

Meanings of Musqueam ancestral names: the Capilano tradition

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This paper explores the meanings of Musqueam (Salish) ancestral names, in particular, the history and meaning of the name *qiyəplénəx*^w. Anglicized, and widely used, as “Capilano,” its historical origins, morphology, and semantics have not been discussed. We suggest, examining evidence from (i) Musqueam traditional oral teachings and (ii) the internal morphological structure of this name, that “*qiyəplénəx*^w” is built on the stem [qiyəp] or [qeyəp] followed by an onomastic lexical suffix (LS) [=lənəx^w]. The Musqueam language has a set of LSs which are used with male names, and a separate set which are used with female names (cf. Suttles (2004:318-319)). Our paper includes related derivatives of the name *qiyəplénəx*^w as well as the lineage of the Musqueam men who have carried this name. The recovery of the meaning of ancestral names is an important aspect in the recovery of language, culture and identity.

1 Introduction

Our paper explores the meanings of Musqueam ancestral names, in particular, the history and meaning of the name *qiyəplénəx*^w ¹, or “Capilano.” This research is an outgrowth of one of the topics which we investigated in the context of taping and transcribing the oral life narrative of Larry Grant², an Elder from the Musqueam Reserve (*x^wməθk^wəyəm*) located on the north arm of the Fraser River in southwest Vancouver. Aboriginal oral life narratives have become the focus for many interdisciplinary research interests that range from ethnography, linguistics and testimonial land claims, to issues of autobiographical memory and narrative, documenting the loss and revitalization of language and identity, both personal and collective. One aspect in this loss and recovery is the meaning of ancestral names.

We know from the study of ancestral names, or (anthrop)onomastics, that names have meanings in many cultures; that is, children are often named

¹ In Coast Salish Essays, Suttles (1987:119) writes this name as *qiyəplənəx*^w. We have systematically written the epsilon (ε) as <e> in keeping with Suttles (1990:462), and the phonemically-based orthography presently used at Musqueam.

² In Larry Grant’s tradition, ancestral names are not considered surnames, and Larry feels more comfortable being referred to by his first name, a convention which will be adopted in the remainder of this paper.

after spiritual figures, events, places, omens, personal traits, and animals; and patro- and/or matronymics tell us how prefixes and suffixes indicate parental lineage and gender (Bussmann 1996, Crystal 2000). Literary writers make much use of such meanings in names to provide clues to story characters (von Wilpert 1989). Unfortunately, the meanings of names have been lost in many cultures, leading many to assume that traditional names do not have any meanings. This may also be the case with $x^w m\theta k^w \acute{a}y\acute{e}m$ culture and names in the traditional $h\acute{a}n\acute{q}\acute{a}m\acute{i}n\acute{e}m$ language. We would like to show that $h\acute{a}n\acute{q}\acute{a}m\acute{i}n\acute{e}m$ ancestral names indeed have meanings and we would like to demonstrate this with regard to the name $qiy\acute{a}pl\acute{e}n\acute{x}^w$. Such an undertaking, however, has to proceed with great sensitivity. Among the Musqueam people, ancestral names, like spiritual practices and regalia (see Bierwert 1999), are closely protected. However, respected Elders like Larry Grant can choose to reveal information about their own names, or family names after approval by family members. In this case, Larry Grant sets aside concerns regarding the protection of this ancestral name. He argues that it is more important to reveal the lineage of the name $qiy\acute{a}pl\acute{e}n\acute{x}^w$ since the name is now used by other communities and the public without full knowledge of and respect for its historical origins.

Great sensitivity is also required because, at times, academic/linguistic assumptions/hypotheses and aboriginal oral memories of language use do not necessarily coincide. Sometimes oral history supports linguistic analyses, and sometimes it does not. The resolution of these discrepancies (a number of which we encounter in this paper) will require further research.

Recovering the meanings of ancestral names can be important for a number of reasons: aside from the reconstruction of personal autobiographies, these names may also indicate cultural histories of community and place, and can correct insufficient cultural information, for example, contained in the Oxford Canadian dictionary (more on that later, cf. §7). In the following sections, we will talk first (§2) about how we came together and gathered our material, then provide: (§3) an introduction to $h\acute{a}n\acute{q}\acute{a}m\acute{i}n\acute{e}m$ ancestral names, (§4) a $x^w m\theta k^w \acute{a}y\acute{e}m$ oral narrative and the lineage of the name $qiy\acute{a}pl\acute{e}n\acute{x}^w$, (§5) the internal morphological structure of the name $qiy\acute{a}pl\acute{e}n\acute{x}^w$ and related names, (§6) meanings of other ancestral names, and (§7) some concluding remarks.

Although Larry notes that the ancestral name $qiy\acute{a}pl\acute{e}n\acute{x}^w$ and its derivatives are used amongst other related bloodlines in neighbouring Coast Salish communities, the discussion and analysis presented here is restricted to the history and use of $qiy\acute{a}pl\acute{e}n\acute{x}^w$ at Musqueam.

2 Some notes on method

Before we go into any more detail, let us say a little bit about our collaboration. Larry's work, as a respected Musqueam Elder, is the recovery of $h\acute{a}n\acute{q}\acute{a}m\acute{i}n\acute{e}m$ language, stories, and meanings of names, in this case, based on his personal connection to, and knowledge of, the $qiy\acute{a}pl\acute{e}n\acute{x}^w$ lineage; Susan Blake, as a linguist, studies phonology and morphology of Salish languages and

is particularly interested in the connection between language and culture; and Ulrich Teucher adds his twin scholarship in literature and psychology to exploring problems of language, narrative, and identity. In short, Larry's narrative and his hypothesis provide the scholarly focus for Susan's and Ulrich's contributions. The narrative was collected in five meetings, each lasting between two and three hours, and taped to preserve what is important to Larry and his family: the immediacy of his story in his own voice, as opposed to a less personal written transcript. Generally, Larry would carry the talks, with Susan and Ulrich asking more or less questions in order to clarify or further explore what Larry had said. This structure gave Larry and his colleagues time and space to focus on matters of most interest. For the purposes of our paper, we will leave the overall form and content of Larry's talks aside and focus on one topic, the meanings of the ancestral name *qiyəplénəx*^w.

