

FELIDAE AC HOMINIDAE

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The aim of this paper is to discuss two sets of words in Salishan languages. They are, respectively, terms for native cats (the Family Felidae) of British Columbia and the Northwestern U.S. and the set of words glossed variously 'person, Indian, man' (of the Family Hominidae). There is no connection between the two sets of words, so that in effect there are here two separate papers. Transcriptions are normalized throughout the paper for recent material, but left in their original form for older material lacking recent attestation.

Felidae

There are three species of cats native to this region: *Felis concolor* (usually called cougar locally, but also known as mountain lion, and--usually elsewhere--as puma or panther), *Lynx canadensis* (the lynx), and *Lynx rufus* (variously called bobcat or wildcat). There are three subspecies of cougar recognized for the area, two of bobcat, and one of lynx; these subspecies differences have no effect on native nomenclature. The three species will be discussed separately in the order lynx, bobcat, cougar to facilitate presentation. For information on range and classification of these animals, the following sources were consulted: Banfield 1974, Burt 1961, Cowan and Guiguet 1978, and Hall 1981. All contain maps showing distribution, although they are not equally reliable; Burt and Hall, in particular, tend to blur the limits of ranges.

1. *Lynx canadensis*. For our area, the lynx has the most limited distribution, being primarily an animal of the north. However, in the west its range extends (or once extended) at least to southern Oregon, but excluded the area west of the Coast Range in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia north to Bute Inlet or so (and thereby also excluding Vancouver Island; the Queen Charlotte Islands had no native cats at all). In spite of these limitations in the range of the lynx, some sources (particularly Boas) give words glossed 'lynx' for Lower Chinook, Kathlamet Chinook, Lower Chehalis, Quinault, Lummi, Nooksack, and Nanaimo Halkomelem. Although the Nooksack may have known the animal from hunting in the Cascade Mountains, the others are not likely to have had direct contact with it, so I will treat all these instances as mislabelled (comparative evidence also suggests that these names properly refer to the bobcat). On the other hand, names for the lynx in Sechelt, Squamish, and Chilliwack Halkomelem cannot be dismissed; these three groups could easily have been acquainted with this cat from hunting in the mountains to the east of their areas of residence.

Few of the Salishan names for lynx appear to be old, and most are either analyzable or borrowed (see Table 1). Beginning in the north, the first Bella Coola word is patently a loan from neighboring Wakashan languages (see Table 2), where the name is analyzable as meaning "big tooth" (Nater 1977:64). The other form, given in Boas 1926, is apparently misglossed; Nater (1977:52) gives $q^o uc^i k$ 'wolverine'. The Sechelt form is unanalyzable, and does not look Salish; on the other hand, there are no obvious sources as a loanword either. According to Kuipers, the Squamish form means 'spliced ear'; he says "the name has reference to the large tufts on the ears" (1969:95). Of the two Chilliwack Halkomelem forms given by Galloway (1980:64), he labels the first "probably", and the second "in stories". The first is, in fact, probably borrowed from Lillooet, where the form clearly has the suffix for 'ear'; lacking an analytical dictionary of Lillooet, I cannot identify the first part (but cf. Thompson $c \acute{u} q^o$ - 'extend, lengthen, add to'; Thompson and Thompson n.d.). Galloway's second form, with a final k does not look particularly Halkomelem, although no source presents itself. Gibson (1963) has a form glossed 'lynx' for Quinault; the form must have been made up for him, as there would be no lynx in that area; it looks as if the word has to do with 'cry' (cf. Upper Chehalis $\acute{s} \acute{e} \acute{?} \acute{u} m$ 'cry'). Thus there are no coast forms for lynx that contribute to reconstructions.

Turning to the interior, there are three sets of forms beside the Lillooet form already discussed (and which has no other cognate in Salish). The Fountain Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap forms do have cognates, but none meaning lynx: Columbian smiyáw (also used by some Colville speakers), Spokane (although not Kalispel) smyéw, Coeur d'Alene smiyíw, and Lushootseed sbiyáw all meaning 'coyote', and Pentlatch sməyáw 'beaver'. The form must go back to Proto-Salish as something like *smγáw; what the meaning would have been is unclear, given this very odd range of meanings. There is a better candidate for both 'coyote' and 'beaver' in Proto-Salish, so this could either have been 'lynx' (if this animal was in Proto-Salishan territory) or merely 'smallish animal'. The Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead form (although Thomason glosses the Flathead form as 'bobcat') is complex; presumably the s and n are prefixes, although the rest of the form is unidentified. Since this form occurs in only one language, it contributes nothing to reconstruction. The final set is the one which occurs in Columbian, Colville, and (according to Boas 1925) Spokane. If this is indeed Salish, and not a folk etymology of a borrowing, it can be analyzed as meaning "hairy feet". This would recognize one of the two most distinctive features of the lynx, the other being the tufted ears (which is the feature recognized in Lillooet and Squamish).

Table 2 shows words for 'lynx' in neighboring non-Salishan languages. The Northwest Tygh, and Warm Springs Sahaptin dialect forms (all from Hunn 1979), if not attributable to Proto-Sahaptian, may well be borrowed from Salishan languages to the north, but without their 'foot' suffix. The Columbia River Sahaptin form does not quite match, although it could nevertheless have the same origin. Also belonging to this set is the Cayuse form glossed by Henshaw (1888; taken from Rigsby 1969) as 'cougar, wildcat' (see Table 4). The Rock Creek Sahaptin and Nez Perce forms for 'lynx' correspond to words for 'bobcat' in other dialects.

2. *Lynx rufus*. Although the bobcat occurs throughout our area in the northwestern U.S., there is some inconsistency about its occurrence in B.C. Burt (1961:55) shows it extending only a short distance into B.C. in the Cascade Mountains and the interior, Banfield (1974:353), Cowan and Guiguet (1978:337), and Hall (1981:1053) all show it up to Bute Inlet on the B.C. coast, and in the interior well north of Prince George, and thus in Carrier territory. It does not (and did not) occur on Vancouver Island. In spite of this attested range, I find no record of native names for the bobcat in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, or Sliammon (among the Salish), Kutenai, or any Athabaskan language.

