Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary V

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1. INTRODUCTORY. From the outset the guiding idea in establishing cognate sets and reconstructing PS forms has been a primary division between CS and IS, Bella Coola being regarded as belonging to CS (see sect. 2 below). In the beginning, a parallel effort was necessarily directed towards establishing the PS phoneme system; the results were published in LAL 47:323-35 (1981). As more dictionaries appeared it became evident that Lillooet and to a lesser extent Thompson (both bordering on CS) contain many loans from CS, these cases were removed from the PS file (see sect. 3). The study of intra-Salish borrowing was considerably advanced by Kinkade (1990, 1995). Yet the distribution of phonological features and lexical items over the Salish area still leaves many problems; these were briefly indicated in *Towards IV* sect. III.

The reconstructable PS lexical roots in my file number 545. Some of these are represented in all Salish languages, others are scattered or geographically limited. To get some quantitative idea of geographical distribution I divided the Salish area into four parts roughly along the axes W-E and N-S, the first dividing the CS from the IS area, the second Northern from Southern Interior Salish and Be + Central Salish (minus Twana) from Tw, Tsamosan and Tillamoook. The four areas are designated NC, SC, NI and SI (for "Northern Coast", etc.).

For the presence of a PS root in two (at least one Coast and one Interior) or more of these areas there are nine possibilities. In the table below the number of roots for each possibility is given in col. 1. In anticipation of the discussion in sect.2, col. 2 gives the number of cases where the root is attested for Be, col. 3 the number of cases where Be is the only Coast language for which the root is attested. (See table on next page).

The roots found in all four areas form by far the largest category (235), the next, about half as large, is the group NC + all IS (113), the third, again about half as large, the group NC + NI (52). Note that the category NC + SC (290 cases) is exceeded by 100 by the category NI + SI (235 + 113 + 42 = 390 cases), which gives a measure of the greater homogeneity of IS as compared to CS.

2. THE POSITION OF BELLA COOLA. The evaluation of the position of Be within Salish has had a curious history. The traditional view ranged it with CS (Boas and Haeberlin 1927), though Haeberlin (Ed. M.T. Thompson 1974:228) noted that "Be shows marked lexicographical affiliation to the Inland dialects". Swadesh (1950) was the first to abandon the CS - IS grouping, considering Be and Ti members of Salish on a level with IS and the rest of CS, which was further split up into Central Salish and Tsamosan/Olympic. Such a subdivision of Salish by itself does not imply a relative chronology which can be represented by a *Stammbaum*, for such a purpose linguistic facts (isoglosses) have to be adduced. L.C. Thompson (1973-981) adheres to the traditional view that Be "seems to align with the Coast rather than the Inland division of the main body". Meanwhile, extensive comparative work on Be was done by Nater (1973, 1974, 1977), who found -- in '73, when his work was still in progress -- about equal numbers of cognates in CS and IS, a fact he ascribed to "the comparative isolation of Be within the Salish language area as a whole" (1973:9). Possibly on this basis L.C. Thompson (1977:4 = 1979) changed his mind, stating that "eventually (...) the ancestors of the Bella Coola were isolated far to the north. Probably somewhat later a considerable group left the central body and crossed the mountains into the interior plateau country". Since then, important isoglosses have been pointed out which separate Be and all other coast languages from those of the interior (Kuipers 1979-1981:383, Newman 1980:165). Yet Kinkade (1990:202) claims that Be "is always assumed to have split off earliest from the rest of the family"; this reflects Thompson's 1977 view but is not true in general, nor have, to my knowledge, any facts supporting this view been put forward.

Well, for the purposes of the present key, we will consider Be to be a full member of the Coast family and the reason for significant loan words from Be to IS is that Be shares certain animal and plant names with IS not represented in CS and concludes that "this would require contact (...) with interior groups (particularly the Lillooet) in order to pick up the interior vocabulary" implying that these words are borrowings in Be. This would diminish the number of original Be - IS cognates, tipping the lexical balance in favor of closer Be - CS ties.

