

C.1

KOOTENAY-SALISHAN LINGUISTIC COMPARISON:

A PRELIMINARY STUDY

by

LAWRENCE R. MORGAN

B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Linguistics)

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

March, 1980

© Lawrence Richard Morgan, 1980

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Linguistics

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date March 28, 1980

This thesis presents evidence that the Kootenay language is genetically related to the Salishan family of languages. The evidence consists of 129 probable cognate sets which include a word or morpheme in Kootenay compared to a resemblant word or morpheme in one or more Salishan languages. These cognate sets show that a network of sound correspondences exists between Kootenay and the Salishan languages which cannot be explained as entirely the result of linguistic diffusion. A number of the sound correspondences could only have come about if there had existed a common ancestor language for Kootenay and the Salishan languages.

The main body of the thesis consists of brief discussions of: the hypothesis of a genetic relationship between Kootenay and Salishan, the Kootenay-Salishan sound correspondences, Proto-Salishan phonology, the transcription of Salishan items in the thesis, Kootenay phonology, the Salishan languages and their subgroupings, and Kootenay-Salishan grammatical resemblances, followed by the presentation of the cognate sets. The cognate sets from 1 through 120 serve as the evidence for the consonant correspondences. After the presentation of these sets there is a discussion of the vowel correspondences where one cognate set already presented is recast to better show the vowel correspondences that it represents and one new cognate set is given. Eight new cognate sets are introduced in a section on additional (possible) consonant correspondences. There follows a presentation of 21 sets which are cast in the same general format as the cognate sets but appear to involve word borrowing rather than cognacy. These cases of probable borrowing are

not merely the leftovers of Kootenay-Salishan comparative work but are part of the evidence for an apparently long standing diffusional connection between Kootenay and Interior Salishan languages.

This diffusional connection seems to have gone beyond word borrowing into the realm of grammatical borrowings and interinfluences. Although working out the details of such interinfluences is beyond the scope of this thesis, there are points of evidence in the cognate sets as well as in the section on borrowings which suggest that Okanagan-Colville may have had the closest and perhaps longest diffusional connection with Kootenay of any of the Interior Salishan languages. Since traditional Okanagan-Colville (and Lakes) territory lies between Kootenay territory and the probable homeland of the speakers of Proto-Salishan somewhere around the Fraser River Delta, it appears likely that Proto-Kootenay-Salishan was probably spoken either around the Fraser Delta or somewhere between there and the present homeland of the Kootenay some three hundred miles to the east.

The genetic relationship between Kootenay and Salishan is not close enough to warrant classifying Kootenay as a Salishan language. Kootenay is a single member language family which is coordinately related to the Salishan family in a language stock which can be called Kootenay-Salishan. Although Kootenay should no longer be considered a language isolate in the absolute sense it is still an isolate within the Kootenay-Salishan language stock.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures and Illustrations	vi
Acknowledgement	vii
Abbreviations	1
Introduction	5
Salishan Phonology and Transcriptions	14
Kootenay Phonology and Transcription	19
The Salishan Languages	21
Kootenay-Salishan Grammatical Resemblances	24
Presentation of the Cognate Sets	26
Examples of the Sound Correspondences	29
Kootenay c to Salishan ɬ	29
" c' " " ɣ'	35
" m/n " " *ŋʷ	37
" w " " *ŋʷ	43
" t " " c	47
" t' " " c'	48
" y " " s	49
" y " " *ɣ	52
" x " " ʃ	53
" m " " n	54
" c " " c	56

Kootenay c'	to	Salishan c'	.....	57
"	h	"	h	..... 58
"	k	"	k	..... 60
"	k	"	k ^w	..... 65
"	k'	"	k'	..... 69
"	k'	"	k' ^w	..... 71
"	ɬ	"	ɬ	..... 75
"	ɬ	"	l	..... 79
"	m	"	m	..... 84
"	n	"	n	..... 87
"	p	"	p	..... 88
"	q	"	q	..... 90
"	q	"	q ^w	..... 94
"	q'	"	q'	..... 98
"	q'	"	q' ^w	..... 100
"	s	"	s	..... 104
"	t	"	t	..... 109
"	t'	"	t'	..... 111
"	w	"	w	..... 112
"	x	"	x	..... 114
"	x	"	x ^w	..... 116
"	x	"	ɣ	..... 117
"	x	"	ɣ ^w	..... 120
"	y	"	y	..... 121
"	?	"	?	..... 122

Vowel Correspondences	124
Ablaut Examples	127
Minor Vowel Correspondences	134
Additional Possible Consonant Correspondences	136
Additional Pronominal Probable Cognate Sets	140
Word Borrowing and Related Phenomena	143
Conclusion	156
Footnotes	158
Bibliographical Notes	161
Bibliography	163

LIST OF FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Salishan Family Tree Diagram	22
Map of the Salishan Languages and Kootenay	23

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study would not have been possible without the help of two groups of people: the Kootenay people who have worked with me and helped me in my general research on the Kootenay language since 1968, and the scholars of Salishan languages who have shared their data with me. Altogether, this includes some fifty people who I would like to collectively thank here. I would also like to thank my thesis committee for their help and patience, especially Dr. M. Dale Kinkade, my thesis advisor, who has been helpful to an extent which has gone far beyond the call of duty and whose importance for this study goes beyond the importance of the sources cited under his name in the bibliography.

ABBREVIATIONS

Languages and Language Subdivisions

Be	Bella Coola
Ch	Upper Chehalis
Ck	Chilliwack
Cl	Clallam
Cm	Columbian
Cr	Coeur d'Alene
Cv	Colville
Cw	Cowichan
Cx	Comox
Cz	Cowlitz
F1	Flathead
H1	Halkomelem
Ka	Kalispel
Ld	Lushootseed = Puget Salish
Li	Lillooet
Lm	Lummi
Lo	Lower Chehalis
Me	Methow
Ms	Musqueam
Nk	Nooksack
NLd	Northern Lushootseed

NSh	Northern Shuswap
NSt	Northern Straits
Ok	Okanagan
PEIS	Proto-Eastern-Interior-Salishan
PIS	Proto-Interior-Salishan
PS	Proto-Salishan
Pt	Pentlatch
Qn	Quinault
Se	Sechelt
Sg	Songish
Sh	Shuswap
SLd	Southern Lushootseed
Sm	Samish
Sn	Saanich
So	Sooke
Sp	Spokane
Sq	Squamish
SSh	Southern Shuswap
St	Straits
Th	Thompson
Ti	Tillamook
Tw	Twana

Author Abbreviations

Ao	Aoki
Bd	Bouchard
Bt	Beaumont
Dr	Drachman
Dv	Davis
Ed	Edel
El	Elmendorf
Gb	Gibson
Hk	Hukari
Hr	Harris
Hs	Hess
Jh	Johnson
Kd	Kinkade
Kp	Kuipers
KT	Kinkade and Thompson
KS	Kinkade and Sloat
Mi	Mitchell
Mg	Morgan
Nt	Nater
Rd	Reichard
Rf	Raffo
SD	Saunders and Davis
Sno	Snow

Sw	Swoboda
Sy	Snyder
Tm	Timmers
TTK	Thompson, Thompson, and Kinkade
TTE	Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat

The purpose of this work is to present evidence of a genetic relationship between the Kootenay¹ language and the Salishan family of languages. The evidence indicates that Kootenay and Salishan must necessarily have had a common ancestor language which, for lack of a better name, can be called Proto-Kootenay-Salishan. One of the significant things about this present study is that the existence of this proto-language can be established, but only given Proto-Salishan reconstructions. This makes Proto-Kootenay-Salishan a protolanguage of the second order, following the terminology set forth by Haas (1969, p.60).

Also presented in this work is a small body of evidence of a diffusional relationship between Kootenay and Interior Salishan languages. The fact that there has been a diffusional relationship between Kootenay and some Salishan languages makes it somewhat more difficult to prove that Kootenay also has a genetic relationship with Salishan as a whole. Ultimately, however, careful study of the details of this diffusional relationship could add as much to our understanding of the prehistory of the Kootenay and Salishan peoples as can be added simply by knowing that Kootenay and the Salishan languages are genetically related. It is therefore doubly important to distinguish between Kootenay-Salishan borrowings and cognates. This is an on-going process, the first step of which must be to establish for the first time that Kootenay and Salishan are, in fact, genetically related, and that all resemblances between Kootenay and Salishan are not due entirely to long established patterns of linguistic diffusion.

I am not the first person to suggest that Kootenay and Salishan are

genetically related. Sapir (1929) suggested it by including Kootenay in his proposed Algonquian-Wakashan superstock. Sapir assumed that the Wakashan, Chimakuan, and Salishan language families were genetically related in a group called Mosan, proposed by Frachtenberg (1920). Sapir's Algonquian-Wakashan proposal is undercut by the fact that Mosan has not turned out to be a verifiable genetic grouping. What is clear today is that Wakashan, Chimakuan, and Salishan have much in common, but that many of the similarities between Salishan and the two other Mosan language families may well be due to diffusion.

The question of the genetic affiliations of Kootenay was not taken up again until Haas (1965) compared Kootenay with Algonquian, Salishan, Wakashan, and Chimakuan. Haas was primarily comparing Kootenay with Proto-Algonquian. The results were interesting but not compelling, and certainly do not constitute proof of a genetic relationship. In fact, a few of the suggested possible cognates between Kootenay and Proto-Algonquian must now be dismissed as quite improbable, given more and better data on Kootenay than were available to Haas in 1965. Comparing Kootenay and Proto-Algonquian myself more recently, I could find only one additional likely cognate.

Haas did discover some interesting resemblances between Kootenay and Salishan. She divided these into likely borrowings (between Kootenay and neighbouring Interior Salishan languages) and likely cognates. The number of the resemblances was too small, however, to be anything more than suggestive of a genetic relationship. Given the small number of resemblances found between Kootenay and Algonquian and between Kootenay

and Salishan by Haas (1965) and Haas's reputation for finding evidence of remote linguistic relationships, it was not unreasonable to assume in 1965 that any relationship between Kootenay and Algonquian might remain unprovable while diffusion might largely or entirely account for the resemblances between Kootenay and Salishan. The matter of the genetic affiliations of Kootenay remained almost as much an open question after Haas's paper in 1965 as it had been after Sapir's paper in 1929.

One of the salient points of Haas (1965) was that Kootenay stands as a language isolate without close relatives. This means that one must compare Kootenay with reconstructed protolanguages such as Proto-Algonquian or Proto-Salishan in order to be able to find convincing proof of the language's genetic affiliations. If I am able to prove here to the satisfaction of anyone that Kootenay and Salishan are genetically related, it will only be with the help of the rather recent comparative Salishan work of Thompson, Thompson, and Kinkade (unpublished comparative notebooks), and Kuipers (1970) and (1976). It would be extremely difficult or perhaps impossible to prove that Kootenay and Salishan are genetically related without doing comparative work and reconstructing Proto-Salishan elements. There is still a great deal of work as yet to be done on the reconstruction of Proto-Salishan and as a result there is a great deal of comparative Kootenay-Salishan work which will have to be put off until some time in the future. Basic descriptive work is still being done for several Salishan languages and for Kootenay.

It should perhaps be pointed out that Kootenay and Salishan are in many ways very similar and would, no doubt, have been tentatively

accepted as related long ago, if extensive enough descriptive materials had been available for Kootenay and for Salishan languages not neighbouring Kootenay. There has been a natural tendency to discount evident similarities between Kootenay and neighbouring Salishan languages as due to diffusion. Many of the more striking resemblances were simply not noticed because the descriptive materials on Kootenay in print did not even mention the relevant morphological elements.

The evidence I will present below is not the total body of resemblances between Kootenay and the Salishan languages. I divide the total number of resemblant forms which I have found into three main categories: possible cognates, probable cognates, and probable borrowings. Only the probable cognates and the probable borrowings involving Salishan languages are given below. There are only a handful of probable borrowings but they are of special interest because they indicate linguistic contact between the Kootenay and different Interior Salishan groups perhaps at different times in the past. Careful study of Kootenay-Salishan borrowings may eventually yield information for studies of regional prehistory. For this reason, forms will ultimately have to be proven as borrowings just as forms must ultimately be proven as cognates.

In theory, borrowings and cognates should be distinguishable on the basis of the network of sound correspondences which apply to the cognates but not to the borrowings. In practice, many items involve only identical sound correspondences such as /s/ to /s/ or contrastively equivalent sound correspondences which could be due to cognacy or to recent borrowing. There are (at least) nine such contrastively equivalent sound

correspondences due to the fact that Kootenay lacks certain phonemes which are common in Salishan and probably occurred in Proto-Salishan. The following correspondences are in this category:

Kootenay	Salishan
ɬ	l
x = [x̣]	x
a	ə
k	k ^w
k'	k' ^w
q	q ^w
q'	q' ^w
x	x ^w
x	x̣ ^w

The case for a genetic relationship is heavily dependent on those probable cognate sets which involve what I call 'special sound correspondences'. These are correspondences which could not be the result of borrowing between Modern Kootenay and the Modern Salishan languages. Most of these correspondences are listed below as a group:

Kootenay	Salishan
c	ɬ
c'	k'
m/n	*ŋ ^w

Kootenay	Salishan
w	*ŋ ^w
t	c
t'	c'
y	*ɣ
x	ʃ
m	n
y	s
u	ə

Some special sound correspondences are more special than others. There are two correspondences which could hardly be due to anything but a sound shift taking place before the development of Proto-Salishan. These are Kootenay /c/ to Salishan /ɬ/ and Kootenay /c'/ to Salishan /ɬ'/.

Recent borrowing can be specifically ruled out as an explanation for these correspondences, because Kootenay would certainly borrow Salishan /ɬ/ as /ɬ/, and Salishan would certainly borrow Kootenay /c/ as /c/. In one example, Kootenay has actually borrowed an instance of Salishan /ɬ'/ as /ʔɬ/ (see the Kootenay word /xaʔɬcin/ 'dog' in the section on borrowings). Salishan would, of course, borrow Kootenay /c'/ as /c'/.

In order to find a satisfying explanation for these two special correspondences, it is necessary to assume that Proto-Kootenay-Salishan had */ɬ/ and */ɬ'/.

In Kootenay, which today lacks either of these sounds, they became /c/ and /c'/, respectively, while in Salishan they became /ɬ/ and /ɬ'/, respectively. Proto-Salishan apparently lacked /ɬ/, which is conspicuous by its absence

from the otherwise very balanced and symmetrical charts of Proto-Salishan phonemes which have been reconstructed recently. Only one Salishan language, Comox, has / λ / as a phoneme; and there diffusion from neighbouring Wakashan could account for its presence.

There are two special sound correspondences which must go back at least to the Proto-Salishan level. These are Kootenay /w/ to Salishan */ η^w / and Kootenay /m/n/ to Salishan */ η^w /. In the first place, the Salishan phoneme involved in these correspondences is one which occurs only as a Proto-Salishan reconstruction. Individual Salishan languages have reflexes of /m/, /b/, / η /, and /w/. Only two Coast Salishan languages, Lushootseed and Twana, have /b/ (which is a development from /m/). Only Tillamook in Oregon has /w/ (which is also a development from /m/, it would seem, but apparently in all environments). Kootenay /w/ corresponding to Salishan */ η^w /, on the other hand, occurs only word initially and in one example directly after a stop consonant. Examples of Kootenay /m/ or /n/ corresponding to Salishan */ η^w / are almost exclusively ones where the Kootenay segment is word medial and generally intervocalic. The peculiar alternation between /m/ and /n/ in certain morphemes in Kootenay cries out for some sort of explanation or an internally reconstructed phoneme having both nasal and labial properties, but which is distinct from /m/. The total lack of [η] in any form in Kootenay phonology and the internally evident likelihood that an earlier form of Kootenay had labialized velar and uvular consonant phonemes make */ η^w / a candidate for such an internally reconstructed phoneme, even without reference to reconstructed Salishan phonology.

The correspondences between Kootenay velar and uvular consonants and Salishan labialized velar and uvular consonants are of special interest but only because they provide the environment for cases where Kootenay /u/ corresponds to Salishan /ə/ adjacent to a labialized velar or uvular. In effect, Kootenay /u/ is a reflex of Salishan labialization of a velar or uvular adjacent to /ə/. In any case, these examples are listed under the correspondence of Kootenay /u/ to Salishan /ə/. Also of interest in this regard are examples of Kootenay /a/ corresponding to Salishan /ə/ adjacent to a labialized velar or uvular consonant. These are cases where Kootenay fails to show a reflex of Salishan labialization where it might be expected to. There appear to have been additional phonological conditioning factors at work to have produced these examples. The other vocalic correspondences exemplified in this work which are of special interest as evidence of a genetic relationship are those involving Salishan ablaut. They appear to show a relationship between Salishan ablaut and Kootenay vowels which probably cannot be explained without some assumptions about Proto-Kootenay-Salishan phonology.

In Proto-Kootenay-Salishan some phonemes, no doubt, must have been more common than others. We can therefore expect that some Kootenay-Salishan sound correspondences may be represented today by quite a few examples, while others may be represented by only one or two examples. For this reason I have set up certain sound correspondences even where there is only one example. I have been selective in this, however, rather than purely mechanical. Some possible sound correspondences have simply been ignored for the time being. For example, the glottalization of

Salishan resonants has been ignored in the setting up of sound correspondences in this work. One such possible sound correspondence would be where Kootenay /ɬ/ corresponds to Salishan /ɬ'/ along with instances of Salishan /ɬ/. Another such correspondence would be where Kootenay /m'/ corresponds to /m(?)/, /mʔ/, /m'/, /ŋ/, and /b/ in various Salishan languages. On the other hand, even though there are only the thinnest threads of evidence supporting the correspondence of Kootenay /y/ to Salishan */ɣ/ and Kootenay /x/ to Salishan /ʃ/ these correspondences are set up, if only as a way of keeping track of the limited evidence supporting them.

There are two special Kootenay-Salishan sound correspondences which are also poorly exemplified but probably not because of the rarity of the Proto-Kootenay-Salishan phonemes they may represent. These are: Kootenay /y/ to Salishan /s/ and Kootenay /m/ to Salishan /n/. If these correspondences represent anything at all, they represent Proto-Kootenay-Salishan phonemes which have in Kootenay or in Pre-Proto-Salishan undergone sound shifts in very specific and probably rare phonological environments. In the case of /y/ to /s/, Proto-Kootenay-Salishan probably had */s/ which became /y/ in Kootenay in a very specific environment quite like certain instances of Modern Kootenay underlying //s - n // becoming /y/. In the case of Kootenay /m/ to Salishan /n/, what has probably happened is that in at least one example Proto-Kootenay-Salishan */m/ has become */n/ in Proto-Salishan adjacent to the lateral consonant /ɬ/.

In this work Proto-Salishan reconstructions are drawn from Kuipers (1970), and (1976), and from the comparative Salishan notebooks of Thompson, Thompson, and Kinkade (n.d.). Kuipers (1976) supplies a chart of Proto-Salishan phonemes which is quoted below. Under it here is a chart of Proto-Salishan phonemes as given by Kinkade (personal communication, 1976) which can be taken as the system of the Thompson, Thompson, and Kinkade comparative Salishan notebooks.

Kuipers (1976)

p	c	t		k	k ^w	q	q ^w		
p'	c'	t'	χ	k'	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w		
		s	ʃ	x	x ^w	ʃ	ʃ ^w		
m	n	l	y	ḡ		ɣ	ɣ ^w	h	w
m'	n'	l'	y'	ḡ'		ɣ	ɣ ^w	ʔ	w'
i		u				Feature of 'darkening' / [˘] / (for vowels)			
	ə					Stress / ^ˈ /			
	a								

Thompson, Thompson, and Kinkade

p	t	c		k	k ^w	q	q ^w	ʔ
p'	t'	c'	χ'	k'	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w	
		s	ʃ	x	x ^w	ɬ	ɬ ^w	h
m	n	r	l	y	γ	w	ŋ ^w	ŋ
m'	n'	r'	l'	y'	w'	ŋ' ^w	ŋ'	ŋ' ^w

i	u	Stress /˘/
ə		
a		

Both Kuipers and Thompson, Thompson, and Kinkade reconstruct a system of ablaut for Proto-Salishan.

