

## **How Salish is Bella Coola?**

Hank Nater

Bella Coola is, structurally considered, a Salish language, affiliated – in terms of certain deictic and phonemic features (grammatical gender (feminine vs. neutral), absence of velar + pharyngeal sonorants and retracted vowels) – closely with Coastal Salish, but differing on other levels profoundly from all non-Bella Coola Salish, in particular where the genetic makeup of its lexicon is concerned. A sixfold partition, based on etymological criteria, of the verbo-nominal portion of the Bella Coola lexicon can be made: 7.4% Coastal Salish, 4.9% Interior Salish, 16.4% proto-Salish, 16.8% non-Salish (mainly North Wakash), 2.7% areal, 51.8% unknown. As such a lexical structure may seem unusual within Salish, it is appropriate to make the data that underlie these numbers available here for further evaluation and comparison.

### **1 Introduction**

In this paper, I present Bella Coola etymo-numerical data in order to help determine the status of this language regarding its Coastal vs. Interior Salish characteristics, and make an appeal to other Salishists to assist in finding more lexical cognates.

Two noteworthy publications pertaining to lexical-diachronic aspects of this intriguing language inspired me to write this article: Newman 1973 (on North Wakash influence) and Kuipers 2002 (Salish etymologies). However, I will dispute (1) Newman's claim that Bella Coola ecological vocabulary "shows a larger proportion of loanwords than of forms retained from the parent language" (p. 201) (while Bella Coola "borrowed almost nothing of its basic stock of words from Wakashan, in contrast to its heavy borrowing of ecological terms" (p. 207)), and (2) Kuipers' statement that "words with cognates in the rest of CS and unattested for IS are three times as numerous as those with cognates in IS only" (p. 9, where CS = Coast Salish, IS = Interior Salish).

#### **1.1 Symbols and abbreviations used in this paper**

BC = Bella Coola, CS = Coastal Salish, Ha = Haisla, He = Heiltsuk, IS = Interior Salish, Kw = Kwakiutl, Li = Lillooet, No = Nootka, NS = non-Salish, NW = North Wakash, Oo = Oowekyala, PA = Proto-Athabascan, PS = proto-Salish, Se = Sechelt, Sh = Shuswap, Sq = Squamish; ":" separates reduplicated and metathetic sequences, "=" marks telescoping; sb = somebody, sth = something; Bl03 = Blevins 2003, Ca74 = Carrier Dictionary Committee 1974, Da02 = Davidson 2002, DE12 = Davis & Van Eijk 2012, Go75 = Goddard

1975, Ku67 = Kuipers 1967, Ku69 = Kuipers 1969, Ku74 = Kuipers 1974, Ku98 = Kuipers 1998, Ku02 = Kuipers 2002, LR80 = Lincoln & Rath 1980, LR86 = Lincoln & Rath 1986, Mo32 = Morice 1932, Na74 = Nater 1973-4, Na84 = Nater 1984, Na90 = Nater 1990, Na94 = Nater 1994, Na10 = Nater 2010, Ra10 = Rath 2010, Ti77 = Timmers 1977, VE85 = Van Eijk 1985.

## 2 The database

The data, copied from an Excel (.xls) file derived from Na90, represent all BC morphemes known to me minus clitics (the majority of which have no known cognates) and affixes (most of which are of PS descent), most allomorphs and derivations, adverbs, personal and geographical names, and loans from Chinook Jargon and English.

### 2.1 Etymological classes, numbering, alphabetical order

94 items are linked with CS, 63 with IS, 209 with PS, 214 with NS, 34 are areal in nature, and 661 have no known origin. Line numbering is erased where items (certain allomorphs and derivations) are not counted. BC entries are listed in the BC (Na90) alphabetical order, where /ʷ/ is rendered as w (except immediately before u, where it is omitted), /c/ as ts, /χ/ as tl', /l/ as lh, /x/ as c, /χ/ as x, /ɿ/ is the last “letter” of the alphabet, and /ʔ/ (rendered as 7) is ignored. The Na90 syllabic sonorants m, n, l are not marked as such in this paper.

### 2.2 Salish, areal and non-Salish etymologies: ecological lexicon

I list ecological terms (landscape, flora & fauna) separately from non-ecological vocabulary in consideration of the high percentage of NW cognates in this lexical category.

#### 2.2.1 CS and IS cognates

Line	Gloss	BC	CS Cognates
1	flea	?ilt'ml	*t'ml/tlm, Sq t'ú:t'l'm (Ku67:271)
2	pool, pond	nu-s-χ'p	*χ'ep 'deep (water)' (Ku02:143)
3	mosquito	pk'm	*pk'/p'k (Ku02:147)
4	fresh water	qla	*qal (Ku02:148)
5	mountain ash	qʷaax(w):qʷ-ik-lp	*qʷu/aχʷ 'grey' (Ku02:150)
6	mountain goat wool	qʷasta	*qʷastan (Ku02:151)
7	old mountain goat	qʷwaax	*qʷuy 'wilt', *-aq(?) 'crotch' (Ku02:151,212)
8	mountain	smt	*sman(i)t (Ku02:145)

Line	Gloss	BC	CS Cognates
9	red huckleberry	sqala	Halkomelem sqe'le (Na10:73)
	any fruit	sqal-uc	*sqal(a)-uc
11	sand, gravel	s-c'ix̣	*c'ix̣ (Ku02:139)
12	Indian paint	tłm(-)as	*təml 'red paint' (Ku02:152)
13	bird (large)	ci:c:cip	Sq cip:cpíʔl-tn 'nest' (Ku67:275)
14	cockle	t'amas	*t'am... 'clam' (Ku02:152)
15	fern	χala	(s-)χal-m (Ku02:138)

Line	Gloss	BC	IS Cognates
16	small timber, underbrush	?as-ik-aaχ	*yik 'fall (as tree)' (Ku02:130)
17	mission bells, Indian rice	?ilk	*?i/alk (Ku02:16)
18	whirlpool	nu-χwan-i-cut	nu- 'water', *χʷən-t 'fast' (Ku02:199)
19	bark of bitter cherry tree	plt(-)kn *thick skin/bark'	reshaped from *pəkłan 'bitter cherry' (Ku02:176)
20	skunk	qʷul-uci	*'with marked edges', cf. qʷuł (line 304 below)
21	porpoise	qʷu:qʷuul-ikn	*'with marked back', cf. qʷuł (line 304 below)
22	balsam fir	q'-łp	*c'q'-əlp 'fir' (Ku02:162)
23	whitetail deer	s-xʷp-an-ił	'unfolded groin', cf. xʷp (line 282 below)
24	ptarmigan	s-kʷlatn	Li (s)kʷlātan 'woodpecker' (DE12:21)
25	sand, gravel	s-qc'	*q'ic'(-)qn 'gizzard' (Ku02:180)
26	bee, wasp	s-qʷuł	*s-qʷuł (Ku02:92)
27	fisher (animal)	cipsx	*cix-(u)ps (Ku02:26)

Whereas the 14 BC-CS pairs appear to have a pre-CS origin, I infer – in view of the vast geographic divide between BC and IS – that the 12 BC words with IS cognates have a PS origin.

The difference in number between CS- and IS-related words is much smaller than implied by Kuipers' statement “words with cognates in the rest of CS and unattested for IS are three times as numerous as those with cognates in Interior Salish only” (p. 9). Note that BC *skʷlatn* refers to a different bird than does Lillooet *skʷlātən*.

## 2.2.2 PS cognates

Only 40 words can, along with the ones listed in 2.2.1 (IS), 2.3.1 (IS) and 2.3.2, be considered as having been inherited from PS. For item 45 see 3.

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
28	mouse	?an:k'pc	*k'anp'-c 'chiseling-mouth' (Ku02:42,203)
29	ice	xʷu(-)m	*xʷu, ?uxʷ 'freeze' (Ku02:21)
30	bird's nest	?iman-ta	*yman (Ku02:131)
31	sucker fish	k'ap-uc	*k'ap'-uc 'grasping-mouth' (Ku02:42,203)
32	snow	k'ay	*k'ay 'cold' (Ku02:43)
33	bark of western birch	k'lay	*k'əl-ay' 'treebark' (Ku02:40)
34	maggot	kʷuucxi	*kʷəc'-xən 'twisting-foot' (Ku02:48,211)
35	weasel	łm:k'm-ani	*łk'(a)m (Ku02:57)
36	kinnikinnick (dried leaves were smoked)	milixʷ	*maləx(w), manəx(w) 'to smoke (tobacco)' (Ku02:69)
37	eel, lamprey	pilik't	*p'əl(i)k'-t 'turner, twister' (Ku02:79)
38	powdery snow	√pqʷʷ	*p(?)əqʷʷ 'scatter, powder' (Ku02:75)
39	mountain alder	p'ani-łp	*p'an(i) 'misc. trees/plants' (Ku02:81)
40	bunchberries	p'χʷ-łt	*p'u/əqʷ- 'non-spec. berry' (Ku02:81)
41	wolverine	qʷuc'-ik	*qʷuc(')-ik 'fat-skinned' (Ku02:95,204)
42	hemlock needles	qʷals	*qʷalc 'conifer bough' (Ku02:92)
43	bushtail rat	s-ʔix-kʷxʷ	*kʷa/əxʷ 'rat, mouse' (Ku02:51)
44	rosehip	s-kʷupik	*s-kʷup-ik 'stuffed center' (Ku02:46,204)
45	imaginary monster	s-kʷatiwa	*kʷu/atwan 'eel' (Ku02:47)
46	dead alder tree	s-k'aw-łt	*k'aw 'old, decrepit' (Ku02:43)
47	goldeneye duck	s-k'ilxc	*s-k'il=lx-c 'cut away-beak' (cf. Ku02:40,203)
48	cloud	s-k'i-nwas	*k'əl/I 'drip, rain' (Ku02:41)
49	porcupine quill	s-kʷul-t	*kʷəl' (Ku02:48)

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
50	branch	s-lip'-n-ak-t	*ləp' 'hang bent/folded' (Ku02:59)
51	auklet	s-pyu	*s-pyu? 'bird' (Ku02:78)
52	green type of rock	s-qʷal=lst	*kʷəl 'green' (Ku02:44)
53	nits	st'n	*(k'ə)st'an' (Ku02:43)
54	tadpole	su:qʷuuχin	*s-u:qʷu(m)-qin 'large head' (Ku02:97,208)
55	mud	sχʷa:χʷa	*səfʷ 'flow, wetness' (Ku02:102)
56	willow grouse	takʷs	*takʷ (Ku02:103)
57	snail	χ'aq'an	*q'aλ'an/χ'aq'an (Ku02:90,144)
58	river	tmixʷ	*tmixʷ 'nature, earth, river' (Ku02:105)
59	red cedar	ca:ctaw-łp	*cataw (Ku02:138)
60	bald eagle	c'łkt	*c'əl=ł-ik-t 'shaded body' (cf. Ku02:29)
61	flicker (bird)	c'yaaxʷ	*c'yaqʷ (Ku02:34)
62	yellow pond lily	t'a:t'k-ana-łp	*t'ək-ana- 'supported (by water, i.e. floating) ear' (Ku02:109,206)
63	mica	wil:wil	*wəl 'shiny, bright' (Ku02:114)
64	animal's den	χlam-an-ta	Sh χl-em 'build a log cabin' (Ku74:253)
65	eggs of housefly	χʷa:χʷi	*χʷay(-a?) 'fly, maggot' (Ku02:122)
66	hummingbird	χʷn:χʷnm	*χʷən 'buzz, hum' (Ku02:128)
67	driftwood	yanc	*yan(u)c (Ku02:131)

The length of some of the BC floral and faunal terms exceeds the Salish /CV(R(V))C/ maximal root structure, which is an indication that these words consist of a fossilized root or stem combined with one or more suffixes. When we separate such hypothetical roots from the, equally hypothetical, suffixes that follow them, and then consider their possible etymologies, it becomes clear that these formations are epithetical in origin: ‘with a ... part, feature, characteristic or behaviour’:

<u>BC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Pre-BC</u>	<u>Epithet</u>
28 <i>?an:k'pc</i>	mouse	*k'anp'-c	with chiseling mouth
31 <i>k'apuc</i>	sucker fish	*k'ap'-uc	with grasping mouth

<u>BC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Pre-BC</u>	<u>Epithet</u>
34 <i>k'ʷucxi</i>	maggot	* <i>k'ʷuc'-xən</i>	with twisting “foot” (lower body)
37 <i>pilik't</i>	eel	* <i>p'əlik'-t</i>	with twisting demeanour
20 <i>qʷuluci</i>	skunk	* <i>qʷul-ucin</i>	with marked edges (stripes)
21 <i>qʷu:qʷuulikn</i>	porpoise	* <i>qʷul-ikən</i>	with marked back
41 <i>qʷuc'ik</i>	wolverine	* <i>q'ʷuc(')-ik</i>	with stout/solid surface (skin)
05 <i>qʷaaχ:qʷ-ik-lp</i>	mountain ash	* <i>qʷaaχʷ-ik-lp</i>	plant with grey surface (bark)
07 <i>qʷwaax̣</i>	old mountain goat	* <i>q'ʷu(y)-aʔq</i>	with weakening “crotch” (stamina)
23 <i>sxʷpanil</i>	whitetail deer	* <i>s-xʷəp-an-il</i>	with “unfolded” (exposed) genital area
44 <i>skʷupik</i>	rosehip	* <i>s-kʷup-ik</i>	with stuffed center
47 <i>sk'ilxc</i>	goldeneye duck	* <i>s-k'il=lx-c</i>	with strip cut away (white mark behind beak)
54 <i>su:q'ʷuuχin</i>	tadpole	* <i>s-q'ʷu(m)-qin</i>	with large head
60 <i>c'lkt</i>	bald eagle	* <i>c'əl=l-ik-t</i>	with shaded body
62 <i>t'a:t'kana-lp</i>	yellow pond lily	* <i>t'ək-ana-lp</i>	plant with supported “ear” (floating leaf)

While *k'ʷult* (item 75 in 2.2.3) may mean ‘any type of porpoise’, *qʷu:qʷuulikn* possibly refers specifically to the common Dall’s porpoise, whose brightly marked dorsal fin contrasts with its dark back. PS \**qʷul* ‘to mark’ < ‘(to use) powder (for marking)’ also underlies *qʷul* ‘to write’ (item 304 in 2.3.1).

### 2.2.3 Areal cognates

21 BC ecological terms are connected with both Salish and NS, and are considered as areal. It is difficult to determine whether they have been borrowed from NS or inherited from CS/IS/PS.

