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ETHNOLINGUISTICS.

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CLALLAM: A STUDY IN COAST SALISH  
ETHNOLINGUISTICS

By

MARK STEWART FLEISHER

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY  
Department of Anthropology

1976

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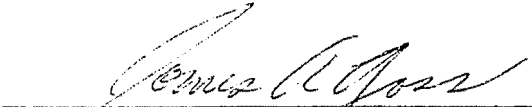
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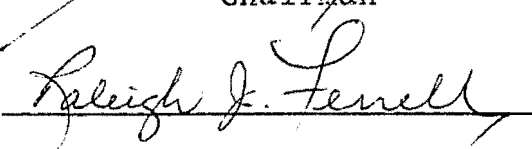
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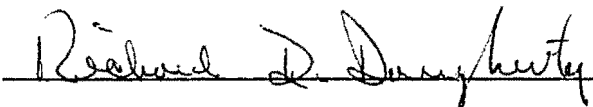
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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to  
examine the dissertation of MARK STEWART FLEISHER  
find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Chairman

  
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## CLALLAM: A STUDY IN COAST SALISH

## ETHNOLINGUISTICS

## ABSTRACT

by Mark Stewart Fleisher, Ph.D.  
Washington State University, 1976

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This study presents a generative semantic/phonological analysis of Clallam, a Coast Salish language. The close relationships between the Straits Salish languages (dialects ?) make this analysis of particular relevance to the study of Sooke and Songish, spoken on Vancouver Island, British Columbia, and Lummi, spoken around Bellingham, Washington. An extensive stem lexicon of Clallam, with comparative Salish data from other sources, complements the analysis and increases its usefulness for future Salish research.

The analysis treats two primary syntactic categories in Clallam: (1) particles, and (2) inflected surface forms. Particles occur as (a) aspect/mode markers, and (b) personal and demonstrative pronouns. Inflected surface forms appear syntactically as nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives; however, lexical items within each of these categories are in effect derived from underlying verbal stems.

The generative phonological rules account for the major morphophonemic variations. These rules indicate complex underlying relationships and alternations between (1) glides and

vowels, e.g., /a/ <\*/h/; glides and non-continuant obstruents, e.g., /y/ ~ /č/ <\*/<sup>t</sup>y/; and (3) continuant and non-continuant obstruents, e.g., /c/ <\*/<sup>t</sup>s/. Discovery of these relationships will permit the reduction of the number of underlying phonemes in Proto-Salish.

This study is the outcome of "salvage" ethnolinguistic fieldwork in Port Angeles, Washington, August 1974-June 1975. A more substantial body of linguistic data is provided than would have been the case were Clallam not on the verge of extinction.

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## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Geographic Distribution

The Clallam Indians were one of four groups which aboriginally inhabited the northern Olympic Peninsula of western Washington. Their geographic distribution extended from the Hoko River, on the western part of the Peninsula, to Port Townsend, on the eastern portion (Figure 1).

Currently, the Clallams live in three main areas: (1) the Lower Elwha Reservation, Port Angeles, Washington; (2) Jamestown, Washington; and (3) the Little Boston Reservation, Port Gamble, Washington (Figure 2).

Demography

Gunther (1927:180) discusses the limited census data available for a few Clallam villages: "The only towns of which definite present day census have been secured are Jamestown and Washington Harbor. At Jamestown in 1925 there are thirteen houses with seventy-five occupants . . . . The village at Washington Harbor had nine houses sheltering forty-three people in 1880. In 1923 a census . . . listed 296 Klallam residing in three localities, Jamestown, Elwah [sic] and Clallam Bay."

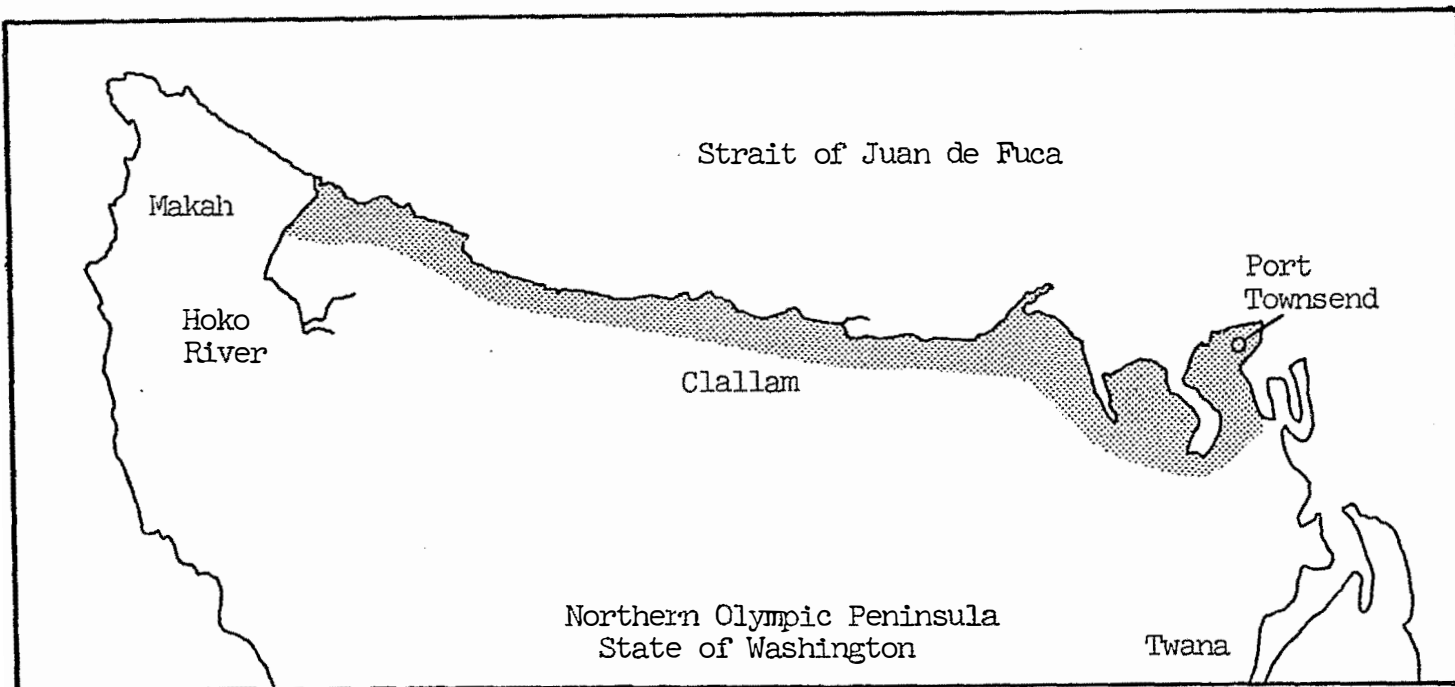


Figure 1. Aboriginal Clallam distribution.

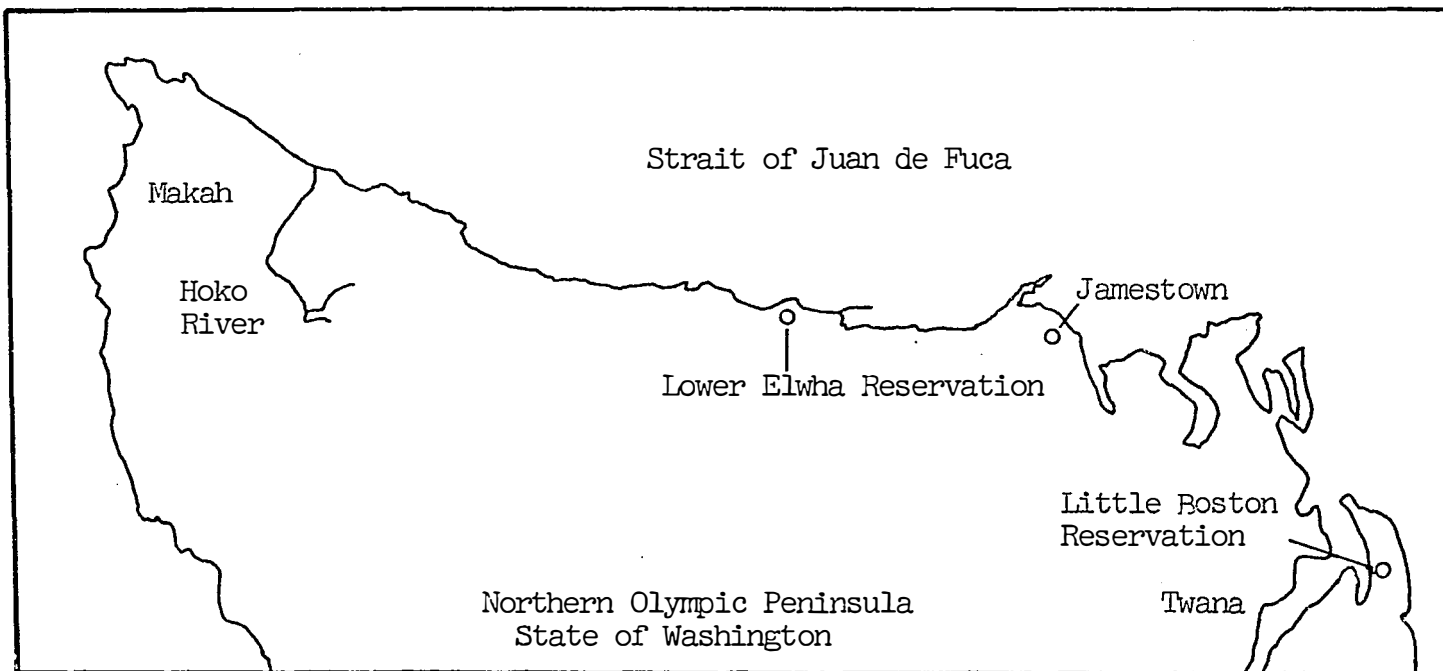


Figure 2. 1975 Clallam distribution.



Gunther (1927:181) gives the following total tribal population figures.

Date	Population
1841	420
1845	1500
1855	926
1862	1300
1878	597
1881	485
1923	296

### Literature Survey

The Clallam language has received relatively little attention. The principal source is the work of L. Thompson and M. Thompson (1969, 1971) and L. Thompson, M. Thompson, and B. Efrat (1974). The main source for Clallam ethnographic data are Gunther's publications (1925, 1927). Various other works, e.g., Curtis (1913), Eells (1971), Gibbs (1863), provide limited cultural data while linguistic information is limited to vocabulary items in these sources.

### The Clallam Language

Clallam is a Coast Salishan language belonging to a complex dialect chain which includes " . . . Lummi and some nearly identical dialects around the area of Bellingham and Blaine, Washington, and aboriginally on the islands of the San Juan group, across to Songish . . . around modern Victoria, on Vancouver Island, and on northward to include Saanich . . . and westward on the island to Sooke" (Thompson 1973:1010). Suttles (1954:29-31) labeled this dialect chain "Straits Salish" (Figure 3).

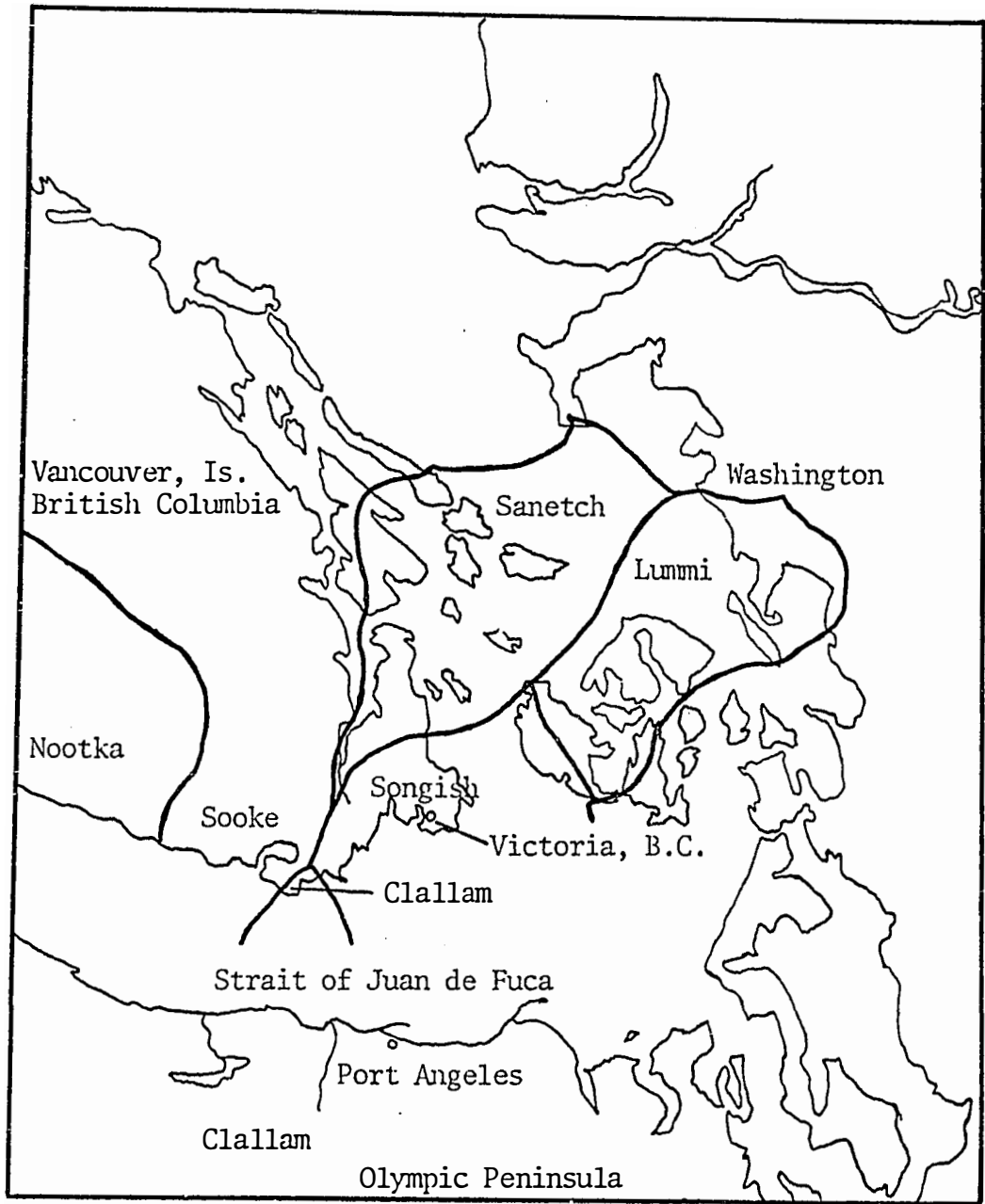


Figure 3. Straits Salish distribution (adapted from Suttles 1954).

The linguistic position of Clallam vis-à-vis other Straits Salishan languages is at best unclear. Lower Elwha informants report mutual intelligibility between Clallam and Lummi and unidentified speech forms around Victoria, British Columbia. If mutual intelligibility is a criterion establishing dialect versus language boundaries, then the assumption that Clallam is significantly distinct from the northern Straits Salish dialects must be rethought. Geographic distribution of the Straits Salish speech communities leads to the assumption that closer linguistic and cultural relationships existed among northern Straits Salish groups than between Clallam and northern Straits Salish. Clallam has been separated from the northern Straits Salish groups long enough to allow linguistic divergences to appear but not long enough to have evolved into a linguistic system which would warrant classification as a separate language, particularly in view of phonological processes shared by Straits Salish dialects.

### The Position of Straits Salish

Swadesh's 1950 classification of Salish languages is generally recognized as valid today. The outline below is restricted to the Coast Division of the Salishan Family (Swadesh 1950:163).

#### II. Coast Division

##### A. North Georgia Branch

- 1) Comox
- 2) Seshelt
- 3) Pentlatch

B. South Georgia Branch

- 1) Squamish
- 2) Nanaimo Group
  - a) Fraser
  - b) Nanaimo
- 3) Lkungen Group
  - a) Lummi
  - b) Lkungen
  - c) Clallam

C. Puget Sound Branch

- a) Skagit-Snohomish
- b) Nisqualli

D. Hood Canal Branch

- a) Twana

E. Olympic Branch

- 1) Satsop Group
  - a) Cowlitz
  - b) Chehalis-Satsop
- 2) Lower Chehalis
- 3) Quinault

Data Collection

Data for this dissertation were elicited from August 1974-June 1975, from informants living on or near the Lower Elwha Reservation. The major informants, Mrs. Ann Bennett (AB), and Mrs. Irene Charles (IC) collaborated closely at each elicitation session.

The main consequence of working with only female informants, concerns not primarily the elicitation of male-versus-female speech forms, but rather the gathering of ethnographic data. Although female informants exhibited general familiarity with the roles of males and artifacts associated with those roles, in-depth data regarding the male roles in Clallam society would have to be asked of men. A number of factors made it unfeasible to work closely with a male informant in this project.

#### Research Limitations

Clallam as a speech community is virtually extinct; only several individuals have a native command of the language.

The use of Clallam as the daily vehicle of communication is rare. Those individuals with a native command of Clallam have not spoken the language on a regular basis for many years. Consequently, many lexical items have been forgotten and grammatical processes may have been simplified.

#### Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 posits nine semantic classes of surface nominal material organized according to semantic feature identity. The order in which each semantic class occurs follows the 'egocentric' organization presented in Goss (1972). I felt that this was a satisfying way to handle both linguistic and ethnographic data parsimoniously while simultaneously attributing to the data the feeling that it is with the individual that the investigation into culture and its social systems should begin.

The presentation of semantic classes of nominals was minimally motivated by the data (cf. Plants [2.4]). These classes, as speculative semantic categories, are the tentative constituents structuring the objective world of the Clallam. Given the uncertain nature of this structure, I would hesitate to argue the psychological reality of the semantic categories without first constructing and field-testing a projective test which might aid the cognitive anthropologist in determining the psychological validity of semantic categories. From a heuristic view, however, the organization of the data as I have suggested permits manageability of a sizeable quantity of data while suggesting the possibility of an inherent order.

Within Chapter 2, underlined Clallam forms indicate that they have been taken from other sources; forms between slashes, e.g., /sʰčucən?/, are from my own field data; and, whenever possible, the data are organized according to common underlying root elements.

Chapter 3 is a semantic analysis of personal and demonstrative pronouns.

Chapter 4 presents a semantic analysis of verb resolution, aspect and mode, verbal affixes, and participials and gerunds.

Chapter 5 is a generative phonological analysis including a distinctive feature matrix, phonological redundancy rules, and phonological rules accounting for Clallam morphophonemics.

Lexical items throughout the dissertation are not written as systematic phonetic representations; rather, I offer taxonomic

phonemic representations (which are often identical with or similar to systematic phonetic representations) since a more complete generative phonological analysis will require additional field work and considerably more analysis. It also makes this study more readily usable for comparison with other Salishan language studies, inasmuch as all recent studies published to date are characterized by taxonomic phonemic notations.

### Objectives of this Study

The basic objectives of this study are outlined as follows:

- (1) To provide the reader with a substantially larger body of linguistic data than would have been provided if Clallam was not on the verge of extinction.
- (2) To organize the linguistic data following the major syntactic classes in Clallam. Although I have chosen to classify semantically nominal material as nouns, the existence of nouns as a discrete syntactic class is problematic. In all probability, nouns represent active and possessive inflected forms of verbs.
- (3) To analyze linguistic data from a generative semantic and phonological theoretical stance. Generative semantics is in its infancy for Salish; the present analysis, although tentative, begins to deal with the problem of cognition vis-à-vis socio-physical environment.

The generative phonological analysis of Clallam suggests that the phonemic inventory of Proto-Salish as posited by Kuipers (1970) can be significantly reduced; that on the basis of shared phonological processes, if not surface comparison, Clallam is a dialect of Straits Salish (cf. L. Thompson, M. Thompson, and B. Efrat 1974), and, in general, the majority of complexities in Clallam are syntactic not phonological (cf. L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1971:272).

## CHAPTER 2

## NOUNS

Introduction

Semantically nominal material is generally derived from underlying verbs used metaphorically or metonymically to define physical objects or reify abstract notions. Used in this way, a verb may connote or denote an inalienable quality or characteristic of an object. The non-native interpretation of the inherent verbal quality of an object is nominal; the verbal implication is, in effect, instantly concretized.

Semantic Noun Classes

Nouns are differentiated on the basis of semantic feature identity. The distribution of semantic features through the general category of surface nominals produces semantically based noun classes where the members of each noun class share a bundle of semantic features. The semantic structure rules specifying the features for each semantic noun class are patterned after Goss (1972:65). Following Goss' model, semantic class labels for nouns are provided by semantic redundancy rules.



Semantic Feature Structure

Semantic Feature Distribution

The semantic features which uniquely specify each semantic noun class are: (1) Common versus Unique (Common versus Proper); (2) Animate versus Inanimate; and (3) Possessed versus Unpossessed. The semantic distinction [+ Common]:[- Common] is not overtly marked. [- Common] applies only to the category of Supernatural nouns. The appearance of semantic markers distinguishing [+ Animate]:[- Animate] nouns is discussed in Chapter 3.

2.I	[+ Noun]	→	[± Common] [± Animate] [± Possessed]
2.II	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Common} \\ + \text{ Animate} \end{array} \right]$	→	[± Human]
2.III	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Common} \\ - \text{ Animate} \end{array} \right]$	→	[± Place Name] [± Natural]
2.IV	[+ Natural]	→	[± Geographic] [± Plant]
2.V	[+ Geographic]	→	[± Topographic] [± Mineral]

Semantic Redundancy Rules

2.1	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Animate} \\ + \text{Possessed} \end{array} \right]$	=	Bodypart
2.2	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Human} \\ + \text{Possessed} \end{array} \right]$	=	Kinterm
2.3	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Human} \\ + \text{Common} \end{array} \right]$	=	Animal
2.4	[+ Plant]	=	Plant
2.5	[- Natural]	=	Artifact
2.6	[+ Place Name]	=	Place Name
2.7	[+ Topographic]	=	Topographic
2.8	[+ Mineral]	=	Mineral
2.9	[- Topographic]	=	Atmospheric

Possession

[+ Possessed] nouns indicate a semantic category of inalienably possessed nouns which optionally occur with a possessive affix. The semantic features specifying possession are:

(1) Speaker (whether the speaker is included); and (2)  
Addressee (whether the addressee is included).

		[± Speaker]	
[+ Possessed]	→		/ <u>Noun stem</u>
		[± Addressee]	

### Prefixes

[+ Speaker		
- Addressee]	→	/n(ə)-/ 'my'

- Speaker		
+ Addressee]	→	/nʔ-/ 'your'

### Suffixes

+ Speaker		
+ Addressee]	→	/-ʔ/ 'our'

- Speaker		
- Addressee]	→	/-s/ '3rd singular/plural'

Bodypart Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ + \text{ Possessed} \\ - \text{ Human} \end{array} \right] = \text{Bodypart}$$

Nouns which are defined as possessed and non-human refer to Bodypart nouns. These nouns are inherently possessed regardless of their occurrence with an overt possessive affix. Derivational and inflectional information is provided in the lexicon.

Bodypart Nouns (2.1)

2.1.1.	/sčamʔ/	'bone'
	/sčamʔeqʷ/	'skull'
	/sčamʔucənʔ/	'mandible'
	/sxʷčəmčamuʔəč/	'spine'
2.1.2.	/qʷincən/	'whiskers'
	/ʔəsqaʔnucən/	'mustache'
	/ʔəsxʷqʷənqʷinənʔ/	'beard'
2.1.3.	/sxʷčəqʷ/	'waist'
	/sxʷčəqʷac/	'wrist'
	/sxʷčəqʷəsənʔ/	'ankle'
2.1.4.	/sqʷəŋəʔ/	'head'
	/sqʷəŋəs/	'forehead'

2.1.5.	/sx <sup>w</sup> qtaye <sup>w</sup> /	'top of head'
2.1.6.	/sx <sup>w</sup> əyən <sup>?</sup> /	'side of head'
2.1.7.	/qayən <sup>?</sup> ~ qa <sup>?</sup> ə <sup>?</sup> n <sup>?</sup> /	'eye'
2.1.8.	/s <sup>?</sup> acs/	'face'
2.1.9.	/sx <sup>w</sup> ʔi <sup>?</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> n <sup>?</sup> /	'cheek'
2.1.10.	/sx <sup>w</sup> ʔəq <sup>w</sup> ʔi <sup>?</sup> n <sup>?</sup> /	'temple'
2.1.11.	/s <sup>?</sup> čucən <sup>?</sup> /	'chin, lower lip'
2.1.12.	/sc <sup>?</sup> ʔucən <sup>?</sup> /	'upper lip'
2.1.13.	/cucən/	'mouth, lips'
2.1.14.	/q <sup>?</sup> wayən <sup>?</sup> /	'ear'
2.1.15.	/sx <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> aytn/	'voice'
2.1.16.	/tačs <sup>?</sup> n <sup>?</sup> /	'back of head/neck'
2.1.17.	/nəqsən/	'nose'
2.1.18.	/sx <sup>w</sup> c <sup>?</sup> ʔk <sup>w</sup> ayqsən/	'nostril'
2.1.19.	/k <sup>?</sup> wiyaq <sup>?</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> /	'scalp'
2.1.20.	/k <sup>?</sup> wu <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> /	'skin'
2.1.21.	/tix <sup>w</sup> ʔc/	'tongue'
2.1.22.	/čəns/	'tooth'
2.1.23.	/sx <sup>w</sup> k <sup>?</sup> wə <sup>?</sup> n <sup>?</sup> /	'esophagus'
2.1.24.	/x <sup>w</sup> unən <sup>?</sup> /	'neck'
2.1.25.	/čəčaytn <sup>?</sup> /	'body'
2.1.26.	/stcik <sup>w</sup> n/	'upper back'
	/stack <sup>w</sup> ʔ/	'lower back'
2.1.27.	/ʔac/	'belly'
2.1.28.	/s <sup>?</sup> ʔix <sup>w</sup> qn <sup>?</sup> /	'navel'
2.1.29.	/nəwe <sup>?</sup> /	'umbilical cord'
2.1.30.	/sqamu <sup>?</sup> /	'breast, mother's milk'

2.1.31.	/ʕaŋəɬ/	'chest'
2.1.32.	/ciq <sup>w</sup> ənʔ/	'shoulder'
2.1.33.	/tawiʔ/	'arm'
2.1.34.	/sqiʔuk <sup>w</sup> s/	'left arm/hand'
2.1.35.	/sčik <sup>w</sup> s/	'right arm/hand'
2.1.36.	/sčxac/	'finger'
	/sčxsən/	'toe'
2.1.37.	/sk <sup>w</sup> icəʔqsayʔs/	'index finger'
2.1.38.	/ʔəsc <sup>t</sup> əŋənuʔics/	'middle finger'
	/scactuʔics/	'thumb'
	/scəʔctuysən/	'big toe'
2.1.39.	/ʔəsŋaʔŋənuʔics/	'ring finger'
2.1.40.	/sqaʔqiʔuʔics/	'little finger'
2.1.41.	/čš <sup>u</sup> ʔics/	'fingernail'
	/čš <sup>u</sup> ʔisn/	'toenail, claw'
2.1.42.	/cays/	'hand'
2.1.43.	/k <sup>ʔ</sup> taʔacs/	'palm of hand'
	/k <sup>ʔ</sup> təsənʔ/	'sole of foot, foot'
2.1.44.	/sq <sup>ʔ</sup> px <sup>w</sup> iʔaxənʔ/	'elbow'
2.1.45.	/sxanaʔ/	'leg'
2.1.46.	/scxač/	'hip'
2.1.47.	/sq <sup>ʔ</sup> iʔak <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'knee'
2.1.48.	/q <sup>ʔ</sup> a <sup>ʔ</sup> nsn/	'calf'
2.1.49.	/sx <sup>w</sup> čutuʔəč/	'heel'
2.1.50.	/sk <sup>w</sup> ənəŋ/	'afterbirth'
2.1.51.	/ʔəsməquʔs/	'non-deformed skull'
2.1.52.	/yanuwəs/	'heart'

2.1.53.	/sx <sup>w</sup> čix <sup>w</sup> ik <sup>w</sup> n <sup>?</sup> /	'internal organs'
2.1.54.	/q̣e <sup>?</sup> /	'intestine'
2.1.55.	/scəncən/	'kidney'
2.1.56.	/s <sup>?</sup> taqa <sup>?</sup> /	'liver'
2.1.57.	/sk <sup>w</sup> aq <sup>w</sup> /	'lung'
2.1.58.	/ḳe <sup>?</sup> ŋən/	'tendon'
2.1.59.	/yək <sup>w</sup> x/	'rib'
2.1.60.	/čsu <sup>?</sup> /	'stomach'
2.1.61.	/sx <sup>w</sup> əŋčaytn <sup>?</sup> /	'brain'
2.1.62.	/məc/	'fat'
2.1.63.	/q̣u <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ays/	'eyebrow'
2.1.64.	/ṭəptn <sup>?</sup> /	'eyelash'
2.1.65.	/si <sup>?</sup> atn/	'hair'
2.1.66.	/spusəŋ/	'boil'
2.1.67.	/stu <sup>?</sup> ik <sup>w</sup> ən/	'blood'
2.1.68.	/ŋəčṭ/	'pus'
2.1.69.	/sx <sup>w</sup> k <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> ṭn <sup>ṭ</sup> /	'saliva'
2.1.70.	/šiyč/	'skin'
2.1.71.	/q <sup>w</sup> əxŋən/	'hoof'
2.1.72.	/čəstn/	'antler, horn'
2.1.73.	/ḳəŋq̣ṭčəqsən/	'beak'
2.1.74.	/s <sup>?</sup> ḳa <sup>?</sup> e <sup>?</sup> /	'feather, wing'
2.1.75.	/s <sup>?</sup> ḳəpi <sup>?</sup> nč/	'bird's tail'
2.1.76.	/q̣atinəŋ/	'area around the spine of a fish'
2.1.77.	/sxak <sup>w</sup> a/	'spine of a fish'
2.1.78.	/sxəp̣šən/	'fish tail'

## Kinship Nouns

### Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ + \text{ Human} \\ + \text{ Possessed} \end{array} \right] = \text{Kinterm}$$

An inalienably possessed noun with a human referent is defined as a kinterm. Clallam kinterms occur optionally with the first person, singular possessive prefix /n(ə)-/ 'my'. In addition to denoting simple possession /n(ə)-/ 'my' connotes a relationship of respect and endearment with the possessed noun. Kinterms will be marked with /n(ə)-/ 'my' within the lexicon since the connotations of respect and endearment provide affect for this noun class.

### Introduction

A group orientation is suggested in the organization of Clallam kinterms. The distinction lineal-collateral is merged and sex is not inherently marked in primary kinterms. The concern is apparently to produce and maintain the homogeneity of the group. For any individual, primary group membership is within one's age grade or generation. Personal identity is defined as group identity. The collective representations of society are transmitted from generation to generation; the expression of individuality is suppressed for successful group participation.



Clallam kinship terminology is then essentially generational. The system reflects a social system of ranked groups where each individual has an unambiguous notion of personal group membership and identity. The criterion by which age grades are rank ordered is seniority. This criterion operates in a limited fashion within age grades to form the distinction between older/younger siblings and across age grades to distinguish older/younger children.

With the exception of lineal terminology for generations  $G^0$ ,  $G^{+1}$ ,  $G^{-1}$  a system of generational kinterms operates to distinguish each age grade from every other with the exclusion of  $G^{+3}$ ,  $G^{-3}$ ,  $G^{+4}$ ,  $G^{-4}$ ,  $G^{+5}$ ,  $G^{-5}$ . In these generations the criterion of seniority does not operate; it becomes, in effect, ancillary to the criterion of reciprocity. The terminology is merged forming a series of ascending and descending generations which are linguistically identical. This creates a series of social groups each of which has a larger individual membership where theoretically any of the groups may have no living members. The empirical reality of this situation is one where ego creates a genealogical structure which is maintained irrespective of occupancy, in specific categories, by living members. The structure ego imposes on the social world simultaneously defines ego's position within the social context. The point is that groups are created throughout the social (kinship) network each of which encompasses others. The individual stands at the core of a series of concentric social groups;

it is within these groups that individual identity is lost and group identity created.

The formal recognition of individuality occurs at puberty, marriage, child-birth, and death. It is during these life crises that an individual separates from the group and is expressly treated as an individual by the members of the group. A social-psychological separation is anxiety-provoking, since an individual must temporarily set aside the stability found within group identity. To insure a successful separation (symbolic death) and return (symbolic re-birth) the life crises are embedded with highly ritualized behaviors. Barnett (1955: 128) has noted that among the Coast Salish of British Columbia, "One of the most remarkable features of Salish life was the number of ritualistic features and magical practices associated with . . . birth, puberty, marriage and death."

Individuality is a temporary condition; as the individual differentiates from society he is immediately drawn back into the socio-cultural system and must submit to the rituals of society and the group. Failure to successfully comply with group desires results in social, psychological and physical stigmatization.

#### Kinship Nouns (2.2)

Clallam kinship terminology, marriage and residence patterns are typical of the general Coast Salish system:

Throughout most of the coast large extended families predominate. Some sororal and non-sororal polygyny is practiced with co-wives usually occupying the same dwelling. Residence is usually virilocal as the groom and his potential

kinship affiliations normally determine post-nuptial residence. . . . Either all first or all first and second cousin marriages are forbidden. Cousin terminology is similar throughout the area: all cousins are equated with siblings or are called by terms clearly derivative from those for siblings . . . . Mother-aunt and avuncular terms throughout the area distinguish mother from father's sisters and mother's sisters (one term), and distinguish father from mother's brothers and father's brothers (one term) [Jorgensen 1969:80].

The kinterms elicited are:

- 2.2.1. /nə-səʔčən ~ nə-səʔčuʔiʔ/ 'my younger sibling'
- 2.2.2. /nə-sxʷtunəq/ 'my older sibling'
- 2.2.3. /nə-swiʔčačʔ/ 'my child'
- 2.2.4. /nə-tan/ 'my mother'
- 2.2.5. /nə-cət/ 'my father'
- 2.2.6. /nə-siyaʔ/ 'my grandparent'
- 2.2.7. /nə-stikʷən/ 'my niece, nephew, second cousin'
- 2.2.8. /nə-sʔuqʷə/ 'my sibling, parallel- and cross-cousin'
- 2.2.9. /nə-snəčuʔiʔ/ 'my half-sibling'
- 2.2.10. /nə-sxʷsuʔkʷʔ/ 'my step-parent'
- 2.2.11. /nə-sŋənəʔən/ 'my step-child'
- 2.2.12. /nə-tkʷənuʔiʔ/ 'my younger sibling's child'
- 2.2.13. /nə-cačc/ 'my parent's siblings'
- 2.2.14. /nə-ʔiŋuc/ 'my grandchild, sibling's child's child, first cousin's grandchild'
- 2.2.15. /nə-čaʔəmaqʷ/ 'my great grandparent, great grandchild'
- 2.2.16. /nə-həqʷəʔəqʷ/ 'my great-great grandparent, great-great grandchild'
- 2.2.17. /nə-čəʔpeʔəqʷ/ 'my great-great-great grandparent, great-great-great grandchild'

- 2.2.18. /nə-snax<sup>w</sup>tən/ 'my spouse's sibling (not of my sex), sibling's spouse (not of my sex), potential spouse'
- 2.2.19. /nə-swa<sup>?</sup>iɬ/ 'my spouse's sibling (of my sex), my sibling's spouse (of my sex)'
- 2.2.20. /nə-swəy<sup>?</sup>qə<sup>?</sup>/ 'my husband, man'
- 2.2.21. /nə-sčuta<sup>?</sup>əɬ/ 'my child's spouse'
- 2.2.22. /nə-s<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>u<sup>?</sup>is/ 'my child's spouse's parent'
- 2.2.23. /nə-maycən<sup>?</sup>/ 'my in-laws after the death of my spouse'
- 2.2.24. /nə-siya<sup>?</sup>iɬ/ 'my parent-in-law'
- 2.2.25. /nə-si<sup>?</sup>xu<sup>?</sup>iɬ/ 'my oldest child'
- 2.2.26. /nə-s<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>čayɬ/ 'my youngest child'
- 2.2.27. /nə-słani<sup>?</sup>/ 'my wife, woman'
- 2.2.28. /nə-sča<sup>?</sup>ča/ 'my friend, relation, relative'
- 2.2.29. /<sup>?</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>in nə-sča<sup>?</sup>ča/ 'my close relative' [lit.: at home relative]
- 2.2.30. /ɬqáčs/ 'my mother's kingroup, father's kingroup'

TABLE I is a distinctive feature matrix for Clallam consanguineal kinterms. The semantic features are:

(1) Lineal Relative (lineal); (2) Extended Lineal Relation (E. L.) is one where the kinterm that is used to refer to (a) the offspring of a lineal relative is also extended collaterally within the same generation as the offspring, or (b) lineal relatives is extended collaterally to include all members of that generation; (3) Half-Lineal (H. L.) is a semantic feature specifically related to half- and step-relatives. A half-sibling vis-à-vis ego shares one consanguineal parent with ego; the relationship of ego vis-à-vis step-parent is when ego is

TABLE I. A SEMANTIC DISTINCTIVE FEATURE MATRIX FOR CLALLAM CONSANGUINEAL KINTERMS

	1. Lineal	2. E. L.	3. H. L.	4. G <sup>0</sup>	5. G +1	6. G <sup>-1</sup>	7. G -2	8. G 3	9. G 4	10. M	11. OL	12. RA
səʔčən	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sx <sup>w</sup> tunəq	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
tan	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cət	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
si <sup>ʔ</sup> xu <sup>ʔ</sup> iʔ	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
sʔaʔaʔčayʔ	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
swiʔčacʔ	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
siyaʔ	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
stik <sup>w</sup> ən	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sʔu <sup>ʔ</sup> ə <sup>w</sup> əʔ	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sneč <sup>ʔ</sup> u <sup>ʔ</sup> əʔ	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sx <sup>w</sup> su <sup>ʔ</sup> k <sup>w</sup> iʔ	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sɲənaʔəŋ	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
tk <sup>w</sup> ənu <sup>ʔ</sup> iʔ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cačc	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʔiŋuc	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
čaʔəmaq <sup>w</sup>	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
hə <sup>w</sup> ə <sup>w</sup> ə <sup>w</sup> ə <sup>w</sup>	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
čə <sup>ʔ</sup> i <sup>ʔ</sup> ə <sup>w</sup> ə <sup>w</sup>	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

not genetically related to either or both (step-) parent(s); (4) Ego's Generation ( $G^0$ ); (5) First Ascending Generation ( $G+1$ ); (6) First Descending Generation ( $G-1$ ); (7) Second Descending Generation ( $G-2$ ); (8) Third Ascending and Descending Generation ( $G3$ ); (9) Fourth Ascending and Descending Generation ( $G4$ ); (10) Male Link (M); (11) Older Relative (OL); and (12) Relative Age is a feature which rank orders the offspring of ego according to the criterion of age.

Kinterms lacking inherent sex differentiation can be optionally expanded by the rules,

2.2.i + [+ Male]  $\rightarrow$  ti'a/kinterm \_\_\_\_.

2.2.ii + [- Male]  $\rightarrow$  ci'a/kinterm \_\_\_\_.

Example: /siya?/'grandparent' > /siya? ti'a/ 'grandfather';  
/siya?/'grandparent' > /siya? ci'a/ 'grandmother'.

The use of proclitic demonstrative pronouns to mark sex is infrequent. These cases will be presented as an optional expansion of the rule which characterizes the kinterm.

Each consanguineal kinterm may be expanded according to constituent semantic features by the following rules.

2.2.1.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Lineal} \\ - \text{ E. L.} \\ + \text{ } G^0 \\ - \text{ OL} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow /n\text{ə-s}\text{ə}^{\text{?}}\text{č}\text{ən} \sim n\text{ə-s}\text{ə}^{\text{?}}\text{č}\text{u}^{\text{?}}\text{i}\text{ɪ}/$  'my younger sibling'

To be read as, a kinsman who is non-extended, lineal relative of ego's generation, male or female, and who is younger than ego is called /nə-sə<sup>?</sup>čən/ 'my younger sibling'.

- 2.2.2.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ + G^0 \\ + \text{OL} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-sx<sup>w</sup>tunəq/ 'my older sibling'
- 2.2.3.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ - G^0 \\ - G^{+1} \\ + G^{-1} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-swi<sup>?</sup>čač<sup>†</sup>/ 'my child'
- + [+ RA] → /nə-si<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>i<sup>†</sup>/ 'my oldest child'
- [+ RA] → /nə-s<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>čay<sup>†</sup>/ 'my youngest child'
- 2.2.4.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ - G^0 \\ + G^{+1} \\ - \text{M} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-tan/ 'my mother'
- 2.2.5.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ - G^0 \\ + G^{+1} \\ + \text{M} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-cət/ 'my father'

- 2.2.6.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Lineal} \\ - \text{ E. L.} \\ - \text{ G}^0 \\ - \text{ G}^{+1} \\ - \text{ G}^{-1} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow /nə-siyaʔ/ \text{ 'my grandparent'}$
- 2.2.7.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Lineal} \\ + \text{ E. L.} \\ - \text{ G}^0 \end{array} \right] \rightarrow /nə-stik^wən/ \text{ 'my niece, nephew second cousin'}$
- 2.2.8.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Lineal} \\ + \text{ E. L.} \\ + \text{ G}^0 \end{array} \right] \rightarrow /nə-sʔuq^wə/ \text{ 'my sibling, parallel- and cross-cousin'}$

The social implications of merging sibling/cousin categories are apparent vis-à-vis cousin marriage.

. . . it is not desirable to marry . . . a close relative; in fact, extra-tribal marriages are rationalized as being necessary to avoid marrying one of even remote kinship. If a mate from another tribe could not be secured then at least village exogamy is desirable.

It is definitely felt that marriage with a close cousin should not take place . . . . A man at Dungeness eloped with his cross cousin's daughter. The girl's parents forced him to marry her. This is a good example of the Klallam attitude that any affair of this sort must terminate in marriage, regardless of the marriage restrictions which their kinship might impose. This man was later teased by his neighbors who said that his son was also his grandson [Gunther 1927:241].



2.2.9.  $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ + \text{H. L.} \\ + G^0 \end{bmatrix}$   $\rightarrow /nə-snəčʉʔiʔ/$  'my half-sibling'

- [+ M]  $\rightarrow /k^w sə nə-snəčʉʔiʔ/$  'my half-sister'

2.2.10.  $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ + \text{H. L.} \\ - G^0 \\ + G^{+1} \end{bmatrix}$   $\rightarrow /nə-sx^w suʔk^w ʔ/$  'my step-parent'

2.2.11.  $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ + \text{H. L.} \\ - G^0 \\ - G^{+1} \end{bmatrix}$   $\rightarrow /nə-sŋənəʔəŋ/$  'my step-child'

2.2.12.  $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ - \text{H. L.} \\ - G^{+1} \end{bmatrix}$   $\rightarrow /nə-tk^w ənuʔiʔ/$  'my younger sibling's child'

- 2.2.13.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Lineal} \\ - \text{E. L.} \\ - \text{H. L.} \\ + \text{G}^{+1} \end{array} \right]$   $\rightarrow$  /nə-cačc/ 'my parent's siblings'
- + [+ M]  $\rightarrow$  /k<sup>w</sup>əsə nə-cačc/ 'my uncles'
- [+ M]  $\rightarrow$  /k<sup>w</sup>əʔsə nə-cačc/ 'my aunts'
- 2.2.14.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Lineal} \\ + \text{E. L.} \\ + \text{G}^{-2} \end{array} \right]$   $\rightarrow$  /nə-ʔiŋuc/ 'my grandchild, sibling's child's child, first cousin's grandchild'
- 2.2.15.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Lineal} \\ + \text{E. L.} \\ - \text{G}^{-2} \\ + \text{G}^3 \end{array} \right]$   $\rightarrow$  /nə-ča<sup>3</sup>ʔəmaq<sup>w</sup>/ 'my great grandparent, great grandchild'
- 2.2.16.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Lineal} \\ + \text{E. L.} \\ - \text{G}^{-2} \\ - \text{G}^3 \\ + \text{G}^4 \end{array} \right]$   $\rightarrow$  /nə-həq<sup>w</sup>əʔəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'my great-great grandparent, great-great grandchild'

2.2.17.	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Lineal} \\ + \text{ E. L.} \\ - \text{ G}^{-2} \\ - \text{ G}^3 \\ - \text{ G}^4 \end{array} \right]$	$\rightarrow /nə-čəɪpəʔəq^w/$ 'my great-great-great grandparent, great-great-great grandchild'
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Figure 4 illustrates Clallam consanguineal kinship structure. In Figure 5, extended lineal terminology for  $G^{-1}$  is represented.

TABLE II is a semantic feature matrix for Clallam affinal kinterms. The semantic features are: (1) Consanguineal; (2) Ascending Generation ( $G^+$ ); (3) Descending Generation ( $G^-$ ); (4) Ego's Sex; (5) Male; (6) Lineal Link [a lineal relative links ego to an affinal relation]; and (7) Living [this feature marks the relation as living, +, or dead, -].

Each affinal kinterm may be expanded according to constituent semantic features by the following rules.

2.2.18.	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Consanguineal} \\ - \text{ G}^+ \\ - \text{ G}^- \\ - \text{ Ego' Sex} \end{array} \right]$	$\rightarrow /nə-snax^wtən/$ 'my spouse's sibling (not of my sex), sibling's spouse (not of my sex), potential spouse'
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2.2.19.	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Consanguineal} \\ - \text{ G}^+ \\ - \text{ G}^- \\ + \text{ Ego's Sex} \end{array} \right]$	$\rightarrow /nə-swaʔiɬ/$ 'my spouse's sibling (of my sex), sibling's spouse (of my sex)'
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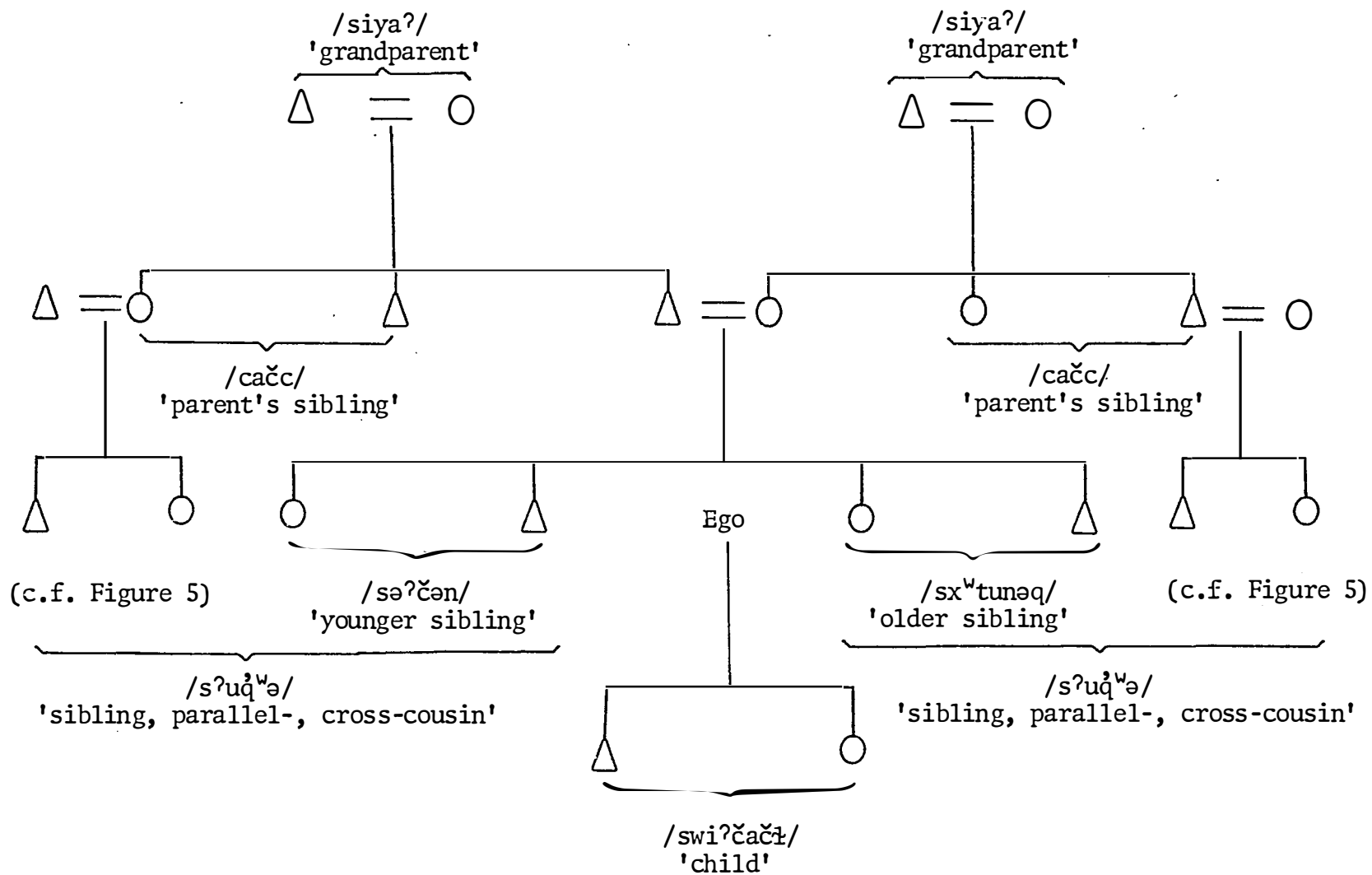


Figure 4. Basic Clallam consanguineal kinterms expanded in  $G^0$  with extended lineal terminology.

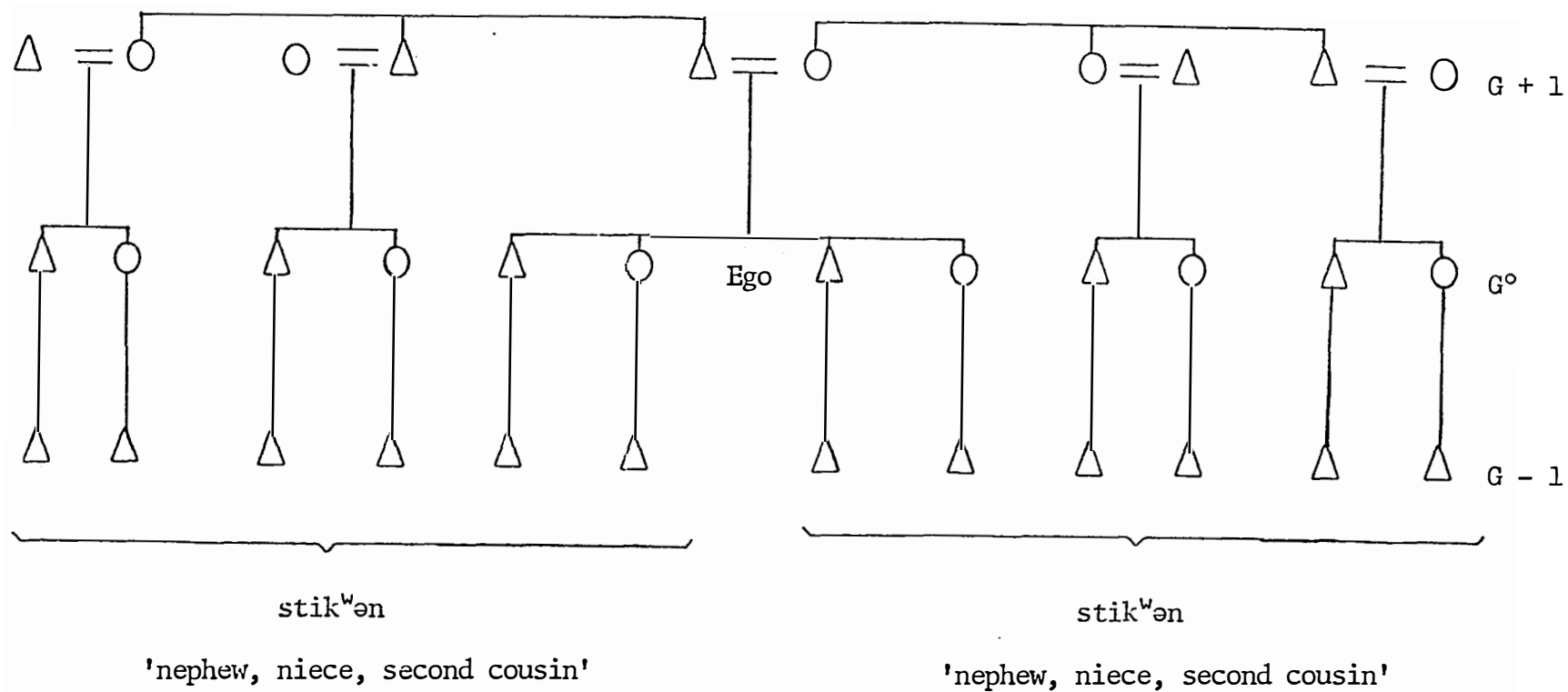


Figure 5. Extended lineal terminology for the first descending generation.

TABLE II. A SEMANTIC DISTINCTIVE FEATURE MATRIX FOR CLALLAM AFFINAL KINTERMS

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	snax <sup>w</sup> ten	swey <sup>?</sup> qe <sup>?</sup>	swa <sup>?</sup> id	s <sup>?</sup> k <sup>w</sup> u <sup>?</sup> is	s <sup>?</sup> cuta <sup>?</sup> e <sup>?</sup> t	siya <sup>?</sup> id	smaycen <sup>?</sup>
1. Consanguineal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. G +	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
3. G -	-	-	-	-	+		
4. Ego's Sex	-		+				
5. Male		+					
6. Lineal Link				+			
7. Living						+	-

---

/nə-snax<sup>w</sup>tən/ 'my spouse's sibling (not of my sex), sibling's spouse (not of my sex), potential spouse' infers the operation of the levirate, sororate and sororal polygyny. The occurrence of these patterns was in fact noted by Gunther.

It is expected that a widow will marry her deceased husband's brother or if there is none, one of his male cousins or a nephew or uncle. . . . If a wife dies, her people will offer the widower one of his wife's sisters, a female cousin, a niece or an aunt [Gunther 1927:246].

Sororal polygyny was a preferential extension of the sororate; cf. Gunther's comment that "dual wives are more often sisters than otherwise" (1927:246).

The Clallam term for the levirate and sororate is /micinŋ/. Although informants could offer little information concerning the levirate and/or sororate, they did suggest that the levirate and sororate functioned as a socio-economic support system, where it was the 'duty' of the widow's oldest brother-in-law to care for his deceased brother's children.

An uncle . . . gives advice to his nephew . . . just as a father would to his son. He is always interested in his nephew's welfare. If the parents should be too poor to have their son join the secret society his uncle might help him. A nephew gives a larger share of fish and game to his uncle than he would give to any other older person [Gunther 1927:260].

2.2.20.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Consanguineal} \\ - \text{ G+} \\ - \text{ G-} \\ + \text{ Male} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow /nə-swəyʔqəʔ/ \text{ 'my husband, man'}$

(Expansion for male ego):

- [+ M]  $\rightarrow /nə-sʔaniʔ/ \text{ 'my wife, woman'}$

2.2.21.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Consanguineal} \\ - \text{ G+} \\ + \text{ G-} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-sčutaʔəɪ/ 'my child's spouse'

2.2.22.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Consanguineal} \\ - \text{ G+} \\ - \text{ G-} \\ + \text{ Lineal Link} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-sʔkʷuʔis/ 'my child's parents-in-law'

(Optional Expansion):

+ [+ Plural] → /nə-sʔkʷuʔiʔis ~ nə-sʔkʷu-kʷuʔiʔis/ 'my affinal kinsmen'

Suttles (1960) comments on the /nə-sʔkʷuʔis/ relationship in South Georgia and Straits Salish social systems.

The most important remaining affinal kinship term is skʷəlwəs, child's spouse's parent. . . . I propose to use a term . . . "co-parent-in-law." This relationship is one of the most important in the whole social system. Co-parents-in-law are people linked by the marriage of their children [p. 298].

2.2.23.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Consanguineal} \\ + \text{ G+} \\ - \text{ Living} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-smaycənʔ/ 'my in-laws after the death of my spouse'

2.2.24.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Consanguineal} \\ + \text{ G+} \\ + \text{ Living} \end{array} \right]$  → /nə-siyaʔiɪ/ 'my parents-in-law'



/nə-siyaʔiɬ/ 'my parent-in-law' is the affectionate diminutive form of /nə-siyaʔ/ 'my grandparent'. An amiable parent-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship was important especially after the death of a woman's husband.

