PROTO-CENTRAL SALISH PHONOLOGY AND SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

Brent Galloway

Sections presented as a late paper
17th International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages
August 9-11, 1982
Portland State University
Portland, Oregon
0. Introduction. This article began as a preliminary look at Nooksack and Proto-Central Salish sound correspondences. It was preliminary because I began only looking for cognates with the 189 Nooksack words given in Amoss (1961). The purpose of the article was to find especially those correspondences which separate Nooksack from its neighbors, Halkomelem, Straits Salish, and Lushootseed (Puget Salish). This should provide a starting point for a series of in-depth studies I plan to do of the unpublished materials and tapes of Nooksack gathered by Pamela Amoss, Laurence Thompson and Barbara Efrat and their predecessors.

Mr. Sindick Jimmy, the last fluent speaker of Nooksack, died July 12, 1977. He, like all the other speakers of whom we have tapes, and like many speakers of Nooksack for the past 150 years, was fluent also in the Chilliwack dialect of Halkomelem and the Skagit dialect of Lushootseed. As Thompson (1976) points out:

The custom of importing wives from other communities contributed to the early obsolescence of the distinctive language [Nooksack] originally spoken there [the Nooksack speech area]; by the time of white contact this process seems to have been at an advanced stage, so that now only a few persons recall the time when a number of old men in the villages spoke among themselves 'the old language,' while for general purposes other languages were in use--primarily Chilliwack Halkomelem and Skagit. It is now difficult to determine very surely what the original Nooksack language was like, because the materials that have been collected all bear marks of borrowing from the neighboring languages, especially from Halkomelem.

In order to sort out what linguistic data is Nooksack and what is not, several levels of apparent language variation will have to be separated: language-switching (informant error), legitimate diffusion or borrowing (at various time depths),

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incomplete sound changes, features of language death (for example loss and inconsistencies), and normal variation within and between speakers. Figuring out the cognates and sound correspondences between Nooksack and its neighbors will allow us to isolate cases of language-switching. The other cases of language variation should yield to the application of internal reconstruction and comparative reconstruction. It should also be kept in mind that as the descriptive analysis of the Nooksack materials becomes complete the sound correspondences here should be re-examined and revised where necessary. Also at that point many more cognates will be available, and they can be added to those provided by Kuipers (1970, 1981), Thompson, Thompson and Efrat (1974), Haeberlin (1974), and other published cognate sets.

It was difficult to keep from adding cognate sets for which there was no Nooksack equivalent in Amoss (1961). At last I gave in to the temptation when I saw that the correspondences could be made fairly complete with additions from languages poorly represented or diagnostic of different correspondences. The additional 100 cognate sets (190-289) are incomplete themselves; I have not searched all the sources as I did for 1-189 to find cognates in all the Central Salish languages. Thus while reconstructions could be made from 190-289 for the sound correspondences for which they are diagnostic and for those which are always one-to-one, reconstructions of the other proto-phonemes in these cognates (especially vowels) are best postponed till the cognate sets are as complete as for 1-189. Similarly no attempt is made to discuss reflexes from sets 190-289 in section 3, except for the correspondences these sets were chosen to fill in or illustrate.

At first it seemed that the irregularities and exceptions were just a tedious headache, as I tried to understand and account for them. But it soon became apparent that they not only prove the rules but also are the evidence of some of the most interesting historical processes in Central Salish phonolo-
gical history. They are also sometimes the crucial evidence for explanation of the regular correspondences. After a while I came to seek them out. They also show the network of borrowings with Central Salish; intrafamilial influence is one of the hardest elements to grapple with in Northwest Coast historical linguistics. Some irregularities show connections between sound correspondences (parallel shifts). Some show intermediate stages of development preserved. And many show the individuality of each language and dialect.

Since Nooksack terms are central and present in every cognate set which follows (till 190), they are listed first; then cognates are presented from the languages proceeding north from Halkomelem to Comox, then from Nooksack proceeding generally south and west (Lushootseed, Twana, Northern Straits, Southern Straits). Thus some contiguous sound shifts may be seen and some priority can also be given to Nooksack's immediate neighbors. Transcriptions from the various sources have been standardized. The languages (from north to south) from which data is presented have the following abbreviations and phonemic systems (sources listing the phonemes are given here; comments on resonant-glottal stop clusters are given because some analyses show glottalized resonants as phonemes; no statements are implied about occurrence of glottal stop before or after other consonants):

**Mainland Comox (Cx):** Davis (1970) gives /p, p', m, (t')*, t'/ (normalized from here on as <θ'>), θ, t, t', n, s, k, k', ɬ, ɬ', ʃ, ʃ', ʃ(1), š, š', j, š, (k), (k'), g [g'], y, k', k, 'w, x, w, q, q', χ, q', q', w, q', w, ?, h, i, e, o, a/; ['] is predictable (first syllable); /t'/ occurs in one morpheme only, a first person singular pronoun affix; rare phonemes are parenthesized. Bouchard (1971a) has the same consonants but treats resonant + ? clusters as glottalized resonants; his vowel inventory is /i, i', a, a', u, u', e/ with [ε] under /i/ and [o] under /u/.

**Pentlatch (Pt):** Kinkade's (1980) and Davis's (1981) reconstitution of Boas's Pentlatch field notes (n.d.) include the follow-
ing (in parentheses are likely additional phonemes): /p, (p'), m, t, e, t, t', n, c', s, k', ÷, l, ç, ç', j, §, y, k', k'w, kw, x', w, q, q', x, (q'), q'w, x', ?, h, i, e, u, a, /; /t'/ again probably occurs in one morpheme only, a first person singular pronoun affix.

