Towards a genealogy of the Bella Coola language

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Iskut, B.C.

CONTENTS: (1) introduction, acknowledgments; (2A) levels of relatedness; (2B) genetic structure of the Bella Coola lexicon; (3A) Bella Coola and proto-Salish phonemes; (3B) Indo-European phonemes; (4A) identifying the Bella Coola and Indo-European phoneme inventories; (4B) Indo-European affricates and fricatives; (4C) Bella Coola and Indo-European isoglosses; (4D) origin of the labial series; (4E) lexical affinities; (5A) the ancestral phonemes; (5B) evolution of the Bella Coola and Indo-European phonemic systems; (5C) origin of Indo-European vowel-length, accent, ablaut, "laryngals"; (5D) origin of voicing in Indo-European; (5E) the shift /i/ > /l/ in Indo-European; (5F) conservative aspects of Bella Coola phonology; (6) regular Bella Coola - Indo-European sound correspondences; (7) list of Bella Coola and Indo-European lexical isoglosses

1. The purpose of this contribution is to demonstrate that Bella Coola (and, as a consequence, Salish in general) is related historically to language stocks beyond the Salish speech area, including at least one that is spoken in Eurasia. In order to substantiate this seemingly preposterous claim, I cite in section 7 likely Indo-European cognates.

I would like to thank those individuals without whose expertise and close cooperation the preparation of this paper would have been impossible: Mrs. Margaret Siwallace, Mrs. Felicity Walkus, and the late Messrs. Hank King and Andy Schooner Sr., all of Bella Coola, B.C.; I also wish to express my gratitude to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for their financial support in the summer of 1983.

2A. Two languages can appear similar for a number of reasons: common origin, extensive interaction, parallel development. Thus, Bella Coola can be shown to be linked genetically with other (Salish) languages, to have interacted with northern Wakashan, and to have features in common with many other languages of the world.

In the sections following, I will make an attempt to prove that wave, areal, and universal phenomena cannot possibly underlie certain linguistic aspects of Bella Coola, and that it is necessary to posit new, i.e., hitherto unsuspected, historical (genetic) connections.

2B. In my Stem List of the Bella Coola Language (PdR Publications on Salish Languages 4, Lisse 1977), I showed that only some 16% of all Bella Coola roots have obvious cognates in other Salish languages, whereas approximately 7% is shared with the northern Wakashan dialect continuum. Thus, the vast majority of the Bella Coola lexicon seems to be entirely autochthonous. As these figures suggest, it is in some cases expedient to compare an individual language not only with those tongues with which it forms a well-established linguistic family, but also with languages that do not appear to be affiliated genetically with the language in question.

When deciding to examine lexical affinities between one particular language group and other languages belonging to different linguistic stocks, one should like to consider in one's research all languages of the world. However, such an enterprise would be enormous, and even impossible, since to date, numerous languages have remained, or vanished, unrecorded. Also, the typological and lexical distance between, say, Bella Coola and English is such that these languages, on the very surface, appear to have rather little in common—we need reliable information on older stages of apparently unrelated languages so as to warrant comparative work.

In the list contained in section 7, I adduce many valid cognates in Indo-European, because this proto-language is a prime candidate for comparison in terms of phonemic characteristics and root structure. In addition, the extensive research carried out in Indo-European linguistics has not only resulted in a large number of well-founded reconstructions, but has also created new issues, such as the possible existence in various stages of Indo-European of "laryngals" (HI-3), accent, glottalization. This is a good opportunity to test the validity of these comparatively recent revisions.

3A. Bella Coola has the following phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>t'</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>q</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>T'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>K'</td>
<td>Cw</td>
<td>Cw'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Q'</td>
<td>Xw</td>
<td>Xw'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are the unaltered continuations of the proto-Salish phonemes. Common proto-Salish appears to have had in addition stress, shwa, and glottalized sonants, and for proto-Interior Salish we also have to reconstruct velar and uvular sonants (both plain and glottalized), and a "retracting feature". In Bella Coola, shwa followed by an obstruent has been either elided or opened to a/q, and phonetically glottalized sonants are interpreted as 7 + sonant.


3B. As regards the reconstruction of the Indo-European phonemes, these are generally accepted to have been (I ignore here the debatable reduced vowels adhered to by some Indo-Europeanists):
In addition, accent seems to have played a role, and more recently, the voiced (unaspirated) stop series has been redefined as a glottalized one. The vowels e, a, o may have been syllabic variants of the "laryngals" H1, H2, H3.

