

The form and function of nativized names in Hul'q'umi'num'¹

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A prevalent practice among the speakers of Hul'q'umi'num' in the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries was to create a nickname for a person by nativizing his/her English name. Nativized names show the same sort of accommodation to Hul'q'umi'num' phonology and morphology as seen in other loanwords. Sociolinguistically, the use of nicknames contributed to group cohesion by giving an affectionate way to refer to friends and relatives that was different from the legal name used by outsiders.

1 Hul'q'umi'num' nicknames

The Hul'q'umi'num', like other Coast Salish people, receive native names bestowed upon them ceremonially in a potlatch (French and French 1996, Suttles 2004:318–319). These native names come from a pool of treasured names shared throughout the region (Kennedy 2000, Grant et al. 2004). However, native people also have a white man-style name. As was common practice throughout North America, colonial authorities assigned names of European origin to First Nations people of British Columbia. Names usually consisted of two parts: a given name from a rather large stock of names, and a surname from a rather small stock of names, many of which predominantly occur as given names in the non-native population. From the perspective of the European authorities, the names were regarded as simple. However, the colonial system was less than optimal from the native viewpoint because the names usually contained phonological elements that were foreign to Salish speakers. This meant that monolingual Hul'q'umi'num' speakers might find their own names difficult to pronounce without phonological adaptation. Pronouncing names with an accent led to a prevalent practice among the speakers of Salish languages: older family members would create a nickname for a person by nativizing his/her English given name. So for example, Ruby Peter of Quamichan is known as *Iupi*, Elizabeth Aleck of Chenaimus Bay was known as

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ləsi, Robert Daniels of Cowichan Bay was known as *lapi*, and May Frenchie of Nanaimo was known as *məmiʔ* (and Donna Gerdt had been mistakenly writing her name as Mamie until someone corrected her).

While doing research on Hul'q'umi'num' texts and talking about family connections, we found that nativized nicknames would often come up. Since names are not usually included in dictionaries and many younger speakers are not fluent in Hul'q'umi'num', we decided that we would start a list, which grew rapidly. Next we did some systematic research by listing present and past Hul'q'umi'num' speakers and their nativized nicknames, travelling mentally around the reserves in the territory going family by family. This yielded a database of more than 300 nativized names. The form and function of these names are the focus of this paper.

As discussed in section 2, nativized names show the same sort of phonological accommodation to Hul'q'umi'num' as other loanwords. They also show morphological processes typical of names in English and names of native origin. As discussed in section 3, the nativized nicknames serve several functions: they help to uniquely identify a person, they lead to group cohesion, and they provide a means for taking back control of the naming process, which had been usurped by the church and government.

2 The form of nativized names

As is common in situations of contact, words that get borrowed from a source language into a native language undergo accommodation in phonology, morphology, and semantics (Haugen 1950). We see this is the case with nativized names, which often undergo phonological and morphological adaptations when they are borrowed into Hul'q'umi'num'. Sometimes the nativized name is nearly identical to the original form. For example, a few English names have straightforward Hul'q'umi'num' equivalents: Amelia, *ʔəmilyə*, Emma *ʔemə*, Kelly *keli*, Leo *lio*, Mike *mayk*, Nancy *nənsi*, Paul *pa:l*, Tillie *tili*, and Tom *ta:m*. However, such names are the exception rather than the rule. Most nativized names undergo phonological adjustments as discussed in section 2.1. Many nativized names are transparently related to their sources through regular correspondences. But sometimes, as discussed in section 2.2, morphological processes further obscure the relationship between the source and the nativized name.

2.1 Phonological adaptations

Systematic differences in the phonemic inventories of Hul'q'umi'num' and the source languages result in some regular adaptations including devoicing of obstruents, replacing /r/ with /l/, and shifting vowels. These adaptations are seen in loanwords of all types and are still actively used by native speakers to

accommodate borrowings from English. We limit the discussion here to consonants and set aside the study of vowels for future work.²

Hul'q'umi'num' has voiceless obstruents but not voiced ones. Voiced obstruents in the source word are devoiced in borrowings.³ So for example, *boat* > *put*, *doctor* > *taktə*, *gumboots* > *kəmpuc*, and *jam* > *čem*. Nativized names also show devoicing of obstruents.⁴

	ENGLISH	HUL'Q'UMI'NUM'
b > p	Basil	pəsil
	Bob	pɑ:p
	Abel	ʔəpɪl
	Albie	ʔelɪpi
	Mabel	mepəl
d > t	Daniel	tenyəl
	Dennis	tenəs
	Dominic	tamənik
	Edith	ʔitəθ
	Madeleine	mətle:n
	Elwood	ʔelwət
	Floyd	floyt
Gus	kəs	
g > k	Douglas	təkləs
	Agnes	ʔeknəs
	August	ʔakəst
	Elizabeth	lisəpət
z > s	Hazel	hesəl
	George	čači
ǰ > č	Georgina	čučínə
	Jack	čək
	Josiah	čusáyə
	Benjamin	pənčəmən

Table 1: Devoicing in nativized names

² In this paper, we have represented the vowels phonemically rather than phonetically. Close transcriptions of the vowels in both the source words and the borrowings are necessary to proceed with an analysis of vowel adaptations.

