

## Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary IV<sup>1</sup> Aert H. Kuipers

This paper consists of three parts. The first continues "Towards...I-III".<sup>2</sup> The second contains stems limited to CS. The third gives a brief comment on comparative Salish.

I.

The PS reconstructions which follow are given in alphabetic order, disregarding vowels. Roots beginning with ? are placed at the beginning.

\*?upal to eat. Tw ?upát (mi?úpalčed I'm eating) Ch ?upál- Ti (?ə)hal-, hal- ~ Th ?úpi-.

\**s'áxʷa?* *clam, mussel.* Sq *s'áxʷa?* *medium-sized clam, horseclam* Cw *s'áxʷa?*  
Ck *s'áxʷa?* Sn *s'áxʷa?* Sm *s'áxʷa?* Ld *s'áxʷu?* *butter clam, clam (generic)* ~ Sh  
*sət'vexʷc?* Cb *s'áxʷu?*

\*cak mother-in-law. Tw cač ~ Sh tcaččk Cb cak (*id. of woman*) [cáka? older sister (*of man*) Cv tcičk Cr netcič *m.-in-l.* (*of man*).

\*cuk<sup>w</sup> to be all there is (left). Ld cuk<sup>w</sup>, cug<sup>w</sup>- it is only Tw cuq<sup>w</sup> only ~ Li  
cuk<sup>w</sup> be finished, stop, quit. Sh cuk<sup>w</sup>.

\*cq<sup>a</sup>q' to throw, hit, discard. (cf. also 41.2 \*cq<sup>a</sup>q') Sq cq<sup>a</sup>q get hit Ti cq- throw, cq<sup>a</sup>wn- discard, throw away ~ Sh cq'- throw, hit, cq<sup>a</sup>mín- throw, discard, cq<sup>a</sup>ln- shoot (The Sh forms can reflect either alternative) [Ck cq'ał'an shoot, bullet] Cv cq'am hit by throwing, cq'minm throw (a rock) Ka cq' hit (of lightning) [Sp cq'a min throw]  
 \*cix<sup>a</sup> waterfall, mountain stream. [Be cax<sup>a</sup>m to wade] Sq scax<sup>a</sup>m waterfall ~ Th neax<sup>a</sup>cix<sup>a</sup>págs have nose continually running Sh k<sup>a</sup>ltaçax<sup>a</sup>cix<sup>a</sup> waterfall Cr hm-céxut stream, river.

\*c'i? loot from raid, game bagged. Sq sc'i? loot from raid Cw Ms c'i? id. Ck c'i id. ~ Sh c'i? dcr, meat Ka c'u?úlix" deer Sp c'úlix" id. Cr c'i? id. The root may be present in the suffixes \*-alc'a? game, meat, \*-ic'a? hide (the main products of hunting) and in \*tfx"-c'i kill game.

**\*cik'** (NCS \*ciwq') *elderberry*. Cx ciwq' Se sc'iwq' *red* e. Sq sc'iwq' Ck sc'iwq' *red* e. Sn ciwq' *id*. Ld ck'ik'' *blue* c. Tw ciq'ik'' *id*. Ch ck'ik'' *id* [li sc'uk'apu] *thimbleberry* — Sh ck'ik'' *red* c. Ch Sn sc'uk'apu *blue* c. Cr ck'ik'' *red* c.

\*c'äl (red.) *cricket, grasshopper*. Ch c'äl'säčäläs a small cricket ~ Sh cile'l cricket Cb c'an'c'an' grasshopper Cr c'an'c'en' id. Note Ch and NIS 1 vs. SIS n and cf. no. 102.2.1.

\*c'm sharp pointed. Be c'm *forcfinger* Cx c'ámalá/c'ámála id. [Se sc'úmals whetstone Sq c'm?al? arrow, [c'm?il thin, flat] Sn c'm'een arrow, c'm?aqan scissors, c'ansistəŋ get pinched by crab Tw ?asc'c'm?áx?aq sharp-nose, ?asc'c'máx?qed pointed head → Li c'óm?qsán sharpen a point Sh c'meqsni- id. Cv c'm'cipá?lxn sharp-heeled shoes [c'mtus surecon] Cr c'am be nearly pointed (as football or lemon).

\*c'ay to resound. Cx c'ay'ay? loud SI c'aya?na frapper l'oreille (bruit) [Ch c'oi- scream] Ti c'ay- call sb. ~ Sh c'est echo c'yan have a ringing in one's ears.

"c'yaq"<sup>7</sup>/c'q<sup>8</sup>"ay/c'k<sup>9</sup>" yapsucker, flicker, woodpecker. Be c'yaax<sup>10</sup> Sq c'k<sup>11</sup>?qs Ld c'zazq<sup>12</sup> Tw c'yaad<sup>13</sup> Ch sc'yaaq<sup>14</sup>, sc'yaq<sup>15</sup>, sc'ayáq<sup>16</sup> ~ Li c'ák<sup>17</sup>yaq/s/c'ák<sup>18</sup>zəqs Th c'ck<sup>19</sup>áz'aqs Sh c'q<sup>20</sup>éy<sup>21</sup>yægs

\*hu/any unid. fish. [Cx ʔáʔha'nis *blueback salmon*] Ck huliya *humpback salmon* Sm hánən' *id.* Tw hadiqʷ *id.* (in Ch *h. salm.* is panéčkʷ/χ'ané:kʷ) ~ Sh sheny' *unid. fish* Cb hánuw' *humpback s.*

\**kic* to reach, arrive. Ti *kic-* ~ Li *kicac* land (somewhere) Th Sh Cb Cv *kic-*  
Ka Sp Cr *čic*.

\*kalk to close. [Cx c'ayčt Se c'alčt] Sq ča?čn ~ Li kal'kn Sh kelk-

\*kaw III far (*out on the water/prairie*). Cf cak<sup>w</sup> be distant Sm čák<sup>w</sup> far Ti yičáw (*far out on the*) ocean ~ Sh kakéw far, xtkewlk *far out in the water*, xkewlx/xkewl'x go where the water is deep Ka ēuʔeu they went far away (*deep open space*) Cr čeg<sup>w</sup> extend, čig<sup>w</sup> go out onto prairie. A connection with \*kaw II (no. 72.0) down is quite possible.

\**k'ac'* I to cross, put across c.o. Tw *čac'ád* crosswise, *čac'úsad* crossbeam, *?ask'ac'atáwəl* hugging c.o. ~ Li *vk'ac'* put across Sh *kc'*- put two things crosswise [Sp *čic'(i)* long obj. lies Cr *čec'* id.].

\*k'ac<sup>1</sup> II *mosquito, gnat, bug*, Cx c'áčus *mosquito* Sc c'áčus *id.* [Sq ččus *sand flies, no-see-um*] Ld čic'qs *mosquito* Tw čičič' *id.* Ch c'áčqs *id.*, *gnat* ~ Sh kackacécwí *whirligig beetle* Cv kakc'ílxkan *woodtick*.

\*k'ix<sup>2</sup> short. Be k'lii Cx ɬ̥eł'ix<sup>2</sup> Ms c'əł'ix<sup>2</sup> Sñ ɬ̥eł'ayəł' Cl ɬ̥a:yəł'əł'.  
\*s-k'ink<sup>2</sup>"u snake Sq ɬ̥ink<sup>2</sup>"u a mythical serpent Cw sc'ink<sup>2</sup>"a lightning monster  
~ Ch sk'ink<sup>2</sup> rattlesnake

\*k'is bad. [Fr. *Čáspí ugly*] Ti Čis-/Čiš- bad, ha(n)náščis rain ~ Li nk'san'k mean-spirited (borr. fr. Sh) Sh k'ist bad, k'sesq't (*heavy*) rain Cb k'ast bad Cv k'ast id. Ka čes id. Sn čs. (čes.)

\*kʷʰlx spirit power. Be *luk*"ala student of supernatural power, shaman-to-be [Se syayk" Indian doctor] Ch suff. -ikʷʰlaši/-ikʷʰliši, -kʷʰl̥s spirit power, "lakwillix" id. ~ Sh tákʷʰlx shaman Cb Cv λ'a?kʷʰlx id. Sp λ'c?kʷʰl̥s id. Cr t'e?kʷʰl̥s id. Cf. HEI λúgʷʰalá person with supernatural powers (as eg. a shaman).

