

AN AREAL INVESTIGATION: NUXALK AND UPPER NORTH WAKASH

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(Draft of a paper in memory of Stanley Newman)

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ABSTRACT This paper explores possible correspondences between Nuḵalk and Upper North Wakash, particularly their affixes and clitics. Not many of the correspondences found are obviously the result of lexical borrowing between Nuḵalk and Upper North Wakash, while on the other hand matching items are too similar in form to be taken as evidence for a genetic relationship between Nuḵalk and Upper North Wakash, and too numerous to be due to plain coincidence. It is therefore suggested that the detected similarities are the result of borrowing from a substratum language underlying both Nuḵalk and Upper North Wakash, and possibly even some or all other Salish, Wakash, and Chimakuan languages.

1. INTRODUCTION The Pacific Northwest, it hardly needs reiterating, is not only a culturally distinct area, but also one of so-called linguistic convergence: adjoining and overlapping languages, even those presumed unrelated, adopt each other's features.¹ A good example is the phonetic and phonemic similarity between Nuḵalk, which appears to be an isolate within the Salish language stock, and Upper North Wakash, which comprises the isolects of Haisla, Heiltsuk, and Oowekyala, and which is distinct from Kwakwala, the fourth and southernmost North Wakash isolect.² Nuḵalk survives in the village of Bella Coola, B.C., but used to be spoken in many different communities scattered throughout the valley of the Bella Coola river, along Dean Channel to the north, and South Bentinck Arm to the south. Oowekyala was formerly spoken at

Rivers Inlet, which is the first major inlet just south of this area, and the river and lake which almost form an extension of this inlet. Today, Oowekyala endures in only one village in the old territory, Oowekeeno, and among the people who have migrated away from it to such places as Port Hardy on Vancouver Island, Bella Coola, and Bella Bella. Heiltsuk was spoken on the mainland and islands west of the Nuḵalk speech area; it survives in two villages, viz. Bella Bella and Klemtu. Haisla, although today spoken only in Kitimaat Village (relatively far north of the areas mentioned so far), was once also the language of settlements at Gardner Canal, close to the territories of speakers of Nuḵalk and Heiltsuk. There used to be an overland trade route between Kitlope (at the head of Gardner Canal) and Kimsquit at Dean Channel. Kimsquit was a bilingual community: some individuals had Nuḵalk for first language, others Heiltsuk, and to this day there are, both in Bella Bella and Bella Coola, natives who trace their ancestry to that location. Bilingual communities, and territorial overlap, were exponents of the intimacy of the cultural contact in the general region under consideration.

The Upper North Wakash (henceforth UNW) isolects have virtually identical phoneme inventories, as tabulated below.

	obstruents			
	plosives		fricatives	
	L	A	G	
bilabial	b	p	p'	
gingival (stop)	d	t	t'	
gingival (affricate)	z	c	c'	
gingival-lateral (affricate)	λ	λ̣	λ̣'	
palato-velar	g	k	k'	
uvular	ǰ	q	q'	
rounded (velar)	g ^w	k ^w	k' ^w	
rounded (uvular)	ǰ ^w	q ^w	q' ^w	

(L = lenis, A = aspirated, G = glottalized)

	resonants			
	plain		glott.	
	C	V	C	V
bilabial (nasal)	m	ᵿ	m'	ᵿ'
bilabial (rounded)	w	u	w'	u'
gingival (nasal)	n	ᵿ	n'	ᵿ'
palato-velar	y	i	y'	i'
lateral	l	ᵿ	l'	ᵿ'
laryngal	h	a	h'	a'

(glott. = glottalized, C = consonantal, V = vocalic)

other elements

high tone (´) (Heiltsuk only)

low tone (absence of ´ over a vocalic resonant) (Heiltsuk only)

accent (`) (Haisla and Oowekyala only)

reduplication boundary (:)

junctions (. h ?) (and ə in Haisla only)

The phonetic interpretation of the reduplication boundary and junctions depends on their environment of occurrence; for the purposes of this paper the following information suffices: /:/ and ././ may stand for a potential pause; /h/ can only occur after a vocalic plain resonant and is phonetically indistinguishable from the latter's consonantal counterpart; /ʔ/ is a lenis glottal stop, as is /h'/, and can be phonetically indistinguishable from one of /m', w', n', y', l'/ due to assimilation to the preceding phoneme, which latter is always a vocalic plain resonant or a fricative; /ə/ is shwa; /h/ is in complementary distribution with ././, and /ə/ with both /h/ and ././.

The Nuḵalk phoneme inventory is smaller, but otherwise hardly different. Nuḵalk lacks (1) opposition of lenis and aspirated plosives, (2) a non-glottalized counterpart to /h'/, (3) phonemically glottalized resonants, (4) the "other elements" (except /:/). Nevertheless, Nuḵalk does have a phonemic glottal stop (/ʔ/), which is classed as a plosive in the system. Nuḵalk /h/ is a rare phoneme which cannot be understood as the non-glottalized counterpart to /ʔ/, or as the consonantal counterpart to /a/; /h/ is, therefore, classed as a fricative in Nuḵalk, and /a/ as the one Nuḵalk vowel beside the vocalic resonants. A phonotactic difference is that a consonantal resonant is in Nuḵalk almost, but in UNW completely, in complementary distribution with its vocalic counterpart. (Thus, e.g., Nuḵalk and UNW /m/ with /ᵿ/, and UNW /m'/ with /ᵿ'/.) In UNW, in other words, /m/ and /ᵿ/ are - strictly speaking - one phoneme, as are /m'/ and /ᵿ'/.

There are small phonetic differences between the UNW isolects, and one of them concerns the vowelless transition from one obstruent to another. In Oowekyala, any series of obstruent phonemes (such as /λxks/ 'canoe thwart', /t'k^wk^w/ 'luggage') is totally vowelless phonetically, except that with some speakers phonetic shwa may separate a glottalized plosive from the next obstruent, /t'/ of the mentioned /t'k^wk^w/ being an example. In Heiltsuk this latter shwa is obligatory. In Haisla, phonetic shwa separates any two obstruent phonemes, except that between a non-initial fricative and a following obstruent it is distinctive. In Nuḵalk, on the other hand, all obstruent clusters are phonetically vowelless. In Heiltsuk and Oowekyala, like in Nuḵalk, all obstruents are voiceless (the graphemes "b", "d", etc. should not mislead the reader), although Heiltsuk and Haisla lenis plosives have occasional allophones with breathy voice. In Haisla, breathy voice is the rule with lenis plosives. In sum, Oowekyala is - as regards obstruents and obstruent clusters - phonetically closest to Nuḵalk.

Another similarity between Oowekyala and Nuḵalk concerns accent. In Nuḵalk, accent occurs at the phonetic level as pitch and/or stress, but is often subject to considerable variation in placement, and never distinctive. Oowekyala has a stress accent, but in the large majority of

words it is not distinctive; it falls, broadly, on the first vocalic plain resonant. In contrast, Haisla has free accent (usually actualized as a word's pitch contour), whereas Heiltsuk, as indicated above, has phonemic tone.

The impression of similarity between Nuɬalk and UNW diminishes when word structure and syntax are considered. The word-forming devices of Nuɬalk and UNW exhibit a superficial resemblance in that both use root augmentation (through reduplication of one or more root constituents and/or insertion of root-extraneous ones) and root extension (by suffixes). But only Nuɬalk has prefixes besides suffixes. Furthermore, the Nuɬalk and UNW shared word-forming techniques are very different in detail. To give but one example: root augmentation and extension can give rise to morphological changes in Nuɬalk, but not nearly as much so as in UNW. Illustrative of the morphological complexity of UNW is the alternation of the boxed-in elements of the following items.

<u>Haisla</u>	<u>Heiltsuk</u>	<u>Oowekyala</u>	<u>gloss</u>
λà x^w -i'aɬsi	λá x^w -iáɬsi	λa x^w -iaɬsi	'to stand upright on edge of river or boat'
λà w -is	λá w -ís	λa w -is	'to stand upright on beach'
λà w' -a	λá w' -a	λa w' -a	'to stand upright on rock'
λa w' -s	λa' ú -s	λa' u -s	'to stand upright on ground, tree'

This alternation is not governed by phonotactic conditions at the phonemic level, but triggered morphologically. Even Heiltsuk /λa'ús/ and Oowekyala /λa'us/ cannot be derived from "underlying" */λa(')w's/ merely by reference to the fact that non-initial glottalized resonants occur seldom before obstruents in these isolects; one also has to refer to, among other things, the absence of a morpheme boundary between */a(')/ and */w'/ in /λa(')w's/. (That is, */λa(')-w'-s/ would yield Heiltsuk */λáus/ and Oowekyala */λaus/.)

Syntactically, too, a superficial similarity exists between Nuɬalk and

UNW in that, in the basic sentence pattern, a one-word predicate precedes the grammatical subject. But differences emerge as soon as this predicate and subject are examined more closely. First, in UNW in the basic sentence pattern, the one-word predicate lacks any morphological marking of its syntactic function, while the grammatical subject consists of one, and only one, of the following four: (1) a deictically marked one-word description, (2) a deictically marked proper name, (3) a member of a set of personal subject deictics joined enclitically to the predicate, (4) a member of a set of demonstrative deictics (which latter are free forms). Examples are:

<u>Oowekyala</u>	<u>gloss</u>
/hiɬgɬiɬ ʔa'pk ^w _a_ɬi/	'A/The child (who is over there) is happy'
/hiɬgɬiɬ BILL_a/	'Bill (who is over there) is happy'
/hiɬgɬiɬ_i/	'The-one-who-is-over-there is happy'
/hiɬgɬiɬ qiɬ ^w /	'That one (who is over there) is happy'

The second point to bear in mind concerning UNW is that almost every word without syntactically relevant clitics attached can function both as the one-word predicate of the basic sentence pattern, and as the constructional center of a descriptive subject term. In Nuɬalk this is different. As in UNW, the large majority of words without syntactically relevant affixes or clitics can function as the one-word predicate of a sentence. For the purposes of this paper, let us call this majority of words "predicables". But unlike UNW, only a subclass of the predicables can also function as the constructional center of a descriptive subject: we shall label this subclass "nominals". Furthermore, through this distinction between predicables and nominals cuts another one that is also unprecedented in UNW, but typically Salish, viz. the division of the predicables into subclasses according as they are compatible with one of five sets of personal subject suffixes. The latter sets are detailed in section 4. Another apparent difference between Nuɬalk and UNW is the stative/performative dichotomy common in Nuɬalk. Furthermore, a Nuɬalk one-word predicate requires the attachment of a (3d person) subject suffix, even when a descriptive subject term, or a proper name function-

ing as subject follows, allowing for the complication that one of the sets of personal subject suffixes features $\neq-s\neq$ for a third person member for some contexts, but $\neq-\emptyset\neq$ for others. To sum it up: UNW is in many ways a generativist's dream (syntactically, certainly not morphologically), whereas Nuxalk is complex, and features several basic sentence patterns rather than only one. In the following examples, note the gender-, number-, and distance-marked proclitic article $\neq ta+\neq$, which has no UNW counterpart either.

- (1a) intransitive predicable (with $\neq-\emptyset\neq$):
/yayaatwii- \emptyset ta+qiqtii_t \neq / 'the (absent, male) child was happy'
- (1b) intransitive predicable (with $\neq-s\neq$):
/.... yayaatwii-s ta+qiqtii_t \neq / '... (, and) the child was happy'
- (2) non-causative transitive predicable:
/k'x-i-s ta+qiqtii_t \neq / '(somebody) saw the child'
- (3) causative transitive predicable:
/?a \neq ps-tu- \emptyset -s ta+qiqtii_t \neq / '(somebody) fed the child'
- (4) non-causative passive predicable:
/k'x-im ta+qiqtii_t \neq / 'the child was seen'
- (5) causative passive predicable:
/?a \neq ps-tu-m ta+qiqtii_t \neq / 'the child was fed'

stative predicable:

/q'pst-aylayx ta+qiqtii_t \neq / 'the child happened to have a taste'

performative predicable:

?a \neq ps-aylayx ta+qiqtii_t \neq / 'the child was able to eat'

Note the relevance of the stative/performative division in Nuxalk. One can say e.g. /?a \neq ps-aylayx^x+ta+stam/ '(...) was able to eat ("by means of") something', but */q'pst-aylayx^x+ta+stam/ *(...) happened to have a taste ("by means of") something' is, at least to some degree, odd (cf. Nater 1984: 16.4.11, 16.4.3).

2. THE NUXALK AND UNW LEXICA The late Stanley Newman (1973: 201-214) compiled an ecological Nuxalk dictionary of 297 entries referring to animals, plants, and related technological items, and compared it with those of other Salish, as well as neighboring non-Salish, languages. He concluded that the Nuxalk ecological lexicon is primarily composed of borrowings from North Wakash. Simultaneously, he compared the Nuxalk basic vocabulary - the 165 word list of Swadesh (1950) - with that of surrounding languages, and he gathered that Nuxalk "borrowed almost nothing of its basic stock of words from Wakashan, in contrast to its heavy borrowing of ecological terms." (ib.: 207). Having concluded that Nuxalk adopted its ecological terminology from North Wakash, Newman adds the premise that the Nuxalk people's culture resembles that of the Wakash-speaking people more closely than that of the speakers of Coast Salish languages (ib.: 211), after which he draws the additional conclusion that the Nuxalk culture has been "modelled" (his term) after that of Wakash-speaking groups.

Now, Newman's lexicographic and ethnographic data were the best that were available at his time of writing, and we will not contest them, except for the following relatively minor points. For North Wakash, he was entirely dependent on publications by Franz Boas (and the never appropriately acknowledged George Hunt) on Kwakwaka'wakw and a mixture of Heiltsuk and Oowekyala (Boas and Hunt did not, or could not, consistently distinguish the two). Newman had no Haisla data; their availability might for instance have prevented him from tracing Nuxalk /pl \neq kani/ 'abalone' to a Tsimshianic origin - 'abalone' is /p \neq l \neq ? \neq / in Haisla. Occasionally, Newman misses a significant correspondence (e.g. Nuxalk /sm \neq k/ 'salmon' has cognates not only in Salish (all with $\neq s... \neq$), but also in Oowekyala /m \neq lik/ 'sockeye'), or states one incorrectly (such as 'young seal' = /w \neq l \neq iq \neq / in Heiltsuk, /w \neq l \neq iq \neq / in Oowekyala and Haisla). Newman was careful in the establishing of gloss and form equivalents and, for that matter, the direction of vocabulary borrowing. He looked at the distribution of words across Salish and adjacent non-Salish languages, and also brought to bear important phonological and morphological criteria. As for the latter, he classed e.g. Nuxalk /qa \neq layu/ 'fishhook' as a loan from Heiltsuk in spite of the presence of an apparent Salish cog-

nate (to wit Squamish /qálayu/), because the Heiltsuk item is part of a productive morphological paradigm. Here are some members of this paradigm; two of them were mentioned by Newman himself. For good measure, the Haisla and Oowekyala cognates are also given, and morphologically gradating phonemes are boxed in as in an earlier paradigm.

