

# **A note on the Coast-Salish component of the Lillooet lexicon\***

Jan P. van Eijk  
First Nations University of Canada

**Abstract:** Lillooet, although clearly an Interior Salish language, also shares a number of features with Coast Salish languages, in particular lexical material (roots and suffixes). The extent of this shared material bears further investigation, on the basis of Kuipers' seminal Salish etymological dictionary.

## **1 Introduction**

Although a large number of phonological, morphological and lexical features class Lillooet decisively within the Interior branch of the Salish language family, it also shares a number of important features with the Coast Salish branch, as set out convincingly in Kuipers (2002:219–220). In this paper I explore the lexical roots that Lillooet shares with Coast Salish and reflect on the depth and nature of their relationship, with the material taken from Kuipers (2002) and Van Eijk (2013). Section 2 provides a table of the Lillooet root material that is shared with Coast Salish, together with some basic comments. More detailed comments are given in Section 3, followed by conclusions in Section 4.

## **2 Listing of shared Coast Salish/Lillooet etyma**

In this section I list the etyma that Lillooet shares with Coast Salish and Central Salish, following Kuipers' 2002 organization into Proto-Coast Salish (PCS) roots (i.e. those attested for minimally (1) Bella Coola down to Lushootseed and (2) from Squamish down to Tsamosan (Kuipers 2002:136–157)), Central Salish (CeS) roots (i.e., those attested for minimally Squamish in the north down to and including Twana in the south (Kuipers 2002:215–218)), and Local Coast Salish Lillooet/Thompson Elements (CSLT) (Kuipers 2002:219–231). The latter section is subdivided into: (1) cases in which Bella Coola participates (Kuipers 2002:220–221); (2) cases that are found minimally from Squamish down to Lushootseed (Kuipers 2002:221–223); and (3) words with a more limited distribution in Coast

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Salish (Kuipers 2002:223–231). (Comments on Kuipers’ division into these categories are given in Section 3 below.) Within each section I list the Lillooet etyma in the left column, following the alphabetical order used in Van Eijk 2013 (p p̣ m t ṭ c/ç c̣ s/š n ʰ ʰ̣ l/ḷ k ḳ kʷ ḳʷ x xʷ ɣ q q̣ qʷ q̣ʷ ʃ ʃʷ ʕ ʕʷ h w y z ?), with page numbers referring to that source. (Vowels are ignored for alphabetical purposes, except where they mark the only difference between roots, in which case the order is ə ɔ̣ ạ ị ụ ʉ. The difference between plain and glottalized (laryngealized) resonants is also ignored, except where this difference marks the only difference between roots, in which case the glottalized resonants follow the plain ones.) Corresponding etyma from Kuipers (2002) are given in the right column. Footnotes are given as endnotes after the last section. Lillooet etyma are given as free roots where they occur, or as bound roots indicated with √, or in any of the following derivations: with CVC reduplication (signalled with :, as in *p̣əqʷ:p̣úqʷ* ‘grey, greyish brown’), interior (diminutive) reduplication (signalled with <.,>, as in *li<̣>q* ‘easy’), interior (inchoative) glottalization, signalled with {ʔ}, as in *za{ʔ}x̣ʷ* ‘to melt, thaw’), the nominalizer *s* (signalled with ., as in *s.mú<̣>təṃ* ‘Dusky Grouse’), or any of the ‘control’ transitivizers that end in *n* or *ñ*, as in *ʰánaṃ-ən* ‘to try, taste s.t.’). Other morphological markers are translated where they occur. The forms in Kuipers are given “as is”, and the morphological signals have not been adjusted to the Lillooet system, so that the hyphen in Kuipers’ examples marks either a preceding prefix or a following suffix. Translations are also taken literally from the sources and have not been adjusted to each other, even where there are slight deviations. (These occur mainly in terms for flora and fauna, where the translations in the Lillooet columns result from the correct identifications in Davis and Van Eijk 2012 and Turner 1987.) Where Kuipers does not list a Lillooet item, this is most probably due to the fact that he did not have access to these items when he compiled his dictionary, but they have been added here out of Van Eijk (2013).

In what follows, ‘M’ stands for the southern (or Mount Currie) dialect of Lillooet, while ‘F’ stands for the northern (or Fountain) dialect.

### Lillooet

√*p̣akʷ* ‘to float,’ 32  
*p̣əqʷ:p̣úqʷ* ‘grey, greyish brown,’ 33  
 [See also CSLT (1)]  
*s.mú<̣>təṃ* ‘Dusky Grouse,’ 36  
  
*ṃáɬalus* (with variants) ‘raccoon,’ 43  
*ṃə́kəñ* louse,’ 43  
*ṃáqin* ‘hair (on head), 45  
*ṃáqʷam* ‘large swamp, swampy area,’  
 47

### PCS

\**p̣akʷ* ‘to float,’ 147  
 \**p̣a/úqʷ* ‘gray (not of hair),  
 faded,’ 147  
 \**muʔt/muʔ/huṃ* ‘blue grouse,’  
 146  
 \**ṃəl(al)us* ‘raccoon,’ 144  
 \**ṃə́xḳ/kn* ‘(head)louse,’ 146  
 \**ṃáqin* ‘hair (on head),’ 145  
 \**ṃáqʷam* NCS ‘swamp,’ SCS  
 ‘field, meadow, prairie,’ 145