\***s-kʷay** squirrel. See Kinkade 1991:238, 1995:42f.  
**kʷəl(c), kʷəc'** to bend, twist. Cx kʷáyíč *twisted* [also c'áyíč] [Se sc'álíč] Sq kʷúčun *bend in several directions, make crooked* Sm skʷac'əl/skʷac'í *crooked, skʷəl/kʷəc'/c real crooked* Tw ?askʷáł *bent* ~ Li kʷulčílx *turn around a bend* Sh kʷəl' *crooked* Cx skʷarən' *id.*

\*lk' to *tic*, bind. Tw lk'-, leč- ~ Sh lk'- wind (string) around Cb lk'ən tie up lk'əm arrest Kp lk' Cw lk' Cw lk'

\***Ik'** ~ to pluck, pull out. **Sa** **aslk'** it's plucked, yek"<sup>á</sup>d **pull/unplug** it, **asyek'**<sup>á</sup>nis tooth is pulled out ~ **Cr** **luk'** **pull**, pick off strings, fuzz. If one starts from an original meaning **remove** (by plucking or rubbing) then here belong also **Cx** **čák"**<sup>á</sup>t rub **Se** **ysk"**<sup>á</sup>t id. **Sq** **qiq'** id. ~ **Sh** **lk"-** rub off dirt. Cf. also **Ld** **čaqg"**<sup>á</sup>d rub about (as two pieces of cloth rubbed together) see also **"wūz".**

\*liq' to bury. Tw ?asliq' buried Ti liq'- ~ Sh liq'- Cb liq'təmənáy' funeral Cv liq'- Ka laq'- Sa láq'- Cr leq'

\*lix<sup>w</sup> descend. Sq lix<sup>w</sup> fall down Ch lix<sup>wi</sup>- descend, dismount ~ Sh yx<sup>w</sup>- (yix<sup>w</sup>) descend Cr dex<sup>w</sup> lower descend, dismount

\*taq to patch up. Ck taq'ewat patch a canoe ~ Sh tq- paste/tack on Cv taq mend patch

\*taq to land somewhere, \*taq-ilx to sit down. Ti leq-, (sqtléqil) sb. is sitting down ~ Li leq- get stuck land somewhere. Sh taqly sit down ~ Sh taq- sit

*down ~ Li faq- get stuck, land somewhere Sh faqlx sit down, pl. Cb faqlx sit, get up ("assume a sitting position") Ka laq sit down.*

\*təq' *instruction, knowledge*. Sq təq'i's *be acquainted with, know how to do* Ms təq'ələx" *know* Ck stəq'ələx"/təq'ələx" *id.* ~ Sh təq'mnt̄s *instruct*.

\*ñ'apat *cedar bark basket*. Cx ñ'apat Se ñ'apalt Sq ñ'pat ~ Cb ñ'pat *burlap sack*.

\*ñ'eq"/k" *spotted*. Tw ?asñ'ələq" *spotted* ~ Sh st'uq" *spot, stktəq"tū'tq"* *spotted, fawn* Cb (ñ')ñ'ak"ñ'ak" *fawn (spotted)* Cv ñ'ak"ñ'ak" *early fawn*. Tw -l- as in Ck ñ'ələq" *under* 25.1 təq"/k" *explode*.

\*ñ'ax fast, quick, swift. Ch ñ'ax- ~ Cb ñ'ax-, ñ'xatk" *rapids* Cv Ka Sp ñ'axt Cr təx. Here may belong words for *haft*. Ch ñ'axilgs Ti sñ'çxaw', with secondary labialization due to the suffix Be sñ'x"usmat Sh stəx"tə"xlú'lse (deviant forms in Ld ñ'əbx"ila Tw ñ'əbəw?iyax).

\*ñ'ax-ilx *to go upstream*. Ti ñ'ax-il- ~ [Li ñ'axil *attack*] Sh xt'c̄lx *run upstream (of salmon)*, [t'c̄lxmns *charge at*].

\*mäc'ap *bee, wasp*. Tw mäc'ap *bee, yellowjacket* ~ Sh mäc'pe? *wasp, black jacket* Cb mäc'p *bee*. The Sh form contains the suffix -(ü)pe? *tail*, so that an alternative reconstruction is \*mäc'-up(-a?).

\*mäl- *hemlock/balsam tree*. Ck mäləmst̄p *western hemlock* ~ Li mälint̄p *balsam tree* Sh mlenip *id*. Cb märlip *id*. Cv marlip *id*.

\*mälk"/q" *to twist, tangle, sprain*. Tw ?asbul?uq" *tangled up, pinched* bibú?uq" *twist, bul?uq"sd his foot is caught on st.* ~ Li mul-, mluk" *sprained, dislocated* Sh (c)mlok" *out of joint, mlk"- dislocate, sprain (w. retracted suff.)* Cb märk" *id*. Deviating forms for *sprain* in Sq Ld p'ətq"- Ch p'ayq"- Cv miq".

\*malx"/x" *naked*. Ch mäləx"- *undress, maləx"- naked* ~ Cr milx". (Cb ktmalx" *source not found*).

\*smulac *woman*. Ti swiféč, dim. swuwl/üfēč ~ Li smútac.

\*mat'ay/t'amay *horse clam* (IS>snail) see Kinkade 1990:201 (+Sh st'amyeeq).

\*məx(-ay'a) *cedar bark basket*. Sm məh'ay *loose-weave basket* ~ Sh mim'x *large cedar bark basket, mxéxyc? (smaller) basket* [Cv mxilp *cedar*] Cr mimš/minš *box*.

\*naqas *one*. Tw náqas; náqənəqs *alone* ~ Cb naqas *one*.

\*naw-ilx *to run*. Ti nenégil (*\neg*) ~ Sh newlx Cb naw'əlx. Here probably belongs IS \*naw *wind blows*.

\*paq"/k" *to spill, pour* (cf. 3.4 paq"). Se paq" *s fall overboard* Ch paq" *spill* ~ Li pák"ən *id*, [p'ük"un *pour solids into st.*] Th pak"tēne *dump out* Sh pk"- *pour dry substances, scatter* Cv pk"- *drop pl. obj., pile up, p/pk"min pour solids* Ka pk"-, pük" *pile, sow, etc.*

\*s-pł-ucin *mouth, edge*. Tw spłúcad *edge of canoe or tub* Ti shəlucín *mouth* ~ Sh spłucn *id*. [Ka spłim'con *id*]

\*pal *thin, flat* (cf. 5.5 \*p'i/al). Be lplii *thin* Se spát̄an *tideflats, prairie* Sq spát̄an *flats, flatland* Cw spát̄an *id*. Ld spát̄ad *tide/marsh flats* [p'llid *flatten*] Tw spát̄ad *marsh, swamp* Ch pájñan *swamp, valley* ~ Li spáləm *prairie, flat land, palán* *spread berries to dry* Th péyé's *spread (eg. berries to dry)*, v'péyəq" *spread out* Sh péł- *id*, spelm *prairie* Cb pal *flat* Cv pil *flat, spilm flat country* Sp pil *thin* Cr spłem *level land*.

\*pul to tip ovr. Cx pəlm *fall down* Sq pəym *fall overboard* Tw púlal, ?aspúl *tipped over* Ti v'hul: chú?li *I tip over* ~ Sh púl- *put upside down, xpulk"e capsized* Cb napulk"ən *turn st. upside down, napulk" capsized*.

\*s-pəlan *skunk*. See Kinkade 1991:238.

\*pisa? *small animal (bird, insect)*. Ch p̄csa? *bug, insect, worm, pc̄sa, little birds, psayqs mosquito, p̄sə? monster (FB civil spirit, gnat)* ~ [Sh pəp'i?se *snake, papip'?esc worm, caterpillar*] Cv pəp'aspas *baby chicks*.

\*pat *to arrange, line up, splice, spread*. Tw ?aspát *it's all in a row, ?aspptpát it's all spread out (eg. hay/clothes in a field)*, patáyas- *look, patiya?iq" gr. gr. grandparent/child, pat- tie, wrap* Ch paták" *cover, wrap, pát- stick on* ~ Sh pt-spread out (as blanket), pét- *splice (rope), take after (parent)*.

\*px/xp *to comb (out)*. Be px/xp *run wet string between thumb and forefinger to squeeze the water out* Ld špac/špaž *a comb* Tw pšan *id*. Ch šápayi- *comb hair* ~ Sh píx- *unravel* Cv pixm *wool combing*.

\*pən *besides, parallel, straight*. Se pəngát *put parallel* Sn ēñesat *straight, ēñe'sat steer (car, boat)* Ch pən- *near, beside* ~ Sp v'pín *long objects lying on the ground, henp'néw's planked bridge* Cr pén pl. *long objects lie*.

\*p'as *flat*. Tw ?aspás *it's flat, the swelling has gone, p'ásas id*. ~ Sh cp'es flat, p'ásas *id*. [Cb pas *flat, low*].

\*p'uq" *unid. plant*. Ch p'uq"?a? *red-flowering currant, wild blue currant* ~ Sh sp'úq"?y *unid. shrub (silvery, small white berries)*.

\*qal *spring (salmon)*. Cf. 12.6. Ti qe?(!)lōw' *Chinook salmon* ~ Th sqeyčnt̄ *salmon sp.* Sh sqleln *salmon (gen.)*, sñqel'qltmx *summer, pasqél'qltmx June*.

\*qa?i?/qahi *offspring*. Ti v'qehaf: isqéhat *your (adult) children* ~ [Sh qəlmín paren̄] Cv qa?i? *children of, qa?iilmix"əm children of the chick*.

\*qəs *to scratch, tickle*. Tw qəsád *scratch it!* Ti v'qəs *scratch* ~ Sh qəsqis-tickle, qəsqép *itch* Cb qəsən *scratch (an itch)* Cr qəs *scratch with nails*.