³ Historically, /k/ in Hul'q'umi'num' shifted to /č/, and thus there are no native words with /k/ (except in baby talk or onomatopoeia). Loans with /k/ in the source are accommodated either with /kʷ/ (*kʷa:n* 'corn', *čəkʷət* 'jacket', *šukʷə* 'sugar') or /k/ (*ka:* 'car', *kapi* 'coffee'). In nativized names, however, we have only observed /k/ and not /kʷ/ as an accommodation for /k/.

⁴ Stress in words without suffixation is largely predictable in Hul'q'umi'num'. It falls on the vowel highest on the hierarchy *a/e/u* > *i* > *ə* and, if all vowels are equal, on the first vowel. We mark primary stress only when it does not follow this generalization.

Hul'q'umi'num' lacks native words with /f/ and /v/. In early borrowings, these consonants are replaced by /p/, so *coffee* > *kapi* and *shovel* > *šapəl*.⁵ Eventually, /f/ crept into the phonemic inventory and later borrowings use either /p/ or /f/ for /f/ and /v/. For example, *stove* is borrowed as *stu:p* or *stu:f* and *pheasant* is borrowed as *pesəns* or *fesəns*.⁶ In nativized names, /f/ and /v/ are accommodated as /p/ and/or /f/.

Philomena	pələminə
Joseph	čusəp
Sophie	sopi
David	tepət
Sylvester	səlpestə
Francis	plensəs, flensəs
Violet	faylət
Eva	ʔifa
Calvin	kelfən

Table 2: Nativizing names with labio-dentals

In terms of liquids, Hul'q'umi'num' has /l/ but lacks /r/. Source words with /r/ are typically accommodated by adapting /r/ to /l/, as seen in *rum* > *lem*, meaning 'liquor', *railroad* > *lilu:t*, and *French* (person) > *flenč*. The adaptation of /r/ to /l/ is also seen in nativized names.

Ramona	ləmona
Robert	lapət
Russell	ləsəl
Andrew	ʔentlo
Cicero	sislo
Dora	tolə
Dorina	təlinə
Irene	ʔayli:n ⁷
Patrick	petlək
Raymond	flimun ⁸

Table 3: Adaptation of /r/ to /l/ in nativized names

⁵ There are also cases of /v/ in source words corresponding to /m/, as in *Victoria* > *mətuliye*?. However, this form may have been borrowed into Hul'q'umin'um' via Chinook Jargon rather than directly from English.

⁶ Words for items in collections are borrowed with English plural morphology.

⁷ Presumably, the name Eileen would be a homophone, but Ruby Peter says she does not know any elders with this name.

⁸ We have no explanation for the initial /f/. Simplification of final clusters in loans is common, for example *gold* > *kul*, *k^wul*.

In one example, *Christine* > *kəstɪn*, the /r/ is deleted, paralleling the simplification of the cluster in *apron* > *ʔipən*.

We note one example in which postvocalic /r/ changes to /l/: *Peter* > *pitəl*, which parallels *turkey* > *təlki*. Usually post-vocalic /r/ is omitted, as seen in *sweater* > *swetə*, *nurse* > *nəs*, and *sister* (nun) > *sistə*:

Abner	ʔɛpnə
Anderson	ʔɛntəsən
Arnold	ʔanəlt
Arvid	ʔafət
Bertha	pəθə
Chester	čestə
Christopher	klistəfə
Delmar	tɛlmə
Ernie	ʔəni
Ernest	ʔɛnəst
Ester	ʔɛstə
Gilbert	kɪlpət
Gordon	katn ⁹
Howard	hawət
Leonard	lɛnət
Martha	məθə
Norbert	napət
Peter	pitə, pitəl
Richard	ləčət
Vernon	fənən

Table 4: Accommodating post-vocalic /r/ in nativized names

Sometimes stressed full vowels are lengthened when /r/ is dropped, as in *pear* > *pe:s* and *Charles* > *ča:ls*.

In some borrowings /l/ shifts to /n/.¹⁰ For example: *quail* is borrowed as *k^wi:l* or *k^wi:n*, *le châle* (Fr.) as *ləšə:n* ‘shawl’, and *la pelle* (Fr.) as *ləpen* ‘shovel, spade’. The name *Nelson* is nativized as *mɛlsən* or *mɛnsən*¹¹; the shift of initial /n/ to /m/ is unexplained. We also observed an instance of deletion of post-vocalic /n/ with compensatory lengthening: *Alphonse* > *ʔəlpɑ:s*.

⁹ The final consonant is a syllabic /n/.

¹⁰ Within and across dialects in the Halkomelem language, there is some instability in the distinction between /n/ and /l/. These have totally merged in the Upriver dialect to /l/. In contrast, in some words in Downriver and Island dialects /l/ shifts to /n/.

¹¹ Ruby Peter thinks that her uncle Manson George’s given name derives from Nelson. But according to NamePlayground.com, Manson was a popular name in the 1800’s peaking in popularity in 1892.

In sum, nativized names, like other borrowings from English, show a variety of systematic accommodations to the Hul'q'umi'num' phonological system.

2.2 Morphological processes

Some nativized names undergo morphological processes, for example, truncation, affixation, and diminutivization.