<i>məzác</i> ‘body,’ 49	* <i>(s-)mayac</i> ‘meat,’ 146
<i>twan</i> ‘Salmon berry,’ 62	* <i>yətəwan</i> ‘salmonberry,’ 156 <sup>1</sup>
<i>cátaw-až</i> ‘Western Red Cedar,’ 67(- <i>až</i> ‘plant’)	* <i>cataw</i> ‘red cedar,’ 138
<i>cúcin</i> ‘mouth,’ 67	* <i>cucin</i> ‘mouth,’ 137
<i>calát</i> ‘lake,’ 69	* <i>cəlat</i> ‘lake,’ 137 <sup>2</sup>
<i>čək<sup>w</sup>a?</i> ‘sod of grass’ (and various related meanings), 91	* <i>čək<sup>w</sup>a?</i> ‘an edible root,’ 138 <sup>3</sup>
<i>čiwq̌</i> ‘Red Elderberry,’ 100	* <i>čik<sup>w</sup>/čiwq̌</i> ‘elderberry,’ 138 <sup>4</sup>
<i>sa?q<sup>w</sup>-úpza?</i> ‘Bracken Fern, Brake Fern’ (- <i>upza?</i> ‘young plant, root’), 120 <sup>5</sup>	* <i>sa?q</i> ‘bracken fern (root),’ 151
<i>łəp</i> ‘deep (of pit),’ 133	* <i>łəp</i> ‘deep, under,’ 143
<i>łimin</i> (A) ‘vein,’ (B) ‘sinew,’ 136	* <i>ł?imin</i> ‘muscle, sinew,’ 143
<i>łəmq̌-áž</i> ‘Western Yew,’ 136	* <i>łəməq̌</i> ‘yew,’ 143 <sup>6</sup>
<i>łánam-ən</i> ‘to try, taste s.t.,’ 137	* <i>łanam</i> ‘to measure,’ 153
<i>łátəm</i> M ‘salt,’ 139 [See also CSLT(2)]	* <i>łat</i> ‘bitter, salt,’ 143
<i>łəlq<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to break (rope, line),’ 142	* <i>łəl</i> 1. ‘to crackle, pop,’ 2. ‘a plant providing berries or seeds,’ 143 <sup>7</sup>
<i>łəx<sup>w</sup>-ən</i> ‘to brush s.t.,’ 148	* <i>təx<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to brush, sweep, shake out,’ 153
<i>łáqan̄</i> F ‘snail,’ 149, <i>ł(a)yáqan̄</i> M ‘snail,’ 152	* <i>łáqan</i> ‘snail,’ 144: inverted form of PS * <i>q̌(y)ałan</i> ‘snail,’ 90
<i>s.łáqá?əl̄</i> ‘wing,’ 149	* <i>łəqal</i> ‘wing, feather,’ 144 <sup>8</sup>
<i>ł(a)yáqan̄</i> : See <i>łáqan̄</i> above	
<i>łəx̌<sup>w</sup>-ən-s</i> ‘to spit s.t. out,’ 165 (- <i>ən-s</i> transitivity combination)	* <i>təx̌<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to spit,’ 142
<i>ləq</i> ‘even, ok. (after paying for s.t.),’ 174	* <i>ləq</i> , * <i>łiləq</i> ‘to buy,’ 142 <sup>9</sup>
<i>li&lt;ł&gt;q</i> , <i>liqa?</i> ‘easy,’ 174	* <i>liq</i> ‘easy,’ 142
<i>kzuz</i> ‘to have twins,’ 208	* <i>kəyuya</i> ‘twins,’ 140
<i>k<sup>w</sup>tamc</i> ‘husband,’ 212	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>-tam-c</i> ‘husband,’ 141
<i>s.k<sup>w</sup>ácic</i> ‘name,’ 213	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>ac</i> ‘name,’ 141
<i>k<sup>w</sup>əł-ən</i> ‘to spill, pour out liquid,’ 226	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>əl</i> ‘to spill,’ 141
<i>s.xá?yu?</i> ‘woman’s rival in love,’ 238	* <i>xayū?</i> ‘sexual rival,’ 154

<i>x<sup>w</sup>alitəm</i> M ‘white person,’ 244	* <i>x<sup>w</sup>əl/nitm</i> ‘white person,’ 155 <sup>10</sup>
<i>qəms-án</i> ‘to put things away, tidy them up,’ 255	* <i>qəm</i> ‘to fold, pack,’ 148
<i>s.qniwat</i> ‘shadow, reflection,’ 257	* <i>qayaǎn</i> ‘shadow,’ 149 <sup>11</sup>
<i>qí&lt;qə&gt;í</i> ‘weak,’ 258; <i>qəl</i> ‘bad,’ 259	* <i>qəl</i> ‘bad,’ 148 <sup>12</sup>
√ <i>qǎ</i> ‘much, many,’ 264	* <i>qəǎ</i> ‘much, many,’ 149
<i>qiwǎx</i> M ‘steelhead trout,’ 265	* <i>qiwǎx</i> ‘steelhead,’ 149
√ <i>qəp</i> ‘to put (down),’ 269	* <i>qəp</i> ‘cover, lid, to close,’ 148 <sup>13</sup>
<i>qámaž</i> ‘teenage girl,’ 272	* <i>qá?may?</i> ‘maiden,’ 149
<i>qá&lt;q&gt;ta?</i> ‘to braid,’ 275	* <i>qata</i> ‘carrying strap,’ 149 <sup>14</sup>
<i>qíl-in</i> ‘to put s.t. down, to lift s.t. up and put it somewhere,’ 276	* <i>qá/il</i> ‘raise (and place somewhere),’ 149
<i>q<sup>w</sup>nis</i> ‘whale,’ 288	* <i>q<sup>w</sup>ənis</i> ‘whale,’ 150
<i>q<sup>w</sup>alít</i> ‘pitch (in wood),’ 293	* <i>q<sup>w</sup>alít</i> ‘pitch,’ 150
<i>q<sup>w</sup>ás-tən</i> ‘wool from sheep or mountain,’ 298 (- <i>tən</i> ‘instrument’)	* <i>q<sup>w</sup>as-tan</i> ‘mountain goat wool,’ 151
<i>q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>ila</i> ‘Hog Fennel, Desert Parsley’ (‘wild carrot’), 302	* <i>q<sup>w</sup>il(a)</i> ‘salmonberry,’ 150 <sup>15</sup>
<i>q<sup>w</sup>əǎ:q<sup>w</sup>íǎ</i> ‘black,’ 302	* <i>q<sup>w</sup>íǎ</i> ‘dark color,’ 151
<i>ǎ<sup>w</sup>umt</i> ‘paddle,’ 318	* <i>ǎ<sup>w</sup>umat</i> ‘paddle,’ 156
<i>s.ǎ<sup>w</sup>əs</i> ‘fat around stomach (in deer or cows),’ 320	* <i>ǎ<sup>w</sup>əs</i> ‘to oil, grease,’ 156
<i>wəq<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to fall into water, get carried away by water,’ 351; <i>wúq<sup>w</sup>il</i> ‘to go downstream in a canoe,’ 352	* <i>wuq<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to drift with stream,’ 154
<i>zəq-il</i> ‘to crawl,’ <i>zəq-ilx</i> ‘beginning to crawl,’ 365 (- <i>il</i> , - <i>ilx</i> ‘body’)	* <i>yəq-ilx</i> ‘to crawl,’ 156
<i>za{?}ǎ<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to melt, thaw,’ 368	* <i>yaǎ<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to melt,’ 157
<i>zəwín</i> ‘to talk to the water (supernatural ly),’ 373; <i>s.zúwa?</i> ‘to be clairvoyant,’ 373	* <i>yəw</i> ‘spirit power (to cure, predict, etc.),’ 157
<i>ʔasx<sup>w</sup></i> ‘seal (animal),’ 385	* <i>ʔasx<sup>w</sup></i> ‘seal,’ 136
<i>ʔilǎqəp</i> ‘to gather firewood,’ 388, 137 <sup>16</sup>	* <i>ʔitq/kəp</i> ‘to gather firewood,’
<i>ʔəǎíc</i> ‘to lay down,’ 397	* <i>ʔəǎíc</i> ‘to lie down,’ 137
√ <i>ʔaz</i> ‘good,’ 402	* <i>ʔay</i> ‘good,’ 137

### Lillooet

- pálaʔ* ‘one,’ 15  
*s.cqaz* ‘barbecued salm on, dried  
and stored away,’ 74  
*čəq* ‘to leak, drip (tap, house),’ 95  
*čəʔmiq<sup>w</sup>* ‘removed (in  
genealogical sense),’ 101  
*łak<sup>w</sup>ámłax<sup>w</sup>* ‘root,’ 147  
  