As shown in the above table, Be participates in 183 of the 545 etymologies, 58 of these concern NC alone (rows d-f), and in half of these Be is the only representative of CS. Kinkade's sample (1990:205, flora and fauna) is indeed representative of the Be lexicon as a whole. These 29 Be items are listed here preceded by their SED number and followed by an indication of the IS languages for which cognates are attested.

| CS | IS
|---|---
| a. NC + SC + NI + SI | 235 107 |
| b. NC + SC + NI | 41 15 |
| c. NC + SC + SI | 14 3 |
| subtotal | 290 125 |
| d. NC + NI + SI | 113 38 17 |
| e. NC + NI | 52 14 8 |
| f. NC + SI | 19 6 4 |
| subtotal | 184 58 29 |
| g. SC + NI + SI | 42 |
| h. SC + NI | 21 |
| i. SC + SI | 8 |
| subtotal | 71 |
| TOTAL | 545 183 29 |

Kinkade (ibid. 205) calls attention to the fact that Be shares certain animal and plant names with IS not represented in CS and concludes that "this would require contact (...) with interior groups (particularly the Lillooet) in order to pick up the interior vocabulary" implying that these words are borrowings in Be. This would diminish the number of original Be - IS cognates, tipping the lexical balance in favor of closer Be - CS ties.

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Row e. (Be only, NI): 18.1.1 mu weir Li '989; 25.2 nu-c'at'm. batte Sh; 27.0 cipa pithouse, *ipacut store food; *ipu to hide Li Th Sh; 62.1 nu-*a'k"x shelter Li Th Sh; 163.2.2 cq* begin, start or Li Th Sh; 135.1.1 ye rub Li Th Sh; List I* x'p' unhook Th Sh; List II' 1 Be *ask'aak'x Li Sh.

Row f. (Be only, SI): 24.1.1 k"x bleed Cr, 27.1 cipsax fisher Cr, 30.1 'k'p rib Cr, List I' 8m Cr.

Comments: (1) The item *k"xat'nm hummingbird in my file falls under row a. as the root is found in Ch *k"x buzz, hum but as a duplicated bird name it belongs here. (2) The item quill, porcupine *sk'wSi; for roots in Wakashan, cf. HEI 155.1.1 k"xat. (3) The item *sk"u?is begin, start on quill, porcupine *skwSi; Nk: I add under *sku?is store food. (4) The items *sk"i?i?*ik w'ik and *sk"i?i?*ik w'ik store food.

Towards IV, 230 exclusively CS etymologies were presented, to which 28 are added in the addenda to this paper. Be is represented in 51 of these (NB in List II 1 add under *p'al Be *pakx < *pal-ix come to, wake up Ck *pal Sh *pakx and the Ch simplex *pal, under *wug add Be *wug drift downstream). These 51 well exceed the 29 items Be has in common with IS.

The material in Towards IV is limited to items found in the north from Sq upward and in the south down to Tsaamosan or Ti (List II 1) resp. Tw (List II 2). If one considers the area from LD upward 8 more items are added which were mentioned in Nater 1977 are not repeated here and in the following three paragraphs: Be c'ik* stak, poke, Be c'ik* move, Be s'uch'mus barnacle LD c'uch'mu, Be k*a'wwas brother-in-law HI k'a'wwas relative's spouse's relative CI sk'w*is co-parent-in-law, Be xi'lis pent LD i'la, Be qulq's eye LD qulq's, Be q'alik'm dig for roots LD q'alik'm clam-digging stick, Be q*asta mountain goat wool Se q*asta LD q*astaldicia ceremonial blanket (IS Li only).

There are 5 cases where cognates are found not further down than Straits: Be c'ik*ic sea urchin Sn sk*ic*?i? sea eggs; Be laq's edible seaweed Sn laq's, Be k*a'lt porpoise CI k*a'lt(?) qila, Be k*li'i short Ma c'ax'D' Sh *pi'aw'ok CI C*la'w?au?; Be *tissut to paddle Sn *tis, *tis's? tis the first three have Wakashan parallels.

In 14 cases cognates are found in the South Georgia branch (Sq, HI) and no further south: Be c*x'akm reach for st. Sq c*x' reach, arrive (IS Li only); Be hnas rwo, tk*?i dig up, t'sm shoot, fire gun, cx* white, kic* twisted, sqalaq red huckleberry Ck sqalaq, Be qalaya goosehawk Sq qalaya; Be q'alik'h? houve Sq q'alik'h?; Be xi* visible, appear Sq k? appear suddenly, Be *acwua belly, *tacwut pregnant, *tas'mc?n dig food in grease, *th't'ltm flea, Tic sea cucumber.

