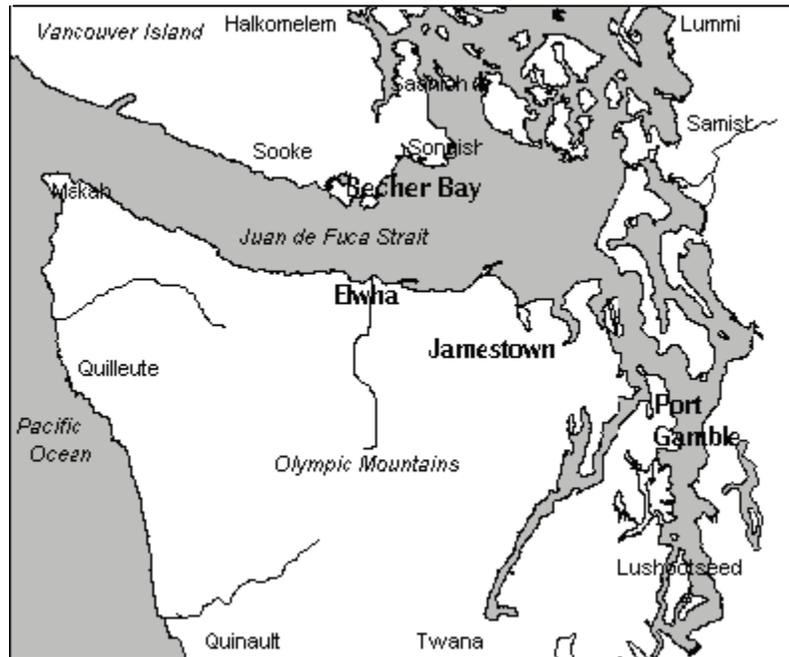


## Traditional Personal Names in Klallam

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- ▶ Klallam – Central Salishan, closely related to Northern Straits (Sooke, Songish, Saanich, Lummi, Samish)
- ▶ Names are the treasured property of families. They are given to grown children and adults in ceremonies by elders after being released by the oldest members of the family. It is always considered a great honor either to give or receive a name.
- ▶ Names descend bilaterally. There is a long and well documented tradition of intermarriage among the tribes, so a name associated with one place may end up established at a distant village in another tribe.
- ▶ Traditional Coast Salish names typically have no semantics beyond reference. They are morphologically unanalyzable and etymologically obscure. Elmendorf (1951) proposed an explanation for this.
- ▶ There are men’s and women’s names. A few names can be either.
- ▶ Native speakers can always identify a word as a name in text and usually can in isolation. Usually a name can be identified as a man’s or a woman’s.

What makes personal names unique in Klallam?

► Phonology

(1) *Frequency of Klallam phonemes:*

Lexicon: ə ʔ a s t i n ŋ y u t x<sup>w</sup> č c k<sup>w</sup> ɣ č **m** q e q<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> ŋ y ɟ ʔ ʃ s x<sup>w</sup> č t ɟ<sup>w</sup> **w** **p** n h w m p l k l

Names: ə a ʔ i t s n y **m** u č **w** l x t c x<sup>w</sup> č q **p** š k<sup>w</sup> h ʃ k<sup>w</sup> m e x<sup>w</sup> k q<sup>w</sup> ɟ č t w n ɟ<sup>w</sup> p y l ŋ ŋ

(2) *Frequency of Saanich phonemes:*

Lexicon: ə s t ʔ e n i a l ŋ x<sup>w</sup> t č k<sup>w</sup> q l š x **m** q<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> n t<sup>h</sup> w ɟ y θ ʃ t x<sup>w</sup> **p** ŋ **w** m ɟ<sup>w</sup> č y h p u k

Names: ə t l s i n a e **m** x<sup>w</sup> y t<sup>h</sup> x ʔ q **w** k<sup>w</sup> t č x<sup>w</sup> **p** θ l š q<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> ɟ č t m u ʃ y h k n ŋ ɟ<sup>w</sup> w p y

\*l > y in Klallam

\*m > ŋ, \*p > č, \*y > č / #\_\_, \*w > k<sup>w</sup> / #\_\_ in both languages

*Syllables:*

Unlike the Klallam lexicon where long consonant clusters are common (tqčšłšáʔ ‘50’), syllables are easy to identify in names and are typically CV or CVC.

