North America
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1. Introduction
At the time when Europeans first arrived in North America, more than 300 native languages were spoken in what is now the US and Canada, classified in some 58 independent language families. All of these languages are now endangered, some more so than others; only a handful are spoken by more than 10,000 people, and all are endangered in the long term.

2. Origins
Incontrovertible evidence of human activity in the western hemisphere can be dated no earlier than 12,500 years before the present, though opinions vary about earlier possible entry of humans to the New World. In any event, the Americas were the last major land mass to be reached by humans. This notwithstanding, there is extensive linguistic diversity among American Indian languages, both in terms of numbers of languages and language families, and in their structural properties.

3. Classification
The classification presented here reflects the “Consensus Classification” (see Campbell 1997, Goddard 1996b, and Mithun 1999). It indicates how the 312 languages of North America are classified in 58 units of classification (language families and isolates – isolates are languages with no known relatives, that is language families with only one member):

—14 major language families, made up of several languages with significant subgrouping: ESKIMO-ALEUT, ALGIC, NA-DENE, WAKASHAN, SALISHAN, UTIAN, PLATEAU, COCHIMI-YUMAN, UTO-AZTECAN, KIOWA-TANOAN, SIOUAN-CATAWBA, CADDYOAN, MUSKOGEOAN, and IROQUOIAN.

—18 minor language families, made up of a small number of relatively closely related (usually contiguous) languages: CHIMAKUAN, TSIMSHIANIC, CHINOOKAN, COOSAN, KALAPUYAN, WINTUAN, MAIDUAN, YOKUTS, SHASTAN, PALAIHNIAN, POMOAN, SALINAN, YUKIAN, CHUMASHAN, GUAICURIAN, KERESAN, COMECRUDAN, ATAKAPAN, and TIMUCUAN.

—25 isolates: HAIDA, ALSEAN, SIUSLAW, TAKELMAN, KARUK, CHIMARIKO, YANA, WASHO, ESSELEN, ZUNI, COAHUILTECO, COTONAME, ARANAMA, SOLANO, KARANKAWA, KOOTENAI, CAYUSE, TONKAWA, ADAI, CHITIMACHA, TUNICA, NATCHEZ, YUCHI, CALUSA, and BEOTHUK.

The languages and classificatory units (language families and isolates) that were extinct before 1930 are indicated by *italics*; those that have become extinct since 1930 are indicated by an asterisk (*). The classification is:

(1) ESKIMO-ALEUT
ESKIMOAN
Western Eskimo (Yupik)
  *Sirenik
  East Cape (Naukan) Yupik
  Central Siberian Yupik
  Central Alaskan Yup’ik
  Pacific Yupik (Alutiiq)
Eastern Eskimo (Inuit)
  Seward Peninsula Inupiaq
  North Alaska Inupiaq
  Western Canadian Inuktitut
  Eastern Canadian Inuktitut
  West Greenlandic
  East Greenlandic

ALEUT
  Aleut
  Aleut
  Aleut-Russian mixed language
  Copper Island Aleut

(2) ALGIC
ALGONQUIAN
  Blackfoot
  Blackfoot
  Cree-Montagnais
  Cree
  Plains Cree
  Michif (Plains Cree-French mixed language)
  Woods Cree
  Western Swampy Cree
  Eastern Swampy Cree [includes Moose Cree]
  Attikamek
  Montagnais-Naskapi
  East Cree
    Southern East Cree
    Northern East Cree
    Northern East Cree
    Western Naskapi
  Naskapi
    Western Naskapi (Naskapi)
    Eastern Naskapi (Mushuaau Innu)
  Montagnais (Innu)
    Western Montagnais
    Central Montagnais
    Eastern Montagnais

Arapahoan
  Gros Ventre (Atsina)
Arapaho
Nawathinehena

Cheyenne
Cheyenne

Menominee
Menominee

Ojibwayan
Northern Ojibwe
Severn Ojibwe (Oji-Cree)
Northern Algonquin

Southern Ojibwe
Saulteaux
Central Southern Ojibwe (Anishinaabemowin)
Eastern Ojibwe [includes "Southern Algonquin"]
Ottawa (Odawa)
*Old Algonquin

Potawatomi
Potawatomi

Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo
Sauk-Fox (Meskwaki)
Kickapoo
(Mascouten)

Shawnee
Shawnee
*Miami-Illinois
*Miami-Illinois

Eastern Algonquian
Micmac
Micmac

Abenaki
Maliseet-Passamaquoddy
*Eastern Abenaki
Western Abenaki

Etchemin
Etchemin

Southern New England Algonquian
Massachusetts-Narragansett
Loup
Mohegan-Pequot
Quiripi-Unquachog

Mahican
Delaware
Munsee
*Unami

Nanticoke-Conoy
Nanticoke-Conoy

Virginia Algonquian
Virginia Algonquian
Carolina Algonquian

RITWAN
*Wiyot
*Wiyot
Yurok
Yurok

(3) NA-DENE (narrow sense)
Tlingit
Tlingit

EYAK-ATHABASKAN
Eyak
Eyak

ATHABASKAN
Ahtna
Ahtna
Tanaina
Tanaina
Koyukon-Ingalik
Ingalik (Deg Hit’an)
Holikachuk
Koyukon
Tanana
Upper Kuskokwim (Kolchan)
Lower Tanana
Tanacross
Upper Tanana

Tutchone
Northern Tutchone
Southern Tutchone

Kutchin-Han
Kutchin (Gwich’in)
Han

Central Cordillera
Tagish
Tahltan
Kaska

Southeastern Cordillera
Sekani
Beaver

Dene
Slave (South Slavey)
Mountain Slavey
Bearlake (North Slavey)
Hare (North Slavey)
Dogrib
  Chipewyan (Dene Soun’line)
Babine-Carrier
  Babine
  Carrier
Chilcotin
  Chilcotin (Tsilhqot’in)
Nicola
  Nicola
Tsetsaut
  Tsetsaut
Sarcee
  Sarcee (Tsutina)
Kwalhioqua-Clatskanie
  Kwalhioqua-Clatskanie
Oregon Athabaskan
  Upper Umpqua
    *Tututni
    *Galice-Applegate
    Tolowa
California Athabaskan
  Hupa
    *Mattole
    *Eel River
    *Kato (Cahto)
Southern Athabaskan (Apachean)
  Navajo
    Western Apache
    Mescalero-Chiricahua
    Jicarilla
    *Lipan
    Plains Apache (Kiowa Apache)

(4) HAIDA
  Haida

(5) WAKASHAN
  Northern Wakashan
    Haisla
    Heiltsuk-Oowekyala
    Kwakiutl (Kwak’wala)
  Nootkan
    Nootka (Nuuchahnuhlth)
    Nitinaht (Ditidaht)
    Makah

(6) *CHIMAKUAN
Chemakum
*Quileute

(7) SALISHAN

Bella Coola
  Bella Coola (Nuxalk)
Central Salish
  Comox
  *Pentlatch
  Sechelt
  Squamish
  Halkomelem
  *Nooksack
  Northern Straits Salish
  Klallam
  Lushootseed
  *Twana
*Tsamosan
  *Quinault
  *Lower Chehalis
  *Upper Chehalis
  Cowlitz
*Tillamook
  *Tillamook

Interior Salish
  Lillooet
  Thompson
  Shuswap (Secwepemc)
  Okanagan
  Spokane-Kalispel (Flathead)
  Coeur d’Alene
  Columbian

(8) TSIMSHIANIC

Nass-Gitksan
  Nisga’a
  Gitksan
Coast Tsimshian
  Sm’algyax
  Southern Tsimshian

(9) CHINOOKAN

*Lower Chinook
  Kathlamet
  Kiksht
(10) *ALSEAN
- *Alsea
  - Yaqina
(11) *SIUSLAW
- *Siuslaw
(12) *COOSAN
- *Hanis
- *Miluk
(1) TAKELMAN
- Takelma
(14) *KALAPUYAN
- *Tualatin-Yamhill
- *Central Kalapuyan
- *Yoncalla
(15) WINTUAN
- Wintu-Nomlaki
- Patwin
(16) MAIDUAN
- *Maidu
- Konkow
- *Nisenan
(17) UTIAN
MIWOK
- Western Miwok
  - *Coast Miwok
  - Lake Miwok
- Eastern Miwok
  - Bay Miwok
  - *Plains Miwok
  - Northern Sierra Miwok
  - Central Sierra Miwok
  - Southern Sierra Miwok
COSTANOAN
- Northern Costanoan
  - Karkin
  - Ramaytush
  - Chochenyo
  - Tamyen
  - Awaswas
  - Chalon
- Southern Costanoan
Mutsun
Rumsen

(18) YOKUTS
Palewyami
Buena Vista
Tule-Kaweah
Kings River
*Gashowu
Valley Yokuts

(19) PLATEAU (also called PLATEAU PENUTIAN)
Klamath
Klamath-Modoc
Sahaptian
Sahaptin
Nez Perce
*Molala
*Molala

(20) KARUK
Karuk

(21) *CHIMARIKO
*Chimariko

(22) *SHASTAN
*Shasta
New River Shasta
Okwanuchu
Konomihu

(23) PALAIHNIHAN
Achumawi
*Atsugewi

(24) POMOAN
Northeastern Pomo
*Northeastern Pomo
Southeastern Pomo
*Southeastern Pomo
Eastern Pomo
Eastern Pomo
Western Pomoan
Northern Pomo
Southern Group
Central Pomo
Southern Pomo
Kashaya

(25) **YANA**

Yana

(26) **SALINAN**

*Antoniano
*Migueleño

(27) **COCHIMÍ-YUMAN**

YUMAN

Pai

Paipai
Upland Yuman

River Yuman
Mohave
Quechan (Yuma)
Maricopa

Diegueño-Cocopa
Ipai
Kumeyaay
Tipai
Cocopa

Kiliwa

**COCHIMÍ**

Northern
Southern

(28) **GUAICURAN**

Guaicura (Waykuri)

(29) **WASHO**

Washo

(30) **YUKIAN**

*Yuki
*Wappo

(31) **ESSELEN**

Esselen

(32) **CHUMASHAN**

Northern Chumash
*Obispeño*
Southern Chumash
Central Chumash
  *Purisimeño
  *Ineseño
  *Barbareño
  *Ventureño
Island Chumash
  Island Chumash (Cruzeño)

(33) UTO-AZTECAN
NUMIC
  Western Numic
    Mono
    Northern Paiute
  Central Numic
    Panamint
    Shoshoni (Shoshone)
    Comanche
  Southern Numic
    Kawaiisu
    Ute-Chemehuevi
TUBATULABAL
  Tubatulabal
TAKIC
  Serrano- Kitanemuk
    Serrano
    *Kitanemuk
  Gabrielina
    *Gabrielino (Tongva)
Cupan
  Cahuilla
  *Cupeño
  Luiseño
HOPI
  Hopi
TEPIMAN
  Upper Piman (O’odham)
TARACAHITIC
  Yaqui (Yoeme)

[The Uto-Aztecan languages of Mexico, including other languages in the Tepiman and Taracahitic subfamilies, are treated in the section on Central and South America]

(34) KIOWA-TANOAN
Kiowa
  Kiowa
Jemez
  Jemez
Tiwa
Northern Tiwa
Taos
Picuris
Southern Tiwa
Isleta-Sandia

Tewa
Tewa
Arizona Tewa (Hano)

Piro
Piro

(35) KERESAN
Acoma-Laguna
Rio Grande Keresan

(36) ZUNI
Zuni

(37) COAHUILTECO
Coahuilteco

(38) COMECRUDAN
Comecrudo
Mamulique
Garza

(39) COTONAME
Cotoname

(40) ARANAMA
Aranama

(41) SOLANO
Solano

(42) KARANKAWA
Karankawa

(43) KOOTENAI
Kutenai (Kootenai, Ktunaxa)

(44) CAYUSE
Cayuse

(45) SIOUAN-CATAWLAN
SIOUAN
Missouri River
Hidatsa
Crow
Mandan
Mandan
Dakotan
Sioux
Assiniboine
Stoney

Dhegiha
Omaha-Ponca
Osage
*Kansa
*Quapaw
Chiwere-Winnebago
Chiwere
Winnebago (Ho-Chunk, Hochank)

Southeastern
Ofo
Biloxi
Tutelo

*CATAWBAN
*Catawba
Woccon

(46) *TONKAWA
*Tonkawa

(47) CADDOAN
Northern Caddoan
Arikara
Pawnee
*Kitsai
Wichita
Southern Caddoan
Caddo

(48) ADAI
Adai

(49) ATAKAPAN
Western Atakapa
Eastern Atakapa

(50) *CHITIMACHA
*Chitimacha
(51) *TUNICA
*Tunica

(52) MUSKOGEAN
Western Muskogean
Choctaw
Chickasaw

Eastern Muskogean
Hitchiti-Mikasuki
Apalachee
Alabama
Koasati
Creek (Muskogee)

(53) *NATCHEZ
*Natchez

(54) YUCHI
Yuchi (Euchee)

(55) TIMUCUAN
Timucua
Tawasa

(56) CALUSA
Calusa

(57) IROQUOIAN
Northern Iroquoian
Tuscarora-Nottoway
Tuscarora
Nottoway
Lake Iroquoian
*Huron-Wyandot
Laurentian
Iroquois Proper
Seneca
Cayuga
Onondaga
Susquehannock
Oneida
Mohawk

Southern Iroquoian
Cherokee
The first important classification of North American languages was that of J. W. Powell (1891), in which 58 families were distinguished (not all of which coincide with the 58 families of the classification presented here). In subsequent years, as additional data were obtained and research methods were refined, many linguists attempted to combine language families into larger groupings, sometimes called STOCKS or PHYLA, representing possible but unconfirmed more remote historical relationships. This was done early for a number of California languages, where Dixon & Kroeb (1913) hypothesized the now controversial stocks of HOKAN and Penutian. Edward Sapir (1929) proposed that all attested North American languages could be grouped into six phyla: Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dene (expanded to include Haida), Algonkin-Wakashan, HOKAN-Siouan, Penutian, and Aztec-Tanoan. Subsequent research tended to continue seeking broader relationships among groups of American Indian languages. Mary R. Haas was the most active researcher in this area in the 1950s and 1960s (see Haas 1969), and some of her proposals, together with others, were brought together in a revised version of Sapir’s scheme published by Voegelin and Voegelin (1965). This classification recognized seven phyla: American Arctic-Paleosiberian (connecting Eskimo-Aleut with Chukchi-Kamchatkan), Na-Dene, Macro-Algonquian, Macro-Siouan, HOKAN, Penutian, and Aztec-Tanoan, with nine smaller units ranging from the Salish and Wakashan families to the Beothuk and Kutenai language isolates.

In later years, however, scholars came increasingly to recognize that many of the hypotheses could not be validated on the basis of the evidence available, and the pendulum began to swing back toward the recognition of a larger number of distinct families.

In spite of mainstream scholars’ increasing demands for adequate evidence of proposed remote linguistic relationships, Joseph Greenberg (1987) went far beyond Sapir’s “superstocks” in his proposal that all Native American language families, except “Na-Dene” and Eskimo-Aleut, belong to a single macro-family, which he called “Amerind,” based on his method of multilateral comparison. Amerind is rejected by nearly all specialists in Native American languages. They maintain that valid methods do not at present permit reduction of North American Indian languages to fewer than about 58 independent language families and isolates. Amerind has been criticized on various grounds. Where Greenberg stops – after assembling superficial similarities and declaring them due to common ancestry – is where other linguists begin. Since such similarities can be due to chance, borrowing, onomatopoeia, sound symbolism, nursery words [the *mama, papa, nana, dada, caca* sort], and misanalysis, for a plausible proposal of linguistic relationship, one must attempt to eliminate all these other possible explanations, leaving a shared common ancestor as the most likely. Greenberg made no attempt to eliminate these other explanations, and the similarities he amassed appear to be due mostly to accident and a combination of these other factors. In various instances, Greenberg compared arbitrary segments of words, equated words with very different meanings (for example, ‘excrem/night/grass’), mis-identified many languages, failed to analyze the morphology of some words and falsely analyzed that of others, neglected regular sound correspondences, failed to eliminate loanwords, misinterpreted or ignored
well-established findings, and there are exceedingly many errors in Greenberg’s data. In short, Amerind has been rejected with good reason.

Many similarities among languages result not because they are inherited from a common parent language, but because features have been borrowed among languages in contact — not only vocabulary, but also elements of phonology and grammar. This has taken place especially in certain geographically and culturally defined areas, such as the Northwest Pacific Coast; thus we speak of AREAL groupings of languages as something distinct from genetic (family) groupings. Such groupings are not represented in this Atlas, but are discussed in Campbell (1997: 330-352) and Mithun (1999:314-17).

Many proposals for more inclusive groupings have been made, summarized in Goddard (1996b: 308-323), Campbell (1997: 66-80), and Mithun (1999:301-10).

Loss of diversity
Of the 58 classificatory units, exactly half (29) are now extinct—16 having become extinct before 1930 and 13 since then. Much of this loss is due to the extinction of isolates, only six of which survive, although half of the 18 minor families are also extinct. In addition, several branches of major families have been lost: Southern New England Algonquian within Algonquian; Tsamosan within Salishan; Costanoan within Utian; Cochimi within Cochimi-Yuman; and Catawban within Siouan-Catawba. This loss of diversity will almost certainly accelerate in the near future. A major subdivision of Na-Dene will be extinguished with the death of the one remaining speaker of Eyak, and five of the nine remaining small language families—Chinookan, Maiduan, Palaihnihan, Wintuan, and Yukian—survive in the speech of less than a score of very elderly people.

4. Catalogue of languages
Accurate information on the current state of languages and the number of speakers in North American communities is difficult to come by. Most of the information in the list of languages below was gathered by Victor Golla between 1999 and 2001 directly from the linguists and educators best placed to know the relevant facts about the various speech communities.

Abenaki. See Eastern Abenaki, Western Abenaki

Achumawi is one of the two languages of the Palaihnihan family of northeastern California; the other is Atsugewi, which has been extinct since 1988. Both Achumawi and Atsugewi are heritage languages of the Pit River Tribe, which is organized into 11 bands representing the tribal groups with traditional territory along Pit River. Achumawi, the language of nine of these bands, is spoken by fewer than 10 elderly people, most of them semi-speakers or passive speakers. There are noticeable differences among local varieties. Instructional materials were prepared for a language program in the 1980s but this program is apparently no longer in operation.

Acoma-Laguna is the Keresan language spoken by members of the Pueblos of Acoma and Laguna in northwestern New Mexico, west of Albuquerque. Acoma-Laguna is partially intelligible to speakers of most Rio Grande Keresan varieties, but is usually considered a separate language. At Acoma about half of the total population of approximately 4,000 are speakers; most are over 30. No children are acquiring the
language. A bilingual education program existed for a number of years at Sky City Elementary School, but was discontinued around 1990. Retention efforts were renewed in 1997 and a summer immersion camp was started in 1998. At Laguna there are about 2,000 speakers out of a total population of approximately 7,000; most are over 40. No children are acquiring the language. Laguna is taught as a second language at Laguna Elementary School, and the Pueblo sponsors a language preservation project and a dictionary is in preparation by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Adai was originally spoken in west-central Louisiana, between the Red and Sabine Rivers, and during the 18th century it was the language of the Spanish mission of Adayes, west of Natchitoches. After the closing of the mission in 1792 the remnants of the tribe migrated to Texas and apparently joined one or more Caddoan groups. The language is known from a single vocabulary of 275 words collected in 1806 or 1807. Although it was earlier thought to be Caddoan, Adai is now considered an isolate.

Ahtna is the language of eight communities along the Copper River and in the upper Susitna and Nenana drainages in south-central Alaska. The total Ahtna population is about 500 with perhaps 80 speakers.

Ajachemem. See Luiseño

Akimel O'odham (Pima). See O'odham

Alabama is an Eastern Muskogean language whose speakers were in northeastern Mississippi in the sixteenth century and later moved to east central Alabama, where they became politically allied with the Creek Confederacy. Most of them moved to Spanish Louisiana and Florida with the British takeover in 1763, but some remained behind and were removed to Indian Territory in the 1830s. At present Alabama is spoken by 250 to 300 residents of the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation near Livingston, in the Big Thicket area of East Texas. Alabama speakers share the reservation with a smaller number of Koasati (Coushatta) speakers, and some individuals have learned to speak or understand both of these related languages. Until recently there were also a few elderly speakers of Alabama among the 900 enrolled members of the Alabama-Quassarte Tribe, an administrative subdivision of the Muskogee Creek Nation, in Okfuskee County, Oklahoma. In Texas, Alabama is the language of choice among those 50 and above and is used at home and at the Senior Citizen Center. The youngest speakers are probably in their teens.

Aleut is the only language of the Aleut branch of the Eskimo-Aleut family. Its speakers are indigenous to the Aleutian Islands, the Pribilof Islands, and the Alaska Peninsula west of Stepovak Bay. The only major internal division occurs at Atka Island, separating Eastern from Western dialects. The traditional ethnonyms are Unangan ("Aleuts" was introduced by Russian explorers, who used the same term for the Pacific Yupik Eskimos). Of a current population of about 2,200 Aleuts, about 150-160 speak the language. In the early 19th century Russian Orthodox missionaries promoted native literacy and helped foster a remarkably bilingual society. The most notable of these missionaries, Ivan Veniaminov, developed a writing system and translated religious material into Aleut.
Alsea and Yaquina, the two closely related languages that constitute the Alsean family, were formerly spoken by adjacent tribes in a small territory on the central coast of Oregon. The remnants of both tribes were removed to the Siletz Reservation in 1875, where they were absorbed into the heterogenous population and their languages fell into disuse. Some Yaquina vocabulary was documented in the 1880s, but the language appears to have become extinct soon afterward. Alsea was more thoroughly documented, primarily by Frachtenberg in 1910-13, who published a volume of narrative texts with a lexicon. Much archival material exists, including a grammatical sketch. At least one speaker survived into the 1940s, but the language has been extinct for at least 50 years.