Finally, there are 17 cases where cognates are limited to the N Georgia branch (Cx Se)?; they are the following: Be piq* wide, flat, mamis black fly, mm sea urchins, burdocks; *tapal cave Cx t'ap's, Be st's cranberry; c*nself Se c'ana, snu one's own (Cx na?) possession), Be c'us'm dusk, *k'nta person Cx *k'nta house, Be *ki fast, soon, *k't freeze, sk*l cold Se *c'liat cool st. off, Be k'mani small Se k'mani small anchor; Be k*pal liver, qiq'tii baby, small Cx q'i?i? youngest child in family, Be *tq'k*? hither, sq*? up; hair, walaya lynx.

This brings the number of cognates of Be in CS to 93, showing that Be is lexically considerably closer to the rest of CS than to IS, also, it aligns to some extent with the languages of the N Georgia branch. Among the roots with cognates in IS there are some which have survived independently in individual languages of this extreme northern area, as they are found in quite different formations here: of SED 86.2 *k*a'x rat, mouse we have Be *s'ok*x bushitat rat, Se *sk'at'x* min mouse (IES Es'h k*ok*x'ne Ok k*ok*x'na), of List I *yanman bird's nest Be *imanatea Se yamunatxu (IS Li zamán Th zm'en Cr c'mine).

Of particular interest are the cases where on the coast Be has cognates in the SC area only. There are 15 cases where Be has IS and (exclusively) SC cognates, and 8 where Be has SC cognates only.

Be – SC and IS. SED 3.5 Be pu'al poke, prod Tw wpawid pierce it!, wpawid pierce, stab (Ck pawmil bor. fr. IS); 5.1 Be *sp'us? langs Ch sp'us, 12.5 Be mllmit to rest, mallow Tw bala? rest Ti wa? id.; 12.6 Be smik fish, salmon, *lam1 summer; spring salmon, samt sockeye salmon Cx mo?c? summer NWAK milk sockeye s. (SIS only), 21.1 Be ti'x catch Ch ti'xni kill, ti'xxi kill a doer/elk/bear, 25.3 Be t'a'ak' lick Tw t'a'q'adas Ch Ti t'aq'as; 51.1 Be ni'k' cut Tw d'lo, 60.1 Be ik?m flee, escape Ch t'ax; 80.1 Be *k'w warm Tw *k'w shining, 90.2.1 Be *a'hxh' hum Ch a'xh' shake, 92.0 Be sqapc old spring salmon Tw ps'upq summer Ti haq'i? haq'i's id. (semantically cf. 12.6 above, HEI gapc HAI qapsq salmon), 125.1 Be *sk'at'mn hummingbird CI sk'at'mn buzz, hum, 135.2 Be yank driigwood Ch yank (NIS only), 149.3.1 Be *a'x?i some Ch *a'x?i?- different, List I Be st'wim'ic treebark Ti st'wim'ic hide, skin (NIS only), Be *k'ul'aka shaman in training Ch *k'ul'aka, *takwill'ic spirit power (*k'lx); In 3 more cases Be and Cx are the only representatives of NC. 16.1 Be sp'u Cx ps'um button Tw sp'um 3.5 Be mnm excrements Cx nian' Cx manak', 23.1 Be ti'um ditch Tw t'umut Ti but' Ch mifu?- (inversion in SC).

Be – SC only: Be *pk' mosquito Ch pa?e'wg?; Be mi?k'1 alalberry Ti wi'c'h; Be c'tawk*p red cedar Ch ca'tawi; Be c*x' five Ti cx'as, Be *k'ul' high, moon Ch k'ul' high, top, sky, Be *k'ipt red elderberry Cx s'ipt, Be sk*ac- to name, sk*acta name Ch k*acili- be named, named, sk*acta name, Be k'manaks k'manawas young Beaver Ch *c'ma'qq beaver castoreum.

In this way, in almost a quarter of the cases (23 of 95) the CS cognates of Be are limited to SC. There are also 16 cases where Cx and/or Se have coast cognates in any area. They are following, with only an indication of the coast languages for which the item is attested: SED 3.3 *pi'aq white Cx Se Tw Ch Ti; 12.2.1 *mck blackcap Cx Tw Ch; 18.2 *nixn sewnor Se Ch; 30.0 *ck adze, whittle Cx Se Ch; 41.1 *e k' light, bright Cx Se Tw; 56.2 *at' jump, skip, Se Ch Ti; 60.6 *k'm cut, chop Se Ch; 64.2 *xx' grown up, old Cx Se Tw; 64.6.1 *tp'x? hole Cx Se Ch; 72.2 *ka'as three Cx Se Ch; 76.2 *k'q's up to stuff Cx Se Ch; 148.3 *theta* enter Se Tw, List I c'ay resound Cx Si [Ch]; List II 1 *p'a'q' gray Se Tw Ch; List II 1 *sin'k'a sea, ocean Cx Se Tw Ti; *t'i?q's penis Cx Ti. A possible explanation is that lexical innovations were relatively frequent in the central coast area and spread from there without quite reaching the periphery (cf also the retention of unialized velars in Be and partly) Tsaamosan.