3 *qiyəplénəx*^w: a *hənqəmínəm* ancestral name

The Salish people, throughout history, have received their traditional names at sacred ceremonies and respected and revered these names (Morton 1970:30). They are hereditary and subject to traditional inheritance laws; some of them can be traced to "immortal ancestors" who were sky born or transformed into various natural features (Carlson 2001:25), often in specific regions or places. These names and their spiritual and geographical connections, may date back to the beginnings of Salish time, linking people of diverse lineage, status and vocation to local watersheds (Carlson 2001:25). In a culture for which the relationship to the land is of utmost importance, Salish names entail claims to the spiritual and geographical history of families over long periods of time. These ancestral names may be handed down from one generation to the next, transferred at sacred ceremonies; they may be transferred between lineage members or even temporarily lent to non-members at special occasions. Suttles (1987:10) states that the rights to prestigious ancestral names often went to the child judged to be potentially the most successful, for example, the child with the best memory. The following points concerning traditional ancestral names are made in the context of Larry's talks: ancestral names (a) were not typically shared, (b) are subject to traditional inheritance laws, (c) are given in a naming ceremony, (d) are used in the Big House and at public functions and ceremonies, and (e) are not often used on an everyday basis; kinship terms are used instead. Larry notes that people often had nicknames or pet names although these were not used in his mother's household. Children did not know the ancestral names or nicknames of friends and relatives nor did they use them.

Alone the bearer of a name may be free to speak about the history and meaning of his or her name. In our case, Musqueam Elder Larry Grant has freely chosen to share the oral history related to the origins of the name *qiyəplénəx*^w that is carried in his lineage, and that was bestowed on him before he passed it on to his younger brother during a ceremony at the Big House at Musqueam.

3.1 The qiyəplénəx^w name in public use

Many public places, streets, institutions, and businesses, mainly in the North Vancouver area, carry the name “Capilano,” an Anglicized version of the traditional Salish name qiyəplénəx^w, beginning with the Capilano River that springs just south of Mt. Capilano, collecting its waters in Capilano Lake, one of Vancouver’s fresh water reservoirs, before it runs underneath the Capilano Suspension bridge and empties into Burrard Inlet just west of the Lion’s Gate Bridge. Alongside the river runs Capilano Road; Capilano Golf Club is situated just west, while Capilano College lies further east, home to the respected literary journal, *The Capilano Review*. More than fifty businesses, mostly in North Vancouver, carry the name Capilano, ranging from Capilano Barbers to the Capilano Mall and Capilano Volkswagen. And there is, of course, the Capilano Indian Reserve, traditionally known as x^wmələčəən (~ x^wmələčəəən) ‘place name on the Capilano River’ (cf. Suttles 2004:572-573).

Historically, with regard to written records, we first learn about the name Capilano in 1859 from a Captain Richards who was called to mediate a dispute (Morton 1970:22). He makes note of “Ki-ap-a-la-no, chief³ of the Squamish tribe” (Morton 1970:19). Some years later, in 1867, the *Yale Examiner* refers to a “Kapalina river or creek,” and when the reservation is set aside, it is spelled “Kah-pil-lah-no” (Morton 1970:22)⁴. The writers Pauline Johnson, in *Legends of Vancouver* (1997) and Emily Carr, in *Klee Wyck* (2003:28; see also Blanchard 1987:108), both refer to a Chief Joe Capilano; Carr would never meet him, while Johnson struck up a deep friendship with him and published his stories in *Legends*. This Chief is also acknowledged as a Squamish chief by various other sources (Blore 2000:125, New 2002:1001; Baker 2003). In addition, we learn from the publisher’s information in Johnson’s book that the Capilano lands are associated with the Squamish people. Various other sources also associate the Capilano lands and chiefs with the Squamish (e.g., *Encyclopedia of BC* (2000), *Canadian Oxford English Dictionary* (COED, 1998/2001)). Some other sources, however, note that the name Capilano is (a) a royal name of the Stó:lo (Snyder 2001:56) of the Halkomelem language group of which Musqueam is a part but not Squamish; (b) a “Squamish and Musqueam Indian personal name” (Akrigg 1998); and (c) the name of “a great First Nations Chief who lived in the area” (Capilano Suspension Bridge Visitors’ Information, personal communication). A recent

³ The word ‘chief’ is an English invention; the local Natives only knew wise “siʔém,” persons who were respected but did not necessarily have control (Morton 1970:19).

⁴ This earlier English spelling <Kah-pil-lah-no> may have had a significant influence on how the English word ‘Capilano’ is currently pronounced: /kəpɪləno:/ (COED 1998/2001:211). A full discussion of the borrowing of the name qiyəplénəx^w into the English language, and the complex phonological and orthographic issues entailed are to be addressed in a subsequent version of this paper. The linguistic focus in this paper is on the word-internal morphology of the name qiyəplénəx^w and its meaning.

novel about Vancouver's history, by David Cruise and Alison Griffiths (2003), locates the community of a rather fictional "Kiapilanoq" band and its powerful chief at the river "Houltcison" at the North Shore mountains - at the time of Juan de Fuca, in 1592 A.D. (Cruise and Griffiths 2003:164-174). As we shall see, the name qiyəplénəx^w refers to a single individual at any one time within an extended family context. We know from other oral narratives that qiyəplénəx^w and his descendents had at least three homes: one at Homulchthun (x^wmələčθən), North Vancouver, one at Jericho (Vancouver), and one at Musqueam. James Morton, the author of *Capilano: The Story of a River* (1970), provides a much more extensive history of the name and lands associated with it.