. . . a widow frequently stays with her parents-in-law for they always want to care for the children. If a woman has been a satisfactory wife and the alliance with her family is desirable her parents-in-law are very anxious to keep her in the family [Gunther 1927:246].

Figures 6, 7, and 8 graphically represent Clallam affinal kinship terminology.

The Clallam kinship system is bilateral with equal elaboration on the maternal and paternal sides. Sex of relative and sex of linking relative is not an important semantic feature. The concept of relative age is expanded to form the semantic feature, seniority, which along with reciprocity are the significant semantic features within the system. In TABLE III, the importance of the seniority criterion is expressed through an elaborate system of reference terminology for age grades.

Cousin terminology merges ego's siblings with first cousin and nieces and nephews with the offspring of first cousins. Solely on the basis of terminology one may predict that these categories are proscribed vis-à-vis mate selection. The ethnographic data as stated above substantiates the prediction.

Affinal terminology is analogous to consanguineal kin-terms in the lack of importance ascribed to the semantic features (1) sex of linking relative, and (2) sex of relative. Within the affinal paradigm only the terms for spouse and potential spouse are inherently differentiated for sex.

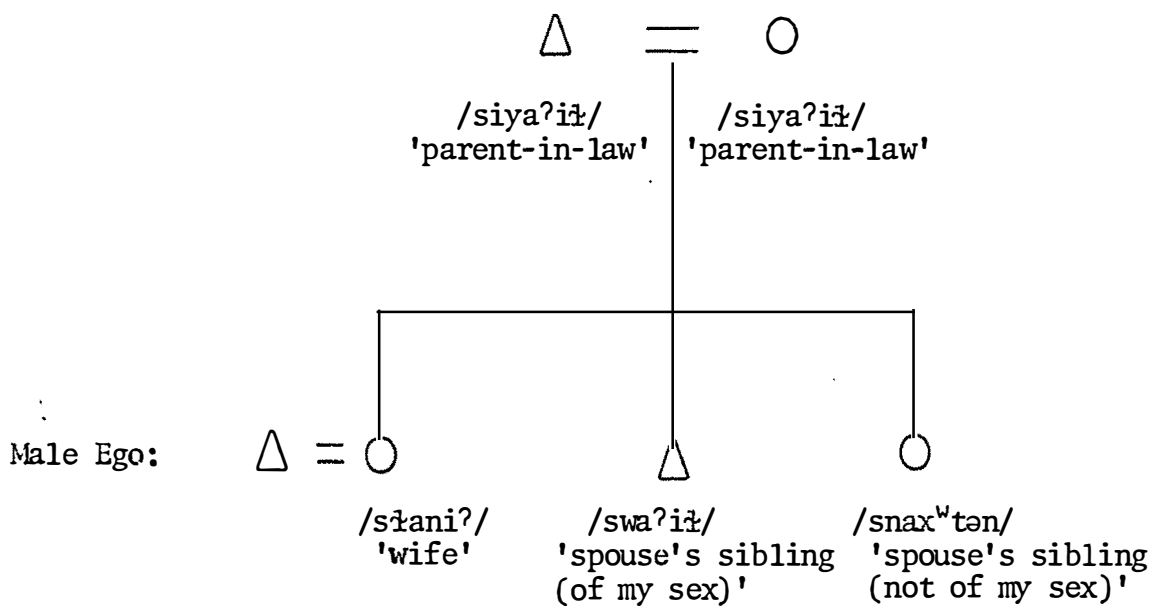
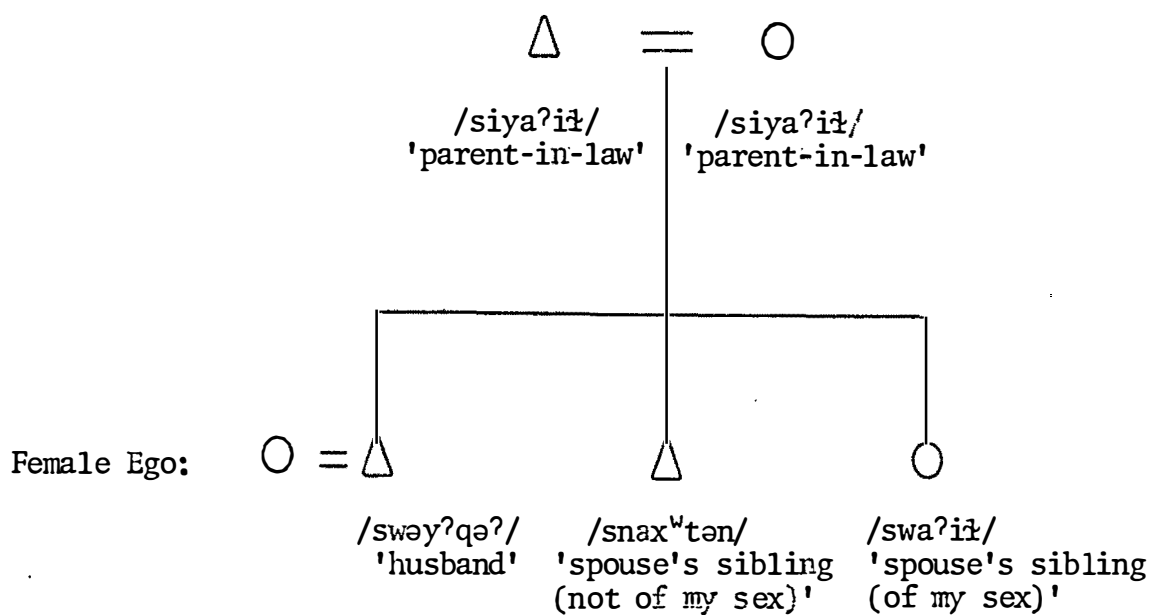


Figure 6. Clallam kinterms for spouse's kin.

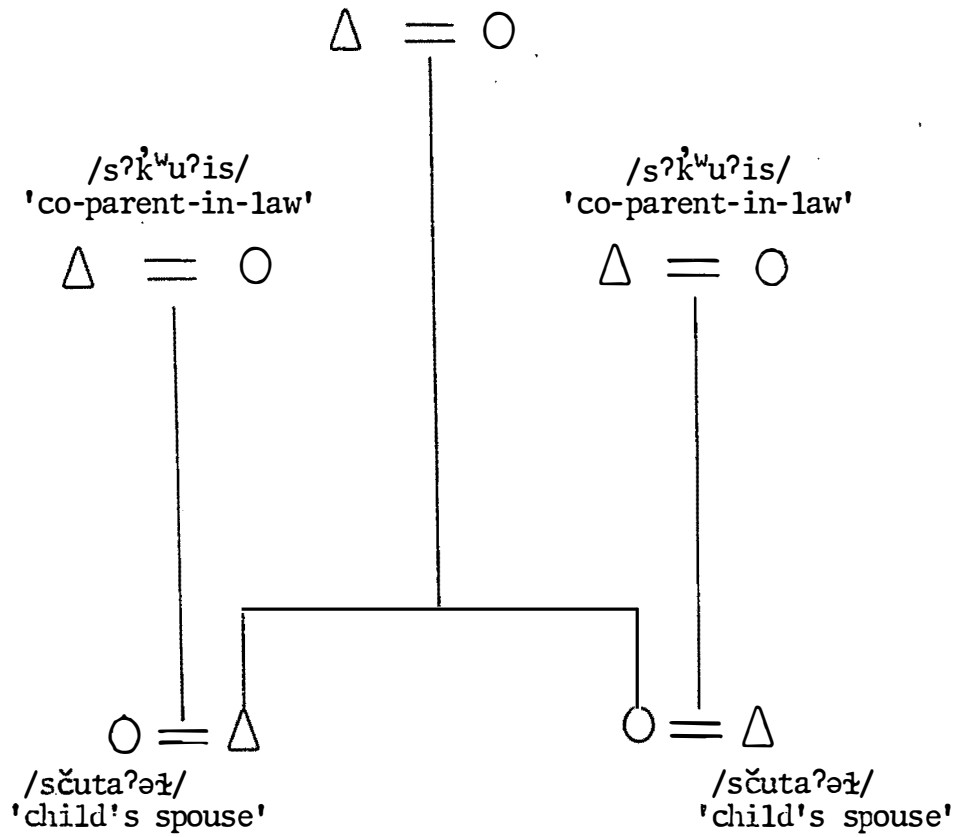


Figure 7. Clallam kinterms for child's spouse and co-parent-in-law.

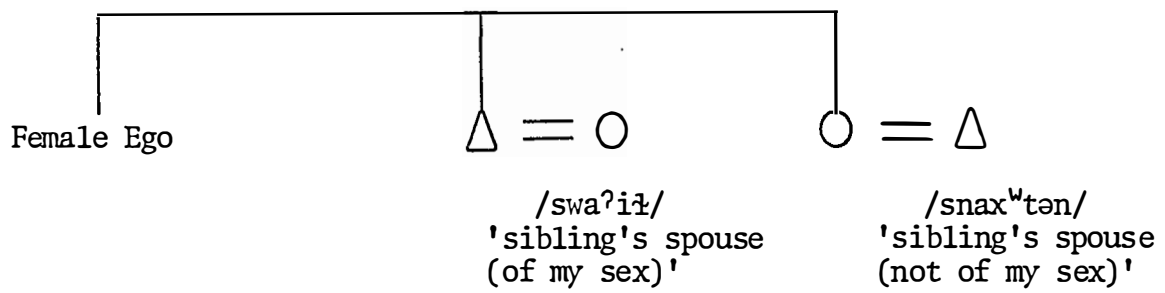


Figure 8. Clallam kinterms for sibling's spouse.

TABLE III. AGE GRADE REFERENCE TERMINOLOGY

AGE (YEARS)	MALE	MALE/FEMALE	FEMALE
1-2	/swi <sup>?</sup> qu <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> /	-----	/s <sup>?</sup> na <sup>?</sup> ču <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> /
2-10	↓	/sčə <sup>?</sup> ay <sup>?</sup> /	/s <sup>?</sup> na <sup>?</sup> ču <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> ~ s <sup>?</sup> na <sup>?</sup> čuy <sup>?</sup> /
10-12	↓	↓	[ /qə <sup>?</sup> ču <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> / ↓ /s <sup>?</sup> na <sup>?</sup> ənə <sup>?</sup> ču <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> / ]
13-17	/swe <sup>?</sup> wəs/	↓	/qə <sup>?</sup> ŋi/
18/20-29	↓	/sšwi <sup>?</sup> /	↓
30-40	/swəy <sup>?</sup> qə <sup>?</sup> /	↓	/s <sup>?</sup> lani <sup>?</sup> /
41-50	↓	/k <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> xi <sup>?</sup> ay <sup>?</sup> /	↓
50 +	/k <sup>w</sup> əs <sup>n</sup> /	/k <sup>w</sup> i <sup>?</sup> čəq/	↓

Animal Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ - \text{Human} \\ + \text{Common} \end{array} \right] = \text{Animal}$$

The members of the class defined as non-human, common nouns include animals of various environmental domains: Mammals (sea/land); Fish and Shellfish; Birds; Insects; Amphibians; and Reptiles.

Animal Nouns (2.3)

Mammals

- 2.3.1. /taʔtaʔciŋux<sup>w</sup>/ 'animal' (generic)
- 2.3.2. /sk<sup>w</sup>uʔik<sup>w</sup>i/ 'whistling badger' (Taxidea taxus)
- 2.3.3. /ʔaʔʔiʔpiʔaxən/ 'bat' (Lasionycteris noctivagans)
- 2.3.4. /sčiʔk<sup>w</sup>aʔəč/ 'black bear' (Ursus americanus)
- 2.3.5. /k<sup>w</sup>əyəč/ 'grizzly bear' (Ursus horribilis)
- 2.3.6. /sqeʔawʔ/ 'beaver' (Castor canadensis)
- 2.3.7. /šaʔšuʔʔawiʔ/ 'mountain beaver' (Aplodontia fura)
- 2.3.8. /čačacs/ 'bobcat' (Lynx rufus)
- 2.3.9. /pišpš/ 'cat' (Felis domesticus)  
/paʔpiš/ 'kitten' (Felis domesticus)
- 2.3.10. /xaʔxiʔyuʔič/ 'chipmunk' (Eutamias townsendi)
- 2.3.11. /musmus/ 'cow' (genus Bos)

- 2.3.12. /staʔčən/ 'wolf' (Canis lupus)  
 /staʔčənuʔiʔ/ 'coyote' (Canis latrans)
- 2.3.13. /huʔpt/ 'deer' (family Cervidae)
- 2.3.14. /skʷimay/ 'dog' (Canis familiaris)
- 2.3.15. /sqaxa/ 'dog' (Canis familiaris)
- 2.3.16. /smayəc/ 'elk' (Cervus canadensis)
- 2.3.17. /stiqiw/ 'horse' (Equus caballus)
- 2.3.18. /qiyutn/ 'horse' (Equus caballus)
- 2.3.19. /čistn/ 'horn'
- 2.3.20. /qʷuxŋənʔ/ 'hoof'
- 2.3.21. /sxʷuʔməc/ 'marten' (Martes americana)
- 2.3.22. /məščuʔ/ 'mink' (Mustela vison)
- 2.3.23. /xaʔiʔʔ(h)acs/ 'mole' (Scapanus townsendi)
- 2.3.24. /kʷatənʔ/ 'rat' (genus Rattus)  
 /kʷəʔkʷatənʔ/ 'mouse' (genus Rattus)
- 2.3.25. /kʷašu/ 'pig' (family Suidae)
- 2.3.26. /sxʷməʔheʔns/ 'small porpoise' (?)
- 2.3.27. /qaqicayʔ/ 'rabbit' (Lepus americanus)
- 2.3.28. /xayukʷs/ 'raccoon' (Procyon lotor)
- 2.3.29. /čiʔatkʷ(s)/ 'stick Indian, sasquatch'
- 2.3.30. /ʔišas/ 'sea lion' (Eumetopias jubata)
- 2.3.31. /ʔasxʷ/ 'hair seal' (Phoca richardii)
- 2.3.32. /slapuʔ/ 'elephant seal' (?)
- 2.3.33. /čayi/ 'fur seal' (Callorhinus alascensis)
- 2.3.34. /ləmətu/ 'sheep' (genus Ovis)
- 2.3.35. /sxʷiʔi/ 'mountain sheep' (?)
- 2.3.36. /čitxʷayqsən/ 'shrew' (Sorex palustris)

- 2.3.37. /smačən/ 'striped skunk' (Mephitis mephitis)
- 2.3.38. /ʔaʔelxaʔiʔs/ 'spotted skunk' (Spilogale putorius)
- 2.3.39. /čəčpsiʔucən/ 'squirrel' (Sciurus griseus)
- 2.3.40. /sxʷqəčqəŋnikʷən/ 'flying squirrel' (Glaucomys sabrinus)
- 2.3.41. /papqəʔqən/ 'weasel' (Mustela frenata)
- 2.3.42. /čxʷəyu/ 'whale' (generic)
- 2.3.43. /sxʷsiʔsayŋʔ/ 'whale' (unidentified)
- 2.3.44. /q̄ʔuməčən/ 'killer whale' (Orcinus rectipinna)
- 2.3.45. /q̄əʔcawʔəč/ 'finback whale' (Balaenoptera davidsoni)

#### Fish and Shellfish

- 2.3.46. /sʔiʔʔən/ 'saltwater fish' (generic)
- 2.3.47. /ʔačt/ 'ling cod' (Ophiodon elongatus)
- 2.3.48. /čəmanaʔ/ 'night smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)
- 2.3.49. /čənkʷaʔ/ 'tom cod' (Microgadus tomcod)
- 2.3.50. /sčənənəxʷ/ 'salmon' (generic)
- 2.3.51. /hanənʔ/ 'hump-back salmon' (Oncorhynchus gorbuscha)
- 2.3.52. /kʷitšən/ 'spring salmon' (Oncorhynchus tshawytscha)
- 2.3.53. /q̄əčqs/ 'silver salmon' (Oncorhynchus kisutch)
- 2.3.54. /scəqiʔ/ 'sockeye salmon' (Oncorhynchus nerka)
- 2.3.55. /ʔxʷayʔ/ 'chum salmon' (Oncorhynchus keta)
- 2.3.56. /xatup/ 'salmon' (unidentified)
- 2.3.57. /ʔiʔəcəcən/ 'rock cod' (genus Sebastes)
- 2.3.58. /kʷuīesteʔu/ 'eulachon' (Thaleichthys pacificus)



- 2.3.59. /ʔəčsən/ 'steelhead trout' (Salmo gairdneri)
- 2.3.60. /ʔpuʔqʷaysnč/ 'eel' (Anguilla rostrata)
- 2.3.61. /pawiʔ/ 'flounder' (Platichthys stellatus)
- 2.3.62. /q̄aʔyac/ 'starfish' (Asterias rubens)
- 2.3.63. /q̄aʔq̄uʔ/ 'skatefish' (Raja ernacea)
- 2.3.64. /qʷaʔc/ 'day smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)
- 2.3.65. /scuʔtx/ 'halibut' (Hippoglossus stenolepis)
- 2.3.66. /skʷeʔms/ 'pollack' (Pollachius virens)
- 2.3.67. /skʷaʔac/ 'dogfish shark' (Squalis suckleyi)
- 2.3.68. /kʷačantč/ 'mud shark' (?)
- 2.3.69. /sʔuʔəŋət/ 'herring' (Clupea pallasii)
- 2.3.70. /squma/ 'ratfish' (Hydrolagus colliei)
- 2.3.71. /stixʷac/ 'octopus' (Octopus apollyon)
- 2.3.72. /sxʷəʔʔəxʷ/ 'jellyfish' (class Scyphozoa)
- 2.3.73. /təqʷtəqʷ/ 'red snapper' (family Lutjanidae)
- 2.3.74. /ʔtiq̄us/ 'black bass' (genus Micropterus)
- 2.3.75. /ʔəʔqeʔwən/ 'minnow' (Phoxinus phoxinus)
- 2.3.76. /wačiʔ/ 'perch' (Perca flavescens)
- 2.3.77. /xʷəčt/ 'bullhead' (genus Ictalurus)
- 2.3.78. /sčaʔmuḵʷ/ 'bullhead' (?)
- 2.3.79. /q̄ʷačt/ 'dolly varden' (Salvelinus malma)
- 2.3.80. /q̄umana/ 'trout' (generic)
- 2.3.81. /sciʔkʷəŋt/ 'shellfish' (generic)
- 2.3.82. /ʔaʔčx/ 'crab' (Cancer magister)
- 2.3.83. /ŋayačx/ 'large, yellowish crab' (unidentified)
- 2.3.84. /čunq̄əŋ/ 'acorn barnacle' (Balanus glandula)
- 2.3.85. /haʔčaʔ/ 'weathervane scallop' (Pecten caurinus)

- 2.3.86. /k<sup>w</sup>ənk<sup>w</sup>insən/ 'helmet crab' (Telmessus cheiragonus)
- 2.3.87. /k<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ilu<sup>?</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>/ 'purple shore crab' (Hemigrapsus nudus)
- 2.3.88. /t<sup>?</sup>um<sup>?</sup>aqs/ 'limpet' (Nodiolus flabellus)
- 2.3.89. /nəq<sup>w</sup>se<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>/ 'gooseneck barnacle' (Pollicipes polymerus)
- 2.3.90. /ŋəŋə<sup>?</sup>/ 'horse clam' (Tresus nuttalli)
- 2.3.91. /sa<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>numa<sup>?</sup>/ 'hermit crab' (Pagurus sp.)
- 2.3.92. /s<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>xəyu<sup>?</sup>/ 'butter clam' (Saxidomus giganteus)
- 2.3.93. /s<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>əm/ 'yellow clam, cockle' (Cardium corbis)
- 2.3.94. /sx<sup>w</sup>iŋx<sup>w</sup>n/ 'scallop' (unidentified)
- 2.3.95. /sx<sup>w</sup>liapuna/ 'small chiton' (unidentified)
- 2.3.96. /šə<sup>?</sup>čə<sup>?</sup>n/ 'littleneck clam' (Venerupis staminea)
- 2.3.97. /t<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'small, white-tipped mussel'
- 2.3.98. /t<sup>?</sup>əŋsu<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>č/ 'lined chiton' (Lepidochitona lineata)
- 2.3.99. /ša<sup>?</sup>čam<sup>?</sup>/ 'giant horse clam' (Schizathaerus nuttalli)
- 2.3.100. /šax<sup>w</sup>šax<sup>w</sup>/ 'razor clam' (Siliqua patula)
- 2.3.101. /<sup>?</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>s/ 'giant chiton' (Cryptochiton stelleri)
- 2.3.102. /<sup>?</sup>uncəsəq<sup>?</sup>/ 'small crab' (Cancer oregonensis)
- 2.3.103. /mu<sup>?</sup>čə<sup>?</sup>ču<sup>?</sup>/ 'shrimp' (Pandalus danae)
- 2.3.104. /xix<sup>w</sup>/ 'large sea urchin' (?)
- 2.3.105. /sx<sup>w</sup>pəqi<sup>?</sup>eq<sup>w</sup>/ 'green sea urchin' (Stronglocentrotus droebachiensis)
- 2.3.106. /sk<sup>w</sup>iči/ 'sea egg' (?)

Birds

- 2.3.107. /čacəmʔ/ 'bird' (generic)
- 2.3.108. /kʷaškʷš/ 'bluebird' (Sialia mexicana)
- 2.3.109. /sxʷčaʔisčsus/ 'black-capped chickadee' (Parus atricapillus)
- 2.3.110. /sŋəquʔ/ 'crane' (Grus americana)
- 2.3.111. /skʷatuʔ/ 'raven' (Corvus corax)  
 /skʷakʷatuʔ/ 'crow' (Corvus brachyrhynchos)  
 /skʷakʷatuʔiʔ/ 'blackbird' (Euphagus cyanocephalus)
- 2.3.112. /məʔəqʷ/ 'duck' (generic)
- 2.3.113. /tinəqsən/ 'mallard duck' (Anas platyrhynchos platyrhynchos)
- 2.3.114. /xʷuʔuqʷ/ 'merganser duck' (Mergus merganser)
- 2.3.115. /maʔməʔkʷeʔwən/ 'bufflehead duck' (Charitonetta albeola)
- 2.3.116. /waʔwəʔšelʔeʔiʔ/ 'helldiver' (Podiceps cristatus)
- 2.3.117. /qʷəqʷač/ 'tiny helldiver' (unidentified)
- 2.3.118. /kʷiʔaʔeʔ/ 'yellowshafted flicker' (Colaptes auratus)
- 2.3.119. /kʷaʔiʔkʷiʔ/ 'brant goose' (Branta bernicla)
- 2.3.120. /ʔaʔuxən/ 'goose' (Branta canadensis)
- 2.3.121. /ŋeʔet/ 'ruffed grouse' (Dendragapus obscurus)
- 2.3.122. /qʷəni/ 'seagull' (Larus occidentalis)
- 2.3.123. /sxʷcaʔscayuʔ/ 'marsh hawk' (Circus cyaneus)
- 2.3.124. /peheq/ 'nighthawk' (Chordeiles minor)
- 2.3.125. /xʷaʔxʷtʃiʔiʔ/ 'hummingbird' (Selasphorus rufus)
- 2.3.126. /čšayi/ 'belted kingfisher' (Megaceryle alcyon)

- 2.3.127. /sx<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>quk<sup>w</sup>t/ 'loon' (Gavia immer elasson)
- 2.3.128. /nəčk<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'small bird resembling a loon'
- 2.3.129. /č<sup>?</sup>ač<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>xa<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>ič/ 'pygmy nuthatch' (Sitta pygmaea)  
or 'brown creeper' (Certhia familiaris)
- 2.3.130. /č<sup>?</sup>əč<sup>?</sup>təŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'great horned owl' (Bubo virginianus)
- 2.3.131. /məqməq/ 'snowy owl' (Nyctea scandiaca)
- 2.3.132. /sk<sup>?</sup>wəyəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'screech owl' (Otus asio)
- 2.3.133. /ʔa<sup>?</sup>ʔa<sup>?</sup>č<sup>?</sup>č<sup>?</sup>ənəʔn<sup>?</sup>/ 'saw-wheat owl' (Aegolius acadicus)
- 2.3.134. /stayəx<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'pheasant' (Phasianus colchicus)
- 2.3.135. /həm<sup>?</sup>u/ 'pigeon' (Columba livia)
- 2.3.136. /xaxasčayeč<sup>?</sup>/ 'California quail' (Lophortyx californicus)
- 2.3.137. /sq<sup>w</sup>əsqq/ 'robin' (Turdus migratorius)
- 2.3.138. /sqeqs/ 'killdeer' (Charadrius vociferus)
- 2.3.139. /stəməč/ 'shag' (Phalacrocorax carbo)
- 2.3.140. /q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>šəč<sup>?</sup>ən/ 'barn swallow' (Tyto alba)
- 2.3.141. /sx<sup>w</sup>awəqən/ 'swan' (Cygnus olor)
- 2.3.142. /č<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>čaxən/ 'tern' (Sterna hirundo)
- 2.3.143. /x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>əš/ 'hermit thrush' (Hylocichla guttata)
- 2.3.144. /sx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>un<sup>?</sup>/ 'rufous-sided towhee' (Pipilo erythrophthalmus)
- 2.3.145. /t<sup>?</sup>at<sup>?</sup>əm<sup>?</sup>/ 'bewicks wren' (Thryomanes bewickii) or  
'winter wren' (Troglodytes troglodytes)
- 2.3.146. /təki/ 'turkey' (Meleagris gallopaua)
- 2.3.147. /ʔa<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'pileated woodpecker' (Dryocopus pileatus)
- 2.3.148. /č<sup>?</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>tn<sup>?</sup>/ 'acorn woodpecker' (Melanerpes formicivorus)
- 2.3.149. /ma<sup>?</sup>mi<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>i/ 'dipper' (Cinclus mexicanus)

Insects

- 2.3.150. /sx<sup>w</sup>a?xən?a?am/ 'insects' (generic)
- 2.3.151. /čə?čəməcəna?/ 'bee' (generic)
- 2.3.152. /sx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>əčxuŋən/ 'cricket' (Gryllus domesticus)
- 2.3.153. /čš?iřənə?q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'earwig' (Forficula auricularia)
- 2.3.154. /sqiqəwəc/ 'flea' (Ctenocephalides felis)
- 2.3.155. /k<sup>w</sup>ačac/ 'sand flea' (Culicoides canithorax)
- 2.3.156. /qa?qayixəna/ 'fly' (Musca domestica)
- 2.3.157. /sqxe?eq<sup>w</sup>/ '(blue) dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)
- 2.3.158. /sx<sup>w</sup>yayixamus/ '(red) dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)
- 2.3.159. /ŋəscən?/ 'louse' (Pediculus humanus capitis)
- 2.3.160. /?ačin?/ 'maggot'
- 2.3.161. /q<sup>w</sup>a?ən/ 'mosquito' (Culex pipiens)
- 2.3.162. /k<sup>w</sup>a?k<sup>w</sup>a?šu/ 'sowbug' (Porcellio laevis)
- 2.3.163. /sx<sup>w</sup>qacq<sup>w</sup>icayu?/ 'spider' (generic)
- 2.3.164. /k<sup>w</sup>ayaq<sup>w</sup>sən/ 'spider' (?)
- 2.3.165. /scəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'worm' (generic)
- 2.3.166. /qəmana/ 'snail' (?)
- 2.3.167. /qəyu<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'slug' (Limax maximus)

Amphibians/Reptiles

- 2.3.168. /hə?hə?ŋ?/ 'frog' (Rana catesbeiana)
- 2.3.169. /sxa?anux<sup>w</sup>/ 'bullfrog' (Rana catesbeiana)
- 2.3.170. /sx<sup>w</sup>ŋa?ŋəntu?eč/ 'turtle' (generic)
- 2.3.171. /wəqəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'toad' (Hyla regilla)
- 2.3.172. /sx<sup>w</sup>i?xayu?ačin/ 'lizard' (generic)
- 2.3.173. /pe?čšən/ 'salamander' (generic)
- 2.3.174. /sx<sup>w</sup>a?x<sup>w</sup>č/ 'snake' (generic)

## Plants

### Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} N \\ + \text{ Plant} \end{array} \right] = \text{Plant}$$

The number of botanical terms elicited indicates an intense familiarity with the natural environment. Botanical terms are not overtly marked with the exception of the suffix /iɬč/ which occurs on almost all native terms for trees and bushes. Otherwise, botanical terms are indistinguishable from any other noun on the basis of overt syntactic marking.

### Plant Nouns (2.4)

The plant domain is composed of ten semantic sub-categories, six of which are labeled with a generic terms which describes the members of that sub-category. The determination as to which sub-category a particular plant belonged was made by informants.

2.5.A	/sqiʔyayŋx <sup>w</sup> /	'trees'
2.5.B	/š <sup>u</sup> ʔuʔem/	'bushes'
2.5.C	/q <sup>w</sup> čəŋ/	'roots'
2.5.D	/scacqiʔ/	'sprouts'
2.5.E	/sk <sup>w</sup> əčəŋ/	'bark'
2.5.F	/ʔəsayʔaʔyət/	'vines'

Complementing the six labeled sub-categories are: (1) vegetables; (2) water plants; (3) grasses; and (4) a class of botanical items which are not ascribed membership in any sub-category.

Two groups of sub-categories are posited based upon the criterion of degree of exploitation, where Group One represents botanical material of primary economic significance and Group Two of secondary economic significance.

Over the years, informants have forgotten a great deal concerning plant uses. Data concerned with the medicinal uses of plants were quite difficult to obtain. The attitude toward divulging knowledge of plant medicine is one of hesitancy, partly due to a fear that the information will be used by unscrupulous individuals venturing to make monetary gain. This guarded attitude is not a recent development, as is seen in Gunther (1927:303).

. . . practical medicine, which consists of household remedies and cures known only to certain old women, the knowledge of which was carefully guarded by its possessors. Even today, some old women refuse to give this information, saying that they had paid too much for it.

Clallam ethnobotanical material is presented according to group organization. Additional cultural and linguistic information is provided in the lexicon.

#### Group One: Primary Economic Significance

##### 2.5.A /sqi'yaynx<sup>w</sup>/ 'trees'

##### 2.5.1. /č<sup>u</sup>?ŋ<sup>ɬ</sup>p/ 'black cottonwood' (Populus trichocarpa)

The buds were used for preparing eye wash (Gunther 1945:26). The sap was eaten fresh or dried (AB).

2.5.2. /sx<sup>w</sup>i?ye?iřč/ 'willow' (Salix sitchensis)

The willow was exploited principally for the bark which was made into string. The bark was also boiled in water and the fluid was ingested as a cure for sore throats and tuberculosis (Gunther 1945:26).

2.5.3. /xəŋqřč/ 'yew' (Taxus brevifolis)

The wood was used to construct bows, arrows and canoe paddles. The leaves were crushed and boiled in water and ingested for intestinal injury or pain (Gunther 1945:16). The wood was also used to make barbecue stakes and digging sticks (AB).

2.5.4. /xča?čačř/ 'western red cedar' (Thuja plicata)

The wood was used for: (1) house planks; (2) house posts; (3) roof boards; and (4) canoes. The bark for: (1) clothes; (2) padding for cradles; (3) sanitary pads; (4) towels; and (5) baskets. The limbs were fashioned into rope and small limbs were boiled and the juice ingested for tuberculosis (Gunther 1945:20).

Clams were strung on bark rope for drying. Limbs were burned and inhaled for colds and chewed to prevent catching a sickness, especially when sitting up with a sick person (Turner 1974:4).

2.5.5. /ŋəq<sup>w</sup>ŋəq<sup>w</sup>yiřč/ 'grand fir' (Abies grandis)

The bark blisters were broken and the sap was mixed



with hog grease and used as a poultice to draw out slivers (Turner 1974:4).

- 2.5.6. /saʔsiʔtaʔniʔč/ 'western white pine' (Pinus monticola)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.7. /čaʔŋiʔč/ 'oak' (Quercus kelloggii)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.8. /čʰtaʔaʔč/ 'broad-leaf maple' (Acer macrophyllum)  
The leaves and bark were scraped, soaked in water. The mixture was used as a general tonic (Gunther 1927:305). The wood was used for canoe paddles. The bark was boiled in water and ingested for tuberculosis (Gunther 1945:40). The sap was eaten fresh or dried (AB).
- 2.5.9. /paʔqʰč/ 'vine maple' (Acer circinatum)  
The wood was split and used to construct baskets (Gunther 1945:7). The sap was eaten fresh or dried (AB).
- 2.5.10. /ʔaplus/ 'apple' (Pyrus malus)  
The apple was introduced into the area by Europeans. The fruit was consumed.
- 2.5.11. /čʰtuys/ 'orange' (Citrus auranticum)  
The fruit was consumed.
- 2.5.12. /sqʷəciʔyeʔeʔč/ 'western hemlock' (Tsuga herophylla)  
The bark was boiled and used to make a reddish-brown dye. Saplings were used for stanchions of a fish trap which was strung across a river. The bark

was boiled and licorice ferns were added; the mixture was ingested to stop hemorrhages. Young tips of branches were boiled and the mixture was ingested to treat tuberculosis and to stimulate the appetite (Gunther 1945:18).

The limbs were cut and placed around rocks in tidal areas as a method for gathering ling cod eggs.

After the eggs were deposited on the limbs, they were removed from the water, the eggs shaken off to dry (AB).

2.5.13. /čcaɬč/ 'sitka spruce' (Picea sitchensis)

The Marine Drive area in Port Angeles, Washington, was called /čsčayčɬč/ 'the place of many spruce'.

2.5.14. /čiyaʔčiɬč/ 'douglas fir' (Pseudotsuga sitchensis)

Fir pitch was rubbed on deep cuts (Gunther 1927:304).

The bark and the wood were important as firewood.

The wood was fashioned into spear and harpoon

shafts. The pit was chewed as gum (Gunther 1945:19).

2.5.15. /kʷatxiɬč/ 'dogwood' (Cornus nuttallii)

The wood was used to make gambling discs (Gunther 1945:42).

2.5.16. /qaʔxʷiɬč/ 'crabapple' (Pyrus fusca)

The fruit was eaten after being allowed to soften

in baskets. The bark of the tree was peeled and

soaked in water; the liquid was used as an eyewash

(Gunther 1945:38).

2.5.17. /skʷəǰniǰč/ 'bitter cherry' (Prunus emarginata)

The inner bark of the bitter cherry tree was scraped and soaked in water; the liquid was ingested as a cure for consumption (Gunther 1927:304).

The bark was used to imbricate cedar root baskets; bark was also put on cuts as a poultice (Turner 1974:14). The bark was used for basket construction and was fashioned into twine used as fishing line (AB).

2.5.18. /sqʷuŋiǰč/ 'red alder' (Alnus rubra)

The wood was used for dishes and utensils; the wood was used as firewood for smoking fish. The sap was scraped off and eaten. The catkins were chewed as a cure for diarrhea (Gunther 1945:27). The steminate ament is chewed and spit on sores. The pistillate ament was chewed to help lungs and stomach. The inner bark was scraped and soaked in water until the liquid turned red; it was then drunk to purify the blood (Gunther 1925:303-304). The sap was mixed with soapberry whip as a sweetener. The bark was fashioned into an impromptu basket. A lengthwise piece of bark was cut, sewed up the side, sticks put across the bottom; a circular piece of bark was placed over the sticks; a handle was made from an alder limb sticking it in across the bottom (Turner 1974:10).

2.5.B /šuʔuʔem/ 'bushes'

2.5.19. /sɣʷasəmiʔč/ 'soapberry' (Shepherdia canadensis)

The berries are whipped into a foamy dessert, "Indian ice cream." Sugar is often added to sweeten the whip (AB, IC).

Alder sap or blue camas was added for sweetening when sugar was scarce (Turner 1974:11).

2.5.20. /ʔamuxʷiʔč/ 'gooseberry' (Ribes divaricatum)

The berries were gather and eaten; the inner bark was rinsed in water and mixed with human milk and used as an eye wash (Gunther 1945:32).

2.5.21. /pixʷiʔč/ 'red huckleberry' (Vaccinium parvifolium)

The berries were gathered and eaten; the bark and leaves were used as medicine for kidney stones (Turner 1974:12).

/pixʷ/ is used as a term of endearment or affection; when used in this sense /pixʷ/ is prefixed with the first person possessive /n(ə)-/ 'my'. Other berry terms which are used as terms of endearment or affection are red huckleberry, Hood Canal blue huckleberry, blue huckleberry, strawberry, thimbleberry, and black raspberry.

2.5.22. /čqʷuʔmeʔeʔč/ 'black raspberry' (Rubus leucodermis)

The berries, sprouts and young leaves were eaten (Gunther 1945:35).

- 2.5.23. /ŋəč̣iŋəč̣iʔč̣/ 'blue huckleberry' (Vaccinium ovalifolium)

Berries were eaten fresh or dry. Gunther (1945:44) identified this species as being gathered on the Hood Canal. Turner (1974:11) suggests that this species is not found in the region of the Elwha River. AB identified this berry as being found in the Deep Creek not Elwha area.

- 2.5.24. /ʔəqʷəmiʔč̣/ 'thimbleberry' (Rubus parviflorus)

The berries were eaten fresh. The sprouts were eaten in early spring with dried salmon eggs (Turner 1974:15).

In reference to this term as a term of endearment, AB commented that this is a term for one's sweetheart "cause they are so sweet."

- 2.5.25. /ʔiyuqʷiʔč̣/ 'strawberry' (Fragaria virginiana, F. vesca, F. chiloensis)

The berries were eaten fresh.

- 2.5.26. /q̣ač̣iʔč̣/ 'ironwood' (Holodiscus discolor)

The wood was used for roasting stakes and digging sticks (Gunther 1945:33; AB).

- 2.5.27. /pač̣iʔč̣/ 'waxberry' (Symphoricarpos albus)

The berries were mashed and put on cuts (Gunther 1927:304). The leaves were boiled in water and the liquid ingested as a cure for a cold (Gunther 1945:48).

- 2.5.28. /qaʔyəqiʔč/ 'wild rose' (Rosa nutkana)  
The rose hips were eaten for sweet breath (Gunther 1945:34).
- 2.5.29. /sčaniʔč/ 'Oregon grape' (Berbis nervosa)  
The berries were edible but sour. The bark and roots were boiled to prepare a dye for coloring baskets (Gunther 1945:31; Turner 1974:9; AB).
- 2.5.30. /spaʔačiʔč/ 'swamp current' (Ribes lacustre)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.31. /sx<sup>w</sup>či<sup>ʔ</sup>heʔheʔwniʔč/ 'chokeberry' (Prunus demissa)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.32. /yeyʔxaʔmiʔč/ 'Hood Canal blue huckleberry'  
(Vaccinium spp.)  
The berries were eaten fresh and dry.
- 2.5.33. /siʔyəʔiʔč/ 'fireweed' (Epilobium angustifolium)  
The puffs were mixed with dog hair for weaving cloth. The roots were boiled and drunk; the fireweed sought out the cause of an illness which was then sucked out with a tule by an Indian doctor (AB).
- 2.5.34. /puqʔč/ 'devil's club' (Oplopanax horridum)  
A stick is peeled, cut into pieces and fastened to a bass line. When it is under water, the pieces release and spin to the surface with the fish following them. The wood was fashioned into fishing lures (IC).

- 2.5.35. /sk<sup>w</sup>ənta<sup>?</sup>yi<sup>č</sup>/ 'yarrow' (Achillea millefolium)  
 Seeds were brought into houses for their fragrance (AB, IC).  
 The leaves were boiled and the tea drunk for colds and during childbirth; cherry bark was added to the tea. The leaves were chewed and put on sores as a poultice (Gunther 1945:49).
- 2.5.36. /s<sup>č</sup>iw<sup>q</sup>i<sup>č</sup>/ 'red elderberry' (Sambucus racemosa)  
 The berries were steamed on rocks and put in a container which is stored underground in a pit dug in the house. They are usually eaten in winter (Gunther 1945:47).
- 2.5.37. /t<sup>ʔ</sup>qe<sup>?</sup>i<sup>č</sup>/ 'salal' (Gualtheria shallon)  
 The berries were mashed and dried in cakes. The cakes were soaked prior to eating and dipped in oil. The leaves were chewed and spit on burns (Gunther 1945:43).
- 2.5.38. /<sup>ʔ</sup>xiya<sup>?</sup>čays/ 'wild lily of the valley' (Maianthemum dilatatum)  
 The berries were eaten but not relished (Gunther 1945:25).
- 2.5.39. /<sup>?</sup>alilu<sup>?</sup>, sa<sup>?</sup>tann/ 'salmonberry' (Rubus spectabilis)  
 The berries were eaten fresh. Salmonberry and thimbleberry sprouts were prepared by making a bundle of ten to fifteen unpeeled sprouts tied with cattail string. In a steaming pit (hot rocks covered by timber fern fronds, thimbleberry leaves

and pine boughs) the bundles were laid side by side on top of the vegetation. A second layer, with the tops pointing in the opposite direction was placed down. Then the pit was covered by timber ferns and a cattail mat and steamed. When steamed, the sprouts were peeled, the leaves discarded and the stalks were eaten with salmon eggs (Turner 1974:15).

### 2.5.C /q̣ʷčəŋ/ 'roots'

#### 2.5.40. /čəpɣ/ 'cedar root' (Thuja plicata)

The root is used for coiled and imbricated baskets. "They are split fine and used for the foundation, then trimmed more carefully for the sewing element" (Gunther 1945:20).

#### 2.5.41. /səkʷq/ 'carrot' (Daucus carota)

Refers to both the wild and garden carrot. Eaten raw or cooked in pits.

Reported to be good for one's health; good for cooling one's stomach after ingesting too much alcohol (Turner 1974:8).

#### 2.5.42. /q̣ʷəxʷəyəc̣/ 'nodding onion' (Allium cernuum)

They were eaten raw, cooked in pits or fried with meat in a frying pan (AB).

#### 2.5.43. /q̣ʷṭuʔiʔ/ 'blue camas' (Camassia quamash)

The bulbs were gathered and cooked in pits with meat. Used to sweeten soapberry whip (Turner 1974:6).



2.5.D /scacqi?/ 'sprouts'

2.5.44. /saʔʰanŋ, ʔaliluʔ/ 'salmonberry' (Rubus spectabilis)  
(See 2.5.39.)

2.5.45. /ʰqeyiʰč/ 'thimbleberry' (Rubus parviflorus)  
(See 2.5.39.)

2.5.46. /čqʷuʔmeʔiʰč/ 'black raspberry' (Rubus leucodermis)  
Black raspberry sprouts were probably treated in a manner similar to thimbleberry and salmonberry sprouts.

2.5.E /skʷəčəŋ/ 'bark'

2.5.47. /čayiʔ/ 'thick bark' (e.g., of Fir, Hemlock, Spruce)

2.5.48. /syəwiʔ/ 'cedar bark' (See 2.5.4.)

2.5.49. /kʷiyaʔkʷikʷs/ 'thin bark' (e.g., of small trees, bushes)

2.5.F /ʔəsayʔaʔyət/ 'vines'

2.5.50. /sčʷiʔyayŋxʷ/ 'trailing wild blackberry' (Rubus ursinus)

The berries were eaten. Children were told not to eat the berries while picking them or they would turn into a bear. A Snoqualmie song discusses the origin of wild blackberries; wild blackberries originated from the menstrual blood of a young girl who was put up a tree. Her blood fell to the ground and blackberries grew on that spot (Turner 1974:16).

- 2.5.51. /ʔiʔx<sup>w</sup>(u)yʔsiʔč/ 'bog cranberry' (Vaccinium oxycoccus)

They were picked near Port Townsend, Washington, and stored in boxes or baskets until soft and brown (Gunther 1945:45). The leaves may have been used to make tea. Confusion exists whether the leaves of the bog cranberry or labrador tea (which grows with the bog cranberry) were picked (Turner 1974:12).

Group Two: Secondary Economic Significance

Vegetables

- 2.5.52. /maʔəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'giant horsetail' (Equisetum telmateia)

Two parts were eaten: (1) bulbs; and (2) sprouts of the fertile shoots (/ʔtuc/). Sprouts were harvested in early spring, peeled and eaten raw. The green portion, up to 15-16 inches high, was cut and baked in a steaming pit. The bulbs were collected in spring and during January when they were exposed in clay banks near the ocean and dropped to the beach. The bulbs were steamed or oven baked (Turner 1974:2).

- 2.5.53. /sx<sup>w</sup>mək<sup>w</sup>usŋn/ 'cow parsnip' (Heracleum lanatum)

In Spring, young sprouts and flower buds were peeled and eaten (Turner 1974:8).

Water Plants2.5.54. /sx<sup>w</sup>ay<sup>?</sup>əs/ 'feather duster' (Eudistylia polymorpha)

A brief Clallam tale is the only information that could be obtained concerning feather dusters. The tale was told by AB: 'A girl went across [to Vancouver Island, British Columbia] and got married. Her father-in-law put up a marriage feast of feather dusters and they put the food in the center of the floor and called up the girl to eat them. The girl would not eat them. The brother or uncle of her father-in-law told her people to take her home because that was the only food they ate. The next day her father-in-law told her to pack up and go home. This is a story about girls who marry outside their tribe; this prevents them from doing it.'

2.5.55. /čə<sup>?</sup>čəŋ/ 'anemone' (Cribrina xanthogrammica)

AB said that the Clallam people did not eat anemone until the following incident occurred to a group of Makah Indians on their way back to Neah Bay, Washington: 'Neah Bay people were on their way home in canoes when a big storm came up; they were stuck for ten days--people were starving. At low tide one man went to the beach and found one and ate it. He was the only man to get home alive. Quileute people got it from them.'

- 2.5.56. /cək<sup>w</sup>t/ 'sea cucumber' (Stichopus californicus)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.57. /ʔəq̄əs/ 'sea lettuce' (Ulva lactuca, U. linza)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.58. /q<sup>w</sup>aq̄q/ 'rockweed' (Fucus vesiculosus)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.59. /q̄<sup>w</sup>q̄<sup>w</sup>u<sup>?</sup>əŋ<sup>?</sup>/ 'bull kelp' (Nereocystis luetkeana)  
After drying, the thin tail of the kelp was used for string.
- 2.5.60. /q̄əc<sup>?</sup>čənt/ 'ribbon seaweed' (?)  
No information is available.

### Grasses

- 2.5.61. /k<sup>w</sup>u<sup>?</sup>ət/ 'cattail' (Typha latifolia)  
Used for constructing mats and baskets (AB).  
Fleshy interior eaten raw or cooked in a pit. An Indian doctor from Yakima, Washington, used a cattail stem as a spirit-catcher while trying to cure an abdominal ulcer (Turner 1974:7).  
The interior of a cattail stem is called,  
/sx<sup>w</sup>čəčə<sup>?</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>ən/.
- 2.5.62. /cəna<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>/ 'tule' (Scirpus acutus)  
Used to construct sleeping and wall mats (Gunther 1945:22).
- 2.5.63. /x̄u<sup>?</sup>/ 'bear grass' (Xerophyllum tenax)  
Used for basket construction (AB). It is sometimes dyed yellow with Oregon grape bark (Turner 1974:7).

## 2.5.64. /xáápu?/ 'basket grass' (?)

Informants recalled only the Clallam term and suggested that /xáápu?/ was used for basket construction.

Uncategorized2.5.65. /scxəyem/ 'sword fern' (Polystichum munitum)

The rhizome was boiled or baked (Gunther 1945:13). A children's game was played with the leaves; while holding their breath, children pulled off leaflets, one at a time, from bottom to top, while saying 'plapla'. Whoever pulled off the most leaves without taking a second breath was declared winner (AB).

2.5.66. /smanuš/ 'tobacco' (Nicotiana tabacum)

Prior to the introduction of tobacco, kinnikinnick leaves were pulverized and smoked. When tobacco was introduced, the kinnikinnick was mixed with tobacco. Yew needles were often mixed with the tobacco. Yew and kinnikinnick were never smoked together because the mixture was too strong (Gunther 1945:44).

2.5.67. /cak<sup>w</sup>čn/ 'tiger lily' (Lilium columbianum)

The bulbs were steamed in a pit (AB). The bulbs were gathered in late Fall and buried in a hole, dug in one's house, which was lined with cedar boughs to keep the bulbs fresh (Gunther 1945:25).

- 2.5.68. /čənəq<sup>w</sup>a/ 'lichen' (?)  
Lichens were not identified as to specific type.
- 2.5.69. /sx<sup>w</sup>pi<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>wusən ʔə sk<sup>w</sup>əʔk<sup>w</sup>atu<sup>?</sup>/ 'mushroom, puffball'  
(lit.: crow's face powder)  
No information could be obtained in reference to the myth in which this form occurred.
- 2.5.70. /sqawc/ 'potato' (Solanum tuberosum)  
Introduced into the area by early white traders.  
They were baked in pits.
- 2.5.71. /ččxəřč/ 'stinging nettle' (Urtica dioica)  
The bark was peeled, dried and rolled into a two ply string. The stalk was soaked in water and then rubbed on the body for soreness or stiffness (Gunther 1945:28).  
The sting of the nettle plant was cured by rubbing the skin with wood. Young leaves at the top of the plant were picked and cooked; cooking eliminates the sting (Turner 1974:17).
- 2.5.72. /pipi<sup>?</sup>ayqř/ 'tree fungus' (?)  
No information is available.
- 2.5.73. /qənqən<sup>?</sup> čisiřč/ 'lady fern' (Athyrium felix femina)  
This type of fern, if used to cover berries which are in a basket, would steal them. Thus its name, 'stealing fern'.
- 2.5.74. /čisiřč/ 'brachen fern' (Pteridium aquilinum)  
The rhizomes were roasted in ashes, peeled and eaten (Gunther 1945:14).

The roasted rhizomes would be pounded to make flour. Fronds were used to cover berry baskets. The fronds were used to wipe fish before hanging the fish to smoke (AB).

- 2.5.75. /čũ?k<sup>2</sup>wi?/ 'skunk cabbage' (Lysichiton americanum)

The roots were baked and used as a poultice for sores. The softest part of the leaf was held close to a fire and worked soft and put on sores (Gunther 1945:22).

When bears eat the roots, around May, it is claimed that their meat smells strong (Turner 1974:5-6).

#### Additional Botanical Terminology

- 2.5.76. (no native term) squaw plum (Osmaronia cerasiformis)

The inner bark was scraped into water and given to women during childbirth "to drive the blood out." Limbs were twisted in water; the water was then used to bathe wounds caused by arrows or bullets (Gunther 1927:304).

- 2.5.77. xuwi<sup>x</sup>uq!a 'red-flowering currant' (Ribes sanguineum)

The berries were eaten fresh (Gunther 1945:32).

- 2.5.78. k<sup>o</sup>qwexiltc 'madrona tree' (Arbutus menziesii)

The leaves were boiled for ten minutes in water to make a milky syrup which was good for the throat (Gunther 1927:305).

- 2.5.79. ngklai 'yellow avens' (Geum macrophyllum)  
The leaves were put on boils. After being smashed the leaves were rubbed on cuts (Gunther 1945:37).
- 2.5.80. (no native term) goat's beard (Aruncus sylvester)  
The roots were burned and the ashes mixed with bear grease. The salve was put on sores that would not heal (Gunther 1945:33).
- 2.5.81. (no native term) yellow violet (Viola adunca)  
The flowers were mashed and used as a poultice for pain in the chest or side of the body. If the poultice remained on the skin for more than two or three hours blistering resulted (Gunther 1945:41).
- 2.5.82. /čəčsinəč/ 'service berry' (Amelanchier alnifolia)  
The berries were eaten (Turner 1974:14).
- 2.5.83. wū'cinūtc 'cascara' (Rhamnus purshiana)  
The bark was boiled and used as a laxative (Gunther 1945:4). The bark was used as a poultice for wounds (AB),
- 2.5.84. (no native term) sand verbana (Abronia latifolia)  
The roots were eaten; informants compared them with sugar beets (Gunther 1945:29).
- 2.5.85. sintciqwuxtakē'qwa'itc 'self-heal' (Prunella vulgaris)  
An informant claimed that this is not the true kēqwa'itc whose root was eaten, but its step-brother (Gunther 1945:45).



- 2.5.86. q!ápūt 'garry oak' (Quercus garryana)  
Acorns were eaten without preparation (Gunther 1945:2).
- 2.5.87. (no native term) kinnikinnick (Arctostaphylos uva-ursi)  
(See 2.5.66.)
- 2.5.88. tseqwek<sup>u</sup> 'blue elderberry' (Sambucus cerulea)  
The bark was steeped and drunk for diarrhea.  
The berries were eaten like red elderberries  
(Gunther 1945:47).
- 2.5.89. snana<sup>ˈ</sup>qwūłtc 'orange honeysuckle' (Lonicera ciliosa)  
The leaves were chewed and put on bruises (Gunther 1945:48).
- 2.5.90. sak<sup>u</sup>qwuk<sup>ˈ</sup>ka<sup>ˈ</sup>in 'water hemlock' (Cicuta douglasii)  
After bathing women would rub their bodies with the root to attract men (Gunther 1945:42).  
The plant is violently poisonous; a small piece is sufficient to kill a cow (Turner 1974:8).
- 2.5.91. swuxkła<sup>ˈ</sup>ants 'rattlesnake plantain' (Peramium decipiens)  
Women rubbed this plant on their bodies to make themselves more attractive to their husbands  
(Gunther 1945:26).
- 2.5.92. kla<sup>ˈ</sup>sīp 'licorice fern' (Polypodium vulgare)  
The roots were eaten raw as cough medicine or eaten baked (Gunther 1945:13).

- 2.5.93. tša'qwa 'spiny wood fern' (Dryopteris austriaca)  
The rhizome may have been used for food. The roots were pounded and the pulp put on cuts (Gunther 1945: 14).
- 2.5.94. /q̣<sup>h</sup>ay/ 'thick underbrush'
- 2.5.95. /sča<sup>h</sup>eč/ 'tree stump'
- 2.5.96. /stay<sup>h</sup>x<sup>w</sup>/ 'plant medicine'
- 2.5.97. /sčuy<sup>h</sup>?u/ 'stick of wood'
- 2.5.98. /saplin/ 'bread, flour'
- 2.5.99. /sk<sup>w</sup>aqəŋ/ 'flower'
- 2.5.100. /sx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>h</sup>tn<sup>h</sup>?/ 'fruit juice'
- 2.5.101. /čəč<sup>h</sup>č<sup>h</sup>/ 'Indian rope'
- 2.5.102. /čə<sup>h</sup>?yuč<sup>h</sup>č<sup>h</sup>/ 'cedar limb'
- 2.5.103. /sxca<sup>h</sup>?i<sup>h</sup>?/ 'hay'  
/sxca<sup>h</sup>?ya<sup>h</sup>?nəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'grass'
- 2.5.104. /pk<sup>w</sup>ay<sup>h</sup>?/ 'fallen, rotten log'
- 2.5.105. /čq̣<sup>w</sup>əŋi<sup>h</sup>č<sup>h</sup>/ 'erect, rotten log'
- 2.5.106. /čeniŋ<sup>h</sup>č<sup>h</sup>/ 'plant'
- 2.5.107. /če<sup>h</sup>?əx/ 'pitchwood, gum, pitch'
- 2.5.108. /sč(?)yəq<sup>w</sup>č<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>č<sup>h</sup>/ 'fruit tree'  
/sča<sup>h</sup>?yəq<sup>w</sup>č<sup>h</sup>/ 'berry' (generic)
- 2.5.109. /šam/ 'dried berries'
- 2.5.110. /q<sup>w</sup>č<sup>h</sup>ay<sup>h</sup>?/ 'drift log'
- 2.5.111. /sčuč<sup>h</sup>č<sup>h</sup>č<sup>h</sup>/ 'leaf'
- 2.5.112. /sčac<sup>h</sup>/ 'thin tail of kelp'
- 2.5.113. /xpay<sup>h</sup>?/ 'cut, dried cedar'
- 2.5.114. /sx<sup>w</sup>?i<sup>h</sup>?yis/ 'branch'
- 2.5.115. /ča<sup>h</sup>?e<sup>h</sup>?mač<sup>h</sup>/ 'cone'

Artifact Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ - \text{Natural} \end{array} \right] = \text{Artifact}$$

The semantic category defined as non-natural nouns includes (1) tools; (2) clothing and ornamentation; (3) settlement features; and (4) food preparation techniques. The latter are included since natural objects are manipulated and used as tools in a cultural process.

Artifact nouns are sub-categorized according to function and/or association with particular objects.