2.2.1 Truncation

Many English names have truncated forms, and sometimes nativized versions exist for both:

FULL		TRUNCATED	
Benjamin	pe n č ə m ə n	Ben	pe n
Christopher	k list ə f ə	Chris	k lis
Daniel	te n y ə l	Dan	te : n
Edward	ʔ it w a : l	Ed	ʔ it
Patrick	pe t l ə k	Pat	pe t

Table 5: Truncated names

Presumably, the truncation in some cases take place in the English sources prior to nativization. However, Hul'q'umi'num' does exhibit truncation as a language-internal morphological process in a few words.¹² Some kin terms are truncated to CVC to form terms of familiarity:¹³

FULL		TRUNCATED	
me n	'father'	me ʔ	'dad'
te n	'mother'	te ʔ	'mum'
sis ə l ə	'grandparent (diminutive)'	sis	'gran'
ʔ im ə θ	'grandchild'	ʔ im	'grandkid'

Table 6: Truncated kin terms

So, some cases of truncation to (C)CVC of nativized names might have occurred post-borrowing.

¹² Truncation is not a general process in Hul'q'umi'num' like it is in Interior Salish languages (Thomason and Thomason 2005).

¹³ The Hul'q'umi'num' word for 'baby' *qeq* may be truncated from the Nanaimo and Downriver Halkomelem word for 'baby' *sqeqələ*.

NAME	FULL	TRUNCATED
Agnes	ʔeknəs	ʔek
Margaret	maklɪt	ma:k
Amelia	ʔəmiylə	ʔem ¹⁴
Emma	ʔemə	ʔem ¹⁵
Evelyn	ʔeflən	ʔef
Flora	flala	fla ¹⁶
Leona	lalaʔ	la ¹⁷
Abraham	ʔəpil	sʔip

Table 7: Truncated nativized names

2.2.2 Affixation

Note that the last example in Table 7, *sʔip*, also involves prefixation of *s*. We noted two other examples of this prefix in names. One of them, *Rita* > *staʔ*, is also clipped to one syllable. However, the other *Madeline* > *smətle:n*¹⁸, is a full not a clipped form. Note that native names often have versions with and without *s-*, regardless of their length, for example, *tiʔtəmaat* vs. *stiʔtəmaat*

In two examples, the nativized names are suffixed with the Hul'q'umin'um' suffix *-iyeʔ*. *Sarah* is nativized as *seli* but one elder named Sarah was referred to as *seliyeʔ*, and Theresa Thorne, Ruby Peter's late sister, was referred to as *θəlisiyeʔ*.¹⁹ The suffix *-iyeʔ* is a suffix that sometimes appears on female native names.²⁰ But it is also used as an endearment suffix on nouns referring to both males and females.

ʔim̩	'grandkid' (truncation)	ʔim̩iyeʔ	'dear grandkid'
sis	'gran' (truncation)	si:siyeʔ	'dear gran'
qeɣ	'baby'	qeɣiyeʔ	'dear baby'
meʔ	'father' (truncation)	meɪiyeʔ	'dear father'
sqeʔeɣ	'younger sibling'	sqeʔeɣiyeʔ	'dear baby brother/sister'
ɪətəm̩	'winter wren'	teʔtiyeʔ	'wren' (story name)
sḱʷəyəθ	'slave'	sḱʷəyəθiyeʔ	'dear slave'

Table 8: The endearment suffix

¹⁴ This refers to Ruby Peter's aunt, Amelia Charlie (Mrs. Pat Charlie), from Quamichan.

¹⁵ This refers to Emma George from Greenpoint.

¹⁶ This refers to Flora Jim from Quamichan.

¹⁷ This refers to Ruby Peter's niece, Leona James of Quamichan.

¹⁸ This refers to Madeline Antoine (néé Gabouri) of Somenoes.

¹⁹ Theresa Thorne's native name was *səw̩siw̩*.

²⁰ Suttles (2004:318) notes the use of the suffix *-əye* on female native names in Musqueam. See also Grant et al. (2004).

Thus, the names *seliyeʔ* and *θəlisiyeʔ* most likely are nativized names with the endearment suffix attached. Another example of a mixed name is the name given to Donna Gerdts by the Nanoose elders, *tanəʔaqʷ*, from *Donna* plus the lexical suffix =*aqʷ* ‘head’, indicating that she was opinionated. Words with borrowed bases and native suffixes are common, for example, *kesəlinéwtxʷ* ‘gas station’, [from *gasoline* plus the suffix for ‘house’], *šukʷəʔélə* ‘sugar bowl’ [from *sugar* and the suffix for ‘container’], and *čəymənəlwət* ‘blue jeans’ [from *Chinaman* and the suffix for ‘clothing’].

2.2.3 Diminutives

The most common morphological process that is applied to names is diminutivization. As in many languages of the world (Jurafsky 1996), Hulq’umi’num’ diminutive forms not only express smallness, but they also convey endearment, humility, or deprecation. Most nouns and adjectives, and some verbs, have diminutive forms.²¹ The formation of Hul’q’umi’num’ diminutives involves a variety of complex and interesting processes, as discussed in Gerdts in Hukari (to appear) and Suttles (2004). Often the first C of the root is reduplicated and placed after the first vowel (a, c), or the first CV is copied (b, h); sometimes there is insertion of the glottal stop into the first syllable (c) or after a final vowel (d), and resonants are glottalized (b, e, r); the first vowel often shows ablaut to /i/ (d, f, h).

