

42
PLACE-NAMES OF THE ISLAND HALKOMELEM INDIAN PEOPLE

By

DAVID LEWIS ROZEN

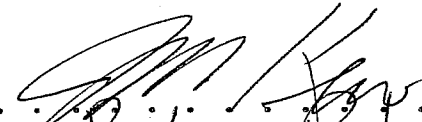
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to the required standard


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ABSTRACT

The Island Halkomelem Indian people live on the southeastern part of Vancouver Island and on some of the southern Gulf Islands in British Columbia. A total of three hundred two (302) place-names are known to these people today, in their Coast Salish language. Each of these names is transcribed in a practical writing system, corresponding to the pronunciation of the Indian words by some of the thirteen elderly Island Halkomelem people who collaborated on this study. For each geographical name, information regarding its traditional and present utilization by the Indians is given. This data is derived from interviews with the Indian people conducted by the author over a ten year period and also includes all the available information on each place-name from the pertinent ethnographic, linguistic and historical literature.

After the information on the place-names is presented a brief analysis of the Indian names is attempted, focusing on a preliminary typology of the names derived from the use, English translations and etymologies of each name. A complete and detailed series of maps is included. The study concludes with some statements about how the Indian geographical toponymy reflects Island Halkomelem culture.

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Most importantly, I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the Island Halkomelem people, whose names appear throughout this work and to whom this study is affectionately dedicated. In particular, Abraham Joe and Abel D. Joe, of the Cowichan Indian Band in Duncan, gave of themselves tirelessly over the past ten years. They made sure that I "got things right and did my best or better"; together, we hope that these place-names will never be forgotten. I accept the responsibility for any inaccuracies in this thesis, however.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines one aspect of the culture of a particular group of Coast Salish Indian people, the Island Halkomelem or Helk'eminem as they call themselves. The aspect of culture dealt with here has been described by a number of terms, such as "ethnogeography" (the study of the geographical names as they were known to the Native Indians before contact with non-Indians), "anthropography" (the study of the traditional territories of a group of people) and "toponymy" (the study of geographical names of any given group of people).

The most convenient means of delineating the various groups of Indian people in British Columbia, and in the rest of North America for that matter, is by the languages they spoke at the time of contact with non-Indians. It is necessary to restrict this delineation by language because groups of people speaking different languages and dialects of those languages underwent drastic changes with the arrival of non-Indians. Some languages are now extinct, while others have amalgamated to form new groups of people, who now reside in areas outside of their territories at the time of contact. Virtually all of the information contained in this thesis is considered from the pre-contact point of view, which shall be given as that period of time before the year 1800. This date of contact with the Island Halkomelem is somewhat arbitrary, because complete contact with non-Indians did not really occur until the middle of the Nineteenth Century. However, such introduced phenomena as smallpox and other diseases, metal

tools and other things had already begun to impact the Coast Salish and other Northwest Coast Indians by the late 1700's.

In what is now called southwestern British Columbia there were formerly six Coast Salish languages which were spoken by the Indian people. They were Comox (Mainland and Vancouver Island dialects), Pentlatch (now extinct), Sechelt, Squamish, Halkomelem and Northern Straits Salish. Other Salish languages on the coast include Bella Coola, Clallam, Nooksack, Lushootseed and Twana, some of which are located in the northwestern United States. The Coast Salish languages form one of the divisions of the Salishan language family in northwestern North America. There are seven Interior Salish languages in the interior of British Columbia and in the northwestern part of the United States.

Map I on page 313 shows the cultural-linguistic group called the "Central Coast Salish". This contiguous group of languages has been grouped together because the Indian people speaking the languages share many cultural features. The languages included in Central Coast Salish are Squamish, Halkomelem, Northern Straits Salish (including the Saanich, Songish, Sooke, Semiahmoo and Lummi dialects) and Nooksack.

Map II on page 314 shows the traditional territory of the speakers of the Halkomelem language. On the eastern side of the Strait of Georgia there were several dialects of Halkomelem spoken, and these could be considered as a group and called "Mainland Halkomelem" since they are located on the mainland of British Columbia. The Indian people speaking

the Mainland dialects of Halkomelem call their dialects Helk'emilem [around Chilliwack], or Helk'eminem [around Maple Ridge], or Henk'eminem [around Musqueam]. There are many terms and words in Mainland Halkomelem dialects that are different from the Halkomelem language as it is spoken on Vancouver Island.

Map III on page 315 shows the traditional territory of the speakers of the Halkomelem language on Vancouver Island and on some of the Gulf Islands. Because these people lived on the islands indicated on the map they have been called "Island Halkomelem". Like their Mainland Halkomelem relatives this group, whose place-names are the focus of this thesis, ranged over a rather large area before contact with non-Indians. The approximate boundaries of the Island Halkomelem are; to the north, an area along the east coast of Vancouver Island just south of Qualicum; to the east, the Strait of Georgia; to the west, the Vancouver Island mountains; and to the south the area around Mill Bay on Vancouver Island. The Island Halkomelem call the group of dialects of Halkomelem they speak Helk'eminem. The Northwest Coast Indians surrounding the Island Halkomelem include the Central and Southern Nootka (also called West Coast, Westcoast and Nuuchahnulth today) to the west. To the north, the Penthatch Coast Salish formerly lived, but their territory has now been included in the Island Comox dialect area of the Comox Coast Salish language. Penthatch as a language is now extinct. To the east, across the Strait of Georgia, were the Sechelt and

Squamish language-speakers and to the south of the Island Halkomelem were the Northern Straits Salish (Coast Salish) language-speakers.

Map IV on page 316 shows the approximate boundaries of the territory of the Indian people speaking the Halkomelem language on Vancouver Island and on some of the Gulf Islands. Hereafter in this thesis these people and the group of dialects of Halkomelem they speak will simply be called "Island Halkomelem". Also shown on Map IV are the boundaries of the three dialects of Halkomelem spoken by the Island Halkomelem. The more northerly dialect would best be labelled "Nanaimo-Nanoose" but there was apparently little or no difference between the dialect spoken at the northern end of Island Halkomelem territory (at Nanoose Bay and north to the Qualicum-Englishman River area) and the one spoken at Departure Bay, Nanaimo Harbour and Nanaimo River. For this reason it has simply been called "Nanaimo" here. This is also consistent with the designation of this dialect in the pertinent ethnographic and linguistic literature.

The dialect south of Nanaimo was called "Chemainus" and south of that, in the Cowichan River area, was the "Cowichan" dialect. The differences between the Cowichan and Chemainus dialects were apparently never as great as the differences between both of these groups and the Nanaimo. Today the dialectical differences between all three are no longer distinctive; Cowichan is the dominant dialect. However, in describing and discussing the Island Halkomelem place-names in this study, the traditional dialectical boundaries are

maintained.

Appendix 2 on page 306 of this study provides the Island Halkomelem terms for Indian language groups surrounding the former.

The reader will note that there is no comprehensive grammar, produced by linguists, for the Halkomelem language. Thus far, only two dialects of Halkomelem have been studied sufficiently by linguists to provide scholars with a complete grammar. Brent Galloway produced a grammar of Upriver (Mainland) Halkomelem in 1977 which focused on the Chilliwack dialect. Adrian Leslie produced a grammar of the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem in 1979. This leaves several other dialects of Halkomelem yet to be described fully before they become completely extinct. There have been numerous dialect surveys and phonologies of Halkomelem dialects generated over the years but as yet there has been no clear delineation of the dialects, with reference to the precise differences between them, or the territories formerly held by the people who spoke them.

The reader with no background on the Island Halkomelem does not have a single comprehensive or "full-culture" ethnographic source-book upon which to gain an introduction to the Island Halkomelem. (This is not the case for all Coast Salish groups.) Only by gleaning ethnographic information from a variety of standard reference works can the reader get a sense of what Island Halkomelem culture (as opposed to Mainland Halkomelem or other Coast Salish) was about traditionally and what it is about today.

Aside from the linguistic works already cited here (i. e. Galloway, 1977 and Leslie, 1979), the reader may find parts of Gerdts' 1977 "Dialect Survey of Halkomelem Salish" useful. By carefully extracting the Cowichan and Nanaimo data from Homer Barnett's 1938, 1939 and 1955 monographs, a good deal of ethnographic information specific to the Island Halkomelem can be obtained. The works of Curtis (1913), Hill-Tout (1902 and 1907) and particularly Wayne Suttles (1960, 1963 and 1968 especially) are all useful, but in all of those works there is no information specific to the Island Halkomelem. The early journals of Grant (1857) and Brown (1864) help to explain what villages, fishing stations and households were like in the early historic period, and Lane (1953) also provided data specific to the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem.

The main units of social organization among the Island Halkomelem were the extended family, the household and groups of households, the latter being defined in this study as "permanent winter villages". The extended families and householders used to travel extensively for the purposes of procuring resources and sustaining social ties with their Coast Salish relatives and neighbours. As we will see in the section of this thesis devoted to the Indian place-names, "every bend has a name, every hill a story, every dark pool a tradition" (Brown, 1864).

In Chapter Two of this thesis, the reader will find a listing of all of the place-names known to the Island Halkomelem Indians, regardless of where the names are located. Of course, most of the place-names are located within the traditional territory of the Island Halkomelem, but in developing a format to present this data, it was decided that everything that was known should be included. Although the information obtained from the thirteen Island Halkomelem from 1974 to 1984 was collected without referring to any other toponymic studies initially, it was decided to include all published and unpublished references to Island Halkomelem place-names to eliminate present and future uncertainty about the names. Therefore, what is presented is a "history of Island Halkomelem toponymy" in order to eliminate duplication, confusion and doubt about each place-name.

It should be noted that all of the maps in this thesis are placed in a map appendix at the back. All tribal boundaries and place-name locations shown on these maps are, necessarily, approximate and the reader is referred to the text in Chapter Two for exact locations of place-names. Even with some of the large-scale maps in the map appendix, locations are approximate. The scale given on each map is reasonably accurate.

Before presenting the main body of this thesis, a special note must be made of the use of the "practical phonemic" writing system used herein. This system is explained in Appendix 1 , page 303 . Such a system was used for all of the original information in this study, because copies of a classified word list utilizing this system have been given to

every Indian Band in Island Halkomelem territory over the past ten years. This means that at least some Island Halkomelem have some level of familiarity with the system. The other advantages to a practical writing system are that any transcriptions can be made on a standard typewriter keyboard (except for the symbol for stress on syllables) and that this particular system has been standardized for all Salishan (Coast and Interior) languages by Randy Bouchard, of the British Columbia Indian Language Project, Victoria, B. C. As the reader can see in the appendix which explains the system, there are exact correspondences between the symbols used in the practical writing system and phonetic symbols commonly used by linguists working on Northwest Coast languages today.

It should be clear that this thesis is an example of "salvage ethnography". No single person among the Island Halkomelem ever knew all of these place-names and this is certainly true today. The place-names are being "revealed" at this time because, except for the main winter villages, they are in danger of being forgotten due to lack of use by the Indian people themselves. It was suggested to me many times that this study be done in order to educate the younger Island Halkomelem about their heritage, but it seems probable that this study will be utilized for many other purposes in the future.

On the following pages, a sample of what a typical place-name looks like is provided in the format used in Chapter

Two of this study. Each part of the format is explained in order to indicate what standards have been employed for the sake of consistency.

Sample of Format Used in Presenting Place-Names In This Thesis

333. Salt Water Bay "Salt Chuck Bay"
 tl'áhemelhke7 (DR; MK; RR) 'salt water' or "saltchuck"
 Tl'átlematlqa (Boas, 1929:123) "Saltwater Bay, Van. Is."
 Tlaythumkah (Smith, n.d.)

Information on place-name number 333 is given below the transcription.

The fictional sample above contains all of the elements of a typical Island Halkomelem place-name as it would be presented in the format employed in Chapter Two of this study. In the sample the place name is assigned the number "333". This number would appear on one of the maps in this study's map appendix. The following maps contain the actual indicated Island Halkomelem place-names found in Chapter Two:

Map V: Place-Name Numbers 1-7
 Map VI: Place-Name Numbers 8-73
 Map VII: Place-Name Numbers 74-151
 Map VIII: Place-Name Numbers 152-186
 Map IX: Place-Name Numbers 187-229
 Map X: Place-Name Numbers 230-280
 Map XI: Place-Name Numbers 281-302

After the number "333" the name of the place under discussion is given in English. This is the place-name commonly

found on government topographical maps or marine charts and is the English name most commonly used. In the sample the common English name for place-name number 333 is "Salt Water Bay". If there is a local name, folk name or other means of identifying "Salt Water Bay", such as "Salt Chuck Bay" in the sample, it is given in full quotation marks immediately to the right of the usual English name.

On the line directly below the English place-name, the reader will find the Island Halkomelem equivalent for the English name directly above it. In the sample the Indian name for "Salt Water Bay" is "tl'áhemélhke7". This pronunciation of the Island Halkomelem name for the place was given by at least one of the Indian collaborators who have supplied original information contained in this thesis. A listing of the thirteen Island Halkomelem collaborators can be found in the section on Research Methodology immediately following this section. In the sample there were three people who have given the place-name in Indian, "DR, MK and RR". These peoples' initials appear in parentheses immediately to the right of the transcription (in the practical phonemic writing system found in the appendix at the back of the thesis) of the pronunciation they have supplied. The order in which the initials appear, separated by semi-colons, is alphabetical in almost all cases. But if a certain collaborator has supplied more information than others with regards to the meaning of the place-name or its use by the Island Halkomelem, that person's initials appear first. Immediately to the right of the

initials of the collaborator(s) there is an English translation of the transcribed Indian place-name. These translations are a combination of "glosses" given by the Indians and also etymologies which they have provided. Where a translation appears in single quotation marks 'like this' ('salt water' in the sample under discussion), this indicates a direct translation of the Indian place-name. If there is a "free translation" ("saltchuck" in the sample) or approximate gloss for the Indian place-name (tl'áhemélhke7 in the sample), this is placed in full quotation marks. In Chapter Two there are several place-names for which alternate pronunciations have been given by Island Halkomelem collaborators. These are placed on the line below the most common pronunciation which has been transcribed in the practical writing system. There are several place-names in this study for which meanings of the Indian terms are either not known or are not known exactly enough to include them. In some cases we have only been able to isolate lexical affixes or possible stems for the place-name and they cannot be included in this study. If the meaning is not known, the words "meaning not known", "exact meaning not known", or a possible translation are placed to the right of the collaborator's initials.

Below the "new" transcription for the place-name, the reader will find all of the transcriptions for the same place-name that have been found in the pertinent published and unpublished ethnographic, linguistic and historical literature. In our sample we notice that there are two such renderings, one by Boas and the other by Smith. These proceed from most

recent to earliest source, proceeding from the line immediately below the "new transcription". In the case of Boas, his original transcription is given and the source cited. To the right of the source ("Boas, 1929:123") there may or may not be information relevant to the place-name provided. If there is information concerning a different etymology or translation than the one provided in the "new transcription" or, in the case of the sample, a slightly different English equivalent for the place-name, this is provided in full quotation marks. In the case of Smith's transcription, it would be assumed that the English equivalent for the name he has provided, as well as the translation given to the right of the "new transcription", are the same as that provided in Smith's work. It is obvious by the "Smith, n.d." citation that Smith's work is in unpublished or manuscript form and the exact date of the work is not known (n.d. means "no date"). In some cases, works by authors with "n.d." beside them are placed in their proper chronological sequence with the other sources if an approximate date of the author's work can be discerned. An example would be Cryer (n.d.), where this person's work was done in the mid-1930's and it is therefore placed in its proper sequence. But Humphreys (n.d.) has no time period given with the source material and it is placed at the bottom of the sources listed for the place-name. In the case of author's field notes, references are placed with that author's published material.

Directly below the earliest published or unpublished transcription of a given place-name, the reader will find the exact location of the place (in the sample it was number 333), the means by which it was utilized by the Island Halkomelem (i.e. village, campsite, resource-procurement site, importance in Island Halkomelem mythology, and so on) and other information known about the place. There is no specific order for this information but a sequence in order of importance (to the Indian people) has been attempted where possible. In this section all the information available from all sources known to the author have been included, as well as the recent information from the Indian collaborators collected from 1974 through 1984. Each bit of information is cited as to source, either directly after the information appears or, in the case of entire paragraphs, at the end of the paragraph. Where there are multiple sources for the same information, the order of sources is given in terms of the amount of data provided.

The format just described has been developed with the help of Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, of the British Columbia Indian Language Project, Victoria and by discussions with other ethnographers and linguists over the past ten years. The author naturally assumes all responsibility for the presentation of his data. But one of the purposes of this thesis is to salvage what is known about Island Halkomelem place-names now and to induce further study on them in the future.

In this section, the means by which the information concerning Island Halkomelem place-names was collected, translated, edited and checked will be detailed. The basic methodology could best be described as "salvage ethnography".

Primary ethnographic fieldwork began in December, 1974 and continued, on average, four days per week through August, 1978. During this period of time, all of the Indian people mentioned as contributors of original information [later in this section] were interviewed for varying lengths of time. The focus of the interviews was ethnoscientific information, primarily ethnobotany, ethnozoology and ethnogeography. Not all of the interviewees were tape-recorded during interviewing since some of them objected to this. The results of this fieldwork were sixty reels of soundtape, the majority of which were ninety minutes in duration, for a total of approximately eighty-five hours of conversations. About twenty books of field notes were also taken during this time, for a total of approximately fifteen hundred pages. These notes were taken during tape-recording sessions to clarify words in the Island Halkomelem language by transcriptions made at the time of recording, or to make notes of conversations by interviewees who preferred not to be recorded. As well, some of the interviews did not take place in the interviewees' homes, and tape-recording at public gatherings was deemed impractical or inadvisable due to extraneous noise.

It should be noted that most of the tape-recordings were in English, interspersed with Island Halkomelem words, phrases and sentences where subjects could be more fully explained. But there are several tapes containing conversations in Island Halkomelem only. These tapes were mainly myths and stories that served to clarify points about place-names and recordings of interviewees who were virtually monolingual in Island Halkomelem.

The interviewing techniques utilized in the primary fieldwork described above consisted mainly of question and answer in English, but often the Indian language was used by the interviewer and the interviewee when a concept or some other cultural feature (known to both parties) was best illustrated or clarified in the Indian language. By the end of the first year of fieldwork, the interviewer was reasonably fluent in the Cowichan dialect of Island Halkomelem, the usual Indian language known to the interviewees. Other methods to obtain data, used to a lesser extent, included illustrative materials such as archival photographs, large-scale maps and marine charts. Participant-observation in activities associated with the place-names (i.e. fishing, hunting) and field trips to the places with Indian names were also an integral part of the fieldwork in the period 1975 to 1978. It was often the case that there was more than one Indian person involved in an information-retrieval session.

During the period of time from September, 1978 through April, 1979, no fieldwork was done and there was very little contact with the Island Halkomelem, due to the necessity of

completing course-work requirements at the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver. But there was frequent telephone contact with many of the Island Halkomelem people during that time and many of them visited Vancouver and were contacted as friends, rather than "suppliers of information".

In June of 1979, the topic and parameters of the present thesis were agreed upon, and for the next three years the process of extracting information specifically relating to Island Halkomelem ethnogeography from the sound-tapes and field notes collected from 1974 through 1978 was undertaken. This involved listening to all of the sound-tapes in their entirety and, where necessary, translating them into English. These translations required frequent assistance from the Island Halkomelem, and several trips to Vancouver Island and some of the Gulf Islands were made over those three years. A system was devised by which 40 centimeter by 60 centimeter index cards were used in order to make the data pertaining to each place-name more manageable. The index cards contained location-specific information derived from the conversations contained on the sound-tapes, and this meant that complete transcriptions of the tapes were unnecessary. Each card had information concerning a specific place-name, the person who supplied the information, a transcription of their rendering of the name in Island Halkomelem, the place-name's English equivalent and any other facts of interest (such as the use of the place). After all of the sound-tapes and field notes' data were transferred onto index cards, the cards were sorted

first by general area within Island Halkomelem territory, next by dialect area and finally by specific place-name. This long and laborious process took the better part of three years.

From August, 1982 through May, 1983 a complete scan of all of the published and unpublished ethnographic literature of the Island Halkomelem was made. Here again, information about place-names was transferred onto index cards in the same manner as with the primary fieldwork data. On this set of cards, the source of the information was placed on one part of the card, the ethnographer's transcription of the place-name and its English equivalent were placed on another part and the information was placed on the rest of the card. In the summer of 1983, all of this data was interspersed with the index cards containing primary data, and the process of checking and re-checking the information with the Island Halkomelem began. It was necessary to consult with several Island Halkomelem people at this point because there were frequent discrepancies between the information they had given during the interviews and that found in other ethnographers' field notes or in published reference materials.

From July, 1983 through the end of 1984, typing of the final draft of this thesis was undertaken and the maps, tables and appendices to this thesis were begun. The final drafts were prepared in the spring of 1985, and during this time some re-checking of place-name transcriptions and information was again necessary. On the following pages, the people who have supplied primary information for this thesis are listed.

NATIVE INDIAN PEOPLE CONTRIBUTING INFORMATION TO THIS THESIS

(IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER BY SURNAME)

<u>NAME (INITIALS USED HERE)</u>	<u>PLACE OF BIRTH</u>	<u>PRESENT (OR LAST KNOWN) RESIDENCE</u>
Gus Campbell (GC)	Cowichan (Quamichan)	Ladysmith, B. C.
Michael David (MD)	Kulleet Bay	Kulleet Bay, B. C.
Arnold Guerin (AG)	Vancouver (Musqueam)	Vancouver, B. C.
Rose James (RJ)	Kuper Island	Telegraph Harbour, Kuper Island, B.C.
Abel D. Joe (ADJ)	Canoe Pass, Fraser R.	Duncan, B. C.
Abraham Joe (AJ)	Cowichan (Somenos)	Duncan, B. C.
Arthur Joe* (ARJ)	Cowichan (Somenos)	Duncan, B. C.
Alexis Louie* (AL1)	Sibell Bay/Ladysmith	Coffin Point, Ladysmith Harbour, B. C.
Alfred Louie (AL2)	Sibell Bay/Ladysmith	Coffin Point, Ladysmith Harbour, B. C.
Chris Paul* (CP)	Cowichan (Quamichan)	Brentwood Bay (Saanich), B. C.
David Peters (DP)	Kuper Island	North Cowichan, B. C.
Agnes Thorne (AT)	Valdes Island	Duncan, B. C.
Hilda Wilson (HW)	Nanaimo	Nanaimo, B. C.

Note: An asterisk * indicates that this person is now deceased.

Table I

BAND AND RESERVE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NATIVE INDIAN PEOPLE WHO
HAVE CONTRIBUTED INFORMATION TO THIS THESIS

<u>NAME (INITIALS USED HERE)</u>		<u>CURRENT BAND AND RESERVE</u>
Gus Campbell	(GC)	Cowichan (Off Reserve)
Michael David	(MD)	Chemainus-Siccomeen/Kulleetz (#13)
Arnold Guerin	(AG)	Musqueam (Musqueam)
Rose James	(RJ)	Penelakut (Kuper Island #7)
Abel D. Joe	(ADJ)	Cowichan (Cowichan #1)
Abraham Joe	(AJ)	Cowichan (Cowichan #1)
Arthur Joe*	(ARJ)	Cowichan (Cowichan #1)
Alexis Louie*	(AL1)	Chemainus-Siccomeen/Kulleetz (#13)
Alfred Louie	(AL2)	Chemainus-Siccomeen/Kulleetz (#13)
Chris Paul*	(CP)	Saanich (Tsartlip-#1)
David Peters	(DP)	Cowichan (Cowichan #1)
Agnes Thorne	(AT)	Cowichan (Cowichan #1)
Hilda Wilson	(HW)	Nanaimo (Nanaimo City #1)

Note: An asterisk * indicates that this person is now deceased.

Affiliations given are accurate for them, at the time
of their death.

Table II

NATIVE INDIAN PEOPLE AND THE TYPE OF INFORMATION SUPPLIED

<u>NAME</u>		<u>TYPE OF ORIGINAL INFORMATION</u>
Gus Campbell	(GC)	Myths, texts, Cowichan place-names
Michael David	(MD)	Chemainus dialect area place-names
Arnold Guerin	(AG)	Gulf Island and Mainland place-names, translations, etymologies
Rose James	(RJ)	Chemainus dialect area place-names
Abel D. Joe	(ADJ)	Myths, texts, translations, etymologies, Island Halkomelem place-names
Abraham Joe	(AJ)	Myths, texts, translations, Island Halkomelem place-names
Arthur Joe	(ARJ)	Cowichan place-names
Alexis Louie	(AL1)	Nanaimo and Chemainus dialect area place- names
Alfred Louie	(AL2)	Nanaimo and Chemainus dialect area place- names
Chris Paul	(CP)	Cowichan and Gulf Island place-names, myths, texts, translations, etymologies
David Peters	(DP)	Chemainus and Gulf Island area place-names
Agnes Thorne	(AT)	Chemainus and Gulf Island area place-names
Hilda Wilson	(HW)	Nanaimo dialect area place-names

Table III

CHAPTER TWO

PLACE-NAMES KNOWN TO THE ISLAND HALKOMELEM INDIAN PEOPLE

This chapter is divided into the following sections:

- 2.1 Place-names north of Island Halkomelem territory
- 2.2 Place-names in Island Halkomelem territory
- 2.3 Place-names south of Island Halkomelem territory
- 2.4 Place-names known to the Island Halkomelem on the
lower mainland and Fraser River, British Columbia and
in the Puget Sound area of Washington State, U. S. A.

PLACE-NAMES KNOWN TO THE ISLAND HALKOMELEM INDIAN PEOPLE

2.1 Place-Names North of Island Halkomelem Territory

1. Campbell River/Cape Mudge area [Halkomelem pronunciation]
 - yék^ˈwelhta7x (AJ; ADJ; CP)
 - yék^ˈwelhtex (AJ; ADJ) [alternate pronunciation]
 - Yookwilda (Boas, in Codere, 1966:37, 41)
 - Euclataw (Duff, 1964:10, 22)
 - Yaculta (Duff, 1964:10)
 - Yuculta (Duff, 1964:10)
 - Yukwilt^ˈ (Barnett, 1955:24, 26)
 - YayaqwiLtah (Barnett, 1955:26)
 - Yuk-wil-tow (Crosby, 1914:366-367)
 - Yuk-wil-toe (Crosby, 1914:366-367)
 - yūqūhltā^ˈ (Curtis, 1913:171)
 - yūk^ˈwilta (Boas, 1887:131)
 - Yookilta (Tolmie and Dawson, 1884:118)
 - Ucle-tahs (Mayne, 1862:245)
 - Campbell River/Cape Mudge Indian People [Kwakiutl term]
 - Līg^ˈwilhda7xw (Grubb, 1977:192)
 - Lēgw^ˈ7da^ˈex^ˈ (Boas, in Codere, 1966:37, 41)
 - Laycooltach (Duff, 1964:10)
 - Lekwiltok (Taylor and Duff, 1956 and Swanton, 1952)
 - Laichkwiltach (Royal Comm., 1916, in Duff, 1964:22)
 - Lequittig (Boas, 1886, in Yampolsky, 1958:317)
 - Lelquiltag (Boas, 1886, in Yampolsky, 1958:319)

- Lékwiltoq (Boas, 1887:131)
 Likwiltoh (Tolmie and Dawson, 1884:117, 119)
 Laycultas (Douglas, 1853, in Taylor and Duff, 1956:63)
 Lay Cultas (Yale, 1839, in Taylor and Duff, 1956:62)
 Cape Mudge village [Kwakiutl place-name]
 Ts'ekwá'luten (Grubb, 1977:213) "from Salish"
 TSQULOTN (Taylor and Duff, 1956:59)
 TSAKWALOSIN (Taylor and Duff, 1956:64)

The Island Halkomelem refer to the Southern Kwakiutl Indians currently residing on Reserves at Campbell River and Cape Mudge [the latter is on the southwestern end of Quadra Island] as yékwelhta7x. This term is borrowed from the Kwakiutl [Kwákw'ala] term ligwilhda7xw, which is used by the people on these two Reserves to refer to themselves. Some Island Halkomelem speakers also use the term yékwelhta7x to refer to the Cape Mudge Reserve, and also to all non-Coast Salish Indians north of Campbell River, such as the Kwakiutl at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert, the Haida, the Tsimshian and others (AJ; ADJ; CP).

According to Duff (1964:22, 25), Taylor and Duff (1956) and Barnett (1955:24), the Euclataws forcibly drove the Island Comox [Coast Salish] south from the Campbell River area sometime in the early Nineteenth Century, probably between 1845 and 1860. This information is corroborated by Cowichan and Nanaimo Indians today, who also note that the Southern Kwakiutl [Euclataws] and their allies were the

most feared enemies of all of the Coast Salish [and their allies]. There were apparently several hundred years of fighting between these two groups, with the more exposed villages on both sides frequently destroyed and many slaves taken. The last "battle" between the Coast Salish and the "northern people" took place at Maple Bay, near the present city of Duncan, about 1850 (ADJ; HW; AJ; CP). Much more information on the Kwakiutl displacement of the Island Comox can be found in Barnett (1955:24-26), in Taylor and Duff (1956:56-66) and in an unpublished manuscript by the late Wilson Duff (Duff, n.d.).

2. Comox Harbour area/Comox Reserve [Island Halkomelem term]

selhútxw (AJ; ADJ; CP; GC; HW)

sa^ou^lo (Jenness, field notes)

sūhlūhl (Curtis, 1913:34)

sa^hlō^hl^t (Curtis, 1913:171) ["Cowichan name for tribe"]

sātlō^tlq (Hill-Tout, 1907:373)

Island Comox dialect and speakers of it [Island Comox term]

sā^hlulhtxw (Bouchard, field notes)

sa^hl^hlt (Barnett, 1955:25)

Ca^tlō^hltch (Boas, 1887:131)

Tlathool (Tolmie and Dawson, 1884:119)

Tisilholts (Yale, 1839, in Taylor and Duff, 1956:62)

komaks (Barnett, 1955:24)

komokwe (Barnett, 1955:25)

Q^oomoks (Boas, 1887:132)

Kowmook (Tolmie and Dawson, 1884:119)

The term selhútxw is used by the Island Halkomelem to refer to the Comox Harbour area, the Indian people presently residing on the Comox Indian Reserve, the Comox Reserve itself and to the "language" spoken by the Indians there (AJ; ADJ). Selhútxw is evidently derived from the Comox [Coast Salish] language term sálhulhtxw, which is used by the Island Comox Indians to refer to the dialect of the Comox language they speak. There was only one remaining speaker of the Island Comox dialect [in 1982]. (Bouchard, field notes).

Duff (1964:25; Taylor and Duff, 1956) reported that the Island Comox currently residing on the Comox Reserve formerly lived in the Quadra Island area before 1850, and that their "remnants" were driven south by the Southern Kwakiutl after Cape Mudge was first settled by the latter around 1846. Barnett's Comox informant placed the date of Comox displacement in the 1830's, while Barnett himself (1955:24) seemed certain only that it happened after 1792, and that Campbell River was the apparent centre of Island Comox territory before that time. However, Boas (1887:131-132) gives the earliest date, saying that the Island Comox, reduced in numbers from their "wars" with the Kwakiutl, "left their old home[land] 130 years ago [i.e. 1757]." The Comox had settled in

Pentlatch territory because the Euclataws "now inhabit the entire area that formerly was Island Comox." Although Barnett (1955:24-26) provided more information on the Island Comox "migration", the "territorial relations of the Comox.. [still] stand in need of a sharper definition" today.

Lomas (1882), an Indian agent for many years on southern Vancouver Island, said that the Comox Indian village [in 1882] was composed of Indians from the Cape Mudge, Puntledge and Sailk-eim [southern Pentlatch] "bands". Since Lomas did not provide detailed population statistics, we cannot know what proportions of each "band" formed the village at that time. It is worth noting that Lomas did not mention the Island Comox people themselves. The three groups he did mention had evidently amalgamated with the Island Comox by 1882.

Jenness, in his field notes, and Barnett (1955:24) both remarked that certain northern groups of Island Comox were "allies of the Kwakiutl." This is supported, to some extent, by certain stories told by the Island Halkomelem today, concerning the "last battle between the Coast Salish and the northern people" (AJ; ADJ). But it is apparent that not all of the Island Comox were allies of the Southern Kwakiutl, since some of them were displaced southward and others intermarried with the relatively weaker Pentlatch. Wilson Duff's unpublished manuscript on the Southern Kwakiutl (n.d.) has sections which deal specifically with the Coast Salish and Kwakiutl "wars" and with the southern expansion of the Kwakiutl. Some valuable population statistics are also

included in this manuscript.

3. Courtenay and lower Puntledge River area

péntl'ets (AJ; ADJ; AL1; AL2; CP; RJ)

Pentlatish (Boas, in Yampolsky, 1958:318)

pénlätc (Barnett, 1955:23)

Puntlatsh (Curtis, 1913:171)

Pántlats̃ (Curtis, 1913:171)

Péntlatsch (Boas, 1887:132)

The term péntl'ets, as it is used by the Island Halkomelem, refers to the lower Puntledge River area and the present town of Courtenay, the speakers of the Pentlatch language who amalgamated with the Island Comox and to the Pentlatch language itself [which has been extinct since the early 1940's] (AJ; ADJ). The term péntl'ets is derived from the Pentlatch Indians' term for themselves and the language they spoke [see Barnett and Boas' renderings of this term above].

Before contact with non-Indians, the Pentlatch were apparently divided into three specific groups. According to Duff (1964:25), these three groups lived on Comox Harbour, Denman Island and Englishman River, but between 1850 and 1916 they amalgamated with the Island Comox on the Comox Reserve. Barnett (1955:23-24), who consulted the wife of the last speaker of Pentlatch, stated that the Pentlatch "proper" did not extend as far south as Qualicum, but their language was spoken as far south as Nanoose Bay. The actual territory of

the Pentlatch, according to Barnett's Comox informant, was said to extend from Kye Bay in the north to the Englishman River in the south. The three groups and their territories were: the "Pentlatch proper", inhabiting the area from Kye Bay to Union Bay; the s:uckcan, the "linguistic relatives" of the Pentlatch [probably speaking a dialect of the Pentlatch language], who ranged from Union Bay to Deep Bay; and finally the saaLam, who spoke another dialect of Pentlatch and who occupied the area from Deep Bay to the Englishman River. However, Boas (1887:132) also noted three groups but gave the two southern dialects different names and placed the southern boundary of Pentlatch at Qualicum River. Boas gives three groups of Pentlatch: the first were the P^ént^latsch, located in the Puntledge River valley; the second were the speakers of the S^áamen dialect who lived at Qualicum River; and the third were the Chu^áchuatl, whose territory evidently spanned the area between the S^áamen and the Nanoose, who were speakers of Island Halkomelem. But Boas said that [in 1887] the Pentlatch language was "nearly extinct and... [was] only spoken by two families in the Island Comox settlement and one or more at Qualicum [River]. Between the Pentlatch and S^áamen there is supposed to be a slight dialectical difference." It is clear that Barnett and Boas recorded different names and territories for the two southern dialects of Pentlatch.

In any case, all of the Pentlatch Indian people had moved to the Comox Reserve or had intermarried with Island Halkomelem or Nootka Indians [at Port Alberni] by the late 1800's and the Pentlatch language became extinct by the early 1940's. Island Halkomelem people from Nanaimo and the Cowichan valley are aware of intermarriage between Pentlatch and people to the south and they can still recall who the Pentlatch descendants are today (AJ; ADJ; HW). More information about the southern dialects of the Pentlatch language will be given later, in the context of other place-names.

According to Barnett's Comox informant (1955:24), the Pentlatch "proper" had their "permanent habitations..along Comox Harbour and at the mouth of the Puntledge River which flows into Comox Harbour..They had but one big house on the Puntledge River near Courtenay."

4. Henry Bay, Denman Island

xwa⁷asxwem (AL1) 'place having harbour seals'

Denman Island was apparently within Pentlatch territory in pre-contact times (Duff, 1964:25). Henry Bay, on the northeast tip of Denman Island, may have been a place where harbour seals were procured by the Pentlatch, since the name for this place in Island Halkomelem indicates there was an abundance of this marine mammal there.

5. Hornby Island

ka7kiyet (AL1) (meaning not known)

According to Barnett (1955:166), the Pentlatch hunted deer on Hornby Island.

6. Lasqueti Island

sxwe7iti7 (AL1)(meaning not known) [Halkomelem language,
Cowichan dialect]

xwe7itay (Bouchard, field notes) "yew tree" [Comox
language]

sxwe7itay (Bouchard, field notes) "yew tree" [Sechelt
language]

ts'its'esem (Suttles, field notes) "small deer"
[Halkomelem language,
[c.f. Texada Island] Nanaimo dialect]

The Island Halkomelem name for this island is apparently derived from the Comox and Sechelt language terms for the Western yew tree. According to Suttles' Nanoose informant, there were many deer on this island, but it is unclear if the people from Nanoose Bay went to Lasqueti Island to procure them (Suttles, field notes). The Mainland Comox Indians trolled for salmon in the waters around the island recently (Bouchard, field notes). Lasqueti Island seems to be located within the traditional territories of the Pentlatch and the Sechelt and the more recently acquired territory of the Island Comox.

7. Texada Island

ts'ayts'sem (AL1) "many small deer" [Halkomelem language,
Cowichan dialect]

xeltsiitsen (Suttles, field notes) [Halkomelem language,
Nanaimo dialect]

Speakers of the Mainland Comox [Coast Salish] language, Sliammon dialect, whose main villages were located near the present town of Powell River, utilized the northern half of Texada Island and its adjacent waters for seasonal camping and resource-procurement. Speakers of the Sechelt [Coast Salish] language, whose main villages were located on the Sechelt Peninsula, used the southern half of Texada Island and its adjacent waters for similar purposes. In both the Mainland Comox and Sechelt languages there are several place-names which refer to specific locations on the island (Bouchard, field notes). The apparent division between these two groups was the Lang Bay/Stillwater Bay area on the British Columbia mainland. Texada Island was evidently "divided" between Sechelt and Mainland Comox "territories" based on the Lang Bay/Stillwater Bay linguistic boundary (Bouchard, field notes; Boas, 1887; Barnett, 1955:30).

The Island Halkomelem only remember one name for all of Texada Island today, and they do not recall any utilization by their ancestors, except in the context of intermarriage to Mainland Comox and Sechelt Indian people who had the right to use the Texada Island area for fishing and hunting. It is important to note that the translation of the Island Halkomelem name for Texada Island is "many small deer"; this may provide a clue to the type of hunting activity on the island (AL1).

8. Sechelt Peninsula and Sechelt Indian Reserve

shishalh (AJ; ADJ)

shi7sha7lht (AJ; ADJ) [alternate pronunciation]

Shishēhl (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for tribe"

Sechelt language name for Sechelt Indian people

shishalh (Bouchard, field notes) [also refers to a place-name]

sicelt (Barnett, 1955:30)

Si'ciatl (Boas, 1889 :324)

Sischiatl (Boas, 1887:132)

The Island Halkomelem use the term shishalh to refer to the Sechelt Peninsula in general and the present Sechelt Indian Reserve [adjacent to the town of Sechelt] in particular. They use this same term to refer to the Sechelt Indian people and the Coast Salish language they speak. The Island Halkomelem term is derived from the Sechelt language term shishalh, which is used by the Sechelt to refer to their language and to themselves, as well as to a particular place-name in Sechelt territory (AJ; ADJ; Bouchard, field notes).

There is a considerable history of intermarriage between the Island Halkomelem and the Sechelt Indian people. Along with this intermarriage went certain inherited privileges, such as the use of sxwaixwe masks and songs and the usage of certain ancestral names (AJ; ADJ). Barnett (1955:30) also noted that certain Nanaimo [and Squamish] families joined the Sechelts at the head of Jarvis Inlet to fish for herring and salmon during the summer months. According to Barnett,

"this intermingling must have been by special arrangement, at least for the Nanaimo, and not part of a routine group movement. Perhaps it occurred after the general disintegration of ethnic barriers had begun [i.e. since ~~contact~~ with non-Indians]."

9. Gibson's Landing [Halkomelem pronunciation]

ts'kw'elhp (AJ) 'Sitka spruce tree'

Gibson's Landing [Squamish place-name]

ch'kw'elhp (Bouchard, field notes) "spruce tree"

Chek-welp (Matthews, 1955: map)

There was formerly a large Squamish Indian village located just north of the present village of Gibson's Landing. The site is also important because the Squamish people believe that the "first people" were two brothers who descended from the sky and landed there. The village was occupied by the Squamish until the early 1900's (Bouchard, field notes). The place-name used by the Island Halkomelem and the Squamish does not refer to the bay at Gibson's Landing, but to the former Squamish village-site. Evidently, there used to be many Sitka spruce trees in proximity to the village, since the meaning of the place-name in both Squamish and Island Halkomelem refers to this species.

10. Qualicum River and Qualicum Indian Reserve

xwkw'olexwem (AJ; ADJ; CP) 'place having chum salmon'

x^wk^w'aləx^wm (Leslie, 1979:76) "from k^w'aləx^w 'dog salmon'"

xwkw'olexwem (Suttles, field notes) "place having dog salmon" or "dog salmon place"

Kwalaxam (Barnett, 1955:23) "Nanaimo word..means 'dried dog salmon'"

Hq'álohūm (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for tribe"

Qu'álekum (Boas, 1887:132)

Quall-e-hum (Brown, 1864:16)

Qualicum River and former Qualicum village [Island Comox term]

kw'u7uxwem (Bouchard, field notes) 'having smoke-dried salmon'

Southern Pentlatch speakers inhabiting Qualicum area

sa7alhem (Bouchard, field notes)

saaLam (Barnett, 1955:24)

Sāamen (Boas, 1887:132)

Sailk-eim (Lomas, 1882)

Saatlam (Grant, 1857:269, 277) "Valdez Inlet"

The Island Halkomelem use the term *xwkw'óləxwem* 'place having chum salmon' or 'place having dog salmon' to refer to the Qualicum River and to the present Indian Reserve located at the mouth of the Qualicum River. They do not use it to refer to Little Qualicum River or Qualicum Beach further south (AJ; ADJ; CP). The Island Comox use the term *kw'u7uxwem* 'having smoke-dried salmon [of any type]' to refer to the former village-site at the mouth of the Qualicum River, where houses once stood on both sides of the river. The anglicized term "Qualicum" is derived from the Island Halkomelem term and not the Island Comox term for this site, even though the Qualicum River is not located in Island Halkomelem territory (Bouchard, field notes).

Today the Indians living on the Qualicum Reserve are a "small new mixed group" (Duff, 1964:25). Formerly, the Indians at Qualicum River spoke a dialect of the Pentlatch language called *sa7alhem* or *sa7alham*, and they apparently ranged as far south as Englishman River (Boas, 1887:132; Barnett, 1955:24; Bouchard, field notes). Barnett, in his field notes, stated that "Qualicum was the approximate boundary between the Cowichan speaking people [i.e. Island Halkomelem] and the Comox [i.e. Island Comox who had, by Jenness' time amalgamated with the Pentlatch]. But it is known that many *sa7alhem* people moved onto the Comox Reserve and Nanoose Bay Reserve [the latter to the south] as early as 1882 (Lomas, 1882). There is no recorded term in Pentlatch for the Qualicum River area.

It is apparent that there has always been a sizable run of chum or "dog" salmon on the Qualicum River. Today, the Qualicum Band operates a fish hatchery on the river. The Band, through an agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs, distributes some of the returning spawning chum salmon to other Coast Salish Indian Bands, whose traditional salmon-procurement areas have been eliminated or severely affected by pollution or other causes. This fish is distributed free of charge to several Bands, some as far south as the Saanich Peninsula (CP; AJ).

11. Little Qualicum River

exwín xwkw'ólexwem (Suttles, field notes)

'little place having dog salmon' or
'little dog salmon place'

This term was elicited from an informant at Nanoose Bay and is probably a descriptive term which came into use since contact with non-Indians. However, there is an Island Comox place-name swáxlhu7lh, which is used to refer to Little Qualicum River or French Creek or Englishman River. The Island Comox informant from whom the place-name was elicited was uncertain to which river the name referred, or even if the word was Island Comox or Pentlatch [sá7alhem] (Bouchard, field notes).

12. Englishman River

kewxemolh (Suttles, field notes) 'steelhead place'

kiwxema (Bouchard, field notes) from 'steelhead' [Island Comox or Pentlatch term]

The Indian place-name for the Englishman River area in Island Halkomelem, Island Comox and perhaps also Pentlatch is derived from the term for steelhead [anadromous rainbow trout] in all of these languages. Englishman River was the southern "boundary" of the Pentlatch Indians' territory [sa7alhem or Southern Pentlatch dialect] (Duff, 1964:25; Bouchard, field notes). Englishman River still supports a sizable steelhead population; it is probable that the Indian people procured steelhead here and formerly had houses near the mouth of the river. It should be noted that the Island Halkomelem place-name given above was elicited from an informant from Nanoose Bay. The Island Comox term was said to refer to Englishman River and/or French Creek, both of which are adjacent to the present town of Parksville.

The following section of place-names contains places located within the Nanaimo dialect area of the Island Halkomelem language.

2.2 Place-Names In Island Halkomelem Territory

13. Northwest Bay

tse[/]lkwosem (Suttles, field notes) 'facing the water'

The Northwest Bay area was utilized by speakers of Island Halkomelem whose permanent winter villages were located at Nanoose Bay.

14. Ballenas Islands

tik[/]w (Suttles, field notes) possibly from steti[/]kw 'tight'

These two islands were probably utilized by the Nanoose Bay Indians.

15. Yeo Islands

tl'ela[/]tl't (Suttles, field notes) 'many little pebbles'

These islets were also utilized by the Nanoose Bay people.

16. Amelia Island

shxwkw'ets[/]nets (Suttles, field notes) "two humps" or
'rumps in the air'

This island is also located in the territory of the Nanoose Bay Island Halkomelem. The Indian name for the island is probably descriptive.

17. Maude Island

xwthoolth' (Suttles, field notes) (meaning not known)

This island is located at the entrance to Nanoose Bay. It was undoubtedly utilized by the Nanoose people.

18. Nanoose Bay, Nanoose Bay Indian Reserve

- ' /
 snewnewes (AJ; ADJ; CP; HW)(meaning not known)
 ' /
 snewnowes (Suttles, field notes)
 Snonowas (Jenness, field notes)
 Nonooos (Jenness, field notes)
 Snō[^]nowūs (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for tribe"
 Snōnō'os (Boas, 1889 :325) "Name for tribe"
 Nōnō'os (Boas, 1889 :321) "Name for Nanoose Bay"
 Snōnōos (Boas, 1887:132) "Name for tribe"
 Nōnōos (Boas, 1887:132) "Name for Nanoose Bay"
 Nanoos (Tolmie and Dawson, 1884:120)
 Tutuis (Grant, 1857:279)
 Nanouse (Douglas, 1853)

19. Head of Nanoose Bay/Mouth of Nanoose Creek

- /
 k'ik'elexen (Suttles, field notes) 'little fence' or
 'little fish weir' or
 'little fish trap'

' /
 The Island Halkomelem term snewnewes is used to refer to all of Nanoose Harbour, the present Nanoose Bay Indian Reserve and the Indian people residing on the Nanoose Bay Reserve. The Indians at Nanoose Bay occupied the most northerly permanent winter village in Island Halkomelem territory (AJ; Duff, 1964:25).

The Indian people at Nanoose Bay and those in the Nanaimo area speak what linguists call the Nanaimo dialect of the Island Halkomelem language (AJ; HW; Boas, 1887:132; Gerdtz, 1977:4). There is a considerable history of intermarriage between the Nanoose Bay people and the Nanaimo, Chemainus dialect [of Island Halkomelem] speakers from Kulleet Bay and Kuper Island, Cowichan dialect [of Island Halkomelem] speakers from the Cowichan River valley, Southern Pentlatch speakers from the Qualicum area and Squamish language speakers from the Squamish River area and the Burrard Inlet area (AJ; ADJ; HW).

According to Barnett (1955:23), the larger houses at the Nanoose Bay village "were at some distance from the others, those of the poorer class being out on a point [e.g. Richard Point at the entrance to Nanoose Bay] and serving, so it was said, as a sort of buffer in case of attack...This kind of village segmentation did not occur in Nanaimo, though it was found among the Sechelt." Some speakers of Halkomelem along the lower Fraser River believed that the Nanoose Bay village was somehow a "tributary" one to the Nanaimo River villages (Jenness, 1955:86). They said that the Nanoose people enjoyed their own "communal life without interference, but the overlord villages could requisition from them supplies of firewood, salmon, deer-meat, or whatever else they required...[and] apparently the tributary villages accepted their position and obeyed their overlords without question." Island Halkomelem Indian people today seriously

question Barnett's information on village segmentation [as did Barnett himself] and neither are they convinced of Jenness' Katzie informants' views of the Nanoose as being st'áshem ['people of a lower social class'] as compared to the Indians in the Nanaimo area, regardless of the Katzie explanation given by Jenness (1955:86). Boas (1887:133) recorded some information which tends to support present-day Island Halkomelem objections. Boas noted that the Nanaimo, along with the Nanoose, were the only people who formerly had the right to use Gabriola Passage [between Gabriola Island and Valdes Island] on their way to the Fraser River in the spring months [to fish for salmon or to visit relatives living in villages there]. Such prerogatives would seldom be extended to any Nanoose Bay people, regardless of intermarriage to Nanaimo people, if they were st'áshem as Jenness asserts (AJ; ADJ; HW).

According to Jenness' field notes, the Nanaimo people believed that the first man at Nanoose Bay was named "Keapilánuq". This Indian name, Keyapelánexw [today anglicized as "Capilano"], is well known to the Squamish who now live at the mouth of the Capilano River in North Vancouver and to the Musqueam, who live at the mouth of the Fraser River's north arm [Matthews, 1955 provides an extensive discussion on this matter].

The Nanoose Bay Indian people apparently utilized the Nanoose Harbour area as well as many of the small islands adjacent to it (place-names #13-17 in this study) for fishing and other types of resource-exploitation, such as beach food collection and the hunting of land and marine mammals. Using the Nanoose Bay winter village as a base, they probably erected temporary camps during the summer and autumn months when they were away from the Nanoose village. As has been mentioned, some of the Nanoose also went to the Fraser River during the spring and summer months to fish for sockeye salmon and perhaps also sturgeon. Evidently Island Halkomelem people from several Cowichan River villages far to the south stayed with their relatives at Nanoose Bay to fish for "red snapper" [yelloweye rockfish]. But more importantly, the Cowichans who were related to the Nanoose also raked herring and collected herring-spawn in the early spring at Nanoose Harbour, which has always been one of the most heavily utilized areas for herring and herring-spawn procurement on the eastern side of Vancouver Island [by the Indians and by commercial fishermen today, as well] (Rozen, 1978:5, 49, 171). Other Island Halkomelem people camped in Nanoose territory during the summer months, if they had the permission of their Nanoose Bay relatives (AJ). The abundance of resources at Nanoose Bay was noted as early as 1857, by Grant (1857:279), who called "Tutuis...about seven miles northwest of Nanaimo along the coast...another excellent harbour."

The Nanoose people called the head of Nanoose Bay, where Nanoose Creek flows into it, k'ík'elexen 'little fence' (Suttles, field notes). It is unclear whether this place-name refers to fishing weir-sites located at this place, or perhaps to some houses which were palisaded for fortification against enemies.

20. Nanaimo Indian People, Nanaimo Harbour area

snenéymexw, snenáymexw, or snenímexw (meaning not known)

(ADJ; AG; AJ; AL1; AL2, CP; HW; RJ)

snénéyməx^w (Galloway, pers. comm.) possibly "people of many names"

Snənəyməx^w (Leslie, 1979:70)

SnAnéməxw (Mitchell, 1968:64)

SnaNeyMous, Nanymo (Beck, 1966) "area or meeting place"

nanaimo (Barnett, 1955:22)

Nanaimooch (Duff, 1952:25)

Snanaimux (Jenness, field notes)

S^hNa-Nay-Mo(s) (Cryer, n.d.)

Snanaímuñ (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for tribe"

Snanaímq (Hill-Tout, 1907:372) "Nanaimo Harbour"

Snanaimuq (Boas, 1889)

Snanaímuch (Boas, 1887:132)

Sana^himox (Boas, 1886, in Yampolsky, 1958:319)

Snanaimooh (Tolmie and Dawson, 1884:119)

Suanaimuchs (Grant, 1857:293)

Nanaimoes (Douglas, 1853)

Nanymois (Douglas, 1853)

Ninimuch (Simpson, 1827)

The term *sneneymexw* is used by the Island Halkomelem to refer to speakers of the Nanaimo dialect of the Island Halkomelem language [excluding those at Nanoose Bay] and to the Nanaimo dialect itself. In the past, these were the only things to which the term referred. But recently, this same term has also been used to refer to the City of Nanaimo, the four Nanaimo Indian Reserves adjacent to the City, Nanaimo Harbour and to the Nanaimo River, especially by speakers of the Cowichan and Chemainus dialects of Island Halkomelem (AJ; ADJ; HW).

Boas (1889 :321) said that the "territory of the [Nanaimo] tribe embraces Nanaimo Harbor as far north as Five Finger Island [just north of Departure Bay] and as far south as Dodds Narrows. The coast strip from Dodds Narrows to Yellow Point belongs to both the...[Nanaimo and speakers of the Chemainus dialect of Island Halkomelem]. The basin of the Nanaimo River and Gabriola Island belong to the... [Nanaimo]." Both Boas (1889 : 321-325) and Barnett have mentioned that there were originally five groups of Nanaimo people, who had permanent houses at the mouth of the Nanaimo River. But Barnett (1955:22-23) also recorded that one of these groups moved to Nanaimo Harbour in early winter, and the others moved to Departure Bay from December until April. More information on the Nanaimo people will be given in this study, in the context of specific locations and place-names which they utilized.

21. Departure Bay

stl'etl'iinep (AL1; AL2) perhaps 'deep ground' or 'tide
goes out a long way'

Staly-Up (Cryer, n.d.)

Departure Bay was formerly the site of a permanent winter village containing three rows of houses. It was said to be the "real home" of most of the Nanaimo people. There were permanent house-frames there, and planks were brought from some of the Nanaimo River houses on a seasonal basis (Barnett, 1938:140; 1955:23; field notes). The Nanaimo River people moved here from December or January until March (Barnett, 1955:23; field notes). This would indicate that the Departure Bay village was the site of most of the winter spirit dancing by the Nanaimo people.

