1909). These works include information on the uses or other cultural roles of a number of animals with minimal attention given to the Secwepemctsín (Shuswap language) names for the taxa treated. Later linguistic research on Secwepemctsín, primarily the numerous and substantive contributions of Aert Kuipers (e.g., 1974a, 1974b, 1975, 1989), focused, naturally, on the documentation and analysis of linguistic, rather than cultural or biological, characteristics of animals known to and named by the Secwépemc. Palmer (1975)

has explored some ecological and economic aspects of the Secwépemc use of zoological resources and Bouchard and Kennedy (1975) have investigated fish in Secwépemc culture.

Until recently, efforts to integrate the cultural and linguistic aspects of Secwépemc ethnozoology (i.e., the traditional names, knowledge and cultural roles of animals) and to supplement the documentation of this topic have received minimal attention or have been overlooked altogether. Over the last two to three years the collaborative efforts of the authors (who have been engaged in instruction and research activities associated with the Secwépemc Cultural Education Society/Simon Fraser University Program) have been directed toward the subject of Secwépemc ethnobiology, including various ethnozoological topics. Most recently these efforts have benefited from the contributions of William (Bill) Arnouse, an 88 year old member of the Adams Lake Secwépemc group of south-central British Columbia. This paper is a preliminary report of the results of that collaboration.

For the purposes of this paper, Secwepemctsín terms provided by Mr. Arnouse will be presented in phonetic transcription. Secwepemctsín terms cited from other sources will be presented in the manner in which they were originally presented with the sources cited. The abbreviation "BA" will be used throughout the text and in Table 1 to denote data attributed to Mr. Arnouse.

Methodology

Many ethnographic or linguistic reports dealing with Native peoples of the Pacific Northwest suffer from inaccuracy or imprecision with regard to the biological or English terminology used to translate or gloss Native language biological terms. Morice (1932), for example, provided extensive, detailed and accurate information on the Carrier language but identified several fish as types of "carps" although no true carps (various members of Cyprinidae, the minnow family) are native to British

Columbia. In actuality, the fish in question represent several different types of suckers (Catostomus spp.; Catostomidae). Confusion has resulted elsewhere from the mis-application of English names as translations of Native language terms. For example, Olson (1940:170) associated the term "shag" to a reputedly Haisla term. While shag may be used properly in reference to European species of cormorant (Gore 1976:2084) it is uncommon or simply incorrect for any bird in British Columbia to be referred to by this name. Similar examples of the incorrect or variable use of common English terms for Secwepemctsín animal names exist. The bird known in Secwepemctsín as sq'ɔ́mqɛ (BA) is commonly known as "prairie chicken" (Kuipers 1974b) although neither Tympanuchus pallidicinctus (lesser prairie chicken) nor T. cupido (greater prairie chicken) are found naturally within the Pacific Northwest. The "prairie chicken" of the Secwépemc is actually another bird, T. phasianellus (sharp-tailed grouse). The "ground hogs" comprise another confusion group whose members have been identified variously in Secwepemctsín (in their original transcriptions) as swewlq° (Kuipers 1974b:265), sq°íʔq°e (Kuipers 1974b:242) and smceć (Kuipers 1974b:147).

To avoid such confusion ethnobiological inquiry ideally should be pursued with a number of qualified Native consultants, over a lengthy period of time, in the field where living, in situ specimens can be observed, identified and collected for retention as voucher specimens. Additional elicitation under more controlled conditions is also desirable. This would include interviews conducted with knowledgeable elders in their home or some other comfortable setting where data may be elicited based on the use of freshly collected or preserved specimens or in the form of extensive conversational discourse or the telling of traditional stories.

Unfortunately, the community of remaining Secwépemc individuals who speak fluent Secwepemctsín and who are elderly enough to recall aspects of their early lives when there was a greater intimacy with and reliance upon native flora and fauna as

sources of food, medicine, materials and other cultural items, has been greatly diminished during the last few generations. Today, very few Secwépemc elders remain who possess accurate and extensive ethnobiological knowledge and are physically capable of participating in research activities.

Additional factors may also contribute to the complications encountered by the contemporary ethnozoologist or linguist interested in zoological nomenclature. Some species that were once more generally or locally abundant than today may now be uncommon or extirpated in specific regions. For example, burrowing owls (Athene cunicularia; Strigidae) once were known to occur in and around the immediate vicinity of Kamloops though now one must travel to more isolated areas to observe this unique and interesting creature in it's natural habitat within Secwépemc territory. Furthermore, zoological specimens are typically more difficult to obtain than other living organisms such as plants and fungi that comprise the basis of comparable research on traditional Native botanical knowledge and use. Unlike plants, animals generally are capable of evading human pursuit, their preservation as reference specimens typically involves more complex preparation and equipment than does the preservation of plants, and their termination for subsequent preservation may be viewed as a distasteful or distressful act depending on the moral perspective of the collector.

Because current ethnobiological research conditions are far from ideal for the previously stated reasons, a number of methodological adjustments must be made by researchers interested in the documentation and analysis of matters pertaining to traditional Secwépemc knowledge and use of living organisms, particularly animals. We feel that the research methods discussed in this paper constitute an acceptable, productive and efficient manner of generating significant and reliable ethnozoological results in spite of otherwise problematic research conditions.

Prior to the initiation of elicitation activities with Mr. Arnouse, Secwepemctsín zoological nomenclatural items were obtained from a review of references on Secwépemc culture and language (i.e., Bouchard and Kennedy 1975; Dawson 1892; Kuipers 1974a, 1974b, 1975 and 1989; Teit 1909). These data were then summarized and organized according to similar linguistic forms and/or English glosses. These data were further arranged according to a scientific zoological classificatory arrangement based on the the established, supposed and/or probable zoological identifications as suggested by their English glosses.

Arrangements were then made for Mr. Arnouse to accompany his nephew, Joe Michel, from his home in Adams Lake to Vancouver. With the assistance of Dick Cannings and Bob Carveth, Mr. Arnouse was allowed to examine various specimens in the collections of The Cowan Vertebrate Museum and The Fish Museum at the Department of Zoology of The University of British Columbia. The selection of specimens chosen for presentation to Mr. Arnouse was based in part on the items listed in the aforementioned Secwepemctsín zoological nomenclature list while several additional specimens representative of the known vertebrate fauna in the region were also used. In addition, several insect specimens from The Spencer Entomological Collection at U.B.C. were examined by Mr. Arnouse.

The vertebrate specimens were presented to Mr. Arnouse in a more or less systematic manner in accordance with their position in the scientific zoological hierarchy and, therefore, their position in the storage facilities within the various reference collections consulted. For example, the birds were treated as a discrete group, as were the mammals, the herps (amphibians and reptiles), the fish and the insects. Within each of these groups, specimens were presented from one to several at a time - representing one to several species at a time - to allow Mr. Arnouse to provide his determinations based on examples of variation within both species and family level zoological groupings.

For example, during the examination of bats (Order Chiroptera), several species of which are known to occur within the general and local area of Mr. Arnouse's home, an entire tray containing several examples of each of several species was presented for examination. This manner of specimen presentation allowed Mr. Arnouse to confirm the applicability of a Secwepemctsín 'bat' term - sʎṅwɛ́yə (BA) - to all of the species of Order Chiroptera in general, as well as to identify with specificity the particular bat species which he regarded as being the most commonly encountered.

The majority of specimens employed during the elicitation and identification process were of mammal and bird species. The mammal specimens consisted of stuffed, complete specimens (in the case of small mammals) or partial specimens (i.e., pelts with key diagnostic features such as the heads and claws retained) in the case of larger mammals such as beaver, cougar and lynx. Several extremely large and distinctive mammals such as black bear, grizzly bear, grey wolf and others were not represented among the materials viewed but these species are so distinctive that accurate associations of Secwepemctsín names with these species would typically not present any substantive problems.

Essentially all of the small bird specimens examined by Mr. Arnouse also consisted of simple stuffed skins lacking the lifelike appearance of well prepared mounted specimens. A small number of bird specimens among the specimens consulted - notably a few of the larger birds such as various owls and raptors - were display specimens mounted in lifelike poses.

Mr. Arnouse was given the opportunity to examine and handle the various mammal and bird specimens for the purpose of determining the presence or absence of various features that he regarded as diagnostic. The preservation characteristics of the amphibian, reptile and fish specimens (i.e., entire specimens stored in jars filled with preservative liquid) did not allow for the same degree of visual and tactile examination. However, the

amphibian and reptile specimens were identified by Mr. Arnouse with relative ease and certainty based on their gross morphological characteristics, despite some loss of natural colouration resulting from the effects of the preservative fluid and the age of the specimens.

