

Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary II

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At the 4th ICSL (Victoria 1969) I presented 157 PS etymologies; a slightly expanded version of that paper was published in Lingua 26 (1970) pp. 46-72.<sup>1</sup> 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  $\text{ɣ}$   $\text{ɣ}^w$  correspond to CS  $\text{ɣ}$   $\text{ɣ}^w$ . (2) Southern IS r goes back to \* $\text{ɣ}$  in darkened (retracted) roots, and \* $\text{ɣ}$  was a positional variant of \*1. (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 \*1 was devoiced to  $\text{ɣ}$  under certain conditions in the development of the separate languages.

The reconstruction of the PS vowels remains in part problematic, but separate retracted vowels \* $\text{a}$  \* $\text{u}$  and (provisionally) \* $\text{q}$  must be posited.<sup>2</sup> There are clear indications that PS a  $\text{a}$  u  $\text{u}$  i were, if not phonologically identical with, then at least etymologically related to PS h  $\text{ɣ}$  w  $\text{ɣ}^w$  y (for a comparable situation in Heiltsuk cf. Lincoln and Rath 1980). An ablaut a/u (and  $\text{a}/\text{u}$ ) 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.

Etymologies

0.1 pat to boil. Be nu-pa-pnt -- Sh pətətét Ka \*pat. For n-infixation in Be cf. Nater 1977 p. 5 (see also nos. 12, 12.5 below). Sh e does not continue PS \* $\text{a}$  but represents a secondarily retracted \* $\text{i}$ , cf. the reduplication type mlxəxix 'to kick about' ( $\text{V}^-$  mlx),  $\text{xəpəpíp}$  'to make a crunching sound; to flutter (as willow grouse)' ( $\text{V}^-$  xəp).

0.2 pit to notice, think. Ld pit(əb) 'to notice, pay attention, understand', pt-ídəg<sup>h</sup>əseb 'to think, memory, mind' -- Sh pt-ínəs-m 'to think (of)'.

0.3 put right, exact, very. Ld put 'very, very likely, much, often, soon', possibly Ch put-ínp 'middle of the floor -inp' -- Sh put 'just, exactly, really' Cb put 'fit, just, only' Ka put 'just, exactly the measure'.

1.1 pac a (?) digging stick. Tw pace (Drachmann 1969 p. 137) -- Li péce? Sh péce Cb páca? Cr píce?.

1.2 pan time, period. Se s-pónwul Sq tpánu 'next year', k<sup>w</sup>i tpánu 'last year' Ld pad-áb 'period, time' Sh  $\text{V}^-$ pen 'time, period' Cb pantk 'always', pańká? 'when?' Ka pən(tə)č 'year' Cr s-pintč id.

1.3 pun to be in the soil, be buried. Cx pónáš 'to bury, plant, tr.', pan? 'planter' Se pən-áš 'to plant, bury, tr.' Sq pən-t 'to bury, tr.' Hl pil-t id., s-pəl-éwəl 'mole' (G 556) -- Sh pún-ləx<sup>w</sup> 'mole' (suff. -ləx<sup>w</sup> 'land, soil') Cb pulya? 'gopher' Cr pulye 'gopher', pulya-hal 'mole'.

1.4 puł to come, to come to an end. Be puł 'to come' -- Sh puł-m 'to emerge from the wood, come out of the bush' Ka púləm 'arrive at the end of stg. (e.g. of the wood, where the prairie begins)'. A deviating initial in Cr puł 'come to end (as river, road, woods)' (cf. 3.4 and 5.1).

2. pəi thick. Add Be pīt.

3. pi/a l to scatter, smudge. See RPS no. 37. It is possible that Cr par 'be white with powder' also belongs here; this would be another example of parallel forms with r < \*1 on the one hand and i on the other hand within Cr itself. Cf? also Cb accpai 'puddle', k-páicis 'tears'.

3.1 s-pal-mn muscle, calf of leg. Ld spálbəd 'calf of leg' -- Sh spálm id. Cb spármən 'muscle'.

3.2 s-pəlq penis. Ch spəlq -- Li spəlq Sh spelq. Ch has a suffix -lq with the same meaning, but Eastern Sh plq-a-cút 'to masturbate' leaves s- as the nominalizer. (Add Cb spəlq).

3.3 pi/a q white. Cx pəpəq Se pəq-ím -- Th <sup>?</sup>astpíq Li pəq, pe?q 'white-hot' Sh  $\text{V}^-$ piq, peq Cr peq 'white, bleached, silver', paq 'be made white' Cb pa?q 'faded', besides which payq 'white' and pəq 'grey' (cf. Sh  $\text{V}^-$ pef faded, empty); the latter two forms cause problems, as does the different but similar item no. 9. Cf. 99.

3.4 pa q<sup>w</sup> to scatter; powder. Be  $\text{V}^-$  p<sup>w</sup>q 'fine, loose, powdery' Sq páq<sup>w</sup>-an

'to scatter (feathers, seeds, etc.)', p<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup>-us-m 'to powder one's face' -- Sh p<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup>- 'to load (a gun)', (n-)p<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup>-mín 'gunpowder' Ka p<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup> 'to scatter (objects as dust, tobacco, powder, etc.)'. A deviating initial in Cb nap<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup> 'pour dry substances', np<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup>-mín 'gunpowder' Cr p<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup> 'powder' (cf. 1.4, 5.1). The status of Cx p<sup>á</sup>w<sup>á</sup>im (also p<sup>á</sup>w<sup>á</sup>?im) 'dust is flying' is unclear.

3.5 p<sup>á</sup> ə ʃ/w to knock, rap, drum. See RPS no. 35.

4. p<sup>á</sup> a w; p<sup>á</sup> u h, p<sup>á</sup> u/a x<sup>w</sup> to blow, swell. It is safest to start from a two-consonantal root (as attested in Sh pew-t Ka péu Cr pig<sup>w</sup>) which allowed different extensions. Here may also belong Cb pa<sup>w</sup> 'light in weight', sp<sup>á</sup>wpa<sup>w</sup> 'lungs' Cv pa<sup>w</sup> pi<sup>w</sup> 'light' Cr pi<sup>w</sup> 'light in weight'.

4.1 s - p y u (?) bird. Be spyu 'auklet' -- Li sp<sup>á</sup>zúe? Sh spyu? and possibly Cb piyá 'chickenhawk'.

4.2 p<sup>á</sup> u/a m to darken by holding in smoke; smoke-color. Sq p<sup>á</sup>m-án? 'darken (a paddle) by holding it in smoke (so that it will not frighten away the fish)' -- Li p<sup>á</sup>m-un 'to smoke a skin' Sh V<sup>á</sup>p<sup>á</sup>m, p<sup>á</sup>m 'to smoke (a hide), smoke-color' Cb p<sup>á</sup>m 'brown, buckskin' Ka p<sup>á</sup>m 'brown'. An alternative to ablaut is borrowing on the part of Sq from a dialect where \*u > a.

5. p<sup>á</sup> a c<sup>w</sup> hemp, string (fix with string, sew). Be pa<sup>c</sup> 'to pierce' deviates in both form and meaning and is better kept apart.

5.1 p<sup>á</sup> u s lungs, heart. Be ?usp<sup>á</sup>s 'lungs' Ch sp<sup>á</sup>s id. -- Sh p<sup>á</sup>s-mn 'heart'. A deviating initial in Cb scpu?s 'heart' Ka spu<sup>á</sup>s 'heart, mind' Cr ic-pu?s 'desire, heart' (cf. 1.4, 3.4). Possible inversion in Sh sup<sup>á</sup> 'breath', sup<sup>á</sup>-m 'to breathe'.

5.2 p<sup>á</sup> ə s q<sup>w</sup>-/p<sup>á</sup> ə s a q<sup>w</sup>- to be crushed, crumpled. Se p<sup>á</sup>s<sup>á</sup>-át 'to crush, tr.' -- Cr pus<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup> 'crumple, collapse', p<sup>á</sup>saq<sup>w</sup> 'bone breaks'. A connection with Sq V<sup>á</sup> p<sup>á</sup>sk<sup>w</sup> 'be squeezed' is possible.