A.H. Kuipers' review in Studia Caucasia 5 of Th.V. Gamkrelidze and Givi I. Mačavariani, Sonantensystem und Ablaut in den Kartvelsprachen, Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen 1982

Hans Krahe, Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft, Sammlung Goeschen, Berlin 1966

Gerhard Koebler, Indogermanisch-Neuhochdeutsches und Neuhochdeutsch-Indogermanisches Woerterbuch, Arbeiten zur Rechts- und Sprachwissenschaft, Giessen-Lahn 1982

4A. At first glance, the proposed common origin of Salish and Indo-European does not seem evident. For instance, the Salish and Indo-European (IE) phoneme inventories are quite dissimilar: Salish has no aspirated stops, voiced stops, r, e, o, distinctive vowel-length, whereas IE seems to have lacked glottalized stops, affricates, fricatives (except s), a rounded velar series, lateral plosives, and the laryngals 7 and h. However, these hiatuses in IE and Salish are mutually exclusive (for IE *k* etc. see 5B, and for h see 5A):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IE</th>
<th>Salish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>glottalized stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated stops</td>
<td>affricates, affricative clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowels e and o</td>
<td>velar and postvelar fricatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel-length</td>
<td>glottal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r vs. l</td>
<td>l vs. k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4B. The near-absence of IE fricatives and affricates is of special interest. More specifically, the ostensible absence of a phoneme h is typologically aberrant if IE did have aspirated stops. I am under the impression that this puzzling shortage of fricatives and affricates is a fallacy, and that the "aspirated stops" were in reality affricates (pf, ts, dz, etc.); I reinterpret the "laryngals" as velar and postvelar fricatives (see further 5B-C).

Accepting this postulation as a point of departure, we can plot the IE and Bella Coola (BC) phonemes in such a way that the phoneme matrices become truly congruent

4C. Not only are the IE and BC phoneme inventories virtually identical, a number of phonemic, morphemic, and grammatical phenomena in both languages, too, are quite similar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IE</th>
<th>BC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doublets with r and l</td>
<td>doublets with 1 and lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of labial fricative</td>
<td>lack of labial fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low frequency of b</td>
<td>low frequency of p'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marginal status of voiceless aspirated stops</td>
<td>low mean frequency of affricates and affricative clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y/w alternating with i/u</td>
<td>y/w alternating with i/u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualitative and quantitative ablaut</td>
<td>qualitative and quantitative ablaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merging of k* and q* series</td>
<td>alternation between kw and qw series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel-length</td>
<td>vowel-length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter's Law (Balto-Slavic)</td>
<td>Vt &lt; V7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal infixation</td>
<td>nasal infixation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication as grammatical process</td>
<td>reduplication as grammatical process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>favorite root structure = CVC</td>
<td>favorite root structure = CVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number and gender distinctions in deixis</td>
<td>number and gender distinctions in deixis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the plausibility of the above proposal is illustrated by some IE and BC doublets: (IE) duhs-/dhse- (*ts'wes/ta's'exs) to blow, twerk-/perk- (*twejk/t'eyk) to cut/tear, teu-/peu- (*tex/'ut/sex) to swell, thse-/thsew- (*ts'wes/tx'wex-) to boil/to whirl, dhwe-/dheim- (*ts'wex/ta's'ex) to smoke; (BC) tik'/pik' (*teyk'/t'eyk') to sparkle, -ul-mc/uncw (*-wel-m'ewx(')/s-wenx) earth/world, -ams/titsa (-*hen'a/yena-eh) law/
5A. The evidence presented in 4 and 7 suffices to show that IE and Salish have evolved from a common ancestral language. I will label this proto-language Salish-Indo-European (abbreviated as SI). The SI phonemes are reconstructed as follows:

I  II  III  IV  V  VI
A  t  ts  tʰ  tsʰ  s  n  h (with doubtful status) may have
B  tʰ  tsʰ  tʰ  tsʰ  n  been a free variant of x and/or X.
C  tl  tk  tlʰ  tkʰ  k  l  e represents shwa, and ' represents
D  k  kʰ  kʼ  kx'  x  y  i  the glottal stop and glottalization
E  k  kx  k''  kx''  x  w  u
F  q  qx  q'  qx'  X  'e (h)
G  q̂  qx̂  q''  qx''  X  w  u

5B. In BC and IE, the SI phoneme system was modified (cf. 3A-B):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BC</th>
<th>I  II  III  IV  V  VI</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>I  II  III  IV  V  VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>t  ts  tʰ  tsʰ  s  n</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>t  ts  d  dz  s  n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>p  ps  p'  p's  m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>p  pf  b  bv  m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>l  (t)lh  tl'  (tl'(l))  lh  l</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>tsr  dr  dzr  l  r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>k  k(c/y)  k'  k'(c/y)  c  y  i</td>
<td>k  kx  g  gg  x  y  i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>kw  kw'(c/cw)  kw'  kw'(c/cw)  cw  w  u</td>
<td>k  kx  g  gg  x  w  u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>q  q(x)  q'  q'(x)  x</td>
<td>q  qx  G  Gx  X  x</td>
<td>shwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>q̂  q̂(x)  q'̂  q'(x)  x  w  u</td>
<td>q̂  q̂x  Ĝ  Ĝx  X̂  w  u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

((t)lh = lh/llh, tl'(l(h)) = tl'/tl'/tl'lh, kw(c/cw) = kw/kw/kwcw, etc.; = vocalic sonant; g = voiced velar fricative, G = voiced uvular fricative)

In IE, the E and G series merged. For descriptive purposes (see 5C), as well as from a typological point of view, it is more suitable to assume that IE *q* etc. blended with k* etc., rather than to envisage a shift velar > postvelar.