Fish, which are notoriously difficult topics of lexicographical, ethnozoological and even scientific inquiry, probably suffer the most from the effects of preservative fluids in terms of losing their natural colours and appearance. Despite the fact that the fish specimens consulted at U.B.C. provided no exception to this general rule, Mr. Arnouse was able identify the majority of the specimens he examined with relative certainty. Nevertheless, several fish have been identified in part based on the English nomenclature applied to them by Mr. Arnouse and data provided by Bouchard and Kennedy (1975).

The insect specimens examined by Mr. Arnouse were mounted according to entomological standards, and stored in protective, glass-covered trays from which they could be observed. Mr. Arnouse was less familiar with insects than with the vertebrate species that he has observed, hunted and fished throughout the course of his life. Therefore, only a few insects were identified with any degree of certainty.

To supplement the visual clues to the identification of the taxa examined by Mr. Arnouse, ancillary comments regarding the habitat, morphological, and behavioral characteristics of various species were provided by Mr. Cannings and Mr. Carveth as needed to allow Mr. Arnouse to make his determinations.

Results

The results of this work include a list of 119 taxa that are presented in Table 1 and are representative of microdialectal or idiolectal variation in the Eastern dialect of Secwepemctsín. Many of the terms reported here represent the first such records of

Eastern Shuswap versions of terms previously only recorded in Western Shuswap. These data are arranged according to standard biological classificatory concepts using zoological Latin nomenclature as presented in Cannings and Harcombe (1990). Appendices 1 and 2 contain animal names listed alphabetically in Secwepemctsín and English, respectively. Note that Table 1 does not contain a comprehensive listing of Secwepemctsín animal names, only those obtained in the current research[1].

Discussion

Ethnozoological Significance

From an ethnozoological perspective, the animal identifications provided by Mr. Arnouse are significant. In at least a few cases, this information has allowed for the clarification of some long-standing ambiguities in the ethnographic record. Among these are Dawson's (1892:39) report that the snake called wha-tloo'-sil-i-kin[2] is "a kind of rattle-snake with a head at each end." Such a description would seem to implicate some type of unique member of Viperidae (the reptile family that includes Crotalus viridis, the western rattlesnake) or possibly some mythical supernatural plateau version of the "Sisiutl," a mythical double-headed serpent of the Pacific Northwest Coast, a comparison that has not gone unnoticed (Carl 1968:15). However, Mr. Arnouse provided the Eastern Shuswap counterpart of the "rattle-snake" term reported by Dawson - čuwiʔékə or čuwɨlyélxkə - and confirmed its correct application to Charina bottae (rubber boa; Boidae). This snake is regarded with great apprehension among the Secwépemc since it's appearance is a sign of the imminent death of a relative, according to Mr. Arnouse. This creature's reputation for "two-headedness" is based on the fact that it's tail mimics the appearance of the snake's head - a characteristic possibly related to a predation escape mechanism. This corrected identification is significant not only on ethnozoological grounds, but also on linguistic grounds as it may prevent linguistic or anthropological musings that are unfounded. (See, for example, Haas 1941 for a discussion of Choctaw "rattlesnake" terms said to refer to a "supernatural snake.")

Further clarification has been obtained regarding the "small lizard" associated by Dawson (1892:38) with the Secwepemc. This creature, if disturbed, reportedly will pursue and enter the anus of the offending individual resulting in that person's death[3]. Carl (1959:18) speculated that this creature was the long-toed salamander (Ambystoma macrodactylum; Ambystomatidae). Mr. Arnouse confirmed this speculation and added the unique commentary that učxén also refers to two species of true lizards (Eumeces skiltonianus [western skink]; Scincidae and Gerrhonotus coeruleus [northern alligator lizard]; Anguidae) (also see Table 1).

Many other significant features regarding the cultural roles of zoological species in Secwépemc culture were also revealed. For example, a wind described by Mr. Arnouse as a kind of Chinook wind is referred to in Secwepemctsín as sup's ʔ sqlélt̓n (lit., 'breath of salmon'). The "nightingale" (a bird whose zoological identity remains enigmatic) is heard singing only in the spring when deer are born, avalanche lily roots (Erythronium grandiflorum, Liliaceae) are ready to dig or wild strawberries (Fragaria virginiana, Rosaceae) are ripe. Robin's (Turdus migratorius) role as an environmental indicator was indicated by Mr. Arnouse's comment that this bird calls out "Yoho yoho písɛɬ" to announce the arrival of steelhead (Salmo gairdneri) in the Adams Lake area. Other birds also are known to be capable of speech that may be understood by the Secwépemc. For example, the meadowlark (Sturnella neglecta) sings the following phrase to people who harvest the edible roots of large-fruited lomatium, or hog-fennel (Lomatium macrocarpus, Apiaceae): "You've ruined my qʷɔqʼʷílɛ (lomatium)!" In the distant past the "screech-owl" (actually identified by Mr. Arnouse as northern hawk owl, Surnia ulula) provided messages - now unknown - to the Secwépemc of earlier times.

The perceived connections between animals and the Secwépemc are further demonstrated by a variety of traditional sayings, beliefs and stories. Sometimes those who have completed a sweat-bath by immersing themselves in a creek will say "I mock the sq'ʷəxmɛ́mɨnɨk (dipper)" because this bird (Cinclus mexicanus) is commonly seen in creeks where it dives under water to obtain food. Many animals are mentioned in Secwépemc stories because of their perceived threat (e.g., the various "lizards" mentioned above) or other salient characteristics or for their perceived human qualities and lessons that may be learned from accounts of their activities. A short list of the animals that figure into stories known to Mr. Arnouse include "diver" (horned grebe, Podiceps auritus), beaver (Castor canadensis), boreal owl and/or northern pygmy owl (Aegolius funereus and/or Glaucidium gnoma), coyote (Canis latrans), goose (Branta canadensis), "chickadee" (Parus hudsonicus or possibly Vireo olivaceus), various species of grouse (Phasianidae), ling (Lota lota) and rattlesnake (Crotalus viridis).

Language and Categorization

Two decades ago Brent Berlin and his colleagues (e.g., Berlin et al. 1974) presented a discussion of the "universal principles of classification and nomenclature in ethnobiology" that has recently been reformulated and restated (Berlin 1992) A basic tenant of the earlier discussion was that plant and animals names frequently serve as a guide to folk taxonomic structure (or categorization, the cognitive relationships between classes of plants and animals within a given culture). More recently, Berlin (1992) has pointed out the need for distinguishing between "the *psychological conceptualization* of plants and animals and the *linguistic reflections* of this underlying conceptual structure."

In Berlin's (1992) recent reformulation there are several general principles regarding folk biological categorization and the nomenclatural features associated with plant and animal names. The most basic characterization of Berlin's model involves a

listing of the universal categories associated with folk biological systems (from the most inclusive to the least inclusive): kingdom, life-form, intermediate, generic, specific and varietal. In English folk zoological categorization the kingdom category is labeled *animal* (although this category is usually unlabeled). Examples of life-form categories include *bird, fish* and *snake.* Examples of generic level taxa, which correspond roughly to the biological species level, are *meadowlark, sturgeon* and *rattlesnake.* Folk specific and varietal taxa partition generic taxa into two to several members and are associated with agricultural, rather than foraging, societies.

With this very general statement of Berlin's model of folk nomenclature and categorization in mind, it is possible to discuss some attributes of Secwépemc folk zoological categorization and animal names in the context of the information provided by Mr. Arnouse and obtained from other textual references. A detailed discussion of Secwépemc folk zoological categorization is premature since the current study was undertaken primarily to identify the correspondences between zoological species and Secwepemctsín generic level animal names.

From a review of Secwepemctsín animal terms it is apparent that the Secwépemc recognize and label organisms that are representative of nine zoological phyla, or broad scientific animal classes: flatworms (e.g., parasitic worms), mollusks (e.g., snails and clams), segmented worms (e.g., earthworms and leeches), arthropods (insects, arachnids and crustaceans), fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals. Representatives of additional broad zoological categories may occur within Secwépemc territory, but there is no evidence that they are recognized or named in Secwepemctsín. A tenth category of Secwépemc zoological entities may be described as legendary, mythical or monstrous beings, or taxa of uncertain biological affiliation. Examples of this last class include things such as dwarfs, giants, beings that are half-fish and half-human and a number of other generally humanoid entities. At least one mythical zoological entity is

reptilian rather than humanoid - the snake known as xp'a?súl̓əxʷ that is believed to exist at the bottom of some lakes.