Thompson (1913:51), in a report to the Commissioner of Fisheries, noted that four acres along the inner shore of Departure Bay and along the northwest side of Newcastle Island were used by the Nanaimo Indians for digging butter clams and little-neck clams. In historic times, clams were brought to a clam-cannery at Departure Bay from False Narrows, Comox, Thetis Island and Kuper Island.

Departure Bay was used on a seasonal basis by Island Halkomelem people from as far south as the Ladysmith area for the smoke-drying of coho salmon (AL1). Many groups of Indians, from Nanoose Bay in the north to Cowichan Bay in the south, gathered at Departure Bay to collect herring-roe

and "rake" herring around late February and early March (AJ).

According to Jenness (field notes) the first Nanaimo man was named "Slamox" [slhémexw 'rain']. He was said to have appeared at a hole in the ground at a bluff near Wellington. He later moved a few kilometres east, where he started the village at Departure Bay. Cryer (n.d.) recorded a story concerning the first [non-Indian] ship to visit Departure Bay.

22. Snake Island

xw7é^hl^hki7em (AJ; CP) 'place having snakes'

This island was so named because of a story told about it by the Nanaimo and Cowichan Indians. A young boy became sick after eating uncooked fern-roots. Whenever he lay down in the sun, snakes came out of his body, but every time he stood up or moved, they returned inside him. The boy moved to an island, and after swimming in cold water he lay down and saw the snakes coming out of him. After several attempts, the boy jumped back into his canoe before the snakes could return inside him. The snakes followed him and the boy finally cut them all in half with his paddle. Snake Island was so named because it still had the snakes in the preceding story, some of them appearing as if they were cut in half (CP; AJ).

23. Newcastle Island

tl'piles (ADJ) 'deep, going under water'

This island was utilized by the Nanaimo people and still has several petroglyphs on it (ADJ).

24. Mouth of Chase River/Nanaimo "Petroglyph Park" site
tho⁷thxwem (CP; ADJ) (exact meaning not known)
Thochwam (Jenness, field notes) "Name of a powerful man"

The place-name for "Petroglyph Park", near the mouth of Chase River, is derived from the name of a man who lived there (Jenness, field notes). Jenness, in his field notes collected in the mid-1930's, recorded a lengthy explanation for the petroglyphs.

A powerful man named [Tho⁷thxwem] lived near the mouth of Chase River. Whenever he speared flounders, rock cod, or crabs on the beach there, he carried them up the hill to his home. After laying the fish and crabs on the rocks, he measured them by pecking the rock around them, thus making the petroglyphs still evident there today. In another part of the story of this man, the special method by which he cooked his food is mentioned.

Tho⁷thxwem challenged Xaals, the Transformer, in another part of the story of "Petroglyph Park". After a long contest, involving the ability to impale flounders in the air, Xaals finally beat Tho⁷thxwem and changed him into a figure on the same rock where the fish and crabs were. Tho⁷thxwem's canoe was changed into a rock on the beach below the other petroglyphs.

Jenness (field notes) also recorded a story about some petroglyphs at Jack Point, which forms the eastern side of Nanaimo Harbour today. There was a name for this place, but

it is no longer remembered. The petroglyphs at Jack Point were said to represent a chum salmon [over which the Nanaimo Indians celebrated their "First Salmon Ceremony"], a coho salmon, a spring salmon, a humpback salmon and a flounder. The name of the person who carved these petroglyphs is not known today, but it is possible that they were also made by Tho⁷thxwem. Jack Point was created by Xaals, at the request of Raven. Raven wanted women to have a long way to walk around Jack Point, so that they could say all they wanted during the journey.

Nanaimo River Place-Names:

Place-names numbered 25, 26, 27 and 28 in this study were not known as villages or house-sites by CP or ADJ. The transcriptions provided in this study and ascribed to them represent attempts to reconstruct these place-names from the transcriptions given in the pertinent ethnographic literature.

25. kw'elsi¹welh or kw'elsi¹welh (CP; ADJ) possibly from
kw'si¹ws 'singe the body' or
kw'elsi¹ws 'barbecue the body'
q!a¹lsiowa¹L (Barnett, 1955:22)
q!ū¹l/si/o/wū¹L (Barnett, field notes)
q¹wā¹lsi'ā¹wa¹ (Jenness, field notes) "meaning unknown"
Kwalsiarwahl (Jenness, n.d.) "meaning unknown"
Koltsi¹owotl (Boas, 1889 :321)

26. t'iwelh_xen (CP; ADJ)(meaning not known)
 tewaxan (Barnett, 1955:22)
 te/wü/xün (Barnett, field notes)
 tewalxin (Jenness, field notes) "village to the north"
 Tewahlchin (Jenness, n.d.) "village to the north"
 Tē'wētqēn (Boas, 1889 :321)
27. eyth'exen or eyts'exen (CP; ADJ) possibly from th'ex
 'area burned by fire'
 yicaxEn (Barnett, 1955:22)
 yi/cü/xEn (Barnett, field notes)
 icixan (Jenness, field notes) "end village"
 icixan (Jenness, field notes) "name for people of
 icixan village"
 Ishihan (Jenness, n.d.) "end village"
 Yē'cēqēn (Boas, 1889 :321)
28. enwines (CP; ADJ) 'one in the centre'
 anwinic (Barnett, 1955:22)
 ün/win/ic (Barnett, field notes)
 anuwinis (Jenness, field notes) "village towards the
 centre"
 Anuweenis (Jenness, n.d.) "village in the centre"
 Anuē'nes (Boas, 1889 :321)

29. (xw) sólexwem or sólexwel or sólexwen (AJ; ADJ; CP; RJ)
 'place having grass' or 'grassy place'
 salaxal (Barnett, 1955:22)
 sa/lǔ/xǔl (Barnett, field notes)
 sǔlaxwan (Jenness, field notes) "swampy grassland"
 solaxwan (Jenness, field notes)
 solachwan (Jenness, field notes)
 Solachwan (Jenness, n.d.) "swampy ground"
 Osá'loqul (Boas, 1889 :321)
 Saulequun (Douglas, 1853)
30. Squē'lEn (Boas, 1981:73)
31. Quamquamqua (Pearse, 1859)
32. Juklutok (Jacobsen, 1882, in Gunther, 1977:79)

The majority of information pertaining to the Nanaimo Indians, which will be presented here, is derived from the pertinent ethnographic literature. Some of this information has also been corroborated by present-day Indian people.

There were apparently five separate villages on the lower Nanaimo River, but after contact with non-Indians and the establishment of Indian Reserves, most people from these villages were amalgamated into one main community on Nanaimo Harbour (Duff, 1964:25). Evidently, there were also five distinct extended families inhabiting these five villages, which formed the "Nanaimo Tribe" (Barnett, 1955:22;

Barnett, field notes; Jenness, field notes; Jenness, n.d.; Boas, 1889 :321). According to Boas (1889 :324), the people in the extended families [Boas uses the terms "clans" or "gentes"] located at the place-names numbered 26 and 27 in this study were considered the "noblest". They alone had the right to use sxwaixwe masks, which are an important part of certain cleansing ceremonies. Barnett (1955:23) noted that no boundaries or property limits separated the houses within the five Nanaimo villages [he described this as a lack of "village segmentation"]. As we shall see in the explanations of the Nanaimo Indians' seasonal round below, individual families owned or controlled the best hunting and fishing sites.

The residents of four of the Nanaimo River villages [numbered 25, 26, 27 and 28 in this study] can be examined as a separate group, with reference to their seasonal round. But first, their locations should be mentioned. Barnett (1955:22; field notes) is the only source for Nanaimo River village locations. The village-site numbered 25 in this study was located near the mouth of the Nanaimo River, and it contained four separate houses [in recent times]. The villages numbered 26, 27 and 28 were located along the five kilometres of river between number 25 and a point a few hundred metres downriver from the bridge where the Island Highway crosses the Nanaimo River. Barnett does not give the numbers of houses which comprised these three other villages, or their exact locations.

Taken as a group, the four villages just mentioned [numbers 25 through 28 in this study] apparently shared an identical yearly round of resource-procurement and geographic movement. Although Barnett (1955:22) states that the people in these villages stayed in these locations in "the fall, and to some extent, the summer", there is other ethnographic information which Barnett and Jenness collected which is of a more precise nature. Barnett, in his field notes, said the inhabitants of the four villages remained on the Nanaimo River [evidently also including the entire drainage area, extending as far upriver as the Nanaimo Lakes] from August until December. Jenness (field notes; n.d.) stated that this time period was "from about September until Christmas". [The reason for this discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that Jenness noted that many Nanaimo Indians went to the Fraser River on the mainland, to fish for salmon during August and Barnett was uncertain of this information.] During these autumn months, the Nanaimo people under discussion fished for chum salmon along the Nanaimo River (Barnett, field notes; Jenness, field notes, n.d.; AJ), and fished for halibut and procured such beach foods as clams and cockles in the Nanaimo Harbour area (AJ; ADJ). Additionally, every Nanaimo family had its own bed of fern-roots "not far from the Nanaimo River", and fern-roots could have been procured during the early autumn months (Jenness, field notes; n.d.).

The residents of the four Nanaimo River villages under discussion moved to Departure Bay in late-December or early January for their "winter season", staying there until March (Barnett, 1955:23; 1938:140; field notes; Jenness, field notes; n.d.). The main purpose of this short migration, according to Jenness (field notes; n.d.), was to "celebrate their winter dances". There were house-frames already erected at Departure Bay, and the wall-planks and roof-boards from the Nanaimo River houses were carried by canoe to the winter location. Jenness (n.d.) noted that "only the bare [house-] frames remained on the bank of the [Nanaimo] River." During the winter months, many Nanaimo Indians travelled throughout Island Halkomelem and Straits Salish territory, and also across the Strait of Georgia, for the purpose of attending winter spirit-dances and other gatherings at the villages of their relatives (AJ; ADJ; CP).

From March or April until August, the Nanaimo villagers (after moving their house-boards from Departure Bay back to the lower Nanaimo River) erected temporary shelters on False Narrows and Gabriola Island. From these temporary sites, excursions were made for the purpose of collecting the majority of the food which would be consumed during the following autumn and winter months (Barnett, 1955:22; 1938:140; field notes; Jenness, field notes; n.d.). Jenness (field notes; n.d.) noted that the False Narrows and Gabriola Island areas were used by the Nanaimo to fish for cod, grilse [young salmon in salt water weighing less

than 1.5 kilograms] and other species such as halibut, to gather clams, to hunt seals and sea-lions, and to gather camas bulbs. Barnett (1955:22; field notes) also noted that the residents of the four Nanaimo villages moved to temporary sites for "clamming, egging [collecting sea urchins, known as 'sea eggs'], and other gathering activities".

The fifth Nanaimo River village, known as (xw)so^llexwem and numbered place-name 29 in this study, was located just downstream from the Island Highway bridge (over the Nanaimo River) on both banks. The inhabitants of this village followed a slightly different seasonal round from the rest of the Nanaimo Indians. They "held aloof from the other four villages and appear to have been the most self-sufficient and dominant group. They controlled the only salmon weir on the [Nanaimo] river" (Barnett, 1955:22).

Like the other Nanaimo people, the residents of (xw)so^llexwem went to summer locations at False Narrows and around Gabriola Island and spent the autumn months fishing for salmon on the Nanaimo River (Barnett, 1955:22; field notes; Jenness, field notes). Unlike the other four Nanaimo villages, the (xw)so^llexwem moved to Nanaimo Harbour near the coal mine, rather than moving to the Departure Bay winter village. They did, however, join the other Nanaimos during the spring, around the end of April, for fishing (Barnett, 1955:22; field notes; Jenness, field notes; n.d.). Barnett (1955:22, 23) and Jenness (field notes) both

remarked that the (xw)so[/]lexwem village was within the Nanaimo City limits and that their winter village on Nanaimo Harbour (which later became Nanaimo Reserve #1) was adjacent to the Number One Shaft of the original Nanaimo Coal Mine. Barnett commented that the movement to the winter village took place before the Nanaimo River had frozen and firewood had become hard to get.

Boas (1981:73) noted the name for a Nanaimo village in one of the stories he was told by the Cowichan people to the south [in the 1880's]. Boas transcribed this place-name as SQ^{uē}'lEn, which ADJ reconstructs as sxw[/]ilen or sxw[/]ilen. This place-name is very close to so[/]lexwen, one of the possible ways of transcribing place-name number 29 in this study. Place-name number 29 is derived from the term so[/]xwel 'grass'. Since no location was given by Boas for SQ^{uē}'lEn, and the transcription he made is not the same as the one he published in 1889 for place-name number 29 in this study, it seems proper to assign place-name number 30 to this term, which was noted exclusively by Boas. It is interesting to note that the story which Boas transcribed from the Cowichans gives six Indian peoples' names as the "ancestors of the Nanaimo". But Boas himself noted that the Cowichan names did not correspond with any he found at Nanaimo. It seems possible that Boas' Cowichan informant(s) pronounced place-name number 29 in this study SQ^{uē}'lEn. In the absence of any other data, it is assigned place-name number 30 here.

Place-name numbers 31 and 32 in this study are also somewhat problematic. Place-name number 31 is "Quamquamqua", which was recorded by B.W. Pearse, in April, 1859 as the "country around Nanaimo" or "Nanaimo River". This term is apparently kw'omkw'em ko7 'strong water', referring to the Nanaimo River. It has not been noted by any other ethnographer or linguist. Place-name number 32 was recorded by A.J. Jacobsen in 1882 (Gunther, 1977:79) as "Juklutok... a summer village a short distance from Nanaimo." Though numerous attempts have been made to reconstruct this term with present-day speakers of Island Halkomelem, we still do not know the location of this village-site, nor the meaning of the term. It may be "Euclataw", misplaced too far south.

Many of the residents of the five villages on the lower Nanaimo River travelled across the Strait of Georgia to the lower Fraser River during the summer. Sockeye and humpback salmon were extremely abundant during July and August, and those Nanaimo families with relatives on the lower Fraser River made the journey to the mainland (AJ; ADJ; AG). Duff (1952:95) points out that there was considerable intermarriage between speakers of Mainland Halkomelem and Island Halkomelem. Jenness (field notes;n.d.) said that "In August all the Indians moved again to the mouth of the Fraser River for the sockeye and humpbacked salmon season, returning to Nanaimo in time for the dog-salmon." But Duff (1952:11,25), citing evidence from as early as July, 1827, pointed out that

as early as the beginning of July some Nanaimos had already moved to the lower Fraser River. Some time later, until mid-August, they continued moving up the river to a certain rapids to procure salmon. Simpson (1827) noted a "Ninimuch village" on an early map of the lower Fraser area. It was located about three kilometres below Derby, the site of the first Fort Langley. Five houses were on the south side of the river, opposite the southeastern tip of Barnston Island. This site may have been near the "certain rapids" Duff mentioned. Barnett, in his map of Gulf of Georgia "Group Exploitation Areas" (1955:24-25) makes his only mention of Nanaimo migrations to the Fraser River. He shows an arrow with a question mark extending from Departure Bay to Steveston, on the southwest tip of Lulu Island. Present-day Cowichan informants suggest that Barnett may have confused Nanaimo and Cowichan migration patterns, since this site was well-known to the Musqueam, Cowichan and Chemainus (AJ; ADJ; AG). Duff (1952:25) suggested that by the end of September, most of the Island Halkomelem people had returned home, but "the river was never entirely free of them; visitors or raiding-parties were around the winter through."

It is clear that some of the areas used by the Nanaimo were "controlled" by some families. The cases of the weir on the Nanaimo River and the fern-root beds which were adjacent to Nanaimo have already been cited. Families or extended families "owned" these locations. Barnett and Jenness, in their field notes, also say that clam-digging

areas were "owned", but they do not say if this was by families or individuals. According to Jenness (field notes; n.d.), camas beds on Gabriola Island were "owned by families" from Nanaimo River. Present-day speakers of the Nanaimo dialect believe that certain members of extended families "controlled" the more important resource-exploitation areas in the pre-contact and early contact period, but the nature of these rights or privileges is not clearly remembered today (AJ; HW; ADJ). Some present-day speakers of Island Halkomelem are not certain of Boas' (1889b:321) statement that each of the five extended families in the Nanaimo River villages had "its own chief, while in time of war a war chief leads the warriors of the whole tribe." They disagree with the term "chief", preferring the terms "village headman", "head of the family", or "greatly respected leaders" (AJ; ADJ; GC; HW).

33. Dodd Narrows [Between Vancouver Island and the Northwest side of Mudge Island]

kw'xweyt (AJ; AL1; AL2; DP) (meaning not known)

kw'xwat (AG) (meaning not known)

Dodd Narrows was used by the Nanaimo Indians, on a seasonal basis, from around March through August. Halibut and cod fishing was done here, as was some seal and sea-lion hunting (Barnett, field notes; Jenness, n.d.; AJ).

34. Boat Harbour [Between Reynolds Point and Flewett Point]
 tseliltenem (AL1) perhaps 'turning-over place'

This small harbour was a popular place where canoes could be hauled up onto the beach, especially during bad weather. It was known as an unofficial "boundary" between the Indians from Nanaimo and those from Kulleet Bay [i.e. the southern extent of the former and the northern extent of the latter in their seasonal migrations] (AL1).

35. False Narrows [Between Gabriola Island and Mudge Island]
 tl'aaltxw (ADJ; AG; AJ; AL1; AL2; AT; DP; RJ)

perhaps 'stuck houses'

tl'aalheltxw (AJ; MD) [alternate pronunciation given by
 these two people only]

Tlāltq (Boas, 1981:86)

36. False Narrows [Gabriola Island side]
 senewelets (ADJ) 'go inside [narrows via] the back part'

False Narrows was formerly a very important place to the Nanaimo people and to people who had intermarried with them, but who resided at villages on Valdes Island, Kuper Island, or at Kulleet Bay (ADJ; AJ; AL1; AT; DP).

According to Barnett (1955:22; field notes), there were permanent house-frames on the Gabriola Island side of the Narrows. The Nanaimo then transported the roof and wall-planks from their Nanaimo River and Departure Bay houses.

These planks were laid onto the frames at False Narrows around March, and the resulting houses were then occupied until August. During this time, excursions were made from these "base camps" to selected clam-digging locations in the area.

Thompson (1913:55-56) reported that the flats at the southeast end of False Narrows contained about fifty acres of clam beds. The species procured there in 1912 by forty families comprising some one hundred people were butter clams, littleneck clams and mussels. Thompson said that the Indians (in 1912) lived in their "shacks of tents set up on the Cape Mudge shore", and that this area was one of the best clam beds, with about thirty-five acres rated as "good" and valuable. Thompson said that the Indians camped on the Cape Mudge shore from September until May. Evidently the seasonal round of the Nanaimo people and their relatives had already been disrupted by this time. But the "shacks of tents" Thompson noted were probably an adaptation of the traditional temporary shelters used on the Gulf Islands. These were formerly made of rush mats draped over wooden poles; by this time, canvas tents were probably in common use (AJ; ADJ).

Jenness (field notes; n.d.) stated that the Nanaimo fished for cod and halibut at False Narrows starting in April, but that there were insufficient to warrant drying these for the winter. They were undoubtedly cooked as soon as possible after they were caught. Jenness also observed

that in April seals and sea-lions were hunted by the Nanaimo around False Narrows, the latter being found further out from shore. Around this same time, and well into May, each Nanaimo family went to its own camas bed on a certain bluff at Gabriola Island. The camas bulbs were dug up and were subsequently cooked in special pits.

In one version of the Nanaimo story of the origin of fire, Mink had a large house at False Narrows, where he lived alone with his grandmother (Boas, 1981:86).

37. Gabriola Passage [Between Gabriola and Valdes Islands]

xwk[/]athelhp (ADJ; AJ; AL1; AT; CP; DP; RJ)

'place having ironwood [Oceanspray] trees'

Gabriola Passage was formerly important as a place where Nanaimo, Chemainus and Cowichan people raked herring and collected herring-spawn around March. The area was also abundant in Oceanspray trees, the wood from which was used by all of the Island Halkomelem for making digging-sticks [used to dig clams and camas bulbs, for example], bows, arrows, spear and harpoon shafts, barbecuing sticks, fish-hooks and, more recently, knitting needles. The wood was usually hardened in the fire before being fashioned into these articles. Most of these utensils were used in close proximity to Gabriola Passage. For example, the "teeth" for herring rakes were made from "ironwood", and this utensil was probably made and used at Gabriola Passage in March when

the herring were spawning (ADJ; AJ; ALl; ARJ; AT; DP).

The people residing at Shell Beach, on the north side of Ladysmith Harbour, considered Gabriola Passage to be the most important area for the digging of camas bulbs and the collecting of rushes. The latter were used to make the mats which formed temporary shelters during the summer migrations to the Gulf Islands (ALl). Present-day Island Halkomelem Indians do not agree with Boas (1887:133), who stated with great conviction that "only the Nanoose and Nanaimo have the right to use...[Gabriola Passage...on their journey to the Fraser River in the spring to catch salmon]." Apparently anyone was allowed to use this waterway, assuming they were identifiable as Island Halkomelem (ADJ; AJ; DP; HW).

There are presently two Nanaimo Reserves in Degnen Bay, on the north side of Gabriola Passage. One is the small island in the middle of the bay, which was classified as a "burial island" (presumably for the Nanaimo). The other is a two and one-half acre Reserve at the western entrance to Degnen Bay, which was described in 1916 as a "fishing station" (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:300).

Gabriola Passage is the last place-name in this study which is located in the Nanaimo dialect area of Island Halkomelem. It is apparent that many of the place-names on and around Gabriola Island will remain unrecorded. The following section contains place-names located in the Chemainus dialect area of Island Halkomelem.

38. East Side of Valdes Island, Strait of Georgia

s7etl'keles (AJ; AG; AT; DP; RJ) 'facing outside' or
'outside area'

The term s7étl'keles is used by speakers of the Chemainus and Cowichan dialects of Island Halkomelem to refer to the entire east coast of Valdes Island and the Strait of Georgia in this vicinity. On some occasions it was also used to refer to the entire east coast of Galiano Island as well but this was apparently rare. The place-name refers to the Island Halkomelem perspective of the Strait of Georgia; it is not as protected or as large as the narrow channels which separate the Gulf Islands. Once an Island Halkomelem canoe went east through Gabriola Passage, Porlier Pass, or Active Pass, it was "outside" Island Halkomelem Indians' geographical and linguistic "territory" (AJ; AT; DP).

Humpback [and other species of] whales and killer whales were formerly seen, but never hunted, by the Island Halkomelem along the eastern coast of Valdes Island. The Indians did fish for lingcod and other species of groundfish there, however (AJ).

The Indians residing in permanent winter villages on Kuper and Valdes Islands used to gather black katy chitons and giant red chitons, and other beach foods such as mussels, in the intertidal zone on the east coast of Valdes Island (AT; RJ).

39. Unnamed Bay on East Coast of Valdes Island

sikw'elwelh (AG) (meaning not known)

This place was named "Telegraph Bay" by AG, but it does not appear as such on any map. The bay may have been used for refuge during rough weather or for beach food collection.

40. Detwiller Point area (including the two bays north of it),
 Valdes Island
 t'tsoso7kw (AT; DP) perhaps 'pointing inside'
 t'tsoso7kw (AG) meaning not known [AG gave the location
 of this name as the large bay south of
 Detwiller Point]

No usage for this place was given by any of the people who knew its name. It should be noted that the "ts" in the place-name is pronounced "ch".

41. Shah Point, the Bay North of it and the Two Unnamed
 Creeks Flowing into the Bay (Valdes Island)
 xwthewinem (AT; DP) 'place having coho salmon'
 xwthewinem (AG) [AG said this place was the bay just
 north of Detwiller Point]

Coho salmon which spawned in the two creeks north of Shah Point in September and October were caught by people from the villages at Shingle Point and Cardale Point (on Valdes Island) (AT).

42. Porlier Pass [Between Valdes and Galiano Islands]
 skthak or skthoko7lh (ADJ; AG; AJ; AL1; AL2; AT; CP;
 DP; RJ) 'narrows' or 'little
 narrows'

Porlier Pass is known locally as the "Cowichan Gap" by both Indians and non-Indians alike. The Pass is one of the few "gaps" or breaks in the southern Gulf Islands archipelago, the others being Gabriola Passage and Active Pass. Indians speaking the Cowichan dialect of Island Halkomelem (in addition to other Island Halkomelem people) formerly used the area, and at one time all of the speakers of the Halkomelem language were called "Cowichan" by non-Indians (AJ; ADJ).

Herring were "raked" and herring spawn was collected at Porlier Pass by Indians from Valdes and Kuper Islands, Kulleet Bay, Ladysmith Harbour and the Cowichan valley. These activities were usually done in March (AT; AJ).

Spring, chum and coho salmon were caught at the Pass in the summer and autumn months by residents of the Shingle Point, Cardale Point and Cayetano Point villages on Valdes Island, and by these peoples' relatives, fishing with them or with their permission (AT; AJ).

Porlier Pass was undoubtedly the most important area in Island Halkomelem territory for the hunting of marine mammals. Hair seals or "harbour seals" and harbour porpoises were formerly very abundant in the area at all times of the year, and they were hunted by men exclusively. The hunters were residents of Valdes and Kuper Island villages, who also permitted other Island Halkomelem men to hunt in the area if they were related by marriage or had made special arrangements to do so. The last extensive seal and porpoise hunting took place around 1915 (AT; AJ; RJ).

The most important resource which was procured at Porlier Pass by the Indians was the northern sea-lion. The harpooning of these sea mammals in Island Halkomelem territory was apparently restricted to men who permanently resided at winter villages at Shingle Point and Cardale Point on Valdes Island and Penelakut Spit on Kuper Island (AT; DP; Suttles, 1952:11-12; Lane, 1953:76). Rarely, people from Kulleet Bay could also participate if they were related to hunters from Valdes or Kuper Islands (AT; DP; Suttles, 1952:11).

There are three specific statements in the pertinent ethnographic literature which must be taken into account in restricting sea-lion harpooning to these three groups. First, Cryer ("The Magic Sea-Lion", n.d.) mentions that the "Cowichan" considered Porlier Pass to be their own sea-lion hunting grounds, and drove away people from other [unspecified] groups. RJ believed, and other evidence indicates, that Cryer received her information from Tommy Pierre, who was originally from Kuper Island, but who later lived in Duncan among the Cowichans. RJ felt that Cryer [and by implication Tommy Pierre] was actually referring to Porlier Pass as a hunting location of the Kuper Island people from Penelakut Spit, and that these people were erroneously considered as speakers of the Cowichan dialect (rather than the Chemainus dialect) of Island Halkomelem in historic times.

Secondly, Jenness mentioned in his field notes that the Quamichan villagers from the Cowichan valley went out to the Gulf Islands to hunt sea-lions in June. Thirdly, we have an assertion by Jenness (n.d.) that the five Nanaimo villages

moved to False Narrows and Gabriola Island for the purpose of hunting sea-lions. In these last two statements, there is no mention of the means by which sea-lions were hunted, or of the required "restrictions", rituals, or "special help" which were mandatory for the traditional hunting of sea-lions by the Island Halkomelem. Perhaps Jenness was referring to the clubbing of these animals, in which case his statements would be plausible. But neither the Cowichan nor the Nanaimo people today (AJ; ADJ; HW) remember False Narrows or Gabriola Island as particularly good sea-lion locations. It should be noted that both of Jenness' statements were made almost parenthetically, in that seals were mentioned first, before sea-lions in both cases.

Apparently all Chemainus dialect-area sea-lion hunting was done at Porlier Pass (Suttles, 1952:12; Lane, 1953:76; AT; DP) and in the Howe Sound area (Suttles, 1952:13). [Note that this second place is in Squamish Indian territory and no Island Halkomelem people today recall any travelling to this area for this purpose].

At Porlier Pass the people from Valdes Island camped at the south end of that island and the people from Kuper Island camped at the north end of Galiano Island. At both camps, lookouts were stationed to watch for sea-lions and warn the hunters that it was time to leave in order to harpoon them (AT; RJ; Lane, 1953:76). According to Lane (1953:76-77), there was a fierce rivalry between these two camps, and if a harpooner from one group speared a sea-lion or group of them,

the canoes from his camp "claimed" the animals and the canoes from the other camp returned home. However, the people from these areas today do not recall such fierce rivalry (RJ; AT; DP). Suttles (1952:12) mentioned that six to twenty canoes left the shore after a sea-lion was spotted, and that the heaviest hunting began around March. Sea-lions congregated at Porlier Pass beginning in March because they were following the migrating herring which was their food. The animals stayed at their rookeries there well into the summer (AJ).

The last extensive, traditional and non-bounty type of sea-lion harpooning took place at Porlier Pass around 1915 (AT; AJ; DP). Suttles (1952) has given much more information on this aspect of Island Halkomelem resource-procurement, also providing a cross-cultural comparison of marine mammal hunting and utilization for the Coast Salish, Northwest Coast and other culture areas.

It is clear that Boas' statement (1887:133) that all of the Vancouver Island Salish could use Porlier Pass on their way to the mainland in the summer is not entirely accurate. This important waterway was constantly guarded by the residents of the villages at Cardale and Cayetano Points on Valdes Island, and only people with permission could pass through. This was especially true in historic times, when the threat of raids by the Southern Kwakiutl became more prevalent (AT; AJ).

43. Canoe Islet [Between Shah Point and Vernaci Point,
Valdes Island]

kw'ukw'iyekwen (AT) 'place to fish with a hook and line'
or 'trolling place'

44. Virago Rock [Almost in the Centre of Porlier Pass]

nemsetsen (AT) meaning not known

mamthetsen (AG) 'testicles'

Both of these small islands are seal and sea-lion rookeries, where these marine mammals haul themselves out of the water to breed or to bask in the sun. Place-name number 43 was an area used for salmon fishing by the Valdes Island villagers at any time of the year. As the name indicates, trolling was the main method of fishing there (AT).

Place-name number 44 was used primarily for the hunting of seals and sea-lions. The name apparently refers to a specific usage of Virago Rock, known only to certain sea-lion harpooners, which is consistent with its dangerous location (AG;AT).

45. Cayetano Point, Valdes Island

th'xwemksen (AT; AJ) 'shining (or glittering) point'

Formerly there was a small permanent winter village located just east of Cayetano Point. According to AT, who was born and who spent her early childhood years at this village, there were only two or three houses remaining there by 1915. But AT estimated that there may have been five

large houses in the area between Cayetano Point and Vernaci Point (i.e. the southern coast of Valdes Island) and that these houses may have housed about one hundred or one hundred and fifty people on a full time basis before contact with non-Indians.

As with several other place-names on the Gulf Islands, there is a relationship between the Cayetano Point village and another village near the mouth of the Cowichan River. There was formerly a permanent winter village near the present-day government wharf at Cowichan Bay which was called th'ith'xwemksen [diminutive form of place-name number 45]. This village apparently extended about one kilometre north along Cowichan Bay and had a relatively small population, since it was in such close proximity to the other main villages at the mouth of the Cowichan River. The residents of this Cowichan Bay village moved to Cayetano Point on Valdes Island several hundred years ago, taking the name of their village with them. The exact reasons for this migration are not remembered today, but it is believed that the Cowichan Bay village was either flooded, or that for some reason the village residents were unable to procure enough food at that location. They moved to Porlier Pass, where salmon and many other foods are plentiful on a year-round basis (AT; ADJ).

The Cayetano Point village was abandoned around 1915, and its residents moved to Indian Reserves at Shingle Point on Valdes Island, Penelakut Spit and Telegraph Harbour on Kuper Island, Kulleet Bay, Westholme, the Cowichan River

valley and even as far south as Esquimalt near Victoria. AT moved to the Cowichan River village of Somenos (AT).

There was an abundance of seals, sea-lions and beach foods adjacent to Cayetano Point and these were utilized by the residents and by their relatives from other villages, primarily during the spring and summer months. Herring, herring-spawn and several species of salmon were procured in season by the Cayetano Point villagers, as these were also easily accessible from the village. During the summer some of the people went to the lower Fraser River to fish for sockeye and humpback salmon, and others travelled throughout the Gulf Islands to hunt for deer and to collect various beach foods. A favourite location for clams, used by the Porlier Pass people, was Annette Inlet at the north end of Prevost Island (AT).

Today there is still a two hectare Reserve at the unnamed point of land east of Cayetano Point. It is described as a "fishing station" belonging to the Chemainus Tribe, Lyacksun [Shingle Point] Band (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297).

In one version of the Island Halkomelem story of the "Wooden Sea-Lion", a red cedar sea-lion came to life and towed several men who were trying to harpoon it. After some difficulty, the men cut the harpoon-line and then drifted toward Cayetano Point [some people say the east side of Kuper Island]. This was evidently one of the reasons why the Indians at Valdes [and Kuper] Island had the traditional "right" to harpoon sea-lions (AT; AJ).

Suttles (1952:13) provides more information on this story and its significance.

It should be noted that AG recalled the place-name th'xwem[/]ksen, but he said it was located at Race Point, on the north end of Galiano Island. AG stated that th'xwem[/]ksen 'shining or glittering point' actually referred to the Porlier Pass "outer light or Allison Light", a mariners' beacon at Race Point.

46. Cardale Point, Valdes Island

th'axel (AG; AJ; AT; DP; RJ) 'gravelly place'

c'əxəl (Suttles, 1952:11)

There was formerly a permanent winter village at Cardale Point. AT, whose father was born there and who had a house there before he moved to Cayetano Point, believes that there were once about five or six large houses in the village, with a total population of perhaps one hundred and fifty. Suttles (1952:11) has briefly suggested that the Cardale Point village might have been amalgamated with the village at Shingle Point, several kilometres up the west coast of Valdes Island. He stated that the Cardale Point village was "perhaps...a separate village..." from the one at Shingle Point. AT acknowledges that there was considerable affinity between these two villages. However, they were discrete clusters of houses. The Cardale Point villagers hunted seals and sea-lions at Porlier Pass with the Shingle Point people, but they did not refer to themselves as T'aat[/]'ka7 'people inhabiting the village at Shingle Point'. With the establishment of Indian Reserves in

1913, some Valdes Island residents began referring to themselves as members of the "Lyacksun Band", regardless of their precise village of birth or residence. The Band name is derived from the place-name for Shingle Point, the site of one Valdes Island village (see place-name number 47 in this study). But the Cardale Point people referred to themselves as being from th'[/]axel [Cardale Point], before contact with non-Indians (AT).

47. Area Between Cardale Point and Shingle Point, Valdes Is.
 (x)weletsen (AT; AG) 'place having bulrushes' or
 'tule place'

The Indians residing in villages on Valdes and Kuper Islands formerly gathered bulrushes in the marshes and fresh-water streams between Cardale and Shingle Points. This was usually done in the late summer and early autumn months. The bulrushes were tied into bundles and later dried in the sun. Later they were made into mats in a variety of sizes (AT). The larger mats were used to line the walls of the large winter houses and for the walls and roofs of temporary summer shelters. For the latter, the mats were attached to poles made of fir or cedar wood. The smaller rush mats were used for mattresses and for cutting and drying fish and meat. Smaller bags and sitting mats were also an important part of the household inventory in Island Halkomelem homes, and bulrushes were also used to make these (AT; AJ; ADJ; Turner, 1979:129-130).

48. Shingle Point, Valdes Island

lā́ayksen (ADJ; AG; AJ; AT; CP; DP; RJ) 'Douglas fir point'

lā́yksen, lā́yksen [these forms were also given by all of
the people above, especially when
speaking rapidly]

lḗyqsən (Leslie, 1979:84)

lḗəqsən (Hudson, 1971:16) "Reid Island"

leeuqsun (Hudson, 1971:16) "Reid Island"

Lyacksun (Duff, 1964:26)

lḗəqsən (Suttles, 1952:11)

Lyack-sun (Cryer, n.d.)

Ly-aack-sun (Cryer, n.d.) "bark standing up"

Lyacksun (Jenness, field notes)

49. Indian Village at Shingle Point, Valdes Island

t'aat'ka7 (AJ; AT; DP; RJ) 'place with many salal
berries'

t'aʔatkə (Lane, 1953:76)

t'ɛ'ɛtəqə (Suttles, 1952:11)

Taatka (Harris, 1901:22)

T'ä'tEkE (Boas, 1889a:239)

T'ä'tëkë (Boas, 1889 :325)

T'äteqə (Boas, 1887:132)

Tait-ka (Lomas, 1882)

Tut-cha (Douglas, 1853)

Tataka (Douglas, 1853)

50. Cave Entrance at Shingle Point

shék'shek'sem (AT; ADJ) 'opening mouth'

The term laayksen is used by the Island Halkomelem to refer to Shingle Point on Valdes Island. This same term, anglicized to "Lyacksun" or "Lyackson", has been used since the establishment of Indian Reserves in Island Halkomelem territory to refer to all of the members of the Lyacksun Band and to all Indians originally from villages on Valdes Island. The Lyacksun Band was allotted a thirty-two hectare (seventy-nine acres) Reserve at Shingle Point adjacent to the village called t'aat'ka7 and a seven hundred and two hectare (one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six acres) Reserve encompassing about one-third of the total land area of Valdes Island in 1913. However, most of the residents of the villages on Valdes Island moved to other Reserves by 1920. Apparently the majority moved to Penelakut Spit on Kuper Island, and to the Reserve at Westholme, south of Chemainus on Vancouver Island. Today there is still some seasonal usage of these two Reserves by members of the Lyacksun Band (AT; AJ; Duff, 1964:26; Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297).

The village called t'aat'ka7 at Shingle Point was the second largest in population [next to Penelakut Spit village on the northeast tip of Kuper Island] of the Island Halkomelem villages on the Gulf Islands (before contact with non-Indians). There were perhaps ten large houses, spread out between the small bays north and south of Shingle Point and including the Point itself. The possible connections between this village and others further south on Valdes Island have already been mentioned (AT).

It is evident that there was an abundance of Douglas fir trees and salal berries in the Shingle Point area, since the Indian place-names translate directly to mean these botanical species in English. First-hand observation of the area does confirm an abundance of these two species today. Both species were very important to the Island Halkomelem. Fir poles were used to construct temporary shelters and salal berries were gathered in the summer and autumn months as an important food, used for variation in the diet (AT; AJ).

The Shingle Point area was utilized by the Island Halkomelem for the "raking" of herring and the collection of herring spawn during March. Relatives of the Shingle Point villagers, some from as far away as the Cowichan valley and the Saanich Peninsula on Vancouver Island, were also permitted to engage in these activities if they acquired permission (AJ). Some people from Valdes Island once harpooned a whale, but it is not known if it was eaten (Suttles, 1952:11). Former residents of villages adjacent to Shingle Point state that humpback whale-meat was eaten by Indians in villages on the Gulf Islands, but only if the animals "beached themselves" (AT; RJ).

By far the most important activity associated with the village of t'aat'ka7 at Shingle Point was the hunting of sealions by the men of the village. This was done from "base-camps" at the south end of Valdes Island. Hunters from Kuper Island camped at the north end of Galiano Island. The actual hunting took place in the summer months in Porlier Pass (AT; DP; RJ; Suttles, 1952:11-13; Lane, 1953:76).

Douglas (1853) noted that the "Tataka" chief's name in 1853 was "Tsa-se-ge". Presumably Douglas was referring to this person as one of the heads of extended families occupying houses at Shingle Point, since the Island Halkomelem did not have "chiefs" before the establishment of Indian Bands by non-Indians. Douglas (1853) also placed the t'aat'ka7 village "in Comiaken Gap". It has been noted in this study that "Cowichan Gap" was a local name for Porlier Pass. There is no doubt that Douglas was referring to this body of water, but he has pointed out an interesting feature of place-names in the Gulf Islands and their relationship to place-names on the lower Cowichan River.

There are several place-names which refer to villages and house-sites on the lower Cowichan River, which also refer to similar categories of place-names on the Gulf Islands. In some cases the diminutive of the Cowichan River name has been applied to the Gulf Island place. In the case of the place-name t'aat'ka7, there was formerly a village bearing this name near the mouth of the Cowichan River. When this village became flooded, perhaps one hundred and fifty years ago, there was a mass migration from the village to Valdes Island (presumably to Shingle Point). It appears that the Cowichans dismantled their houses and moved them by means of canoes lashed together to Shingle Point. For these people, the new village was also named t'aat'ka7 (although there were already people living at Shingle Point when they arrived). There is, then, a duality for this particular place-name, depending on the remembered origin of one's

extended family, since there were also migrations from the Gulf Islands to the Cowichan River in order to escape the frequent raids by the Southern Kwakiutl and their allies (AJ; AT; ADJ). Boas (1887:132) provided some important details on this matter. He noted the "wars" between the Southern Kwakiutl and the speakers of the Cowichan and Chemainus dialects of Island Halkomelem. He said that for many years all of these people lived in the area of the Cowichan River, inland where they were not exposed to the open Gulf and safe from the Northern tribes' war canoes. After the end of the wars [present-day Indians place this date at approximately 1850] the people of the Gulf Islands and in exposed locations moved back to their own villages. According to Boas, "even today...[i.e. 1887]...all these people occupy areas along the Cowichan River."

It is clear from Boas' statements, and from those of present-day Island Halkomelem people, that there was, in historic times at least, a two-way flow of people between the Cowichan River and the Gulf Islands such as Valdes Island. When the people moved from one place to another, they evidently took the name of their village-site with them.

Since Douglas (1853) referred to Porlier Pass as "Comiaken Gap" instead of "Cowichan Gap", we can be quite certain of the relationship between the two t'aat'ka7 villages. The Cowichan River t'aat'ka7 village is adjacent to another Cowichan village on Comiaken Hill. This may be the reason for Douglas' more precise naming of Porlier Pass in his population statistics.

Place-name number 50 refers to the entrance to a secret underwater passage from Shingle Point to Thetis Island, used by the former residents of both islands when they were under attack. More will be said about this later when referring to place-names on Thetis Island (see place-name number 75) (AT; RJ; ADJ).

51. Area From Shingle Point to Blackberry Point, Valdes Is.

xwiyalek' (AJ; AT; AG; DP) 'place having fallen trees'

[Note that AG said this place was located in the bay north of Blackberry Point]

The cause of the fallen trees in the area north of Shingle Point, on the west side of Valdes Island, is not remembered today. However, this place was said to be the origin of the Island Halkomelem ancestral name Xwixweyelek' (AJ; DP).

52. Area North of Blackberry Point, Valdes Island

sk'ex (ADJ; AT; DP; RJ)(meaning not known)

skw'exw (AG)(meaning not known)

This place is known locally as the "Hole in the Wall" by the Indians from Valdes and Kuper Islands. Only AG was able to give an exact location. He stated that the "Hole" in the steep cliffs along the western side of Valdes Island was located at the same latitude as the north end of Ruxton Island. Indeed, topographic maps tend to support AG's location of this place-name. Going through the "Hole in the Wall" was evidently the easiest way of crossing the north end of Valdes Island (by land from west to east).

The next series of place-names in this study, located within the Chemainus dialect area of the Island Halkomelem language, extends from Yellow Point in the north to Ladysmith Harbour in the south, on Vancouver Island. Following this, Chemainus dialect place-names on Thetis, Kuper, Galiano, Prevost and Saltspring Islands will be examined.

It was not possible to record any place-names between Boat Harbour [place-name number thirty-four in this study] and Yellow Point [place-name number fifty-three in this study]. All of the Island Halkomelem Indian people who provided information for this study were asked about this area and none was able to provide any place-names. Neither were any recorded in the pertinent ethnographic literature. This area was apparently "shared", in terms of resource-procurement and temporary habitations, by the Island Halkomelem from the Nanaimo River and Nanaimo Harbour areas, who speak the Nanaimo dialect of Island Halkomelem, and by the Chemainus dialect-speakers who maintained permanent winter households at Kulleet Bay (AJ; AL1; AL2; MD; Boas, 1889:321).

53. Area Between Yellow Point and Deer Point

xáaymetsen or xáametsen (AJ; AL1; AL2) 'crying on beach'

One of the guardian spirit powers of the Island Halko-melem was called the xwéltēp. People having this power were said to be able to fly around Coast Salish territory, dropping down at will at whatever villages or places they desired. These people could be recognized by their special "cry". The last time this spirit power was seen on the southern coast of Vancouver Island was on the beach between Yellow Point and Deer Point. This place was therefore named '(one who is) crying on the beach' after this spirit power (AJ). Much more information on the xwéltēp power can be found in the writings of Diamond Jenness (1955:60-61; field notes).

54. Kulleet Bay (Generic Term, for Whole Bay)

k'élits' (ADJ; AJ; AL1; AL2; AT; CP; MD; RJ)

'sheltered area'; 'protected [bay]'

k'élits (this pronunciation was given by all of the people above, especially when speaking rapidly)

kəli'c' (Suttles, 1952:11)

Kull-eets (Cryer, n.d.) "salt water running back"

Kulleets (Jenness, n.d.)

Kulleetz (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

Kalits (Curtis, 1913:175)

Q'alāts (Boas, 1887:132)

55. Name for Indian Village and People Residing at
Kulleet Bay [Formerly Known as "Chemainus Bay"]

shts'ēminəs (ADJ; AJ; AL1; AL2; AT; CP; DP; MD; RJ)

possibly 'bite out of the beach; eroded

beach' or 'dry beach at low tide'

ŷ-c'əm-ŷinəs (Galloway, pers. comm.) "possibly 'an
abrupt fall-off of terrain'"

st'əminəs (Leslie, 1979:80) "chestbone-shaped"

sch'Amʔinəs (Mitchell, 1968:86)

sc'əm'i'nəs (Suttles, 1952:11)

Chemainus (Cowichan Leader, Feb. 22, 1934) "bitten breast"

Shtšūmenūs (Curtis, 1913:175)

Tsimēnes (Boas, 1887:132)

Chimenes (Jacobsen, 1882, in Gunther, 1977:79)

Chemainis (Lomas, 1881)

Chemainos (Brown, 1864:15) "bad smelling promontory"

56. North Side of Kulleet Bay

xwethnāts (AL1; AL2; MD) (meaning not known)

57. Peninsula at North End of Kulleet Bay

xwsexwāan (AL1; AL2; MD) 'herring spawn place'

58. Creek Running into Kulleet Bay and Mouth of this Creek

xwāla7alhp or xwāla7elhp (AL1; AL2; MD) 'willow tree'

59. South Side of Kulleet Bay

(s)k'ewines (AL1; AL2; MD) perhaps 'beating the chest'
or 'one who beats a drum on
the beach'

60. Unidentified Site on Kulleet Bay

Tlpálaq (Curtis, 1913:37) "place on Chemainus Bay"

61. Unidentified Island Near Kulleet Bay

Tsiuhum (Curtis, 1913:37) "small island near Chemainus Bay"

The Island Halkomelem use the term k'elits' to refer to all of Kulleet Bay and the term shts'emines to refer to the Indian village and Indian people there. The latter term was anglicized in the middle of the Nineteenth Century; the bay was formerly known as "Chemainus Bay" and the Indian residents became known as the Chemainus Band. But early in this century Chemainus Bay was changed to Kulleet Bay on all maps and charts to avoid confusion with the town of Chemainus several kilometres to the south and, probably incidentally, to reflect the actual name of the bay in the Chemainus dialect of Island Halkomelem. Many elderly speakers of Island Halkomelem still refer to Kulleet Bay as Chemainus Bay, however (AJ; ADJ; AL1).

Today the Chemainus Band occupies a large Reserve of one thousand and eighty-five hectares (two thousand six hundred and ninety-two acres) which extends from Ladysmith Harbour to Kulleet Bay. But there are several Indian settlements within this Reserve which will be discussed later in this study. In addition, the Chemainus Band has two smaller Reserves, classified as "fishing stations", on the lower Chemainus River [far to the south of traditional areas formerly utilized by the Kulleet Bay Indians for winter villages.] They were assigned to the Chemainus and Ladysmith

Harbour Bands in 1913 and are thirty-two and one-half hectares (eighty-one acres) and six hectares (fifteen acres) in area (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:298; AL1).

Boas (1887:132) noted that the Kulleet Bay people occupied the "Chemainus Bay and River". It is evident that the lower Chemainus River was utilized by the Kulleet Bay villagers on a seasonal basis [by 1887]. There is also documented intermarriage between the Kulleet Bay people and the Indians who formerly occupied Willy Island, but who moved onto the Westholme Reserve by 1920. The Willy Island and Westholme people are today referred to as the Halalt Band, and their Reserves are adjacent to the Chemainus River estuary. Perhaps the early Reserve Commissioners allocated the Chemainus River fishing stations to the Kulleet Bay people because of their intermarriage with the Halalt. It is more likely that this was done on the basis of intermarriage between the Ladysmith Harbour villagers and the Halalt, however, since the fishing stations were held in common. In any case, all of the people mentioned in connection with this matter were well known to each other and often closely related (AJ; ADJ; AL1). It is important to note these matters because of another statement made by Boas (1889b:321) that the Halalt "owned the coastal strip from Dodds Narrows to Yellow Point" in common with the Nanaimo. It is unclear if Boas was referring to what is now known as the Halalt Band, or if his informant was a former resident of Willy Island living at Kulleet Bay. It was the residents of Kulleet Bay who utilized the area in question.

The village at Kulleet Bay, shts'emines, is very closely associated with a former village near the mouth of the Cowichan River. This latter village was named shts'ets'mines 'little eroded riverbank' or 'little Chemainus' (ADJ; AJ). Curtis (1913:175) stated that "several generations ago people from this...[Cowichan River]... village migrated northward and established a settlement called Kalits...the people of which are still known as Shtsumenus." Cowichan Indians today agree with Curtis' statement, adding that the Cowichan villagers were not so much "migrating" northward as camping at Kulleet Bay for fishing and for digging clams. Then, after many years of these seasonal excursions, some extended families decided to remain at Kulleet Bay all year round, perhaps with relatives already living at Kulleet Bay or Ladysmith Harbour (AJ; ADJ). There is also the possibility that the Cowichan village was flooded for a number of years, forcing the people there to live in other Cowichan and Island Halkomelem villages (ADJ). There is no explanation for the fact that the Cowichan village today has the diminutive form of the term shts'emines, even though it was the "first" village to have this name (AJ; ADJ). In any case, the Indian people living at Kulleet Bay today have relatives as far north as Nanoose Bay and as far south as the Saanich Peninsula (AJ; AT).

At the Kulleet Bay village there may have been some "village segmentation", with the larger houses some distance from the smaller ones and the "poorer class" houses away from the centre of the bay to act as buffers in case of attack

(Barnett, 1955:23). However, Barnett expressed some doubts about this information and members of the Chemainus Band today also are skeptical about any traditional delimitation of the Kulleet Bay village, on the basis of "class" (AL1; AL2; MD).

Kulleet Bay is situated in an area where there is, even today, an abundance of food resources, but only during certain times of the year. In March, the herring were "raked" and herring spawn collected towards the north side of the bay at a place named xwsexwaan. This place-name is derived from the term séxwe7 'to urinate', but this same term is also used by the Island Halkomelem to describe herring as they are spawning and the long strands of the spawn itself (AL1; AL2; MD; AJ; AG). Butter clams, littleneck clams and cockles were procured almost anywhere along the beach at Kulleet Bay, primarily in the spring and summer months (AJ; ADJ; AL2). During the summer some men from Kulleet Bay went to hunt sea-lions with their relatives at Porlier Pass and others went to the lower Fraser River to fish for sockeye or humpback salmon (AJ; AL2). Boas (1887:132) noted that the Kulleet Bay villagers, along with people from "Shell Beach" [Sibell Bay on Ladysmith Harbour] and Willy Island, all of whom Boas referred to as "Chemainus" [this is true, since they spoke the Chemainus dialect of the Island Halkomelem language], "occupied the upper Chemainus River". Chemainus Band members today recall summer migrations to the upper Chemainus River (AL1; AL2; MD). Spring, chum and coho salmon could be taken there, or by means of trolling or nets

in Stuart Channel, east of Kulleet Bay, primarily during the summer and autumn months (AL2; AJ). No details about the digging of camas bulbs on the Gulf Islands during May are recalled today by Indian people at Kulleet Bay (MD; AL2).

There are two place-names around Kulleet Bay mentioned exclusively by Curtis (1913:37) whose existence or locations are no longer remembered clearly. The first, Tlpálaq, was noted as "a place on Chemainus Bay". It is suspiciously close to a place named tl'elpóles, which is located on Cowichan Bay. Curtis recorded a myth in which one of the first ancestors of the Chemainus dropped from the sky at Tlpálaq. The second, Tsiuh̓um, was said to be an "island near Chemainus Bay" where the ancestor mentioned above moved after he dropped down from the sky. AL2 had heard of a place called th'ixwem, but he was not certain of its location. He thought it was near Telegraph Harbour on the west side of Kuper Island. In any case, the story in which both of these place-names occurs is still told today by the Island Halkomelem, but in their versions neither place is mentioned (AJ; ADJ; AL2; CP).

62. Area Between Kulleet Bay and Coffin Point

xwkw'élhten (AL1; AL2; MD) 'place where [water is]
spilled/poured out/dipped up'

The exposed coast between Kulleet Bay and Coffin Point receives frequent high winds which "dip up and pour out" the waters of Stuart Channel, causing heavy erosion [especially just north of Coffin Point] (AL2; MD).

63. Coffin Point Area

xwkwemlexwethen (ADJ; AJ; AL1; AL2; MD) 'place with roots'

xwkwemlekwethen (AJ; AL2) [this form given in rapid speech]

x^wk^wamla^wx^wa^wen (Leslie, 1979:86)

Kumalockasun (Duff, 1964:26)

Com-lo-quoethun (Cryer, n.d.) "big roots close to the
water...Yellow Point"

In the Coffin Point area large tree roots are exposed by erosion from frequent high winds and the constant pounding of the tides. AL1 and AL2 moved to this area from "Shell Beach" village at Sibell Bay many years ago and established a commercial **campground** which is still in use today. Formerly the Coffin Point area was utilized during March for the collection of herring spawn by Indian people from Kulleet Bay, Ladysmith Harbour and their relatives elsewhere, who had their permission (AL2; AJ).

64. Coffin Point

shesth'epsem or shth'epsem (AL1; AL2; MD)

(meaning not known)

65. Coffin Island

kw'ayowes (AL1; AL2; MD) (meaning not known)

It is apparent that Coffin Point and Coffin Island were both formerly used as burial grounds for the Ladysmith Harbour people who resided in winter villages at Sibell Bay and at the head of the Harbour (AL2).

