ON THE ORIGINS OF š IN THE
STRAITS SALISHAN LANGUAGES

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1. Introduction. In an incidental comment on another paper of mine Dale Kinkade wrote, "Whenever I see an š in Straits Salish I wonder where it is from, since that sound usually became *s* there." Anything in Salishan linguistics that makes Kinkade "wonder" is worth pursuing. So, it was this comment that set me off collating words with the palato-alveolar fricative š in Klallam and Saanich. In this paper I account for most of the occurrences of š in these Straits Salishan languages and provide the data that may help Dale or someone else pursue this question further.

2. Historical background. Since Boas and Haeberlin (1927) it has been known that the Salishan languages, like the Indo-European languages, can be sorted into two groups depending on the development of the velar consonants. In some of the languages the Proto-Salishan velars **k* and **x* remain, while in others these have developed into palatal articulations č and š, respectively. Also as in Indo-European this development does not form the basis of a shared innovation for purposes of genetic subgrouping. Of the four major genetic subdivisions of Salishan (Interior, Coast, Tsamosan, Bella Coola), this development has occurred in two of the seven Interior languages, three of the four Tsamosan languages, and all eleven of the Coast languages (Thompson 1979:703).

The Straits Salishan languages, Klallam and Northern Straits,[1] are a subgroup of the Coast Salishan division. In this subgroup of languages and dialects the development of Proto-Salishan **k* and **x* has gone one step beyond the palatal articulations to alveolar. They have become the affricate *c* and fricative *s*, respectively, in Klallam and have merged as *s* in the

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[1] Northern Straits includes the documented dialects Sooke, Songish, Saanich, Lummi, and Samish. In this paper I refer only to the Saanich dialect of Northern Straits since that is the dialect on which I have substantial data. All Klallam (Kl) and Saanich (Sa) material are from my own field notes. In the remainder of this paper I use data from the following sources unless otherwise noted: Lushootseed (Ld)–Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994); Upper Chehalis (UCh)–Kinkade (1991*a*); Halkomelem (Hk)–Galloway (1980; 1993); Squamish (Sq)–Kuipers (1967); Spokane (Sp)–Carlson and Flett (1989); and Colville (Cv)–Mattina (1987).

Northern Straits dialects. These developments and some of their compli-
cations have been described by Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974).
Etymologies evidencing the sound correspondences across the Salishan
languages are numerous. Many can be found in Boas and Haeberlin (1927),
Kinkade (1990; 1991*b*; 1993; 1995; 1996), and Kuipers (1970; 1982; 1995;
1996).

3. *k* and *š* in the Straits languages. Although these developments of
PS *$k > č$ > Kl *c*, Ns *s* and *$x > š$ > Kl, Ns *s* are well established, there are,
nevertheless, occurrences of *k* in modern Klallam and Northern Straits.
And while *x* never appears in either language, there are many occurrences
of *š*.

Almost all occurrences of *k* are accounted for as traceable loans from
English or from Chinook Jargon. Native speakers are aware of the foreign
origin of these words, but all of these forms function as native roots to un-
dergo regular native inflectional and derivational morphological processes,
so have been integrated into the language.

The following is a complete list of words in Saanich containing *k*: *čə́kən*
'chicken'; *číkmən* 'iron'; *káa* 'car'; *káfi* 'coffee'; *kálə* 'collar'; *kénti* 'candy';
kələnts 'currant'; *kəmpúts* 'boots'; *kəpú* 'coat'; *kíčən* 'kitchen'; *kiŋčáač* 'Can-
ada'; *klésməs* 'Christmas'; *kúk* 'cook'; *kúl* 'gold'; *ləklí* 'key'; *ləkwín* 'crucifix';
lisék 'sack'; *méksəkən* 'Mexican'; *páysəkəl* 'bicycle'; *smɔwkéwʼtxʷ* 'winter
dance house' (from English 'smoke' + Saanich 'building' suffix); *stákən*
'stocking, sock'; *šík* 'Shaker religion'; *tʼθíktʼθək* 'wagon, buggy'; *ʔə́ŋkəl* 'un-
cle'; *ʔíŋk* 'ink'. The following borrowed given names also show evidence of
integration: *kéni* 'Kenny'; *kəlín* 'Colleen'; *kəƛʼín* 'Catherine, Kathleen';
pə́lək 'Philip'; *tík* 'Dick'; *ʔáyk* 'Ike'.