Brown (1984:15, 16) has identified the five most common and widespread folk zoological categories equivalent to Berlin's life-form categories as *bird* (large creatures usually with feathers and a bill or beak), *fish* (streamlined aquatic creatures, usually with gills), *snake* (featherless, furless, elongated creatures), *wug* (small creatures other than those categorized as *birds, fish* or *snakes*, e.g., insects, spiders and worms) and *mammal* (large creatures other than *birds, fish* or *snakes*). Not all members of these folk categories always correspond to discrete scientific categories. For example, some societies include various marine mammals as types of *fish.*

Secwepemctsín possesses a number of terms that correspond to these primary zoological life-form taxa: spyu7 ("bird"), swewll ("fish"), pep'í7se ("snake") and pepíp'7ese ("worm," "bug" or other small crawling creature) (Kuipers 1974a:8, 9, 10, 44). The late Mr. Leslie Jules of Kamloops confirmed at least one additional term that seems to refer to an animal class consisting essentially of mammalian quadrupeds: xq'wmíẇs (WS), or, in Mr. Jules' words, "wild animals" as opposed to "tame animals." Secwepemctsín seems to lack an animal kingdom label. The majority of terms provided by Mr. Arnouse during the research session consist of generic level labels that correspond to zoological species or small groups of similar or related species.

From Mr. Arnouse's comments made during the Vancouver research episode and earlier interviews with Compton and Gardiner, it is obvious that there exists some degree of hierarchical structure within at least some of the Secwépemc life form categories. Within the class of "fish," for example, there exists a category of "salmon" (sqlélltn) which includes several species of Oncorhynchus spp. corresponding to several Secwepemctsín generic fish taxa. To Mr. Arnouse and other Secwepemctsín speakers this term refers to salmon collectively.

However, to Mr. Arnouse this terms also refers specifically to sockeye salmon (O. nerka). Other speakers of Secwepemctsín in Enderby apply the term sqelelten7úẇi to refer specifically to sockeye (Kuipers 1974a:59). In turn, Mr. Arnouse applies this latter term (phonetically, sqlaltn?úẇi) specifically to "humpback salmon" (O. gorbuscha) while other speakers use sqewq'ewíken, sqewq'eníke, sqewq'ewíka, sqewq'ewílpse or shéni7 for humpback salmon (Kuipers 1974a:60, 1975:9, 1989:208).

The suffix (-7úẇi) that is incorporated in the term sqelelten7úẇi has been glossed as "real, very; too" (Kuipers 1974a:109). Apparently, for many Secwépemc, sockeye salmon is considered to be the "real" or "ideal" salmon. Berlin (1992:29) has discussed the application to some plant or animal names of modifying linguistic elements meaning 'genuine', 'real', 'original', or 'ideal-type.' In these cases, the modified names denote subgeneric taxa that are perceived as representing prototypes of their superordinate generic level taxa.

Another suffix that appears to occur in the names of animals considered to be prototypical forms is -éllp, said to mean "tree, bush, plant" and "real, eminent" (Kuipers 1975:108)[4]. Again, there are examples of the application of expressions containing this suffix by Mr. Arnouse that differ fundamentally from other Secwépemc consultants. Kuipers (1974b:145) recorded the form pəp̓e?s-éλp as a Deadman's Creek "taboo-name" for rattlesnake (Crotalus viridis). To Mr. Arnouse, the only snake to which this expression may be applied is the gopher snake (Pituophis melanoleucus) whose actual name is łxʷínik. The reason for referring to it as pəp'ə?séłp, or "big snake" according to Mr. Arnouse, is because of its size. Indeed, this is the largest snake in the region, reaching an adult size of from 915 to 2500 mm as compared to the adult length of from 600 to 1575 mm for the western rattlesnake (Gregory and Campbell 1984). It is currently unclear whether pep'e7séllp represents an actual taxonomic label or simply a descriptive name in the case of western rattlesnake.

Perhaps in the case of the Deadman's Creek term, the implication is that rattlesnake should be regarded as a great, or powerful, representative of the snake class.

There exists an ornithological counterpart to the "big snake" discussed by Mr. Arnouse. Golden eagle is known as spyu?élp, "big bird," to Mr. Arnouse and by other speakers of Eastern Shuswap. In Western Shuswap this bird is known as spi7úy (Kuipers 1974a:144). Again, the size of this creature seems to be the primary criterion for its consideration as the "big bird." Although bald eagles may actually get larger than golden eagles, these are the two largest birds in the region.

In at least one additional instance, the application of -élłp may be related primarily on the basis of the size of the animal in question. Grizzly bear (Ursus arctos; Ursidae) has the Western Shuswap "taboo name" of kəknmeλp (lit., 'big black bear [U. americanus]') but is also known as skeḿcís (WS) (Kuipers 1974a:6, 1974b:208) or ska7cís (ES) Other cases involving the application of this suffix in Secwepemctsín animal names include: sqleẇélłp (ES), beaver (Castor canadensis; Castoridae) and nċe?sqx̌?éλp (WS), "real good horse" (Equus caballus; Equidae) (Kuipers 1974a:59, 1974b:190), in which case the application of this suffix serves to emphasize the figurative greatness of the animal in question.

Some of the data provided by Mr. Arnouse consist of linguistic elements that seem to represent descriptive phrases or nonce forms rather than the types of labels that may be regarded as actual taxonomic labels. These forms include: słəq'ʷqíḿ ʎ x̣ix̣yúm (lit., 'big frog,' Table 1 #27); čɨčíčmɛ?t ʎ kʷalt (lit., 'little green [frog]') and qʷiq'ʷíyt (lit., 'little black [frog],' Table 1 #28); yɨxyéxə (lit., 'long-legged [frog],' Table 1 #29); sxɛnx ʎ ?učxén (lit., 'rock of lizard,' Table 1 #31); séwłkʷə ʎ pəp'í?sə (lit., 'water snake,' Table 1 #36); stsq'7ém t' kikéyt (lit., *'act of striking of hawk/gyrfalcon,' Table 1 #48); qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit ʎ spypyúẏɛ (lit., 'black

of bird,' Table 1 #83); čɨčíčmɛ?t ʎ spiq'ʷ (lit., 'small nighthawk,' Table 1 #87); and nəkéxt ʎ sxaxélxʷ (lit., 'bush rat,' bushy-tailed woodrat or Norway rat, Table 1 #97 and #100).

The lack of a record of these expressions in previous Secwepemctsín lexical collections indicates their uniqueness and would seem to suggest that they do not represent standard zoological taxonomic labels. Probably in at least some cases these expressions represent descriptions used to indicate subtle morphological or environmental distinctions between various species that comprise the biological referents of a Secwepemctsín animal name. The expressions 'rock lizard' (i.e., two true lizards) and 'lizard' (i.e., two true lizards and the long-toed salamander) would seem to be examples of this situation where one may have the ability to make subtle distinctions between similar animals that are labeled with a common term although they are, nevertheless, recognized as distinct biological species. In at least one case a non-native bird species (house sparrow, Passer domesticus) is named with a diminutive expression based on the analogy of this creature to its similar, yet larger, native counterpart, the nighthawk. In this case the expression 'small nighthawk' is clearly a valid generic label for house sparrow. At least one expression - séwłkʷə pəp'í?sə ('water snake') - probably simply represents a descriptive equivalent to the more commonly recorded name for common garter snake - sułkʷə?éɨ̀xkn. The former expression includes the words for 'water' and 'snake' while the latter is based on the word for 'water' but lacks any 'snake' element. Another name provided by Mr. Arnouse - qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit ʎ spypyúẏɛ (lit., 'black of bird') would seem to represent a direct contact language translation from English blackbird but Mr. Arnouse also used the single-word expression qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit for this bird. The form tqweqwiqwíq'wit has elsewhere been recorded for "blackbird" (Kuipers 1974a:79), likely in reference to Brewer's blackbird (Euphagus cyanocephalus) and, possibly, red-winged blackbird (Agelaius phoeniceus).

Summary & Conclusions

This research has resulted in 1) the correction of many erroneous or confusing identifications of Secwepemctsín animal names that appear in the written record; 2) the documentation of several new animal names and associated zoological identifications known to Mr. Arnouse that were previously unrecorded; 3) the documentation of a significant amount of information regarding the cultural roles of animals including details of their folk categorization in Secwépemc culture. This area of Secwépemc knowledge is far from exhaustively documented and analyzed, however, and this paper has highlighted some topics that may be productively investigated further. While botanical topics frequently have been treated in the Pacific Northwest as significant for ethnographic and theoretical concerns (e.g., Turner, et al. 1992), zoological data have remained largely ignored at both the ethnographic and theoretical levels. For these reasons the information presented here may been seen as having heuristic value both with regard to future Salishan and ethnozoological studies.

Beyond the materials gathered of ethnozoological significance, information was also offered on linguistic borrowings, place names and personal names associated with zoological taxa. Finally, on several occasions the zoological taxa were associated with stories. The researchers took the opportunity to videotape the related stories.