Haisla	Heiltsuk	Oowekyala	gloss
ǵá λ -ayu	ǵá λ -áyú	ǵa λ -ayu	'gaff, crochet hook'
ǵá λ -zu	ǵá λ -zu	ǵa λ -zu	'crochet pattern'
ǵa λ -áp'	ǵá λ -ámt'a	ǵa λ -mt'	'to hook each other'
ǵá λ -a	ǵá λ -a	ǵa λ -a	'to hook, crochet'
ǵá λ' -xλud	ǵá λ' -xλáut	ǵa λ' -xλut	'to hook something onto the tail of something'
ǵá ɬ -bud	ǵa ɬ -báut	ǵa' ɬ -baut	'to hook something to the end of a long thing, bend a thing's end into a hook-shape'

With due appreciation for Newman's pioneer work, we wonder whether his data sustain his conclusion that the Nuɬalk people looked to Wakash-speaking groups for their culture, as well as for their ecological vocabulary. We think that lexical comparison must also take into account details of the word structures of the languages in question, such as the inventories of roots and affixes, and morphological properties. Let us consider, for instance, the Nuɬalk word for 'butter clams', /c'ik^wa/. Newman is uncertain about its provenience, because cognates occur in many different languages (including Tlingit), but he is under the impression that it is most probably a loan from Wakash, where it fits into a morphological paradigm. The currently known members of this paradigm are as tabulated below - Newman himself lists only the Heiltsuk and Kwakwala items of line (1), and the Kwakwala items of lines (3) and (4). The Kwakwala transcriptions are based on Boas (1948) which is fairly reliable (see Lincoln and Rath 1980: 5-6). The Kwakwala items were, in addition, checked with a local Kwakwala-speaking resident, but he recognized only those of lines (1) and (4).

Haisla	Heiltsuk	Oowekyala	Kwakwala
(1) c'i k ^w -a	c'í k ^w -a	c'i k ^w -a	c'i k ^w -a
(1a) c'ixc' k ^w -a	c'íxc'a k ^w -a	c'ixc' k ^w -a	c'ic' k ^w -imas
(2) c'ixc'á k ^w -awa			c'ic' x ^w -mut
(3)			c'ic' x ^w -alism
(4) c'ixc'á k ^w -awa			
(5)	c'íc' x ^w -p'át	c'ic' x ^w -p'at	
(6)			

(1) '(butter) clams', (1a) and (2) 'to eat clams', (3) 'shellfish', (4) and (5) 'whole clam shells', (6) 'to die of eating clams'

By Wakashan standards, this is a short paradigm; other roots have hundreds of lexical derivatives. More significantly, all UNW ecological terms are components of short paradigms: their roots have few known lexical derivatives, or just one. An example of the latter sort is Heiltsuk /cimáni/, Oowekyala and Nuɬalk /cimani/ 'horseclam'. Why, for instance, do their roots not combine with any of the numerous Wakash suffixes of space (including the somatic suffixes)? Why is there not an Oowekyala word */cimaxis/ 'foot of horseclam', or */cimaxisgu/ 'neck (penis) of horseclam'? We will never be completely certain, in the absence of written sources on older stages of Wakash, but it is at least possible that the relative lack of productivity of the roots of UNW ecological terms is due to their non-native status, that is, one member of a paradigm may actually be a borrowing, the other extensions representing back-formations. Thus, maybe the words on line (1) have been borrowed, or they have descended from proto-Wakash borrowings, while the other items are possibly back-formations, or have their origin in proto-Wakash back-formations. Borrowings from where? Perhaps (proto-)Salish, perhaps a now extinct third party - we will return to this matter after examining more data. Then, if a short paradigm arouses at least the suspicion of borrowing and back-formation, can we assume that a long paradigm is the hallmark of solidly Wakash origin? Possibly so, in the sense that the paradigm's root, and the suffixes, have developed from proto-Wakash originals, but not necessarily in the sense that this de-

velopment was shielded from foreign influence. Take, for instance, the first UNW paradigm in this section (the one about 'hooking'), and let the reader take for granted here that the variety of root allomorphs all derive from the canonical root form $\#gh\lambda-\#$, with a final morpho-phoneme $\emptyset\lambda\emptyset$. The same root exists also in Kwakwala, but alternates here with $\#\lambda'hq-\#$ which, in its turn, is reminiscent of Haisla $\#\lambda q-\#$ 'to grab, to catch', Kwakwala $\#\lambda q-\#$ 'to fish with a basket trap' and $\#\lambda q-\#$ (only in $*/\lambda gk^w/$ 'harpoon point'). (The latter two Kwakwala roots are from Boas, and could not be re-elicited; see Lincoln and Rath 1980: items 957 and 1021.) The relationship between $\#\lambda'hq-\#$ and $\#\lambda q-\#$ is borne out by the fact that it is not uncommon in North Wakash for a root of the structure obstruent + $\emptyset h\emptyset$ + aspirated plosive or fricative to alternate with one that is identical or near-identical in shape and meaning, except that it contains no $\emptyset h\emptyset$ or other resonant. Compare, for example, pan-North Wakash $\#khq-\#$ 'head for, meet head on, collide, crash' with Kwakwala $\#kq-\#$ 'collide, strike with head'. Note also that Haisla has a synonym $\#k'hq-\#$ beside $\#khq-\#$; the glottalization of $\emptyset\lambda'\emptyset$ in $\#\lambda'hq-\#$ certainly does not invalidate its etymological connection with $\#\lambda q-\#$. It is also worth mentioning that alternation between rounded and unrounded, with applicable (morpho-)phonemes, pervades all North Wakash: Haisla $\#\lambda q-\#$ may well be related etymologically to Kwakwala $\#\lambda q^w-\#$ and pan-North Wakash $\#\lambda q^w-\#$ 'stimulate vagina with hand, insert finger in vagina, break hymen with finger'. In sum, it is conceivable that $\#gh\lambda-\#$ has developed from a proto-North Wakash root that began in a lateral and ended in some uvular, say $\#\lambda hq-\#$ or $\#\lambda q-\#$, and that it did so develop under the influence of a foreign model, such as the possible ancestor of the word that now survives in Nuḵalk as /qalayu/ 'fishhook', which itself is connected with Nuḵalk roots such as $\#qal-\#$ 'to clasp, hang on to', $\#iq'-\#$ 'to grip, fetter', $\#\lambda'x-\#$ 'to mesh' (for the alternations $\emptyset a\emptyset \sim \emptyset\emptyset$ and $\emptyset q\emptyset \sim \emptyset x\emptyset$ see Nater 1984: sections 9.2.1 and 9.5); compare further Nuḵalk $\#q'al-\#$ 'braided', /q'lsx^w/ 'rope', /q'laḵ/ 'fence', cognates of which are found in an extensive area.

We think that a thorough study of lexical diffusion in the Pacific Northwest requires nothing less than a full-scale internal reconstruction of Wakash, Salish, and adjoining language families. Meanwhile, it

may nevertheless be profitable to compare the morpheme inventories of adjacent languages such as Nuḵalk and UNW. This we endeavor to demonstrate in the next section, as far as affixes and clitics are concerned. We anticipate that a case can eventually be made for one and the same substratum language being the source of the morphemes and morpheme-like elements Nuḵalk and UNW appear to have in common. For that matter, Newman was himself aware of a paradox in his own thesis of Nuḵalk having borrowed from Wakash - at the end of his paper he says:

It should be noted that the flora and fauna in the Coast Salish environment do not differ essentially from those of the Wakashan region; gloss equivalents for most of the maritime references among the Bella Coola loanwords can be found in Coast Salish languages, but they are rarely cognates.

Indeed, what could have been the Nuḵalk people's motive for exchanging their Salish ecological terms for Wakash ones? Newman proposes the following explanation:

It must be assumed, then, that the maritime words of Salish were largely replaced in Bella Coola by forms borrowed from the Wakashan. This replacement indicates a historical tendency in the Bella Coola vocabulary to reflect the stronger maritime orientation of the Wakashan version of Northwest Coast Culture.

We believe this assumed tendency is a DEUS EX MACHINA for which there is no need. We rather suspect that neither the ancestors of the Wakash-speaking groups, nor those of the Nuḵalk speakers, had any maritime vocabulary; they adopted it from the people whose land they invaded, and the more seaward they stayed, the heavier the borrowing. This may have been true of the whole culture and religion of the area under investigation: the newcomers borrowed, and of course transformed, it - in whole or in part - in the process.

3. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN NUXALK AND UNW LEXICAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS
Henceforth, the following abbreviations will be used in addition to "UNW": CA = Coeur d'Alene, CO = Columbian, HA = Haisla, HE = Heiltsuk, HL = Halcomelem, KL = Kalispel, LI = Lillooet, NU = Nuḵalk, OO = Oowekyala, PU = Puget Sound, SE = Sechelt, SH = Shushwap, SQ = Squamish, WE = Westcoast (a South Wakash isolect).

(2) The canonical form of suffixes and enclitics that are NOT morphologically "neutral" (see above) contains what we shall call an "initial boundary". Different suffixes and enclitics, and different non-complementarily distributed alternants of the same suffix or enclitic, may contain different initial boundaries. Depending on its nature and environment, an initial boundary has one of the following three morphological effects: (a) none at all, (b) coalescence with the preceding morpho-phoneme into a particular phoneme (thus, e.g., one kind of initial boundary coalesces with $\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}$ into /λ/, whereas another coalesces with it into /ɬ/), or (c) change of the boundary itself into an epenthetic phoneme or one of the junctures /./, /h/, /ʔ/, /ə/. In this paper, there is no need to detail the initial boundaries, and we therefore limit ourselves to hinting at the possibility of their occurrence by writing "" at the onset of every UNW suffix's or enclitic's canonical form, including that of known neutral ones. If possible, we write "" on top of "-" or "_", as in $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}\text{ʔ}$, $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-k}\text{ʔ}$, $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-(x)dm}\text{ʔ}$; however, there are cases where an initial boundary is itself a conditional element (for instance as in $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-(x)gk}^h\text{hn}\text{ʔ}$), or follows a conditional morpho-phoneme, as in e.g. $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-(x)yd}\text{ʔ}$.

(3) Many suffixes and enclitics, and some roots, contain a terminal boundary which, broadly speaking, may inhibit or alter the morphological effect of a following initial boundary, or enter the phonemic word as a juncture or epenthetic phoneme. In this paper, we distinguish three terminal boundaries: $\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}$, $\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}^h$, and $\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}^h$. The terminal boundary $\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}$ behaves like an "ordinary" morpho-phoneme $\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}$ word-finally (where it always becomes /a/), and before most enclitics its behavior is predictable in terms of its environment; before suffixes, however, its behavior may be so predictable or idiosyncratic. $\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}^h$ is a mobile glottalization; if actualized at all, it may become a juncture /ʔ/ or coalesce with one of the elements preceding it. We use "" to indicate all other terminal boundaries.

3.2. INCREMENTAL SUFFIXES For a number of NU and UNW suffixes the form can be established without major - or any - problems, but the mean-

ing is not definable beyond 'to be the case, to exist, to be available, to satisfy the definition of ...' - we shall call such, apparently "semantically atomic" or "petrified", suffixes increments. Sometimes a possible relationship exists between such an increment and a component of another suffix or root: see, for instance, the comments to #20 and #31 in resp. 3.4 and 3.6. On the problem of sub-morphological constituents in Wakash, see Haas (1972) and Lincoln and Rath (1980: 45-46).

3.3. CORRESPONDENCES INVOLVING A BILABIAL OBSTRUENT OR RESONANT

#1. NU $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-lp}\text{ʔ}$ (productive), $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-alp}\text{ʔ}$ (petrified) 'source of, serving the purpose of; (useful) plant or tree'. This suffix has cognates in interior Salish: SH $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-elp}\text{ʔ}$ 'tree, bush, plant; par excellence', CA $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-alp}\text{ʔ}$, $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-əlp}\text{ʔ}$ 'plant', CO $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-álp}$, $\text{-lp}\text{ʔ}$ 'plant'. On the other hand, $\text{ʔ}^h\text{p}\text{ʔ}$ of this suffix should also be compared with NU and other Salish $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-t}\text{ʔ}$ 'increment, formative' (that is, if this $\text{ʔ}^h\text{p}\text{ʔ}$ continues older $\text{*ʔ}^h\text{t}^w\text{ʔ}$ - cf. Nater 1985: 4D), with NU $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}\text{ʔ}$, UNW $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}_2\text{ʔ}$ (see #3 below), and with a set of UNW incremental suffixes with $\text{ʔ}^h\text{m}\text{ʔ}$ for a nucleus, several instances of which set refer to plants or useful plant parts. The set in question includes the following: HA, HE, and OO $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}_1\text{ʔ}$, HA $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}^h\text{ʔ}$, HE and OO $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-hm}^h\text{ʔ}$, and HA $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-hm}\text{ʔ}$ - as far as HA $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}^h\text{ʔ}$ is concerned, note that all known instances of this suffix are accented, but it is not known yet if the mobile glottalization ($\text{ʔ}^h\text{ʔ}^h$) and this accent condition each other in principle (but they often do in practice). Compare also NU $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-l}\text{ʔ}$ 'disconnection'.

#2. NU $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}\text{ʔ}$ 'medium'. First of all, this suffix has Salish cognates, e.g. SH and SQ $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-m}\text{ʔ}$ 'intransitive'. Secondly, it may be related to #3, as well as to $\text{ʔ}^h\text{m}\text{ʔ}$, which has a formative function in e.g. /maaʔsa/ 'nose' (older $\text{*}/\text{ma}(\text{'})\text{qsən}/$), /musa/ 'face', /mnk/ 'faeces' (cf. resp. $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-l-ks}\text{ʔ}$, $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-us}\text{ʔ}$, $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-nk}\text{ʔ}$ with the same meanings). Furthermore, this suffix is reminiscent of the NU prefixes $\text{ʔ}^h\text{tam}\text{ʔ}$ 'cumulative, iterative' and $\text{ʔ}^h\text{k'am}\text{ʔ}$ 'to be the same, to act identically'. Is there also a connection with UNW $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-w}\text{ʔ}$ 'out, off, etc.' (see item #8)?