Sechelt (Se): Beaumont (1976), Timmers (1977), and Bouchard (1971b) show nearly the same inventory: /p, p', m, t, t', n, c, c', s, ÷, ÷', §, k', l, k, k', x, y, k', k'w, k'w, x', w, q, q', x, q'w, x', ?, h, i, e, u, a, /; Bouchard omits /x/ and he and Timmers add /m', n', l', y', w'/ where Beaumont has clusters /l?, ?y/ and perhaps others; Timmers also adds /'/; incidentally, the symbols c and c' stand for ÷ and ÷' respectively throughout this article except in Halkomelem, q.v.

Squamish (Sq): Kuipers 1967b has /p, p', m, t, t', n, c, c', s, ÷, ÷', §, k', l, k, k', x, y, k', k'w, k'w, x', w, q, q', x, q'w, q'w, x', ?, h, i, e, u, a, /; he also gives a rare /I/[ɛ - I.] which doesn't appear in the sets here; Kuipers writes clusters of + resonant and resonant + ? with all resonants.

Halkomelem (Hk), Chilliwack dialect group (Ch): Galloway (1977) gives /p, p', m, ð' [t'], ð, t, t', c, c', s, k', ÷, l, (k), (k'), x', y, k', k'w, k'w, x', w, q, q', x, q'w, q'w, x', ?, h, i, e, u, a, /; Ch throughout stands for all the upriver dialects (Tait, Pilalt, Chilliwack/Sardis, and Chehalis); they agree lexically in all but a few cases and those are noted; /c/ and /c'/ have allophones [ɛ, ê] and [ɛ', ê'] respectively; /k/ and /k'/ occur only in borrowings and a few pet names; /'// and /'// are respectively high and mid pitch-stress or tone (low tone is unmarked); sporadic clusters of + resonant or resonant + ? occur only as a rare result of reduplication, unlike the case in downriver (Ms) and island (Cw) dialects; /ɛ/ is usually [æ].

Halkomelem, Musqueam dialect (Ms): Elmendorf and Suttles (1960) list the same phonemes as I have for Ch except than /n/ is added, /k'/ is omitted, /'// is marginal (probably best parenthesized), and ['] is probably not phonemic; resonants can be preceded or followed by ? and such clusters are frequent.
Halkomelem, Cowichan dialect (Cw): Elmendorf and Suttles (1960) list the same phonemes as I have for Chilliwack except that /n/ is added, /k'/ is omitted, /ʃ/ replaces /ʃ/, /t/ is marginal; resonants can be preceded or followed by ? and frequently are; Leslie (1979: 9) lists /tʰ/(appears in one morpheme only, a demonstrative article) and /m', n', l', y', w'/ but mentions that "glottalized resonants ... are posited not on phonetic, but on morphophonemic grounds."

Nooksack (Nk): Amoss (1961) gives /p, p', m, t, t', n, c, c', s, ñ, ñ', ñ, y, k', ñ, l, k', k'w, k'w, x, w, q, q', ñ, q', q', ñ, w', ?, h, i, æ, ə, o, '/; resonants can be preceded or followed by ?; a significant note is found in Amoss (1961: 9): "The free variation in tongue grooving occurred only in the idiolect of George Swanaset. George Swanaset frequently realized /s/ as [œ], /c/ as [ç]s and /ʒ/ as [ʃ]. Because Sindick Jimmy's pronunciation was consistent it has been taken as the norm for phonemic writing."

Lushootseed (Ld): This includes two major dialect groups (Hess 1976: xi-xiv), Northern Lushootseed (NLd) (Skagit, Snohomish) and Southern Lushootseed (SLd) (Snoqualmie, Suquamish, Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually, and Sahewamish). Hess (1976) gives the Ld phonemes /p, p', b, t, t', d, c, c', d', s, ñ, ñ', j (rare), y, (y'), k', ñ, l, (l'), k, k', g, k'w, k'w, g, k'w, x, w, (w'), q, q', ñ, q', ñ, w, ?, h, i, e, u, a, '/; glottalized resonants are realized ? + resonant or resonant + ? depending on syllabification.

Northern Straits (NSt), Lummi dialect (Lm): Charles, Demers, and Bowman (1978) give /p, p', m, t, t', n, c, c', s, ñ, ñ', ñ, y, k', ñ, l, (k), q, k', k'w, k'w, x, w, q, q', ñ, q', ñ, w, ?, h, i [i, e], e [ɛ, æ], o, a [a, o], u [u, usually o], '/; /o/ is rare, occurring in the demonstrative article cognate with Cw /tʰo/ and a few other words; ? can precede or follow resonants. Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) replace /u/ with /o/.

Northern Straits, Saanich dialect (San): Bouchard (1971c) gives /p, p', m, m', ñ' [tʰ'], ñ, t, t', n, n', s, ñ, ñ', ñ, y, y',
\[ \{, 1, 1', (k), \eta, \eta', k^w, k'^w, x^w, w, w', q, q', x, q^w, q'^w, x^w, ?, h, i, i', e, e', e, u, u', a, a', \} \]; Bouchard (1974) writes /\tilde{c}, \tilde{\varepsilon}'/ as /c, c'/. Pidgeon (1970) agrees with Bouchard (1971c) but adds /m/ and omits long vowels and glottalized resonants, treating the latter as resonant-glottal stop clusters; Pidgeon replaces /e/ with /e/.