The results also demonstrate the suitability of a research methodology that takes advantage of pre-existing biological specimen materials and has highlighted the benefits of combining biological, linguistic and cultural expertise in ethnographic and linguistic research. The various individualistic data provided by Mr. Arnouse indicate the need for additional research to establish and explore the range of variation in animal names and categorization across not only dialect and community boundaries, but also among individuals within communities. The need for

additional Interior Salish ethnozoological research has also been demonstrated. From this a larger comparative picture can emerge both within Secwépemc dialectolgy and within comparative Salish.

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Notes

[1]A comprehensive record of Secwepemctsín zoological terminology has been prepared by Compton and Gardiner for presentation elsewhere pending further research and the incorporation of data provided during interviews with other Secwépemc consultants such as Aimee August, Mary Thomas and Marge Eugene.

[2]Comparable Western Shuswap versions of this name have been recorded by Kuipers: ʕʷλusɨ̓xkn, "bull snake" (1989:200) and ʕ°λ-ʕ°λ-ús-ɨ̓xkn (Deadman's Creek without -ɨ̓xkn), "copper snake" (1974b:259).

[3]Insofar as is known, no native British Columbian salamander, newt or lizard is known in herpetological circles to be predisposed toward this action. Nor do any true lizards in this area produce toxins although some local amphibians, i.e., western toad (Bufo boreas; Bufonidae), ensatina (or Oregon or red salamander, Ensatina eschscholtzi; Plethodontidae) and rough-skinned newt (Taricha granulosa; Salamandridae) are known to produce toxins in modified poison glands such as warts and parotoid glands (toads), in granular bumps on the skin (rough-skinned newt) or along the ridge of the tail (ensatina). While some amphibians (particularly some of tropical regions) may produce powerful toxins, the aforementioned local amphibians secrete compounds that, although bitter, are essentially harmless, functioning as defense mechanisms (Green and Campbell 1984:6). It is interesting to note that the long-toed salamander of Secwépemc territory is not among the prominent local toxin producing salamanders. This may suggest that the apparently ancient Secwépemc belief in the hazardous nature of "lizards" may be based in the recognition of toxicity in the rough-skinned newt or ensatina, which are distributed to the south and west of Secwépemc territory.

[4]When connected to root morphemes that designate plant parts, this suffix serves to designate the "plant," "bush" or "tree" that produces the plant part in question.

[5]In addition, Secwepemctsín forms provided by Mr. Arnouse that seem to represent descriptive phrases, rather than actual taxonomic labels, are included in this column.

[6]This fish is also called "silver trout" or "Dolly Varden trout" by some individuals.

[7]The true Dolly Varden (Salvelinus malma) reportedly occurs only in coastal waters within British Columbia while bull trout occurs within the interior (B. Carveth, pers. comm. 1992). Nevertheless, bull trout is uniformly identified by Secwépemc consultants and in

previous linguistic references as "Dolly Varden." Furthermore, the second term provided by Mr. Arnouse in reference to "ȧny little fish [like 'Dolly Varden']" is said to be different in pronunciation and meaning from sułəʔúẇi, possibly meaning 'real/ideal fish (in general)' or, according to Mr. Arnouse, "ordinary fish" and sometimes associated by others with Acrocheilus alutaceus (Chiselmouth; Cypriniidae) (Bouchard and Kennedy 1975).

[8]This term is said by Mr. Arnouse to mean "any animal with little sharp pointed ears like lynx or bobcat" (said in reference to the prominent pectoral fins of these fish species but not necessarily only a term for these fish).

[9]The true lingcod (Ophiodon elongatus; Hexagrammidae) is unrelated to burbot and does not occur in freshwater bodies. It is nonetheless considered superficially similar by some individuals to burbot, hence the application of the term "ling cod" to refer to this member of Gadidae.

[10]Also see Reptilia, Squamata: Eumeces skiltonianus (western skink; Scincidae) and Gerrhonotus coeruleus (northern alligator lizard; Anguidae).

[11]Also see Amphibia, Caudata: Ambystoma macrodactylum (long-toed salamander; Ambystomatidae).

[12]Mergus merganser is said by Mr. Arnouse to be "part of that (i.e., 'fish duck')," likely due to the similar rufous head feathers of male redheads and female common mergansers.

[13]Bucephala albeola is said to be the "she" ʎqʷéqʷənɛ and B. clangula the "he" ʎqʷéqʷənɛ (BA).

[14]This bird was not recognized by Mr. Arnouse and this identification was made by JM.

15Specimens of P. gambeli (mountain chickadee) and P. atricapillus (black-capped chickadee) were denied as referents of čɨc'qíq?ɛ. This bird is said to have obtained its red eyes from kinnikinnick berries (Arctostaphylos uva-ursi; Ericaceae) in a Secwépemc story, implying the possibility that it may actually be V. olivaceus, a red-eyed bird.

16Agelaius phoeniceus is the "male" qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit and E. cyanocephalus is the "female" qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit (BA). A third species, Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus (yellow-headed blackbird) was said by Mr. Arnouse to be in the "same family" as the other two.

17Icterus galbula is the "he" čʕʷlqíknə and P. ludoviciana is the "she" čʕʷlqíknə (BA).

18Mr. Arnouse did not recall the Secwepemctsín name for shrew but identified this species as the one he was familiar with. Kuipers (1974a:60) has recorded the Enderby term sq'wetxwyéẏ̓ləqs for "shrew."

19Mr. Arnouse stated that this term means "they throw up rocks."

20The three species listed in the first column are those said to be ones that Mr. Arnouse knew and recognized. However, several other bat species are known to occur in the vicinity of the Adams Lake area and throughout Secwépemc territory, including: Lasiurus cinereus (hoary bat), Myotis californicus (California myotis), M. evotis (western long-eared myotis), M. thysanodes (fringed myotis), M. volans (long-legged myotis) and M. yumanensis (Yuma myotis). The Secwepemctsín term listed for "bat" undoubtedly refers to any of these species as well as those identified by Mr. Arnouse.

21Lepus americanus is said to be the "summer rabbit" and S. nuttallii the "winter rabbit" (BA).

22Mr. Arnouse stated that O. princeps is [in] the "same family as rabbit" (i.e., snowshoe hare and Nuttall's cottontail).

23This species occurs within British Columbia as far north as the Merritt area. Mr. Arnouse stated that his father had observed and was familiar with this animal which Mr. Arnouse referred to as "sort of a muskrat and beaver [combination]." According to Mr. Arnouse, mountain beavers once occurred at a hunting ground called Lake Plateau or, in Secwepemctsín, pəskɨlɛi̓xʷə (or pəɬkɨklɛi̓xʷə, literally, 'muskrat [Ondatra zibethicus] place').

24Mr. Arnouse stated that "old people say sqəluʔúẇi, meaning the beaver pelt "feels like money when you feel it."

25Mr. Arnouse stated that there are two kinds of sxaxɛɬxʷ: sxaxɛɬxʷ ("wood rat" or "bush rat") and nəkéxt ⁄ sxaxélxʷ ("house rat" or "pack rat"). These may refer to two subspecies as recognized by some taxonomists (N. cinerea spp. drummondii and N. cinerea spp. occidentalis). Alternately, and more likely, the "house rat" may be Rattus norvegicus (Norway rat; Muridae).

26This species is said by Mr. Arnouse to be "the (red) squirrel's partner."

27The Secwepemctsín name is said by Mr. Arnouse to mean "grass eater," and this species is considered to be the "cousin" to Tamiasciurus hudsonicus (red squirrel).

28Marmota monax is said to be "the mountain one (i.e., sqʷíʔqʷə)" and the Secwepemctsín name is said to mean "whistler" (BA).

29This species is considered to be a "cousin" to Marmota flaviventris (yellow-bellied marmot) (BA).

30This species is sometimes jokingly called "mouth pocket" or "chest pocket," according to Mr. Arnouse.

[31]This species is said to be [in] the "same family as sisk' (Spermophilus columbianus, Columbian ground squirrel)". (BA).

[32]This species is said to be further distinguished according to colour: red (*tkʷalt?), black (qʷiqʼʷiyt) or gray (sqʷiʔéltxʷ, also mʕmaʕt and pʕpaʕt) (BA).

[33]The Secwepemctsín name is said by Mr. Arnouse to mean "turns colour," in reference to the white coat attained by these species during winter.

[34]The Secwepemctsín name previously associated with "badger," sqʼítxləqs, was identified by Mr. Arnouse as the name for Procyon lotor (raccoon; Procyonidae). Other Secwépemc deny knowing any name for raccoon, suggesting that this identification should be considered tentative.

[35]The Secwepemctsín name is said to refer to the noise raccoons (or badgers?) make through their noses (BA).

