KOOTENAY-SALISHAN LINGUISTIC COMPARISON:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY

by

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B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1969

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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
March, 1980

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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.
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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
Fl  Flathead
Hl  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ao</td>
<td>Aoki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bd</td>
<td>Bouchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bt</td>
<td>Beaumont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>Drachman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dv</td>
<td>Davis</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ed</td>
<td>Edel</td>
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<tr>
<td>El</td>
<td>Elmendorf</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Gibson</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Hukari</td>
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<td>Harris</td>
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<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kp</td>
<td>Kuipers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KT</td>
<td>Kinkade and Thompson</td>
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<td>KS</td>
<td>Kinkade and Sloat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mi</td>
<td>Mitchell</td>
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<td>Mg</td>
<td>Morgan</td>
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<td>Reichard</td>
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<td>Raffo</td>
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<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Saunders and Davis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sno</td>
<td>Snow</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 Kootenay 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 protolanguage 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x = [χ]</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>xʷ</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>xʷ</td>
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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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
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<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td>χ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/n</td>
<td>*ŋʷ</td>
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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 /l/ and Kootenay /c'/ to Salishan /#/.

Recent borrowing can be specifically ruled out as an explanation for these correspondences, because Kootenay would certainly borrow Salishan /l/ as /l/, and Salishan would certainly borrow Kootenay /c/ as /c/. In one example, Kootenay has actually borrowed an instance of Salishan /#/ as /?l/ (see the Kootenay word /xaʔcin/ '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 */k/ and */#/.

In Kootenay, which today lacks either of these sounds, they became /c/ and /c/, respectively, while in Salishan they became /l/ and /#/.

Proto-Salishan apparently lacked /#/,
from the otherwise very balanced and symmetrical charts of Proto-Salishan phonemes which have been reconstructed recently. Only one Salishan language, Comox, has /h/ 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 */ηʷ/ and Kootenay /m/ to Salishan */ηʷ/. 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 */ηʷ/, 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 */ηʷ/ 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 */ηʷ/ 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 /t/ corresponds to Salishan /l/ along with instances of Salishan /l/. Another such correspondence would be where Kootenay /m/ corresponds to /m(ʔ)/, /mʔ/, /m/, /n/, 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 */γ/* and Kootenay /x/ to Salishan */κ/* 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 /l/*.
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>kʷ</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>qʷ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'</td>
<td>c'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'ʷ</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>q'ʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xʷ</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
<td>x̊</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>ɨ̊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>Feature of 'darkening' /~/ (for vowels)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>Stress /~/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 */n̄w/ 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 */ŋʷ/, 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 */ŋʷ/.

The question of Kuipers' darkening feature */˘/ and the reconstruction of Proto-Salishan */r/ and */r̄/ 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 /-Iwiy/ '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 /-Iwiy/ may also be segmentable, and that there may be several examples of Kootenay /-I-/ 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\kappa^* & \quad \text{is converted to} \quad k^w \\
\kappa & \quad " \quad " \quad " \quad k^w \\
\gimt & \quad " \quad " \quad " \quad q^w \\
\gime & \quad " \quad " \quad " \quad q^w \\
\pam & \quad " \quad " \quad " \quad x^w \\
\pam & \quad " \quad " \quad " \quad x
\end{align*}
\]
\( \ddot{x} \) is converted to \( \breve{x} \)

\( \lambda \) " " " \( \breve{t} \)

\( \chi \) " " " \( \breve{\chi} \)

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

The following vowel transcriptions have been changed as indicated:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ä} & \text{ is converted to e in Coeur d'Alene from Reichard} \\
\text{å?} & \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{e? } \text{ " } \text{ " } \text{ " } \text{ " } \\
\text{æ} & \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{e } \text{ in Lillooet from Swoboda} \\
\text{e} & \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{e } \text{ in Twana from Drachman and} \\
\text{e} & \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{in Comox from Davis} \\
\text{e} & \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{i in Cowichan, Musqueam, and} \\
& \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{Chilliwack from Elmendorf and} \\
& \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{Suttles and from Galloway}
\end{align*}
\]
The following consonant transcriptions have been changed as indicated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tc</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r^w</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>r^w</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qw'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>q^w</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x^w</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>x^w</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p '</td>
<td>t '</td>
<td>c '</td>
<td>k '</td>
<td>q '</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m '</td>
<td>n '</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that /k, k', q, q'/ and /x/ are realized quite noticeably as [kʰ, kʰ', qʰ, qʰ'] and [xʰ], 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.
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 /?an/ 'more' and Sooke /?án/ '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 /?/ to /?/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'</td>
<td>ɨ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/n</td>
<td>*ŋw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>*ŋw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Special but Problematic or Poorly Supported Correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>*γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expected and Identical Correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k&quot;</td>
<td>k&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Expected and Identical Correspondences)

Kootenay Salishan

q̄ to q̄
q̄ to q̄
ś to s
ṭ to t
ṭ' to t̄
w to w
x to x
xEA to x̊
x to ẋ
x to x̌
x to x̓
y to y
? to ?

Vowel Correspondences

Kootenay Salishan

i to i
a to a
u to u
a to o
u to o

minor vowel correspondences
and those involving ablaut
Kootenay c  Salishan ₁

Set 1

cik?- 'split'

Interior

ié'ep  'broken (e.g. rope), dead'  Sh
lēc  'string breaks'  Cr

Coast

lace-tan 'knife'  Se
līc  'be cut'  Sq
lace-tn 'knife'  Sq
lēc-tel 'knife'  Ck
līcet 'cut'  Ms, Cw
līc  'to cut'  Ld

Set 2

c (preparticle) 'future'

Coast

₁- 'future particle'  (Dr)  Tw

Tsamosan

₁ 'future marker'  Ch

Set 3

pac- 'scatter, distribute'

Interior

pac-kin 'to scatter things'  pil 'scatter' (see Kuipers (1974) p. 134 for discussion of /l/ for
by hand, to take some-
thing apart, to deal
(cards)

pil  'to distribute'  Cm

Sh
Set 3 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pac-xam'kc-ik</th>
<th>Piit 'be scattered'</th>
<th>Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scattered (all running away in different directions)</td>
<td>Piit-an 'scatter (ordered things), erase'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pať 'to separate or divide' (Sy)</td>
<td>Ld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pať 'flee, run away out of fright, make self scarce because you are told to' (Hs)</td>
<td>Ld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay c</th>
<th>Salishan ʃ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maʔc 'negative imperative', also rarely 'negative'</td>
<td>Mílta 'negative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in a general sense</td>
<td>Mílta 'no, not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milt 'not'</td>
<td>Lo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quc- 'itch, tickle, scratch an itch'</th>
<th>Qwilí-, Qwil- 'itch'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qwilí- 'itch', Qwil- 'scratch (reflexive)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bella Coola

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qil-cut 'to scratch oneself' (Nt)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Nater also has Heiltsuk qwil-á and Kwakiutl q'wEł (quoted from Boas).
This suggests to me the possibility that these Wakashan languages may have borrowed the Bella Coola root element when it was *qʷil or some such form with labialization. I do have one example where Bella Coola has qʷ for qʷ 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  ṭ

cin-  'grab, be caught'

Coast

ʔin  'be caught'

ʔid(i)  'tie'

Ld

Tsamosan

ʔan  'button'

ʔán-ʔč  'cinch'

ʔč  'belly'

Set 7

nictahal  'boy, young man'

Tsamosan

nuʔtaʔlmaʔs  'person' (Sno)

nuʔtaʔlməʔsuʔ  'teenage boy' (Sno)
Kootenay  c  
Salishan  t

Set 8

cuk(u)- 'take up food off ground'  
Bella Coola  
ľkʷ 'pick up' (SD)

Interior  
ľkʷ 'to lap up'

Set 9

cum- 'be used to, be accustomed to'  
Interior  
ľem̱ 'apologize' (Rd)

Coast  
ľim̱ 'be accepted, be approved'

Set 10

cu- 'stick in'  
Interior  

cu-kʷ-t-iya-ť 'spear'  
//ľuʔu// 'stab'

Th  
ľuʔ 'to poke, stab, sting'

Sh  
ľuʔ 'jab, stab, poke'

Sp  
ľuʔ 'to sting, wound with a pointed instrument'

Ka

The Salishan element ľuʔ or ľuʔu seems to have been borrowed into Kootenay in recent times. Note Kootenay ľuʔu 'awl' and ľuʔ-nana 'needle'. For some further details, see the section on borrowings.
Kootenay c  Salishan  \^  
Set 11  
wicwic  'killdeer'  Interior  
\textit{Kawic}  'semipalmated plover'  \textit{wi\textit{t}} (as in) \textit{wi\textit{wi}-\textit{woi}}  'snipe'  Sh  
\textit{wi\textit{t}} (as in) \textit{\textit{wi\textit{li}wi\textit{li}}  'sandpiper'  Qm  

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

\begin{align*}  
\text{Interior}  
\textit{walowal}  & \quad \text{'long billed curlew'}  \quad \text{Fl}  
\text{Coast}  
\textit{\textit{wi\textit{o}-iye}}  & \quad \text{'(large or small) snipe'}  \quad \text{Ck}  
\textit{\textit{\textit{\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon}}\textit{\textit{\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon}}\textit{\textit{\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon}}}  & \quad \text{'snipe (in one dialect)'}  \quad \text{Ck}  
\end{align*}  

