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 pronunciation. 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 dxʷlšucid.

Puget Salish, the English name for dxʷlšucid, 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 kinship, 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 υ and ι, and ω and υ. 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, χ 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 cat
- **ć**: same as above except for a simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
- **č**: ek as in church
- **ć**: same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
- **d**: as in dog
- **e**: a in about, u in but
- **g**: as in rig
- **g'**: something like gw in Gwendolen
- **h**: as in kill
- **i**: either as i in machine or as a in ate.
- **j**: ds as in roads
- **ʝ**: j as in jump
- **k**: as in kick
- **ciąg**: same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
- **k'**: something like qu in queen
- **k'**: same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.
- **l**: l as in limp and as in rill
- **ł**: same as above except for a tightening of the vocal tract causing a slight strangled effect.
- **ż**: an L sound made without moving the vocal cords; something like a lateral lisp; the LL of Welsh.
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\( t \) and \( l \) pronounced simultaneously accompanied by an abrupt closure of the vocal cords.

\( p \)

as in \textit{pop}

\( p \)

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 \( k \).

\( q \)

like \( k \) with the same difference as for \( q \) from \( k \).

\( q' \)

like \( k' \) with the same difference as for \( q \) from \( k \).

\( q' \)

like \( k' \) with the same difference as for \( q \) from \( k \).

\( s \)

as in \textit{simple}

\( š \)

\( sh \) as in \textit{shoe}

\( t \)

as in \textit{tin}

\( t \)

same as above except for simultaneous abrupt closure of the vocal cords.

\( u \)

either as \( oo \) in \textit{boot} or \( oa \) in \textit{boat}.

\( w \)

as in \textit{win}

\( w \)

same as above except for a tightening of the vocal tract causing a slight strangled effect.

\( x' \)

similar to the \( a\kappa \) in German \( a\kappa \) or \( j \) in Spanish but pronounced with the lips rounded.

\( ĥ \)

a rasping sound articulated at about the same place as \( q \).

\( ĥ' \)

like \( ĥ \) but pronounced with the lips rounded.

\( y \)

as in \textit{young}

\( ŭ \)

same as above except for a tightening of the vocal tract causing a slight strangled effect.

\( \mathbf{?} \)

like the abrupt blocked sound in the American word \textit{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  ś  š  x̆  ẋ  h

stops and affricates:

voiceless  p  t  c  č  k  q  ?

voiceless, glottalized  p̥  t̥  č̥  ļ̆  ļ  k̥  q̥  ļ̇  ļ̇

voiced  b  d  j  ţ  ĭ  ĭ  ĵ  ĵ  ğ  ġ

resonants:  l  y  w

laryngealized  l̥  y̥  w̥

vowels:  i  ĭ  u  ĭ  ĭ  ĭ  ĭ  ĭ  a
Lesson 1

Sound Drill: ㅏ, ㅓ, ㅗ

| ㅏid | ㅓit | ㅗi? |
| ㅏalil | ㅓilid | ㅗwayid |
| ㅏalil | ㅓagwičôd | ㅗwècôd |
| ㅓgwičôd | ㅗcapaʁ | ㅗuyub |
| ㅗsłaðøy? | ㅓcob | ㅗwaxad |
| ㅏsولةq | ㅓcalac | ㅗsôleqit |
| ㅗhaq | ㅓcobdatil | ㅗexw |
| ㅏexu | ㅓcut | ㅗexu |

Choral Repetition:

1. ?ukwaxad čød ti stubš. I helped the man.
2. ?ukwaxad čoxʷ ti stubš. You helped the man.
4. ?ukwaxad čød ti stubš. We helped the man.
5. ?ukwaxad čôlep ti stubš. You (plural) helped the man.
6. ?učalad čød ci słaðøy?. I chased the woman.
7. ?učalad čoxʷ ci słaðøy?. You chased the woman.
8. ?učalad ci słaðøy?. Someone chased the woman.
9. ?učalad čød ci słaðøy?. We chased the woman.
10. ?učalad čôlep ci słaðøy?. You (plural) chased the woman.
11. ?ukwødad čød ti s'uladxʷ. I took the salmon.
12. ?ukwødad čoxʷ ti s'uladxʷ. You took the salmon.
13. ?ukwødad ti s'uladxʷ. Someone took the salmon.
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14. ?uk'ədad əət ti s?uladxə. We took the salmon.
15. ?uk'ədad əələp ti s?uladxə. You (plural) took the salmon.
16. ?ušudə əəd ti stubš. I saw the man.
17. ?ušudə əəxə ti stubš. You saw the man.
18. ?ušudə ti stubš. Someone saw the man.
19. ?ušudə əət ti stubš. We saw the man.
20. ?ušudə əələp ti stubš. You (plural) saw the man.
21. ?uhaydxə əəd ti stubš. I found out (who) the man (was).
22. ?uhaydxə əəxə ti stubš. You found out (who) the man (was).
23. ?uhaydxə ti stubš. Someone found out (who) the man (was).
24. ?uhaydxə əət ti stubš. We found out (who) the man (was).
25. ?uhaydxə əələp ti stubš. You (plural) found out (who) the man (was).

