

**Nooksack Place Names**  
**Geography, Culture, and Language**

**Allan Richardson and Brent Galloway**



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# Noxwsá7aq Temíxw Pókw

## *Nooksack Place Name Book*

Lhiyá kwes tse7ít xwhítsolh ilh ta Noxwsá7aq Temíxw toli7 slhiyólh yestí7ixwólh.

*This here now is truly the history of the Nooksack Place Names from our late elders.*

Án7ma híkw-t-as-kwm tíya s7aháynit ilh ta mókw'wát.

*It'll be very important work for everyone.*

Ílholh ay ná7an kwóxwenalikw Selhám Líche7tsen qe sqw'ó7 ta Selhám Lawéchten.

*The authors were Mr. Allan Richardson along with Dr. Brent Galloway.*

S7aháynitas tíya Noxwsá7aq Temíxw Pókw tamatl'ótl'em qex syilánem, yalh as-híq'-as

*They worked on this Nooksack Place book for many years, finally it's completed.*

Stí7-chalh kwes tson as7ísta tíya, “Yalh kwómalth as-hóy” ilh ta Selhám Líche7tsen qe Selhám Lawéchten kwes ay aháynitas tíya án7ma híkw syáyo.

*We want to say like this to Mr. Richardson and Dr. Galloway, “thank you” for working on this very important project.*

Ílh-olh-chalh kw ay wo7-aháyan-as tíya aslhq'ílnoxw ilh ta Lhéchalosemáwtxw-chalh.

*We are already using this information for our Lhéchalosem class.*

Íma ílh-olh-chalh kw ay wo7-aháyan-as tíya aslhq'ílnoxw ilh ta qalát ay welhtáchtxw-as welhnímelh xwhítsolh qe welhnímelh aslák'alhsólh.

*Also, we are already using this information for reclaiming our history and our culture.*

Tl'ósmas-kwom tse7ít-as tíya Pókw ay kwóxwen txwyátl' slhiyólh sníchichim ilh ta Noxwsá7aq Stí7ti7ixw.

*Then so truly this book will help in the return of our language to the Nooksack People.*

Tl'ósmas yalh óla málaq-chalh welhnímelh yestí7ixwólh ay t'ónoxwtewálhen-as.

*Then so now we will never forget our late elders' teachings.*

Syélp̄xen ta ánats toli7 ta Noxwsá7aq

*George Adams, from Nooksack*

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Both of us began working with the elders in 1974, assisted by the Nooksack Tribe (both tribal government and non-elder members) and, beginning in January 1975, by Coqualeetza Education Training Centre in Sardis, British Columbia, where Brent Galloway began work to help revitalize the Halkomelem language, a sister language to the Nooksack language. The latter work included working once a week with the Nooksack elders on restoration of the Halkomelem language and what they remembered of the Nooksack language.

In August 1979, we designed a joint research project on Nooksack place names, combining ethnohistorical and linguistic approaches. It was approved by the Nooksack Tribe and funded by the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of both organizations as well as the support of the Nooksack elders and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Sabbaticals granted by Whatcom Community College enabled Allan Richardson to conduct extensive archival research in 1989 and 1997, and to do additional research and writing in 2005. Assistance in converting maps to digital format was provided by Brooke Farrell and Kara Roberts, students at Western Washington University in Bellingham. Six-month sabbaticals granted by the First Nations University of Canada in the last two decades allowed Galloway time to work extensively on the Nooksack language as well as Halkomelem. Grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities also enabled Galloway to do this research, assisted by research assistants Darren Okemaysim, the late Mary Wilde, and Mrs. Sonja van Eijk. We would like to acknowledge their assistance and that of the NEH, which made possible the digitization onto CDs of all the extant tapes of the Nooksack language and all of Galloway's tapes of Upriver Halkomelem. It also made possible the typing into computer files of all the 6,000 or so file cards of Paul Fetzer, who worked with the Nooksack language for two years prior to his untimely death in 1952.

We gratefully acknowledge grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for First Dictionaries of Upriver Halkomelem and Nooksack, with articles on theoretical and descriptive semantics (1998-2001 grant), for Morphology and Syntax of Nooksack (2004 grant), and for an On-line Classified Word List of Nooksack Language (2006 grant) (now nearly complete on writely.com); and from both the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund and the Humanities Research Institute at the University of Regina for completion of the On-line Classified Word List of Nooksack Language. Also see Galloway 1992, 1996b, 2007, 2008; Galloway et al. 2004a, 2004b; and Adams et al. 2005. All helped in the analysis of the Nooksack language terms in this book.

Besides these organizations and individuals, we would also like to acknowledge with deep thanks M. Terry Thompson, Dr. Laurence C. Thompson, Dr. Pamela T. Amoss, Dr. Barbara Efrat, and the late Dr. Wayne Suttles, all of whom provided their help, tapes, and field notes upon which much of our work is based.

The first full-length manuscript of this book was completed in December 2005. We would like to thank the Nooksack Indian Tribe, its members, and tribal employees for supporting our efforts since then to have this book published. We first contacted Darcy Cullen, acquisitions editor at UBC Press, in August 2008, and she has been a tireless advocate in seeing the book through the review and publication process. We also would like to thank Anna Eberhard Friedlander, production editor, Eric Leinberger, cartographer, and the two unnamed reviewers for their efforts in turning our rough manuscript into a finished book.

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# Nooksack Phonemes and Orthographic Conventions

## Key to Nooksack Phonemes

Lhéchelesem or Nooksack orthography	Lhéchelesem or Nooksack phonemes	Lhéchelesem or Nooksack orthography	Lhéchelesem or Nooksack phonemes
<a>	æ	<qw>	q <sup>w</sup>
<ch>	č	<qw'>	q <sup>w</sup> '
<ch'>	č'	<s>	s
<e>	ə	<sh>	š
<h>	h	<t>	t
<i>	i	<t'>	t'
<k>	(k)	<th>	(θ)
<k'>	(k')	<th'>	(θ')
<kw>	k <sup>w</sup>	<tl'>	ʎ'
<kw'>	k <sup>w</sup> '	<ts>	c
<l>	l	<ts'>	c'
<lh>	ł	<u>	[u] (allophone of /o/)
<m>	m	<w>	w
<n>	n	<x>	(x')
<o>	o	<x̄>	x̄
<ō>	(a)	<xw>	x <sup>w</sup>
<p>	p	<xw'>	x <sup>w</sup> '
<p'>	p'	<y>	y
<q>	q	<ʔ>	ʔ
<q'>	q'	<˘>	˘

### **Orthographic Conventions**

We use the non-technical writing systems developed by Galloway and others as much as possible, but use phonetic alphabets when source materials or linguistic accuracy make it necessary. Nooksack, Halkomelem, Samish, and Kwakw'ala are written in the practical orthography outlined in the key provided above (Halkomelem's <´> and <`> are high-tone and mid-tone phonemes instead of stresses; its practical orthography also uses apostrophe instead of <7> for glottal stop; Galloway's Samish practical orthography also adds <ng> for the /ŋ/ phoneme in that language).