Alutiiq. See Pacific Yupik

Antoniano. See Salinan

Apalachee was an Eastern Muskogean language that was spoken in the late 17th century in northern Florida around present-day Tallahassee and Apalachee Bay. It is attested mainly in a letter written in 1688 to Charles II of Spain, published in 1860, the original of which is lost. This difficult document has been analyzed in detail by several scholars and a vocabulary of about 120 items recovered.

Aranama was spoken at the Franciscan mission of Espiritu Santo de Zúñiga, established in 1754 on the lower Guadalupe River in southeastern Texas. Only two words of Aranama are attested, and its relationship is unknown.

Arapaho is an Algonquian language that was spoken by three independent bands on the High Plains south of the Missouri River at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One band soon consolidated with the others, but the Staetan band remained independent for a few decades and some words of its distinct dialect, called Besawunena, were still remembered as late as the 1930s. Modern Arapaho, presumably originally only the dialect of the dominant band, became the language of the descendants of all three of these Northern Arapaho bands as well as of the Navathinehena (or Southern Arapaho), a politically allied tribe that originally spoke a distinct but closely related language. Consequently, Arapaho is the heritage language of both the Northern Arapaho (Arapahoe) of the Wind River Reservation in central Wyoming and of the Southern Arapaho members of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribe in west-central Oklahoma. Approximately 1,000 of the 5,953 Northern Arapaho tribal members are first-language speakers, most over 50; there are no first-language speakers of Arapaho in Oklahoma.

Arikara is a Northern Caddoan language, formerly spoken in earthlodge villages along the Missouri River in central and north-central South Dakota, downstream from the Mandan villages. The modern Arikara, one of the Three Affiliated Tribes, share the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota with the Mandan and Hidatsa. They now live in the Eastern Segment of the reservation, primarily in the communities of White Shield and Parshall. There are fewer than 10 fluent speakers, all elderly, in a population of approximately 2,000.
**Assiniboine (Nakon)** is an emergent language in the **Dakotan** dialect complex of Siouan, spoken (with little variation) on two reservations in Montana—Fort Belknap and Fort Peck—and on three reserves in Saskatchewan—Whitebear, Carry the Kettle, and Mosquito-Grizzly Bear’s Head. Other Indian languages are present in all of these communities. On the Saskatchewan reserves Cree is widely spoken and many of the Assiniboine speakers are fluent in it. In Montana, Assiniboines share the Fort Belknap Reservation with the Algonquian-speaking Gros Ventre (Atsinas), and the Fort Peck Reservation with speakers of Sioux. In a total Assiniboine population of approximately 3,500 there are no more than 150 first-language speakers, none under 40 and most elderly. Courses in Assiniboine are taught at Fort Belknap Community College.

**Atakapa** is the general term for the languages and dialects of the Atakapan family, formerly spoken for 200 miles along the Gulf of Mexico between Galveston Bay in Texas and Vermillion Bay in Louisiana. There were several dialects, clustering in two emergent languages, **Western Atakapa and Eastern Atakapa**. Western Atakapa was extensively documented by Gatschet in 1885, and a dictionary, grammatical sketch, and collection of texts were published. The last speakers of any variety of Atakapa died early in the 20th century. Although a few scholars think Atakapa belongs to a “Gulf” stock, most consider it an isolate.

**Atsina. See Gros Ventre**

**Atsugewi** is one of the two languages of the Palaihnihan family of northeastern California. It is the heritage language of two of the eleven bands that constitute the Pit River Tribe, the Atsugewi of Hat Creek and the Aporige (Apwaruge) of Dixie Valley. Atsugewi has been well documented in recent decades, principally by Talmy, who published a major study of its semantic structure. There have been no known speakers since 1988, and no revitalization effort is under way.

**Attikamek (Tête de Boule, Atikamekw)** is the Cree dialect spoken on the Manouane/Manuan, Obedjiwan/Obidjewan, and Weymontachingue/Wemontachie Reserves, north of Trois-Rivières in south-central Quebec. The entire native population of about 3,000 is fluent in the language, and most children are monolingual before entering school.

**Awaswas. See Costanoan**

**Babine (or Bulkley Valley/Lakes District Language)** is the Athabaskan language spoken on Bulkley River and in the Lake Babine area of central British Columbia, to the north and west of the Carrier dialect complex. Although there is a tradition of grouping Babine with Carrier (it has sometimes been referred to as “Northern Carrier”), there is a sharp linguistic and cultural boundary between the two speech communities. Babine has two clearly differentiated dialects. The western dialect (usually called **Wetsuwet’en** ) includes the Bulkley River communities (Hagwilget, Moricetown, Smithers, Houston, and Broman Lake) and the Nee-Tahi-Buhn and Skin Tayi bands at Burns Lake. It has about 100 fluent speakers, none of them children. An additional 100 or more are passive speakers, including a few children. Although Wetsuwet’en has been offered for credit by
the University of Northern British Columbia since 1996 and is taught in local schools in Moricetown and Smithers, there is little indigenous literacy. The eastern dialect ("Babine proper") includes the Lake Babine and Takla Lake communities as well as former residents from Lake Babine who have settled in Burns Lake. It has up to 200 speakers of all degrees of fluency out of a total population of 250. However, there are few speakers under 25, though some children have a passive knowledge none are active speakers.

**Bannock. See Northern Paiute**

**Barbareño** is the Chumash language once spoken at Santa Barbara mission and along the southern coast of Santa Barbara County from Point Conception to Carpinteria. The last Chumash speaker, a fluent Barbareño, died in 1965.

**Bay Miwok**, sometimes referred to as Saclan, was a language of the Eastern Miwok branch of the Utian family, and was formerly spoken in parts of Contra Costa County, California, west of Mt. Diablo. About 80 words are documented in a manuscript from the Mission period.

**Bearlake** is an emergent Athabaskan language within the North Slavey group of Slavey dialects of the Dene complex. It is spoken as a first language by about 580 people (450 of whom use it actively at home) in two communities in the Northwest Territories. Déline, formerly Fort Franklin (460 speakers out of a total population of 615), and Tulita, formerly Fort Norman (up to 120 speakers out of 450 total). At Déline, Bearlake is the lingua franca of a dialectally mixed community and many speakers are also fluent in Dogrib. At Tulita, an unknown number of the speakers of Bearlake are also fluent (or primarily fluent) in Mountain.

**Beaver** is an Athabaskan language, spoken in eastern British Columbia (in the communities of Doig, Blueberry, Hudson Hope, and Prophet River) and in northwestern Alberta (in the communities of Horse Lakes, Clear Hills, Boyer River, and Rock Lane). There are about 300 speakers. Although Beaver is partially intelligible to speakers of emergent languages in the Dene dialect complex, for political and geographical reasons it is not usually considered a Dene language.

**Bella Coola** is a Salishan language spoken by members of the Bella Coola Band in a single community (Bella Coola) on the north-central coast of British Columbia. The term **Nuxalk** (derived from the native name for Bella Coola Valley) was adopted by the Band around 1980 to designate the language and its speakers. Isolated geographically from other Salishan languages, Bella Coola has been heavily influenced by the Wakashan languages that adjoin it (Haisla, Heiltsuk-Oowekyala). There are about 20 native speakers, the youngest in their sixties.

**Beothuk** was the aboriginal language of Newfoundland. Although the English began settling the island in the early 16th century and were in contact with the original inhabitants for over 300 years, Beothuk is attested in only three vocabularies, totalling about 325 words, all collected between 1791 and 1828. These lists, furthermore, are error-ridden and difficult to assess. The last known Beothuk survivor died in 1829. It has
long been conjectured that Beothuk is distantly related to the Algonquian family, but the Beothuk data are too poor to allow a definite conclusion and the language is best considered an isolate.

**Biloxi** was a language of the Southeastern subgroup of Siouan, spoken in the 17th and early 18th century on the lower Pascagoula River and Biloxi Bay in southern Mississippi. The language was extensively documented by Dorsey in 1892-93 from a remnant of the tribe living in Rapides Parish, Louisiana. A search for speakers in 1934 was fruitless, although a short wordlist was collected from a woman who had spoken the language in her youth.

**Blackfoot** is an Algonquian language of the northern High Plains, spoken principally on the Blackfoot, Peigan, and Blood Reserves in southern Alberta, and on the Blackfeet Reservation in northwestern Montana. There are three shallowly differentiated dialects, representing old tribal subdivisions: Siksika, spoken primarily on the Blackfoot Reserve; Kainaa, or Blood, spoken on the Blood Reserve; and Piegan (spelled "Peigan" in Canada), spoken on the Peigan Reserve in Alberta and the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana. While the number of fluent speakers of Blackfoot has declined in the past generation, there are still several thousand speakers of the language, including hundreds who no longer reside on tribal land. In Canada, 5,605 first-language speakers of Blackfoot were counted in the 1996 census, out of a total combined Band membership of over 15,000. In some locations Blackfoot remains the principal means of communication for older adults. In the United States the 1990 census counted 1,062 first-language speakers in a tribal enrollment of approximately 13,000.

**Buena Vista Yokuts**, formerly spoken in at least two local varieties around Buena Vista Lake in Kern County, California, was a distinctive emergent language in the Yokuts complex. Its vocabulary is partially documented in several wordlists. There have been no speakers since the 1930s.

**Bulkley Valley/Lakes District Language.** See Babine

**Caddo** is the sole surviving member of the Southern branch of the Caddoan family, remotely related to members of the Northern branch. The modern Caddo Tribe was formerly an aggregate of numerous autonomous bands speaking distinctive dialects, and organized into at least three confederacies that were distributed over a vast area of eastern Texas, southeastern Oklahoma, southwestern Arkansas, and northern Louisiana. During the nineteenth century the remnants of those groups settled in present Caddo County, Oklahoma, primarily in the vicinity of Anadarko and Binger. Currently, the language is spoken by fewer than 25 elderly members of the tribe, and only remnants of the former dialectal diversity survive.

**Cahuilla.** See Yaqui

**Cahuilla** is a Uto-Aztecan language of the Takic subfamily, the heritage language of several small tribes in the inland area of southern California, including people at Morongo, Agua Caliente (Palm Springs), Cabazon, Augustine, Torres-Martinez, Santa
Rosa, Cahuilla, Ramona, and Los Coyotes. Originally there were probably three dialects of Cahuilla: Mountain, Desert, and Malki. There are approximately 30 fluent first-language speakers of Cahuilla in a combined reservation population of about 2,300.

Calusa was a language spoken in the 16th century in the far southwest of Florida, directly attested only in a handful of words cited in a book published in 1575. The data are too scant to allow the language to be classified.

Carolina Algonquian, also known as Pamlico, was the Algonquian language spoken in the vicinity of Pamlico Sound, North Carolina. It is known only from two short word lists, one from the Roanoke colony in the 1580s, the other published in 1709. The language became extinct in the 18th century.

Carrier is the general term for a complex of Athabaskan dialects in central British Columbia, adjoining (but clearly distinct from) Babine on the northwest and Chilcotin on the south. Carrier (locally called Dakelh) is spoken in a number of local varieties, traditionally divided into “Upper Carrier” (the communities to the north of Fort St. James, around Stuart and Trembleur Lakes) and “Lower Carrier” in communities to the south. More recent research indicates that Lower Carrier should be split into a Fraser/Nechako dialect group (Prince George, Chetlatta, Stoney Creek, Nautley, and Stellakokh) and a Blackwater dialect group (Ulketcho, Kluskus, Nazko, Red Bluff, and Anahim Lake). A Carrier lingua franca was established by Catholic missionaries (most notably Father A. G. Morice) in the 19th century, based on the dialect around Fort St. James, and a syllabic writing system introduced.

Catawba and Woccon are the two languages for which there is documentation in the Catawban branch of the Siouan-Catawba family. As a political unit the Catawba tribe was formed in the first half of the 18th century by the consolidation of many small peoples of North and South Carolina. Some of these probably spoke additional Catawban languages while others did not, and they were joined by refugee groups originally from elsewhere in the southeast. After conflict and disease decimated the tribe, some fled to the Choctaws in Oklahoma, and others joined the Cherokee. The Catawba Nation of York County, South Carolina, remains on a reservation near their old homeland, where the language continued to be spoken through the mid-20th century. The last speakers retained knowledge of two dialects, Esaw and Saraw, the last hint of the linguistic diversity that had included more than twenty dialects and languages in 1743.

Cayuga is a Northern Iroquoian language, originally spoken by a tribe of the Iroquoian Confederacy (Six Nations) situated west of Onondagas and east of the Senecas, between Cayuga and Owasco Lakes. After the American Revolution many of the Cayugas fled to Canada, where their modern descendants make up part of the population of the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River, Ontario. There are about 100 first-language speakers of Cayuga in Ontario, the youngest around 40 years of age. Other Cayugas joined the Seneca, where their language was gradually replaced by Seneca, and yet others moved westward with other Iroquois, eventually settling in northeastern Oklahoma. A dialect of Cayuga was spoken in Oklahoma as late as the 1980s but is now apparently extinct.
Cayuse was spoken in the early 19th century in the plateau region of northeastern Oregon and southeastern Washington. It is an isolate; an earlier classification that linked Molala (now considered Plateau (also called Plateau Penutian) and Cayuse in the "Wailatpuan" family has been abandoned. By 1850 the remnants of the Cayuse had settled among the Nez Perce and the Umatillas, where the Cayuse fell out of use. A few people retained some fluency in the language as late as the early 1930s, but Cayuse was totally extinct by the 1960s.

Central Alaskan Yup’ik (the apostrophe denotes a long p) is the most vigorously surviving Native language in Alaska. Of a total population of about 21,000, 10,000 are speakers, and the language is still being acquired by children in 17 of the 68 villages in which it is spoken. Five regional dialects can be distinguished, one spoken by a majority of speakers and four minority dialects.

Central Pomo, a language of the Pomoan family of Northern California, is spoken by a very few speakers on the California coast at Point Arena-Manchester and about 40 miles inland in the Hopland area.

Central Siberian Yupik is spoken in Alaska in two villages on St. Lawrence Island, Gambell and Savoonga. Almost the entire adult population (1,200 on the island, about 200 more in Nome and Anchorage) speaks the language, although a decreasing number of children acquire it as their first language. The St. Lawrence Island dialect is nearly identical to the Yupik spoken on the Chukotka Peninsula on the Russian side of the Bering Strait, largely concentrated in the villages of Novoye Chaplino, Sireniki, Provideniya, and Uel’kal’. There are about 300 Russian speakers of Central Siberian Yupik in a population of about 900, none under 30.

Central Sierra Miwok. See Eastern Miwok

Central Southern Ojibwe is an emergent language of the Ojibwayan dialect complex, closely related to Saulteaux in Manitoba and to Eastern Ojibwe and Ottawa in Michigan and Southern Ontario, a relationship which reflects the historical dispersion of Southern Ojibwe speakers across the Great Lakes and beyond during the fur trade from the 17th to the 19th century. Central Southern Ojibwe is spoken in a large number of communities in Northern Ontario, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, as well as on reservations in North Dakota and Montana. These include 25 separate tribal entities in the United States and a roughly equal number of communities in Canada. Different groups refer to themselves and their language as Ojibwe, Ojibway, Chippewa, Chippeway, and Anishinabe, but local varieties do not differ substantially.

Chalon. See Costanoan

Chaplinsky Yupik. See Central Siberian Yupik

Chemakum, one of the two languages of the Chemakuan family, was spoken in a small territory between Hood Canal and Port Townsend, on the east side of the Olympic Peninsula in northwest Washington. In the 19th century, when it was first noted, Chemakum was being replaced by Salish (Klallam and Lushootseed) and was not well
documented. Boas found three speakers in 1890, and the language was extinct by the 1940s.

**Chemehuevi.** See Ute-Chemehuevi

**Cherokee** is an Iroquoian language spoken in three divergent dialects by up to 10,000 of the more than 122,000 members of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, and about 1,000 of the approximately 10,000 members of the Eastern Band of Cherokees in North Carolina. In addition, an undetermined — but relatively high — percentage of the 7,500 members of the United Keetoowah Band of Oklahoma and Arkansas are speakers of the Oklahoma variety. A number of the speakers reported for the Cherokee Nation may in fact be Keetoowahs; the political independence of the Keetoowahs is in dispute and the membership rolls of the two tribes overlap. The Keetoowah population is largely rural and culturally conservative, and at least a few children are reported to be fluent speakers. There were three major dialects of Cherokee spoken in the 18th and early 19th century: Lower (Elati), Middle (Kituhwa), and Western or Overhill (Otalí). The Lower dialect, which had /r/ where the others have /l/, ceased to be spoken by the end of the nineteenth century. The Overhill dialect, from the upper Tennessee Valley, is the variety spoken today in northeastern Oklahoma, where most Cherokees were forced to relocate in the late 1830s. The Middle dialect is used on the Qualla Boundary reservation, North Carolina, by descendants of Cherokees who resisted removal. The third modern dialect, spoken in the Snowbird community near Robbinsville, North Carolina, combines features of the Western and Middle dialects. Cherokee is written in a traditional syllabic orthography, devised by George Guest (Sequoyah) in the 1820s and later promoted by missionaries and progressives in the Cherokee Nation both before and after removal. The Sequoyah syllabary remains a badge of Cherokee tribal identity, both in Oklahoma and North Carolina, but is no longer in active use for general literacy.

**Cheyenne** is an Algonquian language of the High Plains, spoken on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in southeastern Montana, and in scattered communities in central Oklahoma. There are a number of differences between the Northern Cheyenne and Southern Cheyenne dialects, but they are not significant. The language is widely spoken in Montana, with about 1,700 first-language speakers out of a total Cheyenne population of 4,000, including at least some children. There are an additional 400 speakers in Oklahoma, most of them middle aged or older.

**Chickasaw** is a Western Muskogean language, closely related to Choctaw, spoken by about 600 members of the Chickasaw Nation of south-central Oklahoma. The youngest speaker is in her mid 40s, though most are in their 50s or older. The language is in use among those who are middle-aged and elderly, and is not being learned by children or by second-language learners.

**Chilcotin (Tsilhqot'in)** is an Athabaskan language of south-central British Columbia, spoken in several communities along the Chilco and Chilcotin Rivers in the vicinity of Williams Lake, including Alexis Creek, Anaham, Nemaiah Valley, Stone, and Toosey, as well as at Alexandria on the Fraser River. Although Chilcotin adjoins Carrier on the north and there are several communities in which both languages are spoken, they are
quite distinct and are not mutually intelligible. Until the 1980s Chilcotin had been considered to be in a relatively healthy state, with many children acquiring it as their first language; in 1979 the language was estimated to have 1,725 speakers, a high percentage of the population. A survey conducted in 1988, however, showed that while a sizeable proportion of Chilcotin children over 10 were speakers of the language, younger children spoke only English. Current estimates of the number of speakers range between 400 and 1,200, with the youngest in their mid-teens.

Chimariko was spoken in a small territory along the Trinity River and its tributaries in the mountainous interior of northwestern California. It is an isolate, but has been grouped in the controversial Hokan stock. At the time of contact many Chimarikos were bilingual in Hupa, the adjoining Athabaskan language, and most Chimariko survivors joined the Hupas. The language was extensively documented by Harrington in the 1920s, who worked with the last fluent speakers. None of his material has been published, although some earlier, less accurate material has. The last speaker died around 1950.

Chinook. See Kiksht

Chipewyan (Dene Soun’line) is an Athabaskan language of the Dene complex spoken in a number of communities scattered across a large area in the forest and tundra of northern Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the eastern Northwest Territories. Among the principal settlements are Cold Lake and Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, and Fort Resolution and Lutselk’e, NWT. Making an accurate estimate of the number of first-language Chipewyan speakers is difficult because many are also speakers of Cree. The Government of Canada estimates a total of 1,865 speakers, the majority in Alberta and Saskatchewan. A recent survey at Cold Lake found only 200 fluent speakers out of 1,800-2,000 Band members, but the proportion is much higher in some remote communities such as Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan, where most children are reported to be more fluent in Chipewyan than in English. In the Northwest Territories, where Chipewyan has official language status, there are 370 speakers (185 of whom use the language at home) in the communities of Lutselk’e, Ft. Smith, and Ft. Resolution.

Chitimacha, the heritage language of the Chitimacha Tribe of Cheranton, St. Mary Parish, Louisiana, was originally spoken throughout the Bayou country at the delta of the Mississippi River. Although attested in several wordlists in the 19th and early 20th century, Chitimacha is primarily documented in the extensive data collected by Swadesh in 1932-34 from the last two fluent speakers, most of which remains unpublished. The last speaker died in 1940.

Chiwere is a moribund Siouan language of the Chiwere-Winnebago subgroup. Two tribal dialects can be distinguished: Otoe-Missouria (Jiwere) is the dialect of the Otoe-Missouria Tribe of the Red Rock region of north central Oklahoma. Iowa (Baxoje) is the dialect of the Iowa Tribe of Perkins, Oklahoma, and of the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska at White Cloud, Kansas. The total Chiwere population is about 1,150, but in 1999 only four passive first-language speakers of the Otoe-Missouria dialect remained, none fluent.
Chochenyo. See Costanoan

Choctaw is a Western Muskogean language, closely related to Chickasaw, with 9,000 to 11,000 speakers in various locations in Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Louisiana. The Mississippi Band of Choctaws has around 5,000 fluent speakers in seven small communities scattered throughout the state (the tribal headquarters is in Philadelphia, Mississippi). The use of Mississippi Choctaw is vigorous at all ages, and many children are monolingual in Choctaw before attending school. The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma counts at least 4,000 speakers among its more than 20,000 members, most of them middle-aged or elderly.

