

Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary V¹

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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 Coast and Interior Salish, 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 *IJAL* 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 545.² 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 Tillamook. 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 family 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.

	1	2	3
	CS	IS	Be only CS representative
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.

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:

Row d. (Be only, NI and SI): 0.1 nu-papnt to boil Li Sh Ka Sp; 1.3.1 pun- accept, receive Li Th Sh Sp Cr; 1.4 puł' come Th Sh Cv [Sp Cr have p']; 12.2 mus feel, touch Th Sh Cb Ok Sp Cr; 12.7.1 m(i) erase Sh Ok Cv [Sp has -x']; 44.1.0 c'ayx fireweed Sh Cb Ok Sp; 48.1 suk^w- be blown Sh Cb Cr; 48.3 sx^w leak Li Th Sh Cb Ka Sp Cr; 67.2 kt fall Li Th Sh Cb Ok Cv Sp-Cr; 69.1 klax^w muskrat Li Th Sh Ka [Sp e'-] Cr; 88.7 xil nibble, gnaw at Sh Cv Ka Sp Cr; 86-sk^wult porcupine quill Li Th Sh Cb Cv Ka Sp Cr; 97.1 q'im complete, whole, sealed Li Sh Cb; 105.1 sq^wut bee, wasp Sh Cv Ka Sp; 12.5.1 x^wn^wnm hummingbird Sh Cv Sp; 26.9.2 x^wism play, joke Li Sh Cv Ka; List I' tak^ws willow grouse Li Th Sh Ok.

Row e. (Be only, NI): 10.1.1 mu *weir* Li Th Sh; 25.2 nu-t'aX'm *bathe* Sh; 27.0 cipa *pithouse*, ?ipacut *store food*, ?ipu *to hide* Li Th Sh; 62.1 nu-s'ik' shelter Li Th Sh; 103.2.2 cq' *begin*, *start on* Li Th Sh; 135.1.1 ?ic *rub* Li Th Sh; List I' x'p' *unhook* Th Sh; List II' 1 Be ?asikaaX *timber* Li Sh.

Row f. (Be only, SI): 24.1 t'k' *bleed* Cr; 27.1 cipsx *fisher* Cr; 30.1 ck'p' *rib* Cb Cr; List I' X'm *bite* Cr.

Comments. (1) The item X'nX'nm *hummingbird* in my file falls under row a. as the root is found in Ch X'an *buzz*, *hum* but as a reduplicated bird name it belongs here. (2) The item *quill*, *porcupine* was listed under SED 86 *k'w'il (better *k'w'el) *skin*, *feather*, *quill* (*porcupine*); to the possible cognates there may be added Cw Sn k'w'ólw' *skin*, *hide*, Ld k'w'áltad *fish skin*, k'w'ólú? *skin*, *hide*, Tw q'w'áltad *skin* (*fish or human*), Cz q'w'alit'k'n' Li s'úk'w'al' *feathers*, Th sk'w'i? *porcupine* (*quill*), Ok k'w'alt *quill*; the final -t in Be Ok may be a reduction of *-tən, cf. the Ld Tw forms. Here again, whether or not one accepts the etymology as a whole, Be is closer to IS. (3) The item sq'ut *bee*, *wasp* has a possible cognate in Nk "skw'ēi" *wasp* CV. (4) The items c'ayX *fireweed* and klax'w' *muskrat* have parallels in Wakashan, cf. HEI c'a'ix *rope made of nettles*, HAI c'aXm *fireweed*, NWAK ch'X *rope made of nettles or fireweed* (?) (Lincoln and Rath 1980 no. 853), KWA "kelak'w' *muskrat* (Boas 1947:223).

To the Be ~ SI parallels may be added Be milix'w' *kinnikinnick berry* (*leaves were dried and smoked*) Cr mil'x' *tobacco* (SED 12.4 *s-manx/x'"); forms with x'w' only in SI, with l only in Be and Cr. The Cr vowel i is regular, the Be vocalism is not.