Northern Straits, Songish dialect (Sg): Raffo (1972) gives /p, p', m, t, t', n, c, c', s, \xi, \xi', \xi, y, \lambda', \iota, l, (k), \eta, k^w, k'^w, x^w, w, q, q', x, q^w, q'^w, x^w, ?, h, i, e, e, a, u, \iota, \iota, \iota, \}/; Raffo notes that /u/ is usually [o], and Mitchell (1968) replaces it with /o/; considering Mitchell (1968) and Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) it is clear that /c/ must be added, although rare (occurring, as in Lummi, in the article cognate with Cw /t\Theta/ and in a small number of other words); Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat suggest LmSg c < *ts and Cw t\Theta < *t\Theta (clusters) as late developments. /x/ is rare as usual. Mitchell (1968) has /i', e', a'/. instead of listing /\iota/ separately, replaces /x^w/ and /\tilde{x}^w/ both with /x^w/, and adds /k'/ (rare); Mitchell's two morphemes with /k'/ are mistranscriptions however, so /k'/ is probably absent (unlike in Ch where it originates in borrowings from Interior Salish). From Raffo and Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat it is clear that Mitchell's /x/ should be /\tilde{x}/ everywhere and that her /x^w/ should be sometimes /x^w/ and sometimes /\tilde{x}^w/; these are clear from the cognate sets (except once) and are so corrected; when Raffo was checked for these, Sg had /x^w/ with the rest of St. Sg also has ? before and after resonants, and Raffo specifically gives reasons why these are not glottalized resonants.

Northern Straits, Sooke dialect (So): Efrat (1969) gives /p, p', m, t, t', n, c, c', s, \xi, \xi', \xi, y, \lambda', \iota, (l), \eta, k^w, k'^w, x^w, w, q, q', x, q^w, q'^w, x^w, ?, h, i, e, e, u, a, \iota, \iota, \iota, \iota, \}/; [w] and [y] are treated here as allophones of /u/ and /i/ but as /w/ and /y/ in the later Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974); /a/ is [o]; Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) replace /a/ with /o/(probably also [o]). /l/ is rare.
Southern Straits (SSt), Clallam (Cl): Thompson and Thompson (1971) give /p, p', m, t, t', n, c, c', s, z, z', ¥, y, k', l, (k), η, k, k', x, w, q, q', x, q', w, w, ?, h, i, e, e, u, a, ', '/; ? + resonant and resonant + ? both occur; l is rare.

Twana (Tw): N. Thompson (1979) gives the following broad phonetic inventory [p, p', b, (m), t, t', d, (n), c, c', (d'), s, z, z', j, s, y, k', l, (k), (k'), (g), k, k', (g'), x, w, q, q', x, q', w, w, ?, h, i, e, ε, æ, o, a, u, U, o, o, ', ']; ? can precede or follow resonants (l, w, and y are then said to be glottalized) and can precede b and d (as well as other consonants); m and n are rare (mainly diminutive forms of b and d); other parenthesized sounds occur only in borrowings; /i/ includes [i, ï, e], /e/ includes [e, ë, æ], /u/ includes [u, û, o], /a/ includes [a, ə] (probably). Thus the Twana phonemic inventory appears to be /p, p', b, (m), t, t', d, (n), c, c', s, z, z', j, s, y, k', l, k, k', x, w, q, q', x, q', w, w, ?, h, i, ë, u, a, (˚), '/; with /d', k, k', g, g'/ in borrowings.

Other Salish language abbreviations used: Ti (Tillamook), BC (Bella Coola), Ts (Tsamosan branch, including UC Upper Chehalis, Cz Cowlitz, LC Lower Chehalis, and Qn Quinault); IS (Interior Salish branch) includes: Li (Lillooet), TH (Thompson), Sh (Shuswap), CM (Columbian), Ok (Okanagan), Ka (Kalispel), CA (Coeur d'Alene); PCS (Proto-Central Salish), PIS (Proto-Interior Salish), PTs (Proto-Tsamosan), PS (Proto-Salish). CJ is Chinook Jargon.
1. Cognate sets. In the cognate sets which follow, the omission of a cognate for a given language can mean that no terms within semantic range to be cognates were found in the sources examined or that the terms within semantic range in the sources were not cognate. Where only one gloss is given at the end, all cognates share exactly the same gloss. Initials after a word show it attested only in the speech of one person.

Reconstructed PCS forms are given first, where reconstructable.

(1) Nk ṭxq'áy alder bark basket.

(2) ? ṭliq always. Nk ṭliq always, (Hk) Ch possibly liqey glacier, Mt. Cheam (possibly always + -ey covering), Sq ṭliq' (do) always.

(3) Nk ṭiyē angry.

(4) *ʔú/ěqweḻyəč - *ʔeqweḻyəč back (esp. of the body). Nk ṭeqweḻyəč back, Ch ṭeqweḻec - ṭeqweḻec back of body, Sq s-t-áy?e back, Ld sʔeqweḻeč back of body, Sg ?eqweḻeč to be behind.


(6) *muʔ(u)qʷ duck (generic), waterfowl. Nk máʔeqʷ bird, ChMsCW máʔqʷ duck (generic), Ch also large bird, Ld buʔqʷ waterfowl, Tw [bó'qʷ] duck (generic), waterfowl, San máʔaqʷ any duck, Sg máʔeqʷ bird, duck, chicken, poultry, Cl múʔeqʷ duck.

