O. Columbian Salish has four non-deictic means of indicating position or location, all of which may basically be translated into English as prepositions: (1) full words with regular semantic reference, as opposed to (2) prepositions, which indicate spatial relationships between full words; (3) directional (or locative) prefixes; and (4) positional prefixes. The first category includes, besides numerous items indicating location or direction, such things as xatəmús 'up', ʔacxatəm 'up, above, high', ʔackatrən 'be on', wənt 'down, low'. This is a lexical, rather than grammatical, category, and will not be dealt with here. Each of the other three categories, in spite of being translatable into English as a single grammatical category—preposition—has a different function in Columbian (hereafter Cm).

1. The category here labelled preposition should not be equated fully with prepositions in European languages; they are both more and less inclusive—more because some of them include grammatical relationships not so included in European languages, and less because fewer positional relationships are distinguished and they are less specific. The label is close enough, however, and at the very least is applicable in its etymological sense.

There are four or five prepositions in Cm: ˈkəl 'with, and', ˈkəl 'to, into', ˈtu 'from', ˈtəl 'from, than', ˈl 'in, of'. The glosses give some indication of the problems involved.

1.1. The question of whether these are all prepositions has to do with the status of ˈkəl. It occurs very infrequently, only 27 instances having been noted in all my data (all but three of these are in texts). In almost every instance, ˈkəl can be translated as either 'with' or 'and', in the sense of 'together with, along with'. Some illustrative sentences with ˈkəl are:
(1) ?acwax q'acwaw'ya? kal kkiya's lx . . .
lived Chipmunk with grandmother-his they
'Chipmunk lived with his grandmother . . .' or
'Chipmunk and his grandmother lived [there] . . .'

(2) huy, k'a? nux't twam lx kasq'sas.
then and went walked-along they with son-his
'And then they went and walked on their way with his son.'

(3) k'a? x'el'entwax'ntitiyax kal nta'la?.
and fought-each-other Chinook-Salmon and Wolf
'Chinook Salmon and Wolf fought each other.'

(4) huy tx'ustus lx st'uyys. kal x'illa's lx twam . . .
then left-him them mother-their with younger-sister-his they went-
along
'Then their mother left them. With his younger sister, they went along . . .' 

Note that three of these four sentences include the plural particle lx. 
This indicates that more than one entity is the subject or object of 
the sentence, and in all these cases those entities are linked by kal, 
even though one of the two may remain unexpressed (as in sentences 2 
and 4). This linking function of kal makes it look more like a con-
junction than a preposition, but it is not the usual linking conjunc-
tion--that is k'a? 'and'. In fact, kal and k'a? sometimes occur in 
parallel constructions:

(5) . . .?ica smiyaw lx kal snmak'a? k'a? sinc'a? sxi'xnax's.
this Coyote they with daughter-his and younger-brother-his Red-Fox
'. . .Coyote with his daughter and his younger brother, Red Fox.' 
For now I will leave kal classified as a preposition, although clearly 
the point is arguable.

1.2. kal 'to, into' is straightforward, and presents the fewest 
problems among the prepositions. Its use is not always exactly parallel 
to English, but the differences are not great.
(6) tk'iwl k'1 katxat'em.
climb to upstairs
'He went upstairs.'

(7) kən 1ckicc k'1 ni?ap.
I get-back to forever
'I'm back to stay.'

(8) k'1 s?awta? tucəntx'.
to behind-! put-it-you
'Put it behind!'

(9) nasawcən k'1 stəmka? s.
ask-him-I to daughter-his
'I asked him for his daughter.'

Note that word order in Gm is relatively free, with the most important full word (with its attendant particles) coming first in the clause. Thus in sentence 8, the prepositional phrase is first. This sentence is interesting further in that the object of the preposition is an imperative form.

The use of a preposition is not always obligatory; alternative constructions may be available. Thus, sentences 10 and 11 both mean 'He went toward the river.'

(10) k'1 ćkcín nux' t.
to shore go

(11) ćkcənus nux' t.
shore go

In sentence 11, the lexical suffix -us 'face' indicates the direction.

1.3. tu 'from' can be given little comment at this time. The following is the only instance of it, and it was checked carefully.

(12) stəxəlq tu snakəmqən wa? k'1 scəməp
line-on-a-tree from top-of-tree specifier to bottom-of-tree
'tree marked from top to bottom'

'From... to' constructions usually use tɁ as the first preposition.
1.4. tì most frequently means 'from' in an uncomplicated way.

(13) ?iscliy tì snaqätyän.
my-spear from platform
'I spear fish from a platform.'

(14) lût ?acwikätom tì pâhacì.
not see-him-we from that-time
'We haven't seen him since then.'