#3. NU $\text{ʔ}^h\text{-ma}$, -mn- , -ama , $\text{-amn}\text{ʔ}$ 'tool, what is used for ...' (for the

distribution of the allomorphs see Nater 1984: 21.2). Generally Salish: SH \neq -min, -min' \neq , KL \neq -mín, -mən \neq , Cowlitz \neq -mən \neq , Tillamook \neq -win \neq , but also reminiscent of UNW \neq -m₂ \neq , one of its glosses being 'implement, tool, what is used for ..., means to an end, to serve as ...'. Compare also the NU prefix \neq tam \neq 'to make, construct'.

#4. NU \neq -apsm \neq 'neck', which has Salish cognates in SQ \neq -apsám, -apsm, -psm \neq 'back of neck', PU \neq -apsəb \neq , KL \neq -elps \neq 'back part of neck', SH \neq -eps, -el'ps \neq 'back of neck'. \emptyset ps \emptyset of this suffix could be identical to \neq -ps \neq in the complex NU suffix \neq -al-ps \neq 'covered, encased, enveloped'; alternatively, however, \neq -apsm \neq may contain a petrified suffix \neq -ap \neq related to the following UNW items: (a) \emptyset p' \emptyset in HA \neq -p'yg^h, \neq -p'yg, \neq -p'yk \neq , HE \neq -p'yg^h, \neq -p'yk \neq , OO \neq -p'yg^h, \neq -p'yk \neq '(on the) shin' (HA also: 'trunk of tree'); (b) HA, HE, and OO \neq -hbw \neq 'underneath, below; at bottom, base, or foundation'; (c) HA, HE, OO \neq -hp \neq 'below, underneath; at bottom, base, or foundation; (at the) back, behind'; (d) HA, HE, and OO \neq -hp' \neq '(at) nape of neck, behind, at the back'. If NU \neq -apsm \neq begins in \neq -ap \neq , what follows could be an increment \neq -s \neq plus an otherwise unknown increment \neq -m \neq or, more likely, a suffix \neq -sm \neq related to HA, HE, and OO \neq -s(ǵ)m \neq 'round and/or bulky thing', which is numerous in the lexicon and still productive. \neq -s(ǵ)m \neq may itself be the result, historically, of the placement of incremental \neq -s \neq before HA, HE, and OO \neq -(ǵ)m \neq '(on the) face, ahead, in front'. Thus, NU \neq -apsm \neq is reminiscent of UNW elements adding up to the meaning 'base of a bulky thing (such as the head)'.
#5. NU \neq - λ 'ap \neq 'times' lacks evident cognates in Salish. It resembles, however, NU / λ 'ap/ 'to go, start (going)', which itself has some similarity to SQ / λ 'iq/ 'to arrive' and LI / λ 'ak/ 'to go along'. It is also reminiscent of UNW \neq - β 'n \neq 'times', albeit rather vaguely so.

#6. NU \neq -mc \neq 'one's ... (relatives)' is apparently without any Salish cognates. It may be historically complex, cf. \neq -m \neq 'medium' and \neq -c \neq 'plural deictic'; if so, \emptyset c \emptyset is semantically related to UNW pluralizing \neq - λ ^w, \neq -y λ ^w, \neq -w λ ^w \neq (cf. section 4.2, item #3), which occurs in: (a) the uniquely HE complex \neq -mp- λ ^w \neq that constitutes a special plural form of

\neq -mp \neq 'relative, kin' in HE / λ ^wu λ -i'- \emptyset p- λ ^w/ irregular plural of / λ ^w λ - \emptyset / 'uncle'; (b) the HE place name /k'á λ '-y-át- λ ^w/ 'full of humpback salmon'; (c) various suffixes and enclitics with plural or collective meaning. Note that Sapir and Swadesh (1939) list a counterpart of \neq - λ ^w \neq in WE, viz. \neq - η , -i' η , -o' η \neq 'plural of duratives in λ '.

The NU component \emptyset m \emptyset is also reminiscent of two UNW suffixes: (a) HA, HE, and OO \neq -p \neq , HE and OO \neq -mp \neq , HA \neq -wp, \neq -hp \neq 'kin, relative'; (b) HA, HE, and OO incremental \neq -m₁ \neq (see entry #1), as contained in HA /sàs-m₁/, HE /sás-m₁/, OO /sas-m₁/ 'a couple's children', HA /wis-m₁/, HE /wís-m₁/, OO /wis-m₁/ 'man, male', HA /ǵ η -m₁/, HE /ǵ η - η /, OO /ǵ η -m₁/ 'woman, female'. The UNW suffix \neq -hd \neq 'to have, exhibit, manifest' cannot follow incremental \neq -m₁ \neq directly; it is separated from it by incremental \neq -s \neq , which latter coalesces with the initial boundary of \neq -hd \neq into /z/: HA /sàs-m-z-ad/, HE /sás-m-z-at/, OO /sas-m-z-at/ 'to have children'.

#7a. NU \neq -anm \neq 'to gradually become; it is time for one to ...; (it is) the season of ...' has at least one cognate in Salish: SQ \neq -anam, -anm \neq 'measure, time'. NU \neq -anm-aak \neq 'hour, ... o'clock' contains \neq -a(a)k \neq 'hand, pointer'.

#7b. NU \neq -tam \neq 'time, month, season of', which is only limitedly productive, appears to have a Salish cognate in SQ \neq tm \neq (prefix!) 'time', which, however, may also be related to NU \neq tm \neq 'only, merely'.

#7c. NU \neq -am \neq 'to shortly become; (to do something) ... times' compares not only with #2, but appears also to have cognates in Salish, cf. LI \neq -ám \neq 'row' (with numerals), \neq -ám(') \neq 'almost, but not quite'.

The above three suffixes share an element \emptyset m \emptyset or \emptyset am \emptyset that is reminiscent of UNW \neq -m-, \neq -hm \neq 'at a particular time or occasion', an alternant of which may be contained in the enclitic HE \neq -m'hs, \neq -hm'hs \neq , OO \neq -m'ws, \neq -hm'ws \neq 'yet, still, for a while', which is itself doubtless the same as NU \neq -mas \neq 'always, forever'. NU \neq -anm \neq bears a semantic resemblance to UNW \neq -n'hk^wlh \neq 'gradual motion or action, gradual change, little by little, one after the other, to start slowly, to get around to doing something'. \emptyset an \emptyset of NU \neq -anm \neq and \emptyset n' \emptyset of UNW \neq -n'hk^wlh \neq may be related to

each other; an etymological connection may also exist between NU \neq -anm \neq and UNW \neq ghnm \neq 'perhaps' (cf. also NU \neq ma, \neq m- \neq 'likely, possibly'). NU \neq -tam \neq also resembles, both phonetically and semantically, HA \neq tm \neq , HE and OO \neq (x)dm \neq 'there is, there exists, there lives; there takes place; having actuality or reality'; purely semantically, NU \neq -tam \neq equals HA \neq qws \neq 'month, season', with which it also shares a labial element. Just as NU \neq -anm \neq is semantically similar to UNW \neq n'hk^wlh \neq , NU \neq -am \neq compares semantically to UNW \neq (x)'yd \neq 'to become, start to, do in single act' (in HA also: 'anew, again; to a greater degree than').

#8. NU \neq -uc \neq has a great variety of glosses: 'mouth, speech, food, door, shore, edge, rim of knife, water, tide, channel'. Its basic referent is 'orifice, perimeter', but the Salish cognates LI \neq -c, -cin \neq , SH \neq -cin \neq , SE \neq -ucin \neq have the specific meaning 'mouth' (SQ \neq -c \neq also means 'lip, edge, opening'). The notion of 'level area, expanse' is present in NU \neq nu⁻...-uc \neq 'flat layer; sky; weather'. In spite of its obviously Salish provenience, and in consideration of its semantic range, this suffix should be compared also with the following: (a) \neq ms \neq in the UNW root \neq sms- \neq 'mouth (of body)'; (b) UNW \neq w \neq 'out, off, away from; initiated by the one and affecting the other (i.e. marker of transitivity); out of shape, out of place, standing out, extraordinary, special, dangerous, sacred, supernatural; exterior of, having a certain characteristic', (c) UNW \neq wt, \neq ws \neq 'out, away, stretching forth, emerging; having a certain characteristic or appearance, embodiment of, being of a certain substance', WE \neq (y)'o'c \neq 'extending out, in view'. That \neq -uc \neq in the NU complex \neq nu⁻...-uc \neq is identical with NU \neq -uc \neq 'mouth etc.' is substantiated by the semantic range of UNW \neq xt^h, \neq hxt^h, which illustrates at the same time the intertwining of 'out' and 'mouth': (1) '(at the) mouth of animate or inanimate being'; (2) '(at the) opening or orifice, (at the) edge (of water, of boat); opening up, unfolding (like landscape), spreading out, spreading open (like jaw or knee)'; (3) 'weather'; (4) 'to eat, out of the mouth, out of orifice; to talk, speech, sound'.

#9. NU \neq -ams \neq 'jaw, mandible', \neq -us \neq 'face'. Of these two, \neq -us \neq is common Salish: SQ \neq -us \neq , KL \neq -ús, -s \neq , SH \neq -us \neq (and cf. #10). \neq -ams \neq ,

however, has no obvious cognates in Salish, but if it continues older \neq -ans \neq (the sequence */ns/ being phonotactically impermissible in NU: see Nater 1984: 10.1), we should compare it to SQ \neq -ans \neq and SH \neq -en's \neq 'tooth', and cf. also item #8. On the other hand, \neq -ams \neq also resembles OO and HA \neq my^h \neq 'corner of expanse, cheek, jaw'. We must here consider the possibility that UNW \neq my^h \neq could really be \neq ms^h \neq , that is, \neq y' \neq in the UNW suffix could really be \neq s \neq coalesced with the initial boundary of another suffix, \neq h \neq . However, there are several suffixes with this \neq h \neq , and the one with the kind of initial boundary that coalesces with \neq s \neq into /y'/ has the meanings '(on a) rock, rocky shore, spot, stove; concentrated, intense, deep, forming a unity, tangible'. It is not clear, given the meanings of \neq h \neq and the complex \neq ms^h \neq , what could be the meaning of UNW \neq ms- \neq . If it means 'face', the complex \neq ms^h \neq may be glossed as something like 'most substantial part of face', while a relationship can be sought with UNW \neq -(g)m^h \neq 'face' and the SQ, KL, and SH cognates of NU \neq -us \neq , but perhaps \neq h \neq serves only as an increment in \neq ms^h \neq , while \neq ms- \neq itself means 'cheek, jaw, corner of expanse'.

#10a. NU \neq -us \neq 'sheet, blanket' is probably the same as \neq -us \neq discussed under #9. For a possible link with UNW see below.

#10b. NU \neq -alus₁ \neq 'energy, driving mechanism: fire, firewood; engine; totality; chest' has apparent cognates in Salish, such as SQ \neq -ay²us \neq 'skin, color, animal hair, feathers, bark of tree', LI \neq -al'us \neq 'color, matter', LI \neq -al'iw's \neq 'body', SQ \neq -inas \neq 'chest', SH \neq -eləs \neq 'chest, character'. Probably identical with #10c.

#10c. NU \neq -alus₂ \neq 'to feel like ...ing, to want to ...' resembles the following in Salish: SQ \neq -ay? \neq 'to want', KL \neq -éls \neq 'volitive'.

#10d. NU \neq -liwa, -liwn-, -lun- \neq 'having the appearance of, sort of, ...-like, approximating', with cognates in Salish: SQ \neq -iwan \neq 'spirit, mind', LI \neq -iwán, -al-iwán \neq 'size, hulk'.

Of these, NU \neq -us \neq is reminiscent of UNW \neq ws \neq 'out, away, stretching forth, emerging, etc.', on which see the comments under #8. The NU and

UNW suffixes may really be complex, i.e. NU *~~u~~-s~~u~~, UNW *~~w~~-~~s~~, the final component being incremental, and the initial one in UNW having the range of meanings described for ~~w~~ under #8, and in NU that of 'bulk, substance, roundness' (which latter meaning is also a semantic component of NU ~~uc~~ and ~~ul~~; see #8 and #11). As for ~~alus~~₁ and ~~alus~~₂, we note that there is in NU also a suffix ~~nalus~~ '(into) pieces; division; joint'. This suffix continues older *~~l~~-~~alus~~ (dissimilated) or *~~l~~-~~anus~~ (metathesized), and its glosses include those of ~~alus~~₁ and ~~alus~~₂: 'combined parts or pieces, joined, functional whole: (1) total appearance, centered, concentrated; (2) being connected with, having affinity with, having in mind', cf. the LI cognates ~~alwas~~ 'in half, in or down the middle', ~~n~~...-in'was~~u~~ 'middle', ~~n~~...-anwas~~u~~ 'heart, inside, mind'. ~~al~~ in NU ~~alus~~_{1,2} and ~~l~~ in NU ~~liwa~~ are probably increments historically (see Nater 1984: 20.1); they have counterparts in other Salish, which in some cases merge with (an augmented form of) the bilabial component (SH, KL), while SQ and LI exhibit the /l/ ~ /n/ alternation that may be characteristic of (older forms of) NU ~~nalus~~. The ~~u~~ of NU ~~alus~~ and ~~nalus~~ corresponds to three LI components, viz. ~~u~~ and (augmented) ~~iw~~'~~u~~ and ~~wa~~; cf. also /a/, rather than */u/, in SQ ~~inas~~ (? older *~~inwas~~). This type of augmentation also characterizes NU ~~liwa~~, -~~liwn~~-, -~~lun~~-, where ~~l~~ is historically incremental. The SQ and LI cognates of this suffix indicate that its meaning must originally have been something like '(in the) spirit (of)' (cf. French ~~ment~~, Portuguese ~~mente~~, Italian ~~mente~~, all from Latin /mens, ment-/ 'mind'), or 'looming, coming into view, incarnate', and it also shows a formal and semantic resemblance to UNW ~~s~~-~~yw~~^h 'manifestation, personification of, incarnation of'. ~~yw~~^h is no doubt semantically related to the suffix ~~w~~ mentioned under #8; that ~~yw~~^h is an augmented form of ~~w~~ is indicated by their alternation in e.g. OO /q'^wu'^xw-sust-u-t/ 'to lift something by its handle, hoist a flag' and /q'^wu'^xw-sust-iw^ala/ 'to be lifting something by its handle, to be hoisting a flag'.