Artifact Nouns (2.5)

Food Preparation

2.5.1.	/təčəməŋʔ/	'barbecue stake'
2.5.2.	/sʔiʔən/	'food'
2.5.3.	/čxas/	'rock oven'
2.5.4.	/stayaq/	'sand cooking'
2.5.5.	/sqʷəyən/	'barbecue'
2.5.6.	/sčux/	'firewood'
2.5.7.	/sunuc/	'fire'
2.5.8.	/swačp/	'fire drill'
2.5.9.	/sxʷtiháy/	'teapot'
2.5.10.	/sxʷʔalap/	'cooking pot'

- 2.5.11. /sk<sup>w</sup>əšn/ 'frying pan'  
 2.5.12. /č<sup>3</sup>iʔiʔsantnʔ/ 'cross-piece of drying rack'

### Canoes

- 2.5.13. /č<sup>3</sup>aʔŋətnʔ/ 'bailer'  
 2.5.14. /put/ 'boat'  
 2.5.15. /snəx<sup>w</sup>ɬ/ 'canoe' (plain ends)  
 2.5.16. /ʔuʔutxs/ 'canoe' (fancy ends)  
 2.5.17. /k<sup>w</sup>iniɬ/ 'war canoe'  
 2.5.18. /sx<sup>w</sup>cayʔsn/ 'canoe mat'  
 2.5.19. /sx<sup>w</sup>ɬxawixtn/ 'canoe thwart'  
 2.5.20. /x<sup>w</sup>uʔŋət/ 'paddle'  
 2.5.21. /x<sup>w</sup>uq<sup>3</sup>wən/ 'pole'

### Tools and Woven Artifacts

- 2.5.22. /muhuyʔ/ 'basket' (generic)  
 2.5.23. /spč<sup>u</sup>ʔ/ 'watertight basket'  
 2.5.24. /qaʔawəc/ 'pack basket'  
 2.5.25. /caŋatnʔ/ 'tump line'  
 2.5.26. /q<sup>3</sup>wayənʔ/ 'basket handle'  
 2.5.27. /sx<sup>w</sup>čatč/ 'bottom of basket'  
 2.5.28. /sx<sup>w</sup>šaɬ/ 'blanket'  
 2.5.29. /cu<sup>3</sup>n/ 'spindle whorl'  
 2.5.30. /sʔiʔik<sup>w</sup>ɬ/ 'outer surface of basket/  
 object'  
 2.5.31. /snaʔuɬ/ 'inner surface of basket/  
 object'  
 2.5.32. /sčɬucən/ 'rim of basket/object'

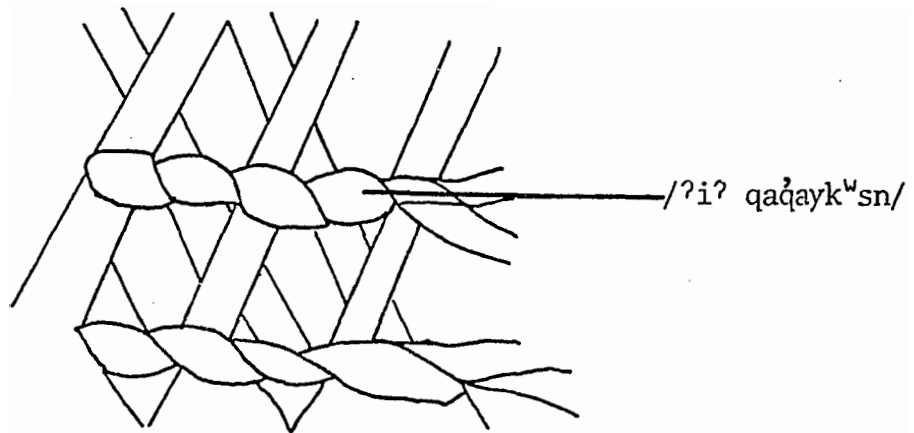
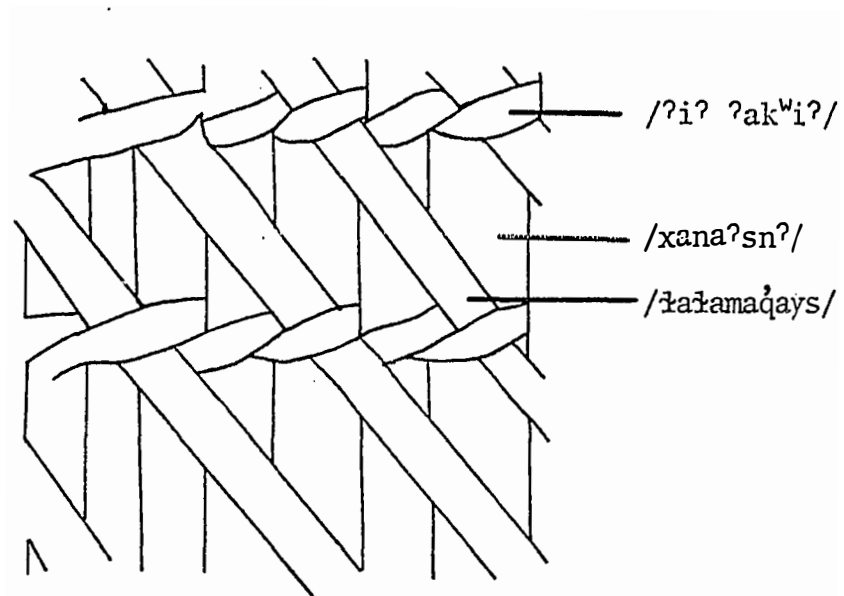


Figure 9. Basket-part terminology.

2.5.33.	/čxamacnʔ/	'grass splitter'
2.5.34.	/čiqʷən/	'cedar bark shredder'
2.5.35.	/xʷukʷənʔ/	'weaving needle'

### Construction

2.5.36.	/skʷičayʔsŋ/	'adze'
2.5.37.	/skʷkʷamʔ/	'axe'
2.5.38.	/cisnʔ/	'nail'
2.5.39.	/čqaytnʔ/	'sharpening stone'
	/čqan/	'file'

### Tools (Subsistence)

2.5.40.	/yəčt/	'arrow'
2.5.41.	/sxʷmutn/	'bow'
2.5.42.	/qʷukʷ/	'digging stick'
2.5.43.	/kʷəcətŋ/	'fishing line'
2.5.44.	/čičəsʷ/	'float'
2.5.45.	/čukʷiʔtn/	'spear point'
2.5.46.	/kʷetmnʔ/	'herring rake'
2.5.47.	/cimuʔnʔ/	'halibut hook'
2.5.48.	/šepən/	'knife'
2.5.49.	/qʷqʷəʔays/	'knife'
2.5.50.	/sxʷayuʔ/	'net'
2.5.51.	/čičaxʷ/	'weir'
2.5.52.	/steʔxʷ/	'spear shaft'
2.5.53.	/təčičiʔuʔ/	'spear'
2.5.54.	/sətšən/	'animal trap'
2.5.55.	/sxʷkʷpənəʔyeʔkʷənʔ/	'detachable spear point'

Tools (Domestic)

2.5.56.	/ʔəx <sup>w</sup> ənuk <sup>w</sup> ən/ /ʔəč <sup>w</sup> ənuk <sup>w</sup> ən/	'broom' 'broom'
2.5.57.	/x <sup>w</sup> eʔləm/	'rope'
2.5.58.	/sx <sup>w</sup> amut/	'bed'
2.5.59.	/pu <sup>?</sup> čs/	'cradle'
2.5.60.	/ŋa <sup>?</sup> aq/	'lamp, torch'
2.5.61.	/sx <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> i/	'night toilet'
2.5.62.	/č <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> wi <sup>?</sup> /	'dish'
2.5.63.	/x <sup>?</sup> uta <sup>?</sup> /	'wooden pan'
2.5.64.	/tupən/	'spoon'
2.5.65.	/xu <sup>?</sup> iqs/	'storage box'
2.5.66.	/sx <sup>w</sup> qiya <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> / /sqiyu <sup>?</sup> /	'food box' 'stored food'
2.5.67.	/sx <sup>w</sup> sa <sup>?</sup> wnay/	'box for food taken on trips'
2.5.68.	/sa <sup>?</sup> wn/	'food taken on trips'

Clothing and Ornamentation

2.5.69.	/tqit/	'clothing' (generic)
2.5.70.	/x <sup>?</sup> ča <sup>?</sup> čn/	'belt'
2.5.71.	/tik <sup>w</sup> əntn/	'suspenders'
2.5.72.	/nu <sup>?</sup> səntn/	'trousers'
2.5.73.	/sčəmə <sup>?</sup> ču <sup>?</sup> əs/	'cape'
2.5.74.	/sčəsaw <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> /	'hat'
2.5.75.	/x <sup>?</sup> əqšn/	'shoe'
2.5.76.	/x <sup>w</sup> iq <sup>w</sup> e <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ən/	'kerchief'

2.5.77.	/q <sup>w</sup> u <sup>?</sup> ačuk <sup>w</sup> it/	'hide clothing'
2.5.78.	/sɪ <sup>?</sup> p <sup>?</sup> uqt/	'shirt'
2.5.79.	/q <sup>w</sup> ay <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> iy <sup>?</sup> /	'beads'
2.5.80.	/tše <sup>?</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'comb'
2.5.81.	/č <sup>?</sup> u <sup>?</sup> mə <sup>?</sup> čn <sup>?</sup> /	'bracelet'
2.5.82.	/suwəcisn/	'ring'
2.5.83.	/nuwəcisn/	'glove'
2.5.84.	/ʔəsqe <sup>?</sup> q <sup>?</sup> əs/	'headband'
2.5.85.	/ʔəsqatu <sup>?</sup> is/	'headband'
2.5.86.	/s <sup>?</sup> əwən <sup>?</sup> /	'earring'
2.5.87.	/təm <sup>?</sup> ɪ/	'ochre, Indian paint'
2.5.88.	/qačs/	'cedar bark cloth used for frontal bone deformation'
2.5.89.	/nəx <sup>w</sup> ay <sup>?</sup> s/	'artificially deformed skull'
2.5.90.	/sx <sup>w</sup> nu <sup>?</sup> usn/	'mask'
2.5.91.	/quxŋən/	'deer hoof rattle'
2.5.92.	/p <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> ək <sup>w</sup> /	'pipe' (smoking)
2.5.93.	/k <sup>w</sup> čaysn <sup>?</sup> /	'walking stick'
2.5.94.	/ʔ <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> qu <sup>?</sup> ya <sup>?</sup> sŋ <sup>?</sup> /	'drumming stick'
2.5.95.	/ʔawk <sup>w</sup> /	'belongings'
2.5.96.	/ma <sup>?</sup> yust/	'possessions of the upper class'

### Settlement

2.5.97.	/s <sup>?</sup> asəs/	'face, outside surface'
2.5.98.	/spk <sup>w</sup> əŋaw <sup>?</sup> tx <sup>w</sup> /	'smokehouse'
2.5.99.	/s <sup>?</sup> ə <sup>?</sup> ənəqaw <sup>?</sup> tx <sup>w</sup> /	'potlatch house'
2.5.100.	/s <sup>?</sup> x <sup>w</sup> əŋx <sup>w</sup> aw <sup>?</sup> tx <sup>w</sup> /	'longhouse' (?)



2.5.101.	/ʔaʔyən ~ ʔaʔiŋ/	'house' (unidentified)
2.5.102.	/ʔəsx <sup>w</sup> tčaynʔ/	'corner'
2.5.103.	/qaqn/	'corner post'
2.5.104.	/təŋənʔ/	'wall'
2.5.105.	/siyayič/	'cedar boards, wall mat'
2.5.106.	/ləplaš/	'boards'
2.5.107.	/sx <sup>w</sup> ɬay/	'doorway'
2.5.108.	/k <sup>w</sup> iʔuqənʔ/	'smokehole'
2.4.109.	/sx <sup>w</sup> ɬxačn/	'floor'
2.5.110.	/sx <sup>w</sup> qəqənuŋ/	'window'
2.5.111.	/qayaxən/	'fence'
2.5.112.	/čaʔyaʔk <sup>w</sup> axən/	'forest edge of a village'
2.5.113.	/huʔaʔk <sup>w</sup> axən/	'water edge of a village'
2.5.114.	/sqixən/	'east/west sides of a beach village'
2.5.115.	/titaxən/	'upriver edge of a river village'
2.5.116.	/q <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> axən/	'downriver edge of a river village'
2.5.117.	/mak <sup>w</sup> a/	'graveyard'

### Place Name Nouns

#### Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} N \\ + \text{Place Name} \end{array} \right] = \text{Place Name}$$

Place name nouns include (1) river names; (2) single site names; (3) general area names; (4) specific aboriginal

village names; (5) names for inlets (bays) all of which are located along the northern Olympic Peninsula and the southern tip of Vancouver Island, British Columbia.

### Place Name Nouns (2.6)

#### River Names

2.6.1.	/huquʔ/	'Hoko River'
2.6.2.	/sx <sup>w</sup> iʔucən/	'Dry Creek'
2.6.3.	/ʔeʔt̥x <sup>w</sup> a/	'Elwha River'
2.6.4.	/ʔiʔins/	'Inis Creek'
2.6.5.	/cəʔmət/	'Morse Creek'
2.6.6.	/nəx <sup>w</sup> čəʔsaʔqn/	'Twin River'
2.6.7.	/pəšćt/	'Pysht River'
2.6.8.	/čix <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'Deep Creek'

#### Single Site Names

2.6.9.	/čəq <sup>w</sup> /	'Jamestown'
2.6.10.	/hacqs/	'Point-no-Point'
2.6.11.	/nəx <sup>w</sup> qet/	'Port Gamble'
2.6.12.	/sx <sup>w</sup> čaʔqaʔytnʔ/	'Ranger'
2.6.13.	/ʔiʔxuyəqs/	'Tongue Point'
2.6.14.	/čaʔiʔsaʔeč/	'The Place'
2.6.15.	/čx <sup>w</sup> əcən/	'Hollywood Beach, Port Angeles'
2.6.16.	/sx <sup>w</sup> maʔ/	'Esquimalt, British Columbia'
2.6.17.	/smitolia/	'Victoria, British Columbia'

General Area Names

- 2.6.18. /čiʔisnəqʷ/ 'east side of Marine Drive, Port Angeles'
- 2.6.19. /čayčatč/ 'Marine Drive area, Port Angeles; present site of the Lower Elwha Reservation'
- 2.6.20. /čaʔeč/ 'south end of Ediz Hook, Port Angeles'
- 2.6.21. /sxʷayiʔhiʔ/ 'area south of the Lower Elwha Reservation'

Aboriginal Village Names

- 2.6.22. /kʷičačawʔtxʷ/ 'village on the upper Elwha River'
- 2.6.23. /xaʔyčáčč/ 'village in the Marine Drive area, Port Angeles'
- 2.6.24. /tiʔəč/ 'village on Indian Creek'

Inlets (Bays)

- 2.6.25. /nəxʷtkʷayənt/ 'Freshwater Bay'
- 2.6.26. /ʔaʔaʔways/ 'Clallam Bay'
- 2.6.27. /ʔsant/ 'Port Crescent'
- 2.6.28. /sxʷčiʔanəxʷ/ 'Beecher Bay, British Columbia'
- 2.6.29. /sxʷčayʔuxʷ/ 'Strait of Juan de Fuca'

Topographic Nouns

## Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} N \\ + \text{Topographic} \end{array} \right] = \text{Topographic}$$

This semantic category includes features in the natural environment.

## Topographic Nouns (2.7)

2.7.1.	/cacu <sup>?</sup> /	'beach'
2.7.2.	/sx <sup>w</sup> čay <sup>?</sup> ux <sup>w</sup> /	'canal, inlet'
2.7.3.	/sɲi <sup>?</sup> aɲət/	'mountain'
2.7.4.	/sx <sup>w</sup> ča <sup>?</sup> yič/	'valley'
2.7.5.	/stu <sup>?</sup> wi <sup>?</sup> /	'river'
	/stutə <sup>?</sup> wi <sup>?</sup> /	'creek'
2.7.6.	/čəq <sup>?</sup> /	'dirt'
2.7.7.	/sčtanx <sup>w</sup> ən/	'earth, land, dirt'
2.7.8.	/ca <sup>?</sup> ʔan <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> /	'higher ground'
2.7.9.	/sqi <sup>?</sup> qi <sup>?</sup> yayɲux <sup>w</sup> /	'forest'
2.7.10.	/sxayo <sup>?</sup> k <sup>w</sup> i <sup>?</sup> eč/	'foothills'
2.7.11.	/ʔ <sup>?</sup> čas/	'island'
2.7.12.	/cay <sup>?</sup> ʔ/	'lake'
2.7.13.	/čəq ʔ <sup>?</sup> act/	'ocean'
2.7.14.	/spəʔxən <sup>?</sup> /	'field, prairie, plain'
2.7.15.	/shi <sup>?</sup> ict/	'river rapids'
2.7.16.	/sx <sup>w</sup> titayəq <sup>w</sup> /	'head of a river'
2.7.17.	/stəx <sup>?</sup> /	'branch of a river'
2.7.18.	/ʔ <sup>?</sup> ʔaʔc/	'saltwater'
2.7.19.	/čix <sup>w</sup> əɲ/	'land spit'
2.7.20.	/mučču <sup>?</sup> /	'spring'
2.7.21.	/sa <sup>?</sup> susʔ/	'trail'
2.7.22.	/q <sup>w</sup> u <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> /	'creek' (< /q <sup>w</sup> u <sup>?</sup> / 'water')
2.7.23.	/sstan ʔə <sup>?</sup> stu <sup>?</sup> wi <sup>?</sup> /	'waterfall'
2.7.24.	/ʔe <sup>?</sup> e <sup>?</sup> us ~ ʔe <sup>?</sup> yuc/	'land on either side of a river mouth'

Mineral Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} N \\ + \text{Mineral} \end{array} \right] = \text{Mineral}$$

Mineral nouns refer to a small class of natural elements.

Mineral Nouns (2.8)

2.8.1.	/pək <sup>2</sup> wəčn/	'sand'
2.8.2.	/sčəč <sup>2</sup> ɬ/	'fine gravel'
2.8.3.	/sɲiyant/	'rock'
	/sɲantu <sup>2</sup> iɬ/	'gravel'
2.8.4.	/smi <sup>2</sup> ɰi <sup>2</sup> /	'mud'
2.8.5.	/k <sup>2</sup> wəx <sup>2</sup> wə <sup>2</sup> ŋx <sup>2</sup> /	'ashes'
2.8.6.	/k <sup>2</sup> aɬŋ/	'salt'
2.8.7.	/ča <sup>2</sup> ʔis/	'charcoal'

Atmospheric Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} N \\ - \text{Topographic} \end{array} \right] = \text{Atmospheric}$$

Atmospheric nouns refer to naturally occurring phenomena.

## Atmospheric Nouns (2.9)

2.9.1.	/sx <sup>w</sup> nu <sup>?</sup> us/	'cloud'
2.9.2.	/spə <sup>?</sup> x <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'fog'
2.9.3.	/či <sup>?</sup> ħahaysn <sup>?</sup> /	'hail'
2.9.4.	/ŋaqə <sup>?</sup> /	'snow'
2.9.5.	/s <sup>?</sup> təməx <sup>w</sup> /	'rain'
	/s <sup>?</sup> tay <sup>?</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> /	'ice'
2.9.6.	/x <sup>w</sup> a <sup>?</sup> ta <sup>?</sup> šn/	'rainbow'
2.9.7.	/sk <sup>w</sup> ač <sup>i</sup> /	'sky, day, daytime'
2.9.8.	/ča <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> tn <sup>?</sup> /	'dark night'
2.9.9.	/sq <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> ay <sup>?</sup> /	'sun'
	/q <sup>w</sup> ə <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> əyəŋ/	'sunshine'
2.9.10.	/sčəŋ/	'wind'
2.9.11.	/q <sup>?</sup> ix <sup>w</sup> /	'west wind'
2.9.12.	/sxa <sup>?</sup> as čuŋ/	'north wind'
2.9.13.	/čča <sup>?</sup> yq <sup>w</sup> /	'south wind'
2.9.14.	/sutč/	'east wind'
2.9.15.	/s <sup>?</sup> tayu <sup>?</sup> /	'severe storm'
2.9.16.	/stə <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> /	'river wind'
2.9.17.	/pə <sup>?</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'smoke'
2.9.18.	/xa <sup>?</sup> ħ/	'windy, stormy, rough'
2.9.19.	/ <sup>?</sup> acáq <sup>?</sup> ħ/	'thunder'
2.9.20.	/nuča <sup>?</sup> aq <sup>w</sup> čq <sup>w</sup> /	'lightning'
2.9.21.	/ħqayč <sup>?</sup> /	'moon'
	/ħqayč <sup>?</sup> əŋ <sup>?</sup> /	'moonlight'
2.9.22.	/ <sup>?</sup> tatawusna/	'star'

### Spatial Suffixes

Clallam (as does Salish in general) exhibits a complex system of suffixes denoting spatial (locational) orientation. In earlier analyses, spatial suffixes have been referred to as somatic (Kuipers 1967, 1974) or bodypart (Efrat 1970) suffixes. Spatial suffixes have a basic anatomical orientation which is extended onto corporeal and non-corporeal environment referents (cf. Freidrich 1971b).

Fifteen spatial suffixes have been isolated, seven of which can be represented as full words specifically denoting an anatomical, [ $\pm$  Human], referent.

Form	Referent
/cucən/	'mouth'
/cays/	'hand'
/čəns/	'tooth'
/nəqsən/	'nose'
/q <sup>w</sup> əŋeʔ/	'head'
/sʔacs/	'face'
/sxana/	'leg'

TABLE IV is a composite of spatial suffixes, referents, and signification. In any suffix, an element enclosed in parentheses indicates uncertainty as to whether that element is inherently part of the suffix or an additional suffix related semantically but not morphologically to the spatial suffix. Enclosed elements include /-n/ (instrumental, nominalizer), and /-s/ (purposive). Alternatively, /-n/ may represent process resolution connoting that the referent is the patient of the

FORM	REFERENT	SIGNIFICATION
1. /-(V)c(ən)/	'mouth, lip'	orifice; edge, border, non-binding enclosure.
2. /-c(s)/	'hand'	manual; appendage.
3. /-nč/	'tail'	longish; flattish; extension from body.
4. /-č, -č(n), -č(s)/	'head, neck, heel, spine, buttocks'	exterior; joint, point of union of two components; surface binding or bounded by another surface or edge.
5. /-q <sup>w</sup> /	'head'	superior (anatomical); top; above.
6. /-s(n), -š(n)/	'foot'	exterior base; area from knee to ankle; caudal.
7. /-(V)x(ən)/	'elbow'	direction, location; enclosure, border.
8. /-q(s)/	'nose'	tip, projection, point, blunt.
9. /-us/	'face'	outer surface; flat-tish surface.
10. /-q(n)/	'skin'	exterior surface; supporting surface; integument.
11. /-ŋ/	'chest'	cavity; enclosure, interior.
12. /-k <sup>w</sup> /	'body'	interior/exterior surface; side.
13. /-n/	'ear'	small projection; grow out of; side.
14. /-uř/	'surface'	
15. /-e <sup>?</sup> /	'head, intestine, wing, umbilicus'	central, primary.



quality implied by the verb root and the attributed quality denoted by the spatial suffix. It is felt, however, that the notion of (instrumental, nominal) semantically complements the connotations of the spatial suffixes and ties in more naturally to the semantics of the system in general than does the alternative, process resolution.

Spatial suffixes are mapped into every semantic noun category where it is apparent that the derived meaning is not readily interpretable because (1) the meaning of the verb root is unclear; (2) the native term is applied in a metaphorical sense vis-à-vis the referent; or (3) the referent's label is metonymically derived.

Following is the list of spatial suffixes and representative examples of their occurrence in semantic noun categories. So that the cross-category applicability is clearly explicated, lexical items are categorized according to their semantic feature structure.

- (1) /-(v)c(ə)n/ 'orifice; edge, border; non-binding enclosure; mouth, lips'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sčʌcən/	'upper lip; rim of a basket/object'
/sʰčucənʔ/	'chin, lower lip'
/sčamʔucənʔ/	'mandible'
/qʷincən/	'whiskers'
/ʔəsqʷaʔnucən/	'mustache'
/sʔacs/	'face'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/čəčpsiʔucən/	'squirrel'
/skʷaʔac/	'dogfish shark'
/sqiqəwəc/	'flea'
/ŋəscənʔ/	'louse'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/sunuc/	'fire'
/scɬucən/	'rim of a basket/object; upper lip'

(N, Place Name, . . . )

/čxʷəcən/	'Hollywood Beach, Port Angeles, Washington'
/sxʷiʔucən/	'Dry Creek, Clallam County, Washington'

(N, Topographic, . . . )

/ʔeʔeʔus ~ ʔeʔyuc/	'land on either side of a river mouth'
/cacuʔ/	'beach'
/šaʔpicən/	'hill with steep slopes'

(2) /-c(s)/ 'manual; appendage, hand'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sčsacs/	'finger'
/čšuʔics/	'fingernail'
/sxʷčəqʷac/	'wrist'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/q̣aʔyac/ 'starfish'

/sṭixʷac/ 'octopus'

(3) /-nč/ 'longish; flattish; extension from body, tail'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/sxʷx̣əpiʔnč/ 'bird's tail'

/ṭpuʔq̣ʷaysnč/ 'eel'

(N, Plant, . . . )

/ŋəč̣inəč/ 'blue huckleberry'

(4) /-č, -č(n), -č(s)/ 'exterior; joint, point of union of two components; flat surface; convexity; surface binding or bounded by another surface; head/neck, heel, spine, buttocks, bottom'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/šiyč/ 'skin'

/sxʷčəmčamuʔeč/ 'spine'

/sxʷčutuʔəč/ 'heel'

/scxač/ 'hip'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/q̣ṭuməčən/ 'killer whale'

/q̣əʔcəwʔəč/ 'finback whale'

/ḳʷacantč/ 'mud shark'

/sxʷiʔxayuʔač̣in/ 'lizard'

/ṣxiʔḳʷaʔəč/ 'black bear'

/k <sup>2</sup> wəyəč/	'grizzly bear'
/xa <sup>2</sup> xi <sup>2</sup> yu <sup>2</sup> ič/	'chipmunk'
/sta <sup>2</sup> čən/	'wolf'
/təŋsu <sup>2</sup> e <sup>2</sup> č/	'linded chiton'
/čaču <sup>2</sup> ya <sup>2</sup> e <sup>2</sup> ič/	'nuthatch'
/stəməč/	'shag'
/q <sup>2</sup> waq <sup>2</sup> šəčən/	'barn swallow'
/sx <sup>w</sup> ŋa <sup>2</sup> ŋəntu <sup>2</sup> eč/	'turtle'

(N, Plant, . . . )

/qəcičənt/	'ribbon seaweed'
/cak <sup>2</sup> čn/	'tiger lily'
/sča <sup>2</sup> eč/	'stump'
/q <sup>2</sup> wəx <sup>w</sup> əyəč/	'onion'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/k <sup>2</sup> ča <sup>2</sup> čn/	'belt'
/ču <sup>2</sup> mə <sup>2</sup> čn/	'bracelet'
/sx <sup>w</sup> čatč/	'bottom of a basket/object'
/siyayič/	'cedar board, wall mat'
/qačs/	'headband for cranial deformation'
/sx <sup>w</sup> ɬxačn/	'floor'
/sx <sup>w</sup> ča <sup>2</sup> wačn/	'chair'

(N, Topographic, . . . )

/sx <sup>w</sup> ča <sup>2</sup> yič/	'valley'
/sxayə <sup>2</sup> k <sup>w</sup> i <sup>2</sup> eč/	'foothills'

(N, Mineral, . . . )

/p<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əčn/ 'sand'

(N, Atmospheric, . . . )

/sutč/ 'east wind'

(5) /-q<sup>w</sup>/ 'superior (anatomical); top; above; head'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sx<sup>w</sup>qtaye<sup>w</sup>/ 'top of head'

/k<sup>2</sup>wiyq<sup>2</sup>eq<sup>w</sup>/ 'scalp'

/sk<sup>2</sup>waq<sup>w</sup>/ 'lung'

(N, Kinterm, . . . )

/ča<sup>2</sup>?əmaq<sup>w</sup>/ 'great grandparent'

/həq<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>2</sup>?əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'great-great grandparent'

/čə<sup>2</sup>ɪp<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>?əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'great-great-great grandparent'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/sqxe<sup>2</sup>?əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'blue dragonfly'

/t<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>2</sup>?əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'mussel'

/sx<sup>w</sup>pəq<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>?eq<sup>w</sup>/ 'green sea urchin'

/sxač<sup>2</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>/ 'smoked halibut head'

/mə<sup>2</sup>?uq<sup>w</sup>/ 'duck' (generic)

/x<sup>w</sup>u<sup>2</sup>?u<sup>2</sup>q<sup>w</sup>/ 'merganser duck'

/k<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>2</sup>?əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'pileated duck'

(N, Plant, . . . )

/ʔiyuq <sup>w</sup> /	'strawberry'
/sxca <sup>?</sup> ya <sup>?</sup> nəq <sup>w</sup> /	'grass'
/sča <sup>(?)</sup> yəq <sup>w</sup> ʔiʔč/	'fruit tree'
/sča <sup>?</sup> yəq <sup>w</sup> ʔ/	'berry'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/sčəsaw <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> /	'hat'
/x <sup>w</sup> iq <sup>w</sup> e <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ən/	'kerchief'

(N, Topographic, . . . )

/ča <sup>?</sup> ʔan <sup>?</sup> q <sup>w</sup> /	'higher ground'
/sx <sup>w</sup> titayəq <sup>w</sup> /	'head of a river'

(N, Atmospheric, . . . )

/čča <sup>?</sup> yq <sup>w</sup> /	'south wind'
/stəq <sup>?</sup> /	'river wind'

(6) /-s(n), -š(n)/ 'exterior base; area from knee to ankle; caudal; foot'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sx <sup>w</sup> čəq <sup>?</sup> əsn <sup>?</sup> /	'ankle'
/ʔtəsən <sup>?</sup> /	'foot, sole of foot'
/q <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> nsn/	'calf'
/čš <sup>?</sup> u <sup>?</sup> isn/	'claw'
/sxəp <sup>?</sup> šn/	'fishtail'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/k <sup>w</sup> itšən/	'spring salmon'
/t̚əčsən/	'steelhead trout'
/k <sup>w</sup> ənkwinsən/	'helmet crab'
/x <sup>w</sup> aʔx <sup>w</sup> iʔəš/	'hermit thrush'
/sx <sup>w</sup> ka <sup>ʔ</sup> əquʔyaʔsnʔ/	'grasshopper'
/ka <sup>ʔ</sup> ayaqsn/	'spider'
/peʔčšən/	'salamander'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/nuʔsəntn/	'trousers'
/k <sup>w</sup> čaysnʔ/	'walking stick'
/sx <sup>w</sup> cayʔsn/	'canoe mat'
/ʔiʔ qačayk <sup>w</sup> sn/	'basket warp'
/sətšən/	'animal trap'
/xanaʔsnʔ/	'foundation element' (basket)

(N, Atmospheric, . . . )

/x <sup>w</sup> ačaʔšn/	'rainbow'
/či <sup>ʔ</sup> ahaysnʔ/	'hail'

(7) /-(v)x(ən)/ 'direction, location; enclosure, border; elbow'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sq̚px <sup>w</sup> iʔaxənʔ/	'elbow'
/sxana/	'leg'
/sxak <sup>w</sup> a/	'fish spine'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/ʔaʔʔiʔpiʔaxən/	'bat'
/ʔaʔquxən/	'goose'
/čʉʔaʔčaxən/	'tern'
/qaʔqayixəna/	'fly'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/siʔxən/	'edge, border'
/qəyaxən/	'fence'
/čaʔyaʔkʷaxən/	'forest edge of a village'
/huʔaʔkʷaxən/	'water edge of a village'
/sɔ̄ixən/	'east/west sides of a village'
/titaxən/	'upriver edge of a river village'
/qʷəqʷaxən/	'downriver edge of a river village'

(N, Topographic, . . . )

/spəʔxənʔ/	'field, prairie, field'
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(8) /-q(s)/ 'tip; projection, point, blunt; nose'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sxʷcɪkʷayqsən/	'nostril'
/skʷicəʔqsayʔcs/	'index finger'
/ʔəŋqɪčəqsən/	'beak'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/qəčqs/	'silver salmon'
/tinəqsən/	'mallard duck'
/sqeqs/	'killdeer'



(N, Plant, . . . )

/sak<sup>w</sup>q/ 'carrot'

(N, Place Name, . . . )

/hacqs/ 'Point-no-Point, Washington'

/ʔi<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>uyəqs/ 'Tongue Point, Clallam County, Washington'

(9) /-us/ 'outer surface; flattish surface; face'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/s<sup>ʔ</sup>acs/ 'face'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ča<sup>ʔ</sup>isčus/ 'black-capped chickadee'

/tiq<sup>ʔ</sup>us/ 'black bass'

/sx<sup>w</sup>yayixamus/ 'red dragonfly'

(N, Plant, . . . )

/sx<sup>w</sup>mək<sup>w</sup>usŋn/ 'cow parsnip'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/sx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>ʔ</sup>aq<sup>ʔ</sup>ənusŋ/ 'window'

/sx<sup>w</sup>nu<sup>ʔ</sup>usn/ 'mask'

(N, Atmospheric, . . . )

/sx<sup>w</sup>nu<sup>ʔ</sup>us/ 'cloud'

/t<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>tawusna/ 'star'

(10) /-q(n)/ 'exterior surface; supporting surface; skin, integument'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sʔix<sup>w</sup>iqnʔ/ 'navel'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/pap<sup>q</sup>eʔqn/ 'weasel'

/sx<sup>w</sup>awəqn/ 'swan'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/qaqn/ 'cornerpost'

(N, Place Name, . . . )

/nəx<sup>w</sup>čəʔsaʔqn/ 'Twin River, Clallam County, Washington'

(11) /-ŋ/ 'cavity; enclosure, interior; chest'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/čaŋəʔ/ 'chest'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/həʔhəʔŋʔ/ 'frog'

/sx<sup>w</sup>siʔsayŋʔ/ 'whale' (unidentified)

(N, Plant, . . . )

/sk<sup>w</sup>əčŋiʔč/ 'bitter cherry tree'

/saʔʔann/ 'salmonberry'

/q<sup>w</sup>čəŋ/ 'root' (generic)

/čq<sup>w</sup>əŋilč/ 'rotten log'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/čaʔŋətnʔ/ 'bailer'

/ʔaʔyəŋ ~ ʔaʔiŋ/ 'house'

(12) /-kʷ ~ʔ -w/ 'interior/exterior surface; side; body'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/stackʷɬ/ 'lower back'

/stcikʷn/ 'upper back'

/sqiʔukʷs/ 'left arm/hand'

/sčikʷs/ 'right arm/hand'

/sxʷčixʷikʷnʔ/ 'internal organs'

/tawiʔ/ 'arm'

(N, Plant, . . . )

/sxʷčačəʔikʷən/ 'interior surface of a cattail stem'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/sʔiʔikʷɬ/ 'outer surface of a basket/object'

(13) /-n/ 'small projection; grow out of; side; ear'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/čtəkʷnt/ 'pierced ear'

/čəns/ 'tooth'

/sxʷəyənʔ/ 'side of the head'

(N, Animal, . . . )

/šəʔčəʔn/ 'littleneck clam'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/q<sup>2</sup>wayənʔ/ 'basket handle, ear'

(14) /-uʔ/ 'surface'

(N, Artifact, . . . )

/snaʔuʔ/ 'inner surface of a basket/object'

(15) /-eʔ/ 'central, primary'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )

/sq<sup>2</sup>wəneʔ/ 'head'

/nəweʔ/ 'umbilical cord'

/qeʔ/ 'intestines'

/s<sup>2</sup>qaʔeʔ/ 'feather, wing'

For spatial suffixes, polysemy is defined in terms of occurrence with verb roots, where it is often the case that meanings are obscured from the non-native eye through metaphor and metonymy.

Many of the connotations posited for spatial suffixes are tentative. Additional data are necessary to determine possible co-occurrence patterns of spatial suffixes within a word, e.g., /sk<sup>w</sup>cəʔqsayʔcs/ 'index finger'. Detailed word lists particularly in categories defined as [- Animate] would provide the data for the preparation of an initial statement of the taxonomic parameters which define the spatial suffix system, and the discussion of a world view that seems corporeally oriented.

Diminution

Diminutive Rule

[+ Diminutive]

→

$$\left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{c} C^1 \emptyset (?) \\ \{ \\ C^1 V^1 (?) \\ \\ [\emptyset] \end{array} \right] \right\} / \left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ \#C^1 V^1 \dots \{ \\ C\#-u^? i\ddot{t} \\ V\#-? i\ddot{t} \\ \\ \#C^1 V^1 \dots \{ \\ C\#-u^? i\ddot{t} \\ V\#-? i\ddot{t} \end{array} \right] \right\}$$

The diminutive is formed by (1) regressive reduplication of stem initial  $C^1$  with either stem  $V^1$  or /ə/, optionally followed by /ʔ/; or (2) no reduplication. If (1) is selected then the co-occurrence with /-ʔiḏ/ [stem final vowel] or /-uʔiḏ/ [stem final consonant] is optional. If (2) is selected then either /-ʔiḏ/ [stem final vowel] or /-uʔiḏ/ [stem final consonant] is mandatory.

Affixing

Suffixing

/swəyʔqəʔ/ 'man' > /swiʔq-uʔiḏ/ 'boy'; /sʔaniʔ/ 'woman' > /sʔnač-uʔiḏ/ 'girl' > /sʔnaʔč-uyḏ/ 'girl' > /sʔənəʔč-uʔiḏ/ 'girl' (See TABLE III); /q̣aʔḡiʔ/ 'teenage girl' > /q̣aḡəč-uʔiḏ/ 'pre-teenage girl'; /sḳʷaḳʷatuʔ/ 'crow' > /sḳʷaḳʷatuʔ-iḏ/ 'blackbird'.

### Reduplication

/kʷatən/ 'rat' > /kʷəʔkʷatən/ 'mouse'; /smačən/ 'skunk' > /smamačən/ 'little skunk'; /qiʔciʔ/ 'rabbit' > /qəʔqiʔciʔ/ 'little rabbit'; /skʷatuʔ/ 'raven' > /skʷakʷatuʔ/ 'crow'.

### Pluralization

Pluralization exhibits two general patterns: (1) infixing; and (2) reduplication. Instances where infixing occurs with reduplication are represented in the data.

Plural forms denote either (1) a group of objects considered individually (count nouns), or (2) collective or mass plural. The latter often includes the notion of several groups of mass nouns, e.g., several groups of acorn barnacles. It is interesting to note that generally the use of singular and mass plural, individually and in combination, reflects the perception of the organization of environmental referents. This is extended to those nouns which have no plural form because "you never see more than one."

The use of /ŋənʔ/ 'many, much' also serves to indicate plurality; however, it is felt that this type of formation falls outside of the internal pluralization process and is used as an alternate formation when the internal formation is unknown. It was often found that /ŋənʔ/ plurals were provided to satisfy the inquisitive nature of the investigator.

## Pluralization Rule

$$\begin{array}{c}
 [+ \text{ Pluralization}] \qquad \qquad \qquad \rightarrow \\
 \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left\{ C^1 - \left( \begin{array}{c} \left. \begin{array}{l} V^1 - \\ V^1 C^2 - \end{array} \right\} \right) \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -i- \\ -V(?)y- \\ -V y V- \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \#C^1 \text{---} \\ \#C^1 \text{---} \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

Pluralization occurs as reduplication of stem  $C^1$  or  $C^1V^1$  or  $C^1V^1C^2$  or  $C^1$  with  $/-i-/$  (collective) as  $V^1$  in the reduplicated initial syllable, or  $/-V(?)y-/ \sim /-V y V-/$  infix following stem  $C^1$ .

## Affixing

Infixing

$/-ay-/$

$/s\check{c}i^?k^w a^?ic > s\check{c}-ay-i^?k^w a^?ic/$  'black bear';  $/sqaxa^? > sq-ay-axa^?/$  'dog';  $/q^w ux\eta n^? > q^w-ay-ux\eta n^?/$  'hoof';  $/k^w at\acute{e}n > k^w-ay-at\acute{e}n/$  'rat';  $/?a^?c\check{x} > ?-ay-a^?c\check{x}/$  'crab';  $/q\acute{a}\check{c}qs > q\acute{a}-ay-\check{c}qs/$  'silver salmon';  $/\check{f}\acute{e}\check{c}s\acute{e}n > \check{f}-ay-\check{c}s\acute{e}n/$  'steelhead';  $/x^w \acute{e}\check{c}t > x^w-ay-\check{c}t/$  'bullhead';  $/\check{c}a\check{c}\acute{e}m^? > \check{c}-ay-\check{c}\acute{e}m^?/$  'bird';  $/s\eta\acute{e}q\acute{u}^? > s\eta-ay-\acute{e}q\acute{u}^?/$  'crane';  $/\check{\lambda}\acute{a}q\acute{u}x\acute{e}n > \check{\lambda}-ay-aq\acute{u}x\acute{e}n/$  'goose';  $/sq^w asqq > sq^w-ay-asqq/$  'robin';  $/k^w a\check{c}a\check{c} > k^w-ay-\check{c}a\check{c}/$  'sand flea';  $/?a\check{c}in > ?-ay-a\check{c}in/$  'maggot';  $/\eta\acute{e}sc\acute{e}n^? > \eta-ay-sc\acute{e}n^?/$  'louse';

/spusəŋ > sp-ay-usəŋ/ 'abscess'; /q̣aʔnsn > q̣-ay-aʔnsn/  
 'calf' (bodypart); /č̣šuʔics > č̣-ay-šuʔics/ 'fingernail';  
 /ṭəptnʔ > ṭ-ay-əptnʔ/ 'eyelash'; /p̣ac̣ṭč̣ > p̣-ay-ač̣ṭč̣/ 'wax-  
 berry'; /sxcaʔiʔ > sx-ay-caʔiʔ/ 'hay'; /q̣əxmn > q̣-ay-əxmn/  
 'yarrow'; /cakʷčn > c-ay-kʷčn/ 'tiger lily'; /sɣʷasəm >  
 sɣʷ-ay-asəm/ 'soapberry'.

/-iy-/

/kʷašuʔ > kʷ-iy-ašuʔ/ 'pig'; /xayukʷs > x-iy-ayukʷ/ 'raccoon';  
 /xʷuŋən > xʷ-iy-uŋən/ 'animal's neck'; /ʔaʔčamʔ > ʔ-iy-čamʔ/  
 'giant horse clam'; /xiŋṭ > x-iy-iŋṭ/ 'olive shell';  
 /məʔuqʷ > m-iy-əʔuqʷ/ 'duck'; /xʷuʔuqʷ > xʷ-iy-uʔuqʷ/  
 'merganser duck'; /ŋeʔet > ŋ-iy-eʔet/ 'grouse'; /qʷəní >  
 qʷ-iy-əní/ 'seagull'; /sxana > sx-iy-na/ 'leg'; /kʷuʔət >  
 kʷ-iy-uʔət/ 'cattail'; /ʔəʔ > ʔ-iy-əʔ/ 'bear grass';  
 /sqawc > sq-iy-awc/ 'potato'; /qaʔəxʷ > q-iy-aʔəxʷ/ 'crab-  
 apple'; /kʷašu > kʷ-iy-ašu/ 'sowbug'; /č̣ač̣əməwʔtxʷ >  
 č̣-iy-ač̣əməwʔtxʷ/ 'bird's nest'.

/-aʔy-/

/č̣əmana > č̣-aʔy-əmana/ 'night smelt'; /ṭp̣q̣ʷaysnč̣ >  
 ṭ-aʔy-p̣q̣ʷaysnč̣/ 'eel'; /nəqʷseʔeʔ > n-aʔy-əqʷseʔeʔ/ 'goose-  
 neck barnacle'; /q̣aʔquʔ > q̣-aʔy-aʔquʔ/ 'skatefish';  
 /ʔasxʷ > ʔ-aʔy-asxʷ/ 'hair seal'; /skʷičiʔ > skʷ-aʔy-ičiʔ/  
 'sea egg'; /ʔukʷs > ʔ-aʔy-kʷs/ 'giant chiton'; /wačiʔ >  
 w-aʔy-ačiʔ/ 'perch'; /xixʷ > x-aʔy-ixʷ/ 'large sea urchin';  
 /sxʷupč̣ > sxʷ-aʔy-upč̣/ 'old salmon'; /ʔač̣ṭ > ʔ-aʔy-č̣ṭ/  
 'ling cod'; /həmʔuʔ > h-aʔy-əmuʔ/ 'pigeon';



/sʔacs > sʔ-aʔy-ac/ 'face'; /xčaʔčɪč > x-aʔy-čaʔčɪč/  
 'western red cedar'; /q̄ačɪč > q̄-aʔy-ačɪč/ 'ironwood';  
 /pixʷ > p-aʔy-ixʷ/ 'red huckleberry'; /skʷaqən >  
 skʷ-aʔy-aqən/ 'flower'; /t̄aqaʔ > t̄-aʔy-aqaʔ/ 'salal'.

/-iʔy-/

/skʷaʔac > skʷ-iʔy-aʔac/ 'dogfish shark'.

/-əyə-/

/k̄təsənʔ > k̄-əyə-təsənʔ/ 'foot'; /sxʷčutuʔəč >  
 sxʷč-əyə-tuʔəč/ 'heel'.

### Reduplication

/C<sup>1</sup>-/

/k̄xʷayʔ > k̄-k̄axʷiʔ/ 'chum salmon'; /s̄kaməkʷ > s-k̄-k̄aməkʷ/  
 'salmon roe'; /qayəŋʔ > q-qayəŋʔ/ 'eye'; /čəns > č-čəns/  
 'tooth'; /q̄wayənʔ > q̄-q̄wayənʔ/ 'ear'; /qʷt̄ayʔ > qʷ-qʷat̄iʔ/  
 'drift log'; /k̄wəyčn > k̄-k̄wəyčn/ 'grizzly bear';  
 /p̄awɪʔ > p̄-p̄awɪʔ/ 'halibut'; /q̄aʔyac > q̄-q̄aʔyac/ 'starfish';  
 /sčaʔmukʷ > s-č-čaʔmukʷ/ 'bullhead'.

/C<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup>-/

/ləmətu > ləm-ləmətu/ 'sheep'; /skʷimayʔ > s-kʷim-kʷimayʔ/  
 'dog'; /s̄tuʔəŋət > s-t̄uʔ-t̄uʔəŋət/ 'herring'; /q̄uʔaʔkʷays >  
 q̄uʔ-q̄uʔaʔkʷays/ 'eyebrow'; /sq̄iʔakʷəŋ > s-q̄iʔ-q̄iʔakʷəŋ/  
 'knee'; /sqʷunɪč > s-qʷun-qʷunɪč/ 'alder'; sqiʔyayŋxʷ >  
 s-qiʔ-qiʔyayŋxʷ/ 'tree'; /t̄əŋsuʔeʔč > t̄əŋ-t̄əŋsuʔeʔč/  
 'linded chiton'.

There is a small class of lexical items for which no unreduplicated roots have been observed. Some of the items in this class were borrowed from Chinook Jargon and have also undergone the common /-ay-/ infix pattern in Clallam (these forms are listed with another category). Efrat (1970:114) noted that /C<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>-/ reduplication is a common pattern in Chinook Jargon.

/məqməq/ 'snowy owl'; /k<sup>w</sup>aškwš/ 'bluebird'; /təq<sup>w</sup>təq<sup>w</sup>/  
 'red snapper'; /<sup>ʔ</sup>əx<sup>w</sup><sup>ʔ</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>/ 'razor clam'; /musmus/ 'cow';  
 /pišpš/ 'cat'.

/C<sup>1</sup>-i-/

/sčxác > s-č-i-čxác/ 'fingernail'; /sčxasən > s-č-i-čxasən/  
 'toenail'; /cays > c-i-cays/ 'hand'; /scxač > s-c-i-cxač/  
 'hip'; /sx<sup>w</sup>cɬk<sup>w</sup>ayqsən > sx<sup>w</sup>-c-i-cɬk<sup>w</sup>ayqsən/ 'nostril';  
 /sča<sup>ʔ</sup>yiq<sup>w</sup>ɬ > s-č-i-ča<sup>ʔ</sup>yiq<sup>w</sup>ɬ/ 'berry'; /scə<sup>ʔ</sup> > s-c-i-cə<sup>ʔ</sup>/  
 'worm'; /s-<sup>ʔ</sup>i-<sup>ʔ</sup>ə<sup>ʔ</sup>qɬ/ 'child from a low class family' (this  
 word appears only in reduplicated form).

### Atypical Patterns

The following lexical items fall outside the general pattern described in the pluralization rule. The first category displays various types of initial syllable reduplication with /-ay-/, /-a<sup>ʔ</sup>y-/, or /-iy-/ infixation. The second category contains only a few items displaying unique pluralization patterns.

/həʔhəʔŋʔ > h-iy-əʔhəʔŋʔ/ 'frog'; /sx<sup>w</sup>aʔx<sup>w</sup>č > sx<sup>w</sup>-ay-aʔx<sup>w</sup>č/  
 'snake'; /taʔtaʔciŋux<sup>w</sup> > t-iy-aʔtaʔciŋux<sup>w</sup>/ 'animal';  
 /xaʔxiʔyuʔič > x-aʔy-aʔxiʔyuʔič/ 'chipmunk'; /qaqicayʔ >  
 q-ay-aʔqiʔcayʔ/ 'rabbit'; /papq̄eʔqn > p-ay-apq̄eʔqn/  
 'weasel'; /č̄ač̄əmʔ > č̄-ay-ač̄əmʔ/ 'bird'; /č̄əč̄təŋx<sup>w</sup> >  
 č̄-ay-č̄təŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'great horned owl'; /k<sup>w</sup>ašk<sup>w</sup>š > k<sup>w</sup>-ay-ašk<sup>w</sup>š/  
 'bluebird'; /musmus > m-ay-usmus/ 'cow'; /paʔpiš >  
 p-ay-apiš/ 'cat'.

/qiyutn > qiyu-wə-tn/ 'horse'; /sx<sup>w</sup>č̄əq̄wəsənʔ > sx<sup>w</sup>-x<sup>w</sup>-č̄əq̄w-  
 əsənʔ/ 'ankle'; /sx<sup>w</sup>č̄əq̄wac > sx<sup>w</sup>-x<sup>w</sup>-č̄əq̄wac/ 'wrist'.

## CHAPTER 3

## PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Semantic Feature Specification

The semantic feature specifications of personal and demonstrative pronouns are explicated in TABLE V. The features are defined as: (1) Speaker (whether the speaker is included); (2) Addressee (whether the addressee is included); (3) Plural (marks count or collective plural forms); (4) Emphatic (marks forms of primary attention); (5) Primary (forms marked [+ Primary] carry the highest semantic load within the class); (6) Gender; (7) Location (whether the referent [event, activity, situation] is specified for location); (8) Animate; and (9) Male.

Personal pronoun clitics lack inherent differentiation for [ $\pm$  Subjective]. Verb resolution and focus markers indicate [+ Subjective]:[- Subjective] relationship; cf. See CHAPTER 4.

The semantic feature structure of demonstrative pronouns is offered tentatively. Each demonstrative is viewed as a complex of interrelating semantic features and is analysed in terms of the semantic feature structure of the underlying components of the demonstrative system. The semantic feature structure of (1) personal pronouns, and (2) a representative sample of demonstrative pronouns follows below.

TABLE V. SEMANTIC FEATURE MATRIX FOR PRONOUNS

	cen	?en	st	ʔnɪnɪʔ	cx <sup>w</sup>	nek <sup>w</sup>	hay	ʔnek <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	t	i	ə	a	c	č	ʔ	s	ʔ
1. Speaker	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Addressee	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Plural	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+										
4. Emphatic	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
5. Primary									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
6. Gender									-	-	-	+	+				-	+
7. Location									+	-	-			+	-			
8. Animate										-	+	+	+					
9. Male												-	+					

## Personal Pronouns

- 3.1  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Speaker} \\ - \text{ Addressee} \\ - \text{ Plural} \\ - \text{ Emphatic} \end{array} \right]$  → /cən/ 'I, me'
- 3.2  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Speaker} \\ - \text{ Addressee} \\ - \text{ Plural} \\ + \text{ Emphatic} \end{array} \right]$  → /ʔən/ 'I, me (emphatic)'
- 3.3  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Speaker} \\ - \text{ Addressee} \\ + \text{ Plural} \\ - \text{ Emphatic} \end{array} \right]$  → /st/ 'we, us'
- 3.4  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Speaker} \\ - \text{ Addressee} \\ + \text{ Plural} \\ + \text{ Emphatic} \end{array} \right]$  → /ʔniŋʔ ~ ʔniŋʔ/ 'we, us (emphatic)'
- 3.5  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Speaker} \\ + \text{ Addressee} \\ - \text{ Plural} \\ - \text{ Emphatic} \end{array} \right]$  → /cx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you (singular)'



Example: /k<sup>w</sup>iʔət tiʔ čin k<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'I'm spilling it' (< /k<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'to spill', /čin/ 'be the time of').

3.10 /tʂaʔ/ →

- Emphatic + Primary - Gender - Location	- Emphatic - Primary - Gender	- Emphatic + Primary + Gender + Animate + Male	+ Emphatic - Primary
↓	↓	↓	↓
/t/	/s/	/a/	/ʔ/

Example: /čq<sup>w</sup>ət tʂaʔ ən/ 'I'm going to burn it' (< /čq<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to burn', /ən/ 'I').

3.11 /tiʔa/ →

- Emphatic + Primary - Gender - Location	- Emphatic + Primary - Gender + Animate	+ Emphatic - Primary	- Emphatic + Primary + Gender + Animate + Male
↓	↓	↓	↓
/t/	/i/	/ʔ/	/a/

Example: /čay u ca(?) cx<sup>w</sup> ʔəʔ tiʔa ʔaynúk<sup>w</sup>/ 'Are you going to work today?' (< /čay-/ 'to work', /u/ (interrogative), /ca(?)/ (intensive), /ʔəʔ/ (non-focus), /ʔaynúk<sup>w</sup>/ 'today').



3.12      /tʰ/                                  →

$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ + \text{Primary} \\ - \text{Gender} \\ - \text{Location} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ - \text{Primary} \\ + \text{Gender} \end{bmatrix}$
↓	↓
/t/	/ʰ/

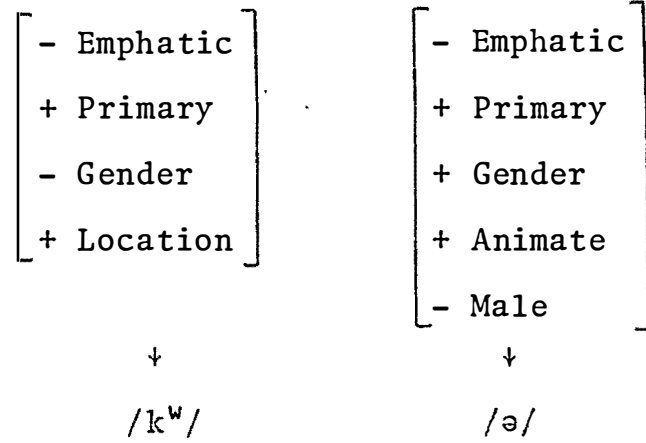
Example: /tʰ naʔač/ 'Over there' (< /naʔ/ 'be there, be on').

3.13      /k<sup>w</sup>i/                                  →

$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ + \text{Primary} \\ - \text{Gender} \\ + \text{Location} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ + \text{Primary} \\ - \text{Gender} \\ + \text{Animate} \end{bmatrix}$
↓	↓
/k <sup>w</sup> /	/i/

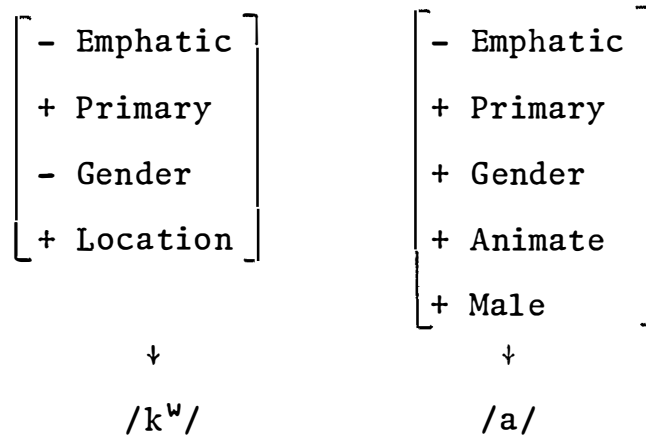
Example: /ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>i nstayi tiʔ yaʔ/ 'I was upriver' (< /ʔuʔ/ (directional clitic ?), /n(ə)-/ 'my', /s-/ (nominalizer), /tay-/ 'to go upriver', /yaʔ/ (durative completive)).

