

Some Lexical Sets in Puget Salish Orientation Vocabulary, a  
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In compiling a Northern Puget Salish lexicon, several criteria are being used to define roots. These include English glosses, the inflectional and derivational potential of each entry, and the semantic sets to which each belongs on the basis of its antonyms and synonyms. This paper derives from that lexicon. It defines three locative axes, upstream/downstream, seaward/landward, and center/periphery of a room, in terms of the oppositions of the words in each set.

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.

Four terms designate points upstream/downstream, two indicating direction of travel and two marking locations. A second set of four refers to a seaward/landward axis. (Seaward is intended to mean toward (or out into) a river or lake as well as toward the Sound.) Again two words designate directions and two specify locations. The following chart sets out these oppositions:

	Locative		Dynamic	
cu čúcyá	a. <u>díx<sup>w</sup></u>	'located upstream'	<u>təyíl</u>	'go upstream'
cu tá-(čw-)	I. b. <u>ʔáǎǎad</u>	'located downstream'	<u>q<sup>w</sup>íc</u>	'go downstream'
cu ʔíǎ- 'shore, back'	II. a. <u>tádt</u>	'located away from shore, up landward'	<u>čúbe</u>	'go up from shore, go up river bank'
cu táliči 'in the water; down river'	b. <u>čáʔk<sup>w</sup></u>	'located toward the river/sound or out in the river, lake, or sound.'	<u>k<sup>w</sup>ítʔ</u>	'go down to shore, go down river bank'
	(čáw- 'down, put into (fine).')			

cu čúcyánm  
cu x<sup>w</sup>ítʔ(í)-

cu x<sup>w</sup>ól-  
yán(a)x  
'come d.'  
táčwm

cu ʔíǎnm

cu táličínm  
q<sup>w</sup>ól x<sup>w</sup>/q<sup>w</sup>álǎx<sup>w</sup>

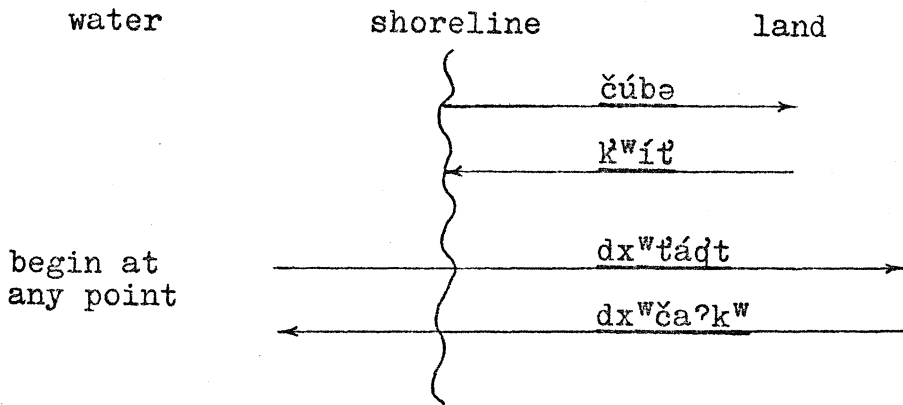
Locative roots are more basic than their dynamic counterparts

in that the former enter into several types of derivational constructions and occur more often in a lexical count of texts. Little word building can be done with the dynamic set. One such derivation involves the directional prefixes. For example, each locative can become a synonym for the corresponding dynamic by adding {dx<sup>w</sup><sub>2</sub>-}<sup>1</sup> (and the appropriate aspectual prefix). Thus, both lədx<sup>w</sup>díx<sup>w</sup> čəd and lətəyíl čəd mean 'I'm going upstream while ləq<sup>w</sup>íc čəd and lədx<sup>w</sup>ʔáǎǎad čəd mean 'I'm going downstream'. The difference between the two sets is that təyíl and q<sup>w</sup>íc refer specifically to river travel while dx<sup>w</sup>díx<sup>w</sup> and dx<sup>w</sup>ʔáǎǎad can include walking up/downstream along the river bank as well as canoe travel on (or a fish swimming in) the river itself.

cu -(n)m

In group II, both lək<sup>w</sup>ítʔ čəd and lədx<sup>w</sup>čáʔk<sup>w</sup> čəd mean 'I'm going down to the water' but the latter can also mean 'I'm going on out from shore' whereas k<sup>w</sup>ítʔ stops at the water's edge. Similarly, both ləčúbe čəd and lədx<sup>w</sup>tádt čəd signify 'I'm going up from shore', but the first always begins at the water's edge while the second can be used if someone is out from shore and heading back to the beach (or to the river bank) and also if he is already on land (and not neces-

sarily right on the shore) and heading toward the mountains away from the water.



Locative roots can also take a variety of lexical suffixes which add a second parameter to the site. For example, locatives having the suffix {-alatx<sup>w</sup>} 'house, building' mark a place in terms of both the water and a particular building:

- dxʷáletx<sup>w2</sup> 'upstream side of house'
- tədtáletx<sup>w</sup> 'landward side of house'

The above two sets of eight 'aquatic' locatives and direction terms are, of course, only a subgroup in the total vocabulary of orientation words. They differ from most such terms because they have an absolute frame of reference, a body of water, in terms of which the locus is stated. There is, however, one other set of 'absolute' roots, the antonymous pair súla and ʔáld<sup>w</sup>.

ch 'middle'  
 pát- III. súla 'at the center, in (the) front'      ʔáld<sup>w</sup> 'away from the center, at the back'      ch íl- 'away, out'

wít- (non-specific?)  
 kʷóp- 'straight, core'

(tul(á)p 'in front, ahead, first, begin') This set is used inside a longhouse (or, today, in any single room) and specifies locations in terms of the center (especially the fire) versus the walls. Since people ordinarily sit facing the fire, súla also means in front of someone and, by extention, in front of any

ʔálc tǝ 'in the house, by the fire'

assembly regardless of seating arrangement.

