TOWARDS A SALISH ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY III

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1. The appearance of new Salish dictionaries (see references) has greatly increased the published material available for comparative purposes. The present report lists well over 100 etymologies to be added to those given in Ku 1970 and 1982 (see also Ku 1981). The numbering is continued as explained in Ku 1982:71. While some of the earlier work needs revision (see below sect. 7), the conclusions reached in Ku 1981 are confirmed by the additional data.

2. The point that SIS r continues PIS *1 (retracted counterpart of *1) has not yet been generally accepted (see Ki 1988:444, Th and Th 1992:12). But the opposite view, viz. that SIS r continues a phoneme that originally had a wider distribution than the present one (only C2 after a non-uvular C1) is untenable. This theory started from the observation that Th, which generally shifts PS *1 to y, retains r in roots where the SIS r-languages (Cb Cv Sp Cr) have r as C2; the next step was to regard Th 1 corresponding to SIS 1 in other positions as evidence for a PS phoneme *r which in SIS merged with *1. This theory is disproved by the facts of Th itself. In Ku 1981 it was pointed out (1) that SIS roots with r have cognates with l (devoiced l) in the r-languages themselves, and (2) that many roots have alternative forms with velars or uvulars (v acting as the counterpart of uvular v). Since SIS r is found only as C2 after a non-uvular C1, these cases are instructive. For instance, in the PIS root *x'y/x', shake, hurry, the occurrence of *1 (rather than *1) is conditioned by the uvular v' as C1; accordingly, we find Cv x'rab, Sh x'ral (Sh a is the retracted counterpart of Sh e), x'alakst but Sp x'p'ak'ast (with l <C1). The Th cognate is x'yekst, with a uvular C1 (as in Sp) and the regular Th y <C2 as C2. This is not an isolated case but the general rule, cf. Th x'yretes set fire to besides Cv 'v'-be burning; Th (n)'v'yon stomach besides Sh wianpk Sp 'urin; Th x'i'x'yek' steep (simplex in xes-xl sheer cliff) besides Sh x'xlakt Cv x'mart. As these examples of Th y corresponding to SIS r show, PNSIS had the same restriction on the occurrence of *1 as had PESIS, so that there can be no question of reconstructions like **q'yir sheet (Ki and Th 1974:24-5). The facts of Sh confirm this: Sh has no retraction in roots with a uvular C2; a Sh distinction pel-pal is possible, but not a distinction *qel-pal.

3. Th, like Sq, has an l-component, i.e., a number of words where PIS *1 appears as l (and has not shifted to y). Sometimes both forms of the same PIS root are found, e.g., xalik-turn, whirly (y-form in sy-twist fibers on thigh); *zalips string things on (circular) string. (y-form in zi-wind up); with a uvular C2, *qalips whale curled (y-form in ai-wet); *qetes make st. round; cf. further *k'alqel lukewarm (Cb k'el warm Cv k'alt id). Sp sk'k'llil heat Cr k'el be hot, sunny, warm), splucan mouth (Cv Ka Sp spliškan).

4. As for Th initial l, here the evidence also speaks against a separate phoneme in PIS. Of the seven etymologies in all that have been proposed, 3 four concern roots with a uvular C2: Th ləxəx female thunder spirit, liəxəx finger, la-x at sea, watery, yaxel, k'axel, k'at. While some of the earlier work needs revision (see below sect. 7), the conclusions reached in Ku 1981 are confirmed by the additional data.

5. There remains the point whether the approach based on CS vs. IS is the best for reconstructing PS. Arguments in favor were given in Ku 1981:321. 5 Only common innovations in all of CS can be decisive here. Such a common innovation is the devise of PS *k'axj, which in all of CS coincided with x'x'k'. At first glance, retraction furnishes another isogloss separating CS from IS, but given the fairly common etymological identity of the Salish resonants h w y with the vowels a u i, this is not an i-ident. While some of the earlier work needs revision (see below sect. 7), the conclusions reached in Ku 1981 are confirmed by the additional data.

6. Against the background of this decisive difference less significant features which oppose CS to IS (within the limits of our material) acquire added interest. They are here summed up.

(a) Of *k'usn star CS (Cx Se Sq Cw Sn Ld Ca) has the simple form, IS (Li Th Sh Cw Ka Sp) the reduplicated form.