Chumash is the general term for the six languages of the extinct Chumashan family, formerly spoken along the south-central coast of California from Morro Bay to Malibu, as well as in the interior of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties. Most of the languages are referred to by the Franciscan mission community with which they were associated. Obispeño, spoken at San Luis Obispo mission, was quite distinct from the rest. The other languages, except for Island Chumash, were at least partially mutually intelligible and probably constituted a dialect complex with emergent languages structured around the mission communities. All of the Chumash languages were poorly documented before the 20th century, but after 1913 they became the focus of much of Harrington’s work. He extensively documented all of the languages, and continued the work until his death in 1961.

Coahuilteco was spoken in the 18th century at the Franciscan mission in San Antonio, Texas. It is primarily documented in an 88-page bilingual Spanish-Coahuilteco confessor’s manual published in Mexico in 1760, which apparently represents one dialect (Pajalate) of a language spoken widely in southern Texas and Coahuila. Although in the past Coahuilteco was often joined to several other extinct languages of Texas and Mexico in a postulated family called “Coahuiltecan,” it is now considered an isolate. There is no attestation of the language after the end of the 18th century.

Coast Miwok was a language of the Western Miwok branch of the Utian family formerly spoken in Marin County and southern Sonoma County, California, immediately to the north of San Francisco. The Coast Miwoks were brought into the Franciscan missions at San Rafael and Sonoma and their culture and language largely destroyed before 1835. Remnants of the language, mostly vocabulary, were collected from survivors between 1840 and 1964. Several local dialects were represented, with the Bodega Bay dialect (Bodega Miwok) somewhat divergent from the others (Marin Miwok). The last known person to have direct knowledge of the language died in the 1970s. A compilation has been made of the extant documentation of Marin Miwok, and a dictionary of Bodega Miwok has been published.

Coast Tsimshian. See Maritime Tsimshianic

Cochimí was a chain of dialects that were formerly spoken in the central portion of the peninsula of Baja California, from about 150 miles south of the US border to about 200 miles north of Cabo San Lucas. Cochimí is usually classified as a branch of the Cochimí-
Yuman family coordinate with the Yuman languages. Two dialect clusters or emergent languages can be identified: **Northern Cochimi**, spoken by nomadic bands in the extremely arid Central Desert and later associated with the missions at Santa Maria Cabujacamang, Santa Gertrudis, and San Francisco de Borja; and **Southern Cochimi**, spoken by more settled groups at the oases and in the highlands south of the 28th parallel and best attested from the missions of San Javier Vígé, San José Comondú, and San Ignacio Kadakaaman. Most of the scanty documentation of Cochimi comes from the Jesuit missions (1697-1767), although there are some 19th century vocabularies. As late as 1925 Harrington was able to find a person who remembered a few Northern Cochimi forms, but the language was essentially extinct by that time.

**Cochiti.** See Rio Grande Keresan

**Cocopa** is a Yuman language, which together with Diegueño forms the Diegueño-Cocopa subgroup of the family. It was originally spoken by the people of the lowermost Colorado River and its delta. It is spoken today by between 150 and 300 of the approximately 700 members of the Cocopah Tribe, who have a reservation near Yuma, Arizona, and an equal or greater number of Mexican Cuapás in communities in Baja California and Sonora. In Arizona, most Cocopas over 50 are fluent, and a number of younger people are semi-speakers, including at least some children.

**Coeur d’Alene** is a moribund Interior Salish language spoken on the Coeur d’Alene Reservation in northern Idaho. There are only four surviving first-language speakers, ranging in age from the mid-70s to 101 (the oldest member of the tribe).

**Columbian** is an Interior Salish language, originally spoken in a number of local dialects along the Columbia River in north-central Washington. Most of the approximately 25 remaining first-language speakers refer to their dialect as Nxa7amxcin and live on or near the Colville Reservation. All are elderly, ranging in age from late 60s to mid-80s with most well over 70. A few other speakers elsewhere may represent other dialects.

**Colville.** See Okanagan

**Comanche** is a Central Numic language, formerly spoken in the southern Plains from Kansas and Colorado to the Rio Grande. Before the 18th century the ancestors of the Comanches were Shoshoni speakers in what is now Wyoming, but the Comanche dialect became quite distinct after the groups separated, and they are now mutually intelligible only with difficulty. In the late 19th century the Comanches were placed on reservation lands in southwestern Oklahoma, north of Lawton, where the tribe maintains a current membership of about 8,500. No more than 100 are speakers of Comanche, all older than 50.

**Comecrudan** was a family of three languages that were formerly spoken along the lower Rio Grande River in southern Texas and northern Mexico. **Comecrudo** is documented by two short wordlists collected in 1829 and 1861 and by a substantial vocabulary collected in 1886. **Mamulique** and **Garza** are attested in one short wordlist from 1829.
Although earlier thought to be part of a postulated "Coahuiltecan" family, Comecrudan is not now considered to be related to any other family.

Comox is a Central Salish language, spoken at the northern end of the Strait of Georgia in British Columbia, both on the mainland and on the east coast of Vancouver Island. Island Comox and Mainland Comox dialects are recognized, the latter divided into three varieties associated respectively with the Homalco, Klahoose, and Sliammon Bands. The last fluent speaker of Island Comox died in the mid-1990s. Although in the early 1980s Mainland Comox was reported to be spoken fluently by about one-third of the population, in 2000 it was estimated that there were 60 or fewer active first-language speakers, most of them 55 or older, in a total population of 1,500.

Coos. See Hanis.

Copper Island Aleut is a mixed language (Aleut and Russian) originally spoken in the village of Preobrazhenskoye on Copper (Mednyy) Island, Kamchatka Province, Russia. The first settlers on Copper Island in the early 19th century were Russians, soon followed by Aleuts brought from the island of Attu. By 1969 the entire community had been relocated to the village of Nikol’skoye on Bering Island. The language is critically endangered, and only a handful of elderly speakers remain. Copper Island Aleut is a true mixed language. Its lexicon, nominal inflection and derivational morphology are derived largely from Aleut, while its verbal inflection and syntax are basically Russian.

Costanoan is one of the two branches of the Utian family, and includes eight languages that were spoken in a compact area along the coast of California from north of San Francisco to south of Monterey. All Costanoan languages are extinct, and some are very poorly documented. Three of the four languages formerly spoken around San Francisco Bay, Karkin, Ramaytush and Tamyen, have been extinct since the mid-19th century and are known only through short vocabularies. The fourth language, Chochenyo, formerly spoken along the eastern shore of the bay, was moderately well documented by Harrington early in the 20th century, although very little of his material has been published. Awaswas, spoken around Santa Cruz, and Chalon, spoken in the Salinas Valley near Mission Soledad, became extinct early along and are very scantily attested. Mutsun was the language of the area around Mission San Juan Bautista. It survived until the 1930s and is well documented, both from the Mission period and in the 20th century by Harrington. The Mission materials have been published, and there is an unpublished grammar and dictionary based on Harrington’s materials. Rumsen (Rumsien) was the language of the Monterey area. It is moderately well documented, mostly by Harrington, and a full dictionary has been prepared based on all extant Rumsen materials.

Cotoname was formerly spoken along the lower Rio Grande River in southern Texas and northern Mexico, adjacent to the Comecrudan languages. It is attested by two short vocabularies, collected in 1829 and 1886. Although earlier thought to be part of a "Coahuiltecan" stock, Cotoname is now considered to be an isolate.

Cowlitz, one of the four languages of the Tsamosan division of the Salishan family, was formerly spoken along the Cowlitz River in southwestern Washington. Cowlitz
descendants live in scattered locations in and around their former territory. The language is very poorly documented, and no speakers are known to remain.

**Cree-Montagnais** is a chain of Algonquian languages extending across Canada from the Rockies to the coast of Labrador. A major distinction is usually drawn between the Cree languages in the west (**Plains Cree, Woods Cree, Western Swampy Cree, Eastern Swampy Cree, Moose Cree, and Attikamek**) and the Montagnais-Naskapi languages of northern Quebec and Labrador (**East Cree, Western Montagnais, Central Montagnais, Eastern Montagnais, and Eastern Naskapi**). There is some degree of mutual intelligibility across the entire chain of languages. Most dialects are thriving, and in some communities a few older speakers are monolingual. In the 1996 Canadian census 102,215 individuals reported that a Cree-Montagnais dialect was their mother tongue, and about half of these (49,850) said that they used it as their home language. The language is strongest in the more northerly, isolated communities, many of which are not accessible by road.

**Creek (or Muskogee)** is an Eastern Muskogean language spoken by 4,000 to 6,000 residents of the the former territory of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation in east-central Oklahoma, and by fewer than 200 members of Seminole Tribe of Florida, most of them living on the Brighton Reservation. The dialect of Creek spoken by the Florida Seminoles is distinct. There are also some differences between the dialects of the tribal groups in Oklahoma. As of 2001, the youngest speaker in Oklahoma was 18, the youngest in Florida 24. Creek is routinely used among those in their 60s and above, and is also widely used at church services, for hymns, and for ceremonial speeches.

**Crow**, a Siouan language of the Missouri River subgroup, is spoken on the Crow Reservation in southeastern Montana and in adjacent off-reservation communities. Principal towns on the reservation are Crow Agency, Lodge Grass, Pryor, Wyola and St. Xavier, and the total tribal enrollment is about 8,500. There are 3,000-4,000 first language speakers, mostly over the age of thirty. There are a few children, teenagers and young adults who are Crow speakers, and a larger number who are semi-speakers and/or understand the language.

**Cupeño**, a language of the Cupan division of the Takic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan, was originally spoken near Warner's Hot Springs, in Riverside County, California, but in 1902 the Cupeños were resettled with speakers of Luiseno on the rancheria at Pala. The last fluent speaker of Cupeño died in 1987 at the age of 94, although several people still remember a few words and phrases and there is one elderly semi-speaker.

**Dakelh.** See Carrier

**Dakota.** See Sioux

**Dakotan** is a Siouan dialect complex, within which three relatively well defined dialect areas may be distinguished: **Stoney**, currently spoken in southwestern Alberta; **Assinibone**, in southern Saskatchewan and northern Montana; and **Sioux**, spoken widely in North and South Dakota, Minnesota, and in southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan.
Intelligibility between these dialect areas is low, although speakers can communicate after a while with some difficulty, and they are perhaps best considered emergent languages. Sioux is further divided into three major dialects, Santee-Sisseton (Dakota), Yankton-Yanktonai, and Teton (Lakota), between which there is a fair degree of mutual intelligibility.

**Delaware.** See Munsee, Unami

**Dene,** in older Canadian usage synonymous with “Athabaskan”, is now used as the name of a complex of Athabaskan dialects and emergent languages in the Mackenzie River drainage of northwestern Canada, primarily in the Northwest Territories but also extending into parts of northern British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Three major Dene languages are distinguished, **Slavey, Dogrib,** and **Chipewyan.** Slavey can be further divided into **Bearlake and Hare** (together constituting North Slavey), **Mountain,** and **Slave or South Slavey.** There is a moderate degree of mutual intelligibility across the Dene complex, but this extends as well to some adjacent Athabaskan languages (particularly Beaver, Sekani, and Kaska) that are not usually called Dene. The group is defined as much on a social and political basis (the Athabaskan languages of the Northwest Territories) as on a linguistic basis.

**Diegueno** is the general term for a complex of Yuman dialects spoken in southern California and northern Baja California. Three emergent languages are recognized within this complex: **Ipai,** or Northern Diegueno, is spoken by a small number of elderly people in four communities in northwestern San Diego County, including Mesa Grande, Santa Ysabel, San Pasqual, and Barona. **Kumeyaay** is spoken in several locations in central and southern San Diego County, the most important of these being Campo. There are between 40 and 50 fluent speakers. (In recent years the entire Diegueno dialect complex has also been referred to as Kumeyaay, creating some confusion.) **Tipai** is spoken by approximately 100 people in several communities in northern Baja California, as far south as Ensenada and Santa Catarina, and also in California by the Jamul community near San Diego. The distinction between Kumeyaay and Tipai is perhaps more political and social than it is linguistic, and is greatly influenced by the US-Mexican border.

**Ditidaht.** See Nitinaht

**Dogrib** is an Athabaskan language of the Dene complex spoken in the Northwest Territories between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake. It is the first language of 2,470 people (of whom about 1,350 regularly use it in the home), primarily in five small communities: Detah (105 speakers out of a total population of 190), Rae Lakes (210 out of 260), Rae-Edzo (1,010 out of 1,655), Snare Lake (100 out of 135), and Wha Ti (325 out of 415). There are also about 220 speakers in the city of Yellowknife, as well as an unknown number of speakers in the dialectally mixed community of Délina (Fort Franklin), where Bearlake is the lingua franca.

**East Cape Yupik** (or **Naukan Yupik**) is a severely endangered Western Eskimo language of Siberia, linguistically the link between Central Alaskan Yupik and Central Siberian Yupik. Originally spoken in the village of Naukan on the easternmost point of
East Cape (Cape Dezhnev), Chukchi Autonomous District, Russia, facing the Diomede Islands in Alaska, the community was forcibly relocated in 1958 to the nearby villages of Lorino and Lavrentiya. The number of speakers may still be close to 200, but a shift to Russian is proceeding rapidly.

**East Cree** is the Montagnais-Naskapi dialect spoken in northwestern Quebec, along the east coast of James and Hudson Bay and inland. There is a distinction between northern and southern subdialects, the latter with coastal and inland varieties. The northern dialect is spoken in Whapamagostui (Great Whale River), Chisasibi (Fort George), and Wemindji (Paint Hills); southern dialects are spoken in Nemaska (Nemiscau), Waskaganish (Rupert House), Eastmain, Waswanipi, Ouje-bougaramau and Mistissini. Of a population of about 12,000, all but a small number are speakers.

**Eastern Abenaki** is an extinct Eastern Algonquian language that was spoken in southern and central Maine. The only surviving Eastern Abenaki group is the Penobscot community at Old Town, on Indian Island north of Bangor, Maine, where the last fluent speaker of the Penobscot dialect died in 1993. A dialect originally spoken further west survived into the twentieth century at Bécancourt, Quebec. The language was extensively documented by French Jesuit missionaries in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and by fieldwork in the twentieth century by Frank T. siebert, Jr. The most extensive published sources are the dictionaries compiled by the Jesuits Sébastien Rèle and Joseph Aubery.

**Eastern Canadian Inuktitut.** See Inuktitut

**Eastern Eskimo.** See Inuit

**Eastern Miwok,** one of the two branches of the Miwok languages of north-central California, consists of five languages: **Bay Miwok** and **Plains Miwok** are extinct. East and south of the Plains Miwok, in the Sierra Nevada mountains as far south as Yosemite Valley, was the territory of the Sierra Miwoks. Their descendents (who refer to themselves as “Mewuk”) now live in a scattering of small communities, the largest at the Jackson and Tuolumne Rancherias. Of the three emergent languages that are usually distinguished in the Sierra Miwok dialect complex, the most visible today is **Northern Sierra Miwok,** spoken at the Jackson Rancheria near Westpoint. It is estimated that there are between 6 and 12 speakers, only one of whom has active conversational fluency. Both of the other two Sierra Miwok languages, **Central Sierra Miwok,** and **Southern Sierra Miwok** have a few semi-speakers or passive speakers.

**Eastern Naskapi** is a Montagnais-Naskapi dialect or emergent language that is spoken by the Mushuau Innu community of Labrador, which was relocated from Utshimassits (Davis Inlet) to Natuashish (Sango Bay) in 2002. It is the first language of the more than 500 band members. It is quite distinct from the Eastern Montagnais spoken at Sheshatshiu, Labrador, having more features in common with Western Naskapi and Northern East Cree, but like Montagnais it is often referred to as Innu-aimun.
**Eastern Ojibwe** is an Algonquian language spoken in southern Ontario and Quebec in two major dialect clusters. The more westerly variety, historically called Mississauga in Canada, is spoken east of Georgian Bay, where the largest numbers of speakers are today on Parry Island and at Curve Lake, near Peterborough. It was formerly spoken in many other places both in Ontario west of Georgian Bay and in southern Michigan (where it was called Chippewa), areas in which it was generally replaced by Ottawa through language shift in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Michigan varieties were not sharply demarcated from Central Southern Ojibwe. The more easterly variety of Eastern Ojibwa is the dialect called Algonquin at Golden Lake, Ontario, and Maniwaki, Quebec. This was historically the Nipissing dialect from north of Lake Huron, which emerged as the dominant form of speech at Oka and other missions near Montreal. This Southern Algonquin dialect must be distinguished from Northern Algonquin, which is very different.

**Eastern Pomo**, a language of the Pomoan family of Northern California, is centered on the west side of Clear Lake. The language appears to have become extinct recently.

**Eastern Swampy Cree** (Algonquian language of the Cree-Montagnais branch) is spoken in Ontario on the west coast of Hudson Bay and James Bay at Fort Albany, Attawapiskat, and Peawanuck (where the Weenusk band moved after being flooded out of their village at Winisk in 1986). Most band members are speakers.

**Eel River Athabaskan** was a complex of closely related local dialects of California Athabaskan that were formerly spoken along the Eel River and its major tributaries in Humboldt and Mendocino Counties. At least four dialect clusters can be distinguished: Sinkyone, Nongatl, Lassik, and Wailaki. Semi-fluent speakers of one or more Eel River Athabaskan varieties survived into the 1970s.

**Esselen** was the language spoken in the late 18th century in the upper Carmel Valley and around Big Sur, on the central California coast south of Monterey. It is an isolate usually considered to belong to the controversial Hokan stock. The small population was divided among three missions and the language did not survive long into the 19th century. Esselen is directly documented in three vocabularies collected between 1786 and 1832, as well as by a catechism and a short translation. Additional material was obtained between 1830 and 1930 from Costanoan speakers who remembered something of Esselen. The total extant corpus is about 300 words.

**Etchemin** was an Algonquian language spoken along the coast of Maine, extinct since the 17th century. Nothing is known of it for certain besides a list of numbers, which indicate it was distinct from adjoining Algonquian languages.

**Eyak**, the only member of its branch of the Na-Dene family, was spoken in the 19th century along the south-central Alaska coast from Yakutat to the Copper River. Today, about 50 of the approximately 500 members of the Eyak Village corporation recognize Eyak or part-Eyak ancestry (most of the others are Chugach). As of 2001 there was only one remaining speaker, born in 1920 and living in Anchorage.
Flathead. See Spokane-Kalispel

Gabrielino (Tongva), a language of the Serrano-Gabrielino division of the Takic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan, was the language of the community at San Gabriel mission. The Gabrielino were originally a large and powerful tribe whose territory included most of Los Angeles and Orange County. Several local dialects were distinguished including Gabrielino (proper), spoken in the Los Angeles basin; Fernandeño, spoken in San Fernando Valley; and the variety spoken on Santa Catalina Island. The Gabrielino were nearly destroyed by missionization, but a few speakers survived into the 20th century and the language was extensively documented, primarily by Harrington between 1914 and 1933.

Galice-Applegate was a language of the Oregon Athabaskan subgroup formerly spoken along Galice Creek and Applegate River, tributaries of the Rogue River in southwestern Oregon. There were at least two distinct dialects, but only the Galice Creek dialect is well documented. After the Rogue River War of 1855-56 the Galice-Applegate people were forcibly resettled in northern Oregon on the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations, where the language fell into disuse.

Garza. See Comecrudan

Gitksan. See Nass-Gitksan

Gosiute. See Shoshoni

Greenlandic is the English name for the Inuit (Eastern Eskimo) dialects of Greenland (the Inuit term is Kalaallisut). Of the 79 Inuit communities in Greenland, all but 17 are on the west coast, including the largest, Nuuk (Godthåb), which has an Inuit population of 8,500. There is a significant dialect difference between the west coast settlements and those on the east coast, leading to a distinction between West Greenlandic and East Greenlandic. The five Thule communities in the far northwest of the island constitute a third dialect cluster, sometimes called Polar Eskimo. This dialect is closer to the speech of Baffin Island than to West or East Greenlandic, and is usually considered to be a variety of Eastern Canadian Inuktitut that has been influenced by standard Greenlandic. Greenland, which became an autonomous province associated with the Danish Commonwealth in 1979, has a population of about 56,000, approximately 10,000 of whom are Danes. The remaining 46,000 are Inuit, nearly all of them speakers of Greenlandic. Another 7,000 speakers of Greenlandic live in Denmark, most of them in Copenhagen.

Gros Ventre (Atsina), a moribund Algonquian language of the High Plains, is closely enough related to Arapaho so that speakers of the two languages could to some extent understand each other. It is the heritage language of approximately 1,000 Gros Ventre who live on the Fort Belknap Reservation in north-central Montana, which they share with the Siouan Assiniboine. The Gros Ventre allied with the Blackfoot in the 18th century, by which time early vocabularies show that their language was already differentiated from Arapaho. (They are occasionally confused with the completely
unrelated Hidatsa, whom the French also called Gros Ventre, apparently because the symbols for the two tribes in Plains Indian Sign Language are quite similar.) Fewer than 10 elderly first-language speakers remain, none of them fully fluent; the last traditional speaker died in 1981.

**Guaicura (Waikuri)**, the sole confirmed member of the postulated Waikurian family in southern Baja California was spoken in the territory of Mission San Luis Gonzaga in the interior between Loreto and La Paz and south across the Magdalena Plain to the southwestern coast. It is documented in the 18th century report of a Jesuit who had served in the mission at San Luis Gonzaga; he supplies only the Lord’s Prayer, the Twelve Articles of the Creed, a verb paradigm, and a few additional words.