Klallam words with *k* are: *cʼíkcʼək* 'wagon, buggy'; *číkən* 'chicken'; *híkčəm*
'handkerchief'; *káa* 'car'; *kánsəl* 'councilman'; *kapú* 'coat'; *kéwəts* 'carrot';
kəlákəs 'cracker'; *kəním* 'type of canoe'; *kə́sməs* 'Christmas'; *kíwtən* 'horse';
kúl 'gold'; *lakəlí* 'key, lock'; *lisák* 'sack'; *ləklə́səti* 'electricity'; *méksəkən*
'Mexican'; *nəkáwəʔ* 'my dear one'; *páysəkəl* 'bicycle'; *pə́skət* 'hardtack'; *púuk*
'fork'; *púyək* 'gun'; *skʷúk* 'cooked'; *skʷúkəm* 'strong'; *stákən* 'sock, stock-
ing'; *tə́ki* 'turkey'; *ʔələ́kt* 'elect someone'; *ʔəméləkən* 'American'; *ʔə́ŋkəl* 'uncle';
ʔíks 'egg'. In addition to these words there are four personal names: *nəkídə*,
kakántu, *yəklúlət*, *pəlánəkə* 'Veronica'. The first two of these are names of
legendary characters; the third is a native name that probably originated in
a neighboring language; and the fourth is obviously from English.

While these lists may stir some phonological, sociolinguistic, and histor-
ical questions, we can, for most, at least answer the question "where do the
k's come from?" The English or French connection in most of the forms is
obvious. Others can easily be found in Thomas's (1935) Chinook Jargon

dictionary. The only exception is the Klallam form nəkáwəʔ 'my dear one'. The nə- is the Klallam first-person singular genitive, but the root káwəʔ is otherwise unknown in Klallam or in Northern Straits.

None of the k words is used frequently. Many of them in each language are known and occasionally used but rejected as foreign by some speakers. In each of Saanich and Klallam k is the rarest of forty phonemes. The phoneme š, on the other hand, while not frequent in the lexicon, is not rare at all in natural texts. In a frequency count of Klallam texts š ranks twenty-sixth most frequent out of the forty Klallam phonemes, while in Saanich š ranks twenty-fifth out of forty. š occurs in prefixes, suffixes, and commonly used roots. Thus, Kinkade's question: "Where do these š's come from?"

4. The sources of š. Generally, occurrences of š can be traced to one of four sources. Many occurrences are, as for k, in obvious loans from English and Chinook Jargon (**4.1**). Most are simply the product of regular phonological processes, some of which are fossilized (**4.2**). A third source is through diffusion from closely related languages (**4.3**). Sound symbolism is the fourth source (**4.4**). There is a small set of important and frequently used words with š that remain to be explained (**4.5**).

4.1. Obvious loans. The following words are clearly loans into Saanich from English and Chinook Jargon: ləpláš 'board', ləšá 'shawl', ləšás 'angel', lúšən 'Lucien', píš 'cat', šét 'shot, shell, bullet', šík 'Shaker religion', šúkʷə 'sugar'. The following tribe names are also certainly loanwords: sqʷxʷám'əš 'Squamish', t'θam'šiyén 'Tsimshian', séməš 'Samish', sin'éməš 'Samish'. But these tribe names do not necessarily come from the language of the tribe they name. The last two names, for example, contain š but the Samish language is itself a dialect of Northern Straits and should have the alveolar fricative here. The source of š in these two and in the word for Squamish is probably the same as for the Klallam -umš suffix discussed below in **4.3**.

Klallam loans with š from English and Chinook Jargon are the following: kʷašú 'pig', lapiyúš 'hoe', ləpláš 'board', lišán 'shawl', məšín 'machine', píšmən 'fisherman', píšpš 'cat', šápəl 'shovel', šát 'lead (metal)', šúkʷə 'sugar', šúšukʷli 'holy; holy man; Jesus'. There is one tribe name: c'əm'šiyán 'Tsimshian'. And there are two words from neighboring tribes that are known by native speakers to be of foreign origin: šə́b 'defecate', an occasional taboo substitution considered to come from Nitinat, and táyapš, a type of monster considered to live near Tulalip in Lushootseed-speaking territory.

