ON THE ORIGINS OF ś 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 ś 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 ś in Klallam and Saanich. In this paper I account for most of the occurrences of ś 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 (1991a); 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 complications 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; 1991b; 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 undergo 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: č'akan 'chicken'; čīkmən 'iron'; kāa 'car'; kāfī 'coffee'; kālə 'collar'; kən'ti 'candy'; kəlants 'currant'; kəmptəs 'boots'; kəpə 'coat'; kičən 'kitchen'; kənچəc 'Canada'; kləmsəs 'Christmas'; kūk 'cook'; kūl 'gold'; ləklī 'key'; ləkwən 'crucifix'; līsək 'sack'; méksəkən 'Mexican'; pəyəskəl 'bicycle'; sməwkwə'txʷ 'winter dance house' (from English 'smoke' + Saanich 'building' suffix); stəkən 'stocking, sock'; sīk 'Shaker religion'; tələktək 'wagon, buggy'; səŋkəl 'uncle'; təyək 'ink'. The following borrowed given names also show evidence of integration: kən'i 'Kenny'; kəlín 'Colleen'; kələ'fn 'Catherine, Kathleen'; pələk 'Philip'; tīk 'Dick'; ?əyək 'ike'.

Klallam words with k are: c'ílcək 'wagon, buggy'; čīkmən 'chicken'; hīkəm 'handkerchief'; kāa 'car'; kənsəl 'councilman'; kəpə 'coat'; kəwəts 'carrot'; kələkas 'cracker'; kənīm 'type of canoe'; kəsməs 'Christmas'; kəwən 'horse'; kūl 'gold'; ləkəlī 'key, lock'; ləsək 'sack'; ləkləsəti 'electricity'; méksəkən 'Mexican'; nəkəwa? 'my dear one'; pəyəskəl 'bicycle'; pəskət 'hardtack'; pəuk 'fork'; pəyək 'gun'; sk'uk 'cooked'; sk'ukəm 'strong'; stəkən 'sock, stocking'; tək 'turkey'; tələkt 'elect someone'; təmələkən 'American'; təŋkəl 'uncle'; təks 'egg'. In addition to these words there are four personal names: nəkīda, kakəntə, yəkləllət, pələnəkə '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 historical 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 nakáwə? ‘my dear one’. The nə- is the Klallam first-person singular genitive, but the root káwə? 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 ş, 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 ş ranks twenty-sixth most frequent out of the forty Klallam phonemes, while in Saanich ş ranks twenty-fifth out of forty. ş occurs in prefixes, suffixes, and commonly used roots. Thus, Kinkade’s question: “Where do these ş’s come from?”

4. The sources of ş. Generally, occurrences of ş 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 ş 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’, šéť ‘shot, shell, bullet’, šík ‘Shaker religion’, šúkʷə ‘sugar’. The following tribe names are also certainly loanwords: sqʷxʷáməš ‘Squamish’, tʷəm’šiyén ‘Tsimshian’, səməš ‘Samish’, sin’əməš ‘Samish’. But these tribe names do not necessarily come from the language of the tribe they name. The last two names, for example, contain ş but the Samish language is itself a dialect of Northern Straits and should have the alveolar fricative here. The source of ş in these two and in the word for Squamish is probably the same as for the Klallam -umş suffix discussed below in 4.3.

Klallam loans with ş from English and Chinook Jargon are the following: kʷašú ‘pig’, lapiyúš ‘hoe’, laplás ‘board’, lišán ‘shawl’, məšín ‘machine’, pišmən ‘fisherman’, pišpə ‘cat’, šápan ‘shovel’, šáť ‘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: šóh ‘defecate’, an occasional taboo substitution considered to come from Nitinat, and táyapəs, a type of monster considered to live near Tulalip in Lushootseed-speaking territory.

Another probable, though not obvious, loan is Sa, Kl ḥ’əš ‘gouge, gash, scratch, tear’. This root is productive, e.g., Kl ḥ’əxsqən ‘tear the nose’, and occurs in such other words as Sa ḥ’əxə ‘gouge, Sa ḥ’əxən ‘rupture, rip
open', Sa k'əsənəp, Kl k'ənəkʷənəp '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 (= k'əx or kəx) '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 (= kəx) 'act of digging, broken, torn' (Hymes 1955:274–75).

