

## POSITION INDICATORS IN COLUMBIAN SALISH

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0. 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 *xatəm̄us* 'up', *?acxátəm* 'up, above, high', *?ackatxēn* 'be on', *wént* '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: *kál* 'with, and', *kí* 'to, into', *tu* 'from', *tí* 'from, than', *l* '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 *kál*. 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, *kál* can be translated as either 'with' or 'and', in the sense of 'together with, along with'. Some illustrative sentences with *kál* are:

- (1) ?acwáx q<sup>w</sup>éčəwáya? káɪ kkiya?s lx . . .  
 lived Chipmunk with grandmother-his they  
 'Chipmunk lived with his grandmother . . .' or  
 'Chipmunk and his grandmother lived [there] . . .'
- (2) huy, k<sup>w</sup>a? nūx<sup>w</sup>t iwám lx káɪ ?ásq<sup>w</sup>sa?s.  
 then and went walked-along they with son-his  
 'And then they went and walked on their way with his son.'
- (3) k<sup>w</sup>a? xəlqəntwáx<sup>w</sup> ntitiyáx káɪ ntəlána?  
 and fought-each-other Chinook-Salmon and Wolf  
 'Chinook Salmon and Wolf fought each other.'
- (4) hūy tɔx<sup>w</sup>ustus lx sk<sup>w</sup>uys. káɪ xɔíla?s lx iwám . . .  
 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 káɪ, even though one of the two may remain unexpressed (as in sentences 2 and 4). This linking function of káɪ makes it look more like a conjunction than a preposition, but it is not the usual linking conjunction--that is k<sup>w</sup>a? 'and'. In fact, káɪ and k<sup>w</sup>a? sometimes occur in parallel constructions:

- (5) . . .?ica smiyáw lx káɪ stámka?s k<sup>w</sup>a? sínca?s sɔx<sup>w</sup>əŋx<sup>w</sup>ŋ<sup>w</sup>.  
 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 káɪ classified as a preposition, although clearly the point is arguable.

1.2. kɪ '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) *atkiwɫx kɫ katxātəm.*  
 climb to upstairs  
 'He went upstairs.'
- (7) *kən lckɪcx kɫ niʃāp.*  
 I get-back to forever  
 'I'm back to stay.'
- (8) *kɫ sʔāwtaʔ tucəntxʷ.*  
 to behind-! put-it-you  
 'Put it behind!'
- (9) *nasāwcən kɫ stāmkaʔs.*  
 ask-him-I to daughter-his  
 'I asked him for his daughter.'

Note that word order in Cm 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) *kɫ ʔkcɪn nūxʷt.*  
 to shore go
- (11) *ʔkcənūs nūxʷt.*  
 shore go

In sentence 11, the lexical suffix *-ūs* '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) *stq̄x̄alqʷ tu snakāmqən waʔ kɫ scqəmāp*  
 line-on-a-tree from top-of-tree specifier to bottom-of-tree  
 'tree marked from top to bottom'

'From... to' constructions usually use *tɫ* as the first preposition.

1.4. tɪ most frequently means 'from' in an uncomplicated way.

- (13) ?isclɪy tɪ snaqátyən.  
my-spearing from platform  
'I spear fish from a platform.'
- (14) lút ?acwíkitəm tɪ pañací.  
not see-him-we from that-time  
'We haven't seen him since then.'
- (15) xʷíʌ wa ?aɪu tɪ qʷumqəns kʷa? kɪ sxʷtúpsc.  
striped specifier that from head-his and to tail-his  
'He is striped from his head to his tail.'

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

- (16) miyas xá?xá? tɪ ?incá.  
more great than I  
'He's more powerful than I am.'
- (17) sxʷítəxʷ tɪ ?incá.  
older than I  
'She's older than I am.'
- (18) sxʷítəxʷ tɪ sʷíxʷls.  
older than sibling-his  
'He's the oldest of his siblings.'