Summarized most briefly, Morton identifies various generations of Capilanos of which the first person he discusses appears to have been a "Fraser River Indian." Morton spells his name "Ki-ap-a-la-no" and states that he was born about 1792, and said to be, perhaps, the son of a Squamish father and a Musqueam mother. Indeed, Suttles has located a traditional housepost at Musqueam, representing qiyəplénəx^w I, the first in the lineage of the Capilanos (Suttles 1987:119; see also Suttles 1990:462). The original house post is at the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology; the house post at Musqueam, currently placed across from the Elders' center, is a replica carved by Ross Green (Larry Grant, personal communication). It identifies the home of the first in the qiyəplénəx^w lineage at Musqueam (Suttles 1987:119). According to Morton, he is said to have become a famous warrior who defeated the invading Northern tribes and was succeeded by his son Lahwa (Morton 1970:23). As Morton goes on to note, when Lahwa died and no adequate successor could be found within the lineage to lead the Squamish, the Catholic Church is said to have chosen or appointed an outsider who, apparently by his mere association with the Capilano area, took on the name Chief Joe Capilano. What further complicates this story is that Chief Joe Capilano is said to have been offered the traditional family name of the qiyəplénəx^w lineage by his wife's Musqueam cousin, to enhance his prestige, when he traveled to London to represent Native interests. The name was apparently offered for temporary use but was never returned (Morton 1970:26, 30). Nevertheless, Chief Joe seems to have been an effective leader and it is he with whom the name, the origins, the lands, and the legends of Capilano are generally associated.

Still, the origins of both name and ownership of the Capilano lands still appear to be unclear and there are various competing versions. There is further confusion as to whether the name is titular (Capilano College reference librarian, personal communication; Hill-Tout 1978), or a family name, that is, a personal name (Akrigg 1998). The meaning of the name is never discussed; in fact, Akrigg (1998) suggests that no meaning is known for this name. Not only that, opinions among the Musqueam people seem to suggest that ancestral names do not have meanings. In the remainder of the paper, we want to suggest otherwise.

3.2 Do həŋqəmiŋəm ancestral names have meanings?

In his life story, Larry regrets what he perceives as a loss of knowledge of the traditional ancestral names, a knowledge that would explain the reasons, and “true meanings” of these names with regard to the accomplishments of persons and their families. Larry believes that if one were to go back far enough, a tradesman’s name would refer to this person’s trades, and a warrior’s name to a person’s warrior status. That is, names would express a part of a person’s identity, and the loss of language entails a loss of identity. But even Larry’s mother would try to dissuade her son. As he notes,

Our mother always said something about the names not meaning anything ‘cause we used to ask her questions about--y’know, you see in the movies and you read about people in the eastern part of Canada that have names like ‘Falling Star’ or ‘Whispering Winds’ or ‘Big-hearted Bear.’ We asked her, ‘What do these names mean here in Musqueam?’ And she always said, ‘They don’t have a meaning.’ And I do know to me it doesn’t make sense that it doesn’t have a meaning; however, maybe those names were quite old and the meanings have been [forgotten] or the names themselves have been contracted so much that, that the actual meaning, the root words in the names, are quite unidentifiable. . . . And for my mother to keep telling me that ‘No, qiyəplənəx^w doesn’t mean anything . . . t̓ətsiməçtən doesn’t mean anything or x^wəlciməltx^w doesn’t mean anything,’ doesn’t make sense to me . . . ’

Larry’s mother’s opinion is shared by Skokomish Elders Frank and Henry Allen, as documented by Elmendorf (1993:115). Larry, however, did have some thoughts about the meanings of names and what they can or cannot mean. For example, Larry is aware that, for example, Scandinavian names use suffixes that indicate a child’s gender as a father’s son or daughter (e.g., ‘Frederick-son,’ ‘Gunnslaugs-dottir’ (dottir = daughter)). This appears not to be the case in Musqueam:

. . . ‘Frederickson’--I don’t hear that in the həŋqəmiŋəm names. They are actual names of your accomplishments or . . . the seasons [in which] you were born, from what I can understand. And that is what I see now that I really take the language to heart.

However, Larry knew from həŋqəmiŋəm and other Salish languages that, for example, the word “x^wisəlenəx^w”, which can also be used as a proper name, refers to “the season of Autumn; a time when the wind blows the leaves from the trees.” Indeed, Larry has had his own hypothesis for some years regarding the meaning of the name qiyəplənəx^w. In alluding to the oral narrative of his lineage that he is going to share with us more fully later, Larry notes:

Well, given that a woman comes from another village to marry and [they have] children. . . and this is to tie the two villages together socially and

economically, my hypothesis on this is: [qiyəplénəx^w is] the one that gathers the people together or holds them together. And the word 'together' or 'to hold together' is [qəp-]. And, I believe, the =əlénəx^w (~ =lénəx^w) is [the lexical suffix] for 'season' or 'annual fish run.'

Larry goes on to notice that the glottalization of the initial q̣- may have been dropped or lost through language change, variations in local pronunciation, or the post-contact influence of English on Aboriginal languages. The root [q̣əp-] could then, over time, have turned into [qiyəp-], and the name q̣əp=əlénəx^w into qiyəp=lénəx^w, the name bestowed on the first born (male) child in order to bind the two villages together. We will discuss this further in §5 on morphology.