Line	Gloss	BC	Areal Cognates
68	seal	?asxʷ	CS *?asxʷ (Ku02:136), NW √sa(?)kʷ (LR80:175)
69	pigeon	haʔm	He haʔní (Ra10:9284), No hiʔí'b (Da02:408), Yurok heʔmiʔ (Bl03:12), Li hámiwaz' (DE12:23)
70	muskrat	klaxʷ	*PS kəlaxʷ, Kw kəlákʷ (Ku02:36)
71	small type of owl	kʷa:kʷas	Li s-kʷákʷakʷ (DE12:20), He gʷágʷúmá (Ra10:5765)
72	young beaver	k'am-was, k'm-anwas	*CS k'am ‘beaver’, Kw k'm-iwa ‘young land otter’ (Ku02:140)
73	red elderberry	k'ipt	*CS k'ipt, NW √k'ip (Ku02:140)

Line	Gloss	BC	Areal Cognates
74	butter clam	kʷuxani	*CS kʷuxʷani? (Ku02:142), He kʷúxʷáni (Ra10:6032)
75	porpoise	kʷult	Sq & Se kʷúnut' (Ku67:346, Ti77:10), Kw √k'uł (LR80:250)
76	heron	maqʷanc	PS *(s-)məqʷa?, Kw maqʷns (Ku02:69)
77	raccoon	mayas	He máyás, CS *məlus (Ku02:144)
78	salalberry	mikʷł	CS *mikʷəł (Ku02:144), Ha nkʷł (LR86:277)
79	soapberries	nuyʷski	*nu-χʷəs-(i)kən ‘being foamy inside’ (Ku02:129,204), Kw nχʷskn (LR80:124), Southern Carrier nowəs (Na74)
80	halibut	p'wi	He p'uái, No p'o·ʔi, CS *p'əway' (Ku02:148)
81	beaver	qʷulun	He qʷúlunn (Ra10:7357), PS *s-qəlaw'
82	seagull	qʷlitq	(Ku02:83)
83	fish, salmon	s-młk	CS *qʷəlítəq (cf. Ku67:365), No qʷalit-q- (Da02:437)
84	old springsalmon	s-qapc	PS *s-młik, Oo mlik ‘sockeye’ (Ku02:68), Wiyot bolàk ‘salmon’ (Go75:11)
85	highbush cranberry	s-t'ls	PS *t'əls, NW √t'ls (Ku02:110)
86	lake	cał	CS *cal'ał (Ku02:137), Kw ɿ'ał (LR80:135)
87	fireweed	c'ayχ	PS *c'ayχ, Ha c'ayχ (Ku02:34)
88	skunk cabbage	?u:kʷukʷ	CS *kʷukʷ, He kʷkʷukʷ (Ku02:141)

#### 2.2.4 NS cognates

There are 93 BC ecological terms that are linked exclusively with NS: 83 with NW, 9 with (pre-)PA, and 1 with Chinook. Ha data are from LR86, other (and common) NW data from LR80, and He data from LR80 and Ra10. The borrowing direction appears to be NS → BC, since (1) the BC forms (with /CVCCV/, /CVCVC/, /CCVCV/, etc. structures) generally have an un-Salish appearance, (2) the NS forms are as a rule phonemically more complex than the BC cognates, (3) most NW forms are analyzable within NW, (4) the (pre-)PA forms are too intrinsically Na-Dene to have been borrowed from BC (while 177 ‘squirrel’ and 178 ‘rabbit’ are widely diffused terms far north of BC).

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
89	hooded merganser	?aʔnna	Ha ?aʔahnà ‘kind of seabird’
90	cottonwood	?a:q'miiχa-łp	Ha q'ámiq'as (√q'a)

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
91	herring eggs	?at	NW $\sqrt{?nt}$ , ?a?nt
92	gooseberry	?a: $\lambda$ .’anuł	Ha $\lambda$ .’ $\lambda$ .’anuł ( $\sqrt{\lambda}$ .’x)
93	fox	?acaya	He á.ca?ya (N73:209)
94	kingfisher	?a:t’maak <sup>w</sup>	Ha t’as:t’mák <sup>w</sup> ( $\sqrt{t}$ ’m)
95	thrush	?ayχ <sup>w</sup> ni	He hχ <sup>w</sup> :hχ <sup>w</sup> ní ( $\sqrt{h}\chi^w$ )
96	type of kelp	?ay:c’aym	He c’á:c’áym ‘eelgrass’
97	well, spring	xʷnal	NW xʷnis ( $\sqrt{x}$ ʷn)
98	snow goose	?iχ:iχi	He xíχ:iχi ‘northern goose’ ( $\sqrt{i}\chi$ i)
99	bracket fungus	kan:ani	He kánán’a ( $\sqrt{kn}$ )
100	humpback salmon	kap’ay	He k’áp’i ( $\sqrt{k}$ ’ap)
101	bluejay	kʷa?yalaqs	He kʷáy’alaqs
102	fish gills	kʷl̥si	He kʷníží ( $\sqrt{k}$ ʷnc)
103	crow	k’aqas	He k’áqa
104	crab	k’inax <sup>w</sup>	He k’ínáx <sup>w</sup>
105	smelt (fish)	k’mani	Ha k’mán’i ‘young herring’ ( $\sqrt{k}$ ’ma)
106	dried clams	kʷumc’	Oo kʷum’asa ‘to dry clams’
107	sea cucumber	?lac	He ?l’ás
108	basking shark	laqa	He λáca
109	edible seaweed	laq’s	He lq’st ( $\sqrt{l}q$ )
110	kelp with herring spawn	?l:q’llis	He q’á:q’l’ís ‘type of kelp’
111	butterfly	ma:mayu	Oo hmu:mu
112	water hemlock	maxʷuuli	Ha wàx(ʷ)uali ( $\sqrt{wax}$ ʷ)
113	salmon heart	mackin	He mcgn’í ( $\sqrt{ms}$ )
114	dipper (bird)	maχʷat’alaqa	Ha maχʷadài ( $\sqrt{maχ}$ ʷ)
115	sea urchin	?mtm	He ?mdrn
116	ling cod	nałm	He nálm
117	grizzly bear	nan	He nán
118	mallard duck	naχ:nχ	He n(i)snáq
119	sea otter	nukʷi	Ha nùkʷi ( $\sqrt{nuk}$ ʷ)
120	flounder	pays	He páis

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
121	abalone shell	plχani	Ha plχ?à (⟨plχ⟩)
122	Indian tea	pu?yaas	He púy'ás (⟨pus⟩)
123	starfish	qacχ	He gážax (⟨gas⟩)
124	strawberry	qʷulu:luuχʷu	Ha gʷulàli 'any berry' (⟨gʷul⟩)
125	swan	qʷuuχʷ:uuχ	He qʷGʷúqʷ
126	lizard	qʷalas	He gʷálás (⟨gʷal⟩)
127	sawbill duck	qʷa:qʷaws	He qʷGʷáus
128	raven	qʷaχʷ	He/Oo √gʷaxʷ 'raven croaks'
129	dogfish	qʷaqʷina	He qʷágʷíná (⟨qʷaqʷ⟩)
130	chiton, periwinkle	q'anas	He q'ánás
131	grebe, helldiver	q'awlt-aqs	Ha q'āult'a 'straight out to the water' (⟨q'a⟩)
132	stink currant	q'is	He/Oo/Ha √q'is
133	tidal flats (grass-like at low tide)	saaxʷan	Ha sàgʷan 'grass' (⟨saqʷ⟩)
134	old springsalmon	sac'm	Ha sàc'm (⟨sas⟩)
135	bracken fern	sakʷm	Oo √sakʷ 'bracken fern root'
136	salmon roe	s-xʷilm, s-xʷulm	He xʷúlí 'fresh boiled ...' (⟨xul⟩)
137	crystal, icicle	s-l:k'laaχ-t	Oo k'l:aq 'crystal' (⟨k'l⟩)
138	earthquake	s-ni:nya	He nínía (⟨ni⟩)
139	ray, skate	s-pakʷ-anke	He bágʷ-áná
140	cranberry	s-λ'mstayc'	He λ'msdáic' (⟨λ'ms⟩)
141	mud	s-tqʷ	NW √tqʷ 'covered with dirt'
143	dolphin	stulkʷ	He cdúlkʷ
144	wave	s-t'ux(ʷ)si	NW √t'uxʷ
145	owl	txn:xni	He tx:tx-ní (⟨tx⟩)
146	black bear	λ'a	He λ'á
147	red cod	λ'aaqʷitkʷ	He λ'áqʷitkʷ (⟨λ'aaqʷ⟩)
148	douglas fir bark	λ'aqʷt	He λ'aqʷt 'red cedar bark' (⟨λ'aqʷ⟩)
149	tobacco	λ'awqʷ	He λ'áuqʷ
150	sealion	λ'iχin	Ha λ'iχ?n (⟨λ'iχ⟩)

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
151	cormorant	λ'upana	Oo λ'ubana
152	horseclam	cimani	He címáni ( $\sqrt{cim}$ )
153	stinging nettle	cna	Kw $\sqrt{3nk}$
154	bough tips of cedar	c'ap'ax	He c'áp'ax 'cedar needles' ( $\sqrt{c'ap}$ )
155	clam	c'ikʷa, c'ikʷn-	He c'ikʷa 'butter clam' ( $\sqrt{c'ik^w}$ )
156	sea urchin	c'ikʷic'	He c'kʷic' ( $\sqrt{c'k^w}$ )
157	tidal lagoon	c'n	NW $\sqrt{c'n}$ 'tidal rapids'
158	sealice	t'upilc	Oo t'up'iac'i 'flea' ( $\sqrt{t'up}$ )
159	fawn	t'upiwas	He t'úpiw'a ( $\sqrt{t'up}$ )
160	rock, stone	t'χ-t	NW $\sqrt{t'ix}$ 'spread rocks'
161	clover rhizomes	t'χʷsus	He t'χʷsús ( $\sqrt{t'q^w}$ )
162	blackcap berry	?u:s-ukʷlt	Ha $\sqrt{k^wlt}$ 'wild raspberry'
163	wigeon	?u:t'pi(i)	NW $\sqrt{t'up}$ 'spotted'
164	lynx	walasya	Kw w' alasxia? (Rath, p.c.)
165	dog	wac', wnc'-	He w'áč' ( $\sqrt{w'as}$ )
166	coho salmon	ways	He wás 'coho turning red'
167	horn, antler	wiλ'ax	Ha wλ'q ( $\sqrt{wλ}$ )
168	crane, great blue heron	χaq'anc	He qáq'nc ( $\sqrt{qaq}$ )
169	large mussel	χawʔli	He χu'í
170	barnacle	χayaq'a, χayaq'n-	He χáyáq' ( $\sqrt{χiq}$ )
171	goose	χa:χaq'	He hícgáq
172	turnip	(?)yanahu	He y'nawú

Line	Gloss	BC	Non-NW Cognates
173	herring spawning	?aqʷwm	PA *q'u:n' 'roe', Eyak q'əma: 'roe' (Na94:182)
174	tail	kac'an	PA*ke?-cən/-cəŋ' (Na94:183)
175	fur seal	kʷni	Carrier kʷəni, Eyak k'əmah 'sea lion' (Na94:182, fn. 6)
176	type of salmon	k'awn	Chinook i-k'awan (Na10:73)
177	squirrel	laakc	PA *χaʔk' (Na94:182)
178	rabbit	qaχ	PA *χəχ, Eyak gax (Na94:182)

Line	Gloss	BC	Non-NW Cognates
179	cottonwood cambium	q'ls	PA *q'ənəx-l (Na94:183)
180	tree, stick	s-tn	PA *v̑tən ‘sticklike object’ (Na94:182)
181	onion	χ'χʷcn	pre-Carrier *χ'əχʷ-čən ‘smelly grass’ (Na94:183)
182	coyote	cl(?)lik	Chilcotin čelʔík (Na94:185)

### 2.2.5 All ecology-related cognates

As the above numbers show, ecological terms taken from NW are, contrary to Newman's claim ("The ecological vocabulary of the Bella Coola shows a larger proportion of loanwords than of forms retained from the parent language" (p. 201)), fewer than those with Salish or areal cognates: 83 vs. 87.

Very similar terms for 'foam(y)' and 'soapberry' are found in a large region encompassing Salish, NW and Athabascan, where it is difficult to determine in which direction borrowing, if any, took place. The fossilized BC root \*χʷs 'foam(y)' occurs only in *nuxʷski* (item 79) (and an allomorph \*χʷus/c possibly in χʷu:χʷuc-i 'young mountain goat', cf. Squamish χʷu:χʷs-əl'qn 'mountain goat', where \*χʷus 'foamy' in association with -əl'qn 'hair' may be 'curly, springy'), but its precursor \*χʷu/əs is widespread in Salish. NW has a root √n/əʃ/qʷ/n/əʃχʷ from which soapberry-related words are regularly derived. Central Carrier (Ca74) has √wəs (where w < \*χʷ, s < \*š) in *hawəs* 'foam' and *nīywəs* 'soapberries' (Mo32:13 *nīnrwoc* [nīnχʷəʃ], southern Carrier *nowəs* (Na74)). Now, BC *nuxʷski* resembles pre-Carrier Athabascan \*nə(...)-əš much more than it does Salish \*sχʷu/əsm, and we may alternatively infer that pre-BC borrowed \*nəχʷəš, devoiced \*χʷ, shifted \*š to s, replaced \*nə- with *nu-* and added \*-(i)kən (> -ki) (in effect applying \*nu-...-(i)kən 'having ... inside'), then dropped \*ə (\*χʷ > χʷ, \*š > s, \*ən# > i#, \*ə > zero are common shifts in pre-BC). But prior to \*nə- > *nu-* and \*-kən > -ki, \*nəχʷəskən would, via pre-BC, have made its debut in NW, where the sequence \*skən would then have been construed as a native suffix ('short pipe, conduit, neck, back of head' (Rath, p.c.)), leaving a new root \*√nəχʷ. We know that Carrier and Chilcotin traders offered, among other goods, soapberries to BC traders in exchange for seafood, shells, carved utensils (boxes, dishes), copper etc., therefore an Athabascan-to-BC borrowing direction for this word is quite probable (cf. items 181-2 above).

## 2.3 Salish, areal and non-Salish etymologies: non-ecological lexicon

### 2.3.1 CS and IS cognates

Whereas BC-CS pairs (80 in number) appear to have a pre-CS origin, I consider – in view of the considerable geographic divide between BC and IS – the 51 BC words with IS cognates as having originated from PS.