4.2. Phonological sources. The most common source of s is assimilatory. In both Northern Straits and Klallam s becomes palatal in palatalizing environments, specifically contiguous to and especially preceding a palatal consonant ċ 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 s is the 'reason for, thing for' prefix. The s 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: štiłhələ ~ šxʷtiłhələ 'teapot' /šxʷ-čiłələ/ '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'át '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 sáp' - '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'. The Colville and Upper Chehalis forms represent the more archaic pronunciation. The s in the Straits languages thus must come from assimilation of *s to the palatal articulation of the following segment. This particular occurrence of s is frozen and never alternates with s. In the 'actual/imperfective' form of this stem the s remains even when not contiguous to the č': šč'át '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 cs. One word has both: šč'əs 'aunt, uncle'.

In Klallam there are occurrences of progressive palatalization that appear in a pattern of synchronic alternation. The Klallam word for 'two' is ččsaʔ. The suffix -itéxʷ '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 -iłp : Sa, Kl -iłč 'plant' and Sp pštít : Sa ččət 'thick'. 
the s into the palatalizing position. The resulting form is čšá?ítxw ‘two dollars’. In Saanich the s palatalizes only in a preceding environment so the cognate differs: čšë?ítxw ‘two dollars’. Another case of progressive palatalization in Klallam can be seen in the word for ‘five’, lq’áčš, which in Saanich is lq’èčš.

The ‘multiple of ten’ suffix, Kl -lšá?, Sa -lšë?, has š that must have an origin in assimilation that is now obscured. Evidence of this comes from Upriver Halkomelem where the cognate is -ǝlsxw’e (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 xásən ‘trap for small animals’. The cognate root xšs is found in Ld xisas ‘grabbed by the hair (of the head)’ and root xšs in Hk xásxw’əl ‘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/y’ with c/c’. These cases also cause palatalization of š. For example, Sa šiʔé-, Kl šáyə- ‘deny, disobey, be stubborn’, Kl ščánkʷən ‘brave’. Compare UCh šayá- ‘deny’. Also there are Kl šáčən and šáyən ‘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/-šən ‘foot, leg’, which occurs in both Klallam and Saanich, and -(u)mš/-η(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’am’sən ‘get hit on the foot’ and Kl ʔəm’sən ‘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: kwək’kəl’šən ‘red rock crab’; ʔəʔəʔən ‘invite’; nāw’šən ‘foot stuck’; pɨt’šən ‘salamander’; qʷəq’iməxʷšən ‘ankles’; qʷət’yən ‘shoe’; ʔəx’lən ‘calf of leg’; qʷəʔənət ‘accompany someone’; sən’kələw’šən ‘big toe’; səʔəq’ən ‘moccasins’; snəx’ʔəsən ‘shoe, foot’; snəχ’ən ‘toe’; sq̓əməxʷšən ‘devil’s club’; sq’əʔən ‘dogfish’; sxəp’šən ‘fish tail’; t’əʔqəməl’šən ‘sleet’; xʷət’eʔšən ‘rainbow’; xəł’šən ‘wind-blown rain’.

Nine Klallam words have been recorded with šən: kwək’kəl’šən ‘red rock crab’; kwət’šən ‘spring salmon’; ʔəq’ən ‘shoe’; pəʔ’šən ‘salamander’; səʔ’əʔənən ‘invite’; səʔət’ən ‘hire’; sq̓’wəʔ’šən ‘partner’; sxəp’šən ‘fish tail’; x̌ət’əʔən ‘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 -η(i)xʷ3 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 -(u)mš form is doubly marked as a diffused form since it has m as well as š. In the Straits languages the velar nasal η 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 -η(i)xʷ5 seem to be lim-

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3 Depending on stress placement -uˑmš ~ uˑməš ~ -məš and -ηixʷ ~ -ηəxʷ ~ -əxʷ.