#11a. NU ~~ul~~ 'round or bulky: body; ball, rock, egg, house; vehicle, conveyance', ~~nu~~...-~~ul~~ 'belly, stomach' (cf. #8 and #10). This suffix

has the primary meaning 'shell, round(ed) container'; it appears to continue older *~~w~~-~~w~~ or *~~w~~-~~w~~, as indicated by its Salish reflexes: SQ ~~wil~~ 'belly, bowels; container; canoe', SH ~~ew~~ 'container', SH ~~ew~~'~~u~~ 'conveyance'. It resembles NU ~~al~~ 'lower leg, foot; vehicle; food implement or container', which by itself has no obvious cognates in Salish, but may continue *~~w~~-~~w~~ or *~~w~~-~~w~~ (deprived of ~~w~~). For a possible connection with UNW see below.

#11b. NU ~~ulla~~ 'appearance, nature, character, behavior' may contain an increment ~~la~~, in which case it should be compared with LI ~~u~~ 'always'. On the other hand, it may also be related to #11a, #11c, and/or NU ~~l~~ (see 3.5, #27), which has many of the meanings of UNW ~~w~~.

#11c. NU ~~ul~~ is a hapax: /s-~~xi~~'-ul/ 'skinny (/xi'/) person'; it may be related to SQ ~~ul~~ (gloss uncertain), SH ~~el~~ (no known meaning), and LI ~~u~~'~~u~~ 'real'. There may be a connection with #11a, #11b, and #11d, and also with #12b.

#11d. NU ~~ulic~~, -~~ulic~~'~~u~~ 'hole; clothing'. The component ~~lic~~'~~u~~ recurs in #31 (see 3.6), and ~~u~~(1)~~u~~ may be (a) the incremental alternant of ~~ul~~, or (b) an alternant of ~~(a)l~~ (see the comments to #10, and cf. #11c and #12b).

NU ~~ul~~ is reminiscent of UNW ~~w~~, ~~w~~'~~u~~, ~~w~~'~~u~~ 'made out of, having the characteristics or nature of, being of a certain substance, offspring of, stemming from; substantial(ly); some time ago', which in turn compares also with NU ~~l~~ 'disconnected' (cf. #11b, and #27 in 3.5).

#12a. NU ~~mx~~ 'inhabitant of, native to' has interesting reflexes in Salish, some featuring rounded /x^w/, others lacking this rounding: SH ~~mux~~^w a suffix possibly meaning 'person', SQ ~~mix~~^w, -~~mex~~^w suffix occurring in names of (groups of) people, PU ~~bix~~^w, -~~bs~~'~~u~~ 'people', CO ~~mix~~^w, -~~amx~~^w, -~~amx~~^w 'man, person', Tillamook ~~us~~ 'people', SH ~~mx~~ 'people'. The absence or presence of rounding, and the mobility and optionality of a vocalic peak, suggest that the suffix had in proto-Salish two basic shapes, here reconstructed tentatively as *~~sn~~-~~wex~~ and *~~en~~-~~wex~~, " " here standing for "syllabic prominence", i.e. expiratory

stress and/or "vowel strengthening", i.e. */ǝ/ → /a(′)/ before */n/, and */ǝ/ → /i(′)/ or /u(′)/ before /x, x^w/. In post-*proto-Salish*, then, allomorphs evolved due to (I) reduplication of */w/ (symbolized as "·"); (II) merging of */w/ with the contiguous consonant, whereby */nw/ → /m/ and */wx/ → /x^w/; (IIIa) fixation of stress, (IIIb) deletion of unaccented */ə/, (IIIc) vowel strengthening (optional). Thus, the modern Salish forms are accounted for as follows:

<u>proto-Salish</u>	<u>intermediate</u>	<u>contemporary Salish</u>
**ǝ-n-wəxǝ	*ǝ-n-wəxǝ	NU and SH ǝ-n-wəxǝ, PU ǝ-n-wəxǝ
**ǝ-n-wə:wxǝ	*ǝ-n-wə:wxǝ	CO ǝ-n-wə:wxǝ, -ǝ-n-wə:wxǝ
**ǝ-n-wǝxǝ	*ǝ-n-wǝxǝ	SQ ǝ-n-wǝxǝ, -ǝ-n-wǝxǝ
**ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ	*ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ	SH ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ, SQ ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ, -ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ, CO ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ, PU ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ

This internal reconstruction implies that the transition from (early) *proto-Salish* to the "intermediate stage" was characterized, among other things, by a change in the stress system: mobile accent (still largely maintained in NU) became fixed in (late *proto-*)Salish.

Note that SQ ǝ-n-wǝxǝ and ǝ-n-wǝ:wxǝ are petrified; they occur only in two geographical names, to wit /s-qǝ^wú[?]-miǝ/ 'Squamish' and /ǝ[?]iáq·mǝǝ/ 'tributary of the r. Squamish'. The absence of the bilabial nasal in *proto-Salish* is suggested not only by the Tillamook reflex (which may continue *ǝ-n-wəxǝ, without *ǝ-n-ǝ), but also by a possible link between incremental *ǝ-n-ǝ and ǝ-(a)l-ǝ, and - more significantly - by the lack of a nasal in two Salish suffixes mentioned under #12b, with which NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ is intimately connected; furthermore, *ǝ-n-wəxǝ may also survive, in reduced form, in such suffixes as SH ǝ-n-wǝxǝ 'body' and LI ǝ-n-wǝxǝ 'family'. Compare further NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ (#13c).

#12b. NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'earth, land, ground, floor' has numerous Salish cognates, such as KL ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w, CO ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w, CA ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w, LI ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w 'earth, land, soil' and 'udder, breast', LI ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w, -lum^wxǝ^w 'earth, land, soil'. Note LI ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w (second meaning), which corresponds to suffixes in other Salish, including NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ. The two striking features of the Salish reflexes are (a) mobile glottalization, (b) the lack

of a nasal consonant in KL and CO. These peculiarities are, however, understood better when we consider the possible structure of the suffix in *proto-Salish*. We can isolate, first of all, the increment ǝ-n-wəxǝ (cf. #11d), while the remaining component is identical with #12a. The presence of incremental *ǝ-n-wəxǝ must have caused the, equally incremental (and probably glottalized rather than accented), element *ǝ-n-ǝ to become optional. Where this *ǝ-n(′)-ǝ was deleted, however, the glottalization remained, now becoming an unstable (suprasegmental) feature of the entire suffix, which was no longer considered complex. Such once-mobile glottalization can be observed also in the related suffixes SH ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'foundation' and LI ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'bed, floor' (for the constituent ǝpǝ in these, cf. UNW ǝ-n-wəxǝ discussed under #4).

The semantic connection between NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ and ǝ-n-wəxǝ is suggested not only by their etymological relation, but also by the fact that the ancestors of the various local divisions in the area under investigation are said to have been "planted" by the Creator in their respective territories. Additional evidence of this connection is found in the UNW suffixes for ethnic concepts, which also have a striking phonetic similarity to the Salish forms: HE, HA, and OO ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w, HA ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w (1) 'manifestation, personification, incarnation, embodiment; crest, clan, to represent or belong to a clan'; (2) 'expertly, habitually, being good at, knowing how to, characterized by' (for which cf. NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ...-mǝxǝ discussed in Nater 1984: 19.17.2, and LI ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'all the time, getting carried away doing something'); UNW ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w 'inhabitants of'; HE and OO ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w, ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w 'crest, clan, belonging to the crest or clan of'. Note that OO has a pluralizing clitic ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w which, like the preceding three suffixes, contains pluralizing ǝ-n-wəxǝ^w; on this latter suffix, see also #6, and #3 in section 4.2.

#13a. NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'non-causative reflexive', with cognates in Salish: SQ ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'reflexive', SH ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'reflexive', LI ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'reflexive'. Kuipers' analysis of the SQ form indicates that ǝ-n-wəxǝ may be historically complex; cf. the following entry.

#13b. NU ǝ-n-wəxǝ 'causative reflexive', a cognate of which exists in SQ ǝ-n-wəxǝ, which replaces ǝ-n-wəxǝ after transitive verbs taking ǝ-n-wəxǝ.

#13c. NU \neq -max^w \neq 'reciprocal' resembles #12a, but is also related to SQ \neq -way \neq , LI \neq -twal', -atw'áx^w \neq , SH \neq -wéx^w \neq , KL \neq -wé[?]x^w \neq . Note the lack of a nasal in the Salish cognates, and the absence of ʔx^w in SQ and the first LI item (which contain a continuation of $\text{*ʔl}(\text{'})$). ʔm in the NU suffix may go back to $\text{*}\neq$ -ən'-w... \neq (glottalization still being a feature of the LI and KL forms; cf. #12a). $\text{*}\neq$ -ən'- \neq may have served also as a transitivizer.

NU \neq -cut \neq relates to NU \neq -mut \neq as does NU \neq -c- \neq 'me (non-causative transitive object)' to NU \neq -m- \neq 'me (causative transitive object)'. Thus, the original meaning of the underlined elements in NU \neq -cut \neq and \neq -mut \neq may have been 'self, ego', $\text{*}\neq$ -ut \neq alone historically having a transitive function (cf. SQ \neq -(a/u/i)t \neq 'transitivizer'). If $\text{*}\neq$ -ut \neq is older $\text{*}\neq$ -wət \neq , ʔm in \neq -mut \neq may go back to $\text{*}\neq$ -ən-w... \neq , as seems to be the case with NU \neq -max^w \neq . For now, however, we shall cease to speculate on the likely source(s) of NU ʔm in Salish, and consider a possible cognate in UNW, which is HA \neq -ñp', -p' \neq , HE \neq -mt'^h \neq , and OO \neq -mt' \neq 'to ... each other'. This UNW suffix resembles the Salish reciprocal suffixes in that it contains a phonetically vocalic peak, a bilabial element, and the feature of glottalization present in the LI and KL forms.

3.4. CORRESPONDENCES INVOLVING ANY NON-LATERAL GINGIVAL PHONEME

#14. NU \neq -t \neq , a petrified increment, is related to SH \neq -t \neq 'state', and possibly also to SQ \neq -t \neq 'late, deceased'; however, the SQ suffix is semantically closer to NU \neq -i \neq , one of whose glosses is 'dead' (see 3.5, #27) - is it possible that SQ \neq -t \neq and NU \neq -i \neq continue proto-Salish $\text{*}\neq$ -λ \neq (this reconstruction being somewhat ad hoc, considering the absence of a phoneme /λ/ in most Salish)? On the other hand, NU \neq -t \neq can also be related to UNW incremental \neq -d, -d^h, -hd^h, -t, -t", -ht \neq , where ʔt alternates with ʔi , sometimes freely so.

#15. NU \neq tx-, t- \neq 'area, place where something is located', \neq t \neq - \neq 'geographical area, ethnos'. The first of these has a Salish cognate in SQ \neq tx^w- \neq , a prefix indicating direction: 'coming into a position or

state' which, in turn, is akin to SQ \neq -tx^w \neq 'house', and ʔtx^w in NU /[?]astx^w/ 'to be inside' and /[?]ustx^w/ 'to enter'. NU \neq t \neq - \neq , however, has no patent reflexes in Salish (unless we should feel compelled to compare it to e.g. NU /[?]asqa/ 'to be outside', NU /[?]usqa/ 'to go out', SQ /[?]acq/ 'the outdoors, outside', SQ /[?]ucq/ 'go outside', all of which share an element ʔq(a)), and should be compared to the HE and OO root \neq t \neq - \neq which is glossed as 'geographical place of', and used as a proclitic attribute, marking the constructional center following it as being a place name, cf. HE /t \neq +s k'^hit^w/ 'the geographical place of Kimsquit', OO /t \neq +s k'^wii/ 'the geographical place of Koeeye' (cf. NU /k'^wyay/ 'HE village west of Namu'). In addition, the NU prefix \neq t \neq - \neq and UNW proclitic /t \neq +/ are reminiscent of the UNW suffixes discussed under #12b.

#16. NU \neq -altwa \neq 'sky, weather, season' may originally have been complex, i.e. incremental \neq -al- \neq (cf. #10b-d) plus $\text{*}\neq$ -twa \neq . The latter constituent may be a reduced cognate of e.g. SH \neq -et-k^we \neq 'water', LI \neq -atk^wa[?], -atq^wa[?] \neq 'water' (cf. SQ \neq -a[?]q^wu \neq 'fluid, water'), but it can also be compared to e.g. LI \neq -altəx^w \neq 'outside' and SH \neq -el'tx^w \neq 'sheet-like object' (semantically, cf. #8), as well as to NU \neq tx- \neq (#15). When compared to Wakash, however, the component ʔtwa is reminiscent of UNW \neq -stw" \neq , which has two primary meanings: (1) 'in the way', (2) 'out of the way'. (1) subsumes the glosses 'obstructing the passage, filling the opening, screening off, covering (like a layer), obstructing the view, meeting the eye, in one's field of vision, eye-catching, colored, conspicuous; having a certain size, magnitude, or appearance', while (2) embraces the meanings 'exit, passage, door, window, hole, opening, eye'. The notation "s" serves to indicate that the element ʔs is not realized after UNW stems ending in /c, s, λ, ð/ and after HE and OO stems ending in /t/. Semantically closer, but phonetically less similar, to NU \neq -altwa \neq is UNW \neq -zw" \neq 'flat (and usually small) surface; layer, space, firmament, sky'.

#17. NU \neq -t'q \neq 'span(s) (measured between thumb and middle finger)' is related to the NU root \neq t'q- \neq 'to spread out', which is cognate with SQ \neq t'aq'-, t'əq'- \neq 'across, transverse' and/or \neq t'əx'- \neq 'open, branch out'.

On the other hand, $\#-t'q\#$ resembles UNW $\#-c'q\#$ 'long object: canoe, bottle, tree, cigaret, marking line (as used in counting), etc.' The UNW suffix, like its NU counterpart, is combined only with stems denoting number and quantity. Unlike NU $\#-t'q\#$, however, it is part of several idiomatic combinations with other suffixes, such as UNW $\#-c'q\ddot{y}s\# = \#-c'gys\#$ 'strand of thread', HE and OO $\#-c'q-(\ddot{x})sk'hnh\# = \#-c'ksk'hnh\#$ 'finger's width'.

#18. NU $\#-n\#$, a near-petrified transitivizing suffix, has cognates in SQ $\#-(a/u/i)n\#$ 'transitivizer', SH $\#-n(t)-\#$ 'transitivizer', LI $\#-an, -an'\#$ 'transitivizer'; cf. #13c. Outside of Salish, the NU suffix resembles UNW transitivizing $\#-wd\#$ (the element $\ddot{w}\ddot{d}$ of which is not actualized after /m, n, w/), which is highly productive.