Line	Gloss	BC	CS Cognates
183	crawl	?ix-aax-lx	*yaax-lx < *yə/aq-ilx (Ku02:156)
184	upstream area	?aaxɬ	*?alɬan ‘stream direction’ (Ku02:136)
	going up the river	?ul-ɬl	
186	urinate	?aaxqa, √?aaxqn	Se ?áqan (Ti77:35)
187	answer	?anała	Sq ?ánuł ‘agree, consent’ (Ku67:391)
188	locational base	√?as, √?ass	Sq √?ac ‘surface’ (Ku67:390)
	directional base	√?us	
190	be inside	?a-stxʷ	*?u/as-txʷ (Ku02:136)
	go inside	?u-stxʷ	
192	belly	?aciwa, √?aciw(n)	Sq ?əs-?á:?c-iw'an 'pregnant' (Ku69:92)
193	lie down	√?axc	*?axi/ac (Ku02:137)
	bed	s-ɬic-ta	
195	not	?axʷ	Sq haw-q ‘there is not’ (Ku67:374)
196	penis	xli	Sq šəł' (Ku69:69)
197	light of weight	xʷaa:(xʷ)xʷ-i	*xʷa (Ku02:119)
198	lower leg, foot	?ixa, √?ixn	*yəxən (Ku02:156)
199	you sg.	?inu	Sq nəw (Ku67:311)
200	paddle, travel by canoe	?isut, ?issut	Sq ?isun (Ku67:398)
201	tooth	?ica, √?icn	*yəncən < *yənəs-ən < *yəni/əs (Ku02:156)
202	short	kɬ'ii	Musqueam c'ə:c'iɬ' (Ku98:3)
203	crack, split	kʷɬ	*kʷəł (Ku02:141)
204	husband	kʷtmc	*kʷtamc (Ku02:141)
205	look out, be observant	√kʷwxʷ	*kʷəx ‘to count’ (Ku02:141)
206	belly, abdomen	kʷla	*kʷwal, kʷəla (Ku02:48)
207	brother-in-law	kʷliwas, kʷlwas	Halkomelem skʷəlwəs 'relative's spouse's relative' (Ku98:3)
208	pour out, fill	kʷɬ	*kʷəł/l ‘to spill’ (Ku02:141)
209	shake, tremble	k'n-m	*k'ən (Ku02:140)

Line	Gloss	BC	CS Cognates
210	slimy	lix	Se sl̥š ‘fish slime’ (Ti77:14) (cf. √lix)
211	big	łkʷw	Se lakʷʷ ‘to swell up’ (Ti77:34)
212	we, us	łmił	Se nímuł (Ti77:22)
213	you pl.	łup	Se núwlap (Ti77:22)
214	strip, undress sb	łuc’	Se łew-ic’ā-m (Ti77:35)
215	to spit	łχʷta	Sq √łəχʷ (Ku67:328)
216	fill	lik’	*łək’ (Ku02:142)
217	nose	maayṣa	*məqṣən (Ku02:145)
218	testes	maka	*makən (Ku02:144)
219	mix	maliiχʷ	*mal(i)qʷ (Ku02:144)
220	father	man	*man (Ku02:144)
221	child, offspring	mna	*məna (Ku02:144)
222	face	musa	*m?us (Ku02:145)
223	I, me	?nc	Sq ?əns (Ku67:387)
224	be afraid	paayʷu, √paaqʷu	*p’əqʷ(u), Sq p’aqʷwał (Ku67:252)
225	wide, broad	piq’	Se p’iq’ (Ti77:20)
226	dancer’s apron	pn-aaχ-(s)ta	Se pən-ič(n)-tn ‘lid’ (Ti77:18)
227	come to, wake up	p’al=lx	*p’al ‘conscious, sober’ (Ku02:147)
228	dig for fern roots	qalχ-m	*qalχ ‘digging stick’ (Ku02:148)
229	tidy up, tuck, fold in	√qap’, √qaa:χp’	*qəp’ ‘cover, close’ (Ku02:148)
230	belittle, insult sb	qilix	< *qil-nix ‘consider bad’, *qəł ‘bad’ (Ku02:148)
	woman of slave ancestry	s-qili	
232	small, little child	qi:qtı	Se qíqtı ‘youngest in family’ (Ti77:16)
233	blister	qlum	*‘orb’, see qluq’s
234	eye	qluq’s	*qlu-(a)qʷs, Se qəlum (Ti77:13)
235	cover, wrap, shelter	qm	*qəm ‘fold, pack’ (Ku02:148)
236	hire sb	qʷłχʷ	Sq qʷáyaχʷ (Ku67:362)
237	pubic hair	qʷwṇa	*qʷwan, qʷəna? (Ku02:151)

Line	Gloss	BC	CS Cognates
238	slave	snaax̥	Comox nan?q (Na94:188)
239	hair	√s-qʷup	Sq & Se *qʷup (Ku69:82, Ti77:14)
240	chief	s-talt-mx	*tal-mixʷ (Ku02:152)
241	mother	stan	*tan (Ku02:152)
242	supernatural being (killer whale; song; horn)	s-yu-t	*yəw ‘spirit power’ (Ku02:157)
243	non-fem. sg. identifier	ti-x	Sq ti, ‘plain article’ (Ku67:137)
	fem. sg. identifier	ci-x	Sq ci, ‘fem. article’ (Ku67:137)
	pl. identifier	wi-x	cf. tix, cix
246	dig up	tkʷ	Se təkʷ-t ‘to pull’ (Ti77:32)
247	dry sth	λ'ał	*λ'ał ‘bitter, salt’ (Ku02:143)
	dry	λ'ɬ	
249	fast, quick	λ'i	Se λ'i:λ'i (Ti77:20)
250	sinew, tendon	λ'ima, *λ'imn	*λ'?imin (Ku02:143)
251	person	λ'ms-ta	Se λ'ms-tan ‘house’ (Ti77:17)
	dream, have vision, be human	√λ'ms	see λ'ms-ta
253	stick up/out, protrude	√λ'q	*λ'əq ‘go outside’ (Ku02:144)
254	high; moon; month	λ'uk'	*λ'ukʷ ‘high’ (Ku02:143)
255	disappear	cx-m	Sq cəxʷ (Ku67:274)
256	reach for sth	cxʷy-ak-m	*cixʷ ‘to reach’ (Ku02:220)
257	fem. sg. identifier	ci-x	Sq ci, ‘fem. article’ (Sq67:137)
258	poke, stab	cik'	Se cič'-m ‘to pick up with fork, spike’ (Ti77:31)
	pointed, sharp, stinging	√ck'	
260	self	√cn	Se cána (Ku98:3)
261	mouth	cuca, √cucn	*cucin (Ku02:137)
262	five	c'ixʷ	*c'ixʷ (Ku02:139)
263	stuck, blocked	c'p	*c'ap ‘derange, interrupt’ (Ku02:139)
	subdue sb	√s-c'ap	
265	dusk	c'us-m	Se c'úsus (Ti77:8)

Line	Gloss	BC	CS Cognates
266	white	c'χʷ	Se c'əχʷ 'clean' (Ti77:21)
	waxberry	s-c'i:c'χʷ-atwala-łp	
268	cave	t'ap-alst	Se st'áp'as (Ti77:7)
269	brush, sweep	t'xʷ	*t'əxʷ (Ku02:153)
270	shoot sth	t'ksn	Se t'əkʷs 'to explode' (Ti77:28)
271	drift downstream	?uqʷ	*wuqʷ (Ku02:154)
	downstream	√?aqʷ-ł	
	downstream area	t-aqʷ-ł	
274	instep, flap of mocassin	?ut'-ik-ał	Sq ?út'-un? 'extend' (Ku69:95)
	third oldest sibling	?ut'itk	*?ut'-i:t'k, cf. ?ut'-ik-ał
276	be visible, shine	√χi	Sq χi? 'appear suddenly' (Ku69:85)
277	raw	χic'	*χic' (Ku02:155)

Line	Gloss	BC	IS Cognates
278	be audible, holler	?a-xʷs	*xʷu/əs 'forceful, loud' (cf. Ku02:196)
279	brave	?al-?a:pq	*paq 'having learnt through hardship' (Ku02:177)
280	lift up	?apxʷ	*?apxʷ, xʷəp (Ku02:18)
281	nibble, gnaw	xil	*xil (Ku02:117)
282	try to free/untangle	xʷp	*xʷa/əp 'unfold' (Ku02:121)
283	unhook, untangle	xʷp'	*xʷp' (Ku02:121)
284	shaded pool with fish	?iliχʷ	*lə/uxʷ 'thicket, bushes' (Ku02:171)
285	morning	?inaxʷ	Li natxʷ 'yesterday' (Van Eijk, p.c.)
286	haul, tow	?it-qʷu	*qʷəw 'slide, crawl' (Ku02:168)
287	rub, scrub	?ic	*ya/əc 'rub' (Ku02:130)
288	draw straight line on	kx	*kəx 'walk along, follow' (Ku02:165)
289	fall, drop	kł	*kəł 'come off, apart' (Ku02:37)
290	skewer	kʷup'	*kʷup' 'bar, rod' (Ku02:49)
291	bow of boat	k'anawil	*√k'əm empty root + -awil 'canoe' (Ku02:166,210)

Line	Gloss	BC	IS Cognates
292	go through narrow passage	$\sqrt{l}\chi^w$	*ləχʷ ‘pass through hole, escape’ (Ku02:61)
293	erase	mil, ml	Sh *ml (Ku02:66)
294	fish weir made of cedar sticks	mu	Sh mu? ‘weir, fish trap’ (Ku02:65)
295	feel, touch	mus	*mus (Ku02:69)
296	have a cramp	nix:niq'χ-m	*q'iχ ‘strong, hard, tight, etc.’ (Ku02:181)
297	shirt, dress	nup	*wəp ‘hair, fur, cover’ (Ku02:193)
298	to boil	nu-pa:pnt	*pət (Ku02:75)
299	cover, shelter	nu-s-λ'ikʷ	*λ'ikʷ (Ku02:62)
300	look back, wait up	$\sqrt{nu-cik'}lam$	Sh c-k'l-em ‘wait’ (Ku74:215)
301	come	puλ'	*p'ut ‘come out, emerge’ (Ku98:2, Ku74:137)
302	poke, stir, rummage, search	puχ	*pəχʷ ‘prod, knock’ (Ku02:78)
303	apply steam to	p'iιχ	*p'iχ ‘burn, sear’ (Ku02:179)
304	make marks on, write	qʷuł	*qʷəl/qʷul/l ‘(mark with) dust, ashes’ (Ku02:182)
305	bare, empty	qʷp	*qʷə(m)p ‘be all gone’ (Ku02:185)
306	rank, rancid	q'χ	*q'iχ ‘strong, hard, tight etc.’ (Ku02:181)
307	undo, untie	skʷ	Sh səkʷ-min ‘knife’, sikʷ-m ‘to chip’ (Ku74:186)
308	slice, cut boards	sl	*səl ‘peel off’ (Ku02:185)
	sliced & smoked salmon	sl(-)aq'-k	
310	greed, avarice	$\sqrt{s-q'}am-ta$	*q'ə/am ‘covet, crave’ (Ku02:180)
311	wart	s-λ'kʷ	*λ'əkʷ ‘spot’ (Ku02:172)
312	lyrics, words to a song	s-cuł-k	Sh *cuł ‘show, point’ (Ku74:169)
313	arrow for hunting grouse	s-c'ay-uc	*c'əl ‘arrow’ (Ku02:162)
314	rough, thorny, prickly	$\sqrt{s-c'}l$	*c'əl ‘arrow’ (Ku02:162)
315	wind blows	$\sqrt{suk'}, \sqrt{suk''}$	*sukʷ ‘be blown along’ (Ku02:98)
316	spine	s-χp'-ik	*χəp’ ‘to sew, lace, fasten’ (Ku02:197)

Line	Gloss	BC	IS Cognates
317	press, put hand down on	$\sqrt{tac}$	*t'ac' ‘smooth, press’ (Ku02:189)
318	scoop, bail	$\sqrt{\lambda}ql(a)$	* $\lambda$ 'eq ‘dig up/out’ (Ku02:172)
319	hang sth over sth	tq <sup>w</sup> -m	*t <sup>w</sup> eqw ‘indented, arched’ (Ku02:188)
320	subterranean dwelling, “kickwillie”	cipa	*cipwn (Ku02:24)
321	ribs	ck'lp	ck'a/əlp (Ku02:23)
322	begin doing sth	cq <sup>w</sup>	*cəq <sup>w</sup> , q <sup>w</sup> əc (Ku02:25)
323	call of k <sup>w</sup> a:k <sup>w</sup> as	c'it	Li c'it ‘whistle hawk/nightbird’ (DE12:23)
324	quiver for arrows	c'ulapla	*c'əl-apla? ‘arrow-accessory’ (Ku02:162,213)
325	real, true, credible	$\sqrt{c}\chi(a)$	*? <sup>w</sup> ac'χ, c'χ ‘look at’ (Ku02:158)
326	bleed	t'k <sup>w</sup>	*t'ək <sup>w</sup> (Ku02:109)
	sanitary towel	t'ak <sup>w</sup>	
328	dead, decayed	χm	*χəm ‘dry’ (Ku02:197)
329	be (a) brave	yalit, yallit	*χ <sup>w</sup> l ‘strong, vigorous’ (Ku02:201)
	good swimmer	yalli	
331	happy	ya:yaatwi	Sh y <sup>w</sup> :ye <sup>w</sup> t (Ku74:272), *-(ə)wən

For (201) \*\*ns > \*nc and formative \*-ən, cf. Na84:22 and items 198, 217, 218, 222, 499. Again (cf. 2.2.1), the difference in number between CS- and IS-related words (80 vs. 51) is much smaller than implied by Kuipers’ statement “words with cognates in the rest of CS and unattested for IS are three times as numerous as those with cognates in Interior Salish only” (p. 9). For items 192 and 331, see section 3.

### 2.3.2 PS cognates

The 169 items listed below are, along with the ones listed in 2.2.1 (IS), 2.2.2 and 2.3.1 (IS), the only BC words that can be considered as being of PS origin.

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
332	some	?axʷɬ	*? <sup>w</sup> i/axʷəl (Ku02:21)
333	wander, roam	?al=lx	*? <sup>w</sup> al ‘be alive’ (Ku02:15)
	be thus	$\sqrt{?ay}$	

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
335	wait for sb	?al-k’il-tu-	*k’al ‘attend, wait’ (Ku02:41)
336	leaves are fluttering	?al-yax <sup>w</sup> -m-aax	*lax <sup>w</sup> ‘shake’ (Ku02:54)
337	serve oneself	?am-uł	*?u/am ‘feed’ (Ku02:16)
338	swing	?a:q’(a(a)txyu	*q’at'-xən ‘hoist by foot’ (Ku02:89,211) + *-iw
339	be outside	?a-sqa	*?acq (Ku02:15)
	go outside	?u-sqa, *?u-sqn	
341	die	?atma, *?atmn	*?a-təmən, tumn (Ku02:105)
	sleep	cituma, √citumn	
343	blind	?aw:k’aw-ał	*k’aw ‘old, decrepit’ (Ku02:43)
344	follow	?awl	*?aw (Ku02:20)
345	cough	?ayχ <sup>w</sup> ut	*?əχ <sup>w</sup> u? (Ku02:22)
346	alter, (ex)change	√?ay(aw/u)	*?ay (Ku02:22)
347	guardian spirit, guidance	xmanwas	*xəm-an-was ‘other side, alter ego’ (Ku02:117)
348	bathe sb	x <sup>w</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> , *x <sup>w</sup> uuk	*x <sup>w</sup> uk <sup>w</sup> (Ku02:119)
349	drill	√x <sup>w</sup> ul	*x <sup>w</sup> ul (Ku02:120)
350	mother of illegitimate child	?ix <sup>w</sup> ul	*s-?ix <sup>w</sup> ał ‘child’ (Ku02:21)
351	burn	?iiχ <sup>w</sup> , *?iiq <sup>w</sup>	*yəq <sup>w</sup> , həyq <sup>w</sup> ‘fire’ (Ku02:132)
	glowing charcoal	s-?iχ <sup>w</sup> -ał-k <sup>w</sup>	
	fire	niιχ <sup>w</sup> , *niiq <sup>w</sup>	
354	pass, go around	√?il	*yəl ‘to roll’ (Ku02:130-131)
	turn around and go back	nu-lm-aax	
	round, spherical	√yalq, *yalχ	
	turn, rotate, roll sth	√yul	
	cause to disappear	nu-yul-aax	
359	put cover over	√?ilt	*yəl-t ‘place a vessel (dish, plate)’ (cf. Ku02:131)
360	what did he say?	?inut, ?iks	*?inwat (Ku02:18)
361	grab, catch, hold, pinch, squeeze	?ip’	*p’əy (Ku02:82)
362	rasp, file	?iq <sup>w</sup> -uc	*?i/aq <sup>w</sup> ‘scrape’ (Ku02:19)