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 \textit{pi\textit{q}}  'nighthawk' in the section on onomatopoetic words. The /\textit{\theta}/ in Chilliwack should go back to an earlier /\textit{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  I
Set 12
quçac 'chipmunk'

Kootenay

quçac 'chipmunk'

Salishan  t

*qqοç-w- 'chipmunk' (TTK)  PS

Interior

qαcwéfono (reduplication of) qαcw-éfono

'Shipmunk'  Sh

qαcw-άyά? 'chipmunk'  Cm

qαcw-άyά? 'chipmunk'  Sp

Coast

sqαcyt 'squirrel'  Ck

sqαcάt 'squirrel' (El)  Tw

s-dx-qαcάt 'squirrel' (Dr)  Tw

Tsamosan

sqαcάt 'chipmunk'  Cz, Ch

sqαcάt 'little chipmunk'  Ch
Kootenay č
Salishan ʔ
Set 13
či- 'fast, rapid'

Bella Coola

χi 'fast' (Nt)

Coast

χi-χi 'rapidly'

χi-geł 'speedboat', -geł 'boat'

χi-χi 'fast (rapid)'

Note also:

Interior

χox 'fast, swift'

χāx 'fast, swift'

Tsamosan

χox 'fast, hurry'

Set 14

čup- 'close'

Coast

čup-in-aqlił 'to close

one's eyes'

čup-in-ka-luma 'to close

one's mouth'

χıp-awicə 'undergarments'

(s)χıp-ıwan 'shirt, chemise'

χıp 'cover, clothing'

χıp- 'to cover'

χıp- 'cover'

χıp : χıpși- 'cover'

Note, however:

čıp'-us-m 'shut the eyes'
Kootenay č

Salishan ʔ

Set 15

mac' 'dirty'

Interior

maχ 'soft ground, muddy ground' Cm

Coast

maχ, maχ 'be dirty' Sq

Note the following possible ablaut forms:

Interior

mǐχ 'paint' Cm

mǐχ 'rub, paint' Cv

mǐχ 'cover with a liquid like paint' Sp

Coast

cmǐχ 'dirty' Ck

c- 'a prefix for colour terms, a prefix for deriving verbs' Ck
Kootenay m/n

Salishan *ŋʷ

Set 16

-nana 'diminutive suffix, the young of a species'

*-ŋʷaná? '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 glottalization on the m'

-mána 'child (offspring)' Se

-Coast

-stems otherwise ending in an underlying glottal stop which is anomalously not realized as glottalization on the m'

-ŋána? 'offspring'

So

-una '(probably) a diminutive suffix (occurring in two examples, once after -qat 'tail' and once after -q̕ə̱uk 'lake')'

-ŋána? 'child, offspring' (Mi) Sg

-Sg

-bada? 'offspring, (one's own) child' NLD

SLD

-tw 'child' (TTK) Tw

-Ti

-tsamosan

-mán 'child' Ch
This cognate set may represent a separate sound correspondence, Kootenay m' to Salishan *ŋʷ.

-kam' (the only lexical element in the word)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan *ŋʷ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Kam' (the only lexical element in the word) Coast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan *ŋʷ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

?a-kam'-t) 'belt'

Čam(?) 'close; come together, be folded, doubled up'

Čam?ə-tn 'shoulder strap of basket, packstrap'

Čam?ə-tən 'tumpline'

Čem?ətən 'packstrap' (TTK) Ms, Cw

Čem?ətəl 'packstrap' (TTK) Ck

Čəŋətən 'tumpline'

Səŋətən 'tumpline'

Čəbə(?)-təd 'tumpline'
The factors which condition the occurrence of -m- versus -n- are not fully worked out, however; a pattern is evident.

This suffix occurs with -aŋ to form a suffix group -maŋ, -naŋ 'comitative'. The general rule is that -maŋ occurs word finally while -naŋ occurs before additional suffixes.
Kootenay m/n Salishan *ŋ*°

Set 19

mat 'to leave something behind, to abandon something, to dispose of something'

-ma?t (as in)

ha-ma?t-kic 'to give something to someone'

ha- 'have'

-kic 'benefactive'

SalishanInterior

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

s-mt-em 'food provided' Sh

?am 'to feed' (as in)

(c-am-s-t-im-əlx 'they are given it to eat'

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

?am- 'feed' Cm

?am-təm 'feed someone' Cm

?am-tən 'I fed him' Cm

Coast

?əŋat 'to give' (Rf) Sg

?əŋ- (root) 'give' (Rf) Sg

ŋət- (as in) ŋətən 'to distribute wealth, give rights and privileges to a name' (Mi) Sg

ŋətxʷ 'to cause to be given' (Mi) Sg

?əŋəst 'to give' (Mi) Sg

?əŋat, ?əŋət; ?ųŋəst, ?aʔųst 'make a gift'

Cl

?əŋəc 'give it to me' (TTE) Cl

?əŋəʔs 'give it to me' (TTE) Lm, So
41

Set 19 (continued)

Coast (continued)

ʔənáʔs 'give it to me' (TTE) Sn
bataxʷ 'give (e.g. food) (Kd) Tw

Tsamosan

mátil- 'give food, feed' Cz

Set 20

Kootenay m/n

tamuxu 'to be dark out,
to be dark in a place'

Salishan *ŋʷ

tanən 'evening' C1
té·nən 'evening, night' (Mi) Sg
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay m/n</th>
<th>Salishan  $\eta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-minna 'mountain'</td>
<td>*s-$\eta$'an 'mountain' (TTK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-ka-minna 'mountain pass'</td>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka- 'hole'</td>
<td>smt 'mountain' (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>smt, smnt 'mountain' (TTK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>smáanit 'mountain' (TTK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smá'nit 'mountain' (TTK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-manit 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smént 'stone, rock, mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smélt 'stone, mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snénet 'rock, mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-bádit 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-bádil 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbádit 'mountain' (Kd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsamosan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>smániči 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smá'nēč 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smániču 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salishan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsamosan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay w

waq'a 'heron'

probably waq'a(?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Battalion</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salishan</td>
<td>*ŋʷ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>PS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 23</td>
<td>*s-ŋʷəqʷá? 'heron' (TTK)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>PS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>smúqʷa? 'crane; heron'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sómōqʷe? 'crane' (TTK)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sómōqʷe? 'great blue heron'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Fl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>smōqʷe 'crane'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>smōqʷa? 'great blue heron' (TTK)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sŋəqʷa? 'heron' (TTK)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sŋəqʷə(?) 'heron'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Lm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-bəqʷá? 'heron'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awaqá, *wəqʷá? (TTK)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

/qal-sa-n-wu/ 'thirty'
/qal-sa/ 'three'
Set 24 (continued)

/yi'ku-n-wu/ 'fifty'
/yi'ku/ 'five'

The Kootenay word for 'ten' is /it'-wu/ probably literally 'fill(ed) up ten'. It is probable, or at least possible, that a sound shift of word initial *n to w in an earlier form of Kootenay yielded /wu-/'four' alongside /wu/ 'ten'. This could have resulted in the coinage of /it'wu/ 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 χ.

Kootenay  w  Salishan  *ŋ

Set 25
wu- 'touch'

Interior
mús- 'feel, grope'
Mus-m 'feel'
mus- 'feel about'

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 *ŋwus in Proto-Salishan.
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 */macqul/. 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 /-quta]/ 'fat' under the correspondence /q/ to /qə/. The difficulty with that example is that while Kootenay has /-quta]/, one Salishan language, Shuswap, has both /qəuc/ 'fat, stout' and /qəte]/ 'grease'.
Kootenay ʼt’  Salishan ʼcʼ

Set 27

sit’ 'blanket’  *s-ʼič- 'blanket' (TTK)  PS

Interior

síčm 'blanket'  Th

síčm 'blanket'  Sh

síčəm 'blanket'  Cm

síčəm 'blanket'  Ka

sič 'be blanketet, be blanket'  Cr

Coast

sʔíčam 'clothes, clothing'  Se

Set 28

taq’mila 'deerfly'  Coast

čə-čəq’wals 'small black flies'  Sq

Both of the examples of /t/ to /č/ 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.
The /i/ of the form /-iťwiy/ which appears initially on this morpheme is inserted automatically by rule after a consonant.
If the original form of this suffix had been */-kiy/ the Modern Kootenay word for hand would still be /?akiy/, but it would be */?a-k-kiy// in its underlying 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

This suffix is most commonly found after the middle voice suffix -m-, -n-.

\[\text{wēkum} \ 'he hides something'\]

\[\text{wēk}^\text{m}-\text{i(st)} \ 'he hides himself'\]

(also) -mist (om-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).

?as 'two'

?ay-wu 'twenty'

qa̱lsə 'three'

qa̱lsə-n-wu 'thirty'

xa̱ca 'four'

xa̱ca-n-wu 'forty'
Kootenay  $y$

Salishan $^*$γ

Set 32

Interior

yām 'pin'

djem 'pin, brace'

(Reichard has 'djām')

Coast

yəb-ʔyəbat' 'tied round' (Kd)

Tw

According to tentative consonant and vowel correspondences supplied by Kinkade, the Proto-Interior Salishan reconstruction indicated by the Columbian and Coeur d'Alene forms would be $^*$γəm.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay x Set 33</th>
<th>Salishan ?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-yax(a) 'to go and get something, to fetch something'</td>
<td>*ya?- 'gather' (TTK) PS Interiort</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Interior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yā ꞌ 'gather'</td>
<td>ya ꞌ 'gather(ed)'</td>
<td>ya ꞌ 'gather(ed)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya ꞌ 'gather(ed)'</td>
<td>ya ꞌ 'gather, accumulate'</td>
<td>Sp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| yḵen 'to chase fish into fish trap' | Sh |
| yóχ 'drive, herd' | Cm |
| yḵ- ꞌ | Cm |
| daχ 'drive, round up' (TTK) | Cr |
| dé-x 'round up' (TTK) | Cr |
Kootenay  m  Salishan  n  
-.fname 'throat, mouth'  Coast  
(Upper Kootenay)  -fname 'throat ?' (as in)  
-L(i)ma 'throat, mouth'  -fname 'inside of throat'  Sq  
(Lower Kootenay)  -a?nda ~ -a?nda 'parts of the mouth'  Ld  

Tsamosan  
-in-al 'mouth' (also) -in-i  Cz, Ch  
-in-i (as in) ĉapi?nl '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 /l/.  

