

control of the outcome of the action, and we have -n where the performer is in control.) In -án-cut we have -an in function (1). This combination expresses various notions which center around the idea of 'acting like X, wanting to be like X'. Formally, this combination is somewhat odd in that comprises the only cases of unstressed -cut (in all other cases, the reflexive suffix -cút is stressed, as in kúq'un' 'to undress so.' → kúq'un'-cút 'to undress oneself'; núk^h?an 'to help so.' → nuk^h?an-cút 'to help oneself'; see also -s-cút in 3). Cases with -án-cut are: s-qayx' 'man' → qayx'-án-cut 'to act like a man, to do something in a man's way' (e.g., a man doing woman's work in a clumsy manner); s-yáqca? 'woman' → yaqc?-án-cut 'to do a man's job, but without being good at it' (said about a woman); k'uk'mít-án-cut 'to act like a child' (according to my consultants, this word is practically identical in meaning to k'uk'mít-s-cút); 'ál'ál-án-cut 'to act tough, to want to be brave (when one is not), to force oneself to do something'; qə]qə]-xn-án-cut 'to suffer from lack of help' (qə] 'bad', here reduplicated, -xn- 'foot, leg' (used in a number of words referring to having trouble); x'əst-án-cut 'to make a big effort' (cf. x'uX'st 'to crave, need something').

There are two cases that do have unstressed -cut, but that semantically belong with the cases where stressed -cút follows an n-transitivizer, i.e., those cases where -cút is purely reflexive (see kúq'un'-cút, nuk^h?-an-cút above). These two cases are: k'az-án-cut 'to train (k'az-) oneself', thín-cut 'to show off, brag about oneself' (thín 'to admire').

5. Summing up. The four devices for 'acting like, pretending to be' overlap semantically and (in the case of -s-cút and -án-cut) also formally. The reduplicated cases show the least amount of semantic overlapping since they merely indicate 'to act like X, to do in an X way', while the other cases refer to behaviour that is objectionable, laughable, or perhaps (in the case of x'əst-án-cut) admirable. The finer semantic distinctions between the four devices can only be established by a Native speaker of Lillooet. Also, it remains to be seen which cases that combine with -az'am and were not found with -s-cút do indeed combine with -s-cút, and vice versa. Here follows a chart of the various possibilities recorded so far:

Stem	English gloss	Reduplication	-az'am	-s-cút	-án-cut
ʔúx'almix'	'Indian'	x	x		
sáma?	'white person'	x	x	x	
k'úk'pəy'	'chief'		x	x	
ʔə]šəm	'sick'		x		
loqsáyʔ	'pet, favorite child'		x	x	
s-k'úk'mít	'child'		x	x	x
xa?	'high'			x	
'ál'ál	'strong'			x	x
s-qayx'	'man'				x
s-yáqca?	'woman'				x
x'əst-	'needed, craved'				x
qə]qə]-xn-	'in trouble, suffer'				x

(x'əst- and qə]qə]-xn- were not recorded without -án-cut)

Reference

Hess, T., and J. van Eijk. 1985. "Noun and Verb in Salishan." Pp. 97-103 of the contributions to the 20th International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages.

When Chief Seattle (Si'əi) spoke in 1855

Vi (taq'šəblu) Hilbert
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Because Si'əi was recognized as one of the gifted orators among the Lushootseed people who lived in this Puget Sound area, he was one of the speakers when Governor Isaac Stevens was arranging treaties with our Lushootseed tribes located around these inland waterways.

Speeches given by our orators are eloquent and thoughtfully appropriate to each occasion. Si'əi must have carefully thought about what he would say when he went to Mukilteo to be among those leaders who were called to listen to Governor Stevens. The words he brought out for this gathering in 1855 were especially eloquent as he responded to the presence of many concerned leaders who were gathered there at Mukilteo.

Si'əi had the special gift of oratory. One of his spirit powers was that of Thunder. People possessing spirit guides may be helped in special ways. According to Clarence Bagley in his article, 'Chief Seattle and Angeline' (Washington Historian Quarterly, Oct. 1931), Si'əi could be heard from half a mile away when he spoke.

The interpreter who listened to his words at this time carefully chose vocabulary from the limited Chinook Jargon to transmit Si'əi's philosophy. A listening white man, Dr. Henry A. Smith,¹ sensed the beauty of Si'əi's words and chose the vocabulary that has been attributed to Si'əi's speech. Many skilled writers, not understanding a word of Lushootseed could listen to the language, feel the beauty, and perceive the important content of an Indian orator's speech. We are fortunate to have tape recordings of two of our elders giving us information from that period in our history.

We don't know exactly how much information our people had about the proceedings that were to transpire at this meeting with Governor Stevens. Some voice of authority had called the people to this meeting. People traditionally respect an invitation to a gathering.

In 1855 people spoke Lushootseed and a few people used some Chinook Jargon, the trade language of this region. They knew a few English words. Clarence Bagley states that Si'əi didn't use Chinook Jargon; he didn't like it.

When Governor Stevens' interpreter spoke to the assemblage, he used Chinook Jargon to explain what Governor Stevens was saying in English. He read the terms of the treaty. There were many good sounding promises! Governor Stevens promised that the people would be taught how to build houses like those of the white people. They would have schools and hospitals for their people. They would be given many gifts that would make their lives easier. There was great hardship; sickness, invasion by warring tribes from the north and other restless groups; and not all people had homes to protect them from the winter cold. Many of the leaders were weary from their years. They were getting depressed from these hardships.

From the Memories of Ruth Shelton² we can hear a little of what took place at Mukilteo. Ruth Shelton was born in 1855 and died in 1958. She was one of our highly respected historians, consulted by many because of her reliable memory. She related information which had been passed on to her by her family in addition to her observations on white contact during her life. Her husband, Chief William Shelton, was an important

speaker for the Tulalip tribe. He also served as a policeman for his area while he worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs under Dr. Buchanan. Ruth and Chief Shelton both came from families who passed on the traditions and cultural teachings of the Lushootseed people.

