Linguistic Evidence for Burrard Inlet
as Former Halkomelem Territory

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

Linguistic evidence for the movements of peoples can also be found in Native place names in parts of northwestern North America. One of these is the region between the northern end of the Strait of Georgia and the mid-section of Johnstone Strait. According to Native traditions and historic documents, the Kwakwala-speaking Lekwiltok, who have occupied this whole region since the mid-19th century, replaced or absorbed Salishan-speaking Comox, who were its earlier inhabitants. While the majority of Lekwiltok place names in their present territory are clearly of Kwakwala origin, a good many, including several referring to important village sites, can be analysed as of Salishan origin, adapted to the sounds of Kwakwala.[1] Even if we did not have the Native traditions and historic documents indicating the expansion of the Lekwiltok into Salish territory, we would have to infer the movement from the evidence of place names.

Another region where Native place names give evidence of the movement of people is Burrard Inlet.[2] Here too, both Native traditions and historic documents indicate that region was once occupied by speakers of Halkomelem--the Musqueam and Saleelwat (Burrard) people, and that Squamish speakers moved from their homeland in the Squamish Valley and settled in the region in the 19th century, although the question remains open whether they had seasonally occupied sites on Burrard Inlet at an earlier time. Here too, an analysis of place names supports the presence of speakers of Halkomelem on Burrard Inlet before the arrival of Squamish speakers. Kuipers (1969:32-38) gives some of the evidence. I will try here to give more.

To identify a place name (or any other term, for that matter) as having come from one language rather than another, we can examine it to see if it shows features that normally appear in the one language rather than the other. These can be features of phonology, lexicon, or morphology. Not all names will be identifiably of one source or another. Some will not be identifiable as to source simply because they have been in use so long that changes in the source language make no longer possible to identify their components. Others may not be identifiable because two possible source languages do not differ in the features they display. But even two closely related languages will be different in some features. Thus the first step in sorting out place names is to consider the differences between the languages that may have been their source.[3]

Halkomelem and Squamish

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

Phonology. Both languages use a small number of vowel phonemes and a large number of consonant phonemes. Consonants include glottalized (ejective) stops and affricates (p̓, ƛ̓ k̓ etc.) voiceless laterals (ł, X̓), uvulars (q, q̓, X̌, etc.), labialized velars and uvulars (kʷ, k̓ʷ, qʷ, q̓ʷ, etc.). (2) Hal differs from Sq in having a vowel e, lacking in Sq, in having few occurrences of u, common in Sq, and in contrasting long and short vowels other than ə, a conrast lacking in Sq. Sq has no phonemes that are wholly absent from Hal, but the Ms dialect of Hal has only a few words with č, which is common in Sq. On the other hand, Hal has two interdental consonants θ and z̓ (phonetically ɬ̕) that do not occur in Sq, and the Ms dialect has a palatal fricative x (phonetically xʸ) that does not occur in Sq, though it sounds very similar to Sq š. In my analysis, Hal has glottalized resonants (m̓, n̓, l̓, y̓, and w̓) and in I have assumed this for Sq. In Ms these are not always easy to hear, and they seem to have disappeared in Upriver dialects (Galloway 1993).

When speakers of one language borrow words from another, they are likely to use the sound system of their own language. Since the Hal inventory of phonemes includes all of those of Sq, Hal speakers would presumably have no difficulty pronouncing a Sq place name. On the other hand, since Sq lacks four of the phonemes of Ms Hal, speakers of Sq

would be likely to modify these in the direction of Sq, probably replacing Ms e with a, θ with s, ž with ċ and x with š. (A Sq substitution of ċ for Hal ž is seen in No. 56.)

Comparative evidence indicates that historically Hal has generally been more innovative than Sq. The Hal vowels e and a were earlier a and u respectively, corresponding to the present Sq vowels. The Hal consonants θ and ž were earlier c and ċ, while Hal c and ċ were earlier č and č̓ (and may still vary in this direction for some speakers), again corresponding to present Sq consonants. Ms is conservative in having x in place of the š in Island dialects of Hal and in Sq. Sq has innovated in shifting a number of instances of l and ł to y and y̓.

Lexicon. In both Hal and Sq many words consist of a single root, but many more consist of a root with affixes. Both languages have only a small number of prefixes but a large number of suffixes. As in other Salishan languages, there is an extensive set of "lexical suffixes," suffixes with meanings usually expressed by nouns. For example, the lexical suffix for 'nose' may be added to a root meaning 'long' to produce a word meaning 'long-nosed', with a root for 'get hit' to produce a word meaning 'get-hit-on-the-nose', etc. Some lexical suffixes referring to body parts are extended in meaning to refer to features of the environment; the one for 'nose' can also refer to a point of land. A number of place names consist of a root plus a lexical suffix used in this fashion.

Hal and Sq vocabularies run closely parallel; a word in one language is likely to to have its equivalent in the other, a word with the same meaning and composition. But this does not mean that these words are indistinguishable.

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

Hal	Sq	English
ƛ̓áx̌ʷ	mík̓ʷ	'get washed'
θí	hí	'big'
-əłp	-ay̓	'tree, vegetation'

Thus a name with the suffix -əłp is clearly Hal, and one with -ay̓ Sq.