*s.ławín* ‘bedding, blanket,  
mattress,’ 166  
*s.qəm̓s* ‘Pine mushroom,’ 271 [See  
also CSLT (2)]  
*s.qáw-am* ‘wolf,’ 280 (-am  
formative)  
*s.š<sup>w</sup>iʔšən* ‘deer,’ 325  
*š<sup>w</sup>iʔləm* ‘rope,’ 326  
*yəx<sup>w</sup>əłáʔ* (sic?) ‘eagle’<sup>24</sup>  
*s.záxən* ‘to carry on one’s back,’  
364 [See also CSLT (3)]  
*ʔisaw-xal* ‘to chew,’ 385 (-xal  
intransitivizer)  
*ʔux<sup>w</sup>almix<sup>w</sup>* ‘person, human being,  
Indian,’ 395 [See also CSLT  
(3)]

### Lillooet

- páq<sup>w</sup>uʔ* ‘to be afraid,’ 22  
  
*pəq<sup>w</sup>:púq<sup>w</sup>* ‘grey, greyish brown,’ 33  
[See also PCS]  
*məč-ən* ‘to put s.t. under s.t. heavy,’  
37  
*√tiq<sup>w</sup>* ‘murky, muddy,’ 58  
*cix<sup>w</sup>* ‘to arrive (over there),’ 72  
*člaʔ* ‘(berry) basket,’ 89

### CeS

- \*pálaʔ* ‘one,’ 217  
*\*s-cəqay* ‘sockeye salmon,’ 215  
*\*čəq* ‘to drip, leak (as roof),’ 215<sup>17</sup>  
*\*čam̓-ay-iq<sup>w</sup>* ‘great-grandpar  
ent/grandchild,’ 216<sup>18</sup>  
*\*k<sup>w</sup>am* (with suffix ‘bottom’ or ‘earth’)  
‘root,’ 216<sup>19</sup>  
*\*s-ław-in* ‘bedmat,’ 216<sup>20</sup>  
*\*qəm̓as* ‘mushroom, fungus,’ 217  
*\*qəw* ‘to howl,’ 217<sup>21</sup>  
*\*s-š<sup>w</sup>iš(š)n* ‘deer,’ 218<sup>22</sup>  
*\*š<sup>w</sup>ilm* ‘rope [etc.],’ 218<sup>23</sup>  
*\*yəx<sup>w</sup>əlaʔ* ‘eagle,’ 218  
*\*yašn* ‘to carry on the back,’ 218<sup>25</sup>  
*\*ʔisaw* ‘to chew,’ 215  
*\*ʔəx<sup>w</sup>al-mix<sup>w</sup>* ‘settlement, village,’ 215

### CSLT (1)

- \*paq<sup>w</sup>u*, *\*paqu* ‘to be scared,  
afraid,’ 220<sup>26</sup>  
*\*púq<sup>w</sup>* ‘grey, faded, mouldy,’ 220  
*\*məč* (*\*məč* ?) ‘to squeeze,’ 220  
*\*tiq<sup>w</sup>* ‘mud(dy),’ 221  
*\*cix<sup>w</sup>* ‘to reach,’ 220  
*\*člaʔ* ‘a type of basket,’ 220

*nəq<sup>w</sup>* ‘warm (physical atmosphere),’  
129

*qátəyu* ‘big gaffhook,’ 258

*s.qá?əl* ‘Red Huckleberry,’ 268

*√q<sup>w</sup>up* ‘bushy, messy hair,’ 284

*ʔánwas* ‘two,’ 387

### Lillooet

*málšəm* M ‘Bog Blueberry,’ 42

*máqa?* ‘snow,’ 45

*čə<č>pa?* M ‘grandfather,’ 82

*√natx<sup>w</sup>* ‘day next to today (yesterday  
or tomorrow),’ 122

*náh-ən* ‘to name s.o.,’ 132

*łátəm* M ‘salt,’ 139 [See also PCS]

*łíl-im* ‘to sing a lovesong,’ 141 (-*im*  
intransitivizer)

*s.kəsən* ‘messenger,’ 182

*kátl-až* ‘Devil’s-club,’ 200

*kəłá* ‘stone, rock,’ 202

*s.k<sup>w</sup>iqəq* ‘robin,’ 229

*s.qəms* ‘Pine mushroom,’ 271 [See  
also CeS]

*qáyχ-łəp* ‘Cascara,’ 282<sup>30</sup> (-*łəp*  
‘plant’)

*q<sup>w</sup>ł-i?xən* ‘white man’s shoe,’ 289 (-  
*i?xən* ‘foot, shoe’)