66. Evening Cove

(sh)xwēlh[/]nets (AL2; MD) (meaning not known)

67. Sharpe Point

(xw)kw[/]tōoythen (AL1; AL2; MD) '(place having) sturgeon'

White sturgeon were formerly seen at Sharpe Point, but they were apparently not caught by the Indian people. These fish were probably "strays" from the Fraser River (AL2).

68. Sibell Bay, "Shell Beach" Village

the[/]k'min (ADJ; AJ; AL1; AL2; AT; CP; DP; MD; RJ)

'spearing place'

Sicameen (Duff, 1964:26)

Sicameen (Jenness, field notes; n.d.)

Sthick-a-meen (Cryer, n.d.) "spear the fish"

Sicameen (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

Sickameen (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

CEk[•]Emē[•]/n (Boas, 1889a:39)

CEk[•]eme[•]/n (Boas, 1889b:325)

CEgemē[•] (Boas, 1887:132) "Oyster Harbor"

Sic-ca-meen (Lomas, 1883)

The Indian village at Sibell Bay is known locally as "Shell Beach". The Shell Beach Band was placed on the one thousand and eighty-five hectare (two thousand six hundred and ninety-two acre) Reserve which extended from Ladysmith Harbour to Kulleet Bay when Indian Reserves were finalized by the Royal Commission in 1913 (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:298). Thus the Sicameen [Shell Beach] and Kulleet Bay

Bands [Chemainus] were amalgamated with other Indians from the Coffin Point area [Kumalockasun] to form the "Chemainus Tribe". In addition, the Shell Beach people had access to the two Chemainus Tribe fishing stations which were confirmed as Indian Reserves at the mouth of the Chemainus River, and to fishing sites on the upper Chemainus River (AL1; AL2; Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:298; Boas, 1887:132).

Before contact with non-Indians there were probably about five large houses at Shell Beach, whose occupants stayed there for the greater part of the year. The ideal location afforded easy access to a wide variety of food resources. As the translation of the Indian name for Shell Beach indicates, salmon were speared or harpooned from canoes in Ladysmith Harbour (AJ; AL2). Around March herring could be "raked" and herring spawn collected by the residents of the Shell Beach village adjacent to their houses. Several species of clams were available at Shell Beach; this accounts for the name, since there are several large middens composed of clam shells there. Clams, as well as native oysters, rock oysters and rock scallops were also formerly abundant in Ladysmith Harbour. This accounts for the earlier name for Ladysmith Harbour, which was "Oyster Harbour". Many Island Halkomelem Indians still refer to Ladysmith Harbour by its earlier name (AJ; ADJ; RJ).

69. Dunsmuir Islands, Ladysmith Harbour
shxwatheken (AL2; MD) (meaning not known)

These two small islands in front of Shell Beach village were evidently utilized as burial grounds, before contact

with non-Indians necessitated re-interment to the graveyards at Shell Beach or Coffin Point (AL2).

70. Southeast End of Burleith Arm (Ladysmith Harbour)

ti7tkemele (AL1;ADJ; MD) (exact meaning not known)

probably 'little duck-net place'

If the proposed etymology given above is correct, duck-nets may have been raised on poles at this place. Flocks of ducks flying through the area may have been trapped and used by the Shell Beach people there (ADJ).

71. Walker Creek Mouth and Head of Ladysmith Harbour

xetl'netsten (ADJ; AJ; AL1; AL2; AT; MD)

'way to cross the back end/bottom'

Today there is a "longhouse" situated at this place, just west of the Island Highway at the head of Ladysmith Harbour. It was built in the mid-1970's and is mostly used during the winter for spirit dances (ADJ). The name for this place evidently refers to its use as a way of traversing the extensive tidal flats in the area.

72. Bush Creek Area and Ivy Green Park

kwi7kwemlexw (AL2; MD) 'little root'

This place is the site of a former Indian Reserve which was "cut off" by the Royal Commission in 1913. The Reserve was about one hundred and twenty hectares (two hundred and ninety-six acres) in area and was known as Chemainus Reserve Number Twelve (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:298). The type of root implied by the name is not remembered today (AL1; AL2).

73. Holland Creek and its Mouth

xwsookw'em (AL1; AL2; MD) 'place having cow parsnip'

This place was utilized by the people from Shell Beach and elsewhere for the collection of cow parsnip, which had a variety of uses as food and medicine (AL2; ADJ).

74. Thetis Island (Generic Term)

thath'es (ADJ; AG; AJ; AT; DP; RJ) (meaning not known)

th'ath'es (ADJ; DP) [alternate pronunciation given by
these two people only]

There were Indian houses on Thetis Island until the middle of the Nineteenth Century, and the island was also used for the hunting of deer and birds and the collection of beach foods by Indians from Kulleet Bay, Ladysmith Harbour, Valdes Island and Kuper Island. However, no lands on the island were allocated as Indian Reserves (ADJ; AJ; RJ). It is possible that the Indian place-name for the whole island, given above, is derived from the English place-name.

75. North Cove, Thetis Island

xwey' (AT; DP; RJ) possibly 'warm place' or 'water at ebb tide'

North Cove and the long inlet which leads to Moore Hill were formerly utilized for salmon fishing and beach food collection by people residing in permanent winter villages at Kulleet Bay, Shell Beach, Valdes Island and Kuper Island. There was said to be a secret passage between Thetis and Valdes Islands, which was used in case of attack.

This escape-route extended from the head of the long unnamed inlet south of Pilkey Point to an opening in the caves on Moore Hill (on the east side of Thetis Island). From the caves there was an underground passage and a passage under Trincomali Channel which ended at Shingle Point on the west side of Valdes Island. Island Halkomelem people could flee from their enemies by using this secret escape-route, by going from Thetis Island to the village at Shingle Point or vice versa. Numerous attempts have been made to locate the passage, thus far to no avail (AT; RJ).

76. Southeast End of Thetis Island

st'k'in (AG) perhaps 'bad smelling place'

This area was used by the people residing at Penelakut Spit village on Kuper Island, for hunting and the collection of beach foods (AG).

77. Preedy Harbour (Thetis Island Ferry Landing)

kwewmeks (RJ; DP) "Comox"

The area adjacent to the Thetis Island Ferry landing was occupied by relatives of people from Comox Harbour for a short time in the Nineteenth Century, but the details of this are not remembered clearly today (RJ; DP).

78. Thetis-Kuper Island "Bridge"

shets'ewelh (AG; DP; RJ) 'dragging [canoe] in between'

In order to travel from Clam Bay to Telegraph Harbour by canoe or boat, the vessel has to be dragged through the tidal flats of mud and sand, hence the origin of this place-name.

The people at Penelakut village also refer to the two peninsulas (one on Kuper and one on Thetis Island) which almost join at this place as shk'etewelh 'bridge', since it is the best way to travel by foot between the two islands. But this second name is used in a colloquial sense only (RJ; DP).

79. Telegraph Harbour and Village There

yexwelo⁷es (ADJ; AG; AJ; AT; DP; RJ) 'place with eagles'

y⁷axwAla⁷As (Mitchell, 1968:133) "Kuper Island"

Yekoloas (Duff, 1964:26)

Yeko-Loas (Cryer, n.d.) "eagle"

Yeco-Loas (Cryer, n.d.) "eagle"

yokholas (Barnett, field notes) "island near Kuper Is."

Yeqo⁷laos (Boas, 1889a:239)

Yeqo⁷laos (Boas, 1889 :325)

Yecholaos (Boas, 1887:132) "Thetis Island"

Yuchu-los (Douglas, 1853) "Chief was Il.tauch-sut"

Telegraph Harbour is the site of one of the three villages on Kuper Island (the other two being Lamalchi Bay and Penelakut Spit). In March, herring were "raked" and herring spawn collected by the Kuper Island villagers (AJ; RJ). In Telegraph Harbour, and a short distance to the south at a place known locally as "High Rocks", big skates were caught by the Indians. The bodies (but not the "wings") of these fish were pit-cooked formerly, and they could also be dried for later use (AJ; ADJ; RJ). The Telegraph Harbour

area was a very important beach food gathering location before pollution closed the area to the taking of shellfish. Several species of clams, as well as oysters, cockles, sea urchins and crabs could be collected in abundance by the Indians living on Kuper Island, or by their relatives who had permission (ADJ; RJ). "Lizards" (actually salamanders), which were considered powerful and dangerous to humans and were therefore never hunted or eaten, were abundant around Telegraph Harbour (AJ).

The Indian name which refers to Telegraph Harbour and to the cliffs which extend from Donckele Point to Active Point is yexwelo7es. This name is derived from the term yéxw(e)la, which is used to refer specifically to 'immature bald eagles' and generally to 'any eagle' by the Island Halkomelem. There are still many eagles in the Telegraph Harbour area today (AJ; ADJ; RJ). The Indians at Kuper Island still tell a long story to account for the eagles there (RJ). B. M. Cryer also recorded this story in the 1930's. In the version published by Cryer (n.d.), Telegraph Harbour and the people living there were named after a woman was transformed into an eagle. After she saved a baby from death, she was rewarded by being changed back into a woman [presumably one of the ancestors of the people residing at Telegraph Harbour]. This was also the reason why eagles were so abundant there.

The residents at Telegraph Harbour were amalgamated with their relatives at Penelakut Spit by 1916, for the purposes of administration by Indian Agents and others. Telegraph

Harbour today is the site of the ferry landing at Kuper Island, several modern houses and of the recently abandoned Kuper Island Industrial-Residential School. Many elderly Island Halkomelem people received their education at the Kuper Island School (AJ; ADJ; RJ; AG; Duff, 1964:26).

80. Alarm Rock

thithoxwo7kw (AJ; AT; RJ) 'high tide covers head [of rock]'

The residents of the Telegraph Harbour village used to fish for salmon in the area around Alarm Rock and Hudson Island adjacent to it [to the north] (RJ).

81. Lamalchi Bay

xwlemalhtse (ADJ; AG; AJ; AT; DP; RJ) 'lookout place'

xwlhemalhtse [this alternate pronunciation was given by

the people above, when speaking rapidly]

slemalhtse or slem7alhtse (ADJ; AG; CP; RJ) [this term

was used to refer to the inhabitants of the

Lamalchi Bay village]

Lilmalche (Duff, 1964:26)

Lamalchas (Cryer, n.d.) "People from Lamalcha Bay"

LEmal'tca (Hill-Tout, 1907:370)

Semaltca (Hill-Tout, 1907:371) "People on Kuper Island"

Lematl'scha (Boas, 1887:132) "Kuper Island"

Lilmalche (Lomas, 1883)

Sumlumalcha (Douglas, 1853)

The village at Lamalchi Bay has not been occupied since the first decade of this century (RJ), but there were formerly several Indian houses there, of the shed-roofed type (RJ; Hill-Tout, 1907:371). The Lamalchi Bay village was ideally situated for salmon fishing in the adjacent waters (RJ; ADJ; AJ) and for clam-digging adjacent to the village and at such nearby locations as Southey Point and Fernwood Point on the north end of Saltspring Island and the Secretary Islands (RJ; AJ; AT). The Lamalchi Bay villagers joined their relatives at the Penelakut Spit village by 1916 (Duff, 1964: 26). Except for a small [perhaps ten hectares] plot of land at the north end of the Bay, which was allocated for church purposes by the Royal Commission in 1913, all of Kuper Island is an Indian Reserve today. This Reserve is about eight hundred and sixty-five hectares (two thousand one hundred and thirty-eight acres) in area (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297).

The Cowichan Indians still tell the story of the great warrior Tzouhalem [Ts'ewxilem], who was murdered by the people at Lamalchi Bay in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Tzouhalem had been warned that if he got too greedy a woman would cause his death. Ignoring this, he went to Lamalchi Bay to try and steal a woman he had wanted for a long time. Betrayed by his own people and the women of Lamalchi village, Tzouhalem was decapitated. He danced around without his head for a long time. Some time later, Tzouhalem's relatives took his body back to his village at the mouth of the north arm of the Cowichan River. But the Lamalchi people kept his

head in a burial-hut on the beach for a long time after that, until Tzouhalem's family finally came to reclaim it. Then Tzouhalem was buried in the caves on Cowichan Mountain, which was later also called Tzouhalem Mountain (ADJ; AJ; Cryer, n.d.).

82. Tent Island

xwth'isetsen (AJ; ADJ; AG; DP; RJ) 'place where [spit of
land on island's north end is] nailed to side'
xwth'isetsem (CP) 'place that is nailed'
Quat-this-susun (Cryer, n.d.) "dry at low tide"

Tent Island was allocated as a thirty-four hectare (eighty-five acre) Indian Reserve [assigned to the Penelakut Band] because it was still intermittently occupied when Reserves were finalized in 1913 (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297). When the tide is low, it is possible to walk from Josling Point, at the south end of Kuper Island, to Tent Island (RJ; Cryer, n.d.). Tent Island was formerly used as a camping place and for the collection of beach foods by the Island Halkomelem (RJ).

83. Rock on the East Coast of Kuper Island

spekw (AG; DP; RJ) 'broken-off one' or 'one that is
broken in half'

The name for this one rock is obviously descriptive. Its exact location has not yet been determined (RJ; AG).

84. Village at Penelakut Spit, Kuper Island

penálexeth' (ADJ; AG; AJ; AL2; AT; CP; DP; RJ) '[log]
buried [waist-deep] on the beach'

penálexets' [this alternate pronunciation was also given
by the people listed above, but only rarely]

spenálexeth' [this term is used by the Island Halkomelem
to refer to the residents of the village
at Penelakut Spit]

pʔáneʔlaxac' (Mitchell, 1968:73) "Peneleket Spit [sic]"

Penelakuts (Duff, 1964:26)

Penelakut (Duff, 1964:26) [note that this is the
current spelling used by the Department of
Indian Affairs for the Penelakut Band]

penélaɣəts (Lane, 1953:15)

pənɛʔlaxəc' (Suttles, 1952:11)

Pinellahutz (Duff, 1952:25)

Penelekuts (Suttles, 1951:238)

Penelakut (Jenness, field notes; n.d.)

Penelekhut(s) (Cryer, n.d.) "two logs half covered with
sand"

Penelacate (Humphreys, n.d.) "village on Koppers [sic]
Island"

Pēnā'leqats (Boas, 1889a:239)

Pēnā'leqats (Boas, 1889 :324, 325)

Pēnālechats (Boas, 1887:132) "Kuper Island"

Penelakut (Lomas, 1883)

Penalakut (Lomas, 1882)

Pinalekaht (Jacobsen, 1882, in Gunther, 1977:78)

Penalacut (Lomas, 1881)

Penalachut (Douglas, 1853) "Chief was Lachulitch"

Panalahats (Douglas, 1853) "At Comiaken Gap"

85. Penelakut Spit (East Side)

(sh)teto[/]7texwnets (AG; DP; RJ) 'little rump off the
tide' or "rocks strung out on beach"

86. Penelakut Spit (Northwest Side)

(s)lilp[/]okw (ADJ; AG; DP; RJ) 'loose at the top end' or
'shrivelled/wrinkled/messy head'

87. Penelakut Spit (Beach Area Below Present Village)

l[/]helet (AG; DP; RJ) 'bailing [water from canoe] place'

88. Rock on Beach at Penelakut Spit

smelew[/] or smimelew[/] (AG; DP; RJ) Proper Name or the
diminutive form of this name

89. West Side of Clam Bay (Kuper Island Side)

shi[/]7shem (AG; DP; RJ) 'little shallow creek', 'little
dried-up [spring or creek]'

The Island Halkomelem use the term penalex[/]eth' to refer specifically to the village located just south of Penelakut Spit, on the northeast tip of Kuper Island. This same term, usually with an "s" [nominalizer] in front of it is also used to refer to the residents of this village, or their descendants, whether they live at the village today or reside else-

where due to intermarriage to people residing on other Indian Reserves or transfers to other Indian Bands for other reasons. The main criterion for being called a "person from penalexeth'" (or a "Kuper Islander") seems to be that one must have a direct "blood kin" relationship to a person born at Penelakut Spit village at some time in the past, or be born there oneself. In recent times, perhaps in the last fifty years only, people who became initiated into the winter guardian-spirit dancing complex in longhouses at Penelakut Spit have also come to include themselves as people from penalexeth', or have had that label ascribed to them by others (ADJ; RJ; DP).

Since the establishment of [almost all of] Kuper Island as an eight hundred sixty-five hectare Reserve and the amalgamation of all of the winter village residents (i.e. those at Lamalchi Bay, Telegraph Harbour and Penelakut Spit on Kuper Island and probably those who formerly lived on Thetis Island) in the area into a single Penelakut Band in 1916, there has been another usage for the term penalexeth'. The term is now used to refer to all of the present and former residents of the Kuper Island Indian Reserve (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297; Duff, 1964:26; ADJ; RJ), including those living at the Tsussie Reserve (which is a Penelakut Band Reserve) near the Town of Chemainus, on Vancouver Island (ADJ; RJ).

The village at Penelakut Spit was formerly located on the beach there until the 1920's, and this accounts for the origin of the village's name in the Chemainus dialect of Island Halkomelem. According to CP, DP and RJ, the term penalexeth' originated in the following way. The fifteen (or more) large

houses used to be on the beach at Penelakut Spit, almost at sea level. When the extended families occupying the houses were inside their houses, they seemed to be "buried" in the sandy beach. This is called [/]spepín 'many buried' and the name [/]penalexeth' is derived from this term. This also accounts for the anglicized names in the area such as Penelakut Spit and the Penelakut Band. It is not clear whether the houses on the beach were actually semi-subterranean winter houses, the existence of which has been noted by Barnett (1955:38), among others (CP; DP; RJ).

B.M. Cryer (n.d.) provided a completely different story accounting for the origin of the name "Penelekhut", which she said "means 'two logs half covered with sand'". In the story Cryer recorded from Tommy Pierre (who, incidentally, called himself a member of the "Cowichan tribe"), there was a spring of water at Penelakut Spit with two great cedar logs beside it. After the sun shone on one of the logs, the bark cracked open and the first human being on Kuper Island, a man, emerged. Later, a woman emerged from the sand between the two logs. These two people built a house beside the stream and named it "two logs half covered with sand" (Cryer, n.d.). RJ had heard this story as well, but told it so as to account for the first people at Penelakut Spit, rather than for the origin of the name [/]penalexeth'.

Jenness (1955:86) received information from a Nanaimo person who stated that the villages at Sechelt and Kuper Island were "tributary" (i.e. subservient and of a lower social class) to other villages, presumably those at Nanaimo River. The

Penelakut villagers today can provide genealogies linking people from their village to people at Kulleet Bay and Nanaimo, but they understandably are vehement in their denial that they (or their ancestors) were ever "tributary" to anyone.

Douglas (1853) noted that the "Chief" of the Penelakut in the middle of the Nineteenth Century was named "Lachulitch", but the Penelakut today do not know this ancestral name as the leader of a household or extended family. They could not even reconstruct Douglas' name into a plausible ancestral name (DP; RJ). ADJ guessed that Douglas was trying to record a name like "Lexetsewlets", but he had never heard that name or anything remotely close to it [from Kuper Island or anywhere else].

The Penelakut villagers formerly "raked" herring and collected herring spawn in the spring adjacent to their village at Penelakut Spit and on the west side of Kuper Island. They collected beach foods in the inter-tidal zones on Kuper Island and on the numerous islands in Stuart and Trincomali Channels (RJ) and around Saltspring Island (RJ; Boas, 1887:132). Boas noted that Saltspring Island was also visited by the Halalt. Apparently, the people from Penelakut Spit dug clams adjacent to their own village, as well as at Lamalchi Bay and Telegraph Harbour on Kuper Island, and fishing for salmon was done by Penelakut men in all salt-water areas surrounding Kuper Island (AG; DP; RJ). The Penelakut, like other Gulf Island groups, frequently saw whales in their waters in the past. But these were not hunted and whale meat was probably only eaten if the animals "beached themselves"

(AT; RJ).

The Penelakut people formerly travelled to the lower Fraser River to fish for sockeye and humpback salmon in the summer months. They camped at tl'ektines (place-name number 288 in this study) and across the river from New Westminster at a place called kikeyt (DP; RJ). Duff (1952:25, 26) noted that as late as 1827 the "Pinellahutz" [penalexeth'] and people who resided at the Cowichan River villages of Somenos and Quamichan were still utilizing large plank houses on the "South Arm of the Fraser about half-way between the mouth and New Westminster", although the antiquity of this seasonal migration is not mentioned. Johan Adrian Jacobsen stopped at "Pinalekaht" on May 2nd, 1882 and noted that the village "had a rather large population". But most of the people were at a potlatch at kikeyt [mentioned above] (Gunther, 1977:78).

As Suttles has pointed out in good detail (1952:11-14) the nature of the Penelakut villagers' sea-lion hunting at Porlier Pass, and more information is cited in discussions of the place-names there in this study, no useful purpose would be achieved in reiterating the information here. The main Penelakut salmon fishing and sea-mammal hunting camps were on the Galiano Island side of Porlier Pass, and the last sea-lion hunting by the Penelakut seems to have been in the early 1920's. But it will be noted that this was a response to the "bounty" placed on sea-lions by the Canadian government (in an unsuccessful attempt to preserve salmon stocks after the Hell's Gate slide in 1913) (ADJ; DP; RJ). Suttles noted elsewhere (1951:238) that the Penelakut "supplied their neighbors [this

evidently included the Straits Salish as well as the Island Halkomelem] with bowstrings" made from sea-lion gut. "The fresh gut was cleaned, split to the desired size, and dried in the sun until it was the color of a fiddlestring. It was made in several thicknesses. A whole gut was said to hold a thousand pounds" (Suttles, 1951:238). DP recalled the use of sea-lion sinew or gut for hunting bowstrings in the past. Cryer (n.d.) recorded a story explaining how the Squamish first found Kuper Island, when a "magic wooden sea lion" towed two Squamish brothers to Kuper Island. This same story is still told, in quite a different form, by the Penelakut and the former residents of Valdes Island villages today (AT; RJ).

In the historic period, around the 1880's, when non-Indians began to inhabit some of the resource-procurement locations used by the Island Halkomelem, fishing by such groups as the Penelakut changed dramatically. As Lomas, an Indian Agent stated in his report to the Indian Superintendent, (Lomas, 1882) at Kuper Island there was "a heavy dogfish-ery... [The Indians'] chief income is derived from fish-oil from grampas [killer whale], porpoise and dog-fish, no village on the coast being better situated for carrying on this industry. Porpoise are killed by spearing or shooting. The dog-fish lines... [are baited]...with herring on about 800 hooks." Lomas saw, in August of 1882, one dogfish line pulled in at Kuper Island and almost all eight hundred hooks had a fish. The oil from the dogfish was smuggled into the United States or used for lanterns or lubricating logging skid roads (ADJ; CP).

Lomas also sent the Indian Superintendent other valuable

ethnographic information concerning the Penelakut, Chemainus (presumably at Kulleet Bay and Chemainus Harbour) and "Tait-ka" (village at Shingle Point, Valdes Island). Lomas' comments in his report on the Cowichan Agency for 1882 are worth citing in their entirety here, since they are not readily available to scholars. According to Lomas,

"Fifty years ago [in 1832] all the smaller bands of this tribe lived on different branches of the Cowichan River, and the places where they have now erected villages were then only fishing stations to which they resorted in large numbers for mutual protection from the attacks of the Kwah-kewlth nation [the Southern Kwakiutl and their allies] with whom they were constantly at war. But when peace was established between them, several bands separated from the Cowichan tribe and went to reside permanently at these fishing stations, thus forming the minor bands of Chemainus, Tait-ka, Penalakut and others, giving to each the name of their old village on the Cowichan."

Before commenting on Lomas' remarks, it is worth referring to Boas' early work (1887:132), which states almost identical ideas to Lomas. According to Boas,

"During the first half of this [the Nineteenth] century, the tribes of this subdivision [the Island Halkomelem] were constantly at war with the Euclataws, who frequently raided their settlements, murdering the

inhabitants or taking them as slaves. For this reason, for many years these tribes lived in the Cowichan River region, inland and not exposed to the open Gulf, where they were safe from the war canoes of the Northern tribes. Only after the end of the wars did they move back to their own area on the sea and on the islands. Even today, all these people own stretches of Cowichan River frontage [or occupy areas all along the Cowichan River] where they are allowed to erect dwelling-places."

Both Boas and Lomas have suggested that there should be a one-to-one correspondence between the names of Cowichan River villages and village names in the Gulf Islands (including Penelakut Spit) or elsewhere in the Chemainus dialect area of Island Halkomelem. Furthermore, they tend to question the antiquity of the Chemainus area villages. We will leave aside the relationships between the villages named t'aat'ka7, xelaltxw, shts'emines [or a diminutive of this name] and xinepsem [or a diminutive of this name], which are villages on the Cowichan River that have corresponding names in the Chemainus dialect area. We will discuss all of these in the analysis section of this study. But the reader will note that there are simply too many village names in the Chemainus dialect area without similar or identical names on the Cowichan River, and that one of these is penalexeth' (ADJ).

Lomas (1882) has said that the Chemainus area villages were originally fishing stations only, and Boas (1887:132) said that these villages were established before they were abandoned during the "Indian wars". The Penelakut today say that their village has been continuously occupied (except for seasonal resource-procurement migrations elsewhere) for hundreds, if not thousands of years. This is borne out by genealogies, and by the archaeological evidence at Penelakut Spit. Furthermore, the Penelakut do not trace their origins to the Cowichan River and claim to speak a different dialect from the Cowichan. Most importantly, there is no record of any village named penalexeth' on the Cowichan River, and this would certainly be remembered by either the Cowichan or Penelakut today. We have already seen that several Cowichan River villages with corresponding names in the Chemainus area are remembered by specific location, even though they have not been occupied for many generations. In addition, the Island Halkomelem today say that the so-called "wars" with the Southern Kwakiutl only took place on a large scale [i.e. large enough to force abandonment of exposed villages on the Gulf Islands] from about 1790 to 1850, and that the abandonment of villages was seasonal since Euclataw raids were much more frequent in the summer months. It seems quite clear that both Boas and Lomas received their information from Cowichan people, and this is proven by their diaries and field notes. The village at Penelakut Spit has been and remains today the largest permanent winter village on the southern Gulf Islands and its residents, like those at Kulleet Bay, Ladysmith Harbour and Westholme

believe that there is only a long-standing relationship between a few families at Cowichan and their extended families. All of the villagers in the Chemainus area say that they have been there for a long time. In any case, the village at Penelakut Spit was named for that location only and the name for the village is descriptive for that place. The entire reconstruction of intervillage migrations between the Cowichan and Chemainus dialect areas awaits further geneological and archaeological studies among present-day residents and villages in both regions (ADJ; AJ; AT; RJ).

There are a number of place-names adjacent to Penelakut Spit and these could all be considered part of penalexeth' village. The original village stood on the beach just south of the Spit, and the only remains of the old village are the house-post holes of fallen houses and one longhouse still standing. The present village is located on top of the hill, almost directly above the old village-site. Place-name number 85, (sh)teto7texwnets, refers to the east side of Penelakut Spit and place-name number 86, (s)lilpokw refers to the northwest side of the Spit. Close to the northern boundary of the former village is a place called "Bailer Point" (lhexet, place-name number 87 in this study). This place was so named because it was a place to bail out water from canoes upon reaching Penelakut village in the old days (AG; DP; RJ).

A large boulder on the beach at Penelakut Spit is named smelew or smimelew. This rock is named after a man who was the character in a "true story" told by the Island and Mainland Halkomelem. Published versions of the "Story of Smelo"

can be found in the works of Hill-Tout [a Kwantlen version] (1902:80-82, 84-85) and Jenness [a Katzie version] (1955:57-58). The boulder in question (place-name number 88 in this study) is apparently not associated with Smelo's guardian-spirit power, which was said to be the south wind, and it is not considered a "sacred place" by the Penelakut today (RJ).

On the west side of Clam Bay, about two kilometers from the present Penelakut village, there is a small creek which runs into Clam Bay. This creek is called shi7shem and is technically not located in penalexeth' village's boundaries. There is an anomaly concerning the name for this creek, place-name number 89 in this study. Although its name translated literally means 'little shallow creek' or 'little dried-up creek', all the people who know this place-name seem to agree that the creek "never dries up, even in the middle of summer or after a long time without rain". The creek is evidently fed by underground springs (AG; DP; RJ).

From Kuper Island, we now continue with other place-names known to the Island Halkomelem which are located in the Chemainus dialect area. We move from Clam Bay to the small islands between Kuper Island and the Galiano Island side of Porlier Pass. From there we will continue around Galiano Island and discuss the Chemainus dialect place-names known in Houston Passage and also those in Trincomali Channel (between Galiano and Saltspring Islands.)

90. Norway or "Rice" Island

xa7xtl'eken (AG; AT; DP; RJ) 'crossing the top end [or head]'

xaxetl'eken (AG) 'crossways [Island]' [alternate form]

The name for this island was meant to describe the way it looked "crossing the middle of the water" in front of Penelakut village. The Indians call this "Rice Island", because the Rice extended family used to live there. The beaches on this small island were a favourite place to collect giant red sea urchins and small green sea urchins (AT; RJ).

91. Hall Island

xw7eyem (AG; AT; DP; RJ) 'clear water'

This island was also used for the collection of beach foods by the people inhabiting adjacent winter villages, such as the ones on Kuper and Valdes Islands (AT; RJ).

92. Centre Reef (Between Penelakut Spit And Reid Island)

thi7thoxwo7xw (AT; DP) 'little [one] disappearing [at high tide]'

The name for this place is self-explanatory, since it was covered at high tide. This place-name is similar to number 80 in this study, thithoxwo7kw [Alarm Rock] (AT).

93. Reid Island

kwoles (AT; DP) possibly 'peaceful place'

kwxwoles (AG) (meaning not known)

A family named Silvey used to live on this island (AT). Long ago it was used by Kuper and Valdes Island fishermen to catch octopi, used as bait for halibut and dogfish (DP; RJ).

94. Galiano Island

swiikw' (AT) (meaning not known)

Sqoē'tē (Boas, 1981:81)

Boas recorded a story in the 1890's that said "Sqoē'tē" was "Galiano Island". The Island Halkomelem today do not recognize this term for all of Galiano Island, any place on it, or any place adjacent to it. It is believed (and judging by the context of the name in Boas' story) that Boas was actually referring to Lasqueti Island, sxwe7iti7 [place-name number 6 in this study] (All). AT thought that Boas may have been talking about skw'ith'i 'green sea urchins' or perhaps an unlocated bay on the "east side of Galiano Island" named swiikw'.

95. Virago Point-Race Point Area, Porlier Pass

xinepsem (AJ; AT; DP; RJ) possibly 'caught by the neck'

or 'caught in the neck'

xixnepsem (AJ; AT; DP; RJ) 'little [one] caught by [or in] the neck', "little xinepsem"

Just as there was a relationship between a village on the north side of Porlier Pass and one on Cowichan Bay (place-names 45 and 241 in this study, respectively), the former village on the south side of Porlier Pass in the Virago-Race Point area named xinepsem has the same name (or diminutive) as a village at the mouth of the north arm of the Cowichan River. However, the reader will note that the alternate name for the Virago-Race Point village is a diminutive, making the possibility greater that the Cowichan River village was established first (AJ; AT). The Island Halkomelem today say the

two villages (Green Point, xinepsem and Virago-Race Point on Galiano Island) were actually occupied by the same extended families, perhaps simultaneously. That is, there may have been members of the same extended family occupying both villages during the winters until the early historic period, or perhaps the Galiano Island village was only occupied during the summer months for food-getting activities at Porlier Pass by some (or even most) of the Cowichan villagers. In any case, there were only a few permanent houses at the Galiano Island village and summer residents erected temporary shelters in most cases. There is evidence to suggest that the Cowichan villagers transported their winter house-boards by canoe to frames already erected at the Galiano Island site (AJ; AT).

There was an abundance of beach foods in the Virago-Race Point area, and salmon were also taken in large quantities by the Indians there in the past. Herring and herring spawn could be taken in the spring and summer. Harbour seals were clubbed on the rookeries in the area during the summer as well. All of these activities were undertaken by the residents of the Virago-Race Point village, as well as by people who travelled to this area from Kulleet Bay, Kuper Island and Ladysmith Harbour (AJ; AT; RJ). Perhaps only the Penelakut Spit villagers had the right to hunt sea-lions at Porlier Pass and others, too, by intermarriage with these people. But the Penelakut camped on the south side of Porlier Pass near the village being discussed here (AT; RJ; Lane, 1953: 76; Suttles, 1952:11-13). As was made clear by the discussion

of Porlier Pass usage from the Valdes Island side, sea-lion hunting was restricted to specific men who had "special training", and the activity took place only during a specific time in the summer when the animals were hauling out on rookeries at Porlier Pass (AJ; AT; RJ).

Inasmuch as the Galiano Island side of Porlier Pass was such an important area to the Island Halkomelem, there was an Indian Reserve established there. It extends from the east side of Alcala Point to the second bay east of Race Point (and includes Virago Point). Unoccupied today, it originally consisted of about thirty-one hectares. But part of this reserve, known as Chemainus Reserve #9 (Porlier Pass Fishing Station), was "cut off" so that two lighthouses could be erected about 1915. The area of Reserve #9 today is precisely twenty-nine hectares (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1: 297).

The Virago-Race Point village, and the fact that it has the same name as one on the lower Cowichan River, does little to either support or refute Boas' (1887:132-133) claims about which villages were built first. It is obvious that the Porlier Pass village would be open to attack from the Southern Kwakiutl and their allies, but the Island Halkomelem today cannot state with the same assurance as Boas that "only after the...["Indian"]...wars did the...[Island Halkomelem]...move back to their own area on the sea and on the islands", after having lived on the Cowichan River (AJ; AT; RJ). Present-day Indians also disagree with Boas' assertion (1887:132-133) that "the other tribes...[besides the Nanaimo and Nanoose]...who live on Vancouver Island own the narrows between Valdez and Galiano Islands "

[that is, Porlier Pass] (AJ; AT). The reader is again referred to the excellent work of Suttles (1952) concerning sea-mammal hunting at Porlier Pass.

96. Race Point Area

lh[/]kene (AG) 'anchor'

No further information was forthcoming on this place-name by AG.

97. **Unnamed** Bay East Of Race Point

xw7a7iten (AG) (Meaning not known, but AG called this the "bay in the middle" of Porlier Pass, on the Galiano Island side.)

98. Dionisio Point And "Coon Bay" South Of It

kwelwi7es (AT; DP; RJ) possibly 'whirlpool at ebb tide'

kwelwi7es (AG; MD) [Note the different pronunciation and placement of this name below.]

(meaning not known)

This place-name is very problematic and serves to indicate the inherent problems of undertaking a salvage ethnographic survey such as the present study. AT and DP said that this place-name referred to Dionisio Point and the large bay south of it, known locally as "Coon Bay". AG said that the name, which he pronounced a little differently from AT, DP, or RJ was actually "Cable Bay" (location unknown). AG felt that "Cable Bay" was "where the underground telephone cable comes onto Galiano Island from the mainland". On the east side of Galiano Island, there are two "submarine cable" stations. The closest to Dionisio Point is about ten kilometers south of

"Coon Bay" (midway between Bodega Hill and Quadra Hill) and the second is just north of Whaler Bay, too far south of the Dionisio Point area to be credible. MD, on the other hand, pronounced the name the same way as AG but placed it further north and west than anyone else. He thought it was on the Valdes Island side of Porlier Pass, between Cardale and Cayetano Points.

In any case, all of the people who knew this place-name felt that this place was used as a temporary camping-site by the Island Halkomelem during the summer on their way over to the mainland to fish for humpback and sockeye salmon (AG; AT; DP; MD; RJ).

99. Sturdies Bay Area

(sh)xixnaten (AJ; GC) '(place with) footprint'

xe'xnitctan (Suttles, field notes) "Spring opposite
Gossip Island"

Somewhere on the isthmus between Sturdies Bay and Whaler Bay (AJ; GC), on the Cain Peninsula, or perhaps in Whaler Bay there was said to be a footprint of the Transformer Xaals. According to GC, Xaals put his right foot down at Chuckanut Bay, south of Bellingham, Washington, and his footprint can be seen there today. Then Xaals took a giant step over the Strait of Georgia and placed his left foot down in the Whaler-Sturdies Bay area. GC last saw the footprint on Galiano Island in the first decade of this century, but we were unable to locate it on a field trip to this area in 1980. Therefore, the exact location of (sh)xixnaten remains unknown. Perhaps

the "spring opposite Gossip Island", referred to by Suttles (field notes), can be found and further fieldwork to find the "footprint" can be done in the future.

100. Active Pass

skthoko7lh (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP; DP; GC; HW; RJ)

'little narrows'

skthak (AJ; AT; CP) 'narrows' [Note that this term in

Island Halkomelem is the same as the Straits

Salish (Saanich dialect) term for Active Pass.

This is an alternate form for this place-name,

used very infrequently by the Island Halkomelem.]

sqsaqa7 (Suttles, field notes; 1951:26) "little pass"

sqsa7q (Suttles, 1951:26) "pass"

sqsa7eq (Hudson, 1971:18) "big narrows"

squtheq (Hudson, 1971:18)

sksa7ak (Hudson, 1971:18) "Mayne Island...pass"

skuthuk (Hudson, 1971:18)

Scth-auckh (Hamilton, 1969:56) "big village"

sqsa7eq (Mitchell, 1968:96)

Active Pass was utilized by the Cowichan and a few Chemainus on their way to the mainland in the summer. There formerly were many deer on the island, and there still are many protected bays in the Pass which would have afforded excellent camping locations (ADJ; AJ; AT). The Island Halkomelem today feel that Active Pass was the unofficial "boundary" between the Straits Salish (Saanich) and the Island Halkomelem, in terms of the two Indian languages and the fishing, hunting and other food-getting territories, as well (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP).

Barnett (1955:22) noted that the Cowichan came to Active Pass for herring, seal, porpoises and halibut. AJ and AT said that the Cowichan and Chemainus hunted seals at the Pass and Suttles (1951:337) supported their statements. Herring, which ran through the pass in the spring, attracted seals, sea-lions and killer-whales, as well as some sockeye salmon, lingcod, cormorants and loons, which all fed on them (ADJ; AJ; AT; RJ; HW). There were still Island Halkomelem people staying on the Saanich Reserve at Active Pass (Helen Point) in 1951, according to Suttles (1951:27). There were many types of beach foods available in the area at all seasons of the year (ADJ; AJ; AT; Hamilton, 1969:56). AT used the place-name skthoko7lh to refer to all of Mayne Island in general and Active Pass in particular. She felt that Active Pass was traditionally "shared" by the Saanich, Cowichan and Chemainus due to the fact that it is only one of three "breaks in the Gulf Islands" (the other two being Porlier Pass and Gabriola Passage) that the Indians could use to travel to the mainland by canoe "in the old days". It will be noted that Active Pass has the same name in Island Halkomelem as Porlier Pass (place-name number 42 in this study).

101. Prevost Island

(s)xw(e)7asxwem (AJ; AT; CP) 'place having [many]
harbour seals'

102. Annette Inlet, Prevost Island

xwtl'ek'eyxem (AT) 'whirlpool place'

Prevost Island, with its many bays and inlets, provided the Cowichan and Chemainus with abundant quantities of clams, halibut and porpoises (AJ; AT; Barnett, 1955:22). Herring were also found in Annette Inlet, and these were raked in the spring and their spawn was also collected (AT; Suttles, 1951: 22). As its name suggests, harbour [or "hair"] seals frequented the waters around the island, and they were clubbed as they hauled out onto rookeries by Island Halkomelem men (AT; CP).

103. Montague Harbour, Galiano Island

[/]senew (AJ; AT) 'inside [place]', "entering place"

[/][/]semnew (AT) [alternate pronunciation with same translation as term above]

Montague Harbour was a favourite summer camping place of the Cowichan and Chemainus. The Indians used to dig clams there and dry them on cedar bark twine for later use (AJ; AT).

104. Parker Island (Northwest Of Montague Harbour)

[/]kwi7kwens (AG) (meaning not known)

The Indian use of this place is no longer remembered (AG).

105. Trincomali Channel (Between Galiano And Saltspring Islands)

tl'ooltxw (MD) (exact meaning not known)

tl'aaltxw (RJ) (meaning not known)

tl'iyaaaltxw (RJ) (meaning not known)

This place-name is similar to place-name number 35 in this study [tl'aaltxw (False Narrows)].

106. Retreat Cove, Galiano Island

xath'akem (AG) 'measure penis place'

AG did not remember why this place was so named.

107. Wallace Island

smimkwetses (AG; AT; DP; RJ) 'one finger', "clenched fingers"

This island was evidently named after a man with either one or no fingers who lived there (AT; DP; RJ). AG thought that this man's name was Jack Chivers.

108. Southey Point, North Tip Of Saltspring Island

p'k'enep (RJ) 'white ground'

This place was used in the past by the Lamalchi Bay, Telegraph Harbour and Penelakut Spit villagers on Kuper Island for the collection of beach foods (RJ).

109. Jackscrew Island

shmemewkw'ale (AT; DP; RJ) 'graveyard [place]'

This island was evidently used by the Island Halkomelem for burials in the past.

110. Jackscrew Island Area

shsesk'etsen (AG) 'cut in the middle'

No information could be obtained about this place from AG.

111. Secretary Islands And The Intertidal Zone Between Them

shemetsen (AG; AT; DP; RJ) 'beach [between] goes dry'

Secretary Islands, and especially the area between them, was a favourite place that the Kuper Island people went to collect clams, cockles, sea urchins and sea cucumbers (DP; RJ).

112. Davis Lagoon, Mouth Of Stocking Creek

xwkwatsem (AL2; MD) 'falling into water'

This area was used by the people inhabiting winter villages on Ladysmith Harbour for beach food collection and some fishing during the summer (AL2; MD).

113. Chemainus Harbour, Chemainus Bay, Former Village at Chemainus

senewnat[/]s (ADJ; AJ; AT; DP; RJ) 'go inside to bottom end',
'entering back end of bay, or 'going inside backwards'
Sun-now-netz (Cryer, n.d.) "fresh water behind houses"

114. Bare Point, Chemainus Bay ("Cradle Point")

p'oth'es (ADJ; AJ; AT; RJ) 'cradle'

There was formerly a winter village where the present Chemainus sawmill now stands. It probably had four or five houses at one time, but its residents moved to Kuper Island, Kulleet Bay, or Westholme in the late 1800's and there are no Indian reserves in the area today. It will be noted that the present designation on maps of Chemainus Harbour as "Chemainus Bay" conflicts with the past and present English name used by the Island Halkomelem. The Indians still use the name "Chemainus Bay" to refer to Kulleet Bay, since that is where the original winter village of "Chemainus" [shts'-emines] is located (ADJ; AJ; RJ).

On the northwest side of Bare Point, Island Halkomelem women deposited their babies' cradles in the cliffs, hence the Indian name "Cradle Point". This custom of disposing of cradles when a child is old enough not to require them is still

practised today. Bare Point was used for this purpose in the past by women from Ladysmith Harbour, Kuper Island and, of course, those from the former village at Chemainus Harbour (ADJ; AJ; AT; RJ).

The area around Chemainus Harbour was formerly used for the collection of beach foods during the summer and for the collection of herring spawn in the early spring. The waters of Stuart Channel, east of Chemainus, were once rich with several species of salmon and are still used for commercial fishing today (ADJ; AJ; RJ).

115. Shoal Island #70/L14 (Northwest Of Willy Island And Due East Of Fuller Lake)

tl'atl'kt (AT) 'little long' or 'narrow and long'

116. Shoal Island #135/L13 (Southeast Of Island Above)

w^hkw'w^hkw' (AT) 'drifted down [slowly]'

117. Area West Of Mainguy Island, Opposite Chemainus Reserve #7

pi7penem (AT) 'little buried [place]'

All three of the places named above were utilized by the Chemainus Island Halkomelem for fishing and beach foods collection, but not since the early decades of this century (AT).

118. Chemainus River (Including Upper River and Mouth)

si^hlok^hw^ho7elh (st^holew) (AJ; AT) (meaning not known, but

st^holew means 'river')

s^he^hlak^hoatl (Boas, 1981:74)

Selwacuth Stalow (Brown, 1864:15)

119. Mount Brenton

pelemetsen (ALl) (exact meaning not known)

Although the lower Chemainus River and its delta were utilized by all adjacent Chemainus winter village residents (AJ; AT), the upper Chemainus River was shared in common by Chemainus people from Kulleet Bay, Ladysmith Harbour, Sibell Bay and Willy Island specifically (AJ; AT; Boas, 1887:132). In the upper Chemainus River valley and around Mount Brenton, the Island Halkomelem hunted for deer, elk and other large land mammals. Chum salmon and trout were formerly abundant in the Chemainus River and were caught there by the Chemainus. Weirs were set up on the lower reaches of the river; names of builders or headmen who erected them (not in this century, due to extensive logging and pollution on the river) are not remembered today (AJ; ADJ; ALl). Barnett (field notes) said that rock weirs or "rock tidal impoundments" used to be located at the mouth of the river on the mud flats, and he even provided a diagram of what these looked like. AJ noted that at least four species of clams were procured by the Chemainus people at the mouth of the river and that numerous species of waterfowl were also caught there by means of nets strung on high poles.

Boas (1981:74) recorded that ten people who dropped from the sky went to the Chemainus River and became the ancestors of the Chemainus people. More will be said about the ancestor myths of the Chemainus when Sicker Mountain is discussed. According to ALl, Mount Brenton formed the western boundary of the Chemainus. Their traditional territory was said to "look like a diamond, going from a tall tree near Ivy Green

Park (just north of Ladysmith), west to Mount Brenton south to Crofton and east to the Gulf Islands." AL1 was referring to the Chemainus people occupying winter villages from Ladysmith Harbour south, since the people from Kulleet Bay had their own boundaries for fishing and hunting.

120. North End Of Willy Island (Chemainus Reserve #1) and

Westholme (Chemainus Reserve #2), Halalt Band

xelalt[/]xw (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP) 'marked houses' or
'painted houses'

Qala[/]ltq (Boas, 1981:76) "Chemainus Valley"

Halalt (Duff, 1964:26)

Halalt (Jenness, n.d.)

Hellelt (Jenness, field notes)

Hel-lelt (Cryer, n.d.) "marks"

Halalt (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297)

Hallalt[/]hw (Curtis, 1913:38)

Chalalt[/]ch (Boas, 1887:132) "Chemainus River"

Skalaltuch (Douglas, 1853) "Chief was Swoo-tun"

121. Bonsall Creek (Chemainus Reserve #6)

xwts[/]'esi7 (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP; RJ) 'go [in-] between'

Tsussie (Cryer, n.d.) "little creek or stream"

Tsussie (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297)

There used to be a permanent winter village on the north end of Willy Island, the largest of the Shoal Islands east of the mouth of the Chemainus River. There is still a fifty-seven hectare Indian Reserve at the site of that village (called Chemainus #1), but the area has been abandoned by

the Chemainus (Halalt Band) since the 1920's. This village has the same name as one on the lower Cowichan River near the present Village Green Motel on the Island Highway.

Because this Cowichan River village became flooded in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, its residents moved to Willy Island, taking the village name xelaltxw with them (AJ; ADJ; AT; Boas, 1981:76; Barnett, 1955:21; Curtis, 1913:38, 175). According to an early map of Willy Island (d'Heureuse, 1860), there were three houses at the Willy Island village. But the Chemainus today recall there being at least five or six there in the early historic period (AL1; AT). It is presumed that the Halalt people, either while they were living on the Cowichan River, on Willy Island, or subsequently, decorated their houseposts by "marking or painting them", hence the word for their village xelaltxw "painted or marked houses" (ADJ; AJ). The Willy Island area was formerly abundant in beach food resources, salmon and even deer. The latter crossed over the mud-flats at the mouth of the Chemainus River to Willy Island. Waterfowl were caught in the Willy Island area as well. Flounders were procured by "stepping on them" in the inter-tidal zone between Vancouver and Willy Islands. This species was also taken by means of a special pitchfork spear and by a special seine net (AJ).

The Halalt people moved from Willy Island to the present Halalt Reserve (Chemainus Reserve #2) at Westholme in the early decades of this century. The present Westholme Reserve is about one hundred fifteen hectares in area and is actually comprised of Chemainus people from Willy Island and other

Chemainus Reserves that are now unoccupied (AJ; AT; RJ; Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297). As it was with the previous migration from the Cowichan River, the people from Willy Island took the name xelaltxw with them when they moved to Westholme (AJ; AT). The Chemainus from Westholme travelled to the mainland in the summer to fish for sockeye salmon on the lower Fraser River and at Point Roberts (AJ; AT). Jenness (n.d.) stated that the Chemainus people from Westholme netted humpback salmon off the mouth of the Fraser River in July and August and that they "owned the fishing rights at... [Tsawwassen]...for time immemorial". He also recorded a rather lengthy "First Salmon Ceremony" that the Westholme people performed over the first sockeye salmon caught in the fishing season. This ceremony was said to be almost identical to the Saanich "First Salmon Ceremony".

Hill-Tout (1907:365) was not able to record the name of the "first chief" of the Chemainus, but a man who fell from the sky at either Mount Prevost or Big Sicker Mountain named St'ets'en was certainly the first ancestor of the Chemainus. Like Siyoletse, a Cowichan ancestor, St'ets'en was first named Sweten 'noise of something falling on the ground' (ADJ; AJ; AT; AL1; CP; Boas, 1981:76; Jenness, field notes; Curtis, 1913:37; Douglas, 1853). Boas (1981:76) said a Chemainus ancestor was "Sitqoe'metsten" and the Island Halkomelem today recognize this ancestral name as Setxwiimetsten (ADJ).

Another group of people living near the mouth of the Chemainus River today (actually the mouth of Bonsall Creek) are the Tsussie, named after their village xwts'esi7. The

Tsussie Reserve is legally known as Chemainus Reserve #6 (ADJ; AJ) and occupies an area of about thirteen and one-half hectares (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:297). The area around this present village and reserve was formerly abundant with ducks and beaver. The Chemainus hunted both of these with bows and arrows, and ducks were also caught in special nets raised on high poles (AJ). The Tsussie Reserve is part of the Penelakut Band on Kuper Island. Many former residents of Kuper Island villages now reside at Tsussie, just as many of the former villagers from Valdes Island and Chemainus Harbour now reside at the Westholme Reserve (ADJ; AJ; AT; RJ).

122. Vesuvius Bay, Saltspring Island

stelo^h (CP; DP) (meaning not known)

sti'lan (Hudson, 1971:15) "Booth Bay" [Note that this is

sti'lan^h (Hudson, 1971:15) the next bay south of Vesuvius.]

No information was forthcoming about the pre-contact use of this bay (CP; DP).

123. Osborn Bay (Crofton)

sthixem^h (AT) 'little spring of water place'

Very little is known about the Island Halkomelem usage of Osborn Bay, but it is believed that the area was used for the collection of beach foods and for salmon fishing (ADJ; AT). Curtis (1913:37) said that a Chemainus ancestor ("Swütun^h", probably St'ets'en) moved to "Tsiuhum^h" (place-name #61 in this study). Curtis' name is quite close to sthixem^h and it may be Osborn Bay, or an island near it, that he was noting.

124. Big Sicker Mountain, Little Sicker Mountain, Or Both
 skw'ookw'nes (AJ) (meaning not known)
 skw'ekw'eno7es (ADJ) 'facing over' or 'looking down'
 125. kw'i7im (AJ) (meaning not known) [This was given as a
 second name for one or both Sicker Mount-
 ains.]

Since the Island Halkomelem today refer to both Big Sicker Mountain and Little Sicker Mountain right beside it as "Sicker Mountain", the two names for these mountains are combined and they refer to the general area (ADJ; AJ). Sicker Mountain is an extremely important place to the Island Halkomelem. This area was the mutually understood linguistic and territorial boundary between the Chemainus dialect-speakers and the Cowichan dialect-speakers of the Island Halkomelem language. Both groups (the Chemainus and the Cowichan) refer to people living south of the latitude of Sicker Mountain as "Cowichan" [kewetsen]. Strangely, people living north of Sicker Mountain are **not referred to** as "Chemainus" [shts'emines], since that would designate them as residents of the village at Kulleet Bay only. They are called sna7alets 'those living on the other side'. This term, derived from the word snalets 'other side', is used by the Cowichan to refer to all the Chemainus people but particularly the Island Halkomelem in the Chemainus dialect area on Vancouver Island. The Chemainus and Nanaimo dialect area residents most often refer to themselves by their village name; at least this has been the case since the early historic period (ADJ; AJ).

Suttles (1952:11, 12) hinted at the differences between the Cowichan and Chemainus dialects. Two linguists, Leslie (1979) and Gerdts (1977), both worked with speakers of Cowichan and Chemainus and shed absolutely no light on the differences between dialects. It may be that they could not clearly define the Cowichan, Chemainus and Nanaimo dialect areas because they did not engage in a study of the ethnogeography of each group. This is a further indication of the utility of place-names in our understanding of Indian cultures.

The Sicker Mountain area was used extensively by the Cowichan and Chemainus for the hunting of such large land mammals as deer, elk and black bears (AJ).

Sicker Mountain is also important because it is said to be the original home of the first ancestor of all of the Chemainus Indians (i.e. those in the Chemainus dialect area). This man's name was St'ets'en, although he was first called Swetén 'noise of something falling to the ground' (ADJ; AJ; CP; Boas, 1981:76 [but note that Boas also named St'ets'en as one of three Quamichan ancestors]; Curtis, 1913:37, 38). St'ets'en is sometimes described as the brother of Siyoletse (a Cowichan ancestor) and the place where he dropped from the sky is either Mount Prevost or Sicker Mountain, depending on the person telling the ancestor myth (ADJ; AJ; CP). More will be said about St'ets'en when Mount Prevost is discussed in this study.

The following place-names are located in the territory of the speakers of the Cowichan dialect of Island Halkomelem.

126. Sansum Narrows (And Perhaps Also Booth Bay, Saltspring Island)

tómel (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'lukewarm [water]'

táməl (Hudson, 1971:15) "Vesuvius Bay"

táʔmal (Hudson, 1971:15) "Sansum Narrows"

127. Sansum Narrows, Between Maxwell Point And Erskine Point (Saltspring Island)

tó7temel (AJ; CP) 'cooler than lukewarm [water]'

tátmal (Hudson, 1971:15)

Sansum Narrows was used by the Cowichan for salmon fishing, according to ADJ, AJ and CP).