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 /l/. There is some indication from the Squamish form that Proto-Salishan may not have had a schwa separating the /l/ 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 /l/ 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:

?a-kaʔuma 'mouth' [ʔaʔaʔuma]
-ʔa- 'hole'

but also:

?a-kaʔumaʔis 'his, her, its mouth', 'their mouth(s)'
-ʔis 'general third person possessive suffix'
[ʔaʔaʔumáʔis]
Kootenay c
Salishan c
Set 35
ca- 'small'
*cəm 'small' (TTK)

Interior

*cam 'children'

ccəməʔ?

cəm, cam 'small'
cəm

*cim 'small (plural)'

scəmɛl't ~ scəʔmɛl't 'children'
cicem'-e? 'are small'

For other examples of Kootenay /c/ corresponding to Salishan /c/,
see:
Set 53 (Kootenay kaci(?)) 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>wi\textsubscript{č}u-</td>
<td>'wring out, rinse out by wringing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salishan</td>
<td>č'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>?uc\textsubscript{č}u-</td>
<td>'wring' (TTK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-uc\textsubscript{i}-</td>
<td>'wipe dry' (TTK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsamosan</td>
<td>wuc\textsuperscript{č}-n</td>
<td>'wring out (transitive)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wuc\textsuperscript{č}-t</td>
<td>'wring out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay  h

**hu-** 'finish, complete'

*huya* 'All right, (I will);
Okay, (let's)'
This form is used in the context of first or second person. The form /huya-s/ is used in the context of third person. The word /huya/ has its own built-in third person subject. The /-s/ suffix marks a subsidiary third person and is only called for when a sentence has two third person entities. Therefore, we can suppose that the word /huya/ has an underlying sentential meaning such as 'it is finished', 'that is that', or something of this nature.

Salishan  h

Set 37

*hu* 'finish' (TTK)

**Interior**

huy 'finish'

**Cv**

huy 'finish'

**Sp**

hoi 'to quit doing something'

**Ka**

hoy 'cease' (Rd)

**Cr**

hoy 'done, finished'

**Cx**

huy 'be finished'

**Se**

háy? 'to finish' (Rf)

**Sq**

huy- 'finish'

**Cl**

hoy 'finish' (Dr)

**Tw**

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

**Ld**

Also note:

**Interior**

huy (translated in a text as) 'that was that'

**Cv**

huy?-s 'let us!'

**Sq**

huyá? 'depart'

**Sq**

huyá 'Let's ....', 'Come on ....'

**Se**
Set 37 (continued)

Coast (continued)

hoyé? 'go' (TTK)          H1
huy? 'good-bye'            Cl
hiyä? 'depart'             Cl
huy? 'good-bye' (Dr)       Tw
hoy? / huyū 'good-bye', finish' (Kd)Tw
huy(?) '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

-økp (as in) xʷ-ul-økp 'match'

xʷ-ul 'rub fire'

Sh

-átk'p, -k'p 'fire'

Sh

-atk'úp 'fire'

Cm

-kup 'fire, fuel'

(unretranscribed) (Rd) Cr

Coast

-čp (as in) yəqʷ-lčp 'put wood on fire'

Sq

-ik'up 'fire'

Sq

-čup 'fire, firewood'

Ld

-xúp 'to light' (Ed)

Ti

Tsamosan

-k'úp (as in) mak'-úp- 'fire'

Cz

-čəp (as in) móčəp 'fire'

Lo

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

Lo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay k</th>
<th>Salishan k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaʔa 'where?'</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔ 'where, which, what, how'</td>
<td>kéʔ(e) 'which?; whatever, whichever, any; it is that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th kaʔ 'where'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Om čénʔ 'where, how'</td>
<td>Ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast nəčá 'where?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se čad 'where'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld čal 'how, why'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld dəčaʔ 'where?' (Kd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tw dəčaʔá, ~ dəčadʔ 'where' (Dr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tw Tsamosan čáʔ 'where'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ak 'limb of body' (Bella Coola)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ak 'appendage, hand' (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ač 'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sq -ačiʔ 'hand, lower arm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/.
The form /kan/ occurs only with the word /xali(?)/'son' and the related /xalinalil/ 'nephew', in Modern Kootenay. Boas (1918), however, recorded [kan] instead of [ka] in what is now /ka titqatmal/ 'my fellow man', an expression used as an introduction to a challenge to fight. (The č- in Squamish which Kuipers identifies as a component of this pronoun can also be seen in cognate set 43)
Kootenay k

-kšn, -kn 'by hand'

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

Salishan k

Set 42

Interior

kin, kn 'to touch'

*čin 'to catch, grab' (occurs as čon- in Vogt's examples)

Ka

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

Ka

čer' 'take hold of large object'

Cr

Set 43

k- 'to do, to be'

Coast

č- 'to be, to act as'

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.
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'

- ṭaṭ' 'arm'
  ṭa-k-ṭaṭ' 'arm'

  suk-ṭaṭ'-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 *n*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay k</th>
<th>Salishan k*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuka-t 'to take'</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cək* 'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>//cək*// 'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ck*-um 'to pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cók* 'pull, drag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ck* 'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ck*(ŭ) 'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ck* 'to drag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cók* 'drag, pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cək* 'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cók*-n 'tug, pull'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?uk- 'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also recorded as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay k

-nuk- 'haul, drag along; give someone a ride'

Salishan kʷ

Set 46

Interior

ʔukʷ- 'haul, take, bring'

ʔukʷ 'take, bring'

ʔukʷ, hukʷ 'bring'

ʔukʷ 'to bring, to take someone someplace'

ʔukʷ 'carry, bring'

Tsamosan

ʔikʷ- 'go after'

Set 47

-uk, -k 'water'

Interior

-kʷ 'water'

-kʷ 'water'

-kʷ 'water'

Coast

-kʷ '(a suffix used in a number of words) connected with the sea'

-akʷ (as in) sídakʷ 'sea' (El)

cf. sin-kʷ 'ocean, salt water'

cf. sin-qu 'ocean'

cf. -qu 'water'
Kootenay k

Salishan kʷ

Set 48

Interior

-kʷe 'water, lake, river, creek'
-kʷe? 'water, liquid'

Tsamosan

-či 'water'

Ch

-Cz

Set 49

Interior

-muk (as in) ?a-k-muk-nam
'someone’s forehead'
(Lower Kootenay)

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

Coast

məkʷ 'to be lumpy'

Sq

Set 50

Interior

ukʷ-t 'crawl'

Cr
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ʔuʔk 'word, language, sound'</td>
<td>-k'word, language, sound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔikyax(a) 'turn of phrase, verbal expression'</td>
<td>-k'word, language, sound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nuk 'rock, stone'</td>
<td>-nuk 'rock, stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuk(u) 'take up food off ground'</td>
<td>cuk(u) 'take up food off ground'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 51</th>
<th>Set 52</th>
<th>Set 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'ikʷa- 'talk to' (Kd)</td>
<td>l'ikʷa- 'talk' (Kd)</td>
<td>l'ikʷa- 'speak' (Dr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'ikʷa- 'knife, iron' (Kd)</td>
<td>l'ikʷa- 'knife, iron' (Kd)</td>
<td>l'ikʷa- 'knife, iron' (Kd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-dúukʷ 'knife, iron'</td>
<td>s-dúukʷ 'knife, iron'</td>
<td>s-dúukʷ 'knife, iron'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'kʷ 'pick up' (SD)</td>
<td>l'kʷ 'to lap up'</td>
<td>l'kʷ 'to lap up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay  'to be skinny'  
Salishan  

Kaci(?)  
Set 53  

Kè-ci  'little'  
Ch  

Kè-ci?  'little'  
Ch  

Ke·c  'little'  
Cz  

Ke·ci  'little'  
Cz  

Set 54  

-Kam  'importance, meaning, sense to it, substance'  

ha-Kam  'to matter, to be important'  

ha-  'have'  

lit-Kam  'to not matter, to be of no importance'  

lit-  'without'  

Interior  

km  '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  

Kuipers lists 59 words containing this root involving the use of only four different prefixes but many lexical suffixes.  

