Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary II

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At the 4th ICSC (Victoria 1969) I presented 157 PS etymologies; a slightly expanded version of that paper was published in Linguu 26 (1970) pp. 46-72. The number of reasonably certain (or, in a few cases, just possible) PS roots has now more than doubled. The additions, and also some revisions, are listed below.

The original reconstructions were numbered. The additional items are given numbers so as to fit in between, e.g., nos. (3.1), (3.2), etc., come after the original (3) and precede (4).

Where a PS root was established in the earlier paper and my present files contain additional items from other CS and/or IS languages, I do not give these additions here, unless there are special reasons to do so. However, I list all Be items -- almost all of them due to Nater 1977 -- because of the special status of this language from the lexical point of view.

Where new or revised PS etymologies were given in Kuipers 1979 (abbreviated RPS), I just list the reconstructed item with its meaning, with a reference to the item-number in RPS, where the individual language forms can be found.

The 1969/1970 paper contained an introduction on comparative phonology. Several at that time problematic questions have now (in my opinion) been cleared up (see Kuipers 1979). These points are the following: (1) IS *-n' correspond to CS *-m'. (2) Southern IS r goes back to *j in darkened (retracted) roots, and *j was a positional variant of *i. (3) There existed in (early?) PS a velar (and plain) -- uvular (and darkened/retracted) alternation which had a symbolic value (cf. Quechua, Basque, etc.). (4) PS *i1 was devoted to i under certain conditions in the development of the separate languages.

The reconstruction of the PS vowels remains in part problematic, but separate retracted vowels *a/*u and ( provisionally ) *a/*u must be posited. There are clear indications that PS a *u *i were, if not phonologically identical with, then at least etymologically related to PS h *w *r (for a comparable situation in Heiltsuk cf. Lincoln and Rath 1980). An ablaut a/u (and g/y) seems to be old, though details and function are not clear at present. As to an ablaut a/i, I maintain it in reconstructions if individual languages point both ways, but as several of these employ i-forms of roots with another or no vowel in quite disparate functions (plurality, diminutiveness, verbs of damage or loss) the PS status of this qualitative ablaut is doubtful.
A deviating initial in "breathe' p$; light' Cr p& 'light in weight'.

5.5 p a c 'm to knock, rap, drum. See RPS no. 35.

4. p a u; p u b, p u a x to blow, swell. It is safest to start from a two-consonantal root (as attested in Sh pew-t Ka pju Cr pig’) which allowed different extensions. Here may also belong Ch paw ‘light in weight’, spawpaw ‘lungs’ Cv pow light’ Cr piw ‘light in weight’.

4.1 s-p y u (?) bird. Be spyu 'suklet’ - Li spyu? Sh spyu? and possibly Ch piy ‘chickenshark’.

4.2 p u a m to darken by holding in smoke; smoke-color. Sq pa’am ‘darken (a paddle) by holding it in smoke (so that it will not frighten away the fish)’ - Li pum-un ‘to smoke a skin’ Sh V pum, pum ‘to smoke (a hide), smoke-color’ Ch pum ‘brown, buckskin’ Ka pum ‘brown’. An alternative to ablaut is borrowing on the part of Sq from a dialect where p> a.

5. p a c hemp, string (fix with string, sew). Be pac ‘to pierce’ deviates in both form and meaning and is better kept apart.

5.1 p u s lungs, heart. Be pups ‘lungs’ Ch spus id. - Sh pus-am ‘heart’. A deviating initial in Ch spwus ‘heart’ Ka spwus ‘heart, mind’ Cr ic-pu’s ‘desire, heart’ (cf. 1.4, 3.4). Possible inversion in Sh sup ‘breathe’, sup-m ‘to breathe’.

5.2 p a s q ‘p a s a q to be crushed, crumpled. Se paq ‘at’ to crush, tr.’ -- Cr pasq ‘crumple, collapse’, pasq ‘bone breaks’. A connection with Sq V posk ‘be squeezed’ is possible.

5.3 p u a smoke, fog, steam. Se puk ‘to smoke (tobacco)’ Sq pokam ‘to smoke (of fire)’ Mu spakom ‘smoke’ -- Sh puk ‘smoke; dust whirling up; Sh spu’t ‘fog, steam’.

5.4 p i a l to lie flattened out. See RPS no. 38.

5.5 p i l to overflow. Replaces the original item 8. The full vowel in Ld pil ‘high tide, flood’ is probably secondary. Add Ch pirmoc ‘spread (of water)’.

5.6 p a l a n (?) tree bark. Ch p’yan Se polam/polam Sq jol? -- Th p’yan ‘rough bark’ Sh polen Ch p’lan. Add Ch pa’lin. Cf. 75.8 below.

6. p y y, p i h, p i ? t i c to squeeze, press (grab, push). Here, as in no. 4, it is possible to start from a two-consonantal root with a resonant as C2. Cf also Sh p’us-m ‘to freeze’ and add Ch puy ‘to squeeze’.

7.1 p a e bobcat. Ld paeb -- Ch pols/pols. An unexplained 1 in Sq spla-

8. m a n k excrements. Be smk -- Sh smek Ch menok Ka miec.

