

LILLOOET - SECHELT LEXICAL PARALLELS

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Lillooet and Sechelt are neighboring Salish languages, but they belong geographically and linguistically to different areas: Li. is an Interior, Se. a Coast language. In linguistic terms this means that Li. has "pharyngals" but lacks gender, whereas for Se. the opposite holds. In addition, the rich marine terminology of Se. is absent from Li.

In his article "Salish Internal Relationships" IJAL 19 (1953): 157-167, M. Swadesh points out that "Percentage of common basic vocabulary is but one of many lines of evidence bearing on the problem /sc. of relationships/. Morphologic and phonologic isoglosses can be examined with profit. So too, specific vocabulary isoglosses -- the distribution of specific words both native and borrowed" (l.c. p. 167). Swadesh's lexicostatistic investigation, based on 165 items, places Se. and Li. rather far apart: Se. together with Comox and Pentlatch is removed three time-periods from Nanaimo-Fraser, Squamish, etc., and this whole group is divided by more than three time-periods from Bella Coola on the one hand and the Interior division on the other hand (l.c. p. 165).

In comparing our lexical and grammatical field notes, a number of coincidences between Li. and Se. were observed. A remarkable grammatical coincidence is e.g. the existence of two object-suffixes for 1st and 2nd pers. sing., the two sets being distributed over similar verb-classes (note that S. Puget Sound Salish /Tweddell, Snyder/ has the same two sets of suffixes, but with a different distribution, while Squamish /Kuipers/ has two suffixes for 1st pers. sing. object only, also with a different distribution).

In what follows, we limit ourselves to lexical parallels, and in particular to those where we have no record of the word or formation in question from languages other than Bella Coola and/or Comox: Bella Coola (Be.) lexically takes an intermediate position between Coast and Interior Salish /cf. H.F. Nater, "Bella Coola Etymologies", Dutch Contributions ... 1973, p. 9/, while Comox is very closely related to Se. It is possible, of course, that cognates

have escaped our attention, or that they exist but have not been mentioned in the literature. Besides the well-known printed sources and our own field notes (Se., Li., Tho., Be.) we have made use of J. H. Davis, Some 'Ay'ajuθem Words (UVic. 1970) and the same author's Some Phonological Rules in Mainland Comox (MA thesis UVic. 1970). We include some items where, though cognates are known from elsewhere, the Li.-Se. parallel is remarkably close, either formally (e.g. no. 7 below) or semantically (e.g. no. 12). The Li. forms are from the Fountain dialect, which is farther removed from the coast than that of Mt. Currie. We quote first the cases with regular sound-correspondences (nos. 1-32), then those with irregular correspondences (nos. 33-36).

1. Li. pəš-q to fart -- Se. pəšx id.
2. Li. V'p'q flat -- Se. piq wide (Com. [pəq, pə'q] wide Be. piq Kwa. paq-; cf? Shu. V'pəx thin (layer)).
3. Li. mé-qin hair on head -- Se. má-qin id. (Com. máqen id.).
4. Li. mneył-n to distribute -- Se. mnałntm to burn things for the dead.
5. Li. V'məx to get between -- Se. V'miř, məx id.
6. Li. łəlč high cranberry -- Se. łəls id. (Be. stls Kwa. łəls id.).
7. Li. čel'él lake -- Se. čəl'ál, čəlál id. (closest formal equivalent Kwa. 3ə'łál; Cheh. calł Be. cał) Com. [θáyelł];
8. Li. čúl-un to spy on someone -- Se. číl-it to search.
9. Li. če'w to run (of colors) -- Se. V'čəw to melt (cf? Shu. čew-m Cda. čaw Kal. čé'u SPug. čak° to wash).
10. Li. řeq° to fly -- Se. řeq° id. (Be. řq° id.).
11. Li. řéř°-en to cut -- Se. řář°-at to scrape, shave (cf. Shu. řéř-m Squam. řář-an° SPug. řář scrape). *Be řéř to shave*
12. Li. nřš-qř-em to blow one's nose -- Se. nəs-t id., to sneeze (cf? Cda. nas wet Squam. s-nəs-qn hair-oil Cowichan s-nas fat s-nəs-řen marrow).
13. Li. nex-xél to pray -- Se. náš-at to pacify a child.
14. Li. łiłq°-t spark -- Se. łřłq°-im to emit sparks (cf? Shu. t'řik° fire).
15. Li. łək°-mn beak, bill -- Se. (s-)łřłk°-im woodpecker.
16. Li. łək°-přn bitterroot -- Se. łək°-áy licorice fern.

