

34. sɔ́ʔkɔ́dunɛm, bɛshigʷhigʷils Sub-chief.
35. slumukʷstɛn, or Jim, Suquamish.
36. hasɛduʔan, or kiukuck, Duwamish.
37. sʔaharɔ́, or Ballam, Snohomish.
38. čɛtsimpt, 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. siʔalɛpɛxɛd,, 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. sunxipɛbɛ, Skagit.
53. skɛʔitam, Skagit.
54. sɔ́ʔumá, kiʔkiʔalus.
55. newačis, Subchief of the Swamish.
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, sɛixʷabɛ.
62. yimqidab, Snoqualmie.
63. sutqidab, Snoqualmie.
64. hamaí, sɛixʷabiš.
65. John Taylor, Snohomish.
66. íekʷamahan, Skagit.
67. dʷululɛqʷamɔ́, Skagit.
68. čɛlaqcuts, Lummi Sub-chief.
69. trʷiʔaskʷut, sɛixʷabɛ.
70. smɛʔaqidab, Snoqualmie.
71. Charley, Skagit.
72. xɛčkʷɛntum, Skagit.
73. studebqɛd, Swinamish.
74. stɛhsaʔil, William, sɛixʷabɛ.
75. pɛtius, dxʷaha.
76. lɛčɛlqidab, Snoqualmie.
77. sadʷiaksɛʔ, Snoqualmie.
78. Sampeon, Skagit.
79. yuqʷab, Skagit.
80. belul, Swinomish.
81. qɛlqɛlcut, Swinamish.
82. čɛlqinɛm, 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 mɛ́ 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 mɛ́ t s uk (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 w h ɔ́ n t ɛ́ m s m ɛ t c h ɛ x "raspberry" (Modrow 1971:290). In spite of the egregious transcription, it is possible to recognize the first part of this xʷɛ́ n t m "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 sɛwutɛ́ k, 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 ɛ́ 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.

Only two Central Salish languages have cognates of this form reported. Twana has  $b\acute{a}c\acute{s}k^w$  (N. Thompson 1979:17), with regular development of  $m$  to  $b$ . At the other end of the Central Salish continuum, Comox has  $m\acute{s}k^w$  (Timmers 1978:3; he gives the additional gloss "raspberry"). Stress shift and vowel loss are as in Columbian. The regular development of  $*c$  in Comox is  $\theta$  or  $s$ , depending on dialect.

All the above point to the reconstruction given earlier. Confirmation is provided by the one borrowing of the form outside Salish, Kwak'wala  $m\acute{a}d^w\acute{s}k^w$  (Grubb 1977:45). This is precisely like Proto-Salish except for the voiced consonant in the middle. This voicing seems to be a result of reanalysis within Kwak'wala into a root  $m\acute{a}s$  - "crave" and a suffix  $-k^w$  "something which has been", which causes softening of the preceding consonant, that is voices a voiceless stop (this analysis was suggested by Neville Lincoln; note also Boas 1911:507 where the suffix  $-k^w$  is glossed "passive past participle").

Turning now to the replacements of original  $*m\acute{a}c\acute{s}k^w$ , we find four additional constructions, at least three of which are complex and end in a suffix for "berry". Unique forms are found in Bella Coola  $\acute{u}-suk^w\acute{l}t$  (Nater 1977:33) and Lillooet  $c\acute{a}c^w\acute{u}sa^w$  (Williams 1979:67). I can offer no analysis for either, except that the Lillooet form ends in a common Interior Salishan suffix for "berries, small round objects".