3.14 /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ →



Example: /ʔett k<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'She is sleeping' (< /ʔt-/ 'to sleep').

3.15 /k<sup>w</sup>a/ →



Example: /ʔett k<sup>w</sup>a/ 'He is sleeping' (< /ʔt-/ 'to sleep').

3.16 /k<sup>w</sup>ssə/

→

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ + \text{Primary} \\ - \text{Gender} \\ + \text{Location} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ - \text{Primary} \\ - \text{Gender} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ + \text{Primary} \\ + \text{Gender} \\ + \text{Animate} \\ - \text{Male} \end{bmatrix}$$

↓

/k<sup>w</sup>/

↓

/s/

↓

/ə/

Example: /k<sup>w</sup>ssə na<sup>?</sup>ča<sup>?</sup>ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Female stranger' (< /na<sup>?</sup>ča<sup>?</sup>ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'stranger').

3.17 /cə/

→

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Emphatic} \\ + \text{Primary} \\ + \text{Location} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Emphatic} \\ + \text{Primary} \\ + \text{Gender} \\ + \text{Animate} \\ - \text{Male} \end{bmatrix}$$

↓

/c/

↓

/ə/

Example: /ni<sup>?</sup> k<sup>w</sup>anəx<sup>w</sup> cə snəx<sup>w</sup> q<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>iš<sup>?</sup> ?iya k<sup>w</sup>sə/ 'I saw a dancing canoe (outside) over there' (< /ni<sup>?</sup>/ (anaphoric-copulative), /k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'to see', /snəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'canoe', /q<sup>w</sup>əy-/ 'to dance', /?iya/ 'over there').

3.18 /k<sup>w</sup>ɿi/

→

- Emphatic + Primary - Gender + Location	- Emphatic - Primary + Gender	- Emphatic + Primary - Gender + Animate
↓	↓	↓
/k <sup>w</sup> /	/ɿ/	/i/

Example: /ʔiʔ k<sup>w</sup>anəx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ɿi nəcačc/ 'I saw my aunt' (< /ʔiʔ/ (directional clitic ?), /k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'to see', /n(ə)-/ 'my', /cačc/ 'parent's sibling').

### Objective Suffixes

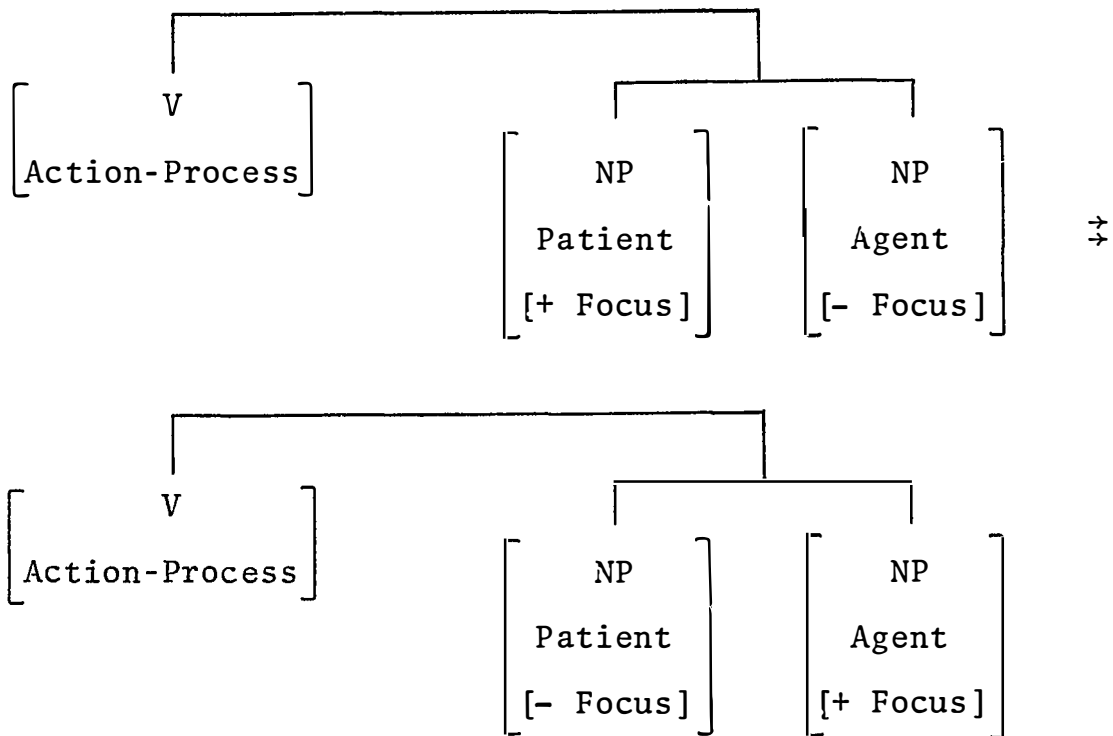
#### Focus Inversion with Action-Process Resolution

Action-process resolution (transitive) necessitates the occurrence of [+ Subjective] and [- Subjective] noun phrases. In general, action-process resolution results in the [+ Agent] noun phrase being marked for [- Focus] whereas the [- Agent] (patient) noun phrase is marked [+ Focus]. Inverting the focus relationship where [+ Agent] is marked [+ Focus] and [- Agent] is marked [- Focus] is characterized by the focus inversion rule.

## Focus Inversion Rule

[+ Focus Inversion]

→



Condition: The action-process resolution suffix /-t-ŋ/ is reduced to /-t-[++]/.

Under the Condition of the focus inversion rule, /-ŋ/ deletion results in a morpheme boundary [++]. This boundary plays a major role in determining the surface (phonetic) form of non-focus, objective pronouns (suffixes).

Semantic Feature Structure of Objective,  
Non-Focus Suffixes

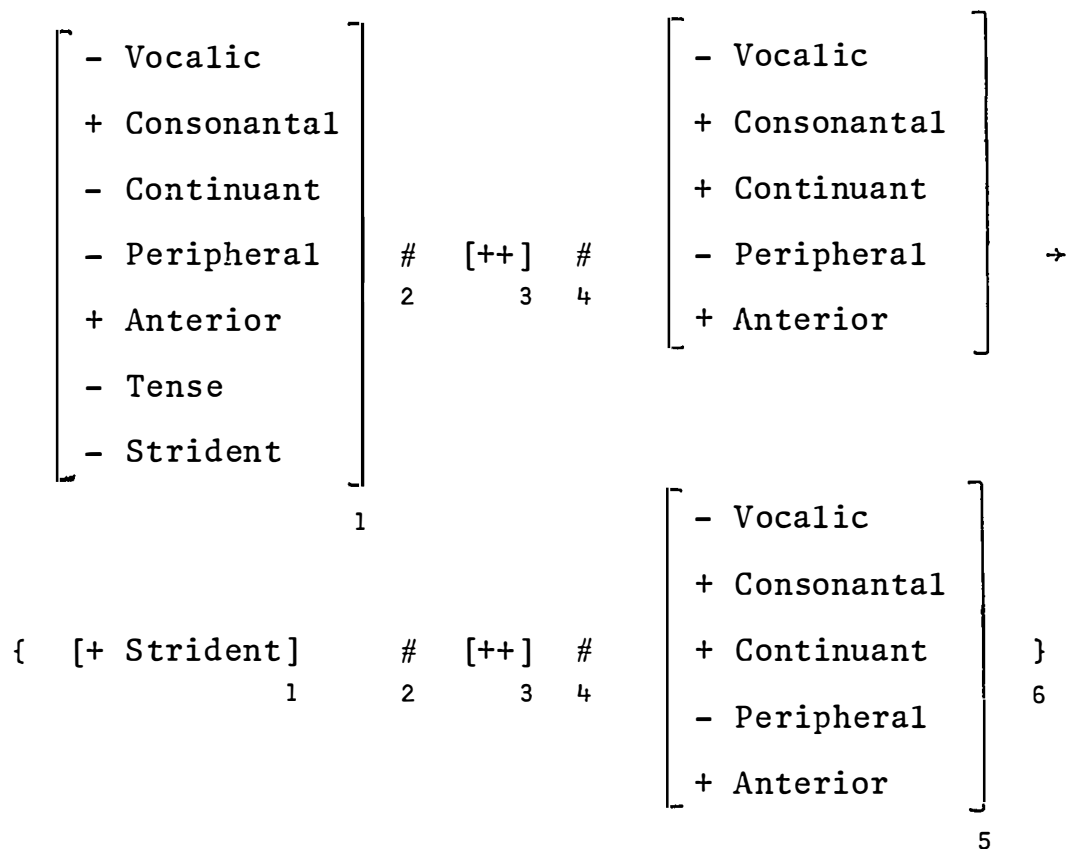
Feature Specification

	→	[± Speaker]
[Objective, Non-Focus]	→	[± Addressee]
		[± Plural]
$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Speaker} \\ - \text{ Addressee} \\ - \text{ Plural} \end{array} \right]$	→	/-s/ 'me'
$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ Speaker} \\ + \text{ Addressee} \\ + \text{ Plural} \end{array} \right]$	→	/-s/ 'you'
$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Speaker} \\ - \text{ Addressee} \\ + \text{ Plural} \end{array} \right]$	→	/-uŋɬ/ 'us'

Assimilation Rule

Under the conditions of the objective suffix assimilation rule, the surface objective, non-focus pronouns, /-s/ 'me' and /-s/ 'you', appear as /-c/ 'me' and /-c/ 'you'.

3.a



3.b Apply morphophonemic rule 5.4 to { } in 3.a →  
 6  
 (See CHAPTER 5)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
 [+ \text{Strident}] \\
 1
 \end{array} \right.
 \begin{array}{ccccc}
 \emptyset & \emptyset & \emptyset & \emptyset & \\
 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6
 \end{array}
 \right\}$$

Similar obstruent clusters appear; however, the objective suffix assimilation rule does not operate without [++] morpheme boundary which is seen as the residual effect of /-ŋ/ deletion. Following are examples illustrating where the rule does not operate.

Example: /tʰsa/ 'demonstrative pronoun'  
 /kʰitʃən/ 'spring salmon'  
 /sətʃən/ 'animal trap'  
 /tʃeʔkʰəŋ/ 'comb'

To propose the morpheme boundary [++] (or one similar) in the underlying structure of Clallam would account for paradigmatic variation described in morphophonemic rule 5.5. If this is posited, then the surface objective non-focus suffix /-c/ has the underlying form \*/<sup>t</sup>s/. This form is then parallel to the base forms posited for [č] (< \*/<sup>t</sup>y/) and [kʰ] (< \*/<sup>k</sup>w/).



## CHAPTER 4

## VERBS

Introduction

Surface verbs (and nouns) are derived from underlying verb roots inflected for (1) aspect, and (2) resolution. Mode, as are several aspect categories, is marked by clitics.

The generative model of Chafe (1970:95-104) and a recent adaptation of that model by Goss (1972:97-107) for a Uto-Aztecan language (Ute) serve as the models for the analysis of Clallam verb resolution. These models have an advantage over earlier non-generative analyses of resolution in Salish verbal systems in that a general statement of verbal semantics is particularly valuable to the anthropologist who tries to explicate cultural presuppositions as they are reflected in language.

Prior analyses of Salish verbs have adequately described the data yet through these analyses little information bearing on worldview has come to light. The assumptions to be made dealing with the Clallam 'view of the world' as an interrelated system of actions, processes and states may, at this stage of analysis, be seen as scratching the surface; however, a social scientist must continue to scratch at surfaces and piece together data with the goal being a better grasp on man's psycho-social adaptations.

Clallam verb resolution is determined by a limited number of affixes and their combinations. Each affix or combination of affixes functions on two levels: (1) semantic, and (2) syntactic. The latter is handled with relative facility due to the nature of the finite paradigm within which they occur. The semantics of resolution leads from the more obvious meaning of a simple statement to the opaqueness of relating resolution to worldview. The syntactic function of resolution markers and their semantic implications are often not isomorphic and it is within this area that problems arise.

It would be ingenuous to presume a knowledge of Clallam semantics. An anthropological linguist who must deal with semantics within the context of a viable language and culture encounters problems which are exacerbated when dealing with salvage ethnography and linguistics.

### Verb Resolution

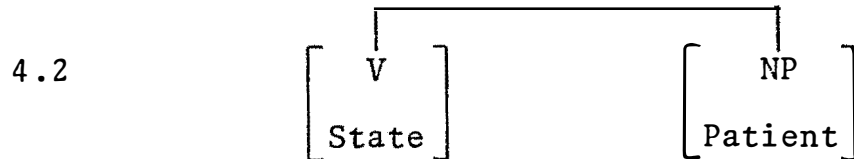
#### Semantic Feature Structure

4.a	[Verb]	→	[+ State]
			[± Action]
4.b	[- State]	→	[± Process]
4.i	[+ State]	→	State Verb
4.ii	[+ Action]	→	Action Verb
4.iii	[+ Process]	→	Process Verb
4.iv	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">           + Action            + Process         </div>	→	Action-Process Verb

## State (4.i)

4.1 [Resolution] → /ʔəs-/ [+ State]

The resolution marker for state verbs is /-əs-/.



A state verb is accompanied by a patient noun phrase.

Example: /ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>aŋəʔɛ/ 'I am resting'

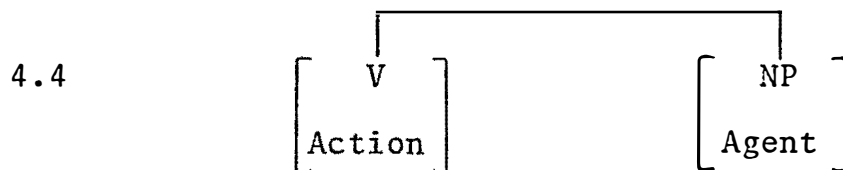
/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>əci<sup>ʔ</sup>is/ 'I am lying down'

/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>taqɛ/ 'It is closed'

## Action (4.ii)

4.3 [Resolution] → /-t/ [+ Action]

The resolution marker for action verbs is /-t/.



An action verb is accompanied by an agent noun phrase.

Example: /ɛiçt/ 'I cut it'

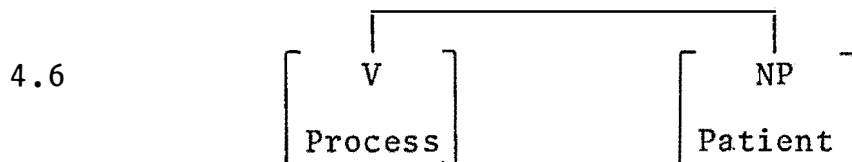
/ča<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>t/ 'I vomit'

/ʔəscawt/ 'I am lying down' (This construction is interesting in that both state /ʔəs-/ and action /-t/ resolution are marked, along with continuative aspect (C<sup>1</sup>- reduplication). An appropriate gloss may be: 'to be continuing in the state of lying down').

## Process (4.iii)

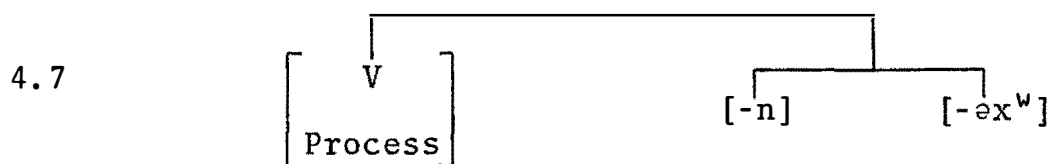
4.5 [Resolution] → /-n/ ~ /-ŋ/ [+ Process]

The resolution marker for process verbs is /-n/.



A process verb is accompanied by a patient noun phrase.

Within the category of process resolution an additional morphological complexity is introduced. If the suffix /-n/ is the final suffix in the verb stem, the affix /-əx<sup>w</sup>/ occurs immediately following.



The suffix /-əx<sup>w</sup>/ may be related to /cx<sup>w</sup>/ '2nd person singular, subject/object enclitic. The function of /-əx<sup>w</sup>/ is uncertain; however, its occurrence with the process resolution marker leads to the assumption that one of its possible functions is to focus attention on the patient noun phrase. Another grammatical device which functions as a focus marker is /ʔə/ (patient focus) which co-occurs with /-ŋ/ in process and action-process resolution.

Example: /ʔanəx<sup>w</sup> cən k<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'I swallowed (it)' (The emphasis is placed on the state or condition of the patient. English topicalization would provide the proper emphasis: 'It was swallowed (by me)'. This verb

also occurs with state and process resolution:

/ʔəsɔ́qanəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'one who eats too much', 'to be always hungry').

/tə́q<sup>w</sup>ʔə́q<sup>w</sup>(ə)ŋ/ 'It was pulled apart'

/q<sup>w</sup>əyəŋ st ʔə sčənənəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'We roasted the salmon'

(The emphasis is on the change in condition of the salmon).

The following examples are in Sooke (1970:93); parenthetical remarks are mine.

k<sup>w</sup>énʔnəx<sup>w</sup> q sn 'I might get it' (< k<sup>w</sup>én 'to take', -é- ~ -á- (resultative), -ʔ- (continuative), q (possibility), sn '1st person singular subject').

The emphasis is on the possibility of a change in state of the patient referent which is further emphasized by the occurrence of -əx<sup>w</sup> ).

sx<sup>w</sup>nəx<sup>w</sup> sn k<sup>w</sup>ə 'I lost it' (< sx<sup>w</sup>ə 'to disappear', 'lose', sn '1st person singular subject', k<sup>w</sup>ə (demonstrative)). (The emphasis is the change in state of the patient [from a known to unknown position] referent).

The combination /-n-ŋ/ often occurs with the connotation of 'change in state or condition of the patient while pointing to a non-specific or non-focused agent effecting the change'. The gloss for this combination often includes the notion 'accidental' or 'unintentional' which in itself points to agent non-focus. The following examples are in Sooke and Clallam.

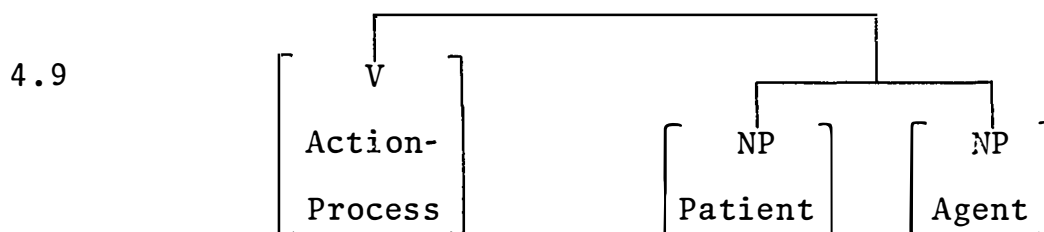
čsénŋ sn 'I got hit accidentally' (Efrat 1970: 67).

niř nətawi? tsə čsənəŋ 'That's my arm someone hit' (Thompson and Thompson 1971:282).

#### Action-Process (4.iv)

4.8 [Resolution] → /-t-ŋ/ [+ Action-Process]

The resolution marker for action-process verbs is /-t-ŋ/.



An action-process verb is accompanied by an agent and patient noun phrase.

Chafe (1970:103) notes that "the patient relation is more 'internal' than the agent relation." The relationship of patient to verb is often overtly marked by specifying the agent noun phrase as non-focus with the particle /ʔə/. The Clallam examples are from Thompson and Thompson (1971:281). Parenthetical remarks are mine.

Example: xč<sup>3</sup>i-t-(ə)ŋ cən ʔə k<sup>w</sup>ɬə sk<sup>w</sup>əʔtuš 'The cat scratched me' (The agent is marked as non-focus while the patient, cən, is emphasized).

čk<sup>w</sup>u-t-(ə)ŋ cən ʔə cə sx<sup>w</sup>ʔata<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'The bee stung me'.

The same pattern is evident in Sooke (1970:101).

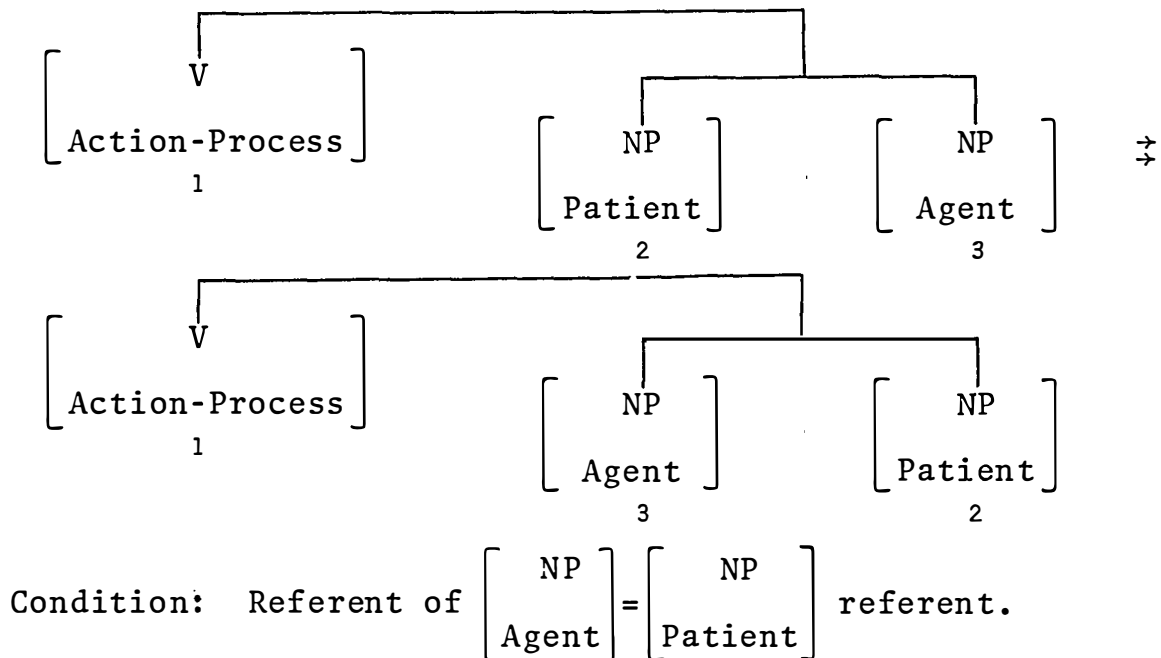
Example: qéitŋ cə slíλ(ə)λqəʔ ə cə méns 'The boy is ill-treated by his father'

The gloss presented by Efrat more clearly approximates the connotation of the Sooke sentence than does the general indicative for the Clallam examples. A topicalized English gloss for the Clallam sentences approaches the connotation of action-process resolution, e.g., 'I was scratched by the cat'.

### Action-Process Suffix Inversion

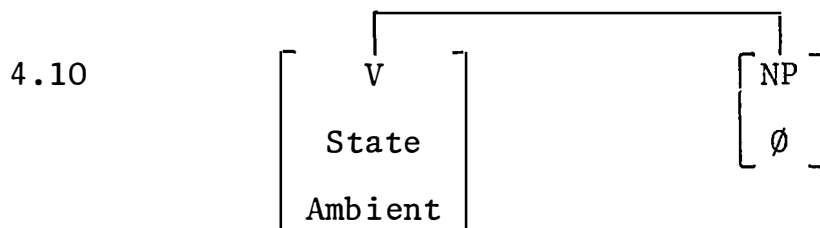
Inversion of the action-process suffixes results in paratactic [+ Agent]:[- Patient] noun phrases where the referent of the subjective noun phrase is identical with the referent of the objective noun phrase.

### Reflexive Rule



### Ambient

Several examples of ambient resolution are represented in the data. Ambience is characterized as,



which reflects the nature of ambient resolution as "an all encompassing event which is without reference to some particular 'thing' within the environment" (Chafe 1970:102).

Example: /təmʔxʷ/ 'It is raining'

/čeʔyəq kʷə/ 'It is snowing'

The contrast between ambient and process resolution is clearly made. Compare the following examples marked for process resolution with those presented above.

Example: /q̣ʷsəŋ tiʔə/ 'It is hard'

/saqʷŋ/ 'It is sweet'

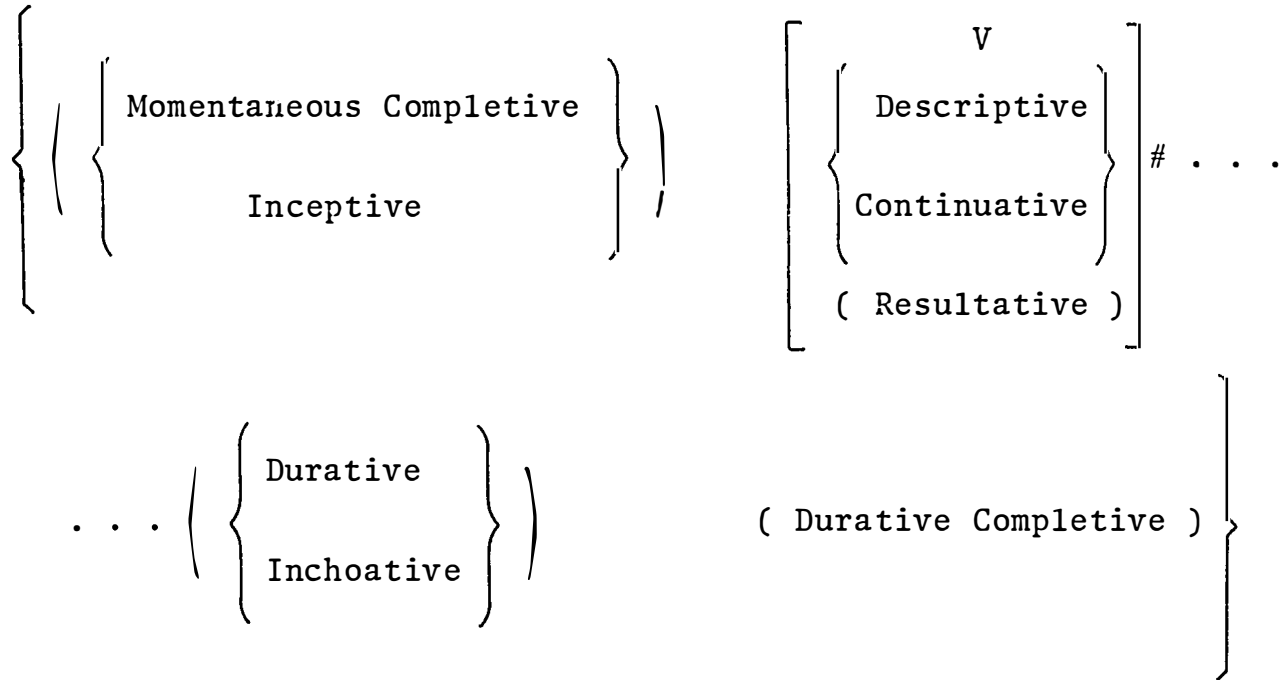
### Aspect

The Clallam verb is marked for aspect in two ways:

- (1) verb internally through the use of infixes and suffixes, and
- (2) through the use of clitics. The general pattern of aspectual marking is explicated in rule 4.11.



## 4.11 [Aspect] →



Rules, discussion and examples explain the function of aspectual markers.

## 4.12 [Descriptive] → ∅

This is the neutral form of the verb which occurs prior to positive aspectual marking. In this form, the verb often denotes non-continuative (non-active) aspect and is often used as a noun.

Example: /wiqs/ 'yawned, yawn'

/t̥q̥ɛŋ/ 'to land, airplane'

		[Affixing]
4.13	[Continuative]	→ [Affixing/Reduplication]
		[Metathesis]
		[Metathesis/Affixing]

The aspect system has its most elaborate manifestation in the continuative (active) aspect. The formation of the continuative aspect through [Reduplication] and [Reduplication-Affixing] provides an array of semantic nuances including continuative, iterative and intensifying functions. Following are examples of each type of continuative formation observed. The first form in each pair is marked for [Descriptive] aspect.

/ʔič, ʔeʔč/ 'scoop, dip'; /ʔist, ʔeʔst/ 'paddle'; /ʔitt, ʔett/ 'sleep'; /ʔiʔən, ʔeʔənʔ/ 'eat'; /qiʔnuʔuŋət, qeʔnuʔ-uŋət/ 'angry'

/čəq<sup>w</sup>i, čəq<sup>w</sup>eʔ/ 'burn'; /čəni, čənʔeʔ/ 'bury, plant';  
/q̣<sup>w</sup>əyəš, q̣<sup>w</sup>əʔeʔəš/ 'dance'

/ʔač̣, ʔaʔač̣/ 'wipe'; /ʔač, ʔaʔč/ 'replace something';  
/čay, čaʔy/ 'work'; /čun, čuʔn/ 'push'; /čəyx, čəyʔx/ 'spearfish'; /ʔəməx<sup>w</sup>, ʔəmʔəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'rain'

/sx<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>i, sx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>i/ 'to act crazily'; /qiʔciʔ, qaqiʔcayʔ/ 'stare'; /payaʔk<sup>w</sup>ən, p̣pak<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'float'; /čam, ččam/ 'moisten';  
/caw, ccaw/ 'lay down'; /cəʔ, ccəʔ/ 'stand'; /čiʔas, ččas/ 'chase'

/səʔsiʔ, səʔsiʔsiʔ/ 'fear, afraid, scared'; /nəsŋeʔ, nəsŋeŋaʔ/ 'invite'; /kʷayi, kʷaʔkʷaʔkʷi/ 'hide'; /hayʔhiʔ, haʔhiʔhiʔ/ 'build'

/čaq̄, čaʔəʔyəq̄/ 'fall down'; /čayʔxʷ, čaʔčayuxʷ/ 'come inside'; /kəmxʷ, kʷaʔkʷəmx/ 'skinny'; /kʷinti, kʷeʔwənti/ 'fight'; /kʷiʔənəŋət, kʷəʔwiʔəŋət/ 'dream'; /kʷač, kʷaʔkʷəʔč/ 'holler'; /kʷay, kʷkʷay/ 'yell' (as in broadcasting news); /xʷəč, xʷaʔxʷəč/ 'stop raining'; /t̄aŋʔ, t̄aʔŋʔt̄ŋʔ/ 'flood'

/čq̄ʷə, čəq̄ʷ/ 'sweat, burn (?)'; /čtə, čət/ 'crawl'; /čq̄ʷə, čəq̄ʷ/ 'rotten'; /ččə, čəč/ 'wake someone'; /čŋə, čəŋ/ 'biten by something'; /t̄q̄ʷə, t̄əq̄ʷ/ 'peel, pull apart'

/ʔiŋ, ʔaŋi/ 'step'; /t̄tə, t̄ətu/ 'boil'; /suy, səʔyu/ 'swell'; /čaya, čaʔaʔ/ 'vomit'

/čsayu, čəʔsayu/ 'hit' (with an instrument); /čanəs, čəʔaʔaʔnəs/ 'move something'; /kʷanəs, kʷəʔaʔnəs/ 'dispose of'; /čəns, čəʔəʔns/ 'sandpit baking'

Continuative aspect can occur with the durative completive enclitic, /yaʔ/, indicating the completion of an action or process of duration.

Example: /qaʔiʔəŋ yaʔ cən/ 'I went up-sound'

/čəqʷat yaʔ cən/ 'I was burning it'

/ʔəsxaʔx̄t̄ yaʔ cən kʷi/ 'I was lying on my back'

The momentaneous completive, /kʷt̄/, proclitic occurs with continuative aspect providing the notion of the end of an action or process with less duration than /yaʔ/ (durative completive).

Example: /k<sup>w</sup>ɛ̄ čətɲʔ/ 'already crawling' (e.g., a baby who is already crawling)

/k<sup>w</sup>ɛ̄ k<sup>w</sup>aʔqəʔ k<sup>w</sup>i/ 'The flower bloomed' (This connotes that the action of blooming or opening of the flower has ended. From the beginning of the opening process to its completion is one of relatively short duration)

The momentaneous and durative completive occur with the continuative aspect.

Example: /k<sup>w</sup>ɛ̄ k<sup>w</sup>aʔqəɲʔ yaʔ k<sup>w</sup>i/ 'The flower bloomed' (In this example two processes are involved: (1) the duration of the general process of maturation; and (2) the duration of the opening or blooming of the flower itself)

4.14 [Resultative] → /-a-/

The resultative indicates the resultant state of an action or process.

Example: /x<sup>w</sup>ač̣/ 'stop raining' (The result of the ambient action, 'to stop raining')

4.15 [Durative] → /-ɛ̄ ~ -áɛ̄/

Durative aspect indicates continuation of an action or process.

Example: /čak<sup>w</sup>áɛ̄/ 'hiccup'

/qqak<sup>w</sup>ɛ̄/ 'tired'

/čaxɛ̄/ 'torn'

4.16 [Inchoative] → /-ct ~ -cút/

Inchoative aspect indicates the beginning or commencing of an action or process.

Example: /čəʔməŋct cən/ 'I'm getting wet'  
 (/ (h)uʔ čəʔməŋ cən/ 'I was wet')  
 /ŋaʔxact cən/ 'I am hurrying'  
 / (h)iʔ məccút/ 'I'm getting fat'

4.17 [Durative Completive] → /yaʔ/

Durative completive indicates the end of an action or process of duration.

Example: /xʷuʔuŋ yaʔ cən/ 'I was crying'

4.18 [Momentaneous Completive] → /kʷɬ/

Momentaneous completive indicates the end of an action or process with relatively less duration than those marked with /yaʔ/.

Example: /kʷɬ kʷaʔqəŋʔ kʷi/ 'The flower bloomed'  
 /kʷɬ hawəŋistxʷ/ 'He returned it'

4.19 [Inceptive] → /čəʔ/

Inceptive aspect indicates the recent beginning or end of an action or process.

Example: /čə ʔeʔtəŋʔ st kʷi/ 'We are eating'

č hái sn kʷə nə sščət 'I just finished hitting him' (Efrat 1970:39)

#### Causative

4.20 [Causative] → /-txʷ/

Example: /hawəŋistxʷ/ 'to return something'

/čaŋistxʷ/ 'to put something on someone'

ʔ/čaʔčawʔtxʷəŋ/ 'to make camp' (< /čay-/ 'to work';

/-ʔ-/ (continuative); /-awʔ/ 'building'; /-əŋ/

(process resolution)

## Purposive

4.21 [Purposive] /-s ~ -is/

Example: /hawəŋistx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to return something'

/k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ays/ 'yell' (as in broadcasting news)

/(h)u?, (h)i?/

These clitics have been glossed as 'contemporaneous' and 'simultaneous' aspect, respectively (Efrat 1970, Raffo 1972, Thompson and Thompson 1971).

Example: k<sup>w</sup>ənít sn k<sup>w</sup>ə s (h)i? hn<sup>?</sup>é<sup>?</sup>əs 'I see they are coming this way' (Efrat 1970:38)

?u? i? šátəŋ? u cx<sup>w</sup> ?ə k<sup>w</sup>ə n<sup>?</sup>s<sup>?</sup>ən<sup>?</sup>ə 'Did you walk walk over ?' (Thompson and Thompson 1971:273)

?u? čə<sup>?</sup>sə<sup>?</sup> k<sup>w</sup>sə<sup>?</sup> ?ə<sup>?</sup>ic<sup>?</sup>t<sup>?</sup>tà<sup>?</sup>yəŋəx<sup>w</sup> 'There are only two people' (Thompson and Thompson 1971:264)

čš-éyu-? cən ?ə k<sup>w</sup>i sŋànet i? čús<sup>w</sup>nəx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>i swáy<sup>?</sup>qə<sup>?</sup>  
'I threw a rock and hit the man' (Thompson and Thompson 1971:284)

/(h)u? čə<sup>?</sup>məŋ cən/ 'I was wet'

/(h)i? məccút/ 'I'm getting fat'

/?u? ?əs<sup>?</sup>ux<sup>?</sup>əm<sup>?</sup> ya? cən/ 'I was well'

/(h)u?, (h)i?/ seem to function as direction markers and are, in the above examples, generally associated with (process resolution). Due to their uncertain nature vis-à-vis semantic implications, I have chosen not to include them in the discussion of Clallam aspectual markers.

Mode

Mode is expressed through the use of clitics. The following rule expresses the general pattern of co-occurrence.

4.22 [Mode] →

{	(Factual)	[VERB]	(Quotative)	({	Interrogative	}) . . .
					Indefinite	
				({	Potential	})
					Intentive	(Emphatic)

4.23 [Factual] → /yu/

Factual indicates the conveying of information of a factual or certain nature.

Example: /yu<sup>?</sup> ti<sup>?</sup>tayəqəŋ<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> cən/ 'I was soaking wet'

4.24 [Quotative] → /č̣/

Quotative indicates that information is second-hand or being reported by someone.

Example: /k<sup>w</sup>ɬ x<sup>w</sup>əy<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup> č̣/ 'She abandoned him'

4.25 [Interrogative] → /u/

Example: /čay u ca(?) cx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Are you going to work?'

4.26 [Indefinite] → /(y)ix<sup>w</sup>/

Indefinite indicates knowledge that is uncertain.

Example: /ɬəməx<sup>w</sup> ta<sup>?</sup>səŋ (y)ix<sup>w</sup> ca<sup>?</sup> cx<sup>w</sup>/ 'You are going to travel with the rain' ('You might be travelling in the rain')

4.27 [Potential] → /qɬ/

Potential indicates the possibility of an event occurring.

Example: /ʔəq<sup>w</sup>ɬ qɬ/ 'It might get stuck'

4.28 [Intentive] → /ca(?) ~ cə?/

Intentive conveys the possibility that something might occur.

Example: /təməx<sup>w</sup> taʔsəŋ (y)ix<sup>w</sup> caʔ cx<sup>w</sup>/ 'You intend to travel when it might be raining'

4.29 [Emphatic] → /ʔuč ~ či/

Example: /xənʔawx<sup>w</sup> či/ 'Say it!'

### Verb Affixes

#### Prefixes

4.30 [Nominalizer] → /s-/

Example: /sčamʔucənʔ/ 'mandible' (< /čam-/ 'be bony', /-ʔ/ (continuative), /-uc/ (spatial suffix), /-(ə)n/ (instrumental))

/sčamʔéq<sup>w</sup>/ 'skull' (< /čam-/ 'be bony', /-ʔ/ (continuative), /-éq<sup>w</sup>/ (spatial suffix))

4.31 [Locative] → /x<sup>w</sup>-/

Example: /sx<sup>w</sup>čəmčamuʔéč/ 'spine' (< /čam-/ 'be bony', /-uʔ/ (~ʔ/-k<sup>w</sup> ~ʔ -w/ spatial suffix), /-éč/ (spatial suffix))

/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ənq<sup>w</sup>inənʔ/ 'beard' (< /ʔəs-/ (stative), /q<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'be hairy', /-i-/ (collective), /-(ə)n/ (process resolution), /-ʔ/ (continuative))



## 4.32 [Adverbial] → /nə-/

This prefix seems to be a general [Adverbial] marker denoting (place), (agent), (instrument). Further specification of /nə-/ within a verb phrase requires additional analysis.

- Example: /nəx<sup>w</sup>ča<sup>?</sup>wačn/ 'seated'  
 /nəx<sup>w</sup>řx<sup>w</sup>axn/ 'triangle'  
 /nəx<sup>w</sup>s<sup>k</sup>wə<sup>k</sup>wə<sup>?</sup>ář/ 'quiet'  
 /nəx<sup>w</sup>sqa<sup>?</sup>yář/ 'loudly'  
 /nəsčək<sup>w</sup>utəŋ/ 'sting'

## Suffixes

4.33 [Instrumental] → /-n/, /-ayu(?) ~  
-əyu(?)/

These suffixes connote the nominal aspect of verbal action denoting (something used for/with). /-n/ often occurs with /-t/ (action resolution); in this combination, the simple suffix, /-n/, has been misinterpreted as being \*/-tn/ (cf. Efrat 1970:63-64).

- Example: /ŋa<sup>?</sup>san<sup>?</sup>tn/ 'anchor' (< /ŋa<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>n-/ 'to anchor')  
 /sx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>aytn/ 'voice' (< /q<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'to speak')  
 /č<sup>3</sup>acn/ 'needle' (< /č<sup>3</sup>ac-/ 'be thin')  
 /puxn/ 'sail' (< /pux-/ 'to sail')  
 /š<sup>w</sup>əšn/ 'frying pan' (< /k<sup>w</sup>aš/ 'to fry' (Initial /š-/ is probably the result of root inversion,  
 /šək<sup>w</sup>/ > /k<sup>w</sup>əš/. This is significant in that it points to critically ordered rules in the process of derivational affixation)

/čk<sup>w</sup>ayu/ 'hunt, shoot'

/xəy<sup>?</sup>əyu<sup>?</sup>/ 'write'

/čə<sup>?</sup>sayu/ 'hit' (with an instrument)

4.34 [Reciprocal] → /-ay<sup>?</sup>, -uy<sup>?</sup>/

This category is offered tentatively. Data are insufficient to determine specific functions and distribution of these suffixes. They connote the notion of [Reciprocity] in the sense that a relationship between two objects or individuals involves reciprocity even if one or both are passively involved in the interaction.

/-ay<sup>?</sup>, -uy<sup>?</sup>/ are non-active inflections; /-a<sup>?</sup>y, -u<sup>?</sup>y/ are active inflections. I cannot overlook the possibility that these suffixes may be related to /-ayu(?) ~ -əyu(?)/ (instrumental).

Example: /qi<sup>?</sup>cay<sup>?</sup>/ 'stare'

/sk<sup>w</sup>icə<sup>?</sup>qsay<sup>?</sup>s/ 'index finger'

/scactu<sup>?</sup>ics/ 'thumb'

/sqa<sup>?</sup>qi<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>ics/ 'little finger'

/sx<sup>w</sup>c<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ayqsən/ 'nostril'

/scə<sup>?</sup>ctuysən/ 'big toe'

Participials-Gerunds

Stems and roots prefixed with /ʔəs/ (stative) often translate as English participials (adjectives). The occurrence of /ʔəs-/ vis-à-vis other verbal prefixes is restricted; /ʔəs-/ has not been recorded as co-occurring with /s-/ (nominalizer), /nə-/ (adverbial) with limited occurrences preceding /x<sup>w</sup>-/ (locative). /s-/(nominalizer) freely occurs with /nə-/ (adverbial) and /x<sup>w</sup>-/ (locative), e.g., /s-x<sup>w</sup>-/, /nə-s/ and /nə-x<sup>w</sup>-s/. On several occasions /nə-x<sup>w</sup>-s/ has varied freely with /s-x<sup>w</sup>-/ in the context of eliciting the same terms, i.e., /s-x<sup>w</sup>-t̪at̪ak̪<sup>w</sup>ŋ/ ~ /nə-s-x<sup>w</sup>-t̪at̪ak̪<sup>w</sup>ŋ/ 'bee' (generic); /s-x<sup>w</sup>-ŋaʔŋəntuʔeč/ ~ /nə-x<sup>w</sup>-s-ŋaʔŋəntuʔeč/ 'turtle'.

/ʔəs-/ occurring with stems often produces lexical items of adverbial or adjectival quality.

- Example: /ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>aʔč̪t̪/ 'in between'  
 /ʔəs-č̪eʔč̪əŋ/ 'near'  
 /ʔəs-tas̪t̪/ 'having approached, near'  
 /ʔəs-aq̪t̪/ 'outside'  
 /ʔəs-nat/ 'be evening, night'  
 /ʔəs-cx<sup>w</sup>aʔyaq̪č̪/ 'quietly'  
 /ʔəs-caʔyaʔt̪/ 'slowly, gradually'  
 /ʔəs-ɖamʔqsən/ 'blunt'  
 /ʔəs-t̪is/ 'scaly'  
 /ʔəs-ŋiŋač̪əq̪<sup>w</sup>/ 'wrinkled'  
 /ʔəs-t̪aʔt̪/ 'flat'

Occasionally the meaning of an /ʔəs-/ prefixed form cannot easily be determined from the meaning of the root, i.e.,

/qanux<sup>w</sup>/ 'swallow' > /ʔəsqanux<sup>w</sup>/ 'one who eats too much, always hungry'. It has been noted that with transitive verb stems, /ʔəs-/ prefixation may result in a gerundive, i.e., /cɬək<sup>w</sup>/ 'to pierce' > /ʔəscɬk<sup>w</sup>/ 'hole, the piercing'.

The prefix /s-/ (nominalizer) in addition to its more generalized function of particularizing an attribute, quality or characteristic inherent in the nominalized material (i.e., /ɬp̚-/ 'to hang loose' > /sɬayp̚/ 'loose' > /sɬp̚uqt/ 'shirt') producing a noun or adjective also functions to form gerundives from a small class of lexical material, i.e., /sɬeʔ/ 'liking, wanting' > /nəsɬeʔ/ 'my liking, my wanting; /sx<sup>w</sup>aʔtn/ 'disliking, not wanting' > /nəsx<sup>w</sup>aʔtn/ 'my disliking, my not wanting'. It seems that it is from within the semantic quality of the root that the nominalized meaning is derived, e.g., /sɬp̚uqt/ 'shirt' (as an object) as opposed to /nəsɬeʔ/ 'my liking, my wanting' (as a fact)

#### Color Terms

Within the category of derived participials is a small class of color terms which occur with the prefix /ʔən(əʔ)-/ (color participial), i.e., /ʔənq̄ex ~ ʔənəʔq̄ex/ 'black'; /ʔəncək<sup>w</sup>/ ~ ʔənəʔcək<sup>w</sup>/ 'red'. The prefix /ʔən(əʔ)-/ has not been observed to occur with any other class of derived lexical material. The prefix /ʔən(əʔ)-/ is suspiciously similar to the possessive prefixes /n(ə)-/ 'my' and /nʔ-/ 'your'. The initial C<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup> of the prefix /ʔən(əʔ)-/ may represent a reduced form of /ʔəs-/ (participial). /ʔən(əʔ)-/ may have a base form < \*/ʔəs-nəʔ/ (inalienable possession ?).

Color terms behave as any verb, undergoing affixation to form lexical items of various semantic noun categories.

Example: /pəq̄iyanux<sup>w</sup>/ 'Fall' (lit.: whitening month)

/papq̄eʔqn/ 'weasel' (lit.: white skin)

/sx<sup>w</sup>pəq̄iʔéq<sup>w</sup>/ 'green sea urchin'

/ŋəčnəč/ 'blue huckleberry'

/pk<sup>w</sup>ayʔ/ 'fallen, rotten log'

/pk<sup>w</sup>čn/ 'sand'

/spk<sup>w</sup>ŋawʔtx<sup>w</sup>/ 'smokehouse'

Nominal, versive and abstract color term paradigms were elicited. The paradigms are regular within the general morpho-phonemic system although unpredictable variations occur.

#### Nominal Paradigm

- 4.1.a /ʔən(əʔ)-q̄ex/ 'black'
- 4.1.b /pəq̄/ 'white' (/ʔənəʔpəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'blonde')
- 4.1.c /ʔən(əʔ)-cək<sup>w</sup>/ 'red'
- 4.1.d /ʔən(əʔ)-x̄əʔ/ 'green'
- 4.1.e /ʔən(əʔ)-pək<sup>w</sup>/ 'brown'
- 4.1.f /ʔən(əʔ)-x<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>/ 'gray'
- 4.1.g /ʔən(əʔ)-ŋač/ 'purple'

#### Versive Paradigm

- 4.2.a /q̄exiʔ/ 'become black'
- 4.2.b /paq̄ayʔ/ 'become white'
- 4.2.c /cək<sup>w</sup>ayʔ/ 'become red'
- 4.2.d /x̄əʔayʔ/ 'become green'

- 4.2.e /p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ay<sup>?</sup>/ 'become brown'  
 4.2.f /x<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>/ 'become faded'  
 4.2.g /ŋa<sup>h</sup>čay<sup>?</sup>/ 'become purple'

### Abstract Paradigm

- 4.3.a /q̣exa<sup>?</sup>yays/ 'blackish'  
 4.3.b /<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup> pəq̣i<sup>?</sup>/ 'whitish'  
 4.3.c /<sup>?</sup>ən<sup>?</sup>cək<sup>w</sup>ays/ 'reddish'  
 4.3.d /<sup>?</sup>ən(ə<sup>?</sup>)x̣ɬays/ 'greenish'  
 4.3.e /p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>čays/ 'brownish'  
 4.3.f /<sup>?</sup>ənə<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ays/ 'grayish'  
 4.3.g /ŋa<sup>h</sup>ča<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>is/ 'purplish'

Nominals prefixed with /<sup>?</sup>ən(ə<sup>?</sup>)-/ (color participial) with the exception of /pəq̣/ 'white'. In the nominal paradigm /<sup>?</sup>ənə<sup>?</sup>pəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'blonde' serves as the prefixed complement for /pəq̣/ and functions as a semantic variant of /pəq̣/: /pəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'blonde, light, white' > /spa<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'fog', /papa<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>əŋ<sup>?</sup>/ 'foggy'.

The versive paradigm is formed by suffixing /-ay<sup>?</sup>/ on an unmarked root. The versive /-ay<sup>?</sup>/ and the abstract suffix /-ays/ are related and can probably be parsed as the combination of the suffixes: /-ay<sup>?</sup>/ < /-ay/, /-<sup>?</sup>/; /-ays/ < /-ay/, /-s/. The suffixes /-<sup>?</sup>/ and /-s/ are probably (continuative) and (possessive) markers, respectively. /-ay/ is similar to what has been tentatively identified as [Reciprocal]; a relationship between individuals or objects, and in this case colors, involving a degree of mutual reciprocity or belonging (which appears as /<sup>?</sup>ən(ə<sup>?</sup>)-/ < \*/<sup>?</sup>əs-nə<sup>?</sup>/ (inalienable possession) in the nominal paradigm.

Within the abstract paradigm the form \*/pəq̄ays/ could not be elicited and in its place is the inflected verb form preceded by the clitic /ʔiʔ/. /q̄exaʔyays/ 'blackish', /p̄k̄<sup>w</sup>aʔčays/ 'brownish' and /ŋačaʔyaʔis/ 'purplish' are marked by the (apparent) reduplication of /-ay/.

#### Color Term Categories

To the seven color terms already presented two additional terms are included in the color term category: /q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'pale, pale yellow'; and /sča(?)naʔič/ 'yellow'. In order to segregate primary and secondary color terms, color chips, obtained from a local department store, were presented randomly and informants were asked to name each color. This form of elicitation provided five color terms which are interpreted as Clallam primary color categories (numbers refer to the order in which color terms are theoretically acquired, cf. Berlin and Kay 1969:8).

1. /q̄ex/ 'black'
2. /pəq̄/ 'white'
3. /cə<sup>w</sup>k̄/ 'red'
4. /x̄əɬ/ 'green'
5. /sča(?)naʔič/ 'yellow'

It was not until an informant carefully examined the intensities and shades of blue and purple that the term /ŋač/ 'purple' was obtained. /q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'pale, pale yellow', /x<sup>w</sup>k̄<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'to fade' and /p̄k̄<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'brown' were given as color terms during elicitation within other semantic categories. It is interpreted that these terms constitute secondary color categories.

- (/q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'pale, pale yellow')
7. /pə<sup>k</sup>w/ 'brown'
  8. /x<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>/ 'gray'
  11. /ŋač/ 'purple'

The two terms for yellow refer to different intensities of yellow: /sča(?)na<sup>?</sup>ič/ "'sharp" yellow'; and /q<sup>w</sup>ay/ "'dull" yellow'.

According to Berlin and Kay's study of the evolution and universality of basic color terms the Clallam primary color categories indicate Stage IV development (1969:23). If the secondary categories are added, Stage V is by-passed as there is no term for blue; Stage VI requirements are satisfied with /pə<sup>k</sup>w/ 'brown' and Stage VII requirements are partially met with the inclusion of /ŋač/ 'purple' and /x<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>/ 'gray'.

Published data for three dialects of Halkomelem (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960) provide color category information which follows a progression similar to the one exhibited in Clallam (Cw, Cowichan dialect; Ms Musqueam dialect; and Ch, Chilliwack dialect).

1. Cw Ms Ch čqíx 'black'
2. Cw Ms Ch pəq 'white'
3. Cw Ms ck<sup>w</sup>ím 'red'
- Ch ck<sup>w</sup>í·m 'red'
4. Cw Ms cq<sup>w</sup>áy 'green'
- Ch cq<sup>w</sup>á·y 'green'
5. Cw Ms səl<sup>?</sup>ələč 'yellow'
- Ch səl·ələč 'yellow'



7. Cw Ms Ch spk<sup>w</sup>ém 'dust'  
 Cw Ms pq<sup>w</sup>áy? 'rotten wood'  
 Ch pq<sup>w</sup>ay 'rotten wood'  
 Cw pq<sup>w</sup>écən 'sand'

Without our knowing how the Halkomelem color categories were elicited, the data, in reference to Berlin and Kay's scheme, have limited usefulness since the segregation into primary-secondary color categories cannot be made with accuracy. Generally, the Halkomelem color categorization system meets Stage VI requirements and would probably fall into Stage VII with the inclusion of additional secondary color categories. Clallam and Halkomelem lack the color category, blue, which will probably, with further research, be included in the category, green. There is some indication in Clallam that bluish hues are marked with /ŋač/ 'purple' (> /ŋəčnač/ 'blue huckleberry'). Note too that the Halkomelem cq<sup>w</sup>ay 'green' (Cw Ms) is quite similar to the Clallam /q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'pale, pale yellow'. An investigation into the relationship suggested in the classification of non-intense color categories must await further field work.

## CHAPTER 5

## PHONOLOGY

Systematic Phonemes

As an initial generative phonological analysis of Clallam it is necessary to posit thirty-three systematic phonemes. Ultimately, however, the number of systematic phonemes will decrease as the knowledge of Clallam (and Salish in general) morphophonemics becomes more comprehensive.

The operation of the phonological rules on the thirty-three systematic phonemes yields the phonetic actualization of lexical material. The simplicity and generality of the phonological rules argues for their naturalness within the system of Clallam (and generally Coast Salish) systematic phonemes.

## Distinctive Features

The systematic analysis of Clallam phonology borrows from earlier phonological studies (Chomsky and Halle 1968; Friedrich 1971a; Goss 1972). Additional theoretical considerations are dealt with in Harms (1968) and Schane (1973).

TABLE VI is a phonological distinctive feature matrix for Clallam systematic phonemes. Phonological redundancy rules are presented in TABLE VII. With the operation of the redundancy rules on the features in TABLE VI, each systematic phoneme is fully specified. Each phonological redundancy rule is numbered for convenient reference.

TABLE VI. PHONOLOGICAL DISTINCTIVE FEATURE MATRIX FOR CLALLAM

	p	p̣	k <sup>w</sup>	ḳ <sup>w</sup>	q <sup>w</sup>	q̣ <sup>w</sup>	t	c	ṭ	c̣	č	č̣	ʃ	ʃ̣	ç	ç̣	q	q̣	s	ʃ	š	x	x <sup>w</sup>	x̣ <sup>w</sup>	n	ŋ	m	ʔ	h	w	y	i	e	u	ə	a			
1. Vocalic (33)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+		
2. Consonantal (33)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
3. Peripheral (29)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+							+	+	+	-	-
4. Anterior (28)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	
5. Continuant (25)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+							
6. Low (21)			-	-	+	+							-	-	-	+	+			-	-	+	-	+				+	+	-	-	+	-						
7. Tense (17)	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+																								
8. Strident (8)							-	+	-	+		-	+																										

TABLE VII. PHONOLOGICAL REDUNDANCY RULES

5.1	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ <+ \text{Peripheral}> \\ - \text{Continuant} \end{array} \right]$ $\downarrow$ $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Low} \\ <- \text{Strident}> \end{array} \right]$	5.3	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ <+ \text{Peripheral}> \\ + \text{Continuant} \end{array} \right]$ $\downarrow$ $\left[ \begin{array}{l} <- \text{Anterior}> \\ - \text{Tense} \\ + \text{Strident} \end{array} \right]$
5.2	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ - \text{Peripheral} \\ - \text{Continuant} \\ \alpha \text{ Low} \end{array} \right]$ $\downarrow$ $[-\alpha \text{ Strident}]$	5.4	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Anterior} \\ + \text{Continuant} \end{array} \right]$ $\downarrow$ $[- \text{Low}]$

TABLE VII.--Continued

5.5	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ <- \text{Peripheral}> \end{array} \right]$ <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> $\left[ \begin{array}{l} <+ \text{Anterior}> \\ + \text{Continuant} \\ - \text{Low} \\ - \text{Tense} \\ - \text{Strident} \end{array} \right]$	5.7	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Anterior} \end{array} \right]$ <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> $\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Low} \\ - \text{Tense} \\ - \text{Strident} \end{array} \right]$
5.6	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ <- \text{Continuant}> \end{array} \right]$ <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Peripheral} \\ <- \text{Strident}> \end{array} \right]$	5.8	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Continuant} \\ \alpha \text{ Low} \end{array} \right]$ <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \alpha \text{ Tense} \\ \alpha \text{ Strident} \end{array} \right]$

TABLE VII.--Continued


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5.9	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ - \text{Anterior} \end{array} \right]$ <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Continuant} \\ <- \text{Low} > \\ - \text{Tense} \\ - \text{Strident} \end{array} \right]$
6.0	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ - \text{Peripheral} \end{array} \right]$ <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> $[- \text{Anterior}]$

---

Eight distinctive features are necessary to define each of thirty-three Clallam systematic phonemes as a unique bundle of phonological features. Each feature is listed, carefully defined, and its distributional power (the number of systematic phonemes that require a feature for positive or negative specification) indicated in parentheses.

