

BELLA COOLA ETYMOLOGIES

In this report we consider similarities between Bella Coola (Bc) roots and roots in other Salish (Sal) languages: Shuswap (Sh), Lillooet (Li), Thompson (Th), Kalispel (Ka), Coeur d'Alene (Cd), Puget Sound (Pu), Cowichan (Cw), Squamish (Sq) and Sechelt (Se).

The Bc phonemes are: p ḡ m t ṭ c ḡ s n ḡ l k ḡ k° k° x
 x° q ḡ q° ḡ x ḡ w ḡ (h) a aa i ii u uu.

/h/ occurs rarely and is mostly found in loan words: yanahu "turnips" (Chinook).

The following data must be taken into account:

a) in Bc /q/, /q°/ have often coincided with /x/, /x°/ and in some cases alternate with the latter: Bc maa᷑xa "nose" - Se maqsén id., nii᷑x "fire" (* nu-^{*}iix°) - Sq hi^{*}q°, yeq° id., Bc qin᷑x "shoe" - qiqinqi "little shoe", Bc ^{*}ass-iiq° "crown of head" - cw-iix° "grey hair" ;

b) in many instances velars and uvulars have been delabialized: Bc tixca "tongue" - Se tix^{*}ca id., Bc ḡs "fat" - Sq ḡ^{*}es "be fat";

c) ^{*}n has usually changed to /a/ in Auslaut: ḡmsta "person" - Se ḡémstan "house" (cf. Latin dom-inus). Before vowels /n/ is retained: ^{*}mλmstni "small person".

If we are dealing with a-c, we consider the correspondence regular. We establish irregular correspondences, if:

d) proto-Sal /l/ is in Bc represented by /y/: Bc preserves the l-y distinction: thus, mayas "raccoon" does not regularly correspond to Cw méles id.;

e) Bc /ɬ/ versus elsewhere /t/: ḡɬ "dry" does not fully correspond to Sq ḡtaɬ "shallow", since Sq distinguishes /ɬ/ from /t/, as does Bc;

f) Bc /x/, /x°/ versus elsewhere /q/, /q°/: Bc pax-paa᷑x°u "cowardly" - Li neaqeq'u^{*}ɬ id.;

g) Bc velar represents uvular and vice versa: Bc skx "black" - Sq qix,
 sx^{*}ayx°-m "wash one's head" - Sq x^{*}ávq°-m id.;

h) Bc /s/ continues /c/ and vice versa: Bc cyaa᷑x-m "take step" - Sh si᷑x-xn-m "to step"; ^{*}usqa "go outside" - Sh ^{*}úcqé id.;

- i) 'K has been deglottalized: l-pli "thin" - Se píbel id.;
- k) Be lacks phoneme(s) in the roots, where other Sal languages have these:
 Be smt "mountain" - Sq smánit. Vice versa: gla "water" - Cw qa? id.

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Perfect correspondences

- (1) pl̥ thick Sh p̥lelt Cd p̥l̥l̥t Ka p̥liłt Sq p̥el̥-, p̥luł, Li p̥l̥ut
- (2) pl-ik-m capsize Sh p̥ul̥-n-s "he turns it upside down" Li p̥elp̥úl̥ "capsize"
 Th n-púvitsn "capsize". Cf. Sh pl̥-em "roll sth. over" Cd p̥el̥č "turn flat things over" Ka p̥el̥č "turn" Sq pláčm snex'íl̥ "turnover canoe"
- (3) viq wide Se viq id.
- (4) pus grow, pus-m swell up Cd pu?us "swell, bubble, ferment"
- (5) puł come Sh puł-m "emerge from wood" Sh c-put-m "come in from hunting trip" Cd put̥ "come to an end" Ka púłem "arrive at the end of sth."
- (6) pwi halibut Sq puay "black-dotted flounder" Kwakiutl po'i "halibut"
- (7) ?mt sit, ?amat where it's been put Sq ?mut "assume sitting position" Sh c-mut "be sitting", ?mut "sit down" Cw ?émet "sit" Cd ?em "one sits" Ka ?emút "sit, be at home"
- (8) mnčłta . pus Li máčol̥ Se mčča. So máčul̥ Cw méčel̥ Sh mččult
 Cd máčult
- (9) mnk excrements Sh mnék Ka mneč Kwakiutl ménák
- (10) mna child Sq mén Cw mén̥e
- (11) man father Sq man Cw men
- (12) mal-iič mix Sq mil-, mal- "be mixed up", mal-q "be mixed"
- (13) milix° Indian tobacco Cd milx° "smoke tobacco" Sh s-menx "Indian tobacco" Li s-méñx 'tobacco'
- (14) mu fishtrap Sh mu?
- (15) mus four Sh mus Cd/Ka mus Pu bas Klemtu mún̥
- (16) mus-a feel, touch Sh mus-m "feel" Cd mus "feel about"