Lushootseed, Northern Straits, and Thompson words are written in the International Phonetic Alphabet (Americanist IPA) (with citation to where to find a key to those [e.g., *Handbook of North American Indians* 7: 12, 17]); where a cited passage uses an orthography for any of the above languages that is different from those above, the original orthography from that source is maintained. Bracketed expressions of terms in the practical orthography used in the text will be added within quoted passages.

**Part 1**  
**About This Book and Its Sources**





# 1

## Introduction

### **About This Book**

THIS BOOK IS AN exciting voyage into the language, culture, and history of the Nooksack indigenous people, generally known to themselves and others as the Nooksack Indians. Since it is the term preferred by the people themselves, we will use “Indian” rather than “Native American” or “First Nation.” (The Nooksack Tribe, in all its signs, e-sites, and literature, refers to itself as the Nooksack Indian Tribe.) By reading the results of our 35 years of work, finding the places on the maps, looking at the photographs of these places, and listening to material in the online audio and photo supplement (which provides an elder’s recorded pronunciations of all of the place names, along with several hundred colour images; accessed through <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/34111>), you will get a feel for the richness and strength of the Nooksack people’s connection to the land. Although a few of the place names refer to places outside of Nooksack territory, most refer to Nooksack traditional lands.

Our task from the beginning has been to preserve as much of the ancient knowledge as we could; to locate, visit, and document every named Nooksack place; and to discover the authentic literal meanings of the names through ethnohistorical research (Allan Richardson) and linguistic analysis (Brent Galloway). The work has been a fascinating combination of collaboration with a wonderful group of Nooksack elders, digging into historical records, and travel to all the named rivers, creeks, villages, mountains, and other sites of the Nooksack people. We think you will be drawn into the subject as we have been.

Although the last fluent speaker of Nooksack, Sindick Jimmy, died in 1977, and the last partial speaker, Alice Hunt, died in 2004, George Adams has been fluent since 2002, after studying the compact discs that Galloway’s research assistant, Sonja van Eijk, made from all the original tapes of field work by earlier linguists. Galloway has himself become partially fluent, and he and Adams

exchange e-mails and phone calls in Nooksack without needing to use English. In the last four years or so, Adams (Syélp̓x̓en) has also been teaching classes in Nooksack, and so more people of all ages are gaining some beginning fluency in the language. (The Nooksack language is called Lhéchelessem. “Lh” is like a blown voiceless “l,” “e” is like the sound in “nut,” and “ch” is as in “church,” while the accent shows the vowel pronounced the loudest.) Adams is also captain of the Nooksack canoes that each year travel on a journey with canoes from many other tribes of British Columbia and Washington. His pronunciation of all the place names can be heard in the online audiovisual supplement. Adams is the first fluent speaker of Nooksack or Lhéchelessem since the death of Sindick Jimmy in 1977. He has written the first conversational lessons in Lhéchelessem and used them in teaching the language for several years. Galloway has developed lessons in literacy and a four-year course in Lhéchelessem (completed in 2010). These materials are already being used by George Adams in teaching Nooksack language intern teachers the language and teaching techniques. Adams has also developed a number of curriculum materials in Lhéchelessem; he uses “Lhéchalosem” as the language name, rather than “Lhéchelessem,” which is the language name with a slight Halkomelem accent and the only way Galloway and Richardson heard the language name pronounced. Richardson has been teaching the anthropology, ethnohistory, and ethnobotany of the Nooksack Tribe in anthropology courses at Whatcom Community College in Bellingham, Washington, for the past 30 years or so, and some of his students have been Nooksacks.

This is an exciting time to be a Nooksack!

This book should be of interest to people in a number of diverse fields. There is much here for students of anthropology, geography, linguistics, history, oral history, law (land claims), natural resource management, ecology, and botany. We wrote it so that the reader need not be a professional specialist in these fields, and so that the average inhabitant of British Columbia and Washington state should find it quite accessible as well as technically accurate. First Nations people outside the area may also find it useful as a model.

It is a book about a nearly extinct Native language, the people who spoke this language, and their knowledge of the land they lived on. Such knowledge includes traditional uses and how these have changed over time, as well as the Native language names for the places in their traditional lands, what these names mean literally, and the stories behind them. Place names give a fascinating insight into another culture or an earlier phase of our own culture. For example, the place name “Oxford” is clearly *ox-ford* and names a location where oxen were able to ford or cross a small river in England. Its widely known significance, however, is not for the place as a crossing but for its association with the famous



**PHOTO 1** *Nooksack elders in the Halkomelem Workshop at the Nooksack Tribal Center, Deming, WA, 30 March 1978. Front row, left to right: Maria Villanueva, Carol MacWilliams, Helen Paul. Second row (seated), left to right: Susan Jimmy, Frank Reid, Dan Swanaset, Mamie Cooper, Louisa George. Third row, left to right: Alice Hunt, Norma Cline, Elizabeth Swanaset, Mabel Hicks, Martha Cline. Back row, left to right: Brent Galloway, Ernie Paul, Alice “Jojo” Reid, and George Cline. (Photo courtesy of the Nooksack Indian Tribe)*

scholarly institution. Similarly, a linguist can analyze place names in Northwest Coast Indian languages, and an anthropologist-historian can discuss their significance. It is on this basis that we have studied Nooksack place names.

In 1974, Richardson began research on Nooksack traditional villages and fishing sites as a temporary employee of the education and planning departments of the Nooksack Tribe. In the course of this work, he interviewed a number of elders and made two field trips. In December of that year, his report on this research was published by the tribe (Richardson 1974), and he helped prepare maps and other materials (Nooksack Indian Tribe 1974). In 1975 and 1976, he did research for the tribe on Nooksack Indian homesteading and completed a detailed report (Richardson 1976) (a much abbreviated version of this report is Richardson 1979). The homesteading research showed a continuity of occupation from the traditional villages of the early 19th century to the present day.