5C. Some of the shifts suggested for IE above assist us in determining the origin of IE vowel-length, accent, ablaut, and in defining the phonetic nature of H1-3.

I propose that IE V: < *V*, elision of (automatically) stressed shwa resulted in accentuation (see further 5D), and H1 = x, H2 = X, H3 = x*.

As implicated by the revised IE phoneme chart, the ablaut-type e/o is the residue of an older alternation x/x*. The rare a/o ablaut, then, is a remnant, i.e., before the E and G series merged, there also existed X*, so that e: a1 = x: x* = X: X* = a: o2

(traditionally, X*/o2 might be transcribed H4).

In his Hittite Etymological Dictionary (Trends in Linguistics, Documentation 1, Mouton, Amsterdam/Berlin/New York 1984), Jaan Puhvel adheres to H1 (2 h), H2 (2 '), E1 (2 x), E2 (2 g), A1 (2 X), A2 (2 c), A3 (2 x*/X*), A4 (2 g*/G*).

5D. The IE chart indicates that glottalization was abandoned in favor of voicing. The "laryngeals" also became voiced, and caused the vowels e/a/o to emerge. The voicing of x/X/x* may have originated as a result of positional variance: possibly, x/X/x* had voiced allophones between shwas and immediately before sonants. Once x/X/x* had become voiced, the shift from g/G/g* ("r") to e/a/o ("v") conceivably evolved like this (indicates stress when placed over v/e):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>re &gt; ré</th>
<th>er &gt; v</th>
<th>e &gt; ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>er</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ere</td>
<td>v̂</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et</td>
<td>v̂</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Long vowels with Schleifler may have been the result of reduplication (i.e., *er*er). In order to explain the opposition vi vs. IE (R = sonant), one must concede that *er* must have contrasted with *er* in earlier stages of IE.

5E. IE 1 evolved from SI 1 under the same conditions as described in 5D. The shift 1 > r was probably guided by contextual factors (cf. the r/l doublets given in 4C). Presumably, when 1 bordered on v or rounded dental/(post)velar, the velo-labial feature might affect 1, which then became (reflex) 1, and changed to r (a similar shift has taken place in some Interior Salish). This r, then, acquired the status of an independent phoneme whose occurrence was no longer restricted by position.

It was the x/x* ablaut that created a place for r in IE. In sets such as exl/exl (> el/ol) / exl/exl (> er/or), exl alternated with exl1, which could become exl*1, which in turn gave occasion to exl. Thus, 1 (>) r was freed from its erstwhile limitations. A good example of this process is provided by g*el-/g'er-/*g'or- to devour:

| k*exl- / k*exl1- > g*el- / *g'el-  |
| k*exl- / k*exl- > g'er- / *g'or-  |

5f. BC appears to be generally more conservative than IE. Here, velar and postvelar x/"X/x" (spelled c/cw/x/w), as well as glottalization, have been retained as such. The doubled sonants and vowel i/u/a continue *ey(e)'/ew(e)'/e(eh)' . Labialization is more pronounced than in IE.

6. The regular BC-IE sound correspondences are as follows:

BC c < IE c: BC julic to choose = IE wie-i- to choose (*weleyx/wellexi), BC hic- alimy = IE lei- alimy (*leyx/lexi)

BC x = IE a: BC xi- bright, shining = IE ai- to shine (*key)

BC cv/xw = IE o: BC scw to leak = IE soi- to drip (*sex) (i)

BC t = IE t: BC tc he = IE te- demonstrative (*tex), BC tup- spot = IE top- place (*tew/tex)

BC t' = IE d: BC t'u- more, several = IE dw- two (*dw)

BC ts' = IE dh: BC ts'um- smoke = IE dhwen/-dhem- smoke (*ts'wen/*ts'wexg/ts'wexg*), BC ts'icw to grate = IE sel- to grate (*sel/sex)

BC e = IE a: BC pe- to blow, hiss = IE pen- to blow, be wind (*te(s)x), BC ai to make planks = IE sel- plank, board (*sel/sex)

BC n = IE n: BC nits- safe = IE nes- safe (*neyts/nexs), BC nik' to cut = IE neh- to stab (*neykx'/nexkx')

BC p = IE p: BC ps- to blow, hiss = IE pes- to blow, be wind (*te(s)x), BC pl- to turn = IE sper- to turn, wind (*el/s-t'ex)

BC p' = IE g: BC p'uihn- to bubble up = IE bol- swelling (*tw'ev/c'evk)

BC p(w) = IE ph (no examples)

BC p'(w) = IE bh: BC p'al- up, erect = IE bhar- to protrude (*ts'o'ehel/ts'o'ex!)

