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These notes are based on material collected in the summer and fall of 1978, largely from Mrs. Irene Shale, but also from Mrs. Nina Bumgarner, Mr. Clyde Chenoise, and Mrs. Katherine Lorton. Presumably subsequent work in 1979 and thereafter will fill in many gaps and add important and clarifying grammatical information about *təwálməš*.

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*tuwaduqucid wəɬ dx<sup>w</sup>lə<sup>v</sup>sucid:*

#### A Comparative Dialect Study

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The purpose of this paper is to extend the data provided by Hess (1977) on cognates shared between Puget Salish (*dx<sup>w</sup>lə<sup>v</sup>sucid*) dialects and Twana (*tuwaduqucid*).<sup>1</sup> In doing so, several misconceptions about the Twana language will be examined.

The data is divided into the following sections:

- I. Forms common to Twana and the southern Puget Salish dialects but not the northern,
- II. Forms shared by Twana and the northern Puget Salish dialects but not the southern,
- III. Contrasting Northern and Southern Puget forms, each with a cognate in Twana,
- IV. Words where one of the northern dialects agrees with Twana while another does not,
- V. Words where one of the southern dialects agrees with Twana while another does not,
- VI. Variation within the dialects of Twana,
- VII. Problematic forms.

I. Twana and Southern Puget Salish versus Northern Puget Salish.

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>SPS</u>	<u>NPS</u>
1. bad	qə <sup>1</sup> ləb	qə <sup>1</sup> ləb	sa <sup>?</sup>
2. strawberry	ᵀ <sup>1</sup> tiliq <sup>w</sup>	ᵀ <sup>1</sup> tiliq <sup>w</sup>	sci <sup>v</sup> ?yu
3. traditional story	sX <sup>w</sup> i?ab	sX <sup>w</sup> i?ab	syəhub
4. see	#la <sup>?</sup> b <sup>2</sup>	#la <sup>(?)</sup> b <sup>3</sup>	#su <sup>v</sup> l
5. count	#k <sup>?</sup> wə <sup>v</sup> s	#k <sup>?</sup> wə <sup>v</sup> s	#Xə <sup>v</sup> c
6. fermented salmon eggs	scə <sup>?</sup> q	scə <sup>?</sup> q	dəw <sup>?</sup> ayus
7. grizzly bear	scatq <sup>v</sup> ləb	scatq <sup>v</sup> ləb	stəbtəbəl <sup>?</sup>
8. initial play of handgame	skiq <sup>t</sup> əwəl	skiktəg <sup>w</sup> əl	sbəlg <sup>w</sup> awiyə <sup>?</sup>
9. moccasin	yalsə <sup>v</sup> d	yalsə <sup>v</sup> d	sqa <sup>?</sup> sə <sup>v</sup> d
10. axe	qəbəd	qəbətəd	sk <sup>?</sup> w <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> əb
11. steelhead	sk <sup>w</sup> awal	sk <sup>w</sup> awəl <sup>?</sup>	qi <sup>w</sup> X

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	<u>Twana</u>	<u>SPS</u>	<u>NPS</u>
12. hemlock tree	susk <sup>w</sup> pi	sk <sup>w</sup> upac	tqə <sup>?</sup> di <sup>?</sup> ac/tu <sup>?</sup> x <sup>w</sup> ac
13. mink	cəbayqi	cəbalqid	bə <sup>v</sup> scəb
14. gills	scay <sup>?</sup> (?)at	scay <sup>?</sup> (?)t	sXay <sup>?</sup> (?)ay <sup>?</sup>
15. littleneck clam	k <sup>w</sup> ax <sup>w</sup> adi	k <sup>w</sup> ux <sup>w</sup> di <sup>?</sup>	sXa <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup>
16. ten	upədə <sup>v</sup> cs	padac	ulub
17. bruised	#q <sup>?</sup> wix <sup>w</sup>	#q <sup>?</sup> wix <sup>w</sup>	cəpəb/cəq <sup>w</sup> əb
18. spring water	bul <sup>?</sup> (?)i	sbul <sup>?</sup> ac	sbuc <sup>?</sup> əb
19. fish thoroughly dried by smoking	k <sup>w</sup> as	k <sup>w</sup> as	kayayə <sup>?</sup> /XaXyə <sup>?</sup>
20. kidney	bitus	bitus	ci <sup>v</sup> alub/spus/scədcə <sup>v</sup> d
21. gill net	licā <sup>v</sup> ?ət	licā <sup>v</sup> ?a	huyəq
22. sandhill crane	spələw <sup>?</sup> i	spələw <sup>?</sup> i	slihib

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II. Twana and Northern Puget Salish versus Southern Puget Salish.

