Lexical comparisons between Bella Coola and neighbouring languages

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The aim of this report is twofold: a) to point out lexical parallels between Bella Coola and geographically adjacent Indian languages; b) to determine which languages are responsible for the items involved.

I have excluded from my framework suffixes, personal pronouns, prepositions, articles, deictics and proper names.

The comparative work was made possible by an extensive lexical research of Bella Coola, Heiltsuk and, to a lesser extent, of Kwakiutl and Tsimshian.

The orthographies used in the books and papers consulted were maintained throughout the inventory.

I use the symbol /κ/ for the plain lateral affricate, /χ/ for the aspirated lateral affricate, /χ/ for the glottalic lateral affricate and /θ/ for the voiceless lateral fricative; /ʔ/ represents the glottal stop.

The following abbreviations are used: B (Boas), G (Grubb), H (Hindle & Rigsby), S (Swales), T (Turner); Be (Bella Coola), Cd (Coeur d'Alene), Cw (Cowichan), He (Heiltsuk), Ka (Kalis-pel), Kw (Kwakiutl), Li (Lillooet), Se (Sechelt), Sh (Shuswap), Sq (Squamish), Th (Thompson), Ts (Tsimshian).

The alphabetical order in which the Be items are listed is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alphabetical Order</th>
<th>Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>thin, flat: He pl-, Kw(B) pBl-; Se pI-pSl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>flounder: He pàys, Kw(B) pà's-nskWàla &quot;to carry id.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>skate, ray: He bàgóáná, Kw(B) bâ'gwáná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>be &quot;to lie flat&quot;: Kw(B) pàq!; Se pìq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>to swell up: He pús-à, Kw(B) pódz-àl &quot;swell in house&quot;; Cd pù'us &quot;swell, bubble, ferment&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inventory
(6) s-puł' lump: Kw(B) bōl-
(7) puł° s Sasquatch: He ŋk°-s, Kw(B) bšklu's (bšk° - "man")
(8) pułya7s Indian tea: He pułyas, Kw(T) pułyas
(9) ṣ' to bend: He ṣ'ās-lá
(10) ṣ'la to blink eyes: He ṣ'la-á, Kw(B) ṣ'Elá-
(11) pi'yá steam: He (B) ṣ'Elx- "fog", Kw(S) pi'lx id.
(12) ṣ'wi halibut: He ṣ'way, Kw(G) ṣ'ő7í; Sq ṣ'uai7
(13) mtm sea urchins: He ṣmtám ((B) ṣmtá "to gather sea eggs"),
     Kw(B) 7াই mt-1al7yo "means of getting sea urchins"
(14) mná-at-a to measure: He mná-c, Kw(B) mná'sns-a
(15) mnk excrements: He mnak, Kw(B) mná'k'; Sh mnæk, Ka mneč
(16) ṣ' to measure: He mná-c, Kw(B) mná'sns-
(17) mal-1X° to mix: He mi-lá "to stir", Kw(B) ma'l-aq-a;
     Sq mi-l-, mal- "be mixed up" (mal-q° "be mixed")
(18) max'uíli water hemlock: He(B) wau'xwiyale, southern Kw(T)
     waxwaxíli
(19) mayas raccoon: He máyas, Kw(B) má'yus; Se/Sq má'lalus,
     Cw má'lids
(20) mus four: He máku, Kw(B) mō; Sh/Cu/Ka mus, ruget Sound bus,
     Tillamook wus
(21) mux'°-muk°'t blue grouse: Ts(H) maxmek
(22) mu'yá to stutter: He amq°-ā
(23) s-tłp freckle, tu-tłp trout: Kw(B) tóp-a "to put specks on"
     (cf. tąpwas)
(24) tmx° river: He dänxs "seə", Kw(B) dêmex' id.
(25) tx(n)xi owl: He txtnxi ((B) tx'a "owl hoots"),