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Appendix 1: Taxa Arranged According to Secwepemctsín Nomenclature.

c'ʔtín (western rattlesnake), #37
c'axalécča (mink), #116
c'iɬwéwlič̓k (western garter snake), #35
c'las (belted kingfisher), #68
c'óɬyɛ (horned grebe), #40
čaqčqépstxa (polyphemus moth, twin-spot sphinx), #4
čaqʷčíča (peamouth chub), #20
čaqʷqín̓ (pileated woodpecker), #70

(č)q'ʷmús ("suckerfish"), #18
čaqʷʔépsɛ, čaqʷčqʷépɛnɛ (northern flicker), #69
čʕʷlqíknə (northern oriole, western tanager), #84
čic'qéqʔɛ (red-eyed vireo?), #82
čɨc'qíqʔɛ (boreal chickadee or, possibly, red-eyed vireo), #77
čɨčíčmɛʔt ʎ kʷalt, qʷiq'ʷíyt (Pacific treefrog), #28
číxə (redhead, common merganser), #43
číxʷc'əxʷ (osprey), #50
čuwiʔéka, čuwɨlyéɬxka (rubber boa), #33
čxéyaqs (coho salmon), #9
háwət (northern flying squirrel), #101
íswəɬ (common loon), #39
čɨčíčmɛʔt ʎ spiq'ʷ (house sparrow), #87
kék'ʷtnɛ (deer mouse), #98
kɨknéxʷ (kokanee), #11
kɨkésuʔ (Chinook or spring salmon), #12
kɨlkɨléč̓ (grasshopper), #3
kikéyt (red-tailed hawk, gyrfalcon), #48, #52
kʷiyéwt ("nightingale"), #88
kʷúʔpxə (porcupine), #99
k'ʷsixʷ (Canada goose), #44
ləhéc' (otter), #112
ɬəq'ʷqɛʔníʔəlt (tadpole), #26
ɬxʷínɨk, pəp'əʔséɬp (gopher snake), #34
mác'pɛʔ (bee, bumblebee), #5
mémɨlt (whitefish), #13
nəkéxt ʎ sxəxélxʷ (Norway rat?), #100
pəp'íʔsə (snake, in general), #32
pəqčín (American coot), #58
písəɬ (steelhead trout), #14
púṅləxʷ (Townsend's mole), #90
qəc'wéẇyə (golden-mantled ground squirrel), #105
q'síl̓x (eastern kingbird), #71
qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit ʎ spypyúẏɛ (red-winged blackbird and Brewer's blackbird), #83

qʷílqə (wolverine), #111
qʷiqʷiqín (mallard), #42
qʷiɣíkɛnɛ (mountain bluebird, western bluebird), #80
qʼʷéʔk (northern squawfish), #21
saČéc' (yellow-bellied marmot), #102
saʔésaɬ, swɛɬaʔúẇi (bull trout), #16
saʔníxʷ (sandhill crane or, possibly, great blue heron), #59
sal (cricket), #2
saʁéẇ (lynx), #110
scʼnéɣ̓ə (torrent sculpin), #23
sČac'máṁna (lake chub, leopard dace), #19
sČiČéʔ (common raven), #74
sČʕʷtsʕʷqín (winter wren), #78
saʔáṁsiyɛ (black-billed magpie), #76
saʔéʕaxɛ (northwestern crow), #73
saqʷyíČ (snowshoe hare, Nuttall's cottontail), #92
saχyéχʷaʔ (freshwater clam), #1
sʕʷíʕʷlə (lake trout), #17
shíhyɛ (mourning dove), #62
sisk' (Columbian ground squirrel), #104
siklɛ́xʷaʔ (muskrat), #95
sisúqʼʷ (blue grouse), #55
siyék' (unidentified falcon), #51
skikʼiyéy (pine siskin), #86
skint (ES), syn.skík'əi̓ (WS) (common pika), #93
słaqʼʷqíṁ (frog, in general), #25
słaqʼʷqíṁ χ̓ χ̓ixyúm (western toad), #27
smúwaʔ (cougar), #109
sníns (great gray owl; owl, in general), #64
snχʷúχʷlaxʷ (coyote), #107
spépqɬcʼə (ermine, long-tailed weasel), #115
spaqmíx (trumpeter swan, tundra swan), #46
spiqʼʷ (common nighthawk), #66
spiɬqʷáqs (bald eagle), #49
splant (striped skunk), #114
spiɬqʼʷéqs (painted turtle), #30
spyuʔéɬp (golden eagle), #47
sqítχ̓laqs (raccoon), #118
sqəléẇ, sqəluʔúẇi (beaver), #96
sqəwéy (Steller's jay), #75
sqlélɬn (sockeye salmon), #10
sqləltnʔúẇi (pink or humpback salmon), #8
squʔɬt (wasp), #6
sqʷíʔqʷə (hoary marmot, woodchuck), #103
sqʼɔ́mqɛ (sharp-tailed grouse), #57
sqʼwetxwyéɣ̓ləqs (shrew), #89 (as transcribed by Kuipers 1974a:60)
sqʼʷəxméṁnik (American dipper), #79
stíqʼsaɬ (Kamloops trout), #15
sχ̓ṅwéyə (bat, in general), #91
suʔyík (boreal owl, northern pygmy-owl), #63
sułkʷəʔéi̓xkn, séwłkʷə χ̓ pəpʼíʔsə (common garter snake), #36
sułnéṅtkʷə (tree swallow, violet-green swallow), #72
sunéx (ruffed grouse), #53
swɛwɬ (fish, in general), #7
sxəxɛɬxʷ (bushy-tailed woodrat), #97
sxʷəčəxúcʼxɛ (band-tailed pigeon), #61
sxʷúpxʷəp (northern hawk owl), #65
sχ̓ʔχ̓ɛ (spruce grouse), #54
sʔésχ̓xʷu (duck, in general), #41
təníyə (moose), #119
tyéxpɛʔ (ring-necked pheasant), #56
χ̓qʷéqʷənɛ (bufflehead, common goldeneye), #45
wíwiɬwiɬ (common snipe), #60
wiswísχ̓ə (American robin), #81
xkʼmúi̓əxʷ (ling), #22
xpʼəʔsúi̓əxʷ (mythical "deep water snake"), #38
χ̓ʕɛns (marten), #113
χ̓ʷʕʷéləxʷ (red fox), #108
χ̓ʷéχ̓ʷnɛ (rufous hummingbird), #67

xʷəxʷlέʔ (western meadowlark), #85
yixyέxə (spotted frog), #29
ʔəsčέkʼ (red squirrel), #106
ʔučxέn (long-toed salamander), #24
ʔučxέn, sxɛnx X ʔučxέn (western skink, alligator lizard), #31
(no Secwepemctsín name recorded) (mountain beaver), #94
(Secwepemctsín name not recalled) (badger), #117

Appendix 2: Taxa Arranged According to Common English Nomenclature.

badger (Secwepemctsín name not recalled), #117
bat, in general (sXńwέyə), #91
beaver (sqəlέẇ, sqəluʔúẇi), #96
beaver, mountain (no Secwepemctsín name), #94
bee, bumblebee (mácʼpɛʔ), #5
blackbird, red-winged and Brewer's blackbird (qʷəqʷíyqʼʷit X spypyúẏɛ), #83
bluebird, mountain; western bluebird (qʷiyíkɛnɛ), #80
bufflehead, common goldeneye (Xqʷéqʷanɛ), #45
chickadee, boreal or, possibly, red-eyed vireo (čicʼqíqʔɛ), #77
chub, lake; leopard dace (sčacʼmáḿna), #19
chub, peamouth (čəqʷčíča), #20
clam, freshwater (səXyéxʷəʔ), #1
coot, American (pəqčín), #58
cougar (smúwəʔ), #109
coyote (snxʷúxʷləxʷ), #107
crane, sandhill or, possibly, great blue heron (səʔníxʷ), #59
cricket (səl), #2
crow, northwestern (səʔéʕaxɛ), #73
dipper, American (sqʼʷaxméḿnik), #79
dove, mourning (shíhyɛ), #62
duck, in general (sʔésXxʷu), #41
eagle, bald (spiɬqʷáqs), #49
eagle, golden (spyuʔéɬp), #47