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
363	shift, move	?iλ'	*yəλ' 'come down, descend' (Ku02:131)
364	blanket	?ic'-ama, ?ic'a-mni	*?ic'-am (Ku02:15)
	sheet	s-ic'-m	
366	grind, apply friction to	?iχ	*yəf, ?iʃ (Ku02:133)
367	which is it?	ka,ks	*ka(n) 'where?' (Ku02:37)
	unspecified location	√kan	
	where is it?	wi-ka(-l),ks	
370	right, straight; find, meet	√kal	*kal 'go after, follow, chase' (Ku02:36)
371	be hit, bumped, hurt	√kan	*kən 'touch, bump, hit' (Ku02:37)
372	grandmother	ki:kya	*kaya? (Ku02:39)
373	grandfather	kʷu:kʷpi	*kupi? 'elder' (Ka02:46)
374	borrow	√kʷul	*kʷul (Ku02:45)
375	warm, hot	kʷl	*kʷel (Ku02:44)
376	thick, bulky	kʷm	*kʷəm 'heap, lump(y)' (Ku02:45)
377	get, take, bring	kʷn	*kʷa/ən (Ku02:46)
	buy	?a-kʷa, √?a-kʷn	
379	point at	kʷn	*kʷə/an 'look at, aim at' (Ku02:49)
380	right, straight	kʷp	*kʷəp (Ku02:49)
	(re)arrange, restore	√kʷpst	
382	deadfall	k'an-k-wuus ('... on top of head')	*k'əl 'cut through' (Ku02:40)
383	erode	k'ip	*k'əp(xʷ) 'break, gouge out' (Ku02:42)
384	bite	k'm	*k'əm (Ku02:41)
385	loose	law	*ləw 'to come off' (Ku02:53)
	come off, peel	√lu	
387	spur, incite, awake sb	lxʷ	*laxʷ, xʷal 'shake, hurry' (Ku02:54)
	hurry sb	√?al:ʔalxʷ	
389	close, cover	√lxʷ	*ləxʷ 'draw on, wear' (Ku02:61)
390	take away from sb	lima	*lim 'to detach' (Ku02:58)

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
391	pull off	ɬk'	*lik' 'cut, sever' (Ku02:57)
392	two	ɬnús	*(?a)l-ən-wəs 'pair' (Ku02:210)
	two	√ɬwaas	*(?a)l-wa?̩s
394	erode, collapse	ɬq-m	*lək/q 'worn out' (Ku02:57) (cf. 417 nu-li:lq)
395	to (pull off with a) hook, pry loose	√ɬt'	*lət' 'attach to / catch with a hook' (Ku02:60)
396	sip	ɬuma	*lum' 'eat soup' (Ku02:58)
397	slimy, slippery	√ɬix	*lix slime (Ku02:54)
398	fold	ɬip'	*li/ap' 'bend over' (Ku02:52)
399	eat nothing for entire day	maq'-m	*məq' 'satiated' (Ku02:69)
400	rise, increase (fluid)	mil-t-m	*mul 'flood, sink' (Ku02:67) (cf. 409 mulm)
401	pause, interrupt	mnl	*mal 'to rest' (Ku02:68)
	slow	√mal	
403	squeeze	√mnc'	*məc' 'pus' (cf. nu-mc', mnc'l-ta) (Ku02:65)
	squeeze out a boil	nu-mc'	
	pus	mnc'l-ta	
406	sit, assume sitting position	?mt	*(?a)mut (cf. ?amat) (Ku02:17)
	where ... is	?a-mat	
	where sth/sb is taken/going to	?u-mat	
409	to dive	mul-m	*mul 'flood, sink' (Ku02:67) (cf. 400 miltm)
410	to dance	naaχʷ-m	*n(u)-?aqʷ-w-m 'make sweeping motion' (cf. Ku02:19)
411	cut with a blade	nik'	*nik' (Ku02:71)
	cut in half	nu-nk'-ik	
	to saw	nix	
414	to snort	nis-t	*nis 'blow one's nose' (Ku02:71)
415	clear water	nu-lax:lχ	*lax (Ku02:55)
	smart, clever	nu-s-χl	
417	frail, sickly	nu-li:lq	*lək/q 'worn out' (Ku02:57) (cf. 394 ɬq-m)

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
418	pierce, perforate	$\sqrt{\text{nu}}-\text{lk}^w$	*lik <sup>w</sup> (Ku02:57)
419	confuse sb	$\sqrt{\text{nu}}-\text{mil-ik}$	*ma/əl ‘lost, aimless’ (cf. Ku02:68)
420	turn away in disgust	nu-pic'-cut	*p'əc' ‘to spit’ (Ku02:78)
421	to burp	nu-q <sup>w</sup> aat	*q <sup>w</sup> aʔ (Ku02:94)
422	block sb's way	nu-q'a-y-aax-al	*q'aʔ ‘caught, stuck’ (Ku02:86)
423	take a bath	nu-t'ayx <sup>w</sup> -m	*t'əq <sup>w</sup> ‘bathe, swim’ (Ku02:111)
424	when?	pax <sup>w</sup> .ʔiks	*pan-(x <sup>w-</sup> ) ‘time’ (cf. Ku02:74)
425	pierce, prick /sb	pac'	*p'ac’ ‘(fix with) string, sew’ (Ku02:78)
426	squeeze water out of string	px, xp	*pəx, *xəp ‘to comb (out)’ (Ku02:77)
427	positive, giving pleasure	$\sqrt{\text{px}}$	*pəy ‘happy, joyful’ (Ku02:77)
428	bright, shiny, sparkling	pik'	*p'ik' (Ku02:79)
	star	mix:mik'-ł	
430	thick	plt	*pəł (Ku02:74)
	swell, be swollen	$\sqrt{\text{puł}}$	
432	tip, turn over	pl-ik	*pu/əł (Ku02:73)
433	accept, receive	$\sqrt{\text{pun}}$	*pun ‘find, get’ (Ku02:74)
434	loosened, freed, elevated, high	$\sqrt{\text{p}}\text{alu}$	*p'il ‘overflow’ (Ku02:79)
	eroded, hollowed out	$\sqrt{\text{a:p}}\text{lu}$	
436	ask, beg	$\sqrt{\text{qa(m)}}$	*qə/am (Ku02:83)
437	tickle	qaa:χacxi	*qas-xən (cf. Ku02:85,211)
438	unbalanced	qaax:qxj	*qayχ ‘erring, drunk’ (Ku02:85)
439	pull towards oneself	qat', $\sqrt{\text{qaa:χt'}}$	*q'at’ ‘(pull with) hook’ (Ku02:89) (cf. 447 q'aat)
440	soft	qm:qmi(i)	*qəm (Ku02:83)
441	wash, launder	q <sup>w</sup> uc'	*q <sup>w</sup> əc' (Ku02:95)
442	blue	q <sup>w</sup> it	*q <sup>w</sup> ay (Ku02:94)
443	green, yellow	q <sup>w</sup> li	*k <sup>w</sup> əł, *q <sup>w</sup> əł (Ku02:44)
444	particulate, powdery	q <sup>w</sup> p-m	*pəq <sup>w</sup> (Ku02:75)
	particulate, powdery	$\sqrt{\text{pq}}^w$	

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
446	aberrant, useless, crazy	qχyu, qí:χyu	*qayχ ‘crazy’ (Ku02:85) (cf. 438 qaax:χxi), Se qi:χ-iwán-m ‘tell a lie’ (Ti77:30)
447	small baited hook	q'aat	*q'at' (Ku02:89) (cf. 439 qat')
	pointed	√qt'	
449	filled: complete / closed, tight	q'im	*q'im ‘joined together, repaired’ (Ku02:88)
	get ready	√q'm-stxʷ	
	scar	s-q'im	
452	steam-cook	q'l=lst	*q'əl (Ku02:87)
453	tight, firm; to be overly ...	q's	*q'əs ‘be of (too) long duration’ (Ku02:89)
454	trip over sth	q'c-iixʷ-ał	*q'ac ‘braid, weave, intertwine’ (Ku02:86)
455	high, large	qʷum, √uqʷm	*qʷum ‘top, high’ (Ku02:97)
456	skull	qʷumniqʷ	*qʷum ‘head, skull’ (Ku02:97)
457	treat with, expose to smoke	qʷup	*pəqʷ ‘dusty, smoky’ (Ku02:75) (cf. 445 √pqʷ)
458	echo	s-a:c'äl-an	*(s-)c'äl-an ‘shadow-ear/sound’ (Ku02:29,206)
459	to leak	sxʷ	*si/əxʷ ‘spill’ (Ku02:101)
	blood	six	
461	uncle	sissi	Sq sisi? (Ku67:304)
462	name	s-kʷac-ta	*kʷac (Ku02:44)
463	moisten, spray water on	s-kʷp	*kʷəp, *pəkʷ ‘pour’ (Ku02:72)
464	wrinkled	s-kʷc'	*kʷ₂c ‘bend, twist’ (Ku02:48)
465	grandchild	sl?imc	?imac (Ku02:17)
	nephew, niece	?imc	
	great-grandchild	slalimc	
468	barbecued & dried spring salmon	s-lq'	cf. *ləq’ ‘spread’ (Ku02:59)
469	fish cheeks	slilqʷ-am:ams	*s-li(:l)qʷ ‘flesh, fish’ (Ku02:60)
470	slime	s-lix	*lix (Ku02:54) (cf. lix)
471	salmon head stew	sliiχʷ	*s-li?qʷ ‘flesh, meat’ (Ku02:60)

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
472	vagina	s-pl-il	cf. *s-pl-ucin ‘mouth’ (Ku02:73)
473	to fart	s-p’u	*p’u? (Ku02:78)
474	chest	s-qma	*s-qəp-mən (Ku02:85)
475	fly, jump	sq <sup>w</sup>	*sə/aq <sup>w</sup> (Ku02:100)
476	kneecap	sq <sup>w</sup> χ <sup>w</sup> lun	*q <sup>w</sup> a/əχ <sup>w</sup> ‘leg’ (Ku02:97) + *-l-əwən
477	tear, cut open	sq’	*səq’ ‘split, crack’ (Ku02:99)
	it stopped raining	sq’-ał	
	yell, scream	nu-sq’-aaχ-m	
	yawn	sun:q <sup>w</sup> -wuc	
481	sister-in-law	stakaw	*(s-)kaw ‘in-law’ (Ku02:38)
482	what is it?	s-tam <sub>ks</sub>	*s-tam (Ku02:104)
	where is he?	?a-stam <sub>ks</sub>	
	where is he going?	?u-stam <sub>ks</sub>	
485	touch, grab	√staq’	*t’aq’ ‘reach across’ (Ku02:111)
486	act properly, behave well	√s-χ’x <sup>w</sup>	*λ’əx <sup>w</sup> ‘win, do it right’ (Ku02:64)
487	hide	st’win	*s-t’əwin (Ku02:112)
488	universe, world, sky, weather, day	s-unx <sup>w</sup>	*s-ənəx <sup>w</sup> , -anax <sup>w</sup> ‘season, weather’ (Ku02:207)
489	peel, remove bark	suq’	*suq <sup>w</sup> (Ku02:100)
490	winter	sutk	*sutik (Ku02:100)
491	pimple	s-u:c <sup>w</sup> -m	*c’u:f <sup>w</sup> ‘sore’ (Ku02:35)
	barnacle	suc’ m-us	
493	younger sibling	s-uuχi, s-u:sq <sup>w</sup> i(i)	*?uq’way (Ku02:19)
	display jealousy towards younger sibling	?uuχi	
495	scrape, plane	sχ	*saχ (Ku02:101)
496	wash sb’s head	sχ <sup>w</sup> a-yχ <sup>w</sup>	*səf <sup>w</sup> ‘flow, wetness’ (Ku02:102)
497	cut with a knife	tx	*təx ‘make cutting/combing motion’ (cf. Ku02:107)
498	go down to riverbank	tx <sup>w</sup> u-kaw-k	*kaw ‘(go) down, descend’ (Ku02:39)
499	tongue	tixca, √tixcn	*tix <sup>w</sup> ...c... (Ku02:107)

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
500	sew, stitch	tiq'	*t'aq' 'cross over' (Ku02:111)
	patch, sew, join	nu-s-tq'	
502	near	√t-k'īl	*k'i(-t) (Ku02:40)
503	hard, stiff	λ'axʷ	*λ'əfʷ (Ku02:65)
504	spread, put onto a frame	√tp	*pat 'line up, spread' (Ku02:75)
	spread, open	√tap	
506	turn inside out	√t-plq'	*p'əlq' 'turn around' (Ku02:79)
507	deaf, unable to understand	tq-an	*təq 'close, obstruct' (Ku02:106)
508	arrive by boat, land alongshore	tq'	*t'aq' 'reach across' (Ku02:111)
509	long	cakʷ	*ca/əkʷ 'pull(ed out)' (Ku02:23) (cf. 513)
510	to wade	caxʷ-m, √caxʷ	*cə/iχʷ 'water, stream' (Ku02:26)
511	dig for sth	ciιχ, √ciiq	*ciq 'dig, stab' (Ku02:25)
	make hole in sth	cq	
513	draw, pull out	ckʷ-m	*cəkʷ (Ku02:23) (cf. 509)
	move sth	cikʷ	
515	pull out	ckʷ-m	*cəkʷ (Ku02:23)
516	grab, pull, tear at	cq'	*c'əq' 'to hit' (Ku02:32)
517	say	cut	*cu-t (Ku02:26)
	ask permission	nu-cun-uc	
519	burn, scald sth	c'ix	*c'iχ (Ku02:33)
520	shelter, cover, shade sth	c'l	*c'i/al 'shelter, shade' (Ku02:29)
521	loud, noisy	c's	*c'əs 'rattle' (Ku02:32)
522	suck	√c'u	*c'u(-)m (Ku02:30)
523	having sores	c'u:c'qʷ, √c'uux	*c'uFʷ 'sore' (Ku02:35)
524	unwind, unravel	tux	*təx 'to comb' (Ku02:107)
525	lick sth	t'aaxʷ	*t'aqʷ (Ku02:112)
526	stump in water	t'm(-)iiχʷ	*'cut-top' (cf. Ku02:110)
527	braid, weave sth	t'qʷl	*t'əqʷa? (Ku02:112)
	step over obstacle	nu-t'qʷal-m	

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
529	suck sth	t'um	*t'um, tum (Ku02:110)
	woman's breast	tums	
531	six	t'χ(-)wúl	*t'əχ (Ku02:113)
532	come close to, reach end of	√?ul	*?ul 'gather, meet' (Ku02:16)
	lahal game stakes	s-?ul-m	
534	choose sth	?ulix	?ul-ix, -lx 'begin to gather' (see 532)
	food-to-go	s-ulix-c	
536	pail, bucket	?ulqn	*wəlqʷ-(t)ən 'cooking implement' (cf. Ku02:135)
537	lungs	?us:p'us	*p'us (Ku02:81)
538	who is it?	wa,ks	*wat (Ku02:116)
	what is his name?	wa-c-tu-m,ks	
540	leave sb	wal	*l(a)wal (Ku02:61)
	gone for one day	?i-łul	
	leave sb behind	s-walut, √s-wal	
543	new, recent	wayx	*way 'revealed' (Ku02:116)
544	pry open	√wiiq, √wiiχ	*wiq 'take apart, open' (Ku02:115)
545	pour, spill sth	wl	*wal 'tilt, tip over' (Ku02:114)
	to limp	wl:włka-cut	wl 'tilt (back & forth) + *-(i)kən 'back, spine' (Ku02:114,204)
547	be stuck, not moving away	χam-lx	*χa/əm 'heavy, weigh down' (Ku02:126)
548	be frequent, be/do often	χil	*χil 'similar, frequent' (Ku02:125)
549	lack, be deprived	√χł	ʃə/l 'to lose' (Ku02:134)
550	cause to go around/across sth	√χłq'	*χəlaq 'turn, roll' (Ku02:125)
551	to bite	χm	*χəm (Ku02:127)
552	half, incomplete, defective, faulty	√χλ'	*χaλ 'to want, difficult' (Ku02:125)
553	rasp, file	χʷuq'	*χʷu/aqʷw 'grind, rasp' (Ku02:128)
	grate, creak, squeak	χʷiq'-m	
555	melt	χʷay	*χʷay 'perish, disappear' (Ku02:129)

Line	Gloss	BC	PS Cognates
556	fun, pleasure, play	$\sqrt{\chi}^w$ is	* $\Omega^w$ ey(s/c) ‘play, joke, make fun’ (Ku02:135)
	obsolete game	$\chi^w$ s-an-im	

For items 338, 446, 476 see section 3.