Čem  'general word stem'  

Sp
Kootenay $'$

Salishan $'$

Set 55

Kan- (as in) Kan-wac'

'dive'

-wac' 'swim under-

water'

Interior

Kən 'up against'

(also) Kan- (as in) Kan-qín 'pillow'

(-qín 'head')

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

Set 1 (Kootenay ciK'-) under c to t
Kootenay  k'

?uki(?) 'one, for there to be one (of something)'

?uk' 'one, same'

Also note:

?ak'-ła-na 'different'

?ak'-ła-k 'other'

ła-k 'or'

Also note:

-nik' 'parent(s)'

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

-ni'k' '(such and such) one', 'relative(s)'

'(such and such) ones', 

'(such and such) tribe, people' examples:

wup-ni'k' 'something new'

wup- 'new'

'aq'am-ni'k' 'St. Marys person or people'

'aq'am 'St. Marys River'

Salishan k' also k'

Set 56

*ni'k-u? / ni'kw 'one' (Kp) PS

*na'k' 'one, other; to change' (Kp) PS

The above items are crossreferenced by Kuipers.

Interior

nək'-ú?, nək'- 'one, other' Sh

nək'-úsəm 'party, family' Sh

nək' 'to change' Sh

nək'- 'one' Cm

nək'- 'one' Cv

nək'-e? 'one' Cr

nək'-ü? 'one' Ka

nək' 'be tribe' Cr

Coast

nəč'-álí 'one person' Se

záli 'people suffix' Se

nəč-u? 'one' Sq

nəč' 'change, differ' Sq

nəč'-ýuw?am 'family' Sq

nəč' 'different' Sn

nəč'a? 'one' Cw

nəč' 'different' (Mg) Cw

ləč'a, ləče 'one' Ck
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay  $k^$</th>
<th>Salishan  $k^{w}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interior**

- $\text{?isk}^{w}$-1-n 'throw (plural objects)'  
- $\text{?isk}^{w}$ 'scatter'
- $\text{?isk}^{w}$-1-n 'I scattered it'
- $\text{?isk}^{w}$-ël 'to throw away'

**Coast**

- $\text{?isk}^{w}$-ët 'throw (it) away'  
- $\text{?isk}^{w}$-ët 'throw it away, discard it'
- $\text{?isk}^{w}$-ët 'throw'  
- $\text{?isk}^{w}$-ëš 'throw it away'

This is really an example of Kootenay $/k/$ to Salishan $/k^{w}/$, 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 $/k/$ is one where the glottalization can be
Set 57 (continued)

construed to be from the suffix /-k'u(?)/ with the underlying root as /?isk-/. The loss of /k/ is not, however, automatic but idiosyncratic here. The somewhat obscured history of the stem /?isk'u(?)/ may have been a factor in the apparent loss of glottalization with the stems /?iskax-mit/ and /?isk-x'u(?)/. 
Kootenay ḫ
Salishan ḫ
Set 58.1

Ӛu(?) 'be none, be absent'
Interior

Ӛu- 'remove'

Ӛwel-n-s 'to leave somebody alone, take off and discard (clothing)'

(s-)Ӛwel '((person) left alone, left behind'

Ӛow 'leave'

Coast

Ӛaw 'to leave'

Ӛaw? 'recover, run away (about a captive)'

Tsamosan

Ӛowāl- 'leave' (Kd)

Ld

Ӛowāl- 'leave, leave behind'

Tsamosan

Ӛowāl- 'leave'

Ch

Ӛowāl- 'leave'

Cz
### Kootenay 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salishan 1</th>
<th>Set 58.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| ʔu-ʔam-xu  | 'head hair to fall out' |
| ʔu-ʔam-kin | 'to pull someone's head hair out' |
| -ʔam       | 'head' |
| -xu        | 'by action of the whole body of someone or something' |
| -kin       | 'by action of the hands' |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔuqʷ (as in) c-x-ʔuqʷ-ʔs-qn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loqʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loqʷ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luq′, ɬeqʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬaqʷ-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬaqʷəq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of special relevance to cognate set 58 are Kuipers' comments on the Squamish root /law?/ (quoted here in cognate set 58.1). Kuipers suggests a 'zero form' /łu-/ 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 ɪ

Salishan ɨ

Set 59

-(h)aɬ 'grass, plant'

Bella Coola

-ɨp 'plant, tree' (Nt)

Interior

-eʔp 'tree, bush, plant'

Sh

-aɁp, -ɨp 'tree, plant'

Cm

-iɬp 'plant, tree'

Cv

-eɬp

Coast

-ɨč 'tree, plant'

Sn

-iɬč 'tree' (Rf)

Sg

For other examples of Kootenay /ɪ/ corresponding to Salishan /ɨ/

see:

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

Set 90 (Kootenay -q̓ɪiɬ) under q' to q̓
Kootenay Σ

?i?la, ?ila 'cry, weep'

Set 60

Salishan 1

Interior

?ílel 'cry, weep'

Li

Coast

?ílel 'cry, weep'

Nk

?ilál 'cry, weep' (Dr) (TTK)

Tw

?íla 'hurt'

Ld

Note also:

?íl-al 'sing' (reduplicated) (Dr)

Tw

?íl(i) 'sing, repeat, interpret'

Ld

Set 61

łu (a tag for questions)  'is it not so?'

Interior

*lút

(Kd) PIS

'lüt 'it is not'

Ok

lut 'no, not'

Cv

łuʔaʔt 'to deny something'

lút 'negative'

Cm

 listar 'to be without something'

lut, lu 'negative'

Cr

lut (when used as an independent stem) 'refuse, deny, be mischievous'

Cr

lit- (plus lexical suffix) 'to be without'
Kootenay 1

?ałak(i)t 'to stalk'

Salishan 1

Set 62

Tsamosan

?ałal- 'sneak up on'

Cz

Set 63

Interior

-elt 'offspring'

Sh

-iłt 'child, young, egg'

Sh

-ált,-ált,-ałt 'child'

Cm

-iłt 'stomach, child'

Cv

-éltx 'child'

Ka

-iłtx (-ałt,-ałt) 'offspring, child'

Cr

See also set 80 (Kootenay /-qált/ probably cognate (?) to Colville /qaʔ̌t/) under the correspondence /q/ to /q/.
Kootenay 1

-ľa(?) 'fitted covering, blanket'

Note especially:

yu-kxa-ľa(?) 'tongue of shoe or moccasin'

yu- 'on top surface'

-ľa?-maľ 'blanket'

-maľ 'with'

ľaľ-ľa(?) 'sleeve'

ľat 'arm'

Salishan 1

Set 64

Interior

li?w 'draw on'

t-ľew 'shoe tongue'

ľew 'draw on'

li?w 'fit'

ľew 'draw together, make fit'

Sh

Sh

Cm

Cr
Kootenay 1  Salishan 1
Set 65

la (proclitic) 'again, back'

la qawxaxi. 'He went back there.'

qawxaxi. 'He went there.'

la qaki?ni. 'He said it again.'

qaki?ni. 'He said it.'

?itwu-m la ?uki(?) 'eleven'

?itwu 'ten'

?uki(?) 'one'

xa’ca-n-wu-m la ?uki(?)

'forty-one'

xa’ca 'four'

xa’ca-n-wu 'forty'

la ~ ?al 'translocative'

Note the following Columbian data:

?al-naw'-olx 'He ran back'

naw'-olx 'He ran'

?al-wikt 'see again'

?al-Xuwon 'put out again'

?al-k'án 'take back'

Also note especially:

xəXə Xt ?al naqs 'eleven'

xəXə Xt 'ten'

naqs 'one'

eit (a preverb) 'back, again'

eitcun 'I say to him again over'

cun 'I say to him'

elixui 'He goes back'

xui 'He goes'

uit (a prefix) 'again' (Jh)

I- 'again'

I- 'back'

I- (directional prefix) 'back'
For additional examples of Kootenay /l/ corresponding to Salishan /l/ see:

Set 77 (Kootenay -(a)qlili) under q - q
Set 85 (Kootenay -qplyit) under q - qw
Set 28 (Kootenay 'aqmi'la) under 't' - c'
Set 29 (Kootenay -twiy) under y - s
Set 107 (Kootenay wa'lik) under w - w
Set 89 (Kootenay -q'l-) under q' - q''
Set 51 (Kootenay -lu?k) under k - k''
Kootenay m

-set 66

-coast

-Salishan m

-ca-min 'me, myself, my'

-ala(?) 'us, ourselves, our'

-ala(?) 'first person plural'

mn 'a clitic which in its emphatic forms

(maníł, máníł) forms certain

appositives such as:

/ta maníł/ 'he himself' Sq

/?áli maníł/ 'she herself' Sq

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)

/ʻi č-n mn nčńčú?/ 'Here I am all by

myself' Sq
Kootenay m

Salishan m

Set 67

Interior

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

(as in) //wik*-s-t-(i)m//

/wik*wstom/ 'something was hidden by someone'

-\text{am} 'indefinite object'

Coast

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

kwədɑ-t-əb 'He was grabbed' Ld

kwədɑt-əb čət 'We were grabbed' Ld

kwədád čət 'We grabbed it' Ld
Kootenay m  Salishan m

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>matqilly</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>t - c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>maq'c</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>c - ɨ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>cum-</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>c - ɨ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mac'-</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>ɨ' - ɬ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>-muk</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>ɭ - ɭ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>-k'am</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>ɭ' - ɭ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>-xma</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>x - x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>yamasin-</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>y - *y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay n  Salishan n

Set 68

ʔən 'more'

nʔən 'very, too (much)' (Mg)  Cw
ʔán 'very, too much'

Set 69

nam 'go'

-nə- 'go'
-nə 'go'

-nə 'go'

nemʔ 'go' (Mg)  Cw

Set 70

-nəqə 'sun'

-nəqə 'noon'

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

Set 6 (Kootenay cin-) under  c - ʃ
Set 7 (Kootenay nictahəł) under  c - ʃ
Set 16 (Kootenay -nana) under  m/n - *nə*
Set 21 (Kootenay -minna) under  m/n - *nə*
Set 66 (Kootenay -min, -mən-) under  m - m
Set 41 (Kootenay ka, kan) under  k - k
Set 110 (Kootenay wan-) under  w - w
Kootenay p

paq- (probably) 'white'

This root occurs in a word for a white-barked variety of /ʔaklumak/ ('cottonwood, poplar, or aspen') which has heart shaped leaves. The word seems to be known only to a few Lower Kootenay people and we are not yet absolutely certain of the correct transcription of the word.