(15) x'îna wa ?aiu tì ñúc'ëmëns k'a? kl sx'ûşpc.
stripped specifier that from head-his and to tail-his
'He is striped from his head to his tail.'

But tì has a special use in comparative constructions, where it is regularly translated 'than'. The semantic extension does not seem great.

more great than I
'He's more powerful than I am.'

(17) sx'itex' tì ?incà.
older than I
'She's older than I am.'

(18) sx'itex' tì s?ix'ls.
older than sibling-his
'He's the oldest of his siblings.'

Two other sentences demonstrate the use of tì in less clear circumstances.

(19) këni hînt ?aii tì cuwëncäx'
I angry because from hit-me-you
'I'm angry because you hit me.'

(20) nasu? xölëm ?ani sqålìmëx' tì lëmìcas ?inç'ëcìn.
future kill-him-I that man from stole-from-me-he my-horse
'I'll kill the man who stole my horse.'

The use of tì in both these sentences is comparable to gerundive 'for...-ing' constructions in English, although Om uses a transitive
construction in these cases rather than the absolutive constructions with "possessive" affixes that are most nearly comparable to English gerunds.

1.5. 1 'in, of' occurs in two rather different types of constructions, and may actually be two homophonic prepositions (but see 1.6 below for further complications). The first type of construction involves simple prepositional phrases in which 1 usually means 'in', although other locational concepts are also involved.

(21) 1 stx'ul kën.
   in house I
   'I'm in the house.'

(22) pelpūlt kën 1 sčūwí.
   dream I in night
   'I had a dream last night.'

(23) 1 k' a? kile'vəntwás 1 kəeqín.
   so and under-put-it-she in pillow
   'And so she stuck him under a pillow.'

(24) kəp̓x'əntxʷ 1u? 1 sčúʔcúʔxəns k' a? 1xə? 1 q'əumqəns.
   pin-down-it-you there in feet-her and here in head-her
   'You pin down her feet there and [I will do] her head here.'

The second type of construction in which 1 occurs is out-and-out genitive, and is thus very much like English 'of'.

(25) kalâwən 1 naq'aitən (or: 1 naq'aitən kalâwən)
   pack-rope of pack-horse
   'pack-rope, rope to tie a pack on'

(26) 1 snkíʔmən sxwskmikłyiʔapələʔən
   of prayer preacher
   'preacher'

(27) kən ?əyəxʷt 1 kiʔaməncən.
   I tired of wait-for-you-I
   'I'm tired of waiting.'

(28) lút 1 stəm əw̓əyiʔmín
   not of what work
   'useless'
Besides the common inversion of the entire prepositional phrase (cf. sentence 25), the position of the possessor and the possessed may be reversed, leaving the 1 between them, with no change in meaning if third person possessive -s is suffixed to the (now) second form.

(29) 'scamult 1 γυμπαμς
child of plaything-his
'toys, playthings'

(30) sίλαςίνας 1 xxαβαςις
deer of trail-his
'deer trail'

(31) k'ακ'αςις 1 s?ακ'ας
strong of appearance-his
'he seemed strong'

1.6. Another 1 which must surely be related to the genitive usages above is a suffix rather comparable to the English possessive -s.

(32) ?inwίί 'your', based on ?inwί 'you(sg.)'

(33) ?ινακαλεπυίλ 1 μιπούλ
my-ancestor of Moses-'s
'my ancestor Moses'

(34) smiyawl 'Coyote's', based on smiyaw 'Coyote'

(35) ?ινκιύί μεί 'mine', based in ?ινκα 'I'

It is sometimes difficult to know which 1 is involved. In sentence 36, I assume that the last 1 is the preposition rather than the suffix because of the following form with third person possessive -s. This sentence is made more complicated by the use of two kin-terms with reciprocal referents: sttilia? may be either 'mother's father' or 'a man's daughter's child', and tatiupa? may be either 'great-grandparent' or 'great-grandchild'.

(36) ?αλκ'ας 'ani syαλικ'αςις sttilia's 1 μιπού 1 tatiupa's.
back-got-it-he that leadership-his Mo-Fa of Moses of great-grandchild-his
'He got back the leadership of his grandfather Moses [whose]
great-grandchild [he is].'
2. The second category to be treated here is that of directionals or locatives. There are two of these, both prefixes, ?al- 'translocative' and c- 'cislocative'. These usually imply motion, but most important is the relationship to the subject.

