ON PEDAGOGICAL GRAMMARS FOR SALISH LANGUAGES

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Salish speaking peoples along with Native Americans all across the continent are earnestly trying to save their languages and cultures by means of formal instruction (among other ways). A number of us have been invited to help in this effort. In 1972 Mrs. Vi Hilbert of the Skagit and I prepared a set of twenty-five lessons (written and taped), plus a reader for instructing Puget Salish at the University of Washington. These lessons were designed to cover two quarters meeting five days a week for fifty minutes. (The successful completion of both quarters satisfied the second language requirement of the College of Arts and Sciences.) The lessons have been used twice now, and the experiences gained in their use has pointed out a number of ways they can be improved. Since many of you are engaged in similar tasks, you may be interested in our methods and conclusions. Enclosed is a copy of the introduction to that grammar which includes a brief description of our former pedagogical approach, plus the first and ninth of the original lessons as examples. Following this is a discussion of the merits and faults (mostly the latter) of that grammar, concluding with parts of the new sixth and seventh lessons as examples of our revised design.

Introduction

The language:

Puget Salish is a language of Western Washington. It is
spoken in the area around Seattle between the Cascade Mountains
and Puget Sound from the Skagit River drainage in the north to
the Nisqually River in the south and on the islands in Puget
Sound. Along each of the rivers that flow into the Sound, the
people have developed small differences in vocabulary and pro-
nunciation. These varieties of speech are named after those
who use them. The most well known are Skagit (today used also
by many Nooksack though again with slight variations), Snohomish,
Snoqualmie, Duwamish, Puyallup, Nisqually, and Suquamish (from
whom Chief Seattle came). Among these, a major dialect division
separates Skagit and Snohomish in the north from the others to
the south. The most striking difference between these two groups
is that of stress. In the north the accent is most often on the
second stem vowel while in the south it is on the first stem
vowel. In vocabulary, it is the names for flora and fauna that
vary the most. (This grammar uses the northern forms.) In spite
of these differences, all Indians from the Skagit to the Nisqually
understand each other and designate their language as <u>dxʷlšucid</u>.

Puget Salish, the English name for <u>dxʷlšucid</u>, is one of
twenty Salish languages which descended from a common ancestor
speech spoken thousands of years ago. This language "family"
covers a wide area from the Pacific coast of Oregon and Washington
inland as far as western Montana, from Oregon in the south far

into British Columbia in the north. Some of these languages
are spoken by hundreds of Indians, others, such as Tillamook in
Oregon, have but one remaining speaker. Pentlatch on Vancouver
Island became extinct several decades ago.

Reasons for learning Puget Salish:

For Puget Salish only a few truly fluent speakers still
live. They are all old now. Neither their children nor their
grandchildren know it. This near demise of the language is
particularly unfortunate now that younger Indians are becoming
deeply interested in their own history and the ways of their
ancestors. Most of the old people speak English and much can
be learned from them via English. However, the language of a
people is the most direct road to their culture. From their
oral literature to the precise meanings of their terms of kin-
ship, a grasp of the language is necessary. The way they view
time, cause and effect, personality traits, and a host of other
fundamental aspects of their way of life cannot be ascertained
without a fair command of their language.

Although anthropologists have been able to tell us much
about the Indians' former ways in this region, the myriad lacunae
in their reports attest to the necessity of the language. And
even where information can be learned through English, far
greater efficiency could be achieved if Indian and his student
could use the culture's tongue.

How many people there are who believe that unwritten languages are poverty dialects of a few hundred words! Many monolingual English speaking Indians agree. Some knowledge of Puget Salish (now written) would open their eyes to a vast and sophisticated heritage locked in a subtle and beautifully expressive language.

Pedagogical approach:

The lessons consist of several parts: Sound Drill, Choral Repetition, Lesson Notes, Vocabulary Comment, Exercises, and Dictation.

A number of sounds are heard in Puget Salish which do not occur in English. Several of these are presented with each of the beginning lessons in the section called Sound Drill. The Drill is simply a list of words exemplifying a particular sound. The teacher pronounces these and the students imitate him exactly. The meaning of the words is not given. The students are expected to concentrate solely on recognizing and articulating the sound in question. The instructor may elect to provide the English meanings; however, it is emphasized that the sounds, not the meanings, are important in this section.

The Choral Repetition is the device by which the grammar and most of the vocabulary are presented. It is felt that vocabulary is most accurately mastered in the context of actual sentences rather than as isolated items. Similarly, the grammar is best assimilated through sentence drills instead of by memorizing

lifeless rules. The instructor will read each sentence while the students listen without looking at their texts. The instructor reads the sentences a second time while the students follow the printed page. A third time he reads the sentences pausing after each to enable the students to repeat them. The teacher may wish to ask individual members of the class to recite one or another sentence for additional drill or to check pronunciation. It is essential that the Choral Repetition sentences be repeated enough times to inculcate the new grammatical patterns.