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>NPS</u>	<u>SPS</u>
23. soup	sɬuʔb	sɬuʔb	sbitʰ
24. mountain	sbadid	sbadit	skʷatač
25. lost	#Xʷil	#Xʷil	#wixʷ
26. waterfowl	buʔqʷ	buʔqʷ	sqʷalaš
27. make	caɬ	cəɬ/səɬ	***** <sup>4</sup>
28. cloud	sqaɬʰ	sqaɬʰəb	dxʷcabkʷ
29. skunk cabbage	cukʷay	cu(?)kʷ	qilt
30. hungry	takʷaxʷ/ taqʷaxʷ	tagʷəxʷ	cəwəɬ
31. rip	#siqʷ	#sikʰ	#Xʷət/#cukʷ/#ɬuqʷ

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III. Twana and Southern Puget Salish and Northern Puget Salish.

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>SPS</u>	<u>NPS</u>
32.	sɬqʷət (butterclam)	cqʷət (butterclam)	
33.	saXʷu (clam-generic)	saXʷu (clam-generic)	səxʷub/sʔaXuʔ (butterclam; clam-generic)
34.	#Xapʰ (pierce)	#Xapʰ (shatter)	
35.	#yuqʷ (rotten)		dʒuqʷ (shatter)
36.	kʷaltəd (human/fish skin)		kʷaltəd (fish skin)
37.	skʷasəb (scorched fish skin)	skʷasəb (skin)	

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	<u>Twana</u>	<u>SPS</u>	<u>NPS</u>
38.	swəducadəb (low tide)	swadəc <sup>v5</sup> /sx <sup>w</sup> adəc (low tide)	su <sup>v</sup> λ <sup>v</sup> /sik <sup>w</sup> (low tide)
39.	ɬuwədabac (beneath)		g <sup>w</sup> ədabac (beneath)
40.	λ <sup>v</sup> əp (deep)	λ <sup>v</sup> əpabac (beneath)	λ <sup>v</sup> əp (deep, beneath)

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IV. Division within Northern Puget Salish dialects.

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>Skagit</u>	<u>Snohomish</u>	<u>SPS</u>
41. heart	yədwas	yədwas	s <sup>v</sup> cali?	s <sup>v</sup> cali?
42. gooseberry	təb <sup>v</sup> ?əx <sup>w</sup>	təbx <sup>w</sup>	caqab	caqab
43. silver salmon	sk <sup>w</sup> ax <sup>w</sup> ic	s <sup>v</sup> qəcqs	sk <sup>w</sup> x <sup>w</sup> ic	sk <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> ic
44. dog salmon	sɬu?ub	sɬu?əb	λ <sup>v</sup> x <sup>w</sup> ay	λ <sup>v</sup> x <sup>w</sup> ay
45. watertight basket	spə <sup>v</sup> cu	yi <sup>v</sup> qus <sup>6</sup>	spə <sup>v</sup> c?u	syalt
46. shoe	t <sup>v</sup> k <sup>w</sup> absə <sup>v</sup> d	q <sup>w</sup> li? <sup>v</sup> sə <sup>v</sup> d	t <sup>v</sup> k <sup>w</sup> absə <sup>v</sup> d	t <sup>v</sup> k <sup>w</sup> absə <sup>v</sup> d
47. liver	s <sup>v</sup> calab	st <sup>v</sup> aq <sup>w</sup> u?	s <sup>v</sup> calub	s <sup>v</sup> calub
48. pants	yəlabca <sup>v</sup> d	sqiws	yəlabca <sup>v</sup> d <sup>7</sup>	yəlabca <sup>v</sup> d
49. only	cu <sup>v</sup> q <sup>w</sup>	cuk <sup>w</sup>	day <sup>v</sup>	dayay
50. grass, hay	sq <sup>w</sup> əla?ay	sax <sup>w</sup> il	sq <sup>w</sup> ali?	sq <sup>w</sup> ali?
51. set down	#ba <sup>v</sup> c	#la <sup>v</sup> q	#bə <sup>v</sup> c	#bə <sup>v</sup> c
52. potato, arrow-head	spi <sup>v</sup> q <sup>w</sup> u?ac	sqawc	spi <sup>v</sup> q <sup>w</sup> uc	spi <sup>v</sup> q <sup>w</sup> uc
53. vine maple	təqtqi	təqtqac	kiu?kiwac	scucu <sup>v</sup> l?ac

