Towards a Taxonomy of Epistemological Roots in Cowichan

Andrew Cienski
University of Victoria

This paper was written in collaboration with Ruby Peter, Hul'qumi'num, Coast Salish speaker and linguist. It examines epistemological words and phrases relating to cognition, perception, teaching, assuming, forgetting, decision, etc. Being polysynthetic, the language's words, on a prosodic level, bear a complex semantic relationship between roots and affixes. By isolating the semantic contribution of each affix, the root itself becomes better understood. Through analyses of a variety of prosodic words, the meaning of each root is revealed. The roots are then arranged in a taxonomy according to semantic similarities and divergences.

Interestingly, the process of classifying the roots has revealed that many epistemological Hul'qumi'num terms carry a second set of meanings relating to location and order. This paper explores the semantic connection between cognition and location as integral to a deeper understanding of what each root means.

1 Introduction

Cowichan Hul'qumi'num Coast Salish is spoken mostly along the south eastern coast of Vancouver Island from Nanaimo to Duncan. It is one of three Halkomelem dialects. For generations, many Halkomelem speakers and elders have worked with academic linguists. Many of today's generation of elders have taken it upon themselves to study Western academic approaches to language and linguistics. The result is a group of native speaking linguists, fluent in both the Western mode of observing and deconstructing their language, and in their own native understanding of how their language creates and expresses meaning and connotation. One of these Elders is Ruby Peter with whom this paper was written. It must be stated however that any and all errors herein belong to the author.

This paper explores words concerning knowledge, thought, truth, belief, and others. These roots do not form a comprehensive survey of Cowichan roots relevant to epistemology. The ones listed here were chosen because they are exceptionally productive in their ability to create a wide variety of words with quite different (but never contradictory) meanings. Halkomelem is a polysynthetic language, whereby prosodic words are formed from a lexical root often carrying several affixes. The roots of words provide the greatest semantic

contribution, however, the influence of the affixes seems to steer the words' meanings into quite distinct areas.

It should be mentioned that the word "epistemology", strictly speaking, does not encapsulate the entirety of the range of meanings conveyed by the Cowichan roots discussed here. Epistemology is the study of 'how we know what we know'. Epistemologists generally agree that knowledge is a sub-set of that which is believed and that which is true. Considering truth, there are generally two camps, those who say truth originates from outside the self and those who say it originates from within. Materialists and rationalists would say truth comes from without. This line of thought generally restricts itself to purely empirical knowledge or cognitive experience, which is the core of empirical knowledge. Empiricism refers to knowledge resulting from the information brought in from the five senses. Cognition relates to the act or process of knowing: cognizance = awareness. However, cognition does not include affection. Cowichan roots such as *qwal* are able to refer to the intellect as well as emotion and spirit. Neither does cognition include conation, or the will. Again, Cowichan does this with the same root. To say that *qwal* relates to cognizance is true in as far as one is referring to the experience of knowing and understanding; however, these do not exhaust its meaning. For the purpose of accuracy, therefore, the word *thought*, in this paper, will include the affective and conative experience.

The roots discussed in this paper were chosen because of their productivity. By choosing roots able to refer to a wide variety of referents, a stronger argument can be presented for the choices in classification. Also, a better understanding of the semantic processes within the language can be developed.

While developing the epistemological taxonomy, it became evident that certain of the roots were able to refer to seemingly unrelated (from an English speaker's perspective) sets of referents. I have loosely referred to the first as epistemological, while the second is locative (not in the grammatical sense). These roots deal with spatial order such as pattern, and others with temporal order such as firstness and simultaneity. This paper will explore the co-occurrence of locative concepts with epistemological ones for the purpose of 'delineating' the semantic boundaries (often porous) between each root.

The paper follows the taxonomy into which the roots are ordered. Each example word is analyzed and a justification is provided as to the inclusion of its root in a given section. Section 2 considers two roots: *hw'iint*, referring to 'thought', 'emotion', and 'meaning'; and *ni'* , referring to 'location' and 'meaning'. Section 3 deals with 'information' and 'knowledge'. Section 3.1 covers 'possession of knowledge'. This includes words derived from *nuw'* that refer to 'knowledge' and its locative parallel, 'entrance'; for 'cunning', from the root *stsuw'et*; and for notions of truth and certainty as described by *q'il* . 3.2 considers only one root, *tal'* which deals with experience and learning. Conversely, 3.3 considers demonstrations of knowledge and paying attention with terms for giving and teaching, employing the root '*em* ; *paying attention* (and finding direction) from the root '*iw'* ; and looking, noticing and choosing,

from *lem*. Section 3.4 looks at recollection and forgetting of information, from the roots *hek'w* and *mel'q* respectively. 3.5 deals with the experience and expression of information by covering language and thought as described by the roots *qwal* and *thut*. Section 4 focuses on order and thought and consists of three major subsections: pattern and assessment, covered by three roots: *xuts* , relating to thinking, considering, and order and direction; *yuw'en'*, referring to firstness and prediction; and *t'e* which covers simultaneity and sameness. 4.2 deals with confusion and its locative parallel of lack of direction, covered by *ts'ul*. Conversely, 4.3 deals with the notion of correctness (relating in part at least to validity), and its parallel locative notion of navigation. The following outline shows an overview of the taxonomy developed:

2. MEANING, LOCATION & THOUGHT
- 2.1 Meaning, Thought and Emotion
    - hw'iint
- 2.2 Meaning & Location
    - ni'

3. KNOWLEDGE & TRANSPOSITION
- 3.1 Possession of
    - 3.1.1 Knowledge & Entrance
        - nuw'
    - 3.1.2 Cunning
        - stsuw'et
    - 3.1.3 Truth & Certainty
        - q'il (hwq'ilus vs. sni'nuw) vs. skwati
- 3.2 Acquisition and Experience of Knowledge
    - tal'
- 3.3 Locating, Transfer, and Attention
    - 3.3.1 Transfer & Teaching
        - 'em
    - 3.3.2 Direction & Attention
        - 'iw'
    - 3.3.3 Looking, Noticing & Choosing
        - lem∏seeing/noticing
- 3.4 Loss & Recollection of
    - 3.4.1 Remembering
        - hek'w
    - 3.4.2 Forgetting
        - mel'q
- 3.5 Experience & Expression of
    - 3.5.1 Language and Mind
        - qwal
    - 3.5.2 Language and Thought
        - thut

4 ORDER & THOUGHT
- 4.1 Pattern, Assessment
        - xuts
    - 4.1.1 Firstness and Prediction
        - yuw'en'
    - 4.1.2 Simultaneity and Sameness

        - t'e (v.s huy)
- 4.2 Lack of Direction and Confusion
    - ts'ul
- 4.3 Correctness and Navigation
    - tl'ulum

Note on Transcription:

The examples in this paper are written first in the Cowichan writing system; the next line provides a phonemic transcription; the third line is a morpheme by morpheme gloss (definitions of roots have been omitted as their meanings vary greatly depending on the affixes and context); lastly, an English translation is provided by Ruby Peter herself, or by a Hul'qumi'num dictionary (Hukari & Peter, undated). As indicated, these sources are abbreviated HP for Hukari and Peter's Cowichan Dictionary, and RP when given by Ruby Peter during our recording sessions.

