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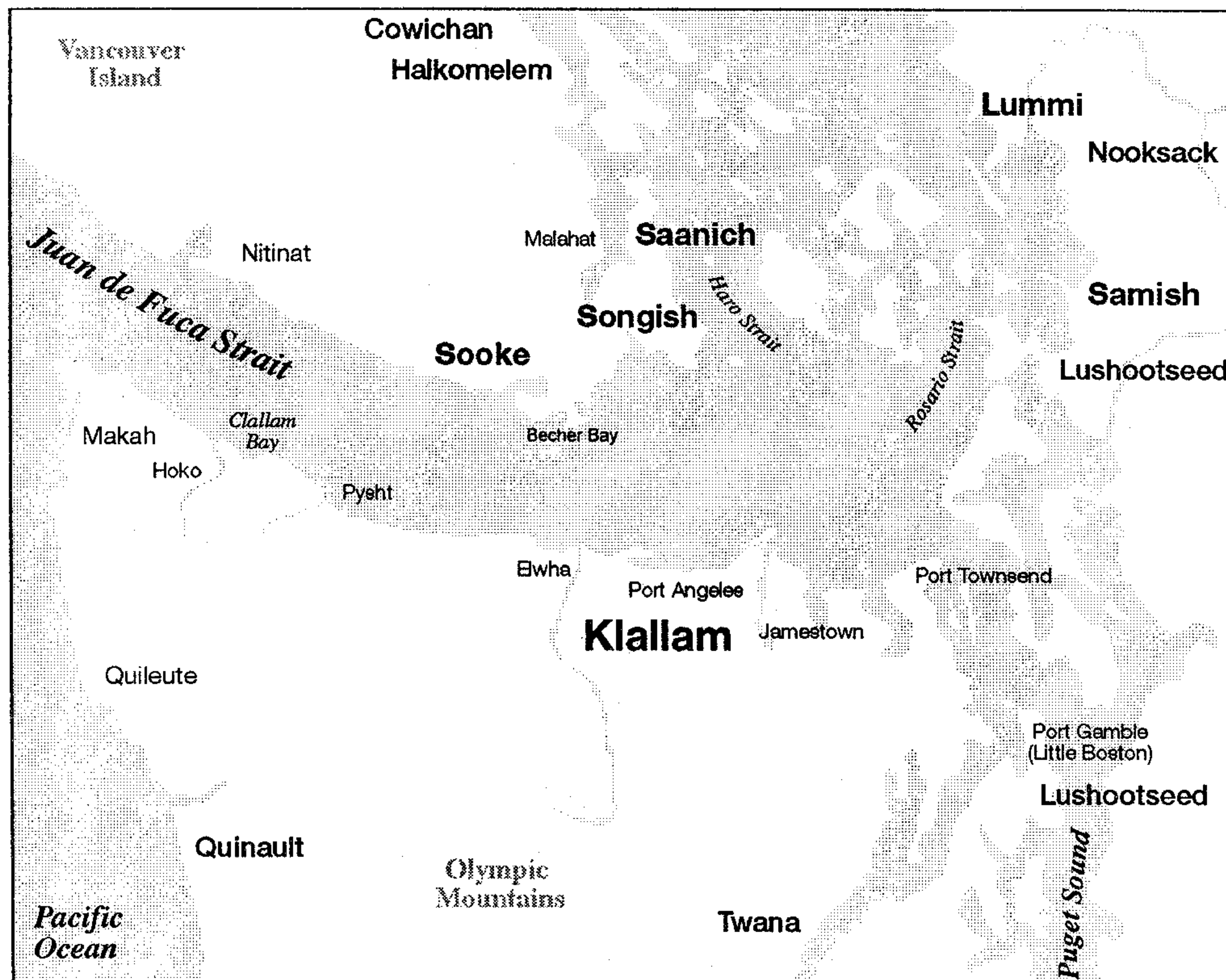
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**Abstract.** Within Salishan linguistics, the term "Straits" has been used with various meanings. This article shows that Straits Salishan is composed of two very closely related languages: Klallam and Northern Straits. These form a subgroup in the Central Coast Salishan division of the Salishan language family. Klallam is composed of three dialects, and Northern Straits comprises a dialect continuum composed of Sooke, Songish, Saanich, Lummi, and Samish. Within the Saanich dialect of the Northern Straits language, we can identify two subdialects. This article summarizes the history of the terminological confusion, demonstrates that Klallam is a distinct language, lists distinguishing features of the varieties, and discusses problems and complicating factors, including dialect identification, gender differences, generational differences, and new, revitalized varieties of these endangered languages.

**1. Introduction.** *Straits Salishan*<sup>1</sup> denotes a group of languages and dialects originally spoken in the area of Juan de Fuca, Haro, and Rosario Straits, north and west of Puget Sound in Washington and British Columbia. These constitute a subgroup of the Central Coast Salishan language family, bounded to the south, east, and north by other Salishan languages, including Quinault, Twana, Lushootseed, Nooksack, and Halkomelem, and bounded to the west by the non-Salishan languages Nitinaht, Makah, and Quileute. As this article will demonstrate, Straits Salishan is composed of two languages: Klallam and Northern Straits. Each of these languages shows dialect variation.

Klallam is spoken on the northern shore of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington and across Juan de Fuca Strait at Becher Bay on Vancouver Island. Northern Straits comprises a group of mutually intelligible dialects spoken on southern Vancouver Island and across the islands of the Haro and Rosario Straits to the Washington mainland near Bellingham. Although Northern Straits people recognize their linguistic similarity, they have traditionally identified themselves with one of five smaller ethnolinguistic or ethnogeographic groups: Sooke, Songish (also called Lkungen and other names, with various similar spellings in the literature), Saanich, Lummi, and Samish. A possible sixth dialect, "Semiahmoo," mentioned by Gibbs (1863), but not further documented before its extinction, was spoken on the mainland to the north of the Lummi area. Map 1 shows the geographical positions of these groups.<sup>2</sup>



Map 1. The Straits Salishan linguistic area.

The major groups and dialects are presented in table 1.<sup>3</sup>

Table 1. Major Groups and Dialects of Straits Salishan

<p>I. Klallam (KL)</p> <p>A. Western (WKL)</p> <p>1. Pysht, Clallam Bay</p> <p>2. Elwha</p> <p>B. Eastern (EKL)</p> <p>1. Jamestown</p> <p>2. Little Boston (Port Gamble)</p> <p>C. Becher Bay (BBKL)</p>	<p>II. Northern Straits (NST)</p> <p>A. Sooke (SO)</p> <p>B. Songish (SG)</p> <p>C. Saanich (SA)</p> <p>1. West Saanich (WSA)</p> <p>2. East Saanich (ESA)</p> <p>D. Lummi (LM)</p> <p>E. Samish (SM<sub>VU</sub>, SM<sub>LD</sub>, SM<sub>TB</sub>, SM<sub>?</sub>)<sup>4</sup></p> <p>F. Semiahmoo</p>
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In the literature documenting Straits Salishan language and culture, there has been some disagreement and inconsistency regarding the meaning and usage of the term “Straits” and the identity of constituent dialects.<sup>5</sup> What I hope to do here is (1) clear up some of this confusion and show how Klallam and Northern Straits are alike and how they are different; (2) show that, although

the Northern Straits dialects are all mutually intelligible, there is lexical, phonological, and morphological variety among and even within them, so that descriptive statements about one may not be correct for another; and (3) discuss the problem of the four varieties of "Samish" that appear in the literature.

Section 2 discusses the history of the terminological confusion. Section 3 discusses the level of mutual intelligibility between Klallam and Northern Straits. Section 4 summarizes the lexical differences between Klallam and the Northern Straits dialects, while sections 5 and 6 discuss the phonological and grammatical differences. Section 7 describes the problem of the four recorded varieties of Samish. Section 8 briefly discusses dialect differences within Saanich and within Klallam. Section 9 points out some other complicating factors in sorting out the varieties, including generational differences, male-female differences, and the new, revitalized varieties of the Straits languages and dialects. Section 10 summarizes the conclusions.

**2. The history of the terminological confusion.** There have been various attempts at sorting out the varieties of Straits Salishan. Apparently, the earliest suggestion of a grouping is that of George Gibbs (1863). Gibbs, an adventurer and amateur anthropologist and linguist, grouped Klallam with Sooke and Songish as dialects of one language; Lummi, Saanich, and Semiahmoo as dialects of another; and Samish as a dialect of Lushootseed. Gibbs knew Klallam and Lummi, but there is no record of him having direct contact with any of the Canadian varieties of Northern Straits. However, given his knowledge of Klallam and Lummi, it is significant that he placed the two as separate languages.

Another pioneer, Myron Eells, who was a missionary to the Klallam and Twana at the Skokomish Reservation from 1874 and a prolific amateur anthropologist, commented that the Lummi language is a dialect of Klallam (Castile 1985:18). Eells apparently had some exposure to Klallam and Twana, but had very little exposure to Lummi. He was probably relying on second-hand reports, since he confessed himself being "unable to master any of the native languages of the peoples he worked with" (Elmendorf 1985:452).

Boas (1891) reports on fieldwork conducted on Songish in 1889. Boas refers to all of the Salishan languages as "dialects" in the sense used at the time by philologists, who, for example, referred to the Indo-European languages as "dialects" of Proto-Indo-European. He does specifically, though, state that "the same language, with only slight dialectic peculiarities" is spoken by the Saanich, Sooke, and Klallam (Boas 1891:563). There is no record in his publications that Boas had any direct knowledge of any Straits language or dialect other than Songish. It seems likely that he took this classification on the judgment of his native-speaking consultants.

Charles Hill-Tout, a pioneering Canadian anthropologist, had more knowledge of Salishan languages than did Gibbs, Eells, or Boas (see Montler [1996b] for a discussion of Hill-Tout's linguistics). In the introduction to his description

of Songish (Hill-Tout 1907), he was the first to lump all of Straits Salishan together as one language. He put Sooke, Saanich, Songish, Lummi, and Klallam together and referred to them as "LEK·oñénEñ" (*lək'wəŋín'əŋ*). Hill-Tout referred to the Songish language as "LEKúñEn" (*lək'wəŋən*).

Actually, the word *lək'wəŋən* is what the Songish people call themselves, not their name for their language. The word *lək'wəŋín'əŋ* is the name used by all of the Straits languages and dialects, including Songish, for the language of the Songish people who live on the Songhees and Esquimalt reserves and earlier in other villages on southern Vancouver Island.<sup>6</sup> The term *lək'wəŋín'əŋ* does refer to a linguistic unity, but only to the linguistic unity of those early villages and of what we today call Songish, not to all of Straits Salishan. It seems that Hill-Tout understood this term as the Songish word referring to the linguistic unity of all of Straits Salishan. He came to this conclusion, no doubt, because of its phonetic similarity to Northern Straits *ləq'əmín'əŋ* and to Halkomelem *halq'əméynəm*, the latter of which refers to the linguistic unity of the Halkomelem dialect continuum—a related language that neighbors Straits to the north and with which Hill-Tout was very familiar.

It is clear that Hill-Tout's (1907) classification relied on anecdotal reports of language similarity and not on firsthand knowledge of the languages in question. His work shows knowledge of Songish structure, but he did not know Klallam at all. Hill-Tout (1907:307) shows his unfamiliarity with Klallam by listing three villages at Becher Bay as "Songish." The three village names are clearly Klallam words; the first, "Nukstlaiyum," is obviously *nəx'wəš'áy'əm'*, the Klallam word for 'Klallam'. The second, "Tcīánuk·," is *čiyánnəx'w*, the Klallam plural of *čánnəx'w* 'salmon'. This was the name of one of the Klallam villages at Becher Bay and is the current name for the Klallam reserve at Becher Bay. The third, "Tcīwétsun," is *č'ix'wícən*, the name of one of the largest of all the Klallam villages, which was not at Becher Bay at all, but across the Strait of Juan de Fuca. It is today the Klallam name for the city of Port Angeles, Washington, which stands partly on the spot of the original Klallam village.<sup>7</sup>

Boas and Haeberlin's (1927) landmark comparison of Salishan languages used Hill-Tout's data for the Straits group. They followed his classification, and their work subsequently became the standard followed by Morris Swadesh, Wayne Suttles, and others.

The term "Straits" for this group was first used by Suttles (1951) in his dissertation on the culture of the peoples of Haro and Rosario Straits, which is now the standard reference on this culture area. This work covers the Sooke, Songish, Saanich, Semiahmoo, Lummi, and Saanich in detail and touches on the Becher Bay Klallam. There is no discussion of the main body of the Klallam people on the south side of Juan de Fuca Strait.

Suttles included Klallam as part of what he referred to as the "Straits" language.<sup>8</sup> But although he clearly knew Northern Straits well and was the first to provide accurate phonetic transcriptions of words from the Northern Straits

dialects, he primarily focused on the culture of the peoples on the north side of Juan de Fuca Strait.

Suttles's Klallam language data were from the people of Becher Bay, whose Klallam dialect shows lexical and phonological influence from the Northern Straits dialects. Some of the transcribed cultural terms that Suttles presents generally as "Straits" are not even cognate with the Klallam terms. Suttles did recognize Hill-Tout's (1907) mistake with the three village names, but he was not familiar enough with the main body of the Klallam language to recognize that the third was the name for the village at Port Angeles.

This third name, the word *č'ix<sup>w</sup>icn*, is clearly and uniquely a Klallam word and has a transparent Klallam etymology. The word is composed of a root *č'əyax<sup>w</sup>* 'enter' and a suffix *-icn* 'back'. The whole refers to the position of the village at the base of (inside and behind from the point of view of the open sea) the spit at Port Angeles.

In the 1960s, Laurence C. Thompson and M. Terry Thompson became the first to study the Klallam language in detail. They were also the first professional linguists to have direct experience with both Klallam and Northern Straits. In Thompson and Thompson (1971) and in Thompson (1979), they state, but give no evidence, that Klallam is so divergent from the Northern Straits dialects as to constitute a separate language.<sup>9</sup> For Thompson (1979:695), Straits is not a language, but a subgroup of Central Coast Salishan comprised of two languages. In my work on Klallam in the 1970s and on Northern Straits (Saanich) in the 1980s, it seemed clear to me also that the two should be considered distinct languages. I have stated this in print (Montler 1986:5), but provided no evidence until now.