(3a) Non-final syllables in men’s names:

ʔa ʔam ʔaq ʔə ʔi ʔiʔ ʔu čač čə čəm či či čič čiʔ ču heʔ k<sup>w</sup>a k<sup>w</sup>aʔ k<sup>w</sup>i  
 k<sup>w</sup>tə la lax lə ləs li tə təm ti ʃay ʃəm ʃi ʃu maʔ mə mi mu na naʔ nay  
 naʔ nə nəʔ ni pa pəl qə ɟə qi qis q<sup>w</sup>a q<sup>w</sup>eʔ si sk<sup>w</sup>a smi sq<sup>w</sup>əl sta su sway  
 sway ʃxə ʃx<sup>w</sup>a ʃx<sup>w</sup>al ʃx<sup>w</sup>səm ʃx<sup>w</sup>si šap šə ta taw tə ti tsi t<sup>w</sup>ac wə wac  
 waq way wə wə wi win xəm xey xi xič x<sup>w</sup>a x<sup>w</sup>i x<sup>w</sup>iʔ ya yə yəʔ yəq yi

(3b) Final syllables in men’s names:

ʔaʔ ʔəč ʔat **cut** čən čaʔ čən ləm ləq ləs li miq maʔ maʔ mət nəš nəč nəct  
 nək<sup>w</sup> nəm nəs nəx<sup>w</sup> nu nuʔ qəm qiʔ q<sup>w</sup>aʔ səm sən supst təm **tən tən** wəʔ  
 wəct xəm xən xən xəʔtx<sup>w</sup> xitx<sup>w</sup> yəʔ yəm yat

(4a) Non-final syllables in women’s names:

ʔa ʔə ʔəʔ ʔaʔ ʔəm ʔas ʔi ʔu ča čə čšə čaʔ čta ču ča caʔ ce ci ha hə haʔ  
 həy hi him hu k<sup>w</sup>ta k<sup>w</sup>a k<sup>w</sup>an k<sup>w</sup>ən k<sup>w</sup>i k<sup>w</sup>it li lu tə te ti tuʔ ʃi ʃix mə  
 mə mi nə ni pəš pa pə pi pu ɟi qin sa sə sən sap sat say si sin sla smaʃ  
 šaš šə ši ta tə taʔ tas tiʔ wə wəč was wis x<sup>w</sup>i x<sup>w</sup>it x<sup>w</sup>u xa xə xay xay ʃut  
 yə yəm ya yə yəʔ yəx yaʔ yəs yuc

(4b) Final syllables in women’s names:

ʔaʔ ʔəʔ ʔu ʔuʔ čə čaʔ čəʔ cəʔ k<sup>w</sup>uʔ ləq lu luʔ tiʔ muʔ nəw nay nu nuʔ  
 ʃəʔ ʃu ʃuʔ pay puʔ tə **tən** tu wə wəʔ wəct xəm xən xi yə yəʔ

### ► Morphology

Unlike any other major class words in Klallam personal names never take morphology. This distinguishes them from the class of focus pronominal words and from place names.

- (5a)  $nək^w$  ‘you (it is you)’  $ʔəc$  ‘I, me (it is I)’
- (5b)  $nək^w-tx^w$  ‘let you, let it be you’  $ʔəctx^w$  ‘let me, let it be me’  
2FOCUS-CAUS
- (6)  $ʔaʔ-mitúliyə-tx^w$  ‘take it to Victoria’  
goto-Victoria-CAUS

Verbs, nouns and adjectives can be marked for plural and diminutive with the same morphology, but not personal names. Diminutive reduplication applied to a name creates a new name without ‘diminutive’ semantics.

