

small side-notched points predominate in numbers over the corner- or basal-notched, barbed types. In very late prehistoric to early contact sites (ca. 600-150 BP) throughout the southern and central Columbia Plateau, small side-notched points are occasionally found (Holmes 1966; Nelson 1969; Leonhardy and Rice 1970). This probably reflects interaction with Plains rather than Canadian Plateau groups.

On the Northern Plains, small side-notched points referred to as the Avonlea type appear around 1750 BP (Reeves 1983:16; Dyck 1983:122; Vickers 1986:90). Their appearance is thought to mark the initial use of the bow and arrow. Points of this style, with a few exceptions, are absent from the Canadian Plateau. "Plains" and "Prairie side-notched" types predominate after ca. 1400 BP (Wormington and Forbis 1965; Dyck 1983; Reeves 1983; Vickers 1986:95). The data suggest that bow and arrow technology was used earlier on the Plains than it was on the Canadian or Columbia Plateaus.

Material culture similarities between the Northwest Coast and the Canadian Plateau are evident in this cultural horizon, as in preceding horizons. Small side-notched points similar to the Kamloops side-notched points are present in the *Esilao phase* (ca. 750-150 BP) of the Lower Fraser River (Borden 1968:23) and the *Stselax phase* (ca. 700-150 BP) of the Fraser Delta (Borden 1970:110, Figure 33). Small, chipped stone side-notched points and corner-notched, barbed points are found in Component 2 of the Belcarra Park site on the Southern Northwest Coast, dating between ca. 1600 and 1000 BP (Charlton 1980). Small side-notched points are also found in late prehistoric contexts on the Central Northwest Coast (Carlson 1972, 1976).

Exchange with the Northwest Coast continued throughout the Kamloops horizon, with nephrite, vitreous basalt, obsidian and steatite being traded from the Mid-Fraser River region to the southern Coast (see Borden 1968; Charlton 1980; Wilmeth 1973); and slate, whalebone, and shells of coastal origin being traded into the interior (Sanger 1968a).

PLATEAU PITHOUSE TRADITION

The three prehistoric cultural horizons described above have a strong continuity in culture traits and patterns, and constitute the *Plateau Pithouse tradition* (ca. 4000/3500 to 200 BP) (Figures 3 and 14). The general pattern of lifeway during the Plateau Pithouse tradition is similar to that described for the ethnographic Interior Salish (Boas 1890; Dawson 1891; Teit 1900, 1906, 1909, 1930). The Plateau Pithouse tradition is characterized by the use of semi-subterranean pithouses as winter dwellings in semi-permanent villages, a

semi-sedentary settlement pattern, a hunting and gathering mode of subsistence with a strong emphasis on salmon fishing, and storage of food in earth cellars (storage pits).

Surprisingly few details are known about subsistence practices during the Plateau Pithouse tradition, although it is apparent that deer, elk, a variety of small mammals, salmon, non-anadromous fish, fresh water mussels, birds and an assortment of gathered roots and berries formed the basic diet. The relative importance of hunted, fished, or gathered food resources varied from region to region and between horizons. In considering the "forager-collector" subsistence and settlement organizational strategy continuum proposed by Binford (1980), the Plateau Pithouse tradition fits the description of the logistical or "collector" pattern.

While differences between cultural horizons are evident, these differences constitute variations on a common cultural theme. Cultural elements/patterns shared by all three horizons are:

1. use of pithouses as winter dwellings;
2. use of earth cellars as food storage facilities and a hypothesized reliance on stored food in winter;
3. hypothesized semi-sedentary settlement pattern involving permanent winter settlements, and short-term non-winter resource extraction and/or processing camps and stations;
4. reliance on anadromous salmon as the primary food, supplemented by large and small land mammals, fresh water fish and mussels, birds, and wild plant resources;
5. use of earth ovens at pithouse sites for baking or roasting food;
6. use of a heavy-duty woodworking tool kit consisting of nephrite adzes, bone and antler wedges, and large hammerstones or hand mauls;
7. a sophisticated bone and antler fishing technology;
8. emphasis on chipped stone tools;
9. limited use of ground stone tools;
10. anthropomorphic and zoomorphic carving in stone;
11. hypothesized wood and plant fibre industry (e.g., basketry, matting,

cordage, projectile weaponry, handles, wedges, etc.);

12. use of stone boiling technique for cooking (probably with bark or basketry containers); and
13. exchange with Northwest Coast cultures involving nephrite and steatite going to the coast, with marine shells being traded to the interior.