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

A comparison of Hal and Sq cognates shows fairly regular correspondences of sounds. Usually Hal e corresponds to Sq a, Hal a to Sq u, Hal i to Sq i and Hal ə to Sq ə. In Hal unstressed vowels are often usually ə, while in Sq they are often full vowels. Hal θ

and ž correspond regularly to Sq c and ċ, Hal c and ċ to Sq č and č̓, and Ms Hal x to Sq š. Often, but not always, Hal l corresponds to Sq y. These correspondences are illustrated in the following words and suffixes:

Hal	Sq	E
snét	snát	'night'
háy	húy	finish'
ʔítəl	ʔítut	'sleep'
θáθən	cúcin	'mouth
-θət	-cut	'oneself
ʔížəm	ʔícam	'get dressed'
cícəl	číl	'above'
néċ	náč̓	'different'
sxəmén	šəmán	'enemy'
-xən	-šən	'foot' (suf.)
q̓ál	q̓óy	'bad'
-als ~ -ałs	uy̓s	'rock' 'round object'

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

A problem arises when we find a name like the Sq č̓q̓ʷáłp, that of a place near Gibson's Landing. It has the Hal suffix and must be based on the Hal ċq̓ʷáłp 'Sitka spruce' (from ċəq̓ʷ 'get pierced') but the initial consonant is Sq. Is this a loan from Hal at an earlier stage before č had become ċ, or, as seems more likely, simply the result of a Sq perception of the Hal sound?

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

Grammar. In both languages, roots undergo internal modification to express certain grammatical categories. The most common modification is reduplication, that is, the repetition of the first consonant and vowel or the first consonant, vowel, and and second consonant. Reduplication is used to express plurals and diminutives in nouns and progressive and other aspects in verbs, and often the process is parallel in the two languages, e.g.,

Hal	Sq	E
słénəy̓	słánay̓	'woman'
słənénəy̓	słənłánay̓	'women'
ʔíməθ	ʔímɔc	'grandchild'
ʔəṁíməθ	ʔəmʔímɔc	'grandchildren'
k̓ʷáxʷaʔ	k̓ʷáxʷaʔ	'box'
k̓ʷák̓ʷxʷaʔ	k̓ʷik̓ʷixʷaʔ	'little box'
p̓á·m	púṁ	'swell'
p̓əp̓áṁ	púpuṁ	'be swelling'
łéyəq̓	łáyəq̓	'get angry'
łéłəy̓əq̓	łáłayəq̓	'be angry'

However, in Hal, there is a form of reduplication that appears to be rare or absent in Sq. This occurs in roots that have an initial resonant (m, n, l, y, or w) followed by ə or e?. The reduplicated form has an initial h instead of the expected resonant. Compare the following simple and progressive forms of verbs:

Hal	Sq	E
nə́ṁ	nǽṁ	'go'
hə́ṅəṁ	nǽnaṁ	'be going'
mɔ́q̓ 'get full'	mɔ́q̓ 'be full'	
hɔ́ṁq̓ 'be getting full'	(no Sq progressive recorded)	
nə́w̓əx	nə́w̓ən	'put it in'
hə́ṅwəx 'be putting it in'	(no Sq progressive recorded)	

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

yə́x̌ʷələ	yə́x̌ʷələ	eagle'
həyíx̌ʷələ 'eagles'	(no Sq plural recorded)	

With an initial s- the h in the reduplicated form is not heard, e.g.,

Hal	Sq	
snə́xʷəł	snəxʷł	'canoe'
s(h)əníxʷəł	snəxʷnəxʷł	'canoes'
smə́q̓ʷaʔ	smə́q̓ʷaʔ	'heron'
s(h)əmíq̓ʷaʔ 'herons'	(no Sq plural recorded)	

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

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

Hal	Sq	
mɔ́q̓	mɔ́q̓	'get full (eating)'
səmíq̓ʷ	səmíq̓ʷ	'full, filled up'
nə́w̓əx	nə́w̓ən	'put it in'
səníw̓	ʔəsəníw̓	'inside'

Either the formation is rare or these are loans from Hal. Its presence in a place name is suggestive that the name is Hal in origin.

Hal has another grammatical feature that is absent in Sq. Plurals of a number of Hal nouns and verbs are formed with an infixed -l- or -l̓- where the Sq counterpart is a reduplicated form, e.g.,

Hal	Sq	
stíqiw	staqíw	'horse'
stəlíqiw	stəqtaqíw	'horses'
k̓ʷáxʷaʔ	k̓ʷáxʷaʔ	'box'
k̓ʷáləxʷaʔ	k̓ʷəxʷk̓ʷáxʷaʔ	'boxes'
nə́ṁ	nǽṁ	'go'
néləṁ '(several) go'	(no plural Sq form?)	

Thus the presence of an infixed -l- in a place name may be evidence that the name is Hal in origin. Thus the Sq place name stəlqáya (cf. stəqéya 'wolf'), as Kuipers (1969:36) indicates, must be a loan from Hal, which has the infixed -l-, which Sq lacks.

There are many other differences between Hal and Sq that do not, as far as I know, play any part in the formation of place names.

The Data

The Ms names in the list below were given to me by Andrew Charles (AC) and Christine Charles (CC) in the late 1950s, by James Point (JP) in the 1960s, and by Arnold Guerin (AG) in the early 1980s or were recorded by David Rozen (1979) from an unidentified source or sources.

The Sq names are from Kuipers (1969), Hill-Tout (1900), Matthews (1955), a list provided by the Squamish Band to Bruce Macdonald for his historical atlas of Vancouver (in Randy Bouchard's orthography), and Sq names given to me by August Jack (AJ) and Dominick Charley (DC) in the winter of 1951-52.

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

No name has been recorded for Burrard Inlet as a whole, and it is likely that there never was one.[4] In the Native languages names were usually give to prominent features of the landscape and narrowly conceived sites.