### ► Syntax

Almost all non-predicate nominals occur with a determiner marking specificity, gender, presence, etc. ( $tə$ ,  $cə$ ,  $ʔə$ ,  $tsə$ ,  $k^wə$ ,  $k^wsə$ ,  $k^wʔə$ ,  $či$ ,  $ti$ ,  $k^wi$ ,  $k^wʔi$ ,  $k^wsi$ ,  $təsə$ ,  $ʔəsə$ ,  $k^wəsə$ ,  $k^wʔəsə$ ,  $tiə$ ,  $tsiə$ ,  $k^wiə$ ,  $k^wsiə$ ,  $tənu$ ,  $cənu$ ,  $tsənu$ ,  $k^wsənu$ ,  $k^wʔənu$ ,  $tiənu$ ,  $cəw̃niʔ$ ,  $tsəw̃niʔ$ ,  $k^wəw̃niʔ$ ,  $k^wsəw̃niʔ$ ,  $təsəniʔ$ ,  $tiəw̃niʔ$ ). The only exceptions involve personal names and the focus pronominals.

In prepositional phrases the determiner may be present or not with indeterminable meaning difference:

- (7a)  $tx^wiʔáxəŋ$   $cn$   $ʔaʔ$   $cə$   $nək^w$ . ‘I’m going toward you.’  
going\_toward 1SUBJ OBL DET 2FOCUS
- (7b)  $tx^wiʔáxəŋ$   $cn$   $ʔaʔ$   $nək^w$ . ‘I’m going toward you.’  
going\_toward 1SUBJ OBL 2FOCUS
- (8a)  $ʔuʔhákw̃nəsəŋ$   $čtə$   $st$   $ʔaʔ$   $k^wə$  **Ruth**.  
be\_remembered PROB 1PLSUBJ OBL DET  
‘We’ll probably be remembered by Ruth.’
- (8b)  $k^wə́nəŋ$   $cn$   $ʔaʔ$  **Terry**.  
be\_seen 1SUBJ OBL  
‘I was seen by Terry.’

When personal names occur as intransitive subject or direct object the only determiner is *ʔaʔ*, which is identical to the oblique preposition. Personal names never occur as transitive subject. Neither do the focus pronominals. Pronominal subjects and direct objects are marked by enclitics and suffixes.

(9a) kʷónəxʷ cn ʔaʔ Terry.  
 see 1SUBJ DET  
 ‘I saw Terry.’

(9b) štəŋ ʔaʔ Tim ʔákʷi ʔaʔ kʷə stúʔwiʔ.  
 walk DET go\_across OBL DET river  
 ‘Tim walked across the river.’

The possessum is marked with the possessive pronominal morphology in Klallam, first singular and second person prefixes, first plural and third person suffixes:

*n-* 1POS; *-tə* 1PLPOS; *ʔən-* 2POS; *-s* 3POS

When a non-personal name possessor is explicitly mentioned, it follows the possessum and has the required determiner:

(10a) txʷaʔúxʷ ʔaʔ cə stíkʷən-s cə čxʷáyu.  
 go\_toward OBL DET nephew-3POS DET whale.  
 ‘They went toward the nephew of the whale.’

(10b) čáyəxʷ cə sʔúqʷaʔ-s ʔaʔ cə ʔáʔyəŋ-s cə tán-s.  
 enter DET sibling-3POS OBL DET house-3POS DET mother-3POS.  
 ‘His brother went into his mother's house.’

When a personal name possessor is explicitly mentioned, the 3POS suffix is absent and the determiner (oblique marker?) is *ʔaʔ*.

(11) ʔánəʔ cə ŋəŋənaʔ ʔaʔ Noah.  
 obey DET children DET  
 ‘Noah's children obeyed.’

A construction common in narratives indicating event continuity has *níʔ*, the third person focus pronominal, followed by a nominalized main verb with subject marked by the possessive morphology.

