TRANSMONTANE LEXICAL BORROWING IN SALISH

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1. Background. Borrowing of lexicon from English is relatively uncommon in Salishan languages. A limited vocabulary was borrowed from Chinook Jargon, and in some areas from French, after the first fur trappers and priests arrived and when the first settlers began agricultural pursuits. This vocabulary is fairly consistent both in form and meaning across Salishan territory. Because of the great flexibility provided by lexical suffixes for creating new vocabulary, it was often easy to create new words out of old parts, rather than borrow lexicon. All this is familiar to anyone who has collected vocabulary of a Salishan language. Much less easy to detect are words borrowed between neighboring indigenous languages, especially between neighboring languages that are closely related.

In assembling and sorting many thousands of words for all the flora and fauna from as many sources as possible for all 23 Salishan languages, it has become clear that there has been, in fact, quite a lot of borrowing of vocabulary in the area. Terms for flora and fauna represent only a relatively small part of the vocabulary of any language, and in many cases are more subject to borrowing (especially if used in trade) than other parts of the vocabulary; however, such borrowings show us old interactions between different Salishan groups that might not be obvious today. We would expect some borrowing from neighboring groups who had easy access to each other, and we know that there was quite a lot of spreading of specific vocabulary items among the languages from the Strait of Georgia down to Puget Sound. We also know that the Fraser River provided a corridor for easy contact between Thompson and Chilliwack Halkomelem. At an early Salish Conference, van Eijk, et al. gave evidence of contact and vocabulary borrowing between Lillooet and Sechelt (1974), and later study has shown that Lillooet interacted in similar ways with mainland Halkomelem, Squamish, and (perhaps to a lesser extent) Sliammon.

What is less familiar is the contact between coast languages and interior languages in Washington State, particularly that between Lushootseed and Columbian. Although borrowing of terms for flora and fauna was not as intense in this area as it was further north, there are several clear cases, and others which are suggestive of wider networks of contact. I will give particular attention to these below. It is also necessary to remain aware of Sahaptin-Salishan contacts in the southern part of the state; these were, of course, greatly facilitated by the migration of Taidnapam peoples up the Tieton River in eastern Washington and down the Cowlitz River in western Washington, where they adjoined the Salishan Cowlitz.

There are good indications that the Indians knew many ways through the Cascade Mountains well before Euroamericans arrived in the area:

> "Contact between inland groups was by well-known trails. Even the Cascade Range was not a barrier; the Upper Skagit had some contact with Interior Salish such as the Chelan, while the Snoqualmie and upriver people in the Puyallup and Nisqually drainages had considerable contact with the Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas and Yakima." (Suttles and Lane 1990:488).

Residents of Washington State at the end of the 20th Century tend to think of the Cascade Mountains as being major barriers to communication across them, and only made easily surmountable by modern communication and transportation. However, they were certainly not a major barrier to the Indians who lived here in past centuries, whether they were travelling on foot, by canoe, or on horseback (Plateau Indians had horses by the middle of the eighteenth century; Hunn 1990:23). After all, these mountains were major resource areas, and the people who lived along lower river valleys hunted, fished, and gathered berries and plants in the mountains on a regular basis.

A glance at topographical maps will show that there are many rivers and creeks on either side of the Cascades which might serve as travel routes (part way by canoe or by foot), and many of these streams head near each other on opposite sides of the Cascade crest. A list of (some of) these potential routes for speakers of Salishan languages in Washington and southern British Columbia is given in Table 1.

Lillooet - Sliammon : Lillooet River - Toba River & Inlet
Lillooet - Sechelt : Lillooet River - Jervis Inlet
Lillooet - Squamish : Lillooet River - Squamish River
Lillooet - Chilliwack (& Musqueam?) Halkomelem : via Harrison Lake & Pitt River
Thompson - Chilliwack Halkomelem : via Fraser River
Thompson - Skagit : via Skagit River
Okanagan - Chilliwack : Similkameen & Tulameen Rivers - Fraser River
Okanagan - Skagit : Similkameen River - Skagit River
Southern Okanagan - Skagit : Methow & Twisp Rivers - Skagit River
Columbian - Skagit : Methow & Twisp Rivers - Skagit River
Lake Chelan - Suiattle River
Columbian - Lushootseed : Wenatchee River - Skykomish River (& Sauk River?)
Yakima River - Cedar & Green Rivers

TABLE 1. Possible Transmontane Contact Routes.

I make no claim that these are the only possible routes, or that all these routes were actually used. Trails were undoubtedly common throughout the Cascades, and need not have followed streams.

There is good ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence for this transmontane contact and migration. Archaeologists know of sites in the mountains where hunters and travellers camped, although there appears to be little published information on the subject (one providing considerable information, but for Sahaptin-Salishan contact in the southern half of the state, is Rice 1964). Present-day people know of ancestors who acquired spouses from the opposite side of the Cascades. For example, descendants of an important leader at Entiat (on the Columbia River in central Washington) named c̓əlxʷuʔsásq̓t married a woman (whose name was given to me as təmənwáy) from Skokomish. I calculate that this marriage must have taken place in the early part of the 19th century. According to Boas's field notes, the father's mother's mother of Jonas Secena, Boas's principal Upper Chehalis informant in 1927, was from the

Ellensburg area; this marriage must have taken place in the late 18th century. Such marriages are good evidence of long-standing transmontane contact.

Other such contacts are documented, but not in detail. Among the earliest records are those of visits to Nisqually House (established in 1833) by Indians from the interior, which are reported as early as 1834. The entry in the *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House* for July 25, 1834 reports that "Laahlette arrived from the Yackamaw" (Bagley 1916:68-69), and other Yakima visitors are reported for the following January, February, and March. Salishan visitors from the interior arrived on October 15, 1834: "A few Indians arrived from town and the Pisk caw house mountains they brought a few furs" (Bagley 1916:146). Even the dead of winter did not keep them away; the entry for January 18, 1835 reports: "This afternoon the Frenchman with a pis caw house Chief arrived with furs to trade" (Bagley 1916:156). This latter group would presumably have been from the Wenatchee Valley; np'sqʷáw's is the Columbian name for the Wenatchee River.

Another instance involves a group of interior Indians moving to the west side of the Cascades. Among the entries in Meany's study of Washington place names is the following:

> Sᴡᴀᴅʜᴜᴍꜱ Cʀᴇᴇᴋ, a small stream at East Twenty-fourth Street or Puyallup Avenue, Tacoma, Pierce County. The Indians who originally lived on its banks were known as *Swadhums* or "Plains-people". From them came the name. (Article by Henry Sicade, an educated Indian, in the *Tacoma News* for June 30, 1916, copy in *Names MSS*. Letter 567.) (Meany 1923:298)

No date for this movement is given, and it may have been quite late. The people involved were quite possibly Wanapums. The first part of Swadhums (taking off a Salishan *s-* prefix) corresponds exactly to Sahaptin *wana* 'water', and the last part can be seen as a loan translation of Sahaptin *-pam* 'people' as Salishan *=mš*. Sahaptin people certainly had access to the headwaters of rivers that flowed into Puget Sound, and would have had no difficulty visiting people living on salt water.

James Teit had the most to say, giving a tradition of migration of Columbian speakers to Snoqualmie country and of trade between interior and coastal groups:

> "The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoquolmie Falls. Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo´ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat." (Teit 1928:108)

This is followed by a list of eight Interior Salish names (with equivalents not in Columbian, but in Thompson, which Teit knew): Tᴇxaidek or Tᴇxai´ɴᴇk (chief), Tsᴇlᴇxkai´ɴᴇm, Cᴇlᴇkqai´n, Yo´ꜱᴇmkᴇn, Yā´xolᴇk, Siā´ɴᴇmkᴇn, Mexkᴇni´tsa, and Wᴇtskᴇla´tce.

On trade and intermarriage, Teit recognized that there was a considerable amount of contact:

> "In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. (Teit 1928:110)

> "In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi." (Teit 1928:110)

> "The Columbia and Wenatchi were the principal traders of the Salish people in the west. . . ." (Teit 1928:110)

> "Trading-parties of Wenatchi also went toward the coast by way of the Yakima, Snoqualmie, and other passes through the Cascades, where they traded with Snuqualmi, Snohomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Cowlitz. I obtained a tradition of the first horse seen by the Coast tribes. It was brought over by Wenatchi. A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people." (Teit 1928:121)

Haeberlin and Gunther (1930) also mention briefly such Wenatchee-Snoqualmie trade:

> "In summer the Indians east of the mountains came to the coast to trade and get sea food for winter use. They used three passes to cross the mountains: the Cowlitz, the Snoqualmie, and the Naches. The Klikitat used the Cowlitz, and the Wenatchee came through Snoqualmie." (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:11)

They give no further information on this contact, but do discuss Klickitat (Sahaptin) trade with the Nisqually further (1930:11-12).

For contact of coastal people with the Southern Okanagan, we have the following from an extensive study of this band made by members of a field school directed by Leslie Spier in 1930 (Spier 1938). Based on interviews with Southern Okanogan people, Velpha Walters reported that:

> "The Sinkaietk also crossed the Cascades to the coast, where they traded wild hemp for valued sea shells. Red Fox, 'the head chief of the Oakanagan nation,' who frequently conducted such trading excursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crossed the Okanogan River, followed the west bank of the Columbia River to the mouth of the Methow River, ascended the south bank a short distance and then took a course due west to the

> coast. Since acquiring the horse, the Sinkaietk have sometimes crossed the Rockies in search of buffalo." (Walters 1938:74-75)
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> "Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people. One buckskin buys sufficient to trim one dress. The shells are assorted according to size and color so that bundles are uniform, but all sizes are of equal value. The Sinkaietk drill the holes for stringing the shells after purchasing them. They are used only as decoration on garments and are never used as a medium of exchange." (Walters 1938:77)
>
> "The Chelan visited the country of the Skagit west of the Cascades. When Mary was about ten, a Chelan woman was married to a man from Puget Sound. She, a consumptive, died on the trip across the mountains. They wrapped her body in a blanket and tied it to a tree to await their return the following year. The body had dried, so that they 'had to cut her up' and bring back the remains in a box." (Walters 1938:77)

The most recent work on the subject of contact between coastal and interior Salishan peoples appears to be Collins (1974). She reports that Upper Skagit and Methow, Colville, and Columbian people from the interior knew each other well.

> "People living in the Upper Skagit villages farthest upriver traveled through one of the two passes to eastern Washington. Here they visited and intermarried with both Interior Salishan-speaking peoples like the Okanogan, Methow, and Wenatchee, and with Sahaptin-speaking peoples like the Kittitas and the Yakima. The Upper Skagit kept a canoe hidden on Lake Chelan for their use. The trip over the passes which was made in winter on snowshoes took about six weeks. A man or woman (and women took this route less frequently than men) might make this trip only once in a lifetime." (Collins 1974:13)

Collins has much more to say on the subject, although her discussion deals primarily with migration (form the interior to the coast), intermarriage, and travel back and forth. She also comments briefly on the spread of religion from the interior (both nativistic and Catholic, the latter especially when Father Eugene Chirouse transferred from the interior to the coast and used a Nespelem-Skagit man as interpreter; Collins 1974:33-36), and the adoption of Coyote as a character in mythology (1974:7). She also notes that some Thompson Indians entered Skagit territory to hunt, particularly in the winter, and that contact with them was ordinarily hostile (1974:14-15, 66, 118). She says nothing about trade between interior and coastal groups.

2. Borrowing. Borrowing is, of course, not always obvious. In the following discussion, I will distinguish borrowings that are certainly that from those that are in some way questionable. The questionable ones may actually be cognates, where a descendant form has just happened to survive in one language on one side of the mountains which is a neighbor to several languages on the other side with reflexes of the form. It is also possible that reflexes of a Proto-Salishan form may have survived in only two languages, and these could be neighbors across the mountains. In general, however, I will assume that a form found in only one language on one side of the mountains, but in several on the other, was borrowed into the single language (although certainly it could have gone the other way and spread through several languages). A few forms may even be of non-Salishan origin, and some were loaned from Salish into a non-Salishan language (a few such words in Sahaptin will be noted below).

My comparative notebooks of terms for flora and fauna contain some 157 sets[1] which may involve transmontane borrowing (plus five related terms: 'meat', 'salmon eggs', 'inner cedar bark', 'outer cedar bark', and 'sprouts'). I had earlier thought that 46 of these could be reconstructed to Proto-Salish; I now think that figure is much too high. There are also many additional similar terms found on both sides of the Cascades which can be reconstructed to Proto-Salish with a fair degree of certainty; these sets are not considered here, as borrowing does not seem to be relevant. Of the 157 sets, 12 refer to trees, 29 to berries, 16 to other plants, 39 to mammals, 18 to fish, 26 to birds, 9 to insects, two to 'rattlesnake', and one each to 'clam', 'crab/crawfish', 'frog/toad', 'salamander', and 'turtle'. Two sets of the 157 examined probably do *not* involve loans, and I now think another set involves unrelated terms. Twenty forms are unclear as to whether loans or cognacy are involved.

By far the largest number of loans occurred in the north. There are at least 58 between Lillooet and a coast language, 25 between Thompson and a coast language, and another 19 between both Lillooet and Thompson and the coast. By contrast, there are only 32 between Columbian or Okanagan and the coast. Nine forms may have been borrowed more than once, and 12 that look as if they involve borrowing have no direct geographical link. This disparity between the north and south is probably not surprising, given the difference in the kinds of access across the mountains in the two regions.

I will present the data in sections, with discussion as relevant. The simple and fairly clear loans will be given first, divided according to which language did the borrowing and the direction of the borrowing.[2] Second, I will list those loans which could have gone in either direction, and third those which were borrowed more than once. Fourth will be forms that appear to be loans, although the specific neighboring language source is unclear. Fifth come forms that look like loans, but a contiguous language lacks a suitable source. Finally, problematic sets will be given.

2.1. Unproblematic loans.

2.1.1. A Coast language into Lillooet. There are 27 forms which appear to have been borrowed by Lillooet from a neighboring coastal language: Sliammon, Sechelt, Squamish, or a mainland Halkomelem dialect.[3] Note that several of these Lillooet forms ('mule deer', 'dog', 'bald eagle', 'common loon') are not confirmed by recent elicitations (especially by van Eijk).

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[1] A version of this paper was completed earlier just as the new Lushootseed dictionary (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994) appeared. It quickly became apparent that this dictionary provided several additional examples of loans of terms for flora and fauna between Lushootseed and Interior Salishan languages, and including this new information has delayed completion of this paper. A dozen additional examples of borrowing were found; in entering these new data in my notebooks I also noted six more loans in the north.

[2] Although the geographical distribution of a plant or animal species—being more common or exclusive to one side of the mountains or the other—may suggest the direction of a loan, I have not usually taken it into account here. I make no attempt here to analyze forms (except to indicate some morpheme divisions—often as given in source material). Only names of plants and animals are included; certainly many of the roots and affixes involved have cognates elsewhere, but I am concerned only with whole words. I also omit from consideration most instances of transfer of meaning to or from other entities (such as Sechelt 'woodpecker' and Lillooet 'beak, bill' cited by van Eijk, et al. 1974).

(1) **bobcat**: Na sqts'ā´mVs CV,FB '??lynx'; Ms skūtsçā´mis CH-T; Ck sqəc'áməs, sqc'àmə̀s BDG, sqəc'á·məs JGH, s'k'tsā´mES CH-T; Lm .skotsā´mas FB,CV 'lynx', sklchá-mŭs ESC, sk*u*ts-a´m*u*s GG; Cl kchų́ng-ŭs ESC; Nk kEtsā´mus FB,CV 'lynx', sktsá-mos ESC ‖ Li q'c'ạms JVE, s'kutzā́mic CH-T. Presumably borrowed into Lillooet from Musqueam-Chilliwack Halkomelem. The *m* in Lummi and the *á* in Lummi and Nooksack suggest that those languages also borrowed this word from Halkomelem.

(2) **mule deer**: **PCS *s-qíwac**: Sl s-qígəθ TH, qígəθ LCT, qigəθ JHD, qíw TH (myth name); Cx qígas JT,TH, qegʸas HRH, qē´gaç CV, qḗⁱgʸas ES, k·ē´gaç FB-R, skei-ga WFT; Na SQUQUWETH ARL 'rabbit'; Cw s-qəqəwéθ TH,TK 'rabbit', sqəqəwɛ́θ E&S 'rabbit', ska-wăs ESC 'rabbit'; Ms s-qəqəwɛ́θ E&S 'rabbit', sku´kauwes CH-T 'rabbit', skul-a-wās WFT 'rabbit'; Ck s-qiqəwéc TH 'rabbit', sqiqəwéθ MDK, sqíqəwèθ DBG, sqəwéθ BDG, sqiqəwɛ́c E&S, sqí·qəwèθ JGH, skEkūwä´ts CH-T - *all* 'rabbit'; Sa s-qəqəwéθ TH 'rabbit', sqəqəweθ TRM 'rabbit'; Sg s-qəqəwís YAR 'rabbit', sqʌqʌwés MRM 'rabbit'; Lm ské-ka-was GG 'hare'; Cl s-qiqəwəc TH,MSF 'flea'; Nk s-qəwǽ·θ, sk'əwǽ·θ, sḳəwɛ́·θ PTA, skqăts ESC, .skêkowê´s CV - *all* 'rabbit'; NLd s-qígʷəc BHH,TH, sqégʷəc PTA, ské-gwŭts ESC-Sno, .skei´gwEds CV-Sno, ski-gwatz WFT-Sno, .skekowā´ts CV-Sno 'grasshopper'; SLd skégʷc WAS, skégʷc HT-Snq 'black-tailed d. (*Odocoileus hemionus columbianus*)', skékəwats HT-Snq 'Pacific jumping mouse (*Zapus trinotatus trinotatus*)', ské-gwŭts ESC-Nis, sqe´ⁱgwEts CV-Nis, ske´-gwuts GG-Nis ‖ Li qē´wEts CV 'blacktail d.'. The immediate source of the Lillooet form is not entirely clear; it may be a fairly old borrowing. To borrow the Sliammon form, some sound changes would have to be undone; the Chilliwack form is also a possible source, although it would have to be from an unreduplicated form.

(3) **dog**: Sl č'ɛ́ʔᵊno JHD, č'Eʔənuh LCT; Cx č'aʔʌnuʔ HRH, tsiā´anō FB-R,CV, tc!é'ādọ ES, tzia-dho WFT; Pt ş̌tş̌'ī́nō FB 'Hund', ctc'ī´nō FB,FB-R,CV, tŝi´nō FB 'Hund', ctcī´Enō B&H; Se s-č'ənu RCB,JT, sč'ənnu LCT, ctcī´no CV, stcédō, stcénō CH-T, ctcī´nō FB-R; Sq s-k'ínuʔ K&B (special hunting dog) ‖ Li .ski´no CV. The form was borrowed by Lillooet from Squamish, or from Sechelt before the shift of *k'* to *č'*. Alternatively it was borrowed from Sechelt (again before the sound shift), and then reborrowed by Squamish from Lillooet; otherwise the *k'* in Squamish is difficult to account for except as some sort of unusual archaism.

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[3] In these data sets, I have generally retained original transcriptions (a few diacritics may be missing), except for converting instances of *x̌* to *x̣* and *λ* in Squamish to *ƚ*; the data source (and sometimes a dialect) is indicated by initials in small caps, although I do not identify or provide references for these sources here. Older transcriptions are included because it is not always possible to determine what the correct modern transcription of these would be (this is relevant where they are the only source of a form). Sometimes these older forms show changes that have occurred in the past hundred years (or less), or give forms that have been lost or are otherwise missing from modern records available to me. In some cases, I give a proto-form (in boldface) for a branch of the family; these are my own reconstructions. Commas divide different transcriptions of a form in a single language, semicolons divide languages, and two vertical bars divide branches. Capitalization of a gloss for a specific language indicates that the form is used only as a name of a character in myths. Language names are underlined and abbreviated as follows: Be Bella Coola; Ck Chilliwack (Halkomelem); Cl Clallam; Cm Columbian; Cr Coeur d'Alene; Cv Colville (Okanagan); Cw Cowichan (Halkomelem); Cx Comox; Cz Cowlitz; ESh Eastern Shuswap; Fl Flathead (Kalispel); Ka Kalispel; Li Lillooet; Lm Lummi (Straits); Lo Lower Chehalis; Me Methow (Okanagan); Ms Musqueam (Halkomelem); Na Nanaimo (Halkomelem); Nk Nooksack; NLd Northern Lushootseed; OCh Oakville Chehalis (Upper Chehalis); Ok Okanagan; PCS Proto-Central Salish; PIS Proto-Interior Salish; PS Proto-Salish; Pt Pentlatch; PTS Proto-Tsamosan; Qn Quinault; Sa Saanich (Straits); Se Sechelt; Sg Songish (Straits); Si Siletz (Tillamook); Sl Sliammon (Comox); SLd Southern Lushootseed; Sm Samish (Straits); So Sooke (Straits); Sp Spokane (Kalispel); Sq Squamish; Ss Satsop (Upper Chehalis); TCh Tenino Chehalis (Upper Chehalis); Th Thompson; Ti Tillamook; Tw Twana; WSh Western Shuswap. Parenthesized Pentlatch forms are my interpretation of Boas's transcriptions.

(4) **porpoise**: **PS ?*kʷúʔnəƭ'**: Be kʷult HFN ‖ **PCS *kʷúʔnəƭ'**: Sl kʷúʔnuƭ' B&K; Cx kʷúʔnuƭ' JT, kʷoʔʌnoƭ' HRH, k!ṓᵒdōt!ᵒ ES, qō´nut CV; Se kʷúnuƭ' JT, kwō´dōtc CV/CH-T, kwṓdōt', kwṓnōt' CH-T; Sq kʷúnuƭ' AHK,K&B (*Phocoena vomerina*), k'ō´nut CV; Na QW'AANT ARL 'dolphin', k'oā´nt CV; Cw kʷ*aan*ƭ' TEH 'dolphin', qʷá·nt TK, qant ESC; Sa kʷanəƭ' TRM 'p., blackfish', kʷənkʷənəƭ' TRM 'dolphin', kʷánəƭ' TT&E; So kʷónəƭ' TT&E; Sg kʷánəƭ' TT&E, kwā´nEt CV/CH-T-LK, kwā́nEt CH-T-LK; Lm kʷónƭ' LCT,TT&E, kʷá·nƭ' MJ, kwá-nat GG; Sm kʷán(ə)ƭ' BDG; Cl kʷánəƭ' LCT, kʷán(ə)ƭ' TT&E; Nk k'ó·nƭ', k'óʔonƭ' PTA ‖ Li qʷənúƛ' LS 'dolphin'. Sechelt or Squamish is the most likely source of the Lillooet form, although the stress difference is unexplained.

(5) **sasquatch**: Ms sésq'əc MDK, sɛ́sq'ɛc E&S; Ck sésq'ec BDG, sɛ́·sq'əc DBG, sǽ·sk'əc PTA, sɛ́·sq'ɛc E&S; Nk sǽ·sk'ic PTA ‖ Li sásq'əc, sésq'əc JVE. This could have gone in either direction, although it is more likely a fairly recent loan from Halkomelem into Lillooet.

(6) **whale**: **PS *qʷənís**: **PCS *qʷənís**: Sl qʷənis B&K, qʷənəs JHD; Cx qʷənis JT, qʷʌ́nɛs HRH, qwʌ́dī́s ES 'humpbacked w.', qoni´s CV; Pt qōṇē´is FB 'Wal' (qʷənís), ḵōnē´is, kōṇē´is FB, sqonis HH, qōnē´is CV; Se qʷənis RCB,JT, sqonis CV/FB/CH-T, kwEnīs CH-T; Sq qʷənís K&B, qʷanís AHK, qonē´is CV/CH-T, kwinī´s CH-T; Na qʷənəs ES/FB, QWUNUS ARL, qoni´s CV; Cw qʷənəs TEH,E&S,ARL,TK, qŭn-nŭs ESC; Ms qʷənəs E&S; Ck qʷəl·əs BDG,E&S, qʷəl·əs BDG, qʷələs JGH; Sa qʷənəs TRM; Sg qʷʌ́nʌs MRM 'killer w.', kʷénəs YAR, qo´nis CV/CH-T-LK, qu´nis CV-B-LK 'porpoise', kwEnis CH-T, kwan-īs WFT; Lm qʷənəs MJ, qŭnns ESC, kwô´nEs CV; Sm qʷənə́s BDG; Nk qʷənəs PTA,BSE, qʷ´ɪnəs PTA; NLd qʷədís BHH-Sno,TH, qŭ-dís ESC-Sno, kwonī´s CV-Sno, kwad-īs WFT-Sno; SLd qʷədis BHH-Suq,TH, qʷ´des WAS, qŭ-dīs ESC-Nis, kwa´dis CV-Nis ‖ Ti qʊni´s MME, qʌni´s LF, qani´s CV, kani´s FB-Ti,Neh, tkanis FB; Si qani´s CV, kāni´s FB ‖ Li qʷən'ís, qʷn'is JVE, qʷəníʃ LS. The stress pattern makes Squamish the best source for the Lillooet form, although unexplained is the addition of glottalization of the *n*.

(7) **coho salmon**: **PS *cáw'in**: Cx səʔən JT, sʌʔʌn HRH, sá'an' ES; Sq cáwʔin AHK, cáw'in K&B, tsā´win CH-T,CV/CH-T; Na θéʔwən DBG; Cw θéʔwən TEH,DBG,MDK,TK, séʔwən, ceʔwən DBG, θɛ́ʔwən E&S; Sa θew'ən TRM; Sm séw'ən BDG (*prob.* Sa) ‖ **PTS *cáwən**: Qn s-cə́gʷət MDK,JAG 'silver s.', ts'ə́gwət RHM, 'tsu´qᵘᵗ CV; OCh sáw=anxʷ MDK 'red s.'; TCh saw anxᵘ, sa wanxᵘ, Sawanxᵘ, tsawanxᵘ TA-mh 'red s.', sa wanxᵘ TA-h 'red s.', sawanxu TA-h 'silverside', sa´wanx̣ᵘ TA-mh,ph, sa´wanux CV 'silver s.'; Cz sálwaxʷ MDK 'spring s.', sá·lwɑnʊxw̥ JPH 'silverside', sa´luwox CV, sal-a-wah GG, Sal-a-wah UW, sál-o-wéh'hu GG 'fall s.', sál-o-weh-hu FR 'fall s.' ‖ Li cáʔwin, céʔwin JVE-MIC, ʔtʃǽʔwin LS, tʃǽʔwɩn LS 'silver s.', tcä´win CV/CH-T, tcäwin CH-T. Squamish is the only immediately available source for the Lillooet form, and the fit is perfect; it could also conceivably be a retention from Proto-Salish.