The only difference between the phoneme inventories which appears to be significant for Kootenay-Salishan comparative work, as it stands now, is the absence of */ŋ^w/ in the Kuipers system. The Kootenay-Salishan sound correspondences suggest that Proto-Kootenay-Salishan probably had such a phoneme. There is also evidence of a corresponding glottalized */ŋ^w/, although a separate sound correspondence has not, as yet, been set up. The sole example would be the probable cognate set involving Kootenay /-kam/ 'belt' to be found under the correspondence /m/n/ to */ŋ^w/.

The question of Kuipers' darkening feature /˘/ and the reconstruction of Proto-Salishan */r/ and */r'/ by Thompson, Thompson, and Kinkade are interrelated matters which barely affect the Kootenay-Salishan

sound correspondences and probable cognate sets as they are now formulated. There is one probable cognate set which involves what would be Proto-Salishan */r/. This is the one with Kootenay /-łwiy/ 'heart' matching Proto-Interior-Salishan */-arwás/ 'inside; feelings' listed under the correspondence /y/ to /s/. Significantly, the Salishan element may well be segmentable into a connecting suffix */-ar-/ and a lexical suffix proper */-wás/. There is already some evidence that the Kootenay element /-łwiy/ may also be segmentable, and that there may be several examples of Kootenay /-ł-/ as a fossilized connecting element for Kootenay lexical suffixes. This matter is complicated in several ways and will have to wait for discussion in a later stage of Kootenay-Salishan work. Even then, Kootenay-Salishan comparative work may have little to say about the necessity of reconstructing Proto-Salishan */r/.

In order to make for greater comparability of the Salishan forms quoted in this work, a number of retranscriptions have been made. These are specified below. The first group of retranscriptions are those involving Squamish, Shuswap, Sechelt, and Bella Coola forms from Kuipers and his students Timmers and Nater.

k°	is converted to			k ^w
k°	"	"	"	k ^ł
q°	"	"	"	q ^w
q°	"	"	"	q ^ł
x°	"	"	"	x ^w
ḡ	"	"	"	ḡ

ǰ°	is converted to	ǰʷ
λ	" " "	ɭ
λ'	" " "	λ'

Squamish /u/ has been converted to /w/ and Squamish /i/ has been converted to /y/. Kuipers has, himself, begun to use /m̥/ to represent what was /mʔ/ and /n̥/ to represent what was /nʔ/ in Kuipers (1967). In this work Squamish glottalized nasals can be found transcribed either way.

The following vowel transcriptions have been changed as indicated:

ä	is converted to	e in Coeur d'Alene from Reichard
äʔ ⁱ	" " "	eʔ " " " " "
æ	" " "	e in Lillooet from Swoboda
e	" " "	i in Twana from Drachman and in Comox from Davis
ɛ	" " "	i in Cowichan, Musqueam, and Chilliwack from Elmendorf and Suttles and from Galloway

The following consonant transcriptions have been changed as indicated:

tc	is converted to	č	in	Coeur d'Alene	from	Reichard
ts	" " "	c	"	"	"	"
r ³ w	" " "	ɕ ^w	"	"	"	"
qw'	" " "	q ^w	in	Songish	from	Mitchell
ng	" " "	ŋ	"	"	"	"
ǰ	" " "	ɰ	in	Lushootseed	from	Hess
ǰ ^w	" " "	ɰ ^w	"	"	"	"
l̥	" " "	l'	in	Kalispel	from	Vogt
ɱ	" " "	m'	"	"	"	"
k̥	" " "	k'	"	"	"	"
'	" " "	ʔ	"	"	"	"

One morpheme boundary symbol /./ from Lushootseed (Hess) has been retranscribed as /-/.

The Kootenay forms in this work are in a transcription which is phonemic, but not entirely innocent of facts revealed by a tentative generative phonology of the language. A phoneme chart is given below:

Kootenay Phonemes

p	t	c	k	q	ʔ
p'	t'	c'	k'	q'	
		s	ʃ	x	h
m	n				
m'	n'				
		y		w	
		i		u	
		a			

It should be noted that /k, k', q, q',/ and /x/ are realized quite noticeably as [k^w, k'^w, q^w, q'^w] and [x^w], respectively, between a preceding /u/ and a following /a/ or /i/.

Stress in Kootenay is predictably penultimate. The units of stress assignment are the word and the stress-group. The stress-group can be defined syntactically and the assignment of stress can be described as applying cyclically, first to the words in a stress-group, and then to the stress-group as a whole. In this way, the examples of 'distinctive secondary stress' of Garvin (1948, page 38) can be neatly predicted.

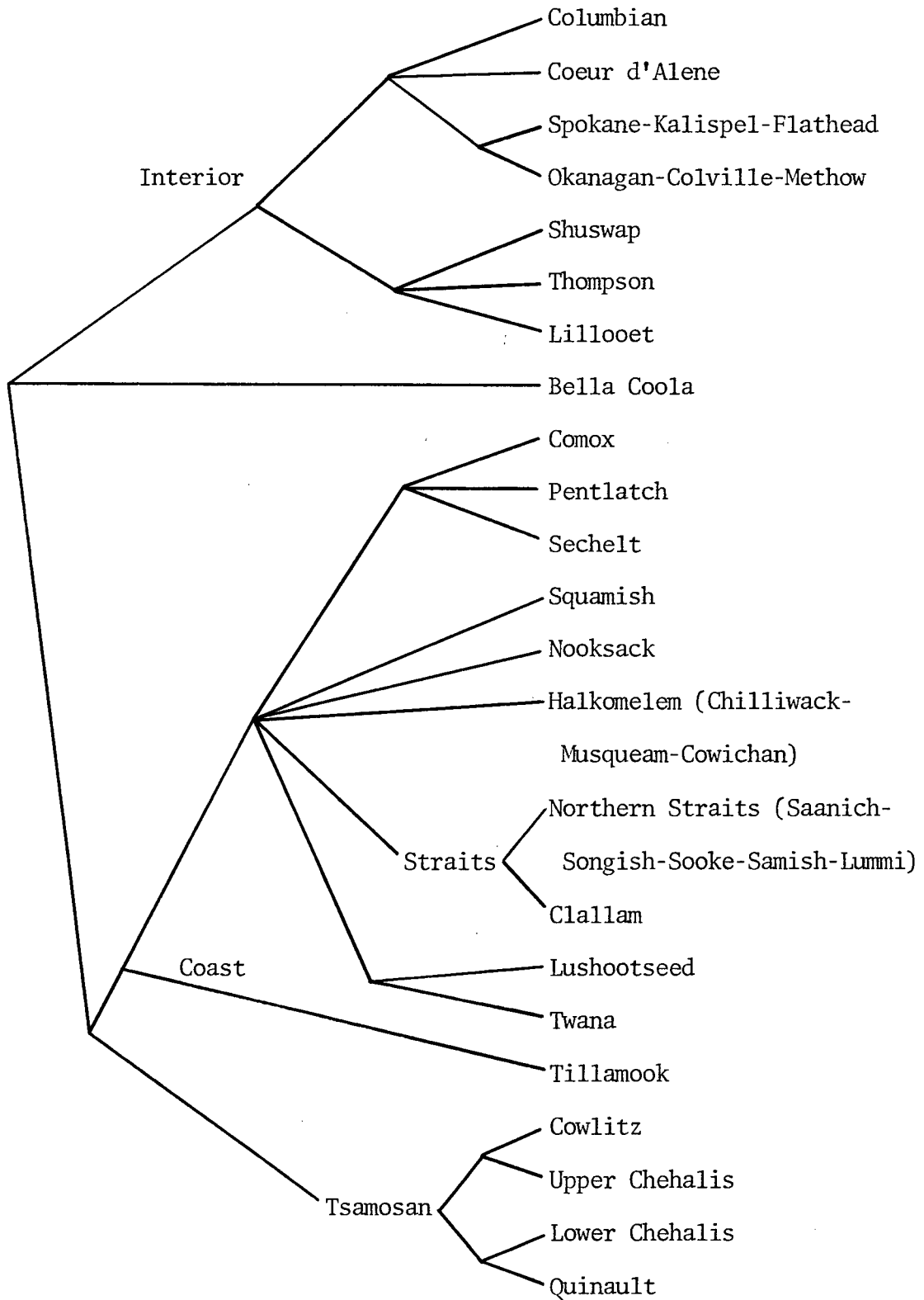
Garvin (1948) did not recognize glottalized consonant phonemes for

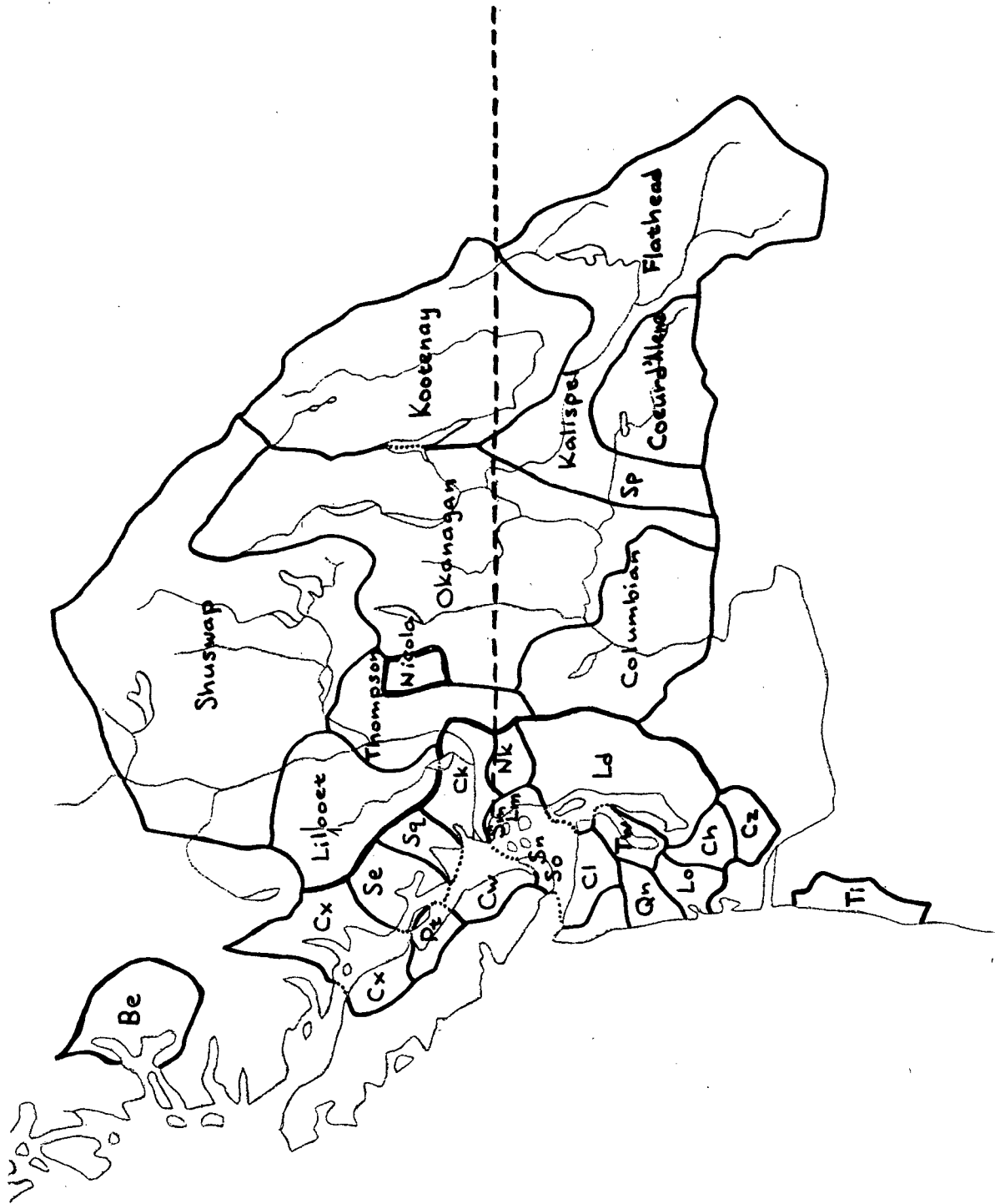
Kootenay. It is a fact that many instances of phonetically glottalized consonants in Kootenay are the product of clusters of consonant plus glottal stop. For stop consonants the rule is that any cluster of stop consonant followed by glottal stop will result in a glottalic ejective anywhere within a stress-group. Treating all glottalized consonants as underlying clusters would be a valid enough solution orthographically, except for the fact that glottalized consonants do exist in the underlying forms of many Kootenay morphemes. For example, it is necessary to count many morpheme initial instances of glottalized consonants as unitary segments and not as clusters at the level of the underlying forms in order for certain vowel insertion rules to apply correctly. Vowel insertion must take place before stress can be correctly assigned.

In the Kootenay transcription used in this work, a suffix can be identified as a suffix by the presence of a hyphen in front of it. If the suffix can occur word finally it will not be followed by a hyphen. Kootenay root elements occur word initially and may be either morphologically bound or free. A root element followed by a hyphen is one which is morphologically bound and always occurs followed by a suffix.

Segments found in parentheses in the transcription of Kootenay forms in this work are segments which are subject to deletion.

There are some twenty-three modern Salishan languages and several reconstructable Salishan protolanguages. In this work I quote forms from some thirty-three Salishan speech divisions and a number of the potentially reconstructable protolanguages. In the following chart of the Salishan family, adapted from Kinkade (1976a), the twenty-three distinct languages are listed down the right hand side of the page with their subdivisions either indicated in parentheses or as parts of a hyphenated name. In the presentation of the cognate sets, Salishan forms are usually listed under the headings: Interior, Bella Coola, Coast, and Tsamosan (formerly known as Olympic). I distinguish Tsamosan from Coast Salishan, although Tsamosan is reckoned to be more closely linked to Coast Salishan than to any other branch of the family. In this work Tillamook is taken as a member of the Coast Salishan branch. What is significant for Kootenay-Salishan work, at this point, is that Bella Coola, Coast Salishan, and Tsamosan are all geographically coastal and do not neighbour Kootenay. It is also significant that there is as much linguistic diversity in the family on the Coast as there is.





Adapted from Suttles and Elmendorf (1963)

There are many general similarities between Kootenay and Salishan grammar and there are many resemblant grammatical items. For the time being, however, I have left something like half of the resemblant grammatical items in the category of possible cognates and such items are not exemplified in this work. The priority here is to show that Kootenay and Salishan are genetically related. Many of the possible grammatical cognates consist of only one or two segments, thereby making it difficult to rule out chance as an explanation for whatever resemblance there may be in any given case. Often descriptive labels are tentative or lacking for an item in several of the languages where it occurs. Before it will be possible to fully explore the similarities and differences between Kootenay and Salishan grammar, the grammars of several languages including Kootenay will have to be thoroughly described and Proto-Salishan grammar will have to be reconstructed. Even at this stage of research, however, some interesting facts in the field of Kootenay-Salishan comparative grammar have already emerged.

There are some forty-six examples of Kootenay lexical suffixes in the probable cognate sets in this work. Of these, thirty-four are apparently cognate to Salishan root elements. There is some evidence that Kootenay has turned what were originally root elements into suffixes. Lexical suffixes are, in any event, much more plentiful in Kootenay than in any Salishan language.

Reduplication is reconstructible for Proto-Salishan but there is no trace of reduplication ever having been a part of Kootenay grammar. One would expect at least some relic forms of reduplication in the lexicon

if reduplication had existed at some earlier stage in Kootenay. As it is, the few possible examples of reduplication that exist in Kootenay are either onomatopoetic or are almost certainly borrowings from Salishan.

The validity of a noun-verb distinction is questionable for both Kootenay and Salishan. Interestingly enough, not all of the same arguments apply on the matter in Kootenay as in Salishan. For example, Kootenay has frequently occurring words translatable in English as 'to be' and 'to exist'. In Salishan languages, in contrast, words translatable as 'to be' and 'to exist' are lacking in normal usage, while words translatable into English as nouns carry their own predication of existence or identity. In Kootenay, a word translatable as a noun in English does not carry its own predication of existence or identity any more than an English noun does. Partly because of this, it is not easy to argue that Kootenay has no nouns. On the other hand, if one is forced to analyze Kootenay as having nouns as distinct from verbs, it is very difficult to avoid the necessity of using such terms as 'transitive noun' and 'reflexive noun'. One thing that Kootenay and Salishan do have in common on this matter is that some of the very elements which can be said to be nominalizers can also be argued to be ultimately aspectual markers. This is certainly a matter for further study, given the areal and theoretical implications.

The probable cognate sets are exemplified below according to sound correspondence. The order of the sound correspondences is such that those special correspondences which are most important as evidence for a genetic relationship are listed first. The exception to this is that the vowel correspondences are given last as a group, although all of the vowel correspondences exemplified by cognate sets here are those which are special sound correspondences. Exemplification of a given probable cognate set can be found under the most important or interesting consonant correspondence involved in the set. In some cases, the location of the exemplification of a given cognate set may seem arbitrary. For example, the set involving Kootenay /ʔan/ 'more' and Sooke /ʔán/ 'very, too much' will be found under the correspondence /n/ to /n/. The logic here is that examples of the correspondence /n/ to /n/ are rarer than examples of the correspondence /ʔ/ to /ʔ/ and are therefore of greater interest. Within the exemplification of the individual sound correspondences the order of the cognate sets is largely arbitrary.

The order of the sound correspondences is as follows:

Special Correspondences

Kootenay Salishan

c to ʔ

c' to ʔ'

m/n to *ŋ^w

w to *ŋ^w

Special but Problematic or Poorly Supported Correspondences

Kootenay		Salishan
t	to	c
t'	to	c'
y	to	s
y	to	*γ
x	to	ʃ
m	to	n

Expected and Identical Correspondences

Kootenay		Salishan
c	to	c
c'	to	c'
h	to	h
k	to	k
k	to	k ^w
k'	to	k'
k'	to	k' ^w
ɬ	to	ɬ
ɬ	to	l
m	to	m
n	to	n
p	to	p
q	to	q
q	to	q ^w

(Expected and Identical Correspondences)

Kootenay Salishan

q' to q'

q' to q'^w

s to s

t to t

t' to t'

w to w

x to x

x to x^w

x to x̣

x to x̣^w

y to y

? to ?

Vowel Correspondences

Kootenay Salishan

i to i

a to a

u to u

a to ə

u to ə

minor vowel correspondences

and those involving ablaut

Kootenay c

Salishan ɬ

Set 1

cik'- 'split'

Interior

ɬkʷep 'broken (e.g. rope), dead' Sh

ɬeč 'string breaks' Cr

Coast

ɬáč-tən 'knife' Se

ɬič 'be cut' Sq

ɬáč-tn 'knife' Sq

ɬeč-təl 'knife' Ck

ɬicət 'cut' Ms, Cw

ɬič 'to cut' Ld

Set 2

c (preparticle) 'future'

Coast

ɬ- 'future particle' (Dr) Tw

Tsamosan

ɬ 'future marker' Ch

Set 3

pac- 'scatter, distribute'

Interior

pac-kin 'to scatter things pil 'scatter' (see Kuipers (1974) p. 134

by hand, to take some- for discussion of /l/ for

thing apart, to deal this item)² Sh

(cards)' pil 'to distribute' Cm

Set 3 (continued)

pac-xam'-kc-ik 'they	pił 'be scattered'	Cr
scattered (all running	Coast	
away in different	pił-án' 'scatter (ordered things),	
directions)'	erase'	Sq
	pał 'to separate or divide' (Sy)	Ld
	pał 'flee, run away out of fright,	
	make self scarce because you	
	are told to' (Hs)	Ld

Set 4

Kootenay c	Salishan ł	
ma'c 'negative imperative',	Tsamosan	
also rarely 'negative'	míłta 'negative'	Ch
in a general sense	míłta 'no, not'	Cz
	míłt 'not'	Lo

Set 5

q'uc- 'itch, tickle, scratch	Tsamosan	
an itch'	q'wíłí-, q'wíł- 'itch'	Ch
	q'wíłi- 'itch', q'wíłi- 'scratch	
	(reflexive)'	Cz

Bella Coola

q'íł-cut 'to scratch oneself' (Nt)

Nater also has Heiltsuk q'wíł-á and Kwakiutl q'wEł (quoted from Boas).