5.3 p<sup>á</sup> u k<sup>w</sup> smoke, fog, steam. Se pa<sup>k</sup>m 'to smoke (tobacco)' Sq p<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>am 'to smoke (of fire)' Ms sp<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>am? 'smoke' -- Li pu<sup>á</sup> 'smoke; dust whirling up' Sh sp<sup>á</sup>ut 'fog, steam'.

5.4 p<sup>á</sup> j/a l to lie flattened out. See RPS no. 38.

5.5 p<sup>á</sup> ə l to overflow. Replaces the original item 8. The full vowel in Ld p<sup>á</sup>il 'high tide, flood' is probably secondary. Add Cb p<sup>á</sup>rmənct 'spread (of water)'.

5.6 p<sup>á</sup> a l a n (?) treebark. Cx p<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>yan Se p<sup>á</sup>lán/p<sup>á</sup>lán Sq p<sup>á</sup>li? -- Th p<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>yan 'rough bark' Sh p<sup>á</sup>lén Cb p<sup>á</sup>lán. Add Ch p<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>ln?. Cf. 73.3 below.

6. p<sup>á</sup> ə y; p<sup>á</sup> i h, p<sup>á</sup> i ?; p<sup>á</sup> i c<sup>w</sup> to squeeze, press (grab, push). Here, as in no. 4, it is possible to start from a two-consonantal root with a resonant as C<sub>2</sub>. Cf? also Sh p<sup>á</sup>y-us-m 'to frown' and add Cb pi<sup>á</sup>yn 'to squeeze'.

7.1 p<sup>á</sup> k ə m bobcat. Ld p<sup>á</sup>čəb -- Cb p<sup>á</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m/p<sup>á</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m. An unexplained l in Sq sp<sup>á</sup>la-

čm, a slightly deviating form and meaning in Cr p<sup>á</sup>čən 'lynx'.

9. p<sup>á</sup> a q<sup>w</sup> bright, white. Cf. 3.3.

10.1 p<sup>á</sup> u ? to fart. Be spu -- Li pu? Sh s-pu? Cb spu?, pu?m. A deviating initial in Se pu? (cf. also Se p<sup>á</sup>čx 'to fart' vs. Cx p<sup>á</sup>čx id.).

10.2 m u/a t u s kidney. Ch m<sup>á</sup>ts (m<sup>á</sup>ts-i 'his kidneys') -- Li m<sup>á</sup>łos-ánk-tən Sh mt-mt-ús Cb m<sup>á</sup>t<sup>á</sup>š Cr m<sup>á</sup>t<sup>á</sup>s.

12. m a c u i pus. Add Be m<sup>á</sup>č-ta (cf. 0.1 and 12.5) Cb m<sup>á</sup>č<sup>á</sup>t. A deviating C<sub>2</sub> in Sg n<sup>á</sup>čəč 'to be suppurating, full of pus'. Possible inversion in Sh s-x-čm<sup>á</sup>-ós 'matter in eye' Cr s-č<sup>á</sup>m-č<sup>á</sup>m<sup>á</sup>t 'boil'.

12.1 m u s I four. Sg n<sup>á</sup>s Ld bus -- Sh Ka Cr mus Cb m<sup>á</sup>səs.

12.2 m u s II to feel, touch. Be mus -- Sh mus- Cb m<sup>á</sup>sn Cr mus 'fumble, feel about'.

12.3 m n a k excrements. Be mnk -- Sh mnk Cb m<sup>á</sup>nək Ka m<sup>á</sup>nč.

12.4 s-m a n x/x<sup>w</sup> (to smoke) tobacco. Be milix<sup>w</sup> 'kimmikinnick berry' (leaves were dried and smoked) Sg sm<sup>á</sup>nəš 'cigarette, tobacco' Ld s-b<sup>á</sup>dəš id. -- Sh s-menx Cb sm<sup>á</sup>n<sup>w</sup> Ka m<sup>á</sup>n<sup>w</sup> 'to smoke' Cr mi<sup>á</sup>y<sup>w</sup> 'smoke tobacco'. The similarity between the Be and Cr forms (1 and x<sup>w</sup>) is striking; for another parallel see 24.1. and 27.1.

12.5 m a i to rest. Be m<sup>á</sup>i-imut -- Li Sh m<sup>á</sup>i- Cb m<sup>á</sup>i- Ka m<sup>á</sup>i Cr mi. For the n in the Be form cf. 0.1 and 12.

12.6 s-m i i k fish, salmon. Be smik Ch m<sup>á</sup>ič 'summer, springtime', m<sup>á</sup>ič-m 'turn to spring or summer' -- Ka sm<sup>á</sup>ič 'salmon' Cr sm<sup>á</sup>ič id. Cf. also Be ?am<sup>á</sup> 'summer, spring salmon', s-am<sup>á</sup> 'sockeye salmon' (for the initial cf. 17.2, 64.5).

12.7 m a k to mix, stir. Ch m<sup>á</sup>á-a -- Sh m<sup>á</sup>t- Cb ni<sup>á</sup>m<sup>á</sup>. Add Li m<sup>á</sup>á.

12.8 m a l to be aimless, lost. Se m<sup>á</sup>/al-m<sup>á</sup>l-aw 'be lost, wandering around' Sq may 'forget', mi<sup>á</sup>m<sup>á</sup>? 'get lost, lose one's way' Hl m<sup>á</sup>l<sup>á</sup>m<sup>á</sup>l 'blunder, make a mistake' (G 106), m<sup>á</sup>m<sup>á</sup>l<sup>á</sup>c 'mixed up' (G 114) -- Sh t-m<sup>á</sup>l-m<sup>á</sup>l-kst 'unable to control the movements of one's hands' Cr mi<sup>á</sup> 'be aimless'.

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 m ə l k<sup>w</sup> to wrap up, collect into a whole; complete. Ch m<sup>á</sup>l<sup>w</sup>-i 'wrap up' -- Sh ml<sup>w</sup>-um 'collect into a whole' Cr mel<sup>w</sup> 'be whole, intact, complete'. Cf? also Cb m<sup>á</sup>l<sup>w</sup> 'round (pole)', m<sup>á</sup>l<sup>w</sup>-ál<sup>w</sup> 'bracelet'.

13.2 m ə k<sup>w</sup> (u ?) to wrap, cover. Sq m<sup>á</sup>k<sup>w</sup>u? 'be wrapped', m<sup>á</sup>k<sup>w</sup>u?-n 'wrap, cover, tr.', m<sup>á</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-tn 'blanket in which the dead are wrapped' -- Sh t-m<sup>á</sup>k<sup>w</sup>?-én-m 'tuck in one's blanket'.

13.3 s-m y a w (?) feline, coyote. Ld s-byaw(?) 'coyote' -- Li Sh sm<sup>á</sup>y<sup>w</sup> 'lynx' Cb sm<sup>á</sup>y<sup>w</sup> 'coyote' Fl sk<sup>w</sup>tis-miyé 'cougar, any big cat' Cr sm<sup>á</sup>y<sup>w</sup> 'coyote'.

13.4 m ə q s n nose. Be m<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>sa Cx m<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>sn Se m<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>sn Sq Cw m<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>sn -- Cb m<sup>á</sup>á<sup>w</sup>sn.