128. Maple Bay

xwtl'epnats (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'deep water behind [or on bottom of] bay'

xwtl'Apnéch (Mitchell, 1968:130) "Village at Maple Bay"

Klup-nich (Cryer, n.d.)

Klup-nitz (Cryer, n.d.)

Maple Bay formerly had a few houses in which extended families from the lower Cowichan River dwelt on a seasonal basis. The bay itself and Sansum Narrows east of it were used extensively by the Cowichan in the past. Perch, red snapper and lingcod were taken from the waters and herring spawn was collected there in the early spring. Beach foods such as clams, native oysters, scallops, abalone and octopus were also abundant previously. Killer-whales and humpback whales were often seen in Maple Bay, but they were not hunted by the Cowichan. However, seals and sea-lions were hunted in

the Maple Bay area, but not in this century (AJ).

Maple Bay was said by the Island Halkomelem to be the site of the last battle between the "Northern People" [that is, the Southern Kwakiutl and their allies], Yekwelhta7x and the Coast Salish. This battle, which apparently took place about 1860, was the last of the so-called "Indian Wars". Some of the Coast Salish groups involved at Maple Bay included the Straits Salish (from Canada and the United States), the Halkomelem (Island and Mainland), the Squamish, the Sechelt and the Puget Sound Salish. The Coast Salish were victorious because they used a special system of bird calls (the loon, small owl and big owl) to warn of the impending Northern raiders and because they placed huge boulders on top of the cliffs at Maple Bay. They rolled the boulders onto the unsuspecting Northern People (who thought they had entered Cowichan Bay), flooding and destroying their canoes (ADJ; AJ; Boas, 1889 ; Jenness, field notes). The origin of the "Cowichan Victory Song" was at this battle. A young Somenos warrior did not suffocate from blood entering his lungs because flies and maggots kept his windpipe clear. His song is transcribed below:

Xwe7i7 stam [ts'a7] yexw ts'i7o7 kw'e7 heli7th?

The meaning of this song is "What brought me back to life", and the answer was the flies and maggots that kept blood from his mouth (ADJ; AJ; ARJ).

Paddy Mile Stone, at the south entrance to Maple Bay, once had an Indian place-name, but it is no longer remembered. The Stone was said to be the second rock slung by Smokw'ets (ADJ)

(or perhaps the first, according to GC). Smokw'ets was a man who tried to hit the monster at Octopus Point by hurling huge boulders from a hand-sling somewhere near Point Roberts (ADJ; GC).

129. Undefined Area Between Mount Richards and Mount Tzuhalem
xweyxweyepale7 (ADJ) "wake up creek"

130. North Side Of Mount Tzuhalem, Just South Of Maple Bay
(s)th'amtexen (ADJ) 'dry place'

These two areas are located between Maple Bay and Mount Tzuhalem. The first is an unlocated creek, perhaps one of the many flowing from Mount Richards south. The second place is so named because after the great flood which covered the Cowichan valley, it was one of the first places where the water receded (ADJ).

131. Large Cave At Octopus Point
shashek'em (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'wide open mouth'
sɛsəqəm (Hudson, 1971:16) "Bay just above Cowichan Bay"
sheshuq'um (Hudson, 1971:16)
She'shekam (Jenness, field notes) "Acton's Pass...open
mouth"
Tsaasch-a-khun (Cryer, n.d.)

132. Area Just South Of Octopus Point
xwekwewelesh (AJ) 'many shooting [bow and arrows]'

133. Mount Maxwell, Saltspring Island (Baynes Peak)
xwmat'etsem (ADJ; AJ; AT; GC) 'bent over place'

The three preceding place-names are all important to the Island Halkomelem. They are place-names derived from a story told by the Cowichan. In the mythical past there was a huge monster in a cave near Octopus Point. This monster [Curtis, 1913:170 said it was Ts'inkwo7, the supernatural lightning-snake, but the Indians today do not agree with this] always had its mouth wide open, hence the name shashek'em 'wide open mouth' for the place and the monster. This cave opened up and the monster sucked in people in canoes passing by. Curtis (1913:170) said that the monster's sharp tongue cut canoes in half, drowning the people aboard. In one version of the story, this monster was killed at the present site of the Mohawk Gas Station, on the Island Highway in Duncan, by Skw'ilem and his younger brother Swelho7kw' (AJ). In another version, the monster was killed by Smokw'ets, who hurled a stone at it from the Point Roberts area. The first few attempts by Smokw'ets failed and this is why Mount Maxwell (Baynes Peak) on Saltspring Island is "bent over". One of the boulders hit that mountain, or perhaps Smokw'ets called over to the mountain and asked it "to bend over" so he could hit the monster. In any case, it was the fourth and last rock hurled by Smokw'ets that killed shashek'em. To this day, the Island Halkomelem are still wary of passing by the cave or Octopus Point (ADJ; AJ; AT; GC).

Another place just south of Octopus Point was said to be a place where the Cowichan practised with bows and arrows to kill the monster. There was a crack in the cliffs there that was used for this purpose (AJ).

134. Burgoyne Bay, Saltspring Island

xwookw'em (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'merganser ["sawbill duck"]
place'

x^waq^wəm (Hudson, 1971:15)

xwaqw'um (Hudson, 1971:15)

Whaukan (d'Heureuse, 1860)

Although herring were raked and herring spawn was collected around Burgoyne Bay and the area was used by the Cowichan for clam digging and marine mammal hunting (seals and sea-lions), as this place-name indicates, it was a duck hunting area. Many species of waterfowl, but especially common mergansers (known to the Indians by their folk name "sawbill duck"), were netted and speared here, especially in the summer and autumn months (ADJ; AJ).

135. Bold Bluff, Saltspring Island

slhek'lhek'wes (ADJ; AJ; CP) '[place where] many lying
down'

slhuq'slə^wəs (Hudson, 1971:16) "big rock"

slhuq'slhuqwus (Hudson, 1971:16)

136. Bold Bluff Point (Wharf Area)

k'ik'ewetem (AJ) 'little drummer'

137. Bold Bluff Point (Cave In Cliffs At Point)

shxwexwo⁷esale (AJ) 'place of the Thunderbird'

The Bold Bluff area was the site of some strange noises, according to the Cowichan. The reason why Bold Bluff itself

was named "lots lying down" was that it appeared to the Indians in canoes in Sansum Narrows or Burgoyne Bay that the bluffs were like many people lying down with their backs exposed (AJ). The wharf area near Bold Bluff Point was a place where the Cowichan heard a "little drumming sound" in the past, but the source of this noise was not known. But the sound of thunder could often be heard emanating from a cave at Bold Bluff Point. For that reason the place was named "Thunderbird Cave". The Island Halkomelem believed that thunder was the sound of the Thunderbird flapping his wings. The cave at Bold Bluff Point was only one of several places in Island Halkomelem territory that was said to be home to this supernatural creature. The Cowichan today recall that in the past there were always bald eagles flying around Bold Bluff (AJ).

138. Musgrave Rock, Southwest Of Musgrave Point, Saltspring Island

kw'oth'o7kw (ADJ; AJ; AT; GC) 'excrement (on) head'

^wq' ^wacəwq^w (Hudson, 1971:15) "manure"

^wq' ^waesəwq^w (Hudson, 1971:15)

qw'az'uwqw (Hudson, 1971:15)

The reason why this place was so named is either not remembered or will not be revealed to non-Indians for some reason today (ADJ; AJ; GC).

139. Mount Tuam, Saltspring Island

ts'ewaan (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP) 'land [mountain] goes right
down to the water'

Tsō'wan (Boas, 1981:77)

caw[?]e[?]an (Hudson, 1971:15) "facing west"

tzuw'e'un (Hudson, 1971:15)

Chu-an (Hamilton, 1969:6) "facing the sea"

cuwen (Jenness, field notes)

tcuwan (Jenness, field notes) "Indian people who inhabited Saltspring Island"

Tuan (d'Heureuse, 1860)

Chuan (Douglas, 1853) [Note that Douglas' map shows the words Chuan Island where Saltspring Island is now.]

The area of Satellite Channel directly below Mount Tuam was formerly a seasonal camping location of the Cowichan and the Saanich. There was an incredible diversity of food-getting activities in this area until the turn of this century. Sharks were seen in the waters of Satellite Channel (AJ). In the spring, herring were raked and herring spawn collected by the Cowichan (ADJ; AJ; Jenness, field notes; n.d.). During the summer months, lingcod, halibut, clams, giant red sea urchins, seals and sea-lions were also taken by the Saanich and Cowichan, who used the beach below the mountain as a food-processing area (ADJ; AJ; AT; Jenness, field notes; n.d.).

In the Cowichan story of Sxaleken, the "Man With the Flashing Eyes", a man was left up on Mount Tuam to die. He had been blinded by slivers. Eventually he was able to cause lightning to strike every time he opened his eyes. The Saanich version of this story includes a place-name at the top of Mount Tuam, named sxaleken (after the character in the story just related) (ADJ; AJ; Hudson, 1971:15). In another version of this story, recorded by Boas in the 1890's (Boas,

1981:76, 77) at Duncan, Sxáleken's face was whipped with red cedar branches and later with blueberry bushes. After Sxáleken was left for dead for ten days, it was believed that the Thunderbird gave Sxáleken his eyes. This was the reason that fire [or lightning] flashed from Sxáleken's eyes and why he killed the brother who had previously whipped him just by looking at the brother.

From this point, at the southwest end of Saltspring Island, we will move to the north side of Cowichan Bay at Separation Point. From there we will examine all of the Cowichan place-names along the north side of Cowichan Bay. We will then proceed all the way up the Cowichan River to Cowichan Lake and beyond to the territory of the Westcoast (Nootka) Indians. We will then look at place-names in the Koksilah River valley, proceed along the southeast side of Vancouver Island as far as Sooke, and then examine the place-names known to the Island Halkomelem that are south of their traditional territory, or were shared with the Straits Salish Indians speaking the Saanich dialect.

140. Separation Point

snéstse (ADJ) (meaning not known)

snésts'e (AJ) (meaning not known)

snásce (Suttles, 1976a:5)

This point of land is an important landmark because when one travels by canoe south through Sansum Narrows and west into Genoa Bay and Cowichan Bay, it is necessary to pass the Point with sufficient distance to avoid running aground. Also, as one enters Cowichan Bay, the area around the Point is part of Cowichan Reserve #1 (AJ).

141. Genoa Bay (Southeast Side)

kwikwthóthen (AJ) (exact meaning not known)

k^wi7k^wéáæn (Suttles, 1976a:5)

There is apparently not a specific place associated with this place-name. The name seems to refer to the southeast side of Genoa Bay in the area west of Separation Point (AJ).

142. Genoa Bay (Formerly Known as Mahoney's Bay)

xwtémelhem (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'place having red ochre'

x^wtáməɬəm (Leslie, 1979:76)

x^wutáməɬən (Hudson, 1971:16)

hwutumulhun (Hudson, 1971:16)

táməɬ (Hudson, 1971:16) "red paint"

tumulh (Hudson, 1971:16)

x^wtáməɬəm (Suttles, 1976a:5)

Although the term *xwtémelhem* was previously used to refer exclusively to the area around the former sawmill at Genoa Bay, today it is used to refer to the entire bay. The exact location of the red ochre deposits, which the Indians utilized and for which this place was named, has not been found (AJ; CP). AJ was not certain that ochre was collected here at all.

The residents of the permanent winter villages on the lower Cowichan River "raked" herring and fished for salmon at Genoa Bay and collected herring spawn there in the early spring. At other times of the year the rocky intertidal zones were used for the procurement of such beach foods as clams and cockles (AJ).

143. Mount Tzuhalem or "Cowichan Mountain"

shkewetsen (ADJ; AJ; CP; DP) 'warm back' or 'basking on
its side in the sun'

qaw⁷acən (Suttles, 1976a:4)

Kaw^utsūn (Curtis, 1913:32)

KauwÉtsEn Smant (Hill-Tout, 1907:369)

144. Village at the Foot of Mount Tzuhalem, named for the Cowichan Warrior Tzouhalem [also alternate name for Mount Tzuhalem]

ts'ewxílem (ADJ; AJ; CP) Proper Name

ts'uxálem (ADJ; AJ; CP) [alternate pronunciation]

145. kewo7s (ADJ) 'facing the water'

cəw¹xí¹ləm (Leslie, 1979:5)

- tsuhelam (Barnett, 1955:21)
- ts^uhelum (Barnett, field notes)
- Tzo·xélem (Jenness, field notes)
- Tsohélim (Curtis, 1913:102) [Name for Mount Tzuhalem]
146. Tlk^aotas (Curtis, 1913:35, 175) [Name for the Warrior
Tzouhalem's "Stockaded Village"]
- Tsoqélem (Hill-Tout, 1907:369)
- Tsahlem (Humphreys, n.d.)
- Tcholam (Humphreys, n.d.)
- Tsouhailim (d'Heureuse Map, 1860)
147. "Frog Rock" on Mount Tzuhalem
- p'ip'oom (ADJ; AJ) 'little swelled-up one'
- Bipaam (Francis, 1928)
148. West Peak of Mount Tzuhalem, Where Cross Now Stands
- shp'ap'tl' (ADJ; AJ) 'place to feel around for something
[with the hands]'
- shpūp^a'ptl (Curtis, 1913:102)

The Island Halkomelem people who speak the Cowichan dialect and who live on the lower Cowichan River trace the origin of their name to Mount Tzuhalem. This large mountain, named shkewétsen, eventually became shortened to kewetsen, which was anglicized to Cowichan (ADJ; AJ). Boas (1887:129, 130) stated that the original name referred to Skinner Bluffs about two kilometers southeast of the mountain. In any case, the anglicized name is now applied to the Indian Band, the

river along which the people live and the lake that forms the source of the river, as well as to the large bay at the mouth of the river (among other local place-names).

The reason for naming Mount Tzuhalem, shkew[']/_{et}sen, Cowichan Mountain is obvious; the origin of the Indian name is not as apparent to the non-Indian. ADJ explained in his version of the Cowichan "Story of the Great Flood" that before this deluge, that happened thousands of years ago, there was a large frog on top of what is now Mount Tzuhalem. The Indian people saw the frog and noticed that it was "basking on its side in the warm sun", shkew[']/_{et}sen. The people decided to take their name from this frog's actions, and that is the origin of the word "Cowichan". Today, some people "who have very good eyes" can still see the image of that frog in the rock on the west side of Mount Tzuhalem. This place is known locally as "Frog Rock" and is known in the Cowichan dialect as p'ip'oom 'little swelled-up one'. It is now the site of a large cross erected in the mid-1970's.

Just east of "Frog Rock" (also known as "Rising Rock") is a small pool of water. This pool is said to have various objects in it, such as fish bones, cedar chips, deer hair and duck feathers. The pool is used by the Cowichan to tell their fortunes. If a man reaches into the pool and pulls out some cedar chips, he might be a good carver; if he pulls out some deer hair, he might be a good hunter. If a woman pulls out some wool, she might be a good spinner or weaver, and so on (AJ; ADJ). Curtis (1913:102) stated that the pool was a circular, hollow rock on the highest part of Mount

Tzuhalem, somewhat like a small crater with water in the bottom. This fortune-telling pool was said to foretell one's "power" later in life, according to AJ. The translation for this place-name suggests the way in which it was used: "feeling around for something with the hands".

Mount Tzuhalem also figured in several other Cowichan stories. For example, the caves there were said to be the home of the mythical Thunderbird and his younger brother Tzinquaw. The latter is variously described as a two-headed serpent, lightning dragon, or a flying lightning monster. In the Cowichan story of the "Origin of Salmon", a large whale was blocking many salmon at the mouth of the Cowichan River, not allowing them to ascend the river and spawn. Thunderbird (or Tzinquaw, depending on the storyteller) swooped down from Mount Tzuhalem and picked up the whale in its claws, then placing it in a cave on the mountain. This allowed the fish to spawn, thus ensuring food for the Cowichan people forever. Thunderbird then ate the whale, and this was said to be the reason why whale bones can sometimes be found on the mountain (AJ; ADJ). In a version of this same story recorded by Boas (1981:76), some hunters were chasing the whale before Thunderbird swooped down and picked it up.

According to AJ, black bears, deer and elk could be found on Mount Tzuhalem in the early historic period. The bears used to hibernate in the caves there.

The other important point worth mentioning about Mount Tzuhalem is the former village of the great Cowichan warrior

named Tzouhalem, said to be located somewhere at the foot of the mountain (AJ; ADJ). Barnett (1955:42) called this a "stockaded village", but elsewhere (1955:21) he explained that there was actually only one large house and that it was an "offshoot of another village." Some Cowichan people today feel that Tzouhalem probably lived close to his birthplace at Green Point (AJ; ADJ). Curtis (1913:35, 175) provided the name Tlk[^]otas for Tzouhalem's village, but this name is not known to the Cowichan today. ADJ named Tzouhalem's house kewo[^]7s. Curtis (1913:35) also provided details of the supposed site of Tzouhalem's house, its dimensions and residents.

149. Skinner Point area

hoomesem (AJ; ADJ) 'drinking with head down in water'
ha·?m[^]əsəm (Suttles, 1976a:5)

The name for this place is derived from the Cowichan story of Xaals the Transformer, who changed a man who was drinking water at Skinner Point (with his head down in the water) into stone (AJ; Suttles, 1976a:5).

150. Area Between Skinner Point and Green Point

xexets[^]awiye (AJ) (meaning not known)
xəxəcéweye (Suttles, 1976a:5) "everything is dry (?)"

The tidal flats at the mouth of the north arm of the Cowichan River, a few kilometers east of Green Point, were used extensively by the Cowichan for collecting beach foods (AJ).

SPECIAL NOTE ABOUT THE WINTER VILLAGES ON THE LOWER COWICHAN

The permanent winter villages on the lower Cowichan River formed a kind of contiguous cultural unit. Extended families from any household in any of the winter villages mentioned in this study could hunt for land mammals anywhere they wished. That is, there were no separate hunting grounds for each village where deer, elk, bears and other land animals such as beaver were hunted. But each family formerly had its own fishing weir in front of its village, if it desired one. In some cases weirs were set up in front of the house and extended across the river. Because salmon weirs had "screens" or "gates" on them, some salmon were always allowed to pass through each weir, such that the people in the villages further upriver always had plenty of salmon. In any case, the number of weirs on the Cowichan River never caused any disputes among the extended families in the past. The weirs were removed (except for their upright main-posts) around November during the high water and the screens were replaced in the early spring when the water was low, in order to catch steelhead and the winter run of spring salmon. In the days before contact with non-Indians, Cowichan people stayed close to their own village, except for visiting and attending dances or potlatches of their relatives. But most importantly, all of the residents of the lower Cowichan River winter villages considered themselves to be "Cowichan"; even if they travelled outside Island Halkomelem territory, they were also recognized as such. On the following page is a sampling of the attempts to transcribe the term "Cowichan", from most recent to earli-

est source. Note that the term "Cowichan" is derived from the place-name shkewetsen 'Mount Tzuhalem' or "Cowichan Mountain" (ADJ; AJ; Jenness, field notes; Barnett, 1955:21,22).

COWICHAN

kewetsen (ADJ; AG; AJ; AL1; AL2; ARJ; AT; CP; DP; GC; HW; RJ)

'basking on its side in the sun', 'warm back'

kewetsen [alternate pronunciation given by all people above]

K'au^hetcin (Boas, 1981:70) "Cowitchin Tribe"

Cowitchin (Boas, 1981:70)

q^howic^han (Leslie, 1979:128)

KowI^hc^han (Hudson, 1971:21) "Cowichan Bay"

Kowichun (Hudson, 1971:21) "warm, like an old man beside a fire"

qaw^hach^han (Mitchell, 168:73)

k^howit^hcan (Barnett, 1955:21)

Kauits^hEn (Hill-Tout, 1907:363)

Qauitschin (Boas, 1887:132)

Kawitshin (Tolmie and Dawson, 1884:120)

Cowitchan (Wilson, 1866:278, 283)

Cowichin (Grant, 1857:293)

Cowitchin (Grant, 1857:280)

Cowetchin (Douglas, 1853)

Kowitchen (Douglas, 1853)

Cowegin (Douglas, 1853)

Cowegan (Douglas, 1853)

Ka-way-chins (Simon Fraser, 1808, cited in Rozen, 1977:1)

151. Cowichan River (About Sixty-Five Kilometers Long)

stolew (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; DP) 'river'

stolu [alternate spelling for the term given above]

kewetsen stolew (ADJ; AJ) 'Cowichan River' [this recent

term reflects the kinds of changes that

Island Halkomelem has undergone since its

speakers have come in contact with English]

The Cowichan use the generic term stolew 'river' to refer to the Cowichan River. On the lower Cowichan River there are at least three distributaries, one of which links the Cowichan River with the Koksilah River. All of these distributaries combine to form the Cowichan-Koksilah estuary. It is extremely difficult to locate some of the place-names on the lower Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers because there is today, and has always been, frequent flooding causing new channels and distributaries to be formed.

In naming and describing the place-names in this section of the present study, the following order will be employed. The north arm or distributary of the Cowichan River and its place-names will be examined first, progressing upstream until the main channel of the Cowichan is reached. Then the south arm of the Cowichan River will be described, also starting at the mouth and extending to the junction of this arm and the middle arm. Following that, the middle arm or distributary of the Cowichan River will be described. This middle arm links the north and south arms of the Cowichan River with the Koksilah River. In examining the middle arm,

the order of place-names discussed will proceed from the junction of the middle arm and the south arm to the junction of the middle arm and the north arm.

After that, the remainder of the Cowichan River will be described, proceeding from the point where all of the three distributaries combine to form a single channel on the Cowichan River to the source of the river at Cowichan Lake. It should be noted that the Cowichan Indians do not recognize the various arms of the Cowichan River as distinct, nor do they employ any special names for these segments of the river. Their point of reference is usually a specific place-name or a place known to the person to whom they are speaking.

The reader will note that some of the place-names covered in this section of the study are not located exactly on the Cowichan River. Some may be a kilometer or two from the river bank, but as much as possible, these names or terms will only be included when they have an association with other Cowichan River place-names. For example, Quamichan Creek and Quamichan Lake are included here because both flow into the Cowichan River and are closely tied to river villages, mythology and resource-procurement.

Following, then, are the place-names known to the Cowichan that are located on the north arm of the Cowichan River from its mouth to the junction of the north arm and the main channel of the Cowichan River.

152. Green Point, Khenipsen Road Area, Green Point Village
 x̣inɛpsɛm (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP; DP; GC) possibly 'caught by
 the neck' or 'caught in the neck'
 x̣inɛpsəm (Leslie, 1979:5)
 x̣inɛpsəm (Suttles, 1976a:1)
 Kenipsen (Duff, 1964:26)
 xenapsam (Barnett, 1955:21)
 x̣en̥ps̥um (Barnett, field notes)
 x̣en̥ps̥im (Lane, 1953:15)
 Khenipsim (Lane, 1953:15)
 Xenipsim (Jenness, field notes)
 He'napsam (Jenness, field notes)
 Henipsam (Jenness, field notes)
 Khenipson (Jenness, n.d.)
 Kanipsin (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)
 Kinipsin (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)
 Ḥen̥ps̥um (Curtis, 1913:168)
 HainipsEn (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)
 Cḥen̥ipsen (Boas, 1887:132)
 Henipsam (Humphreys, n.d.)
 Hanipsam (Humphreys, n.d.)
153. Khenipsen Road Area, A Few Hundred Meters Northwest of
 Green Point
 kw'atkem (ADJ; AJ) possibly "cracking noise"
 kwatkem (ADJ; AJ) [alternate pronunciation, used in
 rapid speech]

k^wetqəm (Suttles, 1976a:1) "water coming down (?)"

Quaht-khum (Cryer, n.d.) "short people...name for tribe"

Kw^uetikūm (Curtis, 1913:168)

Kw^uatkum (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Green Point is a small hill at the mouth of the north arm of the Cowichan River, on the north bank. It is located within the massive (about twenty-three hundred hectares) Cowichan #1 Indian Reserve, on which most of the Cowichan Indians live and which encompasses most of the lower Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299). There are several houses at Green Point today; this community is separated from the rest of the Cowichan Reserve by Khenipsen Road. About one-half kilometer northwest of Green Point is another place-name, kw^u'atkem, which is considered part of the Green Point community (ADJ; AJ).

Curtis (1913:175) described the Green Point village, xinepsem, as "a group of houses on a knoll at the mouth of the Cowichan River, built about 1850 by people from... [Quamichan, a village several kilometers upstream]." When Curtis visited the Green Point village in 1912, there were nine houses with fifteen families.

Jenness (field notes) considered xinepsem village to be a "coastal" one. He correctly pointed out that the residents of this village were more oriented towards the salt water (i.e. Cowichan Bay and the Gulf Islands) in their food-getting activities than the Cowichan River. For example,

although the xinepsem people did not erect fishing weirs on the Cowichan River itself, some people built weirs on the tidal flats adjacent to Green Point, where the receding tide left fish stranded (ADJ; AJ; Jenness, field notes). Also, a settlement at Virago-Race Points at the north end of Galiano Island on Porlier Pass was named xixnepsem 'little xinepsem' [some people say this settlement was also named simply xinepsem, the same name as the Green Point settlement]. There are several families today that can trace house-sites and camping places to both locations. It is not possible to state which of the two settlements existed first, but some Cowichan people today feel that the Galiano Island village might have been the original one, and that its inhabitants moved to the Cowichan River [about 1850, if Curtis (1913:175) is correct about the date of the Green Point village's establishment] to escape the frequent raids of the Southern Kwakiutl and their allies (ADJ; AJ; DP).

Dougan (1973:223) noted that the "Keenupsoms had their village at the foot of Mount Tzouhalem" and verified that xinepsem was also the name of the chief at the Green Point village. The great Cowichan warrior Tzouhalem was also born at xinepsem (AJ; CP).

The Cowichan story of K'isak and the Stoneheads accounts for the origin of trout, several Cowichan place-names and some aspects of Cowichan ceremonialism. The story concerns a boy named K'isak 'tied genitals' who overcame a group of people with stone heads who were killing the first-

born sons of the Green Point villagers. It is a story that has been recorded by most of the ethnographers who have visited the Cowichan, starting with Boas' version in 1890 (Boas, 1981:71). Other versions were recorded by Curtis (1913:168), Jenness (field notes), Cryer (n.d.), and AJ, ADJ and CP have all provided versions recently. K'isak was born close to Green Point, but the Stoneheads in all versions of this story except the one told by CP lived at kw'atkem. Eventually, K'isak was able to kill the Stoneheads and thus he was regarded as a hero of his people (ADJ; AJ).

Jenness (field notes) noted that the village at xinepsem had a palisade around it. Cryer stated that there were actually three different names for the occupants of the houses at Green Point, although it is not made clear which names refer to real people and which refer to mythological beings. The three names Cryer provided were: Mun-maan-taks "Stoneheads" [this term is properly written menmoonto7kw], Quaht-khum "Short People" [kw'atkem] and Smut-sun-tus "HammerHeads".

154. Area Between Green Point (kw'atkem, specifically) and Comiaken Hill

sxixeles (AJ) (exact meaning not known)

sxixqat (Suttles, 1976a:1)

There does not appear to be any specific use for this area by the Cowichan, nor is it clear whether the name refers to a specific place (AJ). It is located on Cowichan Indian Reserve #1, however.

155. Comiaken Village and Its Residents, Comiaken Hill

kw'emiyaken (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP; DP) (exact meaning not certain) perhaps 'pull out of water at top'

kw'emiyi7ken [alternate pronunciation given by AJ and ADJ]

K·umiē'k·en (Boas, 1981:70)

^ʔwəmiyiqən (Leslie, 1979:5)

^ʔwəmiēqən (Suttles, 1976a:1) "an inlet with an uprooted

^ʔwəmi^ʔēqən (Suttles, 1976b:1) tree at the mouth (?)"

^ʔwəmiēqən (Suttles, field notes)

^ʔwəməyēqən (Suttles, field notes)

Comiaken (Dougan, 1973:59) "pull up the grass-hay by roots"

qw^ʔAmi^ʔiq^ʔən (Mitchell, 1968:30)

Komieq!an (Barnett, 1955:21)

Komiεq!ūn (Barnett, field notes)

qomiēkən (Lane, 1953:15)

Komiaken (Suttles, 1951:195)

Komiakin (Jenness, n.d.)

Comeakan (Jenness, n.d.)

Comeakin (Jenness, field notes)

Comeaken (Cryer, n.d.)

Comiaken (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

Komiēkūn (Curtis, 1913:175)

KwameyēkEn (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Qūmiēqen (Boas, 1887:132)

Comiaken (Brown, 1864:1, 2) "Indians by the sea"

Comiaken (d'Heureuse, 1860)

Komiakun (Douglas, 1853)

Comeaken (Humphreys, n.d.)

Comeakan (Humphreys, n.d.)

Comecan (Humphreys, n.d.)

156. Former Name for Village-Site Now Called Comiaken

tl'axewten (ADJ; AJ) (meaning not known)

æ?xawtən (Suttles, 1976a:1)

Kla-hult-un (Dougan, 1973:60) "home, my home"

Tlāhōtūn (Curtis, 1913:37, 175)

157. Stream Running From Comiaken Hill to Cowichan River

shxexiiyale (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'place of much crying'

xexeyela (Jenness, field notes) "weeping creek...Kwamichan"

Schy-Elah (Cryer, n.d.) "Cry Creek"

Today the Cowichan use the term kw'emiyaken to refer to the general area around Comiaken Hill and the "Stone Church" or "Butter Church". Formerly this area was called tl'axewten. Tl'axewten was a permanent winter village on the north arm of the Cowichan River just below Comiaken Hill. It contained four large houses and about fifty extended families in 1850 (ADJ; AJ; Curtis, 1913:175). Some of the families at tl'axewten had relatives at a village called kw'emiyaken, that was located on the south bank of the main channel of the Cowichan River, opposite and downstream from Quamichan. About one hundred and fifty years ago the Comiaken village became flooded in the winter, so their relatives at tl'axewten invited them to move to tl'axewten permanently (ADJ; AJ; Suttles, 1976a:1; Suttles, field notes). After this amalgamation the tl'axewten village became known as

kw'emiyaken. This term became anglicized to Comiaken and was applied to the village, the people living there, the hill above the village and the valley below the hill (ADJ). Some residents of the new Comiaken village believed that the former Comiaken village was located on the lower Koksilah River, and not on the Cowichan River (Dougan, 1973:60). In discussing the Comiaken village in this study henceforth, it is the "new" Comiaken village (at the place formerly called tl'axewten) that will be referred to and not the original place called Comiaken. As Curtis has noted (1913:175), the original Comiaken village is now "extinct" or deserted.

Jenness (field notes) stated that Comiaken, like the Green Point village, was considered to be "coastal" because of its proximity to the salt water of Cowichan Bay. Therefore, the Comiaken villagers were oriented more towards the salt water in their fishing than the Cowichan River. They erected tidal weirs to trap fish as the tide receded. Suttles (1976b:1) has pointed out, however, that there was a weir site at Comiaken itself (which is on the Cowichan River above the point where salt water mixes with fresh water on the Cowichan estuary). But it is not clear if this weir site had a river weir (made of wood) and the owner of the site is not known. AJ recalled that set-nets and drift-nets were used extensively at Comiaken, indicating that the Comiaken villagers were using the Cowichan River for fishing, in historic times at least. Suttles (1951:195) noted that at least one Comiaken man had the right to set up a reef-net at Stuart Island in the 1880's.

Comiaken Hill is an important place to the Comiaken people because two men were said to have dropped from the sky on this hill. They were the first ancestors of the Comiaken people. The first man to drop was Kwelimeltxw, one of the first ritualists of the Cowichan. The second man was named Kwetxatsa, and he dropped onto the hill with a cleansing rattle in his hand. This was evidently the origin of this type of rattle, called shelmexwtses. Both of these men were said to have been the "inventors" of the fire-drill and the pitfall used for hunting deer as well (ADJ; AJ; Boas, 1981: 76; Curtis, 1913:37).

There is a small stream that runs from Comiaken Hill to the north arm of the Cowichan River. This is called "Cry-baby Creek" by the Cowichan because in the story of K'isak and the Stoneheads, this was the place where K'isak was bathed by his mother when he was a baby. This took place when K'isak and his mother escaped from the Stoneheads. The creek is so named because the water was cold and K'isak kept crying. His mother was unable to stop his crying, so they moved on to other places in the Cowichan valley (ADJ; AJ; CP; Cryer, n.d.; Jenness, field notes). According to Cryer (n.d.), "In the old days no young wife would ever drink water from...[Cry-baby Creek]...if she did her babies would be poor, crying children."

There are still several houses at Comiaken today; they are located on Cowichan Indian Reserve #1 adjacent to the deserted (but soon to be restored) Stone Church, built by Father Peter Rondeault in the early 1860's (ADJ).

158. Unnamed Point East of Comiaken Hill

sk'ewksen (AJ) 'curved point'

sq^ʔawqsən (Suttles, 1976a:1)

sq^ʔawqsən (Suttles, 1976a:1)

This point of land is located on the north arm of the Cowichan River, below Comiaken Hill and about one kilometer west of it (AJ).

159. hemth'el (AJ) (meaning not known)

həmzəl (Suttles, 1976a:1)

HumtsEn (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

This place was used by the Comiaken villagers for spearing and gaff-hooking salmon (AJ). According to Suttles (1976a:1), it was a small stream but now it is a wide channel. Hill-Tout (1907:365) described this place as a "village", but it was probably a temporary camping site (ADJ).

The following place-names are located on the south arm or distributary of the Cowichan River.

160. Mouth of the South Arm Of The Cowichan River

xwkw'okw'elexwem (AJ) 'little place having chum salmon'

k^waʔlax^wəm (Suttles, 1976a:4)

Unlike some other species of salmon that ascend the Cowichan River to spawn, chum salmon have a very specific time for spawning. After spawning, this species usually does not re-enter the main channel of the river. But some chum salmon could be seen at the mouth of the south arm of

the Cowichan River, either ascending to the spawning grounds or drifting back down to Cowichan Bay after they had spawned and died (AJ). There is no relationship between this place and place-name number 10 in this study (Qualicum River).

161. Village At The Mouth Of The South Arm Of Cowichan River

shts'ets'mines (AJ) [exact meaning not known, but some glosses include "little bone in the chest", "little eroded riverbank", "dry beach" and "little Chemainus". See etymologies for place-name number 55 in this study (ADJ; AJ).]

šcə́cə́mínəs (Suttles, 1976a:3)

Shtsú́ménús (Curtis, 1913:175)

TsEménus (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Tsiménés (Boas, 1887:132)

Chemanis (Douglas, 1853) "In Comiaken Valley"

There was formerly a village at the mouth of the south arm of the Cowichan River, but this area is now subject to frequent flooding and the former residents have moved to other villages nearby. The tide (i.e. salt water from Cowichan Bay) only comes upriver as far as this village-site (AJ). Curtis (1913:175) mentions that the former village had "three houses near the site of the second bridge from the Tzouhalem Post Office to Cowichan, B. C."

In discussing the village named shts'emines at Kulleet Bay (place-name number 55 in this study), the relationship

between that village and its residents and the village presently being described was explicated. The probable time of the migration from the Cowichan River to Kulleet Bay is the early 1800's, according to AJ.

Boas (1981:74) recorded a segment of the Story of Siyóletse, one of the ancestors of the Cowichan, that also explained who the first ten ancestors of the "Tsimé'nes" (Chemainus) people were.

It is interesting to note that Douglas (1853), Boas (1887), Hill-Tout (1907) and Curtis (1913) all recorded the term shts'emines for the Cowichan River village of shts'ets'mines. Some Cowichan people today feel that "in the early days", when there was still a significant two-way flow of people between the two villages, the former term may have been used to refer to the extended families and village residents and that the diminutive term was not used as frequently once the Kulleet Bay village was established (ADJ; AJ).

162. Village At The Junction of South Arm of Cowichan River
And The Middle Arm of the Cowichan River
xwkwo[/]7kwxwnets (ADJ; AJ) 'knocking on the bottom end' or
'knocking on [Cowichan] bay'
k^wak^wx^wnəc (Suttles, 1976a:4)
KwākQonets (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

There are still some houses on this former village-site, located across Tzouhalem Road from the present Clemclemalits longhouse. The late Anthony Jimmy's house was probably the

eastern extent of the former village (AJ; ADJ).

163. Clemclemalits Village, "The Flats", "Clem-Clem"

lhemlhemelets' (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP; DP; GC; RJ)

'eroding riverbank (?)', "river bank goes
to pieces in winter and river widens"

lēm^hlēm^hlā^hc (Leslie, 1979:5) "Clemclemutz Reserve"

lēm^hlēm^hlā^hc (Suttles, 1976a:4)

Klem-Klem-a-litz (Dougan, 1973:59)

Clemclemaluts (Duff, 1964:26)

LēmLēmāLt (Barnett, 1955:21)

LēmLēmūlt (Barnett, field notes)

~~lēm~~lēmlets (Lane, 1953:7)

Clemclemalitz (Suttles, 1951:211, 356, 403)

Clem-clem-a-letz (Cryer, n.d.)

Klemklemmalets (Jenness, field notes)

Clemclemaluts (Jenness, field notes)

Clemclemaluts (Jenness, n.d.)

Clemclemalitz (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

Clem-clem-a-lits (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

hlūmhlūmīlūtš (Curtis, 1913:175)

tlumtlūmElets (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Tlēmtlēmelts (Boas, 1887:132)

Clem-clem-alats (Brown, 1864:12)

Clemclemalats (d'Heureuse, 1860)

Thlimthim (Douglas, 1853)

Themu-litch (Douglas, 1853)

Clemclemlatse (Humphreys, n.d.)

Clemclemalits was one of the largest villages on the lower Cowichan River. In 1912 there were still ten large houses at Clemclemalits (ADJ; AJ; Curtis, 1913:175) and the main village was located just north of xwkwo⁷kwxwnets (place-name number 162 in this study) at the junction of the south and middle distributaries of the Cowichan River (ADJ; AJ). Humphreys (n.d.) mentioned that this village was the "only one of any great strength" on the south arm of the river. An early map shows two other villages with the name Clemclemalits, other than the one at the location described above. They are about ten kilometers away, on the southwest shore of Cowichan Bay, and were probably camping locations used by the Clemclemalits people on a seasonal basis (d'Heureuse, 1860; ADJ).

Barnett provided a story that accounts for the origin of Clemclemalits village (1955:21). The first Cowichan woman dropped from the sky at the village of Koksilah. Her daughters married the four boys who were sons of the first Cowichan man. These four couples moved to Clemclemalits and founded the village there. In 1853 the Chief of the village was named Tse-aul-soot (Douglas, 1853), but according to Hill-Tout (1907:365), the first Chief of the village was named SQ⁴asilEm. Cowichan people today recognize both of these ancestral names (ADJ; AJ).

Like the other villages on the lower Cowichan River, Clemclemalits amalgamated in 1888 to form the Cowichan Band or "Cowichan Tribe" as it was then known (Duff, 1964:26). Like the other villages, Clemclemalits is also located on

the Cowichan Reserve #1 today (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1: Cowichan Agency Table A3). The site of the present longhouse is actually closer to xwkw^o7kwxwnets than lhemlh^emelets'. The old Clemclemalits longhouse that burned down in 1983 was probably the approximate centre of the old village (ADJ).

Lane (1953:7) noted that the Clemclemalits people hunted beaver at Patrolas Lake near Cobble Hill [now called Dougan Lake, on the west side of the Island Highway a few kilometers past the Cobble Hill turnoff] and mentioned that they fished on the upper Koksilah River at Marble Falls. The first location is the site of Cowichan Indian Reserve #4 today, and is known as Est-Patrolas (Rogers Lake) as well (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1).

The Clemclemalits people also had camping places at the foot of Mount Tuam on Saltspring Island, where they collected beach foods and fished for salmon in Satellite Channel. At the Clemclemalits village, salmon could be caught with set-nets, drift-nets, beach-seines and by harpooning and gaff-hooking (AJ; ADJ). Suttles (1951:211) noted that some men from the village also participated in the reef-net fishery at Point Roberts.

The following place-names are located on the middle arm or distributary of the Cowichan River. This arm links the Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers.

164. Village Just North Of Clemclemalits

t'aat'ka7 (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP; DP; RJ) 'salal berries'

te'tge (Suttles, 1976a:4)

ta?atkə (Lane, 1953:76)

Taatkă (Curtis, 1913:175)

Tātke (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

T'ātege (Boas, 1887:132)

Taitka (d'Heureuse, 1860)

Tataka (Douglas, 1853)

There formerly was a village containing at least four large houses about fifty meters north of Clemclemalits, on the west bank of the Cowichan River middle arm (ADJ; AJ; Curtis, 1913:175; d'Heureuse, 1860). The house-sites are now covered over in dense underbrush or are submerged by frequent winter flooding (ADJ). Hill-Tout (1907:365) stated that the first Chief of the village was named TsāsiEtEn, a name that is similar to Douglas' rendering of the village headman in 1853, Tsa-se-ge (Douglas, 1853). Cowichan people today recognize this ancestral name as Th'osiya(ten) (ADJ).

The relationship between this village and one with an identical name on Valdes Island (place-name number 49 in this study) has been explained already. It is apparent that the people from the Cowichan River village moved to Valdes Island and joined others already living at Shingle Point. After this occurred, there was a two-way flow of people between the two villages (ADJ; AJ). AT felt that the original migration to Shingle Point probably took place in the middle of the Nineteenth Century.

165. Village Across Cowichan River From T'aat'ka7
 kwthothines (AJ) possibly 'beach on an island'
 k^wθaθinəs (Suttles, 1976a:3)
 Kw'säsínus (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

This former village-site was located directly across the middle arm of the Cowichan River from t'aat'ka7. This was probably part of the latter village, or at least members of the same extended family. There were probably not more than one or two houses at kwthothines (AJ). Hill-Tout (1907:365) recorded the name of the first Chief at this village as CiakEsEt [Tsiyókethet].

166. Site Between Kwthothines and Clemclemalits Villages
 pí7pkweles (ADJ; AJ) 'little broken-off riverbank (?)'

The area between kwthothines and lhemlhémelets', on the east side of the middle arm of the Cowichan River, was subject to flooding during the winter and early spring. The area encompassed by this place-name evidently includes the bridge over the Cowichan just east of lhemlhémelets' (AJ).

167. House-Site Between Kwthothines and Junction of Cowichan River Main Channel and Middle Arm
 skeméne7 (AJ) possibly 'whirlpool' or 'back-eddy'
 qəméne? (Suttles, 1976a:3) "bent ear"

There was one large house on the east side of the middle arm of the Cowichan River, about one kilometer below the junction with the main channel. The exact location of this former house-site has not been found (AJ; Suttles, 1976a:3).

The following place-names are located on the main channel

of the Cowichan River.

168. Main Channel Of The Cowichan River

Sina-wow-stalow (Brown, 1864:3) "main river"

This term is apparently no longer used by the Cowichan. ADJ believed that Brown had recorded the term [/]seniw [/]stolew 'go inside the river' and that this was a descriptive way of distinguishing the main channel of the Cowichan River from its downriver distributaries. It is entirely possible that this place-name was invented specifically for Robert Brown's expedition, in 1864.

169. Area About Five Kilometers Upstream From Junction Of
Cowichan River Main Channel And Middle Arm

[/]ts'awiten (ADJ; AJ; AT) 'clam shell place', 'dish'
'basin'

²ce?wi?tən (Suttles, 1976a:1)

Although AJ was not certain of the actual location of this place, others have been quite specific. Suttles (1976a:1) said it was "east of Quamichan" and placed it accurately on a map about two kilometers downstream from the lowest segment of Quamichan village. [/]Ts'awiten is almost directly across the Cowichan River from the former village of Comiaken, whose residents moved downstream to what is now called Comiaken Hill (ADJ; Suttles, 1976a:3). ADJ placed it at the location given above [next to the number of this place-name] and noted that the place was actually a rather large area because it originated in a story told by the Cowichan. In the swampy area south of the present St. Ann's Church on Tzouhalem Road, and the creek that flows from the Cowichan River into

it, events occurred long ago.

In the Story of K'isak and the Stoneheads [mentioned earlier in this study], the little baby K'isak was given a bath by his mother at ts'awiten. She dipped up the water there with a clam shell. The Island Halkomelem term from which this place-name is derived is ts'awi7 'any clam shell'. But the Cowichan formerly used large clam shells to dip up water, for small dishes and other things. So the term ts'awi7 was also used for "dishes", "basins" and the like, in the historic period especially. Ts'awiten is also closely associated with sts'ats'ewi7ten, a place-name located further up-river in Quamichan (ADJ; AT). ADJ also remembered that long ago, some Cowichan men followed a Sasquatch into a hole at ts'awiten.

170. A Place Almost Directly Across The Cowichan River From Quamichan And About One Kilometer Downstream

kwekw^umotsin (AJ) 'little hunchback', 'little humped back'

k^wak^wmacin (Suttles, 1976a:3)

k^wak^wam^acaⁿ (Suttles, 1976a:3)

This place is on the south side of the Cowichan River. Suttles (1976a:3) stated that it was "across from Quamichan", but AJ believed that it was closer to the junction of the main channel and the middle arm of the river than that.

The term kwekw^umotsin 'little hunchback' refers to the fact that this place was named after the younger sister of the

mythical "Cannibal-Giantess-Ogress". Both of these beings had hunchbacks. Harris (1901:15) described the younger sister as "a very small woman [who] hated Quamichan [the elder sister] bitterly". It was the younger sister who saved hundreds of children from Quamichan by placing pitch only on their eyelids, instead of their entire closed eyes (AJ; Harris, 1901:16, 17). AJ said that the younger sister buried herself in the ground to escape from the Transformer Xaals, a feat that Quamichan could not accomplish. AJ also thought that the actual place named kwekw^umotsin was the site of a former playground around Quamichan, but on the south side of the river.

According to ADJ, the village of Quamichan was named for the girl hunchback kwekw^umotsin. His version of the Cowichan story of the "Basket-Ogress" is slightly different in other ways from the published version and those of other people consulted for this study.

The next place-name to be described is the village of Quamichan, which formerly occupied several hectares on the lower Cowichan River. There are several place-names that are known to the Cowichan that are within the "boundaries" of this village and they shall be described after they are written on the following pages.

171. Quamichan Village and People Residing There

[/]kwometsen (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP; DP; RJ) 'humpback',
 'hump on back', or 'hunchback'

K^uua[!]mitcan (Boas, 1981:71)

k^wam^ucən (Leslie, 1979:5)

k^wam^ucən (Suttles, 1976a:2)

k^wa[!]m^ucən (Suttles, 1976a:2)

Quamichan (Duff, 1964:26)

q[!]mitcən (Barnett, 1955:21)

Q[!]mitcūn (Barnett, field notes)

q^wa[!]mitcīn (Lane, 1953:10)

Quomitzen (Duff, 1952:25)

Kwamichan (Jenness, field notes)

Qwamichan (Jenness, field notes)

Quamichan (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

Qamūtsūn (Curtis, 1913:34, 103, 175)

KwāmteEn (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Quāmatsin (Boas, 1887:132)

Quamichan (Brown, 1864: 1, 2) "hump-backs"

Quamichan (d'Heureuse, 1860)

Comitchen (Douglas, 1853)

Quamichen (Douglas, 1853)

Euamicham (Humphreys, n.d.)

172. Cowichan River, At Quamichan [Exact Location Unknown]

hwintathwetan (Jenness, field notes) "Pool at Kwamichan"

173. "Whale Rock", In Cowichan River Near East End Of
Quamichan Village
kwénes (AJ) 'whale'
q^wənəs (Suttles, 1976a:2)
174. Eastern (Downriver) End of Quamichan Village
xwkw'emkw'emíimət (AJ) 'place to pull [canoes] out of
the water'
qəmqəmimət (Suttles, 1976a:2)
175. Middle Section of Quamichan Village
ts'its'aaltxw (AJ) possibly 'houses on riverbank' or
'houses on sidehill'
cəcé·wətx^w (Suttles, 1976a:2)
176. Western (Upriver) End Of Quamichan Village
(s)ts'ats'ewi7ten (ADJ; AJ) 'little clam shell place'
ce7cəwí7tən (Suttles, 1976a:2)
tčəweten (Jenness, field notes) "Pool at Kwamichan...
meaning is 'bath-pan'"
Tzaatz-Whytn (Cryer, n.d.) "like a basin"
177. "Octopus Rock", or "Devilfish Rock", or "White Rock"
xwkimekw'em (AJ) 'octopus place'
qí7mək^wəm (Suttles, 1976a:2)
178. Quamichan Creek or "Trout Creek"
xwkw'setsem (ADJ; AJ) 'trout place'
kw'setsem (CP) 'trout place'
xwk^wsəcəm (Leslie, 1979:76)

x^wk^wsəcəm (Suttles, 1976a:2)

xtsətsəm (Jenness, field notes)

179. Quamichan Lake

xotse (ADJ; AJ) 'any lake'

kwometsen xotse 'Quamichan Lake' [Note that some Cowichan people use this term to avoid confusion with the other lakes in Cowichan territory simply named xotse, for example Somenos Lake and Cowichan Lake.]

Qā'tsa (Boas, 1981:71, 72)

Qā'tsa Lake (Boas, 1981:71, 72)

Qamūtsn-hātsa (Curtis, 1913:168)

180. Village At Junction of Somenos Creek, Quamichan Creek and The Cowichan River

silōthen (AJ) possibly 'turning riverbank'

silaəən (Suttles, 1976a:2)

181. Boulder at Somenos Creek and Tzouhalem Road

kw'ukw'okinem (ADJ; AJ; CP) (meaning not known)

Quamichan was formerly the largest of the villages on the Cowichan River and arguably the best known of them, since many of the earlier ethnographers' and historians' informants came from there. In addition, most of the objects in museums around the world that are from Cowichan are from Quamichan.

Although Robert Brown, an early explorer on Vancouver Island, noted that Quamichan meant "humpbacks...from the nature of the country [around Quamichan village]" (Brown, 1864:1, 2), the term kw[/]ometsen is derived from a character in a story told by the Cowichan and other Coast Salish groups. Kw[/]ometsen (Quamichan) was a hunchbacked cannibal-ogress-giantess who kept children in a basket and placed pitch over their eyes before she ate them. The most complete published version of the story is by Harris (1901:15-17) and it also explains how the Cowichan got fire and how the name Quamichan came to be applied to the village under discussion. AJ, ADJ and CP have also provided more recent versions of the story.

Curtis (1913:175) correctly placed Quamichan about half-way between the mouth of the Cowichan River and the present City of Duncan. He also said that the village contained thirty-two large houses, but it is not clear if this was the number of dwellings in 1912 when he visited the Cowichan or if this was the number of houses before contact with non-Indians. Suttles (1976a:2) noted and Cowichan people today agree that there were at least three and probably four segments or sections to the village in the early historic period (AJ; ADJ; CP; GC). It is worth commenting here that d'Heureuse only showed six houses at Quamichan on his map of the Cowichan valley (1860); four of these were on the south side of the Cowichan River and two were on the north side. Cowichan people today disagree with this placement of houses, however (ADJ; AJ; GC).

According to Jenness (field notes), the first man at Quamichan was named "Hwanam". Cowichan people today recognize this ancestral name but do not restrict it to Quamichan, as Jenness' information from Nanaimo suggests. The name Xwnam¹ appears in the Cowichan story of the "Men Who Dropped From The Sky", that will be discussed later in this study (ADJ). Hill-Tout said that the first "Chief" at Quamichan was named "QultEmtEn", a name still used by people from Quamichan today (Hill-Tout, 1907:365; ADJ). In an early census conducted in the Cowichan valley, Douglas (1853) reported that the "Chief [at] Comitchen [was named] Tsoughclum". This is undoubtedly the name ts'ewxilem¹ (Tzouhalem), discussed earlier in this study in the context of Mount Tzuhalem and the Cowichan village at Green Point (ADJ).

The village of Quamichan was so large that it extended about five kilometers along the Cowichan River main arm, from a point about one kilometer upstream from the junction of Quamichan Creek and the river downstream almost to the former village site of Comiaken [whose residents moved still further downstream after the river flooded its banks]. There were three main segments or sections of the Quamichan village and each of these was named. The section furthest downstream was xwkw'emkw'emimet¹, evidently so named because this was a good place to pull canoes out of the water when visiting or returning to Quamichan. Near this village, in the Cowichan River, there is a large boulder that the Cowichan call kwenes¹ 'whale'. The Cowichan believe that this rock was once a whale that was transmuted by Xaals 'The Transformer' (AJ; ADJ).

Suttles (1976b:1) noted the owner of a weir-site at Quamichan was named sy^{alt}i·m. AJ was able to specify that the ancestral name Sy^{elt}iim was indeed associated with a weir-site at xwkw'emkw'emⁱi^met, "the old part of Quamichan."

About one kilometer upstream from xwkw'emkw'emⁱi^met was the middle section of Quamichan village called ts'its'aalt^{xw}. This part of the village was located at the junction of the Cowichan River and Quamichan Creek and the area east of there. The third main section of Quamichan village was on the west (upriver) side of the junction of Somenos and Quamichan Creeks and the Cowichan River. This section was called (s)ts'ats'ewi⁷ten 'little clam shell place'. This place-name, like several others in the area, has its origin in the Cowichan story of K'isak and the Stoneheads.

A young male baby was born at Green Point village, at the mouth of the north distributary of the Cowichan River. A group of evil beings called "Stoneheads" were killing the first-born sons of the Cowichan people, so the baby's mother decided to tie his genitals to avoid his detection by the Stoneheads. Thus the boy was named K'isak 'tied genitals'. [This is only one of several elements in the story that coincide with the Old Testament story of Moses.] The boy was bathed for the first time at the place called ts'awⁱten (place-name number 169 in this study, located east of Quamichan). K'isak's mother used a clam shell to dip up water, and this accounts for that place-name's translation 'clam shell place'. Later, the mother and baby travelled further up the Cowichan River to the Quamichan area. At (s)ts'ats'ewi⁷ten, the section of

Quamichan village just upstream from Quamichan Creek, there was a "bubbling spring of water and an oval-shaped rock" where K'ísak's mother bathed her baby (ADJ). After camping there for awhile, she threw some clam shells down and they changed into rocks. Some people say that one of the clam shells turned to stone and was named kw'ukw'ok[/]in[/]em. This boulder can still be seen in front of a church on Tzouhalem Road, where Somenos Creek passes under a bridge (ADJ; CP; Cryer, n.d.; Jenness, field notes). Jenness (field notes) recorded a version of this story, but gave hwintathwet[/]an [xwinto[/]thwat[/]en] as a name for the pool where K'ísak was bathed by his mother. Jenness gave no location for this pool and Cowichan people today do not recognize this as a place-name (ADJ; AJ). However, Jenness did provide the place-name t[/]c[/]ewet[/]en in his version of the story. This name seems closer to ts'awit[/]en, mentioned earlier in this study, but it is east of Quamichan, and Jenness said his name was "at Kwamichan [sic]". Jenness' gloss for the name "bath-pan" is accurate since it is a reasonable translation for (s)ts'ats'ewi[/]ten 'little clam shell place' or 'dish place' (ADJ).