*s.čəkt* ‘Fireweed,’ 313

*√?ac* ‘(convex or concave) surface,’  
380

*√?əčč* ‘(disk in) backbone,’ 397

### Lillooet

*pu{?}c* ‘to get soaked,’ 7

*\*nəq<sup>w</sup>* ‘sun, fire, warm,’ 220

*\*qátəyu* ‘gaffhook,’ 221<sup>27</sup>

*\*s-qala* ‘red huckleberry,’ 221

*\*q<sup>w</sup>up* ‘hair,’ 221

*\*nwas* ‘two,’ 220

### CSLT (2)

*\*mu/álsm* ‘blueberry sp.,’ 222

*\*maqa?* ‘snow,’ 222

*\*čəp* ‘gr. gr. grandparent/-child,’  
221

*\*nat* ‘night, 24-hr period,’ 222<sup>28</sup>

*\*nəh*, *\*na(?)* ‘to name, call,’ 222

*\*łátm* ‘salt,’ 222

*\*tílm* ‘to sing,’ 223<sup>29</sup>

*\*kəs* ‘to send (a person),’ 221

*\*katl* ‘devil’s club,’ 222

*\*kəłá?* ‘stone, rock,’ 221

*\*s-k<sup>w</sup>iqaq* ‘robin,’ 221

*\*qəməs* ‘mushroom, fungus,’ 222

*\*qáyχ* ‘cascara,’ 222

*\*q<sup>w</sup>łi?xən* ‘shoe (white man’s),’ 222

*\*čəki?t* ‘fireweed,’ 223

*\*?ac* ‘surface,’ 221

*\*?əčč* ‘backbone,’ 221

### CSLT (3)

*\*puc* ‘to soak,’ 226

<i>pəs-q</i> ‘to fart (noiselessly)’ (- <i>q</i> ‘buttocks’), 8	<i>*pəs</i> ‘to air,’ 226
<i>páxlaq<sup>w</sup></i> ‘Yellow Cedar,’ 19	<i>*paxəlaq<sup>w</sup></i> ‘yellow cedar,’ 226
<i>pástəñ</i> ‘False Azalea,’ 29	<i>*pəstn</i> ‘unid. plant,’ 226
<i>pəşka?</i> ‘hummingbird,’ 29	<i>*pəška</i> ‘hummingbird,’ 226 <sup>31</sup>
<i>pák-am</i> F ‘to heat soaked salmon,’ 32	<i>*pək</i> ‘hot,’ 226
<i>mícaʔq</i> ‘to sit up/down,’ 37	<i>*mic</i> ‘to sit/squat down,’ 226
<i>√măx</i> ‘to be in the middle,’ 47	<i>*măx</i> ‘gap, divide,’ 226
<i>təm</i> ‘(fish) start to run, (berries) start to ripen	<i>*təm</i> ‘season of (time when fish come, berries ripen, etc.),’ 229
<i>təms</i> ‘velvet,’ 51	<i>*təmus</i> ‘“velvet” (originally prob. a type of fur),’ 229 <sup>32</sup>
<i>tútkis</i> ‘handmaul, stone hammer,’ 52	<i>*tuł-k-ist</i> ‘stone maul,’ 228
<i>tákəmə</i> ‘all, everything,’ 53	<i>*tak(əmə)</i> ‘total,’ 228
<i>təx<sup>w</sup>ʔac</i> M ‘bow (of bow and arrow),’ 60	<i>*təx<sup>w</sup>ʔac</i> ‘bow (for shooting),’ 229 <sup>33</sup>
<i>cí{ʔ}&lt;c&gt;q-aʔ</i> ‘young shoot (mainly of thimbleberry),’ 74	<i>*(s-)caʔcqaʔ</i> ‘sprout, young shoot (esp. of thimbleberry),’ 223
<i>√cwas</i> ‘level, to bet, weigh,’ 79	<i>*cawas</i> ‘level, even,’ 223
<i>cáʔwin</i> M ‘coho salmon,’ 81	<i>*cawin</i> ‘coho salmon,’ 223
<i>čí{ʔ}q̣</i> ‘to get dirty,’ 95	<i>*číq̣</i> ‘mud,’ 224
<i>s.čúq<sup>w</sup>aʔ</i> ‘fish, (any kind of) salmon,’ 97	<i>*s-čúq<sup>w</sup>aʔ</i> ‘spring salmon,’ 224
<i>sac̣əʔməs</i> (106): See <i>s.hac̣əʔməs</i> below	
<i>sásqəc</i> ‘Sasquatch,’ 106	<i>*sasqəc</i> ‘sasquatch,’ 228
<i>səñ:səñ-ám</i> ‘to stagger,’ 106	<i>*su/an</i> (red.) ‘to stagger,’ 228
<i>səl&lt;=lə&gt;q̣</i> ‘to be carried around any old way,’ 109 <sup>34</sup>	<i>*saliq̣</i> ‘to dangle,’ 228
<i>sələỵ</i> ‘(Dull) Oregon-grape,’ 110	<i>*səl/nəỵ</i> ‘lowbush Oregon grape,’ 228
<i>nəp:nəp</i> ‘to be on the road,’ 121	<i>*nəp</i> ‘to be on the trail, road,’ 226
<i>níw</i> ‘spouse (address form),’ 132	<i>*níw</i> ‘spouse (address form),’ 226
<i>s.łátáləm, s.łátálam</i> ‘grizzly bear,’ 139	<i>*s-łátalm</i> ‘grizzly bear,’ 225

<i>łəq-p</i> ‘pressed together,’ 148 (- <i>p</i> inchoative)	* <i>łəq</i> ‘to stick/press/glue together),’ 229
<i>łəq-p-án</i> ‘to spring a trap,’ 149	* <i>łəq</i> ‘to snap (shut), trip sb.,’ 229
<i>łəšəm</i> ‘Missionbells’ (“Indian Rice”), 156	* <i>łasm</i> ‘Indian rice,’ 225 <sup>35</sup>
<i>łəx-p</i> ‘overgrown (plants),’ 164	* <i>łəx</i> ‘vegetation,’ 225
<i>lam</i> ‘rum, liquor,’ 170	* <i>lam</i> ‘liquor,’ 225 <sup>36</sup>
<i>lə&lt;ł&gt;ć</i> ‘bile,’ 171	* <i>ləć</i> (red.) ‘gall, bile (color),’ 225
<i>ləš</i> ‘to cave in,’ 171	* <i>ləs</i> ‘bottom, lower part,’ 225 <sup>37</sup>
<i>ləq<sup>w</sup>áz</i> ‘blanket; clothing; woman’s dress,’ 175	* <i>ləq<sup>w</sup>ay</i> ‘clothes,’ 225
<i>s.kásənkəm</i> ‘illegitimate child,’ 183	* <i>s-kasnəkm</i> ‘illegitimate child,’ 224
<i>s.kiy?amx</i> F ‘porcupine,’ 194	* <i>s-kəyə-mx</i> ‘porcupine,’ 225 <sup>38</sup>
<i>kím-alc</i> ‘to freeze’ (- <i>alc</i> ‘rock, hard matter),’ 199	* <i>kím</i> ‘cold, to freeze,’ 224 <sup>39</sup>
<i>kát-ən</i> ‘to poke s.o.,’ 199, <i>kətx<sup>w</sup>-án</i> ‘to cut s.t. off,’ 200	* <i>kətx<sup>w</sup></i> ‘to cut, sever, carve,’ 224
<i>kətx<sup>w</sup>-án</i> (200): See <i>kát-ən</i> (preceding item)	
<i>káca?</i> ‘storage basket or box,’ 200	* <i>kaca</i> ‘storage box,’ 224 <sup>40</sup>
<i>kəx<sup>w</sup>a?</i> ‘lacrosse, hockey,’ 206 <sup>41</sup>	* <i>kəx<sup>w</sup>a?</i> ‘lacrosse,’ 225
<i>kíh-ən</i> ‘to pick up and put in one’s lap,’ 207	* <i>kíh</i> ‘to rise, raise,’ 224
<i>s.kzaq</i> ‘fishtrap,’ 208	* <i>kyaq</i> ‘salmon weir,’ 225
<i>k<sup>w</sup>út-qs-am</i> ‘to pout’ (- <i>qs</i> ‘nose’), 212	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>ut</i> ‘to pout,’ 225
<i>k<sup>w</sup>is</i> ‘to drop, rain,’ 213	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>əs</i> ‘to spray,’ 225
<i>k<sup>w</sup>ul</i> ‘sea, ocean,’ 226	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>ul</i> ‘salt water, ocean,’ 225
<i>k<sup>w</sup>alx<sup>w</sup></i> ‘dog salmon,’ 228	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>uləx<sup>w</sup></i> ‘dog salmon,’ 225
<i>xat</i> ‘lead (metal), lead weight on net,’ 232	* <i>xat</i> ‘lead,’ 230 <sup>42</sup>
<i>xíw-in</i> ‘to put a stick into or through s.t.,’ 237	* <i>xíw</i> ‘to thread on string, put on spit,’ 230
<i>xa?</i> ‘high,’ 237	* <i>xa?</i> ‘high, top, upward,’ 229