15. s-m ə q<sup>w</sup>-a ? heron, crane. Add Be ma<sup>á</sup>q<sup>w</sup>anc 'one of heron's names' Cb

- 15.1 m i ʃ a i black bear. Cx Sq m i ʃ a i -- Cb m i ʃ a i.
- 16.1 t u p to pound. Ld tup Ch təpmi 'hit (as with a rock)' -- Li Sh tup-.
- 17.1 t a m close relation (friend, relative, husband). Be k<sup>w</sup>umc 'husband', s-mat-mx/s-mat-ix 'friend' (inversion) Sq k<sup>w</sup>tams 'husband' -- Li k<sup>w</sup>temc 'husband' Sh s-təmət 'friend', s-tm-təmət-(t)n (Deadman's Creek) 'in-laws' Cb s-k-tam-qn 'relative' Cr s-tem-īlg<sup>w</sup>es id.
- 17.2 t u m n dead, dream. Be ?atma/?atmn- 'to die, be dead' Ch ?atmn 'die' -- Sh tumn 'to get a dream-vision', s-tm-tumn 'dream' Cb təmtəmnāy 'corpse' Ka təmtəmnē?i id. Cr tum 'corpse, dead'. For initial ?a- in Be Ch cf. 12.6, 64.5.
- 18.1 t a c to pet, stroke. Cx tās-at Se təc-at Sq təc-an? -- Ka tec. Deviating cons. in Cb k-təc-ləx<sup>w</sup>-n.
- 18.2 t i n x sinew. Ch tinš -- Sh tinš Ka tinš Cr tinč.
- 19.-20. t u / a l to extend (untie, unwrap; stretch, fathom). See RPS no. 40.
- 21.1 t i x<sup>w</sup> kill (game). Ch tix<sup>w</sup>-n 'kill (in hunting)', tix<sup>w</sup>ən-mš 'hunter, killer' -- Sh tix<sup>w</sup>-ce 'make a kill (in hunting)', təx<sup>w</sup>ce-sqēxe? 'to slaughter'.
- 21.2 t i x<sup>w</sup>-(a ?-)c- tongue. Cw təx<sup>w</sup>çəi Ch tix<sup>w</sup>ci -- Li təx<sup>w</sup>cái Sh tix<sup>w</sup>e?ck Ka tix<sup>w</sup>cč Cr tix<sup>w</sup>cč. The cons. x<sup>w</sup>-c-i recur in Sq -álx<sup>w</sup>caí and məq-álx<sup>w</sup>caí 'tongue'. Be tixca is one of several examples of delabialization in this language.
- 22.1 t ə ʃ<sup>w</sup> straight, just, settled. Sq təʃ<sup>w</sup> 'settled' Ld tuʃ<sup>w</sup> 'just' -- Li Sh V<sup>w</sup>tuʃ<sup>w</sup> 'right, straight, correct' Ka \*toʃ<sup>w</sup> 'straight'.
- 22.2 s-t ə w-m i x man, friend. Se s-túmiš 'man' -- Cr s-tumš 'friend' (used by Coyote and Fox only).
- 22.3 t a w I buy. Se taw-iš Sg tək<sup>w</sup>əs Ld tag<sup>w</sup> -- Li tēw-ən 'to sell stg. to sb.' Sh tēw- 'buy' Cb tawn id. Ka téu 'buy, sell' Cr tag<sup>w</sup> 'buy', teg<sup>w</sup> 'buy, sell'. Forms with x<sup>w</sup> in Ch táx<sup>w</sup>iway- 'sell' and Li təx<sup>w</sup>-p 'buy', cf. further Li təx<sup>w</sup>ən 'to give more to sb.' Sh tx<sup>w</sup>- 'to add to (provisions, food on plate, firewood, etc.)' Cr tex<sup>w</sup> 'add to a store'
- 22.4 t a w II (small and) growing up. Sq s-taw?-x<sup>w</sup>i 'child' -- Li tūw<sup>w</sup>t 'boy, young man' Sh twit 'grow up' twiwt 'child' Cb twit 'boy' Ka tēw 'little', i-tətəw<sup>w</sup>t 'young, unmarried man' Cr titw<sup>w</sup>t 'youth, young boy'.
- 22.5 t u y to stoop, go across. Sq tuy 'go across (water)' Ld tujil 'bend over (forward), look down' Ch tiwt 'ford, cross a river' (inversion) -- Sh tuy-lx 'to stoop, bend over', s-tuy 'bent over'
23. t ə m to cut, chop. Cb təmm 'cut (meat, etc.)' shows that the i in the Sh form is probably secondary (verb of demolishing).
- 23.1 t u m suck. Be tum, V<sup>w</sup>ut<sup>w</sup>- Cx tūm-ut Ch mūti- (inversion) -- Sh tum 'eat s<sup>w</sup>usm or other foamy food', tum-nt-m 'get leeches' Ka tēm Cr tum 'smirk, mouth in sucking position'.
- 23.2 t a m i n fur, animal hair, feathers. Ld tábid 'fur, animal hair' Ch támin Qn támin id. -- Li lémin 'wool, fur' Sh tēm 'feathers, fur, animal hair'.

- 24.1 t ə k<sup>w</sup> to bleed. Be tk<sup>w</sup> -- Cr tek<sup>w</sup>-s. Cf. 12.4, 27.1.
- 24.2 t a x / x a t to ladle. Sq šát-an, šát-tn 'a ladle' -- Sh tēx- 'to take food out of a container', s(ə)-tēx-imm 'a ladle'.
- 25.1 t ə q<sup>w</sup>/k<sup>w</sup> to explode. See RPS no. 23.
- 25.2 t ə q<sup>w</sup> to bathe, swim. Be nu-təx<sup>w</sup>-m 'to bathe' -- Sh tēq<sup>w</sup>-ésxn-m 'to tread water' (Canim Lake), 'to swim' (Deadman's Creek).
- 25.3 t a q<sup>w</sup> to lick. Be taa<sup>w</sup> Ch Cz tēq<sup>w</sup>- -- Sh tēq<sup>w</sup>- Cb tēq<sup>w</sup>ən.
27. t i ʃ to open up, branch out. Discard the Sh item, which belongs under 64.2.
- 27.1 c i x p s / c i p s x fisher (zool.). Be cipsx -- Cr cišps. The words show an interchange of cons., and the original form cannot be established exactly. Perhaps \*cixps deserves a slight preference, as the word could then have contained the suffix -ps 'tail'. Cf. also 12.4, 24.1.
- 30.1 c k a i p rib. Be ckíp -- Cb ckaíp.
31. c ə k<sup>w</sup>, c ə k<sup>w</sup> pull. Add Be ck<sup>w</sup>-m 'to pull stg. out'.
- 31.1 c ə k<sup>w</sup> straight(en), right. Be cak<sup>w</sup> 'straight' Se cak<sup>w</sup>-aw 'straightened out' Ms sçəçík<sup>w</sup> Ld cək<sup>w</sup> 'straight, right' -- Sh cək<sup>w</sup>-ck<sup>w</sup>-én-m 'to get better, recover, do better'. Possible inversion, but with a deviating cons., Cb k<sup>w</sup>ac 'recover, get well'.
33. c i q to stab, dig. Add Be ciiš, V<sup>w</sup>ciiq 'to dig' Cx síqit id. Se cíqit id.
- 34.-35. c a y blood, c i ʃ<sup>w</sup> bleed, c i / a q<sup>w</sup> red, bleed. Sq scáci'n Cw scéçiy-ən 'blood' exhibit the two-consonantal root. For \*ciʃ<sup>w</sup> cf. RPS no. 8. The IS forms of I 35 do not belong here, nor does Sq s-cəx<sup>w</sup>-m (misrecording for scəx<sup>w</sup>m). Add Ch Cz caq<sup>w</sup>- 'paint', Cz s-cáq<sup>w</sup>-us-m 'red face-powder'.
36. c ə w, c u (-t, -i, -n) point, show (behavior), say, order, think, intend, want, try. For the additional extension cf. Sh cui- 'to point'. Add Ch cún 'tell, say, order' Cz co- 'plan, think, have an idea'.
- 38.1 ç u / a m suck, kiss, s-ç u / a m bone. Be çum- 'to kiss' Cw sçam? 'bone' Lm So scóm? 'bone' San sçam? Sg scəm? Cl scúm? id. Ch çami- 'suckle' -- Th scém 'small bone, esp. fish bone' Li scém 'bone', n-çum-qs-ən 'to kiss' Sh çm-em 'to suck', çum-qs-m 'to kiss', scém 'fishbone' Cb çəməm 'to suck', çuməm, kī-çm-ús-m 'to kiss', s-çəm 'bone' Cv scím id. Ka scóm id. Cr scám id. Cf. 42 below.
- 38.2 ç ə s to hit. So Lu nəx<sup>w</sup>-çs-ós-təŋ, etc., 'get hit in face' -- Li çes 'to bump against stg.' Sh s-cəs-çes-lólse 'hail' (see further RPS no. 36). A mutilated form in Se çəlúšn 'it hails'. Semantically cf. German Niederschlag.
- 38.3 ç ə l to stand. Ch çəláp 'stand up' -- Sh V<sup>w</sup>çl 'to stand (up)' Ka çil 'to stand (of long objects)' Cr çel 'one stands', çel 'pl. long objects project, stand up'.