The whole of IS is a peripheral as the Be/Cx/Se and the SC areas, and there are 71 SC (exclusively) – IS correspondences (see table p. 2). To these, the 15 cases of Be – SC and IS may be added.
In the light of the above, the 27 Be (exclusively) – IS correspondences do not necessarily involve loans by Be from IS; many of them may well be common retention. Both possibilities remain open, and each individual item must be considered. Borrowing by Be seems less likely in those cases where there are Wakashan parallels, as with the items *maskrat* and *fireweed,* in other cases, particularly the Be – NI ones, we may have to do with strictly local words, eg. in the case of *pithouse and weir.*

Consequently, all the factual evidence, phonological, grammatical as well as lexical, ranges Be with the other Coast languages. Though at present geographically isolated, it has lexically similar (though weaker) relations to its nearest Salish neighbors as have the other languages to theirs. There is evidence of an older contact with Shuswap (or a Shuswap-type dialect). Sh phonology exhibits a variant of Grassman’s-law: the first root-consonant is deglottalized if the 2nd or 3rd is glottalized, and in reduplications the first occurrence of a glottalized root-consonant is deglottalized. A number of Be roots have a plain C1, with a glottalized C2, where the other languages (other than Shb) have a glottalized C1, eg. SEG 72.1.2 *k’sip’* is k’ip’ in Be and Shb only (Natter 1977:5-6 regards such a partial resemblance as regular, ie. acceptable for etymological purposes). This has necessitated a few corrections where PS forms were reconstructed on the basis of Be and Shb alone: SEG 77.1 *k’up’* bar, rod must be corrected to *k’up’* in view of Th *k’up’* fastened by running stick through launder.

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In general, when a Li and/or Th word is borrowed from CS, the cases of borrowing from CS are much more limited, sometimes both, sometimes only one. Borrowings in both Li and Th: Li *t’ax- good Th *t’ay- to like, *s’ax’h’it right hand, – Li *c’taw’wa Th *c’towwi red cedar, – Li Th *k’al (*k’al* spilt, – Li k’ap’k’ap’, *sk’al* straight Th k’al*ep* straighten Th k’al*ep* straighten s.o. out, lie down (SED 81.3), – Li *stwal’mt* Th *stwal’ec* inner cedar bark, – Li Th *k’al* spilt, – Li *x’uk*’i*lm*x* Th *k’ax*’y*’lx* root (2), – Li Th *q’ap’ deep, under, – Li *maz’am* Th *maq’m* swampy, – Li *kwix* body Th *smix* meot, mussel small amount of meat left on fishbone, – Li *pal’a* Th *p’epe* one (2), – Li *k’al* set afloat Th *p’ek’* float, – Li *s’ax’q’op*? Th *s-twal’m* throw, fly, li* -k’al* Th *k’ax*’- brush, sweep, – Li *sq’em* Th *q’ëm’ët* mushroom, fungus (2), – Li *wuq’*li Th *wuq’*al* go downstream in canoe, – Li *suw’wa Th *yúwel- clairvoyance, – Li *zaw’in’ talk to the water (as shaman) Th *yv’in* witch sorcerer, shaman, – Li *zax*’- Th *zex*”, (–l’ax-]* melt (y...)