BC p/u/a to breathe = IE bha- to breathe (*t'ew)

BC m = IE m: BC mi- wide = IE mei- big (*m'ey'n'ex), BC mahl- slow, reluctant = IE mel- to linear (*meh/n'ex)

BC t'i- = IE dr: BC t'l'ap to go = IE dreb- to walk (*t'l'eh/t'l'ext)

BC t'i(l)h = IE drhr (no examples)

BC h = IE l: BC hlc- alimy = IE lei- alimy (*leyx/lexi), BC hlcw to make noise = IE lew- to sound (*lex/lexu)

BC k = IE r/l: BC q'al- to twist, spiral = IE Ger- to wind, turn (*q'ehel/q'ex!), BC law loose = IE leuw- to loosen (*leuw/lexu)

BC k = IE k: BC kma to be in pain = IE kem- to be (come) tired (*ken'eh/kexn)

BC k' = IE q: BC k'icw to grnav = IE yjeu- to chew (*k'eyx/k'iy(exu), BC k'm to bite = IE gemb- to bite (*k'ehn/k'exn')

BC k(c/y) = IE lh (no examples)

BC k'(c/y) = IE sh: BC k'ay snow = IE ghei- snow (*kz'ehey/kx'exi), BC k'l- to be stuck or frozen = IE gher- to stand stiff (*kx'el/kx'exi)

BC w/u = IE w/u: BC julic to choose = IE vlei- to choose (*weleyx/wellexi), BC tup- spot = IE top- place (*tew/tex)

BC y/1 = IE y/1e: BC yacw to spur, incite = IE yeu- to move (*ye(h)x/yexu), BC mi- wide = IE mei- big (*me(y)/n'ex)

BC q = IE q: BC qe- to wish, hope = IE qa- to desire (*qeh/qex!), BC qa to enclose = IE (aq)e-u to encaps (qehew/qexu)

BC q' = IE G: BC q'al- to twist, spiral = IE Ger- to wind, turn (*q'ehel/q'ex!), BC tiq' to sew, stitch = IE (a)tiG-to darned (teyq')

BC q(x) = IE sh (no examples)

BC q'(x) = IE Gh: BC qat' (q'at') pull towards oneself = IE Ghed- to grab (*qX'eht'/qX'ext')

BC kw/qu = IE g*: BC kwaw worm = IE q'ehmi- worm (*k'ei(e)n'ey), BC qwkw to hire = IE qroe- buying price (*qleX'/qlex')

BC kw'/qu' = IE G*: BC kw'lh to spill, pour = IE G'el- to drip, soak (*k'el(e)x)

BC kw'(c)/qu'(c)xw = IE G'h: BC qw'al- to cook, roast = IE G'h'er- hot (*qX'ehel/qX'ext')

BC a = IE s/a: BC q'al- to twist, spiral = IE Ger- to wind, turn (*q'ehel/q'ex!), . p'al- up, erect = IE bhar- to protrude (*ts'ebeh/ts'esx)

7. In the list of etymologies following, I use for BC the same orthography as in BCL. The alphabetical order in which the BC entries are listed is: p' = t' ts' a n l 1 h t'l' k' k'c kw/kw kw'/kw' cu/cu q q' x qv/qu qw'/qu' xw/xu h y i w/u 7. Within this arrangement, reduplication syllables (indicated by the insertion of a period), vowel-length, and the glottal stop have been disregarded; roots not occurring as simplices are contained in brackets. The orthography of other languages and abbreviations are listed and explained at the end of this section.

1 [ps] to blow, hiss < t'eyes: IE pes- to blow, be wind (*t'exs) — likely of onomatopoetic origin, cf. pus

2 [pl] to turn around < *t'wil: Sh pul'---s he turns it upside down / IE sper- to turn, wind (*t'exl)

3 Pl,pl-ii thin, flat < *t'e: He pl'- thin and flat / IE peI- , tele- flat, wide (*t'xle)

4 plat scale of fish < pl-plst < *t'el: IE peI- skin (*t'exle)
pc to run a wet string between thumb and forefinger in order to squeeze the water out of it < *t'ex: IE apei- to draw, stretch (*s-t'ex) --- cf. tuc

pats' to pierce < *t(s) 'eha: Sq [p'ac'] to sew, Sh s-pec'-n Indian hemp, twine, string / IE bhede- to prick, stab (*t's-esta')
u n-pa-pa: pt to be boiling < *t'eh: Sh pEtEtEt, Ka *p'at / cf. IE tep- to be warm (*text*)