Lesson Notes:

Lesson I introduces the pronominal forms əəd 'I, me'; əəx 'you'; əət 'we, us'; and əələp '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 (əəd, əəx, 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 čajad 'sneak up on someone/thing, stalk prey' and čawëctx 'track someone/thing'.)

The word s?uladxʷ, glossed as salmon also includes steelhead. The last part of the word, -ladxʷ, means year. Thus, the name refers to the annual runs of breeding salmon. The Southern dxʷlshucid speakers say čədadxʷ instead of s?uladxʷ.

Southern dxʷlshucid 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. ?uk'axʷad _____ ti stubš.
   you (sg)

2. ?uk'axʷad _____ ti stubš.
   we

3. ?uk'ədad _____ ti s?uladxʷ.
   you (pl)

4. ?uk'ədad _____ ti s?uladxʷ.
   he

5. ?učalad _____ ci šladəy?.
   I

6. ?učalad _____ ci šladəy?.
   you (pl)
II. Translate the following into English:

1. υσυδχυςε ζοι ti s?uladχy.

2. ιυκαλαδ ζοι ti stubς.

3. υκαδαθ ζοιη ti s?uladχy.

4. ιυκαλαδ ζοιη ti s?uladχy.

5. ιυκαδαθ ζοιη ti s?uladχy.

III. Translate the following into dxw1šucid:

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 (dx's ag' usaf) 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 q.

- qitid
- tiq
- sqaju?
- qalab
- qalx

Choral Repetition A:

1. quk' ax'at'ab ?e ti stubš ci st|dancy.
The man helped the woman.

2. qulcalat'ab ?e ti sq"abay? ti d|spišiš.
The dog chased my cat.

3. quk' ydat'ab ?e ti spa?c ti ds'uladx".
The bear took my salmon.

The bear clawed our dog.

5. quk' edt'ab ?e ti baq" stubš ti čačas.
The fat man pushed the boy.

My dog woke my older brother up.

7. qeq' ibit'ab ?e ti ha?i stubš ti d'al'al.
The good man fixed my house.
8. ?učax'at³b o ti ḥik³ stubš ti sq'ωbay?čot.
   The ugly man clubbed our dog.

   My mother cleaned my salmon.

10. ?uq'ibit³b o ti ha?i stubš ti qilbidčot.
    The good man got our canoe ready.

11. ?učax'at³b u o ti stubš ci stādøy?.
    Did the man help the woman?

12. x'iw? g'osk'ax'at³bs o ti stubš ci stādøy?.
    The man didn't help the woman.

    Did the dog chase my cat?

14. x'iw? g'osčalat³bs o ti sq'ωbay? The dog didn't chase your cat.
    c(i) adpišpiš.

15. ?uk'ωdat³b u o ti spa?c ti ds?uladx³.
    Did the bear take my salmon?

16. x'iw? g'osk'ωdat³bs o ti spa?c t(i) ads?uladx³.
    The bear didn't take your salmon.

    Did the bear claw our dog?

18. x'iw? g'osčibit³bs o ti spa?c ti sq'ωbay?ləp.
    The bear didn't claw your (pl) dog.

19. ?uq'ibit³b u o ti ha?i stubš t(i) ad?al?al.
    Did the good man fix up your house?

20. x'iw? g'osq'ibit³bs o ti stubš ti d?al?al.
    The man didn't fix my house.
Choral Repetition B: (Not on tape.)

4. ?uščax'atb ćod ?o ti ćik' stubš. The ugly man clubbed me.
6. ?učalatb ćox' ?u ?o ti hik' spa?c. Did the big bear chase you?
7. x'vi? g'oodsčalatb ?o ti hik' spa?c. The big bear didn't chase me.
8. ?uššibitb ćox' ?u ?o ti pišpiš. Did the cat claw you?
9. x'vi? g'oodsšibitb ?o ti pišpiš. The cat didn't claw me.
10. ?uqeqitb ćox' ?u ?o c(i) adsk'uy. Did your mother wake you up?
11. x'vi? g'oodsqeqitb ?o ci dsk'uy. My mother didn't wake me up.
12. ?uščax'atb ćox' ?u ?o ti ćik' stubš. Did the ugly man club you?
13. x'vi? g'oodsčax'atb ?o ti ćik' stubš. The ugly man didn't club me.
15. x'vi? g'oodsčišitb ?o ti sa? ćačas. 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 -dx'w. Note that this -d becomes -t- when not final and -dx'w becomes -du-. (Long ago dx'w]śucid speakers pronounced the transi-
tive suffix as t everywhere it occurred; but some time in the past they changed the t to a d when the suffix came at the end of the word.)