**Guaicurian (Waikurian)** is a presumed family of languages that were formerly spoken in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Baja California. Only one of the languages, **Guaicura (Waikuri)**, is attested in any appreciable way. Several other languages or dialects were also spoken in lower Baja California, but there is next to no attestation of these. Nevertheless, based on non-linguistic information and observations of similarities and differences in colonial sources, it is sometimes hypothesized that in addition to Guaicura, the Guaicurian family may also had two other languages, **Pericú** and **Monqui (Monqui-Didiu)**, spoken in a small region around Loreto. Some have also held that **Uchiti (Huchiti)**, another essentially unattested language, was another Guaicurian language, though it is seen by others to be a variant of Guacura itself.

**Gwich’in (Kutchin)** is an Athabaskan language spoken in northeastern Alaska in the villages of Arctic Village, Venetie, Fort Yukon, Chalkyitsik, Circle, and Birch Creek, as well as in Aklavik, Inuvik, Tsiigehtchic (formerly Arctic Red River) and Fort McPherson in the Northwest Territories, and in Old Crow in the Yukon Territory. A distinction is made between Western (Alaskan) and Eastern (Canadian) dialects, with the latter often called **Loucheux**. The Gwich’in population of Alaska is about 1,100, and of that number about 300 are speakers of the language; the Canadian population is about 1,900, with perhaps as many as 500 speakers.

**Haida**, an isolate (sometimes grouped with Na-Dene), is the aboriginal language of the isolated Queen Charlotte Islands (known locally as **Haida Gwaii**), which lie about 75 miles off the coast of British Columbia, immediately south of Alaska. There are two Haida villages on the Queen Charlottes, each with a distinct dialect: Masset (pop. 750) and Skidegate (pop. 500). Between 50 and 100 first-language speakers, none younger than 50, are divided between the two communities; only those over 70 are active speakers. About 600 additional Haida people live in Alaska (representing an 18th century migration from Masset), in the villages of Hydaburg, Kasaan, and Craig on the southern half of Prince of Wales Island, as well as in the city of Ketchikan. Only about 15 Alaskan Haidas, all very elderly, are active speakers of the language.

**Haisla** is the northernmost Northern Wakashan language, spoken in northwestern British Columbia immediately adjacent to Coast Tsimshianic. The principal Haisla community is Kitamaat, where out of a total population of 600 there are estimated to be between 50 and 150 fluent speakers, none under the age of 25.
Halkomelem is a Central Salish language, spoken in southwestern British Columbia in a number of small communities along the lower Fraser River and on the east coast of Vancouver Island. The combined population of all Halkomelem groups is 6,700, of whom about 120 speak the language with some degree of fluency, and another 100 are passive speakers. Three dialects are recognized: (1) Island Halkomelem, on the southeast coast of Vancouver Island, is spoken in local varieties at Malahat, Cowichan, Halalt, Chemainus, Penelakut, Nanaimo, and Nanoose. There are up to 100 active speakers. (2) Downriver Halkomelem, at the mouth of the Fraser River in and around the city of Vancouver, has six elderly first-language speakers. (3) Upriver Halkomelem (Sto:lo), in the Fraser River valley, has between 5 and 10 fluent speakers, the youngest over 70.

Han (Hän) is a moribund Athabaskan language spoken in the village of Eagle, Alaska, and in Dawson City, Yukon Territory. Of the total Alaskan Han population of about 50 people, perhaps 12 speak the language. In Dawson City only a handful of fluent speakers remain. Han is closely related to Gwich’ín, and some older speakers make use of Archdeacon McDonald’s Tukudh (Eastern Gwich’in) Bible (1886) and prayer book.

Hanis and Miluk were the two languages of the Coosan family, formerly spoken in a small territory along the south-central coast of Oregon around Coos Bay. Both languages are often referred to as “Coos”, although they were quite distinct. Although some Hanis and Miluk people were removed to reservations between 1855 and 1875, most remained in their traditional territory, where more than 150 descendants still reside. The Confrerated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw was recognized in 1984, with tribal headquarters at Coos Bay. Extensive documentation of both Hanis and Miluk exists, from several linguists, including a number of sound recordings made by Jacobs in the 1930s. A number of narrative texts have been published in both languages, and a grammatical sketch of Hanis. The last fluent speaker of Miluk died in 1939, and the last speaker of Hanis in 1972.

Hano. See Tewa

Hare is an emergent Athabaskan language within the North Slavey group of Slavey dialects of the Dene complex. It is spoken as a first language by about 70 people (30 of whom use it actively at home) in two communities in the Northwest Territories, Colville Lake (30 speakers out of a total population of 90), and Fort Good Hope (45 speakers out of 645 total).

Havasupai. See Upland Yuman

Heiltsuk-Oowekyala is a Northern Wakashan language, spoken on the coast of British Columbia south of Haisla and Coast Tsimshianic and north of Kwakiutl. It has two deeply differentiated dialects, or emergent languages, Heiltsuk (also known as Bella Bella) and Oowekyala. Heiltsuk is principally spoken in two communities, Bella Bella (population 1,200) and Kitasoo (or Klemtu, population 370), the latter on former Southern Tsimshian territory. There are between 100 and 200 fluent speakers, none under the age of 35.
Hidatsa is a Siouan language of the Missouri River subgroup, originally spoken in a group of villages along the Missouri River in central North Dakota upstream from the Mandan villages. The modern Hidatsas (sometimes called Gros Ventres) are one of the Three Affiliated Tribes and share the Fort Berthold Reservation of North Dakota with the Mandans and the Arikaras. Their principal reservation settlement is Mandaree. There are about 200 fluent speakers, the youngest in their late 20s.

Hitchiti. See Mikasuki

Holikachuk is a moribund Athabaskan language of west-central Alaska, formerly spoken by a group that lived at Holikachuk on the Innoko River, but which is now located at Grayling on the lower Yukon River. Holikachuk is intermediate between Ingalik and Koyukon, and was only identified as a separate language in the 1970s. The total population is about 200, of whom 6 or 7 speak the language.

Hopi is the traditional language of Hopi Pueblo and constitutes an independent branch of the Uto-Aztecan family. At least 5,000 of the approximately 7,350 members of the tribe are fluent speakers, including many children. Four dialects are usually distinguished: (1) the First Mesa villages of Walpi and Sichomovi (the language of a third First Mesa village, Hano, is Tewa) and the town of Polacca; (2) the Second Mesa village of Shipaulovi; (3) the Second Mesa village of Mishongnovi (also called Toreva); and (4) the Third Mesa villages of Oraibi, Hotevilla, Bacabi, and New Oraibi, as well as the settlement of Moencopi 40 miles to the west.

Hualapai. See Upland Yuman

Huchiti. See Uchiti

Hupa, the only surviving language of the California Athabaskan subgroup, is spoken on the Hoopa Valley Reservation in northwest California. There are fewer than 12 fluent first-language speakers, all elderly.

Huron-Wyandot (Wendat) was a Northern Iroquoian language that was originally spoken in the Georgian Bay area of Ontario, near Lake Huron. A variety of this language was the lingua franca of the Huron Confederacy in the 17th century and was extensively documented by Jesuit missionaries. After the Huron Confederacy was destroyed by the Iroquois around 1650 in a war over control of the fur trade, some Hurons settled at Lorette, near Quebec City, where their French-speaking descendants still live, while others moved to Ohio. From there one group moved to Amherstburg, south of Windsor, Ontario, and the rest were removed to Kansas and later Oklahoma. They are now organized as the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, with about 3,600 members. The Oklahoma group was the last to retain its language, but the language was gone by around 1980. Huron was documented by French missionaries working in Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Wyandot by Marius Barbeau in Ontario and Oklahoma in the early twentieth century.
Island Chumash (Isleño) was the Chumash language originally spoken on three islands in the Santa Barbara Channel—San Miguel, Santa Rosa, and Santa Cruz—but with the establishment of the Spanish missions, the Island communities were relocated on the mainland, primarily at San Buenaventura. It was quite distinct from the Chumash languages of the adjacent mainland, Barbareño and Ventureño.

Ineseño was the Chumash language spoken at Santa Ynez mission and throughout the upper valley of the Santa Ynez River.

Ingalik (Deg Xinag) is an Athabaskan language of west-central Alaska, spoken at Shageluk and Anvik and by the Athabaskans in the multilingual community at Holy Cross on the lower Yukon River. Of a total population of about 275, about 40 speak the language.

Innu-aimun is a socio-political designation for the Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of Labrador, specifically the Eastern Naskapi spoken at Natuashish and the Montagnais spoken at Sheshatshiu. The term is also sometimes used to refer to all Montagnais dialects.

Inuit (Eastern Eskimo) consists of a chain of dialects spoken in at least 165 settlements from Norton Sound in Northwestern Alaska to the East Coast of Greenland. The dialects at the opposite ends of this chain are not mutually intelligible, but the location of “language” boundaries is largely arbitrary. Mainly for political and cultural reasons three languages are distinguished, Inupiaq in Alaska, Inuktitut in Canada, and Greenlandic in Greenland. Each of these is subdivided into dialect clusters or emergent languages.

Inuktitut is the collective name for the dialects of Inuit (Eastern Eskimo) spoken on the northern coast of Canada, from the Mackenzie Delta in the west to Labrador in the east. (It is also sometimes used for Eastern Eskimo dialects in general, synonymous with Inuit.) The dialects of Western Canadian Inuktitut are usually distinguished from Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, the boundary falling between the Central Arctic coast and Baffin Island, but there is no sharp discontinuity. All of the Inuktitut speakers of the newly formed territory of Nunavut, which encompasses dialects belonging to both the Western and Eastern divisions, can understand one another’s speech. The Inuktitut population in Canada is about 31,000, a high proportion being speakers. In the 1996 Canadian census 26,960 people indicated Inuktitut was their first language, 18,495 of them in the Northwest Territories (and Nunavut) and 7,685 in Québec.

Inupiaq is the collective term for the dialects of Western Eskimo (q.v.) spoken in Alaska and immediately adjacent parts of Northern Canada. There are two major dialect groups, Seward Peninsula Inupiaq (Qawiaraq) and North Alaskan Inupiaq. Seward Peninsula Inupiaq includes the local dialects of the southern Seward Peninsula and Norton Sound area, and of the villages surrounding Bering Strait and on King and Diomede Islands. North Alaskan Inupiaq includes the the Malimiut dialect around Kotzebue Sound and the North Slope dialect spoken along the Arctic Coast as far east as the Mackenzie Delta. The Seward Peninsula and North Alaskan dialect groups differ significantly from each other and a fair amount of experience is required for a speaker of one to understand a speaker of the other. There are about 13,500 Inupiat (the plural form,
referring to the people collectively) in Alaska, of whom about 3,000, mostly over age 40, speak the language.

**Iowa (Baxoje).** See Chiwere

**Ipai.** See Diegueño

**Jemez,** sometimes known as Towa, is the Kiowa-Tanoan language of the Pueblo of Jemez (pronounced Hay-mis), 45 miles northwest of Albuquerque. The residents of the former Pueblo of Pecos, east of Santa Fe, moved to Jemez early in the 19th century and some Pecos descendents retain separate traditions and—to an undocumented extent—a distinctive variety of Towa. Nearly the entire Jemez population of about 3,000 speaks the language, including most children.

**Jicarilla** is an emergent language within the Southern Athabaskan dialect complex, spoken on the Jicarilla Reservation in northeastern New Mexico. There are about 300 first-language speakers and an equal or greater number of semi-speakers out of a total Jicarilla tribal population of 3,100.

**Juaneño.** See Luiseno

**Kalapuya** is the general term for the three languages of the Kalapuyan family, Tualatin-Yamhill, Central Kalapuyan (or Santiam), and Yoncalla, formerly spoken throughout most of the Willamette River valley of western Oregon. All three languages had well-differentiated local dialects. The Kalapuya people suffered a catastrophic demographic decline after contact with whites, and in 1856 the few survivors were settled on the Grand Ronde Reservation, where most abandoned their native language for other Indian languages or Chinook Jargon. The best documented varieties of Kalapuya are the Tualatin dialect of Tualatin-Yamhill and a variety of Santiam, but Jacobs was able to collect a substantial amount of data for all three languages, much of it from elderly speakers in the 1920s and 1930s. This documentation remains largely unpublished except for an extensive collection of narrative texts (without interlinear glossing). Most Kalapuyan varieties were extinct before 1940, but a speaker of Santiam lived into the 1950s.

**Kansa** was a language of the Dhegiha subgroup of Siouan closely related to Osage. Kansa was spoken before the mid-19th century by the Kansa or Kaw tribe in northeastern Kansas, which was removed in 1873 to a small reservation in Oklahoma. Dissolved in 1902, the Kaw Nation was reconstituted in 1959 with a headquarters at Kaw City, Oklahoma, and now has a membership of about 1,700. There have been no fluent speakers of the language since the early 1980s, but about a dozen people claim some knowledge of it.

**Karankawa** was spoken until the mid-19th century along the south Texas coast from Galveston to Corpus Christi. It is attested in several vocabularies, collected between 1698 and 1888, one of the most extensive from a white woman in Massachusetts who had spent her childhood near the last Karankawa-speaking community. Although earlier
thought to be part of a “Coahuiltecan” family Karankawa is now considered to be an isolate.

**Karkin.** See Costanoan

**Karuk,** an isolate, often associated with the controversial Hokan stock, is the heritage language of the Karuk Tribe of the Klamath River in northwestern California. There are fewer than a dozen fluent first-language speakers, and a larger number of semi-speakers and passive speakers.

**Kashaya** or **Southwestern Pomo** is a language of the Pomoan family, spoken by several dozen people along the California coast near the mouth of the Russian River.

**Kaska** is an Athabaskan language spoken in the southeastern Yukon at Ross River, Watson Lake and Upper Liard, and in northern British Columbia at Lower Post, Fireside, Good Hope Lake, Dease Lake and Muncho Lake. In all these communities there is perhaps a total of 250 fluent speakers and another 150 passive speakers. Kaska territory adjoins that of **Tahltan** (as well as the extinct Tagish) on the southwest and **Sekani** on the southeast, and a high degree of mutual intelligibility exists between these languages and the adjoining dialects of Kaska.

**Kathlamet** was the Chinookan language formerly spoken along the lower Columbia River from the vicinity of Astoria upstream about 50 miles. It was documented by Boas in the 1890s, primarily in narrative texts. The language has been extinct since shortly after the beginning of the 20th century.

**Kato** (Cahto) was the California Athabaskan language that was formerly spoken in Cahto Valley, near Laytonville. It was extensively documented around 1905-10 by P.E. Goddard, who published a grammatical sketch and a volume of narrative texts. The last fluent speaker died in the 1960s, but a few individuals remain who have fragmentary memories of the language.

**Kaw.** See Kansa

**Kawaiisu** is the Southern Numic language of a small unrecognized tribe of the Tehachapi region between the Mohave Desert and the San Joaquin Valley in south-central California. Fewer than 10 speakers were reported in 1994, but this is a significant proportion of the total population of this culturally conservative group, which numbers less than 100.

**Keweevkapaya (Yavapai).** See Upland Yuman

**Kickapoo** is an Algonquian language that is partly mutually intelligible with Sauk-Fox but has been spoken since the earliest contact in the seventeenth century by a separate political group. The Kickapoos are first known to have been in southeastern Michigan and northwestern Ohio, and after the mid-seventeenth century they were in Wisconsin and later Indiana. They are now on reservations in Kansas and the Mexican state of
Coahuila, and in communities near McLoud, Oklahoma, and Eagle Pass, Texas. There are estimated to be around 1,100 first-language speakers of Kickapoo, about 700 of them in Mexico, 400 in Oklahoma, and only a few in Kansas.

Kiksht is the only surviving language of the Chinookan family, originally spoken along the Columbia River from its mouth upriver to the vicinity of The Dalles. Kiksht (or Upper Chinook) was the language spoken upstream from Portland and originally included a string of dialects, of which only the easternmost, Wasco-Wishram, is still spoken. The Wasco variety is represented by five elderly speakers on the Warm Springs Reservation in north-central Oregon. The Wishram variety is spoken by two elders on the Yakama Reservation in eastern Washington.

Kiliwa is a Yuman language, forming its own distinct subgroup. Originally spoken on the Baja California peninsula south of Paipai, the fewer than 10 surviving speakers of Kiliwa now share the Santa Catarina community with speakers of Paipai.

Kings River. See Yokuts

Kiowa Apache (Plains Apache) is a nearly extinct Southern Athabaskan language, distinctly different from the rest of the Southern Athabaskan dialect complex. It is spoken in Caddo County, western Oklahoma, by the descendents of an Apache band that joined the Kiowas in the 18th century. Only three very elderly first-language speakers remain, together with a few semi-speakers, but there are no second language speakers.

Kiowa is the only Kiowa-Tanoan language not spoken in a Pueblo community. It is the traditional language of the Kiowas, a Plains tribe now settled in southwestern Oklahoma, mainly in Caddo, Kiowa, and Comanche counties. There is no reservation, but the Kiowa Tribe has its headquarters in Carnegie, Oklahoma. There are fewer than 400 speakers, most over the age of 50, out of a population of about 6,000.

Kitanemuk was a language of the Serrano-Kitanemuk division of the Takic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan, closely related to Serrano. It was formerly spoken in the Tehachapi Mountains and Antelope Valley in the interior of southern California, immediately south of the San Joaquin Valley. The last speakers probably died in the 1940s.

Kitsai was the Northern Caddoan language of a tribe that formerly lived south of the Wichitas in east Texas, but which joined the Wichitas in Oklahoma in 1858. Kitsai continued to be spoken alongside Wichita for two or three generations, and then died out. The language was moderately well documented in 1929-30 from the last speaker, who died in 1940.

Klallam (Clallam) is the Central Salish language of the north shore of the Olympic Peninsula in the State of Washington, closely related to Northern Straits Salish (the two languages are sometimes grouped together as “Straits Salish”). The principal Klallam communities are at three small reservations, Port Gamble, Lower Elwha, and Jamestown. There is also a Klallam community on the Becher Bay Reserve on Vancouver Island. There are very few first-language speakers remaining (two of them at Becher Bay), none
fully fluent. The language is used in ceremonies and for tribal identity and there is considerable interest in revival.

**Klamath-Modoc** is the Plateau (Plateau Penutian) language originally spoken, in shallowly differentiated dialects, by both the Klamaths of south-central Oregon and the Modocs of the Tule Lake area in adjacent northeastern California. After the Modoc War of 1872-1873 about 150 Modocs were relocated in Oklahoma, the remainder merging into the Klamath community. The Modoc dialect is extinct in Oklahoma. The Klamath dialect has continued to be spoken in and around the former reservation community of Chiloquin, Oregon. In 2001 only one very elderly first-language speaker survived.

**Koasati (Coushatta)** is an Eastern Muskogean language, closely related to Alabama. It was spoken in the sixteenth century in the upper Tennessee Valley, and now is spoken by 300 to 400 members of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (living near Elton, in Allen Parish), and by up to 100 residents of the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation near Livingston, Texas, where Alabama is the dominant language; some speakers of Alabama have also learned to speak Koasati. There are speakers of all ages in the Louisiana community, which is culturally quite conservative. Until recently there were also a few elderly speakers of Koasati among the 900 enrolled members of the Alabama-Quassarte Tribe.

**Kolchan.** See Upper Kuskokwim

**Konkow** is a Maiduan language, spoken in the Feather River and Oroville area of Butte and Yuba County, California, at the eastern edge of the Sacramento Valley. The principal modern Konkow community is at the Mooretown Rancheria. There are a few elderly speakers.

**Konomihu** was a Shastan language, once spoken along the Salmon River, centering in the area around Forks of Salmon. It has been extinct for several generations and is very poorly attested.

**Koyukon** is the Athabaskan language of 11 villages along the Koyukuk and middle Yukon rivers of central Alaska, the most widespread Athabaskan language in the state. It is spoken in three dialects, Upper, Central, and Lower. About 300 speak the language, out of a total population of about 2,300. Koyukon was painstakingly documented by the Jesuit missionary Jules Jette in the early 20th century.

**Kumeyaay.** See Diegueño

**Kutchin.** See Gwich’in

**Kutenai (Kootenai, Ktunaxa)**, an isolate, is the heritage language of three politically independent groups in Montana, Idaho, and British Columbia (the name Ktunaxa is now official in Canada). The Montana Kootenai are part of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, and are concentrated at the northern end of the Flathead Reservation, around Elmo. The Kootenai Tribe of Idaho has a reservation near Bonners Ferry, in the
Idaho panhandle. The communities in British Columbia are represented by the Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council and include the Lower Kootenay Band, with a reserve near Creston; the Tobacco Plains Band with a reserve at Grasmere; the St. Mary’s Band with a reserve near Cranbrook; and the Columbia Lake Band with a reserve at Windermere. Most elders of the neighboring Shuswap Band, the Kinbaskets, near Invermere, have a working knowledge of the Kutenai language. The language is spoken by elders in all the communities, and there were monolingual speakers at Tobacco Plains and Bonners Ferry as recently as the 1980s. With a few exceptions, the youngest first-language speakers are in their 50s, and even some of them have more of a passive knowledge of the language than active fluency.

Kwak'wala. See Kwak'wala

Kwak'wala (Kwak’wala) is the southernmost of the three Northern Wakashan languages, spoken in a number of local varieties on the central coast of British Columbia from Smith Sound to Cape Mudge, and on the northern third of Vancouver Island. The principal communities are Campbell River, Cape Mudge, Fort Rupert, Mamaleleqala, Nimpkish (Alert Bay), Nuwitti, Qualicum, Quatsino, Tanakteuk, Tlowitsis-Mumtagilia, Tsawataineuk, and Tsulquate. Out of a total population of approximately 3,500 there are between 200 and 400 speakers, none under the age of 35.