(12a) níʔ n-s-uʔ-hiyáʔ. ‘So then I went.’  
 3FOCUS 1POS-NOM-CONTR-go

(12b) níʔ s-uʔ-hiyáʔ-s. ‘So then he/she/it/they went.’  
 3FOCUS NOM-CONTR-go-3POS

(12c) níɬ s-uʔ-hiyáʔ-s cə ŋənaʔ-s. ‘So then her son went.’  
 3FOCUS NOM-CONTR-go-3POS DET offspring-3POS

The possessive affix is missing from this construction only when there is an explicit personal name subject. The personal name has the *ʔaʔ* determiner/oblique:

(13a) níɬ s-uʔ-k<sup>w</sup>áʔətəŋ ʔaʔ Tim ʔaʔ cə čáʔsaʔ.  
 3FOCUS NOM-CONTR-release DET OBL DET two\_people  
 ‘Then Tim was released by the two.’

(13b) níɬ suʔq<sup>w</sup>áy ʔaʔ Louisa ʔəçtɪŋix<sup>w</sup>əŋ, “ʔəš, čəwín ʔiʔ ʔuʔpáʔstəŋəŋ.”  
 3FOCUS NOM-CONTR-speak  
 ‘Then Louisa said in Indian, “Aw, even he speaks English.”’

► Conclusion

Traditional personal names continue to be a vital part of the foundation of Klallam and Coast Salish culture. They form a category in the language that has unique features of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics.

► References

Elmendorf, William W. 1951. Word taboo and lexical change in Coast Salish. *IJAL* 17.205-208.  
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► Abbreviations

1PLPOS ‘first person plural possessor’, 1PLSUBJ ‘first person plural subject’, 1POS ‘first person possessor’, 1SUBJ ‘first person subject’, 2FOCUS ‘second person focus pronominal’, 2POS ‘second person possessor’, 3FOCUS ‘third person focus pronominal’, 3POS ‘third person possessor’, CAUS ‘causative’, CONTR ‘contrast’, DET ‘determiner’, NOM ‘nominalizer’, OBL ‘oblique object preposition’, PROB ‘probably’

## THE IMPORTANCE OF NAMES

How to Get a Name, How to Give a Name, and How to Use a Name

By Adeline Smith and Beatrice Charles† as told to Timothy Montler

It is a great honor to receive or give a traditional name. Names are important because they identify you with your family and your land of origin. Names form the foundation of the traditional culture tying family and villages together and keeping them distinct. Being given a traditional name permanently links one to one's family, community, and its history. Accepting and using a traditional name commits one to living up to the name and honoring it. These are the rules for giving, receiving, and using traditional names. These rules have been passed down generation after generation from time beyond reckoning.

Names are owned by families and the lands they come from; individuals do not own names. An individual who is given a name can only carry a name and use it; he or she cannot give it away without the permission of the oldest members of the family. As names are passed down the generations within families, every name has a history that links the present to the past.

Nobody may use a name that has not been formally given to them. Nobody may use a name that does not come from their own family unless special permission is obtained. Nobody may use a name that has not been approved by the oldest members of the family that the name descends from.

### APPROVAL OF A NAME

To get approval for a name one must formally go to an elder in one's family and request it. The person to receive the name must be leading a decent life to prove that a name is deserved. The elder thinks about the person to receive the name, their life and personality, and then releases an appropriate name. An elder may reserve a name but hold approval for it depending on some accomplishment such as graduation from school.

If one wants to give a particular name to one's child or grandchild, permission must first be obtained from the oldest member of the family. The elder may then release the name for giving.

Although it is not common practice, a single name may be used by more than one living person. To give a name that is already being used by someone, one must get permission from the person using the name as well as from the family elders. In some families the person already using the name is given a special blanket out of respect for the honor of their permission.

There are a limited number of names. Many names have been lost. If no names are available within a family, one may request a name from another family. The other family then meets and discusses the request among themselves. If they agree, an elder in that family then formally releases the name to the other family. There have been rumors of people selling names for cash, but this is generally considered a violation of tradition.

