

Some Questions about Northern Straits

Wayne Suttles

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

1 The Name "Straits"

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

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

2 The Early Recognition of Straits as a Linguistic Unit

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

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

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

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

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

3 The Name *lək'wəŋínəŋ*

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

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

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

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

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

4 Some Questions about Dialects

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

5 "The Problem of the Samishes"

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

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

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

5.1 Charley Edwards

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

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

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

A conspicuous feature of Mr. Edwards’s Samish is that, like Clallam, it generally has *c* where other dialects of Northern Straits have *s* (or *θ* in some Saanich words) as the reflex of Proto-Salish **k* (as in *cæʎəs* ‘hand’, cf Songhees *séləs*; *sʔɔc* [*sʔɔcs?*] ‘face’, cf. Sg *sʔásəs*; *ʔiŋəc* ‘grandchild’, cf Sg *ʔiŋəs*; *cæčc* ‘parent’s sibling’ cf. Sg *séčs*; but contrast *č* in *čscən* ‘mouth’, cf. Sg *sásən*).

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

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

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

5. The Vancouver Island Samish

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3 Tommy Bobb

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

6. Sooke

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 Conclusions

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

References

- Boas, Franz 1887 Zur Ethnologie Britisch-Kolumbiens. Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen 33(5):139-133. Gotha, Germany
- 1891 The Lkúŋgen. Pp. 563-582 in Second General Report on the Indians of British Columbia. Pp. 562-715 in 60th Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for 1890. London.
- 1897 The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians. Pp. 311-738 in Report for the U S. National Museum for 1895. Washington .
- Efrat, Barbara Silverman 1969 A Grammar of Non-Particles in Sooke, a Dialect of Straits Coast Salish. PD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Elmendorf, William W. and Wayne Suttles 1960 Pattern and change in Halkomelem Salish dialects. Anthropological Linguistics 2:1-32.
- Galloway, Brent D. 1990 A Phonology, Morphology, and Classified Word List for the Samish Dialect of Straits Salish. Canadian Ethnology Service Mercury Series Paper 116. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- 1992 The Samish dialect and Straits Salish: dialect death and dialect survival. Int'l J. Soc. Lang 192, pp. 37-51.
- Grant, W. Colquhoun Grant 1857 Description of Vancouver Island. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 27:268-320. London.

- Harper, J. Russell, ed. 1971 Paul Kane's Frontier, Including Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America. Austin: University of Texas.
- Hill-Tout, Charles 1907 Report on the Ethnology of the South-eastern Tribes of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 37:306-374. London.
- Montler, Timothy 1996 Languages and dialects in Straits Salishan. 31st ISNL2489-256, Vancouver.
- Suttles, Wayne 1951 The Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits. PhD dissertation in Anthropology, University of Washington.
- Thompson, Laurence C., M. Terry Thompson, and Barbara S. Efrat 1974 Some phonological developments in Straits Salish. IJAL 40:182-96.

Appendix 1. Samish Vocabulary

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

Persons

person	łtæ·łŋux ^w [łtélŋəx ^w]
people [tribe?]	á·kmux ^w
man, husband	swe?kə [swəýqə]
many men	ŋən su?we?kə
little boy	swé?ka·ł
pl.	su?ue?ka·ł
woman	słæni
many women	ŋən słəntłæni
little girl	słənečó·ł (no pl.)
child	k ^w óqsi (or q ^w óqsi?), słéłqəł [słíłqəł]
children	k ^w əlc?qsi, słələ·łqəł
old person	kələléŋ [qələléŋ]
pl.	kəl'kələ·lŋ
middle-aged person	čələl i kələléŋ
'chief', rich person	siám
boss (as of reef net	?əcx ^w siám
poor man	qoimət
slave	sk ^w éyic [sk ^w əyəc]
pl	sk ^w k ^w éyic

Body Parts

head	sq ^w óni
hair (of head)	si [?] ætæn
ear	k ^w óləŋ
face, cheek	s [?] óc [s [?] ocs [?]]
eye	kóləŋ [qóləŋ]
nose	ŋóqsən
mouth	čó·cən
tongue	téx ^w íc [tóx ^w ct [?]]
teeth	čónəs
beard, moustache	k ^w oyíncun
chin	(s)ǰcócən
throat	x ^w ónəŋ
back of neck	tæcsıŋ
back	stæ·ck ^w ı
chest	s [?] ı [?] nəs
belly	k ^w ólə
navel	móx ^w əyə
arm	ıælu
hand	cæləs
left hand	čık ^w ə
leg (hip to foot)	sǰón·ə
rump	ǰəwəq ^w
anus	x ^w q [?] æ· [?] æŋən
penis	šılə
testicles	ŋæcən
vulva	sówə