\*qasa/i? *uncle*. Ld qsi? Tw qási Ch qási? ~ Sh méqsc? *woman's father's brother* Cb qásá *mother's brother*.

\*qayx *to err, fancy, be drunk, crazy*. Sm qáyo?qən *to lie, tell a made-up story* ~ Sh qyeč *drunk, cqyčqin crazy, qycyč make a mistake*.

\*q'ap *firewood*. Cx ?itq'ap *gather firewood* Se ?itq'p *id*. Ch ?itč *id*. Ti q'a'cp *(fire)wood* ~ Sh tq'epm *gather firewood*.

\*q"tał *animal fat, grease*. Tw q"tał *deer or elk fat* [Ti q"áq"tin fat, grcasc] ~ Sh q"tet *id*.

\*(s-)q"su? *bundle*. Ld q"su? *gathered at waist* ~ Sh sq"su? *bundle* [Cv q"əsq"ás *meadow hay (gathered in sheaves? AK)* Sp q"us *bunched, gathered*, Cr q"esu *bunch*].

\*q"axʷ *skinny*. Ti q"axʷ- ~ Li sq"axʷ Sh q"exʷt.

\*sa/it' *to sniff*. Ld sit'qsab ~ Sh sat'ns.

\*səw *to whisper*. Sn sak"aqsa, səw'qən' *Ld sag"q- Ch sak"- ~ Cb suw'suw'ilx Cv sv'ncut Sp sw'(i)*.

\*síx *to move (from one place to another)*. Ck síx- [Ch sayč- *replace*] ~ Sh síx- Cv síxlx.

\*tum-a? *mother, aunt*. Ti dáwa *mother (of female)* ~ Sh túm'e, tətúm *aunt (mother's sister)* Cb Cv Ka Sp tum' *mother (of female)*.

\*stinws *cedar rope used for sewing up baskets*. Tw stidəwas ~ Sh stinəstn.

\*tač"ac *chest*. Ch tač"č ~ Li táč"ac, suff. -ač"ac Cv -ač"čk Ka Sp -ač"čč. (Haeberlin 277 quotes Sh tk'mččč'či *collarbone*, tk'melas *breastbone*; for the former I recorded c'ewe, for chest, breast only suff. -(é)as). For IS final k cf. 21.2.

\*t'ik"/q" *muddy (water)*. Tw ?ast'ik" *muddy, bit'iyak" (water) gets dirty* ~ Sh xtiq"ns *make muddy, xtaq"tiq" dirty, muddy (of water)* Cv nt'iq" *muddy water*.

\*s-t'ul *mulc deer*. See Kinkade 1991:235.

\*t'əm (in name of) gooseberry. Cx t'am?x\* Se st'amx\* Sq t'am?x\* Ld t'əbx\* Tw t'əb?əx\* Ch t'amáx\* ~ Cv nt'it'mlps (-ips neck) Sp nt'et'ml'ps.

\*t'ana? ear. Ti t'əní ~ Li ɬ'ána? Th ɬ'én'i Sh t'éne Cb t'ána? Cv t'ína? Ka Sp t'éne? Cr t'ínc?.

\*t'əp to tip over, fall. Tw ?ast'əp it's upside down, ?ax\* t'ápas laying down on stomach, face down, upside down, [t'əpəd/t'pəd sleep] ~ Cv t'ppúsn fall on one's face, nt'pqsam tip one's head [Cr t'əp jump aside].

\*taqa? salal/grouseberry. See Ki 1995:37.

\*t'uq\* down feathers. Ld st'u?q\* Ch st'uq\* ~ Sh stuq\*.

\*s'-t'wi skin. Be st'winlic' any treebark Ti st'égi ~ ESh st'wi? (WSh t'en'wn, a possible inversion).

\*wa(?) to sing loud, holler. Sl wəwəm chanter d'unc voix forte, Ld wa? sound of a baby crying ~ Sh wewm holler [Cb wwáwlx speak, talk] Ka Sp wé? holler Cr wi? cry out, shout.

\*wa/ina?w horn, antler. Sc swáná?w Nk wénéen Ld g\*áda?k\* Tw wədá?w Ch wináw' (also wedge) ~ Th Sh Ok wənaw chisel (Boas).

\*wis high, above. Tw (?)wis high Ti gis up, above ~ Sh wist high [Cb Cv wísxən long Ka wis long] Sp wis- stand up, nwist it's up high Cr g'is be high.

\*s-xanx rock, stone. Ti šenš ~ Th Sh sxenx Ka Sp sšenš.

\*x/ɬəw dry. Sq s̥əw? dried salmon backbone [Ld ɬab(a) dry] Ch ɬəpi (get) dry Ti šág? dried (preserved) food ~ Sh ɬəwt dry, s̥əwum dried meat [Ka ɬəm' dry].

\*xəyt fore, front, first. Sc šəyt bow of boat Ld ɬəxt id., front ~ Sh xəx?it scout, spy, sx?itmx elder sibling Cl sx?it first, xi?tús ahead, forward, lead, bc in charge, sxə?itx\* oldest Cv x?it first, best, top, xa?tús leader Ka ši?it bc first Sp ši?it first, ahcad, before Cr ši?it be first, oldest.

\*x\*x'a light of weight. Be x\*xax\*i Cx Se x\*xix\*x'a Sq ɬi?x\*a Cl x\*x'x\*a Sq x\*x'əx?ewə?x\*x? Ld x\*x?á?x\*x? Tw sx\*x'k\* breath, nixs\*x'ak\*k\* lungs (x\* corr. fr. k\*) Ch x\*x'c'k\* (v\*x'k\*) Ti cx\*x'x\*x? ~ [Li sx\*x'k\*x\* heart, feelings, mind] Sh x\*x'ek\*x'c'k\* light(weight), sx\*x'ek\*x'k\* lungs. Cf. QUI x\*x?w light(weight).

\*xən to get hurt. Tw ?asxádaq\* sore, it's hurt ~ Sh xéne be hurt Cb xən?númt get hurt.

\*xat (red.) duck. See Kinkade 1995:38.

\*x\*x'/x\*y(l) debt. Ch ɬ\*x\*- owe, bc in debt ~ Sh x\*x'əyéwt (red. of x\*x'əwyéwt) a loan, credit Cv x\*x'lx\*ilt debt Ka xulx\*ilt id.

\*x\*x'ay/lax\* to laugh. Ch lax'á- ~ Sh x\*x'y\*xéye (pl.) Ka x\*x'a\*x\*c?éi (pl.) Sp x\*x'a\*x\*x?ey (pl.) Cr x\*x'ad be comical, be amused, laugh.

\*x\*x'i\* to sever, break (as branches, wood). Cx x\*x'əl't cut off (as branches), x\*x'ú\*x'əl' cedar shacks, [x\*x'á?igan half full] Se s\*x\*x'əl' plank, shake [Sq x\*x'əwít be half full] ~ Sh x\*x'it- crack (branches, wood) Cv x\*x'i\*- break Sp x\*x'á\*x'á sound of cracking sticks.

\*yu an edible root. Ti s̥əcyú/əw camas root (v\*xay sharp edge/point) ~ Sh ſyu chocolate tips (v\*xy stinging, hot, angry).

\*yuλ' to rub. Sq yaλ'q'an rub, paint Ck yəλ'q't rub Nk yóλ'on id. ~ Sh yt'-rub, scrub, yút- make smooth ESh xyt'éləstn a brush [Cb yəλ'usn sharpen (blade)]. CS also has forms with l: Sq yulk\*- Ld čəzq\* Ch yál'č.

\*yəm infirm, sad. Cx ɬámšin lame Se syəniwán sad, sorry, lonesome, syəmít hardly able to [Tw yəbáq'-yəbátl- entangled, tied up Ch yəmt'- twisted, wrapped

around] ~ Sh ymtnem sing a lovesong, ESh "sing the blues" Cb yáməm old (person), yám'yəm't difficult Cr dem be very old.

\*yman bird's nest. Be ?imanta ~ Li zámán eagle's nest, aerie Cr dimínc?. \*yax long. Tw yaš- ~ Sh ext [Cb yəxyáxlps sage hcñ].

## II

The etymologies which follow are limited to CS. Two lists are given, the first containing items that are all-CS, the second items limited to Central Salish but occurring both in Ti and in languages from Sq (inclusive) northward. In list 1 forms with č, ē for which no cognates with k, k' are available are listed in the alphabetic place of k, k'.

### List 1.

\*?ališ sibling/cousin of opposite sex. Sc ?áliš bro., si, first cousin Sq ?áyis sibl./cous. of opp. sex Cw ?éloš sibling [Ck ɬx\*x?éloš si-in-law Sn ɬx\*x?éloš woman?z id] Ld ?alš sibl./cous. of opp. sex Tw ?ališ younger sibl. of opp. sex Ti ?éliš man's sister. Cf. QUI ?áliš "cousin" (term used by women for all relatives).

\*?aičán downstream (area). [Be ?aačt upstream arca, cf. ?ulčt go upriver] Sq ?aičán Ld ?áličad Tw ?aičád [Ti ?ečén/?éčán Garibaldi, north, ?éčán good wind, blowing to the south from Columbia r.]