Set 5 (continued)

This suggests to me the possibility that these Wakashan languages may have borrowed the Bella Coola root element when it was *q^wiɬ or some such form with labialization. I do have one example where Bella Coola has q^w for q^w elsewhere in Salishan but I understand that there are some anomalies with Bella Coola labialization in the context of Comparative Salishan work (Kinkade, personal communication).

Set 6

Kootenay c

Salishan ɬ

cin- 'grab, be caught'

Coast

ɬin 'be caught'

Sq

ɬid(i) 'tie'

Ld

Tsamosan

ɬan 'button'

Ch

ɬán-ʔč 'cinch'

Ch

ʔč 'belly'

Ch

Set 7

nictahaɬ 'boy, young man'

Tsamosan

nuɬtaɬmǝš 'person' (Sno)

Lo

nuɬtaʔɬmǝšuʔ 'teenage boy' (Sno)

Lo

Kootenay c

Salishan ɬ

Set 8

cuk(u)- 'take up food off
ground'

Bella Coola

ɬkʷ 'pick up' (SD)

Interior

ɬkʷ 'to lap up'

Ka

Set 9

cum- 'be used to, be
accustomed to'

Interior

ɬemʔ 'apologize' (Rd)

Cr

Coast

ɬimʔ 'be accepted, be approved'

Sq

Set 10

cu- 'stick in'

Interior

cu-kʷ-t-iy-aɬ 'spear'

//ɬuʔu// 'stab'

Th

ɬuʔ 'to poke, stab, sting'

Sh

ɬuʔ 'jab, stab, poke'

Sp

ɬuʔ 'to sting, wound with a pointed

instrument'

Ka

The Salishan element ɬuʔ or ɬuʔu seems to have been borrowed into Kootenay in recent times. Note Kootenay ɬuʔu 'awl' and ɬuʔ-nana 'needle'. For some further details, see the section on borrowings.

Kootenay c

Salishan f

Set 11

wicwic 'killdeer'

Interior

k'awic 'semipalmated plover'

wił (as in) wiwł-wəł 'snipe'

Sh

wıł (as in) w'wıłwıł 'sandpiper'

Cm

This item may best be taken as onomatopoetic given the following forms:

Interior

wáləwal 'long billed curlew'

F1

Coast

wıθ-iye '(large or small) snipe'

Ck

wəθwəθ 'snipe (in one dialect)

Ck

Certainly this item is problematic, but it is not the only case where an apparently onomatopoetic word appears in Kootenay in a form nearly identical to a form in a Coast Salishan language while some Interior Salishan languages have rather different forms. See Kootenay piq' 'nighthawk' in the section on onomatopoetic words. The /θ/ in Chilliwack should go back to an earlier /c/ according to regular Coast Salishan sound correspondences. The Kootenay word /wicwic/ is very nearly the only word in the language which could be said to be reduplicated, which in itself suggests onomatopoeia. Even with all this, there is still the fact that the English word 'killdeer' is supposedly itself onomatopoetic but does not resemble any of the Kootenay or Salishan words above.

Kootenay c

Salishan 1

Set 12

q̣ucac 'chipmunk'

*q̣wəc̣-w- 'chipmunk' (TTK)

PS

Interior

qəčwéwye (reduplication of) qəčw-éye

'chipmunk'

Sh

q̣wəc̣əẉ-áya? 'chipmunk'

Cm

q̣wq̣ẉc̣-w-éye? 'chipmunk'

Sp

Coast

sq̣wəč̣əɬ 'squirrel'

Ck

sq̣wəč̣aɬ 'squirrel' (E1)

Tw

s-dx̣w-q̣wəč̣aɬ 'squirrel' (Dr)

Tw

Tsamosan

sq̣wac̣əɬ 'chipmunk'

Cz, Ch

sq̣waʔč̣éʔɬ 'little chipmunk'

Ch

Kootenay c'

Salishan x'

Set 13

ci- 'fast, rapid'

Bella Coola

xi 'fast' (Nt)

Coast

xi-xi 'rapidly' Cx

xi-gəɬ 'speedboat', -gəɬ 'boat' Cx

xi-xi 'fast (rapid)' Se

Note also:

Interior

xəx 'fast, swift' Cm

xax 'fast, swift' Ka

Tsamosan

xəx 'fast, hurry' Cz, Ch

Set 14

cup- 'close'

Coast

cup-in-aqɬiɬ 'to close xiɬp-awicə 'undergarments' Se

one's eyes' (s)xəp-íwan 'shirt, chemise' Se

cup-in-kə-huma 'to close xəp 'cover, clothing' Sq

one's mouth' xəp- 'to cover' Sn

Tsamosan

xiɬp- 'cover' Ch

xiɬp : xiɬši- 'cover' Cz

Note, however:

ciɬp-us-m 'shut the eyes' Sq

Kootenay c'

Salishan x'

Set 15

mac'- 'dirty'

Interior

max' 'soft ground, muddy ground' Cm

Coast

max', məx' 'be dirty' Sq

Note the following possible ablaut
forms:

Interior

míx' 'paint' Cm

míx' 'rub, paint' Cv

míx' 'cover with a liquid like paint' Sp

Coast

cmíx' 'dirty' Ck

c- 'a prefix for colour terms,

a prefix for deriving verbs' Ck

Kootenay m/n

Salishan *ŋ^w

Set 16

-nana 'diminutive suffix, the young of a species'	*ŋ ^w aná? 'child, offspring' (TTK)	PS
	Bella Coola	
-mna 'diminutive suffix occurring after a few stems otherwise ending in an underlying glottal stop which is anomalously not realized as glottal- ization on the m'	mna 'child' (TTK)	
	Coast	
	ména 'child (offspring)'	Se
	mənʔə 'child' (TTK)	Cw
	ŋéné? 'offspring'	So
	ŋənə? 'offspring'	Lm
	ŋéna? 'child'	Cl
-una '(probably) a diminutive suffix (occur- ring in two examples, once after -qat 'tail' and once after -q ^h nuk 'lake'))'	ŋéné 'child, offspring' (Mi)	Sg
	ŋéné? 'child' (TTK)	Sg
	bədə? 'offspring, (one's own) child'	NLd
	bédə? 'offspring, (one's own) child'	SLd
	bédə 'child' (TTK)	Tw
	wéna 'child' (TTK)	Ti
	Tsamosan	
	mén 'child'	Ch

Kootenay m/n

Salishan *ŋ^w

Set 17

This cognate set may represent a separate sound correspondence,
Kootenay m' to Salishan *ŋ^w.

-kam' (the only lexical

Coast

element in the word

čəm(?) 'close; come together, be

ʔa-kam'-t) 'belt'

folded, doubled up'

Sq

čəmʔə-tn 'shoulder strap of basket,

packstrap'

Sq

čəmštən 'tumpline'

Nk

čəmʔətən 'packstrap' (TTK)

Ms, Cw

čəmətəl 'packstrap' (TTK)

Ck

čəŋaʔtən 'tumpline'

Cl

səŋštən 'tumpline'

Lm

čəbá(?) -təd 'tumpline'

Ld

Kootenay m/n

Salishan *ŋ^w

Set 18

-m-, -n- 'middle voice

Interior

suffix, (or perhaps

//əmə// 'middle (voice) suffix' Th

better) personal

//-m// 'middle suffix which indicates

involvement suffix'

some involvement on the part

The factors which

of the primary referent, also

condition the occurrence

occurs as -əm' Cv

of -m- versus -n- are not

//-m// 'middle (voice)' Sp

fully worked out, however;

-m 'middle (voice)' Cm

a pattern is evident.

Coast

This suffix occurs with

-m- 'middle voice' Cx

-aɬ to form a suffix

-əŋ (also -ŋ and -əm) 'medio-

group -maɬ, -naɬ

passive suffix' (Rf) Sg

'comitative'. The general

-ŋ (also -m) 'affected' So

rule is that -maɬ occurs

-(ə)ŋ 'involved, affected' Cl

word finally while -naɬ

-m 'medio-passive' (Hk) Cw

occurs before additional

-b (also -əb) 'middle voice' Ld

suffixes.

Tsamosan

-m /-mit- 'middle (voice)' Ch

-m /-mit- 'middle (voice)' Cz

Kootenay m/n

Salishan *ŋ^w

Set 19

mat 'to leave something

Interior

behind, to abandon

mt-es, c-mt-st-es 'to feed'

Sh

something, to dispose

s-mt-em 'food provided'

Sh

of something'

ʔam 'to feed' (as in)

-maʔt (as in)

c-ʔam-s-t-ɪm-əlx 'they are given

ha-maʔt-kic 'to give

it to eat'

something to someone'

(act-feed-caus-tran-indef-pl)

Cv

ha- 'have'

ʔam- 'feed'

Cm

-kic 'benefactive'

ʔamtəm 'feed someone'

Cm

ʔamtən 'I fed him'

Cm

Coast

ʔánəʔt 'to give' (Rf)

Sg

ʔaŋ- (root) 'give' (Rf)

Sg

ŋét- (as in) ŋétəŋ 'to distribute

wealth, give rights

and privileges to a

name' (Mi)

Sg

ŋetx^w 'to cause to be given' (Mi)

Sg

ʔaŋəʔt 'to give' (Mi)

Sg

ʔəŋat, ʔəŋaʔt; ʔúŋəʔt, ʔaʔŋúʔt

'make a gift'

Cl

ʔəŋac 'give it to me' (TTE)

Cl

ʔəŋəʔs 'give it to me' (TTE)

Lm, So

Set 19 (continued)

Coast (continued)

ʔəŋáʔs	'give it to me' (TTE)	Sn
--------	-----------------------	----

batax ^w	'give (e.g. food) (Kd)	Tw
--------------------	------------------------	----

Tsamosan

mátil-	'give food, feed'	Cz
--------	-------------------	----

Set 20

Kootenay m/n

Salishan *ŋ^w

tamuxu 'to be dark out,

Coast

to be dark in a place'

táŋən	'evening'	C1
-------	-----------	----

té·ŋən	'evening, night' (Mi)	Sg
--------	-----------------------	----

Kootenay m/n

Salishan *ŋ^w

Set 21

-minna 'mountain'

*s-ŋ^wán 'mountain' (TTK)

PS

ʔa-ká-minna 'mountain

Bella Coola

pass'

smt 'mountain' (SD)

-ká- 'hole'

smt, smnt 'mountain' (TTK)

Coast

smáanit 'mountain' (TTK)

Se

smá'nit 'mountain' (TTK)

Pt

s-manit 'mountain'

Sq

smént 'stone, rock, mountain'

Ms, Cw

smélt 'stone, mountain'

Ck

snénət 'stone' (TTK)

Sg

snánət 'stone'

Cl

snéent 'rock, mountain'

Lm

s-bádit 'mountain'

Ld

s-bádil 'mountain'

Ld

sbádit 'mountain' (Kd)

Tw

Tsamosan

smániči 'mountain'

Ch

smá'něč 'mountain'

Lo

smániču 'mountain'

Qn

Kootenay w

Salishan *ŋ^w

Set 22

-q'wi '(to) swallow'

*q'əŋ^wə- 'swallow' (TTK)

PS

Interior

q'm- '(to) swallow'

Sh

q'm(í) 'to swallow'

Sp

q'am 'swallow'

Ka

q'em 'swallow'

Cr

Coast

q'em-n 'swallow'

Sq

məq'-ət 'swallow it'

Ck

ŋəq'- 'to swallow' (Rf)

Sg

ŋəq'ět, ŋəq't 'swallow'

Cl

bəq' 'put in mouth, swallow'

Ld

Tsamosan

məq'^w 'swallow'

Ch

Kootenay w

Salishan *ŋʷ

Set 23

waq̣a 'heron'

*s-ŋʷəq̣'wá? 'heron' (TTK)

PS

probably waq̣a(?)

Interior

smúq̣'wa? 'crane; heron'

Gm

səməq̣'we? 'crane' (TTK)

Ka

səməq̣'we? 'great blue heron'

Fl

Coast

smóq̣'we 'crane'

Ck

sméq̣'wa? 'great blue heron' (TTK)

Hl

sŋéq̣'wa? 'heron' (TTK)

Sg

sŋəq̣'wə(?) 'heron'

Lm

s-bəq̣'wá? 'heron'

Ld

awaq̣á, *wəq̣'wá? (TTK)

Ti

Kootenay w	Salishan *ɲ ^w	
	Set 24	
wu- (quite possibly once) 'four'	*ɲ ^w us 'four' (Kd) (TTK)	PS
	Interior	
	mus 'four'	Sh
	músəs 'four'	Gm
	mús 'four'	Sp
	mús 'four'	Ka
	mús 'four'	F1
	mus 'four'	Cv
	mús 'four'	Cr
	Bella Coola	
	mus 'four' (Nt)	
	Coast	
	ɲás 'four'	So
	ɲés 'four' (Mi)	Sg
	búus 'four'	Ld
	Tsamosan	
	mús 'four'	Ch

Kootenay /wu-xa'ca/ means 'eight', but /xa'ca/ 'four' may be related to /xacin-/ 'both' and /xanc-/ 'both'. In addition, Kootenay has a decade marker /-wu/ occurring in such forms as:

/qaksa-n-wu/ 'thirty'

/qaksa/ 'three'

Set 24 (continued)

/yi·ku-n-wu/ 'fifty'

/yi·ku/ 'five'

The Kootenay word for 'ten' is /ʔitʰ-wu/ probably literally 'fill(ed) up ten'. It is probable, or at least possible, that a sound shift of word initial *ɲʷ to w in an earlier form of Kootenay yielded /wu-/ 'four' alongside /wu/ 'ten'. This could have resulted in the coinage of /ʔitʰwu/ for 'ten' and the use of /xa·ca/ as 'four', although just how /xa·ca/ became 'four' is not clear. For further information on /xa·ca/ see cognate set 115 under the correspondence x to ɣ.

Kootenay w

Salishan *ɲʷ

Set 25

wu- 'touch'

Interior

mús- 'feel, grope'

Cm

mus-m 'feel'

Sh

mus- 'feel about'

Cr

Bella Coola

mus-a 'feel, touch' (Nt)

As there are no cognates in Straits Salish for this root, it is possible that this could be either *mus or *ɲʷus in Proto-Salishan.

Kootenay t

Salishan c

Set 26

matqut 'seagull'

Interior

macq'wul' 'pelican'

Cm

The Kootenay item above looks suspiciously like a borrowing from Salishan but it fails to qualify as a clear borrowing for at least two phonological reasons. If Modern Kootenay were to borrow the Columbian term it would be borrowed as */macqu't/. There is at least one example in Kootenay of a word which has been pronounced by some individuals with /c/ where others have /t/. This suggests the possibility that an earlier form of Kootenay may have had instances of /c/ which became /t/. This is only one possibility, however. At least recent borrowing can be ruled out.

For one other possible example of Kootenay /t/ corresponding to Salishan /c/, see cognate set 92 involving Kootenay /-qutał/ 'fat' under the correspondence /q/ to /q'w/. The difficulty with that example is that while Kootenay has /-qutał/, one Salishan language, Shuswap, has both /q'wuc/ 'fat, stout' and /q'wteł/ 'grease'.

Kootenay t'

Salishan c'

Set 27

sit' 'blanket'

*s-ʔic' 'blanket' (TTK)

PS

Interior

síc'm 'blanket'

Th

síc'm 'blanket'

Sh

síc'əm 'blanket'

Cm

síc'əm 'blanket'

Ka

sic' 'be blanketed, be blanket'

Cr

Coast

sʔíc'am 'clothes, clothing'

Se

Set 28

t'aq'miḷa 'deerfly'

Coast

cə-cəq'wals 'small black flies'

Sq

Both of the examples of /t'/ to /c'/ above look suspiciously like they are the result of word borrowing at some time in the past. Haas (1965) suggested that the example involving Kootenay /sit'/ might be in that category. At least with these two examples, borrowing between Modern Kootenay and the modern Salishan languages indicated above can be ruled out.

Kootenay y

Salishan s

Set 29

-łwiy 'heart, mind,

Interior

feelings'

*-arwás 'inside; feelings' (KT)

PIS

ʔa-k-ıłwiy 'heart'

-ələwás 'chest, stomach, seat of

saan-ıłwiy 'to be

mind or intelligence'

Cm

angry'

-łwás 'feelings'

Cm

saan- 'bad'

-eləs 'chest, character'

Sh

-ilgʷes 'heart, stomach'

Cr

The /i/ of the form

Coast

/-ıłwiy/ which appears

-id^əgʷas 'upper part of torso, mind,

initially on this morpheme

mental attitude'

Ld

is inserted automatically

-é·lwəs, -éwəs 'in the stomach'

Ck

by rule after a consonant.

-ı·ləs 'of the chest'

Ck

-aligas 'breast' (Ed)

Ti

yénəwəs 'heart'

Cl

yədwás 'heart'

Skagit Ld

Tsamosan

-inuwas 'stomach'

Cz, Ch

Kootenay y

Salishan s

Set 30

-(h)iy 'hand'

*-akist or *-akis 'hand' (TTK)

PS

ʔa-k-iy 'hand'

Interior

-eks(t) 'hand, lower arm'

Sh

If the original form

-aks(ən), -ks(ən) 'hand, arm'

Cm

of this suffix had been

-ákst, -kst 'hand, arm, finger'

Cm

*/-kiy/ the Modern Kootenay

-ískst(t), -(í)ks(t) 'hand'

Cv

word for hand would still

Coast

be /ʔakiy/, but it would be

-ačiʔ 'hand, lower arm'

Ld

*//ʔa-k-kiy// in its under-

-čəs 'hand'

Sn

lying form. The extra /k/

would be deleted by rule.

There is one other Kootenay element which may be cognate to the Salishan forms listed above. See cognate set 40 involving Kootenay /-ak/ 'limb of body' and Bella Coola /-ak/ 'appendage' listed under the correspondence /k/ to /k/.

Kootenay y

Salishan s

Set 31

-iy 'reflexive suffix'

Interior

-ist 'reflexive suffix for middle

This suffix is most

voice'

Sp

commonly found after the

-i(st) 'forms reflexive verbs'

middle voice suffix -m-, -n-.

wékum 'he hides something'

wékwi(st) 'he hides himself'

(also) -mist (əm-ist)

Ka

It should be noted that in Kootenay there is a rule which converts underlying //...s-n...// into /y/ in certain constructions which are, no doubt, of some antiquity in the language. This sound change was noted by Boas (1926).

ʔas 'two'

ʔay-wu 'twenty'

qałsa 'three'

qałsa-n-wu 'thirty'

xa'ca 'four'

xa'ca-n-wu 'forty'

Kootenay y

Salishan *γ

Set 32

yamasin- 'bent back on

Interior

itself, double back'

yém 'pin'

Cm

yamasin-ku(?) 'to hem'

djem 'pin, brace'

Cr

-ku(?) 'by means of a
pointed object'

(Reichard has 'djäm')

Coast

yamasin-kin 'to pull

yəb-ʔyəbat' 'tied round' (Kd)

Tw

something back on

itself'

According to tentative consonant

-kin 'by hand'

and vowel correspondences supplied by

yamasin-xam' 'to turn

Kinkade, the Proto-Interior Salishan

around in a very tight

reconstruction indicated by the

space and go back'

Columbian and Coeur d'Alene forms would

-xam' 'by body motion'

be *γəm.