In 1974, Galloway began weekly linguistic research with a group of Nooksack elders at the request of the tribe. This group, shown in Photo 1, had decided to

concentrate on the Halkomelem language (the Indian language spoken by most members), and called itself the Halkomelem Workshop. Galloway recorded some Nooksack place names and words when these were remembered by Sindick Jimmy and others during 1974-77, but concentrated on Halkomelem until May 1979, when he began eliciting Nooksack place names from the group, stimulated by field notes of earlier researchers Wayne Suttles, Percival Jeffcott, and Allan Richardson.

In August 1979, Richardson and Galloway designed a joint research project on Nooksack place names, combining ethnohistorical and linguistic approaches. It was approved by the Nooksack Tribe and funded by the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund. We gratefully acknowledge the support of both organizations as well as the support of the Nooksack elders and the Canada Council (a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada grant enabled Galloway to complete the phonological and morphological analysis [Galloway 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1988, 1993b, 1997]). In 1983, we completed a 63-page report on our work for the 18th International Conference on Salishan Languages, published as Galloway and Richardson 1983. While this report circulated for many years, we continued with our research, expanding the work to complete this book.

Sabbaticals granted by Whatcom Community College enabled Richardson to conduct extensive archival research in 1989 and 1997, and to do additional research and writing in 2005. Sabbaticals granted by the First Nations University of Canada in 1998-99, 2002, and 2006 aided in Galloway's completion of the work to date on Nooksack, as did self-funded field trips to meet with Richardson and Adams during the summers in these periods.

One of our goals was to visit each site with the tribal elders and to locate and photograph the sites with both slides and black-and-white prints. We made 21 field trips between November 1979 and October 1981, visiting and photographing about 135 out of 142 places known at the time. We were able to utilize manuscript material and maps from the 1857-62 International Boundary Survey, which included the entire Nooksack territory; we visited and photographed these sites and tried to re-elicite the Nooksack names. We also utilized ethnographic and linguistic field notes of Paul Fetzer and Wayne Suttles, as well as manuscript materials of Percival Jeffcott and tapes of Oliver Wells, Barbara Efrat, Laurence Thompson, and Pamela Amoss. Their work preserved much of the knowledge of George Swanaset and Sindick Jimmy, the last speakers of Nooksack who learned it as their first language – audio and written records that have been essential keys to our work on place names. Galloway and the Nooksack Tribe have copies of all this previous work by linguists and anthropologists. We also made tape recordings of all the place names we could still elicit. Copies of



**PHOTO 2** Nooksack elders, left to right: Louisa George, Helen Paul, Esther Fidele, and Ernie Paul at the viewpoint at the end of Glacier Creek Road, with place 108 Sháwaq, Church Mountain, in the background. 3 September 1980. (Photo by B. Galloway)

our field notes, tapes, and photos are on file with the Jacobs Fund Collection and the Nooksack Tribe.

An essential goal over the many years of this project has been to preserve a record of the language and cultural traditions for the Nooksack people. The foremost authorities have been the Nooksack elders whose knowledge forms the core of the content of this book. The written and tape-recorded records of George Swanaset (b. 1871, d. ca. 1960) and Sindick Jimmy (b. ca. 1907, d. 1977) were the most important primary sources. The most direct contributions were by members of the Halkomelem Workshop from 1979 to 1981: George Cline, Esther Fidele (d. ca. 1990), Louisa George (b. ca. 1906, d. 1988), Alice Hunt (b. ca. 1912, d. 2004), Ernie Paul and his wife, Helen Paul (d. ca. 1990), four of whom are shown in Photo 2. Esther and Louisa were partial speakers of Lhéchelesem, and their linguistic contributions will be frequently cited. All of the elders shared their knowledge of traditional and historical use of the places, and helped locate the places in the field.

Other elders in the Halkomelem Workshop between 1974 and 1981 also contributed useful information. The place of origin of the Indian names (tribes

or villages) are given in parentheses in what follows. The whole group included Martha Castillo, or Tš'etósiya (Shxwháy, or “Skway,” name); George Cline, or Lex'é:ym (Nooksack name); Martha Cline, or Siyamelhót (Tzeachten name); Norma Cline, or Thxwólemòt (Tzeachten name); Mamie Cooper, or Ts'átsesemiya (Musqueam name); Esther Fidele, or Sthónelh (Nooksack name); Louisa George, or Tsisxwiselh or Tsisyúyud (Skagit name); Mabel Hicks, or Slól'met (Deroche name); Alice Hunt, or Gyí'xdémq̄e (Cape Mudge Kwakw'ala name), Soyó:lhéwet, or Siyá'me (named after Agnes James); Sindick Jimmy, or Xá:xwemelh; Susan Jimmy, or Chúchowelwet (Yakweakwioose name, originally from Squamish); Ernie Paul, or Gwítsideb (Skagit name); Helen Paul, or Tš'etósiya (Shxwháy, or “Skway,” name); Ella Reid, or Xó:lelh; Bill Roberts, or Snúlhem'q̄en (Nooksack name); Matilda Sampson, or Iyésemq̄el (Stó:lō name); Philomena Solomon (she did not remember her Indian name); Dan Swanaset, or Selhámeten (Nooksack name); Elizabeth Jane Swanaset, or Lísepet (based on her English name); Maria Villanueva, or Siyémchesót (Yakweakwioose name); Clara Williams or Iyá'lh (Soowahlie name); Ollie Williams, or Swolesót (Soowahlie name); Walt Williams, or Dedíchbed (Skagit name taken from the English “Dutchman”).

Of all the elders mentioned, George Swanaset was the most fluent speaker of Nooksack according to Fetzer, who worked with him in 1950-51; he was taped by Pamela Amoss in 1956 and by Wayne Suttles as late as 1958. George was an influential elder in the Nooksack Tribe. He held tribal office and helped the tribe recover its tribal status. He is shown in Photo 3 with two other important elders of the 1950s, Lottie Tom and Agnes James. Fetzer (1951b) gives George's biography in an unpublished paper, “Nooksack Enculturation: a Preliminary Consideration”:

Mr. Swanaset, 79, came to the Nooksacks when he was about six years old. His mother, a Sumas commoner, separated from his father, a Langley-Tsawassen High-Born, and married John sk'wá-k'w'a, the Headman at sčá-wix'x'ín and one of the three leaders of the k'w'é-néč band. When George was in his early twenties, his step-father died and his mother married his deceased step-father's brother, Jim ləq'wəlqé-nəm (called “Kelly”). The family of sk'wá-k'w'a and ləq'wəlqé-nəm does not seem to have attained true High-Born rank, but, as in the case of Mrs. Tom's paternal line, was in the process of becoming High-Born. For both brothers were Headmen of their single-house villages, and both of them occupied positions of undeniable importance in most of the chief activities of their band and of the Tribe as a whole. George Swanaset, then, is High-Born by birth only through his father's line. (His father's mother's brothers were the great “chiefs” of the Tsawassen, the youngest of whom gave the last potlatch held in that Tribe.)