Kinship Terms

mother	tæn
father	mæn
daughter, son	ŋónə
older sibling	šéı
younger sibling	sæ·ıčən
parent's sibling	cæčc
sibling's child	stík ^w ən
my niece	sə stæni nəstík ^w ən
deceased parent's sibling	x ^w qsəčæı
deceased sibling's. child	sq ^w əngıčǰ [sk ^w ənŋıč [?]]
grandparent	sélə [?] , sélə
grandchild	ŋıŋıc [ŋıŋəc]
great grandparent, grt grandchild	čó [?] məq ^w
grt grt grandparent, grt grt grch	ŋáq ^w ıyəq ^w
wife	stóləs
spouse's parent	slæ·ı
child's spouse	sčutæ·ı
grandchild's spouse	nıx ^w čıŋıŋəc

grandparent's spouse	nux ^w čuséłə?
parent's sibling's spouse	nux ^w čucæčc
sibling-in-law of opposite sex	sŋætx ^w ən
woman's sister-in-law	nux ^w æłəs [nəx ^w ?éləs]
spouse's sibling's spouse	slnčłlnəq
child's spouse's parent	sq ^w əlwus
deceased relative's spouse,	
deceased spouse's relative	čæ·yə
to marry a	čæ·yə čei·æŋ
deceased spouse's relative	čilx ^w ·ŋ [čəłx ^w á·ŋ]
[no, probably child's spouse's relative after the death of one of the couple]	
to have two wives (as through the levirate	x ^w čæ?sə [x ^w čé?sə]
to take a brother or cousin's wife while he is still alive anticipating the levirate	
(a cause of trouble)	čé·lit
step-parent	šwóq ^w ł, nəx ^w sók ^w ł [?]
step-child	sŋənæ·ŋ
half-sibling, same father	čłmæn
half-sibling, same mother	čłtæn

Animals

deer	sméyıc
elk	k ^w á·wač
mountain goat	sx ^w éłi (cf Sw sx ^w éłai)
wolf	stəqáyə
seal	æsx ^w
porpoise	qsiá (cf Sw qsiu)
orca	qəłłálməčən
whale	q ^w ənəs
snake	sólqə [s?ólqə]
"alligator"	sénułqi
dogfish	sk ^w á·c
sturgeon	sk ^w ó?wəč
salmon	ščænux ^w [ščénəx ^w]
chum ("dog") salmon	q ^w əłəx ^w [k ^w áłəx ^w]
chinook ("spring") salmon	ya·məč (cf Sw yubəč)
pink ("humpback") salmon	hanən
coho ("silver") salmon	sq ^ł əcəqs
sockeye salmon	səqai (θəqai?)
steelhead	qeiwəxət ?
trout	čk ^w əč, čk ^w əč
trout	k ^w əspł
smelt	k ^w əłs
herring	stó?əŋət
lingcod [probably]	a·it
red-snapper [prob.]	təq ^w təq ^w

tommycod [prob]	ćau(n)
perch	łáaq̄ (c. Sw łoyuq̄)
sculpin ("bullhead")	skʷənáxʷ
flounder	pówi
halibut	sʔatx̄, scátx̄
salmon eggs	qółəx̄
salmon milt (?)	pónæ (?) (cf Sw pódæ?)
dried salmon (any sp)	skéle [sq̄íle or sq̄íle]
split spring salmon	stələ·m
dried spring salmon head	tá·ləs
salmon backbone	cəmátən [ćəmátən ?]
salmon skin filled with roe	nəwáʔis (cf Sw dəwáyəs)
small beach crabs	kʷəkʷənwə
octopus	sqémuqʷ