ermine; long-tailed weasel (spépqɬcʼə), #115
falcon, unidentified (siyék'), #51
fish, in general (swɛwɬ), #7
flicker, northern (čəqʷʔépsɛ, čəqʷčqʷépɛnɛ), #69
flying squirrel, northern (háwət), #101
fox, red (xʷʕʷélaxʷ), #108
frog, in general (słəqʼʷqíḿ), #25
frog, spotted (yixyέxə), #29
goose, Canada (kʼʷsixʷ), #44
grasshopper (kɨlkɨléč), #3
grebe, horned (cʼóɬyɛ), #40
ground squirrel, Columbian (sisk'), #104
ground squirrel, golden-mantled (qəcʼwέẇyə), #105
grouse, blue (sɨsúqʼʷ), #55
grouse, ruffed (sunέx), #53
grouse, sharp-tailed (sqʼómqɛ), #57
grouse, spruce (sxɔ́ʔxɛ), #54
hare, snowshoe; Nuttall's cottontail (səqʷyíč), #92
hawk, red-tailed; gyrfalcon (kikéyt), #48, #52
hummingbird, rufous (xʷéxʷnɛ), #67
jay, Steller's (sqəwéy), #75
kingbird, eastern (qʼsíɨx), #71
kingfisher, belted (cʼlas), #68
kokanee (kɨknéxʷ), #11
ling (xkʼmúɨəxʷ), #22
loon, common (íswəɬ), #39
lynx (səɤέẇ), #110
magpie, black-billed (səʔáḿsiyɛ), #76
mallard (qʷiqʷiqín), #42
marmot, hoary; woodchuck (sqʷíʔqʷə), #103
marmot, yellow-bellied (sačέcʼ), #102
marten (xʕɛns), #113
meadowlark, western (xʷəxʷlέʔ), #85
mink (cʼəxəléča), #116
mole, Townsend's (púḿləxʷ), #90

moose (tənίye), #119
moth, polyphemus; twin-spot sphinx (čəqčqépstxə), #4
mouse, deer (kék'ʷtnɛ), #98
muskrat (sɨklέxʷəʔ), #95
nighthawk, common (spiq'ʷ), #66
"nightingale" (kʷiyέwt), #88
oriole, western; western tanager (čʕʷlqíknə), #84
osprey (číx̣ʷc'ax̣ʷ), #50
otter (ləhέc'), #112
owl, boreal; northern pygmy-owl (suʔyík), #63
owl, great gray; owl, in general (sníne), #64
owl, northern hawk (sxʷúpxʷəp), #65
pheasant, ring-necked (tyέxpɛʔ), #56
pigeon, band-tailed (sxʷəčəxúc'xɛ), #61
pika, common (skint [ES], syn.skík'əɨ [WS]), #93
pine siskin (skɨk'iyέy), #86
porcupine (kʷúʔpxə), #99
raccoon (sqítx̣ləqs), #118
rat, Norway? (nəkέxt ʎ sxəxέlxʷ), #100
rattlesnake, western (c'ʕtín), #37
raven, common (sčɨčέʔ), #74
redhead, common merganser (číx̣ə), #43
robin, American (wɨswísx̣ə), #81
rubber boa (čuwiʔéka, čuwɨlyέɨxkə), #33
salamander, long-toed (ʔučxén), #24
salmon, Chinook or spring (kɨkésuʔ), #12
salmon, coho (čx̣éyəqs), #9
salmon, pink or humpback (sqləltnʔúẇi), #8
salmon, sockeye (sqlέltn), #10
sculpin, torrent (sc'néẏə), #23
shrew (sq'wetxwyéẏleqs), #89 (as transcribed by Kuipers 1974a:60)
skink, western; alligator lizard (ʔučxén, sxɛnx ʎ ʔučxén), #31
skunk, striped (splant), #114
snake, common garter (sułkʷəʔέɨxkn, séwłkʷə ʎ pəp'íʔsə), #36
snake, in general (pəp'íʔsə), #32
snake, gopher (łxʷínɨk, pəp'əʔsέłp), #34
snake, mythical "deep water snake" (xp'aʔsúɨəxʷ), #38
snake, western garter (c'ɨłwέwlič̌k), #35
snipe, common (wíwɨłwɨł), #60
sparrow, house (čɨčíčmɛʔt ʎ spiq'ʷ), #87
squawfish, northern (q'ʷέʔk), #21
squirrel, red (ʔəsčék'), #106
"suckerfish" ([č]q'ʷmús), #18
swallow, tree; violet-green swallow (sułnéṅtkʷə), #72
swan, trumpeter; tundra swan (spəqmíx), #46
tadpole (łəq'ʷqɛʔníʔəlt), #26
toad, western (słəq'ʷqíṅ ʎ x̣ix̣yúm), #27
treefrog, Pacific (čɨčíčmɛʔt ʎ kʷalt, qʷiq'ʷíyt), #28
trout, bull (saʔésał, swɛłəʔúẇi), #16
trout, Kamloops (stíq'sał), #15
trout, lake (sʕʷíʕʷlə), #17
trout, steelhead (písał), #14
turtle, painted (spɨq'ʷéqs), #30
vireo, red-eyed? (čic'qéqʔɛ), #82
wasp (squʔłt), #6
whitefish (mémɨlt), #13
wolverine (qʷílqə), #111
woodpecker, pileated (čəqʷqíṅ), #70
woodrat, bushy-tailed (sxəxɛłxʷ), #97
wren, winter (sčʕʷtsʕʷqín), #78

Table 1. Ethnozoological Database of Secwépemc Taxa Identified by Bill Arnouse
(Note: Introduced species are designated by the appearance of a superscript dagger [†] preceding the Latin zoological name.)

Latin Zoological Species Name	**Secwepemctsín Name** (ES = Eastern Secwepemctsín, WS = Western Secwepemctsín; BA = Bill Arnouse, JM = Joe Michel)	**English Gloss or Description as Provided by B. Arnouse** (or, if in parentheses, as provided by Kuipers or other Secwépemc consultant[s])[5]
Phylum Mollusca (Mollusks)		
(1) Margaritifera sp. (Freshwater Clam)	səx̌yéx̣ʷəʔ	"clam"
Phylum Arthropoda (Arthropods) **Class Insecta (Insects)** **Order Orthoptera (Crickets, Grasshoppers and Allies)**		
(2) Unidentified Species of Family Gryllidae (Crickets; probably one or more species of Subfamily Oecanthinae, Tree Crickets)	sal	"cricket"
(3) Unidentified Species of Family ?Acridiae (Short-horned Grasshoppers)	kɬlkɬléč	"grasshopper"
Order Lepidoptera (Butterflies and Moths)		
(4) Antheraea polyphemus (Polyphemus; Saturniidae) and Smerinthus jamaicensis (Twin-spot Sphinx; Smerinthidae)	čəqčqépstxə	"night moth (polyphemus) and "everyday type" of "night moth" (twin-spot sphinx)
Order Hymenoptera (Ants, Bees and Wasps)		
(5) Unidentified Species of Apidae (Bees and Bumblebees; probably Bombus sp.)	mác'pɛʔ	(large black) "bee" (that makes one jump when stung)
(6) Vespula sp. (probably V. maculata [Baldfaced Hornet; Vespidae])	squʔɬt	"yellow wasp"
Phylum Chordata **Class Osteichthyes (Bony Fishes)**		
(7) Fish (in general)	swɛwɬ	"any fish" (including other species not listed below)
Order Salmoniformes (Salmoniform Fishes) **Family Salmonidae (Salmonid Fishes)**		
(8) Oncorhynchus gorbuscha (Pink or Humpback Salmon)	sqlaltnʔúẇi	"humpback salmon"
(9) O. kisutch (Coho Salmon)	čx̣éyaqs	"coho salmon"
(10) O. nerka (Sockeye Salmon)	sqlélṯn	"Sockeye salmon" (also "salmon in general")
(11) O. nerka (Kokanee, i.e., a lake resident Sockeye Salmon)	kɨknéxʷ	"Kokanee"

(12) O. tshawytscha (Chinook or Spring Salmon)	kɨkɛ́su?	"spring salmon"
(13) Prosopium williamsoni (Mountain Whitefish) and possibly also P. coulteri (Pygmy Whitefish) and Coregonus clupeaformis (Lake Whitefish)	mɛ́mɨlt	"whitefish"
(14) Salmo gairdneri (Steelhead, i.e., an anadromous Rainbow Trout)	písaɬ	"steelhead"
(15) ?S. gairdneri (Kamloops Trout, i.e., a local environmental variant of Rainbow Trout)	stíq'saɬ	"silver trout"[6]
(16) Salvelinus confluentus (Bull Trout)	sa?ɛ́saɬ, swɛɬa?úẇi	"Dolly Varden"[7]
(17) S. namaycush (Lake Trout)	sʕʷíʕʷlə	"grey trout"

Order Cypriniformes (Cypriniform Fishes)
Family Cypriniidae (Carps and Minnows

(18) ?Acrocheilus alutaceus (Chiselmouth) and, probably more correctly, Catostomus catostomus (Longnose Sucker) and C. columbianus; Catostomidae)	(č)q'ʷmús	("suckerfish")
(19) Couesius plumbeus (Lake Chub) and also possibly Rhinichthys cataractae (Longnose Dace) and R. falcatus (Leopard Dace)	sčac'máṁna[8]	
(20) Mylocheilus caurinus (Peamouth Chub)	čaqʷčíča	"little red mouth fish" ("redmouth sucker")
(21) Ptychocheilus oregonensis (Northern Squawfish)	q'ʷɛ́?k	"squawfish"