\*?asx\* seal. See Kinkade 1991:238.

\*?itk'/q'ap to gather firewood. Cx ?itq'əp Sc ?itq'p Ch ?itč. Cf. \*q'əp in list 1. Initial ?i- is limited to CS.

\*?áxic to lie down. Be s̥icta bed Cx ?áxis Se ?áxic Sq ?əxic Ck ?éčəs Tw ?əxicnəx\* (imp.).

\*?ay good. Cx ?ay? Se ?iy Sq Cw ?ay Sn ?ay' Ld ?i?áb wealth Tw ?ay Ch ?ay Ti ?iyá?iyá allright.

\*cu to go. Cx su Su Ti cuk"-, cuye-.

\*cak\* to put, place. Cx sák\*ənačem sit down Se cak\*xánəm go and stand on st. high Ch cak"-lie down, also in derivatives for dish, pan, cradle, cupboard.

\*cal'at lake. Be cal Cx sáy?ai Se cal'át SLD cálát (calát Big Lake) Cl cág?ai Ch cálá?i Ti cé?la?el-. Cf. KWA ɬa?lá?i (?v3 spread out).

\*cam two. Cx sáma twice Se camá id, cámica two (animals, pieces of cloth) Sq cam?á twice, cámicas two days, cám?ič two hundred Ck ɬamé twice, ɬamáčls Tuesday Sm ɬané twice Cl ɬanžnáčl Tuesday Ld cáb- Tw cab- Ch cam- Ti cuw-/cəw-; cuwx" twice.

\*cum eyebrow. Cx súman Se cacúman Sq cumn Cw sámən Sn ɬanən Ld cúbəd Ch cúnymais.

\*ciq\* to dig. Sq ciq"- Cw siq"- Ck ɬiyəq"- Sn ši?q"-/šay'əq"- Ld ciq" Tw ciq"- Ch ciq"-i-. Cf. no. 33 \*ciq; forms with q are found in Be Cx Se and in Sq ciq stab.

\*cataw red cedar. Be cactawip Ch catáwi [Ti datági].

\*cəx\* to poke. Cx sax\*t stab Sc cəx\* poke, stab Sq cəx\* get hit Ch cix"-i-. ?Cf. WAK cəx\* poke, stick into.

\*s-(c)ħal-m sword fern. See Kinkade 1990:202.

\*c'u? (in words for) seven (poss. to point). Cx c'ú?čis (?cf. c'ámale/c'émála index finger) Se c'účis Cw Sn čá?k"əs Cl c'u?k"s (deriv. base c'a?k"s-) Ld c'u?k"s Ch c'úps-.

\*c'ik"/c'iwq' *elderberry*. Cx c'iwq' Se sc'iwq' Sq sc'iwq'? q' Cw q'iwaq' *red elderb., blue c.* Sn c'iwq' Ld c'ik"ik" *blue e.* Tw c'iq"iq" *id.* Ch c'ik"ik" *id.* Cf. no. 41 \*c'ik"-a? *left side, where only Ch has c'iwq'-.* Cf. QUI c'iwó:k" *elderberry.*

\*c'ak"-a? *an edible root.* See Kinkade 1990:202.

\*c'al *to twist, spin.* Cx c'ayiC Se c'alčát Tw bie'álapi?as *dizzy Ch c'aláp.*

\*c'ap' *to insult, derange, interrupt.* [Be c'p stuck, blocked] Sq c'ap'- *derange, interrupt* Cl c'apt *bother* Ld c'ap(a) *ill-bred, insulting* Ch c'ápa- *disgrace, disgust, hurt feelings, etc.*

\*c'ix" *five.* Be c'ix" Tw Ti c'ix"as.

\*c'ix *sand, gravel(beach).* Be sc'ix *sand, gravel,* [sqc' id.] Sq c'ext *gravel beach* Cw c'xt id. Sq c'xi beach, c'ac'xi *beads* Tw c'xt sand Ch c'ac'e? id.

\*haq" *to smell.* Cx Sc Sq Ck Sn Ld haq" Tw saq" Ti ta?q"- *stink.*

\*kapc *uncle, aunt.* Cx čaps Se čapc Ck xcapš Sn sečs Cl cačč Tw čap Ti čec *aunt.* The word probably contains the a-form of \*k"up- no. 77, add cognates Be kuk"pi *grandfather, kuuk"pi great-gr.f.* Cx k"úpa? gr.f. Tw k"úpic *master* Ch čúpa gr.f. Cz k"úpa? id. Li k"úk"pay' chifc Th k"úpay/z' *manage Sh k"upý master (of dog)* Ch has the address form cá?pa *grandfather,* these forms may be connected with Sh wi-k"upý/wi-ké?pe, a 2nd pers. pl. address form (used in stories only) where wi- expresses the collective plural. The suffix -c may be hypocoristic, cf. its use in words for *husband* derived from words for *man*, eg. Ch swéqas (§<c>) besides swi:qa, also in \*k"tame (see below).

\*čil?ut to steal. Cx čaw?ut Si čawt Se čel'ui Tw čile?ut, bičičalud *breaking into the house* [Ti da sc'el'ui he stole it, Boas CV "sceláot"].

\*čom' to cover, fold, close (mouth). Sq čom?us *come together, meet; double* Sn x'čom'snak"el *meet* Tw ?asčobus *folded, čobusad fold/double it* Ch čomš(it)n *cover, čom'lnalm close mouth.*

\*čan three. Cx Se čan- Sq čanat Tw Ch čan- Ti čenét.

\*čit older close relative. Se čičt older sibling Sq či?čt father, parent's sibling Ch čit'u- *older brother.*

\*s-katx"n black bear. See Kinkade 1991:233.

\*kəwax wife. Sq čuás Nk č(ə)wáx Ld čeg"ás? Tw ču?wáš Ti čeg"ás. The root \*kaw is all-Salish (no. 72) but the extension -ax and the meaning *wife* are CS. Poss. the same extension in *brother-in-law* Cx Se č'amaš Sq čmaš Ld č'abas.

\*(s-)k"u?-ui leaf of trec. Sq sc'úta? Cw sc'ále? Sn sc'ač'a? Ld sc'útey, čú?iac maple leaf Tw q"iu?áy Ch k"uy', k"úwi?- *maple tree* Ti čišaw', čišas.

\*k'am beaver. Be k'manwas/k'amwas *young beaver* Sc sk'amt (borr.) Ch čem-áq *beaver castorium.*

\*k'an shake, tremble, shiver. Be k'n'm Ld č'adab Tw č'ad- Ch čan'-.

\*k'ipt red *elderberry.* See Kinkade 1990:202. Besides the WAK forms quoted (ibid. 203 fn.) QUI c'ibá? *elderberry* is reminiscent of the Salish word.

\*čsay? fir/cedar wood, log, stick. Sq čsay? Douglas fir Cw c'sey? fir, log, wood Sn čsey? D. fir Ld čsay? spearpole, stick of firewood Tw česčsi cedar wood Ti yésčsi fir tree.

\*čayuya twins. Se sc'iyčiyúya Sq (s)čiyúya Cw sc'iyáya Sn sc'ayáya? Ld sc'iyuya? Tw či?uyab Ch čiyúya? [Ti čiyúc son, male offspring].

\*k"ac name. Be sk"ac- (to) name, sk"acta name Ch k"acili- *be named, called, sk"act name.* Cf. 78.2, in IS a form with c only in Li.

\*k"et to divide, split. Be k"i crack, split Sq k"etč split open Ld sk"elt fishtail Ch k"et- *divide.*

\*k"im blood, red. Be muk" red Cx k"ámiws red cod/snapper Sc k"amím red Sq k"əmk"im id. Ck ck"im id. Sn nsk"im id. Ti gukíw blood (redupl.).

\*k"-tam-c husband. Be k"tmc Sq k"tams Tw k"atábac. Cf. no. 17.1.

\*k"utč halibut. Se scutč Sq sča?tč Sn satč Sm sa(?)tč Ld scutč Tw scútač Tenino Ch "sk otxa".

\*k"uk" skunk cabbage. See Kinkade 1995:36. Cf. HEI k"uk" HAI k'k'uk".

\*k"el to spill. Be Cx Sc Sq HI k"el id. Sn Sm k"el' (k" sic) Ld k"el Tw ask"el Ch k"el-.

\*k"ox to count. Cx Se k"ošt Sq k"šat Ck k"xe(j)m Sn k"šaj Ld k"oš Tw k"oš- [Ch k"on-] Ti v'k"ox".

\*k"u/ax"ani? clam sp. See Kinkade 1990:202.

\*lak' full, to fill. Be ?allik' Cx yøč' Se lač'/lač' Sq yøč'/yič' Ck lač'/lic'- Sn lač'/lic'- Ld lač' Ch lač'lač' (pl. lič').

\*lam to thump. Cx yamt kick Se lamt id. Sq lámi?n make bumping noise Ch lémák"- hum, rumble, thump.

\*løq to buy. Cx yøqt Se sliq what one buys Sq liq receive at potlatch Ck ?elqels, ?iløqat Sn løq sell, ?iløqat buy Tw ?asløq bought Ch løq.