1. Ms _____   Sq sq̓íẃicut (K) (DC),   Point Atkinson
                      "Skay-wit-sut" (M)

Kuipers (1969:37) translates the name 'turning around'. It must be composed of the noun-forming prefix s-, the root q̓íw 'go around', and the suffix -cut 'oneself'. Hal has the same prefix (s-), root (q̓iw), and suffix (-θət). The Sq name has nothing to suggest a Hal origin, but a close Hal counterpart is possible.

2. Ms _____   Sq stq̓íl (K),   Cypress Creek
                     "St'k·qēʔl" (HT), "Stuck-ale" (M)

Kuipers indicates the Sq may mean 'bad smell', from tə́q̓ 'to break wind'. Kuipers does not list any Sq suffix -il. Hal has an identical root and a suffix -il 'become, move toward'. The Sq counterpart of this suffix is -iʔ 'inchoative'. The name is thus more likely Hal in origin.

3. Ms _____   Sq sməl̓ák̓ʷa (K),   West Bay
                     "SmElā′k̄ōā" (HT), "Smul-la-qua" (M)

Kuipers gives no translation of the Sq name. However, the root may be Hal mə́k̓ʷeʔ 'accompany (especially as a mourner)', 'hold a funeral', with the Hal infixed -l- for plural. Sq has a cognate root mák̓ʷaʔ, which Kuipers found in a word meaning 'share someone's fate', but Sq does not have the infixed -l-. The name is more likely Hal in origin.

4. Ms _____   Sq čx̌ám (B),   Navvy Jack Point (R)
                     "K·′tcā′m" (HT), "Chut-aum" (M)

August Jack (Sq) told Matthews the name means 'mix up', referring to the tidal currents that make the water choppy here. I can find no listing of a Sq or Hal root that would fit this meaning. At this time the origin is indeterminate.

5. Ms _____   Sq swáẏwi (K),   A bay W of Capilano
                     "Swai′wi" (HT), "Swy-see" (M)   River (R)

Kuipers identifies the name as that of a slough (shown west of Capilano River on his map) said to form one settlement with that on Capilano River, and he suggests the name is related to the Sq wáyat 'reveal, make public'. In Hal the cognate root is wéẏ 'be exposed, revealed', and its reduplicated form wə́ywəy or wə́ywi means 'be found out'. The reason for such a name is unclear.

6. Ms x̌ʷməlačθən (AC),   Sq x̌ʷmə́lčctən, x̌ʷmə́lčtən (K),   Capilano River
   x̌ʷmə́lčθən (AG, R)   x̌ʷmə́lčəctən (DC), x̌ʷmə́lčcən (AJ),
                                "Hōmu′ltcison" (HT), "Ho-mul-che-sun" (M)

Andrew Charles (Ms) said the name was from mə́ləč 'horsefly', because these were numerous there. Arnold Guerin (Ms) believed the root to be mə́lč 'roll', which appears in mə́lčθət (-θət is the reflexive suffix) 'roll (as salmon when spawning) and the suffix -θən 'mouth', 'lip', margin' The Ms name may thus mean 'horseflies at the mouth' or 'where they [presumably salmon] roll at the mouth'. Kuipers offers no translation of the Sq. The Sq name is more likely Hal in origin than vice versa.

Simon Pierre of Katsie, a Halkomelem-speaking group a short distance up the Fraser, gave the name of the Capilano River as x̌ʷmə́θkʷəyəmał (probably more accurately transcribed x̌ʷmə́θkʷəẏəmaʔł) meaning '[river] of the Musqueam'.

7. Ms x̌áləmɬqeʔ (R)   Sq x̌aləmáʔəlkʷ (K),   Mackay Creek
                             "Tlāstlɛmauq" (HT), "Tlath-mah-ulk" (M)

Hill-Tout identified the Sq name as 'Saltwater Creek'. The root is clearly Sq x̌áləm or Hal x̌éləm 'salt'. Kuipers translates it 'salt water' (presumably his informant's translation), adding that the suffix contains the formative -kʷ found in words connected with the sea, but the name "is otherwise not quite clear..," perhaps referring to the -l- in the connective, not normal in Sq. Hal does not have a suffix -kʷ relating to water, and I cannot identify the suffix in the Ms name given by Rozen (unless it is an error for -əlcə 'water'). If one language borrowed the name from the other, as probably happened, there is no way of telling which was the source.

8. Ms _____   Sq słə?áṅ (K) (AJ),   Mission Reserve
?əsłə?áṅ (DC), "Stlāu´n" (HT).
"Ust-lawn" (M)

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

9. Ms _____   Sq scáltxʷ (B)   A creek E of
"Est-ahl-tohk" (M)   Lonsdale (R)

Andy Paull said the name means "a pretty house is built there." The suffix is no doubt 'house', -txʷ or -awtxʷ in Sq, -txʷ, -ewtxʷ, or –elətəxʷ in Hal. It is -altxʷ in some other Salishan languages (e.g., Lushootseed, spoken on Puget Sound), which suggests the name is in origin neither Sq nor Hal in its recent state. Kuipers does not list any root of the shape ca- or cal-. Conceivably the name could be the counterpart of Hal sθéwtxʷ 'big house' in some other Salishan language or in an earlier stage in the development of Halkomelem..

10. Ms _____   Sq s?áẏqs (K),   Moodyville (R)
"Sahix" (M)

The name is Sq 'point'. The Hal equivalent is s?ə́lqsən (see no. 59).