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 -ηəxʷ meaning ‘breast’; it is productive and occurs in such forms as cəʔc’əy’ənəxʷ ‘milk a cow’; sməcəyəxʷ ‘butter’; ʔəʔəq’ənəxʷ ‘big bosom’.
ited to the following: ćčičtə̱və̱xʷ ‘great horned owl’; naʔc’áʔnə̱xʷ ‘stranger, foreigner’; sqiyyáʔnə̱xʷ ‘any large tree’; st’áʔnə̱xʷ ‘medicine’ (and related t’iʔyə̱nə̱xʷə̱yə̱ ‘take medicine’); taʔt’áʔcə̱nə̱xʷ ‘wild animal’; ʔəc’tə̱ʔnə̱xʷ ‘Indian, person’; ʔəxʷˈnə̱xʷ ‘Indian village’; and perhaps the name for Fraser Island in Becher Bay, qaʔiʔə̱nə̱xʷ.

The -ums form, on the other hand, seems to be able to attach to nearly any word having semantics of substance or quality: c’ic’ə̱c’ə̱m’úmsə̱ ‘like a bird’; sk ‘ic’iʔúms ‘like a sea urchin’; qaʔqiyaʔmə̱yə̱msə̱ ‘weak kind’; slə̱nə̱mə̱s ‘looks, acts like a woman’; sqə̱tiʔúmsə̱ ‘looks, acts crazy’; sqə̱xə̱ʔúmsə̱ ‘like a dog’; swə̱yə̱qə̱ʔúmsə̱ ‘looks, acts like a man’; sʔə̱ʔə̱nə̱mə̱s ‘looks like food’; ʔə̱mə̱yə̱msə̱ ‘strong kind’; ʔə̱y’úmsə̱ ‘good kind’. It is interesting to note that from xʷə́ʔnə̱tə̱m ‘whiteman’ one can get xʷə́ʔnə̱tə̱múms ‘look, act like a whiteman’, but from ʔəc’tə̱ʔnə̱xʷ ‘Indian’ the parallel form, *ʔəc’tə̱ʔnə̱xúms, which already has the cognate suffix, is not possible.

The forms -ums - -ms ‘kind’ and -umis ‘people’ occur in Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991a:361) along with an apparently infrequent nonpalatalized version. In Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994:40–41) the Lushootseed palatalized version, -bs, 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 s version is virtually nonoccurring in Saanich and in Halkomelem and is limited in Lushootseed, it seems likely that -ums diffused into Klallam from Upper Chehalis or another of the Tsamosan languages.

4.3.2. Words found in other Salishan languages. Other forms with s 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 c’ə̱m’ə̱s, Kl (some speakers) c’ə̱m’ə̱s, Hk sc’ə̱mə̱x,6 Ld c’ə̱bs (here Hk has unexpected c’ and Ld has unexpected s) ‘herring eggs’.
Sa nə̱s-, Kl nə̱sə̱ ‘lie on the side’ (a root occurring in such words as Sa snə̱sə̱l ‘be lying on one’s side’, Kl nə̱sə̱ ‘put something on its edge’, Kl nə̱sə̱c ‘first big log on a fire on which lean smaller sticks’, Kl nə̱ʔə̱ʔə̱nə̱ ‘lying on one’s side’), Ld də̱s ‘lean, be on its side’.
Sa qʷwə̱lišə̱, Kl qʷwə̱lišə̱, Sq qʷwə̱liš ‘dance’.
Sa smə̱nə̱s, Kl smə̱nə̱s ‘tobacco’, Ld sbə̱də̱s ‘smoke (tobacco)’.