### 2.3.3 Areal cognates

13 BC non-ecological items are linked with both Salish and NS. It cannot be determined whether they have been borrowed from NS or inherited from PS.

Line	Gloss	BC	Areal Cognates
558	grasp, pinch	kip'	PS *k'ip', NW $\sqrt{k}'p$ ‘hold by squeezing’ (Ku02:42)
559	thin	?l:pl-ii	PS *pal (Ku02:72), NW $\sqrt{p}l$ (LR80:59)
	scale of fish	pl=lst	
561	excrement	mnk	PS *mnak, NW $\sqrt{m}nk$ (Ku02:68-69)
562	four	mús	PS *mus, NW $\sqrt{m}w$ (Ku02:69)
	three	?as-mús	
564	blow, hiss	$\sqrt{ps}$	IS *pas ‘break wind’ (Ku02:177), NW $\sqrt{p}is$ ‘to whistle’ (LR80:61)
	defecate	?a-ps	
566	grow	pus	PS *pu... (Ku02:76), NW $\sqrt{p}us$ ‘to swell’ (LR80:54)
	swell, rise (water)	pu-cut	
568	roast potatoes under sand	$q^walm-uuł$	PS * $q^w$ al/y- ‘scorch, burn’ (Ku02:95), NW $\sqrt{q^w}al$ ‘burn to cinders’ (LR80:334)
	ashes, charred	$\sqrt{q^w}ay$	
	scorched	$k^w$ alx	
	smoked salmon head skin	?a: $k^w$ i	
	ashes	s- $q^w$ al-k <sup>w</sup>	
	ashes	s- $q^w$ ayχ- $H$	
574	twist, spin	$\sqrt{q^w}al$	PS * $q^w$ ol, NW $\sqrt{q^w}al$ ‘braid, plait’ (Ku02:86-87)

Line	Gloss	BC	Areal Cognates
	to stagger	q’l-m	
	rope	q’lsxʷ	
577	fence	q’lax̚	PS *q’lax̚ (Ku02:88), Ha q’lāχn (LR86:311), Tahltan q’anaχáŋ (my in-laws, p.c.)
578	hit with a stick	sp’	PS *səp’ (Ku02:99), Yurok √s’o·p (Go75:4)
579	straight	cakʷʷ	PS *ca/əkʷʷ, NW √zakʷ ‘straighten out’ (Ku02:23-24)
580	stick, rod	χc’a, qc’a	PS *χəc’-ay̚, Oo χc’ə?i ‘canoe’ (Ku02:124)
581	oil, grease, lubricate	χʷs	CS *χʷəs ‘grease’ (Ku02:156), Kw √χʷs ‘seal blubber’ (LR80:337)
	fat	χs	

### 2.3.4 NS cognates

There are 121 BC non-ecological terms that are linked exclusively with NS. Of these, 101 are cognate with NW, while 20 are linked mainly with Na-Dene. Ha data are from LR86, other (and common) NW data from LR80, and He data from LR80 and Ra10. Again, the borrowing direction appears to be NS → BC, as (1) the BC forms (with /CVCCV, CVCVC, CCVCV/, etc. structures) generally have an un-Salish appearance, (2) the NS forms are as a rule phonemically more complex than the BC cognates, (3) most NW forms are analyzable within NW, (4) (pre-)PA forms are too intrinsically Na-Dene to have been borrowed from BC.

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
583	perceive an omen	?aaχn	Ha ?aqn ‘omen’ (√?aq)
584	sea canoe	?akʷʷna	Oo xʷakʷʷna (√xʷakʷ)
585	herald, messenger	?alkʷʷ	Ha ?aləkʷ ‘spokesman for a chief’ (√?a)
587	ouch	?anana	Ha ?nanà (√na)
588	build a river canoe	?a:λ’a	NW √?aλ’ ‘build a boat’
589	behind, east, interior	√aλ’s	NW √?aλ ‘be inland’
590	raft	?a:wanaaχ-kʷ < *√wana?q, wanaq’	NW √wnq(‘) ‘low (in the water)’
592	incomplete, not quite, almost	?ixa?i(i)	NW √?ixa ‘draw near, almost’

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
593	medicine	?iiχsa, √?iiχsn	NW ?iχsa, √?iq
594	dip food in grease	?is-m:c'm	NW √c'p
595	put earrings on sb	√?issa	Kw ?iʔslà 'abalone shells', √?is 'abalone'
596	take off, pull (off)	ks	NW √ks 'push away'
597	type of canoe	kʷncala	NW √kʷns 'use steam (e.g. to bend ribs of canoe)'
598	empty, absent, nothing	k'axʷ	NW √k'iw
599	herring rake	k'ita	NW √k'it 'catch herrings with a rake'
600	little finger	k'ita	Ha k'idà (√k'i)
601	shoulder blade	laax(al)ta	NW λaqʷdn (√λaqʷ)
602	wet	lq	Kw √λq
603	to slap; slice, cut into slabs	lq'	Kw √λq 'clap, slap'
604	student of the supernatural	lukʷala	Oo/Kw λugʷala (√λugʷ)
605	soft, spongy	lu:lp	Ha √lup 'soft, soggy'
606	have sexual foreplay	lu:luxʷ-am	NW √luxʷ 'roll'
607	side dish	mac-ta	NW √mas 'eat as a ...'
	fir cone	s-ma:mac-tn-ak	
609	cured salmon roe	mac'i	Oo maʒm (√mas)
610	arrowhead	mik't	Ha mik't 'obsidian' (√mik)
611	type of dance	miła	Ha m'ił'a 'teasing dance' (√m'ił)
612	count things	mnck	NW √m'nc 'to measure'
613	dip sth up	mntxʷ, √mntaxʷ	
614	measure	mnłat	
615	stale, bland	√muqʷ	NW √m'uqʷ
616	type of storage box	paaqi?yala	Ha pąqi'ala 'vessel with board on top' (√paq)
617	cedarwood box used for storing food	plki?wa	Ha pl̥ki'a 'thin lid on top (of box)' (√pl̥)
618	shape, mold	ps	NW √pis 'soft, pliable'
	train, educate sb	psx	
	train, educate sb	pis:pis	
621	Sasquatch (ape-like creature)	pukʷs	NW bkʷs (√bkʷ)

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
622	wink, blink	p'la	NW $\sqrt{p}'l$
623	bend	p's	NW $\sqrt{p}'s$
624	attached to	$\sqrt{qa}ł$	NW $\sqrt{ca}ł$ ‘to gaff, hook’
625	gaff, hook	qałayu	NW $\sqrt{ca}ł$ ‘to gaff, hook’
626	granny (hypocoristic)	qama	NW $\sqrt{ga}$ , gagm ‘grandparent’
627	hat	qayt	Ha qait
628	shoe	qinχ	NW $\sqrt{qn}χ$
629	mix food with grease	qlx <sup>w</sup> -ila	NW $\sqrt{qlx}^w$
630	thin, narrow	qp-i	NW $\sqrt{p(a)q}$ ‘flat’
631	rack for drying food	qc'us, χc'us	He qc'ús ( $\sqrt{qs}$ )
632	thumb	qʷuna	NW qʷuna
633	wooden spoon	qʷanil	He gʷáni ‘ladle made of goat horn’ ( $\sqrt{gʷa}(x)$ )
634	crush, bruise	qʷilac	NW $\sqrt{qʷi}ł$
635	leak, ooze, flood	$\sqrt{q}ʷs$	He/Oo $\sqrt{q}ʷs$ ‘drizzle’
636	chisel	q'atm	NW $\sqrt{q}'at$ ‘cut with a chisel’
637	poor, pitiful	q'ay	He q'i, Ha q'ai
638	droning cry	q'inakʷlił	cf. He q'inákʷlá ‘increase in number gradually’ ( $\sqrt{q}'i$ ‘much, many’)
639	go up, climb	q'lum	Ha $\sqrt{q}'l$ ‘dangle, be suspended’, q'lip... ‘climb’
640	vexed, irritated	$\sqrt{q}'nla$	Ha q'nła ‘react angrily’
641	taste	q'pst	NW $\sqrt{p}'q$
642	whiteman	q'wumksiwa	Ha q'wumksiwa ( $\sqrt{q}'w$ m)
643	dipnet	saxʷa	Ha sàxʷa ‘use dipnet’ ( $\sqrt{sax}^w$ )
644	axe made of sqwalst	saqʷ-aa-k-sta	NW $\sqrt{saq}^w$ ‘chafe, peel’
645	suckling	sa:sa	Ha sàsm ‘children’ ( $\sqrt{sas}$ )
646	mythological double-headed serpent	sisyul	He sisíul ( $\sqrt{sis}$ )
647	mythical ape-like creature	sni:niq'	Oo/Kw ɣunuqʷwa (ɣuqʷ)
648	boastful song	s-χiilla	Kw χiłla ‘shout’ ( $\sqrt{\chi}ił$ )
649	sphere, globe, bulb	s-χʷat	Kw $\sqrt{\chi}ʷat$ ‘testicle’

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
	reluctant, lazy	$\sqrt{\text{nu-sx}}^w\text{at-aa}\chi$	
651	poke, bump, hit	tas	NW $\sqrt{\text{ts}}$ ‘push’
652	bait a line or trap	tiil	NW $\sqrt{\text{ti}}$
653	hit with a hammer	tiix <sup>w</sup>	NW $\sqrt{\text{diq}}$ ‘drive in piles’
654	elbow	$\lambda'$ ak <sup>w</sup> ani	NW $\sqrt{\lambda'}$ ak <sup>w</sup>
655	beads	$\lambda'$ a?laya, $\lambda'$ a?yala	He $\lambda'$ áy'álá ( $\lambda'$ i?)
656	eulachon grease	$\lambda'$ ina	NW $\sqrt{\lambda'}$ in'
657	head of penis	$\lambda'$ p-an-ta	NW $\sqrt{\lambda'}$ ip ‘roll up foreskin’
658	break sth off	$\sqrt{\lambda'}$ xi	Kw $\sqrt{\lambda'}$ q <sup>w</sup> ‘break off sticks’
659	cured salmon roe	tmk <sup>w</sup> a	NW $\sqrt{\text{tmk}}$ ‘to eat ...’
660	chase out	caaxa, $\sqrt{\text{caax}}$ n	NW $\sqrt{\text{caq}}$
661	harpoon	can	Ha $\lambda$ an ‘seal harpoon’ ( $\lambda$ 3a)
662	shotgun pellets	ca:ca?yayu, $\sqrt{\text{ca:ca}}$ ?yaw	Oo cacay'ayu ( $\sqrt{\text{ci}}$ )
663	pound cedar bark to soften it, make a plug	cup	NW $\sqrt{\text{zup}}$ ‘plug with soft material’
664	long snowshoes	c'awikał	Ha c'aw'ikał ( $\sqrt{\text{c'aw'ik}}$ )
665	to drip	c'x-m	Kw $\sqrt{\text{c'x}}$
666	dirty	c'ikm	Ha $\sqrt{\text{c'ik}}$
667	guts, intestines	c'ima, $\sqrt{\text{c'im}}$ n	Ha c'im ( $\sqrt{\text{c's}}$ )
668	basket	c'la, $\sqrt{\text{c'ln}}$	Oo/Ha c'la
669	forefinger	c'm	NW $\sqrt{\text{c'm}}$
670	smoked eulachons	c'mtaaq	Oo/Kw c'mdaq ( $\sqrt{\text{c'mt}}$ )
671	glove, mitten	c'up'akt	Oo/Kw c'up'ax ( $\sqrt{\text{c'up}}$ )
672	sack made of sealion's bladder	c'ya-wł	Ha c'iälä ‘use bucket or dipper’ ( $\sqrt{\text{c'i}}$ )
673	bubbles, specks	$\sqrt{\text{tup}}$	NW $\sqrt{\text{tup}}$ ‘speck, dot’
674	chipped	t'k <sup>w</sup> i	NW $\sqrt{\text{t'k}}$ ‘scrape, scratch’
	tumpline	t'n(-)iiχ <sup>w</sup> -ul	cf. 708 t'nx <sup>w</sup>
676	salty	t's	NW $\sqrt{\text{t'ys}}$ ‘stone’
677	knock on, strike and break	t'c	NW $\sqrt{\text{t's}}$ ‘pound, crack’
678	towards the west	?u-nik <sup>w</sup> , ?u-n:nik <sup>w</sup>	Oo nik <sup>w</sup> ‘night’
679	throat	?u:q <sup>w</sup> uuni	Ha q'ùq <sup>w</sup> n'i ( $\sqrt{\text{q'u}}$ )

Line	Gloss	BC	NW Cognates
680	cape, garment; corona around moon	wax̥cya	He wax̥síwá ‘cape, poncho’ ( <i>waqʷ</i> )
681	well!, okay!, now then!	way, wii	NW <i>√wi</i>
682	wage war against	win	NW <i>√win</i>
683	poke, skewer	<i>√win</i>	NW <i>√wn</i> ‘penetrate, drill, bore hole’
684	galvanized, tin, metal	χawis	Oo χawicm ‘tin’
685	west wind	χayul	Oo χa’iul ( <i>χa</i> )
686	dipnet	χʷuta	NW <i>χut</i> ‘scoop up’
687	soak, soften	χʷuc	Ha <i>χʷs</i> ‘become amorphous’
688	eat eulachon	χʷiita	NW <i>χʷit</i> ‘stir or mash with spoon’
689	rattle	yatn	NW <i>yadn</i> ( <i>yat</i> )
690	hi!, hello!	yaw	He <i>yáu</i>
691	get used to sth	yut-lx	Ha <i>χut</i> ‘used to’

Line	Gloss	BC	Non-NW Cognates
692	yes	?aw	Chinook aw (Na10:73)
693	take apart, spill	xʷc	No <i>χʷac</i> ‘crumbling’ (Da02:458)
694	dance-cry	huyp	No ho’y ‘shout used to introduce mask dance’ (Da02:413)
695	twist, wring	kic’	early Athabascan * <i>χgəʔc</i> ’ (Na94: 182, fn. 6)
696	cry, weep	kʷanat	PA-Eyak * <i>χʷən</i> (-)χ (Na94:181)
697	firewood	kʷml	cf. Carrier kʷən ‘fire’ (Na94:184)
698	head hair	mnłkʷa	Quileute bolkʷ (Na10:73)
699	to growl	nu-xim	*x(w)iwn, *xʷən, cf. PA * <i>χʷən</i> (Na94:181)
700	pack, wrap, store, bury	q’aw	Eyak q’əw ‘provisions’ (Na94:181)
701	scorch, toast	<i>√q’m</i>	PA * <i>χ’ən</i> ‘burn’ (Na94:182)
702	lover, sweetheart	sχan	Carrier <i>χ’isyan</i> (Na74)
703	blunt arrow used to stun birds	tas	Carrier təs, Tahltan tas (Na94:184)
704	pinch, snap, cut off	λ’p	No <i>χ’ap</i> ‘cut with scissors’ (Da02:428)

Line	Gloss	BC	Non-NW Cognates
705	birch bark basket	χ'ul-ay	PA *χ'u'l 'rope' + *-ay 'plant' (Na94:183)
706	rattle, crackle, burst, sparkle	χχχ	PA *χχχd 'flare up', Eyak χχχ '(fish) flops' (Na94:181)
707	close one's eye(s), wink	χ'i	PA *χ'(...)?l (Na94:183)
708	head	t'nxʷ	Quileute ?o-t'iqʷ (Na10:73), Nootka √t'uh (Da02:451)
709	to vomit	?ut'ak	Eyak √wət' (Na94:181)
710	to snore	χʷal-t	PA √χʷən (Na94:181)
711	music, singing	χyamł	PA √χən 'sing shamanistically' (Na94:182)

### 2.3.5 All non-ecology-related cognates

Around 25% of the BC entries listed in 2.3.1-4 above are, contrary to Newman's claim ("Bella Coola borrowed almost nothing of its basic stock of words from Wakashan, in contrast to its heavy borrowing of ecological terms" (p. 207)), akin to NW.