[paw] when? < *t'eh(en)-x: proto-Salish pan time, period / cf. IE ten- , (s)pen- to stretch, extend (*t's-emp) --- for -en cf. sunc

pik' bright, shiny, sparkling < *t'eyk: Sq plc'-m to spark, Cg p'li' to shine, glitter, Sh cik'-m to cause to shine (*t'eyk') / cf. IE pik-ro- variegated (*t'eyk')

pus to grow < *t'ew(h): Sq p-as- mudding, sprouting, coming out, Cg pu7us to swell, bubble, ferment. He bws- , pws- to swell / IE pu-, pus- to swell (*t's-ew(s)) --- probably sound-symbolic in origin, cf. [ps], [pulh], 7us.p'us, p'ulhkw

pun-tu- to give something to somebody < *t'ew: Li pun to find, Sh [pen] to find / IE pent- to go, walk (*t's-emp) --- cf English find

[phu] to swell, be swollen < *t'ew: Kw bws- to swell / IE polo- thick, twel- to swell (*t's-ex)--- cf. pus

[pux] hairy < *t'ew(q): IE pu-q: hairy (*t's-ewq(I)) --- cf. [squp]

p'alc to rise, wake up < p'alc- < *t(s) 'eh(o): Ch p'alc-, Sh [c'l] to stand (up) (*t's-ep) / IE bheda- to protrude (*t's-ek)

7us.p'us lungs < *t(s)'ews: Sh p'us-am heart / IE bhes- to blow, breathe (*t's-emp) --- cf. pus

p'ulhkw to bubble up < *t's-ewk: He/Kw p'w- / IE bol- swelling (*t's-empx) --- cf. pus, [phu]

[sm] to measure, divide, distribute < *n'en: this petrified root is a constituent of mtsuw to count, mtsuw to pay to measure, and compares with He/Ha/Kw m'n- to measure / IE mei- to measure (*n'exo), m'Ei- hand (*n'en)

amta vehicle, way (of going), route, road < am-ta < *n'en: IE men- to tread, step (*n'ex)

ama child, offspring < *n'enesh/: Sq mEn7, Cw mEn7, Pu bE77, Se mena / IE men- small, mend- young (animal) (*n'ex('))

-ama, -ama- implement < *n'en-e(y)n: Ti -vin, Twana -bEt, Ka -mim, -mEn / cf. IE men- nomina actionis (*n'ex-)

[ma] to mix < *n'ehel: Sq [mal] be mixed up, Pu bâluq" mixed up, Se mEIl-mâl-aw mixed up, confused, Sh ml-malq'-m to paint, dye, cf. He/Ha ml- to mix by stirring / IE mel- to grind, mei- to c'x (*n'ex'/x, n'exi)

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[ma] to mix < *n'ehel: Sq [mal] be mixed up, Pu bâluq" mixed up, Se mEIl-mâl-aw mixed up, confused, Sh ml-malq'-m to paint, dye, cf. He/Ha ml- to mix by stirring / IE mel- to grind, mei- to c'x (*n'ex'/x, n'exi)
tsàw long < *tśeθ̌ːk*; Gw cak* far. He/Has/Kw zak*- to extend, straighten out / cf.
IE seq*- to follow (*ts'eθ̌ːk*) — cf. BC tsaw* straight

tsìa, [tståq] to dig for something < *tståq '*'(q); Sq ciq get stabbed. Pu ciq poke, j̓eb, Sh ciq-m. Ka ciq-* to dig. / IE ateθ̌ː to stab (*tståq*)

taup, spt to whistle < (t)səp- to *wet*, x*'wet*; Sq ḍąp, Se x'əp-ut to whistle at somebody. Kw səp- robin. He cwp- robin / IE sev*- to whistle (*səw*)

\*acu't quilla of porcupine < s'k'ul- to *k*('w)el; Sh ak'el, Gd s'k'ul-*k*('w)el. or
cupine. Ka ak'el- to stab. Gə*e- strike (*k*('w)el) *scw to leak < *se(y)x*; Sh six*-m to spill. Gd six* pour solid objects or liquid.

Ka six* to pour, spill a liquid / IE eu-* to flow, soi- to drip (*seu*, sex*)

aqwa chest < s-qwa < *qen* 'eh', qeighth*; Sq qam to nurse. Cu sqaQ̓ee7 breast, Sh q̓am to suck, take the breast. Ka sqaQ̓e7uq milk / cf. IE qem- to press (*qeqe7uq*)

aqwa red huckleberry, aqwaluť fruit, berry (uts food) < s-qal(a) < *qeqel: cf. IE qer- cherry (*qeqel*)

spret to cut (open). wound, tear < *se(h)xq*; Sq [saq*] crack, split. Se Eq*-t to tear. Ka saq' to split, Sh sqap'-t to break, crack. Ta saq' to split / CF. IE seq- to cut (*sexu*) — cf. tsaq'

\*ax*p-ik spine < s-ax*p-ik < *κετ*- to split, divide in half; Sq a-Ęp'-do kmt̓t. [Ewp*] break, split / IE e-eb produces (*κετ*).