40. c u/a l cold. See RPS no. 42.
- 40.1 č a l shiny, oily, wet. Sq čəls 'be shiny' Ld čəlčəlkáyus 'chickadee' Ch čələm 'kingfisher' -- Sh čls-am 'to oil' scəls 'Oregon grape' člas 'kingfisher' tk-člas-t 'soaking wet'. For the semantics cf. 52.3.
- 40.2 č i/a l shadow, shade (shelter, outline, similar). See RPS no. 41.
- 40.3 č i k fir- or pine-cone, acorn, nut. Sq čičn 'hazelnut', sčičimu 'fir cone' Cw sčicəm 'hazel(nut)' -- Sh s-čik 'edible acorn', s-čok-qín 'fir or pine cone' Cb scčəkəl id. Ka sčiče?/scčiče?/scčiče? 'pine-cone'. Though only Cb and Sh have the regular developments, the reconstruction is fairly safe. Add Li scək 'p.c.'.
42. č u q suck. Probably an extension of an originally two-consonantal root also present in 38.1. Cf. Be ču-čuu-lit 'to make a dental click'.
- 43.1 č i x prickly, stinging; to burn, fry. Be čix 'to burn stg.' Sq čəxčix 'stinging nettle' Cw čəxčəx id. Ld čix(i) 'to fry' -- Li čəxməip 'stinging nettle' Sh čəxčix 'prickly' sčəxməip 'type of juniper' cixčəx 'a small thistle' Cb na-čixm 'to fry'.
- 43.2 č ř t i n rattlesnake. See RPS no. 7.
- 43.3 č a ř w/w I wash. See RPS no. 52.
- 43.4 č a ř w/w II reach for stg. See RPS no. 53.
- 43.5 č ə w to cut. Ch čawəč-, čuč- 'cut off' -- Sh čiw- 'to cut meat', possibly also Li s-čuw-q 'hindleg of deer' Sh s-čw-xen 'thigh, hindquarter' Cr s-čw?-šən 'foot (of slaughtered animal)'
- 44.1 č w a n (x<sup>w</sup>) sockeye salmon. Ld čəwədx<sup>w</sup>, scəwəd -- Li scwen 'wind-dried salmon' Cb scwən. Cf. also Li scwənemx Okanagon people' Sh s-(c)əcwənemx id.
- 44.2 s a p to hit, whip. Be sp Se səp-at, səp-t -- Sh s(ə)p- Ka sp. Sh here has sometimes ə in nonautomatic positions, pointing to an original full vowel.
- 46.1 s u t i k (? s-w t i k) winter, north. Be sutk 'winter' Sq sutič 'Squamish wind (cold north wind)' -- Li sutič 'winter' Sh sʔistk id. Ka \*istč id. Cr sitk id. The labialized final cons. in Cr may reflect metathesis of u/w in the original form.
- 48.1 s u k to be blown, float with current. Be V suk<sup>w</sup> 'to blow, be blowing' -- Sh suk<sup>w</sup>-t 'get blown away' Cr suk<sup>w</sup> 'float with current'.
- 48.2 s ú k a m cedar(-bark). Possibly Be sk<sup>w</sup>, V-sik<sup>w</sup> 'to undo, peel' (where i would have to be secondary); Se súk<sup>w</sup>am 'outer bark of the red cedar' Sq súk<sup>w</sup>am 'cedar bark' Ld súk<sup>w</sup>əb 'cedar bark still on tree; to remove inner c.b.' -- Cb sək<sup>w</sup>əm 'cedar'. Possibly connected with 50.2.
- 48.3 s i x to leak, pour, spill. Be sx<sup>w</sup> 'to leak' -- Sh six<sup>w</sup>- 'to spill' Cb nasix<sup>w</sup>n 'fill with solid', six<sup>w</sup>n 'to scatter' Ka six<sup>w</sup> 'to pour, spill a liquid' Cr six<sup>w</sup> 'pour solid objects or liquids'.
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.).

- 50.1 s a q to fly or jump up, s ə s ə q quail, grouse. Be sq<sup>w</sup> 'to fly, jump' Se saq<sup>w</sup> 'to fly up' Ld saq<sup>w</sup> 'to fly', səsəq<sup>w</sup> 'quail' Ti tac-saq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>i 'I jumped' -- Li saq<sup>w</sup> 'to fly' Sh səsəq<sup>w</sup> 'blue grouse' Cb səsəq<sup>w</sup> id.
- 50.2 s u q to skin. Be suq<sup>w</sup> -- Sh x-suq<sup>w</sup>-m 'to skin a small furry animal'. Cf? Ka soqomē 'rump'. See also 48.2
- 51.1 s ə ř w/w to flow, leak. See RPS nos. 9 and 25.
- 52.1 s ə y friend, relative, s i ? parent's sibling, s i l grandparent. See I nos. 45 and 48. Add Sq syay? 'friend', siʔa? 'sweetheart' -- Sh si 'friend' səsi 'sweetheart' sise? 'uncle (mother's brother)' (in Dog Creek br. of female only, besides siʔse br. of male).
- 52.2 s-n a ? m shaman power. Sq snaʔm Ld tx<sup>w</sup>-dáʔab -- Sh sneʔm (Kamloops).
- 52.3 n u/a s marrow, oil; wet. Se nəš-t 'blow one's nose with the hand' Sq Vnəs 'oil' Cw s-nas 'fat', s-nəs-šən 'marrow' Sg nas 'to be fat', snas 'fat, grease, oil, cold cream' Ch nus- 'to dampen' -- Li nəš-nús 'damp', nís-qs-əm 'to blow one's nose' Sh san-sn 'matter, pus', <sup>(inversion)</sup>CV nas 'wet' s-nʔas 'snot' Ka Sp Cr nas 'wet' Ka nos 'to be snotty', sənos 'snot' Cr s-nos id.
- 53.1 n i k to cut. Be Vnik Tw ʔasə-déč 'grazed, scratched' (D 54) -- Li Sh ník- Ka Cr nič.
- 54.1 i i/a p to blink. Sq iíipm 'to blink (of lights), iíipm-ayus 'to blink one's eyes' Ld iəp 'blink' -- Sh iəp-s-m 'blink one's eyes'.
55. i i (-t, -n) to sprinkle. Correct the Sh form to read in-.
- 56.1 i u m eat soup. Sq ium?, s-ium? 'soup' Ch iumó-, s-ióʔm 'meat soup' -- Li ium Sh s-iúm-ik<sup>w</sup>e 'soup' Cb s-ium-k<sup>w</sup> id.
- 56.2 i a t to jump, hop, skip. Se iət-iq<sup>w</sup>úyšn 'to stumble' -- Sh iət-p-úyē 'a fillip on the forehead' Cb iətp 'bounce', etc., Ka iətp 'to jump' Cr iət 'one jumps', iit 'pl. jump off of, out of'.
- 56.3 i i k to be cut, severed. Be ik 'to pull off, pry up' Sq iič 'be cut' -- Cr iēc 'string breaks'.
- 58.1 i u/a x to wear, draw on. Se iux<sup>w</sup>-ači 'gloves' -- Li iəx<sup>w</sup>ən 'to dress sb.' Sh V iux<sup>w</sup> 'hang up, draw on, slip on' Cb iəx<sup>w</sup> 'hang up', iəx<sup>w</sup>pəya 'dress, shirt' Cr iəx<sup>w</sup> 'wear, draw on', iəx<sup>w</sup> 'draw together, slip on', s-iux<sup>w</sup>-čt 'glove'.
- 59.1 s-i i q flesh, meat. Cx iiq<sup>w</sup> '(fish-?)meat' Se s i i q<sup>w</sup> 'flesh, meat' Sq s i i q<sup>w</sup> 'flesh' Cw s i i q<sup>w</sup> 'meat' -- Cv i i q<sup>w</sup> 'meat'
- 59.2 i u/a q/w/k to lap up, lick, bail. Cx iəq<sup>w</sup>at 'lick, tr.', iúk<sup>w</sup>ut 'bail, tr.' Se iúk<sup>w</sup>ut id. -----> -- Li iúk<sup>w</sup>un 'to bail water', ióq<sup>w</sup>un 'to scoop up, serve stg.' Sh V iúq<sup>w</sup> 'to lap or scoop up', iúq<sup>w</sup>tn 'bailer' Ka ik<sup>w</sup> 'to lap up (as dogs)'.
60. i u/a q to peel off; bald. See RPS no. 51.
- 60.1 i ə ř to pass through a hole; escape, run away. Be iř<sup>w</sup>m 'to run away' iř<sup>w</sup>t 'to pass through a hole' -- Li iəř<sup>w</sup>p 'to escape alive', iəř<sup>w</sup> 'to recover' Sh

ix<sup>w</sup> 'to pass stg. through a hole', ix<sup>w</sup>up 'to escape, get away' Ka ix<sup>w</sup>up 'to run away, escape', \*iox<sup>w</sup> hole Cr iax<sup>w</sup>p 'escape'. For the semantics cf. Sq q<sup>w</sup>a-n 'perforate' and q<sup>w</sup>a-t 'save, rescue', also Engl. 'pull through', 'get through'.