- (17) mul-m dive Sq tuy "submerge, flood over" , may "sink" Sh mul- "dip"
Cd mul "dip up" Ka mul "go and fetch water", mel "to flood" Li mül-un
- (18) muk° red Se k°em Sh k°mk°im Cw ck°im ^{'to put in the water'}
- (19) nu-tplq' turn inside out Sh c-x-pleg' "inside out"
- (20) tq' go to shore Sh teq-m "to cross" , teq-t "land on other side"
- (21) tam-cla make a basket (cla "basket") Sq ta? -s "make, construct"
- (22) s-tam-ks what? Cw stem Sq s-tam, tam- Sh s-tém-i? Cd s-tim'
Ka stem Li štém
- (23) s-tan mother Se tan Cw ten
- (24) tiič° hit target Sq teč° "settled" Sh tuč°- "straight, right"
- (25) s-tls high cranberry Se tels
- (26) tx°-unx°-ulmx-ta broom , tx° sweep Li ix°éyluptn "broom"
- (27) tx°ul six Cw txem Sq tačm-ačsá? "sixty" Li š-čenwn 'fish-skin'
- (28) s-twin hide Sh tenwn "skin of fish" s-tnw-éye "bat" (zool.) Li š-čan-wéye
cf. Bc ck° "heavy" Sq cék°-n "tug, pull" Sh ck°-um "pull"
Cé cek° "drag, pull" Ka ck° "to drag" Li čakw 'to pull'
- (29) cactaw-łp cedar Li četew-ež (Bc -łp "tree", Li -ež id.)
- (30) cak° long Cw cak° "far"
- (32) cak° straight Musqueam sθəčik° Li kʷ?ep 'straight'
- (33) cituma sleep Se ?ítutam Cw ?ítet
- (34) cut say Sh cut Sq cut Ka cu (NB Sh cut "want") Li čut 'to say'
- (35) c(')kt arrive Sh kic-n-s "reach sb., visit"
- (36) 'cla basket Li čelé? Th čí'a
- (37) cima intestines Sh s'-cm-enk "tripe, guts" , s'-cem "fishbone" , s'-cém-qín
"brain" Sq s-méc-álqn "brain" Cw scam? "bone" Cd s'-cam "fishbone"
Ka s'-com "fishbone" Li š-čm-enk 'guts'
čam-léne? 'fish-skull'
- (38) s-ci-cx°-atwala-łp snowberry , cx° white Sq čéx°čéx° id. , čéx° "wash"
Cw čéx°at "wash"
- (39) spyu auklet Sh spyu? "bird" Li špačú? 'animal'
- (40) so hit Sh so-em Ka so