     Kw(B) dęx.utex'ilí'
(26) t(a)mko'a to eat cured salmon eggs: He támko-á
(27) tas to push: He ts-á
(28) ti7' to (to) bait: He ti-l-á (ti7'l "bait"), Kw(E) təl-
(29) ti7'X°-a ma sledgehammer: He dęq°-áyu "piledriver", Kw(B)
     dęq°- "to punch, drive in"
(30) s-tłs cranberries: He t-ts'ls "Viburnum berry", Kw(B) t-ts'ls
     "crabapple" (?); Se t-nts'
(31) tx° to sweep: Li tx°éyluptn "broom", Ts(H) t'axw
(32) tx't stone: Kw tlaq- "round things lie on ground"(B),
     tšës- "stone"(B)
(33) tx° sus cloverroot: Hë(B) tišx°šō's "cinquefoil roots"
     (tišq°'L "to get id."(B)), Kw(B) tišx°šō's
(34) tupiwas fawn: He(B) tió'pi?o ((B) tió'pi, tió'pid mid "make a spot, to flicker") (cf. s-tr, tu-tup)
(35) s-tux'aw big wave: He tux'-sístímá (tux'-á "wave, undulate")
(36) cał bone: Ts(B) sip
(37) cał lake: Kw(B) džįžłá'ž; Se cįłáž, Li čečáž, Chehalis(S) call
(38) cał'xa to chase out: He caq/-cāx-
(39) cimani big clam: He cím-áni "horse clam" (cím "dip up", -áni "bent")
(40) cik'-m to move: He zik'-á
(41) cyap coat: Kw(B) tsęp "apron"
(42) cuqc (be) plug(ged): He zup/-zum- "to plug"
(43) cm index finger: He cm, Kw(B) ts'lm- "to show"
(44) cla basket: He clá, Kw(B) tsįl'á'ž, Ts tsįl'á'(B); Li cįlež, Th cįla
(45) ċapāx branches of red/yellow cedar: He/kw(B) tsįl'á'žlax
(46) cawikáš long snowshoes: He(B) tsįl'á'žwik'áš (tsįl'á'žwik'áša "nose of octopus"(B)) (cf. caw-ik-al: Bc -al "foot")
(47) cima guts: He cym (cís-á "to wind up"), Kw(B) tsįl'yí'm, Ts(H) ts'lm "inside"; Sh s-cm-enk (s-cm-qín "brain")
(48) cik'á clam: He čik'á
(49) cupakt mittens (? cropped: Bc -ak "hand"): Kw tsįl'á'žlax (3)
(50) cuq'ı̂ having sores: He cúcł "person with a boil" (ćus-)
(51) stulk'ı̂ dolphin: He suľk'ı̂
(52) (a)scí-cí bush of dwarf blueberry: He(B) tsć'tsle "a berry"
(53) sniniq a fabulous monster: ? cf. Kw dzǐ́'noq'ulu- (B)
(54) sq'ə̌'kō ashies: He qō'ášum (cf. Bc qō'al- "to scorch")
(55) saćm big spring salmon: Kw(G) sáts'em ((B) sās- "to get id.")
(56) sak'ım bracken fern: He(B) sa'gǔm "fern", Kw(B) sāk'ú- "get id."
(57) si-syuá double-headed sea-serpent: Kw(B) sisiul
(58) nan grizzly bear: He nán, Kw(B) nán
(59) nām, nān ling cod: He nāhm, Kw(B) nā'lm
(60) nāx-nách mallard duck: He nǐnàq; Ts naxnaaxt(H)
(61) s-ninya earthquake: He níniyà
(62) nūx'owany soapberry: He nāx'owní, southern Kw(T) nexwesken
(63) lac sea cucumber: He álás, Kw(B) álás (V'al); Se 7álás, Sq 7 álás
(64) la-laqa to fry: He laqá-k'ı̂ "biscuit"
(65) ìk'ı̂-lx old (cf. ìk'ı̂ "big"): He ìk'í̂-áni "old woman", Kw(B) ìklwa'nè id.
(66) 4 to slap: Kw(B) Lä'-Laq'-a
(67) 4aga kind of shark: He 4ąŋa
(68) 4aqs edible seaweed: He 4ąqš (4ąq "to gather id."); Kw(T) ışhek'sas; Se 4ąqšta, Sq 4ąqš; Ts ışhek'asxw(á)
(69) 4ałxala shoulderblade: He 4ąq'ðå
(70) 4ałala Indian doctor: He 4ł'gwe? "supernatural power"(B), ((B) 4ł'gwala "to find a treasure, obtain supernatural power"), Kw(B) 4ł'g- "supernatural power"; Sh tŠk'ix "medicine man", Cà te7x'-l:lē
(71) 4a black bear: He 4â, Kw(B) Llā'7ē
(72) 4ałaya beads: He(B) Llā'yē'la "marble for game"
(73) 4ąk'sani elbow: He 4âk'0(-áñî)
(74) 4ąwq' tobacco: He 4ąwq'á, Kw(T) tl'6kw'1
(75) 4ina eulechon grease: He 4ina, Kw(B) Llē'7na