Cultural differences between horizons include:

1. changes in the form and size of pithouses, which may be related to aspects of social organization (Stryd 1971; Richards and Rousseau 1982; Hayden *et al* 1985);
2. changes in the size of storage pits and earth ovens, and their positioning relative to pithouses;
3. variation in emphasis on wild root resource exploitation (see Pokotylo and Froese 1983);
4. increased exchange with the Northwest Coast (Fladmark 1982);
5. a shift from primary reliance on local lithic raw materials to the increased use of extra-local raw materials;
6. changes in projectile point styles, and diminution of average point size through time;
7. change in the dominant hunting weapon system technology from spear and/or atlatl to the bow and arrow;
8. variation in the quality of chipped stone workmanship;
9. increased importance of the ground stone tool industry;
10. increased frequency in stone and antler sculpture;
11. increased frequency of bone and antler tool decoration;
12. elaboration of the bone and antler industries; and
13. changes in burial modes.

Paleoclimatic studies conducted on the Canadian and Columbia Plateaus (Hansen 1955; Alley 1976; Hebda 1982; King 1980; Mack, Rutter, and Valastro 1978; Campbell 1985a; Mathewes 1984) indicate that from ca. 8000 to 4500 BP the climate was slightly warmer and drier than present (Figure 14). Sometime between ca. 4500 and 4000 BP cool and moist conditions were established, followed shortly by the commencement of the Plateau Pithouse tradition between 4000 and 3500 years ago. Modern climatic conditions were established between ca. 3000 and 2000 BP, characterized by warm and dry conditions.

Cultural changes during the Plateau Pithouse tradition may be attributable to several factors, including: (1) minor environmental changes and consequent cultural re-adaptation (i.e., the onset of slightly warmer and drier conditions sometime between 3000 and 2000 BP may be related to the shift from the Shuswap to Plateau horizons); (2) increasing adaptive efficiency to a reasonably stable environment; (3) adaptive changes related to increasing human population density; and 4) adaptation to a changing socio-cultural environment, perhaps related to southward Athapaskan migratory pressure (see Wilmeth 1978b; Magne and Matson 1984:301-365, 1985), or socio-economic pressures exerted by the more highly developed Northwest Coast cultures to insure a reliable supply of Canadian Plateau nephrite and steatite (Fradmark 1982:131,135).

During the Plateau Pithouse tradition there is a general pattern of sustained cultural continuity, although the horizons are recognized and defined as variations on a basic cultural adaptive theme. Continuity in human population and ethnicity is suggested by the data. Since people occupying the Canadian Plateau at the time of contact were primarily Interior Salish, it is likely that the Plateau Pithouse tradition represents the prehistory of this ethno-linguistic group. Other researchers have also postulated long-standing population/cultural continuities on the Canadian Plateau (e.g., Sanger 1970:127; Stryd 1973b:30,31). A late prehistoric southward migration of Athapaskans onto the northwestern Canadian Plateau is also apparent (see Wilmeth 1978b; Magne and Matson 1984, 1985), but the repercussions of this event or process are as yet poorly understood.

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

One important question raised in this synthesis is: to what degree did the inhabitants of the Mid-Fraser River region (Boston Bar to Big Bar Creek) participate in Canadian Plateau cultural horizons? It appears that during the Shuswap horizon, cultural patterns in this region were much like those noted for the rest of the Canadian Plateau. During the following Plateau and Kamloops horizons, however, this region diverged to some degree with respect to other regions. The most salient difference is in housepit size—on average they are