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A Comparison of Marine and Riverine Orientation Vocabulary in Two Coast Salish Languages Thom Hess University of Victoria

The importance of coastal waterways, not only as a source of food, but also as a means of travel has lead to rich marine vocabularies in the languages of the Northwest Goast: Included in these vocabularies are words that indicate direction or location by specific reference to river or sea. This paper presents these orientation terms for two Northwest languages of the Central Coast Salish, Lushootseed and Saanich.¹

Formerly, Lushootseed speakers lived along the shores of Puget Sound and far upstream on the rivers flowing into the Sound. The Saanich inhabited the Saanich Peninsula of Vancouver Island and many of the small islands in the San Juan - Gulf Island Archipelago. Although both groups lived and travelled upon the saltwater and their former territories nearly shared a common boundary, there is one striking difference in their geography. Many large and navigable rivers cut through the Lushootseed homeland while the Saanich territory lacked any sizable streams. All Saanich speakers dwelt by the shores of saltwater. Many of the Lushootseed, however, lived far inland on the banks of navigable rivers. This geographical difference is responsible for at least one of several dissimilarities between the Lushootseed and Saanich lexical sets discussed here.

Both languages have two principal orientation axis, and they are

¹Lushootseed has also been called Skagit-Nisqually and Puget Salish. Saanich is actually a dialect of the Northern Straits language. See Thompson, Laurence C., M. Terry Thompson, and Barbara S. Efrat. 1974. Some phonological developments in Straits Salish. IJAL 182-196 for information on the intradialect relationships of this language.

fundamentally the same despite numerous differences of detail. In one, location and direction of travel is on a waterward/landward axis oriented in terms of the shoreline or river bank. The other is an upstream/downstream axis which in Saanich is most often applied to the head versus the mouth of a bay or inlet.

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Figure 1 illustrates this second axis for Saanich. There are two basic forms, $q^{u} \Rightarrow \dot{q}^{u}$ mouth of inlet or river and téyət head of inlet, headwaters of a river. Both are locatives; however, each has dynamic derivatives indicating direction of travel. These are $q^{u} \Rightarrow q^{u} \Rightarrow 1$ go toward mouth of inlet, go downstream and t $\Rightarrow y \Rightarrow 1$ go toward head of inlet, go upstream. (Further derivation based on these dynamic stems is also possible, e.g., $q^{u} \Rightarrow \dot{q}^{u}$ ilən going toward mouth of inlet, going downstream and t $\dot{e}y \Rightarrow 1$ going toward head of inlet, going upstream.)

The Saanich seaward/landward axis is segmented into several systems. The simplest consists of two words, Θ án go up away from shore and Θ á? go down to/toward shore. as their glosses suggest, these words are oriented in terms of the shoreline. However, they do not imply that the travel necessarily commences right at the water's edge in the first case and ends with wet toes in the second, althouth this is possible. The words are properly used when one begins at any point (on land) along a continum from the shoreline and proceeds further away from the water in the case of Θ án and nearer to the water in the case of Θ lá?.

There is for Olá? a close synonym which belongs to a different lexical set viz., sew arrive at the shoreline from up inland. This word does explicitly mean reach the water's edge. It belongs to a small set of dynamic terms which share a common meaning arrive at (a particular place): séwarrive at shoreline:čénarrive home:ťak*go hometéčəlarrive here:?ehé?come heretésarrive there:?ax*go there

No such synonym exists for Oan.

While Θ an and Θ la? take place on land, a somewhat parallel pair designate travel toward the shore and out to sea. These are feel go ashore and tal go out to sea. By extension tal designates travel out on to any open expanse, be it a field, lake, or floor. However, the primary meaning refers exclusively to seaward travel. The following five sentences establish this primary significance:

1.	yé? sən tal ² .	I'm going out to sea.	
2.	yé? sən tàl ?ə(t) t $^{\theta}$ ə spəlxən.	I'm going out onto the field.	
3.	yé? sən tàl ?ə(t) t ⁰ ə xàčə?.	I'm going out onto the lake.	
4.	yé [?] sən tàl [?] ə(t) t ^θ ə łێənak"ən	. I'm going out onto the floor.	
5.	*yé? sən tàl ?ə(t) t $^{\theta}$ ə kətetsə.	(rejected)	

The inclusion of kotelso ocean, sea, saltwater is tantological and unacceptable grammar because tal refers to the sea. Only by modifying the sentence which specific mention of some other arena of travel, can this component of tal be altered.