**PHOTO 3** *Nooksack elders George Swanaset, Agnes James, and Lottie Tom (seated) in the 1950s. (P.R. Jeffcott Collection, no. 1351)*

As a lad of seven or eight, George attended the Methodist school at k<sup>w</sup>é-néč and at sčá-wix<sup>w</sup>x<sup>y</sup>in, then on to Tulalip, and finally, in his twenties, to Haskell, where he stayed for a year.

Upon returning from Haskell, George married Sarah, the daughter of té-nis George and the grand daughter of səlé-meten (called, “Lynden Jim”). Now Lynden Jim was to the northwestern Nooksack band má-maq<sup>w</sup>əm, what Charlie edé-s was to its southern band, the foremost High-Born leader. He is the only Nooksack of whom I have an account who gave two potlatches, one in 1886 and one in 1912. Thus by marrying his grand daughter, George gained both a substantial dowry and the recognition of being a Nooksack High-Born. The fact that he was the only Nooksack with more than an elementary school education added to his prestige and influence.

From Sarah, George had one child, Dan, who lives with his second wife, Jane, on his father’s farm.

After Sarah, George married Susan, who bore him two children, both of whom died as infants. Susan died shortly thereafter.

After Susan, George married Louisa, a nux<sup>w</sup>á-ha-Samish, and she bore one child, Georgina. When the child was but a year old, Louisa separated from George and married Charley Anderson, a Skagit. While George publicly regards Georgina as his daughter, they maintain no father-daughter relations, and she comes to visit him for a few minutes only once every several years.

In his youth, George lived in three different Tribal bands, and, in each case, in a traditional smokehouse. His early alliance with the Methodist Church proscribed his participation in the power-quest. And although his mother was a famous šiwi´n (seer) and his father-in-law was a practicing Shaman, he never attempted to acquire either of these powers. His attitude was, and is, that long ago, before his birth, people did acquire guardian spirit and Shamanistic powers, but since the arrival of the White Man, all of the old assortment of persons who claimed and claim to possess the protection of one of these supernatural forces are fakers, or “bull-shitters,” as he puts it. He still believes that some people can manipulate the skwadí-lič (soul-detector) and that there are genuine šiwi´n (seers), but none of these are to be found among the Nooksacks.

Upon the death of James Antone, the younger brother of Mrs. Agnes James and the first “chief” of the united bands of the Nooksack, George Swanaset became “chief.” He was elected to this position, in 1920, for two reasons: (1) he was the best educated male member of the Tribe – and this was of prime importance at a time when the Nooksacks were preparing their first brief against the US Government in an attempt to gain a recovery for the lands and food-quest rights expropriated by the Government and individual Whites; (2) Many of the other



eligible Tribal leaders were afraid to accept the “chieftainship,” because of the work of Charlie seqó-ə, a practicing Shaman, who had been run-around when James Antone was elected to be the first “chief,” and who was highly covetous of this position. seqó-ə, it was claimed, had caused the death of Antone and would kill, by intrusive magic, anyone who dared to fill his role. George, who has always been critical of modern Shamans accepted seqó-ə’s challenge.

After the Nooksack claim was rejected by the Government in 1926, and at a time when George was in Yakima racing his thoroughbred horses, a cabal of anti-Swanaset leaders voted to remove him from office, and elected the ranking representative of a minor High-Born family, Sam George, to the “chieftainship” of the Tribe. In 1929, Sam George died and the Tribe adopted its present system of formal organization, abolishing the position of “chief.” But even today, George Swanaset’s influence in the Tribe remains undiminished, if it has not increased over the years. For only two months ago, six of the seven offices in the Tribal Organization were filled by persons amenable to the Swanaset logic, last year’s Tribal Chairman, an anti-Swanaset spokesman, being overturned on a unanimous ballot. In this, Mrs. Agnes James, the paternal aunt of that gentleman, joined the Swanaset forces and spoke to her assembled Tribesmen against her nephew’s followers and policies.

Mr. Swanaset’s memory, in terms of both its clarity and temporal depth, is second only to that of Mrs. James. In fact, he is the only Nooksack alive who can yet speak the Nooksack tongue with ease and fluidity. The aforementioned informants [Mrs. Lottie Tom, Mrs. Agnes James, and Mrs. Josephine George] can understand their natal language, when spoken by him, but they cannot themselves say more than a few simple sentences or remember a few place-names or labels for some common household objects. For when they “were coming to their senses,” the Lower Fraser dialect of helq’əm-ə-nəm had already completed its conquest of the Nooksack Tribe, leaving only a handful of intransigents[?] who continued to speak Nooksack among themselves ...

The name Swanaset is an Europeanization of the name of one of the two Tsawassen culture-heroes, swá-nis. [George Swanaset’s name as he gave it on recordings was <Swóleset> [swáləsət] or <Swólestsut>[swáləscut]].

[The references to “commoner” and “High-Born” refer to a class system present in traditional Nooksack society and that of neighbouring tribes. There were three classes: the High-Born (hereditary leaders and their families, <selhám> in the Nooksack language and <siyá:m> in Upriver Halkomelem, and other lower-ranked, respected families); commoners (all other free Native people of the tribe); and slaves (prisoners captured during conflicts, usually from other



**PHOTO 4** Nooksack elders, from left: Jack Jimmy, Mary Tuchanon, Mariah Johnny, and Louisa George. Photo taken in the 1930s at place 80 Spálh̄xen, Johnson Island longhouse. (Nooksack Indian Tribe 1974)



**PHOTO 5** Nooksack elder and language consultant Louisa George at the viewpoint at the end of Glacier Creek Road. 3 September 1980. (Photo by B. Galloway)

tribes, and their descendants, called <skw'iyóts> in Lhéchelesem, the Nooksack language, and <skw'iyeth> in Upriver Halkomelem). A detailed study of this class system is presented by Wayne Suttles in his article “Private Knowledge, Morality, and Social Classes among the Coast Salish,” originally published in 1958. In his words, “Coast Salish society consisted of three classes: a large upper class of good people, a smaller lower class of worthless people, and a still smaller class of slaves” (Suttles 1987, 11).