(7) *'-q'fx (bound form requiring affix) black. Nk ʔq'fx, ChMsCW c' '=q'fx, Sq qíx, Lmsanso Cl (Suttles 1965) ne-q'fx, Sg ne-q'6x black.

(8) *t'q-ús to be blind in one eye ("be bruised/purple in the face"). Nk st'qós blind in one eye, Ch st'kʷás (AD) one-eyed, cf. Ch t'fq-él get bruised and Ch s-t'ít'eq-á'les have a black eye, bruised eye (contrast Ch qíx-'es blind with deglottalization < qíx- black + -es - -á(')s in the face), cf. ? Sq t'áqaʔ-á'yus have a black eye, Ld t'qós (LG) blind in one eye, SLD t'équs blind. Cf. 205 also for root and gloss.

(9) a) *púh-t-/(u)n to blow (with breath), b) *poh-á1/Ys to blow (of wind), c) *puxʷ-ut to blow on someone (an Indian doctor
(10) *k̓w̓ay(?) bluejay. Nk k̓w̓ey bluejay, Ch k̓w̓ɛˈy bluejay, Ld k̓áy̓k̓ay Steller's jay; one who talks too much (cf.? Ld ?es-k̓áy̓k̓ayˈb sky blue, azure).

(11) Nk ḥphós light brown.

(12) *k̓w̓ás to get burned (of skin), be hot. Nk q̓w̓ás burned (of animates), Ch k̓w̓ás get burned, Ch k̓w̓ás-c̓es get burned on the hand, Ch k̓w̓á̄k̓w̓ás be hot, MsCw k̓w̓ás burn (of wood or finger), Sq k̓w̓ás be hot, burn, scald, Sq k̓w̓ás-ač burn one's hand, ScCx k̓w̓ás hot, Ld k̓w̓ás burn body, roast, barbecue, Tw k̓w̓ás-ád scorch it (of skin esp.), San k̓w̓ás to burn, scald (Bouchard 1974a), San k̓w̓ás to burn, San k̓w̓ás-fqʷ-east burned head, Sg k̓w̓és?ls be hot, warm, Sg s-k̓w̓és sweat, Sg q̓w̓ás be burned to death, So k̓w̓ás to burn, be burned, Cl k̓w̓ás get burned, Cl k̓w̓ás?us hot (of fire for example).

(13) Nk k̓ámič, Ch képec, Cx képeč cabbage. From CJ or English; Nk possibly via Ld, thus m < Ld b.

(14) a) *p̓íčʷt charcoal, b) *p̓áyčʻ-em - *p̓íčʻ-em to spark. a) Nk p̓íčt charcoal, Cw (Bouchard 1974b) p̓íčʷt charcoal, Sq p̓íčt charcoal, Sg číčʷt to char, turn to charcoal; to blacken with charcoal; black face paint ; b) Ch p̓éy̓cʻ-em to spark, S̓q p̓íčʻm to spark, S̓e p̓íčʻ-im spark, Tw p̓áy̓c̓eb spark, sparkling.
(15) *q'w_x^-úl_y-x^-Yen toenail, *-x^-Yen - *-x^-in (on the) foot, leg. Nk q'w_hólšin claw, Ch q'w^-ál-x^-Yel toenail, claw, Ms q'w_x^wélx^-én toenail, Cw q'w_x^wélıšen toenail, Sq q'w_x^-uy- claw, nail, Sq q'w_x^-uy?q'uy^-én toenail, Se qep^-iq^-uy-šn-tn toenail, Ld q'w_x^wášed toenail, Tw q'w_x^wášid (i here [I]) toenail, claw, San q'w_x^wálu^-én toenail, Sq q'w_x^wá?lo^-čes fingernail, Sq -šen (on the) foot, leg, contrast So č'sáyén toenail and Cl č'š-úy-čs fingernail and Cl č'š^-úy-šen toe (split + rounded element + foot) where only the suffixes are cognate, cf. also Se -šn - -šín foot, leg, Ch -x^-én on the foot, on the leg, Pt -šen leg, Cx -šin leg, foot, Cx (Suttles 1965) -šen foot, Tw (Suttles 1965) -šed foot, Lm -šen leg, SgCl (both Suttles 1965) -šen - -šen foot, So (Efrat 1969: 117, 118, 129) -šen - -šen leg, foot (-šen may be more productive).

(16) ? *cq'-íl_y to climb, go vertically. Nk cqíl climb, (see 183, compare Ch θ'éq steep, Ch θéq'-t tree, MsCw θqé't tree, Sq s-céq tree, log, stick, wood (material), Se cégat-t to put up (as pole)), Tw cqíl climb, San θ'qénəq to climb (a hill); the basic meaning of the root is probably vertical if Nk -íl is cognate with Ch -íl go, come, get (for the Sq suffix cognate -iy see 32 below).

(17) *sx(e)p'áí cockle clam. Nk sxp'ám, Ld sxp'áb, Tw sxp'áb cockle clam.

(18) ??áy(e)t cod (especially grey cod). Nk ?áyt codfish, Ch ?é'yt ling cod, Cw (Bouchard 1974b) ?éyet grey cod, Sq ?áyat black or grey codfish, San ?éyet grey cod, Sq ?éyet cod, So ?éyet cod.