6All Halkomelem data are from the Upriver dialect which preserves a stage of development intermediate between x and s in x. The Island dialects of Halkomelem—in particular Cowichan, which is geographically adjacent to Northern Straits—have fully developed s.
Sa šápt, Kl šúpt, Sq šúpn, Hk xʷá·paʔ ‘whistle’ (also Quilleute xʷa·pa ‘whistle’).
Sa sápəʔ, Kl šúpəp ‘a kind of night bird, a type of spirit power’, possibly Ld x̱úpəd ‘saw-whet owl’, and Shuswap s-x̱úpəxʷəp ‘screech owl’ (Kuipers 1982:85). See also 4.4.
Sa šáyʔ ‘rival for spouse’, Kl sáyuʔ ‘sweetheart’, Ld šayúʔ ‘rival for spouse’ (Kl has the expected s here).
Sa šéʔʔʔ, Kl x̱áʔɬəʔ, Hk x̱áʔɬəy, Ld x̱áʔɬəy ‘gills’ (Kuipers 1996:208 reconstructs *x̱/x̱ for this set).
Sa šáɬəkʷ ‘round’, Kl ?saʔxʷəɬəkʷ ‘twisted’, Hk x̱əɬáʔkʷ ‘round’ (also several other Sa words with sal and related semantics: šáltsəʔ ‘fire drill’, šələč ‘circle’).
Sa šəmən, Kl šəmən, Ld šəbáʔd ‘enemy’.
Sa šíp ‘whittle’, Kl (some speakers) šípən ‘knife’, Hk x̱áʔpsəʔ ‘sharpen to a point’ (with -psə ‘point’ suffix).
Sa šíwaʔ ‘urinate’, Kl šíwaʔ ‘urinate (man)’, Hk x̱íwə ‘urinate (woman)’.
Sa škʷ’á:m ‘swim’, Kl súkʷən ‘bathe’, Hk x̱kʷ’ám ‘swim’ (Kl has expected s and η here).
Sa šáʔt ‘spoil someone, be permissive with someone (such as a child or spouse)’, Kl naxʷəʔən šəƛ’uʔən ‘brag, be proud of, pleased with something’, Ld šíʔ ’(i)cət ‘brag’.
Sa taʔ (root occurring in several words: taʔəɬən ‘card wool’, tśiqʷən ‘comb hair’, təɬət ‘turn upright’), Kl təʔ (in təɬəqən ‘wool carder’, təʔqʷən ‘comb hair’), Ld taʔ ‘fix up, arrange’, Hk təqʷəɬəʔm ‘comb hair’.
Sa, Kl x̱ʷsʔən ‘diarrhea’, may be related to UCh xʷəs ‘stink’.
Sa ḍəʔes, Kl ḍəʔsə, Ld ḍəʔsə ‘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 kʷšémən, Hk kʷəkʷxʷé-məl ‘nickname’ (with secondary labialization of x in Hk).
Sa pəsələqʷ, Hk pəxʷəɬəqʷ ‘yellow-cedar’.
Sa qʷəyəɬəʔləp, Hk qʷəyəɬəʔləp ‘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 stámaʔ ‘warrior’, Ld stúʔəs ‘man’.
Sa stisəm, Hk stisəm ‘slime’.
Sa šáʔʔʔ, Ld šúdəʔ, ‘maggots’.
Sa šələn ‘go up, climb’, Ld šił(i) ‘come out from under’.
Sa šələʔ, Ld šełəʔ ‘penis’.
Sa šág ‘finish a job’, Sq šaq ‘be finished, completed’.
Sa šášéʔt ‘əŋ ‘stretch, stick out (as neck to see)’, nothing in Hk, Sq, UCh, or Ld, but Spokane šít (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 šat’ ‘to be stretched out’ and Coeur d’Alene šet’ ‘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 šán’ac’ ‘apron’, Ld šádác’ ‘unidentified garment of precontact attire’.
Kl šówi, UCh šówál ‘grow’.
Kl šíč, UCh sšíč ‘meat’.
Kl (some speakers) šíwxwəʔ ‘urinate (woman)’, Hk sókʷə, Ld sʔəxʷəʔ ‘urinate (man)’. Other Kl speakers have səxʷəʔ (with xʷ rather than ʷ).
Kl š is probably due to influence of šiwsəʔ ‘urinate (man)’. See also 4.4.
Kl xʷəšct ‘splash around (as a fish in a tub)’, Ld xʷəš ‘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: kətis, šənaʔelə, səxələmtən, št ʔoʔeʔəkwəs, wəšəq. Klallam names with š include čupdəsəwət, lahás, lakʷuús, pápəc’ə, qʷəʔəsəməm, šápxən, šəškʷu, šəliməʔ, šús.