Kootenay x	Salishan ʃ	
	Set 33	
-yax(a) 'to go and get something, to fetch something'	*yaʃ- 'gather' (TTK) Interior yáʃ 'gather' yaʃ 'gather(ed)' yaʃ 'gather(ed)' yaʔ (yaʃ) 'gather, accumulate'	PS Cm Cv Cv Sp

There is one other set of forms from Interior Salishan languages which could possibly be cognate to the Kootenay lexical suffix above.

yʰen 'to chase fish into fish trap'	Sh
yéʰ 'drive, herd'	Cm
yʰ-'	Cm
daʰ 'drive, round up' (TTK)	Cr
dé~ʰ 'round up' (TTK)	Cr

Kootenay m	Salishan n	
	Set 34	
-ɬ(u)ma 'throat, mouth'	Coast	
(Upper Kootenay)	-ɬ.n- 'throat ?' (as in)	
-ɬ(i)ma 'throat, mouth'	-ɬ.n-ay 'inside of throat'	Sq
(Lower Kootenay)	-aʔɪdəl ~ -ʔaʔɪdəl 'parts of the	
	mouth'	Ld
	Tsamosan	
	-ɬn-al 'mouth' (also) -ɬn-ɬ	Cz, Ch
	-ɬʔnɬ (as in) ʧapɬʔnɬ 'cough'	Lo

The segmentation of the Upper Chehalis forms (and Cowlitz forms) is supplied in order to bring out the similarity of them to the Squamish forms. Note that some instances of Squamish /y/ come from earlier /ɪ/.

What may very likely have happened with this single example of Kootenay /m/ corresponding to Salishan /n/ is that Pre-Proto-Salishan may have shifted an original */m/ in the morpheme in question to /n/ under the influence of an adjacent /ɬ/. There is some indication from the Squamish form that Proto-Salishan may not have had a schwa separating the /ɬ/ and the /n/. Kuipers uses the symbol /./ to indicate that a schwa would be expected but does not occur (see Kuipers 1967 pages 22 and 23). In contrast the parenthesized vowels of the Upper and Lower Kootenay forms suggest that an earlier stage of Kootenay did have an epenthetic vowel of neutral quality between the /ɬ/ and /m/. This vowel has become a phonemic segment in Modern Kootenay where it is penultimate

in a word and hence stressed. In forms where it would not be penultimate and thus unstressed it generally fails to occur. Thus one gets:

ʔa-ka-huma 'mouth' [ʔakaɦuma]
-ka- 'hole'

but also:

ʔa-kʰa-ɬma-ʔis 'his, her, its mouth', 'their mouth(s)'
 -ʔis 'general third person possessive suffix'
 [ʔakʰaɬmáʔis]

Kootenay c

Salishan c

Set 35

ca- 'small'

*cəm 'small' (TTK)

PS

Interior

cəm 'children'

Th

cəm 'children' (TTK)

Sh

ccém'a?

Cm

cm', cam' 'small'

Cv

cm'

Sp

*cim 'small (plural)'

Ka

sccəmélt ~ sccə'mélt 'children'

Fl

cicém'-e? 'are small'

Cr

For other examples of Kootenay /c/ corresponding to Salishan /c/,
see:

Set 53 (Kootenay k'aci(?)) under k' to k'

Set 73 (Kootenay pic-) under p to p

Set 44 (Kootenay cukat) under k to k'

Set 79 (Kootenay -qac) under q to q

Kootenay c'

Salishan c'

Set 36

wic'u- 'wring out, rinse
out by wringing'

Coast

ʔuc'u- 'wring' (TTK)

Tw

s-uc'i- 'wipe dry' (TTK)

Ti

Tsamosan

wuc'-n 'wring out (transitive)'

Ch

wuc'-ɬ 'wring out'

Ch

Kootenay h

Salishan h

Set 37

hu- 'finish, complete'

*huy 'finish' (TTK)

PS

Interior

huya 'All right, (I will);

huy 'finish'

Cv

Okay, (let's)'

hoy 'finish'

Sp

This form is used in

hoi 'to quit doing something'

Ka

the context of first or

hoy 'cease' (Rd)

Cr

second person. The form

Coast

/huya-s/ is used in the

hoy' 'done, finished'

Cx

context of third person.

huy 'finish'

Se

The word /huya/ has its own

huy 'be finished'

Sq

built-in third person

háy? 'to finish' (Rf)

Sg

subject. The /-s/ suffix

húy- 'finish'

Cl

marks a subsidiary third

hoy 'finish' (Dr)

Tw

person and is only called

huy(u) 'make, do, finish; be thus'

Ld

for when a sentence has

two third person entities.

Also note:

Therefore, we can suppose

Interior

that the word /huya/ has

huy (translated in a text as) 'that

an underlying sentential

was that'

Cv

meaning such as 'it is

Coast

finished', 'that is that',

huy?-s 'let us!'

Sq

or something of this

huyá? 'depart'

Sq

nature.

huyá 'Let's', 'Come on'

Se

Set 37 (continued)

Coast (continued)

həyéʔ	'go' (TTK)	H1
húyʔ	'good-bye'	C1
hiyàʔ	'depart'	C1
húyʔ	'good-bye' (Dr)	Tw
hoyʔ / huyú	'good-bye', finish' (Kd)	Tw
húy(?)	'good-bye'	Ld

Tsamosan

huy	'then; good-bye'	Ch
-----	------------------	----

Kootenay k

-kup, -ku(?) 'fire, heat'
(intransitive stems only)

-ku, -k 'fire, light up'
(transitive stems only)

-kup, -ku(?) 'wood'

Note that this suffix
means 'wood' independently
of the idea of 'firewood'.

For example:

?a-qu-ku(?) 'log across
creek; bridge'

?a-qu-qu-ku(?) 'raft'

-qu 'in the water, by
the water'

Salishan k

Set 38

*-kup 'fire' (TTK) PS

*-kup 'fire (wood)' (Kp) PS

Interior

-əkp (as in) x^wul-əkp 'match' Sh

x^wul 'rub fire' Sh

-átk^wp, -k^wp 'fire' Cm

-atk^wúp 'fire' Cm

-kúp 'fire, fuel'

(unretranscribed) (Rd) Cr

Coast

-čp (as in) yəq^wlčp 'put wood
on fire' Sq

-ik^wup 'fire' Sq

-čup 'fire, firewood' Ld

-ku 'to light' (Ed) Ti

Tsamosan

-k^wúp (as in) mak^wúp- 'fire' Cz

-čəp (as in) mǝčəp 'fire' Lo

-čəp 'wood' (as in words for: 'pole,
axe, split wood') Lo

Kootenay k

Salishan k

Set 39

kaʔa 'where?'

Interior

kaʔ 'where, which, what,
how'kéʔ(e) 'which?; whatever, whichever,
any; it is that'

Th

kaʔ 'where'

Cm

čén' 'where, how'

Ka

Coast

nəčá 'where?'

Se

čad 'where'

Ld

čal 'how, why'

Ld

dəčaʔ 'where?' (Kd)

Tw

dəčaʔd, ~ dəčadʔ 'where' (Dr)

Tw

Tsamosan

čá· 'where'

Ch

Set 40

-ak 'limb of body'

Bella Coola

-ak 'appendage, hand' (SD)

Coast

-ač 'hand'

Sq

-ačiʔ 'hand, lower arm'

Ld

Some or all of the Salishan forms here are taken as support for Proto-Salishan *-akist or *-akis. See set 30 under the correspondence /y/ to /s/.

Kootenay k

Salishan k

Set 41

ka 'my'

Interior

kan 'my'

kən 'I'

Cm

kn 'I'

Sh

kn 'I'

Th

The form /kan/ occurs
only with the word /xaʔi(?)/

čn 'I'

Sp

'son' and the related

kən 'I'

Cv

/xaʔinaʔiʔ/ 'nephew', in

Coast

Modern Kootenay. Boas (1918),

čən 'I, my'

Se

however, recorded [kan] in-

č-n 'I'

Sq

stead of [ka] in what is

(The č- in Squamish which Kuipers

now /ka titqatʔnaʔ/ 'my

identifies as a component of this

fellow man', an expression

pronoun can also be seen in

used as an introduction to

cognate set 43)

a challenge to fight.

čəd 'I'

Ld

cən 'I' (Hk)

Cw

sən 'first person singular pronominal
particle' (Rf)

Sg

cən 'first person singular enclitic'

Cl

cən 'first person singular enclitic'

Sm

Tsamosan

čn 'I'

Ch

kn 'I'

Cz

Kootenay k

Salishan k

Set 42

-kin, -kn 'by hand'

Interior

kin, kn 'to touch'

Sh

This element is one
of a set of instrumental
lexical suffixes.

*čín 'to catch, grab' (occurs as čən-
in Vogt's examples)

Ka

*čənx^w 'to touch with fingers' (occurs
as čənx^w- in an example. The
starred forms are Vogt's)

Ka

čən' 'take hold of large object'

Cr

Set 43

k- 'to do, to be'

Coast

-k 'dummy root element to
which locative prefixes
are affixed to form
independent locative
words'

č- 'to be, to act as'

Sq

See Kuipers (1967, pages 89, 155,
156, and 157)

The function of Kootenay /k-/ above is essentially that of a semantically empty root to which lexical suffixes are attached to form either verb stems or, with the prefix /ʔa-/, to form what could be called 'nouns'. The prefix /ʔa-/ is aspectual (roughly 'stative'). This prefix also has a place in purely verbal morphology where its aspectual role is more obvious.

Set 43 (continued)

Examples of the Kootenay root element /k-/:

-qac 'walk, go'

k-qac 'to walk, to go'

s-qac 'to be in the act of walking or going'

-lat' 'arm'

?a-k-lat' 'arm'

suk-lat'-xu?-mik 'to have a good throwing or hitting
arm, to have a good aim'

suk- 'good'

-xu? 'transitively by whole body action'

-mik 'middle voice reflexive'

For an additional example of Kootenay /k/ corresponding to Salishan /k/ see:

Set 17 (Kootenay -kam) under m/n to *ŋ^w

Kootenay k

Salishan k^w

Set 44

cuka-t 'to take'

Interior

cək^w 'pull' Li//cək^w// 'pull' Thck^w-um 'to pull' Shcək^w 'pull, drag' Cmck^w 'pull' Cvck^w(ú) 'pull' Spck^w 'to drag' Kacək^w 'drag, pull' Cr

Coast

cək^w 'pull' Sqcək^w-n 'tug, pull' Sq

Set 45

ʔuk- 'all'

Interior

Also recorded as:

uk^w 'swarm, crowd' Cr

ʔu·k-

Coast

ʔəwk^{2w} 'all' Cxʔuk^{2w} 'everything, all' (Tm) Seʔu·k^{2w} 'to be all gone' (Hr) Ck

Kootenay k

Salishan k^w

Set 46

-nuk-	'haul, drag along; give someone a ride'	Interior	
		ʔúkw-	'haul, take, bring' Cm
		ʔuk ^w	'take, bring' Cv
		ʔuk ^w , huk ^w	'bring' Sp
		ʔúkw	'to bring, to take someone someplace' Ka
		ʔúkw	'carry, bring' Cr
			Tsamosan
		ʔík ^w -	'go after' Ch

Set 47

-uk, -k	'water'	Interior	
		-k ^w	'water' Cm
		-k ^w	'water' Sp
		-k ^w	'water' Ka
			Coast
		-k ^w	'(a suffix used in a number of words) connected with the sea' Sq
		-ak ^w	(as in) sídak ^w 'sea' (El) Tw
		cf. sin-k ^w	'ocean, salt water' Cm
		cf. sin-qu	'ocean' Se
		cf. -qu	'water' Se

Kootenay k

Salishan k^w

Set 48

-ku 'water'

Interior

The Kootenay form in this set may be the same morpheme as the Kootenay forms in the set immediately above. Metathesis is a regular process in Kootenay morphology.

-k^we 'water, lake, river, creek'

Sh

-k^we? 'water, liquid'

Cr

Tsamosan

-čī 'water'

Ch

-k^wu 'water'

Cz

Set 49

-muk (as in) ?a-k-muk-nam

Interior

'someone's forehead'

mūk^w 'bulge'

Cm

(Lower Kootenay)

muk^w 'mounds, lumps'

Cv

-mu(?) 'hump, humpy, mound'

Coast

mæk^w 'to be lumpy'

Sq

Set 50

-nuk 'crawl'

Interior

uk^w-t 'crawl'

Cr

Kootenay k

Salishan k^w

Set 51

-ɬuʔk 'word, language,
sound'

Coast

l'ík^wa- 'talk to' (Kd)

Tw

-ɬikyax(a) 'turn of phrase,
verbal expression'

lél'ík^w- 'talk' (Kd)

Tw

lék^wa- 'speak' (Dr)

Tw

Set 52

-nuk 'rock, stone'

Coast

nuʔkiy 'rock, stone'

s-dúuk^w 'knife, iron'

Ld

Set 8

cuk(u) 'take up food off
ground'

Bella Coola

ɬk^w 'pick up' (SD)

Interior

ɬk^w 'to lap up'

Ka

Kootenay k'

Salishan k'

Set 53

k'aci(?) 'to be skinny'

Tsamosan

k'ē·c- 'little'

Ch

k'ē·ci? 'little'

Ch

k'ē·c 'little'

Cz

k'ē·ci 'little'

Cz

Set 54

-k'am 'importance, meaning,
sense to it,
substance'

Interior

ha-k'am 'to matter, to be
important'

k'm 'a root occurring with various
prefixes and suffixes in a large
number of words mainly referring
to parts, esp. to parts of the
body'

Sh

ha- 'have'

Kuipers lists 59 words

lit-k'am 'to not matter,
to be of no
importance'

containing this root involving
the use of only four different
prefixes but many lexical suffixes.

lit- 'without'

č'em 'word stem occurring with field
suffixes in a great number of
words, expressing parts of the
body, parts of the house, and
in a few others'

Ka

č'm 'general word stem'

Sp

Kootenay k'

Salishan k'

Set 55

k'an- (as in) k'an-wac'

Interior

'dive'

k'en 'up against'

Cm

-wac' 'swim under-

(also) k'an- (as in) k'an-qín 'pillow'

water'

(-qín 'head')

Cm

For an additional example of Kootenay /k'/ corresponding to Salishan /k'/ see:

Set 1 (Kootenay cik'-) under c to ɬ

Kootenay k'

Salishan k^w also k'

Set 56

ʔuk'i(?) 'one, for there to
be one (of some-
thing)'

*nk'-u? / nk^w 'one' (Kp)

PS

*nak' 'one, other; to change' (Kp)

PS

The above items are crossreferenced

ʔuk'- 'one, same'

by Kuipers.

Interior

Also note:

nək^w-ú?, nək^w- 'one, other'

Sh

ʔak'-ʔa-na 'different'

nək^w-úsəm 'party, family'

Sh

ʔak'-ʔa-k 'other'

nek' 'to change'

Sh

ʔa-k 'or'

nək^w- 'one'

Cm

nək^w- 'one'

Cv

Also note:

nék^we? 'one'

Cr

-nik' 'parent(s)'

nk^wu? 'one'

Ka

-nik'-na(?)mu(?)

nik^w 'be tribe'

Cr

'relative(s)'

Coast

-nik' '(such and such) one',

nəč-áli 'one person'

Se

'(such and such) ones',

-áli 'people suffix'

Se

'(such and such) tribe,

nč-u? 'one'

Sq

people' examples:

nač- 'change, differ'

Sq

wup-nik' 'something new'

nč-áy?uw?am 'family'

Sq

wup- 'new'

néč 'different'

Sn

ʔaqam-nik' 'St. Marys

néča? 'one'

Cw

person or people'

néč 'different' (Mg)

Cw

ʔaqam 'St. Marys River'

ləčə, ləčə 'one'

Ck

Set 56 (continued)

Coast

leč', læč' 'one'	Ck
dəčú? 'one'	NLd
dəčú? 'one'	SLd
dačú- 'one' (Kd)	Tw

Tsamosan

nač'-aw- 'one'	Ch
nač'-aw- 'one'	Cz

There may be an explanation for the lack of initial /n/ in the Kootenay roots in this set. In Kootenay there is a predicatizing prefix /n-/ which is realized as /n'/ before words with initial glottal stop and as /n/ (with loss of /h/) before words with initial /h/. Before words with any other initial consonant the /n-/ prefix is not realized. No Kootenay word begins with a vowel. As it is, very few Kootenay root elements which could be predicatized begin with /n/. The Kootenay element /-nik'/, which does have /n/ to match the /n/ in the Salishan roots, is a lexical suffix never occurring word initially.

Kootenay k'

Salishan kʷ

Set 57

ʔiskax-mit 'to lose some-	Interior	
thing, something to elude	ʔiskʷl-n 'throw (plural objects)'	Cm
one'	ʔiskʷl 'scatter'	Sp
-mit 'throw'	ʔiskʷl-n 'I scattered it'	Sp
	ʔiskʷəl 'to throw away'	Ka
ʔisk-xu(?) 'to hit some-	Coast	
thing by throwing'	ʔikʷət 'throw (it) away' (Hk)	Cw
-xu(?) 'by action of	ʔikʷ- 'lost'	Ck
one's body'	ʔikʷ-ət 'throw it away, discard it'	Ck
	ʔiskʷá- 'throw' (Kd)	Tw
ʔiskú(?) 'to hit a target	ʔiskʷáš 'throw it away' (Kd)	Tw
with a bullet or arrow,		
to guess right in the		
stick game'		
-kú(?) 'by action of		
pointed object (includ-		
ing fingers)		

This is really an example of Kootenay /k/ to Salishan /kʷ/, and as such one of a number of possible cognate examples (not exemplified in this work) of Salishan glottalized consonants corresponding to unglottalized consonants in Kootenay. The only Kootenay form in the probable cognate set above with /kʷ/ is one where the glottalization can be

Set 57 (continued)

construed to be from the suffix /-k^hu(?)/ with the underlying root as /ʔisk-/. The loss of /k/ is not, however, automatic but idiosyncratic here. The somewhat obscured history of the stem /ʔisk^hu(?)/ may have been a factor in the apparent loss of glottalization with the stems /ʔiskax-mit/ and /ʔisk-xu(?)/.

Kootenay ɬ

Salishan ɬ

Set 58.1 .

ɬu(?) 'be none, be absent'

Interior

ɬu- 'remove'

ɬwel-n-s 'to leave somebody alone,

take off and discard

(clothing)'

Sh

(s-)ɬwel '(person) left alone,

left behind'

Sh

ɬəw 'leave'

Cv

Coast

ɬaw' 'to leave'

Cx

ɬaw? 'recover, run away (about a

captive)'

Sq

ɬəw'ál 'leave behind' (Kd)

Tw

ɬəgʷɬ, ɬəgʷəl- 'leave, leave behind'

Ld

Tsamosan

ɬaw'ál- 'leave'

Ch

ɬaw'ál- 'leave'

Cz

Kootenay 1

Salishan 1

Set 58.2

hu-q'-lam'-xu	'head hair to	Interior	
	fall out'	huq' ^w (as in) c-x-huq' ^w -ws-qn	'bald' Sh
hu-q'-lam'-kin	'to pull some-	hoq' ^w	'bald headed' Ka
	one's head hair	hoq' ^w	'be bald, bare' Cr
	out'	haq' ^w	'skin, pull off' Cr
-lam'	'head'	Coast	
-xu	'by action of the	huq', haq' ^w	'come off (of skin, bark)' Sq
	whole body of some-	haq' ^w -an	'peel bark' Sq
	one or something'	haq' ^w ən	'to get undressed' (Mi) Sg
-kin	'by action of the		
	hands'		

Kootenay 1

Salishan 1

Set 58.3

ku- 'remove'

Coast

ku-qłan't 'to undress some-
one'

łaʔgitçə 'naked'

Cx

kuíçáʔm (intransitive) 'undress'

Sq

-qłan't 'clothes'

kúyagʷyə- 'undress' (Kd)

Tw

ku-qłan't-ik-ik 'to undress
oneself'

Tsamosan

kíw 'take off'

Ch

kíw-1 'come off'

Ch

kíw-itamɲ 'undress'

Ch

ʔitamɲ 'clothing'

Ch

kíw 'come off'

Cz

kíw- 'take off'

Cz

kíw 'take off'

Qn

kíw-xw 'take out'

Qn

Of special relevance to cognate set 58 are Kuipers' comments on the Squamish root /kawʔ/ (quoted here in cognate set 58.1). Kuipers suggests a 'zero form' /ku-/ for this root and four other probably related Squamish items with the original meaning of the root as 'be removed'. See Kuipers (1967) pages 329 and 330.