Although iéel and tál seem to be the waterside counterparts to Gán and Olá?, these four do not form a subset. Beyond the fact that all four are dynamic rather than locative and refer to the shoreline, they do not share other components. They enter into different types of derivation and speakers do not think of them together. Mention of Gán elicits Olà? but not iéel nor tál. Mention of iéel brings to mind tál but not Gán and Olá?.

²In these sentneces 1-4 the word ye? go may be omitted. If it is, sən I follows tal. yé? sən tal, etc. sounds less abrubt than tal sən, etc.

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See I of Figure 3.

The five words discussed thus far on the seaward/landward axis are all dynamic. There is also a locative set on this dimension. It marks four locations which roughly correspond to the dynamic systems: čáləq^w up from shore, sésu? shoreline, čəliq^w close to shore, and $\Theta \div k^{w}i \ddagger way$ out from shore. The first and third terms, čəliq^w and čəliq^w, are obviously related; and they form a subset with a component meaning approximately *located in the direction* of the land. sésu?, on the other hand, has a component meaning just the opposite, *located in the direction of the water*. It is derived from the dynamic term séw arrive at the shore from up inland by reduplication (and a reduction of the root to zero grade.) The fourth word consists of a root $\Theta \div 1$ (which is eymologically related to $\Theta \div 1$) plus a suffix $-k^{w}i \ddagger water craft$, waterway. $\Theta \div k^{w}i \ddagger$ is viewed as the opposite of čəliq^w. See II of Figure 3.

Each of these locative words has a corresponding dynamic derivation formed by the prefix 1- (and other changes appropriate to the imperfect form of the particular root). This derivation means to proceed parallel to the shoreline maintaining the same relative position on the seaward/landward axis as the words from which they come. Thus, from čáləq^w is tčáləq^w going along up above; from čəlíq^w is tcəlíq^w swimming/canoeing along the shore; from séw (from which sésu? also comes) is tsəhéw going along between the shoreline and tčáləq^w. On the basis of sésu? shoreline, one would wxpect tsəhéw to mean simply walking along the beach. However, a fifth term enters the system from a different lexical set. This word is dətá@ən walk along the beach.³ Thus, the four place locative system is expanded to five in the derived dynamic system. See III of Figure 3. All houses in Saanich speaking communities were formerly built close to the water. In referring to one house in relation to another (or when speaking of the families who live in these houses) terms are used which derive from the water orientation vocabulary. These words comprise a suffix -exan, at the side added to one of the following four stems: tit- from téyat head of inlet, headwater gives titexan house on the "head" side (or family living to the "head" side); q^uq^u- from q^uaq^u mouth of inlet/river gives q^uq^uexan house on the "mouth" side; čalq^u- from čalaq^u located up from shore gives čalq^uexan house on the land side; and sú?sk^u- from séw arrive at shoreline (from up inland by a reduplication different from sésu?). This structure results in sý?sk^uexan house on the beach side. See Figure 5.

The same four stems figure as points of reference in describing the (external) side: titelewert side toward head of inlet, q"q" elewert side toward mouth of inlet, calq"elewert land side, and su?sk" elewert beach side. See Figure 6.

The reference of the words on the two axes discussed here are fundamental to the Saanich orientation system. They do not, however, exhaust the marine orientation lexicon. Several others of particular importance to the people living along Saanich Arm are diagrammed in Figure 8. These are two pairs of antonyms. One pair is basic in the sense that the words are morphologically simple. These are noléel go over land from one body of water to another and ték^wol cross a body of water. The other pair are morphologically complex and have a secondary status in the orientation vocabulary. These are sqoli?čon go from inlet into open water based on sq-' outside and nowoli?čon enter inlet from now inside.

