ON THE NEED FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
IN NATIVE AMERICAN DICTIONARY CONSTRUCTION

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The tendency in constructing American Indian dictionaries has been to provide language information in the form of word lists.(1) In doing so, the interests of two groups in the intended audience have not been met. Both the Indian communities and researchers outside the field of linguistics (e.g. anthropologists and art historians) are deprived of adequate statements regarding reference (i.e. the linking of words to culture). In this brief presentation I will offer two examples, from Salishan languages in western Washington, that demonstrate the need for expanding entries and how ethnographic material can be incorporated.(2)

In the first example, a single entry from Hess's Dictionary of Puget Salish is contrasted with information from the ethnographic record. The impetus for this examination was the need for background information in researching a book on greater Puget Sound basin basketry (i.e. Thompson and Marr 1983).(3) The comparison demonstrates that, in order to write a concise dictionary entry with ethnographic information, the linguist at times would be burdened with combining the divergent statements of anthropologists. Hopefully this situation will not appear too overwhelming to the lexicographer.

The second example is a sample from a Twana dictionary that has been in the preliminary stages since the late 1970's. Presented here are the initial forms under the k' heading, from k' through k'a?.(4)

Puget Salish c'a´yq

Hess 1976:64   a power for procuring any and all kinds of food. It chases the food to you or shows you where it is. [Minnie Campbell]

a slowly danced power for hunting [Louise George]

Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:72 This spirit may be acquired by men and women, but women got it more often than men. It helped a woman make good baskets and mats, thus making her rich. A man, it helped in hunting and fishing. ts!a'q travelled around the world, and also had a house and a servant. One informant stated that a person must be of high rank to acquire this spirit, but this was contradicted by another. Women went out in the woods to get this spirit just as men did. To men it appeared from the west, to women, from the east. When the servant saw a person who was looking for a spirit, he said to his master from outside the house, "I have a young man here who seems to be good." Then the youth was brought in the house. The spirit gave various kinds of implements to the persons seeking him. One might get a spear good for hunting on the Sound; another, an arrow for the woods: another, gambling sticks.

Women said they got their basketry designs from ts!a'q. Men with this spirit had success in hunting and fishing, but they had to do it themselves, for ts!a'q was not as powerful as yilbix^u, who made the animals drop dead.

Collins 1974:153

The spirit, c'a´yq, like a little man, bent over, helped men in hunting an fishing and women in arts and crafts such as basketry. It gave one women the power to walk in creeks for a long time without getting tired. (The point about walking in creeks is that it is easier in the heavily forested region to walk in them rather than on land ... Some Upper Skagit habitually used creeks when they walked from one house to another.) This spirit also made his owmer lucky in the accumulation of property. Informants said that it was always good weather, a clear, warm day when c'a´yq was sung. There seemed to be a feeling of happiness and gaiety associated with c'a´yq.

k'

k'k'k' [Spec. Reg.] interj. the noise made by Indian doctors as they walked through the land of the dead, at night, "to keep the ghosts asleep" (FE)

#k'a CAW
[Imitative of the sound of a crow.]

k'a´k'ak'a´k'a the call of a crow (LT)

Also k'a´?k'a?k'ə (LT). Compare these dialectic variants with the two Puget Sound Salish words for "crow": k'ak'a (Snyder 1968:152) and k'a´?k'a? (Hess 1976:238)

k'a´k'a (/FE,HE,LT,IK/, -k'ə /AT,CT,HT,LT/, kaka /Cu,Ee/, qa´ka /Bo/, kaka /Da/) n., pl. k'a´k'a?ubəš (HE) 1. crow [Corvus sp.]

To the Twana, the crow was linked with two other black birds, with size distinctions being equated with sex and age. In the oral literature, Raven was Crow's brother. The etymology of the word for "blackbird" places it as a young crow. It has not been determined if these relationships carried over into Twana taxonomic classifications.

The sole use of the crow seems to have been as an aid in locating ripe berries. As late as the 1920's, crow flocks were watched when looking for bushes of ripe Himalayan blackberries. (LT)

2. [Lit.] Crow, an of several characters associated with the crow

Crow seems born to suffer trickery and abuse (El). In one story Crow was a person of status, a "big doctor woman," living in her own home with her children in the same village as her brother, Raven.(FE)

3. [Geog.] a rock shaped like a crow, located between šdašəd and Lilliwaup

"On the headland north of the cove there was formerly an outcrop, which looked 'exactly' like a crow." This was Crow who was turned into stone by the Transformer. It was blasted off in building the highway. (Wa)

k'a?ak'k'a (k'a?a´k'k'ə /LT/, k'a?ak'a /HE/, ka´kkɔ /Bo/) dim. n.

1. redwing blackbird [Agelaius phoeniceus]

These birds were not utilized (Ee,LT). They were plentiful on the river flats in the spring (LT).