(8) **spring salmon**: **PCS *yúmač**: Pt yō´mētc FB-F (?) 'hooknose s.' (yúmič); Se yúmač JT, yō´mutc CV/CH-T, yṓmutc CH-T; Ck yú·mæč PTA; Lm yóməč LCT,DM, yô´mEtc CV, yó-mutsh GG (*Salmo quinnat*); Sm yáməč BDG; Nk yúməč, yúmeč LCT-A, yú·mæč PTA, yū´matc CV; NLd yúbəč BHH,TH;LCT-Sno, yúbač PTA;LCT-Sk, yū´betc CV-Sno,Sk; SLd yóbač HT-Snq, yóbač WAS ‖ Li zúmak, zúmek JVE 'tyee s., zúmak K&B, large spring s.', zúmæk LS. The Lillooet form is most likely to be from Sechelt, although it is either old enough to predate the shift of *k* to *č*, or the borrowers recognized the sound shift and undid it. The Chilliwack Halkomelem form with *ú* must be a recent borrowing from either Nooksack or Lillooet.

(9) **spring salmon**: Sq s-c'úqʷiʔ AHK,K&B 'fish (gen.)', sō´kōē, ōtsō´k·ōi CH-T 'fish'; Na SZ'AQW'I ARL, stâqoi CV, ts'ā´k·oē FB-R 'salmon'; Cw s-ƭ'ᶿáqʷɛyʔ E&S, sƭ'ᶿáqʷiʔ, ƭ'ᶿáqʷi TEH, s-ƭ'ᶿáʔqʷiʔ DBG, s-ƭ'ᶿáqʷiʔ MDK, sƭ'ᶿáqʷeyʔ TK, suk-u´ï CWW 'salmon'; Ms s-ƭ'ᶿáqʷɛyʔ E&S,DBG, s-ƭ'ᶿáqʷiʔ DBG, sts'a´quyē CV 'salmon (gen.)', tsā´qōai CH-T 'fish', sa-kwi WFT 'salmon'; Ck s-ƭ'ᶿá·qʷi DBG 'salmon (gen.)', sƭ'ᶿáqʷi, sθáqʷi BDG 'fish',

is-ku´ı-ia CWW ‘salmon’; Sa s-t̓ᶿaqʷiʔ TRM; Lm s-c̓áqʷiʔ MJ; Sm s-c̓áqʷiʔ, s-t̓ᶿáqʷiʔ BDG (*prob.* Hl); Nk sc̓úqʷəy̓ LCT ‘salmon’, t̓ᶿókʷæy PTA ‘salmon’ ‖ Li (s-)c̓úqʷaz̓ JVE ‘salmon (gen.)’, sc̓óqʷez̓ JVE ‘fish’, šc̓óqʷaz̓ LCT, ts̓úqʷaz LS ‘fish’, stzṓkwāz CH-T, stsō´qoats CV, stsō´k·oats FB-R, tsō´-kwaz WFT, tsetz´-kwaz WFT ‘fish’. The vowel in the Lillooet form suggests that this word is borrowed from Squamish, or possibly from Halkomelem before **u* changed to *a* there.

(10) **steelhead**: **PS *s-qíw̓x̣**: **PCS *s-qíw̓x̣**: Sl qíʔəwx̣ B&K, qéwʔx̣ LCT; Cx qíwʔx̣ JT, qíʔiwx̣ LCT-H, qḗ’wᴬx ES; Se s-qíwx̣ JT, sqai´ux CV/CH-T, skaíuq CH-T; Sq s-qiw̓x̣ K&B, s-qiwʔx̣ AHK, skē´ux CV/CH-T, skē´uq CH-T; Cw qewx̣ TEH; Ms qɛ́ʔwx̣ E&S, q̓ɛ́ʔwx̣ DBG, kē´ux CV/CH-T, kē´uq CH-T; Ck qɛ́wəx̣ E&S, qê·wx̣, q̓ɛ́ʔwx̣ DBG, qə́ywx̣ BDG, qéwəx̣ LCT, kē´uq CH-T; Lm qíwʔx̣ LCT,DM, qíwʔx̣ MJ, qē´ᵘx̣ CV, ké-*u*kh GG (?*Salmo truncatus*); Nk qíwəx̣ LCT, sqei´wax CV; NLd qíw̓x̣ TH-Sno, qíw̓x̌ BHH ‘s. (rainbow) trout’, qéyox̣ PTA, qē´ux̣ CV-Sno, qe´ʷox CV-Sk ‖ **PTS *s-qíw̓x̣**: Qn s-qíwʔx̣ MDK, skíwx̣ JAG, ḳéWx̣h RHM, ske´okx̣ RLO; Lo s-qíwʔx̣ MDK (x̣ʷ), sqíw̓x̣ JPH, .sqē´ux̣ CV; Ss sqíwx̣ AJ, .sqē´ux̣ CV; OCh s-qíw̓x̣ MDK, Sqe ox ts! TA-js; TCh sqe´ox TA-js,mh, sqeo x TA-h, qeox TA-mh, .sqe´oxᵘ CV ‖ Li qiw̓x̣ JVE-MtC, kiʔx LS, kai´wax CV/CH-T, kaíwaq CH-T. The lack of a prefixed *s-* on the Lillooet form suggests that it is borrowed from either Sliammon or Musqueam-Chilliwack Halkomelem.

(11) **sucker**: Ck q̓á·x̣əl JGH,BDG ‘big s.’; Nk q̓úxʷəd TH; NLd qʷ̓uxʷəd BHH ‖ Li q̓áx̣-ən̓, q̓éx̣ən̓ JVE ‘large-scale s.’. This was apparently borrowed by Lillooet from Chilliwack Halkomelem before the latter underwent various sound changes (except **u* to *a*).

(12) **trout**: Ck t̓ᶿqʷè·y, (s)t̓ᶿət̓ᶿqʷè·y BDG; Lm s-c̓qʷəy(ʔ) LCT,DM, sc̓qʷáyʔ MJ, stsqai ESC, su-kwái GG ‘brook t.’; Nk c̓kʷæyʔ PTA, sc̓ic̓qʷəy̓ LCT ‖ Li (s-)c̓əc̓qʷaz̓ JVE, sts̓éts̓k̲waz-úl K&B ‘river-resident rainbow t.’, ʃtsιtsqʷɑt LS, zitzkwāz CH-T. Borrowed by Lillooet from Chilliwack Halkomelem with a shift of stress to the first syllable. (See also **spring salmon** above.)

(13) **red-breasted merganser**: Cx x̣ʷúq̓ʷ JT ‘duck sp.’; Sq x̣ʷúuq̓ʷ K&B ‘common & red-breasted m.’, x̣ʷúhq̓ʷ AHK; Na HWAQ' ARL; Cw x̣ʷá·q̓ʷ E&S ‘sawbill’,MDK; Ms x̣ʷá·q̓ʷ E&S ‘sawbill’; Ck x̣ʷá·q̓ʷ BDG,E&S ‘sawbill’, x̣á·q̓ʷ JGH; Sa x̣ʷaʔəq̓ʷ TRM ‘sawbill duck (saltwater)’; Sg x̣áq̓ MRM ‘sawbill’; Lm kwa-ōkw GG (*Mergus Am.*); Cl xʷuʔuq̓ʷ MSF (*M. merganser*), ko-ōkw, ho-ōk̓w GG ‘goosander (*M. merganser*)’ ‖ Li x̣ʷuʔqʷ, x̣ʷoʔq̓ʷ, x̣óʔq̓ʷ JVE ‘sawbill duck’. The vowel in Lillooet suggests a borrowing from Squamish, or from Halkomelem before **ú* changed to *á* there, but before either lost the glottal stop.

(14) **bald eagle**: Sq yəx̣ʷə́laʔ AHK,K&B (immature), yixo´la CV/CH-T ‘golden e.’, yaqᴇ´la CH-T; Na YUHWULE' ARL, yi´xōla CV ‘golden e.’; Cw yə́x̣ʷəleʔ MDK,ARL, yə́x̣ʷəlaʔ TK, yə́xʷəlɛ E&S ‘e.’, yá-ḣo-lĕ ESC; Ms yə́xʷəlɛ E&S ‘e.’, yō´kx̣ila CV/CH-T ‘golden e.’, yō´kqila CH-T ‘e.’; Ck yə́x̣ʷəle BDG ‘e.’, yə́xʷəle JGH ‘e.’, yə́xʷələ E&S ‘e.’, yóxʷəlæ PTA; Lm yukh-w*u*l-la GG; Nk yóx̣ʷəlæ, yoxʷəlǽ PTA ‘e.’, yŭ-ḣo-lă-ă ESC, yoxᴇ̔lê´ CV ‘b.e., golden e.’; NLd yəx̣ʷ(ə)láʔ TH ‘e.’, yəx̌ʷəláʔ, yəx̌ʷláʔ BHH ‘e.’, yŭ-ḣu-lá ESC-Sno, yoxᴇ̔la´ CV-Sno ‘bald e., golden e.’, yoxᴇ̔la´ CV-Sk; SLd yə́x̣ʷla HT-Snq (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*), yo´xᴇla CV-Nis ‘bald e., golden e.’; Tw yəx̣ʷə́lə NT ‘e.’, yə́xʷələh GD ‘hawk’, yʌxʷʌ́lʌ WWE ‘e.’, yŭ-hwŭl-ŭ ESC, yex̣wa´la CV ‖ Li yoxᴇla´ CV/CH-T ‘golden e.’, yuqᴇlá CH-T (black). It is unclear whether this form was borrowed into Lillooet from Squamish or from mainland Halkomelem; the stress differences do not help to decide.

(15) **common loon**: Sq s-wákʷl AHK, s-wákʷəl K&B, swā´kwil CV/CH-T,CH-T; Cw s-wákʷən MDK,E&S; Ms s-wákʷən E&S ‘l.’; Ck s-wákʷəl BDG,JGH,E&S ‘l.’; Sa s-wakʷən TRM; Sg swā́kwun CH-T-Lk ‘big l.’, swā´kwun CV/CH-T-Lk ‘l.’; Lm s-wók̓ʷən LCT,DM ‘l.’, .swô´.kᴇn CV ‘l.’, swa´kw*u*n GG; Sm s-wákʷən BDG ‘l.’; Nk .swō´kwon CV ‘l.’; NLd s.wúqʷa(d) TH ‘l.’, s-wuqʷad, s-wukʷad, s-wúqʷadiʔ BHH-Sk,Sno,Suq, s-wúqʷa BHH-Sk, .swo´kwod CV-Sno,Sk ‘l.’; SLd swóqʷad HT-Snq (*Gavia immer*), swókʷad WAS ‘l.’, .s̔wō´gwad CV-Nis ‘l.’ ‖ Ti nəš(ə)-wúqʷ TTR ‘brown and gray sea-duck’, ncwoq, nEcwo´q MME ‘diver’, nᴇcwo´q CV ‘diver’, nᴇ̲cwo´k FB-LF ‘a diver’ ‖ Li .swa´kwoɬ CV ‘l.’. The *a* and the final *l* suggests that Squamish borrowed this form from Chilliwack Halkomelem, and then Lillooet could have borrowed it from either one.

(16) **robin**: Sq s-k̓ʷqaq AHK,K&B, ’skwᴇkā´k CV/CH-T,CH-T; Na SQW'QEQE ARL; Cw s-k̓ʷqéq MDK, sk̓ʷqéq E&S ‘r., varied thrush’; Ms s-k̓ʷqéq MDK, sk̓ʷqɛ́q E&S ‘r., varied thrush’, s̓kō´kāt CH-T; Ck s-k̓ʷak̓ʷqéq BDG, sqʷqǽq PTA, sk̓ʷqɛ́q E&S ‘r., varied thrush’, s̓kūkōka´x CV/CH-T, s̓kūkōka´q CH-T; Nk s-kʷok̓ʷæqéq̓ PTA, skwukᴇqê´q CV; NLd s-k̓ʷəqíq TH,BHH, s-k̓ʷì-k̓ʷqíq BHH ‘r., small r.’, .skwukē´kᵏ CV-Sk ‖ Li s-k̓ʷíqəq, sk̓ʷéqəq JVE, k̓ʷǽqəq LS, .skwê´q.q, swē´ᴇk CV/CH-T, skwḗᴇkuk, swḗᴇk· CH-T. Lillooet borrowed this form from either Squamish or mainland Halkomelem, and shifted stress.

(17) **seagull**: Ck s-lílowye BDG-Cheh, (s-)líliwyɛ(ʔ) DBG ‖ Li ḷịḷuya, lə́luye JVE, lǽlujæ LS. I assume that this is borrowed from Chilliwack Halkomelem by Lillooet because of the lack of a prefixed *s-*, and because seagulls would be more common in Halkomelem territory.

(18) **louse**: **PS *məxk̓án̓**: **PCS *maxč̓án̓**: Sl mač̓ən JHD, máʔč̓ən LCT ‘body l.’; Cx máč̓ən JT, máʔč̓ιn HRH, mā´tc̓it CV, máᵃtc!in̓ ES; Pt mị̥´ts̓in FB ‘Laus’ (mə́č̓ən), mi´tc̓in CV, metc̓in FB; Se məč̓ə́n JT, mə́č̓ən RCB, mᴇ´tcin CV/CH-T, mᴇtcín, mᴇ́tcin, me´tcin CH-T; Sq mə́čn AHK, mə́čən K&B, mĕ´tcĕn CV/CH-T; Na MUSC'UN ARL, mectsen CV; Cw mə́šc̓ənʔ E&S; Ms mɛ́xʸc̓ənʔ E&S, mitx·sᴇn CV/CH-T, mitʜsᴇn CH-T; Ck mə́xc̓əl BDG, mɛ́xʸc̓əl E&S, mi´qtsᴇl CH-T; Sa ŋəsən̓ TRM, ŋə́sənʔ TT&E; So ŋə́ssən(ʔ) TT&E, ŋə́ssn(ʔ) BSE; Sg ŋʌ́ssʌn MRM, ŋə́sən TT&E, ŋə́sənʔ LCT, ñᴇ´suñ CV/CH-T-Lk, ñᴇsuñ, ñúsᴇn CH-T-Lk; Lm ŋə́ssən TT&E,LCT,DM, ŋə́sən LCT, ŋə́sən MJ ‘grayback l.’, nî´sᴇn CV, n*us*´*sun* GG; Sm ŋə́sən̓, ŋə́sən BDG; Cl ŋə́scənʔ TT&E, ŋəscənʔ MSF, nî´stcᴇn CV; Nk mə́č̓ən, məsč̓ə́n LCT, mî´tcᴇn CV; NLd bšč̓ád TH, bšč̓ád, bəšč̓ád BHH, bəšč̓ád LCT-Sk,Sno, mîs̔tcā´.d CV-Sno,Sk; SLd bə́sč̓d WAS, bə́sčt HT-Snq, bî´stcᴇn CV-Nis, bĕskh´-chād, beskh-chād GG ‘lice’; Tw bəšč̓əd MDK ‘head l.’, bəsč̓əd NT, bəšč̓əʔd GD, mîstcê´d CV ‖ **PTS *mə́xkan̓**: Qn mə́ščəʔn, mə́ččəʔn JAG, míshchin RHM, mî´stcᴇn CV; Lo m̓ə́ščən̓ MDK ‘head l.’, mə́sčən(̓) CTS ‘head l.’, míʃtʃın̓ JPH, mî´stcᴇn CV; Ss mə́ščn̓ AJ, mî´stcin CV; OCh mə́šč(i)n̓ MDK ‘head l.’, mî´stc.t CV; TCh mî´xtcᴇn, mî´stcᴇn CV; Cz mə́xkan̓-, mə́xčn̓ MDK ‘head l.’, mî´xtcᴇn CV ‖ Ti s-wəšč̓ə́n̓, s-wəšč̓ə́n LCT ‘head l.’, wəščhə́n̓ʔ LCT, wactcə́n MJ ‘head l.’, wu´ctcʌn MME ‘head l.’, t wactcᴇ´n CV-Neh, twuctcᴇ̲´n FB-Neh ‖ Li mə́kən̓ JVE, mə́ʔqən LCT, mɷ́kιn LS, mî´ken CV, mᴇ́kin CH-T. Squamish is the source of this Lillooet form. Only a few of the northern Central Salish languages have reduced the medial consonant cluster, and only Squamish (and Samish, which is not close enough to be a potential source) has lost glottalization as well. Cognates are otherwise absent in the Interior.

(19) **alder**: **PS *kʷlúlaʔ=**: Sq kʷlúl̓=ay AHK, kʷlúlʔay B&T ‘red a. (*Alnus rubra*)’, klō´lai CH-T; Na kʷιlálaʔ=aɬp DBG,ARL; Cw kʷιlálaʔ=aɬp DBG, kʷəlálaʔəɬp T&B, kʷəlálʔ=aɬp E&S, ku-la-láhlp ESC; Sa kʷəlālʔaɬp T&B; Sg lalaʔ=ʌ́ɬp MRM, lalaʔʌ´ɬp T&B ‖ Li kʷlúlʔ-az̓, kʷlúlʔ-ez̓, kʷəlúlʔaz̓ JVE, kwᴇlṓlāz CH-T; Th kʷy̓=éɬp T&T ‘red a.’; WSh kʷleʔ=éɬp AHK (*A. incana*), kʷəkʷl=ʔɛ́ɬp, kʷlə=ʔɛ́ɬp TIC, kwle7éllp AHK[2,3], kwle7állp AHK[3], kwekwl7álhp GP (*A. incana*); ESh kʷukʷlʔéɬp B&K ‘red a. (*A. rubra*)’, kʷəkʷl=éɬp AHK, kwekwel7éllp AHK[3], kwekwel7álhp AA. This set can be reconstructed to Proto-Salish; however, the Lillooet form is nonetheless a borrowing from Squamish. This is indicated by the reduplication pattern (which is found in all the coast cognates), the vowel of the Squamish form, and the particular lexical suffix used only on the Squamish and Lillooet forms.

(20) **yellow cedar**: Na PASULUQW' ARL; Cw pášələqʷ T&B,TK,E&S; Ms páxʸəl̓əqʷ MDK, páxʸələqʷ E&S; Ck pá·xələqʷ BDG,JGH, páxʸələqʷ E&S; Sa pašələqʷ TRM; Sm pášələqʷ BDG ‖ Li páxlaqʷ, péxleqʷ, péxla(ʔ)qʷ JVE. Mainland Halkomelem must be the source of the Lillooet form.

(21) **yew**: **PS *ƛ’əmə́q’=**: **PCS *ƛ’əmə́q’=**: Sq ƛ’əmq’áy’ B&T, ƛ’mq’=áyʔ AHK; Sa ƛ’əŋ’q’=iɬč TRM, tλíŋčlɛ·č T&B; Lm tlŭn-káhlch ESC, tlɛnᵍka´ɬtc CV, tlng-kálsh GG; Sm ƛ’əŋ’q=íɬč, ƛ’əŋ’q=éɬč BDG, tɬiŋka´ɬtc EG; Cl ƛ’əŋq=ɬč MSF, kɬinka´ɬtc EG, tlŭn-káhlch ESC, kenᵍka´ɬtc CV; Tw ƛ’əbə́q’=ay MDK, ƛ’əbáq=ay NT, ƛ’bʌq(’)ay WWE, tlŭ-bŭ-kai ESC, tlabā´kai CV ‖ **PTS *ƛ’amə́q’=**: Qn ƛ’amáʔq, ƛ’amáʔəq JAG, kɬ’amák RHM, k’lam’ma’aq EG, tla-má-ak ESC; OCh ƛ’ámq’ɬ MDK, k’ɬa·´mk’ɬ EG; TCh tla´mɛɬ.k.ɬ CV, L'am&qɬ, L'am&k'ɬ TA-h; Cz tláməɬ.k.ɬ H/T, tɬ’á·má·’k’ɑn’ɬ JPH, klá-mŭkhl ESC, tla´mɛɬ.k.ɬ CV ‖ Li ƛ’əmq’=áz’, ƛ’əmq’=éz’ JVE, λ’əmq’=áz’ TIC. The only contiguous language available to Lillooet for this form is Squamish, and the fit is exact.

(22) **blackberry**: Se s-qʷəl=úma JT ‘any berry’; Sq sqʷələm’xʷ B&T, s-qʷə́l=mʔxʷ AHK, squlmx CV; Na SQW'ILMUHW ARL, sqoē´lmex̣ CV (pl.); Cw s-qʷí·lʔ=məxʷ MDK, sk’ʷéyəlməxʷ T&B, sk’ʷí·lməxʷ E&S,T&B, sqél-mŭhw ESC; Ms s-k’ʷí·l=məxʷ E&S; Ck s-qʷó·l=məxʷ, sk’ʷó·lməxʷ BDG, sk’ʷə́w·lməxʷ E&S, sqo.lmoxʷ PTA, skō´lmox CV/CH-T, skō´lmoq CH-T; Sa s-qʷəl=el=ŋəxʷ TRM, sk’ulə´rnakiɬč, kʷəlɛ´lŋaxʷ, sk’ʷəlélŋəxʷ T&B; So sk’ʷəlélŋəxʷ T&B; Sg s-qʷəl=él=ŋəxʷ YAR, sqʌléngʌxw, sk·ulñiqui´tltc, sk·ulā´Eñuq T&B, skwula´luñox CV/CH-T-Lk, skwɛlāliñuq, skwulāluñoq CH-T-Lk; Lm s-qʷəl=él=(ə)ŋəxʷ LCT, sqʷəlélŋəxʷ MJ, sko-lă-li-nuh ESC, skul-nu-whélsh GG ‘dewberry’; Sm s-kʷəl=él=ŋəxʷ BDG; Cl s-qʷiy=áy=(ə)ŋəxʷ LCT, sqʷiʔyayŋxʷ MSF, qi-yaí-ĭng-ŭh ESC; Nk s-qʷə́l=əl=mixʷ LCT, sqʷəlælmixʷ, sqʷʌlʌlmixʷ PTA; NLd s-qʷəl-áɬəd BHH-Sno ‘berry, fruit’, s-qʷəl=áɬᵊd TH ‘any berry’ ‖ Li q’ʔ=úl=m’əxʷ JVE, ʃqʷúlmɷχʷ LS, skō´lmox CV/CH-T, skṓlmoq CH-T. The *ú* in Lillooet indicates a borrowing from Chilliwack Halkomelem, although the form has undergone other modifications.

(23) **cranberry**: **PS *t’əlís**: Be s-t’ls HFN,D&S,NJT ‖ Cx t’ə́ys JT; Se t’ə́ls JT ‖ Li ƛ’əlc JVE; WSh ƛ’nis AHK (*Viburnum opulus*), t’nis AHK^2, t’nís AHK^3, tl’nis GP (*V. opulus*). The Lillooet form may be borrowed from Sechelt, although the difference in the final consonant is unexplained. The Shuswap form presents further problems as a borrowing, and all members of the set may be derived from Proto-Salish, with no borrowing involved at all.

(24) **wild rose**: Sq qalʔq AHK ‘wild rose bud’, qaľq B&T ‘r. buds, rosehips’, qálʔq=ay AHK, qáľqay B&T, qā´lqāi CV ‘r. bush’; Cw qélʔq MDK ‘rose’, qél(ʔ)qəɬp T&B, qélʔqəɬp MDK, qɛ́lq=əɬp E&S; Ms qɛ́lq=əɬp E&S; Ck qé·lq BDG, qé·lq=əɬp BDG, kǽlq PTA ‘rosehip’, kǽlk=æɬp PTA, qɛ́lqəɬp E&S, kälq CV/CH-T, kälk· CH-T; Sa qəľəq TRM ‘rosehip’, qəlq=iɬč, qəľweʔ=íɬč TRM, qəlʔqi´·ɬč T&B; Sg kúlok CH-T-Lk, ku´lok CV/CH-T ‘r.’, qɛlqē´leʟtc CV ‘r. bush’; Lm *kul*-*luk* GG ‘rosehip’, kalakē´tc EG (*Rosa nutkana*), *kul*-kél GG ‘r. bush’; Sm qə́ľəq BDG ‘rosehip’, qəľq=íɬč, qəľq=éɬč BDG; Cl qaʔyəqiɬč MSF, kai.kai´ɬtc CV ‘r. bush’; Nk qǽlq PTA ‘rosehip’, qǽlq=æy PTA, ka´lkei CV ‘r. bush’ ‖ Li qəľq JVE, qəľq=áz’ JVE, kɛ´luk CV/CH-T. Because of the choice of the lexical suffix for plant, Squamish may be a better source for the Lillooet form than Halkomelem.

(25) **salmonberry**: **PS *yətawán’**: **PCS *yətawán**: Pt yita´ṇē FB ‘Salmon Berries Bush’ (yətáni), yita´nē, itu´nt CV,FB, yitā´nē FB; Se yətwán AHK,B&K; Sq ituā´n CV, yittwā´nai CH-T; NLd dᶻətgʷád BHH-Sk (*Rubus spectabilis*), s-təgʷád BHH-Sno, dᶻətgʷád TH-Sk, s-təgʷád TH-Sno, s-jətgʷád PTA, stikwa´d EG-Sw, dzĭ-tĭ-gwád ESC-Sno; SLd s-tə́gʷəd BHH-Suq, s-təgʷád BHH, dᶻə́tgʷəd BHH, s-tə́gʷəd TH-Suq, st´gʷd WAS, stu´gwaD EG-Sx, stŭ-gwŭd ESC-Nis, sta´-gwud, stug-wud GG-Nis; Tw yitáwad NT, yətáwad GD, yɪtáwə WWE, yetā´wat CV ‘raspberry’ ‖ **PTS *yə́tawaʔ**: Lo yə́twaʔ, yə́tw’aʔ MDK,CTS ‘yellow s.’, y’ə́tw’aʔ CTS, yíttɑwɑ’, yɪttɑw’wɑ́’, yítᵅw’ɑ’, yít.wɑ’ JPH, yĭ-tu-wa-ŭ ESC; Ss yə́təwaʔ AJ; OCh yə́twaʔ MDK, yɛ´twa EG, Yĭt´-tu-wa ME; TCh yʋtwa TA-ph; Cz yə́tawaʔ MDK, yítta·wɑ’, yíttɑwwɑ’ JPH, yítwɑ’ JPH-jh, e´twan EG, yĭ-to-wŭ ESC ‖ Ti yətə́gʷən TTR, yətəgʷán=i TTR ‘s. bush’, yəthə́kʷən T&T, yɩtə̆gə̆n, yi´tɛ´gɛn, yĭ´tɛg-ɛn, yĭtu´g-n MJ, yitu´g.n, yitúgn MME, yituganai MME ‘s. bush’, yitɛ´gɛn CV, yitɛ´g-ɛn, tāite̱´ge̱n FB, yite̱´ge̱n FB-LF,FB-Ti,Neh ‖ Li twan, twen JVE, tuwǽn LS, tūwän CH-T. This is typically a coast plant. The Lillooet word is borrowed from either Sechelt or Squamish with loss of the initial *y*. Sahaptin borrowed this form early from Lushootseed, and has reshaped it into aytún (Hunn 1979).