60.2 i a w to strip off, take off (clothing); leave, abandon. Cx iáwaš 'to leave behind, tr.' Se iaw-t id. Sq lu-íca?-m 'to undress' Ld iág<sup>w</sup>-íca(?) 'take off clothes' -- Li Sh iwel- 'abandon sb. (Sh also: stg.)', t-iáiw-lq<sup>w</sup>-m 'to strip off bark'. An extended form in Cx Se iúp- 'to peel off'. Possibly connected with Cx yíy<sup>w</sup>gay 'inner cedar bark' Se s-lów-ay 'inner part of red cedar bark' Sq s-lów-ay? 'cedar bark' Cw s-lów-ay 'inner cedar bark', in which case we have another 1 - i doublet here. See also 64.10.

60.3 i a w matting, raft. Sq s-iaw<sup>w</sup>ín? 'a type of mat', iáwliq<sup>w</sup> 'big raft' Cw siéwón 'bedmat' Ld s-iag<sup>w</sup>in 'pallet, mat, mattress' -- Li s-iáw-l-aq<sup>w</sup> 'raft' Sh s-iéw-lq<sup>w</sup> id.

63. This comparison is weak and should be abandoned.

64.1 á u x<sup>w</sup> cold (object); numb. Ld áux<sup>w</sup> 'cold (thing)' -- Li áex<sup>w</sup>-p 'paralyzed' Sh túx<sup>w</sup> 'to be numb' Cb áex<sup>w</sup>-p dead (pl.).

64.2 á a x<sup>w</sup> grown up, old. Cx ááxay? 'old' Se ááxax<sup>w</sup> '(getting) old' -- Sh téx-t 'tall', stáx<sup>w</sup>ém 'grownup person' Cb ááxp 'grow up', ááxááxp 'old men'.

64.3 á ə s<sup>w</sup> hard (substance). See RPS no. 10.

64.4 á ə y to want, desire; dear. Sq ái? 'dear, etc.', sáí? 'desire', áí-nit 'to wish for' -- Sh ty-nux<sup>w</sup>-m 'to want, wish, desire'.

64.5 á a y ? / á y a ? (river-) canoe. Be saáa 'canoe' (for the initial cf. 12.6 and 17.2) Ck áélé-y 'shovelnose river-canoe' (G 675) Ld áay/?álay? id. -- Li álež Sh tye? Cb áiya? Ka áiyé? Cr tede?.

64.6 á a ? to look for, be after. Ch áá?-stiq<sup>w</sup>? 'look for a horse' ááúliin 'fish for salmon' -- Sh á? 'to look for' Cb áá?áá?áá? id. Ka áe? 'to look around, look for'.

64.7 i a p to bend down; skew. Be Vlip<sup>w</sup> 'to return, fold, bend' Sq Vlap<sup>w</sup> 'warped, skew' -- Sh lép- 'to bend down (esp. branches)'

64.8 i i x slimy. See RPS no. 50.

64.9 i i/a x mind, intelligence, clear, bright, light. Be nu-lax-lx<sup>w</sup> 'clear water' Ld lax<sup>w</sup> 'to remember' ləx<sup>w</sup> 'to be light' -- Th yəxyíx<sup>w</sup> 'smart' Li Vláx<sup>w</sup>, lex<sup>w</sup>, lax<sup>w</sup> 'clear, intelligent', ləx<sup>w</sup>-lax<sup>w</sup>-s 'to remember' Sh Vléx<sup>w</sup> 'mind, intelligence, knowledge', lĭx-lĭx<sup>w</sup> 'sober' Cb xəlxəlxánx<sup>w</sup> id. Cv xšal- '(day)light' Ka xal id. Cr xel 'be clear, bright, light', xal '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 i u/a q<sup>w</sup> to peel off. See RPS no. 51.

64.11 i i s<sup>w</sup> loose, free. See RPS no. 11.

64.12 i i/a s<sup>w</sup> to thaw, open up (of ice). See RPS no. 14. Sh i?eš<sup>w</sup> 'melt,

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

65.1 k ə m to carry (on the back). Sq čm-čm?a's 'to carry (a basket, obj.) on one's back' -- Cb kəmən 'take, carry (pl. obj.)'.

67.1 k a n a x<sup>w</sup> (type of) salmon. Ld s-čədádx<sup>w</sup> 'salmon' Cl s-čánənx<sup>w</sup> id. Sg s-čə'nəx<sup>w</sup> 'fish (generic)' -- Sh kəknəx<sup>w</sup> 'kokanee salmon'. Note the similarity of the final part of this word and that of 44.1.

67.2 k a i give; k ə i be released (come off or apart, fall). Be ki 'to fall' Ch čai 'give' -- Sh Vki (secondarily also ki-) 'come off or apart, be released', cf. also s-ki-ekst-m 'rain' Cr čii 'give'.

69.1 k l a x<sup>w</sup> muskrat. Be klax<sup>w</sup> -- Li (kə)kləx<sup>w</sup> Sh skləx<sup>w</sup>e? Ka čičiləx<sup>w</sup> Cr čələx<sup>w</sup>.

71. Combined with 72.1

72.1 k ə y grandmother, k i x mother, elder sister. See I no. 71. The unextended root in Be kikyá Ld káya(?), kiyá?, káya? Ch kəy -- Sh kyé?e Cr čəčeyé? all meaning 'grandmother'.

72.2 k a ? i a s three. Se čáiás Ch čá?i -- Li kelés Sh kələs Cb ka?ias Cv ka?iis Ka če?iés Cr čii?ies.

72.3 k ə m to bite, to grab a handful. Sq čəm? 'bite' -- Sh km-ekst-m 'to get a handful (e.g. of berries)' Cb kəm- 'grab a handful'. Semantically cf. Russ. kus 'piece' kusát 'bite' and Engl. "a bit".

72.4 k a m a / u (m a ?) conifer needles. Sq čámam 'fir needles' Ch čámúma? 'conifer needles' -- Li Sh káme? 'conifer needles on ground' Cb kámama? 'pine needles' Cr ?e-čimul id.

72.5 k i / a m ə l almost, near, only. See RPS no. 43.

72.6 k ə i rain, to drip. Cx čəi 'rain' Se sčəi id. -- Sh s-kai-t 'a drop', kəikait 'to drip'.

73. k a i u ? maggot, mite. Add Ch čəčáú? 'tick, dog louse' Li kəkje? 'm'.

73.1 k ə l cut, rip (esp. skin). See RPS no. 44. Poss. connected with 73.3.

73.2 s-n-k l (-a p) coyote. Hl sləkijép/skəkijép (G 556) Ch snəčəl? -- Th snkyép Li nkyép Sh sklép Ka sənčələ(p). Some of these forms are prob. borrowings.

73.3 k l (-a y) treebark. Be klay 'bark of western birch' -- Th kzeý 'thin bark' Ka čičiləx<sup>w</sup> 'bark of tree' Cr čel 'be bark'. Cf. 73.1 and 5.6.

76.1 k a y cold (season). Be kay 'snow' -- Sh Vkiy, key 'cold (season)' Cb ská?i? 'autumn' Ka čei 'shade', sčə?ei 'the fall' Cr čid 'be shadowy' čed 'shade'.