#19. NU $\#-nnak\#$ 'faeces' is the suffixal variant of the noun /mnk/. Salish cognates of both $\#-nnak\#$ and /mnk/ are found in SH $\#-en'\ddot{a}k\#$ and /mnek/, KL /mn'eč/, and possibly also SE /wáč/ (without nasal phonemes). It is also related to UNW $\#mnk-\#$ 'excrement, manure' which, in turn, compares to HA /h'máka/, HE /h'máka/, and OO /h'maka/ 'to defecate'; these latter probably contain the root $\#h'm-\#$ 'sealed, blocked, tapered, watertight, etc.' and a privative suffix $\#-hk\#$. Furthermore, both in NU and in UNW, alternation between $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$ and $\ddot{h}\ddot{d}$ (NU $\ddot{h}\ddot{d}$) occurs; therefore, the root $\#mnk-\#$ might stem from $\#mh-k-\#$, in which $\#-k\#$ is a variant of the privative suffix $\#-hk\#$, and $\#mh-\#$ a metathesized and de-glottalized alternant of $\#h'm-\#$ (consider here the SE form, which lacks both $\ddot{m}\ddot{d}$ and $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$). The connection with NU $\#-nnak\#$ and SH $\#-en'\ddot{a}k\#$ can then be this: in both, $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$ is accompanied by glottal action (length, resp. glottalization; consider also the KL form). This $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$ might correspond to $\ddot{m}\ddot{d}$ of the UNW roots $\#h'm-\#$ and $\#mh-\#$; alternation of $\ddot{m}\ddot{d}$ and $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$ is well-attested in UNW. On the other hand, the glottal action in the NU and SH suffix, and the KL word, may be related to $\ddot{h}/h'\ddot{d}$ in the UNW roots. As concerns $\ddot{m}\ddot{d}$, we should consider its formative function in NU mentioned under #2. More generally, we may here be dealing with an archaic term which, in the course of its long history, has been subjected to various alterations, such as reduplication, haplology, addition or deletion of suprasegmental features, phoneme gradation, etc. etc.

#20a. NU $\#-ana, -ani\#$, an incremental suffix, does not appear to have cognates in Salish. It may have resulted from the convergence of originally disparate suffixes, and may be associated with #21a. We are, however, under the impression that it is more closely related to a set of UNW increments; see below.

#20b. NU $\#-ank\#$ 'long or vertical aspect (of body): front, side, edge'. This suffix may be fused $\#-an-\ddot{d}k\#$ '*side of elevation'; cf. #21a, and #32b in section 3.6. There are similar forms in Salish, but they differ semantically: SH $\#-enk\#$ 'belly, curved surface', LI $\#-an(\ddot{y})k\#$ 'belly, inside, hillside' (which itself is similar in form and meaning to LI $\#-al'k\#$ 'surface'). If NU $\#-an-\#$ is here not Salish, NU $\#-ank\#$ is not (directly) related to the SH and LI forms.

$\#-ana, -ani\#$ is a member of a set of (unpredictable) alternants of an UNW increment having $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$ as a morphological nucleus, viz. $\#-n, \ddot{h}n, \ddot{h}nh, \ddot{h}ny, \ddot{h}ny?, \ddot{y}n, \ddot{y}nh, \ddot{y}n, \ddot{y}n?, \ddot{n}'y, \ddot{n}'y?, \ddot{n}'^h, \ddot{h}n'^h\#$. HA has in addition the alternant $\#-n? \#$, which has the same peculiarity as HA $\#-m? \#$ mentioned under #1. Many instances of the increment pertain to a longish object or an animal; perhaps, therefore, an etymological relationship exists between it and the very productive UNW suffix $\#-(k)\ddot{n}, -(k)\ddot{n}^h\#$ (HA also $\#-(k)\ddot{n}?\#$) '(on the) body of animate being, log, trunk of tree, stick, rope, line; procedure, sequence, series'. NU $\#-ank\#$ is reminiscent of UNW $\#-(k)\ddot{n}, -(k)\ddot{n}^h\#$, the nucleus $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$ of which recurs in the semantically related UNW $\#-n'hk^wlh\#$ 'gradual motion or action, gradual change, little by little, one after the other, to start slowly, to get around to doing something'; cf. also $\ddot{h}an\ddot{d}$ in NU $\#-anm\#$ (#7a). The UNW nucleus $\ddot{n}\ddot{d}$ is also contained in UNW $\#-nw\dots\#$ mentioned under #21.

#21a. NU $\#-an\#$ 'lump, bone close to skin surface: temple, collarbone'. If this suffix originally had the more general meaning 'body part protruding from skin surface' or 'bulging part of body', we should compare it to SQ $\#-a'n\#$ 'cheek' and $\#-ay^2a'n\#$ 'ear', SH $\#-ene\#$ 'side, ear', and LI $\#n\dots-ana?\#$ 'ear; surface'. A connection with UNW is suggested by the glosses of the SQ and SH suffixes. See further under #21b.

#21b. NU \neq -an \neq 'man-made structure: fabric, clothes, blanket; building, house', \neq -an \neq (with somatic suffixes) 'side; corner'. This suffix is phonetically and semantically close to the Salish ones referred to under #21a, and appears to be historically complex, i.e. \neq -an- \emptyset \neq , \neq - \emptyset \neq demonstrably being an incremental allomorph of \neq -u \neq , which has the range of meanings given under #11a, two of which refer to man-made things, viz. 'house; vehicle'. It is also akin to a group of UNW suffixes sharing a nucleus \emptyset nw \emptyset and meaning 'side surface, beside, alongside; aspect, facet, characteristic, manifestation, revelation, embodiment of'; those ending in \emptyset s \emptyset or \emptyset z \emptyset can also mean specifically 'side of one's body, hip'. These suffixes are: \neq -nw \neq , \neq -hnw \neq , \neq -n'w \neq , \neq -hn'w \neq ; \neq -nwt; \neq -nws, \neq -n'wz \neq , \neq -hn'ws, \neq -hn'wz \neq , and, with a lateral increment, \neq -nwl \neq , \neq -hnwl \neq (HA also \neq -hnh \neq). The UNW nucleus \emptyset nw \emptyset can also be discerned in UNW \neq -nwk \neq , \neq -nwk \neq , on which see #22. The component \emptyset w \emptyset of \emptyset nw \emptyset may be identical to the suffix \neq -w \neq presented under #8, while \emptyset n \emptyset may really be a suffix \neq -n \neq with the possible meaning 'edge of expanse, ridge' (in which case it could be a member of UNW \neq -n \neq mentioned under #24 and #25).

#22. NU \neq -nix \neq 'to allow something to happen to somebody; to consider something to be ...', with the rare alternants \neq -nx \neq and \neq -nux \neq , has the following Salish cognates: SQ \neq -nax \neq 'non-volitional transitive', SH \neq -núx \neq 'be caught, affected'. LI has \neq -nux \neq , \neq -nax \neq , residual suffix (with a causative function in one case), and \neq -nun(') \neq , with the same meanings as those of NU \neq -nix, \neq -nx \neq , \neq -nux \neq . All of these are reminiscent of UNW \neq -nw \neq (rarely \neq -nwk \neq) 'to have, possess, own, use by way of; to exhibit, manifest, be full of, be equipped with; performed by an arbitrary member of a group'.

#23. NU \neq -nu \neq 'human', which is used in combination with stems denoting number and quantity, is doubtless the same as NU \neq -nu \neq 'inside', which has the following Salish cognates: SQ \neq -n \neq , \neq -nax \neq , a prefix referring to location (for which cf. also #15), and LI \neq -n \neq 'locative'. If NU \neq -nu \neq continues \neq -nə(w(x)) \neq , it may be connected with #12a and #22. There may also be a connection with the UNW root \neq -nw \neq , whose meaning is quite difficult to abstract from its derivatives, but which is possibly

'soul, spirit, knowledge, knowledgeable'.

#24. NU \neq -lax \neq , \neq -lanx \neq 'year'. The element \emptyset l \emptyset is historically the increment \neq -(a)l \neq , and \neq -anx \neq is common Salish: SQ \neq -awanax \neq (where \emptyset aw \emptyset is incremental), PU \neq -adx \neq , SH \neq -tyenx \neq , LI \neq -aszánux \neq . There seems to be a formal-semantic association with NU /sunx \neq / 'sky, universe, creation, world' (? older */s-wənx \neq /), NU /ʔinax \neq / 'morning', and LI \neq -inx \neq , \neq -anx \neq 'weather'; does \neq -n(ə)x \neq have a primary meaning 'celestial or meteorological cycle', or - even more basic - 'to be moving around in a confined space, to be the subject of a circular motion'? If this etymology is plausible, we are faced with an extremely archaic and wide-spread term, which is comparable not only to entries #2, #7a-c, #12a, #13b-c, #15, #22, and #23, but also to NU /snx \neq / 'sun' (for which cf. UNW \neq -n \neq etc. below), and possibly even to e.g. Indo-European \neq s-ne:u-, s-nu: \neq 'to move, turn', \neq swen-, sun \neq 'sun', etc. However, it is not our purpose here to establish linguistic connections between the Pacific Northwest and beyond. For now, then, we shall consider a possible cognate of the above in UNW, which is a set of suffix alternants meaning 'season, year': HA \neq -n \neq , \neq -n \neq , HE \neq -n \neq , HE and OO \neq -n \neq , \neq -n \neq , and OO \neq -n \neq . This is not the first example of an apparent link between NU velarity + rounding and UNW uvularity (with or without rounding) (or: velarity + retraction (with or without rounding)): cf. #12a-b, and (in view of the SQ evidence) #15. The Salish-UNW connection as regards 'year' becomes even more evident when we consider the NU alternation between \emptyset a \emptyset and \emptyset n \emptyset (which, by the way, may be accountable for the allomorph \neq -lax \neq) - the UNW and NU suffixes share a nucleus \emptyset n \emptyset , augmented into \emptyset an \emptyset in Salish: SQ \emptyset anə \emptyset , PU \emptyset ad \emptyset , LI \emptyset ánu \emptyset (? from \neq ʔánə \emptyset), LI \emptyset in, an \emptyset (in 'weather'), and SH \emptyset (ty)en \emptyset - perhaps the nucleus \emptyset n \emptyset is related to the suffixes discussed under #20.

#25. NU \neq -alic \neq 'tooth' compares, within Salish, to SQ \neq -ans \neq and SH \neq -en's \neq ; it is also reminiscent of LI \neq -anis \neq 'board, edge', especially so in the latter meaning. NU \neq -alic \neq looks like a contamination of older \neq -an/l(...) \neq (cf. #10) and NU /ʔica/ 'tooth' (which itself possibly continues */yən(ə)s.../ resembling SQ /yənís/, SE /yənís/ and \neq -nis \neq , and PU /ʔədís/). NU \neq -alic \neq has also interacted with NU \neq -alii(x) \neq

'tongue', the allomorph \neq -aliic \neq being far more frequent than \neq -aliixc \neq (which appears to continue $*\neq$ -ə(')l-yə(w)xc \neq), possibly also under the influence of NU \neq -lic', -liic \neq 'skin, sheet(-like)' (see 3.6, #31).

The element \neq n \neq of Salish \neq n(i)s, n's \neq is reminiscent of UNW \neq -n \neq ' (on) edge of expanse; having the highest degree of ...'. As regards the different fricatives in UNW and Salish, note that in some UNW roots \neq x \neq alternates with \neq s \neq - consider e.g. HA /t'i-a/, HE /t'i-á/, OO /t'i-a/ 'to weigh down (for sinking it), to ballast (e.g. roof)'; HA /t'is-m/, HE /t'is-m/ 'stone'; HA /t'ix-a/, HE /t'ix-a/, OO /t'ix-a/ 'to ballast', which are cognate with NU /t'xt/ 'stone, rock' (where \neq t \neq is the increment \neq -t \neq listed under #14).

#26. NU \neq -cwa \neq , an increment occurring in a few personal names, and \neq -alcwa \neq , which is a part of /s-puux-alcwa/ 'grey blueberry' (cf. /puux/ 'moldy') and /niix^w-alcwa/ 'a personal name: "fire (/niix^w/) brought to earth"', do not appear to be of Salish origin (but cf. #16). \neq -alcwa \neq probably contains incremental \neq -al- \neq ; \neq -cwa \neq is reminiscent of UNW \neq -st^w \neq and \neq -zw^w \neq (see under #16), but also of UNW \neq -c'w^w \neq 'to be inside, having inside, being capable of, having a certain characteristic'.

3.5. CORRESPONDENCES INVOLVING ANY LATERAL PHONEME

#27. NU \neq -i \neq '(dis)connected: belonging to, coming from, separated, removed, deceased, dead' has no apparent Salish cognates (but cf. #14). It resembles suffixes such as listed under #1, #10b-d, #11a-b, #12b, #16, #21b, #24, #25.

#28. NU \neq nu-...-aii \neq 'throat' has merely a partial resemblance to SQ \neq -i.n-ay \neq '(inside of) throat', LI \neq -alq^wlt \neq 'throat', SH \neq -eiq^wl't \neq 'front of neck'. Note the LI and SH forms, where glottalization seems to have been mobile ($*\neq$ -óí(-)q^w-?ə/ə?lt \neq ?), and particularly the LI one, which shares \neq q^w \neq with NU /?u:q^wuun(-)i/ 'throat'; the latter term has apparent cognates not only in Salish (such as PU \neq -yuq^w \neq), but also in NU /tlq^w/ 'to swallow', UNW (e.g. HA \neq q^wnq- \neq 'to swallow'), Gitksan /ǵalq'án/ 'Adam's apple', Chilcotin /niq'uni/ 'Adam's apple', Tahltan

\neq q'as- \neq 'throat'. The element \neq q'(W) \neq , with reference to the throat, may be ancient indeed: cf. e.g. Indo-European \neq ǵel-, g^wel-, g^wer- \neq 'to devour, esophagus, throat' (possibly from $*\neq$ q'(W)ə(w)l- \neq); the archaic status of uvular (plus glottalization) (plus rounding), in association with the throat, may be related to sound-symbolism. The SH and LI items (which show the combined features uvularity plus rounding) are reminiscent of the UNW suffix \neq -x^w \neq 'throat, tunnel'. NU and LU \neq aí \neq , SH \neq eí \neq , and SQ \neq í \neq may be related to the UNW set of suffixes alternants with the meaning 'into an opening, mouth, house, or area', viz. HA \neq -yy \neq , \neq -hy \neq and HA/HE/OO \neq -y \neq . Is there, then, also a connection with #11a?