	PLAIN		DIMINUTIVE	
a.	ce1əš	‘hand’	cece1əš	‘little hand’
b.	te n	‘mother’	te te n̥	‘little mother’
c.	še ɬ	‘road’	šeʔšɬ	‘little road, path’
d.	sxə n̥ə	‘foot, leg’	sxi x̥neʔ	‘little foot, leg’
e.	maqʷəm	‘bog, swamp’	ma m̥qʷəm̥	‘little bog, swamp’
f.	məsən	‘gall’	mi m̥sən̥	‘little gall’
g.	χpe ý	‘cedar’	xi x̥pe ý	‘little cedar’
h.	ʔe: n̥θə	‘me’	ʔiʔe: n̥θə	‘little ol’ me’

Table 9: Hul’q’umi’num’ reduplication

Loanwords also form diminutives, as seen in the following table:

²¹ We have collected the plurals, diminutives, and diminutive plurals of 800 Hul’q’umi’num’ nouns.

PLAIN		DIMINUTIVE	
ka:	‘car’	kiʔka:	‘little car’
put	‘boat’	puʔpt	‘little boat’
sil	‘cloth’ < ‘sail’	sisəl	‘little cloth’
telə	‘dollar’	tetlə	‘little dollar’
wəkən	‘wagon’	wewkən	‘little wagon’
šet	‘shot, lead, shell, bullet’	šeʔšt	‘little shot, etc.’
ma:l	‘maul, sledge hammer’	mimə:l	‘little maul’

Table 10: Diminutive forms of loanwords

Diminutives are also easily formed on nativized names. Table 11 gives some examples of plain and diminutive versions of nativized names. In some cases, the plain version of the name is not attested as a nickname.

NAME	PLAIN	DIMINUTIVE
Alec	ʔelək	ʔeʔelək
August	ʔakəst	ʔaʔaʔkəst
Ben	pen	peʔpən
Bill	pil	piʔpəl
Daniel	tenyəl	təteŋyəl ²²
Dick	tik	tiʔtk
Dorothy	taʔθi	tətaʔθiʔ
Henry	henli	həheŋliʔ
Isaac	ʔe:ysək	ʔəʔeʔysək
John	ča:n	čiʔča:n
Johnson ²³	čansən	čiʔčənsən
Joseph	čusəp	čuʔčsəp
Josephine	čusəpin	čuʔčsəpiŋ
Lucy	ləsi	ləlsiʔ, liłsiʔ
Mary	meli	meŋliʔ
May	may	meŋiʔ
Michelle	məšel	mimšel
Moses	musəs	mumsəs
Sam	sem	sesəŋ
Tim	tim	tiʔtəŋ

Table 11: Diminutive versions of borrowed names

²² This name refers to Daniel George from Clemclem, who was the only one that had a wagon in the 1930s, pulled by his Clydesdale horses. The elders would hear the clunk, clunk of his wheels on the bridge and say: *wət tecəl kʰəθə təteŋyəl!* ‘Here comes Tuten’yul!’

²³ Johnson is used as a given name.

Diminutivization of English names is often accomplished with the hypocoristic *-y* suffix; *Bill/Billy*, *John/Johnny*, *Jim/Jimmy*, *Sam/Sammy*, etc. These forms can be diminutivized in Hul’q’umi’num’ resulting in a name with two diminutives, one from each language.

NAME	PLAIN	DIMINUTIVE
Andy	ʔenti	ʔəʔentiʔ
Danny	teni	tetniʔ
Harry	hali	həhaliʔ
Johnny	čani	čačniʔ
Lenny	leni	lełniʔ
Tommy	tatəm	taʔtmiʔ
Willie	wili	wiŵliʔ

Table 12: Diminutives of names

However, monolingual Hul’q’umi’num’ speakers might not have been aware of the function of the *-y* suffix, especially as there are many names, like *Amy*, *Dorothy*, *Henry*, and *Mary*, that are not standardly paired with a non-hypocoristic form.

We note several examples of double diminutives of nativized names. The double diminutive adds an extra degree of endearment towards a person that would normally be referred to by a diminutive.

NAME	PLAIN	DIMINUTIVE	DOUBLE DIMINUTIVE
Basil	pəsil	pəpsił	pəpəpəpsił
Elizabeth	ləsiʔ	ləłsiʔ	lələłsiʔ
Pauline		pəpəliŋ	pəpəʔpəliŋ
Jack	če:k ²⁴	čiʔče:k, čiʔčeʔək	čəčiʔče:k
James	či:ms	čiʔčəms ²⁵	čəčiʔči:ms

Table 13: Names with double diminutives

Hukari and Peter (1995) list a dozen examples of double diminutives; for example, *staləw* ‘river’ has a diminutive form *statləw* ‘little river’ and the double diminutive *stətaʔtləw* ‘creek’. However, double diminutives are very rare, and attempts to confirm them have run into resistance from speakers.

²⁴ Ruby Peter says her family called their kettle this, but she does not know why.

²⁵ Ruby Peter says she calls James Johnny from Greenpoint this.

2.2.4 Summary

Borrowed names show the same adaptations in phonology as other loanwords. In addition, nativized names sometimes undergo morphological processes that further obscure the connection of the name to its source. All of these processes—affixation, and diminutivization—are seen in the process of deriving one native name from another. So all of these are possible names from the same root: *ti:t, ti'təm, sti'təm, sti'təmaat, sti'təmatəlwət*.²⁶ In fact, nativized names, especially ones that have been augmented with Hul'q'umi'num' morphology, can masquerade as native names to the untutored. In the text in the Appendix, Ruby Peter explains how she grew up hearing her relatives being called by names that she thought were native names and did not realize they were nativized borrowings until she was older and learned their actual native names.