Kootenay /ɬ/

Salishan /ɬ/

Set 59

-(h)at 'grass, plant'

Bella Coola

-ɬp 'plant, tree' (Nt)

Interior

-eɬp 'tree, bush, plant'

Sh

-atp, -ɬp 'tree, plant'

Cm

-iɬp 'plant, tree'

Cv

-eɬp

Sp

Coast

-ɬč 'tree, plant'

Sn

-iɬč 'tree' (Rf)

Sg

For other examples of Kootenay /ɬ/ corresponding to Salishan /ɬ/

see:

Set 34 (Kootenay -ɬ(u)ma) under m to n

Set 90 (Kootenay -q'ɬiɬ) under q' to q'w

Kootenay 1

Salishan 1

Set 60

ʔiʔʰa, ʔiʰa 'cry, weep'

Interior

ʔílel 'cry, weep'

Li

Coast

ʔílel 'cry, weep'

Nk

ʔilál 'cry, weep' (Dr) (TTK)

Tw

ʔíla 'hurt'

Ld

Note also:

ʔíl-al 'sing' (reduplicated) (Dr)

Tw

ʔil(i) 'sing, repeat, interpret'

Ld

Set 61

hu (a tag for questions)

Interior

'is it not so?'

*lut

(Kd) PIS

'isn't that right?'

lút 'it is not'

Ok

Note also:

lut 'no, not'

Cv

húʰaʔt 'to deny something'

lút 'negative'

Cm

híst 'to be without something'

lut, lu 'negative'

Cr

lut (when used as an independent

hít- (plus lexical suffix)

stem) 'refuse, deny, be

'to be without'

mischievous'

Cr

Kootenay 1

Salishan 1

Set 62

ʔaʔak(i)t 'to stalk'

Tsamosan

ʔáʔaʔ- 'sneak up on'

Cz

Set 63

-qaʔt 'child'

Interior

-elt 'offspring'

Sh

-iʔt 'child, young, egg'

Sh

-áʔt, -áʔt, -əʔt 'child'

Cm

-íʔt 'stomach, child'

Cv

-éʔt 'child'

Ka

-ilt (-əʔt, -əʔt) 'offspring, child' Cr

See also set 80 (Kootenay /-qaʔt/
probably cognate (?) to Colville /qaʔt/) under the correspondence /q/ to /q/.

Kootenay 1

Salishan 1

Set 64

-la(?) 'fitted covering,
blanket'

Interior

li^ŋw 'draw on'

Sh

Note especially:

t-l^ŋw 'shoe tongue'

Sh

yu-kxa-la(?) 'tongue of

lə^ŋw 'draw on'

Cm

shoe or

li^ŋw 'fit'

Cv

moccasin'

lə^ŋw 'draw together, make fit'

Cr

yu- 'on top surface'

-kxa- 'from'

-la?-maɬ 'blanket'

-maɬ 'with'

lat'-la(?) 'sleeve'

-lat' 'arm'

Kootenay ɬ

Salishan 1

Set 65

ɬa (proclitic) 'again,

Interior

back'

1 ~ ʔal 'translocative'

Cm

ɬa qawxaxi. 'He went

Note the following Columbian data:

back there.'

ʔal-naw'-əlɬ 'He ran back'

Cm

qawxaxi. 'He went there.'

naw'-əlɬ 'He ran'

Cm

ʔal-wíkɬ 'see again'

Cm

ɬa qakiʔni. 'He said it

ʔal-ʁúwən 'put out again'

Cm

again.'

ʔal-kʷán 'take back'

Cm

qakiʔni. 'He said it.'

Also note especially:

xə́xə́ɬt ʔal naqs 'eleven'

Cm

ʔitwu-m ɬa ʔukí(?) 'eleven'

xə́xə́ɬt 'ten'

Cm

ʔitwu 'ten'

naqs 'one'

Cm

ʔukí(?) 'one'

eɬ (a preverb) 'back, again'

Ka

xa·ca-n-wu-m ɬa ʔukí(?)

eɬcún 'I say to him again over'

Ka

'forty-one'

cún 'I say to him'

Ka

xa·ca 'four'

eɬxúi 'He goes back'

Ka

xa·ca-n-wu 'forty'

xúi 'He goes'

Ka

uɬ (a prefix) 'again' (Jh)

Cr

ɬ- 'again'

Ok

ɬ- 'back'

Ok

ɬ- (directional prefix) 'back'

Cv

Kootenay ɬ

Salishan ɬ

For additional examples of Kootenay /ɬ/ corresponding to Salishan /ɬ/ see:

Set 77	(Kootenay -(a)qɬiɬ)	under	q - q
Set 85	(Kootenay -qɬuyit)	under	q - q ^w
Set 28	(Kootenay t'aqɬmɪɬa)	under	t' - c'
Set 29	(Kootenay -ɬwiɪ)	under	y - s
Set 107	(Kootenay wɬɪk)	under	w - w
Set 89	(Kootenay -q'ɬ-)	under	q' - q' ^w
Set 51	(Kootenay -ɬuʔk)	under	k - k ^w

Kootenay m

Salishan m

Set 66

-min, -mn- (as in)

Coast

ka-min 'me, myself, my'

mn 'a clitic which in its emphatic forms

ka-mn-ała(?) 'us, our-

(maníł, máníł) forms certain

selves, our'

appositives such as:

ka 'my'

/ta maníł/ 'he himself' Sq

-ała(?) 'first person

/?ałi maníł/ 'she herself' Sq

plural'

See Kuipers' Squamish grammar

(Kuipers, 1967) Vol. I pages 144-145,

then 209-211.

Note in the following example the way that /mn/ follows directly after /č-n/ 'I' which is probably cognate to Kootenay /ka, kan/ 'my' (cognate set 41)

/?i č-n mn nčnčú?/ 'Here I am all by

myself' Sq

Kootenay m

Salishan m

Set 67

-am 'indefinite person
suffix'

Interior

//-(í)m// 'third indefinite recipient
suffix'

Cv

(as in) //wík^w-s-t-(í)m//

/wík^wstəm/ 'something was hidden

by someone'

Cv

-am 'indefinite object'

Ok

Coast

Hess (1967) distinguishes between
-(ə)b 'medio-passive' and a different
-(ə)b which also might be described as
a passive marker or possibly even as an
indefinite person marker. For example:

k^wədā-t-əb 'He was grabbed' Ld

k^wədāt-əb čəɬ 'We were grabbed' Ld

k^wədád čəɬ 'We grabbed it' Ld

Kootenay m

Salishan m

For additional examples of Kootenay /m/ corresponding to Salishan /m/ see:

Set 26	(Kootenay matquɬ)	under	t - c
Set 4	(Kootenay maʔc)	under	c - ɬ
Set 9	(Kootenay cum-)	under	c - ɬ
Set 15	(Kootenay mac'-)	under	c' - x'
Set 49	(Kootenay -muk)	under	k - k ^w
Set 54	(Kootenay -k'am)	under	k' - k'
Set 113	(Kootenay -xma)	under	x - ɣ
Set 32	(Kootenay yamasin-)	under	y - *ɣ

Kootenay n

Salishan n

Set 68

ʔan 'more'

Coast

ʔan 'be or act to a high degree; very,
too (excessively)' Sq

nʔan 'very, too (much)' (Mg) Cw

ʔán 'very, too much' So

Set 69

nam 'go'

Coast

-na- 'go'

namʔ, nam 'to go' Sq

-n- 'go'

nemʔ 'go' (Mg) Cw

Set 70

-nuqka 'sun'

Coast

nuqʷ 'noon' Sq

For additional examples of Kootenay /n/ corresponding to Salishan
/n/ see:

Set 6 (Kootenay cin-)	under	c - ɬ
Set 7 (Kootenay nictahaɬ)	under	c - ɬ
Set 16 (Kootenay -nana)	under	m/n - *ɲʷ
Set 21 (Kootenay -minna)	under	m/n - *ɲʷ
Set 66 (Kootenay -min, -mn-)	under	m - m
Set 41 (Kootenay ka, kan)	under	k - k
Set 110 (Kootenay wan-)	under	w - w

Kootenay p

Salishan p

Set 71

paq- (probably) 'white'

Interior

This root occurs in a
word for a white-barked
variety of /ʔakʰumak/

piq 'white'

Sh

peq 'white'

Sh

Actually occurring Shuswap forms

('cottonwood, poplar, or

include: pq- and pəq

aspen') which has heart

páyq 'white'

Cm

shaped leaves. The word

píq- 'white'

Cm

seems to be known only to a

píq 'white'

Sp

few Lower Kootenay people

píq 'white'

Ka

and we are not yet absolutely

paq, paʔáq 'fade, get white'

Ka

certain of the correct trans-

pápqłcé? 'weasel, ermine'

Ka

cription of the word.

píq 'white'

Cv

Present transcriptions of the

páq 'be whitened'

Cr

word include: /paqʰa, paqʰat,

péq 'be white, bleached'

Cr

paqʰaʔt/ and in a separate

Coast

interview /paqʰak/. The first

pəqím 'white'

Se

three forms would be literally pəq 'white'

Sq

'(having) white fitted cover-

pəq 'white'

Cw

ing' while the last would be

pəq 'white'

Cx

'white backed'

Kinkade and Sloat (1972) have

Also of possible relevance: Columbian, Coeur d'Alene, and Kalispel

is the word /puquʰnana/ 'white' each reflecting Proto-Eastern-Interior-

camas'

Salishan *i-ə ablaut for this root.

Kootenay p

Salishan p

Set 72

ʔupxa	'to know, to find out; to see'	Interior	
		pax	'smart' Cm
cf. ʔu(h)u	'to know (a person)'	pax, -pɣà-	'think' Cv
		pax	'smart, advise' Sp
		pax	'to think, deliberate' Ka
		pax	'be wise, think, reflect' Cr

Set 73

pic-	'cut off a length of something, shorten'	Coast	
		pəc	'be bent, folded, double up' Sq

For additional examples of Kootenay /p/ corresponding to Salishan /p/ see:

Set 32 (Kootenay -kup)	under	k - k
Set 105 (Kootenay ʔupʔ-)	under	ʔ - ʔ
Set 14 (Kootenay ɕup-)	under	ɕ - ɕ
Set 3 (Kootenay pac-)	under	c - ɬ
Set 86 (Kootenay qap-)	under	q - q

Kootenay q

-qsaka(?) 'snout'

Salishan q

Set 74

Bella Coola

-lxs, -llxs 'nose' (Nt)

-xs (as in) maaxsa 'nose'

Interior

-eqs 'nose, point-shaped object,
promontory, end of something'

Sh

-(ə1)qs 'nose, point'

Cm

-aqs 'nose, road'

Sp

-aqs, -qs 'nose'

Ka

-alqs 'end'

Cr

Coast

-qs 'nose'

Sq

-qs- (as in) məqsən 'nose'

Se

-qs- (as in) məqsən 'nose'

Cw, Ms

-qs- (as in) məqsəl 'nose'

Ck

-ə(1)qsəl, -ə(1)qs 'nose'

Ck

-qs 'nose'

So

-qs 'a pointed shape'

Sn

-qs 'nose, point'

Ld

Tsamosan

-qs 'nose'

Ch

Kootenay q

Salishan q

Set 75

-q 'water (locatively)'

Tsamosan

-iyq 'water'

Ch

Set 76

-quwaʔt 'fur'

Interior

qéwtn 'hair'

Th

qéwtn 'hair (on head)'

Sh

Set 77

-(a)qłiɬ 'eye'

Bella Coola

qluqʰs 'eye'

Coast

qólum 'eye'

Se

qlúm' 'eye'

Sq

qóləm 'eye'

Cw

qóləm 'eye'

Ms

qólóm 'eye'

Ck

qóləŋʔ 'eye' (Mi)

Sg

qóləŋ 'eye' (Rf)

Sg

qəyəŋʔ 'eye'

Cl

qəlúb 'eye'

Ld

qəʔlúb 'eye'

Ld

Kootenay q

Salishan q

Set 78

-qaɬ 'cloud'

Coast

qəl'əm 'stormy'

Ck

qəlɐ 'rain'

Ld

Set 79

-qac 'walk, go'

Interior

qic 'to run' (also) qc / qac (as in)

qa-qc-əlɬ 'trot'

Cv

qec (as in) qéc-lš 'he ran'

Sp

qec (as in) qécilš 'run (mostly
singular)'

Ka

According to Interior Salishan
vowel correspondence charts to be found
in Kinkade and Thompson (1974), the Proto-
Interior Salishan reconstruction of this
element should be *qac.

Kootenay q

Salishan q

Set 80

-qałt 'child'

Interior

qaʔɫ 'children, child'

Cv

Note also:

qəɫmin 'parent'

Sh

-min' (-min) 'implement, means'

Sh

Perhaps also of some relevance are:

qʷáyɫ 'child'

Ch

qeʔéqpaɫ 'children' (Kd)

Tw

qáhaɫ 'children' (Ed)

Ti

It is interesting to note that it is neighbouring Colville which has two apparent cognates to this one Kootenay lexical suffix. See set 63 (Colville /-ílt/ 'child' matching Kootenay /-qałt/ 'child') under the correspondence /ɫ/ to /l/.

For an additional example of Kootenay /q/ corresponding to Salishan /q/ see:

Set 71 (Kootenay paq-)

under p - p

Kootenay q

Salishan q^w

Set 81

-qu 'water (locatively)'

Coast

-qu·q 'water (locatively)'

q^wú 'water'

Sq

q^wú? 'water'

Cl

q^wú?q^wa? 'drink'

Cl

q^wú? 'fresh water'

Ld

qá· 'water'

Ck

qá·qə 'drink'

Ck

q^wó? 'water' (Dr)

Tw

-qu 'water'

Se

Tsamosan

q^wɔ·? 'drink'

Ch

sq^wó? 'drink'

Lo

q^wɔ? 'drink'

Cz

Set 82

-quł 'water, by water'

Bella Coola

-qla- 'water' (SD)

Coast

q^wul (a root) 'water'

Sq

Tsamosan

qá·? 'water, river'

Ch

qál? 'water, river'

Cz

qál? 'water'

Lo

Set 82 (continued)

Tsamosan

qal	'water, river'	Qn
qal'	'water'	Qn

Cognate set 82 could just as well be taken (in whole or in part) as an example of Kootenay /q/ corresponding to Salishan /q/.

Set 83

-qał- 'story'

Interior

q ^w el	'to speak, talk'	Sh
q ^w il	'talk'	Cv
q ^w el	'talk, speak'	Sp
q ^w el	'speak, talk'	Ka
q ^w aʔq ^w eʔl	'speak, talk'	Cr

Coast

q ^w al-	'talk'	Se
q ^w al, q ^w əl	'think, mind, speak'	Sq
q ^w əl-q ^w l	'talk excessively'	Sq
n-q ^w əl-tn	'voice'	Sq
q ^w al	'say, speak'	Cw
šq ^w əltn	'voice'	Cw
q ^w əyl	'say, speak'	Ms

Kootenay q

Salishan q^w

Set 84

-nuq 'prairie'

Tsamosan

-(á)q^w 'prairie'

Ch

Note also:

*maq^wa-ŋ^w 'swamp' (TTK)

PS

(based on words found in Sq, Cw, Ms, Ck,

Lm, Ld, but note especially, however:)

báq^wab 'field' (Dr)

Tw

máq^wəm 'prairie, valley'

Ch, Cz

Note the relationship between the lexical suffix for 'fire' and the root elements meaning 'fire' in certain languages:

*-kup 'fire' (TTK) (Kp)

PS

-k^wúp (as in) mak^wúp- 'fire'

Cz

-čəp (as in) məčəp 'fire'

Lo

Note also the relationship between Salishan lexical suffixes for 'nose' (generally -qs) and such forms as:

maaxsa 'nose'

Be

méqsən 'nose'

Cw

Kootenay q

Salishan q^w

Set 85

-qłuyit 'green, blue'

Bella Coola

q^wli 'green, yellow' (Nt)

Set 70

-nuqka 'sun'

Coast

nuq^w 'noon'

Sq

Kootenay q'

Salishan q'

Set 86

q'ap- 'all'

Coast

q'áp'it 'group, put together, include' Cx

q'əp 'to gather or collect (of people) Ck

q'əp 'to gather' (Mi) Sg

q'əp- 'to be together' So

q'(ə)p 'assemble' Lm

q'əp 'gather' Ld

Set 87

q'a- 'break, sever a linear
object, cut off flow'

Interior

q'iw, q'w 'to break' Sh

q'əw'- 'break (in two)' Cm

q'aw'- 'split' Cm

q'əw-am 'crack' Cm

q'əw'(ú) 'broken' Sp

q'a'ú 'break' Ka

q'əw' 'break stiff object' Cr

Coast

q'ał 'obstruct passage' Sq

q'ał' 'be stopped' Sq

Kootenay q'

Salishan q'

Set 88

-q'yu 'edge'

Coast

q'iw? 'go around, round a corner' Sq

q'iw?-it-sut 'move around a

promontory' Sq

q'iw?-ica 'to string up wool on a

loom' Sq

For another example of Kootenay /q'/ corresponding to Salishan /q'/

See:

Set 22 (Kootenay -q'wi)

under

w - *ɥ^w

Kootenay q'

Salishan q'^w

Set 89

-q'ɬ- 'berry, fruit; grain'

Interior

q'^wlew-m 'to pick berries' Shq'^wl 'gather (berries)' Okq'^wléw 'to pick berries' Spq'^wəlɛʔu 'to pick berries' Kaq'^wəliw 'bear picks berries' Cr

Coast

sq'^wlám 'berry (generic)' Sqsq'^wəlmʔx^w 'black berry' Sqsq'^wəlúma 'fruit; berry (generic)' Se

Tsamosan

s-q'^wəl-ná·mc 'berry' Ch

-namc 'body' Ch

Set 90

-q'ɬiɬ 'mark'

Tsamosan

q'^wəlɛ- 'mark, write, brand, vote' Czq'^wəl 'a brand, mark' Czq'^wəlɛ·-mɬ 'write' Chq'^wəl-mɬ 'write' Chq'^wəlhməl 'write' (Sno) Lo

Kootenay q'

Salishan q'^w

Set 91

q'umi(?) 'the larger variety
of suckerfish'

Interior

q'^wəm'ús 'suckerfish'

Cm

cəq'^wm-us 'suckerfish'

Sh

Coast

sq'^wúb' 'suckerfish'

Ld

Set 92

-q'utal 'fat'

*q'^wuc- 'fat' (TTK)

PS

Interior

q'^wuc-t 'fat, stout'

Sh

q'^wuc- 'fat, grease'

Cm

q'^wuc 'be fat'

Ka

q'^wuc 'be fat'

Cr

Coast

q'^wuc 'be fat'

Sq

But note the following forms:

Interior

q'^wtél 'fat' (TTK)

Li

q'^wtel 'grease' (Kp)

NSh

q'^wotél 'lard' (Gb)

SSh

Coast

k'^wtál 'elk fat' (Dr)

Tw

Kootenay q'

Salishan q'^w

Set 93

-q'u- 'dirt'

Interior

(as in) -q'u-maɬ 'dirt'

q'^wiy, q'^wey 'black'

Sh

-maɬ 'with'

q'^wáy- 'black'

Cm

(also probably in)

q'^wíy 'black'

Cm

-qu-q'u-kuɬ 'black'

q'^way 'black'

Sp

(which occurs in two

q'^wai 'black'

Ka

stems as)

q'^way 'black'

Me

-q'u-kuɬ

q'^wíd 'blacken' (KS)

Cr

q'^wéd 'black' (KS)

Cr

Bella Coola

q'^way 'to blacken'

Coast

q'éyɣ 'black'

Ck

q'^wiɣ^w 'blue, dark green'

Ld

sq'^wiɣ^w 'Negro'

Ld

nə-q'^wiɣ^w 'black'

Lm

The following forms are also given by Reichard for Coeur d'Alene:

q'^wɪd (as in) q'u-q'^wɪd (not retranscribed)

'black horse'

Cr

q'^wih 'be black (in describing people)'

Cr

Set 93 (continued)

Perhaps also related to the forms above in some convoluted way are the Kootenay and Interior Salishan forms below:

-q̣uɬ 'excrement'	Interior	
-q̣uɬ 'sores, a sore'	q̣'wəɬ 'smoke coloured'	Cm
	q̣'woɬ 'dark brown'	Ok
	q̣'wuɬ 'dusty, gray, darkened'	Sp

For additional data on the vowel correspondences exemplified above see the correspondence /u/ to /ə/.