11. Ms _____   Sq sčíłus(K)   hill E of Moodyville

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

12. Ms _____   Sq ?ə́ɫqáẏəm (K),   "3rd St/ Kennard area"
"Qotlskaim" (HT), "Uth-kyme" (M)

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

13. Ms _____   Sq x̌á?əlča (K),   Lynn Creek
"Q̄ōā´ltca" (HT)

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

14. Ms _____   Sq x̌ʷí?x̌ʷax̌ʷay (K),   E of creek mouth
x̌ʷí?x̌ʷix̌ʷaẏ (B)

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

15. Ms _____   Sq čičəlxʷíqʷ (K) (DC).   Seymour Creek
číčəlx̌ʷəqʷ (AJ), TċētcilQ̄ōk" (HT),
"Chay-chul-wuk" (M)

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

Simon Pierre of Katzie gave the name of Seymour Creek as s?á·má·mət, meaning 'lazy people'. The usual Halkomelem for 'lazy person' is s?ə́mmət, plural s?ə́məmmət. (It might be tempting to suppose that this is the source of "Sasamat," but see note 4.)

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

I can find no likely source in either language.

17. [Ms təmtəmíxʷtən (CC)]   Sq ?ácnač or ?ə́cnač (K)   Burrardview
?ácənač (B) "Haaats-nich" (M)

The name is Sq s?ácnač 'bay' without the s- prefix. The Ms for 'bay' is s?ə́θnəc, corresponding precisely to the Sq. For the Ms name listed here see No. 21.

18. Ms _____   Sq "K·īāken" (HT)

Hill-Tout identifies the name as "palisade, fenced village." Kuipers gives q̇iáx̌ən as the Sq word for 'fence', 'stockade', 'fortification'. The Hal equivalent is q̇əléx̌ən 'fence', 'stockade', which is the Ms name of a place just south of Point Grey. Hill-Tout is the only source for this Sq name. His list implies that it is east of Seymour Creek. Rozen suggests it was near the entrance to Indian Arm.

19. Ms _____　　　　　　Sq "Spucka-nay",　　　White Rock, entrance
　　　　　　　　　　　　　"Spuka-nah-a" (M)　　　to Indian Arm

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

20. Ms səĺílwətał (JP),　　　Sq səl?íl?utuł (K),　　　Indian Arm
　　　s?əĺílwəta?ł (AG)　　　səĺíĺwətuł DC), səlélwətəł (AJ)　and River

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

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

21. Ms təmtəmíxʷtən　　　Sq təmtəmíxʷtən (B).　　　Belcarra
　　　　　　　　　　　　　təmtəmíxʷtəm (DC)　　　Bedwell Bay

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

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

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

22. Ms _____　　　　　　Sq títəmcən (B)　　　Kyle Creek
　　　　　　　　　　　　　títə́mcən (DC)　　　Port Moody

　　　　The only root that this may be derived from is Sq and Ms tím 'stretch, tighten',
'exert'. The suffix could be Sq -c 'mouth with an unidentifiable -ən (cf. Hal -áθən 'lip',
'margin').

23. Ms _____　　　　　　Sq ləqəłúqʷaytən (B)　　　Gosse Point

　　　　The name is probaby from Sq łúłuqʷay̓ 'arbutus tree'.

24. Ms _____　　　　　　Sq "Khanahmoot" (M)

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

25. Ms x̌əx̌ípi(?əlp) (R)　　　Sq x̌apx̌ápay̓ay (B)　　　Cedar Cove
　　　　　　　　　　　　　"Hup-hah-pai (M)

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

26. Ms _____　　　　　　Sq sčəčílmən (B),　　　Rogers Sugar
　　　　　　　　　　　　　"Tcetcē ʔlmen" (HT), "Chet-chail-mun" (M)　Refinery (R)

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

27. Ms q̓əmq̓əmələłp　　　Sq q̓əmq̓əməláy̓ (B)　　　Hastings Mill
　　　　　　　　　　　　　"Kum-kum-lye" (M)　　　site

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

28. Ms _____　　　　　　Sq ləq̓łə́q̓i (B)　　　Old Gastown
　　　　　　　　　　　　　"Luck-lucky" (M)

　　　　Matthews's Sq sources identify the name as meaning 'a grove of beautiful trees'.
If this is correct, the final -i may be a reduced form of the Sq suffix -ay̓ 'tree'. The root

may possibly be a Sq counterpart of the Hal ləq 'even, equal', the whole referring to a stand of trees of equal height. But Kuipers gives no such root.

29. Ms p̓q̓áls (R)   Sq p̓əq̓áls(B)   Foot of Granville
                                 "Puck-ahls" (M)   Street
        This is no doubt Hal p̓əq̓áls 'white rock', composed of p̓ə́q̓ 'white' and -als 'rock'. In Sq 'white' is likewise p̓ə́q̓ but the suffix for 'rock' is -uẏs. No doubt Hal.

30. Ms _____   Sq čəlxʷáʔəlč (B), (DC)   Lost Lagoon,
            TcEkō´altc" (HT), "Chul-whah-ulch" (M)   Coal Harbour
        Matthews's Sq sources said the name means 'dry' or 'gets dry at times'. If this is correct, it may be from the root číʔxʷ or číxʷ 'dry' in Sq or čə́ẏxʷ 'dry' in Hal. If this is the root, there is an infixed -l-, which would be possible in Hal but not in Sq. Alternatively, the root could be the Hal čə́ləxʷ 'go upstream'. The -əlč may be a Sq suffix -alč, the meaning of which is unclear, that Kuipers (1969:15) found in a single word. I cannot identify it with a Hal suffix. The two l's make it slightly more likely that the name is Hal in origin.