\*liq easy. Cx yíqit cheap Se liliq easy, cheap Sq li?q id. Ck liliq Sn liliq Tw liq Ch liq-

\*liq" calm, no wind. Se líq"il [Sq yaq"] Cw slíq"el Sn sliq"el Ld líq"il Ch liq"-.

\*lik' to cut, sharp. [Se lac'-] Sq tič' be cut, lačtn knife Ck lie'at cut Ld tič(i) cut w. knife Tw lač' cut Ch lač' sharp.

\*s-lan-ay? woman. [Cx lán?m weave] Se slánay, [lən'- weave] Sq slánay?, [lən?t weave] Cw sténay? [Ck ti:t weave] Sn steni?, [lən'at weave] Ld sláday' Tw sláday Ch lánay-, suff. -in'.

\*lač" to spit. Be lač't Cx λəč"t spit out Se lač"at spit on/out, lač"at stick out tongue Sq tač'n spit at, lač'ut spit out Cw tač'at Sn tač"at remove from mouth [Tw lipix"ab] Ch tač"á-t vomit.

\*λ'el 1. to crackle, pop, 2. a plant providing berries or seeds. Sq λ'ik"n? bearberry Ck sλ'áleq" chocolate lily, λ'ik'l kinnikinnick berry, also pca, bean Sn λ'liq"st̄p yarrow Ld λ'alič' pop, crack, λ'elxulč cranberry (called so because they pop) Tw λ'elx' pop, crack, sλ'elxulčas cranberry, sλ'elxu?álsi cranberry/Labrador tea plant Ch λ'eláq" crackle, pop, burst, λ'álxin red elderberry.

\*s-l'lu?n cockle. See Kinkade 1990:202 (corr. Cx λly?am).

\*λ'at bitter, salt. Cx Se Sq λ'alm Cw λ'élam Sn λ'elən Ld λ'atəb Ch λ'at bitter, sour, salt Ti λ'á?at(s) bitter.

\*λ'amq' yew. Sq λ'amq'ay? red hardwood Sn λ'əmq'ilč Tw λ'abáqay (q' sic) Ch λ'amq'! Cf. KW λ'əmq'.

\*λ'uk" high. Be λ'uk' Ch λ'uk".

\*λ'ep deep, under. Cx Se λ'ep Sq λ'p-, λ'apat lower st. Sn λ'æč Ld Tw Ch λ'ep Ti λ'ah. Of IS only Li and Th have this root.

\*λ'eq to go outside. Se λ'eq Ch λ'eq.

\*λ'aq'an see \*q'(y)al'an.

\*makən testicle. Be maka Sq mačn Ck méčal (and suff. -éčal) Ld Tw báčəd Ch máčini-. ? Cf. Sh mck'p id.

\*mak" to eat. Cx mak"t Ch mák"a- put in mouth, chew.

\*mak" corpse. Cx mák"a grave Se smák"a Sq smák"ə?ál graveyard Cw šmák"él id, cmémak"e funeral Ch mak"t, sa?ák"t funeral, suff. -ak"-t.

- \*mikʷí *salalberry*. See Kinkade 1990:202.
- \*ma/ulqʷ *to mix*. Be maliič Cx míqʷən̥x "igast mix up Sq malqʷ, [mlmlč get mixed up Ck məmīlač be mixed up, confused] Sn malskʷat, [milečat] Ld báluqʷ(u) mixed/messed up, entangled Tw bul?úqʷšad foot is tangled in st. Ch málukʷ-i- go crazy, get drunk, etc.
- \*mál(al)us *raccoon*. See Kinkade 1991:237 IS only Li, Th. Cf. HEI máyás.
- \*man *father*, \*mána *child (offspring)*. Be man, mna Cx man, má?na Se man, móna Sq man, man? Cw man, mán?a Sn men, nóna? Ld bad, bádá/báda?, Tw bad, báda Ch man?mán? (both) *offspring* Ti wúwá *father of female*, múman *boy between 2 and 14*.
- \*s-man(i) *stone, mountain*. Be smt *mountain* Se smánit *id*. Sq smánit *id*, smant *stone* Cw sment *id*. Sn sjenet Ld sbádił/t *mountain* Tw sbádił *id*. Ch mánici-*id*.
- \*maqín *hair (on head)*. Cx Se máqín Ms méqən Ti wa/cqín. IS only Li.
- \*maqsn *nose*. Be maaša Cx máqṣən Se maqṣən Sq Cw māqṣən Sn nəqṣən Ld báqṣəd Tw báqṣəd Ch máqṣin Ti wáqṣán. IS only Cb.
- \*mu?qʷ *waterfowl*. Hl (Chehalis) maqʷ Sn ma?qʷ Cl mu?qʷ Ld bu?qʷ Tw bu?qʷ, buqʷúla *Dixon white-winged scoter* Ti nəšwu?qʷ a sca duck (not eaten) (the latter not to the etymon *loon* Kinkade 1995:32).
- \*maqʷam NCS *swamp*, SCS *field, meadow, prairie*. Se máqʷam *swamp* Sq máqʷam *id*, moss Cw máqʷam *id*. (for moss cf. \*qʷaym) Sn maqʷaq *swamp* Ld xʷbáqʷus *prairie, field*, xʷbáqʷabus *meadow* Tw báqʷab *prairie, field* Ch máqʷam-*prairie*.
- \*məqʷ *to swallow*. Cx məqʷt Se məqʷt, məqʷém Ch məqʷ. The all-Salish root \*qʷm/mqʷ is used in Sq Hl Sn Ld.
- \*m-ús *face, head*. Be musa *face* Cx má?us Se mə?ús *head*, mə?ústn *face* Sq sm?us *face* Tw bus *id*. Ch cmus (Tenino Ch samús) *id*. Ti wus. *id*.
- \*maskum' *mink*. See Kinkade 1991:236.
- \*məsən *gall*. Cx mésən gall-bladder Se məsán Sq məsən Cw mésən Ch masántn.
- \*mu?l/mut'hum' *blue grouse*. [Be mux?mukʷ] Se húmhüm Sq mum?tm Cw mič? Sn qí?at [Ld Tw sbákʷbákʷ] Ch mo?m. Cf. QUI híhíb *grouse*. IS only Li Th. This sound-imitative name has various forms in CS,<sup>3</sup> the reduplication type is no reason to regard the Sq word as a borrowing from Li (thus Ki 1995:34) as it is found in CS as well (Sq t'ut'l'm *flea*, skʷukʷc *tail* Sn sčačča *leaf*, etc.); the IS name of the bird is \*səsəqʷ (no. 51, see also Ki 1995:3sf.).
- \*maxkʷ/kn' *(head)louse*. See Kinkade 1995:32.
- (\*s-)mayac *meat*. Cx mǎšas Sq smic Cw smáyəs Ck sméyəs deer Sn smáyəs meat, deer Sm sma/eyiš *id*. Ld báyac/biáč Tw báyac, suff. -abac *body, skin* Ti wiyeč *belly*. Cf. HEI miás *meat, flesh*.
- \*nam *to throw*. Cx ná?maš *throw away* Sc nəm?áš *id*. Ch nam- *throw(?)*.
- \*s-peču? *watertight basket*. Cx póču? Se spáču? Sn spáča? Ld spáču? Tw spáču Ch spáču? *cooking basket*. Cf. QUI pikʷó? *watertight basket*, KWA pku? *id*, pku?sgim *cedar root hat (-sgm round obj.)*.
- \*pk'/p'k *mosquito*. Be pk'm Ch p'ačé:wqs.
- \*pal *crane*. Cx pal? Ch pəlwé-. The comparison is doubtful; cf. also Cw spalál crow (one Ck alternative is spał).
- \*pač to be split, come apart. Cx pač to tear Sc pač burst, páčat *tear up* Sq ?əsp̚átm *tight, not reaching (around)* Ld pač spread apart (of things untied) Ch pačč *split*, LCh páččen *id*. [Ch póč- *pierce, go through*].
- \*p'akʷ *to float*. Cx p'ekʷs *float up* Sc p'ekʷtn floater Sq p'akʷ- Cw sp'ap'čkʷ Sn sp'akʷel Ch p'ukʷ-.
- \*p'al *conscious, sober*. Sq p'at sober(ed up) Tw p'alil regain consciousness, p'álildəxʷ he's sober now, ?asp'at smart, wise Ch p'alúxʷ come back to life, come to. Here may belong Sn p'at hatch, come out of egg Ld p'lúsəb fix/comb hair.
- \*p'an (w. suff. tree) *vine maple (?)*. Be p'anip green/mountain alder Sn p'eynəčp vine maple Ch pánin̥t *id*. The Sn form is borrowed from an unknown source.
- \*p'a/uqʷ *gray (not of hair), faded*. [Cx p'uqʷ] Sq p'uqʷúm Tw ?asp'apqʷ *faded, pale color, light brown (horse)* Ch p'aqʷ *gray, light color*.
- \*p'əsqʷ/kʷ *to squeeze*. Se p'əsqʷát crush Sq p'əskʷ- squeeze, [p'əlqʷ-/p'əlqʷ-sprain] [Ld p'əsqʷ/kʷ- joint, p'əlqʷ- sprain] Ch p'əsqʷ- sprain.
- \*p'əway' *flounder*. Be p'wi halibut. Cx p'ágay? *id*. Sq p'úay? black-dotted flounder Ck p'awí *flounder, halibut* Sn p'áwi? *flounder* Ld p'úay?/p'úway? *id*. Tw p'əway *id*. Ch p'awáy. Cf. KWA p'o?i.
- \*qəl *bad*. [Cx qay? die] Se qəlqəlmút weak, qəlatilm be sick Sq Cw qay Sn qəla?š blunt-edged, qəliima untidy Ld Tw qələb Ch qəlám. In IS only Li Th.
- \*qal *water*. Be qla, smqla be thirsty Cx qiy?awus tears Se qálus *id*. [Sq sqʷúqʷl? small quantity of water (pond, bucket), qʷúlačl?m scoop up water w. hands] Cw c/qála be thirsty Ch qa?, qal- Cz qal?. The Sq forms with u may be due to √qʷu (as in Sq nqʷúus tears).
- \*qiw?x *steelhead*. Cx qiw?x Se sqiwx Sq sqiw?x Ms qe?wəx Ld Ch qiw?x. Cf. KWA g̥xʷa, gyu?x NOO qe?waH (Sapir).
- \*qəx *much, many*. Cx Se Sq Hl qəx Tw qəx- Ch qəx.
- \*qayx *to sway around, sway*. [Se qixit slide down, tr.] Sq qixit sway, tr. Ch qiyx- *swish around*.
- \*qayačn *shadow*. Sq qín?qn?ní Ck qayqayčlá Ch qaqáyačn.
- \*q'ål to believe, convince, fool sb. Cx q'aq'iya?naq fool sb. Se q'aq'lnaqt *id*, sq'ål!t believe Sq q'ål? be convinced, agrc, nq'iqls to fool sb. Ck q'ål believe, q'älstákʷ deceive, fool Sn q'el' believe Ld q'ål convince, fool Tw ?ask'ál believe, sk'ål faith, biq'iqlt fool sb. Ch q'ål get "hoodooed".
- \*q'əl sweet. Se Ch q'əl.
- \*q'aλ' cloud. Sq sq'aλ' Ld sq'aλ'əb Tw sq'aλ' Ch q'aλ'-. Sq and Tw have deglottalized C<sub>1</sub> before a glottalic C<sub>2</sub>, as is obligatory in Sh, common in Be and occasionally occurs elsewhere.
- \*q'a?may? maiden. Sq q'a?may Cw q'émay? Sn q'e?ni? Ld q'ábəy? Tw q'a?bi Ch q'ámayał girl.
- \*q'ətš to rattle. Cx q'ətším Se q'atiším Sq q'ətšán? rap, make clatter Sn q'tax a rattle, q'ətšt shake a rattle Ch q'ətši- hit w. projectile, q'ətšmi- bump, [q'ətš- rattle].
- \*q'axʷ to freeze, harden. Sq q'axʷ harden (as snowcrust), become callous Ld q'axʷ(á) freeze Tw ?asq'axʷ frozen Ch q'axʷ- freeze.
- \*q'(y)aλ'an snail, slug. Be λaq'an Sc xiýáq'an Sq q'iáλ'an Ck q'ayčλ'iye/a Sn q'əyaλ'an' Cl q'əyáλ'an Ld q'iyáλ'an Tw sq'áλ'an Ti sieq'é.
- \*q'yáč guts. Se q'yáč Sq q'iáč [Cw q'aq'ey? Sn q'aq'i?] Ld q'əzáč Tw q'yáč Ch q'əyáč.
- \*q'il blood, to bleed. Cx q"ii blood Sc sq"ii id. [Tw s?áq"il a skin blcmish] Ch q"ili(m)- bleed, sq"it blood.
- \*q"alil pitch. Cx q"á?wit Sc q"alit, q"aq"alit chew gum Ld q"álit Ch q"alit.