Ruth Shelton tells us that the Indians gathered there at Mukilteo. A man named Xalb, one of her inlaws, was sent to invite all tribes to come there to meet with Governor Stevens concerning the Treaty. It was said that they gathered there for 15 days at Mukilteo. There were some who immediately agreed, but there were more of them who said "no" to the selling of their lands.

There was a white man whose name was Simmons from near Olympia, which is called by us *sčəčas*. He knew Chinook Jargon. He had been living for a long time near Olympia, Washington. He was the one who was brought there by Governor Stevens to interpret for him when he purchased this land, when the Treaty was made a long time ago in 1855.

This is the way all of the people who gathered there heard it. Governor Stevens spoke in English. Now this Simmons took the words and he changed the English words into Chinook Jargon and gave these words to those who were gathered.

A man named John Taylor interpreted for the Indians. He translated the Chinook Jargon spoken by Simmons and he translated those words into Lushootseed.

John Taylor interpreted that future generations would be as white people. They will be taught to be like the white people. He repeated this several times because there were lots of people there. Statistics vary on the exact numbers.

There were three Indians who helped John Taylor with the interpretation, *Pəłqideb* from Snoqualmie, *Cawi?cut* from Lummi, and *Sq'əlayə?* from Skagit. Just as soon as John Taylor would finish interpreting the words of Governor Stevens, then these three would interpret them from Chinook Jargon into their Indian languages. *Sdapelq* also helped. *Sdapelq* was a very good speaker. They said that they thought it would be very good for the future generation to be like white people. Governor Stevens told the people that they were to say which part of the land that used to be theirs would they want to keep forever.

Cədatalq, son of *Wədəpa?* stood up right away and he said this, "Will it be for as long as the water spills in the rivers, will it be for that long that it will be ours? And will it be for as long as the sun travels from whence it comes until it returns to the west? Shall it be that long?"

This was interpreted to Governor Stevens. He stood up and he nodded his head (up and down in the affirmative), because there were lots of people, they couldn't hear him if he spoke. He just nodded his head 'yes' and he sat down.

On a tape, recorded by Dr. Warren Snyder, January 1955, *Amelia sneəkəm* (Suquamish elder) repeated this short speech of *Si?ai*'s:

1. *g'əi ti Si?ai tusupudpud ?al k'wi tu?utreaty ?al ti mukilteo ti?ii ?əscut.*

This is what *si?ai* said when they were having the treaty at Mukilteo.

2. *'?əslabed čələp ti duk'ibəi ?uəčiči(1) dx'ʔal ti swatix'təd.*

'You folks observe the changers who have come to this land.

3. *g'əl i(u)əsla?labalčiči?əx' k'wi əlulaqbid čəi, əswiwsu čəi*

And our progeny will watch and learn from them now, our children

4. *g'əl əhuyil x'ulab ?ə ti duk'ibəi ?uəčičisəbui ?al ti swatix'təd.*

and they will become just like the changers who have come here to us on this land.

5. *hə?i k'wi səslabedləp.'*

You folks observe them well.'

6. In English she added, "That's what *Si?ai* was saying, preaching during the treaty."

Si?ai had possibly had more contact with white people than other Indian leaders, for he interacted with the newcomers to his Duwamish area. He and Dr. Maynard had become very good friends. And it was *Si?ai*, according to Ruth Shelton, who saved the lives of at least 30 white people by sending a messenger to warn of a raid that had been planned by *Ləḡay* from *Misqually*. *Ləḡay* planned to kill all of them. The white people listened to *Si?ai*'s messenger and escaped *Ləḡay*'s war party.

The white people were grateful to *Si?ai* for this and many other favors. They respected the wisdom and the native help of *Si?ai*. They showed their appreciation in ways that the native culture responded to. They showed him their respect and shared information about their culture. *Si?ai* and other natives were impressed by the new culture they were observing. They thought it would be good to be like the people in this white culture.

It has been over a hundred years since the voice of Chief Seattle (*Si?ai*) moved a sensitive listener to pen the words that many people from all cultures have appreciated. This English vocabulary was unknown to Chief Seattle, but his Lushootseed vocabulary was eloquent; this man who interpreted the feelings expressed by *Si?ai* did indeed understand the philosophy transmitted through the expressive Lushootseed.

In closing, it seems appropriate to add a few words which will dispel a common misconception regarding Treaty Day.³ Every winter our people gather to celebrate Treaty Day. It is not, however, the selling of our lands that we commemorate. Officials of the period had banned the practice of our religion. Anyone who violated the ban was jailed. My dad, Charley Anderson, Upper Skagit historian, told the following story.

Our longhouse people used to have a hard time because the priests and Government officials didn't want us to practice our religion. In 1905, Chief William Shelton, Tulalip Tribe, arranged for a meeting of members of our longhouses and Dr. Charles Milton Buchanan, the Indian Agent. The people pleaded their case, asking that they be allowed the right to practice their religion as they used to, out in the open. They had been secretly trying to carry on with their traditional practices.

The Agent said to them, "If you can prove to me that you have anything, I will allow it."

Dad said that *Elsie Andrews*, Upper Skagit, began singing his power song. A cougar, his spirit power guide, came walking through this building where the people were gathered. Dr. Buchanan quickly spoke up, saying, "All right, now I believe you; make it go away!"

Many of our elders remember hearing this story told and retold. I heard my uncle *Morris Dan* and my cousin *Harriet Shelton Dover* discussing the correct date of this meeting. They said it was between 1903 and 1905.