Another probable, though not obvious, loan is Sa, Kl ƛ'ə́š 'gouge, gash, scratch, tear'. This root is productive, e.g., Kl ƛ'ə́šqsən 'tear the nose', and occurs in such other words as Sa xʷƛ'šéxən, Kl nəxʷƛ'šáxən 'rupture, rip

open', Sa x̣'ə́šənəp, Kl x̣'šnúkʷəŋ 'plow'. In this latter word the Saanich has a nonnative form of the 'ground, earth, floor' suffix that is the standard form in neighboring Halkomelem, but I have not been able to find this root in my Halkomelem sources. It does, however, correspond to the Chinook Jargon word *kluh, klugh* (= ƛ'əx or ƛəx) 'to tear, to plow' in Thomas (1935:76), who identifies the source of this word as Chinook. The probable source for this root can be found in the Kathlamet Chinook root *Lx* (= ƛx) 'act of digging, broken, torn' (Hymes 1955:274–75).

4.2. Phonological sources. The most common source of *š* is assimilatory. In both Northern Straits and Klallam *s* becomes palatal in palatalizing environments, specifically contiguous to and especially preceding a palatal consonant *č* or *č'* or a velar fricative *xʷ* or **x*. These processes seem to be frozen in some words, but there is evidence in other words that they are synchronically active in Klallam.

In both Saanich and Klallam the most common morpheme containing *š* is the 'reason for, thing for' prefix. The *š* in this prefix undoubtedly comes from *s* palatalized before *xʷ*. In Saanich the form is often *šxʷ-* but has a more frequent alternant *š-* with the *xʷ* deleted: *štihə́lə ~ šxʷtihélə* 'teapot' /šxʷ-ti-elə/ 'thing-for-tea-container'. In Klallam the cognate most frequently occurs as *sxʷ-* without the palatalization, but *šxʷ-* and, rarely, *š-* do occasionally occur apparently in free variation.

One example of the palatalization of *s* in Saanich and Klallam is the form *šč'ə́t* 'hit it with a stick' with the root *šč'*. This is cognate with Colville *sp'ntim* 'hit with a stick' (Mattina 1987:182) containing the root *sp'* in the Interior group and with Upper Chehalis *sə́p'-* 'hit (as with a stick)' (Kinkade 1991a:125) in the Tsamosan group. Regularly Proto-Salishan **p, *p'* appear in the Straits languages as *č, č'*.[2] The Colville and Upper Chehalis forms represent the more archaic pronunciation. The *š* in the Straits languages thus must come from assimilation of **s* to the palatal articulation of the following segment. This particular occurrence of *š* is frozen and never alternates with *s*. In the 'actual/imperfective' form of this stem the *š* remains even when not contiguous to the *č'* : *šə́č't* 'hitting it with a stick'. There is no evidence in Saanich of either progressive palatalization or distant regressive palatalization. There are many instances of tautomorphemic *sVč* and *čs*. One word has both: *sécs* 'aunt, uncle'.

In Klallam there are occurrences of progressive palatalization that appear in a pattern of synchronic alternation. The Klallam word for 'two' is *čə́sa?*. The suffix *-itxʷ* 'dollar' takes the stress and the root schwa deletes putting

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[2] Examples of this *p/č* correspondence are numerous. Two more examples are Hk, Cv *-itp* : Sa, Kl *-ilč* 'plant' and Sp *p̓íƚt* : Sa *čɬət* 'thick'.

the s into the palatalizing position. The resulting form is čšáʔitxʷ 'two dollars'. In Saanich the s palatalizes only in a preceding environment so the cognate differs: čséʔlətxʷ 'two dollars'. Another case of progressive palatalization in Klallam can be seen in the word for 'five', łqʼáčš, which in Saanich is łqʼéčəs.

The 'multiple of ten' suffix, Kl -łšáʔ, Sa -łšéʔ, has š that must have an origin in assimilation that is now obscured. Evidence of this comes from Upriver Halkomelem where the cognate is -əlsxʸe (Galloway 1993:408). The Halkomelem form shows an earlier consonant cluster that has been simplified in the Straits languages following the palatalization of the s.

This same reduction of sx to š accounts for the Saanich and Klallam word xə́šən 'trap for small animals'. The cognate root xís is found in Ld xísač 'grabbed by the hair (of the head)' and root xə́s in Hk xə́sxʸəl 'metal trap'. Historically the Straits word was xəs-xən with root meaning 'grab' and suffix 'foot' (see **4.3.1.1**). Just as in the 'multiple of ten' suffix the sequence sx becomes š.