\*q<sup>w</sup>u/ač<sup>w</sup> gray, to fade. Cx q<sup>w</sup>uč<sup>w</sup> fad<sup>c</sup> Se q<sup>w</sup>uč<sup>w</sup>úm grey(ish) Tw q<sup>w</sup>ač<sup>w</sup> grey(-headed) Ch q<sup>w</sup>ač<sup>w</sup> gray, q<sup>w</sup>uč<sup>w</sup>- white.

\*q<sup>w</sup>aym moss, lichen. Cx q<sup>w</sup>ač<sup>w</sup> Se q<sup>w</sup>aym Ck q<sup>w</sup>e:m Ld q<sup>w</sup>əzáb Ch q<sup>w</sup>iəym. Cf. \*maq<sup>w</sup>am.

\*q<sup>w</sup>il(a) salmonberry. See Kinkade 1990:202.

\*q<sup>w</sup>əl-an'a car. Cx q<sup>w</sup>úwaʔna Se q<sup>w</sup>əláná Sq q<sup>w</sup>əlán?n Cw q<sup>w</sup>i:n Ck q<sup>w</sup>éwəl phonet. [q<sup>w</sup>o:l] Sn q<sup>w</sup>əlán? Ld q<sup>w</sup>əládi? Tw q<sup>w</sup>əládi Ch q<sup>w</sup>alán'.

\*q<sup>w</sup>an pubic hair. Bc q<sup>w</sup>na Sq q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>?n Ch q<sup>w</sup>an-, k<sup>w</sup>ans.

\*q<sup>w</sup>auy to wilt, be sick, die. Se q<sup>w</sup>uy die Sq q<sup>w</sup>uy id, sq<sup>w</sup>uy sickness Cw q<sup>w</sup>ay die Ck q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>ay sick Sn q<sup>w</sup>ay die Ch q<sup>w</sup>áya- wilt.

\*sulič (cattail wall-)mat. Se súlič Sq súlič Cw sálcc Sn salə?č Sm sálcc Ld s?úl(ə?)č/súlič (úláli cattail) Tw súl?č Ch súlač (also čeláš-).

\*sin large, huge; closest offspring. Cx Se sínk<sup>w</sup>u ocean, sea Sq sinč<sup>w</sup> senior-line children Ck sálč'a eldest child [Sn sineč big salmon going upstream] Tw sisid big, large, huge. sídak<sup>w</sup> bay, salt water, sca, síd?li eldest brother Ti sisín old, [sisináč blue-neck clam (a large clam)].

\*saʔq bracken fern (root). See Kinkade 1990:202. In IS only Li.

\*šalk<sup>w</sup> (a type of) clam. Sq šayk<sup>w</sup> clam, dig clams [Ld šil(i) come/dig out from under] Ch šalk<sup>w</sup> butter clam.

\*šam dry (land). Cx šam? dry Se šam run aground, šam?áš hang st. to dry Sq šam low tide, be in shallow water, emerge/stick out from the water, run aground Sn Sm šem low tide Ld šáb(a) dry Ch šam'- go inland.

\*šaq (high) up. [Sq šaq be finished, completed, over Sn šaq id] Ld high, up in the air Tw šaq- up (no example) Ch šaq clouds. The Sq Sn meaning may show the development of Engl. up in cat up, etc.

\*šaw? bonc. Se šaw Sq šaw? Ld šaw? Tw šaʔw Ch šaw?.

\*šawal to grow. Sq šaway [Ld šag<sup>w</sup>á?ac salmonberry sprouts Tw šuwaʔic id.] Ch šawáli. The root \*šaw may be all-Salish, cf. 89.1.

\*šayu rival. Sq šá?yu co-wife Cw šá?ye id. Sn šay'a? rival for spouse, šayə co-wife Sm sáye? id. Ld šayú? rival, second wife Tw šayu jealous Ch šayúw-sideways, on one's side.

\*tačtačni hummingbird. Sq tačtačni [Ld tatiʔed] Ch tátčačni.

\*təmt red paint (ochre, Indian paint fungus). Be t̄mas Se Sq təmt Cw Sn təmet Ld təbt Tw tābat ochre Ch suff. -tumt paint Ti tāwən paint/rub st.

\*tan mother. Be stan Cx Se tan Cw ten Sn ten Ld ščitadəb stepmother, uncle's wife Ch tan'- Ti danténa parents.

\*tqači? eight. Sq tqač Ms tqéce? Ld t(ə)qači? Tw təqači Ti tqéči.

\*stiqiw horse. Se stəqiw Sl t̄iqiw Sq staqiw Ck Sn Ld Tw stiqiw Ch stiqiw'.

\*t̄awix<sup>w</sup> nine. Cx t̄ágix<sup>w</sup> Se t̄awix<sup>w</sup> Cw tuč<sup>w</sup> Sn tək<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup> Ch t̄awix<sup>w</sup>.

\*t'ak<sup>w</sup>us seven. Sq t'ak<sup>w</sup>usáč (t'ák<sup>w</sup>us to point) Tw tək<sup>w</sup>ús Ti t̄čəws.

\*tal to slice. See 23.3; the CS Ka Sp forms point to \*a. The meaning slice is CS (vs. IS rip, tear, plough). Cf. HEI, HAI t̄al- KWA t̄ls- slice fish/meat.