- (41) s̄ou fart Sh s̄ou? Li j̄u? 'to fart'
- (42) nu-s̄x-als scrape a hide Sq sáxan "scrape" Pu sax "clear, scrape"
Sh sex- "scrape"
- X (43) sq° fly, jump Se ſeq° Li seq°
- (44) sis(s)i uncle Sq sísi? Sh síse? "mother's brother" Cd sasi? "mother's brother" Li ſíſqe? 'uncle'
- (45) sutk winter Li šutik Se sutič Sq sútič Cw sásetac
- (46) suk-ta sail, *a-suk to blow Sh suk"-t- "get blown away" Cd suk" "float with current"
- (47) nik'-aax-m hay, cut grass Sh nik"-m "to cut" Li ník-in 'to cut'
- (48) s-ix-usmal hail Sh s-tex"-tex"-lúlise cf. Bc s-ix "spark"
- (49) ñaad° tobacco Sq s-ñiq"-m "smoke" Sh x-q"ut"-m "to smoke"
- (50) ñax° hard Sq ñax° Se ñeq° Li ñeg"-ñeg"-m Cf. Bc staž° "difficult"
- (51) ñnus, ñwaas- two (ñnws, ñwns) Sq ?ánuš Li ?éñweš
- (52) ñx"-m run away Sh ñx"-up "escape, get away" Cd ñax"-p "escape"
Ka ñx"-uš "escape", ñož" "hole" Sh ñx"- "pass sth. through a hole"
Cf. Bc ñx"-t "go through a hole"
- (53) ñx"-ta to spit Sq ñax"- Cw ñx"-at
- (54) ñaq's edible seaweed Se ñéqsta Sq ñéqes
- (55) nu-laž-lž clear water Sh x-laž-liž "clean, clear (of water)", laž "mind",
lžliž "sober" Li lžx-laž 'smart'.
- (56) *al-lik full Sq yec Se lec
- (57) kλ- fall Sh kiλ-, kλ- "come off, come apart, be released", kλ-ekst-mn-s
"drop, let go" Cd čel "separate, divorce, part" Li kášan 'to take apart'
- (58) klax° muskrat Sh s-kléx"e? Th skakeléx"e? Cd célex° Kwakiutl kélák°
Li ſ-kakléx"
- (60) kikya grandmother Sh kyé'e Cd čečeye? "maternal id." Th kežá
, Li ſ-kúze? 'child', kúkwe? 'grandmother', ſkíxze? 'mother'
- (61) kma bite Sq čem
- (62) k°l hot Sh c-k°el "warmed up" Cd k°el "be hot, sunny, warm"
- (63) k°ul-t borrow Sq k°uln Sh k°elen Ka k°uln Cd k°ul, k°ul "lend"
Li kúšan 'to lend', kúšanmin 'to borrow'
- (64) k°uk°pi grandfather Sh k°uk"pý "chief" Sq k°úpic "elder sibling"
Li kúkupi? 'chief'

- (65) ⁻⁵⁻ *?anu-k^ona* to aim Sq k^on^o-us
- (66) *k^ola* belly Sq k^oel "stomach" Se k^oala Cw k^oel?
- (67) *xli* penis Cw šále Sq šel
- (68) *x^oaax^oi* light of weight Se x^oix^ox^oa Sq ?áx^oa, Li ^xéxw^olam
- (69) *x^oul-x^oul-m* firedrill Sh x^oul-m "rub fire", x^oúlakp "match", x^oui-ke "firedrill" Cd x^oul "bore hole" Sq šuy- "make holes with awl", šeyčeo "firedrill" Cf. Bc x^ol-x^ol-m "wrestle" Sh x^ol- "turn, spin" Li xúlun ^{to bore a hole}, xú?al ^{'match'}, xul'ér ^{'match willow'}
- (70) *x^ouk-* to bathe Sq šuk^o-um
- (71) *qm-qm-i* soft Sh qm-qem-t "lukewarm, cooled-off, gentle"
- (72) *qluq^s* eye Se qélum Sq qlum' Cw qéləm
- (73) *qiqtⁱ* baby, toddler Se qéti "youngest child" (= qíqtⁱ) Cw qeq
- (74) *q^ouluun* beaver Sq sqlaw^o Sh sqlew' Ka sqaléu Li š-qglew'-úl
- (75) *s-q^oup-uc* beard Se q^oúp-ucin
- (76) *q^ouc-* wash Sh q^oic-m "wash laundry"
- (77) *s-q^ouλ* bee, wasp Sh s-q^ouλt "wasp, yellow jacket" Ka sqúuλ
- (78) *q^oululiuš^ou* strawberry Li šq^oəléo
- (79) *člač* fence Sh qleč- "round" Sq qiačan "fence, stockade" Li qleč Cw qalečēcten
- (80) *q^olita* gull Sq q^oilitq Cw q^oəni
- (81) *q^oay-us-m* put charcoal on face Sh q^oiy-, q^oey- "black" Cd q^oed "be black", q^oid "blacken" Ka q^oai "black"
- (82) *q^oumniq^o* skull Th q^oumqn "head" Li q^oumqn "head, skull" Sq s-q^oúmay "headhair" Ka qómqən "skull" Cd qomqən "head"
- (83) *člq'-iič^o* change over Sh člq'-em "roll" Sq čélq-m "roll/fall down" Cd čolq^o "wind string evenly" Ka čolq^o "to roll"
- (84) *čic* raw Se čic
- (85) *č^onč^onm* humming bird Sh č^oáč^ona Ka λč^oč^oni
- (86) *?aosu-* blow with mouth Sh ?épse "sneeze"
- (87) *?asx^o* seal Sq ?asx^o Cw ?esx^o "hair seal" Li ?ešx^o 'seal'
- (88) *?asikaač* timber Li šzik
- (89) *sača* river canoe, *?ača* build a canoe Sh tye? "(birchbark) canoe" Cd tede? "cancel" Ka λiyé? "bark canoe" Li λeč "canoe"