Four Central Salish languages use a form based on a (weak) root  $c^wq^w$  - (independent meaning unknown), with the common Central Salish suffix for berry attached. The forms are Sechelt  $c^wq^w\acute{u}ma$  (Timmers 1977:12), Squamish  $c^wq^w\acute{u}m$  (Kuipers 1967:277), Saanich  $ck^w\acute{a}^w\acute{m}a$  (Turner and Bell 1971:87; cf. Suttles 1951), and Clallam  $c^wq^w\acute{u}m\acute{a}$  (Thompson and Kinkade, ms.). The glottal stops in these forms present problems for comparison, but presumably some of those within words have moved forward from word final position, with weakening or loss of the final vowel; it is also possible that the root should end in  $\acute{u}$ . These four forms represent a discontinuity, with Sechelt and Squamish being separated from Saanich and Clallam by Cowichan and Musqueam Halkomelem. The latter, along with Chilliwack Halkomelem, Nooksack, Lummi, and Lushootseed, use forms based on another root, reconstructable for this group of languages as  $*\acute{c}alq-$  (independent meaning unknown), again with the Central Salish berry suffix. The forms are Cowichan and Musqueam  $c\acute{a}lq\acute{a}ma$  (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:23), Chilliwack  $c\acute{a}lq\acute{a}\cdot m\acute{a}$  (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:23) or  $c\acute{a}lq\acute{a}\cdot m\acute{a}$  (Galloway 1977:194), Nooksack  $\acute{c}alq^w\acute{u}m\acute{a}^w$  (Thompson and Kinkade, ms.), Lummi  $\acute{c}alq^w\acute{u}m\acute{e}^w$  (Thompson and Kinkade, ms.), and Lushootseed  $\acute{c}alq^w\acute{u}b\acute{a}^w$  from Skagit speakers and  $\acute{c}alq^w\acute{u}b\acute{a}$  from a Snohomish speaker (both Hess 1976:93). The fronting of  $\acute{c}$  to  $c$  in Halkomelem is regular, as is the lowering of  $u$  to  $o$  in Lummi and  $\acute{a}$  in Halkomelem, the fronting of  $a$  to  $e$  in Lummi, and the change of  $m$  to  $b$  in Lushootseed. The Nooksack stress is probably a misrecording. The loss of final glottal stop in Halkomelem is common, and is the source of the long vowel in the Chilliwack dialect. That the labialization of  $q$  in Nooksack, Lummi, and Lushootseed is secondary before a rounded vowel is shown by its absence in Halkomelem. Whether this last form spread north from Lushootseed, south from Halkomelem, or from Nooksack or Lummi in both directions cannot be determined, but that it divided the area formerly using  $c^wq^w$ -forms is clear. Furthermore, the spread of the intruding form continued until quite recently; instead of the form recorded by Suttles for Saanich, Geoffrey O'Grady recorded  $c\acute{a}lq\acute{a}\cdot m\acute{a}^w$  for the same dialect in the late 1960's (Turner and Bell 1971:87).

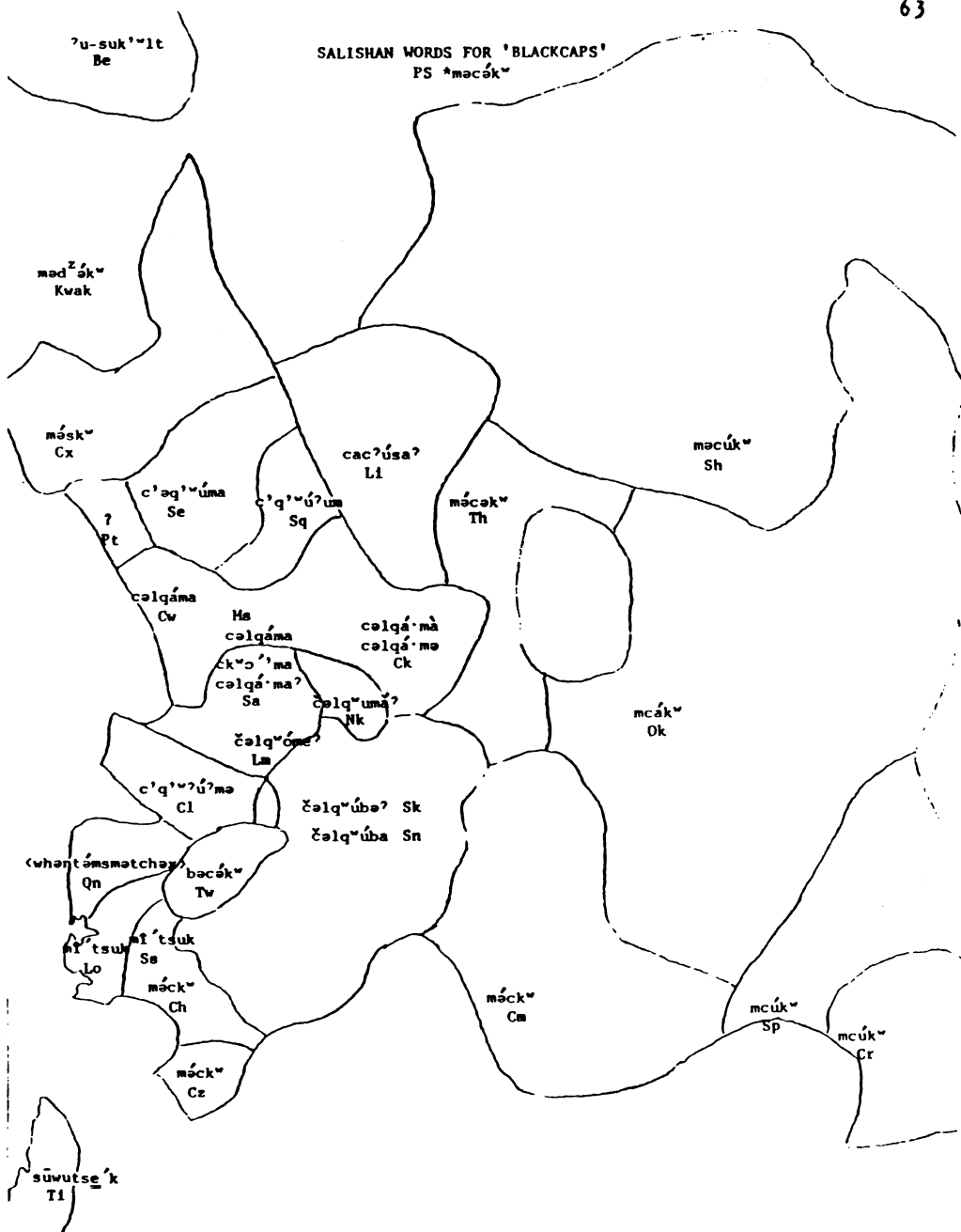
And what has all this to do with Musqueam? Perhaps nothing, but while reading a recently completed manuscript of a grammar of Musqueam by Wayne Suttles, I was struck by the similarity of the root of that place name to words for "blackcap" in other Salishan languages. In peeling away the affixes  $-m$  and then  $-ay^w$  "plant", what is left is  $m\acute{s}k^w$  - or  $m\acute{s}t^w k^w$  - (Suttles recorded both forms), and this is precisely what would be expected from Proto-Salishan  $*m\acute{a}c\acute{s}k^w$ , assuming a stress shift and other regular changes (note the Comox form). However, Musqueam speakers do not associate this place name with blackcaps. Suttles identifies the plant involved as "a plant no longer identifiable", and Arnold Guerin (a native speaker) identifies it as "a coarse grass". But blackcaps do grow at Musqueam.