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	<u>Twana</u>	<u>Skaqit</u>	<u>Snohomish</u>	<u>SPS</u>
54. hair seal	asax <sup>w</sup>	asx <sup>w</sup>	supqs	asx <sup>w</sup>
55. sockeye salmon, blueback "	scəqi	sci?ɬ/scəqi	x <sup>w</sup> badi?/ scəwad	cəwadx <sup>w</sup> /scəwad

Each of the following Twana forms contain the root #wəq̄ "open".

56. open it!	wəq̄əd		?uq̄ <sup>w</sup> ud	gəq̄ad
57. box	wəq̄əb	χuiqs	wəq̄əb	wəq̄əb
58. frog	swaq̄iq̄	wəlis	waq̄waq̄	swəq̄iq̄/waq̄waq̄

V. Division within the southern dialects of Puget Salish.

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>Suquamish</u>	<u>Puyallup</u>	<u>Snoqualmie</u>	<u>NPS</u>
70. lake	q <sup>w</sup> əlu?at	q <sup>w</sup> əlut	caləɬ	Xacu?	Xacu?

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>Suquamish</u>	<u>Nisqually</u>	<u>Muckleshoot</u>	<u>NPS</u>
71. ant	χaχucap	χaχacap	cəblula?	bəclula?	χaχacapəd

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>Suquamish</u>	<u>Duwamish</u>	<u>Muckleshoot</u>	<u>NPS</u>
72. king salmon	k <sup>w</sup> i?acsə <sup>v</sup> d	yubač <sup>v</sup> / tu?alə <sup>v</sup> d	sacab	sacəb	yubəč <sup>v</sup>

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VI. Twana dialect variation.

Elmendorf (1962) commenting on the dialects of the Twana language, reported that "no trace of them survives." However, some fieldwork on Twana dialects has been possible at least into 1978. That fieldwork combined with the corpus of Twana data dating from the 1800's should yield a picture of Twana dialect differences. The following is a sample of those differences:

	<u>Skokomish</u>	<u>Quilcene</u>
59. north wind; north	tulucad ("from the mouth")	tubaləwəɬ (from down the waterway")
60. west wind; west	tusbadiid ("from the mountains")	tusbadiid
61. south wind; south	tulacəɬəx <sup>w</sup> ("from the canyon")	tu?idəwəɬwəɬit ("from the waves")
62. east wind; east	tucəc <sup>3</sup> ("from across (the canal)")	tucəc <sup>3</sup>

The two following sets of correspondences contrast the dialect differences within Twana with those of Puget Salish.

	<u>Skokomish</u>	<u>Quilcene</u>	<u>Nisqually</u>	<u>Snohomish</u>	<u>Skagit</u>
63. son-in-law	sXaXa?	sdacaltx <sup>w</sup>			sXaXa?
64. father-in-law	sXaXa?	sXaXa?			sXaXa?
65. mother-in-law	dəx <sup>w</sup> cac <sup>v</sup>	alacac <sup>v</sup>			sXaXa?
66. daughter-in-law	sapad	sapad			sXaXa?
67. thread	x <sup>w</sup> iləb	s <sup>ʔ</sup> ididi	x <sup>w</sup> iləb	x <sup>w</sup> iləb	x <sup>w</sup> iləb
68. tendon, sinew	λ <sup>ʔ</sup> i?ibad	x <sup>w</sup> iləb	x <sup>w</sup> iləb		
69. rope	tab?iɬəd	təbiɬəd	təbiɬəd	təbiɬəd <sup>8</sup>	x <sup>w</sup> iləb

VII. Problematic forms.

Hess (1977) lists the Twana and Southern Puget Salish forms for "raccoon" as cognates, based perhaps on the fact that they share a common root.

	<u>Skokomish</u>	<u>SPS</u>	<u>NPS</u>
73.. raccoon	bəlʔayas	bəlups	XaʔXəlus

The references of these words to the animal's anatomy however show that Twana and Northern Puget Salish are more similar in that respect

"striped eyes"      "striped tail"      "marks on face"

The fact that the lexical suffix +ups is a Twana suffix rather than Puget Salish<sup>9</sup> suggests that the Southern form may have originated in a dialect of Twana other than Skokomish.