#29. NU \neq -l-, -al-, -la \neq are increments contained in suffixes treated previously and hereafter. They have cognates in all Salish, and there are counterparts in UNW as well, to wit \neq -hl^h, \neq -hly, \neq -hly?, \neq -yl^h \neq . If these elements have any meaning at all, it is as vague as 'to exist, to satisfy the description of, to resemble, to be a particular instance or materialization of'.

#30a. NU \neq -als \neq '(inner) vertical concave surface' has several cognates in Salish: SH \neq -elas \neq 'floor' (cf. #10b), LI (with deviating final consonant) \neq -alc \neq 'house', SH \neq -le?s \neq (a hapax: /x-cətét-le?s/ 'center of ring or circle'; \neq cet- \neq 'center'), KL \neq -els \neq 'front'. If NU \neq -als \neq contains incremental \neq -al- \neq , $*\neq$ -al- \neq s \neq may belong with #10b-c.

#30b. NU \neq -ii \neq 'family relation' may belong semantically with #30c-e, the primary meaning then being '(contained within a) cycle, circle, sphincter'. On the other hand, there is a formal-semantic resemblance to #11a, and cf. also SQ \neq -ay?í \neq 'child'.

#30c. NU \neq -ii \neq 'female genitals' seems to be related to #30b and d-e, but should also be compared to Thompson \neq -ii \neq 'private parts'.

#30d. NU \neq -ii \neq 'month' is definitely akin to #30e.

#30e. NU \neq nu-...-iii \neq 'ring, hoop': cf. #30b-d and #11a.

NU \neq -als \neq and \neq -ii \neq are reminiscent (the former phonetically slightly less so than the latter) of UNW \neq -yí \neq and some of its combinations with

other suffixes. (1) UNW $\#y\ddot{y}\ddot{y}\#$ has the general meanings 'vertical, enclosed, walled in, immobile, fixed, contained, inherent to, characteristic of, having a certain characteristic', and the specific meanings 'indoors, on the floor of the building, in bed'. In proper names (and in HA also elsewhere) it can in addition mean 'woman, wife'. UNW $\#y\ddot{y}\ddot{y}\#$ has many of the metaphoric and metonymic extensions that characterize both of two Tarascan suffixes of space, $\#-n\#$ and $\#-nari\#$, the former of which means broadly 'interior of an enclosure or cavity', and the latter 'flat surface, usually interior or vertical'. (2) UNW $\#y\ddot{y}\ddot{y}\#$ combines with HE and OO $\#-h's\#$ (HA $\#-hs\#$) into all-UNW $\#y\ddot{y}\ddot{y}hs\#$ 'shop, store, building where something is done'. The suffixes $\#-h's\#$ and $\#-hs\#$ mean 'place, time, mode, manner, measure, condition, actuality, existence, materialization of', that is, they are as nearly devoid of content as an increment.

3.6. CORRESPONDENCES INVOLVING A PALATAL RESONANT

#31a. NU $\#-lic'$, $-liic\#$ 'exterior flat surface: skin, bark, sheet, blanket; side'. $\ddot{y}l\ddot{y}$ is incremental, and Salish cognates end in $\ddot{y}a(?)\ddot{y}$: SQ $\#-ic'a$, $-ayc'a\#$ 'clothes', SH $\#-ic'e?#\#$ 'surface, hide', LI $\#-ic'a?#\#$ 'clothing, covering'. The suffix is related to the root $\#?ic'-\#$ in most Salish: NU $/s-ic'-m/$ 'leather, sheet, paper money', NU $/?ic'-ama/$ 'blanket', SQ $/?ic'am/$ 'to dress itr.', SE $/?ic'am-m/$ 'get dressed', SH $/sic'm/$ 'blanket', CA $/sic'/$ 'be blanketed', etc.

#31b. NU $\#-ulic'$, $-uliic\#$ 'hole; clothing'. See under #11d.

NU $\#-lic'\#$ is also rather similar to HA and OO $/\lambda'iis/$ and HE $/\lambda'is/$ 'skin (of fish, animals, humans)'. All three UNW items derive from a root $\#\lambda'ys-\#$ (with doubling of its medial plain resonant in HA and OO), which itself may originally be complex, i.e. $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}s\#$, with the component $\#\lambda-\#$ being identical to the increment $\#\lambda-\#$, $\ddot{y}h\lambda-\#$ that occurs in the following compound suffixes: UNW $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}l^h$, $\ddot{y}h\lambda-\ddot{y}l^h\#$ 'on a raised and/or relatively large surface (e.g. scaffolding, float)', UNW $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}hy?#\#$ and $\#\ddot{y}h\lambda-\ddot{y}hy?#\#$ 'on the surface of the water'. This increment $\#\lambda-\#$, $\ddot{y}h\lambda-\#$ alternates with $\#\ddot{y}l-\#$, $\ddot{y}h\ddot{y}l-\#$ in other compounds, e.g. $\#\ddot{y}l-\ddot{y}s$, $\ddot{y}h\ddot{y}l-s\#$ 'out-

'doors'. This alternation strengthens the impression of similarity between $\#\lambda-\#$ of $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}s\#$ and $\#\ddot{y}l-\#$ of NU $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}l-\ddot{y}s\#$; cf. also UNW $\#\ddot{y}h^h$, $\ddot{y}hly$, etc. under #29. Both $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}s\#$ of $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}s\#$ and NU $\#\lambda-\ddot{y}l-\ddot{y}s\#$ are reminiscent of the following. (1) A rather rare set of suffix alternants (not in complementary distribution) meaning 'encased, enclosed, contained, feeling like, be embodiment of, have a certain characteristic'. These meanings resemble those of UNW $\#\ddot{y}l\ddot{y}\#$; see under #30. They are: HA $\#\ddot{y}z^h$, $\ddot{y}hys\#$, HA/HE/OO $\#\ddot{y}s$, $\ddot{y}'s\#$, and HE/OO $\#\ddot{y}ys\#$. (2) A frequent, and still productive, suffix UNW $\#\ddot{y}hc'y\#$ (OO occasionally also $\#\ddot{y}hc^h\#$, and HA occasionally also $\#\ddot{y}hc^h$, $\ddot{y}hc'y?#\#$) which means 'container, receptacle, enclosure, frame, pot, pan, box, house, cabin, apartment, boat, apparatus, machine, contents of container, etc.', and occasionally also 'animate being, embodiment of'.

#32a. NU $\#-ik\#$ 'horizontal elevation: top surface, back', $\#nu\text{-}...\text{-}ik\#$ 'narrowly confined, pressing against something, (nearly) sticking out, protruding: (contained in a) tube, middle, half; mind; tip of protruding body part'. Some of these meanings are related to those of #32b and #32c. NU $\#-ik\#$ and $\#nu\text{-}...\text{-}ik\#$ have a variety of cognates in Salish, some of which differ formally from the NU items: $\ddot{y}i\ddot{y}$ may or may not be present, LI has $\ddot{y}l'\ddot{y}$ in one form, while SQ, SH, and LI have forms with $\ddot{y}(\ddot{y})n\ddot{y}$. These cognates are: SQ $\#-ic\#$ 'back', $\#-icn\#$ an increment, PU $\#-ic\#$ 'top', LI $\#-ikən$, $-kən$, $n\text{-}...\text{-}k\#$ 'back', $\#-l'il'ik\#$ 'back, water's surface', SH $\#-ikn\#$ 'upper back, top surface'. There is in NU also the rare allomorph $\#-k\#$, as contained in $/nu\text{-}\lambda\ddot{y}l-k/$ 'Nu λ alk' (original meaning uncertain; there may be a connection with NU $\#\lambda\ddot{y}\#$ 'to extend a message' (cf. KL $/\lambda\ddot{y}l\text{-}em/$ 'ask, invite'), or with NU $/\lambda\ddot{y}l(-)am\text{-}an\text{-}ta/$ 'den' (cf. SH $/\lambda\ddot{y}l\text{-}em/$ 'to build a log-hut')), $/slaq\text{-}k/$ 'smoked salmon', $/k'mat-k/$ 'to spend the night somewhere', $/?alm-k/$ 'to pole a canoe up the river'; for the latter three, cf. $/slaq\text{-}nk/$ 'smoked salmon tails', $/k'm-us-m/$ 'to complete an annual cycle' and $\#-k'mt\#$ 'period of 24 hours', $/la:l\ddot{y}m/ = /?alm-k/$.

#32b. NU $\#-lik-t\#$ '(occupying) space, volume; body, personality' contains the increment $\ddot{y}l-\ddot{y}$, and is related to both #32a and #32c.

#32c. NU \neq -lik \neq 'exterior aspect of human body' contains incremental \emptyset l \emptyset . Its Salish cognates, too, appear to have a (similar) increment: SH \neq -ey'lək \neq 'skin, hide', LI \neq -al'k \neq 'surface'. SH also has \neq -el'k'k \neq 'skin, blanket' which, in turn, resembles LI \neq -alk'k \neq 'string, rope'; for the once-mobile glottalization in SH and LI, cf. #28. If the basic meaning of all of these is 'woven, texture, sheet', the semantic connection with #32a-b seems rather loose - should we posit here the notion of 'elevated, visibly defined, and relatively small, area'? For such semantic opacity, however, consider the apparent UNW cognate suggested in what follows below.

NU \neq -ik \neq is reminiscent of HA \neq -y \neq and HA/HE/OO \neq -y \neq ^h, \neq -yk \neq with the meanings (1) 'dorsal, (at) dorsal ridge, elevated, conspicuous, public, clear, intelligible; satisfying the description of, embodiment of'; (2) 'at or to the rear, behind, hidden, be inside, having inside, spiritual, sacred, supernatural'.

#33. NU \neq nu-...-ik \neq 'to strongly want to ...' is semantically linked with, and historically identical to, \neq nu-...-ik \neq 'mind, thought', for which see #32a.

#34. NU \neq -lik \neq ^w 'performer of (transitive) action' may contain the increment \emptyset l \emptyset , although this can not be proven: its apparent cognate, PU \neq -əlik \neq ^w, also has \emptyset l \emptyset (as in / \neq u-p'ác-əlik \neq -əd/ 'somebody is sewing for somebody'). However, if \neq -lik \neq ^w is historically complex, the component \neq -ik \neq ^w may correspond to UNW \neq -yk \neq ^w. This latter is rare, and seems to mean 'perpetrator' in some cases, but rather 'expert at' or 'inherently connected with' in others. \neq -yk \neq ^w may be a component of HE \neq -sq'yk \neq ^w and OO \neq -sq'yk \neq ^w 'given to', and appears to be related to WE \neq '-ik, '-ik \neq ^w 'given to, fond of, adept at'.

3.7. CORRESPONDENCES INVOLVING ANY VELAR OR UVULAR OBSTRUENT

#35. NU \neq k'ił \neq 'to be lacking, being without'. This prefix may be related to / \neq ik'ał \neq / '(there is) not', an emphatic variant of / \neq ał \neq / (same meaning), \neq -ł \neq '(dis)connected' (for which see under #27), and

\neq xł \neq 'to have', but it appears to be connected more closely with the UNW root \neq k'y \neq 'not as it used to, could, or should be; not there anymore; deprived of, lacking, missing something; disappeared'.

#36. NU \neq -ak \neq 'appendage: arm, hand, paw, glove; leaves' and \neq -ak-t \neq 'branch' have the following cognates in Salish: SQ \neq -ač \neq 'arm, hand', PU \neq -ači \neq 'hand, lower arm', Tillamook \neq -a'či \neq 'hand', LI \neq -(a)kst \neq 'arm, hand', \neq -aka \neq 'arm, hand, finger', SH \neq -eks(t) \neq 'arm, hand', \neq -eke \neq 'branch, antlers', KL \neq -(e)čst \neq 'hand', CA \neq -ičs \neq 'entire hand', \neq -ičt \neq 'hand, finger'. These suffixes appear to continue older (proto-Salish) \neq -(a)k \neq followed optionally by one of the increments \neq -a/i(?) \neq and \neq -(s)t, -s(t) \neq . Now, the UNW root \neq sk'h \neq 'five', as well as HE/OO \neq -(x)šk'h \neq ^h and HA \neq -šk'h \neq ^h 'hand, forearm', contain \emptyset s \emptyset (which may originally have been a formative or incremental element), a palato-velar stop, and the feature glottalization; an etymological connection with the above Salish forms is, therefore, not improbable.

#37. NU \neq ka-...-s \neq 'next, following in time' consists of \neq ka \neq , prefixal variant of \neq ka+ \neq 'unrealized, hypothetical, future', and \neq -s \neq '(it) is'. On the one hand, NU \neq ka+ \neq may be related etymologically to the LI enclitic \neq _ka \neq 'obligation, expectancy'; on the other hand, it could be akin to NU \neq kał \neq 'to be in pursuit of', which has cognates in SQ \neq čay \neq 'to follow', PU \neq čála \neq 'to chase', SH \neq kel \neq 'to pursue', LI \neq kal \neq 'to follow, pursue', CD /s-čil/ 'game being tracked, quarry' which, in turn, compare to NU \neq kal \neq 'to go straight towards, to find, to meet'. We may be dealing with a bound (and petrified) morpheme \neq ka(l/ł)... \neq whose primary meaning is 'to come nearer in time or space; to approach, to become real(ity)'. NU \neq ka \neq , \neq ka+ \neq , and \neq kał \neq are also reminiscent of the UNW suffix \neq -(k) \neq ^h whose range of meanings corresponds to that of the NU forms: 'to reach the destination, target, or limit, to get within reach of; to manage to do'.

#38. NU \neq -aakas \neq is a rare incremental suffix that occurs in some personal names, and is optional in / \neq ał-k' \neq ^wn-ta-m(-aakas)/ 'the supreme deity' ('The Great Planner or Instructor': /k' \neq ^wn-ta/ 'plan, resolution, instruction, command, law'). The element \emptyset aa \emptyset may originally be incre-

mental (see below), while *~~kas~~ is cognate with UNW ~~kas~~ 'high, mighty, out of the ordinary, sacred, supernatural'. This clitic is unproductive, and occurs in names of people, places, and cosmological-religious entities. The presence of ~~aa~~ in the NU suffix is probably due to the following: (1) NU suffixes generally begin in /a/ or a resonant; (2) *~~kas~~ has been re-shaped into ~~aakas~~ under the influence of (a) incremental suffixes such as ~~al~~, (b) the family name now spelled as Walkus (itself of Wakash origin; see below). Moreover, ~~aakas~~ may in earlier days have been associated with the NU suffix ~~aak~~, allomorph of ~~ak~~ 'hand, work'. Note the UNW proper name HA and OO /wa-a~~kas~~/, HE /wa-a~~kas~~/, possibly meaning 'mighty river' ('river' being a metaphor for 'wealth'), which compares to WE /wa~~ka~~'s, wayke~~s~~/, /ka~~ha~~ wa~~ka~~'s/ 'bravo! bravo!' (expressing approval, admiration of potlatch doings, things of the nature of wealthy display).