78.1 k<sup>w</sup> u t (a) w n eel. Hl (Ck) → k<sup>w</sup>átewi (G 560) -- Li k<sup>w</sup>útwen Sh k<sup>w</sup>utwn.

79.1 k<sup>w</sup> a n take. Be k<sup>w</sup>n 'to take' Cx k<sup>w</sup>ínat 'hold or carry in hands or arms' Se k<sup>w</sup>énat 'take' Cw k<sup>w</sup>énét 'to hold', s-k<sup>w</sup>ən-k<sup>w</sup>ən 'captive' Ld k<sup>w</sup>əd 'to catch, get, take' Ch k<sup>w</sup>aná- 'hold, take' -- Th k<sup>w</sup>en- 'take' Sh V<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>en 'to go and get, take hold of, catch' Cb k<sup>w</sup>ánən 'carry, take (obj. sg.)' ck<sup>w</sup>nam 'get stg.' Ka k<sup>w</sup>en 'to

take (one obj.) Cr k<sup>v</sup>in 'take hold of one small object'.

80. k<sup>v</sup> u l borrow (lend). See RPS no. 45.

80.1 k<sup>v</sup> ə l warm, hot. Be k<sup>v</sup>l 'hot' -- Li s-k<sup>v</sup>ə<sup>l</sup> 'sunshine' Sh c-k<sup>v</sup>el 'warmed up', k<sup>v</sup>l- 'to bake' Cr. k<sup>v</sup>el 'be hot, sunny, warm'.

81. See 107.1.

81.1 s-k<sup>v</sup> ú y-a ? child, offspring. Cx čuy? -- Th sk<sup>v</sup>əze? Li sk<sup>v</sup>uze? Sh sk<sup>v</sup>uye.

82.1 k<sup>v</sup> i t̄ flea, bedbug. Ld čútəp 'flea' -- Sh k<sup>v</sup>it̄ 'bedbug', k<sup>v</sup>ət̄k<sup>v</sup>it̄p 'flea' Cb k<sup>v</sup>ət̄ak<sup>v</sup>it̄ps 'flea' Cr s-k<sup>v</sup>ut̄-k<sup>v</sup>it̄-ups 'flea'.

85.1 k<sup>v</sup> a l stomach, belly. Be k<sup>v</sup>la id. Cx k<sup>v</sup>áwa id. Se k<sup>v</sup>əla 'belly' -- Cb c-t-k<sup>v</sup>al-tn 'food'.

86. k<sup>v</sup> i l skin, feather, quill (porcupine). Add Be sk<sup>v</sup>ult 'quill of porcupine' Ld k<sup>v</sup>áltəd 'fish skin', k<sup>v</sup>əlú? 'skin, hide'.

87.1 (s-)k<sup>v</sup> u y mother, aunt. Ld s-k<sup>v</sup>uy 'mother' Ch k<sup>v</sup>uy 'mother', k<sup>v</sup>uya? 'daughter' (address form) -- Sh k<sup>v</sup>úye 'aunt (parent's brother's wife)' Cb sk<sup>v</sup>uy '(man's) mother' Ka skúii id.

88. x m-a n w a s good or evil spirit; enemy. Be xmanwas 'life spirit', everywhere else only the meaning 'enemy' is found. Add Li xmen Cb xəmān Cv xəmīn. For the suffix in Be and Sh see Kuipers 1976 p. 614.

88.1 x ə t̄ to be stretched out, project. Se šət̄ 'to be stretched out' -- Ka šit̄ 'to stand (one long object)' Cr šet̄ 'one long object projects'.

88.2 x a t̄ See 24.2 t̄ a x.

88.3 x ə c to put in, stick in. Ld šic -- Sh xc-.

88.4 x ə n to lie flat. Ch šaná's 'lie on back' -- Sh V̄xn- 'lie spread out; cover' Cb kat-xən-qín-n 'close (box)' Cr šen 'one flat object lies'.

88.5 x ə ʎ to scorch, bake. Ld šəʎ 'scorch' -- Sh xət-cín-m 'to bake bread in an open fire'.

88.6 x a l to hang spread out. Se šál-at 'to hang, tr.' -- Sh xal-m 'partition off by hanging up a mat, curtain, etc.' Cb na-xár-nk-tn 'wall-mat' Cr šar 'one hangs'. Poss. connected with PIS \*xəl 'steep'.

88.7 x i l to bite, gnaw, chop, cut. Be xil 'to gnaw at a bone' -- Sh xl- 'to bite' Ka šil 'to chop, cut with axe' Cr šel 'chop, split'.

90. x w a l trail, door. See RPS no. 46.

90.1 x<sup>v</sup> u p (redupl.) a type of owl. Ld x<sup>v</sup>úp-šəd 'unidentified owl' -- Sh s-x<sup>v</sup>úp-x<sup>v</sup>əp 'screech-owl'. Cf? Cb sx<sup>v</sup>úp<sup>v</sup>x<sup>v</sup>up 'flying squirrel'.

90.2 x<sup>v</sup> ə ʎ to break, cut. Ld x<sup>v</sup>əʎ 'to break (a rigid object)' -- Sh x<sup>v</sup>it̄- 'to cut (up), to cut out (e.g., a pattern)', c-x<sup>v</sup>ət̄-x<sup>v</sup>it̄ 'cut up, wounded' Ka x<sup>v</sup>ʎ 'to whittle'. Cf., with a uvular initial Sh x<sup>v</sup>it̄- 'to crack'.

90.3 x<sup>v</sup> a k<sup>v</sup> to clean, sweep, smoothe. Se x<sup>v</sup>ak<sup>v</sup>-at 'to smoothe, sandpaper' Sq x<sup>v</sup>ik<sup>v</sup>-in? 'to brush' -- Cb x<sup>v</sup>uk<sup>v</sup>n 'to clean, wine'. x<sup>v</sup>ik<sup>v</sup>x<sup>v</sup>uk<sup>v</sup> 'clean' Cr

x<sup>v</sup>ek<sup>v</sup> 'clean, sweep'. Nater (1977) cites Be x<sup>v</sup>uk, V̄x<sup>v</sup>luk 'to bathe' Sq šúk<sup>v</sup>um id., but these stand semantically apart, cf. Cw šəšk<sup>v</sup>əm 'swim'.

90.4 x<sup>v</sup> u k<sup>v</sup> to pull. Sq x<sup>v</sup>uk<sup>v</sup>-n 'pull, drag' Li x<sup>v</sup>uk<sup>v</sup>-un 'to drag stg.' Sh (s-)t-x<sup>v</sup>uk<sup>v</sup>-m 'pull out (nail, feather)' (besides x<sup>v</sup>uk<sup>v</sup>m 'pull out of a pile'). Unglottalized also Cb x<sup>v</sup>uk<sup>v</sup>m 'pull out (pl. nails, teeth)' Ka xuq<sup>v</sup> 'to pull out'.

91. Combined with 125.4.

92.1 q ə m soft, lukewarm, gentle. Be qmami 'soft' Hl s-qəm 'quieter water, died down a little', sqéqəm 'calm water, quiet water' (G 104) -- Sh qmqəm 'luke-warm, cooled off, gentle (person)'.

93. q a m to nurse, s-q a m woman's breast (milk). Cf? Be sqma 'chest'.

93.1 q ə n to hear. Se qanam -- Th qe?ním Li qením Sh qeqním Cb qána?(mən).

94.1 q ə n u/a x<sup>v</sup> throat, gullet. Se qənx<sup>v</sup> 'throat' Sq qənx<sup>v</sup> 'throat, (front part of) neck' Sg čī-qən?x<sup>v</sup> 'to starve' -- Li qəne? 'front part of neck', qəqək<sup>v</sup> 'uvula, salmon heart' Sh qm? 'uvula', qəqnu?, qəqne? 'fish-gullet (?)' Cb qənúx<sup>v</sup> 'throat' t-qənúx<sup>v</sup> 'hungry'.

94.2 q i i to (a)wake, be awake. Ld qəi 'to awake' -- Sh qii- 'to wake sb. up', q?ii 'awake' Ka qii 'to wake up, be awake' Cr qei 'be awake', qii 'wake up'.