Lesson Notes summarize the grammatical points presented by the Choral Repetitions; and Vocabulary Comment discusses specific lexical items in detail.

The Exercises are designed to apply the grammar learned in the Choral Repetitions.

The Dictation following the last exercise is specifically for aural training in the language. It also brings the orthographic system directly to the students' attention. The teacher should select from five to ten sentences to dictate. Several might be from previous lessons for review. It is important that the teacher dictate at a natural speaking rate and not slowly or too precisely.

The alphabet:

The Puget Salish alphabet contains 41 letters. Each letter represents only one sound and, with two exceptions, every sound

is represented by only one symbol. The exceptions are y and i, and w and u. The vowels are used when the sound occurs at the center of a syllable while the semivowels are written when the sound begins or ends a syllable.

Eighteen letters represent Puget Salish sounds that are totally different from anything heard in English. Most of these letters, not surprisingly, look different from the symbols found in the English alphabet. On the other hand, six letters, not found in standard English orthography, do express sounds that are common to both languages. There are several reasons for writing them differently in Puget Salish — the most important one being the principle of one letter for each sound. For example, š is used in Puget Salish for a sound similar to the English *sh* of *shoe*, *ch* of *chef*, *sch* of *schist*, *ss* of *issue* and *ti* of *nation*. Two letters, c and j, have different sound values in Puget from what they have in English. The other letters common to both alphabets represent approximately the same sound.

Sometimes in Puget Salish a letter is not pronounced, just as the English *n* of *hymnal* and *hymnology* is silent in *hymn*. In this grammar the convention has been followed of placing parentheses around such silent letters.

The Puget Salish alphabet and approximate sound values are as follows:

a	as in *father*
b	as in *boy*
c	*ts* in *cats*
c̓	same as above except for a simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
č	*ch* as in *church*
č̓	same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
d	as in *dog*
ə	*a* in *about*, *u* in *but*
g	as in *rig*
gʷ	something like *gw* in *Gwendolen*
h	as in *hill*
i	either as *i* in *machine* or as *a* in *ate.*
j	*ds* as in *roads*
ǰ	*j* as in *jump*
k	as in *kick*
k̓	same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
kʷ	something like *qu* in *queen*
k̓ʷ	same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
l	*l* as in *limp* and as in *rill*
l̓	same as above except for a tightening of the vocal tract causing a slight strangled effect.
ɬ	an *l* sound made without moving the vocal cords; something like a lateral lisp; the *ll* of Welsh.

ƛ	t and l pronounced simultaneously accompanied by an abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
p	as in *pop*
p̓	same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
q	something like k only the tongue touches the top of the mouth much farther back than with k.
q̓	like k̓ with the same difference as for q from k.
qʷ	like kʷ with the same difference as for q from k.
q̓ʷ	like k̓ʷ with the same difference as for q from k.
s	as in *simple*
š	*sh* as in *shoe*
t	as in *tin*
t̓	same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
u	either as *oo* in b*oo*t or *oa* in b*oa*t.
w	as in *win*
w̓	same as above except for a tightening of the vocal tract causing a slight strangled effect.
xʷ	similar to the *ch* in German a*ch* or *j* in Spanish but pronounced with the lips rounded.
x̌	a rasping sound articulated at about the same place as q.
x̌ʷ	like x̌ but pronounced with the lips rounded.
y	as in *young*
y̓	same as above except for a tightening of the vocal tract causing a slight strangled effect.
ʔ	like the abrupt blocked sound in the American word *uh-uh*.

For those familiar with the articulatory terminology
used by linguists, the following chart may be helpful:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
fricatives:		s ɬ š		xʷ	x̌ x̌ʷ	h
stops and affricates:						
voiceless	p	t c	č	k kʷ	q qʷ	ʔ
voiceless, glottalized	p̓	t̓ c̓ ƛ̓	č̓	k̓ k̓ʷ	q̓ q̓ʷ	
voiced	b	d j	ǰ	g gʷ		
resonants:		l	y	w		
laryngealized		l̓	y̓	w̓		
vowels:			i	u		
			ə a			

Lesson 1

Sound Drill: ɬ, c, x̌ʷ

ɬid	ciɬ	x̌ʷiʔ
ɬalil	cilid	x̌ʷayid
ɬaɬil	cagʷičəd	x̌ʷəcəd
ɬəgʷʔɬ	scapaʔ	x̌ʷuyub
sɬadəyʔ	cəb	kʷax̌ʷad
sʔəɬəd	cəlac	sdəx̌ʷiɬ
haʔɬ	cəbdatil	
čəɬ	cut	čəx̌ʷ

Choral Repetition:

1.	ʔukʷax̌ʷad čəd ti stubš.	I helped the man.
2.	ʔukʷax̌ʷad čəx̌ʷ ti stubš.	You helped the man.
3.	ʔukʷax̌ʷad ti stubš.	Someone helped the man.
4.	ʔukʷax̌ʷad čəɬ ti stubš.	We helped the man.
5.	ʔukʷax̌ʷad čələp ti stubš.	You (plural) helped the man.
6.	ʔučalad čəd ci sɬadəyʔ.	I chased the woman.
7.	ʔučalad čəx̌ʷ ci sɬadəyʔ.	You chased the woman.
8.	ʔučalad ci sɬadəyʔ.	Someone chased the woman.
9.	ʔučalad čəɬ ci sɬadəyʔ.	We chased the woman.
10.	ʔučalad čələp ci sɬadəyʔ.	You (plural) chased the woman.
11.	ʔukʷədad čəd ti sʔuladx̌ʷ.	I took the salmon.
12.	ʔukʷədad čəx̌ʷ ti sʔuladx̌ʷ.	You took the salmon.
13.	ʔukʷədad ti sʔuladx̌ʷ.	Someone took the salmon.

14. ʔukʷədad čəɬ ti sʔuladxʷ.   We took the salmon.

15. ʔukʷədad čələp ti sʔuladxʷ.   You (plural) took the salmon.

16. ʔušudxʷ čəd ti stubš.   I saw the man.

17. ʔušudxʷ čəxʷ ti stubš.   You saw the man.

18. ʔušudxʷ ti stubš.   Someone saw the man.

19. ʔušudxʷ čəɬ ti stubš.   We saw the man.

20. ʔušudxʷ čələp ti stubš.   You (plural) saw the man.

21. ʔuhaydxʷ čəd ti stubš.   I found out (who) the man (was).

22. ʔuhaydxʷ čəxʷ ti stubš.   You found out (who) the man (was).

23. ʔuhaydxʷ ti stubš.   Someone found out (who) the man (was).

24. ʔuhaydxʷ čəɬ ti stubš.   We found out (who) the man (was).

25. ʔuhaydxʷ čələp ti stubš.   You (plural) found out (who) the man (was).

Lesson Notes:

Lesson I introduces the pronominal forms čəd 'I, me'; čəxʷ 'you'; čəɬ 'we, us'; and čələp 'you (plural)'. In all the sentences of this lesson these words represent the agent (subject). Later it will be seen that they can also function as patients (objects). Forms expressing he, she, it, and they belong to a different grammatical class and will be given in a more advanced lesson. However, it should be noted that the absence of one of the other pronominal forms (čəd, čəxʷ, etc.) implies he, she, it or they, i.e., someone, as in numbers 3, 8, 13, 18, and 23.

Vocabulary Comment:

The word čalad means not simply 'chase someone/thing' but also 'follow/pursue someone/thing'. (Synonyms of more specific reference are čəjᵊd 'sneak up on someone/thing, stalk prey' and kʷəčtxʷ 'track someone/thing'.)

The word sʔuladxʷ, glossed as salmon also includes steel-head. The last part of the word, -ladxʷ, means year. Thus, the name refers to the annual runs of breeding salmon. The Southern dxʷlšucid speakers say čədadxʷ instead of sʔuladxʷ.

Southern dxʷlšucid also has a different word for 'see someone/thing', viz., lab in place of šu(dxʷ).

Exercise:

I. Read the following sentences supplying the appropriate pronominal (i.e., the words čəd, čəxʷ, etc.). Note that in several cases there will be no pronominal at all.

1. ʔukʷaxʷad _____ ti stubš.
        you (sg)

2. ʔukʷaxʷad _____ ti stubš.
            we

3. ʔukʷədad _____ ti sʔuladxʷ.
        you (pl)

4. ʔukʷədad _____ ti sʔuladxʷ.
            he

5. ʔučalad _____ ci sładəy?.
            I

6. ʔučalad _____ ci sładəy?.
        you (pl)

7. ʔukʷədad _____ ti sʔuladxʷ.
      <u>we</u>

8. ʔučalad _____ ci sɫadəyʔ
      <u>you (sg)</u>

9. ʔukʷaxʷad _____ ti stubš.
      <u>she</u>

10. ʔukʷaxʷad _____ ci sɫadəyʔ.
      <u>he</u>

11. ʔukʷaxʷad _____ ci sɫadəyʔ.
      <u>I</u>

12. ʔučalad _____ ti stubš.
      <u>we</u>

13. ʔukʷaxʷad _____ ci sɫadəyʔ.
      <u>you (sg)</u>

14. ʔukʷədad _____ ti sʔuladxʷ.
      <u>I</u>

II. Translate the following into English:

1. ʔušudxʷ čəɫ ti sʔuladxʷ. _____

2. ʔučalad čəd ti stubš. _____

3. ʔukʷədad čələp ti sʔuladxʷ. _____

4. ʔukʷaxʷad čəxʷ ci sɫadəyʔ. _____

5. ʔuhaydxʷ čəɫ ti stubš. _____

III. Translate the following into dxʷləšucid:

1. We saw the woman. _____

2. He chased the man. _____

3. I saw the salmon. _____

4. She took the salmon. _____

5. I found out who the woman was. _____

Dictation:

Lesson 9

Sound Drill:

Listen carefully as the teacher (dxʷsʔugʷusaɫ) reads the following list of words. He will repeat each word twice and then pause for you to write it. Pay close attention to the difference between q and q̓.

q̱itid	q̓itid
ƛiq̱	ƛiq̓
sq̱əjuʔ	sq̓əjuʔ
q̱əlˀb	q̓əlˀb
q̱əlx̌	q̓əlx̌

Choral Repetition A:

1. ʔukʷaxʷatˀb ʔə ti stubš ci sɫadəyʔ.