12.6 s m i k fish, salmon. Be smk Ch mk ‘summer, springtime’, malik-m ‘turn to spring or summer’ -- Ka smalk ‘salmon’ Cr smilli id. Cf. also Be tam ‘summer, spring salmon’, s-mik ‘sockeye salmon’ (for the initial cf. 17.2, 64.5).

12.9 m a l to cure (by shaman). See RPS no. 39.

13. m u l to dip, sink, flood. Add Be mul-m ‘to dive’.

13.1 s m e k to wrap up, collect into a whole; complete. Ch malk-‘i ‘wrap up’ -- Sh malk-‘qm ‘collect into a whole’ Cr melik ‘be whole, intact, complete’. Cf. also Ch malk ‘round (pole), melik-‘a’ ‘bracelet’.

13.2 m o k w (u ?) to wrap, cover.Sq mawu ‘be wrapped’, mawu-‘u-n ‘wrap, cover’, tr., makw-on ‘blanket in which the dead are wrapped’ -- Sh t-makw-‘en-m ‘tuck in one’s blanket’.

13.3 s m y a w (?) feline, coyote. Ld s-byaw(?) ‘coyote’ -- Li sh smyew ‘lynx’ Ch snyew ‘coyote’ Fi sk’tisamikjy ‘cougar, big cat’ Cr snyew ‘coyote’.

13.4 m a g s n nose. Be mazaxa Sq mazan Se masawn Sq Ch masan -- Ch masan.

15. m a s a q-a heron, crane. Add Be maq’anc ‘one of heron’s names’ Ch
15.1  *mì xì* black bear. Cs sq *mì xì* -- *mì xì*.

16.1  *tì m* to pound. Ld *tì m* 'hit (as with a rock)' -- Li Sh *tì m*.
17.1  *tì m* close relation (friend, relative, husband). Be *k’*tì m* 'husband', s-mat-t’s-smat-t’ix 'friend' (inversion) Sq *k’*tì m* 'husband' -- Li *k’tì m* 'husband'. Sh *tì m* 'friend', s-t-m’-t’s-t-m’-t’s-t’m (Deadman's Creek) 'in-laws' Cs 9-s-k-t’s-t’m-qn 'relative' Cr s-t’m-’i*gil’s id.

17.2  *tì m* dead, dream. Be *’atmun’atmun 'to die', be dead! Ch *’atmun 'die' -- Sh *tì m* 'to get a dream-vision', s-t-m’-t’s-t’m ‘dream' Cs t’m-t’s-t’m ‘corpse' Ka t’m-t’s-t’m ‘dead'. For initial *’a* in Be Ch cf. 12.6, 64.5.

18.1  *xà* pet, stroke. Cs t’s-à-t Sq t’s-à-an -- Ka tec. Deviating cons. in Cs k-t’m-’i*gil’s.

19.20  *tì y*a* to extend (untie, unwrap; stretch, fathom). See RPS no. 40.
21.21  *tì x*’ kil (game). Ch tì x*’-n 'kill (in hunting)', tì x*’*-n 'hunter, killer' -- Sh tì x’*-č ‘make a kill (in hunting)', tì x*’-č-č ‘to slaughter'.
22.22  *tì x*’-(a ?)-č-č tongue. Cz tì x*’č Ch tì x’č -- Li tì x’č Sh tì x’č-č Ka tì x’č-č Cr tì x’č-č. The cons. x*’-č-č recur in Sq s-č-č-č and maq-álč-č ‘tongue'. Be tì x’č is one of several examples of delabialization in this language.
23.24  *tì x*’-č-č straight, just, settled. Sq tì x’č ‘settled' Ld tì x’č ‘just' -- Li Sh V’lux ‘right, straight, correct!' Ka *tì x’č ‘straight'.

22.25  tì w-n-m i x man, friend. Se s-t’m-č-č ‘man’ -- Cr s-t’m-č ‘friend' (used by Coyote and Fox only).