From that time, our people have been able to practice their old religion without fear of going to jail.

taq'šəblu

8-14-85

FOOTNOTES

1. Clarence Bagley (Washington Historical Quarterly Vol. XXII. No. 4., October 1931) claims that Dr. Henry A. Smith wrote about *Si?ai* in the *Seattle Sunday Star*, Oct. 29, 1877. Smith quotes *Si?ai*'s speech in this article.

2. The Memories of Ruth Shelton, taped by Leon Metcalf on May 20, 1954, comprise 37 pages of Lushootseed text. 37 pages of translation of this material into English was done by taq'šablu in 1981. This material will be made available in a future publication.

3. On January 20, 1986, the Tulalip Tribe arranged for a ritual Feeding of the Spirits of the Treaty signers of 1855. They invited petius, Isadore Tom, Lummi Medicine man, to conduct the ritual. They asked taq'šablu, Vi Hilbert, to read all 87 names of the Treaty signers while food was placed on a hot fire. (See Amoes (1978) on burning food for the Dead.)

APPENDIX A

Some Excerpts from a Speech of Si'āi (Chief Seattle)
Translated from the English version attributed to Dr. Henry A. Smith
into Northern Lushootseed by taq'šablu 2-5-82
Redone 7-27-85

1. Your religion
ti'e? adə'ivii

was written on tablets of stone
g'el t(u)axal ʔal ti'e? ʔəp'il čə'čəka?

by the iron finger
lii'ʔal ti'e? ʔəi ti chickamin' čətqəči?

of an angry God
ʔə ti'e? ʔəp'icil šeq si'ʔab

lest you forget.
g'a'əx' čəx' g'əbali?

2. The red man could never comprehend

ti'e? ʔaciitəlbix' g'el x'i? k'i g'(ə)asčal g'əsuq'əhaytx's,

nor remember it.
g'el x'i? həq'əseeləp'ix's.

3. Our religion

ti'e? sq'a'čəi s'iiwii

is the tradition of our ancestors.
g'el tu'ʔal ti'ii tux'dik' ʔə k'i sq'a'čəi tuiy'əyələb.

4. The dreams of our old men,

qəlqəlalitut ʔə ti'e? slələ'čədčəi,

given to them
s'abadəbe

in the solemn hours of the night
ʔal ti ʔəšəbč ʔə k'i siaxil

by the great spirit
tu'ʔal k'i ʔa'ʔa? šušuk'li

and the visions of our sachems,
ʔi ti sqəlalitut ʔə ti'e? x'da'əbčəi,

and it is written in the hearts of our people.
g'el ʔəxal ʔal k'i ʔəč ʔə dibe' ʔaciitəlbix'.

5. Your dead cease to love you
ti'e? adəkayu? g'el x'(i)ax' g'əseəxəktubuiəds

and the land of their nativity
ʔi ti'e? swatix'təd tudəx'g'wəcs

as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb
ʔəš'iate? ʔə ti'ii šus'atabəds

they wander far away
šū'ib'ibeš dx'di'ii?

beyond the stars
di'əbac ʔə ti'ii čəčəwas

and are soon forgotten and never return.
šaləl ti'ii šuseəbalisəbe g'el x'(i)ax' g'əsubelk'wə.

6. Our dead

ti'e? sq'a'čəi skayu?

never forget
g'el x'i? k'i g'əpe(d)tab g'əbali'bidə

this beautiful world that gave them being.
ti'e? ʔad'alus swatix'təd tuq'əd'dx' (h)əlg'ə?

7. They always love

čk'əqaqid həlg'ə? ʔəxə'ildx'

its winding rivers
ti'e? ʔəspuy'puy stultulak'wə?

its great mountains
ʔi ti'e? ʔa'ʔa? əbad'badilə?

and its sequestered vales,
ʔi ti'e? ʔəš'alacut əbaq'baq'əbe,

and they ever yearn in tenderest affection over
gʷəl c̣kʷaqaqid ʷəslaxp̣kʷ ḷilʷal yədwass

the lonely-hearted living
tiʷəʷ ʷəsp̣ikʷab ʷal yədwass ʷə(h)əḷhəliʷ,

and often return to visit,
gʷəl ʷuḅibibēlkʷ dxʷʷal kʷi gʷəsdʷəp̣əp̣bids,

guide and comfort them.
gʷəsucakʷədxʷə gʷəl gʷəsucabiəds (h)əḷgʷəʷ

8. We will ponder your proposition,
iupetidgʷəsbid čəi tiʷəʷ adčəiʷəčəb,ʷ

and when we decide we will tell you.
ʷal kʷi iustəidxʷčəi kʷi spətidgʷəsbidčəi čəiə iuyəcabtubūəd.

9. But should we accept it,
tuxʷ gʷəkʷədədxʷəi,

I here and now make this the first condition
ʷəʷiʷəʷ ʷə tiʷəʷəxʷ kʷi dʷixʷʷal gʷədədxʷdiqʷicid

that we will not be denied the privilege, without molestation,
xʷiʷ kʷi iusəqəldubčəi ʷə tiʷəʷ əqʷəʷič, xʷəi syabukʷ,

of visiting at will the graves,
dxʷʷal kʷi gʷəsudʷəp̣əp̣bidčəi ti kayuʷaliʷčəi,

where we have buried our ancestors,
daxʷəspədxʷčəi kʷi yəlyəlabčəi,

and our friends,
ʷi kʷi ʷiišədčəi,

and our children,
ʷi kʷi bədbədaʷčəi.