1. Vocalic (33). Vocalic sounds are produced within the oral cavity where there are no major constrictions within the open oral cavity and where the vocal cords are positioned such that spontaneous voicing is possible.
2. Consonantal (33). Consonantal sounds are produced with complete occlusion or considerable turbulence along the median line of the oral cavity. Consonantality positively marks all segments except glides and vowels.
3. Peripheral (29). Peripheral is one of two relational features. Peripheral segments are labials, velars and post-velars.
4. Anterior (28). Anterior is the second relational feature. Anterior sounds are produced with a constriction in the oral cavity in front of the palato-alveolar region. Anterior sounds are labials, dentals and alveolars.
5. Continuant (25). Continuant sounds are produced when the air flow through the oral cavity is not completely stopped. Continuance positively marks fricatives and glides.

6. Low (21). Low sounds are produced by lowering the tongue below neutral position (cf. Chomsky and Halle 1968). Lowness separates velar stops and fricatives from post-velars; /ʔ, h/ from /w/, and /i, e/ from /e, a/.
7. Tense (17). Tense sounds are produced with greater tension, occlusion and muscular strain than non-tense sounds. This feature segregates glottalized from non-glottalized obstruents and /h/ from /w/.
8. Strident (8). Strident sounds are accompanied by greater turbulence caused by obstruction of the air flow. This feature applies to obstruent continuants and affricates. In its application to the affricate /ʔ/ stridency is negatively marked since phonetically the affricate is composed of a stop and a liquid, [tʔ].

Distinctive features operate independently of each other in that one feature cannot be totally defined in terms of a single or sequence of other features. Although distinctive features function independently they can be differentiated into classes according to their distributional power within a system of systematic phonemes. The distinctive features used to distinguish the thirty-three Clallam systematic phonemes fall into two classes. Class 1 contains the first six features of TABLE VI which are distinctive for more than half the systematic phonemes (33-20). Class 2 contains feature numbers seven and eight which are distinctive for fewer than half the systematic phonemes (15-8).



## Distinctive Feature Distribution

The features, vocalic and consonantal, distinguish four natural classes.

- (1) Obstruents; /p, p̣, k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, q̣<sup>w</sup>, q, q̣, t, c, ṭ, c̣, ʃ, č, č̣, s, ʃ̣, š, x, x<sup>w</sup>, x̣<sup>w</sup>/
- (2) Nasals; /m, n, ŋ/
- (3) Glides; /ʔ, h, w, y/
- (4) Vowels; /i, e, ə, a, u/

The feature, continuance, segregates obstruent continuants /s, ʃ̣, š, x, x<sup>w</sup>, x̣<sup>w</sup>/ from interrupted obstruents /p, p̣, k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, q̣<sup>w</sup>, t, c, ṭ, c̣, ʃ, č, č̣, ʃ̣, ʃ̣, q, q̣/.

The first relational feature, peripheral, distinguishes labial, velar, and post-velar obstruents /p, p̣, k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, q̣<sup>w</sup>, x<sup>w</sup>, x̣<sup>w</sup>/ from non-peripheral, central obstruents /t, c, ṭ, c̣, ʃ, č, č̣, q, q̣, s, ʃ̣, š/; the bilabial and velar nasal /m, ŋ/ from /n/ and, for vowels, /i, e, u/ from /ə, a/.

The second relational feature, anterior, cross-cuts the feature, peripheral, separating the labial, dental and alveolar obstruents /p, p̣, t, ṭ, c, c̣, s/ from non-anterior, back, obstruents /k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, q̣<sup>w</sup>, ʃ, č, č̣, q, q̣, ʃ̣, š, x/; the anterior nasal /m/ from /ŋ/, and for vowels, /e, i/ from /u/.

The feature, low, separates the post-velar obstruents /q<sup>w</sup>, q̣<sup>w</sup>, q, q̣, x, x̣<sup>w</sup>/ from /k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ<sup>w</sup>, ʃ, č, č̣, ʃ̣, š, x<sup>w</sup>/; the semivowel /ʔ/ from /h, w/, and for vowels, /e, a/ from /i, ə/.

The feature, tense, distinguishes glottalized from non-glottalized stops and affricates, /p̣, ḳ<sup>w</sup>, q̣<sup>w</sup>, ṭ, c̣, ʃ̣, č̣/ from /p, k<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, t, c, č/ and /h/ from lax /ʔ/.

Stridency is the least utilized feature and segregates affricates /c, č, č/ from /t, t̥, t̥/ and /š/ from /ʃ/.

### Phonological Rules

#### Morphophonemics

$$5.1 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Low} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{Peripheral}] / \_\_\_\# \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Peripheral} \\ - \text{Anterior} \end{array} \right]$$

Low obstruents assimilate in peripherality preceding a peripheral, back vowel across a morpheme boundary.

Example: /swiʔquʔiʃ/ 'baby boy, prepubescent boy, adolescent boy' < [swiʔq<sup>w</sup>-uʔiʃ]

$$5.2 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Continuant} \\ + \text{Strident} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [- \text{Anterior}] / \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Anterior} \\ + \text{Strident} \end{array} \right]$$

/s/ is palatalized in the environment of palatal stridents.

(N.B. This rule specifies /x, x<sup>w</sup>, x̥<sup>w</sup>/ as well, though, no Clallam data is available, cf. Efrat 1970:29).

Example: /sčayčatč/ 'sitka spruce' < [ščaytšaʃtš]

$$5.3 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Anterior} \\ + \text{Strident} \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \end{array} \right] \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Continuant} \\ - \text{Peripheral} \\ + \text{Anterior} \\ - \text{Low} \\ \quad \quad \quad 2 \end{array} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{Long}] \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad \quad \quad 2 \\ \quad \quad \quad \emptyset \end{array}$$

A spirant following an identical spirant or homorganic affricate lengthens the preceding segment and drops.

Example: /čšuʔics/ 'fingernail' < [tʃ·uʔits·]

/sšayux<sup>w</sup>ŋ/ 'steam' < [š·ayux<sup>w</sup>ʌŋ]

/sšiwɪʔ/ 'young adult' < [š·iwɪʔ]

$$5.4 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Anterior} \\ - \text{Low} \end{array} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Anterior} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad C \quad \_ \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C \\ [+ \text{Pause}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Non-low glides, /w, y/, become corresponding vowels between consonants and a consonant preceding a hiatus ([ Pause]).

Example: /swəyʔqəʔ/ 'man' [swɪ-q<sup>w</sup>uʔiʔ]

/sʃnaʔčuyʔ ~ sʃnaʔčuʔiʔ/ 'young girl'

$$5.5 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ < + \text{Anterior} > \\ - \text{Low} \end{array} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Consonantal} \\ - \text{Continuant} \\ < - \text{Peripheral} > \\ - \text{Tense} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad X$$

/w/ and /y/ are non-continuant in X environments.

Example: \*/tw/ > \*[ta<sup>k</sup>ws] > /tak<sup>w</sup>s/ 'to buy'

✓/nəy-/ > /nəč-/ 'to laugh'

$$5.6 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ - \text{Anterior} \\ + \text{Low} \\ - \text{Tense} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{Tense}] / \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ - \text{Anterior} \\ + \text{Low} \\ - \text{Tense} \end{array} \right] [+ \text{Pause}]$$

A glottal stop becomes tense before another glottal stop or a pause ([+ Pause]).

Example: /ʔiʔ aʔawk<sup>w</sup>/ 'running out of or using up something' < [ʔiʔ aʔawk<sup>w</sup>]

/šawiʔ/ 'growing' < [šawiʔ ~ šawi]

$$5.7a \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ - \text{Anterior} \\ + \text{Low} \\ - \text{Tense} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{cc} \text{V} & \text{V} \\ \text{[-1 Stress]} & \text{[-1 Stress]} \end{array}$$

$$5.7b \quad \begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}^1 & \text{V}^2 & \\ \text{[-1 Stress]} & \text{[-1 Stress]} & \rightarrow \text{V}^1 \quad \emptyset^2 \\ & & \text{[+ Long]} \end{array}$$

(Condition:  $V^1 = V^2$  )

A glottal stop drops between unstressed vowels. If the vowels are identical they coalesce and lengthen.

Example: /q<sup>w</sup>əʔq<sup>w</sup>iʔ cəʔ ən/ 'I will be going downriver'

< [q<sup>w</sup>əʔq<sup>w</sup>iʔ tsə·n]

$$5.8 \quad \begin{bmatrix} - \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \\ + \text{Anterior} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{Continuant} \\ - \text{Anterior} \end{bmatrix} / X$$

/y/ and /ʔ/ alternate in X environments.

Example: /həq<sup>w</sup>əʔəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'great-great grandparent and -grand-child' < [hʌq<sup>w</sup>ʌyʌq<sup>w</sup> ~ hʌq<sup>w</sup>ʌʔʌq<sup>w</sup>]

$$5.9 \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{Vocalic} \\ - \text{Consonantal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{Tense}] /$$

$$\overline{[-1 \text{ Stress}]} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \begin{bmatrix} - \text{Vocalic} \\ + \text{Consonantal} \end{bmatrix} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{Peripheral}] \\ - \text{Anterior} \end{array} \right\} \\ [+ \text{Strident}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Vowels are tense under primary stress preceding back obstruents and affricates.

Example: /i/ < [ i ] > [i, i̇, ɪ]

/píx<sup>w</sup>/ < [píx<sup>w</sup>] 'red huckleberry'

/ʔéšas/ < [ʔí>šas] 'sea lion'

/héʔhiʔnənʔ/ < [héʔheʔnʌnʔ ~ híʔhiʔnʌnʔ] 'pink salmon (plural)'

/e/ < [ e ] > [e, ε]

/sqxeʔéqʷ/ < [sqxεʔéqʷ] 'blue dragonfly'

/pehéqʷ/ < [pehéqʷ] 'nighthawk'

/a/ < [ a ] > [a, œ]

/spáʔxʷəŋ/ < [spáʔxʷʌŋ] 'fog'

/ʔáplus/ < [ʔœplus] 'apple'

/ə/ < [ ə ] > [ə, əʷ, i, ʌ]

/sŋəđúʔ/ < [sŋʌđúʔ] 'crane'

/đʷəyəđʷúʔəŋʔ/ < [đʷʌyɪđʷóʔəʷ>ŋʔ] 'kelp bulb'

/u/ < [ u ] > [u, o, ɔ, ʊ, ʌ]

/qʷəʔúys/ < [qʷʌʔóys] 'juicy'

/đʷəyəđʷúʔəŋʔ/ < [đʷ yɪđʷóʔəʷ>ŋʔ] 'kelp bulb'

/čúčɪ/ < [tʃúʔtʃɪ] 'Indian rope'

/čđʷúʔməʔ/ < [tʃđʷóʔmʌʔ] 'black raspberry'

#### Additional Considerations

Under non-primary stress vowels optionally reduce to shwa. Unstressed shwa has a wide variation of phonetic qualities many of which overlap with phonetic variants of other vowels under non-primary stress. Vowels neutralization under non-primary stress tends to obscure the nature of the underlying vowel. This leads to the analytical position that all unstressed vowels within the range of shwa's phonetic distribution are to be considered as the neutralized variant of /i, e, a, u/. The assumption is then, no vowel other than shwa occurs unstressed. Since primary stress can occur only once in a word (few exceptions

have been noted, i.e., /xáápuʔ/ 'basket grass (unidentified)'), all occurrences of unstressed shwa are predictable and therefore phonetic. The result is that a word will contain only one systematic vowel phoneme. Inasmuch as inflected, polysyllabic surface forms may contain a vowel or vowels other than shwa, the problem is determining which vowels occur in underlying base forms. Toward this end, I suggest that only shwa occurs in underlying base forms; all other surface vowels are derived through the operation of a series of phonological rules similar to and including morphophonemic rule 5.4. The surface vowel phonemes /a/ and /e/ may be derived from \*/h/ > /a/, \*/l/ or \*/r/ > /e/.

The surface obstruent system in Clallam (as well as Salish in general) is overburdened with obstruents derivable by morphophonemic rules similar to and including 5.5. Long, complex surface obstruent clusters are not uncommon in Clallam; however, I suspect that this type of canon is not present in the underlying structure. By employing rules such as 5.5, the glide underlying a surface stop, i.e., /k<sup>w</sup>/ < \*/w/, is recoverable. With rules such as 5.4, the glide, resonant or spirant underlying a surface vowel is also recoverable. This results in a more natural distribution of underlying phonemes vis-à-vis the natural classes discernable in Clallam (See TABLE VI).

Process similar to those described by the phonological rules occur not only in Clallam but generally throughout the Northwest Coast. The role that generative phonology can play in linguistic analysis for coastal languages should not be

underestimated. The comparative data included in the lexicon argues for the naturalness of the phonological rules I have posited for the Salish Family. A general reconstruction of base forms, and rules generating appropriate surface forms would result in a simplification of the systematic phonemic inventory with concomitant optimization of morphology. Research of this nature should be an urgent task for all Northwest Coast languages.



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APPENDIX A  
LEXICON

## Introduction

### Notation

Clallam forms from my field data are enclosed within slashes, e.g., /šiyč/ 'skin'. Clallam forms from other sources are underlined, e.g., tseqwek<sup>u</sup> 'blue huckleberry'. Cognates are indicated by †, e.g., †č'ík<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup> 'blue huckleberry' Cw Ms. The scientific identification of plants and animals follows the English gloss, e.g., /cənaʔx<sup>w</sup>/ 'tule' (Scirpus acutus). Ethnographic data pertinent to a Clallam lexical item are indicated by Ethn:. Additional notation employed throughout the lexicon follows.

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| (1) √ / /      | root  |
| (2) / /        | stem  |
| (3) *          | underlying form   |
| (4) -?         | possible morpheme boundary  |
| (5) ~?         | possible variation  |
| (6) ?/ /       | possibly related  |
| (7) {<, >}     | derivation  |
| (8) {<?, ?>}   | possible derivation   |
| (9) (cf. / /?) | possible relationship between Clallam forms   |
| (10) ? †       | all cognates are questionable;<br>? appears directly before specific<br>questionable cognates |
| (11) / ( ) /   | parenthetical element is optional   |

### Comparative Data

Various sources have been used for comparative Salish lexical material. The sources and abbreviatory notation for

related languages and dialects of particular languages are provided below.

- (1) Efrat 1970: Sooke (Sk), Saanich (Sn).
- (2) Elmendorf and Suttles 1960: Cowichan (Cw), Musqueam (Ms), Chilliwack (Ch).
- (3) Johnson 1975: Coeur D'Alene (CDA).
- (4) Kuipers 1967: Squamish (Sq), Kalispel (Kl), Coeur D'Alene (CdA).
- (5) Kuipers 1970: Proto-Salish ((PS) \*).
- (6) Kuipers 1974: Shuswap (Sh), Southern Puget Sound Salish (Pg), Kalispel (Kl), Coeur D'Alene (CdA).
- (7) Suttles 1954: Lummi (Lm).
- (8) Thompson, L.C., M.T. Thompson, and Barbara S. Efrat 1974: Sooke (Sk), Songish (Sg), Saanich (Sn), Lummi (Lm), Samish (Sm), Northern Straits Salish (Nst).
- (9) White and Wilson 1975: Halkomelem (Halk).

Kuiper's (1970) Proto-Salish forms appear directly below the related Clallam entry except when the reconstruction is significantly distinct, phonologically and/or semantically. In which case, the ((PS) \*) form appears in the cognate list with a closely related non-Clallam form.

Comparative data are organized according to geographic distribution of related Salish languages vis-à-vis Clallam. A complete list of cognates can be sub-categorized as: (1) Straits Salish, Halkomelem, and Squamish; (2) Southern Puget Sound Salish; and (3) Shuswap, Kalispel, and Coeur D'Alene. In relation to Clallam, Straits Salish dialects are linguistically and geographically closest, followed by Halkomelem and non-contiguous Squamish. This chain of related languages stretches in a northeastern direction. Southern Puget Sound Salish is

contiguous with Straits Salish to the east. Shuswap, Kalispel, and Coeur D'Alene are Interior Salish languages distributed on a north-south axis from British Columbia to the northern regions of Washington and Idaho.

The comparative data are organized in this fashion for these reasons:

- (1) The Coast Salish area was populated by Proto-Salish speakers migrating westward from the interior of British Columbia (via the Fraser River), Washington (via several mountain passes), and Washington, Oregon and Idaho (via the Columbia River) (Krantz 1975:personal communication).
- (2) The distribution of Interior Salish speakers represents a repopulating of the plateau region via the Fraser River (Krantz 1975:personal communication).
- (3) The Squamish, Halkomelem, and Straits Salish speakers entered the coastal region of Washington and British Columbia via the Fraser River (Krantz 1975:personal communication).
- (4) The Southern Puget Sound Salish speakers entered the coast area via mountain passes in the Cascade Range (Krantz 1975:personal communication).
- (5) The degree of relatedness (discernable cognates) between: (a) Straits Salish and Halkomelem should be relatively high; (b) Straits Salish and Squamish should be relatively less than the degree of relatedness between Straits Salish and Halkomelem; (c) Straits Salish and Southern Puget Sound Salish should be relatively low; and (d) Straits Salish and Interior Salish should be low.
- (6) The closeness of relationship between Coast Salish languages in general is reflected and may be predicted by the sole criterion of geographic distribution. Likewise, the conflation of more distant genetic relationships between Salish languages and the deflation of more closely related Salish languages should be fairly predictable based upon (a) knowing the entry routes into the coast region [which indicate geographic distribution prior to entry], and (b) subsequent distribution vis-à-vis accessibility of contact between groups.

Percentages of shared cognates between three Straits Salish dialects and Southern Puget Sound Salish, Halkomelem

dialects, Squamish, Shuswap, Kalispel, and Coeur D'Alene are listed below (Jorgensen 1969:20).

	Clallam	Lummi	Songish
Fraser	36	45	53
Nanaimo	40	47	54
Squamish	31	35	38
Nisqually	31	39	34
Snohomish	34	37	35
Skagit	35	41	36
Shuswap	16	19	19
Kalispel	16	16	17
Coeur D'Alene	15	17	16

A particularly interesting relationship exists between Straits Salish and Squamish, on the one hand, and Straits Salish and Southern Puget Sound Salish, on the other. In the former, there is a 35% average of shared cognates indicating a deflation in a close genetic and former geographic relationship. The latter relationship is marked by a 36% average of shared cognates indicating a conflation in a more distant genetic and geographic relationship. Straits Salish and Squamish have no contiguous borders whereas Straits Salish and Southern Puget Sound Salish share an eastern and northern border with Straits Salish.

The comparative data are organized according to the following (complete) list.

- (1) Sooke
- (2) Songish
- (3) Saanich



- (4) Lummi
- (5) Samish
- (6) Northern Straits Salish
- (7) Cowichan
- (8) Musqueam
- (9) Chilliwack
- (10) Halkomelem
- (11) Squamish
- (12) Southern Puget Sound Salish
- (13) Shuswap
- (14) Kalispel
- (15) Coeur D'Alene

#### Alphabetization

/ʔ/ is disregarded for alphabetical purposes only in word initial position. The alphabetic order is: a, ə, c, č, č̣, e, h, i, k, k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ<sup>w</sup>, l, ɬ, m, n, ŋ, p, p̣, q, q̣, q<sup>w</sup>, q̣<sup>w</sup>, s, š, t, ṭ, ʔ̣, u, w, x, x<sup>w</sup>, x̣<sup>w</sup>, y, ʔ.

√/?ac-/

/s-ʔas-əs/ 'face, outside surface'

/s-ʔac-s/ 'face (bodypart)'

+ sʔásəs 'face' Sk

sʔós(ə)s 'face' Sk

sʔásəs 'face' Sg

sʔásaəs 'face' Sn

sʔóss 'face' Lm

sʔáθəs 'face' Cw Ms

sʔá·θəs 'face' Ch

sʔáacus 'face, front side' Sq

/ʔacáqʔ/ 'thunder, thunderbird'

√/?ač-/ 'to replace something'

/ʔač-/ (descriptive)

/ʔa-ʔ-č-/ (continuative)

/ʔač-(ə)ŋ-ʔ/ (process, durative)

/ʔač-u-ʔs-t/ 'that which has been replaced'

+ nəx<sup>w</sup>ʔáy 'to exchange' Sq

ayʔ 'to change things' Pg

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

√ʔey 'exchange, barter' CdA

/ʔačínʔ/ 'maggot'

+ ší- 'be maggot-ridden' Sk

šáioʔ 'maggot' Sk

/ʔačt/ 'ling cod' (Ophiodon elongatus)

√/?ač̣-/ 'be between, interior, inside' (cf. /čayux<sup>w</sup>/)  
 /?əs-x<sup>w</sup>-a-ʔ-č̣-ʔ-/ (stative)

√/?ač̣-/ 'wipe'

(PS) \*ʔap̣ 'wipe'

/?ač̣-/ (descriptive)

/?a-ʔ-č̣-/ (continuative)

+ éč̣ət 'wipe' Cw

ép̣ət 'wipe' Ms

é·p̣ət 'wipe' Ch

síʔ-n 'wipe' Sq

ip̣ 'wipe' CDA

/aliluʔ; saʔʔanŋ/ 'salmonberry sprouts' (Rubus spectabilis)

+ ʔəlíʔəʔč̣ 'salmonberry vine' Sk

lílaʔ 'salmonberry' Cw Ms

əlí·lè 'salmonberry' Ch

/-ač̣ ~ʔ -ʔč̣/ 'water, liquid'

√/?am-/ 'come to a sitting position'

(PS) \*ʔam(-t); \*m-ut 'sit'

/?am-/ (descriptive)

/?a-ʔa-ʔ-mə-/ (continuative)

/?am-u-t-tx<sup>w</sup>/ (causative)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-am-u-t/ 'bed'

+ ʔám- 'come to a sitting position' Sk

ʔémət 'sit down' Sk

šx<sup>w</sup>(?)á(?)mət 'bed platform' Sk

ʔóʔmət 'seated' Sk Lm

ʔaʔmət 'seated' Sg Sn

émət 'sit' Cw Ms

á·mət 'sit' Ch

ʔmut 'assume a sitting position' Sq  
 ʔəmut 'to sit down' Sh  
 mut 'be at home, be camped' Sh  
 ʔemút 'to sit, be at home' Kl  
 em, äm 'one sits' CdA

/ʔamx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'pick berries'  
 /ʔamx<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)  
 /ʔam-ʔ-x<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)  
 † λəm 'pick berries' Sq

√/ʔan-/ 'do something excessively'  
 ʔ/m-an-uʔ/ 'very'  
 /xaʔas ʔan-əŋ/ 'evil' (< /xaʔas/ 'bad')  
 /ʔiʔ ʔan-əŋ/ 'well, do it well'

/-anux<sup>w</sup> ~ʔ -an-ux<sup>w</sup>/ 'time, season, month'

/ʔaplus/ 'apple' < English apple  
 † ʔépls 'apple' Sn  
 ʔapls 'apple(s)' Sh

√/ʔaq-/  
 ʔ/či-ʔaq-ʔ/ 'yesterday' (cf. /čin/)  
 /ʔəs-aq-ʔ/ '(be) outside'  
 † ʔəséqʔ 'outside' Sk  
 ʔacq 'outside' Sq  
 ʔucq 'go outside' Sq  
 (?ə)ʔúuqe 'to go out' Sh  
 ʔocqeʔ 'to go out' Kl  
 acqeʔ 'go out' CdA

/ʔasx<sup>w</sup>/ 'hair seal' (Phoca richardii)

+ ʔéšx<sup>w</sup> 'hair seal' Cw Ms

ʔé•šx<sup>w</sup> 'hair seal' Ch

ʔasx<sup>w</sup> 'seal' Sq

∕ʔaw-/ 'be behind' (cf. \*/hw?/)

(PS) \*ʔawt; \*ʔəwit 'be behind, after'

/čiʔaw ʔa ǰit/ 'afternoon' (cf. /čin/)

/ʔiʔ ʔawk<sup>w</sup>iʔ/ (See Figure 9)

+ ʔsau<sup>ʔ</sup>t 'junior-line children or cousins; youngest child' Sq

sau<sup>ʔ</sup>t-q<sup>w</sup>uj-ač 'little finger' Sq

/ʔawk<sup>ʔ</sup>-/ 'to use-up, run out of something'

/ʔawk<sup>ʔ</sup>-/ (descriptive)

/ʔa-ʔawk<sup>ʔ</sup>-/ (continuative)

/ʔawk<sup>w</sup>/ 'property' (cf. /-aw?/)

+ ʔék<sup>w</sup> 'belongings' Nst

éwk<sup>w</sup> 'wealth, property' Cw Ms

é•wk<sup>w</sup> 'wealth; property' Ch

\*ʔaw(-t) 'call' (PS)

ʔu(?) -t 'invite' Sq

/-aw?/ 'belonging to, (reciprocal)'

/-aw<sup>ʔ</sup>tx<sup>w</sup> ~ʔ -aw<sup>ʔ</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'building' (<ʔ /-aw?/ 'belonging to, (reciprocal)', /-tx<sup>w</sup>/ (causative))

∕ʔay-/ (possible relationship to ∕ʔač-/ 'to replace something' as in seasonal growth)

/ʔəs-ay-ʔa-ʔ-y-(ə)t/ 'vines' (generic)

+ \*ʔay 'exchange, barter, pay' (PS)

√/?ay-/ 'taste, smell'

/?ay-q-?č/ 'smells/tastes good'

/xa?s ?ay-q-?č/ 'smells/tastes bad'

+ -ai-aqap 'smell, taste' Sq

√/?ay-/ 'be good'

/čín ?ay-i?/ 'summer' (cf. /čín/)

/?ay-uc/ 'sharp'

/?i-ya?-c-(ə)qs-n/ 'very sharp point'

+ ?əi? 'good' Sk

?ay? 'good' Cw Ms

?éy· 'good' Ch

?ayá?θ 'sharp' Cw Ms

eyá·θ 'sharp' Ch

?í-u?c 'sharp' Sq

s-?í-u?-c-áxan 'sharp edge' Sq

\*/?ay/ (cf. √/?aw-/)

/nə-s-?a-?a-?-č-u?i?/ 'my youngest child' (cf. \*/-(w)y?/)

+ s?áy?ε? 'sweetheart, lover' Cw Ms

s?ey·é? 'sweetheart, lover' Ch

/?ay-?nuk<sup>w</sup>/ 'today' (cf. /-an-?ux<sup>w</sup>/)

/?a?elxa?i?s/ 'spotted skunk' (Spilogale putorius)

/?a?čx/ 'crab' (Cancer magister)

(PS) \*?ay?x 'crab, crayfish'

/ŋay-ačx/ '(large, yellowish) crab (unidentified)'

+ ?éčx 'crab' Sk

?ái?x 'crab' Sq

ay?x 'crab' CdA

/ʔaʔy-/ (cf. √/ʔač-/)

/ʔaʔy-əŋ/ (< [ʔaʔ-iŋ]) 'house'

+ ʔéʔiŋ 'house' Sk

ʔéʔyəŋ 'house' Sk

ʔéʔləŋ 'house' Sg Sn Lm

ʔa<sub>i</sub>-s 'be inside' Sq

/ʔəçtəyənəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Indian'  
 + ʔəftéyənəx<sup>w</sup> 'Indian' Sk  
 ʔəx<sup>w</sup>íŋəx<sup>w</sup> 'Indian' Sk  
 ʔəftélŋəx<sup>w</sup> 'Indian' Sg Sn Lm

/ʔəčənuk<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'broom'

√/ʔən-/ 'to peek in'  
 /ʔ-eʔ-n--əŋ/ (continuative)  
 /ʔiʔ ʔ-eʔ-n-əŋ k<sup>w</sup>a s-q<sup>w</sup>ə-q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'sunrise'

/-ʔən(əʔ)-/ (color participial)

/ʔənʔa-/ 'to come'  
 /ʔənʔa-/ (descriptive)  
 /ʔənʔa-ʔa-/ (continuative)  
 + hnʔé 'to come' Sk  
 ʔəmʔí 'to come' Ms  
 ʔemí· 'to come' Ch

/ʔəwə/ 'no to be the case, not to be involved in'  
 + ʔéuə 'no, not' Sk  
 haŋ 'be not the case, no' Sq

/ʔəx<sup>w</sup>ənuk<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'broom'  
 (PS) \*ʔix<sup>w</sup> 'sweep'  
 + ʔəx<sup>w</sup>tən 'broom' Cw  
 ʔəx<sup>w</sup>təl 'broom' Ch  
 √ʔix<sup>w</sup> 'sweep' Sq  
 ʔix<sup>w</sup> 'sweep' Sh



/nə-cačc/ 'my parent's sibling'  
 † séčs 'parent's sibling' Sk Sg Sn Lm

/cak<sup>w</sup>čn/ 'tiger lily' (Lilium columbianum)

/caw-/ 'extend, be far away'

(PS) \*kaw 'extend, far'

/caw-cu-?/ 'far off shore'

/c-i-ck<sup>w</sup>-i-ŋ/ 'farther off shore than /?i? qət-uc-ən/ but  
 closer than /caw-cu-?/'

/c-i-c-a-k<sup>w</sup>-əč/ 'on the spit'

/c-i-c-a-k<sup>w</sup>-ax-ən/ 'front edge, water edge (of a village)'

† ?ésk<sup>w</sup>ɬ 'way out in the deep' Sk

šq<sup>w</sup>ən? 'go far out into the sea; cross a wide stretch  
 of water' Sq

čɛg<sup>w</sup> 'extend' CDA

/caḡ<sup>w</sup>-/ 'be lazy'

/ca-?-ḡ<sup>w</sup>/ (continuative)

/s-caḡ<sup>w</sup>-cḡ<sup>w</sup>/ (nominal)

† sex<sup>w</sup>- 'be lazy' Sk

sex<sup>w</sup>sx<sup>w</sup> 'lazy by nature' Sk

séx<sup>w</sup>səx<sup>w</sup> 'lazy by nature' Sg Sn Lm

sé?x<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'being lazy' (temporarily) Nst

/cay-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-cay-?-sn/ 'canoe mat'

/c-i-cay-əq/ 'rough, uneven (as a surface)'

† ?əs-cám-cm-q<sup>w</sup> 'wrinkles, creases' Sq

/cay-/

/cay-s/ 'hand'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ca-?-?s-cay-u?/ 'marsh hawk' (Circus cyaneus)

- + séyəs 'hand' Sk
- séləs 'hand' Sg Sn Lm
- céləs 'hand' Sm
- céləš 'hand' Cw
- céləx<sup>y</sup> 'hand' Ms
- céléx<sup>y</sup> 'hand' Ch
- čališ 'hand' Pg
- kelx 'hand' Sh
- \*kalx 'hand' (PS)
- čelš 'hand' Kl

/cayx-/ 'to stir'

/cayx/ (descriptive)

/cay-?-x/ (continuative)

/caʔyaɬ/ 'lake'

/caʔyaɬ/ 'do something slowly or gradually'

/ʔəs-caʔyaɬ/ (stative)

/cək<sup>w</sup>-/ 'become red'

(PS) \*ci/aq<sup>w</sup> 'red, bleed'

/čək<sup>w</sup>-ay?/ 'become red, get red'

/čək<sup>w</sup>-ay-s/ 'light red'

- + ck<sup>w</sup>im 'red' Cw Ms
- ck<sup>w</sup>i·m 'red' Ch
- √ciq<sup>w</sup>, ceq<sup>w</sup> Sh
- cik<sup>w</sup> 'blue' CdA CDA

/cəɪmɔt/ 'Morse Creek, Washington'

/cən-/

/s-cən-cən/ 'kidney'

+ s-xəm-xm 'kidney' Sq

/cəna?xʷ/ 'tule' (Scirpus acutus)

/s-cəqi?/ 'sockeye salmon' (Oncorhynchos nerka) (cf. /cqəy/?)

+ sə́qi(?) 'sockeye salmon' Sk Lm

sə́qi? 'sockeye salmon' Sg

θə́qi? ~ sə́i? 'sockeye salmon' Sn

θə́qəy? 'sockeye salmon' Cw

sə́qəy? 'sockeye salmon' Ms

sə́qəy 'sockeye salmon' Ch

s-cə́qi 'sockeye salmon' Sq

/nə-cət/ 'my father'

+ mén 'father' Sk

tseqwek<sup>u</sup> 'blue huckleberry' (Sambucus cerulea)

+ çík<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup> 'blue huckleberry' Cw Ms

sçək<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup> 'blue huckleberry' Ch

/cimu?-n-?/ 'halibut hook'

/cis-n-?/ 'nail' (cf. √/çsə-/) )

+ ti 'hit, pound' CDA

√/ck<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'gather seafood' (cf. \*/cw/<sup>1</sup>)  
 /c-i<sup>?</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)  
 /c-i<sup>?</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-e<sup>?</sup>-e-/ (continuative)  
 /s-c-i<sup>?</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-i-ŋ-t/ 'seafood (other than fish)'

√/cɪə-/ 'be above, high, up, stand'  
 /c-i-ɪ-/ (descriptive)  
 /c-c-i-ɪ-/ (continuative)  
 /cɪ-a-?-a-?u-ɪ/ 'top' (cf. \*/hw<sup>?</sup>/)  
 /hi<sup>?</sup> ɪc-i-cɪ/ 'moving above, overhead'  
 /c-i-c-ɪ/ 'high, up'  
 /s-cɪ-uc-ən/ 'upper lip, rim of an object'  
 ?/s-č-i<sup>?</sup>-aɪ/ 'child from an upper class family'  
 /c-a-?-a-n-?-q<sup>w</sup>/ 'higher ground'

+ sɪí- 'to stand' Sk Sn  
 sí<sup>?</sup>səɪ 'high' Sk Lm  
 si<sup>?</sup>səɪ 'high' Sg  
 θi<sup>?</sup>θəɪ 'high' Sn  
 sci<sup>?</sup>ɪ 'high class' Cw Ms Ch  
 scɪáy<sup>?</sup>θən ~ scɪá<sup>?</sup>ayθən 'upper lip' Cw Ms  
 scɪá<sup>?</sup>yθəl 'upper lip' Ch  
 čil 'upper part, top, high, above' Sq  
 λxilš 'stand up' Sq  
 la<sup>?</sup>-λč 'be on top, high up' Sq  
 √čl 'to stand (up)' Sh  
 čil 'to stand (long objects only)' Kl  
 čel 'one stands' CdA  
 der 'stand' CDA

/cɪk<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to pierce, penetrate'  
 /cɪk<sup>w</sup>-a-/ (descriptive)  
 /cɪk<sup>w</sup>-a-?/ (continuative)  
 /?əs-cəɪk<sup>w</sup>/ (stative)  
 /s-x<sup>w</sup>-cɪk<sup>w</sup>-ay-qs-ən/ 'nostril'

- + čəλq<sup>w</sup> 'pass through a hole or opening' Sq  
 √petk<sup>w</sup> 'to pierce, perforate' Sh  
 ptk<sup>w</sup> 'to perforate'  
 pařk<sup>w</sup> 'to pierce' CdA CDA  
 čεk<sup>w</sup> 'poke' CDA  
 lεřx<sup>w</sup> 'hole in something' CDA

## √/cŋə-/

- /c-a-ŋ-a-tn-?/ 'tump line'  
 + se? 'lift' Sk  
 cómʔətən 'packstrap' Cw Ms  
 cómətəl 'packstrap' Ch  
 čómʔə-tn 'packstrap' Sq

## \*/cqəy/

- (PS) \*caq 'be in position, stand (tree)'  
 /s-c-a-cqi-?/ 'sprouts'  
 /ʔəs-c-a-cai-?/ 'pick sprouts' (stative)  
 + sθéʔ qəy 'sprout' Cw Ms  
 sθéθqəy 'sprout' Ch

## √/ctə-/ 'to point'

- /s-c-a-ct-uʔi-cs/ 'thumb'  
 /s-c-əʔ-ct-uy-sən/ 'big toe'  
 /ʔəs-ct-əŋ-ən-uʔi-cs/ 'middle finger'

## /cucən/ 'mouth, lips'

- + sósən 'mouth' Sk Lm  
 sásən 'mouth' Sg  
 θáθən, saθən 'mouth' Sn  
 θáθən 'mouth' Cw Ms  
 θá·θəl 'mouth' Ch  
 cúcin 'mouth' Sq

√/cuŋ-/ 'to go up away from the beach' (cf. \*/cw/<sup>1</sup>)  
 † sán 'to go up to the woods' Sk  
 soŋ 'go up away from water' Sk Lm  
 sán 'go up away from water' Sg  
 θaŋ 'go up away from water' Sn  
 k<sup>w</sup>um? 'to upward, go ashore' Sq

/s-cu<sup>?</sup>tx/ 'halibut' (Hippoglossus stenolepis)

\*/cw/<sup>1</sup>

/c-a-cu-<sup>?</sup>/ 'beach'

† sésu? 'beach' Sk Sn Lm  
 cé<sup>?</sup>cəw? 'beach' Cw Ms  
 cé<sup>?</sup>cəw 'beach' Ch

\*/cw/<sup>2</sup> 'lay down'

/c-a-w/ (descriptive)

/c-c-a-w/ (continuative)

/c-a-k<sup>w</sup>-s/ 'put something down, (purposive)'

† čéu? 'to lay down' Sk

/s-cxač/ 'hip'

/s-cxəyem/ 'sword fern' (Polystichum munitum)

† sθxéləm 'sword fern' Cw Ms Ch

/cx<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>yaqč/ 'quietly' (cf. √/?ay-/) )

/ʔč-/ 'to put on something'  
 /ʔ-i-č-əŋ/ (descriptive)  
 /ʔ-a-č-əŋ/ (continuative)  
 /ʔ(ə)č-a-ŋis-tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'put something on someone, (causative)'  
 + ʔíč- 'to put on' Sk  
 ʔ ʔeq 'Indian blanket' Sh  
 ʔ ʔaq 'to lay down on something' K1  
 ʔ ʔaq 'bushy stuff lies' CDA

/čačacs/ 'bobcat' (Lynx rufus)

/čak<sup>w</sup>-/

/čak<sup>w</sup>-əʔ-əŋ-ʔ/ 'to use the left hand, (continuative)'  
 + sčík<sup>w</sup>a 'left(side)' Cw Ms  
 čík<sup>w</sup>a 'left(side)' Ch

Ethno: AB stated that there is no word for right-handed "cause it's right." Being left-handed was unusual (and, according to AB, was a condition that adults discouraged in children), consequently behavior associated with the left hand is marked (cf. /qiʔuʔsəŋʔ/ 'left-handed').

/čam-/ 'be bony'

(PS) \*s-č<sup>u</sup>/am 'bone'

/s-čam-ʔ ~ s-čum-ʔ/ 'bone'

/s-čam-ʔ-éq<sup>w</sup>/ 'skull'

/s-čam-ʔ-uc-əŋ/ 'mandible'

/s-čəm-čam-uʔ-eč/ 'spine'

+ sčam(?) 'bone' Sk  
 sčəmóʔən 'fish backbone' Sk  
 sčóməq<sup>w</sup> 'skull' Sk  
 sčómʔ 'bone' Sk

sčam? 'bone' Sg  
 sčəmářən 'fish backbone' Sg  
 sčám? 'bone' Sn  
 sčəmářən 'fish backbone' Sn  
 sčóm? 'bone' Lm  
 sčəmóřən 'backbone' Lm  
 sčám? 'bone' Cw Ms  
 sčáməq<sup>w</sup> 'skull' Cw Ms  
 sčá·m 'bone' Ch  
 sčá·màq<sup>w</sup> 'skull' Ch  
 šau? 'bone' Sq  
 šau?-q<sup>w</sup> 'skull' Sq  
 (n-)šáu?-us 'skinny' Sq  
 sčamča?-tn 'weaving needle' Sq  
 sčom 'bone' Kl  
 sčam 'bone, be bony' CdA  
 čam 'bone' CDA

/čəŋ-/

/čəŋ-əř/ 'chest'

+ čəŋəř 'chest' Sk

/čəpx/ 'cedar root' (Thuja plicata)

/čaw-/ 'come to a sitting position'

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-čə-?-w-ač-n/ (descriptive)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-čə-?-w-ač-n/ 'chair'

+ čəu? 'to put down' Sk

šx<sup>w</sup>čə?éčn 'chair' Sk

/čaw-/ 'to disappear, accidentally lose something'

/čaw-/ (descriptive)

/čə-?-w-/ (continuative)



/čaw k<sup>w</sup>ɪ ɪqayč/ 'moonless'  
 + ʔsx<sup>w</sup>é- 'disappear' Sk  
 cəx<sup>w</sup> 'disappear' Sq  
 čə-čx 'be away' Sq  
 \*čawʔ 'pull out' (PS)

/čay-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>əŋ-čay-tn-ʔ/ 'brain'  
 + šmačqn 'brain' Sk

/čay-/ 'to dig, chip'

/čay-əq<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)

/čay-ʔ-əq<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/čay-ʔ-s-/ (continuative)

/s-k<sup>w</sup>-čay-ʔ-s-n/ 'adze'

ʔ + šik<sup>w</sup> 'dig clams, clam' Sq  
 ck 'hew, carve, whittle' Sh  
 \*ciq 'stab, dig' (PS)

/čayi/ 'fur seal' (Callorhinus alascensis)

/čaʔaʔ-t-n-ʔ/ 'dark night' (cf. /čaw-/?)

+ θéʔt 'dark (as night)' Ms

θê•t 'dark (as night)' Ch

/čaʔŋ-(ɔ)t-n-ʔ/ 'bailer'

/čaʔy-eʔ-ŋ/ 'loud'

/čəm-/

/č-a-čəm/ 'bird' (generic)

+ čúm-n 'hiss, whistle softly' Sq

čú-čum-an 'a small bird (unidentified)' Sq

/čənk<sup>w</sup>a?/ 'tomcod' (Microgadus tomcod)

/čəŋ-/ 'located nearby'

(PS) \*kih, ki-t 'near'

/ʔəs-č-eʔ-čəŋ-ʔ/ 'near' (stative)

?/č-u-ŋ-čəŋ/ 'acorn barnacle' (Balanus glandula)

? + či-, čit- 'near, approach' Sq

/čəq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to narrow'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-čəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'waist'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-čəq<sup>w</sup>-ac/ 'wrist'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-čəq<sup>w</sup>-(ə)sn-ʔ/ 'ankle'

?/č-i-q<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'cedar bark shredder'

/čəq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'be dirty' (cf. /q<sup>w</sup>əč/)

/čəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'dirt'

?/s-cəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'worm' (generic)

/čəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'Jamestown, Washington'

+ čk<sup>w</sup>ó- 'be wormy' Sn

sčó<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> 'worm' Cw Ms Ch

s-čək<sup>w</sup> 'worm' Sq

ʔəs-čóq-čəq 'dirty' Sq

/čəy-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-č-a-č-əʔ-i-k<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'interior of cattail stem'

✓/čə-/ 'to climb'

/č-eʔ-əŋ/ (descriptive)

/č-i-č-a-ʔ-əŋ/ (continuative)

/čəʔtnʔ/ 'acorn woodpecker' (Melanerpes formicivorus)

✓/ččə-/ 'to wake someone'

/ččə-/ (descriptive)

/čəč-/ (continuative)

?/ččxə-řč/ 'stinging nettle' (Urtica dioica)

+ čóxčəx 'stinging nettle' Cs Ms Ch

/čis-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-čis-a-t-əŋ/ 'wentle trap'

/čis-/

/čis-iřč/ 'brachen fern' (Pteridium aquilinum)

/čiwq-/

/s-čiwq-iřč/ 'red elderberry' (Sambucus racemosa)

+ číwəq 'red elderberry' Cw Ms

sčíwəq 'red elderberry' Ch

/čix<sup>w</sup>-/

/čix<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ 'land spit, Deep Creek, Washington'

? + \*čix<sup>w</sup>-čəx<sup>w</sup> 'osprey, fishhawk' (PS)

/čiʔatk<sup>w</sup>(s)/ 'sasquatch, stick Indian'

+ čáməq<sup>w</sup>əs 'hairy giant' Cw

sésqəc 'hairy giant' Ms

sé·sqəc 'hairy giant' Ch

/čiʔisnəqʷ/ 'east side of Marine Drive area, Port Angeles,  
Washington'

//čɪ-/

/čɪ-ɪ-a-ʔ-aɪč/ 'broad-leaf maple' (Acer macrophyllum)

/s-č-u-čɪ-a-ʔ/ 'leaf'

+ čáčɪəʔ 'leaf' Sk

(s)čočɪəʔ 'leaf' Sk

səáəʔ 'leaf' Sn

sčočɪəʔ 'leaf' Lm

sčáɪɛʔ 'leaf' Cw

čáɪəɪp 'broad-leaf maple' Cw

sčáɪaʔ 'leaf' Ms

sčáɪaʔ 'leaf' Ch

sčúɪaʔ 'leaf' Sq

/čɪəp-/ 'to disappear, come to the end (as in linear measure-  
ment)'

/čəɪp-eʔ-əqʷ/ 'great-great-great grandparent or -grandchild'

+ čəpəyəqʷ 'great-great-great grandparent or -grand-  
child' Cw Ms

čəpəyàqʷ 'great-great-great grandparent or -grand-  
child' Ch

tʰəpɪyaqʷ 'great-great-great grandparent or -grand-  
child, hull of a berry' Halk

čəp-iʔəqʷ 'great-great grandparent/child' Sq

gʷɛnp 'disappear' CDA

/čɪəqʷ-/ 'squeeze, pinch'

/čɪəqʷ-/ (descriptive)

/čəɪqʷ-/ (continuative)

✓/čm-/ 'be wet'

(PS) \*(s-)?iča-m 'covering surface; blanket, dress'

/č-a-m-uŋ/ 'to moisten something, (descriptive)'

/č-č-a-m-u-ŋ/ 'to moisten something, (continuative)'

/č-u-?-m-ŋ/ 'wet'

/č-u-?-m-ŋ-ct/ 'wet, (inchoative)'

? † čam?ín? 'to lick' Sq

teq<sup>w</sup>- 'lick' Sh

✓/čŋə-/ 'to bite'

/čŋə-/ (descriptive)

/čəŋ-/ (continuative)

/č-ə?-čəŋ/ 'anemone' (Cribrina xanthogrammica)

+ čəŋ? 'to bite' Sk

čəm? 'bite' Sq

čum?áju 'barnacle' Sq

✓/čpə-/ 'to bother'

/čpə-/ (descriptive)

/čəp-/ (continuative)

/čpsi?-/

?(PS) \*čip 'squeeze (shut), pinch'

/čə-čpsi?-uc-ən/ 'squirrel' (Sciurus griseus)

+ čəpsiy?áθen 'squirrel' Cw

čəspi 'ugly' Sq

kis-t 'bad' Sh

čes 'bad' Kl

čes, čäs 'be bad' CdA

✓/čq̣-/ 'to support oneself' (walking)  
 /čq̣-ay-s/ (descriptive)  
 /čq̣-ay-ʔ-s/ (continuative)

✓/čq̣ʷə-/ 'be rotten'  
 /čq̣ʷə-ŋ-iʃč/ 'erect, rotten log'  
 † čáq̣ʷəm 'rotten log' Cw Ms  
 čá·q̣ʷəm 'rotten log' Ch  
 čóxʷ 'be rotten' Sq  
 duq̣ʷ 'rotten' CDA

/čq̣ʷuʔm-/  
 /čq̣ʷuʔm-eʔ-eʃč/ 'black raspberry' (Rubus leucodermis)  
 /nə-čq̣ʷuʔm-eʔ/ 'my black raspberry, (hypocortistic)'  
 † čq̣ʷuʔum 'blackcap' Sq

✓/čsə-/ 'to hit with hand, arm'  
 /čsə-/ (descriptive)  
 /čəs-/ (continuative)  
 /čs-əyu/ (instrumental, descriptive)  
 /čə-ʔ-s-əyu/ (instrumental, continuative)  
 /č-a-ʔ-s-ŋ-ʔ/ 'to use an adze'  
 /čəs-t-n/ 'antler, horn'  
 † čəs 'hit' Sk  
 čístn 'horn' Sk  
 čs- 'hit with hand, arm' Sk Sg Lm  
 čs- 'hit with hand, arm' Sn  
 číq̣ʷət 'hit' Cw Ms  
 čóystən 'horn' Cw Ms  
 číq̣ʷət 'hit' Ch  
 čóystəl 'horn' Ch  
 čís-tn 'horn, antler, nail' Sq  
 \*cuʔ 'to hit, strike' Sh  
 \*cuʔ 'strike with fist' K1

č̣i? 'antler, horn' CdA  
 cu 'punch' CDA  
 ti 'hit, pound' CDA

/č̣sə-/

/č̣s-u?/ 'stomach'

/č̣-i-č̣əs-u?/ 'float'

+ č̣sa? 'stomach' Sk

/č̣uk<sup>w</sup>i?-t-n/ 'spear point'

/č̣ut-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-č̣ut-u?-əč/ 'heel'

+ sč̣́əcnəcšən 'heel' Cw

sč̣́əcnəcx<sup>ɣ</sup>ən 'heel' Ms

sč̣́əcləcx<sup>ɣ</sup>əl 'heel' Ch

/č̣u?k<sup>w</sup>i?/ 'skunk cabbage' (Lysichiton americanum)

+ č̣ák<sup>w</sup>a? 'skunk cabbage' Cw Ms

č̣ák<sup>w</sup>a 'skunk cabbage' Ch

č̣úq<sup>w</sup>a 'skunk cabbage' Sq

/č̣-u?-m-ə?-č̣-n-?/ 'bracelet' (cf. /č̣am-/) )

+ č̣ám?č̣n 'bracelet' Sq

\*/č̣w/ 'to wash'

/č̣-a-k<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive, resultative)

/č̣-ə?-k<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/ʔəs-č̣-a-č̣u-?/ (stative)

+ č̣ák<sup>w</sup>- 'to wash' Sk

č̣ék<sup>w</sup>t 'wash' Sk Lm

č̣ék<sup>w</sup>ət 'wash' Sg

ʔék<sup>w</sup>ət 'wash' Sn  
 ʔx<sup>w</sup>át 'wash' Cw Ms  
 ʔx<sup>w</sup>á·t 'wash' Ch  
 ʔak<sup>w</sup> 'to wash' Pg  
 ʔew- 'to wash body' Sh  
 ʔé?u 'to wash' Kl  
 ʔaŵ 'wash' CdA CDA

/ʔxas/ 'rock oven'

+ ʔx<sup>w</sup>és 'earth oven cooking' Sk Sg Lm  
 ʔx<sup>w</sup>és 'oven of rocks' Sn

/ʔxe?ls/ 'Chehalis, Washington'

√/ʔx<sup>w</sup>-/

/ʔx<sup>w</sup>-us-əŋ-?/ 'feeling when frightened by spirits'

? + x<sup>w</sup>čəlnəct 'sing out words of a spirit song' Cw MS

x<sup>w</sup>čəl·éct 'sing out words of a spirit song' Ch



/čak<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to hiccup, be stuck in the throat'  
 /čak<sup>w</sup>-aʔ/ (durative)

/čan-/ 'to fish'  
 /s-čən-ənəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'salmon' (generic)  
 ?/s-x<sup>w</sup>-č-iʔ-anəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Beecher Bay, British Columbia'  
 + sčé·nəx<sup>w</sup> 'salmon' Sk  
 čənénx<sup>w</sup> 'to fish' Sn

/čan-/  
 /s-ča(?)n-aʔi-č/ 'yellow'

/čan-/  
 /s-čan-iʔč/ 'Oregon grape' (Berbis nervosa)  
 + čəls 'be shiny' Sq  
 sčəls 'Oregon grape' Sh

/čan-/ 'to move something'  
 /č-əʔ-aʔ-a-ʔ-n-(ə)s/ (continuative)  
 ?/čəns/ 'tooth'  
 + čəns 'tooth' Sk  
 yəns 'tooth' Cw Ms  
 yələs 'tooth' Ch  
 ʔənís 'tooth, teeth,' Sq

/čat-/  
 /s-x<sup>w</sup>-čat-č/ 'bottom of an object'  
 + s-ʔac-q 'bottom' Sq  
 s-ʔac-nač 'bay' Sq

/čay-/ 'to work'

· /čay-/ (descriptive)

/ča-?-i-/ (continuative)

?/čə-čay-t-n-?/ 'body'

/ča-?-č-aw?-tx<sup>w</sup>-ŋ/ 'to put up camp'

+ ?yáys 'work' Cw Ms

yá·ys 'work' Ch

/čay-/ 'to hang up something'

/č-i?-əŋ-us-?t/ (continuative)

/ča-?-čay-?-ya-ŋ-us-?t/

/čay-/

/s-ča-?-y-əq<sup>w</sup>-ɬ/ 'berry' (generic)

/s-ča-(?)-y-əq<sup>w</sup>-ɬ-iɬč/ 'fruit tree'

?/s-čə-?-əy-?-ɬ/ (a term of reference applied to males and females between the ages of 2 to 18/20 years; See TABLE III)

+ sčəči-él?ɬ 'child, youngster' Lm

/čay-/ 'follow, pursue, chase, be behind'

/čay-ə?k<sup>w</sup>-aw?-t/ 'be in back of something, (action)'

/čay-ə?k<sup>w</sup>ə?-aw?-ɬ/ 'be in back of something, (durative)'

/ča-?-y-a?k<sup>w</sup>-ax-ən/ 'back edge (of a village)' (cf. \*/hw?/)

?/ča-?-i?-s-a?-eč/ 'The Place, Washington'

?/?i? ča-?-i? ?a qit/ 'morning'

?/?i? ɬ-ča-?-i?/ 'first'

/č-?ča-s/ 'chase' (descriptive)

/č-??-a-s/ 'chase' (continuative)

+ √čaj 'follow' Sq

čaj 'follow, pursue' Sq

kel 'pursue, chase (away)' Sh

\*kal 'go after, follow, chase (PS)

/čaya-/ 'to vomit'

/čaya-/ (descriptive)

/ča-?-a?-/ (continuative)

/ča-?-ya-?-t-ay-ŋ/ 'getting sick'

+ yéʔεt 'vomit' Cw Ms

yè·t 'vomit' Ch

či(h), čəh, ča 'rise, mount, go upward' Sq

/ča(?)-/

/s-ča?-ča/ 'friend'

/nə-s-ča?-ča/ 'my friend, relative'

/ʔə-ʔaʔin nə-s-ča?-ča/ 'my close relative'

+ sčéʔčəʔ 'friend' Sk

sʔáyʔeʔ 'sweetheart, lover' Cw

syéʔyεʔ 'friend' Cw Ms

syé·yεʔ 'friend' Ch

s-ǰáǰʔ 'friend' Sq

si 'friend' Sh

/s-ča?-eč/ 'tree stump'

/s-čaʔmukʷ/ 'bullhead (unidentified)'

+ sčnayʔ 'bullhead' Sq

s-čn-eýe '"fish with head like frog"' Sh (Kuipers 1974:  
177)

/čaʔŋ-iʔč/ 'oak' (Quercus kelloggii)

/čaʔy-/

/č-čaʔy-qʷ/ 'south wind'

? + \*səǰǰ 'pass across' Sq

/s-čəməʔčuʔəs/ 'cape'

✓/čən-/ 'to plant, bury'

/čən-/ 'bury' (descriptive)

/čən-ʔ-/ 'bury' (continuative)

/čən-iŋ-ʔ/ 'plant' (descriptive)

/čən-ʔ-eʔ-ŋ-əʔ/ 'plant' (continuative)

/č-e-n-iŋ-ʔ/ 'plant' (nominal)

ʔ/ʔəs-čən-əŋət/ 'low class, poor'

+ čən- 'bury, plant' Sk

pən 'be buried' Sq

ʔpen > c-ən-ʔen 'graveyard' Sh

/čən-ʔəq<sup>w</sup>-ʔa/ 'lichen (unidentified)'

✓/čəŋ-/ 'to blow'

/s-čəŋ/ 'wind'

/s-xaʔas č-u-ŋ/ 'north wind' (< /xaʔas/ 'bad')

+ sčəŋ 'strong wind' Sk

/čəŋik<sup>w</sup>s/ 'unfamiliar with (or accomplished at) a task'

/čəq/ 'big'

+ čəq 'big' Sk

✓/čəq-/ 'to age, tire'

/ʔ-čəq/ (descriptive)

/ʔ-ʔʔ-čəq/ (continuative)

/k<sup>w</sup>ʦ čəq-əŋ/ 'aging'

/k<sup>w</sup>ʦ čəq/ 'old man' (See TABLE III)

?/č-i-čəq-s/ 'early riser'

/čəq-uʦ/ 'rough canoe surface caused by dragging'

+ čáq 'bald' Sq

✓/čəx-/ 'to break in half'

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-čəx-i-ct/ 'half'

+ ?əʦčəx-tx<sup>w</sup> 'half' Sq

c-xeʦ 'torn off' Sh

✓/ččə-/

/s-čəč-ʦ/ 'fine gravel'

✓/či-/

/tx<sup>w</sup>-s-čiʔay/ 'almost'

+ ča(?) 'do, act, make' Sq

ti- 'to make' Sq

čin 'do it, put' CDA

\*ka(-n) 'do, do what?' (PS)

/čin/ 'be time of' (~? /či-/ 'be the time of', /-n/ (process))

?/či-ʔaq-ʦ/ 'yesterday'

/t-ča-n-k<sup>w</sup>/ 'last year'

/ʔiʔ či-ʔn ʔa ʔic-t/ 'Spring' (lit.: time of moving away)

/či-ʔn sutč/ 'Winter' (lit.: time of the west wind)

/čə-ʔn taŋ/ 'when?'