(b) The same goes for *k'at fleas, simplex in CS (Li Na, possibly Ch), reduplicated in IS (Sh Cw Cr), though Sh has k'at bedbug besides k'et'tip fleas.

(c) Of *q'alq'a shake, hurry (also x'yretes, see no. 90.2.1) CS (Be Ch) has the lateral as C2, IS (all lages) the fricative x'/X'.

(d) Of *qal' build structure, etc. (no. 102.5) CS (Cx Se Sq Sh Ld Ch) has forms with or going back to 1, IS (Li Th Sh Cw Ka Sp) forms with y (Li qe'l- besides del-borrowed from a y-language).

(e) Of *q'il Form, open up (of ice) CS (Be Se, also Cx Sq which are not diagnostic) has the y-form, IS (Sh) the 1-form (Li x'p'x' is a loan from CS).

(f) Of *x'/X'q'il dig out, make channel, divert water (90.2.2) CS (Se Se) has
forms with $\kappa$, IS (Sh Cv) with $\alpha$.

(g) Of $\lambda\alpha k/k$ protrude; long (64.1.1) CS (Be Cx Se Sq Sn, possibly Ld) has forms with $\alpha$, IS (Sh Cv Ka Sp Cr) with $k$.

(h) Of $\lambda a m$ to nurse CS (Cx Se Cv Sn Ld, possibly Be Ch) has simple forms, IS (Th Li Sh Cv Ka Sp Fl) forms with internal glottalization.

(i) The root $\lambda ax$ open up, branch out has in CS (Be Cx Se Sq Sn Ch) the zero/a form and is used in words for six; in IS it has a stressed form $\lambda i\hat{x}$, and six is derived from other roots.

(j) The root $\lambda a l$ has in CS (Se Sq Cv Sn Ld) the meaning charm, medicine, in IS it survives only in the compound $\lambda i a l q a x a l$ spirit, soul, life.

(k) The root meaning heal up, scar (97.1., 100) consists of an element $\lambda a y / \lambda i$- with different extensions (-m in Be Li Sh Ch, -$\hat{q}$ in Ld) there is an extension -$\hat{q}$ in CS (Se Sq Sn Ld) vs. an extension -t in IS (Ch Ka Sp, also Li Th Sh), which are not diagnostic here; Th $\lambda a r a x$ is probably a borrowing from Sh, which deglottalizes the first of two glottalized obstruents.

All of these differences are also found between subdivisions of CS resp. IS, and sometimes between individual languages. Case (k) is found in PS itself, cf. the roots $\lambda a n$ (no. 23) and $\lambda a m$ (no. 60) to cut, also Cr xw $\lambda a t$ vs. Sp xu to smear (cf. further nos. 23.4 and 62). The same goes for the coexistence of y- and 1-forms, see (d, e) above.

7. Of the earlier etymologies no. 1.3 must be rejected: the word for male has 1 and not $n$ everywhere but in Sh palinax (see Ei 1991:236) so that this form must result from dissimilation. Item no. 150, not strong to start with, is not confirmed by additional CS material and is better abandoned. For no. 135 Li remains the only IS source; considering the large number of CS loans in Li, the word is unlikely to go back to PS. -- The reconstruction of vowels for individual number forms in IS is based on the following:

8. In present-day Southern Interior Salish, the voiceless lateral fricative is written *t instead of *\h. Incorrect reconstructions are marked with a double asterisk.

9. Here Th and Sq have each gone their own way, cf. Sq $\lambda a l a / \lambda a l a$ be wound around, $\lambda i a x$-notas wind st. around; cf. the reflexes of *$\lambda i a x$ in fn. 3 under (3), where they have done likewise, but in opposite directions.