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2 Meaning of, Reason for, and Location

The theme of this section seems very broad, however there are just two roots discussed here. The first, *hw'iint*, covers 'meaning', 'thought', and 'feeling about something'. The second, *ni'*, covers temporal and spatial place as well as 'reason for', 'because', and 'why'. These two roots have been included under the same heading because they overlap in their ability to discuss meaning. The first can refer to the meaning of something, while the second is used to say that something is meaningless.

2.1 Meaning, Thought, and Emotion

As a predicate, *hw'iint* refers to thinking or feeling about something. However 'thinking about' differs from the active thinking or 'figuring' referred to with *xuts* (discussed in 4.1). The *thought* here is more of a thoughtful reaction as demanded by the question "what did you think about the movie" which even in English is almost synonymous with "what did you feel about the movie".

In (1) we see the predicate *hwiintiwun* is the root coupled with a lexical suffix (LS). The LS =*iwun* refers to personal or interior aspects of the self such as insides (physical and cognitive), middle, or trunk (Suttles 2004:313).

(1) nii ch hwiintiwun
ni-ə č x^{w}iint=iwən
AUX[1]+Q you √x^{w}iint = INT
what did you feel about ... (RP 3/08)

Without the LS, *hwiint* can refer to meaning; as suggested by its usage in (2), where the root is bare save for a nominalizing prefix. As is common with Salish roots, *hw'iint* can be employed as a verb or a noun. In (2) the addition of a nominalizing prefix and absence of the interior reference of the LS appears to alter the reference of the root to that of 'meaning' of a word or sentence.

(2) shhw'iint
š-x^{w}ʔiint
NOM-√ x^{w}ʔiint
what is the meaning of a word/sentence (RP 3/08)

Taking both the root and LS into consideration in (1), *hwiintiwun* appears to refer to thoughts and feelings as interior meanings. The cohabitation of thought with feeling and emotion will recur in *qwal* (say) and *thut* (say) in

2.2 Meaning and Location

When referring to a location (temporal or special) the word most often employed is *ni'*, roughly meaning 'at'. This word most often appears as an auxiliary marker that places the event of the following predicate at a certain distance i.e. out of sight or in the past. The auxiliary can take a nominalizing prefix *s*-, which allows it to be used as a noun. In (3), *ni'* appears as a lexical item, and as such is preceded by a determiner and follows the auxiliary *ni'*. In this sense, it indicates a particular place.

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[1] Abbreviation & Symbol Key:
√= Root Word, APPL=Applicative, AUX=Auxiliary, CAUS=Causative, CER=Ceremony (LS), DET=Determiner, FAC=Face; Round Object (LS), HAB=habitual action, HND=Hand (LS), INT=Internal/Personal, INSTR=Instrument, INTR=Intransitive, LANG=throat, language, LTDCTRL=Limited Control, LS=Lexical Suffix, MOV=Movement Towards, NEG=Negative/Negation, NOM=Nominative, OBJ=Object, OBL=Oblique, OBLREL=Oblique Relater, PASS=Passive, PL=Plural, POSS=Possessive, often preceded with a number referring to Person, PAR =Partake or Experience, Q=Question, RDPL=Reduplication, SG=Singular, STA=Stative, TR=Transitive, VRB=Verbalizer.

(3)	…ni’	‘u	tthu	shni’s	tthu
	…niʔ	ʔə	tθə	š-x^{w}-niʔ-s	tθə
	AUX	OBL	DET	NOM-OBL.REL-√niʔ	DET
		sht’tham’			
		šť $^{\theta}$aṁ			
		bone			

…(at the place) where the bone was.(H&P:110)

However *ni’* can also take verbal suffixes such as causative *–stuhw* and middle voice marker *–m* (See Gerdts and Hukari 2005 for a full description of this suffix), forming the predicate *nistum* meaning ‘take there’.

In the following example, we see *shni’s* can also refer to the reason for something, or why something is. In HP’s dictionary, there are two entries for *shni’s*: one for its usage as ‘why’, and the other as ‘at’, despite their being the same word and not homonyms. Evidence that they are the same word is the word *shus* (H&P: 110), which functions as a grammatical marker. *Shus* can be morphologically parsed as s-x^{w}-ni -s, and is translated as ‘why’, ‘when’, or ‘because’. Note the temporal locative[2] ‘when’ in the list of English equivalents for *shus*. This is in keeping with the usage of *shni’s* in (3) as a spatial locative, as well as the root’s usage in (4) as ‘reason for’.

(4)	…’u	shni’s	taamtum	‘ul’
	…ʔə	š-x^{w}-niʔ-s	taamtəm	ʔəl̓
	…OBL	NOM-OBL.REL-√niʔ-3rd	leave.someone	just

… that’s why he was left there.(H&P:110)

When asked for an antonym to ‘meaning’ in (2), Ruby Peter offered the following phrase referring to meaninglessness. In (3) the root refers to a location while in (5) it refers to a meaning. How this is possible can most likely only be explained by a native language speaker. I did not have the opportunity to follow up with Mrs. Peter regarding this.

(5)	‘uwu	t’e	‘al	shni’s
	ʔəwə	t̓e	ʔal	šniʔs
	NEG	none	just	NOM-OBL.REL-√niʔ–3rd

That doesn’t mean anything. (RP 3/08)

We have seen that *shni’s* has multiple meanings. Otherwise stated; *shni’s* can be used to refer to meaning, reason, and place. We see in (5), as compared with (2) that when the root refers to meaning it is nominalized.

[2] Throughout this paper, the word locative will refer to location and not to the grammatical case.

Nominalization seems to have the effect of isolating an event to a specific thought, place, or reason.

There is also an interesting co-occurrence of 'reason for' and location in *shni's*. This is not entirely surprising considering *ni'* also occurs as an auxiliary[3] which sets the event of the predicate in a non-proximal location. Wittgenstein is famed for his equating a word's meaning with its function in a sentence. He offers the analogy of a chess piece whose 'meaning' is defined by its role, or how it moves on the chessboard. With *ni'*, Hul'qumi'num seems to reflect the same idea of meaning as dependant on placement and context. It will be shown later on in section 3, that the connection between location (and direction) are very important to arriving at the meanings of roots which refer to thought and truth.

3 Knowledge and Transposition

The following section discusses knowing what is known and having the capacity or capability of knowing. Each of the following roots form words that refer to aspects of knowing such as intelligence, knowledge, truth, certainty, decision, belief, sanity, teaching, learning, remembering, and forgetting. As in the above section, some of these roots can form words dealing with direction, such as entry and insertion, indication towards, and directing. The core meanings of the following 12 roots differ from one another; however, the prosodic words in this section often overlap in their reference to the same aspects of knowing. For this reason they fall within the same category. It is important to note that subclass designations are porous. There are many instances of shared or related meanings between words under different headings. These overlaps are opportunities to understand connotative and denotative subtleties, and also allow us to see subtle differences in meaning between apparent synonyms.

3.1 Possession of Knowledge

There are three roots that refer to possessing knowledge: *nuw'*, which can refer to knowledge, entrance, and insertion; *stsuw'et*, which refers to cunning or intelligence; and *q'il*, which refers to truth, sanity, belief, and clarity or certainty.