31. Ms sk̓ʷθéʔ   Sq sk̓ʷčás (B)   Deadman's Island
        The name in both Hal and Sq means 'island'.

32. Ms _____   Sq pápiaq (K) pápiẏəq (B)   Brockton Point
                  pá·piẏəq (DC) "Pâpïāk·" (HT)
                  "Pa-pee-ak" (M)
        Kuipers offers no translation of the Sq name. DC translated it 'floating point'. Kuipers lists a Sq root pəy 'be in the water', which could be the root of this name. But the name could also be from the Ms root pay 'be bent' and mean 'bent at the end'. Kuipers lists no cognate Sq root.

33. Ms x̌ʷáyx̌ʷəy   Sq x̌ʷáyx̌ʷay (K),   Lumberman's Arch
                  x̌ʷáẏx̌ʷay (AJ, DC),
                  "QoiQoi" (HT), "Whoi-whoi" (M)
        This is clearly sx̌ʷáyx̌ʷəy (Ms) or sx̌ʷáyx̌ʷat (Sq), the term for the Sxwayxwey performance by masked dancers, without the s- prefix. (See nos. 18 and 59 for the same loss of the prefix.)

34. Ms x̌áx̌cə (R)   Sq ʔáx̌ačuʔ(B),   Beaver Creek
                ʔá·x̌aču (DC), "Akha-chu" (M)   and Lake
        The Ms is probably x̌áʔx̌caʔ, the diminutive of x̌áca? 'lake'. Matthews's Sq sources and DC said the Sq means 'little lake'. In Sq 'lake' is x̌áčuʔ. Kuipers gives no Sq diminutive, but one would expect a reduplicated form. He does list (1967:118) a prefix ʔa- , of unclear meaning, that occurs in a few words.

35. Ms _____   Sq sčíɬus (B).   east of Prospect Point
                "Chay-thoos" (M)
        The name is the same as that of No. 11.

36. Ms _____   Sq sʔəns (K),   A rock at Prospect
                "Suntz" (HT), "Sahuntz" (M)   Point
        I can find no basis for this in either Sq or Hal materials. Matthews's sources offer no translation. Indeterminate.

37. Ms _____   Sq "sk-ē´akunts" (HT)
        The root may be Hal q̓iq 'be bound' with the suffix of Nos. 36 and 38, but the whole terms is not identifable at this time.

38. Ms _____   Sq čáʔəns (B), čə́ṅs (DC),
                "Tcānts" (HT), "Chants" (M)
        Matthias Joe said the name means 'cook fish, seal, ducks'. It may be related to Hal čə́nst 'half cook on rocks'. I do not know whether this root has a Sq cognate.

39. Ms sɬx̌íɬəx   Sq sɬx̌íɬš (K),   Siwash Rock
                sɬəx̌íɬš (DC), "Sqēlc" (HT).
                "Slah-kay-ulsh" (M)
        The name means 'someone/something standing up'. The Ms consists of the noun-forming prefix s- and ɬx̌íɬəx 'be standing', the progressive form of 'stand'. This is one of a number of verbs that form their progressives simply by glottalizing the resonant, in this instance changing -l- to -ɬ-. The Sq name consists of the same prefix and the phonological equivalent of the Ms. The Sq for 'stand up' is ɬx̌íləš, but the progressive appears to be ɬíɬx̌iləš (a reduplicated form given in Kuipers 1967:327). If, as it seems, the Sq place name is the phonological but not the grammatical equivalent of the Ms, then the name is likely Hal in origin.

40 Ms sƛ̓íƛ̓əwəq̓ʷ (R) Sq sƛ̓íƛ̓əwəq̓ʷ (B), Second Beach
"Stētūqk·" (HT), "Stait-wouk" (M)

The Ms name is a properly formed diminutive of Hal sƛ̓əwəq̓ʷ 'fuller's earth' (cf. sqʷəméẏ 'dog', sqʷíqʷməẏ 'puppy'). The Sq for 'fuller's earth is, sƛ̓əwaqʷ with a different second vowel. Kuipers gives no diminutive for this word. More likely Hal.

41. Ms ʔə́ẏəlxən (R) Sq ʔíẏəlšən (B), English Bay
ʔáyəlšən (DC), "Hēlcen" (HT)
"Ay-yul-shun" (M)
ʔáẏəl̓šən (AJ) Second Beach

Hill-Tout identified the name as "sandy beach, *verbatim*, soft to the foot." Andy Paull (Sq) translated the name 'good under feet'. The root is ʔəẏ- , ʔiʔ-, or ʔiẏ- 'good' in both Hal and Sq, and the suffix Hal -xən and Sq -šən 'foot'. The presence of the connective -əl- suggests the name is Hal in origin.