These unsupported contradictory claims have led to such recent statements as those of Galloway (1990:vi), who refers to the "Straits language" as including Klallam, then two sentences later states that Northern Straits and Klallam constitute two separate languages. Jelinek and Demers (1994) use the term "Straits Salish" in the title and throughout the text of their article, and much of what they say is relevant to all of the Straits group (and probably to neighboring Halkomelem, Nooksack, and Lushootseed, as well), but much of the phonological and morphological detail is true only of Northern Straits, and most of their data are strictly Lummi.

Suttles's determination of what he includes has changed over the years since he first established the language name "Straits." In Suttles (1951), Klallam is included as part of a Straits language. In an article from 1960, he excludes Klallam: "The speakers of Straits are the Sooke, Songish, and Saanich of Vancouver Island and the Samish, Lummi, and Semiahmoo on the opposite mainland" (Suttles 1987:30). Yet later, in 1972, he lists these same dialects, then continues: "Clallam on the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca is either a divergent dialect of Straits or a closely related language" (Suttles 1987:103).

The problem is that, though the status of Northern Straits and Klallam as different languages has been authoritatively asserted, it has nowhere been demonstrated. Yet if, for example, we were to examine the phonological and lexical isoglosses separating the well-established interior Salishan languages Okanagan and Kalispel, we would find them to be no more extensive than those described by Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) as separating Klallam and Northern Straits. Swadesh (1950:160) finds the same time depth, 1.2 periods, separating Okanagan and Kalispel as separating Klallam and Lummi, and an even greater time depth, 1.3 periods, separating Klallam and "Lkungen" (Songish). Although nowhere have Okanagan and Kalispel been explicitly demonstrated to be distinct languages, the distinction is never questioned. The status of Okanagan and Kalispel as distinct languages has not been questioned and has not needed to be demonstrated because they have not suffered under the weight of the historical precedence and prominence of statements to the contrary by great pioneers such as Boas, Hill-Tout, and Suttles.

**3. The mutual unintelligibility of Klallam and Northern Straits.** The mutual intelligibility of Klallam and Northern Straits was tested by playing tape recordings of Klallam narrative to Saanich speakers and of Saanich and Samish narrative to Klallam speakers. My first experience doing this was when I played for a Saanich speaker tapes of a Klallam speaker telling short personal anecdotes and short traditional tales, recorded by Laurence C. Thompson and M. Terry Thompson a few years before. The two women were of approximately the same age, and both were considered excellent speakers in their respective communities. I assumed at the time that Klallam and Saanich were moderately mutually intelligible—my intent was to have the Saanich speaker assist me in translating the Klallam tape. The Saanich speaker and I had already done such work with both recently recorded and older, noisy tapes of Saanich speakers. On hearing the recording, the Saanich speaker's first reaction was surprise: "Oh, that's just like ours." She was, however, unable to translate—she could only make out a word or a phrase here and there. Repeated listening did not increase comprehension.

In playing Saanich and Samish recordings of anecdotes and tales for various Klallam speakers, the results were the same. They readily noted the similarity, but were never able pick out more than an occasional phrase for translation.

One of my Saanich consultants is the former son-in-law of one of my Becher Bay Klallam consultants. For some time, years ago, the two men had lived and worked together. I had worked independently with each, translating previously recorded narratives in their own languages. Each claims, from their experience of talking together years before, that Saanich and Klallam are mutually intelligible. I played for each a recorded narrative that the other speaker had easily helped me translate. Neither was able to translate the other's language. Each

commented something to the effect that, if they could keep the tape and listen to it for a few days, they could figure it out for me. Repeated listening, however, did not produce better results.

These were not carefully controlled experiments. Nevertheless, I have played Klallam tapes (not always of the same speakers) for three of the Saanich speakers I have worked with, and Saanich and Samish tapes for four Klallam speakers, and the results have always been the same. These tests provide some indication of how close the languages are. There are surely many common phrases that are nearly identical across all or most of the dialects. For example, *w'xčít cn* 'I know it' and *?áw(ə)nə nsxčít* 'I don't know' are nearly the same across all Northern dialects and Klallam as well. Connected text in either language, however, with its full range of lexical, phonological, and grammatical differences, magnifies the divergence enough to render one language unintelligible to speakers of the other.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast, Saanich speakers have no trouble translating Samish recordings, even when they are old and of poor quality. (See section 7 for a discussion of the results of playing a Samish recording for Saanich speakers.)

Boas (1891) and Hill-Tout (1907) relied on the judgments of native speakers of Songish as to the degree of similarity between the Northern Straits dialects and Klallam. Such judgments are not reliable. The high degree of multilingualism, feelings of kinship, and other cultural factors account for the unreliability of native speakers' judgments about what is and what is not the same language. My main Saanich-speaking consultant insists that Cowichan, a dialect of Halkomelem, is closer to Saanich than Klallam is, but—in terms of any objective linguistic parameter aside from a few lexical items and the fact that both Cowichan and Saanich, but not Klallam, have  $\theta$ —Saanich and Klallam are much more similar to each other than either is to Cowichan. Sarah Thomason (p.c. 1996) has observed a similar situation among her Flathead (Montana Salish) consultants. One of the native speakers with whom she has been working listed not only the expected Spokane (which all linguists agree is a dialect of the same language as Montana Salish) as basically the same language, but also Colville, usually considered a sister language, and even Nez Perce, which, by any linguistic standard, is a member of an entirely different language family.

**4. Lexical differences.** To illustrate the level of difference in the basic lexicons among the languages and dialects, I have used Swadesh's (1955) 100-word list to arrive at percentage ranges of lexical similarity between each pair of northern dialects and between each of these and Klallam. The complete list of words for each language is given in the appendix.<sup>11</sup>

Swadesh designed his 100-word list as a set of "universal . . . non-cultural . . . easily identifiable broad concepts" (Swadesh 1955:124) for use in producing an absolute measure of the time depth of a dialect split. My goal in using this word



list is somewhat different from Swadesh's: I am using it to provide part of a measure of mutual intelligibility at the lexical level, not a measure of time depth.

In glottochronology, cognates found in two languages are counted to arrive at a percentage. My percentages are also mainly a count of cognates, except for two words: item 3 'we' and item 28 'skin' (see appendix). The subject enclitic *st* 'we' in Klallam is probably cognate with *ʔtə* 'we' in Saanich, but I did not count them as "same," since native speakers do not recognize them as such. The Klallam word for 'skin', *k'wáw'i?*, is not recognized by Saanich speakers, and Northern Straits *k'wálaw* is not recognized by Klallam speakers. The two words are cognate, but are not mutually intelligible, having been made unrecognizable by a series of sound changes in Klallam involving metathesis of *l* and *w*, *l* becoming *y*, followed by vocalization of *y* to *i*.<sup>12</sup>

Mutual intelligibility of lexical items is not symmetrical. One dialect may have two words for an item for which another dialect has only one. For example, Saanich has two words meaning 'root', as shown in item 26 in the appendix, while Klallam has one. The Saanich speaker would always understand the Klallam speaker referring to this item, but the Klallam speaker would understand the Saanich speaker only when the Saanich speaker used the cognate form. For purposes of my mutual intelligibility percentages, given in table 2, I have counted such cases as "partially the same"; it is these cases that make for the ranges of percentages shown.

The asymmetry of lexical mutual intelligibility can also be due to phonological obscurity. Thus, Saanich *séləs*, 'hand' (item 48 in the appendix), can be interpreted more or less readily by a Klallam speaker who has had a little exposure to Northern Straits, but the Klallam cognate, *cays*, is obscure to Saanich speakers.<sup>13</sup> In order to provide a conservative estimate of lexical difference, I have counted these cases as simply the same. If we were to count such pairs as different or only partially the same, the lower limit of the ranges for Klallam in table 2 would be around two percentage points less. Phonological differences are discussed in section 5.

**Table 2. Percent "Same" in the Swadesh 100-Word List**

	KL	SO	SG	SA	LM	SM <sub>TB</sub>	SM <sub>VU</sub>
SO	84-90						
SG	71-79	83-91					
SA	72-80	86-94	87-96				
LM	72-79	86-87	81-87	82-89			
SM <sub>TB</sub>	74-78	85	81-87	83-87	92-94		
SM <sub>VU</sub>	73-79	86-91	82-89	84-92	93-96	92-99	
SM <sub>LD</sub>	76-80	86-88	83-88	85-91	95	94-95	97-100

As can be seen in the appendix, I was not able to find all one hundred words for any of the languages or dialects. For Klallam, Saanich, and Lummi, ninety-nine of the words were found; I was able to find item 45 'claw' only in Songish. Otherwise, for Songish, ninety-six of the items were found; for Samish<sub>VU</sub>, ninety; for Samish<sub>LD</sub>, seventy-nine; and for Samish<sub>TB</sub>, seventy-eight. Sooke is lexically the most underdocumented of the dialects, with only seventy of the items being found. So the percentages given for Sooke are probably unrealistically high. The numbers in table 2 are percentages of "sames" among occurring pairs. Thus, between Klallam and Lummi, for example, we have ninety-nine comparable pairs, but between Sooke and Samish<sub>LD</sub>, the percentage is based on only fifty-nine pairs.

Note that, aside from the comparisons with Sooke, the Klallam percentages range in the seventies. This is certainly in the range of difference between two closely related languages. The same procedure applied to standard Italian and Spanish, for example, gives 83 percent obvious cognates. The Klallam-Northern Straits difference is comparable to that between the two Interior Salishan languages, Colville and Spokane, which have 74 percent cognates. The percent of cognates among the other dialects range in the high eighties and nineties.<sup>14</sup>

If we were to add commonly used words to this basic word list, we would find, in comparing Klallam and Northern Straits, many other noncognates or cognates with skewed meanings. For example, there is a Saanich word *stáləs* meaning 'spouse'; *nəstáləs* is 'my husband' if a woman is speaking, but 'my wife' if a man is. In Klallam, 'my husband' is *n(ə)swáy'qa?* and 'my wife' is *n(ə)stáni*, literally, 'my man' and 'my woman', respectively. There is no separate root meaning 'spouse' in Klallam. There is, however, a word in Klallam, *ta?yús* 'married couple', that is cognate with the Saanich root. A few commonly occurring noncognates are listed in table 3. These involve pairs where, as far as I have been able to determine, neither language has a cognate in the other.

**Table 3. Commonly Occurring Noncognates in Klallam and Saanich**

KL	SA	
<i>cət</i>	<i>men</i>	'father'
<i>χ'k<sup>w</sup>ət</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ánət</i>	'take it'
<i>k<sup>w</sup>ítšn</i>	<i>st'<sup>θ</sup>áq<sup>w</sup>i?</i>	'spring salmon'
<i>qəčqs</i>	<i>θéw'ən</i>	'coho salmon'
<i>c'su?</i>	<i>št'<sup>θ</sup>əŋél'ə</i>	'stomach'
<i>χ'áyuc'i</i>	<i>?ánəx<sup>w</sup></i>	'stop'
<i>qχqín</i>	<i>yəyásəŋ</i>	'play'
<i>sŋátšn</i>	<i>yek'<sup>w</sup></i>	'hire'
<i>y(ə)ščnúŋət</i>	<i>tsas</i>	'poor'

**5. Phonological differences.** The most striking differences and similarities between Klallam and the Northern Straits dialects are phonological. With regard to similarity, the postvelar nasal is a very common sound and is distinctive

of this group among the languages of southern British Columbia and northern Washington.<sup>15</sup> In cognates, all dialects share the vowel *i* and the consonants given in table 4, though with some variation in *ʔ* and *h*, the strength of the ejectives, and the presence or absence of laryngealization in the sonorants.

**Table 4. Shared Consonants in Straits Salishan**

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q<sup>w</sup></i>	
<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>č'</i>	<i>χ'</i>	<i>k'<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>q'</i>	<i>q'<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	<i>s</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>h</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
<i>m'</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>y'</i>		<i>w'</i>	<i>ŋ'</i>		

The phonetic differences are found in the sound correspondences given in table 5. They differ from those given in Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) in that I am including rather narrow phonetic differences. Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) were interested in historical reconstruction. Here, the intent is to display dialect differences.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 5. Sound Correspondences in Straits Salishan**

KL	SO	SG	SA	LM	SM <sub>TB</sub>	SM <sub>VU</sub>	SM <sub>LD</sub>	SM <sub>?</sub>
<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s/θ</i>	<i>s/θ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s/θ</i>	<i>s/θ</i>	<i>s/θ</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>c'</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>c'/t'<sup>θ</sup></i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>c'/t'<sup>θ</sup></i>	<i>c'/t'<sup>θ</sup></i>	<i>t'<sup>θ</sup></i>	<i>c'</i>
<i>y/i</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a/v</i>	<i>ɔ/v</i>	<i>v/ɑ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a/u</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>e/æ</i>	<i>æ/ɛ</i>	<i>a/æ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>∅/a/ə<sup>17</sup></i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>

There are phonological as well as phonetic differences between Klallam and Northern Straits. In Klallam, *\*l* has undergone a context-free merger with *\*y*, which then merges with *\*i* in many environments.<sup>18</sup> In all of the Northern Straits dialects except for SM<sub>?</sub>, *\*c* has, in a context-free pattern of variable change, merged, at least partially, with *\*s* (see Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat [1974] for discussion of this pattern). Phonologically, these are the things that account for much of the lack of mutual intelligibility. Compare, for example, the cognate sets in (1a)–(1f).