Kwalhioqua-Clatskanie was an Athabaskan language formerly spoken in two separate areas along the lower Columbia River, the Kwalhioqua to the north of the river, the Clatskanie to the south, separated by the territory of the Lower Chinook and Cathlamet. The Kwalhioqua area, along the Willapa River in what is now southwestern Washington, included two subgroups, the Willapa and the Suwal. The Kwalhioqua-Clatskanie people were dispersed among Coast Salish tribes in the 19th century and their language was extinct before the 1930s.

Laguna. See Acoma-Laguna

Lake Miwok. See Western Miwok

Lakota. See Sioux

Laurentian was a Northern Iroquoian language spoken in the 16th century along the St. Lawrence River in Quebec. It is known only from the wordlists collected by the explorer Jacques Cartier during his two visits in 1534 and 1536. Examination of the data suggests they represent more than one dialect. By the time Champlain visited the area in 1603 the Laurentians had vanished.

Lenape. See Delaware

Lillooet (St’at’imbets) is an Interior Salish language of southwestern British Columbia, and is spoken in two major dialect clusters, Upper Lillooet, in and around Fountain and Lillooet on the Fraser River, and Lower Lillooet, in and around Mount Currie, near Pemberton, on the Lillooet River. The bands associated with these two areas are
culturally and politically distinct. There are about 200 speakers divided between the two areas.

**Lipan** was an emergent language within the Southern Athabaskan dialect complex, spoken in the 18th century by several bands of Plains Apaches who lived in south-central Texas. During the 19th century the Lipan amalgamated with other Apache groups and today their descendants share the Mescalero Reservation in southeastern New Mexico with the Mescalero and the Chiricahua. There were 2 or three elderly speakers living as late as 1981, but the language is now extinct. It is very poorly documented.

**Loucheux.** See Gwich’in

**Loup** was an Algonquian language of the Southern New England group, spoken in central Massachusetts and parts of northern Connecticut. It is mainly attested by a list of words and sentences recorded from refugees among the Abenakis at the St. Francis mission in Quebec, where their descendants became speakers of Western Abenaki in the course of the eighteenth century. A second source, sometimes distinguished as "Loup B," shows extensive dialectal variation and may simply be notes on the speech of New England Algonquian refugees in French missions, rather than a record of a separate language.

**Lower Chehalis**, one of the four languages of the Tsamosan division of the Salishan family, was formerly spoken in a number of local varieties along the lower Chehalis River and around Grays Harbor and Shoalwater Bay on the coast of southwest Washington. Most Lower Chehalis descendants live on the Shoalwater Bay Reservation, although some the Quinault Reservation. Few speakers of Lower Chehalis survived into the 20th century, and the language is not well documented, although a substantial number of sound recordings of one of the last fluent speakers were made around 1940. One very elderly and incapacitated man may have some limited fluency, and a few others may have a passive knowledge of words and phrases, but the language is extinct as a medium of communication.

**Lower Chinook** was the Chinookan language formerly spoken at the mouth of the Columbia River from Shoalwater Bay in the north to Tillamook Head in the south, and for about 10 miles upstream. After a brief period of prosperity after the establishment of a fur-trading post at Astoria in 1811, they suffered a steep demographic decline, and by the end of the 19th century the surviving Lower Chinooks had been incorporated into the Lower Chehalis Salish to the north. The last speaker died in the 1930s.

**Lower Tanana** is an Athabaskan language belonging to the Tanana series. It was originally spoken in a number of villages on the Tanana River in the vicinity of Fairbanks, but now is spoken only at Nenana and Minto. The native population of these two villages is approximately 380, of whom about 30 elderly people speak the language.

**Luiseño** is a Uto-Aztecan language of the Takic subfamily, originally spoken by the native peoples of the southern California coast north of the Diegueño and south of the Gabrielino, in the area dominated by the missions of San Luis Rey and San Juan
Capistrano. The dialects of the two mission communities differed, but were mutually intelligible; the Juaneño (Ajachemem) dialect is now extinct. Both dialects were extensively documented by J. P. Harrington in the 1930s. Approximately 2,500 descendants of the San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano communities currently live at the La Jolla, Rincon, Pauma, Pechanga, and Pala Reservations, and in the town of San Juan Capistrano. Between 5 and 10 elderly speakers or semi-speakers of Luiseño remain.

Lummi. See Northern Straits Salish

Lushootseed is a complex of closely related Central Salish dialects spoken in the Puget Sound area of Washington (older sources refer to it as Puget Sound Salish). The principal modern communities in which Lushootseed is the heritage language include the Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Suquamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Reservations, and especially the Tulalip Reservation near Marysville. Lushootseed is now spoken as a first language by fewer than 5 elderly people out of a total population of over 18,000.

Mahican was an Eastern Algonquian language spoken in the upper Hudson River Valley from Lake Champlain south to Greene County, and in the upper Housatonic Valley in Massachusetts. It shared features with its southern neighbor Munsee and with the Southern New England languages to the east. In the 18th century it was the dominant language at the mission village of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. There is a fair amount of documentation, principally by Moravian and English missionaries, and there are translations of religious texts by literate native speakers. Some dialectal diversity is attested. Many Mahicans joined various groups of Delawares and their descendants switched to speaking Munsee or Unami. A remnant in upstate New York was removed in the nineteenth century to Wisconsin, where the language was last spoken in the 1930s, and where some fieldwork was done with the last speakers and semi-speakers.

Maidu, also known as Northeastern Maidu or Mountain Maidu, is the Maiduan language of the people who traditionally occupied the northern Sierra Nevada and the Honey Lake Valley, east and south of Lassen Peak in northeastern California. Some Maidu descendants are members of the small Susanville and Greenville Rancherias, but most live away from tribal land in scattered locations in Plumas and Lassen County. Only a few semi-speakers of Maidu remain. All three of the Maiduan languages (Maidu, Konkow, and Nisenan) are sometimes referred to collectively as “Maidu”, but they differ considerably in their grammars and are not mutually intelligible.

Makah is the Southern Wakashan language spoken by the Makah Tribe, at Neah Bay on the northwest tip of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State. Of the other two Southern Wakashan languages, Nootka and Nitinaht, both spoken on Vancouver Island, Makah appears to be closer to the latter. About a dozen elderly first-language speakers survive.

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy is an Eastern Algonquian language spoken in the St. Croix and St. John River valleys along the border between the state of Maine and the Canadian province of New Brunswick. There are about 500 first-language speakers. Most of those in Maine are members of the Passamaquoddy tribe, while in Canada they identify
themselves as Maliseet, but dialect differences between the two groups are minimal. The principal communities in Maine are Pleasant Point and Indian Township, with fewer than 100 fluent speakers between them. In New Brunswick there are 355 first-language speakers at Tobique, Woodstock, Kingsclear, St. Mary's, and Oromocto; another 40 live elsewhere in Canada. There are also some speakers of both dialects residing with the Penobscons of Indian Island, at Old Town, Maine, and in an urban community in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Nearly all speakers are middle aged, with the most fluent in their 60s and older.

**Mamulique.** See *Comecrudan*

**Mandan** is a moribund Siouan language, originally spoken in a cluster of villages along the Missouri River in south central North Dakota, located between the Hidatsa villages to the north and the Arikara villages to the south. The modern Mandans are one of the Three Affiliated Tribes who share the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, the others being the Hidatsas and the Arikaras. Their primary settlement is Twin Buttes. There are fewer than 10 remaining first-language speakers of Mandan, all elderly, and no fluent second-language speakers.

**Maricopa** is a Yuman language of the River subgroup, originally spoken by several small tribes along the lower Gila and Colorado Rivers. It is now spoken by a minority — perhaps as few as 100 — of the approximately 800 members of the Maricopa (or Pee-Posh) tribe of Arizona, most of whom live at the Maricopa Colony at Laveen, on the Gila River Reservation south of Phoenix, and in the community of Lehi on the Salt River Reservation northeast of Phoenix.

**Maritime Tsimshian,** the more southerly of the two branches of the Tsimshianic language family of northwestern British Columbia, has two deeply differentiated dialects, or possibly emergent languages. Southern Tsimshian (or *Sküüx*)s, originally spoken along the coast south of the Skeena River and on a few islands, now has only one fully fluent speaker, who lives in the village of Klemtu on Swindle Island. Coast Tsimshian (often referred to simply as *Tsimshian*), is spoken near Terrace on the lower Skeena River and on the coast near the Skeena estuary, as well as at one location in southern Alaska. In the Canadian communities it is estimated that there are between 250 and 400 fluent speakers of Coast Tsimshian out of a total population of 6780, almost none under 40. The highest proportion of speakers is in Kitkatla and Hartley Bay, where perhaps one person in five is fluent, although most are age 50 or older. Of the 1,300 Coast Tsimshians currently living at Metlakatla, about 70 of the most elderly speak the language.

**Massachusetts-Narragansett** was a complex of Southern New England Algonquian dialects spoken around Massachusetts Bay from southern Maine to Cape Cod, as well as around Narragansett Bay and on Martha's Vineyard. Several varieties of Massachusetts-Narragansett are quite well documented from the Colonial period, including the dialect of the mission town of Natick, which was the basis of John Eliot's translation of the whole Bible (1663) and grammatical sketch (1666), and the Narragansett dialect of Rhode Island (Williams 1643). A grammar by Goddard is included in an edition of documents written by native speakers by Goddard and Bragdon (1988). Currently there are efforts to revive
the speaking of the language under the name Wampanoag. The language fell into disuse in most areas during the 18th century, but a variety continued to be spoken on Martha’s Vineyard until the end of the 19th century.

Mattole was a language of the California Athabaskan subgroup formerly spoken along the Mattole and Bear Rivers near Cape Mendocino. The Mattole River and Bear River dialects were distinct. The last speaker died in the 1950s, although a few individuals retain some memory of the language.

Menominee is a Central Algonquian language, spoken on the Menominee Reservation in northern Wisconsin in the towns of Keshena, Neopit, South Branch, and Zoar. It is spoken as a first language by about 35 people, none under 50 years old.

Mescalero-Chiricahua is an emergent language within the Southern Athabaskan dialect complex, spoken with very little dialectal variation by people whose tribal identity is either Mescalero or Chiricahua. Over 1,500 members — slightly under half — of the Mescalero Tribe of New Mexico are first-language speakers of Mescalero-Chiricahua, most of them Mescaleros, although perhaps a dozen identify as Chiricahuas. The principal Chiricahua community is at Ft. Sill, in southwestern Oklahoma, where they settled early in the 20th century. At most three fluent speakers remain at Ft. Sill, together with a few semi-speakers.

Miami-Illinois was an Algonquian dialect complex spoken in the 18th century and earlier by groups in what is now Illinois and northern Indiana. At least three clusters of dialects were preserved after the relocation of these tribes to Kansas in the 19th century: (1) Peoria-Kaskaskia, (2) Piankashaw-Wea, and (3) Miami. Speakers of at least some varieties survived into the 20th century, but there have been no fluent first-language speakers since 1962.

Michif (Mitchif) is a special variety of Plains Cree in which Cree and French are combined. It is spoken in some communities of Métis, descendants of Indian women and French fur traders who form a distinct ethnic group on the northern Great Plains. In Michif the words, grammar, and pronunciation of nouns and their modifiers are almost entirely those of a variety of Canadian French, while the verbs are the grammatically complex, fully inflected forms of Plains Cree, with minor differences. Although Michif is correctly called a mixed language, some have pointed out that the contributing languages are "intertwined" rather than literally mixed together. Several hundred thousand Métis live in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and North Dakota, and Cree, Ojibwe, French, and more recently English have been widely spoken in Métis communities, which have typically been multilingual. Michif was spoken only by a small minority of Métis families, many of whom have now lost it. It is difficult to estimate the current number of speakers, but it is probably around 200, nearly all over 70 years old. The most detailed source on the language is Bakker 1997; a dictionary has been published by Laverdure & Allard (1983).

Micmac (Mi’kmaq, Mi’gmaq, Miikmaq) is an Eastern Algonquian language spoken in over 25 reserves scattered across the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince
Edward Island, and Quebec, as well as in the United States. There are 8,145 first-language speakers in a total Micmac population of about 20,000, the most important speech communities being at Restigouche, Quebec; Big Cove, New Brunswick; and Eskasoni, on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. There is also a large expatriate community of Micmacs in the United States, primarily in Boston, where perhaps a quarter of all first-language speakers reside. A distinctive pictographic script (“Micmac Hieroglyphs”) devised by 17th century missionaries, and apparently based on indigenous mnemonic designs, is still used in the Catholic liturgy on the Eskasoni Reserve and in a few other places. The standard orthography now in use has its origins in 19th century missionary work.

**Miguéleno. See Salinan**

**Mikasuki** is the only surviving dialect of the Eastern Muskogean language known as Hitchiti (or Hitchiti-Mikasuki). It is spoken in Florida by most of the 400 enrolled members of the Miccosukee Tribe, as well as by many of the 2,700 members of the Seminole Tribe. There are five Seminole reservation communities, with Mikasuki the dominant language at the Big Cypress, Immokalee, Hollywood, and Tampa reservations, while the Florida Seminole dialect of Creek is dominant at the Brighton Reservation. Until the 1980s, many Miccosukee and Seminole children spoke little English when entering school. This situation has shifted in recent years, and many children now learn English at home.

**Miluk. See Hanis**

**Miwok** is the general common name for the languages of the Miwokan language family, spoken aboriginally in north-central California from San Francisco Bay to the Sierra Nevada. Seven languages are usually distinguished, subdivided linguistically into **Western Miwok and Eastern Miwok.**

**Modoc. See Klamath-Modoc**

**Mohave (Mojave)**, a Yuman language of the River subgroup, is the heritage language of the Fort Mojave Tribe, near Needles, California, and of the Mohave members of the Colorado River Indian Tribes, near Parker, Arizona. In the two communities combined there are fewer than 100 fluent first-language speakers, nearly all of them elderly, in a total Mohave population of over 2,000.

**Mohawk** is a Northern Iroquoian language, originally spoken by the easternmost tribe of the Six Nations (Iroquoian Confederacy) in the Mohawk River Valley of New York, between present Schenectady and Utica. There are six modern Mohawk communities, located primarily in Canada: Kahnawake and Kanesatake in the vicinity of Montreal; Akwesasne on the St. Lawrence River at the US-Canadian border; Ohsweken (Six Nations on the Grand River in southern Ontario; the Tyendinaga Reserve on the Bay of Quinte near Kingston; and a small settlement at Gibson (Wahta) east of Georgian Bay. Mohawk is the most vigorous of the Six Nations languages, with about 3,850 fluent first-language speakers. Of these, around 600 are at Kahnawake, 100 at Oka, 3,000 at
Ahkwesahsne, and perhaps a dozen on the Six Nations Reserve, A small number of children are native speakers.

**Mohegan-Pequot** was an Algonquian language of the Southern New England group, spoken in eastern Connecticut and the eastern part of Long Island. There is scattered documentation, but dialect diversity is poorly known. The last speaker, a Mohegan, died in 1908.

**Molala** was formerly spoken along the western slopes of the Cascades of central Oregon, from the upper Rogue River to the vicinity of Mt. Hood. It is a Plateau (Plateau Penutian) language, distantly related to Klamath and Sahaptian; an earlier classification that linked Molala and Cayuse in the “Wailatpuan” family has been abandoned. The Molala were displaced and suffered a severe decline in population after the white occupation of their territory in the mid 19th century. The survivors were settled on the Grand Ronde Reservation, where their language and tribal identity was lost. The last speaker died in 1958.

**Monachi. See Mono**

**Mono** is a Western Numic language spoken in central California both on the western side of the Sierra Nevada, between Yosemite National Park and Kings Canyon National Park, and on the eastern side in Owens Valley from Lone Pine north to Big Pine. Mono has two main geographical divisions. **Western Mono** (or **Monachi**) is spoken in several communities that are close by (and socially connected to) Yokuts communities. The most important of these are at North Fork and Auberry (Big Sandy Rancheria), each of which has at least 10 fully fluent speakers, the youngest in his 50s. There are also a few speakers at Tollhouse (Cold Springs Rancheria) and Dunlop. In addition, 100 or more people have some passive or second-language knowledge of the language. **Eastern Mono** (or **Owens Valley Paiute**) is spoken in the Owens Valley communities of Bishop, Big Pine, Lone Pine, and Fort Independence. All Eastern Mono speakers are elderly and number not more than 30 in a total population of about 1,000. Each of the communities has sponsored language revival programs.

**Monqui (Monqui-Didiu). See Guaicurian**

**Monqui (Monqui-Didiu)** was spoken in a small region around Loreto, Baja California. Though essentially unattested, the languages is sometimes thought to belong to the Guaicurian family.

**Montagnais (Innu)** is an Algonquian language closely related to Cree that is spoken by over 10,000 people in Quebec and Labrador. There are three major dialects or emergent languages. Western Montagnais is spoken at Mashteuiatsh (Pointe-Bleue on Lac Saint-Jean) and Betsiamites, Quebec; it was formerly spoken on the Essipit reserve (Les Escoumins). Central Montagnais is spoken on the Matimekush and Lac-John reserves near Schefferville and the Uashat and Maliotenam reserves at Sept-Îles. Eastern Montagnais is spoken at Ekuanitshit (Mingan), La Romaine (Uanaman-Shipu), Natashquan, and Pakuashipi (St-Augustin) in Quebec and at Sheshatshiu in Labrador.
The speech of the Eastern Naskapi at Davis Inlet, Labrador, may be considered an additional Montagnais dialect.

**Moose Cree** is the Cree dialect spoken by about 3,000 people at Fort Albany, Kashechewan, and Moose Factory, on the southwestern shore of James Bay in northern Ontario. While speakers of all ages in Kashechewan are fluent, the language is in serious decline in Moose Factory, where many young adults have little or no knowledge of it. Moose Cree intergrades with Eastern Swampy Cree, especially at Kashechewan, where it has been influenced by the Swampy Cree spoken at nearby Albany Post.

**Mountain** is an emergent Athabaskan language within the Slavey dialects of the Dene complex. In the Northwest Territories it is the principal language of Fort Wrigley (100 speakers out of 170 total population), as well as of some of the population of Tulita (Fort Norman), in many cases people who also speak Bearlake. There are also speakers of Mountain Slavey in the Yukon at Fort Liard and at Ross River.

**Munsee (Canadian Delaware)** is an Eastern Algonquian language originally spoken from the area around Minisink Island in the upper Delaware River Valley to the middle Housatonic River in western Connecticut, including northern New Jersey, the lower Hudson River and the New York City metropolitan area, and western Long Island. At one time there were speakers of Munsee in a number of locations further west, the largest groups being on the Moraviantown, Caradoc (Munceytown), and Six Nations reserves in Canada. Other speakers ended up in eastern Kansas and among the Unami-speakers of Oklahoma, the Mahicans in Wisconsin, and the Senecas of western New York. A few speakers remain among the Delaware First Nation on the Moraviantown Reserve near Thamesville, Ontario, where most of the documentation of the language comes from. The divergent Wampano dialect on the Housatonic, attested by three hymn translations, had adopted some features from Mahican and the southern New England languages.

**Mutsun.** See Costanoan

**Nambe.** See Tewa

**Nanticoke-Conoy** was the Algonquian language of Chesapeake Bay and the Delmarva Peninsula. Conoy (Piscataway) is known principally from some Roman Catholic prayers translated by Andrew White, an English Jesuit; more extensive materials once said to be in Rome have not been found. The longest record of Nanticoke is a vocabulary taken down on the Choptank River in Dorset County, Maryland, in 1792. A few words were also recorded from a group of Nanticokes who joined the Iroquois in the eighteenth century and ended up on the Six Nations Reserve in Canada, where it was spoken as late as the 1860s. Other Nanticookes lost their language after joining Delaware refugees in the west.

**Naskapi** is a cover term for two varieties of Cree-Montagnais, Western Naskapi (in Quebec) and Eastern Naskapi (in Labrador). See **Eastern Naskapi** and **Western Naskapi.**
Nass-Gitksan, the more northerly of the two branches of the Tsimshianic language family of northwestern British Columbia, consists of two emergent languages. (1) Nisga’a (Nisgha) is spoken in four village communities along the Nass River and has between 400 and 500 speakers, with no first-language speakers under 30. (2) Gitksan is spoken in six village communities along the Skeena River upriver from the Coast Tsimshians. It has about the same number of speakers as Nisga’a (400 to 500), but there is a small number of families in which children and young people are fluent speakers.

Natchez was spoken in the 17th and early 18th centuries by the Natchez Indians, who lived on the Mississippi River in the vicinity of present-day Natchez, Mississippi. It was also spoken by the Taensa, who lived across the river, probably in a form that was not too different from what the Natchez spoke. Two nicknames learned among the Colapissa of southern Mississippi and eastern Louisiana suggest that these people also spoke a closely similar language. The Natchez tribe was destroyed by the French in a series of wars that ended in 1731, and many of the survivors took refuge with the Creeks and the Chickasaws, moving with them to Oklahoma in the 1830s, where they also intermarried with the Cherokees. Four Natchez wordlists were collected in Oklahoma during the 19th century, but the most important documentation was made during the 20th century, by Swanton in 1907-15 and by Haas in 1934-36, who between them worked with all the surviving speakers; much of this material remains unpublished. The last known speaker died in 1965.

Nawathinehena was an Algonquian language closely related to Arapaho that was spoken south of the Northern Arapaho bands on the High Plains in the early nineteenth century. Its phonology is quite distinct from that of Arapaho and shares some innovations with Cheyenne, which was presumably a southern neighbor at an earlier location. The Nawathinehena adopted the language of the Northern Arapaho, to whom they were closely related and allied, in the course of the nineteenth century, and the distinct Nawathinehena language is known only from a vocabulary collected by A.L. Kroeber among the Southern Arapaho in 1899.