3 The sociopolitics of nativized names

Pronouncing names with an accent led to a prevalent practice among the speakers of Hul'q'umi'num' in the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries: older family members would create a name for a person by nativizing his/her English given name. As bilingualism became the norm, the practice subsided.

The ostensible reason for assigning colonial names to natives was to simplify administration of birth/baptismal/death records, land deeds, etc. (French and French 1996). In practice however, assigning colonial names led to a lot of confusion. From the native perspective these were just one more of several different names a person might “wear,” since many people also have native names, and in fact might have more than one native name in their lifetime. On the other hand, the nicknames derived from the nativized version of the first name served several useful functions. First, a person is often uniquely associated to a nickname and thus is identified by it. Usually no two people would be referred to by the same nickname. Once a nickname was used for a certain person, it would not be used in reference to another. Distinct nativized names would be used to nickname different people.

For example, the name *silyə* referred to Ruby Peter's mother Cecelia Leo versus *səsil*, Cecelia Pierre (sister to Simon Pierre). Ruby relates a story of how the local bank got two ladies both with the names of Agnes Thorne confused, but she knew Agnes Thorne of Westholme (Mrs. Billy Thorne, Nora George's sister), as *'eknəs* and Agnes Thorne of Quamichan (who ran a store out of her house) as *'ek*. When Ruby hears the name *'əpil*, she thinks of Simon Charlie's grandfather, Abel Charlie, not the famous elder and singer Abel Joe, who the older people referred to as *'ə'i'pəl*. *'əpil* could also be a nickname version of Abraham, though Abraham Johnny of Quamichan was known as

²⁶ These names, and more, are variations on Ruby Peter's native name that have been derived and ceremonially bestowed upon family members.

sʔip. Or take, for example, the various respected elders with the names of Samuel and derivatives. Sammy Sam of Saanich was referred to as *sem*, Sam Peter of Comiakien as *sesə́m*, Samuel Tom of Malahat as *səmye:l*, and Samuel Sam of Saanich as *səmwel*.

Just as in English, a father and son might share a given and surname, but the son might be nicknamed the diminutive form of the name. For example, Basil Point from Musqueam is referred to as *pəsil*, and his son, Basil Point, is referred to by the diminutive *pəpsil*. A mother and daughter could also have related names; so Elizabeth (Lizzie) *Iusiʔ* could have a daughter Elizabeth, who might be referred to by the diminutive *Iulsiʔ*.

Ruby knows her father's first cousin Francis George of Quamichan as *plensəs*, and Francis Louie, the late husband of her friend Donald, as *flensəs*. As mentioned above, the /f /> /p/ shift occurred in older loans, before /f/ became popular in borrowings, so it is logical that the elder Francis would have a nativized name with /p/ and the younger with /f/. There was another Francis George of Somenoes, but he was known with the half-nativized nickname of *plenses foot*. His father Tommy George of Somenoes was referred to as Tommy "Foot" because his feet were very large, and the nickname passed down to his son.

So we see that nativized versions of names mostly evoke a single particular elder (and for Ruby, the memories associated with them), and people with the same or similar English given names would be referred to by different versions of the nativized name.²⁷ However, people from different areas might have the same nativized name. For example, *pəsil* was used to refer to both Ruby Peter's father from Quamichan, Basil Alphonse, and Basil Point from Musqueam. Also, as we have seen above, sometimes phonological merger and truncation lead names that are homophones: both *Amelia* and *Emma* go to *ʔem*, both *Lizzie* and *Lucy* go to *Iəsiʔ*.

When two-part colonial names were first assigned, the idea of the surname passing from father to child was a foreign concept. The next generation might take the given name of their father as their surname, or they might take the surname of their parent as their given name, taking a surname from an earlier relative or from the stock of names. So unrelated people might have the same surname and related people might have different surnames. So especially early in the process, surnames did not lead to family cohesion. In contrast, the use of nativized names as nicknames contributed to group cohesion by giving an affectionate way to refer to friends and relatives that was different from the legal name used by outsiders.

Politically, the nativized names provided a means for taking back control of the naming process, which had been usurped by the church and government. Not only were colonial names imposed on the Hul'q'umi'num', but the ritual of bestowing native names ceremonially was threatened by the prohibition of

²⁷ These nicknames thus differ from native names which are often held simultaneously by up to four living persons.

potlatching in 1884. Nativizing a name is a way of owning it—making it Hul'q'umi'num' phonologically and morphologically, thereby obscuring its origin. The further the name is from the source, the more special and humorous it seems.