23.23  *tì w* I buy. Se taw-i Sh tì w-č Os Ld tì w-- *tì w-an ‘to sell stg. to sb.’: Sh tì w- č ‘buy' Ch tì w- id. Ka tì w ‘buy, sell' Cr tì w- ‘buy', tèg ‘buy, sell'. Forms with x*’ in Ch tì w-č ‘easy’ and Li tì w*x’ ‘buy’, cf. further Li tì w*nx’an ‘to give more to sb.' Sh tì x’ ‘to add to (provisions, food on plate, firewood, etc.)' Cr tì x*’ ‘add to a store!' 24.24  *tì w* II (small and) growing up. Sq s-taw*-x*’-č ‘child' -- Li tiw* ‘boy, young man' Sh tw*t ‘grow up' tì w*t ‘child’ Ch tw*t ‘boy’ Ka tì w*t ‘little', i-taw*-č ‘young, unmarried man’ Cr tiw* ‘tity, young boy'.
25.25  *tì w*y* to stoop, go across. Sq tì w*y* ‘go across (water)' Ld tujil ‘bend over (forward), look down' Ch tiw* ‘ford, cross a river' (inversion) -- Sh tì w*y* ‘to stoop, bend over', s-t*y* ‘bent over'.
26.25  *tì y* to cut, chop. Ch tì y* ‘cut (meat, etc.)' shows that the i in the Sh form is probably secondary (verb of demolishing).
23.21  *tì m* to suck. Be tì m, V’utn- Cs tì m-č (inversion) -- Sh tì m-č ‘eat sh*’usm or other foamy food', tì m-nt ‘get leeches’ Ka tì m Cr tì m ‘smirk, mouth in sucking position'.
25.22  *tì m* in fur, animal hair, feathers. Ld tì b*’id ‘fur, animal hair' Ch tì m ‘wool, fur' Sh tì m ‘feathers, fur, animal hair'.
40. c w/a I cold. See RPS no. 42.
40.1 c w/a shiny, oily, wet. Sq čel's 'be shiny' Ld čółčalkayuš 'chickadee'
Ch čolam 'kingfisher' -- Sh čis-am 'to eat oil' sqel's 'Oregon grape' člas 'kingfisher'
tk-čš-t 'soaking wet'. For the semantics cf. 52.3.
40.2 c w/a shadow, shade (shelter, outline, similar). See RPS no. 41.
40.3 c w/a fir or pine, cone, acorn, nut. Sq čičin 'hazelnut', ščičinka 'fir cone'
Ov ščičem 'hazelnut' -- Sh čiči 'edible acorn', s-čök-qiaš 'fire or pine cone' Ch čėččel id. Ka ščičin/sčičin/sčičen 'pine-cone'. Though only Ch and Sh have
the regular developments, the reconstruction is fairly safe. Add Li ščinka 'p.c.'.
42. c u q' suck. Probably an extension of an originally two-consonantal
root also present in 38.1. Cf. Be čuç-čul-it 'to make a dental click'.
43. c i/k prickly, stinging; to burn, fry. Be čiči 'to burn stg.' Sq čičči 'stinging nettle' Ch čičči id. Ld čičči 'to fry' -- Li čiččlap 'stinging nettle'
Sh čičči 'prickly' ščiččelap 'type of juniper' čiččča 'a small thistle' Ch na-
ččim 'to fry'.
43. c c t in rattlesnake. See RPS no. 7.
43.3 c a t/w I wash. See RPS no. 52.
43.4 c a t/w II reach for stg. See RPS no. 53.
43.5 c a w to cut. Ch čawčč, čučč 'cut off' -- Sh čaw- 'to cut meat', possibly also Li s-cuč-q 'hindleg of deer' Sh s-cuč-xen 'thigh, hindquarter' Cr s-cuč-
čen 'foot (of slaughtered animal)'
44. c w a n (w) sockeye salmon. Ld čwadžč, sčwad -- Li čwam 'wind-
dried salmon' Ch ščwam. Cf. also Li čwamčm čkanagan people' Sh s-(c)čwamčid. id.
44.2 s a h to hit, whip. Be šp Se sāp-čt, šočt -- Sh s(a)p. Ka šp. Sh here
has sometimes a in nonautonomous positions, pointing to an original full vowel.
46.1 s t i k (7 s-w t i k) winter, north. Be 'to cut' Winter. Sq sūčč 'Squamish wind (cold north wind)' -- Li sūčč 'winter' Sh s'istik id. Ka *istik id.
Cr sēkč id. The labialized final cons. in Cr may reflect metathesis of w/w in the
original form.
48.1 s u k ' to be blown, float with current. Be V suk 'to blow, being blown' --
Sh šukč-t 'get blown away' Cr šuk 'float with current'.
48.2 s u kčam cedar-bark. Possibly Be škč, Všik 'to undo, peel' (where i
would have to be secondary); Se šukčam 'outer bark of the red cedar' Sq šukčam 'cedar bark' Ld šukčob 'cedar bark still on tree; to remove inner c.b.' -- Ch
šukčam 'cedar'. Possibly connected with 50.2.
48.3 s i x 'to leak, pour, spill. Be sx 'to leak' -- Sh 6ix 'to leak'
Sh nasix 'fill with solid', six 'to scatter' Ka six 'to pour, spill a liquid'
Cr six 'pour solid objects or liquid's'.
50. s a q ' to split, crack. Only the form with a should be retained, as Sh
has generalised i in verbs of demolishing, etc.).
'to pass stg. through a hole', 'to strip off, take off (clothing)'; leave, abandon. Cx lâwâ 'to leave behind, tr.' Se lâw-t id. Sq lu-lâc-a 'to undress' Ld lâk-lâc(a)? 'take off clothes' -- Li Sh lâw- 'abandon sb. (Sh also stg.).', t-lâw-lâq-a 'to strip off bark'. An extended form in Cx Se lâk-p 'to peel off'. Possibly connected with Cx yîlgya 'inner cedar bark' Se s-lâw-ny 'inner part of red cedar bark' Sq s-lâw-ny? 'cedar bark' Cx s-lâw-a 'inner cedar bark' in which case we have another 1-1 doublet here. See also 64.10.