3.1.1 Entrance and Knowledge

Nuw' has two provinces to its semantic field: knowledge and entrance or insertion. There are two suffixes in (6). *–il* is a verbal suffix indicating movement toward, while *–m* is a middle voice marker. The word can be used to invite someone in, or it can describe a penetration such as being stabbed or impaled.

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[3] *ni'* is actually a construct of the auxiliary *i'* meaning "proximal" and the distal clitic *n-*. The result is a common, nonproximal auxiliary.

(6) nuw'ilum
nəwʔ-il-əm
√nəẇ-MOV-INTR
enter; go inside (HP:107)

However the root *nuw'* can also indicate knowledge, referring specifically to traditional knowledge such as concerns morality, history, and many cultural, and ceremonial aspects of Coast Salish culture. In (7) the knowledge referred to is knowledge of traditional rules (protocols) and lore (traditional stories such as creation stories). The word has a nominal prefix and appears to have a reduplicative prefix, perhaps a plural reduplication.

(7) sni'nuw'
s-niʔ-√nuwʔ
NOM-RDPL-√nəẇ
knowledgeable (person) (RP 3/08)

The lexical suffix (LS) =*uyulh* in (8) refers to ceremony (Suttles 2006). *Nuw'* is the only root for knowledge my research has uncovered that takes this suffix. The application of =*uyulh* reinforces the semantic connection with *nuw'* to traditional or sacred knowledge.

(8) snuw'uyulh
s-nəwʔ=əyəɬ
NOM-√nəẇ=CEREMONY
a teaching (RP 3/08)

The lack of traditional knowledge is a separate concept from general ignorance, which is covered by *q'il* in 2.1.3. The antonym of *sni'nuw'* in (7) is the statement shown in (9), which is simply a negation of the predicate. The reduplicated stem does differ from *sni'nuw* in (7). The form in (9) may be a progressive reduplication. In Halkomelem dialects, reduplicated roots beginning with resonants are prefixed with *h*-. Here, a nominalizing *s*- may have caused the *h*- to be dropped, leaving the surface form in (9).[4]

[4] There appear to be several instances in the following data where negated forms bear glottal insertions and vowel raising. This is a topic in need of further exploration, and stands outside the scope of this paper.

(9) ‘uwu te’ siniws
ʔəwə teʔ s-hiniws
NEG none NOM-√nəẇ-3POSS.
he has no (traditional) teachings (RP 3/08)

3.1.2 Cunning

Stuw'et is often translated as ‘know how to do something’, thereby carrying a sense of practical application to its expression of knowledge. In Hukari and Peter’s dictionary (Undated) *tsuw’et* denotes cunning, knowing how to do something, or being good at something. When asked for a term for the opposite of forgetful, Mrs. Peter gave (10) as denoting ‘someone with a good memory’ or ‘clever’.

(10) stsuw’et
s-cəẇet
NOM-√cəẇet
clever (RP 3/08)

3.1.3 Truth and Certainty

Q’il in (11) appears to refer to the truth-value of knowledge; however, further examples show this root can speak about the ‘act of knowing’ as well as the credibility of information. For example, in (12), *q’il* validates the sincerity of a statement. The same root also refers to belief in (16). This is interesting in that, whereas the root otherwise modifies the information itself, belief belongs to the domain of the receiver of the information. (16) may be implying that the ability to discern truth from falsehood is an aspect of wisdom. In this sense *q’il* incorporates intelligence and wisdom.

(11) q’il
√q̇il
true (RP 3/08)

In (12) we find a sentence referring to sincerity or truthfulness. This example employs the verbalizing prefix lh-, which changes the noun’s role to a predicate, similar to a nominalizer changing a predicate into a noun. Suttles (2004:554) defines this prefix as meaning ‘partake’ or ‘experience’. The intention of this example seems to be that in being truthful, one’s speech participates in truth.

Note the shift from the glottalized uvular [q’] to the glottalized velar resonant [w’] in the two roots. However, Ruby Peter assures us *q’il* and *w’il* are instances of the same root.

(12) lhw’il tthu qwals
ɬ-ẇil tθə q^{w}al-s
PAR-√q̇il DET word-3POSS
sincere; Lit. his words are true (RP 3/08)

The reason for the change is unclear; however, Esling and Carlson (2003) present phonological evidence for the shift from uvular ejectives to pharyngeals in Nootka Nuu’cha’nulth. Relevant here is their statement that “Postvelar resonants are basically pharyngeals, produced by retraction of the tongue root and general narrowing of the pharynx” (186). If we can connect uvular [q’] to the glottalized velar resonant [w’] via a mutual connection to pharyngeals, there would be a phonological argument to support the findings of this paper.

Another problem arises in (13), however, in that we find in it a minimal pair with (12). This raises the question of why the root surfaces as *w’il* in (12) and *q’il* in (13). If the meanings provided differ, we should be able to conclude [w’] and [q’] are contrastive phonemes. However, we cannot say definitively that the meanings differ since although 'true' and 'positive' are different words in English, in Hul’qumi’num, they may be argued to fall within the same field of reference. More research needs to be done to clarify this issue.

(13) lhq’il
ɬq̇il
PAR-√q̇il
positive/sure of/true (RP 3/08)

Note in (14) that *q’il* is unable to form a word for liar. Instead, the root *met’thun* means ‘a proud person’ (H&P: 92). The suffix *–qun* refers to language or speech. The result is an interesting form, relating to the speech of proud people as being untrustworthy.

(14) shmet’thunqun
s-x^{w}-met’$^{\theta}$ən=qən
OBL.REL-√ met’$^{\theta}$ən =LANG
liar (RP)

(15) lhq’ilt
ɬ-q̇il-t
PAR-√q̇il –TR
clarify; make plain (H&P:138)

Referring to knowledge in (16), *q’il* bears a prefix *hw-* . This prefix indicates the properties ‘inward’, ‘inhering’, ‘possessing’, ‘vulva’ (Suttles 2004:557). Suttles adds the prefix refers to mental states (Suttles 2004:282). The form in the following example also takes the LS referring to face or round thing;

however, it is difficult to isolate its semantic contribution. The sense in (16) appears to be of someone who carries or possesses truth within them.

(16)	nun	‘ow	hwq’ilus
	nən	ʔəw	x^{w}=q̇il=as
	really	COMP	hw=√q̇il =FACE

(he is) sane, knowledgeable, intelligent, wise (RP 3/08)

Mrs. Peter gave (17) as one way of expressing doubt. Note that *q’il* (know how) is not used but rather the word for ‘know’, *shtatulstuhw*. The intention in (17) is not purely ‘doubt’, since it expresses surety of someone’s being wrong.

(17)	ni’	tsun	‘uw	shtatulstuhw	
	niʔ	cən	ʔəw	š-ta-tl-stəx^{w}	
	AUX	I	COMP	NOM-STAT.RDPL-√know-CAUSE	
		kwun’s	tl’im	nuw	s’ey’q
		k^{w}ən̓s	λ’im	nəw	sʔeyʔq
		DET	right/correct	COMP	wrong

I’m sure (that) you are wrong (RP 3/08)

Alternatively, the idea of doubt is simply stated as a negation of surety, as in (18). As was shown in (13) and (14), antonyms cannot always be created using the same root. In (18), truth is instantiated on the predicate of the relative clause, introduced by the auxiliary *ni’*. Relative clause predicates in Cowichan take on nominalizing *s-* (Hukari 1979). This does not alter its status as a predicate and so does not conflict with the verbalizing influence of the prefix *lh-*.