There are also references to origins like Langley-Tsawassen and nux<sup>w</sup>á·ha-Samish. These refer to village and/or language or dialect of the parents; for example, one parent from Langley and the other from Tsawwassen, both locations in British Columbia, or one parent from nux<sup>w</sup>á·ha (Nuwhaha, a Skagit Lushootseed-speaking group now included in the Upper Skagit Tribe, who lived in an area immediately south of the Nooksack) and another parent of Samish origin (a dialect of the Northern Straits language and the people who spoke it).]

A linguistic field notebook of Laurence C. Thompson (1966-69) notes about George Swanaset's speech that “there are some features of GS's speech as recorded on tape and in the Thorsen-Amoss notes that suggest GS substituted some Chilliwack phonemes for those of Nooksack – notably /θ, θ'/ for /c, c'/, perhaps also /á/ for /ó/.” (In our practical orthography, these would be <th, th'> for <ts, ts'> and <ó> for <ó>, respectively.) This is something that Galloway has found to be true and determined to be an Upriver Halkomelem accent to Swanaset's Nooksack.

In the same notebook, Thompson adds information on Esther Fidele (EF), Louisa George (LG; shown in her youth in Photo 4 and in her later years in Photo 5), and other speakers of Nooksack:

Esther Fidele, in Bellingham, heard Nooksack until her grandfather died (after she was already grown). It seems likely that she understands the language well (LG thinks she probably remembers Nooksack better than LG) ... Jim Kelly had a brother, Long John, whose son (Jack Johnny) was Esther Fidele's father.

Sindick Jimmy's mother's father spoke Nooksack (his name was Robert s?alcaldeab). SJ's mother = Lizzie, who married Jack Jimmy (half Skagit, half Nooksack). Lizzie's mother was part Sumas (or thereabouts), and she spoke Chilliwack (or similar dialect). SJ learned some Nooksack from his grandfather but otherwise had little opportunity to learn the language.

For LG's background, see Skagit Notebook # , [sic; number omitted in original source] p. 602. It should be noted that LG, although she had relatively little opportunity to learn Nooksack, did hear the language a good deal when she was a child; she certainly understands it well. More important, she is the kind of informant who usually initiates the pronunciation of other dialects, rather than

substituting sounds from her own – so her information on Nooksack, in so far as it goes, is in some ways more accurate than that of informants who spoke it with substitution of Halkomelem pronunciations.

It seems quite clear from examination of the earlier collected material (by Pamela Thorsen Amoss, Jimmy G. Harris, and Paul Fetzer) and from working through considerable material with LG that none of these informants (LG, SJ, GS) really had anything approaching native control of the language. Both SJ and GS spoke a Halkomelem dialect (presumably Chilliwack) and it seems evident that both frequently substituted Halkomelem elements for original Nooksack ones.

Although the conclusion of the last sentence seems accurate for George Swanaset, as tape-recorded and transcribed, it was true only of Sindick Jimmy (SJ) in the earliest tapes and transcriptions. Sindick's wife was a very fluent speaker of Chilliwack Halkomelem, and through this and through work with linguists, in later tapes and transcriptions he lost his Halkomelem accent. Sindick also knew some Skagit, and this and conversation with Louisa George probably also contributed to the loss of his Halkomelem accent. Of course, speaking with George Swanaset would have stimulated or reinforced the Halkomelem accent.

The other elder we worked with who knew some Nooksack was Alice (Cline) Hunt (b. ca. 1912, d. 2004), shown with Esther Fidele in Photo 6. Here's a brief biographical note that Galloway wrote for her memorial:

I met her in summer of 1974 when I began work with the Halkomelem Workshop at the Nooksack Tribal Offices. This was a great group of elders and younger people, all interested in preserving what they knew of the Halkomelem language and in learning more themselves. Alice was one of the most enthused and faithful, and she had a great way of looking sideways at you with a twinkle in her eye and asking questions. Her knowledge of Halkomelem was extensive, but she was always modest in wanting to learn more.

As the Workshops proceeded over the next few years, the elders met twice a year with the Stó:lō elders who also met weekly to work with me on the Halkomelem language and with others to preserve the culture. At the Workshop each person with an Indian name brought it out and we spelled it and learned it; those who didn't have a formal Indian name, worked out a Halkomelem pronunciation of their other name and used that. Alice actually had three Indian names: Gyixdémqe (a Cape Mudge, B.C. Kwakw'ala name), Soyó:lhéwet, and Siyá'me (formerly Agnes James's name).

As the Workshop proceeded, Alice and also Louisa George suggested they call me Lawéchten, the Nooksack name of an Indian doctor, Charlie Lewiston, who



**PHOTO 6** *Nooksack elders Alice Hunt (left) and Esther Fidele (right) at place 73 Scháw7shen (trail coming to river/beach), village on the east bank of the Nooksack River about two miles upriver from Everson, known as “Jim Kelly’s place.” 14 August 1980. (Photo by B. Galloway)*

travelled around trying to help people, as I travelled between Chilliwack and the Stó:lō people and the Nooksacks. In 1977 at a gathering Oct. 9, 1977 at the long-house in Chehalis, B.C., she and Louisa George did a formal naming ceremony and gave me that name. Others were being named at the same time (Shirley Leon and others) and the ceremony was done with blankets, witnesses, and a Lushootseed speaker arranged by Louisa George. Ever since I have felt like I was an adopted son of Alice and Louisa.

Alice and Louisa, along with Esther Fidele and several other Nooksack elders, also participated in the work Allan Richardson and I did to document all the Nooksack place names. We had many delightful trips driving and hiking all over Nooksack territory, taking colored slides and black and white photos. We recorded some of our trips too on audio tape ...

When I left Coqualeetza Education Training Centre in Chilliwack in 1980 and passed on the coordination of the Halq'eméylem program to elder Amelia Douglas, I continued meeting with the Nooksacks and the Halkomelem Workshop. Eventually, in 1984 I moved to Victoria and the distance was too great for

more than visits every year or two. In 1988 I was hired as a professor and had to move to Regina, Saskatchewan. I return every few years to visit the Nooksack elders group and the Stó:lō elders group. Alice was always with the Nooksack elders group till she moved to Bellingham.