\*t̄elqay to soak (dried food). Sq t̄iʔqi [Ck t̄əlqi] Sn t̄ələqit Ld t̄elqay Ch t̄iqi.

\*t̄omuc wild rhubarb. Ck t̄omáse Sn t̄om'ass Ld t̄əbásá Tw st̄əbúc Ch t̄omc-

\*t̄em(x) to braid. Se yúmtat Sq t̄emš Ck t̄éməx Sn t̄əgsen'at Ld t̄əbš Tw t̄ab?ífad rope Ch t̄amš- two/three etc. together, t̄am'lin- rope.

\*t̄aməx<sup>w</sup> gooseberry. See \*t̄am in list I; the extension -x<sup>w</sup> is CS. Cf. KWA t̄amx<sup>w</sup>m'əs gooseberry bush.

\*t̄ana/im(i) to measure. Sq t̄ánam?n measure, weigh, t̄ánamtn a measure, time [Ti t̄cnáwin moon].

\*t̄ap<sup>w</sup> thick (of liquid). Cx t̄apit Ch t̄ap.

\*t̄ap'-us to close the eyes, be blind. Cx Se t̄ap'us blind [Tw t̄apəd/t̄pəd sleep] Ch t̄actáps bc blind.

\*t̄aq' down, under. Se t̄aq' to trip, t̄aq'iš sit down Sq t̄q'ač fall backward Ch t̄aq' down, under(neath).

\*t̄ax(m) six. Be t̄xuč Cx t̄axám Se t̄axám Sq t̄ačmačá? sixty Cw t̄xám Sn t̄xən Ch t̄əxám-. Cf. no. 27; the use in six is CS.

(s-)t̄ix"/č(l)m huckleberry. See Kinkade 1990:202 (corr. Cx t̄áxʷ?ám).

\*wəq'iq' (a type of) frog. Sq waq'áq' Sn wəq'eq' tree toad Ld wáq'waq' Tw Ch waq'iq' Ti wəyéq'. Cf. QUI wáq' frog.

\*wuq<sup>w</sup> to drift with stream. Cx giq<sup>w</sup> drift Sq wuq<sup>w</sup> go downstream Ck wəwqʷáylam Sn kʷaqʷáł downstream area [Ld pəqʷ(ú)] Tw wuqʷátab it drifted away, wəqʷwit canoe drifted away Ti v̄gʷaqʷ.

\*xʷəl(i)tn white person. Sc Sq xʷəltin Cw Ms xʷənítəm Ck xʷəlítəm Sn xʷənítəm Ld Tw xʷəltab Ch xʷəlnta.

\*xic' raw. Be Cx Se Sn Ld Tw Ch xic'.

\*xák<sup>w</sup> tight. Cx xák<sup>w</sup>it Se xák<sup>w</sup>it Cl xák<sup>w</sup> Ch xák<sup>w</sup>-.

\*xál' write. Cx xálás Se xál'ám Sq xál? Ch xál'élis Sn xál'ela? Ld xál(a) Tw ?asħal written Ti təxél'aw, x̄iwiħel'itən pencil.

\*xá?liw horn spoon. Sq xá?lu Cw xálaw Sn Sm xál'aw Ch xáliwa? dish made of buffalo horn.

\*xáwas new. Cx xaw's Se xaws Sq xaw's Cw xew's Sn xew'as Ld xaw's Ch xáwas/xawás begin with, first time, at first.

\*x̄ay(x) (w. final red.) gills. Sq šá?yay Cw šeyy Sn še?i? Ld škáyay' Ch v̄xay', Tenino Ch xay' fishcad, gills, "xay i" whole head.

\*xʷəč open-eyed. Sq xʷəččʷáčayus "big eye" Tw ?asħʷáč awake Ti xʷəč awaken, wake.

\*xʷal to lose (control), give up, fail. Sq xʷay become senseless, paralyzed, faint Ld xʷal lack control Ch xʷal- lose, give (it) up.

\*xʷum (with somatic suffixes in:) Cx xʷúmlat windpipe Sc (s)xʷúmlat Adam's apple and thereabouts Sq xʷúmlat windpipe, throat Ch s̄xʷúmača elbow, s̄xʷúmnč buttocks, pelvis (hips).

\*xʷaq'y/qʷiχʷ (inversion) to miss (a shot), guess wrong, etc. Ck qʷixʷ Sn qʷixʷat Ch xʷaq'y- miss, make a mistake.

\*yalup Indian rhubarb, cow parsnip. Se yalup [Sq yúla? Ck yúla] Ch yalp.

\*yánis tooth. [Be ?ica, ?icn-, poss. inversion of \*ynts; the suff. is -alic] Cx žánis Se yánis Sq yánis Cw yánas Sn čanas Ld žádis Tw yádis Ch yánis-. IS has the root as a lexical suffix only.

\*yaq' to fall (as tree). Cx žaq' Se Sq yaq' Ck yéq'at Sn čeq' fall down while walking Ld žáq'(a) Ch yaq'á-.

\*yətəwan salmonberry. See Kinkade 1990:202.

\*yaw spirit power (to cure, predict, etc.). Be syut supernatural being/phenomenon; song Cx žágən song Se syəwn id. Sq ?əsyáw' seer, siw?in? witchcraft, syéwan song, yəw?in?c understand Cw syáw'a seer Ck syúwal spirit power, song, syuwil to do witchcraft (for good or evil) Sn syaw'a seer, predict Sm syáwan spirit song (and its dance) Ld žəgʷá? expert, professional, "a great one for" Tw yəwáda?b diagnosis, doctoring, curing Ch yuw- wonderful person, gives good luck, great hunter, yó?oli-

*shoot w. spirit power.*

\*ya᷑ (in word for *lizard*, orig. *rock?*) Sq si᷑xi᷑as/s᷑ay?i᷑xi᷑as *mountain lizard* (*syəxás large rock*) Ch y᷑x̑m̑c *lizard*.

\*ya᷑ "to melt." Bc ȶay (inv.) Cx ȶa᷑" Se ya᷑" Sq ya᷑"- Cw ya᷑" *thaw* Sn ȶa᷑" *id.* Ld ȶá᷑"(a) [ Tw ?asya᷑ *melted*] Ch y᷑x"-.

## List 2

\*?al *be inside, at home; house.* Cx ?aya? *house, home, ?atx*" *inside* Se ?álwim *house, home, ?atx*" *inside of house* Sq ?aytx" *be at home* Sn ?e?lən *house* Ld ?ál?al *id.* Tw ?altx" *he's in the house.* Cf. 149.1.

\*?isaw *to chew.* Sq ?isaw?n Tw ?isáwac. IS only Li.

\*?ut' *to stretch.* Sq ?ut' Ck ?ut'- Sn ?ut' *slingshot* Tw ?ut'.

\*?ax" *almix*" *settlement, village.* Sq ?úx"umix" Tw ?ax"álbix" *one-house permanent settlement.*

\*s-caqay *sockeye salmon.* Cx sáqay? Se scáqay Sq scáqi Cw sáqey Sn sáqey' Ld scáqi?/scáqi Tw scáqay.

\*s-cák" *worm.* Cx çic'ik" (ICSLN 1994:329) Se sc'ic'k" Sq sc'ák" Cw sc'ák" *worm, bug* Ck sc'ák"/k" *id.* Sn sc'ák" Ld Tw sc'ák".

\*c'aq' *to drip, leak (as roof).* Se c'aq'náčaltx" *rainwater (coming through/from roof)* Ck c'(ə)q'ám, c'aq'ám *dripping, leaking* Sn c'(ə)q'ən Tw c'aq'.

\*c'is *to peck, nail.* Se c'isí *to nail* Sq c'isin? *id.* c'isn *horn, antler, nail* Ck Sn c'isat *to nail* Ld c'as *to peck, nail, c'is(i) to nail* Cl c'as *hit* Tw c'astad *nail* [Ch cúsito/a nail]. Cf. 38.2; the meaning *peck, nail* is CS.

\*c'áx-tn *poison.* Cx Pc c'áxtan (Boas CV) Sq c'áxtn (also *rattlesnake*) Ck c'áx'tal *rattlesnake* (Boas CV also *poison*) Sn c'áxtan, c'áxtn' *bad medicine* Tw c'áxtn. NIS has \*c'tin *rattlesnake*, but this is not likely to be the original meaning (against Kuipers 1982:79, Kinkade 1995:37), especially not if the Salish spread from the coast to the interior. The root can be tentatively connected with Sq c'áx *be gone, consumed (burnt, worn out, etc.)*

\*hák" *to remember.* Cx hák"át Se hak"át Ck hék"álas Sn hék" Tw hák"əc.