(18)	‘uwu	tsun	ni’	‘unslhq’il
	ʔəwə	cən	niʔ	ʔən-s-ɬ-q̇il
	NEG	I	AUX	my-NOM-PAR-√q̇il

I am not positive (unsure) (RP 3/08)

(19) employs a word for ‘crazy’ which differs from that used for its antonym, ‘sane’, in (16). I have found no other words using the root found in (19). I have not been able to verify whether the initial *s* is a nominalizer or part of the root.

(19)	skwati
	sk^{w}ati

crazy (RP 3/08)

3.1 provided an overview of the semantic field of words constructed with *q’il* , and non-related roots with antonymic meanings. We find the root covers

‘truth’, ‘sincerity’, ‘clarity’, ‘surety’, ‘belief’, and ‘sanity’. Its negation expresses ‘doubt’. However, it is able to express neither ‘insanity’ nor ‘lies’.

3.2 Acquisition and Experience of Knowledge

This section considers only one root, *tal’*, which seems to refer to active knowing as in ‘having an idea’, ‘learning’, and ‘understanding’.

The most productive surface form of this root is *shtatulstuhw*; which can be used to refer to ‘know someone or something’ or ‘know about someone or something’, such as a person or language. It also has an empathetic component, such to ‘understand something’ such as another person.

(20)	ni'	tsun	statul’stuhw	kwthey
	niʔ	cən	s-√ta-təl’-stəx^{w}	k^{w}θey
	AUX	I	NOM-STA.RDPL-√tal’-CAUS	DET

I know (about)/understand that (RP 3/08)

When Ruby Peter was asked to translate “I have no idea” she rendered. Note the alternation of the nominalizer surfacing as a *sh*- in (21), this is due to a combining of the *s*- with the oblique relater *hw*- or [x^{w}].

(21)	‘uwu	te’	nu	shtatul’stuhw…
	ʔəwə	teʔ	nə	š-x^{w}-ta-təl’ -stəx^{w}
	NEG	none	my	NOM-OBL.REL-STA.RDPL-√tal’-CAUS

I have no idea / I don’t know (RP 3/08)

The root also forms the word for answer. We find in (22) that with the nominalizing *sh*- and the oblique relater, which binds the lexical suffix to the root, often implicating the suffix as an instrument of the verb. Perhaps the presence of the LS causes the oblique relater to manifest in the surface form of (22). The LS, =*qun*, means throat or language. The entire word then, seems to refer to an answer as knowing through speech or by speaking.

(22)	ni	‘u	ch	heqw	‘u
	niʔ	ʔə	č	heq^{w}	ʔə
	AUX	Q	you	remember	OBL
		kwthun		shx^{w}tal’qun	
		k^{w}θən		š-x̌^{w}-tal’=qən	
		DET-your		NOM-OBREL.√tal’=LANG	

Do you remember the answer (RP 3/08)

Lastly, *tal’* produces words for learning, as in learning a language or finding something out. In this case the root simply takes a limited control suffix. This adds the element of doing something with difficulty or effort, or with the possibility of failure. Learning then, seems to carry the sense of a struggling or

not entirely reliable knowledge, indicating the effort or process involved in learning. Note that even though the word does not have a nominalizer, it does follow a determiner. The determiner *kwu,* of which *kwunus* is a variant, meaning 'that/as I', is used to introduce subordinate clauses. However subordinate clauses canonically begin with auxiliaries. The absence of an auxiliary in (23) (as opposed to (24)) complicates the analysis, placing *t'al'nuhw* in the role of noun following a determiner. It may be that Mrs. Peter omitted it, providing a more natural, abbreviated version of the sentence.

(23)	nustl'i'	kwunus	t'al'nuhw	tthu	hul'qumi'num
	nə-sλ'iʔ	k^wənəs	t'alʔ-nəx^w	tθə	həl'qəmiʔnəm
	my-want	DET	√t' al' -LTD.CTR	DET	Hul'qumi'num
	I want to learn Hul'qumi'num (RP 3/08)				

(24)	stem	kwu	ni'	tul'nuhwux^w
	stem	k^wə	niʔ	t' əl'-nəx^w-əx^w
	what	DET	AUX	√t' al' -LTD.CTRL.2ndSG.SUB.SUBJ
	what did you find out (RP 3/08)			

The examples in this section define the ability of *tal'* to create words referring to various acts of knowing, understanding, learning, and finding out. In their nominalized form they refer to knowledge and things that are known. Interestingly, 'answer' is also built from this root, taking a nominalizer and a lexical suffix for speaking. As predicates (assuming both (23) and (24) are predicates) these examples refer to the active counterpart of knowledge, i.e. learning and discovering.

3.3 Locating, Transfer, and Attention

This section presents three roots, all dealing in some way with directing attention towards something, as in 'looking' or 'showing'. Two roots, *'em* and *'iw'* focus more on transference. *'em* refers directly to giving or handing things, while *'iw'* deals more with demonstrating or pointing to something. Interestingly, both roots can produce words for teacher. One form apparently carries the connotation of someone who gives knowledge while the other teaches by demonstration. However the semantic field of *'iw'* also incorporates the receiver of the information as it also produces words for 'listen' and 'pay attention'. The last root, *lem*, deals solely from the perspective of the perceiver, forming words like 'notice', and 'choose'.

3.3.1 Transfer & Teaching

When the root *'em* takes the transitive, as in (25), it also carries the lexical suffix for face or round thing. The implied reference of the LS seems to be the direction of attention as when someone faces what they are attending to.

This point will become clearer with further examples. Although the root is listed in Hukari and Peter's dictionary as underlyingly *'em*, it consistently surfaces as *'am*.

(25) 'amust
ʔam=as-t
√ʔem=FAC-TR
give; hand to (H&P:264)

When the word for giving or handing is used to mean teacher, there may be something of a power or authority differential instantiated in the root. (25) is listed in the dictionary as "used when speaking of things given by parents to their children" (265).

(26) 'amustalum
ʔam=as-taləm
√ʔem =FAC-1,2PL.PASS.CAUS.OBJ
teacher (RP 3/08)

The root *'em* is another instance of a root which references both knowledge and direction as illustrated by the example words for 'teacher' (as one who gives knowledge), and to 'give' or 'hand to'.

3.3.2 Direction & Attention

The root *'iw',* in its most elemental form, means 'point to something' or 'show'; not to be confused with *lumstuhw*, meaning 'show it'. *Lumstuhw* is derived from the root *lem* meaning 'look at'. As such, it refers more to the perception of the viewer than to the act of indicating or showing.

(27) 'i'wust
ʔiwʔ=əs-t
√ʔiẇ=FAC-TR
point to it (RP 3/08)

Note again, in (27) and (28), the use of the LS for face. Whereas the English emphasis of 'point to' is on the action of the person pointing, in Hul'qumi'num, the emphasis seems to incorporate the listener, whose attention or face is being directed to something. In (28) the lexical suffix for face is followed by the transitive *-t* which assimilates with the final *-s* to surface as *-th (or θ)*.