Before evaluating these Be ~ IS correspondences we consider the relations of Be to the other coast languages. In *Towards IV*, 230 exclusively CS etymologies were presented, to which 28 are added in the addenda to this paper.³ Be is represented in 51 of these (NB in List II 1 add under *p'al Be p'alx < *p'al-lx *come to*, *wake up* Ck p'ət Sn p'ətəst and the Ch simplex p'ála-; under *wuq'w' add Be ?uq'w' *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 Tsamosan or Ti (List II 1) resp. Tw (List II 2). If one considers the area from Ld upward 8 more items are added (cognates mentioned in Nater 1977 are not repeated here and in the following three paragraphs): Be cik' *stab*, *poke*; Be cik'w' *move*; Be suc'mus *barnacle* Ld c'úbc'ub; Be k'w'liwas *brother-in-law* HI sk'w'ólwas *relative's spouse's relative* Cl sk'w'ú'is *co-parent-in-law*; Be xli *penis* Ld šəlá; Be qluq's *eye* Ld q'óləb; Be q'álXm *dig for roots* Ld sq'áləX *clam-digging stick*, Be q'w'asta *mountain goat wool* Se q'w'əstan Ld q'w'ástadul'ca *ceremonial blanket* (IS Li only).

There are 5 cases where cognates are found no further down than Straits: Be c'ik'w'ic' *sea urchin* Sn sk'w'ic'i? *sea eggs*; Be taq's *edible seaweed* Sn taq'əs; Be k'w'ult *porpoise* Cl k'w'án(ə)t'; Be kl'ii *short* Ms c'əc'it' Sn č'əč'əy'əł' Cl č'a?yi?əł'; Be ?issut *to paddle* Sn ?ist, ?istečt. The first three have Wakashan parallels.

In 14 cases cognates are found in the South Georgia branch (Sq, HI) and no further south: Be cx'yakm *reach for st.* Sq cix'w' *reach*, *arrive* (IS Li only); Be inus *two*; tk'w'i *dig up*; t'ksn *shoot*, *fire gun*; c'X'w' *white*; kic' *twisted*; sqalq *red huckleberry* Ck sqéle; Be qatayu *gaffhook* Sq q'áiyu; Be q'w'lx'w' - *hire* Sq q'w'áyaX'w'; Be xi- *be visible*, *appear* Sq xi? *appear suddenly*; Be ?aciwa *belly*, ?aciwlt *pregnant*; ?ism'c'm *dip food in grease*; ?it'w' *flea*; ?lac *sea cucumber*.

Finally, there are 17 cases where cognates are limited to the N.Georgia branch (Cx Se)⁴; they are the following: Be piq' *wide*, *flat*, mamis *black fly*, mtm *sea urchins*, *burdocks*; t'apalst *cave* Cx t'áp'as; Be st'ls *cranberry*; cn- *self* Se c'ána, sna *one's own* (Cx na?

possession); Be c'usm *dusk*; λ'msta *person* Cx λ'əms *house*; Be λ'i *fast*, *soon*; k'l *freeze*, sk'l *cold* Se č'álat *cool st. off*; Be k'mani *smelt* Se č'əmáni *small anchovy*; Be k'w'pa' *liver*; q'itii *baby*, *small Cx q'áti?* *youngest child in family*; Be tq'w'n' *hither*; sq'w'p- *hair*, walasya *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'w'ax'w' *rat*, *mouse* we have Be s'ixk'w'x'w' *bushtail rat*, Se sk'w'á?x'w'min *mouse* (IS ESh k'w'ék'w'x'w'ne Ok k'w'ík'w'x'w'na?), of List I *yman *bird's nest* Be ?imanta Se yamánultx'w' (IS Li zəmán Th zm'en' Cr dmine?).