10. Every part of this country is sacred to my people.
bəkʷ čadbid ʷə tiʷəʷ swatixʷtəd gʷəl kʷiʷat dxʷʷal tiʷəʷ dʷiišəd.

Every hillside,
bəkʷ čadbid ʷə kʷi ababdil,

every valley,
ʷi kʷi cəkʷdup,

every plain and grove
ʷi kʷi bəkʷ čadbid ʷə tiʷə swatixʷtəd

has been hallowed by some fond memory
gʷəl ʷəəkʷiʷaṭil ḷilʷal tiʷii stəb tudəxʷə(h)iičəi

or some sad experience
xʷəiub tiʷəʷ stəb gʷətudəxʷəp̣əiəp̣č

of my tribe.
ʷə tiʷii tudəqʷuʷaʷkʷbixʷ.

11. Even the rocks which seem to lie dumb
qəbēi tiʷəʷ čəičəiʷəʷ, ʷəi ti ʷəəxʷəiəp̣č

as they swelter in the sun
ʷal tiʷəʷ səṣqʷəliis ʷə tiʷəʷ ʷukʷai

along the silent seashore
ʷilgʷii ʷə tiʷəʷ ʷəšəḷbucid ʷəič

in solemn grandeur thrill with memories
ʷəʷiəbuc̣t ʷuhii/ʷugʷəxʷisəd ʷal tiʷii iusəsləp̣kʷə

of past events connected with the lives of my people.
ʷ(u)tusuhuy ʷə ti tus(h)əḷhəliʷ ʷə ti tudʷiišəd.

12. And when the last red man shall have perished
gʷəl ʷal kʷi iusxʷiʷil ʷə kʷi ʷiiləq ʷaciitəlbixʷ

from the earth
tulʷal tiʷəʷ swatixʷtəd

and his memory among the white man
gʷəl tiʷəʷ tusediʷəʷə ʷəsqʷuʷ əʷ tiʷiʷəʷ pəspəstəd

shall have become a myth
gʷəl ʷəuləxʷ iusʷəyəhub,

these shores will swarm with
bəkʷ čad ʷal tiʷəʷ ʷilgʷii kʷi iusʷə

the invisible dead
ʷə tiʷəʷ xʷ(i)ʷaxʷ gʷ(ə)aḍsəšūuc skayuʷ

of my tribe;
ʷə tiʷəʷ dəqʷuʷaʷkʷbixʷ;

13. and when your children's children shall think themselves alone

gʷəl ʔal kʷi iusəxʷscutəbitəb ʔə tiʔəʔ adʔibʔibac dəyay həlgʷəʔ

in the fields, the store, the shop,

ʔal kʷi bəkʷ čad ʔal tiʔəʔ sqʷali, kʷi xʷuyubalʔtxʷs, suyayus,

upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods,

ʔal tiʔii šeqʷi, qəbəl səkəlb ʔə kʷi čətxʷaləpʷ

they will not be alone.

xʷiʔ kʷi iusdəyayə (h)əlgʷəʔ

in all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude.

ʔal tiʔəʔ swatixʷtəd xʷiʔ kʷi čad qʷ(ə)adsuʔəydxʷ kʷi qʷ(ə)adsuʔalacut.

14. *At night when the streets of your cities and villages will be silent*

ʔal kʷi iax ʔal kʷi šišəgʷi ʔə tiʔəʔ adtawd ʔi ʔal kʷi iusəxikʷəb

ʔə tiʔii dəxʷəsəlilil ʔə tiʔii adəgʷaʔ

and you think them deserted,

čəxʷa iula(ə)xʷscutəbid xʷiʔ kʷi qʷat ʔa ʔal tiʔii,

they will throng with returning hosts

iuaʔa kʷi sqʷuʔqʷuʔ ləbəlbelkʷ ʔaciitəlbixʷ

that once filled and still

tut(u)aslečəd qʷəl didii ʔuxʷ

Love this beautiful land.

ʔəxəkʷildxʷ tiʔəʔ ʔadʷalus swatixʷtəd.

15. *The white man will never be alone.*

xʷiʔ kʷi pə(d)tab qʷəsdayay ʔə tiʔəʔ pastəd.

Let him be just

šub ʔutələicut

and deal kindly with my people

qʷəl haʔi kʷi suʔabaɪ səkəčs dxʷʔal tiʔəʔ dʔiišəd

for the dead are not powerless.

yəxi xʷiʔ ləpəkəkʷ tiʔəʔ əkayʔ

16. *Dead- did I say?*

tucut čəd ʔu sʔatabəd.

There is no death.

xʷiʔ kʷi qʷəsʔatabəd.

Only a change of worlds.

xʷul čəi iudʷəlyalus.

Footnotes to Appendix A: Lushootseed vocabulary volunteered and added.

- 'chickamin' is the Chinook Jargon for 'iron'.
- Walter Williams, (Upper Skagit, age 75) suggests ʷudəxʷuʔəiəds "(their)source of food" in place of stultuləkʷs "rivers".
- Mr. Williams suggests ʷudəxʷucəbəbiluis "where they picked berries" in place of əbadbadils "mountains".
- Proposition.
- Virgin forest, thick woods (Dewey Mitchell 1976).
- Literally- change to the other side/end.

GLOSSARY FOR APPENDIX A BY LINE NUMBER:

- ʔal-on/at
 ʔə tiʔəʔ- of this
 ʔəsxicil- is angry
 ʔəspil-is flat
 ad-your
 əsxal-is written
 chickamin- (Chinook Jargon)- iron
 čəxʷ-you (sg.)
 čəkʷəkʷəkʷ- rocks
 čətqəčiʔ- finger
 qʷaʔəxʷ- lest
 qʷabaliʔ- might forget
 qʷəl-and/now
 liiʔal-by way of
 ətiwiil- religion
 šəq siʔab- God
 tiʔəʔ- this
 tu-was/past
 xəi ti- kind of like
- ʔaciitəlbixʷ- the Indian/Native
 bəqʷəsəsləxʷs- could anyone/someone again remember it
 qʷəl -and/now
 qʷəsugʷəhaytxʷs- could anyone/someone comprehend
 kʷi qʷ(ə)əsčal- could there be any way
 xʷiʔ- no/negation
- ʔə kʷi sqʷaʔčəi- of those who were our
 qʷəl tulʔal- well, it is from
 tiʔəʔ sqʷaʔčəi- this our own
 tiʔii tuxʷdikʷ- that (which) was the advice/teaching
 tuyəlyəlab- ancestors (who are now dead)
- ʔaciitəlbixʷ-people/Indians/human beings