The last visit I paid to see Alice was when she was in a Rest Home in Bellingham. I went there with Catalina Renteria, coordinator of the Nooksack Tribe's Halkomelem program. We found Alice in good spirits, teaching the staff Halkomelem words and greetings. We had a great visit and with her permission made a video tape of her speaking some conversational Halkomelem with me and Catalina and her giving some words and phrases. That has been used in the Nooksack Tribe's Halkomelem language program, as it was a digital camera and the film can be viewed on computer and can help teach younger students the language.

As we worked together in the Halkomelem Workshop, we found an old Methodist Hymnal with hymns translated into Halkomelem by Rev. Tate and some elders. I got a modern hymnal and we were able to revive several of them, with the help of elders like Louisa George and Alice Hunt, who still knew how to sing them. When one of the elders passed away who had helped, we sang, *Shall We Gather at the River*, in Halkomelem at the funeral. We also sang it at a gathering put on by Vi Hilbert [Violet Georgina (Swanaset) Hilbert, daughter of George Swanaset; her Nooksack name was Qw'estániya7] near Seattle. Alice was one of the singers and had a beautiful voice.

In May 2002, Galloway donated to the Nooksack Tribe CD copies of almost all the extant tapes of the Nooksack language made by Amoss, Thompson, and Efrat (as well as quite a few of Halkomelem that he himself had made). We invited to the ceremony all those who had worked with the Nooksack language and were still alive (Laurence Thompson, Pamela Amoss, Barbara Efrat, and Galloway's research assistant, who had digitized and copied the tapes to CDs, Sonja van Eijk). The Thompsons and Efrat could not make it, but the others came. George Adams (Syélp̓x̓en), a grandson of Philomena Solomon and a speaker of Lummi, was the master of ceremonies. The day before, he and Galloway discussed what "work" would be done. He asked if Galloway had learned any Nooksack; Galloway showed him a page of Nooksack that Sonja van Eijk had asked him to bring, which had Nooksack words and sentences appropriate to a gathering and which we hoped to use, if appropriate. Adams took a copy home and the next day gave the first speech in the Nooksack language in 30 years. The whole tribe was invited to the ceremony of bringing back the Nooksack language, and we were stood up with blankets over us and over the CDs, and the latter were formally given to the tribe. Ever since, Adams

and Galloway (with occasional help from Catalina Renteria) have been working to transcribe them and learn from them. Adams has done most of the work and has now become relatively fluent in the language. The three of them speak together in the language and exchange e-mails in it (often with no English) whenever they can.

In 2000, Renteria set up a Halkomelem language program for the Nooksack Tribe and taught and coordinated it. Adams became the Nooksack language specialist with the Nooksack Tribe in 2002, and joined us in 2005 in our effort to complete this work, helping us discover etymologies and pronouncing all the place names in a digital recording that can be found in the online Audio and Photo Supplement. We hope that this book and other materials from the place names study will be of practical use to the Nooksack community as well as a contribution to scholarship. We also want to share with a broader public what we have learned about the Nooksack people, their language, and their connection to the land.

### **The Nooksack People**

The Nooksack Indians are one of many groups encompassed by the broad terms “Salish” or “Coast Salish.” The Nooksack spoke a distinct Salishan language known as Nooksack, or Lhéchelessem, which in the 19th century was spoken only by them. In the early 19th century, they lived in 13 or more winter villages on or near the Nooksack River and its tributaries, the Sumas River, and Lake Whatcom, centred on present-day Whatcom County, Washington. At that time, they were both a geographic grouping and a speech community, but not the political entity that they formed in the mid-19th century and that continues to the present.

In 1857, the Nooksack population, excluding persons living at Lake Whatcom, was officially estimated at 450 (Fitzhugh 1858, 326). Smallpox and other epidemics had decimated Native populations prior to this time. Boyd (1990, 136) estimates a pre-1774 Nooksack population of 1,067. Richardson (1979, 8-9), using ethnographic data on the number of occupied houses, estimates a population of 863 in 1820, and 1,125 or more before 1800. The population declined further in the late 19th century, then began increasing in the 20th century. The members of the Nooksack Tribe today (approximately 2,000 in 2009) are the direct descendants of the Nooksack Indians identified as living in the Nooksack River drainage in the middle of the 19th century.

Nooksack territory, within which they had direct access to resources, extended into Skagit County to the south, into British Columbia to the north, and from Bellingham Bay in the west to the area around Mt. Baker in the east. Map 1 shows the approximate territories of the Nooksack and adjacent groups in 1820.



**MAP 1** Territory of the Nooksack and adjacent groups, ca. 1820. (Adapted from Amoss 1978, 2, after Richardson 1977)



This is the earliest date for which we feel confident in defining these areas based on historical and ethnographic records. Also, a specific date needs to be stated for maps such as this, since group territories were undergoing many changes in the early historical period between the first disease epidemics of the 1780s and the treaty negotiations of the 1850s. For example, in 1820 the Skalakhan, or Sq̓əláx̄en, were a small remnant population located on a prairie on the south-east bank of the Nooksack River near modern Ferndale, Washington. (This location is discussed further under place name 1 in Chapter 4.) By the 1850s, the Sq̓əláx̄en group no longer existed, although individuals of Sq̓əláx̄en descent have been noted in the Nooksack and Lummi tribes. Some time before 1820, the Sq̓əláx̄en occupied the mouths of the Nooksack River and controlled the surrounding saltwater areas, including Lummi Bay and much of Bellingham Bay (Curtis 1913, 25-30; Suttles 1954, 51-52). The Nooksack were surrounded by neighbouring groups, as shown on Map 1. Despite appearances, the lines on the map do not represent rigid boundaries since the areas used by adjacent groups often overlapped. For example, use of Chuckanut Bay south of Bellingham was shared by the Lummi, Samish, Nuwaha, and Nooksack. Overlapping lines might better represent the shared use but would make the map rather difficult to interpret. Brian Thom (2005, 2009) presents a challenge to the representation of tribal territories on maps such as Map 1 that will be explored further under “Place Names, Land Ownership, and Territory” in Chapter 6. We conclude that within joint-use areas, as in the primary Nooksack area, a strong sense of territory is reinforced by the distribution of Nooksack place names.