In contrast to the Saanich systems the Lushootseed riverine and marine

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³The word detagent is composed of the bound root det-proceed and the suffix $-a^{\theta}$ en mouth, edge of an opening. It belongs to a set of words all built upon det. In addition to detagent there are detigen walk along a bluff/walk in front of a cliff or building, detewi?ct walk behind someone, detast walk in front of someone, etc.

orientation vocabulary comprises absolutely symmetrical sets. Four terms designate points upstream/downstream, two indicating direction of travel and two marking locations. A second set of four refers to a waterward/land-ward axis. Again two words designate directions and two specify locations. The following chart sets out these oppositions. See also Figures 2 and 4.

Locative		Dynamic		
åix™	located upstream	təy i l	go upstream	
?áłxăad	located downstream	q ^w ic	go downstream	

taqt	located up away from shore	čúbə	go up from water's edge
čá?k	located toward the river/ Sound or out in the water	kuit	go down to water's edge

The locative roots, different from their dynamic counterparts, can enter into a variety of derivations. One important set of derivations is formed with the directional prefixes dx^{\vee} - toward, tul- from, and lit- by what route. See figure 4. For example, dx^{\vee} - with čá?k^{\vee} gives dx^{\vee} čá?k^{\vee} waterward. These derivations, in turn, become dynamic stems with the addition of the aspectual prefix lə-: lədx^{\vee}čá?k^{\vee} going toward the water/going on out to sea. Such word building results in a number of synonyms. Waterward can be expressed by k^{\vee}it, lədx^{\vee}čá?k^{\vee} or lətultáqt.

There remains, however, an important distinction between dynamic roots and the dynamic derivations built upon locative roots. For words forming the waterward/ landward axis, this difference is Relative reference versus an absolute starting or ending point for the dynamic roots. Consult figure 4. Travelling toward point 5 is $(l_{\theta})dx^{\psi}taqt$ regardless of whether one begins at point 1, 2, 3, or 4; and regardless of whether, beginning at 1, he stops at 2, 3, 4, or 5. Exactly the reverse is true of $(l_{\theta})dx^{\psi}ca^{\gamma}k^{\psi}$. With čube, on the other hand, the speaker always designates travel beginning at point 3, the shoreline, and with $k^{*}it$ travel ending at 3; čubə and $k^{*}it$ express travel on land while lədx^{*}čá²k^{*} and lədx^{*}čá⁴t may refer to travel on land or sea or both.

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For words belonging to the upstream/downstream set, the dynamic roots are again more specific than the derivations created from locative roots. While both tayi1 and qwic denote travel on (or in) the river - typically canoeing or swimming, the derivatives based on qix and ?aixad refer to the direction of travel which can be by land or air as well as by water. Someone walking along the river bank or low flying ducks following the course of the river are said to (1a)dxwiix or (1a)dxwiixaixad but never (1a)tayi1 or (1a)qwic. A canoeist on the other hand may be said to either (1a)tayi1 or (1a)dxwiix for upstream travel and to (1a)qwic or (1a)dxwiixaixad for downstream travel.

The derived formations comprise a symmetrical set of synonyms by the use of opposing roots and directional prefixes. Thus, dx"taqt toward the land is synonymous with tulčá?k" from the water and tulťaqt from the land with dx"čá?k" toward the water. Which of each pair is used depends upon the speaker's point of view. With these roots, however, the tul- prefix is rare. (Presumably, the same synonymy holds for the derivations of the upstream/downstream set, but no attempt has yet been made to elicit the expected form tul?átžad from downstream. The pair tulqix" from upstream and dx"?atžad down streamward is in the corpus.)