Present transcriptions of the word include: /paqla, paqlat, peq 'be white, bleached' and in a separate interview /paqlak/. The first three forms would be literally p'aq' 'white' '(having) white fitted covering' while the last would be paq 'white'.

Also of possible relevance is the word /puqulnana/ 'white back' each reflecting Proto-Eastern-Interior-camas 'Salishan *i-e ablaut for this root.'
Kootenay p

Salishan p

Set 72

?upxa 'to know, to find out; to see'

cf. ?u(h)u 'to know (a person)'

Interior

pax 'smart'

pax, -p gà- 'think'

pax 'smart, advise'

pax 'to think, deliberate'

pax 'be wise, think, reflect'

Cm

Cv

Sp

Ka

Cr

Set 73

pic- 'cut off a length of something, shorten'

Coast

poc '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 ?upt'-) under t' - t'

Set 14 (Kootenay čup-) under č' - š'

Set 3 (Kootenay pac-) under c - ñ

Set 86 (Kootenay qap-) under q' - q'
Kootenay q

Salishan q

Set 74

Bella Coola

-lxₚ, -llxₚ 'nose' (Nt)

-χₚ (as in) maaχₚa 'nose'

Interior

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

-(ω₁)qs 'nose, point' Cn

-aqs 'nose, road' Sp

-aqs, -qs 'nose' Ka

-alqs 'end' Cr

Coast

-qs 'nose' Sq

-qs- (as in) móqsₚn 'nose' Se

-qs- (as in) móqsən 'nose' Cw, Ms

-qs- (as in) móqsəl 'nose' Ck

-ο(1)qςəl, -ω(1)qs 'nose' Ck

-ts 'nose'

-ts 'a pointed shape'

-ts 'nose, point'

Tsamosan

-ts 'nose'

-Ch
Kootenay q
- q 'water (locatively)'

Salishan q
Set 75
- iyq 'water'

Tsamosan

Get 76
- quwa?t 'fur'

Interior
qewtn 'hair'
qewtn 'hair (on head)'

Ch

Get 77
-(a)qlił 'eye'

Bella Coola
qluqs 'eye'

Coast
qolum 'eye'
qlum 'eye'
qolom 'eye'
qolm 'eye'
qolm 'eye'
qol?n 'eye' (Mi)
qol?n 'eye' (Rf)
qeyan 'eye'
qulub 'eye'
q̓əlub 'eye'

Se
Sq
Cw
Ms
Ck
Sg
Sg
Cl
Ld
Ld
Kootenay q

Salishan q

Set 78

-qaɬ 'cloud'

Coast

qəɬəm 'stormy'

qəɬb 'rain'

Ld

Set 79

-qaɬ 'walk, go'

Interior

qic 'to run' (also) qc / qaɬ (as in)

qa-qaɬəlx 'trot'

Cv

qec (as in) qəc-ɬə 'he ran'

Sp

qec (as in) qəcəɬə '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 *qaɬ.
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 /-qált/ 'child') under the correspondence /t/ 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

Set 81
-qua 'water (locatively)' Coast
-qu'a 'water (locatively)'

q'u 'water'
q'ú? 'water'
q'ú?q'a? 'drink'
q'ú? 'fresh water'
q'a: 'water'
q'a:qə 'drink'
q'ó? 'water' (Dr)

Tsamosan
q'ó: 'drink'

Set 82
-qua 'water, by water' Bella Coola
-qla- 'water' (SD)

Coast
q'ul (a root) 'water'

Tsamosan
qá: 'water, river'
qál? 'water, river'
qál? 'water'

Sq
C1
C1
Ld
Ck
Ck
Tw
Se
Ch
Lo
Cz
Cognate set 82 could just as well be taken (in whole or in part) as an example of Kootenay /q/ corresponding to Salishan /q/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 83</th>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-qaɬ- 'story'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl 'to speak, talk'</td>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>Se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl 'talk'</td>
<td>Cv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl 'talk, speak'</td>
<td>Sp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl 'speak, talk'</td>
<td>Ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəʔqʷəʔl 'speak, talk'</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl- 'talk'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl, qʷəl 'think, mind, speak'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl-qʷəl 'talk excessively'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-qʷəl-tən 'voice'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəl 'say, speak'</td>
<td>Cw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣqʷəlτən 'voice'</td>
<td>Cw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷəyl 'say, speak'</td>
<td>Ms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay q

Salishan qʷ

Set 84

Tsamosan

-(ā)qʷ 'prairie'

Note also:

*maqʷa-ŋʷ 'swamp' (TTK) PS

(based on words found in Sq, Cw, Ms, Ck, Lm, Ld, but note especially, however:)

báqʷab 'field' (Dr) Tw

máqʷəm '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

-kʷúp (as in) makʷúp- '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

máqṣən 'nose' Cw
Kootenay q
-qẖuyit 'green, blue'
-nuqka 'sun'

Salishan qʷ

Bella Coola
qʷli 'green, yellow' (Nt)

Coast
nuqʷ 'noon'

Set 85
Set 70
Sq
Kootenay q

qap- 'all'

Salishan q

Set 86

Coast

qapit 'group, put together, include' Cx
q"ep 'to gather or collect (of people) Ck
q"ep 'to gather' (Mi) Sg
q"ep- 'to be together' So
q(e)p 'assemble' Lm
q"ep 'gather' LD

Set 87

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

Interior

qiw, qw 'to break' Sh
qow- 'break (in two)' Cm
qow- 'split' Cm
qow-am 'crack' Cm
qow(ú) 'broken' Sp
q'aú 'break' Ka
qow 'break stiff object' Cr

Coast

q'aî 'obstruct passage' Sq
q'aץ 'be stopped' Sq
Kootenay q’ Salishan q’
Set 88
-qyu 'edge'
Coast
qiw? 'go around, round a corner' Sq
qiw?-it-sut 'move around a promontory' Sq
qiw?-ica 'to string up wool on a loom' Sq

For another example of Kootenay /q/ corresponding to Salishan /q/
See:
Set 22 (Kootenay -qwi) under w - *ŋw*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-q't- 'berry, fruit; grain'</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'lews-m 'to pick berries'</td>
<td>Sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'lo 'gather (berries)'</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'lew 'to pick berries'</td>
<td>Sp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ola'nu 'to pick berries'</td>
<td>Ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'aliw 'bear picks berries'</td>
<td>Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq'lam 'berry (generic)'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq'olm?x 'black berry'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq'oluma 'fruit, berry (generic)'</td>
<td>Se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsamosan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-q'ol-ná'mc 'berry'</td>
<td>Ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-namc 'body'</td>
<td>Ch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-q'tit 'mark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'olé- 'mark, write, brand, vote'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ol 'a brand, mark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'olé-mi 'write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ol-mi 'write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'olmé't 'write' (Sno)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay q'  
Salishan qʷ

Set 91
qumi(?) 'the larger variety  
of suckerfish'
qʷəmūs 'suckerfish'  Cm
coqʷm-us 'suckerfish'  Sh

Coast
sqʷúb' 'suckerfish'  Ld

Set 92
-qutał 'fat'
*qʷuc- 'fat' (TTK)  PS

Interior
qʷuc-t 'fat, stout'  Sh
qʷuc- 'fat, grease'  Cm
qʷuc 'be fat'  Ka
qʷuc 'be fat'  Cr
Coast
qʷuc 'be fat'  Sq

But note the following forms:

Interior
qʷtēł 'fat' (TTK)  Li
qʷteł 'grease' (Kp)  NSh
qʷotēł 'lard' (Gb)  SSh
Coast
kʷtāł 'elk fat' (Dr)  Tw
Kootenay qʷ

-qʷ- 'dirt'

(as in) -qʷ-maɬ 'dirt'

-ɬaɬ 'with'

(also probably in)

-qʷ-qʷ-kuɬ 'black'

(which occurs in two stems as)

-qʷ-kuɬ

Salishan qʷ

Set 93

Interior

qʷiy, qʷey 'black'

qʷāy- 'black'

qʷiy 'black'

qʷai 'black'

qʷay 'black'

qʷid 'blacken' (KS)

qʷéd 'black' (KS)

Bella Coola

qʷay 'to blacken'

Coast

qʷ̣ỵxʷ 'black'

qʷixʷ 'blue, dark green'

sqʷixʷ 'Negro'

nə-qʷixʷ 'black'

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

qʷ̣d (as in) qʷ-qʷd (not retranscribed)

'black horse'

qʷih 'be black (in describing people)'
Set 93 (continued)

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

-qui 'excrement'
-qui 'sores, a sore'

Interior

q'wəɬ 'smoke coloured'
q'woɬ 'dark brown'
q'wul 'dusty, gray, darkened'

Qm
Ok
Sp

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

For additional examples of Kootenay /q/ corresponding to Salishan /qʷ/ see:

Set 12 (Kootenay quçac) under c - i
Set 5 (Kootenay quc) under c - ɬ
Set 26 (Kootenay matqul) under t - c
Set 28 (Kootenay ɬaɬmiła) under ɬ' - c'
Set 23 (Kootenay waq̓a) under w - *ŋʷ
Kootenay s  Salishan s  Tsamosan
Set 94
s- 'to be in the act of doing
something, to be in the condition of being a certain way'
Cz, Ch
Cognates no doubt exist in other 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?lcin. 'That's a dog's tail.'
S-qat-ni xa?lcin-s. 'He's got a dog's tail. (such as a freak wolf might have)'

-ni 'declarative verbal enclitic'
tyaxu(?) 'fish'
xa?tcin 'dog'
-s 'subsidiary third person (subject) suffix' See cognate set 96.
Kootenay s Salishan s
Set 95

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

-s 'subsidiary third person subject suffix'

-is 'subsidiary third person suffix (after indefinite person suffix or third person possessive suffix)'

Interior

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

-s/-és 'third person subject suffix'

-s 'third person subject suffix'

-s 'general third person subject suffix'

-s 'third person subject'

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

-as 'third person subject suffix'

-as 'third person subject suffix'

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

Kootenay s

Salishan s

Set 96

Interior

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

-s/-és 'third person subject suffix'

-s 'third person subject suffix'

-s 'general third person subject suffix'

-s 'third person subject'

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

-as 'third person subject suffix'

-as 'third person subject suffix'

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

Kootenay s

Salishan s

Set 96
Kootenay s

?as 'two, for there to be two (of something)'

Salishan s

Set 97

Interior

səsèle 'two'

sal- 'two' (bound form)

?esél 'two'

?asíl 'two'

?esel 'two'

Coast

?əsáli(h) 'two' (Dr)

sáli? 'two'

Sh

Cm

Sp

Cv

Cr

Tw

Ld

Set 98

sahan 'to be bad'

Coast

saan-, san- 'bad'

sá? 'bad'

NLd
Kootenay s  Salishan s
Set 99
-s- 'causative'

Interior
-st- 'causative'
//s// 'causative'
//-s//- 'causative'
-s- 'causative'

Sh
Th
Cv
Sp

Coast
-s 'causative'
-stox- 'causative'
-stoxx- 'causative' (Hk)

Sq
Se
Cw

Tsamosan
-stw- 'causative'

Ch

For additional examples of Kootenay /s/ corresponding to Salishan /s/
see:
Set 57 (Kootenay ?iskax-) under k' - k
Set 27 (Kootenay sit) under t' - c
Set 74 (Kootenay -qala(?) under q - q
Kootenay t
    Salishan t
    Set 100
-t 'transitive'

Interior
-t- 'transitive'

Sh

Th

Cv

(also other Interior languages)

Coast
-(v)t 'transitive suffix'

Se

(Rf) Sg

So

(also other Coast languages)

Set 101

ta(?)- 'know how to, be able to'
    ta-(?)t (Adverb) 'able to do'

    Coast
    tol(?) 'acquire knowledge, learn, study'
    tøl- 'learn'
    tøl?nexʷ 'find (it) out' (Hk)

    Cw

    Tsamosan
    talx 'something one is able to do'

    Ch

    ?ac-talx 'dependable, able to take care of'

    Ch
Kootenay t

Salishan t

Set 102

taʔ- 'rain hard'

Interior
tawʔ- 'rain'

Cm

Set 103

ʔi(?)/ʔitʔ- 'make, do, cause
something to be
(as specified by
a following lexical
suffix), become (as
specified by a
following lexical
suffix)'

Coast

ʔit 'be finished, done'

Tsamosan

ʔɪtx-kʷ 'do with'

Cz

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

/t/ see:

Set 117 (Kootenay tuwxa) under x - xʷ
Set 20 (Kootenay tamuxu) under m/n - *ŋʷ
Set 7 (Kootenay nictahal) under c - l
Set 63 (Kootenay -qalt) under l - 1
Set 19 (Kootenay -mat) under m/n - *ŋʷ
Kootenay  \( t' \)

Salishan  \( t' \)

Set 104

\( ?\text{i}t'i- \ 'stretch' \)

\( ?\text{ut}' \ 'stretch' \)

\( \text{Interior} \)

\( \text{Coast} \)

\( ?\text{ut}'-\text{un}? \ 'lengthen, extend, stretch' \)

\( ?\text{at}' \ 'to stretch' \)

\( ?\text{at}' \ 'to stretch' \) (Rf)

\( ?\text{ut}' \ 'stretch' \)

\( \text{Set 105} \)

\( ?\text{upt}'- \ 'twist' \)

\( \text{Interior} \)

\( \text{Th} \)

\( \text{Sh} \)

\( \text{Ka} \)

For another example of Kootenay \( /t'/ \) corresponding to Salishan \( /t'/ \)

see:

\( \text{Set 109} \) (Kootenay \( \text{wit}'-\) )  under  \( w - w \)
Kootenay w

-wick- 'see, watch, look after'

Salishan w

Set 106

*wik 'see' (TTK)

Interior

wik- 'see'

Th

wik- 'see'

Sh

wik- 'see' (TTK)

Ok

wik- 'see'

Gm

wíč- 'to see, find, discover'

Ka

gwíč- 'see'

Cr

Set 107

walik 'to ask for something'

Coast

wal- 'ask'

Se

wíliq(i) 'ask a question'

Ld

Set 108

-wac' 'swim underwater'

Coast

wácal 'swim' (Kd)

Tw

gwəcíl 'wade or stand in shallow water'

Ld
Kootenay w

Salishan w

Set 109

wit' - "steep sided, brush side of"

Tsamosan

wit'i - "climb"

Cz

Set 110

wan - "move"

Tsamosan

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

Ch

-ača - "hand"

Ch

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

Set 36 (Kootenay wiču-) under č' - č'

Set 11 (Kootenay wicwic) under c - t

Set 29 (Kootenay -łwiy) under y - s
It should be noted that the Kootenay phoneme /x/ is phonetically uvular [x] 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 /x/ would be expected to appear as /x/ in Kootenay even in a borrowed word.

Set 111

-x(a) 'directive suffix'

This suffix indicates a locative goal.

k'än-wac' 'to dive'

k'än-wac'-xa 'to dive at something'

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

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

-x(a) 'directive suffix'

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

-x(i)- 'benefactive'; 'suffixed to any base, to indicate action 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'

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

(Also see the Columbian examples listed below of /xix/ and /xax/)

Cm
115

Set 111 (continued)

someone'
cukat 'to take something'
cukat-xaxa 'to take something away from someone'

?ik 'to eat (something)'
?ik-xaxa 'to eat someone else's share'

-š, 'in the suffix stressed verbs'
-šiš-, 'expresses that the action takes place for someone'
-šit 'as a favor to', -šiš (-šoš, -šEš (this last vowel not retranscribed))
-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'
q'aše'-mî 'write'
q'ašeʔ-š-n 'write to'

Note especially the following Columbian examples:

k'wan-xâx 'take something away from someone'
pən'-xîx-m-ən 'I accidentally bent something not belonging to me'
xəs-xîx-m-ən 'We lost it for them (not deliberately)'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
<th>Tsamosan</th>
<th>Ch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nuxu?-nuk 'creek, stream'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nuk 'rock'</td>
<td></td>
<td>nəx&quot;- 'river, creek'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But see also set 118 with:

Bella Coola

- anuxum 'river' (SD)
117

Kootenay x

Salishan x

Set 113

-xma 'weight, heaviness'

*χόμ 'heavy' (TTK) PS

Interior

χεμτ 'heavy' Sp

Coast

χόμ 'heavy' Sn

χάμ 'heavy' Ld

χαμ, χεμ 'heavy' Sq

Tsamosan

χεμ 'heavy' Ch

Set 114

-xax (quite possibly once) Tsamosan

'house'

χαχ 'house' Cz

(found only in)

χας 'house' Ch

kaxax 'turtle'

-útxš 'house' Ch

(which could be)

χας 'house' Lo

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

(lit: 'that which has a house)
Kootenay x

xa'ca 'four'

wu-xa'ca 'eight'
wu- This element may have originally meant 'four' while /xa'ca/ may have originally meant 'two' or 'both'.
cf. xacin- 'both'
  xanca- 'both'
Also see set 24

Salishan x

Set 115

Interior

? xec 'be companion, always together'

Coast

Salishan Interior

Set 116

xa(?) 'uncle'

Boas (1919) has: 'father's brother - brother's child'
For some Kootenay speakers today /xa(?)/' means 'stepfather'.