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 puX *poke*, *prod* Tw cpawád *pierce it!*, cpaw'lad *pierce*, *stab* (Ck pawmíl borr. fr. IS); 5.1 Be ?usp'us *lungs* Ch sp'us; 12.5 Be mnlitum *to rest*, ma'low *Tw ba'áb rest* Ti wa' - *id.*; 12.6 Be smik *fish*, *salmon*, ?am' *summer*; *spring salmon*, sam' *sockeye salmon* Ch m'əič- *summer* NWAK mtik *sockeye s.* (SIS only); 21.1 Be tix *catch* Ch tix'w'ni- *kill*, tix'w'c'i *kill a deer/elk/bear*; 25.3 Be t'aaX *lick* Tw t'aq'á'das Ch Ti t'aq'w'; 53.1 Be nik' *cut* Tw dič'; 60.1 Be t'X'm *flee*, *escape* Ch t'əX'w'; 80.1 Be k'w' *warm* Tw ?ask'w'ál *sunshine*; 90.2.1 Be ?ai?atx'w' *hurry* Ch yax'w'á- *shake*; 92.0 Be sqap *old spring salmon* Tw p'ədqəp *summer* Ti hənqə?h'əw'š *id.* (semantically cf. 12.6 above; HEI qapc HAI qabs *spring salmon*); 125.1 Be X'nX'nm *hummingbird* Ch X'an- *buzz*, *hum*; 135.2 Be yanc *driftwood* Ch yanc (NIS only); 149.3.1 Be ?ax'w'i *some* Ch ?ux'w'- *different*; List I Be st'win'lic' *treebark* Ti st'égi *skin*, *hide* (NIS only); Be tuk'w'ala *shaman in training* Ch -ik'w'laš'i, "takwillix" *spirit power* (*k'lx). In 3 more cases Be and Cx are the only representatives of NC: 10.1 Be sp'u Cx p'úton *buttocks* Tw sp'u? *fart*; 12.3 Be mnk *excrements* Cx m'ónač Ch m'ónač-; 23.1 Be t'um *suck* Cx t'umut Tw but' - Ch mút'i- (inversion in SC).

Be ~ SC only: Be pk'm *mosquito* Ch p'áčé:wq; Be mik'w'i *salalberry* Ti wič'út; Be cactawip *red cedar* Ch catáwi; Be c'ix'w' *five* Ti c'x'w'əs; Be λ'uk' *high*, *moon* Ch λ'uk'w' *high*, *top*, *sky*; Be k'ipt *red elderberry* Cz č'ipt; Be sk'w'ac- *to name*, sk'w'acta *name* Ch k'w'acili- *be named*, *called*, sk'w'act *name*; Be k'manwas/k'amwas *young beaver* Ch č'əmáq *beaver castoreum*.

In this way, in almost a quarter of the cases (23 out 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 this area only. They are the 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'w' *blackcap* Cx Tw Ch; 18.2 *tinx *sinew* Se Ch; 30.0 *ck *adze*, *whittle* Cx Se Ch; 41.1 c'ak'w' *light*, *bright* Cx Se Tw; 56.2 *tə't *jump*, *skip* Se Ch Ti; 60.6 *λ'm *cut*, *chop* Se Ch; 64.2 *λ'áX' *grown up*, *old* Cx Se Tw; 64.6.1 *lpəX'w' *hole* Cx Se Ch; 72.2 *ka?has *three* Cx Se Ch; 76.2 *k'w'/q'w'up *to stuff* Cx Se Cz; 148.3 *?uitx'w' *enter* Se Tw; List I c'ay *resound* Cx SI [Ch] Ti; List II 1 *p'a/uq'w' *gray* Se Tw Ch; List II 1 *sin-k'w'a *sea*, *ocean* Cx Se Tw Ti; *s-t'iq'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 unlabialized velars in Be and (partly) Tsamosan).

The whole of IS is as 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 retentions. 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 *muskrat* and *fireweed*;⁵ 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 Sh) have a glottalized C₁, eg. SED 72.1.2 *k'ip' is kip' in Be and Sh only (Nater 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 Sh alone: SED 77.1 *k'up' *bar, rod* must be corrected to *k'up' in view of Th k'up'- *fasten by running stick through* Sp č'ink'p'č'leptn *locking bar, door*, 103.2.3 *q'ic' *wash* corr. *q'ic' because of Li Th q'ic'- *laundry*. The phenomenon is limited in Be, which has also roots like λ'uk' *high* and keeps the glottalization in reduplications, eg. k'ix' *gnaw* red. k'ixk'ix'. Be deglottalization is as sporadic as eg. Th l- and y- forms besides regular y and z, and like the latter must be due to influence of a (formerly) neighboring dialect. A striking formal-semantic parallel between Be and Sh is the identical -ix derivative of SED 51.1 *təx' *draw on, wear* in Be Sh t'ix' *be foggy*. In all the cases given above of Be ~ IS cognates involving NIS (row d. and e.) Sh is represented, and in 7 cases it is the only representative of NIS.

2. COAST ELEMENTS IN LILLOOET AND THOMPSON. CS borrowings into Li and Th are much easier to identify than are IS ones into Be. In *Towards IV* Lists II 1 and 2 there are a few comments "IS only Li/Th", but these indications are far from complete. A more exhaustive listing is given below.