(28) ‘i’wusth
ʔiwʔ=əs-t-s
√ʔiẇ=FAC-TR-1,2SG.OBJ
show me (RP 3/08)

In (29) and (30) the addition of the lexical suffix for hand contributes an instrumental adjunct of showing with the hands. The second lexical suffix creates the meaning of showing someone else. This kind of indication creates the meaning of demonstration.

(29) hw’iw’tssun’uq
x^w-ʔiwʔ=cəs=ənʔəq
OBL.REL -√ʔiẇ=HND=S.O.ELSE
teacher (H&P:282)

(30) hw’uw’tsust
x^w-ʔiwʔ=cəs-t
OBL.REL-√ʔiẇ=HND-TR
teach; show (how) (H&P:282); Lit. show him with the hands

In this section, we saw examples of *‘em* dealing with transference of things and information (in the case of teachers) and *‘iw’* dealing with the act of indicating towards or showing things, such as information (again incorporating the role of the teacher). The idea of directing attention is carried over in the next section, which deals with point of view of the perceiver through the root *lem* showing, noticing, and choosing.

3.3.3 Looking, Noticing, and Choosing

The root *lem* in its more elemental forms refers to looking, noticing, and showing. However it can also refer to choosing, and caring for or about. It is included in section 3.3 because looking at and noticing presuppose locating an object. With the addition of a causative suffix, in (32), it means “to make look/see” or show, which overlaps with the root ‘iw’ in (28).

(31) lemut
lem-ət
√lem-TR
look at (RP 3/08)

(32) lumstuhw
ləm-stəx^{w}
√lem-CAUS
show him/her (H&P:52)

In (33) we see the verbalizing prefix *hwu-* which adds the idea of 'come to be' or 'become' (Suttles 2004:273). The meaning of the prosodic word then becomes to 'come to see', or 'notice'.

(33) hwulel'um'ut
x^{w}ə-le-lʔəmʔ-ət
VRB-ROG.RDPL-√lem-TR
take notice; come to be looking or taking care of (RP 3/08)

In (34) the suffix *-els* makes the verb into an activity. It is often used with ceremonially relevant activities, although this does not appear to be the case here; instead the meaning is more of selecting or choosing.

(34) lemuls
lem-əls
√lem-ACT
look; select; choose (H&P:52)

The addition of the reflexive *–thut* in (35) simply turns the agent's view back on him/her self. However, the resulting meaning becomes not so much to 'look at oneself' as in a mirror but to 'look *after* oneself', or perhaps to 'watch over oneself'. The schwa before the LS is epenthesized for syllabic reasons.

(35) lal'um'uthut
lalʔəmʔ-əθət
PROG.RDPL-√lem-RFLX
look after self; being careful or concerned (H&P:52)

In (36) we see that lem can also express the idea of neglect by simply negating the transitive form of the root.

(36)	'uwu	kws	le'lumuts	thu	tens
	ʔəwə	k^{w}s	leʔləm-ət-s	θə	ten-s
	NEG	DET	PROG.RDPL-√lem-TR-3POS	DET	mother-3POSS

He neglects his mother (RP 3/08)

The above examples show that the root, *lem*, refers generally to paying attention. Attention might be directed by the agent or by a third party, as in (32). It may also be turned self-ward, as in looking at oneself in a caring sense. The

idea of caring can also be extended towards others in the sense of neglect or not looking after someone else as in (36).

This section showed how three roots overlap at certain points in their ability to direct attention, either autonomously, or dependently.

3.4 Loss and Recollection

This section contains only two roots; *hek'w* is dedicated to remembering, and *mel'q* to forgetting. Both of these roots can appear as verbs or adjectives. It will be shown that *hek'w* can also be constructed as a noun meaning a memory or remembrance.

3.4.1 Remembering

The root for remembering can be used to refer to the act of remembering or reminding. A nominalized form of the root can also refer to a memory.

(37) hek'w
hek'^{w}
√hek'^{w}
remember (RP 3/08)

In its base form, *hek'w* is not transitive, and so can simply refer to remembering without there necessarily being a specific thing to remember. This contrasts *hutsmin* in (63), meaning *imagine*, which is transitive and requires an object to be imagined.

We see in (38) that transitivity is added with the causative suffix –*stam'sh* (actually composed of two suffixes: a transitivizer –*st* and a first person singular object –*amsh*). Here the direct object of the verb is 'me', and the oblique is the action I am reminded to perform. In (39), transitivity is instantiated by the rare applicative suffix –*nus*, the goal suffix. This suffix, Suttles states, "redirects the verb so that what would otherwise have to be an oblique relationship" becomes the verbal object (2004:237).

(38)	hekwstam'sh	ch	kwunus	temulh
	hek̓^{w}-stam̓š	č	k^{w}ənəs	tem=əɬ
	√hek̓w1SG.CAUS.OBJ	you	DET	call=HOUSE

(you) remind me to phone home (RP 3/08)

(39)	ni'	tsun	he'qwnus	'u	kw	mens
	niʔ	cən	hek̓^{w}-nəs	ʔə	k^{w}	men-s
	AUX	I	√hek'w-GOAL	COMP	DET	Father-POSS

he reminds me of my father (RP 3/08)

In (40), *qux* takes on the role of predicate, referring to the memories. Perhaps a more accurate translation of (40) would be “My memories of my house are many”.

(40)	qux	nu-s-hek’wnus	thun’u	lelum’
	qəx	nə-s-√heƙ^{w}-nəs	θə-ṅə	leləṁ
	many	my-NOM-√hek’w-GOAL	DET–my	house

I have many memories (of) my house (RP 3/08)

Hek’w can function as a verb or as a noun; however, it does not seem to be able to function as an adjective, as would describe someone with a good memory. To find an antonym for ‘forgetful’ *stsuw’et* is used. We saw this word in 3.1.2, its meaning being equated with cunning, intelligence, and used to describe someone with a good memory in (10).

We find then, that except as an adjective or an antonym to remembering, *hek’w* speaks about most other aspects associated with memory. Standing alone, it refers to remembering; taking transitive suffixes it refers to being reminded, and taking a nominalizer it becomes a particular memory.

3.4.2 Forgetting

The root responsible for talking about forgetting is *mel’q* . The word comes from the Proto-Salish root **mal (q)* meaning, "to be aimless, lost” (Kuipers2002: 68). The Bella Coola Salish word *numilik*, comes from this source and means “confuse somebody” (ibid). Like *hek’w*, *mel’q* can stand alone as a verb without affixation.

In (41) *mel’q* stands without affixation as a predicate meaning to ‘forget’.

(41) mel’q
meľ q
√mel’q
forget

In (42) we see the root functioning as an adjective. As such it takes a very rare lexical prefix *hwus=*, used for habitual actions. With the addition of the stative aspect provided by the reduplication, the word refers to the general characteristic of being forgetful.

