A Comparison of
Marine and Riverine Orientation Vocabulary
in Two Coast Salish Languages

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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 Coast. 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 intradiatlect 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.

Figure 1 illustrates this second axis for Saanich. There are two basic forms, əqeq mouth of inlet or river and ʔeqeq mouth of inlet, headwaters of a river. Both are locatives; however, each has dynamic derivatives indicating direction of travel. These are əqeq əł go toward mouth of inlet, go down­stream and ʔeqeq əł go toward head of inlet, go upstream. (Further derivation based on these dynamic stems is also possible, e.g., əqeq əł going toward mouth of inlet, going downstream and ʔeqeq əł going toward head of inlet, going upstream.)

The Saanich seaward/landward axis is segmented into several systems. The simplest consists of two words, ətət go away from shore and ətət 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, although this is possible. The words are properly used when one begins at any point (on land) along a continuum from the shoreline and proceeds further away from the water in the case of ətət and nearer to the water in the case of ətət.

There is for ətət a close synonym which belongs to a different lexical set viz., əeq 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):

- əeq arrive at shoreline ;
- əeq arrive home ;
- əeqəl arrive here ;
- əeqəl arrive there ;
- əeq go home
- əeq go home
- əeq come here
- əeq go there

No such synonym exists for ətət.

While ətət and ətət take place on land, a somewhat parallel pair designate travel toward the shore and out to sea. These are əqeq go ashore and əqeq go out to sea. By extension əq eq 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. əeq ən tət. I’m going out to sea.
2. əeq ən tət ə(eq) əeqələm. I’m going out onto the field.
3. əeq ən tət ə(eq) əeqələm. I’m going out onto the lake.
4. əeq ən tət ə(eq) əeqələm. I’m going out onto the floor.
5. əeq ən tət ə(eq) əeqələm. (rejected)

The inclusion of əeqələm ocean, sea, estuaries is tantamount and unacceptable grammar because əqeq refers to the sea. Only by modifying the sentence which specific mention of some other arena of travel, can this component of əqeq be altered.

Although əqeq and əqeq seem to be the waterside counterparts to ətət and ətət, 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 ətət elicits ətət but not əqeq nor əqeq. Mention of əqeq brings to mind əqeq but not ətət and ətət.

2In these sentences 1-4 the word əeq go may be omitted. If it is, san ə follows tət. əeq san tət, etc. sounds less abrupt than tət san, etc.
See 1 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: \( \text{čal}1q' \) up from shore, \( \text{šəšu} ? \) shore line, \( \text{čal}1q' \) close to shore, and \( \text{šəšk}'it \) way out from shore. The first and third terms, \( \text{čal}1q' \) and \( \text{čal}1q' \), are obviously related; and they form a subset with a component meaning approximately located in the direction of the land. \( \text{šəšu} ? \), 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 \( \text{šəšə} \) 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 \( \text{šəšə} \) (which is etymologically related to \( \text{θəθ} ? \)) plus a suffix -\( \text{k}'it \) watercraft, waterway.

\( \text{šəšk}'it \) it is viewed as the opposite of \( \text{čal}1q' \). See II of Figure 3.

Each of these locative words has a corresponding dynamic derivation formed by the prefix \( \text{šəšə} \) (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 \( \text{čal}1q' \) is \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'alaw;n \) going along up above; from \( \text{čal}1q' \) is \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'alaw;n \) swimming/rowing along the shore; from \( \text{šəšə} \) (from which \( \text{šəšu} ? \) also comes) is \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'alaw;n \) going along between the shoreline and \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'alaw;n \).

On the basis of \( \text{šəšu} ? \) shoreline, one would expect \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'alaw;n \) to mean simply walking along the beach. However, a fifth term enters the system from a different lexical set. This word is \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'alaw;n \) walk along the beach. 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 -\( \text{čəšə} \), at the side added to one of the following four stems: \( \text{šəšə} \)- from \( \text{šəšə} \) head of inlet, head-water gives \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'ex̌əw;n \) house on the "head" side (or family living to the "head" side); \( \text{šəšə} \)- from \( \text{šəšə} \) mouth of inlet/river gives \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'ešən \) house on the "mouth" side; \( \text{čal}1q' \)- from \( \text{čal}1q' \) located up from shore gives \( \text{čal}1q' \text{k}'ašən \) house on the land side; and \( \text{šəšə} \)- from \( \text{šəšə} \) arrive at shoreline (from up inland by a reduplication different from \( \text{šəšu} ? \).) This structure results in \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'ex̌əw;n \) house on the beach side. See Figure 5.