In general, when a Li and/or Th word has cognates in a number of CS languages, and especially if the rest of IS (c.q. NIS) employs another term, then the Li/Th word is clearly borrowed from CS. For instance, besides Li q'amaz' *teenage girl* there are CS cognates in Sq Cw Sn Ld Tw Ch, while Sh and SIS employ derivatives of SED 89.1 xaw'tm; besides Li k'tamc *husband* there are CS cognates in Be Sq Tw, while Sh and SIS (except Cr) have *s'xalwa/i. Besides Li q'al'it' *pitch* with cognates in Cx Se Ld Ch the rest of IS has *c'it'/t'ic'. Not all cases are as clear-cut as these; sometimes the IS counterparts are limited to NIS, sometimes the CS distribution of a word is more limited, sometimes both, eg. Li ǰ'um't *paddle* has CS cognates in Cl Ld Nk Tw Ch Ti but not in languages bordering on Li; Th and Sh have *taǰmn. In CS, for *paddle* *s-q'əml is used in Sn Hl Sq Se, itself borrowed into Li sq'əmláz' *broadleaf maple* (Sq q'mlay?).

As regards the influence of CS, the cases of Li and Th are quite different, and not only in that CS loans in Li are much more numerous than in Th. Th grammar rather closely parallels that of Sh, whereas in Li the influence of CS is not limited to lexicon. In morphology Li has the suffixes -c *mouth* (as in Sq, vs. IS -cin), -az' <-ay' *tree* (as in Cx Se Sq, -i in Tw Ti, vs. IS -aip), -q' *head* (as in Sq, cf. Be -iǰǰ', vs. IS -gin), -mx in the 1 sg. obj. suffix of the originally causative paradigm (as in most of CS, absent in IS), -ap in the 2 pl. obj. suffix with 3rd pers. subj. (as in Be Se Sq, absent in IS), -wit for 3d pl. obj. in all forms and 3 pl. subj. with 2nd

pers. obj. forms (Sq -wit, absent in IS), -mut for 1 pl. obj. in the neutral paradigm (as in most of CS, absent in IS). In syntax Li shares with the neighboring coast languages the adding of tr. subj. endings to enclitics, the proclitic element ʔə to refer to the actor with a pass./itr. verb, the element k'ə introducing subordinate clauses. In Li there has been a fusion of Coast and Interior dialects, though the IS element clearly predominates ((out of the 372 exclusively IS etyma that have been established Li takes part in 286; in 10 of these it is the only representative of NIS). That this fusion is at least partly due to intermarriage is suggested by the nursery word *túta go to sleep!* which must reflect Sq Se ʔitut *sleep* (Li ʔ'uy't, other IS *ʔitx), cf. also the loanwords for *husband, woman's rival in love* (see below), scutáí *son-in-law* (Se Sq Hl St; IS *snak'ix'), száʔtən *widow(er)* (Se Sq Hl St; IS *stwalmt).

The Li and/or Th borrowings from CS are here summed up, including the few that were already referred to in *Towards IV* Lists II 1 and 2. If no indication follows, the CS cognates are in List II 1, those in List II 2 are followed by "(2)", and those in the addenda to these lists given at the end of this paper by "(1)" resp. "(2)". The alphabetic order is the same as in the lists.

Borrowings in both Li and Th: Li ʔaz- *good* Th ʔəys- *to like*, siʔékst *right hand*; -- Li cátawaz' Th cétwiʔ *red cedar*; -- Li Th k'əł (**k'əł*) *spill*; -- Li k'əp'əp' *straight* Th k'ə/épix *straighten o.s. out, lie down* (SED 81.3); -- Li slúwaz' Th slúwec' *inner cedar bark*; -- Li Th lax' *spit out*; -- Li λ'ak'əml'ax' Th k'əm'y'əx' *root* (2); -- Li Th λ'əp *deep, under*; -- Li máq'am Th maq'm *swamp*; -- Li məzəc *body* Th smiyc *meat, mzecc small amount of meat left on fishbone*; -- Li pálaʔ Th péyc *one* (2); -- Li p'ák' *set afloat* Th p'ék' *float*; -- Li saʔq'úpzaʔ Th séʔaq *bracken fern*; -- Li λ'x' Th λ'əx' *brush, sweep*; -- Li sq'am's Th q'á/ém'es *mushroom, fungus* (2); -- Li wúq'il Th wúq'əł *go downstream in canoe*; -- Li szúwa Th yúweh- *clairvoyance*; -- Li zəwín' *talk to the water (as shaman)* Th ywín' *witch, sorcerer, shaman*; -- Li zaǰ' Th zex'- Th zex'-, [ziǰ-] *melt* (*y...).