/s-či/ 'year'

?/pəq-i-ya-ʔn-ʔux<sup>w</sup>/ 'Fall' (lit.: time of whitening)

?/x<sup>w</sup>as-i-ya-ʔn-ʔux<sup>w</sup>/ 'Fall' (lit.: time of shaking)

+ sčiʔéŋŋ 'year' Sk

čiʔéqʦ 'yesterday' Sk

čələqəɬ 'yesterday' Sg Sn  
 čəlʔéqɬ 'yesterday' Lm  
 kʷcələqəɬ 'yesterday' Cw Ms  
 syilʔánəm 'year' Cw Ms  
 kʷcələ·qəɬ 'yesterday' Ch  
 syilá·ləm 'year' Ch  
 člʔáqλ > kʷi člʔáqλ 'yesterday' Sq  
 sil-ánm 'year' Sq  
 pen (referring to time) Sh  
 pén(tə)č 'year' Kl  
 s-pintč 'year' CdA  
 pin(t)č 'always' CdA

/čixaʔis/ 'Christ, God'  
 /masiʔ čixaʔis/ 'glory to God'

/čiʔaxʷ/ 'salmon-wier'  
 + číáq 'salmon-weir' Sq

√/čkʷ-/  
 /s-č-i-kʷ-aʔ-əč/ 'black bear' (Ursus americanus)

√/ʔčɬ-/ 'to dig, scoop'  
 /ʔ-i-čɬ/ (descriptive)  
 /ʔ-e-čɬ/ (continuative)  
 + √yew 'scoop up' Sh

√/čɬ-/ 'be thick'  
 (PS) \*pɬλ, pɬ- 'thick'  
 /čɬ-t-uy-s/ 'orange' (Citrus auranticum)  
 + čɬot 'thick' Sk  
 pɬét 'thick' Cw Ms  
 plé·t 'thick' Ch

pəλ 'thick' Sq  
 √peλ 'thick' Sh  
 yulq<sup>w</sup> 'thick (cylindrical objects)' Sh  
 plɪʔ 'thick' Kl  
 päλ 'be thick layer' CdA  
 peʔ 'thick' CDA

√/čq̣-/ 'to sharpen'

/čq̣-a-n/ 'file'

/čq̣-ay-t-n-?/ 'sharpening stone'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-č-a<sup>?</sup>-q̣-a<sup>?</sup>y-t-n-?/ 'Ranger, Washington'

+ čq̣ó- 'to file, rub' Sk

√iaq̣ 'be sharpened' Sq

√/čq<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to burn'

/čq<sup>w</sup>ə-/ (descriptive)

/čəq<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/č-i-čəq<sup>w</sup>-aw<sup>?</sup>-?tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'burning house'

/s-čəq<sup>w</sup>-uc/ 'fire'

/nə-č-a<sup>?</sup>-a-q<sup>w</sup>-čq<sup>w</sup>/ 'lightning'

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-čəq<sup>w</sup>-a-t/ 'burning in a particular place'

+ čəq<sup>w</sup> 'burned' Sk

čáq<sup>w</sup>čəq<sup>w</sup> 'flashing, lightening' Sk

čóq<sup>w</sup>ʔ 'burning' Sk Lm

čáq<sup>w</sup>əʔ 'burning' Sg Sn

háy<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup> 'burning' Cw Ms

hé·yəq<sup>w</sup> 'burning' Ch

ǰəq<sup>w</sup>, (h)i<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup> 'fire' Sq

ǰ<sup>w</sup>il 'burn' CDA

√/čq̣<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to sweat'

/č-a-q̣<sup>w</sup>-ʔ/ (resultative, durative)

+ čáq̣<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'sweat' Sn

čóq<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'sweat' Lm  
 iáq<sup>w</sup>am 'to sweat, sweat' Sq

✓/čsə-/ 'to throw'  
 /čsə-/ (descriptive)  
 /čəs-/ (continuative)  
 ? + cx<sup>w</sup>-im? 'throw' Sq  
 čeč 'throw' CDA

✓/čsə-/ 'to slap'  
 /nə-x<sup>w</sup>-čs-us-t-ŋ/ 'slap in face'

✓/čsə-/ 'to be on, located'  
 /s-čəs-aw?-q<sup>w</sup>/ 'hat'  
 ?/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-čə-?-s-a?-qn/ 'Twin River, Washington'  
 + čsá- 'to be on' Sk  
 sčəsəq<sup>w</sup> 'hat' Sk  
 čəs 'to be on' Sg  
 yá?saq<sup>w</sup> 'hat' Cw Ms  
 yá·sàq<sup>w</sup> 'hat' Ch  
 iása?q<sup>w</sup> 'head-cover used by medicine-man, hat' Sq

✓/čsə-/  
 /čə-čs-i-n-?əč/ 'service berry' (Amelanchier alnifolia)

/čš?iʔəŋə?q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'earwig' (Forficula auricularia)

/s-čta-ŋx<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'earth, land, ground'  
 + təŋx<sup>w</sup>- 'be dirty, dirt' Sk  
 təŋəx<sup>w</sup> 'earth, ground' Sk  
 təməx<sup>w</sup> 'earth' Cw Ms  
 təm·ə̀x<sup>w</sup> 'earth' Ch



✓/čtə-/ 'to ask'

/čt-a-/ (descriptive)

/čt-a-?-/ (continuative)

+ čté- 'to ask' Sk

✓/čtə-/

/čə-čtə-ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'great horned owl' (Bubo virginianus)

+ čəčtəŋx<sup>w</sup> 'owl' Sk

cítmæx<sup>w</sup> 'great horned owl' Cw Ms

cí·tmæx<sup>w</sup> 'great horned owl' Ch

číatmix<sup>w</sup> 'great horned owl' Sq

titmix<sup>w</sup> 'animal' CdA

/s-čuʔ/ 'firewood'

/čuŋ-/ 'to push'

/čuŋ-/ (descriptive)

/ču-?-ŋ/ (continuative)

/čəŋ-?-e?-u? / 'front, forward' (cf. \*/hwy/)

? + xət 'push' Cw

cəx 'be pushed' Sq

/nə-s-čutaʔəʔ/ 'my child's spouse'

+ scutəʔ 'child's spouse; man's sister's husband' CwMsCh

/čuʔ-n/ 'spindle whorl'

+ ✓səl 'spin around, turn' Sq

sál-sl-tŋ 'Indian spinning wheel' Sq

x<sup>w</sup>ʔ 'to turn, spin' Sh

säl 'turn, spin in eye' CdA

sil 'turn, cause dizziness' CdA

/čux-əŋ-ʔ/ 'sour'

+ čáx<sup>w</sup>ŋ 'it's sweet' Sk

čur 'sour' CDA

/čuʔŋ-iʔč/ 'black cottonwood' (Populus trichocarpa)

+ čáuʔnəʔp 'cottonwood tree' Sk

/č-ča-ʔič/ 'sitka spruce' (Picea sitchensis)

/č-ay-ča-ʔič/ 'name for the Marine Drive area, Port Angeles, Washington; present site of the Lower Elwha Reservation (plural)'

+ čičáĭ-aiʔ 'spruce' Sq  
tsʔeɫp 'spruce' Sh

/čačuʔxaʔeʔič/ 'pygmy nuthatch' (Sitta phymaea) or 'brown creeper' (Certhia familiaris)

/čayi/ 'thick bark (e.g., as of fir, hemlock, spruce)'

(PS) \*kayʔ 'dry out, wither'

+ čay-, čičiʔ, s-čayʔ 'dead tree' Sq  
slaiʔ 'bark of a tree, thick bark' Sq  
péliʔ 'thin bark' Sq  
póleń 'bark of a tree' Sh  
čičiʔlélxʷ 'bark of a tree' Kl  
čel 'bark' CdA

/čayuxʷ/ 'to come inside'

/ča-ʔ-čayuxʷ/ (continuative)

/čay-ʔ-xʷ/ 'be inside'

/čixʷ-aʔ-awʔ-əʔ/ 'inside of a fenced area'

/s-čayuxʷ, s-xʷ-čay-ʔ-uxʷ/ 'inlet, canal, Strait of Juan de Fuca'

+ ʔai-s 'be inside' Sq

/nə-čaʔəmaqʷ/ 'my great grandparent and -grandchild'

+ čáʔməqʷ 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Sk  
sčáʔməqʷ 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Cw Ms

sčá·məq<sup>w</sup> 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Ch  
 sčám<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup> 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Sq

/čá<sup>3</sup>e<sup>3</sup>mač / 'cone' (tree)

/čá<sup>3</sup>is/ 'charcoal'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-čá<sup>3</sup>is-čs-us/ 'black-capped chickadee' (Parus atrica-  
pillus)

? + čujs 'crazy' Sq

n<sup>3</sup>čúisus 'crazy-faced' Sq

/čá<sup>3</sup>ye<sup>3</sup>č<sup>3</sup>/

/čá<sup>3</sup>-čá<sup>3</sup>ye<sup>3</sup>č<sup>3</sup>/ 'short'

+ čəčí<sup>3</sup> 'short' Cw

čəčí<sup>3</sup> 'short' Ms

čí·čə<sup>3</sup> 'short' Ch

/čəč<sup>3</sup>/ 'Indian rope' (cf. /č<sup>3</sup>-čá-?č<sup>3</sup>/)

+ čič<sup>3</sup>[əj] 'be twisted' Sq

pič 'get squeezed, trapped' Sq

pič 'to squeeze' Pg

s-peč-n 'Indian hemp, twine, string' Sh

? pač 'squirt, defecate' CdA

✓/čəm-/ 'be thin (e.g., board)'

/čə<sup>3</sup>čəm-?-e<sup>3</sup>-i/ (continuative)

+ čəmíl<sup>3</sup> 'thin' Cw Ms

čəmí·l 'thin' Ch

čm<sup>3</sup>íl 'thin' Sq

?/čəmana<sup>3</sup>/ 'night smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)

+ sčá<sup>3</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m 'smelt' Sq

?/č̣-əʔ-č̣əm-əc-ən-a-ʔʔ/ 'ant' (generic)  
 † č̣ə-č̣m-íč̣n 'ant' Sq

?/s-č̣ac/ 'thin tail of bull kelp'

?/č̣ac-ən/ 'needle'

† p̣əč̣tən 'needle' Cw Ms  
 p̣əč̣təl 'needle' Ch

/č̣əns/ 'sand pit cooking'

/s-č̣əns/ (descriptive, nominal)

/s-č̣ə-ʔ-əʔ-ns/ (continuative, nominal)

/č̣əx-/

/č̣-eʔ-əx/ 'pitch, gum, pitchwood'

cáməx 'pitch' Cw

č̣əmx 'pitch' Sq

√/č̣č̣ə-/ 'to squeeze together, sew'

/č̣č̣-i-/ (descriptive)

/č̣-a-č̣-ʔ-eʔ-/ (continuative)

† č̣eč̣ 'to sew' Sk

p̣éč̣ 'sew' Cw Ms

p̣é·č̣ 'sew' Ch

č̣iiḳ<sup>w</sup>-in 'squeeze, pinch' Sq

/č̣itx<sup>w</sup>ay-qs-ən/ 'shrew' (Sorex palustris)

† √x<sup>w</sup>ey 'sharp' Sh

x<sup>w</sup>y-x<sup>w</sup>yey-əqs 'shrew' Sh

x<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>i 'sharp' Kl

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-č̣iʔeʔheʔwn-iłč̣/ 'chokeberry' (Prunus demissa)

/čiyaʔč<sup>3</sup>-iʔč/ 'douglas fir' (Pseudotsuga sitchensis)

+ lɛ̃·yʔəʔp 'douglas fir' Cw Ms

lá·yəʔp 'douglas fir' Ch

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-čix<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>nʔ/ 'internal organs'

/čiʔiʔsantnʔ/ 'cross-piece of a drying rack'

√/č<sup>3</sup>ŋ-/ 'to return home'

/č<sup>3</sup>-a-ŋ-ʔ/ (continuative, resultative)

√/č<sup>3</sup>p-/ 'to roll'

/č<sup>3</sup>-iʔ-p-uʔ-iʔ-s-ŋ-ʔ/ (continuative)

√/č<sup>3</sup>p̣-/ 'to squeeze, hold between fingers'

(PS) \*čip̣ 'squeeze (shut), pinch'; \*p̣ih, p̣iʔ, p̣i-c 'squeeze, press, grab, push'

/č<sup>3</sup>-a-p̣/ (resultative)

/č<sup>3</sup>-i-p̣/ (continuative)

+ p̣ičət 'squeeze' Cw Ms Ch

p̣ič 'get squeezed, trapped' Sq

p̣ihʔ, p̣aʔ, p̣əh 'grab, seize, get hold of' Sq

kip̣- 'to pinch together' Sh

čep 'to lock a door' Kl

čip̣ 'to pinch' CdA

p̣iyʔ 'squeeze' CdA CDA

/čsayi/ 'belted kingfisher' (Megaceryle alcyon)

+ čəcə́lə 'kingfisher' Cw Ms

čəcə́lə 'kingfisher' Ch

ččəl 'kingfisher' Sq

√/čsə-/ 'to put out, extinguish'

/čsə-/ (descriptive)

/čəs-/ (continuative)

/čsəp-/ 'to reduce in swelling'

/čsəp-/ (descriptive)

/čəsp-/ (continuative)

/čš-/

/čš-u?i-cs/ 'fingernail'

/čš-u?i-sn/ 'toenail'

/č-a?i-š-us-n ~ č-ay-š-us-n/ 'claw'

+ čšáisəs 'fingernail' Sk

√/čtə-/ 'to crawl'

/čtə-/ (descriptive)

/čət-/ (continuative)

/s-čuy?u/ 'stick of wood' (cf. \*/čw/)

+ sčéšt 'stick' Cw

sčéxʸt 'stick' Ms

sčé·xʸt 'stick' Ch

s-cəq 'stick, tree, log, wood' Sq

/ču?a?čaxən/ 'tern' (Sterna hirundo)

\*/čw/ 'to store away'

/č-č-i-kʷ-a??-sn-?/ (descriptive)

/s-xʷ-č-č-i-kʷ-a??-sn-? / 'Winter'

/č-a-??-w-i-?/ 'dish'

+ čé?wi(?) 'dish' Sk

čé?wi? 'dish' Sk

čé?wi? 'dish' Sg Sn Lm

/čx<sup>w</sup>-əc-ən/ 'Hollywood Beach, Port Angeles, Washington'



/ʔe-, ʔey-/

/ʔe-ʔe-ʔʔ-uc ~ ʔe-ʔ-y-uc/ 'river mouth; land on either side  
of a river mouth'

+ ʔi-u-c 'mouth of a river' Sq

/ʔeʔɬx<sup>w</sup>a/ 'Elwha River, Washington'

h

/hac-qʰs/ 'Point-no-Point, Washington'

/has/ 'eyes' < English eyes

/hay-/ 'to build a canoe'

/hay-ʔ-hi-ʔ/(descriptive)

/ha-ʔ-hi-ʔ-hi-ʔ/(continuative)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ayi-ʔ-hi-ʔ/ 'area south of the Lower Elwha Reservation'

/-hay/ 'container'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ti-háy/ 'teapot'

+ -héiə 'container' Sk

/haʔ-/ 'to give thanks, to pray'

/haʔ-haʔ-n-əŋ-ʔ/ (continuative)

? + həhóʔiʔ 'alone' Sk

həháʔiʔ 'alone' Sg Sn

həhóʔiʔ 'alone' Lm

/haʔčaʔ/ 'weathervane scallop' (Pecten caurinus)

/həmʔu/ 'pigeon' (Columba livia)

+ həmʔə 'pigeon' Cw Ms

həmá 'pigeon' Ch

həmʔí 'come' Sq

/həq-/ 'shove, push; move away from shore'

/həq-áʔ/ 'shove, (descriptive)'

/h-a-ʔ-q-a-ʔ-ʔ/ 'shove, (continuative)'

/hə-ʔ-q-ay-ɬ/ 'move away from shore, (descriptive)'  
 /hə-ʔ-q-i-ct/ 'move away from shore, (continuative)'  
 † hiy-q-án 'shove, push' Sq

/həw-/ 'to return something'  
 /hə-ʔ-w-eʔ-/ (continuative)  
 /h-a-w-əŋ-is-tx<sup>w</sup>/ (causative, purposive)

/həʔ-/  
 /həʔ-həʔ-əŋ-ʔ/ 'frog' (Rana catesbeiana)

/hikčəm/ 'handkerchief' < English handkerchief

\*/hs/ 'to sneeze'  
 /h-a-s/ (descriptive)  
 /h-a-ʔ-s/ (continuative)  
 † hes- 'to sneeze' Sk

/huquʔ/ 'Hoko River, Washington'

/huʔpt/ 'deer'  
 † (n-)s-(h)ú-hupit 'rabbit' Sq

\*/hw(y)/ 'finish'  
 (PS) \*həwy, \*hwəy 'cease, finish'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ɬ hu-ʔ-i-n-əx<sup>w</sup>/ 'finished (weaving) it'  
 /ʔiʔ ha-ʔ-k<sup>w</sup>-i-t/ 'weaving it'  
 † hái 'to finish' Sk  
 huɿ 'be finished' Sq  
 wiʔ 'to be finished, to be exhausted' Sh

hói 'to quit doing something' Kl  
 wí 'to finish' Kl  
 hoi 'cease' CdA  
 g<sup>w</sup>ey̌ 'finish' CdA  
 hoy 'stop' CDA  
 g<sup>w</sup>ey̌ 'finish' CDA

/s-k<sup>w</sup>əyə-k<sup>w</sup>-s/ 'murder, (descriptive)'  
 /s-k<sup>w</sup>ay-?-aw-k<sup>w</sup>-s/ 'murder, (continuative)'  
 + k<sup>w</sup>éləws 'murder' Cw Ms  
 k<sup>w</sup>ɔlk<sup>w</sup>éləws 'murder' Ch  
 k<sup>w</sup>ájuc-mix<sup>w</sup> 'to murder' Sq

\*/hw?/ 'front, forward; location, place'  
 /hu?-ak<sup>w</sup>ə?-aw?-ɬ/ 'be in front of something'  
 /hu?-ak<sup>w</sup>-aw?tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'be in front of a house' ~? /hu?-ak<sup>w</sup>-aw?-  
 tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'be in front of something, (causative)'  
 /hu?-ak<sup>w</sup>-ax-ən/ 'front edge'  
 /s-k<sup>w</sup>a?a-t/ 'be in back of something; stern of a canoe'  
 /s-e?-u/ 'bow of a canoe'  
 /nə-həq<sup>w</sup>ə?-əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'my great-great grandparent and -grandchild'  
 + ?ákwəyəq<sup>w</sup> 'great-great-great grandparent or -grand-  
 child' Cw Ms Ch  
 ?aw?t 'be behind, coming after, future' Sq  
 hək<sup>w</sup>-i?áq<sup>w</sup> 'great-great-great grandparent or -grand-  
 child' Sq  
 s-(h)íu? 'upstream region' Sq  
 s-ya?tq 'stern of a boat' Sq  
 ?əwit 'the last, behind' Sh  
 \*é?ut 'to follow, go behind' Kl  
 ig<sup>w</sup> 'set out for' CdA

\*/hy?/

/hiya?/ 'to go'

/hiya?/ (descriptive)

/hi-?-ay?/ (continuative)

/hi?/ 'to fall off'

/hi?/ (descriptive)

/hi?-hi?-/ (continuative)

/s-hi?-i-?ct/ 'river rapids'

\*/h?n/

/hanən?/ 'humpback salmon' (Oncorhynchos gorbuscha)

+ há·n? 'humpback salmon' Cw

hówn? 'humpback salmon' Ms

hów·ləye 'humpback salmon' Ch

/ʔic-/ 'to move away'

/ʔiʔ či-ʔn ʔa ʔic-t/ 'Spring'

/ʔiʔ ʔic-ən/ 'just off shore'

/ʔiʔ/ (relative time/action; clitic)

/ʔiʔ čaʔiʔ/ 'first, (e.g., arrival)'

/ʔiʔ kʷaʔus/ 'last, (e.g., arrival)'

/-iʔč/ 'tree, bush'

/ʔin-/ 'to have an attractive front, (e.g., a shirt)'

/ʔi-ʔin-s/ 'Inis Creek, Washington, ("fine beach frontage" AB)'

/nə-ʔ-ŋuc/ 'my grandchild; sibling's child; first cousin's child'

+ ʔiŋəs 'grandparent, grandchild' Sk

ʔíməθ 'grandchild' Cw Ms

ʔí·məθ 'grandchild' Ch

ʔímac 'grandchild' Sq

ʔimc '(great-)grandchild' Sh

ʔimc-ʔuy 'great-grandchild' Sh

/ʔisayxʷ/ 'tall'

? + s-i-íx-ixas 'big lizard' Sq

/ʔišas/ 'sea lion' (Eumetopias jubata)

/ʔiyam/ 'strong'

/ʔiʔəcəcən/ 'rock cod' (genus Sebastodes)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ʔiʔyis/ 'branch (of a tree)' (cf. /ʔiyam/?)

k

/kapú/ 'coat' < French capote  
+ kapú 'coat' Sk

/kinya-tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'La Push, Washington'

kla'sip 'licorice fern' (Polypodium vulgare)



k<sup>w</sup>

/k<sup>w</sup>ač-/ 'to holler, call someone'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ač-/ (descriptive)  
 /k<sup>w</sup>a-?-k<sup>w</sup>-ə?-č-/ (continuative)  
 /k<sup>w</sup>-i-č-aŋət/ (reflexive)  
 /k<sup>w</sup>a-?-k<sup>w</sup>-i-??-č-a-?-ŋ-t/ 'come when called'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>ay-s/ 'yell (as in broadcasting news)'  
 + k<sup>w</sup>éčəŋ 'yell' Nst  
 wi 'shout' CDA

/k<sup>w</sup>an-/ 'to lose'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>an-/ (descriptive)

/k<sup>w</sup>an-/ 'to dispose of'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>an-əs/ (purposive)  
 /k<sup>w</sup>-ə?-a-??-n-əs/ (continuative)

/k<sup>w</sup>an-/ 'to run'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>an-/ (descriptive)  
 /k<sup>w</sup>a-?-n-e?-/ (continuative)  
 + k<sup>w</sup>ánŋət 'to run' Sk  
 k<sup>w</sup>ónəŋət 'run' Sk Lm  
 k<sup>w</sup>ánəŋət 'run' Sn  
 k<sup>w</sup>ən 'start, begin doing something' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>aq-/ 'to bloom'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>aq-/ (descriptive)  
 /k<sup>w</sup>a-?-q-/ (continuative)  
 /s-k<sup>w</sup>aq-əŋ/ 'flower'  
 + k<sup>w</sup>éq- 'to flower' Sk  
 sk<sup>w</sup>éqəŋ 'flower' Sk Sg Lm

sp'éqəm? 'flower' Cw Ms  
 sp'ε·qəm 'flower' Ch  
 spáqam 'flower' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>aš-/

/k<sup>w</sup>aš-k<sup>w</sup>š/ 'bluebird' (Sialia mexicana)

+ sk<sup>w</sup>íçəc 'bluejay' Cw  
 šx<sup>w</sup>íçəc 'bluejay' Ms  
 k<sup>w</sup>ě·y 'bluejay' Ch

/k<sup>w</sup>ašu/ 'pig' < French cochon

+ k<sup>w</sup>ašú 'pig' Sq  
 k<sup>w</sup>úso 'pig' Sh

/k<sup>w</sup>a-?-k<sup>w</sup>a-?-šu/ 'sowbug' (Porcellio laevis)

/k<sup>w</sup>atx-iřč/ 'dogwood' (Cornus nuttallii)

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'to pour, spill, overturn'

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-?/ 'spill, spilled accidentally'

/k<sup>w</sup>a-?-ař/ (continuative)

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-?-iř/ 'overturned (in a canoe)'

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-?-k<sup>w</sup>i-?/ 'overturning'

+ ?əsk<sup>w</sup>óy?əř 'overturned, spilled' Sk  
 ?əsk<sup>w</sup>ál?əř 'overturned, spilled' Sg  
 sk<sup>w</sup>ál?əř 'overturned, spilled' Sn  
 ?əsk<sup>w</sup>él?əř 'overturned, spilled' Lm  
 k<sup>w</sup>əλ 'pour out' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'be ticking'

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-x-ct/ (inchoative)

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'to be day'

(PS) \*way 'be visible, revealed, public'

/k<sup>w</sup>a-?-č-i/ 'early, ahead of time'

/s-k<sup>w</sup>ač-i/ 'daylight, day, sky'

/k<sup>w</sup>čininəŋ/ 'breakfast time'

?/?aynuk<sup>w</sup>/ 'today'

- + k<sup>w</sup>éči 'to be day' Sk
- k<sup>w</sup>čí? 'daybreak' Sk
- sk<sup>w</sup>éyəl 'day, sky' Cw
- swéyəl 'day, sky' Ms
- swéyəl 'day, sky' Ch
- k<sup>w</sup>ájl 'tomorrow' Sq
- k<sup>w</sup>ák<sup>w</sup>ajl 'dawn' Sq
- k<sup>w</sup>ájlá 'by day' Sq
- ?ui 'enter' Sq
- wey 'be visible, revealed' Sh

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'to hide'

/k<sup>w</sup>ay-i-/ (descriptive)

/k<sup>w</sup>a-?-k<sup>w</sup>i-/ (continuative)

- + k<sup>w</sup>ói 'to hide' Sk
- k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>é?i? 'it's hiding' Sk
- ?əsk<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>i? 'hidden' Sk
- ?əsk<sup>w</sup>é?k<sup>w</sup>əl? 'hidden' Sg
- sk<sup>w</sup>é?k<sup>w</sup>əl? 'hidden' Sn
- k<sup>w</sup>áj-an 'hide' Sq
- k<sup>w</sup>áj-k<sup>w</sup>aj 'play hide and seek'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>a?<sup>ɪ</sup>nɪ/ 'saliva'

/k<sup>w</sup>əm-/

/k<sup>w</sup>əmux<sup>w</sup>/ 'dull, not sharp'

- + mek<sup>w</sup> > m<sup>?</sup>ek<sup>w</sup> 'blunt, dull' Sh

/k<sup>w</sup>əm-/

/k<sup>w</sup>əm-ʔ-x<sup>w</sup>/ 'be skinny'

/s-k<sup>w</sup>-a-ʔ-k<sup>w</sup>əm-ʔ-x<sup>w</sup>/ (nominal)

/k<sup>w</sup>əm-x<sup>w</sup>-eʔ-/ 'getting skinny'

+ ʔəs-k<sup>w</sup>úmʔk<sup>w</sup>umʔč 'skinny' Sq

/s-k<sup>w</sup>ən-əŋ/ 'afterbirth'

/k<sup>w</sup>ən-/

/k<sup>w</sup>ən-k<sup>w</sup>-i-n-sən/ 'hermit crab' (Telmessus cheiragonus)

/k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'to dream'

/k<sup>w</sup>-iʔ-n-əŋət/ (reflexive, descriptive)

/k<sup>w</sup>-əʔ-w-iʔ-əŋət/ (reflexive, continuative)

+ sk<sup>w</sup>əwk<sup>w</sup>in 'cry when possessed' Cw Ms

k<sup>w</sup>énəwst 'harm by contagious magic' Cw Ms

sk<sup>w</sup>əwk<sup>w</sup>í·l 'cry when possessed' Ch

k<sup>w</sup>ələwst 'harm by contagious magic' Ch

ʔuan 'lose mental equilibrium' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>ən-/

/s-k<sup>w</sup>ən-a-ŋ-ʔ/ 'helping power'

/k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'to fight'

/k<sup>w</sup>-i-n-t-i/ (descriptive)

/k<sup>w</sup>-eʔ-w-n-t-i/ (continuative)

/k<sup>w</sup>-i-n-t-i/ 'war canoe'

+ k<sup>w</sup>intəl 'fight' Sg Sn Lm

k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>əntálʔ 'wrestling' Cs Ms

k<sup>w</sup>íntəlʔ 'fight' Cw Ms

k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>əntá·l 'wrestling' Ch

ʔəyá·təl 'fight' Ch

k<sup>w</sup>íntl 'to fight' Sq

/s-k<sup>w</sup>ɔnta<sup>?</sup>y-iǰč/ 'yarrow' (Achillea millefolium)

/k<sup>w</sup>əš-/ 'to fry' (<?/šak<sup>w</sup>-/ [+ inversion])

/š-k<sup>w</sup>əš-n/ 'frying pan'

+ čək<sup>w</sup>xa-n 'to fry' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>əy-/ 'to fly'

/k<sup>w</sup>əy-əŋ-?/ (continuative)

+ k<sup>w</sup>óin<sup>?</sup> 'wing' Sk

√key 'spread wings' Sh

k<sup>w</sup>iǰc 'fly' CDA

//k<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ilu<sup>?</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>/ 'purple shore crab' (Hemigrapsus nudus)

/k<sup>w</sup>cə-/ 'to point at' (cf. /caw/)

/s-k<sup>w</sup>-i-cə-?-qs-ay<sup>?</sup>-s/ 'index finger'

/k<sup>w</sup>č-/ 'to pry open'

/-k<sup>w</sup>-i-č-ay<sup>?</sup>-s-ŋ/ 'adze'

+ k<sup>w</sup>áč- 'pry up' Sq

wtkel 'to pry up' Sh

wič- 'to chop, split' Sh

/s-k<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>ms/ 'pollack' (Pollachius virens)

/s-k<sup>w</sup>imay/ 'dog'

+ sq<sup>w</sup>méy 'dog' Cw Ms

sq<sup>w</sup>omé·y 'dog' Ch

sq<sup>w</sup>máǰ 'dog' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>itšən/ 'spring salmon' (Oncorhynchos gorbuscha)

(PS) \*kəsəw?, \*kəw?s 'spring salmon'

+ k<sup>w</sup>itšn 'spring salmon' Sk

k<sup>w</sup>ú?s 'spring salmon' Sq

kəkəsŵ 'spring salmon' Sh

/k<sup>w</sup>intu?i?/ 'with, along with others'

/k<sup>w</sup>i?uqən?/ 'smokehole'

/k<sup>w</sup>stan?-mx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Eskimo'

/k<sup>w</sup>ulest?u/ 'eulachon' (Thaleicthys pacificus)

/k<sup>w</sup>uyi/ 'soft'

+ qə-qi? 'soft' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>u?ət/ 'cattail' (Typha latifolia)

/s-k<sup>w</sup>u?ik<sup>w</sup>i/ 'whistling badger' (Taxidea taxus)

k<sup>w</sup>✓/k<sup>w</sup>-//k<sup>w</sup>-sən/ 'to trip'/k<sup>w</sup>acin-ən/ 'calling to someone'/k<sup>w</sup>ačan-t-č/ 'mud shark'/s-k<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>/ 'lung'/k<sup>w</sup>as-/ 'be hot'(PS) \*k<sup>w</sup>as 'hot, scorch'+ k<sup>w</sup>és- 'get burned'/k<sup>w</sup>at-ən-?/ 'rat' (genus Rattus)(PS) \*k<sup>w</sup>atan 'mouse'/k<sup>w</sup>-ə?-k<sup>w</sup>at-ən-?/ 'mouse' (genus Rattus)+ k<sup>w</sup>étn 'rat' Skk<sup>w</sup>étən 'rat' Sk Sg Sn Lm

héwt 'rat' Cw Ms Ch

k<sup>w</sup>átan 'mouse' Sqsk<sup>w</sup>átad 'mouse' Pgk<sup>w</sup>εk<sup>w</sup>tn 'mouse' Shk<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>tene? 'mouse' Klk<sup>w</sup>ítän? 'mouse' CdA/s-k<sup>w</sup>atu?/ 'raven' (Corvus corax)/s-k<sup>w</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>atu?/ 'crow' (Corvus brachyrhynchos)/s-k<sup>w</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>atu?-iʔ/ 'blackbird' (Euphagus cyanocephalus)+ sk<sup>w</sup>tó? 'raven' Sk

s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>(ə)k<sup>w</sup>ótə? 'crow' Sk  
 s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>tá? 'raven' Sg Sn  
 s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>atə? 'crow' Sg Sn  
 s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>(ə)tó? 'raven' Lm  
 s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>ótə? 'crow' Lm

/s-k<sup>w</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ac/ 'dogfish shark' (Squalis suckleyi)  
 + k<sup>w</sup>ač<sup>2</sup> 'dogfish' Sq

/k<sup>w</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>2</sup>/ 'brant goose' (Branta bernicla)

/k<sup>w</sup>əč<sup>2</sup>-/  
 /s-k<sup>w</sup>əč<sup>2</sup>-ən/ 'tree bark' (generic)  
 /s-k<sup>w</sup>əč<sup>2</sup>-ŋ-ič<sup>2</sup>/ 'bitter cherry' (Prunus emarginata)

/k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-/  
 /s-k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-am-<sup>2</sup>/ 'axe'  
 + q<sup>w</sup>uq<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup> 'beat, strike' Sq  
 q<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>é-mn 'axe' Sq

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-s-k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-i-ač<sup>2</sup>/ 'quiet'

/k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'to see'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ (descriptive)  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ən-<sup>2</sup>-/ (continuative)  
 + k<sup>w</sup>ənət 'look at it' Sk  
 šx<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ənásŋ 'window, mirror' SK  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ač<sup>2</sup> 'look, catch sight of ' Sq  
 wíkm 'see' Sh  
 wič 'see' Kl  
 q<sup>w</sup>ičt 'see' CdA



/k<sup>2</sup>wəŋ-//s-x<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>wəŋ-ən-?/ 'esophagus'+ šqənx<sup>w</sup>éylə 'throat' Cw Msqəlx<sup>w</sup>élə 'throat' Ch/k<sup>2</sup>wəs-//k<sup>2</sup>wəs-ŋ/ 'hard' (cf. TABLE III)

+ čay 'hard, solid' CDA

/k<sup>2</sup>wəy-/ 'be pregnant'/?əs-k<sup>2</sup>w-a-k<sup>2</sup>wi-?/ (stative)/x-k<sup>2</sup>wəč-ɬ-əŋ-?/ 'give birth'+ ?əsk<sup>2</sup>wé?k<sup>2</sup>wi? 'pregnant' Sk Sgsk<sup>2</sup>wé?k<sup>2</sup>wi? 'pregnant' Sn?əsk<sup>2</sup>wók<sup>2</sup>wi? ~ ?əsk<sup>2</sup>wék<sup>2</sup>wi 'pregnant' Lm

? čáčlm 'give birth' Sq

/k<sup>2</sup>wəy-/(PS) \*k<sup>2</sup>wəy 'grizzly, frosty'/k<sup>2</sup>wəy-əč/ 'grizzly bear' (Ursus horibilis)/?s-k<sup>2</sup>wəy-əx<sup>w</sup>/ 'screech owl' (Otus asio)+ sk<sup>2</sup>wék<sup>2</sup>wi 'hungry' Sk Snk<sup>2</sup>wék<sup>2</sup>wi? 'hungry' Sgk<sup>2</sup>wék<sup>2</sup>wi ~ k<sup>2</sup>wók<sup>2</sup>wi 'hungry' Lms-k<sup>2</sup>wí-?ačn 'grizzly bear' Lmk<sup>2</sup>wi?x<sup>w</sup>m 'screech owl' Sqs-t-k<sup>2</sup>wy-k<sup>2</sup>wey 'silver-tipped grizzly bear' Sh/k<sup>2</sup>wəx<sup>w</sup>ə?ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'ashes'+ k<sup>2</sup>wəx<sup>w</sup>wi?ŋex<sup>w</sup> 'ashes' Skk<sup>2</sup>wəx<sup>w</sup>wəlŋəx<sup>w</sup> 'ashes' Sg Sn Lm

/k<sup>2</sup>wč-/ 'to butcher'

(PS) \*wac 'pry loose, pick out'

/k<sup>2</sup>w-i-č/ (descriptive)

/k<sup>2</sup>w-e?-wəč/ (continuative)

+ k<sup>2</sup>wóč- 'to bend' Sk

k<sup>2</sup>wíč- 'cut for smoking' Sk

wič- 'to chop, split' Sh

čiq<sup>w</sup> 'butcher' CDA

/k<sup>2</sup>wč-/

/k<sup>2</sup>wč-ay-sn-?/ 'walking stick'

+ tč-ač 'walking staff' Sq

tək?-em 'support, prop up' Sh

/k<sup>2</sup>wč-/

/k<sup>2</sup>w-a-č-ač/ 'sand flea' (Culicoides canithorax)

/k<sup>2</sup>w-i-č-ač-aw?-?tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'aboriginal village of the Upper Elwha River' (lit.: flea house)

/s-k<sup>2</sup>wiči/ 'sea egg' (generic)

+ sk<sup>2</sup>wičai? 'sea-eggs' Sq

/k<sup>2</sup>wi?a?e?/ 'yellow-shafted flicker' (Colaptes auratus)

/k<sup>2</sup>wsə-/ 'to count'

/k<sup>2</sup>wsə-/ (descriptive)

/k<sup>2</sup>wsə-/ (continuative)

+ ?əsk<sup>2</sup>wósɬ 'counted' Sk

?əsk<sup>2</sup>wásəɬ 'counted' Sg

sk<sup>2</sup>wásəɬ 'counted' Sn

?əsk<sup>2</sup>wésɬ 'counted' Lm

s<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>š<sup>h</sup>ém 'count' Cw  
 k<sup>h</sup>w<sup>x</sup>ʔ<sup>h</sup>ém 'count' Ms  
 k<sup>h</sup>w<sup>x</sup>ʔ<sup>h</sup>é·m 'count' Ch

/k<sup>h</sup>wu<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>?/ 'skin' (cf. \*/(?<sup>h</sup>)yw/)

(PS) \*k<sup>h</sup>wil 'skin, feather, quill (porcupine)'

/k<sup>h</sup>wiyaq<sup>h</sup>-əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'scalp'

+ k<sup>h</sup>w<sup>k</sup>w<sup>ó</sup>iu 'skins, pelts' Sk

k<sup>h</sup>w<sup>ó</sup>ləw<sup>h</sup>? 'skin' Cw Ms

k<sup>h</sup>wələw 'skin' Ch

k<sup>h</sup>w<sup>l</sup>?á<sup>u</sup>? 'skin' Sq

/laʔhalʔ/ 'to gamble'

/s-lahal/ 'gambling game'

/s-lahal-um ʔac/ 'sand dollar; disk game'

+ sləhélʔ 'hand game' Cw Ms

sləhé·l 'hand game' Ch

sləhéʔlum 'disk game' Cw Ms

sləhé·ləm 'disk game' Ch

sləhíl 'gambling' Sq

Ethno: Disk game was played with three-quarter inch round pieces of polished yew wood. The wood is rolled on its edge; the disk which is rolled in the straightest line wins. Sand dollars were probably used in place of a wooden disk.

/slapuʔ/ 'elephant seal'

Ethno: /slapuʔ/ was the name of a female witch.

/ləmɔtu/ 'sheep' < French le mouton

+ lmtú 'sheep' Sk

/ləplaš/ 'board' < French la planche

+ ləplá·š 'wall lumber' Sk

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-liapona/ 'small chiton (unidentified)'

/ličom/ 'devil' < French le diable

+ liám 'devil' Sq

lyam 'devil' Sh

/ʔ-/ 'to turn (canoe)'  
 /ʔ-eʔ-/ (descriptive)  
 /ʔ-eʔ-e-/ (continuative)  
 /ʔ-eʔ-ŋ-s/ 'turn to the left'

/-ʔ/ (directional ?)

/ʔʔən-/ 'to eat'  
 /ʔ-i-ʔən/ (descriptive)  
 /ʔ-eʔ-ʔən/ (continuative)  
 /s-ʔə-ʔ-i-ʔən ~ s-ʔ-i-ʔən/ 'food'  
 /s-ʔ-i-ʔ-ʔən/ 'saltwater fish'  
 † ʔiʔn 'to eat' Sk  
 ʔíʔən 'eating' Nst  
 ʔóʔtən 'eat' Ms  
 ʔóʔtəl 'eat' Ch  
 s-ʔíʔn 'food' Sq  
 ʔaʔ 'eat' Pg  
 ʔiʔn 'to eat' Sh Kl  
 iʔn 'eat' CdA

/ʔač-/ 'be cold'  
 /ʔa-ʔač-i/ 'cold'  
 ? + ʔač 'dark' Sq  
 c-ʔac 'soaked, all wet' Sh

/ʔakʷ-/ 'to gaff or hook fish'  
 /ʔakʷ-ayu/ (instrumental)  
 † ʔikʷ- 'to hook' Sk  
 ʔəkʷtən 'gaff' (also 'hook on line') Cw Ms

ʔəkʷtəl 'gaff' (also 'hook on line') Ch  
 λikʷ 'get hooked up' Sq  
 λtuḱʷ 'to snap, flip' Sh  
 λäkʷ 'pierce with fine-pointed object, fork, barb,  
 spike' CdA

## /ʔan-/

/s-ʔan-i-??/ 'woman'  
 /s-ʔna-č-uʔiʔ/ 'baby girl'  
 /sʔna-ʔ-č-uyʔ/ 'adolescent girl'  
 /sʔənə-ʔ-č-uʔiʔ/ 'pubescent girl' (cf. TABLE III)  
 /nə-s-ʔan-i-??/ 'my wife'  
 + sʔéniʔ 'woman' Sk  
 sʔənəčóyəʔ 'preteen girl' Sk  
 sʔənəčáləʔ 'preteen girl' Sg  
 sʔənəčáaʔ 'preteen girl' Sn  
 sʔənəčóoʔ 'preteen girl' Lm  
 sʔénəyʔ 'woman' Cw Ms  
 sʔé·li 'woman' Ch  
 /λan, λən(?) 'weave' Sq  
 s-λán-aiʔ 'woman' Sq  
 s-λá-λn-aiʔ 'female' Sq  
 s-λn-iʔ-úll 'young girl' Sq

## /ʔaq-/

/ʔaq-əŋ-ʔ/ 'tasteless, odor'

## /ʔaxʷ-/ 'to spit out something'

+ ʔxʷát 'spit' Cw Ms  
 ʔxʷá·t 'spit' Ch  
 λxʷə-λč 'to spit' Sq

## /s-xʷ-ʔay/ 'doorway'

/təčšən/ 'steelhead trout' (Salmo gairdneri)

? + λač-tn 'knife' Sq  
 λíčʔit 'shear, cut' Sq

/təməx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to rain'

/təməx<sup>w</sup>/ (descriptive)

/təm-ʔ-əx<sup>w</sup>/ (continuative)

/s-təməx<sup>w</sup>/ 'rain'

/s-təyəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'ice'

+ təmʔx<sup>w</sup> 'it's raining' Sk  
 sʔéiʔəx<sup>w</sup> 'ice' Sk  
 səímaʔ 'ice' Cw  
 sʔəməx<sup>w</sup> 'rain' Cw Ms  
 spíwʔ 'ice' Ms  
 pəwéls 'freeze' Ms  
 sʔóm·əx<sup>w</sup> 'rain' Ch  
 spiù 'ice' Ch  
 pəwé·ls 'freeze' Ch  
 lámʔx<sup>w</sup> 'rain' Sq

/təptnʔ/ 'eyelash'

+ təptn 'eyelash' Sk  
 təptən 'eyelash' Cw Ms  
 təptəl 'eyelash' Ch  
 cípl-tn 'eyelashes' Sq  
 cəpλ-úye 'eyelash' Sh

/təqəs/ 'sea lettuce' (Ulva lactuca, U. linza)

/təcuʔ/ 'go toward the beach'

✓/řč-/ 'to cut'

/ř-i-č/ (descriptive)

/řč-eʔ-/ (continuative)

/ř-a-č-ayuʔ/ (instrumental)

+ řčí- 'to cut' Sk

řči- 'be cut, to cut' Sn

říčət 'cut' Sn

řčímən 'comb' Cw Ms

ří·čət 'cut' Cw Ms

řčíməl 'comb' Ch

nič 'cut' CDA

✓/řč-/ 'to tire'

/řč-i-k<sup>w</sup>-s/ (descriptive)

/ř-i-řč-i-k<sup>w</sup>-s/ (continuative)

+ řčík<sup>w</sup>s 'tired' Sk

λč-i<sub>u</sub>s 'be tired' Sq

/řč-/

/ř-iʔ-č-əʔ-č-ən/ 'dentalium shell'

/ř-a-ʔʔ-ř-a-ʔʔ-č-č-ən-əřnř/ 'saw-wheat owl' (Aegolius acadicus)

/řetmnʔ/ 'herring rake'

+ řótəmən 'herring rake' Cw Ms

řétəm 'herring rake' Ch

/řik<sup>w</sup>əntn/ 'suspenders'

/řis-/ 'have scales'

/s-řis/ 'scale (fish)'

/ʔəs-s-řis/ 'scaly'



/s-ʔix<sup>w</sup>iqn<sup>?</sup>/ 'navel'

ʔ + məx<sup>w</sup>əy 'navel' Cw Ms Ch

/ʔix<sup>w</sup>m<sup>?</sup>/ 'be slippery, smooth, slick'

+ ʔotx<sup>w</sup>m 'slippery, shiny' Sq

s-ʔux<sup>w</sup>n 'ice' Sq

lix<sup>w</sup> 'fall down' Sq

ʔεR<sup>w</sup> 'slippery' CDA

ʔiR<sup>w</sup> 'slide' CDA

/ʔk<sup>w</sup>ačən/ 'thin salmon strips cut for smoking'

√/ʔp<sup>?</sup>-/ 'to hang loose'

(PS) \*lap<sup>?</sup> 'hang folded'

/s-ʔ-ay-p<sup>?</sup>/ 'loose'

/s-ʔp<sup>?</sup>-uqt/ 'shirt'

/ʔ-a-ʔ-ʔ-i<sup>?</sup>-p<sup>?</sup>-i<sup>?</sup>-ax-ən/ 'bat' (Lasionycteris noctivagans)

/ʔp<sup>?</sup>-u<sup>?</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ay-s-n-č/ 'eel' (Anguilla rostrata)

+ ʔəlp<sup>?</sup> 'to hang loose' Sg

ʔəp 'cover, clothing' Sq

s-qá<sup>?</sup>p<sup>?</sup>-qa<sup>?</sup>-c-a<sup>?</sup>λ 'bat' Sq

lp<sup>?</sup>úsi<sup>?</sup> 'loose skin, wrinkles' Sq

√lep<sup>?</sup> 'hang doubled up' Sh

p<sup>?</sup>úi 'wrinkled' K1

p<sup>?</sup>uy' 'be wrinkled' CdA

pulk<sup>w</sup> 'fold' CDA

/ʔqayč<sup>?</sup>/ 'moon'

/čaw k<sup>w</sup>ʔ ʔqayč<sup>?</sup>/ 'moonless'

/ne<sup>?</sup> k<sup>w</sup>a ʔqayč<sup>?</sup>/ 'new moon'

/ʔqayč<sup>?</sup>-ŋ-ʔ/ 'moonlight'

+ ʔqéi<sup>?</sup>č 'moon, month' Sk

ʔqé<sup>?</sup>lč 'moon' Cw Ms

ʔqé·lč 'moon' Ch

λqaič 'moon, month' Sq

Ethno: Moon is the elder brother of Sun. Moon provided light; Sun warmth. Sun used to travel at night but it was too cold. He asked his brother, moon, to travel at night. Sun then traveled by day.

In Sq /ʔlqaič/ is the name of an animal which moved along by rolling itself sideways along the hills (Kuipers 1967:336).

/ʔqey-ič/ 'thimbleberry sprouts' (Rubus parviflorus)

/ʔqit/ 'clothes'

/nəma ʔqit/ 'holy clothes worn during Shaker religious services'

+ ʔqit 'blanket' Sk

/ʔqáčs/ 'mother's or father's kin group' (homophonous with /ʔqáčs/ 'five')

+ λqiʔs 'know, be acquainted with, know how to do' Sq

/ʔqət/ '(be) wide'

? /qit/ 'noon'

? /qitininən/ 'lunch time'

+ ʔqət 'wide' Cw Ms

ʔqé·t 'wide' Ch

qit 'morning, early morning' Sq

λəq 'wide, broad, flat' Sq

ʔεq 'wide' CDA

✓/ʔqʷə-/

/s-xʷ-ʔ-iʔ-əqʷ-ŋ-ʔ/ 'cheek'

+ sʔqʷənnəs 'gums' Sk

sɬq<sup>w</sup>éləs 'gums' Cw Ms  
 sɬq<sup>w</sup>émələ 'pulse' Cw Ms  
 sɬq<sup>w</sup>élés 'gums' Ch  
 sɬə<sup>w</sup>é·mələ 'pulse' Ch  
 luq<sup>w</sup>- 'pull out, pluck' Sh

✓/ɬq̣<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to peel something, pull off, pull apart'

(PS) \*λu/aq̣<sup>w</sup> 'peel off, bald'

/ɬ-i-ɬəq̣<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/ɬq̣<sup>w</sup>uʔist/ 'peel fruit'

/ɬuq̣<sup>w</sup>ct/ 'uncover something'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ɬəq̣<sup>w</sup>-ɬq̣<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ 'temple (bodypart)'

+ sɬq̣<sup>w</sup>éŋəx<sup>w</sup>s 'pulse' Sk

ɬəq̣<sup>w</sup> 'pulled apart' Sk

sɬəq̣<sup>w</sup> 'tree bark' Cw

λuq̣<sup>w</sup>, λəq̣<sup>w</sup> 'come off' Sq

c-x-λuq̣<sup>w</sup>-ẉs-q̣n 'bald' Sh

λoq̣<sup>w</sup> 'bald-headed' K1

λaq̣<sup>w</sup> 'skin, pull off' CdA

✓/ɬt-/ 'to dampen'

(PS) \*λi(-t-n) 'sprinkle'

/ɬ-i-t-us-t/ (continuative)

+ ɬal 'sprinkle' CDA

/ɬtəx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to swallow something whole'

/ɬtəx<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)

/ɬətəx<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/ɬtq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to boil'

(PS) \*wəλq<sup>w</sup>, wλəq<sup>w</sup> 'cook, boil'

/ɬ-a-??-t-u-?q<sup>w</sup>/ (continuative)

+ ɬətáq<sup>w</sup>ŋ 'it's boiling' Sk

tətóq<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'boil' Sk Lm

tətáq<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'boil' Sg

/tʰáaʔləqəm/ 'Indian doctor'

+ sʰéləqəm 'a being with supernatural power' Lm

sʰéləqəmʔ 'animal' Cw Ms

sʰeʔələqəm 'animal' Ch

/tʰumʔaqs/ 'limpet' (Nodiolus flabellus)

/tʰupən/ 'spoon'

+ laɸn 'spoon' Sk

láʔəən 'dish' Cw Ms

la·əəl 'dish' Ch

/tʰutayiq/ 'to loose a fish once hooked'

/s-tuʔəŋət/ 'herring' (Clupea pallasii)

+ stáʔəŋət 'herring' Sk

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-tʰa-čn/ 'floor'

+ tʰənaq<sup>w</sup>n 'floor' Sk

tʰsít<sup>n</sup> 'cedar-bark mat' Sk

λxónptn 'floor' Sq

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-tʰawix-t-n/ 'canoe thwart'

+ xʰélwəftən 'thwart' Cw Ms

xʰəxéləwəftəl 'thwart' Ch

/t̥x<sup>w</sup>-/ 'go straight'

/t̥x<sup>w</sup>-ayu<sup>?</sup>/ (instrumental)

s-líx<sup>w</sup>-aĭ-šn 'foot of mountain, valley, area where the  
ground levels off' Sq

/t̥x<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to straighten-up things; tidy-up'

/t̥x<sup>w</sup>ə-/ (descriptive)

/t̥əx<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/s-mačəŋ/ 'striped skunk' (Mephitis mephitis)

(PS) \*s-čipəq 'skunk'

- + spəpəčín 'skunk' Cw Ms
- sčəpəq 'skunk' Ch
- s-məčí? 'skunk' Sq
- sčípəq 'skunk' Sh
- spəpəqλčə 'weasel' Sh

/mak<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to gossip'

(PS) \*maw? 'release'

/ma-?-k<sup>w</sup>-a?-t-ŋ-?/ 'gossip'

/ma-?-k<sup>w</sup>-ma-?-k<sup>w</sup>-anuk<sup>w</sup>/ 'one who is gossiping'

/mak<sup>w</sup>a/ 'graveyard'

- + mék<sup>w</sup>ə? 'grave' Sk
- (s)mék<sup>w</sup>ə? ~ šmək<sup>w</sup>é?yə 'grave, graveyard' Sk
- smék<sup>w</sup>ə?, šmək<sup>w</sup>é?lə 'grave, graveyard' Sg
- mék<sup>w</sup>ə? 'hold funeral potlatch' Sg
- mék<sup>w</sup>ə? ~ mék<sup>w</sup>è?, šməl<sup>w</sup>é?lə 'grave(yard)' Sn
- x<sup>w</sup>mələk<sup>w</sup>é?lə 'graves, graveyard' Lm
- šmək<sup>w</sup>élə 'graveyard' Cw Ms
- šmək<sup>w</sup>é.lə 'graveyard' Ch

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-mał/ 'Esquimalt, British Columbia'

/mam-/ 'be short'

/ma-?-ma-?-m-ən-?/ 'short'

- + ?əmí.məl 'small' Ch
- ? mómí? 'be sinking' Sq

/s-man-uš/ 'tobacco' (Nicotiana tabacum)

† s-menx 'tobacco' Sq

/maḡaʔa/ 'Makah Indians, Neah Bay, Washington'

/maq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'be hurt'

/maq<sup>w</sup>-əʔ/ (durative)

† mək<sup>w</sup>əʔ 'be hurt' Sk

maʔk<sup>w</sup>λ 'get hurt' Sq

/masiʔ/ 'glory' < English mercy

/masiʔ čixaʔis/ 'glory to God (Christ)'

/matuk<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to bubble-up' (cf. /ʔtq<sup>w</sup>-/)

/s-mayəc/ 'elk' (Cervus canadensis)

† smáyəθ 'elk' Cw Ms

sméyəθ 'elk' Ch

/nə-s-maycənʔ/ 'my in-laws after the death of my spouse'

/maʔəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'giant horsetail' (Equisetum telmateia)

/ʔəs-m-ʔ-aʔəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'picking horsetail'

/maʔmiʔx<sup>w</sup>i/ 'dipper' (Cinclus mexicanus)

† míʔtq<sup>w</sup> 'dipper' Sk

ʔ muḡ 'be soaked, submerge' Sq

/maʔyust/ 'possessions of the upper class'

/məc-/ 'be fat'

/s-məc/ 'fat'

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-məc-us-n/ 'put oil on one's face'

/məc-cút/ 'become fat'

+ snás 'fat' Cw Ms

slá·s 'fat' Ch

cum̃ 'too fat' CDA

mεĉ 'greasy' CDA

/mək<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to hook a fish'

/mək<sup>w</sup>-u-t-ŋ/ (action-process)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-mək<sup>w</sup>-us-ŋ-n/ 'cow parsnip' (Heracleum lanatum)

/s-mək<sup>w</sup>-uy?-s/ 'rounded forehead (a forehead which has not been artificially deformed)'

+ mək<sup>w</sup> 'be wrapped up, covered; be lump-shaped' Sq

/məĭ-/ 'to move about (by boat)' (cf. /sx<sup>w</sup>maĭ/?)