Borrowed by Li only: *t’ax’op* gather firewood (*it’u*’op, *it’u-’w-* ch’ew (2), *k’ax*’al? *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al* Th *k’al*...
ARRIVE, REACH (A PLACE) ch*x'aka(min) id. Sq ch*x' arrive, reach (Li lacks List I *kin in the sense of arrive, reach, as found in all IS and in Ti); Li x'alc highbraun craven be s'tl cx'tay's se t'als NWAK t'l'e's. (Lincoln-Rath 1980 no. 428); Th q'a'elx diggig stick be qal'km dig fern roots Cx qay'y Se sqalx Sq sqalx Hi Sm Sn sqalx LD sqalx; Li q'ay'u big gaffbook Be qal'yu Cx Se Sq qal'yu NWAK GaX- to gaff, hook, crocher (ibid. no. 2184); auxy instrument, Li t'*q'upq' bushy, moose hair Be sq*up- hair CX q'*upun moustache Se q'*upm hairy (IS *wap, also found in Li); Li t*q'astan mt. goat wool Be q*e'sta Sh li*q*astadulica? ceremonial blanket; Li t'iq- muddy be sq*t mud Sq t'iq id.; Li x'impn lift st. up Be n'apx id.; Li sq*as fat around stomach (of deer or cow) Th x'as- to grease Be x's to oil, grease Cx x'as oil, grease Se x'as fat, thick Sq x'as fat, X*astn fat, hardened grease CX x'astal grease, suet, stomach fat LD x'as* grease. These cases show Be falling within NC isoglosses, some defining a quite limited area. All the lexical evidence shows that its geographic isolation does not go back to a remote period but came about comparatively recently.

APPENDICES

A. Additions to List I (All-Salish etymologies)

*c(a)x" be glad, happy, enjoy [Se cx*in'mn be like, socx'in likeness] Sq cx'cax* be glad, happy, enjoy cx* type of mind power — Li ca", cx'cax" Th ce'cex" CX sh c'cex", cax*ei enjoy one's children CV cx*ilm id. [Cr cx* pet, care]; For Se cf. the semantics of Engli. like.

*c'mx disappear, wear away CX Se c'mmx - Li c'mmx worn out Th c'mdx- wear out, Sh c'mx id, spoil. Cf. KWA c'mn dissolve, wear away.

*c'ul" sore Be c'cuq" having sores, c'ux'tix develop sores Tw c'ul"wi veneral disease Ch c'xwet' sore, a genital disease - Th c'ot"t have a scab Sh c'ul"t a sore.

*k'up* bar, rod corr. fr. SED 771. Add Th k'up* fastest by running stick through Sp C'x*k"p'c'leptn locking bar, door.

*k'ax'iq- scream, bellow, weep CX Se k'aq't scream Sq k'q'am bellow (as sea lion) [Ld C'q'] - Th k'iqt weep, pl. Sh q'eqt cry, howl, pl.

*lap cover with coat, blanket, cover, lap'st'ax cover me up! - Li lap' blanket, lap'sn cover w. blanket. Cf. SED 56 lap', 64.7 lap'.

*liq' bury TW li-lq- - Li liq'- Sh liq'- Ka laq' Cr leq'.

*pix* pierce, pop OUT CH pix*- put, force through, get well, [palaw- pass through, pierce] - Li pix'ban stick out of CX pix'- pulling, put (as potatoes fr. ground) Th pix'et' makes hole right through.

*pix*pix' glitter, shine Be pix' bright, shining, sparkling CX pix'c'm to sparkle Se pix'm id. Sq pix'm id. — Th pix' pix' glitter Ch pix' bright, sparkling CV pix'k' shine up, pix'm reflect, shine Sh Cr pix'.

*pax to air CX pax-t - Sh pexm break wind noticeably.

*pac to spit [Cx pac'cot tin can possess. *px'ton on Se pax'cot spit out - Li p'c'q'cot spit on Sh p'q'cot- spit out w. force.

*pix'pix-min breath, brisket TW s'q'obid human chest - WSh s'qop' ESh sqop'm brisket.

*q'ax" stiffen, harden, freeze SQ q'ax" be callous [Sn q'ax" kneel LD q'ax"(a) freeze TW q'ax" frozen, sqa"ice Cx q'a" frozen - Li Th q'a" fit, convulsion

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Th q'a"ux* id.) Sh q"a"ux* stiff (as fr. cold), paralysed (labialization in q" automatic).

"q"(y)al'mn snail (item removed from List II 1 quv.) ~ Li x'ayaq'an /'aq'an' Th q'o)k'eli Cr q'el'nyum earthworm.

"q"alc coastlerough bough Be q'as needle of conifer CK q'dal'eecas fir bough - Li "q"alc fir/cedar branch Sh q'c'dn pine bough CV q'n'len bough(s) Sp q'e'len grand fir.

"q'ic'c' more, launder Be q'uc' wash, launder Th q'ic'- launder Sh q'ic'- id. (corr. fr. SED 103.23).