(76) 4ixin sea lion: Kw(B) Llēx-
(77) ḥupana cormorant: He Llē'bana(B), Kw(B) Llē'banē ((B) Llē'ba-as "cormorant rock")
(78) klax' muskrat: He k'îlā'k0(B), Kw(B) k3la'k1; Sh s-klāx'á7, Ts s-kl-kîlāx'á7, Cà člāx'0
(79) kąjy humpback salmon: He kąj1
(80) kanani bracket fungus: He kánáná, Kw(B) k'â'nē
(81) klx stuck on: He klx- "bandage a wound"
(82) s-kl-a7x-t crystal, icicle (? s-kl "ice" + -a7x "tail"): He kîkîa7x
(83) kągás crow: He kągâ
(84) kîpt red elderberry: He k'îb'bat(B) ((B) k'îb'pa "to pick id.")
(85) kita little finger: He kita, Kw(B) kîa'- "3rd finger (sic)"
(86) kita2 herringrake: He kîd-áy1 ((B) k'îrô'ta "to catch herrings with rake"), Kw(B) k'îô'ta "gather grass"(B), Ts(B) k'î'3dê'
(87) kînāx' crab: He kînâk', Kw(B) k'î'ñwis "spider crab"
(88) kís-, kî- without: He kís "no(t)", Kw(B) k'î'šas- "no(t)"
(89) klx'um to gnaw: He kl-x' "carved object", Kw(B) k'î-ô- "carve"
(90) kôyalaqs bluejay: He kôyâlaqs
(91) kôit to pry loose: He kôit-, Kw(B) kîwēt-
(92) kîul porpoise: Kw k'î19 lôš! (B); Sq k'î'nūt
(93) u-kôuk skunk cabbage: He k'ôuk'á, southern Kw(T) k'â7ukw'1
(94) kôuxani nick clam: He kôux'-áñî
(95) xô'n-š spring of water: He xô'n-is "fountain"
(96) s-qâpc old springsalmon: He qâps; Sh sqâpc "spring"
(97) qacx starfish: He gáxâx, Kw(B) gâ'áczâq; Ts(H) gasgâats
(98) qalayu gaffhook: He gáx-ayi, Kw(G) gâlalayu; Sq qálalyu
(99) qâx rabbit: Ts(H) gax
(100) qâyt hat: qâyt; Ts(H) gâyt
(101) qâx shoes: He qínxâx
(102) qâst to taste: He pâq-, Kw(B) p!aq-/p!Eq-
(103) qâlx" rope: He qâi-â "to braid" (qâl-k" "braided"),
   Kw(B) qâlxâ - "to coil"
(104) l-qlâlis giant kelp with herring spawn: southern Kw(T)
   k'âxk'âlis
(105) qâlx fence: He qâlxâ; Ts(H) galaaxan; Sq qâxân, Sh qâléx-
   "round", Cs qâleñxqêñ; Chinook kâulgugh
(106) qâtm chisel: He qâd-âyú (qât- "use a chisel")
(107) qây poor: He qí
(108) qâs stink currant: He(B) qâsèëna ((B) qâsè "to pick id."),
   southern Kw(T) k'ës
(109) qâl-cut to scratch oneself: He qâl-á, Kw(B) qâlwâl
(110) xâqâc crane: He qâqâns; Ts gasgâ's(B)
(111) xâyaqa barnacle: He qâyaqâ
(112) xâyul west wind: He xâyul, Kw(B) xa7yô'.lísèxtëfè "east wind"
(113) xâwis tin: He xâwisgâ
(114) q'ot-uc carving knife ("crooked knife"): Ts(B) k'dûs
(115) q'âlas lizard: He q'âlas, Kw(B) gwâ'las
(116) q'âq'âaws sawbill duck: He q'âq'âaws, Kw(B) kogâ's
(117) q'axo raven: He q'ôwí ((B) qâx "cry of raven"), Kw(B) gwâ7-;
   Ts(H) gaâk
(118) q'âuna thumb: He q'âunâ, Kw(G) kâma
(119) q'âla empty, gone: He(B) qâlalâa "to be destroyed"
(120) q'ulun beaver: He q'ulun, Sh s-qâlôw, Sq s-qalôwu, Ka s-qalôtu
(121) q'uk-ûxôq'ûx swan: He q'ôq'ôq', Kw(B) qôsôq'q
(122) q'âq'âina dogfish: He q'âq'âiná (q'ôq'ô is "mutshark")
(123) q'ay to blacken: Kw(B) qâwxâ -; Sh q'ôiy- "black", Ka q'ôai id.
(124) q'ôum high in rank: Kw(B) qôlôm- "rich"
(125) q'ômsxâwa white man: He q'ômsxâwa; Ts(H) k'amksiwa
(126) ôs-an-im gamble (cf. ôs-is-m "to play"): Ts(H) xsan
(127) hauhau mythical bird: He(B) hau'au; Ts(H) hauhau'
(128) s'axo to lift up: Ts(H) s'axsin "light of weight"
(129) am' sprîng salmon: He(B) s'a'môlë "salmon" (mythical name)
(130) acaya fox: He(B) a'tsa7yâ
We observe the following sound-correspondences:

a) Bc /b/ vs. /a/: 9, 12, 13, 15, 31, 32, 63, 66, 84, 97, 101, 102, 103. One can assume, that Bc has dropped the vowel, as it often has;  
b) Bc /c/ vs. /s/: 36, 63, 96, 110. This, too, appears to be a typical Bc innovation;  
c) Bc /x/ vs. /k/, /k/: 57, 66, 69, 70, 98, 129. To be expected, since Bc lacks both /k/ and /k/;  
d) Bc /k/ vs. /g/: 38, 82, 110. Quite common within Bc itself;  
e) Bc /x/, /x/ vs. /x/, /x/: 93, 94, 121. In Bc velars and uvulars are usually deaffricated after /u/: e.g. *tu*'k'oi diminutive of tuka "mink" (*tuk'0n)

The Bc-Wakash correspondences are by far in the majority: they constitute over 75% of the inventory. A fair number of them can be identified as being of Wakashan origin:  
a) a suffix may give evidence for this: 35, 39, 70, 73, 77, 94, 98, 136, 141;
b) the Wakashan equivalent may be older: 1. Bc has dropped the vowel (sound-corr. a): 9, 23, 84, 92, 97, 101, 103; 2. Bc has /ψ/ vs. /ψ/ or /ψ/ (sound-corr. c): 57, 66, 67, 69, 70, 98, 129 (it is improbable, that Wakash has borrowed these from Bc: in that case it would have preserved /ψ/); 3. Bc /c/ vs. /s/ (sound-corr. b): 63, 96, 110; 4. Bc C vs. C: 79, 141; 5. Bc /K/ continues */Ǩ/ (sound-corr. e): 93, 94, 121; 6. Bc lacks a phoneme: 133, 139, 140; 7. Bc /χ/ continues */q/ (sound-corr. d): 110;