2. an immature crow (LT)

k'ak'adlix̌ (?) (kaka´lex /MG/) n. swamp honeysuckle [Lonicera involucrate]

The plant was not used (MG,LT,CT).

k'ak'adiɫad (k'ak'adiɫld /LT/) n. twinberry, the fruit of the swamp honeysuckle

This small, purplish fruit was eaten by crows but not by Indians (LT). The Makah, Quileute, Quinault and Indians of the Green River also associated this fruit with crows (Gu). ["crow-food"]

k'ak'a?alqʷu (k'ak'əlqo /LT/) n. Crow's Hidden Well

A spring located in the vicinity of the State of Washington trout hatchery in the Skokomish River drainage system. Also, qʷuk'alqʷuas k´ak´a "Crow's Hidden Water" and qʷu?as k'ak'a "Crow's Water".

swəl?ayadas k'ak'a (wəl?a´yas k'ak'ə /LT/, qaqš wi´?layya /Wa/) n.

1. Crow's Dish, the keyhole limpet [Diodora aspera] (LT)

They were plentiful at a site south of Lilliwaup associated with Crow. The shells were used for necklaces. (LT)

2. [Bask.] Crow's Dishes, a design depicting the keyhole limpet (LT)

təqu´stədas k'ak'a (?) n. Crow's Fish Trap

"Running out into the cove [south of Lilliwaup] are two rows of rocks, which can be seen at low tide. The whole arrangement has some resemblance to the fish traps, made of piles and nets [probably the double-dam weir with basketry trap], with which salmon were taken. The myth is that Crow formerly had a trap there, but was turned to stone, together with the trap, by the transformer." (Wa)

čəlča´lašas k'a´k'a (-šs /LT/) n. [Bask.] Crow's Hands, a design

Also čəlčalaš, "hands," or sqpaqalči, "front feet."

#k'ab[1]

k'a´bk'abət'a n. a little earth power (FE)

This was Doctor Monkey's power. The power "walks on the tops of the trees, he jumps from tree to tree when he's traveling, he never goes on the ground." (FE) The Upper Chehalis refer to this as c'ayum' and say it is a four-legged mammal (Thompson, Marr and Volkmer 1980:13).

#k'ab[2] SHALLOW (?)

k'ab?alač (k'ab?a´lič or k'a´?balič /LT/) n. a former side-channel of the Skokomish River

Located on the southern section of the Skokomish Reservation. Doctor Charley and Lewis Purdy each had a house along this channel. The channel was along one side of the river where it forked around a long gravel spit. It contained still water which raised and lowered with the tide. This action was said to be due to a tunnel connection to a deep hole (ast'ɔk'ʷ)

located in Hood Canal between Enatai and Wilson's Slough. The channel was considered to be a source of Indian power. In the 1910's its mouth filled with gravel and it dried up except for the filling and draining that coincides with the tide. (LT)

k'abi´łči   1. Skookum Inlet (El), 2. Kamilchie (LT)

[From Puget Salish.]

#k'ad

dIsk'adu´b'   1. Rocky Point (El), 2. a camping site on the south side of Rocky Point (El)

These were also known as da?šəd (El).

#k'ał[1]   HANG (from single object)

k'a´łi n. tumpline (LT,WE)

This woven headband was attached to baskets with cordage and used to support them from the forehead while keeping the hands free.

["hang from head"; compare Puget Salish #k'ił, "hang on a nail, peg, etc."]

#k'ał[2]

sk'ałla´ləwəč (/HE/, -wəč' /LT/) n. Flyblow or Shoofly Point

A level beach with a little creek on Hood Canal's north shore. People seldom camped there because of the Little Earths. This used to be a village site. (LT)

The point is one mile west of bəssəəl?ə´xʷłkıt, with a creek immediately west of it. This was a campsite in the 19th century. Oysters were gathered in the lagoon behind the point and pilshards used to come to the beach in numbers. Traditionally, a winter village was once situated behind the lagoon and the creek; it was not inhabited since about 1800. (HE)

#k'ax̌   MISSHAPEN (?)

sk'ax̌iqʷad (-e´qʷad /HE/) n. deformed head

This term occurred in Old Peter's sbətədaq song. (HE)

#k'ay

sk'a´vac (/LT,El/, -ac /LT/) n. apocynum, Indian hemp [Apocynum cannabinum]

Thought by the Twana to be from a root, this fiber was obtained in trade ready made from Upper Chehalis and Nisqually who got it from grouns east of the Cascades. It was a very tough, strong material used for fish lines, sea-mammal harpoon lines, and sometimes for bowstrings. (El)

k'a´? [Spec. Reg.] n. mommy

nək'a´? my mommy (HE)

This baby talk form is lexically derived from adult speech k'uy, "mother" (see Thompson 1985).