The same four stems figure as points of reference in describing the (extrernal) side: \( \text{čəšək}'ex̌əw;n \) side toward head of inlet, \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'ex̌əw;n \) side toward mouth of inlet, \( \text{čal}1q' \text{k}'ašən \) land side, and \( \text{šəšə} \text{k}'ex̌əw;n \) 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 \( \text{sqəl} ? ? \text{q} \) go over land from one body of water to another and \( \text{tək}'e1 \) cross a body of water. The other pair are morphologically complex and have a secondary status in the orientation vocabulary. These are \( \text{sqəl} ? ? \text{q} \) go from inlet into open water based on sq" outside and nawəl \( \text{q} \) enter inlet from now inside.

In contrast to the Saanich systems the Lushootseed riverine and marine
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Dynamic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acjaq</td>
<td>tayll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describes travel upstream</td>
<td>go upstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ćakad</td>
<td>q'ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describes travel downstream</td>
<td>go downstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ćaqt</td>
<td>ćuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Located away from shore</td>
<td>go up from water's edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dkak'k'</td>
<td>k'it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Located toward the river</td>
<td>go down to water's edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound or out in the water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 dxw- toward, tui- from, and li- by what route. See
figure 4. For example, dxw- with čakak'k' gives dxw'ćakk'k' waterward. These deri-
vations, in turn, become dynamic stems with the addition of the aspectual prefix
la-: ladxwćakk'k' going toward the water/growing on out to sea. Such word building
results in a number of synonyms. Waterward can be expressed by k'it, ladxwćakk'k'
or lićaqt.

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 (la)dxwćaqt 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 (la)dxwćak'k'. With ćuba, on the other hand, the speaker
always designates travel beginning at point 3, the shoreline, and with k'it
travel ending at 3; ćuba and k'it express travel on land while lađxwćak'k'
and lićaqt may refer to travel on land or sea or both.

For words belonging to the upstream/downstream set, the dynamic roots
are again more specific than the derivations created from locative roots.
While both tayll and q'ic denote travel on (or in) the river - typically canoeing
or swimming, the derivatives based on acjaq and ćakad 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 (la)dxw'acijaq or (la)dxwćakad but never (la)tayll or (la)q'ic. A canoeist
on the other hand may be said to either (la)tayll or (la)dxw'acijaq for upstream
travel and to (la)q'ic or (la)dxwćakad for downstream travel.

The derived formations comprise a symmetrical set of synonyms by the use
of opposing roots and directional prefixes. Thus, dxwćaqt toward the land is
synonymous with tuićak'k' from the water and tućaqt from the land with dxwćak'k'
toward the water. Which of each pair is used depends upon the speaker's point
of view. With these roots, however, the tui- 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 tulćakad from downstream.
The pair tuićak'k' from upstream and dxwćakad downstream is in the corpus.)

The prefix li- by what route adds a third direction, viz., going along parallel.
Compare the Saanich prefix li-. With Ćak'k' the travel may be either
on land or sea but if on land it must be down close to the shore. Thus,
litćak'k' 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 litćaqt which designates travel up inland
but parallel to the shore. When referring to travel on land, \textit{liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw} has the synonym \textit{liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw} along the shoreline built upon \textit{?ul\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw} shore. Observe how \textit{liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw} and \textit{liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw} are used synonymously in the following sentence and how they both contrast with \textit{liitaq\textsuperscript{-}t}:

\begin{quote}
\textit{\[9\textsuperscript{-}bas liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw \[a ti\[a\textsuperscript{-}x\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}baliitaq, baliitaq, g\[a\textsuperscript{-}baliit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw.}
\end{quote}

He was walking along the shore of the sea, then again up above and again down by the water. \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t} 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 \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t} replaces \textit{lii\textsuperscript{-}t}:

\begin{quote}
\textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t} kw\textsuperscript{-}kW\[a\textsuperscript{-}bas liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw \[a ti\[a\textsuperscript{-}x\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}.\textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t} kw\textsuperscript{-}kW\[a\textsuperscript{-}bas liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw \[a ti\[a\textsuperscript{-}x\[a\textsuperscript{-}t.}
\end{quote}