√ <i>x<sup>w</sup>ic</i> ‘to jump up (end of stick or log),’ 240	* <i>x<sup>w</sup>ic</i> ‘to sway, rock (baby),’ 230
<i>s.qtiñ</i> ‘big dipnet’ (used in Skookumchuck), 254	* <i>qtiñ</i> ‘(dipnet for fishing in) pool in river,’ 226
<i>qəlq</i> ‘rose (various species),’ 262	* <i>qəlq</i> ‘wild rose,’ 226
<i>qáw-əm</i> ‘to have sexual intercourse,’ 265 (- <i>əm</i> intransitivizer)	* <i>qaw</i> ‘to lean against, sleep with,’ 227
<i>qəm̓l-áz</i> ‘Broad-leaved Maple,’ 272	* <i>qəm̓l-ay̓</i> , * <i>qəm̓l-ałp</i> ‘maple,’ lit. ‘paddle tree,’ 227
<i>q̓x<sup>w</sup>uʔ</i> ‘war canoe,’ 278	* <i>q̓x<sup>w</sup>aʔ-wił</i> ‘war/racing canoe,’ 227 <sup>43</sup>
<i>qáx̃-ləx</i> ‘to curl up,’ 278	* <i>qax̃</i> ‘to bend backwards,’ 227
<i>qáw</i> ‘to get beaten (in a contest),’ 279	* <i>qaw</i> ‘to lose (contest), pay,’ 227
<i>q̓wát-əm</i> ‘to drum,’ 280	* <i>qəwat</i> ‘stick (esp. for beating rhythm),’ 227
<i>qá&lt;q&gt;wəx̃</i> ‘Chocolate Lily,’ 280	* <i>qawax̃</i> (red.) ‘chocolate lily,’ 227
<i>q̓wəmçáł̓s</i> ‘Bog Cranberry,’ 285	* <i>q̓w̓mçul̓s</i> ‘cranberry,’ 228
<i>q̓w̓n-ałp</i> ‘Indian Hellebore,’ 287 (- <i>ałp</i> ‘plant’)	* <i>q̓w̓n-ałp</i> ‘Indian hellebore,’ 228
<i>q̓wul</i> ‘big digit,’ 292	* <i>q̓wul</i> ‘digit,’ 228
<i>q̓wʔup</i> ‘Pacific Crab Apple,’ 295	* <i>q̓wʔup</i> ‘crabapple,’ 228
<i>s.q̓əl</i> ‘copper,’ 301	* <i>q̓w̓ay</i> (mostly red.) ‘copper,’ 228 <sup>44</sup>
<i>q̓w̓is-qin̓</i> , <i>n.q̓w̓is-qin̓</i> M ‘axe,’ 303	* <i>q̓w̓is-qin̓</i> ‘axe,’ 227
<i>ǰəcəm</i> ‘box, coffin,’ 306	* <i>ǰəcəm</i> ‘cedar box,’ 230
<i>ǰəł̓</i> ‘Skunk-cabbage,’ 307	* <i>ǰəł̓</i> ‘skunk cabbage (?),’ 230
<i>ǰkit</i> ‘this side of s.t.,’ 313	* <i>ǰ-ki-t</i> ‘this/near side,’ 230
<i>ǰ̓w̓úq̓w̓-tən</i> ‘canoe pole,’ 324	* <i>ǰ̓w̓úq̓w̓</i> ‘to pole up (in canoe),’ 230
<i>s.ǰ̓w̓úq̓w̓łəł̓</i> M ‘kerchief,’ 324	* <i>s-ǰ̓w̓úq̓w̓-łnał̓</i> ‘kerchief,’ 230
<i>ǰ̓w̓ʔit</i> ‘wedge,’ 325	* <i>ǰ̓w̓ʔit</i> ‘wedge,’ 230
<i>ǰ̓w̓ʔúcin</i> ‘four,’ 325	* <i>ǰ̓w̓ʔúcin</i> ‘four,’ 230 <sup>45</sup>
<i>ǰ̓w̓uʔq̓w̓</i> ‘sawbill duck,’ 326	* <i>ǰ̓w̓uʔq̓w̓</i> ‘sawbill duck,’ 230 ‘big wide shawl,’ 339
<i>s.hac̓áʔməs</i> (also recorded <i>sac̓áʔməs</i> )	* <i>s-ʔac̓áʔməs</i> ‘woman’s shoulder blanket,’ 223 <sup>46</sup>
√ <i>haw</i> ‘warm,’ 340	* <i>haw</i> ‘warm,’ 224

*huzáʔ* ‘to get ready,’ 341  
*hiʔqʷín* ‘candle,’ 341  
*wac* M ‘to defecate,’ 344  
*waʔ* ‘to be busy with, involved in,’ 353  
*s.yálməc* ‘ring,’ 354  
*s.yáqcaʔ* M ‘woman,’ 355  
*yáwap* ‘sail,’ 356  
*zúmak* F ‘spring salmon,’ M ‘big spring salmon (tyee),’ 358  
*s.záxən* ‘to carry on one’s back,’ 364  
 [See also CeS]  
*√zuh* ‘warned, careful, alert,’ 370  
*s.záʔtən* ‘widow(er),’ 374  
*ʔəpəlsaʔ* (with variant recordings) ‘water lizard’ (prob. ‘salamander’), 375  
*ʔumik* ‘to go upstream,’ 379  
*ʔuxʷalmixʷ* ‘person, human being, Indian,’ 395  
*ʔi<ʔ>wəs* ‘to fish with a rod,’ 401

*\*huy-aʔ* ‘to get ready,’ 224<sup>47</sup>  
*\*hiʔqʷín* ‘lamp, light, torch,’ 224<sup>48</sup>  
*\*wac* ‘to defecate,’ 229  
*\*waʔ* ‘to continue,’ 229<sup>49</sup>  
*\*s-yə/al-m-čis* ‘ring,’ 231  
*\*s-yaq-c* ‘wife, woman,’ 231  
*\*yawap* ‘sail,’ 231<sup>50</sup>  
*\*yumač* ‘spring salmon,’ 230  
*\*yaxən* ‘to carry on the back,’ 231  
*\*yuh* ‘careful, alert, warned,’ 231  
*\*s-yaʔtn* ‘widow(er),’ 231  
*\*ʔəpən/l-xn* ‘lizard, salamander,’ 223  
*\*ʔumik* ‘(to go) upstream,’ 223 [See also CeS]  
*\*ʔuxʷ-al-mixʷ* ‘Indian, tribe, village,’ 223  
*\*ʔiʷas* ‘to fish w. line,’ 223

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Lillooet item is not listed by Kuipers.

<sup>2</sup> This item is also found in Kwak’wala (“Kwakiutl”). For detailed comments on its distribution see Hess (1979).

<sup>3</sup> The Lillooet item is not listed by Kuipers.

<sup>4</sup> *čiwq* is limited to Northern Coast Salish (from which Lillooet has borrowed the form), while *\*čikʷ* goes back to Proto-Salish (PS).

<sup>5</sup> The labialization on *qʷ* is secondary and caused by the *u* in *-upzaʔ*.

<sup>6</sup> The Lillooet item is not listed by Kuipers.

<sup>7</sup> Also listed under *\*łəl* are Chilliwack *słələqʷ* ‘chocolate lily,’ and Upper Chehalis *łələqʷ* ‘crackle, pop, burst,’ which provide direct parallels to the Lillooet form, which Kuipers does not list here but under PS *\*łəl* ‘to slice, split, rip,’ from which Lillooet *√łəl* ‘to cut’ is a direct descendant.

<sup>8</sup> The Lillooet item is not listed by Kuipers.

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<sup>9</sup> The Lillooet item is not listed by Kuipers.

<sup>10</sup> Kuipers lists the Lillooet form as *xwalitn*. However, Chilliwack, the most likely donor of this word, has *xwalitm*.

<sup>11</sup> The resemblance between the Lillooet item and \**qayaʁn* is weak, but Kuipers mentions that the Lillooet item partially resembles Squamish *qiʔqnʔʁni*, which goes back to \**qayaʁn*.