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SALISHAN WORDS FOR 'BLACKCAPS'  
PS \*mécák\*



SAMISH PHONOLOGY  
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In December of 1983 I was contacted by Dr. Jay Powell of the Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia. He invited me to join him and Ken Hansen, Chairman of the Samish Tribe, in a discussion of the possibility of linguistic fieldwork with a speaker of the Samish dialect of Straits Salish. This was exciting news because the Samish dialect was thought to have become extinct 20 or even 30 years ago; no tapes were known to have been made of this dialect and only a small sample of words had been transcribed (circa 1948 by Wayne Suttles).

The Straits language (or Straits Salish) was aboriginally spoken by peoples along the north shore of the Olympic Peninsula from Clallam Bay to Port Discovery (Clallam) and by peoples on the San Juan and Gulf Islands between Washington and Vancouver Island (Strait of Juan de Fuca and Strait of Georgia) and adjacent coastlines. It was and is spoken in both the state of Washington and the province of British Columbia. It now comprises two languages, Northern Straits and Clallam (most consider these separate languages). Northern Straits includes the following dialects: Sooke, Songish, Saanich, Lummi, and Samish. Semiahmoo may have also been a Northern Straits dialect, but only a few early short word lists survive (for ex. Gibbs ca 1853-1860). Samish speakers aboriginally "dominated a cluster of islands around Samish and Gueemes Islands" (Thompson, Thompson and Efrat 1974:184), probably including Samish, Gueemes, Cypress, Burrows, Allen, Blakely, Decatur, and part of Lopez, San Juan and Fidalgo Islands.

In 1951 Wayne Suttles completed an excellent ethnography of the Straits people as his Ph.D. dissertation, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits". This includes ethnographic information on the Samish and some Samish names and words are cited. Suttles reported working with Charlie Edwards, "probably the last speaker of the Samish dialect", who died in Dec. 1948 and Annie Lyons, a partial speaker of Samish. Chafe 1962 reported approximately two speakers of Samish then alive in Washington, as part of his report on estimates of speakers of North American Indian languages. The only linguistic material available on Samish, besides the handful in Suttles 1951, is that in Thompson, Thompson and Efrat 1974 (two words, and perhaps nine more quoted as being the same in all Northern Straits dialects). Until 1983 linguists had thought that the last speakers of Samish were dead.

Ken Hansen, chairman of the Samish Tribe, headquartered in Anacortes, Washington, on Fidalgo Island, had learned of a man living in British Columbia who still spoke Samish fluently. He and anthropologist Sally Snyder interviewed him in 1983 and recorded a Samish text, The Maiden of Deception Pass, from him. He was indeed fluent and speaks both the