- ʔal ti- at the
 ʔal kʷi ʔəč- in/on the minds/intellect
 ʔə kʷi- of the
 ʔə tiʔəʔ xʷdaʔabčəi- of these our medicine men/Indian doctors,
 ʔə dibəi- of we/ourselves
 ʔəšabč- soundless
 ʔi ti sqalalitut- and the visions
 qʷəl ʔəxal- and it is written/marked
 laxil- to become night
 qəlqəlalitut- dreams
 sləluʔtədčəi- our old men,
 sʔabadebə-given to them
 šušukʷli- spirit
 tulʔal- from
 ʔaʔaʔ- sacred/forbidden/great
5. ʔə tiʔi- of that
 ʔə tiʔi- of those
 ʔəʔiʔəʔ- just like
 ʔi tiʔəʔ swatixʷted- and this land/earth
 adekayuʔ- your dead
 diʔabac- on the other side
 dxdiʔiʔ- toward a distance
 gʷəšəxəktubuiəds- like/love you
 gʷəl xʷ(i)axʷ- and no more
 gʷəsubəlkʷs- does someone return
 šalal- early/soon
 šuʔibʔibeš- someone habitually walks
 šusʔatabəds- someone dies
 šətəwas- stars
 tiʔi šusəbalisəbə- that they are forgotten
 tudəxʷgʷəcs- where they were born (gʷəc-come out of)
6. ʔadʷalus- beautiful
 gʷəsbaliʔbids-would they forget
 sɡʷaʔčəi- these our own
 skayuʔ- dead
 swatixʷted- land/earth/world
 tugʷədʷ dxʷ (h)əlgʷəʔ- which gave them birth
 xʷiʔ kʷi gʷəpə(d)tab- at no time
7. ʔəʔalacut- secluded
 ʔə(h)əlhəliʔ- is living,
 ʔəsləxixʷ- will remember
 ʔəpuyɸuy- bent/curved
 ʔəxəʔildxʷ- are in the condition of liking/loving it
 ʔəxixʷəb ʔal yədwasə- lonely in/on the someone's heart

- ʔi and
 čkʷəqaqid- always
 dxʷʔal- to or toward
 gʷəsučəkʷədxʷs- to keep someone straight/correct
 gʷəsuqabəds-and they (həlgʷəʔ) could comfort someone
 kʷi gʷə(s)ədʷəxəbids,- in order to visit someone
 liiʔal- by way of
 šubibibəlkʷ- and they keep returning
 sbədbadils- mountains
 sbaqʷbaqʷabs- vales,
 stuləkʷ- river/ stultuləkʷ- rivers
 ʔaʔaʔ-great/sacred/forbidden
8. adčəiʔəčəb- your proposition
 čəiə- and we
 šupetidgʷəsbid čəi- we will think about it
 šuyəcabtubuiəds- will tell you folks
 spetidgʷəsbidčəi- our minds
 təi- true/honest
 təidxʷ čəi- we will find it true
9. ʔə tiʔəʔ sɡʷaʔič- of this privilege,
 ʔəʔiʔəʔ ʔə tiʔəʔəx- it will be like this now
 ʔišəbčəi-our friends
 bəbədəʔčəi-our children
 daxʷəspədxʷčəi- where we have ours buried those,
 dxʷʔal kʷi gʷəədʷəxəbidčəi- toward our visiting
 gʷədəxʷdigʷicid- I would advise you
 gʷəkʷədaxʷəi- if we were to take it,
 kʷi dʷixʷʔai- would be the first
 syabukʷ,- fight/quarrel,
 tuʔ- but/however
 ti kayuʔaliʔčəi- the graveyards which are ours,
 xʷəi- without
 xʷiʔ kʷi šusəqəldubčəi- no one is to stop us
 yəlyəlabčəi- our ancestors
10. ʔə kʷi- of the
 ʔəškʷiʔatil- it has become sacred
 bəkʷ čədbid- every part
 čəkʷdup-valley
 dxʷʔal tiʔəʔ dʷišəb- to/toward my people
 gʷətudəxʷəxəiəlxəč- which might have caused unhappiness
 kʷiʔat- sacred