The prefix lif- by what route adds a third direction, viz., going along parallel. Compare the Saanich prefix 1-. With $\check{c}a^{2}k^{W}$ the travel may be either on land or sea but if on land it must be down close to the shore. Thus, lift $\check{c}a^{2}k^{W}$ is somewhat clumsily but precisely glossed as proceeding parallel to the shoreline either out on the water or, if on land, down relatively close to the shore. It contrasts with lift $\check{a}\check{q}t$ which designates travel up inland

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but parallel to the shore. When referring to travel on land, liičá?k^w has the synonym lii?ilg^wii along the shoreline built upon ?il-g^wii shoreline. Observe how liičá?k^w and lii?ilg^wii are used synonymously in the following sentence and how they both contrast with liiťádt:

lə?ibəš lit?ilg"it ?ə ti?ə? x"əlč, bəlittaqt, g"əl bəlitča?k".

He was walking along the shore of the sea, [then] again up above and again down by the water. [When the tide was in, he had to journey up the bank, through the trees; but when it was out, he was able along the beach where walking was easier.]

Sometimes the comparative prefix ?it- replaces lit-: ?á? k^wi bəs<u>?it</u>ča?k^ws⁴ He is there going along <u>nearer</u> the water again versus ?á?, bəlitčá?k^w He is there going along down by the water again.

As in Saanich, houses in Lushootseed speaking communities were formerly built close to bodies of water. Orientation about a house, therefore, was conveniently made by reference to the two basic axes. To the reduced grade of the locative stems is added the suffix -adi? *side* when designating a place indoors while outdoors the suffix -alətx^w house, building is used. For example, təqtadi? means the *back of the house*. This system continues around the house as diagramed in figure 7 with one excpetion. Etymologically, the opposite of təqtalətx^w is čəg^walətx^w (based on the reduced grade of ča²k^w) but in fact this latter form means *anywhere outdoors*. If in precontact times, Lushootseed house doors faced the water, going outside required first going to the water side. Over time a shift in meaning occurred whereby čəg^walətx^w *waterside of house outdoors* became *anywhere outdoors*. Today, the opposite of təqtalətx^w is čəg^walətx^w čəg^walətx^w čəg^walətx^w čəg^walətx^w cəg^walətx^w cəg^walətx^w cəg^walətx^w base

"The s- prefix and -s suffix are required automatically because ?iłčá?k" happens to be head of a subordinate clause in this example, whereas liłčá?k" is the head of an independent clause requireing neither s- nor -s. outside house on water side.⁵

No attempt has yet been made to elicite Lushootseed words equivalent to the Saanich set diagrammed in figure 5 wherein one house is located by reference to another. However, such phrases as $d^2 \partial la \tilde{x} \partial dx^{ w} di^{2} \tilde{a} \tilde{x} \partial dv$ visit (someone dwelling) on that side/end and $d^{ w} u^{2} a \tilde{x} \partial d$ neighbor suggest that the Lushootseed equivalents are etymologically and structurally similar. (The cognates -a $\tilde{x} \partial d$ and -e $\tilde{x} \partial n$ both mean at the side, lateral appendage, edge.)

The upstream/downstream axese are virtually identical in both languages. There are only two differences. In Saanich direction in and out of a bay is expressed the same way as up and downstream on a river; while in Lushootseed direction in and out of a bay is stated in terms of the landward/seaward axis (or by $d = h^{u}(a)$ *into container* which is closely parallel to the Saanich expression newell?čen.) Lushootseed also marks lexically whether the upstream/downstream travel is actually on the river or simply parallel to it.

The landward/seaward axese differ more. The Lushootseed system is completely symmetrical and involves only four roots whereas the corresponding Saanich axis is expressed with more roots and the lexemes built from these roots do not all belong to antonymous pairs as in Lushootseed. Saanich distinguishes four locations on this axis while Lushootseed marks only two⁶ and Saanich has

⁵Inside a house a third point of reference was used, namely the center versus theperiphery of a room. The terms are sula at the centre and ?ald at the periphery. In former times the fire was at the centre and because people ordinarily sit facing the fire, sula also means in front of someone and, by extension, in front of any assembly regardless of seating arrangement. In all cases ?ald remains the antonym. See figure 7. Corresponding terms do not exist in Saanich.