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Appendix

A Story by Ruby Peter: About White Man's Names Becoming Hul'q'umin'um'²⁸

- (1) kʷəs xʷəhəlqəmiñəm tʰə s-xʷənitəməʔɪ nəhi:mat
- kʷəs xʷə-həlqəmiñəm tʰə s-xʷənitəmə-aʔɪ nəhi:mat
DT.AUX.3POS INC-*həlqəmiñəm* DT N-white.man-ATTR naming
'About White Man's Names Becoming Hul'q'umi'num'
- (2) ʔe:ñθə stiʔtəmat, nə šxʷəw̃weli, qʷəlsimtəna:t ʔiʔ ʃitsəlenəxʷ.
- ʔe:ñθə stiʔtəmat, nə-šxʷəw̃weli, qʷəlsimtəna:t ʔiʔ
1PRO *stiʔtəmat* 1POS-parent(PL) *qʷəlsimtəna:t* CONJ
ʃitsəlenəxʷ.
ʃitsəlenəxʷ
'I'm Stita'mat—parents were Qwulsimtunaat (Cecelia Leo) and
Xitsulenuhw (Basil Alphonse).'
- (3) ya.a.aθ ʔəw̃ čxʷəhənəm tʰənə šxʷəw̃weli ʔəʃ məlyesi.
- ya.a.aθ ʔəw̃ č-xʷə-hənəm tʰənə-nə šxʷəw̃weli
always(RL) CN V-OB-go(IMPF) DT-1POS parent(PL)
ʔə-ʃ məlyesi.
OB-DT *məlyesi*
'My parents were always talking about (someone called) Mulyesi'²⁹.

²⁸This story was told by Ruby Peter on May 13, 2009, transcribed, glossed, translated, and edited by Donna Gerds and Ruby Peter. Thanks to Sarah Kell for typing, editing, and transliterating the transcript and Zoey Peterson for formatting the text. Additions to the original performance are indicated in square brackets. The abbreviations used in glossing are: 1: first person, 3: third person, ACT: activity, ATTR: attributive, AUX: auxiliary, CN: connective, CONJ: conjunction, CS: causative, DEM: demonstrative, DT: determiner, DUR: durative, DYN: dynamic, EMPH: emphatic, IMPF: imperfective, INC: inchoative, INSTR: instrument, IT: iterative, LCTR: limited control transitive, MID: middle, N: noun, OB: oblique, PAS: passive, PERF: perfect, PL: plural, POS: possessive, PRO: pronoun, PST: past, Q: question, REC: reciprocal, REF: reflexive, RES: resultative, RL: rhetorical lengthening, SB: subordinate, SEQ: sequential, SUB: subject, TR: transitive, UNEXP: unexpected, V: verbalizer.

²⁹Mulyesi was the nickname for Mary Ann Daniels, Ruby's father's sister. Mulyesi's native name was actually *sqəyɪpəlwət*.

- (4) ʔiʔ yaθəʔ ʔəw̃ hi:natəl̩ tʰə xʷəlməxʷ ʔə tʰə nəhi:məts ʔə kʷsəs lamtəl.

ʔiʔ yaθ-əʔ ʔəw̃ hi:ná-təl̩ tʰə xʷəlməxʷ
 CONJ always-PST CN call-REC(IMPF) DT native
 ʔə tʰə nəhi:mət-s ʔə kʷsəs lam-təl.
 OB DT naming-3POS OB DT.N.AUX.3POS see-REC
 ‘My family and other natives used to call each other by their First Nations names whenever they saw each other.’

- (5) ʔəwə kʷs hakʷəšewət tʰə s-xʷənitəm̩-aʔʔ sne.

ʔəwə kʷs hakʷ-əš-ewət tʰə s-xʷənitəm̩-aʔʔ sne.
 not DT:N use-TR-3SB.PAS DT N-white.man-ATTR name
 ‘They never used the English names.’

- (6) niʔ qʷəl̩qʷəl̩təl̩ ʔiʔ ʔəw̃ niʔ tʰə s-xʷəlməxʷ-aʔʔ snes [niʔ haʔkʷəšəs].

niʔ qʷəl̩qʷəl̩-təl̩ ʔiʔ ʔəw̃ niʔ tʰə
 AUX speak(IT)-REC CONJ CN 3PRO DT
 s-xʷəlməxʷ-aʔʔ sne-s [niʔ haʔkʷ-əš-əs].
 N-native-ATTR name-3POS [AUX use-TR-3SUB]
 ‘When they spoke to each other, it was always their First Nations names that they used.’

- (7) niʔ qʷi:l̩qʷəl̩stəm̩ kʷθənə men ʔiʔ ʔəw̃ ʃitsələnəxʷ tʰə shənətewət,

niʔ qʷi:l̩qʷəl̩-stəm̩ kʷθənə men ʔiʔ ʔəw̃
 AUX speak(IT)-CS-PAS(IMPF) DT-1POS father CONJ CN
 ʃitsələnəxʷ tʰə s-hən̩-ətewət,
 ʃitsələnəxʷ DT N-call-TR.SB.PAS
 ‘When they spoke to my dad, they called him (by his native name) Xitsulenuhw,’

- (8) wəswasəlwət θənə ten niʔ nəčaʔ snes—

wəswasəlwət θənə ten niʔ nəčaʔ sne-s
 wəswasəlwət DT-1POS mother 3PRO one name-3POS
 ‘and my mom by her other name Wuswasulwut—’

(9) *šłiʔłqəłten snes wəswasəlwət.*

š-łiʔłqəł-ten sne-s wəswasəlwət.
 N.OB-child-INSTR name-3POS *wəswasəlwət*
 ‘Wuswasulwut was her childhood name.’