(19) Nk ḥák'w cold.

(20) *stițiw-áîľ colt (*stițiw horse probably < CJ), *-(?)úlž young, (*čéne?y-úlž young (pre-teen) girl). Nk stițiwólž colt, Ch stițiw-áîľ colt, Cw (Bouchard 1974b) -(?)úlž young (as in snéye?áîľ fawn, ščeni?áîľ young girl), Sq staqwúlíž colt, Se s-ťeqíwí horse, Se -áîľ young as in sčewt-áî son/-daughter-in-law, Cx [tɛ'-tqaygoʔ]/ti'-tqayguʔ/ foal, Ld stițiwí pony, foal, Tw stițiwał colt, San stițiwí horse, San -áleʔ offspring of, young,
Sg stiqiwáleʔ *colt, So steqiwáyeʔ *colt, So steqiw *horse, Cl stiqiw* horse, Cl -úy -ú?iʔ *young, (cf. also Lm -ó't -ó'l?, San -á't -á?iʔ, Sg -áleʔ -á?iʔ, So -óyeʔ *young as in Lm šlēnecóʔ, San šlēnčáʔ, Sg šlēnčáleʔ, So šlēnččyéʔ, Cl šlēna?úyε pre-teen girl and Lm seččóʔiʔ, SanSg sečáʔiʔ, Cl saʔč-úʔiʔ *non-adult younger sibling). The root stiqiw may be from Chinook proper (before the advent of CJ) or may < CJ kíwten (or qíwten) *horse, which in turn (Johnson 1978: 344-345) < Chinook proper -kíwten (Boas 1904: 137) *horse (in turn possibly diffused < Spanish caballo [kαpáyo] *horse). It is unclear at present whether CJ had k or q here, but as pronounced by Central Salish speakers one might expect q. It is also unclear whether CJ added the t(i)- before it reached Central Salish speakers or after; Chinook proper, if the source, has a set of five prefixes, one of which must be used with each noun, and one of which is t-plural (Boas 1904: 128).

(21) Nk wénl come forth.

(22) Nk mámsás, Ch mámses, Sg mámses, Cx múšmus, Lm másmus, Sg másmes, So músmes - múʔsmeʔ cow. From CJ másmus cow.

(23) *qweʔúp crabapple. Nk k'wʔúp, ChMsCW qweʔúp, Sg qwʔúp, Se qweʔúp, Sg qwʔéʔap, (possibly So qéʔex, Cl qáʔex) crabapple.

(24) *qwimέls credit, Ch qwim-éḷa get credit (borrow with promise to repay). Nk k'wiméls credit, Ch qwim-éḷa get credit (Pilalt dialect), Sg qwimpeḷ to borrow.

(25) *pésqʷ/kʷ-(e)t to insult someone (by making fun of his body). Nk pésqʷtem urine, [from context of the text: he got cursed repeatedly by insults to his body], Ch pésqʷ-t make fun of someone's body, insult someone about his body, Ch pésqʷ-tel a descriptive body part term (insult or joke usually).

(26) *ṭéč̣̣- to cut, get cut, (cut across), (*léč̣-im?-(-) to comb, *ṭéč̣̣-ten a knife). Nk ṭéc̣ cut cattails, ChMsCW ṭéc̣-et cut something, Ch (s-)éc̣-iʔ-əḷ a comb, Ch ṭéc̣-tel a knife, Sg ṭéč̣ be cut, Sg ṭéč̣-it cut, shear (transitive), Sg ṭéč̣-tn knife, Se ṭéč̣-ten knife, Cx ṭéč̣im to comb one's hair, Ld ṭéč̣-cut, Ld ṭéč̣'ib cut cattails for mat-making, cut grass for making
something, Tw ḥtɛ' sharp, Lm ḥc'et to cut it, San ḥɛ'et to cut something, Sg ḥc' to cut, Sg ḥc'et to cut (something), So ḥc' to cut, So ḥc'in-n a comb, Cl ḥc' get cut (for ex. Cl ḥc'éʔqʷ, LmSg So ḥc'íʔqʷ, San ḥɛ'íʔqʷ cut on the head), Cl (Sut- tles 1965) ḥc'et cut across.

(27) *cáʔt darkness. Nk cáʔ dark, Ch ñéʔt dark, darkness, Ms ñéʔt dark (as of night).

(28) a) *s-kwáy-l day, sky, b) *k'ay-il get light, become dawn. Nk skwáy day, ChMs swéyl day, sky, Ch wéyl to be day, Cw skwéyl day, Sq skwáy1 day(light), sky, Se kwáyl day, sky, Se kw'i - kwíy dawn, Cx kwíy morning (*skwáyl > *skw'iy > *sk'iy > *skwiy > (with loss of all initial s-) Cx kwíy), Ld (Skágit) kwáčil dawn, tomorrow, Lm skw'íyel - skwéyl day, Lm kwéčil early in the morning, San skw'íyel day, sky, Sg skw'éčel day, Sg kwéčil be morning (-íl become, get, inventive in most Central Salish languages), So skwéči? day, So kwéči? to be day, morning, So kwéči? daylight, daytime, So kwéči? daybreak, Cl (Suttles 1965) skwáč daylight.