### 3 Notes and conclusions

As detailed above, my findings challenge those of Kuipers 2002 and Newman as regards the distribution of vocabulary related to CS and IS, resp. vocabulary borrowed from NW. Furthermore, elements shared only with IS are most likely of PS origin. Items 45, 192, 331, 338, 446 and 476 contain pre-BC \*-(l-)iwan, \*-(l-)iwən, \*-(l-)əwən, \*-iw 'system, principle, essence, spirit' (cf. Sq -iwan 'spirit, mind' (Ku69:14)) reduced to BC -iwa (45, 192), -wi (331), -yu (338, 446), -lun (476) (cf. BC -liwa, -liwn-, -lun- '...like, ...ish' (Na84:57)).

BC deictic clitics and lexical suffixes were – like all bound BC morphemes – excluded from this study, but it should be mentioned that here, too, NW influence has been pervasive: nowhere in Salish do we find spatio-temporal deictic systems as elaborate as in BC (Na84, pp. 41-48). As well, lexical suffix stringing plays in BC a more prominent role than in all other Salish, and the rigid PSO syntax of BC is more reminiscent of NW than of other Salish (where word order appears to be less fixed than is the case in BC). While most BC single lexical suffixes are retentions from PS, productive suffix-stringing (Na84, pp. 74-88) is a BC innovation. Another trait more typical of BC than of most other Salish, i.e. post-predicative enclisis and enclitic-stringing (Na84, pp. 125-133, and cf. VE85, pp. 231-252), must have evolved under the influence of this increased use of suffixation. Such growing use of enclisis in turn likely underlies another major difference: where non-BC Salish

distinguishes mood via different verbal paradigms, BC uses enclisis. For example, ‘may we say’ and ‘I wonder what they will say’ are rendered in Li vs. BC as follows: Li *cút-at* (say-1p subjunctive) = BC *ka, cut-il, c'akʷ* (future, say-1p, desiderative); Li *?inwat-wít-as, kl* (say what-3p-subjunctive, remote future) = BC *ka, ?inut-aw, kl, ma* (future, say -3p, interrogative, possibly).

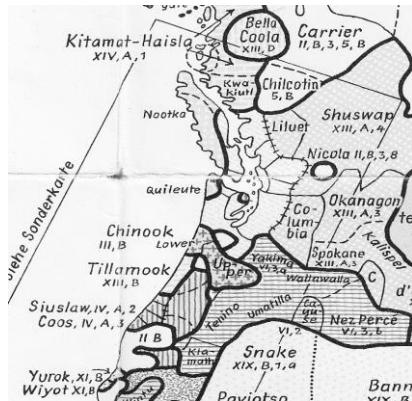
Yet another feature that separates BC from all other Salish is lack of distinctive schwa and stress. Elimination of \*ə (vs. continuation of \*ə as [n̩] in e.g. *t'nxʷ* ‘head’, *mnlkʷa* ‘hair’, *mnc'la* ‘pus’) has made it possible for entirely voiceless words and sentences to evolve (e.g. *stp* ‘speck’, *plt* ‘thick’, *q'psttχ* ‘taste it!’, *k'xłcxʷ, kʷc* *słχʷtlc* ‘you had then reportedly seen that I had passed through’), and for distinctive stress – which cannot play a role in voiceless words – to disappear (see Na84, pp. 27-28). Obstruent-clustering + lack of distinctive stress also typify Oo: *λxχpsλkts* ‘the-invisible-one-here-with-me will be a nice thwart’ (LR80, p. 31).

More relevantly, though, the vast quantity of vocabulary of unknown origin – however consistent with the diachronic-geographic isolation of BC from the rest of Salish – remains a source of frustration, and I hope that more Salish dictionaries, or comprehensive morpheme lists, can be made available for comparative purposes in the near future. This would enable us to expand our PS/CS/IS database, and to increase the number of BC etymologies. Also, comparing BC (and Salish in general) with non-Salish languages spoken near Salish territory can yield interesting results (cf. Na10). Another area that must be explored in detail is the presence in BC of sets of phonemically and semantically similar roots, two of which are adduced here. The first of these, whose members consist of a {palatovelar stop + (i +) rounded velar/labial} sequence, is: *k'm* ‘bite’, *ki:kyu* ‘chew’, *kip* ‘pinch’, *k'ixʷ* ‘gnaw’. The second set, whose members have the structure {glottalized rounded velar/uvular stop + (w)a (+ l/y)}, is: *kʷa(y)-lx* ‘scorched’, *kʷwa* ‘bake food around a fire’, *√qʷay* ‘charred’, *qʷal-m-uul* ‘roast potatoes under sand’. Such old phonemic and semantic fluidity undoubtedly accounts for the existence in BC of many stems and roots that have – to date – no obvious cognates in other Salish (for other factors see further below). That portion of the BC lexicon appears in the appendix at the end of this paper. In the meantime, I summarize my findings in the table below and a few comments thereafter.

	PS	CS	IS	A	NS	?	totals
ecology	40	14	12	21	93		180
non-ecology	169	80	51	13	121		434
unknown						661	661
totals	209	94	63	34	214	661	1275
percentages	16.4%	7.4%	4.9%	2.7%	16.8%	51.8%	100.0%

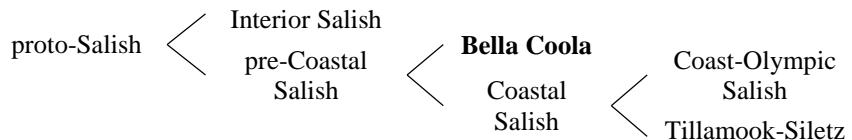
The “unknown origin” portion of BC vocabulary appears to be mainly innovative, while other layers likely evolved in the following order: pre-CS – (pre-)PA – southern areal (Nootka, Quileute, Chinook, Ritwan) – northern areal

(CS, NW, Athabascan). It is due to its pre-CS origin that BC is more closely linked with CS than with IS, though much less so than suggested by Ku02.



This section of Pinnow's (1964) map shows the entire area associated with the evolution of BC lexicon (and the present location of BC), with Ritwan being the southmost constituent, and Athabascan the northmost one. There has been sporadic contact with Tsimshian/Gitksan – either directly or indirectly – as well.

In consideration of its structural and lexical features, I assign BC the following position within Salish:



At first blush, this time depth does not seem consistent with the ratio of BC “unknown origin” lexis to that of non-PS vocabulary in CS and IS. In Ku02, CS-only etyma number 185, and IS-only etyma total 396; the number of BC-only items might be expected to be intermediate between these two (around 300, less than half of what it actually is). However, BC has – due to its prolonged isolation and exposure to non-Salish – become less conservative than all other Salish. Reduction, inversion, petrification, deglottalization, compensatory lengthening, feature loss, and combinations thereof underlie the etymological obscurity of a major portion of BC vocabulary. For reduction see items 7, 22, 54, etc.; for inversion see items 1, 12, 27, etc.; for petrified forms see the epithetical forms treated in 2.2.2 and items 45, 192, 331, 338, 446, 476; for deglottalization see items 28, 41, 224, etc.; for compensatory lengthening see items 90, 224, 238, etc. Feature loss, however rare (e.g. 74, 499), may be attested in e.g. *sk’x* ‘black’ (if from \**k’əx~q’əχ* (with mobile retraction + lag assimilation), cf. Sq *q’əχ:q’iχ* (Ku67:356)) and *k’x* ‘see’ (if from \**k’ʷəx~k’əxʷ* (with mobile rounding + lag assimilation), cf. *√k’ʷəxʷ* ‘observant’ (item 205)).

## 4 Bella Coola vocabulary with unknown origin

Below, I list those BC verbo-nominal stems and roots that I have not been able to relate to other Salish and/or NS. Here, too, line numbering is erased where derivations and allomorphs are listed. In order to alleviate the task of locating items in this lengthy (17 pages) table, I have rendered BC lemmata in the BC practical orthography (upper case) as well: TS = /c/, TL' = /ɬ'/, LH = /ɬ/, 7 = /ʔ/, C = /x/, X = /χ/, KW = /kʷ/, etc.

Line	Na90 entry + gloss	Phonemic notation
712	AKW'A black diver	?ak <sup>w</sup> a
713	ALATK miss, make mistake	?alatk
714	ALATSICW+IKS how/why/what kind?	?alacix <sup>w</sup> .jks
715	√ALATS' , √AALATS' report, tell	√?alac', √?aalac'
716	ALH7ALHTSIM talk, speak, tell	?al <sup>t</sup> ?alcim
717	ALHI be located, stay	?ali
718	ALH7IKW barbecue	?al <sup>t</sup> ?ik <sup>w</sup>
719	ALH7ILHP' restrain, hold back	?al <sup>t</sup> ?ilp'
720	ALHKWILM wild, shy	?al <sup>t</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ilm
721	ALHLXW look at sth, read	?al-lχ <sup>w</sup>
722	ALHMULH beads	?almul
723	√ALH(7)N (have) accept(ed)	√?al(?)n
724	ALHPS eat	?alps
725	ALHQW' ALAYCLC mature, with status	?al-q <sup>w</sup> alayx-lx
726	ALHTSXWM reprimand sb	?al-cχ <sup>w</sup> m
727	ALHTSXWMALH walk in slush	?al-cχ <sup>w</sup> m-al
728	ALMK pole a canoe up the river	?alm-k, cf. la:lam pole canoe upriver la:lam
730	ALUUX, √ALUUQ be last, go behind	?aluux, √?aluuq
731	AMA7ITSK maybe	?ama?ick
732	AM7AMITKALH barefoot	?am <sup>t</sup> ?amitk-al
733	AMLH summer; springsalmon	?aml sockeye salmon s-amł
735	ANALAS funnel	?analas
736	ANIS deny	?anis
737	ANUMAAAXM groan under load	?anumaaxm
738	√ANUQUM limit, restrain	√?anuq <sup>w</sup> um
739	ANUQ'M dare, threaten	?anuq'm
740	ANUSQ'X copy	?anusaq'χ
741	APSU blow	?apsu
742	APSULH population, village	?apsul
743	AQS halibut hook	?aqs
744	√AQW' snarl, tangle	√?aq <sup>w</sup>

745	AQW'AN steep bank, cliff wall	?aq'wan
746	ASIM pack a baby	?asim
747	√ASTIP hold, clasp	√?astip
748	ASTSM fresh fish	?ascm
749	ASYA butcher, cut up fish	?asya
750	ATSI boat, canoe	?aci
751	√ATS'AAXLH south	√ac'aayl
752	ATS'I fish with a rod	?ac'i
753	ATS'TA paddle	?ac'-ta
754	AT' smear on, paint	?at'
755	AXXA yuck!	?axxa
756	AYK' ancient, long time	?ayk'
757	CA7M gather gooseberries	xa?m
758	CAP' evacuate, escape	xap'
759	√CIP lessen, diminish	√xip
760	CM break, snap	xm
761	CNAS woman, wife	xnas
	transsexual, hermaphrodite	s-xnc
763	√CS all, whole, entire	√xs
	quiet, silent	nu-xs
765	CWILM to itch	xwilm
766	√CWIN have seen, be aware	√xwin
767	CWIQ' cow parsnip, Indian rhubarb	xwiq'
768	CWL pull, grab	xwl
769	CWM warm	xwm
770	CWT' fall in, collapse	xwt'
771	HA7U tent caterpillar	ha?u
772	(H)UUQWAT term used to pacify a baby	(h)uuqw <sup>w</sup> at
773	ICAASNIC search, look for	?ixaas-nix
774	ICLH having arranged a date with a woman	?ixl
775	I(7)IPTS dream	?i(?)ipc
776	IIXLHP yellow cedar	?iiχ-lp
777	IIXM, √IIQM stink	?iiχm, √?iiqm
778	IIXWSILA miss a meal	?iiχʷs-ila
779	IKW cedar bark absorbent material	?ikʷ
780	ILHTSAY pick berries	?ilcay
781	ILHUL be away for one day	?ilul
782	IM have sexual intercourse	?im
783	√IM connect, tie up , wind string	√?im
784	IMLK, √IMLAAKW man, male	?im-lk, √?im-laakʷ
785	INA, √IN(A), √IIN bestow, present	?ina, √?in(a), √?iin
786	IN(7)IQW'I brave, hero	?in-(?)iqʷi
787	√IP narrow, thin	√?ip

788	IPATSUT store food	?ipa-cut
789	IPTS moss	?ipc
790	IPU hide	?ipu
791	√IQ' touch, disturb, move	√?iq'
792	IQ'IM braid sb's hair	?iq'im
793	IS7IISK(S)LHI to whisper	?is:7iisk(s)li
794	ISQ'S singe hairs off pelt	?isq's
795	ITSKW remote, out of the way	?ick <sup>w</sup>
796	ITS'KALIMTSK distribute presents	?ic'k-alimck
797	ITS'T squirt on/into	?ic't
798	ITUUXT go fishing for one day	?ituuxt
799	IXW far, remote	?iχ <sup>w</sup>
800	I7YUM animal howls	?i?yum
801	KAKAATSI cute, charming	ka:kaac-i
802	KANIC, √KANCW wait for, worry about	ka(n)-nix, √ka(n)-nx <sup>w</sup>
803	KASMIW golden eagle	kasmiw
804	KASTSAW expect more, bargain	kascaw
805	KAW support, carry, deliver	kaw
806	KAYCII to be very/too ...	kayxii
	overly, too much	yalkayx
808	KIKYU chew	ki:kyu
809	KILM curl up, shrink	kilm
810	KINKIN water parsnip	kin:kin
811	KLH7AN menstruate	kl?an
812	KLHC be awake	klx
813	KLHM, NUKLHM to cross	klm, nuklm
	seven	nu-s-(?)al-klm
815	KLKL herring	kl:kl
816	KLKLII be slow, take one's time	kl:kl-ii
817	KMA be in pain	kma
818	KMAP'S put heated rocks in water	kmap's
819	KNIC eat	knix
820	KNTAW dear (hypocoristic)	kntaw
821	KNUM smoked fish fillet	knum
822	KP each, every, all	kp
823	KS rich, nutritious	ks
824	√KULH base, that which is ...	√kʷul
825	KWATASYAN Dolly Varden trout	kʷatasyan
826	KWAYX powdery, dusty	kʷayχ
	bluebird	s-kʷa:kʷiχ-lala
828	KWCW match, fit	kʷx <sup>w</sup>
829	KWCWM place near fire, warm	kʷxʷm
830	KWIKWTIK having rough surface	kʷi:kʷt-ik