There are cases of both historical and synchronic alternation of y/yʼ with č/čʼ. These cases also cause palatalization of s. For example, Sa šiʔé-, Kl šə́ya- 'deny, disobey, be stubborn', Kl ščánkʷən 'brave'. Compare UCh šayá- 'deny'. Also there are Kl šə́čəŋ and šáyəŋ 'bleed' which are in apparent free variation.

4.3. Intrafamily diffusion. The North American Northwest is a well-known linguistic convergence area. Several language families in the area, particularly Salishan, Wakashan, and Chemakuan, that cannot yet be shown to be related by the standard criteria of systematic sound correspondences share a large number of typological features. Their striking similarity in phonology, morphology, and syntax evidences thousands of years of cultural interchange.

Given the extent of diffusion among language families in the Northwest it would be surprising not to find evidence of diffusion within the families. Each Coast Salishan language is native to a relatively small geographic area, and certainly the population of any one language has never been more than a few thousand. Intermarriage among the language groups is common today and is abundantly documented in the earliest censuses as well as in traditional legends. Kuipers (1996:209) notes the problems of multiple correspondences and fuzzy isoglosses and states, "The reason is not borrowing in the narrow sense but interpenetration of languages resulting from bilingualism and even trilingualism." Thus this intrafamily diffusion can be named as the source of a number of instances of š in Klallam and Northern Straits.

4.3.1. Diffused lexical suffixes. The clearest examples of this diffusion are two suffixes containing š, each of which has a doublet with the

expected Straits Salishan phonological development. These two pairs of suffixes are -šən/-sən 'foot, leg', which occurs in both Klallam and Saanich, and -(u)mš/-ŋ(i)xʷ 'like kind, of a type', which occurs in Klallam though not in Saanich.

4.3.1.1. The 'foot' suffix. The native alveolar form of the 'foot' suffix is the more common and occurs productively in forms such as Sa t'ə́m'sən 'get hit on the foot' and Kl x̣'əm'sə́n 'get bumped on the foot'. The palatal occurs only in a few frozen forms, most of which are culturally dependent words. The morphology and even the connection with the notion 'foot, leg' is obscure in many of these.

The following are the Saanich words with the palatal -šən form: kʷəkʷáx̣'šən 'red rock crab'; x̣'éʔešən 'invite'; náw'šən 'foot stuck'; pítšən 'salamander'; qʷəqʷíməx̣ʷšən 'ankles'; qʷłə́y'šən 'shoe'; q'éx̣'lšən 'calf of leg'; q'ʷšə́nət 'accompany someone'; sən'x̣'alə́w'šən 'big toe'; sx̣'ə́q'šən 'moccasins'; snə́x̣ʷəłšən 'shoe, foot'; snə́x̣šən 'toe'; sqíməqʷšən 'devil's club'; sq'ə́y'əq'šən 'dogfish'; sx̣ə́p'šən 'fish tail'; t'əl'qəmél'šən 'sleet'; x̣ʷət'éʔšən 'rainbow'; x̣éx̣'šən 'wind-blown rain'.

Nine Klallam words have been recorded with šən: kʷəkʷáx̣'šən 'red rock crab'; kʷítšən 'spring salmon'; x̣'ə́qšən 'shoe'; péʔtšən 'salamander'; sx̣'aʔášən 'invite'; sŋátšən 'hire'; sqʷʷúʔšən 'partner'; sx̣ə́p'šən 'fish tail'; x̣ʷət'ášən 'rainbow'. The direction of this diffusion must certainly be from Halkomelem to the north of and contiguous to Saanich.

4.3.1.2. The 'like kind' suffix. The direction of influence for the diffusion of the 'like kind, of a type' suffix, on the other hand, must be from the south. The palatal -(u)mš form appears only in Klallam, while its cognate -ŋ(i)xʷ[3] occurs in both Klallam and Northern Straits. Because of the frequent use of this suffix and its cognates across Salishan in names of tribes and types of peoples, it is particularly prone to diffusion among tribes, dialects, and languages.[4] The -úmš form is doubly marked as a diffused form since it has m as well as š. In the Straits languages the velar nasal ŋ regularly corresponds to m in the other Salishan languages. The labialization of the x is due to its proximity to a historical u.