- (90) ⁷ałps eat Sq ʔiłn Sh ʔiłn Cd ʔiłn Ka ʔiłn
- (91) ⁷ačc-m lie down Sq ʔəčic-s "lay down" Cw ʔéčəθ "lie down"
- (92) ⁷ačč'ut cough Se ⁷ač'ut Sq ʔəč'ut Sh č'ęx'ú? Ka λč'ú?
- (93) ⁷ay-aw- change sth. Sh ʔey- "exchange, give in return, meet"
Cd ʔey- "exchange, barter" Sq nəx'-⁷ay "exchange" Se ʔayiw-at
"change sth."
- (94) ⁷awl- follow Sq ʔawt "be behind, come after, future"
Sh ʔəwit "to be behind"
- (95) yalč round Sh yel-, yal- "be wound around", yel-p-ilx "turn
back" Sq hil-it "roll" Cd yar "circular object rolls"
Ka yal, yel "round"
- (96) ⁷ip- grab, catch Sq ʔipis "to hold, grab", ⁷ipa'-im "hold on to"
- (97) sλ-⁷imc grandchild Se ⁷imac Li ʔi'meč Sh ⁷imc Sq ⁷imac
Cw ⁷imeθ
- (98) ⁷imaanta bird's nest Th nzəmən Se yəmánułtx
- (99) ⁷icamni blanket, -lic skin, appearance Sh sicm "blanket", -ice?
"covering surface" Cd sic "be blanketed", -ice? "all around"
Ka sicəm "blanket", -ice? "all around" Cw s'içəm "clothing"
- (100) ⁷isut to paddle Sq ⁷isun "paddle, make strokes"
- (101) ⁷ilk Indian rice Sh ⁷elk "kinnickinnick berry" Cd ⁷ilč "kinn.b."
- (102) s'ix'uλ illegitimate child Sq s'ix'aλ "child, baby"
- (103) walasya lynx Se wáłaksya "wild cat" Kwakiutl wáłasxä "lynx"
- (104) wac dog Th wacama "to bark" Klentu wáčā
- (105) wa-ks who? (wat-ks) Cw wet Sw s-wat Sh s-wé-t-i , s-wet-k
Cd ség'et Ka suwét
- (106) ⁷utak vomit Sh wetkx
- (107) ⁷uq° drift downstream Sq wuq° "go downstream" Li wúq'-wuq'-il

Regular correspondences (a)

- (108) puuč to mould Sq puq°- "be mouldy"
- (109) maačsa nose Se maqsén Sq méqsn Cw mēqsen Pu bēqṣəd See also 121
- (110) ciič-a dig Sq ciq "get stabbed" Sh ciq-m "to dig" Ka ciq "dig"
Se ciq- "dig" Th n-ciq-m "dig a bit"
Cf. Sh/Sq ciq°- "dig" Cw Qiq°éls "dig"
Cf.? Ka cq-em "throw", ck-em "hew, carve, whittle" Cd ceč "thunder strikes"
Bc cik' ocke, stab Cw Qicət "stab"
- (111) snč sun Sq/Li Šnəq°əm See also 118
- (112) snčt snot Li Šnəqš
- (113) n-iix° (nu-?iix°) fire, ?iix°-suλ build a fire Sq hi?q°/yeq°
Cw hay?q°

Regular correspondences (b)