(10) *ʔiʔ yaθəł ʔəw neńəcəwtx^wəm t^θənə šx^wəmnełək^w,*

ʔiʔ yaθ-əł ʔəw neńəcəwtx^w-əm t^θ-nə
 CONJ always-PST CN different=house-MID(IMPF) DT-1POS
šx^wəmnełək^w,
 aunt/uncle(PL)
 ‘And my aunt and uncle were always coming to visit,’

(11) *šx^waq^waʔs t^θənə men, šəyəłs, ʔiʔ t^θə scəwtełs lapi,*

šx^waq^waʔ-s t^θ-nə men, šəyəł-s,
 sibling-3POS DT-1POS father older.sibling-3POS
ʔiʔ t^θə s-cəwteł-s lapi,
 CONJ DT N-in.law-3POS *lapi*
 ‘my dad’s sibling, his older sister, and his brother-in-law, Lapi³⁰,’

(12) *ʔiʔ nił k^wənəs ʔəw x^wən šłiʔłqəł ʔiʔ šte:wən cən k^ws ʔəw*
sx^wəlməx^waʔł snes k^wsəs hənətəm lapi.

ʔiʔ nił k^w-nə-s ʔəw x^wən šłiʔłqəł ʔiʔ
 CONJ 3PRO DT-1POS-N CN still child CONJ
šte:wən cən k^ws ʔəw s-x^wəlməx^w-aʔł sne-s
 think SUB DT:N CN N-native-ATTR name-3POS
k^wsəs hən-ət-əm³¹ lapi.
 DT.N.AUX.3POS call-TR-PAS *lapi*
 ‘and that’s when I was still a child, and I thought that was his native name: Lapi.’

³⁰ Lapi, Robert Daniels of Cowichan Bay, was Mary Ann’s husband, Ruby’s father’s brother-in-law. His native name was *ʔiłəws*.

³¹ Ruby actually said *šəłəstəm* ‘said’ in the sound file, but she edited the transcript.

- (13) ?i? yaθ ?əw̄ čx^wəhənəṁ t^θənə səlsilə ?əʃ məlyesi.
 ?i? yaθ ?əw̄ č-x^wə-hənəṁ t^θə-nə səlsilə
 CONJ always CN V-INC-go(IMPF) DT-1POS grandparent(PL)
 ?ə-ʃ məlyesi.
 OB-DT *məlyesi*
 ‘And my grandparents always talked about Mulyesi.’
- (14) “?i:lə ?əw̄ tecəl ləṁ šəyət məlyesi?”
 “?i:lə ?əw̄ tecəl ləṁ šəyət məlyesi?”
 AUX.PST.Q CN arrive DT older.sibling *məlyesi*
 ‘(They would ask my father), “Did your older sister Mulyesi get here?”’
- (15) ?i? štewəṁ cən k^ws sx^wəlməx^wa? snes,
 ?i? štewəṁ cən k^ws s-x^wəlməx^w-a? sne-s,
 CONJ think 1SUB DT.N N-white.man-ATTR name-3POS
 ‘And I thought that was her native name,’
- (16) k^ws niłs sx^wəlməx^wa? snes θənə šx^wəṁnik^w θə məlyesi.
 k^ws nił-s s-x^wəlməx^w-a? sne-s θə-nə
 DT.N 3PRO-3POS N-native-ATTR name-3POS DT-1POS
 šx^wəṁnik^w θə məlyesi.
 aunt/uncle DT *məlyesi*
 ‘that the native name of my aunt was Mulyesi.’
- (17) ?i.i.wət hiθ wət ...?i cən wət x^wəstatəłəs ?i? ?i cən čx^wəhənəṁ,
 ?i.i.wət hiθ wət ... ?i cən wət
 AUX(RL) PERF long.time PERF AUX SUB PERF
 x^wə-statəłəs ?i? ?i cən č-x^wə-hənəṁ,
 INC-N.spouse.RES CONJ AUX SUB V-OB-go(IMPF)
 ‘A long time after... I was already married and I was conversing,’

- (18) ?i? ni? kʷənə men ni? ni? ... kʷənəs ni? hənət θənə šxʷəmnikʷ məlyesi,

?i? ni? kʷənə men ni? ni? ... kʷənə-s
 CONJ 3PRO DT-1POS father 3PRO AUX DT-1POS-s
 ni? hənət θənə šxʷəmnikʷ məlyesi,
 AUX call-TR DT-1POS aunt/uncle *məlyesi*
 ‘and I was talking with my father and we were speaking about my aunt Mulyesi.’

- (19) nəs ?əw̄ xətəstəxʷ “ni?ə ?əw̄ s-xʷəlməxʷ-aʔ? sne ?əʃ ?enti θənə šxʷəmnikʷ kʷs məlyesi?”

nə-s ?əw̄ xətəstəxʷ “ni?ə ?əw̄
 IPOS-N CN say-CS 3PRO.Q CN
 s-xʷəlməxʷ-aʔ? sne ?ə-ʃ ?enti θənə
 N-native-ATTR name OB-DT auntie DT-1POS
 šxʷəmnikʷ kʷs məlyesi-s?”
 aunt/uncle DT.N *məlyesi-3POS*
 ‘and I said to him, “Is that auntie’s native name, my aunt, Mulyesi?”’