⁶Without recourse to s[?]ilg^wit *shoreline* which is not a part of the system as is its Saanich gloss sesu[?].

has five dynamic terms while Lushootseed has but four. Furthermore, the meanings of these dynamic words do not match exactly except for Saanich sew and Lushootseed $k^{\mu}it$. Saanich $\theta an and \theta an and \theta an are constantly impinge$ $upon the water's edge as do Lushootseed čúbə and <math>k^{\mu}it$. Saanich tál and téel are used only on the water while Lushootseed čá?k^{\u0394} and tádt are appropriate on both land and sea - they can even be synonyms for $k^{\mu}it$ and čúbə.

Without analysis from more languages, it is impossible to do more than conjecture about the Proto Central Coast Salish system of marine and riverine direction vocabulary. However, an examination of the cognates in the two language systems detailed here can serve as a first step toward reconstructing this part of the proto lexicon.

There is only on cognate pair from the upstream/downstream sets: tayi1 go upstream in Lushootseed (tayi(1) in the southern dialects) and teyal upstream, toward head of inlet in Saanich. The root of the Saanich cognate undergoes several alternatives and is heard in a variety of terms:

teyet head of inlet/bay, source of a river

tey paddle hard (as in a canoe race)

ti?ək"ət racing canoe

ti[?]tas(ən) go against the tide

tit-

titexan house on the "head" side/upstream side

titelewer "head" side/upstream side

A core meaning which encompasses most these Saanich derivatives might be go against the current. Assuming this to be the original meaning of the proto root, however, requires the added assumption that Lushootseed narrowed this range of meaning to simply go upstream. It seems more likely that the proto root meant go upstream and Saanich has evolved the further concepts. Six cognates exist between the Saanich and Lushootseed vocabularies in the landward/seaward axis. One is a prefix, one a suffix, two are roots occurring in the Saanich system with their Lushootseed cognates outside the Lushootseed system, and two are roots belonging to the landward/seaward directional system in both languages. These are listed below:⁷

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	Saanich	Lushootseed
1	Oán go up away from shore	čúbə go up away from water
2	sew arrive at shoreline	čá?k [♥] waterward
	sésu? shoreline -səhew go along the shore su?sk"- on the waterside	čəg ^w - on the waterside
3	čáləq" located up from shore	d ^z al- go over hill; turn 180
	čəliq" located in water neo	ur shore
4	tée-1 go ashore	fátil go ashore

?if- lif- by what route

ste?tal is at shore

5

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-k"it canoe, vehicle; waterway -g"it canoe, vehicle; waterway

Oəlk^wil out from shore

Set #1 has nearly the same meaning in both languages except that the Lushootseed čúbə commences right at the water's edge which is not necessarily the case with Saanich Θa_{D} .

Both roots in set #2 share a component which might be glossed as waterward, but each remains quite distinct. The Saanich root always designates

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⁷A few additional forms are listed in the appendix to support the sound correspondences upon which these cognates are based.

a place on land. In contrast, the Lushootseed cognate may refer to either a location on land or sea — most frequently the latter.

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Two further points should be noted in connection with this pair. First, the closest Lushootseed gloss for the Saanich sew is kwit even though the lexical systems structure kwit and Ota? as more similar. Secondly, the derivation $\Theta \neq k^{w}i \neq -$ based on $\Theta \neq a$? — shows this root in reference to location at sea as well as movement on land. In this respect it resembles the Lushootseed $\xi a^{k}k^{w}$.

It is not possible to know which language reflects more closely the proto form for sew and $\check{c}a^{?}k^{w}$. Nevertheless, the smaller number of roots and the absolute symmetry of the set which contains $\check{c}a^{?}k^{w}$ suggests, perhaps, that these Lushootseed forms, particularly $\check{c}a^{?}k^{w}$, have undergone more restructuring than the Saanich forms. Furthermore, the use of both $\mathfrak{su}^{?}\mathfrak{sk}^{w}$ - (from \mathfrak{sew}) and $\check{c}\mathfrak{sg}^{w}$ - (from $\check{c}a^{?}k^{w}$) in orientation for dwellings points to a primary component which is closer to the modern meaning of \mathfrak{sew} than it is to $\check{c}a^{?}k^{w}$.