94.3 q a l-m i x<sup>v</sup> person. Cx qəymix<sup>v</sup> Se sqálmix<sup>v</sup> -- Sh qlmúx<sup>v</sup> Ka sqélix<sup>v</sup> (sqálix<sup>v</sup>). Li only in sqəlməx<sup>v</sup>úlx<sup>v</sup> 'ghost, ghost-like people'.

96.1 s-q i/a x a ? dog. Se sqāxi 'male dog' Sg sqéxe? Ld sqáxa Ch qáxa? -- Li sqāxe? Sh sqéxe (and suff. -sqéxe? 'domestic animal, horse!').

96.2 q a p̄ x̄/x<sup>v</sup> - q̄ p̄ a x̄ nut. Sq qəpəx<sup>v</sup> Ld qəpəx<sup>v</sup>, qəpəx<sup>v</sup> Ch kapəx<sup>v</sup> -- Sh qəpəx<sup>v</sup> Cr qəpəx<sup>v</sup>?. Note that IS has x<sup>v</sup> and "state I" of the tricons. root.

97. q ə m to swallow. Ka a after a uvular is no evidence for PS \*a.

98. q i/a t̄ to hoist up; fishhook, (deriv.) swing. Add Ch qét 'fishhook' (pl. qitá-wmš) -- Sh qit- 'to angle', qíte 'fishhook' Cb qəqita? id. and possibly Cr qətp 'go up incline'.

99. q a c̄ intertwine, braid, weave, (embrace, strangle). Add Ch forms, which cause difficulties: qəyc̄, sqəyačtn 'braid rope', qəyc̄im̄ 'braid', qəyc̄ls 'braid of hair'. Cf. the Cb case in 3.3.

100.1- q a i hit (an obstruction), graze (as bullet). Sq n-qai 'be in the way, be hit', n-qái-nəx<sup>v</sup> 'run into, strike (an obstacle) accidentally, tr.', n-qai-s 'hit, tr.' -- Sh V̄q̄ 'graze (as bullet)'. Note: RPS no. 47 as Sq n-qai-s 'be hit' quoted there is an error.

100.2 q l-s t- to steam-cook. Be qlst Ld qəls -- Li qəlst Sh qlst-em Cb sqəlstáica? 'to barbecue (meat, fish)'.

102. q a w witch(ery). Add Sh qəw- 'put a spell on sb.'.

103.1 q ə ? to remain stuck in stg., be wedged into. Sq qəh?, qə? 'to get caught, remain stuck (as arrow in tree)' -- Li Sh V̄qə? 'stick into', Sh also 'add to' Cr q̄i? 'stick to, wedge into'

103.2 q<sup>w</sup>/k<sup>w</sup> u m lump, heap. Sq V<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>um?, k<sup>w</sup>əm(?) 'protuberance, lump' Hl sq<sup>w</sup>a<sup>w</sup>mx<sup>w</sup>/sq<sup>w</sup>a<sup>w</sup>m<sup>w</sup> 'lump' (G 380) -- Li q<sup>w</sup>əm-ən 'to pile up' Sh c-q<sup>w</sup>um 'piled up; hill', V<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>m 'lump'.

105.1 s-q<sup>w</sup> u i bee, wasp. Be sq<sup>w</sup>ui id. -- Sh sq<sup>w</sup>u?it 'wasp, yellowjacket' Ka sq<sup>w</sup>ú?ui id.

107.1 q<sup>w</sup>/k<sup>w</sup> u/a l green, yellow, sorrel, (deriv.) alder. See RPS no. 31.

107.2 q<sup>w</sup> l w (l) edible tuber, bulb. Lm q<sup>w</sup>l<sup>w</sup>o?əl(?) San q<sup>w</sup>l<sup>w</sup>á?əl(?) sg q<sup>w</sup>i-á?əl? So q<sup>w</sup>l<sup>w</sup>o?i? all meaning 'camas' -- Li q<sup>w</sup>l<sup>w</sup>éwe? 'onions' Sh q<sup>w</sup>l<sup>w</sup>éwe 'wild onion' Cr q<sup>w</sup>ulíwíłš 'onion'. Cf? also Ka q<sup>w</sup>əl 'cook the camas or other food by fire underground' and Sq q<sup>w</sup>i?s-án 'boil (food), tr.'. In any case this item can be added to the group given in Kuipers 1979 sect. 3.

107.3 q<sup>w</sup> a y blue, green. Cw c-q<sup>w</sup>ay 'green' -- Li q<sup>w</sup>əzq<sup>w</sup>éz 'blue' Sh V<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ey, q<sup>w</sup>iy 'blue' Cb q<sup>w</sup>iy id. Ka q<sup>w</sup>ai 'blue, green. Cf? also Cr q<sup>w</sup>el 'be livid, bluish, angry', q<sup>w</sup>in 'be blue'.

108. q<sup>w</sup> ə y-p a (redupl.) (young or female) deer. The interior glottalization in the Sh form suggests a root \*q<sup>w</sup>əy followed by the suffix \*-up-a? 'tail'. The root may be that of no. 115, but notice the different stress-treatment.

109. q<sup>w</sup> u m (hair on) head; skull. Add Be q<sup>w</sup>ummiq<sup>w</sup> 'skull'.

113.1 q<sup>w</sup> a l to scorch, burn black. Sq q<sup>w</sup>áy-at 'to "fire" a canoe' -- Cr q<sup>w</sup>al 'be black from burning'. See comments to no. 116.

113.2 q<sup>w</sup> a x to smoke (of fire). Ch sq<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>mitn 'it is smoking' -- Sg q<sup>w</sup>éx- 'to smoke skins', sq<sup>w</sup>éx 'smoke'.

116. q<sup>w</sup> a y black. The first Sq form in I is semantically closer to the Cr form given in 113.1. Possibly we have to do with a PS 1-y doublet, with subsequent semantic specialization. Add Be V<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ay 'to blacken', sq<sup>w</sup>alk<sup>w</sup> 'ashes' Cx q<sup>w</sup>áygas 'charcoal' Se sq<sup>w</sup>áywas id., q<sup>w</sup>ayičúp 'ashes' -- Li q<sup>w</sup>ézen 'to blacken', sq<sup>w</sup>zuck 'charcoal' Sh (sq<sup>w</sup>yick)/sq<sup>w</sup>yuck id.

116.1 x a p to chew, crunch, gnaw. Sq xəpk<sup>w</sup>án? 'chew up (so that the object cracks)' Hl xəpk<sup>w</sup>əm 'make a crunching or cracking noise (like ice breaking, chewing apples)' (G 277) -- Sh xəp- 'to chew, crunch, gnaw' Cr xip 'gnaw to destroy (as beaver, mouse, squirrel). The reconstruction is not strong because the irregular Sq form has besides it xəp 'to split, break, crack'.

121.1 x a l to want. Cx xál Se sxál 'what one wants' Ld xál -- Sh xət-mín- 'to be hungry for meat'. Be xál 'to make a mistake' could belong here (via a notion 'deficiency', as in English). Add Se s-xál-it 'difficult', xálxál 'wild (animal), unsociable, shy' and Cx xálit 'difficult', which bring us a little closer to the Be meaning, though admittedly not much.

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

122.1 x ə k teach, remember; mind. Se xəč-t 'consider, tr.' Sq xəčxəč 'remember' Ld xəč 'mind, thought', sxəč 'teachings, lessons' -- Li xək-s 'figure

122.2 x i k<sup>w</sup> to scratch. Ch sxik<sup>w</sup>máln -- Sh xik<sup>w</sup>t 'sound made by dry snow when stepped on'.

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

122.4 x a ? (redupl.) sacred, impressive, smart, violent, etc. Sq xəxə?-ənaq 'mythical creator' Cw xé?xé 'holy' Ld xá?xá? 'great' Ch xáxá? 'sacred' -- Sh xəxé? 'impressive, smart, powerful; difficult; extreme' Cb xáxa 'smart, intelligent'. Possibly connected with this root are the following two series:

(1) Sq sa?x 'parent- or child-in-law' Ld sxáxa? 'in-law' -- Li sé?xé? 'parents-in-law' Sh səxəx?e 'father-in-law (of m. or w.)' Cb ?asxá?xá? id. Ka sxá?-xé? id. (of m.) Cr nasxá?ax id. (of m.);

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

125.1 x<sup>w</sup> ə n (redupl.) hummingbird. Be x<sup>w</sup>n<sup>w</sup>nm -- Sh x<sup>w</sup>éx<sup>w</sup>ne Ka l<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>əní.