(26) **thimbleberry**: Sl t’áqʷəm LCT; Cx t’ə́qʷəm JT, t’ā´qum CV ‘raspberry’; Pt t’ẹq’um FB ‘Preisselbeeren’ (t’ə́qʷəm), t’ĕ´q’um CV,FB, t’ĕ´k̲um, t’e´kum FB; Se (s-)t’əqʷə́m JT; Sq s-t’áqʷ-am AHK, st’áqʷəm B&T, st’ā´qum CV ‘raspberry’; Na T'UQWUM ARL; Cw t’ə́qʷumʔ MDK, t’ə´qʷəməɬp T&B, t’ə́qʷəm, t’áqʷəm TK; Ms t’qum CH-T ‘raspberry’, t’xum CV ‘raspberry’; Ck t’qʷə́m BDG; Sa t’əqʷəŋ TRM, t’ə´qum T&B; Sg t’ʌqʷʌm MRM; Lm t’ə́qʷəm LCT, *tuk*´*wum* GG ‘red raspberry’; Sm t’ə́qʷəm’ BDG, t’u´qumi´ɬtc EG; Cl t’ə́qʷəm LCT, t’əqʷəmiɬč MSF; Nk t’qʷə́m LCT, t’kʷə́m, t’kʷʌ́m PTA ‖ Li s-ƛ’áqʷəm JVE, ƛ’éqʷm=az’ JVE ‘t. bush’, ƛ’éqʷəm LCT, tlḗkäk·ⁱ CH-T; WSh stak̲w’m GP; ESh sták̲w’u AA, stak̲w’málhp AA ‘t. bush’. The glottalization of *qʷ* suggests that Lillooet borrowed this form from Squamish, since only Squamish and Pentlatch show such glottalization on the coast; Shuswap then borrowed the form from Lillooet.

(27) **devil's club**: **PS *k’əʔátəl**: Se č’ə́ʔat=ay JT; Sq č’átiyay’ B&T, č’áti=ayʔ AHK; SLd tcitca´tcɩlụ´’i EG-Suq ‖ Lo tʃ’ɑtâ·’ɑnľɑnɬ JPH ‘devil-cane’ ‖ Li k’átl-az’, k’étl=az’, k’étlez’ JVE; Th k’étyeʔ T&T,TTTY. The Lillooet form may be borrowed from Squamish, although before the latter changed *l* to *y*. The Thompson form does not look borrowed (or it was reanalyzed). Borrowing may not be involved at all, and all members of the set may derive from Proto-Salish.

2.1.2. Lillooet into a Coast language. Of the 17 forms borrowed from Lillooet into a coast language, four were borrowed by Chilliwack Halkomelem, seven by Squamish, three by Comox-Sliammon, and one by Sechelt. One form may have been borrowed by Squamish and Sliammon, although the form (‘black bear’) is more problematic than the others in this group.

(28) **cougar**: Sl mə́gə LCT ‖ Li s.múwaʔ JVE-Ftn; Th s-múweʔ T&T, .smo´a CV; WSh s-múweʔ AHK, smúwe7 AHK^{2,3}, .smo´a CV; ESh smúwəʔ BDC (*F. concolor*), smúwa7 AA. These four forms are different from an otherwise rather uniform set of correspondences for ‘cougar’, so retention from Proto-Salish is doubtful. Van Eijk identifies the Lillooet form as a borrowing from Shuswap, but it is nevertheless apt to be the source of the Sliammon form.

(29) **eel**: Ck kʷátewi BDG, kʷá·təwí· JGH ‖ **PIS *kʷútwan / *kʷútwal**: Li kʷútwan, kʷútwen, kútwen JVE ‘lamprey’, kwútwen K&B ‘lamprey (*Lamperta ayresi*)’; WSh kʷutwn, kʷútwe AHK, kútwe(n) AHK^{2,3}; Ok kutwn (AM)B,P&L; Cv kwútwen B&K, kʷútw’n TG; Me kútᵊwən MOB; Sp kʷútul BFC; Fl kʷutúɬ SGT, kutùn JG; Cr kut̲gul LGN. If the Chilliwack form here is indeed a borrowing (from Lillooet), it has been inexplicably reshaped, although the shift of *u* to *a* is regular.

(30) **ling**: Ck məčá·s BDG (?) ‘lingcod, burbot’ ‖ Li s.macáz, s.macáz’, s-mecéz JVE, smetsáz’ K&B (*Lota lota*). It is unlikely that Lillooet would have borrowed an *s* as *z*, although *s* is a likely interpretation of the Lillooet consonant. Hence the borrowing is from Lillooet into Chilliwack Halkomelem.

(31) **squawfish**: Ck qʷé·c, qʷəʔéc BDG ‘sucker’ ‖ **PIS *qʷaʔák**: Li qʷʔák, qʷʔék JVE ‘bridgelip sucker’, (s)k̲w’a7k K&B (*Ptychocheilus oregonensis*); WSh qʷeʔk AHK ‘chub’, qʷəqʷeqʷʔek AHK-DoC, q’we7k, qweqwéq’w7ek AHK^3 ‘chub’; ESh qʷeʔk B&K (*P. oregonensis*), qʷɛ́ʔk BDC (*P. oregonensis*), qʷéʔq, qʷuqʷáʔq JAG; Ok Qhu-quak MD ‘sucker’; Cv qʷqʷaʔk AM, qʷuqʷák TG ‘small whitefish’, k̲w'ek̲w'á7k B&K ‘northern s.’; Cm qʷaʔák MDK ‘chub’, qᵘaáq JRK; Sp qʷeʔč BFC; Fl qᵘqᵘé JRK ‘Columbia s.’, k’ōqūē GFW ‘Columbian s.’,

kukωétcɩn HHT-H, skukuíche, kokoeich, kukuéichin JG (unid. fish). This is a fairly early borrowing into Chilliwack, before the change there of *k* through *č* to *c* and the conversion (optional in this case) of a glottal stop to vowel length.

(32) **lichen**: Ck s-qʷəlíp BDG 'black tree moss' ‖ Li s-qʷəl̓íp, sqʷl̓ip JVE 'black tree l., black moss'; Ok s-qʷl̓íp (AM)B, sk̲wel̓íp P&L 'tree moss', TBK 'black tree l.', squil-lip MD 'black moss'; Cv s-qʷlíp AM, es-cwa-leep CS 'tree moss', squa líp JBS 'tree moss', skʷaʔɬíp PAY, sqwal̓i´p VFR 'pine l.'; Me skʷəlíp MOB, ɑ·skʷəlíp̓ MOB 'edible moss'; Sp s-qʷl̓áp=qn BFC 'black tree moss/l. (*Alecotia fremontii*)'; Ka s-qᵘəl̓á(pqən) HV; Fl s-qʷl̓a SGT (cooked), sqwuʔa JAH 'black tree moss (uncooked)', sqʷúƛa JH, skolápkan JG. This borrowing into Chilliwack is straightforward, with only glottalization of the *l* being lost. The Lillooet form may itself be borrowed from Okanagan; Kalispel suggests that the original stressed vowel was *á.

(33) **maggot**: **PS *k̓ak̓áɬuʔ**: Sq č̓ɬál̓u K&B (unid. insect), č̓ɬáʔlu AHK 'mite'; Ck k̓ék̓əɬe BDG 'pillbug' (?); Tw č̓ač̓áɬu NT 'white body louse' ‖ Lo č̓əč̓á·ɬuʔ MDK 'm., woodtick', čəč̓áɬu CTS, tʃ̓ɪtʃ̓â·ɬʊ' JPH 'woodtick'; OCh č̓ač̓áɬuʔ MDK 'woodtick' ‖ Li k̓ák̓ɬaʔ JVE 'bugs (of the type found in dried salmon when it gets soggy)', k̓ék̓ɬeʔ JVE 'brown bug with yellow stripe on back' (?); Cm k̓ák̓ɬuʔ MDK-MG 'moth', k̓ák̓ɬuw̓ MDK 'moth'; Sp s-č̓éč̓ɬuʔ BFC; Fl č̓éč̓ɬuʔ SGT 'moth', č̓éč̓eɬu JRK, tčtčslu GFW, chechɬú JG 'worms in meat'. The Chilliwack Halkomelem form shares *k̓* and the stress pattern with Interior Salishan languages rather than with other coastal languages. The final vowel corresponds to the Lillooet final vowel, where other languages have *u*. The Chilliwack form must therefore be borrowed from Lillooet.

(34) **doe**: Sq s-q̓ʷə́q̓ʷipa AHK,K&B 'yearling deer' ‖ Li c̓.q̓ʷáq̓ʷipaʔ, s.t.qʷáq̓ʷipaʔ, c̓qʷéq̓ʷipeʔ JVE-Ftn, .stᴇko´kiepa CV; Th s-tx̣ʷáq̓ʷiʔpe T&T, .st.ho´qe.pa CV; WSh s-t-qʷəq̓ʷíʔpe AHK, stqweq̓wí7pe AHK^2, stqoa´qoipa CV; ESh stk̲wák̲w̓i7pa AA. This borrowing by Squamish has dropped a prefixed *t-*, seen in the Thompson and Shuswap forms, as well as the older version of the Lillooet form. The development of the prefixes to *c̓* is a Lillooet innovation.

(35) **bullhead**: Sq (s-)c̓náyʔ AHK, (s)c̓nay̓ K&B 'sculpin, b.', SE´nai CH-T ‖ Li s.c̓anáz̓, c̓enáz̓, c̓ənáz̓, c̓nez̓ JVE, sts̓enáz̓ K&B 'sculpin (*Cottus* spp.)', ts̓ənáz LS 'little fish'; Th s-c̓enéc̓ T&T 'b.; *prob.* sculpin'; WSh s-c̓néy̓e AHK-DC, st̓snéy̓e AHK^{2,3}; ESh c̓ənéy̓ B&K 'mottled sculpin (*C. bairdi*)', sc̓nέy̓ə BDC (*C. rhotheus*). The Squamish form is a straightforward borrowing from Lillooet, where there is some dialectal variation between *y̓* and *z̓*.

(36) **flicker**: **PS *c̓ayáqʷ**: Be c̓yaax̣ʷ HFN ‖ Sq c̓kʷiʔ=qs AHK, c̓k̓ʷíʔqs K&B 'yellow-bellied sapsucker (*Sphyrapicus varius*)', tsqoē´qs CV/CH-T 'woodpecker sp.', 'skēᴇks CH-T 'woodpecker'; NLd c̓ədᶻáqʷ TH, c̓ədᶻáqʷ BHH 'red-shafted f.'; SLd c̓ə́dʒɑqʷ HT-Snq 'northern f. (*Colaptes cafer*)'; Tw c̓áyaqʷ NT, tsai´ûk CV 'red-headed woodpecker' ‖ **PTS *c̓ə́y̓qʷ**: Lo ts̓ɑ́y̓yɑqw̥, ts̓íy̓yɑqw̥ JPH; Ss tsē´uq CV; OCh c̓ə́yqʷ MDK, sc̓əyaqʷ, sc̓ə́yəq̓ʷ, sc̓ayáqʷ FB, tsei´uk CV; TCh tsei´uk CV, ts eyvqᵂ TA-ph, .st̲sā´qᵘ CV 'robin'; Cz tsei´uk CV ‖ Li c̓ə́kʷy=əqs JVE, c̓ə́kʷz̓=əqs JVE 'downy woodpecker'; Th c̓ekʷ-ə́z̓=aqs T&T 'woodpecker'; WSh c̓qʷéqʷy=əqs AHK 'yellow-bellied sapsucker', t̓sqwéqwyeqs AHK^3 'yellow-bellied sapsucker'; ESh skwákwiyek̲s AA 'smaller woodpecker'. Although this set can be reconstructed to Proto-Salish, the Squamish form cannot be derived directly from the reconstructed form. It is, rather, borrowed from the metathesized development found in the northern Interior languages, has the same fronting and glottalization of the original *qʷ* as in Lillooet and Thompson, and also has the same lexical suffix as is found there.

(37) **blue grouse**: **PS *múm̓- or *húm̓-**: Cx húmʔhum JT, ho̜ʔmhoʔm, HRH, hō´mhōm CV, hő̄mhő̄m ES; Pt hōmhōm FB 'grouse' (húmhum), hō´mhōm, CV,FB; Se húmhum JT, xō·mxō·m CV/CH-T, HŌMHŌM CH-T; Sq

múm̓təm K&B, múmʔt-m, AHK, mō´mtĕm CV/CH-T 'partridge', mō´mtᴇm CH-T 'partridge'; Cl hámhəm LCT, hô´mpᴇm CV ‖ Qn hə́mtsiɬshin RHM 'g., quail', hə́mʔsitɬchin RHM 'quail', ha´msiltcan RLO 'g.', hám-sŭhl-chĭn ESC, ha´mᴇlsatcᴇn CV; Lo hɑ́m̓-sɑɬtʃ̓, hɑm̓sɑltʃ̓ JPH 'g.', hám-sĭhlch ESC, ha´mᴇtsᴇɬᴇtc CV; OCh móʔm MDK, mo´ᵐp CV, Mom, mo-ma ME; TCh mo´m.p CV; Cz móʔəm MDK 'g. sp.', mó·m̓, mó·'m̓ JPH 'g.', mom ESC, mô´mx CV, móhm GG ‖ Li s.múm̓təm̓, s-m̓úm̓təm̓, s-m̓úm̓təm JVE, .smu´mtêm CV; Th s-múm̓tm̓ T&T, smū´mtᴇm CV. The Squamish form is unlike neighboring coastal forms, but matches neighboring Lillooet exactly (except for the *s-* prefix), including a typical northern Interior Salishan reduplication pattern; Lillooet is therefore the source of the Squamish form.

(38) **mosquito**: **PS *qʷáʔan**: Sq qʷanʔímač AHK, qʷənʔímač K&B, qon̓ē´matc, CV/CH-T, k·wanē´matc CH-T, k·on̓ē´matc, FB-R; Na QWEEN ARL, qoae´n CV, k·oaᴇ´n FB-R; Cw qʷέʔεn E&S, kuaan CWW; Ms qʷέʔεn E&S, kwai´an CH-T,CV/CH-T, kwah-un WFT; Ck qʷé·l BDG, qʷê·l E&S, kʷél JGH, kuaal CWW; Sa qʷaʔən TRM; So kʷéʔn BSE; Sg kw̓éʔen MRM, kwa-an WFT-Lk; Lm qʷéʔen LCT,DM, qʷéʔ(e)n MJ, kwa´ᴇn CV, kwá-an GG; Sm qʷéʔen BDG; Cl qʷáʔən TT&E-Elwha, qʷaʔən MSF; Nk kwê´ᴇn CV; SLd kwād GG; kwā´.d CV-Nis ‖ Li qʷal̓ímak, qʷel̓ímek JVE, qʷəlímæk LS, qool̓ē´mak CV, kwonī´mel CV 'black or deer fly', k·oal̓ē´mak FB-R, kwal-ē-mak WFT; Th konī´maks CV 'black or deer fly'; WSh qʷəniməqɬ AHK, kwenímíqll BDC-lj, qwenímeqll AHK^{2,3}, qonē´miqʟ CV, k·onē´mik·tl FB-R, kwʊnématxl HH; ESh qweniméqll BDC-me,mt, k̲wenímak̲lh AA. The Squamish form would appear to be a straightforward borrowing from Lillooet, except for the difference in the second consonant. The *l* in Lillooet is in any case aberrant. It may represent an old sound symbolic variation, or the Lillooet form may have been influenced by the Chilliwack Halkomelem form. Note that one earlier source does give this consonant as *n* in Lillooet.

(39) **birch**: Sq qʷəɬíʔn AHK,B&T 'Western b. (*Betula occidentalis*)', qʷaɬíʔn AHK 'tree similar to wild cherry' ‖ **PIS *qʷɬín̓**: Li qʷəɬʔin-áz̓ JVE, kwuʟēnä´z CV/CH-T, kwutlēnäz CH-T; Th qʷɬín̓=ɬp T&T,TTTY 'western paper b.', kwoɬī´n CV; WSh qʷɬin AHK, qwllin AHK^{2,3}, qʷəqʷɬíɬn̓ɬp B&K, k̲welhíin, k̲wek̲wlhilhnlhp GP, kwᴇɬē´n, q̓ʟēn CV; ESh qʷəqʷɬiɬn̓=ɬp AHK, qweqwllíllen̓llp AHK^3, k̲wlhin AA; Ok k̲wlhin, k̲wek̲wlhín̓ TBK, qʷɬin TIC, k̲wek̲wlhín̓ P&L, k̲wak̲lhín MLP, q̓ɬēn CV; Cv qʷqʷɬín̓ TG, qʷəqʷɬín(̓) AM 'alder, b.'; Cm qʷoqʷɬín̓, q̓ʷoq̓ʷɬín̓ MDK, koq-hlĭl ESC; Sp qʷqʷɬín̓ BFC 'waterbirch (*B. occidentalis*)'; Fl qʷɬn̓=álqʷ JH, qʷɬn̓=á(ɬp) TIC, č-qʷɬn̓=áʔ, qʷ(ə)ɬn̓=álqʷ SGT, qwlshnalqw JAH 'paper b. (*B. papyrifera*)', koɬnálko JG. This Squamish form is a direct borrowing from Lillooet, although without the lexical suffix.

(40) **onion**: Sq qulâ´wa FB ‖ **PIS *qʷláwaʔ**: Li qʷláwaʔ, qʷəléweʔ, qʷələ́lweʔ, qʷléweʔ JVE; Th qʷléwe(?) T&T,TTTY 'nodding o. (*Allium cernuum*)'; WSh qʷléwe AHK (*A. cernuum*), qwléwe AHK^{2,3}, k̲weláwa GP (*A. cernuum*); ESh qʷə́lewe B&K 'nodding o. (*A. cernuum*)', k̲weláwa AA; Ok k̲weláwi, k̲welíwa TBK; Cv qwɩla´ui VFR, quill áh wee JBS; Sp qʷléwi BFC (*A. geyeri*); Fl qʷléwyeʔ SGT, qwliwyeʔe JAH 'nodding o. (*A. cernuum*)', qʷlíwyeʔᵉ JH (*A. cernuum*), qʷléwi BFC, koleuie JAP, kolèuie JG; Cr qwli̲w'lsh LGN 'wild o.', qʷu̥li´wɩl̓c GAR. This Squamish form (not found in Kuipers) is a straightforward loan from Lillooet. Sahaptin also borrowed this form; it has q̓ʷláwi, presumably from the Spokane form, but with glottalization of the initial consonant added (Hunn 1990:334).

(41) **porcupine**: Se s-kíy̓amx RCB, s-kə́y̓amx, skíʔamx JT ‖ Li s.kíyʔamx JVE-Ftn, šḱíʔemx JVE, .ske´.mᴇx CV. The *k* and *x* of the Sechelt form make it clear that it is borrowed from Lillooet.

(42) **spider**: Sl kʸɩkʸ.ye̲ JHD ‖ **PIS *s-k̓áy̓t**: Li s.k̓ák̓y̓ət, s-k̓ék̓y̓ət JVE, k̓ækjiɩt LS, skā´kēt CV; Th s-k̓ék̓iʔt LCT, .s̓ka´ket CV; WSh s-kek̓y̓ AHK, skék̓i7 AHK^{2,3}, .s̓ka´kait, ska´k̓ē CV; ESh skə́k̓iʔ JAG, skák̓i7 AA; Ka s-č̓éʔit HV; Fl s-č̓ey̓t SGT, č̓éʔit BJS, sče´īt GFW, schĕ-it ESC, .stcei´.t CV, s'che´iten CV/JG, cheit JAP,

s'chéit(en) JG. Although glottalization of the *k*'s is lost, and the final consonant is absent, this Sliammon form appears to be a loan from Lillooet.

(43) **black bear**: ?**PS** ***míx̣ał**: Sl mix̣ał JHD, méx̣əł LCT; Cx míx̣ał JT, mɩx̣ał HRH, mē´xaʟ CV, mí^{ʕ}xāł, mí^{ʕ}xāł ES, mē´qatl FB-R, me-halh WFT; Sq míx̣ał AHK,K&B, mī´aqutl CH-T, mē´xaʟ CV, mē´qatl FB-R ‖ Li míx̣ał, míx̣eł, méx̣eł JVE, mǽχæʎ LS, mēxaʟ, mē´akaʟ CV, mēakatl, mḗakatl CH-T, mē´qatl FB-R, mē-hatl WFT; Cm míx̣ał MDK, méx̣ał JRK, mĭ-ħahl ESC-Wn, mi-ħáhl ESC-Snk, mē´xał CV, míxatxl HH. All the forms of this set may go back to Proto-Salish, or the Squamish and Sliammon-Comox forms may be loans from Lillooet. The fact that both Lillooet and Columbian have cognates here suggests that the form is old in Interior Salish.

(44) **marten**: Cx q^{w}íq^{w}umis JT, qwâqumí's ES, qoā´qomis CV ‖ Li x̣^{w}íx̣^{w}m'əs, x̣^{w}éx̣^{w}m'əs JVE, xô´xoms CV; Th x̣^{w}íx̣^{w}m's, x̣^{w}əx̣^{w}m's T&T, x̣^{w}óx̣^{w}m's MDK, QUA´kqōc CH-T, xô´xoms CV. In spite of the different initial consonants, these Comox, Lillooet, and Thompson forms may be related; alternatively, two different roots with *m* as C$_2$ and with the same suffix may be involved. If there is borrowing, the direction is unclear, although since two Interior Salishan languages have it and only one coastal language (I assume a similar form exists in the Sliammon dialect of Comox) it is simpler to assume borrowing from the interior. The reduplication involved does not help, since Comox diminutive reduplication of C$_1$ and Lillooet and Thompson stressed-VC diminutive reduplication could both yield these particular forms.

2.1.3. Chilliwack Halkomelem into Thompson. The borrowings from the coast into Thompson (by itself, and not including Lillooet) are most simply seen as borrowings from Chilliwack Halkomelem, since that is the coast language downstream on the Fraser River from the Thompson, and it is known that there was frequent interaction between these two groups. There are 10 such borrowings.

(45) **black bear**: Na SPE'ETH ARL, spä´as CV,FB-R, spāht WFT; Cw s-péʔəθ MDK,DBG, spéʔeθ ARL,TK, s-pɛ́ʔɛθ E&S, spaas CWW; Ms s-péʔəθ MDK, s-pɛ́ʔɛθ E&S, späs CH-T, späts CV, spa-as WFT; Ck s-pé·θ BDG,JGH, s-pɛ̂·θ E&S, spǽʔəθ PTA, SPAWTS ONW, spă's ESC, spāts CH-T, spaas CWW; Sa s-peʔəθ TRM; Sg s-péʔes YAR,MRM; Lm sp*a*s GG; Sm s-péʔes BDG; Nk spéʔic, spéʔec LCT, s-pǽʔæθ, spææθ, spaʔθ PTA, spă-ăts ESC, .spê´ᴇtc CV; NLd s-páʔc TH-Sk,BHH-Sk, .spä´ᴇts CV-Sk ‖ Th s-péʔec T&T,MDK-U, s-péʔc MDK-J, spê´ᴇtc, spᴇ'zo´ CV, spatc CH-T. Thompson speakers either recognized that Chilliwack *θ* was derived from *c*, or the borrowing took place before that sound shift had occurred.

(46) **meat**: **PCS *mayác / *məyác**: Sl mə̆ǰəθ TH, mḁ̆ǰəθ JHD, mə̆ǰəs LCT; Cx mə̆ǰas JT, mə̆ǰəs TH, mʌjas HRH, mĕ´djias, mĕ´g·as CV 'm., flesh', mᴇ´gyas FB-R; Sq s-miyc K&B, smic AHK, smíc TH, smíyic LCT, smēts CH-T,CV 'm., flesh'; Na s-máyəθ DBG,ARL 'm., deer', s-mḗyᴇç ES/FB, smai-ats WFT; Cw s-máyəθ DBG,MDK 'm., deer', TH,ARL 'deer', TK 'deer, elk', smáyəθ E&S, smă-yŭs ESC 'deer', shm´ï-is CWW; Ms s-máyəθ DBG,MDK,WS 'm., deer', smáyəθ E&S 'm., deer', smēis CV 'deer', smē´is, smēis, smēs CH-T, smēs CV 'm., flesh', smi-ats WFT; Ck s-míyəθ DBG,BDG 'm.', MDK 'game', sməyəθ BDG, smɛ́yəθ TH,E&S 'deer', smí·yəθ JGH 'm., animal', smyic PTA, smē´yiç CV 'deer', smī´yits CH-T 'animal', CV 'm., flesh', shm´ï-is CWW; Sa s-máyəθ TH 'deer', sməyəθ TRM 'deer'; So s-máiəs BSE 'deer'; Sg s-méyʌs MRM 'deer', sméyəs LCT-S, smē´yis CV-Lk 'deer', smaíyes CH-T-Lk, smē´yis FB-R-Lk, smai-is WFT; Lm s-máyəs LCT,DM 'm., deer', TH 'deermeat', sméyəs MJ 'deer', .smei´es CV 'deer', .smei´ᴇs CV 'm., flesh', smŭ-yŭs ESC 'deer', smé-yis, smé-is, smis GG 'deer'; Sm s-máyis, smáyis, smáyiθ BDG 'm., deer'; Cl s-máyəc LCT 'elk', smáyic TH,LCT 'elk', smayəc MSF 'elk', smé-yĭts ESC 'elk', smé-yis GG 'deer'; Nk s-miéc TH, sméyæc, smǽyæc PTA, məyéc LCT 'flesh'; NLd biác BHH,TH 'deer', sbiyác LCT-Sk,Sno, sbiyac PTA 'deer', bia´ts CV-Sk 'deer', bía´ts CV-Sno 'elk', bía´ts CV-Sno,Sk 'm., flesh', bai-itz WFT-Sno; SLd báyəc TH, báyac, báyəc BHH, báyac WAS, bei´ets CV-Nis 'm., flesh', mai´-ets, mai-ets GG-Nis 'buck elk', be´-yets GG-Nis

'meat, flesh', maiats HH-Nis; Tw báyac TH,MDK,GD, báyac NT, bai´ats CV 'm., flesh' ‖ Ti wiyéc TTR 'belly', wiyā´ts CV 'belly'; Si wiyā´ts CV 'belly' ‖ Th s-míyc T&T,ES/FB,MDK-U/J 'm., deer', .smī´ᴇts CV, smitc CH-T, smī tc CH-T 'deer', smī tc FB-R, cmī´etc FB-R 'deer'. The presence of cognates of this term in Tillamook suggests that it may go back to Proto-Salish, although the distribution and stress also suggest that the Thompson form is borrowed.

(47) **woodpecker**: Sq támłəpsəm K&B 'Pileated W. (*Dryocopus pileatus*)', tmł=ə́ps-m AHK 'pileated w.', tĕmʟĕ´psĕm CV 'red-headed w.'; Cw táməł=əps-əm ARL,E&S 'pileated w.', MDK 'flicker'; Ms táməł=əps-əm E&S 'pileated w.', tᴇmᴇtlsᴇ´psum CH-T (large red-headed); Ck təmə́ł=ə́ps-əm BDG 'pileated w.', táməłepsem PTA (large, red markings on body), təm·ə́łəpsəm E&S 'pileated w.', tᴇmᴇʟsᴇ´psum CV/CH-T, tᴇme´tlepsᴇm CH-T; Sa təməł=ečs-ən TRM 'pileated w.'; Nk táməł=eps-əm PTA (large, red markings on body), tî´malî psᴇm CV 'red-headed w.' ‖ Th tə̣mł=ápsm, təmł=ápsm T&T '*prob.* northern flicker', tᴇmałᴇ´psᴇm CV 'red-headed w.'. This is a straightforward borrowing into Thompson, although the reason for the retracted vowels in Thompson is unclear.