- lii?al- by way of
 sbabdil,- little mountain/hillside.
 swatix^wted- this land
 ti?e? stab- these things
 ti?ii stab- that something
 tudex^w?es(h)iiičei- that we were happy about
 x^weiub- or else
11. ?al ti?e?- right here
 ?es?iabcut- feels self-important
 ?esšelbucid- is silent
 ?esx^wei- to be without
 ?iab- nobly cut- reflexive-self
 ?ilg^wii- along the shore
 ?uq^wex^wisad- thrill
 čekčeka?- rocks
 šuk^waš- sun
 šuhii- gets happy
 šusselex^ws- when they remember
 qabei- even
 seeq^welils- as they get hot
 xec- mind/intellect
 xei ti- kind of like
 x^welč- salt water/sound/ocean
12. ?al k^wi šusx^wi?il- when it will be no more
 ?e k^wi ?iilaq- of the last
 ?e ti?e? x^wi?ax^w g^w(e)adseššiuuc- of these that you can't see now
 ?ilg^wii - shore
 ?seeq^wu? ?e ti?i?e?- gathered with these
 bek^w čad- every where
 deq^wu?a?k^wbix^w-my tribe
 g^wel x^wulax^w- well it will only have been
 k^wi šus?a- will exist
 šus?eyehub- will be a myth/legend
 paspasted- white people
 skayu?- dead
 tul?al ti?e? swatix^wted-from the earth
 tusdi?a?e-that they were here
13. ?al k^wi bek^w čad- every place
 ?al k^wi šusex^wscutabitabs- when they think about it
 ?e ti?e? ad?ib?ibac- of these you grandchildren
 četx^waləp- trees which grow close together
 dayay^w helg^we?- they are alone
 g^w(e)adsu?eydx^w- could you find
 k^wi g^w(e)adsu?alacut.- where you could be alone
- k^wi x^wuyubal?tx^ws- their stores
 qabei- even
 šeg^wi- road/door
 sesšelb- is quiet/silent
 sq^wali- fields
 suyayus- shop, work place
 x^wi? k^wi čad- no place
 x^wi? k^wi šusdayays- someone will not be alone
14. adseq^wa?- those who are your own
 ?ad^walus- beautiful
 ?al k^wi šax- in the night
 ?al k^wi šišeg^wi- on the streets
 ?esx^wšildx^w- love
 ?i- and
 adtašd- your town
 dex^wesialilil- where there is living
 didii ?ux^w- and still yet
 šu?a - there will exist there
 šule(s)x^wscutabid- will be thinking about it
 lebešbelk^w- returning
 šq^wu?šq^wu?- a great many gathered
 swatix^wted- land/earth
 tut(u)eslečed- who filled
 x^wi? k^wi g^wat ?a- no one is existing there
 xik^web- lonely
15. cut- reflexive self
 g^wesdayay- would there be alone
 dx^w?al ti?e? d?iišed- to/toward my people
 ha?i- good
 pasted- white person
 skayu?- dead
 su?abaš x^wecš- will give his thoughts
 teš- true/honest
 x^wi? k^wi pe(d)tab- at no time
 x^wi? lepašak- not unimportant
 yexi- because
16. šud^welyalus-a change of worlds
 s?atabed- death
 tucut čed ?u- did I say
 x^wi? k^wi g^wes?atabed-there is no death
 x^wul - only

APPENDIX B

TREATY SIGNERS FOR THE TREATY OF 1855 (DRAFT)

Below are the names of the Treaty signers which were spelled by someone trying to use English for Lushootseed sounds. When the Tulalip Tribe asked me to read these for an honoring ritual at Mukilteo commemorating the event, I had to try to reconstruct the proper Lushootseed sounds and spelling of these names. It seems proper to include my attempt at a Lushootseed orthographic spelling of these names as an addendum to this paper on Chief Si'áa's Speech.

Names of Treaty signers as they appear on the copy of the Treaty which was distributed on Treaty Day 1986 at Tulalip, Washington, by Bill Black, Superintendent, Western Washington Area Office, BIA, Everett, Washington:

Seattle, Chief of the Dwamish and Suquamish tribes, his X mark [L.S.]

Goliath, Chief of the Skagit and other allied tribes, his X mark.
Snah-talc, or Bonapart, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his X mark.

uch-ka-nam, or George aparte, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his X mark.
Wats-ka-lah-tchie, or John Hobsthoote, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his X mark.
St'hau-ai, Sub-chief of Snoqualmoo, his X mark.

Do-queh-oo-satl, Snoqualmoo tribe, his X mark.
Ts'huanhntcl, Dwa-mish, Sub-chief, his X mark.

S'kwai'swi, Skagit tribe sub-chief, his X mark.

Whai-lan-hu, or Davy Crocket, Sub-chief of Lummi tribe, his X mark.
Kvull-et-hu, Lummi tribe, his X mark.
S'deh-ap'kan, or General Katen, Skagit tribe, his X mark.

uchkanam, or Dome, Skagit tribe, his X mark.
Dahtl-de-min, Sub-chief of Sah-ku-meh-hu, his X mark.

Mis-lo-tche, or Wah-hehl-tchoo Sub-chief of Suquamish, his X mark.

Too-leh-plan, Suquamish tribe his X mark.
We-al-pah, Skaiwhamish tribe his X mark.

Pat-ka-nam, Chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish and other tribes his X mark.

Kwallattum, or General Pierce, Sub-chief of the Skagit tribe, his X mark.
Squash-um, or the Smoke Sub-chief of the Snoqualmoo, his X mark.

Tse-nah-talc, or Joseph Bonaparte, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his X mark.
Smeh-mai-hu, Sub-chief of Skai-wha-mish, his X mark.
Lugs-ken, Sub-chief of Skai-wha-mish, his X mark.

John Kanam, Snoqualmoo Sub-chief, his X mark.
Kwuss-ka-nam, or George Snate-lum, Sen., Skagit tribe his X mark.
Seh-lek-qu, Sub-chief Lummit tribe, his X mark.

She-ah-delt-hu, Sub-chief of Lummi tribe his X mark.

Kleh-kent-soot, Skagit tribe, his X mark.
Chul-whil-tan, Sub-chief of Suquamish tribe, his X mark.

Sats-Kanam, Squin-ah-nush tribe, his X mark.
Sd'zek-du-num, Me-sek-wigulise sub-chief, his X mark.

Sloo-noksh-tan, or Jim, Suquamish tribe, his X mark.

Na-seh-doo-an, or Keo-kuck Dwamish tribe, his X mark.
S;ah'an'hu, or Ballam, Snohomish tribe, his X mark.

Chow-its-hoot, Chief of the Lummi and other tribes, his X mark.

S'hootst-hoot, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his X mark.

See-alla-pa-han, or the Priest, Sub-chief of Sk-tah-le-jum, his X mark.

Na'ski-ooos, or Jackson Sub-chief of Snohomish his X mark.
Slat-eah-ka-nam, Sub-chief of Snoqualmoo, his X mark.