42. Ms _____ Sq ʔiʔíẏəlšən (B),
"Ay-ay-yul-shun" (M)

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

43. Ms _____ Sq sməm̓čús (B), islet opposite No. 48
"Smam-chuze" (M)

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

44. Ms _____ Sq sqʷačáẏs (K, B), Head of False Creek
"Sk·ōātcai′s (HT), Skwa-chice" (M)

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

45. Ms _____ Sq x̌aywáʔəsqs narrows in False
or x̌iwáʔəsqs (B), Creek
"Ki-wah-usks" (M)

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

46. Ms _____ Sq ʔá́ʔənmicut (B), S shore of False
"Aun-mayt-sut" (M) Creek

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

47. Ms sən̓áqʷ (AC, JP, Sq sən̓áqʷ (K) Kitsilano I. R.,
R) sən̓áqʷ (DC) I.R and False Creek
snə́qʷ (AJ), "Snauq" (HT, M) False Creek

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

48. Ms sk̓ʷáyus or Sq sq̓ʷáyus(B) Kits Beach
sk̓ʷə́yəẇs (R) sq̓ʷá·yus (DC), sqʷáyus (AJ),
"Sk·wai′us" (HT), "Skwa-yooos" (M)

The sources offer no translation. The root may be q̓ʷáy 'burn, scorch' in both Sq and Ms with Sq suffix -us 'face' (which is -əs or -as in Hal). Matthews indicates the site was on Kitsilano Beach at the foot of Yew Street. His Sq sources remembered a logging operation above it. 'Burned face' could refer to the hillside after the logging. But if Rozen's transcription of the Ms name is correct, it could be composed of sk̓ʷéy 'disabled' and the suffix -əẇs 'body'.

49. Ms žəmžáməls (JP, R)   Sq čəmčáməlc (K),   a creek at Bayswater
čəmčáməls (DC), "Sim-sah-muls" (M)   Street

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

50. Ms _____   Sq x̌apx̌apay̓əm (B)

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

51. Ms _____   Sq ʔiʔiy̓álməxʷ (B)   Jericho Beach East

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

52. Ms ʔəy̓álməxʷ or   Sq ʔiy̓ál̓məxʷ (K),   Jericho Beach
ʔiʔálməxʷ (AC, JP, R)   ʔiʔál̓mux̌ (DC), ʔialməxʷ (AJ),
"Iaˑlmuq" (HT), "Eyalmu" (M)

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

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

53. Ms qʷəʔápəlp,   Sq qʷaqʷʔúpay (B),   a creek at Spanish
qʷáʔapəlp (R)   koqʔóˑpay (DC), "Ko-koh-pai" (M)   Banks

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

54. Ms pəqʷácən,   Sq p̓ə́kʷča (B)   a sand bar
pípq̓ʷəcən (R)   "Pookcha" (M)

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

55. Ms _____   Sq "Qapqapētlp (HT)

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

56. Ms žáželəm (JP)   Sq čáčələm (B),   a rock
žážələm (R)   "Tleˑatlum" (HT), "Tsa-atslum" (M)

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

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

57. Ms q̓éẃəm (JP)　　　　　　Sq _____　　　　a rock

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

58. Ms ȥ̓əcəliqʷ (AC),　　　　　Sq čəčəlhíʔqʷ (B),　　　　rock at Point Grey
　　ȥ̓cəlíqʷ (JP), ȥ̓əcəlíqʷ (R)　　"Tcitcilḗ Ek (HT), "Chit-chul-ay-uk" (M)

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

　　　Rozen or his source glossed the Ms name as 'grabbing the hair on the head',
presumably deriving it from ȥ̓écət 'grab by the hair', however, I asked JP if the name was
derived from this word, and he said that it was not but referred somehow to the storminess
of the point. The Ms name also looks like a variant (a plural) of ȥ̓cíʔqʷ 'hard head', from
ȥ̓óc 'stiff' and -qʷ 'head'. Kuipers gives no Sq root from which the name might be
derived. The Sq may be a loan from Ms, though in this case the Ms ȥ̓ is replaced by Sq č,
rather than c̓.

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

59. Ms ʔə́lqsən (AC)　　　　　Sq ʔə́lqsən (K),　　　　Point Grey
　　　　　　　　　　ʔə́lqsən (DC), "Uˑlk·s'n" (HT),
　　　　　　　　　　　　　"Ulksen" (M)

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

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

Conclusions

　　　Of the total 59 place names recorded at some time by someone, 23 were known to
one or more of the Musqueam people interviewed, while one or more of the the Squamish
knew all but one (No. 57). This difference is to be expected as a reflection of the greater

Squamish use of Burrard Inlet in recent generations. (To some extent it may also reflect
different eliciting methods used by different researchers. Ideally the data used in this kind
of study ought to be collected by the same researcher.)

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

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

　　　The sites given names that may be of Halkomelem origin are not distributed
randomly (see Map 1). They include some of the more important village sites and resource
sites. These include four streams on the north shore: Cypress Creek (3), Capilano River
(6), Lynn Creek (13), and Seymour Creek (15) as well as Indian River (20), three of
which (Capilano River and Lynn and Seymour creeks) were important village sites. They
also include Second Beach (40), English Bay (41), the site of the Kitsilano Reserve (47),
the creek at Bayswater Street (49), and Jericho (52), all of which were important resource
sites and at least one of which (Jericho) was a major village site. Finally, they include three
sites near Point Grey (55, 57, and 57) and Point Grey itself (59), in an important resource
area. (Perhaps these last four names should have been removed from consideration
because they are so near the principal Musqueam village, but Squamish people did use the
area.)

　　　Another major village site, Lumberman's Arch (33) belongs to another set of
names. These are the 11 Squamish names for which Musqueam equivalents were recorded
(7, 21, 25, 27, 31, 33, 34, 48, 49, 53, and 54). Some of these, like 33 (Ms X̌ʷáyX̌ʷəy, Sq
X̌ʷáyX̌ʷay), are so nearly identical in form that we might say they are the same name spoken
with different accents. Others, like 37 (Ms q̓əmq̓ə́mələłp, Sq q̓əmq̓əməláỷ 'bigleaf maple
trees'), differ only in features (here the suffix) appropriate to the language. Such names
could easily be adaptations from one language into the other. If this did happen, on a
linguistic basis there is no way of knowing the direction of the borrowing. But to the
degree that other evidence suggests that Squamish people did indeed move into places that
had been occupied by Halkomelem speakers, then it is reasonable to suppose that

Squamish borrowed from Halkomelem. The same is true of 10 or so more of the Squamish names (1, 5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 32, 35, 50, and perhaps 26, 27, and 38), the roots and affixes of which have Musqueam (Halkomelem) equivalents that would make for very similar forms.