Cognates for a Salishan word for 'bobcat' occur in all the languages south of Colville and Lushootseed, hence in Interior Salish, Central Salish, Tsamosan, and Tillamook (see Table 3). This form can be reconstructed as *p'ək'ém, with all developments regular except the change to final n in Spokane and Coeur d'Alene (and perhaps some of the stress shifts). This form was borrowed into several dialects of Sahaptin (see Table 4), and even modified in the Rock Creek dialect to a form meaning 'lynx' (i.e., "bobcat-like"). The Squamish form is also probably derived from this same source, although the l is unexplained, possibly analogical; Kuipers notes that Louis Miranda was uncertain about the form (1969:56).

The Sechelt form is borrowed from Wakashan words meaning 'lynx' (see Table 2). The Nanaimo Halkomelem, Nooksack, and Lummi forms glossed as 'lynx' (all from Boas 1925) are (were) probably much the same as the Chilliwack Halkomelem 'bobcat' form from Galloway (1980:63). Given this distribution it is a local development, although I can offer no analysis. The Clallam form from Gibbs (1863:14), also glossed 'lynx' (but given the correct Latin name) is isolated, and I can do nothing further with it. The third Lower Chehalis form is probably mis-glossed, although I do not know what it should be.

The final set of Salish forms are among the most interesting. These are the ones occurring in Tsamosan: the second Lower Chehalis form (given by Boas 1925 as 'lynx') and the alternate Upper Chehalis form. The Lower Chehalis form must be from a northern dialect of that language where a w might have shifted to a voiced stop, as in neighboring Quinault. It is not possible to tell if the a in this form is merely a glide from the uvular fricative to the following j or if there was actually a vowel there; both would be satisfactory readings. I have never considered the Upper Chehalis form analyzable, but the glottal stop could be the marker of 'diminutive' (causing lowering of the u), and this final -us could be the lexical suffix for 'face, eye'. That, however, is speculation. Now, Mike Nichols has called to my attention that the Comparative Salishan Vocabularies of Boas (1925) list two forms that resemble these Tsamosan forms: Pentlatch xá'iuas and Comox xau'gas, both given for 'grizzly bear' (he also gives a similar form for Sechelt; Ron Beaumont specifically denies this form, and it is probably a case of a misfiled slip--other such misfilings are known in Boas' materials). Larry Thompson also recorded Sliammon as having xáwgas for 'grizzly bear', and the Pentlatch form can be retranscribed as xáywas. The Pentlatch form in particular resembles the Tsamosan forms--in fact is a perfect match if the Upper Chehalis form is indeed diminutive and the second vowel of Pentlatch is actually a schwa. The Comox form does not match as well, but is clearly related (at least to the Pentlatch form). In Comox, w regularly changes to g^o and y to j, so the correspondence here is odd--where does the w come from? The fact that the g is palatalized rather than labialized may be the answer. The serious problem in this "correspondence", however is not in the forms, but in the meanings. Could the Tsamosan forms be an old Salishan etymon that changed by diminutivization from 'grizzly bear' to 'bobcat'? If these similarities do constitute a proper correspondence, they suggest a Proto-Salish *xaywús. One final note: Bob Levine tells me that the

Haida form for 'grizzly' is $x\acute{u}ʔa\check{j}i$, and that this probably derives from $*x\acute{u}ʔas-i$.

Outside Salish in the Northwest no forms for 'bobcat' are available to me from Athabaskan languages or Kutenai. The Makah form (see Table 4) is a recent coinage based on the reduplicated form of a loan ($p\acute{i} \cdot \check{s}-$), although Makah territory is regularly shown on maps as within the range of the bobcat. I cannot explain the Nez Perce form; I have no idea what is intended by Aoki's gloss 'civet cat'; it is probably not really 'bobcat'. The Nez Perce form for 'lynx' is obviously cognate with the Umatilla, Wanapum, and Palouse (Sahaptin dialects) forms. The three Chinookan forms are cognate, even though the Kathlamet and Lower Chinook forms are glossed as 'lynx' (these languages were spoken outside of that animal's range). I have also listed in Table 4 forms from Alsea, Siuslaw, Kalapuyan, and Takelma which look as though they share some common ancestry.

3. *Felis concolor*. The cougar had the widest range in the Northwest of any of the native cats. It occurred throughout Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and western Montana (except possibly in some of the more desert-like areas), and in British Columbia both in the interior and on the coast as far north as Tsimshian areas. A distinct subspecies (*F.c. vancouverensis*) occurs on Vancouver Island, and is the only native cat there.

There is more variety in words for 'cougar' than there is for 'bobcat'. Some of the alignments within Salish are irregular, however, and preclude the reconstruction of a Proto-Salishan word for 'cougar'. The data suggest that there was one, although it would appear to have been subjected to various sorts of onomatopoeic and analogical reformation. The original form was also completely replaced in several areas; I will discuss these first (see Table 5).

Bella Coola and Tillamook each has a word for 'cougar' that appears unanalyzable and isolated. The Pentlatch and Sechelt words are derived from a root $k^{\circ}\acute{a}q^{\circ}$ that occurs in Comox (Timmers 1978a:26) and Sechelt (Timmers 1977:33 and 1978b:31) meaning 'scream' and in Squamish (Kuipers 1969:77) meaning 'bellow'. This designation of the cougar therefore means something like "screamer". The form found in Halkomelem could have originated either there or in Straits (perhaps the former, since it is not attested for mainland Straits dialects), and means "long-tail". The other Straits form, attested for Saanich and Samish, as well as Clallam, is also complex; however, its analysis is not clear to me. This is also the case for the Twana form, which Boas also recorded as occurring in Clallam; the velar ejective is not usual for either of these languages, although the form looks Salish.