60.3 làw matting, raft. Sq s-lâw?In 'a type of mat', lâwîlq 'big raft' Cx sîwâw 'bedmat' Ld s-lâq?In 'pallet, mat, mattress' -- Li s-lâw-lâq 'raft' Sh s-lâw-lâq id.

65. This comparison is weak and should be abandoned.

64.1 làw a cold (object); numb. Ld lâx w 'cold (thing)' -- Li lâx?P 'paralyzed' Sh lâx? 'to be numb' Ch lâx?P dead (pl.).

64.2 làw x grown up, old. Cx lâkayay 'old' Se lânâ 'getting old' -- Sh làk-t 'tall', sâkxôm 'grown up person' Ch làk 'grow up', làkâkx 'old men'.

64.3 làw hard (substance). See RPS no. 10.

64.4 làw to want, desire; dear. Sq lài? 'dear, etc.', sài? 'desire', àni 'to wish for' -- Sh tyx-n 'to wish, desire' -- Ch tâxi? 'to wish'.

64.5 làw? / làw? (river-) canoe. Be sâkà 'canoe' (for the initial cf. 12.6 and 17.2) Cx làk?y 'shovel nose river-canoe' (G 675) Ld làk?/liy? id. -- Li làkè Sh tye Ch àkya Ka àkya? Cr têde.

64.6 làw / à to look for, be after. Ch làk?-sta?x? 'look for a horse' Kâli?ini 'fish for salmon' -- Sh ?à 'to look for' Ch làk'sa?m id. Ka àkè? 'to look around, look for'.

64.7 làp to bend down; skew. Be yîlìp 'to return, fold, bend' Sq yîsâp 'warped, skew' -- Sh lâp? 'to bend down (esp. branches)'.

64.8 làp slim. See RPS no. 50.

64.9 làp x mind, intelligence, clear, bright, light. Be mî-làk-ìk 'clear water' Ld làk 'to remember' làk 'to be light' -- Th yàksi? 'smart' Li yâkx, lek, làk 'clear, intelligent', làk-xìx 'to remember' Sh làx? mind, intelligence, knowledge', èk-ìx 'sober' Ch èkq?jâyàx id. Cx èkq?al- (daylight) Ka èk? id. Cr èkè 'be clear, bright, light', èkè 'redhot'. In IS, words for 'finger' and 'toe' are based on this (or a homophonous) root; here CS has forms with initial n instead of l.

64.10 làx?a q to peel off. See RPS no. 51.

64.11 làx?a loose, free. See RPS no. 11.

64.12 làx? to thaw, open up (of ice). See RPS no. 14. Sh làx? 'melt,

thaw (of snow only)' furnishes another of the rare examples of initial l besides 1 (RPS nos. 50, 51).

65.1 kàm to carry (on the back). Sq xam-xam 'to carry (a basket, obj.) on one's back' -- Ch kàm?kàm 'take, carry (pl. obj.)'.

65.1 kàm a xw? (type of) salmon. Ld s-châdâkx 'salmon' Cx s-châmonax id. Sq s-chàx 'fish (generic)' -- Sh kàx 'kokanee salmon'. Note the similarity of the final part of this word and that of 44.1.

65.2 kàm give; kàm be released (come off or apart, fall). Be kàm 'to fall' Ch xàl 'give' -- Sh Vâk (secondarily also kàl) 'come off or apart, be released', cf. also s-kì-ekst-m 'rain' Cr àl 'give'.


71. Combined with 71.2

71.2 kày grandmother, kàxi mother, elder sister. See I no. 71. The unextended root in Be kikya Ld kàyi? (?), kìypà, kàya? Ch kày -- Sh kàyi? Cr kàyi? all meaning 'grandmother'.

72.2 kàs three. Se chälas Ch èk?ily -- Li kàlës Ch kàlës Cx kàlas CV kàlas Ka kàlas CV kàlas Cr èk?ilës.

72.3 kàm to bite, to grab a handful. Sq èk?ami 'bite' -- Sh és-m 'to get a handful (e.g. of berries)' Ch èk?am 'grab a handful'. Semantically cf. Russ. kus 'piece' kusar 'bite' and Eng. 'a bit'.

72.4 kàm a m a (m a ?) conifer needles. Sq èk?am 'fir needles' Ch èk?âmë Sh èk?ämë 'conifer needles' -- Li Sh èkëme 'conifer needles on ground' Ch èk?ämë 'pine needles' Cr èk?ämë id.

72.5 kàm a m a almost, near, only. See RPS no. 43.

72.6 kàm a rain, to rain. Sh sà ?id. -- Sh s-kàt 'a drop', koła? 'to drip'.

75.1 àk àlu? maggot, mite. Add Ch èkàlu? 'tick, dog louse' Li àkàlu? 'm.'.

75.1 àkà cut, rip (esp. skin). See RPS no. 44. Poss. connected with 73.2.

75.2 àkà l? (a p) hoe. Hl slôkîyëp/slôkîyëp (G 556) Ch mèILLA? -- Th sàkëp Li nèkëp Sh sàkëp Ka sèkëlëp. Some of these forms are prob. borrowings.

75.3 àkà (a y) treebark. Be klak 'bark of western birch' -- Sh kàx? 'thin bark' Cx klìëx? 'bark of tree' Cr èkè 'bark'. Cs 73.1 and 5.6.