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

Another ten Squamish names (8, 10, 19, 22, 23, 24, 43, 44, 45, and 46) are formed of Squamish elements (roots, suffixes, or both) that I cannot match with Halkomelem forms, and five (4, 9, 16, 36, and 37) are formed with elements that, at this time, cannot be identified as either Squamish or Halkomelem.

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

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

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

Kuipers lists five more names of places outside Burrard Inlet (his Nos. 80, 82. 120, 1, and 50) that he suggests may be of Halkomelem origin, the first three also for places in the outer part of Howe Sound. But I do not find the possibility strong enough to justify including them.[5] I have checked through the rest of Kuipers's Squamish names for places outside of Burrard Inlet, and I have found only one seems possibly Halkomelem. This is his 52 skʷəlwíləm, I.R. 22 at the mouth of the Squamish River. I cannot identify the root, but the suffix is a common Halkomelem one. The absence, otherwise, in the traditional Squamish homeland of names that by my reckoning seem of Halkomelem origin tends to support the priority of Halkomelem on Burrard Inlet and on parts of Howe Sound as well.

Footnotes

[1] This statement is based on an analysis of Lekwiltok names that I recorded from Billy Assu and on work by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy with Comox speakers.

[2] I am using "Burrard Inlet" to include all the waters east of a line drawn between Point Atkinson and Point Grey. (On some maps the name apprears to refer to the waters east of the First Narrows only.)

[3] Under the heading "The evidence of toponymy," Bynon (1977:273-274) writes in part

"...place names can be an important source of information regarding the people who have inhabited an area. This is the result of two main facts. The first of these is that the names attached to localities tend to be extremely persistent and to resist replacement even when the language spoken in the area is itself replaced... The second fact is that when a new name is given to a place it is naturally structured according to the synchronic rules of the language spoken by the persons who coined it. As a result, if a place-name is analysable in terms of the rules of a specific language state, this can be taken as a safe indication that persons speaking that language inhabited the region at the time when the rules were productive. By therefore dividing up the total corpus of place-names of a region into groups and attributing each of these to a specific language state, the historical linguist can to a large extent reeconstruct the history of the region in terms of the languages spoken by its inhabitants."

[4] It has long been supposed that the Native name for Burrard Inlet was "Sasamat." This supposition is based on a statement in the account of the Spanish exploration of 1793 by Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayento Valdés in the ships *Sutil* and *Mexicana* published in Spain in 1802, a translation of which appears in Wagner (1933:228-299). The a passage in the translation (p. 265) reads "The North Arm [Indian Arm] of the channel [Burrard Inlet] which we called "Floridablanca," and the natives name "Sasamat," ends in a river..." The name "Canal de Sasamat" also appears on a chart drawn after the voyage. However, Kendrick (1991: 24-33) discovered good reasons to infer that the 1802 publication was put together after the voyage and "contains distortions." He has discovered and translated what he identifies as the "definitive" account of the voyage. In this account, statements and whole paragraphs that appear in the 1802 publication are missing. These include the statement quoted above containing the name "Sasamat." However, this name does appear in a vocabulary that the explorers collected at Neah Bay in a short list of place names (not reproduced in Kendrick, but in Wagner, pp. 243-44.) Some of these names are clearly those of Native groups, among them "Chlayamat" for "Puerto de Quadra" (Port

Discovery). This must be the Clallam nəxʷsx̌áyəm "Clallam" plus the Makah suffix -atx̌ 'people'. Several other names end with -at, -it, or -et, including "Quinicamet" for "Puerto de Nuñez Gaona" (Neah Bay), probably an attempt to represent the Makah self designation kʷidičča?atx̌. It seemer very likely, therefore, that "Sasamat" was a Makah name for some group to the east. In the list the name is identified as that of "Boca de Floridablanca," which, at the time when the expedition was at Neah Bay, referred to a bay that was believed to exist between Point Roberts and Point Grey, actually the delta of the Fraser River. If the Spaniards and Makah were communicating well, the Makah name recorded may have been that of the people of the Fraser River. At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that it was a Coast Salish name for Burrart Inlet.

5 Kuipers suggests that No. 80, x̌q̓ə́tqsən ('wide point'), Long Point on the eastern shore of Howe Sound, is more likely from Hal x̌qɛ́t 'wide' than Sq x̌qát 'wide' (the suffix -əqsən 'nose' being the same in both languages), because of the vowel ə. I have not recorded 'wide nose' in Hal, but with other lexical suffixes the stress pattern is not as in this name. He suggests that No. 82, q̓ə́ləctən, has Hal q̓ə́l 'bad' instead of Sq q̓ə́y, but I cannot identify the rest of the name. And he suggests that No. 120, wáq̓ʷwəq̓ʷ, Woolridge Island (which sometimes appears to move), is from Hal because of the vowel a, which would correspond to Squ in wuq̓ʷ 'go downstream'. But the Hal is wə́q̓ʷ 'move downstream' (progressive hə́wq̓ʷ, plural wəq̓ʷwə́q̓ʷ); I have recorded no form like that of the place name. Kuipers lists three more, 1, 50, and 128 (which is my No. 44) with the suffix -aẏs, which he suggests may be the Sq -uẏs 'rock' with a Hal vowel, but .