Moving to the interior, the Spokane-Flathead form is a compound, the first half of which means 'big'. The second half was seen earlier under 'lynx': these dialects did not shift the meaning of this morpheme to 'coyote' (like Coeur d'Alene and Columbian), but retain its feline (?) reference in this compound for 'cougar'--"big lynx". The Thompson-Shuswap word for 'cougar' is cognate with that in Sliammon, where the \underline{s} prefix is lost and the stressed vowel is reduced (alternatively it could have been rounded in Thompson and Shuswap between labials). The discontinuity of these cognates is interesting, and suggests some antiquity for this etymon. On the other hand, its continuity is broken only by Lillooet, which may well have the same form, but confused with the more general Salishan word for 'cougar'; only the first \underline{w} differs from the Thompson-Shuswap form. All the remaining Salishan words for 'cougar' may be somehow cognate, but do not yield to reconstruction. The \underline{i} 's of Comox and Sechelt, the \underline{u} 's of Lillooet and Squamish, and the schwas of Chilliwack, Straits, and Lushootseed contrast with the \underline{a} 's found everywhere else; only Chilliwack, Lummi, and Songish prefix $\check{s}x^{\circ}$ - (or sx° -); Columbian and Colville have pharyngeals for one of the consonants (although not in the same place); Colville and Coeur d'Alene lack reduplication; and glottalization varies greatly. Presumably, as noted earlier, onomatopoeia has played a role in the shaping of these words for 'cougar'.

There is just as much lack of uniformity outside Salish (see Table 6). Just as the Makah word for 'bobcat' is a derivative based on a loanword, so is the Coast Tsimshian word for 'cougar'. Dunn translates this form as meaning literally "forest cat"; the first part, $\underline{d}u \cdot s$, is the word for 'housecat', and is from a European language via Tlingit. Jay Powell (p.c.) reports an analogous form for Gitksan, namely $\underline{d}u \cdot sm \ sba\acute{g}at\acute{g}an$ 'cat of the wild woods', although it was identified as a bobcat; he also recorded $\underline{g}i \ l\acute{e}x$ 'bobcat', meaning "from on high". Neither of these forms is on Table 6 because of uncertainty of their true meaning; there should be no Gitksan term for 'bobcat', an animal not occurring in their territory. The Carrier form is also interesting, since it too is a complex form, meaning literally "big cat". The \underline{bus} portion is the part that means 'cat', and may be a loan--the same loan that occurs in the Tsimshian forms from Tlingit. The Heiltsuk form may be imitative, according to Rath, and is glossed as 'big forest cat'. Three different varieties of Kwak'wala show three different words for 'cougar', and none matches the Heiltsuk word. The Kutenai word is apparently borrowed from (if not cognate with) Salish. The Palouse Sahaptin form differs significantly from the rest of Sahaptin, but is surely related, and Lower Chinook, in a striking discontinuity in both space and relationship, corresponds closely to these same Sahaptin forms. The Cayuse form, as noted earlier, looks like 'lynx' forms to its north, and may be misglossed. The only other clear connection among the 'cougar' forms in Table 6 is between the two Kalapuyan entries.

4. In conclusion, it can be seen that names for at least two cats, the bobcat and the cougar, can be traced back to Proto-Salish, although the word for cougar cannot be reconstructed. The lynx is more problematical; it is marginal to much of Salishan territory, and where it is best established--in the Lillooet-Thompson-Shuswap area--a name occurs that can be reconstructed to the proto-language, although it cannot conclusively be shown to have meant 'lynx'. The other observation to be made from these data is the importance of looking at the Northwest as a linguistic area, rather than looking only at, say, Salish for comparative-historical purposes. The interrelationship between Salish and Sahaptin is particularly strong, but there has also been borrowing between Salish and Kutenai, Salish and Wakashan, Sahaptin and Chinook, and there are various sorts of still mysterious connections among the western Oregon languages.

Kuipers (1982) reconstructs three cat names, one each for 'bobcat' and 'cougar', and one which he glosses 'feline, coyote'. For 'bobcat' he gives *p'k'əm (1982:75, item 7.1). My only disagreement is that I would add a ə between the first two consonants to account for the vowel in Tsamosan forms; an unstressed ə there requires an underlying and non-epenthetic ə.

Kuipers reconstruction of 'feline, coyote' is *s-mɣaw (?) (1982:76, item 13.3). I agree with his reconstruction of the form, but remain uneasy about the meaning. I doubt that it should include 'coyote'; it may be 'lynx', or may be something more general.

For 'cougar' Kuipers reconstructs *ʃ^o/wa? (1982:89, item 126.9). This suggests uncertainty about the initial consonant since a pharyngeal-w correspondence is not usual. I choose not to reconstruct this form at all because of the probable interference of onomatopoeia in its development, although it must certainly go back to Proto-Salish.

Hominidae

Salishan words for people present a number of rather complex but interesting problems. The words I have in mind are those usually glossed 'person', 'Indian', and 'man' (I am not considering 'people' itself, since this is ordinarily the plural of one of the other forms). Some of the languages distinguish these three concepts by using three different words, while others combine them in various ways. There are ten to twelve sets of forms involved, plus another half-dozen isolated items. It is in fact possible to reconstruct up to five forms to Proto-Salish (or much of it), which is already too many for the three semantic concepts under review. Another six forms can be reconstructed for parts of a single branch or for a small group of neighboring languages. However, it is only the forms that can be reconstructed; their specific meanings are so entangled that it may not be possible to sort them out.¹

The relevant data are given in Table 7. This table contains a great deal of information, and a few explanatory notes are necessary. Dialects, as well as languages, are listed at the left, and abbreviated again at the right. Each column represents a single set of cognates, except that columns 1 and 7 may include some non-cognate material, as will be discussed below. Blanks within an entry are of no morphological significance; I have tried to align all cognate segments within each set (except for certain prefixal or suffixal material that is extraneous to the basic form). An equals sign is used to mark the beginning of lexical suffixes, a hyphen separates other morphemes, including roots in a compound. After each citation, the letters p, i, m, w, r, or x are given in italics; these indicate the gloss(es) for that item (for which there was not room on the table without cluttering it up beyond all practicality): p = person/people, i = Indian, m = man, w = warrior, r = relative. Any other meanings are subsumed under the x as follows (given by language and column): Bella Coola 11 'mortal'; Songish 1 'human'; Songish 5 'hero'; Songish 6 'male, husband'; Samish 6 'husband' for the first and 'male' for the second; Clallam 2 'tribe'; Lillooet 8 'ghost'; Thompson 7 'distant relative'; Shuswap 7 'friend'; Shuswap 9 'soul'; Columbian 9 'dwarf' (with extra material on both ends); Kalispel 8 'husband'; Kalispel 9 'human being'; Coeur d'Alene 5 'friend'; Coeur d'Alene 8 'male'. Specific credit is not given to my sources for each form, although it should be simple enough to deduce them, and all sources are cited under References.