\*squ̓h fishbone < s-qu̓h < *κεp*; IE kult̓, qu̓l- bone (*kep*, kek) *squ̓l love song < s-qu̓al < *κεp*('he); Sq [q̓al] think, mind, speak. n-Él-ta voice. Sh [q̓al] to speak, talk / IE Gεr- to speak (*κεp*)

\*aq̓up hair < s-aq̓up < *κεp*; Sq q̓Ep-ŋ̓up-us type of long-haired dog with wool hanging over its eyes. Se q̓ap-ucin heard. Co [q̓ap*] / IE puq- hairy (*t̓w̓eq*) — cf. puq*

\*squ̓ts cedar bark basket or sack < s-qats < *κεp*('w)ts; Sh q̓ec-t' full / CF. IE qa̓b- container (*κεp*('w)ts)

\*squ̓l honey < s-qu̓l < *κεp*('w)ts; Sh s-q̓l̓̃uq, Ka sq̓l̓̃uq / IE qol-sente (*κεp*('w)), qeX̓l)

\*sq̓al̓s̓ edible male fern root < s-qu̓al-m < *κεp*('he); cf. Sh [q̓el] to roast / IE Gεl- acorns — cf. [q̓el̓]

\*ay̓u potential, supernatural, inspiration < s-ya-t < *yew; Sq [y̓e]w spiritual power / IE yoi- to be excited (*yew*/*ye*). yev- to move (*yeu*). ayu-life force (*yeu*)

\*sum to lap, sip < s-au < *new; Ka s̓uq to drink / IE eu-* to suck (*sexu*)

\*suck winter < *swetk-seytwēk- Sq s̓uq̓s̓ Q̓amish (cold north) wind. Se s̓uq̓s̓, Cw s̓uq̓s̓tēC̓, Li s̓uq̓s̓t̓, Ka s̓uq̓s̓t̓, Gd sitk* / if *s* and *wey* are affixal in origin, we may compare IE wet- year and wet- to blow (*wey*/*we*)
suncv universe, world, sky, day < s-uncv < *wen-ez": cf. Sh x-wen-em morning / IE sun-, sven- sun ("*wen", sven-est) --- cf. BCL 23.7
82 sulum sea, inlet < s-lut < *s-lew(=): cf. Sh x-slut whirlpools below falls / IE areu- to flow (*as-leu), areu-est river (*as-lew-ext)
83 suth house < s-ulh < *wel: cf. Sh -ewl container / IE wel- to enclose (*wele) --- cf. BC -ulh house (BCL 20.3.1)
84 [nk'], nik' to cut < *nek'y': Sh nik'-m to cut, saw. ka nič' to cut, saw / IE negh- to stab, drill (*nek')
85 na there you are! < *neh: IE na- so, then ("*neh'."); ein- see there! ("*ex'q")
86 nax.nx mallard duck < *neh(x): cf. Ha 77qak duck. Ta nauxnaat duck / IE anxt- duck (*e(n)esat) --- originally an onomatopoecia
87 [nita] safe, alive < *nee(t): IE nes- to be safe (*nexe)
88 nu- inside < *ne-, nev(ax): Sq n-, nlix- location. Sh n- on, in / IE q-, en in
89 [num, nan] closed, to close < *nıw(en): cf. IE nem- to bend (*nexq")
90 nuaxl smart, clever, bright: Pu IEQ light, to shine, Se IEQ-ix sober, Sh x-IEQ-ix clean, clear (of water). lx-IEQ sober. [lax] mind, intelligence, knowledge. Li n-IEQ-ix smart, intelligent. Ha/Kv lax- clear, weak, watery / IE al- white, shining ("*exl")
91 law, [lu] loose < *lehe(w): cf. Sq [jex], Sh 1g-16° / IE leu- to loosen, separate (*leu)
92 [lip'] to turn around, likw' to roll, turn < *leyt"", leyk": Sh lep'-a bend down. Cd dik" cross / cf. IE vel-, ver-, twer-, q'el- to turn (*wełx, twex], k'ex])
93 lupilast mask < lul-us-ta/lu-lat- < *lewel: Sq lăum to sing, Sh lul- to sing a lilypad to / IE lu-1 to make (sound) (*lewel) --- for the connection "sound" - "mask" cf. Latin per-soina mask < "sounding through"
94 lh'p to fill something < *lel": IE trep- to satiate ("тел")
95 lhk'm to speak < lhk'-a < *ek': IE leg- to collect (*ekx') > Greek λεγειν to say, speak) --- cf. 7lhk'
96 lha wet < *tieq: cf. Se k'el'q soaking wet / IE trenq- to wash, bathe (*tlexp'
97 [t'l] swil to break off < t'luw-i- < *te'el: IE dheu- to break off (*tel'xu)
98 tl'ap to go < *tel'eht('?): IE dreb- to walk (*tel'xt)
99 kwa to be in pain < *ken'e: IE kem- to be (come) tired (*kenx")
100 kip' to pinch, grab with tongue < *k'eyt": Sh kip'-m to pinch together. Cd ę'ip' pinch / IE gebh- law, mouth (*k'extx")
101 k'la to bite < *k'en': Sq ć'Em' / IE gembh- (*k'extx") --- cf. kip'
102 [k'o] frozen, stuck < *kx'e: IE gher- to stand stiff (*kx'ex)
**Page 241**