Order Gadiformes (Gadiform Fishes)
Family Gadidae (Cods)

(22) Lota lota (Burbot, Ling)	xk'múɬəxʷ	"ling cod"[9]

Order Scorpaeniformes (Mail-cheeked Fishes)
Family Cottidae (Sculpins)

(23) Cottus rhotheus (Torrent Sculpin)	sc'nɛ́ẏə	"bullhead"

Class Amphibia (Amphibians)
Order Caudata (Salamanders and Newts)
Family Ambystomatidae (Mole Salamanders)

(24) Ambystoma macrodactylum (Long-toed Salamander)	?učxɛ́n[10]	"lizard" ("lizard on the ground [around rotten logs and stumps]"..."the dangerous one")

Order Anura (Frogs and Toads)

(25) Frog (in general)	sɬəq'ʷqíṅ	"(any) frog"
(26) Tadpole (any juvenile member of Anura)	ɬəq'ʷqɛ?ní?əlt	"baby frog"

Family Bufonidae (True Toads)

(27) Bufo boreas (Western Toad)	(see next column)	"bull frog" (słaq'ʷqíḿ ʎ x̣ix̣yúm, lit., 'big frog') (said to be known as smi?níp in Okanagan)

Family Hylidae (Treefrogs)

(28) Hyla regilla (Pacific Treefrog)	(see next column)	"little green (frog)" (čičíčmɛ?t ʎ kʷalt) and "little black (frog)" (qʷiq'ʷíyt)

Family Ranidae (True Frogs)

(29) Rana pretiosa (Spotted Frog)	(see next column)	"long-legged frog" (i.e., yɬxyéxə - said to be a type of słaq'ʷqíḿ that jumps farther than other frogs)

Class Reptilia (Reptiles)
Order Testudines (Turtles)
Family Emydidae (Emydid Turtles)

(30) Chrysemys picta (Painted Turtle)	spɬq'ʷéqs	"turtle"

Order Squamata (in part: Lizards)
Family Scincidae (Skinks) and Family Anguidae (Anguids)

(31) Eumeces skiltonianus (Western Skink; Scincidae) and Gerrhonotus coeruleus (Northern Alligator Lizard; Anguidae)	?učxén(also see next column)	"lizard;" "rock lizard" (i.e., sxɛnx ʎ ?učxén11 - also referred to as "the fast ones" in opposition to the "lizard on the ground" [i.e., Ambystoma macrodactylum, long-toed salamander])

Order Squamata (in part: Snakes)

(32) Snake (in general)	pəp'í?sə	"snake"

Family Boidae (Boas and Pythons)

(33) Charina bottae (Rubber Boa)	čuwi?ékə; čuwɬyéɬxkə (BA)	(name said to mean "dead person's snake/body" [BA]; name said to be derived from čwiwéy, 'corpse,' by [JM])

Family Colubridae (Colubrids)

(34) Pituophis melanoleucus (Gopher Snake)	ɬxʷínɬk, pəp'a?sélp	"bull snake" (former term the proper name, latter terms said to mean "big snake")
(35) Thamnophis elegans (Western Garter Snake)	c'ɨɬwéwlič̓k	"grass snake," ordinary black grass snake" (said to be known as ulɛ́nč̓k in Okanagan)
(36) T. sirtalis (Common Garter Snake)	sułkʷa?éɬxkn(also see next column)	"water snake" (sɛ́wɬkʷə ʎ pəp'í?sə)

Family Viperidae (Pit Vipers and Vipers)

(37) Crotalus viridis (Western Rattlesnake)	c'ˤtín	"rattlesnake," "timber rattler"

Mythical Snake (no biological affiliation)

(38) Mythical Snake	xp'aʔsúl̓əxʷ	"deep water snake" (said to occur at the bottom of some lakes)

Class Aves (Birds)
Order Gaviiformes (Loons)
Family Gaviidae (Loons)

(39) Gavia immer (Common Loon)	íswəɬ(also see next column)	"loon"; sqəlɛ́ləxʷ ("male loon" [BA]), nəx̣ʷənɛ́nx̣ʷ ("female loon" [BA])

Order Podicipediformes (Grebes)
Family Podicipedidae (Grebes)

(40) Podiceps auritus (Horned Grebe)	c'ɔ́ɬyɛ	"little diver"

Order Anseriiformes (Swans, Geese and Ducks)
Family Anatidae (Swans, Geese and Ducks)

(41) Duck (in general)	sʔɛ́sƛ̓xʷu	"(any) duck" (including Gavia immer [common loon] and others)
(42) Anas platyrhynchos (Mallard)	qʷiqʷiqín	

(43) Aythya americana (Redhead) and also Mergus merganser (Common Merganser)	číx̣ə	"fish duck"[12]
(44) Branta canadensis (Canada Goose)	k'ʷsixʷ	"goose"
(45) Bucephala albeola (Bufflehead) and B. clangula (Common Goldeneye)	ƛ̓qʷɛ́qʷənɛ[13]	
(46) Cygnus buccinator (Trumpeter Swan) and C. columbianus (Tundra Swan)	spəqmíx	"white swan"

Order Falconiformes (Diurnal Birds of Prey)
Family Accipitridae (Osprey, Eagles and Hawks)

(47) Aquila chrysaetos (Golden Eagle)	spyuʔɛ́ɬp	(This name said by BA to mean "big bird.")
(48) Buteo jamaicensis (Red-tailed Hawk) and Falco rusticolus (Gyrfalcon; Falconidae); B. lagopus (Rough-legged Hawk)	kikɛ́yt	(Buteo jamaicensis is the "she" and F. rusticolus is the "he" kikɛ́yt.); (B. lagopus identified as stsq'7ém t' kikɛ́yt)
(49) Haliaeetus leucocephalus (Bald Eagle)	spɨl̓qʷáqs	"bald eagle"
(50) Pandion haliaetus (Osprey)	číx̣ʷc'əx̣ʷ	"fish hawk"

Family Falconidae (Falcons)

(51) ?Falco sp.	sɨyɛ́k'	"(unidentified) falcon"

(52) Falco rústicolus (Gyrfalcon)	kikéɣt	(See Buteo jamaicensis [red-tailed hawk; Accipitridae].)

Order Galliformes (Gallinaceous Birds)
Family Phasianidae (Partridge, Grouse, Ptarmigan, Turkey and Quail)

(53) Bonasa umbellus (Ruffed Grouse)	sunéx	"willow grouse"
(54) Dendragapus canadensis (Spruce Grouse)	sx̣ɔ́ʔx̣ɛ	"Franklin's grouse" or "fool hen"
(55) Dendragapus obscurus (Blue Grouse)	sɨsúqʼʷ(also see next column)	sqlɛ́ləxʷ ("male blue grouse" [BA])
(56) †Phasianus colchicus (Ring-necked Pheasant)	tɣɛ́xpɛʔ	"pheasant" (lit., 'long tail')
(57) Tympanuchus phasianellus (Sharp-tailed Grouse)	sqʼɔ́mqɛ	"prairie chicken"

Order Gruiformes (Cranes, Rails and Allies)
Family Rallidae (Rails, Gallinules and Coots)

(58) Fulica americana (American Coot)	pəqčín	"mudhen" (lit., 'white beak')

Family Gruidae (Cranes)

(59) ?Grus canadensis (Sandhill Crane) or possibly Ardea herodias (Great Blue Heron; Order Ciconiiformes, Ardeidae)	səʔníxʷ	(This name said by BA to be an Okanagan word.)

Order Charadriiformes (Shorebirds, Gulls, Auks and Allies)
Family Scolopacidae (Sandpipers, Phalaropes and Allies)

(60) Gallinago gallinago (Common Snipe)	wíwɨɬwɨɬ	("snipe")

Order Columbidae (Pigeons and Doves)
Family Columbidae (Pigeons and Doves)

(61) Columba fasciata (Band-tailed Pigeon)	sxʷəčəxúcʼxɛ	("pigeon")
(62) Zenaida macroura (Mourning Dove)	shíhyɛ	("mourning dove")

Order Strigiformes (Owls)
Family Strigidae (Typical Owls)

(63) Aegolius funereus (Boreal Owl) and Glaucidium gnoma (Northern Pygmy-owl)	suʔyík	"barn owl" (said to be a type of snínɛ)
(64) Strix nebulosa (Great Gray Owl); term also refers to "owl (in general)"	snínɛ	"owl"
(65) Surnia ulula (Northern Hawk Owl)	sxʷúpxʷəp	"screech-owl" (This bird is said by BA to be the same as the one referred to by the Okanagan term sɨkmés.)

Order Caprimulgiformes (Goatsuckers and Allies)
Family Caprimulgidae (Goatsuckers)

(66) Chordeiles minor (Common Nighthawk)	spiq'ʷ	"a night-flying 'sparrow'" (See Passer domesticus [house sparrow; Passeridae].)