(1a) SA *ʔéʔlən* : SO *ʔéʔyən* : KL *ʔáʔiŋ* 'house'

(1b) SA *sq<sup>w</sup>alélənəx<sup>w</sup>* : KL *sq<sup>w</sup>iyáyŋx<sup>w</sup>* 'blackberries'

(1c) SA *x<sup>w</sup>əlx<sup>w</sup>ílənəx<sup>w</sup>* 'Indians' : KL *x<sup>w</sup>iyíyŋx<sup>w</sup>* 'village'

(1d) SA *séləs* : KL *cays* 'hand'

(1e) SA *séčəs* : KL *cačc* 'uncle/aunt'

(1f) SA *θíl'əč* : KL *cé?ič* 'discover'

Aside from differences in inventory there are differing patterns of phonotactics and phonological processes. In Saanich, stressed vowels have very little variation. In Klallam, stressed vowels are lowered (*i* → *é*, *ú* → *ó*) before *ʔ* and, for some speakers, also before *y'* and *w'*, as in (2a)–(2c).<sup>19</sup>

(2a) KL *?ipt* 'brush it', *?e?pt* 'brushing it'; SA *?ípət*, *?i?pət*

(2b) KL *šupt* 'whistle', *šo?pt* 'whistling'; SA *šapt*, *ša?pt*

(2c) KL *mohóy'* ~ *muhúy'* 'basket'; SA *máay'*

In casual speech, Klallam *ʔ* may be deleted, resulting in a phonologization of the *i/é* and *ú/ó* oppositions. This may occur anywhere but especially before stops, as in (3a) and (3b).

(3a) KL *?e?tt* ~ *?ett* 'sleeping' (*?itt* 'sleep')

(3b) KL *šo?pt* ~ *šopt* 'whistling' (*šupt* 'whistle')

Klallam tolerates consonant clusters much more than do the other varieties of Straits Salishan. Whereas one of the most common sounds in Saanich is unstressed ə, in some varieties of Klallam it hardly appears at all. This absence of unstressed schwa gives Klallam, especially Western Klallam, many long consonant clusters. The appendix shows many examples; the cognates shown in (4a)–(4d) are extreme, though not unusual, cases.

(4a) KL *?cʔtayŋx<sup>w</sup>* 'person, Indian'<sup>20</sup> : SA *?əttélaŋəx<sup>w</sup>* 'person'

(4b) KL *ʔq'čšʔša?* : SA *ʔq'əčəššé?* 'fifty'

(4c) KL *sʔ'e?ʔ'ʔqʔ* : SA *sʔ'í?ʔ'əʔqəʔ* 'youngster'

(4d) KL *?tttúŋʔ* (root *?itt* + *t* 'transitive' + *uŋʔ* '1st person pl. obj.')<sup>21</sup> : SA *?ətəttál'x<sup>w</sup>* (root *?itat* + *t* 'transitive' + *al'x<sup>w</sup>* '1st person pl. obj.') 'put us to sleep'

Also, with the lack of unstressed schwa, often what are nonsyllabic sonorant consonants in Northern Straits correspond to syllabic sonorants and unstressed vowels in Klallam. Examples can be found in the appendix; see also (1a) and (5a)–(5f).

(5a) KL *cu?cáw'* 'offshore' (from reduplicated *cw'caw'*); cf. SA *səséw'* 'beach'

(5b) KL *nx<sup>w</sup>sʔ'aym* ~ *nx<sup>w</sup>sʔ'á?im* ~ *nəx<sup>w</sup>sʔ'áy'm* ~ *nəx<sup>w</sup>sʔ'áy'əm* 'Klallam' : SA *x<sup>w</sup>sʔ'éləm*

(5c) KL *t'ák<sup>w</sup>i* : SA *t'ék<sup>w</sup>əl* 'cross over'

(5d) KL *tu?ísti* : SA *tawístəl* 'run away with each other'

(5e) KL *yəcúst* ~ *icúst* : SA *yəθást* 'tell someone something'

(5f) KL *λ'áyuc'i* 'stop' (not analyzable and without NST cognates, but cf. Lushootseed *λ'əl* 'silent')

In Saanich, with many consonant clusters broken by unstressed schwa, there is typically only one nonschwa vowel per word, and this is the stressed vowel *i*, *e*, or *a*. In Klallam, on the other hand, because of the lack of unstressed schwa, *w* often surfaces as *u*, *y* (from both Proto-Straits *y* and *l*) becomes *i*, and schwa becomes *a* before *ʔ*. So, as (5a)–(5f) show, Klallam words often have a number of nonschwa vowels. In Saanich, the glides vocalize in certain environments (see Montler 1986:30, section 1.5.7), but are never stressed and never undergo deletion or reduction as vowels. In Klallam, on the other hand, sometimes even nonschwa unstressed vowels, including syllabic *y*, are deleted, as in (6).

(6) WKL *č'x<sup>w</sup>íc<sup>n</sup>*, EKL *č'ix<sup>w</sup>íc<sup>n</sup>* < *č'əyax<sup>w</sup>-ic<sup>n</sup>* 'Port Angeles'

Loss of unstressed *ə* further amplifies the phonic difference between Klallam and Northern Straits by giving Klallam oppositions such as *k'<sup>w</sup>ánt<sup>s</sup>* 'he looks at it' versus *k'<sup>w</sup>án<sup>c</sup>* 'look at me' (cf. Saanich *k'<sup>w</sup>ánətəs* 'he looks at it' and *k'<sup>w</sup>ánəs* 'look at me') that are as difficult for speakers of Northern Straits—which generally does have *ts* sequences but no affricate *c*—to hear as they are for speakers of English.

There are other minor phonological differences. For example, Northern Straits, but not Klallam, has lost certain intervocalic consonants, resulting in a surface distinction of length in the vowels *a* and *e*, as shown in (7a)–(7c).

(7a) KL *muhúy'* : SA *máay'* 'basket'

(7b) EKL *sčánənəx<sup>w</sup>* : SA *sčéenəx<sup>w</sup>* 'salmon'

(7c) EKL *?úyət* : SA *?áat* 'go aboard'

The sum of these large and small differences gives Klallam an overall sound distinctly different from that of the Northern Straits dialects.

**6. Grammatical differences.** While the grammatical differences between Klallam and Northern Straits and among the Northern Straits dialects are small compared to the phonological differences, they add to the limitations on mutual intelligibility. While a detailed comparative grammar of the two lan-

guages is beyond the scope of this article, the following sections illustrate the differences found in several major areas of the grammar.

**6.1. Differences in person marking.** Basic person markers for main clause subjects are given in table 6, for objects in table 7, and for genitives in table 8.<sup>22</sup>

**Table 6. Main Clause Subject Markers**

	1SG	1PL	2	3TRANS
KL	<i>cn</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>cx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-s</i>
SO	<i>sn</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-əs</i>
SG	<i>sən</i>	<i>ttə</i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-əs</i>
SA	<i>sən</i>	<i>ttə</i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-əs</i>
LM	<i>sən</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-əs</i>
SM <sub>VU</sub>	<i>sən</i>	<i>ttə</i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-əs</i>
SM <sub>LD</sub>	<i>sn</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-əs</i>
SM <sub>TB</sub>	<i>sən</i>	<i>ttə</i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-əs</i>

**Table 7. Object Markers**

	1SG	1PL	2
KL	<i>-c/-uŋ(ə)s<sup>23</sup></i>	<i>-uŋt</i>	<i>-c/-uŋə</i>
SO	<i>-s/-oŋəs</i>	<i>-oŋət</i>	<i>-s/-oŋə</i>
SG	<i>-s/-aŋəs</i>	<i>-əlx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-sə/-aŋə</i>
SA	<i>-s/-aŋəs</i>	<i>-al'x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-sə/-aŋə</i>
LM	<i>-oŋəs</i>	<i>-oŋət</i>	<i>-oŋəs</i>
SM <sub>VU</sub>	<i>-s/-aŋəs</i>	<i>-al'x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-sə/-aŋə</i>
SM <sub>LD</sub>	<i>-s/-aŋəs</i>	<i>-aŋt</i>	<i>-s/-sə/-aŋə</i>

**Table 8. Genitive Markers**

	1SG	1P	2	3
KL	<i>n-/nə<sup>24</sup></i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>n'/?ən'-</i>	<i>-s</i>
SO	<i>nə-</i>	<i>-tt</i>	<i>?ən'-/hən'-</i>	<i>-s</i>
SG	<i>nə-</i>	<i>-ttə</i>	<i>?ən'-/n'-</i>	<i>-s</i>
SA	<i>nə-</i>	<i>-ttə</i>	<i>?ən'-/n'-</i>	<i>-s</i>
LM	<i>nə-</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>?ən'-/n'-</i>	<i>-s</i>
SM <sub>VU</sub>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>-ttə</i>	<i>?ən'-</i>	<i>-s</i>
SM <sub>LD</sub>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>?ən'-/n'-</i>	<i>-s</i>
SM <sub>TB</sub>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>-ttə</i>	<i>?ən'-/n'-</i>	<i>-s</i>

The biggest differences in person marking are found in the object markers. In this, Lummi differs most from the others in having completely homophonous first person singular and second person object markers. In Songish and Saanich, these are always distinct. In Klallam and Sooke, they are homophonous in some paradigms, such as the basic transitive and dative, and distinct in others, such

as the causative and noncontrol transitive. The basic transitive forms for Klallam and Saanich are illustrated in (8a) and (8b). Note that the first and second person object forms are homophonous in Klallam, but not in Saanich.

(8a) KL  $k^w\text{ənc cn}$  : SA  $k^w\text{ə́nəsə sən}$  'I look at you'

(8b) KL  $k^w\text{ənc cx}^w$  : SA  $k^w\text{ə́nəs sx}^w$  'you look at me'

The noncontrol transitive forms, which add 'manage to' or 'inadvertently' to the basic transitive meaning, are illustrated in (9a) and (9b). Here, neither the Klallam nor the Saanich objects are homophonous.

(9a) KL  $k^w(\text{ə})\text{nnúŋə cn}$  : SA  $k^w\text{ə́nnáŋə sən}$  'I see you'

(9b) KL  $k^w(\text{ə})\text{nnúŋəs cx}^w$  : SA  $k^w\text{ə́nnáŋəs sx}^w$  'you see me'

As Jelinek and Demers (1983) first showed for Lummi, there are restrictions on combinations of subject and object in basic transitive constructions. In Lummi, basic transitive constructions having a third person subject and first or second person object are impossible. In these cases, the passive must be used. As close as Saanich is to Lummi, it differs in this respect. In Saanich, the passive is required only with the combination of third person subject and second person object.

Klallam is like Lummi in that it disallows a third person subject with both first and second person objects. However, Klallam goes farther than Lummi in that the third person subject marker is very rarely used and occurs in only a few of the transitive paradigms (see Montler 1996c, forthcoming). In Klallam, the passive is preferred with any third person agent. Table 9 summarizes the restrictions in the various dialects. A plus indicates that the combination is allowed in an active transitive construction; a minus indicates that it is not allowed and that the passive is required. As the question marks indicate, information on how Sooke and Songish work is limited.

**Table 9. Permissible Subject-Object Combinations in Active Transitive Constructions**

	KL	SO	SG	SA	LM	SM <sub>VU</sub>	SM <sub>LD</sub>
3-1	-	?	?	+	-	+	-
3-2	-	?	?	-	-	-	-
3-3	+/-	+	+	+	+	+	+

**6.2. Differences in reduplication patterns.** There are a number of other morphological differences between Klallam and Northern Straits. All dialects have reduplicative patterns for collective-plural, diminutive, and actual-imperfective, but the patterns are somewhat different for each.<sup>25</sup>

The collective-plural is marked in several different ways, usually based on

the phonology of the stem. In Saanich, it is marked by  $C_1\partial C_2$  reduplication if the second consonant of the root is *l*, as in the Saanich plural of the word for 'tree' in (10). The usual plural marker in both Klallam and Northern Straits is not reduplication, but an infix after the first consonant of the root. In Klallam, it is  $i \sim y \sim \partial y \sim ay \sim iy$ , as in the Klallam plural of 'tree' in (10), and in Saanich, the cognate infix is  $l \sim \partial l \sim ?l\partial$ . In the word for 'tree', Klallam shows the regular infix plural, while Saanich has the phonologically predictable reduplication pattern.

(10) KL *sqiyáyŋx<sup>w</sup>/sqiyiyáyŋx<sup>w</sup>* : SA *sqəléləŋəx<sup>w</sup>/sqəlqəléləŋəx<sup>w</sup>* 'tree'/'trees'

Speakers of the Becher Bay variety of Klallam have Saanich-type reduplication for this word. The first *i* in the plural form in (11) is vocalized *y*,  $C_2$  of the root.

(11) BBKL *sqiyáyŋx<sup>w</sup>/sqiyiyáyŋx<sup>w</sup>* 'tree'/'trees'

In all varieties of Klallam, other CVy stems follow the Saanich pattern, as in (12a) and (12b), though the regular phonological differences between the two obscure the similarity.

(12a) KL *cays/cicáys* : SA *séləs/səlséləs* 'hand'/'hands'

(12b) KL *t'iyŋ/t'it'iyŋ* : SA *t'iləm/t'əlt'iləm* 'sings'/'they sing'

In Saanich, if the stressed vowel of a stem with more than one syllable is schwa, then, without exception, the collective-plural is marked by  $C_1$  reduplication with the stressed schwa replaced by *i*.<sup>26</sup> This rule is also followed for some words in Klallam, as in (13a) and (13b). Whereas Saanich applies this rule regularly, as shown in (13a)–(13d), Klallam follows another pattern in certain words, as in (13c) and (13d).

(13a) KL *p'áwi/p'p'íwi* : SA *p'áwi/p'əp'íwi* 'flounder'/'flounders'

(13b) KL *čáns/ččíns* : SA *čənas/čəčíns* 'tooth'/'teeth'

(13c) KL *ŋáqsn/ŋiŋáqsn ~ ŋayáqsn* : SA *ŋáqsən/ŋəŋíqsən* 'nose'/'noses'

(13d) KL *snáx<sup>w</sup>ʔ/snínáx<sup>w</sup>ʔ ~ snayáx<sup>w</sup>ʔ* : SA *snáx<sup>w</sup>əʔ/snəníx<sup>w</sup>əʔ* 'canoe'/'canoes'

In (13c) and (13d), Klallam has two freely varying alternants, and both differ from the Saanich pattern. In the first of the Klallam alternants in (13c) and (13d), Klallam has  $C_1 i$  reduplication with stress remaining on the root schwa; the second alternant is the regular infixed form of the collective-plural.