(29) a) *x'áy to perish together, die (of several), b) *q'úy? to die (of one). Nk x'áy die, Ch x'éy (/é/[è], as usual) die (many people), perish together, Sq x'áy perish, become senseless, faint, Se x'áy(?) already dead, Se x'áyat kill them (two) on pur- pose, Cx x'áy everybody's dead, several perish, So x'áy they are dead, So x'éč-t wipe them out, So x'éč-t-n they were slaughtered, killed off; b) Ch q'áy die, be paralyzed, Ch q'á-y-t kill some- one (on purpose), MsCw q'áy die, ChMs q'áq'ey sick, dying, Cw q'áq'ey dead, Sq q'úy die, be paralyzed, Sg q'úy die (one), Se (Suttles 1965) q'úy die, Se q'úy-ut to kill a person, Cx (Suttles 1965) q'úy(?) die, San q'úy die, Sg q'úy die, Sg (Suttles 1965) q'úy die, So q'úy to die, kill, Cl q'úy die, Cl (Suttles 1965) q'úy-ít kill, compare also Sq q'ás-q'úy die, dead, Sq s-q'úy sickness, Ld s-qüit-ab disease, sickness, Ld s-q'wíc' widow, widower, and Ld ?u-q'wíc'-il just lost a spouse (the Ld. shows q'wíc' - < *q'úy?-c where *-c is spouse as in 171 *swáq-c husband [man/male + spouse], q.v.).
ite difficult, to be difficult. Nk "i difficult, Ch "i difficult, to be difficult, expensive, Sq "i difficult, dear, dangerous, San "i difficult, Sg "i to be difficult.

(31) "sqwemiy? dog. Nk sqwemmey, Ch sqwemey, MsCw sqwemey, Sq sqwemiy?, Ld sqwabey?, Tw sqwebay?, Lm sqwemey? dog. The word seems to derive (in Ch at least) from a root, qwem- soft + -i.y ("-ay?) covering, bark + s- nominalizer, referring perhaps to the dogs raised for their wool which was prized and spun.

(32) "wuq" drift downstream, *wu/qw-1/j(-em) go downstream. Nk wuq" drift, Ch woq" drift downstream; drown, Ch woq"-i.1-em go downstream, Ms (Suttles 1965) weq"ilem go downstream, Sq wuq"-i go downstream, Tw wuq"- drift, Lm weq"-il-em (go) downstream; south, Sg kwq" meaning unidentified in Mitchell (1968) but an example, kwq"e ce stå?lo? downriver shows kwq" is probably (be/go) downriver (?e ce stå?lo? the river [object of intransitive verb]), this is confirmed by Cl (Suttles 1965) kwq"i go downstream.

(33) *q"ic drift. Nk q"ic drift, Ld q"ic (travel) downstream. The PCS gloss is very tentative, chosen to perhaps complement that of 32, but perhaps it should be the same as in 32; more cognates within the same semantic domain are needed.

(34) *xak"/p to be dry. Nk xak" dry, possibly the root in Ld ?es-xåpdup scab (?es- stative, cf. -(i-)dup ground (dirt), floor in 35, i.e. scab < ? dried + dirt), Lm xåç dry, San xåçen dry, San xåçenek" dry ground, Sg xåçen to dry, Sg xåçen dried smoked food, Sg xåçen it is dry, Cl (Suttles 1965: 15) xåçen dry.

(35) *s-qelY-núp dirt; weed, underbrush ("bad ground"), *qelY bad, -*núp ground. Nk sqelnöp' dust, Ch sqel'ep garbage, a lot of dirt, weeds, Cw 6qel? underbrush, Sq qel? underbrush, Sg 6qel-y-núp weeds has an unrelated root but cognate suffix, Ld -(i-)dup ground, floor, Tw weeds has root qel- bad but its full form is not listed.

(36) *q"élan?(i) ear. Nk k"lëan, Ch q"lë, Ch -ë.l²ye,
MsCw q'wí'n?; Sq q'wél-a'n, Se q'wélána, Cx q'wélána, Ld q'wéládi?, Tw q'wéládi, Lm q'wélénq (q sic? for n), SanSq q'wélén, Sg (Suttles 1965) q'wélén?, So q'wéyn? [q'wéyn'], Cl (Suttles 1965) q'wéyén? ear.

(37) *temìx̆* - *témex̆* earth, land, ground. Nk temìx̆ earth, Ch témex̆ earth, land, MsCw témex̆ earth, Sq tmìx̆ earth, land, Tw tebìx̆ earth, land, country, Lm tênex̆ land, San tênex̆ land, earth, Sg tênex̆ earth, fields, garden, So tênex̆ earth, ground, So tênx̆ - to be dirty.

(38) a) *ʔ?íʔen - *ʔ?íʔen to eat, b) *ʔ?íʔen - *ʔ?íʔen eating. Nk ʔíʔen eat, Ch ʔétel eat a meal, Ch ʔétel eating a meal, Ms ʔíʔen eat, Sq ʔíʔen eat, Se ʔíʔen to eat, Pt ʔíʔen eat, Cx (Davis 1970) [ʔíʔen]/ʔíʔen/ eat, Cx (Davis 1981) ʔíʔen eat, Ld ʔéld eat, Tw ʔíʔad eat, all St ʔíʔen eat, all NSt ʔíʔen eating, Cl ʔíʔen eating.

(39) *wíl/álam? - *wálam? to echo. Nk wíləʔəm, Ch wélm, Sq wálam to echo.