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

- (19) kən hɪmt ?aɪ tɪ cuwəncáxʷ  
I angry because from hit-me-you  
'I'm angry because you hit me.'
- (20) nasu? xəlqən ?ani sqəltmíxʷ tɪ ləmicás ?inxʷcín.  
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 tɪ in both these sentences is comparable to gerundive 'for. . .-ing' constructions in English, although Cm 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 homophonous 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<sup>w</sup>ul kən.

in house I

'I'm in the house.'

(22) pəlpult kən 1 sčūwi.

dream I in night

'I had a dream last night.'

(23) ?i k<sup>w</sup>a? kilə<sup>s</sup>wəntwās 1 kəŋqīn.

so and under-put-it-she in pillow

'And so she stuck him under a pillow.'

(24) kəpx<sup>w</sup>əntx<sup>w</sup> ɪu? 1 sčū<sup>?</sup>cu<sup>?</sup>xəns k<sup>w</sup>a? lxa? 1 q<sup>w</sup>umqəns.

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) kalāwmən 1 naq<sup>w</sup>āitən (or: 1 naq<sup>w</sup>āitən kalāwmən)

pack-rope of pack-horse

'pack-rope, rope to tie a pack on'

(26) 1 snkī<sup>s</sup>wən sx<sup>w</sup>skmiy<sup>m</sup>i<sup>y</sup>āpəla<sup>?</sup>əm

of prayer preacher

'preacher'

(27) kən ?āyχ<sup>w</sup>t 1 kī<sup>?</sup>āməncən.

I tired of wait-for-you-I

'I'm tired of waiting.'

(28) lūt 1 stām hāwiy<sup>m</sup>īn

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 *l* between them, with no change in meaning if third person possessive *-s* is suffixed to the (now) second form.

(29) scəməlt l yūpatəns  
child of plaything-his  
'toys, playthings'

(30) sləʔcīnəm l xxəwāls  
deer of trail-his  
'deer trail'

(31) kʷəckʷəct l sʔəccʰs  
strong of appearance-his  
'he seemed strong'

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

(32) ʔinwīl 'your', based on ʔinwī 'you(sg.)'

(33) ʔinləxʰləxpūl l mūsusl  
my-ancestor of Moses-'s  
'my ancestor Moses'

(34) smiyāwl 'Coyote's', based on smiyāw 'Coyote'

(35) ʔincūll 'mine', based in ʔincā 'I'

It is sometimes difficult to know which *l* is involved. In sentence 36, I assume that the last *l* 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: stīlaʔ may be either 'mother's father' or 'a man's daughter's child', and tātūpaʔ may be either 'great-grandparent' or 'great-grandchild'.

(36) ʔalkʷəs ʔani syəlmixʷəms stīlaʔs l mūsus l tātūpaʔs.  
back-got-it-he that leadership-his Mo-Fa of Moses of great-grand-  
child-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, *ʔal-* 'translocative' and *c-* 'cislocative'. These usually imply motion, but most important is the relationship to the subject.

2.1. *ʔal-* '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 *ʔal-* and *c-* are clearly in a single prefix category; 'repetition of an action' seems to be a more central meaning of *ʔal-*, but to label it 'repetitive' would be misleading. This prefix has two variants, conditioned by the location of primary stress on the word. *ʔal-* occurs if primary stress is on a root vowel immediately following  $C_1$  of the root, and there are no other prefixes intervening: *ʔalnūx<sup>w</sup>t* 'go home', *ʔalk<sup>w</sup>ān-* 'take back', *ʔalkīc-* 'get back', *ʔalūwən* 'put out again', *ʔalhāwiyən* 'repair'. *l-* occurs if another prefix intervenes or if stress is somewhere beyond  $C_2$  of the root: *lscx<sup>?</sup>it* 'the first time', *līwām* 'go home', *lʔanīn* 'take back', *lciyātk<sup>w</sup>pəm* 'build a fire again', *lkəmīcās* '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 *ʔal-* and *l-*: *ʔal-* occurs in *xəlxəlt ʔalnāqs* '11', *xəlxəlt ʔalmūsəs* '14', *xəlxəlt ʔalcīlkst* '15', and *xəlxəlt ʔalsīspēlk* '17'; *l-* occurs in *xəlxəlt ltqāws* '12', *xəlxəlt lkaʔīās* '13', *xəlxəlt lx<sup>w</sup>cmākst* '16', *xəlxəlt ltwīn* '18', and *xəlxəlt lx<sup>w</sup>xəñūt* '19'.