75.6 àkà cold (season). Be kày 'snow' -- Sh Vâkx, kày 'cold (season)'. Ch sàkà? 'autumn' Cx èkà 'shade', sàkà? 'the fall' Cr èkà 'be shadowy' Cr èkà 'shade'.

78.1 kài (a a) w eel. Hl (Ck) — kài (G 556) -- Li kài (Ck) sàkëwà. kàu 'take. Be kàn 'to take' Cx kànàt 'hold or carry in hands or arms'. Se kànàt 'take' Cx kànàt 'to hold', s-kànàt 'on captive' Ld kàd 'to catch, get, take' Ch kànèa- 'hold, take' -- Th kànè- 'take' Sh Vâk 'to go and get, take hold of, catch' Cx kànàt 'carry, take (obj. sg.)' Ck'sàm 'get stg.' Ka kàn 'to
take (one obj.) Cr k zien 'take hold of one small object'.
80. k u l borrow (lend). See RPS no. 45.
80.1 k u l warm, hot. Be k i 'hot' -- Li s-k 'sunshine' Sh c-kel 'warmed up', k al- 'to bake' Cr. k el 'be hot, sunny, warm'.
81. See 107.1.
81.1 s-k y a ? child, offspring. Cx Ch y -- Th sh gze? Li sh gze? Sh sk gye.
82. k i i flea, bedbug. Ld q it 'flea' -- Sh k i i 'bedbug', k st f 'flea' Cb k f 'bedbugs'. Ld q it 'flea' Cr s-kut-kit-up 'flea'.
83. k a l stomach, belly. Be k la id. Cx k a wa id. Se k a la 'belly' -- Cb c-t-k al-t 'food'.
84. k i skin, feather, quill (porcupine). Add Be s kull 'quill of porcupine' Ld k altd 'fish skin', k al? 'skin, hide'.
85.1 (s) k uy mother, aunt. Ld s-kuy 'mother' Ch k uy 'mother', k uy a? 'daughter? (address form) -- Sh k uy 'aunt (parent's brother's wife)' Cb s-kuy 'man's mother' Ka sh u id.
86. x-m-an was good or evil spirit; enemy. Be x-mas 'life spirit', everywhere else only the meaning 'enemy' is found. Add Li x-men Cb x-ma Cx x-ma.
For the suffix in Be and Sh see Kuipers 1776 p. 614.
87.1 x a i to be stretched out, to stand (one long object) Cr s et 'one long object projects'.
88.2 x i See 24.2 i x.
89.1 x u c to put in, stick in. Ld s c -- Sh xc.
89.4 x a n to lie flat. Ch x a n 'lie on back' -- Sh k xn 'lie spread out; cover' Cr x a n 'one flat object lies'.
89.5 x a i to scorch, bake. Ld s x a i 'scorch' -- Sh x a i 'to bake bread in an open fire'.
89.6 x a l to hang spread out. Se s a l-at 'to hang, tr.' -- Sh x a l-m 'partition off by hanging up a mat, curtain, etc.' Ch na-x-nan-at 'wall-mat' Cr x a 'one hangs'. Poss. connected with PIS xipl 'steeple'.
89.7 x a l to bite, gnaw, chew, cut. Be x a l 'to gnaw at a bone' -- Sh x a l 'to bite' Ka x a l 'to chop, cut with axe' Cr x a l 'chop, split'.
90. x w a l trail, door. See RPS no. 46.
90.1 x u p (redup.) a type of owl. Ld x u p-shaq 'unidentified owl' -- Sh x u p-xap 'screech-owl'. Cf? Ch x u p-xap 'flying squirrel'.
90.2 x a i to break, cut. Ld x a i 'to break (a rigid object) -- Sh x a i 'to cut (up), to cut out (e.g., a pattern)', c-x a i-x a i 'cut up, wounded' Ka x a i 'to whittle'. Cf?, with a uvular initial Sh x a i 'to crack'.
90.3 x a l to clean, sweep, smooth. Se x a l-at 'to smooth, sandpaper' Sh x a l 'to clean, smooth'.
90.4 x u k to pull. Sq x a k-n 'pull, drag' Li x a k-un 'to drag stg.' Sh s-t-x a k-m 'pull out (nail, feather)' (besides x a k-m 'pull out of a pile'). Unglottalized also Cb x a k-m 'pull out (pl. nails, teeth)' Ka x a k 'to pull out'.
91. Combined with 125.4.
92. q a m to nurse, sq a m woman's breast (milk). Cf? Be sq a 'chest'.
93. q a m to hear. See 92. q a m. Li q a m Sh q a m Cb q a m (man).
94.1 q a n/u/s x a throat, gullet. Se x a n 'throat' Sq x a m 'throat, (front part of) neck'Sq x a m 'to starve' -- Li q a n 'front part of neck, throat' x a m 'throat'. Note that IS has x and 'state I' of the triconsonantal root.
94.2 q a l to (a) awake, be awake. Ld q a l 'to awake' -- Sh q a l 'to wake up. sq a l 'wake up' Li q a l 'be awake', q i l 'wake up'.
95.1 q a m to swallow. Ka a after a u/ a in. Cb q a m Cx q a m 'swallow'.
96.1 q a m to hoist up; fishhook, (deriv.) swing. Add Ch q a m 'fishhook' (pl. q a m-wé) -- Sh q a m 'to angle, q i t 'fishhook' Cb q a m 'id. and possibly Cb q a m 'to go up incline'.
97. q a c intertwin, braid, weave, (embrace, strangle). Add Ch forms, which cause difficulties: q a c, q a c 'braid of hair', q a c 'braid of hair'. Cf. the Be case in 3.3.
90.1 x a l (an obstruction), gage (as bullet). Sq n q a l 'be in the way, be hit', n q a l 'run into, strike (an obstacle) accidentally, tr.', n q a l 'hit, tr.' -- Sh V q a l 'gage (as bullet)' . Note: RPS no. 47 as Sq n q a l 'be hit' quoted there is an error.
90.2 q a n tr. to steam-cook. Be q a n Sh q a n -- Li q a n Sh q a n 'to barbecue (meat, fish)'.
91. sq a m witchery. Add Sh sq a m 'put a spell on sb.'
92. q a m to stay; remain stuck, stuck in, be wedged into. Sq q a m 'to get caught, remain stuck (as arrow in tree)' -- Li Sh V a m 'stick into', Sh also 'add to' Cb a m 'stick to, stick on, literal'.
93. q a l 'clean, sweep'. Nater (1977) cites Be x a k, V a k 'to bathe' Sh q a m id., but these stand semantically apart, cf. Cb x a k-m 'swim'.
94.1 x a k to pull. Sh x a k-m 'pull, drag' Li x a k-un 'to drag stg.' Sh s-t-x a k-m 'pull out (nail, feather)' (besides x a k-m 'pull out of a pile'). Unglottalized also Cb x a k-m 'pull out (pl. nails, teeth)' Ka x a k 'to pull out'.
95. Combined with 125.4.
92.1 q a m soft, lukewarm, gentle. Be sq a m 'soft' Hl s-q a m 'quieter water, died down a little', sq a m 'calm water, quiet water' (G 104) -- Sq a m 'lukewarm, cooled off, gentle (person)'.
99.1 q a m to nurse, sq a m woman's breast (milk). Cf? Be sq a 'chest'.
93. q a m to hear. See 92. q a m. Li q a m Sh q a m Cb q a m (man).
94.1 q a n/u/s x a throat, gullet. Se x a n 'throat' Sq x a m 'throat, (front part of) neck'Sq x a m 'to starve' -- Li q a n 'front part of neck, throat' x a m 'throat'. Note that IS has x and 'state I' of the triconsonantal root.
94.2 q a l to (a) awake, be awake. Ld q a l 'to awake' -- Sh q a l 'to wake up. sq a l 'wake up' Li q a l 'be awake', q i l 'wake up'.
95.1 q a m to swallow. Ka a after a u/ a in. Cb q a m Cx q a m 'swallow'.
96.1 q a m to hoist up; fishhook, (deriv.) swing. Add Ch q a m 'fishhook' (pl. q a m-wé) -- Sh q a m 'to angle, q i t 'fishhook' Cb q a m 'id. and possibly Cb q a m 'to go up incline'.
97. q a c intertwin, braid, weave, (embrace, strangle). Add Ch forms, which cause difficulties: q a c, q a c 'braid of hair', q a c 'braid of hair'. Cf. the Be case in 3.3.
103.2 q"v/k" um, lump, heap. Sq V'k'am', k'am(?) 'protuberance, lump' Hl sq'a'm'cu/sq'a'm' ['lump'] (G 380) -- Li q'yam-on 'to pile up' Sh c-q'am 'piled up; hill' V'q'am 'lump'.