/məĭ-ŋ/ 'wake (behind a boat)'

/məq-/ 'be in the mouth'

/məq-/

/ʔəs-məq-u?-s/ 'non-deformed skull'

? + q̣mux<sup>w</sup> 'assume a spherical shape' Sq.

/məšĉu?/ 'mink' (Mustela vison)

? + ciciq̣ən 'mink' Cw

čičiq̣n 'mink' Sq



/məy-/ 'to forget something, (e.g., as name)'

/mi-ʔ-məy-əq/ (descriptive)

/s-mi-ʔ-məy-əq/ 'that which has been forgotten'

† ma<sub>i</sub> 'forget' Sq

√mil, mal 'be mixed up' Sq

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-məʔheʔns/ 'small porpoise' (unidentified)

/maʔməʔk<sup>w</sup>eʔwn/ 'bufflehead duck' (Charitonetta albeola)

/məʔuq<sup>w</sup>/ 'duck' (generic)

† má·q<sup>w</sup> 'duck' Cw Ms Ch

/s-mitali/ 'dice game'

smətəlí 'dice game' Cw Ms

mátəlí 'dice game' Ch

Ethno: The dice were made from beaver teeth in which holes had been drilled.

/s-miʔiʔ/ 'mud'

√/mk<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to pick up; gather things together'

/mk<sup>w</sup>ə-/ (descriptive)

/mək<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

† mək<sup>w</sup>m 'pick up, find things' Sq

√/mq<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to stack things'

/ʔəs-m-a-ǰ<sup>w</sup>-əʔ-eč/ (stative)

/mučču/ 'spring of water'

+ matču? 'spring of water' Sk

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-mut-n/ 'bow'

+ šx<sup>w</sup>?ómtn 'bow' Sk

/muhuy?/ 'basket' (generic)

/muhuy-iřč/ 'material for basket construction'

+ mōhái 'basket' Sk

/musmus/ 'cow' < Chinook Jargon (genus Bos)

+ mú•smus 'cow' Sk

mús-mus 'cow' Sq

/mu?čə?ču?/ 'shrimp' (Pandalus danae)

/-mx<sup>w</sup>/ 'animate, human' (cf. /-ŋx<sup>w</sup>/)

/nat-/ 'be night'  
 /s-nat/ 'night'  
 /ʔəs-nat/ 'night, evening'  
 /t̚əc s-nat/ 'midnight' (< /t̚cə-/ 'to break'/)  
 /čiʔəʔ-q<sup>w</sup>-t̚-nat/ 'monday'  
 /cəŋ-əʔ-s-nat/ 'tuesday'  
 /t̚x<sup>w</sup>-t̚-nat/ 'wednesday' (< /t̚ix<sup>w</sup>/ 'three')  
 /s-ŋus-t̚-nat/ 'thursday' (< /ŋus/ 'four')  
 /t̚q̄-t̚-s-nat/ 'friday' (< /t̚q̄ačš/ 'five')  
 † snét 'night' Sk  
     snét 'night' Cw Ms  
     slé·t 'night' Ch  
     snat 'nocturnal; red' Sq

/naw-/ 'be inside'  
 /s-na-ʔ-u-t̚/ 'inside'  
 /nuwə-cis-n/ 'glove'  
 /nu-ʔ-sən-t-n/ 'trousers'  
 /s-x<sup>w</sup>-nuʔ-us-n/ 'mask'  
 /s-x<sup>w</sup>-nuʔ-us/ 'cloud'  
 † √niuʔ, nəʔ, nuʔ 'be inside, inserted' Sq  
     siu-ai-q 'pants' Sq  
     ʔəs-nʔiu 'be inside, within' Sq  
     nəx<sup>w</sup>-ʔaiʔ-m-ús-tn 'mask' Sq  
     λx<sup>w</sup>-us-tn 'mask' Sh

/nə-s-nax<sup>w</sup>-tən/ 'my spouse's sibling; my sibling's spouse (not of my sex); potential spouse'

† smétəx<sup>w</sup>tən 'spouse's sibling, sibling's spouse' (cross-sex) Cw Ms  
     smétəx<sup>w</sup>təl 'spouse's sibling, sibling's spouse' (cross-sex) Ch

/naʔ-/ 'to be there, be on'

/tʔ naʔ-ač/ 'over there (in reference to being on Vancouver Island, British Columbia)'

+ naʔ 'be on, at' (location, time) Sq

/naʔčaʔ-ŋxʷ/ 'stranger'

✓/nə-/ 'be born' (<? /ʔən-/ [+ inversion])

/n-eʔ kʷa ʔqayč/ 'new moon'

/nəčkʷay/ 'bird (resembling a loon)'

/nə-s-nəč-uʔiʔ/ 'my half-sibling'

+ snəčəwəyəʔ 'half-sibling' Cw Ms

sləčəwəyəʔ 'half-sibling' Ch

s-nčə-uḷ 'half-sibling' Sq

/nəma/ 'holy'

/nəma ʔqit/ 'holy clothes'

Ethno: 'holy clothes' refers to the garments worn during Shaker religious services. The garments are white and if an individual should sin, the 'holy clothes' become spotted.

/nəq ~ nəq̣/ 'to dive'

/nəq̣-/ (descriptive)

/nan-ʔ-q̣-/ (continuative)

/nəq-ən kʷa s-qʷə-qʷay/ 'sunset'

/nəq̣-/ 'be old'

/s-nəq̣-eʔ/ 'old'

/nəq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to fall asleep'

/nəq<sup>w</sup>-n-əŋ/ (descriptive)

- + nək<sup>w</sup>- 'to fall asleep' Sk
- nóq<sup>w</sup>ɬ 'fall asleep' Sk Lm
- náq<sup>w</sup>əɬ 'fall asleep' Sg Sn

/nəq<sup>w</sup>səʔeʔ/ 'gooseneck barnacle' (Pollicipes polymerus)

/s-nəx<sup>w</sup>ɬ/ 'canoe'

- + snóx<sup>w</sup>əɬ 'canoe' (generic) Cw
- sləx<sup>w</sup>əɬ 'canoe' Ch
- s-nəx<sup>w</sup>íλ 'canoe' Sq

√/nəy-/ 'to laugh'

/nəč-/ (descriptive)

/n-əʔ-nəy-/ (continuative)

- + nái-, nəč 'laugh' Sk
- yénən 'laugh' Cw
- náyəm 'laugh' Ms
- layém 'laugh' Ch

\*/nəw/

/n-əʔ-k<sup>w</sup>ə-t-ŋ-ʔ/ 'spirit illness'

ʔ/s-x<sup>w</sup>-naʔmʔ/ 'Indian doctor; "monster"'

/s-nu-ʔ-n-əʔ-k<sup>w</sup>/ 'spirit'

/s-n-a-ʔ-ʔ-n-əʔ-k<sup>w</sup>-ač/ 'person possessing the power to see spirits'

- + šnéʔəm 'shaman, shaman's spirit power' Cw
- šx<sup>w</sup>néʔəm 'shaman, shaman's spirit power' Ms
- šx<sup>w</sup>lé·m 'shaman, shaman's spirit power' Ch
- s-neʔm 'spirit power' Sq

Ethno: "monster" refers to a shaman who demands payment for his services or a shaman who will 'shoot' his power into a victim and then demand payment for removing it (AB).

/nǫ̌ə-/ 'to swallow'

/nǫ̌ə-/ (descriptive)

/nə̌q̌-/ (continuative)

/ʔŋ-/ 'to step'

/ʔ-iʔŋ-/ (descriptive)

/ʔ-a-ʔ-ŋ-í-/ (continuative)

/ʔŋa-/ 'to give'

/ʔ-a-ŋa-/ (descriptive)

/ʔəŋa-/ (continuative)

/ŋak<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to chew'

/ŋak<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)

/ŋa-ʔ-k<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/ŋaqaʔ/ 'snow'

+ méqe 'snow' Cw Ms

mèqe 'snow' Ch

máqaʔ 'snow' Sq

/ŋas-/ 'to anchor'

/ŋa-ʔ-s-a-ʔn-ʔ-t-n/ (nominative)

/ŋa-ʔ-s-a-ʔʔ-n-t/ (continuative)

/ʔəs-ŋa-ʔ-ŋas/ (stative)

? + q<sup>w</sup>sənətən 'anchor' Cw Ms

məséyəltəl 'anchor' Ch

məs 'stick to, adhere' Sq

/ŋaʔaq/ 'lamp, torch'

/ŋəčʔ/ 'pus'

+ məčəʔ 'pus' Cw Ms Ch

/ŋəkʷ-/ 'to wait'

/ŋəkʷ-/ (descriptive)

/ŋa-ʔ-kʷ/ (continuative)

/ŋən-/

/ʔəs-ŋ-a-ʔ-ŋən-uʔi-cs/ 'ring finger'

/ŋənəʔ/ 'child, offspring'

/nə-s-ŋənəʔ-əŋ/ 'my step child'

† ŋənəʔ 'child' Sk

ŋí(?)ŋnəʔ 'child' (status unknown) Sk

mənəʔ 'child, offspring' Sq

/ŋənʔ/ 'many, much'

/ŋəŋəʔ/ 'horse clam' (Tresus nuttalli)

/ŋəqsən/ 'nose'

† ŋəqsən 'nose' Sk

məqsən 'nose' Cw Ms

məqsəl 'nose' Ch

məqsən 'nose' Sq

/s-ŋəʔuʔ/ 'crane'

(PS) \*sməʔwaʔ 'crane'

† sməʔwa 'crane' Cw

(n-)sməʔwaʔ 'crane' Sq

səməʔweʔ 'crane' Kl



/ŋəsxənʔ/ 'louse' (Pediculus humanus capitis)

- + ŋəssn(?) 'louse' Sk
- ŋəssən(?) 'louse' Sk
- ŋəsən 'louse' Sg Lm
- ŋəsənʔ 'louse' Sn
- məšćənʔ 'louse' Cw
- méxʔčənʔ 'louse' Ms

/ŋəsiyuʔ/ 'bark, (e.g., a dog)'

/ŋəweʔ/ 'umbilical cord'

- + məxʔəyə 'navel' Cw
- məxʔ-ia 'navel' Sq

/ŋəx-/ 'to hurry'

/ʔəs-ŋ-a-ʔʔ-əŋəx/ (stative)

/ŋ-a-ʔʔ-x-act/ (inchoative)

- + √cix 'act quickly, hurry' Sq
- xʔən 'hurry' CDA

√/ŋč-/ 'become purple'

/ʔən(əʔ-)ŋ-a-č/ 'purple'

/ŋ-a-č-ayʔ/ 'becoming purple'

/ŋ-a-č-aʔy-aʔ-s/ 'light purple'

/ŋəč-n-əč-ičč/ 'blue huckleberry' (Vaccinium ovalifolium)

/nə-ŋəč-n-əč/ 'my blue huckleberry' (hypocoristic)

√/ŋč-/ 'be wrinkled'

/ʔəs-ŋ-i-ŋ-a-č-əčʔʔ/ 'wrinkled (stative)'

/ŋe-/ 'to invite, name'

/nə-s-ŋe-?/ (descriptive)

/nə-s-ŋe-ŋ-a-??/ (continuative)

+ né- 'to name' Sk

sné 'name' Cw

√ʔəm(e)t 'to call, name, mention' Sh

/ŋeʔet/ 'ruffed grouse' (Dendragapus obscurus)

/s-ŋiyant/ 'rock'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ŋaʔŋənt-uʔ-eč/ 'turtle' (generic)

/s-ŋant-uʔiʔ/ 'gravel'

/s-ŋiʔaŋət/ 'mountain'

+ sŋénət 'rock, mountain' Sk

smént 'stone' Cw Ms

smé·lt 'stone' Ch

s-mant 'stone' Sq

ngklal 'yellow avens' (Geum macrophyllum)

√/ŋq<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to drain, (e.g., a blister, boil)'

/ŋəq<sup>w</sup>-ŋəq<sup>w</sup>-iʔč/ 'grand fir' (Abies grandis)

/-ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'animate, human' (cf. /-mx<sup>w</sup>/)

/pastan/ 'White man' < English Boston

/s-paʔac-iřč/ 'swamp currant' (Ribes lacustre)

+ sp̄e.č̄ 'blue currant, Indian currant' Cw Ms Ch

/paʔecit-ŋ/ 'to slip down'

? + čít- 'slip down' Sk

cəkʷcəkʷ 'low tide' Cw

čiškʷ 'to recede, ebb' Sq

/paʔnanʔxʷ/ 'dig camus'

/s-pəřxənʔ/ 'field, plain, prairie'

+ spəřxən 'prairie' Cw Ms

spəřxəl 'prairie' Ch

? čišm 'place above' Sq

s-pelm 'prairie' Sh

s-pilem 'level land' CdA

/pəq̄-/ 'become white'

(PS) \*paq̄ 'bright, white'

/p-a-ʔʔ-q̄-řč/ 'vine maple' (Acer circinatum)

/p-a-pq̄-eʔ-qən/ 'weasel' (Mustela frenata)

/s-xʷ-pəq̄-iʔ-eqʷ/ 'green sea urchin' (Strongylocentrotus droebachiensis)

/pəq̄-iyanaxʷ/ 'Fall, Autumn'

/pəq̄-uʔi-s/ 'Mount Baker, Washington'

/pəq̄-iʔ/ 'whitish'

/p-a-q̄-ayʔ/ 'becoming white'

- + pəq̣ 'white' Cw Ms Ch
- pəq̣ 'white' Sq
- √piq, peq 'white' Sh
- paq 'to fade, get white' K1
- piq 'white' K1
- pápqałče? 'weasel, ermine' K1
- päq 'white, bleached, silver' CdA
- paq, piq 'white' CDA

/pəšćt/ 'Pysht River, Washington'

/pəx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'be foggy'

/p-a-p-a??-x<sup>w</sup>-əŋ-?/ 'foggy'

/s-pə-?-x<sup>w</sup>-əŋ-?/ 'fog'

/pəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'blonde'

- + péx<sup>w</sup>- 'be foggy' Sk
- spé?x<sup>w</sup>əŋ '(light) fog' Nst
- spé?x<sup>w</sup> 'fog' Cw
- s-pəx<sup>w</sup> 'pale'

/s-pčú?/ 'watertight basket'

- + spčó? 'watertight basket' Sk Lm
- spčá? 'watertight basket' Sg Sn

/peheq̣/ 'nighthawk' (Chordeiles minor)

- + piq̣ 'nighthawk' Cw Ch
- piq̣ 'nighthawk' Sq
- s-piq̣<sup>w</sup> 'nighthawk' Sh

/pipi?ayq̣t/ 'tree fungus (unidentified)'

/pišpš/ 'cat' (Felis domesticus) < Chinook Jargon

/paʔpiš/ 'kitten'

- + pí·špəš 'cat' Sk
- puš 'cat' Sq
- puš-úλλ 'kitten' Sq
- pus 'cat' Sh
- pus 'cat' Kl
- pus 'cat' CdA

/pix<sup>w</sup>-ižč/ 'red huckleberry' (Vaccinium parvifolium)

/nə-pix<sup>w</sup>/ 'my red huckleberry' (hypocoristic)

✓/p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'become brown'

/ʔən(əʔ-)pə<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>/ 'brown'

/p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-aʔč-ay-s/ 'light brown'

/p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-ayʔ/ 'becoming brown; fallen, rotten log'

/p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-əčn/ 'sand, beach'

- + p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>áiʔ 'rotten wood' Sk
- pq<sup>w</sup>əčən 'sand' Sk Sg Sn Lm

✓/p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to smoke'

/pə<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ 'smoke'

/s-p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-əŋ-awʔ-ʔtx<sup>w</sup>/ 'smokehouse'

- + p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ə- 'give forth smoke' Sk
- ʔəspók<sup>w</sup>ʔ 'smoked' Sk
- pə<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əŋʔ 'smoking'
- péʔək<sup>w</sup> 'pipe' Sk Sg
- pə<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'smoking' Sg
- péʔək<sup>w</sup> 'pipe' Sn Lm
- pé<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ət 'smokefish' Lm
- pə<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'smoke, dust is spreading' Lm
- púlam 'to smoke' Sq
- spəʔúλ 'fog, steam'

/puq-řč/ 'devil's club' (Oplopanax horridum)

+ q<sup>w</sup>áʔpəřp 'devil's club' Cw Ms

q<sup>w</sup>á•pəřp 'devil's club' Ch

/pus-/ 'to break out in boils'

/s-pus-əŋ/ 'boil'

+ pás- 'break out in boils' Sk Sn

/put/ 'boat' < English boat

/pux-/ 'to sail'

/pux-ən/ 'sail, (nominal)'

/ʔiʔ ʔəs-pux-ən/ (stative)

/pux<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to blow-up, inflate'

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-pux<sup>w</sup>-t/ (action)

+ pax<sup>w</sup> 'to inflate' Sk

pax<sup>w</sup>n 'sail' Sk

čx<sup>w</sup>é-t-m 'swell' Sq

√puh, pəh 'blow, swell' Sq

puʔ 'to blow' Pg

√pew, puʔ 'to swell' Sh

√pux<sup>w</sup> 'to swell up' Sh

pux<sup>w</sup> 'to blow (at)' Sh

peʔex<sup>w</sup> 'swell' Kl

pux<sup>w</sup> 'blow with mouth' CdA

pig<sup>w</sup> 'swell, breathe' CdA

/p̣ač-iřč/ 'waxberry' (Symphoricarpos albus)

/p̣ak<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to float'

/p̣a-yaʔ-k<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ (descriptive)

/p̣-p̣ak<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ (continuative)

+ p̣ék<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'float' Sk

p̣əp̣ék<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'floating' Sk

p̣əp̣éʔk<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'floating' Sg

p̣əp̣ék<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'floating' Sn

p̣éʔk<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'floating' Lm

p̣ók<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'float' Lm

p̣ək<sup>w</sup>tén 'wood float' Cw

sp̣əp̣ék<sup>w</sup> 'float' Cw Ms

p̣əp̣ék<sup>w</sup> 'float' Ch

√p̣ak<sup>w</sup> 'float' Sq

/p̣awiʔ/ 'flounder' (Platicthys stellatus)

/ʔəs-p̣awəʔweʔ/ 'hunting for flounder'

+ p̣uáiʔ 'black-dotted flounder' Sq

/p̣aʔat/ 'taste something'

/p̣ix<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to boil over'

(PS) \*p̣ər 'overflow'

/p̣ix<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)

/p̣-aʔy-íx<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/p̣q<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to race'

/p̣-a-ʔʔ-q<sup>w</sup>-ř/ (descriptive)

/p̣-a-ʔʔ-w-ʔa-ʔʔ-q<sup>w</sup>-ř/ (continuative)

/p̚q̚ʷ-/ 'to cover with a substance (i.e., powder)

/s-xʷ-p̚-iʔ-q̚ʷ-us-ən ʔə s-k̚ʷ-ɔʔ-k̚ʷatuʔ/ 'mushroom, puffball  
(unidentified)' (lit.: crow's face powder)

/p̚uq̚ʷ-/ 'to foam'

/s-p̚uq̚ʷ-əŋ/ 'foam'

+ sp̚áq̚ʷəm 'foam' Cw Ms

sp̚á·q̚ʷəm 'foam' Ch

p̚úq̚ʷam 'to foam' Sq

sp̚úq̚ʷam 'foam' Sq

/p̚uʔçs/ 'cradle basket'

(PS) \*p̚ač 'hemp, string, Indian rope'

+ p̚áčəs 'basketry cradle' Sk

p̚óčəs 'cradle basket' Sk Lm

p̚áčəs 'cradle basket' Sg

p̚aθəs 'cradle basket' Sn

p̚áçəs 'cradle basket' Cw Ms

p̚á·çəs 'cradle basket' Ch

p̚əʔúçus 'cradle' Sq



/q-/ 'to play'

/q-q-/ (descriptive)

/q-əʔ-x-q-/ (continuative)

/q-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-q-q-a-ʔʔ-s/ 'a dangerous place'

/q-q-i-cən-s-ŋ-t/ 'nightmare'

+ qeys 'have a nightmare' Sh

qéʔis 'to dream' Kl

/qak<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to tire'

/qak<sup>w</sup>-ɬ/ (descriptive)

/q-qak<sup>w</sup>-ɬ/ (continuative)

? + qəc 'fall short, be exhausted' Sq

/qam-/ 'to nurse'

(PS) \*qam 'to nurse'

/s-qam-uʔ/ 'breast; mother's milk'

+ sqəməʔ 'breast' Cw Ms

sqəmə· 'breast' Ch

s-ɬlq<sup>w</sup>imʔ 'bosom' Sq

qʔem 'suck, take the breast' Sh

/qan-/ 'to steal'

/nə-s-qan-ʔ/ (descriptive)

/qa-qan-ʔ/ (continuative)

/qan-ʔ-qan-ʔ/ 'thief'

/s-qan-s/ 'that which has been stolen'

/qən-qən-ʔ čis-iɬč/ 'lady fern' (Athyrium filix femina)

+ qanʔ, qənʔ 'steal, cheat' Sq

/qan-/ 'to swallow'

/ʔəs-qan-ux<sup>w</sup>/ 'one who eats too much'

- + qənax<sup>w</sup> 'throat, neck' Sq
- ʔəs-qənax<sup>w</sup> 'over-eaten' Sq
- qém-n 'swallow' Sq
- q̣m 'to swallow' Sh
- q̣am 'swallow' Kl
- q̣em 'swallow' CdA

/qaqən/ 'housepost'

(PS) \*qaqn '(house)post'

- + qéqn 'housepost' Sk
- qéqən 'housepost' Cw Ms
- qéqəl 'housepost' Ch

/qa<sup>λ</sup>-/ 'to go up-sound'

/qa<sup>λ</sup>-a-??-a-??/ 'up-sound'

- + qa<sup>λ</sup> 'be cloudy' Sq

/s-qawc/ 'potato' (Solanum tuberosum)

(PS) \*s-qawc 'potato'

ʔ/qaʔawəc/ 'basket carried on one's back'

- + sqéus 'potato' Sk
- sqéwθ 'potato' Cw Ms Ch
- sqawc 'potato' Sq
- s-qig<sup>w</sup>c 'potato' CdA

/s-qaxa/ 'dog' (Canis familiaris)

/s-qaxə<sup>?</sup>-e-ʔq<sup>w</sup>/ 'blue dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)

- + sqéxə<sup>?</sup> 'dog' Sk

/qay-əŋ-ʔ/ 'eye'

ʔ/qaʔqayi-xəna/ 'fly' (Musca domestica)

- + qqéiŋ 'eyes' Sk
- qqéiəxnəʔ 'fly' Sk
- qéləm 'eye' Cw Ms
- qélóm 'eye' Ch
- qlúmʔ 'eye' Sq

/qayuk<sup>w</sup>a-tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Indians of Vancouver Island, British Columbia'

/qayx-/ 'to lie'

/qay-a-x/ (descriptive)

/qa-ʔ-y-a-x ~ q-qa-ʔ-yx/ (continuative)

/qayx/ 'lie; liar'

- + qqéiəx 'tell a lie' Sk

/s-qaʔqiʔ-uʔi-cs/ 'little finger'

/qaʔx<sup>w</sup>-iʔč/ 'crabapple' (Pyrus fusca)

- + qəx<sup>w</sup>iʔč 'crabapple tree' Sk
- q<sup>w</sup>uʔúp 'crabapple' Sq

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-s-qaʔy-aʔ/ 'loudly'

/qaʔyəq-iʔč/ 'wild rose' (Rosa nutkana)

- + qélqəʔp 'wild rose' Cw Ms Ch

/qəmana/ 'snail' (generic)

/qəw-/

/s-q-i-qəw-əc/ 'flea' (Ctenocephalides felis)

+ sqəqəwéθ 'rabbit' Cw Ms  
 sqiqəwéc 'rabbit' Ch

/qc-/ 'to stare'

/q-i?-c-i?/ (descriptive)

/q-a-q-i?-c-ay?/ (continuative)

/q-a-q-i-c-ay?/ 'rabbit' (Lepus americanus)

+ sqəqəwéθ 'rabbit' Cw Ms  
 sqiqəwéc 'rabbit' Ch

/qč-/

/q-a-č-s/ 'cedar-bark cloth used for frontal bone deformation'

/ʔə-q-e?-qəč/ 'to tie-up hair'

+ čq<sup>3</sup>wap 'tie up hair in Indian fashion' Sq  
 √qeč 'to weave' Sh  
 qeč 'braid, weave' CdA

/s-qeqs/ 'killdeer' (Charadrius vociferus)

/s-qeʔaw?/ 'beaver' (Castor canadensis)

(PS) \*s-qaláw? 'beaver'

+ sqíʔu? 'beaver' Sk  
 sqəléw? 'beaver' Cw Ms  
 sqəláw 'beaver' Ch  
 sqláu? 'beaver' Sq  
 sqléu? 'beaver' Sh  
 sqaléʔu 'beaver' Kl

/qiyutn/ 'horse' (Equus caballus)

/s-qi<sup>?</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>s/ 'left arm/hand'

+ s<sup>?</sup>ey<sup>?</sup>íw<sup>?</sup>s 'right(side)'

s<sup>?</sup>ey·íus 'right(side)'

/qn-/ 'be angry; to scold'

/q-i<sup>?</sup>-n/ (descriptive)

/q-e<sup>?</sup>-n/ (continuative)

/q-qən-əŋ-t/ 'always angry; mean'

/qǎ-/ 'to tie up'

/q-i-ǎ/ (descriptive)

/q-e<sup>?</sup>-ǎ/ (continuative)

/ʔəs-q-e<sup>?</sup>-y-ǎ/ (stative)

/qt-/ 'measure in a vertical direction'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-qt-ay-eq<sup>w</sup>/ 'top of head'

+ láqt-ai-q<sup>w</sup>-m 'be taller' Sq

/s-quma/ 'ratfish' (Hydrolagus colliei)

/qy-/

/s-q-i<sup>?</sup>-y-ay-ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'tree' (generic)

/s-q-i<sup>?</sup>-q-i<sup>?</sup>-y-ay-ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'forest'

+ sqiéŋəx<sup>w</sup> 'tree' Sk

sqqiéŋəx<sup>w</sup> 'trees' Sk

ǰ

/ǰəçčənt/ 'ribbon seaweed'

/ǰəč-qs/ 'silver salmon' (Oncorhynchos gorbuscha)

/ǰəčǰ-/ 'to squeak'

/ǰ-a-č-i-ǰ-əŋ-?/ (continuative)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ǰəčǰ-əŋ-n-?i-?k<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'flying squirrel' (Glaucomys sabrinus)

/ǰəmayu?/ 'saturday'

/ǰən-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ǰ-a-ǰən-us-ŋ/ 'window'

/ǰəy-/ 'to roll; be spherical'

(PS) \*ǰəlx, ǰlax 'round'; \*ǰlaxən 'stockade'; \*ǰay(-m) 'build a structure, raise tent, camp'

/ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>-ǰay-?-k<sup>w</sup>/ 'round'

/ʔəs-ǰi-?-u?i-s/ 'spherical'

?/s-ǰi-?-a-k<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'knee'

/ǰay-axən/ 'fence'

/ʔi? qa-ǰay-k<sup>w</sup>-sn/ (cf. Figure 9)

+ ǰələxəctən 'stockade' Cw

ǰələxən 'stockade' Ms

ǰələxəl 'stockade' Ch

√ǰi 'tie, knot' Sq

ǰiáxn 'fence, stockade' Sq

ǰiáx 'intestines' Sq

ǰəlǰ 'be wound around' Sq

ǰlaxad 'fence' Pg

√ǰlex 'make a circle' Sh

/q̣əyux̣ən/ 'slug'

/q̣ə?caw?əč/ 'finback whale' (Balaenoptera davidsoni)  
 + sq̣au-íčn 'back fin' Sq

/q̣ac-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-qac-q̣-i-c-?a-?yu/ 'spider' (generic)

/q̣-a?y-ac/ 'starfish' (Asterias rubens)

+ qətqətcála 'spider' Cw Ms

q̣əsq̣əscəl 'spider' Ch

/q̣ač-řč/ 'ironwood' (Holodiscus discolor)

/q̣am-/

/q̣a-?-q̣-e?-am-?/ 'lazy; not ambitious; low class'

+ sq̣əq̣əx 'free person of slave blood' Cw Ms Ch

/q̣am-/ 'be blunt'

/?əs-q̣am-?-qs-ən/ 'blunt'

/q̣anəč/ 'turn (a canoe) to the right'

/q̣aŋ-/

/q̣a-?-ŋ-i?/ 'girl'

/q̣aŋ-əč-u?iř/ 'pubescent female' (cf. TABLE III)

+ q̣é?ŋi? 'female teenager' Sk

q̣éməy? 'adolescent virgin girl' Cw Ms

q̣éməy 'adolescent virgin girl' Ch

q̣ámaĭ 'maiden' Sq

q!aput 'garry oak' (Quercus garryana)

/q̣atinəŋ/ 'area around the spine of a fish'

+ q̣ə́tmənʔ 'fin' Cw Ms

q̣ə́tməl 'fin' Ch

/q̣aʔs-sn/ 'calf (bodypart)'

+ q̣ə́ʔəlšən 'calf' Cw

q̣ə́ʔəlɣən 'calf' Ms

q̣ə́ʔəlɣəl 'calf' Ch

/q̣axʷ-/

/q̣axʷ-iʔ-əŋ/ 'to go west; go down-sound'

/q̣axʷ-aʔ-aʔ-əʔ/ 'down-sound'

/q̣aʔq̣uʔ/ 'skatefish' (Raja ernacea)

+ q̣á-q̣au 'skate' Sq

/nə-xʷ-q̣et/ 'Port Gamble, Washington'

/q̣ex-/ 'become black'

/q̣-i-x-iʔ/ 'becoming black'

/q̣ex-aʔy-ay-s/ 'darkish'

/nə-xʷ-s-q̣ex/ 'Negro'

+ nəqix 'black' Sk

s-q̣íʔx-jaʔuλ 'Negro' Sq

√q̣ʷiy, q̣ʷey > q̣ʷy-q̣ʷiy-t 'black' Sh

q̣ʷai 'black' Kl

q̣ʷed 'be black' CdA



/q̣eʔ/ 'intestine'

+ q̣əq̣éy 'intestine' Cw Ms  
q̣əq̣éy· 'intestine' Ch

/q̣it-/ 'be wide'

(PS) \*laq̣ 'stretch out, wide'; \*q̣it 'hoist up, swing'

/ʔiʔ čaʔiʔ ʔa q̣it/ 'morning'

/čiʔaw ʔa q̣it/ 'afternoon'

/q̣itinənən/ 'lunchtime'

/ʔiʔ q̣ət-uc-ən/ 'off shore'

+ q̣íta 'swing' Cw Ms

q̣í·ta 'swing' Ch

sq̣ét 'split' Cw Ms Ch

qet 'to hoist' Sh

ʔeđ 'split' CDA

/s-q̣ix-ən/ 'east/west sides of a beach village'

/q̣ixʷ/ 'west wind'

+ q̣íxʷ 'west wind' Sk

/s-xʷ-q̣iy-aʔ-iʔ/ 'food box'

/s-q̣iyuʔ/ 'stored food'

/q̣iʔuʔs-ən-ʔ/ 'be left-handed'

/q̣ɬumčən/ 'killer whale' (Orcinus rectipinna)

+ q̣əlɬáləməcən 'killer whale' Cw Ms

q̣əlɬáləməcəl 'killer whale' Ch

✓/ǫpə-/ 'to gather together'  
 /ʔəs-ǫ-a-p-ʔ/ 'group of people'  
 + ǫəp- 'be together' Sk  
 qəms 'be packed together' Sq

/ǫpx<sup>w</sup>-/  
 /s-ǫpx<sup>w</sup>-iʔ-axən-ʔ/ 'elbow'  
 + šqǫá1əətən 'elbow' Ms  
 šqǫá.1əətəl 'elbow' Ch

/ǫuk<sup>w</sup>/ 'digging stick'

/ǫumana/ 'trout' (generic)

/ǫuʔaʔk<sup>w</sup>ays/ 'eyebrow'  
 + ǫiʔəč 'eyebrow' Sk

✓/ǫx-/ 'to dig clams'  
 /ǫx-əyuʔ/ (descriptive)  
 /ǫ-a-x-ayuʔ/ (continuative)  
 /ǫx-əʔ-eʔ-e-ʔʔ/ 'dig clams ("away from home" AB),(descriptive)'  
 /ǫ-a-x-əʔ-eʔ-e-ʔʔ/ 'dig clams (continuative)  
 /s'ǫx-əyuʔ/ 'butter clam' (Saxidomus giganteus)

/ǫy-/ 'to make camp, camp out'  
 /ǫ-iʔ-y-/ (descriptive)  
 /ǫ-eʔ-y-/ (continuative)  
 /s-ǫ-eʔ-i-ŋ-ʔ/ 'camp'

/q<sup>w</sup>aɫč/ 'day smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)  
 k<sup>w</sup>əɫš 'smelt' Sk  
 k<sup>w</sup>ɫə- 'come to shore on waves' Sk

/q<sup>w</sup>an-/ 'to call to'  
 /q<sup>w</sup>ən-í/ 'seagull' (Larus occidentalis)  
 + ǰ<sup>w</sup>əní 'seagull' Cw  
 ǰ<sup>w</sup>əlítəq 'seagull' Ms Ch  
 g<sup>w</sup>enit 'call' CDA

/q<sup>w</sup>aaqq/ 'rockweed' (Fucus vesiculosus)

/q<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'speak'  
 (PS) \*q<sup>w</sup>al 'speak (think)'  
 /q<sup>w</sup>a-?-q<sup>w</sup>i-?/ 'talkative'  
 /s-x<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ay-t-n/ 'voice'  
 /qu-q<sup>w</sup>ač-q<sup>w</sup>a/ 'speaker for the chief of a village'  
 + q<sup>w</sup>əi 'to talk' Sk  
 sq<sup>w</sup>əi 'language' Sk  
 q<sup>w</sup>əl 'voice' Sg Sn Lm  
 q<sup>w</sup>ál 'speak' Cw  
 šq<sup>w</sup>áləwən 'think, mind' Cw  
 q<sup>w</sup>əyl 'speak' Ms  
 šq<sup>w</sup>ələwən 'think, mind' Ms  
 q<sup>w</sup>é·l 'speak' Ch  
 sk<sup>w</sup>ələwəl 'think, mind' Ch  
 sq<sup>w</sup>əltəl 'voice' Ch  
 šq<sup>w</sup>əltən 'voice' Cw Ms  
 /q<sup>w</sup>al, q<sup>w</sup>əl 'think, mind, speak' Sq  
 q<sup>w</sup>el 'to speak, talk' Sq  
 n-q<sup>w</sup>əl-tn 'voice' Sq  
 s-q<sup>w</sup>ál-uan 'mind, heart (spiritual), opinion' Sq

q<sup>w</sup>uq<sup>w</sup>lut 'to talk' Sh  
 q<sup>w</sup>ε<sup>?</sup>é1 'talk together' Sh  
 q<sup>w</sup>e1 'to speak, talk' K1  
 q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>1 'to speak, talk' CdA

/q<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'turn pale'

/q<sup>w</sup>ay/ 'pale, yellow'

/s-q<sup>w</sup>ə-q<sup>w</sup>ay-<sup>?</sup>/ 'sun'

/q<sup>w</sup>ə-<sup>?</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>əy-əŋ/ 'sunshine'

?/q<sup>w</sup>qan/ 'daybreak'

† nəq<sup>w</sup>éy 'yellow, pale' Sk Sg Sn

nəq<sup>w</sup>éy ~ nəq<sup>w</sup>óy 'yellow, pale' Lm

cq<sup>w</sup>ay 'green' Cw Ms

cq<sup>w</sup>a·y 'green' Ch

/q<sup>w</sup>ay<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup>iy<sup>?</sup>/ 'beads'

/q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>ən/ 'mosquito' (Culex pipiens)

† k<sup>w</sup>é<sup>?</sup>n 'mosquito' Sk

q<sup>w</sup>é<sup>?</sup>èn ~ q<sup>w</sup>é<sup>?</sup>ən 'mosquito' Nst

q<sup>w</sup>é<sup>?</sup>εn 'mosquito' Cw Ms

q<sup>w</sup>é·1 'mosquito' Ch

q<sup>w</sup>an<sup>?</sup>ímač 'mosquito' Sq

q<sup>w</sup>εníməqλ 'mosquito' Sh

q<sup>w</sup>əniməqλ 'mosquito' Sh

/s-q<sup>w</sup>əci<sup>?</sup>ye<sup>?</sup>-iřč/ 'western hemlock' (Tsuga heterophylla)

/q<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'to have body hair'

/q<sup>w</sup>-i-n-c-ən/ 'whiskers'

/<sup>?</sup>əs-q<sup>w</sup>-a<sup>?</sup>-n-uc-ən/ 'mustache'

/<sup>?</sup>əs-x<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ən-q<sup>w</sup>-i-n-ən-<sup>?</sup>/ 'beard'

- + k<sup>w</sup>ínsn 'beard' Sk
- q<sup>w</sup>ínəq<sup>w</sup>s 'body hair' Sk
- q<sup>w</sup>íiyəθən 'beard' Cw Ms
- q<sup>w</sup>ínəws 'hairy' Cw Ms
- q<sup>w</sup>íliyəθəl 'beard' Ch
- q<sup>w</sup>í·ləws 'hairy' Ch
- √q<sup>w</sup>in 'be hairy' Sq
- q<sup>w</sup>εp 'hairy' CDA

/q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>ač/ 'tiny helldiver (unidentified)'

/q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to go downriver'

/q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>-i?/ (descriptive)

/q<sup>w</sup>ə-?-q<sup>w</sup>-i?/ (continuative)

/q<sup>w</sup>-a-q<sup>w</sup>/ 'downriver'

/q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>-axən/ 'downriver edge (of a village located on a river)'

- + tx<sup>w</sup>-uú-uúq<sup>w</sup>i 'be going downriver' Sq

/q<sup>w</sup>əs-/ 'to look through; peer in'

/q<sup>w</sup>ə?is/ (continuative)

/s-q<sup>w</sup>asqq/ 'robin' (Turdus migratorius)

- + k<sup>w</sup>ésqq 'robin' Sk
- s<sup>k</sup>wq'q 'robin' Cw Ms Ch
- s-k<sup>w</sup>q-aq 'robin' Sq

/q<sup>w</sup>əxηən/ 'hoof'

/quxηən/ 'deer hoof rattle'

/q<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ə?ays/ 'knife'

✓/q<sup>w</sup>č-/ 'to lock'

/q<sup>w</sup>əč-/ (descriptive)

/q<sup>w</sup>ə-?-u-č/ (continuative)

+ qəp̣ 'close, shut' Sq

/q<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>/ 'move something out of the way'

/q<sup>w</sup>ɬay?/ 'drift log'

+ q<sup>w</sup>ɬói? 'log' Sk

q<sup>w</sup>ɬəi?šn 'shoe' Sk

q<sup>w</sup>ɬéy? 'log' Cw Ms

q<sup>w</sup>ɬé·i 'log' Ch

q<sup>w</sup>əλ 'drift ashore' Sq

/q<sup>w</sup>ɬu?i?/ 'blue camas' (Camassia quamash)

+ q<sup>w</sup>ɬó?i? 'camas' Sk

q<sup>w</sup>ɬá?əl? 'camas' Sg

q<sup>w</sup>ɬá?əl(?) 'camas' Sn

q<sup>w</sup>ɬó?əl(?) 'camas' Lm

q<sup>w</sup>léwe 'wild onion' Sh

/q<sup>w</sup>u-/ 'be with; together with others'

/n-s-q<sup>w</sup>u-šn/ 'my companion'

+ s-q<sup>w</sup>a? 'companion' Sk

s-q<sup>w</sup>u? 'companion, partner' Sq

/q<sup>w</sup>u-/ 'be watery'

/q<sup>w</sup>-ə?-u-y-s/ 'juicy'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>-a?-t-n-?/ 'fruit juice'

/q<sup>w</sup>u-?-q<sup>w</sup>-a-?/ 'small creek'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>u-?-us/ 'tear'

+ q<sup>w</sup>a? 'water' Sk

qá? 'water' Cw Ms  
 šqəqá?qəl 'pond' Cw Ms  
 qá• 'water' Ch  
 šqəqá•qəl 'pond' Ch  
 q<sup>w</sup>u 'water' Sq  
 s-n-q<sup>w</sup>u?us 'tear' Sq

/s-q<sup>w</sup>uŋ-iřč/ 'red alder' (Alnus rubra)

+ sk<sup>w</sup>áŋəřč 'alder' Sk  
 k<sup>w</sup>l-úl-ai 'alder' Sq  
 k<sup>w</sup>le-?éłp 'alder' Sh

/q<sup>w</sup>uy-/ 'to die'

/q<sup>w</sup>u-?-i-?/ 'dying'

+ qáqəy 'dead' Cw  
 qáqəy 'sickness' Ms  
 qá•qəy 'sickness' Ch  
 qáy 'die' Cw Ms  
 qá•y 'die' Ch  
 q<sup>w</sup>ui 'die' Sq

/q<sup>w</sup>u?ačuk<sup>w</sup>it/ 'hide clothing'

q̣ʷ

/q̣ʷačt/ 'dolly varden' (Salvelinus malma)/q̣ʷaḡʷšəčən/ 'barn swallow' (Tyto alba)

- + q̣ʷəḡʷsəcən 'barn swallow' Cw
- q̣ʷəḡʷsícən 'barn swallow' Ms
- q̣ʷsí·cəl 'barn swallow' Ch

/q̣ʷay/ 'thick underbrush'

- + šqəlʔ 'underbrush' Cw Ms
- q̣ʷəl 'be stunted' Sq

/q̣ʷayənʔ/ 'ear'

- + q̣ʷóinʔ 'ear' Sk
- q̣ʷí·nʔ 'ear' Cw Ms
- q̣ʷəwəl 'ear' Ch
- q̣ʷélaʔn 'ear' Sq

/s-q̣ʷayic/ 'slave ("just became a slave" AB)'

/s-q̣ʷ-q̣ʷayic/ 'slave ("slave after quite a while" AB)'

- + q̣ʷčá- 'to die, kill' Sk
- sḡʷóyəθ 'slave' Cw Ms
- sḡʷəyáθ 'slave' Ch
- skʷənkʷén 'captive' Cw Ms
- skʷəlkwál 'captive' Ch
- sḡʷiúc 'slave' Sq

/q̣ʷəč/ 'Queets, Washington'



/s-ǰ<sup>w</sup>əŋ-e?/ 'head'

/s-ǰ<sup>w</sup>əŋ-əs/ 'forehead'

- + sǰ<sup>w</sup>óni? 'head' Sk
- sǰ<sup>w</sup>áni? 'head' Sg Sn
- sǰ<sup>w</sup>óni(?) 'head' Lm
- sǰ<sup>w</sup>óməls 'head' Cw Ms
- sǰ<sup>w</sup>óməls 'head' Ch

/ǰ<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>əyěč/ 'nodding onion' (Allium cernuum)

/ǰ<sup>w</sup>əy-/ 'to roast, barbecue; ripen'

(PS) \*ǰ<sup>w</sup>al 'berry, pick berries'

/ǰ<sup>w</sup>əy-?/ (descriptive)

/ǰ<sup>w</sup>-a?-i-ǰ-/ (continuative)

- + ǰ<sup>w</sup>ói 'to cook' Sk
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>ə?íčp 'ashes' Sk
- ?əsǰ<sup>w</sup>óy?əǰ 'it's cooked' Sk
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>óy 'cooked' Sk
- ?əsǰ<sup>w</sup>á1?əǰ 'it's cooked' Sg
- sǰ<sup>w</sup>óləŋ 'barbecue on a stick' Sg
- sǰ<sup>w</sup>aləǰ 'it's cooked' Sn
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>ól 'barbecued' Sn
- ?əsǰ<sup>w</sup>óləǰ ~ ?əsǰ<sup>w</sup>é1əǰ 'it's cooked' Lm
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>ələŋ 'barbecue' Lm
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>óləm 'barbecue' Cw Ms
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>əl·ém 'barbecue' Ch
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>əl 'ripe, cooked' Sq
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>al 'to be cooked' Pg
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>el 'to roast' Sh
- ǰ<sup>w</sup>el 'cook, burn' CdA

/ǰ<sup>w</sup>əyěš/ 'to dance'

(PS) \*ǰ<sup>w</sup>əy 'rock, shake, sway'; \*ǰ<sup>w</sup>əyilx 'dance'

/ǰ<sup>w</sup>əyěš/ (descriptive)

/q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷi-ʔ-eʔ-əš/ (continuative)  
 /s-q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷəyəš/ (nominal)  
 ?/s-x<sup>w</sup>-q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷəč-xuŋ-ən/ 'cricket' (Gryllus domesticus)  
 † k<sup>w</sup>éix 'shake' Sk  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷiʔíš 'to dance' Sk  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷəyʔíləš 'secular dancing' Cw  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷəyʔíləx<sup>Y</sup> 'secular dancing' Ms  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷəyʔílíx<sup>Y</sup> 'secular dancing' Ch  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷiílš 'dance' Sq  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷiíl<sup>x</sup> 'to dance' (American dances) Sh  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷəyʔəməncut 'dance' (American dances) Kl  
 q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷäyʔ 'bounce, dance' CdA

/q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷčəŋ/ 'root' (generic) (cf. /q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷəč/)

† q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷčəŋ 'root' Sk

/q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷčū-/ 'to beat up'

/q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷuč-/ (descriptive)

/q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷ-əʔ-čū-/ (continuative)

† q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷča- 'beat up' Sk

q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷai̇-q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷái̇ʔəx 'shy, nervous, wild' Sq

/s-q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷiʔyay-ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'trailing wild blackberry' (Rubus ursinus)

/q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷ-q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷuʔəŋʔ/ 'bull kelp' (Nereocystis luetkeana)

† q̣<sup>2</sup>ʷumʔ 'kelp' Sq

/sak<sup>w</sup>-/

/sa<sup>?</sup>-sak<sup>w</sup>-ŋ/ 'speech, language'

/sak<sup>w</sup>q/ 'carrot' (Daucus carota)

+ sék<sup>w</sup>əq 'wild carrot' Sk

šéwəq 'carrot' Cw

x<sup>y</sup>éwəq 'carrot' Ms

x<sup>y</sup>éwáq 'carrot' Ch

šá<sup>u</sup>aq 'carrot' Sq

/saplin/ 'bread, flour' < Chinook Jargon

+ səplín 'bread' Sq

/saq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'sugar' < English sugar

+ sóq<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'sweet' Sk Lm

sáq<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'sweet' Sg

əáq<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'sweet' Sn

šúk<sup>w</sup>a 'sugar' Sq

súk<sup>w</sup>e 'sugar' Sh

/sat-/ 'to lift something'

/s-sat/ (descriptive)

/s-a<sup>?</sup>-at/ (continuative)

/sax-əŋ-<sup>?</sup>/ 'bitter'

+ sox 'bitter, strong' Sq

sá<sup>i</sup>am 'sour, bitter' Sq

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-s-i<sup>?</sup>-say-ŋ-<sup>?</sup>/ 'whale (unidentified)'

/saʔ-saʔnuwaʔ/ 'hermit crab' (Pagurus sp.) (cf. /naw-/)

/saʔsiʔtaʔn-iʔč/ 'western white pine' (Pinus monticola)

/saʔ-sus-ʔ/ 'trail, way'

(PS) \*xwaλ 'trail (door)'

- + saʔ 'door, path' Sk
- soʔ 'way' Sk Lm
- saʔ 'way' Sg Sm
- šéʔ 'trail' Cw
- xʔéʔ 'trail' Ms
- xʔéʔ·ʔ 'trail' Ch
- šuáλ 'trail; door' Sq
- šagʷλ 'road' Pg
- xuxuúéμλ 'trail' Sh
- šuʔšuʷéλ 'road' Kl
- šägʷäl 'road' CdA

/s-xʷ-saʔwn-ay/ 'small box (for food taken on trips)'

/saʔwn/ 'food taken on trips'

/səmxʷ/ 'to stop talking'

/səm-u-xʷ/ (descriptive)

/səm-ʔ-i-xʷ/ (continuative)

- + séməxʷ 'to stop' Sk

/sənakʷ/ 'sleeping companion'

/səntiʔ/ 'sunday' < English sunday

/sətʔ-šən/ 'animal snare'

/nə-səʔčən ~ nə-səʔč-uʔiʔ/ 'my younger sibling'

- + səčálʔʔ 'non-adult younger sibling' Sg Sn  
 səčólʔʔ 'non-adult younger sibling' Lm

sintciqwuxtakēqwa'itc 'self-heal' (Prunella vulgaris)

/nə-siʔ-uʔiʔ/ 'my oldest child'

- + sinʔ 'senior line of children or cousins, elder children' Sq

/siy-/

/siy-qi/ 'heavy'

- + séiʔ 'heavy' Sk

/nə-siyaʔ/ 'my grandparent'

(PS) \*sil(-aʔ) 'grandparent'

/nə-siyaʔ-iʔ/ 'my parent-in-law'

- + sí(?)iəʔ 'grandparent' Sk  
 síʔlə 'grandparent' Cw  
 sí·lə 'grandparent' Ch  
 síʔl 'grandparent' Sq  
 sleʔ 'grandfather' Sh  
 síleʔ 'mother's father' Kl

/siyaʔ-tən/ 'widow, widower'

- + syéʔtən 'widow, widower' Cw Ms  
 syétəl 'widow, widower' Ch  
 sjàʔtn 'widow(er)' Sq

/siyi/ 'soul'

- + šxʷəlí 'soul' Cw Ms  
 šxʷəlí ~ sxʷáyəlɬʷ 'soul' Ch

s-ʔéli 'dream, vision, guardian spirit' Sq  
 s-ʔáǐ-nəx<sup>w</sup> 'life, spirit' Sq  
 šáʔiu 'corpse; lie dead; screech owl; co-wife' Sq

/siʔam ~ siyam/ 'high class; rich'  
 /s-siʔam/ 'village chief'  
 + siʔemʔ 'head-man' Sk  
 siʔémʔ 'upper class person' Cw Ms  
 siyé·m 'upper class person' Ch  
 s-i-ámʔ 'chief' Sq

/siʔatn/ 'hair'  
 + siʔétn 'hair' Sk  
 šeʔitən 'hair' Cw

/siʔyə-iřč/ 'fireweed' (Epilobium angustifolium)

/sk<sup>ʔ</sup>u-/ 'to bathe, swim'  
 /sk<sup>ʔ</sup>u-/ (descriptive)  
 /suk<sup>ʔ</sup>-/ (continuative)  
 + sák<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'take a bath' Sk  
 šəš<sup>ʔ</sup>k<sup>ʔ</sup>ém 'bath' Cw  
 x<sup>y</sup>əx<sup>y</sup>k<sup>ʔ</sup>ém 'bathe' Ms  
 x<sup>y</sup>əx<sup>y</sup>k<sup>ʔ</sup>á·m 'bathe' Ch  
 √šuk<sup>ʔ</sup> 'bathe' Sq  
 uck<sup>w</sup> 'bathe, swim' CDA

snanáqwūłtc 'orange honeysuckle' (Lonicera ciliosa)

/ʔst-/ 'to paddle'  
 /ʔ-i-st/ (descriptive)  
 /ʔ-eʔ-st/ (continuative)

/stə-/ 'to lay down; fall; drop'

/stə-/ (descriptive)

/sət-/ (continuative)

/sutč/ 'east wind'

/suwə-cis-n/ 'ring'

/suy-/ 'to swell'

/suy-/ (descriptive)

/s-ə?-yú-/ (continuative)

/nə-s-x<sup>w</sup>-su<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'my step-parent'

\*/sw/ 'to smell'

/su-s-/ (descriptive)

/su-?-/ (continuative)

/su-ɟ-ən-?/ (nominal)

+ sum<sup>?</sup> 'to smell, give off odor' Sq

su<sup>?</sup> 'to smell something' Kl

swuxklá'ants 'rattlesnake plantain' (Peramium decipiens)

/sɣ<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to wade'

/s-i<sup>?</sup>-ɣ<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)

/s-e<sup>?</sup>-ɣ<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

\*/sy/ 'to be scared'

/s-ə?-si-?-/ (descriptive)

/s-ə?-si-?-si-?-/ (continuative)

- + síʔ- 'be afraid' Sk  
 sóyʔsəyʔ 'fear (be afraid)' Cw Ms  
 sí·sì· 'fear (be afraid)' Ch  
 si-sil-íy̥s 'get scared, become afraid' Sq

/nə-sʔkʷuʔis/ 'my co-parent-in-law'

- + skʷíuas 'co-parent-in-law' Sq  
 s-tä·m-ílgʷäs 'relative' CdA



/s-x<sup>w</sup>-šaʃ/ 'blanket'

/šam/ 'dried berries'

/šaw-/ 'to grow'

/šaw-i?/ (descriptive)

/ša-?-w-i?/ (continuative)

/s-š-i-w-i?/ 'adult' (cf. TABLE III)

/šu-?-u-?-em/ 'bushes' (generic)

+ čís- 'to grow' Sk

šəuaj 'grow' Sq

staw<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>λ 'child(ren)' Sq

twit 'to grow up' Sh

téu 'little' Kl

λtətəwít 'young, unmarried man' Kl

titwít 'youth, young boy' CDA

/šayux<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to steam'

/šayux<sup>w</sup>-/ (descriptive)

/šayu-?-x<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/s-šayux<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ (nominal)

/ša<sup>?</sup>picən<sup>?</sup>/ 'hill with steep slopes'

/ša<sup>?</sup>šu<sup>?</sup>ʔawit<sup>?</sup>/ 'mountain beaver' (Aplodontia rufa)

/šəx<sup>w</sup>a/ 'urine; to urinate (female)'

+ səx<sup>w</sup>a 'urine' Cw Ms Ch

səx<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 'urine' Sq

/šəʔčəʔn/ 'littleneck clam' (Venerupis staminea)

/ščə-/ 'to pull'

/ščə-/ (descriptive)

/šəč-/ (continuative)

+ cák<sup>w</sup>-n 'tug, pull' Sq

ck<sup>w</sup>- 'to pull' Sh

\*ck<sup>w</sup> 'to drag' Kl

cek<sup>w</sup> 'drag, pull' CdA

/ščə-/ 'to club something'

/ščə-/ (descriptive)

/š-i-šəč-/ (continuative)

/šč-a-ʔ-t-n-ʔ/ 'club'

+ ščá- 'to hit with an object' Sk

čitř 'club' Sk

/šepən/ 'knife'

+ šípn 'knife' Sk

šóptən 'knife' Cs

/šiwa/ 'penis; to urinate (male)'

+ šále 'penis' Cw

xʔále 'penis' Ms

xʔéle 'penis' Ch

/šiyč/ 'skin'

/šiy-c/ 'animal flesh'

/siy-ay-i-č/ 'cedar board, wall mat'

+ sʔíitx<sup>w</sup> 'cedar-plank' Sk

šelák<sup>w</sup> 'round' Cw

sfiyəq<sup>w</sup> 'meat' Ch

šič̣ 'be all around' Sq  
 šiʔúkʷ 'round, compact' Sq  
 siṣp̣í 'skin' Sh  
 šəlč̣ 'turn around' Kl  
 sip̣-äyʔ 'be buckskin' CdA  
 šəlč̣ 'circle' CDA

/štə-/ 'to walk'

/štə-/ (descriptive)

/šət-/ (continuative)

t

√/t-/ 'to lean'

/ʔəs-t-iʔ-aʔ-s/ (stative)

/t či/ 'lean it!'