NOTES

1. See, for example, Snyder (1968).

2. I want to thank Thom Hess for introducing me to Puget Salish and the Salishan languages some 18 years ago. Also, I am indebted to William Elmendorf, Gaberell Drachman and M. Dale Kinkade for access to their unpublished field notes on the Twana language.

3. Hess (1976) in fact greatly extends the inclusion of syntactic information within a Native American dictionary and frequently contains cultural information within those examples.

4. In languages such as Twana, where dialects gave way to idiolects a number of years prior to the death of the last native speaker in 1980, it is necessary to use a code to indicate speaker and researcher. The abbreviations used in the sample are as follows:

Code	Speaker	Researcher
AT	Archie Adams	Gaberell Drachman tape Nile Thompson transcription
Bo	---	Franz Boas collection
CT	Lee Cush	Nile Thompson
Cu	---	Edward Curtis
Da	---	Ed Dalby
Ee	---	Myron Eells
El	---	William Elmendorf
FE	Frank Allen	William Elmendorf
Gu	---	Erna Gunther
HE	Henry Allen	William Elmendorf
HT	Hattie Allen Cross	Nile Thompson
IK	Irene Teo Baptist	M. Dale Kinkade
LT	Louisa Pulsifer	Nile Thompson
MG	Mary Adams	Erna Gunther
Wa	---	T.T. Waterman

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A Nonlinear Solution to Proto-Salish Retraction

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0. Introduction. In this paper I argue that a subset of Proto-Salish roots have associated with them a feature of retraction.[1] In most of the Interior Salishan languages, this feature has been retained and accompanies the root it is associated with in all of its manifestations, behaving in a manner akin to the stress assignment associated with roots and suffixes in Salish, or to tone association in a language such as Chinese. The retraction feature determines the shape of the root and the relation of the root to other morphemes within a word.

Two major problems in the study of Interior Salish phonology are solved by postulating a retraction feature underlyingly associated with certain morphemes. The status of r as a Proto-Salish phoneme has been defended by Kinkade and Thompson 1974, following Swadesh 1952. Kuipers 1981, however, argues that r is not necessary in the reconstruction of Proto-Salish, but is the development of a positional variant of *l. In this paper, I show that the reconstruction of retracted morphemes eliminates the problems presented by both models of Proto-Salish, with or without *r, and accounts for the distribution of l and r throughout the Interior.

The second related problem in Interior Salish phonology is accounting for the movement or spread of pharyngeal segments or features from root morphemes to stressed suffixes. Mattina 1979 presents full comparative data illustrating pharyngeal movement in Colville and stressed suffix vowel lowering in other Interior languages. The root morpheme retraction feature I propose here for a small set of Proto-Salish roots is manifested regularly and uniquely in each modern Interior language. Pharyngeal movement or spread can be easily accounted for in each language by some modification of a basic rule of progressive spread akin to the Coeur d'Alene Progressive Harmony rule necessary in the analysis of Coeur d'Alene vowel harmony (Doak ms.).

In the following sections, I will briefly present the different views on the development of Interior Salish r; the Retracted Root Hypothesis, including some basics of nonlinear phonology (feature geometry) supporting the proposal, and the mechanisms of each Interior language in maintaining root retraction; and the interaction of Root Retraction and Progressive Spread, including the unique behavior of Colville pharyngeal segments.

1. Interior Salish r. Coeur d'Alene, Colville-Okanagan, Columbian, and Spokan are the four Interior Salish languages that have r. In these languages, r appears only as C_2 of $C_1VC_2(C_3)$ roots where C_1 is not a postvelar (uvular). Cognates in the other Interior languages (Lillooet, Thompson, Kalispel, Shuswap) show l in this position. In Colville, Columbian, and Coeur d'Alene, r functions as a 'back' (uvular) consonant, and usually appears following a retracted vowel.[2] In Spokan, however, r does not

[2]Interior Salish vowel systems are usually some modification of the four-vowel system including $i, a, u,$ and $ə$. Retracted vowels are variants of these vowels produced with pharyngeal constriction or tongue root retraction. In Coeur d'Alene, i varies with c and a, u varies with $ɔ$, and c varies with a; Columbian has $ʔ, a$ and o in contrast with $ə, i,$ and u (Kinkade and Sloat 1972; Kinkade, p.c. 1987); in Colville, a appears to be the only retracted vowel; in Kalispel and Spokan, a and o function as full vowels as well as morphophonemic variants of $i, e,$ and u (Speck 1980:22, 27); Thompson has retracted i and $ʔ$ as well as a and o (Thompson and Thompson in press); Shuswap vowels $e, u,$ and i have the 'darkened' forms $a, o,$ and e, respectively (Kuipers 1974:31); Lillooet vowels $i, e, ə$ and u each have a retracted counterpart $i, a, ʔ,$ and o (inferred from van Eijk 1981).