Place-names are also liable to diffusion from adstrate and substrate influences. Saanich place-names with š include šen’as ‘Turn Point’, šéqatsəs ‘Brown Ridge’, šapələqʷ (analyzable as containing the root šip ‘whittle’ and the suffix meaning ‘head’) ‘Mount Constitution’, šnəwəl ‘Fraser River’, x̌qənaʔ atəq ‘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: pəšct ‘Pysht’. This appears to have the root pəš which occurs in Kl pəs ‘move against a wind or current’ and in Sa pəš ‘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 \( \text{pas} \) in any other Salishan language, it is probably related to Kl \( \text{pux}^w \), Sa \( \text{pax}^w \) ‘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 \( \text{p} + \text{ct} \) correspond one for one with Quilleute’s \( \text{pxct} \): \( \text{pixi-citaq}^w \). Since the sound \( \text{s} \) does occur in Quilleute, and other loans from English and Salish preserve \( \text{s} \), 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 \( \text{pux}^w \) ‘blow’ and \( \text{pas} \) ‘move against, be in the open to the wind’ not only the \( s \) differs from the usual historical development but also the \( p \), which, as noted in 4.2, ordinarily became \( \text{c} \) 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 \( s \) in the various words for ‘urinate’—Sa \( \text{šiwa}^? \), Kl \( \text{šíwa}^? \), \( \text{ši}x^w^a? \), 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 \( s \): Kl \( \text{č’čsyá}^\text{a}, \text{č’a?č’šy}^\text{y} \) ‘kingfisher’ (but the Sa cognate \( \text{t}^\text{w} + \text{atcálə} \) does not have \( \text{s} \)); Kl \( \text{kwášk}^w^\text{s} \) (perhaps from Quilleute \( \text{kwášk}^w^\text{aś} \) ‘bluejay, or its noise’ [Powell and Woodruff 1976:33]), \( \text{kwák}^w^\text{ášc}^\text{an} \) ‘Stellar’s jay’; Sa \( \text{šápśəp} \), Kl \( \text{šúpśəp} \) ‘type of night bird’ (also mentioned in 4.3.2); Sa \( \text{sxeéś} \) ‘catbird’; Kl \( \text{wa’wašálé} \) ‘horned grebe’; Sa \( \text{x}^w\text{x}^w^\text{šlə}^\text{s} \), Kl \( \text{x}^w\text{a}^\text{x}^w + \text{i}^\text{a}^\text{s} \) ‘Swainson’s thrush’.

Interjections in many languages have phonological peculiarities. In Klallam and Saanich there are several interjections with \( s \): Sa \( \text{šə} \) ‘oh!’; \( \text{ʔásə}^? \) ‘my goodness!’; \( \text{ʔis} \) ‘shoo!, hush!’; Kl \( \text{ʔiš} \) ‘oh!, gosh!, shoowl’, \( \text{ʔišá} \) ‘expression of surprise’, \( \text{šatatá} \) ‘my goodness!, what a shame!’; \( \text{sá} \) ‘goshl, darn it!’.

Several other words with \( s \) for which I could find no cognates outside of Straits Salishan are probably sound symbolic: Sa \( \text{k}^\text{wəšəq} \), Kl \( \text{k}^\text{w}+\text{šəq} \) ‘sigh’; Sa \( \text{šək}^w^\text{əš}^\text{ən} \), Kl \( \text{šək}^w^\text{əš}^\text{ən} \) ‘free-flowing water’ (the root also occurs in Kl \( \text{nax}^w\text{sk}^w + \text{išq}^\text{ə}^\text{təŋ} \) ‘liquid goes down wrong way in throat’); Sa \( \text{šəqámə}^? \) ‘fine, dry snow’; Kl \( \text{xa}^\text{ʔtəšəŋ} \) ‘rattling, rustling’.

4.5. Unexplained cases. There remain a few forms with \( s \) 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: štōŋ ‘walk’ (one of the most common words in each language); šītəŋ ‘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 *xʷšs 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: qʷʷaqʷwšēp ‘size up another person’, q’əl’štan ‘small canoe mat’, kʷəntšim’ən ‘doorknob, handle’, and skʷššʔ ‘worn-out, too old to use’.

There are seven roots with unexplained š that occur in Klallam only. They appear in the following: qatūš, katūš, kʷatūš ‘kitten (or something like a kitten)’ (a word that occurs in an old tape-recorded text and only vaguely remembered by present-day speakers), qʷʼyšt ‘scatter them (flock of birds, group of people)’, šāst ~ šəšt ‘sneak up on someone’, šaʔšuíʔ ‘happy’, šaqʷəŋ ‘open the mouth’, šonət ‘separate something’, nəxʷšp’úsct ‘squat down’ (root also in ?asxʷšuíʔ ‘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, štōŋ and šītəŋ, 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 $\delta$ not all cases of $m$ will be easily accounted for this way.

REFERENCES