Cr

Salishan Interior

Set 115

Coast

Salishan Interior

Set 116
Kootenay x  Salishan x

For an additional example of this correspondence see:

Set 72 (Kootenay upxa) under p - p
Kootenay x
Salishan x

Sets 117

tuwxə 'really, truly'
Coast
tuxa 'almost'

Salishan x

-uxw 'merely'
-uxw-'not much'
-tə?xw 'just' (Rf)
tu?xw 'just'

Note, however:
taxta 'later'
Coast
qanta 'finally, eventually'

təxw-'later'

Sets 118

-nuxu '(to) fly'
Interior

This suffix also occurs -nuxw 'to gallop, to run (also of as a central lexical element water)'

Bella Coola

Sh

-ha-1-nuxu-naq-nam 'to race against one another'

Note also set 112 with:

-nuxu?-nuk 'creek'

-nuk 'rock'
Kootenay \( y \) \hfill \text{Salishan \( y \)}

Set 119

\( *?\text{ay} \) 'to exchange, barter, pay' \text{(Kp) PS}

\( *?\text{ay}(?) \) 'change' \text{(TTK) PS}

Interior

\( ?\text{éz-} \) 'pay, buy' \text{Th}

\( ?\text{ey-} \) 'exchange, give in return, meet' \text{Sh}

\( ?\text{ay?} s \) 'trade' \text{Cm}

\( ?\text{id} \) 'exchange, barter' \text{Cr}

Bella Coola

\( ?\text{ay-aw-} \) 'change something' \text{(TTK)}

Coast

\( ?\text{áyiw-at} \) 'change something' \text{Se}

\( \text{nəxʷ-?\text{ay}'} \) 'exchange' \text{Sq}

\( ?\text{ay'} \) 'change' \text{Ld}

\( ?\text{áytxʷ} \) 'trade it, exchange it' \text{Ld}

Tsamosan

\( ?\text{áy?śi-} \) 'trade' \text{Ch}

\( ?\text{áy?śi-} \) 'trade' \text{Cz}

\( ?\text{áy(śi)-} \) 'change' \text{Cz}

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

Set 33 (Kootenay -yax(a)) \hfill \text{under x - ?}
Kootenay -i(?) a suffix which forms verb stems out of bound verb roots. The resulting verb stems most often translate into English as an adjective with the copula 'to be':

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 /ʔ/ corresponding to Salishan /ʔ/
see:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Kootenay Phrase</th>
<th>Corresponding Salishan</th>
<th>Under</th>
<th>Kootenay Phoneme</th>
<th>Salishan Phoneme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>(Kootenay kaʔa)</td>
<td>under k - k</td>
<td></td>
<td>k - k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?uk- 'all')</td>
<td>under k - kʷ</td>
<td></td>
<td>k - kʷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?iskax-)</td>
<td>under k' - k'</td>
<td></td>
<td>k' - k'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?ila)</td>
<td>under t - 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>t - 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?aʔak(i)t)</td>
<td>under t - 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>t - 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?an)</td>
<td>under n - n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n - n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?as)</td>
<td>under s - s</td>
<td></td>
<td>s - s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>(Kootenay ta(ʔ)- 'know')</td>
<td>under t - t</td>
<td></td>
<td>t - t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?i(ʔ)t-)</td>
<td>under t - t</td>
<td></td>
<td>t - t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?it'i-)</td>
<td>under t' - t'</td>
<td></td>
<td>t' - t'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>(Kootenay xa(ʔ))</td>
<td>under x - χ</td>
<td></td>
<td>x - χ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>(Kootenay ?ay)</td>
<td>under y - y</td>
<td></td>
<td>y - y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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 ø
Sets involving ablaut: 64, 71

Kootenay u       Salishan ø
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:

*ι       *υ
       *ø
       *α

There are also a number of minor correspondences such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>(21, 28, 29, 96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>(73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(7, 36, 104)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(84)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Type of ablaut indicated for Proto-Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ciK-</td>
<td>*i - a - ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>cin-</td>
<td>*i - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mac'-</td>
<td>*i - a - ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>qa-</td>
<td>*i - a - ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pac-</td>
<td>*i - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>wa’lik</td>
<td>*i - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>-xax(a)</td>
<td>*i - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>-ña(?)</td>
<td>*i - ø  adjacent to PS *s’w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>paq-</td>
<td>*i - ø  (for PEIS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>cum-</td>
<td>*i - ø  before PS *m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>čup-</td>
<td>*i - ø  before PS *p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>-muk</td>
<td>*u - ø  adjacent to PS *k’w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>q̓umi(?)</td>
<td>*u - ø  &quot;  &quot; PS *q’w or *q’w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>-nuxu(?)</td>
<td>*u - ø  &quot;  &quot; PS *x’w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>tuxa</td>
<td>*u - ø  &quot;  &quot; PS *x’w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *o 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 - o 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'. I may not have succeeded in every case in my attempt to include only
strictly cognate Salishan items in each subset.

### Kootenay u

#### Set 56a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Salishan a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?uk'i (?) 'one', 'for there to be one (of something)'</td>
<td>Set 56a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?uk' 'one, some'</td>
<td>nəkʷ'-ú?, nəkʷ 'one, other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nəkʷ- 'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nkʷ- 'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēkʷe? 'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nkʷu? 'one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Interior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PS</th>
<th>Sh</th>
<th>Cm</th>
<th>Cr</th>
<th>Ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?uk'- 'one, some'</td>
<td>nəkʷ-ú?, nəkʷ 'one, other'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nəkʷ- 'one'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nkʷ- 'one'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēkʷe? 'one'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nkʷu? 'one'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Coast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NLd</th>
<th>SLd</th>
<th>Tw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nč-u? 'one'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāč'a? 'one'</td>
<td>Cw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləčό, ləčə 'one'</td>
<td>Ck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəču? 'one'</td>
<td>NLd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōču? 'one'</td>
<td>SLd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəču- 'one' (Kd)</td>
<td>Tw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Kootenay a

#### Set 56b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Salishan a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ak'-la-na- 'different'</td>
<td>Set 56b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nak' 'one, other; change' (Kp)</td>
<td>PS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ak'-la-k 'other'</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nek' 'to change'</td>
<td>Sh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Coast
130

Set 56b (continued)

nač- 'change, differ' Sq
nēć 'different' Sn
nēć 'different' (Mg) Cw
lec, ləc 'one' Ck

Tsamosan

nač- 'one' Ch
nak'-aw- 'one' Cz

Set 56c

Kootenay i  Salishan ṣ also i

-nik' 'parent(s)' Interior

-nik'-naʔmu(?) 'relative(s)' nək'-úsəm 'party, family' Sh

-nik' '(such and such) one(s)', nik' 'be tribe' Cr

'(such and such) tribe, people' Coast

nēʔ-áyʔəwʔəm 'family' Sq
xʷnəčələm 'family' Cw
nəčəmləməxʷ 'people, tribe' Cw
dəčə(?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 /nēkʷeʔ/ '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, /-luʔk/ 'word, language, sound' and /-likyax(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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paq- '(probably) white'</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*piq 'white' (KS)  PEIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*poq 'white' (KS)  PEIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pøq 'white'      Cx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 121

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>puqul-nana 'white camas'</th>
<th>Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nana 'diminutive'</td>
<td>qʷtəʔiʔ 'camas' (TTE) Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qʷtəʔəl(?) &quot; &quot; Lm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qʷtəʔəl(?) &quot; &quot; Sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qʷtəʔəl? &quot; &quot; Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qʷtəʔiʔ &quot; &quot; So</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 /pac-/ while Salishan languages have /pit/, /pil/, or /pat/.

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 - ø ablaut in Kootenay. Sets 42 and 66 also involve ablaut in Salishan languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 42</td>
<td>-kin, -kn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i/ø (Sh), i/ø (Ka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 66</td>
<td>-min, -mn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a/ø (Sq)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 34</td>
<td>-ída, -ídə- (Lower Kootenay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-íduma, -ídə- (Upper Kootenay)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /taqmila/ 'deerfly' while Squamish has /ći-cq'als/ 'small black flies'. The /m/ of the Kootenay word does not correspond regularly to anything in the Squamish word, while the correspondence of Kootenay /č/ 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 /a?u/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xa'ca 'four'</td>
<td>Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa?úcn 'four objects'</td>
<td>Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa?áòen 'four'</td>
<td>Cw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa?á·òel 'four'</td>
<td>Ck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xǝθ-ǝlsxǝ́ 'forty'</td>
<td>Ck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
The probable cognate sets presented in this work include the Kootenay items: /ʔuki(ʔ)/ 'one', /ʔuk'/ '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 /qalsa/ '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 *kʷétwō:res 'four' and *pēnkʷe '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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Interior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qalsə 'three', 'for there to be three (of something)'</td>
<td>keʔłès 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čeʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čeʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čeʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čeʔłəs, čeʔłə 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čiʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čáʔłəs 'three'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 122
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 forth set is of independent interest but also has some relevance to the third set below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hin 'you'</td>
<td>*ʔen- 'thy' (Newman)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 123

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kootenay</th>
<th>Salishan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>his 'feed'</td>
<td>*ʔis- 'eat' (Newman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?is- 'eat, drink, gather' (Newman) Be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?iis- 'eat, eater' Ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 124
Newman bases his reconstruction of the pronominal element *?ən- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal Proclitic</th>
<th>Imperative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hin</td>
<td>*?ən 'thy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>*(h)ə?-, e?-, ?in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an- 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n?-, /n?/- 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>han? 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ad- (Hs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ad- 'your (sg.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ad 'suffix marking second person following -(u)but thus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salishan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>Th</th>
<th>Sh</th>
<th>Cm</th>
<th>Cv</th>
<th>Ok</th>
<th>Sp</th>
<th>Ka</th>
<th>Cr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(h)ə?-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?- , e?-, ?in-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Newman)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coast</th>
<th>Sq</th>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>So</th>
<th>Ld</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ə-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n?/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rf)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad- (Hs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ad-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(u)butəd 'you (pl.)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(u)butəd 'you (pl.)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Newman)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsamosan</th>
<th>Tw</th>
<th>Ti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?i(s)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?is-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
141

Set 123  (continued)  

(Tsamosan)  

?a-  

(Newman) Ch  

Set 127  

hu  'first person pro-
nominal proclitic'  

Interior  

k'w  'me', 'we'  

Cv  

-u 'first person object  

k'w  '1st sg. and 1st pl. object'  

Ok  

suffix in the imperative'  

k'w  '1st sg. object'  

Ka  

k'w  'me'  

Sp  

Set 128  

-is  'second person pro-
nominal object suffix',  

//si//  'second person singular  

'second person  

object suffix'  

Sp  

capossessive suffix'
Kootenay

-ala 'first person plural subject and possessive suffix'

Salishan

Set 129

*-at, -ať '1st person plural possessive and subject' (Kp) PS

*-uľ/l '1st person plural object' (Kp) PS

Bella Coola

-(i)i 'our, we' (Newman)

Coast

čəl 'we, us'

čəd 'I, me'

čəxʷ 'you'

-ali 'we, us'

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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.
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.