3) Four of these are found in Egedal and Thompson 1993, and they are all that is to be retained of this article. A few elementary points will suffice. (1) Th qayt reach top (p. 98) is not an example of sporadic Th y < *y as it reflects PIS *qal (Ka qalt, etc.), while Th $\lambda a y t$ shaman cures may well contain the unretracted counterpart of Cr mar-im treat for illness, etc.; there is no lack of better examples, cf. Th *\h\o f sleep, n\h\o fen, q\h\o f dance, tey w imitate, teyt hungry, *\h\o f perish, w\h\o f dip, s\h\o f c ho salmon, all of which have cognates with y in Sh, the first three also in SIS. (2) The authors are inconsistent in calling these cases "sporadic" and not extending the same courtesy to a smaller number of cases with Th $\lambda a y t$ (*1-1. (3) Th the word $\lambda a y l a x$ (p. 130) is Chinook Jargon, and even if a PS *$\lambda a y l a x$ had been possible; it would have contradicted the (incorrect) notion that Sq y and 1 reflect PS *a; respectively, cf. Sq $\lambda i a x$ fence (not *$\lambda a y l a x$). (4) All the authors really do is posit an extra PS phoneme to account for part of the "mixed" cases mentioned in Ku 1981:331-3, which is like positing an IBur. **$\lambda a y t$ to account for Slavic x where s would be expected (as in xw- Engl. sore); the authors do not say whether they also reconstruct PS *$\lambda a y t$. -- In this way PS *\h\o f need no longer be (re)visited upon Salishists.

4) The etymological identity of SIS r and l shows itself in CV $\lambda i k / \lambda i k a x$- turn besides $\lambda a y$, CS $\lambda i k a x$- be turned inside out, Sp $\lambda i k a k$- rolled up, turned around/over besides $\lambda i k a k$- pushed/turned/bent back, Cr $\lambda i l a k$ turn flat things over, $\lambda i l a k$ round objects besides $\lambda a y / \lambda a y$ be curved, where the r-languages show retraction before velars, as is the case with vowels in most of IS. Though in present-day SIS r and l can occur before both velars and uvulars, their distribution in this all-Salish root is striking. CS too has forms with velar and uvular C$\hat{a}$: Be plik tip/tip over besides pli$\hat{a}$- turn inside out, Sp pli$\hat{a}$k$\hat{a}$ twisted besides spali$\hat{a}$k$\hat{a}$ ball-shaped. Deviations in glottalization and labialization as in some of the above items are common; the safest reconstruction of the root is *plik$\hat{a}$. 

Footnotes

1) Abbreviations of language names are as given in LIJL 47:123 (NIS, SIS Northern resp. Southern Interior Salish, P Proto-). The voiceless lateral fricative is written $\lambda$. Incorrect reconstructions are marked with a double asterisk.

2) Here Th and Sq have each gone their own way, cf. Sq $\lambda a l a / \lambda a l a$ be wound around, $\lambda i a x$-notas wind st. around; cf. the reflexes of *$\lambda i a x$ in fn. 3 under (3), where they have done likewise, but in opposite directions.
5) Kinkade (1990, 1991b, 1993) achieves interesting results starting from five sub-divisions (see Ki 1990:199f.). Our PS reconstructions are on the whole in agreement. A few points may be added. K. 1970. no. 104 *s-p'q'xalx(s) groundhog cannot be separated from the group given under PS *s-k'q'uy-uy (Ki 1991b:235), so that a reduplicated PS *k'q'uy-can be posited. Sh sq'q'e points to an older *sq'q'e, with diminutive *-a which may have been a reinterpretation of a reduplicated form (a parallel case is Sh *-ise? uncle from reduplicated *syas in Be sissi Sq sis?i uncle). In Ki 1993 add to Table 6 (p.167) Sq *'ax'umix' village, tribe, to Table 17 (p.176) Sh x±q-mox- ülxe beings half human half fish, same?±sq'q'elx/~sq'q'e?x dwarf, to Table 18 (p.177) Sh skilx(i) relations of wife (acc. to others ex-wife, husband, lover of ex-sweetheart); in Table 19 (ibid.) Pt *swam? must reflect Chinook Jargon sh(h)wash.

6) The resonant i is infrequent and survives as such only in NIS (in SIS it has merged with *y). Its vocalic counterpart j has so far been found in only one root recon­structible for PS: *q'jì overflow. Here we find the usual picture: Sh retains specific tractivity in the vowel of *jìt overflow, Cv in the consonant of jìt overflow (cf. for full grade forms Sh pílan so *ísab, for zero grade Ch jëm, Cr jë; with devolved 1 Th yëttes flood, overfill (Th and Th 1992:21), *testgéi±êe* trimming full (ibid:82, given with plain ŋ)).