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>SPS</u>	<u>NPS</u>
74. cold	#XəX	*****	#XəX

Hess (1977) glosses the Northern Puget Salish form as "feel cold"

and says that there is "no one word equivalent" in the southern dialects. Hess (1976) however has an example of this form provided by a speaker of Sahewabish, a southern dialect. This is but one dialectic variation for "cold" in Twana. In that language several of the other roots can form "feel cold." There are few forms recorded with this root, none of which have the meaning "feel cold."

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>NPS</u>	<u>SPS</u>
75.	x <sup>w</sup> iwad (whistle)	wiʔad (hollar)	q <sup>w</sup> iʔad (yell)

The Twana form is analyzable as composed of the following morphemes: x<sup>w</sup> = "by air", #iw "call", -ad transitivizer, #iw-ad "invite".

For the following two groups more Puget Salish data is necessary in order to classify them.

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>Skagit</u>	<u>Muckleshoot</u>
76. bug	sčək <sup>w</sup>	sčək <sup>w</sup>	d <sup>z</sup> id <sup>z</sup> əg <sup>w</sup> aʔ

	<u>Twana</u>	<u>Snohomish</u>	<u>Suquamish</u>
77. perch (fish)	q <sup>?</sup> i?il	sup <sup>?</sup> k <sup>w</sup>	qal
	Quilcene & Skokomish <u>Twana</u>	Twana Hess '77	NPS SPS
78. inner cedar bark	q <sup>w</sup> ilu	sləwəy <sup>?</sup>	stuay <sup>?</sup> slag <sup>w</sup> ac

Summary

The loss of Twana dialect differences has occurred gradually since the mid-1800's. Today there are but two remaining speakers, neither of whom is in good health or has good recall of the language. However, Twana dialect studies are possible and should provide insights for the reconstruction of Proto-Puget Salish as well as the proto-language which led to both Puget Salish and Twana.

Hess (1977:416) states that "if much borrowing has taken place between Twana and Southern Lushootseed, one would expect Lushootseed to have been the donar." One should expect that the borrowing between Southern Lushootseed and Twana was a mutual process. There seems, for example, to be more reason to presume that Suquamish borrowed its term for "lake" from Twana than to believe the converse.



In order to begin to reconstruct the proto-language which split into Twana and Puget Salish, and begin to identify the borrowings and innovations, the 78 terms included here (plus others) should be charted for all the dialects of both Twana and Puget Salish. While Puget Salish should be represented by around twelve dialects, it is doubtful that Twana forms could be listed for more than seven dialects.

#### Footnotes

1. (see below)
2. The symbol # is used here to designate roots.
3. Hess (1977) does not include the glottal stop in this form while Snyder does.

5. Snyder glosses this as "beach, tide".
4. Hess notes that Southern Puget Salish has "no one word equivalent."
6. Teit recorded spə<sup>v</sup>ʔu for Skagit as well as Snohomish.
7. Teit lists the Snohomish word as sa'sob.
8. Teit has sax<sup>w</sup>sg<sup>w</sup>ac as the Snohomish word for "rope".
1. The term "Lushootseed" is one used by Hess for Puget Salish in an attempt to gain a name which is easy to pronounce and not be the name of a European explorer. (Contrast this with the continued usage of "Thompson" for the name of a Canadian tribe.) It is patterned after the Puget Salish word dx<sup>w</sup>lə<sup>v</sup>sucid, the language's name for itself. That word however appears to be a loan from Twana. In the Skokomish dialect the word dəx<sup>w</sup>lə<sup>v</sup>sʔaq, meaning Puget Salish, has the literal meaning "place of the cut-up language". This term breaks down into the following morphemes: #lə<sup>v</sup>s "cut", dəx<sup>w</sup> "place" and +aq "language". The morphemes +aq and +ucid are both lexical suffixes in Twana signifying "language". The name of Puget Salish contrasts with the Twana word for "Chimakum", ʔəbqəb, literally "folded language." The word "Twana" itself comes from the Twana word tuwaduq, "people from below" (that is, from the north).
9. Hess (personal communication) stated that he knew of no gloss for the suffix +ups within Puget Salish.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup>Lushootseed 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.