The particle ʔø 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., ʔuk'ax'atobservable ci stædæy? ʔø ti stubš 'the man helped the woman'.)

In Choral Repetition B it is seen that the -t-ob construction can also be used with first and second persons (I, we, you). Thus, there are two ways of saying, 'The man helped me':

ʔuk'ax'ac ti stubš (as learned in Lesson 2) or ʔuk'ax'at observable ød ʔø 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 -t-ob 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:

boq' 'fat, over weight' opposite of jui 'thin'. The fat of meat is x'øs, grease is sx'øs.

x'il' means not only ugly in appearance but also harsh, rude, rough talking.
dilbid  canoe of any type, vehicle in general
?
?utxs  'family' canoe
large
qobut  (similar to ?utxs but with a different prow)
inter-
mediate
stivati  proportionately wider than the other kinds
(said with stress on second vowel)
small
sdoxwit  a small, fast canoe for hunting, esp. ducks
qiqgwit  a new canoe (of any type)
xiqgwi  a racing canoe (Cf. xiqalgiwit 'a canoe race')
(xiq 'compete, get the best of someone, be uncooperative')

'stern'  (laq 'behind, late')
?udogit  'middle of a canoe'

'travel over water'  (See Lesson 7.)

'to paddle'  (Compare ?isil 'fish swims'. Both words have the same root ?is.)

'a paddle'

cqahab  'to pole a canoe'
cqap  'pole for poling a canoe'

xiqalap  'steer a canoe by holding a paddle over the stern'
jolalgiwit  'command given paddlers to change sides'
Like $\text{sjíjolalič}'Seattle'$, this word is also derived from the root $\text{jal}$ 'reverse the side of, go to the other side of'. (See page 29.)

$x^\text{wacad}$ 1. 'carry a canoe' (especially a $\text{sdəx'it}$)
2. 'take things off to lighten the load'

The term $\text{qil}^\text{bid}$ consists of the suffix $-\text{bid}$ and the root $\text{qil}$. 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.,
   $\text{ʔuqiləx}'$ ti $\text{sʔuladx}'$ 'The salmon are here.'
   $\text{qilu}^\text{us}$ 'get(ting) up hill' (The suffix $-\text{us}$ means top, face, head, upper part.)

Exercise: Translate the following into $dx'^\text{w}l^\text{šucid}$:
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 ($\text{ίu}^\text{-}$) lie on the grass.
8, 9. That ($\text{tiʔi}^\text{t}$) 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 stab 'what', čad 'where', ?éxid '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 sgedílč 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 demonstrations. 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 different 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 sgwadili~ look like?" because the people say instead, "How would I recognize a sgwadili~?"

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 interference.

3. The Choral Repetitions are too paradigmatic. They are dull and do not lead the student into conversational command of the language. In the beginning 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, mimicking 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 considered 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 ʔatxat 'mallard'; ʔǔxw 'go' instead of ʔuluʔ '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., qyuugs and ʔaʔaxəd. The first is a single formative (though the -gs is possibly a historical component related to the lexical for nose/point), while the second is composed of two frequently-used morphemes, q̌əx 'bend' and -aʔəd '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 ə and the use of parentheses. The letter ə when representing epenthetic /ə/, whether optional in speech or always articulated, is raised; e.g., dəbad '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 ə 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., ?as(h)aydxw '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 d, ad and ds, ads rather than d, ad and c, ac; 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 t everywhere. However, there were two problems.
First, students accustomed to English orthography found it a little disconcerting to write \( \text{t} \) 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 \( \text{t} \) for \{-t\} everywhere. For example, compare

1. \( k\text{m}_\text{d}a\text{-d} \)  
'\text{take it}'
2. \( k\text{m}_\text{d}a\text{-t}\text{-}\text{d}_\text{b} \)  
'\text{it is taken}'
3. \( \text{?}_\text{a}(s\text{-d})x\text{u}_\text{d}\text{-k}_\text{d}a\text{-d}\text{-}\text{b} \)  
'\text{want/need to take it}'

If \{-t\} were written everywhere as \( \text{t} \), 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 /-t\text{d}_\text{b}/ versus /-d\text{d}_\text{b}/ 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 \( \wedge \) and \( \text{?} \). 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. ʔesʔexid kʰ(i) adexʔəstagʷəxʷ.
   Why are you hungry?
2. ʔesʔexid kʰ(i) adexʔəstaqʷuʔ.
   Why are you thirsty?
3. ʔesʔexid kʰ(i) adexʔesxʷakʷil.
   Why are you tired?
4. ʔesʔexid kʰ(i) adexʔəsəx.
   Why are you cold?
5. ʔesʔexid kʰ(i) adexʔəshəpʔəb.
   Why are you warm?