2.2. *c-* 'cislocative' indicates motion or position toward the speaker. The form is invariable: *cnūx<sup>w</sup>t* 'come', *ckīcx* 'return', *cnchchūs* 'facing', *ctkāʔu* 'he's coming down the ridge', *chūymənc* 'he came over to see me', *cx<sup>?</sup>it* 'first, in front'.

2.3. In spite of their partial antonymy, *ʔal-* and *c-* may be used together (in that order), and when they are, have the meaning

'back': 1ckícx 'he came back home', 1cpəl'kūsəm 'return', 1ctáqənc 'wave back', 1cím̄x 'move back'. The ?al- variant cannot occur in these constructions because of the prefix intervening between the translocative and the root.

also be  
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': kcə́x̄ca? 'naked' (cə́x̄ 'red', ?íca? 'body'), kcəlálq<sup>w</sup> 'cradle of a scythe' (cəl- 'stand', -álq<sup>w</sup> 'tree, pole'), klíyyxən 'get a nail in a tire' (líy- 'poke, stab', -xən 'foot'), kpə́q̄<sup>w</sup>q̄<sup>w</sup>ána? 'accidentally spill on top of' (pə́q̄<sup>w</sup>- 'spill dry substance', -ána? 'ear, on a person').

3.2. kat- 'on a flat surface' (ka- before alveolars): katk<sup>w</sup>ə́lq̄inən 'I uncovered it' (k<sup>w</sup>ə́l- 'take out, take off', -q̄in 'head'), katpə́q̄<sup>w</sup>ána?an 'I spilled it on him' (pə́q̄<sup>w</sup>- 'spill dry substance', -ána? 'ear, on a person'), katq<sup>w</sup>ə́sp̄ikən 'slide on ice' (q<sup>w</sup>ə́sp̄ 'slide, slip', -íkən 'back'), katíntən 'table' (?ínt 'eat', -tən 'nominalizer'), skačacə́x<sup>w</sup> 'pancake' (cə́x<sup>w</sup>- 'spill'<sup>1</sup>), kaláwmən 'rope to tie a pack on' (lāw- 'tie on', -m̄in 'instrumental').

3.3. ki- 'under': kikəm̄is 'cheek' (kəm- 'surface', -ūs 'eye'), kikə́x<sup>w</sup> 'ledge or cave under an overhang', kipə́q̄<sup>w</sup>ən 'I threw powder under it', kiwāk<sup>w</sup>uk<sup>w</sup> 'it went out of sight' (wāk<sup>w</sup>- 'put away').

3.4. k̄i- 'away from, at a distance': k̄i?úk<sup>w</sup>ən 'relay, relieve'

1. The s- prefix on this and other forms cited here is not relevant to the discussion here. It creates an absolutive form; it is often called a nominalizer in the literature on Salishan languages, but that term is misleading and not entirely appropriate.



(ʔūk<sup>w</sup>- 'move, haul'), kíkāixmən 'send' (kāix 'give'), kiwānən 'I got out of his way', kixʔitxənəm 'go ahead' (xʔit- 'first, in front', -xən 'foot').

3.5. n- 'in, inside; general locative': snpatix<sup>w</sup>mən 'spittoon' (ptix<sup>w</sup>- 'spit', -mīn 'instrument'), nqiltmāix<sup>w</sup>tən 'hospital' (qīl- 'sick', -āix<sup>w</sup> 'house', -tən 'nominalizer'), snhcānaʔ 'earring' (hac- 'tie', -ānaʔ 'ear'), nx<sup>w</sup>aʔuləx<sup>w</sup> 'hole, pit' (x<sup>w</sup>aʔ- 'hole', -ūləx<sup>w</sup> 'earth, ground'), nlaʔqīntən 'hat' (ləʔ- 'put convex object over', -qīn 'head', -tən 'nominalizer'), nkīʔmən 'prayer' (kīʔ- 'pray', -mīn 'instrumental').