Forms

I will now proceed to say something about each cognate set. In general, discussion of the reconstruction of meanings will be left for later because of the special difficulties in sorting out how these have developed and changed. Two lexical suffixes are involved in five sets: *-mix^o and *-mix, and either may be augmented with *-al-. The meanings of these two suffixes was (and is) similar, but they are clearly distinct morphemes, and are attested in many derivations and correspondences.

¹I would like to thank the students in my seminar on Comparative Salish (Fall 1987), especially David Millard, for suggestions that led to the recognition of some of the correspondences discussed here.

1. The relationship between the Straits, Clallam, and Lushootseed forms for 'person, Indian' are rather obvious, although the different beginnings are not explainable. It is not clear what the function is of the $\text{ʔac-}/\text{ʔac-}$ in Clallam and Lushootseed, or why it is not present in Straits. There is not even good synchronic evidence to segment it away from the rest of the form. The Squamish form has lost even more of the first part of the word; if correctly analyzed here, all that remains of the root is ɫ and there is reason to think that even that may actually be an old suffix. The other correspondences within Central Salish are regular, probably excepting stress shifts, which are poorly understood in any case.

Set 1 becomes much more interesting when Tsamosan is brought into the picture. I had never thought there was a Tsamosan cognate for this set until I recently worked out in detail some historical and morphophonemic changes within Upper Chehalis. Having done that, the Tsamosan forms fall neatly into place, and are quite regular developments. Some of the Tsamosan forms look quite different because they are old compounds. I can give no analysis of the first element of the Quinault form. Lower Chehalis, as well as the second form given for the three Upper Chehalis dialects and Cowlitz, all begin with a piece derived from náwa- 'big, old'. The first vowel remains in Cowlitz because it is in an open syllable, but is deleted in the other languages because it is in a closed syllable (this is a regular feature of Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz); then the w between vowels becomes ɯ . The relationship between the Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms was never clear to me from Upper Chehalis evidence alone, and became evident only after recognizing the relationship of the rest of the word to the Lushootseed, Clallam, and Straits forms.

The first of the three Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms simply have s before the ɬt of the root, where the vowel loss is unexpected. Where there is a hyphen given at the end of the form, the vowel before the last consonant will be deleted when nothing further is added (this again is an example of a vowel being deleted in a closed syllable). The delabialization of a final x (which then develops to ɣ) is fairly regular in Tsamosan. Finally, an ɫ is usually lost before another consonant, particularly m . (As a result of these changes, it should be obvious that Proto-Salish -mix° and -mix have fallen together in Tsamosan.)

The third of the Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms may not belong with this set, but I suspect they do. In these it is the ɫ of the stem that is missing (it may actually be an old suffix; note that a root-final ɫ is also absent in some of the forms in set 8--it may be the same suffix). The fact that the ɫ is voiced here would then suggest that the Proto-Salish root should be *ʔil- , and the devoicing of the lateral would be due to the following ɫ . The last i is again regularly lost when the next consonant closes the syllable (and in Cowlitz stress shifts to the first vowel in this case); what is irregular is that the a remains before the ensuing consonant cluster. The function of these various affixes (the prefixed s- , the suffixed -i) is not clear, although they did serve to create forms with different meanings.

Boas 1927 gives yet another Upper Chehalis word that at first appears to belong to this set: ʔisnawíʔumš 'shamans'. The root is indeed the same, although the vowel of the suffix is wrong; in fact, a different (but related) suffix is involved, this one being connected with one of the plural suffixes (the initial ʔi- is another plural affix). I cannot account for the stressed i here, though, and this word may have undergone analogical reshaping.

2. Halkomelem replaced the word from column 1 with two words, those given in columns 2 and 3. The original meaning of the first of these is unclear, although it may have been something like the current Clallam meanings, 'relative, tribe'. Note that Halkomelem and Nooksack (where the form is probably a loan from Halkomelem) have lost the initial syllable. Since Lillooet is the only Interior Salish language with a cognate for this word, it seems probable that Lillooet borrowed it from neighboring Halkomelem, but before the initial syllable loss. This form can be reconstructed for the Clallam-Straits-Halkomelem area (possibly including Lillooet) as $\text{*ʔux}^{\circ}\text{-ál-mix}^{\circ}$.

3. The third set of forms, although only found in four languages, must have some antiquity, given their distribution--half in coastal Tsamosan and half in northern Central Salish. I reconstruct this set as *s-tíʔix° or *s-tíy'ix° , and assume that the initial m in Halkomelem is either an old prefix or analogical with something unidentified; this seems more likely than that the m was lost independently in Nooksack and Tsamosan. The second m in Cowichan is almost certainly analogical with the suffix of the first two sets of forms, and the ɛ of Musqueam may have the same origin. The original meaning is not clear, however.

4. The three forms in column 4 are a localized development, even though they occur in different branches of Salish. The meaning of the original root *ɬəw- is not clear, and none of the similar morphemes in these or neighboring languages is convincingly related. To account for the Twana form, it must be assumed that the suffixes go back to *mix , rather than the *mix° that occurred in forms in columns 1 and 2.