Order Apodiformes (Swifts and Hummingbirds)
Family Trochilidae (Hummingbirds)

(67) Selasphorus rufus (Rufous Hummingbird)	x̣ʷéx̣ʷnɛ	"hummingbird"

Order Coraciiformes (Kingfishers and Allies)
Family Alcedinidae (Kingfishers)

(68) Ceryle alcyon (Belted Kingfisher)	c'las	"kingfisher"

Order Piciformes (Woodpeckers and Allies)
Family Picidae (Woodpeckers)

(69) Colaptes auratus (Northern Flicker)	čəqʷʔépsɛ (lit., 'red chin'), čəqʷčqʷépɛnɛ (lit., 'red jaws')	"flicker"
(70) Dryocopus pileatus (Pileated Woodpecker)	čəqʷqíṅ	("woodpecker," "red-headed woodpecker," or "pileated woodpecker")

Order Passeriformes (Passerine Birds)
Family Tyrannidae (Tyrant Flycatchers)

(71) Tyrannus tyrannus (Eastern Kingbird)	q'sílx[14]	("eastern kingbird")

Family Hirundinidae (Swallows)

(72) Tachycineta bicolor (Tree Swallow) and T. thalassina Violet-green Swallow)	sułnéṅtkʷə	"swallow"

Family Corvidae (Jays, Magpies and Crows)

(73) Corvus caurinus (Northwestern Crow)	səʔéʕəxɛ	"crow" (said to be the "cousin' of raven)
(74) Corvus corax (Common Raven)	sčɨčéʔ	"raven" (see "crow")
(75) Cyanocitta stelleri (Steller's Jay)	sqəwéy	"blue jay"
(76) Pica pica (Black-billed Magpie)	səʔáṅsiyɛ	"magpie"

Family Paridae (Titmice)

(77) ?Parus hudsonicus (Boreal Chickadee) or possibly Vireo olivaceus (Red-eyed Vireo; Vireonidae)	čɨc'qíqʔɛ	"chickadee"[15]

Family Troglodytidae (Wrens)

(78) Troglodytes troglodytes (Winter Wren)	sčʕʷtsʕʷqín	("wren") (lit., 'stripes on head')

Family Cinclidae (Dippers)

(79) Cinclus mexicanus (American Dipper)	sq'ʷəxméṁnɨk	"dipper"

Family Muscicapidae (Kinglets, Bluebirds, Thrushes and Allies)

(80) Sialia currucoides (Mountain Bluebird) and S. mexicana (Western Bluebird)	qʷɨyíkɛnɛ	"bluebird"
(81) Turdus migratorius (American Robin)	wɨswísχə	"robin"

Family Vireonidae (Vireos)

(82) ?Vireo olivaceus (Red-eyed Vireo)	čic'qéq?ɛ	"chickadee" (See Parus hudsonicus [boreal chickadee; Paridae].)

Family Emberizidae (Wood-warblers, Sparrows, Blackbirds and Allies)

(83) Agelaius phoeniceus (Red-winged Blackbird) and Euphagus cyanocephalus (Brewer's Blackbird)	qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit (also see next column)	("blackbird") (qʷəqʷíyq'ʷit χ spypyúẏɛ [BA][16])
(84) Icterus galbula (Northern Oriole) and Piranga ludoviciana (Western Tanager)	čɾʷlqíknə[17]	"oriole" (lit., 'fire-head')
(85) Sturnella neglecta (Western Meadowlark)	χʷəχʷlέ?	"lark"

Family Fringillidae (Finches)

(86) Carduelis pinus (Pine Siskin)	skɨk'iyéy	"snowbird"

Family Passeridae (Old World Sparrows)

(87) †Passer domesticus (House Sparrow)	(see next column)	čɨčíčmɛ?t χ spiq'ʷ (lit., "small spɨq'ʷ") (See Chordeiles minor [nighthawk; Caprimulgidae].)

Unidentified Bird

(88) Unidentified Bird	kʷiyéwt	"nightingale" (said to sing in the evening during late spring or early summer)

Class Mammalia (Mammals)
Order Insectivora (Insectivores)
Family Soricidae (Shrews)

(89) Sorex vagrans (Vagrant Shrew)[18]		

Family Talpidae (Moles)

(90) Scapanus townsendii (Townsend's Mole)	púńləxʷ (syn. spɨlpɔ́lə[19])	("mole")

Order Chiroptera (Bats)
Family Vespertilionidae (Vespertilionid Bats)

(91) Eptesicus fuscus (Big Brown Bat), Lasionycteris noctivagans (Silver-haired Bat) and Myotis lucifugus)	sχńwéyə	"bat"[20]

Order Lagomorpha (Lagomorphs)
Family Leporidae (Hares and Rabbits)

(92) Lepus americanus (Snowshoe Hare) and Sylvilagus nuttallii (Nuttall's Cottontail)	səqʷyíč	"rabbit"[21] (See Ochotona princeps [common pika].)

Family Ochotonidae (Pikas)

(93) Ochotona princeps (Common Pika)	skint (ES), syn.skík'aì (WS)	("rock rabbit")[22]

Order Rodentia (Rodents)
Family Aplodontidae (Mountain Beavers)

(94) Aplodontia rufa (Mountain Beaver)	(no Secwepemctsín name[23])	

Family Arvicolidae (Voles and Lemmings)

(95) Ondatra zibethicus (Muskrat)	sɨkl̓éxʷaʔ	("muskrat")

Family Castoridae (Beavers)

(96) Castor canadensis (Beaver)	sqəl̓éẇ, sqəluʔúẇi	"beaver"[24]

Family Cricetidae (Cricetids)

(97) Neotoma cinerea (Bushy-tailed Woodrat)	sxəxɛɬxʷ(also see next column)	("rat"; "bush rat" - nəkɛ́xt ʎ sxəxɛ́lxʷ [BA])[25]
(98) Peromyscus maniculatus (Deer Mouse)	kɛ́kʼʷtnɛ	"mouse" (lit., 'chewing')

Family Erethizontidae (New World Porcupines)

(99) Erethizon dorsatum (Porcupine)	kʷúʔpxə	"porcupine"

Family Muridae (Murids)

(100) ?Rattus norvegicus (Norway Rat)	(see next column)	nəkɛ́xt ʎ sxəxɛ́lxʷ (See Neotoma cinerea [Bushy-tailed Woodrat; Cricetidae].)

Family Sciuridae (Squirrels)

(101) Glaucomys sabrinus (Northern Flying Squirrel)	háwət	("flying squirrel")[26]
(102) Marmota flaviventris (Yellow-bellied Marmot)	sačɛ́cʼ	("gopher")[27]
(103) Marmota caligata (Hoary Marmot) and M. monax (Woodchuck)	sqʷíʔqʷə	("rockchuck," mountain marmot," "whistler")[28]
(104) Spermophilus columbianus (Columbian Ground Squirrel)	sisk'	"gopher"[29]
(105) Spermophilus lateralis (Golden-mantled Ground Squirrel)	qəcʼwɛ́ẇyə	"chipmunk"[30]
(106) Tamiasciurus hudsonicus (Red Squirrel)	ʔəsčɛ́kʼ	("squirrel")[31]

Order Carnivora (Carnivores)
Family Canidae (Canids)

(107) Canis latrans (Coyote)	snχ̓ʷúχ̓ʷləxʷ	"coyote"
(108) Vulpes vulpes (Red Fox)	χ̓ʷʕʷélməxʷ	"fox"[32]

Family Felidae (Cats)

(109) Felis concolor (Cougar)	smúwəʔ	"cougar"
(110) Lynx canadensis (Lynx)	saɣéẇ	("lynx")

Family Mustelidae (Mustelids)

(111) Gulo gulo (Wolverine)	qʷílqə	"wolverine"
(112) Lontra canadensis (River Otter)	ləhéc'	"otter"
(113) Martes americana (Marten)	xˀɛns	"marten"
(114) Mephitis mephitis (Striped Skunk)	splant	"skunk"
(115) Mustela erminea (Ermine) and M. frenata (Long-tailed Weasel)	spépqɬc'ə	"weasel"[33]
(116) Mustela vison (Mink)	c'axəlécə	"mink"
(117) ?Taxidea taxus (Badger)	(proper Secwepemctsín name not recalled but said to be different from sq'ítxləqs)	"badger"[34]

Family Procyonidae (Procyonids)

(118) ?Procyon lotor (Raccoon)	sq'ítxləqs	"raccoon"[35] (See Taxidea taxus [badger; Mustelidae].)

Order Artiodactyla (Even-toed Ungulates)
Family Cervidae (Cervids)

(119) Alces alces (Moose)	tanítye	"moose"