c) it may concern a cultural item, flora or fauna: these items are restricted to Bc and Bc + Kw: therefore it seems likely that they go back to Wakashan: 2, 3, 7, 8, 13, 18, 19, 25, 28, 29, 33, 43, 45, 56, 58, 59, 62, 70, 71, 74, 75, 77, 80, 85, 86, 87, 91, 93, 97, 102, 108, 109, 112, 115, 116, 118, 121, 137, 139, 140, 141, 145, 146 and probably also 12, 30, 63, 98, though the latter have Salish equivalents.

The items that stand these three criteria, are open to further comparison: 10, 11, 14, 22, 43, 65, 85, 88, 89, 91, 118, 145, 146.

The Wakash-Salish parallels form about 10% of our corpus. Of them, 37, 78 and 120 can probably be traced back to proto-Salish. Problematic are: 1, 4, 5, 15, 17, 20, 123, 140. 4, 17, 123 and 140 were noted by neither Boas nor Swadesh. As to their origin, one should not venture upon speculations. To label them as Mosan would be premature, as additional data might prove them to belong to either the Wakashan or the Salishan stock (or to some substratum). The Mosan reconstructions of some Bc items as suggested by Swadesh are far-fetched and in some cases unwarranted due to incorrect morphological interpretation: Swadesh suggests Mosan nay- underlying Bc ni?X̌O "fire", while this obviously goes back to n(u)-i?X̌O, cf. i?X̌O "to burn"; for nuyam̌l "song" Swadesh reconstructs Mosan na(w)-, law:- this item should, however, be interpreted as nu-yam̌l, cf. kis-yam̌l "person that can't sing", nu-s-yam̌l "good singer"; Mosan lay(m)- is reconstructed for Bc ǎlixlix "boiled": here we are dealing with a mis-spelling or -recording of ǎlixlix, ǎ- meaning "in a ... state", lix-líx "ripe, done, cooked".
Bc-Ts: 21, 36, 99, 114, 126, 128.
Bc-Ts-Wakash: 60, 97, 100, 117, 125, 127, 144.
Salish-Ts: 31.
Salish-Ts-Wakash: 44, 47, 68, 105.

At this point we are left with a relatively high number of undisussed items: with the exception of 16, 24 and 53, which contain rather doubtful correspondences, they concern exclusive Bc-He and Bc-Kw parallels. Presumably of Wakashan origin: 26, 34, 48, 51, 52, 55, 76, 81, 83, 90, 104, 106, 111, 122, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135.
Of undecided (so far) status are: 6, 27, 40, 41, 42, 46, 49, 50, 52, 54, 61, 64, 72, 95, 107, 113, 119, 124, 138, 142, 143.

References

Errata in "Lexical comparisons between Bella Coola and neighbouring languages", Dutch contributions to the 9th international conference on Salish languages.

Page 8: 9th line from the top: add 82
10th " " " " : read " ... flora and fauna or parts of the body"
13th " " " " : add 30, 52, 57, 67, 69, 76, 79, 84
14th " " " " : add 92, 94, 96, 98, 101, 103, 110
     omit 91
15th " " " " : add 129, 133
     omit 140, 145
16th " " " " : omit 98
18th " " " " : omit 43, 85, 118, 116

Page 9: 8th " " " " : omit 52
9th " " " " : omit 76
11th " " " " : omit 52