2.1. ?al- 'translocative' indicates motion or action away from the speaker, repetition of an action (for which 'again' or 'back' is the usual translation), or has a meaning 'and another'. 'Translocative' is not really the best gloss for this prefix, but will be retained because ?al- and c- are clearly in a single prefix category; 'repetition of an action' seems to be a more central meaning of ?al-, but to label it 'repetitive' would be misleading. This prefix has two variants, conditioned by the location of primary stress on the word. ?al- occurs if primary stress is on a root vowel immediately following C₁ of the root, and there are no other prefixes intervening: ?alnūxʷt 'go home', ?alk'an- 'take back', ?alkíc- 'get back', ?alnǔx̂išen 'put out again', ?alhą́wiyen 'repair'. 1- occurs if another prefix intervenes or if stress is somewhere beyond C₂ of the root: 1scxʔit 'the first time', liwám 'go home', 1ʔanin 'take back', 1ciyátkʷom 'build a fire again', 1kěn̓ ičás 'he gave them to me and took them back'.

An unexpected occurrence of translocative forms is in the numbers 11 to 19 (and 21 to 29, etc.). That these are indeed translocatives is indicated by the identical alternation of ?al- and 1-: ?al- occurs in x̌钨x̌wát ?alnúx̌q' 11', x̌钨x̌wát ?alnúx̌kwis 14', x̌钨x̌wát ?alnúx̌kwis 15', and x̌钨x̌wát ?alsísq̓ełh 17'; 1- occurs in x̌钨x̌wát 1łq̓aš̓ '12', x̌钨x̌wát 1kaʔiš 13', x̌钨x̌wát 1x̌q̓ wartime 16', x̌钨x̌wát 1twin 18', and x̌钨x̌wát 1ł̓aš̓q̓ełh 19'.

2.2. c- 'cislocative' indicates motion or position toward the speaker. The form is invariable: cnu̱x̌ʷt 'come', cíčx̌ 'return', cnchchùš 'facing', ctk̓ aʔu 'he's coming down the ridge', ch̓ ūm̓ n̓ éc 'he came over to see me', cxʔit 'first, in front'.

2.3. In spite of their partial antonymy, ?al- and c- may be used together (in that order), and when they are, have the meaning
'back': lckicx 'he came back home', l<bi>l{kusəm 'return', lctaqənc 'wave back', lćiuxt 'move back'. The ?al- variant cannot occur in these constructions because of the prefix intervening between the translocative and the root.

3. The final category indicating location is that of the eight or nine "positional" prefixes. These may co-occur with either or both of the two preceding categories. These are generally derivational prefixes, some with quite specific meanings. Since these are usually uncomplicated forms either semantically or morphophonemically, they will receive little comment. They are listed below with examples.

3.1. k- 'on or against something vertical': kcaxca? 'naked' (cəx 'red', ?ica? 'body'), kcəlalq 'cradle of a scythe' (cəl- 'stand', -alq 'tree, pole'), klεyxən 'get a nail in a tire' (liy- 'poke, stab', -əxn 'foot'), kəpəqəwən? 'accidentally spill on top of' (pəq- 'spill dry substance', -ən? 'ear, on a person').

3.2. kat- 'on a flat surface' (ka- before alveolars): katəqəqənən 'I uncovered it' (kəqən- 'take out, take off', -qən 'head'), katpəqənəna?an 'I spilled it on him' (pəq- 'spill dry substance', -ən? 'ear, on a person'), katpəqəpikən 'slide on ice' (pəq- 'slide, slip', -ikən 'back'), katəțiəntən 'table' (?əni 'eat', -ətn 'nominalizer'), skaćəcəx 'pancake' (cəx- 'spill'), kaləwənən 'rope to tie a pack on' (law- 'tie on', -ən? 'instrumental').

3.3. ki- 'under': kikəmus 'cheek' (kəm- 'surface', -us 'eye'), kikəx 'ledge or cave under an overhang', kipə坐在ən 'I threw powder under it', kikəwəkəuk 'it went out of sight' (wək- 'put away').

3.4. ki- 'away from, at a distance': kipəkən 'relay, relieve'

1. The s- prefix on this and other forms cited here is not relevant to the discussion here. It creates an absolute form; it is often called a nominalizer in the literature on Salishan languages, but that term is misleading and not entirely appropriate.
(ʔukʷ- 'move, haul'), kíkáixmən 'send' (káix 'give'), kíwànən 'I got out of his way', kíxʔítxəmən 'go ahead' (xʔít- 'first, in front', -xən 'foot').

3.5. n- 'in, inside; general locative': snpatíxʷmən 'spittoon' (ptíxʷ- 'spit', -mín 'instrument'), náiltməxʷtən 'hospital' (qíl- 'sick', -áixʷ 'house', -tən 'nominalizer'), sn̓uç̓ána? 'earring' (hac-'tie', -ána? 'ear'), nəʔaƛ̓ułəxʷ 'hole, pit' (χəʕ- 'hole', ʔuíəxʷ 'earth, ground'), nəʔqíntən 'hat' (ləʔ- 'put convex object over', -qín 'head', -tən 'nominalizer'), nəʔíkíxʷmən 'prayer' (kiʔʷ- 'pray', -mín 'instrumental').