3.3 How Larry Grant received the name qiyəplénəx^w

As Larry tells us in his life narrative, it was Uncle Sam, his mother's older brother, who carried the name qiyəplénəx^w. When Uncle Sam died; Larry's older female cousin made it known that she wanted to pass this name onto her son. Being a member of the oldest line of the family at Musqueam, she certainly had the rights as primogeniture to do so.⁵ However, because her son had health problems, Larry's mother and aunts voiced their reservations about passing a name invested with such historical significance onto this son. Instead, they gave this name to Larry, at the time when Larry's first wife was being initiated as a new dancer. However, had Larry proven himself to be unfit in any way to carry the name qiyəplénəx^w, it could have been taken away from him at any time. In fact, Larry did pass the name on, voluntarily, at a time when he was not strongly connected with his cultural traditions. In 1981, he passed it on to his younger brother Howard E. Grant who wanted to reintroduce this prestigious name to the Big House and dance his first sɣ^wayɣ^wəy (sacred dance). Larry's brother suggested that they could share the name but, at the time, this was not the custom. His mother and aunts approved, and Larry was stripped of the name at a potlatch and it was bestowed on his younger brother. Larry was then given the name sʔəyʔəq which was one of the names that belonged to his great uncle Frank Charlie.

One of the central goals of this paper is to ascertain the meaning of the Musqueam name qiyəplénəx^w. We will now consider evidence from traditional oral teachings (§4) and from the internal morphological structure of this ancestral name (§5) in order to do so.

⁵ The term "primogeniture" refers to the right of the first-born child of the oldest line, irrespective of chronological age, to inherit any privileges bestowed on him or her; in British Common Law the oldest living relative closely related to the deceased receives any inheritance even if s/he comes from a junior line. Basically, this means that these two inheritance systems work differently, and that Aboriginal people lost their traditional inheritance rights when the new system was adopted.

4 qiyəplénəx^w narrative

The following oral narrative provides some insight into the origins of the qiyəplénəx^w name. It explains how, for the first time in history, a Musqueam boy was named qiyəplénəx^w. This story is central to understanding the lineage of the Grant family at x^wməθk^wəyəm. As Larry notes,

These narratives were handed down to me from my mother, Agnes Grant of x^wməθk^wəyəm, who, in turn, heard them from her parents, Seymour Grant and Mary Charlie Grant, also of x^wməθk^wəyəm. My mother, who was the family historian, told them to me at various times throughout my life; the first time that I remember was probably when I was about eight and the last time was about a year or two before her death in 1988. The first few times, she told me the story to inform me about my genealogy and the origin of the sɣ^wayɣ^wəy because that is what I belong to and that is part of my blood line. At other times, I asked her questions about these stories--and got the whole story again! I myself have told it to younger people in our family and to the students in the hənqəmihəm class but not in this detail.

These stories that are shared here, show, as we suggest, that the name qiyəplénəx^w originates on Vancouver Island and is introduced at Musqueam through marriage; subsequently generating a long line of descendants who bear this name.

4.1 Oral narrative I: the first qiyəplénəx^w at x^wməθk^wəyəm

As Larry Grant tells the story of the name qiyəplénəx^w at x^wməθk^wəyəm, it all began with a Musqueam man. When time came for this man to find a wife, a marriage was arranged for him with tiʔaq^wtəna:t, a woman from snəwnəwəs (Nanosee). The wedding took place at snəwnəwəs but the young man wanted to return with his wife to x^wməθk^wəyəm. However, her parents had one request: that the young couple bring their first-born child back to snəwnəwəs so that s/he could receive a snəwnəwəs name. When the child was born, and it was a boy, tiʔaq^wtəna:t's parents named him qiyəplénəx^w and thus the name qiyəplénəx^w was introduced at Musqueam.

According to Larry, marriages were arranged for many reasons, for example, to match social status in a peer marriage, to share natural resources, and to combine village strength. Larry strongly believes that, in this case, the Musqueam man and Nanosee woman were married to link the strength of their villages, for the following reasons:

Well given that this likely happened during the 1700's, that would be around the time of the huge earth quake . . . and there were the smallpox epidemics . . . and the northern raiders coming down at that time and . . . if that village of

snəwnəwəs was decimated and Musqueam was decimated . . . these people had to combine all these villages together to survive . . .

As Larry notes, one conclusion from this first part of the story would be that the name *qiyəplénəx^w* did not come from the area now known as Capilano. Instead, it is much more likely that *tiʔaq^wtəna:t*, the woman from *snəwnəwəs*, brought the name *qiyəplénəx^w* to *x^wməθk^wəyəm* where it was passed down to successive generations (cf. §4.2). In 1906, this ancestral name was temporarily lent to the Squamish Chief *Sahp-luk* of *x^wmələcθən* (now known as the “Capilano” Reserve) by his Musqueam relatives in order to enhance his prestige while representing Native interests in London to King Edward VII (Morton 1970). At the present time, the name *qiyəplénəx^w* ‘Capilano’ continues to be used in a number of neighbouring coast Salish communities.

Before exploring the internal morphological structure of the name *qiyəplénəx^w*, we provide an overview of the Musqueam men who have carried this name.