122 qal water (*qe(w/le)*): Sq [q(u)]l, Cw qa7, Pu qa7, Lt qa7 liquid / IE Eq'a-: (*eqe'aw(x)*)

123 [qa] to wish, hope (*qeh*): IE qa- to wish, desire (*qex*)

124 qat' to pull something towards oneself < qat' < *qX'eht*: Sh qet'-m to hoist / IE Ghed- to grab, seize (*qX'eht*)

125 qalxm to dig for fern roots < qalx-m < *qehelix*: Sq qalx-m stick for digging clams / cf. IE qel- to stab (*qX'eht*)

126 [qal] to hang (down from), not let go of < *qehil/: IE qer- to hang (*qex*)

127 qaw to enclose, encircle < *qehew*: IE s-qeu- to cover, engulf (*qexu*)

128 q. i. small, child < *qey(y)k*: Sq qeti youngest child / IE teq-no- child (*texq)*, qat- young animal (*qex*)

129 q'il to stagger < q'l-m < *q'e*: cf. IE Ger- to turn, wind (*qexil*) --- cf. [*qal*]

130 [q'l] to poke < *q(')le*: IE G'el- to stab (*qexil*)

131 q'x to bite, carve < *q'el*: IE Ghen- to gnaw (*qO'el-)*, *qO'el-* to grab and hold on / IE am- to grab, seize (*qO'el-)* --- cf. *q1m*

132 qaw to store, put away < *q'eh/yew*: Sq q'iw envelop / IE Geu-t- bag, sack (*Geu- to bend, arch*) (*qexil*)

133 xmt to bite < *Xe(hen)*: Cd Xen / cf. IE qem-, qem-: (g) bite (*qexil*)

134 xta's, qta's stick < *q(x)tsa'eh(y)ey*: proto-Salish xc'ay log (Sh s-xc'ey wood, log, stick) / IE anh-er- stem, stalk (*Xenets'-*)

135 [sam] to hold on to < *Yehlen**: Sq Xäm-i grab and hold on / IE am- to grab, seize (*Xenets'-*)

136 [xi] shining, bright, light < *Key*: IE ai- to burn, shine

137 xita' axw, xita'-ih iron < *Xeys'ax* force(d): Co Kic' iron / IE ay-es- metal, si-dhn- to burn, shine --- cf. [xi]

138 qulxw to hire < *q'el*lex*: Sq q'yal*x* / cf. IE qreis- to buy (*q'ellexi*)

139 qulxal lizard < *q'el*eh having scales, fish, reptilian: He G'Alas / IE q'alo-a a fish (*q'el*lexi*), fcf. qe- dish, scale (*qexil*)

140 qup' to hit, punch < *q'el*ex(w)s*: cf. IE G'edh- to knock, punch (*q'el*exts*)

141 qu.quilka porpoise < quq'-l-ikn "having a" curved/humped back < *q(')wen*: Sh [q'm] lump / IE qu-m-b- curve, cup (*qwine*) --- (1-)ikn is an allomorph of -ik back / proto-Salish -ikEn

142 q'pm spray, dust < q'pm < *q(')et*, e(e)h*: Cd p'aq* powder / cf. IE qu*p'-, qwe(*k)*p'- to smoke, bubble, boil (*qwe't*, qweq(*k)*) --- cf. q'up

143 q'alx-ulh to roast roots or potatoes under sand < q'alx-m < *qX'e*: Sq *El ripe, done, cooked, Sh [q"el] to roast / IE G'ber- hot, warm (*qX'e*)

144 qu'alxu parsnip < qualx-ulh < *qX'ehe*: cf. sq'w'al, sq'w'am-ulh --- *lxu protrusion

145 qu'up to expose to smoke < *q(')wet*: IE qu-p- to smoke (*qwe*') --- cf. qv'pm

146 qu'ux to call, invite < *qwe*: IE Go(+)u-, Go- to call < *qwe*' (*'ew, qe'w)*

147 7apm to blow on something < 7ap-m < *t*"new*: cf. Sh 7apm sneeze / IE pater- to sneeze (*t*"staxil*) --- cf. [*ps*], *pam*