(48) **dogwood**: Cw k^{w}íʔłx̣əłp T&B, qét-ħĕhlp ESC; Ck q^{w}ítx̣(=əłp) BDG, k^{w}ítx̣əłp JGH; Sa k^{w}ətx̣=iłč TRM(DE), k^{w}íʔłx̣əłp T&B; Lm qwē´txēłtc EG; Sm q^{w}ítx̣=əłp BDG; Cl k^{w}atx=iłč MSF ‖ Th q'^{w}iʔtx^w=éłp T&T,TTTY 'Pacific d.', n-łəqłqóq^{w}y=m'x^w tək q'^{w}iʔtx^w=ełp T&T,TTTY 'dwarf d., Canadian bunchberry (*Cornus canadensis*)'. It is not clear why Thompson changed the initial consonant to an ejective and the *x̣* to *x^w*.

(49) **mountain ash**: Ck q^{w}íq^{w}əł BDG; Sa q^{w}əq^{w}ey=íłč TRM 'arbutus, madrone', k'ox̣wi·´łtč T&B 'madrona'; Lm kō-kwéltsh GG 'arbutus (*A. menzesii*)'; Sm q^{w}aq^w=íłč BDG 'arbutus'; SLd ko´łᴇtcetc CV-Nis 'arbutus' ‖ Th q^{w}iq^{w}ił=éłp T&T,TTTY, q^{w}íq^{w}ił T&T 'm.a. berry'. The loan into Thompson is straightforward, with an optional lexical suffix added.

(50) **blueberry**: Cx łə́wqim JT 'b. var.'; Se łuwqím JT 'valley b., low Fraser Valley b.'; Sq łəwqím' B&T 'Canada b.', łəwqímʔ AHK 'small swamp b.'; Cw łəwʔqímʔ E&S,T&B 'blue huckleberry', łəwqímʔ MDK 'gray b.'; Ms łəwʔqímʔ E&S; Ck łəwqí·m BDG,E&S; Lm łʌw'qím DM 'marsh b.'; Sm łəw'qím' BDG 'swamp b., Canada b.' ‖ Th łuʔqím' T&T,TTTY 'velvet-leaved b. (*Vaccinium myrtilloides*)'. The Thompson form keeps a glottal stop that has been lost from its Chilliwack source.

(51) **blueberry**: Sq x^{w}íx^{w}ik^w K&B 'oval-leaved b.', AHK 'small b.'; Ck x^{w}íx^{w}ək^w BDG ‖ Th x^{w}íx^{w}ek' T&T,TTTY 'oval-leaved/grey b. (*Vaccinium ovalifolium*)'. Reasons for the change in the final vowel and final consonant are unexplained.

(52) **cranberry**: Sq k^{w}úʔk^{w}uwəl's B&T 'high c.'; Ck k^{w}úk^{w}əls, k^{w}úk^{w}əwəls BDG ‖ Th k^{w}úk^{w}wns T&T,TTTY 'high c.'. This appears to be a sort of back formation in Thompson. Recognizing that Chilliwack *l* was often derived from *n*, the Thompson form changed this consonant "back" to *n*, although the Squamish cognate shows that it actually derived from *l*.

(53) **salmonberry**: Sq ʔal'íl'a AHK 'raspberry', alíl'a B&T 'raspberries'; Na LILU ARL, lē´lâ CV (pl.); Cw lílaʔ MDK,E&S, li´laʔ T&B, lílə ARL, líləʔ TK, lí-la ESC; Ms lílaʔ E&S; Ck ʔəlílə BDG, ʔəlílæʔ PTA, əlí·lɛ̀ E&S, elē´la CH-T,CV/CH-T 'raspberry'; Sa (ʔə)liləʔ TRM, ali·´la T&B, əli·´łɛ T&B 's. sprouts'; So ʔəlíluʔ BSE; Sg lílʌʔ MRM,T&B, ᴇlē´la CV/CH-T-Lk, ᴇlḗla CH-T-Lk; Lm ʔəlíləʔ, ʔelíleʔ LCT, əlí·ləʔ MJ, lī´la EG, ŭ-lí-la ESC, al-ē-la GG; Sm ʔəlíləʔ BDG; Cl ʔəlíluʔ LCT, ʔaliluʔ MSF, al-e´lo, al-é-lo GG; Nk ʔəlí·læʔ PTA; Tw alíluʔu WWE (?Cl) ‖ Lo ʔúlali CTS 'berry' (?Chinook Jargon) ‖ Th ʔelíleʔ T&T,TTTY, ʔilíleʔ T&T. This is a simple borrowing of the

name of a plant that probably did not grow in Thompson territory, but was obtained from downriver people.

(54) **skunk cabbage**: **PS *k̓ukʷ=áy̓**: Be ʔuk̓uk̓ D&S, uk̓uk̓ HFN, ukw̓uk̓ NJT ‖ Sq č̓úkʷa AHK, č̓úukʷa B&T; Na C'UQW'U' ARL; Cw c̓ákʷaʔ TK,T&B,E&S; Ms c̓ákʷaʔ E&S; Ck c̓á·kʷə, č̓á·kʷə BDG, c̓á·kʷe JGH, c̓ákʷæ PTA, c̓ákʷa E&S; Sa t̓ᶿəkʷiʔ TRM; Sm (s-)c̓ákʷiy̓, t̓ᶿákʷiy̓ BDG, t̓ca·´ukʷ EG; Cl c̓uʔkʷiʔ MSF, stco̓qwē EG; Nk č̓ókʷæy PTA; NLd č̓úʔkʷ, č̓úkʷ BHH-Sk,Sno (*Lysichitum americanum*), č̓ú(ʔ)kʷ TH, t̓cu·'´kʷ EG-Sw; Tw č̓ukʷáy NT ‖ Th c̓ákʷe T&T,TTTY. Since this set derives from a form beginning with **k̓u*, the Thompson can only be from Halkomelem, where the change to *c̓a* is regular.

2.1.4. Thompson into Chilliwack Halkomelem. Just as there are half as many borrowings by coast languages from Lillooet as the reverse, so it is with Chilliwack and Thompson. There are only 4 Thompson forms borrowed into Chilliwack. These loans involve losses, additions, or reinterpretations that were not found in loans that went the other direction.

(55) **frog, toad**: Ck wələ́k̓ BDG 'tree f.', (s-)wɪlík̓, s-wəlík̓, wɪlə́·k̓ DBG 'tree f.' ‖ Li wə̣ḷík̓ JVE 'sound made by frogs'; Th wlə́k̓ze T&T 'Pacific tree toad', .swalī´kEza CV 'toad'; WSh .swalêkia CV 'toad'; Ok .swāra´k CV-Lk; Cv .swara´k CV-SPo,CV; Cm wárk MDK;JRK, wa´rEk CV; Cr wárč LCT, warch LGN, wartc GAR, wa´rEts CV. The Chilliwack form is directly from Thompson, without the final *-ze*, which may be a suffix in any case (and is not found in the Interior languages to the southeast). The stressed vowel of the Lillooet form suggests that it was not the source of the Chilliwack form.

(56) **snowshoe hare**: Ck sqʷiqʷəyá·θəl BDG 'jackrabbit' ‖ **PIS *s-qʷayíc**: Li s.qʷyic, s-qʷəyíc, s(qʷə)qʷyíc JVE, s(qʷə)qʷʔíc LCT, ʃqʷəítʃ LS, skwī́etc CH-T, sqoiē´tc CV, kôkia´utcEx̣En CV/JT, skwoi-īth WFT; Th s-qʷoqʷyə́c T&T, .sqoqeī´tc CV; WSh s-qʷyic AHK 'rabbit', seqwyíts AHK[2,3], səqʷiyíc LCT, sōqoiē´ts CV; ESh səqʷyíč BDC 's.h., Nuttall's cottontail', sekwyíts AA 'rabbit'; Ok kwa´k.tsi CV-Lk 'jackrabbit'; Cm s-qʷqʷícuʔx̣ʷ, s-qʷqʷícux̣ʷ MDK, squəquíčux JRK, sko-qá-tsụmh̓ ESC-Wn; Sp s-qʷáqʷciʔ BFC 'rabbit', sqá-ku-tsi ESC, .skok.tse´s CV; Ka s-quáquciʔ HV 'cottontail rabbit', sqá-ku-tsi ESC, .skwô´kw.tse CV 'jackrabbit'; Fl s-quáquciʔ, sɬquá(quce) JRK, sɬqʷá SGT 'rabbit', squáquciʔ JRK 'cottontail', cl·qua GFW, shlqa ESC 'jackrabbit', kwa´kʷtse CV, skuákuze, skuàkuze JG; Cr s-qʷícəmš LCT 'cottontail', sqwitsmsh LGN, s-qʷi´ts-ụmc GAR 'cottontail', .skwe´.tsEms CV. The quality of the stressed vowel suggests that Chilliwack borrowed this form from Thompson rather than Lillooet, although the whole end of the word may have been reshaped.

(57) **chickadee**: Ck skíkək BDG-Cheh ‖ Th c̓ə̣ṣkíkik T&T; WSh c̓(ə)kíkseʔ AHK, t̓skíkse7 AHK[2,3]; ESh c̓qíqeʔ, cəc̓qíqʔe AHK, čɨc̓qíqʔɛ BDC (?*Parus hudsonicus*), vireo', t̓sqíqe7, tset̓sqíq7e AHK[3], tsets̓ḵík7a7 AA; Ok c̓əskáʕknaʔ (AM)B, ts'eská gkna7 P&L, Zst-skaka´-na MD; Cv c̓əsqaʕqn̓áʔ TG, ca-kee(t)-sa-na CS, tss k̓ak̓ kana JBS, tsiskā́kEna CH-T 'unid. bird'; Cm c̓asqáqnaʔ, c̓asqánanaʔ MDK, c̓asqánane JRK; Sp c̓sqáqneʔ BFC; Fl c̓(ə)sqán̓iʔ, c̓sqáne SGT, c̓sqáne JRK 'mountain c.', sc̓isqané JRK 'snowbird', ctuskane GFW 'mountain c.'. Chilliwack has lost the initial syllable (or consonant) of the Thompson form.

(58) **Oregon grape**: Ck t̓ᶿó·lt̓ᶿiy(=əɬp) BDG 'tall O.g.', t̓ᶿúlt̓ᶿi(y)=ɪɬp, t̓ᶿolt̓ᶿíʔ=ɪɬp, t̓ᶿút̓ᶿɪy=ɪɬp, t̓ᶿo·lt̓ᶿíɬp, t̓ᶿəlt̓ᶿə́y=əɬp, t̓ᶿʊwʔt̓ᶿíʔ=ɪɬp DBG, t̓ᶿə́w·lt̓ᶿəy=əɬp E&S (long) ‖ Li c̓ụ́ḷ'c̓ə̣ḷ', c̓ólc̓ʌʕ, c̓oḷc̓əḷ' JVE, c̓ólc̓ʕ=az̓ JVE; Th s-c̓óʕṣeʔ T&T,TTTY; WSh s-c̓aʕs AHK, st̓saʕs AHK[2,3], sts̓alsa GP; ESh sc̓iʕse AHK, st̓éʕse AHK[3], sts̓óʕsa AA; Ok s-c̓ars, s-c̓c̓rís (AM)B, sts'ars TBK,P&L, sts̓erís TBK; Cv s-c̓árs TG, sαdγsi´ɬpu VFR; Ka s-c̓áls BFC (*Berberis aquifolium*); Fl s-c̓áls JH (*B. repens*), sc̓als JAH (*B. repens*), sceselshp JAH (plant), s-c̓əs=éɬp JH (plant), s'tsals ESC, szals JG. The Chilliwack form does not match either Thompson or Lillooet;

I interpret the lack of a final *l* as indicating a loan from Thompson with reinterpretation of the last syllable as some sort of reduplication.

2.1.5. A Coast language into Lillooet and Thompson. Fourteen apparent borrowings occur in both Lillooet and Thompson. These may have been borrowed independently from Chilliwack Halkomelem, by each interior language from a different coast language, or by one of the interior languages and then borrowed from that one into the other. Several of these items are names for typically coastal species.

(59) **harbor seal**: **PS *ʔásxʷ**: Be ʔasxʷ HFN,D&S, asx· CV 'seal' ‖ **PCS *ʔásxʷ**: Sl asxʷ B&K,JHD 'fur s.'; Cx ʔásxʷ JT, ā́sx̣u ES, asx̣ CV 'seal'; Pt asχ FB 'Seehund' (ʔásxʷ), asq̱, ash, asq FB, asx̣ CV 'seal'; Se ʔásxʷ JT 'seal', ʔasxʷ RCB 'seal', ásx̣ CV 'seal', ásQ CH-T; Sq ʔasxʷ AHK, asxʷ K&B, asx̣ CV 'seal', āshx̣ CV/CH-T 'seal', āskQ CH-T; Na ESHW ARL, äsx̣ CV 'seal'; Cw ʔesxʷ TEH, ʔɛ́šxʷ E&S, ĕsh'h̓ ESC 'hair s.'; Ms ʔɛ́šxʷ E&S, ä´cux· CV 'seal'; Ck ʔésxʷ, ʔé·sxʷ BDG, ʔɛ́·sxʷ E&S, ʔé·sxʷ JGH 'hair s.', ä´cuH CH-T 'hair s.'; Sa ʔesxʷ TRM; Sg ʔésxʷ MRM,YAR, asx̣ CV 'seal', ā´sux CV/CH-T 'seal', ā́suq CH-T-Lk; Lm ʔésxʷ LCT,DM, ésxʷ MJ, ăsh̓w ESC 'hair s.', a´sx̣u CV 'hair s., fur s.', *á*ss´hu GG; Sm ʔésxʷ BDG 'hair s.'; Cl ʔásxʷ LCT, ʔasxʷ MSF 'hair s.', ăsh̓ ESC 'hair s.', ā´sux̣ CV 'hair s., fur s.', *a*ss´hu GG; Nk ʔǽšxʷ PTA, ē´c.x̣u CV 'hair s., fur s.'; NLd ʔášxʷ BHH,TH-Sk; SLd ʔásxʷ BHH,TH-Suq 'hair s., harbor s.', ásxʷ WAS, ash̓w ESC-Nis 'hair s.', ā´sxu CV 'hair s., fur s.', as´-hu, as-hu GG-Nis; Tw ʔásəxʷ NT, ʔásaxʷ GD, á·saxʷ WWE, ás-ah̓ ESC 'hair s.', ā´s.aux CV 'hair s., fur s.' ‖ Li ʔasxʷ, ʔesxʷ JVE; Th ʔésxʷ T&T. Although seals did go up the Fraser River and into Harrison Lake, they would not have been particularly well-known to interior groups such as the Lillooet or Thompson. The coast forms of 'seal' are all similar enough that the Lillooet and Thompson forms could have come from any neighboring language.

(60) **eulachon**: Se swḗawā CH-T, swē´awā CV/CH-T; Sq s-wíʔəw K&B, s-wíʔu, s-wiwʔ AHK 'Fraser River e.', swē´u CV; Na swē´wē CV; Cw s-wíʔwə E&S; Ms s-wíʔwə E&S; Ck s-wí·wə BDG,E&S, s-wí·wè JGH, swē´Ewa CH-T,CV/CH-T; Sa s-wiw̓ə TRM; Sg swē´wē CV-Lk; Nk s-wíʔwæ BSE ‖ Li swḗwa CH-T; Th s-wíwe T&T. This is another coast species. The Thompson and Lillooet forms could be from Chilliwack Halkomelem or from Sechelt.

(61) **hummingbird**: Ck p̓ə́sk̓e, pə́sk̓e BDG, p̓ísk̓ɛ DBG, pə́sk̓e JGH ‖ Li p̓ə́sk̓aʔ, p̓ə̣́sk̓eʔ, p̓ə́ṣk̓eʔ JVE, pî´ska CV; Th p̓ə̣́ṣk̓eʔ T&T, pô´ska CV. Although this form occurs in two interior languages and only one coast language, it is felt by Thompson speakers, at least, to be foreign; hence I assume that both Thompson and Lillooet borrowed it from Chilliwack Halkomelem, although Chilliwack does not usually retain *k̓*.

(62) **cascara**: Na Q'EY'XULHP ARL; Cw q̓əyʔx̣əɬp T&B, kaí-h̓ahlp ESC 'barberry'; Ck q̓éyx̣əɬp BDG, q̓ǽ·yx̣=əɬp PTA, k̓ayx̣ PTA 'c. bark'; Sa q̓eyx̣=əɬp TRM(DE), q̓əyʔx̣əɬp T&B; Lm k̓éyʔx̣əɬp MJ, k̓aiyeɬp EG; Cl kaí-yŭ-kŭtl ESC 'barberry'; Nk q̓ǽyx̣=æy PTA, k̓ǽyx PTA 'c. bark'; NLd q̓áyx̣=əc TH-Sk, q̓áyx̌=əc BHH-Sk (*Rhamnus purshiana*) ‖ Li q̓áy̓x̣-ɬəp, q̓éy̓x̣=ɬəp, q̓éʔx̣=ɬəp JVE, q̓áy̓x̣=ɬəp, q̓áyx̣=tn TIC; Th q̓áyx̣=eɬp T&T,TTTY, q̓áyx̣=əɬp TIC. Chilliwack Halkomelem is the probable source of both the Lillooet and Thompson terms.

(63) **cedar bark** (inner bark): **PCS *s-ləw=áy̓**: Se s-láw-ay JT 'inner c.b.'; Sq slə́wayʔ AHK, slə́wəy̓ B&T 'inner c.b.', slai CV/CH-T,CH-T 'bark'; Na slai WFT 'bark', slā´ēn CV,FB-R; Cw slə́wəy T&B,E&S 'inner c.b.'; Ms slə́wəy T&B,E&S 'inner c.b.', slai WFT 'bark'; Ck sləwə́y, sləwíy BDG 'inner c.b.'; Sa slə́wiʔ TRM; Lm slōwē´ EG; Sm slə́wəy̓, slə́wiy̓ BDG; Cl syə́wiʔ LCT, syəwiʔ MSF, si-ó-we GG; NLd sɬuáyʔ BHH,TH 'inner bark', sɬuxwai EG-Sk; SLd slágʷac BHH,TH-Suq 'inner bark', WAS 'c.b.', sla´-gwuts, sla-gwuts GG-Nis 'inner bark of red c.'; Tw sləwáyʔ MDK 'inner bark' ‖ Li slúwaz̓, slə́waz̓, slə́wez̓ JVE 'inner c.b.', ʃlúwaz LS; Th s-lúw=ec̓ T&T,TTTY 'shredded inner bark of red cedar'. The Lillooet form could come from Chilliwack Halkomelem, although stress

and glottalization of the final consonant fit Squamish better. The Thompson form could also come from Chilliwack, or it could be a borrowing from Lillooet. The development of *y̓* to *c̓* in Thompson is not common, although there are a number of instances of it.

(64) **vine maple**: Cw síc̓=əɬp MDK; Ck sí·c̓=əɬp BDG, sí·səɬp JGH, sī´tsEl̥p CH-T; Lm shé-ch*u*lp GG; Cl shĭ ts-shé-kŭ-pŭ ESC ‖ Li cētstlip CH-T; Th síc̓=eɬp T&T,TTTY. Chilliwack Halkomelem must be the source of both the Lillooet and the Thompson forms.

(65) **blueberry**: **PCS *múl̓səm:** Cx mál?səm JT 'low Fraser River b.'; Se máľsm JT 'valley b., bog b.'; Sq múl?sm AHK 'large swamp b.', múľsəm B&T 'bog b.'; Cw máľsəm T&B,E&S, mál?səm? MDK 'round b.'; Ms máľsəm E&S; Ck málsəm E&S, má(·)lsəm BDG, má·lcəm PTA; Sa maľsəŋ TRM, ma´lsən T&B; Lm mɔ́lsʌm DM 'marsh b.'; Sm máľsəŋ̓ BDG 'tall swamp b.'; Cl múl-sŭn ESC; Nk múl?səm, mul?cəm PTA; NLd búľcəb, bú?səb BHH 'swamp b. (*Vaccinium uliginosum*)', búľcəb TH 'swamp b.', búl?cəb PTA 'cranberry' ‖ Li málsəm MDK 'bog b.', mạḷ'ṣəm JVE-MtC 'bog b.', málʃəm LS 'cranberry'; Th mẹḷṣm T&T,TTTY 'bog b. (*V. uglinosum*)'. Since Squamish, Clallam, Nooksack, and Lushootseed show that this set goes back to a form with *ú*, the Lillooet and Thompson forms must be borrowed from Chilliwack, although Lillooet could have gotten it from Sechelt. Sechelt and Comox must also have borrowed the form from Halkomelem for the same reason.

(66) **cranberry**: Sq qʷəmčúľs B&T 'bog c.', qʷmčúl?s AHK, qumtcō´ls CV; Na ḳumtsâ´les CV (pl.); Cw qʷəm?cáls E&S,T&B, qʷəmcál?s MDK; Ms qʷəm?cáls E&S; Ck qʷəmčá·ls BDG, kʷəmčá?ls PTA 'marsh huckleberry', qʷəmcá·ls E&S; Sa qʷəm'čaləs TRM 'high c.', kumčə´ls T&B 'bog c. (*Viburnum oxycoccus*)'; Lm qʷʌm'čólc DM, qŭm-châhls ESC; Sm qʷəm'čáľs BDG; Cl kŭn-choís ESC; Nk kʷəmčó?ls PTA ‖ Li qʷəmçạḷ'ş JVE 'bog c.'; Th qʷəmcéns T&T 'highbush c.', TTTY 'bog c. (*V. oxycoccus*)'. The *n* in the Thompson form may again be a back-formation (as above in item 52 'cranberry'). The Lillooet and Thompson *c* should not correspond to Chilliwack *č* either; however, the pronunciation of the two sounds is very similar, and the interior languages borrowed what was heard, rather than a cognate sound (which would have been *k*).

(67) **red elderberry**: **PCS *s-c̓íwq̓:** Sl t̓ᶿiwq̓=ay B&K; Cx c̓íwq̓ JT; Se s-c̓íwq̓ JT,(RCB), c̓əwəq̓ay LCT-S; Sq s-c̓iw?q̓ AHK, sc̓iwq̓ B&T, tsē´wok·ai CH-T (bush); Cw t̓ᶿiwəq̓ TK,T&B,E&S, θiwəq̓, c̓íwəq̓ T&B, t̓ᶿiwəq̓=əɬp DBG-Shell Beach 'long Oregon grape', s-t̓ᶿiwəq̓ MDK, tsí-wŭḳ ESC; Ms t̓ᶿiwəq̓ E&S; Ck s-t̓ᶿiwə́q̓ BDG,E&S, sθíwəq̓ PTA; Sa t̓ᶿiwəq̓ TRM, s̄c̓ɛ´wəq̓ T&B; Sg c̓íwəq̓ WS, tsē̆kōk CH-T-Lk; Lm s-c̓íwəq̓ LCT, stsé-wŭk ESC, tsé-w*u*kh GG; Sm c̓íwəq̓ BDG; Cl s-c̓íwəq̓ LCT, sc̓iwq̓iɬč MSF, stsī´wu´kᵘ EG; Nk s-t̓ᶿiwəq̓, θíwæq̓ PTA ‖ Li c̓iwq̓ JVE; Th c̓íwq̓ T&T,TTTY. This is another plant typical of the coast, and could have come into both Lillooet and Thompson from Chilliwack Halkomelem, or into Thompson via Lillooet from either Sechelt or Squamish.

(68) **salal**: **PCS *t̓áqa?:** Sl t̓áqa LCT; Cx t̓áqa? JT, t̓ā´qa CV; Pt t̓ā´qā FB 'Beeren' (t̓áqa), t̓ā´qa CV, t̓ā´ḵa, t̓ā´ka FB; Se t̓áqa JT; Sq t̓áqa? AHK,B&T; Na t̓ä´qE CV; Cw t̓éqe? MDK, t̓ɛ´´qə T&B, t̓ɛ́qɛ E&S, ţă-ķă ESC; Ms t̓ɛ́qɛ E&S; Ck t̓éqe BDG, t̓éqə JGH, t̓ǽ·kə PTA, t̓ɛ́qə E&S; Sa t̓eqə? TRM, at̓ɛ́qɛ T&B; So t̓éqə? BSE,T&B; Sg t̓éqe MRM, t̓ā´qa CV/CH-T-Lk, täka CH-T-Lk; Lm t̓éqə LCT,DM, ţá-ka ESC; Sm t̓éqe? BDG, ta´qa EG; Cl t̓áqa? LCT, t̓qe?iɬč MSF, t!a´ka EG, tá-ka ESC, ták-a, tak´a GG; Nk t̓éqe LCT-A, t̓æ·qa?, t̓ǽ·qæ? PTA; NLd t̓áqa BHH-Sk,Sno (*Gaultheria shallon*), t̓áqa TH, ta´ka EG-Sk, ta'ka´'ats EG-Sno, ta´qa·ts EG-Sw, ţá-ka ESC-Sno; SLd t̓áqa BHH-Suq (*G. shallon*), t̓á-t̓qa?=əc BHH-Sah 'miniature s.berry bush (poss. *G. ovatifolia*)', t̓áqa WAS, ţá-ka ESC-Nis, ta´-ka GG-Nis; Tw t̓áqa NT,WWE, t̓əqay MDK, t̓áxka WWE, t!a´xka EG, tá-ka ESC ‖ Lo t̓áq̓ CTS, t̓á·q̓ᵅ, t̓ɑ́·q̓, tá·q̓ JPH, ţa'k ESC; Cz t̓áqa? MDK ‖ Li t̓áqa?, t̓áqe? JVE; Th t̓áqe? T&T,TTTY; WSh sə-ƛ̓éqe? AHK 'a kind of high-bush blueberry', s(t)et̓éqe7 AHK^3 'high-bush blueberry'. If recordings of final glottal stops are accurate, this form was borrowed into the interior from either Squamish or Chilliwack Halkomelem (where glottalization is a late loss). It is clearly a foreign form to those Thompson speakers who know it, because it is one of only a handful of words in Thompson with *t̓* (rather than *ƛ̓*), all of which are borrowings.