Borrowed by Li only: ʔil'q'əp *gather firewood* (*ʔitq'əp); ʔisaw'- *chew* (2, IS *k'aʔ); ʔúx'almix' *person*; ʔəǰic *lay down*; cúcin *mouth* (2, IS deriv. of *pl); cəł'át *lake*; scqaz' *barbecued and dried salmon*; k'zuz *have twins* (IS *sal redupl. w suff. *-il't); k'tamc *husband* (IS *s'xalwa/i); líqaʔ, líq'q, líq'q, líq'q *easy*; ík'ən *peck at, staw'in blanket* (2); λ'imin *vein, sinew* (2, IS *tinx); λ'anam'ən *try, taste*, λ'anamtən *moon* (*t...); məkən' *louse* (*məxkn, IS *q'tiǰaʔ); máqin *hair*; p'əq'p'úq' *greyish brown*; qəmsán *put things away, tidy them up* (1); qiw'x *steelhead*; qǰ(aslaq) *many (berries)* (IS *x'ʔ(it)); q'il- *lift up, put up* (1); q'amaz' *teenage girl* (IS *xaw'tm); q'əp'q'tən *cover, lid* (1, *qəp', IS *xn); q'al'i *pitch* (IS c'it'/t'ic'); q'əǰq'ǰ'ix *black* (1); sítik *winter* (1, IS s'istk'()); (s)ǰáʔyuʔ *woman's rival in love*; x'ak- *wake sb. up* (*ǰ'..., IS *qif); x'alítən *white person* (IS *hamaʔ/samaʔ; ǰ'il'əm rope (2); ǰ'um't *paddle* (1); zəqíl(x) *crawl* (2, *y...).

Borrowed by Th only: sc'ác'ma(ʔ)q' *gr. gr. grandmother* (2 ǰ...); c'úk'e/iʔ *bracken root, slénecc maiden, λ'əmx braid*.

If one takes into account coast languages down to Ld, 17 items are added (1 Li+Th, 11 Li only, 5 Th only). Many of these are obvious borrowings, eg. Li λ'áǰəm *salt* has cognates in Cx Se Sq Sm Sn Ld, while the rest of IS employs *c'u/ǰ; Th qáleǰ *digging stick* has coast cognates from Be to Ld, while IS has *pacaʔ (also found in Tw Ti). In other cases the distribution on the coast is more limited, eg. Li skósən *messenger* Sq čəšn *send (a person)*, sčəšn *messenger* Ld čəs *send on errand*. Finally, there is a large number of cases where coast cognates are found only north of Ld (18 Li+Th, 66 Li only, 11 Th only). An example is Li száʔtən *widow(er)* Cx ǰát'tən Se syatn Sq sya'tn Hl Sn sye'tən; the rest of IS has *s-ǰwal'mt. Of the cases mentioned in this paragraph I quote further only those where Be is represented: Li ʔán'was *two* Be tnuš Sq ʔán'us; Li cix'

arrive, reach (a place), cix^wakaʔ(min) reach ʔɔʔ st. Be cx^wyakm id. Sq cix^w arrive, reach (Li lacks List I *kic in the sense of arrive, reach, as found in all IS and in Ti); Li ʔəlc highbush cranberry Be stʔs Cx tʔays Se tʔəls NWAk tʔlc/s- (Lincoln-Rath 1980 no. 428); Th qáleʔ digging stick Be qalxm dig fern roots Cx qayʔʔ Se sqálaʔ Sq sqalʔ Hl Sm Sn sqələʔ Ld sqálaʔ; Li qatayu big gaffhook Be qatayu Cx Se Sq qatayu NWAk Gaʔ- to gaff, hook, crochet (Ibid. no. 2184), -ayu instrument, Li qʔúʔpaq^w bushy, messy hair Be sqʔup- hair Cx qʔupusin moustache Se qʔupm hairy (IS *wəp, also found in Li); Li qʔástən mt. goat wool Be qʔasta Se qʔástən Ld qʔástədulicʔ ceremonial blanket; Li tiqʔ- muddy Be stqʔ mud Sq tiqʔ id.; Li xʔəpən lift st. up Be ʔapx^w id.; Li sʔəʔəs fat around stomach (of deer or cow) Th ʔʔés- to grease Be ʔʔs to oil, grease Cx ʔʔəs oil, grease Se ʔʔəs fat, thick Sq ʔʔəs be fat, ʔʔastn fat, hardened grease Ck ʔʔástəl grease, suet, stomach fat Ld sʔəʔəs grease.⁶ 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^w be glad, happy, enjoy [Se cx^winám be like, scəx^win likeness] Sq cáʔcax^w be glad, happy Ld cax^w type of mind power ~ Li cax^w, cáʔcax^w Th ceʔcʔéx^w Sh cʔex^w; cəx^wil'e enjoy one's children Cv cx^wiltm id. [Cr cex^w pet, caress]. For Se cf. the semantics of Engl. like.