As another solution to the problem of the limited number of names, one may modify an existing name. Modification may include making the name diminutive, adding or subtracting an ending to make the name masculine or feminine, shortening or lengthening the name. Such modifications are suggested to family elders for their approval.

Occasionally an elder will make up a new name. If there are no available names within the family and a name cannot be found outside the family, then an elder may make up a new name for a deserving family member. Such new names follow the pattern of the sound of traditional names and some are similar to existing traditional names.

#### GIVING A NAME

Once a name has been approved and released for giving by the elders, the family giving the name must do so before witnesses. Often the naming is done in a large public ceremony and the hosting family feeds and gives gifts to all in attendance. Up to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century namings were often very large gatherings with hundreds of people coming from all over. Gifts given at a naming may be anything such as food, dishes, towels, blankets, and all sorts of hand-made items. Some name givers plan and save for years for a big naming ceremony. If the giver holds a particular witness in high regard, a special gift that the witness will cherish may be given. This indicates special friendship, love and caring and helps cement the witness's memory of the naming. The naming may also be done at a dinner in a smaller setting of family and friends. In either case the name is proclaimed and the receiver of the name pronounces it.

The giver of the name describes the process by which the name was approved and tells the history of the name, who previously carried it, and where the name comes from. If the previous user of the name was particularly noteworthy, the giver will speak about the life of that person. The giver tells the receiver to learn the history of the name and to protect the name carefully.

#### DISAGREEMENTS ABOUT A NAME

If one is given a name, it is a high insult to the giver to refuse it. Once a person has refused a name they cannot receive that name or any other name from that family.

If two people want the same name, the whole family must discuss it and the oldest members have the final say about who gets it. If no decision can be finally agreed to, the name is left "floating around" possibly for many years.

If two families disagree about who has the right to pass on a name, the elders of the two families meet to discuss the situation and come to an agreement. Again, if there is no agreement, the name is left floating.

Disagreements about a name can lead to bitter disputes between and within families. Prolonged disputes can dishonor a name and even cause its loss. It is best to come to an agreement quickly and follow elders' advice.

#### USING A NAME

A name can be honored by the high accomplishments of its user and a name can be ruined by a bearer's bad behavior. One must take care never to disgrace the name they are using.

Names may be used any way that personal names are generally used. They are always used in formal, traditional ceremonies and in speeches. In the old days people used

the traditional names all the time. Today they should be used as much as possible so that they are not forgotten. Elders especially like to use the names they have given and use them whenever they can.

A person may have more than one name. One may be given a name as a child and then another name as an adult. A person may be given a name by both sides of the family. Generally people with more than one name are considered si?ám, having high social status. A person with more than one name may use either, but generally favors the most recently received name.

#### THE MEANING OF NAMES

Unlike names among the plains tribes, traditional coast names generally have no translation into English. They are simply proper nouns like many English names. A name can be given a kind of meaning by the behavior of its user. For example, Tom Charles was told that his traditional name meant ‘guardian, protector’, because it had previously belonged to a man who protected his village. His name has nothing to do with the common Klallam words meaning guard or protect.

There are a few traditional names that do have identifiable meanings based on common words. For example, some names are clearly based on the word si?ám meaning ‘noble, high class’, so those names are sometimes translated ‘princess’ or ‘prince’.

#### MEN’S NAMES AND WOMEN’S NAMES

Usually women’s names are given to women and men’s names are given to men. Women’s names are often distinguished from men’s names by the ending. A fluent speaker of Klallam can usually tell whether a name is a man’s or woman’s, but sometimes it is impossible to tell without knowing who it belongs to or where it came from. Women’s names generally end in -čá?, -u?, -wət, -u, -əw, or -i. Men’s names generally end in -n, -m, or -cut. There are many exceptions, and there are some names that can be used by either a man or a woman. Names can be converted from women’s to men’s and vice versa by changing the ending.

#### CONCLUSION

Traditional personal names are the cherished private property of families. Names must be treated with the greatest respect.