The Saanich examples in (13a)–(13d) show the regular formation of the collective-plural in words of two syllables. Example (14) shows the regular Saanich pattern for words of one syllable:  $C_1$  reduplication combined with the *l* infix.



(14) KL *təs/titəs* : SA *təs/taltəs* 'arrives there'/'they arrive there'

The Klallam collective-plural reduplication pattern in (14) is the same as the first alternants in (13c) and (13d):  $C_1i$  with stress on the root schwa. The Klallam pattern in (14) can also be seen to be the same as the Saanich pattern in (14) with Klallam *i* from *y* regularly corresponding to Saanich *l*. Thus, the comparative evidence suggests that the Klallam collective-plural in (14) and in the first alternants in (13c) and (13d) are formed as in the Saanich pattern for one-syllable words:  $C_1$  reduplication and regular infix, *l* in Saanich, *y* in Klallam.

The diminutive reduplication patterns are shown in (15a)–(15d). Here both languages reduplicate the first consonant of the root and infix a glottal stop after the stressed vowel.<sup>27</sup> Klallam differs in putting *a?* after the reduplicated  $C_1$ , while Saanich has *ə*.

(15a) KL *stákn/sta?tá?kn* : SA *stákən/statá?kən* 'sock'/'little sock'

(15b) KL *púx<sup>w</sup>n/pa?pú?x<sup>w</sup>n* : SA *páx<sup>w</sup>ən/pəpá?x<sup>w</sup>ən* 'sail'/'little sail'

(15c) KL *sqáxa?/sqá?qá?xa?* : SA *sqéxə?/sqəqé?xə?* 'dog'/'little dog'

(15d) KL *t'iym/t'a?t'é?im* : SA *t'iləm/t'ət'il'əm* 'sing'/'sing a little; little person sings'

In both languages, there are several phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the actual-imperfective, including metathesis and infixation as well as reduplication (Thompson and Thompson 1969, 1971; Efrat 1969, 1978; Montler 1986, 1989). In (16a), the Samish pattern for the actual-imperfective morpheme matches that in Klallam, while the Saanich pattern differs.<sup>28</sup> In Saanich, the diminutive in (15d) and the actual-imperfective in (15b) are identical, except for the glottalization on the final sonorant. In Klallam, the diminutive in (15d) and actual-imperfective in (15b) are quite different.

(16a) KL *q<sup>w</sup>ay/q<sup>w</sup>áq<sup>w</sup>i* : SM<sub>TB</sub> *q<sup>w</sup>el/q<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>əl* : SA *q<sup>w</sup>el'/q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>él'* 'talk'/'talking'

(16b) KL *t'iym/t't'é?im* : SA *t'iləm/t'ət'il'əm* 'sing'/'singing'

**6.3. Differences in the demonstrative systems.** Klallam and Northern Straits have similar systems of demonstratives. In both languages, the demonstrative particles function as pronominals or determiners. Both systems are made up of a set of bases indicating unmarked or marked degrees of proximity to the speaker and the addressee. The bases are prefixed in both languages with one or two one-consonant morphemes indicating 'particular, not invisible', 'invisible', and 'feminine'.<sup>29</sup> Some examples are shown in (17a)–(17d); these all have the base *ə*, which is unmarked for proximity (see Thompson and Thompson [1971] and Montler [1986] for descriptions of these systems).

(17a) KL *w'xčít cn cə/tə swáy'qa?* : SA *w'xčít sən tsə swáy'qə?* 'I know that (particular, not necessarily invisible) man'

(17b) KL *w'xčít cn tsə stáni* : SA *w'xčít sən θə sténi?* 'I know that (particular, not necessarily invisible) woman'

(17c) KL *w'xčít cn k<sup>w</sup>ə swáy'qa?* : SA *w'xčít sən k<sup>w</sup>sə swáy'qə?* 'I know that (particular, invisible) man'

(17d) KL *w'xčít cn k<sup>w</sup>tə stáni* : SA *w'xčít sən k<sup>w</sup>θə sténi?* 'I know that (particular, invisible) woman'

Although the systems are very similar, they differ in a number of respects. Klallam has two allomorphs of the 'feminine' prefix: *t-*, occurring with the 'invisible' prefix *k<sup>w</sup>-*, as in (17d); and *s-*, occurring with the 'particular, not invisible' prefix *t-*, as in (17b).<sup>30</sup> Saanich has only the apparently noncognate *θ-* for the feminine markers in (17b) and (17d).

In Saanich and Songish, there are several different small particles that begin with *k<sup>w</sup>*: the 'invisible' demonstratives, a proclitic subordinator, and a second-position enclitic speech-act indicator. They are all phonologically distinct. The demonstrative prefix *k<sup>w</sup>-* 'invisible' is always followed by *s-* or *θ-*, as in (17c) and (17d). The 'if, when' subordinator appears as *k<sup>w</sup>ə*, alternating freely with *k<sup>w</sup>*. The second-position 'informative' enclitic always has the form *k<sup>w</sup>ə?*. In Klallam, on the other hand, the form *k<sup>w</sup>ə* represents three different morphemes: the 'definite, invisible' demonstrative, the 'if, when' subordinator, and the 'informative' enclitic. Moreover, in Klallam, both the subordinator and the enclitic have a free variant, *k<sup>w</sup>a?*.

Klallam has an additional demonstrative prefix, *č-*, for which Northern Straits has no corresponding form. This prefix occurs only in the demonstratives *či* and *čə* and indicates "remote-indefinite (not clearly designated; or not yet existent or identified, to be added)" (Thompson and Thompson 1971:265). It is most frequently translated with the English indefinite determiners *a* or *some*, but it may also be translated with *the* if it refers to some previously mentioned nonparticular entity.

There are differences in the demonstrative bases as well as in the demonstrative prefixes. The Klallam system of bases is richer than the Northern Straits system.<sup>31</sup> The Saanich demonstratives have only four bases: *-ə* 'unmarked proximity', *-e?ə* 'nonproximate', *-i?ə* 'proximate', and *-əwlə* 'distant' (Montler 1986). The Klallam system of demonstratives has forms matching these four and has several other bases in addition. A base *-i* indicates 'new information', in opposition to *-ə* 'clear in context'. The functions of three other bases, *-əsə*, *-əs*, and *-anu*, have yet to be worked out in detail, though Thompson and Thompson's (1971) "preview" makes a good start.

**6.4. Differences involving second-position enclitics.** In both Northern Straits and Klallam, there are a number of second-position, speech-act-specifying enclitics. These enclitics include the first and second person subject markers, past and future tense markers, question markers, and various evidentials. Several of these particles occurring in Saanich are not found in Klallam and vice versa. Some that do occur in both languages have differing syntax. Some examples with the root meaning 'go', KL *hiyá?* and SA *ye?*, are given in (18a)–(18f).

(18a) KL *hiyá?* *ix<sup>w</sup> cn* : SA *ye?* *yax<sup>w</sup> sən* 'I guess I'll go'<sup>32</sup>

(18b) KL *hiyá?* *iq cn* : SA *ye?* *yəq sən* 'I wish I could go'

(18c) KL *hiyá?* *q cn* : SA *ye?* *q sən* 'I would go'

(18d) KL *hiyá?* *u cn* : SA *ye?* *ə sən* 'Am I going?'

(18e) KL *hiyá?* *čtə cn* : SA *ye?* *čtə? sən* 'I'll probably go'

(18f) KL *hiyá?* *cn tə* : SA *ye?* *sən te?* 'I'll certainly go'<sup>33</sup>

Montler (1986:200–23, section 2.6.2) lists most of the second-position enclitics for Saanich, where they are called "post-predicate particles." Thompson and Thompson (1971:262) list most of the second-position enclitics occurring in Klallam.

Of the twenty observed Saanich enclitics, two, *q'ə?* 'emphatic' and *k<sup>w</sup>ə?ə* 'unexpected', have no regular cognates in Klallam. Some speakers of Saanich use *q'ə?* 'emphatic' more often than do others, but the enclitic is not at all unusual. Klallam speakers do not recognize it in ordinary speech, although it does occur in the form *q'e ~ q'* in the speech of the trickster character Mink. In Klallam stories, Mink has several humorous speech peculiarities, including speaking with what Klallam speakers perceive as a Cowichan accent. There is an enclitic in Klallam with the same function as Saanich *q'ə?*, as illustrated in (19), but it has an entirely different form, *wu?*, which does not occur in Saanich.

(19) KL *hiyá?* *cn wu?* : SA *ye?* *sən q'ə?* 'I went!'

The enclitic *k<sup>w</sup>ə?ə* 'unexpected' has not been observed in Klallam and was not reported for Saanich by Montler (1986). Its use, as shown in (20), indicates that the statement is contrary to the speaker's expectations.

(20) SA *ye?* *sən k<sup>w</sup>ə?ə* 'oh, I'm going'

The enclitic *?al'* occurs very frequently in the Northern Straits dialects with the meaning 'only, merely', as in (21); it is often translated as 'just'.

(21) SA *ye? sən ?al* 'I merely went'

Its apparent cognate in Klallam, *?ay*, is rare and occurs only in *wh*-type questions, as in (22), never in statements such as (21). Its occurrence is optional and its function is obscure.

(22) KL *can ?ay' hiyá?* 'who is going?'

The Saanich enclitic *č'ə?* 'evidential' appears in Klallam as *č'* and indicates that the speaker lacks first-hand knowledge of the truth of the statement. Its typical use is shown in (23).

(23) KL *hiyá? č'* : SA *ye? č'ə?* 'apparently he/she went'

This enclitic is usually found with third person subjects. Its use with first person subjects in Saanich is the same as with third person subjects, though it implies that the speaker feels out of control of the situation. In Klallam, though the "evidential" sense is retained, the out-of-control implication dominates to create a sense of obligation. These two differing uses are shown in (24).

(24) KL *hiyá? č' cn* 'I have to go' : SA *ye? č'ə? sən* 'apparently I'm going'

The past and future enclitics are nonobligatory and are cognate across all dialects. The past enclitic, Northern Straits *lə(?)* and Klallam *ya?*, always precedes the first or second person subject enclitic.<sup>34</sup> This is illustrated in (25a) and (25b).

(25a) KL *hiyá? ya? cn* : SA, SG, LM *ye? lə(?) sən* 'I went'

(25b) KL *hiyá? ya? cx<sup>w</sup>* : SA, SG, LM *ye? lə(?) sx<sup>w</sup>* 'you went'

The position of the future particle differs slightly from dialect to dialect. In Klallam and in all dialects of Northern Straits, the future particle, just as the past particle, precedes the second person subject enclitic, while in Northern Straits, except for Lummi, the future particle follows, rather than precedes, the first person (singular or plural) subject enclitic. In Klallam, the future precedes the first person subject, and forms a contraction with it. Rather than the expected *ca? cn*, we get *ca? n*, with the glottal stop usually dropping out in casual speech. In Lummi, the future precedes the first person, just as the past does. These variations are illustrated in (26a) and (26b).

(26a) KL *hiyá? ca(?)n* : LM *ye? sə sən* : SA, SG, SO, SM *yə? s(ə)n sə?* 'I will go'

(26b) KL *hiyá? ca? cx<sup>w</sup>* : SA, SG, SO, SM, LM *ye? sə(?) sx<sup>w</sup>* 'you will go'

**6.5. Differences involving affixes.** There are affixes found in Klallam that are unknown in Northern Straits and vice versa. I will give a sampling of these here.

The Klallam prefix *nu?*- 'similar, kind of, sort of' is not found in Northern Straits. It occurs productively and frequently in such phrases as *nu?c'áyk'<sup>w</sup>ct* 'he sort of moved', *nu?áy* 'it's kind of good', and *súsŋ cx<sup>w</sup> nu?smácŋ* 'you smell like a skunk'.

A prefix *k<sup>w</sup>ʔn'*- 'now' occurs in Klallam, but has not been recorded in Northern Straits. Examples of this prefix are: *k<sup>w</sup>ʔn'sqáxa?* 'now it's a dog (it turned into a dog)', *k<sup>w</sup>ʔn'ʔác* 'now it's me (it's my turn)', and *k<sup>w</sup>ʔn'ʔítŋ cn* 'now I'll eat'.

Two semantically similar prefixes in Klallam, *tša?*- 'origin', and *ča-* 'come from', are represented by a single prefix, *čə-*, in Northern Straits. In Saanich, another prefixal *čə-* appears as a historically frozen affix on just two words: on 'man', in the form *čəswáy'qə?* 'bachelor', and on 'woman', in the form *čəsténi?* 'spinster'. Cognates of these two words appear in Klallam as *ča?swáyqa?* and *ča?stáni*, with the same meanings. However, in Klallam, this prefix, as *ča?*-, is productive with a meaning 'alone, all and only', as in *ča?stám<sup>w</sup>* 'it's all rain (no sun today)'. Its meaning extends to 'prototypical, exemplary' in forms such as *ča?tán* 'she's all mother (i.e., she is devoted to her children)', and *ča?á?iŋ* 'it's all house (i.e., there is nothing wrong with it, it is admirable)'.

Northern Straits has a prefix *tx<sup>w</sup>-* 'buy' that is not found in Klallam. For example, Saanich *tx<sup>w</sup>s?ítəŋ sən sə?* 'I will buy food' has this prefix with the stem *s?ítəŋ* 'food', followed by the first person singular enclitic and the future enclitic.

The very common Northern Straits suffix *-əʔ* 'origin, belongs to' (as in *sənəčəʔ* 'it comes from/belongs to Saanich', or in *péstənəʔ* 'it is American') is unknown in Klallam.

Klallam has two suffixes, *-umš* and *-ŋx<sup>w</sup>*, that are cognate with each other. The former, presumably an old loan from a neighboring Salishan language, is productive, meaning 'of a kind, similar kind, type of, be similar to', as in *x<sup>w</sup>anítəmúmš* 'he looks, acts like a whiteman' (< *x<sup>w</sup>anítəm* 'whiteman'), or *ʔəy'úmš* 'it is the good kind'. The latter suffix, *-ŋx<sup>w</sup>*, occurs only in a few frozen forms. Saanich has only the frozen *-ŋx<sup>w</sup>* form (see Montler [1997:294–95] for more examples and discussion of these two suffixes).