(42) hwsmul’mel’q’
x^{w}s=məlʔ-melʔq̇
HAB= STA.RDPL-√mel’q
forgetful

In (43) we find a different analysis offered by J. Fitzgerald OMI who put together a Cowichan word list, probably in the 1970's. It is difficult to trust his spelling, which is inconsistent (of his own admission), and differs in many ways from the currently accepted Cowichan orthography used in this paper. His spelling for (43) was *hoo-smel'melk*. I have analyzed *hoo-* as the verbalizing prefix *hw-* followed by a nominalizer. Also, Fitzgerald shows two full vowels, one in the root and one in the reduplicant. It is uncharacteristic of Cowichan reduplicants to have two full vowels; most often one of the vowels, usually that of the reduplicant, is lowered to a schwa. Stative reduplication is used to describe habitual or characteristic traits as in the word *qwulqwul* meaning talkative, from the root *qwal* meaning say or speak. Note that with *qwulqwul*, both vowels are lowered. For this reason both have been lowered to represent schwas in the first line of (43). However this pronunciation needs to be confirmed, as I have no data to confirm which vowel would be diminished. Otherwise the form is consistent with Cowichan morphology.

(43) hwsmul'mul'q
hoo-smel'melk
x^w-s-√melʔq
VRB-NOM-STA.RDPL-√mel'q
absent minded

Section 3.4 focused on memory and forgetting, and provided examples of how the two principle roots for describing these were able to function as nominals, predicates, and adjectives.

3.5 Experience and Expression

This section contains only two roots: *qwal* and *thut*. They are very productive and each covers a broad semantic field. Interestingly, they both relate to thought and speech, i.e. expression.

3.5.1 Language and Mind

The root *qwal* covers a wide semantic area from an English point of view. It can be a verb meaning to 'speak'. However, in terms of cognition, it can mean 'idea', though it is more often used to refer to the mind; which, in Hul'qumi'num terms, includes the emotions, thought, and will. Rene Descartes had a similar set of parameters when discussing the soul, describing it as everything that belongs to a person that does not belong to the body, saying: "anything in us which we cannot conceive in any way as capable of belonging to a body must be attributed to our soul" (Descartes 1988:329).

As stated above, in its unaffixed forms, *qwal* refers to speech and language. In (44) and (45), the root is means language as well as the act of speaking. The word for language is simply a nominalized form of the speech act represented in (45).

(44) ni' tsun 'uw shtatulstuhw
niʔ cun ʔəw š-ta-təl-stəx^{w}
AUX I Ind. OBL.REL-STA.RDPL-√tal'-CAUS
tthuy sqwals
tθəy s-q^{w}al-s
that NOM√qwal-3POSS
I understand the language

(45) e'uth sii'si kws qwals
eʔəθ siiʔsi k^{w}s q^{w}al-s
AUX √si'si-STA DET √q^{w}al-3POS
she's afraid to speak up

Further, in (46) we see a title for someone who is hired to speak for a host during special events. This form shows a stative reduplication as well as a nominalization. The raising of the root vowel to [i] in the reduplicant may be an old form of reduplication (Urbanczyk: personal communication).

(46) ni' tse nushq^{w}i'q^{w}al
niʔ ceʔ nə-š-q^{w}iʔ-q^{w}al
AUX FUT my-NOM-STAT.RDPL -√q^{w}al
he's going to be my speaker

In (47) is the word for mind (though it has many other meanings often referring to the soul or emotions) taking a *sh-* nominalizer and the lexical suffix *=iwun*, referring to the insides or middle.

(47) ni' tsun 'eyeqt tthunu shq^{w}aluwun
niʔ cun ʔeyeq-t tθə-nə š-q^{w}al=əwən
AUX I √change-TR DET-my NOM-√q^{w}al=INT
I changed my mind

As (48) and (49) show, essentially the same construction refers to the will, and one's emotional state. The same lexical suffix appeared in (2) with *hwiint'iwun* referring to ones thoughts or feelings about something. An interesting dichotomy appears to be taking place in *shq^{w}aluwun* (from an English speaker's perspective) in that *q^{w}al* refers to linguistic expression as well internal cognitive and affective functions. However there does not appear to be any outward expression associated with the *shq^{w}aluwun*; unless the term refers to a kind of interior dialogue, but I have uncovered no evidence for this.

(48)	k’wamk’wum	tthu	shq^{w}aluwuns
	k̓^{w}am-k̓^{w}əm	tθə	š-q^{w}al-əwən-s
	STAT.RDPL-√ k̓^{w}am	DET	NOM-√q^{w}al=INT-3S
	strengthen the mind; strong willed		

(49)	x^{w}umx^{w}um	tthu	shq^{w}aluwuns
	√x̌^{w}əm-x̌^{w}əm	tθə	š-q^{w}al-əwən-s
	STAT.RDPL-√x^{w}um	DET	š-√q^{w}al=INT-3S
	emotions are always up and down; emotional		

Note how *shq^{w}aluwun* in (48) refers to a strong will equally as to a strong mind. When considering its opposite in (49) we can isolate the reduplicated verbs *k’wamk’wum* and *x^{w}amx^{w}um* as creating the different meanings. *k’wam* means ‘strong’, and almost never appears in a non-reduplicated form. Ruby Peter explains *x^{w}amx^{w}um^{w}* as meaning “a flip flopping, like grass, bending whichever way the wind blows it” (Peter: PC). Therefore it might be said to refer to weakness or something easily manipulated or influenced, thus being the opposite of strong or consistent. The North Straits Salish cognate, *x̌^{w}əmx̌^{w}əməyasət*, translates as spin (as a top) (Montler 1991:79). The element of spinning will return again in 3.2.

This form of the root can also take the progressive aspect, and refer to thinking, as in (50).

(50)	stem	‘al	u	kwun	shq^{w}elq^{w}ul’i’wun
	stem	ʔal	ə	k^{w}ən	š-q^{w}el-q^{w}əl̓=iwən
	what	just	Q	DET	NOM-PROG.RDPL-√q^{w}al=INT
	what are you thinking about				

Lastly, *q^{w}al* can refer to an idea, or perhaps more accurately the act of having an idea, as in 51).

(51)	ni’	p’e	‘uy	ni’	‘unsq^{w}al
	niʔ	ṗe	ʔəy	niʔ	ʔun-s-q^{w}al
	AUX	indeed	good	AUX	your-NOM-√q^{w}al
	I think that’s a good idea; lit. indeed your idea is good				

In conclusion, the semantic field of *q^{w}al* covers speech as well as the designation of ‘speech maker’. The root also underscores the connection between speech and thought by being able to refer to thought, mind, will, emotions, and various spiritual aspects. Taking a nominalizer also allows the root to isolate thinking into a particular thought, as in (50) and (51).

3.5.2 Language and Thought

The root *thut* exhibits quite a similar semantic field to *q^{w}al*, in that in its unaffixed form it means 'say', and can also be built into words dealing with thought. The difference; however, is the thought of *thut* is more akin to 'thinking about' or 'considering' and 'deciding'. Further on in this paper I will show words from the root *xuts* that also cover intellectual thought (as opposed to the more emotional thought connoted by *q^{w}al*).

(52) thut
√θət
say

The examples in (53) and (54) show the same lexical suffix meaning 'inside', 'middle', or 'trunk' as found on other words for thought in (1) and (48). As seen with *q^{w}al* this suffix internalizes a root for speech, creating a reference to thought. (53) and (54) differ in that (53) deals with 'thinking about', which coincides with 'deciding' (we encounter the same alternation within forms of the root *xuts* further on); on the other hand (54) means, 'thinking that…'. This may be attributable to the transitive influence of the *–t* suffix, however it may also be influenced by *–me'*, which resembles the applicative suffix *–mut* or *–me't* meaning 'concern'. If the final *-t* of this suffix is a transitivizer then applicative may very well be the correct analysis for the *–me* suffix.