7) An extension -1 i in Cv x±a(s) (Sq xàya? goats) Transformer, Sn xë?ai supreme being; -y in be ñxàya?+ taboo (Sh Èox, xi- cause to stop fighting/being a nuisance, xìyà? discipline one's children), Ch xì±i- stop, forbid, Sp xì- other by disturbing conversation; -n in Li Sh ëm- forbid Cv ëm- stop, interrupt Ka xë?n forbid Sp sëÈH?ìpiel taboo, forbidden; -w in Ch xì? (g x w) stop chord from bringing itself in danger Se xìwit tell sb. to quit, stop from doing. Cf. also, with an unexplained initial, Se wàïsals mythical being, prob. Transformer.

References

(These are in addition to the ones mentioned in Lingua 57:91-2. Abbreviations in the text: Ki Kinkade, K. Kuipers, Th Thompson)

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- m 1991a Upper Chehalis Dictionary UMDPL no. 7 Missoula
- m 1991b Proto-Salishan Manuals: The Data Papers 26th ICSNL:233-238 Vancouver
- m 1993 Salishan Words for 'Person, Human, Indian, Man' (See addenda at end)
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E t y m o l o g i e s

(1.1.1) pea?k leaf Cé pea?k Sh hoxa? Ch pëkâx Cv (N) pickâl (S) pickIl Ka Sp peâx Cz pëxile. The Cv distribution of a and 1 is the opposite of that in 43.1 (N no. 5 Msaxl to fry).

(1.3) Eliminated, see above sect. 7.

(1.3.1) puA to get, find. Be puA- accept, receive - Li puA Th V puA find, spàne? dead animal found and appropriated (by scavenger) Sh tpun-qn pick up dead animal/ fish for use as food, pn-min- find Sp mín(n)uA- find.

(3.1.0) palÀ one. Cx pâyÀe?, [paA] one, pàyÀe? pàyÀ always Se pàìa one - Li pëlÀ one Th pëyÀ id.

(3.1.1) pÀkÀ to pierce. Cz pàlkÀ- pierce - Li pëkwÀ boil bursts open, pëkÀe needle Sh pàkÀ- pierce Cz packÀ(ton fork) Ka pëkÀ- pierce Cz pëkÀ pierce, pëkÀ nail. The forms with t may be due to a special development, cf. Sh nùkàe(n) blood Cx mëkÀya? id. Cv nàlÀ bleed, nùkÀya? (Vogt 1940b niída? blood Sp nàlÀ(n) blood nùkÀ(eat)it boxed Cx mëkÀya? blood.

(3.2.1) pÀkÀ to put a spell on, to tell. Id pÀkÀ what is put on a person's possessions (esp. clothing) in order to gain power over him Ch p±xÀ(love)charm, pskëxànt to dope - Th pìxÀ- report, bring news Cv psÀkÀ put spell on sb. Semantically cf. Gothic spell teale and Eng. spell (incantation). KI 1991:99 "possibly a loan ... via Chinook Jargon optiach'.

(3.2.2) pÀkÀe? faded, stale. Sq pÀkÀe? faded, pale. Sn nÀpÀxÀ brown, blond, gold - Li pÀkÀe? give up, be tired of it Th V pÀkÀ grew tired (of st.). Pea?kÀe?màt (we've) goten tired of it Sh pÀxÀe? stale; having lost interest, pÀkÀe? tasteless, pÀkÀe?AxÀ faded,
extinguish, obliterate Sh ləp- go out (fire); be forgotten Cr ləp disappear, nəlpt forget Ka ləp come to an end, dwindle, nəlptəman I forget it Sp ləp- go out; forget Cr ləp disappear, nəlpt forget.

(56.3) (64.1.1) ləsp/"ax" (to enter) a hole. Cr yóxp"a hole Se ləp"x be punctured Ch ləp"x, ləp"x" hole Sh ləp"x make large hole, əstüpləd"x id. with one blow Cr nəp"x enter into (an opening) [Sp lep"x" sound of foot accidentally falling into a hole] [Cr ləp"x falling into (as ball and socket)].