125.2 s-x<sup>w</sup>/x<sup>w</sup> i l-a y (?) mountain goat. Ld sx<sup>w</sup>ílay/(sx<sup>w</sup>ílay?) -- Li sx<sup>w</sup>ílež Sh sx<sup>w</sup>ətéy Ka sx<sup>w</sup>lé?i Cr sx<sup>w</sup>uti?.

125.3 x<sup>w</sup> u/a q<sup>w</sup> to grind, rasp, snore. Be x<sup>w</sup>uq<sup>w</sup> 'to scratch, rasp, file' Sq x<sup>w</sup>uq<sup>w</sup>n 'to snore' -- Li Sh x<sup>w</sup>uq<sup>w</sup>ləqs 'to snore' Ka x<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup> 'to grind, sharpen' Cr x<sup>w</sup>oq<sup>w</sup> 'grind meal'.

125.4 x<sup>w</sup> ə s<sup>w</sup>, x<sup>w</sup> i w, x<sup>w</sup> u l to whistle. See I no. 91 and RPS no. 16.

126. x<sup>w</sup>/x<sup>w</sup> a y to disappear, be gone, lost. See RPS no. 20.

126.1 x<sup>w</sup>/x<sup>w</sup> a y u/a fly, maggots, worm, ant. See RPS no. 19, to which add Ld x<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>ayu 'fly' Sh səx<sup>w</sup>yenst 'woodworm' Cb sx<sup>w</sup>iyáləw 'worm sp.' Ka sx<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>iyé? 'ant' and poss. Cr sux<sup>w</sup>enéy 'ant, rice'.

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

126.3 ɣ i s to shrink. See RPS no. 1.

126.4 ɣ i n to growl. See RPS no. 2.

126.5 ɣ i l to be lost, lose (contest). See RPS no. 3.

126.6 ɣ i/a l to cut with scissors. See RPS no. 4.

126.7 ɣ<sup>w</sup>/w a l shiny, bright; to burn. See RPS nos. 5, 33, 34.

126.8 ɣ<sup>w</sup>/w a ? cougar. See RPS no. 32.

127.1 h a y to quiet down. Se hay-aw-át 'to console, tr.' Sq hay<sup>w</sup>án? 'to pacify a child, tr.' -- Sh h<sup>w</sup>ey 'to quiet down, become calm, give up'. Curiously, this looks like an absent counterpart of \*huy in I no. 127.

127.2 s-(h)a y a s- to play. Sg hiyás-ən 'to play (as children), s-iyás-ən 'to play, play games, play with toys, make fun, ridicule; entertain, perform (as dancers)' -- Th séysi? Li séysež Sh séyse 'to play (as children)'. Th and Li (but not Sh) have created reduplicative formations here.

128. həyl / hya1 to roll; round. No form \*hyir need be posited.
- 132.1 wn a ǰ a berry species. Ld (s)wədəǰ 'mountain blueberry' -- Sh wneǰ 'huckleberry' Cb swənaǰ/swənaǰ id.
- 133.1 w a 1 to tilt. Se wəl 'to capsize' Hl təwələ 'be tilted' (G 323) -- Li swəl 'tilted' Sh wəl- 'to tilt' Cb wáln id. Cr g'wəl 'tilt'.
134. w i/a q̣ to undo, remove, take apart, open. This item is doubtful because Sq wíq- 'force open' can just as well be connected with Cr g'w'alq̣ 'uncover pit cover'. In this case we would have a root \*wəl with an extension q̣, cf. Th n-wəl-q̣ín-s 'open (a box)'.  
135.1 y u m a k spring salmon. Ld yúbəč -- Li zúmek.  
135.2 y a ǰ to descend, go home. Ch yaǰ-i 'go home' -- Sh yét-lx 'to descend, pl.', yǰ-lx-elx 'to move from highland to river, pl.'.  
135.3 y u/a 1 to burn. Sq yul 'to burn' -- Cr yar 'be torch'.  
135.4 s-y a 1 t watertight basket. Ld syalt 'watertight basket made of roots' -- Sh syelt 'plate', yelt-m 'put plates on table'.  
135.5 y ə x to descend (drop, fall). Se yóyux 'rockslide' -- Sh V̄yux 'descend', yux'e 'waterfall', c-x-yyux-t 'to fall off (horse, wagon), sg.' Cb nayéx'm 'to go downstream'. Cf. 149.3.
- 136.1 y ə q̣ rotten (wood). Se s-yəq̣-ay séya 'rotten tree (séya)' -- Sh y'úq̣ 'rotten' Cr doq̣ 'wood is rotten'.
- 136.2 y ə ɣ to grind. See RPS no. 6.
137. Eliminate item.
- 137.1 y a w to be fed up. Cx Jəw-igan 'be at a loss what to do; be fed up with what one does' -- Li zəw-t 'be fed up' Sh yew-t id., yew-yw-t 'be fed up, bothered; nuisance'.
- 147.1 ? u s II to dive. Ld ?us -- Sh ?ust, w'us Ka ?úst Cr us-ilǰ.
- 148.1 ? a n (redupl.) magpie. Hl ?é1ə1/?é1?ə1 (G 119) Ld ?ád?ad Ch ?ána-?ána -- Sh s-?(a)n?ánsə.
- 148.2 ? i n (w) to be/say what? Cx Se Sq ?ína-t 'say what?' Sq ?ína, ?in- (indef. substitute) 'the one, the other' Ch ?íni- 'do, say', ?ínut 'what did (you) say?' -- Li ?ínwet 'say what?' Sh ?nwet id., ?nwens 'say what to sb. (obj.)' Cr ing'et 'be who, what'.
- 149.1 ? a 1 to be alive, active, move the body. Sq ?áy-nəx 'be alive' Cw helí? 'live' -- Li Sh ?el-kst 'to work' Cr el 'move body'. Se ?áy?iy 'to be alive' has irregularly y instead of l, which weakens the reconstruction.
- 149.2 ? i/a 1 k kinnikinnick berry; Indian rice. Be ?ilk 'Indian rice' -- Sh ?elk 'kinnikinnick berry' Cr ilč id., álč-ałp-ałq 'bush of id.' (Gr. 616).
- 149.3 s-? a x (land-, rock-, snow-)slide. Sq s'ax -- Li ?ex 'to slide (rocks, snow)' Sh s'ex't.
- 149.4 s-? i x ə 1 babv. child. See PPS no. 49.

151. ? i/a q̣ to shave, rub, pass net through water. Add Li ?éq̣-c-em 'to shave oneself' Cb ?áq̣-s-m id. and poss. Ch ?áq̣- 'brush, clean'.
- 152.1 ? i/a ǰ to throw (away). Ld ?iǰ 'to throw away' Ch ?áǰ-a- 'throw (away)' -- Li s-?áǰ-il 'junk, leavings (e.g., chips when making a basket)', ?éǰ-ilx 'to spawn' Sh ?éǰ-mm-s 'to throw' ?éǰ-lx 'to spawn'.
154. ? ə ɣ/w to call, howl. Add Ch ?əw- 'howl' Sh (corrected) ?aɣ't id.
155. ? a w to follow. Add Be ?aw 'to follow' Ch ?áw-t- 'behind'. The element -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 appear in IJAL 1981), with the addition of Lummi, Samish, Saanich and Sooke. (2) The symbols λ ǰ ɣ é are replaced by ǰ ǰ ɣ e. (3) To the references add the additional 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 Galloway 1977 are given with "G" and page number, to Kuipers 1979 with "RPS" and item number.

I wish to thank once again the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO) for supporting the fieldwork of J. van Eijk, H. Mater, J. Rath and J. Timmers, and for making extensive consultations with M. Dale Kinkade possible.

2) Where roots occur with retracted vowels, I give these in the reconstructed 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).