A few meters below Quamichan Creek, there used to be a large rock on the north side of the Cowichan River. It was still extant in photographs of Quamichan village taken in the 1930's, but it is no longer there. This rock was called "Devilfish Rock", "Octopus Rock", or "White Rock" and the Cowichan name for it was xwkimekw'em 'place having octopus'. The Transformer, Xaals, changed an octopus into this rock (AJ).

A man named Keyk'elanexw was the owner of a weir-site at xwkimekw'em, according to AJ. Suttles (1976b:1) did give this man's name as the owner of a weir, but could only say that it was in the more general area of Quamichan.

Quamichan Creek, already mentioned several times in this study, is a stream that flows from Quamichan Lake [(kwometsen) xotse] into the Cowichan River [after joining with Somenos Creek, which flows from Somenos Lake]. It is named xkw'setsem 'trout place' and is known locally to the Cowichan as "Trout Creek". The origin for this creek's Indian name can be found in the story of K'isak and the Stoneheads (ADJ; CP; Boas, 1981:71, 72; Curtis, 1913:168; Jenness, field notes; Cryer, n.d.). K'isak's mother bathed him at Quamichan Creek, rubbing him with red cedar branches [Jenness (field notes) said Western yew and Cryer (n.d.) said hemlock branches] that had been dipped into the creek first. After she had finished bathing the boy, she shook the branches and the drops of water that fell from them became trout [rainbow trout, coastal cut-throat trout and probably Dolly Varden as well]. Thereafter, the creek was called "Trout Creek" and trout became plentiful in the Cowichan River system (ADJ; CP). Boas (1981:71, 72) recorded a version of the story that stated that K'isak created trout in Quamichan Lake. CP maintained that since the story of K'isak and the Stoneheads took place in the mythical era, it was the Transformer who changed the drops of water into trout. In any case, trout are still found in Quamichan Creek and the Cowichan used to pit-lamp for this species there and on Quamichan Lake, using multi-pronged spears from canoes

(AJ).

At Quamichan Lake, K'ísak's mother built a house for herself. Later in the story, the Transformer changed her into an island near the south end of the lake. K'ísak was changed into a rock, but its exact location has not been found. It is likely near the source of Quamichan Creek (ADJ; CP). Cryer (n.d.) said that K'ísak's grandmother and mother were changed into stone at "the end of the lake", his wife was "in the middle" and he was changed to rock "at the mouth of the stream [Quamichan Creek]." According to Cryer, the rock that once was K'ísak is deep in the water, is "just a big stone and at that place the water never freezes." It should be noted that none of the characters in the story of K'ísak that were changed into stone are formally recognized as place-names by the Cowichan. They are referred to, by the Cowichan who know and tell the story of K'ísak, as "K'ísak's Rock" or "K'ísak's Mother's Rock/Island" and these are clearly contrived terms (ADJ; CP). Barnett (1955:22) recorded a story about Quamichan Lake from a person in Comox. The story concerned an incestuous relationship between a brother and sister who fled to the lake.

AJ recalled that wolves were frequently seen around Quamichan Lake, but that these animals were never hunted or killed since they were considered to be the "sacred protectors" of land animal hunters. At the south end of Quamichan Lake bulrushes, used for mats among other things, have been collected for centuries by the Cowichan. They can still be found there in great numbers. Curtis (1913) published a

series of four photographs of a Cowichan woman gathering, drying and transporting bulrushes at Quamichan Lake.

Another section of Quamichan village, back on the Cowichan River, about one kilometer upstream from the junction of Somenos Creek and the river was called silothen. There used to be three houses there, at what has been called "the western edge of Quamichan", and this was also the site of a fishing weir whose owner's name has now been forgotten (AJ).

Like the other residents of lower Cowichan River villages, the Quamichan extended families travelled to the lower Fraser River in the summer and autumn months to fish for salmon. There were at least three Cowichan camping sites on the Fraser River south distributary and these will be discussed later in this study when place-names known to the Island Halkomelem on the mainland are specified. But it is apparent that the Quamichan villagers had established summer "villages" half way between the mouth of the Fraser River and New Westminster by 1827 (ADJ; AJ; Duff, 1952:25). It is probable that the Quamichan people started using drift-nets and set-nets to catch salmon in the Cowichan River (adjacent to Quamichan) in the early years of the Nineteenth Century, and some Cowichan people feel that this technology may have been learned (or at least improved upon) through contact with other Coast Salish groups congregating in the summer months on the lower Fraser River and at Point Roberts (AJ). On their journey over to the mainland, the Quamichan hunted seals and sea-lions in the waters around the Gulf Islands in June (AJ; Jenness, field notes).

Quamichan village is located on the massive (about twenty-three hundred hectares) Cowichan #1 Reserve, established in the early years of this century (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1). But many of the descendants of the Quamichan extended families have moved from the former village-site to the "Quamichan Subdivision", along and adjacent to Boys Road, a few kilometers southeast of the City of Duncan. This subdivision is composed of new houses and continues to expand rapidly (ADJ).

In closing this discussion of Quamichan, it must be mentioned that one of the first and most important Cowichan people to come in contact with Indian Agents and government authorities was the great Quamichan leader named Sehalten. Some Cowichan people today feel that Sehalten and his descendants were chosen as spokesmen for all of the Cowichan because Quamichan had the largest population of the villages on the lower Cowichan River at the time of first contact with non-Indians (at least seventeen hundred people) (ADJ; AJ; Douglas, 1853).

Silóthen, the section of Quamichan furthest upriver [or west] was the last place-name to be examined. Now the remainder of place-names on the Cowichan River will be given.

182. Village On The Lower Cowichan River

SetsmElkun (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Hill-Tout was the only person to record this place-name. The Cowichan today do not recognize it, nor could they provide

a translation for a term like sitsemelken [an approximate equivalent of Hill-Tout's name] (ADJ; AJ; GC). From Hill-Tout's listing of Cowichan villages, which is in random geographical order, it is impossible to ascertain this place-name's location, but it is likely a former house-site somewhere around Quamichan or perhaps at the mouth of the Cowichan River (ADJ).

183. North Bank of Cowichan River About One Kilometer Below
The "Silver Bridge"

siyaykw (AJ; ADJ) (exact meaning not known, possibly
'burned-over place')

siyeyq^w (Suttles, 1976a:2)

This place is located near the Municipal Playground, just below the "Silver Bridge" [the bridge on the Island Highway crossing the Cowichan River], on the north side of the river. Apparently there were "many people living at this place in the old days" and there was another name for this place that has now been forgotten (AJ). Suttles (1976a:2) placed this site considerably further downriver than the location given by the Cowichan today, saying it was "half way between Quamichan and Duncan, just below the new [in 1962] bridge", but the latter part of this statement seems correct. ADJ felt that part of this place was located on the south side of the Cowichan River along Boys Road. Suttles (1976b:1) noted that someone from Quamichan named titeyx^wel-eece? owned a weir. AJ said that Titayxwelatsa? owned the weir-site at siyaykw, which is several kilometers west of Quamichan.

184. Un-named Creek Between Siyaykw And The "Silver Bridge"
 (s)ki7kmene (ADJ; AJ) probably 'little whirlpool' or
 'little back-eddy'

There is a small stream that runs into the Cowichan River about fifty meters downstream from the Silver Bridge. This place was probably named for the resulting whirlpool there (ADJ). AJ noted that river otters were formerly very abundant in this area.

185. Village Formerly Located At Silver Bridge
 xelaltxw (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; DP) 'marked houses' or
 'painted houses'

xəleltx^w (Suttles, 1976a:2)

Halalthw (Curtis, 1913:38, 175)

The former village of xelaltxw [hereafter anglicized as Halalt] had at least seven houses in the historic period (AJ; Curtis, 1913:175). The residents of the village initially moved to a village at the north end of Willy Island, taking the name of the Cowichan River village with them. Subsequently, they moved from Willy Island onto the Chemainus #2 Indian Reserve near Westholme, again taking the name of Halalt with them and applying it to the Indian Reserve and its residents (ADJ; AJ; All; Suttles, 1976a:2; Boas, 1981:76). The Cowichan today feel that the initial migration from the Cowichan River to Willy Island probably took place in the early years of the Nineteenth Century and the second migration to Westholme (Bonsall Creek) was the direct result of the establishment of Indian Reserves in the first decades of this century (ADJ).

Two men who "dropped from the sky" in the mythical era became the forefathers of the Cowichan and Chemainus people. The first man to drop, Siyóletse, is an ancestor of the Cowichan people at the village of Somenos, and the second man, St'ets'en, became an ancestor of the Chemainus people. Both of these men were said to have originated the Cowichan village of Halalt, moving to the village-site sometime after they had dropped from the sky at Mount Prevost. Some Cowichan believe that the Halalt villagers were descendants of St'ets'en only and that these people intermarried with people from Kulleet Bay, thus allowing them the right to move from Cowichan to Chemainus territory (ADJ; AJ; ALI; Curtis, 1913:38). AJ noted that the Chemainus people were descended from St'ets'en because Siyóletse made the former move from Mount Prevost to Big Sicker Mountain. Big Sicker Mountain is the "boundary between Cowichan and Chemainus territory". Boas also recorded that St'ets'en "was given positively as one of the... [Halalt]...ancestors (Boas, 1981:76).

The reason for naming the Cowichan River (and subsequent) village Halalt 'marked or painted houses' is not clearly understood by the Island Halkomelem today. They do not recall the original village having more decoration on its houses than any other Cowichan village (ADJ; AJ; CP). Apparently the houses at Halalt were on both sides of the Cowichan River, almost exactly where the Island Highway now crosses the river with twin bridges (ADJ).

186. West Side Of The "Silver Bridge", About Fifty Meters
Upstream From Former Village Of Halalt
sht'aats'ale (ADJ; AJ) 'place to get fish-spreaders'
T'aētse'la (Boas, 1981:72)

This place is located on the north side of the Cowichan River and extended from the river bank north as far as the present location of the Mohawk Gas Station on the Island Highway. This area was formerly used by the Cowichan for collecting Ocean Spray ("Ironwood") and Spirea woods used to spread salmon and other fish when barbecuing or smoke-drying them (ADJ; AJ). The Cowichan ancestor named Swel'hokw' was said to have killed Ts'inkw'o7, the supernatural lightning-monster, at sht'aats'ale. After piercing the monster's tongue several times, Swel'hokw' lured it into a pit and burned it, according to some versions of the story (AJ; Boas, 1981:72).

187. Un-named Creek Flowing Into The Cowichan River At The
"White Bridge"

xwesó7om (ADJ; AJ) Proper Name

There is a small creek flowing from the south into the Cowichan River, at the Allenby Road Bridge across from Somenos village. The creek gets its Indian name from the story of a Cowichan boy named Xwesó7om. As ADJ, on whose property most of the creek is located, explains the story [greatly abbreviated here], a young Cowichan boy named Xwesó7om decided not to share the fish he had caught in the creek under discussion with his family and relatives. His parents punished him by placing him into a coffin-box while he was still alive. The

parents filled the box with dried coho salmon and trout. They tied the box shut and then they placed it into the creek. When Xweso⁷om died inside the coffin-box, his body turned cold. Thereafter the water in the creek was always colder than the water in Cowichan River, and as one walks toward the creek today the air feels noticeably colder too. This story explains why coho salmon and trout are the only species of fish found in the creek today, and is meant to teach children [albeit forcefully] that sharing with others is very important (ADJ).

188. Somenos Village And Residents; Duncan, B. C.

s⁷omene (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP; DP; RJ) (meaning not known)

s⁷a¹menos (Boas, 1981:72)

s⁷aməna (Leslie, 1979:5)

s⁷aməna? (Suttles, 1976a:3) "hunter"

s⁷aməna (Suttles, 1976a:3) [alternate form]

s⁷aman^Λ (Mitchell, 1968:106)

Somenos (Duff, 1964:26)

samana (Barnett, 1955:21)

sa⁷amena (Lane, 1953:9)

Saumni (Duff, 1952:25)

Somenos (Jenness, field notes; n.d.)

Sämüna (Barnett, field notes)

sämünü (Barnett, field notes)

Somenos (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

s⁶ämüna (Curtis, 1913:175)

S^ʔamEna (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

S^ʔamenos (Boas, 1887:132)

Samena (Brown, 1864:1, 2) "Upper River Indians"

Somenos (d'Heureuse, 1860)

Saumina (Douglas, 1853)

189. Southeast Part Of Somenos Village (Former Creek)

sts'ewalets (AJ) perhaps 'land [riverbank] at bottom end'

The Cowichan use the term s^ʔomene to refer to the village southwest of the present City of Duncan, as well as Somenos Lake northwest of Duncan and Somenos Creek, which runs from Somenos Lake into the Cowichan River. Sometimes the terms s^ʔomene xotse 'Somenos Lake' and s^ʔomene stotelew 'Somenos Creek' are used today, but these are probably recent and somewhat contrived terms invented to distinguish these bodies of water from others adjacent to them. [Formerly the Island Halkomelem used only generic terms to refer to most lakes and streams.] The term s^ʔomene is also used today to refer to the City of Duncan itself and to the residents of Somenos village, now located along Allenby Road (ADJ; AJ; ARJ). The Indian term s^ʔomene has been anglicized to Somenos since the early historic period and the latter term will be used in discussing this place-name in this study.

Somenos residents today state that the Somenos people originally occupied the Somenos Lake and Somenos Creek areas, but many years (probably centuries) ago they moved closer to the Cowichan River to facilitate salmon fishing. Initially they moved to kewamen, a few hundred meters upstream from the present Allenby Road Bridge, but the high bluffs there made

fishing impractical. A second migration to the present village-site was necessary and the Somenos people have remained there (AJ).

Robert Brown, an early explorer on Vancouver Island who visited the Cowichan River area noted that Somenos was at that time "the highest village on the river" and he "engaged Kakalatza, a chief of the tribe...to accompany [them] to the great [Cowichan] lake" (Brown, 1864:1). The best early description of Somenos village was given by Frederick Whymp, the artist for Brown's 1864 expedition. He described the houses at Somenos, the manner in which fish and clams were dried and the level of acculturation at that time. More importantly, Whymp described the Somenos people as fearful "of surrounding tribes, especially those of the west coast, who...occasionally [kidnapped] 'unprotected males' and carried them off as slaves" (Whymp, 1868:63). As we will see later in this discussion of Somenos village, Whymp's description is somewhat discordant with what the Somenos today tell us about Cowichan relations with the Nootka (West Coast) Indians.

Barnett (1955:21) correctly noted that the Somenos village and people were often referred to as "Duncan(s)" by other Island Halkomelem people, but this has obviously only been the case since 1912 when the City of Duncan was established (ADJ). Curtis (1913:175) said that Somenos was "formerly a group of ten houses on the site of Duncans", which would make the village second in size [of the lower Cowichan river settlements] only to Quamichan and the same size as Clemclemalits. It is not clear if Curtis' figures

are for the sizes of the villages in 1912, but the Cowichan today recall hearing about more houses than Curtis mentions from their grandparents (ADJ; AJ; ARJ). An early map of the Cowichan valley (d'Heureuse, 1860) shows three houses on the north bank and two on the south bank of the Cowichan River, next to the word "Somenos" and at its correct location. The Somenos villagers today feel that the main village was always on the north side of the Cowichan River, but there were a few houses on the south side in historic times. In addition, the course of the Cowichan River adjacent to Somenos has changed significantly since the turn of this century (AJ; ADJ).

Hill-Tout (1907:365) noted that Somenos village was previously located at Sahtlam, many kilometers west up the Cowichan River, and that the first "chief" at Somenos was named LāmEqEsEt. The Cowichan today disagree with Hill-Tout's information. They say that Shlhómekethet [Hill-Tout's LamEqEsEt] was an ancestral name used by the head of one of the extended families at Somenos who had the right [with his household] to fish and camp further up the Cowichan River at Sahtlam [ts'ólho7em at Riverbottom Road] (AJ; ADJ; ARJ). There is also a difference of opinion today concerning Brown's (1864:1) description of "Kakalatza [as a] chief of the [Somenos] tribe." Kixelatsa7 is also an ancestral name still used today by the leader of a household at Somenos, but this name was never used to designate a "chief", according to AJ, ADJ and ARJ.

ADJ, AJ, ARJ and AT have all been residents of Somenos village for most of their lives. They believe, as do all Somenos people (and other Cowichan) that they are descended from a man named Siyo[/]letse, who was said to have descended from the sky onto Mount Prevost, near Somenos. These four collaborators in this study feel that the origin myth of Siyo[/]letse would be better placed in this study under the place-names for Mount Prevost and kew[/]amen, the latter a site just upstream from Somenos. For now, it should suffice to cite two references to this man. Jenness (field notes) said that "the first man" at Somenos was "Sialatca". Norcross (1959:3) stated that "Seahletsa...[was]...the first-comer and founder of the Somenos band and is recognized also as head of all the Cowichan people". The Cowichan today, the reader will recall, do not feel that there ever was a single "head" or "chief" of all of the Cowichan people (ADJ; AJ; CP).

Jenness (field notes) received information that one of the families who moved to the lower Cowichan valley from the headwaters of the Cowichan River brought sxwaixwe masks with them to Somenos. But their actions frightened away the fish and the Somenos told them to move away. They went to Malahat, and this is one explanation for the presence of the Cowichan at that place. Although the Cowichan today dispute this origin story for the sxwaixwe cleansing ceremony in their area, they agree with Jenness that "formerly each village kept to its own section of the river" (ADJ; AJ).

Although salmon-weir fishing has not been permitted on the Cowichan River since the 1930's, Somenos was the site of

several such structures in the past (ADJ). Suttles (1976b:1) did not record any weir owners at Somenos, but we are now able to give several weir-headmen's ancestral names. Jenness (n.d.) was evidently correct when he stated that "around Duncan...[weirs]...stood in front of every large dwelling facing the Cowichan River".

Just as two men who dropped from the sky onto Comiaken Hill were said to have "invented" the fire-drill and the deer pitfall, Siyóletse, who dropped from the sky near Somenos, was said to have "invented" [or at least erected] the first river-weir used to catch salmon. It is apparent that only the Cowichan (and probably people at the Somenos village only) people with a "direct or real relationship by blood to Siyóletse" were allowed to erect weirs at Somenos and the area just upstream from it (ADJ; AJ; ARJ). Some of the descendants of Siyóletse who were weir headmen in the past included: Shlhómekethet, Xelhk'inem, Shmók>wethet and (Jim) Yelo7xw. Two of these men were ADJ and AJ's fathers; they had weirs in the early decades of this century (ADJ; AJ). At the weirs around Somenos, harpoons, dip-nets, leisters and spears were used to remove salmon from the weir-screens. Set-nets and drift-nets, as well as a technique called "beach-seining" were also used in the Somenos area in the past (AJ). The present bridge at the Somenos village (on Allenby Road, called the "Wagon Bridge" by the Somenos) is now the furthest point upstream on the Cowichan River from which Cowichan Indians can participate in the native food fishery. This bridge is adjacent to an old tributary of the river that

is no longer extant. This southeast part of Somenos village used to be called sts'ewalets (AJ; ADJ).

The people from s7omene, like their fellow Cowichan villagers, travelled to the Fraser River and Point Roberts during the summer. In 1827 the "Saumni" were camped around the present site of the George Massey Tunnel (at the north end, at a place called tl'ektines), according to early journals of the Hudson Bay Company (Duff, 1952:25; ADJ; AJ). AJ pointed out that not all of the Cowichan went over to the mainland to fish in the summer, because there were so many salmon in the Cowichan River (until the early 1950's) that "you could hear the salmon coming up the river from several hundred yards away".

Somenos Lake and Somenos Creek were also used by the people from s7omene village. The former was said to have been an excellent waterfowl hunting area abundant with ducks, geese, swans and grebes. River otters were known to frequent Somenos Lake in the past as well. Somenos Creek still supports a large trout population and these were caught by the Cowichan in the past (AJ).

Somenos hunters travelled to Koksilah Ridge and, like other Cowichan men, as far west as Cowichan Lake. The Somenos today cannot give a translation of the name for their village, but they do not agree with Suttles' (1976a:3) gloss "hunter" and claim never to have heard this before (ADJ; AJ; ARJ). Brown (1864:2) noted that "one or two Samena families hunt on Cowichan Lake in the autumn...[and that the Somenos]... are the only tribe to frequent the upper waters of the...

Cowichan River." But Somenos people today claim that hunting and fishing west of the lower Cowichan villages was formerly open to all Cowichan people (ADJ; AJ; ARJ). Although some references in the pertinent ethnographic literature are somewhat vague about contact and conflict between the Cowichan and the Westcoast (Nootka) Indians from Nitinat (and Port Renfrew), Lane (1953:7, 9) reported that the Somenos hunted elk as far west as the "open lands northwest of Cowichan Lake", and that area is apparently within the traditional hunting lands of the Nitinat (AJ). Since the early 1800's, there has been no conflict between the two groups, according to Cowichan people today (ADJ; AJ; Lane, 1953:9).

The village of Somenos is now located on the Cowichan #1 Reserve and there are few, if any, Cowichan Indians living west of Somenos today on this reserve (ADJ; AJ). The Cowichan #1 Reserve occupies an area of approximately twenty-three hundred hectares (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299).

190. Area About Three Hundred Meters Upstream From s7omene
 /
 kewamen (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT) 'warm grease' or 'warm oil'
 K'au'āmen (Boas, 1981:72)

191. Mount Prevost (Name For Whole Mountain)
 swēk'es (ADJ; AJ; AT; ARJ; CP; DP) 'Siyoletse's dog
 [Wek'os] place', 'one with something stuck on the face'
 Swuq'a's (Boas, 1981:73) [Note that Boas called this
 "Mount Swuq'a's".]
 Swukos (Norcross, 1959:3)
 Waggus (Humphreys, n.d.) "landing place of Whonam and
 Stutson"

Swukús (Curtis, 1913:37)

192. Southwest Side Of Mount Prevost

ts'ekwele7 (ADJ; AJ; ARJ) (meaning not known)

Tsu'k'ola (Boas, 1981:73)

193. Foot Of Mount Prevost, An "Open Swampy Place"

Sñwunum (Curtis, 1913:37)

There are some high clay and sand bluffs on the north side of the Cowichan River at the place called kewamen, about three hundred meters upstream from the Allenby Road Bridge (at Somenos). This place is known locally as "the cliffs" and it was a former village-site of the Somenos people after they moved to the Cowichan River from the Somenos Lake and Somenos Creek areas many hundreds of years ago (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT). The reason why the Somenos settled at kewamen was that it was a sacred place to them, according to their mythology and origin stories. Because of the terrain at kewamen, the Somenos were forced to move one last time, to the site of their present village, s7omene. Kewamen, meaning "warm grease or oil", is not used today by the Somenos or any other Cowichan and the reason why it was so-named is not clearly understood or recalled today (ADJ; AJ). Kewamen, like Mount Prevost, is closely tied to the ancestor myth of Siyoletse, which is now summarized.

In the mythical period of time, Xaals the Transformer dropped many men from the sky in order to populate the earth. According to CP, two men named Siyoletse and St'ets'en dropped onto Mount Prevost with a dog named Wek'os. When they fell,

there was a loud noise of thunder. These two men had sxwaixwe masks with them and they danced, but there were no more salmon after this. Both men were chased away; Siyoletse went to Malahat and married a girl from Sooke. St'ets'en went to Chemainus; another Sooke girl was sent north from Malahat to look for him, but nobody knows if she found him.

AJ and ADJ tell quite a different story from CP's version and say it is the Somenos origin myth. Siyoletse was dropped down onto a grassy field on the southwest side of Mount Prevost by Xaals. This field is called ts'ekwele7. At first, this man's name was Sweten, "noise of something being dropped onto the ground", but eventually he was named Siyoletse. This man was full-grown when he was dropped down. A large, supernatural dog either dropped down with Siyoletse or came down shortly after; the dog had a long horn coming out of its forehead. The dog was sent to be Siyoletse's companion and was named Wek'os 'stuck on the head'. This is why Mount Prevost is named swék'es "place of Siyoletse's dog" or 'one with something stuck on the face or head' today. The mountain was named after Wek'os. This dog caused a lot of trouble for Siyoletse because it impaled too many deer, bears and other animals with its horn. Two women from the Sooke family of Tiye^komet travelled from Sooke to find Siyoletse and stopped at Deerholme Mountain (place-name #252 in this study). Eventually one of the Sooke women married Siyoletse. Later St'ets'en was dropped at Sicker Mountain, a little north of Mount Prevost, at a place called kw'i7im (place-name #125 in this study). St'ets'en wanted to live with Siyoletse at Mount

Prevost, but the latter sent him back to Sicker Mountain or to the area around Westholme. So the two men raised separate families, since St'ets'en married the other woman from Sooke (ADJ; AJ).

Siyoletse, his wife and their family moved to kewamen after Siyoletse's wife saw that it might be a good place to catch fish. There were no fish at that time. At kewamen, Siyoletse erected the first salmon weir and he expected to catch fish with the first leister spear that he had invented. But it was not until Siyoletse tied his baby daughter [in a cradle-basket] to the bottom end of his weir and she was transformed into salmon by Xaals (as a sacrifice) that salmon came to the Cowichan River and became the staple food of the Indians. This also explains why only the "direct blood kin" who are descendants of Siyoletse may erect a weir at Somenos (or could when this was permitted). Siyoletse, therefore, is said to be the first ancestor of the Somenos (and many other Cowichan villagers say their people too), while St'ets'en is said by the Chemainus (at Westholme, Willy Island and Chemainus Harbours definitely, and probably further north as well) to be their first ancestor (ADJ; AJ).

While Humphreys (n.d.) and Norcross (1959:3), among others, have also recorded portions of the story just related, there are several lengthy versions of it in the pertinent ethnographic literature. All of these published versions differ from the stories told by AJ, ADJ and CP.

Jenness (field notes) said only that "Swatan, 'falls heavy and shakes the ground', appeared at Somenos with the sxawaixwe

mask. But he scared the fish there so he was made to go to Westholme". This is somewhat similar to CP's version, summarized earlier, even though Jenness received his information from a man at Nanaimo.

Curtis (1913:37-39) recorded a lengthy version of the origin of "the ancient patriarchs of certain Vancouver Island communities". In his published account, "Stútsun" [St'ets'en] was the first man to drop out of the sky at "Shwúnūm...an open swampy place...at the foot of the mountain Swúkū. In his right hand was a spear, in his left a rattle". Then, "Siyálútsū fell down in the same place. He had bow and arrows, a net for catching deer and a rattle...Next came Hwnām [Xwnām], with a fish-hook and a rattle...Hwnām went down to... [Malahat]...The next man to fall out of the sky...was Swútūn, and his coming made the earth shake". Aside from the different names of the men involved, Curtis has recorded the name "Shwúnūm" for what the Cowichan today call ts'ékwele7. According to Curtis (1913:38), Siyóletse and St'ets'en, "who were brothers, moved down Cowichan river and founded the village Hulláltw [place-name number 185 in this study]. Afterward people from this settlement moved to Chemainus Bay, and their descendants are called... [xeláltw]." Curtis' version states that the dog named "Wakas" [Wek'ós] was found by Siyóletse in the bushes when the latter was hunting.

Boas (1981:72-76) recorded several versions of the story of "Siā'lat'sa" in the 1890's and has published the most complete and earliest account of the story to date. This published account is also the most aberrant from the story told

by the Cowichan today. In Boas' (1981:72-76) story of "Siā'lat̓sa" this man came down from the sky at Quamichan Lake. On subsequent days eleven other ancestors [each with names that have been reconstructed by the Island Halkomelem today from Boas' transcriptions] dropped at the same lake, and then they each built houses at "Tsu'k'ola" [place-name number 192 in this study]. Swutlā'k [Swel'hokw'] was the one who told Siyōlet̓se about the salmon at kewamen, and they built a house together there and constructed the first fishing weir. In order to catch deer, Siyōlet̓se went to Mount Prevost and tamed the monster there with "a needle-sharp horn on its neck". After this six of the ancestors moved to the Nanaimo River and became the ancestors of the Nanaimo people. Ten other ancestors moved to Skutz Falls and became the ancestors of the Koksilah, while still another ten went to the Chemainus River and became the Chemainus ancestors. After this happened only Siyōlet̓se was left at ts'ek̓wele7, so he went back to kewamen and built himself a house. The chief's daughter from Sooke eventually found Siyōlet̓se and they married and had five children. In alternate versions recorded by Boas, "St'ets'en" and two others came down from the sky after Siyōlet̓se and these three became the ancestors of the Quamichan. St'ets'en is given positively as one of the ancestors of the Halalt at Westholme in still another version.

According to AJ and ADJ, ts'ek̓wele7 is a sacred place and this is the reason why no vegetation will grow there today. But elk and deer frequent the area and black bears hibernate in the caves on Mount Prevost, as they have since Siyōlet̓se.

194. North Side of Cowichan River, About One and One-Half Kilometers Above Somenos (Allenby Road Bridge)
 /
 ti7txwotselhp (AJ) 'little western yew tree' or 'little [hunting] bow tree'

This place is located about one and one-half kilometers above Somenos village, on the north bank of the Cowichan River. There are many western yew trees here, and the Cowichan used this wood for a variety of technological purposes, such as for hunting bows, wedges and fish-hooks. Towards the north bank of the river the Cowichan formerly used set-nets and drift-nets to catch salmon, because there is a back-eddy and this forced the fish towards one side of the river making them easier to catch (AJ).

195. Large Rock About Five Hundred Meters Above /
 ti7txwotselhp
 stso7tx (AJ) 'halibut'

Halibut formerly ascended the Cowichan River as far upstream as this place. There is a story associated with a large rock here; the location of the rock has yet to be determined, since it could not be found by AJ in 1976. In any case, the rock was said to "come to life" if there was going to be an impending death in the family of a person passing by it (AJ).

196. Pile of Boulders One Kilometer Above stso7tx
 /
 st'et'imye (AJ) 'hermaphrodites (half-men, half women)'

According to the story told about this place, a tall hermaphrodite named St' /
 émye was transformed into a pile of rocks or boulders here by Xaals the Transformer (AJ).

197. "Widow Rock", About One-Half Kilometer Above st'et'imye
siya7ten (AJ) 'widow'

The Cowichan believe that widows must undergo ritual purification after the death of their spouse before travelling on salt water or on a river. If this was not done "the waters scared away all of the fish." Although there is no place on the Cowichan River where salmon and trout do not come today because of something that was not done "properly" in the past, Widow Rock was a place formerly affected in this way. Many widows, women who were menstruating and some spirit dancer-initiates once bathed in the Cowichan River and scared the salmon away for quite a long time afterwards. The water became spiritually "poisoned" and the Cowichan named the place "Widow Rock" to remind future generations of the need to purify oneself after the death of one's spouse. Red ochre could be seen on Widow Rock and this also signified that this was considered a sacred place (AJ).

198. Rock In The Middle Of The Cowichan River, One Hundred Meters Above "Widow Rock"

xwexwi7kes (AJ) 'just missing each other', 'rubbing'

There is a rock in the middle of the Cowichan River at this place. The water flowing downstream hits this rock, is forced to the south side of the river and then emerges close to the north bank. The resulting currents seem to "fight or just miss each other", making this a good place for the use of set-nets and drift-nets to catch salmon and steelhead (AJ).

199. North Side of Cowichan River, About One Kilometer Up-
Stream From xwexwi7kes

kw'ikw'elhshenem (AJ) 'waves hitting feet in water'

No information was recalled today about this place

(AJ).

200. North Side of Cowichan River, Thirty Meters Upstream
From Place-Name Above

xwts'oom (#1) (AJ) (meaning not known)

This place, on the north side of the river, is very shallow and calm. It has the same name as another place further upstream and could be the Tsaam "torn up place" noted by Brown (1864:2). No other information about this place was forthcoming (AJ).

201. Area One Kilometer Upstream From xwts'oom (#1)

skw'ii7etsen (AJ) possibly 'butchered riverbank'

AJ could not recall any details about the use of this area.

202. The "S-Pool", About Fifty Meters Upstream From skw'ii7-
etsen

k'ixlhets (AJ; ADJ) 'black place' or 'dark place'

q?i.xtəc (Suttles, 1976b:1)

There is a large "S-curve" in the Cowichan River, where the water is forced into deep, dark pools. It was used as a kind of geographical gauge by Cowichan people travelling up and down the river. The deep pools and back-eddies were ideal for using drift and set-nets in order to catch salmon and steelhead. Although these methods were utilized by the

Cowichan at the S-Pool, there was apparently a weir-site either right at the curve in the river or perhaps several hundred meters above it (AJ). Suttles (1976b:1) noted that there was a salmon weir at this place but his information did not include the weir's headman or owner. According to AJ and ADJ there were no winter villages of the Cowichan people further upstream than the S-Pool.

203. Salmon Weir-Site About Three Kilometers Above the S-Pool

kwemtselosem (AJ; ADJ) possibly 'hugging the face'

q^wam?cal?asam (Suttles, 1976b:1)

There was a large salmon weir-site at this place that was owned and constructed by a Cowichan woman named Ts'eyxⁱimelwet (AJ; Suttles, 1976b:1). This weir-site has not been used since the 1930's according to AJ.

204. Logjam About One Hundred Meters Upstream From Weir-Site

At kwemtselosem

xwstek (AJ) 'place with logjam'

A logjam in the Cowichan River just above kwemtselosem was considered to be part of that place-name's area. The name xwstek is a somewhat descriptive term indicating that the place bearing that name was probably named recently (AJ).

205. Salmon Weir-Site About One Kilometer Upstream From

kwemtselosem

ayexwem (AJ) Proper Name

The weir-site at this place was also considered to be part of the place named kwemtselosem. The weir was evidently located towards the north bank of the river and may have been

constructed of rocks and boulders rather than wood (AJ).
 The name of the weir headman, [/]Ayexwem, was also given to the place where his weir was built. [/]Ayexwem was a Westcoast (Nootka) man, probably from Port Renfrew, who married a Cowichan woman, thus giving him the right to construct a fishing weir in Cowichan territory (AJ; ADJ).

According to AJ and ADJ, [/]ayexwem [the place-name] is the western boundary of the Cowichan #1 Reserve, although the Cowichan's traditional territory extended much further west than this.

206. Rock In The Cowichan River About One Kilometer Upstream
 From [/]ayexwem

sth'oso7kw (AJ) 'get hit on the head'

This place is known as a deep, level and fast-running section of the Cowichan River. As the salmon ascend the river on their way to the spawning grounds further upstream, they are forced into a pointed rock near the north bank. They "get hit on the head" there and this accounts for the origin of this place-name (AJ).

207. Rock Near The North Bank Of the Cowichan River, About
 One Hundred Meters Above sth'oso7kw
 sth'ene (AJ) 'sculpin' or "bullhead"

There is a very large boulder towards the north bank of the river at this place. It is believed by the Cowichan that this rock contains a great deal of "power". If a person inadvertently hits this rock with a canoe-pole or paddle, their wrist will hurt a lot for the remainder of their journey up

or down the Cowichan River, or longer. This affliction is known as sth'ēnetses, or "bullhead hand" and it has rendered many people "useless" on canoe trips on the river. The only known cure for "bullhead hand" is to acquire a hair from the head of an **identical** twin and to tie it around the afflicted wrist of the person. This also illustrates the "power" of identical twins in Island Halkomelem culture (AJ).

The reason why the rock was named after sculpins [only those found in fresh water] or "bullheads" is not clearly understood by the Cowichan today. It may be that sculpins were found in the area at some time, or that sculpins were transformed into the rock at this place (AJ).

208. Canyon About Two Kilometers Above sth'ēne

xwilhekwem (AJ) "water makes a quiet sound"

In this small canyon one can hear the water hit the north bank and rock bluff, the latter located on the south side of the river. This part of the river is a "calm, quiet place which is easy to pole through". The exact meaning of this place-name is not known; the translation "water makes a quiet sound" is a gloss that is descriptive of the place (AJ).

209. Junction Of Creek Flowing From Wake Lake And The Cowichan River (About Three Kilometers Above xwilhekwem)

témelh (AJ) 'red ochre'

On the north bank of the Cowichan River near its junction with the creek flowing from Wake Lake there are red ochre deposits. Winter spirit dancers and ritualists formerly came

to this place to collect red ochre. It is not known if any Cowichan use this place today for the same purpose. Steelhead spawned in the creek flowing from Wake Lake and the Cowichan caught them there (AJ).

210. Junction Of Holt Creek And The Cowichan River (About One Hundred Meters Above témelh

k'ethkwále (AJ) possibly 'place of harpoon prong'

Steelhead also spawned in Holt Creek and the Cowichan caught them there by means of two-pronged harpoons. The fore-shafts on these harpoons are called káthexw by the Island Halkomelem and this may account for this place-name's origin (AJ).

211. Area About One Hundred Meters Upstream From k'ethkwále
ts'éspeles (AJ) (exact meaning not known) perhaps "big
rocks in middle of river"

Only experienced canoeists can pole through the water at this place because the depth of the water drops very rapidly. In addition, the riverbanks on either side are steep and this creates rough, hazardous conditions on the river. Large rocks can be seen everywhere around this place, which includes quite a large area on both sides of the river.

212. Rock Located About Three Hundred Meters Upstream From
ts'éspeles

kw'ikw'leken (AJ) (exact meaning not known) perhaps
"little bare rock"

At this place there is a round, black rock which protrudes into the river, causing two channels to be formed (AJ).

213. Area About One Hundred Meters Above kw'ikw'leken

xwts'oom (#2) (AJ) (meaning not known)

Tsaam (Brown, 1864:2) "the torn up place"

This place is located on the north bank of the Cowichan River and is calm and shallow because the river starts to widen nearby. Formerly there were gravel-bars here, but these have disappeared since the 1920's (AJ).

Brown (1864:2) mentions a place called "Tsaam" on the Cowichan River, but he was not specific as to its location. According to AJ, who pointed out that there are two places named xwts'oom on the river, this is the more popularly known of the two places. AJ added that Brown's translation fits xwts'oom #2 more accurately.

214. Tzartlam (Cowichan Reserve #5), Riverbottom Road

ts'olho7em (ADJ; AJ; ARJ) 'place of [broadleaf maple]

leaves', "many maple trees"

s²ca²am (Suttles, 1976a:3) "leaf..probably implying
maple"

ca²am (Suttles, 1976b:1)

Tzartlam (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299)

S²at²lām (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Saatlaam (Brown, 1864:2) "place of green leaves"

Saatlam (Whympers, 1868:47) "fresh verdant spot and
place of green leaves"

Along Riverbottom Road, which runs between Skutz Falls and the City of Duncan, there used to be a Cowichan seasonal fishing camp on the north side of the Cowichan River. This camp was used primarily by people from the Somenos winter

village and it was known as ts'ólho7em. This place is about five hundred meters above xwts'oom (#2) and is almost mid-way between Skutz Falls and Somenos. The Indian place-name should not be confused with the stop along the Canadian Pacific Railway, several kilometers northwest, which is called "Sahtlam" on all maps. The railway stop is undoubtedly named after the Indian place-name, however (AJ).

Hill-Tout (1907:365) noted that the "earlier settlement" of the Somenos people was at ts'ólho7em and that the first Chief [at ts'ólho7em, Somenos or both ?] was named LāmEqÉsEt [Shlhomekethet]. Whympers (1868:47) described ts'ólho7em as "a fresh verdant place of green leaves" and also described a number of deserted "Indian lodges" there. Whympers was the artist for Robert Brown's 1864 expedition into the interior of Vancouver Island. As its name indicates, the ts'ólho7em area is abundant with broadleaf maple trees, as well as Garry oak and red alder. All of these species were collected by the Island Halkomelem to produce a rich, flavourful smoke from the fires used to preserve salmon and other types of fish. The proper wood for these smoke-drying fires was important because the Cowichan pit-lamped for salmon and steelhead from canoes in the ts'ólho7em area. By using such an effective method of fishing [i.e. pit-lamping, then harpooning fish as they are drawn to the fire in the canoe], the Cowichan had such an abundance that preserving fish was essential (AJ).

Suttles (1976a:3) recognized ts'ólho7em as a "fishing ground and a little village" and received information that "some old people lived there" [possibly in 1962, when the

information was collected]. According to AJ and ADJ, the last usage of the area was in the 1940's. Elsewhere, Suttles (1976b:1) said that there was a fishing weir-site at ts'ólho7em and the headman of the weir was named sk'w^wəlxíləm. AJ concurred with Suttles' data and pronounced the headman's name skw'elxílem. AJ also noted that there is a railway stop on the Canadian National line just below Skutz Falls [many kilometers west of ts'ólho7em] named "Culchillum". AJ believed that place-name was an anglicization of the weir headman's name given here. Both AJ and ADJ felt that ts'ólho7em was used in the summer and early autumn in "the old days".

There is a six and one-half hectare reserve of the Cowichan Band at ts'ólho7em, called Cowichan #5. This reserve is still recognized by the Cowichan, even though it is seldom occupied by Indian people today (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299; ADJ).

215. Two Kilometers Upstream From ts'ólho7em

tstl'em (AJ) 'jumping'

This place is not actually visible from the Cowichan River, but AJ located it a few meters south of the south bank. This place takes its name from a story told by the Cowichan, in which, many generations ago, a man "jumped about..[eleven meters]..across the Cowichan River from a standing position (AJ).

216. Two Kilometers Upstream From tstl'em

xis (AJ) (meaning not known, possibly "grabbing with the hands")

This place is located on the north side of the Cowichan River and there was no information remembered today about its use by the Cowichan (AJ).

217. Five Kilometers Upstream From xis, Camscot Railway Stop
shele (AJ) 'penis'

218. Mountainous Area North Of shele
shele smaant (AJ) 'penis mountain', "shele mountain"

About five kilometers upstream from xis, the north side of the Cowichan River formerly became eroded so badly that it was shaped and "stuck out like a penis". This was the origin of the place-name on the river and the same term was also applied to the distinctive ridge directly north and east of the river, along with the descriptive term for "mountain" (AJ). The term shele has also been applied to Cowichan Reserve #6 which is located at shele on the river, even though this reserve is legally known as "Kakalatza". This former fishing camp consists of nine and one-half hectares on the north side of the Cowichan River, across the river from the Canadian National Railway stop at "Camscot" (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299; AJ).

Kakalatza was the Cowichan name of a man from Somenos village who led the Brown expedition of 1864 up the Cowichan River to Cowichan Lake. He was the "chief at Somenos" at the time and Brown (1864:3) described him as "the lord of these up-river dominions". According to AJ and ADJ, an extended family or household leader at Somenos, whose name was Kixelatsa⁷, owned a salmon weir-site at shele and this ancestral name did denote great importance to the Cowichan

people in the past.

219. Marie Canyon Area, About Five Kilometers Above shele
 th'i7th'esh (AJ) possibly 'really narrow'
 ts'i7ts'esh (AJ) [alternate pronunciation]
 Quatchas (Brown, 1864:3) "the canyon"

This place is located in what is now known as Marie Canyon. It is on the north side of the river, where the bank rises up over thirty meters in height. When the river is high due to winter rains or spring thaw, large amounts of clay soil from the area on top of the north bank are carried into the river (AJ). It is not clear if the name given by Brown, noted above, is for this place. There are no other place-names on the Cowichan River resembling it and it could simply be a poor transcription.

220. Western End Of Marie Canyon, About Three Kilometers
 Above th'i7th'esh
 lela7xwelh (AJ) 'place to put away canoes', "camping
 ground"

In the past Cowichan people could pole their canoes from Somenos to this place in one day. It is located at the western end of Marie Canyon. The Cowichan River is quite narrow and moderately fast here, but it was known as a "safe camping place where canoes were dragged up onto the beach". Although AJ could not remember if the place-name referred to the north or south side of the river, on our journey down the river in 1976 he pointed out lela7xwelh as being on the north side. This place also shows much evidence of Brown's

(1864:2) description of the "river-bed being composed of round well-worn stones (below Squitz) [Skutz Falls]" (AJ).

221. One-Half Kilometer Upstream From lela⁷xwelh

senit⁷ses (AJ) (exact meaning not known)

This place consists of a falls about one meter in height, located just below the Canadian National Railway bridge at Culchillum. The Cowichan name seems to refer to the falls and specifically to the south side of the river. In the "early days" the Cowichan came here to spear coho salmon, that could be seen jumping as high as two or three meters above the surface of the water. The Cowichan also employed open-weave baskets, normally reserved for the collection of beach foods, to catch salmon unable to negotiate the falls at senit⁷ses (AJ).

222. One Kilometer Above senit⁷ses

(xw)k'exminem (AJ) 'place having Indian Consumption Plant'

This place is located on the south side of the river. The water is extremely rough and rapid here. In 1976 we portaged around this place because the river was so low (in July). The seeds of the Indian consumption plant were collected here; the Island Halkomelem use them for a variety of medicinal and purification purposes (ADJ; AJ).

223. Skutz Falls, Cowichan River

skwets (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; CP) 'waterfall'

skūts (Boas, 1981:73)

sk^wac (Suttles, 1976b:1) "the falls"

Skutz (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299)

Squitz (Brown, 1864:2) "end of the swift place"

Unlocated Fishing Camps Around skwets

224. Qualis (Brown, 1864:3) "warm place..Lat.48°45'37"N."

225. Klal-amath (Brown, 1864:3) "two log houses"

226. Kuch-saess (Brown, 1864:3) "common cement of the rapids"

Skutz Falls is located about thirty-five kilometers up the Cowichan River from Somenos (Duncan); it is accesible by road today, a drive of some twenty kilometers from Duncan. The falls are about two kilometers above senitses and were the most important place on the Cowichan River (to the Cowichan Indians) above Somenos (AJ; ADJ). The term skwets means 'waterfall' in Island Halkomelem, so the anglicized form of this term in the present name "Skutz Falls" is redundant.

Skutz Falls is the most dangerous and rapid place on the Cowichan River and one had to be a very proficient poler to take a canoe through here (either going up or down the river). Formerly the Cowichan portaged around the falls and used the area adjacent to the falls as a summer camping place. It normally took more than one day to pole a canoe up the river from Somenos to skwets; in fact it used to take about one day to pole just from lela⁷xwelh past skwets (AJ).

A Cowichan man named Siy⁷olekw(e)thet had the right to erect a salmon weir about one hundred meters downstream from Skutz Falls. The late Manson George and Moses George's father and mother built such a weir there. Their father made all of the stakes, poles and braces, but other people were permitted to use the weir (AJ; Suttles, 1976b:1).

Several different species of fish passed through the falls on their way to the spawning grounds. Spring salmon usually only ascended the river as far as the falls, but some continued up to Cowichan Lake. There were at least two runs, one in the winter and one in the spring or early summer. The chum or "dog" salmon came in two runs as well, beginning in August. But the chum "passed through the falls, became hypnotized, went up Skutz Creek, spawned and died". Coho salmon passed through the falls in September and October but they seemed to spawn in the creeks which feed into the Cowichan River, rather than in the main river channel as some other species did. Coho could be seen jumping several meters in height at the falls in 1976, confirming AJ's assertion that "they have the highest jump of all the salmon". Coho did ascend the river past the falls and into Cowichan Lake, where they spawned in the creeks leading into the lake. All of the species of salmon mentioned here and steelhead moved through the falls very quickly and in enormous numbers formerly (AJ).

Humpback and sockeye salmon do not ascend the Cowichan River to spawn, but rarely one or two of these species got "lost" at Cowichan Bay and did go up the river. The Cowichan know of only two sockeye salmon that were caught in the Cowichan River in this century (AJ).

Since there was such an abundance of fish at skwets, it was considered to be the unofficial upstream "boundary" of the Cowichan peoples' fishing territory traditionally. But it should be noted that the Cowichan did fish further up the river and in Cowichan Lake for salmon and steelhead (AJ).

Until the early decades of this century, the Cowichan fished at skwets during the summer and early autumn. Even though Somenos is the closest permanent winter village to skwets and most of those people made the journey there, all of the Cowichan winter villages had the "right" to fish at the falls (AJ).

Fishing at skwets was accomplished by a variety of methods. Single and double-pronged harpoons and spears were used during the day. The Cowichan stood in lines on both banks of the river at the falls, from the present bridge over the river there upstream as far as the middle section of the falls (where the fish ladder is today). There were no rules regarding the placement of harpooners; anybody could stand anywhere they wanted. Spears and harpoons were normally used by men, but sometimes women and children assisted or tried their luck. This is unusual, but since very little butchering and smoke-drying was done at skwets, these people were allowed to use these implements. Gaff-hooks were used to take salmon and steelhead at skwets, as were leister spears. The antiquity of the former implement is somewhat in doubt (AJ).

The dip-net or scoop-net was generally used at night in the middle section of the falls on both sides of the river. Here again, there were no restrictions as to placement of people using these implements (AJ). Suttles (1976b:2) noted that dip-netting was done from platforms extending out over the falls and provides some excellent descriptions of this.

The last time that skwets was used extensively for food fishing by the Cowichan was in the early 1930's. Until that

time the Cowichan poled canoes up the river from the Duncan area, a two-day journey. Each family would catch two or three hundred fish and bring them down the river to the winter villages. In historic times wagons were used to transport people and fish. The people from Westholme also fished at skwets, as did the Westcoast (Nootka) from Port Renfrew [the latter are known as the Th'emo⁷esatx to the Cowichan]. Both of these non-Cowichan groups probably had the right to fish at skwets through intermarriage with Cowichan people (AJ; ADJ).

Skutz Falls was also an important land mammal hunting area to the Cowichan. Deer, elk, black bears and numerous smaller animals abounded in the surrounding mountains and forests. Hunting was done with a variety of specialized implements and was only done by men (AJ).

Skwets was a "meeting place" for the Westcoast (Nootka) people, Mithalemexw and the Cowichan. The falls and its Indian history is still the subject of some controversy, even between the Island Halkomelem and Westcoast Indians. The falls is clearly in Island Halkomelem territory, according to ADJ, AJ; ARJ, CP, GC and the pertinent ethnographic literature. But AJ was adamant in his assertion that the Westcoast people from Port Renfrew (Pacheenaht) were the first people at Skutz Falls. They had apparently fled overland from "the Indian wars" [perhaps with other Westcoast groups or others] (AJ). Brown (1864:7) states that the Nitinats, a Westcoast group much closer to skwets than Port Renfrew by water, had wars with the Elwha and Clallams (across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in Washington State). In any case, a few Pacheenaht

travelled up the Gordon River and settled at skwets. When "the first Cowichan people arrived there, they found the Pacheenaht already living in permanent winter houses" (AJ). Jenness (n.d.) said that in the mid-1800's there were many skirmishes between the Nootka and Cowichan, due to the former coming to Cowichan Lake. He added that by 1860 the Cowichan consented to the Nootka erecting two houses beside Skutz Falls and there has been peace between the two groups ever since. The Cowichan today feel that the Cowichan used skwets as a fishing site long before the 1800's (ADJ; AJ). But they say that the Nitinat and Pacheenaht have been friendly with and intermarried with the Cowichan long ago. Some Westcoast people even moved down to Duncan and adopted the Cowichan dialect and customs. This may have been due to the fact that the former realized that the fish at Skutz Falls originated in Island Halkomelem territory (AJ). Brown (1864:3) also provided a good deal of information on this in his journal. He noted that canoes were made at skwets and described two log houses of the Nitinat there. He also described Somenos and "Masolemuchs" [Mithalememxw 'Westcoast People'] intermarriage. A sketch of these houses at skwets made by Whympers in 1864 (Brown, 1864:3) has not been located as yet. The Cowichan never did adopt any Westcoast customs. For example, they built cedar-bark huts at skwets and not permanent houses (AJ). But the Cowichan did trade some of their items of wealth for sea otter pelts, perhaps only in historic times (AJ; Curtis, 1913:43).

Brown (1864:2, 3) gives three place-names, probably around skwets, that Cowichan people today do not recognize. The first, Qualis is "a warm place" and even its exact latitude is given [unfortunately not its longitude]. This is the descriptive term kw'[/]ales 'warm' and the Cowichan do not remember a camping place with this name. The second place was called Klal-amath by Brown, and this is apparently the site of the two log houses erected by the Westcoast people at skwets. ADJ and AJ guessed that this name might be xwstl'[/]al-emet 'Clallam place', but had never heard the term used in the context of a place-name. The third name Kuch-saess may have referred to a part of Skutz Falls, according to AJ, but he had never heard the term before.

Aside from the weir-site of Siy[/]olekw(e)thet, mentioned earlier as being located about one hundred meters downstream from Skutz Falls, the Cowichan today recall that there was a graveyard on the south side of the river, just below the bridge at the falls (AJ). Today there are also two reserves belonging to the Cowichan Band near the falls. The first, "Skutz A-Cowichan #7" is seven and one-half hectares in area and is located on the north side of the Cowichan River about one-half kilometer downstream from the Skutz Falls bridge. The second, "Skutz B-Cowichan #8" is located right at the falls and is sixteen hectares in area (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299).

Anyone visiting Skutz Falls today would have to agree with Brown (1864:3) that it is "a most picturesque series of rapids". The Cowichan today are beginning to fish at this

place again, even though the area is almost always used as a camping ground by non-Indians who occupy the Indian Reserve there without the permission of the Indians (ADJ; AJ).

227. Rocks On South Side Of Cowichan River, Three Kilometers Above Skutz Falls

(shts) ^{/, , /,} mimenoyo7lh (AJ) '(place of) dolls'

Formerly there were many kinds of land mammals around this place, including blacktail deer, elk, black bears, squirrels and wolves. They came to this place on the river to drink and cross over to the north side. But they evidently "polluted" the river, both physically and spiritually, such that they could not be killed or taken away from this place. It is believed by the Cowichan that these animals were either transformed into rocks bearing their likenesses, or that their images were carved, by forces unknown, into the rocks here a long time ago (AJ).