4.2 Lineage of Musqueam *qiyəplénəx^w*

(2) Capilano I - Capilano VI

- qiyəplénəx^w* I He was the son of a Musqueam man and a *snəwnəwəs* (Nanoose Bay) woman named *tiʔaq^wtəna:t*. The woman’s father, and headman, had one wish: that the first-born male child would be brought back to *snəwnəwəs* to be named *qiyəplénəx^w* (I). The boy later took a wife and they had four children: three daughters and a son. The son became *qiyəplénəx^w* II.
- qiyəplénəx^w* II *qiyəplénəx^w* II lived at the time of Captain Vancouver (~ 1792) and may have seen him as a boy. He was the person who made the *qiyəplénəx^w* name famous, becoming perhaps the greatest warrior in central Coast Salish history.
- qiyəplénəx^w* III One of *qiyəplénəx^w* II’s sisters married a Musqueam man by the name *x^wəlciməltx^w*. Their son was named Charlie *qiyəplénəx^w*, becoming *qiyəplénəx^w* III. For a photo of Charlie *qiyəplénəx^w* III taken at Musqueam see Suttles (1990:462).
- qiyəplénəx^w* IV Charlie *qiyəplénəx^w* III (1820 - 1910) married and had three children with his first wife. Their first-born son was named *x^wəlciməltx^w* and, later in life, acquired a second name *sʔəyətəq*. His English name was Frank Charlie (1840 - 1956). He had no living offspring. Frank Charlie’s sister Mary Charlie married Seymour Grant;

their son Samuel Grant (1900 - 1966) became qiyəplénəx^w IV. He was the nephew of Frank Charlie, and the grandnephew of Charlie qiyəplénəx^w III.

qiyəplénəx^w V Samuel Grant's sister, Agnes Grant (1906 - 1989), is Larry Grant's mother. In 1967, after Samuel Grant's death, Larry received the name qiyəplénəx^w (V) at the Big House at Musqueam.

qiyəplénəx^w VI In 1981, Larry gave the name qiyəplénəx^w to his younger brother, Howard E. Grant (1946 -) who is also Samuel Grant's nephew. At the same ceremony, Larry Grant took on the name sʔəy'əq, one of the names of his great-uncle Frank Charlie.

5 Internal morphology of ancestral names

From looking at the proper names which are cited in the Salish literature (Kinkade 1991; Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994; van Eijk 1997; amongst others), it is clear that these names are morphologically complex. Most ancestral names are clearly longer than canonical roots in the language, and often end in a Lexical Suffix (LS). This pattern is also exemplified by the name qiyəp=lénəx^w which is the focus of the present discussion. Note that the LS is introduced by the equals sign (=lénəx^w) to differentiate the LS from other non-lexical suffixes.

5.1 Lexical suffixes used as onomastic suffixes

Although much work has been done on LSs, the way in which these suffixes are used in the formation of proper names is relatively little studied by comparison. Palmer (1998:380-1) notes that, typically, "descriptions and analyses of personal names exist only in manuscript form or not at all," with the exception of Palmer, Nicodemus, and Connolly (1987) which is a collection of Coeur d'Alene ancestral names. This is not quite accurate in that there are a number of ancestral names which appear in various grammars, dictionaries, and dissertations - typically those ones which belong to the principle language consultants and their families. These include Sechelt materials (Beaumont 1985), the Lushootseed Dictionary compiled by Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994), the Thompson Dictionary (Thompson and Thompson 1996: xxiii), Upper Chehalis Dictionary (Kinkade 1991), and *Twana Narratives* (Elmendorf 1993), amongst others.

Larry, in his life story, notes that in hənqəmihəm Salish certain lexical suffixes accompany male and female names as shown by tables (2-3). The following LSs used with female names are ordered with respect to their frequency of use. In Larry's opinion, =əyeʔ, which means something like

'dear' (cf. sʔəy'eʔ 'sweetheart'), seems to occur more frequently than =əlwət, and =təna:t.

(2) LSs used with female names in hənqəmīnəm (cf. Suttles 2004:318)

	LS	proper name	
a.	=əyeʔ ~ =əy'eʔ	sqʷəliyθ=əyeʔ	<i>Aunt Margaret</i>
b.	=əlwət	θəwáχ=əlwət	<i>Agnes Grant, Larry's mother</i>
c.	=təna:t	qiyəp=təna:t	<i>female name</i>
d.	=təna:t	tiʔaqʷ=təna:t	<i>mother of Capilano I</i>

A different and complementary set of LSs are used for male names as in (3).

(3) LSs used with male names in hənqəmīnəm (cf. Suttles 2004:318)

	LS	proper name	
a.	=lénəxʷ	čsim=lénəxʷ	<i>male name (Suttles 1987:119)</i>
b.	=əltxʷ	xʷəlcim=əltxʷ	<i>father of Capilano III</i>
c.	=əq ~ =əl=əq	sʔəy'əʔ=əq	<i>LG's great uncle Frank Charlie</i>
d.	=θət	čaləχəθət	<i>LG's great uncle</i>
e.	=qin-əm	----	(no example given) ⁶

Larry confirms in his discussion of ancestral names that it is normal to change the endings on names in order to create a new name for someone of the opposite gender. In selecting an aboriginal name for his grandniece Paige, the following female names were under consideration which were all based on her father's hənqəmīnəm name as shown in (4). Both she and her younger sister were named on February 1, 2003 at the Big House at Musqueam.

(4) Changing the onomastic suffix to form a female name

	LS	proper name	
a.	=tən	tʰətsiməč=tən	<i>Wes Grant's name; PG's father</i>
b.	=əyeʔ ~ =əy'eʔ	tʰətsim=əyeʔ	<i>female name</i>
c.	=əlwət	tʰətsim=əlwət	<i>female name</i>
d.	=tən=a:t	tʰətsiməč=təna:t	<i>Paige Grant's name</i>

Notice that in the female names in (4.b-c) the stem tʰətsiməč- is shortened to tʰətsim-. Larry confirms that this happens with related forms for other traditional names. The constraints which govern this allomorphy [tʰətsiməč-] ~ [tʰətsim-] will need to be investigated in future research (but see the following

⁶ A name which uses this Lexical Suffix does exist at Musqueam, but for reasons of cultural sensitivity cannot be cited at this time.

discussion with respect to data set (5) and the apparent preference for names with 4 syllables (2 metrical feet)).