   The man helped the woman.

2. ʔučalatˀb ʔə ti sqʷəbayʔ ti dpišpiš.

   The dog chased my cat.

3. ʔukʷədatˀb ʔə ti spaʔc ti dsʔuladxʷ.

   The bear took my salmon.

4. ʔux̌ibitˀb ʔə ti spaʔc ti sqʷəbayʔčəɫ.

   The bear clawed our dog.

5. ʔux̌ədtˀb ʔə ti bəqʷ stubš ti čacas.

   The fat man pushed the boy.

6. ʔuqəɫtˀb ʔə ti dsqʷəbayʔ ti dsqa.

   My dog woke my older brother up.

7. ʔuqʷibitˀb ʔə ti haʔɫ stubš ti dʔalˀal.

   The good man fixed my house.

8. ʔuč̓axʷatᵊb ʔə ti x̌ikʷ stubš   The ugly man clubbed our dog.
   ti sqʷəbayʔčəɬ.

9. ʔuk̓ʷič̓itᵊb ʔə ci dsk̓ʷuy   My mother cleaned my salmon.
   ti dsʔuladxʷ.

10. ʔuqʷibitᵊb ʔə ti haʔɬ stubš   The good man got our canoe
    ti q̓ilbidčəɬ.   ready.

11. ʔukʷaxʷatᵊb ʔu ʔə ti stubš   Did the man help the woman?
    ci sɬadəyʔ.

12. xʷiʔ gʷəskʷaxʷatᵊbs ʔə ti stubš   The man didn't help the woman.
    ci sɬadəyʔ.

13. ʔučalatᵊb ʔu ʔə ti sqʷəbayʔ   Did the dog chase my cat?
    ci dpišpiš.

14. xʷiʔ gʷəsčalatᵊbs ʔə ti sqʷəbayʔ   The dog didn't chase your cat.
    c(i) adpišpiš.

15. ʔukʷədatᵊb ʔu ʔə ti spaʔc   Did the bear take my salmon?
    ti dsʔuladxʷ.

16. xʷiʔ gʷəskʷədatᵊbs ʔə ti spaʔc   The bear didn't take your
    t(i) adsʔuladxʷ.   salmon.

17. ʔux̌ibitᵊb ʔu ʔə ti spaʔc   Did the bear claw our dog?
    ti sqʷəbayʔčəɬ.

18. xʷiʔ gʷəsx̌ibitᵊbs ʔə ti spaʔc   The bear didn't claw your (pl)
    ti sqʷəbayʔləp.   dog.

19. ʔuqʷibitᵊb ʔu ʔə ti haʔɬ stubš   Did the good man fix up your
    t(i) adʔalʔal.   house?

20. xʷiʔ gʷəsqʷibitᵊbs ʔə ti stubš   The man didn't fix my house.
    ti dʔalʔal.

Choral Repetition B: (Not on tape.)

1. ʔučalatᵊb čəd ʔə ti hikʷ spaʔc.   The big bear chased me.

2. ʔux̌ibitᵊb čəd ʔə ti saʔ pišpiš.   The bad cat clawed me.

3. ʔuqəɬtᵊb čəd ʔə ci dskʷuy.   My mother woke me up.

4. ʔučax̌ʷatᵊb čəd ʔə ti x̌ikʷ stubš.   The ugly man clubbed me.

5. ʔuɬičitᵊb čəd ʔə ti saʔ čačas.   The bad boy cut me.

6. ʔučalatᵊb čəxʷ ʔu ʔə ti hikʷ spaʔc.   Did the big bear chase you?

7. xʷiʔ gʷədsčalatᵊb ʔə ti hikʷ spaʔc.   The big bear didn't chase me.

8. ʔux̌ibitᵊb čəxʷ ʔu ʔə ti pišpiš.   Did the cat claw you?

9. xʷiʔ gʷədsx̌ibitᵊb ʔə ti pišpiš.   The cat didn't claw me.

10. ʔuqəɬtᵊb čəxʷ ʔu ʔə c(i) adskʷuy.   Did your mother wake you up?

11. xʷiʔ gʷədsqəɬtᵊb ʔə ci dskʷuy.   My mother didn't wake me up.

12. ʔučax̌ʷatᵊb čəxʷ ʔu ʔə ti x̌ikʷ stubš.   Did the ugly man club you?

13. xʷiʔ gʷədsčax̌ʷatᵊb ʔə ti x̌ikʷ stubš.   The ugly man didn't club me.