Two small streams running into the Cowichan River from the south near here were steelhead spawning grounds. The streams have also caused some unusual rock formations on the clay ridges around this place (AJ).

AJ said that this place was so named because the former abundance of animals there was so overwhelming that, by comparison, "the Indian people were just like children playing with dolls".

228. Old Rock-Weir Site, About Ten Kilometers Above (shts)
 mimenoyo7lh And Three Kilometers Below Lake Cowichan
 xaaltl' (AJ) 'crossing-over place'

This place-name refers to both sides and the middle of the Cowichan River at the location indicated above. The Cowichan used to construct rock weirs here because the water is quite shallow. Many large boulders were placed in lines across the river. These boulders extended about one-half meter above the surface of the water and gaps were left in the rock lines. AJ did not remember exactly where the openings were, but he suspected that they were close to the river-banks. Ascending salmon were blocked by the boulders and then forced to the sides of the river, similar to the effect noted at sth'oso7kw (much further down the river). Salmon could then be harpooned, speared or gaffed from a standing position on top of the rocks. Since there were gaps in the rocks, when the weir was not being used fish could escape further upstream. Spring salmon were procured in this manner from April through July. Canoes were placed upstream from the weir in some cases, allowing even further exploitation of the fish. During the summer and early autumn, the mountains south of xaaltl' were utilized by Cowichan men, who hunted land mammals there. There was still evidence of the boulders at this place in 1976. The rocks were said to have "a hypnotizing effect" on fish (and perhaps humans as well) and for this reason xaaltl' was believed to be a "very powerful place". This place is so named because the boulders there allowed people to "cross over" the river since they extended all the way across it (AJ).

229. About Three Kilometers Above xaaltl' And One Hundred Meters Down Cowichan River From Lake Cowichan R.C.M.P. Station

shxw7imken (AJ) 'thundering noise [of water] up-above'
Swoem-Kum (Brown, 1864:2, 3)

This place is on the south side of the river and was described as a "big, deep pool". When the river was rising rapidly in the past, the water around this place made such a "thundering noise" that people as far down the river as Somenos could hear it. This was a warning that they could expect high water on the lower Cowichan River. The water was so deep at this place in the summer of 1976 that we could not see the bottom of the river (AJ). Brown (1864:2) said that the Cowichan River below this place was "smooth".

People poling up the river to Cowichan Lake exchanged their canoe poles for paddles at this place; on the return journey the paddles were exchanged for poles again. Brown (1864:2, 3) also mentioned this usage of shxw7imken:

...we came to Swoem-Kum, an island where...[the Cowichan canoeist]...deposits the poles by which he has hitherto propelled his canoe up the rapid stream, for now we have come into...the still waters, the commencement of the lake, where the current is no longer perceptible.

230. Cowichan Lake

(kewetsen) xotse (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; CP) '(Cowichan) lake'

Kaatza (Brown, 1864:3) "the lake"

The Cowichan Indians today say that all of Cowichan Lake was formerly utilized by their people, and that it was definitely part of their traditional fishing and hunting territory (ADJ; AJ; CP). Spring salmon were taken there in the spring and summer, but they were usually in rather poor condition, having already ascended the entire length of the Cowichan River. As early as January coho salmon spawned in the numerous streams flowing into the lake. Steelhead began their descent down the river from the lake starting in October and rainbow trout could be taken in the lake at any time of the year (AJ).

In the mountainous areas on both sides of Cowichan Lake Somenos hunters (and probably those from other lower Cowichan winter villages as well) found an abundance of blacktail deer, elk, black bears, beaver and marmots (AJ; Lane, 1953:9). All of these mammals were hunted with a bow and arrows, sometimes in conjunction with special traps and snares. Wolves were found in the land areas around the lake but they were never hunted, killed, or eaten since they were considered to be the "protectors and helpers of land animal hunters" (AJ).

As was mentioned earlier, the Cowichan and Nitinat intermarried to some degree. The original contact between these two groups probably took place at Cowichan Lake at least as early as 1820 (AJ; Brown, 1953:9). In 1916 a special Indian Reserve called the Lake Cowichan Reserve was established. The people occupying it were (and remain today) of mixed Cowichan and Nitinat origin. The reserve, a few kilometers west of the Town of Lake Cowichan, is about forty-two hectares in area

(Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299, 300). Lane (1953:9) speculates that smallpox almost exterminated most of the original "Cowichan Lake dwellers" [presumably the ancestors of the mixed group now occupying Lake Cowichan Reserve] around 1860. Jenness (field notes) stated that "the Cowichan occasionally had skirmishes with the W. Coast Indians around Cowichan Lake" and noted that none of the Westcoast (Nootka) Indians joined the Cowichan in their "wars" with the Southern Kwakiutl. But Jenness does provide a story illustrating the first Westcoast and Cowichan intermarriage. Lane (1953:9) said that Cowichan and Nitinat intermarriage was restricted to the Somenos village and said that some Somenos people went to live at Nitinat. AJ believed that there was far more contact between the Pacheenaht (from Port Renfrew) and Cowichan than the Nitinat and Cowichan.

231. Mesachie Lake

mesátsi7 (AJ) 'bad', 'wicked' [Note that this lake and the small settlement adjacent to it take their name from the Chinook Jargon term "miss-ah-chee" and there is no Island Halkomelem term for these places.]

232. Peninsula At East End of Cowichan Lake, Creating A North Arm East Of Youbou

Kanatze (Brown, 1864:3) "the island in tow"

The Cowichan today do not recognize this name, nor could they provide a likely pronunciation of it (ADJ; AJ; CP). Brown called it "a curious peninsula in the lake" (Brown, 1864:3).

233. North Side Of Cowichan Lake, East Of Youbou

xwookw'em (AJ) 'merganser ["sawbill duck"] place'

Squakum (Brown, 1864:3) "start of lake"

234. Mount Holmes and Mount Franklyn, Directly North Of Youbou

xwookw'em smaant (AJ) 'merganser mountain'

235. North Side Of Cowichan Lake, Around Youbou

snishetsem (AJ) (exact meaning not known)

The area around the present town of Youbou was previously used by the Cowichan as a waterfowl hunting place. Mergansers or "sawbill ducks" were abundant and they were caught by means of special duck spears and with at least three types of nets. But dozens of other species of waterfowl were also available in the area due to the variety of freshwater habitats. One of the homes of Tzinquaw, the supernatural lightning monster, was said to be in the caves on Mount Holmes and Mount Franklyn, due north of Youbou. Tzinquaw scared all of the trout in Cowichan Lake, in a story told by the Cowichan (AJ).

236. Caycuse, West Side Of Cowichan Lake

kw'ikw'ews (ADJ) 'burned body'

Around the present settlement of Caycuse, the Cowichan used to scorch the bottoms of their canoes to remove slivers in the wood (ADJ).

237. Nitinat Reserve, Nitinat People (Westcoast)

nitenat (ADJ; AJ) (Southern Nootka term, meaning unknown)

The contact between the Nitinat and Cowichan has already been discussed here under the place-name skwets and at the

Lake Cowichan Reserve. Today some Nitinat families have the right to use sxwaixwe masks through intermarriage with the Cowichan and some Cowichan families have the right to use the Nootka Wolf Dance through intermarriage with some Nitinaht Band members (ADJ; AJ).

From this point, at the western end of Island Halkomelem territory and the Cowichan River-Lake system, we move back down to the salt water to describe the place-names on the Koksilah River system and those around Cowichan Bay. From that point we will move south towards Victoria.

It will be noted that there are no longer any names remembered today in the interior of Vancouver Island, either north or south of the Cowichan River or Cowichan Lake, other than those already mentioned. These areas were used by the Cowichan (and other Island Halkomelem via intermarriage with the Cowichan) for the hunting of larger land mammals. The Cowichan today feel that these areas should be considered part of the traditional territory of the Cowichan and it will be noted that the pertinent ethnographic literature is rather vague about the southern and western extent of the Coast Salish, where they border with the southern Nootka. Further investigations among the Pacheenaht and Nitinaht Bands by the writer and others are still ongoing. In the future we will certainly be able to add Westcoast (Nootka) place-names to our current ethnographic knowledge, such that the traditional hunting and fishing areas of the Island Halkomelem and Westcoast Indian people can be better clarified.

238. Koksilah River, Koksilah Village And Residents

xwelkw'sále (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP; DP) possibly 'place with
snags [in river]'

K'o'lk'uisala (Boas, 1981:73, 74)

x^wəlq^wsələ (Leslie, 1979:5)

x^wəlq^wsələ (Suttles, 1976a:4)

x^wəlq^wséʔlə (Suttles, 1976a:4) [alternate form]

x^wəlq^wsəyle (Suttles, 1976a:4) [alternate form]

Koksilá (Mitchell, 1968:44)

Koksilah (Duff, 1964:26)

hwalq!sələ (Barnett, 1955:21)

xolk^wısáyle (Lane, 1953:7)

Koksileh (Jenness, field notes)

hwülq!səlú (Barnett, field notes)

Koksailah (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

Koksilah (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1)

Kockasailo (Kissell, 1916:264)

Ĥwülkwsələ (Curtis, 1913:175)

QulkwEsála (Hill-Tout, 1907:365)

Kulkuisála (Boas, 1887:133)

Kokesailah (d'Heureuse, 1860)

The term xwelkw'sále is used by the Island Halkomelem to refer to the former village on the lower Koksilah River that was located where the present Island Highway crosses that river [at the bottom of the hill as one drives into Duncan from the south] (ADJ; AJ). This same term is also used to refer to the former residents of that village and to their descendants, many of whom have moved elsewhere, to the Cowichan

valley [especially to Clemclemalits] and to Cowichan Bay. Many present-day speakers of the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem preface the term stólew 'any river', used to refer to the Koksilah River, with the term xwelkw'sále, but this is probably recent. The Indian term xwelkw'sále has been anglicized to "Koksilah" [pronounced coke-SIGH-lah] since the early historic period (ADJ; AJ).

Koksilah village consisted of seven houses in 1860, three of which were on the north side of the river and the other four were on the south side (d'Heureuse, 1860). Curtis (1913:175) mentions only "three large houses" in the "former" village, indicating that migrations away from the village had already begun. But the Cowichan today recall at least one house being used for ceremonial purposes in the early 1920's (ADJ; AJ).

Historically, Koksilah village has been neglected in the pertinent ethnographic literature and the residents were grouped with the adjacent Cowichan, even though they occupied the Koksilah and not the Cowichan River valley. Even Boas (1887:133) was unsure about the Koksilah, stating, "I do not know to which tribe they belong." The Koksilah should be considered in the same way as other speakers of the Cowichan dialect who did not live in the Cowichan valley. Indeed, they were an integral part of the Cowichan because of inter-marriage and proximity (ADJ; AJ; Lane, 1953:7).

There evidently were several very large log-jams and snags in the Koksilah River near the village and this would account for the term xwelkw'sále 'place having snags' (ADJ).

There was at least one salmon weir-site at Koksilah village, although the name of the owner is not remembered today (ADJ; AJ; Suttles, 1976b:1).

The Koksilah River did not support the number or variety of fish that the Cowichan River did in the past. Spring salmon did not ascend the Koksilah to spawn in the pre-contact period, for example. The Cowichan today say that because the Koksilah River does not have a lake as its source [like the Cowichan] there were less fish. But coho salmon, steelhead and trout were abundant in the Koksilah, especially near the village. In some years there were so many fish trying to ascend the Cowichan River that the Koksilah "took the overflow" and there were more than usual (AJ).

According to Boas (1981:73, 74), ten people went to Skutz Falls on the upper Cowichan River and became the ancestors of the Koksilah villagers.

239. Marble Falls, Koksilah River

[/]
xtemten (AJ) (meaning not known)

[/]
xtəmtən (Suttles, 1976a:4)

The people from Koksilah village formerly went to the falls on the Koksilah River to fish for salmon (AJ; Lane, 1953:7). People from Clemclemalits also fished at the falls, and this undoubtedly accounts for the close relationship between Koksilah village and Clemclemalits (Lane, 1953:7; AJ). Suttles (1976a:4) received information suggesting that "there was a village... [at Marble Falls]...once and the people moved

down to... [Clemclemalits]." AJ recalled that there were temporary seasonal camps at the falls, but he had not heard of a permanent village there. He agreed that some of the extended families from Koksilah village had moved to winter villages at the mouth of the Cowichan River, such as Clemclemalits. The former Koksilah village-site and the area around it [but not Marble Falls] are now part of the Cowichan #1 Reserve (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299).

AJ thought it was worth mentioning that some of the last times that Sasquatches [th'omekw'es 'wild men'] were seen by the Island Halkomelem were around Marble Falls, above the falls in the Koksilah River canyon and near Nitinat at the west end of Cowichan Lake. All of these sightings reportedly occurred in the early decades of this century.

240. Cowichan Reserve #2, South of The Koksilah River Mouth
thi7ik (ADJ; AJ) (meaning not known)

Theik (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299)

There is a thirty hectare reserve of the Cowichan Band called Theik (Cowichan Reserve #2) which is still occupied by a few families today (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299; AJ). It is located on Cowichan Bay Road, a few kilometers north of the Town of Cowichan Bay.

241. Former Village At Theik Reserve.

th'ith'xwemksen (ADJ; AT) 'little glittering point'

The former village-site around which the Theik Reserve (Cowichan #2) was established was located a few kilometers north of the Government Wharf at Cowichan Bay, just above the

high tide line (ADJ; AT). A full discussion concerning the relationship between this village and another on Porlier Pass (Valdes Island) was provided earlier, under place-name number 45.

242. Boulder About Three Hundred Meters North Of Cowichan Bay Government Wharf

tl'ekwena7 (ADJ; AJ) 'deaf'

There used to be a large boulder on the beach at the location given above. This boulder was known to the Cowichan as "Deaf Man Rock". In the story of Xaals the Transformer, a deaf man was appointed "lookout"; he was to tell the other people when Xaals arrived. Instead, Xaals arrived suddenly, surprising the deaf man. Because the man had failed in his duty, Xaals transformed him into stone. To this day, people are warned to stay away from this rock, or they too will become deaf (ADJ).

243. Cowichan Bay, Kilpahlas (Cowichan Reserve #3)

tl'elpoles (ADJ; AJ; CP; DP; GC) perhaps 'deep bay' or
'deep eyes'

ʔəlpálas (Leslie, 1979:5) "deepish"

ʔəlpálas (Suttles, 1976a:4) "deep slope?"

q!alpálas (Barnett, 1955:21) "Kilpaulus village"

q!ǔlpálǔs (Barnett, field notes) "down the bay"

Kilpahlas (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299)

Tlalpálǔs (Curtis, 1913:175) "Cowichan Wharf"

Tlilpáles (Boas, 1887:133)

The term tl'elpóles was formerly used to refer exclusively to a village whose boundaries extended from the present Government Wharf at the Town of Cowichan Bay to the site of the present Kilpahlas Reserve at the south side of Cowichan Bay. Today this same term is also used to refer to all of Cowichan Bay below the high tide line (ADJ; AJ).

An early map (d'Heureuse, 1860) shows two settlements on the south side of Cowichan Bay and both are labelled "Clemclemalats". The more northerly of the two villages had two houses and appears to be at the location of th'ith'xwemksen and thi7ik (north of Cowichan Bay Wharf). The other is placed on the map exactly at the present site of the Kilpahlas Reserve. There are four house-sites shown for this village. It is not known if the "Clemclemalats" designations on the map were meant to indicate that the residents of these two villages originally came from lhemlhemelets' village at the mouth of the Cowichan River, but this seems likely (ADJ).

Curtis (1913:175) stated that "Tlalpalús...[was]...formerly a village of four houses on the site of Cowichan Wharf". His placement of tl'elpóles village appears to be a few kilometers north of the village-site, closer to the abandoned th'ith'xwemksen village. It should also be borne in mind that there have always been several wharves at Cowichan Bay (ADJ).

The Kilpahlas Reserve (Cowichan #3) is about twenty-one hectares in area and is located a few kilometers southeast of

Cowichan Bay Town (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299).

There are still several houses on this reserve today.

All of the people living in Cowichan winter villages had access to Cowichan Bay and Satellite Channel and they used these waterways for fishing almost year-round. In the spring (March and April) herring were "raked" in tremendous numbers and herring roe was also collected (ADJ; AJ; Jenness, n.d.). Smelts were procured in the spring and summer, as were many types of beach foods, such as clams, cockles, crabs and urchins. Salmon were taken in Cowichan Bay in the spring, summer and autumn, where they swam around waiting to ascend the Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers to spawn. Sharks and dogfish were caught, primarily for the oil that was found in their livers. Other groundfish were also taken by a variety of methods. Some of the more important of these species were: lingcod, red snapper, plainfin midshipman, tom-cod, perch, sculpins, flounder and a few halibut. Harbour seals and sea-lions were also quite abundant in Cowichan Bay in the past, and these were hunted by the Cowichan. Although whales did previously come into Cowichan Bay, they were not hunted by the Indians (ADJ; AJ). A wide variety of waterfowl, such as ducks, geese, grouse and other migratory species were taken by the Cowichan at Cowichan Bay. Several types of nets, in addition to duck spears, were used to procure birds. It can be seen from the preceding list of activities that Cowichan Bay was formerly an extremely important place to the Cowichan. It is unfortunate that almost the entire area is now polluted and that the area is closed to the taking of shellfish today (ADJ).

244. Area Between Cowichan Bay and Cherry Point
 ts'elxwín (ADJ; AJ) (meaning not known)
 sts'elxwín (ADJ; AJ) [alternate pronunciation of term above]
 shts'elxwín (ADJ; AJ) [alternate pronunciation]
245. Cherry Point (On Satellite Channel)
 xwts'oxwem (AJ; ADJ) (meaning not known)
246. (s)xwnats (AJ; ADJ) 'one that is behind [or back of the
 Point itself]'
247. Group of Rocks on the Beach at Cherry Point
 k'pósem (AJ) '[rocks] gathered together'

The area between the south end of Cowichan Bay and Cherry Point and the Cherry Point area itself were heavily utilized by the Cowichan in the past for procurement of beach foods and for the hunting of marine mammals. Some beach foods are still collected in these areas today, primarily in the summer. Along the rocky beaches, giant red sea urchins and green sea urchins, black katy chitons and giant red chitons as well as giant sea cucumbers were abundant and were taken for food. Dungeness crabs were also taken and these are still found in great numbers around Cherry Point. The shells of the giant Pacific scallop were collected and made into the special rattles used by sxwaixwe dancers. This type of scallop is not found very often today in the Cherry Point or Satellite Channel areas, but they were formerly numerous (AJ; ADJ).

The Boatswain Bank area, southeast of Cherry Point, was used by the Cowichans to fish for salmon and groundfish, mainly in the summer and autumn months (AJ).

Harbour porpoises and northern sea-lions used to be plentiful in the waters of Satellite Channel, off Cherry Point. These were hunted by the Cowichan, the residents of the village at Mill Bay, and by the Saanich. Hair seals were also hunted at Cherry Point and they still migrate to that area and into Mill Bay to the south in the summer (AJ; ADJ).

The Indian place-names recorded for Cherry Point are *xwts'oxwem* for the Point and (s)*xwnats* for the area behind or south of the Point in the unnamed bay west of Boatswain Bank (AJ; ADJ). Most of the Cowichan people today refer to Cherry Point in Halkomelem by using the term *ts'elxwin*, which probably refers to the area around the wharf, midway between the south end of Cowichan Bay and Cherry Point. Another term, *k'posem*, refers to a group of large rocks on the beach around the wharf just mentioned, probably northwest of the point (AJ).

248. Patey Rock

snets'olushen (AJ; ADJ) 'one big toe'

sentl'olushen (AT) 'big toe'

The name for this place is derived from the Cowichan story of "The Boy With the Flashing Eyes", in which a boy was able to cause lightning to flash from his eyes when they were opened. This was caused by the Thunder-Spirit. In one part of the story, some Cowichan men were hunting seals at Patey Rock. One of the hunters was told to stay on the Rock and to watch for seals, but he kept poking the boy's eyes because the lightning was blinding him. The rest of the hunters left the man on the rock but he eventually swam to Cherry Point, northwest across Boatswain Bank (AJ).

249. Hatch Point

x^wcɛʔx^wə m (Hudson, 1971: 10) [meaning not given]

hwce'hwum (Hudson, 1971: 10) [meaning not given]

Hatch Point formed the boundary between the Island Halkomelem to the north and the Straits Salish to the south. As will be noted later, however, the Indians living at Mill Bay were an amalgamation of people from the Cowichan area and the Saanich Peninsula (AJ; CP).

The term given above, which would be written xwtsa⁷xwem in the writing system used in this study, is probably the same term that AJ and ADJ have given for Cherry Point. It is obvious that Richard Harry, the Saanich man credited with the term in Hudson (1971), was recalling the location he had heard. But in Hudson (1971: 10) the information about the name or term is rather vague. It says that the term is "possibly a Cowichan word... [having] something to do with seashells." It is possible that the term refers to the area between Cherry Point and Hatch Point or perhaps to all of Boatswain Bank, which lies between the two points of land.

Today there is an Indian Reserve belonging to the "Saanich Tribe" just south of Hatch Point. It is about thirty-seven hectares in area (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1: 302).

250. Dougan Lake (Formerly Known as Rogers Lake and Patrolas Lake), Cowichan #4 Reserve (Est-Patrolas)

^{/'}
kelilem (ADJ; AJ) perhaps 'bad place'

^{/'}
qal?i?lām (Suttles, 1976a:4) "getting worse ?"

This lake was formerly used by the Cowichan and is today the site of a thirty hectare reserve of the Cowichan Band named Cowichan #4 (Est-Patrolas-Rogers Lake). It is not occupied by the Cowichan today, nor has it been for many years (ADJ; Royal Commission, 1916, Vol. 1:299).

251. Cobble Hill

^{/'}
shxwewkw'els (ADJ) 'finish all of one's arrows'

ADJ recalled that this place was named in the historic period, probably about one hundred years ago. It was so named because when Cowichan men returned from the mountains west of the Koksilah River, where they hunted large land mammals such as deer, elk and bears, they shot all of their arrows into the air. In more recent times hunters "finished all of their shotgun or rifle shells in the air" as a sign that hunting was ended and they were returning home to their families (ADJ).

252. Koksilah Ridge, Deerholme Mountain, Eagle Heights

^{/'}
xwsōle7etsem (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; CP) 'place having rush-mat
shelters'

Qsalā'atsem (Boas, 1981:75)

This place-name most often refers to Deerholme Mountain, in the Koksilah Ridge area, south of the settlement of Deerholme. This mountain figures prominently in the Cowichan

story of "The Man Who Dropped From The Sky" (ADJ). Deerholme Mountain was known to be one of the homes of the legendary Thunderbird. When this bird opened its eyes, lightning flashed. According to a version of this story recorded by Boas (1981:76, 77), the son of Siyoletse (a man who dropped onto Mount Prevost) went up Deerholme Mountain to visit the Thunderbird. When he arrived there, it started raining on the earth for the first time. After staying at the Thunderbird's "house" for nine days, the man returned on the tenth day and told of his travels. Then he carved an image of the Thunderbird on one of his house-posts. In ADJ's version of the story, this mountain was so named because, in the Story of Siyoletse, two women from Sooke travelled overland from that place to find Siyoletse at Mount Prevost. They camped for some days on Deerholme Mountain, using rush-mat shelters, hence the name for the mountain today "place of rush-mat shelters" (ADJ). AJ noted that black bears hibernate in the caves on this mountain during the winter, and that the area was a place where some Cowichan men went to hunt elk.

253. Shawnigan Lake

senoneken (ADJ) (meaning not known)

shenoneken (ADJ) [alternate pronunciation]

The previous use of this lake by the Cowichan is not remembered today. The place-name for it may simply be an Island Halkomelem pronunciation of the English place-name (ADJ).

2.3 Place-Names South of Island Halkomelem Territory

254. Mill Bay

kéya (AJ; CP) [Exact meaning not known; perhaps from
stkéya 'wolf'. This term is the same in
Island Halkomelem and Straits Salish]

keye (AJ; CP) [alternate pronunciation]

k'eye (CP) [alternate pronunciation]

skaihai (Barnett, 1955:19, 141) "Mill Bay village"

qeqeya (Jenness, field notes) "wolf den"

qe'ya (Jenness, field notes) "be ready to watch for
shallow water"

255. Mouth of Shawnigan Creek at Mill Bay

skw'ó7then (AJ; CP) (exact meaning not known)

sq'a?çan (Hudson, 1971:6)

sqw'a'z'un (Hudson, 1971:6)

256. Malahat Ridge, Malahat Indian Reserve, Malahat Reserve
Residents

málexelh (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP) 'caterpillars'

málexelh (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP) [alternate pronunciation; this
term is the same in Halkomelem and Straits]

Mā'leqatl (Boas, 1981:76)

məməxɛɬ (Hudson, 1971:2) "caterpillars"

mumuxelh (Hudson, 1971:2)

mé'ɬɬxɬ (Mitchell, 1968:62)

malahat (Barnett: 1955:19)

Mälühüt (Barnett, field notes)

Malakut (Jenness, n.d.; field notes)

Má'luhuhl (Curtis, 1913:37)

Mālechatl (Boas, 1887:132)

Mala-chult (Douglas, 1853:14) "Chief was Selp-queinum"

The Mill Bay area formerly had at least two permanent winter villages. The first, kéya, was near the head of Mill Bay near the mouth of Shawnigan Creek, skw'o7then (AJ; Barnett, 1955:19, 141). This village was composed of Indians from the Hatch Point area and from the three villages on the west side of the Saanich Peninsula (AJ). The second village, mālexelh, became the present-day Malahat Indian Reserve. There were several houses located between Verdier Point and McPhail Point (between Bamberton and the southern end of Mill Bay). Apparently, the residents of kéya and also some from Hatch Point moved to the Malahat Reserve early in the historic period. This Reserve is described as Saanich and Cowichan in the pertinent ethnographic literature, and a complete explanation of this discrepancy will follow (AJ; CP).

The anglicized term Malahat is derived from the Island Halkomelem and Straits Salish (Saanich dialect) term mālexelh. This term in the Indian languages is not derived from the word māla 'bait', as many people have thought. The term mālexelh 'caterpillars' is the plural of the term mēmexalh 'caterpillar' (in both Cowichan and Saanich). This term originally referred only to Malahat Ridge, a group of mountains southwest of Mill Bay. With the establishment of an

Indian Reserve about two hundred thirty-five hectares in area in 1916 (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol.1:302), then named Malahut, the term [/]malexelh or Malahat was applied to the Indian Reserve and to the people living there (AJ; CP). It should be noted that Malahat Mountain was named yoos^w in the Saanich dialect of Straits Salish only (CP).

The term [/]malexelh was applied to the mountains around Mill Bay because the area was ravaged by caterpillars (on the deciduous trees) in the early 1800's, at the time when government surveying crews were naming the area (AJ; CP; Hudson, 1971:2). Eventually the term Malahat was used as a generic term for the entire west side of Saanich Inlet by the Saanich people, in addition to the specific locations mentioned earlier (CP; Hudson, 1971:2).

According to Boas (1887:132), Hudson (1971:6), Duff (1964:27), Suttles (1951:212, 213), ADJ, AJ and CP Mill Bay marked the southern extent of the Island Halkomelem on Saanich Inlet. Boas also noted (1887:132) that the Malahat spoke a "separate dialect of Halkomelem." But Mitchell (1968:62), Barnett (1955:19) and the Royal Commission that established the Malahat Reserve in 1916 (Royal Commission, 1916, Vol.1:302) refer to the Malahat people as a "Saanich Tribe" or inhabiting a "Saanich village". The explanation for this is that the people living around Mill Bay were an amalgamation of Indians from the Somenos and Quamichan villages on the lower Cowichan River and Indians from the three permanent winter villages on the west side of the Saanich Peninsula (and they remain so today). Therefore,

there are descendants of Cowichan and Saanich people at Malahat and both dialects are spoken there. This is not surprising, since there has always been a great deal of inter-marriage between the two groups (ADJ; AJ; CP; Jenness, n.d.). Boas (1981:76) recorded information from Cowichan people at the villages of Comiaken and Somenos indicating that the Malahat people are all descended from a man named "Soosti'lten".

The Mill Bay and Malahat Ridge areas were formerly important to the Cowichan and Saanich. Seals were hunted in the waters of Saanich Inlet east of Mill Bay. Beavers and other land mammals were hunted in the Malahat Ridge and Shawnigan Creek areas (AJ; CP). At least two Malahat men owned reef-netting locations at Point Roberts, according to Suttles (1951:212, 213).

Malahat Mountain [yoos, in Saanich dialect of Straits Salish] was one of the last places that Cowichan people recall seeing Sasquatches, th'omékw'es [also known locally as "Wild Men"]. A Malahat man reported seeing seven or eight of these creatures at the western end of Malahat Peak several decades ago. They were sleeping with their legs up on a log and many large footprints were also observed in the area, imprinted into rotten logs and on deer trails. The man was so scared by the creatures that he ran all the way home to Mill Bay (AJ; CP).

257. Goldstream River, Goldstream Provincial Park

x^wce³ə¹məlp (Leslie, 1979:76) "jump tree or bush"

None of the Island Halkomelem people consulted for this study recognized this term for Goldstream, a fishing and camping site of the Saanich. AJ and CP, both fluent speakers of Saanich (Straits Salish), recognized this place-name by its Saanich form, s7élek¹w'telh. AJ felt that the name Leslie had recorded [xwtsatl'¹emelp 'jumping tree place'] did not refer to an actual botanical species, and neither he nor ADJ had heard of an actual species with the name tsatl'¹emelp.

Hudson (1971:2) recorded some aberrant information concerning Goldstream from one of his Saanich collaborators at Saanichton Bay. At least some Saanich people believed that Goldstream was "traditionally important as a salmon stream...The vicinity in question was once owned by Cowichan Indians, and later by the Saanich." CP was adamant that the Goldstream area was utilized almost exclusively by the Saanich of Brentwood Bay until the early historic period, when there were so few salmon there that the Indians did not use it anymore. As a compensation, the Department of Indian Affairs now gives the Indians at Brentwood Bay salmon from elsewhere because fishing at Goldstream is now forbidden (CP).

258. City Of Victoria

matuliye (ADJ; AJ; CP) [Note that this term is simply an Island Halkomelem pronunciation of the word "Victoria".]

259. Old Songhees Reserve, Victoria Harbour

lekw'emen (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP) [Note that this is the Island Halkomelem pronunciation of the Straits Salish name for this place, lekw'engen 'rocky ground'. This term is also used to refer to the Songish, in a collective sense.]

LEk'u'men (Boas, 1981:72, 82, 83)

260. New Songhees Reserve, Admirals Road

sth'omes (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'bone in head' [Note that this term is derived from the Songish name for a subgroup of Songish formerly occupying the Parry Bay area. This same term in the Straits Salish language is the source for the English terms "Songish" and "Songhees".]

Ts'a'mes (Boas, 1981:71, 82)

261. Esquimalt Indian Reserve, Esquimalt Harbour Area

sxwimalhelh (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'shallow place'

262. Becher Bay Reserve, Klallam Indian People

xwstl'alem (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'Klallam Indian People' [Note that AJ and CP also knew the Straits Salish place-name for Becher Bay, stsiyanexw 'any salmon'.]

263. Sooke Indian Reserve, Sooke Harbour Area

so7okw (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'Sooke Indian People' [This term is pronounced su7ukw in Straits Salish.]

Sa'ok (Boas, 1981:74)

The Island Halkomelem intermarried with the Songish, Klallam and Sooke people in the past and there is still frequent contact today for such things as Indian canoe races, winter spirit dances and potlatches (ADJ; AJ; CP). All three Straits Salish groups (Songish and Esquimalt at reserves on Admirals Road in Esquimalt, Klallam at Becher Bay and Sooke at Sooke Harbour) spoke separate dialects of the Straits Salish language. But today almost all speakers of an Indian language converse in the Cowichan dialect of Island Halkomelem. ADJ, AJ and CP described the total number of Straits Salish speakers at the places mentioned as probably "not more than fifty people today".

We now continue with the place-names known to the Island Halkomelem in areas south of their traditional territory. We begin with some Songish sites in the San Juan Islands and then proceed back to Vancouver Island to examine the place-names on the Saanich Peninsula known to the Island Halkomelem.

264. False Bay, Southwest Side Of San Juan Island, U. S. A.

xwel[/]xwelekw' (AT) (exact meaning not known)

265. Unlocated Place On West Side Of San Juan Island

ts'[/]atxemken (AT) (exact meaning not known)

266. Unlocated Place On West Side Of San Juan Island

wekw'[/]wekw't (AT) 'tangled', 'drifting'

According to AT, all three of these sites, located in the traditional territory of the Songish Indian people, were used

by certain Island Halkomelem families, normally through inter-marriage with Songish people who had the right to fish there. All three areas were used for the collection of beach foods, the hunting of marine mammals, fishing for groundfish such as halibut and especially for the reef-netting (among other means of procurement) of sockeye salmon. These areas were used in the summer and autumn months (AT).

267. Reid Harbour, Stuart Island, U. S. A.

kwēnes (AJ; AT; CP) 'whale' [Note that this place-name is the same in the Saanich dialect of Straits Salish.]

q^wənəs (Hudson, 1971:16)

q^wənəs (Suttles, 1951:25)

There was formerly a settlement of the Saanich Indians (from Saanichton Bay) on the east side of Reid Harbour, near its entrance (Suttles, 1951:25, 26; AJ; AT; CP). There were several reef-netting locations used for sockeye salmon fishing in the summer adjacent to this settlement until the mid-1880's. Island Halkomelem people, including AT and CP's fathers, also fished at Stuart Island, as they had the right to do so through intermarriage with East Saanich location-owners. AT and CP both believed that the "settlement" at Stuart Island was actually a summer camping site for the reef-netters and their families and a "fish processing" site where sockeye salmon was butchered and preserved for use in the winter (AT; CP).

Whales were formerly quite abundant around Stuart Island, and this undoubtedly accounts for this place-name's origin (CP).

268. Saanichton Bay (East Saanich-Reserve #2) "Tsawout"
 sth'a7ewtxw (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP; DP) 'houses on the
 side-hill'

269. Brentwood Bay (West Saanich-Reserve #1) "Tsartlip"
 sts'olhelhp (ADJ; AJ; ARJ; AT; CP; DP)
 'many broadleaf maple trees'
 xwts'olhelhp (AJ; CP) 'place of broadleaf maple trees'

[Note that this alternate form is
 also used to refer to the residents
 of the Tsartlip Reserve today.]

270. Cole Bay (Saanich Reserve #3) "Pauquachin")
 (xw)p'okwetsen (ADJ; AJ; CP) (exact meaning not known,
 perhaps 'shallow, sandy')

271. Patricia Bay (Saanich Reserve #4) "Union Bay Reserve",
 "Tsekum", "Tsehum"
 xwseyk'em (ADJ; AJ; CP) 'clay place'

272. Deep Cove
 smexwemen (AJ; CP) (exact meaning not known) [Note that
 this is the Island Halkomelem pronunciation of
 the Straits Salish (Saanich) name for this
 place, sxwemxwemen.]

There has been an extremely high degree of contact and
 intermarriage between the Saanich and the Island Halkomelem
 for "many generations" if not hundreds of years. Much more
 information on the Saanich place-names listed above (as they
 are known to the Island Halkomelem) can be found in the works

of Barnett (1955:19-21), Suttles (1951:21-25, 277, 278), Hudson (1971:5-13) and others. In addition, the field notes of Barnett, Jenness and Rozen add significantly to the published information on Saanich ethnogeography.

We now proceed with an examination of the place-names that have been previously recorded as being in the traditional territory of the Saanich (Straits Salish) Indians. Many of these places have names in Island Halkomelem and Straits Salish and were used by both groups on a seasonal basis. For the purposes of this study, the boundary between Halkomelem and Straits Salish in the southern Gulf Islands is, curiously, the route taken by the British Columbia Ferry that travels from Swartz Bay (on the Saanich Peninsula) to Tsawwassen (on the mainland). This is not an artificial boundary; rather it is one borne out by the information provided to me by Island Halkomelem and Saanich collaborators. In general, the south end of Saltspring Island could technically be considered to be in Straits Salish territory, except that it was used by the Cowichan on their way to the mainland in the summer months, even before contact with non-Indians. There is no question that North and South Pender Islands, Mayne Island and Saturna Islands are definitely in Straits (Saanich) territory, but several places on these islands were also used by Cowichan and Chemainus (Island Halkomelem) people, through inter-marriage with the Saanich.

The reader will note that Saanich equivalents for the following Island Halkomelem names can be found in Suttles (1951:25-27) and Hudson (1971:15-20).

273. Fulford Harbour, Saltspring Island

xwnanets (AJ; AT; CP) possibly 'lowering the rear end'
 Qu-naain-us (Hamilton, 1969:28) "way in the bay"

There was a seasonally occupied village of the Saanich and Cowichan at the southeast entrance to Fulford Harbour. The area was used for lingcod, halibut and salmon fishing in the summer and the collection of herring spawn in the spring. Clams, ducks, seals and sea-lions were also available in the area in the summer months (AJ; AT; CP).

274. Beaver Point, Saltspring Island

(s)ts'esno7om (CP) (meaning not known)
 t'csna7am (Suttles, field notes)

This area was probably used as a camping site by the Cowichan on their way to the mainland in the summer (ADJ; CP).

275. Ganges Harbour, Saltspring Island

shiyo7xwt (AJ; AT; CP) possibly 'hollow place'

The Ganges Harbour area was used by the Island Halkomelem with permanent winter villages on the Gulf Islands (such as Penelakut Spit, Lamalchi Bay and Valdes Island) for the raking of herring and the collection of herring spawn in the spring and summer. Lingcod were caught in the harbour at any time of year. During the summer there was a wide variety of beach foods available and there was hunting for porpoises, seals and sea-lions (AT; AJ; CP; Jenness, n.d.).

276. St. Mary Lake, Saltspring Island, "White Beach"

tl'alhem (CP; RJ) 'salt'
 tl'a7lhem (CP) 'salty [lake]'

St. Mary Lake was probably not used extensively by the Island Halkomelem in the past. It is fed by salt springs, hence the Indian name for the place and the English name Saltspring Island (CP).

277. Long Harbour, Saltspring Island

stso7t~~x~~ (CP; RJ) 'halibut'

Long Harbour was utilized by the Island Halkomelem for the same resources as those mentioned at Ganges Harbour. But, as the place-name suggests, halibut were abundant here in the past and were taken by the Island Halkomelem and Saanich (CP; RJ).

278. Bedwell Harbour Area, Between North And South Pender Islands

st'eyes (AT; CP) (exact meaning not known)

The Bedwell Harbour area was used by the Island Halkomelem for the hunting of harbour seals (AT). Those Indians hunted porpoises and fished for halibut and herring (Barnett, 1955:22; AT), and salmon and sea urchins were also taken in season (AT).

279. South End Of Mayne Island

xwexwi7es (AT) (meaning not known)

280. East Point, Saturna Island

tl'ektek~~s~~en (AJ; AT; CP) 'long nose' or 'long point'

Halibut and seals were taken from the waterways adjacent to the south end of Mayne Island and East Point (AJ; AT; CP; Barnett, field notes), by the Island Halkomelem and Saanich.

2.4 Place-Names Known To the Island Halkomelem On The
Lower Mainland and Fraser River, British Columbia And
In the Puget Sound Area of Washington State, U. S. A.

It has been recorded in the pertinent ethnographic literature, and the Island Halkomelem people today agree, that many extended families in Island Halkomelem villages had the right to travel to the British Columbia mainland to fish for salmon. Indeed, many people travelled to the mainland at any time of the year in order to visit relatives, to attend potlatches and other social gatherings such as funerals, and to trade goods.

Grant (1857:301) noted that the Cowichan and Saanich both had "fishing grounds at the mouth of Frazer [sic] River... [and]...to these fishing stations they emigrate in the salmon season, with their wives and families and all their goods and chattels." Duff (1952:17, 25, 26) summarized much of the early literature, confirming these Island Halkomelem migrations, and more information can be found in Rozen (1978:18-22, 46, 76).

In the past and even today, the Island Halkomelem used a single term to refer to anything (including places, individual people, villages, "tribes" and so on) on the mainland of British Columbia (as well as anything Coast Salish further south). This term is shnewaylh or shneweylh, and it could be loosely translated as "those on the other side" (ADJ; AJ; AT).

The following list of place-names on the mainland is not meant to be complete, but these names are the ones most often used by the Island Halkomelem today. The names proceed in a southerly direction generally, starting with the lower mainland of British Columbia.

281. City of Vancouver

skwomesh (ADJ; AJ) (Note that this term is an approximation of the English word "Squamish" and that it is not meant to indicate that Vancouver was once or is now Squamish Indian territory [either exclusively or shared with the Mainland Halkomelem Indian people]).

282. Pankupe7 (ADJ; AJ) (This term is simply a Halkomelem rendering of the English name "Vancouver".)

283. Former Village West of Musqueam

mooli (AJ)(meaning not known)

moli (AG)(meaning not known)

284. Musqueam Village (Mouth of North Arm of Fraser River)

xwmethkwi7em (ADJ; AG; AJ; CP; DP; RJ)(exact meaning not known)[probably "place having unidentified botanical species named 'méthxwi7'"]

hmusqeyum (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for Musqueam tribe"

Today, as in the past, there is a high degree of inter-marriage and contact between the Musqueam and Island Halkomelem.

285. Island Halkomelem Term For All Indian People Further Up
the Fraser River Than Musqueam (Kwantlen, Katzie, etc.)
teyt xwélmexw (ADJ; AJ) 'upriver Indians'
Téthw^ulmuh (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for Fraser
River tribes"
286. Hatzic
xath'a7k (GC) 'measuring the genitalia'
287. Chilliwack/Sardis
(s)ts'elxwayek (ADJ; AJ) meaning not known [See Duff,
1952:21, 43]
288. North End of George Massey Tunnel, Lulu Island
tl'ektines (ADJ; AG; AJ) 'long beach' or 'long river-
bank'

The Cowichan and Nanaimo came to this place during the summer months to fish for sturgeon, sockeye salmon and hump-back salmon. Originally this was probably a summer campsite of the Musqueam, but eventually their Island Halkomelem relatives established winter village-style houses with the permission of the Musqueam and other Mainland Halkomelem. Sometimes the Island Halkomelem traded dried clams or other foodstuffs in exchange for sturgeon and salmon at this place. Apparently some Island Halkomelem stayed year round at the site, at least in historic times (ADJ; AG; AJ; Lane, 1953: 7; Barnett, 1938:122). A map of the Fraser River produced very early in the historic period (Simpson, 1827) shows at least twenty buildings at the site, with the designation "Cowitchin villages" beside them. More information on this place can be found in Rozen (1978:20, 21).

289. Entrance to Canoe Passage, South Side of South Arm of
Fraser River

xwlhits'em (ADJ; AG; AJ) 'place for cutting [cat-tails]'

In the marshy areas south of the entrance to Canoe Pass, the Cowichan and Nanaimo used to cut several types of cat-tails and rushes. These were dried and made into rush mats that could be used to construct temporary shelters at the summer fishing camps. They could also be used for mattresses, canoe kneeling-mats and to wrap prepared fish (ADJ; AJ).

White sturgeon were caught by the Cowichan in the Canoe Pass area and tidal weirs were also used there to trap salmon (AJ). Abel Joe was born at Canoe Pass; since he is a Cowichan this proves, to some extent, that the Island Halkomelem were still travelling to the mainland to catch fish in the early decades of this century (ADJ).

290. Unlocated Fishing Camp-Site On West Side of Lulu Island

lhts'ines (ADJ) 'cut beach'

There was a camping site utilized by the Cowichan on the west side of Lulu Island, according to ADJ. This place was used as a fish processing site during the summer months. It will be noted that this place-name appears to be an amalgamation of two other Island Halkomelem names in the same area: xwlhits'em and tl'ektines.

291. Tsawwassen Village, Tsawwassen Indian Reserve

(s)ts'ewothen (ADJ; AG; AJ; CP; DP) '[high] land comes
right down to the water'

shts'ewothen [alternate pronunciation given by ADJ, AJ]
cuwassin (Jenness, field notes) "towards open sea"

The area around the present Tsawwassen Indian Reserve [at the entrance to the Tsawwassen Ferry Terminal Causeway] was used by the Island Halkomelem during the summer months. Fishing for humpback salmon, sockeye salmon and several species of groundfish was done by a variety of methods. Some of the extended families from the Westholme area, about midway between the present towns of Duncan and Chemainus, may have had other more specific rights to fish adjacent to Tsawwassen (ADJ; AJ; CP; Jenness, n.d.; Rozen, 1978:18), but it is clear that the Tsawwassen villagers had rights over all other groups (AJ; CP).

292. Point Roberts Area, U.S.A.

ts(el)elhténem (AJ; CP) possibly "going around the point"
 tcilstenum (Jenness, field notes) "landing place where
 sockeye first landed..little nook in Boundary
 Bay, opposite Point Roberts"

sdʔtʔ'nm (Jenness, field notes) "Point Roberts"

293. smók'w'ets (ADJ; AT; CP) Proper Name of a Man

sm)kw)ts (Jenness, field notes) "centre of underground passages"

The Point Roberts area was used by the Island Halkomelem during the summer to fish for sturgeon, sockeye and humpback salmon, halibut and other groundfish. Some of the fishing methods used in this area included tidal weirs and the reef net. The latter method was used by Island Halkomelem people who, through intermarriage with the Straits Salish, acquired specific netting locations or joined reef netting crews operated by Straits Salish headmen (AJ; CP). Some of

the Island Halkomelem established fish processing and camping sites on both sides of the Point Roberts peninsula (AJ; Lane, 1953:7).

According to a story told by ADJ, a man named Smah-kwitch [smokw'ets] attempted to hit a monster that lived around Octopus Point, near Maple Bay on Vancouver Island. The man used a giant hand-sling and hurled several boulders. The first boulder landed somewhere near Point Roberts or White Rock (probably the latter), and subsequent ones landed at Paddy Mile Stone [at the entrance to Maple Bay], Mount Maxwell on Saltspring Island and finally at Octopus Point. This story accounts for the large boulders or huge caves at these places today (ADJ).

294. Semiahmoo Bay, Semiahmoo Indian Reserve, White Rock
 samyome (ADJ; AJ; AT; CP) (meaning not known)
 siyummyama (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for the
 Semiahmoo tribe"

The Island Halkomelem formerly collected beach foods and fished for sturgeon and salmon in the summer months at Boundary Bay, Mud Bay and Semiahmoo Bay. Salmon were sometimes caught by means of tidal weirs in these bays (AJ).

295. Nooksack River, Nooksack Indian People
 (ne)xwsaa7k (ADJ; AJ; CP) (meaning not known)

The Island Halkomelem sometimes intermarried with members of this group, especially when some Nooksack moved to the Lummi Reservation at Bellingham Bay (AJ).

296. Lummi Indian Reservation, Bellingham Bay
 xwlémi7 (ADJ; AJ; CP) (meaning not known)

Hw^lummai (Curtis, 1913:171) "Cowichan name for Lummi
Tribe"

297. Gooseberry Point, Lummi Reservation

t'am^lxwi^l7ek^lsen (AJ; DJ; CP; GC) 'gooseberry point'

The Island Halkomelem intermarried with the Lummi on occasion and in historic times there has been contact between the two groups for such things as canoe racing and winter spirit dancing (ADJ; AJ).

298. Lake Whatcom

xw^lotkwem (GC) "noise of rocks"

299. Chuckanut Bay

xwtsekwnets (s7^lethnets) (GC) '[always] low tide at the
back end (of bay)'

In the Story of Xaals the Transformer, Xaals placed his right foot at Chuckanut Bay and left his footprint there. It is still visible today. Xaals took a giant step over the Strait of Georgia and his left foot landed at Sturdies Bay, on Galiano Island. This footprint is also still visible (GC).

300. Samish Bay, Samish Indian People

s7^lamish (AJ) (meaning not known)

AJ's mother was from the Samish Bay area and he was born there. There was more intermarriage between the Samish and other Northern Straits Salish groups than with the Island Halkomelem; AJ would be an exception to this.

301. Swinomish Reservation, La Connor

swinemesh (ADJ; AJ; CP; GC) (meaning not known)

The contact between the Swinomish and the Island Halkomelem today consists of some intermarriage and travelling during the winter to spirit dances and potlatches (ADJ).

302. Tulalip Reservation, Marysville

telalep (ADJ; AJ; CP) (meaning not known)

The Island Halkomelem sometimes travel to Tulalip to attend winter dances and potlatches and a few Tulalip travel to winter dances in Island Halkomelem territory (ADJ).

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS AND PRELIMINARY TYPOLOGY OF ISLAND HALKOMELEM

PLACE-NAMES

3.1 Analysis

In the presentation of the names in Chapter Two every effort was made to remove the "first person" from the descriptions of that rather large body of information. This was done so that the Indian people and others desiring a simple, readable and relatively objective description of the place-names could benefit from this study.

In this chapter, there will be a few attempts to classify, categorize and analyze the three hundred two (302) Island Halkomelem names found in Chapter Two.

Place-names, unlike several other categories of traditional information used to be and remain today "public information", ostensibly available to anyone who wishes to know or remember them. But who actually named the places found within the traditional territory of the Island Halkomelem? When were the places named and was this a constant process that was dynamic and dependent on the location of an individual? These are questions that should be asked by the prudent ethnographer. Realizing that it is not in the scope of this thesis to completely describe the Island Halkomelem system of nomenclature, as it pertains to geographical names, it is only possible at this time to ask a few ~~more~~ very pertinent questions. As far as the place-names are concerned we do not know the "who" or "when" of them. We also cannot know how many of

these place-names were known in the past, what names have been forgotten today and why the three hundred names we have "salvaged" in this study have persisted. These questions are ones that cannot be answered by the eldest and most knowledgeable Indian people, and clearly are not ones that they feel need an answer. It is not the intent here to offer wild speculations because to the Indian people, the names simply "exist". However, there are some natural categories into which the place-names fall and these will be pursued briefly in the following pages.

In order to begin analyzing the place-names, we will start by compiling them into a "master list", which will simply give the Indian name and the translation of the name, if it is known. With this master list, we will then perform a series of statistical tests which are not based on any particular scientific formula. We will simply look for salient features that appear often enough to warrant establishing them as categories. The key to analyzing the place-names must be the etymologies, that is the origins and development of the actual terms used as names by the Indians. We will begin with the master list of names, found in Table IV (Parts a-g) on the following pages. The far left column gives the number that the place-name was assigned in Chapter Two. The middle column has the actual place-name in Island Halkomelem and the right column gives the English translation of the Indian name (if known). If a meaning is unknown or is uncertain, this is indicated. The English equivalents of the Indian place-name locations can be found in Chapter Two.