\*heli/?ali *life, spirit.* Sq s?ali *dream, vision, guardian spirit* Cw heli? *live, s?ályc lay spirit power, sx"ali life, soul* Sn hali *alive* Ld hali? *id.* Tw hali *(be) alive, hali soul, vitality.*

\*čewat *clever, in good shape.* Se čewat *able to, good at* Sq (?as)čáew?át *clever, able* Ck sčewat *smart, intelligent* Sn čewet *clever, resourceful* Ld čewá(?) *know how to, be good at* Tw ču?wat *it's o.k., ču?watab get well.*

\*čam'-ay-iq" *great-grandparent/child.* Cx č'čam'i?i?q" Se sčámiq" Sq sčám'iq" Cw sc'ám'maq" Sn čam'əq" Ld sc'ábiq" Tw čáb'iq".

\*k"am (w. suff. *bottom or earth*) *root.* Cx Sc k"ə'ómnač [Sq t'k"ámyəx"] Cw Sn k"ámlax" Ld q"ábaláx" Tw k"ábalax" *cedar root* [t'i k"ag"á?as].

\*s-lawin *bedmat.* Sq slaw?ín Cw sícwən Sn ste/awan Ld slág"íd Tw sláwad. IS in Li only; the root is all-Salish (no. 60.3), the extension \*-in is CS.

\*λ'uc'ac' *to tie, tight(en).* Sq λ'uc' *be packed tightly* Sn λ'ç'álas *tight weave* Ld λ'ac' *cinch, λ'uc(u) tie, knot* Tw λ'uc'ac' *id.*

\*mut *to carry/lift on arms/hands.* Cx Sc mútut Tw butúd *(imp.).*

\*palaq" *to boil.* Sl paloq" [Cx páluq"] Tw pal?šq'ad *(imp.).*

\*pən *to bury.* Cx pónaš Se pənáš Sq pənt Ck piłt Sn čənat Ld pəd Tw ?aspád *buried.*

\*q'əw *to howl.* Cx q'égim Se q'əwim Sq q'əwm Ck q'c:w/q'á:wəl Ld q'əwáb/q'əwáhəb Tw biq'əwab *it's howling.*

\*s-q"may *dog.* Sq sq"may? Cw sq"mey Ld sq"ə/ubáy Tw sq"əb?áy.

\*q"in *body hair, whiskers.* Sq Cw Sn q"in- Sm q"ínəq *pubic hair* Ld q"id- Tw ?asq"id *he has whiskers, q"ídúcad whiskers, beard.*

\*s-q"ə(t)xm *fog.* Sq sq"ətšm Ck sq"átxəm Ld sq"əšəb *(also smoke)* Tw sq"əšəb.

\*s-q"um-ay? *head, brain.* Sq sq"úmay? *head* Sn sq"ənji? *id.* Tw sq"úbay *brain.* The root is all-Salish (no. 109), the extension with -ay? Central Salish.

\*s-tal-ikn *back, spine.* Sq stay?č *back* Tw stáličad *spine, sax'tá?ličad spine.*

\*s-tayał *nephew, niece.* Sq stáyat Tw stá'yit *deceased sibling's child, nephew.* \*t'al *to put st. across.* Cx t'ay?š *blanket* Sc t'áfat *put across, stášs blanket* Sq t'át'ał *loom, t'áliq* raft Ck t'áčcastal *loom* Ld t'át'ał *id.*, t'áł(a) *put crossways, t'áti?q*əb *across (two) canoes* Tw t'áliq" *id.*, *watertruck.*

\*t'əq'-t'q *vine maple.* Sq t'əqt'qáy? Ld t'əqt'qac Tw t'əqt'qáy.

\*x"uy *to sell.* Cx x"úžim *(act.-itr.), x"á?žis (tr.)* Se x"úym, x"ayiš Sq x"úym Ck x"éyám Sn x"ayám Ld x"úyb Tw x"úyb.

\*xəł *hurt, sick, angry.* Se xəł *hurt* Sq ?osxəxít *extremely* Sn xəł *hurt* Ld xəł *sick* Tw xəł *angry.*

\*x"ilm *string, twine, thread.* Cx x"í?ləm Sc x"í?x"álm Sq x"il?m Ck x"áyləm Sn x"il'əm/x"il'əm/x"ay'ləm Ld Tw x"iləb. The word has been recorded as Chinook Jargon (J. Powell), the source may be Salish.

\*s-x"iš(S)n *deer.* Sq sč"i?n Tw sč"iššəd.

\*s-x"ayam *myth.* Cx x"áx?a?žam? Se sč"ax"ayám Sq sč"əx"i?ám? Cw sč"ay?cm? Sn sč"i?cm? Ld sč"i?áb Tw sč"əx"i?áb.

\*yəc *to tell, report.* Sq yəcm Ck yəsəst Sn yəsəsan Ld yəc- Tw biyáčab *he's preaching.*

\*yəq-ilx *to crawl.* [Be ?ix?aašlx] Cx ȶáqiq̑s Se yəqiq̑s Sq yəqáy Ck ?aqáyləm, həqilm *crawl under/cath* Ld ȶaqil Tw biyáqil *he's crawling.*

\*ya᷑ *to carry on the back.* Cx ȶášin *backpack* Se syaňn *id.* Tw vya᷑, ?asyáňnəm *packing st.*

\*ya᷑"əla? *cagle.* See Kinkade 1995:32.

## III

Comparative Salish is faced with the difficulties presented by language families the members of which have remained in close contact with each other. In phonology we find multiple correspondences, in lexicon isoglosses not corresponding to language- and even language-branch or -family borders. The reason is not borrowing in the narrow sense but interpenetration of languages resulting from bilingualism in contact areas (and where groups are small and mobile, any area can be a contact area). On the other hand, in the case of similar but non-contiguous phenomena (such as the shift of \*l to y in Cx Sq So Cl Th) it is difficult to determine whether they are due to influence of one dialect on another or represent parallel developments. Of prehistoric migrations and fusions of Salish (and possibly non-Salish) groups we know nothing beyond what the languages themselves may eventually tell us.

It is now generally accepted that Salish falls into five main groups: Bella Coola, Central Salish, Tsamosan, Tillamook and Interior Salish, but there is as yet no

agreement on the relative status of these five. Some oppose Be to all the rest, while others (including this writer and S. Newman) accord IS a special status. To the earlier arguments (the retraction distinction and the absence of gender in IS) Newman (1980:165) adds innovations in the Be pronominal system shared with the northern Coast languages, and non-participation of Be in any of the pronominal changes of the Interior. There is also some lexical evidence. The CS etyma given in II List 1 include the numerals *two*, *three*, *five*, *seven* (two terms), *eight* and the relationship terms *father*, *mother*, *child* (*offspring*), *husband*, *wife*, *cross-scx sibling/cousin*, *elder relative*. Of these, the items \*cixʷ *five*, \*tan *mother*, \*man *father*, \*m̥ona *child* and \*kʷtanc *husband* are found in Be (all except *husband* also in Ti). This is a small but central part of the lexicon, and as such adds to the non-lexical evidence ranging Be with the Coast languages.

#### References

(These are in addition to the ones mentioned in *Lingua* 26 (1970):71f., 57 (1982):91f., *IJAL* 47 (1981):334f., *Papers 30th ICSNL* (1995):49. Time has not permitted incorporation of L.C. and M.T. Thompson's *Thompson River Salish Dictionary*, UMOPL no. 12, Missoula 1996).

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#### Footnotes

- Abbreviations of Salish language names are the standard ones (see Kinkade 1990:201), except Cb for Columbian. Non-Salish languages are referred to by three initial letters in capitals: HAI(sla), HEI(ltsuk), KWA(kiutl), QUI(leute); CJ stands for Chinook Jargon. The interdental fricatives and affricates are written ʂ ʐ ɿ, the voiceless lateral fricative t̪. Literal citations from older sources are placed between double parentheses. A slash separates alternatives. Items treated by Kinkade (1990, 1991b, 1995) are listed with a

reference to the source; for these, lists of cognates are given only in two cases where I disagree as to the direction of borrowing.

I thank Albert Starreveld for making a Salish font and Martijn Coppolse for computer assistance.

- See *Lingua* 26(1970):46-72, 57(1982):71-92, *Papers 30th ICSNL*(1995):46-54.
- The Cw and Sn forms with i (vs. u in Se Sq Ch) are not without parallels in CS, cf. Ch -alus/-alisi- *eye*, Tw ?assúqʷ/ʔassiqʷ *peeled*, Ld p̥špiš (CJ púspus) *cat*, Cx gi- < wu- in giqʷ *drift*, gíy?giy *cougar*. In Ti unstressed i often corresponds to stressed ú. Other cases of iotacism: Ms Ck s̥iim vs Cw s̥əwm *berry*, Cw Ms q̥iim vs. Ck q̥áwəl (phonet. q̥ʷo:l) *ear*, Sm s̥ə́ysəm/s̥ə́səm *soapberry*, Ck sciwté:t/scuté:t *child/sister's spouse*.
- The rare stressed form of the instrumental suffix is -tán, but a form with i occurs in Sq p̥ákʷtín *floatter, cork (linc)* (Cw Ms p̥ákʷtén, Sn sp̥ákʷten). IS has a vowel referring to *contagion* as well as *poison* (Sb tñilmn falso helleborc Sp čñilmn poison). The Se form caq̥tñ for *rattlesnake* may result from folk-etymology or error; for *poison* the English word was given (paysn).