105.1 s-q'u u bee, wasp. Be sq'u1 id. -- Sh sq'u2 'wasp, yellowjacket' Ka sq'u1 id.

107.1 q"v/k" wq' green, yellow, sorrel, (deriv.) alder. See RPS no. 31.

107.2 q"v/k" 1 (1) edible tuber, bulb. Le q'âo7âo(?) Sam q'iâo(?) Sq q'iâo(?) So q'o7âo? All meaning 'camas' -- Li q'iâwéye 'onions' Sh q'iâwle 'wild onion' Cr q'iâwilil 'onion'. Cf also Ka q'oâl 'cook the camas or other food by fire underground' and Sq q'iâ's-ân 'boil (food)', tr., In any case this term can be added to the group given in Kuipers 1979 sect. 3.

107.3 q"v/a blue, green. Ow c-q'ay 'green' -- Li q'oq'eqz 'blue' Sh V'q'ey, q'iy 'blue' Ch q'iy id. Ka q'ai 'blue, green'. Cf also Cr q'ai 'be livid, bluish, angry', q'in 'be blue'.

108. q"v/a y-p (redup.) (young or female) deer. The interior glottalization in the Sh form suggests a root *q'ay* followed by the suffix *-up-a- *tail*. The root may be that of no. 115, but notice the different stress-treatment.