He is there going along nearer the water again versus \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}, baliit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw \[a ti\[a\textsuperscript{-}x\[a\textsuperscript{-}t.\textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t} kw\textsuperscript{-}kW\[a\textsuperscript{-}bas liit\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw \[a ti\[a\textsuperscript{-}x\[a\textsuperscript{-}t.}

As in Saanich, houses in Lushootseed speaking communities were formerly built close to bodies of water. Orientation about a house, therefore, was consistently made by reference to the two basic axes. To the reduced grade of the locative stems is added the suffix \textit{-adi\textsuperscript{-}t} side when designating a place indoors while outdoors the suffix \textit{-alax\textsuperscript{-}t} house, building is used. For example, \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}ad\textsuperscript{-}t} means the back of the house. This system continues around the house as diagramed in figure 7 with one exception. Eymologically, the opposite of \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}alax\textsuperscript{-}t} is \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}alax\textsuperscript{-}t} (based on the reduced grade of \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}kW}) but in fact this latter form means \textit{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 \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}alax\textsuperscript{-}t} \textit{waterside of house outdoors} became \textit{anywhere outdoors}. Today, the opposite of \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}alax\textsuperscript{-}t} is \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}alax\textsuperscript{-}t} \textit{\[a\textsuperscript{-}t}\textsuperscript{-}adi\textsuperscript{-}t}?

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

6Without recourse to \textit{?ul\textsuperscript{-}g\textsuperscript{-}kw} shore which is not a part of the system as is its Saanich gloss \textit{s\textsuperscript{-}su}.
has five dynamic terms while Lushootseed has but four. Furthermore, the meanings of these dynamic words do not match exactly except for Saanich söw and Lushootseed Ḳʷʷ. Saanich ǝ̱n and ǝ̱t̓a? do not necessarily impinge upon the water’s edge as do Lushootseed ġ̓̓u̱l̓̓a and Ḳʷʷ. Saanich t̓̓ai̱ and t̓̓e̱l̓ are used only on the water while Lushootseed ġ̓̓a̱kʷ and t̓̓a̱l̓ are appropriate on both land and sea - they can even be synonyms for Ḳʷʷ and ġ̓̓u̱l̓̓a.

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 one cognate pair from the upstream/downstream sets: t̓̓a̱y̱l̓ go upstream in Lushootseed (t̓̓a̱y̱l̓ in the southern dialects) and t̓̓e̱y̱al̓ upstream, toward head of inlet in Saanich. The root of the Saanich cognate undergoes several alternatives and is heard in a variety of terms:

- t̓̓a̱y̱ot̓ head of inlet/bay, source of a river
- t̓̓e̱y̱ paddle hard (as in a canoe race)
- t̓̓i̱ʔok̓ʷa̱t̓ racing canoe
- t̓̓i̱ʔlas̓(an) go against the tide
- t̓̓i̱ʔt̓̓e̱x̓̓n̓ house on the "head" side/upstream side
- t̓̓i̱ʔt̓̓e̱x̓̓n̓ house on the "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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saanich</th>
<th>Lushootseed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ǝ̱n</td>
<td>ġ̓̓u̱l̓̓a go up away from shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 söw</td>
<td>ġ̓̓a̱kʷ waterward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 č̓̓a̱ln̓'</td>
<td>č̓̓a̱ln̓' located up from shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ɓe̱-</td>
<td>ɓe̱- go ashore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ?i̱ʔ̓</td>
<td>ʔi̱ʔ̓ by what route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -k̓̓i̱ʔ̓</td>
<td>-k̓̓i̱ʔ̓ canoe, vehicle; waterway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set #1 has nearly the same meaning in both languages except that the Lushootseed ġ̓̓u̱l̓̓a commences right at the water’s edge which is not necessarily the case with Saanich ǝ̱n.

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

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.

Two further points should be noted in connection with this pair. First, the closest Lushootseed gloss for the Saanich sów is k'it even though the lexical systems structure k'it and ọjọ as more similar. Secondly, the derivation ọjọk'it — based on ọjọ — shows this root in reference to location at sea as well as movement on land. In this respect it resembles the Lushootseed ọjọk'it.

It is not possible to know which language reflects more closely the proto form for sów and ọjọk'it. Nevertheless, the smaller number of roots and the absolute symmetry of the set which contains ọjọk'it suggests, perhaps, that these Lushootseed forms, particularly ọjọk'it, have undergone more restructuring than the Saanich forms. Furthermore, the use of both sú'k' — (from sów) and ọg' — (from ọjọk'it) in orientation for dwellings points to a primary component which is closer to the modern meaning of sów than it is to ọjọk'it.