Larry also provided the following male and female names (data in (5-6)) which are based on the stem *qiyəp-* as possible variants of the male name *qiyəplénəx^w* 'Capilano'. Some of the logical possible combinations did not sound right to Larry's ear - these questionable forms are marked with an asterisk (*) to indicate that they are ungrammatical.

(5) Name *qiyəplénəx^w* and different related male names

	LS	proper name	
a.	=lénəx ^w	<i>qiyəp=lénəx^w</i>	<i>Capilano; male name</i>
b.	=əl=əq	<i>qiyəp=ələq</i>	<i>male name</i>
c.	=əset	<i>qiyəp=əset</i>	<i>male name</i>
d.	=əltx ^w	<i>qiyəp=əltx^w</i>	<i>male name</i>
e.	=əq	* <i>qiyəp=əq</i>	<i>(male name)</i>
f.	=tən	* <i>qiyəp=tən</i>	<i>(male name)</i>

Note that the grammatical variants of the name *qiyəplénəx^w* which are presented in (5b-d) all contain four syllables in their surface forms. Although the lexical suffixes =əq and =tən are frequently used in male names, they can not be added to the stem *qiyəp-* without the addition of the compound ligature [=əl]. So one would say *qiyəp=əl=əq* rather than **qiyəp=əq*, and *qiyəp=əl=tən* rather than **qiyəp=tən*.

The data in (6) shows female names which are related to the male name *qiyəplénəx^w*. Larry has provided the variants in (6.b-d) but states that (6.e) is not grammatical.

(6) Name *qiyəplénəx^w* and different related female names

	LS	proper name	
a.	=lénəx ^w	<i>qiyəp=lénəx^w</i>	<i>Capilano; male name</i>
b.	=əyə?	<i>qiyəp=əyə?</i>	<i>female name</i>
c.	=əlwət	<i>qiyəp=əlwət</i>	<i>female name</i>
d.	=təna:t	<i>qiyəp=təna:t</i>	<i>female name</i>
e.	=a:t	* <i>qiyəp=a:t</i>	<i>(female name)</i>

In considering the word-internal structure of the name *qiyəplénəx^w*, we proceed by looking first at the Salish LSs which are cognate with *hənqəmínəm* (Musqueam) =lénəx^w ~ =əlénəx^w 'season'; these are presented in table (7)⁷.

⁷ It should be noted that Musqueam has another closely related LS =énəx^w which Suttles (2004:300) glosses as 'fish, food, fish run, season, (bad) weather'. Since the name *qiyəp=lénəx^w* contains an /l/, we have investigated the LS =lénəx^w ~ =əlénəx^w 'season' which may be the same LS =énəx^w with the addition of the compound ligature =əl.

We have chosen examples where this suffix is also attested in ancestral names; examples of which are included in column 3. The task has been challenging since some sources do not cite any proper names at all, whereas other languages appear to use other LSs in the formation of male names. For example, male names in Lillooet are derived either by (i) retraction of the root/stem or (ii) by the addition of the LS =asq̄ət 'day' (cf. van Eijk 1997:178-9).

We observe that the LS =lénəx^w 'season, year' and its cognates appear in the formation of male names in Mainland Halkomelem, Northern Straits (Saanich, and Lummi), Lushootseed, and Upper Chehalis as shown in (7).

(7) LS 'season, year' with male names in neighbouring Salishan languages

<i>Language</i>	<i>LS</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Source</i>
Musqueam	=lénəx ^w ~ =əlénəx ^w	qiyəp=lénəx ^w	Suttles (1990:462) Suttles (2004:300)
Upriver Halkomelem	=əléləx ^w ~ =əlèləx ^w	ʔá:k ^w =əlèləx ^w	Galloway (1993:226)
Saanich	=əl=énəx ^w	χa:c̣=lénəx ^w	Montler (1986:82); Suttles (1987:235)
Lummi	=lénəx ^w	x ^w ay=lénəx ^w	Suttles (1987:159)
Lushootseed	=ládχ ^w ~ =aladχ ^w	qay=ládχ ^w	Bates, Hess, Hilbert (1994:380)
UChehalis	=anux ^w ~ =ál=anux ^w	ulip=anx ^w	Kinkade (1991:346)

In this section, we have identified the LS =lénəx^w ~ =əl=énəx^w as the onomastic suffix which occurs at the end of the male name qiyəp=lénəx^w. The initial portion of this traditional name [qiyəp-] therefore corresponds to the root or stem, a discussion of which appears in the next section.