109. d'q um (hair on) head; skull. Add Be q'umíq 'skull'.

113.1 q"v/a1 to scourch, burn black. Sq q'ay-at 'to fire' a canoe' -- Cr q'âl 'be black from burning'. See comments to no. 116.

113.2 q"v/a to smoke (of fire). Ch sq'uâx'mtin 'it is smoking' -- Sq q'ôx- 'to smoke skins', sq'vä 'smoke'.

116. q"v/a black. The first Sq form in I is semantically closer to the Cr form given in 113. Possibly we have to do with a Ps 1-y doublt, with subsequent semantic specialization. Add Be V'q'ay 'to blacken', sq'âalk 'ashes' Cr q'âygas 'charcoal' Se sq'âywas id., q'âyiq ap 'ashes' -- Li q'ezan 'to blacken', sq'âzuck 'charcoal' Sh (sq'ây)q/q'âyqu id.

116.1 S x/a to chew, crunch, gnaw. Sq zëq'ân 'chew up (so that the object cracks)' Hl zëq'âm 'make a crunching or cracking noise (like ice breaking, chewing apples)' (G 277) -- Sh zëp 'to chew, crunch, gnaw' Cr zëp 'gnaw to destroy (as beaver, mouse, squirrel)'. The reconstruction is not strong because the irregular Sq form has besides it zëp 'to split, break, crack'.

121.1 S x/a k to want. Cx zâk Se zâk 'what one wants' Ld zâk -- Sh zët-min 'to be hungry for meat'. Be x 'to make a mistake' could belong here (via a notion 'deficiency'), as in English. Add Se s-zâk-ît 'difficult', zâkâj 'wild (animal), unsociable, shy' and Cx zâkâit 'difficult', which bring us a little closer to the Be meaning, though admittedly not much.

121.2 S i l thus, like, similar. See RPS no. 48.

121.1 S x/k teach, remember; mind. Se xak-t 'consider, tr.' Sq xâkac 'remember' Ld xâk 'mind, thought', sôk 'teachings, lessons' -- Li zâk-s 'figure

122.2 S i k to scratch. Sh xïk-män -- Sh xïk-t 'sound made by dry snow when stepped on'.

122.3 x o q to envelop, wedge in. Ld xq 'wrap around' -- Sh xq- 'to put in between, wedge in'.

122.4 x a ? (redup.) sacred, impressive, smart, violent, etc. Sq xoax- 'mythical creator' Ow xoax- 'holly' Ld xoaxa? 'great' Ch xoax- 'sacred' -- Sh xoax- 'impressive, smart, powerful; difficult; extreme' Ch xoaxa? 'smart, intelligent' Possibly connected with this root are the following two series:

(1) Sq sa?x 'parent- or child-in-law' Ld xoaxa? 'in-law' -- Li xoaxk 'parents-in-law' Sh xoaxâe? 'father-in-law (of m. or w.)' Ch xoaxa?Ka? id. Ka xoaxa? kot? id. (of m.) Cr nasxâax id. (of m.);

(2) the items mentioned under I no. 123, to which add Cx xoax?at 'respect a dead person and his relatives' Se xoax?m 'to be forbidden to have contact with sb.' -- Li xoax?en 'to forbid, prevent stg.'

125.1 x/$u (redup.) hummingbird. Be xux'm -- Sh xux'ne Ka ikxux'one.

125.2 s-x/âx i k-a y (?) mountain goat. Ld s'xikay/(sx'ikay) -- Li s'xiké? Ke sh sx'ikay Ka sx'ix?i Cr sx'uti?;

125.3 s-x/a to grind, rasp, snore. Be x'âu 'to scratch, rasp, file' Sq S'x'kâq 'to snore' -- Li Sh S'x'kâq 'to grind, sharpen' Cr S'x'q 'ground meal'.

125.4 x o x, x z u 1 to whistle. See I no. 91 and RPS no. 16.

125.5 x/a to disappear, be gone, lost. See RPS no. 20.

125.6 s-x/a y y/u/a fly, maggots, worm, ant. See RPS no. 19, to which add Ld k'ex'ayu 'fly' Sh sx'axent 'woooorm' Cb sx'iyâo 'worm sp.' Ka sx'iyâe 'ant' and poss. Cr sx'enej 'ant, rice'.

126.2 S y/a p put up (as pole); tree. See RPS no. 54.

126.3 S i s to shrink. See RPS no. 1.

126.4 s/i 1 to growl. See RPS no. 2.

126.5 s/i 1 to be lost, lose (contest). See RPS no. 3.

126.6 s/i a 1 to cut with scissors. See RPS no. 4.

126.7 s/i a 1 shiny, bright; to burn. See RPS nos. 5, 33, 34.

126.8 s/i a 7 cougar. See RPS no. 32.

127.1 x/a y to quiet down. Sh hay-aw-at 'to console, tr.' Sq hayáñ 'to pacify a child, tr.' -- Sh x'ey 'to quiet down, become calm, give up'. Curiously, this looks like an ablat counterpar of *hay in I no. 127.