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 sú'o'k' turn over and sú'o'k' turned over. Compare also Saanich stápt what is the matter? from stión what?

The Lushootseed gloss for ọjọk'it is ọjọt which originally meant mountain (and still does in certain contexts). Compare Sliammon ọjọt 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 sión 'go toward shore/siyit arrive at shore.' However, the Lushootseed word is outside the system. Possibly a form corresponding to Saanich tál (which pairs with ójọ) was lost in Lushootseed with the subsequent extension of ọjọk'it to replace it. This was then matched by extending the meaning of ọjọt which lost sión without an antonymous pairing.

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

Some Saanich/Lushootseed correspondences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>θ : ɛ</th>
<th>s : ɛ</th>
<th>ɛ : d</th>
<th>ɡ : g</th>
<th>w : ɡ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>θeq?</td>
<td>baqpaq</td>
<td>s'qas</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>ɡ'qas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡeq?</td>
<td>baqpaq</td>
<td>c'qas</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>d'qas</td>
</tr>
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<td>ɡeq?</td>
<td>halbut</td>
<td>ɡun</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɡ'equn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡeq?</td>
<td>halbut</td>
<td>ɡad</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>d'are</td>
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<td>s x'</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>c'hadu</td>
<td>fell</td>
<td>ɡx'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ɳ i b</td>
<td>k'w : g'w</td>
<td>ɳ : ɡw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɳa s</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>n'q'kə</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>ɡam'ær</td>
</tr>
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<td>ɳas</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>d'q'ɡi</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>ɡam'qet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬ'eq</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>k'gal</td>
<td>tiˈpou`r</td>
<td>ɡam'qet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬab</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>g'gal</td>
<td>tiˈpou`r</td>
<td>ɡam'qet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬeq'as</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>-ok'equn</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>-i'wah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡeq'as</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>-ig'eqad</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>-id'eqad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e : a</td>
<td>a : u</td>
<td>ɡeq'w</td>
<td>go, put</td>
<td>ɡeqw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡeq'as</td>
<td>burn</td>
<td>ɡeq'as</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>ɡeq'as seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡeq'as</td>
<td>burn</td>
<td>k'q'as</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>ɡeq'as seven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Legend:*
- θ: Saanich
- ɡ: Lushootseed
- ɛ: English

*Notes:* The above table lists some of the correspondences between Saanich and Lushootseed languages. The entries are arranged in columns to show the phonetic similarities and differences between the two languages. The Saanich words are on the left, the Lushootseed on the middle, and the English translations on the right.
Figure 3 diagrams Saanich vocabulary of the seaward/landward axis. Water terms are below wavy line while land terms are above it. Groups I and III are dynamic, the words of I stating direction perpendicular to the shoreline, while those of III show direction parallel to the shoreline. Group II words are locative. Arrows represent direction of travel for the dynamic terms.

1. go up away from shore
2. arrive at shoreline
3. go down toward shore
4. go out to sea
5. go ashore
6. located up from shore
7. shoreline
8. located in water near shore
9. go out to sea
10. located out from shore
11. go along from shore
toward shoreline and čałaq
12. walk along water's edge
13. swim/canoe along close to shore
14. swim/canoe along out from shore.

(In place of čałaq, some speakers say čałał.)
Figure 5 represents a hypothetical Saanich village. All houses are built near the water. Residents of house designated by hatched rectangle refer to their neighbors with terms derived from four water orientation vocabulary items.
Figure 7 illustrating Lushootseed orientation vocabulary about the house. Upstream/downstream and landward/seaward terms are utilized as in Saanich. A third axis center or front/away from center 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.

Oblique Objects in Halkomelem

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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." The effected entity may be introduced in Halkomenum by the preposition //?a//, forming an oblique complement rather than a direct object. Compare, for example, the following transitive/intransitive sentence pairs, where //?a// is a transitive suffix and both //m// and //els// are intransitive suffixes.

1. *nem? con 4-61at t?o sc61etan. I am going to barbecue the salmon.
   go I barbecue art. salmon
   trans.

2. *nem? con 4-61am t?o sc61etan. same gloss
   go I barbecue prep. art. salmon
   intrns.

3. *ni? con 1ak'at t?o s61et. I broke the stick.
   aux. I break art. stick
   trans.

4. *ni? con 1ak'els t?o s61et. same gloss
   aux. I break prep. art. stick
   intrns.

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