Naukan Yupik. See East Cape Yupik

Navajo is a well-established language within the Southern Athabaskan dialect complex. Some degree of mutual intelligibility exists between Navajo and the other emergent languages of the complex, in particular Western Apache, but the Navajo and Apache communities have been politically and culturally distinct since at least the early 18th century. In 1990 an estimated 115,000 people living on the Navajo Nation in northern Arizona and northeastern New Mexico had fluency in Navajo, about 75% of the reservation population, to which must be added a somewhat lower percentage of the 12,000 to 15,000 Navajos living off-reservation. A conservative estimate of the total number of fluent speakers in 1990 would be about 120,000. In 2001, although the population has increased, the number of speakers is probably smaller. Until World War II Navajo was the universal language of communication on the reservation, and there are still several thousand elderly near-monolingual speakers. As late as 1981 85% of Navajo children acquired Navajo as their first language, but the percentage has declined rapidly in recent years and some surveys show it now to be as low as 25%.
New River Shasta, a Shastan language, once spoken in a remote area near the head of Salmon River and New River, has been extinct for several generations and is poorly known.

Nez Perce is a Sahaptian language. Two dialects are distinguished, Upriver and Downriver, correlated with the original settlement pattern along the Snake River and its tributaries in eastern Washington and Idaho. The Upriver dialect is spoken fluently by a handful of elders at Kamiah and Lapwai on the Nez Perce Reservation in north-central Idaho, and by several more on the Colville Reservation in eastern Washington. The Downriver dialect is mainly preserved by a few speakers on the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon (most of them descendants of Cayuse speakers who adopted Nez Perce in the 19th century). In addition to these fully fluent speakers there are between 30 and 40 speakers and semi-speakers of varying degrees of fluency, most of them in Idaho.

Nicola was an Athabaskan language formerly spoken in the Nicola and Similkameen Valleys of south-central British Columbia, adjoining Thompson Salish territory. It is documented only by fragmentary word lists that are insufficient to allow its relationship to other Athabaskan languages to be clearly determined, although it appears closest to Chilcotin. Nicola was presumably extinct before the beginning of the 20th century.

Nisenan, also known as Southern Maidu, was the Maiduan language traditionally spoken in a number of local village dialects along the Yuba River in the Sierra Nevada foothills east of Sacramento, California. Nisenan descendants live at Auburn Rancheria in Placer County, Shingle Springs Rancheria in El Dorado County, and in other scattered locations in the area.

Nishnaabemwin. See Ottawa (Odawa) and Eastern Ojibwe.

Nisqa'a. See Nass-Gitksan.

Nitinaht (Ditidaht) is the Southern Wakashan language of two groups on the west coast of Vancouver Island immediately to the south of Nootka territory, now organized as the Ditidaht and Pacheenaht Bands. Although the Nitinahts were traditionally part of the Nootkan interaction sphere (and the Ditidaht Band is currently represented on the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council), the Nitinaht language is sharply discontinuous from the chain of Nootka dialects and closer to Makah. There are a dozen or so fluent speakers, all elderly.

Nooksack was a Central Salish language formerly spoken in the vicinity of Bellingham in northwest Washington, between Halkomelem and Lushootseed. The language has been well documented by several linguists, although much of the documentation remains unpublished. The last fluent speaker died in 1977 and the last person with any degree of first-language competence died in 1988.

Nootka (Nuuchahnulth) is the Southern Wakashan language of the west coast of Vancouver Island, from Cape Cook to Barkley Sound. Modern Nootkas are organized in
15 Bands, all represented by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (a name adopted in 1985). There is a handful of speakers in most communities, totalling over 50 but fewer than 100, out of a population of around 5,000. The language is used primarily in ceremonies and in some political meetings. A school-based teaching program has existed for over a decade at Port Alberni (Sheshaht Band) and about a dozen individuals are literate, although no fluent second-language speakers have been produced. The name Nuu-chah-nulth is used locally to include also the distinct Nitinaht language.

North Alaska Inupiaq. See Inupiaq

North Slavey. See Bearlake and Hare

Northeastern Pomo, a language of the Pomoan family, was spoken on the eastern slope of the Inner Coast Range in Northern California, around Stonyford, on the west side of the Sacramento Valley north of Clear Lake. The Northeastern Pomo were isolated from other Pomoan languages by territory belonging to the Patwin, with whom they culturally identified; bilingualism in Patwin was common. The last fluent speaker died in 1961.

Northern Algonquin (Algonquin du Nord) is a distinct regional dialect within the Ojibwayan dialect complex, spoken in southwestern Quebec at Lac Simon, Grand Lac Victoria, La Barriere, and a few other communities. There are perhaps as many as 1,000 fluent speakers.

Northern Paiute (Paviotso) is a Western Numic language formerly spoken in the western Great Basin from roughly the John Day River in Oregon south through the western third of Nevada, to the vicinity of Mammoth, California. Today limited numbers of speakers are found in reservation communities and colonies in Oregon, Nevada, California and Idaho, as well as in urban locations in these states. Principal communities are at Warm Springs and Burns, Oregon; Fort McDermitt, Owyhee, Winnemucca, Pyramid Lake, Reno-Sparks, Lovelock, Fallon, Yerington, and Walker River, Nevada; Lee Vining and Fort Bidwell, California. A variety (called Bannock) is also spoken by a few elderly people at Fort Hall, Idaho, where otherwise Shoshoni is the heritage language. There are two major dialects, with the Truckee River in west-central Nevada serving as the general dividing line. In addition, most of the individual communities have developed recognizable local varieties. Fluency in all communities except Fort McDermitt is confined to speakers 60 years and above, roughly 300 speakers total. Fort McDermitt has a fluency rate above 50% (roughly 400 speakers), with about 20% to 30% of children acquiring it as their first language. Semi-speakers from all areas add another 400 to these figures. During the past 25 years nearly all communities have started teaching programs, but few have continued. Beginning in the 1990s, Warm Springs, Reno-Sparks and Pyramid Lake began more sustained efforts.

Northern Pomo, a language of the Pomoan family, has very few known elderly speakers at the Sherwood Rancheria near Willits, California.

Northern Sierra Miwok. See Eastern Miwok
Northern Straits Salish is the Central Salish language of the southern tip of Vancouver Island, the San Juan Islands, and the mainland immediately to the south of the US-Canadian border. At least three dialects continue to be spoken in a number of small communities. (1) The Saanich dialect on Vancouver Island has fewer than 20 first-language speakers, the youngest nearly 60 years old. However, there are up to 100 second-language speakers of varying degrees of fluency, and Saanich is frequently used in ceremonies and for tribal identity. A distinctive orthography based on English capital letters has been quite successful; literacy is high among first-language speakers and universal among second-language speakers. The local school has produced books of traditional stories, and there is a significant amount of Saanich material available on the Internet. (2) The Samish dialect of the San Juan Islands has about 5 remaining speakers, but their speech is mixed with other dialects or with Halkomelem and they do not form a distinct speech community. The Samish community in Anacortes, Washington, is developing a second-language teaching program. (3) The Lummi dialect of the mainland has no active first-language speakers, and if passive first-language speakers exist they are likely to be elderly.

Northern Tutchone is an Athabaskan language (closely related to Southern Tutchone) spoken in the Yukon communities of Mayo, Pelly Crossing, Stewart Crossing, and Carmacks. There are about 200 speakers out of a total population of 1,100. Early documentation of Northern Tutchone was carried out in the 1890s by the Anglican Archdeacon Thomas Canham, but most of his materials remain in manuscript.

Nottoway was a Northern Iroquoian language, closely related to Tuscarora. It was spoken in colonial times and into the 19th century along the Nottoway River in southeastern Virginia, adjacent to the original territory of the Tuscaroras in North Carolina. It is attested only in two early-19th century wordlists.

Nuuchahnulth. See Nootka

Nuxalk. See Bella Coola

Nxa7amxcin. See Columbian

Obispeño was the Chumash language spoken at San Luis Obispo mission, quite distinct from the other varieties of Chumash.

O’odham (Upper Piman) is the northernmost of the languages of the Tepiman subfamily of Uto-Aztecans, and the only one spoken in the United States. There are between 14,000 and 15,000 fluent speakers of all ages in Arizona, and many additional speakers in Mexico. Two major dialects are distinguished, Tohono O’odham (or Papago) and Akimel O’odham (or Pima). Most Akimel O’odham speakers live on the Gila River, Salt River, and Ak Chin Reservations, in the vicinity of Phoenix. Most Tohono O’odham speakers in the United States live on the Papago Reservation in southern Arizona west of Tucson; there are also speakers on the San Xavier and Gila Bend Reservations.
Ofo was a language of the Southeastern subgroup of Siouan, spoken in the 1670s on the east bank of the Mississippi River below the mouth of the Ohio, in present-day western Tennessee. The Ofos moved south to the Yazoo River in the 1690s and were subsequently absorbed into nearby tribes. The only documentation of Ofo is a vocabulary collected in 1908 from a woman of Ofo descent, living among the Tunicas in Louisiana, who had learned some of the language from her grandmother.

Oji-Cree. See Severn Ojibwe

Ojibwayan is a Central Algonquian dialect complex, varieties of which are spoken in a large number of communities in the north-central United States, and in Canada from Alberta to Quebec. There are approximately 43,000 Ojibwe speakers, the majority of them in Canada (where 31,625 first-language speakers were counted in the 1996 census). At least seven regional dialects or emergent languages can be distinguished: Severn Ojibwe, Northern Algonquin, Saulteaux, Central Southern Ojibwe (Anishinaabemowin), Eastern Ojibwe (including Southern Algonquin), Ottawa (Odawa), and Old Algonquin. The first two are classified as Northern Ojibwe, and the rest as Southern Ojibwe.

Okanagan is an Interior Salish language, spoken in a number of communities in southern interior British Columbia and northeastern Washington. There are seven Okanagan Reserves in British Columbia: Vernon, Douglas Lake, Westbank, Penticton, Keremeos (Lower Similkameen), Hedley (Upper Similkameen), and Oliver (Osoyoos). Except for the Westbank Reserve, which may have as few as a dozen fluent speakers, all of the Okanagan Reserves have at least 50 speakers of varying degrees of fluency, the Vernon Reserve perhaps over 100.

Okwanuchu, a Shastan language once spoken along the upper Sacramento River, near Mt. Shasta, is very poorly attested. It has been extinct for several generations.

Okwanuchu. See Shasta

Old Algonquin was the Algonquian language spoken in the early French missions in the lower Ottawa Valley and along the St. Lawrence, and is attested in a number of unpublished 17th and 18th century documents. It went out of use in the 19th century. Although it was part of the Ojibwayan dialect complex Old Algonquin was quite distinct from the Ojibwe dialects that are today called Northern and Southern Algonquin.

Omaha-Ponca is a Siouan language of the Dhegiha subgroup and—in two shallowly differentiated dialects—is the heritage language of both the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska and of the two Ponca tribes, the Northern Ponca of Nebraska and the Southern Ponca of Oklahoma. Most of the remaining speakers of the Omaha dialect live in Macy and Walthill in rural southeastern Nebraska. There are fewer than 50 fluent first-language speakers, the youngest about 60, and a larger number of semi-speakers and second-language learners. The Ponca dialect is spoken by about 35 elderly people in the Red Rock area of south central Oklahoma.
Oneida is a Northern Iroquoian language, originally spoken by a tribe of the Iroquoian Confederacy (Six Nations) situated east of the Onondagas and west of the Mohawks, south of Oneida Lake. Most of the modern Oneidas live in two widely separated reservation communities, about 3,000 on the Thames River near London, Ontario, and 11,000 at Green Bay, Wisconsin. In addition, a few hundred Oneidas continue to live in upstate New York, some on a small tract of land near the town of Oneida, and others dispersed into neighboring white and Indian communities. There are about 200 fluent speakers of Oneida in Ontario and perhaps a dozen in Wisconsin; there are no reliable estimates for the New York Oneidas.

Onondaga is a Northern Iroquoian language, spoken in upstate New York by the central tribe (the “firekeepers”) of the Iroquoian Confederacy (Six Nations). Most modern Onondagas (about 1,600) live on a reservation in their old homeland, south of the city of Syracuse, but there is a smaller community on the Six Nations Reserve in southern Ontario. There are about a dozen elderly speakers of Onondaga in New York, the youngest in their 70s, and about 40 more are reported in Ontario.

Osage is a Siouan language of the Dhegiha subgroup, spoken in the 18th century by people living along the Osage River in Missouri. Since the 1870s the Osage Tribe has been settled in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, around Pawhuska. Osage land has proved to be rich in oil, and a number of Osage families are quite wealthy. There are ten or fewer fluent speakers of Osage, all over 65, in a total tribal membership of 11,000, although there are a number of semi-speakers and second language speakers.

Otoe-Missouria. See Chiwere

Ottawa (Odawa) is an Ojibwayan language originally spoken on the north shores of Lake Huron, where the most vigorous community of speakers today is at the Wikwemikong Reserve on Manitoulin Island, Ontario. There perhaps half of the population of over 3,000 has some fluency in the language. There are also several hundred speakers on Walpole Island and other reserves in Ontario, and in Michigan, where the largest community is on the Isabella Reservation. A number of Ottawas were relocated in Oklahoma during the 19th century, but the language does not survive there. Old Ottawa, the form of the language in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is extensively documented, and there is a variety of Ottawa spoken on Sugar Island and elsewhere on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan that retains the unweakened short vowels of the older language. Ottawa has tended to replace Eastern Ojibwe, and the eastern varieties of Ottawa and the western sub-dialect of Eastern Ojibwe, which share the same pattern of vowel-weakening, now constitute an emergent language, called Nishnaabemwin, which is the focus of descriptive work and community language programs. Some individuals and communities use forms of this language that intergrade with Central Southern Ojibwe.

Owens Valley Paiute. See Mono

Pacific Yupik (Alutiiq), spoken on the south coast of Alaska from the Alaska Peninsula to Prince William Sound, is a distinct language within the Yupik branch of Eskimo,
although closely related to Central Alaskan Yup’ik. Speakers call themselves “Aleuts” in English, reflecting the early Russian use of Aleut to designate all of the native people of the south coast of Alaska; Alutiiq is the Pacific Yupik version of the same word, and Sugpiaq has also been used in recent decades. Two dialects of Pacific Yupik are distinguished, Koniag in the west (on the upper part of the Alaska Peninsula and Kodiak Island) and Chugach in the east (on the Kenai Peninsula and Prince William Sound).

Paipai is a Yuman language spoken in several small communities in northern Baja California, near San Miguel, Santa Catarina, and San Isidoro. There are probably fewer than 100 speakers, most of them over 50. Paipai is most closely related to the Upland Yuman languages of western Arizona, from which it is separated, for historical reasons that are not clear, by the River Yuman languages (Mohave, Quechan, and Maricopa) and Cocopa.

Palewyami Yokuts, formerly spoken along Poso Creek in Kern County, California, was the most divergent of the languages or emergent languages in the Yokuts complex. Its vocabulary is partially documented in several wordlists, the longest and most reliable collected by Harrington in the 1920s. There have been no speakers of Palewyami since the 1930s.

Panamint (Tümpisa Shoshone) is the Central Numic language formerly spoken in the region between the Sierra Nevada in California and the Nevada valleys east of Death Valley. Panamint has two main dialects, although intervening varieties show a gradation between them. Eastern Panamint includes the community around Beatty, Nevada. Western Panamint includes the communities permanently living in Lone Pine and Darwin, California. The Timbisha community in Death Valley and Lone Pine is transitional between Eastern and Western Panamint. There are no monolinguals and no speakers who did not also learn English as small children. The “pure” Eastern and Western dialects from Lone Pine and Beatty are almost extinct. The majority of no more than 20 speakers speak the Timbisha variety and all are elderly. There are very few, if any, passive speakers since there is a strong tendency to marry outside the tribe.

Papago (Tohono O’odham). See O’odham

Patwin is one of the two languages of the Wintuan family of northern California, and was originally spoken in two major dialects or dialect clusters along the Sacramento River from Colusa south to the Delta and in the foothills of the Coast Range to the west. Descendants live on small rancherias at Cortina and Colusa, and on the Rumsey (Cache Creek) Rancheria west of Woodland. In 1997 at least one speaker of the Hill dialect remained.

Paviotso. See Northern Paiute

Pawnee, a Northern Caddoan language closely related to Arikara, is spoken in two dialects, Skiri and South Band. The language was spoken in villages along the Platte River in central Nebraska until 1874, when the tribe was relocated to what is now Pawnee County in north-central Oklahoma, where they reside today. There are fewer than 10
speakers, all elderly and most speaking the South Band dialect, in a total tribal population of about 2,500.

**Pend d’Oreille.** See Spokane-Kalispel

**Penobscot.** See Abenaki

**Pentlatch** was a Central Salish language formerly spoken on the east coast of Vancouver Island to the south of the Island Comox. The last speaker died in 1940.

**Pericú** was spoken in the mountainous region at the southern tip of the Baja California peninsula around the mission at San José del Cabo; another dialect of the same language appears to have been spoken by the inhabitants of the islands off the east coast of the peninsula both north and south of La Paz Bay. Pericú is sometimes hypothesized to belong to the Guaicurian family, though it is essentially unattested.

**Picuris** is a Kiowa-Tanoan language spoken by nearly all of the 225 members of the small and isolated Pueblo of Picuris, 50 miles north of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Together with Taos, Picuris belongs to the Northern Tiwa branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan family, but these languages are not mutually intelligible.

**Pima (Akimel O’odham).** See O’odham

**Piro** was a Kiowa-Tanoan language, formerly spoken in a number of now-abandoned pueblos in the Rio Grande Valley south of Isleta. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 most of the Piros, together with some Isletas and other Southern Tiwas, moved south to the vicinity of El Paso and established new settlements, only one of which, Ysleta del Sur, still remains. No speakers of Piro survived into the 20th century and documentation is sparse, although small amounts continue to be discovered in Spanish mission records. Another language, Tompiro, attested in many of the same early sources, is probably a dialect of Piro.

**Plains Cree** is the dialect of Cree spoken in a large number of communities in the central prairies of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Northern and southern dialects are distinguished on the basis of phonology and morphology. Plains Cree has become the prestige dialect of Cree, largely because a considerable amount of 19th and early 20th century religious literature was published in it, using the syllabic script.

**Plains Miwok** was a language of the Eastern Miwok branch of the Utian family of California, formerly spoken along the lower Cosumnes and Moquelumne Rivers to the southeast of Sacramento, from Ione to Stockton. Plains Miwok descendants now reside at the Ione Rancheria and the Wilton Rancheria.

**Pojoaque.** See Tewa

**Pomo.** See Pomoan and Central Pomo, Eastern Pomo, Kashaya, Northern Pomo, Northeastern Pomo, Southeastern Pomo, and Southern Pomo.
Pomoan. The seven Pomoan languages, Central Pomo, Eastern Pomo, Kashaya, Northern Pomo, Northeastern Pomo, Southeastern Pomo, and Southern Pomo, were spoken in a compact territory north of San Francisco, including the Russian River and adjoining coast in Mendocino and Sonoma Counties, and most of the region around Clear Lake. All are distinct, mutually unintelligible languages.

Ponca. See Omaha-Ponca

Potawatomi is an Algonquian language closely related to the Ojibwayan dialect complex. It has about 50 first-language speakers in several widely separated communities in the US and Canada. These include the Hannahville Indian Community (Upper Peninsula of Michigan), the Pokagon and Huron Bands (southern Michigan), the Forest County Band (northern Wisconsin), the Prairie Band (eastern Kansas), and the Citizen Potawatomi Nation of Oklahoma. A few Potawatomi speakers also live among the Eastern Ojibwe in Ontario, particularly at the Walpole Island Reserve. The largest speech communities are in the Forest County and Prairie Bands, each with about 20 speakers, several conservatively fluent.

Purisimeño is the Chumash language once spoken at mission La Purisima Concepción in the lower valley of the Santa Ynez River, near modern Lompoc, California, and in the territory to the north as far as Santa Maria.

Quechan (Yuma) is a Yuman language of the River subgroup, spoken by 150 to 200 of the 3,000 members of the Quechan Indian Nation of southeastern California, adjacent to Yuma, Arizona.

Quileute, one of the two languages of the Chemakuan family, was spoken on the west coast of the Olympic Peninsula in northwest Washington, in a territory south of the Makah and north of the Quinault. The Quileutes now live on two small reservations, Quileute (at La Push) and Lower Hoh River, which have a combined population of less than 500. Although as recently as 1986 ten first-language speakers of Quileute remained, the last speaker died in 1999.

Quinault, one of the four languages of the Tsamosan division of the Salishan family, was spoken on the west coast of the Olympic Peninsula in western Washington, in a small territory south of the Quileute. A substantial part of this territory is now the Quinault Reservation, centered on the community of Taholah, which the descendants of the Quinault-speaking groups share with several other tribes, including the closely related Lower Chehalis. The last first-language speaker of Quinault died recently. Up to half a dozen second-language speakers in their 50s have limited knowledge of vocabulary and phrases.

Quiripi-Unquachog was an Algonquian language of the Southern New England group, spoken in western Connecticut and central Long Island. Documentation is sparse (although it includes an Unquachog vocabulary collected on Long Island by Thomas Jefferson). The language was extinct by the early 19th century.
Ramaytush. See Costanoan

**Rio Grande Keresan** is a complex of Keresan dialects spoken by members of five New Mexico Pueblos located near the Rio Grande or Jemez River north of Albuquerque: Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti. There is considerable local variation, but all varieties are mutually intelligible, as well as partially intelligible to speakers of Acoma-Laguna. Rates of language retention vary considerably from community to community, as do attitudes towards language preservation efforts. In general, outsiders are discouraged from learning the language, and this is especially strongly enforced at Santo Domingo and San Felipe. At Zia there are about 500 speakers out of a total population of approximately 800; there are relatively few speakers under 20, but at least some children acquire the language. At Santa Ana there are about 385 speakers out of a total population of approximately 650. At San Felipe an estimated 90% of the population of over 2,600 speak the language, and most children acquire it. At Santo Domingo nearly all of the Pueblo’s population of approximately 2,850 are speakers. At Cochiti about half of the total population of approximately 1,200 speak the language, few if any of them children.