127.2 s(h)a y s-s to play. Sh hiyas-ôn 'to play (as children)', s-iyas-ôn 'to play, play games, play with toys, make fun, ridicule; entertain, perform (as dancers) -- Th séy? Li séye sh séye 'to play (as children)' Th and Li (but not Sh) have created reduplicative formations here.
128. haw/ harel to roll round. No form *hyr need be posited.

132.1 wnak a berry species. Ld *swna? 'mountain blueberry' -- Sh

wna? 'huckleberry' Cr *swom?/swu? id.

133.1 wal to tilt. Se w6l 'to capsize' HL towle 'be tilted' (G 323)

-- Li swel 'titled' CB w6l id., Cr g?el 'tilt'.

134. wy/ to undo, remove, take apart. Open. This item is doubtful be-

cause Sq wiq- 'force open' can just as well be connected with Cr *swa? 'uncover

pit cover'. In this case we would have a root *w6l with an extension q, cf. Th

n-wal-qin 'open (a box)'.

135.1 yumak spring salmon. Ld y?be 'Li z?mek.

135.2 y a? to descend, go home. Ch y6l i 'go home' -- Sh ye6l-6x 'to des-

cend, pl.', ye6-6x-6lx 'to move from highland to river, pl.'

135.3 wy/ to burn. Sq yu 'to burn' -- Cr yar 'be torch'.

135.4 syalt watertight basket. Ld syalt 'watertight basket made of

roots' -- Sh syelt 'plate', yelt-m 'put plates on table'.

135.5 y6x to descend (drop, fall). Se yo6x 'rockslide' -- Sh do6x

'descend', yu?e 'waterfall', c-x-yu?-6x 'to fall off (horse, wagon), sg.' CB

nayx6m 'to go downstream'. Cf. 149.3.

136.1 y6x2 'rotten (wood). Se syay-a? s?ya 'rotten tree (s?ya)' -- Sh

y?ay 'rotten' Cr do6x 'wood is rotten'.

136.2 y6x to grind. See RPS no. 6.

137. Eliminate item.

137.1 ya? to be fed up. Cx ?aw-igan 'be at a loss what to do; be fed up

with what one does' -- Li je6v-t 'be fed up' Sh ye6v-id., ye6v-6x-t 'be fed up,
bothered; nuisance'.

147.1 ?us to dive. Ld ?us -- Sh ?ust, w?us Ka ?ust Cr us-6lx.

148.1 ?a? (redupl.) magpie. Hl ?x61/6x1 (G 119) Ld ?ad Ch ?ana-

?ana -- Sh s'-6(a)?a?6nene.

148.2 ? us (w) to be/say what? Cx Se Sq ?ina-t 'say what?' Sq ?ina, ?in-

(indef. substitute) 'the one, the other' Ch ?ini- 'do, say', ??um 'what did (you)
say?' -- Li ?inewt 'say what?' Sh ?inewt id., ?inews 'say what to sb. (obj.)'
Cr inewt 'be who, what'.

149.1 ?a? to be alive, active, move the body. Sq *ay-max 'be alive' Cw

he? 'live' -- Li Sh *el-kst 'to work' Cr el 'move body'. Se *ay/iy 'to be alive'
has irregularly y instead of l, which weakens the reconstruction.

149.2 ?i/a 6lk kinnikinnick berry; Indian rice. Be *il?k 'Indian rice' --

Sh ?e6lk 'kinnikinnick berry' Cr 6lx id., 6lx-6l-6xw 'bush of id.' (Gr. 616).

149.3 s-a?xw (sand-, rock-, snow-)slide. Sq s?axw -- Li exw-t 'to slide

(rocks, snow)'. Sh s?ex-e!

151. ?i/a 6x to shave, rub, pass net through water. Add Li ?exw-c-i

'to shave oneself' Ch ?a?6-s-m id., and poss. Ch ?a?6 'brush, clean'.

152.1 ?i/a 6x to throw (away). Ld ?x6 'to throw away' Ch ?a?6 'throw

(away)' -- Li s—6x 11 'junk, leavings (e.g., chips when making a basket)',

?exw-6x 'to spawn' Sh ?exw-mm-s 'to throw' ?exw-6x 'to spawn'.


155. ?a?w to follow. Add Be ?aww 'to follow' Ch ?aw-t- 'behind'. The ele-
m?ent -it given in I is suffixal.

Footnotes

1) The format of the present paper differs from that of its predecessor 
on the following points. (1) Abbreviations of language names are as in the author's
"On Reconstructing the Proto-Salish Sound System", 14th ICSL (Bellingham 1979; to
The symbols λ, λ, λ are replaced by λ, λ, e. (3) To the references add the addi-
tional ones given in Kuipers 1979 mentioned in (1) above, and Lincoln, N.J., Rath,
J.C., North Wakashan Comparative Root List (Ottawa 1980). (4) References to HL
items from Gallaway 1977 are given with "O" and page number, to Kuipers 1979 with
"RPS" and item number.

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possible.

2) Where roots occur with retracted vowels, I give these in the recon-
structed forms. The actual occurrence of nonretracted forms is partly due to
language-specific innovations and partly to the existence of doublets in PS, in
the same way as with the uvular and velar consonants (cf. RPS no. 36).