(53) hwthutiwun
x^{w}-θət=iwən
OBL-√θət =INT
think about; decide (H&P:204)

(54) hwthtiwunmuthaam
x^{w}-√θət=iwən-mə-θaam
VRB-√θət =INT-APPL-TR-2SG.PASS.OBJ
Think that you… (H&P:204)

In this section we have seen how language and thought are both expressed using *q^{w}al* and *thut*. Specifically, *q^{w}al* refers to 'saying' and 'thought', 'feelings', 'will', and 'ideas'. Whereas *thut* refers to 'saying', 'thinking that', 'thinking about' and 'deciding'.

4 Order and Thought

This section continues with words centering on thought but leaves behind knowledge to be replaced by the idea of order. Order is dependent on the location of the elements or variables that make it up: the location of ducks, each one behind or before the other creates an order of ducks in a row. The first root to be explored, *xuts*, is able to combine thought and decision with the act of

indicating and the notion of pattern. Because it incorporates pattern into its meaning, I have classified it along with other roots that refer to order and thought, as opposed to grouping it with those that refer more exclusively to thought and decision in 3.5 above.

Two other Cowichan roots will be shown to refer to order in terms of pattern. These are *yuw'en'* and *t'e*, which can talk about thought as well as temporal order, specifically 'firstness' and 'future', and 'equivalency' and 'simultaneity' respectively. Recall how the root *nuw'* in 3.1.1, brings together references to entrance (as a direction) and knowledge. Similarly, *shni'* converges 'meaning' with 'location'.

4.1 Pattern and Assessment

Xuts is a dynamic word, and able to be used in a great variety of ways. In reference to thought, it refers to active thinking, such as 'figuring' and 'considering', as well as 'imagination' and 'curiosity'. In reference to location, it functions as an indicator, making the obscure apparent.

The translation of (55) are from Ruby Peter and Hukari and Peter's dictionary respectively.

(55) xtsut
ǎcə-t
√ǎc-TR
figure it out; decide (H&P:225)

(56)

xtsut		ch	kwun's	hwtul'qun	'u	tthunu
ǎcə-t		č	k^{w}ən̓s	x^{w}-tal'=qən	ʔə	tθə-nə
√ǎc-TR	you	DET	answer	OBL	DET-my	
	ni'	nus'ahwusth				
	niʔ	nə-s-ʔax^{w}əsθ				
	AUX	my-NOM-offer				

consider my offer (RP 03/08)

Xuts is similar to the root *lem'* in that both are able to discuss choice. However, whereas *lem'* approaches choice from the vantage of 'observe', 'notice', and 'choose'; *xuts* approaches choice from the vantage of 'think about', 'pattern', and 'decide'. The semantic connection between pattern and decision needs to be made. Consider the following.

(57)

smeent	tthu	xutsten's	'u	tthu	she'shlh
s-meent	tθə	ǎac-tenʔ-s	ʔə	tθə	šeʔ-šɬ
stone	DET	√ǎac-GOAL-3POSS	OBL	DET	path-DIM.RDPL

stone marker of the trail (RP 03/08)

In (57) *xtsu*, taking a Goal suffix, becomes a trail marker. The same form without the final possessive suffix is translated as indicator or signal (H&P:225). The root also forms words for pattern and things which are visible or obvious in (58) where a stative aspect is employed.

(58) sxuxits
s-x̌ə-x̌ic
NOM-STA.RDPL-√x̌̇əc
visible; obvious (H&P:225)

As in (58), we see the attribute of guidance instantiated in (59). One indicates the direction in which one should travel; the other indicates the arrangement of stitches and colours.

(59) xtsutsustun
√x̌cə=cəs-tən
NOM -√x̌əc=HND-GOAL
pattern (as a pattern for knitting) (H&P:225)

The negation of *xuts* is used to express randomness. However, when trying to translate the idea of randomness, Ruby Peter leaned towards the idea of disorder as opposed to arbitrariness. She gave the following two alternatives.

(60) ‘uwu sxuxits
ʔəwə s-x̌ə-x̌ic
NEG NOM-STAT.RDPL-√x̌əc
disorder (no pattern) (RP 03/08)

The idea of lack of location surfaces again in (61), where disorder equates on some level with the inability to find i.e. locate items within a given context. The analysis of the nominalizer plus resultative prefix is questionable in (61). The *s*- prefix in most likely not a nominalizer as there already is nominalization with the NOM+OBREL (s+hw∏sh-). Resultative is the only other prefix that resembles *s*-. There is also a lack of conflicting evidence against the analysis of 'resultative' since the word does not have a possessive suffix, which never coincides with resultatives (Suttles2004:266).

(61) ‘uwute shsxuxitss
ʔəwə-teʔ š-s-x̌ə-x̌ic-s
nothing NOM-RES-√x̌əc-PL-STA.RDPL
can’t find anything; everything’s (pl) is all over the place (RP 03/08)

To return to references to thought, *xuts* can also combine with affixes to discuss imagination, curiosity and opinion. These might be said to bookend the

act of 'thinking about' and 'deciding', in that imagination and curiosity lead one to investigate and acquire more information. This in turn leads one to draw conclusions in the form of opinion.

(62) e'ulh xeytstham
eʔəɬ x̌eyc-θam
AUX √x̌əc-TR-2SG.PASS.SUBJ
you are curious (RP 03/08)

Note the vowel quality of the root in (62), spelled as "*xey*…". Though it does seem to stray drastically from the underlying /u/, Hul'qumi'num phonetic spellings of [uy], [ey] and [i] have been historically inconsistent (Suttles 2004:12). As we have seen in (60) and (61), stative reduplication raises the vowel from [u] to [i]. Unfortunately I have no analysis for the raising of the vowel in (62). However, judging by the semantic content and similarity of the rest of the root, I asses the root in (62) as being *xtsu*.

The word for imagine in the following example, (63), also differs from *xuts* in the spelling of the uvular fricative [x] as a velar fricative. Whether this alternation is due to some phonological or morphological phenomenon contributing to the overall semantics of the word, or whether this is a different stem altogether requires more research. I offer it here for consideration as another instance of the root *xtsu*. In (63) the LS for instrument is added to the root, creating the notion of imagination of 'thought as instrument'.

(63) xul'ut k'wun' hutsmin' k'w skwulish
x̌əlʔ-ət k̓^{w}-ən xəc=min' k̓^{w} sk^{w}əliš
draw-TR DET-POSS √xəc=INSTR DET bird
Draw how you imagine a bird

Lastly, opinions could be defined as subjective conclusions drawn from assessing information. In (64) we see the suffix *–uls*. This could be the lexical suffix for weapon, however I have found no other words with this morpheme used so metaphorically as would be indicated by (64). Therefore, the most probable analysis is as the activity suffix, which corresponds with *lemuls* in (34) meaning 'look', 'select', or 'choose'.

(64) sxutsuls
s-x̌əc-əls
NOM-√x̌əc-ACT
opinion

This section has shown how *xuts* forms words relating to thinking about and deciding, as well as to location via indication, and pattern. The following section will pick up on this idea with roots that deal with cognition and place/time.