S'heht-soolt, or Peter Sub-chief of Snohomish, his X mark.

Klemsh-ka-nam, Snoqualmoo, X mark.

Hel-mits, or George Snatelum, Skagit sub-chief, his X mark.

S'h'-cheh-ooos, or General Washington, Sub-chief of Lummi tribe, his X mark.

Kvult-seh, Sub-chief of Lummi, his X mark.

Sohn-heh-ovs, Skagit tribe, his X mark.
Ske-eh-tum, Skagit tribe, his X mark.

Sd-zo-mahtl, Kik-lal-lus band, his X mark.
Nov-a-chais, Sub-chief of Swamish, his X mark.

Moo-whah-lad-hu, or Jack, Suquamish tribe his X mark.

Hoovilt-meh, Sub-chief of Suquamish, his X mark.
She-hope, or General Pierce, Skagit tribe his X mark.

Hvn-lah-lakq, or Thomas Jefferson, Lummi tribe his X mark.
Klt-hahl-ten, Lummi tribe his X mark.
Noo-heh-ooos, Snoqualmoo tribe his X mark.

Yim-ka-dam, Snoqualmoo tribe his X mark.

S;hoot-kanam, Snoqualmoo tribe his X mark.

Heh-mahl, Skaiwhamish band, his X mark.

Jonn Taylor, Snohomish tribe his X mark.

T'kwa-ma-han, Skagit tribe, his X mark.

D'zo-lole-gvam-hu, Skagit tribe, his X mark.

Pat-sen, Skagit tribe, his X mark.

Ch-lok-suts, Lummi sub-chief, his X mark.

Cht-siapt, Lummi tribe, his X mark.

Kut-ta-kanam, or John, Lummi tribe, his X mark.
Bweh-uk, Snoqualmoo tribe his X mark.

Twooi-as-kut, Skaiwhamish tribe, his X mark.

Sme-a-kanam, Snoqualmoo tribe, his X mark.

Charley, Skagit tribe, his X mark.

Hatch-kventum, Skagit tribe his X mark.

Sto-dum-kan, Swinamish band, his X mark.

Steh-shail, William, Skaiwhamish band, his X mark.

Pat-teh-us, Noo-wha-ah sub-chief, his X mark.

Tse-sum-ten, Lummi tribe his X mark.

Ch-lah-ben, Noo-qua-cha-mish band, his X mark.
Feh-nus, Skai-whamish his X mark.

luch-al-kanam, Snoqualmoo tribe, his X mark.

Sad-zis-keh, Snoqualmoo, his X mark.

Sampson, Skagit tribe his X mark.

Yo-i-kum, Skagit tribe, his X mark.

Be-lole, Swinomish band, his X mark.

Kel-kahl-tsoot, Swinamish tribe, his X mark.

S'hookk-ka-nam, Lummi sub-chief, his X mark.

My reconstruction of the above names:

1. si'áa, Chief of the dx'duwabé and suq'wabé.
2. sq'elays?, Chief of the Skagit and other allied tribes.
3. snatalq, or Bonapart, Sub-chief of the Snohomish.
4. xéq'idab, or George Bonaparte, Sub-chief of the Snohomish
5. wocqalači, or John hubát, Sub-chief of the Snohomish.
6. stehaway, Sub-chief of the Snoqualmie.
7. duq'w'usasá, Snoqualmie.
8. čuhaná, Duwamish.
9. čak'ayewi, Skagit tribe Sub-chief.
10. x'aylanax', or Davy Crocket, Sub-chief of the Lummi.
11. k'ulatr', Lummi.
12. sdahapqad, or General Warren, Skagit.
13. peč'idab, or Dome, Skagit
14. dač'dabed, Sub-chief of the Sauk.
15. wahéč'ú?, Sub-chief of the suquamish.
16. tuliplen, Suquamish.
17. weaypa?, sqix'wabé.
18. x'anlalaq', or Thomas Jefferson, Lummi.
19. áetalten, Lummi.
20. dx'hig'us, Snoqualmie.
21. petqidab, Chief of the snoqualmie, Snohomish and other tribes.
22. k'alatam, or General Pierce, Sub-chif of the Skagit.
23. sq'eh'ab, or the Smoke, Sub-chief of the snoqualmie.
24. sdatalq, or Joseph Bonapart, Subchief of the Snohomish.
25. smamayú?, Sub-chief of the sqix'wabé.
26. luq'w'ad, Sub-chief of the sqix'wabé.
27. John Kanam, Snoqualmie Sub-chief.
28. k'wesqid, or George adikab, Skagit.
29. selequ'?, Sub-chief of the Lummi.
30. š'í'adaltx', Sub-chief of the Lummi.
31. áakansut, Skagit.
32. čulx'ilten, Sub-chief of the Suquamish.
33. seteqidab, sq'inanuš.