<sup>12</sup> Kuipers also lists Thompson *qlil* ‘angry’ here, but not Lillooet *qlil* ‘angry’ (Van Eijk 2013:261).

<sup>13</sup> Kuipers lists *qəp-qw-tən* (morpheme breaks mine: *-qw* ‘head,’ *-tən* ‘instrument’) ‘cover, lid’ as the Lillooet etymon here, but the root *√qəp* can be isolated on the basis of other derivations.

<sup>14</sup> The Lillooet item is not listed by Kuipers.

<sup>15</sup> The Lillooet item is not listed by Kuipers, and the semantic connection ‘salmon berry’ – ‘hog fennel’ is indeed tenuous.

<sup>16</sup> Kuipers refers the PCS form to PS \**qəp*, and comments that *ʔi* is Coast Salish (CS).

<sup>17</sup> Kuipers does not list the Lillooet form here.

<sup>18</sup> Kuipers does not list the Lillooet form, which is an obvious loan from Coast Salish, as per the phonetic overlap/identity between Lillooet *q* and Coast Salish *a*, both being broadly [a]. Also note the replacement of *č* with *c*, *č* not being a phoneme in Lillooet, and *c* being its closest equivalent.

<sup>19</sup> For the deviating initial in Lillooet, Kuipers refers to the parallel with Squamish *ikʷámyəxw*.

<sup>20</sup> Kuipers (who gives the Lillooet form as *sławini*) comments that the root is all-Salish, but the extension \*-*in* is CS.

<sup>21</sup> Kuipers does not list the Lillooet form here.

<sup>22</sup> See Hess (1979) for a discussion of the Coast Salish distribution of this word, an obvious hunter’s taboo for which Hess also provides a morphological analysis. Kuipers does not list the Lillooet form, which was borrowed via the Port Douglas dialect.

<sup>23</sup> Kuipers gives the Lillooet form (which is a very probable loan, as it is ascribed to the Port Douglas dialect) as *ʁwilm*.

<sup>24</sup> *yəxwəláʔ* was not recorded by me, but is my retranscription of *yoxəlá*, the form in Boas (1925), as quoted by Kuipers. Interestingly, there is a Lillooet word *yəxwłáʔ* ‘to untie frozen fish in spring (fish that has been left on the racks through the winter)’ (also the name of Reseve No. 4 outside Mount Currie), and *yəxwłáʔ*, a variant of *xwłáʔ* and *xłáʔ* (the last variant being the most common) ‘Raven.’

<sup>25</sup> Kuipers does not list the Lillooet form here.

<sup>26</sup> Kuipers also lists Lillooet *páqwuł* ‘cache’ (spelled *páqut* by him) under this item and refers to English ‘fear’ and Old Saxon *va:r* ‘ambush’ for a semantic parallel.

<sup>27</sup> This item is also widespread through Northern Wakashan (see Kuipers 2002:221 for details), from which it is probably a loan into Salish.

<sup>28</sup> Kuipers lists Lillooet *natxw* as ‘yesterday’ here, although this word means ‘tomorrow,’ while *ʔi.nátxw-as* means ‘yesterday.’

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<sup>29</sup> For possible wider etymological connections of this item see Section 3.

<sup>30</sup> Also recorded *qáq-tap*, *qáy-tap* and *qáʔx-tap*, which deviate from the CSLT form.

<sup>31</sup> Kuipers mentions that the retraction in the Lillooet form points to borrowing.

<sup>32</sup> This item is listed out of place and should be listed on the same page (Kuipers 2002:229) but between *\*təmus* and *\*təq*.

<sup>33</sup> Kuipers comments that his item may be a borrowing from a non-Salish language.

<sup>34</sup> The element *q* might be related to a formally identical element in *zəʔ* ‘to topple, come down,’ *ʔəlq* ‘to roll down,’ and *n.qwálq-ən* ‘to turn s.t. inside out,’ all referring to some type of movement. If *q* is indeed a suffix, *səl* in *səl* <=*lə*> *q* might be related to *√səl* ‘to spin, twine’ (*səl* ‘string’). The insert <=*lə*> signals VC reduplication, with a telic function.

<sup>35</sup> The phonetic resemblance between the Lillooet form and Squamish *tasm* [*tasm*], points at recent borrowing from Squamish, the only other language for which this form is attested.

<sup>36</sup> Borrowing from English ‘rum,’ via Chinook Jargon, and as such of only minor importance as a Salish etymon.

<sup>37</sup> Kuipers mentions that the retraction in Lillooet (and Thompson) points to borrowing.

<sup>38</sup> This item is listed out of place on p. 225 in Kuipers (2002), and should be listed on p. 224, between *\*s-kasnəkm* and *\*kaca*.

<sup>39</sup> Kuipers also refers to PS *\*kay* ‘cold, season,’ (Kuipers 2002:43).

<sup>40</sup> This item also occurs in Haisla (northern Wakashan), but with unexplained *č* paralleling Salish *c*.

<sup>41</sup> Different meanings recorded from different consultants.

<sup>42</sup> The Coast Salish cognates all have *š* (e.g., Squamish *šat* ‘shot, lead’) and Kuipers describes these as a borrowing from English ‘shot,’ adding that the borrowing must have started on the Coast. That begs the question why Lillooet (the only IS language with this item) has *x*. A more plausible explanation seems to be that the original form is indeed *\*xat*, with regular change *\*x* > *š* in the CS languages, leading to an accidental phonetic resemblance to ‘shot.’

<sup>43</sup> Kuipers gives the Lillooet form as *q̣xwuʔ* and comments that the *xw* may be due to assimilation (of *xw* to preceding *q̣*). Kuipers’ comment is obviously based on an older (and incorrect) form that I provided to him.

<sup>44</sup> The pairing of *q̣w* in the Lillooet form (and the Chilliwack and Thompson forms, as listed by Kuipers) and *qw* in the other languages listed by Kuipers is puzzling. Van Eijk (2013:301) suggests a possible relation between *s.qwəl* ‘copper’ and *√qwəl* ‘ripe, done (food), cooked,’ through a possible reference to the colour of dark copper, which resembles that of something roasted.

<sup>45</sup> Kuipers also relates this item to PS *\*xəc* ‘ready, completed,’ *\*xəʔuc* ‘complete count: four.’

<sup>46</sup> Kuipers does not list the Lillooet form, which is an obvious loan from Coast Salish, as per the phonetic overlap/identity between Lillooet *q̣* and Coast Salish *a*, both being broadly [a], as also noted under fn. 4 above.

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<sup>47</sup> Kuipers also refers to PS *\*huy* ‘to cease, finish’ here, and to Lillooet *hú?mat* (written *hú mat* by him) ‘goodbye.’

<sup>48</sup> Kuipers also refer to PS *\*yəqw* ‘fire(wood)’ here, with further discussion of the initial *hi* in *\*hi?qwin* in his dictionary (Kuipers 2002:8–9).

<sup>49</sup> The etymological picture is complicated by the fact that Shuswap has *w?ex* (in progressive forms *?ex*) ‘to be there, to be present, to stay,’ Kuipers (1974:265), and Thompson has *(w)?ex* ‘be alive, exist, live; be located; remain, stay,’ (Thompson and Thompson 1996:369). We may therefore have an older (PS?) form *w?ax*, which has survived basically in this form in Shuswap and Thompson, but as *wa?* in Lillooet and in Squamish (the only other language for which this etymon has apparently been attested). Note, however, that Kuipers (2002:194), reconstructs PIS *\*wax* ‘(to be) present’ for the Shuswap and Thompson (and Columbian and Colville) forms.