4.1.1 Firstness and Prediction

This section expands upon the idea of location, which has been shown with *xuts* to coincide with that of pattern and order. In this section, the order referred to by the roots is temporal and spatial. Of the roots referring to order (first, last, later than, etc.), two seem most productive in terms of also referring to thought. *Yuw'en'* refers to 'firstness' and 'prediction', and *t'e* refers to 'simultaneity' and 'assumption'.

(65) shows the overlap of spatial and temporal concepts of being in front and being first. The idea of firstness is expanded in (67) with the notion of future. Unfortunately, I have no explanation for the prosodic form of (67).

(65) yuw'en'
yəwʔeṅ
√yəẇeṅ
first; in front (H&P:256)

(66) yuwan'that
yəwaṅ-θat
√ yəẇeṅ-RFLX
(go) ahead (H&P:256)

(67) yu'e'wu
yəʔeʔwə
√yəẇeṅ-(?)
what is coming (the future) (RP 03/08)

(68) shows a progressive reduplication, with the prefixing *h-* before the resonant initial root. However, I have no explanation for the change in the final consonant from /n/ to [m]. As I can find no other word with this spelling, and since it semantically fits with other instances of this root, I offer it as such.

(68)	i'	tsun	huy'wum	k'ws	lhumuhw	tse'
	iʔ	cən	hə-yəʔwəm	k̓^{w}s	ɬəməx^{w}	ceʔ
	AUX	I	h-PROG -√yəẇen	DET	rain	FUT

I predict it will rain

These last forms, (69) and (70), are taken from Fitzgerald, whose spelling is not entirely transparent, however he recorded the following as;

(69) iyaw'at
foretell

(70) i'yewest
lead

These two words appear sufficiently similar in form and meaning to include in this survey. This section considered the root *yu'wun* and its ability to refer to being first or in front, as well as the temporal equivalent of future or prescience.

4.1.2 Simultaneity and Sameness

A second root referring to a temporal order is *t'e*, meaning 'same as', in its unaffixed form. It is able to distinguish 'same' from 'similar' as in (71) and (72). The root can also talk about simultaneity and assumption as will be shown.

(71) st'e
s-t'e
NOM-√t'e
be like (H&P:178)

(72)

tsulel	i'	'o'	nulhtul	tthu	shte's
cəlel	iʔ	ʔəwʔ	nəɬtəl	tθə	š-t'e-s
almost	AUX	COMP	nulhtul(?)	DET	NOM-√t'e-3PL.SUB

They almost look identical (RP 03/08)

Meanwhile, in (73), the word expresses the temporal equivalent to the physical reference to sameness expressed in (71) and (72).

(73) st'e
s-√ṭ̓ e
NOM-√ṭ̓ e
meanwhile; after; now (H&P:178)

Interestingly this root also refers to thinking, but specifically to assumption or belief. It should be noted that the belief of (74) is most likely different from the belief expressed by the root *q'el* which refers more to believing what someone said (H&P:132). In (74) we come across the lexical suffix =*iwun* again, referring to the interior, middle, or trunk.

(74)

mukw	lhwet	'uw	sht'eewun	kwsus	q'ay
mək^{w}	ɬwet	ʔəw	š-√ṭ̓ e=ewən	k^{w}səs	q̇ay
every	who	COMP	NOM-√ṭ̓ e=INT	DET	dead

Everyone thought/believed that he died

Section 4.1 covered three roots that are all able to refer some aspect of thought in a unique way. These aspects each correlate with temporal and spatial orders or patterns: *xtsu*, covers active thought or figuring, imagination, and order or pattern; *yuw'en* refers to being in front or first, and future and prediction; and *t'e* refers to sameness of appearance, temporal simultaneity, and assumption. Collectively these roots further underscore the semantic connection between thought and location, which has been a recurring element in many of the roots discussed so far. This theme carries over into the following section.

4.2 Lack of Direction and Confusion

We return now to questions of order and decision. This section considers the absence, both of knowledge and understanding, also covering the locative ground of direction, and thereby giving further evidence to a connection between thought and location as being semantically correlated. The following words are created from three different roots, all of which cover the same semantic field. In all likelihood these each emerged from the common Proto-Coast-Salish root, *ts'ul* (Kuipers2002:139). *Ts'ul* constructs words referring to rolling over and confusion in (75) and (76) respectively, *sul'ts'* means encircling in (77), while *ts'al* refers to looking back in (78).

(75) smul'tst
s-məl̓ c-t
NOM-√məl̓ c-TR
roll it over (H&P:95)

(76) smi'muluts'
s-miʔ-məl̓ əċ
NOM-STA.RDPL-√məl̓ c
confused (RP 03/08)

(77) sel'ts'
sel̓ ċ
√sel̓ c-PROG
surrounding; encircling (H&P:154)

(78) ts'alusum
ċal-əs-əm
√ċal=FAC-MID
look back; turn around; turn ahead (H&P:10)

The ideas of turning and confusion are connected in (75) and (76). Confusion is produced with the stative reduplication, expressing the state of

rolling over. Similarly, the Upper Chehalis word from the same Proto-Coast Salish root, *c'ələp,* means dizzy, connecting turning with confusion (Kuipers 2002:139). Recall from (49) that the Cowichan word for being weak minded is a cognate of the North Straits Salish word for spin (as a top). Here again we find a semantic overlap between the idea of turning and confusion.

4.3 Correctness and Navigation

The following root returns to the co-occurrence of pattern and decision. *Tl'ulum* brings together decision, correctness and navigation/guidance. Recall again the evidence from section 1, where issues of meaning and location co-occurred in *shni'* .

Considering the basic form of *tl'ulim* in (79), we find the connotation of the transitive in (80) to equate decision with correctness. Whether the correctness refers to the fact the decision is made at all, or whether it describes the decision as a good one, is unclear without more data.

(79) tl'ulim
λ'əlim
√λ'ələm-PROG.ASPECT
right; correct; going the right way (H&P:82)

(80) tl'ul'impt
λ'əlʔim-t
√λ'ələm-TR
decide (RP 03/08)

The reflexive form of (81) may be a clue to the intended connection between making a decision and right or good action, equating steering or driving with righting oneself.

(81) tl'al'um'thut
λ'aľəmʔ-θət
√λ'əľəm-RFLX-PROG
driving; correcting oneself

Section 4 has followed the parallels between indicating patterns, thinking and making decisions; attributing the absence of patterns, or dislocation, with confusion; and connecting decisiveness with right action.

5 Conclusion

Each of the above sections focuses on an individual root relating to some aspect of epistemology (a term expanded from the Western definition to

allow for cognition, emotion, and will). The prosodic words they create were analyzed so as to isolate the meanings of the relevant morphemes in an attempt to isolate the meaning of the root. The semantic field of each root has been outlined by a selection of the prosodic words it builds. Where certain referents have coincided with those of other roots has enabled co-classification under a single taxonomic heading.

An interesting pattern has emerged during this process revealing that many roots are capable of referring to two sets of referents: one being epistemological referring to thought, meaning, emotion, will, and attention; and the other being locative, referring to order, pattern, and direction.

The result is a justification for a taxonomic classification derived from the meanings found in the roots themselves.

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Andrew Cienski
acienski@telus.net
229 Howe st. Victoria BC
V8V 4K7