*c'mǎ disappear, wear away Cx Se c'əmǎ ~ Li c'əmǎ worn out Th c'əmǎ wear out, Sh c'meǎ id, spoil. Cf. KWA c'm'a dissolve, wear away.

*c'u^w sore Be c'uc'q^w having sores, c'uuxlx develop sores Tw c'áʔwi venereal disease Ch sc'awé? sore, a genital disease ~ Th c'oʔwt have a scab Sh c'uʔwt a sore.

*kʔup' bar, rod corr. fr. SED 77.1. Add Th kʔup'- fasten by running stick through Sp č'inkʔp'č'leptn locking bar, door.

*kʔaq'-t scream, bellow, weep Cx Se kʔaq't scream Sq kʔaq'am bellow (as sea lion) [Ld č'iq'] ~ Th kʔiq't weep, pl. Sh q'eq't cry, howl, pl.

*lap' cover with blanket Tw sləp' blanket, cover, ləp'átəbəʔ cover me up! ~ Li slap' blanket, ləp'ən cover w. blanket. Cf. SED 56 lap', 64.7 la/ip'.

*liq' bury Tw Ti liq'- ~ Th yiq'- Sh liq'- Ka laq' Cr leq'.

*pəlx^w pierce, pop out Ch pəlx^w- put, force through, get well, [pələwa- pass through, pierce] ~ Li pəlx^wán stick out from st., pləx^w pop out (as potatoes fr. ground) Th pəlx^wetəs make hole right through.

*p/p'ik' glitter, shine Be pik' bright, shining, sparkling Cx pič'im to spark Se pič'im id. Sq pič'im id. ~ Th p'ek'- glitter Cb p'ik' bright, sparkle Cv p'ik'st shine up, p'ik'míst reflect, shine Sp Cr pič'.

*pax to air Cx pəš-t ~ Sh pexm break wind noiselessly.

*p'əc' to spit [Cx p'ácət tin can poss. 'spittoon'] Se p'əc't spit out ~ Li p'c'iqʔən spit on Sh p'c'iqʔ- spit out w. force.

*s-qəp-min breast, brisket Tw sqəp'id human chest ~ WSh spəqmin' ESh sqəpmin' brisket.

*q'ax^w stiffen, harden, freeze Sq q'ax^w be callous [Sn q'ix^w knof] Ld q'ax^w(a) freeze Tw ʔasq'ax^w frozen, sq'ax^w ice Ch q'ax^wá- freeze ~ [Li Th q'ix^w fit, convulsion

Th q'ix^wux^w id.] Sh q'əx^wux^w stiff (as fr. cold), paralysed (labialization in q^w automatic).

*q'(y)al'an snail (item removed from List II 1 q.v.) ~ Li ʔayáq'an/ʔáq'an' Th q'(ə)ləény Cr q'ety'flumx^w earthworm.

*q'alc conifer bough Be q'als needle of conifer Ck q'əlc/écəs fir bough ~ Li q'al'c fir/cedar branch Sh q'elcn pine bough Cv q'ilcn bough(s) Sp q'elcn grand fir.

*q'wic' wash, launder Be q'uc' wash (body, floor, etc.) Li Th q'wic'- launder Sh q'ic'- id. (corr. fr. SED 103.2.3).

*tak^w willow/ruffed grouse Be tak^ws ~ Li ták"x'a? (tək^w sound of the bird) Th ték"x'e Sh tək'tək'əlí sound of the blue grouse Ok ".tstuk'am" CV.