While it is the native form that is productive and the nonnative form that is frozen in the Saanich and Klallam 'foot' suffix pair, in the Klallam 'like kind, of a type' suffix pair, it is the native form that is frozen and the palatalized form that is productive. Klallam words with -ŋ(i)xʷ[5] seem to be lim-

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[3] Depending on stress placement -úmš ~ úməš ~ -mš and -ŋíxʷ ~ -ŋəxʷ ~ -ŋxʷ.

[4] Haeberlin (1974:280) comments on the problem of doublets with this suffix, pointing out that Lushootseed too has both with -bš in some words and -bixʷ in others. In Lushootseed b < *m.

[5] There is another suffix with the form -ŋəxʷ meaning 'breast'; it is productive and occurs in such forms as čaʔc'áy'ŋəxʷ 'milk a cow'; sməcáyŋəxʷ 'butter'; čiqáy'ŋəxʷ 'big bosom'.

ited to the following: *čə́čtəŋax^w* 'great horned owl'; *naʔcʼáʔuŋx^w* 'stranger, foreigner'; *sqiyáyŋx^w* 'any large tree'; *stʼáyŋx^w* 'medicine' (and related *tʼiʔyəŋíx^wəŋ* 'take medicine'); *taʔtáʔciŋax^w* 'wild animal'; *ʔacłtáyŋx^w* 'Indian, person'; *ʔax^wíyŋx^w* 'Indian village'; and perhaps the name for Fraser Island in Becher Bay, *qáʔiʔŋəx^w*.

The *-umš* form, on the other hand, seems to be able to attach to nearly any word having semantics of substance or quality: *cʼicʼəʔcʼəmʼúməš* 'like a bird'; *skʼ'^wicʼiʔúmš* 'like a sea urchin'; *qaʔqiyamáyaməš* 'weak kind'; *słaniʔúməš* 'looks, acts like a woman'; *sqatihúmš* 'looks, acts crazy'; *sqàxəʔúməš* 'like a dog'; *swəyʼqəʔúməš* 'looks, acts like a man'; *sʔiłənúməš* 'looks like food'; *yəmáyaməš* 'strong kind'; *ʔayʼúməš* 'good kind'. It is interesting to note that from *x^wanítəm* 'whiteman' one can get *x^wanìtəmúmš* 'look, act like a whiteman', but from *ʔacłtáyŋx^w* 'Indian' the parallel form, **ʔacłtayŋx^wúmš*, which already has the cognate suffix, is not possible.

The forms *-umš* ~ *-mš* 'kind' and *-umiš* 'people' occur in Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991*a*:361) along with an apparently infrequent nonpalatalized version. In Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994:40–41) the Lushootseed palatalized version, *-bš*, is listed only in names of tribes or peoples from particular areas. The nonpalatalized form has a wider distribution including some names for particular groups of people. For Upriver Halkomelem Galloway (1993:224, 229) lists only nonpalatalized cognates. Since the *š* version is virtually nonoccurring in Saanich and in Halkomelem and is limited in Lushootseed, it seems likely that *-umš* diffused into Klallam from Upper Chehalis or another of the Tsamosan languages.

4.3.2. Words found in other Salishan languages. Other forms with *š* in Klallam and Saanich may be considered outright loans from neighboring Salishan languages or the product of diffusion. The following words are found in both Saanich and Klallam and can also be found in at least one other Salishan language:

Sa *čʼə́mʼəš*, Kl (some speakers) *čʼəmʼáš*, Hk *scʼémax^y*,[6] Ld *čʼə́bs* (here Hk has unexpected *cʼ* and Ld has unexpected *s*) 'herring eggs'.

Sa *néš-*, Kl *nə́ša-* 'lie on the side' (a root occurring in such words as Sa *snésəł* 'be lying on one's side', Kl *nə́šat* 'put something on its edge', Kl *nə́šaʔč* 'first big log on a fire on which lean smaller sticks', Kl *néʔnašəŋ* 'lying on one's side'), Ld *dəš* 'lean, be on its side'.

Sa *qʼ'^wíiləš*, Kl *qʼ'^wiyéʔyəš*, Sq *qʼ'^wíilš* 'dance'.

Sa *sménəš*, Kl *smánəš* 'tobacco', Ld *sbádəš* 'smoke (tobacco)'.

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[6] All Halkomelem data are from the Upriver dialect which preserves a stage of development intermediate between *x* and *š* in *x^y*. The Island dialects of Halkomelem—in particular Cowichan, which is geographically adjacent to Northern Straits—have fully developed *š*.