34. sɔ́ʔkɔ́dunɛm, bɛshɪgʰɪgʷɪls Sub-chief.
35. slumukʷstɛn, or Jim, Suquamish.
36. hasɛduʔan, or kiukuck, Duwamish.
37. sʔaharɔ́ʔ, or Ballam, Snohomish.
38. čɛtsɪmpt, Lummi.
39. kut-taqidab, or John, Lummi.
40. xʷɛʔukʷ, Snoqualmie.
41. čawicuʔt, Chief of the Lummi and other tribes.
42. cucut, Sub-chief of the Snohomish.
43. siʔalɛpɛxɔ́d,, or the Priest, Sub-chief of _____.
44. skɛtalijɛm.
45. dakiʔus, or Jackson Sub-chief of the Snohomish.
46. slaʔtiaqidab, Sub-chief of the Snoqualmie.
47. sɛtsult, or Peter Sub-chief of the Snohomish.
48. íabɛqidab, Snoqualmie.
49. Belmits, or George sdiáb, Skagit Sub-chief.
50. sɛpɛčiʔus, or General Washington, Subchief of the Lummi.
51. kʷultsa, Subchief of the Lummi.
52. sunɪxɪpɛbɛ, Skagit.
53. skɛʔitɛm, Skagit.
54. sɔ́ʔumá, kiʔkiʔalus.
55. newáɪs, Subchief of the Swamí.
56. muxʷaladrɔ́, or Jack, Suquamish.
57. hučiltmɛʔ, Sub-chief of the Suquamish.
58. šihup, or General Pierce, Skagit.
59. Čɛssɛtɛn, Lummi.
60. čɛlabɛn, duqʷačabɛ.
61. pɛnus, sɪxɪʷabɛ.
62. yimqidɛm, Snoqualmie.
63. sutqidab, Snoqualmie.
64. hamá, sɪxɪʷabiš.
65. John Taylor, Snohomish.
66. íekʷamahan, Skagit.
67. dʷululɛgʷamɔ́, Skagit.
68. čɛlaqcuts, Lummi Sub-chief.
69. trʷiʔaskʷut, sɪxɪʷabɛ.
70. smɛʔaqidab, Snoqualmie.
71. Charley, Skagit.
72. xɛčkʷɛntum, Skagit.
73. studebqɛd, Swinamish.
74. stɛhsaʔil, William, sɪxɪʷabɛ.
75. pɛtɪus, dxʷaha.
76. lɛčɛlqidab, Snoqualmie.
77. sadʷiaksʔ, Snoqualmie.
78. Sampeon, Skagit.
79. yuqʷab, Skagit.
80. belul, Swinomish.
81. qɛlqɛlcut, Swinamish.
82. čɛlqɪnɛm, Lummi Sub-chief.

BLACKCAPS AND MUSQUEAM

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Blackcaps, or black raspberries (*Rubus leucodermis*), do grow at Musqueam, and are called there ɔ́lqáma. But this is probably their third name.

The history and development of words for "blackcaps" in Salish present a remarkably neat and clear case of replacement leaving marginal residue, a borrowing by a non-Salishan language reflecting an original form unlike its closest Salishan neighbor, overlapping wave-like replacements, and a number of regular and well-attested sound changes. The Proto-Salishan word for "blackcaps" would have been *mɛcɔ́kʷ (where the first vowel was probably epenthetic). This form has reflexes from Comox to Tillamook, and from Quinault to Coeur d'Alene, but has been replaced in Lillooet, Bella Coola, and all but two Central Salish languages (although the Pentlatch name is unknown); and it was borrowed by Kwak'waka. The plant is widely distributed, occurring from the Bella Coola valley to southern California, and from the Pacific coast to the Rocky Mountains (Turner 1975:213-215; Hitchcock and Cronquist 1973:226). The berries were eaten fresh or dried for winter use. They were eaten alone or mixed with dried meat or fish, or mixed with other berries (Turner 1975:215; Turner, Bouchard, and Kennedy 1980:132).

Thirteen languages keep reflexes of *mɛcɔ́kʷ, nine have replaced it; the geographical position of Pentlatch suggests that it could have gone either way. Thompson keeps the original form virtually unchanged, only shifting stress to the first syllable: mɛcɔ́kʷ (Thompson and Thompson ms.). Shuswap, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene all have the same development of the form: mɛcɔ́kʷ (although Carlson and Nicodemus write it without the schwa, it is there phonetically) (Kuipers 1983:42; Carlson ms.; Nicodemus 1975:150). Kuipers reports this word from the Enderby dialect only, and Carlson reports an extension of the meaning to "trailing blackberry" and "sub-alpine blackberry". That the rounding of the (second) vowel to u is secondary is suggested by the ə in Tillamook, Twana, and Kwak'waka, and the a in Okanagan (which is the usual development of stressed ə there). The Okanagan form is mɛcɔ́kʷ (Turner, Bouchard, and Kennedy 1980:132), with the regular vowel development as just noted. Columbian shifts stress to the first syllable, and, as is regular, then loses the second (now unstressed) vowel: mɛc kʷ.

All four Tsamosan languages also shift stress to the first syllable. Cowlitz and Upper Chehalis (at least in its Oakville and Tenino dialects) have a form identical to that in Columbian: mɛc kʷ (Teit transcribed the form for Tenino Chehalis mɪ́'t.s.q; Boas 1925). James Teit, who collected vocabularies of several Tsamosan dialects between 1910 and 1913, recorded both Satsop and Lower Chehalis as mɪ́'t.suk (Boas 1925). The second vowel was undoubtedly ə, but whether it is a reflex of the original vowel or merely an epenthetic or transition vowel (as would be normal in this position) is unclear. Teit glosses all these Tsamosan forms as "blackberry". Modrow (1971) lists no word for "blackcaps" in her Quinault dictionary, and I find none in James Gibson's field notes; however, Modrow does give wɔ́nɛtɛmsmɛtɛhɛx "raspberry" (Modrow 1971:290). In spite of the egregious transcription, it is possible to recognize the first part of this: xʷɔ́nɛtm "white man", and the rest is likely the desired cognate mɛcɔ́kʷ; "white-man's raspberry" is a reasonable description of the wild blackcap.

The Tillamook cognate is given by Boas as sɪwutɛgʷk, and glossed "blackberries" (Boas 1890). Note that this is the only cognate with an s- prefix. The w is the regular development of m in Tillamook, and causes rounding of the epenthetic vowels flanking it (the length indicated on the first is not significant), and ɛ was Boas' regular notation for ə at this period. The final k was probably rounded; see Thompson and Thompson (1966) on the difficulty of perceiving rounding on velars and uvulars in Tillamook.