(69) **bracken root**: **PS *sa?ə́q:** Se sa´aq CV 'fern root'; Na sä´eq CV 'fern root'; Cw să-ăk ESC; Ck sé·q BDG, sāak CH-T; Nk sæ?ǽq BSE, sǽ?æq, sæ?æḳ PTA; NLd sa?q BHH 'b.f., brake f. (*Pteridium aquilinum*)', sa'k ESC-Sno, xʷsaqáli PTA (root), saq! EG-Sk 'sword f. root', saq̓ EG-Sk (roots); Tw sa?ə́q NT, sa?ʌ́q WWE, sŭ-áh̆ ESC ‖ OCh s?ə́q MDK,FB, s̓a´q EG, x&qᶜ TA-pb; TCh S&qx, Saqx TA-mh; Cz stsɑ́q JPH, stsak ESC ‖ Ti saaq MME, saa´k FB ‖ Li cä´ak CV/CH-T 'fern root', cäak CH-T; Th sé?aq T&T,TTTY (plant). The Lillooet and Thompson forms can come from either Chilliwack Halkomelem or from Sechelt. See also the next item.

(70) **bracken fern**: Na SUQEEN ARL 'fern'; Cw səq=é·n MDK,TK,T&B (leaves); Ck sæ?æqæ·l PTA; Sa səq=een TRM, səquén T&B (leaves); Sg sEkä´n T&B (leaves); Lm səqé·n MJ, s*u*k-ka-an´ GG; Sm səq=é·n BDG 'b.f., lady f., spring wood f.'; Nk sǽ?æqæ·n PTA; Tw sa?áq=ay MDK,NT, sa?áḱ=ay GD, sa?akai WWE, sa'akai EG ‖ Cz cáq=an̓ɬ MDK, stsɑ́·q̓ɑ̀n̓ɬ JPH ‖ Li sa?qʷ-úpza?, se?qʷ=úpze? JVE, cäkō´paza CV/CH-T 'fern', cäkṓpaza CH-T; Th sé?=eɬq TTTY 'b.f., lady f.'. Derivations to refer to the plant as a whole yielded different results in Lillooet and Thompson. Lillooet added a lexical suffix for 'young plant, root'. The Thompson form is reshaped with a lexical suffix for 'crop, roots of wild plants, etc.'.

(71) **fungus**: Ck q̓ə́m·əs, q̓ə́m·ə́s BDG 'mushroom'; Tw k̓əbə́s NT 'mushroom', k̓ʌbʌ́s WWE 'mushroom' ‖ Li s.q̓əm's, q̓əm's, sq̓em's JVE 'mushroom', q̓əm's=élqʷ JVE 'f. on tree', q̓əm?ʃ LS 'mushroom'; Th q̓ám'es T&T,TTTY 'pine mushroom'. This form was borrowed from Chilliwack Halkomelem by both Lillooet and Thompson, although the borrowings may have been independent of one another, as suggested by the different resulting shapes of the form.

(72) **tobacco**: Cx spātlum WFT; Se s-p̓áƛ̓m JT, spā´LEm CV, spā´tlEn FB-R; Sq s-p̓úƛ̓am AHK,B&T, spō´Lĕn CV, spō´tlEn FB-R; Na SPATL'UMELU ARL, spâ´tlen CV, spā´ltEn FB-R; Cw s-p̓áƛ̓əm MDK,TK 'smoke', s-páƛ̓əm ARL, spaát-lam CWW; Ms s-p̓áƛ̓əm WS 'smoke', BDG 't., smoke', sp̓áƛ̓əm? E&S 'smoke', spo´LEM CV/CH-T, spo´tlEm CH-T, spat-lum WFT; Ck s-p̓áƛ̓əm BDG 'smoke', sp̓á·ƛ̓əm E&S 'smoke', spaát-lam WFT; Sa s-p̓aƛ̓əŋ TRM 'smoke, cigar, cigarette'; Sg spáƛ̓ʌng MRM 'smoke (from fire)' ‖ Ti hoɬél MME, s'hōLē´l CV, s'hōtlē´l FB-Ti,Neh, sʊxóötxlil, tsotxlétxl HH; Si s'hōLē´n CV, s'hōtlē´n FB ‖ Li p̓uƛ̓ JVE 'smoke'; Th p̓?úƛ̓ T&T 'smoke'. This set may not refer to a plant at all (except secondarily by derivation), but the root does not appear elsewhere in Interior Salish, and must have been borrowed ultimately from Squamish, which still has *ú* as the root vowel (as does Tillamook). Comox and Sechelt have borrowed the form from Halkomelem where the vowel was shifted to *á*.

2.1.6. Lillooet and/or Thompson into a Coast language. As with Lillooet and Thompson independently, there are fewer borrowings into coast languages from both or either Lillooet and Thompson. There are only three examples.

(73) **chipmunk**: Ck qʷə́mxəl BDG ‖ Li qʷə́qʷəm'-xən' JVE-Ftn, kwu´mxin CV/CH-T, kwúmqin CH-T; Th qʷóqʷm'=xn T&T, .nko´komx̣En CV. The Chilliwack form lacks the diminutive reduplication seen in Lillooet and Thompson. The form underwent the regular shift of *n* to *l* after borrowing.

(74) **rattlesnake**: Se cəq̓tn JT; Sq c̓ə́x̣=tn AHK, c̓ə́x̣tən K&B; Ck t̓ᶿə́x̣təl BDG-Tait, c̓ə́x̣təl BDG, θéx̣təl, t̓ᶿéx̣təl JGH, ts̓ē´xtEl CV; Sg tsuh-tun WFT-Lk ‖ Li c̓əʕtín' JVE, ts̓átən LS, sātī´n CV, ts̓aratē´n CV/FB, sa-a-tĭn´ WFT; Th s-c̓aʕ̓tə́n' T&T, tsā'tî´n CV; WSh c̓ʕtin AHK, t̓segtín AHK^3, ts̓ātē´n CV, tsatin HH 'snake'; ESh c̓ʕtín BDC 'western r. (*Crotalus viridis*)', ts̓egtín BDC-ba (*C. viridis*). Squamish and Chilliwack reinterpreted an Interior

Salish pharyngeal as x̣; the form was then borrowed by Songish. If the Sechelt is actually borrowed, more drastic reshaping has taken place.

(75) **soapberry**: **PS *s-x̣ʷús-m**: Cx x̣ʷás-əm JT, xwā´sAbāi T&B, x̣ʷasʌṃʔayʔ HRH, xwâsʌbāi ES 's. bush'; Se s-x̣ʷúš-um JT; Sq s-x̣ʷús-m AHK, sx̣ʷúsum B&T; Na SHWESUM, SXWIYSUM ARL; Cw s-x̣ʷés-əm MDK, sx̣ʷɛ́səm E&S,T&B; Ms s-x̣ʷés-əm MDK, sx̣ʷɛ́səm E&S; Ck s-x̣ʷós-əm BDG, sx̣ʷə́wsəm E&S; Sa s-x̣ʷes-əm TRM,TT&E, sx̣ʷe´səm T&B; Sg s-x̣ʷés-ʌm MRM,TT&E, sxwésʌm T&B, sx̣ā´isam CV/CH-T 'sōpalali berry', SHâisum CH-T-Lk; Lm s-x̣ʷés-əm LCT,DM,TT&E, .shwasEmī´łtc CV; Sm s-x̣ʷés-əm, s-x̣ʷə́ys-əm, s-x̣ʷés-əŋ BDG; Cl s-x̣ʷás-əm TT&E,LCT, sx̣ʷasəmiłč MFS, .sx̣wā´SEM CV; Nk sx̣ʷúʔsəm LCT-B, .shō´.SEM CV; NLd s-x̌ʷásəb, s-x̌ʷúsəb, s-x̌ʷuʔsəb BHH-Sno 's., Indian ice cream', s-x̣ʷás-əb TH-Sno,Suq,PTA-Sk, s-x̣ʷú(ʔ)səb TH, .sx̣wā´SEMEts CV-Sno,Sk; SLd s-x̌ʷásəb, s-x̌ʷúsəb, s-x̌ʷuʔsəb BHH-Suq 's., Indian ice cream', sxʷásb WAS, .shwā´.SEM CV-Nis; Tw s-x̣ʷás-əb NT, sx̣ʷásəm LCT-B, sxʷásəm WWE, .shwā´.SEM CV ‖ **PIS *s-x̣ʷús-m**: Li x̣ʷús-um JVE, sx̣ʷúsum LCT, .sxō´.SEM CV; Th s-x̣ʷús-m T&T,TTTY,MDK-J, .sxō´SEM CV; WSh s-x̣ʷus-m AHK, sxúsem AHK^{2,3}, sx̱wusm GP, .sx̣o´SEM CV; ESh sx̣ʷúse LCT-G, sx̱wúsa AA, sx̱wesmálhp AA 's. bush'; Ok sx̱wusm P&L,TBK, .sxō´SEM CV-Ok,Lk; Cv s-x̣ʷus-m AM, sx̣ʷúsm TG, shoo-some CS 'serviceberry', ssxoósum, ssxoosem, sshoosum, ssgh oosem JBS, sx̣u·´səm VFR, .sxô´SEM CV-SPo,Cv; Me sxósṃ MOB 'foamberry'; Cm s-x̣ʷús-əm MDK, .sxo´SEM CV; Sp s-x̣ʷús-m BFC, .sxō´SEM CV; Ka .sxo´sem CV; Fl s-x̣ʷós-əm SGT, sx̱wusem JH 'buffaloberry, foamberry', s-x̣ʷús-əm JH, .sxôṣem CV; Cr s-x̣u´SEM GAR, sqhu̱sm LGN 'foamberries', .sxo´sxEm CV. This set may properly go back to Proto-Salish, or the Interior Salish term was borrowed onto the coast into Sechelt, Squamish, Nooksack, and Halkomelem. The Halkomelem form, with a regular change of **ú* to *á* was then borrowed into the other coast languages cited here.

2.1.7. Lushootseed into Columbian. Fewer forms were borrowed between languages south of the Fraser River than along it or north of it. Furthermore, the frequency of borrowing is opposite to what was seen in the northern languages: Lushootseed borrowed more from Columbian than the reverse. Only two or three forms are clearly from Lushootseed into Columbian.

(76) **butter clam**: Sq s-ʔáx̣ʷaʔ AHK 'medium-sized c., horse c.', sʔáx̣ʷa K&B, tsā´xūā CV 'c.', s'ā´xoa CV (pl.), tsā´qūā CH-T; Na s'â´xoa CV 'large c.', S'AHWA, SAHWU' ARL; Cw s-ʔáx̣ʷaʔ MDK, sʔax̣ʷaʔ TEH 'clam (gen.), littleneck c.', s-ʔáxʷə ARL; Ck s-ʔáx̣ʷe BDG, s-ʔá·x̣ʷe JGH 'c.'; Sa s-ʔax̣ʷəʔ TRM; Sg s-ʔáx̣wʌ MRM, sā´xwa, s'â´xoa CV-Lk, sâqwa CH-T-Lk 'medium c.'; Lm s-ʔóx̣ʷə LCT, s-ʔóxʷə LCT,DM, sʔáx̣ʷ(ə) MJ, sá-ħwa ESC, sa´xwô CV 'c.', sákh-hwa GG 'quahog (*Saxidomus*)'; Sm s-ʔáx̣ʷaʔ BDG; Nk sa·xoʔ BSE,PTA; NLd s-ʔáx̣ʷuʔ TH-Sk, s-ʔáx̌ʷuʔ BHH 'b.c., clam (gen.)', sá-ħu ESC-Sno, .ssā´xo CV-Sno 'clams'; SLd sʔáx̣oʔ WAS, sá-ħo ESC-Nis, sā´x.o CV-Nis 'c.', sākh´-ho, sākh-ko GG-Nis 'c., mussel'; Tw .sā´xo CV 'c.' ‖ Cv s-ʔáx̣ʷaʔ TG; Cm s-ʔáx̣ʷuʔ MDK 'clam'. Since there are no clams in the interior, this is an obvious trade item from the coast. The Columbian form is directly from Lushootseed. The Colville form would appear to have its origin further north on the coast, but this form was provided by a woman who lived for many years among the Songish on Vancouver Island, and she may simply have given the Songish form here. Sahaptin also borrowed this form (as šáx̣u; Hunn 1990:312), although it may have come from Columbian rather than Lushootseed (as suggested by the initial consonant, which reflects the Columbian pronunciation of *s*).

(77) **mallard**: **PS ?*x̣átx̣at**: Cl x̣átx̣ət LCT; NLd x̣átx̣at TH, x̌átx̌at BHH, hat-hat WFT-Sno; SLd x̣átx̣ɑt HT-Snq (*Anas platyrhynchos*), xátxat HH-Nis, hāt-hut GG; Tw x̣átx̣at NT,WWE ‖ OCh x̣átx̣(a)t MDK 'm., duck', hā´t.xEt CV 'duck', Hát-hût ME; TCh xat-xat, x̣a´tx̣at TA-ph, xat xat TA-h, hāat-hat FR, hâat-hăt GG; Cz x̣átx̣(a)t MDK, x̣·ɑ́t.xɑt JPH, xā´txEt CV, haat-hat GG,FR, xátxʊt HH ‖ Ok x̱wágtx̱wet P&L 'any duck', xʷatxʷt DCW, xoā´txut CV-Ok 'duck', qoa´tqut FB-R 'duck'; Cv x̣ʷʕatx̣ʷət AM, x̣wátx̣ʷat PAY, x̣ʷáʕtx̣ʷat GLA, wha-quat CS, xwhát xwhat, hooáht hooaht JBS, .x̣wa´tx̣wat CV-SPo 'duck'; Me xʷát̕xʷʊt̕ MOB; Cm s-x̣átx̣at MDK 'duck', sx̣atx̣at JRK, sħát-ħat ESC-Wn, .sxa´t.xat CV 'duck', sxátxat HH; Sp x̣ʷátx̣ʷátx̣ʷát BFC 'a duck noise'; Cr x̣ʷa´tx̣ʷat GAR, qhwa̱tqhwat LGN, hwo´thwot CV 'duck', xwátxot HH. Although this form occurs in all the southern Interior Salishan languages, Columbian differs from the others in having unrounded *x̣* where the others have *x̣ʷ*. Since other languages neighboring Columbian have the form with *x̣*, borrowing (or at least influence) from one of them is suggested. Lushootseed is certainly a possibility, although Sahaptin cannot be ruled out as the source. The Sahaptin form is x̣átx̣at (Hunn 1990:320).

(78) **strawberry**: **PCS *t̕íl̕iqʷ**: Se t̕əliqʷ RCB,JT, tE´lēuk CV/CH-T, tElēuk CH-T; Cw t̕íʔləqʷəłp T&B; Sa t̕il̕əqʷ TRM, te·´ləyʷ, t̕éʔlaqʷiłč T&B; Sg t̕éʔlʌqʷ MRM, t̕éʔlʌqw T&B, tē´luq CV/CH-T-Lk, têluk· CH-T-Lk; Lm t̕íʔləqʷ LCT,DM, t̲ē´loq CV; Sm t̕íl̕əqʷ BDG; Cl t̕éy̕əqʷ, t̕éʔyəqʷ, t̕íy̕əqʷ LCT, t̕iyuqʷiłč MSF, tēēuk, taiyū´qwīłtc EG (*Fragaria cuneifolia*), t̲ē´oq CV, té-*yu*kw GG; SLd t̕íləqʷ BHH-Suq 'wild s. (*F.* spp.)', t̕ílaq BHH-Mkl 'wild s. (*F.* spp.)', t̕íləqʷ TH, t̕e´lakw EG-Sx (*F. cuneifolia*), t̕e´lɑqᵘ EG-Py/Nis (*F.* sp.), tē´lok CV-Nis, te´-lakw, lē-lakw GG-Nis; Tw t̕íliqʷ NT,MDK, t̕éleqʷ GD, t̕é·lɪqʷ WWE, t!a´ 'qwē EG (*F.* sp.), tē´elekᵘ CV ‖ Cm t̕íləqʷ̕ MDK, té-laq ESC-Wn. Not all Columbian speakers use this form for 'strawberry', although all seem to know it. It is a direct borrowing from Lushootseed, although the added glottalization of the final consonant is unexplained. Columbian may have borrowed this form from the Snoqualmie dialect of Southern Lushootseed, or else the comparable forms in Northern Lushootseed were lost late.

2.1.8. Columbian into Lushootseed. Seventeen forms were borrowed by Lushootseed from Columbian.

(79) **turtle**: NLd ʔáləšək BHH,LCT-Sno, ale'cī´kᵘ CV-Sno; SLd ɑlačík HT-Snq 'painted t. (*Chrysemys picta*)', al´-a-shik GG-Nis, ale.cī´kᵘ CV-Nis, abʊçék HH-Nis ‖ OCh ʔalašík MDK, alaci´k CV; TCh claCk· TA-pb ‖ Li al.si´kᵘ CV; Th ʔəl̕ṣíkʷ T&T, alsī´kᵘ CV; Ok ʔar̕síkʷ LCT-K, earsékʷ DCW, Ar-sikh´ MD, arsī´kᵘ CV-Ok,Lk; Cv ʔar̕síkʷ AM, ʔarasíkʷ PAY, arsíkw MLP, arrrséekw, ahdrrséekw JBS, arcîkQ ?CH-T, ārsī´kᵘ CV-SPo,Cv, aresíkwʊ HH; Me ʔər̕síkʷ MOB; Cm ʔarasíkʷ MDK, arašɩqᵘ JRK, arazī´ᵘk CV, araçíkwa HH; Sp ʔer̕síkʷ(-m) BFC. This is a rather problematic set because of the lack of labialization of the final *k* in Lushootseed and Upper Chehalis. Examples of *k* in both of these languages are rare, and usually borrowed, so one would expect *kʷ* if the word for 'turtle' were borrowed from Columbian. Note, however, that the earlier forms from CV do show labialization, even though the still earlier forms from Gibbs and Hale do not. The Lushootseed forms may have been influenced by Upper Chehalis and/or Sahaptin; Upper Chehalis probably got its forms from the latter, which has alašík (Hunn 1990:318).

(80) **mule deer**: **PS ?*s-t̕ul=**: Sq s-t̕əl̕ K&B 'newborn deer', st'ĕl CV 'fawn'; Na STITL'E ARL, stelā´l CV 'fawn'; Cw t̕ít̕lə TK; Ck (s-)t̕ít̕ələ BDG; Sg st'ĕ´la CV-Lk; Lm st*u*l-la GG, .stî´la CV 'fawn'; Nk s-t̕əl̕ʔə LCT 'fawn, colt', .stî´lei CV 'fawn'; NLd s-t̕əl̕ʔá LCT-Sk 'fawn, colt', s-t̕ít̕ələʔ BHH 'young animal such as fawn, calf, colt', s-túlc̕əʔ BHH-Sk 'moose'; SLd .stî´la CV-Nis 'fawn', tul-la´, tul´-la GG-Nis 'fawn' ‖ Ti dəlt̕əl=éstu TTR (tə)l-t̕əléstəw LCT, dilt̕i´lA´stu MJ, dilt'ílɛ́stu, dəlt'əlɛ́stu MJ 'elk', dḷt̕Elá´sto MME 'elk', łt'ola´stō, dəlt̕əla´sto CV, dElt'A´lA´stu, dElt'ula´stu FB, tltōla´stō FB-Ti,Neh 'elk', te̲l⁽ᵗ⁾tala´stō FB-If 'land otter', tʊlástʊ HH; Si tltōla´stō FB; łt'ola´stō CV; te̲lte̲la´stō, te̲lte̲last'ō´- FB ‖ **PIS *s-t̕úl=**: Li s-ƛ̕úleʔ JVE, stlôla, ctlôla CH-T, SL'ō´la, .SLu´la, .stlū´la CV, stl·ō´la FB-R; Th s-ƛ̕úleʔ T&T, .stlū´la CV; Ok stúl=c̕aʔ LCT, .sto´lEtsa CV-Lk; Cv s-t̕úl=łc̕aʔ AM, stoll-sta CS, stoo óoltsa JBS, stóltsE HHH-T 'doe', stúl-tsa ESC, .stū´l.tsa CV-SPo, .stu´lltsa CV-Cv; Cm s-t̕úl=c̕aʔ MDK 'mule', st̕əlc̕aʔsqáx̣aʔ MDK 'mule', st̕úlc̕a ?, stúl-tsa ESC, .stu´lEtsa CV; Sp s-t̕úl=c̕eʔ BFC 'f. mule d.', stúl-tsĕ. ESC, .sto´lEtsa CV; Ka stúl-tsŭ ESC, .stu´lEtsa CV, stòlze CV 'doe'; Fl s-t̕úl=c̕eʔ SGT 'm.d., mule', st̕úlc̕e JRK 'blacktail d.', stoltse GFW (doe), stúl-tsĭ ESC, .stū´ltsa CV 'blacktail d.', stólze, stòlze JG 'm.d., (female) blacktail d.'; Cr s-t̕un=łc̕eʔ LCT, st'u̲nłts'e' LGN, s-t̕u´nłts'äʔ GAR, .sto´nEłtsa CV. It is possible that two distinct etyma are reflected in these forms, although a relationship seems likely. In any

case, the Skagit (Northern Lushootseed) form meaning ‘moose’ is different from other coastal forms, but is quite similar to Columbian and Okanagan forms. One of those languages is its most likely source, although loss of glottalization on the root-initial *t̓* is unexplained. The change in meaning may simply be a case of applying a foreign name to a non-native animal.

(81) **mule deer**: NLd s-x̌ʷəláqəd BHH-Sk ‘male yearling d.’, s-wəlaqəd BHH-Sk ‘male yearling deer’ ‖ PIS *s-x̣ʷəl̓áx=kən: Li s.x̣ʷláxkən JVE ‘buck’, sola´xkEN CV; Th .sx̣ôia´xkEN CV; WSh s-x̣ʷlexkn AHK ‘buck’, sxwlécken AHK^{2} ‘buck’, .sx̣ôla´xkEN CV; ESh sxweláxka AA; Cv s-x̣ʷlíx=qən AM; Cm s-x̣ʷəl̓ákən MDK, .sxola´kEN CV; Sp s-x̣ʷl̓=ésčn̓ BFC ‘buck’; Ka .sxôle´stcEN CV; Fl sgolés(h)’chin JG ‘male d.’, .s.xôl̓ê CV; Cr s-x̣ʷali´stcEN GAR ‘buck’, .sxolī´stcEN CV. The Lushootseed form is a straightforward borrowing from Columbian; all other Interior Salishan languages have *x* (or its reflex) before the *k* (or *q*) of the lexical suffix.

(82) **fisher**: NLd səltups BHH ‘marten’ ‖ Ok cr̓t=úps (AM)B, tsr̓tups P&L, crtops DCW, tcer̓tu´ps CV-Ok, tsErtū´ps CV-Lk, Char´-tups MD; Cv c̓ər̓t=úps TG, tcirtōps ?CH-T, tsîrtu´ps CV-SPo,CV; Me cər̆tóks MOB ‘marten’; Cm cər̓t=úps MDK, c̓ər̓túps MDK, čərtúps JRK ‘marten’. The Lushootseed form is borrowed from Columbian or Okanagan, with an unexplained change of the initial *c* to *s*, and expected change of *r* to *l*.

(83) **lynx**: PS *s-məɣáw: Pt smayā´ō FB ‘Biber, beaver’ (s-məyáw); Sm s-məyáw, s-məy̓áw BDG ‘fox’; Nk smi-yô ESC ‘coyote’; NLd s-biáw BHH,TH ‘coyote’; SLd s-byáw WAS ‘coyote’, sbyáw HT-Snq ‘coyote (*Canis latrans*)’, sbya´wʔ CET ‘coyote’ ‖ PIS *s-mɣáw: Li s.əmɣáw̓, sə-mɣéw̓ JVE-Ftn, SEmaxā´u, SEMEx̣a´u CV; Th s-mɣéw̓ T&T, s-mɣáw̓ MDK-J, SEMEra´u CV; WSh s-mɣew̓ AHK, semréw̓ AHK^{2,3}, SEMEXauwa´m, SEmrā´u CV; ESh saɣɛ́w̓ BDC (*Lynx canadensis*), sagáw̓ AA; Cm s-miyáw MDK ‘coyote’, simiyáu JRK ‘coyote’, smi-yô ESC-Wn ‘coyote’, shĭm-mi-yô ESC-Snk ‘coyote’, SEMEā´u CV ‘coyote’, çmiau HH ‘wolf’; Sp s-myéw BFC ‘coyote’, smiē´.u CV; Cr smiyi̱w LGN ‘coyote’, s-miyi´w, smɩyi´w GAR ‘coyote’, sʋmiyíu HH ‘wolf’. The presence of the Pentlatch form in this set (with nothing close for borrowing) indicates that it goes back to Proto-Salish. The sound correspondences are all regular; it is the meanings that suggest borrowing. The original meaning is likely to have been ‘lynx’ (as in Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap) or ‘mid-sized animal’. Columbian, Spokane, and Coeur d’Alene shifted the meaning to ‘coyote’, and it is this meaning (along with the form) that was borrowed by Lushootseed. It then spread further into Nooksack and Samish.

(84) **hoary marmot**: Se s-qʷíyqʷ JT ‘rat-sized whistling mountainous animal’; Sq s-qʷiqʷ AHK ‘groundhog’, K&B ‘h. m.’; Ck s-qʷí·qʷ BDG,JGH, sqʷíqʷ BDG, skwē´Eka CV,CH-T ‘groundhog’; Nk skwē´.qᵘ CV ‘m., groundhog’; NLd s-qʷíqʷəd BHH-Sk ‘m.’, kwī´eq ᵘ CV-Sk ‘squirrel’; SLd sqʷe·´qʷəd HT-Snq (*Marmota caligata*); ‖ ?PIS *s-qʷíqʷnt: Li s-qʷíqʷənt, s-qʷíqʷnət, qʷéqʷnət JVE ‘groundhog, whistler’; Th s-qʷíqʷnt T&T, ‘skwê´kwent CV; WSh s-qʷíʔqʷe AHK, sqwí7qwe AHK^{2,3} ‘whistler’; ESh sqʷíʔqʷə BDC ‘rockchuck, whistler, h.m. (*M. caligata*)’, sk̲wí7k̲wa AA ‘groundhog’; Cm s-qʷíqʷən(t)k MDK, šqᵘeqᵘntkᵘ JRK ‘marmot’. Although cognates occur to the north, Lushootseed has borrowed this form from Columbian, where the *n* to supply the Lushootseed *d* is present. (Consonants beyond this *n* are less stable.) The Lushootseed form may actually represent reshaping more than borrowing, since the version of the form recorded earlier lacks the final *d* and does correspond to the forms in the languages to the north.

(85) **marten**: NLd p̓íq̓s BHHı-Sk ‘m., mink’; SLd pé·k̓əs HT-Snq (*Martes caurina*); ‖ Ok p'ipk̲'s P&L, pe´pEks CV-Ok, pē´pEkEs CV-Lk, Pip-qus MD; Cv p̓ip̓q̓əs, p̓ipq̓s AM ‘m., weasel’, p̓p̓íq̓s TG, puh ipkss JBS, pḗpk·us ?CH-T, pe´pEqs CV-SPo,CV; Me pˡpírq̓s MOB ‘raccoon’; Cm p̓əp̓íq̓s MDK, p̓p̓íqš JRK ‘fisher’, pe´tsq CV. This Lushootseed form again appears to be borrowed from Columbian (or possibly Okanagan), although without the initial reduplication that is always present in the latter languages.