(64.7) [tu]eick tight, crowded. Ex [Sənut push] [Se yəcum id.] Sq yəcum msg, push aside Ch wət cərm, [yəcup" push] Sq səfət crowd together — Li lət tight [Th [űt tight bərr. fr. dialect] Sh lət- (tight, crowded).]

(65.2) s-kuux?" a berry sp. Cr Cənu"u"n" blackberry Sh skəux?" id. — Sh skəux?" id. Sh (W) sakəux?", (E) skəux? beewberry.

(72.0) kəw II downwards. Sh ćəw go down to the beach Sq kəw descend (burr., source unknown) Ch ćəw- down — Li kəwAWS lakeshore Sh kəwuəkəw fall off st., skəwə go down downhill (towards the water).

(72.1) s-kəwqət blueberry, Nk *kəwqət? (cry of sq) blueberry, kəwqət? yə blueberry — Th qəweyə, qəweyə blueberry Sh Skəwqət, sqəwey id. Cf. 107.3.

(72.1.1) s-kəwqət break, crush. Ex ēpuqət break (as cookies, bread), əpuqət bree t brittle — Li ēpuqət"mət make a hole) Sh ēpuqət" break nis Sq ēpuqət" clip, click. Cf. 72.1.2.

(72.1.2) kəp to squeeze, pinch. (Be kəp grapt, pinch Sk əpət squeeze, əpətən close səpsət press button — Li ēpuqət hold st. with fingers, toq Sk kləp- pinch together Ch kəp- pinch, clasp Sq əpət- pinch, clutch Cr əpət pinch. Cf. 72.5.1 and poss. 95.6.)

(72.5) kəp class (together), squeeze, encircle. Ch čəpət scissors, chisel (for cutting trees), čəpət put together — Sh kəp-, kəp- squeeze, kəpət fingering, kəpətiana earing Ch əkəpətčəkət basket, skəpətət ring Sk kəpət round band, belt, ring Sq čəpət banded Sh čəpət class, encircle. Cf. 72.1.2.

(73.4) kəl to listen to. Ch ēpuqət hear, listen to — Li kəl wait, [kilət quiet] Sh kəlōn listen to Ch kəlōn listen to. Be čəpət listen to, čəpət listen for, čəpət listen for sh., [kəlōn listen]. Semantically cf. French entendre, attendre.

(74.1) kəl I old, decrepit. Ch ēpətricky (as table) Sh ēpətricky (suffer from) consumption, be sick a long time Sh kəwəx old (person) Cr ēpətricky id., aged.

(74.2) kəl II to go up, ascend. Sh ćətəst brag, boast (semantically cf. Sh, vist high and wowsnart be proud of os.) — Ch ēpuqət take sh. npair, (tikəx) climp Ch ćə̃wək id. Sp ēpuqət id.

(75.2) kəp'qət to push together, to stuff, kəp'qət-uxan makeshift leggins. Ch kəp'qət pile, hill Sk kəp'qət piled up, collected Cr ēpətə̃n stockings, socks — Li nək'qət, nək'qət mattress Sh kəp'qətuxan rags around legs, stockings, socks, cf. Sh kəp'qət-
to push, sk'k'pet to stuff and note cb (s)jad'ul'mon socks, foot wrappers, Sp n'ul'san sock and Sh q'ut stick away, cf. 64.3.1. Original meaning poss. (straw) lining of footwear.

(77.1) k'up bar, rod. be k'up to skinner, run stick through st., k'upsta skinner - Sh k'up sticks stick along top of cradle over which mosquito net is hung.

(78.2) k'ac / k'est (to) name. be sk'ac-name [Se k'pit to name] [Sq k'o'samin ancestral name] Ch k'acitl- be named, called - Li sk'ecitic name, k'esty, Sk'ecicel nickname, k'ecicem name sb. Sh k'est- to name, k'est name Cb sk'ist id. Ka sk'est id. Cb k'est(-) id. be named, ADD Th k'est- to name.

(82.3) k'as dust. Cb k'asmin color of evening or morning sky Sh k'esin blue ~ Li k'es dusk Th k'asp get pitch dark Sh k'oses getting dark. (ESB) ?sk'tes set sunup [Ka k'uk'u'c(e)() night falls] [Sp sk'k'ecnight light].