Rumsen. See Costanoan

Saanich. See Northern Straits Salish

**Sahaptin** is a Plateau (Plateau Penutian) language of marked dialectal diversity spoken along the Columbia River and adjacent Plateau in eastern Oregon and Washington. Together with Nez Perce it forms the Sahaptian branch of the Plateau family. **Southern Sahaptin** (or “River”) varieties were originally spoken along the Columbia River from the Dalles to the Umatilla River, and included Tenino, Wayam, and Umatilla. **Northwest Sahaptin** varieties were spoken in the Yakima River drainage and included Klickitat, Taitnapam, Upper Nisqually, Yakima, and Kittitas. **Northeast Sahaptin** varieties were spoken on the Columbia River above Southern Sahaptin and along the lower Snake River, and included Walla Walla, Wanapam, and Palouse. The principal surviving Sahaptin communities are on the Warm Springs Reservation in northern Oregon (about 50 speakers of Tenino); on the Umatilla Reservation in northeastern Oregon, near Pendleton (25 to 50 speakers of Umatilla and Walla Walla); and at Toppenish on the Yakima Reservation in south-central Washington (about 25 fluent speakers and a larger number of less-fluent speakers of Yakima). There is also a small Wanapam-speaking community near Priest Rapids Dam on the Columbia River. A scattering of Sahaptin speakers can also be found among speakers of Okanagen and Nez Perce on the Colville Reservation in northeastern Washington.

**Salinan** is an extinct language family of the central California coast. It consisted of two closely related languages or dialect clusters, a northern one, **Antoniano**, primarily associated with Mission San Antonio de Padua, near Jolon in southern Monterey County, and a southern one, **Migueleno**, primarily associated with Mission San Miguel, in northern San Luis Obispo County. The last speakers of both languages died in the late 1950s or early 1960s.
Sanish. See Northern Straits Salish
San Felipe. See Rio Grande Keresan
San Ildefonso. See Tewa
San Juan. See Tewa
Sanpoil-Nespelem. See Okanagan
Santa Ana. See Rio Grande Keresan
Santa Clara. See Tewa
Santee-Sisseton. See Sioux
Santiam. See Kalapuya
Santo Domingo. See Rio Grande Keresan

Sarcee (Tsut’ina) is the only northern Athabaskan language spoken by a Plains group and, primarily on phonological grounds, constitutes its own subgroup within the Athabaskan family. It is spoken fluently by fewer than 10 elderly people on or near the Sarcee Reserve, east of Calgary, Alberta, along with a small number of semi-speakers and passive speakers.

Sauk-Fox (Meskwaki) is a Central Algonquian language, spoken by about 200 members of the Meskwaki Tribe in Iowa. It was the heritage language also of the historically separate Sauk tribe, whose descendants today are the Sac and Fox Tribe of central Oklahoma and the Nemaha Sauks on the Kansas-Nebraska border. The Meskwaki variety is also called “Fox”; it differs from Sauk in minor details of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, but the variation within Meskwaki alone is almost as great. Kickapoo was originally part of the same dialect complex, but for historical and social reasons it is treated as a separate language.

Saulteaux (pronounced “So-toe”) is an emergent language of the Ojibwayan dialect complex, closely related to Central Southern Ojibwe. The name “Saulteaux” refers to the historical origin of the group at Sault Ste. Marie and around Lake Superior; they moved westward onto the prairies with the expansion of the fur trade in the 18th and 19th century. Today, most varieties of Saulteaux are spoken in southern Manitoba in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg, including a large urban population in the city of Winnipeg, although there are speakers as far west as British Columbia. The Saulteaux spoken north and east of Lake Winnipeg, and into Northern Ontario, shows considerable influence from Severn Ojibwe, including use of the syllabic orthography. These varieties are sometimes called Northern Ojibwe. Most Saulteaux varieties have a number of
borrowings from Cree and other features that show Cree influence. Up to 10,000 people may be speakers of Saulteaux.

**Sechelt** is a Central Salish language spoken by members of the Sechelt Band on the north coast of the Strait of Georgia, British Columbia. Out of a total population of over 700 there are up to 45 speakers of varying degrees of fluency (only 15 fully fluent), the youngest in his 50s, with an additional 10 to 15 who can carry on limited conversations.

**Sekani** is an Athabaskan language, spoken in two remote communities in north-central British Columbia, War and Fort McLeod, as well as by some residents of the Beaver community of Prophet River and the Tahltan community of Iskut. A fair degree of mutual intelligibility exists between Sekani and Beaver, Kaska, and Tahltan. There are about 50 speakers. It is not spoken by children as a first language. There are few if any first-language speakers under 35.

**Seminole** is sometimes used loosely to refer to Oklahoma Seminole Creek, a variety of Creek spoken in the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma. **Florida Seminole** is a closely related variety of Creek that is spoken by some members of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, although most speak Mikasuki.

**Seneca** is a Northern Iroquoian language, originally spoken by the westernmost tribe of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy in western New York and adjacent Pennsylvania. It is now spoken by about 100 people in three reservation communities in New York: Cattaraugus, on Lake Erie; Allegany, in Salamanca; and Tonawanda, near Buffalo. The youngest speaker is in his 50s.

**Serrano**, a language of the Serrano-Gabrielino division of the Takic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan, was originally spoken in much of the Mojave Desert and the San Bernardino Mountains of southern California. Serrano descendants live mainly at the San Manuel Reservation near San Bernardino, also a number of Serranos have intermarried with the Cahuillas at the Morongo and Soboba Reservations. Only a very few older people are speakers, none completely fluent.

**Severn Ojibwe (Oji-Cree)** is a well-defined regional dialect within the Ojibwe dialect complex, spoken in northwestern Ontario in communities on Severn River, Winisk River, and Sandy Lake. First-language use of Severn Ojibwe is high, but Cree also has cultural prominence in these communities.

**Seward Peninsula Inupiaq. See Inupiaq**

**Shasta** (proper), the only Shastan language to survive into the 20th century, was originally spoken in several dialects in California across a relatively large territory that included Scotts Valley, near modern Etna and Ft. Jones; Shasta Valley, around Yreka; and the Klamath River between Karuk and Klamath-Modoc territory. Many modern Shastas have merged their political and cultural identity with the Karuk Tribe and consider Karuk their heritage language. **(Shasta** is often used as the cover term for all of
the Shastan languages, a family of four languages. See also New River Shasta, Okwanuchu, and Konomihu.

Shawnee is an Algonquian language that was spoken in the early historical period in the Ohio Valley, mainly in the present State of Ohio. Today most of the descendants of the Shawnee live in Oklahoma, organized in three distinct groups. The Absentee Shawnee Tribe, located in and around the town of Shawnee, near the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, has about 2,000 members. At least 100 Absentee Shawnees are fluent speakers of the language, constituting the largest Shawnee-speaking community. The language remains in use on ceremonial occasions, and informal language classes for adults are offered on an irregular schedule. The Eastern Shawnee Tribe, whose 1,500 members live in Ottawa County near the Oklahoma Seneca community, has only a few elderly Shawnee speakers. The Loyal Shawnee (or “Cherokee Shawnee”), a group of about 8,000, reside in the Cherokee region of northeastern Oklahoma, mainly around Whiteoak.

Shoshone (Shoshoni) is a Central Numic language, formerly spoken in a wide band stretching from Lida, Nevada northeast through Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming as far north as Lemhi, Idaho and as far east as Wind River, Wyoming. Although there are a few large reservations which are exclusively (or at least half) Shoshoni, there are dozens of smaller reservations and communities scattered throughout the region. Shoshoni was a dialect continuum without rigid isoglosses to separate the dialects, but several major clusters of varieties can be identified. Western Shoshoni includes the communities throughout Nevada except for the Gosiute and Duck Valley communities. Northern Shoshoni includes the Duck Valley and Fort Hall communities as well as the smaller communities of northern Utah and southern Idaho. Eastern Shoshoni includes the Wind River community in Wyoming. Gosiute includes the Gosiute and Skull Valley communities in Utah. The largest speech community is at Fort Hall. Altogether, there are around 1,000 actively fluent speakers of Shoshoni, and perhaps another 1,000 with more restricted competence. While a few children still learn Shoshoni as a first language in the Duck Valley and Gosiute communities, the majority of speakers are over 50.

Shuswap (Secwepemc) is an Interior Salish language spoken in east-central British Columbia along the Fraser River and its tributaries, upstream from Lillooet and Thompson territory and adjoining Chilcotin and Carrier territory on the north. The modern Shuswaps are organized into 17 bands, with the largest settlement at Kamloops on the Thompson River. There are between 200 and 500 fluent first-language speakers, most of them over 50, in a total population of over 6,000.

Sioux is the cover term for the varieties of the Dakotan dialect complex other than Assiniboine and Stoney. Three Sioux dialect groups can be distinguished, from east to west: The Santee-Sisseton (Dakota) dialect is spoken in at least 15 widely dispersed reservation communities in Minnesota, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, and in the eastern parts of Nebraska and the Dakotas. The Yankton-Yanktonai dialect is primarily spoken on the Yankton and Crow Creek Reservations in South Dakota, and on the northern part of the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota, although it also has speakers on the Devils Lake and Fort Peck Reservations in North Dakota and on a few reserves in Saskatchewan. Teton (Lakota) is the dialect of the Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, Pine
Ridge, Rosebud, and Sisseton Reservations of South Dakota, as well as of the southern part of the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota and of the Wood Mountain Reserve in Saskatchewan. There are also substantial off-reservation communities of Sioux speakers, particularly in Rapid City, Minneapolis, and other urban centers in the upper Midwest. Together, there are nearly 25,000 first-language speakers of all Sioux dialects in a total population of 103,000. Of these an estimated 4,755 reside in Canada.

Sirenik (also called Old Sirenik to differentiate it from the Sirenik dialect of Central Siberian Yupik), is a recently extinct language of the Yupik branch of Eskimo, formerly spoken in the village of Sireniki, Provideniya County, Chukchi Autonomous District, Russia. Quite divergent from the other Yupik languages, Sirenik shows influence from Chukchi. It is sometimes considered a third branch of Eskimo, alongside Inuit and Yupik. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 130 speakers, dwindling to approximately 30 by the early 1950s. Beginning in the 1950s, the indigenous population of Sireniki shifted first to Central Siberian Yupik, the language of more numerous forced immigrants, and then largely to Russian. The last speaker died in 1997.

Siuslaw was a language formerly spoken in two closely related local dialects, Siuslaw (proper) and Lower Umpqua, by adjacent tribes in a small territory on the central coast of Oregon. It is an isolate, often associated with the controversial Penutian stock. Although some Siuslaw people were removed to reservations between 1855 and 1875 most remained in their traditional territory, where more than 100 descendants still reside. The Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw was recognized in 1984, with tribal headquarters at Coos Bay.

Sküüxs. See Coast Tsimshianic

Slave, or South Slavey, is an emergent Athabaskan language within the Slavey dialect area of the Dene complex. Slave is spoken as a first language by about 3,260 people in a number of communities in the Northwest Territories and in adjacent parts of northern British Columbia and Alberta. In the Northwest Territories, where it is one of the official languages, Slave has 1,260 speakers, about half of whom use it in the home. The principal communities include: Fort Liard (310 speakers out of a total population of 510), Fort Providence (280 out of 750 total), Fort Simpson (290 out of 1255 total), Hay River Dene (85 out of 250 total), Jean Marie River (30 out of 55 total), Nahanni Butte (50 out of 75 total), and Trout Lake (55 out of 65 total). It may also be spoken by some of the 100 Slavey speakers at Fort Wrigley, most of whom speak Mountain. There are also up to 60 speakers of Slave in the town of Hay River. In northern British Columbia there are reported to be approximately 500 Slave speakers, with the principal community at Fort Nelson. In Alberta Slave is spoken by about 1,500 people at Meander River, Chateh Lake (Assumption) and at a few other places on the upper Hay River.

Slavey is the general term for a group of Athabaskan dialects or emergent languages of the Dene complex, including Bearlake and Hare (together constituting North Slavey), Mountain, and Slave or South Slavey.

Sm’algyax. See Coast Tsimshianic
Solano was spoken early in the 18th century at the Franciscan mission of San Francisco Solano, at Eagle Pass on the Rio Grande River in southern Texas. It is attested only in a 21-word vocabulary in the mission records. Solano is considered to be an isolate.

South Slavey. See Slave

Southeastern Pomo, a language of the Pomoan family, was spoken to the east of Clear Lake around East Lake and Lower Lake, and is the heritage language of the Elem Indian Colony at Sulphur Bank and the Lower Lake Rancheria. The last fluent speaker died in the 1990s.

Southern Algonquin (Nipissing) is an emergent language within the Ojibwayan dialect complex, primarily spoken at the River Desert Reserve, on the Gatineau River at Maniwaki, Quebec. Although speakers identify themselves and their language as Algonquin, Southern Algonquin is distinctly different from Northern Algonquin, as well as from the (extinct) Old Algonquin that was spoken in the Ottawa Valley in the 17th century. Dialectally Southern Algonquin is the eastern component of Eastern Ojibwe.

Southern Paiute. See Ute-Chemehuevi

Southern Pomo, a language of the Pomoan family, is spoken by very few elderly people along the lower course of the Russian River in Sonoma County, California.

Southern Sierra Miwok. See Eastern Miwok

Southern Tiwa is a Kiowa-Tanoan language spoken by members of the Pueblos of Sandia and Isleta, on the Rio Grande near Albuquerque, New Mexico. At Sandia Pueblo, 15 miles north of Albuquerque, only middle-aged and elderly people are fully fluent, although some younger people use the language and at least a few children still acquire it. In all there are about 100 speakers in a total population of about 500. At Isleta Pueblo, 15 miles south of Albuquerque, there are approximately 1,500 speakers in a membership of about 4,000.

Southern Tsimshian. See Maritime Tsimshianic

Southern Tutcheone is an Athabaskan language (closely related to Northern Tutcheone) spoken in the southwestern Yukon in settlements at Aishihik, Burwash Landing, Champagne, Haines Junction, Klukshu, and Lake Laberge, as well as in the city of Whitehorse. There are about 200 speakers out of a total population of 1,400.

Spokane-Kalispel is an Interior Salish language, spoken in Washington, Idaho, and Montana in three major dialects. (1) The Spokane dialect is spoken on the Spokane Reservation in northeastern Washington. It has only two fluent first-language speakers, a married couple in their 70s. (2) The Flathead dialect (also known as Montana Salish, in this context referring to a specific language and not the entire language family) is spoken on the Flathead Reservation in western Montana by members of the Confederated Salish
and Kootenay Tribes. There are about 60 fluent first-language speakers of Flathead, one in his 40s, another about 55, all others 65 or older. A sub-dialect is said to characterize Flathead speakers of Pend d'Oreille descent, but no separate statistics are available. (3) The Kalispel dialect primarily survives on the Kalispel Reservation in northeastern Washington, where a handful of fluent speakers remain. There are also a few speakers living on the Spokane Reservation and in the nearby community of Chewelah, but information on them is scant.

**Spokane. See Spokane-Kalispel**

**Squamish (SKwxwu7mesh snichim)** is the Central Salish language of the Squamish reserves on Howe Sound and Burrard Inlet, British Columbia, on the Strait of Georgia immediately north of the city of Vancouver. There are fewer than 20 first language speakers, the youngest in their late 60s, out of a total population of 2,000.

**St'at'imcets. See Lillooet**

**St. Lawrence Island Yupik. See Central Siberian Yupik**

**Stoney** is an emergent language in the Dakotan dialect complex of Siouan, historically related to — but clearly distinct from — Assiniboine. It is spoken on five reserves in Alberta located along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains west of Calgary and Edmonton: Alexis, Paul, Bighorn, Morley, and Eden Valley. The principal community is Morley, midway between Calgary and Banff. The language is vigorous, with between 1,000 and 1,500 speakers in a total population of 3,200.

**Susquehannock** was a Northern Iroquoian language, spoken in the 17th and 18th century along the Susquehanna River in southeastern Pennsylvania and northeastern Maryland. It is known only from a list of about 80 words appended to a Delaware catechism compiled by a Swedish Lutheran missionary in 1696.

**Swampy Cree. See Western Swampy Cree and Eastern Swampy Cree**

**Tagish** is an Athabaskan language, closely related to Tahltan and Kaska, that was spoken until the mid 19th century around the lakes at the head of the Yukon River south of Whitehorse. In the later 19th century the Tagish community shifted to Tlingit and by the mid-20th century only a handful of older people remembered Tagish from their childhood. As of 2001 there remains one semi-fluent speaker and another elderly speaker who is deaf.

**Tahltan** is an Athabaskan language of northwestern British Columbia, closely related to Kaska (with which it is easily mutually intelligible) and to (nearly extinct) Tagish in the southern Yukon. It is principally the language of the remote community of Telegraph Creek, on the upper Stikine River, where there are five fluent speakers and perhaps 15 passive speakers out of a total population of 100. It is also spoken in the mixed Sekani-Tahltan community of Iskut, at Kinaskan Lake. No children are reported to speak or understand it.
Takehna was a language formerly spoken in the valley of the upper Rogue River in southwestern Oregon. The Takelmas were displaced from their homeland by the Rogue River War of 1855-56 and the survivors eventually settled on the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations in northwestern Oregon. There may have been several distinct local dialects, but only one is reflected in most of the documentation, the largest part of which comes from Sapir's work in 1906 with a single speaker. The language was extinct by the 1940s.

Tamycn. See Costanoan

Tanacross is an Athabaskan language belonging to the Tanana series, spoken at Healy Lake, Dot Lake, and Tanacross on the middle Tanana River of central Alaska. The total population is about 220, of whom about 60 speak the language.

Tanaina (Dena'ina) is the Athabaskan language of the Cook Inlet area of southern Alaska. Distinct local dialects are associated with the Kenai Peninsula, the Upper Inlet area above Anchorage, and coastal and inland areas of the west side of Cook Inlet. Of the total population of about 900 people, about 75 speak the language.

Tanana is a series of Athabaskan varieties spoken in east-central Alaska and adjacent Canada, from the upper Kuskokwim River to the headwaters of the Tanana River. Four languages are usually distinguished in the series: Upper Kuskokwim, Lower Tanana, Tanacross, and Upper Tanana. Speakers of adjacent languages can usually understand one another, although with some difficulty. None of the varieties of Tanana is flourishing; in most communities fewer than a third of the population are speakers, few or none of them children.

Taos is a Kiowa-Tanoan language spoken by members of the Pueblo of Taos, 70 miles north of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Together with Picuris and Southern Tiwa, Taos belongs to the Tiwa branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan family; although close, these languages are not mutually intelligible. There are approximately 800 speakers in a Pueblo population of 1,600.

Tawasa. See Timucua

Tataviam was apparently a Uto-Aztecan language of the Takic subfamily, once spoken in the Santa Clara Valley of southern California, but very poorly attested.

Teseque. See Tewa

Teton. See Sioux

Tewa is a Kiowa-Tanoan language spoken in distinct local varieties at seven Pueblos in northern New Mexico and Arizona. These include Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, and Pojoaque in New Mexico, and in Arizona the village of Hano on the First Mesa at Hopi. There are approximately 1,200 speakers of Tewa in
the New Mexico Pueblos out of a total enrollment of approximately 4,500. There are
about 300 additional speakers at Hano, where at least some children are acquiring the
language. At San Juan, the largest of the New Mexico Tewa Pueblos, as few as 30 fully
fluent speakers remain in a population of about 2,000; most adults are semi-speakers, and
no children are acquiring Tewa.

Thompson is an Interior Salish language spoken along the Fraser River Canyon in
southwest British Columbia and along the adjacent Thompson and Nicola Rivers. A
shallow dialect distinction exists between Upper Thompson varieties in the northern part
of Thompson territory and Lower Thompson varieties in the south. The principal modern
settlements are at Lytton on the Fraser River and at Lower Nicola and Merritt in Nicola
Valley. There are about 150 first-language speakers in a total population of over 5,000.

Tillamook, a Salishan language usually classified as its own subgroup, was formerly
spoken in several local varieties along the northwest coast of Oregon, from the Nehalem
River to the Siletz River. The last speaker died in 1970.

Timucua was a large complex of dialects spoken in the 16th and 17th century over much
of the northern half of the Florida peninsula, as well as in parts of Georgia and Alabama.
An isolated and divergent dialect, Tawasa, spoken in east-central Alabama and attested
only in a short vocabulary from 1708, is probably best treated as a closely related
language.

Timbisha. See Panamint

Tipai. See Diegueño

Tlingit is the traditional language of the Tlingit people on the southeastern coast of
Alaska from Yakutat to Ketchikan, and constitutes a separate branch of the Na-Dene
family alongside Eyak and the Athabaskan languages. The total Tlingit population in
Alaska (organized as the Sealaska Regional Corporation, divided into 16 village
communities) is about 10,000, of whom perhaps as many as 500, none of them children,
are fluent speakers of the language. An additional 185 Inland Tlingit speakers live in
Canada in several communities in the southern Yukon and northern British Columbia.
The only other well-marked local variety is the phonologically archaic Tongass dialect,
formerly spoken in the Ketchikan area but now nearly extinct.