Plants

kelp	qʷəʔəŋ
cattail	sćæʔqən
yew	łiŋqatć
willow	sxʷələi:ć [sxʷələi:ć]
oceanspray	q̄æ·ci:ć
wild cherry bark	skʷćəŋ
syringa? (used for combs)	ćiŋi·bi:ć
hogfennel (<i>Lomatium nudicaule</i>)	q̄xmín
camas	qʷtəʔəl
potato	sqæwəc

Natural Features

land	təŋuxʷ [təŋəxʷ]
rock, high island	sŋæ·nt
pl.	sŋələ·nt
dim.	sŋəŋəʔæ·nt
dim. pl.	sŋələŋæ·nt
sand (on beach)	pəkʷóćən
river	stáʔlo
pl.	stətáʔlo
little river	łux̄ stáʔlo
bay	xʷnæćc, xʷnæćic
island	skʷcaʔ
dim.	skʷkʷəcə
dim. pl.	skʷələkʷó·cə
salt water	łtəć, łətəćic
water (fresh)	qʷa, qʷə
moon	tqalć
"west wind"	sćís
"north wind"	sćáyəm
"south wind", "east wind"	sqəŋət
"north northwest wind"	təncóluqʷ

It's cloudy	(ču)x ^w náʔwəs
It's raining	təmux ^w
cold and clear	čex ^w uŋ
It's snowing.	čí-yəq
It's foggy.	spæʔx ^w əŋ
Technology	
house	æləŋ
house plank	se-ltx ^w
house post	q̣æqən
wall (of house)	tʰŋən
bed platform	læ-ləwəsən
shelf over bed	həʔšən
bed mat	słæ-wən
house mat	só-læč
overnight camp	x ^w q̣əlŋ
mat house	səlæčáutx ^w
fort	ʃalaʃáu
wall of fort	sʃəlæ-s
stone maul	x ^w k ^w ełtən
elk antler wedge	čʃæls
adz	šcčómən
water bucket	x ^w q ^w ʔtən
cedar-limb rope	sténk ^w ən
canoe (common type)	snóx ^w ət
shovelnose canoe	ʃlai
Squamish-style canoe	stíwatł
West-coast style canoe	otqs
war canoe with broad bow	k ^w iní-ł
thwart of canoe	tʃəlwəłtən
paddle	təŋk ^w áʔsən
woman's paddle	čusłəni təŋk ^w ə́sən [čx ^w sténəy]
man's paddle	čusweʔkə təŋk ^w ásən [čx ^w swə́yqə]
cedar-bark bailer	čəŋtən
cedar-limb canoe mat	ʃəŋət
cattail canoe mat	sq̣qəs
blanket (native made)	swoq̣ ^w ət
tump line	čəŋətən
netting needle	čæ-cən
bow	čəcəcən
short war spear, club	q ^w etłəm [ʔ] [cf Sw q ^w etləb]
overhead duck net	təqəm
underwater duck net	ʃpəlyən
multi-pronged dusk spear	stéox ^w
gill net for trout	kʃčílyən
gill net (for salmon)	hayəq
drag seine	áx ^w əyən

stiletto for killing salmon	cqác
basketry trap	qó·ləč
weir	stəqólo
gaff hook	hík ^w ən
herring rake	łátəmən [tátəmən]
halibut hook	yəwəs
seal-gut float	čsɔʔ
reef net	sx ^w ólo
mouth (lead?) of net	k ^w téyəqsən
breast line	x ^w qoičən
watchman (on reef net)	k ^w əntæ
octopus spear, "pole"	sx ^w óq ^w ən [sxw..]
tattooing	łiłčɪŋ
abalone shell?	słówən

Ceremonial Life

give him/her a name	nə́t
wealth (money, blankets, canoes, guns)	aúk ^w [ʔewk ^w]
wealth (term used at potlatch)	móst
potlatch	słæ·nəq
potlatch house	łæ·nqautx ^w
feast, winter dance	słæ·šən, qalqəb
bone game	sləhə́l
go on vision quest	(ie) q ^w čóct
layman's vision power	séliə [sʔəlyə]
shaman's tutelary	nux ^w nə·m [nəx ^w né·m], x ^w nə·m
shaman	tux ^w ná·m [ʔ]
spell words	siwín
"bad" [holy, taboo]	łáʔłə
the Transformer	łæ·ls
the secret society	łəłənítəl
deer-hoof rattles	kučumín [k ^w əčəmín]