For additional examples of Kootenay /q̣/ corresponding to Salishan /q̣'w/ see:

Set 12 (Kootenay q̣ucac)	under	c - ɬ
Set 5 (Kootenay q̣uc)	under	c - ɬ
Set 26 (Kootenay matq̣uɬ)	under	t - c
Set 28 (Kootenay ṭaq̣mɪɬa)	under	t' - c'
Set 23 (Kootenay waq̣a)	under	w - *ŋ ^w

Kootenay s

Salishan s

Set 94

s- 'to be in the act of doing Tsamosan

something, to be in the s- 'continuative' Cz, Ch

condition of being a Cognates no doubt exist in other

certain way! Salishan languages. Several Salishan

languages have a prefix s- described as

a nominalizer. See the discussion on page

25.

Note the following usage in Kootenay with an apparently nominal lexical suffix (-qat 'tail'):

'Mermaid' s-qat-ni kyakxu?s.

'Mermaids have fish tails.'

S-qat-ni xa?kcin.

'That's a dog's tail.'

S-qat-ni xa?kcin-s.

'He's got a dog's tail. (such as a freak wolf might have)'

-ni

'declarative verbal enclitic'

kyakxu(?)

'fish'

xa?kcin

'dog'

-s

'subsidiary third person (subject) suffix' See cognate set 96.

Kootenay s

Salishan s

Set 95

-ʔis 'third person possessive
suffix'

Interior

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Th

-s 'his, her, its, their' Sh

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Sp

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Ok

Coast

-s 'third person possessive suffix'

(Rf) Sg

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Se

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Sq

-as 'third person possessive suffix

(also -s) (Dr) Tw

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Ld

-s 'third person possessive' (Ed) Ti

Tsamosan

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Ch

-s 'third person possessive suffix' Cz

-i 'third person possessive suffix' Cz

Kootenay s

Salishan s

Set 96

-s 'subsidiary third person
subject suffix'

Interior

-(é)s 'general third person subject
suffix'

Th

Given that the primary
or first mentioned third
person is unmarked, the
suffix /-s/ acts as an
obviative marker.

-s/-és 'third person subject suffix'

Sh

-s 'third person subject suffix'

Ok

-s 'general third person subject
suffix'

Sp

Coast

-as 'it/he/she, third singular secondary
pronominal suffix (subject)'

Se

-is 'subsidiary third
person suffix (after
indefinite person

-as 'third person subject suffix'

Sq

-s 'third person subject'

So

suffix or third person
possessive suffix)'

-as 'he, him, she, her, it, they,
them'

Ld

Kootenay s

Salishan s

Set 97

ʔas 'two, for there to be
two (of something)'

Interior

səséle 'two'

Sh

sal- 'two' (bound form)

Cm

ʔesél 'two'

Sp

ʔasíl 'two'

Cv

ʔesel 'two'

Cr

Coast

ʔəsáli(h) 'two' (Dr)

Tw

sáliʔ 'two'

Ld

Set 98

sahan 'to be bad'

Coast

saan-, san- 'bad'

sáʔ 'bad'

NLd

Kootenay s

Salishan s

Set 99

-s- 'causative'

Interior

-st- 'causative'

Sh

// -s- // 'causative'

Th

// -s- // 'causative'

Cv

-s- 'causative'

Sp

Coast

-s 'causative'

Sq

-stəx^w 'causative'

Se

-stəx^w 'causative' (Hk)

Cw

Tsamosan

-stw- 'causative'

Ch

For additional examples of Kootenay /s/ corresponding to Salishan
/s/ see:

Set 57 (Kootenay ʔiskax-) under k' - k'^w

Set 27 (Kootenay sit') under t' - c'

Set 74 (Kootenay -qsaʔa(?)) under q - q

Kootenay t

Salishan t

Set 100

-t 'transitive'

Interior

-t- 'transitive'

Sh

ʔapisi(?) 'to be straight' //-t-// 'transitive'

Th

ʔapisiʔ-t 'to straighten' //-t-// 'transitive suffix'

Cv

something'

(also other Interior languages)

Coast

-(V)t 'transitive suffix'

Se

-t 'volitional transitive suffix' (Rf) Sg

-t 'directed transitive'

So

(also other Coast languages)

Set 101

ta(?) - 'know how to, be

Coast

able to'

təl(?) 'acquire knowledge, learn,

ta-(?)ɪ (Adverb) 'able

study'

Sq

to do'

təl- 'learn'

Ck

təlʔnəxʷ 'find (it) out' (Hk)

Cw

Tsamosan

talx 'something one is able to do'

Ch

ʔac-talx 'dependable, able to take

care of'

Ch

Kootenay t

Salishan t

Set 102

taʔ- 'rain hard'

Interior

tawʔ- 'rain'

Cm

Set 103

ʔi(?)t- 'make, do, cause

Coast

something to be

ʔit 'be finished, done'

Sq

(as specified by

Tsamosan

a following lexical

ʔitx-kʷ 'do with'

Cz

suffix), become (as

specified by a

following lexical

suffix)'

For additional examples of Kootenay /t/ corresponding to Salishan /t/ see:

Set 117	(Kootenay tuwxa)	under	x - xʷ
Set 20	(Kootenay tamuxu)	under	m/n - *ŋʷ
Set 7	(Kootenay nictahaɬ)	under	c - ɬ
Set 63	(Kootenay -qaɬt)	under	ɬ - l
Set 19	(Kootenay -mat)	under	m/n - *ŋʷ

Kootenay t'

Salishan t'

Set 104

ʔit'i- 'stretch'

Interior

ʂut' 'stretch'

Cm

suʔt' 'stretch' (TTK)

Cr

Coast

ʔút-unʔ 'lengthen, extend, stretch'

Sq

ʔát' 'to stretch'

Ck

ʔát' 'to stretch' (Rf)

Sg

ʔút' 'stretch'

Cl

Set 105

ʔupt'- 'twist'

Interior

tup- 'twist'

Th

tup- 'spin, twist, wring'

Sh

tup- 'to twist into a thread, rope'

Ka

For another example of Kootenay /t'/ corresponding to Salishan /t'/
see:

Set 109 (Kootenay wit'-)

under

w - w

Kootenay w

Salishan w

Set 106

-wick- 'see, watch, look
after'

*wik 'see' (TTK)

PS

Interior

wík- 'see'

Th

wík- 'see'

Sh

wík- 'see' (TTK)

Ok

wík- 'see'

Cm

wíč- 'to see, find, discover'

Ka

g^wíč- 'see'

Cr

Set 107

walik 'to ask for something'

Coast

wal- 'ask'

Se

wíliq^w(i) 'ask a question'

Ld

Set 108

-wac' 'swim underwater'

Coast

w^wacal 'swim' (Kd)

Tw

g^wəcíl 'wade or stand in shallow
water'

Ld

Kootenay w

Salishan w

Set 109

wit'- 'steep sided, brush
side of'

Tsamosan

witi'- 'climb'

Cz

Set 110

wan- 'move'

Tsamosan

wán-ač̣a-n-m 'move hands and arms (for
sign language)'

Ch

-ač̣a- 'hand'

Ch

For additional examples of Kootenay /w/ corresponding to Salishan
/w/ see:

Set 36 (Kootenay wicu-) under c' - c'

Set 11 (Kootenay wicwic) under c - ɬ

Set 29 (Kootenay -ɬwiy) under y - s

Kootenay x

Salishan x

It should be noted that the Kootenay phoneme /x/ is phonetically uvular [x̠] and is therefore not identical to the Salishan phoneme /x/ which is phonetically a front [x]. This does not make any difference, however, in terms of the sound correspondences, as both Salishan /x/ and /x̠/ would be expected to appear as /x/ in Kootenay even in a borrowed word.

Set 111

-x(a) 'directive suffix'

Interior

This suffix indicates a locative goal.

-x(i)t 'referring to a secondary human object (usually benefactive)' Sh

k'an-wac' 'to dive'

//-xi// 'indirective' Th

k'an-wac'-xa 'to dive at something'

//-x(i)-// 'benefactive'; 'suffixed

to any base, to indicate action

Often the goal is locative only figuratively as in 'make something for someone'.

on behalf of (even if the action is directed against or to the detriment of) the recipient. It is a sort of 'dative of interest'

Cv

-xax(a) 'malefactive suffix', 'to do something against the interests of

-xí- 'indirective' (translates as 'for' as in 'buy for', 'haul for')

(also see the Columbian examples

listed below of /xíx/ and /xax/) Cm

Set 111 (continued)

someone'	-š, 'in the suffix stressed verbs'	
cukat 'to take something'	-šiš-, 'expresses that the action	
cukat-xaxa 'to take some-	takes place for someone'	Ka
thing away from	-šit 'as a favor to', -šiš (-šəš, -šEš	
someone'	(this last vowel not retranscribed))	
ʔik 'to eat (something)'	'something for someone' (Rd)	Cr
ʔik-xaxa 'to eat someone	Coast	
else's share'	-šit '(a complex transitivizer) refers	
	to the destinee of the action (do	
	for, give to, take from; in all	
	examples the destinee is human)'	Sq
	Tsamosan	
	-ši- 'indirective'	Ch
	q'wafé-mł 'write'	Ch
	q'waféʔ-š-n 'write to'	Ch

Note especially the following Columbian examples:

kʷan-xáx	'take something away from someone'	Cm
pən'-xíx-m-ən	'I accidentally bent something not	
	belonging to me'	Cm
xəs-xíx-m-ən	'We lost it for them (not deliberately)'	
		Cm

Kootenay x

Salishan x^w

Set 112

-nuxu?-nuk 'creek, stream'

Tsamosan

-nuk 'rock'

nəx^w- 'river, creek'

Ch

But see also set 118 with:

Bella Coola

-anux^wum 'river' (SD)

Kootenay x

Salishan ɣ

Set 113

-xma 'weight, heaviness'

*ɣém 'heavy' (TTK)

PS

Interior

ɣemt 'heavy'

Sp

Coast

ɣém 'heavy'

Sn

ɣéb 'heavy'

Ld

ɣam, ɣəm 'heavy'

Sq

Tsamosan

ɣém 'heavy'

Ch

Set 114

-xax (quite possibly once)

Tsamosan

'house'

ɣax 'house'

Cz

(found only in)

ɣáš 'house'

Ch

kaxax 'turtle'

-úɫɣš 'house'

Ch

(which could be)

ɣáš 'house'

Lo

//k-ha-xax//,/kaxax/

(lit: 'that which has
a house)

Kootenay x

Salishan ɣ

Set 115

xa·ca 'four'

Interior

wu-xa·ca 'eight'

ʔ ɣec 'be companion, always together'

wu- This element

Cr

may have originally

Coast

meant 'four' while

ɣaʔúcn 'four objects'

Sq

/xa·ca/ may have

ɣaʔáθən 'four'

Cw

originally meant

ɣəʔá·θəl 'four'

Ck

'two' or 'both'.

ɣəθ-əlsxʲé 'forty'

Ck

cf. xacin- 'both'

xanca- 'both'

Also see set 24

Set 116

xa(?) 'uncle'

Interior

Boas (1919) has:

ɣaʔ (as in) s-ɣaʔ-ɣaʔ 'father-in-law' Cv

'father's brother -

ɣeʔ (as in) s-ɣaʔɣéʔ 'father-in-law' Sp

brother's child'

Coast

For some Kootenay

sɣaɣáʔ 'spouse's father - child's

speakers today /xa(?)/

husband' (E1)

Tw

means 'stepfather'.

Kootenay x

Salishan x̣

For an additional example of this correspondence see:

Set 72 (Kootenay ʔupxa) under p - p

Kootenay x

Salishan x^w

Set 117

tuwxa 'really, truly'

Coast

tuxa 'almost'

túx^w 'merely'

Ld

túx^w-ux^w 'not much'

Ld

təʔx^w 'just' (Rf)

Sg

tuʔx^w 'just'

Cl

Note, however:

taxta 'later'

Coast

qanta 'finally, eventually'

téx^w- 'later'

Se

Set 118

-nuxu '(to) fly'

Interior

This suffix also occurs
as a central lexical element

-nux^w 'to gallop, to run (also of
water)'

Sh

in stems relating to fast

Bella Coola

gaits of horses and in the

-anux^wum 'river' (SD)

following stem:

ha-ɪ-nuxu-naq-nam 'to race

against one another'

Note also set 112 with:

-nuxuʔ-nuk 'creek'

-nuk 'rock'

Kootenay y

Salishan y

Set 119

ʔay 'to steal'

*ʔay 'to exchange, barter, pay' (Kp) PS

*ʔay(?) 'change' (TTK) PS

Interior

ʔéz- 'pay, buy' Th

ʔey- 'exchange, give in return, meet' Sh

ʔayʔs 'trade' Cm

ʔíd 'exchange, barter' Cr

Bella Coola

ʔay-aw- 'change something' (TTK)

Coast

ʔáyi-w-at 'change something' Se

nəxʷ-ʔay' 'exchange' Sq

ʔay' 'change' Ld

ʔáytxʷ 'trade it, exchange it' Ld

Tsamosan

ʔáyʔši- 'trade' Ch

ʔáyʔši- 'trade' Cz

ʔáy(ši)- 'change' Cz

For another example of Kootenay /y/ corresponding to Salishan /y/
see:

Set 33 (Kootenay -yax(a))

under x - ʔ

Kootenay ?

Salishan ?

Set 120

-i(?)	a suffix which forms	Coast	
	verb stems out of	-i?	seldom -i and (stressed) -éy
	bound verb roots.		'become, assume a state', sometimes
	The resulting verb		'be in a state' (verbalizer) Sq
	stems most often	páč	'hot' Sq
	translate into English	páč-i?	'become hot' Sq
	as an adjective with		
	the copula 'to be'	tíq ^w	'cold' Sq
		tíq ^w -i?	'become cold' Sq
waq-	'thick'		
waq-i(?)	'to be thick'		
mac'	'dirty'		
mac'-i(?)	'to be dirty'		

Although the glottal stop of this element is subject to deletion this is a completely regular phonological process.

Kootenay ?

Salishan ?

For other examples of Kootenay /?/ corresponding to Salishan /?/
see:

Set 39	(Kootenay ka?a)	under	k - k
Set 45	(Kootenay ?uk- 'all')	under	k - k ^w
Set 57	(Kootenay ?iskax-)	under	k' - k' ^w
Set 60	(Kootenay ?iɬa)	under	ɬ - l
Set 62	(Kootenay ?aɬak(i)t)	under	ɬ - l
Set 68	(Kootenay ?an)	under	n - n
Set 97	(Kootenay ?as)	under	s - s
Set 101	(Kootenay ta(?)- 'know')	under	t - t
Set 103	(Kootenay ?i(?)t-)	under	t - t
Set 104	(Kootenay ?it'i-)	under	t' - t'
Set 116	(Kootenay xa(?))	under	x - x
Set 119	(Kootenay ?ay)	under	y - y

There are five main Kootenay-Salishan vowel correspondences for which there are a large number of examples. These are listed below with the numbers of the cognate sets where the correspondences occur. There are uncertainties about some of the internal Salishan vowel correspondences, particularly on the Coast.³ The sets below which involve ablaut are simply those cases where there is evidence for at least two different vowels on the Proto-Salishan level, one of which corresponds to the Kootenay vowel.

Kootenay i

Salishan i

Sets: 11, 13, 27, 30, 31, 51, 53, 57, 60, 95, 103, 106, 109, 120

Sets involving ablaut: 1, 6

Kootenay a

Salishan a

Sets: 7, 16, 19, 20, 23, 26, 33, 37, 39, 40, 53, 59, 60, 62, 68, 69,
72, 79, 92, 98, 102, 110, 114, 116, 119

Sets involving ablaut: 3, 15, 56, 87, 107, 111

Kootenay u

Salishan u

Sets: 10, 24, 25, 26, 37, 38, 45, 52, 58.2, 61, 70, 81, 92, 105,
118

Sets involving ablaut: 36, 46, 48, 49, 91, 117

Kootenay a

Salishan ə

Sets: 17, 23, 28, 32, 35, 41, 44, 54, 57, 67, 78, 80, 108, 117

Sets involving ablaut: 64, 71

Kootenay u

Salishan ə

Sets: (8), 12, 44, 47, 112

Sets involving ablaut: 9, 14, 49, 56, 91, 93, 117

It would certainly seem that Proto-Kootenay-Salishan must have had the following vowels:

*i

*u

*ə

*a

There are also a number of minor correspondences such as:

Kootenay	Salishan	Examples
i	a	(21, 28, 29, 96)
i	ə	(73)
i	u	(7, 36, 104)
a	i	(4)
u	(a)	(84)

These minor correspondences do not seem to call for the reconstruc-

tion of any additional Proto-Kootenay-Salishan vowels. The fairly large number of examples which involve or apparently involve Salishan ablaut, however, seem to form a pattern which suggests to me that Proto-Kootenay-Salishan may have had its own system of ablaut. The pattern that the ablaut examples form is one where Salishan ablaut seems to relate to Kootenay vowels in essentially the same way that Salishan schwa relates to Kootenay vowels. Relevant examples apparently involving Salishan ablaut are listed below:

Kootenay		Type of ablaut indicated for Proto-Salishan	
Set 1	cik'-	*i - a - ə	
Set 6	cin-	*i - a	
Set 15	mac'-	*i - a - ə	
Set 87	qa-	*i - a - ə	
Set 3	pac-	*i - a	
Set 107	wałik	*i - a	
Set 111	-xax(a)	*i - a	
Set 64	-ła(?)	*i - ə	adjacent to PS *ɣ ^ʷ
Set 71	paq-	*i - ə	(for PEIS)
Set 9	cum-	*i - ə	before PS *m
Set 14	cup-	*i - ə	before PS *p
Set 49	-muk	*u - ə	adjacent to PS *k ^w
Set 91	qumi(?)	*u - ə	" " PS *q ^ʷ or *q ^w
Set 112	-nuxu(?)	*u - ə	" " PS *x ^w
Set 117	tuxa	*u - ə	" " PS *x ^w

Sets (46, 82), (36, 48), and (83, 93) also have or may have ablaut on the Proto-Salishan level.

Most of the examples involving Salishan ablaut seem also to involve schwa on the Proto-Salishan level. Perhaps on the Proto-Kootenay-Salishan (PKS) level all of the roots and suffixes in question had schwa or had schwa alternating in some way with a full vowel. In all of these cases the Kootenay vowel can be at least tentatively explained with the assumption that PKS had schwa which developed into /a/, /i/, or /u/ in Kootenay depending on consonantal environment.

The cases involving Kootenay /a/ would presumably be those where PKS *ə was not influenced by an adjacent labialized velar or uvular consonant or a following labial consonant to become /u/ in Kootenay. There are cases with or without ablaut where such a labial environment would presumably have existed in PKS but where Kootenay has /a/. See sets 17, 23, 32, 54, 64, and 83. It is not clear in these cases why Kootenay does not have /u/ but cognate set 56 is very interesting in this regard. It involves a correspondence of Kootenay /u/ to Salishan schwa in a labial environment as well as Kootenay /a/ to Salishan /a/ in a non-labial environment. It also shows Kootenay /i/ corresponding to Salishan schwa in a labial environment where one language, Coeur d'Alene, has /i/. In this set, which is recast below according to its apparent vowel correspondences, Coeur d'Alene indicates *i - ə ablaut on at least the Proto-Eastern-Interior Salishan level where Kootenay shows what amounts to i - u ablaut. Recasting this set into three sections by vowel correspondence also has the effect of straightening out the confused consonant correspondences of set 56 as given under the correspondence k' to k^w. I may not have succeeded in every case in my attempt to include only

strictly cognate Salishan items in each subset.