*tak willow/rafted groove Be tak's - Li tak'sx'a (tak*) sound of the bird)

Th tak'sx'a Sh tak'tak'ol sound of the blue groose CK *tstuk'k*mv.

*ti's cranberry (see Kinkade 1996.33).

*top dark Ti st'san it's dark! (th'ah, vs. th'ah under, below) - Li x'ap'k'amalis dark color Th *ap'k'ap'.id, pitch dark Sh rep dark.

*x'p" unbook Be x'p" unbook, unravel ~ Th x'p'amin rip out (as cedar roots) Sh x'p'ist snap loose (as safety pin).

*Ric wrinkle (cf. SED 1263). Ch xic'- wrinkled, ?ax'ic'usm face and nose wrinkled, teeth show, ?ax'ic'usm wrinkled nose - Th les'ic' wrinkled, les'ic'ic's wrinkles on one's nose Sh ric'q'am, ric'mx'-us-m bare the fangs

*x'm bite Be x'm ~ Cr xem (id. of animal).

*x'uc' defeace Ti s'uc'excrement, defeace - Th x'ic'm defeace.

*yi k fall (as tree) Be *asikaax timber ~ Li Th zik- fall over, zikk log, fallen tree Sh yik-, syik id.

B. List II 1 (Coast Salish etymologies south to Ch Ti)

*ca'uk'a? wood fern. See Kinkade 1990:202. IS only Th.

*caq'pol, spear Se ca'q'p long spear for cod LD q'ap' canoe pole TW ca'q'ap fish spear, harpoon shaft Ch ca'q'ap canoe pole.

*kanat three SQ t'at'at Ti tend. *law-ag' cedar bark, inner bark See Kinkade 1995.36. IS only Li Th.

*laq'atl wing, feather CK sq'aq'ett wing Sn sq'aq'ett long feather TW sq'aq'ett feather, wing Ch sq'aq'ett (xq'aq'ali)- id.


*mii'yak harpoon SQ mi?al (Hill-Tout 1900 barbed spear point) QUI b'yaak. Though the SQ is only the southern Salish, the word must have been more widespread in CS.


*q'am to fold, pack [Be q'm cover, wrap, shelter it] CX q'mnas store away Se q'mnas id. SQ q'mnas pack together TW q'bad fold it Ch q'mnas- bend, fold. IS only Li.

*qap' cover, lid, to close qap'q'at nail (anat.) Se qap'q'at fingernail, qap'tum knesp cap SQ q'q close, shut CK q'q closed (as box), qap'tum (SI) qap'tap qal'kaln knesp Cap Sm q'qal'kn cover SN qap'qal'kn close (box), qap'qal'kn cover, lid LD q'qal'id id. Sh q's- close. IS only Li.

*q'al'll raise (and place somewhere) SQ q'ayan? put on top [Sn q'al'ap' put up (preserve food)] LD q'qal load (into conveyance) TW q'al' climb Ch q'al- lift, be raised. IS only Li.

*q'in- hair (on face, body) SQ Sn q*- LD TW q'id- Ti q'un'cin whiskers, beard.
*q"iň dark color Tw *jas"il blue, green Ch q"iň blue. Hi Sg Cl Ld have q"iň", a form with plain i only in Li.


*surfik cold wind/season Be surfik winter Cx Se sütő id. Sg sütő cold N. wind Cw sütő, id. Cx sütő cold NE wind Ch surfik September Ti banskút (beginning of) winter, sütő year.

*sin-"a sea, ocean Cx Se sink"u Tw sidak* Ti sanči CV.

*e"ile's penis Cx t'as CV Ti t'as's CV.

*t'ax* to brush, sweep, shake out Be t'ax" brush, sweep, t'ax*ulumxan sweep floor Ld t'ax", only Li Ti; GIT t'ax" sweep.

*s-t'ax*lm red huckleberry. See Kinkade 1990:202.

*K"um(at) paddle Cx s"um* Ld t"ub\at Ch "umati Ti ñewat. IS only Li.

*y-xn lower leg, foot Be ñixa, ñixn- Cx ñišan Se yxan Ld ñasad Tw yxas'd Ti ñišen.

C. List II 2 (Coast Salish etymologies south to Tw)

*eucin mouse Be cuca, cuca- Cx sín Se cuin Cw ñašan Ck ñašal Sn ñašan Tw cuca. IS only Li.