Sa *šápt*, Kl *šúpt*, Sq *šúpn*, Hk *xʸá·pəm* 'whistle' (also Quilleute *xʷa·pa* 'whistle').

Sa *šápšəp*, Kl *šúpšp* 'a kind of night bird, a type of spirit power', possibly Ld *xʷúpšəd* 'saw-whet owl', and Shuswap *s-xʷúp-xʷəp* 'screech owl' (Kuipers 1982:85). See also **4.4**.

Sa *šáy'ə?* 'rival for spouse', Kl *sə́yu?* 'sweetheart', Ld *šayú?* 'rival for spouse' (Kl has the expected *s* here).

Sa *šém* 'dry', Kl *šášəŋ* 'thirsty', Ld *šáb(a)* 'dry'.

Sa *šé?i?*, Kl *x̣á?yəŋ*, Hk *xʸé·y*, Ld *x̣áy'ay'* 'gills' (Kuipers 1996:208 reconstructs *x̣/*x̣ for this set).

Sa *šəlákʷ* 'round', Kl *?əsxʷšə́?yək'ʷ* 'twisted', Hk *xʸəlák'ʷ* 'round' (also several other Sa words with *šəl* and related semantics: *šə́ltsəp* 'fire drill', *šə́ləč'* 'circle').

Sa *šəmén*, Kl *šəmán*, Ld *šəbád* 'enemy'.

Sa *šíp* 'whittle', Kl (some speakers) *šípən* 'knife', Hk *xʸə́pqst* 'sharpen to a point' (with *-qs* 'point' suffix).

Sa *šíwə?* 'urinate', Kl *šíwa?* 'urinate (man)', Hk *xʸíwə* 'urinate (woman)'.

Sa *šk'ʷám* 'swim', Kl *súk'ʷəŋ* 'bathe', Hk *xʸk'ʷám* 'swim' (Kl has expected *s* and *ŋ* here).

Sa *šəšx̣'ít* 'spoil someone, be permissive with someone (such as a child or spouse)', Kl *nəxʷša? šx̣'úsəŋ* 'brag, be proud of, pleased with something', Ld *šix̣'(i)cut* 'brag'.

Sa *təš* (root occurring in several words: *təšél'qən* 'card wool', *tšíqʷəŋ* 'comb hair', *tə́šəlt* 'turn upright'), Kl *tš* (in *tšáyəqən* 'wool carder', *tšé?qʷəŋ* 'comb hair'), Ld *təš* 'fix up, arrange', Hk *təxʸqə́yləm* 'comb hair'.

Sa, Kl *xʷə́štəŋ* 'diarrhea', may be related to UCh *xʷə́š* 'stink'.

Sa *?əšés*, Kl *?əšás*, Ld *?əšás* 'sea lion'.

The following forms with *š* are found in Saanich and at least one other Salishan language, but have no obvious cognate in Klallam:

Sa *kʷšém'ən*, Hk *kʷəkʷxʷé·məl* 'nickname' (with secondary labialization of *x* in Hk).

Sa *pášələqʷ*, Hk *pá·xʸələqʷ* 'yellow-cedar'.

Sa *q'ʷə́yəl'əšəɬp*, Hk *q'ʷəyíləxʸəɬp* 'pine' (note that the final *p* in this 'plant' suffix is usually *č* in Sa, so this also points to diffusion as the source of this word).

Sa *stáməš* 'warrior', Ld *stúbš* 'man'.

Sa *stíšəm*, Hk *stíxʸəm* 'slime'.

Sa *šáyə?*, Ld *šúdᶻə?*, 'maggots'.

Sa *šáləŋ* 'go up, climb', Ld *šil(i)* 'come out from under'.

Sa *šə́l?ə*, Ld *šəlá?* 'penis'.

Sa šə́q 'finish a job', Sq šəq 'be finished, completed'.

Sa šəšéʔtʼəŋ 'stretch, stick out (as neck to see)', nothing in Hk, Sq, UCh, or Ld, but Spokane šítʼ(i) 'to stand' (Carlson 1989), Thompson n-xét-ix 'stretch toward something to look at it' (Thompson and Thompson 1996), and Kuipers (1982:85) gives Sechelt šətʼ 'to be stretched out' and Coeur d' Alene šetʼ 'one long object projects'.