831	√KWITL' stir, disturb	v̄kʷiλ'
832	KWIT' crowd, squeeze in, separate	kʷit'
833	KWLAMK distribute, hand out	kʷl-amk
834	√KWMA wish the best, say farewell	v̄kʷma
835	KWMAY worm	kʷmay
836	KWPALH liver	kʷpal
837	KWS rough	kʷs
838	KWSASLHM go somewhere in vain	kʷs-a:sl-m
839	KWST exterior aspect of body	kʷst
840	KWTL' place, plant, arrange	kʷλ'
841	KWTSUS young mountain goat	kʷcus
842	KWTUS lower sb's face to the water	kʷt-us
843	KWWAAXA fool, mislead sb	kʷwaax̄a
844	√KW'ALH good, complete, grown	v̄kʷwal
845	K'ATSA shake	kʷaca
846	K'PT become saturated	kʷpt
847	K'WS steady date, fiancé	kʷs
848	K'WA bake food around fire	kʷwa
849	(S)K'WAMS dimple in cheek	(s-)kʷw-ams
850	√K'ALH to whirl	v̄k'ał
851	K'AMK' type of kelp	k'amk'
852	sharp	v̄k'apat
853	K'C see, look at	k'x
854	K'ICW gnaw at	k'ixʷ
855	K'IM look for needed item	k'im
856	SK'L cold	s-k'l
	stuck, frozen	v̄k'l
858	K'LAT steelhead trout	k'lat
859	K'LHT(N) brace, support	k'lt(n)
860	K'MATK stay overnight	k'mat-k
	complete an annual cycle	k'm-us-m
862	K'MLH abdominal fin	k'mł
863	K'NTS sperm whale	k'nc
864	K'TS chop, cut with axe	k'c
865	K'TSAATSAY licorice fern	k'caacay
866	√K'UP press down, lower, crouch	v̄k'up
	lower oneself, crouch	v̄?ukʷwp
	wing, flight feather	kʷpw-al-t
	mountain lion	s-ukʷp-t-us
870	K'US calm, no wind	kʷus
871	K'YUK identify, recognize, know sb	k'yuk
872	LALAQ'A to fry	la:laq'a
873	LHACLHAKWAY big sea lion	łax:lak'way

874	LHALAS boat, canoe	lalas
875	LHALYA copper	lalya
876	LHAWPLA stack, pile up	law-pla
877	LHAWPS greedy, stingy	law-ps
878	LHAY increased distance (deictic)	lay
879	√LHIIXW treasure	√liiχʷ
880	√LHKW fill, close a hole	√lkʷ
881	√LHKW' care, love	√lkʷw
882	LHKW'A take a shortcut	lkʷ'a
883	√LHKW'M pound, bump	√lkʷm
884	LHK'M speak	lkʷm
885	√LHL remove: clean/leave/quit/stop	√lh
886	LHM stand (up)	hm
887	LHMK'MLHP lodgepole pine	hm:k'm-łp
888	LHP fill up	łp
889	LHP' spongy, springy	łp'
890	LHQW' fade	łqʷw
891	LHQW' uproot, dig up	łqʷw
892	√LHQW', √LHIQW' sob	√łqʷw, √liqʷw
893	√LHQ'M strap, secure, fetter	√łq'-m
894	LHTN exert pressure, touch, bump	łtn
895	LHTS' hold or press down	łc'
896	LHUK, LHULHKW pick up	łuk, łu:lkʷ
897	√LHUKU penetrate a hole	√łukʷu
898	√LHUK', √LHUUK disinclined	√łuk', √luuk
899	LHUK'IS toolbox	łuk'is
900	LHULA ring finger	hula
901	√LHULH informed, having news	√łul
902	√LHUP' smell, air, breath	√łup'
903	√LHUQ' peeled, skinned	√łuq'
904	LHUT' smell	łut'
905	LHUXXT having clam poisoning	łuuχt
906	√LHX opposed, negative, sinister	√łχ
907	√LHXW energetic, enthused	√łχʷ
908	LICLIC ripe, cooked	lix:lix
909	√LICWM make noise	√lixʷ-m
910	LIKW' roll, turn over	likʷw
911	LIM fall, drop	lim
912	LIS push	lis
913	√LITCW roll, spin	√litxʷ
914	LITUX striped	lituχ
915	LIXW, LIIWX chase sb away	liχʷ, liiχʷ
916	LKW'LULHP sweet gale	?ł:kʷwlu-łp

917	LQ' think of sb	?lq'
918	LULUSTA mask	lul-us-ta
919	√LX stretch, pull (down), jerk	√?lχ
920	√7M erect	√?m
921	MAASK+7IKS how much/many?	maask, ?iks
922	MAAXTS clay	maaxc
923	MACSAYS husband's brother's wife	maxsays
924	MAMIS black fly	ma:mis
925	MATS put on string, thread	mac
926	MATSKW' frog, toad	mack <sup>w</sup>
927	√MAW one	√maw
	one	√ma
929	√MI wide	√mi
930	MICMIKALHP Sitka spruce	mix:mika-lp
931	MILA cane, walking stick	mila
932	MINNIMUT go into labor	min-nimut
933	MNLH pay sb	mnł
	pay sb for doing a job	nu-ml-ak
935	MNMNTSA swamp gooseberry	mn:mnca
936	MNTA way of going, route, vehicle	mn-ta
937	MNTS' yellow, hazel, blond	mnc'
938	MUCWMUKWT blue grouse	mux <sup>w</sup> :muk <sup>w</sup> t
939	MUKW red	muk <sup>w</sup>
940	MUQWLHA louse	muq <sup>w</sup> la
941	√MUTSM mistaken, confused	√mucm
942	MUUXWA stutter	muuχʷa
943	MUXWLHT utter a dance cry	muχʷlt
944	N, IN and	?n, ?in
945	NA there you are!	na
946	7NA determinative	?na
947	√(7)NA forgotten	√(?)na
948	√NAC ready	√nax
	accompany, comply	√(?)nayx
950	NANAAX stick sth into the ground	nan-aayχ
	digging stick / center of boil	nanitk <sup>w</sup>
952	NAP, √(7)NAP have: take, give	nap, √(?)nap
953	NAQ'T sexually impotent	naq't
954	NIQ'X otter	niq'χ
955	√NITS safe, alive	√nic
956	√NM occupy, fill up, etc.	√nm
	close the door	nu:m-uc
958	√NMNM both, double	√nm:nm
959	NMNMK' animal	nm:nmk'

960	NMP put into a container	nmp
961	NTL' dark(ness), night	?nλ'
962	NU7AWS stingy with food	nu?aws
963	NUKAKALS flounder	nuka:kals
964	NUKUM like, love, desire	nukʷum
965	NUK'S extinguish a fire	nuk's
966	NUMUS be consistent, balanced	numus
967	NUPALHTCWIK offer advice to sb	nu-pal-txʷ-ik
968	NUPQ'T to fart	nupq't
969	NUQAAXP slough in tidal flats	nuqaa:χp
970	√NUQATQ cup with one's hand	√nuqatq
971	NUSKUM start smiling	nuskʷum
972	NUTK'AM fall over	nutk'am
973	NU7UMTAAX holler	nu?umtaaχ
974	NU7UPTS bad smell, stench	nu?upc
975	NUX (fish) caught in net	nuχ
976	NXT blow one's nose	?nχt
977	PAAX, √PA(A)Q name sb	paaχ, √pa(a)q
978	PAAXLH stern of boat	paaχl
979	PAKTULHK mesh board used to make nets	paktulk
980	√PAKW caught up with	√pakʷ
981	PANYA smoke fish	panya
982	PAPNLH to bark	pa:pnl
983	√PATS young, first, early	√pac
984	PAY lacking flavor or feeling	pay
	snake	pa:pi-nk
986	PITL' dirty	piλ'
987	√PITS' light, milky, pale	√pic'
988	√PL miss, not have	√pl
989	PSAYCT, SPSAYCT fir tree pitch	psayxt, s-psayxt
990	PSCM pit-lamp	psx-m
991	PSKWN have a chief's meeting	pskʷn
	porch, veranda	nu-spkʷn-uuc-ta
993	PUQW' ample, loose	puqʷw
994	PUTSQ' Indian hellebore	pucq'
995	PUTS'TN bow for shooting	puc'tn
996	√PUX hairy, furry	√puχ
	mouldy	puuχ
998	P'AS pay for sth	p'as
999	P'A(A)TS deep	p'a(a)c
	hold under water	p'c
1001	P'C crabapple	p'x
1002	P'IIXLA drift downstream	p'iixla

1003	P'LHT warm	p'lt
1004	P'ULHKWM bubble up	p'ułkʷ-m
1005	P'ULHM go and meet newcomers	p'uł-m
1006	QA wish sb dead	qa
1007	QAAX salmonberry	qaax
1008	QAAXAPWALA joist	qaa:χapwala
1009	QAAXATSCILI swallow	qaa:χacxili
1010	QALHQA raspberries	qalqa
1011	QALXALULHM to welcome	qalχalul-m
1012	QAMATS dead fern fronds	qamac
1013	QAMITS'A have communal meal	qamic'a
1014	QAPSMUULHM hug oneself	qapsm-uul-m
1015	QAQTALHP ninebark	qa:qta-łp
1016	QATSQILH ant	qacqit
1017	QAW enclose, surround	qaw
1018	QAY stick used in gambling game	qay
1019	QIIXA, √QIIXN glad, happy	qiixa, √qiixn
1020	QIKU, XIKU dragonfly	qikʷu, χikʷu
1021	QIQIPI(I) small (pl.), little children	qi:qipi(i)
1022	QISM avoid contact	qism
1023	√QITS' out of reach, secluded	√qic'
1024	√QLAM thoughtful, considerate	√qlam
1025	QLH touch sb where it hurts	ql
1026	QLHM black cod	qlm
1027	QLHPULX water hemlock	qlpulχ
1028	QNК deep	qnk
	downwards	?uu-χnk
	down	√χnk
1031	QP'A egg	qp'a
1032	QTL' trip, stumble	ql'
1033	QTS pass condition on to sb	qc
1034	QUP' punch, hit with one's fist	qwup'
1035	QUTS'ULHKW western yew	qwuc'ulkʷ
1036	QUUXWWA salmon milt	qwuuχʷwa
1037	QUX to cover	qwuχ
1038	QWAAXWN youngest sibling	qwaaχʷn
1039	√QWI to open	√qʷi
1040	√QWI untrue, dubious	√qʷi
1041	QWLS look through one eye, aim at	qwls
1042	√QWSK wind string on spool	√qʷsk
1043	QWSM to sweat	qwṣ-m
1044	QWT crooked	qw̥t
1045	QWWAS cooked sockeye salmon	qwwas

1046	QW'ALA empty, gone	q <sup>w</sup> ala
1047	QW'ALM older sibling	q <sup>w</sup> al-m
1048	QW'ALXS parsnip	q <sup>w</sup> a(l)-lχs
1049	QW'AYKILA small red cod	q <sup>w</sup> aykila
1050	√QW'I split, divide, separate	√q <sup>w</sup> i
1051	QW'ILAYS young seal	q <sup>w</sup> ilays
1052	QW'LAS strange, different	q <sup>w</sup> las
1053	QW'LAXW thimbleberry leaves	q <sup>w</sup> laxw
1054	QW'LH to laugh	q <sup>w</sup> l
1055	√QW'WA impel, urge on	√q <sup>w</sup> wa
1056	QW'XW move	q <sup>w</sup> χw
1057	√QW'XW slow down, delay	√q <sup>w</sup> χw
1058	Q'AKWTS blue lupine	q'ak <sup>w</sup> c
1059	Q'AQ'ATSUULH wild strawberry	q'a:q'ac-uuł
1060	Q'ATICTS steam-cook food	q'atixc
1061	Q'AY black hawthorn berry	q'ay
1062	Q'AY cedar bark basket	q'ay
1063	Q'ILH scratch	q'il
1064	Q'IS singe, burn surface of	q'is
1065	Q'ITSM stink	q'ic-m
1066	Q'LHKW fix up	q'lkw
1067	√Q'LU stick one's finger into	√q'lu
1068	Q'LUK barbecued salmon	q'luk
1069	Q'M step on	q'm
1070	√Q'P dull	√q'p
1071	Q'TSM creak, make sharp sound	q'c-m
1072	Q'UX filled to capacity	q <sup>w</sup> uχ
1073	Q'UX invite sb, call	q <sup>w</sup> uχ
1074	Q'X carve	q'χ
1075	Q'XNXNA berries of false Solomon's seal	q'χn:χna
1076	Q'XTIS fish weir made of rocks	q'χtis
1077	√SAK' spread	√sak'
1078	√SAK'A do immediately	√sak'a
1079	SAK'AM injured	sak'am
1080	SAK'IMA twine, string	sak'ima
1081	SAQW' holding much, insatiable	saq <sup>w</sup>
1082	SAST move house	sast
1083	SATSQWLA log used as raft	sacq <sup>w</sup> la
1084	SAWA, SAWSAWA pillow, cushion	sawa, saw:sawa
1085	S7AYK'S grave	s?ayk's
1086	S7AYK'SA7NA caterpillar	s?ayk'sa?na
1087	S7AYM to always do	s?aym
1088	S7AYT year	s?ayt

1089	S7AYULH thunder, Thunderbird	sʔayuł
1090	SC bad	sx
1091	SCIMNK cooked fish tails	s-xim-nk
1092	SCLHH afterbirth	sx-ɬ
1093	SCW burn	sxʷ
1094	√SCWTL' inadequate	√sxʷɬ'
1095	SIISCMI type of moss (mniuum affine)	sii:sxmi
1096	√SIKW'IK line things up	√sik'ʷik
1097	SIK'M (there is a) noise	sik'm
1098	SIK'S trap, snare	sik's
1099	SILIN kidney	silin
1100	SIM limbs of red cedar	sim
1101	SIQ'AAX fish near death (after spawning)	siq'-aaχ
1102	SISAWK, SUSAWK high class dance	sisawk, susawk
1103	SISKSUM aunt	sisksum
1104	SITAAXSU catfish	sitaaxsu
1105	SKALKW porcupine	skalkʷ
1106	√SKI knead, massage	√ski
1107	SKIP' carrots	skip'
1108	SKLI supernatural being that controls death	skli
1109	SKMA moose	skma
1110	SKSI in-laws	sksi
1111	SKTSULHK heart	skcułk
1112	SKULUKT canoe pole	skʷulukt
1113	SKWTSALS cheek	s-kʷc-als
1114	SKW'ANIK'S black twinberry	skʷ'anik's
1115	SKW'YAN knee	skʷyan
1116	SK' scrape, rake, comb	sk'
1117	SK'ALHUTSLAYC eyelashes	sk'al-uc-layx
1118	SK'AMTSK mythical sea monster	s-k'am-ck
1119	SK'APTSANILH posterior abdominal fin	sk'apc-an-il
1120	SK'C black	sk'x
1121	√SK'IK spread	√sk'-ik
1122	SK'LLATAP unidentified small seafish	sk'llatap
1123	SK'ST charcoal	sk'st
1124	SK'STLITS' skin	sk'st-lic'
1125	SLALIMTSKAK cone of firpine tree	slalimck-ak
1126	SLAWS grass	slaws
1127	SLAX much, many	sláχ
1128	SLAYLHXUTS misbehave, be obstinate	slaylχʷ-uc
1129	SLHQ'AN collar	s-lq'-an, cf. √lq'-m
1130	SLHUL sliver	slul
1131	√SLHULHANI cover, shelter	√slułani