*t'lis cranberry (see Kinkade 1995:33).

*t'əp dark Ti st'hšən it's dark! (ʔ'təh, vs. ʔ'əh under, below) ~ Li ʔəp'əməlás dark color Th ʔəp'əp't id., pitch dark Sh t'əpt dark.

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

*xic' wrinkle (cf. SED 126.3) Ch ʔic'- wrinkled, ʔac'xic'usm face and nose wrinkled, teeth show, ʔac'xic'qsm wrinkled nose ~ Th ʔes'xic' wrinkled, ʔes'xic'q wrinkle one's nose Sh ʔic'qsm, ʔic'sm<-us-m bare the fangs

*xm bite Be xm ~ Cr ʔxm (id. of animal).

*x'u'ic' defecate Ti sʔx'uc' excrement, defecate ~ Th ʔx'ic'm defecate.

*yik fall (as tree) Be ʔasikaaʔ timber ~ Li Th zik- fall over, szik log, fallen tree Sh yik-, syik id.

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

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

*c'q'ap pole, spear Se c'əq'p long spear for cod Ld c'q'ap canoe pole Tw c'əq'ap fish spear, harpoon shaft Ch c'əq'p canoe pole.

*čanat three Sq čánat Ti čenét.

*s-ləw-ay' cedar bark, inner bark See Kinkade 1995:36. IS only Li Th.

*ʔəq'al wing, feather Ck sʔəq'e:l wing Sn sʔəq'e'ən long feather Tw sʔəq'í feather, wing Ch sʔəq'í (ʔəq'ali-) id.

*mik'ut salalberry. See Kinkade 1990:202.

*miy'ak harpoon Sq miáč (Hill-Tout 1900 barbed spear point) QUI bíʔyak. Though Sq is the only Salish source, the word must have been more widespread in CS.

*ptak^w bracken fern. See Kinkade 1990:202.

*qəm to fold, pack [Be qm cover, wrap, shelter if] Cx qəmsát store away Se qəmsat id. Sq qmsan pack together Tw qəbəcad fold it Ch qəmək'- bend, fold. IS only Li.

*qəp' cover, lid, to close qəp'iq'uʔʔa nail (anat.) Se qəp'iq'úyatn fingernail, qəp'iq'iatn kneecap Sq qəp' close, shut Ck qəp'e:qət close (as box), qəp'télám/ (s)qəp'tələq'ətəlax kneecap Sm q'pəličən cover Sn qəp'əličt close (box), q'pəličən cover, lid Ld qəp'úcid id. Ch qəp'c- close. IS only Li.

*q'a'il raise (and place somewhere) Sq q'áyan? put on top [Sn q'əla'əŋ put up (preserve food)] Ld q'ilid load (into conveyance) Tw cq'il climb Ch q'ili- lift, be raised. IS only Li.

*q'in- hair (on face, body) Sq Sn q'in- Ld Tw q'id- Ti q'unúcin whiskers, beard.

*q^wiĕ dark color Tw ʔasq^wiĕ blue, green Ch q^wiĕ- blue. Hl Sg Cl Ld have q^wiĕ^w, a form with plain ɣ only in Li.

*q^wila salmonberry. See Kinkade 1990:202.

*sutik cold wind/season Be sutk winter Cx Se sutiĕ id. Sq sutiĕ cold N. wind Cw sásəṭec id. Ck sátec id. Sn satəc cold NE wind Ch "sut^k" September Ti hənsutiĕ (beginning of) winter, sutiĕ year.

*sin-k^wa sea, ocean Cx Se sɪnk^wu Tw sɪdak^w Ti sənĕi CV.

*s-t'iq's penis Cx t'iqs CV Ti st'iq's CV.

*t'əx^w to brush, sweep, shake out Be t'x^w brush, sweep, t'x^wulmxm sweep floor Ld t'ix^w(i) brush/shake off Ch t'əx^w- brush. IS only Li Th; GIT t'ax^w sweep.

*s-t'əx^wlm red huckleberry. See Kinkade 1990:202.

*x^wum(a)t paddle Cl x^wú?ṭəṭ Ld x^wubt Tw x^wúb?at Ch x^wumat Ti xéwət. IS only Li.

*y-xn lower leg, foot Be ʔixa, ʔixn- Cx ʔššən Se yəšən Ld ʔššəd Tw yəšəd Ti yəšən.