(86) **wolverine**: NLd qʷə́ɬtəbəy̓, qʷɬtəbáy̓ BHH ‘unid. animal’ ‖ Ok qʷɬtmin (AM)B, k̲w'lhtmin. P&L, qoaLtEmē´n CV-Ok, kwoɬtemī´n CV-Lk; Cv quaxtamín JBS, kwîɬtEmī´n CV-SPo,Clv; Cm qʷəɬtəmáyn MDK, qᵘəɬtamáin JRK. The wolverine would not have been particularly familiar to Lushootseed speakers, so it is not surprising that it has been difficult to identify this animal. It is clearly the same as the Columbian and Okanagan forms for ‘wolverine’, however. The presence of *əy* in Lushootseed rather than *í* (as in Okanagan), suggests that the borrowing is from Columbian, although the loss of the final *n* is unexplained.

(87) **rattlesnake**: NLd s-k̓ídəkʷ BHH-Sk ‖ Cm s-k̓ínkʷ MDK, šk̓ínkᵘ JRK, .ski´nuk CV, skínuqu HH ‘snake’. This Lushootseed form is clearly borrowed from Columbian. Lushootseed does not ordinally have *k̓*, although Columbian does, and rattlesnakes would have been largely unfamiliar to coastal people.

(88) **sockeye salmon**: SLd s-c̓əwád, c̓əwádxʷ TH-Mkl, s-c̓uwad BHH-Mkl, c̓əwádxʷ BHH-Mkl, s-c̓əwád BHH-Snq, sc̓əwád HT-Snq, sc̓wád WAS ‘blueback s.’ ‖ Li c̓wan, sc̓wen JVE ‘dried s.’, sts̓wan K&B ‘wind-dried fish’, tsəwǽn, ts̓wæn LS ‘dry fish’; Th s-c̓(u)wén T&T ‘dried s.’; Ok s-c̓uwín (AM)B ‘early s.s.’, sts'uwín P&L (early), sc̓wen DCW ‘spring s.’; Cv s-c̓uwín TG, sc̓ǎwín LCT ‘spring s.’, stsuwɩ´n VR ‘silver or white s.’, ss'wen ?CH-T; Cm s-c̓uw̓án̓ MDK ‘blueback s., sockeye s.’. The Lushootseed form corresponds rather well to Columbian, although one alternant has the ending reshaped so that the word looks as if it has a lexical suffix for ‘salmon’.

(89) **steelhead**: PS *xʷmániʔ: Lm hu-má-ni GG ‘salmon fry’; SLd xʷbádiʔ TH-Snoq ‘sockeye s.’, xʷ-bádiʔ BHH-Snq ‘sockeye salmon (red salmon, blueback)’, xubádi HT-Snq ‘blueback’ ‖ Ok xʷəmínaʔ (AM)B ‘s., rainbow trout’, xwumína7 P&L; Cv xʷumínaʔ TG, xwemína7 B&K ‘rainbow trout’, xooména JBS, x̣ʷumínaʔ LCT ‘trout (gen.)’, xumi´nɑ’ VR, ħo-mí-nĕ ESC-Cv, ho-mí-nĕ ESC-Nsp; Me xʷumínəʔ MOB, xʷxʷoménəʔ MOB ‘trout’; Cm xʷmánaʔ MDK, xumména JRK, ħo-mă-nĕ ESC-Snk; Sp xʷméneʔ BFC, hu-mĕ-nĕ ESC; Ka ħo-mé-nĭ-ĭ ESC; Fl goméne, guméne JG ‘a special kind of salmon’, gumɛnɛ́ HHT-H (unid. fish). This form also looks like a direct loan into Lushootseed from Columbian (and then further into Lummi). The Columbian form was perceived as having a lexical suffix for ‘ear’, and this was changed into the Lushootseed suffix for ‘ear’, hence the change of the last vowel. The shifts in meaning are unexplained.

(90) **whitefish**: NLd x̣ʷəyʔ=cíd TH, x̌ʷəyʔcíd BHH, huycíd BHH ‖ Ok xoiō´tcEn CV-Lk; Cv x̣ʷux̣ʷy̓=úcn TG, x̲wex̲wiy̓útsn B&K ‘mountain w. (*Prosopium williamsoni*)’, xixoio´tcEn CV-SPo, xoio´tcEn CV-Cv; Me xʷxʷeóʔčn MOB; Cm s-x̣ʷay̓=cín̓, s-x̣ʷiy̓=cín̓ MDK, sxᵘečín JRK, .sxoitcī´n CV; Sp x̣ʷx̣ʷy̓=úcn̓ BFC, xoio´tsEn CV; Ka x̣x̣oy̓ú HV, XEXoiu´tcEn CV; Fl x̣ʷ(ə)y̓=ú SGT, x̣oy̓ú JRK, x̣oyu GFW, ha:gwayu HHT-H, xôxoi ‘u´ CV. The Lushootseed form is a straightforward borrowing from Columbian. This is an interior fish.

(91) **buzzard**: NLd sŭ-ká-wi ESC-Sno; SLd c̓ⁱkáwd HT-Snq, stsŭ-ká-wĭd ESC-Nis, .stsakā´ut CV ‘turkey b.’ ‖ Cv cíqʷwyaʔ AM ‘hawk’, chĭ-ko-ya ESC-Cv, chí-ko-ya CV-Nsp; Cm cáqʷuwya, cáqawya MDK ‘turkey vulture’, tsá-ka-wi-a ESC-Wn, chá-ko-yĕ ESC-Snk; Sp tsá-ko-yĕ ESC; Ka tsá-ka-wi-yĕ ESC; Fl caqʷuyéʔ, cáquyeʔ SGT, tsá-ka-wi-yĕ ESC. If this is indeed a borrowing from Columbian into Lushootseed, there are unexplained differences—stress on a second syllable and a different ending on the Lushootseed forms.

(92) **dipper**: NLd s-x̣ʷə́x̣ʷc̓q̓ʷ TH ‘river snipe (?dipper)’, s-x̌ʷə́x̌ʷc̓q̓ʷ BHH-Sk,Sno ‘river snipe (a small blackish diver)’; SLd sx̣ʷəcqʷ HT-Snq (*Cinclus mexicanus*) ‖ Li x̣ʷəc̓q̓ʷ JVE; Cm x̣ʷx̣ʷə́c̓q̓ʷ MDK.

(93) **blue grouse**: NLd sə́səqʷ BHH-Sau,TH ‘quail’ ‖ WSh səsuqʷ AHK, sesúq'w AHK^{3}, SEsō´q̒ CV; ESh səsúqʷ JAG, sɨsúqʷ BDC (*Dendragapus obscurus*), sesúk̲w̓ AA; Cm səsə́qʷ MDK, səsə́q̓ᵘ JRK, so´q, SEso´q CV; Sp sesíkʷ

BFC 'bobwhite'. This is a straightforward borrowing by Lushootseed from Columbian with a shift of stress to the first syllable.

(94) **hawk**: SLd piyá ' HT-Snq 'red-tailed h. (*Buteo jamaicensis*)' ‖ Ok p(i)yáʕ (AM)B, pyag P&L 'red-tailed h.'; Cm piyá MDK 'chicken h.', pàɬənpiyə́ MDK 'buzzard', piyá JRK 'snake h.'; Sp s-pyáʔ BFC 'red-tailed h., snake h.', .spi̓a´ CV 'chicken h.'; Fl s-p'ɩ́y̓a JRK 'chicken h.', spía JG 'yellow and gray bird'; Cr pai´.ya CV 'chicken h.'. This is one of the most common hawks in the Northwest, but the distribution of this form in Interior Salish suggests that Lushootseed borrowed the from from Columbian or Okanagan. Its presence in *Southern* Lushootseed may be somewhat unexpected, although the dialect represented here is Snoqualmie, and these people had fairly easy access to Columbian territory.

(95) **raspberry**: NLd ɬálə BHH,TH-Sno (*Rubus idaeus*) ‖ Ok ɬáʕlaʔ (AM)B, lhágla7 P&L,TBK, Lā´la CV-Ok, .xla´la CV-Lk; Cv ɬáʕlaʔ TG, láɬaʔ LCT, ɬálaʔ GLA, ɬa·´lἀ VFR, xla´la CV-SPo,Cv; Me xɬálaʔ MOB; Cm ɬá̜l̥a̜ʔ MDK, ɬa´la CV. The Lushootseed form is from either Columbian or Methow-Colville, with reduction of the second vowel and loss of the final glottal stop.

2.1.9. Okanagan into Lushootseed. Four forms appear to have been borrowed into Lushootseed from Okanagan rather than Columbian.

(96) **muskrat**: NLd s-qədíx̣ TH, s-qədíx̌ BHH-Sno, .skanê´x CV-Sno; SLd skadéx̣ HT (*Ondatra zibethicus*), .skane´x CV-Nis, skud-dikhw, skud-dikhw´ GG-Nis ‖ WSh .sanü´xia CV; Ok sg̓an'íxw P&L, s-ʕanéx^{w} DCW, CEā´nēx̣ CV-Ok, .sānē´x^{u} CV-Lk; Cv s-ʕan'íx^{w} TG, sʕaníx^{w} AM, sEānéuQ ?CH-T, sa-ní-uh ESC-Cv, sha-a-nĕoh ESC-Nsp, saan̥ē´x^{u} CV-Spo,Cv; Me sʔanʔéx^{w} MOB, sʔà·nʔéx^{w}, sʔaànɛḥ^{w} MOB; Cm ḥan'áx^{w} MDK, xanʔáx^{u} JRK, hă-ná-uh ESC-Snk, xana´ux CV. The vowel and initial consonant of this Lushootseed form point to Okanagan as the source. The final consonant has also been changed, although Gibbs recorded it with labialization in Nisqually.

(97) **porcupine**: PS *s-k^{w}ə́ľ: NLd q^{w}əq^{w}áľ BHH-Sk ‖ PIS *s-k^{w}ə́ľ: Li (s-)k^{w}ə́ľk^{w}əľ JVE-MtC, k̓úk^{w}il LS, ko´lakul CV; Th s-k^{w}íʔ T&T, s-k^{w}íy̓ MDK-U, .s̓kwe´ CV; Ok .skwa´ll CV-Ok; Cv sk^{w}áľ TG; Me sq^{w}ə́ľ MOB; Cm s-k^{w}ə́ľ MDK, šq^{u}ə́ľ JRK, .s̓quî´l CV; Sp s-k^{w}íľ BFC; Ka s-k^{u}íľ HV, .skwi´.l CV; Fl s-k^{w}iľ SGT, sk̓^{u}ɩ́ľ JRK, sq^{u}el·a GFW, .skwī´.l CV, skuíl JG 'p., lynx'; Cr s-k^{w}uk^{w}éľ LCT, sk'k'we´l LGN, s-k̓u-k^{w}ä´ľ GAR, sko̓kwa´l CV. If this Lushootseed form is truly a borrowing, it has undergone considerable reshaping—initial reduplication, uvulars for the velar of the Interior root, and an unexpected vowel reflex. The vowels of the Interior forms go back to **ə́*, which regularly developed to *á* in Okanagan. On the other hand, this etymon goes back to Proto-Salish (as reflected in words for 'porcupine quill', not included here), so the Lushootseed form could be a retention from the proto-language.

(98) **weasel**: PS *ɬak̓ám̓: Be ɬmk̓m=ani HFN,D&S, LEmk·ma´nē CV ‖ PCS *s-ɬač̓ám̓: Pt s-lecam (Pt?); Cw s-ɬc̓ɛ́m E&S; Ms s-ɬc̓ɛ́m E&S, cletsā´m CV/CH-T, SElslEm CV/CH-T-Kwn, SElslEm, SElslE´m CH-T; Ck s-ɬəc̓è·m, ɬəc̓é·m, ɬc̓é·m BDG, səɬc̓ɛ́m E&S, (s)ɬc̓é·m JGH, cletsa´m CH-T; Sm s-ɬc̓ém̓ BDG; Nk .sɬ̓tsa´.m CV; NLd ɬə́č̓əb TH,BHH, scha´-chum GG-Sk, ɬē´tcEb CV-Sno, ɬíɬq̓əb BHH-Sk; SLd ɬáčb WAS, kle´-ch'm GG-Nis, hlē-chŭb ESC-Nis, ɬe´tzEb CV-Nis ‖ Ti Latc'o MME, Lā´tc'ō CV ‖ PIS *ɬk̓ə́m̓: Ok ɬəɬk̓ám̓ (P&L), lhelhk'ám̓ P&L, ɬEɬ.qā´m CV; Cv ɬəɬk̓am AM; Sp ɬč̓ím̓ BFC; Fl ɬč̓ɩ́m̓ JRK, cl·čī GFW, hlchim ESC, .ɬ̓tsī´.m CV, tse´Em CV/JG-Ka, ɬchim JG. Lushootseed has two distinct reflexes of this stem: ɬə́č̓əb is the normal development from Proto-Salish, and aligns with other coastal forms (with stress shifted forward); the Skagit form ɬíɬq̓əb, however appears to be borrowed from the Interior, substituting *q̓* for *k̓*. The vowel in the reduplicated portion may represent a reshaping to fit usual Lushootseed diminutive reduplication patterns.

(99) **cedar roots**: PS ***c̓áp̓ax̣**: Be c̓ap̓ax̣ HFN 'bough tips of r.c.', ts̓ap̓ax̱ NJT 'r.c. limbs twisted into rope'; NLd c̓apx̌ BHH-Sk 'c. root, split c. roots'; SLd c̓apx̌ BHH-Mkl 'c. root, split c. roots' ‖ Ok c̓áp̓aʔx̣ (AM)B, ts̓áp̓a7x̱ TBK; Cv tsɩtsa´pax^{u} VFR; Cm c̓ápaʔ MDK-EP 'c. root'. If this Lushootseed form is actually a borrowing, rather than a retention from Proto-Salish, it would have to have come from Okanagan rather than Columbian, which lacks the final *x̣*. The Okanagan form refers to the entire tree, however, rather than just the roots, apparently a case of widening of meaning.

2.1.10. Coast language into Okanagan. One form appears to be borrowed by Okanagan from a coast language. Direct connections between the Okanagan and coastal groups do not appear to have been common, although they were possible.

(100) **ruffed grouse**: Se s-tíx^{w}im JT 'willow g.'; Na S-TIHWUM ARL 'r.g., willow g.', ste´xum CV 'partridge'; Cw stíx^{w}əm TK 'willow g.'; Ck s-tíx^{w}əm BDG; Lm stí·x^{w}əm MJ 'pheasant' ("prob. Cw"); Cl s-tayəx^{w}ən MSF 'pheasant', .stē´ux̣En CV 'chicken', sté-yu-hūng, ste´yu-hūng GG; NLd s-tə́x^{w}əb TH 'pheasant', s-tə́x^{w}əb BHH-Sk,Sau 'g.; ring-necked pheasant', .sto´xob CV-Sk 'willow g.' ‖ Ok .tstukwa´m CV-Ok. The different stress on the Okanagan form is problematic, and the form could have come from either Chilliwack or Lushootseed.

2.1.11. Okanagan into Chilliwack Halkomelem. Only one form shows the reverse direction of borrowing.

(101) **chokecherry**: Ck ɬəx̣^{w}ɬə́x̣^{w} BDG, ɬəx̣^{w}ɬéx̣^{w} TIC ‖ Ok ɬx̣^{w}ɬáx̣^{w} DCW 'c., wild cherry', ɬəx̣^{w}ɬx̣^{w}=íɬp TIC, lhex̱wlháx̱w TBK, lhux̱wlháx̱w P&L; Cv ɬux̣^{w}ɬáx̣^{w}, ɬəx̣^{w}ɬáx̣^{w} AM, ɬux̣^{w}ɬáx̣^{w} TG, ɬough ɬaough JBS, ƛ̓ux^{w}ƛ̓áx^{w} PAY, x̣ɬox̣ɬa´ux̣, x̣ɬoxɬáux̣ VFR; Me ƛòxɬáx^{w} MOB; Sp ɬx̣^{w}ɬóx̣^{w} BFC, hlâĥ-hlâĥ ESC; Ka ɬox̣ɬóx̣ HV; Fl ɬx̣^{w}ɬx̣^{w}=álq^{w} TIC, ɬx̣^{w}ɬó JH, lshx̱lsho JAH, ɬox̣^{w}ɬó, ɬx̣^{w}ɬo SGT, hlâĥ-hlâĥ ESC, ɬgoɬògo JG; Cr la´x̣^{w}-lux̣^{w} GAR 'cherry', ɬa̱qhwɬ(u)qhw, la̱qhwlaqhw LGN, táx̣ɬEx̣ TIC/TEIT. The closest available language for this Chilliwack Halkomelem form is Okanagan. The borrowing occurred before Okanagan had shifted **ə́* to *á*. This is an interior plant.

2.2. Unclear directionality of borrowing. A number of forms are identical or so nearly similar, and occur in only one or two languages on each side of the mountains, that it is not possible to determine which way the borrowing went. Where there has been some reshaping, it is impossible to know which language made the changes. These will be given without commentary.

2.2.1. North. There are 11 such forms in the north.

(102) **dog**: Nk lî´tzElkEn CV 'woolly dog' ‖ Li ɬic̓ JVE 'old dog (possibly Salish wool dog, now extinct)'; Th ɬə́c̓=ľqn LCT 'wool dog'.

(103) **grizzly bear**: Sq s-ƛ̓əɬál-m AHK, s-ƛ̓aɬáləm K&B, SLaLā´nĕm CV/CH-T, tlatla´lEm CH-T, k·tlalum CH-T 'brown b.', stlatlā´lem FB-R ‖ Li s.ƛ̓aɬáləm, s.ƛ̓aɬálam, (s-)ƛ̓eɬél-əm JVE, ƛuƛǽləm LS, ɬƛ̓eɬéləm LCT, SLāLā´lEm CV/CH-T, stlātlā´lEm FB-R, 'stlātlā́lEm CH-T, sla-tlet´-lim WFT.

(104) **lynx**: Ck čó·wq^{w}əle BDG (?), θú·k^{w}èle JGH ‖ Li cúq^{w}-anaʔ JVE-MtC, cúq^{w}eneʔ, cóq^{w}eneʔ JVE, tso´kona CV.

(105) **porcupine**: Ck s-wət(')í·yé BDG, sxʷətí·yè JGH ‖ Th s-wetíyeʔ T&T, cwetī´a CV.

(106) **spring salmon**: Ck s-kʷə́x̣əm DBG (Rosedale), s-qʷə́x̣əm BDG ‖ Li (s)-kʷéx̣əm JVE, skwéx̲em K&B, skʷáx̣əm JVE 'first s.s.', skwúqEm CH-T.

(107) **bald eagle**: Ck s-kʼʷé·lx̣ BDG, skʷélx̣ JGH 'Golden E.', skoä´lx CV/CH-T, skwäleq CH-T; Nk .skō´lax CV 'golden e.' ‖ Li s.kʷalx̣, (s-)kʷelx̣ JVE (young).

(108) **blueberry**: Ck lə́tʼᶿiləc BDG 'Alaska b.', li´tcēlEtc CH-T ‖ Th lə́cʼiʔ T&T,TTTY 'Alaska b. (*Vaccinium alaskaense*)'.

(109) **snowberry**: Ck qəwáw=əɬp, qʼəwáwəɬp BDG, kəwáw=ɬp PTA ‖ Th s-qwéw=ɬp T&T, kawa´uEɬp STEEDMAN.

(110) **camas**: Ck skʼéməθ BDG 'blue c.' ‖ Li s.kʼamʼc JVE 'yellow dogtooth violet, glacier lily'; Th s-kʼémʼec T&T,TTTY 'yellow avalanche lily, c. (*Erythronium grandiflorum*)'.

(111) **hellebore**: Sq qʷneɬp AHK 'Indian h.', qwnáɬp B&T ‖ Li qʷn-aɬp, qʷənéɬp, qʷneɬp JVE 'Indian h.'; Th qʷn=éɬp TTTY 'Indian-h., false h. (*Veratrum viride*)'.

(112) **Indian rice**: Sq ɬásəm B&T 'chocolate lily', ɬás-m AHK ‖ Li ɬás-əm, ɬáṣəm JVE.

2.2.2. South. Two such forms occur in the south.

(113) **grizzly bear**: NLd s-təbtábəlʼ BHH-Sk,Sno,TH-Sk,Sno, stEmtā´mEd CV-Sno, .stEmtā´bEl CV-Sk; SLd stub-tābl GG-Nis ‖ Cm s-təmʼtámʼəlʼ MDK, sʼəmʼtámməl JRK, stŭm-tám-ĭl ESC-Wn, shtĕm-tá-mil ESC-Snk, .stîmta´mEl CV, stʊmtámil HH.

(114) **bullhead**: NLd s-təbáykʷ BHH-Sk,TH 'fresh-water b.' ‖ Cm s-təmáykʷ MDK 'tadpole', stumaíqᵘ JRK.

2.3. Forms borrowed twice. Forms from nine cognate sets were borrowed two or more times. Five of these were in the north alone, in cases where Lillooet and Thompson each borrowed forms from different languages or at different times.

(115) **raccoon**: PS ***mal=al=ús, *mal=ay=ús, *mal=úps**: Be may=as HFN ‖ PCS ***mal=ál=us, *mal=áy=us, *mal=úps**: Cx máy=us JT, mâyọs ES, mā´yus CV; Se mə́l=ál=us RCB, mə́lalus JT, mélalūs CH-T; Sq mə́l=al=us AHK,K&B, mĕlā´lus CV; Ms mə́l=əs DBG,E&S, mə́l·əs MDK, mu´lis CH-T,CV/CH-T; Ck mə́l=ə́s E&S,JGH, mə́lɪs, mə́l·əs BDG, mə́ləs PTA, mE´lalūs CV; Lm blōps GG; Nk məl=ǽy=os PTA, mĭ-laí-yos ESC, mElei´us CV; SLd bəl=úps TH, bəlúps BHH, b́lops HT-Snq (*Procyon lotor*), blups ESC-Nis, bElu´ps CV-Nis, blōps GG-Nis; Tw bə́lʔ=ay=as NT, bə́leʔəs GD, bʌ́lʔyɪs WWE, ba´lias CV ‖ Qn məl=ús JAG, malús RHM, mElo´Es CV ‖ Ti wəl=ə́xʷs TTR, wulo´hs MME, walu´xs CV, wEluhs FB 'R.', tuwalu´qs FB ‖ Li (məl)mạ̣ḷalus, məlmálalus, (məl)mál=el=us, máḷelus JVE, məmáləluʃ LS, mî´lalus CV; Th mî´lls CV. The raccoon does not occur naturally in Lillooet or Thompson territory, and present-day speakers do not know names for the animal. This Lillooet form is clearly borrowed from Sechelt or Squamish, and the Thompson form is from Chilliwack Halkomelem.

(116) **chum salmon**: PCS ***kʷúlʼəxʷ**: Sl kʷúʔuxʷm B&K 'smoke s.'; Cx kʷúʔuxʷ JT,LCT 'smoked or dried fish'; Pt qō´loχ FB 'Lachs' (kʷúluxʷ), qō´lox CV 's. (gen.)', k·ō´loq FB-R 'salmon', k̲ō´loq, kō´loq FB 's. (gen.)', skuō´lox FB 'dried s.', skuō´loχ, skuō´loq FB 'trockener Lachs'; Se skʷúluxʷ JT 'dried fish', skuō´lo CV 's. (gen.)', skuō´lō FB-R 'salmon'; Sq kʷáʔlaxʷm AHK 'Dog Salmon River'; Na QWA'LUHW ARL 'dog s.'; Cw kʷáʔləxʷ E&S,TK,MDK 'dog s.', kʷáləxʷ TEH 'dog s.', kʷálʼəxʷ ARL 'dog s.'; Ms kʷáʔləxʷ E&S, koā´lux CV/CH-T 'dog s.', kwä´lū CH-T 'dog s.'; Ck kʷá·ləxʷ DBG,E&S, qʷáloxʷ PTA 'dried s.', kwa´lōq CH-T 'dog s.'; Sa kʷálʼəxʷ, qʷalʼəxʷ TRM; So kʷáʔləxʷ BSE; Sg kwáyʌx MRM 'chum/dog s.', kwā´lōx CV/CH-T-Lk 'dog s.', kwā́lōq CH-T-Lk 'dog s.'; Lm kʷólʼəxʷ LCT,DM, kʷáʔləxʷ MJ 'dog s.', kwô´lux̣ CV 'dog s.', kwal-hu GG (*Salmo canis*); Sm kʷálʼəxʷ BDG 'dog s.'; Nk kʷóloxʷ PTA 'dog s.', kʷú(ʔ)ləxʷ LCT, kō.lox̣ CV 'dog s.' ‖ Li kʷalʼxʷ, kʷelʼxʷ JVE 'dog s.', kʷælúh LS 'dog s.', kwä´lax CV/CH-T, kwäluq CV 'dog s.'; Th kʷúluʔxʷ T&T 'c.s., dog s.'. The Lillooet form is a relatively recent loan from Chilliwack or Musqueam Halkomelem. The Thompson form is probably also from Chilliwack, but earlier, before **ú* changed to *á* and before the glottal stop settled out as vowel length. The movement of the glottal stop may represent a reinterpration of its function.

(117) **maple**: Se qʼə́mul=ay JT, qu´mōlai CV, k·úmōlai CH-T; Sq qʼəməlʼ=áyʼ B&T, qʼml=áyʔ AHK, qamēlāi CV/CH-T, k·u´mElai CH-T; Na qʼə́mən=ɛɬp DBG, Q'UMUNULHP ARL, qʼā´melatlp CV; Ms qʼəmə́l=əɬp DBG, qʼə́məl=əɬp E&S; Ck qʼəmów=əɬp, qʼəmó·ɬp BDG, qəmúʔɪɬp, qʼəmúlɪɬp, qʼə́mləɬp DBG, qʼəmú·=ɬp MDK, qʼəmə́w·ɬp E&S, qbō´oLp CV/CH-T, k·Emō´etlp CH-T; Sg qáməŋʔ=iɬč YAR; Lm qʼə̀məl=íɬč LCT, qʼə́məlʔi·ɬč MJ, k!amaɬi´tc EG, kŭ-ma-líhlch ESC, kum´an-ilp GG; Sm qʼə́mən=iɬč BDG; Cl kŭn-mĭl-nĭch ESC; Nk kî´mElEɬp CV, kŭ-mŭ-lĭhlp ESC ‖ Li qʼəmʼl-ázʼ, qʼəml=ázʼ, qʼəmʼlézʼ JVE, kʼəmláz LS, qEmlâ´z CV, k·Emlâ´z CH-T; Th qʼámʼn=eɬp T&T,TTTY (*Acer macrophyllum*). The lexical suffix suggests that the Lillooet form was borrowed from Squamish (or Sechelt, although the second vowels do not match). The Thompson form is a misinterpretation of the Chilliwack form, with an incorrect assumption that the *l* was from *n*. The first vowel of the Thompson form also suggests a Halkomelem origin, although it has metathesized with the *m*.