Kootenay u

Salishan ə

Set 56a

ʔukʲi(?) 'one', 'for there to be one (of something)' *nkʲ-uʔ/nkʲw 'one' (Kp) PS

Interior

ʔukʲ- 'one, some' nəkʲw-úʔ, nəkʲw 'one, other' Sh

nəkʲw- 'one' Cm

ŋkʲw- 'one' Cv

nəkʲweʔ 'one' Cr

nkʲwuʔ 'one' Ka

Coast

nčʷ-uʔ 'one' Sq

nəčʷaʔ 'one' Cw

ləčʷə, ləčʷe 'one' Ck

dəčʷúʔ 'one' NLd

dəčʷuʔ 'one' SLd

dačʷu- 'one' (Kd) Tw

Kootenay a

Salishan a

Set 56b

ʔakʲ-ʔa-na- 'different' *nakʲ 'one, other; change' (Kp) PS

ʔakʲ-ʔa-k 'other' Interior

nekʲ 'to change' Sh

Coast

Set 56b (continued)

nač-	'change, differ'	Sq
néč	'different'	Sn
néč	'different' (Mg)	Cw
leč, læč	'one'	Ck
Tsamosan		
nač-	'one'	Ch
nač'-aw-	'one'	Cz

Set 56c

Kootenay i

Salishan ə also i

-nik'	'parent(s)'	Interior	
-nik'-naʔmu(?)	'relative(s)'	nəkʷ-úsəm	'party, family' Sh
-nik'	'(such and such) one(s)',	nikʷ	'be tribe' Cr
	'(such and such) tribe,	Coast	
people'		nč-áyʔuwʔam	'family' Sq
		xʷnəčəlwəm	'family' Cw
		nəčəwməxʷ	'people, tribe' Cw
		dəčá(?)kʷmixʷ	'from a different
		tribe, group, class'	Ld

The Coeur d'Alene element /nikʷ/ is given by Kinkade and Sloat (1972) as an ablaut partner to the Coeur d'Alene form /nékʷeʔ/ 'one'.

Set 51 may also be an example of what amounts to i - u ablaut in Kootenay and ablaut in a Salishan language. The two Kootenay suffixes in that set, /-huʔk/ 'word, language, sound' and /-ɬikɣax(a)/ 'turn of phrase, verbal expression' can only be related with some uncertainty, however. There is, for example, another Kootenay suffix /-kyax(a)/ 'tell about what someone did'.

Another apparent example of Kootenay ablaut is provided by combining set 71 with the now newly introduced set 121.

	Set 71 (abbreviated)		
Kootenay	Salishan		
paq- '(probably) white'	Interior		
	*piq 'white' (KS)		PEIS
	*pəq 'white' (KS)		PEIS
	Coast		
	pəq 'white'		Cx
	Set 121		
puquɬ-nana 'white camas'	Coast		
-nana 'diminutive'	qʷɬúʔiʔ 'camas' (TTE)		Cl
	qʷɬóʔəl(?) "	"	Lm
	qʷɬáʔəl(?) "	"	Sn
	qʷɬáʔəlʔ "	"	Sg
	qʷɬóʔiʔ "	"	So

There are a few cases, sets 1, 6, and 56c, where Kootenay has /i/ corresponding to Salishan ablaut and there is a case, set 73, where Kootenay /i/ corresponds to schwa in a lone Squamish form. These cases do not really cry out for explanation, since in sets 1, 6, and 56c there are instances of /i/ in one or more Salishan language in each set. On the other hand, the adjacency of the dental consonants /c/ and /n/ to the vowel in question may be a factor in the occurrence of /i/. This does not, however, explain why in set 3 Kootenay has /paɬ-/ while Salishan languages have /piɬ/, /pil/, or /paɬ/.

Whatever explanatory power the adjacency of one or more dental consonants may or may not have for the Kootenay vowels in sets 1, 6, 56c, and 73, such a consonantal environment is also involved in sets 42, 66, and 34. These three sets, which are sketched out below, are all examples of /i/ in Kootenay which delete in certain unstressed environments. In effect, they are examples of i - \emptyset ablaut in Kootenay. Sets 42 and 66 also involve ablaut in Salishan languages.

	Kootenay	Salishan
Set 42	-kin, -kn-	i/ \emptyset (Sh), i/ \emptyset (Ka)
Set 66	-min, -mn-	a/ \emptyset (Sq)
Set 34	-ɬima, -ɬma- (Lower Kootenay) -ɬuma, -ɬma- (Upper Kootenay)	\emptyset (Sq, Ld, Ch, Cz, Lo)

Additional relevant information on these sets can be found by looking them up under the consonant correspondences, k - k for set 42,

m - m for set 66, and m - n for set 34.

The behavior of the vowels in the Kootenay suffixes in sets 42, 66, and 34 suggest that in these cases an earlier form of Kootenay may very well have had an epenthetic vowel of neutral quality which could be deleted when unstressed. There are three other examples which point to the possible existence of schwa in an earlier form of Kootenay. These are sets 77, 89, and 90 with set 85 possibly of some relevance. In these sets earlier Kootenay schwa is implied only very indirectly by the absence of any vowel on the Kootenay side where in sets 77, 89, and 90 some Salishan languages have schwa. On the Kootenay side in these sets the missing vowel is between /q/ or /q'/ and a following /t/. It is probably significant that these examples involve suffixes in Kootenay.

There are fifteen cognate sets, 4, 7, 21, 28, 29, 36, 58.1, 58.3, 73, 76, 84, 88, 96, 104 and 115 which are grist for the mill of future work on Kootenay-Salishan vowel correspondences. These sets yield some seven incipient vowel correspondences. Some of these incipient correspondences, such as Kootenay /a/ to Tsamosan /i/ (set 4), may simply be examples of Salishan ablaut where an ablaut partner with a regularly corresponding vowel is not known or no longer exists. Some incipient correspondences may be explained as the result of minor sound changes in the development of Kootenay or specific Salishan languages.

Sets 58.1, 58.3, 76, and 88, whatever else they may involve, show Kootenay /u/ matching Salishan /w/. Set 88 also has Kootenay /y/ matching Squamish /i/. This is in keeping with the close relationship between vowels and semivowels in Kootenay and in Salishan. For a statement on this matter, see Kuipers (1976).

Set 28 has Kootenay /i/ corresponding to /a/ in Squamish. In this case, the explanation may be that the Kootenay word and the Squamish word are not cognate. Kootenay has /tʰaḡmīla/ 'deerfly' while Squamish has /čə-čəqʷals/ 'small black flies'. The /m/ of the Kootenay word does not correspond regularly to anything in the Squamish word, while the correspondence of Kootenay /tʰ/ to Salishan /č/ is supported only by one other example, set 27, which looks suspiciously like an example of borrowing as was actually suggested by Haas (1965).

Perhaps the most interesting minor vowel correspondence is that of Kootenay /a·/ corresponding to /aʔu/ in Squamish in set 115. The Squamish form may be close to what one would expect in Proto-Salishan

for this word, given the vowel correspondences observable in sets 81 and 104. Set 115 is partially reproduced below:

	Set 115	
Kootenay	Salishan	
xa·ca 'four'	Coast	
	ḡaʔúcn 'four objects'	Sq
	ḡaʔáθən 'four'	Cw
	ḡəʔá·θəl 'four'	Ck
	ḡəθ-əlsxʔé 'forty'	Ck

What is so interesting is that the long /a·/ in the Kootenay word is one of a very small number of long vowels in Kootenay which are not predictable. Most long vowels in Kootenay are quite predictable, although vowel length may be for any one of a number of reasons, such as compensatory lengthening (with specific types of consonant deletion) and the coalescence of two vowels on either side of a deleted laryngeal. Cognate set 115 offers the hope that the other few instances of unpredictable vowel length in Kootenay may be explained with additional Kootenay-Salishan comparative work.

Additional Consonant Correspondences

The probable cognate sets presented in this work include the Kootenay items: /ʔukʲi(ʔ)/ 'one', /ʔukʲ-/ 'one', /ʔas/ 'two', /wu-/ '(quite possibly once) four', and /xa·ca/ 'four' with the probably related elements /xacin-/ 'both' and /xanca-/ 'both'. The Kootenay word /qałsa/ 'three' also appears to have cognates in Salishan. The matching Salishan words for 'three', however, have /k/ where Kootenay has /q/. This is not a regular sound correspondence but could be due to a shift of original /k/ to /q/ in Kootenay under the influence of the uvular /x/ [χ] of the word /xa·ca/ 'four' when the two words were spoken one after the other in counting. This same sort of thing has happened in Indo-European where English 'four' and 'five' both have initial [f] and Latin quattuor 'four' and quinque 'five' both have initial qu [kw]. By regular sound shifts English [f] in these words would have come from Proto-Indo-European *p while Latin [kw] would have come from Proto-Indo-European *kʷ. What Proto-Indo-European had, however, was *kʷetwó:res 'four' and *pénkʷe 'five' which means that irregular or analogic sound shifts occurred separately in two branches of the family. Bloomfield (1933, chapter 23, pp. 422-423) gives this and two other examples of analogic change with Indo-European numerals. If we can explain the correspondence of Kootenay /q/ to Salishan /k/ in this way the following set can be counted as an additional probable cognate set:

Kootenay

Salishan

Set 122

qalsá	'three', 'for there to	Interior	
be three (of something)'	keʔíés	'three'	Th
	kəíés	'three'	Sh
	kaʔíás	'three'	Cm
	kaʔíís	'three'	Cv
	čeʔíés	'three'	Sp
	čeʔíés	'three'	Ka
	čeʔíés, čeʔíé	'three'	Fl
	číʔíes	'three'	Cr
	Coast		
	čáíás	'three'	Se

In the probable cognate sets already presented there are only a few pronominal elements. There are, in fact, additional pronominal elements which are probably cognate and still others which are possibly cognate. Some of these elements, however, appear to have been influenced by Kootenay-Interior Salishan bilingualism or to have been reshaped under the influence of other elements in the paradigms of individual languages. It was thought best not to use such pronominal elements in establishing the sound correspondences. None the less, one interesting sound correspondence can be drawn using a pronominal element as a primary example. The sound correspondence is between Kootenay /h/ and Salishan /ʔ/. It is drawn on the basis of forms from Newman (1976). The first three sets below are the evidence for the correspondence. The fourth set is of independent interest but also has some relevance to the third set below.

Kootenay	Salishan	
	Set 123	
hin 'you'	*ʔən- 'thy' (Newman)	PS
	Set 124	
his 'feed'	*ʔis- 'eat' (Newman)	PS
	ʔis- 'eat, drink, gather' (Newman)	Be
	ʔiis- 'eat, eater' "	Ti

Kootenay

Salishan

Set 125

ha-	'have'	*ʔas-	'have'	(Newman)	PS
		ʔas-	'have'	"	Be
		ʔas-	'have, owner of'	"	Ti

Set 126

-ɪ-	'carry'	*ɪ-	'have'	(Newman)	PS
		(x)ɪ-	'have'	"	Be
		kɪɪ-	'have not, lack'	"	Be
		kaxʷ, ʔaxʷ	'no, not'	"	Be
		epɪ-	'have, there is'	"	Ka
		ʔepɪ	'have, there is'	"	Cr

Newman bases his reconstruction of the pronominal element *ʔən- on that of Hoard (1971). Additional relevant data bearing on this reconstruction are given below along with a few other pronominal elements tentatively set up in the form of cognate sets.

Kootenay

hin 'second person pro-
nominal proclitic'

-in 'imperative suffix'

Salishan

Set 123

*ʔən 'thy'

(Newman) PS

Interior

(h)eʔ-

(Newman) Th

ʔ-, eʔ-

" Sh

ʔin-

" Cm

ʔan- 'your'

Cv

an-

(Newman) Ok

han-

" Sp

an-

" Ka

in-

" Cr

Coast

ʔə-

(Newman) Sq

nʔ-

" Cl

/nʔ-/ 'your'

(Rf) Sg

hənʔ 'your'

So

ad-

(Hs) (Newman) Ld

ʔəd- 'your (sg.)'

(Hs) Ld

-əd 'suffix marking second person

following -(u)buʔ thus

-(u)buʔəd 'you (pl.)'

(Hs) Ld

ʔi(s)-

(Newman) Tw

ʔis-

" Ti

Tsamosan

Set 123 (continued)

(Tsamosan)

ʔa-

(Newman) Ch

Set 127

hu	'first person pro-	Interior	
	nominal proclitic'	kwu	'me', 'we' Cv
-u	'first person object	kwo	'1st sg. and 1st pl. object' Ok
	suffix in the imperative'	kwu-	'1st sg. object' Ka
		kwu	'me' Sp

Set 128

-is	'second person pro-	Interior	
	nominal object suffix',	// -si- //	'second person singular
	'second person	object suffix'	Sp
	possessive suffix'		

Kootenay

Salishan

Set 129

-ała 'first person plural
subject and possessive
suffix'

*-at, -ał '1st person plural possessive
and subject' (Kp) PS
*-uł/l '1st person plural object' (Kp)PS

Bella Coola

-(i)ł 'our, we' (Newman)

Coast

čəł 'we, us' Ld

čəd 'I, me' Ld

čəx^w 'you' Ld

-ałi 'we, us' Ld

The following twenty-one sets are almost certainly the result of word borrowing, or are onomatopoetic, imitative, or echoic words influenced by Kootenay-Salishan bilingualism. The first two sets are the ones most likely to be the result of borrowing from Kootenay into Salishan. The next fourteen sets are most probably the result of borrowing from Salishan languages into Kootenay, although some of these sets appear at the same time to be in the category of imitative words. The last five sets are more securely in the category of imitative and echoic items, but even with them it is difficult or impossible to rule out cognacy, on the basis of present data. It is also difficult or impossible, on the basis of present data, to determine the most probable donor language in some of the cases where borrowing from Salishan seems likely.

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B1

pałki(?) 'woman'

pełpik^{wi}? 'women'

Ka

This set was first noted as an example of probable borrowing from Kootenay into a Salishan language by Haas (1965). Presumably, the Kalispel form would be a reduplication of something like the Kootenay form.

Set B2

naŋka 'orphan'

Interior

s-nén[?]-eke? 'orphan'

Th

s-nen[?]én[?]-eke? 'orphans'

Th

s-nenke 'orphan'

Sh

s-nəknénke 'orphans'

Sh

The Kootenay item above has been suggested by Kuipers (1970) as a possible borrowing from Shuswap. It could not, however, have been from the variety of Shuswap recorded by Kuipers. There would need to have been a form in Shuswap something like *nenke. Laurence Thompson (personal communication) notes that a number of words in Thompson designating people have vocative forms without the s- prefix. For example, s-núk^we? 'friend, relative' with the vocative form núk^we?.

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B3

stałam 'dug-out canoe'

//s-tálm// stáłəm 'It's a boat' Cv

stíłəm 'boat' Fl

stíłəm 'boat' Ka

s-tíł-m 'a boat' Sp

s-téłəm 'boat' Cr

s-tółəm 'boat' Cm

Set B4

łuk' 'wood, firewood'

lúk'w 'wood' Fl

lúk'w 'wood, stick of wood' Ka

luk'w 'stick of wood' Sp

Set B5

xa'łcin 'dog'

Interior

kqáłłaxa'łcin 'horse'

xł'-cín 'horse' Sp

ka xa'łcin 'my horse,

xł'(í), (xəł'(í)) 'to chew, to eat' Sp

my dog'

xəł'-cín 'horse' Cm

kqáłłaxa'łcin is said to

xəł'-cín 'dog' Cm

be a contracted form of

Coast

kiłqáłłi(?) 'bull elk'

dx'ws-xł'álik'w 'biter' (i.e. vicious dog)

plus xa'łcin 'dog'.

xəł' 'bite' Ld

Tsamosan

xəł' 'dog smell' Qn

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B6

swa? 'cougar, mountain lion'

Interior

sʷá? 'cougar' (KS) Cv

s-wá? 'cougar' (KS) Cr

sʷáʷa? 'cougar' Cm

Notably, Shuswap and Flathead have quite different words:

skʷtisəmiyé 'cougar' Fl

s-múwe? 'cougar' Sh

Coast

(n-)s-wú?-wu 'cougar, mountain lion' Sq

swəwá? 'cougar' Ld

Tsamosan

swá·wa? 'cougar' Ch

swáwa? 'cougar' Cz

cwa?a? 'cougar' Qn

Set B7

hu?u 'awl'

Interior

hu?-nana 'needle'

hu?(ú) 'to stab, to pierce' Sp

-nana 'diminutive'

hu?-mín 'a spear' Sp

hu?-mn 'a spear' Sp

hu? 'to sting, wound with a pointed

instrument' Ka

Set B7 (continued)

ɬuʔ	'to poke, stab, sting'	Sh
//ɬuʔu//	'stab'	Th

It is not very likely that the Kootenay word /ɬuʔu/ is cognate to the Salishan roots of like form above, as those roots are probably cognate to the Kootenay root /cu-/ 'stick in'. See cognate set 10 under the correspondence /c/ to /ɬ/.

It appears likely that the word /ɬuʔu/ may have been borrowed into Kootenay before the word /swaʔ/. The word /swaʔ/ stands out in Kootenay because of its word final glottal stop, which is never deleted since it is always preceded by a fully stressed vowel. Other Kootenay words which are monosyllabic and end in glottal stop include only the particles /niʔ/ (which for the moment can be labelled) 'demonstrative' and /kaʔ/ 'where'. These forms of these words only occur as the first element in a stress-group, in other words, phrase initially. When these words occur independently forming one-word stress-groups on their own, they occur as /niʔi/ and /kaʔa/.

According to information in Teit (1930), the now extinct Plains Kootenay dialect seems to have had the following monosyllabic words ending in glottal stop. The extant varieties of Kootenay have forms with a fully phonemic vowel after the glottal stop. The modern Kootenay forms are listed below under the heading 'Mountain Kootenay':

Plains Kootenay

Mountain Kootenay

kuʔ	'abandoned camp site'	/kuʔu/
wuʔ	'water'	/wuʔu/
ʰuʔ	'awl'	/ʰuʔu/

Teit's transcription leaves much to be desired but it does appear that Teit heard forms ending in glottal stop, with or without a slight echo vowel. Part of the evidence for this is that he was being given a list of the Plains Kootenay words which could be remembered which differed in some way from Modern or Mountain Kootenay usage. Since the Plains Kootenay words above are identical in meaning to similar Modern Kootenay words they must have differed in pronunciation. It would appear from these Plains Kootenay forms, whatever their true pronunciation, and from the behavior of the words /niʔ, niʔi/ and /kaʔ, kaʔa/ that Mountain Kootenay experienced a sound shift which transformed phonetic echo vowels into fully phonemic vowels. The word /ʰuʔu/ 'awl' and its partner /ʰuʔnana/ 'needle' seem to have come into use before or during the time when this sound shift occurred. The word /swaʔ/, on the other hand, probably entered the language after the shift was completed.

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B8

saptin	'Nez Perce Indian(s)	saʔáptni	'Nez perce Indians'	Sp
Also recorded as:		[sháptənoxʷ]	'Nez Perce Indians'	Cm
saptin'				

Set B9

kulilu, kululu	'butterfly'	Interior		
The l's in this word		kʷl-uleʔ	'butterfly'	Sp
are voiced. All other words		kʷelú	'butterfly'	Fl
with voiced l in Kootenay		Coast		
are either imitative or		kílala	'butterfly' (Bt)	Se
are from French perhaps by		kilalá	'butterfly' (Tm)	Se
way of Chinook Jargon.		kílala	'butterfly'	Sq

Set B10

quuski(?)	'blue jay' (i.e.	Interior		
Steller's jay)		qʷásqiʔ	'blue jay'	Cv
		qʷásqʷey	'blue jay'	Sp
		qʷásqi	'blue jay'	Ka
		qʷásqʷi	'Steller's jay'	Fl
		qʷásqʷayʔ	'blue jay'	Cm

The Kootenay word must be from a reduplicated form of the word in a Salishan language.

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B11

syaʔya	'a variety of service	Interior	
berry' (i.e. saskatoon	siyaʔ	'saskatoon berries' (Bd)	Cv
berry)	s-yéyeʔ	'a kind of sarvis berry'	Sp
	s-yáyaʔ	'service berry'	Cm

Set B12

sxayik'	'an onion-like plant'	sxáyikʷ	'onion'	Cm
---------	-----------------------	---------	---------	----

There is another Kootenay word which refers to wild and domestic onions, and still another word which refers to a kind of poisonous onion.