5. The forms in column 5 can be reconstructed as *s-túmix , with lowering of the first vowel and reduction or loss of the second being completely regular (as is loss of the s- prefix in Comox). Glottalization of the m in Coeur d'Alene

is probably secondary. Palatalized, rather than labialized, x at the end of the Nooksack form is unexpected. This would at first appear to be an old Central Salish form for 'man', but the Coeur d'Alene entry indicates that it goes back to Proto-Salish. Perhaps even then the meaning was 'man'. It was replaced, however, by the words in column 6 in Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Straits, and Clallam, with the meaning of the original word shifting to 'warrior'.

6. The words in column 6 are a localized development in the middle part of Central Salish, not reaching the three northern or the two southern languages of this branch. A Central Salish form might be reconstructed as *s-wáy'qaʔ, meaning 'man'; I know of no cognates elsewhere.

7. The forms in column 7 have the most remarkable distribution of all the words referring to people. Occurrence of nearly identical forms in Tillamook, Twana, Thompson, and Shuswap only certainly precludes any chance of borrowing, and a Proto-Salishan *s-tim'át is obvious. Shuswap has lost glottalization from the m and reduced the first vowel. The original meaning is not clear, however, since each of these four has a different meaning: 'person', 'man', 'distant relative', and 'friend'. However, the plural of the Shuswap form is s-tm-tém'ət-n; this both gives a Shuswap reflex with glottalized m and a meaning closer to the Thompson cognate, and suggests that the Proto-Salishan meaning may have been 'relative', although the first vowel is wrong. The Colville, Flathead, and Coeur d'Alene forms may not belong with this etymology, in spite of the tVm- root and the similar meaning. The root of these forms is probably from *tam-, with the wrong vowel to be cognate with the Thompson, etc. forms, and lacking the final -at. In fact, this root is more likely cognate with that in Columbian sktámq'n 'relatives' and natámtn 'child's spouse's parent'. The suffix on the Coeur d'Alene form is not the same as that on the Flathead and Colville forms given; Colville does have a form with a cognate suffix: tm=íw's 'be relatives'.

8. The forms in column 8 again show interesting distribution, occurring throughout the interior (absent only in Thompson) and in Comox-Pentlatch-Sechelt. It is conceivable that this form diffused from the interior over the mountains into Sechelt and Sliammon, and this hypothesis might be supported by the fact that it is the neighboring (northern) interior languages that lack what is probably a ɬ suffix. However, Lillooet retains this stem only in the derived form given, meaning 'ghost'. A Proto-Salishan (or possibly only Interior Salishan) reconstruction is straightforward: *s-qal(')-t=mi x°. All developments into the modern languages are normal, except for the second Shuswap form, where the vowel of the suffix is not what is expected.

It is interesting to note that the distribution of these forms is entirely complementary to those of column 1, and that the structure of the two sets of forms is similar. Both take reflexes of the ending *-mix°, and both have the possibility of a suffix -ɬ attached to the root. The forms in set 8 lack the linking suffix -al-.

9. The forms in column 9 can be reconstructed only for Interior Salish: *s-qálix°. The second vowel is variously reduced or lost; indeed, it is surprising that it is ever retained in this position when unstressed, suggesting that it may be an underlying y. The second Kalispel form suggests that this is not so; the reason for the shifted stress on this recording is also unexplained, but Vogt makes it clear that this is not the primary Kalispel version. The first part of the Thompson and Shuswap forms is also unexplained, although there seems little question about these words belonging here. The whole Columbian form involved here is ncmáʔsqíłtx°tn, meaning 'dwarf'. This is a compound, the first half of which is 'plural small objects', and the final -tn is 'implement, object'. The remainder has an extra ɬ and (most importantly) the vowel is not the expected cognate vowel for Columbian; it should be a. Since the vowel is wrong, the stem may be borrowed from neighboring Colville, and the ɬ added analogically (with set 8 forms?). Alternatively, this may be a fortuitous similarity.

A possible connection between sets 8 and 9 is also apparent, but not easily maintained. A relationship between the two would require that the final -ix° of set 9 be a suffix, although I am unaware of a Salishan suffix of this shape. Note, in this regard, however, that set 3 has a similar ending, and all these words are in the same fairly narrow semantic space.

10. The final set is the pair of forms that occurs only in Columbian and Coeur d'Alene (column 10). The two are not contiguous, but this must be a local development (with connecting forms lost in Spokane and Colville).

11. The six forms in the last column are isolated, without cognates referring to people. The second Bella Coola word might appear to align in part with the forms in column 3, with the addition of an initial consonant. However, I know of no instances of this consonant occurring as a prefix. In any case, the similarity is not significant; the Bella Coola form is cognate with words in Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt meaning 'house'; cf. Comox ʔ'ém̩s (Timmers 1978a:19), Sechelt ʔ'ém̩st̩n (Beaumont 1985:254, Timmers 1977:17), Pentlatch sʔ'ém̩st̩n (Boas 1886). The Bella Coola change from n to a is regular. No connections for the other left-over forms, however, can be made at this time.

Meanings

The probable meanings of the proto-forms for each column are difficult to determine. I take it as a working assumption that a language will have no more than three words for 'person', 'Indian', and 'man'. This is obviously not necessarily true, and it is also possible that there may be only two words to cover these meanings--the position I will adopt for Proto-Salish. This means that of the ten sets of forms, some originally meant something other than they do now. Examining the distribution of meanings leads to few obvious and certain answers; however, at least one possible scenario can be offered.

Distribution is one criterion for favoring one etymon as being older than another: if a set of forms occurs in more than one branch of the family (especially if the cognates are not from adjacent languages), it is probably older than a set that occurs entirely within one branch. For these 'people' words, only three branches are relevant, since neither Bella Coola nor Tillamook contributes to reconstructed forms (for Tillamook 'person' see below). Three sets occur within a single branch--6, 9, and 10; these are then probably innovations within the branch, probably with some other original (and no longer recoverable) meaning. Two other sets, 2 and 4, occur in two branches, but in 2 Lillooet may have borrowed the form from a neighboring Central Salish language, and in 4 there is certainly a spread from Tsamosan to Twana or the reverse; neither set is therefore likely to be very old. This leaves sets 1, 3, 5, 7, and 8. I will suggest that sets 5 and 7 originally had other meanings, reducing the ten sets to three as candidates for the original meanings of 'person', 'Indian', and 'man'.