148 7apc to lift up < 7ap-cw < *t*ex, x*et*: Lt x'ephy / IE cp up(o), eup- up (*wet(ex'), *exut*) --- cf. [*cwp*]

149 7aplu, p'alu washed out, eroded, hollow(ed), removed, elevated < *t*"ehel-w*: Sh p'el-al-t overflowing. Cd p'er flood, be in excess, overflow / IE bher- to bubble up, boil (*staxil*)

150 7am-ulh to get one's share of food < *(')ehen*: Ka 7em' to feed, Cd em(-t) share, feed / cf. IE ea- to take (*xen*)

151 7alc to wander, roam about < 7al-lc < *(')hel*: IE el- to (be on the) move, to go (*xel*) --- cf. 7alhi, 7ay

152 7alhi to be somewhere, stay, remain < 7alh-l < *(')heli*: proto-Salish 7al to be alive, active, move the body --- cf. 7alc, 7ay

153 7aw to be audible, holler < *e(h)ex*: IE Eau-, otus- ear/mouth (*'ewes, *ex'wes*)

154 7ay to be thus, do so < *(')hey/l*: proto-Salish 7al to be alive, active, move the body / IE ei- to go (*xey*) --- cf. 7alc, 7alhi

155 7aw yeg < *new* cf. Ka 7du name, call by name. Sh 7awt to howl / IE aw- to speak/ perceive (*xew*)

156 7ip' to grab, hold, catch < *'eye*", yet": Sq ?ip'is to hold, grab, Ka ?ip' to pinch, squeeze / IE ep- to take, grab (*'exet*) --- cf. 7im

157 7im to have sexual intercourse < *yen*(): Cd 7im gather together, Sq Hxex'-yax-tn belt / IE yem- to hold, pair (*yexyp*), cf. yehh- to have sexual intercourse (*yexts*') --- cf. 7ip'

158 7in, 7n and < *'yen*? Qq 7i and, [*7in*] the one, other / IE an- on the other hand (*Xen*), cf. ed- and (*'exet'*)

159 7il, -ih (to move in a) circle, cyclical, [yul] to stir < *yel/", yewel: proto-Salish b'yp, hysal to roll / cf. IE yu-, yeu- to mix, stir (*yew, yexu*)

160 7ilh'tm hling < 7il-tm'h < *t'en*", t'ewien*: Sq t'dt'm / cf. IE blou- (*'t'"ekeep)*

161 7ilh' to delouse < 7ilh' < *lek*: IE leg- to gather, collect --- cf. lkh'am

162 [7iq] to move, touch < *yeq*: cf. IE toC-, seC- to touch (*'eqx*)
243

yacw to move, spur, arouse  *ye(h)x*: cf. Se ydw-at to wake somebody up / IE yeu- to move, stir (*yexu)

yu.yucw bracelet  *ye(w)x*: IE yeu- to connect (*yexu)

wnts' to beat, kill  *wets'*: Sh vic'-w chop, split / IE wedh- to hit, knock (*wets')

w1 to spill a liquid  *wel: IE weR- to flow, stream (*wex!)

yulic to choose  *vele(y)x: IE weip- to hit, wound (*vexit°)

-wul round, bulky  *wel: Sq -wil, -ul belly, bowels, Se -wil canoe, Sh -ewl conveyance, container, Li -ewl canoe / IE wel- to turn (*wex!): cf. suh

wapat to turn something by 90°, cause to be athwart, crosswise < wap-at  *weht*: IE weip- to turn (*wexit°)

[wane] to fail to obtain, miss out on  *we(h)x*: IE wen- to strive, wish, (try to) obtain (*wexp), wen-os missing (*wen)

way well!, now then!, okay!  *we(h)x*: He wil, Ta wai, southern Carrier way yee / cf. IE we- to strive for, to want, be strong (*wex!)

win to wage war on  *wey'en: He wi'n, Nootka wi'na war party / IE wen- to hit, wound (*wexq)

wilc to press against  *weyel: IE wel- to press (*wex!)

[wiiq, wiix] to split open, prr apart  *wiq, wiq' *wey'q: Sq [wiq'] open, Se wiq'-ic-t to open, Sh wiq'-m to undo, wreck. Cd g"aq' spread apart as to part hair, remove layers / IE weig- to bend, turn, yield, give way (*wexiq')

In the above list, languages have been abbreviated as follows: Cd = Coeur d'Alene, Ch = Chehalis, Co = Comox, Cw = Cowichan, Ha = Haïsla, He = Haida, Ka = Kalispel, Kv = Kwakiutl, Li = Lillooet, Os = Oowekyala, Pu = Puget Sound, Se = Sechelt, Sh = Shuswap, Sq = Squamish, Ti = Tillamook, Ts = Tsimshian. As for the transcription of non-BC words and roots, note that ́ indicates glottalization when placed to the right of a letter, and stress when placed over a vowel; the háek has been replaced by a period.

-19-