Miscellaneous

one	nə́čə
two	čəsə
want [value]	słi
possession, own	sk ^w əʔ
die	q ^w ai
go	ie [ye]
good	ai [ʔəyʔ]
bad	słæ·s
many	ŋən
big	heyí, hayí [həyí]
little	łuł
truly	čəqén
cook it	q ^w ə́lət

dry it, smoke it	ǰačt
deaf	əsq̄wɪæ·n
blind	ǰælič

ənsǰi kʷən siæ ə cə nə æ·ləŋ, ǰæ·nəq sən
 'I call you to go over to my house; I'm going to have a big potlatch.'
 probably [nəsǰi]
 ié tǰ [t] sə qʷelŋ ə cə sčɔʔŋəs.
 'We'll go out through Deception Pass.'
 čəqén sənú čæ·lič.
 'I'm blind.'
 skʷæʔs ŋónəs.
 'It's his child.'
 ia nuʔuelŋ cə čæ·yə.
 'The springs are going in.' [using substitute for spring salmon]
 ǰačt ti ščæ·nuxʷ.
 'Smoke the fish.'
 kʷəl ǰáčiŋ cə ščæ·nuxʷ.
 'The salmon is dry now.'

Appendix 2. Sooke Vocabulary

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

Place Names

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

čáyqšn Point No Point (Glacier Point) (FL)

kʷaʔáxʷa ('little swells', cf. kʷáxʷkʷaxʷ 'splashing') (Nit. kʷaʔúxʷa)

"Coal Creek" [Kirby Creek?]

stčéŋən (Nit, tiá·ba) Muir Creek.

həmósən ('no mouth') (Nit. bušaksusidǰ) Tugwell Creek

nəxʷsfáwəqʷəŋ ('feathers on the head') a rock (just beyond Otter Point?) with moss on it

ǰéwəq ('rump') Otter Point (FL), ǰéwəq a Rock just east of Otter Point, so called "because it looks just like one" (MG 49), ǰéwəq Otter Point (MG 52)

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

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

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

kʷiʔíçən a falls up the Sooke River

kʷtótóləŋ (< qʷtótól 'camas') a mountain above Milne's Landing
qəltésəŋ ("< qəltés 'steam', as camas in a pit) Billings Spit

qelŋəxʷáçən a duck net location, on Billings Spit?

sisiʔótəl a duck net location

xʷəxʷáčət a duck net location

sʔíʔəqsən duck net location

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

čákʷáčəŋ a duck net location [where?]

šəsínəs Saseenos (FL), səsí-nəs ('slopes down')

čixʷíyəc Cooper's Cove

ščés (island) Deadman's Island, Sooke Basin

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

səhécčən A place across Sooke Harbour where šé-ls rested and left an
impression.

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

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

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

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

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

ši-ŋolqʷt ('bleeding point') Beechey Head (FL)

čiénəxʷ Becher Bay

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

xʷáεŋ [probably šwśýəŋ] Race Rocks, the point where the light is.
(FL)

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

nəxʷyíʔəc ("way inside") Pedder Inlet.

šipát William Head (FL)

ščáŋi Albert Head (FL)

Technology

x^wóʔasən (FL) deer net

šwámʔańtən (FL), šx^wʔómatən (N. bústit) bow

yékšt (FL), cəmé-n, N. hadhi-k) arrow

łi-ŋən deer sinew for bowstring

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

čǎšŋən (FL) double-headed harpoon

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

łık^wən (FL) (MG) gaff hook

só-yəq, (Nit. su-yəq) gill net

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

upstream

sǎ^wó·ye (FL), sǎ^wá·lə (MG) reef net

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

səmónəń (FL), səmónə (N. čibó-d) (MG) halibut hook

təqəm (FL, MG) overhead duck net

k^wé-čx^wən (N. didibesəčk) crab trap

məhóy (N. buxoy) openwork basket

łpát (N. łpat). alder-bark basket for picking berries

Mammals

ʔésx^w (N. kašču) 'hair seal'

sčáya (N. keledús) 'fur seal'

šx^wmahínəs (N. hīcuwád) 'porpoise'

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

k^wónəłp [ʔ] (N. čitəpk^w) 'whale'

ʔešés (N. akuwádiš) 'sea lion'

smóyəs 'deer'

bear sčótx^wən (N. búcubux, Kl. ščk^wáyič)

Marine Invertebrates

sʔáx^wa (N. číʔic) large clam [butter clam].

k^wléy (N. hiʔči-n) little clam [littleneck clam].