(40) *mán father, *má? Father (vocative), Dad. Nk má'n, Ch mél - mél', MsCw má'n, SqSe má'n, Pt má'n, Cx má'n, LdTw bád, LmSan SgSo má'n father; Cw (Bouchard 1974b) mé? father, Pt má? father, Cx máh father (vocative), Sg má? father (vocative).

(41) *sx̆'le1/lj̆c' feather. Nk µšé'l̆c' feather, Ch sx̆'le1c' feather, Ld ššé'l̆c' a type of horsetail - yarrow.

(42) *câx̆ to find (be found). Nk câx̆ find, Ch ṭex-lev̆ find someone.

(43) *c'óx̆at fine gravel, pebbles, gravelly beach. Nk c'óx̆at fine gravel, ChMs θ'óx̆at fine gravel, Cw θ'óx̆at fine gravel, Sq c'óx̆at gravel beach, Se cacx̆is pebbles, Tw c'óx̆at sand; a type of fish, Sg c'óx̆at to be stony, covered with pebbles; to be in a stony place, beach.

(44) *l'éy?- (Douglas) fir (root requires prefix or suffix). Nk l'éy?éy fir tree, Ch l'é-y-eś̆p Douglas fir, Ch s-l'é-y Douglas fir bark, MsCw l'é-y-yaś̆p Douglas fir, Sq ?il-il-a'y? (stress unknown) young fir trees.

(45) *hún (to make) fire, to burn. Nk hón fire, Ld húd(u)-
fire, firewood, burn, light as in hé'ú-du burn it and héd warm, hot, Cl húnuc make fire, Cl súnuc (< s-húnuc) fire.

(46) *k'eqt- (before suffix with stressed vowel) to have long, to be long. Nk k'eqt-iwél long-rumped, Ch k'eqt-ōwél long-legged, Sq k'eqt-úyt overcoat, Se k'eqt-álū tall (person), San k'eqt-āmé long sheet, So k'eqt-ăt big-boned person.

(47) *p'fil- *p'fi- flat, to be flat. Nk p'filkw'ws flat-nosed (kw. sic? for q), Ch s-p'si-qsel flat-nosed, Ch p'si-et flatten it, Sq p'élk'- be crushed, squashed, Se s-p'fil-īt flat, Ld p'fil(i)- flat, broad, Tw ?*perhaps p'il- spread (of water only) or p'es- flat, most of Central Salish share -qs nose (see Haeberlin 1974).

(48) *mós four. Nk mós four, Ch (a few Tait dialect speakers) s-mós Thursday ("fourth day"), Se mós four, Cs mós [mós] four, Cs (Suttles 1965) mós four, Ld bús four, Ld (Suttles 1965) bó four, Tw bús- four, Tw (Suttles 1965) búsas four, Lm nós four, SanSg(Suttles 1965) So nás four, Sq nás four, Sq s-nás Thursday, So s-nás-ī-nêt Thursday, Cl nús four.

(49) *1ý'č'- *(ʔe)s-1ý'č' full, to be full (usually inanimate). Nk náč' full, ChMsCw s(e)líc' full, Ch líc'-ēt fill it, Sq yéč'- si?ič' full, Sq yič'- it fill it, Se lēč' full, Se (Suttles 1965) lēč'-it full, Pt lēč' [lēč'] full, Cs yéč' [yέč'] full, Ld lēč' full, fill (container), Lm ?es-léc'-ēt full, San sléč'ēt full, Sq ?es-léc'-ēt full, Cl ?es-yác'-ī full.

(50) *q'ámiy teenaged girl, maiden. Nk q'ámy girl, Ch q'é(y) adolescent girl, MsCw q'émey adolescent virgin girl, Sq q'à?may maiden, Ld q'à?ey? maiden, Tw q'à?bi a young unmarried woman (about 20 for ex.), Lm q'éʔi teen-aged girl, San q'èʔi maiden, So q'éʔi female teenager, Cl q'àʔi? teen-age girl.

(51) *?áx'(e)s- to give away, (possibly *?áx'-xít to give away to somebody), *?áx'-et - *?ex'áʔ-t to hand to someone, give (by hand) to someone. Nk ?áx'sít give away, Ch ?áx'es-t give to someone (as informal gift), Ch ?áx'-et give to someone (hand to), Ch yéč'-et give to someone (as a gift) in contrast), Sq ?ex'áʔ-t
hand to, give to (destined object), Sq ʔfxʷ-n give, make a present of (transitive), Sq -šít indirect transitiveizer, to/for someone, Tw ʔuxʷš- (not glossed) as in sʔuxʷšəb upper class marriage wealth exchange or feast and biʔuxʷšəb he's buying a woman (giving money or property to her parents), So possibly ʔáxʷ-t bring to (someone)(probably < So ʔáxʷ to go to). This set may well be related to the next (52) with *ʔxʷ - *xʷ.

(52) *ʔuxʷ to go to. Nk ʔóxʷ go, Ld ʔuxʷ go, Tw ʔaxʷ- (going) to, toward, So ʔáxʷ to go to, Cl ʔuxʷ go on, go (to).

(53) Nk hàmmó go on (to storyteller).

(54) a) *háʔ 1 to be good, b) *ʔy? - *ʔy? to be good. Nk háʔ 1, Sq Ld háʔ 1 good; the other languages have the second root: Ch [ʔy?]/ʔý/ or /ʔý/ (phonemic overlap here), MsCw ʔý?, Se ʔý, Cx ʔf: [ʔf: - ʔý?], Tw ʔý, LmSanSoCl ʔý? good, (to be good).