3.6. na- 'in; water' (the meaning 'water' seems to be an extension of 'in', many forms meaning 'in water'): cnàkʷʔən 'I took it out of the pipe' (kʷən- 'take out'), náliqən 'fill a hole' (ləq- 'put dirt on'), snápxətən 'hotel' (púləx 'spend the night', -tən 'nominalizer'), snápxətən 'anus' (púʔ- 'fart'), náqʷəst 'deep water' (qʷəst 'deep'), nápxʷən 'I poured it in' (pəqʷ- 'spill dry substance').

3.7. niʔ- 'in bushy, hairy, stringy; or lined area': niʔucqaʔ 'come out of a forest' (ʔucqaʔ- 'go out'), niʔcəwpəqən 'get baptized' (cəw- 'wash', -qín 'head'), niʔkəmənkáxst 'palm of hand' (kəm- 'surface', -ánk 'belly, flat area', -ákst 'hand'), niʔkʷukʷ 'person in a crowd', niʔpəqʷən 'I spilled it into a bush' (pəqʷ- 'spill dry substance'), niʔnsəsəsəłqs 'runny nose' (snís 'snout', -əłqs 'nose, front end').

3.8. t- 'on, against, attached to': təháʔən 'I tied it on' (hac-'tie'), təəpsəm 'eat corn off a cob' (xəp- 'eat, chew', -ás 'club-like object'), təxəst 'dressy clothes' (χəs- 'good'), stkənəʔəlqəxʷ 'Canadian' (kənəʔ- 'over there, other side', -əlqʷ 'tree, long object, line').

3.9. yap- 'moving by': yapʔkənəsən 'I grabbed him by the arm as he was going by' (kʷən- 'take', -ákst 'hand, arm'), nasuʔ yapʔín 'he'll eat on the way' (nasuʔ 'future', ᵐín 'eat'). This prefix may not belong in this category.

3.10. Occasionally two positional prefixes co-occur. Six such combinations have been noted: (1) k-t- in ktyáʔ 'altogether' (yat-
'gather'); (2) kat-n- in kanmiyqım 'feast' (miyqın 'dinner', -äm 'people'); (3) ki-na- in kınatçp 'put over a hole' (tçp 'lying down'); (4) ki-n- with the lexical suffix -ap 'base' in several words referring to doors, e.g., kınkälap 'unlock, open' (kän 'take out, take off'), kınimäpen 'bar a door' (yäm- 'pin'); (5) n-k- in nckəkkälq 'bump into a tree' (cek- 'hit', -älq 'tree, pole'), nkcälq'ten 'telephone office, telephone booth' (iec- 'hit with a stick', -ten 'nominalizer'), nkpəxənálusən 'stirrup' (pa?xán- 'step', -álus 'property'), nkpəxənəwən 'stirrup, buggy step' (-əws 'middle'), snktəqmänten 'ink-pad' (təq- 'touch', -män 'instrumental', -ten 'nominalizer'); (6) n-t- in snktiqilxtən 'stairway, ladder' (kίwlx- 'climb'), ntiusmən 'aim a gun' (tiusmən 'face'), sntrəcälq'ten 'axe-mark on a tree' (trəc- 'chop').

4. As can be seen, the various position categories in Cm cover a variety of semantic notions, many of which are often lumped together in a single category, as in English. But the three Cm categories represent three distinct kinds of relationships: the positionals designate a specific area, part of, or nature of an entity; the directionalsspecify motion in relation to the subject of the form including these prefixes; and prepositions indicate a spatial or other relationship between two (or more) entities (either between a predicate and grammatical object or between two objects).

5. These distinctions are not made in all Salishan languages. Only prepositions are pan-Salishan. Positional prefixes occur only in Interior Salishan languages, but they are more numerous in the four southeastern languages (Okanagan, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, and Columbia) than in the three northern languages (Shuswap, Thompson, and Lillooet). Non-cognacy among various of these prefixes suggests that they were proliferated in the southeast. So does the fact that, as in Cm, the same initial consonant occurs in two or three forms (although comparative evidence suggests some individual cases of re-formation.
due to either confusion or analogy).

The third category, the directionals, is found only in the south-eastern Salishan languages; it does not occur north of Okanagan. But cislocative and translocative morphemes do occur in Northern Sahaptin, just to the south of Okanagan. But there they are suffixes, and have no phonetic similarity to the Okanagan prefixes (which are cognate with forms in Okanagan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene). If the category was borrowed by Salishan from Sahaptian, or by Sahaptian from Salishan, it was borrowed as a concept, rather than in specific form. Since it occurs in such a limited part of the Salishan family, it seems more likely that it was borrowed by Salishan. But the basis of the creation of the specifically occurring forms remains to be determined.