The extreme complexity of the development of forms in set 1 suggests considerable antiquity for this etymon. On the other hand, its distribution is in complementary distribution with set 8, and I see no clear criteria for deciding which of these is the original form meaning 'person, Indian'. If the Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt form of set 8 are loans from the interior, then clearly set 1 is the older. In any case, both sets can be reconstructed as meaning 'person, Indian', thus combining two of the three meanings into one form. Both sets commonly have both meanings for the one form in the modern languages. Tsamosan, in particular, has split the meanings by creating new derivations of the same original stem. Many of the interior languages have shifted the meaning of set 8 forms to 'man', attaching the original meanings to a (single) different word, that of set 9.

At least three sets (3, 6, 9) seem to have the basic meaning 'man'; I suggest that 3 is the original for this meaning on distributional grounds. It occurs in two widely separated areas (coastal Tsamosan and HalkomelemNooksack), whereas the other two sets are confined to a contiguous area within one branch. Both may originally have had other meanings, but what it was cannot be determined. Later, set 5 forms replaced set 3 forms throughout Central Salish for the meaning 'man', and Halkomelem and Nooksack then used the form from set 3 for the meaning 'person' (see below). Later still, set 6 forms came into the middle part of Central Salish, replacing set 5 forms as 'man', and these set 5 forms took on the meaning 'warrior'. I do not mean to suggest that a form was abandoned without meaning, and then found something to attach to, but that it took on additional meaning (in this case 'man' plus 'warrior'), then a new form took over part of the meaning from the old form.

Set 9 is problematic, although I suggest here that it also originally meant 'man'. The problem is that my scenario suggests an *exchange* of meanings between sets 8 and 9 for some languages, although that is clearly unlikely. Note, however, that Thompson, Shuswap, and Columbian use the set 9 form to derive something else, and only Colville, Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, and Coeur d'Alene give it the meaning 'person, Indian'.

Set 2 forms replaced set 1 forms in Halkomelem, Nooksack, Songish, and Clallam, and then spread further to Lillooet (with only the meaning 'person'). Halkomelem, Nooksack, and Songish then narrowed the meaning to 'Indian' alone, using set 3 forms for 'person'. The original meaning of the set 2 proto-form is uncertain.

Sets 4 and 10 are very local replacements of sets 1 and 8. Twana replaced the whole meaning of set 1, while Quinault and Lower Chehalis used the new form only for 'Indian'. In the interior, Columbian and Coeur d'Alene share a new form for 'Indian, person'.

Although the original meaning of several forms is unclear (both of analyzable forms like 2 and 4 or unanalyzable stems like 6, 9, and 10), meanings can be suggested for the proto-form of sets 5 and 7. Since the meaning 'man' in 5 appears to be a replacement for an even older word for 'man', perhaps the Coeur d'Alene meaning 'friend' is a retention of the original meaning. Similarly, the Twana and Tillamook forms in set 7 must have replaced earlier forms for, respectively, 'man' and 'person', so the Thompson and Shuswap meanings 'relative' may well be old.

All these suggestions of original meanings and semantic shifts are clearly highly speculative. They are offered here merely as suggestions; further information may help to refine them.

Reconstructions

I have given reconstructions for forms as I went along, and will not repeat them here. It remains to point out that Kuipers (1982) reconstructs only two of the ten sets of forms discussed here--or three, since he combines my sets 8 and 9. For my set 5, he reconstructs *s-təw-mix 'man, friend' (Kuipers 1982:77, item 22.2). The reason for əw rather than u is unclear, since none of the present-day forms have this; it may be to provide a reasonable CVC root so that -mix could be considered the familiar suffix. I assume, on the contrary, that the correct reconstruction is *s-túmix, and that rather than dividing the stem, it may be that a form such as this is the *origin* of the lexical suffix -mix. This line of reasoning follows the proposals of Egesdal (1981) that lexical suffixes originated as truncations of old stems.

Kuipers also reconstructs *qal-mix^o 'person' (1982:86, item 94.3). To support this reconstruction, he cites the forms from my set 8 from Comox, Sechelt, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and the Kalispel form from my set 9. I discussed the possibility above of a connection between these two sets, but prefer to keep them apart because there is too much unaccounted for if they are combined.

Certainly my various reconstructions do not have the same time depth; some indeed are limited to a single branch of Salish, or even to a restricted area within a branch (or, in the case of set 4, across a branch boundary). This small lexical domain of 'people' words provides an interesting set of forms with a variety of interrelationships, and shows how semantic change can make semantic reconstruction very difficult when the meanings are closely related. One must assume semantic mergers and splits, shifts of meaning and lexical innovation. As is so often the case with reconstructions--both phonological and semantic--our conclusions must remain tentative, awaiting improvement with the addition of new information and discoveries.

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Bella Coola (Sliammon) Sechelt Squamish Chilliwack Hl					walasya (HFN), q'ō't'sik· (FB)
Quinault					múlik (RCB, JT)
Lillooet					?úcani (AHK)
Fountain Lillooet	səmyéw' (JvE)			čó·wq ^w əle (BG)	sc'éyk (BG)
Thompson	s myéw' (LCT)			θú· k ^w èle (JGH)	
Shuswap	s myéw' (AHK)				š ^u ?úms ^u ?um (JAG)
Columbian		wép ^w əp x n (MDK)			
Colville		wáp ^w p x n (AM)			
Spokane		u pu psxín (FB)	s nq cú† (BFC)	cú q ^w ene? (JvE)	
Kalispel			sənqəcú (HV)		
Flathead (Coeur d'Alene)			sənq cú (SGT) 'bobcat'		

Notes: The last column contains non-cognate, residual forms.
 Languages for which no form is reported, but where one might be expected, are parenthesized.
 Spaces are left within words only to align cognate sounds.
 Old spellings are left unchanged; recent transcriptions are normalized.
 Parenthesized initials represent sources given under References.