The forms in the following list have š, are found in Klallam and at least one other Salishan language, but do not occur in Saanich:

Kl šánʼəcʼ 'apron', Ld šádəcʼ 'unidentified garment of precontact attire'.

Kl šə́wi, UCh šəwál 'grow'.

Kl šíc, UCh sšíc 'meat'.

Kl (some speakers) šíx̌ʷaʔ 'urinate (woman)', Hk sə́x̌ʷə, Ld sʔəx̌ʷáʔ 'urinate (man)'. Other Kl speakers have səx̌ʷá ʔɬ (with x̌ʷ rather than x̌ʷ). Kl š is probably due to influence of šíwaʔ 'urinate (man)'. See also **4.4**.

Kl x̌ʷə́šct 'splash around (as a fish in a tub)', Ld x̌ʷəš 'scatter'.

4.3.3. Personal and place-names. Personal names form a linguistic system of their own existing in parallel with the languages of the Northwest. They are considered private property and strict rules of propriety govern how they are handed down the generations within families. Among other considerations, one may give a particular name only if one is a direct descendant of a bearer of that name. Therefore, if one is, say, Cowichan and married and living in a Klallam community, one may—with appropriate permissions from Cowichan elders who may also have rights to the name— give Cowichan names to one's Klallam children and grandchildren. It is easy to see how name phonology can diffuse rapidly in communities where intermarriage is common.

The following are Saanich personal names containing š: x̌ʼətíš, šɬənəʔélə, šsəɬémtən, štʼᶿeʔčəǩʷs, wə́šqʼ. Klallam names with š include čupášəwət, lahášʼ, ləǩʼʷúš, pšpáyəcʼə, qʼʷaʔšə́nəm, šápx̌ən, šášǩʼʷu, səlíməʔ, šús.

Place-names are also liable to diffusion from adstrate and substrate influences. Saanich place-names with š include šénʼəs 'Turn Point', šéqətsəs 'Brown Ridge', šəpəlíq̌ʷ (analyzable as containing the root šip 'whittle' and the suffix meaning 'head') 'Mount Constitution', šnə́wíɬ 'Fraser River', x̌íʔx̌nəš ətəŋ 'a spring near Helen Point'.

In Klallam there are several place-names containing š but only one with š that cannot be accounted for as due to assimilation: pə́šct 'Pysht'. This appears to have the root pəš which occurs in Kl pšús 'move against a wind or current' and in Sa pə́š 'be in the open to the wind'. The -ct is apparently the Klallam reflexive suffix. This etymology makes sense considering the location of the traditional village of Pysht on a broad sandbar near Pillar Point and also considering the way the Pysht River winds back just before

it reaches its outlet at the traditional village site. Although I have not been able to find an exact match for this root *pəš* in any other Salishan language, it is probably related to Kl *púxʷ*, Sa *páxʷ* 'blow', cognates of which are found across Salishan (see Kuipers 1970:56, etymology no. 4). However, in the Quilleute name for Pysht given by Powell and Woodruff (1976:489), the Klallam consonants *pšct* correspond one for one with Quilleute's *pxct*: *pixí·citaqʷ*. Since the sound *š* does occur in Quilleute, and other loans from English and Salish preserve *š*, it seems unlikely that Quilleute would have borrowed this occurrence as *x*. On the other hand, the borrowing may have occurred before the palatalization, and, since the root occurs regularly in both Klallam and Northern Straits, it seems unlikely that Klallam borrowed this place-name as a frozen form intact from Quilleute.

4.4. Sound symbolism. In the roots *púxʷ* 'blow' and *pə́š* 'move against, be in the open to the wind' not only the *š* differs from the usual historical development but also the *p*, which, as noted in **4.2**, ordinarily became *č* in the Straits languages. These forms are certainly onomatopoeic. As such, it is not unexpected that their phonetics would deviate from usual historical developments. The *š* in the various words for 'urinate'—Sa *šíwə?*, Kl *šíwa?*, *šíx̣ʷa?*, mentioned in **4.3.2**—also probably is supported by sound symbolism.