(81.1) s-k'uy-a? child, off spring. Cb e?y ~ Li sk'ulse? Sh sk'ulse? (also ò) sh sk'qye?.

(82.2) k'ay, k'ya chew. Ch q'ay?- (k'ay-y) chew, k'am(a)- draw Li k'xpl check Sh k'e? chew, k'yepne jaw Ch k'a?- bite, k'axk'em chew Cb k'am eat Ka k'lap?'e? jaw Sp k'p?- bite, k'lap'pest chin, lower jaw.

(83.5) k'ap straight. Ch k'ap straight, right, very ~ Li k'ap'kap, k'ap straight [Cr k'ap spine, backbone].

(86.1) k'as? I to hollow out container. Cb sk'ax'w? box, coffin Se k'ax'w? a box Sh k'xam make a basket, k'ax'w? box [id?ask'u?u? hollow, k'as?'ul' littleneck or steamer clam] Cb k'as? wooden bucket ~ Th k'as? weave a basket, k'ax'w? box, venkoug gouged out, n'ko'gouge pieces out of Sh, Sh k'xam make a basket, k'xam hollow out ground; make shallow pit.

(86.2) k'ax'w, red, k'ax'w rat, mouse. Be s'wa'k'ax'w bush tail rat Se sk'ax'min mouse ~ Sh (Endersby) k'ax'w mouse Cb k'ax'w? id. Cb 82.

(87.1) k'ay to suffer. Se k'ay be hungry, k'aywuc'it be in pain Sq k'ay be hungry Sq k'ay id. ~ Li k'ay'sam go work, k'ayuchot train o.s. Sh k'aym suffer.

(89.1) axw to grow. Sq òaw grow [Ld sq'aw salmonberry sprout] Cb òaww grow, raise ~ Sh (x)awawnen young girl Ka (k)òawots little girl Or òaw be girl, òaw- side be lighter, girl. Semantically cf. 22.4.

(90.1.1) x'awm lonesome, pining. Ch x'am- (x'aw). ~ Th x'aw get lonely, x'awm'ent be very lonely, be lonely (pl.) Sh x'awm'men lonely, nostalgic Or x'awm be lonesome for sb., wish for st.. Ka x'awm long for, wish to have Sp x'am'min I long for sb. Or x'awm be homestick for, be lonely.

(90.2.1) x'aw to come to an end; be exhausted, all gone. Ch x'awm- finish (work), all gone ~ Sh x'awp reach end, come to end [Cr x'aw lose, take away, deprive, xaw, x'aw- ungrateful] Or x'awet be exhausted, come to end.

(90.2.2) x'aw'q?i dig out, make a hollow/channel, divert water. Se x'awit dig out, x'awit'dig a ditch in, tr. Sq x'awit make small channel with stick ~ Sh x'aw? (poss. x'aw?) open a ditch, divert water, x'awit there is a break or side trench in the ditch, x'awit id. Cb (geogr.) x'sa'fin area torn out of riverbank, x'shûs having a narrow gully.

(91.2) q'acq spring; spring salmon. Be sq'acq old spring salmon ~ Li sq'acq spring Sh sq'acq id., qeqqm become spring Cb pan'teqqeq spring sq'acq id. Cb aqcp, qeq-c id.

(92) qam if ask for, beg (esp. to get st. back). Be qa- ask, beg, usqm remind sb. of a debt, tell him how much he owes Sh qamen beg [ld qaqpbbq guessing, substitute] ~ Sh qamun supllcate, beg (to get st. back).


(97.1) q'as be joined together, repaired, healed. Be q'as filled up; complete, whole, closed, etc., qim scar ~ Li qas join together Sh qas repair, join together Cb q'as to heal. Cf. 100.

(99.1) q'as to be of long duration. [Be qaq tight, firm, do solidly, thoroughly, be very, be rough, violent] Or q'as one to be tired of sitting Qa q'as one to be tired of sitting, q'as'ep get tired waiting, get impatient ~ Li q'as'ep'ul' old tree, still green Th q'as'ep get homestick, q'as'ap be numb or stiff from staying long in one position Sh q'as take a long time, be of long duration, q'as'ep men long for, q'as'men get impatient, get tired waiting, [oses (having lasted) for some time] Cb q'as long time ago, old (object), past Ka qasip late Sp qasip long time (ago), old (object), Cr qasip be long time, long ago.