In spite of the /a/ to /a/ correspondence in set #3, the roots do seem to be related. Saanich roots involve considerable ablaut which accounts for the unexpected vowel here. Note further vowel alterations of this root in the derivatives čələwt *turn over* and sčeləw *turned over*. Compare also Saanich staŋət what is the matter? from sten what?

The Lushootseed gloss for čáləq^w is ťáqt which originally meant mountain (and still does in certain contexts). Compare Sliammon ťáqt mountain. There is no way yet of knowing which usage — mountainward of Lushootseed or overhill of Saanich — reflects the designation in the proto system.

The cognates in set #4 have the same meaning which probably reflects unchanged the significance of the proto word. Compare Sliammon tayəš go toward shore/łáyit arrive at shore.⁸ However, the Lushootseed word is outside the system. Possibly a form corresponding to Saanich tál (which pairs with łéel) was lost in Lushootseed with the subsequent extension of čá[?]k^w to replace it. This was then matched by extending the meaning of ťáqt which left łálil without an antonymous pairing.

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⁸These Sliammon forms are provided by John H. Davis.

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Appendix

	Some Saanio	ch/Lushoo	tseed correspon	dences.		
0:č		S	č	č:d ^z		
Ooné?	backpad	ek	séləs	hand	čə́nəs	tooth
čəbá?	backpad	ek	cáləs	hand	d ^z ədis	tooth
0átž	halibu	t	sən	I	čáx vəŋ	vomit
sčútž	halibut	t ·	čəd	I	d ^z áx ^w	vomit
			s x ^w	you	cəqenət	fell
			čəx ^w	you	d ^z áď	fell
ŋ : b		k ^w :g ^w		w:g ^w		
ná s	four		nəkyə	you	?anəwət	middle
buus	four		dəg ^w i	you	[?] udəg ^w əł	middle
stén	what		k"əl	tipover	-əlwəł	side
stáb	what		g"al	tipover	-ulg ^w ił	side
? _{ຳກຸອ} ຣ	grandch	nild	-ək ^w ən	inside	-i?wən	chest
?ibac	grandch	ild	-ig ^w əd	inside	-idg ^w əd	chest
́e:	a			a :	u	
mén	father			?áx́™	go, put	
bad	father			²uxఀ [₩]	go	ták" go
k wes	burn	t ⁰ élə?	heart	t0a ² k ^v əs	s seven	tuk" go

ξú^γk^u s seven

home home



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k^vas

burn

čáli?

heart



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Figure 7 illustrating Lushootseed orientation vocabulary about the house. Upstream/downstream and landward/seaward terms are utilized as in Saanich. A third axis centre or front/away from centre back is used for orientation within buildings or among gatherings of people.



Figure 8 illustrating ancillary direction terms based on the general water orientation of Saanich culture.



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Oblique Objects In Halkomelem

Thomas E. Hukari

University of Victoria

Certain predicates are semantically transitive but syntactically intransitive in Vancouver Island Halkomelem (hereafter, Halkomenum). Thompson and Thompson note of cognate constructions in the Thompson language that they "...imply effect on some entity."¹ The effected entity may be introduced in Halkomenum by the preposition //?ə//, forming an oblique complement rather than a direct object. Compare, for example, the following transitive/intransitive sentence pairs, where //-t// is a transitive suffix and both //-m// and //-els// are intransitive suffixes.

- 1. nem? cən q''ələt t $^{\theta}$ ə scééttən. I am going to barbecue the salmon.
 - go I barbecue art. salmon trans.
- 2. nem? cən q^wələm ?ə t^{θ}ə scéettən. same gloss
 - go I barbecue prep. art. salmon intrans.
- 3. ni? cən lək^vát t^{θ}ə sčešt. I broke the stick.
 - aux. I break art. stick trans.

4. ni? cən lək^wels ?ə t^{θ}ə scešt. same gloss

aux. I break prep. art. stick intrans.

As the semantic role of such oblique complements seems analogous to that of direct objects, let us call them *oblique objects*.

Oblique objects of intransitive //-m// suffixed predicates (commonly called *middle* predicates in Salish studies) seem to