Bird names are commonly onomatopoeic around the world. In Klallam and Saanich there are a number of bird names containing *š*: Kl *č'čšə́yə*, *č'a?č'šə́y'* 'kingfisher' (but the Sa cognate *t'ᶿətčálə* does not have *š*); Kl *kʷáškʷš* (perhaps from Quilleute *kʷáškʷaš* 'bluejay, or its noise' [Powell and Woodruff 1976:33]), *kʷək'ʷšə́čən* 'Stellar's jay'; Sa *šápšəp*, Kl *šúpšp* 'type of night bird' (also mentioned in **4.3.2**); Sa *sx̣éeš* 'catbird'; Kl *wa?wəšə́li* 'horned grebe'; Sa *xʷəxʷə́ləš*, Kl *xʷa?xʷi?ə́š* 'Swainson's thrush'.

Interjections in many languages have phonological peculiarities. In Klallam and Saanich there are several interjections with *š*: Sa *šə* 'oh!', *?áašə?* 'my goodness!', *?íš* 'shoo!, hush!'; Kl *?íš* 'oh!, gosh!, shoo!', *?išá·* 'expression of surprise', *šatatá·* 'my goodness!, what a shame!', *šá·* 'gosh!, darn it!'.

Several other words with *š* for which I could find no cognates outside of Straits Salishan are probably sound symbolic: Sa *kʷəšə́q*, Kl *kʷšə́q* 'sigh'; Sa *šə?kʷíšəŋ*, Kl *ša?kʷíšəŋ'* 'free-flowing water' (the root also occurs in Kl *nəxʷškʷišqé?təŋ* 'liquid goes down wrong way in throat'); Sa *šəšiqámə?* 'fine, dry snow'; Kl *x̣a?tíšəŋ* 'rattling, rustling'.

4.5. Unexplained cases. There remain a few forms with *š* in Saanich and Klallam whose origins are obscure. For these forms I have been able to find neither phonological excuses nor possible sources in neighboring languages.

There are two unexplained words with š occurring in both Saanich and Klallam: štə́ŋ 'walk' (one of the most common words in each language); šítəŋ 'covet, wish to have something one sees'. The word for 'walk' is composed of the root št and the middle voice suffix -əŋ. This root may have a cognate in the Colville and Spokane root xʷist ~ xʷst 'walk', with *xʷs becoming š just as sxʷ becomes š as discussed in **4.2**, but I have found no other evidence of such a development. These two words have a strikingly similar form and their basic forms are identical in the two languages. These two words are otherwise perfectly typical Straits Salishan.

In Saanich there are four forms with š that occur only once each in my data. I have not yet been able to check them so they may be erroneous: q'ʷəq'ʷšép 'size up another person', q'əl'štən 'small canoe mat', kʷəntším'ən 'doorknob, handle', and skʷə́ši? 'worn-out, too old to use'.

There are seven roots with unexplained š that occur in Klallam only. They appear in the following: qatúš, katúš, kʷatúš 'kitten (or something like a kitten)' (a word that occurs in an old tape-recorded text and only vaguely remembered by present-day speakers), qʷə́yšt 'scatter them (flock of birds, group of people)', šást ~ šášt 'sneak up on someone', ša?šú?ł 'happy', šáq'əŋ 'open the mouth', šə́nət 'separate something', nəxʷšp'úsct 'squat down' (root also in ?əsxʷšú?šp 'squatting').

Thus, there are thirteen cases of š in Saanich and Klallam presently unaccounted for.

5. Conclusion. The question, "Where does the š come from?" has been answered for most of its occurrences. The two unexplained forms occurring in both Saanich and Klallam, štə́ŋ and šítəŋ, are the most interesting. And, I am afraid, they are probably just the ones Dale Kinkade had in mind when he asked the question quoted in the introduction to this paper. I have not made a detailed search of non-Salishan materials, and available documentation of the Salishan languages is still spotty. It may well be that cognates for these will be found in an unexpected substrate.

Problems in the development of Proto-Salishan sounds into Straits Salishan are not limited to *x. The labials p, p', and m in other Salishan languages regularly appear as č, č', and ŋ, respectively, in the Straits languages. Yet there are many occurrences of the three labials in Saanich and Klallam. The plosives p and especially p' are rare in probably every Salishan language. In a frequency count of Saanich texts they rank thirty-first and thirty-ninth of forty phonemes, and in Klallam thirty-fourth and thirty-ninth of forty. The bilabial nasal, on the other hand, is quite common, ranking seventeenth in frequency in both Saanich and Klallam. While it might be possible to account for all of the plosives as loans, diffusion, or sound

symbolism, it seems likely that as with *š* not all cases of *m* will be easily accounted for this way.

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