(100.3) q'ux? to spin, wind around. Be qas twist, spin [Cq qas anchor] [Cq qas anchor sâjac skirt] Sh qas twine around, [this is tied, knotted] Sh qasot turn around bend, qas feet tangled ~ Li qas'ep kerschief Th qas'ep'teas make st. round, tâl'solp'tuimal curl Sh q'ax' wrap around, tâl'qim hair band Cb qâlps (hand)kerschief, locket, medallion. Cb qas epers horse collar, necklace, Cb. 105.

(100.1) q'ux? stir, move (away). Cb qas (inversion) move away ~ Li qas move fast Sh qas, qâap move, keep going, q'as' set in motion Cb qas move.

(101.2) q'saw, q'k'as' side, half, companion. [Cq q'as in one-legged (also q'as)].
cut up (as lettuce), x'ic[crack (branches, wood)] Cv x'icam break (as stick), x'ic'ilex'm cut grain, xad'ap broken rib, x'ic'int break [Sp x'ic' cut in a swath, x'ic'ilex'm cut hay, x'ic'hais break sticks for stick game] Cv x'ic crop hair.

(126.9.1) t'ay I to become senseless, faint, sleep. [Sp x'ic'lum grey hair] Sq x'ay become senseless, paralyzed, faint [Ld x'al lack control, q'ulub grey hair] Li t'ay'it to sleep. Th t'ay'it Ud, Sh t'ay'it withered, tired (Cv t'ay tired). Cf. 126.

(126.9.2) t'ay II to play, joke, make fun. Be x'is' game, x'is'man, x'is'to play, joke - Li sc't'ay make (vulgar) joke. T'say'em use vulgar language Sh cv't'ay to joke. T'sayeh make fun; do sloppy job Cv y'ic'nut laugh Ka y'ic'nu'nt Ud. [Sp hohic'nut Ud.]

(126.10) hahow to yawn. Se hath[wed [Ld y'ic'lab, y'ic'alab, b'yic'alab] - Li ns'owt nh Sh show Sh be hahow Hv'ic'hahowcv Sh havwhavcv Hv'ic'hahow cv havwhavcv.

(127.0) haw'it rat. Sq haw'it Hv'ic'h et Hv'ic'het Sp hv'ic'et. This etymology, due to Kinkade (1991), provides one of the rare examples of *h- in both CS and IS (cf. 127 and 127.1).

(150.1) waw'k, wakt to prey/lever up, to vomit. Be x'ic' vomit Cv x'icat prey, lock Se waw't lever up ~ Th wk' wakt Sh wawk Id., w't'el: prey up Cv waw'tkIx vomit Cv white cv. [Sp wakt be pinned, fastened]. Cf. 131.

(131.1) was both of a pair, mutual. Se wasa'k'na both cheeks, wasa'kh both legs Ld -g'as pair Ch -alasms, -alasms middle, junction, -alas group of interconnected members - Li -inas (w. pref. n.) middle Sh -es both, as a pair, mutual, Cv -es, -nis middle, center Cv -!a/es between, together, be in contact. See 88.

(131.2) wll came. Sq -wil Ch wil ~ Sh -ehil, -cilil, -cilil Cv -(i)wa Ka -ehul, -elul Sp -ezi, -ezi Cr -gilil.

(134.1) wa/uh to bark (at). Cv gb'ut Sh was, wawam, wawat Sh waw' [Sh wasala?] Ld gb'ubaws ~ [Sh x'wey-] Cv wawam Cv wawam, wawat Na uh Cr wih.

(138.1) s-ups tail. [Cx g'apana] [Se g'apana] Sq -l'ups Ch s'upash ~ [Li s'upesh?] Sh [s'ape?], [-upe?], -ups Cv sups Ka sups Sp ups. Cv ups is reminiscent of the y in Sq ynis Ld Sadis Tw yah'is tooth, Ld Saadi Tw yah'id leg, Cv x'amxv See xanxv salmon (67.1).


(141.1) ?amut to name, call. Tw s'obat Ch ?amat- ~ Sh ?mat- Cv ?am- [Sp s'am-, s'am-, s'am-].


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