14. ʔuɬičitᵊb čəxʷ ʔu ʔə ti saʔ čačas.   Did the bad child cut you?

15. xʷiʔ gʷədsɬičitᵊb ʔə ti saʔ čačas.   The bad child didn't cut me.

Lesson Notes:

The only way both a third person actor and third person patient (object) can be expressed in the same clause is by the suffix -b. This suffix follows the transitive suffixes -d and -dxʷ. Note that this -d becomes -t- when not final and -dxʷ becomes -du-. (Long ago dxʷlšucid speakers pronounced the transi-

tive suffix as t̲ everywhere it occurred; but some time in the
past they changed the t̲ to a d̲ when the suffix came at the end
of the word.)

The particle ʔə̲ is used to make clear who is acting on whom.
It marks the actor. (Usually, the actor precedes the patient;
however, the order can be reversed, e.g., ʔukʷaxʷatəb ci sɫadəyʔ
ʔə ti stubš 'the man helped the woman'.)

In Choral Repetition B it is seen that the -t̲-ə̲b̲ construc-
tion can also be used with first and second persons (I, we, you).
Thus, there are two ways of saying, 'The man helped me':

ʔukʷaxʷac ti stubš (as learned in Lesson 2) or

ʔukʷaxʷatəb čəd ʔə ti stubš.

The difference in meaning is very slight, but the first is a
neutral statement while the second focuses attention upon the
patient. Very often constructions of the -t̲-ə̲b̲ type convey a
slight negative attitude toward the patient's fate, e.g., the
second example implies that although the man helped me, I would
rather have done it myself.

Vocabulary Comment:

> bəqʷ̲ 'fat, over weight' opposite of ƛuil̲ 'thin'. The fat
> of meat is x̌ʷəs, grease is sx̌ʷəs̲.

> x̌ikʷ̲ means not only ugly in appearance but also harsh, rude,
> rough talking.

q̓ilbid   canoe of any type, vehicle in general

     ʔəʔutx̌s   'family' canoe

large

     qəbuɫ   (similar to ʔəʔutx̌s but with a different prow)

inter-   stiwatɫ   proportionately wider than the other kinds
mediate   (said with stress on second vowel)

     ƛ̓ayʔ   'shovelnose canoe'

small

     sdəx̌ʷiɫ   a small, fast canoe for hunting, esp. ducks

     qiqəgʷiɫ   a new canoe (of any type)

     x̌ix̌q̓əwiɫ   a racing canoe (Cf. x̌ix̌q̓algʷiɫ 'a canoe race')

                  (x̌ix̌q̓ 'compete, get the best of someone, be
                      uncooperative')

šəjt   'bow'

ʔilaq   'stern'   (laq 'behind, late')

ʔudəgʷiɫ   'middle of a canoe'

ʔuluɫ   'travel over water'   (See Lesson 7.)

     ʔišɫ   'to paddle'   (Compare ʔišil 'fish swims'. Both words
                             have the same root ʔiš.)

     x̌ʷubt   'a paddle'

č̓q̓ahəb   'to pole a canoe'

     č̓q̓ap   'pole for poling a canoe'

x̌əƛ̓alap   'steer a canoe by holding a paddle over the stern'

jəlalgʷiɫ   'command given paddlers to change sides'

Like

> sjijəlaÍič 'Seattle', this word is also derived from
> the root jal 'reverse the side of, go to the other
> side of'. (See page 29.)

xʷacad   1. 'carry a canoe' (especially a sdəxʷiɫ)

2. 'take things off to lighten the load'

The term q̓ilbid consists of the suffix -bid and the root q̓il.

The root means 1. 'get in/on any sort of conveyance -- either
to travel yourself (get on board, mount, ride)
or to load a vehicle (especially a canoe)'

2. 'travel in a specified way', e.g.,

> ʔuq̓iləxʷ ti sʔuladxʷ 'The salmon are here.'
> q̓ilus   'get(ting) up hill' (The suffix -us
> means top, face, head, upper part.)

Exercise: Translate the following into dxʷlšucid:

1. Your dog chased my cat.

2. The fat man didn't help the good girl.

3. Did the ugly woman clean your big salmon?

4, 5.   You clubbed me.

6. Did the large youth help the good maiden?

7. It's sunny in Seattle. We will (ɫu-) lie on the grass.

8, 9.   That (tiʔiɫ) man cut me. (Write this two ways.)

10. Your ugly cat took my fat salmon.

The most needed revisions and changes are the following:

1. The introduction should include a brief, non-technical overview of the language, with special attention to those aspects that differ radically from English.

2. Interrogative words and imperative constructions should be presented at the very beginning, thereby facilitating actual use of the language almost immediately. Beyond this requirement a second need exists. The introduction to the first set of lessons gives as one reason for learning Puget Salish the greater access to the culture, to understanding and appreciating it. However, the lessons following that introduction are not as effective in meeting that goal as they might have been--sections like Vocabulary Comment notwithstanding. Therefore, early in the sequence of new lessons interrogative phrases are presented which can be used to ask specifically about this or that aspect of the old ways.