How resources were accessed is an aspect of territoriality that has implications for the use of many of the names to be discussed individually and in detail in Chapter 4. Among the Coast Salish peoples, resources were not open for the taking by all, but neither were members of other groups rigidly excluded, even in cases where specific resources were owned and inherited within kin groups (Kennedy 2007; see also “Place Names, Land Ownership, and Territory” in Chapter 6). Richardson’s study of ownership and control of resources on the traditional Northwest Coast (1982) found that among the Coast Salish, three patterns can be seen: (1) direct access to resources in sites owned by kin groups, (2) free use of resources in community-owned and joint-use areas, and (3) access to resources in areas controlled by other groups based on ties of descent or marriage.

The Nooksack people directly controlled the Nooksack River and its watershed from near its mouth to its headwaters surrounding Mt. Baker, plus most of the Sumas River drainage south of the present International Boundary. There was separate kin group (family) ownership of root digging plots at Nuxwsá7aq (see

place name 78 in Chapter 4), the place which gave its name to the river and the people. Non-Nooksack people could use the resources in the Nooksack area if they shared descent from Nooksack ancestors or if they were tied to living Nooksack families by marriage. Joint-use areas occurred at the edges of Nooksack territory, including the upper North Fork, shared with the Chilliwack; the upper South Fork, also used by Skagit River people; and Lake Whatcom, with a mixed Nooksack and Nuwaha village. All of the saltwater areas used by the Nooksack were also used by other groups. Access to resources controlled by other groups was important, although perhaps not essential to survival. On the basis of shared descent or marriage ties, most Nooksacks could traditionally have fished on the Fraser, Skagit, and Samish Rivers. Similarly, the resources of Sumas Lake were available to the Nooksack, even though it was located outside Nooksack territory. Places named in the Nooksack language are concentrated in the primary Nooksack area and the joint-use areas. Only a few are located in areas directly controlled by other groups.

Today, the Nooksack people live predominantly in the area where the place names are concentrated, an area that they directly controlled two centuries ago. The modern city of Bellingham, where many Nooksack people live, includes several named places in a former joint-use area. Nooksack occupation of the area where their language was spoken in the 19th century has been continuous to the present, although the terms of occupation have changed, as can be seen in a brief historical review.

The Nooksack were one of many Indian groups that were party to the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855, in which title to the land of much of western Washington was exchanged for recognition of fishing, hunting, and gathering rights and a guarantee of certain government services. The Nooksack were not granted a reservation. They were expected to move to the Lummi Reservation, but few did. In 1873 and 1874, attempts were made to move the Nooksack to the reservation, but it became clear that they would not move without military force and it was recommended that the Nooksack Indians be allowed to remain in the Nooksack Valley (Richardson 1977; 1979, 10-11). Following this, Nooksacks were able to gain legal title to small portions of their traditional lands, including many of the village sites, by filing homestead claims on them. In 1874, only the lower, downriver Lynden and Everson areas had been surveyed, and seven homestead claim applications were made at this time. These included the claims of James Seclamatan (Lynden Jim, Selhámetan, who is shown in Photo 7), surrounding place 27 Sqwehálich, and of George Olooseus (Welósiws), surrounding place 54 Kwánech. These first homesteads received five-year restricted patents under the provisions of an act of Congress passed on 3 March 1875. None of these lands are in Indian ownership today, except for the two tribal cemeteries



**PHOTO 7** *Lynden Jim (Selhámetan), an important Nooksack leader of the late 19th century. His 1874 homestead included the site of place 27 Sqwehálich, and in 1890 he donated land for the Stickney Home mission school. (P.R. Jeffcott Collection, no. 1347)*

on Northwood Road. As upriver areas were surveyed, 30 additional homestead claims were filed, and 29 trust titles were eventually granted to 3,847 acres under provisions of the Indian Homestead Act of 1884 (Richardson 1977). These trust homesteads included many villages and other sites that will be discussed in Chapter 4, such as place 74 Xelxál7altxw on the John Suchanon (Long Johnny) homestead, place 80 Spálhxen on the Johnson homestead, place 84 Yexsáy on the Sampson Santla homestead, and place 92 Nuxw7iyem on the Charley Adass

homestead. These lands have since been administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and some 2,400 acres remain in trust today, although much of this is of little economic use due to complex multiple heirship.

In just a few decades, Nooksack settlement was transformed from traditional villages of cedar plank longhouses to homesteads on a Euro-American model. The Nooksack held secure title, as individuals, to a very small fraction of their traditional lands, which had been almost entirely held in common. Despite the change in land ownership, and despite their now living on small homestead farms, there were many continuities with the traditional past. The homesteads were all within a short distance of the traditional villages, which had also been small and scattered. After homesteading, and well into the 20th century, the Nooksack continued to depend heavily for food on fishing, hunting, and gathering at traditional places named in Lhéchelesem.

Since the Nooksack were not granted a separate reservation, they were no longer recognized as a tribe by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, yet they continued to function as a tribe. In 1926, they met under the leadership of George Swanaset to join in the *Duwamish et al. v. United States of America* (79 C. Cls. 530) case before the US Court of Claims. In 1935, the Nooksack tribe voted to accept the Indian Reorganization Act, but was not permitted to organize under the act since it was not a recognized tribe. In the 1950s, the tribe, under the leadership of Joe Louie, pursued a land claim case with the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), which decided in 1955 that the Nooksack were indeed a tribe of Indians whose lands had been taken without compensation, but that they only “exclusively occupied and used” a small portion of their traditional territory (Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 46). It was further decided that the value of the lands at the time of the Point Elliott Treaty was \$0.65 per acre, and that only this amount would be paid. A payment of \$43,383 for 80,000 acres of the 400,000 acres claimed was provided by Congress in 1965. The 400,000-acre claim approximates the Nooksack territory shown in Map 1 and includes a large majority of the places named in the Nooksack language that are south of the US-Canada boundary. The land claim money was distributed in equal portions on a per-capita basis to each recognized descendant of the Nooksack tribe of 1855.

In the 1960s, the tribe had a Community Action Program and launched an effort to gain federal recognition. In 1970, it gained title to four buildings on an acre of land; this became the Nooksack Reservation and is the location of the present tribal centre. In 1973, full federal recognition was granted. The following year, the Nooksack Tribe joined the *United States v. Washington*, 384 F.Supp. 312 (W.D. Wash. 1974), case as a treaty tribe with fishing rights for enrolled members. In 2009, there were about 2,000 enrolled members of the tribe, about half of whom lived on or near Nooksack trust lands.