TABLE 1. Lynx (Salish)

Tlingit (Coast Tsimshian) Nass-Gitksan (Haisla) Heiltsuk Kwak'wala	ʔwá lasya (HFN) ʔwá·lasxæ (HFN) wá lasxεʔ (DMG)		gàq (N&S) wé·x (H&R)
(Babine) Carrier (Chilcotin) (Kutenai) Nez Perce Rock Creek Sahaptin Northwest Sahaptin Tygh Sahaptin Warm Springs Sahaptin Columbia River Sahaptin Cayuse (Kiksht) (Molala)		ʔú pʔu p (EH) ʔu pʔú p (EH) ʔú·pʔu·p (EH) xú pxu p (EH) hú-p u p (HWH) 'wildcat, cougar'	wasɪ (FA) qəhæp (AP) pč'mwá·kuʔ (EH)

TABLE 2. Lynx (Non-Salish)

157

(Sliammon)				wálaksya (RCB)
Sechelt				wálaks (JT)
Squamish	sp' láč' m (AHK)			
Nanaimo Hl			sq ts'ā'mVs (FB) 'lynx'	
(Musqueam Hl)				
Chilliwack Hl			sqə c'ó məs (BG)	
Nooksack			kəts ā'mus (FB) 'lynx'	
Lummi			.skots ā'mas (FB) 'lynx'	
Clallam				tsát-sats (GG) 'lynx'
N Lushootseed	p' éč'əb (TH)			
S Lushootseed	p' č'əb (TH)			
Twana	p' č'əb (NT)			
Tillamook	h č'əw' (LCT)			
Quinault	sp' éč əm (RM)			
Lower Chehalis	p' əč'ém' (MDK)	xaygō's (FB) 'lynx'		pk'él'əc' (MDK)
Satsop	p' ač'ém (MDK)			
Upper Chehalis	p' ač'ém (MDK)	x iwó's (MDK)		
Cowlitz	p' éč' m (MDK)			
(Lillooet)				
(Thompson)				
(Shuswap)				
Columbian	p' ék' m (MDK)			
Colville	p k'ám (RB)			
Spokane	p' íč n' (BFC)			
(Kalispel)				
(Flathead)				
Coeur d'Alene	p' éč' n' (LGN) 'bobcat, lynx'			

TABLE 3. Bobcat (Salish)

158

Makah					pipi·šk'uk'w (AMR)
Quileute					daʔí·daʔat (JVP)
(Chemakum)					
(Babine)					
(Carrier)					
(Chilcotin)					
(Kutenai)					
Nez Perce		qæhæp (AP) 'lynx'			k'aʔlí·ctiʔmay' (HA)
Umatilla Sah	p č'ím (EH)	qá ·p (MJ,EH)			'civet cat'
Wanapum Sah		qá ·p (MJ,EH)			
Palouse Sah		qé ·p (EH)			
NW, ColR Sah	p č' m (EH)				
NW, NE, ColR Sah	pič'im (MJ,EH)				
Yakima Sah	pič' m (EH)				
(Cayuse)					
Kiksht			i p kwá (ES)		
Kathlamet			i-pukua (DH) 'lynx'		
Lower Chinook			-puk (FB) 'lynx'		
(Kwalhioqua)					
Alsea				y a q u (LJF)	
Siuslaw				hī' q w (LJF)	
Tualatin				aník w (MJ)	
				yē' k wa' (LJF)	
(Santiam)					
Takelma				y ã khw (ES)	
Molala					ṭáwint (ESC)

TABLE 4. Bobcat (Non-Salish)

Bella Coola

Sliammon

mégə (LCT)

Comox

g íy?g iy? (JT)

Pentlatch

Sechelt

s w ē' w i (FB)

Squamish

ns w ú ?w u (AHK)

Cowichan

x^wλ'éqtənəc (E&S)

Musqueam

x^wλ'éqtənəc (E&S)

Chilliwack

šx^wəw é w ə (BG)

x^wλ'éqtələc (E&S)

šx^w é w ə (BG)

s w é w ə (BG)

Nooksack

s w a ?w a (LCT)

Saanich

x^wλ'éqt nəč (TRM)

(Sooke)

Songish

sx ǝ' u a (FB)

x^wλ'éqt nəč (MRM)

Samish

λ'éqt nəč (BG)

Lummi

sx^w é w ə ? (LCT)

Clallam

N Lushootseed

s w ə w á ? (TH)

S Lushootseed

s w é w ə ? (TH)

Twana

Tillamook

Quinault

g w'é ? ə (JAG)

c w á ? a (JAG)

Lower Chehalis

s w' á ?w ə ? (JPH)

Satsop

s w á ·w a (MDK)

Upper Chehalis

s w á ·w a (MDK)

s w á ?w a ? (MDK)

Cowlitz

s w á w a ? (MDK)

Lillooet

s w ú w'e (JvE)

Thompson

smúwe? (LCT)

Shuswap

smúwe? (AHK)

Columbian

s ʔ'wá w'a ? (MDK)

Colville

s w'áʔ' (AM)

Spokane

(Kalispel)

Flathead

Coeur d'Alene

s w'á ? (LGN)

Bella Coola		suk'wptus (HFN)
Sliammon		
Comox		
Pentlatch		s k'wáq'ən (FB)
Sechelt		sk'wəq'k'wəq'am (RCB, JT)
Squamish		
Cowichan		
Musqueam		
Chilliwack		
Nooksack		
Saanich	k'wəyéčən (TRM)	
(Sooke)		
Songish		
Samish	k'wəyéč n (BG)	
Lummi		
Clallam	k'wəy čən (LCT)	k owī'ts ap (FB)
N Lushootseed		
S Lushootseed		
Twana		k'əwé c'ap (NT)
Tillamook		taɬia'ciL (FB)
Quinault		
Lower Chehalis		
Satsop		
Upper Chehalis		
Cowlitz		
Lillooet		
Thompson		
Shuswap		
Columbian		
Colville		
Spokane		skwtis myéw (BFC)
(Kalispel)		
Flathead		skwtisəmyé (SGT)
Coeur d'Alene		