3.6. na- 'in; water' (the meaning 'water' seems to be an extension of 'in', many forms meaning 'in water'): cnak<sup>w</sup>əʔən 'I took it out of the pipe' (k<sup>w</sup>əʔ- 'take out'), nalīqən 'fill a hole' (līq- 'put dirt on'), snapūlxten 'hotel' (pūlx 'spend the night', -tən 'nominalizer'), snapūtən 'anus' (pūʔ- 'fart'), naq<sup>w</sup>ast 'deep water' (q<sup>w</sup>ast 'deep'), napəq<sup>w</sup>ən 'I poured it in' (pəq<sup>w</sup>- 'spill dry substance').

3.7. niʔ- 'in bushy, hairy, stringy, or lined area': niʔucqaʔ 'come out of a forest' (ʔucqaʔ 'go out'), niʔcāwpqən 'get baptized' (cāw- 'wash', -qīn 'head'), niʔkəmaŋkākst 'palm of hand' (kəm- 'surface', -ānk 'belly, flat area', -ākst 'hand'), niʔk<sup>w</sup>uk<sup>w</sup> 'person in a crowd', niʔpəq<sup>w</sup>ən 'I spilled it into a bush' (pəq<sup>w</sup>- 'spill dry substance'), niʔnəsnišesəlqs 'runny nose' (snīs 'snot', -əlqs 'nose, front end').

3.8. t- 'on, against, attached to': thācən 'I tied it on' (hac- 'tie'), txpāsəm 'eat corn off a cob' (xəp- 'eat, chew', -ās 'club-like object'), txəst 'dressy clothes' (xəs- 'good'), stkəniāʔālc<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup> 'Canadian' (kəniāʔ- 'over there, other side', -ālc<sup>w</sup> 'tree, long object, line').

3.9. yap- 'moving by': yapk<sup>w</sup>ānsən 'I grabbed him by the arm as he was going by' (k<sup>w</sup>ān- 'take', -āks 'hand, arm'), nasuʔ yapʔiīn 'he'll eat on the way' (nasuʔ 'future', ʔiīn '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 ktyāʔ 'altogether' (yaʔ-

'gather'); (2) *kat-n-* in *kanmiyqimx* 'feast' (*miyqin* 'dinner', *-amx* 'people'); (3) *ki-na-* in *kinatucp* 'put over a hole' (*tucp* 'lying down'); (4) *ki-n-* with the lexical suffix *-ap* 'base' in several words referring to doors, e.g., *kink'wlapen* 'unlock, open' (*k'wəł-* 'take out, take off'), *kanimapen* 'bar a door' (*yəm-* 'pin'); (5) *n-k-* in *nkəkkalq<sup>w</sup>* 'bump into a tree' (*cək-* 'hit', *-alq<sup>w</sup>* 'tree, pole'), *nkic'alq<sup>w</sup>tən* 'telephone office, telephone booth' (*ləc-* 'hit with a stick', *-tən* 'nominalizer'), *nkpa'xənālusən* 'stirrup' (*pa'xān-* 'step', *-ālus* 'property'), *nkpa'xənāwsən* 'stirrup, buggy step' (*-āws* 'middle'), *snktəqmintən* 'ink-pad' (*təq-* 'touch', *-mīn* 'instrumental', *-tən* 'nominalizer'); (6) *n-t-* in *sntkiwlxtən* 'stairway, ladder' (*kiwlx-* 'climb'), *ntiūsmən* 'aim a gun' (*iūsmən* 'face'), *sntx'calq<sup>w</sup>tən* 'axe-mark on a tree' (*xəc-* '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 directionals specify 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 Columbian) 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 southeastern Salishan languages; it does not occur north of Okanagan. But cislocative and translocative morphemes do occur in Northern Sahaptin, just to the south of Cm. But there they are suffixes, and have no phonetic similarity to the Cm 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.