#39. NU ~~k~~, an unproductive increment, has no apparent Salish cognates. There may be a (remote) connection with NU ~~k~~ 'quotative', which is related to LI ~~ku~~ 'quotative'. On the other hand, UNW has a very productive suffix ~~k~~₁ 'having been ...ed, having undergone ...ing, resulting from ...ing'. There is also the rare UNW ~~k~~₂ the initial boundary of which can be the same as or different from that of ~~k~~₁, and whose meaning is unclear. ~~k~~₂ resembles ~~k~~₁ in that it can occur after intransitive stems.

#40a. NU ~~aq~~^ws has such a tremendous range of meanings, that one would suspect multiple origin, i.e. phonetic convergence of different suffixes. Consider the following glosses: (1) 'hollow, concave: socket, bed, hearth (fire, stove, (fire)wood)'; (2) 'knot, node, protuberance: eye, berry, bud, branch'; (3) 'ground surface: bottom, earth, sand, soil'; (4) 'liquid: water, juice'. However, KL ~~aq~~^wsú 'band, family' (is ~~aa~~ incremental?) indicates that the older meaning was much more "down to earth", viz. 'gathered, concentrated, towards a center, (to) the middle'. The NU and KL forms appear to go back to a suffix complex, presumably of the shape *~~aq~~^w-~~aw~~^s, and meaning 'head/point - middle'. (Deletion of unstressed shwa and "strengthening" of stressed shwa yields "intermediate" *~~a~~(^{')}q^w's → ~~a~~(^{')}q^w's; cf. #12a.) *~~a~~(^{')}w^s 'mid-

dle, center(ed), gathered, together' survives in LI ~~aw~~^s 'middle; group, collection' and KL ~~n~~...~~ew~~^s 'between, among, in common' (cf. the comments to #10a-d). For *~~aq~~^w 'head' see under #40c. The gloss 'liquid' in NU must be secondary, and may derive from either *'vessel, bowl (holding a drink)' or '(edible) berries, berries out of which juice can be obtained, juice (of berries)'.
 #40b. NU ~~qs~~, ~~aqs~~, ~~ayqs~~ is a suffix found mainly in geographical and personal names, the latter usually belonging to women. There is a formal resemblance to NU ~~lqs~~, ~~lks~~ 'protruding body part, nose', with which it is not directly connected. Rather, we should compare it to such suffixes as LI ~~áqs~~ 'attitude, given to something', ~~l-əqs~~, ~~y-əqs~~, a hypocoristic suffix found in proper names and pet-names. The NU and LI forms have patent cognates in UNW.

#40c. NU ~~iiq~~^w, ~~ii~~^w 'head, hat, top' has cognates in Coast Salish, and one in LI. These are SQ ~~q~~^w, ~~aq~~^w 'head', SE ~~ál-iq~~^w, ~~iq~~^wa(n) 'top of head', PU ~~iq~~^w 'head', LI ~~q~~^w 'head, top, hair'. The SE suffix ~~iq~~^wa(n) may suggest a link with #41; was there in (early) proto-Salish a set of alternating suffix complexes such as *~~aw~~-q(ən), ~~yaw~~-q(ən), ~~ól/y-aw~~-q(ən)?

(1) Irrespective of their Salish allies, NU ~~aq~~^ws and ~~iiq~~^w, ~~ii~~^w are reminiscent of the following UNW set of suffix alternants (not in complementary distribution): HA/HE/OO ~~q~~, ~~yq~~, ~~hq~~, ~~yq~~^w, HE/OO ~~hg~~^h, ~~wq~~^w, HA ~~hyq~~^w, ~~q~~^w, ~~hwq~~^w. The field of semantic associations of this set includes 'symmetrical (pattern), recurrent (event), side of a symmetrical pattern, to split, to branch off, to spread about or emanate evenly or symmetrically, to oscillate, go back and forth, radiate, echo, speak, sound, growl; to be alive, vigorous, existent; to curve, (be) round, spherical, bud, bulb-shaped, to swirl, (be) hollow, enclosed; concealed, spiritual, supernatural; to think, ponder, be inclined to, tend to; to manifest, embody, have a certain characteristic' (the members of the sub-set listed further below mean '(at the) crotch, private parts, vagina(1)'). What unites these shades of meaning is perhaps the idea of a hollow, its contents, and/or the escaping of its contents;

Like the NU suffix $\neq\text{-aq}^{\text{w}}\text{s}\neq$, items from the UNW set may refer to berries and wood. As far as wood is concerned, the underlying idea is probably that of branching off from an axis, the tree's stem.

(2) The members $\neq\text{-h}\dot{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}\neq$ and $\neq\text{-hq}\neq$ of the preceding set of alternants can have the specific meanings '(at the) crotch, private parts, vagina(1)'. In addition, $\neq\text{-hq}\neq$ is part of a compound suffix $\neq\text{-h}\dot{\text{x}}\text{sm}\neq$ 'woman' (in HA) and 'woman from a certain ethnic division or place' (in HE and OO). In HE and OO, the compound usually goes with the plural reduplication type. From $\neq\text{-h}\dot{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}\neq$, or whatever was its older form, have developed a number of enclitics meaning 'woman', viz. HA/HE/OO $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}\neq$, HE/OO $\neq\text{-}\text{qs}$, $\text{-}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}\neq$, HA $\neq\text{-}\text{Qs}\neq$. The notation "Q" serves to indicate that it is in principle not decidable on phonetic grounds whether we have $\dot{\text{q}}\dot{\text{x}}$ or $\dot{\text{x}}\dot{\text{q}}$; before $\dot{\text{q}}\text{s}$ one hears only [x]. It is possible to posit one form, viz. $\neq\text{-}\text{q}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{s}\neq$ (with $\neq\text{-}\text{s}\neq$ being an increment), provided one of two ad hoc morphological assumptions is made: either $\neq\text{-}\text{s}\neq$ has a different initial boundary in HA and in HE/OO, or we have not $\neq\text{-}\text{q}^{\text{h}}\neq$ but $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}\neq$, the latter's phonetic actualization being exceptional here.

#41a. NU $\neq\text{-al}\dot{\text{x}}\text{i}\neq$ 'back of head, nape, neck' probably contains incremental $\neq\text{-al}\neq$, and $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{i}\neq$ must be related to #41b. If $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{i}\neq$ continues older $\neq\text{-}\text{q}(\text{y})\text{en}\neq$ (cf. #40c), it is cognate to SQ $\neq\text{-}\text{qin}\neq$ 'hair; throat, language; head, top' (the latter two in borrowings), SH $\neq\text{-}\text{qin}'\neq$ 'head, top', LI $\neq\text{-}\text{qin}(\text{'})\neq$ 'head, antler'.

#41b. NU $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{in}\neq$, now incremental, appears to have had the meaning 'head, promontory, cape'; for its possible etymology, see under #41a.

NU $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{i}\neq$ and $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{in}\neq$ are, in spite of their likely Salish provenience, reminiscent of the moderately productive UNW suffix $\neq\text{-}\text{qy}^{\text{h}}\neq$ '(at the) head, (on) top of the head, headmost, farthest from point of entrance'. Possibly, $\neq\text{-}\text{qy}^{\text{h}}\neq$ is a metathesized form of UNW $\neq\text{-}\text{yq}$, $\text{-}\text{hyq}\neq$, for which see the set of UNW suffix alternants listed in the comments to #40a-c. The element $\dot{\text{q}}\text{n}\dot{\text{q}}$ in NU $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{in}\neq$ ($\dot{\text{q}}\text{n}\dot{\text{q}}$ or $\dot{\text{q}}\text{n}'\dot{\text{q}}$ in other Salish) may have evolved from $\dot{\text{q}}\text{h}\dot{\text{q}}$ ($\neq\text{-}\text{q}(\text{y})\text{en}$, $\text{-}\text{q}(\text{y})\text{eh}\neq$) (in view of NU $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{i}\neq$ and the $\dot{\text{q}}\text{h}\dot{\text{q}} \sim \dot{\text{q}}\text{a}\dot{\text{q}} \sim \dot{\text{q}}\text{n}\dot{\text{q}}$ alternation discussed under #19); note that $\dot{\text{q}}\text{n}\dot{\text{q}}$ appears to

recur in the WE counterparts to UNW $\neq\text{-}\text{qy}^{\text{h}}\neq$, viz. $\neq\text{-}\text{qi}'$, $\text{-}\text{qin}(\lambda)$, $\text{-}\text{qino}$, $\text{-}\text{qi}'\text{no}(\lambda)$, $\text{-}\text{qi}'\text{nop}\neq$ 'on top, on the head'.

#42. NU $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\text{la}\neq$ 'liquid' may represent $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{la}\neq$ (cf. #38, #43), $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{la}\neq$ being comparable to /qla/ 'water' and /qaa:xla/ 'to drink'. NU /qla/ is in turn related to SQ $\neq\text{-}\text{q}^{\text{w}}\text{u}\neq$, $\text{q}^{\text{w}}\text{ul}\neq$ 'water', PU /qo?/ 'water', LI /q^wu?/ 'liquid'. The proto-Salish term for 'water' must have been $\neq\text{-}\text{qaw}^{\text{w}}\text{la}\neq$, whose $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{q}}\text{aw}\dot{\text{q}}$ became $\dot{\text{q}}\text{u}\dot{\text{q}}$ in (later proto-)Salish (with rounding of the uvular), except in NU, where $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{q}}\text{aw}\dot{\text{q}}$ was deleted (as was $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{q}}\text{a}\dot{\text{q}}$). $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{q}}\text{a}\dot{\text{q}}$ became $\dot{\text{q}}\text{a}\dot{\text{q}}$ in NU (this sound shift is well-attested for NU), while $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{q}}\text{l}\text{a}\dot{\text{q}}$ was reduced to $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{q}}\text{l}\dot{\text{q}}$, $\dot{\text{q}}\text{l}\dot{\text{q}}$, or $\dot{\text{q}}\text{?}\dot{\text{q}}$ in other (late proto-)Salish. Note that NU /qla/ refers to fresh water; it may, therefore, also be connected with e.g. SH /qel-t/ 'fresh' and CA /qel/ 'be fresh'. On the other hand, NU $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\text{la}\neq$ may continue $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\neq$ plus incremental $\neq\text{-}\text{la}\neq$, or it is a contamination of /qla/ and $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\neq$ one of whose meanings is 'mouth of river', or this $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\neq$ is itself related to (a reduction of) $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}(\text{-})\text{la}\neq$. $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\text{la}\neq$ is also dimly reminiscent of UNW $\neq\text{-}\text{q}^{\text{h}}$, $\text{-}\text{hq}^{\text{h}}\neq$ 'among things, between things, mixed in with, enveloped by'.

#43. NU $\neq\text{-}\text{aaq}$, $\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\neq$ has the following range of glosses: (1) 'base, bottom: rear, back, behind, under, seat, stern, mouth of river; (whole) leg; anus (with $\neq\text{-}\text{nu}\neq$); sustaining, sustenance, food'; (2) 'growth: hair, bush, tree, pole, log, boat'; (3) '(in the) open, visible, public: day, sun, light, lightning; name; people, population, village'. The basic meaning of the suffix is 'base(d on), having evolved (from)' (and this meaning underlies those of (2) and (3): 'having grown, come out'). $\neq\text{-}\text{aaq}$, $\text{-}\text{aa}\dot{\text{x}}\neq$ probably continues $\neq\text{-}\text{aa}\text{-}\text{q}\neq$ (cf. #38, #42), cf. SQ $\neq\text{-}\text{q}\neq$ 'behind, bottom, trunk', LI $\neq\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\dots\text{-}\text{q}\neq$ 'buttocks, behind, bottom, leg, foot, shoe', $\neq\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\dots\text{-}\text{il}'\text{-}\text{q}$, $\text{n}\text{-}\dots\text{-}\text{il}'\text{-}\text{aq}\neq$ 'crotch'. Note the range of meanings in LI, which is similar to that of the NU suffix. The NU, SQ, and LI forms are reminiscent of UNW $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{d}\neq$ and $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\lambda^{\text{h}}\neq$. $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{d}\neq$ means (1) '(at the) butt, behind, rear end, thick end or tail; following, after'; (2) '(at the) bottom, foundation, core; one's insides, inner feelings, personality; to have a certain personal characteristic'. UNW $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\lambda^{\text{h}}\neq$ has the same shades of meaning as $\neq\text{-}\dot{\text{x}}\text{d}\neq$, and the additional meaning 'among the trees and shrubs'.

#44. The following UNW suffixes have been borrowed into NU, where they are increments:

ʔ(h)l^hʔ, with continuative meanings in some cases, but (near-)incremental in others: (1) 'engaged in ...ing, action of ...ing, being done, ongoing(ly) (as opposed to incipient or expiring); to live at a place, spend time, time period of ...'; (2) 'substantial, material, existing, actual, present, available (as opposed to transient)'; (3) 'be equipped with, use equipment, to wear, be afflicted with, perceive, sense, have the characteristics of, tend towards, be rather ...ish'. NU has borrowed it as ʔ-laʔ.

ʔ-(g)ʔyl^hʔ, which appears in NU as ʔ-ila, -akila, -aakila-ʔ, means the following in UNW: (1) 'to make, build, produce, cook, realize; catch, obtain; give a feast'; (2) 'to make for, head for'; (3) 'to "make like": represent, capture, be example of, be full of'. Often combined with ʔ-k^wʔ 'having undergone ...ing, resulting from ...ing' (cf. NU incremental ʔ-aakilak^wʔ).

ʔ-syl^h, ʔhsyl^h, ʔxsyl^hʔ 'to take charge of, be in charge of, work on, prepare for, be ready for', which is NU incremental ʔ-(s)ilaʔ.

ʔ-hl^h, ʔhly, ʔhlyʔ, ʔyl^hʔ 'increment' appears in NU as the increments ʔ-aliʔ and ʔ-ilaʔ. See also the augmented forms of ʔ-nʔ under #20.