MASTER LIST OF ISLAND HALKOMELEM PLACE-NAMES

<u>No.</u>	<u>Island Halkomelem Name</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1.	yekwelhta7x	"Northern Indian People"
2.	selhútxw	"Island Comox People"
3.	péntl'ets	"Pentlatch People"
4.	xwa7asxwem	'place having harbour seals'
5.	ka7kiyet	(meaning not known)
6.	sxwe7iti7	(meaning not known)
7.	ts'ayts'sem	"many small deer"
8.	shishalh	"Sechelt People"
9.	ts'kw'elhp	'Sitka spruce tree'
10.	xwkw'olexwem	'place having chum salmon'
11.	exwin xwkw'olexwem	'little chum salmon place'
12.	kewxemolh	'steelhead place'
13.	tsekwósem	'facing the water'
14.	tikw	(possibly 'tight')
15.	tl'elatl't	'many little pebbles'
16.	shxwkw'etsnets	"two humps", 'rumps in air'

<u>No.</u>	<u>Island Halkomelem Name</u>	<u>Translation</u>
17.	xwthoolth'	(meaning not known)
18.	snēwewes	(meaning not known)
19.	k'ik'elexen	'little fence', 'little weir'
20.	sneneymexw	(meaning not known)
21.	stl'etl'iinep	'deep ground' (?)
22.	xw7elhki7em	'place having snakes'
23.	tl'piles	'deep, going under water'
24.	tho7thxwem	Proper Name
25.	kw'elsiweh/kwelsiweh	'singe/barbecue the body'
26.	t'iwehixen	(meaning not known)
27.	eyth'exen	(possibly 'area burned by fire')
28.	enwines	'one in the centre'
29.	(xw)solexwem	'place having grass'
30.	SQwē'lEn	(meaning not known)
31.	Quamquamqua	(possibly 'strong water')
32.	Juklutok	(meaning not known)
33.	kw'xweyt/kw'xwat	(meaning not known)
34.	tseilitenem	(perhaps 'turning-over place')
35.	tl'aaltxw	(perhaps 'stuck houses')
36.	senewelets	'go inside via back part'
37.	xwkathelhp	'place having ironwood trees'
38.	s7etl'keles	'facing outside'
39.	sikw'elwelh	(meaning not known)
40.	t'tsoso7kw	(perhaps 'pointing inside')
41.	xwthewinem	'place having coho salmon'

Table IV (a) Master List of Island Halkomelem Place-Names

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
42.	skthak/skthoko7lh	'narrows/little narrows'
43.	kw'ukw'iyekwen	'trolling place'
44.	nemsetsen/mamthetsen	(meaning not known)/'testicles'
45.	th'xwemksen	'shining point'
46.	th'axel	'gravelly place'
47.	(x)weletsen	'place having bulrushes/tules'
48.	laayksen	'Douglas fir point'
49.	t'aat'ka7	'place with salal berries'
50.	shek'shek'em	'opening mouth'
51.	xwiyalek'	'place having fallen trees'
52.	sk'ex/skw'exw	(meaning not known)
53.	xaa(y)metsen	'crying on beach'
54.	k'elits'	'sheltered area'
55.	shts'emines	(possibly 'eroded beach')
56.	xwethnats	(meaning not known)
57.	xwsexwaan	'herring spawn/urinating place'
58.	xwala7alhp	'willow tree'
59.	(s)k'ewines	'beating the chest/drum on beach'
60.	Tlpalaq	(meaning not known)
61.	Tsiuhum	(meaning not known)
62.	xwkw'elhten	'place where water is spilled'
63.	xwkwemlexwethen	'place with roots'
64.	sh(es)th'epsem	(meaning not known)
65.	kw'ayowes	(meaning not known)
66.	(sh)xwelhnets	(meaning not known)
67.	(xw)kwtdoythen	'place having sturgeon'

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
68.	thek'min	'spearing place'
69.	shxwatheken	(meaning not known)
70.	ti7tkemele	(probably 'little duck-net place')
71.	xetl'netsten	'crossing the bottom/back end'
72.	kwi7kwemlexw	'little root'
73.	xwsookw'em	'place having cow parsnip'
74.	thath'es/th'ath'es	(meaning not known)
75.	xwey	(possibly 'warm place' or 'water at ebb tide')
76.	st'k'in	(perhaps 'bad smelling place')
77.	kwewmeks	"Comox"
78.	shets'ewelh	'dragging in between'
79.	yexwelo7es	'place having bald eagles'
80.	thithoxwo7kw	'high tide covers head'
81.	xwlemalhtse	'lookout place'
82.	xwth'isetsen	'place that is nailed'
83.	spek	'broken-off (in half) one'
84.	penalexeth'	'buried on the beach'
85.	(sh)teto7texwnets	'little rump off tide' or "rocks strung out on beach"
86.	(s)lilpokw	'loose at top end'
87.	lhelet	'bailing place'
88.	smelew/smimelew	Proper Name/diminutive of same
89.	shi7shem	'little shallow/dried-up creek'

Table IV (b) Master List of Island Halkomelem Place-Names, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
90.	xa7xtl'eken	'crossing the top end'
91.	xw7eyem	'clear water'
92.	thi7thoxwo7xw	'little disappearing one'
93.	kw(xw)oles	(possibly 'peaceful place')
94.	swiikw'	(meaning not known)
95.	xi(x)nepsem	'caught by [or in] the neck'
96.	lhkene	'anchor'
97.	xw7a7iten	(possibly 'bay in the middle')
98.	kwelwi7es	(possibly 'whirlpool at ebbside')
99.	(sh)xixnaten	'(place with) footprint'
100.	skthoko7lh/skthak	'little narrows/narrows'
101.	(s)xw(e)7asxwem	'place having harbour seals'
102.	xwtl'ek'eyxem	'whirlpool place'
103.	se(m)new	'inside place'
104.	kwi7kwens	(meaning not known)
105.	tl'ooltxw/tl'aaltxw	(exact meaning not known)
106.	xath'akem	'measure penis place'
107.	smimkwetses	'one finger'
108.	p'k'ep	'white ground'
109.	shmemewkw'ale	'graveyard place'
110.	shsesk'etsen	'cut in the middle'
111.	shemetsen	'beach goes dry'
112.	xwkwatsem	'falling into water'
113.	senewnats	'go inside to bottom end'
114.	p'oth'es	'cradle'
115.	tl'atl'kt	'little long' or 'narrow long'

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
116.	wekw'wewkw'	'drifted down [slowly]'
117.	pi7penem	'little buried [place]'
118.	silokwo7elh	(meaning not known)
119.	pelemetsen	(meaning not known)
120.	xelaltxw	'marked/painted houses'
121.	xwts'esi7	'go [in-] between'
122.	stelon	(meaning not known)
123.	sthixem	'little spring of water place'
124.	skw'ookw'nes/ skw'ekw'eno7es	(meaning not known)/'facing over' or 'looking down'
125.	kw'i7im	(meaning not known)
126.	tomel	'lukewarm [water]'
127.	to7temel	'cooler than lukewarm [water]'
128.	xwtl'epnats	'deep water behind [bay]'
129.	xweyxweyepale7	'wake up creek'
130.	(s)th'amtexen	'dry place'
131.	shashek'em	'wide open mouth'
132.	xwekwekwelesh	'many shooting'
133.	xwmat'etsem	'bent over place'
134.	xwookw'em	'merganser place'
135.	slhek'lhkek'wes	'many lying down [place]'
136.	k'ik'ewetem	'little drummer'
137.	shxwexwo7esale	'place of the Thunderbird'
138.	kw'oth'o7kw	'excrement [on] head'
139.	ts'ewaan	'land goes down to water'
140.	snestse	(meaning not known)

Table IV (c) Master List of Island Halkomelem Place-Names, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation	No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
141.	kwikwthothen	(meaning not known)	162.	xwkw ⁷ kwxwnets	'knocking on bottom end'
142.	xwt ⁷ em ⁷ hem	'place having red ochre'	163.	lhem ⁷ l ⁷ hemelets	'eroding riverbank'/'wet bank'
143.	sh ⁷ kewetsen	'warm back' or 'basking with its side to the sun'	164.	t'aat ⁷ ka ⁷	'salal berries'
144.	ts'ew ⁷ xilem	Proper Name	165.	kwthothines	'beach on an island'
145.	kewo ⁷ s	'facing the water'	166.	pi ⁷ pkweles	'little broken-off riverbank'
146.	Tlkotas	(meaning not known)	167.	skemene ⁷	(possibly 'whirlpool/back-eddy')
147.	p'ip'oom	'little swelled-up one'	168.	seniw st ⁷ olew	'inside the river'
148.	shp'ap'tl'	'place to feel around'	169.	ts'awiten	'clam shell place'
149.	hoomesem	'drinking with head down in the water'	170.	kwekwmotsin	'little hunchback'
150.	xexetsawiye	(meaning not known)	171.	kwometsen	'hunchback/hump on back'
151.	(kewetsen) st ⁷ olew	(Cowichan) 'river'	172.	hwintathwetan	(meaning not known)
152.	xinepsem	(possibly 'caught by [or in] the neck')	173.	kwenes	'whale'
153.	kw'atkem	(possibly "cracking noise")	174.	xwkw'emkw'emimet	'place to pull out of water'
154.	sxixeles	(meaning not known)	175.	ts'its'aaltxw	'houses on riverbank/sidehill'
155.	kw'emiyaken	(perhaps 'pull out of water at the top')	176.	(s)ts'ats'ewi ⁷ ten	'little clam shell place'
156.	tl'axewten	(meaning not known)	177.	xw ⁷ kimekw'em	'octopus place'
157.	shxexiliyale	'place of much crying'	178.	xwkw'setsem	'trout place'
158.	sk'ewksen	'curved point'	179.	(kwometsen) xotse	(Quamichan) 'lake'
159.	hemth'el	(meaning not known)	180.	sil ⁷ othen	(possibly 'turning riverbank')
160.	xwkw'okw'elexwem	'little place having chum salmon'	181.	kw'ukw'okinem	(meaning not known)
161.	shts'ets'mines	(perhaps 'little eroded river-bank' or 'little bone in chest')	182.	SetsmElkun	(meaning not known)
			183.	siyaykw	(possibly 'burned-over place')
			184.	(s)ki ⁷ kmene	(probably 'little whirlpool')
			185.	xelaltxw	'marked/painted houses'
			186.	sht'aats'ale	'place to get fish-spreaders'

Table IV (d) Master List of Island Halkomelem Place-Names, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
187.	xwes ^o 7om	Proper Name
188.	s7omene	(meaning not known)
189.	sts'ewalets	(perhaps 'land at bottom end')
190.	kewamen	'warm grease/oil'
191.	swek'es	'one with something stuck on face/in head'
192.	ts'ekwele7	(meaning not known)
193.	Shwunum	(meaning not known)
194.	ti7txwotselhp	'little yew/bow tree'
195.	stso7tx	'halibut'
196.	st'et'imye	'hermaphrodites'
197.	siya7ten	'widow'
198.	xwexwi7kes	'just missing/rubbing each other'
199.	kw'ikw'elhshenem	'waves hitting feet in water'
200.	xwts'oom	(meaning not known)
201.	skw'ii7etsen	(possibly 'butchered riverbank')
202.	k'ixlhets	'black/dark place'
203.	k'emtselosem	(possibly 'hugging the face')
204.	xwstek	'place with logjam'
205.	ayexwem	Proper Name
206.	sth'oso7kw	'get hit on the head'
207.	sth'ene	'sculpin'
208.	xwilhek'em	'water makes a quiet sound'
209.	temelh	'red ochre'
210.	k'ethkwale	(possibly 'harpoon prong place')
211.	ts'espeles	(meaning not known)

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
212.	kw'ikw'leken	(perhaps 'little bare rock')
213.	xwts'oom	(meaning not known)
214.	ts'olho7em	'place of [maple] leaves'
215.	tstl'em	'jumping'
216.	xis	(possibly 'grabbing with hands')
217.	shele	'penis'
218.	shele smaant	'penis mountain'
219.	th'i7th'esh	possibly 'really narrow'
220.	lela7xwelh	'place to put away canoes'
221.	senitsets	(exact meaning not known)
222.	(xw)k'exminem	'place having Indian consumption plant'
223.	skwets	'waterfall'
224.	Qualis	"warm place"
225.	Klal-amath	(meaning not known)
226.	Kuch-saess	"common cement of the rapids"
227.	(shts)mimenoyo7lh	'(place of) dolls'
228.	xaaltl'	'crossing-over place'
229.	shxw7imken	'thundering noise up-above'
230.	✓(kewetsen) xotse	(Cowichan) 'lake'
231.	mesatsi7	'bad/wicked'
232.	Kanatze	"island in tow"
233.	xwookw'em	'merganser place'
234.	xwookw'em smaant	'merganser mountain'
235.	snishetsem	(exact meaning not known)
236.	kw'ikw'ews	'burned body'
237.	nitenat	(meaning not known; "Nitinat")

Table IV (e) Master List of Island Halkomelem Place-Names, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
238.	xwelkw'sale	(possibly 'place with snags')
239.	xtemten	(meaning not known)
240.	thi7ik	(meaning not known)
241.	th'ith'xwemksen	'little shining point'
242.	tl'ekwena7	'deaf'
243.	tl'elpoles	(perhaps 'deep bay')
244.	(s)ts'elxwin	(meaning not known)
245.	xwts'oxwem	(meaning not known)
246.	(s)xwnats	'one that is behind'
247.	k'posem	'gathered together'
248.	snets'olushen	'one big toe'
249.	xwtsa7xwem	(meaning not known)
250.	kelilem	(perhaps 'bad place')
251.	shxwewkw'els	'finish all of one's arrows'
252.	xwts'etsem	'place having rush-mat shelters'
253.	s(h)enoneken	(meaning not known)
254.	keya	(possibly 'wolf')
255.	skw'o7then	(exact meaning not known)
256.	malexelh	'caterpillars'
257.	xwtsatl'emelhp	'jump tree/bush'
258.	matuliye	'Victoria'
259.	lekw'emen	'rocky ground'
260.	sth'omes	'one in head'
261.	sxwimalhelh	'shallow place'
262.	xwstl'alem	'Klallam Indian People'
263.	s67okw	'Sooke Indian People'

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
264.	xwelxwelekw'	(exact meaning not known)
265.	ts'atxamken	(exact meaning not known)
266.	wekw'wewkw't	'tangled/drifting'
267.	kwenes	'whale'
268.	sth'a7ewtxw	'houses on the side-hill'
269.	sts'olhelhp	'many maple trees'
270.	(xw)p'okwetsen	(perhaps 'shallow/sandy')
271.	xwseyk'em	'clay place'
272.	smexwemen	(meaning not known)
273.	xwnanets	(possibly 'lowering rear end')
274.	(s)ts'esno7om	(meaning not known)
275.	shiyoxwt	(possibly 'hollow place')
276.	tl'alhem	'salt'
277.	stso7tx	'halibut'
278.	st'eyes	(exact meaning not known)
279.	xwexwi7es	(meaning not known)
280.	tl'ekteksen	'long point/nose'
281.	skwomesh	'Vancouver area'
282.	Pankupe7	'Vancouver'
283.	mooli	(meaning not known)
284.	xwmethkwi7em	(exact meaning not known)
285.	teyt xwelmxw	'upriver Indians'
286.	xath'a7k	'measuring the genitalia'
287.	(s)ts'elxwayek	(meaning not known)
288.	tl'ektines	'long beach/riverbank'

Table IV (f) Master List of Island Halkomelem Place-Names, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Translation
289.	xwlhits'em	'place for cutting'
290.	lhts'ines	'cut beach'
291.	(s)(h)ts'ewothen	'land comes down to water'
292.	ts(el)elhtenem	(possibly 'going around point')
293.	smókw'ets	Proper Name
294.	samyóme	(meaning not known)
295.	(ne)xwsaa7k	(meaning not known)
296.	xwlémi7	(meaning not known)
297.	t'amxwi7eksen	'gooseberry point'
298.	xwótkwem	"noise of rocks"
299.	xwtsekwnets	'low tide at back end'
300.	s7amish	(meaning not known)
301.	swinemesh	(meaning not known)
302.	telálep	(meaning not known)

Table IV (g) Master List of Island Halkomelem Place-Names, conclusion

In the following section, we will examine each of the Island Halkomelem place-names on the "master list" and attempt a "preliminary typology" of the three hundred two names. After consulting with some of the Indian people and others, it has been decided that two specific criteria should be used to classify or categorize the names. These are: the use for the location at which each place-name is found and an examination of what each place-name's translation or etymology reveals. Codes for these two criteria will be placed in columns next to each name and then a statistical summary of the findings will be made, in order to ascertain what the names tell us about Indian peoples' use of them.

The far left column in the list on the following pages contains the number assigned to each Island Halkomelem place-name, in Chapter Two of this study. The next column gives the place-name in the Island Halkomelem language. The English equivalents for the Indian names can be found in Chapter Two. The column with the heading "Usage" categorizes each place-name according to the utilization of the place by the Island Halkomelem, taken from the descriptions in Chapter Two. The following five groups are used with the indicated abbreviations for the usage of each place-name:

- A. Permanent winter-village site.
- B. Camping (seasonally occupied) site.
- C. Resource procurement site (e.g. fishing, hunting, plant or beach food collection).
- D. Site having importance in the mythology of the Indians.

E. Other, or Unknown.

For some of the place-names, there will be more than one letter in the "Usage" column, indicating that the location was a "multi-use site".

In the column on the far right, with the heading "Type of Name", an attempt is made to analyze the translations or etymologies of the Island Halkomelem place-names, as they have been transcribed in Chapter Two and in the "master list". There are some natural categories into which the place-name meanings fall and these will be given below. The capital letters in the "Type of Name" column also correspond to the groups below, as an initial attempt to classify the approximate English meanings of the place-names.

A. "Descriptive". The capital letter "A" will be used to denote that the Island Halkomelem place-name, as it is freely translated into English, is descriptive of the place-name's location. Most often, these place-names contain the lexical affixes s-, sh-, shts-, shxw-, xw-STEM-em, -al, -ala, -ale, -el, -en, -es, -os and -ten. There are other orientation and anatomical affixes than these, however.

B. "Activity Description". The capital letter "B" is used to denote that the meaning of the place-name is descriptive of the activity for which the place-name is used.

C. "Meaning Not Known". The capital letter "C" is used to denote that the meaning of the Indian place-name is not known at present, or is not known exactly enough to even attempt any categorization here. In the case of "possible" or "probable"

meanings or "glosses", these are placed under the "A", "B", or "D" headings, the latter described below.

D. "Other Types". Some of these include recent or invented place-names, names indicating which Indian people lived at the place and other aberrations.

Note that there are some place-names which are of more than one type. The master list of Island Halkomelem place-names with the use of location and place-name type assigned to each can be found in Table V (Parts a-g) on the following pages.

MASTER LIST OF ISLAND HALKOMELEM PLACE-NAMES WITH
USE OF LOCATION AND PLACE-NAME TYPE ASSIGNED TO EACH

<u>No.</u>	<u>Island Halkomelem Name</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Type of Name</u>
1.	yekwelhta7x	A, E	D
2.	selhutxw	A, E	D
3.	pentl'ets	A, E	D
4.	xwa7asxwem	C	B
5.	ka7kiyet	C	C
6.	sxwe7iti7	C	C
7.	ts'ayts'sem	B, C	B
8.	shishalh	A, E	D
9.	ts'kw'elhp	A	A
10.	xwkw'olexwem	A, D	A
11.	exwin xwkw'olexwem	E	D
12.	kewxemolh	C	B
13.	tsekwosem	B	A
14.	tikw	E	A
15.	tl'elatl't	E	A
16.	shxkw'etsnets	E	A

<u>No.</u>	<u>Island Halkomelem Name</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Type of Name</u>
17.	xwthoolth'	E	C
18.	snewewes	A	D
19.	k'ik'elexen	C	B
20.	sneñymexw	A	C, D
21.	stl'etl'iinep	A	A
22.	xw7elhki7em	D	A
23.	tl'piles	B, C	A
24.	tho7thxwem	D	D
25.	kw'elsiwelh/kwelsiwelh	A	B
26.	t'iwelhxen	A	C
27.	eyth'exen	A	A
28.	enwines	A	A
29.	(xw)solexwem	A	A
30.	SQuē'lEn	A	C
31.	Quamquamqua	C	A
32.	Juklutok	B	C
33.	kw'xweyt/kw'xwat	C	C
34.	tseilitenem	B	A
35.	tl'aaltxw	B, C, D	A
36.	senewelets	B, C, D	A
37.	xwkathelhp	C	B
38.	s7etl'keles	C	A
39.	sikw'elwelh	C	C
40.	t'tsoso7kw	E	A
41.	xwthewinem	C	A, B

Table V (a) Master List With Use of Location and Place-Name Type

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name	No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name
42.	skthak/skthoko7lh	C	A	68.	thek'min	A, C	B
43.	kw'ukw'iyekwen	C	B	69.	shxwatheken	E	C
44.	nemsetsen/mamthetsen	C	B	70.	ti7tkemele.	C	B
45.	th'xwemksen	A, C	A	71.	xetl'netsten	B, C	A
46.	th'axel	A	A	72.	kwi7kwemlexw	B	A
47.	(x)weletsen	C	A, B	73.	xwsookw'em	C	A, B
48.	laayksen	A, C	A, B	74.	thath'es/th'ath'es	A, C	C
49.	t'aat'ka7	A, C	A, B	75.	xwey	C	A
50.	shék'shek'em	E	A	76.	st'k'in	C	A
51.	xwiyalek'	E	A	77.	kwewmeks	B	D
52.	sk'ex/skw'exw	E	C	78.	shets'ewelh	E	B
53.	xaa(y)metsen	D	D	79.	yexwelo7es	A, C	A
54.	k'elits'	A, C	A	80.	thithoxwo7kw	C	A
55.	shts'emines	A, C	A	81.	xwlemalhtse	A, C	A
56.	xwethnats	A	C	82.	xwth'isetsen	B, C	A
57.	xwsexwaan	C	B	83.	spekw	D	A
58.	xwala7alhp	C	A	84.	penalexeth'	A, C, D	A
59.	(s)k'ewines	C	C	85.	(sh)teto7texwnets	C	A
60.	Tipalaq	D	C	86.	(s)lilpokw	C	A
61.	Tsiuñum	D	C	87.	lhelet	A	B
62.	xwkw'elhten	E	A	88.	smelew/smimelew	D	D
63.	xwkwemlexwethen	C	A	89.	shi7shem	E	A
64.	sh(es)th'epsen	E	C				
65.	kw'ayowes	E	C				
66.	(sh)xwelhnets	B	C				
67.	(xw)kwtwooythen	E	A				

Table V (b) Master List With Use of Location and Place-Name Type, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name	No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name
90.	xa7xtl'eken	B, C	A	116.	wekw'ewekw'	C	A
91.	xw7eyem	C	A	117.	pi7penem	C	A
92.	thi7thoxwo7xw	E	A	118.	silokwo7elh	C, D	C
93.	kw(xw)oles	B, C	A	119.	pelemetsen	E	C
94.	swiikw'	D	C	120.	xelaltxw	A, C	A
95.	xi(x)nepsem	A, C	A	121.	xwts'esi7	A, C	A
96.	lhkene	E	B	122.	stelon	C	C
97.	xw7a7iten	B, C	A	123.	sthixem	C, D	A
98.	kwelwi7es	B	A	124.	skw'ookw'nes/ skw'ekw'eno7es	C, D	A, C
99.	(sh)xixnaten	D	A	125.	kw'i7im	D	C
100.	skthoko7lh/skthak	B, C	A	126.	tomel	C	A
101.	(s)xw(e)7asxwem	C	A, B	127.	to7temel	C	A
102.	xwtl'ek'eyxem	C	A	128.	xwtl'epnats	B, D	A
103.	se(m)new	B, C	A	129.	xwey'xweyepale7	C	A
104.	kwi7kwens	E	C	130.	(s)th'amtexen	D	A
105.	tl'ooltxw/tl'aaltxw	E	C	131.	shashek'em	D	A
106.	xath'akem	B	A	132.	xwekwekwelesh	D	B
107.	sminkwetses	E	D	133.	xwmat'etsem	D	A
108.	p'k'enenep	C	A	134.	xwookw'em	C	A, B
109.	shmemewkw'ale	E	B	135.	slhek'lhék'wes	D	A
110.	shsesk'etsen	E	A	136.	k'ik'ewetem	D	A
111.	shemetsen	C	A	137.	shxwexwo7esale	D	A
112.	xwkwatsem	C	A	138.	kw'oth'o7kw	E	A
113.	senewnats	A	A	139.	ts'ewaan	C, D	A
114.	p'oth'es	E	B	140.	snéstse	E	C
115.	tl'atl'kt	C	A				

Table V (c) Master List With Use of Location and Place-Name Type, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name	No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name
141.	kwikwthothen	E	C	162.	xwkw ⁷ kwxwnets	A	A
142.	xwt ⁷ em ⁷ elhem	C	A, B	163.	lheml ⁷ hemelets'	A, C, D	A
143.	shkewetsen	C, D	A	164.	t'aat'ka ⁷	A	A
144.	ts'ew ⁷ xilem	A	D	165.	kwthothines	A	A
145.	kew ⁷ o ⁷ s	A	A	166.	pi ⁷ pkweles	E	A
146.	Tlk ⁷ otas	A	C	167.	skemene ⁷	A	A
147.	p'ip'oom	D	A	168.	seniw st ⁷ olew	C	A
148.	shp'ap'tl'	D	B	169.	ts'awiten	D	B
149.	hoomesem	D	A	170.	kwekw ⁷ motsin	D	D
150.	xexetsa ⁷ wiye	C	C	171.	kwometsen	A, C, D	D
151.	(kewetsen) st ⁷ olew	C	A	172.	hwintathwetan	D	D
152.	xinepsem	A, C, D	A	173.	kwenes	D	A
153.	kw'atkem	A, D	A	174.	xwkw'emkw'em ⁷ iimet	A, C	A, B
154.	sxixeles	E	C	175.	ts'its'aaltxw	A	A
155.	kw'emiyaken	A, C, D	B	176.	(s)ts'ats'ewi ⁷ ten	D	B
156.	tl'axewten	A, D	C	177.	xwkimekw'em	C, D	A
157.	shxexiiyale	D	A	178.	xwkw'setsem	C, D	A, B
158.	sk'ewksen	E	A	179.	(kwometsen) xotse	C, D	A
159.	hemth'el	B, C	C	180.	sil ⁷ othen	A, C	A
160.	xwkw'okw'elexwem	C	A	181.	kw'ukw'okinem	D	C
161.	shts'ets'mines	A, D	A	182.	SetsmElkun	A	C
				183.	siyaykw	A, C	A
				184.	(s)ki ⁷ kmene	C	A
				185.	xelaltxw	A, D	A
				186.	sht'aats'ale	C, D	B

Table V (d) Master List With Use of Location and Place-Name Type, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name	No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name
187.	xweso7om	D	D	212.	kw'ikw'leken	E	A
188.	s7omene	A, C, D	C	213.	xwts'oom	E	C
189.	sts'ewalets	C	A	214.	ts'oiho7em	B, C	A, B
190.	kewamen	A, C, D	A	215.	tstl'em	D	B
191.	swek'es	C, D	A	216.	xis	E	C
192.	ts'ekwele7	D	C	217.	shele	B, C	A
193.	shwunum	D	C	218.	shele smaant	C	A
194.	ti7txwotsehp	C	A, B	219.	th'i7th'esh	E	A
195.	stso7tx	C, D	A	220.	lela7xwelh	B	A, B
196.	st'et'imye	D	A	221.	senitsets	C	C
197.	siya7ten	D	A	222.	(xw)k'exminem	C	A, B
198.	xwexwi7kes	C	A	223.	skwets	B, C	A
199.	kw'ikw'elhshenem	E	A	224.	Qualis	E	A
200.	xwts'oom	E	C	225.	Klal-amath	B	A
201.	skw'ii7etsen	E	A	226.	Kuch-saess	E	A
202.	k'ixlhets	B, C	A	227.	(shts)mimenoyo7lh	C	A, B
203.	kwemtselosem	C	A	228.	xaaltl'	C	A
204.	xwstek	E	A, D	229.	shxw7imken	B	A
205.	ayexwem	C	D	230.	(kewetsen) xotse	B, C	A
206.	sth'oso7kw	C	A	231.	mesatsi7	E	A
207.	sth'ene	D	A	232.	Kanatze	E	A
208.	xwilhekwen	E	A	233.	xwookw'em	B, C	A, B
209.	temelh	C	A, B	234.	xwookw'em smaant	D	D
210.	k'ethkwale	C	B	235.	snishetsem	C	C
211.	ts'espeles	E	A	236.	kw'ikw'ews	B	B
				237.	nitenat	A	D

Table V (e) Master List With Use of Location and Place-Name Type, continued

No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name	No.	Island Halkomelem Name	Usage	Type of Name
238.	xwelkw'sale	A, C	A	264.	xwelxwelekw'	B, C	C
239.	xtemten	B, C	C	265.	ts'atxemken	B, C	C
240.	thi7ik	A	C	266.	wekw'wewkw't	B, C	A
241.	th'ith'xwemksen	A	A	267.	kwenes	B, C	A
242.	tl'ekwena7	D	A	268.	sth'a7ewtxw	A, C	A
243.	tl'elpoles	A, C	A	269.	sts'olhelhp	A, C	A
244.	(s)ts'elxwin	B, C	C	270.	(xw)p'okwetsen	A, C	A
245.	xwts'oxwem	B, C	C	271.	xwseyk'em	A, C	A
246.	(s)xwnats	B, C	A	272.	smexwemen	B, C	C
247.	k'posem	E	A	273.	xwnanets	B, C	A
248.	snets'olushen	D	A	274.	(s)ts'esno7om	B	C
249.	xwtsa7xwem	B	C	275.	shiyoxwt	B, C	A
250.	kelilem	B, C	A	276.	tl'alhem	E	A
251.	shxwewkw'eis	E	B	277.	stso7tx	B, C	A, B
252.	xwsole7etsem	C, D	B	278.	st'eyes	B, C	C
253.	s(h)enoneken	E	C	279.	xwexwi7es	B, C	C
254.	keya	A, C	C	280.	tl'ektaksen	B, C	A
255.	skw'o7then	C	C	281.	skwomesh	E	D
256.	malexelh	C, D	A	282.	Pankupe7	E	D
257.	xwtsatl'emelhp	B, C	A	283.	mooli	A, C	C
258.	matuliye	E	D	284.	xwmethkwi7em	A, C	A
259.	lekw'emen	A	A	285.	teyt xwelmxw	E	D
260.	sth'omes	A	D	286.	xath'a7k	A	A
261.	sxwimalhelh	A, C	A	287.	(s)ts'elxwayek	A	C
262.	xwstl'alem	A, C	D	288.	tl'ektines	B, C	A
263.	so7okw	A, C	D				

Table V (f) Master List With Use of Location and Place-Name Type, continued

<u>No.</u>	<u>Island Halkomelem Name</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Type of Name</u>
289.	xwlhits'em	B, C	B
290.	lhts'ines	B, C	A
291.	(s)(h)ts'ewothen	A, C	A
292.	ts(el)elhtenem	B, C, D	A, B
293.	smokw'ets	D	D
294.	samyome	A, B, C	D
295.	(ne)xwsaa7k	A	D
296.	xwlemi7	A	D
297.	t'amxwi7eksen	A	A, B
298.	xwotkwem	E	A
299.	xwtsekwnets	D	A
300.	s7amish	A	D
301.	swinemesh	A	D
302.	telalep	A	D

Table V (g) Master List With Use of Location and Place-name Type, conclusion

3.2 Statistical Summary of Island Halkomelem Place-Name Usage and Types

In this section the three hundred two place-names known to the Island Halkomelem, described in Chapter Two and listed earlier in this chapter, will be examined according to several different criteria. The analysis of the place-names shown in Table V, which categorized the names by usage and etymology, will be summarized on the following pages in Tables VI and VII.

Following that summary the place-names will be examined further, first with reference to the names which are found in more than one location. The results of that examination can be found in Table VIII, "Recurrence of Island Halkomelem Place-Names".

Finally, the question of the origin and adoption of Island Halkomelem place-names by non-Indians and vice versa will be studied. The results of that study can be found in Tables IX, X and XI.

Table VI (a)

Usage of Places Named By Island Halkomelem Speakers

(Data Derived From Table V)

PLACES WITH SINGLE USE:

<u>Usage of Place</u>	<u>Number of Places</u>	<u>% of Total(302)</u>
A- Winter Village	36	11.9%
B- Camping Site	14	4.6%
C- Resource Procurement Site	61	20.2%
D- Mythological Site	39	12.9%
E- Other/Unknown Usage	54	17.9%
SINGLE USE TOTAL:	204/302	67.5%

PLACES WITH TWO USES:

<u>Usage of Place</u>	<u>Number of Places</u>	<u>% of Total(302)</u>
A + B [Village and Camp]	0	0%
A + C [Village and Resources]	28	9.3%
A + D [Village and Mythological]	5	1.7%
A + E [Village and Other/Unknown]	4	1.3%
B + C [Camping and Resources]	36	11.9%
B + D [Camping and Mythological]	1	0.3%
B + E [Camping and Other/Unknown]	0	0%
C + D [Resources and Mythological]	13	4.3%
C + E and D + E	0	0%
DUAL USE TOTAL:	87/302	28.9%

Table VI (b)

Usage of Places Named By Island Halkomelem Speakers, continuedPLACES WITH THREE USES:

<u>Usage of Place</u>	<u>Number of Places</u>	<u>% of Total(302)</u>
A + B + C		
[Village and Camp and Resources]	1	0.3%
A + C + D		
[Village and Resources and Myth]	7	2.3%
B + C + D		
[Camping and Resources and Myth]	3	1.0%
<u>Note:</u> No other permutations extant		
TRIPLE USE TOTAL:	11/302	3.6%

PLACE-NAME USAGE SUMMARY

Places With One Use=	204	or 67.5% of place-names
Places With Two Uses=	87	or 28.9% of place-names
Places With Three Uses=	11	or 3.6% of place-names
TOTAL:	302	100.0% of place-names

Table VII

Meanings (Types) of Island Halkomelem Place-Names

(Data Derived From Table V)

SINGLE MEANING/ETYMOLOGY PLACE-NAMES:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number of Places</u>	<u>% of Total (302)</u>
A- Descriptive of location	160	53.0%
B- Descriptive of activity	28	9.3%
C- Meaning not known	58	19.2%
D- Other types	33	10.9%
SINGLE MEANING (TYPE) TOTAL:	279/302	92.4%

DUAL MEANING/ETYMOLOGY PLACE-NAMES:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number of Places</u>	<u>% of Total (302)</u>
A + B [Location and Activity]	20	6.7%
A + C [Location and exact meaning not known]	1	0.3%
A + D [Location and others]	1	0.3%
C + D [Meaning not known and others]	1	0.3%
B + C and B + D	0	0%
DUAL MEANING (TYPE) TOTAL:	23/302	7.6%

PLACE-NAME MEANING/ETYMOLOGY SUMMARY

Place-Names With One Meaning=	279 or 92.4% of names
Place-Names With Two Meanings=	23 or 7.6% of names
TOTAL:	302 100.0% of names

In this section, we will examine the place-names known to the Island Halkomelem, found in Chapter Two of this study, which occur in more than one location. The relationship between these sets of place-names, if and where it exists, will also be explained. For the sake of convenience and clarity, the sets of names will be assigned capital letters, so that there will be less interference with the numbers that the names have been assigned in this study. The reader is referred to Chapter Two for more complete details on each place-name, as this is meant to be a summary only.

- A. Place-name #2, Comox, komaks (Barnett, 1955), Qomoks
(Boas, 1887) and

Place-name #77, Preedy Harbour (Thetis Island), kwewmek's.

Some Island Comox people who had intermarried with the Island Halkomelem occupied Preedy Harbour intermittently and the name "Comox" has thus been applied to that area of Thetis Island.

- B. Place-name #4, Henry Bay (Denman Island), xwa'asxwem and
Place-name #101, Prevost Island, (s)xw(e)'asxwem.

Both of these place-names mean 'place having harbour seals' and the Denman Island and Prevost Island areas were both formerly used for the hunting of seals by Indian people.

- C. Place-name #10, Qualicum River, xkw'olexwem and

Place-name #160, Mouth of the South Arm of the Cowichan River, xkw'okw'ellexwem.

These place-names mean 'place having chum salmon' (#10) and 'little place having chum salmon'. There is evidently no relationship between the two places, except that this species of salmon was found in both the Qualicum and Cowichan Rivers and both places were named for that fact.

- D. Place-name #23, Newcastle Island, tl'piles and
Place-name #243, Cowichan Bay, tl'elpoles.

Both place-names describe the fact that the waters in their vicinity are 'deep' [the Island Halkomelem term for 'deep' is tl'ep].

- E. Place-name #35, False Narrows, tl'aaltxw or tl'aalheltxw and
Place-name #105, Trincomali Channel, tl'ooltxw or tl'aaltxw

Although both of these place-names refer to narrow bodies of salt water and both have the suffix -ltxw 'houses', the exact meanings of these place-names is not recalled today.

- F. Place-name #36, False Narrows (Gabriola), senewelets and
Place-name #103, Montague Harbour, senew or semnew and
Place-name #113, Chemainus Harbour, senewnats and
Place-name #168, Cowichan River Main Channel, seni^w stolu.

All of these places have names with the stem seni^w 'inside' and all names are descriptive of the locations.

- G. Place-name #42, Porlier Pass, skthak or skthoko7lh and
Place-name #100, Active Pass, skthak or skthoko7lh.

Both of these places were named 'narrows' or 'little narrows' and are very appropriately named. They comprise two of the three passageways through the southern Gulf Islands,

used by the Island Halkomelem on their way to the mainland.

- H. Place-name #45, Cayetano Point (Valdes), th'xwemksen and Place-name #241, Theik Village, th'ith'xwemksen.

Although the Cowichan Bay village (#241) has the diminutive form for this place-name 'little shining [or glittering] point' and the Valdes Island village has the name 'shining point', it was apparently the former that was established first. The residents moved to Valdes Island several hundred years ago and took the name of their village with them, modifying it slightly.

- I. Place-name #49, Shingle Point (Valdes), t'aat'ka7 and Place-name #164, Cowichan River village, t'aat'ka7.

Both of these place-names mean '[place of many] salal berries'. In the case of these two now-abandoned villages, the Cowichan River site was said to have been the original, with a migration to Valdes Island occurring several hundred years ago. In the case of t'aat'ka7, the exact village-name was transferred to the new location. The reason for the movement to the Gulf Islands was the same for this village as for group H above: flooding of the original site on the lower Cowichan River necessitated migration. It is not clear if the term 'salal berries' was also an apt description for the Valdes Island village-site.

- J. Place-name #50, Cave Opening (Valdes), shék'shek'em and
Place-name #131, Large Cave (Octopus Point), sháshek'em.

Both of these caves are so-named because they appear, to the Indian people, to be "mouths opened wide". There is no relationship between the two caves; #50 was an opening to an underwater passageway between Valdes and Thetis Islands and #131 was a cave said to house a supernatural monster.

- K. Place-name #55, Kulleet Bay village, shts'emines and
Place-name #161, Cowichan River village, shts'ets'mines.

These two villages were occupied by the same extended families. The Cowichan village was said to be the "original" village, whose residents moved to Kulleet Bay permanently, having occupied the area on a seasonal basis for many years. The Cowichan village has the diminutive form of the Kulleet Bay village-name, whose meaning is not entirely clear. Some possible translations for the Kulleet Bay name are 'bite out of [or eroded] beach', 'dry beach' or "bone in chest".

- L. Place-name #80, Alarm Rock, thithoxwo7kw and
Place-name #92, Centre Reef, thi7thóxwo7xw.

Both of these small reefs have names that mean 'covered [or disappearing] at high tide', but there is no relationship between the two places.

- M. Place-name #120, Willy Is./Westholme, xeláltxw and
Place-name #185, Cowichan River village, xeláltxw.

Both of these village-names mean 'marked [or painted] houses'. Like the other villages paired in this section

thus far (Groups H, I and K), the Cowichan village at the present Silver Bridge was the "original village", from which extended families moved initially to the north end of Willy Island and then to Westholme. In both migrations, the name of the original village was retained without change.

- N. Place-name #95 Virago-Race Pt. village, xinepsem or xixnepsem and
Place-name #152, Green Point village, xinepsem.

At one time, the same extended families occupied both of these villages simultaneously. The meaning of the place-name on the Cowichan River at Green Point is not known for certain today, but it may be 'caught by [or in] the neck'. The name on Galiano Island (#95) is usually the same as the Cowichan one, but an alternate name is the diminutive. This differs from other village-name pairs in this section, since, in all other cases, the diminutive form was found in Cowichan territory. A possible reason for the diminutive form on Galiano Island is that at that place, the "village" was almost always occupied on a seasonal basis and also the fact that the Cowichan village was not abandoned even though a new place with the same name was established.

- O. Place-name #134, Burgoyne Bay (Saltspring), xwookw'em and
Place-name #233, Youbou area (Cowichan Lake), xwookw'em.

The only connection between these two places, whose names mean 'place having merganser ["sawbill duck"]', is the fact that common mergansers (ducks) were abundant and caught there.

- P. Place-name #142, Genoa Bay, xwté[/]melhem and
Place-name #209, Wake Creek area, té[/]melh.

Both of these names are derived from the Island Halkomelem term for red ochre, té[/]melh, which was collected by the Indians at both places.

- Q. Place-name #169, Swampy area on Cowichan River, ts'[/]awiten and Place-name #176, West end of Quamichan, (s)ts'[/]ats'[/]ewi[/]ten.

Both of these places figure in a story told by the Cowichan. Place-name #169 means 'place of clam shells [or dish]' and #176 is the diminutive form of this name.

- R. Place-name #170, Place near Quamichan, kwekw[/]motsin and
Place-name #171, Quamichan, kw[/]ometsen.

Quamichan (#171) means 'hump [on] back' or 'hunchback' and #170 is the diminutive form of this term. These two places both figure in the same story, told by the Cowichan.

- S. Place-name #173, Whale Rock (Cowichan River), kwé[/]nes and
Place-name #267, Reid Hbr. (Stuart Is.), kwé[/]nes.

Both place-names mean 'any whale' but there is no evident connection between the two places. The Cowichan place (#173) was a whale transformed into a rock and the place in Saanich territory (in the U. S. A.) was known for the abundance of whales in its vicinity.

- T. Place-name #179, Quamichan Lake, x[/]otse and
Place-name #230, Cowichan Lake, x[/]otse.

These two lakes, like all others [named or un-named] in the territory of the Island Halkomelem, were formerly known

only by their generic term xotse 'any lake'. Since the early historic period, however, descriptors have been added to the Island Halkomelem place-names so that #179 has also been called kwometsen xotse 'Quamichan Lake' and #230 has been called kewetsen xotse 'Cowichan Lake'. Other lakes to which descriptors have been added include Somenos Lake and Nanaimo Lake.

U. Place-name #195, "Halibut Rock" (Cowichan River), stso7tx and Place-name #277, Long Harbour (Saltspring), stso7tx.

There is no actual connection between these two places. The rock on the Cowichan River was said to have supernatural powers and also to mark the upriver extent of halibut. The Long Harbour area was actually utilized for halibut fishing.

V. Place-name #200, Place on Cowichan River, xwts'oom (#1) and Place-name #213, Place near Tzartlam Reserve, xwts'oom (#2)

The meaning of these place-names is not known, but there are definitely two separate locations with the same name on the upper Cowichan River.

Table VIII on the next page summarizes the information in the preceding section, concerning place-names found in more than one location.

Table VIII

Recurrence of Island Halkomelem Place-NamesPLACE-NAMES WHICH OCCUR ONCE:

<u>Number of Place-Names</u>	<u>Percentage of Total (302)</u>
256	84.8%

PLACE-NAMES WHICH OCCUR TWICE:

<u>Number of Place-Names</u>	<u>Percentage of Total (302)</u>
A. Identical Place-Names	
24 (12 pairs)	7.9%
B. Diminutive Forms	
10 (5 pairs)	3.3%
C. Names With Same Stem	
8 (4 pairs)	2.7%

PLACE-NAMES WHICH OCCUR THREE TIMES OR MORE:

<u>Number of Place-Names</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
A. Names With Same Stem	
4	1.3%

SUMMARY OF RECURRING PLACE-NAMES

Place-Names Occurring Once=	256/302	or	84.8%
Place-Names Occurring Twice=	42/302	or	13.9%
Place-Names Occurring More Than Twice=	4/302	or	1.3%
TOTAL:	302 names		100.0%

Table IX (a)

English Place-Names Derived From Indian Place-Names

<u>English Place-Name</u>	<u>Indian Place-Name</u> (and number assigned in this thesis)
Comox; Preedy Harbour	<u>kw</u> ewmeks (2; 77)
Puntledge River	pen <u>tl</u> 'ets (3)
Sechelt Peninsula	shish <u>alh</u> (8)
Qualicum River, Beach	xwkw' <u>ole</u> xwem (10)
Little Qualicum River	exwin xwkw' <u>ole</u> xwem (11)
Nanoose Bay	snew <u>new</u> es (18)
Nanaimo City, Harbour and	
Nanaimo River	sne <u>ne</u> ymexw (20)
Kulleet Bay	k' <u>el</u> its' (54)
Thetis Island (?)	th <u>ath</u> 'es (74)
Lamalchi Bay, Kuper Is.	xwlem <u>al</u> htse (81)
Penelakut Spit, Kuper Is.	pen <u>al</u> ex <u>eth</u> ' (84)
Chemainus Town, Harbour	
and Chemainus River	shts' <u>em</u> ines (55)
Mount Tuam, Saltspring Is.	ts' <u>ewa</u> an (139)
Tzuhalem Mountain	ts' <u>ew</u> xilem (144)
Cowichan River, Lake	sh <u>ke</u> wetsen (143)
Comiaken Hill	kw' <u>emi</u> y <u>ake</u> n (155)
Quamichan Creek, Lake	kwometsen (171)
Somenos Creek, Lake	s7omene (188)
Sahtlam Station	ts' <u>ol</u> ho7em (214)
Skutz Falls, Cowichan R.	skwets (223)
Mesachie Lake	mes <u>ats</u> i7 (231)

(Continued on the following page)

Table IX (b) English Place-Names Derived From Indian Names

<u>English Name</u>	<u>Indian Name</u> (and number assigned in this thesis)
Caycuse	kw'ikw'ews (236)
Nitinat River, Lake	nitenat (237)
Koksilah River	xwelkw'sale (238)
Shawnigan Lake (?)	s(h)enoneken (253)
Malahat Ridge, Mountain	malexelh (256)
Esquimalt Harbour	sxwimalhelh (261)
Sooke Town, River, Lake and Sooke Harbour	so7okw (263)
Hatzic	xath'a7k (286)
Chilliwack	(s)ts'elxwayek (287)
Tsawwassen	shts'ewothen (291)
Semiahmoo Bay	samyome (294)
Lummi Island	xwlemi7 (296)
Nooksack River	nexwsaa7k (295)
Lake Whatcom	xwotkwem (298)
Chuckanut Bay	xwtsekwnets (299)
Samish Bay	s7amish (300)
Tulalip	telalep (302)

Table X

Island Halkomelem Place-Names Derived From English Place-Names

<u>English Place-Name</u>	<u>Indian Place-Name</u> (and number assigned to it in this thesis)
Thetis Island	th'athes or th'ath'es (#74)
Shawnigan Lake	s(h)enoneken (#253)
Victoria	matuliye7 (#258)
Vancouver	pankupe7 (#282)

Note that in place-names numbered 74 and 253, it is not clear to Island Halkomelem people today if the Indian place-name is, in fact, derived from the noted English place-name. The Indian people simply say that the Indian name's meaning is not known. Place-names numbered 258 and 282 above are clearly "Halkomelemized" terms derived from the noted English place-name.

Origin and Adoption of Island Halkomelem Place-Names

(Information Derived From Tables IX and X)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Names of Island Halkomelem (or other Native Indian) Origin Not Adopted By English Speakers	260	86.1%
Names of Island Halkomelem (or other Native Indian) Origin Adopted By English Speakers	38	12.6%
Names of English Origin Adopted By Island Halkomelem Speakers	4	1.3%
Total Sample	302	100.0%

3.3 Conclusion

In this final section of the thesis it will be possible to reach some important conclusions about the role of place-names [ethnogeography] in the culture of the Island Halkomelem Indians. These conclusions are based on the summaries found in Tables VI through XI, presented in Section 3.2 of this thesis earlier in this chapter. Each of the Tables will now be discussed and their importance noted.

In Table VI (Usage of Places By Island Halkomelem Speakers) it was possible to ascertain that the great majority of Island Halkomelem place-names (67.5%) refer to places having only one use, while 28.9% of the total recorded names had two uses and only 3.6% of the names had three uses. In terms of the specific utilization of place-names, 20.2% of the total (302) named places were used for resource procurement only and 17.9% had unknown or aberrant uses. Of the total named places 12.9% were known in the mythology of the Indians while 11.9% were winter villages and another 11.9% were used for both camping and resource procurement. Of the total known places named by the Island Halkomelem only 9.3% were winter villages that were also used for resource procurement and only 4.6% were solely camping locations. Other categories associated with place-name utilization could be considered statistically less significant, since they account for less than 4% of all place-names with known uses. The most important finding from Table VI is that of the major uses for place-names, resources and their collection figure most prominently (45.7% of the 302 names are somehow involved with resource procurement).

In Table VII (Meanings of Island Halkomelem Place-Names), it was apparent that the great majority of place-names, when analyzed according to their translation into English and etymology, had only one meaning (92.4% of the total names known to the Island Halkomelem), while only 7.6% of the total had two meanings. The meanings (or "types of place-names" as they were called) were most often descriptive of the location which had been named by the Indians (53% of the total), while 19.2% of the names had meanings which were not yet known or fully analyzable. Other types of place-names accounted for 10.9% of the total and 9.3% were descriptive of the activity carried out at the place which had been named. Only 6.7% of the total had names of a type reflecting descriptions of both activity and the location where the activity was undertaken. Other types of names were statistically insignificant since they accounted for less than 1% of the total names.

When the information contained in Tables VI and VII is compared and contrasted the main reasons why Island Halkomelem Indians named places become clear. The Indian place-names evidently provide an important key to the seasonal round and use of resources by the Indian people. Most of the place-names are descriptive of a location where resources (primarily food resources) were obtained or of an activity associated with resource-procurement locations. Even such important sites as permanent winter villages are apparently not as important as the quest for food at various times of the year. During the summer months, it was necessary to know exact locations for acquiring food that would last the following winter when pre-

served. It was also necessary to mobilize large work-forces to process this seasonally-available food. Those people who knew the places where such activities could be undertaken might have known them better by the descriptions contained within the names for the places. Thus, the Island Halkomelem were interested in the specific locations where they were at any given time and where they were going at certain times of the year. This probably accounts for the lack of orientation or specific terms for geographical features considered so important by non-Indians. Generally, bodies of salt water (e.g. Strait of Georgia), lakes, rivers and most mountains are not given specific place-names by the Indians. They were apparently more interested in where they were going, or the ultimate destination, than the means of getting there. As will be seen by the large percentage of names indicating "description of location", attempts were undoubtedly made by those assigning names to places long ago to ensure that they were made somewhat easier to find.

The question of the use of certain lexical prefixes and suffixes is of importance in this discussion. It is evident that some of these (such as sh-, shxw-, xw-STEM-em) are somewhat optional in the system of nomenclature employed by the Indians. Here again, the importance of the place itself, contained within the stem of the place-name and indicating its utility for resource procurement, is more important than the affix telling the speaker of Island Halkomelem that the place "has something". The latter is implicitly understood by a speaker of Island Halkomelem.

What cannot be shown in a list of place-names, or even by extensive descriptions of their use, is the context in which a place-name is employed in everyday conversation. Almost any of the three hundred two place-names presented in this study could be modified by a speaker of Halkomelem (in conjunction with several orientation terms and affixes), depending on the context in which the name is used and the speakers conversing in Halkomelem. Much more comparative work needs to be completed regarding the use of place-names in the Halkomelem language. Such work would greatly add to our understanding of how the names are used and how that use is changing with the "Anglicizing of Halkomelem". In order to do more than simply preserve the place-names, a goal achieved in part by this thesis, we need to better understand how and why place-names are quickly passing out of use today by the Indians.

In Table VIII (Recurrence of Island Halkomelem Place-Names) we discovered that a great majority (84.8% of the total names) only occur once. But of those that appear more than once, more are identical place-names than names which are diminutives or names with the same stem. The problem of recurring names was referred to repeatedly in the place-name descriptions in Chapter Two. It is apparent that complete genealogies of the members of villages with identical or diminutive names must be made. Those people who occupied villages in different locations with identical or very similar names probably took the name of their original village with them when

they moved, regardless of the fact that a name describing the location of one village may have been inappropriate in describing the second village. The antiquity of villages on the Gulf Islands and those on southeastern Vancouver Island having identical or similar names may be impossible to solve at this late date. Perhaps further archaeological, geneological, or linguistic studies will assist in this regard.

Tables IX and X simply attempted to inform the reader of the diffusion and interaction of place-names within the Indian and non-Indian communities of southwestern British Columbia and northwest Washington State. Table XI (Origin and Adoption of Island Halkomelem Place-Names) showed that the great majority of names (86.1%) known to the Island Halkomelem have not been adopted by non-Indians, whereas 12.6% of the total number have been adopted (i.e. anglicized). Only a very small number of place-names of English origin have been adopted by the speakers of Island Halkomelem. This is an indication that Island Halkomelem speakers have been slow to adopt outside place-names (and other cultural features as well), but their culture is still in the process of being diffused into other Coast Salish languages and cultural groups. For example, Halkomelem as a language is in the process of expanding into Squamish and Northern Straits territories, especially with regards to ceremonial terms and the Halkomelem language has been borrowed by several different Northern Straits groups (mainly Saanich and Songish) completely. The reasons for this are many, but Halkomelem is an easier language to learn than Northern Straits and there are certainly many more speakers of

Halkomelem today than any other Coast Salish language.

Ethnographers will note that the traditional territory of the Island Halkomelem has been expanded further west and south as a result of this thesis and the place-names included here. Like other aspects of this study this awaits further comparative information from Northern Straits (Saanich) and West Coast (Pacheenaht and Nitinat) scholars. It may be that there were large tracts of land, freshwater and marine areas that were shared by different Central Coast Salish groups and West Coast groups through mutual agreement and intermarriage. In any case the traditional fishing, hunting and resource-procurement territories were clearly important enough to the Indian people of this province before the arrival of non-Indians that special names were applied to them.

What we have seen from this study of Island Halkomelem place-names is that ethnoscientific studies, whether they are ethnogeographical, ethnozoological, or ethnobotanical are of great value as a means by which salvage ethnography can be accomplished among the Coast Salish Indian people today. But it is the place-names that seem to provide immeasurable value in assisting ethnographers in the reconstruction of traditional seasonal rounds and resource procurement. After all, the Indian people, like everyone else had to find food in order to survive. Where they found their food resources and the names for their places are, as a result of this thesis, now securely recorded for the future generations of Island Halkomelem Indian people.

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Appendix 1

Key to the Practical Writing System for the Halkomelem
Language (Island Halkomelem Dialects)

The following is an explanation of the practical writing system used for the original information in this thesis. It was developed by Randy Bouchard of the British Columbia Indian Language Project, Victoria, B. C., with the assistance of the late Christopher Paul, Brentwood Bay, B. C. Some commonly used phonetic symbols currently being employed by Northwest Coast linguists have been placed in square brackets following the practical system's symbols.

1. The following symbols represent Halkomelem sounds which are approximately similar to the sounds represented in English: h [h], k (in loan words only) [k], l [l], m [m], n [n], p [p], s [s], sh [š] [ʃ], t [t], th [θ], tth [t̪θ] [t̪^θ], ts [c] (rarely, [č] [tʃ]), w [w] [ʍ], y [y] [j].
2. lh [ɬ] - similar to the "thl" sound in English athlete.
3. x [χ] - a "friction" sound that is produced far back in the throat.
4. ʔ [ʔ] - a glottal stop, or a "catch in the throat", as in the pronunciation of English slang "uh-uh".
5. a [ɛ] - a sound which is like the vowel sound of English "bet".
6. e [ʌ], [ə], [ɪ], [ɤ]-sounds which vary from the vowel sound of English "but", to the first vowel sound of English "ago", to the vowel sound produced in the English

slang pronunciation of "jist". Rarely, the vowel sound of English "put".

7. i [i], [e], [I]- sounds which vary from the vowel sound of English "beat", to the vowel sound of English "bait", to approximately the vowel sound of English "bit".
8. o [ɔ], [a]- sounds which vary from approximately the vowel sound of English "bought", to approximately the first vowel sound of English "father".
9. u [u], [o]- sounds which vary from the vowel sound of English "boot", to the vowel sound of English "boat". These sounds are rare in Halkomelem and can also be represented by using practical writing system symbols "ew".
10. aa [ɛ:]- the sound represented by this symbol is like the vowel sound represented by practical writing system symbol "a", except that it is pronounced distinctly longer.
11. ii [i:], [e:]- sounds represented by this symbol are like some of the vowel sounds represented by the practical writing system symbol "i", except that they are pronounced distinctly longer.
12. oo [ɔ:], [a:]- sounds represented by this symbol are like the vowel sounds represented by the practical writing system symbol "o", except that they are pronounced distinctly longer.
13. uu [u:], [o:]- sounds represented by this symbol are like

the vowel sounds represented by the practical writing system symbol "u", except that they are pronounced distinctly longer. These sounds are very rare in Halkomelem.

14. An apostrophe ' beside a symbol indicates sounds which are "strongly exploded" (glottalized), as in:

$\underline{k}$ ' [$q^{\text{'}}$] [$q^{\text{'}}$], kw' [$k^{\text{'w}}$] [$k^{\text{'}}$], $\underline{kw}$ ' [$q^{\text{'w}}$] [$q^{\text{'}}$], p' [$p^{\text{'}}$] [$p^{\text{'}}$],
 t' [$t^{\text{'}}$] [$t^{\text{'}}$], th' [$t^{\text{'}}\theta^{\text{'}}$] [$t^{\text{'}}\theta^{\text{'}}$], tl' [$t^{\text{'}}l^{\text{'}}$] [$t^{\text{'}}l^{\text{'}}$], ts' [$c^{\text{'}}$].