**6.6. Other grammatical differences.** Here, a few of the more striking miscellaneous grammatical differences are summarized. Saanich, Sooke, and Songish have a very commonly used hortative, *ʔisté*, that has a cognate, *ʔistá*, found only in the Becher Bay dialect of Klallam. This word is unusual in that it is syntactically unique. It occurs only as the first morpheme of a sentence and can only be followed by a predicate including semantics of action. A sentence beginning with *ʔisté* or *ʔistá* may never occur with an overt subject. Some examples from Saanich are shown in (27a)–(27d).

(27a) *?isté* 'let's' (implying 'let's go' or 'let's do it')

(27b) *?isté ye?* 'let's go'

(27c) *?isté ?íʔən* 'let's eat'

(27d) *?isté ?áaʔ ?ə tsə snáx<sup>w</sup>əʔ* 'let's board the canoe'

I had the opportunity to observe a Becher Bay Klallam speaker use this form in conversation with a group of West Klallam speakers. There was a moment of confusion, and the topic of conversation immediately changed to *?istá*. The Becher Bay speaker was amazed that they had never heard the word before, and the West Klallam speakers were insistent that the word was not part of the language.

A proclitic *?i?wáwə* 'maybe' is very common in Saanich, but unknown in Klallam. An emphatic predicate *la?ə* is common in Saanich and in Samish, but not found in Klallam. Klallam has a common auxiliary predicate *swá?* 'go along with', which does not appear in Northern Straits.

Aside from basic lexical, phonological, and grammatical differences, there are numerous idiomatic differences found in time expressions, comparisons, customary beginnings and endings of stories, greetings, leave takings, expressions of gratitude, etc.

**7. The problem of the Samishes.** Suttles (1951:iv) determined that the last speaker of Samish died in 1948, and until the 1980s, there was no reason to doubt this. Today, we have in the literature four varieties of Northern Straits speech referred to as "Samish," the differences among which are as great as the differences between any two of the other Northern Straits dialects.

The variety of Samish labeled with a subscript question mark, as Sm<sub>?</sub>, is represented by two items in Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat's (1974) work on reconstructing Proto-Straits: *cən* 'first person subject enclitic' and *céləs* 'hand' (cf. items number 1 and 48 in the appendix). The authors credit Suttles with supplying the Samish forms.<sup>35</sup> There is one more word that probably is from this dialect, *sqáwc* 'potato', in Suttles (1987:144). It is surprising that the phonology of these few words is so different from the Samish in more recent recordings.

These three items were all the published information on Samish until Galloway's (1990) sketch, which was based on three speakers, designated here as VU, LD, and TB.

Speaker VU was an elder who was born in Samish territory of Samish and Saanich parents and had moved as a child to live on the East Saanich Reserve. He had lived most of his life there and was, in fact, the next door neighbor of, and only a little younger than, my main Saanich consultant. The second speaker, LD, is a monolingual, introduced to Galloway by speaker VU, and living at Malahat—an area to the west of Saanich territory and separated from

it by Saanich Inlet. Linguists and anthropologists have traditionally considered Malahat to be Halkomelem-speaking territory, though no linguistic work has been carried out there until recently. The third speaker, TB, is represented on a tape recording in the Burke Museum Ethnology Archives at the University of Washington recorded by Leon V. Metcalf (1953b). Metcalf introduces the tape as "Tommy Bob speaking Samish," and, in the speech, Tommy Bob himself says that he is speaking Samish. This tape contains a sermon and a substantial word list.

Speaker VU was a widely known professional orator and paid speaker at namings and other traditional ceremonies. He was considered by all in Saanich territory to be a Saanich speaker—in fact a great Saanich speaker. I had the opportunity to work with VU for a short time before he passed away in 1988.<sup>36</sup> It is my impression that he was basically speaking Saanich, but making a few inconsistent dialect adjustments. It can be seen in tables 6, 7, 8, and 9 that his dialect, SM<sub>VU</sub>, is essentially the same as Saanich.

Speaker LD's dialect is certainly not Saanich. She is a very quiet person and spoke very little in the presence of VU's powerful personality when we were all together in 1988. I visited her again in 1991 and worked with her and her nephew (there are apparently three or four people at Malahat who speak this dialect). When I asked LD the name of her language, she surprised me with *lak<sup>w</sup>əjín'əŋ*, which is the native name for the Songish dialect. Others there call their dialect simply "Malahat."

Speaker TB's dialect is the most puzzling. Tommy Bob (also spelled Bobb) was a locally famous speaker, spirit dancer, and a "licensed preacher of the Shaker Church" according to Rhodes (1954:17), who refers to him as "Reverend Bob." He lived at the Swinomish Reservation in Lushootseed territory, where many Samish had settled.<sup>37</sup> He had served as a consultant to at least four ethnographers. Aside from his work with Metcalf, he was known to Wayne Suttles (p.c. 1996) as a Samish speaker, and he was interviewed by anthropologist Marian W. Smith in 1938 (Smith 1949).

Although he was also recorded in 1950 by ethnomusicologist Willard Rhodes (1954:14) as a Skagit speaker and singer, it is unlikely that Tommy Bob was using that language. Skagit is a dialect of Lushootseed, a language noted for its use of *b* and *d* where other Salishan languages have *m* and *n*. In Smith's (1949:339) report and on the tape recording (Metcalf 1953b), there is only one instance of a voiced stop appearing in Tommy Bob's speech; he uses the Lushootseed-like word *sk<sup>w</sup>ədíləč* rather than the Northern Straits cognate *sk<sup>w</sup>əníləč* for the name of his spirit power. Rhodes's (1954:18) transcription of Tommy Bob's words makes it clear that he is not speaking Lushootseed. He records *man* for 'father'. This is presumably [mæn] as found in other Northern Straits dialects. The Lushootseed would be *bad* (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994:310).

When the tape recording (Metcalf 1953b) first surfaced, Suttles suspected that Tommy Bob was actually speaking Saanich and asked me to try it on my

Saanich consultants. These consultants had worked with me translating a number of old, scratchy recordings of Saanich and were quite used to my bringing them difficult recordings to listen to. I played the sermon recorded on the Tommy Bob tape for them, skipping the introduction and without commenting myself on what it was. Their immediate reaction was "Is that Lummi? It's not Saanich." They immediately recognized it as similar to, but distinct from, Saanich, yet the Saanich speakers were still able to give a complete sentence-by-sentence translation of the speech, commenting here and there on idiomatic and lexical differences and having trouble with only a few words.

One example of a difference that the Saanich speakers noticed was Tommy Bob's use of the subordinate-clause-introducing particle *?əʔ* 'when, while'. This particle occurs in Klallam, Samish, Sooke (Efrat 1969:179), and Lummi (Eloise Jelinek p.c. 1988), but it does not appear in Saanich or Songish. While playing the tape, the sentence in (28a) occurred. The Saanich speaker immediately translated with (28b) saying "that's what it would be in Saanich."

(28a) *SM<sub>TB</sub> ?u?θi?it ?əʔ q<sup>w</sup>élən* 'It's true when I talk.' (from Metcalf 1953)

(28b) *SA ?u?θi?it ?ə k<sup>w</sup>ə nəsq<sup>w</sup>él* 'It's true when I talk.'

Samish and Saanich have entirely different constructions. The word following the Samish particle *?əʔ* in (28a) contains the root *q<sup>w</sup>el* and the first person subordinate subject marker *-ən*. The cognate subordinate subject markers occur only in hypothetical clauses in Saanich. The Saanich construction in (28b) is used generally for time expressions and involves the first person genitive prefix, rather than the subordinate subject suffix.

The Tommy Bob tape (Metcalf 1953b) is, according to native Saanich speakers, not Saanich. It may actually be Lummi, as the Saanich speakers initially guessed, but, although the Tommy Bob tape is old and not of the greatest quality, it is clear that he is producing a *θ* as a phoneme in contrast with *s*, as in Saanich. This sound is not found in any documented version of Lummi. The quality of the *θ* is especially evident in Metcalf's careful and slightly exaggerated echoing of the words and in Tommy Bob's corrections of Metcalf's pronunciation. The puzzling thing about Tommy Bob's Samish is why it has *θ*, rather than the alveolar affricate *c*, as recorded by Suttles,<sup>38</sup> or *s*, as does most of Northern Straits.<sup>39</sup> As Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) show, the Saanich *θ* is due to more or less recent diffusion from Halkomelem, which is the one language contiguous with Northern Straits that does have a *θ* phoneme. In fact, within Saanich territory, the closer one gets to Halkomelem territory—that is, in the subdialects of the north and west of the area—the more *θ*s there are, and the more prominently interdental they are. Neither Samish nor Swinomish territory are contiguous with Halkomelem or with any other Salishan language having *θ*. How did Tommy Bob's Samish get the *θ*? It is impossible to say



without knowing details of Tommy Bob's family history, but it seems likely that his Samish has been influenced by the Saanich dialect.

Tables 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 show that the differences among these varieties of Samish are as great as the differences between any two of the Northern Straits dialects. I doubt that there will ever be a satisfactory explanation for these varieties of Samish.

**8. Dialect differences within Klallam and within Saanich.** The differences among the Samishes are greater than the differences within any of the other dialects. There are, however, differences to be found within Klallam and within Saanich.

The variety found within Saanich is mostly in minor phonetic differences and a very few lexical differences. For example, older generation East Saanich [e] corresponds to West Saanich and younger generation [æ]; also, the low back vowel is usually slightly rounded in West Saanich, but not in East Saanich. A noticeable difference between East and West Saanich is in the articulation of the dental fricative  $\theta$ . In East Saanich, it is a grooved spirant and not interdental. To my ear, it is often difficult to distinguish between it and s. In West Saanich, this fricative is clearly a slit interdental.

The differences between Eastern and Western Klallam are somewhat greater than those between the varieties of Saanich. Differences between Klallam from Port Angeles westward and Klallam from Jamestown eastward have been noted by Eells, who reports the Klallam of "Elwha, Pysht, and Clallam Bay [all west of Port Angeles] speaking, it is said, as if with thicker tongues than the other" (1889:608). Native speakers today speak of Western Klallam as somehow "rougher" or "harsher" than Eastern Klallam. Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson worked for several years with Klallam speakers from the Eastern areas, Jamestown and Little Boston, before working briefly with speakers from Elwha, where they became aware of marked dialect differences (Laurence C. Thompson p.c. 1978; M. Terry Thompson p.c. 1996). Although there certainly are some lexical differences, the biggest difference between Eastern and Western Klallam that I have been able to determine is in the general lack of unstressed schwa in Western Klallam. This is very distinctive and surely enough to evoke the "thick tongue" or "harsh" impression. Other differences among the Klallam varieties are primarily lexical, such as EKL, WKL *hu?pt* : BBKL *smá'yac* 'deer'; EKL *ha?ʔ* : WKL, BBKL *?əy* 'good'; and EKL *sq"may* : WKL, BBKL *sqáxa?* 'dog'.

Table 1 gives a more detailed breakdown of Klallam dialects and subdialects. The distinctions between the two varieties each of Eastern and Western Klallam are based on several independent reports of elders who consistently relate these traditional divisions. There are Klallam speakers today only at Elwha and Becher Bay. We have recordings of Klallam speakers from Little Boston and Jamestown, but none of speakers from west of Elwha. With the

limited data available, I have not been able to find any consistent differences between the traditional subdialects.

**9. Other sources of variation.** Aside from the regional dialect differences, there are other sources of variation that complicate relationships within Straits Salishan. Differences as great as any found within a dialect are found between generations within a single family. There are also slight differences between male and female speakers. However, the major variation involves differences between the language of native speakers and the revitalized language of those speakers whose first language is English and who have learned Lummi or Saanich or Klallam as a second language.

**9.1. Generational differences.** There seems to be a tendency for younger native Saanich speakers to display more of the characteristics of West Saanich speech, even if they come from East Saanich families and live at East Saanich.<sup>40</sup> This may have something to do with the social prominence of West Saanich and its school, and the very successful language program initiated in the 1970s by the late Dave Eliot, Sr.

Phonetically, younger native speakers of Saanich have a more interdental [θ] and use [æ] for *e*. This may be due to influence from Halkomelem. There are actually more speakers of the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem living, through intermarriage, on the Saanich reserves, especially the western reserves, than there are native speakers of Saanich. Several of the older children of one of my Saanich consultants actually speak Cowichan semifluently, but speak almost no Saanich at all. It is difficult to distinguish loans from Cowichan-Saanich code-switching among younger speakers.

Grammatical leveling is evident among younger Saanich speakers. This can be seen especially in the loss and simplification of reduplication patterns. The diminutive reduplication pattern, for example, is rarely used by younger speakers, who prefer periphrastic alternatives such as *məmim'ən sʔénət* instead of *sʔəʔéʔnət* for 'small stone'. When diminutive reduplication is used by the younger speakers, the pattern is usually either regularized or exaggerated.  $C_1ə$  reduplication with glottal stop infixed after the stressed vowel, as in the word for 'small stone' above, is the most common form for diminutive reduplication. Older speakers depart unexpectedly from this pattern in some words. In (29a) the Saanich of a younger speaker shows the regular pattern; (29b) shows the irregular pattern of an older speaker.

(29a) Younger SA *ʔiləqsən/ʔəʔiʔləqsən* 'point of land'/'small point of land'

(29b) Older SA *ʔiləqsən/ʔəʔələqsən* 'point of land'/'small point of land'

Some younger speakers, aware that reduplication is a way of making diminutives, but unaware of the exact rule, produce exaggerated reduplicated forms

that match no reduplication pattern in the elders' language. Galloway (1993: 105) has noted a similar phenomenon in his Nooksack data and has aptly named it "over-reduplication." Some examples from younger Saanich speakers are given in (30a)–(30c).