(55) *kʷen-át to hold something, grab something. Nk kʷnéʔ grab, take, Ch kʷél-ét hold something in one's hand(s), (cf. Ch kʷél·exʷ //kʷél-1-exʷ// happen/manage to get it, Ch kʷuí·t take/get something on purpose), MsCw kʷénét hold, Sq probably kʷén begin doing something, begin being possessed, Se kʷén-át grab something (with hands), NLd kʷéát take, get, hold, SLd kʷéð(et) take, get, hold, Tw kʷéð- take, get, hold, Tw kʷéðáb hold, take hold of, Tw t-kʷéðámd he took it, Lm kʷénét take it, San kʷénét grab (it) with hands, take it, Sg kʷénét to hold, fasten, Sg kʷénét to hold, take, find, So kʷén- to take, get (can be followed by -é resultative and -t directed transitive [purposeful control transitiveizer]), So kʷén-ét take it, So kʷén-ŋ get grabbed.


(57) *(ʔa/i)ʔ-sásq' half, *sásq'(-) to split/crack in half. Nk *ʔsásq' half, ChMsCw ʔ-sásq' half; half-dollar; half-breed, Ch sáz-éét to split, crack in half, Sq ʔ(s)-sásq' half (split off), Cx sáz' split, crack; half, Tw ʔišság' half; half dollar, San išság' half, (perhaps Sg ʔaʔčéx to be half of, cut in half, Sg ʔčéx half; 50-cent piece, So ʔaʔčéx to halve).
Summary of Sound Correspondences

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The Proto-Central Salish sound reconstructed here can be summarized in the following table:

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</table>

From this structural arrangement it can be seen that there are structural reasons (à la Martinet) for some of the historical developments which took place. PS *k' > PCS *ξ ξ' begins a fronting movement which pulls *x' into the ξ slot (and sometimes into s for St), pulls PCS *c c' into HkPtCxSan θ θ' (except Pt c' remains), pulls PCS *ξ ξ' into Hk c c', and pulls *l toward *y; perhaps connected with this is the fronting of vowels:

PCS *ú (really *ē by PCS) > HkSanSgSo á, PCS *á > NkHkSt ð/ð/ð, PCS *éy > í, PCS *u and *a > HkSt ë. Compensating for the vowel fronting are *i > Hk (and others) ë (¬ i), also *ú > u, *í > í, *á > a, *ē > e, and vice versa (*u > û, etc.) with stress shifts which are frequent; stress variation must have been fairly common in PCS also. The only source of û/ð is *ēw between consonants, which is less common than a shift from a single vowel; thus u and o are rare (depleted) in all the daughter languages today.

Returning to the consonants, the table and all such two-dimensional tables obscure some structural connections which are also quite strong. For example, in physical reality there is no reason why the row with *y and *w could not be directly adjacent to the top row. This explains *y > Cx ã Ld d' St ξ and *w > Cx g Ld g' St k' (except Lm). Similarly a three-dimensional chart could also show an adjacent labial-labialized connection explaining PCS *p p' m > Proto-St *k' k'w q' (except before labial *u. The two-dimensional chart is adequate to show the *k k' η gap which *k' k'w q' then filled by losing labialization. Then
as in the PS > PCS fronting cycle, so Proto-St *k k' > St ç ç'.

There may have been glottalized resonants from PS left in
PCS, but it seems more likely, as shown above, that clusters
*R occurred /Y Y and *R? occurred elsewhere. As is speculated
in Thompson (1979: 817), the occlusion of semivowels may have
opened the gate for *m n to also fill the voiced-stop holes in
the pattern by > LdTw b d (this in turn spreading to Quileute,
Makah and Nitinat); it also happened sporadically in Ch and Cx
(Davis 1970: 34), as mentioned above. In Hk and (phonetically)
some other languages, length < (*? and also < preconsonantal *h
and functions in the slot shown filled above by *t'. Velars vs.
uvulars, glottalized vs. non-glottalized, and labialized vs.
on-labialized remain quite distinct throughout, but there are
rare sporadic cases of five types of deviation or irregularity
in individual words (either innovated or preserved): C'—C,
K—Q, C—Cw, k—t', and i—l correspondences (the last two very
rare)(C is consonant, K is velar stop/spirant [with and without
labialization], 0 is uvular stop/spirant, Cw is labialized con-
sonant). And there are numerous cases of borrowing and influence
between adjacent languages (a major source for St p p' m).

Further research could profitably do several things:
a) add to the number of cognates, especially with alternate sets
for the same glosses which may influence each other (I have
shown a few cases of such influence but have largely omitted all
alternate sets which were not cognate with the Nk forms); consid-
ering the high percentage found here of cognates for a fixed set
of 189 words in a given language and considering the large numbers
of cognates I noted in scanning dictionaries of Ld and Sq, for
example, there are perhaps several thousand cognates reconstruct-
able for PCS at the very least. b) Compare PCS, PIS, and PS
cognate sets already found with dictionaries of immediately
adjacent non-Salish languages to trace extra-familial borrowings
(this has been started for Bella Coola by Nater 1977). c) Com-
pare PCS cognate sets with BC, Ti, Ts, and IS to complete the
full exposition of PS sound correspondences. d) Reconstruct
an increasing number of semantic domains so that we can be sure of the glosses of our reconstructions (as studied by lexical fields in Europe) and so that with flora and fauna terms we can reconstruct the proto-homeland.