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

*cucin mouth Be cūca, cucn- Cx sūsīn Se cūcīn Sq cūcīn Cw Ms šāšən Ck šāšəl Sn šāšən Tw cucid. IS only Li.

*λ'imin muscle, sinew Be λ'ima Sq λ'ə?imin Cw Ms λ'imən Ck λ'ə?iməl Sm λ'i?iṭən Sn λ'iṭən Tw λ'i?ibad. IS only Li.

*pala? one. See SED 3.1.0. IS only Li Th. Unclear is the relation to Qn Ch paw Si hig^wi Ti hig^wi (all CV).

*qəlĕ salmon eggs Cx qəyĕ Se qəlĕ Ck qəl:əĕ, [qawĕ] Sn qələĕ Ld qəl(ə)ĕ Tw dəx^wqələĕ fish w. eggs in it.

*q'aməs mushroom, fungus. See Kinkade 1995:37. IS only Li Th.

*t'iliq^w strawberry. See Kinkade 1995:38.

*t'am in words for clam Be t'amas cockle Sn st'əmyeeq horse clam w. white neck, t'əṅsəwəĕ stick shoes Ld st'əbcə?/st'əb3ə? a kind of horse clam Tw st'əb3a id. (borr. fr. Ld).

D. Corrections and Additions to *Towards IV*²

Correct m n in Tw words to b d. -- P. 203 l(eft) c(ol.) l(ine) 8 Tw ʔupáí- R(ead) ʔúpaí -- rc l. 18 eliminate -- rc l. 5 up Cv R Cr -- P. 205 rc l. 3 under II Ti R Tw -- P. 206 lc l. 1-3 eliminate (item listed on p. 203) -- lc l. 20 Ch R Ck -- lc l. 14 up Se sk'amí R sk'amí -- lc l. 12 up Ch ɕən'- R Ch ɕən- -- rc l. 3 k^w-tam-c belongs in List II 2 (no Ch Ti cognates) -- P. 207 lc l. 9 up 1995:39f. R 1995:39f. -- P. 209 rc l. 23 Sq sĕx^wi?n R Sq sĕx^wi?šn -- P. 210 footnote 3 l. 4 q^wim R q^win.

Additional cognates of items listed. List I: *ʔax^wa? Tw s'áx^wu? id; *c'i? Tw bipiwc'i he's chasing a seal (piw- follow, chase), dax^wpiw?c'i duck hunter, *c'm QUI c'a?b sharp WAK c'm- index finger, nails; point, poke, *pəq^w/k^w Tw spaq^waí waterfall, *p'uq^w Tw p'uq^way trailing currant, *k'əc' II combine with SED 30.1.1 and add Th k'ec'eyn wood tick; *k^wəl(c'), k^wəc' Se k^wú'c'ut bend Sn sk^wac'əí crooked Th ʔesk^wú'c' awry, crooked, *hik' belongs to SED 56.3; additional cognates Cx t'əĕt give sb. a slight cut Se taĕtm knife Sn fiĕ-, t'əĕ' cut Ld fiĕ(i)- Th tek't cut open Sh t'ek'-,

hik'- break, cut, h'ep broken (as rope); *λ'apat Ck λ'pet; *s-pl-ucin [Th splimcn Cv splim'cn]; *pat Li pátalq^won look like, take after, vpat add, extend, inherit Th petm's take after, petn's inherit a defect; List II 1: *ʔaxic Be ʔaxc- lie down; *maqin Ck méqəl; *t'əm(x) Se t'mšīn two; *t'ana/im(i) Ch t'ánimi- measure, eliminate square brackets from Ti item and cf. the Li borrowings above, also Indoeuropean vmeH, in words for moon and measure; *yaĕ^w Ti yax^w.

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 *Cowlitz dictionary*, and work on Galloway 1997 is still in progress)

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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 ə and of glottalization in reconstructions has yet to be regularized.

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, ie. 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 $\sqrt{səx^w/x^w}$ as (*to*) *grease* in Li x^w ásan' Ld $səx^w$ Tw $səx^w$ -, with a related meaning in Ch $səx^w$ - (*get*) *wet, damp* (cf. the meanings of SED 52.3 $nų/ąs$ *marrow, oil; wet*, itself found in Ch $nųsi$ - *wet*).

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