(118) **crabapple**: Se qʷəʔúp JT, qʷə́ʔúp RCB, kwEhṓpai CH-T (tree); Sq qʷəʔúp B&T, qʷuʔúp HFN, qʷʔup AHK, qō´ōp CV; Na QWA'APULHP ARL; Cw qʷəʔáp MDK,ARL,E&S, qʷəʔəp T&B, qá-ap ESC 'cranberries'; Ms qʷəʔáp E&S; Ck qʷəʔáp BDG,E&S, qʷəʔá·pəɬp JGH, kwEâ´p CH-T 'apple', kwEap CH-T 'crab-tree'; Sg qwáʔap MRM, qwáʔapiɬch T&B; Nk kʷʔúp LCT, qʷoʔóp, kʷʔóp PTA ‖ Li qʷʔup JVE, qʷəʔúp LS, k·wEṓp CH-T 'apple'; Th qʷʔép T&T,TTTY. The different vowels in Lillooet and Thompson suggest that the former borrowed this word from Squamish or Sechelt (or early from Halkomelem), while Thompson borrowed it recently from Chilliwack Halkomelem.

(119) **Oregon grape**: Sq sə́liyʼáyʼ B&T, sə́lʔy=áyʔ AHK 'wild grape'; Na SUNI'ULHP ARL; Cw sə́nɛyʔ=əɬp E&S,T&B (short), sə`li´·əɬp T&B, sán-ni ESC; Ms sə́nɛyʔ=əɬp E&S (short); Ck səlíy(=əɬp) BDG (short), sʌliʔ, sʌliy=ɛ´ɬp PTA, sə̀lí·əɬp E&S (short); Sa səniʔ TRM, sə´nəiɬč T&B; Lm sunnī´ EG; Sm sə́niʔ BDG 'short O.g.'; Nk sɪ´niʔ PTA ‖ Li sə́ləyʼ JVE; Th sə́niʔ T&T,TTTY 'short O.g.'. The Lillooet form is directly from Chilliwack Halkomelem (or Squamish, without the lexical suffix, although the Squamish form must itself be from Chilliwack because of the *l*). The Thompson form is either from further afield than Chilliwack, or is again a reinterpretation (this time correctly) of the Chilliwack *l* as being from *n* (or Thompson borrowed the form before this sound change occurred).

(120) **red fox**: Ck s-x̣əwél, s-x̣owél BDG; NLd s-x̌ʷuʔx̌ʷuʔ BHH-Sau? 'f.' ‖ PIS ***x̣ʷəʕʷ=álxʷ**: Li s.x̣ʷʕʷalxʷ, x̣ʷʕʷalxʷ, x̣ʷʕʷ=elxʷ, x̣ʕʷelxʷ JVE, xuǽlxʷ LS, wā´-luh WFT, xoē´lux CV; Th x̣ʷʕʷ=éyxʷ MDK-U, x̣wéyxʷ T&T, axawai´ux̣ CV; WSh x̣ʷʕʷ=elmx AHK, xgwélemc AHK[2,3], xoa´lEmx CV; ESh x̣ʷʕʷ=elmxʷ AHK, x̣ʷʕʷɛ́ləxʷ BDC (*Vulpes vulpes*), xgwélemcw AHK[3], x̲wgwálaxw AA, sənx̣ʷóx̣ʷoluxʷ JAG; Ok x̲wgwaylxw P&L, x̣ʷaʕylxʷ, xʷaylxʷ DCW, .xoai´lux̣ CV-Ok, xowai´Elux̣ CV-Lk, Why-ay´-looh MD; Cv x̣ʷʕʷ=ilxʷ, x̣ʷʕʷaylxʷ AM, x̣ʷʕʷílxʷ TG,

x̣ʷəʕʷáyləxʷ GLA, tuxwailux JBS, tuqwailuq ?CH-T, .sxai´elux̣ CV-SPo, xawai´lux CV-CV; Me xʷoʕʷélxʷ, xʷoʕʷɛ́lxʷ, xʷoʕʷéluxʷ, xºʕéluxʷ MOB; Cm s-x̣ʷə́ʕʷx̣ʷʕʷ MDK, sx̣óx̣o JRK, shħô-ħâ ESC-Wn, .sxo´xa CV; Sp s-x̣ʷóx̣ʷo BFC, sħá-ħâ ESC, .sxôxo´ CV; Ka x̣ᵘa·x̣ᵘaá HV, xwôxwa´ CV; Fl x̣ʷax̣ʷaá SGT, x̣ʷóx̣ʷlxʷ BJS, x̣ᵘa·x̣ᵘaá, x̣ᵘax̣ᵘaá JRK, wa·wa·a GFW, ħwa-ħwá ESC, xwa.xwa´ CV, guagua´lizu CV/JG, guagualigu JAP, guaguáligu, guagualigu JG; Cr s-x̣ʷä´ṛʷ-x̣ʷäṛʷ GAR, sqhwe(wqhwe(w LGN, .sxwā´xwa CV. Because Thompson has shifted the *l* of this form to *y*, Lillooet is the more likely source of the Chilliwack form. The final consonant has been lost, and the pharyngeal was heard as *w*. Bates, Hess, and Hilbert comment that this form is borrowed into Lushootseed from Chinook Jargon (1994:273); however, the Chinook Jargon sources I have consulted give no such form. Columbian is the most likely source, with pharyngeals reinterpreted as glottal stops while providing rounding for the vowel. Okanagan and the northern Interior Salishan languages do not reduplicate the form, and have a suffix not found on the Lushootseed form.

(121) **pika**: Ck sk'ĭ·l, sk'ì·l BDG, səq'í·l JGH; Nk skī´l CV 'marmot, groundhog'; NLd .sqe´d CV-Sk 'marmot, groundhog', sqe´n CV-Sno 'marmot, groundhog'; SLd sčit HT-Snq (*Ochotona princeps*) ‖ **PIS *s-k'ín' / *s-k'íl'**: Li s-k'il' JVE 'p., rock rabbit'; Th s-k'íl' T&T 'p., rock rabbit'; WSh s-kik'l', skínt AHK 'p., rock rabbit', skík'el' AHK³ 'p., rock rabbit'; ESh skík'əl', skint BDC (*O. princeps*); Cm s-k'ín' MDK; Fl s-č'ín' JRK, s·ᶜīne GFW; Cr s-tc'im' GAR (unid. animal), sch'i'm LGN 'marmot, woodchuck'. The Chilliwack Halkomelem and Nooksack forms are from Thompson and Lillooet, which have *l* in this word. The Lushootseed form, on the other hand, is from Columbian, which has *n*. The variation between *n* and *l* is probably an old sound-symbolic alternation, such as is common further south on the Plateau. (The Coeur d'Alene *m* must be an unusual dissimilation of coronals.) The Columbian form was also borrowed into Sahaptin as č'iin (Hunn 1979).

(122) **humpback salmon**: **PCS *hənúʔn**: Se hənun JT, ha´nōn CV/CH-T, hánōn CH-T; Na hú·nʔ DBG, HUNUN, HAAN' ARL, he´nen CV; Cw há·nʔ MDK,TK,E&S, haanʔ TEH, hú·nʔ DBG; Ms hó·nʔ DBG, hə́wnʔ E&S; Ck hóliye, húliye BDG, húliyɛ, húliyɛ́ʔ, húʔliyɛ́ʔ DBG, hə́w·ləyɛ E&S, hō´lēye CV/CH-T, hō´lia CH-T; Sa hənən' TRM; Sg hə́ʔnənʔ YAR, hʌmʌn MRM, ha´nɛn CV-Lk, húnɛn CH-T-Lk; Lm hənən LCT,DM, ha´nɛn CV, hun-nun GG (*Salmo proteus*); Sm hənən' BDG; Cl hánənʔ, hənənʔ LCT, hanənʔ MSF, hô´nɛn CV, hun´nun GG (*S. proteus*); Nk húʔnīyə LCT; NLd hədúʔ, hə́du BHH-Sno,Sk, hədú TH, hədúʔ LCT-Sno, hədóʔ PTA, xa'do´ CV-Sno,Sk; SLd hə́duʔ BHH, hə́du TH, hádo' HT-Snq, hadóʔ WAS, xā´do CV-Nis, hud´-do, hud-do GG-Nis ‖ Li hániʔ JVE-Ftn, héniʔ JVE-Lil, hələz' JVE, háni7 K&B, hələz JVE-MtC, hǽnik LS, hä´loz CV/CH-T, häloz CH-T; Th héniʔ T&T 'h./pink s.'; WSh s-heny' AHK (unid. fish), shéni7 AHK²'³, sha´nē CV; ESh s-héniʔ B&K, s-hániʔ AA; Cm ḥánuʔ, ḥánəw', ḥánuw' MDK. The Lillooet forms with *l* are from Chilliwack Halkomelem. The Lillooet forms with *n* and the Thompson and Shuswap forms are less clearly borrowings, because of the vocalisms. This fish did not reach Columbian territory up the Columbia River, and the Columbian form is borrowed from Lushootseed (presumably Southern Lushootseed because of the initial stress). Why Columbian borrowed the form with a pharyngeal for *h* is unclear.

(123) **cedar bark** (outer bark): **PCS *súk'ʷam**: Se súk'ʷam JT 'outer c.b.'; Sq súk'ʷam AHK, súk'ʷəm B&T 'outer c.b.'; Ck sák'ʷəm BDG 'outer c.b.', susək'ʷ BDG-Tait 'young r.c.'; NLd súk'ʷəb TH 'c.b. still on tree', súk'ʷ-əb BHH-Sk,Sno 'c.b. still on tree'; SLd so´-kwub GG-Nis 'outer c.b.' ‖ Li cā´qwom CV/CH-T 'bark'; Th sək'ʷém, sik'ʷém T&T,TTTY 'inner bark of red cedar', súsek'ʷ, sísek'ʷ T&T,TTTY 'inner bark of red cedar'; Cm sə́k'ʷəm MDK 'red cedar', sú-kụm ESC 'red cedar', sü´kum CV. This may represent a Proto-Salish set going back to PS ***sək'ʷám**. Nevertheless, the *á* in the Lillooet form suggests that Lillooet borrowed the word from Chilliwack Halkomelem. The Thompson form could be from the same source, although the variant forms present problems. The Columbian form could be from Lushootseed, with the first vowel changed, and the meaning extended to the whole tree. Like item 99, this is a case of widening of meaning; in one case, Okanagan extended a word for cedar roots to the whole tree, in this case Columbian extended a word for the outer bark of the cedar tree to the whole tree.

2.4. Source language unclear. Four forms appear to be borrowings (three in the north and one in the south), although there are problems with correspondences. Some of these may actually be cognates derived from Proto-Salish rather than being borrowings.

2.4.1. North. Three forms appear to involve borrowings from the coast into Lillooet and Thompson.

(124) **crab, crawfish**: Sl x̣íx̣yik' B&K 'Dungeness c.', x̣ájaq B&K 'box crab', x̣ɛx̣ᵊyɛq' JHD, x̣əyəq' LCT; Cx x̣íx̣əyiq' JT; Pt χēχiēq FB 'Krebs' (x̣ix̣yíq'), xēxiē´q CV, qē´qiēk̲, qēqiē´k̲, qēqiē´k FB; Se x̣ə́yəq' RCB, x̣íyq' JT, x̣əyəq' LCT, xaíɛk CV, qaíɛk· CH-T; Sq qai´ɛq CH-T ‖ Li χəχiik LS. The Lillooet form appears to be borrowed, although the source is unclear. The Lillooet reduplication is like that in Sliammon and Pentlatch, but the stress is different. It may be from an unattested Sechelt form.

(125) **pigeon**: **PS *ham'im'ú**: Be haʔm HFN, ha-um WFT ‖ **PCS *ham'ú(?)**: Se həm'ú JT, ha´mō CV/CH-T, hámō CH-T; Na HUMA ARL; Cw həmʔá MDK, hə́mʔə E&S; Ms hə́mʔə E&S, hämā´ CH-T, hum-ma WFT; Ck həmá· BDG,JGH,E&S, həmʔá· PTA, hāmā´ CV/CH-T,CH-T; Sa həmə́w' TRM; Sg həmáʔ YAR, hʌmó MRM 'dove', humō CV/CH-T-Lk, humṓ CH-T-Lk, hub-bo WFT-Lk; Lm həm'ʔúʔ LCT, hɛm'mo´ CV, h'mo, hum-o'h, hum-ókh GG; Sm həm'ú BDG; Cl həmʔú LCT, həmʔu MSF, hɛm'mo´ CV, hum-ókh GG; Nk həmʔú· PTA, ham'mō´ CV; NLd həbúʔ TH,BHH, hə́buʔ BHH-Sk, hɛ'bō´ CV-Sno,Sk, hum-mo WFT-Sno; SLd həbő' HT-Snq, xɛ'mo´ CV, hum-ō´ GG; Tw habíb NT,WWE ‖ **PTS *xəm'ím'**: Qn haʔmíʔm JAG, həʔmmimʔ RHM, håmi´m RLO, hapmi´m CV 'p., mourning dove'; Lo ʃʊm'mí·m' JPH, hamhamí·m' JPH (call), cɛmī´m CV,çʊméüm HH; Ss cɛmī´m CV, cemī´m JT; OCh šəmím' MDK, xɛmi´mo CV, Ci-mém, Cû´-mim ME; TCh xɛmi´mo CV, sxv mim TA-h, xɛmimo JT, h'yim-éhm FR, hyim-éhm GG; Cz xəmím' MDK, xəmím'x MDK 'mourning dove', xemī´m.t CV ‖ Ti hawo MME, hɛ·mu´ MJ, hā´wu CV, hāwu´ FB, hāmu´ FB-Neh; Si hauhau´ FB,FB-E,CV ‖ Li s.hamíwəz', s-hem'íw-əz' JVE, .sx̣ame´sues CV 'mourning dove', hamē´hoats CV/CH-T, häme̋wuz CH-T. Although this form appears to go back to Proto-Salish, and resembles forms found throughout the northwest (see Seaburg 1985), Lillooet is the only Interior Salishan language with a form that resembles forms found on the coast. However, only the *hem'* portion matches, and the rest is significantly different, making a source language unidentifiable if this is truly a borrowing.

(126) **sprouts**: Pt ¢ā´a¢qai FB 'Beerensprossen' (θáθqay), çā´asqai, çā´ask̲ai, çā´askai FB; Se s-cácqay JT 'thimbleberry or salmonberry shoots/sprouts'; Sq s-cáʔcq=ay AHK,B&T 'young shoots'; Cw s-θéʔθqiʔ MDK, s-θɛ́ʔθqəy E&S; Ms s-θɛ́ʔθqəy E&S; Ck s-θéθqiy BDG, sé·θqi JGH, s-θɛ́θqəy E&S; Sa θeʔθq'i TRM; Lm séʔsqi LCT; Cl s-cə́cqiʔ LCT, scacqiʔ MSF; Nk s-θǽʔθqey PTA ‖ Li cíʔcq-az' JVE 'young shoot'; Th s-cícqeʔɬ T&T,TTTY, siy'lhtsk'a7lh LP-RB. These Lillooet and Thompson forms are probably borrowings, but the vowels and the ending of the Thompson form are different from the expected Halkomelem source. The vowels may be metathesized, leaving the final ɬ in Thompson still unaccounted for.

2.4.2. South. The one set in the south involves a Columbian form that may be borrowed from the coast.

(127) **squirrel**: **PS *s-kʷayú**: **PCS *s-kʷáyu**: Cx kʷákʷaʔǰu JT, kwa'kwā́'ᵃdjǫ' ES, kwākwā´adjō CV; Pt koāakuiyō FB 'Eichhorn' (kʷákʷəyu), koā´koayo HH, kuā´akuiyō FB,CV, kuā´akuīyō, koā´akuiyō FB; Se s-kʷáyu JT, koā´koayo CV, skwō´īya CV/CH-T, skwṓīya CH-T; Ms s-kʷáyeʔ DBG, skʷáyɛʔ E&S; Ck s-kʷáyə BDG,

skʷayɛ́·, skʷayéʔ DBG; Nk s-kʷáyəʔ LCT, skʷóyæʔ BSE, skʷú·yæʔ PTA, skı̊o´ CV; NLd s-qʷáyəʔ LCT ‖ **PTS *s-kʷəyúh:** Qn kwíjo RHM, sku´dju RLO, .skwi´tcu´ CV; Lo s-kʷiyúh MDK,CTS, s-kʷəyəxʷ MDK, sqw*ɑ*yyú JPS 'pine s.', sk·ō´djo CV; Ss .skwai´yo CV; OCh s-kʷayóh MDK ‖ Cm s-kʷiyú MDK, skᵘikᵘiyáutax̣ JRK, skwiū´ CV. The problem with this set is that the Columbian form resembles Upper and Lower Chehalis forms more than any others. Both the stress and the vowels are wrong for association with languages closer to Columbian. It could be an old loan that took place before Central Salishan languages had shifted stress leftward.

2.5. Linking language missing. There are 12 forms that could be loans in one direction or the other, but a language with the relevant forms adjacent to the potential borrower is missing. These could involve older loans where the linking language has subsequently lost the form. Alternatively, they may reflect retentions from Proto-Salish, and that is probably the best explanation for several of the sets (as suggested by my reconstructions).

(128) **bee**: **PS *mə̣́c̓ap**: Tw bə́c̓ap NT, bʌ́c̓ap WWE ‖ **PIS *mə̣́c̓p**: Th mə̣́c̓e T&T,MDK-U, mā´tza CV 'wasp'; WSh mə̣́c̓peʔ AHK 'b., wasp', mát̓spe7 AHK^{2,3} 'wasp, blackjacket'; ESh méc̓pəʔ JAG 'wasp', mác̓pɛʔ BDC, móts̓pa7 AA 'wasp'; Cm mə̣́c̓p MDK 'b., wasp, hornet', mā´.tsɛp CV 'wasp'; Cr mats'p LGN, mats̓p GAR, ma´tsɛp CV 'wasp'. The closest resemblance here is between Twana and Columbian.

(129) **woodtick**: **PS *c̓k̓áln.**: OCh ck̓áln FB (?Puyallup) ‖ **PIS *c̓k̓áln**: Li c̓k̓álən̓, c̓k̓élən̓ JVE; Th k̓ec̓éyn̓ T&T; WSh ck̓eln AHK, tsk̓eln AHK^2, tskélen AHK^3; ESh tsk̓éln̓ BDC-me,mt; Ok k'ekts'íl̓xkn̓ P&L, Kuk-chil´-ken MD; Cv kəkc̓ílxkən, k̓əkc̓íl̓xkn̓ AM, kkc̓ílxkən TG, kuk̓s cheelixkn JBS; Me kəcí·lxqn̥ MOB; Sp č̓č̓c̓él̓šcn̓, č̓čc̓él̓šcn̓ BFC; Fl ččc̓éliščin SGT,JRK, ččc̓él̓ščən, č̓c̓él̓ščən SGT, ččstelčen GFW. The Upper Chehalis form is most like the Lillooet and Shuswap forms. Retention from Proto-Salish is probably the best explanation for this set.

(130) **mountain goat**: Lo .stô´qts CV, stŭ'kts ESC; Ss .stô´k.ts CV; OCh .stô´k.ts CV; TCh .stô´k.ts CV, st qᵘts TA-h 'mt. sheep', st&qwts TA-md 'mt. sheep', .sta´kᵒts CV 'sheep'; Cz stoq̓ts̓ JPH, stâkts ESC, stû´kts, .stau´kts CV, .sta´kᵒts CV 'sheep' ‖ Cm s-tíks MDK 'big male m.g.', štíqš JRK 'male m.g.'. The most probably shape of the Tsamosan forms was *stə́kʷc, which fails to match the Columbian form in three respects. The Columbian form nevertheless looks like a borrowing. A possible source would be Chinook Jargon, although such a form is not attested there.

(131) **striped skunk**: Ck s-t̓ᶿə́pəq BDG,E&S, s-t̓ᶿəpəq DBG, sθə́pəq JGH; Lm s*u*p-p*u*k GG; Nk c̓əpəq BSE, sc̓ə́pəq LCT, séts-pŭk ESC, sē´ts.pak CV ‖ WSh s-c̓ípəq AHK-CL,AL, st̓sípeq AHK^{2,3}, .stse´pɛks CV. The Shuswap form appears to be borrowed from a coast language, even though the first vowel is different; however, there is no Thompson link.

(132) **western meadowlark**: NLd xole´x̣wole´ CV-Sno; SLd xʷəléxʷəle HT-Snq (*Sturnella neglecta*) ‖ **PIS *xʷəláʔ:** Li xʷəxʷlí JVE, .sxuxɛle´ CV; Th huxīl̓´ CV; WSh xʷúxʷleʔ AHK, cwecwlé7 AHK^3, xuxel̓a´ CV; ESh xʷuxʷuléʔ JAG, x̣ʷəx̣ʷlɛ́ʔ BDC (*S. neglecta*); Cr xʷä´lä̓ GAR, khwele' LGN, .hwei´ɛla CV. The Snohomish and Snoqualmie forms resemble the Lillooet and Shuswap forms, although they have a very different reduplication pattern. Since the set is reconstructable to Proto-Interior Salish, it may have been borrowed before Columbian and Okanagan forms were lost.

(133) **seagull**: **PS *qʷəní(c)**: Na qʷəníʔ DBG, QWUNI ARL; Cw qʷəní MDK,WS, qʷəníʔ DBG, q̓ʷəní E&S; Sa qʷəniʔ TRM; Sg qʷʌní MRM, qʷənʔíʔ YAR, qunē´e CV/CH-T-Lk, kúni CH-T-Lk; Lm qʷə̆ní LCT,DM, qʷəní MJ, qŭn-ní ESC, kwon'e´ CV, kw*u*n-né GG; Sm qʷəní BDG; Cl qʷəní LCT 'herring gull', MSF (*Larus occidentalis*), kw*u*n-né, kwun-né GG ‖ Lo sqw*ɑ*n'nî·ts'*ɑ*ɬ' JPH; OCh s-qʷə́ns MDK, Skwûnts ME; TCh kwo´nnts CV; Cz kwê´nnts CV ‖ WSh q̓nē´quna CV. The Shuswap form given is a reduplication of the form found in Halkomelem, Straits, and Clallam, although similar forms are not found in any linking languages.

(134) **sparrow**: Sq s-x̣ʷix̣ʷ AHK,K&B 'Savannah s. (*Passerculus sandwichensis*)'; Ck s-x̣ʷóx̣ʷče BDG-Chehalis, s-x̣ʷóx̣ʷθe BDG-Tait, s-x̣ʷə́θx̣ʷəθ BDG-Katzie, sx̣ʷə́θè JGH ‖ WSh c̓x̣ʷix̣ʷ AHK, t̓sxwixw AHK^3. The Shuswap and Squamish forms are very similar. Since words for 'sparrow' are often difficult to elicit, linking forms may simply be unattested, rather than absent.

(135) **woodpecker**: **PS ?*kʷəlkʷəlákən:** Lm skw*u*l-l*u*t̓tun GG 'logcock' ‖ Li kʷlátən, s.kʷlátən, kʷəlétən, (c-ə)kʷlétən JVE 'pileated w.', skulê´.tɛn CV/CH-T 'red-headed w.', ckwilätɛn CH-T; Ok kʷlkʷʕaqn (AM)B 'flicker', qʷlqʷlaqn DCW 'red-headed w.'; Cv kulqwiláqən VR, kwul kwil lák̓en, quill quill láxen JBS, QuilQuilấken ?CH-T; Cm kʷə́lkʷəl̓kən MDK 'flicker, w.', kʷə́lkʷəl̓qən MDK 'w.', kᵘə́lkᵘəlqən JRK 'flicker'; Sp kʷlkʷléčeʔ BFC 'flicker'; Ka kulkulé HV 'unid. bird'; Fl kʷəlkʷlé SGT 'red-headed w.', kᵘlkᵘlé JRK 'flicker', qᵘelqele GFW 'flicker', kulkuɬê´, CV 'red-headed w.', kwɛlkwɛle´tca CV 'flicker', kolkolíche, kolkoliche JG 'red w.'. The Gibbs form for 'woodpecker' in Lummi is virtually identical to the Lillooet form, although no connecting Halkomelem form is attested.

(136) **blackberry**: ?**PS *s-katúxʷ(-n):** Cx čə́tuxʷənʔ JT, čı́txʷuxʷʌn HRH; Se s-čətúxʷn JT 'trailing b.' ‖ Th s-ketúxʷ T&T,TTTY; WSh səkətúxʷeʔ 'bog cranberry' AHK, seketúcwe7 AHK^3, ESh skətuxʷ 'bog cranberry', sketúcw AHK^3. The interior and coastal forms match very well, however, a connecting Lillooet form is not attested.

(137) **currants**: Se qʷə́qʷx̣ʷ JT 'red-flowering c.' ‖ Th q̓ʷóq̓ʷox̣ʷ T&T,TTTY 'stink c., northern black c.'. The reduplication and glottalization are different, but the forms nevertheless resemble one another; a connecting Lillooet form is not attested.

(138) **cattail**: Sa s-t̓ᶿəl̓əl TRM(DE) 'round c.' ‖ WSh c̓lut AHK 'rushes', t̓slut AHK^{2,3} 'rushes, c.'. The derivation of the two forms is quite different, but the similarity of the first two consonants suggests a connection.

(139) **moss, lichen**: **PS *qʷayám:** Cx qʷáʔǰəm JT 'm.'; Se qʷáym JT 'm., lichen'; Sq kwīyā´m CH-T 'm.'; NLd qʷədᶻáb BHH-Sno,Sk 'm. (gen.) (ml), grandfather m. (ww)', qʷəjáb TH 'm.'; SLd kʷáʒab WAS 'm.', kwud-zab GG-Nis 'm., l.' ‖ Lo qw*ɑ́*yy*ɑ*m, q̓w*ɑ́*y̓y*ɑ*m JPH 'm.'; OCh qʷíym MDK 'm.', kʷᵊy̓əm TLC 'm.', qʷə́ym FB 'm.', Kwé-ûm ME 'm.'; Cz qʷíym MDK 'm.' ‖ Ti quyau, quya´o MME 'm.', qēiā´ō CV 'l.', kēiā´ō FB-LF 'l.' ‖ Th qʷzém T&T,TTTY 'm.'. This set surely goes back to Proto-Salish, since a cognate occurs in Tillamook. Since the Thompson form has a different stress pattern from coastal forms and there is no immediate neighbor to serve as a source for borrowing, this may well be a retention from Proto-Salish.

2.6. Problematic cases. Another 20 sets are unclear as to whether borrowing took place, whether the limited number of forms on one side of the mountains or the other are truly cognate, or whether independent development is involved. The differences involved are greater or of a different nature from those discussed above.