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 *nenike. Laurence Thompson (personal communication) notes that a number of words in Thompson designating people have vocative forms without the s- prefix. For example, s-nukwe? 'friend, relative' with the vocative form nukwe?.
Kootenay

стаъм 'dug-out canoe'  

Salishan

//s-tām/  staъm 'It's a boat'

Set B3

staъm 'boat'

staъm 'boat'

s-tiъm 'a boat'

s-tiъm 'boat'

s-tiъm 'boat'

s-tiъm 'boat'

Set B4

lukъ 'wood, firewood'

lukъ 'wood'

lukъ 'wood, stick of wood'

lukъ 'stick of wood'

Set B5

xaъtсin 'dog'

kqαъtХαъtсin 'horse'

ka xaъtсin 'my horse, my dog'

kqαъtХαъtсin is said to be a contracted form of

kqαъt 'bull elk'

plus xaъtсin 'dog'.

Interior

χъξ-сін 'horse'

χъ(и), (χеχ(и)) 'to chew, to eat'

χъξ-сін 'horse'

χъξ-сін 'dog'

Coast

дхъ'с-χξълъикъ 'biter' (i.e. vicious dog)

χъξ 'bite'

Tsamosan

χъξ 'dog smell'

Kootenay

staъm 'dug-out canoe'  

Salishan

//s-tām// staъm 'It's a boat'

Set B3

staъm 'boat'

staъm 'boat'

s-tiъm 'a boat'

s-tiъm 'boat'

s-tiъm 'boat'

Set B4

lukъ 'wood, firewood'

lukъ 'wood'

lukъ 'wood, stick of wood'

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kqαъtХαъtсin 'horse'

ka xaъtсin 'my horse, my dog'

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kqαъt 'bull elk'

plus xaъtсin 'dog'.
Kootenay

swa? 'cougar, mountain lion'

Set B6

Salishan

'swa? 'cougar' (KS) Cv
's-wa? 'cougar' (KS) Cr
'swa?swa? 'cougar' Cm

Notably, Shuswap and Flathead have quite different words:

skwotisemiyë 'cougar' Fl
s-muwe? 'cougar' Sh

Coast

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

Tsamosan

swä'wa? 'cougar' Ch
swawa? 'cougar' Cz

cwa?a? 'cougar' Qn

Set B7

łu?u 'awl'

łu?-nana 'needle'

-nana 'diminutive'

Interior

łu?(ū) 'to stab, to pierce' Sp

łu?-mín 'a spear' Sp

łu?-mn 'a spear' Sp

łu? 'to sting, wound with a pointed instrument' Ka
Set B7 (continued)

\[ \text{ìu?} \quad '\text{to poke, stab, sting}' \quad \text{Sh} \]
\[ \text{//ìu?u//} \quad '\text{stab}' \quad \text{Th} \]

It is not very likely that the Kootenay word /ìu?u/ 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 /I/.

It appears likely that the word /ìu?u/ may have been borrowed into Kootenay before the word /swa?/. The word /swa?/ 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 /ni?/ (which for the moment can be labelled) 'demonstrative' and /ka?/ '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 /ni?i/ and /ka?a/.

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':
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 /ni?, ni?i/ and /ka?, ka?a/ that Mountain Kootenay experienced a sound shift which transformed phonetic echo vowels into fully phonemic vowels. The word /ţu?u/ 'awl' and its partner /ţu?nana/ 'needle' seem to have come into use before or during the time when this sound shift occurred. The word /swa?/ on the other hand, probably entered the language after the shift was completed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plains Kootenay</th>
<th>Mountain Kootenay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku?</td>
<td>'abondoned camp site'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ku?u/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu?</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wu?u/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţu?</td>
<td>'awl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ţu?u/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay

Kootenay also recorded as:
saptin

Salishan

Set B8

saptin 'Nez Perce Indian(s)
Also recorded as:
saptin

[kəptə'nəks] 'Nez Perce Indians'

Set B9

kululu, kululu 'butterfly'
The l's in this word
are voiced. All other words
with voiced 1 in Kootenay
are either imitative or
are from French perhaps by
way of Chinook Jargon.

Set B10

ququeski(?) 'blue jay' (i.e. Steller's jay)

q'ásqi? 'blue jay'
q'ásqi 'blue jay'
q'ásqi 'Steller's jay'
q'ásqi 'blue jay'
q'ásqi 'blue jay'
q'ásqi? 'Steller's jay'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set B11</th>
<th>Interior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sya?ya 'a variety of service berry' (i.e. saskatoon berry)</td>
<td>siya? 'saskatoon berries' (Bd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-yéye? 'a kind of sarvis berry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-yáya? 'service berry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set B12

| sxayik' 'an onion-like plant' | sxýk' '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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>?an?an' 'magpie'</th>
<th>Interior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anh' 'American magpie'</td>
<td>F1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?anh' 'magpie'</td>
<td>Sp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wən?wáps 'magpie'</td>
<td>Cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?eləl 'magpie'</td>
<td>Ck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsamosan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ánə?ánə 'magpie'</td>
<td>Ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ánə?an? 'magpie'</td>
<td>Cz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kootenay

Salishan

Set B14

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

Set B15

skicuʔk 'Coeur d'Alene Indian(s)' skícaʔuxʷ 'Coeur d'Alene' Cm

s-čicuʔumš 'Coeur d'Alene' (KS) Cr
### Kootenay

**suyapi** 'white person, white people'

### Salishan

#### Interior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>suyapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>suyápi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>suyápi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>suyépəmš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>suyápənuxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>swiyápənuxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>swyep-mx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>suyápixʷ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Note:**

#### Sahaptian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td>-po², -pu² 'suffix for tribal names'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahaptin</td>
<td>Šuyápú 'whiteman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Aoki (1970) for speculation on the ultimate source of the Sahaptian words.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>153</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td></td>
<td>č̓uču 'fish hawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salishan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Set B17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td></td>
<td>č̓ix̓ 'fish hawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>č̓ix̓ 'fish hawk' (KS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>č̓ix̓ 'fish hawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>č̓ix̓ 'fish hawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>č̓ix̓b č̓ix̓b 'what fish hawk says in a story'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsamosan</td>
<td></td>
<td>č̓ix̓ 'fish hawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Set B18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Also recorded as:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s-piqw 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pís 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p̓e-stəʔ 'nighthawk' (KS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p̓as 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sp̓as 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p̓s-p̓ə̕as 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>piq 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>piq 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>piq 'nighthawk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
154

Set B18 (continued)

Tsamosan

p'ɪw? 'nighthawk'

Set B19

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

Lower Kootenay has:  χ’a’xa’s 'crow'

nana?ki 'crow'

Set B20

kin' 'pika'  Interior

s-kín' 'pika'

s-čin' 'pika' (KS)

s-kíl' 'pika'

sčin 'pika'
Kootenay

\( \text{t'a-} \) The base of verb stems for: 'to explode, rock to split from heat, to shoot, animal to make its characteristic sound, to slap'

Salishan

Set B21

Interior

\( \text{t'ekw'} \) 'pl. cry out, make noise like a colt'

\( \text{t'iqw'} \) 'explode, shoot, go off'

\( \text{t'eqw'} \) 'explode, go off'

\( \text{t'ap} \) 'shoot'

\( \text{t'ekw'} \) 'slap'

\( \text{t'iqw'} \) 'slap' (KS)

\( \text{t'eqw'} \) 'slap'

\( \text{t'ap} \) 'slap'

\( \text{t'ekw'} \) 'slap'

\( \text{Cm} \)

\( \text{Cr} \)

\( \text{Cr} \)

\( \text{Cr} \)

\( \text{Cr} \)

\( \text{Km} \)
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.
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 /l/ and /L/. The following additional forms are provided by Kuipers (1979):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pal- 'to smear, smudge'</td>
<td>Sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poy-it 'scatter'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pîl-it 'scatter'</td>
<td>Me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also cases of Salishan doublets involving /l/ and /n/.
A good example is the Salishan root element in set 1 where Squamish has /tɬıč/ 'be cut' along with /tɬač-tn/ 'knife'. The following forms with /n/ also occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>Th</th>
<th>Sh</th>
<th>Cr</th>
<th>Ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>//ni̱ḵ// 'cut'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niḵ 'cut'</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nič 'cut with blade'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nič 'to cut, saw'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that both Shuswap and Coeur d'Alene provide a form with /n/ and a form with /t/. A

3. For example, both /a/ in Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz (set 114) and /e̊/ 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
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 /kyunaʔʔupit/, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salishan</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Columbian</td>
<td>Kinkade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coeur d'Alene</td>
<td>Reichard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>Krueger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalispel</td>
<td>Vogt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spokane</td>
<td>Carlson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colville</td>
<td>Mattina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methow</td>
<td>Kinkade and Sloat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
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ICSL  International Conference on Salish Languages  
IJAL  International Journal of American Linguistics  

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