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

šx^włəláʔum (N. łəláʔub) cockle.

sł^wx^wšŋən (N. łučáb) sea mussel (M. calif.).

léwqəm (N, ku-čip) bay mussel.

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

čimá-ya barnacle. The big ones were eaten.

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

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

---- (N. apuxsiʔi) abalone.

łəkéqs (N. ʔaʔatábš) limpet.

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

hččən (N. čiti-dək^w) dentalia.

sk^wənə-mən (N. łiłiye) big scallop.

ʔák^ws (N. paʔáb) big chiton.
 tiŋsiwíc (N. či-dəxt) small chiton.
 nuk^wsíʔi (N. čiʔidaw) china slipper, rubber skin (Cryptochiton ?)
 sk^wíci (N. šəčkapǵ) white [green] sea urchin.
 ǵix^w (N. tucip) big purple sea urchin.
 ǵǵx^wǵǵx^w (N. ǵúǵǵux) oyster
 ʔéʔčǵ (N. hasábs) crab.
 sqíməǵ^w (N. tiǵúp) octopus.

Fish

smelt k^wǵts (N. ba-du)

Plants

ǵ^wóʔoŋ kelp

sk^wíyux^w [sk^wíyǵx^w] (Nt. šiǵé) brake fern root

ǵesíp (Nt. ǵéʔesip) licorice-fern root.

Sg sǵéləm. Nt ícipt “buck fern” [sword fern?]

ǵəŋkáǵ [probably] yew

k^wtóʔol (Nt k^wá-dis) camas

ščé-ne (Nt. ǵísəp [stress?]) A plant with leaves like clover and white roots. It grows on the flats. It is dug with a kú-k [?] (Nt. ǵəpé-k), a stick made of hard wood with a knob at the end. The roots were boiled.

sék^wcən (Nt. ǵəkóǵ) A lily with an orange flower and roots forming a double bulb, white, and as big as a St. Joseph’s lily. It grows about foot high. The Whites have it now. [Tiger lily?] The roots were boiled, not long.

sťésť (Nt. kéyekeyé) An onion, stronger than the Whites’ onions. They come in pairs and multiply; the he-one has the flower, the she-one doesn’t. They are found in the mountains.

? (Nt. k^wəxəpǵ) A plant like ǵícəp but smaller. It has round bulbs and small, white flowers. It is dug at the same time as ǵícəp.

séʔsqəy (Nt. šišičqadǵ) “Sprouts” [presumably thimble-berry and salmon-berry sprouts].

sáʔaǵ^w “Indian rhubarb” [no doubt cow parsnip] yóǵ is the male of the same plant; it bears the flower.

tíʔəǵk^w short-stemmed strawberry (also the Whites’ strawberry)

sícət long-stemmed strawberry.

čiyíčsən probably service-berry. Dried and mixed with soap-berries.

sǵ^wésəm soap-berry.

sk^wələléǵəx^w [probably sǵ^wələléǵəx^w] (Nt. kakaúšək) blackberries.

téqə (Nt. kéycəpǵ bluish) salal berries.

pípx^w red huckleberries (“wineberries”).

? (Nt. bíšəp) the blueberry that grows on tall bushes, larger than a huckleberry.

yéyǵəəm (Nt. sidbuǵséc) The blueberry that grows on short bushes.

ʔəlílə (Nt. káwaiʔ) salmon berries.

tǵq^wəm thimble berries.

kéʔex^w [prob. qéʔex^w] Crabapples.
kóləq [prob. qóləq] Wild rose [hip]. [prob. Rosa nutkana].
tóməx^w the smaller species of gooseberry.
tóməq^w [tóməq^w] the larger gooseberry, red and furry [?].
sé·k^wq (Nit. λιχθək^wk^w) carrot. Not here before.
sqé·ws (Nit. qá·wəc) potatoes.
šx^w?iláqo (Nit. ?ilawo) turnips.
šʔík^wən peas.
ʔəlk^wsítəŋ (Nit. wəwəcək^wk^w 'skin busted') beans.
láys (Nit. sísicək^wk^w 'looks like maggots' < sícibəb maggots) rice.