An apostrophe ' above a symbol indicates sounds which are "weakly exploded" (glottalized), as in: $\dot{l}$ [$\dot{l}$] [$\dot{l}$],
 $\dot{m}$ [$\dot{m}$] [$\dot{m}$], $\dot{n}$ [$\dot{n}$] [$\dot{n}$], $\dot{w}$ [$\dot{w}$] [$\dot{w}$] [$\dot{u}$], $\dot{y}$ [$\dot{y}$] [$\dot{y}$].

15. Underlining _ indicates sounds which are produced relatively "further back in the throat" (uvular), as in:

$\underline{k}$ [q], $\underline{k}'$ [$q^{\text{'}}$] [$q^{\text{'}}$], $\underline{kw}$ [$q^{\text{'w}}$] [$q^{\text{'}}$], $\underline{kw}'$ [$q^{\text{'w}}$] [$q^{\text{'}}$], $\underline{x}$ [χ] [$\chi^{\text{'}}$]
 $[\underline{x}]$, $\underline{xw}$ [$\chi^{\text{'}}$] [$\chi^{\text{'w}}$] [$\chi^{\text{'w}}$].

16. Halkomelem sounds produced with "rounded lips" (labialized) are indicated by a "w" beside the symbol, as in:

kw [$k^{\text{'w}}$] [$k^{\text{'}}$], kw' [$k^{\text{'w}}$] [$k^{\text{'}}$], $\underline{kw}$ [$q^{\text{'w}}$] [$q^{\text{'}}$], $\underline{kw}'$ [$q^{\text{'w}}$] [$q^{\text{'}}$],
 xw [$x^{\text{'w}}$] [$x^{\text{'}}$], $\underline{xw}$ [$\chi^{\text{'}}$] [$\chi^{\text{'w}}$] [$\chi^{\text{'w}}$].

17. An accent or stress / marks vowels which are pronounced "loudest" (i.e. primary stress), in all Halkomelem words containing two or more vowels.

Halkomelem Language (Island Halkomelem Dialects) - $\dot{H}\dot{e}l\dot{k}'\dot{e}m\dot{i}n\dot{e}m$

Appendix 2 Island Halkomelem Terms For Surrounding Groups

1. "Northern People", including Southern Kwakiutl and all groups
north of them: yék[/]welhta7x
2. Island Comox (Coast Salish): selhútxw
3. Pentlatch (Coast Salish) : p[/]entl'ets
4. Sechelt (Coast Salish) : shishalh
5. Squamish (Coast Salish) : skw[/]omesh
6. Mainland Halkomelem (Coast Salish) : shnewaylh^{''}
7. Straits Salish (Coast Salish) : lekw'eminem[/]
8. Nootka (West Coast): mith[/]alemexw¹

¹Note that Curtis (1913:171) transcribed this "M^uséll^umuh^u".
Jenness (field notes) transcribed it "Misel.imux".

Curtis (1913:171) also gives a term for the Nitinat (West
Coast) that is no longer used or remembered, "Sinu^uath^u".

Appendix 3

Fish, Beach Foods and Marine Mammal Species Mentioned in Thesis(Arranged Alphabetically By Common Name)

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Latin Name</u>
big skate	<u>Raja binoculata</u>
black katy chiton	<u>Katharina tunicata</u>
butter clam	<u>Saxidomus giganteus</u>
California mussel	<u>Mytilus californianus</u>
chum or "dog" salmon	<u>Oncorhynchus keta</u>
Coast range sculpin	<u>Cottus aleuticus</u>
cockle	<u>Clinocardium nuttallii</u>
coho salmon	<u>Oncorhynchus kisutch</u>
Dungeness crab	<u>Cancer magister</u>
edible blue mussel	<u>Mytilus edulis</u>
English or "lemon" sole	<u>Parophrys vetulus</u>
eulachon	<u>Thaleichthys pacificus</u>
giant red chiton	<u>Cryptochiton stelleri</u>
giant red sea urchin	<u>Stongylocentrotus franciscanus</u>
giant (red) sea cucumber	<u>Parastichopus californius</u>
green sea urchin	<u>Strongylocentrotus dröbachiensis</u>
hair or "harbour" seal	<u>Phoca vitulina richardi</u>
harbour porpoise	<u>Phocaena vomerina</u>
horse clam	<u>Tresus capax</u>
humpback whale	<u>Megaptera novaeangliae</u>
kelp greenling	<u>Hexagrammos decagrammus</u>
lingcod	<u>Ophiodon elongatus</u>
native littleneck clam	<u>Protothaca staminea</u>
Native or Olympia oyster	<u>Ostrea lurida</u>
Northern fur-seal	<u>Callorhinus ursinus cynocephalus</u>
Northern sea-lion	<u>Eumetopias jubata</u>
octopus	<u>Octopus dofleini</u>
Pacific halibut	<u>Hippoglossus stenolepis</u>
Pacific herring	<u>Clupea harengus pallasii</u>

Appendix 3, continued

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Latin Name</u>
Pacific killer whale	<u>Grampus rectipinna</u>
Pacific, or Japanese, or "rock" oyster	<u>Crassostrea gigas</u>
pile perch	<u>Racochilus vacca</u>
pink or "humpback" salmon	<u>Oncorhynchus gorboscha</u>
Purple-hinged rock scallop	<u>Hinnites multirugosus</u>
rainbow trout	<u>Salmo gairdneri</u>
sea otter	<u>Enhydra lutris lutris</u>
sixgill or "mud" shark	<u>Hexanchus griseus</u>
sockeye salmon	<u>Oncorhynchus nerka</u>
spiny dogfish	<u>Squalus acanthias</u>
spring salmon	<u>Oncorhynchus tshawytscha</u>
starry flounder	<u>Platichthys stellatus</u>
steelhead trout	<u>Salmo gairdneri</u>
surf smelt	<u>Hypomesus pretiosus pretiosus</u>
weathervane scallop	<u>Pecten caurinus</u>
white sturgeon	<u>Acipenser transmontanus</u>
yelloweye rockfish, or "red cod", or "red snapper"	<u>Sebastes ruberrimus</u>

Appendix 4

Bird and Land Mammal Species Mentioned in Thesis, Arranged
Alphabetically By Common Name

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Latin Name</u>
American beaver	<u>Castor canadensis</u>
American black bear	<u>Ursus americanus</u>
bald eagle	<u>Haliaeetus leucocephalus</u>
Canada goose	<u>Branta canadensis</u>
Canadian river otter	<u>Lutra canadensis</u>
Coast or Columbian black-tail deer	<u>Odocoileus hemionus</u>
common loon	<u>Gavia immer</u>
common merganser, "sawbill"	<u>Mergus merganser</u>
cougar or mountain lion	<u>Felix concolor</u>
dog	<u>Canis sp.</u>
double crested cormorant	<u>Phalacrocorax auritus</u>
golden eagle	<u>Aquila chrysaetos</u>
great blue heron	<u>Aredea herodias</u>
great horned owl	<u>Bubo virginianus</u>
horned grebe	<u>Podiceps auritus</u>
mink	<u>Mustela vison</u>
pelagic cormorant	<u>Phalacrocorax pelagicus</u>
raccoon	<u>Procyon lotor</u>
red-necked grebe	<u>Podiceps grisengena</u>
Roosevelt elk	<u>Cervus canadensis</u>
screech owl	<u>Otus asio</u>
trumpeter swan	<u>Olor buccinator</u>
Vancouver marmot	<u>Marmota vancouverensis</u>

Appendix 4 , continued

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Latin Name</u>
western grebe	<u>Aechmophorus occidentalis</u>
whistling swan	<u>Olor columbianus</u>
wolf	<u>Canis lupus</u>

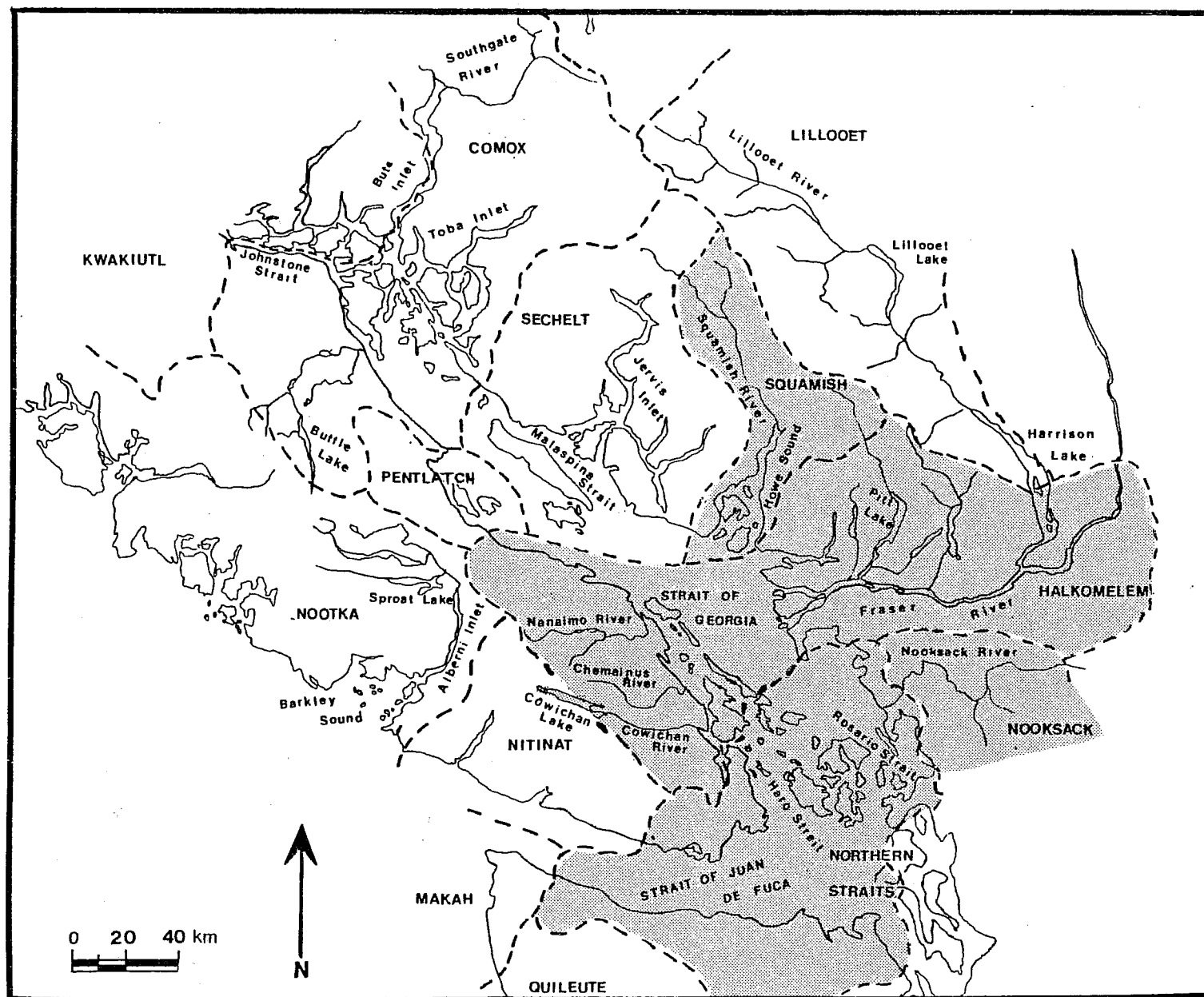
Appendix 5

Botanical Species Mentioned In Thesis, Arranged AlphabeticallyBy Common Name

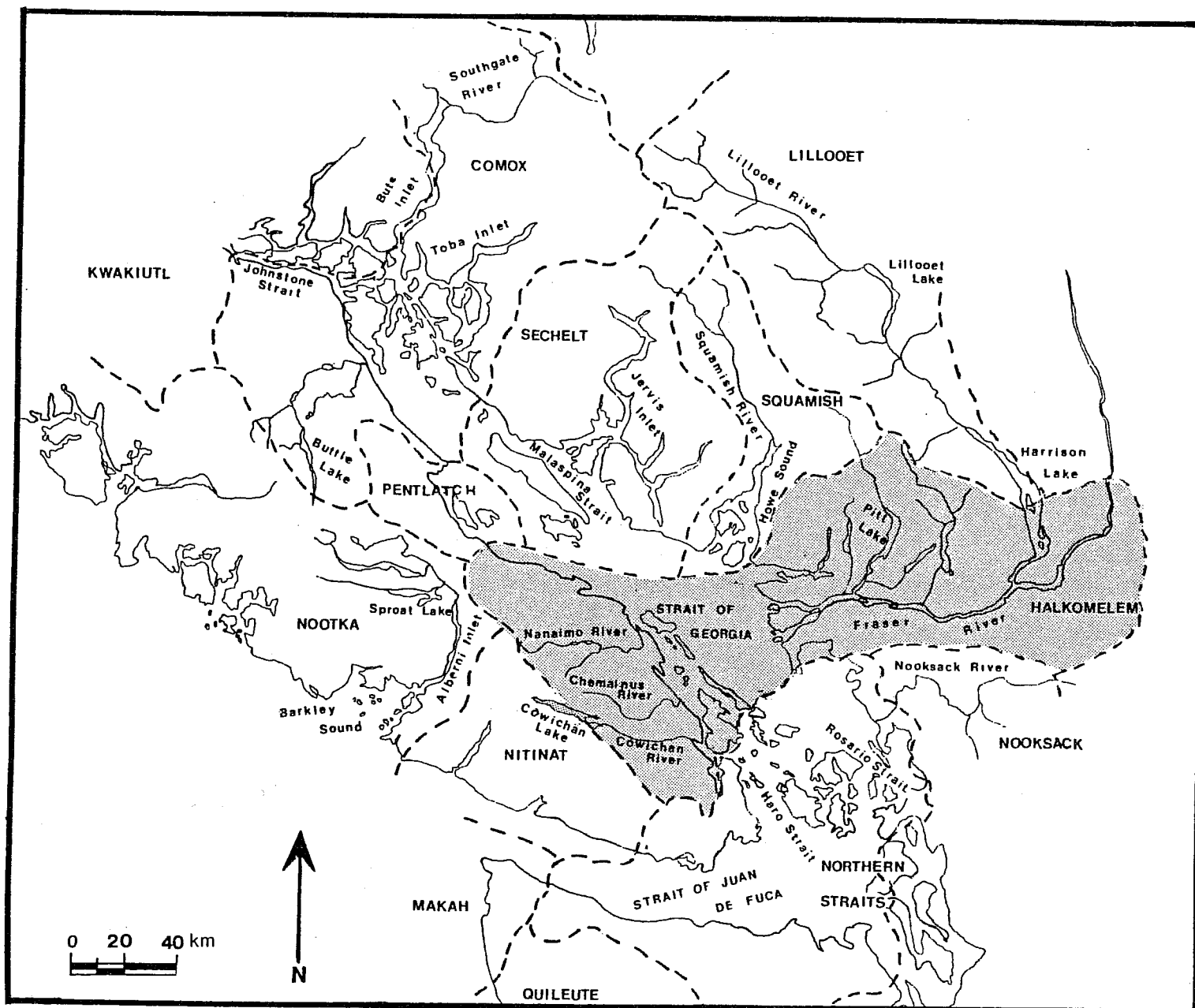
<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Latin Name</u>
blue camas	<u>Camassia quamash, C. leichtlinii</u>
broad-leaved maple	<u>Acer macrophyllum</u>
bulrush or tule	<u>Scirpus acutus</u>
cat-tail	<u>Typha latifolia</u>
cow parsnip	<u>Heracleum lanatum</u>
Douglas fir	<u>Pseudotsuga menziesii</u>
gooseberry	<u>Ribes sp.</u>
grand or "balsam" fir	<u>Abies grandis</u>
Grass Family	<u>Poaceae or Gramineae</u>
hardhack	<u>Spiraea douglasii</u>
Indian consumption plant	<u>Lomatium nudicaule</u>
"ironwood" or ocean spray	<u>Holodiscus discolor</u>
red alder	<u>Alnus rubra</u>
red cedar	<u>Thuja plicata</u>
salal	<u>Gaultheria shallon</u>
Sitka spruce	<u>Picea sitchensis</u>
western hemlock	<u>Tsuga heterophylla</u>
western yew	<u>Taxus brevifolia</u>
wild or bitter cherry	<u>Prunus emarginata</u>
willow	<u>Salix sp.</u>
yellow cedar	<u>Chamaecyparis nootkatensis</u>

MAP APPENDIX

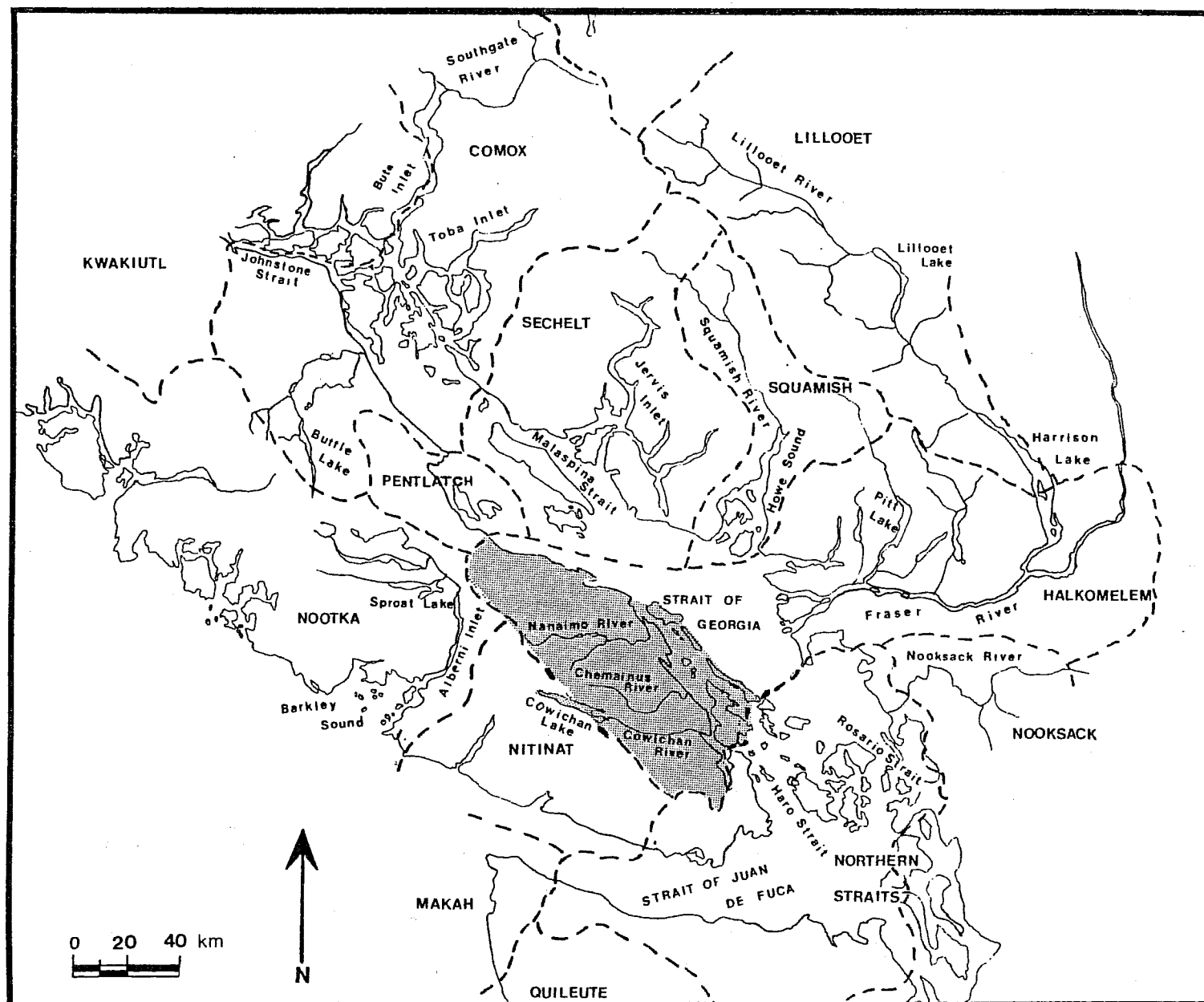
The map appendix consists of eleven maps numbered I through XI.



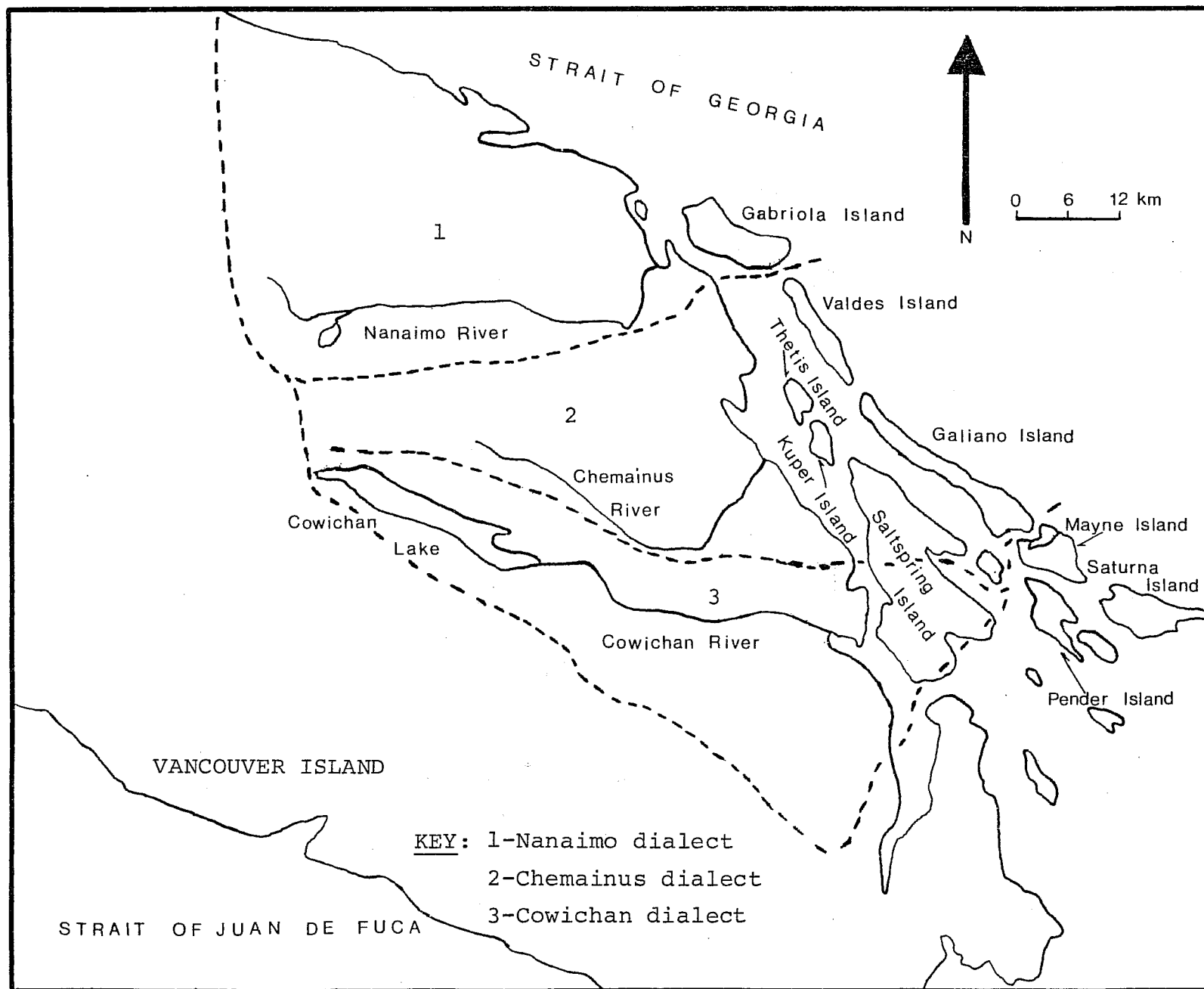
Map I The Traditional Territory of the Central Coast Salish



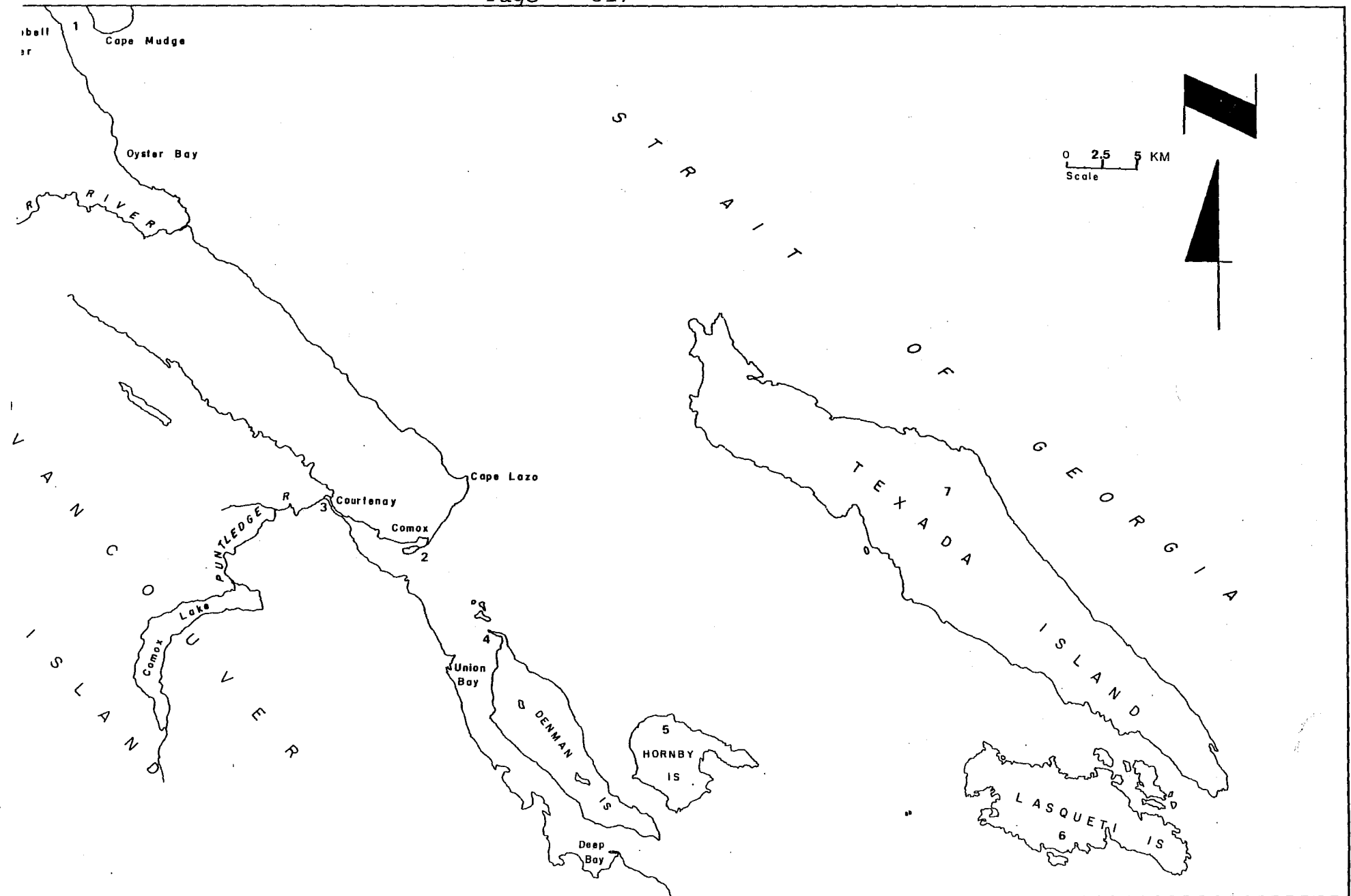
Map II The Traditional Territory of the Halkomelem Coast Salish

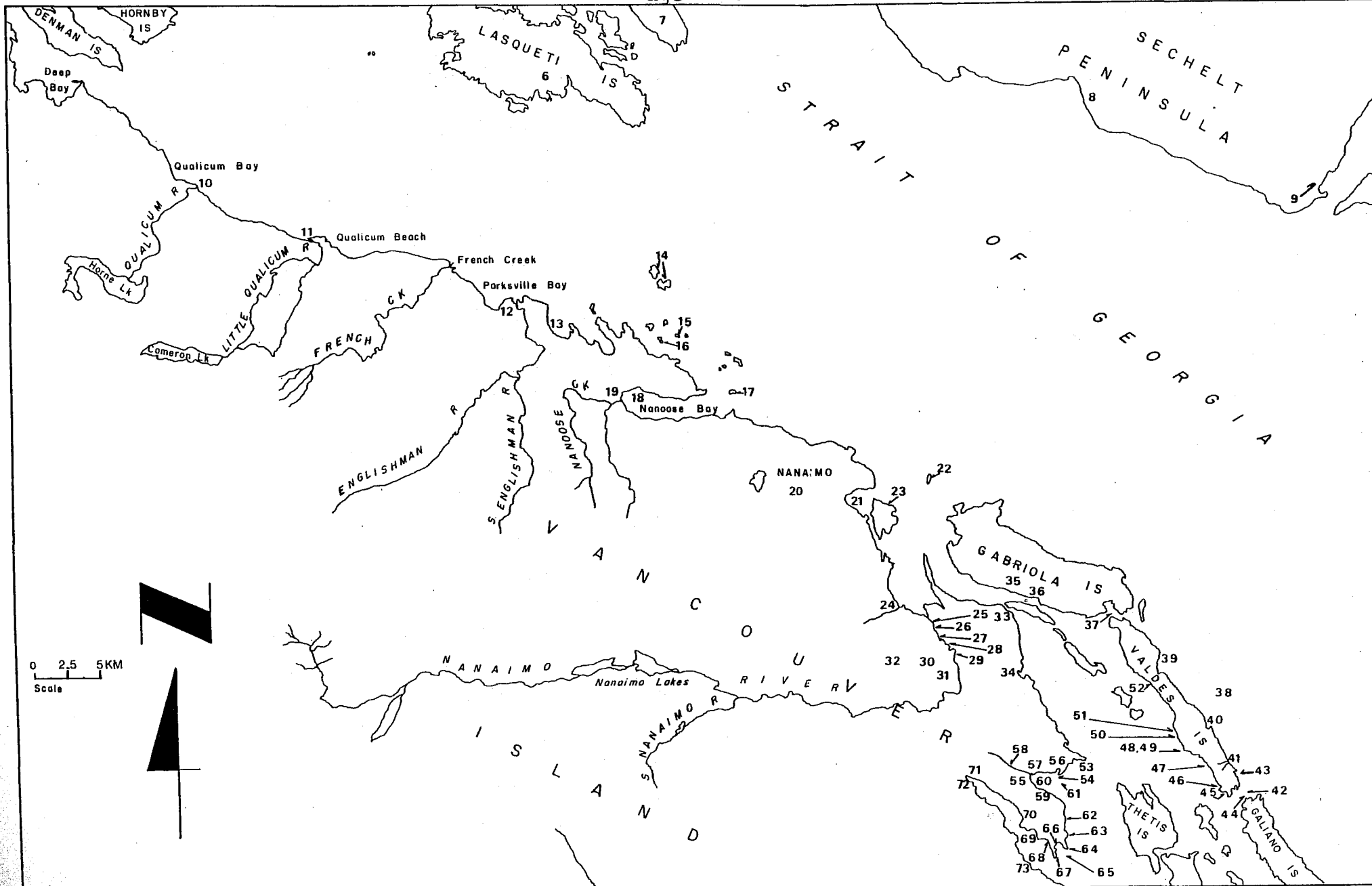


Map III The Traditional Territory of the Island Halkomelem Coast Salish

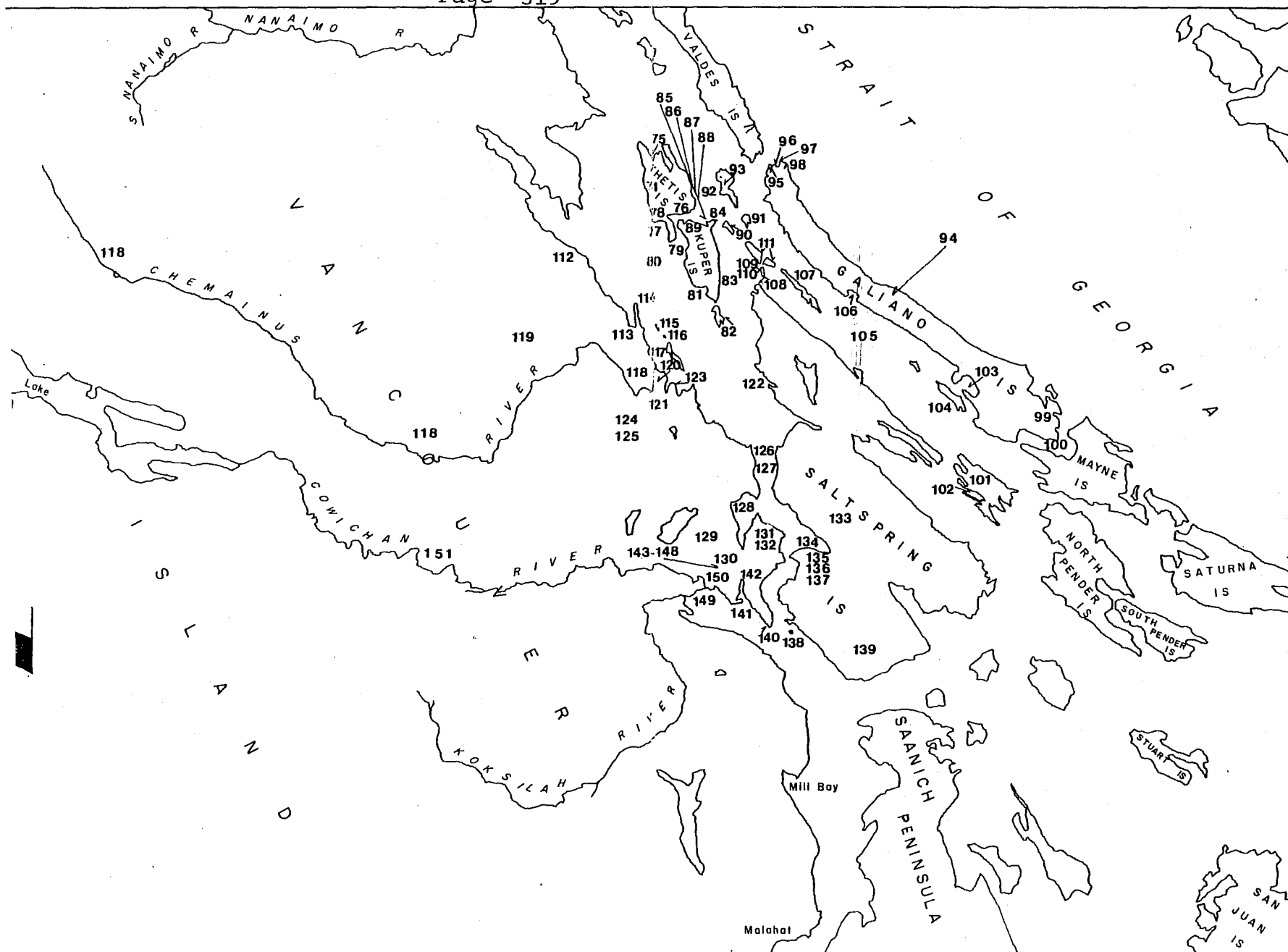


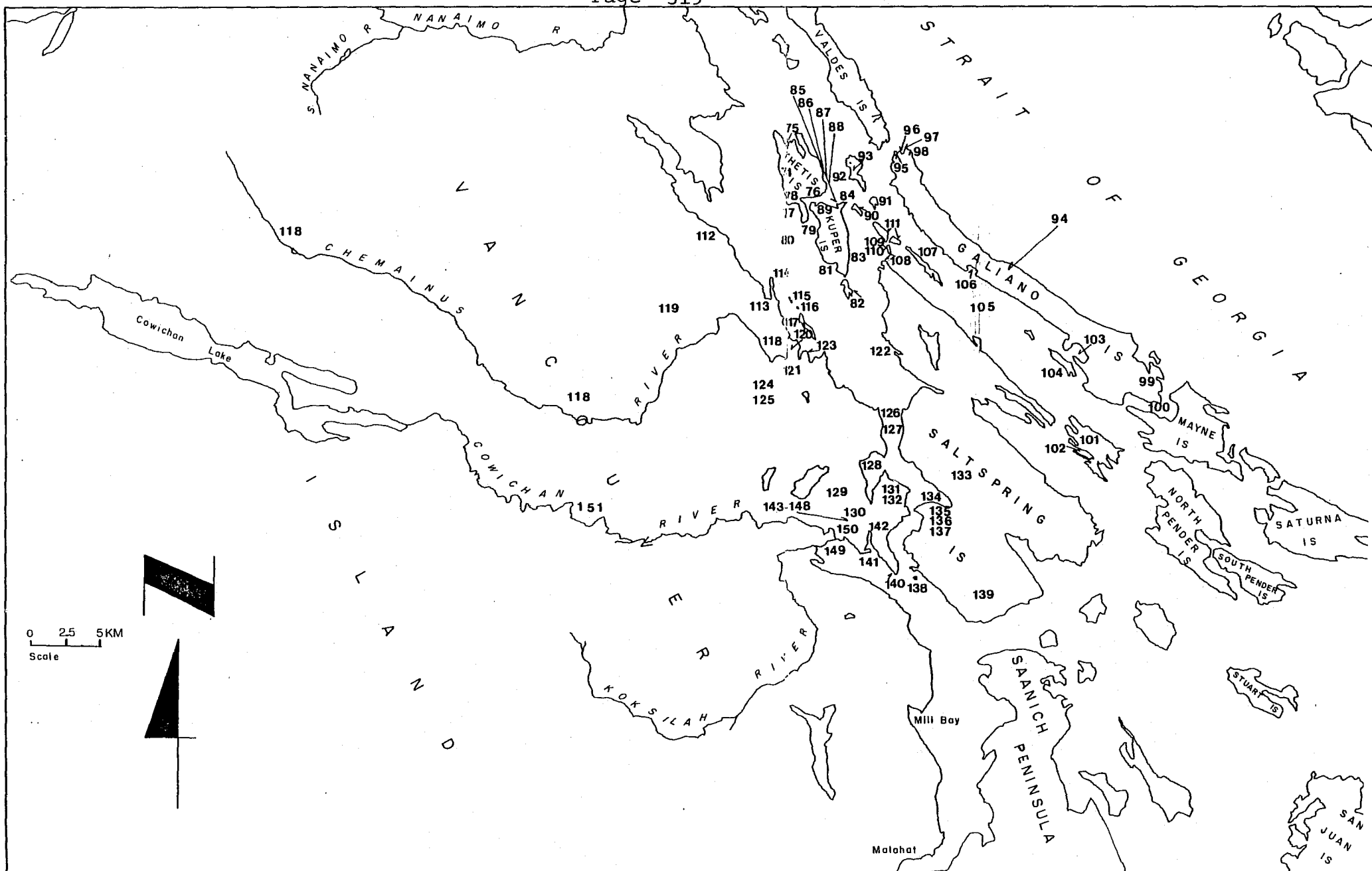
Map IV Dialect Boundaries of the Island Halkomelem Language
(Based on Indian Place-Names in this study)



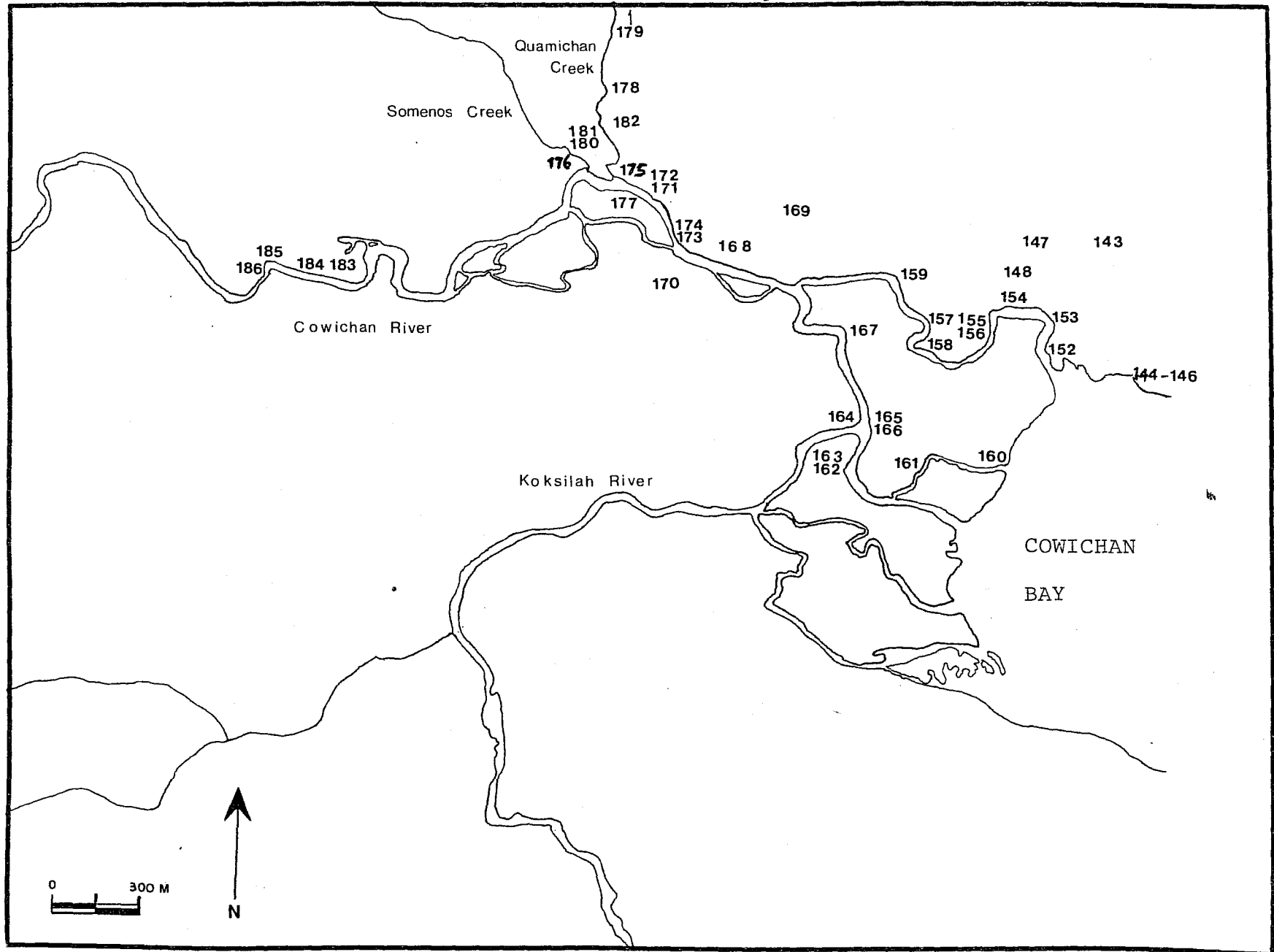


Map VI Island Halkomelem Place-Names Numbered 8-73 In Chapter Two

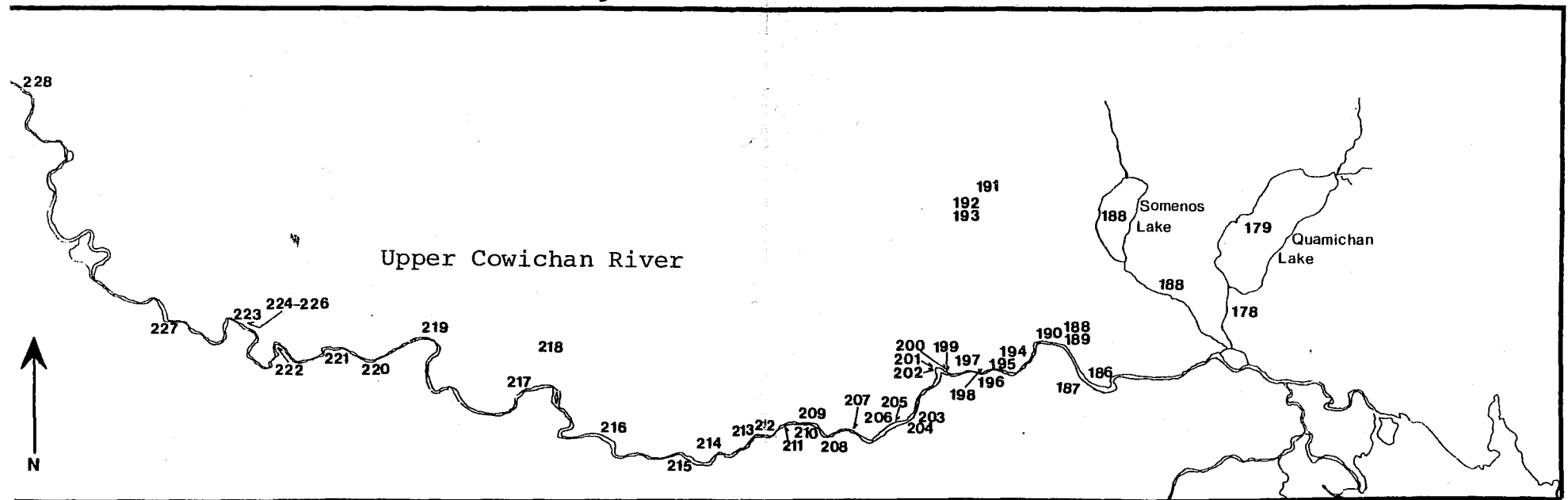




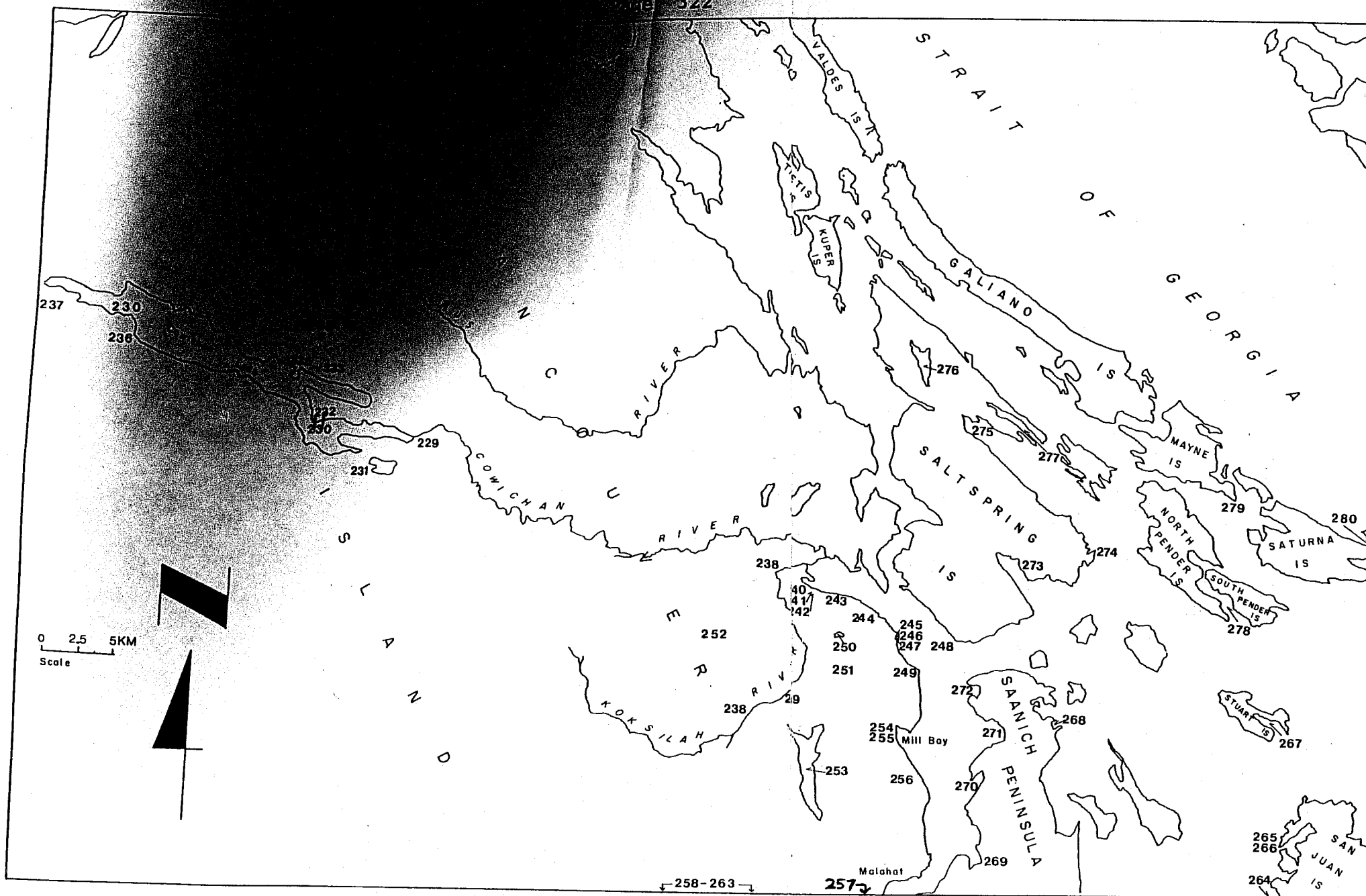
Map VII Island Halkomelem Place-Names Numbered 74-151 In Chapter Two



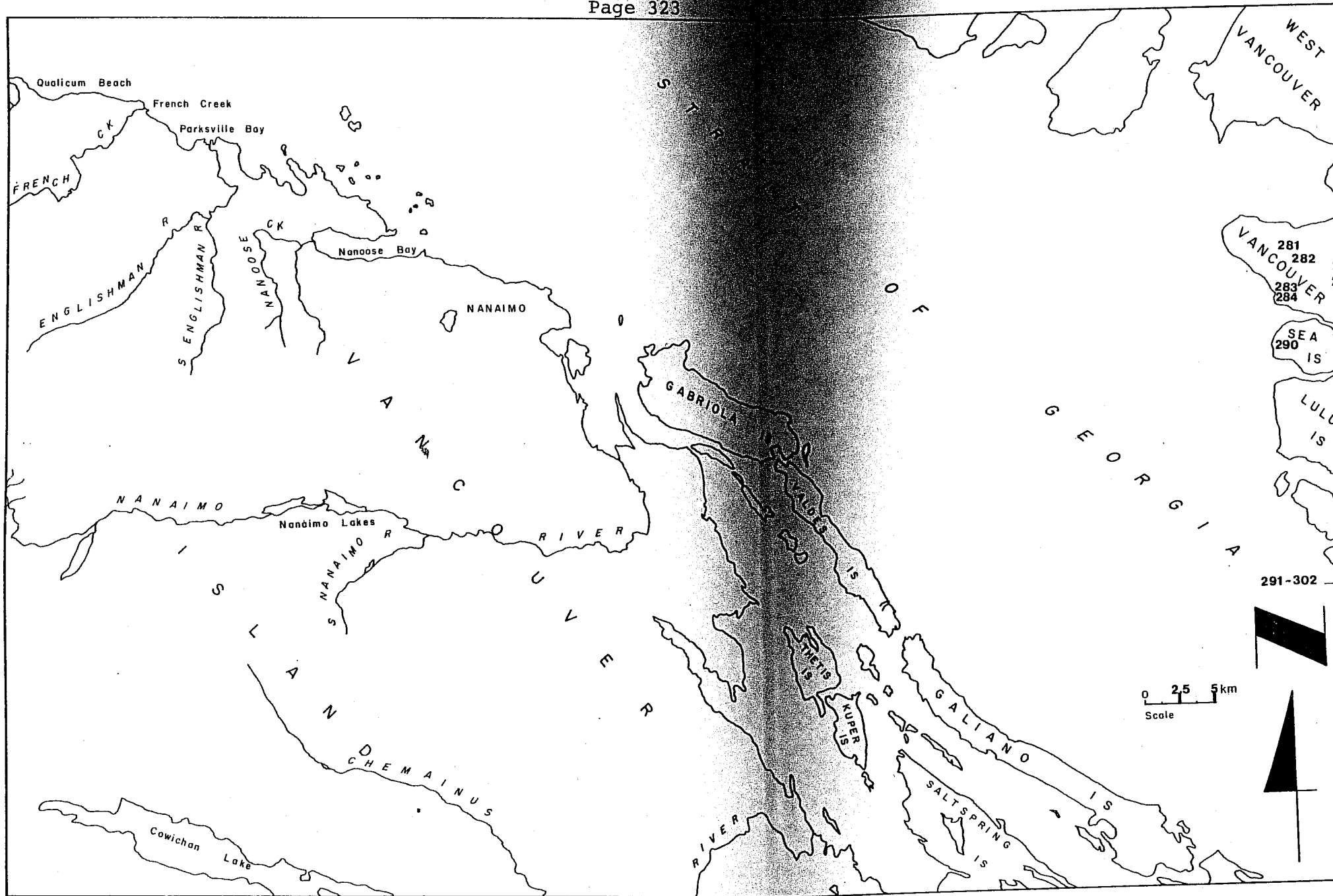
Map VIII Island Halkomelem Place-Names Numbered 152-186 In Chapter Two
(Lower Cowichan River)



d Halkomelem Place-Names Numbered 187-229 In Chapter Two
r Cowichan River)



Map X Island Halkomelem Place-Names Numbered 230-280 In Chapter Two



Map XI Island Halkomelem Place-Names Numbered 281-302 In Chapter Two (Mainland Names)

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- Indian Tales of the Northwest (Teacher's Guide), CommCept Publishing Ltd Vancouver, B.C., 1976.
- Helk'eminem St'iwi7elh: Indian Prayers of Southeast Vancouver Island, Published by the Author, Victoria, B.C., 1977.
- "Underwater Archaeology at Point Roberts, Washington", The Midden [Journal of Archaeological Society of B.C.], Vol. XIII, No. 1:9-10, 1981
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Complete one biographical form for each copy of a thesis presented to the Special Collections Division, University Library.