*xašinima muscle, sinew Be xašiñoa Sq xašinima Cw Mx xašima Ck xašima Sn xina Sq xina Sn xina Th našan. IS only Li.

*pala? one. See SED 3.10. IS only Li Th. Unclear is the relation to Qn Ch paw Si hi'í Ti hi'í (all CV).

*q"ila salmon egg Cx qay'ë Se qalë Ck qalë, [qawëk] Sn qalë Ld qalë ñ Tw dax qalë. Fisb w. eggs in it.

*q"amas mushroom, fungus. See Kinkade 1995:37. IS only Li Th.

*t'ilaq* strawberry. See Kinkade 1995:38.

*taš in words for clam Be tušas coxk Se s"amyeeq horse clam w. white neck, tašasaw stick shoes Ld s"abo? Cx s"abo? a kind of horse clam Tw s"abo? id. (berr. fl. Ld).

D. Corrections and Additions to Towards IV

Correct m n in Tw words to b d. — P. 203 le(e) ob(?) kine) 8 Tw ñpâl. R(ead) ñpâl — re c in Tw words to b d. — P. 203 le(?) up Cv R Cr — P. 205 re c. 4.3 under II Ti R Tw — P. 206 le c. 1-3 eliminate (item listed on p. 203) — le c. 1.20 Ch R Ck — le c. 1.4 up Se sâm. R sâm. — le c. 1.12 up Cx čàm. - R Ch čàm. — re c. 3.20 k"am-b Cx łoč- Cx čàm-b belongs in List II 2 (no Ch Ti cognates) — P. 207 le c. 2.9 up 1995.59f. R 1995.99f. — P. 209 re c. 1.23 Sq s"aln in R Sq s"aln in — P. 210 footnote 3.1.4 q"ilm R q"ilm.

Additional cognates of items listed. List I: *taša? Tw škaša? id.; *či? Tw špiči?; he's chasing a seal (piw- follow, chase), dax piwči? duck hunter, *či Qui ča? sharp WAK ci- index finger, nails; point, poke; *poq"k* Tw spaq"at waterfall, *pšaq Tw pšaq ay trailing current; *čoči? Tw čoči? combine with SED 30.1.1 and add Th kēčeẏn wood tick; *čoči? Se kēčeẏn bear sn skičeẏn crooked/Th kēčeẏn awry, crooked; *lik* belongs to SED 56.3. Additional cognates Cx tač give sh. a slight cut Se tačn. kuñe Sn liç', tač cut Ld liči-), Th leči cut open Sh leči-

References

(These are in addition to the ones mentioned earlier, see references of Towards IV. For the present paper I had no access to the ms. of Kinkade's Colwitz dictionary, and work on Galloway 1997 is still in progress)


DC = Dutch Contributions to the 8/9th Int. Conf. on Salish Languages 1973/4, Leiden.

Kuipers, A.H. 1996 Towards a Salish etymological dictionary IV. Papers 31st ICSNL.

Nater, H.K. 1973 Bella Coola etymologies. DC.

1974 Lexical comparisons between Bella Coola and neighbouring languages. DC.

1984 The Bella Coola Language. NMMC, Paper No. 92.


Papers ICSNL = Papers for the 8th International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages.


Towards IV = Kuipers 1996.

Footnotes

1) For abbreviations of language names see Towards IV (add GIT for Gitksan). "CV" after a word means the source is Boas 1925. All-Salish reconstructions are given their Salish Etymological Dictionary (SED) number as in Towards I-III. The writing of a and glottalization in reconstructions has yet to be consistently possible in reconstructions.

2) The actual number is larger, but some doubtful cases were discarded; even so, it is of course possible to disagree with individual comparisons.
3) The number of exclusively PIS roots, i.e., roots found in NIS and SIS and not attested for CS, is 372.

4) Pentlatch material has not been considered for this paper.

5) This consideration is based on the fact that CS is geographically closer to Wakashan than is IS. But there are many all-Salish – Wakashan parallels, so that borrowing in the opposite direction or even common retention are not excluded.

6) This last case is complicated by the fact that there is a *sas*/*x*as (to) grease in Li *x*as*Td* *sas* Tw *sas*-, with a related meaning in Ch *sas*-. (get) wet, damp (cf. the meanings of SED 52.3 *nasi* marrow, oil; wet, itself found in Ch nusi-wet).

7) Additions given in the text are not repeated. I thank Nile Thompson for pointing out errors and omissions in Twana material.