Be řéř to shave

17. Li. š-kím-elč ice -- Se. čəm cold (Com. čəmčəm cold; cf. Shu. V'kiy, 'key cold CdA. čid be shadowy čed shadow Kal. čei shade).
18. Li. xe' high -- Se. ša to climb.
19. Li. k''-ep straight -- Se. k'ə'-iš to rise (Com. k'í'əš [k'É'İš] to stand up)
20. Li. k'e'n to have a look -- Se. V'k'an to look, see (cf? Shu. V'k'en to try taste, choose CdA. k'in' try, choose, examine, consider Kal. k'e'n' to show for inspection, to inspect, try out; cf? also Squam. k'n'us to aim, which could also be connected with no. 19). V'Com. k'ənet to see;
21. Li. x''ez no -- Se. x'a id. (Com. x'ə' no, not x'a' no; cf. Squam. x'u'áx' not yet).
22. Li. qləł-tmíx' storm -- Se. qləł-ílm to be sick (cf. Squam. qəy Li. qəl bad)
23. Li. 'qen thornberry -- Se. 'qn-áyu needle.
24. Li. n-qwiš-qn war-club -- Se. qəwís-qin axe (cf? Squam. 'qwat drumstick).
25. Li. xəł difficult xəł'-min to like -- Se. V'xəł' id. (the meanings are combined also in Squam. V'áí'; Com. xəł' want, desire).
26. Li. q'liš pitch -- Se. q'l'íš, q'lil' id.
27. Li. hemíwz' wild pigeon -- Se. hámu pigeon.
28. Li. zúmek spring salmon -- Se. yúmač id.
29. Li. zmen large bird -- Se. ymán-ul-tx' bird's nest (Be. 'imanta bird's nest)
30. Li. V'zuł' to squeak -- Se. yəł'-qín to yelp, yap (of hunting dog smelling prey).
31. Li. zúl'-un to rock, wash gold -- Se. yúl-ut to put into movement.
32. Li. zex-n to pack on one's back -- Se. yašn, yašin id.

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33. Li. puš-tn decoration on basket -- Se. puštn grass used for decorating baskets.
34. Li. čweš-m to bet -- Se. čiš'm to gamble (The Li. form is practically identical with Squam. čuáš wife čuáš-m to act as go-between in a marriage-proposal; semantically cf. Engl. to wed and Dutch wedden "to bet", orig. "bind oneself to an agreement". There is, besides, a Proto-Salish V'kaw in two words referring to relations by marriage: Shu. s-kew husband's sister, woman's brother's wife Flath. isčéu woman's brother's wife and Cow-

]ichan s-cutél child's spouse, man's sister's husband Se. ščawitál son-^{or} daughter-in-law, Li. sčutél son-in-law, another irregular correspondence, where Li. probably is the borrowing language).

35. Li. V weč excrements -- Se. wač id.

36. Li. ški'emx porcupine -- Se. ski'amx id. (obviously borrowed in Se.).

The parallels summed up here may individually belong to one of the following classes of cases:

(a) Mutual borrowing between Li. and Se. This case includes the one where either language itself borrowed the word from some third source. The words with irregular correspondences all belong to (a).

(b) Accidental retention of common Proto-Salish words in Li. and Se. (and Com., Be.) exclusively. By their very nature these cases must be rare.

(c) Proto-Salish words limited to a dialect area which included Li. and Se., Com. (but neither Squam. nor Tho.). The number and nature of the parallels quoted suggest that such a dialect area existed at some time in the past: they fit better in the historical model of the "Wellentheorie" than in that of the "Stammbaumtheorie". In particular, Li. and Se. are closer to each other than is suggested by Swadesh's results. Like Swadesh's, our conclusion is tentative: definite conclusions will be possible only when extensive lexica of more Salish languages become available.