+ √tʌeʔ 'to lean' Sh

čʌeʔ 'to lean against' Kl

√/ʔt-/ 'to sleep'

(PS) \*ʔit 'sleep'

/ʔ-i-t-t/ (descriptive)

/ʔ-e-t-t/ (continuative)

+ ʔít- 'to sleep' Sk

ítət 'sleep' Cw Ms

í·tət 'sleep' Ch

ʔítut 'to sleep' Sq

ítut 'to sleep' Pg

ʔitx, ʔətix 'to sleep' Sh

ʔitš 'to sleep' Kl

it 'sleep' CDA

/s-tac-k<sup>w</sup>-ʔ/ 'lower back'

/s-tci-k<sup>w</sup>-n/ 'upper back'

+ stésk<sup>w</sup>(ə)ʔ 'back' Sk

stésk<sup>w</sup>əʔ 'back' Sg Sn

stéʔsk<sup>w</sup>ʔ 'back' Lm

sʔəqəwəʔ 'back (of body)' Cw Ms Ch

taḷ > s-taḷ-č 'back (of body)' Sq

(s-)taḷ-č 'back (of house), space behind' Sq

/tačsŋʔ/ 'back of head/neck'

+ téčsŋ 'back of neck' Sk

təpsəm 'neck' Cw Ms

təpsəm 'neck' Ch

/talə/ 'money; round object'  
 /s-x<sup>w</sup>-tala-has/ 'eye glasses'  
 † tála 'money' Sk

/t-u-tam-iʔ/ 'lukewarm (water)'

/nə-tan/ 'my mother'  
 † tén 'mother' Sk  
 tén 'mother' Cw Ms  
 tɛ·l 'mother' Ch  
 təhʔ 'mother' Sq

/taŋ-/ 'be evening'  
 /taŋ-ən-ʔ/ 'evening'  
 /tɲiʔnin-əŋ/ 'dinnertime'  
 † tɛŋŋʔ 'evening' Sk  
 tɛŋŋʔ 'evening' Sn  
 ʔtanamtn 'measure, time' Sq  
 ʔtanʔiɯʔ 'disappear; get out of sight' Sq

/s-tayəx<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'pheasant' (Phasianus colchicus)

/s-tay-ŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'plant medicine'  
 † ʔuiʔt 'medicine' Sq

/taʔ-taʔci-ŋux<sup>w</sup>/ 'animal' (generic)

/s-taʔčən/ 'wolf' (Canis lupis)  
 /s-taʔčən-uʔiʔ/ 'coyote' (Canis latrans)  
 † stəqáioʔ 'wolf' Sk  
 stqáyəʔ 'wolf' Cw Ms

stəqàyé 'wolf' Ch  
 mélmstye 'wolf' Sh

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-taʔyiʔ-ayn/ 'square'

/təki/ 'turkey' < English turkey

/təmʔəɬ/ 'ochre, Indian paint'  
 † tóməɬ 'ochre' Cw Ms  
 tóməɬ 'ochre' Ch  
 təmʔilélx<sup>w</sup> 'autumn' Ch  
 təmλ 'red paint' Sq

/təŋ-/ 'to braid hair'  
 /təŋ-s-a-ʔʔ-n-ŋ/ (descriptive)  
 /təŋ-ʔ-təŋ-ʔ-s-n/ (continuative)  
 /ʔəs-təŋ-ʔ-s-n/ (stative)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-təq-təq-m-ʔ/ 'spider'  
 (PS) \*taq 'pin down'  
 † tq 'hold something on something' Sh  
 taq 'touch, cover with hand' CdA

/təq̣-/ 'be hot'  
 /ɬ-a-təq̣-əŋ/ 'hot'

/təq<sup>w</sup>təq<sup>w</sup>/ 'red snapper' (family Lutjanidae) < Chinook Jargon

/s-təq̣<sup>w</sup>/ 'river wind'

\*/təw/

/nə-s-x<sup>w</sup>-tu-nəq/ 'my older sibling'

/nə-s-t-i-k<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'my sibling's child, second cousin'

?/s-tu-?-i-k<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'blood'

+ stík<sup>w</sup>n 'sibling's child' Sk

stíwən 'sibling's child' Cw Ms

stí·wəl 'sibling's child' Ch

s-tunx 'nephew, niece (of male)' Sh

? mítk<sup>w</sup>ye 'blood' Sh

✓/tčə-/ 'to fish with a spear (from land)'

/tčə-/ (descriptive)

/təč-/ (continuative)

/tč-əyu?/ (instrumental)

/təč-i?u?/ 'spear'

+ təčtŋ 'stabbed' Sk

tčən 'spear' Sk

/tčcə-/ 'be near the beach (on land or water)'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-tčc-e?-n-ŋ/ 'Dungeness, Washington'

/s-te?x<sup>w</sup>/ 'spear shaft'

/ti/ 'tea' < English tea

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ti-háy/ 'teapot'

+ šx<sup>w</sup>tihéiə 'teapot' Sk

/tinəqsən/ 'mallard duck' (Anas platyrhynchos platyrhynchos)

+ tənəqsən 'mallard' Cw Ms

təl·éqsəl 'mallard' Ch

tim?áqs-n 'turn around' Sq

/tintən/ 'bell'

- + tín-tin 'to ring' Sq  
 tiŋ<sup>w</sup>-n-s, s-tiŋ<sup>w</sup>-sts 'to turn loose (horses); to ring  
 (a bell)' Sh

/s-tiqiw/ 'horse' (Equus caballus)

- + stəqíu 'horse' Sk  
 s-taqíu 'horse' Sq

/tix<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to spit'

(PS) \*pitx<sup>w</sup>, \*pəx<sup>w</sup> 'to spit'

/tix<sup>w</sup>-ɬc/ 'tongue'

- + tíx<sup>w</sup>səɬ 'tongue' Sk  
 tóx<sup>w</sup>əoɬ 'tongue' Cw Ms Ch  
 péx<sup>w</sup>-n 'spit' Sq  
 məq-álx<sup>w</sup>caλ 'tongue' Sq  
 ptix<sup>w</sup> 'to spit' Sh  
 tíx<sup>w</sup>eʔck 'tongue' Sh  
 tíx<sup>w</sup>cč 'tongue' Kl  
 pitax<sup>w</sup> 'spit' Kl  
 tix<sup>w</sup>cč 'tongue' CdA  
 pitax<sup>w</sup> 'spit' CdA

/tiʔəɬ/ 'name of an aboriginal village on Indian Creek, Washingt-  
 on'

✓/tɬ-/ 'lie down'

/tɬ-us/ 'lie on face'

- + dəɬ 'lie down' CDA

✓/tqə-/ 'to close'

/tqə-/ (descriptive)

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-tqə-/



/tə-ʔ-q-/ (continuative)

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-tə-ʔ-q-/

/ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>-t-a-q-ʔ/ (stative)

- + tqá- 'be closed' Sk
- (n-)qǎə-t 'close, shut' Sq
- təq 'be pinned down' Sq
- təq 'to close' Pg
- tq-em 'to hold in place with the hand' Sh
- tq 'to touch' Kl
- taq 'touch, cover with hand' CdA

✓/tǎ-/ 'to raid'

/tǎ-/ (descriptive)

/tǎ-ʔ/ (durative)

- + téqǎ 'raided' Sk

/tq<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>s-əŋ/ 'packed up'

- + ʔəstóq<sup>w</sup>ǎ 'tightened' Sk
- táq<sup>w</sup>əǎ 'tight' Sg
- stáq<sup>w</sup>əǎ 'tightened' Sn
- tóq<sup>w</sup>ǎ 'tight' Lm

✓/tsə-/ 'to approach, be near'

/ʔəs-t-a-s-ʔ/ (stative)

- + tás 'arrived' Sk
- ʔəstésǎ 'near, having approached' Sk Lm
- ʔəstésəǎ 'near, having approached' Sg
- stésəǎ 'near, having approached' Sn

✓/tšə-/ 'to comb'

/t-ʔ-š-eʔ-k<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ (continuative)

/tš-eʔ-k<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ 'comb'

/tuq̣ʷ-/ 'to cough'

/tuq̣ʷ-/ (descriptive)

/tu-ʔ-q̣ʷ-/ (continuative)

/s-tuʔwiʔ/ 'river'

/s-tu-t-əʔ-wiʔ/ 'creek'

/s-sṭ¹-a-ŋ ʔəʔ s-tuʔwiʔ/ 'waterfall' (cf. /sṭ¹ə-/) )

+ sṭ¹aʔiuʔ 'river' Sk

sṭ¹aʔləwʔ 'river' Cw Ms

sṭ¹aʔtləwʔ 'creek' Cw Ms

sṭ¹a·ləw 'river' Ch

sṭ¹a·tləw 'creek' Ch

s-taqʷ 'water, river' Sq

cwex 'creek' Sh

\*/tw/ 'to buy'

/t-a-kʷ-s/ (descriptive)

/t-əʔ-a-ʔʔ-w-s/ (continuative)

+ tagʷ 'to buy' Pg

tew-m 'to buy' Sh

téu 'to buy' Kl

tegʷ 'buy, reach' CDA

\*/tw/ 'to go across' > /tuyiʔ/ 'going across'

tui 'go across a body of water' Sq

täwš 'go across' CdA

tewš 'go across' CDA

dikʷ 'go across' CDA

/-txʷ/ 'belonging to; coming from'

\*/ty/

/ti-/ 'to be upriver'

/ti-t/ 'upriver'

/ti-t-axən/ 'upriver edge (of a river village)'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ti-t-ay-əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'head of a river'

/tay-/ 'go upriver'

/ta-ʔ-iʔ/ (continuative)

/tač-i/ 'come'

/t̚a-/ 'be flat'

/ʔəs-t̚a-ʔ-t̚/ (stative)

/t̚a-ŋ-ən-ʔ/ 'wall'

/t̚ak<sup>w</sup>-/

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-t̚a-t̚ak<sup>w</sup>-ŋ-ʔ ~ nə-s-x<sup>w</sup>-t̚a-t̚ak<sup>w</sup>-ŋ-ʔ/ 'bee' (generic)

+ t̚étk<sup>w</sup>ŋ 'bee' Sk

/t̚ak<sup>w</sup>i/ 'go across' (cf. \*/ty/)

(PS) \*t̚aǎ 'cross over'

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>-t̚k<sup>w</sup>ay-ən-t̚/ 'Freshwater Bay, Washington'

/t̚-i-ʔ-k<sup>w</sup>ay-s/ 'shellfish that move from place to place'

+ t̚ǎ<sup>w</sup>é·léc 'shortcut on water' Cw

t̚aǎ, t̚əǎ 'across, transverse' Sq

t̚ǎ<sup>w</sup>-aǎǎ 'cut across' Sq

t̚áǎaq-i 'to move (from one place to another)' Sq

ʔs-t-q<sup>w</sup>ic 'to shift, move from place' Sh

/t̚amux<sup>w</sup>-iǎǎ/ 'gooseberry' (Ribes divaricatum)

/t̚an-/ 'be in a row; lined up; be among'

/ʔəs-t̚a-ʔ-n-t̚/ (stative)

/ʔəs-t̚a-ʔ-n-k<sup>w</sup>/ (stative) (< [ʔəs-t̚a-ʔ-ŋ-k<sup>w</sup>]; /n/ > [ŋ])

progressive assimilation in peripherality)

+ t̚án- 'be in line' Sk Sn

t̚anǎíǎǎ 'disappear, get out of sight' Sq

t̚eǎ 'stand in line' CDA

/t̚aŋ-/ 'to flood'

/t̚aŋ-/ (descriptive)

/t̚a-?-ŋ-t̚ŋ-?/ (continuative)

/t̚a-?-ŋ-t̚/ 'rising tide'

+ t̚éŋ- 'submerged; come in (tide)' Sk

/s-t̚aqa?/ 'liver'

/t̚aq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'stuck (in mud)'

/t̚-i-t̚aq<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

/ʔəs-s-t̚-i-t̚aq<sup>w</sup>-i? ~ ʔəs-s-t̚-i-t̚aq<sup>w</sup>-i?-aq<sup>w</sup>-i?/ (stative)

+ t̚aq<sup>w</sup>-t̚íq<sup>w</sup> 'muddy' Sq

t̚ək<sup>w</sup> 'get stuck in the mud' Sq

cpeq̣ '(get) stuck' Sh

s-t̚aq<sup>w</sup>-t̚íq̣<sup>w</sup> 'dirty, muddy (of water)' Sh

čap̣q̣ 'adhere' CdA

/t̚aq<sup>w</sup>əm-ičč/ 'thimbleberry' (Rubus parviflorus)

/nə-t̚aq<sup>w</sup>əm/ 'my thimbleberry, (hypocoristic)'

+ s-t̚áq̣<sup>w</sup>-am 'thimbleberry, redcap' Sq

/t̚aw-/ 'be bright; spotted'

/t̚-i-t̚a-?-w-i/ 'bright'

/t̚a-t̚aw-us-n-?a/ 'star'

/t̚-i-t̚a-yiq/ 'spotted'

+ k<sup>w</sup>ásən 'star' Cw

√tau? 'bright; light' Sq

k<sup>w</sup>úsn 'star' Sq

čúsad 'star' Pg

sə-k<sup>w</sup>usnt 'star' Sh

λk<sup>w</sup>kúšəm 'star' Kl

k<sup>w</sup>εí 'bright, hot' CDA

/tawi?/ 'arm'

- + t'eiu? 'arm' Sk
- t'eləw· 'arm' Cw Ms
- t'eləw· 'arm' Ch
- táxn-tn '(upper) arm' Sq

/t'ayamit/ 'put on something'

/s-t'ayaq/ 'sand cooking'

/t'ayəq-/ 'be drenched; soaking wet'

/t'ayəq-/ (descriptive)

/t-i-?-t'ayəq/ (continuative)

/s-t'ayu?/ 'severe storm'

/t'a?s-/ 'be separated (from a group)'

/t'a?s-e?-/ (descriptive)

/t'a?-t'a?s-/ (continuative)

/təçəmən?/ 'barbecue stake'

(PS) \*tək 'prop up, support'

- + táçə? 'barbecue stake' Cw Ms

/tək<sup>w</sup>i?u?/ 'to dig roots, bulbs'

(<?/tək<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to break', \*/(?y)w/ 'outer surface')

(PS) \*taq<sup>w</sup> 'break'

- + θiq<sup>w</sup>éls 'dig' Cw Ms

θiq<sup>w</sup>é·ls 'dig' Ch

√tak<sup>w</sup>, tək<sup>w</sup> 'dig' Sq

t<sup>k</sup>w-ám-<sub>À</sub>iəx<sup>w</sup> 'root' (generic) Sq

tq-em 'dug up, uncover' Sh

/təm-/ 'be overripe'

/s-t̥-u-təm/ 'overripe'

+ təuʔínʔ 'raw, unripe' Sq

/s-təməč/ 'shag' (Phalacrocorax carbo)

/t̥-a-təm-ʔ/ 'bewicks wren' (Thryomanes bewickii) or

'winter wren' (Troglodytes troglodytes)

/tən-/ 'go toward shore'

/t̥ən-/ (descriptive)

/t̥-e-tən-ʔ/ (continuative)

/təŋsuʔeʔč/ 'lined chiton' (Lepidochitona lineata)

/s-t̥əx/ 'branch of a river'

/təʔqeʔwən/ 'minnow' (Phoxinus phoxinus)

/t̥cə-/ 'to break'

/t̥əc-s-nat/ 'midnight'

+ t̥ós 'broken' Sk

t̥əq̣ʷ 'break' Sq

√cət 'center' Sh

(s-)x-cət-ews 'midnight' Sh

t̥el 'break off' CDA

/ʔəs-xʷ-t̥č-ay-n-ʔ/ 'corner'

/teʔ-/ 'to sing; pray'

/t̃iyəm/ 'to sing, (descriptive)'

/t̃-teʔ-yəm/ 'to sing, (continuative)'

/s-te·yəm/ 'song'

/teʔ-weʔiʔ/ 'pray, (descriptive)'

/t̃-teʔweʔiʔ/ 'pray, (continuative)'

/s-teʔweʔiʔ hawʔtxʷ/ 'church'

/s-teʔweʔiʔ huʔikʷt/ 'prayer clothes'

+ t̃ii- 'sing' Sk

t̃íləm 'sing' Cw Ms

t̃iʔíləm 'sing' Ch

s-ǰəu-an 'song' Sq

√cin 'sing' Sh

/tiq̃us/ 'black bass' (genus Micropterus)

/s-t̃ixʷac/ 'octopus' (Octopus apollyon)

(PS) \*t̃ix 'open up, branch out'

+ st̃olxʷc̃ 'devilfish' Sq

? t̃ox 'open, branch cut' Sq

? t̃ix 'to open, spread out' K1

/t̃iyq̃-iʔč/ 'strawberry' (Fragaria virginiana, F. vesca, F. chiloensis)

/nə-t̃iyuq̃ʷ/ 'my strawberry (hypocoristic)'

+ scíʔyeʔ 'strawberry' Cw Ms

scí·ye 'strawberry' Ch

tq̃ítq̃e 'strawberry' Sh

q̃itq̃am̃ 'strawberry' K1



√/t̥kʷ-/ 'to choke'

/t̥-i-t̥-əʔ-kʷ-ən-ʔ-s/ (continuative)

√/t̥q-/ 'to sharpen'

/t̥q-axən/ 'sharp edge'

/t̥qeʔ-iʔč/ 'salal'

+ t̥éqəʔ 'salalberry' Sk

t̥éqe 'salalberry' Cw Ms

t̥εqə 'salalberry' Ch

t̥aqaʔ 'salalberry' Sq

√/t̥q̄ə-/ 'to land'

/t̥q̄ə-/ (descriptive)

/t̥ə-ʔ-q̄-/ (continuative)

/t̥q̄ə-ŋ-ʔ/ 'airplane'

/t̥ukʷ-/ 'to go home'

/t̥ukʷ-/ (descriptive)

/t̥u-t̥ukʷ-/ (continuative)

+ t̥akʷ 'go home' Sk

t̥ú-t̥ukʷ 'be going home' Sq

/t̥uʔeʔəqʷ/ 'small, white-tipped mussel (unidentified)'

√/ʔ-/ 'to like, want'  
 /s-ʔ-i?/ (descriptive)  
 /s-ʔ-e?/ (continuative)

/ʔac/ 'belly'  
 + λés 'stomach' Sk  
 kʷə1? 'stomach' Sq

/ʔač-/ 'be deep'  
 + xʷλčə́n 'deep soup plate' Sk  
 ? ni?č 'be out in deep water; high sea' Sq

/ʔakʷiq-əŋ/ 'shiny'  
 + \*λúq̄m 'be shiny' Sq

/s-xʷ-ʔalap/ 'cooking pot'

/ʔaɪ-ŋ/ 'salt'  
 /ʔɪa-ɪc/ 'saltwater'  
 /čəq ʔɪa-ɪc/ 'ocean'  
 + ʔɪeɪs 'saltwater' Sk  
 ʔɪéɪsə 'saltwater' Sg Sn  
 ʔɪóɪs 'saltwater' Lm  
 ʔéɪəŋ 'salty' Nst  
 ʔéɪəm 'salt' Cw Ms  
 ʔé·ɪəm Ch  
 ʔáλm 'salt; saltwater' Sq

/s-ʔaməkʷ/ 'salmon roe'

+ s-ʔamkʷ 'salmon eggs preserved for winter use' Sq

/ʔanəq/ 'to potlatch'

/s-ʔa-ʔ-ənəq/ 'potlatch'

/ʔa-ʔ-ʔa-ʔ-ənəq/ 'give a potlatch'

/s-ʔa-ʔ-ənəq-awʔ-ʔtxʷ/ 'potlatch house'

+ ʔéʔnəq 'potlatch' Sk

ʔónəq 'potlatch' Cw

ʔəʔələq 'potlatch' Ch

ʔəʔónəq 'potlatch' Sq

ʔənq-áμ-txʷ 'potlatch house' Sq

/ʔa-ʔapt/ 'butterfly' (generic)

/ʔaǫxən/ 'goose' (Branta canadensis)

+ ʔékʷxən 'goose' Sk Lm

ʔékʷ(ə)xən 'goose' Sg Sn

ʔáμkʷxn 'goose' Sq

/ʔaw/

/s-ʔaw-ən-ʔ/ 'earring'

+ sʔawən 'earring' Sg

səʔúciím 'earring' Sq

/ʔaxʷʔaxʷ/ 'razor clam' (Siliqua patula) < Chinook Jargon

+ ʔəxʷləxʷ 'oyster' Sk

ʔəxʷ-ʔəxʷ 'oyster' Sq

ləxʷ 'hard, strong' Sq

/ʔay-/ 'to add to; again; another'

/kʷa ʔ-iʔ-ay-ʔ/ 'middle age' (cf. TABLE III)

+ λéʔ 'again' Sk

ʔiʔ 'excessive, difficult' Sq

/ʔayq-/ 'to trap, catch'

/ʔay-a-q-sən/ 'spider'

+ λəiq 'get trapped, caught' Sq

/ʔaʔcamʔ/ 'giant horse clam' (Schizothaerus nuttalli)

/ʔaʔem/

/nə-xʷ-s-ʔaʔem/ 'Clallam people'

/ʔaʔeʔəqʷ/ 'pileated woodpecker' (Dryocopus pileatus)

/ʔa-ʔaʔways/ 'Clallam Bay, Washington'

/ʔəc-/ 'to troll'

/ʔəc-u-/ (descriptive)

/ʔ-a-ʔ-c-u-ʔ/ (descriptive)

/ʔə-ʔ-c-u/ (continuative)

/ʔ-a-ʔ-a-ʔ-c-u-ʔ/ (continuative)

/ʔəc-(ə)t-n/ 'fishing line'

/ʔəm-/ 'be well; just right'

/ʔəs-ʔ-u-ʔəm-ʔ/ (stative)

/ʔəŋq-iʔč/ 'yew wood' (Taxus brevifolia)

/ʔəŋq-ič-qs-ən/ 'beak'

✓/λəp-/ 'to cover something'  
 /s-λəp-i?-n-č/ 'bird's tail'  
 + sləp'í?snəč 'tail' Sk  
 š'kəpəysnəc 'tail' Cw  
 s'k'pəl'qən 'feather' Cw Ms  
 k'epət 'cover' Cw Ms Ch  
 š'kəpəl'əc 'tail' Ms  
 s'kəpəl'əc 'tail' Ch  
 s'k'pé'1qəl 'feather' Ch  
 λəp 'cover, clothes' Sq  
 ? č'ep'q 'adhere' CDA

✓/kəq-/ 'be long'  
 /kəq-šn/ 'shoe'  
 /kəq-t/ 'long'  
 + léqt 'long' Sk Sg  
 láqšn 'moccasin' Sk Sg  
 k'eqt 'long' Cw  
 s'kəqšən 'moccasin' Cw  
 s'kəqx'ən 'moccasin' Ms  
 s'kəqx'əl 'moccasin' Ch  
 λaqt 'long (space, time)' Sq

/k'ca?-čn/ 'belt'

✓/k'čə-/ 'disappear, sink'  
 /k'č-i?-/ (descriptive)  
 /k'-a-č-e?-/ (continuative)  
 /k'ač-č-/ 'down'  
 /k'əč/ 'deep'  
 /s-k'č-uc-ən/ 'chin, lower lip'  
 /k'č-a-?a?u-č-/ 'under' (cf. \*/hw?/)

+ s'k'pá?iθən 'lower lip' Cw Ms  
 s'k'páyθəl 'lower lip' Ch

/ʔeǵ-/ 'be nearby'

/ʔ-a-ʔe-ʔ-ǵ-ex<sup>w</sup>/ 'close by'

+ ʔiq 'arrive' Sq

/ʔeʔŋən/ 'tendon'

+ ʔimən 'tendon' Cw Ms

ʔəʔiməl 'tendon' Ch

/ʔiʔ/ 'a high place'

/s-ʔiʔaʔqʔ/ 'low-status child'

+ sʔiʔ(ə)ʔqʔ 'a child of lower status' Sk

sʔiʔqʔ 'child' (preadolescent) Cw Ms

sʔi·ʔqəl 'child' (preadolescent) Ch

/ʔiyaʔčays/ 'wild lily of the valley' (Maianthemum dilatatum)

/s-ʔiʔuʔəm/ 'yellow clam; cockle' (Cardium corbis)

/ʔiʔx<sup>w</sup>(u)yʔs-iʔč/ 'bog cranberry' (Vaccinium oxycoccus)

/ʔk<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to hold, take hold, grab'

/ʔk<sup>w</sup>ə-/ (descriptive)

/ʔək<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

+ ʔk<sup>w</sup>en 'take (hold of)'

/ʔk<sup>w</sup>ict/ 'having an unfulfilled desire'

/ʔk<sup>w</sup>in-/ 'to marry'

/ʔk<sup>w</sup>inʔk<sup>w</sup>ayn/ (?)

/ʔk<sup>w</sup>in-k<sup>w</sup>i/ (?)

✓/ʔk<sup>2</sup>wə-/ 'to extinguish'  
   /ʔk<sup>2</sup>wə-/ (descriptive)  
   /ʔə<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>w-/ (continuative)  
   + λə<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>w 'it's extinguished' Sk

✓/ʔtə-/ 'become green'  
   /?ən(ə?-)ʔtə/ 'green'  
   /ʔtə-ay-s/ 'light green'  
   /ʔtə-ay?/ 'becoming green'  
   + λəs-ʔís 'green, pale' Sq

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ʔpənə?ye?k<sup>w</sup>ən?/ 'detachable spear point'

✓/ʔq-/ 'to drum'  
   /ʔ-a-??-q-u?y-a-??-s-η-?/ 'drumming stick'  
   /s-x<sup>w</sup>-ʔ-a-ʔəq-u?y-a-??-s-n-?/ 'grasshopper' (generic)  
   + λəqt-ʔəqt-šn 'long-legged' Sq

/s-ʔqə?e?/ 'feather, wing'  
   + sʔqé(·)n 'wing' Cw.Ms  
   sʔqé·l 'wing' Ch

✓/ʔq<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to adhere, stick'  
   /ʔ-a-q<sup>w</sup>-ʔq<sup>w</sup>/ 'sticky'  
   /ʔəq<sup>w</sup>-t/ (durative)  
   /?əs-ʔəq<sup>w</sup>-t/ (stative)  
   + λq<sup>w</sup>ə- 'stuck' Sk

/ʔsant/ 'Port Crescent, Washington'

/ʔtə-/

/ʔt-a-??-a-cs/ 'palm of hand'

/ʔtə-sən/ 'foot, sole of foot'

/ʔutaʔ/ 'wooden pan'

/ʔuʔ/ 'bear grass' (Xerophyllum tenax)

/ʔuʔa/ 'small'

/ʔaʔuʔa/ 'tiny'

+ λúλəʔ 'small' Sk

/ʔuʔiqs/ '(storage) box'

/ʔ-i-ʔuy-(ə)qs/ 'Tongue Point, Washington'

+ láioqs 'coffin, box' Sk

/ʔxʷayʔ/ 'chum salmon' (Oncorhynchos keta)

/ʔʔčas/ 'island'

+ λčés 'island' Sk

ʔcés 'island' Ms

ʔcé·s 'island' Ch

skʷcaʔs 'island' Sq

qiltč 'island' CDA



/ʔukʷs/ 'giant chiton' (Cryptochiton stelleri)

/ʔuncəsəq̄/ 'small crab' (Cancer oregonensis)

/ʔut̚-/ 'to stretch something'

/ʔut̚-t̚-/ (descriptive)

/ʔu-ʔut̚-t̚-/ (continuative)

/ʔəs-u-ʔut̚/ (stative)

/ʔuq̄ʷə/ 'sibling, cousin'

(PS) \*ʔuq̄ʷəy 'sibling, cousin'

/nə-s-ʔuq̄ʷə/ 'my sibling, parallel and cross cousin'

+ sáʔsəq̄ʷt 'junior sibling, cousin of a junior line' CwMs

sásəq̄ʷt 'junior sibling, cousin of a junior line' Ch

s-(ʔ)əq̄ʷíʔ-tl 'siblings and cousins' Sq

\*ʔəq̄ʷiʔ 'a brood (?)' Sq

ʔuq̄ʷy 'sibling of same sex' Sh

ʔəq̄ʷi-éʷs 'cousin' Sh

/ʔux̄ʷ-/ 'to go to'

/ʔux̄ʷ-/ (descriptive)

/ʔu-ʔ-x̄ʷ-/ (continuative)

/ʔuʔutxs/ 'canoe'

+ ʔátxs 'canoe with fancy ends' Sk

/ʔuʔuyč/ 'youngest (child)'

/wač̣iʔ/ 'perch' (Perca flavescens)

/s-wač̣p/ 'fire drill'

- + ṣ̌əḷcəp 'fire drill' Cw
- sxʔəḷcəp 'fire drill' Ms
- sxʔəḷcəs 'fire drill' Ch

/nə-s-waʔ-iʔ/ 'my spouse's sibling (of my sex); my sibling's spouse (of my sex)'

- + skʷíʔəwʔ 'spouse's parent; wife's brother' Cw Ms
- skʷíʔəw 'spouse's parent; wife's brother' Ch

/waʔwəʔṣ̌elʔeʔ/ 'helldiver' (Podiceps cristatus)

/wəna<sup>w</sup>/ 'true, real'

- + ʷanáx<sup>w</sup> 'true' Sq
- gwunix<sup>w</sup> 'be true' CdA

/wəq-/ 'to yawn'

/wəq-s/ (descriptive)

/w-i-wəq-s/ (continuative)

- + wéqs 'yawn' Sk
- hehw 'to yawn' Sh

/wəsəy-/ 'to bark'

/wəsəy-əs/ (descriptive)

/w-əʔ-wəsəy-ʔ-s/ (continuative)

- ? + uéxəʔ 'frog' Sn
- wih 'bark' CDA

/swəyʔqəʔ/ 'adult man'

/swi-ʔ-q-uʔiʔ/ 'prepubescent boy' (cf. TABLE III)

/sweʔwəs/ 'teenage boy' (cf. TABLE III)

/nə-sweʔqəʔ/ 'my husband'

- † suiqáʔəʔ 'boy' Sk
- suóiʔqəʔ 'man' Sk
- swéyʔqε 'man' Cw Ms
- swíwʔləs 'teenage boy' Cw Ms
- swéyʔqε 'man' Ch
- swíwʔləs 'teenage boy' Ch
- s-uíʔqa 'man' Sq
- s-uiʔqa-ú1λ 'boy' Sq
- s-uí-uʔ1-us 'youth, young man' Sq
- s-uiʔqa-1ʔ 'become a man' Sq

/nə-s-wičáčʔ/ 'my child'

wū́cinūtc 'cascara' (Rhamnus purshiana)

\*/-(w)yʔ/ 'affectionate diminutive'

/xa-/ 'be sick'

/xa-ɬ/ (durative)

+ xɬé- 'to be ill' Sk

/xáápu?/ 'basket grass (unidentified)'

/xač-/ 'be dry'

(PS) \*kix<sup>w</sup>, x<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup> 'dry'

/xa-ʔ-č-ŋ/ 'dry'

/s-xač-aq<sup>w</sup>/ 'smoked halibut head'

+ xéč- 'be dry' Sk

či<sup>ʔ</sup>x<sup>w</sup> 'dry' Sq

xew-t 'dry' Sh

x<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>m 'to dry' Sh

sx<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>ʔ</sup> 'dried salmon' Sh

xam 'dry' Sl

/s-xana?/ 'leg'

/xanaʔ-sn-?/ (cf. Figure 9)

/nəču xana/ 'one foot (measurement)'

+ sxənəʔ 'foot' Sk

s-xənʔ 'foot, leg' Sq

/s-xak<sup>w</sup>a/ 'fish spine'

+ sxə<sup>ʔ</sup>wə 'fish backbone' Cw Ms

sxəwə 'fish backbone' Ch

/xa-xas-čaye<sup>ʔ</sup>/ 'California quail' (Lophortyx californicus)

/xatup/ 'salmon (unidentified)'

/xa<sup>3</sup>/ 'rough, windy, stormy'

+ xé<sup>3</sup> 'rough, windy, stormy' Nst

xé<sup>3</sup> 'blow hard' Cw Ms

xé·<sup>3</sup> 'blow hard' Ch

/xaw<sup>?</sup>wəs/ 'new'

+ xéw<sup>?</sup>s 'new' Cw Ms

xé·ws 'new' Ch

/xax-/ 'to be in a prone position (on the back)'

/ʔəs-xa-ʔ-x-ʔ/ (stative)

/xay-/ 'be thin'

/x-eʔ-x-eʔ-ay-č/ 'thin'

/x-a-ʔʔ-x-uʔ-eʔ-y-ŋ/ 'shallow'

/s-xayə<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>eč/ 'foothills'

/xayuk<sup>w</sup>s/ 'raccoon' (Procyon lotor)

+ sxáyək<sup>w</sup>əs 'raccoon' Cw

/s-xa<sup>?</sup>anux<sup>w</sup>/ 'bullfrog' (Rana catesbeiana)

+ sxə<sup>?</sup>énəx<sup>w</sup> 'frog' Sk

x<sup>w</sup>ə-x<sup>w</sup>m<sup>?</sup>élu<sup>?</sup>it 'big frog' Sq

/xa<sup>?</sup>ec/ 'magic of changing'

/ʔi<sup>?</sup> xi<sup>?</sup>xa<sup>?</sup>ic sanənəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'Transformer, Great Man'

+ xé<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>s 'Transformer' Sk

xé·ls 'World Changer' Cw Ms

xəxé·ls 'World Changer' Ch  
 s-xáíʔs 'World Changer' Sq

/xaʔiʔɬ(h)acs/ 'mole' (Scapanus townsendi)

/xaʔniʔtiʔ/ 'to growl'

/xənʔxaʔniʔtiʔ/ 'secret society'

+ xînm 'to growl' Sq

/xaʔs-/ 'be bad'

/xaʔs ʔan-əŋ/ 'evil; very bad'

/s-xaʔs čuŋ/ 'north wind'

/xaʔsayqč/ 'bad smell/taste'

+ sxeʔəs 'bad' Sk

/xaʔ-xaiʔyuʔič/ 'chipmunk' (Eutamias townsendi)

+ xəxpícən 'chipmunk' Cw Ms

cicəpyáθəl 'chipmunk' Ch

√/xəč-/ 'be smart, intelligent'

/č-xč-ŋ-n/ 'smart'

+ xəč 'to know' Sk Sn

√xəč 'remember' Sq

/xəna-/ 'do something continually'

/xən-ʔ-a-ɬ/ 'always, all the time'

/ʔuʔ x-a-ʔ-n-ʔ/ 'all, everything'

/xənʔawxʷ-/ 'to say'

/xənʔawxʷ-/ (descriptive)

/xən-ʔa-ʔawxʷ/ (continuative)

/nə-xʷ-xənʔɲinəq/ 'mixing many different things together'

√/xəp̚-/ 'to crack, split, break'

/s-xəp̚-šn/ 'fishtail'

+ sxəp̚šn 'fishtail' Cw

s-xəp̚-šn 'fishtail' Sq

/xəy-/ 'to write'

/xəy-ʔ-əyuʔ/ (instrumental, continuative)

/xəy-ʔ/ 'mark'

+ xəi- 'write' Sk

xəlʔ 'write' Sq

q̄īiemʔ 'write, draw' Sh

/xəʔčəʔčaʔis/ 'ling cod roe'

/s-xcaʔiʔ/ 'hay'

/s-xcaʔyaʔnəqʷ/ 'grass'

+ s-tyéʔ 'hay' Sh

s-tedeʔ 'hay, grass, fodder' CdA

√/xč-/ 'be bashful, ashamed; blush'

/x-i-č-i-ʔ/ 'blush ("awful shame on the face" AB)'

/x-eʔ-č-i-ʔ/ (continuative)

+ √ʔix, ʔəx 'shame' Sq

√čex 'ashamed' Sh

xiw 'shameful' CDA

xič 'strange' CDA

/xčaʔč-řč/ 'western red cedar' (Thuja plicata)

(PS) \*xčay 'log'

/x-aʔy-čač-řč/ 'name of an aboriginal village in the Marine Drive area, Port Angeles, Washington'

/x<sup>3</sup>ci-/ 'to scratch'  
 /x<sup>3</sup>ci-/ (descriptive)  
 /xi<sup>3</sup>c-/ (continuative)  
 /xi-<sup>?</sup>-<sup>3</sup>c-ay-s/ 'climbing' (animal)

/xeč/ 'unripe, green'

/xi-/ 'to scrape'  
 (PS) \*sax 'scrape'  
 /<sup>?</sup>-ix-/ (descriptive)  
 /<sup>?</sup>-a-<sup>?</sup>-xi-/ (continuative)  
 † íxət 'scrape' Cw  
 xáyp̣ət 'scrape' Ms  
 xéyp̣ət 'scrape' Ch

/xiŋʒ/ 'olive shell'

/xix<sup>w</sup>/ 'large sea urchin'

/xi<sup>?</sup>amcən/ 'dying something'

√/xŋ-/ 'to pull (hair)'  
 /x-i<sup>?</sup>-ŋ-a-q<sup>w</sup>/ (descriptive)  
 /x-a-<sup>??</sup>-ŋ-e-<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup>/ (continuative)

/xpay<sup>?</sup>/ 'cut, dried cedar'  
 † xpéy 'red cedar' (as material) Cw Ms  
 xpá•y 'red cedar' (as material) Ch  
 xp-a<sub>̄</sub>i<sup>?</sup> 'cedar' Sq

xuwi<sup>xu</sup>q!a 'red-flowering currant' (Ribes sanguineum)



x<sup>w</sup>/x<sup>w</sup>a-/ 'to dislike'/s-x<sup>w</sup>a-ʔ-t-n/ (descriptive)/s-x<sup>w</sup>a-ʔ-t-n-ʔ/ (continuative)+ x<sup>w</sup>ətínʔ 'dislike' Sk/s-x<sup>w</sup>a-ǫs-ən/ 'sharp point'/x<sup>w</sup>ač-x<sup>w</sup>č/ 'small plant resembling "frog leaves"(?)'/x<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>-/ 'act mischievously, crazily'/s-x<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>-i/ (descriptive)/s-x<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>-i/ (continuative)+ ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>é(?)k<sup>w</sup>təŋ 'drunk' Skʔəsx<sup>w</sup>éʔx<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> 'crazy' S<sub>k</sub>ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>éʔx<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup> 'crazy, silly' S<sub>g</sub>ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>éʔk<sup>w</sup>təŋ 'drunk' S<sub>g</sub>sx<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>təŋ 'he's drunk' S<sub>n</sub>sx<sup>w</sup>éʔx<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup> 'misbehaving' S<sub>n</sub>x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>étəŋ 'gone crazy' S<sub>n</sub>ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>ók<sup>w</sup>təŋ 'drunk' L<sub>m</sub>ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>óʔx<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> 'silly, foolish' L<sub>m</sub>x<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>i 'get drunk' S<sub>q</sub>/x<sup>w</sup>anitəm/ 'White man'+ x<sup>w</sup>ənítm 'White man' Skx<sup>w</sup>ənítəm 'White man' Cw Msx<sup>w</sup>əlítəm 'White man' Chx<sup>w</sup>alítm 'White person' S<sub>q</sub>

/x<sup>w</sup>an-/ 'to rest'

/ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>an-ɬ/ (stative)

/x<sup>w</sup>as-/ 'to shake'

/x<sup>w</sup>-i-s/ (descriptive)

/x<sup>w</sup>-eʔ-s/ (continuative)

/x<sup>w</sup>as-iy-an-ʔux<sup>w</sup>/ 'autumn'

+ heylénx<sup>w</sup> 'autumn' Cw Ms

/x<sup>w</sup>atuk<sup>w</sup>-əŋ/ 'flame'

+ tíʔq<sup>w</sup>m 'flame, spark' Sq

tʔik<sup>w</sup> 'fire' Sh

/s-x<sup>w</sup>aʔs/ 'puberty'

+ x<sup>w</sup>éʔəs 'girl's puberty' Cw

əéəəx<sup>w</sup> 'girl's puberty' Ch Ms

/x<sup>w</sup>awawax<sup>w</sup>aʔ/ 'light (in weight)'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>awəqən/ 'swan' (Cygnus Olor)

+ šx<sup>w</sup>éwʔqən 'swan' Cw Ms

sx<sup>w</sup>éwqəl 'swan' Ch

/x<sup>w</sup>ay-/ 'to taper; become narrow'

/x<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>w</sup>a-ʔ-ɬ/ 'narrow'

/ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>ay-uʔ-əč/ 'narrow base'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>i-ʔ-uc-ən/ 'narrow mouth; tapered; Dry Creek, Washington'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>ay-ʔ-əs/ 'feather duster' (Eudistylia polymorpha)

/nə-x<sup>w</sup>ay-ʔ-s/ 'artificially deformed skull'

/x<sup>w</sup>ayuk<sup>w</sup>n<sup>?</sup>/ 'snore'

- + ?əsx<sup>w</sup>óy<sup>?</sup>əɬ 'awake' Sk
- ?əsx<sup>w</sup>áyəɬ 'awake' Sg
- sx<sup>w</sup>áy(?)əɬ 'awake' Sn
- ?əsx<sup>w</sup>éy<sup>?</sup>əɬ ~ ?əsx<sup>w</sup>ó<sup>?</sup>əɬ 'awake' Lm
- x<sup>w</sup>uq<sup>w</sup>l-əqs 'to snore' Sh
- hər 'snore' CDA

/s-x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>auk<sup>w</sup>t/ 'loon' (Gavia immer elasson)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>xən<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>am/ 'insects' (generic)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>č/ 'snake' (generic)

/x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>əš/ 'hermit thrush' (Hylocichla guttata)

/x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>tč<sup>i</sup>?i<sup>?</sup>/ 'hummingbird' (Selasphorus rufus)

- + tič-tič.nís 'hummingbird' Sq
- \*x<sup>w</sup>éne > x<sup>w</sup>éx<sup>w</sup>ne 'hummingbird' Sh
- λx<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>əńí 'hummingbird' Kl

/x<sup>w</sup>əm-/ 'to be hungry'

/x<sup>w</sup>əm-/ (descriptive)

/x<sup>w</sup>-ə<sup>?</sup>-əm/ (continuative)

- + x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>-ús 'be very hungry' Sq

/s-x<sup>w</sup>əŋčaytn<sup>?</sup>/ 'brain'

- + šməčqn 'brain' Sk
- s-məč-alqn 'brain' Sq
- s-čm-qin 'brain' Sh

/x<sup>w</sup>əŋx<sup>w</sup>/ 'group of related people'  
 /s<sup>?</sup>-x<sup>w</sup>əŋx<sup>w</sup>-aw<sup>?</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'long-house'  
 + ʔux<sup>w</sup>umix<sup>w</sup> 'village (houses and inhabitants)' Sq

/s-x<sup>w</sup>əyən<sup>?</sup>/ 'side of head'  
 + sxa<sup>?</sup>yəs 'head' Cw Ms  
 sxay·əs 'head' Ch

/s-x<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>ʔəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'jellyfish' (class Scyphozoa)

√/x<sup>w</sup>č-/ 'to stop, forbid, prevent'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>-a-č/ (descriptive)  
 /x<sup>w</sup>-ə<sup>?</sup>-x<sup>w</sup>č/ (continuative)  
 + x<sup>w</sup>éč 'stop raining' Sk Sg Lm  
 x<sup>w</sup>éč-sən 'stop raining' Sn  
 x<sup>w</sup>ač 'stop raining' Sq  
 čεx<sup>w</sup> 'stop pursuing' CDA

√/x<sup>w</sup>čə-/ 'to stagger, stumble'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>čə-/ (descriptive)  
 /x<sup>w</sup>əč-: x<sup>w</sup>č-x<sup>w</sup>-a-č-/ (continuative)  
 /ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>əč-i<sup>?</sup>-s/ (stative)  
 + √səc 'to lie, lie down' Sh

√/x<sup>w</sup>č-/ 'be between'  
 /ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>-a-ʔ-č-ʔ-/ (stative)  
 + x<sup>w</sup>əčší<sup>?</sup> 'interspace, space between' Sq

/x<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>ləm/ 'rope'  
 + x<sup>w</sup>í<sup>?</sup>lm(?) 'rope' Sk  
 x<sup>w</sup>éy<sup>?</sup>ləm<sup>?</sup> 'rope' Cw Ms  
 x<sup>w</sup>éy·ləm 'rope' Ch  
 x<sup>w</sup>íl<sup>?</sup>m 'rope' Sq

/x<sup>w</sup>iq<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'woman's kerchief'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>ǰ</sup>i/ 'mountain sheep'

/x<sup>w</sup>iy-/ 'to go down'

/x<sup>w</sup>iy-/ (descriptive)

/x<sup>w</sup>-e<sup>?</sup>-e<sup>?</sup>-y-/ (continuative)

+ yux<sup>w</sup> 'descend' Sh

/s-x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>xayu<sup>?</sup>ačín/ 'lizard' (generic)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ye<sup>?</sup>-iǰč/ 'willow' (Salix sitchensis)

+ x<sup>w</sup>éle<sup>?</sup>ε<sup>?</sup>ǰp 'willow' Cw Ms

· x<sup>w</sup>εlé·ǰp 'willow' Ch

√/x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to fade; lose color'

/ʔən(ə<sup>?</sup>-)x<sup>w</sup>-i-k<sup>w</sup>/ 'gray'

/x<sup>w</sup>-i-k<sup>w</sup>-i<sup>?</sup>/ 'becoming gray'

/ʔənə<sup>?</sup>-x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-ays/ 'grayish'

+ x<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-x<sup>w</sup>ík<sup>w</sup> 'grey' Sq

√/x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ə-/ 'to drag'

/x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ə-/ (descriptive)

/x<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-/ (continuative)

+ ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ók<sup>w</sup>ǰ ' (all) pulled (up already)' Sk

ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ák<sup>w</sup>ǰ ' (all) pulled (up already)' Sg

ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ák<sup>w</sup>ǰ ' (all) pulled (up already)' Sn

ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ók<sup>w</sup>ǰ ' (all) pulled (up already)' Lm

x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ət 'pull' Nst

x<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>-n 'pull, drag' Sq

✓/x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to poke'

(PS) \*λu? 'touch, poke, wound'

/x<sup>w</sup>-u-k<sup>w</sup>-ən-?/ 'needle (for weaving)'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-c-i-t-n-?/ 'fork'

+ čεk<sup>w</sup> 'poke' CDA

✓/x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to cover something'

/x<sup>w</sup>-i-k<sup>w</sup>-c-n/ (descriptive)

/x<sup>w</sup>-i-?-k<sup>w</sup>-c-t/ (continuative)

✓/x<sup>w</sup>n-/ 'to curse'

/x<sup>w</sup>-a-x<sup>w</sup>ən-i-t-i?/ (descriptive)

/x<sup>w</sup>-a-?-x<sup>w</sup>ən-i-t-i?/ (continuative)

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-a-x<sup>w</sup>ən-?/ 'one who curses continually'

?/s-x<sup>w</sup>-i-n-x<sup>w</sup>n/ 'scallop' (Pecten caurinus; Chlamys hericia;  
Hinnites giganteus)

/x<sup>w</sup>pč-/ 'to spawn'

/x<sup>w</sup>p-a-č-əŋ/ 'spawning salmon'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>pč/ 'old salmon; old man (as a derogatory term of reference)'

✓/x<sup>w</sup>t-/ 'to jump'

/x<sup>w</sup>-i-t/ (descriptive)

/x<sup>w</sup>-e?-t/ (continuative)

/x<sup>w</sup>təq/ 'fell through'

+ x<sup>w</sup>tó- 'fall' Sk

/s-x<sup>w</sup>utməc/ 'marten' (Martes americana)

/x<sup>w</sup>uŋ-ən-ʔ/ 'neck'  
 † x<sup>w</sup>áŋn 'throat' .Sk

/x<sup>w</sup>uy-/ 'to sell'  
 /s-x<sup>w</sup>uy-əm/ (descriptive)  
 /sʔx<sup>w</sup>u-ʔ-y-əm/ (continuative)

/x<sup>w</sup>uʔuq̣<sup>w</sup>/ 'merganser duck' (Mergus merganser)  
 † x<sup>w</sup>a•q̣<sup>w</sup> 'sawbill' Cw  
 x<sup>w</sup>uhq̣<sup>w</sup> 'loon' Sq

/x<sup>w</sup>y-/ 'to wrap' (cf. /yx<sup>w</sup>-/)  
 /ʔəs-x<sup>w</sup>-a-y-q/ (stative)

x<sup>w</sup>√/x<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to weave'/x<sup>w</sup>-uc-n-?/ (descriptive)/x<sup>w</sup>-a-?-x<sup>w</sup>-uc-n-?/ (continuative)/s-x<sup>w</sup>-ayu?/ 'net'+ s<sub>x</sub><sup>w</sup>óyǝ? 'reef net' Sks<sub>x</sub><sup>w</sup>áǝ? 'reef net' Sg Sns<sub>x</sub><sup>w</sup>ólǝ? 'reef net' Lm

swǝltǝn 'net' (generic) Cw Ms

swǝltǝl 'net' (generic) Ch

√/x<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to leak'/x<sup>w</sup>-i-x<sup>w</sup>/ (descriptive)/x<sup>w</sup>-e?-x<sup>w</sup>/ (continuative)/s-x<sup>w</sup>asǝm-iǝč/ 'soapberry' (Shepherdia canadensis)(PS) \*x<sup>w</sup>us 'to foam'+ s<sub>x</sub><sup>w</sup>ésǝm 'soapberry' Nsts<sub>x</sub><sup>w</sup>ésǝm 'soapberry' Cw Mss<sub>x</sub><sup>w</sup>ǝwsǝm 'soapberry' Chx<sup>w</sup>ǝs 'be fat' Sqx<sup>w</sup>ús-um 'prepare soapberries' Sqsx<sup>w</sup>asb 'soapberry' Pg√x<sup>w</sup>us 'foam' Shs-x<sup>w</sup>úsǝm 'soapberry' CdA/s-x<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>un?/ 'rufous-sided towhee' (Pipilo erythrophthalmus)/s-x<sup>w</sup>a?i/ 'night toilet'



/x̣<sup>w</sup>əčt/ 'bullhead (unidentified)'

+ ṣx̣<sup>w</sup>íu<sup>?</sup>ač 'fish similar but larger than a bullhead' Sq

√/x̣<sup>w</sup>η-/ 'to weep'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>η-?/ (descriptive)

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-ə<sup>?</sup>-əη-?/ (continuative)

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-a-x̣<sup>w</sup>η-?/ 'spoiled child'

+ x̣<sup>w</sup>a- 'to cry' Sk

x̣<sup>w</sup>óη 'cry' Sk Lm

x̣<sup>w</sup>áη 'cry' Sg Sn

x̣<sup>w</sup>é·m 'cry' Cw Ms

x̣<sup>w</sup>è·m 'cry' Ch

xəhm 'cry' Sq

√/x̣<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to rub'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-i-q<sup>w</sup>/ (descriptive)

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-e<sup>?</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>/ (continuative)

? + s-x̣<sup>w</sup>ə-x̣<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>ičn 'spider' Sq

s-x̣<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>íčn 'net, spider' Sq

√/x̣<sup>w</sup>q̣<sup>w</sup>-/

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-ay-q̣<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to drift, (descriptive)'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-ə<sup>?</sup>-q̣<sup>w</sup>-e<sup>?</sup>-/ 'to drift, (continuative)'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-ə<sup>?</sup>-x̣<sup>w</sup>-ay-q̣<sup>w</sup>/ 'drift unintentionally'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-u-q̣<sup>w</sup>-a-t/ 'to pole, (action)'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-u-q̣<sup>w</sup>-ən/ 'to pole, (process)'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>-u-?-η-ət/ 'paddle'

+ x̣<sup>w</sup>á<sup>?</sup>ηət 'paddle' Sk

ṣx̣<sup>w</sup>ə́q̣<sup>w</sup>tən 'pole' Cw Ms

ṣx̣<sup>w</sup>ə́q̣<sup>w</sup>təl 'pole' Ch

s-x̣<sup>w</sup>úq̣<sup>w</sup>-tn 'canoe pole' Sq

x̣<sup>w</sup>úq̣<sup>w</sup>-cut 'to pole up (in a canoe)' Sq

x̣<sup>w</sup>äq̣<sup>w</sup> 'grind meal' CdA

y

/yanuwəs/ 'heart'

/s-x<sup>w</sup>-yayixamus/ 'red dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)

/yəčt/ 'arrow'

+ ióčt 'arrow' Sk

\*/yc/

./yəc-us/ 'to tell, (descriptive)'

/y-a-?-c-us/ 'to tell, (continuative)'

+ iós- 'tell, report' Sk

ĩác-m 'tell, report' Sq

s-ĩác-m 'news report, information' Sq

?/čy-/ 'to yell'

/č-i-?-y-e?-ŋ-?/ (descriptive)

/č-a-?-y-e?-ŋ-?/ (continuative)

+ √cu 'say, tell' Sq

\*cu 'to say, tell' Kl

cun 'point, show' CdA

/yčə-/ 'to fill'

/yčə-/ (descriptive)

/yəč-/ (continuative)

/ʔəs-y-a-č-ɬ/ (stative)

+ ʔəsléčəɬ 'full' Sg

slé'əɬ 'full' Sn

ʔəsléčəɬ 'full' Lm

səlíc 'fill' Cw Ms  
 səlí·č 'fill' Ch  
 iəč 'be full' Sq  
 s-i-íc 'full' Sq

/yey?xa?m-iřč/ 'Hood Canal blue huckleberry' (Vaccinium spp.)

/ye?/ 'far'  
 + xéta 'far' Sq

\*/yǫ/ 'to fall down'  
 /č-a-ǫ/ (descriptive)  
 /č-a-?-ə?-yǫ/ (continuative)  
 /s-č-a-ǫ-s/ (nominal)  
 + iǫ 'fall down' Sq

/yuǫ/ 'oldest (child)'

\*/(?)yw/ 'outer surface'  
 /yək<sup>w</sup>-x/ 'rib'  
 + lók<sup>w</sup>əx 'rib' Sg Sn  
 lók<sup>w</sup>x 'rib' Sm  
 ləwəx 'rib' Cw Ms  
 ləwəx 'rib' Ch  
 ləux 'rib' Sq

/s-yəw-i?/ 'cedar bark'  
 + číoun 'dance a power dance' Sk  
 sləwəy 'cedar bark' (inner) Cw Ms  
 sləwəy 'cedar bark' (inner) Ch  
 sləuai? 'cedar bark' Sq  
 √iəu(?) 'spiritual power' Sq

/s-č-i-k<sup>w</sup>-s/ 'right arm/hand'

- + s<sup>?</sup>ey<sup>?</sup>íw<sup>?</sup>s 'right(side)' Cw Ms
- s<sup>?</sup>ey·íus 'right(side)' Ch
- čih 'right(hand)' CDA
- čiy<sup>?</sup> 'right(side)' CDA

/s<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>-ř/ 'outer surface (of an object)'

/s<sup>?</sup>iyuk<sup>w</sup>-ř/ 'canoe sides'

?/si<sup>?</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>-ř/ 'load in a canoe'

/čk<sup>w</sup>-/ 'sting; shoot, hunt'

/čk<sup>w</sup>-u-/ 'sting' (descriptive)

/č-ə<sup>?</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-u-/ 'sting' (continuative)

/čk<sup>w</sup>-əyu<sup>?</sup>/ 'hunt, shoot' (descriptive)

/č-ə<sup>?</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-əyu<sup>?</sup>/ 'hunt, shoot' (continuative)

/ʔəs-č-u-ʔ-e<sup>?</sup>-u-k<sup>w</sup>/ 'wounded'

- + k<sup>w</sup>óləšt 'shoot' Cw
- k<sup>w</sup>óləx<sup>y</sup>t 'shoot' Ms
- k<sup>w</sup>ələx<sup>y</sup>t 'shoot' Ch
- ʔehé·wə 'hunt' Cw Ms Ch
- k<sup>w</sup>ólaš 'shoot, sting' Sq

\*/yx/ 'to spear something'

/čə-yx-/ (descriptive)

/čə-y-ʔ-x-/ (continuative)

?/yəč-t/ 'arrow'

/yx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to untie, unwrap' (cf. /x<sup>w</sup>y-/) )

(PS) \*yəγ 'tie, tight'

/yx<sup>w</sup>-a<sup>?</sup>-nəx<sup>w</sup>/ (descriptive)

/yx<sup>w</sup>-a<sup>?</sup>-s/ (continuative)