5.2 Roots

Although the LSs which occur in ancestral names are readily identifiable, the roots are often not. This may be due to a number of factors. In searching through the Lushootseed dictionary appendix, we examined the roots/stems contained in a hundred or so ancestral names. However, these roots or stems were often not listed independently in the dictionary. The central question which remains is whether or not they occur as productive roots or stems in the language anymore, or whether these roots/stems have been perhaps omitted in order to preclude an analysis of personal traditional names. There is some evidence which suggests that certain roots may have been purposely avoided in keeping with "word taboo" practices. For example in the Twana Narratives (1993:119), Elmendorf documents that the Skokomish people used to change words which sounded like ancestral names particularly of important deceased persons. For example, the Skokomish term for mallard duck, "χátχat," was changed to "h̄ch̄obšəd," in accordance with this practice. In

(2 well-formed trochaic feet) in their surface form. If the root was /qyp=łenəx^w/, then vocalization of the glide y would give the hypothetical form *q̄ip=łenəx^w which has 3 syllables: q̄ip.lé.nəx^w. It would also have 2 stressed syllables (prosodic heads) adjacent to one another which would also be clearly less optimal than the attested form q̄iyəplénəx^w. As discussed by Kinkade (1998) amongst others, resonants in Salishan languages often induce schwa insertion (epenthesis) -- in the case in question here, schwa epenthesis may occur after /y/ in /qyp-/ giving [qiy[ə]p-]; thus, the surface form qiy[ə]p=łenəx^w contains both optimal syllable and foot structures: (q̄i . yəp)_{FT}(lé . nəx^w)_{FT}. Notice that this would entail an analysis in which the /y/ occupies both the nucleus of the first syllable and the onset of the second syllable. It is further hypothesized that schwa insertion occurs *after y rather than before it* in order to provide a full vowel [i] as the head of the initial stressed syllable. In this context, the full vowel [i] makes a better prosodic head than schwa does: q̄iyəp- and not *q[ə]yip. Since stress in hənq̄əmiñəm̄ is also sensitive to the distinction between full vowels /i, u, a, e/ versus schwa, glide vocalization to the left and schwa epenthesis after y ensures that the trochaic (strong-weak) foot structure is maintained (cf. Shaw, Blake, Campbell, & Shepherd 1999 on stress in hənq̄əmiñəm̄).

The second variant in (8) s-qáyəp also looks like a promising match with the stem qiyəp- and the meaning is certainly in keeping with those found in other Salish proper names for which we have a word-internal analysis (cf. Kinkade (1991); Bates, Hess and Hilbert (1994); van Eijk (1997)). If we consider both the hənq̄əmiñəm̄ proper name qiyəplénəx^w, and the Lushootseed stem qayəp- from a historical comparative perspective, they may in fact be related to one another.

In order to appreciate their similarity, we will first consider the pronunciation of the proper name qiyəplénəx^w. Most people who pronounce the name qiyəplénəx^w actually pronounce the first vowel /i/ as significantly lower following the uvular consonant /q/ than is indicated by the orthographic representation <qiyəplénəx^w>. In a phonetic transcription, one would write [q̄əyəp̄³łénəx^w] or perhaps [q̄əyəp̄³łəxnəx^w]; notice that the first vowel /i/ is realized as a mid vowel [e ~ ε] in the environment after the uvular consonant /q̄/⁸. The question then is whether the stem should be phonemicized as /qiyəp-/ or alternatively as /qeyəp-/?⁹

⁸ Although /i/ is typically realized as [e] in the environment of a uvular consonant (cf. Suttles 2004:9), we have documented some phonetic variation:[e ~ ε]. Larry who used this name himself for many years, and who heard it spoken by his elders recalls this variable vowel quality (cf. also Suttles 2004:10, footnote 8 regarding variability in the realization of vowels in hənq̄əmiñəm̄).

⁹ Schwa is included here in the /phonemic/ form in order to make these representations more easily comparable to those presented elsewhere. By doing so, we do not intend to make any theoretical claims about the phonemic/non-phonemic status of schwa in hənq̄əmiñəm̄. Since this schwa also appears in an unstressed position in qiyəp-, it is also possible that it represents a reduced full vowel rather than schwa. This issue too

From a historical comparative perspective, we know that Proto-Salish *a became /e/ in both Halkomelem and Northern Straits languages, whereas it remained /a/ in Lushootseed (cf. Thompson 1979; Kuipers 1981, 1982; Galloway 1988; Kroeber 1991). The initial and final consonants [q] and [p] are both stable - in other words, Proto-Salish *q became [q] and Proto-Salish *p became [p] in all three languages. We also know that Proto-Salish *y remained [y] in Halkomelem. According to Kinkade (UBC classnotes), and Kuipers (1981, 1982), Proto-Salish *y became either [dʲ] or [j] in syllable-initial position, and remained [y] elsewhere in Lushootseed. This means that this could either be a loan into Lushootseed, or be an old root/stem which has resisted the regular sound shift from PS*y > dʲ/j. Although we may not be able to determine the source of the Lushootseed word s-qayəp here, what we can predict is that an older form of this root *qayəp would be realized as *qeyəp in hənqəmiñəm by systematic sound shifts (=9.a).

- (9) a. Proto-Salish *qayəp > hənqəmiñəm (Musqueam) *qeyəp-
 b. Proto-Salish *qip, *qyp > hənqəmiñəm (Musqueam) *qiy[ə]p-

The asterisk (*) here indicates that the hənqəmiñəm forms are not attested independently of the name qiyəplénəxʷ, which might also be spelled <qeyəplénəxʷ> (?).

If either of the hypotheses presented above are correct, then the name <qiyəplénəxʷ ~ qeyəplénəxʷ> would mean something like "the one who has the power to hunt (or provide food for the people)." This accords well with Larry's idea that the marriage between the Musqueam man and the snəwnəwəs woman tiʔaqʷtəna:t brought the people from the two villages together - this would mean that the Nanoose relatives, who had no large salmon rivers, would be able to come and fish the Fraser River at the time of the annual salmon runs, and that the Musqueam relatives would also be able to go to snəwnəwəs in order to harvest clams on the large shellfish beds located at Nanoose Bay (cf. Suttles 1987).

We believe that not only the ancestral name qiyəplénəxʷ has meaning but other aboriginal ancestral names may as well.