Set B13

ʔanʔan'	'magpie'	Interior	
	anʔ	'American magpie'	F1
	ʔanʔ	'magpie'	Sp
	ʔʷənʔʷáps	'magpie'	Cm
		Coast	
	ʔeləl	'magpie'	Ck
		Tsamosan	
	ʔánaʔána	'magpie'	Ch
	ʔánaʔanʔ	'magpie'	Cz

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B14

sinoxumana 'Spokane Indian(s)' sənɣwəmənəʔi 'people of the Steelhead
 river (Little Spokane
 River)' which means the
 'Middle Spokanes' Sp

Set B15

skicuʔk 'Coeur d'Alene
 Indian(s)'

skícəʔuxw 'Coeur d'Alene' Cm
 s-čícúʔumš 'Coeur d'Alene' (KS) Cr

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B16

suyapi 'white person,
white people'

Interior

suyapi 'whiteman' F1

suyápi 'whiteman' Ka

suyápi 'whiteman' Sp

suyépəmš 'whiteman' (KS) Cr

suyápənux^w 'whiteman' Cm

swiyápənux^w 'whiteman' Cm

swyep-mx 'white person, Frenchman' Sh

suyápix^w 'whiteman' Me

A probable source for the Salishan forms is either Nez Perce or Sahaptin.

Note:

Sahaptian

so'yá'po' 'whiteman' Nez Perce

-po', -pu' 'suffix for tribal

names' Nez Perce

šuyápu 'whiteman' Sahaptin

See Aoki (1970) for speculation on the ultimate source of the Sahaptian words.

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B17

ćuću 'fish hawk'

Interior

ćíx^wćíx^w 'fish hawk' Cmćíx^wćux^w 'fish hawk' (KS) Cr

Coast

ćix^wćix^w 'fish hawk' Ld

ćixćix 'fish hawk' Ld

ćix^əb ćix^b 'what fish hawk says in
a story' Ld

Tsamosan

ćíx^w 'fish hawk' Ch

Set B18

p'iq' 'nighthawk'

Interior

Also recorded as:

s-piq^w 'nighthawk' Sh

piq'

p'is 'nighthawk' Cm

p'e[~]ste? 'nighthawk' (KS) Cr

p'ás 'nighthawk' Me

sp'as 'nighthawk' Sp

p's-p'ás 'nighthawk' Cv

Coast

piq' 'nighthawk' Sq

piq' 'nighthawk' Cw

pi'q' 'nighthawk' Ck

Set B18 (continued)

Tsamosan

p'w? 'nighthawk'

Ch

Set B19

xa'xa' 'crow' (Upper Kootenay) Interior

Lower Kootenay has: xáʔxaʔ 'crow'

Cm

nanaʔki 'crow'

Set B20

k'ín' 'pika'

Interior

s-k'ín' 'pika'

Cm

s-č'ím' 'pika' (KS)

Cr

s-k'íl' 'pika'

Th

sč'ín' 'pika'

Fl

Kootenay

Salishan

Set B21

ta- The base of verb	Interior	
stems for: 'to explode,	t'ek ^w p '(to) explode'	Cm
rock to split from heat,	t'i ^q w- 'explode, shoot, go off'	Cm
to shoot, animal to make	t'eq ^w 'explode, go off'	Cr
its characteristic sound,	t'ap 'shoot'	Cr
to slap'	t'ek ^w 'pl. cry out, make noise like a colt'	Cr
	t'eq ^w 'slap'	Cm
	t'aq ^w 'slap' (KS)	Cr
	t'q ^w - 'slap'	Ka

Given the evidence presented in this work, it can hardly be denied that Kootenay and the Salishan languages are related. Some of the evidence is specifically indicative of a genetic relationship, while other evidence is specifically indicative of recent linguistic diffusion. The rest of the evidence is of an indeterminate nature and, without further facts, could be seen as due to either genetic inheritance or to older linguistic diffusion. Additional facts, however, can be expected to come to light as more descriptive work is done on Kootenay and the Salishan languages, and as Proto-Salishan and the intermediate Salishan protolanguages are reconstructed in greater and greater detail. It should eventually be possible to sort out most of the diffused elements from the cognates with a high degree of certainty. Even at the present stage of research, we can be sure that there once was a common ancestor language, which can be known as Proto-Kootenay-Salishan. We also know that there has been linguistic diffusion between Kootenay and certain Interior Salishan languages. It may be possible to determine which Interior Salishan groups had the greatest linguistic contact with the Kootenay and roughly when this contact took place in the development and spread of Interior Salishan languages from Proto-Interior Salishan. There may, in fact, have been linguistic contact between the ancestors of the Kootenay and Salishan speaking people almost continuously since the time when Proto-Salishan was spoken.

Salishanists seem to be in general agreement on the probable location of the Proto-Salishan homeland. Suttles and Elmendorf (1963) place it on the Coast between the southern end of Puget Sound and the

Fraser Delta, while Kinkade (1976a) suggests specifically the Fraser Delta. It is only natural to suppose that Proto-Kootenay-Salishan was spoken at an earlier time either there or somewhere between that location and the present homeland of the Kootenay some three hundred miles to the east. Most of the territory in between is occupied by a single language, Okanagan-Colville, which may well have had the most intimate relationship with Kootenay of any Salishan language, not only recently but perhaps for some time in the past.

No matter how securely Kootenay and Salishan may be shown to be related by the evidence presented here or in the future, the relationship is not close enough to justify classifying Kootenay as an outlying Salishan language. It would even be misleading to speak of Kootenay as a part of a new Macro-Salishan grouping. The Salishan languages are very much more closely related to each other than they are to Kootenay. Many generalities which can be made about Salishan languages do not apply to Kootenay. It would be best to consider Kootenay as a single member language family which is coordinately related to the Salishan family in a language stock which can, at least for the present, be known as Kootenay-Salishan.

FOOTNOTES

1. The name 'Kootenay' has been spelled some forty different ways in print since 1820. The spelling of the name used in this work is standard in Canada. In the United States the spelling 'Kootenai' is standard, while the spelling 'Kutenai' has been common in anthropological and linguistic literature.

My Kootenay linguistic research was supported for several years beginning in 1968 by grants from the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. More recently I have worked for the Kootenay Indian Area Council on the Kootenay Language Project. This present study would not have been possible without the interest and support of these organizations.

2. This is one of a number of cases in Salishan where there are doublets involving an alternation of /ɬ/ and /l/. The following additional forms are provided by Kuipers (1979):

Interior		
pal-	'to smear, smudge'	Sh
Coast		
páy-it	'scatter'	Cx
píl-it	'scatter'	Se

There are also cases of Salishan doublets involving /ɬ/ and /n/.

A good example is the Salishan root element in set 1 where Squamish has /ɬič/ 'be cut' along with /ɬač-tn/ 'knife'. The following forms with /n/ also occur:

Interior	
//niɬ// 'cut'	Th
niɬ 'cut'	Sh
nič 'cut with blade'	Cr
nič 'to cut, saw'	Ka

Notice that both Shuswap and Coeur d'Alene provide a form with /n/ and a form with /ɬ/.

3. For example, both /a/ in Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz (set 114) and /e·/ in Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz (set 53) seem to correspond to Kootenay /a/. I do not know whether one of these Tsamosan vowels comes from Proto-Salishan *ə. Nor do I know the history of Upper Chehalis /i/ in set 46 which appears to have an ablaut relationship with /u/ in several Interior languages.

It does appear that some instances of Twana /a/ can be equated with Proto-Salishan *ə on the basis of sets 12, 47, 56, 57, 58, 84, 95, and 108. This and a number of other assumptions about Coast Salishan vowel correspondences are based only on the items which have found their way into the Kootenay-Salishan probable cognate sets. For the Interior languages it is possible to rely on the vowel correspondence charts of

Kinkade and Thompson (1974) and Kinkade and Sloat (1972).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Kootenay forms quoted in this work are from my own fieldnotes or are from the dictionary files of the Kootenay Language Project. One additional source is Boas (1918) which provides evidence for one archaic pronunciation which has not survived into the most recent state of the language. Another additional source is an article by James Teit (1930) edited by Boas. This article presents the results of an interview between Teit and a Kootenay woman named /kyunaɫ ʔupiɫ/, who seems to have been the last person to remember anything of Plains Kootenay speech. The Kootenay Language Project has collected additional biographical information on her from those who knew her.

When unspecified by author abbreviations Salishan forms are attributable to authors as follows:

Columbian	Kinkade
Coeur d'Alene	Reichard
Flathead	Krueger
Kalispel	Vogt
Spokane	Carlson
Colville	Mattina
Methow	Kinkade and Sloat

Okanagan	Watkins
Shuswap	Kuipers (generally Northern Shuswap)
Thompson	Thompson
Lillooet	Swoboda
Bella Coola	Nater
Comox	Davis
Pentlatch	Thompson, Thompson and Kinkade
Sechelt	Beaumont
Squamish	Kuipers
Nooksack	Thompson, Thompson and Kinkade
Halkomelem	(when not specified as: Ck, Ms, or Cw) Thompson, Thompson and Kinkade
Chilliwack	Galloway
Musqueam	Elmendorf and Suttles
Cowichan	Elmendorf and Suttles
Saanich	Pidgeon
Sooke	Efrat
Samish	Thompson, Thompson and Efrat
Lummi	Thompson, Thompson and Efrat
Clallam	Thompson and Thompson
Lushootseed	Hess
Cowlitz	Kinkade
Upper Chehalis	Kinkade
Lower Chehalis	Kinkade
Quinault	Gibson

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations used in Bibliography:

ICSL	International Conference on Salish Languages
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics

Aoki, Haruo. 1970. North Plateau Linguistic Diffusion Area. Paper presented at the 5th ICSL, Spokane.

Also: 1975. The East Plateau Linguistic Diffusion Area.

IJAL 41.183-199.

Beaumont, Ronald C. 1973. Sechelt Statives. Canadian Journal of Linguistics 18:2.

----- . undated. Sechelt lexical files. (consulted 1976).

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. Language. New York.

Boas, Franz. 1918. Kutenai Tales. Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin 59.

----- . 1919. Kinship Terms of the Kutenai Indians. American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, pp. 98-101.

----- . 1926. Additional Notes on the Kutenai language. IJAL 4.85-104.

Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy I.D. Kennedy. 1975. Utilization of Fish by the Colville Okanagan Indian People.

- Carlson, Barry F. 1972. A Grammar of Spokane. (Ph.D. dissertation in Linguistics, University of Hawaii). University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 4:4. Honolulu.
- . undated. Spokane-English Dictionary.
- Davis, John H. 1968. Some Phonological Rules in Mainland Comox. M.A. thesis in Linguistics, University of Victoria.
- . 1970. Notes on Mainland Comox Phonology. Paper Presented at the 5th ICSL, Spokane.
- Drachman, Gaberell. 1969. Twana Phonology. Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics 5.
- Edel, May M. 1939. The Tillamook language. IJAL 10:1-57.
- Efrat, Barbara S. 1969. A Grammar of Non-Particles in Sooke, a Dialect of Straits Coast Salish. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Elmendorf, William W. 1946. Twana Kinship Terminology. Southwest Journal of Anthropology 2:420-32.
- . 1960. The Structure of Twana Culture. Washington State University Research Studies, Monographic Supplement 2. Pullman, Washington.
- Elmendorf, William W., and Wayne Suttles. 1960. Pattern and Change in Halkomelem Salish Dialects. Anthropological Linguistics 2:7.1-32.
- Frachtenberg, Leo J. 1920. Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute. IJAL 1:295-9.
- Galloway, Brent D. undated. Chilliwack Halkomelem lexical files. (consulted 1976).
- Garvin, Paul L. 1948. Kutenai I: Phonemics. IJAL 14:37-42.

- Gibson, James A. 1964. Quinault Phonemics. M.A. thesis, University of Washington.
- . 1973. Shuswap Grammatical Structure. (Ph.D. dissertation in Linguistics, University of Hawaii). University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 5:5. Honolulu.
- Haas, Mary R. 1965. Is Kutenai Related to Algonkian? Canadian Journal of Linguistics 10:77-92.
- . 1969. The Prehistory of Languages. (Janua Linguarum, Series Minor 57.) The Hague, Mouton.
- Harris, Jimmy G. 1966. The Phonology of Chilliwack Halkomelem. M.A. thesis, University of Washington.
- Hess, Thomas M. 1967. The Morph -əb in Snohomish. Paper presented at the 2nd ICSL, Seattle.
- . 1976. Dictionary of Puget Salish. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Hoard, James E. 1971. Problems in Proto-Salish Pronoun Reconstruction. (in) Studies in Northwest Indian Languages, ed. James E. Hoard and Thomas M. Hess (Sacramento, California: Sacramento Anthropological Society) pp. 70-90.
- Hukari, Thomas E. 1976. Transitivity in Halkomelem. Paper presented at the 11th ICSL, Seattle.
- Johnson, Robert E. 1975. The Role of Phonetic Detail in Coeur d'Alene Phonology. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, Washington State University.

- Kinkade, M. Dale. 1963-64. Phonology and Morphology of Upper Chehalis.
IJAL 29. 181-95, 345-56; 30. 32-61, 251-60.
- . 1966. Vowel Alternation in Upper Chehalis. IJAL 32.343-9.
- . 1967. Uvular-pharyngeal Resonants in Interior Salish.
IJAL 33.228-34.
- . 1971. Third Person Possessives in Cowlitz. Paper presented at
the 6th ICSL, Victoria.
- . 1973. The Alveopalatal Shift in Cowlitz Salish. IJAL 39.224-31.
- . 1975. Pluralization in Upper Chehalis. Paper presented at the
10th ICSL, Elensburg. (University of Louisville preprint, 1-55).
- . 1976a. The Salishan Languages. Paper presented at the North-
west Coast Studies Conference, Burnaby, B.C. : Simon Fraser
University.
- . 1976b. Columbian Parallels to Thompson //-xi// and Spokane
//-ši//. Paper presented at the 11th ICSL, Seattle.
- . 1976c. The Copula and Negatives in Inland Olympic Salish.
IJAL 42. 17-23.
- . 1976d. Interior Salishan Particles. Paper presented at the 11th
ICSL, Seattle. (University of Washington preprint, 120-47).
- . undated. Columbian lexical files. (consulted 1976).
- . undated. Cowlitz Dictionary (manuscript). (consulted 1976).
- . undated. Lower Chehalis lexical files. (consulted 1976).
- . undated. Quinault lexical files. (consulted 1976).
- . undated. Twana lexical files. (consulted 1976).
- . undated. Upper Chehalis lexical files. (consulted 1976).

- Kinkade, M. Dale and Clarence D. Sloat. 1972. Proto-Eastern Interior Salish Vowels. IJAL 38. 26-48.
- Kinkade, M. Dale and Laurence C. Thompson. 1974. Proto-Salish *r. IJAL 40. 22-28..
- Krueger, John R. 1960. Miscellanea Selica I: a Flathead Supplement to Vogt's Salishan Studies. Anthropological Linguistics 2:7.33-8.
- . 1961a. Miscellanea Selica II: Some Kinship Terms of the Flathead Salish. Anthropological Linguistics 3:2.11-8.
- . 1961b. Miscellanea Selica III: Flathead Animal Names and Anatomical Terms. Anthropological Linguistics 3:9.43-52.
- Kuipers, Aert H. 1967. The Squamish Language. (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 73). The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1969. The Squamish Language, II. (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 73/2). The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1970. Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary. Lingua 26.46-72.
- . 1973. About Evidence for Proto-Salish *r. Paper presented at the 8th ICSL, Eugene. (Dutch Contributions preprint, no. 1).
- . 1974. The Shuswap Language. (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 225). The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1976. On the Phonological Typology of Proto-Salish. Paper presented at the XLII International Congress of Americanists, Paris.
- . 1979. On Reconstructing the Proto-Salish Sound System. Paper presented to the 14th ICSL, Bellingham.

- Mattina, Anthony. 1973. Colville Grammatical Structure. University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 5:4. Honolulu.
- . 1974. The Narrative of Peter J. Seymour, Blue Jay and his Brother-in-Law Wolf (preliminary version). Paper presented at the 9th ICSL, Vancouver.
- . 1976. Pharyngeal Movement in Colville and Related Phenomena in the Interior Languages. Paper presented at the 11th ICSL, Seattle. (University of Washington preprint, 148-66).
- Mitchell, Marjorie R. 1968. A Dictionary of Songish, a Dialect of Straits Salish. M.A. thesis in Linguistics, University of Victoria.
- Morgan, Lawrence R. unpublished. Cowichan fieldnotes from University of British Columbia Linguistic Field Methods course.
- Nater, Henk. 1974. Lexical Comparisons between Bella Coola and Neighbouring Languages. Paper presented at the 9th ICSL, Vancouver. (Dutch Contributions preprint).
- Nater, Henk and Aert Kuipers. 1973. Bella Coola Etymologies. Paper presented at the 8th ICSL, Eugene. (Dutch Contributions preprint).
- Newman, Stanley. 1976. Salish and Bella Coola Prefixes. IJAL 42. 228-242.
- Pidgeon, Michael W. 1970. Lexical Suffixes in Saanish, a Dialect of Straits Coast Salish. M.A. thesis in Linguistics, University of Victoria.
- Raffo, Yolanda A. 1972. A Phonology and Morphology of Songish, a Dialect of Straits Salish. Ph.D. diss. in Ling., U of Kansas.

- Reichard, Gladys A. 1938. Coeur d'Alene. Handbook of American Indian Languages, ed. by Franz Boas, 3.517-707. New York: J.J. Augustin.
- 1939. Stem-list of the Coeur d'Alene Language. IJAL 10.92-108.
- Sapir, Edward. 1929. Central and North American Languages. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., 5.138-41. (Reprinted in Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, Personality, ed. by David G. Mandelbaum, 169-78. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1949.)
- Saunders, Ross and Philip W. Davis. 1973. Bella Coola Lexical Suffixes. Paper presented at the 8th ICSL, Eugene.
- Snow, Charles T. 1969. A Lower Chehalis Phonology. M.A. thesis in Linguistics, University of Kansas.
- Snyder, Warren A. 1968. Southern Puget Sound Salish: Texts, Place Names and Dictionary. Sacramento Anthropological Society Paper 9.
- Suttles, Wayne and William W. Elmendorf. 1963. Linguistic Evidence for Salish Prehistory. Symposium on Language and Culture: Proceedings of the 1962 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, 41-52.
- Swoboda, Leo J. 1971. Lillooet Phonology, Texts and Dictionary. M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Teit, James A. 1930. Traditions and Information Regarding the Tonáxa. American Anthropologist 32. 625-632.
- Thompson, Laurence C. 1973. The Northwest. Current Trends in Linguistics, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok, Vol. 10: Linguistics in North America, 979-1045. The Hague: Mouton.

- Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson. 1966. A Fresh Look at Tillamook Phonology. IJAL 32.313-19.
- . 1971. Clallam: A Preview. Studies in American Indian Languages, edited by Jesse Sawyer. University of California Publications in Linguistics 65. 251-94. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- . 1972. Language Universals, Nasals, and the Northwest Coast. Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager, ed. by M. Estellie Smith, 441-56. The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1976. Thompson Salish //-xi//. Paper presented at the 11th ICSL, Seattle. (University of Washington preprint, 197-210).
- . undated. Thompson lexical files. (consulted 1976).
- Thompson, Laurence C., M. Terry Thompson, and Barbara S. Efrat. 1974. Some Phonological Developments in Straits Salish. IJAL 40. 182-96.
- Thompson, Laurence C., M. Terry Thompson, and M. Dale Kinkade. undated. Comparative Salish Notebooks, 2 volumes. (consulted 1976).
- Timmers, J. 1974. A Sechelt Text. Paper presented to the 9th ICSL, Vancouver. (Dutch Contributions preprint).
- Vogt, Hans. 1940. The Kalispel Language. Oslo: Det Norske Videnskap-Akademi.
- Watkins, Donald. 1970. A Description of the Phonemes and Position Classes in the Morphology of Head of the Lake Okanagan (Salish). Ph.D. dissertation in Linguistics, University of Alberta.
- . 1974. A Boas Original. IJAL 40. 29-43.