1132	SLIQ'UTS saliva	sliq <sup>w</sup> -uc
1133	SLIS gall	slis
1134	SLQW' find	slq <sup>w</sup>
1135	SLUCTA crosspiece of canoe	s-lux-ta
1136	SLUQ' eulachon grease	sluq'
1137	SMA myth(ical), legend(ary)	sma
1138	SMAK prepare eulachon grease	smak
1139	√SMAM be in constant motion	√smam
1140	SMATMC friend, relative	smat-mx
1141	SMICMIXWTS thrush	smix:miχ <sup>w</sup> c
1142	SMIKS mussel	smiks
1143	SNANIK pitch, gum	snanik
1144	SNQW'S be very mad at someone	snq <sup>w</sup> s
1145	SNX sun	snχ
1146	SPATL'TN put roofing on a house	spaλ'tn
1147	SPIKW' groundhog	spik <sup>w</sup>
1148	SPUTC eulachon	sputx
1149	√SQUM spread, open up	√sq <sup>w</sup> um
1150	SQUSA left over food taken home	sq <sup>w</sup> usa
1151	SQUTS' sack made of cedar bark	sq <sup>w</sup> uc'
1152	SQWAAX(W)QWA bullhead	sq <sup>w</sup> aax <sup>(w)</sup> q <sup>w</sup> a
1153	SQWAL love song	sq <sup>w</sup> al
1154	SQWINACW flesh of crushed eulachons	sq <sup>w</sup> inax <sup>w</sup>
1155	SQWLH fishbone	sq <sup>w</sup> l
1156	SQWLITQ dried up rotten fish	sq <sup>w</sup> litq
1157	SQWSN loon	sq <sup>w</sup> sn
1158	SQWTSILH posterior abdominal fin	sq <sup>w</sup> c-il
1159	SQW'ALM edible male fern root	sq <sup>w</sup> alm
1160	SQ'ALH flesh, meat	sq'ał
1161	√SQ'ATC nails	√sq'atx
1162	SQ'SK saskatoon berry	sq'sk
1163	SQ'TALHP douglas maple	sq'ta-lp
1164	SQ'USA knothole	sq <sup>w</sup> usa
1165	√STAP steep	√stap
1166	STCUS opponent	stx <sup>w</sup> us
1167	STCWTS' cottonwood buds	stx <sup>w</sup> c'
1168	STILWA fat floating on preserved fish	stilwa
1169	STITS' watery excrement	stic'
1170	STLKW'A jellyfish	stlk <sup>w</sup> a
	caribou	s-λ'ax-t (cf. wiλ'ax)
1172	STQ' add to sth	stq'
1173	STS spread evenly over surface	sc
	cover horizontal surface	√nu-sc-aax

1175	√STSAY news, information	√scay
1176	STSICALT bridge	scixalt
1177	STSLI keep caught fish alive on a line	scli
1178	STSLTSLI bush of dwarf blueberry	scl:cli
1179	STSUC film, thin layer	scux
1180	STSUMAY river freezes over	scumay
1181	STSUNXWA tear stains	scunχʷa
1182	STSUTSWANYULHIIWX have dandruff	scu:cw-any-ul-iiχʷ
1183	STS' disperse, scatter, spray	sc'
1184	STS'ICIN roe skein; cracklings	sc'ixin
1185	STS'IKNULH half-decayed stump	sc'ikn-ul
1186	STS'MAS devilfish	sc'mas
1187	STS'PIILH unidentified bird	sc'piil
1188	STS'Q animal fat	sc'q
1189	STS'QAAXQA wren	sc'qaaxqa
1190	STS'QWASMA red face paint	sc'qʷasma
1191	STS'QYAAKAKSTA tree stump	sc'qy-aax-ak-sta
1192	STS'UP to itch	s-c'up
	scratch one's privates	c'up-il-m
1194	STS'UXIN brains	sc'uu-χin
1195	STUQ' snag	stuq'
1196	ST'ALA hemlock bark	st'ala
1197	ST'A7M be or lie flat on floor	st'a?m
1198	ST'ANIKW boil, carbuncle	st'anikʷ
1199	ST'AWLHT whetstone	st'awl̤t
1200	ST'AXW hard, difficult	st'axʷ
1201	ST'CWM mat, mattress	st'xʷm
1202	ST'UMTS'A ripe crabapple	st'umc'a
1203	SUCA, √SUCN hand, lower arm	suxa, √suxn
1204	SUKWWAAT cat's cradle	sukʷwaat
1205	SULUT sea, inlet	sulut
1206	SUM pants	sum
1207	SUM sip, lap sth	sum
1208	S7UNKWTSTA human body	s-?un-kʷc-ta
1209	SUPT to whistle	sup-t
1210	√SUQ'W, √SUQ'U hump, lump	√suq'ʷ(u)
1211	SUSU berry sauce	su:su
1212	SWANALHKW green algae	swanałkʷ
1213	SXAYAXW taboo	sxayaxʷ
1214	SXP tie up	sxp
1215	SXTL'IK fish backbone	sxλ'-ik
1216	SXTS thimbleberry/salmonberry sprouts	sxč
1217	SXWILH arrogant, conceited	sxʷil

1218	SXWLXWLI mole (animal)	sχʷl·χʷli
1219	SXWNATA nickname	sχʷnata
1220	TAKAN arrive	takan
1221	TALAWS get married	talaws
1222	TANKSTA, √TANKSTN ear	tanksta, √tankstn
1223	√TAQ' thick, dense	√taq'
1224	TATA daddy	ta:ta
1225	TAY boy (term of address)	tay
1226	TAY hit, pound	tay
	cast a spell on sb	ta:ti=iiχʷ
1228	√TI hard, firm, steady	√ti
1229	TICTIK' kindling	tix:tik'
1230	TICTSAMULH red-hot rocks	tixcam-uł
1231	TILTILIT eagle is calling	til:til=lit
1232	√TIP show, reveal, make visible	√tip
1233	√TIPI single, mono-, having one ...	√tipi
	single, mono-, having one ...	√cipi
1235	TKA shoot with a gun	tna
1236	TKW dirty	tkʷ
1237	TK' sticky	tk'
1238	TLH strong	tl
1239	TLKW swallow sth	tlkʷ
1240	TLQW' swallow sth	tlqʷw
1241	TLTLKW slippery	tl:tlkʷ
1242	TL'AAYAQM song sung to shame spouse	χ'aayaqm
1243	TL'AKIX come on!	χ'ak-i-χ
1244	TL'ALHIX come here!, come on!	χ'al-i-χ
1245	TL'AMK bring sb sth to fix	χ'amk
1246	TL'AP go, start	χ'ap
1247	TL'IQ'LHKN dwarf blueberry	χ'iq'l-kn
1248	TL'KW gather tiny objects	χ'kʷ
1249	TL'L cover sth with a sheet	χ'l
1250	TL'LHAX come on!	χ'la-χ
1251	TL'PA fish spear with three prongs	χ'pa
1252	TL'TUU darn it!, damn it!	χ'tuu
1253	TL'XA having holes, meshes	χ'χa
1254	TL'YUK talk, discuss, argue	χ'yuk
1255	TMP insert sth	tmp
1256	√TP spot(ted), dot(ted)	√tp
1257	√TPI next, adjacent, (a)side, half	√tpi
1258	√TQM have sth sticky on oneself	√tqm
1259	TQW' remove fur from hide	tqʷw
1260	TQW' lift, hold up	tqʷw

1261	TQ'LHA, √TQ'LHN knife	tq'la, √tq'ln
1262	TSALTCW bark of red cedar	caltx <sup>w</sup>
1263	TSAP bone	cap
1264	√TSATSASLHQ' so many	√ca:cas-lq'
1265	TSAY stop, finish; all	cay
	a little bit	caaci
	youth, youngster	caacti(i)
	young people	calaahti
	youngsters	cl:cl-uks-i
	limited, having reached limit	?uci(i)
1271	TSAY girl (term of address)	cay
1272	TSA7YAMUUS Indian paint brush	ca?yam-uus
1273	TSCW dark	cx <sup>w</sup>
1274	TSCWI sufficient	cx <sup>w</sup> i
1275	√TSI cause to move forward/protrude	√ci
1276	TSIIWT wedge	ciix <sup>w</sup> t
1277	TSIM get hit, bumped	cim
1278	TSIMILT draw in mountain, gully	cim-ilt
1279	TSIQW' break, smash sth	ciq' <sup>w</sup>
1280	TSIX new, fresh	ciχ
1281	TSKLH term used to address little girls	ckl
1282	TSKW heavy	ck <sup>w</sup>
1283	TSLH break or pull off	cl
1284	TSP to wipe	cp
1285	√TSQW wet	√cq <sup>w</sup>
1286	TSQ'M curl up, shrink	cq'm
1287	TS(S)T, HATS(S)T hey!	c(s)t, hac(s)t
1288	TSUM make rustling sound	cum
1289	TSUMTSUMIS horsetail	cum:cumis
1290	TSUNTSUP to whistle	cun:cup
1291	TSUPINAALH shinbone	cupin-aaf
1292	√TSX drip on sth	√cχ
1293	TSYAP loin cloth	cyap
1294	TS'AAQALUUSLH white springsalmon	c'aaq-al-uus=sl
1295	TS'AAXWM red clouds at sunset	c'aax <sup>w</sup> m
1296	TS'ACAM fermented, sour-tasting	c'axam
1297	TS'ALH rockweed	c'al
1298	TS'ICW grate, scour	c'ix <sup>w</sup>
1299	TS'IPSCILI wild currant	c'ipsxili
1300	TS'K fix, prepare sth	c'k
1301	TS'KT arrive	c'kt
	ten	c'klákt
1303	TS'LS mistaken, confused	c'ls

1304	TS'QAMIN mountain jack	c'qamin
1305	TS'U grey	c'u
1306	TS'UMLC half-smoked fish	c'um-lx
1307	TS'XLHM fall in water, drown	c'χlm
1308	TS'XLHN kick	c'χln
1309	TS'XWTALHP red willow, red osier dogwood	c'χʷ-ta-lp
1310	TTS term used to address little boys	tc
1311	TUK', √TUKW' stretch sth	tuk', √tukʷ
1312	TULTAYA mountain trout	tultaya
1313	TULU, TUULU manage, succeed, win	tulu, tuulu
1314	TUM impale, poke with a stick	tum
1315	TUPA, TUUPA navel	tupa, tuupa
1316	TUTS wet, soak sth	tuc
1317	TUTUSTIQ' flying squirrel	tu:tustiq'
1318	TWA, √TW(I)N ask, beg	twa, √tw(i)n
1319	√TWIN be(come) visible	√twin
1320	TX carve with adze	tx
1321	TXWNAYAAX across the river	txʷnay-aax
1322	T'AS wren	t'as
1323	T'AWS wet, damp	t'aws
1324	T'ICLHALA robin	t'ix-lala
1325	T'ICT'IIXLHALAM hop on one leg	t'ix:t'iχ-lala-m
1326	T'IN small dorsal fin	t'in
1327	√T'KA move sth up & down	√t'ka
1328	T'LI dog salmon	t'li
1329	√T'Q be in close contact, adhere to	√t'q
1330	T'QWM rotten	t'qʷ-m
1331	√T'U more than enough, extra, a lot	√t'u
1332	T'UKA, √T'UKWA, √T'UKWN mink	t'uka, √t'ukʷa, √t'ukʷn
1333	√T'UP(I) break, split sth	√t'up(i)
1334	√T'UUTS get diverted, sidetracked	√t'uuc
1335	UK'UM groan (under stress)	?ukʷum
1336	√ULHA dependable, responsible	√?ula
	take immediate action	sm-?ula
1338	ULHTSAX go ahead!	?ulca-χ
1339	√ULX, √ULQ dizzy/silly/foolish	√?ulχ, √?ulq
1340	UM get off, disembark	?um
1341	√UN subject to strain/pressure	√?un
1342	UPK send, dispatch	?upk
1343	UQ'AL cinquefoil roots	?uq'al
1344	USMACMIKSM fat has come to surface	?us-max:miksm
1345	USXLH bring out, produce, exhibit	?usχl
1346	√UTS' top, upper	√?uc'

1347	UT'P rotten wood	?ut'p
1348	UXW cause to come down, lower	√?uχʷ
1349	WAKAYAK overdo	wakayak
1350	√WAN miss, be late	√wan
1351	WAPAT turn sideways, make transverse	wapat
1352	WAWSLC jumpy, skittish, nervous	wa:ws-lx
1353	WAXWAXTSYA great-grandchildren	waχ:waxχya
1354	WIK' cut wood into shingles	wik'
1355	√WIK' shake, wiggle back & forth	√wik'
1356	WILC have sth in the way, be obstructed	wilx
1357	WINUSM lower one's face, bend over	win-us-m
1358	WINWINTS sandpiper	win:winc
1359	WISXW, WIISXW yes indeed!	wisχʷ, wiisχʷ
1360	WLXLHA lame	wlχla
1361	WNTS' beat, kill	wnc'
1362	WNTS'LHT fish for halibut	wnc'lt
1363	XAATCSYA to sneeze	χaatcsya
1364	√XAM insulted	√χam
1365	XAMLAYC one's eyesight is returning	χam-layx
1366	XAMU dip sth out of container, ladle	χamu
1367	XAPA, √XAPN pack, carry	χapa, √χapn
1368	√XAQ'AKW protruding horizontally	√χaq'akʷ
1369	XI peek through hole at sb, spy on	χi
1370	XILAAX tilt a boat	χil-aax
1371	XITL' lean, skinny	χiλ'
1372	XITS' metal axe	χic'
1373	XIXI marten	χi:χi
1374	√XL be sent, directed	√χl
1375	XMXMAATSLH minnow	χm:χmaacł
1376	√XP' permeate, penetrate	√χp'
1377	XSASA salmon roe on skein	χsa:sa
1378	XT brittle	χt
1379	XTS'A, QTS'A little furry thing	χc'a, qc'a
1380	XUL push or press down	χʷul
1381	XULXULIS spring tide	χʷul:χʷulis
1382	√XUM to flow, stream	√χʷum
1383	XUP insert, cook in oven	χʷup
	pin, brooch	nu-s-χʷaap-sta
1385	XWIIXN type of box	χʷiiχn
1386	√XWITS, √XWIITS shake sth	√χʷic, √χʷiic
1387	√XWLH cross barrier, pass through, surpass	√χʷl
1388	XWLHTN brace sth	χʷltn
1389	XWLXWLUULHI stocky, short person	χʷl:χʷl-uuli

1390	✓XWTN hold open	✓χ <sup>w</sup> tn
1391	YA good	ya
1392	YACW approach, call sb's attention	yax <sup>w</sup>
1393	YACWM7MAYLH old female sealion	yax <sup>w</sup> m <sup>?</sup> mayl
1394	YAKI mountain goat	yaki
1395	✓YALH7AY possibility, opportunity	✓yal?ay
1396	YALLAK sleepy	yallak
1397	YANK pole a boat	yank
1398	YAQAS round	✓yaqas
1399	YAXAT ridicule sb	yaxat
1400	✓YAXW allowed, having permission	✓yax <sup>w</sup>
1401	YAYAASI(I) pretty, handsome	ya:yaasi(i)
1402	YAYAX horn played in KUSYUT dance	ya:yaχ
1403	YUM shy, embarrassed, ashamed	yum
1404	YUMALCW sour	yum-alx <sup>w</sup>
1405	✓YUP move over, make room for	✓yup
1406	YUP'ALCW arrive at point of land	yup'-alx <sup>w</sup>
1407	YUYUCW bracelet	yu:yux <sup>w</sup>

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139 Poplar Drive  
 Conklin, AB T0P 1H1  
 hanknater@gmail.com