- (20) wə? qʷəlqʷəl tʰənə men, “?əwə, ni? s-xʷənitəm-aʔ? sne-s.”

wə? qʷəlqʷəl tʰənə men, “?əwə, ni?
 PERF speak(IT) DT-1POS father not 3PRO
 s-xʷənitəm-aʔ? sne-s.”
 N-white.man-ATTR name-3POS
 ‘My dad said, “No, that’s her white man’s name.”’

- (21) “cəne, ?i? s-te qəw̄ s-xʷəlməxʷ-aʔ? sne-ʔəs.”

“cəne, ?i? s-te qəw̄ s-xʷəlməxʷ-aʔ? sne-ʔəs.”
 shucks CONJ N-like EMPH.CN N-native-ATTR name-3SUB
 ‘(And I thought:) “Shucks, it sounds like a native name.”’

- (22) [θət tʰənə men] “?əwə ni? s-xʷənitəm-aʔ? sne-s.

[θət tʰənə men] “?əwə ni? s-xʷənitəm-aʔ? sne-s.
 [say DT-1POS father] not 3PRO N-white.man-ATTR name-3POS
 ‘(But my dad said,) “No, it is her white man’s name.’

(23) nił t^θə *Mary Ann*, nił niʔ ʔəyeʔq səs ʔəw̄ x^wəməlyesi.”

nił t^θə *Mary Ann*, nił niʔ ʔəyeʔq səs
 3PRO DT *Mary Ann* 3PRO AUX change N.AUX.3POS
 ʔəw̄ x^wə-məlyesi.”
 CN INC-*məlyesi*
 ‘It’s from Mary Ann, and it’s changed from Mary Ann to Mulyesi.’”

(24) nił šniʔs ʔiʔ niʔ cən ʃlim̄ ʔəw̄ təl̄nəx^w k^ws qəʃs təna
 s-x^wəntim̄aʔl̄ sne niʔ yəʔe:yeʔq ʔə k^wsəs nəhels t^θə x^wəl̄məx^w.

nił š-niʔ-s ʔiʔ niʔ cən ʃlim̄ ʔəw̄ təl̄-nəx^w
 3PRO N.OB-AUX-3POS CONJ AUX SUB really CN know-LCTR
 k^ws qəʃ-s təna s-x^wəntim̄-aʔl̄ sne niʔ
 DT.N many-3POS DEM N-white.man-ATTR name AUX
 yə-ʔe:yeʔq ʔə k^wsəs nəh-els
 DYN-change(IMPF) OB DT.N.AUX.3POS name-ACT
 t^θə x^wəl̄məx^w.
 DT native
 ‘That’s when I really realized that a lot of the English names were
 changed when a First Nations person says it.’

(25) nił k^wəs *Mary Ann* ʔiʔ niʔ x^wiʔ x^wəməlyesi.

nił k^wəs *Mary Ann* ʔiʔ niʔ x^wiʔ
 3PRO DT.AUX.3POS *Mary Ann* CONJ AUX UNEXP
 x^wə-məlyesi.
 INC-*məlyesi*
 ‘Like how Mary Ann became Mulyesi.’

(26) t^θə *Robby* ʔiʔ niʔ [x^wiʔ] x^wəl̄api.

t^θə *Robby* ʔiʔ niʔ [x^wiʔ] x^wəl̄api.
 DT *Robby* CONJ AUX UNEXP INC-*lapi*
 ‘Robbie became Lapi.’

(27) t^θə *Basil* ʔiʔ niʔ x^wəpəsil.

Basil ʔiʔ niʔ x^wə-pəsil.
 Basil CONJ AUX INC-*pəsil*
 ‘Basil became Pusil.’

- (28) ni.i.w̩ yeɫnəs niʔ ʃlim̩ ʔəw̩ təl̩nəx̩ʷ kʷsəw̩ θəʔit niʔ nan̩c̩θət tʰə sne ʔə kʷsəs nəhels tʰə x̩ʷəlməx̩ʷ ʔə tʰə sx̩ʷən̩itəm̩aʔɪ sne.

ni.i.w̩ yeɫ-nə-s niʔ ʃlim̩ ʔəw̩ təl̩-nəx̩ʷ kʷsəw̩
 AUX.CN(RL) SEQ-1POS-N AUX really CN know-LCTR D.N.CN
 θəʔit niʔ nan̩c̩-θət tʰə sne ʔə kʷsəs
 true AUX different(DUR)-REF DT name OB DT.N.AUX.3POS
 nəh-els tʰə x̩ʷəlməx̩ʷ ʔə tʰə s-x̩ʷən̩itəm̩-aʔɪ sne.
 name-ACT DT native ʔə DT N-white.man-ATTR name
 ‘That’s when I really realized that names changed when a First Nations
 person says an English name (—it changes to different sound).’

- (29) niʔ [ʃlim̩] wət hiθ yeɫnəs niʔ ʃlim̩ ʔəw̩ təl̩nəx̩ʷ [ʃtes tʰə sne].

niʔ ʃlim̩ wət hiθ yeɫ-nə-s niʔ ʃlim̩
 AUX really PERF long.time SEQ-1POS-N AUX really
 ʔəw̩ təl̩-nəx̩ʷ [ʃ-te-s tʰə sne].
 CN know-LCTR [N.OB-like-3SUB DT name]
 ‘That’s how I came to realize about the names.’

- (30) hay ce:p ɬa. niʔ hay.

hay ce:p ɬa. niʔ hay.
 done 2PL.SUB EMPH AUX done
 ‘Thank you. The end.’