<sup>50</sup> This etymon is also attested for Northern Wakashan, see Kuipers (2002:231).

### 3 Comments

Of the approximately 2,465 Lillooet roots listed in Van Eijk (2013) (not counting variants or borrowings from French or English), 352 go back to PS (as listed in Kuipers 2002), 106 to PIS, 58 to PCS, 14 to CeS, and 11 fall into CSLT (1), 17 into CSLT (2), and 91 into CSLT (3). These lists include Lillooet items in PCS, CeS and CSLT that are not listed by Kuipers but are added by me in Section 2. The lists also include the following Lillooet items that Kuipers does not list in (a) his PS section or (b) his PIS section: (a) *qyaṣ* ‘drunk’ (probably borrowed from Shuswap, because the root is originally F, but is also recognized in M; \**qayṣ* ‘to err, fancy, be drunk, crazy’), *q̣ʷəq̣ʷúʔ* ‘bone’ (\**qawaʔ* (red.) ‘bone,’ possibly from hypothetical NIS \**q̣ʷuʔ*), *qʷtaʔ* ‘grease, fat’ (F, and probably borrowed from Shuswap; \**qʷtaʔ* ‘animal fat, grease’), *√siṣ* ‘to move’ (\**siṣ* ‘to move (from one place to another)’), *s.ḷúlaʔ* ‘deer’ (only in *zəx:záx-anaʔ s.ḷúlaʔ* ‘long-eared deer’ = ‘mule deer;’ \**s-ḷul* ‘a type of deer’), *wəʔáw* ‘to shout, holler’ (\**waʔ* ‘to cry, holler’); (b) *ʔal-t* ‘to freeze over’ (\**ʔa/ul* ‘to freeze’), *ʔiswaʔ* ‘loon’ (\**ʔiswaʔ* ‘loon,’ with possible link to PS \**ʔus*, *ʔisuʔ* ‘to dive’), *s.twa* ‘(Sandhill) Crane’ (possibly derived from \**s-ʔatwn* ‘sandhill crane’), *n.qʷə:qʷuḷaʔxn-am* F ‘to have a horse-race’ (\**q̣ʷuḷ-aʔ-xn* ‘to race’), *xʷəl:xʷəlák-wəm* ‘whirlwind’ (\**xʷlak* ‘whirlwind’), *cxʷám-qən* ‘roan horse’ (\**xʷam-qn* ‘roan (horse)’); the last three items are most probably borrowed from Shuswap. On the other hand, the lists omit the Lillooet items that Kuipers lists as tentative in his PS and PIS sections. This leaves 1,816 Lillooet roots for which as yet no definitive etyma are given by Kuipers as they fall outside his criteria for inclusion in his dictionary or because he somehow missed them (and they have been added here). However, many parallels to Lillooet items in other languages (including Coast Salish) become obvious upon further investigation, e.g., Halkomelem *s-ḳʷélṣ* ‘immature bald eagle’ (Galloway 2009:1213) – Lillooet *s.ḳʷalṣ* ‘bald eagle’ (young or mature, depending on consultants’ idiolects), Sechelt *ʔipikʷ* ‘sawbill duck’ (possibly ‘any small duck,’ Timmers 1977:11) – Lillooet *ʔi<ʔ>piḱʷ* ‘duckling, any young waterfowl.’ The time-consuming but ultimately rewarding search for further occasional items that are shared between Lillooet and Coast Salish must at present remain a task for the future.

Due to the close proximity of the southern dialect area to the Coast Salish area, one would expect more Coast Salish items in Mount Currie than in Fountain, and this is indeed the case as per the following cases (with the F item in parentheses following each M item): PCS: *ḷátəm* ‘salt,’ (*lasál*), *xʷalítəm* ‘white man’ (*sámaʔ*, also in M), *qiṽṽ* ‘steelhead trout’ (*cúʷwáʔ*); CeS: *s.ṣʷiʔšən* ‘deer’ (Port Douglas dialect, *éiʔ* in all dialects); CSLT (2): *máʔṣəm* ‘Bog Blueberry’ (does not grow in the Fountain area); CSLT (3): *táṣʷʔac* ‘gun’ (*s.wəl-m-ínk*, with *táṣʷʔac* for ‘bow’ in all dialects), *cáʔwin* ‘coho salmon’ (*ṣáyəqs*), *q̣ʷwísqin* ‘axe’ (*ḷámin*), *s.ṣʷúqʷtəʔ* ‘kerchief’ (*q̣əl:q̣əlps*), *wac* ‘to defecate’ (*ṣʷiṣ*), *s.yáqcaʔ* ‘woman’ (*s.múʔac*). On the other hand, there are two items that F, but not M,

shares with the Coast: CSLT (2): *pák-am* ‘to heat soaked salmon’ (no equivalent recorded for M); CSLT (3): *s.kíy?amx* ‘porcupine’ (*s.k<sup>w</sup>ǎl:k<sup>w</sup>ǎl* in M).

Kuipers’ dictionary is, as is typical for all his work, extremely thoroughly researched and the material is presented with exemplary clarity. Even so, it still leaves a few questions that, I think, need to be asked. In the first place, although his division of shared IS-CS, but not PS, items into PCS, CeS, and CSLT (1–3) rubrics gives a very useful indication of the geographical distribution of these items (with important implications for wave-like patterning), it does not necessarily indicate the relative time-depth of these items as belonging to an old *Sprachbund* or resulting from more recent borrowing (inasmuch as such patterns can always be established, and regardless of whether this is in fact Kuipers’ aim). We can be fairly sure that an item belongs to an older layer if we see changes in either or both the IS or CS forms from the reconstructed form, as in *\*yaxn* ‘to carry on the back’ (CSLT (3)), which is *syasñ* in Sechelt, with *\*x > š*, and *s.záxən* in Lillooet, with *\*y > z*. (As is mentioned in Section 2, Kuipers does not list the Lillooet form in the CSLT section, but does so in the CeS section, something we return to below, with further comments on this item.) On the other hand, a case like Lillooet *íáqa?* ‘salalberry’ is clearly a borrowing from CS, with further ancestry in PS *íáqa?* ‘berry sp.’ (CS ‘salalberry’) (Kuipers 2002:111), because (a) salalberries do not grow in the Interior, and (b) *í* is clearly a borrowed phoneme in Lillooet, PS *\*í* and *\*ǎ* having merged into the latter in Lillooet. See Section 2 for comments on the phonetics of *éá?miq<sup>w</sup>* (CeS) and *tášəm* (SCSLT (3)) as indicators of recent borrowing from CS. Similarly, the word *míla?* ‘ritual dance,’ a clear borrowing from CS (cf. Squamish *míla?* ‘(Indian) dance, to dance’), is acknowledged as such by my consultants who comment that this type of dance is not performed by the Lillooet but in Coastal communities.