ʔ-hl^hsʔ 'material for, equipment, made of a certain material, embodiment of; having a particular nature, habit, or purpose', which corresponds to the NU increment ʔ-alasʔ. UNW ʔ-hl^hsʔ may be a combination of two increments, viz. ʔ-hl^hʔ plus ʔ-hs (HA), ʔ-h's (HE/OO)ʔ, or incremental ʔ-hʔ plus ʔ-h(')sʔ.

4. POSSIBLE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN THE NU AND UNW GRAMMATICAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS For the purposes of this paper, we divide grammatical morphemes into deictics and other. Deictics identify discourse participants (1st, 2nd, 3d person); both in NU and in UNW they are marked for the syntactic function they themselves, or the construction they form part of, serve in a sentence. In NU and UNW, 3d person deictic clitics are marked for physical and psychological proximity to the speaker, the

addressee, or a third party, though more elaborately so in UNW. In NU, they are marked for number, gender, and definiteness, occasionally also distinctness (or the lack thereof) and animateness (or the lack of it).

4.1. DEICTICS In the following paradigm of UNW deictics, the superscripts "1", "2", "3", "abs" broadly mean "near 1st, 2nd, 3d person" and "absent, gone".

	MAIN CLAUSE SUBJECT DEICTICS			ARGUMENT DEICTICS		
	HA	HE	OO	primary	secondary	
				all-UNW	HA/OO	HE
1 sg.	ʔ-nʔ*		ʔ-nʔ*			
	ʔ-nwg ^{wh} ʔ	ʔ-nwg ^{wh} ʔ	ʔ-nwg ^{wh} ʔ			
1 pl. incl.	ʔ-nysʔ	ʔ-ndsʔ	ʔ-ndsʔ			
1 pl. excl.	ʔ-nwk ^w ʔ	ʔ-ndk ^w ʔ	ʔ-ndk ^w ʔ			
2	ʔ-sʔ*		ʔ-sʔ*			
	ʔ-swʔ	ʔ-swʔ	ʔ-swʔ			
3 ¹	ʔ-ykʔ	ʔ-kʔ	ʔ-kʔ	ʔ-g ^h ʔ	ʔ-kg ^h ʔ	ʔ-kg ^h ʔ
3 ²	ʔ-wqʔ***	ʔ-wq ^w ʔ***	ʔ-wq ^w ʔ***	ʔ-hqʔ	ʔ-kwʔ HA	ʔ-k ^w ʔ
					ʔ-k ^w ʔ OO	
3 ³	ʔ-yʔ	ʔ-fʔ	ʔ-yʔ	ʔ-hʔ	ʔ-kyʔ	ʔ-kyʔ
3 ^{abs}	ʔ-kyʔ***	ʔ-kyʔ	ʔ-kyʔ	ʔ-yʔ	ʔ-kg ^h ʔ	ʔ-kg ^h ʔ

* Only if no other enclitic follows.

** Actualization of uvular subject to phonotactic restrictions.

*** HA aspirated plosives, such as ʔkʔ, de-aspirate when they appear after a fricative (see next paradigm).

Main clause subject deictics serve as exocentric subject, but only in a main clause; argument deictics, together with word order, serve to mark a word or phrase as being a relatum (= complement = argument = nominal) as opposed to a main clause predicate. In a one-word relatum that is

not a proper name, a primary deictic is followed by a corresponding secondary one. In the case of many-word relata, the co-occurrence and placement of primary and secondary deictics depends on isolect and internal relatum structure.

	SUBORDINATE CLAUSE SUBJECT			OBJECT	
	HA	HE	OO	HA* (a),	HE (b), OO (c)
1 sg.	ʔnd.sʔ	ʔqs+ʔ	ʔqs+ʔ	ʔnλ ^h ʔ ac	ʔnλ ^h ʔ b
1 pl. incl.	ʔnysʔ	ʔqnds+ʔ	ʔqnds+ʔ	ʔnλ ^h ʔnysʔ a	ʔnλ ^h ʔnysʔ a
				ʔnλ ^h ʔndsʔ b	ʔnλ ^h ʔndsʔ c
1 pl. excl.	ʔnwk ^w ʔ	ʔqndk ^w +ʔ	ʔqndk ^w +ʔ	ʔnλ ^h ʔnwk ^w ʔ a	ʔnλ ^h ʔnwk ^w ʔ a
				ʔnλ ^h ʔndk ^w ʔ b	ʔnλ ^h ʔndk ^w ʔ c
2	ʔwsʔ	ʔwsʔ	ʔwsʔ	ʔwλ ^h ʔ ac	ʔwλ ^h ʔ b
3 ¹	ʔsykʔ	ʔskʔ	ʔskʔ	ʔqykʔ a	ʔqkʔ bc
				ʔkʔgʔ a	
3 ²	ʔswʔ	ʔsq ^w ʔ	ʔsq ^w ʔ	ʔqwʔ a	ʔq ^w ʔ bc
3 ³	ʔsyʔ	ʔsyʔ	ʔsyʔ	ʔqyʔ ac	ʔqyʔ b
3 ^{abs}	ʔsgyʔ	ʔskyʔ	ʔskyʔ	ʔqkyʔ b	ʔqkyʔ c
				ʔkgyʔ a	

* Only the forms for the Kitlope dialect are given.

Subordinate clause subject deictics serve as (1) exocentric subject in a subordinate clause, and (2) endocentric subject - with genitive, instrumental, etc. meaning - in a relatum. The predicate of a main clause can, when complex, also contain an endocentric subject (e.g. 'her' in '(Bill) (is her father)', or 'with it' in '(Bill) (works with it)'). The above enclitics can serve this function too, but not so the HE and OO proclitics, in place of which one has to use a periphrastic construction, e.g. OO /yis+nug^wa/ for the 1st person sg. None of these con-

structions involve a morpheme not also contained in the above paradigms.

We note the following NU-UNW parallels. HE/OO ʔskyʔ and HA ʔsgyʔ '3^{abs} subordinate clause subject deictic' resembles NU ʔcki, ʔckʔ (in free variation) 'apparent(ly), in spite of ...'s absence, inferential, I conclude that ...', which has no Salish cognates. HA ʔnd.sʔ '1 sg. subordinate clause subject deictic' is akin to NU /ʔnc/ 'I, me', which also has cognates in Salish. Furthermore, the NU argument deictic elements ʔ-(y)xʔ 'close sg. demonstrative' and ʔ-xʔ 'remote sg. non-female' (and ʔ-x^wʔ, from older *ʔ-w-xʔ, 'remote pl.') are similar to resp. HE/OO ʔkʔ, HA ʔykʔ '3¹ main clause subject deictic', HA/OO ʔyʔ, HE ʔyʔ '3³ main clause subject deictic', and UNW ʔhqʔ '3² primary argument deictic', UNW ʔx...ʔ '3^{1,3,abs} secondary argument deictic'. On the NU argument deictics in general, see below.

Three additional UNW personal paradigms constitute the equivalents of, broadly, 'together with me, together with you, etc.', 'for me, for you, etc.', and 'in/at/on/from/to me, you, etc.' Although these paradigms are morphologically and historically interesting, we do not display them here, because they are based on the main clause subject deictics and the object deictics.

The NU personal subject and object deictic suffixes that resemble UNW deictics are as follows.

NU ʔ-cʔ '1 sg. subject' is within Salish unusual; it probably has been derived from the NU object suffix ʔ-cʔ related forms of which are found in other Salish. The element ʔcʔ can be compared to /ʔnc/ 'I, me' (with Salish cognates) which, in turn, resembles HA ʔnd.sʔ (see above).

NU ʔ-nuʔ '2 sg. intransitive subject' is of secondary origin (it has no cognates in other Salish, but rather resembles /ʔinu/ 'thou' which has cognates in other Salish). Its element ʔuʔ is reminiscent of the features of labiality and labialization that characterize ʔ-x^wʔ and ʔ-(a)pʔ, and may be related to ʔwʔ of the

UNW 2sg. deictics $\#_{\text{sw}}\#$ and $\#_{\text{ws}}\#$, and to $\emptyset w\emptyset$ and labialization of the UNW 3² deictics.

NU $\#-x^w\#$ '2 sg. transitive subject' is of Salish provenience. Its feature of rounding, however, is also characteristic of certain UNW deictics (see above).

NU $\#-ap\#$ '2 pl. intransitive subject / transitive object' has cognates in other Salish. It shares $\emptyset p\emptyset$ with NU $\#-p\#$ '2 pl. transitive subject', and their feature labiality is also typical of certain UNW deictics (see above).

NU $\#-1\#$ '1 pl. subject' has no patent Salish cognates. Instead, it is reminiscent of the element $\emptyset\lambda\emptyset$ that characterizes the UNW 1 sg., 1 pl. incl., 1 pl. excl., and 2 object deictics.

NU $\#-t\text{inic}\#$ '1 sg. non-causative passive subject', $\#-m\text{inic}\#$ '1 sg. causative passive subject', $\#-t\text{ini}\#$ '1 pl. non-causative passive subject', and $\#-m\text{ini}\#$ '1 pl. causative passive subject' contain the conspicuous sequence $\emptyset\text{ini}\emptyset$, which is not found in other Salish passive suffixes. Is this $\emptyset\text{ini}\emptyset$ related to such UNW sequences as $\emptyset\text{yny}\emptyset$ (for which see under #12)?

The NU primary nominal argument deictics are analyzed as containing at least one, but generally two or more, of a number of constituents, which are $\#t\#$ 'non-female', $\#c\#$ 'female close', $\#0\#$ 'pl. close; /ʔiɬ/ (also $\#ʔiɬ\#$ and $\#-ʔiɬ\#$) 'female remote'; $\#(-)ʔa\#$ 'demonstrative force'; $\#-a\#$ 'interrogative non-female remote', $\#-u\#$ 'interrogative pl. remote', $\#-i-$, $-i\#$ 'interrogative close'; $\#-c\#$ 'pl. close', $\#-(y)x\#$ 'sg. close', $\#-x\#$ 'non-female remote', $\#-x^w\#$ 'pl. remote' (older $\#-w-x\#$) - see Nater 1984: 15.4.1.1. Of these, $\#t\#$ and $\#c\#$ also occur in other (Coast) Salish, and /ʔiɬ/ has phonetically similar cognates in e.g. SQ. The remaining elements do not appear to be Salish. Of them, the interrogative constituents are in complementary distribution, and they may have developed from $\#-ə\#$ through regressive assimilation. As concerns $\#-(y)x\#$ and $\#-x\#$, we are convinced that they have the same origin as certain UNW subject and argument deictics (for which see above).

4.2. OTHER GRAMMATICAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS

#1. NU $\#_a\#$ 'question marker, interrogative' follows the predicate. Similar elements are found not only in Salish (e.g. LI $\#_ha\#$), but also in Dene (e.g. Tahltan $\#_a\#$), and it appears to have cognates in UNW as well. HA $\#_{\text{hy}}\#$, HE $\#_{\text{hy}}\#$, and OO $\#_{\text{hy}}\#$, $\#_{\text{hhy}}\#$ indicate the interrogative mood if the grammatical subject is the 1st or 3d person. However, NU $\#_a\#$ may also be related to the interrogative constituents $\#-i-\#$, $\#-a-\#$, $\#-u-\#$ discussed in the previous section; does NU $\#_a\#$ continue $\#_{\text{əh}}\#$?

#2. NU $\#-x\#$ 'sg. imperative' is unique within Salish, and may be cognate to HA $\#_{\text{xy}}\#$, which is a rarely attested alternant of the imperative and exhortative HA enclitic $\#_{\text{s}}\#$ ($\#_{\text{sy}}\#$ if another clitic follows). HA $\#_{\text{s}}\#$ is in turn reminiscent of $\emptyset s\emptyset$ contained in the NU imperative enclitic $\#_{\text{nas}}\#$, which appears to be an emphatic variant of NU $\#_{\text{na}}\#$. A few UNW interjections contain an enclitic $\#_{\text{x}}^h\#$ that may be an alternant of $\#_{\text{xy}}\#$.

#3a. NU $\#-x^w\#$ 'pl. remote' is discussed in the previous section. Cf. also the comments to #6 and #12 in 3.3.

#3b. NU $\#-ax^w\#$ 'pl. imperative' continues older $\#-aw-x\#$ (Nater 1984: 14.2.4.1); for $\#-x\#$ see under #2 above.

5. CONCLUSION A relatively superficial investigation such as that undertaken in this paper reveals a number of possible correspondences between NU and UNW affixes and clitics, or semantically relevant sub-constituents of these, that is large enough to justify a detailed study that also takes the root inventories into account. Some of the correspondences detected are in fact between Salish and Wakash, and thanks to Powell (1976) and Jacobsen (1976), we know that many correspondences also exist between Wakash and Chimakuan. We leave open the possibility of wider affiliations of the triplet Wakash-Salish-Chimakuan (e.g. there may also be a connection with Wiyot, Yurok, and (proto-)Algonquian: in-

teresting are, in this respect, similarities such as the one between NU /smɪk/ 'salmon', OO /mɪk/ 'sockeye', and Wiyot /boɫək/ 'salmon'; for the latter item, and its etymology, see Goddard 1975, page 11).

What are the significance and historical cause(s) of this type of correspondence? Diffusion is only a label for the phenomenon, not an explanation. Borrowing from the same substratum language might be the reason for the fairly large number and great formal similarity of the correspondences. The idea of a Pacific Coast substratum language would complement the concept of a Pacific Coast substratum culture formulated by Philip Drucker (1955) and Wilson Duff (1964). Drucker for example says that the ancestors of today's speakers of North Wakash, South Wakash, and Nuɫalk either possessed, or came into contact with people who possessed, a culture that appeared "if not specifically Eskimo, at least Eskimoid in its essential features" (Drucker 1955: 196, 206-8).

FOOTNOTES

¹ On the role of borrowing in the development of languages, and the concept of linguistic convergence (Sprachbund), see e.g. Anttila (1972: chapter 8).

² By "isolects" we mean a set of now more or less mutually intelligible tongues of which it is hard to tell if they are all different languages, or if some - or all - of them are dialects of one language. The term "isolect" was first used in Hudson (1967: footnote 27 to page 12):

The term 'isolect' which I propose here, denotes a language isolate of undefined scope. It subsumes the traditional linguistic appellations of 'dialect' and 'language' in both their technical and non-technical meanings. The use of 'isolect', which is connotationally neutral in regard to dialect-language identification, obviates the need for defining the precise status of a language isolate when such a definition is, for any reason, impracticable, and it eliminates any possibility of ambiguity that might arise from the misconstructions of the specificity of the terms 'language' or 'dialect' by the unwary reader.

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