- (114) puuč to mould Sq puq°- "be mouldy" (see also 108)
- (115) tixca tongue Se tix°caλ Sh tix°e'ck Cd tix°cč Cw təx°θəλ
- (116) cəm disappear Sq cəx°
- (117) cčm drip Li cəx°p Th cčx°ip
- (118) snč sun Sq/Li Šnəq°əm (see also 111)
- (119) λq wet Cw λəq° Sq λəlq "soaked wet"
- (120) ūs fat Bc ū's "oil sth." Sq ū'ses "be fat" Sh ū'sus- "foam"
Cf. Bc nu-ū'ski "soapberry" Southern Kwakiutl nəū'seskən

Regular correspondences (c)

- (121) maačsa nose Se maqsén Sq méqsn (see also 109)
- (122) cuca mouth Sq cúcín Se cúcín Li čúčín Cw Qáθən Sh səcínm
"to sing"
- (123) λmsta person Se λémstan "house" (Cf. dom-inus)
- (124) λima muscle Cw λíman "tendon" Sh təmn "feather, fur, animal hair"

- (125) 'ixa leg, foot Se yešén Pu Jašad

Irregular correspondences (d)

- (126) mayas raccoon Se mélalus Cw méləs Klemtu mayas

- (127) namayu butterfly Se mamlawi? "bee, wasp"

Irregular correspondences (e)

- (128) nu-λλ shallow Sq t̪al

Irregular correspondences (f)

- (129) pax-paač°u cowardly Li pəqəq'uλ Sq ?ipāq'uλ "get scared"

Irregular correspondences (g)

- (130) sč°a-yč°-m wash one's head Sq x°áy-q°-m (Bc -i(i)č° "head")

- (131) s-kx black Sq qix Cw cqič

- (132) k°ay-alaqs bluejay Sh a°iy-, q°ey- "blue, purple" Ka q°ai "blue, green" Cd q°el "be livid, bluish, angry", q°in "be blue"
Cf. Bc q°it "skyblue"

- (133) q°li green, yellow Sh k°al-, k°lé-k°le "grass" Cd k°ar "be yellow" Ka k°ali? "yellow" Sh k°le?éλp , Sq k°lúiay "alder"

Irregular correspondences (h)

- (134) cyaač-m take a step Sh sič-xn-m "to step"

- (135) k°tmc husband Sq k°tams Li k°utémč

- (136) s-k°ac-ta name Sh s-k°est Li šk°éčič Musqueam sk°ixy

- (137) ?usqa go outside Sq ?ucq Sh ?ucqe Cd ?acqe? Ka ?ocqe?

Irregular correspondences (i)

- (138) ?l-pli thin Se pi'el
- (139) papink snake Sh nəbi'se (Bc -nk "tail, rear end")
- (140) pac pierce Sq pac- "sew" Cw neç "sew" Sh s-oéç-n "Indian hemp, twine, string" Ka spéçen "Ind. hemp, hemp rope"
- (141) *aλ-χapa carry Sq xiχbiyáχa?n "carry in arms"

Irregular correspondences (k)

- (142) caλ lake Li čeléλ Se cəl(')áλ
- (143) smt mountain Sq smánit Pu sbádet
- (144) sqim scar (? sq'im) Sq sqiλ Se sqiyiλ Ka s-qtim Sh c-qit
- (145) qla fresh water Cw qa? Pu qo? Li qu? 'liquid'
- (146) *inax° morning Li netx° "tomorrow", *inətx°eš "yesterday"
Cf. Bc ka-ynux°-s "tomorrow", *aλ-tunix°a "yesterday"
- (147) *ustx° enter Se *uλtx° Li *uλx° Sq *uys Th n*uλx°

Among the regular correspondences, there are 41 cases where cognates were found both in Coast- and Interior Salish, 41 where only a Coast Salish cognate was noted, and 39 with only Interior Salish cognates. *)
 Of the Bc - Coast-Salish cases, (3), (25), (75), (84), (103), (123) concern Sechelt exclusively; of the Bc - Interior Salish cases, (26), (30), (78), (88), (112) concern Lillooet exclusively.

*)

) These numbers, about even, reflect the comparative isolation of Bc within the Salish language-family as a whole.