The ability to manipulate correctly such interrogatives as <u>stab</u> 'what', <u>čad</u> 'where', ʔəx̌id 'why/how', etc. does not suffice for inquiring into a variety of ethnographic areas, e.g., "How do you make a hand smelt net?"; "What does a <u>sgʷədilič</u> look like?"; "Is a steelhead a kind of salmon?"; "Why isn't a heron a waterfowl?"; "How do you bake sand-bread?" In many instances the use of English to frame such questions results in an answer acculturated to Anglo patterns. For example, when the elders speak English, they tend to separate steelhead from salmon; but when speaking Puget Salish they all class steelhead with salmon.

Aside from avoiding this sort of skewing from English, the very questions themselves, when properly stated, often give insight to the culture. Thus, a child in the old days simply would not ask bluntly, "How do you make

a hand smelt net?" Rather, he would say something like, "If/when you work
at making a hand smelt net again, would you help me so I too can make such?"

The answers to such questions can be used in a variety of ways. They
can serve as short texts for reading assignments; or they can lead into demon-
strations. The instructor or guest can illustrate many technical skills,
teaching the students how to perform them while explaining in the language
what he is doing. Such demonstrations can range from basket making to proper
canoe paddling for duck hunting. This is a vivid and highly effective method
of language teaching, so long as the target language, and that alone, is used
throughout the demonstration.

Sometimes the very turn a question takes in Puget Salish is so differ-
ent from the English equivalent that a knowledge of all the interrogative
words in the language plus their attendant grammatical requirements is of no
avail for certain inquiries. For example, the student would be at a loss in
trying to frame such a useful question as, "What does a <u>sgʷədilič</u> look like?"
because the people say instead, "How would I recognize a <u>sgʷədilič</u>?"

Incorporating such questions as these into the lessons ought to expand
the usefulness of the grammar. If the day ever comes that anthropologists
once again care to do field work with the elders of Puget Salish, they would
find in the grammar useful ways of framing questions, free of English inter-
ference.

3. The Choral Repetitions are too paradigmatic. They are dull and do not
lead the student into conversational command of the language. In the begin-
ning it is sufficient to master only sentences involving first and second
persons singular, along with a passive understanding of third person. In the
revised lessons, short sentence repetitions have not been abandoned; but they

have been built into brief conversations--hopefully, useful ones. The
student is expected to memorize these thoroughly, mimicing the teacher (or
tapes) at the rate of one lesson per week. There is much less concern with
translation. Instead, the student is expected to perform the tasks put to
him in the target language. Paradigms are included in the Grammatical Notes
section, but only to provide an over view (and serve those who may want only
to read about the language but have no desire to speak it, e.g., most
linguists).

4. Better choice of vocabulary is needed. Several factors must be con-
sidered in selecting the words for introductory lessons. Most important,
they should be of high frequency. In general, they should be generic rather
than specific, e.g., buʔqʷ 'waterfowl' instead of x̌atx̌at 'mallard';
ʔux̌ʷ 'go' instead of ʔuluɫ 'go by water'. Which word does the instructor
feel the most comfortable with? Is the majority of students from one dialect?
Does one word occur in more dialects than another? Is one of the words
analyzable such that its constituent morphemes are found in many other words?
For example, in Puget Salish there are two about equally wide-spread words
for seagull: viz., qyuuqs and qʷəčax̌ad. The first is a single formative
(though the -qs is possibly a historical component related to the lexical for
nose/point), while the second is composed of two frequently-used morphemes,
qʷəč 'bend' and -ax̌ad 'edge, side, side appendage, arm, wing'. Literally it
means 'bent wing'. All other factors being equal, the word to be taught is
the analyzable one because its elements have further applicability.

For students who are monolingual English-speaking adults, many of the
Salish phonemes require considerable practice to recognize and articulate
properly. In the old grammar a few new sounds are presented in each lesson.

This approach severely restricts the vocabulary of the earliest lessons, and the considerations detailed above preclude retaining it in the revision. These Sound Drills are now in an appendix and can be used as often as thought necessary. On the positive side, however, the old format has proved to be excellent for teaching fluent speakers of the language how to read and write it, because so many words illustrating a particular letter/sound are brought together and complete sentences built from them.

One feature of the first lesson set is retained in the revision. This is the Vocabulary Comment, which attempts to define a word more precisely through synonyms/antonyms or semantic domains; to make clear to beginning students the richness of Indian language lexicons; and to provide a glimpse of the culture through the vocabulary. The students are not expected to memorize these words in the Vocabulary Comment.

5. Salishanists have wasted an inordinate amount of time arguing about what symbols to use when teaching the people to write, but never to my knowledge have they addressed themselves to the far more important question of how to 'spell' the language. Is a particular language best written phonemically, morphophonemically, or a combination of both? Our experience has been that those who are fluent in the language favor a system that is more phonemic, with a few morphophonemic conventions, while those who are learning the language as adults find a system that incorporates more morphophonemic forms to be easier.