Tohono O’odham. See O’odham

Tolkapaya (Yavapai). See Upland Yuman

Tolowa, the only surviving language of the Oregon Athabaskan subgroup, is spoken by a
few individuals at the Smith River Rancheria near Crescent City, California. It is nearly
extinct as a first language (one elderly semi-speaker survives in 2001) but there is one
fully fluent second-language speaker in his 40s.
Tonkawa was spoken in the 18th century at San Gabriel Mission, between Austin and Waco in east-central Texas, and apparently by some other groups in that region. After a tangled relationship with whites and other Indians in the first half of the 19th century, the Tonkawas were removed to Oklahoma, ultimately to a reservation in Kay County. The tribe currently has a membership of less than 200, none of whom speak the language. Tonkawa is attested in three 19th century vocabularies, but was mainly documented by Hoijer’s extensive fieldwork with one of the last fluent speakers in 1928-29. Tonkawa is considered an isolate.

Tssetsaut was an Athabaskan language formerly spoken on Portland Canal, on the north coast of British Columbia adjacent to Nass-Gitksan territory. It is known exclusively from a single vocabulary collected by Boas in 1894, but the data are sufficient to show that Tssetsaut formed its own distinct subgroup within the Athabaskan family. The language has been extinct for over a century and the Tssetsaut people have been absorbed into neighboring tribes.

Tsimshian is a name commonly used for at least two different language units. On the one hand it is the term associated in much of the older literature with the entire Tsimshianic language family. More narrowly, it is often used as a synonym for Coast Tsimshian (Sm’algyax), an emergent language in the Coast Tsimshian area of Tsimshianic.

Tsuut’ina. See Sarcee

Tualatin-Yamhill: See Kalapuya

Tubatulabal, a Uto-Aztecan language that constitutes an independent branch of the family, is the heritage language of the unrecognized Tubatulabal tribe of Kern County, California. There are approximately 900 Tubatulabals, about half of them still living in the tribe’s traditional territory in the Kern River Valley of the southern Sierra Nevada. Only a handful of elderly people—fewer than five—are speakers of the language.

Tukudh. See Gwich’in

Tule-Kaweah. See Yokuts

Tümpisa Shoshone. See Panamint

Tunica, a heritage language of the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Marksville, Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana, was spoken in the 17th and 18th century along the Mississippi River near Vicksburg, Mississippi. Some materials on Tunica were collected in the late 19th and early 20th century, but the principal documentation is by Haas, who collected extensive data between 1933 and 1939 and published a grammar, a grammatical sketch, a dictionary, and a collection of texts. The last speaker, with whom Haas worked, died after 1950. Tunica is an isolate. Tunica was also spoken by the neighboring Tiou, and other dialects or closely related languages were probably spoken by the Koroa, Yazoo, and Grigra; no data from these varieties is known.
**Tuscarora** was a Northern Iroquoian language, was spoken until the early 18th century in eastern North Carolina. After 1711-13 many Tuscaroras moved north to join the League of the Iroquois in New York, settling near the Seneca. After the American Revolution part of the group fled to Canada, joining other Iroquois on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario. Only two or three speakers of Tuscarora remain, all over 80.

**Tutelo** was a Siouan language of the Ohio Valley (or Southeastern) branch that was spoken by the Tutelos, Saponis, and Occaneechis, who lived until the 1670s in the Roanoke-Staunton Valley of southern Virginia, and apparently also by the Monyton on the Kanawha River in West Virginia. After a series of conflicts and removals, the remnant of the Virginia groups moved north under the name Tutelo in the mid-18th century and became affiliated with the Iroquois, eventually settling on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario with the Cayuga. The language is attested in the early eighteenth century by a vocabulary and some translated placenames. There were semi-speakers, and rumored full speakers, in the twentieth century, but the last confirmed fluent speaker, who supplied the most extensive documentation, died in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century.

**Tututni** was a language of the Oregon Athabaskan subgroup formerly spoken along the southwest Oregon coast from the Coquille River to a few miles north of the California border. There were several distinct local varieties, the best attested of which are Coquille, Euchre Creek, and Chasta Costa. After the Rogue River War of 1855-56 the Tututnis were forcibly resettled in northern Oregon on the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations, where Tututni continued to be spoken for several generations. The last fluent speaker died in 1983.

**Twana** was a Central Salish language formerly spoken along Hood Canal on the east side of the Olympic Peninsula in northwestern Washington. The Twana were concentrated on the Skokomish Reservation in 1859, where dialect differences were lost but the language and culture survived for several generations. The last fluent speaker died in 1980.

**Uchiti** is an essentially unattested language once spoken on the east coast of the peninsula of Baja California, around La Paz and on the west coast north of the mission of Todos Santos. Uchiti is sometimes thought to be a Guaicurian language, though it may well have been only a variant of Guaicura (Waikuri) itself.

**Unami** was an Eastern Algonquian language originally spoken in several dialects in southern and central New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and northern Delaware. With the westward migration of the Delawares, Southern Unami came to be spoken in Ohio, Indiana, Kansas, and elsewhere, ending up after the Civil War in Oklahoma, where it was the heritage language of the Delaware Tribe, near Bartlesville and Dewey, Oklahoma, and the Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma, near Anadarko. The last speaker died in 2002. The Northern Unami dialect was extensively documented by German-speaking Moravian missionaries in the late eighteenth century and survived into the twentieth century among the Canadian Munsees. The Unalachtigo dialect, originally from the Trenton area, appears also to be reflected in the Moravians' materials.
Upland Yuman is a Yuman language, closely related to Paipai, spoken by three historically and culturally distinct groups in western Arizona, the Hualapai, the Havasupai, and the Yavapai, the last traditionally divided into four regional subtribes. Each community speaks a distinct variety, with the Yavapai varieties forming a well-defined dialect, although all varieties are mutually intelligible with little difficulty.

Hualapai (Walapai) is spoken at the Hualapai Indian Reservation in Peach Springs by approximately 1,000 people, slightly more than half the total population. Speakers are of all ages and at least some children continue to acquire Walapai as their first language.

Havasupai is spoken by more than 500 people of all ages, nearly the entire population of the village of Supai in Havasu Canyon, at the western end of the Grand Canyon.

Yavapai is spoken in four small reservation communities, Prescott, Fort McDowell, Camp Verde, and Clarkdale. Local varieties, however, reflect pre-reservation subtribes and include Yavepe, Tolkapaya, Keweekkapaya, and Wipukpaya, speakers of which are found in all four communities. None of the Yavapai varieties are thriving, and most of the estimated 100 to 150 speakers (out of a total population of about 1,000) are middle aged or older.

Upper Chehalis, one of the four languages of the Tsamosan division of the Salishan family, was formerly spoken on the upper Chehalis River in southwestern Washington. Most Upper Chehalis descendants live on the Chehalis Reservation, west of Centralia, which they share with the descendants of several other groups. The last active speaker died at the age of 90 in 2001.

Upper Kuskokwim (or Kolchan) is an Athabaskan language belonging to the Tanana series, spoken in the villages of Nikolai, Telida, and McGrath in the Upper Kuskokwim River drainage of central Alaska. Of a total population of about 160 people, about 40 still speak the language.

Upper Piman. See O'odham

Upper Umpqua was a language of the Oregon Athabaskan subgroup formerly spoken in the upper drainage of the Umpqua River in southwestern Oregon. After the Rogue River War of 1855-56 the Upper Umpquas were forcibly resettled in northern Oregon on the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations, and the language rapidly fell out of use. The last speaker died in the 1940s.

Upper Tanana is an Athabaskan language belonging to the Tanana series, spoken mainly in the Alaska villages of Northway, Tetlin, and Tok, but also in the Beaver Creek area of the Yukon. Each of these communities has a different local variety. The Alaskan population is about 300, of whom at most 100 speak the language.

Ute-Chemehuevi is a dialect chain within Southern Numic that extends from central Colorado westward across Utah and southern Nevada to the eastern Mojave Desert in California. There are three major regional varieties, all mutually intelligible. Ute (Colorado and central Utah) is spoken by about 900 people in and around three reservation communities: (1) Southern Ute (Ignacio, Colorado), where there about 100
first-language speakers, the youngest about 55, out of a total population of 1,300. (2) Ute Mountain Ute (Towaoc, Colorado), where there about 500 first-language speakers, the youngest about 25, out of a total population of 1,500. (3) Uintah & Ouray (Northern) Ute (Ft. Duchesne, Utah), where there about 300 first-language speakers, the youngest about 45, out of a total population of 2,000. Southern Paiute (southern Utah and Nevada) is spoken in ten widely separated communities in Utah, Arizona, and Nevada. The five Utah communities constitute the Paiute Tribe of Utah and have a total population of about 600. The San Juan Paiute Tribe is settled on the Navajo Reservation in Utah and Arizona and has a population of 220. The Kaibab Paiute Tribe, with a reservation north of the Grand Canyon, has a population of 212. The three southern Nevada tribes (Moapa, Las Vegas, and Pahrump) have a combined population of over 400. The language is spoken to a varying extent in all communities, but only in the San Juan tribe are children still acquiring it as their first language. Chemehuevi (southern California) is spoken on the Colorado River Indian Reservation at Parker, Arizona (which the Chemehuevis share with Mohaves, Navajos, and Hopis), and on the neighboring Chemehuevi Reservation in California. There are fewer than 20 first-language speakers, with the youngest nearly 40.

Ute. See Ute-Chemehuevi

Ventureño, a Chumash language, was spoken at San Buenaventura mission and in most of Ventura County. There were at least six different dialects.

Virginia Algonquian is the name given to the Algonquian language attested in two vocabularies collected at Jamestown between 1607 and 1611. It presumably was the language of the Powhatan confederacy in tidewater Virginia. There may have been speakers as late as 1790, but no further documentation exists.

Waikuri. See Guaicurian

Wappo is a Yukian language, a small family of the Coast Range of northern California. Wappo was originally spoken from Napa Valley to Clear Lake, in a compact, mostly mountainous, territory hemmed in by speakers of the Pomo languages on the west, Lake Miwok on the north, and Patwin on the east and south. During the 19th century most of the surviving Wappos joined these surrounding groups. Wappo appears recently to have become extinct.

Wasco-Wishram. See Kiksht

Washo, an isolate, often associated with the controversial Hokan stock, is spoken by members of the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, whose traditional homeland centers on Lake Tahoe in the High Sierra. There are several dozen fluent first-language speakers, all middle-aged or elderly, in a total population of over 1,500, divided among four small reservations in both Nevada and California.

Western Abenaki was spoken in New Hampshire and adjacent areas of Vermont. The largest modern community is in Quebec, at the Odanak Reserve on the St. François River, where a handful of elderly fluent speakers survive. In addition about 2,000 people of
Western Abenaki descent live in Vermont around the northern end of Lake Champlain. Attempts are underway there to revive the language and teach it in the Vermont school system. Western Abenaki was extensively documented by a series of village schoolmasters from the Odanak community in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including Joseph Laurent, and by Gordon Day, who published a dictionary.

Western Apache is an emergent language within the Southern Athabaskan dialect complex, spoken as a first language by up to 14,000 people in several reservation communities in southeastern Arizona. Of these, about 6,000 live on the San Carlos Reservation and 7,000 on the Ft. Apache Reservation (White Mountain Apache Tribe), making up about 65% of the population of those two tribes. Much smaller numbers of speakers are found at the Tonto Reservation at Payson, at the Camp Verde Reservation (shared with the Yavapais), and at the Ft. McDowell Reservation near Scottsdale (shared with the Yavapais and the Mojaves). A few children at San Carlos and Ft. Apache speak Western Apache as their first language, but most children and young adults are passive speakers or semi-speakers.

Western Canadian Inuktitut. See Inuktitut

Western Eskimo. See Yupik

Western Miwok, one of the two branches of the Miwok languages of north-central California, consists of two languages: Coast Miwok, originally spoken in Marin and Sonoma counties, is extinct. Lake Miwok has two or three semi-speakers, none of them actively using the language, who live at the Middletown Rancheria, on ancestral Lake Miwok territory to the southeast of Clear Lake.

Western Naskapi is the first language of nearly 800 people on the Kawawachikamach Reserve, near Schefferville, Quebec. The community moved from Fort Chimo in 1956. The dialect is most similar to Eastern Naskapi, but it also shares some features with Northern East Cree.

Western Swampy Cree (Algonquian language of the Cree-Montagnais branch) is spoken in northeastern Manitoba at York Factory, Fox Lake, Shamattawa, Churchill, and Norway House. The dialect of Fort Severn has been influenced by Eastern Swampy and by Ojibwe. Most band members are speakers.

Wetsuwet'en. See Babine

Wichita is a Northern Caddoan language, spoken by the Wichita Tribe, formerly a confederacy of autonomous bands that until the late 19th century lived in an area extending from central Oklahoma through central Texas. Today they live in Caddo County in central Oklahoma, primarily in and around the town of Anadarko, an area in which the Caddo, Delaware, and Kiowa also live. There are fewer than 10 elderly speakers of the language in a total tribal population of approximately 2,100.
Winnebago (Ho-Chunk, Hochank) is a Siouan language of the Chiwere-Winnebago subgroup, spoken in central Wisconsin. Winnebago has over 250 fluent first-language speakers, divided between the Winnebago Tribe of northeastern Nebraska and the Ho-Chunk Nation of central Wisconsin. The number may be higher; 2,000 speakers were reported by reliable sources in 1980.

Wintu-Nomlaki is one of the two languages of the Wintuan family of northern California, and was originally spoken in the northern half of the Sacramento Valley, on the upper Sacramento River below Mt. Shasta, and in the upper drainage of the Trinity River and on Hayfork Creek in Trinity County. There were two major dialects, Nomlaki, spoken along the Sacramento River south of Red Bluff, and Wintu, spoken elsewhere in the territory. There appears to have been no significant difference between the variety of Wintu spoken in the Trinity-Hayfork area and the Sacramento Valley variety. At least one fluent, traditional speaker of the Wintu dialect remains, although elderly, as well as several semi-speakers.

Wipukpaya (Yavapai). See Upland Yuman

Wiyot was an Aligin language of the Humboldt Bay region of northwestern California, distantly related to the Algonquian languages as well as to adjacent Yurok. It is the heritage language of the Wiyot tribe, whose principal modern community is at Table Bluff Rancheria near Ferndale. The last speaker died in 1961.

Woccon was one of the two languages in the Catawban branch of the Siouan-Catawba family. It was spoken in the early 18th century in eastern North Carolina, and is attested only in a vocabulary of 143 words that was printed in 1709. The relationship between Woccon and Catawba (proper) is not close.

Woods Cree is the variety of Cree spoken in communities in the forested interior of northwestern Manitoba and north-central Saskatchewan (Lac La Ronge, Montreal Lake, Lac La Ronge, Peter Ballantyne).

Wyandot. See Huron-Wyandot

Yana was spoken in several distinct dialects in the rugged country west of Mt. Lassen in the northern Sacramento Valley. It is an isolate, often associated with the controversial Hokan stock. There were three principal dialects: Northern Yana, spoken in a small area around Montgomery Creek; Central Yana, on Cow Creek; and Southern Yana, spoken in the southern two-thirds of the territory. Ishi, the well-known last survivor of the Yahi group, spoke the Southern dialect. At least one speaker of Yana survived until about 1940.

Yankton-Yanktonai. See Sioux

Yaqui (Cáhtita, Yoeme) is a language of the Tarahumara subfamily of Uto-Aztecan, primarily spoken along the lower Yaqui River in southern Sonora, Mexico. In the early 20th century many Yaquis fled to the United States to escape political persecution and
settled in southern Arizona. About 8,000 Yaquis are now members of the Yaqui Tribe of Arizona, which since 1964 has had a reservation at New Pascua, southwest of Tucson. Although older Arizona Yaquis speak their language fluently or are bilingual in Yaqui and Spanish, younger tribal members have largely switched to English.

Yaquina. See Alsea.

Yavapai. See Upland Yuman

Yavepe (Yavapai). See Upland Yuman

Yoeme. See Yaqui

Yokuts is a large complex of dialects, spoken aboriginally in the San Joaquin Valley of south-central California and the foothills of the Sierra Nevada to the east. There were over 40 local varieties of Yokuts, each associated with a small independent community, often only a single village or close-knit group of villages. Although the classification is somewhat arbitrary, six emergent languages are usually distinguished, three of which (Palewyami, Buena Vista, and Gashowu) are extinct. Still spoken are: Tule-Kaweah, a cluster of dialects originally spoken in the Sierra Nevada foothills along the Tule and Kaweah Rivers, east of Porterville. Fewer than 10 speakers of the Wukchumne (Wikchamni) dialect of Tule-Kaweah remain, most of them on the Tule River Reservation. Kings River, a cluster of dialects originally spoken in the Sierra Nevada foothills east of Fresno. Half a dozen elderly speakers or semi-speakers of the Choinumne (Choynimni) dialect live in scattered locations in and around their traditional homeland. Valley Yokuts, a large complex of shallowly differentiated dialects spoken mainly in the San Joaquin Valley. There are speakers of at least three Valley Yokuts dialects, including up to 25 fluent and semi-fluent speakers of Yowolumne (Yawelmanai) on the Tule River Reservation, a few semi-speakers of Chukchansi at the Picayune and Table Mountain Rancherias in the foothills northeast of Fresno, and a few speakers of Tachi at the Santa Rosa Rancheria near Lemoore.

Yoncalla. See Kalapuya

Yuchi (Euchee) is an isolate, possibly distantly related to the Siouan languages. Originally an independent tribe located in central Tennessee, the Yuchis have been politically associated with the Muscogee Creeks since the early 19th century and most of the 1,500 members of the group live among the Creeks in northeastern Oklahoma, near Sapulpa, Hectorsville, and Bristow. The language is still spoken fluently by 5 to 7 elderly people, only one younger than 75.

Yuki was a complex of distinct but closely related dialects that were spoken in northern Mendocino and Lake Counties, California, from Round Valley to the coast. Together with Wappo, the Yuki dialects form the Yukian family. The major dialects were Coast Yuki, spoken along a short stretch of the rugged coast between Fort Bragg and Rockport; Huchnom, spoken along the South Eel River north of Willits; and Yuki (proper), or
Round Valley Yuki, spoken in a number of village communities in and around Round Valley. The last fluent speaker died around 1990.

**Yupik (Western Eskimo).** See Central Alaskan Yup’ik, Naukanski Yupik, Pacific Yupik, Central Siberian Yupik.

**Yurok,** an Algic language distantly related to the Algonquian languages, is the traditional language of the Yurok Tribe of northwestern California and of three nearby independent rancherias of Yurok heritage, Reseghini, Big Lagoon, and Trinidad (Cher-Ae). Only a dozen or fewer elderly people have full first-language fluency in a combined tribal enrollment of well over 4,000, although there are perhaps three times as many semi-speakers and passive speakers, all middle aged or older.

**Zia.** See Rio Grande Keresan

**Zuni,** an isolate, is the language of Zuni Pueblo in western New Mexico. Zuni remains the primary language of most of the more than 9,000 tribal members, although almost all are bilingual in English. The Zuni Tribe has formally adopted a practical orthography and has collaborated with the public school district in developing a literacy program designed to help preserve the language in written form.

### 5. Contact Languages

Contact among languages, in North America as elsewhere in the world, has resulted in distinctive kinds of language, often showing features of more than one linguistic ancestor. The term **Piggin** is applied to “trade languages” in which vocabulary is drawn primarily from one language, but morphological structure is drastically simplified; examples in Native North America include Chinook Jargon, Delaware Jargon, and Mobilian Jargon. In one view, when a pidgin language develops into the first language of a community, it becomes a **Creole.** It is possible that Chinook Jargon reached this stage in some areas during the 19th and 20th centuries. When structural features from two different languages are combined in a single language, without grammatical simplification, we can speak of a **Mixed Language;** North American examples are Mednyj Aleut and Michif. Details on all these languages are given below.

**Chinook Jargon** was the lingua franca of the Pacific Northwest, from the Alaska Panhandle to northwestern California in the 18th and 19th century. Initially based on Nootka vocabulary diffused by European and American seafarers, the major basis for its vocabulary was the Chinook language of the lower Columbia River area, with further words added from Salishan languages. When speakers of French and English arrived in the area, vocabulary from those languages was also added. “Jargon,” as Chinook Jargon is often called in the area, may have been spoken as a second language by as many as 100,000 people at one time, and is still occasionally used by a few.

**Mednyj Aleut** was a mixed language spoken on Mednyj Island, off the coast of Kamchatka, in the 19th and 20th century by people of mixed Russian-Aleut descent. The language contained vocabulary from both language; in noun forms mostly employ Aleut morphology, while in verb forms, Russian inflectional endings were used.
Michif. See above.

Mobilian Jargon was at one time widely used in the southeastern US, among numerous Indian tribes, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Apalachee, Alabama, Koasati, Chitimacha, Natchez, Tunica, Ofò, Biloxi, Caddo, and others, as well as by Europeans. It was based primarily on Muskogean languages. A detailed discussion is that of Drechsel (1997).

Pidgin Delaware, developed from Unami Delaware, was used between the Delaware and European colonists in the 17th and 18th centuries.

6. References and further reading
A number of useful general books on North American Indian languages have appeared in recent years. A survey of the entire field, with sketch grammars of several languages and a large map, is Goddard 1996a (ed.). A discussion of the genetic classification of all the Native languages of the Americas is provided by Campbell 1997. A survey of the ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics of North American languages is offered by Silver & Miller (1997). The volume of Mithun (1999) presents structural features of the languages, a catalogue of families and languages with comments on salient characteristics of many languages. These books contain detailed bibliographies; users of this atlas who want more information on a particular language can refer to these books.

References and further reading


   [Reprinted, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd series, 9:223–312, 1822.]


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1 We thank William Bright for extensive help, both for helping to write an early draft of the text and for much editorial assistance.