The pair in III do not have a corresponding set of dynamic words. Compensation for this lack is achieved by a greater variety of possible inflectional suffixes. In other words, the dynamic/locative distinction is sometimes lexical and sometimes grammatical. The following chart illustrates this difference:

- |       |                             |   |  |                                     |
|-------|-----------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1.    | <u>súla</u>                 | 'located in the center of a room'             | <u>díx<sup>w</sup></u>                 | 'located upstream'                  |
| <hr/> |                             |   |  |                                     |
| 2.    | <u>súlad</u>                | 'place it in the center of the room'          | <u>teyíltx<sup>w</sup></u>             | 'take it upstream'                  |
|       | <u>súlatx<sup>w</sup></u>   | 'bring it out from the wall'                  |  |                                     |
| <hr/> |                             |   |  |                                     |
| 3.    | <u>súlacut</u>              | 'go to center of room, go to front of room'   | <u>teyíl</u>                           | 'go upstream (by boat or swimming)' |
|       |                             |   | <u>dx<sup>w</sup>díx<sup>w</sup></u>   | 'go upstream'                       |
| <hr/> |                             |   |  |                                     |
| 4.    | <u>d<sup>e</sup>súlabid</u> | 'it is toward the center of the room from me' | <u>d<sup>e</sup>díx<sup>w</sup>bid</u> | 'it is on the upstream side of me'  |

The meaning of the roots out of which these orientation terms are formed is not simple. In addition to the three lexical axes described here, each form belongs to a variety of other semantic fields. For example, a transitive form of ?áld<sup>w</sup>, ?áld<sup>w</sup>ed 'take it away from the fire', is a synonym for kálš 'take it off/out of the fire'. These two words belong to an extensive set of cooking and heating terms. The same root also occurs in a second group of orientation terms which mean 'rearward, behind' (illustrated with

the reflexive suffix sequence).

?áld<sup>w</sup>cut 'go to rear of an assembly'

láqcutbid 'get behind it'      ch ?áw(t)-

qádacut 'move back(ward)'  
ch cám(t)-

The words q<sup>w</sup>íc 'go downstream' and teyíl 'go upstream' refer to particular types of water travel and, therefore, belong to a class meaning to proceed by water.

?úluł 'travel by canoe/boat'

tíčib 'wade/swim in deep water'

?íšil '(fish) swims'

Each of these can be performed either q<sup>w</sup>íc or teyíl. In turn, ?úluł opposes ?íbeš 'travel on land' and includes a variety of specific boating terms such as ?íšł 'paddle (vb)', šxálep 'steer with paddle over stern', čdáhəb 'pole a canoe/boat', and so on. The word tíčib contrasts with g<sup>w</sup>ecíl 'wade/stand in shallow water'. An etymological connection exists between ?íšil and ?íšł. They are formed from the same root which perhaps means something like 'proceed submerged'. Similar examples of multiple semantic class membership can be given for each of the ten orientation forms discussed above.

These webs of lexical relationships wind throughout the dictionary. Knowledge of them is important for what they reveal about the culture. However, the vocabulary is vast and the remaining truly fluent speakers are few. It is sheer folly for one person to attempt to prepare an adequate grammar, dictionary, and a collection of texts well analyzed from both the literary and cultural side as well as the grammatical. This is true for any language, but folly becomes tragic when the language is nearly extinct. Perhaps one or two at this

\* ch ššp  
ch k'át-

\* ch ?áq<sup>w</sup>tł / ?áq<sup>w</sup>tul. 'paddle'

Conference would be willing to devote themselves to an earnest study of some aspects of Puget Salish. Time is short, much remains to be learned, and the research is highly stimulating.

Notes

1. See page 63 in Studies in Northwest Indian Languages, Sacramento Anthropological Society, Paper 11, 1971.
2. With the suffix {-alatx<sup>w</sup>}, the roots {ɖix<sup>w</sup>}, {təqt}, and {čaʔk<sup>w</sup>} are heard in their reduced forms /ɖix<sup>w</sup>-/, /təqt-/ and /čəg<sup>w</sup>-/.

The word čəg<sup>w</sup>áletx<sup>w</sup> '(anywhere) outside a house' shows a shift of reference. Etymologically, it is {čaʔk<sup>w</sup>} 'seaward' plus {-alatx<sup>w</sup>} 'building', the expected opposite of tədtáletx<sup>w</sup> 'landward side of house'. In precontact times the door of a house was on the water side, so 'outside' necessarily meant going first to the sea or river side. Today, two terms are required to designate the front or water side of a house, čəg<sup>w</sup>áletx<sup>w</sup> čəg<sup>w</sup>ádiʔ 'outside house (on) water side'. (Like the unmodified locatives, čəg<sup>w</sup>áletx<sup>w</sup> has a corresponding dynamic term, šəjál 'go outside'.)

ch taličičiáq<sup>w</sup> 'river side of a prairie'  
 ?iʃnáq<sup>w</sup> 'side of a prairie away from a river'  
 yaláččiči 'shore, beach'  
 yaláq<sup>w</sup>m 'edge of a prairie'  
 syálstq 'near a fire'  
 syalúch 'beach'

pán- 'land, get across (river, prairie)'  
 pánstəqimət 'add wood to a fire'  
 pátčiči 'outside'  
 ?ác- 'inside' (-č 'a house')

máy- 'enter'  
 xáq- 'exit'  
 zís 'come'  
 nok<sup>w</sup>áʔ 'leave'

čóč- 'put in, go in'  
 čáw- 'take out, disembark'