(30a) *sné?čăč/snəŋəŋ?ăčŋăč* 'bay'/'small bay' (older SA *šŋəŋé?čăč*)

(30b) *spətʰən/spəpí?pətʰən* 'meadow'/'small meadow' (older SA *pəpí?tʰən*)

(30c) *smé?kʷət/sməmémə?kʷət* 'injury'/'small injury' (older SA *sməmé?kʷət*)

Younger speakers make much less use of lexical suffixes in both compounding and incorporation functions—periphrastic forms are preferred. This may or may not be due to the influence of English. Among native speakers, I can see, in general, very little English influence.

The order of combined second-position enclitics differs for younger speakers of Saanich. For older Saanich speakers, the "conjectural" enclitic *yəxʷ* (cf. also example (18a) in section 6.4) always precedes the past tense marker *lə?*, as in (31a).<sup>41</sup> But for younger Saanich speakers, the order is reversed, as in (31b).

(31a) Older SA *?íyəs yəxʷ lə?* 'it must have been fun'

(31b) Younger SA *?íyəs lə? yəxʷ* 'it must have been fun'

Less use of lexical suffixes and more periphrastic constructions are also found among younger native speakers of Klallam. Non-English external influence is not found among younger native Klallam speakers, but the general internal tendencies of Klallam seem to be exaggerated. Younger Klallam speakers actually use fewer unstressed schwas and more consonant clusters than do older speakers. They also use fewer glottal stops and laryngealized sonorants. The combination of these two phonological developments has produced the merger of the first and second person genitives for some younger speakers. The forms in (32a) and (32b) are those of older Klallam speakers. The loss of unstressed schwa, glottal stops, and glottalization produce (33) in the speech of younger native speakers.

(32a) *nətán ~ ntán* 'my mother'

(32b) *?ən'tán ~ n'tán* 'your mother'

(33) *ntán* 'my mother' or 'your mother'

**9.2. Male-female differences.** In Lummi, Saanich, and Klallam, female speakers are more likely to use glottal stops and display stronger glottalization. For example, male Klallam speakers would tend to say *siám*, while females

would use *si?ám* 'boss'. I have found similar differences between closely related male and female speakers of Saanich as well. Bowman and Demers (1982) list a number of other differences found between a brother and sister who were native speakers of Lummi.

**9.3. Revitalized languages: New Lummi, New Saanich, and New Klallam.** The most divergent varieties of Lummi, Saanich, and Klallam are those of people whose first or primary language is English, and who have learned or relearned the ancestral language as a second language. Many such speakers are young, but some are actually elders; they have been speaking the tribal language for some time and have achieved a high degree of fluency. They are able to give speeches, tell stories, and carry on limited conversation in the language.

Recent interest and efforts in the revival of the languages of the ancestors has generated a significant number of new speakers. For example, at spirit dances, canoe races, and various other intertribal gatherings, Lummi is frequently heard. Yet, there have not been any native speakers of Lummi for over ten years. The impression among members of neighboring tribes and in the outside community is that there are many speakers of Lummi. There are indeed many Lummi speakers, but this is due to the language policy of the Lummi Reservation and to the heroic efforts of a few individuals, especially William Arthur James, in learning, teaching, and promoting the use of their language.

A language cannot exist without a purpose. Among a language's many functions, it is the emblematic function that is the most needed—and the most viable—in the Native American communities of the Northwest. Knowing one's ancestral language functions as the singular emblem of pride in one's identity. Revitalization efforts that have focused on this function have been the most successful.

Although the overriding goal for second language learners is to speak a form of the language as close to that of the ancestors as possible, the focus on the emblematic function puts perfection in matching the ancestors' pronunciation and grammatical construction into the background. These new varieties differ from the native-speaker varieties as much as or more than any of the native dialects differ from one another.

The grammatical systems of the new varieties are greatly simplified. Periphrastic constructions dominate, to the near total exclusion of lexical suffixes. The transitive and intransitive paradigms are greatly leveled, and aspect marking is very limited.

I have observed two cases where younger native speakers have changed the language in pedagogical material, making it more like English to "make it easier" for children to learn. One case involves the position of a main predicate and adjunct determiner phrase. I have transcribed and translated over 200 narratives in Saanich in various genres. In all of these texts, there is only one

instance of a sentence, given in (34), with a determiner phrase preceding the main predicate.

- (34) *tsə stáləx čáčələŋ'əs*  
 DET ice hanging  
 'the ice is hanging (icicles)'

This sentence occurred in a text composed by the two youngest native speakers of Saanich, now in their early sixties, and intended as material for course work at the tribal school. The oldest Saanich speaker, who happens to be the mother and aunt of the two youngest speakers, instantly corrected this, when she heard it, to the order shown in (35).

- (35) *čáčələŋ'əs tsə stáləx*  
 hanging DET ice  
 'the ice is hanging (icicles)'

The inverted syntax of (34) may not have been deliberate—this is the only such occurrence in all of the Saanich pedagogical materials that I have seen. It does, however, suggest the influence of English on successive generations of speakers.

The other case of language modification was also found in course material developed by the younger speakers. Example (36) was given with the translation 'I shot the gun', intending 'the gun' as instrument or cause, as is the usual interpretation in English.

- (36) *tánək'wt sən tsə púyək<sup>w</sup>*  
 shoot-it I DET gun

For native speakers, this sentence can only be interpreted with 'the gun' being the patient. Where in English, 'I shot the gun' is ambiguous as to whether the gun is being used to do the shooting or is being hit by the shot, in the Saanich of the elders, (36) is not ambiguous and can only mean that the gun was hit. When his mother pointed out this mistake, the author of the pedagogical material told her that he knew it was a little wrong, but that it was easier for the children to learn it this way.

There are many neologisms. Some derive from native expressions, such as Klallam *snú?nək<sup>w</sup> λ'úyqs* 'television', literally 'ghost box'. Others are light-hearted derivations from English, such as Lummi *q'əsíno* 'casino'. Some new words are simply coined, such as Klallam *čičə* 'popcorn'.<sup>42</sup>

The most striking difference between the old and new varieties are phonological. There are wholesale phonological shifts under English influence. Consonant clusters are simplified or broken by vowels, glottalization is lost completely on sonorants and sporadically on obstruents, and most glottal stops are missing. A particularly obvious change is the replacement of the lateral

affricate,  $\lambda'$ , by  $kl$  or  $k'l$ . This actually does little phonologically, since there are otherwise no such clusters, and this new cluster functions as a unit. Thus, in Klallam  $\lambda'a? \lambda'ú\lambda'a?$  'small' (with diminutive reduplication) becomes  $kl\lambda klúkl\lambda$ . Other non-English sounds are generally replaced:  $q$  becomes  $k$ ;  $x$  becomes  $h$ ,  $k$ , or  $x$ ; and  $x^w$  becomes  $hw$  or  $kw$ .

**10. Conclusions.** Most native speakers of Klallam, especially those of the main body of Klallam territory south of Juan de Fuca Strait, consider their speech a distinct language from the Northern Straits dialects. The two are not mutually intelligible, and the lexical, phonological, and grammatical differences between the two are on the order of a language difference. They should, therefore, be considered distinct languages.

The Northern Straits dialects are all very similar to one another. The most similar are Saanich and Songish. As far as available data show, they are grammatically identical and phonologically as close as, say, standard American English and standard Canadian English. They are hardly distinguishable. Sooke is certainly phonologically more divergent, while Lummi has some lexically and grammatically distinguishing characteristics. Of the four varieties of Samish,  $SM_{LD}$  is distinct from, but closest to, Lummi,  $SM_{VU}$  is essentially Saanich,  $SM_{TB}$  shows lexical similarity to Lummi, but phonological similarity to Saanich, and  $SM_7$  cannot be placed.

There is some slight variety within the dialects based on region, generation, and gender, but the most dramatic differences are those found between the native speakers and the new speakers. As Lummi language teacher Bill James points out to his students, to his elders, and to linguists, a living language is a changing language; if we want the language to live, we must accept the changes. While we carry respect for the languages of the elders and ancestors, it is necessary today to recognize and respect these new varieties as New Saanich, New Lummi, and New Klallam.

Appendix: Comparative 100-Word List for Straits Salishan

	KLALLAM	SOOKE	SONGISH	SAANICH	LUMMI	SAMISH <sub>TB</sub>	SAMISH <sub>VU</sub>	SAMISH <sub>LD</sub>
1. I	cn	sn	sen	sen	sen	sen	sen	sen
2. thou	cx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>
3. we <sup>43</sup>	st	tt	ttə	ttə	tt	ttə	ttə	t
4. this	tíʔə	tíʔə	tíʔə	tíʔe	tíʔéʔ	tíʔə	tíye	tíye
5. that <sup>44</sup>	cə	cə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə
6. who	can	sen	sen	sen	wet	wet	sen, wet	wet
7. what	stan	stə	stə	stə	stə	stə	stə	stə
8. not	ʔáw	ʔáwə	ʔáwə	ʔáwə	ʔáwə	ʔáwə	ʔáwə	ʔáwə
9. all	xən'	mək <sup>w</sup>	mək <sup>w</sup>	mək <sup>w</sup>	mək <sup>w</sup>	mək <sup>w</sup>	mək <sup>w</sup>	mək <sup>w</sup>
10. many	ən'	ən'	ən'	ən'	ən'	ən'	ən'	ən'
11. one	nəc'uʔ	nəc'aʔ	nəc'a	nəc'aʔ	nəc'aʔ	nəc'a	nəc'aʔ	nəc'aʔ
12. two	čəsaʔ	čəsaʔ	čəsa	čəsa	čəsa	čəsa	čəsaʔ	čəsaʔ
13. big	čəq	čəq	čəq	čəq	həyi	həyi	həyi	həyi
14. small	ʔ'úʔ'aʔ	ʔ'úʔ'aʔ	məʔmən	məmiʔmən	məmiʔmən	məmiʔmən	məmiʔmən	ʔ'úʔ'aʔ
15. long	ʔ'aqt	ʔ'eqt	ʔ'eqt	ʔ'eqt	ʔ'eqt	ʔ'eqt	ʔ'iqt	ʔ'iqt
16. woman	stəni	stəniʔ	stəni	stəniʔ	stəniʔ	stəni	stəniʔ	stəniʔ
17. man	swáy'qaʔ	swáy'qaʔ	swáy'qe	swáy'qaʔ	swáy'qaʔ	swáy'qa	swáy'qaʔ	swáy'qaʔ
18. person <sup>45</sup>	ʔəttáy'nx <sup>w</sup>	ʔətté'nx <sup>w</sup>	ʔətté'nx <sup>w</sup>	ʔətté'nx <sup>w</sup>	ʔətté'nx <sup>w</sup>	ʔətté'nx <sup>w</sup>	ʔətté'nx <sup>w</sup>	ʔətté'nx <sup>w</sup>
19. fish <sup>46</sup>	sčənnx <sup>w</sup>	sčéénx <sup>w</sup>	sčéénx <sup>w</sup>	sčéénx <sup>w</sup>	sčéénx <sup>w</sup>	sčéénx <sup>w</sup>	sčéénx <sup>w</sup>	sčéénx <sup>w</sup>
20. bird	c'íc'ac'm'	c'íc'ac'm'	sq <sup>w</sup> alés	t <sup>θ</sup> ít <sup>θ</sup> et <sup>θ</sup> am'	c'íc'ac'm'	t <sup>θ</sup> ít <sup>θ</sup> at <sup>θ</sup> am'	c'íc'ac'm'	t <sup>θ</sup> ít <sup>θ</sup> at <sup>θ</sup> am'
21. dog	sqá'xaʔ	sqé'xəʔ	sqé'xə	sqé'xəʔ	sq <sup>w</sup> əméy	sq <sup>w</sup> əméy	sq <sup>w</sup> əméy	sq <sup>w</sup> mey'
	sq <sup>w</sup> may							
22. louse <sup>47</sup>	əscn	əssn	əsan	əsan	əsan	əsan	əsan'	əsan
23. tree	sqay'nx <sup>w</sup>	sqié'nx <sup>w</sup>	sqalé'nx <sup>w</sup>	sqalé'nx <sup>w</sup>	sqalé'nx <sup>w</sup>	sqalé'nx <sup>w</sup>	sqalé'nx <sup>w</sup>	sqalé'nx <sup>w</sup>
24. seed	sx <sup>w</sup> c'ác'aʔk <sup>w</sup> s		št <sup>θ</sup> əmik <sup>w</sup> ən	šc'amik <sup>w</sup> ən	šc'amik <sup>w</sup> ən			
25. leaf	sc'úc'taʔ	c'óc'təʔ	sc'átə	st <sup>θ</sup> át <sup>θ</sup> təʔ	sc'óc'tə		sc'ác'təʔ	st <sup>θ</sup> át <sup>θ</sup> təʔ
26. root	k <sup>w</sup> c'əŋ	q <sup>w</sup> c'əŋ	k <sup>w</sup> əmləx <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> əmləx <sup>w</sup>	q <sup>w</sup> əc'əŋ		q <sup>w</sup> əc'əŋ	q <sup>w</sup> əc'əŋ
			k <sup>w</sup> át <sup>θ</sup> əŋ'	k <sup>w</sup> át <sup>θ</sup> əŋ'				

Appendix: Comparative 100-Word List for Straits Salishan (continued)