6. ʔəsʔaləxʷ čəxʷ.
   həlaʔb čəd ʔəstəqʷəxʷ.
   How are you?

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəstəqʷuʔ.
   I am very hungry.
7. ʔəsʔaləxʷ čəxʷ.
   Why are you hungry? You just ate a big dried salmon.

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəstaqʷuʔ.
   I don't know. But I am hungry.
8. ʔəsʔaləxʷ čəxʷ.
   Why are you thirsty? You just drank a lot of water.

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəsəxʷakʷil.
   I don't know. But I am thirsty.
9. ʔəsʔaləxʷ čəxʷ.
   Why are you tired? You just rested.

   həlaʔb čəd ʔəsəxʷakʷil.
   I don't know. But I am tired.
9. ʔəščələxʷ čəxʷ.

həlaʔb čəd ʔəšhədqʷəb.
ʔəšəxid kʷ(i) ađəxʷəšhədqʷəb.
daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔudxʷʔəqad te šiš(o)ʔəbad.
ʔəšhədqʷəb čəd yəxi ʔəšhikʷ te hud.

10. ʔəščələxʷ čəxʷ?

həlaʔb čəd ʔəšlaʔx.
ʔəšəxid kʷ(i) ađəxʷəšlaʔx.
daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔutəqad te šəgʷə.
ʔəšlaʔx čəd; yəxi həlaʔb čəd ḥəuml.

11. ʔəščələxʷ čəxʷ.

həlaʔb čəd ʔəxʷsʔiutəb.
ʔəšəxid kʷ(i) ađəxʷəxʷsʔiutəb.
daʔxʷ čəxʷ ʔuqəł.
yəxi xʷi? gʷədsʔiut ʔə kʷi haʔə.

How are you?
I am very warm.
Why are you warm?
You just opened the window.
I am warm because the fire is big.

How are you?
I am very cold.
Why are you cold?
You just closed the door.
I am cold because I am very thin. the fire was on.

How are you?
I am very sleepy.
Why are you sleepy?
You just woke up.
Because I didn't sleep well.
Lesson 7

1. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷubakʷ'iaci?.
   How did you hurt your arm/hand?

2. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷužičəd.
   How did you cut your leg/foot?

3. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuxʷ(ə)əšad.
   How did you break your leg/foot?

4. ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷušači?.
   How did you burn your arm/hand?

5. ʔubakʷ'iaci? čəd.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷubakʷ'iaci?.
   I hurt my arm/hand.
   How did you hurt your arm?
   diič cəxʷubakʷ'iaci?.
   I climbed a tall cedar tree and I fell.

6. ʔužičəd čəd.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷužičəd.
   How did you cut your foot?
   ʔuš(ə)kʷud čəd te hud: gʷol ʔuqʷ(ə)cab te skʷqʷəb.
   I (was) cut(ting) wood and the axe slipped.
   diič cəxʷužičəd.
   That is how I cut my foot.
   diič cəxʷuc(ə)tilšəd.
   That is why my foot is bleeding.

7. ʔuxʷ(ə)lači? čəd.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuxʷ(ə)lači?.
   How did you break your arm?
   ʔusaxʷəb čəd čəda ?uqʷ(ə)cabšəd I ran and I slipped on the ice and I fell.
   I broke my arm/hand.
   That is how I broke my arm.
   diič cəxʷuxʷ(ə)lači?.

8. ʔuxʷ(ə)šəd čəd.
   ʔəsčal kʷ(i) adəxʷuxʷ(ə)šəd.
   How did you break your leg?
   ʔusaxʷəb čəd čəda ʔužižəd shəd ʔə te ʔəxʷəd čəda ?ubəč.
   I broke my leg.
   I ran and I tripped on a root and fell.
   diič cəxʷuxʷ(ə)šəd.
   That is how I broke my leg.
   ?eščal k'(i) adox'uk'wasachi?.
   ?eščaidhadachi(?)b čød čeda
   hi'ab ?učitił ?o to hud.
   dił cex'uk'wasachi?

   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.