Kuipers’ detailed division of shared Lillooet-CS items into PCS, CeS and CSLT also begs the question as to why *\*pá/ua<sup>w</sup>* ‘gray (not of hair), faded’ is listed both under PCS and CSLT (1), in the latter case as *\*puq<sup>w</sup>* ‘grey, faded, mouldy,’ *\*ǎat* ‘bitter, salt’ both under PCS and CSLT (2), in the latter case as *\*ǎatm* ‘salt,’ *\*ʔəx<sup>w</sup>-al-mix<sup>w</sup>* ‘settlement, village’ under both CeS and CSLT (3), in the latter case as *\*ʔux<sup>w</sup>-al-mix<sup>w</sup>* ‘Indian, tribe, village,’ *\*yasñ* ‘to carry on the back’ under both CeS and CSLT (3), in the latter case as *yaxn*, and *\*qəməs* ‘mushroom, fungus’ under both CeS and CSLT (2). Similarly, Lillooet *q<sup>w</sup>ǎx:q<sup>w</sup>íx* ‘black’ is listed under both PS *\*q<sup>w</sup>ǎx:ǎ<sup>w</sup>* I ‘to smoke (of fire), smoke color’ and PCS *q<sup>w</sup>íx* ‘dark color.’ It seems we have the same PS root in both cases. I also find it puzzling why Lillooet *pəs-q* ‘to fart (noiselessly)’ is listed both under PIS *\*pəs* ‘to break wind’ and CSLT (3) *\*pəs* ‘to air.’ Again, we seem to have the same root here, to be preferably listed under CSLT (3) because of Sechelt *pəsx<sup>w</sup>* ‘to fart.’

On p. 13, Kuipers comments that “In the PCS and CeS root lists, if of roots beginning with *\*č \*č̣ \*š* [which result from PS *\*k \*ḳ \*x* – JvE] no cognates with *k ḳ x* are attested, they are quoted with *č č̣ š*, alphabetically after *c c̣ s* respectively.” In my view, if we have cognates with *k ḳ x*, they are either found outside CS, in which case the items should be listed in either the PS or CSLT sections, or they

are found in Bella Coola (which did not undergo the shift to  $\check{c} \check{c} \check{s}$ ), of which Kuipers indeed gives some clear examples, or they result from borrowing, such as *\*kaca* ‘storage box,’ which occurs in both Sechelt and Lillooet, with Sechelt having borrowed the form from Lillooet or both having borrowed it from a Wakashan source, with this form correctly listed under CSLT (3), or we have an unexplained velar, as in *k.itwvn*, the word for ‘black bear’ in the Tenino dialect of Upper Chehalis, a language that has expected  $\check{c}$  in the other variants of this word in the Oakville and Satsop dialects (Van Eijk 2010:15, from Kinkade 1991:234, quoting a much earlier source by Thelma Adamson). Interestingly, Kuipers lists *\*s-kətx<sup>w</sup>n* (Kuipers 2002:140) but only gives forms with  $\check{c}$ , and not the Tenino form, which is the only cognate here that argues for *\*k*.

Kuipers’ decision to limit the treatment of PCS *\*č/k* *\*č/k̥* *\*š/x* to root-initial cases leads to some puzzling results, in that ‘to carry on the back’ is listed both as *\*yašn* (CeS) and *\*yaxən* (CSLT (3)), as observed above, while *\*yumač* ‘spring salmon’ (CSLT (3)) should be *\*yumak*, as per Lillooet *zúmak*.

In light of the above I would argue for classing those cases where CS has non-CS cognates with *\*k* *\*k̥* *\*x* under PS or CSLT, and the remaining cases (where we have Bella Coola forms with *k* *k̥* *x*, or a possibly unique case like Tenino *k.itwvn*) under PCS, together with the cases that have  $\check{c} \check{c} \check{s}$ , but retranscribe these as *k* *k̥* *x*, as the shift to  $\check{c} \check{c} \check{s}$  is already described elsewhere.

## 4 Conclusions

Nothing I say in the preceding section, including my lengthy cavil on PCS *\*č/k* *\*č/k̥* *\*š/x*, detracts from the immense value of Kuipers’ dictionary. Of course, etymological work and historical reconstruction are jobs that are almost never finished, and there are certainly items that some would like to add to Kuipers’ reconstructions. For example, the PS word for ‘I’ (first person singular independent pronoun), which Kuipers does not list, can easily be reconstructed as *\*(s-)ʔənca* on the basis of the material given in Newman (1977). Perhaps Kuipers’ omission is caused by the fact that he analyzes Shuswap *ncéwe* ‘I’ as *n-céwe* (often reduplicated *n-cécwe(ʔ)*, Kuipers 1974:59), while the correct analysis is obviously *ncé-we*, as given in Newman (1977:304), on the basis of Thompson *ncé-weʔ*, with *weʔ* (demonstrative particle, ‘that, there, (etc.)’, Thompson and Thompson 1996:372).

Often existing etymologies or attending information on them have to be revised in light of recent research. For example, John Rath (p.c.) brings to my attention that a number of the Wakashan etymologies in Kuipers’ dictionary need to be corrected, deleted or expanded due to new data that have been brought in since Kuipers composed his dictionary.

As an example of the kind of pet project that may result from a dictionary like Kuipers’ I should mention my interest in the fact that Kuipers lists PS *\*təp* I ‘dark’ (Kuipers 2002:111) and PCS *\*łəp* ‘deep, under’ (Kuipers 2002:143), with Lillooet and Thompson *łəp* being the only IS languages containing *\*łəp*. Although this latter bit of information suggests that Lillooet and Thompson



borrowed this word from the Coast, the possibility that it goes back to PS cannot be excluded (with Tillamook being the only language that has reflexes to both roots). Furthermore, since ‘dark’ and ‘deep, under’ are semantically similar, one wonders if the correspondence  $\acute{t} \sim \acute{\lambda}$  in this set of roots may not be due to some form of sound symbolism, suggesting old “leakage” between these two PS phonemes here. (Since we also have PCS  $*\acute{t}\acute{a}p$  ‘thick (of liquid)’ (Kuipers 2002:153), I would suspect that we possibly had PS  $*\acute{\lambda}\acute{a}p$  ‘deep, under; dark,’ with ‘dark’ becoming  $*\acute{t}\acute{a}p$ .) We have, in my view, a similar situation in PS  $*\acute{\lambda}i/al$  ‘to stop, become motionless; dead, sick’ (Kuipers 2002:63), PS  $*\acute{i}ul$  ‘charm, medicine’ (CS), spirit (IS),’ and CSLT (2)  $*\acute{t}il-m$  ‘to sing’ (Kuipers 2002:223), all of which potentially share a notion ‘to put a charm/spell on someone,’ leading to either sickness or death or to someone falling in love (as suggested by Lillooet  $\acute{\lambda}il-im$  ‘to sing a lovesong’). If my observations are valid, they would parallel sound symbolism cases in semantically related pairs like English ‘shine/sheen’ or ‘tiny/teeny.’

Whatever the case may be, Kuipers’ dictionary does not serve as the final word on Salish etymological work (something that would never have been his intention anyway) but as the starting point for further work in this area. Kuipers’ chivalrous admissions where he would agree with comments on his dictionary, and his vigorous opposition where he would not, will be sadly and sorely missed.

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