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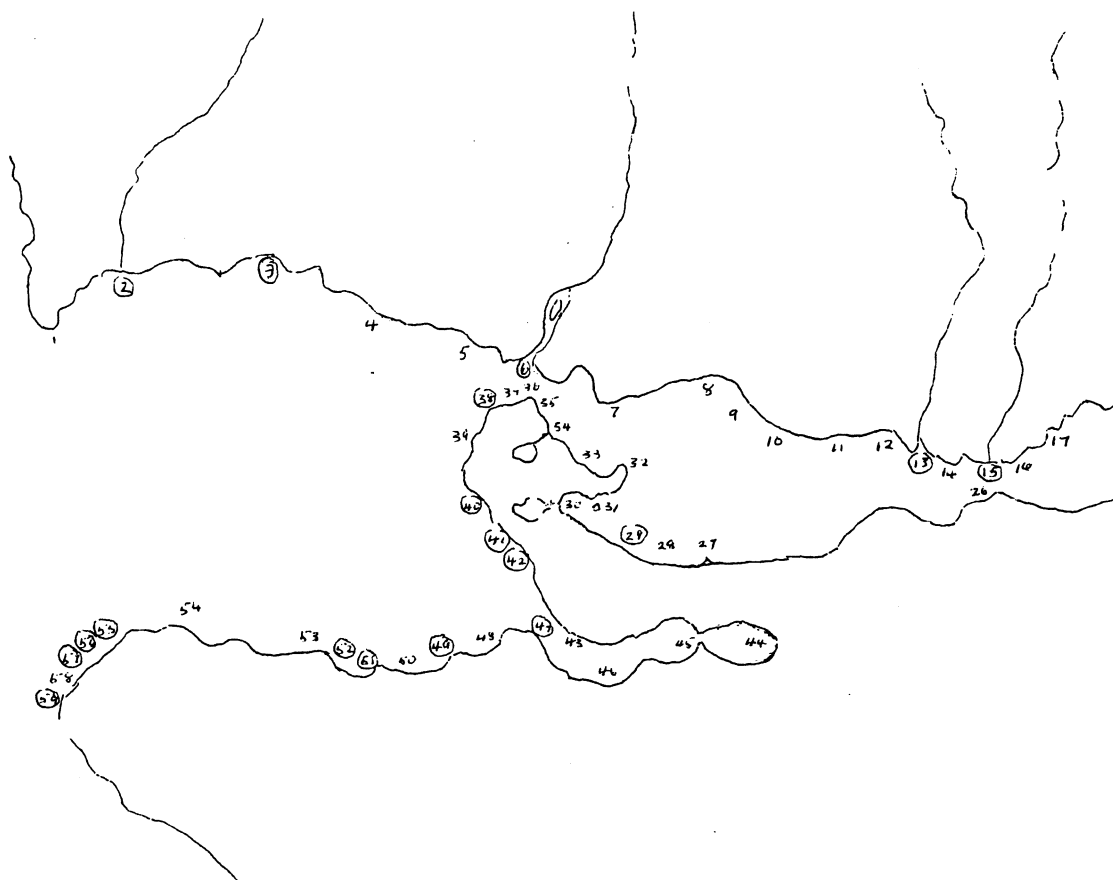Suttles, Wayne
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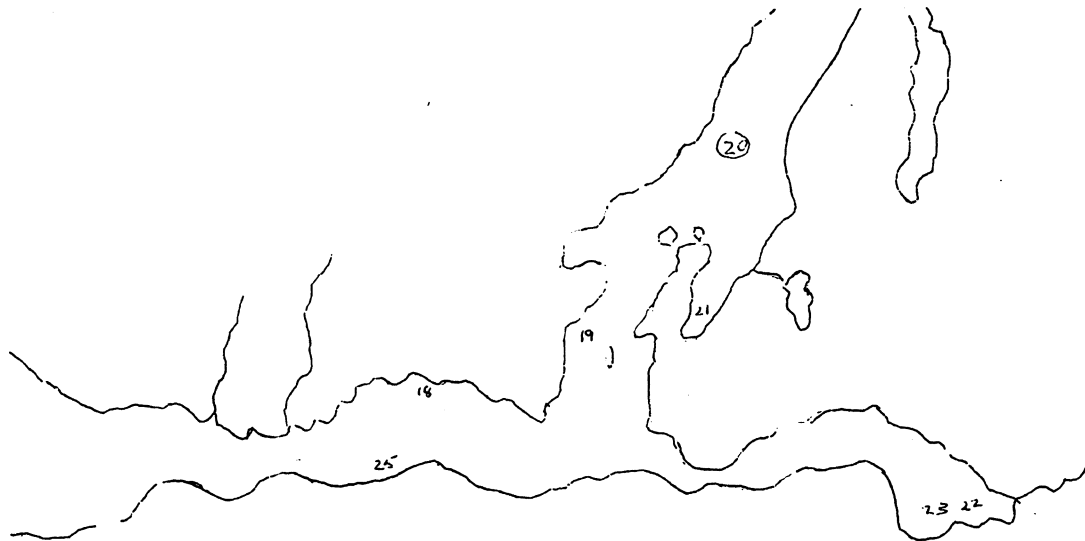
Map 1b. Burrard Inlet, Eastern portion. Names of probable Halkomelem origin circled.

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

Map 2. From Kuipers 1969. Names on Howe Sound
of probable Halkomelem origin circled.