A major focus of Nooksack tribal programs today is land and resources, with special emphasis on fishing. Fishing in the Nooksack River and saltwater areas is an important source of income and food for many families, as well as a source of cultural pride and identity. The tribal fisheries program regulates fishing and works to enhance fish runs and protect the environment that the fish depend on. The tribe works closely with local, state, and federal agencies to review proposed developments, timber harvests, and other environmental disturbances, and to evaluate their impact on water quality, fisheries, and cultural sites. All of this is taking place in the area where the Nooksacks' ancestors lived, and often at places named in Lhéchelessem. Knowledge of traditional uses of these places is an essential element of modern resource management.

A second major area of concern for the Nooksack Tribe today is cultural survival and education. To promote cultural survival, the tribe has begun an inventory of cultural sites of historical and continuing importance. Protection of these sites will preserve links to the traditional past and enable the continued practice of the traditional religion. This study of place names is an integral part of the Nooksack cultural and educational programs.

### **Nooksack Linguistic Boundaries**

The Nooksack people with their distinct language were bounded by speakers of at least three other Salishan languages. In the mid-19th century, speakers of Lushootseed (with Skagit as the most northerly dialect) occupied areas to the south of the Nooksack, speakers of Northern Straits (for example, the Lummi and Samish dialects) lived to the west, and speakers of Halkomelem (Upriver and Downriver dialects) lived to the north. The mountainous area to the east was used by speakers of various languages, including Thompson, an Interior Salish language also known as Nlaka'pamux. The 1820 territory of the Nooksack shown in Map 1 approximates the area of the Nooksack language, Lhéchelessem, but with some clarification needed.

The Lake Whatcom basin was occupied by a group that was bilingual Nooksack-Lushootseed (cf. Suttles 1954, 52) and only loosely associated with other Nooksack speakers. The area marked "Skalakhan" in Map 1 was occupied by the remnants of the Sq'eláx̣en /sq'əláx̣ən/ group, which had previously had villages at both mouths of the Nooksack River and controlled the surrounding area. The smaller upriver Sq'eláx̣en area was later used by the Nooksack and includes several Nooksack place names, but the language spoken by the Sq'eláx̣en has not been determined.

In the upper Sumas River drainage near the present International Boundary was a bilingual Nooksack-Halkomelem community. This group, sometimes referred to as the "Nooksack-Sumas" (Paul Fetzer field notes), had strong ties

with other Nooksack villages and with the Sumas Stó:lō. To the east of the upper Sumas and western Chilliwack areas is Cultus Lake, British Columbia, which also apparently had a bilingual Nooksack-Halkomelem village. There are various reports from both Nooksack and Stó:lō people of Lhéchelesem-speaking people and also a place name in Lhéchelesem at Cultus Lake. This should not be considered a social or political extension of the Nooksack, but rather an indication of an earlier wider spread of the Lhéchelesem language. There is evidence (cf. Duff 1952, 43; Galloway 1977, xviii; Galloway 1993a, 6-7; Maud et al. 1981; Wells 1987; and especially Galloway 1985) of an earlier, more extensive use of Lhéchelesem in the upper Chilliwack River area in addition to that at Cultus Lake. Marian Smith (1950) also hypothesized a much greater extent of Lhéchelesem in the prehistoric past.

What is clear is that by the mid-19th century, Lhéchelesem was spoken almost exclusively within the Nooksack River drainage and by groups now known as the Nooksack. Bilingual groups occupied its northern and southern borders, and intermarriage with Upriver Halkomelem speakers had already made much, if not most, of the Nooksack territory bilingual in Nooksack and Halkomelem. Intermarriage with Skagits had also introduced bilingualism in Nooksack and Skagit in southern parts of the Nooksack territory. With the introduction of English, all three Indian languages lost ground proportionately until the last fluent speaker of Nooksack (Sindick Jimmy) died in 1977. Upriver Halkomelem is the Indian language now most remembered, with a few individuals also remembering Skagit. At present, few people understand any Nooksack and only one person speaks the language fluently (George Adams), having learned it from tapes and written notes. A few others can speak some words and sentences and have some increasing fluency.

### **The Nooksack Language: Phonemes and Orthography**

The Nooksack language is called <Lhéchelesem> [ʔáçələsəm] /ʔáçələsəm/, perhaps a Halkomelemized version of \*<Lhéchalosem> \*[ʔáçələsəm] \*/ʔáçələsəm/ (see place 29 in Chapter 4). Spellings of words in phonetic transcription are enclosed in square brackets; the phonemic versions are enclosed in slashes, and the spellings in the orthographies of Halq'eméylem and Lhéchelesem are enclosed in angle brackets.

The ethnographic name for the people is Nooksack <Nuxwsá7aq> [nux<sup>w</sup>sá?æq ~ nux<sup>w</sup>sá?æq] /nox<sup>w</sup>sá?æq/ (see place 78 in Chapter 4). Lhéchelesem has the following phonemes: /p, t, (k), k<sup>w</sup>, q, q<sup>w</sup>, ʔ, p', t', k<sup>w</sup>, q', q'<sup>w</sup>, c, ç, (θ'), c', ç', ʕ, (θ), s, š, (x<sup>y</sup>), ʔ, x<sup>w</sup>, x, x<sup>w</sup>, h, m, n, y, l, w, l, æ, ə, (a), o, ' / (see Galloway 1983a). Symbols in parentheses in the list are in borrowings or Halkomelem-influenced pronunciations. In the broad phonetic transcriptions, quoted aspiration of obstruents

(predictable) is omitted. Neighbouring and influential Upriver Halkomelem is called <Halq'eméylem> [hæɫq'əméyləm] /hɛɫq'əméyləm/ by its speakers. The ethnographic name for Halkomelem speakers (of both Upriver and Downriver dialects) is Stalo (/stá·lo/ or, as the people themselves now orthographically prefer, <Stó:lō>). A phonemic orthography, a slight variant of the Upriver Halq'eméylem or Stó:lō orthography, has recently been developed for Lhéchelesem (reported in Galloway et al. 2004a), and is used throughout this book. The phonetic transcription equivalent of the orthographic symbol for each Nooksack phoneme is given in the Key to Nooksack Phonemes on page xvii. For more information on the Nooksack language, see the sources cited under “About This Book” above.

The chapters that follow will discuss the sources and their interpretation; present a list of Nooksack place names with discussions of their linguistic form, meaning, and location; and examine semantic naming patterns, features named, and typical problems in locating the sites.

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