The following are some of the spelling conventions that we have gradually come to adopt. First, stress is not written. Although it is not quite predictable, it is not marked because the lessons are designed for use in a maximum number of dialects, and one of the major differences among Puget

Salish dialects is stress placement. The student has the teacher or the tapes to indicate where stress is. There are almost no minimal pairs based on stress differences. And finally, as literate English users, the students are not accustomed to writing stress.

Two devices are used which represent a compromise between phonemic and morphophonemic spelling. These are the raised letter <u>ə</u> and the use of parentheses. The letter <u>ə</u> when representing epenthetic /ə/, whether optional in speech or always articulated, is raised; e.g., <u>dᵊbad</u> 'my father'. The one exception is epenthetic /ə/ in weak grade roots. This is written on the line. Etymological /ə/ (always? from reduced /a, i, u/) is also written on line with the other letters. The students are told to omit the raised <u>ə</u> when they write (although some have preferred to retain it as a memory aid to pronunciation).

Certain allomorphs of some morphemes lack a consonant present elsewhere. Such consonants are written in parentheses: e.g., <u>ʔəs(h)aydxʷ</u> 'know'. The student is told not to write the parentheses; that they are given just to indicate in this particular instance that the consonant is not pronounced.

One instance in which it was found better to spell morphophonemically was with the prefixes {d-} 'my' and {ad-} 'your (sg)'. These combine with a following {s-} prefix to /c-/ and /ac-/. The {s-} is very common, so that /c-/ and /ac-/ are frequent. The students find it far easier to write <u>d</u>, <u>ad</u> and <u>ds</u>, <u>ads</u> rather than <u>d</u>, <u>ad</u> and <u>c</u>, <u>ac</u>; therefore, a morphophonemic spelling has been adopted here.

An instance where is has proved better to write phonemically involves the transitive suffix {-t}. The two most commonly occurring allomorphs of this suffix are /-d/ and /-t/. In general, the /-d/ is final. There are, however, a very few suffixes that do follow /-d/ rather than /-t/. At first it seemed simplest to write <u>t</u> everywhere. However, there were two problems.

First, students accustomed to English orthography found it a little disconcerting to write t̲ for what they heard as /d/. Second, the allomorphic variation helps distinguish two different suffix sequences that would otherwise be written the same way (i.e., as homographs) if the convention were adopted of writing t̲ for {-t} everywhere. For example, compare

1. kʷə̌da-d̲   'take it'

2. kʷə̌da-t̲-ʔb   'it is taken'

3. ʔə(s-d)xʷ-k̓ə̌da-d̲-ʔb   'want/need to take it'

If {-t} were written everywhere as t̲, the suffixes of examples 2 and 3 would look the same. While it is true that the same morphemes are represented in both cases, the IC structures are different. This difference is important, and the contrasting shape /-tʔb/ versus /-dʔb/ helps make the difference clear to the learner. Therefore, a phonemic rather than morphophonemic spelling convention is adopted in this case.

For punctuation, two conventions used for Puget Salish might be of interest. First, "capitalization" (used only for proper names) is indicated by underlining the first letter rather than by creating special symbols as would be necessary, for example, with λ̲ and ʔ̲. Secondly, question marks are not used. They are unnecessary because questions are always marked lexically (and it is better that the attention of the beginning students notices these words and does not depend upon the question mark).

This little essay concludes with parts of the new lessons 6 and 7 to serve as examples of the revised sentence pattern drills. Lesson 6 presents one way of asking 'why' and introduces adverbs. Aside from new vocabulary, all else is review. Lesson 7 gives the ordinary way of asking 'how came to pass,' begins the complex topic of lexical suffixes, and presents one type of coordination.

Lesson 6

1. ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəstagʷəxʷ.   Why are you hungry?

2. ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəstaqʷuʔ.   Why are you thirsty?

3. ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəsxʷak̉ʷil.   Why are you tired?

4. ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəsƛ̉ax̌.   Why are you cold?

5. ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəshədqʷəb.   Why are you warm?

6. ʔəsčaləxʷ čəxʷ.   How are you?

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəstagʷəxʷ.   I am very hungry.

   ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəstagʷəxʷ.
   daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔuhuy~~ucid~~ ^adxʷ ~~ʔə~~ tə hikʷ
   x̌ax̌yəƛ̉.   Why are you hungry? You just ate a big dried salmon.

   xʷiʔ gʷədsəs(h)aydxʷ. huy čəd
   ʔəstagʷəxʷ.   I don't know. But I am hungry.

7. ʔəsčaləxʷ čəxʷ.   How are you?

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəstaqʷuʔ.   I am very thirsty.

   ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəstaqʷuʔ.
   daʔxʷ čəxʷ ~~ʔuqʷuʔəqʷa~~ʔ ~~ʔə~~ tə qa
   qʷuʔ. _ʔuqʷuʔqʷadid_   Why are you thirsty? You just drank a lot of water.

   xʷiʔ gʷədsəs(h)aydxʷ. huy čəd
   ʔəstaqʷuʔ.   I don't know. But I am thirsty.

8. ʔəsčaləxʷ čəxʷ.   How are you?

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəsxʷak̉ʷil.   I am very tired.

   ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəsxʷak̉ʷil.
   daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔuqaʔqʷ.   Why are you tired? You just rested.

   xʷiʔ gʷədsəs(h)aydxʷ. huy čəd
   ʔəsxʷak̉ʷil.   I don't know. But I am tired.

9. ʔəsčaləxʷ čəxʷ.　　　　　　　　　　How are you?

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəshədqʷəb.　　　　　　I am very warm.

   ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəshədqʷəb.　Why are you warm?
   daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔudxʷʔəq̓ad tə　　　　　You just opened the
   šiš(ə)ɬəbad.　　　　　　　　　　　window.

   ʔəshədqʷəb čəd yəx̌i ʔəshikʷ tə　I am warm because the
   hud.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　fire is big.

10. ʔəsčaləxʷ čəxʷ?　　　　　　　　　How are you?

    həlaʔb čəd ʔəsƛ̓ax̌.　　　　　　　I am very cold.

    ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəsƛ̓ax̌.　　Why are you cold?
    daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔutəqad tə šəgʷɬ.　　You just closed the door.
    ʔəsƛ̓ax̌ čəd; yəx̌i h̶ə̶l̶a̶ʔ̶b̶ ̶č̶ə̶d̶　I am cold because I̶ ̶a̶m̶
    ʔ̶ə̶s̶ƛ̶̓u̶i̶l̶.　　 *put̓aƛ̓ tə hud.*　　v̶e̶r̶y̶ ̶t̶h̶i̶n̶. the fire went ou...

11. ʔəsčaləxʷ čəxʷ.　　　　　　　　　How are you?

    həlaʔb čəd ʔəxʷsʔitutəb.　　　　I am very sleepy.

    ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷ(i) adəxʷəxʷsʔitutəb.　Why are you sleepy?
    daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔuqəɬ.　　　　　　　　You just woke up.

    yəx̌i xʷiʔ gʷədsʔitut ʔə kʷi haʔɬ.　Because I didn't sleep
    　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　well.

Lesson 7

1. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷubakʷɫačiʔ.   How did you hurt your arm/hand?
2. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuɫičšəd.   How did you cut your leg/foot?
3. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuxʷ(ə)ƛ̓šad.   How did you break your leg/foot?
4. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuk̓ʷasačiʔ.   How did you burn your arm/hand?

5. ʔubakʷɫačiʔ čəd.   I hurt my arm/hand.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷubakʷɫačiʔ.   How did you hurt your arm?
   ʔuʔigʷəɫ čəd ʔal tə haac   I climbed a tall cedar tree
   x̌payac čəda ʔuxʷiɫil.   and I fell.
   diɫ cəxʷubakʷɫačiʔ.   That is how I hurt my arm.

6. ʔuɫičšəd čəd.   I cut my leg/foot.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuɫičšəd.   How did you cut your foot?
   ʔuƛ̓(ə)k̓ʷud čəd tə hud: I (was) cut(ting) wood
   gʷəl ʔuqʷ(ə)cab tə sk̓ʷqʷəb.   and the axe slipped.
   diɫ cəxʷuɫičšəd.   That is how I cut my foot.
   diɫ cəxʷuc(ə)ɫilšəd.   That is why my foot is bleeding.

7. ʔuxʷ(ə)ƛ̓ačiʔ čəd.   I broke my arm/hand.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuxʷ(ə)ƛ̓ačiʔ. How did you break your arm?
   ʔusaxʷəb čəd čəda ʔuqʷ(ə)cabšəd   I ran and I slipped on the
   ʔal tə sq̓axʷ čəda ʔubəč.   ice and I fell.
   diɫ cəxʷuxʷ(ə)ƛ̓ačiʔ.   That is how I broke my arm.

8. ʔuxʷ(ə)ƛ̓šad čəd.   I broke my leg/foot.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuxʷ(ə)ƛ̓šad.   How did you break your leg?
   ʔusaxʷəb čəd čəda ʔuɫik̓ʷšəd   I ran and I tripped on a root
   ʔə tə stəx̌ʷšəd čəda ʔubəč.   and fell.
   diɫ cəxʷuxʷ(ə)ƛ̓šad.   That is how I broke my leg.

9. ʔukʷasačiʔ čəd.

   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷukʷasačiʔ.

   ʔəshədhədači(ʔ)b čəd čəda
   hiʔab ʔučitil ʔə tə hud.
   dił cəxʷukʷasačiʔ.

I burned my hand/arm.

How did you burn your hand?

I was warming my hands by
the fire and I got too close.
That's how I burned my hand.