2.6.1. North. As before, most of these sets involve languages in the north; there are 16 sets.

(140) **salamander**: Se ʔíʔpl=šn JT; Sq ʔə́pn'=šn AHK 'lizard', ə́pən'šən K&B 'western red-backed lizard' ‖ Li ʔə́pəlsaʔ, ʔə́pəlsa, ʔápəlsaʔ, ʔápəlsa, ʔə́pəlseʔ JVE. Borrowing seems probable here, but enough reshaping has taken place that it is impossible to determine the direction of borrowing. Since the Lillooet *s* is fairly palatal, it is likely to be heard as equivalent to *š* on the coast, and vice versa.

(141) **grizzly bear**: **PS ?*kʷayá**; Sq s-kʷíyəčən K&B (spirit power name), s-kʷíʔ=ačn AHK; Na k'ō´yētsin CV, k·ō´yētsin FB-R; Cw kʷɛ́y=əcən E&S, qʷə́yəcən MDK, qaí-yĭ-tsŭn ESC; Ms kʷɛ́y=əcən E&S, qʷə́yəcən MDK, kwēi´tsEN CH-T, kwē´itsEN CH-T 'brown b.', kwai-it-tin WFT; Ck kʷí·=cəl BDG,JGH, kʷə́y·cəl E&S, kwayt-sh.ihl ONW, kwētcil CV,CH-T; Sa kʷəye=čən TRM; Sg k'ō´yētcin CV-Lk, k·waíētcin CH-T-Lk, qwai´ētcin CV/CH-T, k·ō´yētcin FB-R-Lk, kwoai-ith-in WFT; Lm qʷéy=əčən MJ, kwei´ETCEN CV, kwái-et-chin, kwe´chin GG; Sm kʷéy=əčn BDG '(mountain) lion'; Cl kʷəy=əč MSF, kʷə́yčən LCT 'cougar', .ntoktskwai´.ts CV, kwái-it-shin GG; Nk qʷəyíčən LCT, kwoiī´tcEN CV ‖ Th s-t-kʷikʷy=éytxʷ T&T 'silvertip g.'; WSh s-t-kʷykʷey AHK 'silvertip g.', stkwik'wéy AHK^3 'silvertip g.'. If borrowing is involved on the part of Thompson (and then Shuswap), then the lexical suffix was changed from 'back' to 'fur, covering'. Note that Columbian has a form kʷayay=íkn' 'one of the two wolves or dogs used as bodyguards (in a folktale)', and that this form matches the coast forms of this set in structure (apart from the out-of-control reduplication), although not in meaning.

(142) **salmon eggs**: Ck kʷú·le, kʷó·le BDG 'stink eggs', kʷəlé· JGH ‖ Lo qʷalú=luɬ CTS (cured) ‖ Li kʷúnaʔ, k'úneʔ, (n-)kʷúneʔ JVE, k'únæ, k'únæʔ LS 'salmon'; Th qʷúneʔ LCT (fermented); WSh qʷúne AHK 'soup made of fish eggs'. These forms look very much alike, although the differences in the initial consonant and the differences between *l* and *n* do not line up in any usual way. The Chilliwack Halkomelem form could easily be borrowed from Lillooet, but it is difficult to fit the Lower Chehalis form into the set.

(143) **bald eagle**: Sq s-p'áqʷ=us AHK,K&B, asp'ā´q'aus CV; Na spā´qas CV; Cw p'á·q'=əs E&S; Ms p'á·q'=əs E&S; Ck s-p'áq'=əs BDG,MDK 'B.E.', p'á·q'=əs E&S, pa·q'=əs PTA, spā´kus CH-T; Nk pǽ·q'=os PTA, .spā´kos CV ‖ Li pq=us JVE, .spekô´us CV. If borrowing is involved in this set, then Lillooet has reshaped the root to match its version of 'white'. Independent development or loan translation are distinct possibilities in this case, since the forms all mean literally 'white head/face'.

(144) **nighthawk**: Se s-píx̣ʷ RCB,JT 'nightingale', spḗuq CH-T 'swallow', spē´ux CV/CH-T 'swallow'; Sq piq' AHK, piqʷ K&B; Na pí·q' DBG; Cw pí·q' DBG,MDK, píq' E&S; Ms pí·q' DBG, píq' E&S; Ck pí·q' DBG,BDG, pí·yəq' JGH; Lm píyəq' LCT, pē´q.x CV 'goatsucker'; Cl peheq' MSF, pe'he´qᵘ CV 'goatsucker'; Nk pē´.qᵏ CV 'goatsucker'; Tw pē´uq CV 'goatsucker' ‖ Lo pēkwona´tc CV 'goatsucker' ‖ Li s-p'iqʷ, sp'eqʷ JVE, pe´qux CV; Th s-p'íqʷ T&T, .s'pêqᵘ CV; WSh s-piqʷ AHK, spiq'w AHK^3, .spē´qᵘ CV; ESh spiqʷ BDC (*Chordeiles minor*). Borrowing may be a factor in this set, although glottalization and labialization do not agree. Such irregularities seem to be common among imitative words, however, and strict rules of correspondence may not apply.

(145) **seagull**: **PS *qʷəlítaq**: Be qʷlitq HFN, q'litq CV ‖ Sq qʷyítq AHK,K&B, q'oiē´tq CV/CH-T, k·waiē´tEk CH-T; Na q'ulē´taq CV; Ms qʷəlítəq DBG,E&S; Ck qʷəlítəq DBG,BDG,E&S, qʷəlí·tə̀q JGH; Nk qʷəlí·tæq PTA ‖ Li qʷəlíƛ' JVE 'smaller gull', qʷliƛ' JVE 'small white s.', kolē´tt̲ɬ CV 'large s.', kwoɬkwoɬî´ttɬ CV 'small s.'. If Lillooet has borrowed this form (as seems likely), it has reshaped the end of the word in an unusual way.

(146) **fir**: Na melā´m'atlp CV 'hemlock'; Ms mələ́mʔ=əɬp MDK 'hemlock'; Ck mələm=ə́ɬp BDG 'hemlock', mə́ləmə́ɬp BDG,JGH 'hemlock', mELEME´lLp CV/CH-T 'hemlock', mELEME´ltlp CH-T 'hemlock' ‖ Li mə̣ļín-ɬəp,

mə̣ļín=ɬəp, mlínɬəp JVE 'balsam f.', mələ́n=ɬəp TIC 'grand f. (*Abies grandis*)', munḗtlEp CH-T 'white f.'; WSh mlen=ɬp AHK (*A. grandis*), mələ́n=ɬp TIC (?mainly *A. lasiocarpa*), melén=llp AHK^2 'balsam f.', melé̲nllp AHK^3 'alpine f., balsam f.', melánlhp GP 'grand f., balsam f. (*A. grandis*)'; ESh melánlhp AA 'balsam f.'; Ok mərí=ɬp (AM)B 'balsam f.', məɣíɬp TIC (mainly *A. lasiocarpa*), merílhp TBK,P&L 'balsam', maréɬp DCW 'spruce'; Cv merríɬp TG 'balsam f.'; Cm mrím=ɬp MDK 'spruce'; Sp mrín=ɬp, manín=ɬp BFC 'subalpine f. (*A. lasiocarpa*)'; Fl manín=ɬp JH,TIC (*A. lasiocarpa*), maninlshp JAH, manín=ɬp SGT 'alpine f., subalpine f.', manínɬp JG 'spruce'; Cr mara̲mɬpalqw LGN 'medicine fir tree'. The distribution of these forms suggests that Halkomelem has borrowed the form from an interior language, but the closest interior language with a stem-final *m* is Columbian. There are other problems with this set just among Interior Salishan languages, although it must go back to Proto-Interior Salish. The differences in meaning have puzzled linguists and botanists for some time.

(147) **yew**: Na texoatsa´tlp CV; Cw təxʷácəɬp T&B, tħwá-tsahlp ESC; Ck tə́x̣ʷəc=əɬp BDG ‖ Th t'éʔxʷ=eɬp T&T,TTTY, t'ɛ́ʔxʷ=əɬp TIC. The resemblance of the Thompson form to Halkomelem may be only superficial. The differences (glottalization of the initial consonant, absence of a second syllable of the root in Thompson) cannot be explained. Note also Li tə́x̣ʷʔac JVE 'bow', undoubtedly derived from the Chilliwack form.

(148) **blueberry**: Cx ʔúsaʔ JT, ʔosaʔ HRH, ō´sā'i T&B 'red huckleberry', ṓsā'i ES 'h. bush'; Se ʔúsa JT 'valley b., mountain b.'; Sq ʔúsaʔ AHK 'large b.', úsaʔ K&B 'mountain bilberry'; Sg â´sa CH-T-Lk 'blue whortleberry' ‖ Li ʔúseʔ MDK-ULi 'huckleberry', ʔúsaʔ JVE-Ftn 'huckleberry', ʔúšeʔ LCT. If borrowing is involved in this set, it is probably only in the reference to a specific kind of blueberry. The root is common throughout Interior Salish referring to small round objects (eggs, berries), and is not generally a specific plant.

(149) **blueberry**: Be s-puux̣=altswa HFN 'grey b.', spuux̲altswa NJT 'oval-leaved b. (*Vaccinium ovalifolium*)' ‖ Cx p'úqʷp'uqʷ JT 'greyish berries'; Se p'úqʷp'uqʷ JT 'valley b.' ‖ Li p'úp'uqʷ JT 'high b.', p'úp'uqʷ, p'úp'oqʷ JVE 'high-bush blue huckleberry'. Borrowing of this form seems likely between Sechelt and Lillooet; however, the different reduplication patterns involved, and the presence of an apparent Bella Coola cognate, make the borrowing difficult to explain. Reduplication may be secondary, however, and may have been applied after borrowing the root and meaning.

(150) **red huckleberry**: **PS *s-qála**: Be s-qala HFN, sk̲ala NJT, sqa´la CV 'raspberry' ‖ Ck s-qé·le BDG, s-qɛ́·lə, sqɛ̂lə E&S, skā´la CH-T ‖ Li s.qáʔəlˀ, s-qéʔəlˀ JVE 'unid. berry ("large" red h.)'. Lillooet may well have borrowed this form from Chilliwack Halkomelem, but if so, it has been reshaped. This is primarily a plant of the coast.

(151) **raspberry**: Se sai´ūx CV/CH-T, saíūq CH-T; Ck s-ʔá·yθəqʷ BDG ‖ Li s.ʔáy'cəqʷ, s-ʔéy'cəqʷ JVE, .sai´tsq CV/CH-T, cEā́itcuk CH-T; Th s-ʔéy'icqʷ T&T,TTTY, .sēi´tsk CV; WSh s-ʔeycqʷm AHK, s7éytsqwem AHK^2, s7aytsk̲wm GP, s'ā´itsqum(aLp) CV; ESh s7áytsk̲wu AA, s7aytsk̲wmálhp AA 'r. bush'. The Chilliwack Halkomelem form corresponds closely to the Lillooet form, and is probably borrowed from there. The Sechelt form is much more different, however, and may not be related.

(152) **wood fern**: **PS *c'əkʷíʔ**: **PCS *c'ə́kʷiʔ**: Sl t'ᶿə́kʷu B&K, th'ékwa TGKC (*Athyrium felix-femina*); Cx t'ᶿəkʷa TGK&S; Sq c'ə́kʷaʔ B&T,AHK 'sword f. root', ts'ékwa7 TGKC (*Dryopteris austriaca*); Ck t'ᶿə́kʷe BDG, th'ékwa TGKC 'mountain fern with wide top'; St tsō´kwī TGKC/MDK; Lm tsuk´kwa GG 'small brake f.', tsuk´kwa TGKC/MDK; Cl tsa´qwa EG,TGKC (*D. dilatata*); NLd c'əkʷíʔ, c'əkʷíʔxʷ BHH-Sk (?*D. expansa*); SLd tsō´kwī TGKC,EG-GR (*D. dilatata*), ts'E´kwi TGKC 'unid. fern' ‖ Lo ts'q'wí', ts'qwî·' JPH 'fern sp. (sim. to elk

f. but smaller)’, c̓qʷí?. TGKC/MDK; OCh c̓aqʷé? MDK,TGKC ‘tiger-lily root’; Cz ts’kwai EG-Taid (*D. dilatata*) ‖ Li c̓ə́kʷa? TGKC (*D.* spp.); Th c̓úkʷ-e? T&T,TTTY ‘toasted dried bracken root’. This is a coast plant, and the Thompson name is probably borrowed. The stressed vowel does not correspond to anything on the coast, however (the rounded vowels recorded for Lummi and Southern Lushootseed are probably misperceptions of a schwa with some anticipatory rounding from the following *kʷ*). The Lillooet form, on the other hand, most likely comes directly from Squamish (although Chilliwack Halkomelem is also a possible source). There are several terms for flora and fauna that are resemblant across language family boundaries in the Northwest. Although no systematic investigation of these has been made (Nater 1974, 1987, and 1994 are significant exceptions), they are occasionally noted. No attempt has been made here to survey such forms. This particular etymology is of interest in this regard, however, because the plant has long been misidentified or otherwise overlooked in vocabulary lists (as is probably indicated by the various glosses given above). Forms similar to these Salishan words occur in four other northwest languages: Masset Haida ts’ágwl TGKC ‘various fern rootstocks’, Skidegate Haida ts’ágwl, djagwal TGKC ‘various fern rootstocks’; Kwak’wala cákus TGKC ‘sword f. rhizome’, tsákus TGKC (*D. spinulosa dilatata*); Quileute c̓ikʷí P&W,TGKC, ts’ikwi´ EG,TGKC/EG (*Polystichum munitum*), tseqwē´ EG,TGKC/EG ‘lady f. (*A. felix-femina*)’; and the Cowlitz form above is most likely Taidnapam Sahaptin rather than Salishan Cowlitz. The direction of borrowing in cases such as this is not always easy to determine. In this instance, Salish seems a likely source for the other languages since apparent cognates occur in both Central Salish and in Tsamosan, indicating widespread and old familiarity with this plant among Salishan speakers. The Kwakw’ala form does not correspond to words for this plant in other Wakashan languages. Turner, et al. (1992) gives a good description of the use of this fern.

(153) **fireweed**: Sq x̣ač̓t AHK,B&T; Ck x̣éc̓ət BDG; NLd xa´tc̓tats EG-Sno, xa´ctats EG-Sk, x̣a´tctɑts EG-Sw ‖ Li x̣ak̓t, s.x̣ak̓t JVE; Th s-x̣ək̓i?t T&T,TTTY, s-x̱ék'it LP-RB,MH-RB. The Lillooet form looks like a straightforward borrowing (although before the shift of *k̓* to *č̓*); with the Thompson form, the consonants correspond, but the totality of the forms do not. Additional forms from other languages may simply be unattested.

(154) **potato**: Ck xʷoqʷó·ls BDG; Nk xʷoq̓ól?s BSE ‘smaller p. var.’ ‖ Th qʷaqʷúl̓s, qʷəqʷúl̓s T&T,TTTY ‘wapato, arrowhead (*Sagittaria* spp.)’. If borrowing is involved in these forms, the initial syllable has been reinterpreted.

(155) **rhubarb**: Cx x̣akʷu B&K ‘cow parsnip’ ‖ Li hákʷa?, hékʷe? JVE ‘cow parsnip, w.r.’; Th hékʷu? T&T,TTTY ‘cow parsnip, Indian r.’. The difference in the initial consonants is difficult to explain, although it has been noted that there is sometimes variation between *x̣* and *h* by some Thompson speakers.

2.6.2. South. Only four of the problematic cases are in the south. These are among the most interesting sets in this entire corpus of borrowings.

(156) **bison**: Cl kwáisp GG; NLd qʷíst BHH-Sno ‘bovine’, kwoi´st CV-Sno,Sk; SLd qʷíst BHH ‘bovine’, qʷóyst WAS, qʷe´st CET, kwei´skweist CV-Nis, kwīst GG-Nis ‘b., cattle’; Tw qʷíst NT ‘cow, ox, b.’, sła´aulcmEc sqoi´ct CV ‖ Li qʷisp JVE, qoi´sp CV; Th qoi´sp CV; WSh qʷisp AHK, qwisp AHK^3, qoísp CV; ESh qʷə́ysp JAG; Ok qʷeysp DCW, quicp CV-Ok, kōspī´tsa CV-Lk, Quas-peet-za MD; Cv quasp CS, qisp ESC-Nsp, kospe´tsa CV-SPo,Cv; Cm qʷísp MDK ‘b., cow’, kᵘíšp JRK ‘b., cow elk’, qisp ESC-Wen, qeshp ESC-Snk. Given the meanings here, borrowing would appear to be the required explanation of the coast forms. Bison were unknown on the coast, and cattle did not arrive until white settlers brought them. However, the forms in all the interior languages end in *p*, while the adjacent coast languages have *t*. Replacement (for whatever reason) would not be surprising, but then why does the Clallam form again have *p*?

(157) **doe**: **PS ?*táwn=łc̓i?**: SLd tau´Eltse CV-Nis, tault´-si GG-Nis; Tw tau´Ełtse CV ‖ Ss tā´ᵘêltse CV; OCh táwn=łc̓i MDK ‘doe, mare’; TCh tau´Ełtse stEke´u CV ‘mare’; Cz táwn=łc̓i? MDK, taúəłce HH, tau´Ełtse CV ‖ Ok tíw=łc̓a? (AM)B, tíwlhts'a7 P&L, tē´uLtsa CV-Ok, tē´ułtsa CV-Lk; Cv tíwłc̓a? TG, te´ultsa CV-SPo,Cv; Cm táwən=łc̓a? MDK, táwənłca JRK, ta´uEnltsa CV; Cr tiwun-łts̓ä´$^{\bar{a}}$ GAR, tiwnłts'e' LGN, tī´wanEltsa CV. The distribution of the forms may require reconstruction to Proto-Salish. The problem is in the peculiar distribution of the *n* on the root; it occurs in Columbian and Coeur d’Alene, and then again in Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz, but not in languages in between.

(158) **magpie**: **PS ?*?an?án / ?*ʕanʕán**: Pt ?an?an MS; Na ān´ān CV; Ck ?ə́l?əl BDG-Tait, ?ə́ləl, ?éləl BDG, ?ə́l?ə́l JGH; Lm s’hʊn´nʊn GG; NLd ?ád?ad, ?ádad BHH, ?ád?ad TH; SLd swədwíd HT-Snq (*Pica pica*), .swêdowē´d CV-Nis ‖ OCh ?ána?àna MDK; TCh a´n.an CV; Cz ?ána?an? MDK, a´n.an CV ‖ Th ʕín̓ʕən̓ T&T, ē´nEān CV, qai´non CH-T; WSh s-?n?an̓se AHK, s?an?án̓se AHK-DC, s7en7án̓se AHK^3, s7an7án̓se AHK^3-D, s̓anā´nsa CV; ESh s-?a?an̓s AHK-E, s-?y?an̓se AHK-Ki, sə?án̓siyɛ BDC (*P. pica*); Ok g̓ann̓ P&L, ʕán DCW, ā´nEn CV-Ok, a´n.n CV-Lk; Cv ʕánan PAY, ahn, aahnn JBS, ăⁿ-ⁿ ESC-Cv, an ESC-Nsp, ʳai´nEn CV-SPo, a´n.n CV-Cv; Me ʕán̥n̥?, ?ánɪn? MOB; Cm ʕʷən̓ʕʷán̓=ps, ʕʷənʕʷánps MDK, w̓ənw̓ánps JRK, wŭn-ŭ-wán-ĭps ESC-Snk, kwEnkwa´nEps CV; Sp ?án̓n̓ BFC, áⁿ-ⁿ ESC, ā´nEn CV; Ka áⁿ-ⁿ ESC, a´n.n CV; Fl ?an̓n̥ SGT, an̓n̓ JRK, aun GFW, áⁿ-ⁿ ESC, a´n.n CV, an̓n JG. There are a number of problems with this set, and the imitative nature of the forms may play a role in the irregular correspondences. The Columbian form is probably reshaped by folk etymology, and the Southern Lushootseed form may represent a borrowing of that (although the stressed vowels do not match). The presence of pharyngeals in the interior languages suggests that the coast languages borrowed the form, although reduplication patterns are different. The magpie is a typically interior bird; however, this wide distribution of names on the coast shows that it was well known there.

(159) **blueberry**: **PS *(s-)wəná?x̣**: NLd s-wədá?x̌ BHH-Sk,Sno ‘blue huckleberry, mountain huckleberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum, V.* spp.)’, s-wədá?x̣ TH ‘mountain b.’, sxʷədáx̣ PTA; SLd s-wədá?x̌ BHH-Suq ‘blue huckleberry, mountain huckleberry (*V. membranaceum, V.* spp.)’, wuda´x̣ CET; Tw wəd?áx̣ NT ‘mountain b.’ ‖ TCh wanaix TA-ph; Cz wənáy̓x̣ MDK, wɑ́nnɑ́y̓x̣ JPH ‘mountain b.’, wɑnɑ́yx̣ JPH ‘mountain huckleberry’, wɑ́·ná·y̓x̣ JPH ‘blue huckleberry’ ‖ WSh s-wnex̣ AHK (*V. membranaceum*), wenex AHK^3, wenáx̱ GP ‘mountain huckleberry (*V. membranaceum*)’; ESh wunə́x̣ JAG; Cm s-w̓ə́na?x̣, s-w̓ə́n̓a?x̣ MDK ‘mountain huckleberry’, su-wŭ̥n-nŭ-ŭḣ ESC-Wn. The Lushootseed and Twana forms are probably borrowed from Columbian; the Tenino Chehalis and Cowlitz forms with *y̓* do not fit, however. I would have expected a Sahaptin source for this whole set, but such a form is not reported for Sahaptin.

2.7. Residual cases. I had originally extracted three additional sets of forms from my data base as possibly involving loans. I think now, however, that borrowing is not a factor in these sets because of inexplicable differences that occur. The first two of these sets should simply be reconstructed to Proto-Salish, with all the modern forms independently derived from that. The third (and final) set probably involves unrelated items; the Chilliwack and Nooksack forms cannot be matched with the Interior Salishan forms.

(160) **flea**: **PS ?*k̓ít̓up̓**: Nk kʷút̓əp LCT, qo´tap CV; NLd č̓út̓əp̓ BHH,TH, tso´tab CV-Sno,Sk; SLd chō´-tub, cho´-tub GG, ‘tco´tab CV-Nis ‖ OCh ?ə́x̣-t̓akʷi- MDK ‘look for lice’ ‖ **PIS *kʷət̓kʷít̓p(̓)**: Th kʷəƛ̓kʷíƛ̓p̓ T&T, kwutlkwī´tl.p CV; WSh kʷetkʷiƛ̓p AHK, kwetkwit̓p AHK^{2,3}, kwutlkwe´tl.p CV; Ok kʷt̓kʷit̓=ps (AM)B, kw'tkw'it'ps P&L, kwuEtkwī´tEp CV-Ok, kwutlkwi´tlps CV-Lk; Cv kʷət̓kʷít̓ps TG, kʷt̓kʷít̓əps LCT, kwutEkwe´tEps CV-SPo,Cv; Cm kʷət̓akʷít̓=ps MDK, kutakwi´tEps CV; Sp kʷt̓kʷít̓=ps BFC, skwutkwi´tlps CV;

Ka kwutkwi´tᴇps CV; Fl k^{w}t̓k^{w}ít̓=ps SGT, k^{w}t̓k^{w}it̓ps BJS, kwut.kwī´ CV, kutkui´telp CV/JG, kutkuiteps JAP, kutkuítelp, kutkuitlp JG; Cr s-k^{w}ət̓k^{w}ít̓=ups LCT-R, s-k^{w}ụt̓-k^{w}i´t̓-ups GAR, .skwutkwi´tᴇps CV.

(161) **fly**: **PS *mayús**: Be mamis HFN 'black f.', D&S 'fly', mā´mic CV,FB-R, ma-mish WFT ‖ Se məyús JT 'horsefly' ‖ Li x-máz̓, xmez̓ JVE, ʃx^{w}əmáz LS, x̣êmô´z CV, ʜ̓māz CH-T, Qmāts FB-R; Th mə̨ze T&T,MDK-U/J, xᴇma´za CV, mu´za CH-T; WSh xméye AHK, cméye AHK^{2,3}, x̣ma´yē CV, Qma´yē FB-R; ESh xemáya AA 'housefly'.

(162) **ant**: Ck xé·ysəm BDG, x^{y}é·ysəm DBG, x^{y}à·ysəm E&S, xéysəm JGH, yhā´īsᴇm CH-T,CV/CH-T; Nk xei´.sᴇm CV ‖ **PIS *s-x^{w}əx^{w}áy̓a(ʔ) / *s-x^{w}ux^{w}áy̓a(ʔ)**: Li (s-)x^{w}úx^{w}əz̓ JVE, šx^{w}úx^{w}əz̓ LCT, ʃwúx^{w}ɩz LS, .cxu´xel CV; Th s-x^{w}úx^{w}ec̓e T&T, .sxū´xᴇtsa CV; WSh s-x^{w}yx^{w}éye AHK, scwicwéye AHK^{2,3}, .sxwix̣wei´a CV; ESh sxwixwáya AA; Ok sxwúxwya7 P&L, .sxu´xea CV-Ok, .sxu´xia CV-Lk; Cv s-x^{w}úx^{w}yaʔ AM, sx^{w}úx^{w}y̓aʔ TG, ssooxweeah JBS, sx^{w}úx^{w}wíyaʔ LCT, .sxu´xia CV-SPo,CV; Me swóx^{w}iaʔ MOB; Sp s-x^{w}úx^{w}y̓eʔ BFC, .s̓xu´xia CV; Ka sxúx^{u}iy̓eʔ HV, .sxu´xia CV; Fl s-x^{w}úx^{w}yeʔ SGT,BJS, sxúx^{u}iy̓eʔ JRK, sxwōwī GFW, .sxu´xia CV, sguguie JAP, sgúguie JG; Cr sx^{w}úx^{w}əney̓ LCT, skhukhwne'y LGN, sux^{w}-änäy̓ GAR, .sxu´xᴇne CV.

3.0. Conclusions. The data presented here show that lexical borrowing between languages on opposite sides of the mountains was by no means unusual. Only names for flora and fauna were examined here; there are undoubtedly many other borrowings in these languages. Van Eijk, et al. (1974) listed 32 regular correspondences, and four additional irregular ones, involving borrowing between Lillooet and Sechelt alone, and this was done at an early stage of their field work on these languages. Their study includes only four of the sets given here—'cranberry', 'pigeon', 'spring salmon', and 'porcupine'. They included two other correspondences (between 'woodpecker' and 'beak, bill' and between 'thornberry' and 'needle') which I do not include here, and I doubt their one other correspondence involving plants (between 'bitteroot' and 'licorice fern').

It is important to recognize these cases of borrowing for the light they shed on prehistoric contacts across the mountains, and to add a note of caution in reconstructing Proto-Salishan forms. The various Salishan peoples were much more mobile than we tend to think today, and ranged far afield from their homes; mountains were no barrier to their travels. They visited people in other parts of the region for social and economic reasons. It is not surprising that exchange of goods took place, and the names of the goods could easily be part of the exchange.

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