(Tlingit)			dù·smgʷilháwli (JAD) 'cougar, bobcat, lynx'
Coast Tsimshian [Hartley Bay, Metlakatla, Prince Rupert]			
(Nass-Gitksan)			
(Haisla)			
Heiltsuk			máuxʷmauxʷs (JCR)
Kwak'wala [Ft. Rupert]			bédi (DMG, JVP)
[Quatsino]			mám'isa (DMG, JVP)
[Kingcome Inlet]			qísqəqən (DMG)
(Nootka)			
(Nitinaht)			
Makah			háy-aed (JGS)
Quileute			widáxʷc'i? (JVP)
(Chemakum)			
(Babine)			
Carrier			busčo (FA)
(Chilcotin)			
Kutenai			swa? (LRM)
(Nez Perce)			
Sahaptin [NW, Tygh, Celilo, Wanapum]	k'wáyawí (MJ, EH)		
[Columbia River]	k'wa·wí (EH)		
[Palouse]	q'wáyamá (EH)		
Cayuse			hú-pup (HWH) 'cougar, wildcat'
Kiksht [Klackamas]			ilíwna (MJ)
(Kathlamet)			
Lower Chinook	-k'óáyawa (FB)		
Kwalhioqua [Willapa]			ni-ná-tǐ-li (ESC)
Alsea			məqalpaʔt (LJF)
Siuslaw			ɬĩčət (LJF)
Tualatin Kalapuya		anhúʔč (MJ)	
Santiam Kalapuya		hámhu š (MJ)	
Takelma			hũlkʰ (ES)
Molala			q'úyq'aws (BJR), kwe-á-wi (ESC)

TABLE 6. Cougar (Non-Salish)

162

	1	2	3	4	5
Bella Coola					
Sliammon					túməš m
Comox					túmiš m
Pentlatch					
Sechelt					s-túmiš m
Squamish	s-	t=é1 -m əx ^w pi			s-tám š w
Cowichan		x ^w é1- məx ^w i	məstíməx ^w p		s-táməš w
Musqueam		x ^w é1- məx ^w i	məstéyəx ^w p		s-táməx ^y w
Chilliwack		x ^w é1- məx ^w i	məstíyəx ^w p		
Nooksack		x ^w é1- məx ^y i	stí'ix ^w pi		
Saanich	?	əit=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pi			
Sooke	?	əit=éy -ŋ əx ^w pi			
Songish	?	əit=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pi	ʔəx ^w =é1- ŋəx ^w i		s-táməš x
Samish	?	əit=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pi			
Lummi	?	əit=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pi			s-tóməš w
Clallam	ʔəc	it=áy -ŋ əx ^w pi	ʔəx ^w =éy-əŋəx ^w rx		
N Lushootseed	ʔác	iit=al -b ix ^w pi			s-túb š m
	ʔác	iit=ə b ix ^w pi			
S Lushootseed	ʔác	iit=al -b ix ^w p			s-túb š m
Twana				íúw =al -bəš pi	
Tillamook					

163

Quinault k^wit iʔt=ál -m ix^w p
 Lower Chehalis n u- ʔt=ál'-m əš p
 Satsop s- ʔt=á -m š m
 n u- ʔt=á -m š p
 ? íl =a -m š i
 Oakville Chehalis s- ʔt=á -m iš- m
 n u- ʔt=á -m š p
 ? íl =a -m iš- i
 Tenino Chenalis s- ʔt=á -m x m
 n u- ʔt=á -m x p
 ? íl =a -m x i
 Cowlitz s íʔ = -m ix- m
 naw- íʔ = -m' x pm
 ? il = -m íx- i

stí[?]ix^w m ʔəg^w =él -mič i
 stí x^w m ʔəw '=ál'-məš i

Lillooet
 Thompson

?úx^w=el- mix^w p

Shuswap
 Columbian
 Colville
 Spokane
 Kalispel

Flathead
 Coeur d'Alene

s-túm'š x

164

6

7

8

9

10

s-w í'qa m
 s-wéy'qe m
 s-wéy'qe m
 s-w í'qə m
 s-wíyəqə m
 s-w í'qa' m

s-wáy'qe mx
 s-wéy'qə' mx
 s-wéy'qa' mx
 s-w í'qə m
 s-wéy'qa' m

s-tib'át m
 s-ti'wát p

qáy' = mix^w pi
 qáy = mix^w pi
 s-qál = mix^w pi
 s-qál = mix^w pi

?imlk m Be
 λ'msta px
 šəwáθ m Pt
 ?ewíwi i Ti

Nk
 Sa
 So
 Sg
 Sm
 Lm
 Cl
 NLd
 SLd
 Tw

									Qn
									Lo
									Ss
									OCh
									TCh
									Cz
s-ti'mét	x	s-qəl = məx ^w =ul'x ^w x			s-qéy x ^w m				Li
					s-qáy x ^w m		séytknmx pi		Th
s-tə mét	x	s-qél = əm x ^w	m	λ'u [?] -s-qáy x ^w pi					Sh
		qəl = múx ^w	pi	s-λ'l'-s-qéləx ^w x					
		s-qəl't= mǐx ^w	m	-s-qíltx ^w -x		s-kínt pi			Cm
s-tə m	ál' =is r	s-q l t= mǐx ^w	m	s-qíl x ^w pi					Cv
		s-q l t= mǐx ^w	m	s-qélix ^w pi					Sp
		s-qal t=əmǐx ^w	mx	s-qélix ^w ix					Ka
				s-qalíx ^w ix					
s-tə m	=él' is r	s-qel t=əmǐx ^w	m	s-qélix ^w pi					Fl
s-te m	=íl g ^w es r	s-qíl't= m x ^w	mx			s-čínt i			Cr