	KLALLAM	SOOKE	SONGISH	SAANICH	LUMMI	SAMISH <sub>TB</sub>	SAMISH <sub>VU</sub>	SAMISH <sub>LD</sub>
27. bark	č'əyi?		č'ələ?	č'ələy'	č'əli?	č'ələy'	č'ələy'	č'ələy'
28. skin	k <sup>w</sup> əw'i?	k <sup>w</sup> əyu?	q <sup>w</sup> əlo	k <sup>w</sup> əlaw'	k <sup>w</sup> əlu?	k <sup>w</sup> əlaw	k <sup>w</sup> əlaw'	k <sup>w</sup> əlaw'
29. meat <sup>48</sup> (flesh)	stiq <sup>w</sup>		stiq <sup>w</sup>	stiq <sup>w</sup>	stiq <sup>w</sup>	sməyəθ	stiq <sup>w</sup>	stiq <sup>w</sup>
30. blood	stuyk <sup>w</sup> n	səyŋ	séscən	θéscən	séscən	séscən	séscən	séscən
31. bone	sc'um'	sc'om'	c'am'	st <sup>θ</sup> am'	sc'óm'	st <sup>θ</sup> am'	sc'am'	st <sup>θ</sup> am'
32. fat (grease) <sup>49</sup>	sməc	snas	snas	snas	snas	nas	nas	
33. egg	qəyɣ	qəyɣ	qələx	sqələx	qələx	qələx	qələx	qələx
34. horn	sc'istn	c'istn	céstan	st <sup>θ</sup> istan	c'istan		c'istn	
35. tail	st'əci?	sɣ'əp'isnəç	ɣ'əp'isnəç	sɣ'əp'isnəç	ɣ'əp'isnəç			
36. feather	sɣ'q'á?i?	sɣ'pél'qən	sɣ'pél'qən	sɣ'q'élən	sɣ'q'éləl	st'əq <sup>w</sup>	sɣ'q'élən	
37. hair	si?átn		si?étən	si?étən	si?étən	siyétn	si?etn	si?etn
38. head	sq <sup>w</sup> úŋi?	sq <sup>w</sup> óŋi?	sq <sup>w</sup> áŋi?	sq <sup>w</sup> áŋi?	sq <sup>w</sup> óŋi?	sq <sup>w</sup> áŋi?	sq <sup>w</sup> áŋi?	sq <sup>w</sup> áŋi?
39. ear	q <sup>w</sup> əyn	q <sup>w</sup> əyn	q <sup>w</sup> əlan	q <sup>w</sup> əlan'	q <sup>w</sup> əlan	q <sup>w</sup> əlan	q <sup>w</sup> əlan'	q <sup>w</sup> əlan'
40. eye	qəyŋ	qəyŋ	qələŋ	qələŋ	qələŋ	qələŋ	qələŋ'	qələŋ'
41. nose	ŋəqsn	ŋəqsn	ŋəqsan	ŋəqsan	ŋəqsan	ŋəqsan	ŋəqsan	ŋəqsan
42. mouth	cúcŋ	sósŋ	sásan	θáθən	sósən	θáθən	sásan	sásan
43. tooth	čəns	čənas	čənas	čənas	čənas	čənas	čənas	čənas
44. tongue	tix <sup>w</sup> ʔc	tix <sup>w</sup> sət	č'sasəs	tix <sup>w</sup> θət	tix <sup>w</sup> ts	tix <sup>w</sup> sət	tix <sup>w</sup> sət	tix <sup>w</sup> st
45. claw								
46. foot	sxəna?	sxəna?	sxəna	snəx <sup>w</sup> ətšən	sxəna?	sxəna	sxəna?	sxəna?
47. knee	sq'iyák <sup>w</sup> əŋ		sq'ek <sup>w</sup> əŋ	sq'ek <sup>w</sup> əŋ	sq'ek <sup>w</sup> əŋ	sq'ek <sup>w</sup> əŋ	sq'ek <sup>w</sup> əŋ	sq'ek <sup>w</sup> əŋ
48. hand	cays	séyəs	sélas	sélas	sélas	sélas	sélas	sélas
49. belly	ɣ'as		ɣ'es	ɣ'es	ɣ'es	ɣ'es	k <sup>w</sup> ə'ál'a	k <sup>w</sup> ə'ál'a
50. neck	táčšŋ	táčšŋ	táčšən	táčšən	táčšən	táčšən	táčšŋ	táčšŋ
51. breast	sqmú?		sqəmə?	sqəmə?	sqəmə?	sqəmə?	sqəmə?	sqəmə?
52. heart	yənus		c'éle?	t <sup>θ</sup> é?lə?	c'éla?	t <sup>θ</sup> éla	c'éla?	t <sup>θ</sup> é?lə?



Appendix: Comparative 100-Word List for Straits Salishan (continued)

	KLALLAM	SOOKE	SONGISH	SAANICH	LUMMI	SAMISH <sub>TB</sub>	SAMISH <sub>VU</sub>	SAMISH <sub>LD</sub>
53. liver	t'áqa?		t'éqə?	t'éqə	t'éqə?	t'éqə	t'éqə?	t'éqə?
54. drink	q <sup>w</sup> ú?q <sup>w</sup> a?		q <sup>w</sup> á?q <sup>w</sup> a?	q <sup>w</sup> á?q <sup>w</sup> ə?	q <sup>w</sup> á?q <sup>w</sup> ə?	q <sup>w</sup> á?q <sup>w</sup> ə	q <sup>w</sup> áq <sup>w</sup> aq <sup>w</sup> ə?	
55. eat	?itn	?itn	?itən	?itən	?itən	?itən	?itən	?itən
56. bite	c'ŋʔat	c'əŋ'	q'ik <sup>w</sup> ət	q'ik <sup>w</sup> ət	c'əŋət	t' <sup>ə</sup> əŋət		
57. see	k <sup>w</sup> ənnx <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> ənax <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> ənax <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> ənnax <sup>w</sup>	léŋət	léŋət	léŋnax <sup>w</sup>	léŋnax <sup>w</sup>
58. hear	ya?ya?nəŋ	yáyəŋ	lələ?nəŋ	lələ?nəŋ	?ələnax <sup>w</sup>	lələ?nəŋ		
59. know	xcít	xcít	xcít	xcít	xcít	xcít	xcít	xcít
60. sleep	?itt	?itt	?itt	nəq <sup>w</sup>	?itt	?itt	?itt	?itt
61. die	q <sup>w</sup> úy	q <sup>w</sup> oy	nəq <sup>w</sup>	q <sup>w</sup> ay	q <sup>w</sup> oy	q <sup>w</sup> ay		
62. kill	q <sup>w</sup> úct		t'ələn	q <sup>w</sup> áčat	q <sup>w</sup> očt	q <sup>w</sup> áčat		
			k <sup>w</sup> ələk <sup>w</sup> əs					
			q <sup>w</sup> áčat					
63. swim	t'əŋ?ú?ŋ		t'əŋ?á?ŋ	t'əŋa?əŋ	t'əŋ?óləŋ			
64. fly	k <sup>w</sup> əyŋ	k <sup>w</sup> əyən	k <sup>w</sup> ələn	k <sup>w</sup> ələn	k <sup>w</sup> ələn	k <sup>w</sup> ələn	k <sup>w</sup> ələn	k <sup>w</sup> ələn
65. walk	štəŋ	štəŋ	štəŋ	štəŋ	štəŋ	štəŋ	štəŋ	štəŋ
66. come	?n?á	hn?é	?ən?é?	?ən?é	?ən?é	?ən?é	?ən?é	?ən?é
67. lie	?sccawt	c'əw?-		səsəwt	səsəwt	səsəwt	səsəwt	səsəwt
68. sit	?əmt	?ámət	?ámət	?ámət	?ámət	?ámət	?ámət	?ámət
69. stand	cítŋ	sítŋ	sítəŋ	θítəŋ	sítəŋ	sítəŋ	sítəŋ	sítəŋ
70. give	?əŋət		?ánəst	?ánəs	?ánət	?ánəst	?áná?t	
71. say	q <sup>w</sup> ay	q <sup>w</sup> ey	q <sup>w</sup> el?	q <sup>w</sup> el	q <sup>w</sup> el	q <sup>w</sup> el	q <sup>w</sup> el	q <sup>w</sup> el
72. sun	sq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ay		sq <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> əl'	sq <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> əl'	sq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> əl'	sq <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> əl'	sq <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> əl'	sq <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> əl'
73. moon	tqay'č	tqáič	tqelč'	tqelč'	tqelč'	tqelč'	tqelč'	tqelč'
74. star	t'áwsn		k <sup>w</sup> ásən	k <sup>w</sup> ásən	k <sup>w</sup> ásən	k <sup>w</sup> ásən	k <sup>w</sup> ásən	
	t'a?t'áwsna?							
75. water	q <sup>w</sup> u?	q <sup>w</sup> o?	q <sup>w</sup> a?	q <sup>w</sup> a?	q <sup>w</sup> o?	q <sup>w</sup> a?	q <sup>w</sup> a?	q <sup>w</sup> a?
76. rain	təmx <sup>w</sup>	təmx <sup>w</sup>	təmax <sup>w</sup>	təmax <sup>w</sup>	təmax <sup>w</sup>	təmax <sup>w</sup>	təmax <sup>w</sup>	təmax <sup>w</sup>
77. stone	sŋant	sŋənət	sŋənət	sŋənət	sŋéent	sŋənt	sŋənt	sŋənt
78. sand	pq <sup>w</sup> áčn	pq <sup>w</sup> áčən	p <sup>k</sup> áčən	pq <sup>w</sup> áčən	pq <sup>w</sup> áčən	pq <sup>w</sup> áčən	pq <sup>w</sup> áčən	pq <sup>w</sup> áčən

Appendix: Comparative 100-Word List for Straits Salishan (continued)

	KLALLAM	SOOKE	SONGISH	SAANICH	LUMMI	SAMISH <sub>TB</sub>	SAMISH <sub>VU</sub>	SAMISH <sub>LD</sub>
79. earth <sup>50</sup>	ščtəŋx <sup>w</sup> n	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>
80. cloud	šx <sup>w</sup> nəws	šəwəs	šəwəs	šnəw'əs	sx <sup>w</sup> nəwəs	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>	təŋax <sup>w</sup>
81. smoke	spk <sup>w</sup> əŋ	spk <sup>w</sup> əŋ	spk <sup>w</sup> əŋ	sp'áx'əŋ	sp'ól'əŋ	pék <sup>w</sup> əŋ	p'áx'əŋ	p'áx'əŋ
82. fire	ščq <sup>w</sup> úč	ščq <sup>w</sup> əʔsə	ščq <sup>w</sup> əʔsə	čáq <sup>w</sup> ət	ščq <sup>w</sup> úʔs	čəq <sup>w</sup>	ščəq <sup>w</sup> əw'sə	ščəq <sup>w</sup> əw'sə
83. ashes	č'ic't	q <sup>w</sup> əʔíc'p	k <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> əlməx <sup>w</sup>	q <sup>w</sup> əʔy'əc	k <sup>w</sup> óx <sup>w</sup> əlhəx <sup>w</sup>	stesk <sup>w</sup> ət	q <sup>w</sup> éy'əcəp	q <sup>w</sup> éy'əcəp
84. burn	k <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> iʔŋəx <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> iʔŋəx <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> əlhəx <sup>w</sup>	čəq <sup>w</sup>	čəq <sup>w</sup>	čəq <sup>w</sup>	čəq <sup>w</sup>	čəq <sup>w</sup>
85. road (path)	čəq <sup>w</sup>	čəq <sup>w</sup>	čəq <sup>w</sup>	sat	sat	sat	sat	sat
86. mountain	sxaʔik <sup>w</sup> uyéʔč	snénət	snénət	snénət	spək <sup>w</sup> iʔq <sup>w</sup>	snénət	snénət	snénət
87. red <sup>51</sup>	ʔncəq <sup>w</sup>	nəsáq <sup>w</sup>	nəsáq <sup>w</sup>	nək <sup>w</sup> im	nəsáq <sup>w</sup>	nəsáq <sup>w</sup>	nəsáq <sup>w</sup>	nəsáq <sup>w</sup>
88. green	ʔnə'ət	nək <sup>w</sup> im	nək <sup>w</sup> im					
89. yellow	ʔnə'ət	nəq <sup>w</sup> é	nəq <sup>w</sup> é	nəq <sup>w</sup> éy	nəx'ət	nəq <sup>w</sup> əy	nəq <sup>w</sup> əy	nəq <sup>w</sup> əy
90. white	pəq'	nəq <sup>w</sup> é	nəq <sup>w</sup> é	lələč	nəq <sup>w</sup> éy	nəq <sup>w</sup> əy	nəq <sup>w</sup> əy	nəq <sup>w</sup> əy
91. black	ʔnq'ix	pəq'	pəq'	pəq'	pəq'	pəq'	pəq'	pəq'
92. night	ʔsnət	nəq'ix	nəq'ix	nəq'ix	nəq'ix	nəq'ix	nəq'ix	nəq'ix
93. hot (warm)	taʔtiq'ŋ	snət	snət	snət	ʔasnət	net	snət	snət
94. cold	tátaʔci	t'təq'-	k <sup>w</sup> éʔlas	k <sup>w</sup> éʔlas	k <sup>w</sup> éʔlas	k <sup>w</sup> éʔlas	k <sup>w</sup> éʔlas	k <sup>w</sup> éʔlas
95. full	ʔsyac't	c'anŋ	c'áʔtəŋ	t <sup>θ</sup> áʔtəŋ	c'ix <sup>w</sup> əŋ	t <sup>θ</sup> ix <sup>w</sup> əŋ	c'ix <sup>w</sup> əŋ	t <sup>θ</sup> ix <sup>w</sup> əŋ
96. new	xəw's	ʔəsléc'ət	ʔəsléc'ət	t <sup>θ</sup> ánəŋ	ləc'	ləc'	ləc'	ləc'
97. good	ʔəy'	xəwəs	xəwəs	xəw'əs	xəwəs	xəwəs	xəw'əs	xəw'əs
98. round	haʔt	ʔəyʔ	ʔəyʔ	ʔəy'	ʔəyʔ	ʔəy'	ʔəy'	ʔəy'
99. dry	ʔsx <sup>w</sup> səy'q'ŋ	šalák <sup>w</sup>	šalák <sup>w</sup>	šalák <sup>w</sup>	šəl'ók <sup>w</sup>	šəl'ók <sup>w</sup>	šəl'ók <sup>w</sup>	šəl'ók <sup>w</sup>
100. name	xáʔčŋ	xécəŋ	xécəŋ	xécəŋ	xécəŋ	xécəŋ	xécəŋ	xécəŋ
	sna	sneʔ	sne	sne	sne	sne	sne	sne

## Notes

*Acknowledgements.* This is a combined, expanded, and revised version of two papers, one presented in 1996 at the January meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, and the other at the Thirty-First International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages (Montler 1996a). My fieldwork on Klallam, Saanich, and Samish has, since 1978, been supported by grants from the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Jacobs Research Funds of the Whatcom Museum, the American Philosophical Society, the National Park Service, the Administration for Native Americans, the University of North Texas, and the University of Hawaii. I owe thanks to Ivy Doak, to the participants of the SSILA and ICSNL meetings mentioned above, and to the review process of *Anthropological Linguistics* for suggesting crucial improvements to drafts of this article.