6 Other personal names

In our search for meanings associated with ancestral names we investigated linguistic references in the following three domains: the local Musqueam community, the wider Salish culture, and other North American aboriginal groups.

warrants further research (cf. Blake (2001) for similar issues in Sliammon (Salish) regarding schwa epenthesis versus full vowel reduction).

6.1 Other Musqueam names

We have reason to believe that Musqueam traditional names other than qiyəplénəx^w have meanings but that for many community members this is a sensitive issue. Larry intends to explore the phonological form and meanings of the following set of ancestral names which belonged to his immediate family.

(10) Ancestral names in Larry's family

- a. sʔəyətəq ancestral name of Larry's great uncle - Frank Charlie
- b. θəwáxəlwət ancestral name of Larry's mother - Agnes Grant
- c. χ^wópqələca ancestral name of Larry's maternal grandfather, Seymour Grant

6.2 Other Salish ancestral names

In this section we provide some examples of the range of meanings of ancestral names. Due to issues of cultural sensitivity, we refrain from citing the form of these names here, but refer to reader to the original sources listed in column three. The point which is crucial to our argument is that there are at least some ancestral names for which the meanings are still known as in (11).

(11) Range of meanings with proper names

<i>Language</i>	<i>Meanings associated with names</i>	<i>Source</i>
Lushootseed	<i>edge of earth; a spirit power</i>	Bates et al.(1994:379)
Lushootseed	<i>bird of heaven</i>	Bates et al. (1994:380)
Upper Chehalis	<i>old wolf with hair only on its sides</i>	Kinkade (1991:336)

6.3 Other First Nations names

The meanings of ancestral names are also known outside of Salish territory, for example, in the Yukon. In her study of narratives of three Yukon Native elders, Julie Cruikshank notes the use of traditional personal names. For example, Elder Angela Sidney's traditional name is Ch'ónehte' Má, or "deadfall mother." Ch'ónehte' was the name of her little dog, given to her by her mother; Ch'ónehte' means "deadfall" tree (Cruikshank 1995:67). Sidney notes that every nation or clan has its own names; that children are given names as soon as they are born; and that the names must be from someone who is related to them. Some people have two names, the second of which is given to them at a potlatch.

Also, it appears to be common in the Southern Yukon to name a parent after a child, for example, as "mother of," which is "Tláa" in Tlingit, or "Ma" in Tagish and Southern Tutchone (Cruikshank 1995:361). We see this also in Arab naming customs (cf. Crystal 2000:112). The Elder Kitty Smith provides the high coast name "Shadanaak" which means 'get up' - this was the traditional name which belonged to her mother's father (Cruikshank 1995:176).

The existence of meanings for ancestral names in other languages encourages us to pursue our thesis further and might persuade other scholars

who have collected privileged information regarding traditional ancestral names to share this information with the families to whom these names belong.

7 Conclusion

The name qiyəplénəx^w is carried by other individuals in neighbouring villages, showing close family ties. Since personal ancestral names are subject to traditional inheritance laws, a study of the distribution of ancestral names and the families to which they belong will provide us with a clearer picture of Coast Salish social structure and inter-village ties (cf. Suttles 1987). Suttles (2004:318-319) suggests that it may not be productive to analyze ancestral names in any local context but that “[b]ecause of their regional, multilinguistic use, they pose a multi-linguistic, perhaps pan-Salish, problem in analysis and historical reconstruction.” Since problems in historical reconstruction rely on solid descriptions within individual speech communities, we have taken the first step towards this end. We hope that this paper will encourage other families in neighbouring Salish communities to come forward with information regarding the form, meaning(s), and history of the name qiyəplénəx^w and its derivatives, so that the ultimate task of cross-linguistic comparison may be undertaken.

As Larry discusses in his life narrative, the loss of the language involves the loss of traditional knowledge and with it, the understanding of traditional inheritance as well. Ceremonial privileges, such as the rights to a mask, a rattle, a song, or carrying a traditional name, are governed by established traditional inheritance laws. In cases where these traditional laws have been replaced by British Common Law, it has had far-reaching implications for the transmission of personal cultural assets (see footnote 5). This includes the ways in which personal ancestral names have been bestowed: they could now go to people who, from a traditional perspective, were not entitled to the use of these names. In this way, the demise of language has precipitated a loss of cultural knowledge and practices. As Larry laments,

I'm very sad about the loss of what I feel is a loss of the knowledge of the names, and the reason that they're given, at the time that they're given . . . because there is a real identity thing . . . a real loss of identity and accomplishment through not knowing what those words actually mean . . . to not know why they were ever given to those people . . . why those specific people have that name . . . what interests me is my identity . . . [this] is what is being lost . . . being swallowed, being subjugated . . . because I do not have the knowledge to go back far enough to find out exactly why that name was given, for what reason that name was given . . . so therefore, I can not pass this on to anyone else. A name is part of one's cultural identity, it's a tie to who you are.

Counterbalancing the loss of cultural knowledge could consist of improving incomplete accounts in publicly available reference materials. We would like to recommend an amendment to the Canadian Oxford English Dictionary. The definition in the (1998/2001:211) edition reads:

“**Capilano** /kəpɪlæno:/ n. a part of the Squamish Aboriginal group, currently residing in the North Vancouver area.”

We would like to suggest that the following additional information be added:

The name "Capilano" is an Anglicization of the Aboriginal name qiyəplénəx, an ancestral name passed down ceremonially to individual male heirs within the Central (Coast) Salish social structure.

As we have shown in our paper, exploring the meanings of ancestral names can be viewed as a very personal and significant step in recovering language, culture, and identity for Indigenous peoples.

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