1. Among Salishanists, the terms "Salish" and "Salishan" are often used interchangeably. The former, however, is actually the native name of one of the Salishan-language speaking tribes—the Flathead or Salish (*séliš*) of Montana. Salishanists are rarely, if ever, bothered by this cross usage, but, since one of the purposes of this article is to clear up terminological confusion, and since an anonymous reviewer inquired about the issue, I will consistently use the term "Salishan" to refer to the language family.

2. Some of the tribes represented on this map currently dispute their exact historical boundaries. Since the only purpose of this map is to show the relative proximity of the various languages and dialects, I have chosen not to indicate definite historical boundaries. However, according to Gibbs (1863) and to Klallam tradition, the Klallam territory ranged across the northern shore of the Olympic Peninsula from the Hoko River to near Port Townsend—see Suttles and Suttles (1985) for a comprehensive map of the linguistic area.

3. There are today, as far as we know, no remaining native speakers of Sooke, Songish, Lummi, or Semiahmoo. There may be as many as twenty native speakers of Saanich, representing both subdialects. As for Klallam, as far as I have been able to determine, there are fewer than ten native speakers, with various levels of fluency, at Elwha and at Becher Bay.

4. The subscripted forms refer to different documented varieties of what has been called Samish. These will be explained and discussed in section 7.

5. The confusion in the literature regarding varieties of Straits Salishan is not unique in the history of American linguistics. Parks and DeMallie (1994) document and clear up a similar situation concerning the Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialects in the Siouan language family.

6. There is actually some variation in the use of this word. The Klallam speakers of Becher Bay use the cognate *yək<sup>w</sup>əŋin'əŋ* to refer only to the language of the Songish. The Klallam speakers of the Olympic Peninsula use this to refer to both the Songish and Saanich, but not Lummi, dialects. In my recordings of several varieties of Saanich, this word is used only to refer to the Songish language. Wayne Suttles (p.c. 1996) reports that, in his early recordings, this word was used by the Songish to refer to all varieties of Northern Straits.

7. Hill-Tout apparently did not make use of the work of Gibbs, Eells, and others who identify *č'ix<sup>w</sup>ícŋ* correctly. Gibbs (1863:20) lists this name as "Tsi-whit'zen," with the correct gloss.

8. Suttles (p.c. 1996) has since come to the conclusion that Klallam and Northern Straits are not mutually intelligible and are indeed separate languages.

9. Actually, Thompson and Thompson conjecture that "there are probably *three* languages, but the determination of boundaries will have to await fuller information on

local dialects" (1971:251, emphasis added). There is enough information now available, as presented in this article, to determine that there are actually only *two* languages.

10. Another experiment would be to bring speakers of the two languages together to observe how well they communicate without resorting to English. I have not been able to do this. The few remaining speakers of these languages are elderly and of limited mobility, or are otherwise disinclined to participate in such an outing.

11. Sources for the items in the list are as follows: for Klallam and Saanich, the author's field notes; for Sooke, Efrat (1969) and Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974); for Songish, Mitchell (1968), Raffo (1972), and Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974); for Lummi, Thompson (1969); for Samish<sub>TB</sub>, a transcription by the author of Metcalf (1953b); for Samish<sub>VU</sub>, the author's field notes and Galloway (1990); and for Samish<sub>LD</sub>, the author's field notes and Galloway (1990).

12. This metathesis is uncommon, but not irregular. Compare the words for 'river', Saanich *stá?l̥aw*' and Klallam *stú?wi?*.

13. The speaker from Becher Bay mentioned in section 3 is aware of the *l : y : i* correspondence and can quickly figure out cognates differing in these sounds. He should probably be considered bilingual in Klallam and Northern Straits. He occasionally makes comments such as "It's *la?* in Saanich? That would be *yu?* in Klallam." However, I suspect that other speakers of Klallam and Saanich are somewhat aware of these regular sound correspondences and can make the connection on a word-by-word basis. Therefore, I have taken the conservative position of including such pairs as mutually intelligible.

14. It should be noted that all of these percentages are, unexpectedly, somewhat higher than those given by Swadesh (1950:159). I suspect that this difference is due, in part, to the difference in method and, in part, to recently improved documentation of the languages and dialects in question. Another factor accounting for this difference may be the fact that different lists were used. In his pioneer glottochronological study (1950), Swadesh had not yet fully developed the technique to exclude the statistical biases introduced by including culture-specific items in the word list. In this early article he used a list of 165 words specifically selected for the Salishan languages. The list that I have used is his fine-tuned 100-word list developed later (Swadesh 1955). Some of the words in the 165-word list are not in the 100-word list, and vice versa.

15. The postvelar nasal regularly corresponds to [b] in Lushootseed, [w] in Tillamook, and [m] in the rest of the Salishan languages. Presumably, all occurrences of [m] and [m'] in the Straits languages are in loans (see Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat [1974] for details). The actual articulation of [ŋ] and [ŋ'] ranges from back velar (as at the end of English *sung*) to uvular. Native speakers are aware of the distinctiveness of the postvelar nasal. This is, in part, what accounts for the initial "it's just the same" reaction mentioned in section 3. There is a popular Native American storyteller in the area who, without actually knowing any of the languages, does a remarkable job of imitating the sound of various of them. What makes his "Saanich" is a liberal sprinkling of velar and postvelar nasals.

16. I have not personally heard the Sooke dialect. There are apparently no remaining native speakers of the dialect, and tape-recorded data on Sooke have not been available to me. The values shown here are from Efrat (1969). The phonetic values for the other dialects are my own judgments, based on observations of living speakers and on recordings.

17. The actual value of schwa varies considerably, depending on environment. When unstressed, it tends to be higher and more fronted adjacent to palatals and rounded and more backed adjacent to labialized sounds. When stressed, it is usually IPA [ʌ].

18. The starred forms here and throughout do not necessarily, unless specifically

noted, refer to Proto-Salishan, but simply to some stage previous to a split Proto-Straits Salishan.

19. See Montler (1998, forthcoming) for details.

20. This is item 18 in the appendix. See Kinkade (1993) on the loss of the affricate in Northern Straits and the development of cognates across Salishan.

21. The cluster *ttt* is not one long *t*. The preceding glottal stop is released into the first *t*, which is released and rearticulated into the second, which is released and rearticulated into the third. There are no intervening vocalic segments. This is typical of clusters of plosives. Continuants, on the other hand, flow smoothly into one another. In *ʔq'čšʔsaʔ* 'fifty', given in (4b), the affricate *č* is released into the homorganic fricative. The tongue slides continuously from there into the lateral and back to the palatal.

22. Each language or dialect also has a set of subordinate clause subject affixes that are closely related to the main clause subject markers. Complete paradigms for all of the subordinate subjects in all of the dialects are not available. However, the third person subordinate subject generally is *-s* or *-əs* in both the transitive and intransitive, and the first and second person singular forms are *-ən* and *-əx<sup>w</sup>*, respectively. Klallam differs from Saanich in the first person plural subordinate subject form. In Klallam, the form is *-ʔ*, but in Saanich it is *-əʔtə*.

23. The pairs of forms given in the first person singular and second person columns of table 7 are morphologically predictable alternants whose occurrence depends on the type of transitivizer occurring on the stem. For example, the Saanich forms with *ŋ* occur with the noncontrol and causative transitivizers, while the forms with *s* occur with the basic and indirective transitivizers. Which object marker occurs with which transitivizer varies among the dialects. See Montler (1986) for complete paradigms for Saanich and Montler (1996c, forthcoming) for paradigms for Klallam.

24. The alternants shown in the first person singular and second person columns of table 8 are, unlike the alternants shown in table 7, phonological variants. These genitive pronominal markers have several functions: subordinate subject markers, main clause agent markers in inverse constructions, agent markers in some passive constructions, and markers of possession. Their range of function is comparable, though not identical, to genitive pronominals in many other languages. Although, in all types of naturally occurring discourse, the possessive function of these morphemes is much less common than are other functions, these and their cognates have usually been called "possessive" affixes in Salishan studies, since it is that function that is easiest to elicit on a word-by-word basis.

25. There are reduplicative patterns for repetitive, resultative, and characteristic morphemes as well. These patterns seem to be essentially the same among the Straits group. See Montler (1986) for a description of these patterns in Saanich.

26. The rule is actually a little more complicated than this. See Montler (1986:102-3, section 2.3.3.1) for details.

27. In Saanich, this infix glottal stop regularly merges with a following sonorant consonant to make a laryngealized sonorant.

28. The forms in (16a) probably exhibit "resultative" ablaut as well as the "actual," and mean something more like 'give/giving as speech'. The Saanich root *q<sup>w</sup>əl* 'say' has the regular "actual" form *q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>əl*.

29. The "feminine" forms are not necessarily gender markers. When referring to humans, they match natural gender for purposes of contrast, emphasis, and disambiguation. When referring to nonhumans, the feminine indicates the smaller of two items.

30. Note that the Klallam feminine form *tsə-*, with its sequence of consonants, contrasts with *cə-*, which has an affricate. This latter form alternates with *tə-* in free variation.

31. I am making the working assumption here that all of the Northern Straits dialects have essentially identical systems. Of the Northern Straits dialects, only Saanich has been fully described in publication (Montler 1986). The Songish demonstratives shown in Raffo (1972) match those found in Saanich.

32. Tense marking is not obligatory in either Klallam or Northern Straits, so where a sentence is not explicitly marked for tense, a translator must choose among the possibilities offered by a language such as English. Each of the translations given here could, depending on context, as well be rendered 'I guess I went', 'I wish I went', etc.

33. This particular enclitic, KL *tə*, SA *te?*, does not appear in either Thompson and Thompson (1971) or Montler (1986).

34. The third person subject is zero in the intransitive and a suffix on the predicate in the transitive.

35. Suttles (p.c. 1996) has recently confirmed this.

36. This opportunity was graciously provided by Eloise Jelinek, who had been working with VU and LD.

37. The Samish tribe was not listed as a party to the treaties establishing reservations in Washington State in the 1850s and was thus not a federally recognized tribe. After a twenty-year legal struggle, they finally won federal recognition in 1996.

38. I have found that even Suttles's earliest published transcriptions are extremely reliable. The mistake of recording *c* for *θ* seems to me to be extremely unlikely.

39. In Samish<sub>TB</sub>, as in Saanich, *θ* and *s* occur in contrast, whereas these two have historically merged as *s* in the rest of Northern Straits. Since Tommy Bob has both *θ* and *s*, it cannot be the case that he was suffering from a lisp, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer.

40. The "younger native speakers of Saanich" are those born approximately from 1935 through 1945. I know of no native speakers of Saanich born after 1945. These "younger" speakers are a generation younger than my oldest consultants and two generations younger than the oldest Saanich speakers that I have transcribed from tape recordings. These younger speakers are completely fluent in Saanich, able to carry on conversations with older speakers, give speeches, tell stories, and translate freely between English and Saanich.

41. The Klallam cognates for these enclitics, *ix<sup>w</sup>* and *ya?*, also always occur in that order.

42. This word may have had some outside influence. It was made up in 1995 at a meeting of participants in the Klallam Language Program. The purpose of the meeting was to come up with words for modern things for which no traditional Klallam words existed. I was present, and when asked if I knew any Indian word for 'popcorn', I mentioned that the Alabama word for 'corn' is *čassi*. The new and similar Klallam word appeared a few moments later.

43. Another item with first person plural reference is the predicative, focus root *ʔnín(ə)ʔ*, which is the same across all varieties. I have chosen here the much more common subject enclitic, as I have for items 1 and 2.

44. There are numerous demonstrative and predicative forms in each of the varieties that can be translated 'that'. There is a very high degree of sameness across varieties for all of these. The most common one is chosen here.

45. Some Klallam speakers, especially those from the eastern end of the area and from Becher Bay, will pronounce this word in careful style as *ʔəcttáyŋx<sup>w</sup>*. For all of the Klallam forms, I have given the subdialect for which I have the most data—that is, the Western Klallam variety.

46. The only truly general word for 'fish' in any of the varieties (and other Salishan languages as well) is *piš*, which comes ultimately from English. The form given for each language or dialect here is the generic term covering all species of salmon and trout. If,

incidentally, we were to interpret this English word as the verb 'to fish (with hook and line)', we would find three different forms: Klallam  $\lambda'ácu$ , Saanich and Samish<sub>VU</sub>  $k'wáwyək^w$ , and Lummi  $sʔóy'əq$ .

47. The Samish varieties refer specifically to the body louse; the word for head louse is different. The forms given for Klallam and Saanich refer to both the body louse and the head louse.

48. Cognates for the Lummi and Samish forms  $smáyəs/smáyəθ/smáyis$  are found in Klallam, Saanich, and Songish, but with different meanings. In Klallam,  $smáyc$  is 'elk', while Saanich  $smáyəθ$  and Songish  $sméyəs$  mean 'deer'.

49. No general word for 'egg' is to be found. The forms given here refer to 'salmon eggs'.

50. The Northern Straits form of this word was used by Ruth Shelton on a tape recording obtained by Leon Metcalf (1953a). According to the 1926 Klallam tribal census (Dickens 1926), both of her parents were Klallam, and both had only Klallam names. Born in 1855, she was brought up in Samish territory and was a native speaker of both Klallam and Lushootseed. Klallam speakers assisting in transcribing this tape in 1999 agreed that she spoke excellent Klallam, but they did not recognize this word. There are a few other words on the tape that modern speakers were unable to translate at all or for which they were unable to agree on a translation.

51. Most of the words in items 87, 88, 89, and 91 contain a prefix that occurs only on certain basic color words. It is usually glossed simply 'basic color'. The form of the prefix is  $nə-$  in all of the Northern Straits dialects; in Klallam, it is  $?n- \sim ?ənə-$ .

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